

R E P O R T
OF THE
THIRTY-EIGHTH
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

HELD AT
COCANADA

ON THE

28th, 29th, 30th and 31st December 1923

AND

1st. January 1924.

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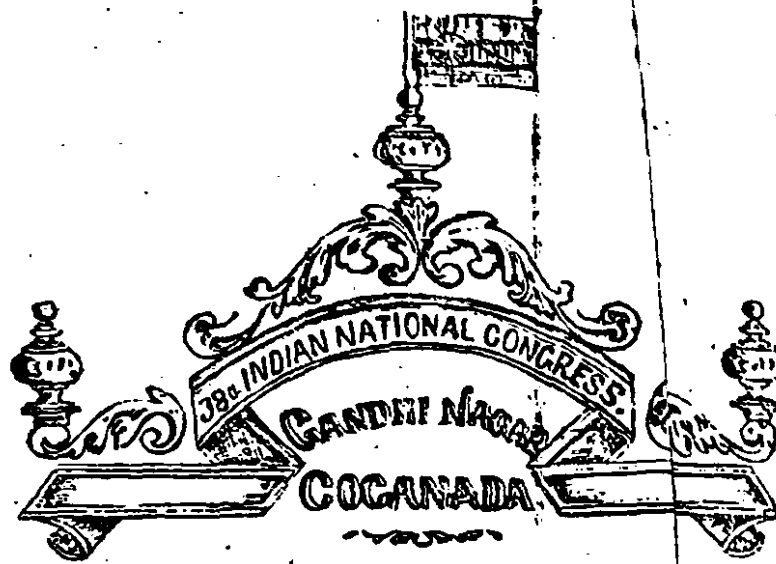


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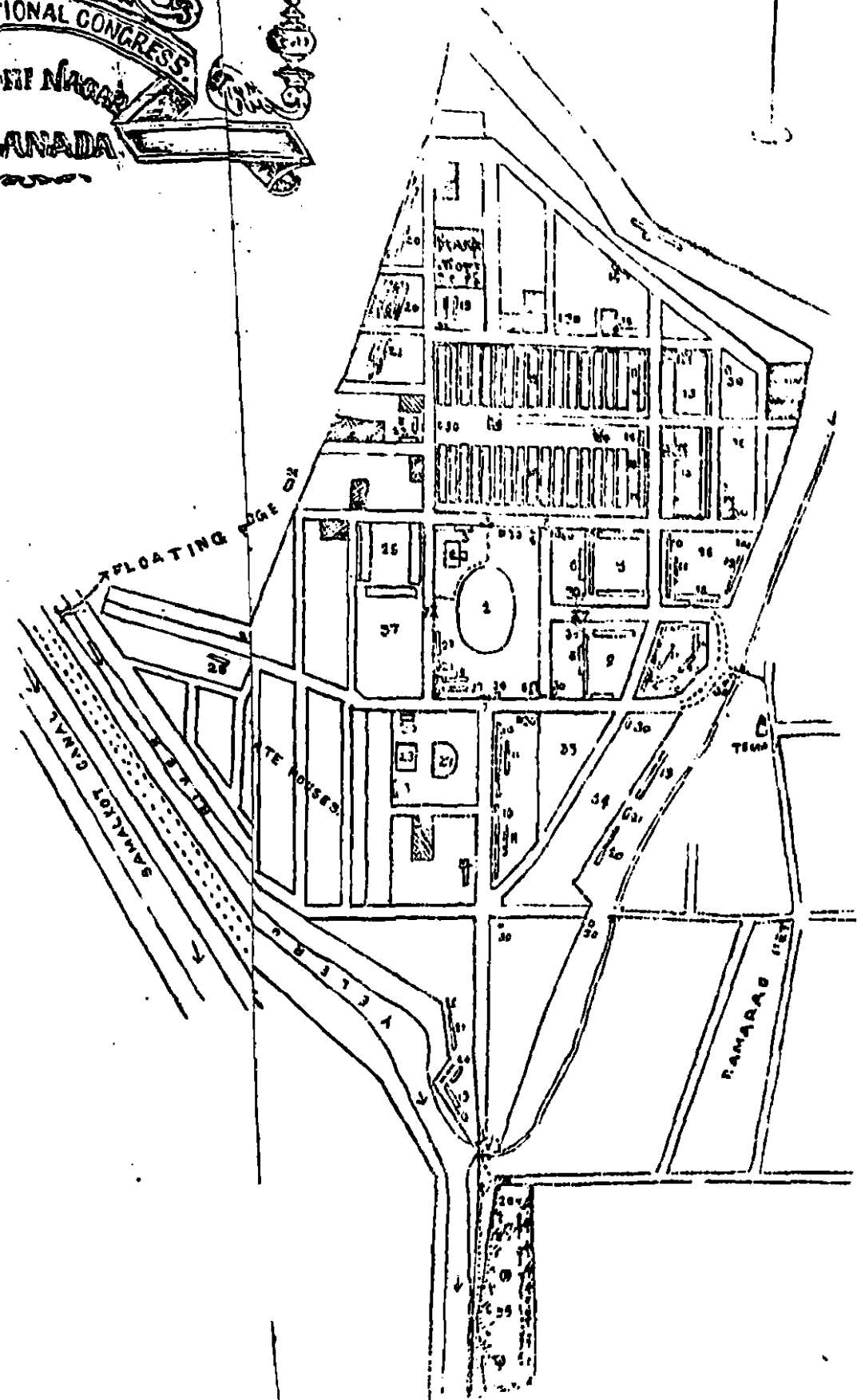
REFERENCE.

- 1 Congress Pavilion
 - 2 Subjects Committee Hall
 - 3 Refreshment Hall for Subjects Committee Members
 - 4 Reporters' Room
 - 5 Printing Press Building
 - 6 Refreshment Stalls inside the Pandal Enclosure
 - 7 Gates to the Pandal Enclosure
 - 8 Offices { Railway Booking Office
Post and Telegraph Office
Reception Committee Office
Andhra Bank
 - 9 Refreshment Stalls outside the Pandal Enclosure
 - 10 General shops and Stalls
 - 11 Cooking Place for Stall-Keepers
 - 12 Provincial Kitchens and Dining Halls
 - 13 General Kitchen and Dining Hall
 - 14 Station Volunteers and Luggage Shed
 - 15 Congress Railway Platform
 - 16 Stores and Provisions Sheds
 - 17 Dinner and Lighting Committee Offices
 - 18 General { Delegates
Camp { Reception Committee Members
for { Visitors and Families
 - 19 Urinals for Gentlemen
 - 20 Latrines for Gentlemen
 - 21 Latrines for Ladies
 - 22 Urinals for Ladies
 - 23 Hospital Buildings
 - 24 Reading Room
 - 25 Special Cottages
 - 26 Health Camp
 - 27 Khilafat Pandal
 - 28 Muslim and Khilafat Kitchen and Dining Hall
 - 29 Mosque
 - 30 Volunteer outposts
 - 31 President's Quarters
 - 32 Akali Camp
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 - 34 Carriage Stand
 - 35 Exhibition Grounds
 - 36 Baths
 - 37 Camp for All India Volunteer Delegates
- Private Houses
- 2 Sheds for Shaving, one at each bathing ghat. (Barber)
- 2 Sheds for washermen, one at each bathing ghat. (Dhobikhana)



SCALE

600 Feet = 1 Inch.



Block Plan of Gandhi Nagar.

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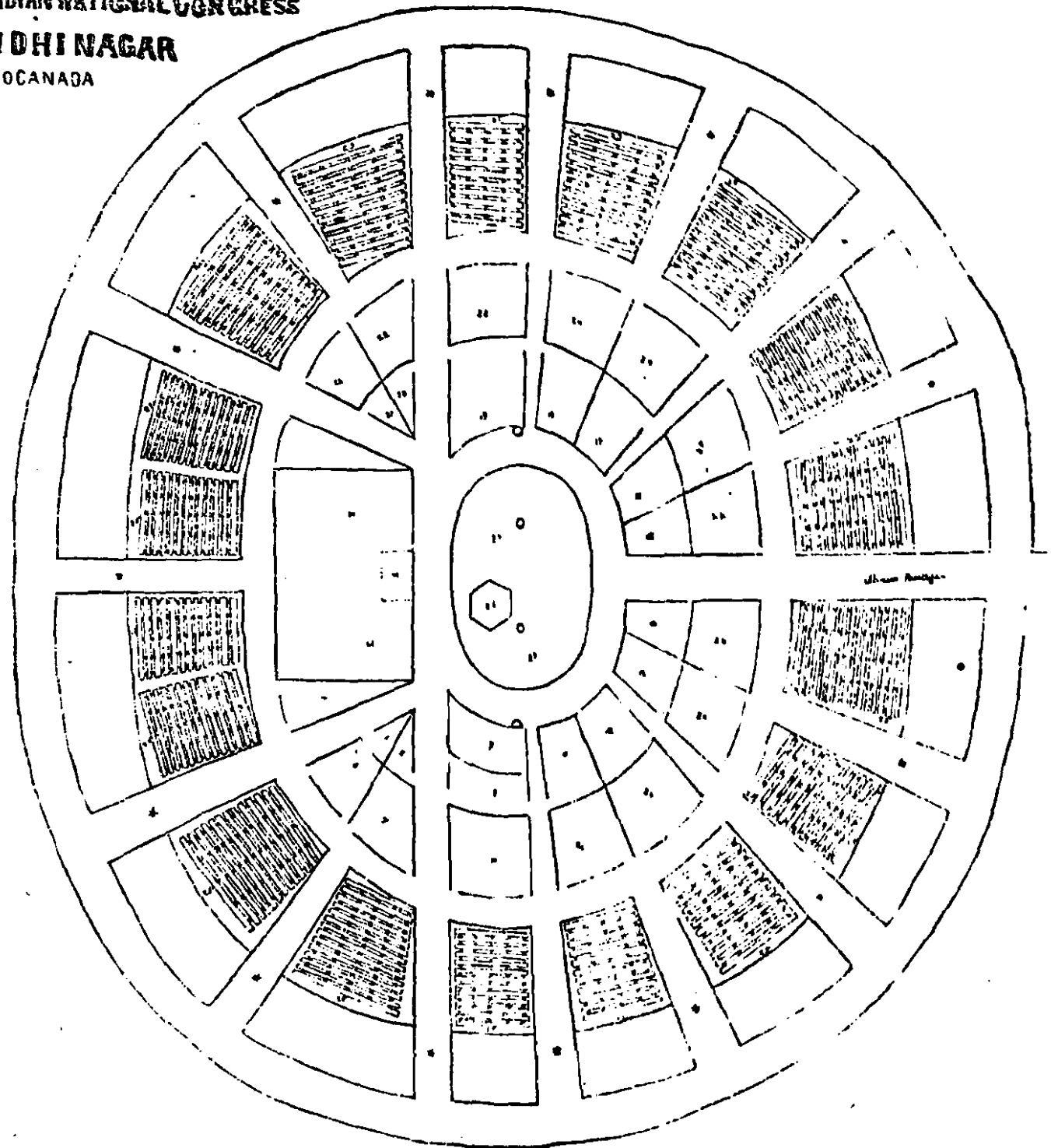


REFERENCE.

- 1 President
- 2 Distinguished Visitors
- 3 All India Congress Committee Members
- 4 Lady Music Choir
- 5 Lady Volunteers
- 6, 7, 10 Lady Visitors
- 8 Lady Delegates
- 9 Lady Reception Committee Members
- 11 Karnatic Delegates
- 12 Guzerat Delegates
- 13 C. P. Hindi Delegates
- 14 Sindh, Delhi, Ajmere Merwara, and Punjab Delegates
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- * Gangways
- + Main Passage

PLAN SHOWING THE
ARRANGEMENT OF SEATING
ACCOMMODATION IN THE CONGRESS
PAVILION OF
THE 38th INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
GANDHI NAGAR
COCANADA

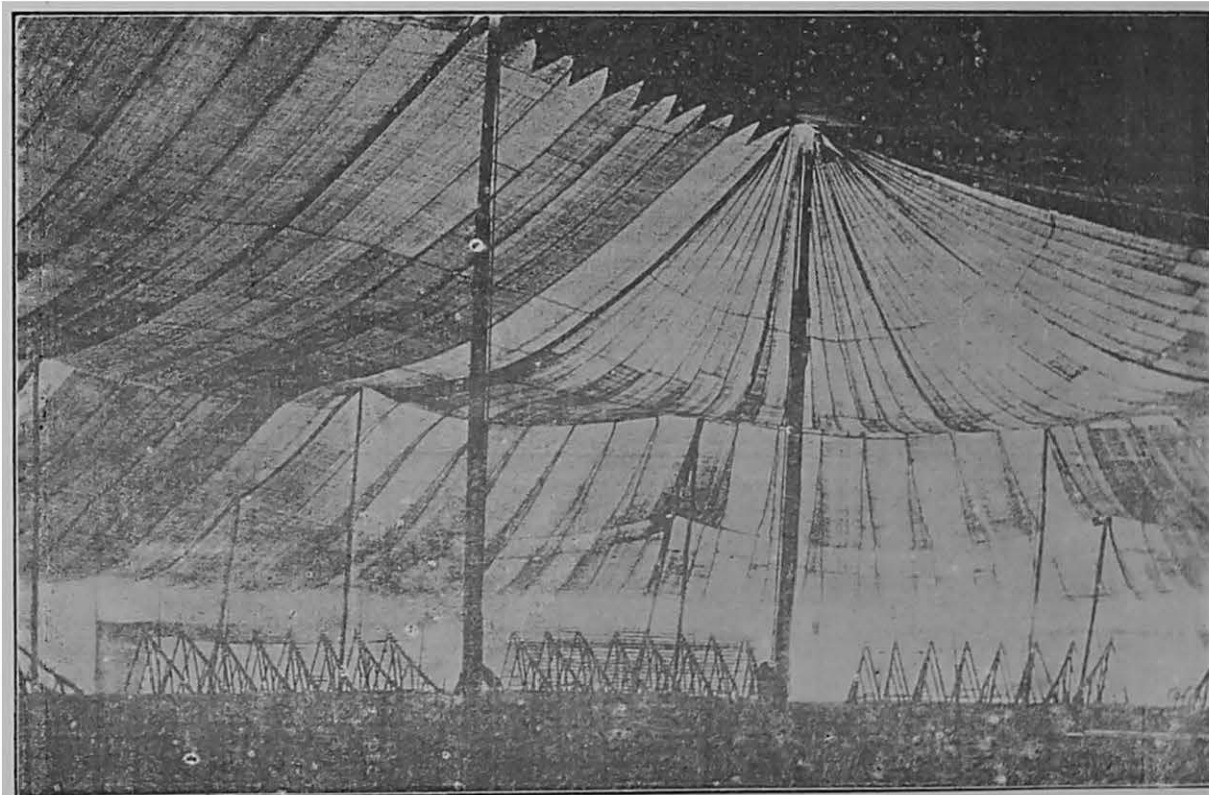
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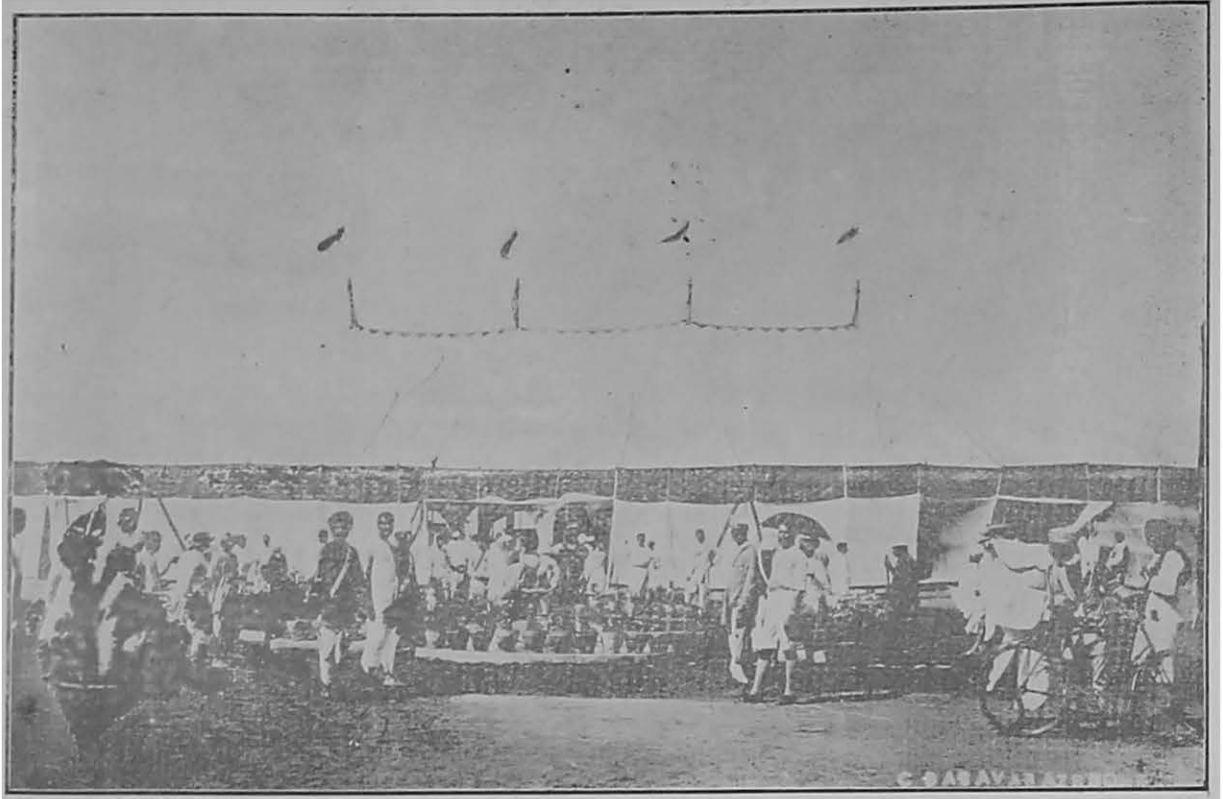
Ground Plan of the Congress Pavilion.



THE MAIN ENTRANCE GATE.



INSIDE VIEW OF THE PAVILION.



OUTSIDE VIEW OF THE PAVILION.



THE GENERAL DINING HALL.

The Indian National Congress,

The 38th Session.

HELD AT COCANADA, 1923.



INTRODUCTION.

The Indian National Congress held its sessions in Andhra Desha for the first time in 1923. It was a heavy responsibility undertaken by the Andhras. Yet there was a thrill of joy and enthusiasm throughout Andhradesha immediately on the announcement of the acceptance of their invitation by the Gaya Congress. All the chief towns vied with one another for having the unique honour of being the venue of a session of the Indian National Congress. As early as the 20th of January 1923, the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee met and finally resolved to hold the Congress at Cocanada, the premier city of Andhra Desha.

General.

The political horizon in the country was altogether clouded. Immediately after the Gaya Congress in 1922, the Congressmen were divided into two distinct parties—the Pro-changers led by Deshbandhu C. R. Das and the No-changers by Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar. They carried on bitter controversy both in the press and on the platform—and hence the Congress Committees could not carry out the programme of the Congress. Attempts at compromise were repeatedly made by Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad and others but nobody was satisfied with the results. The Centre Party that came into existence in Bombay in May 1923 did not improve the matters very much. The All India Congress Committee resolved upon holding a special session of the Congress at Delhi in September. Maulana Mohamed Ali was released from jail on the 29th August and the country looked to him for the proper lead. All the political parties were influenced by his personality and the Delhi Congress lifted the ban on the Council-entry. Then came the elections for the Legislative Councils and the Swarajists gained victories almost everywhere. The dissensions between the Pro-changers and the No-changers did not cease. Sincere desire was felt that unity amongst the political parties should be achieved by the Cocanada Congress. Appeals were made to all the parties to attend the Congress session in large numbers and all the leaders were specially invited. Several leading Moderates and members of the Justice Party attended but they did not take part in the proceedings of the Congress. Unity was sought to be established between the two wings of the Congress and a compromise was arrived at as a result of the incessant efforts of the Ali Brothers. The No-Changers put up a vigorous fight in the open Congress but the House resolved in favour of the Compromise. It can safely be said that the Cocanada Congress laid the foundation for unity between the two leading political parties in the country.

*The
political
importance.*

*Description
of the City.*

Cocanada City is the chief seaport on the Coromandel Coast, north of Madras. Of the few cities in the Madras Presidency, Cocanada claims to be the premier city in point of neatness and sanitation as it contains all natural facilities. A salt creek divides the city into Cocanada proper and Jagannadhapuram, an old town and formerly a Dutch settlement. The latter is also a place of historical interest as it played some part in the campaign of 1759 between the French and the English, when the former finally surrendered. The English occupied it in 1825 in pursuance of a treaty signed between England and Holland. As early as 1802, a dock was constructed to receive ships of the Royal Navy. The port gradually developed in trade, when it suddenly rose into great importance during the American Civil War in 1861 as a place of shipment for cotton. Owing to the silting up of the Bay at the Port, the anchorage has gradually shifted back in recent years. Steamers now anchor 7 miles off the coast and transshipment is made by means of boats, not without danger. About a mile from the southern municipal limit is situated the *Tulya Sagar Sangam* where the holy Godavari pours its waters into the Bay of Bengal through its first branch. From time immemorial it was considered very sacred for pilgrims to commence the *Sapta Sagara Yatra* from this place. Thousands of pilgrims start on this pilgrimage every year and it consists in a continuous pedestrian visit for ten days, touching the seven confluences of the Godavari where the seven great *Rishis* are reputed to have founded *Ashrams*.

Cocanada has been taking no insignificant part in the political life of the nation. The Godavari District Association is one of the oldest public associations in India. When the agitation of the partition of Bengal was carried on by Babu Bepin Chandra Pal in 1907, Cocanada was the scene of unbounded enthusiasm and also unfortunately of riots, the result of the provoking conduct of a Government District Officer. In 1916, the Andhra Conference was organised on an unprecedented scale and it was hoped that Cocanada would be a centre for holding a session of the Indian National Congress. When the Non-co-operation movement was at its full height, the Andhra Desa played an important part and Cocanada was the field of the first battle for the Swarajya Flag between the Congress and the Government in December 1921. The devotion of the people to the Congress was fully realised in connection with the elaborate arrangements made for a successful holding of this session.

*Formation of
the Reception
Committee.*

The Andhra Provincial Congress Committee started making preparations for the Congress sessions very early. The Working Committee of the P. C. C. formally constituted the Reception Committee on 16-2-23 and appointed a provisional Secretary authorising him to organise the Reception Committee. The first meeting of the Reception Committee was accordingly held on 9-3-23, when a provisional executive committee was formed and provisional office-bearers were elected. At a meeting of the Reception Committee held on 21-7-23, the final elections of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairmen, the General Secretaries and other office-bearers were made and the various sub-committees were formed to make the

necessary arrangements. The names of the office-bearers and members of the various committees are given in Appendix I.

The Collector of the Godavari District moved actively as early as March 1923 to frustrate the efforts of the Reception Committee. He had such queer notions of the Congress that he summoned one of the merchants of Cocanada and openly told him that membership in the Reception Committee was associated with Civil Disobedience and avowed enmity to the British Government and that it would entail forfeiture of licences etc. He issued instructions to all the Taluk Tahsildars who in turn issued Circulars to every village officer that he should see that people would not help the Congress financially and report at once any recalcitrants and that water supply would be cut off for the crops of their lands. The people however paid no heed to these empty threats and the Collector ultimately went away home on leave. His successor behaved most coolly and never interfered with the activities of the Reception Committee. The Circulars became a dead letter.

*The District
Collector's
High Handed
ness.*

The work of the Reception Committee was carried on vigorously. There was splendid response from the people. Many of the Moderates and Justice party people whole-heartedly co-operated with the Reception Committee. The whole of Andhra Desha subscribed liberally for the Congress, the Reception Committee collections being a record figure in the Congress, viz., Rs. 1,20,862—0—0. The Godavari District itself contributed Rs. 51,105/- of which Rs 24,005/- was collected from the Cocanada Taluq. Five hundred free visitors' passes were issued to Sadhus, Pandits, Panchamas, political pilgrims, poor women and workers.

*People's
Response.*

There was a heavy cyclone on the east coast in the third week of November and considerable breaches were caused to the railway line between Berhampur and Cocanada. Through-traffic between Calcutta and Cocanada could not be resumed before the opening date of the Congress and considerable inconvenience was caused to delegates coming from Northern India. This accounts for the small number of delegates from the northern provinces. The Congress was originally announced to be held on the 26th of December but owing to the railway breaches, Deshabandhu C. R. Das and the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee requested an adjournment of the Congress for two days and the Reception Committee accordingly adjourned the sessions to the 28th of December. This was no doubt felt as a great inconvenience by the President and the delegates that arrived on the 24th December. But it was largely compensated for by their participation in the various functions that were begun earlier than the Congress.

*Adjournment
of the
Sessions.*

The Congress Week was quite full of numerous Conferences and other functions. In addition to the usual sessions of the All India Khilafat Conference, the Zamiat-ul-Ulema Conference and the All India Students' Conference, there were the All India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, the

Engagements

All India Public Libraries Conference, the All India Astrological Conference, the All India Psychic and Spiritualistic Conference, and the All India Thiestic Conference, Mention should specially be made of the All India Ladies' Conference presided over by Srimathi Kasturibai Gandhi. Over 10,000 ladies assembled in the pavilion, all clad in Khaddar. It was really a sight for angels to see. There was the Indian National Social Conference presided over by Sir T. Sadasiva Aiyer of Madras. It was for the first time that the All India Volunteers' Conference was held and Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru presided over it. It was an interesting feature that the Cocanada Municipal Council, the Cocanada Taluk Board and the Godavari District Ryots' Association presented addresses of welcome to the President of the Congress and Deshabandhu C. R. Das within the municipal premises amidst the great enthusiasm of vast cheering crowds. The All India Khadi and Handicrafts Exhibition was opened on the morning of the 25th December by Acharya Profulla Chandra Ray in the presence of a distinguished gathering.

Gandhinagar.

The Congress pavilion, delegates' quarters, kitchens, dining halls and all structures connected therewith were located in Gandhinagar, the western extension of the City of Cocanada. This was formerly known as Elwinpet but the Municipality has changed its name into Gandhinagar after the session of the Congress. The whole site comprises an area of about 120 acres. The Railway line forms the north-eastern boundary and the M. S. M. Railway Company constructed a temporary railway platform at a distance of 100 yards from the delegates' camp, specially for the convenience of Congress delegates and visitors. The Yeleru river forms the south-western boundary and a temporary floating bridge of boats was constructed across, connecting Gandhinagar with the Godavari fresh water navigation canal specially for the Congress season. There is a river drain on the east and south-east and the adjacent plain served as a Dhobikhana of Gandhinagar. The Municipality already laid out metalled roads and water pipe connections preliminary to the construction of houses.

The Congress Tent and its enclosures.

For long years it was felt that the Congress should have a permanent tent for its sessions so as to save considerable expense and inconvenience. A huge tent measuring 300 ft. x 220 ft. and easily accommodating 12,000 persons was made of a double fold of pure khaddar cloth manufactured in the neighbourhood of Cocanada and this is considered to be the biggest pavilion in the world. The Reception Committee got it made by Babu A. N. Mukeji, Tent Manufacturer, Calcutta, under an agreement that they should pay as hire to the Contractor Rs. 23,500/- for use for 15 days by the Congress and other approved Conferences. The Reception Committee reserved to itself the option to purchase the tent and gallery by paying an extra sum of Rs. 13,500/- After the session of the Congress was over, the All India Congress committee resolved to purchase the tent and the gallery permanently for the Congress session and paid this additional amount. The total cost of the tent and the gallery thus amounts to Rs. 37,000.

The Congress pavilion was located in the Municipal Park site in the centre of Gandhinagar. The pavilion and the enclosures cover an area of over 13 acres, the tent and its fixtures covering nearly 10,000 sq. yards. A great relief was felt at the absence of the too many pillars which were an inevitable encumbrance in the ordinary pandals. The *dais* measuring 90 ft. x 60 ft. was constructed in the western segment of the tent in the form of a Mandap. It was canopied and floored with white khaddar, the pillars being draped in tri-coloured khadi. The front of the Mandap was beautifully adorned with the portraits of all the ex-Presidents of the Congress and other prominent national leaders. The place of honour was given on the Mandap to the life-size portrait of Mahatma Gandhi specially painted for the occasion by Sjt. C. Nageswara-rao. The gates and the inside pavilion were tastefully decorated with plenty of tri-coloured flags and festoons. A wooden portable rostrum hexagonal in shape and 6 feet in diameter was located almost in the centre of the pavilion in front of the *dais*. There were 16 gates altogether to the pavilion. The two main gangways were 15 feet wide and the minor gangways 10 feet. There was thus complete freedom of movement for the huge gathering of delegates and visitors. The members of the All India Congress Committee and the distinguished guests were accommodated on the Mandap. All round the rostrum was arranged an oval block, half of which was reserved for the press representatives and the other half for the members of the Executive of the Reception Committee. Next to this was arranged the seating accommodation for delegates in different blocks according to the provinces. Visitors and members of the Reception Committee were generally accommodated on the gallery running all round the tent. Accommodation was reserved for ladies,—delegates, visitors and members of the Reception Committee in a segment to the right of the Mandap. The choir of boys and girls, the Vedic Scholars, pandits and musicians were seated in the left wing close to the Mandap.

*The Congress
Tent and its
enclosures.*

The outside appearance of the pandal was simply grand. The four huge swarajya flags hoisted on the main central poles waved in the air and captured the eye of the spectators even from a distance. Just at the main entrance of the pavilion was fitted a beautiful revolving fountain with a rimmed basin 36 ft in diameter. The ducks swimming in the basin contributed a living beauty all their own.

The main gate at the pavilion enclosure was 100 feet from the fountain and consisted of an artistic design of the *Gopura* of a Hindu temple in the centre with the minarets of a mosque on either side. The upper story was occupied by a party of *Naubatwallas* and pipers whose performance was an elevating entertainment.

The Subjects Committee pandal, 120 ft. X 90 ft. was located in the north-west corner of the pavilion enclosure and accommodated about 1000 persons. For the convenience of the Subjects Committee was provided close by a refreshments stall where the proprietor, Andhra Bhavan, Cocanada, catered high class refreshments suited to the tastes of

all India. Additional refreshment stalls were also provided at a distance within the enclosure for others.

The Cocanada Printing Works opened its branch within the pavilion enclosure near the Subjects Committee hall so as to facilitate printing work of the Congress during the Congress week.

Offices.

The various offices of the several departments of the Reception Committee were located immediately to the east of the outside of the Pandal enclosure adjacent to the main gate. The Railway Booking Office and the Camp Post and Telegraph Offices were located in the same row as the Reception Committee Offices. To safeguard the moneys of delegates and visitors, the Godavari District Co-operative Banking Union Ltd., Cocanada, opened a branch in this block and opened current accounts on a small charge of R 1/- for each account. The Chairman, the General Secretaries, the Working Treasurer, the Captain and other Officers of the Reception Committee resided in these very blocks.

Accommodation.

Thirty-six special cottages were erected to the west of the pavilion compound for the residence of leaders and distinguished guests. The Presidents of the Congress and the Khilafat Conference were both lodged in the same hut, specially constructed for the purpose. Two parallel rows of blocks of rooms were constructed in an area of 11 acres for the purpose of housing delegates, visitors and members of the Reception Committee and accommodated more than 6000 persons. There were altogether 32 blocks each measuring 200 ft. X 36 ft. About 150 family quarters were constructed so as to suit the needs of gentlemen that came with families. The lodging of the Khilafat delegates was arranged along with Congress Muslim delegates. Large rooms were designed to accommodate ten and small ones five. Folding cots were supplied to all the delegates. Between the two residential blocks there were two big Reading Halls of octagonal shape each equipped with almost all the leading papers in India. There was a file of back issues from about the 1st of December. Separate area was set apart in the spacious open between the two rows for *Bhajan* and *Sankirtan* parties.

Stalls.

There were 20 stalls of 15 ft X 10 ft. each inside the pavilion enclosure, 140 stalls outside and 100 stalls within the Exhibition compound.

Medical aid.

Medical wards and a free dispensary of all systems of medicine,— Ayurvedic, Unani and Allopathic were also provided immediately to the west of the residential quarters. A good contingent of medical men was ready for service all the 24 hours. Delegates and visitors freely resorted to them.

Dinner Arrangements.

There was a general kitchen providing boarding in Andhra style for all delegates and visitors. The general dining hall was designed to feed 4000 persons at a time. The other dining halls adjoining the provincial kitchens were arranged to provide simultaneous feeding for 4000 persons in all.

The kitchens and the dining halls were in the same block. Only a few provinces took advantage of the separate arrangements but all the rest preferred to dine in the Andhra style. The Khilafat Reception Committee were kind enough to arrange for the boarding of all the Congress Muslim delegates. Provisions were stocked in the Congress godowns to the value of Rs. 30,000.

The Akalis had a special Diwani constructed to the south of the pandal compound and opened a free *langarkhana*. Sirdar Mangal Singh and his party of Akalis held demonstrations and meetings almost every day.

Akalis.

The Khilafat Conference pandal and the Muslim kitchen and dining hall were constructed in an extensive square to the south of the pavilion. Free quarters for the Ulemas were constructed therein and shops were also opened. The whole square was popularly styled Shaukatabad. The Congress Reception Committee rendered all possible help to the Khilafat Reception Committee and the hearty co-operation between the Hindus and Muslims of Andhra Desha clearly demonstrated itself in the National Week.

Shaukatabad.

For the benefit of the vast crowds of people who could not attend the Congress proceedings special arrangement was made for Congress leaders to address them from two platforms. There were at times 50,000 persons. Maulana Shaukat Ali, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mrs. Surojini Devi, Babu Shyam Sundar Chakravarti and other prominent Congress leaders addressed the vast gatherings from day to day.

Overflow Meetings.

Musical concerts were arranged at nights in the Congress pavilion from the 28th December onwards and the performances of leading musicians contributed largely to the delight of the audience.

Musical Concerts.

Owing to the soil being sandy and the subsoil water being within a foot of the surface, it was not possible to arrange trench latrines. 700 individual enclosures were constructed to serve as latrines. Besides these there were large enclosures near by and smaller ones all over. There were also separate urinals. The Municipal sanitary staff was very diligent and the latrines and urinals were found to be scrupulously neat at all times.

Conservancy.

The Municipality provided a rich supply of filtered water conveyed by pipes all over the grounds. Baths were provided in a number of places and almost every part of Gandhinagar was provided with taps. The Municipal Engineer and staff worked very hard and when the demand was particularly heavy, took care to supply the required quantity of water during both day and night. There was also a supply of hot water separately for the generality of all delegates and visitors, for family quarters, and for distinguished guests. Thousands of congressmen preferred to bathe in the fresh water of the Godavari canal close by, after crossing the temporary bridge of boats.

Water Supply.

Traffic.

Wheeled and passenger traffic was strictly regulated and diverted through different routes. Entrance and exit routes were separately arranged so as to avoid cross traffic. The November cyclone washed away the masonry culverts constructed by the Municipality to the very foundations, thus isolating Gandhinagar from all communications with the city. Three temporary bridges were immediately improvised by the Municipality for both the wheeled and the passenger traffic.

Lighting.

The General Electric Co. Ltd., Madras, provided electric lighting for the delegates' rooms, dining halls, kitchens, pandal, streets and all over Gandhinagar. Two dynamos were at work. To provide against contingencies, the Reception Committee arranged for gas lights to be fixed all round.

Fire Protection.

All the structures in Gandhinagar were built of palmyrah leaves and mats. The Reception Committee therefore took proper precaution in insuring for two lakhs of rupees all Congress materials against any possible fire accident. Additional precautions were taken by arranging two fire engines and a pump.

Volunteers.

The volunteer corps was 1500 strong and their energy, diligence and willingness to serve contributed not a little to the success of the arrangements. The entire force was recruited from all the districts of Andhra Desha. There were 150 lady volunteers. The volunteers did splendid work both in the regulation of the enormous traffic in Gandhinagar and the neighbourhood and also in the night patrol and in detection. Mention should specially be made of the ceaseless and untiring zeal that characterised the whole body of the kitchen and exhibition volunteers. The captain, the vice-captains, and the lieutenants acted in perfect harmony and guarded the bank, the treasury, the camps, the exhibition and the pavilion and all structures around. Many of the volunteers had no English education whatever but their loyalty to the Congress and love of service to the nation impelled them to discharge the exacting duties with great pleasure and enthusiasm.

The Exhibition.

The All India Khadi and Handi-crafts Exhibition was arranged in the spacious grounds of the Cocanada Ladies' Recreation Club adjoining Gandhinagar on its south. There was a lovely pond with red lotuses just in front of the museum hall and rows of graft-mango and casuarina trees presented an enjoyable sight. The exhibition consisted of four sections:— (1) The Museum Hall. (2) The Demonstration Section. (3) The Competition Section, (4) The Sales Section.

(1). The museum hall was specially constructed to ensure safety with roofing of corrugated iron sheets. Cotton, silk and woollen fabrics, purely handspun and handwoven were received from all parts of India. The first object that attracted notice on entry into the hall was the yarn spun by Mahatma Gandhi in the Yerrawada Jail. The fine khadi Chicacole muslins won universal praise. Laced khadi sarees of beautiful workmanship costing hundreds of rupees were specially got up for the occasion.

A fine *khadi saree*, woven 150 years back was exhibited by an aristocratic family. The Kokti cotton fabrics of Bihar deserve special mention. The cotton carpets of Ahmednagar and the khaddar banyans of Ellore were specially noticed. Numerous varieties of dhotis, shirtings, coatings were also exhibited. The silk fabrics were received from Assam, Bhagalpur, Mysore, and Berhampore. The woolen fabrics received from Mysore and Gujarat, Bikaner and Belgaum formed a special feature. The handicrafts exhibits consisted of ivory works, lacquer ware, wooden toys, leather-ware and metal works and carpets. A beautiful ivory chess table priced Rs. 3500/- was received from Vizagapatam.

(2). A party from the Sabarmati Satyagraha Ashram demonstrated all the processes of cotton manufacture from ginning to weaving. The Pinakini Satyagrahashram party demonstrated design weaving also. The party from Bonthalakoduru demonstrated fine spinning and weaving. Border weaving by a boy of fifteen from Masulipatam was highly appreciated. Another weaver exhibited his skill in weaving pyjama and shirt on the loom. The "kokti" spinning and weaving was demonstrated by the party from Bihar. A Mysore party demonstrated silk spinning from cocoons and also explained the processes of rearing the worm and the manufacture of silk by means of illustrated charts. The carpet weaving demonstration by the workers from the Andhra Jatheeya Kalasala, Masulipatam, elicited the admiration of the visitors. Indigenous dyeing was demonstrated by two students of Acharya. P. C. Ray. The Sabarmati Ashram and the Andhra Jatheeya Kalasala gave instructive demonstration of dyeing and colour printing. Demonstration of toy-making by the Eti Koppaka Toy Works Co., was particularly appreciated. There were several parties of silk and wool weaving.

(3) Spinning competition was held both for professionals and amateurs.

(4) The sale stalls containing swadeshi cloth and articles commanded very satisfactory sales. The Exhibition continued from the 25th December up to 1st January, 1924. 27,000 visitors' tickets were sold. The rush was so great that many thousands of anxious visitors had to be disappointed. A party of pipers was in attendance throughout.

It was originally proposed that the address of the President of the Congress should be read simultaneously all over India on the opening day of the Congress. But the time was not sufficient. The address was however, printed in four languages,—English, (4500 copies), Hindi (5000 copies), Urdu (1800 copies), and Telugu (5000 copies). A message was received from Benares that the Hindi translation of the presidential address was read over to a public meeting held on the Congress Day. Although 16,300 copies of the address were printed in all the languages put together, they were found insufficient to meet the demand.

*The
Presidential
address
in four
languages.*

*Cocanada's
Welcome to
the Congress
President.*

The welcome which Cocanada gave to Maulana Mahomed Ali, the President of the 38th Session of the Indian National Congress, surpassed any in the past history of the Congress in the spontaneous outburst of the enthusiasm of both the classes and the masses, especially the ryots of the villages. Over a lakh of Andhras participated in the Welcome.

The President was expected to arrive at Cocanada at 12 noon on the 24th December. But the train was about three hours late. The date of his arrival was previously announced throughout Andhradesha. People from the remotest parts of the interior poured into Cocanada even from the previous day. The forenoon of the 24th witnessed the arrival of huge crowds of ryots from the villages in the neighbourhood. By midday the whole road from the railway station to the bridge was filled with an ever swelling mass of humanity. The citizens of Cocanada whitewashed their houses as if for a festival and decorated them with festoons and *thoranams*. There were flags and buntings every 50 yards of the whole route from the station to the Presidential quarters which was more than four miles in all. Several pandals were put up at intervals and arches were constructed with inspiring mottoes of national ideals. The mottoes were in Telugu, Hindi, Urdu and English, 'Swaraj is my birth-right', 'Fear God, not man,' 'Search for the key of Yerrawada Jail', 'Cocanada welcomes the President of the Congress', '*Ahimsa Paramo Dharmah*', 'India expects every son to do his duty' 'There can be no Swaraj without Hindu Muslim Unity,' and so forth. About 500 volunteers were posted at several junctions of the main roads to keep order and to divert carriage traffic from the main route. At about 2 P. M., the crowds began to move towards the Railway Station in order to have the earliest glimpse of the President. But the volunteers repeatedly and successfully persuaded them to keep themselves stationed on either side of the route with patience. The platform of Cocanada Town Railway Station was properly controlled and the rush and pressure of crowds was prevented by the discipline of the volunteers. Deshabhakta Konda Venkatappayya, the Chairman of the Congress Reception Committee, Janab Anwaruzzama Khan Saheb, the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Khilafat Conference, the Vice-Chairmen, General Secretaries and other office-bearers and prominent members of both the reception committees were in attendance and formed into lines. Several members of the Municipal Council, the Taluk and District Boards also joined in the welcome. Almost all the leading citizens of the city were present on the platform and greeted the president.

As the train steamed into the station at about 3 P. M., the whole atmosphere was rent with a tremendous outburst of the joyful cries of 'Mahatma Gandhiki Jai', 'Aila Ho Akbar', from the eager crowds outside. As soon as the Ali Brothers stepped out, Messrs. Venkatappayya and Anwaruzzamakhan Saheb garlanded both the Presidents of the Congress and the Khilafat and almost all the gentlemen present greeted the Brothers with garlands and bouquets of flowers. Srimati Kasturi bai Gandhi, *Bi-amma*, Mrs. Mahomedali and party were received by the lady

volunteers and lady members of the Reception Committee. The presence of Srimati Kasturibai Gandhi brought home to the minds of those present the picture of that great soul that captivated the heart of all India by the high ideals of suffering and sacrifice that he taught. Bi-Amma has since passed away in the full glory of her age, proud of her two sons who won the esteem and affection of all the people. She was an inspiring figure on the platform and all men and women greeted her with respectful salutations.

*Cocanada's
Welcome to
the Congress
President.*

As almost perfect order was maintained, the usual inconvenience was not felt by the presidential party in easily reaching the procession carriage. It was a beautiful and well decorated four wheeled waggonette drawn by four Australian horses. Maulana Mahomed Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Deshabhakta Konda Venkatappayya, Janab Unwaruzzamakhani Sahab were seated in this carriage. The Captain of the Volunteer corps had the honour of driving it. Behind was the motor car occupied by Srimati Kasturibai Gandhi, Mrs. Mahomedali and party. Immediately behind was the car of the General Secretary and party. Several other motor cars and carriages followed. Dr. Profulia Chandra Ray, Janab Yakub Hassain, Dr Saifuddin Kitchlew, Peter Zavitsky, T. Prakasam, K. Nageswararao and other distinguished gentlemen followed in the procession throughout. The pilot car was occupied by the Secretaries of the procession committee and one of the General Secretaries. The procession was led by an elephant bearing the picture of Mahatma Gandhi in a *howdah* with a large Swarajya Flag flying thereon. The *Naubat* carriage came behind. A band of the best pipers in Andhradesha were arranged next in order. Then came the dignified rows of volunteers, 500 in number, marching in an orderly manner throughout the whole route. The corps was led by Mr. Sayyapirazu Venkatarazu the big lieutenant on horse back in strange contrast to the Big Brother in the carriage. Lieutenants on bicycles were in attendance. Five sets of flutists then came behind and played exquisite music. Next in order was a body of 100 female volunteers who adorned the procession throughout and walked on foot. Then came the Bhajan parties of the City. The local worthies and other Andhra Leaders followed behind on foot immediately in front of the President's carriage. When the signal for starting was given, the assembled mass of humanity burst out into thundering applause. As the procession moved on, flowers were profusely showered over the president. People sat even on the roofs of buildings. All the avenue trees were occupied by visitors. The carriage was stopped at the Sitaramaswami's temple and the Ali Brothers were garlanded and the camphor Arti was given to them by the priests. The President of the Congress thanked the temple authorities in a small felicitous speech. As the procession reached the mosque, the Mahomedans gave a tremendous cheering of Alla Ho Akbar. In front of the building of one of the rich merchants on the bridge road was a charka placed on a high platform. A Vysya boy was plying the charka, and when the procession came near, got down, garlanded the president and burnt heaps of camphor. All

*Cocanada's
Welcome to
the Congress
President.*

along the route, further on, until the bridge, flowers were raining down from the flower caskets arranged overhead in the arches. The procession marched on to Jagannaikpur where the peculiar arrangement was that all the ladies were systematically on one side of the route and the males on the other. Almost at every house the ladies were offering Artis. The sun set in all his glory and by the time of Namaz the carriage arrived just in front of the house of an orthodox pundit. At the request of the General Secretary the pundit invited the Ali Brothers and their Muslim friends into his house and the ladies invited Mrs. Mahomed Ali. The house of one of the leading Sastris thus served as a prayer hall for the Muslim guests and this incident is still remembered by the people with considerable pleasure.

As the procession moved on again into Cocanada proper, it came to the Bheemeswaraswamy temple where the authorities offered the Brothers Arti and broke many cocoanuts as a mark of honour and distributed them to the spectators. The pagoda road was practically full of people and it was all galaday. The Big Brother exchanged garlands of flowers with boys. As the shades of the night were coming on, the procession was hurried under gas lights and it was almost 7 P. M., when the president reached his cottage in Gandhinagar. The incidents of this reception are still green in the memory of the people of Andhra Desha, and the Andhras speak with pride and joy of that brilliant ovation. A film of the procession photographed by Mr. T. Rangayya of Madras is still the favourite with the men, women and children of Cocanada.

The huge crowds in the procession were clad entirely in khaddar and feasted the eyes of the spectators. Acharya Profulla Chandra Ray was absolutely overwhelmed with pleasure. The splendour and enthusiasm of the reception accorded by the Andhras to the President of the Congress was so great and real that it would never be forgotten by those that witnessed it.

*The Hoisting
of the
Swarajya
Flag.*

On the morning of the opening day of the Congress sessions huge crowds of people poured into Gandhinagar to witness the function of the unfurling of the flag of National Freedom by the President of the Congress. In the early hours of the morning, the volunteers and the Bhajan parties from the various provinces marched in procession all over Gandhinagar in ecstasy and rallied round the flag staff with national flags in their hands. The flagstaff 100 feet in height was put up in the spacious quadrangle where the offices of the Reception Committee were located. Over 30,000 people assembled to witness the august function and the President, Maulana Mohamed Ali delivered a soul-stirring address before he hoisted the flag of freedom. It runs as follows :—

Sisters and Brothers!

As commanded by you I am here to unfurl the Flag of the Nation. This Flag is nothing if it is not the Flag of Freedom. But it cannot be the Flag of our Freedom unless it is also the Flag of our national unity. You have

commanded me to unfurl this Flag and hoist it. I ask you, are you prepared to stand by the Indian nationality against all difficulties? (Cries of Yes, yes). Then you pledge yourself solemnly under God's sky and on God's earth, that you will fight, in your own non-violent fashion, every one who is opposed to India's unity and integrity, whether it be the stranger outside the gate or the enemy inside the gate. It is a very poor thing to fight against the aggressor from outside the gate. Every nation does that. Every nation has been doing it, good nations and bad nations alike. But for those who have not won freedom it is more important to consider the enemy within the gate and that enemy is our own evil nature which wants personal ambitions to be placed above national honour, above national freedom or independence. (Cheers.)

*The Hoisting
of the
Swarajya
Flag.*

Then, you will have to forget to-day that you are separated into Hindus and Mussalmans, for you are all of one faith in defence of the National Flag. (Hear, hear). You will also recognise that you are all one, whether you are Moderates, Nationalists or Liberals. Whosoever you are, so long as you are here you will have to sink all party differences and go out as one man because you are one nation. If you solemnly pledge to forget all these differences, then and then only ask me to unfurl this Flag. (Cries of yes, yes, we shall forget). Down with the differences that degrade and demoralise us, down will rancour down with ill-will,—are you prepared, I ask you? (loud and repeated cries of "Yes, we are"). Then I call God to witness, for you and for me, and in God's name, I unfurl it. (Loud and prolonged cheers).

On the 1st January 1924, the Reception Committee gave a Farewell Dinner to all the Congress delegates and distinguished visitors. The whole of the *General Dining Hall* was tastefully decorated and chains of arc lights fitted at regular intervals shed peculiar brilliance over the floor below. About 4,000 guests sat together without any distinction of caste, creed or religion. The Hindus, the Muhammadans, the Parsees, the Sikhs and the Christians squatted on the floor side by side. Separate accommodation was reserved for orthodox gentlemen and several hundreds of guests chose to dine there. The guests were satisfied at this special arrangement. Maulana Mohamed Ali, the President of the Congress, was the principal guest of the night. He was seated in the very centre of the cosmopolitan gathering in the General Dining Hall. Almost all the Congress leaders participated in the feast. Mrs. Mohamed Ali had the place of honour in the company of the Hindu ladies. A profusely rich menu was served to suit the tastes of the multitude of guests representing all the provinces of India. The Proprietor, Andhra Bhavan, Cocanada, deserves congratulations on the exquisiteness of the preparations so promptly got up. Pundit Motilal Nehru, Srimathi Sarojini Devi, Babu Siva Prasad Gupta, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Sjt. Rajagopalachari, Sjt. Gangadharow Deshpande, Maulana Shaukat Ali and all the guests went into ecstasies over the hearty brotherhood of the night. They pronounced the gathering to be unique and unparalleled in the annals of modern India. Mr. Peter Zavitski of America attended in his khaddar dress with Gandhi cap and was profoundly impressed with the sight. In reply to the toast proposed by Desabhakta Konda Venkatappayya, Maulana Mohamed Ali expressed his pleasure and satisfaction at the hospitality of the Andhras to the Indian Nation, and, in one word, characterised the Dinner as "magnificent".

*The Farewell
Dinner.*

*Change in the
Congress
Creed.*

In view of the fact that a resolution for a change in the Congress Creed proposing "Swarajya" to be defined as 'Complete Independence', was moved in the open session of the Cocanada Congress and was lost, a brief outline may be given of the historical development of the creed.

Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, the President of the 1st Indian National Congress, Bombay, 1885, classified the objects of the Congress 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 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 the methods by which, during the next twelve months, it is desirable for *native politicians* to labour in the public interests.

Considerable discussion having arisen as to the aims and objects of the Congress, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the President of the 2nd Congress, Calcutta, 1886, clearly pointed out that the Congress was a purely political body and that, while he was himself alive to the necessity of social reforms, he held that the Congress must confine itself to questions in which the entire nation has a direct participation, and leave the adjustment of social reforms and other class questions to Class Congresses. The 3rd Congress, held at Madras in 1887, appointed a committee to consider what rules, if any, might be usefully framed in regard to the constitution and working of the Congress. Nothing substantial was done until 1898, when the 14th Congress, held at Madras, appointed a committee to submit a definite scheme of constitution to the next Congress. The Lucknow Congress of 1899 considered and adopted a constitution, the first Rule of which was as follows:—

"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."

The popular interest in the Congress grew by leaps and bounds, and the Government attacked it as a seditious body. The feeling of resentment against the wrongs under which India was suffering had increased considerably and developed into an "Urest" in the first decade

of the twentieth century and finally gave birth to a party which sought, in despair, the breaking of the English connection. The partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon was followed by Russian methods of Government. As President of the Calcutta Congress, 1906, Dadabhai Naoroji claimed for India Self-Government or "Swaraj" like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies. The differences between the Moderates and Extremists became emphasised and it was apprehended by the former that some of the latter believed that the Congress would only work for the complete independence of India and was not for its retention within the British Empire. This led to the split of the Surat Congress in 1907 and a National Convention was formed. The Convention Committee met at Allahabad in April 1908 and drew up a constitution for the Indian National Congress. Article I was as follows:—

*Change in the
Congress
Creed.*

"The objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India a system of Government similar to that enjoyed by the Self-Governing Members of the British Empire and a 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."

This was adopted as the creed of the Congress by the Calcutta and Bankipur Congresses in 1911 and 1912 respectively. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, President of the Madras Congress in 1914, repudiated both the extremes of perpetual subordination of India to England and of separation from England and absolute independence. He asserted that the ideal that we must pursue and which the Congress had set before itself, was that of joint partnership on equal terms. Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Dr. Besant started the Home Rule Leagues and advocated Home Rule. The Great European War of 1914-1919 brought out the principle of Self-determination and evoked new aspirations and ideals in the Indian People. Montagu's declaration of August 1917, promised the establishment of responsible Government in India. The Reforms Act of 1919 passed by Parliament, embodied the Montagu-Chelmsford recommendations. The 35th Congress, Amritsar, 1919, pronounced the Act inadequate, disappointing and unsatisfactory. The Punjab Atrocities and the Khilafat fraud culminated in the Non-Co-Operation movement. The Council elections of 1920 were boycotted by the Indian Nation. As a logical result of the new political spirit, the creed of the Congress was changed at the 35th Congress held at Nagpur in 1920.

The resolution on Article I of the constitution of the Congress was moved by Mahatma Gandhi and carried. It was as follows:—

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

In moving the resolution, he said, "I do not for one moment suggest that we want to end British connection at all cost unconditionally.

*Change in the
Congress
Creed.*

If the British connection is for the advancement of India, we do not want to destroy it ; but if it is inconsistent with our National Self-Respect, then it is our bounden duty to destroy it”.

Lala Lajpat Rai, in seconding the resolution, said, “ We are here assembled in this Congress not to express our individual views but, according to the old traditions of the country to focuss public opinion of this country and to place it in the form of a resolution. What does the change in the creed aim at ? A notice to the British Public and the British Government that although we do not at the present moment aim, directly aim, to go out of this British Empire or what we may call the British Commonwealth, but if we remain in the British Commonwealth or the British Empire, we shall not remain at the dictation of anybody. We shall remain there by our own free choice and free-will, and that free-choice and free-will, we can only exercise and express, when we are allowed to do so by legitimate and peaceful means.”

The mass of the Indian people was moved to Non-Co-Operation and Civil Disobedience in 1921. The Government carried on wholesale repression and the leaders openly refused to recognise the jurisdiction of the British Courts.

At the 36th Congress held at Ahmedabad in December 1921, Maulana Hazrat Mohani moved the following resolution for change in the Congress Creed, but it was lost.

Resolution :—“ The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swaraj or complete independence, free from all foreign control, by the people of India, by all legitimate and peaceful means.”

At the Gaya Congress in 1922 Babu Basanta Kumar Mujumdar moved the following resolution, but it was lost.

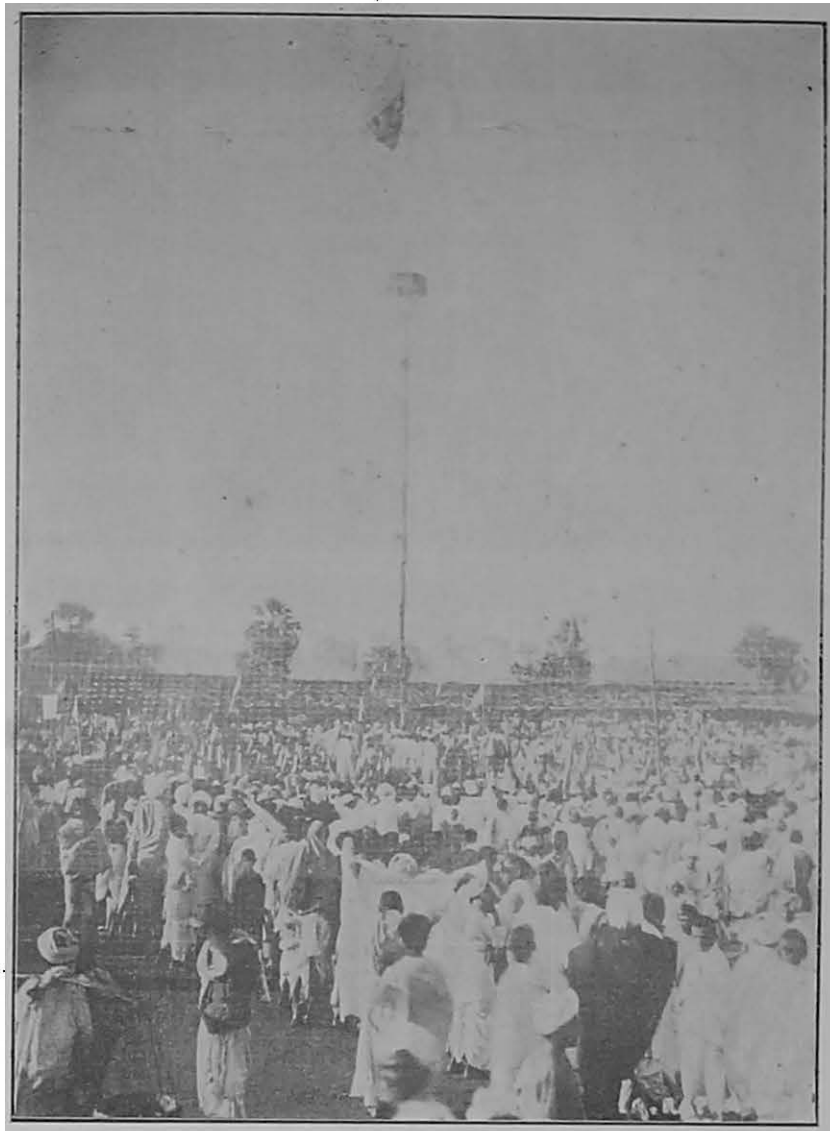
Resolution :—“ The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swaraj, that is, the attainment of complete independence without any foreign connection by the people of India by all legitimate and proper means”.

Again Pandit Ramprasad Misra moved at the Cocanada Congress, 1923, the following resolution, and it was lost.

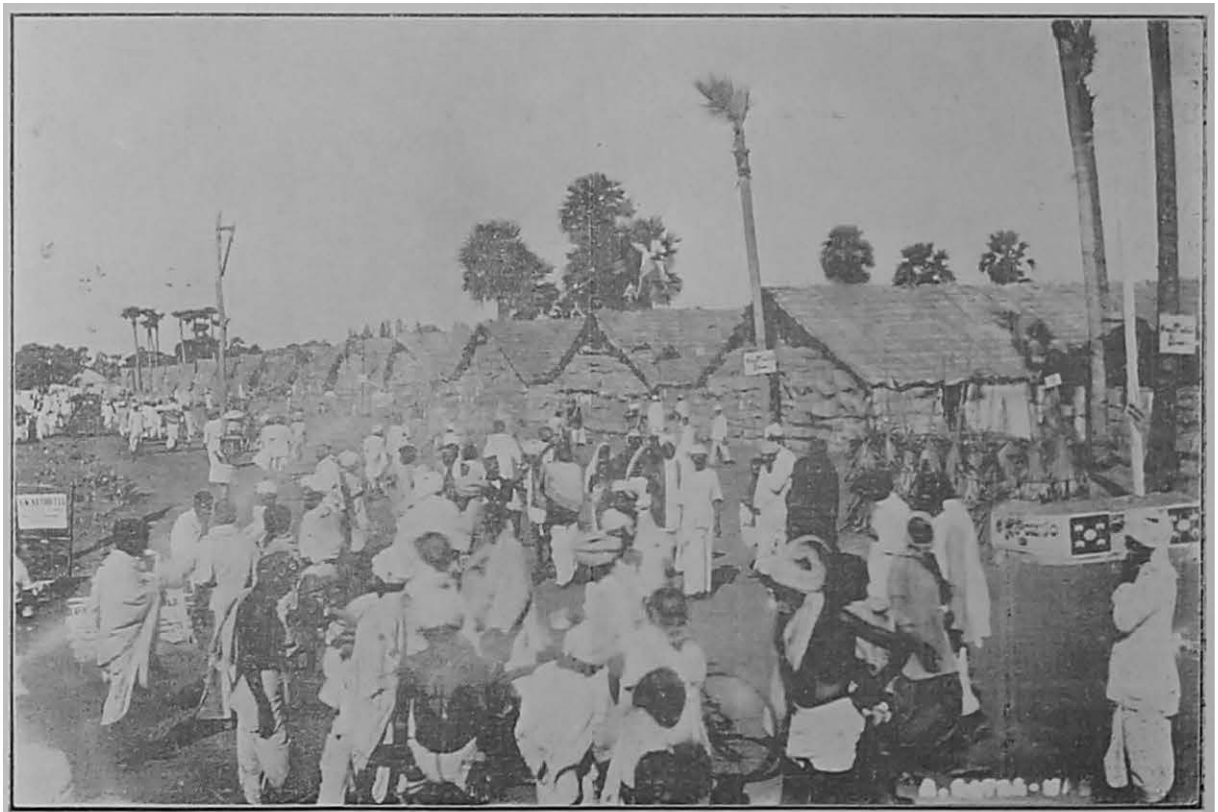
Resolution :—“ The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swarajya i. e., complete independence, by the people of India by legitimate and peaceful means”.

The brief resume shows that there is an ever growing political spirit in India which does not rest satisfied with Dominion status within the British Empire but aims at COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE of India, free from all foreign control.

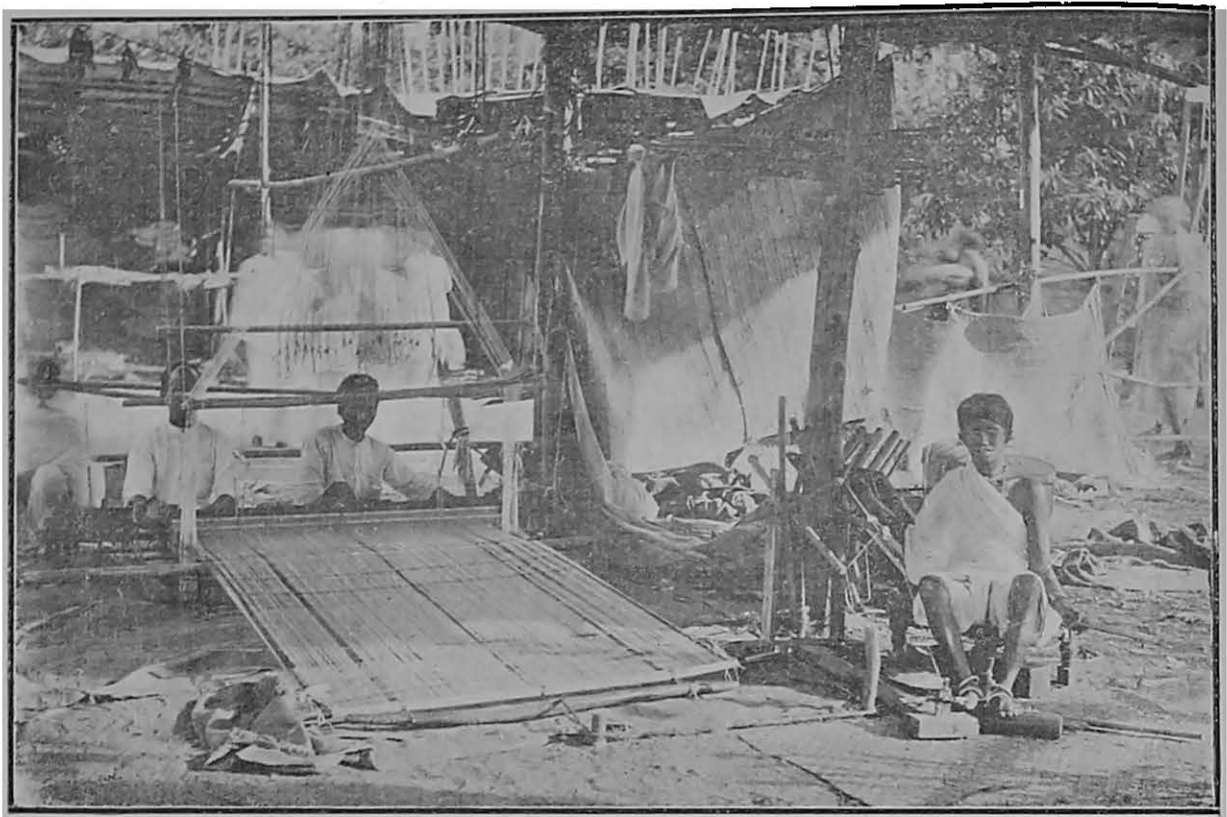
B. S. M.



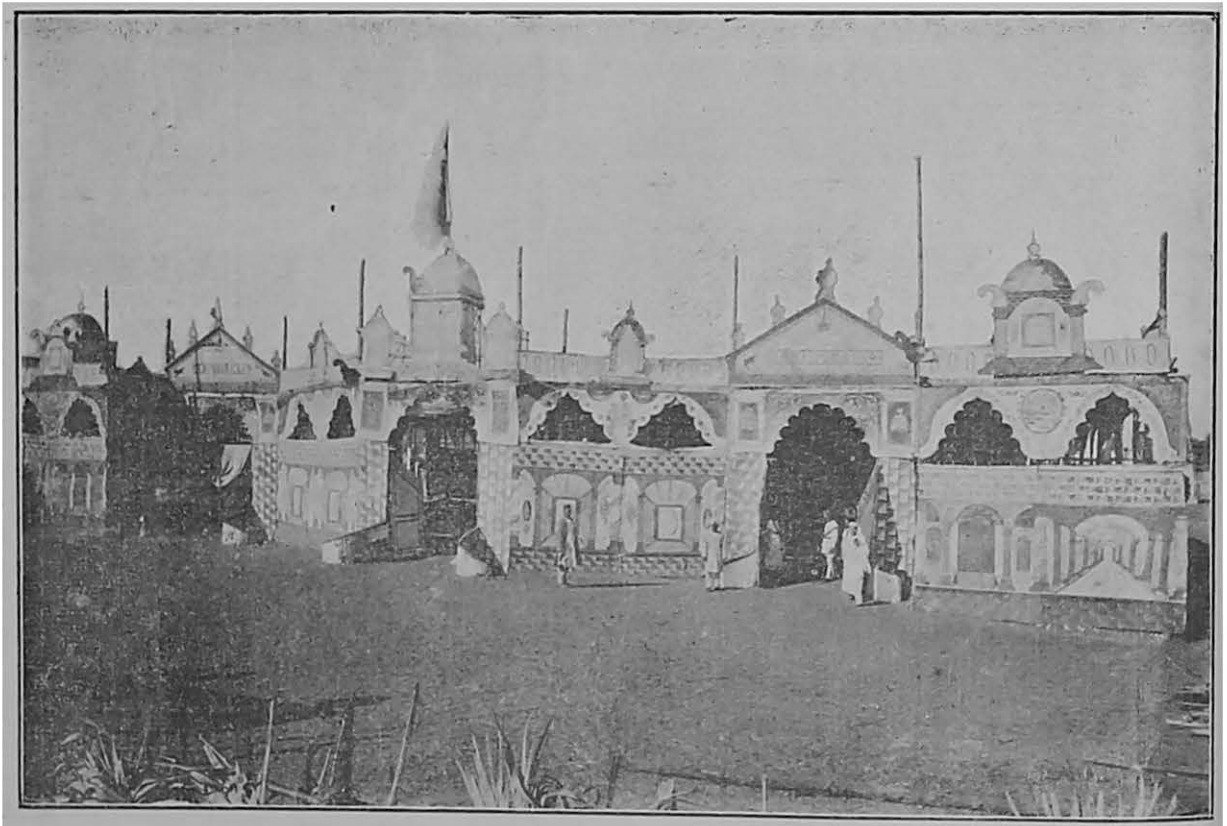
THE CONGRESS PRESIDENT HOISTING THE SWARAJYA FLAG.



DELEGATES' CAMPS IN GANDHINAGAR,



A WEAVING PARTY IN THE EXHIBITION.



THE KHILAFAT PANDAL.

RESOLUTIONS

Passed At The

38th Indian National Congress Held At COCANADA.



On the 28th, 29th, 30th and 31st December 1923 and 1st January 1924.

SECOND DAY.

I.

Condolence Resolution.

This Congress places on record its deep sense of loss at the demise of Sriman S. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar and Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt, who had rendered invaluable services in the cause of the country.

This Congress also records with grief the death of Sriyut Hardeo Narayan Singh and of Pundit Pratap Narayan Bajpeyi, who bravely suffered imprisonment imposed upon them and contracted serious illness during their incarceration and preferred death to release under dishonourable conditions.

II.

Amendments to the Constitution.

Resolved that the following amendments to the Constitution of the Congress be adopted:—

Article II—(a) Instead of “during Christmas holidays”, have “during the last week of December”.

(b) This should read as follows:—

“An extraordinary session of the Congress shall be summoned by the All India Congress Committee on the requisition of a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees or of its own motion, provided that in the latter case due notice has been given and the proposal is supported by two-thirds of the members present. The All India Congress Committee shall determine the place where such session is to be held, and the articles of the Constitution shall apply with such modifications as the All India Congress Committee may consider necessary in respect of each such session.

(b)

Article III. This should read as follows:—

“The Indian National Congress organisation shall consist of the following:—

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

Note.—Provincial, District, Taluka, Tahsil or other conferences may be recognised by the above Committees for educative and propaganda purposes.

Article V. The Punjab and North-Western Frontier Provinces are to be made into one Province. The number of Provinces are to be changed accordingly. Delete the last paragraph beginning with “the existing Provincial Congress Committees” to the end of the Article.

Article VI-(c) should read as follows:—

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall consist of representatives elected annually by the members of the Congress organisations in the Province in accordance with the rules made by the Provincial Congress Committee.

- (d) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall submit an annual report of the Congress work in that province to the All India Congress Committee before the 30th November.
- (e) No person shall take part in elections to any Congress organisation who has not paid his subscription within a time fixed by the rules of the Provincial Congress Committee for the purpose.

Article VII. Add:— “The year of the four anna membership shall be from January 1st to December 31st.”

III.

The Indian National Pact.

Read the draft of the Indian National Pact.

Resolved that the Committee appointed by the Delhi Session of the Congress do call for further opinions and criticisms and submit further

(c)

report by the 31st March, 1924, to the All India Congress Committee for its consideration, and Sirdar Amar Singh Jhabbal be included in the Committee in place of Sirdar Mehtab Singh who is now in jail.

THIRD DAY.

IV.

The Late Sir N. Chandavarkar.

This Congress resolves to place on record its deep sense of the loss sustained by the country by the death of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, an ex-President of the Congress.

V.

The All India Volunteer Organisation.

This Congress is of opinion that in order to train the people of India and make them effective instruments for the carrying out of the national work on the lines laid down by the Congress, it is necessary to have a trained and disciplined body of workers. This Congress, therefore, welcomes the movement for the formation of an All India Volunteer organisation and calls on the Working Committee to take all necessary steps to form such a body of trained volunteers in co-operation with the organisers of the movement and keep control and supervision over it, while giving it freedom of internal management and administration.

VI.

Amendments to the Congress Constitution.

Article VII. Instead of the words "any organisation", insert "any primary organisation".

Article VIII. Instead of paragraph 2, read as follows:—

"No one shall be qualified for election who is not a member of any Congress organisation".

In the third paragraph, instead of "last census", have "census of 1921".

In the seventh paragraph, the words beginning with "The rules framed by each Provincial Congress Committee" to "receipt thereof" should be deleted, and instead of it, the following should be put in at the end of the preceding paragraph:

"Notice of all changes in the rules framed by the Provincial Congress Committee shall forthwith be sent to the General Secretaries of the Congress."

(d)

8th paragraph beginning with "Each Provincial Congress Committee".—Instead of "the 15th day of December every year.....such sessions", have:

"ten days before the date fixed for the holding of the session. No changes shall be made in the list within ten days of the Congress. In case, however, of interim vacancies, the Provincial Congress Committee shall fill them in accordance with the rules made in that behalf, such rules having been communicated previously to the All India Congress Committee:

FOURTH DAY.

VII.

Congress Departments.

Resolved that this Congress hereby calls upon its Working Committee to prepare and submit at as early a date as possible to the All India Congress Committee for its consideration, a scheme of organisation of separate Congress Departments for more efficiently, expeditiously and uninterruptedly carrying out the various items of the programme of constructive work under its supervision and control;

That the Working Committee should also submit a scheme of National Service of paid workers who would carry out the work of the various departments and provide adequate and efficient Central and Provincial Secretariats and local office establishments;

That this Congress authorises the All India Congress Committee to adopt these schemes with such modifications as it may deem necessary and to put them into force at the earliest possible date.

VIII.

Amendments to the Constitution.

Article XVIII. Make the existing paragraph clause (a) and add the following:—

- (b) The accounts of the All India Congress Committee shall be audited every year by an auditor appointed at the annual session. It shall be competent for this auditor to call for and inspect the accounts of the Provincial Congress Committees.
- (c) The All India Congress Committee shall take steps to ensure that the accounts of the Provincial Congress Committees are properly audited.

(e)

Article XIX. Paragraph 4 should read as follows:—

“The allotment shall be as far as possible on the basis of population according to the linguistic distribution of provinces as given in Appendix B.”

Paragraph 7.—Delete the whole paragraph. Instead, have as follows:—

“Casual vacancies in the All India Congress Committee caused by resignation, death or absence from India, or otherwise shall be filled by the Provincial Congress Committee.”

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In the present paragraph 8, change “15” to “30”. Add to this paragraph—“When once such a meeting is requisitioned and convened, additional subjects may be brought up for consideration provided due notice has been given to the members of the same”.

Add after the above paragraph another paragraph as follows:—

“The quorum for the All India Congress Committee shall be fifty”.

IX.

Non-Co-operation.

THE COMPROMISE.

This Congress reaffirms the Non-co-operation resolutions adopted at Calcutta, Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Gaya and Delhi.

Since doubts have been raised by reason of the Non-co-operation Resolution adopted at Delhi with regard to Council-entry, whether there has been any change in the policy of the Congress regarding the Triple Boycott, this Congress affirms that the Principle and policy of that Boycott remain unaltered.

This Congress further declares that the said principle and policy form the foundation of Constructive work, and appeals to the nation to carry out the programme of constructive work as adopted at Bardoli and prepare for the adoption of Civil Disobedience. This Congress calls upon every Provincial Congress Committee to take immediate steps in this behalf with a view to the speedy attainment of our goal.

117

The All India Khaddar Board.

FIFTH DAY.

Secretary's Report.

Resolved that the Secretary's report for the last year be adopted.

(f)

XI.

Greetings to Kenya.

This Congress sends the greetings and sympathy of the Nation to the Indian Community in Kenya and while adhering to the opinion that unless Swarajya is won for India, the sufferings and grievances of Indians abroad cannot be properly remedied, it authorises Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mr. George Joseph to attend the forthcoming Indian Congress in Kenya and study the situation and advise the Indian Community there, as to what steps they should take in carrying on their struggle against the insults and injustices imposed upon them.

XII.

Ceylon Labourers.

This Congress appoints a Committee consisting of Sjts. M. A. Arulanandam, A. V. Dias, Periasundaram, and L. Muthukrishna to investigate into the conditions of life to which the South Indian Labourers in Ceylon are subjected and to make a report to the Working Committee.

XIII.

Satyagraha Committee.

Resolved that this Congress authorises the Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee to perform the duties of the Civil Disobedience Committee appointed at the Delhi sessions of the Congress, and further resolved that the Satyagraha Committee do henceforward cease to exist as a separate Committee.

XIV.

Akali Struggle.

This Congress declares that the attack made by the Government on the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and the Akali Dal is a direct challenge to the right of free association of all Indians for non-violent activities, and being convinced that the blow is aimed at all movements for freedom, resolves to stand by the Sikhs and calls upon Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians, Parsees and all people of India to render all possible assistance to the Sikhs in the present struggle, including assistance with men and money.

This Congress authorises the All India Congress Committee to take all necessary steps in this behalf.

XV.

The All India Khaddar Board.

It is resolved that an All India Khaddar Board be formed consisting of Sjts. Jamnalal Bajaj (Chairman), Vallabhbhai Patel, Maganlal Gandhi, Reva Shanker Jagjivan Jhaveri, Velji Nappu, Belgaumwalla, Shaukat Ali and Shankerlal Banker (Secretary), with full power to organise and carry on Khaddar work throughout India under the general

(g)

supervision of the All India Congress Committee, and to raise funds (including loans) therefor, in addition to the allotments that may be made from the General Funds. The Board shall hold office for three years, any vacancies to be filled in by the rest of the members. A report and statement of accounts shall be presented to the All India Congress Committee at its annual meeting whenever else called for. The Board will act as Central Authority on behalf of the All India Congress Committee with regard to Khaddar work and in co-operation with Provincial Congress Committees. It will supervise and control the Khaddar Boards established by the Provincial Congress Committees and organise new ones in co-operation with the Provincial Congress Committees where they do not exist.

XVI.

Amendments to the Congress Constitution.

Article XXIV. Delete the present article and have as follows:
"The All India Congress Committee shall, at its first meeting after the annual sessions of the Congress, elect 9 members who shall, with the President, General Secretaries and Treasurers, be the Working Committee of the Congress and the executive authority responsible to the All India Congress Committee in all matters".

"All proceedings of the Working Committee shall be placed before the next meeting of the All India Congress Committee."

Article XXIX. Add the following below it:—

"At each sitting of the Congress, the order, in which business shall be transacted, shall be as follows:—

- (a) The resolutions recommended for adoption by the Subjects Committee.
- (b) Any substantive motion not included in (a) but which does not fall under Article XXIX of the constitution 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."

Article XXXI Delete the article, and instead, have the following:—
"The All India Congress Committee shall at its first meeting every year nominate a panel of 12 members to enquire into and finally decide all election disputes. The parties to the dispute shall nominate one each out of this panel to represent the respective disputants and the President shall choose the third."

(h)

Article XXXIII. The Proceedings of the Congress shall be conducted as far as possible in Hindustani, English or the language of the Province may also be used. All other consequential changes are to be made in the Articles and appendices.

XVII.

Indians Abroad.

In view of the humiliating treatment accorded to Indian labourers in various parts of the British Empire, this Congress advises the people of India to consider the question of stopping all kinds of emigration from India for labour purposes and calls upon the Working Committee to appoint a small Committee to examine the matter in all aspects and report to the All India Congress Committee.

XVIII.

Office Bearers.

Resolved that the following Office-bearers be appointed:—

General Secretaries:— Pundit Jawaharalal Nehru.

Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew.

Sjt. Gangadharow Deshpande.

Treasurers:— Sjt. Velji Lakshmsi Nappu.

Sjt. Reva Shanker Jagjivan Jhaveri.

XIX.

Auditors.

Resolved that Messrs. C. H. Sopariwalla and Co., be appointed auditors for the year.

XX.

Thanks to the Out-going Officers.

This Congress places on record its grateful thanks for the valuable services rendered by the out-going General Secretaries.

XXI.

The Next Congress.

This Congress resolves that its next sessions be held in Karnatak.

XXII.

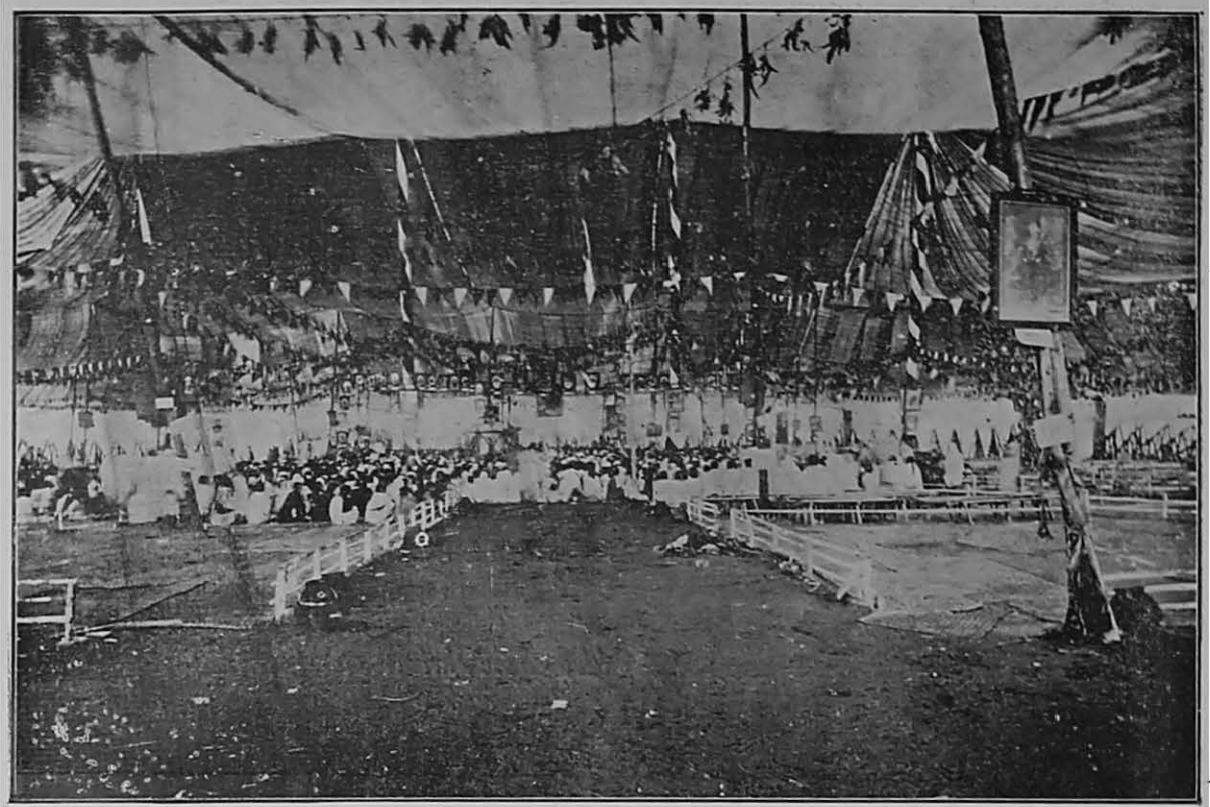
Sjt. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar.

This Congress condemns the continued incarceration of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, and expresses its sympathy with Dr. N. D. Savarkar and other members of his family.

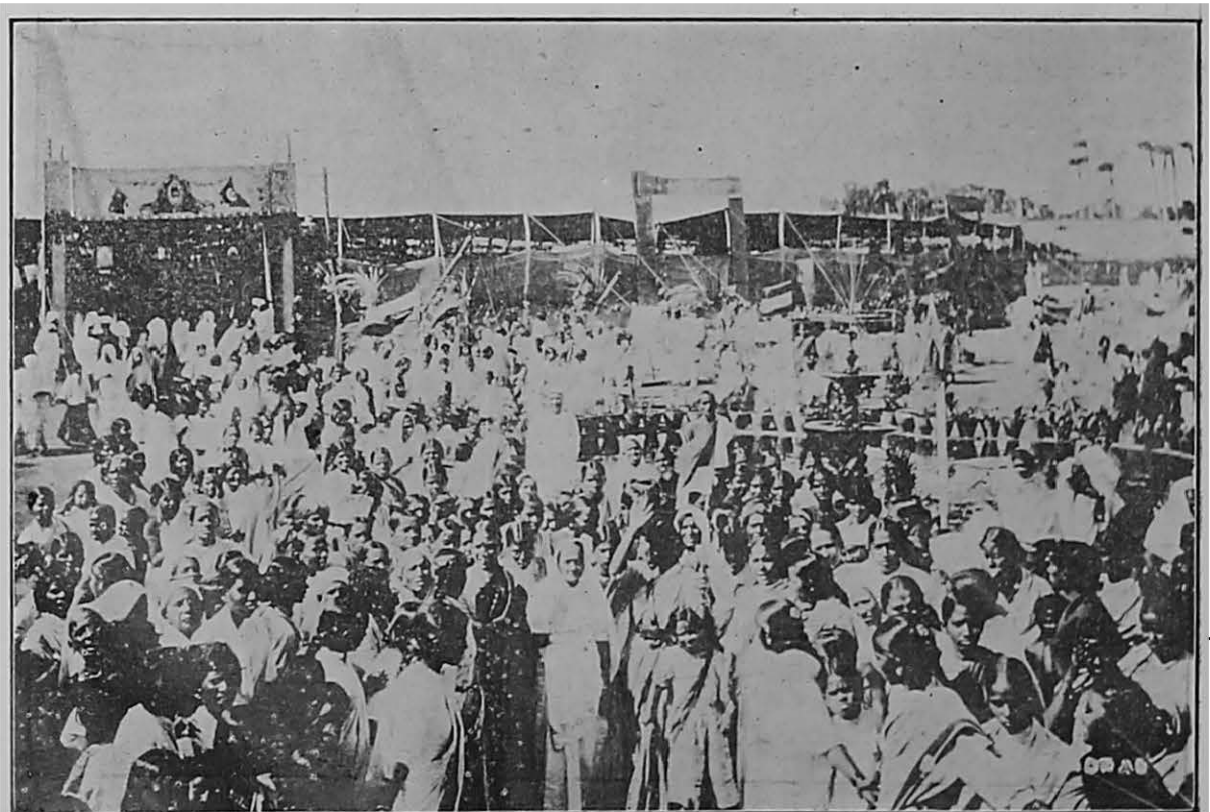
XXIII.

Vote of Thanks





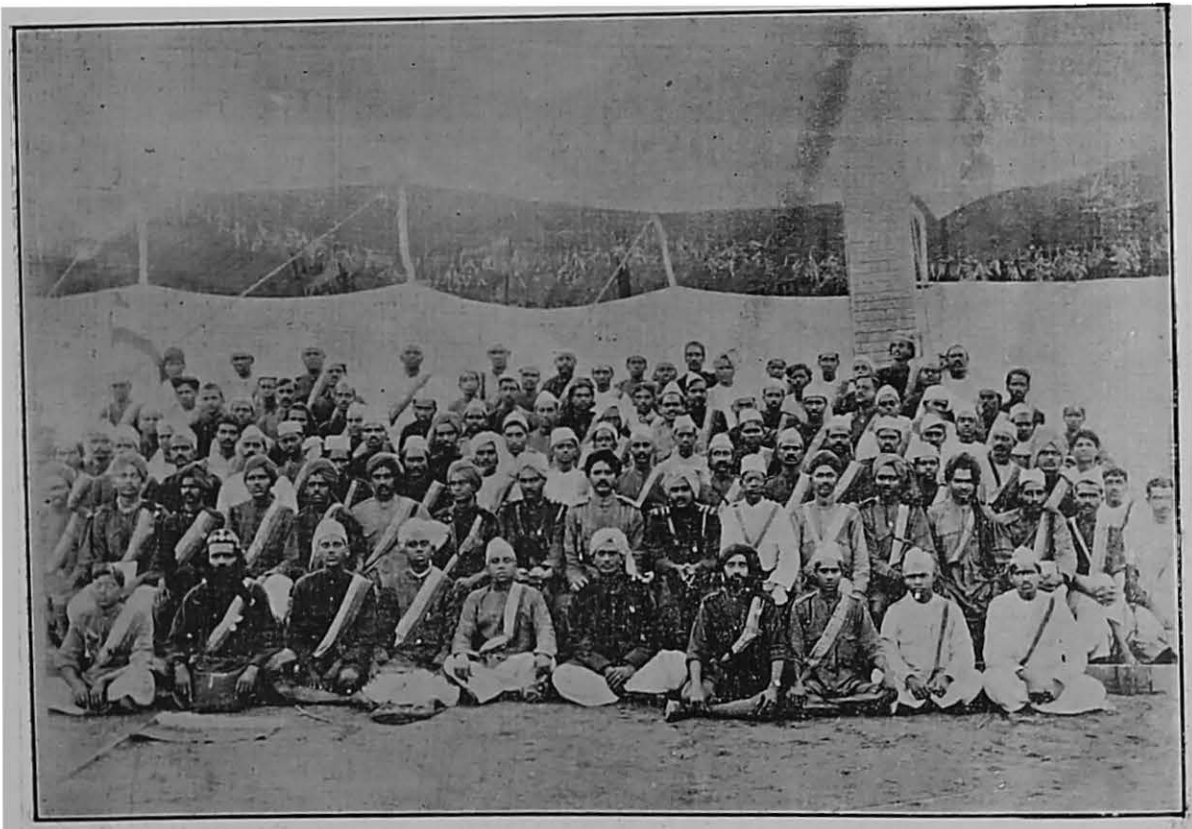
ALL INDIA LADIES' CONFERENCE. COCANADA, 1923



SRIMATI KASTURIBAI GANDHI AND LADIES LEAVING THE PAVILION AFTER THE CONFERENCE.



LADY VOLUNTEERS.



VOLUNTEERS.

CONSTITUTION
OF THE
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AS AMENDED BY
The Cocanada Congress, 1923.

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.

Object.

Article II.—

(a) The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily meet once every year during the last week of December 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.

*Sessions
of the
Congress.*

(b) An extraordinary session of the Congress shall be summoned by the All India Congress Committee on the requisition of a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees or of its own motion, provided that in the latter case due notice has been given and the proposal is supported by two-thirds of the members present. The All India Congress Committee shall determine the place where such session is to be held and the Articles of the Constitution shall apply with such modifications as the All India Congress Committee may consider necessary in respect of each such session.

Article III.—

The Indian National Congress organisation shall consist of the following:—

*Component
parts of the
Congress.*

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

Note: Provincial, District, Taluqa, Tahsil or other Conferences may be organised by the above Committees for educative and propaganda purposes.

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 attained the age of 18 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.

*Congress
membership.*

*Article V.—**Provincial
Congress
Committees.*

The following shall be the provinces with head-quarters mentioned against them, but in every case the respective Provincial Congress Committee shall have the power to alter the head-quarters from time to time.

| <i>Province</i> | | <i>Head-quarters</i> |
|--|--------------------------|----------------------|
| (1) Ajmer-Merwara and Rajputana | (Hindustani) | Ajmer |
| (2) Andhra | (Telugu) | Bezwada |
| (3) Assam | (Assamese) | Gauhati |
| (4) Behar | (Hindustani) | Patna |
| (5) Bengal and Surma Valley | (Bengali) | Calcutta |
| (6) Berar | (Marathi) | Amraoti |
| (7) Burma | (Burmese) | Rangoon |
| (8) Central Provinces | (Hindustani) | Jubbulpore |
| (9) Central Provinces | (Marathi) | Nagpur |
| (10) City of Bombay | (Marathi and Gujarati) | Bombay |
| (11) Delhi | (Hindustani) | Delhi |
| (12) Gujarat | (Gujarati) | Ahmedabad |
| (13) Karnatak | (Cannada) | Gadag |
| (14) Kerala | (Malayalam) | Calicut |
| (15) Maharashtra | (Marathi) | Poona |
| (16) Punjab and N. W. Frontier Province | (Punjabi and Hindustani) | Lahore |
| (17) Sind | (Sindhi) | Hyderabad |
| (18) Tamil Nadu | (Tamil) | Trichinopoly |
| (19) United Provinces | (Hindustani) | Allahabad |
| (20) Utkal | (Oriya) | Cuttack |

Indian States.

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.

*Article VI.—**Provincial
Organisation.*

(a) There shall be a Provincial Congress Committee in and 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 Congress organisations in the province in accordance with the rules made by the Provincial Congress Committee.

(d) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall submit an annual report of the Congress work in that province to the All India Congress Committee before the 30th November.

*Provincial
Organisation.*

(e) No person shall take part in elections to any Congress organisation who has not paid his subscription within a time fixed by the rules of the Provincial Congress Committee for the purpose.

Article VII.—

Every person not disqualified under Article IV and paying a subscription of four annas per year shall be entitled to become a member of any primary organisation controlled by the Provincial Congress Committee, provided that no person shall become a member of two parallel Congress organisations at one and the same time.

Franchise.

The year of the four-anna membership shall be from January 1st to December 31st.

Article VIII.—

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

*Electorates
and
Delegates.*

No one shall be qualified for election who is not a member of any Congress organisation.

The number of delegates shall be not more than one for every fifty thousand or its fraction of the inhabitants of the province of its jurisdiction, including the Indian States therein, in accordance with the census of 1921: 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.

The members of the All India Congress Committee shall be ex-officio delegates to the Congress, the Provincial Congress committees deducting the number of the elected and, if any, the ex-officio members of the All India Congress Committee in their respective provinces from the number of delegates they are entitled to return.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall frame rules for the election of delegates, due regard being had to the return of women delegates and the representation of minorities, special interests or classes needing special protection.

The rules shall provide for the organisation of electorates and shall prescribe the procedure to be adopted for securing the proportional representation, by a single transferable vote or by any other method, of every variety of political opinion. Notice of all changes in the rules framed by the Provincial Congress Committee shall forthwith be sent to the General Secretaries of the Congress.

D

Electorates and Delegates.

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 10 days before the date fixed for the holding of the session. No changes shall be made in the list within ten days of the Congress. In case, however, of interim vacancies, the Provincial Congress Committee shall fill them in accordance with the rules made in that behalf, such rules having been communicated previously to the All India Congress Committee.

Article IX.—

Provincial Subscriptions.

(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.

Subscription in arrears.

(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 by him.

Article X.—

Delegation Certificate.

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.

Article XI.—

Delegate's Fee.

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.

Article XII.—

Voting at Congress.

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

Article XIII.—

Reception Committee.

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 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, 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 four months of the session of the Congress. *Reception Committee.*

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 Presidentship 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 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 the person so elected as President belong to the province in which the Congress is to be held. *Election of the President.*

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

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.

Article XVIII.—

(a) 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. *Audit.*

Audit.

(b) The accounts of the All India Congress Committee shall be audited every year by an auditor appointed at the annual session. It shall be competent for this auditor to call for and inspect the accounts of the Provincial Committees.

(c) The All India Congress Committee shall take steps to ensure that the accounts of the Provincial Congress Committees are properly audited.

Article XIX.—

*All-India
Congress
Committee.*

The All India Congress Committee shall consist of 350 members, exclusive of ex-officio members.

The ex-officio members shall be the elected President, past Presidents of the Congress, if they sign Article I of this Constitution and are members of any Congress organisation, the General Secretaries and the 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, as far as possible, on the basis of population according to the linguistic distribution of provinces, as given in Appendix B.

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

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

Casual vacancies in the All India Congress Committee caused by resignation, death, absence from India, or otherwise, shall be filled by the Provincial Congress Committee.

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 30 members thereof, who shall state in their requisition the definite purpose for which they desire a meeting of the All India Congress Committee. When once such a meeting is requisitioned and convened, additional subjects may be brought up for consideration, provided due notice has been given to the members of the same.

The quorum for the All India Congress Committee shall be fifty.

The All India Congress Committee shall hold office till the 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 persons so elected.

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.

*Function of
A. I. C. C.*

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 and two Treasurers, who shall be annually elected by the Congress. The General Secretaries 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 Committees.

Article XXIV.—

The All India Congress Committee shall, at its first meeting after the annual sessions of the Congress, elect 9 members who shall, with the President, General Secretaries and Treasurers, be the Working Committee of the Congress and the executive authority responsible to the All India Congress Committee in all matters.

*Working
Committee.*

All proceedings of the Working Committee shall be placed before the next meeting of the All India Congress Committee.

Article XXV.—

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

*Subjects
Committee.*

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 resolutions 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.

Article XXIX.—

*Contentious
Subjects
and Interests
of Minorities.*

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.

Article XXX.—

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

(a) The Resolutions recommended for adoption by the Subjects Committee.

(b) Any substantive motion not included in (a) but which does not fall under Article XXIX of the Constitution 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.

Article XXXI.—

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 XXXII.—

The All India Congress Committee shall, at its first meeting every year, nominate a panel of 12 members to enquire into and finally decide all election disputes coming before it. The parties to the dispute shall nominate one each out of this panel to represent the respective disputants, and the President shall choose the third.

Article XXXIII.—

The proceedings of the Congress shall be conducted, as far as possible, in Hindustani, English or the language of the province may also be used.

J

APPENDIX A.

(VIDE ART. X OF THE CONSTITUTION.)

I hereby certify that

Full Name.....

Occupation.....

Age.....

Sex.....

Religion.....

Address.....

is a member of the.....Congress Committee and

has been duly elected by.....Congress Committee as

a delegate to the Indian National Congress to be held at.....

in the month of.....

.....

Secretary,

.....Congress Committee..



K

APPENDIX B.

Number of members of the All India Congress Committee allotted to the different provinces.

| <i>Province.</i> | <i>No. of members.</i> |
|--|------------------------|
| 1. Ajmer | 7 |
| 2. Andhra | 24 |
| 3. Assam | 5 |
| 4. Behar | 33 |
| 5. Bengal and Surma Valley | 48 |
| 6. Berar | 7 |
| 7. Burma | 12 |
| 8. Central Provinces (Hindustani) | 13 |
| 9. Central Provinces (Marathi) | 7 |
| 10. City of Bombay | 7 |
| 11. Delhi | 8 |
| 12. Gujarat | 12 |
| 13. Karnatak | 15 |
| 14. Kerala | 8 |
| 15. Maharashtra | 16 |
| 16. Punjab and N. W. Frontier Province | 37 |
| 17. Sindh | 9 |
| 18. Tamil Nadu | 25 |
| 19. United Provinces | 45 |
| 20. Utkal | 12 |

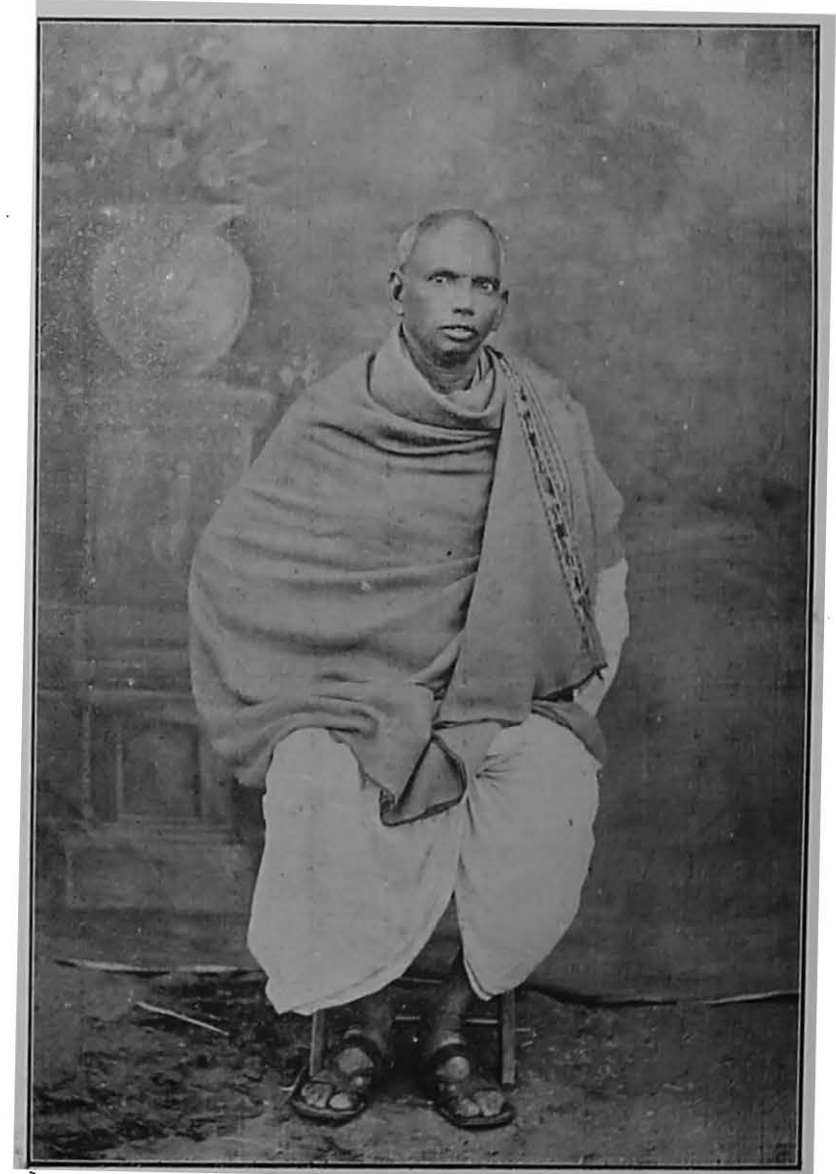


38th Indian National Congress,

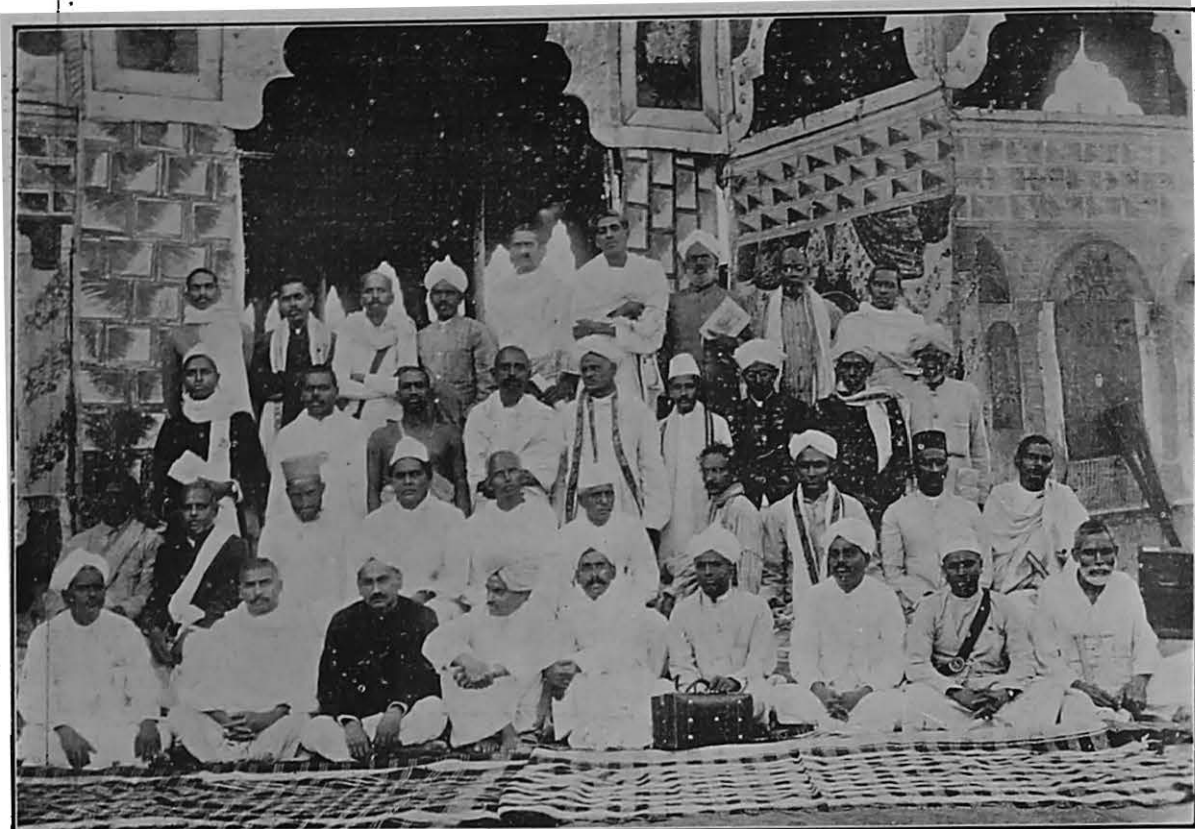


MAULANA MOHAMED ALI,
PRESIDENT.

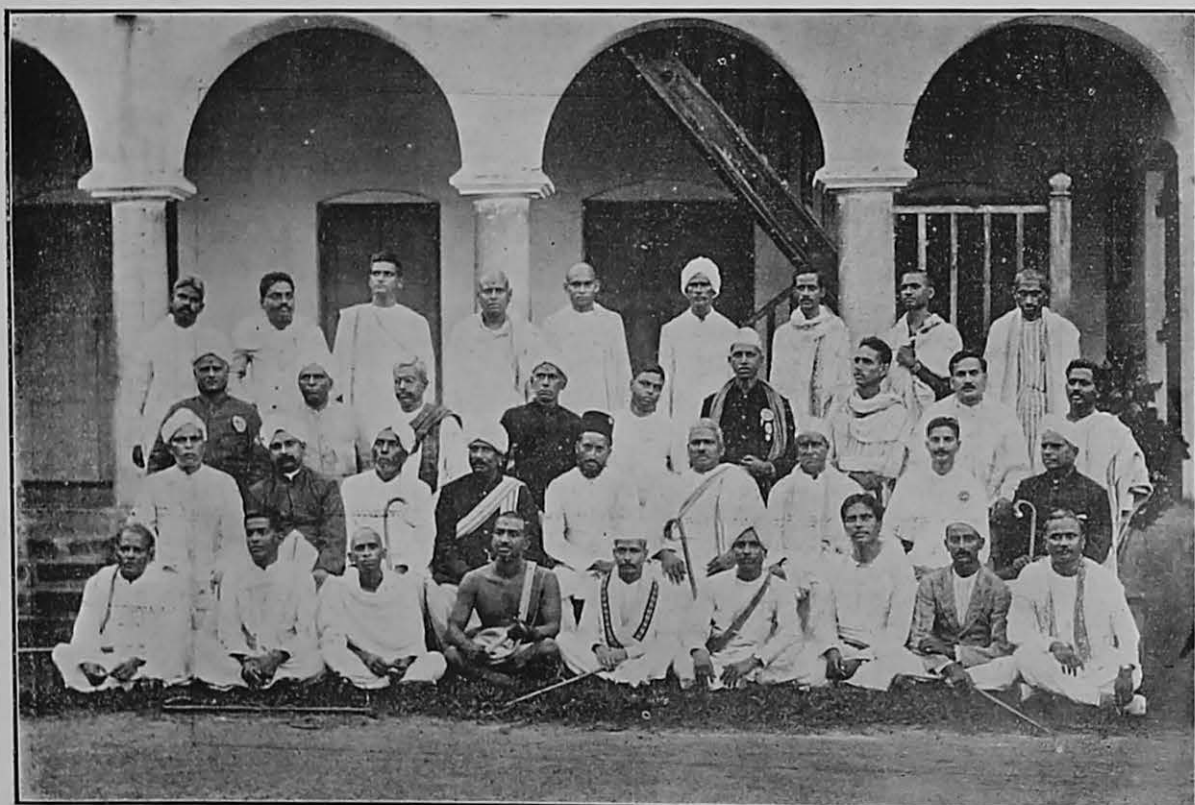
COCANADA.
1923.



Desabhakta KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA,
Chairman, Reception Committee.



MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.



RESIDENT WORKERS.

The Indian National Congress,

38th Session.

Friday, the 28th December, 1923.

OPENING DAY.

*Opening of
the Session.*

The 38th Session of the Indian National Congress assembled in Cocanada on Friday, the 28th December, 1923 at 3 P. M., in a spacious and magnificent pavilion specially made of pure Andhra Khaddar. It was a momentous session as the whole country was anxious for unity among Congressmen and this was achieved to the satisfaction of all. The Pavilion was put up in the Municipal Park site of Gandhinagar and provided accommodation for over 12,000 people. The decorations within were simple and attractive. The portraits of all the ex-Presidents of the Congress and the prominent national leaders were beautifully arranged in front of the President's Mantap. It was occupied by the members of the All India Congress Committee on one side and the distinguished visitors on the other. The delegates were seated in a semi-circle on the floor in front and the members of the Reception Committee and visitors were accommodated on a gallery all round. Lady delegates and visitors were seated in a special segment close to the right side of the Mantap but *ghosha* provision was dispensed with. The number of members of the Reception Committee was the highest on record in the history of the Congress, being 4181.

Over three hours before the commencement of the session, the pandal was full with delegates, visitors and members of the Reception Committee. The atmosphere was surcharged with unbounded joy and enthusiasm and people were exhibiting great eagerness for an early commencement of the proceedings.

The President Maulana Mahomed Ali arrived in a big procession accompanied by Deshbandhu C. R. Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and Sreeman C. Vijayaraghavachariar, ex-Presidents of the Congress, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Srimati Sarojini Devi, Dr. Ansari, Mr. Vallabhai J. Patel, Dr. Kitchlew, Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar, Mr. Vithal-bhai Patel, Sirdar Mangal Singh, Desabhakti Konda Venkatappa, Chairman of the Reception Committee and several distinguished leaders and members of the Reception Committee.

When the President arrived at the pavilion the Akali Sikhs formed the guard of honour under the lead of Sirdar B. Shan Singh.

Opening of
the Session.

The vast assembly sprang to their feet and accorded the most enthusiastic ovation to the President, with a tremendous outburst of cheering and shouts of Vande Mataram, Alla Ho Akbar, Mahatma Gandhiki Jai and so on.

The proceedings commenced with the exquisite chant in *Ghana* by a choir of twenty Vedic scholars, of the following hymn from the Yajur-Veda, usually addressed by the performer of *Yagjna* to the Sacrificial Ghee.

॥ रु॒त्सामा॑ भू॒तेना॑ वि॒शेत्या॑ह॒ मनो॑वैप्राजाप॒त्यं प्रा॒जा प॒त्यो य॒ज्ञो
मन॑ए॒व य॒ज्ञमा॒त्म न्य॑त्ते वा॒गस्यै॑न्द्री स॒पत्क्ष॑यणी॒वाचा॑ मेन्द्रि॒येणा॑ वि॒शे
त्या॑ है॒न्द्रीवै॑ वा॒ग्वाच॑मे॒ वैन्द्री॑ मा॒त्मन्य॑त्ते ॥

[Translation of the above.]

Oh, Goddess of the Sacrificial Ghee, Thou art the Mind and the First-born of the Creator. Mayst Thou enter me with all purity as the means for the fulfilment of this Sacrifice. Thou, the Voice of Lord Indra and the Destroyer of Our enemies, do Thou enter my soul with all the might of the Lord, physical and spiritual.

This was followed by a prayer from the Koran by a Maulvi.

The Vande Mataram song was then sung in chorus and a batch of girls sang a Welcome song in Telugu.

Mr. Aktaran Ali gave a splendid recitation of an Urdu Ghazal, composed by the President.

Telugu verses on Bharat Mata and Andhra Mata were recited by Sjt. K. Narasimham of Cocanada.

Pandit Vishnu Digambar and party of Bombay, roused the audience by the famous Hindi song, inviting the sons of India for the service of their Motherland.

Deshabhakta Konda Venkatappayya, Chairman of the Reception Committee, then read his address of Welcome in Hindi as follows :—

Address of
Welcome by
Mr. Konda
Venkatappayya
Pantulu,
Chairman,
Reception
Committee.

ॐ

वन्दे मातरम्



नित्यं निरावृति निजानुभवैक मानसानंदधाम जगदंशुर वीजमेकम् ।

दिदेशकालकलनादि समस्त हस्त मर्दा सहं दिशतु शर्म महन्महोवः ॥ १ ॥

यथा तथापि नः पूज्यो यत्र तत्रापिऽथोचितः ।

योपि वा सोपि वा योसौ देवस्तस्मै नमोस्तुते ॥ २ ॥

मौलाना मुहम्मद अलि साहब, प्यारे प्रतिनिधि भाई-बहनो तथा महिलाओ और सज्जनों ।

मैं आन्ध्रदेशवासियों की तरफ से आपको हृदय पूर्वक स्वागत देता हूँ । आज का यह दिन आंध्र देश के इतिहास में वेजोड़ है । भोग्त वर्ष के स्वातंत्र्य संपादन के लिए कटिबद्ध और सम्पूर्ण त्यागमूर्ति आप लोगों का सम्मान और सत्कार करने का सौभाग्य आज ही आन्ध्रदेश को मिला है । भारत वर्ष के प्रसिद्ध प्राचीन इतिहास में एक समय आन्ध्रलोगों ने प्रधान स्थान प्राप्त कर उस के गौरव को बढ़ाया था । ईसा से लगभग ३०० साल पहले कृष्णा नदी के किनारे “धान्य कटक” को जो आज कल “धरणि कोटा” के नाम से मशहूर है, अपनी राजधानी बनाकर पूरव और पश्चिम समुद्र के बीच में आए हुए देश का शासन किया और उत्तर भारत में अपने राज्य को फैला कर मगध देश को आपने काबू में कर पाटलीपुत्र में “आन्ध्रसाम्राज्य” की स्थापना की थी और ४०० वर्ष तक राज्य किया । ‘तक्षशिला’ ‘नालन्दा’ जैसे एक भारी विश्वविद्यालय इस ‘धान्यकटक’ में स्थापित किया था ।

प्राचीन काल में यहाँ के बौद्ध स्तूपों की चित्रकला बहुत ऊँचे दर्जे की थी । यहाँ तक कि एक चित्र-स्वचित्त पुगानी शिला को उठाकर अंग्रेजोंने लंडन के अजायबघर में रखलिया । मुगलों के राज्य काल में भी “विजयनगर साम्राज्य” की स्थापना कर भारतीय सभ्यता का चिर काल तक लालन पालन किया था । लेकिन जनता के अभ्युदय पर ख्याल न रखने वाले अंग्रेजों की हुकूमत के अन्दर आने के बाद अन्यभाषा भाषी प्रजा के साथ मिल कर शासित होने के कारण आन्ध्र जनता का व्यक्तित्व छिप गया । मगर वंग विच्छेद के समय सारे हिन्दुस्थान में फैले हुए ‘स्वदेशी आन्दोलन’ के प्रभाव से जाग कर आन्ध्र लोगोंने फिर से कौमियत के भावों को फैलाया । और उसे मजबूत करने के लिये भाषानुसार सारे हिन्दुस्थान को नये नये हिस्सों में बाँटने का ‘आन्ध्र-आन्दोलन’ शुरू किया । उस विभाग विषय को महासभामें मंजूर कराने की कोशिश कर प्रार्थना की कि आन्ध्र देश स्वतन्त्र प्रान्त बना दिया जाय । इस प्रयत्न में अमर-कीर्ति स्वर्गीय लोकमान्य तिलक जी ने हमें जो सहायता दी उसमें हमेशा कृतज्ञता पूर्वक याद करता हूँ । इसीलिये कांग्रेस के कामों में आंध्र-देश एक अलग प्रान्त के रूपमें स्वीकार कर लिया गया । तब से आंध्रदेशवासियों को अपनी असन्तुष्टता जाहिर करने का थोड़ा बहुत मौका मिलता रहा है । बाद विशाल हृदय मूक्ष्म दर्शी महात्मा गान्धी जी ने इस भाषा विभागानुसार प्रान्तीय विभाग के प्रभाव को असहयोग आन्दोलन के आरंभ में भी बहुत जखरी समझ कर सारे भारत वर्षको भाषानुसार प्रान्त २ में बाँट दिया । इस लिये भिन्न २ प्रान्त वासी अपनी शक्ति भर देश की जातीयता की उन्नति के लिये कोशिश कर रहे हैं । और इसी कारण आज आप को बुला कर सम्मान करने का सौभाग्य हमें मिला है । सारे आन्ध्र में यह गोदावरी जिला

Address of
Welcome by
Mr. Konda
Venkatappayya
Pantulu,
Chairman,
Reception
Committee.

मशहूर है। यह जिला गोदावरी के पवित्र जल से उपजाऊ और सम्पन्न है। ११ वीं सदी में चालुक्य वंशालङ्कार आन्ध्रभाषा पोषक 'राज राज नरेन्द्र' नाम का एक प्रसिद्ध राजा होगया है। उसने गोदावरी के किनारे वर्तमान राजमहेन्द्री को राजधानी बना कर इस देश पर राज्य किया था। उसकी सभा में आन्ध्र कवियों में श्रेष्ठ और 'आन्ध्र महाभारत' का बनाने वाला 'नन्नय्य भट्टारक' था। उसने 'आन्ध्र महाभारत' 'राज राजनरेन्द्र' को समर्पित किया। तब से लेकर बड़े २ राजा, वीर, महा कवि वेद वेदांग के ज्ञानी और महापुरुषों ने अपने इतिहास से इस देश को यशस्वी बनाया। मशहूर समाज सुधारक, पत्रिका सम्पादक, कवीश्वर स्वर्गीय कंदुकूरि वीरशलिङ्गम पन्तुलु जी ने अनेक आन्ध्र ग्रन्थों की रचना कर अपनी मातृभाषा के साहित्य की उन्नति की; और इस समय आन्ध्र देश में जो कौमी जोर फैला हुआ है उसका अंकुर उन्होंने रोपा था और अपने जीवन को राजमहेन्द्री में ही बिताया था; आज भी यह जिला ऐश्वर्य और विद्या तथा जागृति में आगे है। सारे आन्ध्र देश में श्रेष्ठ नगर इस काकिनाड़ा में राष्ट्रीय महासभा का समावेश करने के लिये इस जिले के और उस में भी खास कर गाँववालों का जोर मुख्य है। मगर आन्ध्र लोगों को इस महासभा का भार उठाने का यही पहला मौका है। यद्यपि हम कलकत्ता, बंबई, अहमदाबाद इत्यादि जैसी राजधानियों के सरीखे आप को आराम पहुँचाने में असमर्थ है तौभी दिलो जान से आप का आदर करने में, हम किसी से कम नहीं। इस लिये अगर सत्कार करने में—आप की खिदमत करने में, हम से कहीं भूल हो जायगी तो मैं आपसे माफ़ फरमाने की निन्त करता हूँ। यह भारी जलसा कितना भी शानदार क्यों न हो तौभी ऐसे समय यहाँ जगत्पूज्य, भारतीयश्रेष्ठ और असहयोग आन्दोलन के सारथी महात्मा गांधी जी के गैरहाजिरी की कमी किसी तरह भी पूरी न होगी। जिस महापुरुष ने हिन्दुस्तान को गुलामी से छुड़ाने के लिये अभूतपूर्व अहिंसामय असहयोग आन्दोलन को शुरू कर राष्ट्रीय महा सभा जिस काम को छत्तीस साल से नहीं कर सकी थी उसी काम को पूरा कर 'स्वराज्यकांक्षा' को सारे भारत वर्ष में फैला दिया, वे महापुरुष महात्माजी अब 'जेल' में बन्द रहें—यह बात हमारी कम्जोरी साबित करती है।

सन १९२१ ई. (उनिस सौ इक्कीस) में मुल्क के तमाम बड़े बड़े नेताओं ने उनके उपदेश को अपने सिरपर रख कर उनके साथ-साथ इस आन्दोलन को चलाया। देश के छोटे छोटे बच्चे भी यह अच्छी तरह समझते हैं कि यदि इस आन्दोलन का कार्यक्रम ठीक अच्छी तरह चलाया जाता तो अवश्य ही हमें फतह मिलती। लेकिन अभीष्ट विजय को नहीं पाना हमारे सिद्धान्त में कोई त्रुटि जाहिर करता है। जनता में दृढता, दीक्षा, कार्यतत्परता और मुस्तैदी न होने के कारण ही आज स्वराज्य हम से दूर है।

महात्मा जी की गिरफ्तारी के बाद यह आन्दोलन ढीला पड़ गया। नेताओं में मतभेद शुरू हुआ। कई नेताओं ने यह दलील पेश की कि कौंसिल में जाकर रुकावट डालना ही हमारा कर्तव्य है। कुछ दूसरे नेताओं ने इसका विरोध कर कहा कि 'सिविल डिस्पैण्डिन्स' के लिये तैयारी करना ही हमारा मुख्य काम है। इस बहसा-बहसी में ही हमारे दो वर्ष व्यर्थ चले गये। किसी तरह दिल्ली में कौंसिल के पक्षपातियों को कौंसिल में घुसने का मौका देकर फिर असहयोग आन्दोलन में ही विश्वास प्रकट कर तय किया कि रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम के लिये कमर कस कर तैयार होना चाहिये। मगर कौंसिल के चुनाव के जोश में रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम का कुछ भी काम नहीं हुआ। जब कौंसिल प्रवेश का मौका दिया गया तो जनता की नजर कौंसिल पर जाने लगी।

अब समी प्रान्तों में चुनाव का काम स्वतन्त्र हो चुका है। और भावी कार्य-प्रणाली के बारे में फिर हम में बहसा बहसी शुरू हुई। अब तक के कामों से जो कुछ सफलता उन्हें मिली है उस से

खुब खुश होकर कुछ स्वराज्य वादी अपने कार्यक्रम को इस महासभा में निश्चय कराने के इच्छुक देख पड़ते हैं। मगर कौंसिल प्रवेश के लिये थोड़ा भी मौका देते ही इस आन्दोलन में अविश्वास रखने वाले बहुत से लोग 'स्वराज्य वादि' नाम रख कर कांग्रेस के दूसरे कार्यक्रमों को छोड़ कर कई २ जगहों में तो बखिलाफ काम करने लगे हैं। इस लिये कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि बहिष्कार त्रय मूलक असहयोग में इस महासभा को पूर्ण विश्वास जाहिर करना बहुत जरूरी है। दिल्ली में कौंसिल प्रवेश का मौका दे कर भी असहयोग-के तत्वों में पूरा यकीन रख कर रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम को पूरा करने का निश्चय किया है। परन्तु उसके खिलाफ काम करना बड़े दुःख की बात है।

देश की स्वतन्त्रता के पाने में असहयोग आन्दोलन ही हमारा शरण है—ऐसा समझ कर ही हम अब तक काम करते रहे हैं। तोभी कर्म फल नहीं पाने से असन्तुष्ट होकर कार्य को छोड़ बैठना बिल्कुल अनुचित है। कुछ लोग तो कहते हैं कि इस कार्य क्रम में सुधार करना चाहिये और कई लोग इसे वर्तमान रूप में ही रखना चाहते हैं। इस कारण हमारा कर्तव्य निश्चित नहीं हो पाता और काम भी आगे नहीं चलता। आज कौंसिल प्रवेश का काम खतम होगया है। अब उस को छोड़ कर सब लोग एक मत हो रचनात्मक कार्य क्रम में लग जायें। जो कौंसिल में जा चुके हैं वे ही लोग कौंसिल में कार्य क्रम को आपस में तय कर लें। वैसा न कर इस महा सभा में कौंसिल के कार्य क्रम का प्रस्ताव लाना उचित नहीं है। फिर वह बहसा बहसी बढ़ जाने से रचनात्मक कार्य क्रम रुक जायगा।

कुछ लोग यह तजवीज कर रहे हैं कि बहिष्कार त्रय को फिरसे जोशीला बनाया जाय या उस में कुछ सुधार किया जाय, नहीं तो बिल्कुल छोड़ दिया जाय। कई लोगों का मतलब यह है कि इस बहिष्कार त्रय के विषय में कार्यरूप में जनता का जोश न होने से वह बहिष्कार त्रय सिर्फ नाम मात्र का ही रह गया है इस लिये आन्दोलन पर कोई श्रद्धा नहीं रखते हैं। यह सच है कि जनता की इस में पूरी सहानुभूति नहीं है। कार्यरूप का दृष्टान्त 'गिनती' में थोड़ा है तोभी 'प्रभाव' में बहुत बढ़ा देख पड़ता है। इस प्रभाव से जनता को जोश मिलता है। सन् १९२१ ई. में सुप्रसिद्ध भारत के महापुरुष पण्डित मोती लालजी और देशबन्धु चित्तरंजन दास जी सरीखे बड़े लोगोंने अपने पेशे को छोड़ और जिन्दगी के सुख भोग त्याग कर महात्मा गान्धी के सन्देश को शिरोधार्य किया। देश की बन्धन विमुक्ति के प्रयत्न में सारे देश में और दिहातों में बहुत से लोग तैयार हुए थे। आज भी कई लोग वैसे हैं। यह ठीक है कि कभी भी तीस करोड़ लोग महात्मा गान्धी का तत्व आचरण में नहीं ला सकते। मगर कम से कम कुछ लोगों को तो आदर्श सिद्धि के लिये कार्य-रूपमें तत्पर होना जरूरी है। इसलिये कि इनके प्रभाव से एक समय इस आन्दोलन को प्रज्वालित होने का मौका मिलेगा। सिर्फ एक साल तक ही कुछ ही लोगों की कोशिश से बहिष्कार त्रय युक्त असहयोग आन्दोलन से सरकार काँप उठी थी! एक सौ पचास वर्षों से गड़ी हुई अंगरेजी सल्तनत की नींव डगमगा गयी। पाताल लोक तक फैली हुई इस सरकार रूपी महा वृक्ष की जड़ इस असहयोग की तूफानी हवा से हिल गयी। इसी आन्दोलन के प्रभाव को क्या मुला दें? इस आन्दोलन के लिये कितने लोग अपने पेशे को छोड़ बैठे। कितने जेल गये! कितनी तकलीफें उठायां! कितना धन खर्च किया! कैसी २ लम्बी चौड़ी बार्ते कहीं! अब उस आन्दोलन को छोड़ बैठना निरा पागलपन होगा। पुण्य श्लोक महात्मा गान्धी जी के कारागार में बन्द रहते हुए भी अगर इस आन्दोलन को छोड़ दें तो हमारा काम अत्यन्त चिन्ता जनक होगा। असहयोग के सृष्टिकर्ता गान्धी जी की कीर्ति दसों दिशाओं में फैल गयी है। इस आन्दोलन के तत्व की विदेशों के कई प्रमुख लोगों ने प्रशंसा की है। जंग में खून बहाकर हिंसा मय मार्ग से राज्य स्वत्व प्राप्त करने के लिये वीर संग्राम करने वाले पाश्चात्य लोगों में भी यह संकल्प प्रेरित है कि महात्म जी द्वारा प्रतिपादित अहिंसा मार्ग ही सबसे अच्छा और अमल में लाने लायक है। हमारे बहादुर भारत वीर अकाली भाइयों ने इस मामले में शक करने वाले माडरेट मित्रों को असहयोग की सवाई बतला दी है।

Address of
Welcome by
Mr. Konda
Venkatappayya
Pantulu,
Chairman,
Reception
Committee.

Address of
Welcome by
Mr. Konda
Venkatappayya
Pantulu,
Chairman,
Reception
Committee.

फिर वे अकाली माई उसी राह से अपने हकों को बचाने के लिये इस घड़ी भी सरकार के साथ शान्ति की लड़ाई में टकरा रहे हैं। ऐसे समय 'आन्दोलन मर गया' ऐसा चिल्लाना कैसे सम्भव है। ऐसा कहना हमारे विरोधियों का सहज स्वभाव है। लगभग दो साल पहले ही 'रसवृक विलियम्स' ने लिख मारा था कि असहयोग आन्दोलन की कब खोद उस पर 'स्मारक-शिला' रखने का समय आ पहुँचा है मगर वह सिर्फ बाहरी बात है। असल में तो सरकार इस आन्दोलन को पूरी तरह जिन्दा मान कर उसे निर्जीव करने के लिये विना नींद रात दिन कोशिश करती रहती है। अब यह आन्दोलन कुछ सो गया है। मगर इस का 'अन्त होगया' ऐसा कहना बड़ी भूल है। नेताओं में एकमत और दृढ़ निश्चय की कलियाँ खिलें तो सर्व साधारण में इस आन्दोलन के लिये जोश फैल जायगा। असहयोग आन्दोलन के गम्भीर नाद को पाञ्चजन्य शंख में भर कर सारे ब्रह्माण्ड को गुंजा देनेवाले महात्मा फिर रंगमंच पर दर्शन दें तो कोने २ से हजारों की संख्या में प्रजा उब के पीछे दौड़ने लगेगी। इसलिये निराश न हो कर निःशंक हो दोनों पक्ष वाले मुल्क में जोश पैदा करें और असहयोग आन्दोलन की नींव रचनात्मक कार्य क्रम में हमारे सभी प्रयत्नों को केन्द्रित करें। कौंसिल में जानेवाले नेताओं को भी रचनात्मक कार्य क्रम में पूर्ण विश्वास से काम करना चाहिये। जब तक नेताओं में मत भेद रहेगा तब तक कार्य साधन में रुकावट रहेगी।

सन १९२१ ई० में महात्माजी के नेतृत्व में जैसे जोर से एक मत से काम चलाया था वैसे ही इस वक्त भी आपस का मतभेद छोड़ कर हम काम करें। प्रजा के दिल को पूरी तरह खींचने वाले एक महात्मा गांधी जीही हैं। परन्तु तौभी बड़े २ अहमद और त्यागमूर्ति दूसरे नेता भी हमारे देश में हैं। अगर वे लोग एक आवाज से आदेश करें तो सारा हिन्दुस्थान उसी रास्ते पर चलने को तैयार हो सकता है। कौंसिल के बारे में कुछ मत भेद होने पर भी असहयोग के दूसरे कार्य क्रमों पर अपना पूर्ण विश्वास प्रकटित कर, उस में दीक्षित हो आगे बढ़ते चले तो हजारों आदमी उनके पीछे चलेंगे। कई लोग कहते हैं कि रचनात्मक कार्य क्रम में जोश और अभिरुचि लाने के लिये कुछ उत्तेजना की जरूरत है। मगर हम समझते हैं कि 'स्वराज्याकांक्षा' से बढ़ कर जोश पैदा करने वाला और कोई दूसरा साधन नहीं। भारत अब स्वराज्य चाहता है। सभी राजनैतिक शाखावाले, पहले वे चाहे कैसे भी रहे हों पर वे भी अब स्वराज्य को भारत के लिये आवश्यक समझते हैं। इस समय दुनिया में भारत जाति की कोई कुछ भी इज्जत नहीं करता है। अन्यदेशों में भारतीयों को बसने में रुकावट डालते और अपमान भी करते हैं। हमारी अंग्रेजी सरकार यद्यपि अंग्रेजी साम्राज्य की पालक है तौभी अपने अधीनस्थ राज्यों में भी भारतवासियों के अधिकार और गौरव की रक्षा नहीं करती। केनिया में भारतियों के सम्बन्ध में ब्रिटिश पार्लामेण्ट ने जो फैसला किया वह सिर्फ उन के अधिकारों को तिरस्कृत ही नहीं करता बल्कि सारे भारतियों की बेइज्जती भी करता है। इसफैसले पर फिर से विचार करवाने में माडरेटों की कोशिश भी बेकार हुई। उस सम्बन्ध में कालोनी मंत्रियों के भाषण से यह साफ हो गया कि स्वराज्य मिलने तक गोरी जातियों का स्वत्व नहीं मिल सकता है। सिर्फ आत्मगौरव के लिये भी स्वराज्य ही हमारा साधन है। तमाम तकलीफों को मिटाने के लिये स्वराज्य ही उपाय है। केनिया के फैसले का विरोध कर जब माडरेटों ने ब्रिटिश माल का बहिष्कार करने का निश्चय किया तब लार्ड रीडिंग ने रिफार्म एक्ट को रद्द कर देने की धमकी दी। यदि झूट लाने वाला यह रिफार्म एक्ट रद्द हो जाता तो हमारे लिये बड़े भय की बात होती। उस समय हम दोनों दल एक हो स्वराज्य के लिये काम करते। लेकिन रीडिंग की सरकार ऐसा करेगी नहीं! अब चाहे माडरेट हों वा दूसरे लोक मत की उपेक्षा कर निरंकुश होने से वर्तमान शासन प्रजा को असह्य होता जा रहा है। इस लिये सभी लोग बोलते हैं कि स्वराज्य हमें अभी ले लेना चाहिये। स्वराज्य की खाहिश हमारे दिलों में जमकर नस नस बह कर, हृदय-कोष पर फैलती हुई सर्वांग में

जाज्वल्यमान होने से सर्व प्रयत्नों को जोश देते हैं। क्षणिक आवेश से वास्तविक फल सिद्धि नहीं होती। पूरे विचार से कार्य क्रम निश्चय कर शान्त मत हो कर अपना काम चलाना यही कार्य साधक का कर्तव्य है। इस समय रचनात्मक कार्य क्रम में हिन्दू मुस्लिम की एकता एक बड़ी काठिन समस्या है। उसका पहले फैसला करना सब से बड़ा जरूरी है। अगर वह मसला हल नहीं हुआ तो स्वराज्य प्राप्ति असंभव है। इस लिये सब काम छोड़कर इसी काम के लिये प्रयत्न करना चाहिये। यह मामला उतर हिन्दुस्थान में बड़ा पेचीडा होकर भारी आकृतों का सबब बन गया है। कई जगहों में कांग्रेस कमेटियां अपना काम भूल कर आसली लडाइयों में अपना समय खर्च कर रही है। ये लडाई करने वाले भयंकर काम करके मजहब के नाम पर सब धर्मों को छोड़ देते हैं। ऐसे मजहब की जिद को नेता लोग खगडन कर ऐसे भावों को निर्मूल नही करेंगे तो विपत्तियों को दूर करना असंभव हो जायगा। एक दूसरे के धर्म में श्रद्धा और लिहाज की नजर और इज्जत नहीं रहने से ये झगडे पैदा होते हैं। इस के सिवाय उन झगडों में उन उन जगहों की आर्थिक दशा भी कारण है इन कारणों को बिना किसी पक्षपात के ठीक सोचकर उनको हटाने के लिये कोशिश करना बहुत जरूरी है। मुल्क के सभी लीडरों से मिल कर उस जगह की हालत विचार कर उसे सुधारने के लिये खूब प्रयत्न करना चाहिये। अजमेर में इस मामले में डाक्टर सय्यद महमूद ने वहाँ के हिन्दू मुसलमानों को मिटाने में जो सफलता हासिल की है वह तारीफ करने लायक है। और दोनों पार्टी के नेताओं को परस्पर के अधिकारों का तिरस्कार न करके एक दूसरे की इज्जत करनी चाहिये। और वे अपने दलों के लोगों को यह अच्छी तरह समझा दें कि एक दूसरे के हकों की इज्जत करें। हिन्दू, मुसलमान, पार्सी, ईसाई लोगों को अलग दलबन्दी करने की बनिस्बत हम सब एक भारतीय हैं, ऐसा भाव फैलाना जरूरी है। हर एक समाज में उनके नेताओं को सब संस्थाओं में हिस्सा लेना चाहिये। नहीं तो कितने ही बड़े नेता क्यों न हों, जनता का विश्वास उनपर नहीं रहेगा। खिटाकत के मामले में मुसलमान नेता जैसी दिलचस्पी और श्रद्धा रखते हैं वैसे ही हिन्दू नेता भी हिन्दू संस्थाओं के मामले में श्रद्धा नहीं रखेंगे तो मुल्क की बुरी हालत हटाने में हम कामयाब न होंगे। “इण्डियन नेशनल पेक्ट” कमेटी इस मामले में मैं समझता हूँ कि कुछ सूचना देगी। वह जो राय देगी उस पर आप इस सभा में विचार कर स्वीकार करेंगे। लेकिन यह राय चाहे जितनी अच्छी क्यों न हो फिर भी जब तक हम उसे अमल में न लावेंगे तब तक वह व्यर्थ ही है। इसी लिये सब नेता लोग बड़ी कोशिश कर हिन्दू और मुसलमानों में एकता कायम करें।

रचनात्मक कार्य क्रम में अछूतों का मानना और खर प्रचार भी बहुत आवश्यक है। अछूतों के मामले में दक्षिण भारत का धार्मिक कट्टरपन बहुत रुकावट डालता है। जब तक जोर शोर का आन्दोलन इस तरफ न होगा तब तक असुश्रुतता को हटाने में फलतः कमी नहीं मिल सकती। अगर अछूतों का मसला हल न हुआ तो स्वराज्य की सिद्धि न होगी। इसका सबब यह है कि यह आन्दोलन आध्यात्मिक शक्तिपर निर्भर है। यदि हम उन्हें भेद भाव की नजर से देखेंगे तो हमारी आध्यात्मिकता झूठा आडंबर है ॥

खर का प्रचार

रचनात्मक कार्य क्रम के चार खंभों में एक खर है। खर की पैदाइश, उसका इस्तेमाल और उसका प्रचार करना सब से सरल है। किसी को इन कामों से कोई खतरा नहीं है। तौ भी जनता इतने पूरा चात्र नहीं लेती, यह बड़े अचम्भे की बात है। इसका खास वजह यह है कि हम एक व्यासोड में हैं। बारीक कपड़ों के पहनने की चाह और ऊपरी बनाव चुनाव को हम छोड़ने में हिचकिचाते हैं। भठ, यह छोटा सा काम न कर सकने वाले कैसे स्वराज्य के लिये काम कर सकते हैं। खर को अच्छी तरह फैलाने के लिये तीन बातों की बड़ी आवश्यकता है :—

*Address of
Welcome by
Mr. Konda
Venkatappayya
Pantulu,
Chairman,
Reception
Committee.*

Address of
Welcome by
Mr. Konda
Venkatappayya
Pantulu,
Chairman,
Reception
Committee.

(१) सभी किसान लोग अपने खेतों में कम से कम अपनी जरूरत भर तो कपास जरूर पैदा करें ॥

(२) हरेक परिवार अपनी जरूरत भर कपास जरूर जमा रखे ॥

(३) और हरेक घर में चरखे पर सूत काता जाय ॥

इन ऊपर की तीन बातों को करने से कपड़े के दर चढ़ने उतरने के कारण हम पर कोई असर नहीं पड़ सकता। और विलायती कपड़ों की चढ़ा ऊपरी भी नहीं हो सकती। थोड़े दिन में बारीक पसन्द वालों को, कताई में हाथ मँज जाने के बाद बारीक कपड़े भी मिलने लगेंगे। सारे हिन्दुस्थान की प्रजा खहर पहनने लग जाती तो भारत की आर्थिक समस्या हल हो जाती! और एक महान कार्य सिद्ध हो जाता। इस में विश्वास नहीं रखने वाले उस लंगोटी धारी सावरमती सन्यासी के स्वरूप को मन में रख, उनके जेल जाने के समय के फ़र्मान को याद रख अमने अविश्वास को दूर करें ॥

राष्ट्र भाषा हिन्दी-हिन्दुस्तानी

अब सब लोग अच्छी तरह जान गये हैं कि सारे हिन्दुस्तान में रहने वाली जनता को एक ही भाषा का रहना बहुत जरूरी है। भारत की सब भाषाओं में हिन्दी ही ऐसी ताकत रखती है कि वही हिन्दुस्तान की कौमी जवान होने लायक है। इस लिये कांग्रेस की सभी कार्रवाई उसी जवान में रखना बहुत आवश्यक है। इसलिये अब तक जो उस भाषा से वाकिफ नहीं हैं उनको उसे जरूर सीख लेना चाहिये। नहीं तो इस कार्रवाई में शामिल नहीं हो सकते ॥

कांग्रेस का संगठन

कांग्रेस के सभी काम चलाने के लिये यह जरूरी है कि गाँव में कांग्रेस कमेटियां स्थापित कर दी जाँय। अब जो कमेटियां हैं वे सिर्फ नाम के लिये हैं। प्रचारकों को मदद और उरसाह नहीं देने से ही सारे काम विगड़ गये। गाँवों की कमेटियां स्वराज्य मंजिल की बुनियाद हैं। इसलिये कि शहरों के रहने वालों से देहातियों की संख्या ज्यादा है। भारत वर्ष का अभ्युदय इस ग्रामीण जनता के उत्साह, त्याग और दृढ़ता पर अवलंबित है। हिन्दुस्थान के स्वराज्यकर्ता भी वे ही हैं। इसीलिये गाँव गाँव में कांग्रेस के कामको जोर शोर से बढ़ाना चाहिये। ग्रामों में प्रजा को आन्दोलन पर भक्ति और विश्वास बढ़ने से, उनका जोश प्रवाह के समान उतरा जाने पर, पश्चिमी-सभ्यता के भँवर-जाल में डूबे हुए लोगों की नींद टूट जायगी और वे ही आगे बढ़ आदेंगे। 'स्वराज्य-निधि' वसूल करने में भी गाँवों में बगैर जागृति हुए कठिनता देख पड़ती है। इस स्वराज्य आन्दोलन को कुछ असें तक चलाने की जरूरत माखम होती है। इसलिये धन जमा करने को मुख्य २ गाँवों में पक्का इन्तजाम करना चाहिये ॥

कांग्रेस का काम सुसंगठित गवर्नमेण्ट जैसे ठीक ठीक नियम और तरीके से चलाना जरूरी है। इसलिये हमें धन और काम करने के वास्ते होशियार आदमी चाहिये। उनमें से कई लोगों पर सारे हिन्दुस्थान के काम की जिम्मेवारी लेने वाले और कुछ लोग प्रान्त प्रान्त के काम की जिम्मेवारी अपने ऊपर लेने वाले रहना चाहिये। इन में से कुछ लोगों को रुपये पैसे की जरूरत न हो तौभी कुछ लोगों को अपना गुजारा करने के लिये अवश्य सहायता देनी चाहिये। मदद न देने से अक्सर काम ठीक नहीं होने पाता। ऐसे लोगों को अंगले साल से अवश्य मुकर्रर कर देना चाहिये। इसी तरह सूबे की कमेटियां भी अपने अपने जिलों में कांग्रेस का काम चलावें। और ऐसा ही बन्दोबस्त

करें। कम से कम अगले साल के लिये तो "आल इण्डिया कांग्रेस कमेटी" को जरूर पैसा जमा करना चाहिये। इन सब से और प्रधान नेताओं के त्याग, तपस्या और जागृति से देश में फिर जोश भरेगा ॥

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हमारे सौभाग्य से देश के प्रधान नेता मौलाना मुहम्मद अली साहब ने इस कांग्रेस का सभापतित्व स्वीकार किया। ये महात्मा गांधीजी के साथ साथ रहने वाले उनके सगे भाई के मानिंद हैं। आप अपने मशहूर बड़े भाई के साथ कौम की तरक्की के लिये बड़े जोश से काम करते आये हैं। कामरेड के संपादक रहते हुए आपने सरकार की दमन नीति और स्वच्छाचार की निभीक हो कर खूब खण्डन करने से सरकार से मौलाना साहब को बड़ी तकलीफ उठानी पड़ी। असहयोग के बारे में दोनों भाइयों ने महात्मा जी के साथ साथ रह कर जिस जोश से काम किया उससे सरकार को उन्हें इस कार्यक्षेत्र से हटाना जरूरी हो गया। आपके जेल से छूटते ही जनता ने आपका आनन्द पूर्वक सादर स्वागत किया। आप फिर कांग्रेस का काम लेकर कांग्रेस और मुल्क में अमन चैन और मेल-जाल बढ़ाने की खूब कोशिश कर रहे हैं। दोनों भाई जेल से छूटते ही हिन्दुस्थान में खूब घूमकर दोनों कौमों में मेल की जरूरत बताते हैं। कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि इस कांग्रेस में तै करने के लिये कोई बड़ा भारी मसौदा नहीं है इसलिये इस जलसे में कोई खासियत नहीं है। मगर इन कौमी झगड़ों को, जिसने कांग्रेस के कामों को धक्का पहुँचाया है और कार्यकर्ताओं को चिन्तित बना दिया है, मिटाने का और आगे काम चलाने का इन्तजाम कर, मौलाना साहब के सभापतित्व में हिंद के दोनों कौमों में अगर हम मेलबद्धा सके तो इससे बंद कर मामला कोई नहीं हो सकता ॥

आप की अम्माजान की जो हिन्दु-स्थान में बी अम्मा के नाम से मशहूर हैं, भारी खिदमत को हम कभी नहीं भूल सकते। आपने बेगम मौलाना मुहम्मद अली के साथ देश भर में घूम कर शान्तिमय-असहयोग का सन्देश फैलाया और अपने व्यक्ति के प्रभाव से जनता के जोश देशभक्ति तथा त्याग की स्फूर्ति को बढ़ाया। आपने परदे के रिवाज को छोड़ा यह कोई मामूली काम नहीं है। यह घटना उनकी बेजोड़ देशभक्ति और त्याग का प्रमाणित करती है। इसलिये यह असहयोग के इतिहास में जरूर लिखी जायगी। ऐसी पूज्य माता के मशहूर बेटे इस बड़े कौमी जलसे के सदर बनेंगे। उनका फमान इस आन्दोलन में नयी जान और नया जोश पैदा कर देगा। महात्मा जी हमारे बीच में चलते फिरते हमसे जिस बात की आशा करते थे उस को तेजी से करने के लिये मौलाना साहब हमें जाशील बना देंगे ॥

अब मैं आगे आपका ज्यादा वक्त लेना नहीं चाहता। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस आन्दोलन के नये अङ्क फूट कर डाली डाली में बढ़ेंगे और उनके सारे मुल्क में फैलने के लिये अच्छा मुहूर्त आ पहुँचा है। अब ज्यादा न कह कर मौलाना मुहम्मदअली साहब से इस कौमी जलसे के शाही तख्त पर तशरीफ़ लाने के लिये सभी भारतीयों की ओर से अर्ज कर आप सभी भाइयों और वहनों को दृश्यपूर्वक सादर स्वागत समर्पण करता हूँ ॥

The following is the English translation of the above address :-

MAULANA MAHOMED ALI SAHIB, BROTHERS AND SISTERS :-

*English
translation
of the
Chairman's
Address.*

The pleasant duty of offering welcome to you on behalf of the ANDHRA DESA has been entrusted to me and I do so most heartily. This is a day unique in the history of this Province, as it gives to its people the opportunity for the first time to offer most cordial welcome to you who are engaged in the great fight for the freedom of our Motherland.

The Andhras are a historic race, who at first ruled over the territory lying between the rivers of Godavari and Krishna and extending to the seas on either side, with Dhanyakataka as their capital. About 300 B. C. they expanded their kingdom to Northern India and held imperial sway for nearly 400 years having Patna (Pataliputra) for their seat of government. They had also founded on the Banks of Krishna near Dhanyakataka, the great university of Amaravati which was equalled only by the universities of Nalanda and Takshasila in Northern India. The renowned architecture of the Buddhist Stupa of Amaravati attracted the attention of the British Government, which has since removed the most valuable relics of that artistic structure for exhibition in the great Museum of London. In the days of the Moghul Empire the Andhras established the dynasty of Vijianagar and successfully resisted for several centuries the inroads of the neighbouring powers, preserving the ancient civilisation of Southern India intact. After this part of the country came under the British, the individuality of the Andhras became obscured by being indiscriminately mixed up with communities speaking other languages by a Government unmindful of the progress of the people under its rule. But during the days of the agitation against the partition of Bengal, the consciousness of the Andhras was roused under the influence of the great national movement and they endeavoured to reassert their individuality by starting the "Andhra movement". They advocated the redistribution of provinces in India on linguistic basis as essential for the development of the individuality of the races living in different provinces and also for the solidarity of the Indian nation. They had sought for the recognition of that principle by the Congress praying that the Andhra districts might be constituted into a separate province. The help rendered by Lokamanya Tilak in this connection will always be remembered with feelings of gratitude. As a result of those endeavours, the Congress at its session in Calcutta in 1917 constituted the area peopled by the Andhras as a separate unit for Congress purposes, but it was only left to Mahatma Gandhi at the very inception of the non-co-operation movement to recognise the principle of readjustment of provinces on linguistic basis as an essential requisite for the full development of the national consciousness and to effect that readjustment as the first step for the attainment of Swaraj. This measure has helped to strengthen the provincial units and also promote unity after fostering a strong sentiment of common nationality amongst them. It is this measure that has vouchsafed to us this opportunity to invite the Congress here and extend our cordial welcome to our brothers and sisters from the various provinces.

The district of Godavari is one of the most leading of the districts in the Andhra province. The river, Godavari, flows through this district, constituting it one of the most fertile tracts in Southern India. Not far from here is the town of Rajahmundry where Raja Raja Narendra, the most reputed of the Eastern Chalukya kings, was ruling over this part of the country. It was to this king that the Andhra poet, Nannaya Bhattaraka, dedicated the Maha Bharata, the most famous work in the Andhra literature. Thereafter, a galaxy of heroes, poets and men learned in the Vedas and Sastras, have kept up its reputation for culture and

influence. Amongst the writers of the modern times, mention must be made of Kandukuri Veerasalingam Pantulu, a citizen of Rajahmundry. He was a great social reformer, a renowned author, and journalist whose services to the cause of Telugu literature are by no means inconsiderable and to whose life and writings we owe the beginnings of public life in the Andhra Desa. Even to-day this district holds its own place in education, wealth, and culture. It is but fitting that the Congress should hold its session in this district and in this city, which is undoubtedly one of the finest in the whole of the Andhra country. It is the people of this district and of this city that have had the largest share of responsibility for holding the Congress here.

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While acknowledging our deficiencies in providing for your comforts and conveniences, we assure you that we shall not lag behind any other province in according the warmest and most cordial welcome to you all. I hope that you, in the largeness of your hearts, will not mind the many short-comings that will be found in the arrangements for your reception.

In this vast assembly, every one feels deeply the absence of our great Leader, Mahatma Gandhi, who, for the freedom of our land, toiled night and day after starting the movement of non-violent Non-co-operation. That at this moment, he should be in the Yerravada Jail, is a sad comment on the weakness of the nation, the firmness, and integrity, on which he had so much relied.

In the year 1921 most of the leaders in the land, placing great faith in the movement, went forward to co-operate with him and worked with single hearted devotion. But it must be acknowledged that the failure to attain Swaraj within one year as Mahat-maji with assurance born of his faith in the people, had declared, was due not to any intrinsic defect in the principle or programme of Non-co-operation but to the want of strength in us to rise equal to the occasion.

With the incarceration of Mahatma Gandhi, the movement began to flag and differences and dissensions broke out within the ranks of the Congress. Some were for entering into the Councils and wrecking them by adopting a policy of obstruction while others opposed the same insisting on carrying on the movement as before and preparing the country for civil disobedience. Two years of our precious time were thus wasted till at Delhi a *reapproachment* was made by allowing those that had no objection to enter the councils to do so. The Congress at Delhi has further reaffirmed its faith in the principle of nonviolent Non-co-operation and called upon the country to concentrate all its energies in carrying out the constructive programme. But the elections having made it impossible for the people to attend to the constructive work, there has been no progress made in that direction. Now that the elections are over in every part of the country, discussion has again been started regarding the future work of the Congress. Some Swarajists satisfied with the limited measure of success they have achieved, indicate their desire to seek a mandate from the Congress as to their work in the Councils while the no changers being dissatisfied with the actions of the Swarajists which contravened the fundamental principles of Non-co-operation, feel it necessary to have the principle as well as the programme of Non-co-operation, reaffirmed by this Congress. At Delhi the special Congress having merely lifted the ban on Council entry in respect of those who felt no conscientious objection to enter into the Councils, any violation of the principles of Non-co-operation is unwarranted and it is regrettable that some people should have taken shelter under that resolution to infringe the same.

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We have till now accepted Non-violent Non-co-operation as the only means of securing Swaraj and acted upon it. I believe it will be admitted by all, that it will be a mistake to abandon the movement for the mere reason that we have failed to achieve that measure of success which we had expected. Some think that amendment of the programme is necessary while others are of opinion that we should rigorously carry on the programme as hitherto adopted. And this conflict of view seriously handicaps the work of the Congress. Now that the question of Council-entry has been disposed of and elections also finished, there should be no difficulty hereafter for both parties to unite and carry on the constructive programme. Those that have entered the councils will determine among themselves the programme of work they should adopt inside the councils. It seems undesirable to reopen the question of councils in any form as there as it is likely to lead to recrudescence of the dissensions which we had striven to put an end to at Delhi, with the result of paralysing the future work of the Congress.

Again, there is the question of triple-boycott which some would like to reaffirm and seek to reenforce. There are others who wish to alter it and yet some others who advocate its total abandonment. These latter deem it undesirable to continue a programme which has been found unworkable in practice. It is true that it has not evoked universal enthusiasm amongst the people. But the examples of those who have followed the decision of the Congress in this respect, though fewer than expected are so noble and striking that they are in themselves sufficient to inspire the people with the spirit of sacrifice and keep alive the movement.

Like our illustrious leaders, Pandit Motilal and Deshbandhu Das, there were many in humbler positions in different parts of the country who had in 1921 renounced their prospects and professions and dedicated their services to the cause of the country. I believe there are many even now who still have not gone back to their professions but are ready to work as sincerely as before. Even if a few men intensely devoted to the cause, keep the flag flying, they will be a power in the land which will give fresh vigour and life, to the movement making it possible for us some day to attain Swaraj.

To abandon the triple-boycott is to abandon the movement—viz.—that there has not been adequate response from the people appears sound. The efforts of some thousands in this vast land of 30 crores of people, for a period of, but one year shook the foundations of the British Government and it is impossible for us to forget the results of that great fight. Many had given up their callings which earned for them their living, many left schools, many entered jails, suffering hard privations, much money was spent and many losses were incurred under the heat of that struggle. The very idea of abandonment is unthinkable when we remember that Mahatma Gandhi is still in jail.

His message has gone round the world. Great men in other lands have proclaimed that the movement of N. C. O. started by him has shown a new way for the regeneration of mankind. Even amongst those western races, who for the sake of power and dominion, do not hesitate to abuse the highest discoveries of science to shed the blood of their fellow-beings, this movement has infused the spirit of non-violence and prompted them to some extent to employ even the programme of Non-co-operation.

Again, nearer home, the Akalis who though belonging to a warlike race, and soldiers by profession, have already demonstrated, I suppose, to the satisfaction even of our moderate friends, the practical application of nonviolence as a

political weapon. They are at this very movement engaged in a struggle of a similar nature but on a much larger scale with the Government for the purpose of vindicating their rights. With these facts before us, can it be said that the movement of N. C. O. is dead as is the habit with our opponents to day, times out of number? In the Government of India report published in the beginning of 1922 Mr. Rushbrook Williams stated that this movement was dead and that the time had arrived for writing an epitaph on its grave. It has been the studied attempt of the Government to create an impression on the minds of the people that they were heedless of its strength while at the same time anxiously planning in their secret chambers the ways and means of suppressing it. There has undoubtedly been a lull in the movement but such stages of depression are temporary and incidental to all movements of such magnitude. If the leaders are prepared to lead, placing real confidence in the movement, there will be no lack of following in the country.

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For the successful carrying out of the Constructive programme, it is obviously necessary that both the parties should unite and work hand-in-hand. Such of the Swarajists as have entered the Councils should devote at least some of their time for the Congress, without allowing themselves to be wholly absorbed in council work. Differences of views between the two parties, whatever they may be, should not be allowed to interfere with the Constructive programme which is the basis of all effective action under the AEGIS of the Congress. Both parties with mutual goodwill and harmony should co-operate and enthuse the people with greater zeal for the cause of the country even as they had done in the year 1921 under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. Though it must be recognised that there is no leader who can approach Mahatmaji in his capacity to inspire and influence the hearts of the people, still there are in the country great persons who by virtue of their attainments and personal sacrifice in the cause of freedom can undoubtedly command the confidence of the public. If they but stand firmly united and call upon the country to work the programme, I have no doubt there will be a response worthy of the cause which is so dear to us all.

Some are of opinion that in order to create in the people a lively interest in the work of the Congress there must be something stimulating in its programme. But really speaking there can be nothing more potent than the desire for Swaraj to stimulate them for action provided that such desire is sufficiently strong and impelling. It must be admitted that the desire for Swaraj is now universally cherished in the country. Whatever might have been the attitude of the different political parties in the land till now, at this moment all are united in the demand for immediate Swaraj. Besides, India has no recognised place amongst the Civilised nations of the world. Indians are not allowed to live in foreign countries except as coolies and serfs to be exploited for the benefit of the white men. Even the British Government have failed to redress the wrongs done to our brethren in Kenya, and other countries are directly under their charge. The Kenya decision has branded the Indians as slaves, declaring it impossible for them to attain a status of equality with the whites. The strenuous endeavours of the leaders of the moderate party to get the decision revised, have proved futile and the speeches of Dominion Ministers make it absolutely clear that Indians so long as they continue as a subject race, must remain inferior to white-men. The beauracracy in India has now thrown off its mask absolutely unmindful of the people and in utter disregard of the views and representations both of moderates and nationalists, is carrying on its administration in a manner which makes it increasingly oppressive and unbearable. When the Government is openly and fearlessly attacked, they turn round and threaten that they would withdraw the Reforms. Such an act on the part of the Government would no doubt be a

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consummation devoutly to be wished for, as it is these Reforms which have removed from our ranks men with whom we had worked together ever since the Congress began its activities. Equality is possible only between parties enjoying equal freedom and unless and until we secure our freedom, neither we nor our brethren abroad can find remedy for the wrongs done to us. Whatever view we may take of the present situation, it is manifest that Swaraj and Swaraj alone is the panacea for all evils and that Swaraj can be attained only by vigorous and persistent action, on the part of the people born of passionate desire for national self-realisation. Such desire cannot always be fed by an exciting programme. A cool and deliberate resolve to achieve Swaraj inspite of all obstacles is a surer guarantee of our success in this struggle for freedom.

The one problem which we have to face at the very outset of our endeavours, in carrying out the constructive programme is the question of Hindu-Moslem Unity which has of late assumed a very serious aspect particularly in some of the provinces of Northern India. In the name of religion most atrocious deeds were committed forgetting the truth that the brother-hood of man is the highest of all religions. Hindu-Moslem feuds generally arise out of disregard on the part of the people of one community to the religious sentiments and customs of the other. In some places it appears that economic reasons have also led to misunderstandings which developed later into serious disturbances. It therefore becomes the first duty of the All-India leaders to consult with men of local influence and concert measures to remove those causes and restore harmony amongst the two communities. In this connection grateful mention has to be made of the successful endeavours by Dr. Syed Mohamed and his friends to make up differences and restore friendly relations between the Hindus and Mussalmans at Ajmere.

It is no doubt true that we ought to impress upon the people the idea that we are all Indians first before we are Hindus, Mussulmans, Parsis, Christians, Sikhs and so on. To create such an impression the leaders of either community should closely associate themselves with their respective communities taking active part in the institutions belonging to them. Even as the Moslem leaders are taking active interest in the Khilafat and the Ulema movements, the Hindu leaders in the Congress should likewise take part in the transactions of the Hindu Maha Sabha and other organisations pertaining to the Hindu community. The mistakes committed by the people should be pointed out by their own leaders insisting upon the duty of respecting the rights (both civic and religious) of their countrymen in other communities. It is hoped that the useful suggestions made by the committee appointed by the Congress for drafting the Indian National pact will be adopted after due deliberations by this Assembly, with such modifications as may be found necessary. The success in this direction will lie not so much in the enunciation of the principles of action as in the genuine and vigorous endeavours to enforce those principles. Hence too much of emphasis cannot be laid on the necessity of the leaders concentrating all their energies on this problem even if it should require that every other item in the constructive programme should be set aside for a time. For, freedom for India is impossible without the establishment of perfect harmony and good-will between the various communities that inhabit the same.

It has been well-nigh agreed by all people that there should be a common language for promoting easy intercourse between the people living in the various provinces of the country and for strengthening national unity. It is also recognised that no language other than Hindi is suited for that purpose. Hence it follows that the work of the Congress should be transacted in that language. Hence it becomes obvious that people in provinces where Hindi is not known should

learn that language in order to move intimately with the people of other provinces and to understand and take part in the deliberations of the Congress.

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Among other items of the constructive programme Khaddar and the removal of Untouchability demand our closest attention. It will be recognised that the programme of Khaddar is the easiest to achieve and yet it is surprising that we have not made the progress which we ought to have achieved. This laches is to be accounted for, mostly by sheer indifference on the part of the people, and also by the dullness in the movement itself. The three things that ought to be noted as essential for the spread of Khaddar in the country are (1) that every ryot should make it his duty to grow cotton in his land, at least to the extent of the requirements of his family; (2) that the head of every household should provide in each harvest season the cotton required for it; and (3) that every family should set up one or more Charkas and spin the yarn required for its use. If these 3 conditions are fulfilled, the question of foreign competition can in no way arise and the people will never be affected by the rise or fall of prices in the cloth market. Even for those who like to dress themselves in fine Khaddar, the Country will in course of time be able to satisfy their taste if they but persist in spinning yarn systematically. Proceeding on these lines India will ere long be able to completely clothe herself in Khaddar, an achievement, which, in itself, will bring us nearest to Swaraj. If there are people in this country who still lack faith in Khaddar, let them recall to their mind the picture of that hermit of Sabarmati clad in loin cloth and giving the message to the country on the eve of his entry into the Jail.

The problem of Untouchability also requires special attention particularly in Southern India where the customs and beliefs of the people are a great obstacle to its progress. It is not easy to make any advance in this direction unless the country realises the injustice of the treatment now accorded to our Panchama brethren. The movement of Non-co-operation is also a spiritual movement and the unjust and unequal treatment of our fellow countrymen prove the hollowness of our professions as Non-co-operators.

The whole programme of the Congress should be worked out by the Congress committees in the different parts of the country but as most of the Committees exist only in name their reorganisation must be undertaken forthwith. The Congress work has been seriously handicapped for want of adequate help and encouragement to the workers. As the village committees are the real foundation of Swaraj, no time should be lost in enlisting members to the Congress in the villages, and forming Congress committees if not in every village, at least in all important rural centres. In India more people live in villages than in towns and therefore political education must spread in the rural areas and the message of the Congress should be carried to every nook and corner in the country. The progress of the Indian Nation depends upon the progress of the people in the villages. Their desires and ambitions will shape the destiny of the nation. Therefore some of our best Congress workers must settle themselves in some village centres to spread the ideas of Non-co-operation and Non-violence and to organise the work of the Congress. No permanent results can be achieved unless the work is systematised through organisations widely spread out throughout the country as much in the villages as in the towns. When the village Congress committees become living centres influencing the thoughts of the people and inspiring them to action, the day will not be far off when the great wave of this national movement will sweep into it even the people in the towns and cities, spell-bound as they are by the glamour of Western ideas and civilisation.

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It has now become plain that the struggle for Swaraj is destined to be long and arduous and that men and money on a scale much larger than hitherto, will have to be found for carrying it on. Permanent arrangements have to be made in the villages for the collection of Swaraj fund in such a manner that the financial burden may as far as possible be evenly distributed amongst the people.

The work of the Congress must be as regular and systematised as that of the Government and men competent to carry it on must be appointed by the Congress. Some of them will be All-India workers entrusted with duties pertaining generally to all India, while others will be placed in the provinces to look after the Congress work in them. Such of those as require pecuniary help must be provided with the same, as it is unreasonable to expect gratuitous work on a large scale for an indefinite length of time. It will not be difficult, I suppose, to find really genuine and competent workers who may be trusted with such duties provided we supply them with the necessary minimum of their requirements. The responsibility of suitable men for these duties and finding the money necessary to pay them shall lie with the Working Committee of the A. I. C. C. As the congress work in the provinces has gone very much out of joint at the present moment, the first duty of the Working Committee should be to organise this service and finance the same. The Working Committee shall also give instructions to the various Provincial Committees to regulate the work in their districts finding suitable men and the money required for the purpose. It is also highly desirable that the whole work of the Congress should be divided into various departments and each of those departments should be placed in charge of one of the members of the Executive Committee.

After all the progress of the work depends upon the spirit and enthusiasm which the leaders can infuse in the people by their strenuous endeavours. We are specially fortunate in having Moulana Mohamed Ali Sahib as President of this session. As is too well known, he is one of the greatest patriots who along with his illustrious brother, Moulana Shaukat Ali, has strenuously been labouring for the cause of the Motherland. As Editor of the "Comrade" he attacked the Government fearlessly opposing their policy of repression and arbitrary methods of administration, and suffered long on that account at its hands. His work in the cause of Non-co-operation as one of the most trusted of the lieutenants of Mahatma Gandhi and that of his "Big Brother" gave such impetus to the movement that the Government deemed it necessary to remove them from the field, by incarcerating them once more. His release from the jail was hailed with great joy and expectation by the country. He has once more taken on hand the work of the Congress, addressing himself first to the restoration of peace and harmony both in the ranks of the Congress and the country at large. Both himself and his "Big Brother" have been since their release, travelling far and wide in the country carrying the message of peace by emphasizing the need for absolute good-will between the two great communities, the Moslem and the Hindu. It is said that no great problems await the consideration of the Congress, and that hence this session serves no special object. But, if under his able guidance a solution for the Hindu-Muslim question, which has made Congress work impossible in several parts of the country and has been causing great anxiety to all those interested in national advancement is found, we shall have achieved a great purpose, establishing unity between the two greatest communities in India and ensuring the uninterrupted furtherance of the cause in the future.

We cannot forget the services of that most revered grand old lady known throughout the country as Bi-amma. In spite of her age, she has gone round the country carrying the message of Non-violent Non-co-operation inspiring the

people and by her personality with the true spirit of patriotism and sacrifice. Her extraordinary act of the relinquishment of the purdah is an event worthy of recording in the annals of Non-co-operation as illustrative of the highest sentiments of patriotism and self-renunciation. A worthy son of such a worthy mother will now preside over the deliberations of this vast National Assembly. His message will instil new life and vigour into the movement, and speed us on to action with a reinforced enthusiasm, justifying the expectations raised by us when Mahatma Gandhi was moving and working in our midst.

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I do not propose to detain you any further. I once more offer the warmest and the most hearty welcome to you all and request Maulana Mohamed Ali Sahib to take the chair.

Maulana Mohamed Ali's Address-

Maulana Mohamed Ali, the President, then came to the rostrum amidst cries of 'Alla Ho Aktar' and Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai and delivered his Presidential Address in English as follows:—

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
لَا خَالِقَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-WORKERS,

It has been the custom for every occupant of the Presidential chair of the Indian National Congress to thank the delegates that have conferred on him the highest honour it is in the power of the Indian nation to confer on an Indian. It has also been customary for him to disclaim that his merits deserved such signal honour and to declare his unfitness to rank with those that had previously occupied the Presidential chair. I have no doubt that the innate modesty of my predecessors infused into these disclaimers and declarations a sincerity that saved them from the banality of mere conventions. But it is no such modesty that makes me further stale them by repetition. When two years ago, just on the eve of my imprisonment, a few of the Provinces had honoured me also with their nominations, I was still in a position to withdraw my name and to give at least partial expression to the shock of surprise I felt on that occasion. This time, however, fate had taken the matter almost entirely out of my hands; for soon after I was discharged from prison, I received from the Reception Committee here the telegraphic message that in a few days it would meet to put the seal of its agreement on the choice of the Provincial Congress Committees.

Believe me, if the circumstances that had led to the Special Session at Delhi, and, still more, if that session itself had not revealed to me conditions that made the withdrawal of my name something in the nature of desertion, I would have withdrawn it even at that late stage. I consider it a presumption to preside here, and one reason for my reluctance and hesitation must be obvious to all. It must be remembered that my association with the Indian National Congress is of very recent date. It was only in 1919 that for the first time I attended the Congress as a delegate, and then, too, my participation was not in the ordinary course. As some of you may remember, my brother and I had just been released from

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confinement as State Prisoners in the Betul jail in which our internment during the last four years of the War had culminated. We had, of course, proceeded straight to the Congress that had already commenced its session in martyred Amritsar, and since we could not have been elected as delegates in the usual way, the good people of Amritsar had forthwith adopted us as their own. The Nagpur Session that was held in the following year was the first, and, as it happened, also the only one previous to this which my brother and I attended as delegates elected in the ordinary course. Those who had hitherto occupied the Presidential chair had been veterans that had grown grey in the service of the Congress. Can it, therefore, be merely conventional if one who is after all among the babes and sucklings of the Congress thanks you for such an unusual mark of your favour ?

The only consideration which could justify this favour was that, although my association with the Congress was recent, it was coupled with my association with one of the very greatest, if also one of the latest Congress-men, one whom all eyes search in vain in this Pandal to-day. Ever since I first attended a session of the Congress as a delegate in 1919, his had been the one dominating personality. More than ever we need our great chief, Mahatma Gandhi, to-day; and if God has willed that in his place one of his humblest followers, though not the least loving among them, should assist you in your deliberations, I can only feel what the Arab poet felt when he wistfully wrote :

“ The death of great ones made us great ! ”

But although the man who was most responsible for Mahatma Gandhi's incarceration hoped that by burying him alive, as he called it, he would kill the spirit that the Mahatma had infused into the nation, I feel certain that it lives just as surely as the Mahatma lives himself. Relying on God's assistance, and on your own kind indulgence, which, I think, I may with confidence bespeak, I invoke that spirit to-day, in the hope that with its aid I may prove not altogether unworthy of the high office to which your suffrage has all too generously called me.

Friends; the only one who can lead you is the one who had led you at Amritsar, at Calcutta, at Nagpur and at Ahmadabad, though each session of the Congress had its own elected President. Our generalissimo is to-day a prisoner of war in the hands of the enemy, and none can fill the void that his absence from our midst has caused. As for myself, I am but a comrade whom your loving kindness has called out from the ranks, and I plead for its continuance not only during the discussions of this session, but also throughout the year in which I am required by your constitution to assist you as your President.

THE FUNCTION OF THE PRESIDENT.

On one point, however, you too are entitled to an assurance from me, and I offer it to you without hesitation. I have been a fighter all my life, and, of course, I have been in the habit of throwing all the vehemence of an impulsive and impetuous nature into my fights. But your choice of me as your President has robbed me of my freedom, and to regain that freedom, if for nothing else, I would have willingly foregone the great privilege of presiding on this occasion. However, in the cast you have assigned to me the unfamiliar role of the peace maker, and even a fighter like me has to confess that, if anything is better than a fight, it is peace. I have therefore, deprived myself of the opportunity to fight in order to help the cause of peace and unity, and I do not regret the surrender. As your President I am here to serve you to the best of my

power, and not in the capacity of a slave-driver, and if, in following the convention of political societies like yours, I have to inaugurate this session with an address, it is essentially in the spirit of a servant of yours that I do so, and not as a dictator. I am here to assist you to form judgments on the various issues that may come up for your decision, and, so far as it lies in the power of a fellow-worker and comrade of yours, I hope to help you to form only sound judgments, and to form them without waste of time, temper and energy. But these judgments must be yours, not mine; or, if you will, ours collectively in the truest sense. I have referred to the Mahatma's dominating personality, and we must admit how difficult it was to shake off his spell even for those rare individuals that desired to do so. I feel certain that Mahatma Gandhi neither asked, nor wanted anyone to surrender his judgment to him; and I have been told that just before his arrest he regretfully realised that quite a number of his followers and admirers, who had readily, and in all sincerity, signified their agreement with him, had failed to realize that they were offering their allegiance only to the man, and were not accepting his measures as well on the strength of their own clear conviction. It will be an impertinence for me even to disclaim any such influence as the Mahatma undoubtedly exercised over the people, and I am anxious that every vote cast on any side should be the result of the voter's own deliberate judgment, carrying with it the fullest individual responsibility. As for myself, if I kept back from you my own view of any matter of vital importance merely for fear that it might not be acceptable to you, I shall certainly not be serving you truly. For another thing, it would not be consistent with true democracy. But we shall only be making a mockery of democracy if freedom was denied to the delegates of the Congress merely to please its President, or silence was imposed on the many just to secure the good-will of the few.

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CONGRESS SESSION NOT DIVISION LOBBY.

Nevertheless, we have to understand that the country did not elect six thousand delegates, and we have not travelled to Cocanada from every corner of it as to division lobbies, merely to cast our votes, and to register our individual judgments already formed before we set out on our journey. What good could we do to ourselves and to others if, like Omar the Tent-Maker Poet of Persia, we "evermore came out by the same door where in we went"? If we do not wish to turn our journey into utter futility and so much labour lost, the opinions we had formed, individually or in groups, before we started, must be tested here by comparison with the opinions of our fellow-delegates and influenced by them. And it is no shame, but, on the contrary, very often much to our credit, if we change our views in deference to the judgments of others whom we credit with greater sagacity or experience, or to the cumulative weight of the judgment of a large majority of people, although they be in no way superior to us as individuals, even though at the time itself we are not fully convinced that our own views are wrong. I am second to no man in my respect for deeply cherished convictions. But convictions are not on every occasion to be treated as matters of conscience, and I have the support here of Cromwell, one of the most conscientious statesmen, known to history, who used to implore his fellow-workers to remember that it was possible they might be mistaken.

PLEA FOR SELF-RESTRAINT AND ACCOMMODATION.

Every delegate has the right to give expression to his views with perfect freedom, and to do so on as many questions as he likes. He has also the right to move as many resolutions as he pleases; to move amendments to as many

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resolutions proposed by others as he thinks fit ; and to divide the house as frequently as he chooses. But no real work is possible if such rights are exercised without proper consideration for the opinion and convenience of others, and particularly without regard for the best interests of a distressed and distracted nation. Our great chief had often to deplore that the enthusiasm of our people in their assemblages lacked self-restraint and discipline, and, in truth, it was their innate peace-loving nature and their good humour that so often proved their saving grace. Self-restraint and discipline can be taught to the masses only by such leaders as the Congress delegates and the self-restraint and discipline of the delegates themselves is the best guarantee of the self-restraint and discipline of the masses. Above all, I trust that in giving expression to our views, no matter how strong, we shall avoid such partisanship as feeds on malice and revels in violent recriminations. Our great chief is noted throughout the world for his gospel of Non-Violence, and it would be a sad commentary on our allegiance to one who would not tolerate violence in thought or word towards an enemy if we excluded from our boasted non-Violence our best friends. I would not for the world change popular enthusiasm in to quietism or indifference. We need discipline, not death. We must have the necessary steam to propel the national machinery; but it must be under proper control. Closely allied to this is the principle of compromise and accommodation. Ours is nothing if not a war of principles, and we cannot afford to forsake principles even for the sake of peace. But short of that we are being called upon by the state of our nation to-day to make every sacrifice in order to accommodate those who are as staunch nationalists as ourselves, but who do not always see eye to eye with us. It is our particular distinction that our great chief has spiritualized politics, and we can no longer be content with a politics that is completely divorced from ethics. But in politics we may not always be able to secure the best. Life is one long second best, and there should be no bar against the second best if, by being content with it for the time being, we can carry large sections of the nation with us on the road to victory. Above all, let us not think of winning party victories when we have still to win the great victory of freedom against slavery, and of justice against a whole nation's wrongs. Forgive me, friends, for this homiletic preface, but I think I owed it to you as well as to myself. And now let us begin.

THE MUSALMANS AND THE CONGRESS :

THE EFFECT OF THE MUTINY ON THE MUSALMANS.

I have referred to the fact that my association with the Congress is of very recent date ; but this admission is not merely personal. It involves the political history of the community to which I belong, and if I give a brief outline of it to you, it is only for the purpose of elucidating a problem which is the most vital of all the problems we have to solve to-day. When, in 1885, some Indian leaders, assisted by their British sympathisers, founded the Indian National Congress, the Musalmans of India did not participate in the movement except in a few individual cases. If their lack of Western education made them unfit to take part in a movement essentially that of the classes educated according to Western notions, their political temper made them an element that was not unlikely to prove dangerous to any political movement. They had already lost the rule of India, but the tradition of that rule had survived. This had increased the aversion they had always felt for the new type of education. The rule of India had finally passed from Muslim into English hands by slow and hardly perceptible degrees in the hundred years that intervened between the battle of Plassey and the Indian Mutiny ; but the Musalmans had not ceased to

regard the new rulers of India as something very inferior to themselves in civilisation and culture. This storm of ill-will and disdain had been gathering force for a whole century, and was at last precipitated in 1857. The Mutiny began near Calcutta as an affair of the Indian army, but in the storm-centre of Delhi and of my own Province, where it had to be fought out if English rule was to continue in India, it soon attracted to itself many forms of discontent, and religion was inextricably mixed up with politics. Although so many Musalmans had, at enormous risk to themselves, assisted the British at a time when hardly anyone could have predicted their eventual success with any degree of assurance, it was the Muslim aristocracy in those parts that suffered most from the terrible aftermath of the Mutiny. In fact, in its permanent results, even more than in some of its terrors, it could, without any great exaggeration, be compared to the social upheaval that the French Revolution meant to the old nobility of France. The remnants of Muslim aristocracy, deprived of all influence and of many of its possessions, certainly did not expect the return of Muslim rule. Nevertheless, a whole generation of Musalmans kept sullenly aloof from all contact with the culture of the new rulers of India which in their heart of hearts they still despised. They were in no mood to take advantage of the education provided by the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, founded in the very year in which the Mutiny convulsed the regions which formed the political centre of Muslim India. It was a natural consequence of this attitude of Musalmans who sulked in their tents that when, nearly thirty years later, a new generation of Indians, who owed their education to the English, inaugurated a political movement on western lines, Indian Musalmans should be unfit by lack of such education to participate in that movement. Nevertheless, the Congress which called itself "Indian" and "National" felt the need of Muslim participation, for it could not justify its title without it.

SYED AHMAD KHAN OPPOSES MUSLIM PARTICIPATION.

Efforts were therefore made early enough to enlist Musalmans as delegates. But at this juncture Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the great pioneer of Western education among Musalmans, stepped into the political arena, and in two historic speeches, one delivered at Lucknow on the 28th December, 1887, and the other at Meerut on the 16th March, 1888, decisively checked whatever signs the Musalmans had shown of political activity in support of the Congress movement. It is by no means a difficult task to criticise those speeches, for they contained many fallacies to which no politically-minded Musalman could subscribe to-day. But I am not one of those who declare, merely on the strength of some ill-advised expressions characteristic of so militant a controversialist as Syed Ahmad Khan, that he was opposed to the co-operation of Hindus and Musalmans.

THE TRUE NATURE AND MOTIVES OF HIS OPPOSITION.

Although his own public career after retirement from Public Service was identified with a movement for the uplift of his own community, he was a good Indian as well as a good Muslim, and many of his speeches prove him to have been an ardent patriot inspired with the love of Indian unity. And those who knew him personally can testify to the staunchness of his friendship with many Hindus, which could not have survived the narrow prejudices of which he has sometimes been accused.

No more true is the charge that he was opposed to Muslim participation in politics for all time. Whatever arguments he may have used in the two political utterances to which I have referred, to convince his

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Muslim hearers, there were two arguments, and two only, that had obviously convinced Syed Ahmad Khan himself of the undesirability of Muslim participation in the Congress at the time. He realised to the full that nothing would suit the temper of the Musalmans of his day better than the vocation of critics of their British supplanters in the governance of India; and he also realised that such a pursuit would be as dangerous to the continuance and progress of a peaceful political movement like the Congress as it was easy. This was the first argument that impelled Syed Ahmad Khan to keep his community under restraint in politics. The second argument was no less potent. Musalmans must educate themselves if they desired the uplift of their community, and yet it was no easy task to reconcile Musalmans to Western education even in an institution of their own, which unlike Government colleges and schools, would not divorce religious from secular learning. The easy pursuit of a policy in which the Muslims could act as destructive critics of the hated infidel Government was sure to offer superior attractions to the dull and drab constructive programme of the educationalist, and he therefore set himself to oppose all diversion of Muslim activities into the more attractive, but for the time being less useful, political channel. Reviewing the actions of a bygone generation to-day when it is easier to be wise after the event, I must confess I still think the attitude of Syed Ahmad Khan was eminently wise, and much as I wish that some things which he had said should have been left unsaid, I am constrained to admit that no well-wisher of Musalmans, nor of India as a whole, could have followed a very different course in leading the Musalmans.

Be it remembered that the man who enunciated this policy was not at the time a *persona grata* to the major portion of the community which he sought to lead. He was hated as a heretic because of the heterodoxy of his aggressive rationalism in interpreting the Holy Quran, and his militant opposition to popular superstitions believed in by the bulk of the orthodox and to shackling customs consecrated by time, though wholly unauthorised by Islam. He was abused and vilified by hundreds of thousands of his coreligionists, and for long the college that he had founded at Aligarh was the *betis noire* of the pious Muslim. And yet the entire community followed his political lead without a murmur. Neither fallacious arguments nor even political clap-trap could have possessed such potency, and it is my firm belief that his advocacy succeeded mainly because of the soundness of the policy advocated.

For two decades thereafter the Musalmans had hardly any politics or any political institution worth the name. On important occasions when Syed Ahmad Khan, and, of course, his British supporters, thought that any demand of the Congress if satisfied would not be productive of good for the Musalmans he would call together a few of his friends, mostly Trustees of the Alighr College, who used to form a society bearing some such name as the "Muslim Defence Association," and a resolution of this body would be published in the *Pioneer* and in Syed Ahmad Khan's own local weekly newspaper in due course. That was all that the Musalmans would do in those days in the field of politics.

I am far from denying that Syed Ahmad Khan knew perfectly well that his policy was more than acceptable to his official supporters, who would have in all likelihood put every possible obstruction in the way of his college and his Educational Conference if he had followed another less acceptable to them. But a very close study of his character leads me to declare that he was far from possessing the sycophancy with which some of his political critics have credited him. Indeed, even the opportunism of which his policy savoured could not have been entirely palatable to a nature so independent as his. In the year 1907, soon after the commencement of a new era in Muslim

politics inaugurated by the foundation of the Muslim League, to which I shall presently refer, there occurred a strike of the students of Syed Ahmad Khan's College at Aligarh, owing to the support given against them by their own English Principal and Professors to the Police that had picked up a quarrel with one of them. Just about that time fell the anniversary of Syed Ahmad Khan's death celebrated annually in the College as the "Founder's Day." For that occasion I had written in Urdu an Ode addressed to the late Founder of my college, and referring to this unmistakable indication of the students' self-respect and of their willingness to make the necessary self-sacrifice demanded by the haughty disdain of the foreigner, I had said:

سکھایا تو اتمیں بی تو م کو یہ شرور شرسارا
جرا سکی انتہام ہیں ذرا سکی ابتداء تو ہو

(It is you that had taught the community all this "mischief"; if we are its culmination, you are its commencement.)

"THE ARCH-REBEL."

That I am not alone in this estimate of Syed Ahmad Khan's character and policy will be proved by an interesting conversation that I shall relate. Once when my brother was still in the Public Service, an old English official asked him who he thought was the greatest rebel in India against British rule. And, correcting my brother's answer that experienced official had declared that it was no other than Syed Ahmad Khan, Loyalist of loyalists! when my brother protested against this astonishing judgment, he said: "Do you think young Musalmans who are being taught at Aligarh almost as well as our own boys at Harrow and Winchester, who live their lives and can beat them at their own games, would obsequiously serve them when they come out as Indian Civilians or members of such other superior services. No, Mr. Shaukat Ali, the days of British rule in India are numbered, and it is your loyal Syed Ahmad Khan that is the arch-rebel to-day!"

Like only too many of us, this British official too had failed to realise the paralysing effect of the education given in the colleges and schools established or favoured by this foreign Government, and had only foreseen the dissatisfaction and discontent that it must inevitably produce. With a Muslim University, chartered, aided and controlled by Government still flourishing at Aligarh, so far as the numbers of the teachers and the taught and a University Chest filled with the contributions of the rich are concerned, though robbed of all generous ideals and national and communal ambitions, and existing side by side with another, poor in everything save its ideals and its dreams, into which my old college had seemed to have transformed itself three years ago, I cannot boast that the "arch-rebel" of Aligarh has altogether succeeded in his "rebellious" endeavour. But it is my firm conviction that he had always aimed and intended to produce staunch Muslims and patriotic Indians even if he could not perhaps contemplate a near enough future for India in which his "young barbarians all at play," could be other than "loyal British subjects."

ALIGARH AND THE MUSLIM LEAGUE.

To my mind, the most important problem to-day is the problem of Indian unity and India's nation-hood, which, in other words, means the old, old Hindu Muslim problem. We are living to-day which for India is just as distinct as any year in the history of the world. This is the pre-Gandhian era, and

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what has gone before was practically the days of ignorance or as we in Islam call the days before our Prophet. The problem to-day, the problem of Hindu-Muslim Unity, is not precisely the same as it was in the pre-Gandhian days and yet it is a distressing and distracting problem. As one who is very late in coming to the Congress, not on any personal grounds but the whole community was very late in coming to the Congress, the Mussalmans expect from me a reply to the question asked by many and although unasked by many more, still felt by all, what would be the policy of the Mussalmans to-day in reference to Hindu-Muslim tensions. I could not avoid that subject, but what would be my answer? I have read Logic, though I do not believe in it any more than my friend, Deshabandhu Das! (Laughter). "Life is greater than Logic," he said, which means that history which was my subject for my Degree at Oxford is greater than Logic or Philosophy. (Hear, hear.) My only argument which has been developed at great length in this address is on this one single topic of Hindu-Muslim Unity, a unity which is nothing else but a repetition of the whole history of the Muslim development and I have sought to prove and I think I have conclusively proved that the Mussalmans did not rush into politics, that the Mussalmans did not rush into the Congress, that the Mussalmans did not rush into non-co-operation with the English and even to co-operation with their Hindu fellow-countrymen. But every step that they took, they took deliberately, slowly, almost painfully and reluctantly. But the force of circumstances and the reality of the situation drove them to take that step and it is that reality which is to keep them where they are and not let them go out of the Congress into those alluring backwaters of old politics, (hear, hear) in which the Government kept us so long and wants us to keep us to-day. After this by way of preface, I need not, I think, apologise to any of you even though you may not be Mussalmans at all for my lengthy address, because I wanted to exhaust the subject, so that, if after that, I was pestered, as I am daily pestered, by my own co-religionists to give them an answer as to what is to be done in future, I could only refer them to the paragraphs specially devoted for such questions. I did not want to leave out a single loop-hole and if I speak to my co-religionists frankly to-day, it is from my bitter experience, as I have said somewhere in this address of mine, a trophy which is something that people who had been fighting a battle, value most. A trophy is greatly cherished by warriors and experience is the most cherished trophy and it is a trophy made up of weapons that have hurt us. I have gone into the whole history of the Muhammadan community, how it was almost as bitter in 1857 against the British in India as it is to-day and how some of its best leaders kept that community out of the Indian National Congress when it came to be formed. The Mussalmans had lost their rule of India. It had slipped out of their hands gradually and imperceptibly in the long course of a hundred years between the battle of Plassey and the Indian Mutiny of 1857, as it is generally styled. When they woke up at last to discover the true situation—they did not awake fully they were still half asleep. They had lost their rule, but its traditions still remain with them and instead of working for victory after defeat, they began to shulk in their tents. They were justified to possess that temper, a temper in which they would have ruined any peaceful movement as the Indian National Congress has always been. They would have been a most dangerous thorn in the body-politic of the nation, because they were in that temper and were not sufficiently educated in Western lore. At least in the pre-Gandhian days, I believe the Indian National Congress was a movement only of the educated classes, of those who had been educated along western ways. Syed Ahmed Khan, the founder of the Aligarh College, where I myself and my brother and a large number of Mussalmans including extremists like Mr. Sherwani, Mr. Kwaja, Dr. Mahomed, have been educated there, foresaw in the then tenour of the Mussalmans that to let them go into a

body of critics of the Government would be to let them go into a place where they would revel in criticism and do nothing else ; they would have even wrecked the Congress. I have also said here, you will notice, I have traced the close connection between the foundation of the Indian National Congress and the foundation of the first important national or rather communal Muslim political institution known as the Muslim League. It practically took 30 years, which corresponds to the growth of a new generation, it took 30 years for the foundation of the Universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay to come into being. The first political educational centre was started at Aligarh. I leave here the Muslim history. I now jump over to the Muslim period.

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Nearly thirty years after the foundation of the Universities in the three Presidency towns of India—a period which corresponds with the growth of a new generation—the Congress had inevitably come into existence. It was no easy task that Syed Ahmed Khan had accomplished in founding an Anglo-Oriental College of his own community within two decades of the Indian Mutiny in the very regions which had formed the storm-centre in 1857. In obedience, as it were, to a law of nature, once more nearly thirty years after the foundation of this College, there came into being a political institution of the Musalmans who had not availed themselves of the educational facilities provided by the State Universities, and could not consequently share in the political awakening which those Universities had indirectly brought about. And it is not without significance that fairly prominent among the founders of the Muslim League at Dacca at the end of 1906 were some alumni of Syed Ahmad Khan's own College.

This inaugurated a new era in the political life of the Indian Musalmans. Some months previously a Muslim Deputation had waited at Simla on the Viceroy, Lord Minto, to place before him and his Government a statement of the Muslim demands in connection with the Minto-Morely Reforms then foreshadowed. To follow the fashion of British journalists during the War, "there is no harm *now* in saying" that the Deputation's was a "command" performance! It was clear that Government could no longer resist the demands of educated Indians, and, as usual, it was about to dole out to them a morsel that would keep them gagged for some years. Hitherto the Musalmans had acted very much like the Irish prisoner in the dock who, in reply to the judge's inquiry whether he had any counsel to represent him in the trial, had frankly replied that he had certainly not engaged counsel, but that he had "friends in the jury"! But now the Muslims' "friends in the jury" had themselves privately urged that the accused should engage duly qualified counsel like all others. From whatever source the inspiration may have come, there is no doubt that the Muslim cause was this time properly advocated. In the common territorial electorates the Musalmans had certainly not succeeded in securing anything like adequate or real representation, and those who denounced and deplored the creation of separate electorates for which the Musalmans had pleaded should have remembered that separate electorates were the consequence, and *not* the cause, of the separation between Musalmans and their more numerous Hindu brethren.

I like to mention in this connection that not long ago, I was present at Belgaum and the Municipal Board presented an address to my brother and myself. I was particularly asked by that large-hearted Brahman Mr. Deshpande (Mr. Deshmukh?) to speak something with reference to Brahmin and Non-Brahmin quarrels. I said I have every sympathy with both the Brahmin and the Non-Brahmin sections. I said that I greatly sympathise

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with the Non-Brahmans and that this was the *Karma* of the majority, because I felt certain that Brahmans have learnt the lesson and in order that it is fully crystallised in India, they could never give too much to the Non-Brahmans if they could thereby make the whole of India a perfectly united nation. I felt certain that in future this were the spirit prevailing in the various communities, more particularly in the strongest communities, the minorities would readily join the nationalist movement and would be only too glad to work shoulder to shoulder with the majorities, without any diffidence, without any hesitation, without any mistrust or reluctance on their part.

SEPARATE ELECTORATES HASTEN INDIAN UNITY.

But little could the official supporters of the Muslim community have suspected at the time that, paradoxical as it may seem, the creation of separate electorates was hastening the advent of Hindu-Muslim unity. For the first time a real franchise, however restricted, was being offered to Indians, and if Hindus and Musalmans remained just as divided as they had hitherto been since the commencement of British rule, and often hostile to one another, mixed electorates would have provided the best battle-ground for inter-communal strifes, and would have still further widened the gulf separating the two communities. Each candidate for election would have appealed to his own community for votes, and would have based his claims for preference on the intensity of his ill-will towards the rival community, however disguised this may have been under some such formula as "the defence of his community's interests." Bad as this would have been, the results of an election in which the two communities were not equally matched would have been even worse, for the community that failed to get its representative elected would have inevitably borne a yet deeper grudge against its successful rival. Divided as the two communities were, there was no chance for any political principles coming into prominence during the elections. The creation of separate electorates did a great deal to put a stop to this inter-communal warfare, though I am far from oblivious of the fact that when inter-communal jealousies are acute, the men that are more likely to be returned even from communal electorates are just those who are noted for their ill-will towards the rival community.

"UNITED FAITHS OF INDIA."

In the controversy that raged round the representation of Musalmans *as a community* I had taken my full share; but no sooner the Muslim claim had been recognised in practice in the elections to the enlarged councils in 1910, I decided to launch a weekly journal of my own from the seat of the Government of India in order to assist my community in taking its proper share in the political life of the country. I was particularly anxious to help it to understand that, while endeavouring to satisfy the pressing needs of the present, which would inevitably bring it now and then into conflict with other elements in the body-politic, it should never lose sight of the prospects of the future when ultimately all communal interests had to be adjusted so as to harmonise with the paramount interests of India.

I had long been convinced that here in this country of hundreds of millions of human beings, intensely attached to religion, and yet infinitely split up into communities, sects and denominations, Providence had created for us the mission of solving a unique problem and working out a new synthesis, which was nothing less than a Federation of Faiths! As early as in 1904, when I had been only two years in India after my return from Oxford, I had given to this idea a clear, if still somewhat hesitating expression, in an address delivered at Ahmedabad on

the "Proposed Mohamedan University." "Unless some new force,"—this is what I had said on that occasion—"unless some new force, *other than the misleading unity of opposition*, unites this vast continent of India, it will either remain a geographical misnomer, or what I think it will ultimately do, become a Federation of Religions." I had noted the strength of the centrifugal force of Indian communities; I have got huge bunches of telegrams that came from Bengal, still more from Mr. Das, and still more from the Punjab. I still feel that there are strong centrifugal forces in India. And yet hope and faith and the deep yearning for freedom had even then made me realise the latent centripetal force of Indian unity. The lines of cleavage were too deeply marked to permit a unity other than federal; and yet, as I had observed in the address from which I have already quoted, the cleavage was not territorial or racial in character, but religious. For more than twenty years I have dreamed the dream of a federation, grander, nobler and infinitely more spiritual than the United States of America, and to-day when many a political Cassandra prophesies a return to the bad old days of Hindu-Muslim dissensions, I still dream that old dream of "United Faiths of India." It was in order to translate this dream into reality that I had launched my weekly newspaper, and had significantly called it *The Comrade*—"comrade of all and partisan of none!" (Laughter.)

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I hope my Swarajist friends and No-Change friends will see that I deserve the title of Comrade being a comrade to all; that I made the "Comrade" a friend and comrade of all and a partisan of none.

Friends, is it so entirely out of place if I quote a little from the first words that I had contributed to the first issue of the *Comrade*? In view of the political controversy that had been raging in India, I naturally shrank from relating my dream when making my *debut* before a sceptical, matter-of-fact world. And yet the dream was all the time there for those who did not despise dreams.

"We have no faith (I wrote on the 14th January, 1911,) in the cry that India is united. If India was united where was the need of dragging the venerable President of this year's Congress (Sir William Wedderburn) from a distant home? The bare imagination of a feast will not dull the edge of hunger. We have less faith still in the sanctimoniousness that transmutes in its subtle alchemy a rapacious monopoly into fervent patriotism.

"Even as poor birds deceiv'd with painted grapes

"Do surfeit by the eye, and pine the maw."

Those of us who cannot distinguish true gold from the glitter of spurious coins, will one day surfeit by the ear and pine the heart. But the person we love best, fear the most, and trust the least is the impatient idealist. Goethe said of Byron that he was a prodigious poet, but that when he reflected, he was a child. Well, we think no better and no worse of the man who combines great ideals and a greater impatience. So many efforts, well-meaning as well as ill-begotten, have failed in bringing unity to this distracted land, that we cannot spare even cheap and scentless flowers of sentiment for the grave of another ill-judged endeavour. We shall not make the mistake of gumming together pieces of

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broken glass, and then cry over the unsuccessful result, or blame the refractory material. In other words, we shall endeavour to face the situation boldly, and respect facts, howsoever ugly and ill-favoured. It is poor statesmanship to slur over inconvenient realities, and not the least important success in achieving unity is the honest and frank recognition of deep-seated prejudices that hinder it and the yawning differences that divide.*

But while providing for to-day, we must not forget the morrow. It is our firm belief that if the Mussalmans or the Hindus attempt to achieve success in opposition to, or even without the co-operation of one another they will not only fail, but fail ignominiously. (Hear, Hear.) But every step has to be taken with caution. Nothing in history, ancient or modern, provides a useful analogy to the condition of modern India. History never repeats itself. But it is still the best educative force for mankind, and it has its lessons for us also. The problems of India are almost international. But when the statesmen and philanthropists of Europe, with all its wars of interests and national jealousies, do not despair of abolishing war and placing Pax on the throne of Bellona, shall we despair of Indian nationality? (President's comment :—Europe has made a mess of its arbitration courts and its international efforts at securing peace. But I hope we who are a more spiritual people will achieve unity even before Europe can do. (Hear, Hear.) We may not create to-day the patriotic fervour and the fine national frenzy of Japan with its forty millions of homogeneous people. But a concordat like that of Canada is not beyond the bounds of practicability. It may not be a love-marrige, born of romance and poetry. But a *marriage de convenance*, honourably contracted and honourably maintained, is not to be despised. Let us begin with honest prose, and the Muses will not forbid the banns. Even this is no easy task. But it is one worthy of the sons and daughters of India, and deserves their toil and self-sacrifice. O ! Unity,

*"Thou wilt come, join men, knit nation unto nation ;
"But not for us who watch to-day and burn,
"Thou wilt come ; but after what long years of trial,
"Weary watching, Patient longing, dull denial !"*

(These lines were read by the President with deep pathos and tears.)

Friends, three years ago we were privileged to catch more than a fleeting glimpse of the unity of which I had dreamed, and if to-day we have to admit, as we must, that the dream has not been realised as fully as we wish, we shall have once more to examine the situation carefully and to face inconvenient facts with candour and with courage. I propose to do that presently, but not to break the thread of my narrative I revert to the situation as it existed at the time when I made my journalistic *debut*.

MUSLIMS AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

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As I had foreseen, the separate electorates returned both Hindus and Musalmans who were not averse to combine in the various legislatures to support the popular cause. Nevertheless, inter-communal hostility did not altogether cease in the country. A new element was, however, unexpectedly added to the situation by the aggression of Western nations against Muslim States and its effect on Muslim sentiment in India, and although there are not wanting even to-day staunch non-Muslim nationalists who look askance at Indian Muslim feeling with regard to Muslim affairs abroad, a little reflection would show that the new element to which I have referred, even while undoubtedly diverting the attention of Indian Musalmans to some extent from affairs at home, hastened Muslim disillusionment with regard to their traditional reliance on their foreign Government and thereby contributed greatly to Indian unity.

Here I must say that at that time, I did not expect that foreign affairs of the Muslims would to any great extent occupy my time or energy. I still thought that the greatest problem of all before us was the Hindu-Moslem question in India. But what happened since 1911? Blow after blow was struck at the Temporal power of Islam and never in the whole of 1300 and odd years of Islamic history had there ever been a period so gloomy and disastrous for us, until very recently of course. With regard to the foreign affairs, as I shall presently show, some people still say—why should the Mussalmans of India be so busy with the Khilafat and why not they concentrate their attention entirely upon India and its problems. Well, if you carefully examine the history of the last dozen years you will come to know how our disasters in foreign affairs have thrown us back on you. We feel grateful for the concentration of the Mussalmans on foreign affairs outside the confines of India, because it has made us realise that we must after all come to Indians for the proper solution of our difficulties in the foreign countries abroad. (Hear, hear.)

In India too, an important thing happened. In foreign affairs we realised from the way in which Great Britain behaved towards Morocco, the Arabs in Tripoli, the Turks in the Balkans, even in 1912 that these "Friends in the Jury," as they call themselves, were not friendly at all. (Laughter.) I had perpetrated an epigram. Many a man told me that such and such a man had great influence with the Government. We now know what this 'influence' means. It means really that the Government has great influence with them and over them. (Laughter.) We realised that when we were used as cats' paws to fight our Hindu brethren, and when afterwards we were betrayed even in the most wonted traditions of our religion abroad as well as in India.

But I refer to the Partition of Bengal and the troubles between the Hindus and the Mussalmans which followed. The two great protagonists, my friend the Editor of the "SERVANT" and my friend, Desabandhu Das, who are now ranged on opposite sides, were then combined and united in their condemnation of the Partition of Bengal. The benighted and the uneducated Mussalman wanted the Bengal Partition to remain unaltered. But really I never believed in that Partition. Only I ask you to realise the fact that this Government had to call upon the Mussalmans to fight as its auxiliaries against the Hindus in Bengal. Undoubtedly, undoubtedly, I say, the Partition of Bengal, although it was most unjust and carried out in most vindictive spirit by Lord Curzon, did benefit the Mussalmans to a certain extent. Yet, when the Government found that things were getting too hot for it, it dropped the Mussalmans like a hot potato. (Laughter.) Never was a more ignoble betrayal perpetrated in the whole history of Indian politics.

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I had intended the *Comrade* to be the organ that was to voice the sentiments I entertained regarding the need of an inter-communal federation for India. It was to prepare the Musalmans to make their proper contribution to territorial patriotism without abating one jot of the fervour of their extra-territorial sympathies, which are, as you must know, part of the quintessence of Islam. When I first thought of launching on a career of journalism I did not expect that any but a small fraction of my attention and energies would be attracted by Muslim politics outside the confines of my own country. It is true that affairs in Egypt did not present a very re-assuring appearance; nor did the new Constitutions in Turkey and Persia receive, after an initial outburst of welcome, their full measure of sympathy which we in India felt to be due to such heroic and hazardous enterprises from England, the one European power with which we had all along been exclusively concerned. The only other European Power on our political horizon had been Russia. So long as after the overthrow of France a hundred years previously she was the most considerable of the Powers on the continent of Europe, and had further aggravated that situation by aiming at being a yet greater power on the continent of Asia, everyone in India had been sedulously taught by the masters of India's destinies to regard her as the enemy of mankind, and to believe that it was the sacred mission of England to thwart and defeat her. But the rapid rise of Japan and its signal success in defeating Russia in the Far East, while it encouraged other oriental nations to hold up their heads and to hope, so radically altered the position of Russia that, from being an inveterate enemy, she became a friend and in all but name an ally of England, even though it was her victorious adversary that had been, and still remained, the acknowledged and official ally of that nation. This speedily reacted on Eastern politics, not only in Persia, where Russia openly stood up as a high-handed dictator, and where it was soon to cause a hail-storm of ultimatums, but also in Turkey, where the rivalries of the Slav and the Teuton now re-appeared with added vehemence in the form of a struggle between Entente and Alliance. Once more had the Near East become the storm-centre of European politics,

All this was no doubt desquieting enough to Indian Musalmans who had been brought up from their childhood to regard England as the friend and Russia as the enemy of Muslim States. But the political controversies of Hindus and Musalmans appeared none the less to be their immediate concern in India. The passions that these inter-communal differences had unfortunately aroused just a little previously had lent to them the semblance of acute international conflict, while Turkey and Persia still seemed comparatively remote.

But things did not proceed precisely in the way in which I had so optimistically forecasted. The year 1911 proved a fateful year for Muslim states. The new Governments of Turkey, Persia and Morocco all began to meet with squalls in their initial voyage of reform and progress, which soon developed into regular storms.

THE DURBAR ANNOUNCEMENT.

In India, too, the year proved more fateful for Musalmans than any one could have predicted. Just before the close of the year the King-Emperor made a portentous Announcement at Delhi where he had come ostensibly to announce in person in an Imperial Durbar only the event of his coronation that year. It was admittedly an "abrupt departure from the tradition of British Government and a complete dislocation of official habits." But this unusual procedure, and the secrecy which had been maintained, not only at the expense of India but also

at that of the Local Governments, were justified on the ground that the Imperial Announcement was "one of the most weighty decisions ever taken since the establishment of the British rule in India," and that the discussion of measures which were being taken in consequence of an agitation that indicated "bitterness of feeling," and was at the same time "very widespread and unyielding," would have in its turn caused endless agitation. As we all know, the Announcement comprised a re-adjustment of territories upsetting Lord Curzon's vindictive Partition of Bengal and the creation of the new Province of Behar and Orissa after the re-union of Bengal, East and West. It also indirectly penalised Bengal by shifting the capital to Delhi. As I wrote in the *Comrade* at the time, I was in favour of both these schemes, "taking each by itself as wholly unconnected schemes," and "irrespective of the time, place and procedure preferred by the Government of India for the Announcement." The partition in the form then approved was due in 1905, and the transfer of the capital was needed in 1858. Lords Curzon and Midleton had sinned in a hurry, and it would have seemed that Lords Hardinge and Crewe were repenting at leisure. But it was clear from the King-Emperor's Announcement as well as from the despatches of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, that "the key-stone of the whole project" was the "proposal to make Delhi the future capital of India"; that it was only "as a consequence of the transfer" that the Partition was modified; that the Bengalis were expected to be "reconciled to the change" of capital by "*other features of the scheme which were specially designed to give satisfaction to Bengali sentiment*"; and that the re-union of the two Bengals was no more than "the compensation which will be offered to Bengali sentiment" for "the objections to the transfer which are likely to be entertained in some quarters." There was not a word in the Government of India's Despatch about such things as the financial embarrassment of the administration in Eastern Bengal, the unsatisfactory results of yoking Assam with a part of Bengal, or the difficulties of communication between the Rajshahi Division and Dacca, all of which could have been utilized to justify the unsettlement of a "settled fact." The Partition of 1905 was indeed acknowledged in that Despatch to have fulfilled "two of the chief purposes which its authors had in view." "It relieved," so ran the Despatch, "the over-burdened administration of Bengal, and it gave the Mohamedan population of Eastern Bengal advantages and opportunities of which they had, perhaps, hitherto not had their fair share." But Bengal had to be deprived of the distinction of claiming the capital of India as its own capital as well, and of the opportunities it had thus enjoyed of criticising the Government of India and subjecting it to constant pressure from such close quarters. We had already been familiarised, to the extent of feeling downright moral contempt for it, with the Doctrine of compensation in the foreign politics of Europe, according to which Morocco had been given to France for the sake of a free hand for the English in Egypt, and Tripoli had been all but given to Italy, while Germany had made her famous *Panther* leap at Agadir. This fatal doctrine had now peacefully penetrated into the internal administration of India. "Eastern Bengal and Assam," wrote the Government of India, "have no doubt benefitted greatly by the Partition, and the Mohamedans of the province, who form a large majority of the population, are loyal and contented; but the resentment among the Bengalis in both the provinces of Bengal, who hold most of the land, fill the professions and exercise a preponderating influence in public affairs, is as strong as ever." As I wrote on that occasion, "what could be easier than to politely disburden the loyal and contented Peter of his few wordly belongings in order to load the discontented, if not disloyal, Paul with rewards and compensation? The Musalmans have no *Panther* to send to Agadir, and it is too well-established a rule of diplomacy that : no *Panther*, no compensation !"

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Incidents:—Now I will relate to you an incident which will take away something of the exhaustive nature of my address. I will relate to you an incident which happened when the Delhi announcement was made by His Majesty the King Emperor. My dear old friend, Sir Charles Cleveland, the Head of the C. I. D., (take note of it, said the President turning towards the Government Reporters in the Press Block, (Laughter) who was standing very close to me saw me getting the first copy of the announcement that was being handed to the men in the Press gallery where I was seated as the Editor of the COMRADE. This official, as I was reading it to myself, asked me, "Well, Mohamed Ali, is it anything for you or for me?" because, he knew nothing of it. It was in fact kept secret from high officials, even from the Lieutenant Governor of East Bengal. What was my answer to this question? I said, "There is nothing for me; but, Sir Charles, there is plenty of work for you" (Laughter). I think we have given them some work to do.

You know the Mohammadan era begins from the Flight of the Prophet, which is known as the Hijra. I call 1912 as Lord Hardinge's Hijra, the flight of Lord Hardinge (laughter) who went back from the "Partition of Bengal" said to be a "settled fact". There is the policy of 'give-and-take' to which I have to refer in this connection. In the case of the loyal and steady Behar, it was nothing but a case of 'take' in regard to the Partition and repartition. (Laughter.) They got a new province and they swallowed a small province called Orissa and another called Chota-Nagpur. But in the case of the Muslims of East Bengal, it was nothing but a policy of "give, give, give." (Laughter.) They got nothing out of the Partition. Why, because it was counted that they were loyal and contented. I say -loyal we shall always be, but contented we shall not remain. (Laughter.) And I am not quite sure whether we have remained very loyal either. (Renewed laughter.) I was entirely for the repartition and also entirely for the change of Capital as well. But the way in which it was done, was an absolute betrayal of the Mussalman cause. Thank God, we were betrayed and it opened our eyes and we found precisely what I once told the French people in Paris sometime ago. I said to them—"Friends, you are an ally of England. If you could learn something from the experiences of Asiatics living very far from you, but who has had the experience of the under-dog which you have not yet, you should make your peace with the Germans directly. You will do it at much lesser cost than you can through the alliance of France with England." We realise in India that we could make our peace with you (i. e., the Hindus) on much better terms and much less sacrifice than we could have done with the help of the English. I pass over all this and the entire history of the Muslim League, and how it came to have for its ideal a self-government suited to India.

ITS REACTION ON MUSLIM POLITICS.

While I declared in the *Comrade* that "in our judgment the Musalmans should accept the decision of the Government," I could not but say that they had deserved a better fate. Before the Partition they had laboured under many difficulties and had endured everything quietly as only the weak can endure. It was not they that had clamoured and agitated for the Partition. Nevertheless, the Partition came to them as a well-deserved though wholly unexpected blessing. Their condition had begun to improve, and with that their ambitions and hopes. It may even be confessed that, like all *nouveaux riches*, these political *parvenus* sometimes held their heads too high and strutted about in the peacock manner. But, like the exaltation born of a draught of haschish, it did not last long, and the reaction came with a suddenness and a force that were terrible

The emancipated slaves were, so to speak, once more sold into bondage, and who does not know that revenge is sweet? Their old masters could have been excused if on being placed once more in the position of the slave-driver they had used the lash and the bastinado a little too lavishly. The Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal had been made to fight the battle of their rulers, against their neighbours, and now that it was no longer convenient for the rulers to continue the fight, they had made their own peace with all convenient speed, and had left the Musalmans to the mercy of those against whom they had been used as auxiliaries. It would be hard to discover in history a more ignoble instance of betrayal in which "loyalty" has been rewarded with deprivation of recently recovered rights, and "contentment" has been punished as the worst of crimes. Perhaps I may mention without any indiscretion that when immediately after the Announcement I drove over in haste to interview Sir Charles Bayley, the head of the Local Government now thrown on the scrap-heap, I met Lord Sinha and Sir Benode Mitter, who asked me what I thought of the Announcement. I told them that in the case of the Hindus of Bengal the Announcement had been a matter of "give-and-take," that for "sturdy, loyal" Beharis it had been one of "take" only, but that for the Musalmans of Eastern Bengal it had been one of nothing but "give," and as a reward for their loyalty and contentment they had been given a generous helping of humble pie. And then I walked off with the mumbled prayer that they might be spared too acute an attack of indigestion! In the Durbar itself a little earlier I remember that I had been accosted by my old friend Sir Charles Cleveland, Director of the Criminal Intelligence Department, as I was hastily perusing the Announcement. As it happened, I was among the very first in the Press Camp to receive a copy of it from the hands of the official who was distributing them. Sir Charles had humorously asked me if there was anything in the Announcement for me or for him, and I had replied with ill-suppressed bitterness that there was nothing for me, but that there was plenty of work for him. And who can say that my prophecy has not proved true?

Friends, I have gone into this matter at considerable length only because the Announcement has always appeared to me to be a very distinct land-mark in the political progress of the Musalmans. Nothing could have more clearly convinced them that their dependence upon a foreign government for support against sister communities laid them perpetually open to such betrayals. They now realised that they could place no reliance on such support, whether at home or abroad, and it set them thinking that perhaps at a much smaller sacrifice of their interests they could purchase lasting peace and even secure the friendship of their neighbours and fellow-countrymen.

SELF-GOVERNMENT AS THE MUSLIM LEAGUE'S CREED.

The Muslim League, although never an anti-Hindu or anti-Congress organisation, had at its birth in the very midst of the Partition agitation, naturally emphasised in its creed the protection of communal interests and loyalty to Government, even though it had also included therein the promotion of harmony and concord with sister-communities. A year after the Durbar Announcement, the Council of the League recommended a change in the creed, and it emphasised in the new creed that it recommended "Self-government suitable for India" as its ideal. (This is about the change of Muslim creed.) In commenting upon this change, which was eventually accepted by the League in its annual session in the following March, I had stated that for the Musalmans their new political creed was but "the half-way house from which their ultimate destination was clearly visible," and I do not think I can do better in helping you to form a just estimate of our position to-day than quote from the *Comrade*

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of that date the following passage which I would ask all Nationalists, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, to consider carefully:

But it is not so much on the reform of the administration by the administrators and those to whom they are responsible, nor even on the relationship that comes to exist between the ruler and the ruled that the attainment of self-government depends. Self-government is the necessary corollary of self-realisation, and India as a whole has not yet realised herself. Once her conflicting interests, warring creeds and rival communities not only conceive that India can be one in her soul as she is in her body, but feel her unity as an individual feels the unity of his individual self in spite of the diversity of the various members and organs of his body, and the varying moods of his intellect and soul, there is no power in the world that can deny her self-government. But we would warn our countrymen against playing the sedulous ape in their methods of nation-making as we have warned them in the matter of their choosing their political goal.....In India political unity can be achieved not so much by annihilating smaller units that may appear to conflict with the ultimate scheme of unity, but by recognising their force and inevitableness. If we could choose a motto for a society of nation-makers in India, we could suggest nothing better than what the United States of America have adopted on their coins. India is to be a *pluribus unum*.

MUSALMANS AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

In foreign affairs the year 1912 had opened with far different prospects from those of 1911. Up to the last, Indian Musalmans had entertained the hope that things would right themselves. But this did not happen, and the year ended even worse than it had begun. The sad disillusionment with regard to international morality for which the shameless brigandage of Italy in Tripoli was responsible had greatly affected the Mussalmans in the autumn of 1911. If any further disillusionment was needed it was supplied by the action of Russia in Persia and Britain's "sanctimonious acquiescence." In both cases the utmost brutality characterised European aggression. Who can forget the massacres in the Tripoli Oasis or the celebration in Persia of the New Year, which coincided with the anniversary of the Tragedy of Kerbala, when, among others, the Siqat-ul-Islam, the highest ecclesiastic of Northern Persia—"a man universally respected alike for his learning, his piety and his tolerance"—was hanged by the Russians. If anything could surpass these things in the anguish they caused to Muslim minds, it was the threatened aeroplane attack on the Holy Ka'ba by Italy and the actual bombardment of Holy Meshad by Russia which followed them. Truly did Mr. Shuster declare at a banquet given in his honour by the Persia Committee in London on his visit there after his expulsion from Persia: "I am not bitter about my own experience, but I should be a hypocrite if I pretended not to sympathise with the bitterness of the Mohamedan people who have so forcibly learned the lesson that the Ten Commandments do not apply to international politics. Let anyone who doubts this review the events of the past year." These bitter experiences were destined to be followed by those still more bitter in 1912 in the autumn of which broke out the Balkan War, which at one time threatened to expel the Turks from Europe after nearly five hundred years.

REACTION ON MUSLIM FEELING IN INDIA.

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The attitude of England towards the enemies of Turkey, Persia and Morocco had begun to alienate the sympathies of Indian Musalmans from England ever since 1911; and this estrangement could not but react on their relations with the British officials here, who, in spite of their detestation of the Radical politicians in power in England, could not help looking askance at Indians daring to criticise an English Government with a candour and a courage unusual in a subject race. The *Comrade* case, which for the first time brought home to Indians the power of the now defunct Press Act for evil, was concerned, as many of you may still remember, with the forfeiture of a pamphlet received from the Turks. In this they had only appealed to England for Christian succour against the Balkan Allies whose Macedonian atrocities were therein depicted. While this litigation was going on, the fatal developments following on the demolition of part of a small mosque at Cawnpore embittered Muslim feeling still further. In consequence of all this I had proceeded to England, in company with the then Secretary of the Muslim League, to appeal to the British Government and persuade it to alter a policy, Indian as well as foreign, that seemed to bode no good to anybody, and which was sure to drive the Muslims to despair. In this we partly succeeded; but within a year events of far greater magnitude occurred in which the entire world was involved. The War and the events leading to the participation of Turkey not on the same side as England undid all the good that we had expected to follow the friendly Deputation of Indian Musalmans which we had taken to wait on Lord Hardinge earlier in the year, and which had been received by the Viceroy with every show of good-will.

OUTBREAK OF WAR AND MUSLIM FEELING IN INDIA.

When the war with Germany broke out, I think I fairly represented the feeling of educated and responsible Indian Musalmans who were too self-respecting to play the sycophant when I wrote in the *Comrade* of the 12th August 1914, as follows:—

There are still some sane people among Indians themselves, and though they do not advertise the offer of their personal services to the Government, whatever influence they possess with the people would be used to decrease rather than increase the Government's embarrassment. They could offer no better guarantee than this that they regard India's connection with Great Britain as, at the present stage of India's growth, indispensable; and we are sure that the less lofty motive of self-interest would wear better and stand the strain of circumstances longer than the lip-loyalty of Ji-Huzurs.

Whether Great Britain has respected Muslim Indian feeling in her dealings with Turkey, Persia, Morocco, or not; whether the utterances of His Majesty's Ministers regarding the Turks in their life and death struggle during the last war have been just and consistent, or unjust and inconsistent; whether their action following two breaches of treaty obligations, by Austria in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and by Italy in the Tripolitaine, have tallied or not with the recent public proclamation of their sense of the sacredness of treaties; whether their conscience has revolted or not at the slaughter of babes and sucklings, unprotected womanhood

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and bed-ridden age in Tripoli and the Balkans; whether the white Colonials' treatment of their coloured fellow-citizens of the same Empire has been fair or otherwise; whether the Home Government has exerted its full pressure on the Colonials to right the wrong, or has only assumed an incredible impotence; whether Indians' claims for an equitable adjustment of rights and duties and for a fair share in guiding the destinies of their own country have been met by the British Bureaucracy in the spirit of friendliness, or of jealousy and rancour; whether in the annulment of the Partition of Bengal the Musalmans were treated with due consideration for their loyalty, or it was underrated and their contentment taken too much for granted; whether the sanctity of their places of worship and the integrity of their graveyards have been uniformly respected, or sometimes lightly sacrificed to the Moloch of Prestige—we say that, irrespective of any or all these considerations, or rather because we have carefully weighed them all against the one supreme consideration, our need of England and her tutelage at the present stage of our national and communal growth, and found her good exceeding by a great deal her evil, we shall remain loyal to her as only freemen can remain loyal, with a sincere devotion and an unbought submission, and this whether she crushes the naval power of Germany and becomes a dictator to Europe, or the last ship of her mighty Armada sinks in the North Sea and her last soldier falls down and dies round Liege or London...Even if England may not need us, we have need of her. Believing in political purity rather than in political prudery, we have entered the lists with her biggest bureaucrats in India in time of peace. But in time of war the clash of steel in civic battles must cease and the voice of controversy must be hushed, and if we cannot hastily command in others an enthusiasm for this war which we ourselves do not feel, let us once and for all assure the Government that, so far as we and those within the orbit of our influence are concerned, they can sleep in peace. Let alone Provincial satraps and the still greater despots of their districts, their meanest, if not their humblest, policeman will find us at his beck and call whenever civic excitement has to be allayed. More than this we cannot proclaim. Less than this we shall not confess. This is and has always been our creed and to that we shall adhere.

Friends, I fear, I must have exhausted your patience with these long quotations from the *comrade*, but I feel certain of your indulgence if you would only consider the object I have in view. This long narration is intended to show to the world how different were the feelings of Indian Musalmans towards this Government until quite recent times, and what patience we had shown in the face of injustice, indifference and continued callousness.

TURKEY AND INDIAN MUSLIM FEELING.

• At the suggestion of Government, and through its own medium, I had even cabled, along with my friend Dr. Ansari, to the late lamented Talaat Pasha

urging the Turks to think a thousand times before they participated in the War. And even when war being forced on Turkey by ill-advised threats such as those of the *London Times*, my very long, well-known and in the English Press extensively quoted and highly approved article, in reply to that of the *Times* on the "Choice of the Turks," had shown to what lengths Indian Musalmans were then prepared to go in assisting their foreign Government.

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I shall only quote to you the final conclusion at which after very careful and detailed reasoning I had myself arrived in that article, and which I had recommended to the Musalmans for adoption as the policy of the community.

All truly loyal people (I wrote) have closed the chapter of civic controversy with the officials and into that book they are likely to look no more. Whatever our grievances, whatever reforms we desire, everything must wait for a more seasonable occasion. Even if the Government were to concede to us all that we ever desired or dream ; if, for instance the Muslim University were offered to us on our own terms, or the Press Act repeal were to be announced ; or even if Self-Government were to be conceded to us, we would humbly tell Government this is no time for it, and we must for the present decline such concessions with thanks. Concessions are asked for and accepted in peace. We are not Russian Poles. We need no bribes !

A conclusion such as this had recommended itself even to the Calcutta correspondent of the *Morning Post*. And yet it was for publishing this very article that I forfeited the security of the *Comrade* Press and had in consequence to discontinue that paper. It was then that a distinguished weekly journal of England, *The New Statesman*, severely criticised the Government of India in a leading article sarcastically headed "Encouraging Loyalty in India" ! And when the war with Turkey actually broke out, a representative of the Associated Press and Reuter interviewed me at Delhi and subsequently informed me that the interview was much appreciated by the Viceroy who had seen it before publication. I had predicted in the previous article that even if war broke out with the Turks the anchor of the Indian Musalmans' loyalty would hold, and now that war had broken out I repeated that the anchor still held. I asked them to commend their souls to God and to place their services at the disposal of the Government for the preservation of peace and tranquility in India. I compared their position to that of the children of parents who had quarrelled with one another. "Right may be on one side or the other, but the sorrow and suffering are in any case those of the children."

THE LIMITS OF MUSLIM "LOYALTY."

In this interview, as also in the last leading article the *Comrade* was permitted to publish before it closed its doors it was clearly indicated that Musalmans were placing implicit reliance on the solemn pledges given by the British Government and Britain's Allies with regard to their faith and the Holy Places of Islam. I had distinctly pointed out that *Arabiya must not be attacked nor must the protection of Islam's Holy Places by a really independent Muslim Power be endangered*. This was the least to which Indian Musalmans were entitled unless their religion was required by their non-Muslim Government to be a matter of no consequence to them as compared with their "loyalty" to that Government. I may add that I had concluded my interview with the statement that the Muslims could be trusted to act on the precept of Jesus Christ to

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render unto Cæsar what is due to Cæsar. But I was informed by the distinguished journalist who had recorded the interview that the Censor of Press telegrams, who was no doubt a good Christian, while passing the rest of the message, had carefully scored out the exhortation of Jesus Christ (Laughter). No doubt that astute official, who believed in the supremacy of the State over the Church, thought that if the Muslims were reminded of their duty to render unto Cæsar what was due to Cæsar, they might perchance remember the accompanying exhortation also to render unto God what was due to God! (Renewed Laughter.)

DEFIANCE OF MUSLIM RELIGION AND DISREGARD OF MUSLIM RIGHTS.

This was precisely what happened before very long, and the history of our betrayal is too recent to be repeated in any detail. During the War Musalmans were required, in defiance of their religious obligations, to assist Government in waging war against the Khalifa and those engaged in Jihad. The Jazirat-ul-Arab, which includes Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia, and which Musalmans were required by their faith at all times to keep free from non-Muslim occupation and control, was attacked and occupied by Great Britain and her Allies, and is still under their control in defiance of their Prophet's well-known testamentary injunction. The Holy Places of Islam, *which are not particular buildings merely, but territories*, including the three Sacred Harams of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, have been filched from the Successor of the Prophet and Commander of the Faithful, who is their only accredited Servant and Warden, and even to-day he is not permitted to occupy, defend and serve them. The dismemberment of the Empire of the Khalifa; the appointment of non-Muslim Mandatories to control various portions of it; and the consequent weakening of the temporal power of Islam to the point of danger to its spiritual influence, through the possible pressure of the temporal power of rival creeds, were openly advocated by the Allies, and none of them insisted upon this course so relentlessly up to the last as Great Britain herself. As we all know, Greece was her own brutal nominee and agent in the execution of this policy even after the armistice in defiance of all laws of peace or war, and howsoever much the other Allies also may have resisted Ismet Pasha at Lausanne, it was Great Britain herself that was the chief obstacle in the path of Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha to the very end of this tragic tale. Discrimination was made against Muslim governments and populations in various other ways also, such as by the denial of self-determination to the Muslim populations of territories forcibly annexed or occupied and controlled by non-Muslim Powers. While all this was going on, Indian Muslim opinion unrepresented at the Peace Conference, and represented before the Allies themselves only by unrepresentative Musalmans, was vigorously suppressed in India by means of those well-known engines of tyranny and terrorism, the Press Act, the Defence of India Act, Regulation III of 1818 and, finally, the declaration of Martial Law in parts of India, over and above the abuse of the ordinary penal law of the land.

THE TIME WAS RIPE FOR RE-UNION.

I have already declared it as my view that the bitter experience of ill-will against the Muslim States and populations abroad hastened the conversion of the Musalmans to the view that to rely on this foreign and non-Muslim Government for support and sympathy, even after making every conceivable sacrifice for its sake, was futile, and that if they were in need of support and sympathy they must have a lasting, equitable settlement with the sister communities of India.

The same course was clearly indicated by the betrayal of the Musalmans of Eastern Bengal. And the time too was ripe for a Hindu-Muslim re-union. True partnership and association, whether in business, social relationship or in love, requires that there should be no great disparity between those that are to associate together as partners, friends or lovers. The same is true of politics. Union of the rich and the poor, of the old and the young, of the learned and the ignorant, is perhaps possible but far from common; and it was a true instinct that guided Syed Ahmad Khan in opposing, a generation previously, the yoking together of the strong and the weak. During the controversy with regard to the Minto-Morley Reforms, however Musalmans had developed to some extent the quality of self-assertion so necessary in politics. But ever since the outbreak of the Tripolitan war they had had to struggle against the repressive policy of the Government, and it is not with a view to praise my own community that I say it has now to a considerable extent made up the distance between itself and the more advanced communities of India by dint of forced marches which it had to undertake throughout this momentous period.

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THE RAPPROCHEMENT.

It was at my brother's suggestion and my own during our internment that in 1915 the Muslim League held its annual session at Bombay where the Congress was also to meet. Maulana Mazhar-ul-Haque, the veteran Congressman, who was nevertheless one of the founders of the Muslim League, and who had valiantly stuck to the Congress all these years in spite of the fact that the bulk of his community was still following the lead of Syed Ahmad Khan given thirty years ago, was now elected President of the Muslim League with great *éclat*. He was called upon to execute the mandate of his own community and bring about a joint meeting of the political leaders in the camps of the League and the Congress in order to adjust the future political relations of the various communities concerned. I hope Mr. Jinnah would soon come back to us soon. (Cheers.) I may mention that an infidel becomes a Kaffir and a Kaffir becomes an infidel; likewise, when Mr. Jinnah was in the Congress I was not with him in those days, and when I was in the Congress and in the Muslim League he was away from me. I hope some day we would reconcile. (Laughter.) Mr. Jinnah's persuasive advocacy was added to the vigour of the President, and, last but not least, the audacious courage and vehement perseverance of that intrepid Muslim patriot, Maulana Husrat Mohani, brought about the *rapprochement* which was to bear fruit in the following year in the historic Lucknow Compact. So rapid had been the progress of the Musalmans that a mildewed critic from among their own community observed that Lord Sinha, the Bengali President of the Bombay Session of the Indian National Congress, had travelled thither by the same train as his Behari neighbour and brother-lawyer who presided over the Muslim League, and the two had borrowed one another's Presidential Addresses in order to compare notes. By some unfortunate mistake, Lord Sinha read out the halting and hesitating address of the ever loyal muslim while the ever loyal Muslim read out the piquant and pungent address of the ever disloyal Bengali. (Laughter.) But, said the critic with more wit than wisdom the two Presidents forgot to take back their own productions, and by an irony of fate Maulana Mazhar-ul-Haque had read to his Muslim audience as his own the pungent oration characteristic of the Bengali, and Lord Sinha had done likewise and read to the Congress delegates the cautious and halting address of the "ever-loyal" Muslim.

Government had now come to realise what would be the inevitable result of the Bombay *rapprochement*, and it is a matter of history how the Muslim

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Leaguers were compelled to conclude *in camera* the session begun under such auspices. Thenceforward, the Congress and the Muslim League always met for their annual sessions at the same centre and worked in entire co-operation. The result was inevitable and could well have been foreseen. If the Congress President of the Ahmedabad Session was lodged in the Alipore gaol when he should have been occupying the Presidential chair at Ahmedabad, the President of the Muslim League for the same year was indicted for waging war against the King at Ahmedabad itself on account of his Presidential address, and, even when acquitted by the unanimous verdict of the jury on that charge, was consigned to the Ahmedabad gaol after being convicted of sedition. It is a feather in the Muslim cap that while Srijiut Das has brilliantly led the Swarajists to victory in Bengal and elsewhere, his Muslim *confrère* Maulana Hasrat Mohani is now sharing the honours of Yerrowda gaol with Mahatma Gandhi, (Hear, Hear. Sentence read smilingly) having in the meantime more than doubled his original sentence, in spite of the restricted opportunities for indulging in criminal practices that a prisoner's life affords, and has thus corrected the error of a blundering jury! (Laughter).

MUSLIM REALIZATION OF LARGER INDIAN INTERESTS.

But it was not only a case of safeguarding Muslim communal interests without leaning for support eternally on a foreign Government and harbouring suspicions against sister communities. Musalmans would have been more than human, or less than that (means, less than human) if they had been indifferent to the continued injustice done to India and Indians collectively. Having been taught by their political preceptors in the past that Government could never for long leave a wrong unredressed, they had followed the policy of "wait and see". They had waited long, and yet all that they saw was a series of wrongs done to India—wrong which remained unrepented and unredressed. Their patience was at last giving way and they were beginning to enlist as Congress members in annually increasing numbers. This was a hopeful indication of their realizing—I hope they realise it even to-day that they had to protect not only their comparatively petty communal interests but also the larger Indian national interests, which were a surely theirs to protect as those of sister communities. They now realized more than ever that by being Muslims they could not cease to be Indians. The Congress sessions of Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi had progressively justified the National appellation of the Congress. But it was reserved for General Dyer to break down entirely the barrier that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had for temporary purposes erected more than thirty years previously, and to summon the Musalmans of India to the Congress held at Amritsar in 1919 as the unsuspecting Herald of India's Nationhood. The bullets of his soldiery made no distinction between Hindu and Muslim, and clearly Providence had so designed things that a community even more loyal than the Musalmans, namely our brave Sikh brothers, (hear, hear) should also dye the sacred soil of their religious capital at Amritsar with their own blood along with that of Hindu and Muslim martyrs. There is the Hand of God!

THE COMING OF THE MAHATMA.

Much of the suffering undergone at Jallianwalla Bagh was, however, of a passive character, not invited nor cheerfully borne, of course, I exclude individual instances, and the terror that the proceedings of the administrators of Martial Law had created seemed at one time to have paralysed the people of the Punjab soon after they had discovered their national identity through common suffering. But the Punjab was not left to sorrow alone. More than one patriotic Indian proceeded to the Punjab; but I feel confident they themselves would

be the first to admit that I do them no injustice when I declare that the most historic event that took place during those eventful days was the "Coming of the Mahatma!"

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The Mahatma's story is too well-known to you all, and now happily to a good-many well-in-formed people outside India also, for me to recapitulate it here. His experiences in South Africa had taught him and I hope it will teach us even now and after so many years, to people like Mr. Sastri and Mr. Sapru that it was idle to expect justice for Indians overseas unless justice was done to Indians at home and India secured a government of her own. Gentlemen, I am not afraid here to proclaim to the world that, if necessary, I shall walk out of the British Empire. But I am not also ashamed of proclaiming to the same world that, if possible, I shall remain within the British Empire. This, of course, did not mean that the British connection must necessarily be broken; and even to-day not only he, whose forbearance is proverbial, but also followers of his like myself who cannot pretend to be equally forbearing, believe in spite of the bitter experiences of the last few years, that the truest Swaraj for India is not incompatible with the British connection if the British nation and the British Government only undergo a change of heart and make a *pryaschit* for the past. It was no doubt to deliver India from her bonds, spiritual no less than political, that the Mahatma had returned to the Motherland.

But the methods that he himself believed in and inculcated to his fellow-countrymen were not those that would be called "political" in the politics-ridden West. To him, as to all great teachers of mankind, Life was a single synthesis, however much we might analyse it for the convenience of philosophical study, and there was no direct antithesis between the political and the spiritual.

JESUS AND ISRAEL: A PARALLEL SITUATION.

Many have compared the Mahatma's teachings, and latterly his personal sufferings, to those of Jesus (on whom be peace); but the analogy goes farther than many have yet realised. Jesus was a Jew, and those who lovingly followed him acclaimed him as the Messiah of the House of David who had come to restore to the Israelites their long lost independence and power. Just as the "Tragedy of History" had been illustrated by the doom required by long-gathering guilt in the case of the Ten Tribes of the kingdom of Samaria, who were crushed and practically annihilated or dispersed by Assyria more than seven hundred years before the birth of Jesus, so was it illustrated again a century and a quarter later in the case of their no less guilty brothers of Judah when Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian, destroyed the Temple of Solomon, razed Jerusalem to the ground, and, making the Jews his captives, carried them into exile.

Ever since then the Israelites had dreamt dreams of revenge and restoration, and the victory of Cyrus seemed at one time to realise all that had been hoped. The re-building of the Temple had commenced, and after a temporary suspension resumed. Zerubbabel who was of the line of David, was the hope of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah the son of Iddo, who looked forward to the political regeneration of the Jews, consequent on the overthrow and destruction of "the kingdoms of the nations." The line of David was hoped to be restored in the person of Zerubbabel himself, and the Messianic predictions of earlier prophets thus fulfilled. This prediction was, however, not fulfilled at the time, and whatever became of Zerubbabel, who disappears with the coronation scene in Zechariah, he never wore a real crown nor sat upon the throne of his fathers.

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Israel was destined never more to taste the sweets of independence; but, whether under the yoke of Greeks or of Romans, Israel never lost the hope of restoration. This is something for men like the Maharajah of Alwar to ponder over. (Laughter.) "The triumphal and often cruel entry of Greek and Roman civilization into Asia threw it back upon its dreams. More than ever it invoked the Messiah as judge and avenger of the people. A complete renovation, a revolution which would shake the world to its very foundations, was necessary in order to satisfy the enormous thirst for vengeance excited in it by the sense of its superiority and by the sight of its humiliation." (Rénan.)

Herod the Great who had contrived to secure some semblance of independence from Rome had died about the year in which Jesus was born, and "his three sons were only lieutenants of Romans, analogous to the Rajas of India under the English dominion" (Rénan). When during the childhood of Jesus, Archelaus, its ethnarch, was deposed by Augustus, the last trace of selfgovernment was lost to Jerusalem. Judea was thenceforward part of a dependency of the province of Syria, which was governed by an imperial legate. A series of Roman procurators, subordinate in important matters to the imperial legate of Syria, of whom Pontius Pilate is so well known to Christian history, were constantly occupied in extinguishing the volcano which was seething beneath their feet. Continual sedition, excited by the zealots of Mosaism did not cease, in fact, to agitate Jerusalem during all this time. To cast down the Roman eagle, and destroy the works of arts raised by the Herods, in which the Mosaic regulations were not always respected, were perpetual temptations to fanatics who had reached that degree of exaltation which removed all care for life. The Samaritans were agitated by movements of a similar nature. The "Zelotes" or "Sicarii", pious assassins who imposed on themselves the task of killing whoever in their estimation broke the Law, began to appear. A movement which had much more influence upon Jesus was that of Judas, the Gaulonite, or Galilean. The Census which was the basis of taxation by the foreigner was hated as almost an impiety. That ordered in the sixth year of the Christian era had fully re-awakened the theocratic abhorrence of Gentile government and had caused a great fermentation. In fact, an insurrection had broken out in the Northern provinces from which the greatest achievements of the Jewish people had always proceeded. "Men deemed themselves on the eve of the great renovation, the Scriptures, tortured into divers meanings fostered the most colossal hopes. In each line of the writings of the Old Testament they saw the assurance, and in a manner the programme, of the future reign, which was to bring peace to the righteous, and to seal for ever the work of God." (Rénan).

THE MORAL REVOLUTION OF JESUS.

When Jesus contemplated the world at the outset of his ministry he was called upon to make his choice of the weapons of reform. The conditions of his people and his times, as I think, rather than any fundamental objection to the use of force in all circumstances, as Christian churchmen profess, made him pin his faith to non-resistance of evil. In other words, he decided to defeat force by his own suffering just as Husain subsequently did at Karbala, although the latter died sword in hand. But whatever view we may take of the choice of Jesus, it is certain that his fundamental idea was different from that of the political reformers of his time such as Judas the Gaulonite, whose example had shown him the futility of the popular seditions of his day. If ever he was the author of the disclaimer: "My kingdom is not of this world," he must have meant that he was not setting out to defeat Satan "the Prince of this world" with the help of Satanic weapons. He was not "worldly" in his methods; but this does not mean that

he was "other-worldly." All that it signifies is that he was "unworldly". Having resisted the temptation to be a political revolutionary on the very threshold of his career as a Teacher, he never succumbed to it. The revolution he wished to effect was a moral revolution, and although he did not escape the fate of "rebels," and was placed on the Cross by order of Pilate with the description "King of the Jews", which is, in spite of its intended irony, significant of the Roman Procurator's political suspicions, Liberty for him meant in the first instance Truth and Self-Purification. Renan was, to my mind, a typical Frenchman of his times for whom the claims of the State were paramount, and he could neither understand nor appreciate the thorough going theocracy of Jesus, the "Servant of the Lord." Nevertheless, I agree with him in the conclusion that "as an austere republican or a zealous patriot he would not have arrested the great current of the affairs of his age; but in declaring that politics are insignificant, he has revealed to the world that one's country is not everything, and that the man is before, and higher than, the citizen." Vengeance which was consuming the Israelites was the Lord's. Jesus counselled the upholders of the *lex talionis* who claimed an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth that he who had been smitten on one cheek should turn the other cheek also to the smiter. So much for the foreign tyrant. As for his own countryman, and, I hope my own No-change friends would remember this also. The Jew, who, falling a victim to his own weakness and a fear of the Gentile masters of Judea, had become a publican or tax-collector on behalf of the foreigner, he too could easily claim a share in the abounding love of Jesus. The idea of being all powerful by suffering and resignation, and of triumphing over force by purity of heart, is as old as the days of Abel and Cain, the first progeny of Man. But since it so eminently suited the conditions of the times of Jesus, and the record of his ministry, however inadequate or defective, has still preserved for us this part of his teachings in some detail, it has come to be regarded by Christians and even by many non-Christians as an idea peculiar to Jesus.

JESUS AND GANDHI.

Be that as it may, it was just as peculiar to Mahatma Gandhi also; but it was reserved for a Christian government to treat as a felon the most Christ-like man of our times (shame shame) and to penalise as a disturber of the public peace the one man engaged in public affairs who comes nearest to the Prince of Peace. The political conditions of India just before the advent of the Mahatma resembled those of Judea on the eve of the advent of Jesus, and the prescription that he offered to those in search of a remedy for the ills of India was the same that Jesus had dispensed before in Judea. Self-purification through suffering; a moral preparation for the responsibilities of government; self-discipline as the condition precedent of Swaraj—this was the Mahatma's creed and conviction; and those of us who have been privileged to have lived in the glorious year that culminated in the Congress session at Ahmedabad have seen what a remarkable and what a rapid change he wrought in the thoughts, feelings and actions of such large masses of mankind.

THE MAHATMA AND SATYAGRAHA.

Mahatma Gandhi had been in direct touch with the Indian Government, had often counselled the Viceroy, and had continued his assistance to the British Government in its hour of need in South Africa by working as the unpaid recruiting sergeant of that government in India. This had indeed amazed those who could not associate him whose life itself was a Sermon on the Mount with recruitment of blood-spilling soldiers. Yet even so loyal subject and so staunch a friend was compelled to oppose a measure of that Government which no one

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reading British declarations of gratitude for India's loyalty in the early stages of the War could have conceived as the possible culmination of that gratitude at the end of that War. A Reform Scheme was under consideration professedly for enlarging the Indians' share in Indian administration. But while one hand was declared to be about to give a wider franchise to India, the other was already busy robbing her even of her narrowly-restricted liberties. This is what my brother and I wrote to Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, from our interment at Chhindwara on the 24th April, 1919, when we were about to court imprisonment by breaking the Defence of India Regulations which had curtailed our liberties four years previously.

The War is now over; but the spirit of tyranny that it generated is still abroad; and while, on the one hand, it is being proclaimed in high-sounding phrases that those who are assembled at Paris to decide the destinies of the world on a more equitable and humane basis than Brute Force are not the masters of the People, but their servants, the Government, on the other hand, is denying to the people of India the barest expression on questions that vitally concern them. Not only is the gag not to be removed yet from our own mouths, but a gag of prodigious proportions has been prepared now for silencing more than three hundred millions of God's articulate creatures. The Rowlatt Bill just enacted in the most tyrannical manner has ended the reign of law and substituted a reign of terror in its place, and although it affects every section of the people of India, the Musalmans are certain to be its first and its worst victims. It has been the Muslim Press that has suffered most under the Press Act, and the same has been true of the Defence of India Act, if we only exclude the unfortunate young men of Bengal rotting in solitary cells or swampy islands, without trial or hope of release. Even those who profess a pathetic optimism and hope against hope that the bureaucracy armed with the strength of the giant will not use it as tyrannically as the giant, need only have access to our own experience to be cured of this distressing delusion. We, who have already had enough experience of "executive discretion" and of "investigating authorities" sitting *in camera*, farcically enquiring into undefined charges, and dealing with undisclosed "evidence" without the help of any code of procedure or law of evidence, submitting reports that cannot bear the light of day, and being finally dismissed as ignorant persons for all their pains, can claim to speak with some authority, and say that the Black Act is nothing more or less than the virtual outlawery of a fifth of mankind.

It was our privilege to point out to Mahatma Gandhi the real import and full scope of the Rowlatt Bills, soon after he commenced his famous Satyagraha campaign. This was the first dawn of the era of Non-Co-operation. The occurrences at Delhi, Amritsar and Lahore, and in Ahmedabad and other parts of Gujarat are matters of history, and although the Mahatma's admission of his "Himalayan error" has been proclaimed to the world by the Government, and the official and unofficial scribes who have been enlisted in its support, none seems to have had the honesty to admit that the Mahatma's blunder would have

overtopped Everest if he had not then united his nation as he did in defence of its liberties. At the very worst the "Himalayan error" consisted in miscalculating the extent of the people's discipline and self-restraint. But if Mahatma Gandhi had left the Rowlatt Bills unchallenged, he would have been guilty of a sin of which he could hardly have purged himself by any kind of expiation. Place all the violence of the infuriated mobs on one side, and on the other side place the cowardliness of a surrender to the slavery sought to be imposed on the nation by these Bills, and, in spite of my utter abhorrence of such violence, I say with all deliberateness that on the Day of Judgment I would rather stand before God's White Throne guilty of all this violence than have to answer for the unspeakable sin of so cowardly a surrender. (Hear, hear and prolonged applause.) In saying this I am only applying to the situation four years earlier my chief's own admission in the court of the Judge who has ordered that for six years he should "be buried alive." "I knew" admitted the Mahatma, "that I was playing with fire." But he also added: "I ran the risk, and if I was set free I would still do the same"! If I am set free I am going to do the same. (Laughter. Loud and prolonged cheers. cries of "God bless you!") Christ—like in his methods he has been Christ—like to the end. He had "steadfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem," and not even the prospect of the Cross could make him shrink from treading the path of duty. Now, I come to the very interesting part with regard to non-violence.

NON-VIOLENCE.

I would like to re-state here the position of men like myself with regard to non-violence. I am not a Christian believing in the sinfulness of all resistance to evil, and in their practice, even if not in their theory, the vast bulk of Christians and all Christian States are in full agreement with me. (Laughter.) The last German War illustrated this. The German War was not won with non-violence. (Laughter.) The last War presented an excellent opportunity to these States and to Christians at large to demonstrate their belief in the doctrine of non-resistance, but we know that none of the States followed it, and the few Christians whose practice was not divorced from their professions were the "conscientious objectors" contemptuously called "conchies," (laughter) who were subjected to ridicule and contumely and were punished like felons. But that was not all. Every national Church blessed the national Flag and sent the national warriors as on a Crusade. As a Musalman and a follower of the Last of the Prophets (on whom be Allah's blessings and peace!), I believe that war is a great evil; but I also believe that there are worse things than war. "There is no compulsion in faith," says the Quran, any if my Moplah comes to you, please tell him that, my friends, because force and religious conviction have no common denominator. They belong to two very different planes. But when war is forced on a Muslim, and the party that does so has no other argument but this, then, as a Musalman and the follower of the Last of the Prophets, I may not shrink, but must give the enemy battle on his own ground and beat him with his own weapons. This is my own creed. If he respects no other argument than force and would use it against me, I would defend my Faith against his onslaught and would use against him all the force I could command, (Hear, hear.)—force without stint and without cessation. But when, in the language of the Quran, "War hath dropped her weapons," my sword must also be sheathed. Warfare, according to the Quran, is an evil; but persecution is a worse evil, and may be put down with the weapons of war. When persecution ceases, and every man is free to act with the sole motive of securing divine good-will, warfare must cease. These are the limits of Violence in Islam, as I understand it, and I cannot go beyond these limits without infringing the Law of God.

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I would recall this to my Hindu friends, particularly those at Allahabad. A little before our incarceration, I was addressing the District Conference at Allahabad, where there were many Hindu critics of mine—not in the conference itself, but in the newspaper, called "Leader"—and the group of politicians of which Mr. Chintamani was one of the distinguished members. (Laughter.) I said, "you are always asking me questions about the Afghanistan bogey, my creed about violence and so forth. Friends, I ask you for once to trust me and believe me." During this last war, I was interned and confined as a state prisoner and I saw my Mussalman countrymen going to war to fight against his mussalman brothers, to despoil the Holy Land and give it to the infidel and in short, to fight against his own creed and conscience. They had not the courage to utter one word, and when they did utter, they were confined as state prisoners, interned or sent to jail. Newspaper securities were confiscated and there was utter demoralisation of my community. I have shed bitter tears. I have passed through fire. It is through my own sufferings that I have realised what your sufferings would be, if you were persecuted in your faith. This is the best guarantee I can give—that, because I respect my freedom of faith, I am bound to respect yours. As I said once, I did not know where India was. Vasco de Gama discovered the route to India by rounding the Cape of Good Hope. I discovered the route to India by rounding Mecca, Medina, Constantinople, Sufiz etc. (Hear, hear.) At last the thing was driven home to me. And do you think it is possible for you, for any living creature of God, not to go through the same fires through which we went in these eventful years. That is the only guarantee I offer to you. Even to-morrow if India is to have Mussalman rule, I can never think of persecuting, and I do not think any one who has gone through those terrible years would think of persecuting a Hindu for his religion. (Hear, hear.) But I have agreed to work with Mahatma Gandhi, and our compact is that as long as I am associated with him I shall not resort to the use of force even for purposes of self-defence. (Hear, hear.) And I tell you why. And I have willingly entered into this compact because I think we can achieve victory without violence; that the use of violence for a nation of three hundred and twenty millions of people should be a matter of reproach to it; and, finally, this is my third reason, that victory achieved with violence must be not the victory of all sections of the nation, but mainly of the fighting classes, which are more sharply divided in India from the rest of the nation than perhaps anywhere else in the world, even though our general is a banya. (Laughter.) Our Swaraj must be the Sarvaraj, the Raj of all, and, in order to be that, it must have been won through the willing sacrifice of all. If this is not so, we shall have to depend for its maintenance as well on the prowess of the fighting classes, and this we must not do. Swaraj must be won by the minimum sacrifice of the maximum number, and not by the maximum sacrifice of the minimum number. (Hear, hear.) Since I have full faith in the possibilities of the programme of constructive work of Non-Violent No-Cooperation, I have no need to hanker after violence. I do not even hanker after the Councils. (Laughter.) Even if this programme fails to give us victory, I know that suffering willingly and cheerfully undergone will prove to have been the best preparation even for the effective use of Force. (Hear, hear.) This is not the reason why I am doing it. Suppose we dissociate ourselves from Mahatma, and tread upon violence, even then, this appreciation for force is necessary. But, God willing, the constructive programme will not fail us if we work with a will and accustom the nation to undergo the small sacrifices that it entails.

WHAT SWARAJ DEMANDS FROM THE NATION.

Here I may ask those of my fellow-countrymen who shrink even from these small sacrifices whether they have considered what it is that a soldier

a common soldier on rupees 15, who goes to battle is prepared to sacrifice. As the Bible tells us, "Greater love hath no man than, that he lay down his life for his friend." Our own compatriots went to war for a cause not their own to the number of a million and a half. Can we who pride ourselves on the strength of our national feeling shrink even from the small sacrifices that Non-violent Non-Co-operation demands? But in reality our present programme is but the beginning of national work, and Swaraj when it is attained would require even greater sacrifices than those of a soldier. To die for a cause is after all not so very difficult. Men at all times and in all countries have done it, and they have often done it for very poor causes, whereas the last German war is not a very poor cause! To die for a cause is not very difficult. The harder thing is to live for a cause, and, if need be, suffer for it; (Hear, hear) and the cause that we must live and suffer for must be the realisation in India of the Kingdom of God.

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VIOLENCE OF NON-CO-OPERATORS AND THEIR OPPONENTS CONTRASTED.

These being my innermost convictions, I cannot help marvelling at the audacity of those that attribute to us a desire to involve the country in violence, carnage and anarchy. There, your Rushbroock Williams! (Laughter). They presume to demand from us who stand between them and violence an assurance of non-violence. And yet their own hands are red with the blood of the innocents shed in Jallianwalla Bagh—blood still as unrepented as it is unavenged. When the District Magistrate arrested me at Waltair, he took me to a small place where the police armoury was kept, and then he said, "I require from you security for good behaviour and for keeping peace." You know what I said in reply? I said, "I want one from you. You require security from me to keep public peace. I am actually keeping public peace, and it is you that are disturbing it." (Prolonged laughter and cheers.) We will make them repeat it. Contrast this patent insincerity with the frank acceptance by your chief of his full responsibility for Chauri-Chaura and the Bombay riots and you have the measure of the moral worth of Non-Co-operation and of its relentless opponents. The Mahatma's confession is proclaimed to the world by this Christian Government; but I wonder if this Government is also prepared to attribute to the Sermon on the Mount the slicing off by St. Peter of the ear of Malches! (Laughter.) Peter chopped off the ear of one Malcus when Christ was about to be arrested. Was the Sermon on the Mount responsible for this bloodshed? After all we are all human beings, and not angels! Who knows how much blood might not have been shed by the disciples of the Prince of Peace if the census of arms taken by the Master had produced a tale of many more than two swords, and had his followers been more steadfast in their support of him than the self-same St. Peter who, according to the Gospels, denied him three times before cock-crow? We have not denied the Mahatma! When the guilt of Chauri-Chaura and similar unfortunate occurrences is being judged, it is necessary to take into consideration not only that which was done but also that which had been resisted. Never before in the annals of India have the people felt as intensely as they have done since the dawn of Non-Co-operation, did the people feel before, one-tenth as people of to-day? Even in those days when people like Mr. Gokhale led the country, did they feel so intensely as now? I have great veneration, I have great respect for Mr. Gokhale: I have the highest veneration for him: but he is not on the same plane as Mahatma Gandhi! and the marvel is not that the fury of the mob has resulted in so much bloodshed blood still as unrepented..... but we make them repentant but that the manhood of India has been successfully revived with so little of it. I challenge anyone to show another instance in the

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history of man-kind where hundreds of millions of people have been roused to stand up for their liberties and have remained so peaceful as the people of India led by Mahatma Gandhi. (Hear, hear). There is no country of Europe, with all its cold, frog blood, that would not have experienced a deluge of blood in like circumstances. That India has escaped such a deluge is due to Mahatma Gandhi and his co-workers. See the great martyrs in the Jallianwalla Bagh. See how our brave Sikh brothers who are a noble martial race have fully imbibed the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi and how to-day they are showing us an example of courageous and quiet suffering. Is there in the whole of the West anything like the sufferings of the Sikhs at Gurukabagh? They talk of Babbar Akalis. But there are only half a dozen of them and they have been trying to chase them from post to post, and are not able to catch them. I believe they are only half a dozen. I have heard a story that there is a community in the Sikhs who are not for this kind of purification that the Mahatma preaches. They don't give up their wine and other evils; they won't give up crime and violence. One night about 5 or 6 of them went with a fortnight's rations to Gurukabag where these poor, starving people were remaining. As they were walking towards the place where these poor starving people were, the Police Superintendent who was on duty came out and said, "Go back, you, get back." One of these Akalis brought out a five chambered revolver and put it near the head of the Police Superintendent, and pointing it to him said, "Although I am a Sikh, I am an Akali". Then the Superintendent said, "March on." The fortnight's rations were delivered and then he marched back. But they have been playing the easy game. If we really have resorted to violence, as my brother says, there is no better leader of guerilla warfare than Mahatma Gandhi himself. Great as non-violence is, if he took to violence his greatness, is still there.

CO-OPERATION.

In dealing with the question of Non-Violence I have digressed and anticipated a good deal, and I must now revert to my narrative. I will only remind you,—even as recently as four years ago, there was tremendous delay at the Amritsar Congress on account of a quarrel, on account of a division, of which, I am sorry to say, Desabandhu Das was a party. And who was the other party? The Mahatma himself. Why? Because he could not be reconciled, he was for co-operation (laughter) and my friend, Desabandhu Das who is very true to his principles was for non-co-operation. (Laughter.) But he was for obstruction. (Laughter) Mr. Tilak was supporting Mr. Das and as you can very well guess, Pandit Malaviya was supporting Mahatma Gandhi. (Laughter). When I had arrived on the scene I was a tyro to my brother. The activities of my brother and myself were a worthy record. As the Bible says, "Blessed are the peacemakers." But I do not know now if we had any blessings yet. On that occasion we came to a compromise at last that we should try and use the Reforms as far as possible for the good of India, and if it was not possible, we should not use them at all. The Mahatma agreed to this. I only wanted to show you how recent it is that the Mahatma has become a non-co-operator. He was a much later convert than we ourselves, even this violent brother who is 7 feet by 5 feet. No matter how much he may talk of non-violence, the very looks of the man betray him. His bulk comes under Section 121. (Roaring laughter.) Whatever may be in his soul, I am not quite sure that he has a soul (laughter),—but the body he possesses is nothing else but the whole of the Indian Penal Code rolled under one section. (Renewed outburst of laughter.) And yet, time after time, my big brother and I myself told Mahatma Gandhi that he was going too far in his mistrust of the English, and he said in reply, "Well, Mahamed Ali and Shaukat

Ali, you must remember that I am only recent convert and the zeal of a recent convert is always greater than that of those who are older in the faith—greater than the Assyrians.” Up to the last minute, he was for co-operation with the Government, but when the time came when he could no longer co-operate with this Government, he non-co-operated with the Government. At the Congress at Amritsar the main resolution was concerned with the Reforms, and although only four years have passed since that session, it would surprise not a few to know that in the discussions over this resolution my friend Deshbandhu Das, the leader of the Council-entry party, and my late chief, Lokamanya Tilak, were entirely opposed to co-operation and the working of the Reformed Councils while Mahatma Gandhi had himself moved an amendment to that resolution. This was designed to commit the Congress to the principle of the co-operation of the people with the authorities in working the Reforms in response to the sentiments expressed in the Royal Proclamation. Neither side was willing to give way, and, as is usual on such occasions, the protracted discussions in the Subjects Committee were delaying the discussions in the Congress and prolonging the session. This was the first occasion, as I have already told you, on which I took part in the Congress, and for a novice my own contribution is not altogether undeserving of notice. My brother and I tried to discover a formula which could be acceptable both to Mahatma Gandhi and to Lokamanya Tilak and Deshbandhu Das. We at last succeeded in this effort, and Srijut Bepin Chandra Pal moved, and I seconded, an amendment recommending to the Congress that “the provisions of the Reforms Act be used, as far as possible, with a view to secure full Responsible Government at an early date.” This cleared the air, and finally both parties agreed to support a resolution declaring that “the Congress trusts that, so far as may be possible, the people will so work the Reforms as to secure an early establishment of full Responsible Government.” It was with this addition that the Congress passed the resolution moved by Deshbandhu Das and seconded by Lokamanya Tilak, which declared India to be fit at the moment for full Responsible Government, characterised the Reforms Act as inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing and urged that Parliament should take early steps to establish full Responsible Government in India in accordance with the principle of self-determination. I have recalled these details only to show that even at Amritsar Mahatma Gandhi and his co-workers were willing to co-operate with Government so far as was possible. And yet otherwise so entirely changed was the atmosphere at this session of the Congress that after my long separation from my people I could not help being greatly impressed by the change. The Hindus and Musalmans were no longer enemies or even rivals, but were comrades and brothers in arms. There was no longer a plethora of set speeches suggestive of mid-night oil, “full of sound and fury signifying nothing.” There was a new earnestness which indicated that the resolutions of the Congress were resolutions indeed, in the sense that the nation was *resolved* to act. And above all, it was clear that fear of fellow-man was no longer to be the compelling motive in India, and that the only fear this land would know in future would be the fear of God. So struck was I by this amazing change that I quoted in my speech at Amritsar the couplet of a fellow-townsmen of mine who had said.

سہ سالہ دروچ بیچ رہا ساعت کا ایک دور
نکلی جو میکدے سے اور دنیا بدل گئی

(One round of the wine cup was like a century long cycle of Time; when we left the tavern we found that the whole world had changed.)

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FROM CO-OPERATION TO NON-CO-OPERATION.

But so far it was only a change in the character and outlook of the people. Their policy was, however, also destined to undergo an entire sea-change. And it was Mahatma Gandhi who at Amritsar was insisting on the people's co-operation with the authorities that was destined to be the first and, in the beginning, almost the sole advocate of Non-Co-operation. What was it that had wrought this change of policy? I must confess my feelings towards this Government had undergone a complete change during the War, and in particular since the Armistice towards the end of 1918. When now I read in the old files of the *Comrade* the publicly expressed expectations I had entertained from this Government not only at the commencement of the year 1911, but even as late as the end of 1914, it appears as if I was examining the newly discovered bones of an animal now altogether extinct. It is true that as late as in December, 1919, I had taken, with regard to co-operation with the authorities, a middle position between Mahatma Gandhi on the one side, and Deshbandhu Das and Lokmanya Tilak on the other which eventually became the position of the entire Congress. But I was even then not very hopeful of the possibility of such co-operation. I had seen only too clearly to what the co-operation of the Musalmans with the authorities had led them. And I had likewise realised that what had happened at Jallianwalla Bagh, in the Crawling Lane, and at the Dak-Bungalow at Manianwalla was not a succession of unconnected incidents in which the thoughtless fury of the officials had suddenly vented itself, but a series of acts symptomatic of the disease from which this foreign bureaucracy was inevitably suffering. I was thoroughly convinced that this disease was congenital with the system, and if the system continued such incidents were bound to recur, and Government would inevitably be a succession of Jallianwalla Baghs unless the British underwent a complete change of heart. The Duke of Connaught, when he came out to India in the beginning of 1921 to open the Reformed Legislatures, appealed to us to forget and forgive. I was, and still am, prepared to forgive; but forget I could not, and would not. To forget only means for the awakened sleeper to go back to sleep and to dream the pleasant dream he had been dreaming before he had awakened to the stern reality. But Mahatma Gandhi was not yet convinced of all this, and his conversion came a little later. For many months after the Amritsar session he continued to live in the hope that England would yet repent, and, while restoring the integrity and independence of the Khilafat, and evacuating the Jazirat-ul-Arab, England would redress the great wrong done to the people of the Punjab. In fact, it was not a mere hope that sustained him but an absolute conviction, and when he too was at last disillusioned, and would indicate in the process of preparing the programme of his constructive work a profound and throughgoing want of belief in the good intentions of England so that even we would suggest that perhaps he was going too far, he used to explain this by saying that he was a more recent, and therefore a more zealous, convert. When the last Petition that Muslim India addressed to England, through the Indian Khilafat Delegation in the interview that we had with the Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George, the ex-Premier of England, proved the utter futility of such appeals; and when the Punjab wrong was treated as an "error of judgment" to be rewarded by a pension paid out of India's poverty to the murderer of her innocent sons, and to the cold-blooded approver of this "error" who, enjoying the safety of a Government House surrounded by armed guards, had not even the justification of General Dyer, then Mahatma Gandhi lost all faith in co-operation between the rulers and the ruled.

NON-CO-OPERATION.

Much has been said and written about Non-Co-operation and, if our opponents, or even some of our friends, would not understand its significance

even now, I cannot hope to enlighten them in this address. I will, therefore, content myself with saying that briefly it means that if we may not resist evil, at least we will not assist it. It is true we expect that if the Indian nation is prepared to make such sacrifices as Non-Co-operation entails, this foreign Government would be absolutely paralysed. But although we do contemplate such a result, it is little more than incidental. Our movement, even though its name suggests that it is of a negative character, is in reality not so. It is essentially of a much more positive character. It does not directly aim at the paralysis of others; its direct aim is to remove our own paralysis. (Hear, hear.) We destroy schools and Colleges; but we build better ones where they teach us to fear God while they at present teach us only to fear man. We destroy Courts and set up Panchayats. And, if we destroy their Councils either by going in or remaining outside, we at least construct the Parliament of the Nation, called the Indian National Congress. (Applause.) Every item of the Non-Co-operation programme, with which I shall presently have to deal, has a strong constructive as well as a destructive side, and we shall stand or fall according as we succeed in our construction or not. Mere destruction will not do. But if we do not destroy, or, in other words, if we continue to avail ourselves of all that the Government has constructed for the continuance of its own existence, and as a trap for our destruction, we shall neither stand nor even fall, but shall absolutely cease to exist. Even if our direct aim was to paralyse the Government it was entirely compatible with the purest ethics, and even with the doctrine of Love associated with the name of Jesus Christ and now of Mahatma Gandhi. And I maintain that such a paralysis of Government is clearly possible. Friends, very early in my career as a gaol-bird I was struck with the system of co-operation followed in Indian gaols. Every prisoner gets a remission of a few days at the end of every month for "a clean bill of health" during the month; but some of the prisoners who succeed in winning the confidence and favour of the local gaol authorities are made watchmen, convict-overseers or convict-warders, and, besides enjoying other privileges during the rest of their prison life, they earn a more liberal remission of their sentence every month. Every one in this Pandal who has passed through that gateway of freedom called prison—and, I trust, there are a good many present here to-day—is familiar with the work of the convict-overseers and warders who share the duty of keeping watch and ward during the night with the paid warders employed by the gaol administration. As a rule the few paid warders pass the night enjoying tolerably sound sleep, or, at the very worst, doze out their period of sentinel duty. But at the end of every half hour the gaol resounds with the cries of the prisoners who keep the real watch and ward. "All's well!" is repeated from every corner of the gaol, and so long as this continues the paid warders can sleep the sleep of the just. And, this, my friends, is the parable of co-operation. We have lost our liberties and are kept enchained through the services of others who are as much deprived of their liberties as we ourselves, except for a few petty privileges that they seem to enjoy. Yes, in Knighthood, now for instance, Sapru's! (laughter.) Meanwhile the few foreigners who keep us in servitude can enjoy sleep and repose because the co-sharers of our servitude repeat from time to time from every corner of India's vast Bastille the reassuring cry, "All is well!" (Laughter.) The only difference is that whereas the convict-watchmen, overseers and warders can in this way at least secure their release from prison a little before their fellow-prisoners over whom they keep watch and ward, our co-operating friends, who are our comrades in slavery cannot look for ward even to an earlier release. In fact, they have lost even the sense of slavery, and slavishly hug the very chains that keep them enslaved. (Shame, shame.) As I wrote in the prison itself.

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ہم نے اپنے لیے کوئی چیز نہیں چاہی
ہم نے صرف اپنے لیے کوئی چیز نہیں چاہی

(Leave off worrying for me, O, heedless fool; weep over thine own captivity; that which thou deemest to be an ornament is nothing less than a chain.)

A QUESTION FOR MUSALMANS.

Friends, I feel certain, I have exhausted you as well as myself with this somewhat exhaustive historical narrative, commencing with the Indian Mutiny and coming down to our own era of Non-Co-operation. (Cries of "No, no.") But in thus narrating past history I had an end in view. I cannot act the part of a dictator to any of you; and yet I want you to co-operate with me and not with my enemies. Possessing no such personality as the Mahatma's, and being as unwilling to bind a spell over you as I am incapable of doing it, I could only lead you to the conclusions which after half a life-time of blindness and much blundering I have at last reached by demonstrating to you that our safest guide, the experience of several generations, inevitably leads us to the same. Experience must be our most cherished trophy, for it is a trophy made up of weapons that have hurt us. And here I appeal to the experience of my co-religionists in particular who are being diligently diverted from the path to which their history during the last sixty years and more has guided them. Granted that Non-Co-Operation has failed, and that co-operation with our non-Muslim fellow-countrymen is a vain hope, a snare and a delusion—though I am far from granting it except for argument's sake. Still we have got to suggest an alternative policy. I ask them not to accept my lead but to kick me out and to be in their turn my guide themselves. Whither could they lead me, that is now the question! If Non-Co-operation with our foreign masters and co-operation with Indian fellow-slaves of other faiths is not possible, what is the alternative that they have to place before us to-day? Are we to "progress backwards" till we begin to walk on all fours? Shall we co-operate with our foreign rulers and fight with our non-Muslim countrymen as we used to fight before? And if we do that what hope have we of any better results than we achieved for ourselves in the settlements after the Tripoli and the Balkan Wars, or, nearer home, in the unsettlement of a "settled fact" in Bengal? (Laughter) No, friends, that book is closed and into it we shall look no more. (Hear, hear). You have no alternative better than Non-Co-operation with the foreigner and co-operation with our neighbours, nor have I. And it is futile to waste our time in worrying over the impossible. (Hear, hear).

MR. MONTAGU'S RESIGNATION AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

It is said that we can have no grievance now after the Treaty of Lausanne. You, friends, are in a better position to know how that Treaty came to be concluded than I who had to undergo for a year and a half solitary confinement in all but a technical sense, and have not been in touch with public affairs. But I have studied in some of the back numbers of the newspapers of those days something of what transpired in connection with the revision of the Treaty of Sévres while I was still in prison. You all know about the historic telegram despatched to the Secretary of State by the Government, of India after consulting and receiving the general concurrence of the Local Governments, including their Ministers. You will agree that it fell far short not only of Muslim aspirations and sentiments, but also of the requirements of Islamic Law, since it did not say anything about the evacuation of the Jazirat-ul-Arab, and only recommended the Sultan's suzerainty over the Holy Places. In fact, the

Government of India undoubtedly, even if haltingly, admitted all this when they said, : "We are conscious that it may be impossible to satisfy India's expectations in their entirety," though Mr. Chamberlain had the impudence to say that "the terms far exceeded even the demands of the warmest friends of the Turks." And yet what a storm did the world witness over the publication of even such a telegram. The Secretary of State's resignation was demanded by the Premier, and the King-Emperor "had been pleased to approve its acceptance." In other words, Mr. Montagu was ignominiously dismissed. As Reuter pointed out, "Mr. Chamberlain's announcement in the House of Commons was received with fierce welcoming cheers from the majority of the Unionists ; and the 'Die-Hards,' specially delighted, could hardly contain their satisfaction." "Never before," said another message of Reuter, "Never before has the House of Commons re-echoed with such exultant cheering as greeted the announcement of Mr. Montagu's resignation. It emanated from the Unionist benches, but was so loud and prolonged that it seemed general. Some enthusiasts even waved handkerchiefs." The most charitable explanation with regard to the attitude of Mr. Montagu's own party ; and the party that is the rising hope of such Indians as still cling to the idea of receiving freedom as the gift of the foreigner, is contained in the earlier message of Reuter, that "Liberal and Labour members received the news without an expression of opinion." To-day it may perhaps be urged that the Government of India are as anxious as the Muslim leaders themselves to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the questions still at issue between Musalmans and Great Britain. But of what good is that to us so long as the Government of India is only "a subordinate branch of the British Government six thousand miles away" whose "dictation to the British Government" as to what line it ought to pursue in such matters seems to Lord Curzon "quite intolerable". This is what Lord Curzon wrote to Mr. Montagu before giving him the sack", even though poor Mr. Montagu thought that he was only being let off with a warning. But evidently he had forgotten that at Denshaw there was flogging as well as hanging, and that Lord Curzon's final court could be trusted not to let off such criminals as he with a warning, but to warn and hang him also for the same offence.

Not one of those believing Musalmans who is dissatisfied to-day with our policy of Non-Co-operation with Government and co-operation among the Indians could honestly say that Muslim Indian feeling received anything even approaching proper consideration at the hands of Great Britain. And yet hear what this former Viceroy of India, the same who posed as the benefactor of the Musalmans in partitioning Bengal in 1905, has to say about our cry of anguish at the partitioning of the Khilafat fifteen years later. In his letter to Mr. Montagu he writes : "But the part India has sought to play or been allowed to play in this series of events passes my comprehension.....Is Indian opinion always to be the final court of Muslim appeal?"

In his speech before his Cambridge constituency Mr. Montagu had said : The Government of India were parties to the Treaty of Sévres. Had the Treaty produced peace the Government of India would have accepted it loyally ; but when it showed, *as I always knew that it would show*, that it could not produce peace, the Government of India pleaded for its revision. I ask whether the Governments of Canada, South Africa or Australia would have remained silent when the so-called peace was destroying the internal peace of their country?" Poor Mr. Montagu ! How easy it is, it seems, to forget that while the Governments of Canada, South Africa and Australia are national governments, the Government of India, over which Lord Reading still presides after the dismissal of Mr. Montagu, is not a national government at all. On the contrary, it is one which was bound to lock up for six long years the greatest leader

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that the nation had produced for many generations, in deference to pressure from the very Imperial Government that had treated its partial support of his view in this affair with such open contempt. Dr. Sapru, too, had forgotten this patent difference between India and the Dominions, and had to be reminded of it at the Imperial Conference by the representative of a country once as distressful as our own, namely Ireland. We had ourselves urged upon Mr. Montagu the very consideration to which he referred in his Cambridge speech; but it was all in vain, and our advocacy of the same cause which the late Secretary of State advocated with equally little success was punished in various ways by the Government in India. Those who used to tell me on these occasions that Mr. Montagu was sympathetic had to be reminded that his sympathy had proved wholly sterile. I have always held that Mr. Montagu should have resigned on any one of at least half a dozen occasions even before his ultimate dismissal, and now he tells us himself that "he had been repeatedly on the verge of resignation, but he had hesitated because he did not wish to say to the Mohamedans of India that the solemn pledges which had been made to them were irretrievably lost" Irretrievably...that's the confession of the Secretary of State for India. Nevertheless, his resignation had to come at last, and to-day he is not only not in the Government, but not even in the House of Commons. Can we then draw from all this any other conclusion than this, that "*the solemn pledges which had been made to us are irretrievably lost*" But no Mr. Montagu may say that, but I will not say that they are not *irretrievably* lost. Friends, with the assistance of God, and your whole-hearted co-operation, we will yet retrieve them, or perish in the attempt. (Hear, hear.)

ENGLAND AT LAUSANNE.

This treaty is said to be a treaty of Friendship. We shall presently examine it. This was in March, 1922, and although we were promised that due weight would be given to Indian opinion, I ask you to consider what was the attitude of England when six months later the brave Turks, relying not upon the promises of Great Britain, but upon God's grace and their own self-sacrifice and courage, drove Britain's brutal nominees into the sea? You all know that better than I do, and I do not propose to detain you over that. Beaten on the field of battle, beaten, I say advisedly, England now sought to deprive the Turks of the fruits of victory on the conference-table of diplomacy. But here, too, God helped those who helped themselves, and the Treaty of Lausanne proved that the Turks were not only warriors but statesmen as well. Let us hear what Lord Curzon has to say himself of the reasons that brought about the Treaty of Lausanne. Did the English who had commissioned Greece after the Armistice to rob the Turks of Thrace and even of their home-lands in Asia Minor; who were at one time actually considering the question of handing over Constantinople to them; and who had appealed in vain to the Dominions to fight their battle against the now victorious Turks when India could no longer be trusted to make cannon-fodder of her sons after the Karachi Trial—did the English even now repent or relent? The difference between the conditions under which other treaties, including that of Sévres, were imposed and those in which the Lausanne Settlement was arrived at was pointed out by Lord Curzon at the Imperial Conference in the following words:—

Such (dictation of terms at the point of the bayonet) had been the case with all the previous post-war treaties. These had in each case been drawn up by the victorious Powers, sitting, so to speak, on the seat of judgment, in the absence of the culprit, and imposing what penalty or what settlement they chose. Only when

the terms had been drawn up was the beaten enemy admitted to be told his sentence and to make the conventional protest of the doomed man. Such, indeed, was the environment in which the original Treaty of Sévres was drawn up and signed, though never ratified by the Turkish representatives. Far otherwise was it at Lausanne. There the Turks sat at the table on a footing of equality with all the other Powers. Every article of the Treaty had to be debated with and explained to them. (Look, what great injustice to poor Great Britain!) Agreement had to be achieved not by brandishing the big stick but by discussion, persuasion and compromise. (This is what Lord Curzon had to confess. Could there be any higher punishment than death? Such men have been killed by our own men!).

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Commenting upon Lord Curzon's defence of the Treaty of Lausanne and of his praise of Allied diplomacy, which was, according to him, reluctant to break up the Conference on important, but not vital, points, and to revert to a state of war, an Indian newspaper, *The Leader*, which is not noted for any excess of sympathy with the Turks, wrote as follows:—

No credit can be given to such pacific and discreet diplomacy when it was based on unwillingness to fight. As Lord Curzon said, "the Turks knew very well that the Allies had no stomach for further fighting; on the contrary, they were very nervous about the bellicose temper of the extremist elements among the Turks." "The Allies were never certain," said the Foreign Secretary, "how far the genuine desire of the leading Turks for peace would control the unruly Nationalist and extremist elements." It will thus appear that the Turks obtained what they wanted literally at the point of the sword and the role of the conquerors and the conquered was reversed at Lausanne. It was the Turks who dictated the terms of the Treaty, and the Allies, who dictated the terms of the other post-war treaties, had to accept them.....As a matter of fact the big stick was brandished by the Turks at Lausanne and the Allies "made the conventional protest of the doomed man". Replying to the severe criticism of the Treaty by those "whose motives in making the attack are not free from criticism", he (ie., Lord Curzon) said that "it was the best treaty that could be obtained in the circumstances". (Laughter).

Thus it is once more clear that the Turks secured what they did at Lausanne not because of any regard on the part of England for Justice to the Turks, or for the religious obligations and sentiments of Indian Musalmans with regard to the Khilafat, but in spite of England's open hostility towards the Turks and utter disregard of the requirements of Islam. Lord Curzon would have once more brandished the big stick; but, sad to relate, it had changed hands.

I have purposely dealt exclusively with a matter concerning the special interests of Musalmans and affecting their extra-territorial sympathies, for it is obvious that the Treaty of Lausanne, far from settling our national affairs and satisfying our national requirements common to all Indian communities, does not even settle the peculiarly Muslim and religious issue of the Jazirat-ul-Arab.

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But after all, the issues that are our common national issues far exceed in number those that concern the Musalmans alone. All that the Treaty of Lausanne has done is to declare that the Turks have not lost their Swaraj as we had done more than a century ago, and as they themselves were within an ace of doing. The Khilafat Committee's demands, and, in particular the religious requirements with regard to the Jazirat-ul-Arab, still remain unsatisfied. But even if all this had been done, could the Musalmans give up Non-Co-operation with Government and co-operation with other Indian communities? In the first place, that would be an unspeakably shameful breach of faith with their non-Muslim brethren of whose help they have so willingly availed themselves. And, in the next place, Indian Musalmans would be proving that, while they were so anxious for the security of the Turks' and the Arabs' Swaraj, they were indifferent to their own! Well could it, then, be said of them :

تو کار زمین و آسمان تو کردی
که یا آسمان نیز بودی

(Hast thou arranged the affairs of the earth so well that thou meddlest in those of heaven as well?)

THE TERRIBLE ALTERNATIVE TO NON-CO-OPERATION.

Friends, once more I have perhaps exhausted your patience; (cries of No, no) but my excuse for it is that I want the Musalmans who are being asked to-day to discard the policy of Non-Co-operation with England to confront facts before they reverse a decision to which their sad experiences of co-operation with England had driven them. It is as clear as daylight that so long as India is not an equal partner with England and the Dominions in the Empire, and so long as her Government is but "a subordinate branch of the British Government six thousand miles away," we cannot be satisfied with the goodwill of the Government of India even if it is proved to the hilt. Besides loyalty to a foreign Government there are other loyalties as well, and so long as Musalmans in India are liable to be punished for disloyalty to Government because they are loyal to their God and to His Last Prophet, as we ourselves were punished at Karachi, and so long as the Holy Land of Islam is under the control of non-Muslim mandatories when we ourselves had been given God's own mandate for it by His Last Messenger as a deathbed injunction, there is no alternative to Non-Violent Non-Co-operation but one, and that, friends, is the terrible alternative of war! Since the vast bulk of those who try to discredit our policy do so because they are slaves to the fear of Government, and, being unwilling to make *any* sacrifice, could not even dream of adopting that terrible alternative, let us here no more of a change of policy!

MUSLIM CO-OPERATION WITH NON-MUSLIMS.

And if we may not co-operate with Great Britain, is it expedient, to put it on the lowest plane, to cease to co-operate with our non-Muslim brethren? What is it that has happened since that staunch Hindu, Mahatma Gandhi, went to gaol for advocating the cause of Islam that we must cease to co-operate with his co-religionists? I know that Hindu-Muslim relations to-day are not precisely those that they were two years ago. But is it possible for any honest and truly patriotic Indian to say that either community is wholly blameless, and that the guilt is entirely one community's? Friends, I do not believe in diplomacy, and certainly not in that variety of it which is called secret diplomacy. I do not wish to imitate Sir Roger de Coverley, and put you off with the diplomatic dictum. "Much can be said on both sides of the question." Most regrettable events have unfortunately occurred in Malabar, at Multan, at Agra, at Saharanpur

and elsewhere, and I am prepared to support the creation of a National Tribunal to judge the respective guilt of the two communities. For it cannot be gainsaid even by the community that has suffered the most that complaints have been made by members of the other community as well, and obviously it would neither be fair nor productive of any satisfactory result if either community is saddled with all the guilt and denounced without an adequate enquiry. I did not shrink at Delhi from proposing the appointment of a truly representative Committee of Enquiry; but for reasons which it is not necessary to state here no result has yet been achieved of such a committee's appointment. Two things are, however, patent. The law courts established by Government cannot stop their work while we adjudge the guilt of the two communities. And while it is difficult to arrive at the truth by a national enquiry *after* witnesses have given their testimony, true or false, on oath before the courts of law of the Government, reconciliation itself, which is even more important than the investigation of the truth, is not made easy by the punishment awarded to those who are found guilty by such courts, not un-often on evidence which is not free from suspicion.

THE SUREST REMEDY.

What then is to be done? I have already told you that to accept the version of one party is neither fair, nor would it help us in creating in the other party whose version was disbelieved without any enquiry a disposition towards reconciliation and reform. The only remedy that I can suggest for instant adoption is also the surest, and it was this which was all but adopted towards the end of our discussions at Delhi in the Committee appointed to consider this question. Even after we had decided that a Committee of Enquiry should visit the places where regrettable incidents had followed Hindu-Muslim dissensions, and after we had even nominated the members of this Committee, we were within an ace of cancelling all this because we noted at a later stage of our deliberations a welcome change in the attitude of the leaders on the two sides. There was now a desire to let bygones be bygones and heartily co-operate for the attainment of Swaraj, as they had been doing two years previously. Obviously, the protagonists on the two sides had once more had a glimpse of that unity of which the Mahatma was at once the chief preacher and the best symbol, and the prospect of gaining party-victories once more appeared mean and contemptible in their eyes. But a difference arose on a petty issue and they parted again. Friends, I pray that God may grant them once more a glimpse of that unity, and that this time it may not be as fleeting as it had been before. Nay, I pray that they may keep ever before them a picture of that unity and the glorious vistas of that freedom which can be seen only through the avenue of national unity, so that all else that is of fair seeming, but which is associated with slavery, may lose its charm for them and be blotted out for all eternity.

THE PETTINESS OF DISTURBING ISSUES.

At Delhi when the protagonists of the Shuddhi movement were about to settle the matter and when the matter was about to come to a final understanding, the thing had broken on some small matter. Believe me, it is not by tawdry, tinselled rhetoric that I hope to settle such vital issues. But, although the issue of Hindu-Muslim unity is vital, and, in fact, the most vital that we have to settle, the issues which disturb that unity are contemptibly petty. Nothing makes me more ashamed than the pettiness of these issues, and I confess I find it difficult to refute the calumny of our enemies that we are unfit for Responsible Government when I contemplate their potency for mischief side by side with their pettiness. Far be it from me to sneer at the

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modes of worship of my fellow-men; but I feel unspeakably depressed when I think that there are fellow-countrymen of mine, including my own co-religionists, who would jeopardise the recovery of our lost liberty, including religious liberty itself, for the sake of the satisfaction they seem to derive out of cutting a branch of Pipal tree overhanging a public thoroughfare and interfering with the passage of a pole of ridiculous length, or out of beating tom-toms and blowing trumpets before a house of worship at prayer-time while moving in a procession. Friends, if we cannot acquire a better sense of proportion let us be honest, at least with ourselves if not with others, and give up all thought of freedom. We must not talk of Swaraj even within the Empire, let alone out of it. What is Kenya to slaves like us or we to Kenya? Why need we hanker after a place in the King Emperor's palace when we are not even fit for a place in his stables? (Laughter. Cries of 'shame, shame.') And what is it to us if the Holy Land of Islam should attract many a casino and *café chantant*, or the new warden of the Musalmans' Holy of Holies should become one of the long tale of impotent potentates maintained by an Imperial Government only to be pushed off their ancestral thrones whenever they should forget themselves and think that God has made them men and not merely puppets in an Imperial show. If *alams* and *pipal* trees and noisy processions are our "horizon's utter sum", then all our Congresses and Khilafat Committees are mere mockery.

"Let us ring down—the farce is nothing worth:"

Let us close this chapter of childish make-beliefs, and taking the first train back home, let us devote ourselves henceforward to the realisation of the ideal of petty self-concern which alone befits a nation of slaves. Let us at least not take the sacred name of Liberty in vain. Let us add our confession to the claim of our opponents, and admit that God, Whom the great religious teachers of the East in which all the existing religions have had their source, had taught us to regard as, just, has yet been so unjust to a fifth of mankind that he has made them totally unfit for self-rule, and has left it to His White creatures hailing from Europe to correct His mistake, and carry on for all time the administration of India. But if we do not want to drag our spiritual ancestors into the mire along with ourselves and to blaspheme a just God, let us elevate ourselves to the height of our ideals and lift the masses instead of sinking down to their low level.

THE ROOT OF EVIL.

But since I have referred to the low level of the masses, let me say this much for them that what I wrote in 1904 in criticising the education given in the Indian universities is still true, and even to-day (this is what I write,) "the greater portion of bigotry agitates not the bosoms of the ignorant and the illeterate but excites to fury and to madness the little-learned of the land." And it is not the love of our own religion that makes us quarrel with our fellow-countrymen of other faiths, but self-love and petty personal ambition. "The coming of the Mahatma" had meant the destruction of "the kingdoms of the nations" and the foundation in their place of the one united Kingdom of the Nation to be the Congress whose Chief Servant was his great glory. But these little "kings" who had lost their little "thrones" were not reconciled to the idea of national service under the banner of the Nation's Chief Servant, and were pining for restoration. You have heard what Milton said with regard to Self-rule: "Better to live in Hell than to serve in Heaven." These petty people who want to rule India to-day would better recognise this. Better to be privileged to be cooks than to be bulls' tails. So long as Mahatma Gandhi and his principal co-workers were free, they had not the courage to raise the standard of revolt, and there was no room for them in the economy of the Indian

world except as openly despised slaves of the foreigner or as secretly discontented adherents of the National Federation. And so they chose the latter alternative. But, with the Mahatma immured at Yerrowada ; they reasserted themselves, and since they could not hope to occupy his position, they have persistently, though not professedly, addressed their appeals to communal passions and jealousies in order to destroy the National Federation and hasten the recovery of their petty principalities. Before the advent of Mahatma Gandhi several streams, some large and some small, were running more or less parallel to each other, and little boats were being rowed on them. I was in one of them. But soon after his advent, almost all of them were directed into one channel and became tributaries of a mighty river rapidly moving on to join the sea. On the broad bosom of this Ganges there sailed a powerful ship, manned by lusty sailors, captained by the Mahatma and flying the National flag, which I had the honour to unfurl to-day. What the petty ambitions of petty men have been urging ever since the Mahatma's incarceration is that we should scrap the big ship and take to the little row-boats again. But since these little boats are not safe enough craft for the mighty river hurrying on towards the sea, they propose a revolution in Nature itself, and ask that the great river should flow back into its old tributaries. (Laughter) But Nature cannot be thwarted, and the futility of the desire to make the Ganges flow backwards is a thing known even to our village fools. When party questions came up, I acted in the name of the Congress. When such questions come up and I am asked to settle, if I can do so I do it in the name of the Congress. You will have to tell me whether I can do it or not. In the name of this Congress, and of the Indian Nation, nay, even in the name of that Destiny which shapes our ends, roughen them how we may, I warn this little breed of men that, God willing, they will never succeed, and that the Indian Nation cannot look upon their insidious activities with unconcern.

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TOLERATION AND FRATERNAL SELF-SACRIFICE.

Friends, to punish the guilty is not without its advantages even in the domain of politics ; but the surest remedy for political disunion is, as I have already suggested, to create on all sides a disposition to forget and for give. But this is not all, and if we desire to prevent a recurrence of regrettable incidents we must remove the causes of friction. Conformity in all things is only too often desired, and this not only by the bigots, but also by some of the most large-hearted of men. Religious reformers have at all times betrayed a fatal weakness for comprehension or the preparation of a religious compound formed of many simples gathered from many different sources. They have hoped that by adopting a policy of inclusion they would be able to form a faith embracing doctrines culled from diverse faiths and acceptable to all the followers of all these faiths. That is how they hope to attain Uniformity and secure Conformity. But history has shown that the cause of peace and unity has not been greatly furthered by the formation of such eclectic faiths. Only too often have they added one more to the warring creeds existing before and have only increased the disunion they were creating. Such well-intentioned failures have at last made people fall back upon Toleration. This is not the indifferentism and absence of strong convictions which often pass for toleration, but a far more positive principle in life which co-exists with beliefs passionately held. I could not define it better than by quoting an American who declared to a fellow-countryman of his holding very different views to his own. "I strongly disagree with every word of what you say ; but I shall fight, Sir, to the last drop of my blood for maintaining your right to say it!" That, friends is the best definition of Toleration. The Quran which calls upon Musalmans even to fight in defence

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of their Faith whenever their freedom of faith is assailed or jeopardised, sums up its teaching on tolerance in the words, "To you your faith, to me mine." If we all agreed to act upon this principle, and at the same time emphasised the features common to different faiths and the spirituality characteristic of all, there would be no strife in the world but peace and tranquility everywhere.

APPLICATION OF THIS PRINCIPLE TO OUTSTANDING ISSUES.

Let us apply this principle to some of the outstanding issues between the various communities of India. If for instance, processions can be taken out on public roads and no objection is taken to music being played thereon, a Musalman should not object to a procession with music taken out by Hindus, or by other non-Muslim neighbours of his, unless it interferes with his own exercise of some recognised right such as conducting Divine Service in a fitting manner. If, again a long pole can be carried in procession through the streets without danger to life and limb, no non-Muslim should object to it if it is so carried "with musical honours." But then the muslims indulging in such practices which are to say the least of it, of doubtful religious validity have no right to demand that a non-Muslim neighbour of theirs should permit the lopping off of the branches of a tree which he holds sacred, whether with reason or without it, and which is growing on his land and is his property. If there is no law against smoking in public places, no Parsi should object to a non-Parsi's lighting a cigarette in a street even though he himself holds fire to be too sacred an element to be defiled in this way. Similarly, if it is no offence to slaughter animals, and a man kills a fowl, or a cow, or a pig, or kills any animal to provide food for himself or for others or for sacrificial Purposes or in a particular manner not involving cruelty to animals, his neighbour should not object to it on the ground that he holds all life too sacred to be destroyed, or that he looks upon the cow as upon a mother, or that he considers a pig too unclean to be eaten, or that he is required by his own religion to kill animals in a different manner to his neighbour's. In all these cases it is, of course, presumed that the animal slaughtered is the property of the man who slaughters it or causes it to be slaughtered, and not his neighbour's whose property he may not unlawfully seize and use or destroy. But we have not, alas, reached a stage of toleration in India when the free exercise of his right by one of us can escape being resented by some others. In fact, the worst of it is that some of us, while they insist upon the exercise of their right, sometimes exercise it with the desire to annoy their neighbours, and in a manner that is sure to annoy them. The jeering at men of other faiths when one is taking out a procession required or sanctioned by our own faith, the beating of tom-toms and playing other instruments, which often produce more noise than music, with special vigour before a house of worship of another community, and particularly when Divine Service or some other religious rite is in progress and is likely to be thereby disturbed; the needless lopping off of trees held sacred by Hindus which overhang public thoroughfares, or doing it in an exultant manner; the blowing of cigarette smoke in the face of, or too close to a parsi or a Sikh; the wanton destruction of a good deal of animal life in the sight or immediate neighbourhood of Jains; carrying a garlanded cow in procession through a locality inhabited by Hindus as well for purposes of slaughter; or slaughtering it in a place where Hindus cannot help seeing it—these and many other such are things that occur only too frequently whenever there is a tension of feeling between the communities concerned. And provocation and insolent exultation of the nature described above often lead to hot words, and not seldom to blows which sometimes end in loss of human life.

HOW TO DEAL WITH SUCH MATTERS.

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There can be no measure sufficiently comprehensive to safeguard public tranquility and peace in all such cases, and I can think of no National Pact embracing all such situations, even if it is permitted to assume inordinate proportions, and to include details that must make us the laughing-stock of the world. The best remedy, I must repeat, is the creation of the correct spirit in which the different communities exercise their rights. But it is possible for a national body such as the Congress to deal with some of the principal causes of friction and to remove them by bringing about an agreement between leaders of the communities concerned. And this it must do. But, while attempting to influence public opinion, and to regulate public action through the agency of such leaders, with courage and confidence, a body like the Congress must be careful not to demand from any community that it should relinquish any rights which may, in the present circumstances involve a sacrifice, far beyond its capacity. It must be remembered that Swaraj, although it is our destined goal, and is soon likely to be in sight, has yet to be won, and before it is won we have no sanctions of which we can make use like a Government. We must depend exclusively upon persuasion and example. But even if we had a Government of our own, it could not rightly, or even successfully, compel large sections of the people to give up the exercise of any right unless it provided for them corresponding facilities in some other direction.

COW-KILLING.

The question of cow-killing is an instance in point. I know how sacred a cow is in the eyes of my Hindu brothers, and who knows better than my brother and myself how anxious our absent Chief was to secure its preservation? His action in so selflessly leading the Khilafat movement was no doubt characteristically generous and altruistic; but he himself used to say that he was trying to protect the cow of the Musalmans, which was their Khilafat, so that this grateful community which had learnt from its Scriptures that there could be no return for kindness save kindness, would be induced to protect his own cow in return. This was however, only Mahatma Gandhi's way of emphasising his love for the cow. And even before he so picturesquely called the Khilafat our cow my brother and I had decided not to be any party to cow-killing ourselves. No beef is consumed since then in our house even by our servants, and we consider it our duty to ask our Co-religionists to act similarly. As for sacrificing cows, my brother and I have never done it, but have always sacrificed goats, since a sacrifice of some such animal is a recognised religious duty. Much can be done in this way, and we have learnt by experience during the three or four years following the Hindu-Muslim *entente* and co-operation that it is not difficult to reduce cow-sacrifice, even before Swaraj is won, to insignificant proportions.

But much as I desire that even ordinary cow-killing throughout the year for the purpose of providing food should be altogether discontinued, or, at least reduced to similarly meagre proportions, I am only too conscious of the fact that in looking forward to an early realisation of my wishes I am hoping against hope. Musalmans in India who can afford to purchase the dearer mutton eat beef only on rare occasions. But for the poorer towns-folk among the Musalmans it is the staple food. Coming from the centre of Rohilkhand, or the land of the Rohillas, I know how difficult it is for them to discontinue the use of beef in the present circumstances. The Pathan cannot suppress his surprise when he comes across people in India who "eat corn with corn"; and Rampur wags say: "Let there be meat, even if it be a dog's." When following the fashion of

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British Indian Municipalities, Rampur also closed many meat shops and opened in their place a central Meat Market, it was found difficult to cope with the demand for beef, and so disastrous proved the results of a keen competition for the reduced supply that the *Market*, as it used to be called, was now descriptively rechristened *Marpect*? In the case of this class of Musalmans the use of beef is at present a more or less acutely felt economic necessity.

The only safe and sure way of stopping cow-killing in this case is to take steps to lower the price of mutton which is prohibitively high, and thus reduce the very large margin that there is at present between the prices of mutton and beef. I am far from desiring that the cost of living should be still further increased for any section of this impoverished land, not excluding my own community, which is admittedly one of the poorest; but I cannot help pointing out that by far the most numerous owners of cows are the Hindus, and that if they did not sell cows after they had ceased to give milk, there would be much less cow-killing than there is to-day. Even now we can encourage goat and sheep breeding in order to save the cow, but when we can frame our Budgets for a Swaraj Government it should be a comparatively easy matter to utilise a considerable portion of the savings from Military expenditure for the same purpose. Nevertheless I appeal to my co-religionists even to-day to discontinue the use of beef and not to wait until Swaraj is won when their sacrifice would be worth much less. The Joint Family system of India and not the free competition of the Manchester School must be our social and political ideal for India's different communities. But if there is to be competition among the communities that form the Indian Joint-Family, let it be a competition in forbearance and self-sacrifice, and I maintain that the community which willingly surrenders more of its cherished rights and strongly-entertained sentiments for the sake of sister communities and the peace and harmony of India will prove the most invincible in the end.

ADJUSTMENT OF COMMUNAL SHARES IN REPRESENTATIVE BODIES AND IN THE ADMINISTRATION.

I have already explained to you what I think about the main cause of communal quarrels and the share of the educated classes in misleading the masses and using them in order to serve their personal ambitions. But matters like cow-killing and processions with music are not the only things that provide sources of friction. The adjustment of communal shares in representative institutions, local, provincial and All-India, and in the administration also, gives rise to bitter communal dissensions, and here it is clearly impossible to shift the blame on to the masses. Once more personal ambitions well or ill disguised as communal interests, play a great part, and specious phrases, such as greater efficiency and superior educational qualifications, are used to cover the injustice intended. This is all the more surprising because similar pretexts when put forward by the foreign bureaucrats are mercilessly exposed by the selfsame people. Since this fallacy of the higher efficiency of monopolists has not yet received its quietus, I am compelled to say that the intelligence of the few can never be a proper safeguard of the interests of the many. And when people are not actuated by motives of broad-minded patriotism, the superior intelligence of one group or section cannot but be regarded by other groups and sections as a rather dangerous possession. It may, however, be that even where the motives are pure they are none the less suspect. That, friends, is our *karma*, the legacy left by the injustice of past generations, and instead of taking undue offence, we must live down such reputations. In politics as in business credit has first to be established, and a good balance-sheet and a moderately good

dividend are far more useful in the long run than the most attractive prospectus. We could have gone much farther on the road to Liberty and Self-Rule if minorities had been quite sure of the company which they were being invited to join. But the common platform of the Congress has now provided an excellent opportunity to all of us to prove the patriotic character of our motives, and however long it may be before we succeed in establishing our credit, nothing can be done without it; and losing our temper over unmerited suspicions, or hustling those who entertain them and trying to jockey them into an expression of confidence that they do not yet feel in us, is poor business.

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The Lucknow Compact which forced the hands even of the bureaucracy and compelled it to agree to such poor Reforms as have been doled out to India would in all likelihood suffice for the present for such of us as have decided to enter the Legislatures; and even if it does not, this should spur us on, to quicken the pace and try to reach our national destination of Swaraj all the earlier so that we may re-adjust communal shares in representative bodies. Friends, let me tell you frankly that I do not consider it likely that for some time yet we can afford to dispense with separate electorates. But I can assure you no one would rejoice more than myself on the day that the minorities themselves announced that they needed no such protection. It may perhaps help you to judge of my *bona fides* in this matter if I tell you that I had strongly urged the adoption of the Indian plan for the protection of the Christian minorities in the Eastern Vilayets of Turkey known as Armenia.

But two intermediate steps may be taken before we abolish separate electorates altogether. The first is that the minorities should be free to elect any Indian as their representative. I shall deem it a great honour the day a non-Muslim minority elects me in preference to its own members to represent it in the national assembly. And I know of no Muslim to whom I could give my vote with greater confidence than to that great Khilafatist, Mahatma Gandhi.

Another step that we could well take would be the progressive creation of mixed electorates, gradually to replace separate electorates. Some of you may perhaps remember that I had opposed the Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali who did not wish to risk any seat by agreeing to the retention of some mixed electorates, and wanted safe, even if fewer, seats for the Muslims when the Minto-Morley Reforms were being discussed. As intercommunal relations improved the number of seats thrown open for contest in mixed electorates may be increased and those allotted to separate electorates decreased, till all come to be contested in mixed territorial electorates. The same policy should be adopted in throwing administrative posts open from communal to general competition.

All the foregoing considerations have to be kept in view in dealing with the composition of local bodies where, although the issues may often be petty, the passions of the people concerned are more liable to be excited.

A sad enough confirmation of this is furnished by the unfortunate dissensions in the Punjab over the distribution of municipal seats. The conditions in that province sometimes make me wonder whether Jallianwallah Bagh and the Crawling Lane are really situated in the Punjab.

MENTAL MYOPIA

In the short passage which I quoted in the earlier part of this address from another address of mine, delivered as long ago as in 1904, I had warned

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my audience against placing any reliance on the "misleading unity of opposition," and I would be the last person to believe that we can remain a united people merely by feeding on the memory of Martial Law terrors. Many a coalition formed in Opposition and adversity has broken down after the first flush of victory at the polls and in the very first days of Government, and if Swaraj is not only to be won, but also to be retained thereafter, our unity must be based on something more lasting than the memories of common suffering. And yet I am compelled to remind both Hindus and Musalmans who complain so bitterly to-day of one another's injustice that I know of nothing more difficult for either to endure from the other than the cold-blooded decision taken by General Dyer to shoot and to shoot strong at Jallianwallah Bagh and the calculated national humiliation of the Crawling Lane. It seems to me that we in the North suffer from a mental myopia, and as we move forward our sufferings are left behind, and gradually recede into obscurity, so that even at a very short distance of time the troubles of to-day blot out all recollection of the terrors of yesterday. And what is worse, each community remembers only that which it has itself suffered, retaining in its memory no record of the sufferings it had itself caused to others.

THE COMMUNITY OF THE BADMASHES.

But in referring thus to communities we are apt to forget that it is not communities that cause suffering to other communities in the course of popular affrays, but rowdy elements of India's population which cause injury to the peace-loving. The *badmashes* belong to no community but form a distinct community of their own, and to it all is grist that comes to the mill. I was greatly impressed by an article contributed by Lala Lajpatrai from his American exile during the War when Hindu monied classes had suffered greatly in some districts of the Punjab from the depredations of Muslim *badmashes*. There was great danger of intercommunal strife, but the Lalaji hastened to point out that the Hindu sufferers had not suffered because they were Hindus but because they belonged to the monied classes. It was a case of the Haves and the Have-Nots and not a case of the Hindus and the Musalmans. This has always to be borne in mind, particularly when there are not only the two contending parties but a third as well, which laughs just as heartily as we fight and abuse one another. Dr. Tagore has spoken a great deal since the outbreak of rowdyism in the North on the subject of inter-communal quarrels; but the reports of his lectures made me doubt a little whether he remembered what he wrote on the same subject when similar rowdyism, but more deliberate and previously planned, had broken out over cow-killing in Behar in 1917. He happened to be travelling in a compartment shared with him by a British military officer who sneered at Indian aspirations and asked the Poet how his fellow-countrymen could talk of Swaraj when he a foreigner had to be called in every now and then to take his troops to the disturbed areas and keep the peace between Indians of different faiths. Then, at least the Poet remembered that there was a third who laughed while we suffered, and reminded the British officer of his existence. The latter asked whether there were no such quarrels before the advent of the British, and the Poet admitted their previous existence as well but he was then prompt to point out that there was one difference. They quarrelled even then, but they did not let many suns go down upon their wrath because the moment they recovered their lost tempers they also recollected that they had to live together for better or worse, and since life would be infinitely dull without more or less friendly intercourse, the sooner they made up their differences and became friends again the better. But ever since the *tertius gaudens* had come on the scene such quarrels had become more frequent and such reconciliations fewer and farther between.

THE HAND OF ESAU AND THE VOICE OF JACOB.

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European husbands and Indian wives have a horror of that triangular family life in which the third side is represented by the mother-in-law (Loud and continued Laughter). Imagine then the blessed state of that union in which the mother-in-law is not only a permanent feature of family life and never dies, (laughter), but in which she alone runs the household. And worse than all, the mother-in-law that makes each of us pine for single blessedness combines *two* distinct natures in *one* person, and with ever ready sympathy consoles either party, as the occasion demands, and, better still, condemns the other, in the joint role of the mother of *both* ! This would indeed be matter for laughter if we had only sense enough nor to be the dupes of this double-dealing mother-in-law. But the moment a cow is killed by a musalman in a provocative manner, or a noisy procession is taken out by a Hindu in front of a mosque where prayer may be going on, we are ready to rush at one another's throats forgetting that Musalmans have never been known to be wanting when it was their own co-religionists that had to be denounced to the Government as seditionists and rebels, and that Hindus have had no better record of communal cohesion in similar circumstances. Have no Hindus reported against Mahatma Gandhi and no Mussalmans against me ? Our own sufferings have taught us that there is never a lack of one's co-religionists to do all the dirty work that may be required of them, and when a Musalman is so ready to hurt a brother Muslim, or, for that matter, the entire Muslim community, why need we be surprised if a Hindu is employed to do the same ? No, friends, like *badmashes*, traitors belong to no community, but form a tribe of their own. Some of you must have read Labour's denunciation of "International Finance." We have even better reason to denounce "Inter-Communal Goondaism." A Musalman may throw beef during the night into a temple or break an idol, and yet the Muslim community may be just as innocent of this provoking sacrilege as the Hindu community itself ; and in similar circumstances the Hindu community may be wholly blameless even though a Hindu certainly threw pork into a mosque or desecrated the Holy Quran. Some people asked me to disown the Musalman Minister in the Punjab. I said to them that I was prepared to disown him, if they said I had ever owned him. (Laughter.) What is the difference between him and the European official ? They are both limbs of the same body ! They belong to the Government and not to me.

But even more clear than this is the case of a Muslim Minister who may have shown favouritism towards Musalman in the matter of patronage, and of a Hindu Minister similarly showing undue favour to Hindus. Obviously they are members of a foreign Government whatever caste-mark they may bear. The hands are the hands of Esau, but the voice is the voice of Jacob. And yet the people of a province that has still to stop the pensions of a Dyer and an O'Dwyer are prepared to co-operate with those who insist on paying for Indian murder out of Indian funds, and to cease to co-operate with their neighbours and fellow-sufferers, only because a Minister who happens to belong to the community of the latter dispenses such petty patronage as the Reforms empower him to do in a manner that does not meet with their approval. After this one wonders what Non-Co-operation means. When the Congress publicly is welcoming Indians who resign their posts, even though it thinks it is perhaps too much just yet to call upon them to resign, there are people who call themselves Congressmen but forget all that Mahatma Gandhi had taught them of Non-Co-operation only because a Minister in their province is giving a few more petty posts to members of his own community than they think he ought to do. Friends, it is not a little embarrassing to me that this Minister happens to be a co-religionist of mine ; but believe me, I would have felt even more ashamed than I now

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feel embarrassed if the complaint about such petty posts had come from my co-religionists. Hakim Ajmal Khan Saheb, for whose speedy and complete recovery we all pray, has related to me what unspeakable shame he felt when co-religionists of his and mine had the hardihood to show some scratches on the walls of the mosques at Multan and some broken pitchers in justification of their counter-claim that if Hindu temples had been destroyed their own mosques did not altogether escape.

THE PARABLE OF THE WISE AND THE FOOLISH MOTHER.

Let me add that I would never have mentioned this had I wanted to complain about the Hindu attitude in the matter. I have done so because I feel certain that the Muslim mentality does not seem to be any better, and neither community is above these petty considerations. But even if the Musalmans had been any better I would not have complained of the Hindus, for experience teaches us that it serves no purpose for a member of one community to rebuke the members of another. That task must be left to its own members. How often have we not seen little children living in the same quarter of a town playing together and then quarrelling over little things? Every boy rushes back to his own mother with a woeful tale of the wickedness of his playmates, and of course, an equally pathetic description of his own virtues. The wise mother uniformly decides against her own child and rebukes him; and if he still persists in his complaint, he is told not to make such unsociable creatures his playmates any more. The street which is usually the common playground is thenceforward declared beyond the bounds. But solitude soon begins to pall upon our virtuous young friend, and a little separation begins to purge his playmates of all their sins so that by the second or third day they are completely absolved, and he asks for, and secures, his mother's permission to play with them once more, though not before he is told that he is not to come to her again with the tale of his undeserved sufferings. And this is the way that peace is secured. But, alas, I have seen foolish mothers as well as wise ones, and perhaps the former constitute a majority. The moment their young hopeful comes to them for sympathy and, even worse, for effective support, they shed motherly tears of deep anguish over him, and when they have exhausted one emotion they make use of another, and, going to the mother of the wicked boy who had been so unjust to their little angel, bitterly complain of him and drop not a few hints that his upbringing has evidently been neglected. This leads to still plainer hints from the other side that the complainant was a devil incarnate, and that with such parents to bring him up it was not altogether the poor creature's fault. And then the fray begins. The big guns of abuse are sent up at a gallop, and long range howitzers which leave none scot-free up to the seventh generation are brought into action. Then appears the male auxiliary, and if he is equally devoid of common-sense and equally jealous of his *izzat*, he opens fire instantly with something that shatters the *izzat* of the adversary for ever. Thus when the other male auxiliary rushes up to the scene of action on hearing the noise of this bombardment, he calls a truce to this wordy warfare, and, like the practical creature that he is, he promptly breaks the head of the other male. And it is a lucky quarter of the town if hostilities remain confined to the families directly concerned. The best commentary on all this is furnished by the action of the brace of young barbarians with whom hostilities had commenced walking off arm-in-arm to enjoy another game of *gill-danda* or *kabaddi* just as police may be marching the Big Four off to the lock-up!

It is such experiences as these which have taught us that the best method of settling intercommunal quarrels is neither to advocate the cause of your

community, as in my time I have often done, nor even to pose as an arbitrator with an open and a judicious mind, but to earn the abuse of your own community. And since my brother and I have received an earnest of this already, I feel satisfied that not only am I qualifying myself for the office of a genuine patriot, but that I may begin to entertain hopes that the two communities will soon be reconciled. After this, need I say I recommend this course of "political exercises" to all my friends of every community?

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SANGHATAN.

Having explained my own attitude at such length I do not think I am called upon to say much about the Sanghatan. I have certainly never publicly opposed it, and if anyone thinks so he is mistaken, and must have been misled by some ill-reported speech or interview. This is entirely an affair of my Hindu brethren, and if they think they need a Sanghatan they should be allowed a perfectly free hand in the matter. Every community is entitled to undertake such social reform as it needs, and if the Sanghatan is organised to remove untouchability and to provide for the speedy assimilation of the Antyaj and their complete absorption into Hindu society, I must rejoice at it both as a Musalman and as a Congressman. Ever since the Congress at Nagpur called upon the Hindu delegates "to make a special effort to rid Hinduism of the reproach of untouchability" and "respectfully urged the religious heads to help the growing desire to reform Hinduism in the matter of its treatment of the suppressed classes," this question has enlisted the direct interest and sympathy of the Congress. I remember very well that towards the closing months of the year 1921, Mahatma Gandhi was making the removal of untouchability the test of the Hindu's yearning for Swaraj, and if orthodox Hindu religious bodies have now seriously decided to make the required reform in Hinduism, it is bound to rejoice the hearts of that large-hearted Hindu and of all his followers.

But I cannot help recalling that this matter remained in abeyance for a considerable time, and that it was not taken up with any great zeal until after the tragic events in Malabar had caused some months later a wave of indignation and resentment to sweep over the distant Punjab, and Multan Hindus had themselves suffered from the unruly passions of the Muslim mob. It is this combination of circumstances which causes uneasiness to many of those who yearn for the unification of India and know how little weight our recently achieved unity can just yet sustain. A broken limb which has just come out of a steel frame should not be too severely strained. We may not believe every suspicion or rumour, but we must not overlook their potency for mischief if they are not quickly removed or disproved; and there is no doubt that people are busy creating the suspicion that the removal of untouchability is not intended to result in the absorption of the suppressed classes into Hindu society, but merely to use them as auxiliaries on the Hindu side in future affrays. This being so, I ask if there is no ground for the uneasiness of Mahatma Gandhi's followers who have been sedulously taught, in the words of our resolution at Nagpur, "to lay special emphasis on NON-VIOLENCE being an integral part of the Non-Co-operation Resolution," and to invite the attention of the people to the fact that "NON-VIOLENCE in word and deed is as essential between the people themselves as in respect of the Government," and, finally, that "the spirit of violence is not only contrary to the growth of a true spirit of democracy, but actually retards the enforcement (if necessary) of the other stages of Non-Co-operation." If in removing the reproach of untouchability we give cause to the world to reproach us with adding to pre-existing violence, will it not sadden the heart of the

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Maahatma? Friends, let us befriend the suppressed classes for their own injured sakes and not for the sake of injuring others or even avenging our own injuries.

Another feature of the Sanghatan movement is the increase of interest in physical culture. This is all to the good, and if flabbiness and cowardice can be removed from any section of the Indian people there is cause only for joy. Here, too, however, there arises the question of the spirit, and I am sincerely glad that the frank discussions at Delhi last September gave an opportunity to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to proclaim to the world that he himself favours the creation of common *akhadas* in which young men of all communities can take their share. As for the protection of life and property and—I regret that I should have to add—the honour of our sisters, he again proclaimed his original intention that common territorial Civic Guards should be formed. It was only because he was told that the Hindu Sabha by which his motion was being discussed could not constitutionally bind other communities that he altered his resolution and agreed to the creation of Hindu Guards.

THE SANGHATAN OF THE CONGRESS CONCILIATION COMMITTEE.

But in entire agreement with Hindu leaders the Hindu-Muslim Unity Committee recommended certain resolutions to the Congress, for adoption on all these subjects, and since they were immediately passed by the Congress let us now see that we give full effect to them. To prevent the possibility of disunion we have, in the first place, to establish at the headquarters of every district, under the supervision of the District Congress Committees, and in consultation with Khilafat Committees, Hindu Sabhas and other responsible local associations, mixed Committees for the maintenance of peace and security throughout the districts. In case of any incident likely to disturb such peace and security, they would endeavour to minimise its evil consequences and provide for a speedy and satisfactory settlement, and would encourage the people, in case of any provocation, to conduct themselves with restraint, and to refer the matter to such Committees for redress of their grievances, instead of themselves resorting to retaliatory measures. I have since then realised with grief and pain that in some districts the Congress Committees have ceased to function, and that Congress workers have in some cases themselves taken a leading part in exciting inter-communal hostility. This would necessitate for some time at least the formation of supervisory bodies to check the work of the District Committees and to be a substitute for them in areas in which such Committees have not been formed. A permanent Provincial, and a similar National Conciliation Board also seem to me to be called for, and had such Boards been in existence perhaps they could have averted unfortunate collisions in some localities. These Boards could perhaps be utilised also for making enquiries into similar incidents that occur in future in spite of all our precautions, and, if necessary, to apportion the guilt between the communities concerned. Let us be ready with our machinery, and if the people know that we mean to stamp out such rowdyism and to maintain peace, security and inter-communal friendship, there is little likelihood of our having to sit in judgment upon contending communities.

CIVIC GUARDS.

In the next place, the Congress resolved at Delhi that its local Committees be instructed to form and maintain, under their own supervision and control, local Corps of Civic Guards (open to all communities), throughout the country, for the maintenance of peace and order, and for the performance of other civic duties. Local Committees of the Congress were also to be instructed to induce and encourage the people to take up physical culture, and to provide

necessary facilities for this purpose so that our people may be enabled to undertake their self-defence. I have heard of communal *dals* and *akhadas*, but I fear the local Committees have not yet had sufficient time to organise Congress Corps of Civic Guards and open Congress *akhadas*, I, however, know of one School of Physical Culture at Ajmer which sent some of its members to the Delhi Congress, and while pleased with their physical development, I rejoiced still more when I learnt that, in spite of much persuasion to throw in their lot with their community during the unfortunate affray there and indulge in partisan violence, these young men remained wholly non-violent and refused to take sides. Can anyone say after this that the Congress exercises no influence in favour of national unity and non-violence? Wherever we have men like our Arjunlal Sethiji, Maulana Moinuddin and Mirza Abdul Qadir Beg, we may confidently look forward to the maintenance, or, at least, the earliest possible restoration of peace. Dr. Hardikar has, I am happy to say, interested himself in the creation of Volunteer Corps. and, let me confess, friends, that even to-day when I am presiding over the Congress I feel I would be more in my element if I were working in Dr. Hardikar's place. If only the Government knew how necessary is the formation of volunteer corps of Civic Guards to keep our crowds even more peaceful than they already are and far more orderly and self-restrained, it would not dream of using its Criminal Law Amendment Act against them and their organisers, provided, of course, it too desired peace and order to prevail in the land. In this matter I have a personal end to serve also. Travelling as constantly as I do, and attending mass meeting by the dozen, and being unfortunately only too often carried in processions, I feel the need of such Corps more than the stay-at-homes among us, and I am often tempted to take in hand the local volunteers attending on such occasions, forgetting for the moment that no man can attend at his own funeral.

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SENSE OF HONOUR OF OUR BADMASHES.

But let me say one word on the subject of the protection of the honour of our women before I take leave of the Sanghatan question, and let me preface my last word on the subject with the admission that it is not really mine but my wife's. At Almora, where she was addressing a ladies' meeting composed mainly of her Hindu sisters, she said that if in a place such as Almora, where Musalmans form a very insignificant minority, she found that an anti-Muslim riot had broken out, and her male relations were not available to help her to protect her own or her daughter's honour, she would unhesitatingly appeal to the first Hindu as to a brother even if she knew him to be a *badmash*, (Hear, hear) and ask him to take her and her children under his personal protection. She said she had enough confidence in the sense of honour even of India's *badmashes* and in their "sportsmanship," so to speak, and I doubt if there are many *badmashes* in India on whom such a personal appeal of a sister in distress will fail to have any effect. Friends, trust disarms even wickedness and succeeds where six-chambered revolvers fail, and Shakespeare knew human nature better than some of us seem to do when he wrote.

"There is a soul of goodness in things evil."

I cannot do better than to appeal to my sisters to teach us to trust each other more than we do at present, and by their own courageous confidence develop in the worst of us that God-given "soul of goodness."

SHUDDHI.

Another movement that has affected Hindu-Muslim relations is Shuddhi. I myself believe in a missionary religion, and by a missionary religion should be

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taken to mean one in which, in the words of Professor Max Muller, the spreading of the truth and the conversion of unbelievers are raised to the rank of a sacred duty. It is the spirit of truth in the hearts of believers which cannot rest unless it manifests itself in thought, word and deed, which is not satisfied till it has carried its message to every human soul, till what it believes to be the truth is accepted as the truth by all the members of the human family. Christianity and Buddhism as well as Islam are known to be missionary religions, but Judaism, Zoroastrianism and Hinduism are generally regarded as non-missionary.

Now, this has been my complaint for a long time against Hinduism, and on one occasion, lecturing at Allahabad in 1907, I had pointed out the contrast between Musalmans and Hindus, by saying that the worst that could be said of a Muslim was that he had a tasteless mess which he called a dish fit for kings, and wanted all to share it with him, thrusting it down the throats of such as did not relish it and would rather not have it, while his Hindu brother who prided himself on his cookery, retired into the privacy of his kitchen and greedily devoured all that he had cooked, without permitting even the shadow of his brother to fall on his food, or sparing even a crumb for him. This was said not altogether in levity; and in fact, I once asked Mahatma Gandhi to justify this feature of his faith to me. It will be strange, then, if to-day, when there are evidences of a missionary zeal in the activities of my Hindu brethren, I should resent their efforts in spreading their faith. More than that, if the Malkana Rajputs are in reality so unfamiliar with Islam as to be taken for Hindus, Musalmans must thank Hindu missionaries for so forcibly reminding them of their own duty to look to the condition of millions of Musalmans whose knowledge of Islam is as defective as their practice of its rites is slack.

Both communities must be free to preach as well as practice the tenets of their respective faiths. There are competing types of culture in the world, each instinct with the spirit of propagandism, and I hope we live in an age of conscious selection as between ideal systems. We cannot surely wish to practise that wasteful, and, at best, a precarious, elimination of "false doctrine" by actual destruction of those who hold it. I hope the age of the Spanish Inquisition has gone for ever, and no one would think of abolishing heresy by wiping out the heretic. Progress is now possible along the more direct and less painful path of conversion. But it must be the result of the exercise of the power of rational choice, and the man whose conversion we seek must be free to choose his faith. What true Muslim could be satisfied by the kind of "conversion" which some fanatical Moplahs are believed to have effected during the period of the Malabar troubles by forcibly depriving some Nairs of their tufts of hair indicating their Hindu faith? No better in the sight of God is that outward conformity which is forced upon a person by bringing undue worldly pressure to bear upon him.

Allegations of such pressure by zemindars and money-lenders and by a numerical majority of neighbours in the surrounding area have been made and denied, and counter-allegations have been made. This cannot but react unfavourably on national unity; and when over a very small matter the decision to put a stop to all demonstrative and inflammatory methods of mass conversion and reclamation was given up, the Hindu-Muslim Unity Committee at Delhi recommended to the Congress a resolution which was duly adopted, that a Committee be formed to enquire into incidents connected with "Shuddhi" and "Anti-Shuddhi" movements, to visit places wherever coercion, intimidation, exercise of undue pressure or influence, or use of methods of proselytisation inconsistent with such a religious object is alleged or suspected, and to recommend such means as it thinks necessary for the prevention of such practices. Every political party in the West is, or at least, pretends to be, jealous of its honour,

and willingly consents to have a Corrupt Practices Act passed by the Legislature. We who pride ourselves on our greater spirituality must be truly jealous of our reputations, and a national body like the Congress is a proper authority to advise all communities in this matter, if not to enforce a Corrupt Practices Act as part of the unwritten law of the nation. My own belief is that both sides are working with an eye much more on the next decennial Census than on heaven itself, and I frankly confess it is on such occasions that I sigh for the days when our forefathers settled things by cutting heads rather than counting them.

ABSORPTION OR CONVERSION.

The quarrels about *alams* and *pipal* trees and musical processions are truly childish; but there is one question which can easily furnish a ground for complaint of unfriendly action if communal activities are not amicably adjusted. This is the question of the conversion of the Suppressed Classes if Hindu society does not speedily absorb them. The Christian missionary is already busy and no one quarrels with him. But the moment some Muslim Missionary Society is organised for the same purpose there is every likelihood of an outcry in the Hindu Press. It has been suggested to me by an influential and wealthy gentleman who is able to organise a Missionary Society on a large scale for the Conversion of the Suppressed Classes, that it should be possible to reach a settlement with leading Hindu gentlemen and divide the country into separate areas where Hindu and Muslim Missionaries could respectively work, each Community preparing for each year, or longer unit of time if necessary an estimate of the numbers it is prepared to absorb or convert. These estimates would of course be based on the number of workers and funds each had to spare, and tested by the actual figures of the previous period. In this way each community would free to do the work of absorption and conversion or rather, of reform without chances of collision with one another. I cannot say in what light my Hindu brethren will take it, and I place this suggestion tentatively in all frankness and sincerity before them. All that I say for myself, is that I have seen the condition of the *kali paraj* in the Baroda State and of the Gonds in the Central Provinces and I frankly confess it is a reproach to us all. If the Hindus will not absorb them into their own society, others will and must, and then the orthodox Hindu too will cease to treat them as untouchables. Conversion seems to transmute them by a strong alchemy. But does this not place a premium upon conversion?

THE DUTY OF THE PRESS.

Once more the best and surest remedy is a change in the spirit of proselytisation; but that cannot be expected with a press so unrestrainedly partisan as we have to-day in parts of India. I am myself a journalist, and you all know that I have undergone some little suffering for the sake of securing the freedom of the Indian Press. At least, I can claim the honour, if honour it be, to have figured in the leading case under the late lamentable Press Act, and it was I who started this fox even if I could not be at the kill. The removal of these external fetters makes it all the more necessary that we should exercise greater restraint than before over ourselves. But what I have seen of the Vernacular Press in the Punjab makes me apprehend that if it is not checked by the combined efforts of all Congressmen it will make us sigh for the resurrection of that dead and damned piece of bureaucratic legislation. Not that the bureaucracy would find much in our Punjab papers to which it would be inclined to apply the provisions of the Press Act even if it were resurrected, for in the estimation of the bureaucrat the offence punishable under section 153-A of the Indian Penal Code is not to be named in the same breath with that punishable under section 124-A.

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of that Code. And even though the Press Act is no more, the Penal Code and the Civil Courts, where damages can be claimed by officials financed by the Government for alleged defamation, serve the Government well enough, but the nation remains wholly unprotected, and it is up to us not to leave it so exposed. It was I who strongly urged the Hindu-Muslim Unity Committee last September to recommend to the Congress a resolution on the subject of the Press. The Congress was asked to instruct its Working Committee to issue a manifesto inviting the attention of the Indian newspapers to the extreme necessity of exercising great restraint when dealing with matters likely to affect inter-communal relations, and also in reporting events and incidents relating to inter-communal dissensions and in commenting upon them. It was asked to appeal to them not to adopt an attitude which might prove detrimental to the best interests of India and which might embitter the relations between different communities. It was also recommended to the Congress that its Working Committee might be instructed to appoint in each province a small Committee which should request such newspapers as publish any matter likely to create inter-communal dissensions that they should desist from following such a course of action, and that if, in spite of this friendly advice, no useful result were achieved, these Committees should proclaim such newspaper. If even after this they did not alter their attitude, a boycott of them by Congressmen was to be declared in the last resort. The Congress adopted this resolution also, but I fear its executive has not yet had time to carry out the instructions issued by the Congress. The most important work that we have to do, apart from this of restoring Hindu-Muslim unity, is to organise an adequate permanent establishment for the Congress and its Provincial and Local Committees, for it is no use passing Resolutions in the Congress which cannot be attended to by the honorary executive for lack of a paid, permanent establishment.

Friends, you may perhaps say I have taken up too much of your time in describing and detailing what the Congress did at Delhi and have hardly any proposals to place before you to-day. My answer is that you need few fresh proposals if you are determined to carry out those which you have already accepted. At Delhi we were able to proclaim to the world that we were not satisfied with the existing state of affairs and that we were resolved to remain united. That itself cleared the air to a great extent; but this was not all. We had provided remedies essentially sound in principle for our national ills; only we have not so far had time to use them. We spent perhaps too much time in examining, analysing and criticising the resolutions we had passed at Delhi, and a large section of Congressmen has been kept busy by the elections. Unless you adopt other measures to restore the national unity, it will be the duty of your executive to carry out the measures already adopted. But your executive will fail to accomplish anything of lasting value unless it has your ungrudging support and active assistance. In fact, you are your own most effective executive, and as your servant specially nominated by you for the year that is now commencing I appeal to you to assist me in carrying out your own orders.

To the Indian Press I would address my most earnest appeal urging the Press to rise to the height of the occasion and not to disappoint the high expectations of one who is himself a journalist. When I was recently at Bijapur again and for the first time visited its famous dome, a friend of mine who was as deeply impressed as myself by that wonderful pile, asked me in a whisper right across the dome if Europe with all its boast of superiority had a whispering gallery such as that of the *Gol Gunbad*. It is no doubt a most astonishing experience to be able to hear distinctly across such a great space everything that is whispered, and the nine echoes heard in that gallery are equally remarkable. My friend was for the moment living the brilliant past of Bijapur over again

and felt inordinate pride in the achievements of his Muṣlim ancestors. It was no doubt a great shock to him when I whispered back that the Whispering Gallery of Europe was even more marvellous. And then I told him that Europe's Whispering Gallery was the Press, its Fourth Estate! Every lie softly whispered in the privacy of the Editor-Proprietor's sanctum was shouted across all the continents, increasing in pitch and volume with every reverberation till it ended in the united shriek of hundreds of millions, of fanatics and lunatics, (laughter), leaving no chance for poor tongue-tied Truth to be heard. And yet it is just as easy to make the world resound with the thunderpeals of Truth as with the shrieks of Falsehood, and it is for the Indian Press to choose whether it will serve as the Whispering Gallery of Truth or of Falsehood.

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SWARAJ AND FOREIGN AGGRESSION.

Before I take final leave of the Hindu-Muslim question I wish to declare that if India wins Swaraj it will satisfy all the religious requirements of a Muslim in India. Swaraj, Sarv-Raj or the Raj of all, implies Swadharma, and must imply that in an Eastern country. It is not therefore necessary that a Musalman should sit on the throne of the Mughals at Delhi, and we have all seen how the greatest Muslim State has ceased to have a Royal Throne and has converted itself into a Republic. Every true Muslim looks back with pride upon the Thirty Years of the Truly Guided Khalifas during which the Successors of the Prophet and the Commanders of the Faithful (with whom Allah was pleased) were the Chief Servants of the Common wealth. Islam spread over the major portion of the civilised world, and its empire extended over all the continents of the known world; but no Muslim holds dear the memory of Islam's later conquests and expansion as that of the first thirty years when it was the pride of the Muslim envoy to tell the envoys of the Byzantine and Iranian empires who had been boasting of the despotic power of their respective rulers that the Muslims had themselves appointed their ruler and would depose him just as readily if he acted against the Law of God. Victory has not been snatched from the jaws of defeat and despair by the valiant and God-fearing Turks to no purpose, and I feel confident that once they are free from the distractions inevitable after the victories both of war and peace they will revive with God's assistance the glories not of the Omayyide or Abbaside Empire, but of the first Thirty Years of the Khilafat before there were any kings or dynasts.

I have my own views of the possible adjustment of the relations of all Muslim States and the Khalifa, but this is not the occasion to state them. It would suffice if I state here that Musalmans can satisfy all their religious requirements no matter who is their secular sovereign so long as they recognise that "there is no governance but God's," and that "Him alone are we commanded to serve." As in every religion, there are in Islam certain things which every Musalman is required to do, and certain things which he is required not to do. Between these duties and prohibitions lies a vast stretch of ground in which he is free to roam about except for certain things which are in the nature of preferences. Now a Musalman can obey no creature of God who commands him to neglect one of these duties or to disregard one of these prohibitions, and it makes no difference whether that person is one of his own parents or his master or ruler, whether he is an enemy or a friend, or whether he is Muslim or a non-Muslim. So long as the temporal power of Islam is adequate and is always at the disposal of the Khalifa, it matters little whether a Muslim in a subject of a Muslim or a non Muslim. All he needs is the fullest freedom to obey none but God in the matter of his religious duties and prohibitions. Even if a Muslim sovereign, nay, even if the Khalifa himself, commanded him to disobey God, he

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must refuse; and it is obvious that he could not render unto a non-Muslim Cæsar what he could not render unto a Muslim Cæsar because it was due only to God. This being so, I cannot understand why there need be any question of a Muslim's unflinching loyalty to a Swaraj and Swadharma government.

As for the bogey of His Majesty the Ameer of Afghanistan attacking India with the assistance of Indian Muslims, it is the creation of fear and cowardice, and can only be laid at rest by courage and self-confidence. I must say it did my heart good to hear my esteemed friend Pandit Jawaharlal say, "Let us win Swaraj and we shall see who comes" We shall certainly be ready to meet all comers, and it will be no easy matter to snatch away Freedom from the hands that have succeeded in winning it back after a century-and-a-half of slavery. As for myself, if India ever needs a humble soldier to resist an aggressor, be he the Muslim or non-Muslim, your comrade whom you have to-day called out of the ranks will gladly fill his place in the ranks. He certainly will be no deserter.

AFGHANISTAN.

I have heard that my Madras speech of 1921 which, had been considered in official circles to be highly treasonable, although it embodied nothing more or less than the sentiments my brother and I had expressed in a letter we had addressed from the Betul gaol to the Viceroy, had not found much favour even in Afghanistan. And I do not wonder that our Afghan neighbours feel a little hurt when they are so often described as if they were harbouring designs on India. If only we knew how difficult His Majesty the Ameer must be finding the task of organising his kingdom and developing its resources without the assistance of foreign personnel, we would not talk of the possibility of Afghan aggression. Afghanistan is enough to keep him and his government fully occupied without the additional worry of the problem of how a Kabul pony can swallow an Indian elephant. If the Afghans are hurt merely because I explained my own position in the event of a hypothetical aggression from Afghanistan, what must be my own feelings in having to explain that position? Because I am a Muslim I have not ceased to be an Indian, and it is surely humiliating to any Indian's national pride to think that his fellow-countrymen regard his country and theirs as an easy prey for any foreign assailant no matter how weak.

"AND THE FOURTH WOULD KNOCK ME DOWN."

Friends, you will forgive me if I relate a story here which seems so applicable to our own situation. I have to preface it with a special apology to my Banya friends because, whosoever may have been the author of the story, he had certainly lived in an age much anterior to ours when the most courageous leader that India has known in recent times happens to be no other than a Banya, and one of his chief lieutenants and lovers is "my brave Banya" as I call my dear friend Seth Jamnalal Bajaj. The story is that four travellers happened to meet each other on the road and agreed to travel together for safety's sake. It happened that after dusk they were met by some highwaymen who demanded the surrender of all their belongings. Then they discovered that their assailants were also only four. One of the travellers who was a Rajput whispered to his companion who was a Pathan that he could successfully tackle the biggest of the highwaymen. Thereupon the Pathan assured the Rajput that, for his part, he too could manage to deal with the next biggest. Thus encouraged the third of the travellers who was a middle-aged Brahmin said: "And I could knock down the third." Then came the turn of the fourth who was a Banya, and equally promptly came his declaration: "And the fourth would knock *me* down!"

This led the Brahmin to apprehend that in that case he might be required to tackle not one but two, and he decided to give in. The Pathan too gave it in for fear he might have to deal with three assailants, and, finally the Rajput also surrendered because obviously he was no match for all the four. And all this because one traveller out of the four had felt just as convinced that the fourth highwayman would knock him down as his three companions were convinced that they could knock down one highwayman apiece!

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NEED OF COURAGE AND CONFIDENCE.

May I not ask you, friends, if it is not now time when we have a Banya for our brave leader for all of us to give up such conviction of defeat before the battle is joined? Why, only recently a Delhi paper published the remarkable discovery of its Secret Investigator that a Delegation consisting of two aged Arabs and one young one who have come from Palestine with the permission of the government to raise funds from Indian Musalmans for the repair of the Masjid-ul-Aqsa and the Qubbat-us-Sakhra at Jerusalem is the vanguard of an invading force of Arabs! Not with such fears and suspicions and tremors can Freedom be won. This, friends, is the way to lose even the little we have. It reminds me of the curse of the Lord on Israel which is recorded in Deuteronomy:

The Lord shall send upon thee cursing, vexation and rebuke, in all that thou settest thine hand unto for to do, until thou be destroyed and thou perish quickly.

Thy Lord shall curse thee to be smitten before thine enemies, thou shalt go out one way against them, and flee seven ways before them: and shalt be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth.

And thy carcase shall be meat unto all the fowls of the air, and unto beasts of the earth and no man shall fray them away.

The Lord shall smite thee with madness, and blindness, and astonishment of heart:

And thou shalt grope at noonday as the blind gropeth in darkness, and thou shalt not prosper in thy ways: and thou shalt be only oppressed and spoiled evermore, and no man shall save thee.

Thou shalt build an house, and thou shalt not dwell therein: thou shalt plant a vineyard and thou shalt not gather the grapes thereof.

Thy sons and thy daughters shall be given unto another people, and thine eyes shall look and fail with longing for them all the day long; and there shall be no might in thine hand.

The fruit of thine land and all thy labours, shall a nation which thou knowest not eat up; and thou shalt be only oppressed and crushed always;

So that thou shalt be mad for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see.

And thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a byword among all nations whither the Lord shall lead thee.

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The stranger, that is within thee shall get up above thee very high ;
and thou shalt come down very low.

He shall lend to thee and thou shalt not lend to him : he shall be
the head and thou shalt be the tail.

Moreover all these curses shall come upon thee, and shall pursue
thee and overtake thee, till thou be destroyed ;

And they shall be upon thee for a sign and for a wonder and upon
thy seat for ever.

THE TURKS' MESSAGE.

The duty of the Musalmans to-day is a double one. They owe a duty to themselves as Indians to secure freedom for themselves and for their posterity. India is no less their country than the Hindu's and even if the Hindus were to shrink from the sacrifices required in Freedom's battle, though they will certainly never do so, it would still be their duty to persevere and to say that they would win Swaraj for all India even if they received no aid from the rest of India. But as Musalmans too they are to secure Swaraj for their country. When I met the Turks in Paris, in Switzerland and in Rome they wondered how the same country that had despatched a large army, which included so considerable a proportion of Musalmans, to fight against them could also send a delegation like ours to plead for better terms for them after their defeat. When I solved this riddle for them by explaining the paradox that many of the Muslim warriors that were not afraid of the Turkish sword or the German gun and could pass months and years in those death-traps called trenches, were yet afraid of the policeman's truncheon and of police lockups and prison cells, my Turkish friends told me that in that case I must take the first boat back to India, and, instead of endeavouring to prevent their enslavement, I should go and break the fetters of my own countrymen. "We have beaten, the English", they said "on the soil of Turkey and in the Straits ; but we could not keep at bay for ever your Indian hordes that pressed us hard in Palestine and in Mesopotamia. Once you are free and no Indian Muslim can any longer be driven to fight against the forces of the Khalifa, both Turkey and Islam will be safe. It is your duty to us as well to yourselves that you first win freedom in your own country". But they added, "let not your Hindu and Sikh fellow-countrymen think that they owe a duty only to themselves and none to us. It is in order to keep them enslaved that Britain has forged such heavy chains for us."

AN EASTERN FEDERATION.

Friends, I am glad to hear that so many of my Hindu fellow-workers are thinking of establishing a relationship with other Eastern countries. Their political ideas have scaled the ramparts of the Himalayas and crossed the moat of the surrounding seas. They recognise that the freedom of every Asiatic nation helps their own freedom, and they contemplate the organisation of an Eastern Federation. The first step had already been taken by Mahatma Gandhi when at Amritsar he identified himself with the cause of the Khilafat. It would be a strange thing if while the Hindus set about organising an Eastern Federation, Indian Musalmans should cease to co-operate with them all because one newspaper correspondent realised in the sufferings of the Musalmans at Saharanpur the tragic scenes enacted at Smyrna. Nothing could be more foolish and more absurd than this, and if the Turks ever came to hear of this comparison they would not feel an excess of gratitude for us.

A FINAL QUESTION TO THE MUSALMANS.

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But one question and one only I shall ask those who point to the episode of Saharanpur—where no doubt it is the Hindus that have suffered most—as a sufficient reason to veer round from Non-Co-operation to co-operation. And that question is this. Was there no British Government ruling in India when Musalmans had to undergo such unmerited sufferings? Was a Hindu administering the district or even a Non-Co-operating Muslim? Finally, was not the department of justice administered by a Musalman who had broken away from the community of which he used to be a great leader at one time and had co-operated with the foreign Government? These are not three separate questions. but one, viz, if neither the Government nor those Musalmans who co-operate with it were able to save the Musalmans of Saharanpur, what prospect is there of any greater safety for them if these conditions are perpetuated by our co-operation? I pause for an answer, but I fear I shall not get it.

In the meantime, the Holy Land of Islam remains in the custody of non-Muslim mandatories. Five times a day every Musalman who offers his daily prayers with regularity turns his face towards the Ka'ba. While I was still in the Bijapur gaol a question occurred to me which I put into verse, and it still remains unanswered.

اس کا کعبہ جسکی جانب روز بروز تھی نماز
کیا کبہ کی اس سے کیڑ کو قبضہ دشمن ملین چھا

(His Ka'ba facing which we were daily offering prayers, what shall we say to Him how it was left under the enemy's control?)

THE BLOW RECALLED AFTER THE FIGHT.

Friends, I have said all that I could say on the Hindu-Muslim question and if after all this lengthy dissertation I leave any Hindu or Musalman Still unconvinced of the necessity of co-operation among ourselves and Non-Co-operation with our foreign masters, I can say no more and must acknowledge myself beaten. One thing is certain, and it is this, that neither can the Hindus exterminate the Musalmans to-day nor can the Musalmans get rid of the Hindus. If the Hindus entertain any such designs they must know that they lost their opportunity when Mohamed bin Qasim landed on the soil of Sindh twelve hundred years ago. Then the Musalmans were few, and to-day they number more than seventy millions. And if the Musalmans entertain similar notions, they too have lost their opportunity. They should have wiped out the whole breed of Hindus when they ruled from Kashmir to Cape Comorin and from Karachi to Chittagong. And as the Persian proverb says, the blow that is recalled after the fight must be struck on one's own jaw. If they cannot get rid of one another, the only thing to do is to settle down to co-operate with one another, and while the Musalmans must remove all doubts from the Hindu mind about their desire for Swaraj for its own sake and their readiness to resist all foreign aggression, the Hindus must similarly remove from the Muslim mind all apprehensions that the Hindu majority is synonymous with Muslim servitude. As for myself, I am willing to exchange my present servitude for another in which my Hindu fellow-countryman would be the slave-driver instead of the foreign master of my destiny, for by this exchange I would at least prevent the enslavement of 250 million of my co-religionists whose slavery is only another name for the continued existence of European Imperialism. When at

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Lucknow in 1916 some Hindus complained to my late chief, Bal Gangadhar Tilak Maharaj, that they were giving too much to the Musalmans, he answered back like a true and far-seeing statesman; "You can never give the Musalmans too much." To-day when I hear complaints that that we are showing great weakness in harping on Hindu-Muslim unity when the Hindus show no desire to unite, I say, "You can never show too great weakness in your dealings with Hindus." Remember, it is only the weak who fear to appear too weak to others. With this observation I take my last leave of this question without a proper and a lasting settlement of which we can effect nothing.

COUNCIL-ENTRY.

This was the main question to be dealt with at Delhi even though the Special Session was held in order to arrive at a settlement of the Council-entry question. I have devoted so large a portion of my address to it not only because of its importance, but also because happily the other is no longer a live issue. At Delhi at my solicitation the Congress removed the ban and permitted those who had no religious or other conscientious objections against entering the Legislatures or voting at the then forthcoming elections to do so, and suspended the propaganda in favour of the boycott of Councils which had achieved such signal success three years previously. The elections have been held, and it can, in my humble judgment, serve no useful purpose to re-open a question which kept us occupied in much sterile activity for more than a year and sorely tried our tempers. I hold strong views on the subject of the triple boycott of Councils, law-courts and schools and colleges, and did not shrink from giving expression to them in strong, or, as my Swarajist friends complained, perhaps in too strong language in the course of the discussion in the Subjects Committee at Delhi. I hold the same views to-day, and would gladly give expression to them again in equally strong language if I could be convinced that it was necessary best interests of the Congress and the country. But of this I am as and in the little convinced as of the soundness of the Swaraj Party views, and, on the contrary, I am fully convinced that no word should escape me which would estrange from the Indian National Congress a single Indian who has any national feeling. (Hear, hear.) In fact, I desire to take a leaf out of the book of the late Lord Morley, whose recent death has removed from the world one who had shown both courage and resource in asking his fellow-countrymen also to do such justice to India as he himself was capable of doing. "Let us rally the Moderates."

THE MODERATES AND THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

I take no party view of the recent elections, and the franchise is far too restricted to read in them the judgment of the nation. But if one thing is more certain than another it is this, that India refuses to co-operate any longer with its foreign rulers or with those who co-operate with them. Many things have helped to disillusion those honest Nationalists who still held the opinions which many of us held as recently as four years ago including Mahatma Gandhi. The discussions in the Imperial Council with regard to the status of Indians overseas have been so extensively advertised that it must be a very foolish fish that would still be deceived by the poor bait offered. South Africa where the Indian population still numbers 160,000 is adamant. The Imperial Government which cannot plead its impotence to interfere in the so-called "internal affairs" of the free Dominions when Kenya and other Crown Colonies are concerned, cannot hold out any hopes of reversing its palpably iniquitous decision, and has only consented to hear India's case once more. But the other Dominions are "sympathetic" since sympathy costs so little, and even here they are not quite booptimistic

where the Indians in British Columbia, of the "Komagata Maru" fame, still numbering some 11,00 are concerned, though the rest of Canada, which has only a bare hundred, is disposed to be generous. I am prepared to give the fullest credit to the impassioned advocacy and highly emotional appeals of Dr. Sapru and his victory has been complete. But, alas he had aimed so low from the very outset that his victory leaves such of us as could not like him feel the heat of the encounter uncomfortably cold.

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It reminds me of a friend who had left a lucrative enough post, and, making a new departure for an up-country Muslim graduate, had started business as a commission agent in Bombay. One day he met me with every show of exultation, and announced that he had closed the day with cent per cent profit in the transaction that had kept him so fully engaged. But when I asked for more details I learnt that my friend had sold a few dozen Japanese paper serviettes, and that the cent per cent profit would hardly pay the day's rent of his office! After long and weary years of strife the Imperial Council passed in 1921 a Resolution recognising the desirability of conceding equal status to Indians overseas, but *Hamlet* was acted with the part of the Prince of Denmark carefully cut out by General Smuts, the Imperial Dramatic Censor. And yet India was asked to rejoice over her cent-per-cent profits. However, as it happened the profits remained unrealised, and two whole years later the battle had to be fought again over the Imperial counter. There were doubts about the nature of the bargain. Such as whether payment was only desirable or necessary, and here the slim Boer General wanted to rescind the entire transaction. But luck has favoured the travelling agents of India again, even though there was much disagreement among them and one of the two has made a discovery not less remarkable than that of Columbus inasmuch as he has discovered in the Boer General a skilfully disguised friend of India. We have secured cent-per-cent profits again, and a roving commission will go out to each of the partners in the other party's firm and by direct dealing ascertain what prospect there is of any payment. This, then, is the net gain. Dr. Sapru's travelling agents, no doubt some of the Great Unemployed, will have the great privilege of having direct dealings with the partners of John Bull, Sons & Co. Lest I may be suspected of belittling the results achieved I quote the conclusion laboriously reached by the *Times* at the fag end of its leading article on "India and the Commonwealth." "The spirit of sympathy" concludes the *Times*, "and of good-will expressed by the representatives of the British Government and of the Dominions Overseas, the sincere appreciation of the share of India in the Commonwealth—these are hardly less important to her than the practical recognition of her right to negotiate for herself with the other partners," Yes, Dr. Sapru and his royal companion have indeed secured "the practical recognition of India's right to negotiate for herself with the other partners"; but when will the bargain be concluded and payment received, and—what will be its amount?

Imperial Conferences will no doubt continue to succeed each other with great regularity, and the success of the Indian dependency at each will be advertised more and more extensively. In 1921, you know, they won something, which they said, was first-class citizenship. What are they going to win in 1923? They said, Implementation. (Laughter.) When I was in Jail I was unable to know what this implementing was. This implementation is to try to bring into some sort of realisation the promise of 1921. But there is no chance of that yet. Perhaps we shall have to attend many more conferences for that. But it is too much for poor human nature to wait patiently and continue to hope while the Imperial stratification proceeds from the Archean or Pre-Cambrian stratum through all the Paleozoic, Mesozoic,

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Cainozoic strata or divisions in their true order of antiquity, and the long list of sub-divisions, such as the Eocene, Oligocene, Miocene, and Pliocene, before we come to the Pleistocene or Glacial and finally to the Post-Glacial or Human period. No honest Moderate would be so moderate as to be satisfied with this crawling pace of our Imperial progress and no honest Liberal could be so liberal as to give unlimited time to England to do us bare justice, especially when they recognise, as they must more and more clearly as each day passes, that a wrong system of education is fast paralysing us and robbing us of our youth and manhood.

Friends, if our fathers, and still more, if our grandfathers had realised, as we realise to-day, the condition of our slavery, we should have been free even within a month. (Hear, hear). They had the power to be free, but they did not know they were slaves. We, those few of us who are non-co-operators, recognise this that we are slaves. But we have not yet the power and the self-discipline that can achieve freedom.

When their disillusionment is just as complete as ours, the question will still have to be answered, "How far are they prepared to go?" Non-Co-operation has from the very outset required only the minimum sacrifice from the maximum number, though even the minimum in the Post-Gandhi era far exceeds the maximum in most cases of the Pre-Gandhi period. But Liberty can neither be won nor retained on the principle of Limited Liability. Dr. Sapru's advocacy may have been all that it could be, but what is there to follow it? Only "resolutions", petitions and protests, and at best a silly *hartal* to wind up with? If that is all, let us leave off this crazy pursuit of politics. Those whose ancestors have won freedom on the field of Runnymede or after the "crowning mercy" of Worcester or by razing the Bastille to the ground may play with politics. We have yet to win our Magna Carta and our Bill of Rights, and it is premature for us to treat politics as a Western pastime. For long we thought in terms of the Penal Code, and now we think we have advanced very far on the road of Reform if we think in terms of Dicey and of Erskine May. We forget that we have still to think in terms of History! I am prepared to admit that the Liberal gun is long enough. The length of the barrel, however, counts for little. It is the charge behind that matters. Once every Liberal or Moderate makes up his mind that patriotism must be to him as it was to every patriot in the world's history who won freedom for his country from a foreign yoke—a matter of unlimited liability, then—all is well. The Congress is his proper place even though he may at first proceed at a slow pace from force of habit. And it is just because I know that the leaders of the Swaraj Party are prepared to go to any length that I refused to be a party to driving them out of the Congress. (Hear, hear). I will challenge any man to tell me that Desabandhu Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru are not willing to make as many sacrifices as any of the best No-changers including myself. I hold that their principles and methods are wrong. I know that they will not co-operate with the Government, but will co-operate with us. Because, they still stick to his path and love the Mahatma as much as we do, even though we pride ourselves upon the fact that we are the only ones who love him.

BARDOLI AND THE SWARAJ PARTY.

It is true many of the Swarajists have retained to this day something (not all, please don't take offence), of their laboriously acquired Western mentality and revel in parliamentary discussions and debates. Many more who have willingly relinquished all thought of the use of force even for purposes of self-defence want the spice of this wordy warfare to make the insipid fare prepared at Bardoli

piquant enough for their jaded palates. Let me tell you an interesting anecdote. what a merchant told me in Calcutta. When the Mahatma and I, just before my incarceration, went to the Colootola street a merchant friend of mine came to us and told the Mahatma that he had ruined him. "Are you dealing in piece-goods?" asked the Mahatma. He replied, "No, I was dealing in British scents, scented soaps, pickles and jams." These are things that we Indians are consuming in large quantities than even the Europeans themselves. (Laughter). The Mahatma remarked to him, "I never asked anybody to boycott these things, though I would be very pleased if they did." The merchant said, "Alright. But do you think, Sir, that any man is going to spend Rs 7 or Rs 8 over a small scented bottle to put it over the dirty *khaddar* which you want all people to wear?" (Laughter). Another said to the Mahatma that he put on *khaddar* one day and began to eat *pullav*. But he soon felt ashamed of himself and never liked to taste the dainty afterwards. That is the revolution that the Charkha and Khaddar have effected on human mentality. (Hear, hear). Many more still have not fully understood the almost unlimited possibilities of the *charkha* which must revolutionise. Indian life while it frees us from economic slavery. Above all, the Swaraj party is the embodiment of the depression experienced by all India when Mahatma Gandhi, after having brought the country to the very door of Swaraj, suddenly had to declare that it was unwise to force that door by resorting to mass Civil Disobedience, and that his plan of action must be changed from an offensive bold to the verge of audacity to a defensive which to those who did not know our generalissimo looked almost like a surrender. But, as I told the Mahatma when I was passing through Bardoli on my way from the Karachi gaol to the Bijapur gaol, his change of plan was out of his strength and not out of his weakness and had he been left free for some weeks longer he would have changed the face of the whole situation. He would have put new life into the Bardoli programme in spite of taking away all the aggressive features of the non-co-operation movement. He was, however, arrested and imprisoned before the people had recovered from the first depressing shock of Bardoli, and although there were hundreds and thousands, nay, hundreds of thousands and millions, who loved him and felt the pang of separation, apparently there was none who could put a new life into the Bardoli programme and make full use of the weapon of offence which the Government had placed in Indian hands by treating the Mahatma as a felon. Friends, you may not have passed the Mahatma as a felon! I have not sufficient data at my disposal to enable me to say whether the Mahatma was justified in listening to the despairing counsel of those who hastened to inform him that mass Civil Disobedience free from grave danger of violence was impossible after the Chauri-Chaura affair. But I do think Civil Disobedience free from such danger was possible immediately on the imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi, and I would have deliberately disobeyed my chief and fought the Government with the weapon it had placed in my hand. No physician, as my brother says, is permitted to prescribe anything for himself when he is ailing, and after Mahatma Gandhi was "buried alive" it was enough if we paid due regard to his creed of Non-Violence, without having to carry out his testamentary injunction with regard to the suspension of Civil Disobedience also. Had such a course been followed I doubt if the Swaraj party would have come into being.

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FUTURE RELATIONS OF THE CONGRESS AND THE SWARAJ PARTY.

Be that as it may, the existence of the Swaraj party cannot be ignored whatever view we may have formed about its genesis. I will not be free to speak to you. You may decide when the question arises. Its early beginnings were small enough, but the peregrinations of the Civil Disobedience Committee, which occupied the time, attention and energies of some of our best workers,

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also succeeded in diverting the attention of all from the work of construction, and drove many of the most zealous among our younger men into the group which sought to enter the Councils. It is an idle speculation now, except to the extent that it helps us to formulate a plan for future work, to estimate how the chances of this group would have been affected if the programme of constructive work had been pushed forward and the younger men had been kept busy. On the other hand, some of my Swarajist friends also want me plunge into speculation and estimate how much greater would have been their success at the polls than it has already been if the Delhi self-denying ordinance suspending our boycott propaganda had been issued at Gaya. I might answer them by suggesting another line of speculation based on characteristic self-conceit *viz.* whether there would have been any Swaraj party in existence at all if I had been permitted to be with them at Gaya to dissuade them from following a course of such doubtful wisdom. But all this is idle talk now. The Swaraj party is there to-day, and even though it may be composed of some very dissimilar elements, it is undoubtedly strong enough in numbers to-day and has always been strong in the quality of its leadership. More than all else, it was permitted at Delhi to go to the polls on its own moral and religious responsibility. It has gone there, and has achieved great enough success considering what forces were arrayed against it, how short a time it had in which to organise its own forces, and how greatly it was handicapped by the fact that some of its best members were disqualified from contesting the elections owing to their having undergone longer terms of imprisonment than those which do not affect eligibility. Then, too, electoral rolls were most defective, mainly perhaps because three years ago nobody but the Liberals cared for such things and until very recently even those who ultimately joined the Swaraj party had not finally made up their minds to contest the elections or to go to the polls is true a very large number of votes have been given not to the individuals that sought them, but to the Congress, and,—“Tell it not in Gath; whisper it not in the streets of Ascalon”—to Mahatma Gandhi himself! There are friends of mine whose distress at such things is very deep, and who consider it a sacrilege thus to take the name of the Mahatma in vain. I greatly sympathise with them, and certainly cannot say that I approve of such political methods. But it must be remembered that those to whom the people offered such votes were immeasurably nearer to Mahatma Gandhi than those who were opposed to them. Moreover, there were some among them who were inclined to sneer in a superior sort of way at a Mahatma so little versed in the affairs of this world as to pin his faith to the silly *charikha*, which even our womenfolk had discarded in these advanced days. I must here mention that my friend Desabandhu Das has told me that he had never meant that the Mahatma had blundered. They thought that he was something of a bungler and a blunderer where finesse was required in dealing with the bureaucrats and with a Viceroy who was supposed to have out-Yankeed the Yankees during the War. Their election experiences must have convinced not a few of these men that the Mahatma's name is still one to conjure with, and that whatever skill in finessing they may possess, their strength even in the Councils lies in the backing which the people who loved and revered the Mahatma were prepared to give to them as his followers and associates. This experience is a valuable asset to them, and the good-sense, restraint and dignity which their leaders have shown in the hour of their victory in full conformity with our expectations from them, make them a valuable element in the Congress. It is true we have no such expectations from their programme as they have themselves; but, while removing, where really necessary, any idea that may be lurking in the people's mind that it is not the constructive programme but the Councils that bring in Swaraj we must give to the Swarajists a perfectly free hand, and add to that our heartiest good wishes that they may succeed. We suspended at Delhi the exercise of our right to carry on a propaganda

of Council-boycott ; but we surrendered no principle. Only the other day, while coming from Bombay, I had the privilege of being with my old friend, Mr. Vithalbai Patel who wanted to talk to me about the Council Entry question. I told him that I was not prepared to listen to anything that he might say in the council nor agree to what he proposed to do. I plainly told him that I was not prepared to adopt the Swaraj Party programme. Nor are we prepared to do that to-day, as we shall no doubt be doing if we agree to accept any responsibility of guiding the Swarajists in the Councils. This we cannot do. Obviously, the Swarajists will not be able to spare as much time for the constructive work as those of us who have not to attend to Council duties ; but I have satisfied myself that their responsible leaders intend to assist us to the best of their power and ability, and in this way strengthen their own hand also in the Councils. If they have to leave the Councils at any later stage, the work that will have by then been done outside in their constituencies through our joint efforts will ensure this much, that no bureaucratic Cromwell could say of their exit that not a dog barked when they took their departure. And if as a result of their labours in the Councils, Swaraj is achieved, I for one would certainly not refuse to accept it. If peace, harmony and good-will were needed at Delhi to preserve the great reputation of the Congress they are still needed to-day and needed in a greater measure to-day to enhance that reputation and to help us to carry out the constructive programme. Friends, I have reason to believe that the biggest shock of surprise that I ever gave to my enemies was, when I, the fighter, came out as a peace-maker at Delhi. They still very much wish to divide us on this Council-entry question. They want you to war.

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THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME.

It was in the interests of this programme that I interested myself in the settlement at which we arrived at Delhi, for a whole year had been all but wasted by the major portion of the provinces in mutual recriminations, and if Mahatma Gandhi's release was to be obtained not by appeals *ad misericordiam* but through our own efforts, it was necessary to resume the work to which the Mahatma had rightly pinned his faith. I did not at the time itself realise the full extent of the havoc wrought since his removal : but the few replies that I have received to my enquiries about the details of the work done are sufficient indication that through one cause or another little work has been done. It is true there are provinces like Gujrat the work of which does credit to my friend Sriji Vallabhai Patel and to the band of devoted workers that Mahatma Gandhi left to work under him. Few provinces could show anything like as good a record of educational work, and but for Gujrat, the Khadi produced in other provinces would have remained unsold too long. Remember this. The great glory of the Mahatma, however, was not that he changed the face of Gujrat, I know that it is difficult to change, but that he also changed the face of the whole of India. No province did he leave exactly where he had found it. Gujrat is even now preparing a surprise for those who think that no area could be fit for Civil Disobedience if the Mahatma's characteristically high standard of preparation was to be retained. We have to hear of Borsad yet. But the example of Gujrat has not proved infectious enough, and we cannot afford to wrap ourselves up in self-sufficiency. The speed of the fleet is the speed of the slowest boat, and there are, alas, too many slow boats in our fleet, though, thank God, all are still sea-worthy. I could not place before my No-Change friends sounder canons of criticism than "A No-Changer" writing in *Young India* after Delhi has done.

There is a limit (he writes) beyond which reason and argument cannot go. Some conclusions are in the nature of action, and

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they go beyond the pale of pure rationality. Where reason fails to persuade, experience becomes the hard task-master. We realised that we had arrived at such a crisis. One year of argument and paralysis Mind, they are their own words, was tending to harden men in their Pharisaism and self-complacency. The testing time had come not only on the Swarajists, not only on the Centrists, not only on Mohamed Ali, but on us also, the No-Changers. (I hope I am also a No-Changer.) (Laughter.) We have to submit ourselves to the discipline of facts. Since the days of the Calcutta Special Congress, Gandhism had won all along the line: and we, Gandhites, have been in continuous peril of loose thinking and dragged effort. It is good for everybody to be beaten. If there is truth in us, the very castigation of defeat will lead us to examine ourselves anew and find strength. If, on the contrary, Gandhism has become in our hands a plea for lethargy and refusal to re-think the implications of fast-developing reality, we are not the true followers of our Chief, we are not worthy to be the custodians of his message to the world. Reality—that is the ultimate touchstone.

Yes, Reality is the ultimate touch-stone, the truest and the surest that ever existed and Swarajists and Non-Changers, and you and I, all of us, friends shall be tested and measured by Reality. That is why I preach to you the gospel of work. It is not as easy a gospel to practise as it is easy to preach, and that is why we have more critics than workers. But work well done furnishes an exhilarating experience which the sterile pleasures of criticism even in party victories can never equal. As the Sanskrit poet, referring to the creative effort of poetry, says "Little does the barren woman know of the pain and anguish of a mother's labours and less still of the indescribable joy of mother-hood at the sight and touch of the new-born babe". Through labour alone shall a free India be re-born.

THE BARDOLI PROGRAMME TO BE CARRIED OUT.

You will no doubt ask me what should be our work; and my reply after the most carefull consideration is that we cannot better the much-maligned Bardoli programme. If we continue to give up each item of work on finding difficulties and obstacles in our way, we shall never accomplish anything. Many people tell you Non-Co-operation has failed when they only mean that they, or we, or both, have failed to rise to the height of our ideal. And yet, as I have already told you, the steps proposed by the Mahatma are easy. Remember what the commonest of common soldiers is prepared to sacrifice when you feel that you must re-start your practice as a lawyer, or file your law-suit, or send your boy to a better-equipped but co-operating school.

KHADI WORK AND WOMEN.

As for the man who cannot even wear khadi, it is no use taking him into serious consideration. And yet he is not unpatriotic, nor hopelessly selfish, but only lazy and indolent. Well, he has got to be roused out of his indolence, and the best and the most unfailing agency for this is the womanhood of India. Whosoever may change and fall from the high ideal of our great chief, the women of India are true to him, true to the nation, and true to themselves. With a few expert men like Seth Jammalal Bajaj and Maganlal Bhai and Chaganlal Bhai Gandhi to assist and advise them, and a full complement of

book-keepers and clerks, etc., our sisters should be able to take the entire charge of the Khadi work in every province and district. Men may go to gaol, and men may come back, but the women of India should go on working our Khadi department for ever.

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The other departments must also be organised, and the next in importance to Khadi is the department of National Education. I feel sorry that I did not press sufficiently hard at Bezwada, in 1921, for the creation of a Central Board of Education. But now a Central Educational Board and Provincial Boards must be created, and the education of our boys and girls must be seriously taken in hand. I need not go through the whole list of departments for we cannot afford to neglect any item of the Bardoli programme. But we must follow the plan of 1921, and, while working all simultaneously, we must concentrate on particular departments during particular periods of the next year. Our women folk must go on with the Charkha forever while men might go back to jails and return from them. Friends, I have proposed to you something much more important. It is a most beneficial suggestion. We have scores of unemployed people, people who have left their practice clever men, honest men; they have all come out at the bidding of the Mahatma. On the other hand, we find that there is plenty of work to do, but no workers to do it. The only solution, I say, the best possible solution is this. Give the job to the man without a job. Let us have a permanent secretariat. When we are fighting a big Empire is it not a shame to us that my friend, Mr. Gopalakrishnayya the Working Secretary, has not a secretariat even as small as 'in a district. We must have a large permanent establishment to do the executive work of the Congress, no matter who goes to the jail or who does not. These people must be given bare living wages. Of course, our Governors will sneer at them. Rs 10,000 will sneer at Rs 100. Rs 25,000 will sneer at Rs 250 a month. The Lee Commission's witnesses, those Oliver Twists who have had too much and are still greedily shouting for more and more, would, of course, refer to us as cheats. A system that would require martyrs to-day would be worked by cheats to-morrow. What do the Europeans in South Africa say? It is not a question of colour at all, it is the Indian standard of living. They want our standard of living to be raised. Our Mahatma has greatly reduced it. The lower it goes, the better the people practise plain living and high-thinking. These gentlemen do not live plainly and I know the depth of their degradation of thoughts. It is they that would sneer at us. But let us have a permanent secretariat for the Congress and send out our workers into the provinces. There should be a Khadi Committee, a Temperance Committee, an Untouchability Committee etc. All these departments should be carefully organised and then let us fight the battle of India. When India knows that we are going to do all this work on an organised basis, she will pour out her funds. She would readily give us a crore in one month, while she gave it to the Mahatma in 3 months. (Cheers). I was told in the Subjects Committee that we should abolish the four-anna franchise, because it does not bring enough finance. If this is done, a few hundreds of men will sit together and manage the whole of the Congress. I want the whole of the Congress to be carried on by the four-anna members only. If we get one crore of members in one year, we can have 25 lakhs of rupees by way of membership subscriptions. (Hear, hear). Once this machinery is set up and these men go on collecting subscriptions, I would put forward the system prevailing in England,—one week's board and lodging for actual work done and then think of next week's; otherwise you starve. (Applause).

THE PROVISION OF FUNDS.

But all this is idle talk without funds, and the provision of funds is one item which requires concentration all through the year. When the country

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knows that it is only by carrying out the Mahatma's programme of work that we can manufacture the key of Yerrowada gaol, and that no work is possible without solvency, it will not fail to respond to our call. But apart from large donations to be appealed for at some fixed time, we must tap permanent, though small, sources of revenue, and enable the poor to go on contributing their mites to the National Chest. Fixed monthly contributions must be arranged for and other similar means of securing the poor man's assistance at intervals and in ways suited to his convenience must be thought out in addition to a well-organised national 'drive' for securing at least as many members of the Congress as the number of Indians who have been enfranchised. If, however we work with a will, a full crore should not prove too many.

PERMANENT SECRETARIATS AND DEPARTMENTAL ESTABLISHMENTS.

And yet much as money may be necessary for working the Mahatma's programme, a powerful organisation is just as necessary to secure money. This cannot be in the main an organisation run by unpaid men. It is astonishing how we got on so long with our national work covering the whole area of this sub-continent with a paid establishment hardly large enough for a single department in a single district. We are face to face with a strange situation. On the one side we need competent, zealous and thoroughly reliable workers to carry on the national work, and have not got them. On the other hand, we have an army of the unemployed, particularly the lawyers who have been so hard hit by the Non-Co-operation programme, and they are very far from being unemployable. It is time that we accepted the obvious and the only possible solution of this double difficulty. We may pay our workers only a living wage on the reduced scale of the era; but that living wage must be paid to those splendid workers who have made great sacrifices for the sake of the nation. Remember, a system that requires martyrs to work it gets worked in the next generation by cheats. And, in any case, even martyrs have to be fed and clothed before they quit this world. India is witnessing to-day the spectacle of greedy foreign servants clamouring like so many Oliver Twists for more when they have already had much more than even gluttony as a rule demands. The Indian Civil Servant, who is seldom Indian, or civil, or a servant, already gets paid more than any class of public servant of similar merit anywhere else in the world. It is he who always sets the pace to members of other services and thus continues to drain the resources of one of the poorest countries in the world. And he is doing this again so soon after the last increase in his emoluments. And yet it is he who accuses Indians engaged in the service of the nation of dishonest practices. I have no doubt that the moment he learns that the Congress is asked to pay the poorest of poor wages to such national workers he and his supporters in the Press will commence their old game of vilifying men who are the truest servants of India. Those who receive their wages in hundreds will be assailed by those who receive them in thousands and yet serve India so poorly. But this is part of the day's work and we must not mind it.

This, to my mind, is the most urgent need of the Congress, and I trust you will take steps to create an efficient organisation which will carry on the work of the Congress year in and year out. A proper National Secretariat, if possible located in some central place like Delhi, similar Provincial Secretariats and District Offices must be organised, and work in these secretariats and offices must be properly differentiated into the various departments which we need to maintain. The Working Committee itself should be composed of men who are able to attend frequent meetings either at a central place, or wherever required by the exigencies of the moment.

Of course, we must see that all organisations are doing practical work which is capable of being checked and estimated, and, that expenditure is not allowed, after the initial month or thereabouts, to exceed revenue. I understand that the Salvation Army in England when it sends out workers to new centres pays them for a week's board and lodging in advance, and during that week they have to earn enough to pay their way in the following week. Later on, they are required to send a definite contribution to the Central Organisation. We shall have to follow some such system with regard to those of our workers who are engaged in enrolling Congress members. Once this machinery is set up, I feel confident the country can be roused again, and we shall be able to beat in 1924 the record of 1921. Remember, there is one great difference between now and 1921. Then, the Mahatma was free to organise and control the work, but to-day, although we shall miss him greatly, his very absence from our midst should stimulate us to work with redoubled energy. What would Christianity be without the Cross and Islam without the Tragedy of Kerbala? As I have said before we have not yet made full use of our Cross. Friends, let us do it now if we bear any love towards our absent leader, and, calling upon the nation to give us its full backing, free the Country and break open the great Bastille which keeps Mahatma Gandhi and thousands of his disciples in chains.

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THE SIKHS AND THE MAHARAJA SAHEB OF NABHA.

We have before us the example of our Sikh brothers whose courage, fortitude and, above all perfect non-violence excite my envy. The Maharaja Saheb of Nabha has been deposed, and the words in which the head of this foreign Government proclaims to us his firm resolve to keep him out of his State are only so much veiled blasphemy.

The Moving Finger writes; and, having writ,
Moves on; nor all your Piety nor Wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line,
Nor all your Tears wash out a Word of it.

We hold no brief for the Maharaja Saheb; but this much is certain, that even if all that his detractors say of him be true, he was not deposed for any such shortcomings, but for his virtues. I am myself the subject of an Indian Ruler and have had fairly intimate experience of several Indian States. I used to be approached very frequently by those friends who desired to see political reforms carried out in Indian States. But I used to put them off with the observation that the Indian States are our own, even though to-day they may prove far more unsafe for patriotic men than the rest of India. I used to add that once the rest of India had won Swaraj, Indian States would undergo a sea-change with astonishing rapidity. In the meantime it should be our policy not to rouse the suspicions of the rulers of these States, and to avail ourselves of every opportunity to prove to them that we are not unmindful of their difficulties nor indifferent to what they, too, have to suffer from this foreign bureaucracy. I did not know at the time that the Government would provide such an opportunity so soon. But now that it has been provided let us avail ourselves of it, for in doing so we shall also be safeguarding the interests of religion. The Maharaja Saheb of Nabha has suffered, at least partly, because he strongly sympathised with his co-religionists in their efforts to free themselves from the foreign bureaucratic incubus, and to reform their sacred Gurudwaras. And the Sikhs in their turn are suffering because they have had the courage to stand up for one of our Indian Rulers whom the bureaucracy desires to keep in perpetual dependence upon itself. But, as I have said before, the recent action of Government in declaring the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and

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the Akali Dal to be unlawful assemblies is a blow aimed not only at those bodies, or at the entire Sikh community; it is a challenge to the entire nation. Each community that dares to live will be similarly dealt with if we shrink from accepting the challenge to-day, and it will only be a question, of whose turn at the tumbrils will come next?

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

We have already resolved to offer some assistance to our Sikh brethren so that we may not be guilty of indulging in lip-sympathy only. But something more than that is required. A better opportunity for Civil Disobedience at least on a provincial scale never presented itself since the arrest of the Mahatma; but each province is divided against itself and it is no use disguising from ourselves the fact that to organise Civil Disobedience is no easy matter. We must be sure of our capacity to undergo unlimited sufferings, and since constructive work has not been done this year even as well as it was done in 1921, there is little to indicate how much suffering the nation is prepared to endure. If, however, we resume our constructive work with redoubled energy, Civil Disobedience will not remain a mere possibility, and the Civil Disobedience Committee appointed at Delhi will then be able to do much more fruitful work. For it must also be recognised that Civil Disobedience must be resorted to before Swaraj can be won. Let there be no mistake about this. There must be no shrinking from sacrifice, and this observation I would like to address in particular to such of my friends as have already undergone imprisonment for courageously standing up for their rights. If that experience makes them shrink from doing such work as may lead to a second period of imprisonment, then, I say, they are not the men for us. The first imprisonment is obviously wasted upon them, for they should never have undertaken to do any national work, or should, at least, have made apologies to their foreign masters as soon as they were punished. To have undergone all this suffering and then to repent is the height of folly. As I wrote in the Bijapur gaol.

بی گناہی سی بھی پڑا مکرھی اگر کوئی گناہ
نو سزا اپنے جرم پا کر، بخت تقویٰ

(If there is a sin even greater than sinlessness it is repentance over sin after the award of punishment.)

THE SHORT CUT TO LIBERTY.

Friends, I have given you a long enough programme of work, and I cannot help it if it is a little too insipid for your tastes. There is no royal road to Liberty. But there is one short cut, and that is the readiness to follow the road to the grave. (Laughter.) Death for a great cause provides the most piquant sauce for the most tasteless dish, and I make bold to say that if our Working Committee took it into its head one day to resolve that all its members should prepare themselves to die and that the resolution was not only a "resolution" merely according to conventional phraseology, but embodied the members' grim determination, I could guarantee them Swaraj within a year. (Hear, hear.) And if it was the All-India Congress Committee that made such a resolve for itself, instead of quarrelling about Council-entry, (Laughter,) Swaraj could be won within a month. But, friends, Swaraj is in *your* hands and can be won *to-day* if each of you resolves to be ready to die at the country's call. If, however, we are not prepared to do this, and object to the Bardoli programme because it is dull and drab, Charkhe apkhars

then it is useless to talk of changing the Congress creed. Let us resolve to work and, if need be, to die for the sake of our nation's freedom, and if at the end of a year's honest work this Government does not send for our absent leader to witness its heartfelt repentance for the past, and to receive the great charter of Swaraj for the future, let us in God's name unfurl without a moment's hesitation the flag of the Indian Republic, (Hear, hear. Loud and prolonged applause.) India's Independent Federation of Faiths, outside the British Empire. Then, friends, you will not find your retiring President so unwilling to break the link that joins him to Great Britain as he is in some quarters suspected to be. In 1921 we gave a year to ourselves and the same period to the Government; but our part of the contract was not fulfilled, and we could not demand Swaraj as the price of our unfinished work. Let us go back to Nagpur, and with trust in our Maker and a prayer addressed to Him to give us courage, fortitude, perseverance and wisdom, begin the great work once more that our great leader has outlined for us. If only we do not prove unworthy of him we shall win back our lost liberty and it will not be as a prayer for success, but as the declaration the announcement of victory won, that we shall then raise the old, old cry:

*Maulana
Mohamed Ali's
Presidential
Address.*

MAHATMA GANDHI KI JAI!

(Loud and Prolonged cheers.)

Having finished his address, the President announced that on the next day the Subjects Committee would meet at 9 A. M. and the Open Congress at 2 p. m.

The proceedings of the first day thus terminated at 8-40 p. m.



The Indian National Congress,

The 38th. Session.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Saturday, the 29th December. 1923.



The Indian National Congress resumed its sitting at 4-15 p. m. on Saturday the 29th December, 1923. Maulana Mohamed Ali presided. The Proceedings commenced with the singing of a Telugu song on Bharatamata by volunteers.

Mrs. Kotamarti Kanakamma then presented to the President a fine turban cloth, which was spun and woven by herself. The President accepting the presents amidst loud applause, said, "Please convey my heart-felt thanks to her." Desabhakata K. Venkatappayya conveyed the same to her in Telugu.

Then a choir of girls sang an inspiring song on the greatness of the Charka

President :—Some telegrams have been received from distinguished visitors. The Secretary will read some of them.

Andhra Ratna D. Gopal Krishnayya, Secretary, the A. I. C. C. :—Gentlemen, here are some messages from many distinguished patriots. I am reading only a few.

From Hakim Ajmalkhan :—

(To the Chairman, Reception Committee) "Accept sincere thanks. Convey Andhra brethren for kindly feelings. My condition general health prevents attendance fondly long cherished. Regret extremely forced deprivation from participation weighty deliberations. Hope worthy President you and others will solve successfully main questions, viz., no opening Council question by either party, completely united efforts regarding Constructive Programme, effective measures for accomplishing Hindu Muslim unity, agreement regarding National Pact, helping means for Akali Movement and reforming reconstructing Congress organisations. If Cocanada achieves this much, session eminently successful. My sincere prayers. Presence in spirit with you. May God help us !

From Babu Bhagawan Das Benares :—

Extremely sorry am very fagged and unwell, I have sent copies of my note about National Pact to Dr. Ansari, Pandit Motilalji and Sjt. Das. Am sending you one also.

From Pandit Malaviya :—

Thanks for telegram. Much regret. Shall not be able to attend Congress this year. Earnestly pray its proceedings may be harmonious, its decisions conducive to the best interests of the Motherland. As regards National Pact in my opinion Congress should consider it only after it has been discussed by Special Conference of Hindu, Mohammedan and other important communities at Delhi or Allahabad, its discussion at the forth-coming Congress will be premature and likely to increase difficulties which beset the question.

From Sjt. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer, Madras :—

As in previous years, my message to you, is to be unanimous and firm, even though it may mean sacrifice of some cherished opinion on the part of a few influential members of the Congress. I wish you every success.

From Sjt. T. Rangachariar :—

Many thanks. Regret owing both bar marine Committees working. Am unable accept kind invitation. Anxiously awaiting Congress deliberations for sound advice practical programme future work Assembly. (Laughter.) Wish great success.

From Sjt. Lala Lajpat Rai :—

Many thanks your telegram. Extremely sorry. Coming impossible having Fever, Neuralgia. Would respectfully plead maintain Congress unity, permit publication draft National Pact for discussion.

From Sri Sankaracharya, Saradapith :—

Invitation received. Thanks. Regret timely reaching impossible. Choicest benedictions unqualified success momentous session for speedy regeneration sacred Dharma Motherland.

From Sjt. D. Basu M. L. A. :—

Under your trusted leadership and guidance the country expects united and concerted action and constructive programme leading to early Swaraj.

From Sjt. N. C. Kelkar, Poona :—

Extremely regret my inability to attend Congress this year owing to illness, and also other causes. Have been confined to bed for last five days. Nevertheless am with you all there in spirit and sympathy. My one heart-felt prayer is that Delhi resolution be confirmed if Council question at all touched and rivalry if any between difference should show itself in devising definite methods and formulæ for cementing Hindu Muslim Unity and a well-considered National Pact for Constructive Programme and thoughtful measures for Civil Disobedience you may count upon implicit support by Swaraj Party.

From Sjt. Dunichand of Ambala :—

Support Delhi settlement. Union or coalition of two wings necessary to successful fight inside and outside Councils. Workable programme to secure Hindu-Muslim Unity. Well-considered and not hasty National Pact badly needed. Hope your exalted personality will solve these problems.

From Lala Lajpat Rai : (This is again to the President) :—

Sorry illness prevents me attending Congress. Wish you success in harmonising differences. Respectful greetings to all delegates.

From Sjt. Bhurgri, Hyderabad :—

Regret inability attend owing ill-health. Fervently pray and trust Congress deliberations will be guided by practical patriotism and spirit of unity based on genuine communal toleration goodwill and co-operation and on concerted harmonious efforts of various political parties working for common goal.

From J. M. Sen Gupta, Calcutta :—

Unavoidably detained. Hope under your Presidentship Congress give clear lead as to Hindu-Muslim Unity and Constructive programme and not interfere Delhi Compromise regarding Council.

Telegrams. From Sjt. Girdharilal of Amritsar :—

Regret inability to attend. Wish hearty congratulations and complete success session under your guidance. Pray avoid opening Council question. Change in Delhi decision would divide Congress. Need of the hour is Hindu-Muslim Unity without which all other work is fruitless. All attention must be concentrated on this and Bardoli constructive programme permeating all people in spirit and essentials of non-violent non-co-operation. It is imperative to lay down deep and lasting foundations for future super-structure, till this is seriously attempted and accomplished. To talk of mass civil disobedience would be to court ridicule and failure; present session should not touch national pact which requires wider circulation and publicity; opinions of different communal bodies should be invited on same before final adoption; after mature consideration my humble opinion is that all separate organisations must be abolished forthwith. Hindus and Muhammadans should direct all their energies for Congress propaganda alone as their supreme duty. Alteration in creed not desirable; Present one comprehensive for all purposes.

Secretary :— There is another in Telugu from one of the Ministers of the Madras Government, the Hon'ble Mr. Patro.

The Secretary then read a portion of his Telugu letter

(THE TELUGU EXTRACT.)

గౌరవనీయులగు సర్. ఎ. పరభురాం పాత్రోగారి ఉత్తరము.

తమ అత్యంతదయతో వ్రాయించిన లేఖ చేరినది. ఆహ్వానసంఘమువారు నన్నా హానించినందులకు వందనములు. అఖిలభారత మహాసభకు రాజాలనందుకు చింతిల్లుచున్నాను. దేశసేవ, మాతృభూమిసేవ, నిశ్చల భక్తితో దేశీయులందరూ చేయుట కర్తవ్యము. దేశసేవ చింతలేని మనుజుడు మనుష్యులలో లెక్కగాడు. భారతీయ మహాసభయొక్క ముఖ్యోద్దేశములలో మనకు కొన్ని మతభేదములున్నవి. కాని సర్వజ్ఞుడగు భగవంతుడు మనలను సఫలముగా జేయుగాక.

(ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE.)

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter inviting me to the Indian National Congress and I thank the Reception Committee for the same. I regret very much for my inability to attend the Indian National Congress. It is the duty of all Indians to serve their Motherland with undaunted devotion. He who does not think of serving the country cannot be regarded as a man. As regards the chief objects of the National Congress there are some differences of opinion amongst us. However, may the All-knowing God bless us to achieve success.

President :— I should like the Secretary to read to you the telegram that I have just now received from Benares. I consider it a most excellent omen that this should be the verdict of Benares when we begin our proceedings.

Secretary :— This is

From Sjt. Sri Prakash, Benares :—

Public meeting respectfully listens Presidential address, Hindi translation. Sends greetings. Shares unlimited devotion. Congress wishes successful harmonious session framing clear national programme for the ensuing year to obtain immediate Swaraj.

Condolence Resolution.

*Condolence
Resolution.*

—
President.

President :—Sisters and Brothers, I have a resolution to move and it is generally one of such resolutions that a President is called upon to move before the Congress. I shall first read it out to you :

This Congress places on record its deep sense of loss at the demise of Sjt. S. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar and Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt, who had rendered invaluable services in the cause of the country.

This Congress also records with grief the death of Sjt. Hardeo Narayan Singh and of Pundit Pratap Narayan Bajpayi, who bravely suffered imprisonment imposed upon them and contracted serious illness during their incarceration and preferred death to release under dishonourable conditions.

Friends, I was privileged to make the acquaintance of our withdrawn journalist, Sjt. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar. When as the youngest journalist I went to Delhi Durbar in 1912, we were putting up together in the Press camp. If it is not presumptuous in me I would like you to see that I was deeply impressed by the dogged and patriotic fervour of Kasturi Ranga Iyengar. I felt from the first moment that I saw him in that we had in him thoroughly mellowed Journalist, one who combined in himself sweet reasonableness and strength of character. We have not many nationalist journals in India even to-day. But among the few that we have I think that we all acknowledge that the "Hindu" occupies one of the foremost places. I am a Journalist myself. I know how it is easy for us to sink to a low level in the heat of a controversy. But I can say this much about the "Hindu", that its leading articles and general conduct left upon everybody a great impression of dignity and sobriety without that cowardice which has fine connection and association with sobriety. I do hope that the "Hindu" would prosper and it would be a great legacy to the journalists and also to those who have been working in the cause of India by the side of that great journalist, Sjt. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar.

Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt was deported at that time, and in that too I shared the honour with him; because I too suffered under Regulation III of 1818. Only I was not privileged to meet him until almost the very end. I remember very well. Leaving Assam, Mahatma Gandhi and I travelled to Eastern Bengal and one of the places we went to was Barisal. And the very narrow streets of Barisal with enthusiastic crowds flocking on either side and being thrust aside by the volunteers into the ditches (laughter),—it was almost impossible to move. But it was more impossible, if I can say so, to stop the procession, and yet we got a command from Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt that we should meet him. He invited us to his house. We appealed to the crowds. With their usual good nature, when an appeal was addressed to them, they separated in the most orderly of manners and made room for us so that we could meet the ladies of the family and we spent about 20 minutes with his mother and the other ladies and although that acquaintance was the first that meeting also was the last. I was touched by that kind affection which he seemed to shower on every one who was associated with social and national work. Many hard things have been said of Bengal; but we must all remember that for good feeling and for deep emotion there is no province in India that would beat Bengal. And, there could be very few people who could beat Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt in his affectionate benefactions which were conferred upon all that came into touch with him.

Condolence
Resolution.

President.

Here we have two veterans in the cause of the Congress and of India; but now we have two more, not belonging to the same high class and yet as deep and great patriots in their own way, and as earnest in the liberation of the Motherland as any of our veterans who passed away. The resolution mentions these two names, characters connected with the tragedy of the imprisonments with which we are all very familiar. Sjt. Hardeo Narayan Singh took part in the Satyagraha at Nagpur. He was one of the martyrs who died whilst in prison. Pundit Pratap Narayan Bajpeyi was from Behar. He came from far off Behar to these parts. He was one of the greatest workers. He was sentenced to imprisonment for long and there he contracted disease and the Government took the credit of letting him out one day before his death. Somebody was mentioning another little detail that he was supplied with a wrong mixture to be taken with him while coming out. What I said yesterday I say again, that it is not a very great matter to die for a cause. Another thing: they were spending their lives and they are like the horse that goes on in spite of the carriage that it has got to drive and falls between the shafts. This brilliant pair fell between the shafts of honour and of memory, and just when I was about to get up to propose this resolution from the Chair, I was reminded of that Biblical saying, "In the midst of life we are in death."

I received a telegram from Gaya that Sjt. Krishna Prakash Sen Sing, the President of the District Congress Committee and a Member of the All-India Congress Committee, expired at 4 this morning. It runs thus :

"Sjt Krishna Prakash, President of the District Congress Committee, Member, All-India Congress Committee, died at 4 this morning. Cremation attended by large number."

Friends, I am a Mussalman and almost a bigotted Mussalman. But I can tell you, if every other was a bigotted nationalist it was this Hindu. One of the omens, if I could use the expression, for our future unity never was a good thing done in which he did not take part. He was throughout trying to settle the Hindu-Muslim dissensions and working for the country's cause. Here was a young worker whom Providence has taken away from us.

All that we can do is to honour their memories; and, I ask you, in adopting this resolution, to stand up and offer a silent prayer for their souls.

Then the resolution was carried *nem con* in silence, all standing.

President:—Friends, I have to offer an apology that the name of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was an unavoidable omission and left out. I was absolutely ignorant of what has happened during the last two years. When I was in jail, I did not know exactly what took place in that time. I have asked for the list of the great workers that passed away. Unfortunately I had not got that name. I am just informed of it. That omission will be made good in tomorrow's session. It will have to be passed in the Subjects Committee session before it can formally come here.

Proceeding to the next resolution, the President said:—

We have now rather a lengthy resolution. But I am sure it will not take very long to move it; have it discussed and adopted in the Congress. This relates to the amendments to the Constitution. A Committee was appointed to consider these amendments. It made its report and that report was submitted. We have so far adopted certain recommendations after amending them. Some have been dropped. We have come up to Article VII. Here I call upon Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya to move and he will explain to you; and then it will be open for discussion.

Dr. B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA, Masulipatam, in moving the resolution, said :

*Congress
Constitution.*

The first change that is suggested is this :

Dr.

“Resolved that the following amendments to the Constitution be adopted :

*B. Pattabhi
Sitaramayya.*

Resolved that in the Constitution, Article II (a) instead of *during Christmas holidays*, have *during the last week of December.*”

Article II (a) of the Constitution of the Congress runs as follows :—

“The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily meet once every year during Christmas holidays.”

The change now made, is instead of “during Christmas holidays” you have “during the last week of December” It is merely a verbal alteration.

Now (b). Article II (b) reads as follows. Before stating how this is amended I shall read to you the article :—

“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, whenever it may deem it advisable to hold such a session, and the Articles of the Constitution shall apply with such modifications as the All-India Congress Committee may consider necessary in respect of each such session.”

As amended the Article runs as follows :—

“An extraordinary session of the Congress shall be summoned by the All-India Congress Committee on the requisition of a majority of the Provincial Congress Committee or of its own motion, provided that in the latter case due notice has been given and the proposal is supported by two-thirds of the members present.”

This really is the material portion of the change. The change suggested, is that in order to convene an extraordinary session of the Indian National Congress it is enough either if a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees makes a requisition or if the All-India Congress Committee passes a resolution. But in the latter case due notice of the same having been given, the resolution must have been passed by a majority of two-thirds of the members present at the meeting.

The mover next spoke in Telugu explaining the amendments.

Continuing in English he said :

Article III. Here is merely a small alteration in the order in which the component factors of the Indian National Congress are enumerated. In the existing Article you find that the Indian National Congress organisation shall consist of the following :—

- (a) The Indian National Congress.
- (b) Provincial Congress Committees.
- (c) District Congress Committees.

Congress
Constitution.

Dr.
B. Pattabhi
Sitaramayya.

(d) Sub-Divisional Taluka or Tahsil, Firka or other Local Congress Committees.

(e) The All-India Congress Committee.

Now (e) is transposed and it is made the second.

Then is the old Constitution (g) runs as follows :—

Bodies formed or organised periodically by the Provincial, District, Taluka or Tahsil, or other Local Congress Committees such as the Reception Committee of the Congress and the Provincial, District, Taluka or Tahsil or other local Conferences.

From out of this, except “the Reception Committee of the Congress”, all the various periodical conferences have been omitted. They no longer constitute the component factors of the Indian National Congress according to the amended Constitution. In their place a note is added which runs as follows : The note is

“Provincial, District, Taluka, Tahasil or other Conferences may be organised by the above committees for educative and propaganda purposes.”

Hitherto there has been some difficulty in respect of the exact relationship that exists between the Provincial Conferences and the Provincial Congress Committee. The Provincial Congress Committee has never been recognised as the Executive Body of the Provincial Conference, as the All-India Congress Committee has been recognised as the Executive Body of the Indian National Congress. The existence of the word Committee in the names of both is merely a verbal coincidence. For the reason these *ad hoc* bodies which are convened from time to time for educative and propaganda purposes can no longer be regarded as organic components of the Congress functioning continuously.

The mover then spoke in Telugu explaining the changes. Proceeding next, he said :

Article V is amended as follows. According to the existing Article the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Provinces constitute different Congress circles. But according to the amended Constitution the Punjab and the North-Western Frontier Provinces are to be made into one Province. And, certainly as a consequential change, the number of Provinces to be changed accordingly. The last paragraph of the Article is unnecessary and so it should be deleted.

The mover after explaining the same in Telugu, said :

Article VI (c) should read as follows. The existing clause in the Article runs as follows :—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 Committees.

The amended rule is as follows :—

“Each Provincial Congress Committee shall consist of representatives elected annually by the members of the Congress organisations in the Province in accordance with the rules made by the Provincial Congress Committee.”

As Provincial Congress Committees in certain parts of India are constituted, there prevails a system by which the Provincial Congress Committee is composed not merely of members elected by the various District Congress Committees.

but also a small number of members elected by other committees or co-opted by the elected members, such as in the United Provinces. This is only a verbal change in order to bring such prevailing practice within the four corners of the law.

(d) is newly added :—

“Each Provincial Congress Committee shall submit an annual report of the Congress work in that Province to the All-India Congress Committee before the 30th November.”

No such arrangement exists in the Present Constitution. The following is another that is added :

“(e) No person shall take part in elections to any Congress organisation who has not paid his subscription within a time fixed by the rules of the Provincial Congress Committee for the purpose.”

This is also a new addition as it has been considered necessary in the interests of the organisation of elections on a proper and sound footing. The necessity of the amendment is obvious and requires no explanation.

Article VII. The year of the four anna membership shall be from January 1st to December 31st.

No such provision exists in the existing Constitution. It has been deemed necessary in the interests of proper elections that the Congress year, or at any rate, the year of four anna membership of the Congress organisations, should be clearly defined and after considerable discussion this has been adopted.

Having explained the same in Telugu, the mover said :

All these changes have been reached after prolonged discussions in the Subjects Committee and I propose that the House may accept them without any further discussion.

Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru then seconded the resolution and explained the changes in Hindi.

PRESIDENT :—This resolution has now been moved and seconded. It is now open to discussion. Mr. Santanam wishes to speak something explanatory on one clause. I permit him to speak.

Pundit SANTANAM, Lahore :—What I have to say is with regard to the clause amalgamating the Punjab with the North Western Frontier Province. I wish to make it clear that these two Provinces were constituted separately. It was found that the North-Western Frontier Province could not do any work. Because, according to Frontier Crimes Regulations it became a crime to establish a Congress Committee or for one to be a Congress member, for, he was at once deported and kept in jail for 3 years at least without any trial. Considering these difficulties the members of the North-Western Frontier Province and all the Punjab asked the All-India Congress Committee to allow them to combine, to constitute themselves into one Province for Congress work. We have been allowed to do that ; though the Constitution did not allow for a change we are electing members of the All-India Congress Committee and establishing District Congress Committees—all under the ægis of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee. Under the proposal made, this is now legalised. But at the same time I wish to make it clear that there is no other object in this except to facilitate Congress work and as soon as we are in a position to establish a Provincial

Congress
Constitution.

Dr.

B. Patabhi
Sitaramayya.

Pundit
Santanam.

*Congress
Constitution*
—
*Pundit
Santanam.*

Congress Committee in this Frontier Province and the workers who are in jail have come out, we will again come to you, and if necessary, the North-West Frontier Province to be constituted separately. But until that time no Congress work is possible. And so we amalgamate. That does not affect the right of India in any manner whatever. This is the explanation I wanted to give so that it should be acquitted at a future date when we might come and ask that it should be divided into two Congress circles, we might not be misunderstood.

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya :—A certain friend from the audience has drawn our attention to a serious misprint, a mistake in the print. It exists in 3 (f). Such other Committees in India as may from time to time be recognised by the Congress in this behalf. It ought to be "such other Committees outside India as may from time to time be recognised" etc. The President has asked me to announce this to the Congress.

PRESIDENT:—Is there any gentleman, a Congress delegate, who wishes to speak on this subject?

A Delegate:—May I request, will it not be better the Gandhi Era is adopted, say 18th March to 17th March?

President:—This is an amendment taken in the Subjects Committee and thrown out. Very early in the Subjects Committee all amendments were put and this was carried.

Now, those who are in favour of the resolution, please raise their hands. Those against? (None). Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya repeated the President's questions in Telugu.

The resolution was declared carried.

The Indian National Pact.

PRESIDENT:—I call upon Pundit Motilal Nehru to move a resolution that stands in his name—with regard to the Indian National Pact.

PUNDIT MOTILAL NEHRU who rose amidst a big ovation said:

Mr. President and Fellow-delegates!

The resolution which stands in my name runs as follows.

As he began to read the resolution there were cries from the assembly, "We want the resolution first, before reading." "I want the President to give us the resolution copies."

PRESIDENT:—If the resolution copy was not given, it will be given now. (Cries of "Copies have not been distributed")

Then the printed copies were distributed.

When the mover of the resolution began to proceed, again there were cries asking him to speak in Hindi. Acceding to their request to speak in Hindi he read the resolution in English, which runs thus:

Read the draft of Indian National Pact and the Bengal National Pact-

Resolved that the Committee appointed by the Delhi session of the Congress do call for further opinions and criticism and submit further report by the 31st of March 1924 to the All-India Congress Committee for its consideration, and Sirdar Amar Singh Jhabbal be included in the place of Sirdar Mehtab Singh who is now in Jail.

*National
Pact*
*Pundit Motilal
Nehru.*

The following is the English translation of the Mover's Hindi speech.

(*Vide* Appendix Hindustani speeches)

National Pact.

*Pundit Motilal
Nehru.*

SIRS,

The meaning of the resolution is that after going through the Indian National Pact as well as another Pact drafted separately for Bengal, this Congress resolves that the National Pact prepared by the Committee which was entrusted with that work should be treated as the opinion of the country, that it should be resubmitted to the people for further opinions, that in the light of these opinions the Committee should submit another report to the All-India Congress Committee before the 31st of March 1924, and that Sirdar Amar Singh Jhabbal be included in the place of Sirdar Mehtab Singh who is now in Jail as a political prisoner.

Sirs, it is with much regret that I speak before you and I cannot describe to you in words what shame I feel at heart in moving this resolution. This resolution reminds you of the lack of union that has been the misfortune of this country not for some years but for many years. I feel shame and sorrow at this. Alas ! Is it the fate of *our* country that there should be written agreement to establish good relations between brother and brother ? Should there be such an agreement between neighbour and neighbour ? Should there be a resolution that it is necessary for a committee to sit and inquire through the whole country ? It is such a regrettable thing. If you observe, you will understand the feelings that agitate my mind while moving this resolution. But, what to do ? Such things are inevitable when troubles arise. Troubles have arisen ; disunion has set in ; quarrels are going on everywhere. And, in order to put a stop to these quarrels this should be done and such attempts should be made.

A brother of mine has inquired if I read the Indian National Pact and the Bengal Pact. I assure you, I have not myself read either. However, I have stood before you to move this resolution. Why ? The reason is the same as that which generally guides the relationship between brothers. Until this Pact was actually printed, it did not strike me why there should be any pact, any committee, and any resolution before a conference. My head recognises the necessity but my heart does not feel it.

On the whole, it does not matter what kind of draft, pact or compact it is, whether it is prepared by the Congress or by the Bengal Committee : every individual is not bound to support it. But, first of all, I must say that it was not intended to bind every Hindu, Muhammadan, Christian, Parsi or Jew, when the Delhi session of the Congress resolved that a Committee should prepare a draft for removing the religious differences between the Hindus and the Mussalmans and for securing good relations between them. You may ask what this Committee was instructed to do. It was asked to prepare a good draft. The purpose was that the draft should go round the whole country, be examined and after completion placed before the Congress. All the people assembled there have the right to examine the same and decide whether they agree to it or not. The Bengal Congress Committee also prepared a similar draft and published it. But unfortunately, misunderstandings have arisen about this pact throughout the whole country and particularly the Punjab and the province to which I belong. I have now received hundreds of telegrams from various persons and places containing complaints as to the right of Bengal to bind the Hindus and the Musalmans by its resolution. I admit, Bengal herself admits, my friend Deshabandhu Das admitted and nobody doubts it, that, whether it be the Congress or any province, it has not the authority to say that there should necessarily be this pact or agreement between you and me so long as we do not agree to it.

National Pact.
Pundit Motilal
Nehru.

A defendant can never be compelled to compromise against his will anywhere in the world. This is simply a draft in name ; it cannot as yet be said to be complete.

You are now met here to decide whether the Bengal Pact can be accepted or not. You may or may not accept it ; but where is the necessity for so much hubbub ? You may at once realise the position when I tell you that able men have expressed their opinion that this is a mere draft placed before the country for its criticism. It has become so far necessary to inform you as to the issue about the pacts. There is not a word in the Bengal Pact that seeks to affect the Hindus, the Mussalmans and other people of any part of India. Please forget all this and see what objection you can have for this and what words you propose in the place of these words. It is why that the matter has been placed before the whole country. It is clear from this resolution that the report prepared by the Committee appointed at Delhi is not final. Dr. Ansari, one of the members of the Committee, circulated copies of the draft to 80 or 90 of us and also to public bodies inviting criticism thereon. Only 8 replied ; many were indifferent. Do you think that it is possible to decide finally from the opinions of only eight people a subject of such vast importance as the relations between the Hindus and the Mussalmans, nay, a subject on which the whole problem of Swaraj rests?

I have stood before you without having looked at either the Indian National Pact or the Bengal Pact. It is not for me to say which of them is good or which bad. Every Hindu or Mussalman of this country has the right to say it. That is why I am standing here without having seen the same. Suffice it to say that a subject of such magnitude has not been given that attention which should be bestowed on it. Nothing has yet been done on the report of the Committee of the Congress nor was there full discussion even in the Working Committee. You will agree with me that both the Indian National Pact and the Bengal Pact should be placed before the country and opinions should be invited thereon from some persons and a fresh report of the Committee be drawn up in the light of these opinions and submitted to the All-India Congress Committee for consideration. And in order to avoid all future difficulties, the All-India Congress Committee should give a final decision after full deliberation.

When that report comes before you, you may understand that you may oppose it if you will. I will now tell you one thing more. Dr. Ansari, Lala Lajpat Rai and Sirdar Mehtab Singh were the members of the first Committee. If Lala Lajpat Rai's health is not good, Pundit Madan Mohan Malviya should work in his place. Sirdar Mehtab Singh is now in jail in connection with the big Akali struggle now going on in Amritsar. He cannot therefore work in the Committee and Sirdar Amar Singh Jhabbal is appointed in his place.

The Bengal Pact is not a pact at all. We may consider the draft in this way. Many of the people of Bengal are there and Deshabandhu is one of them. This resolution was passed by them and submitted for your approval. You can therefore allow this resolution so far as you are concerned without any discussion. Countless telegrams were received only to this effect, viz., that this pact should not be finally approved. Leaving aside the telegrams received at home there is no limit to the number of telegrams received within the past ten minutes. The Telegraph Office could not have received so much income from any other source. (Laughter). So much of the country's money is wasted.

I have to tell you two words more. Now, you may be surprised at this unmethodical compulsion. Let it be any draft or pact. But I will be doing you a great injustice, if I do not tell you clearly, my views upon this Pact. I can

say from what I have seen in the Punjab, the United Provinces and some other parts of the country, that some purpose can be served by this Pact. But if you want to attain Swaraj and Hindu-Muslim unity should depend on such pacts, then those who love Swaraj should wash their hands clean of it since it would take them back to thousands of years.

National Pact.
Pundit Motilal
Nehru.

Sirs, that kind of love is not proper which comes out of agreements that say: beat drums at a particular time, do this work at a particular hour and not do another work at another hour. Hearty love flows from the heart itself and not otherwise. But leave it alone. When the Hindus and the Mussalmans are in the same trouble and when the same path leads them to salvation although they happen to be enemies, which man of common sense will say nay to it? None will say that there is any path but Hindu-Muslim unity for those who desire to destroy slavery and attain Swaraj.

If you want to continue to quarrel amongst yourselves, please say that you do not want Swaraj. Otherwise, open your hearts for each other. What is the good of this fraud, this useless expenditure and these annual gatherings? My last appeal to you is not to waste time. I will now tell you a story. I was travelling in the train. A Punjabi brother told me, "You are reputed to be an able Advocate; do you believe that it is possible that the Hindus and the Mussalmans will ever unite?" I replied, "Am I touring throughout the country for any other purpose than the attainment of Swaraj and the removal of slavery?" He admitted that my idea was right and that I was trying for the same. I asked him again if Swaraj could be attained by any other means than Hindu—Muslim unity. He exclaimed it was not possible. I asked if I was a mad man to roam about. Certainly, I should be! (Cheers). If a forest is on fire, even the wild beasts run about and gather together in one place—both the deer and the tiger that eats it. Then, is the Hindu—Moslem unity impossible?

Please accept this resolution. No report would drop from the heavens which would effect a compromise between the Hindus and the Mussalmans and make them embrace one another. Please unite with one another I hope you will do so. (Loud cheers.)

Srimathi SAROJINI DEVI, Bombay, said from the *dais*:—I second this proposition. I shall reserve my remarks.

ANDHRA RATNA D. GOPALKRISHNAYYA next spoke in Telugu formally supporting the resolution.

After that he made an announcement thus :

Gentlemen, I have got to make an announcement. The Fourth All-India Students' Conference will meet here to-morrow at 8 A. M. under the Presidentship of Desabandhu C. R. Das. All—India Congress Committee members are requested to attend and show their special tickets at the gate.

SRIYUT HARDAYAL NAG said :

Sjt. Hardayal
Nag.

The resolution placed before you, my friends, is this :

"Read the draft of the Indian National Pact and the Bengal National Pact. Resolved that the Committee appointed by the Delhi session of the Congress do call for further opinion and criticism and submit further report by the 31st March 1924 to the All-India Congress Committee for its consideration."

Well, my amendment is that in the words, "Read the draft of the Indian National Pact and the Bengal National Pact" the words "and the Bengal National Pact" be deleted.

National Pact.
 —
Sjt. Hardayal
Nag.

At the outset I beg to say that I can have possibly no objection to the reading of the National Pact signed by the Committee appointed by the Delhi session. First of all, I bring to your notice the "Indian National Pact" and the "Bengal National Pact." Have you got a copy of the Bengal National Pact, my friends? (Cries of "No, no". Another cry: "Nor even the Indian National Pact.") That may go. (Again cries of "We have not got it"). But I object to the "Bengal National Pact." How could 'Bengal' and 'National' go together? I believe and you will all agree with me, most of you do not know what it is, have not even some idea about it. (Laughter. Hear.) Well, this is the so-called Pact hatched up by the handful of Swarajists at a private house at Bhawanipur. (Shame, shame). It was placed before an emergency meeting of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee without proper notice. It was not in the agenda paper. It was passed in the House so that it might come up before you for consideration! Well, now, that being the state of the Pact or the so-called Pact, I may say a word or two on the merits.

Now, my friends, I will tell you, this is a suggestion or proposition as to the division of spoils which means, if you win Swaraj Government, the division of loaves, the division of prize, the division of loaves and fishes. Can you think of such a thing, can you think of such a division? I'll relate a short story before you. It was this. Two brothers wanted to plant a small tree. When they were about to plant it, there arose a question: when the tree grows and bears fruits, how should the division take place? They failed to come to an agreement and they fell out and fought with each other. And the tree was not planted. And now, you are thinking of the division of high posts and the low posts under the Swaraj Government. Swaraj Party, which may gain or may not gain, places before you that question: now Hindus and Mussalmans, you will quarrel among yourselves, or, they will quarrel among themselves for division of high posts and in result no Swaraj will be won. The very idea of the Pact is mischievous. The very idea of this is mischievous and it will serve no practical purpose either. It will be doubly more mischievous than the pact itself.

Now, I ask you, gentlemen, to support me in this amendment. This Bengal Pact may go out of the resolution. With these words I move my amendment. (Enthusiastic cries of "Mahatma Gandhiki Jai")

PRESIDENT:—Mr. Chotalal Jani Bari will second the amendment.

Sriyut CHOTALAL JANI BARI said:

Sjt. Chotalal
Jani Bari.

Mr. President, BROTHER AND SISTER DELEGATES!

I come here to formally second the amendment moved by my worthy friend, Mr. Hardayal Nag. I only come to second the amendment because the resolution reads, "Read the draft of the Indian National Pact and the Bengal National Pact." Some of my friends said, the Bengal National Pact has been published in the Press. It may be taken as read. Many of those who have come here might not have read, nor copies of the same were given even in the All-India Congress Committee. So I say that the words "and the Bengal National Pact" should be deleted from the resolution. I have nothing more to add. With these few words I second the amendment moved by Mr. Nag.

Pundit
Gauri Sankar
Misra.

Pundit GAURI SANKAR MISRA, (United Provinces), opposing both the resolution and the amendment, spoke in Hindi. (Vide Appendix Hindustani speeches).

The English rendering of the Hindi speech is as follows:—

Mr. President, Brothers and Sisters! Pundit Motilal Nehru moved a resolution before you and it was duly seconded. One of the Bengal veterans moved an amendment to the same, and I oppose both the proposition and the amendment.

Brothers, we are now involved in the bonds of foreign domination. The people of Hindustan are not a single nation. While possessing houses, they have no home. While possessing a country, they are outlaws in their own country. In this condition when we have nothing to our credit it seems to me to be a mockery that the Indian National Congress should pass a pact between the Hindus, Mussalmans and others fixing the seats in the future Legislative Councils at 5 per cent. or 20 per cent.

National Pact
—
Pundit
Gauri Sankar
Misra.

Brothers, the time for drafting a National Pact will come only when the Indians attain freedom in their own country. You are preparing a National Pact prohibiting the Hindus from playing music before the mosques and calling upon Muslims to refrain from wounding the feelings of the Hindus by abstaining from sacrifices on all occasions except on the *Id-uzzuha*. Does our nationalism rest on the non-sacrifice of the cow or the non-blowing of the pipes before the mosques? I think these are trifles having nothing to do with nationalism. The National Pact should foster a spirit of affection between the Hindus, Muhammadans, Christians and Parsis and ignore minor items like cow-sacrifice and music before mosques. It is improper to include these items in the National Pact. Are you going to create quarrels among the Hindus and the Mussalmans by preparing such a National Pact? You are saying that there should be no sacrifice except on the *Id-uzzuha*; but there is a firman in Hyderabad prohibiting sacrifice even on that day. If you pass this pact, you will be giving opportunity for the Muslims in Hyderabad to perform sacrifice even on the *Id-uzzuha*; because, they will claim it on the ground that the Congress has permitted sacrifices on that day. It is also alleged that disputes arose between the Hindus and the Muhammadans in the Punjab and many districts in the United Provinces. Brothers, to spread quarrels over the rest of India on account of the Punjab disturbances is not a remedy for the situation in the Punjab. Brothers, there are dissensions in the Punjab; disputes arose as to the beating of drums before mosques in Ajmere. If the National Pact were now passed, the Muhammadans will begin to object to the playing of music in places where such restrictions do not exist. As long as the stopping of the music and surrender of thousands of Hindu lives for the lopping of the peepul branches exist, the attainment of Swaraj for our country is a dream. Knowing this weakness, our leaders ought not to allow this resolution to carry. It is not proper for the Congress delegates to vote for the same. I need not say much about it. It is all right that a Committee was appointed at Delhi; but a mistake was committed. And is it not the duty of wise men to correct their mistake when they are aware of it? Please do not spread quarrels in the other parts of the country simply because they have arisen in the Punjab.

Brothers and Sisters, I therefore pray to you with folded hands not to allow this poison to spread beyond this Congress. It is a poison that kills the Hindu and the Muslim societies. It is a poison which has the appearance of bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity; but in reality it corrupts the hearts of the Hindus and the Mussalmans in other provinces. I therefore think troubles arising anywhere would be referred to you. Please do not publish the unknown little differences between the Hindus and the Mussalmans. One may venture to suggest—I say to the Ali Brothers and others—that the non-beating of drums is a small matter for the Mussalmans. Similarly, it is also a trifle for the Hindus that the branches of the peepul should not be cut or blood should not be shed. This has nothing to do with religion. They will simply foment religious differences. The leaders should therefore boldly lay aside their prejudices and proclaim by a blow of trumpets that the Hindu-Moslem unity can be achieved only by mutual toleration.

There was a fight between the Hindus and the Muslims at Ajmere. Both were murdered. There was a fight in the Punjab. So far as I know, the President

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—
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Gauri Sankar
Misra.

Maulana Mohamed Ali Saheb is an opponent of the pact. He is of opinion that whenever a quarrel arises between the Hindus and the Muhammadans those who are leaders should leave their homes and provinces for a month. Brothers and sister delegates, do you imagine that even the seeds of Hindu-Moslem dissensions can remain in the Punjab if leaders like the beloved Shaukat Ali, Mohamed Ali, Pundit Motilalji, Desabandhu Das, Patel brothers and Rajagopalachari should arrive there with their armies? Will they not fly away when their holy feet touch that soil? I do not understand why these differences would not disappear and why the Hindus and the Moslems do not embrace one another if these leaders go there and deliver their message. To bring about harmony between the Hindus and the Muslims, it is our duty to foster the spirit of love that the stream of union might flow amongst the leaders. On the other hand, I do not know why there should be a pact which would create dissensions between the Hindus and the Mussalmans. I, therefore, oppose this pact and hope that all my brothers and sisters will vote against it and throw it out.

Sjt.
Purushottam
Roy.

SRIYUT PURUSHOTTAM ROY of Bengal next spoke in Hindi (vide appendix) in support of the amendment. The English rendering of the speech is as follows :

Mr. President and Delegates !

I have requested the President to permit me to speak on the resolution. Mr. Hardayal Nag, the illustrious veteran leader of Bengal explained the matter to you clearly in English. I support the amendment proposing to remove the Bengal Pact from the resolution. I will tell you what commotion has arisen in Bengal on the publication of this Pact. The Hindu and the Muslim delegates from Bengal have received not one or two but a dozen telegrams. You will find, on reading them, that there is no necessity for obtaining a woeful Swaraj. I want to say one thing more. When the Congress appointed a Committee, there were capable leaders in it. From the resolution placed before you by Pundit Motilal Nehru and from what already happened in Bengal, there will be in future a great disruption in the relationship between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. I am telling you with all my heart that the spirit of love is essential for Hindu-Moslem unity. The rights of the two communities are defined for this purpose. But the Bengal Pact is not intended for this. I want to tell you.....(The President here interrupted the speaker calling upon him not to describe the merits or demerits of the Bengal Pact). I was telling you why the Bengal Pact should be removed. This does not contain what we now see in the nation. So, the Bengal Pact should be totally removed. I desire to say that the Hindus and the Mussalmans will be bound by it if the Congress endorses it and places it before the country. The Bengal Hindus are of opinion that if the National Pact were mixed up with the Bengal Pact, there would be a great agitation all over the country. Then we will see why Bengal has passed it. I will therefore appeal to you to kindly delete the Bengal Pact from this.

Desabandhu
C. R. Dass.

DESABANDHU C. R. DAS in supporting the resolution said:—Mr. President.....(Then there was an insistent demand from the audience in one corner that he should speak in Hindi. But he said that he could speak only in his own vernacular, Bengali, and not in Hindi. He then proceeded to speak in English).

The President:—Sirs, You have no right to compel any body to speak in a particular language. No body will ask Desabandhu to express his ideas in Hindi and Pundit Gauri Sankar Misra in English.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen !

I rise to clear a misapprehension with regard to the Bengal Pact. (A cry: It is a Swarajist Pact but not a Bengal Pact. I have my doubt about it). Keep that doubt to yourself. There is a misapprehension about what is called the Bengal Pact. The resolution before you says merely this, that the draft Pacts are read, and, all these amendments are moved as against that reference to that Bengal Pact. The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has approved of a particular draft not finally but as a suggestion and they have placed that suggestion for the consideration of the Indian National Congress. The proposal is on the record of the Indian National Congress. And, any resolution which is passed with reference to the question of draft can hardly avoid noticing or referring to the resolution or the proposal which is sent up from Bengal. May I ask, what is all this discussion for? Does this resolution ask you to accept the draft? No, the resolution merely refers to what is a fact. Is not the resolution of the Indian National Congress to refer to what is undoubtedly a fact? It is a fact that the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has sent up a proposal before you; and the resolution says, "Read the reports." The resolution that has been moved before you does not say that you should accept it. I could have understood all this objection if it did say so. The resolution says that the opinion of the whole country should be taken upon it not only upon the Bengal Pact but everything that would be placed before the Committee. May I ask, what harm is there, why there is so much opposition? Is it a completed Pact? No, we all know nothing can be a Pact in that sense till it is solemnly assented to and agreed upon. Why is this objection, pray? Many of you are under the impression having regard to the few speeches that have already been made that you are asked to accept the Bengal Pact, that it is a wicked Pact, that it created division between the Hindus and the Mussalmans, and therefore, some of you may think that you should not accept it. Whether you accept it or not, is in your hands. Not now, but after the Committee have gathered the opinion throughout the country and have placed their report before you, you would be in a position to say, "We shall not have this draft, we must have another." But now, why all this anger? Why is this resentment against Bengal? What has Bengal done? Bengal knew that the All-India Congress Committee, the Indian National Congress, was going to consider the question on National Pact. The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has made its suggestion. It may be right or it may be utterly wrong. You are not called upon to endorse that view now. All that you are called upon to do now is to say in the resolution that you have read this suggestion. It is on the records of the Congress. How can you avoid reading it? Are you to say this that although Bengal has sent up its suggestion we the Indian National Congress refuse to read it. (Laughter.) What is asked of you? What is the meaning of this opposition? I have not been able to gather yet. What are you asked to do? Take the opinion of every association in Bengal, take the opinion of every class in Bengal, take the opinion of every community in Bengal and send them here. We don't want to shut this out. Because we call it a Pact, it does not become a pact before it is agreed upon. Suppose, you write out an agreement on a piece of paper. That piece of paper does not become an agreement till you sign it. (Laughter).

What is this misapprehension about? Is Bengal debarred from making that suggestion? Is any human being in India? to be deprived of his undoubted right to press before the Congress his suggestion? Is the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to be deprived of its right to place its suggestion before the Congress? It is said that you gentlemen have not read it. Is it the fault of Bengal? Bengal sent it up to the All-India Congress Committee, the Subjects Committee considered that, it is printed as one of the resolutions of the Subjects Committee. And, all that the resolution says is

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—
Desabandhu
C. R. Dass.

National Pact.

Desabandhu
C. R. Dass.

“Read the draft of the Indian National Pact and the Bengal National Pact”. You may delete the Bengal National Pact from the resolution. But I assure you, you cannot delete Bengal from the Indian National Congress or from the history of India ! (Cheers). Bengal demands the right of having her suggestion considered. You may throw it out after considering it. What right has any body to say that Bengal is to be deprived of placing her suggestion before the Indian National Congress. That is what the amendment asks. It is unnecessary to go into the merits of the draft. We are not concerned about it now. If there are clauses in it which are objectionable, well, place before the Committee your views upon that in future and then you will have the full right of discussing it later on when the Committee makes its report. It is idle, I submit at this stage, to cry out, “You must delete Bengal!” You cannot delete Bengal. Bengal is where she stands ! She is on the Map of India ! She is an integral part of the Constitution of the Indian National Congress, And, she is intimately associated with the history of all political agitation from the commencement of this Congress down to the present day. (Hear, hear). You cannot delete Bengal. Bengal will not be deleted in this unceremonious fashion. (Hear, hear and applause).

Babu Shyam
Sundar
Chakravarti.

SHRIJUT BABU SHYAM SUNDAR CHAKRAVARTI who was given an enthusiastic ovation on rising, said in opposing the resolution :—

Mr. President and Fellow Delegates !

I had not the least intention of participating in this unpleasant controversy. For, here at least we are treading on a very delicate and dangerous ground. (Hear, hear). I have, as the President of the National Assembly and his big brother will admit, some of my best and intimate friends among the Muhammadan community. And, if I feel any hesitation and diffidence in endorsing this resolution, it is not because that I grudge any right in concession to my fellow-countrymen who belong to the Muhammadan community, but because I fear that it will imperil that very object of Hindu Muhammadan unity (hear, hear), which we are all agreed upon forms the first and foremost item in the Non-co-operation programme. Gentlemen, I am not one of those who believe in Pacts, Conventions and Compromises. I consider it an insult to the patriotism, intelligence and large-heartedness of our Muhammadan countrymen if we allow the impression to gain ground in the country that unless we enter into a sort of bargain with them, they will not stand with us shoulder to shoulder under the banner of Freedom. (Hear, hear.) (Applause). It is more out of my love, regard and veneration for those who are in the van, Muhammadans who are in the vanguard of the Non-co-operation Movement, that I beseech the assembled delegates here to drop for all at once this question of Pact. Rather say to the world, say to all India, that there is national and political consciousness in our midst under the guidance and inspiration of that great man who is now in Yerrawada. Are we to show to the world that the Hindu-Muhammadan unity that has been achieved under his guidance is such a broken reed, so fragile that it cannot stand by itself unless some mechanical, artificial pacts and compromises come to rescue ? (Hear, hear and applause)., I can assure you that, whatever might happen, even if the whole of India is inundated with a deluge, or even if an earthquake happens, the bonds that bind me to Mr. Shaukat Ali, to Abdul Kalam Azad, to Dr. Ansari, and a host of other Muhammadans can never be snapped assunder. I can assure you that though I come from the family of the most orthodox Brahmans of the East Bengal, I do hold the greatest regard for the Muhammadans. And in fact, an old woman of a Muhammadan family nursed my brother with milk. I can tell you many things in the village life of Bengal. It was only when I was 20 or 22 that I come to the City with this problem of Hindu-Muslim Unity, which

National Pact.

*Babu Shyam
Sundar
Chakravarti.*

need not exercise you at all. In spite of the superficial disturbing behaviours the nation is sound at heart, all of them want Freedom, all of them want Swaraj, that the East including the Jazirat-ul-Arab and its Muhammadan territories for whose independence we all put forth our united claim and which claim and which demand and which effort has also been recognised by Mustapha Kemal Pasha from there in Angora (applause), these things would stand in good stead so far as the Hindu-Muslim Unity is concerned.

My dear sir, you want means; you want some devices, you want some methods, some magical *mantra*, for Hindu-Moslim Unity. I wish to tell you one thing. Why should you be devoted to Mahatma Gandhi? Why is this one man of all the political leaders that is commonest for both the Muhammadans and the Hindus? (An interruption) I do not spin out a story, neither is it necessary. What I urge upon you is this :

Don't sell the fair name of India, the fair name of Hindusthan, the Non-co-operation Movement which is almost an example to the Militarist Europe by giving an impression that the Movement of Truth which Mahatma Gandhi introduced, has no truth in it, that the Hindu-Muslim Unity, as our enemies want to make out, is only a fable and a myth and cannot stand unless it stands on the feeble foundation of facts. Let us unite our hearts. Let us link our breast to breast. Let us learn to feel for one another. Let us amidst our hearts learn to feel, learn to serve under Dr. Kitchlew, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Hardikar, organise volunteers, brother bands, and bring relief to your suffering Muhammadan friends. Serve all irrespective of caste and religion and you will never require any pact and Hindu-Muslim Unity will be as natural a thing as the sun shines in the east. (Enthusiastic shouting of VANDE MATARAM.)

Janab T. A. Sherwani then spoke in Urdu. (Vide appendix).

The English rendering of the speech is as follows.

*Janab T. A.
Sherwani.*

Mr. President, Sisters and Brothers! (Cries of "English, English"). I am a member of the Congress and a Hindusthani. I have been attending every Congress for the last 11 years. But I assure you, you never heard me on the Congress platform all these years. I consider that I am simply wasting your time by my speech. It never occurred to me all these years that there would be occasion for any Muhammadan to say from the Congress platform that his national rights are not safe in the hands of the Congress.

Dear friends, an amendment has been placed before you to delete the Bengal Pact completely. I want to point out how far there is connection with nationalism. I do not simply say it; but I have done and shown it. I wish to tell our leaders, Sriyuts Shyam Sundar Chakravarti and Gauri Sankar Misra why they should trouble their hearts by raising the question of the cow. It has been said from this platform that cows are slaughtered on *Id-uzzuha*. I not only preached but showed by my example. I managed to reduce in my town (Aligarh) cow-slaughter even on the occasion of the *Id* from 500 to 2 cows and these two were sacrificed by Government servants. (Cheers). My friends were saying that the Mussalmans in other places would also interfere with the beating of drums. During the last one year and a half, I convinced my friends and took Hindu processions in front of mosques even in places where they were not formerly allowed. But I heard the arguments of Babu Shyam Sundar Chakravarti, Babu Hardayal Nag and Pundit Gauri Sankar Misra, as a servant and follower of the Congress, I would accept Swaraj for Hindusthan even if it meant Hindu Raj again. I have been thinking on the platform if the Hindus would not even

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*Janab T. A.
Sherwani.*

listen to the question of giving rights to the Mussalmans. All the people assembled here will go home with these impressions. If the amendment were to be rejected, even the Congressmen of eleven years' standing like me will go with the impression that Hindus were not prepared to consider the just rights of the Muslims. The Bengal Pact is intended to adjust only the political matters. It states also that Muslims should be given their just rights. If you throw it out, it would follow that you are not prepared to consider any resolution for granting any rights to the Muslims.

Brothers, I will tell you about the point of opposition of Sjt. Gauri Sankar Misra. Sjt. Misra and Babu Hardyal Nag and the other friend have grown very wise after one full one year. I was against the pact even at Gaya and was insisting that there should be no pact at all. I opposed it at Delhi also. Sjt. Gauri Sankar Misra now comes to oppose what has been passed at two sessions of the Congress. Please consider what it means. If the Congress desires, there should be a pact between the Hindus and the Muslims. But now no chance is given even for hearing the question of the rights of the Mussalmans. (Pundit Gauri Sankar Misra protested that it was not his opinion that Mussalmans should not be given any rights nor that their existing rights should be curtailed and that his opinion was different.) I also think that the view was different. I want to convince you that it produced the same effect on all the Mussalmans as as it did on me.

Brothers, I am given just a little time. The matter has been already endorsed by two sessions of the Congress and you have the right to allow or reject any resolution. You also see that the policy of the Ministers is to set the Hindus and the Mussalmans against one another and what has already been begun in the Punjab is steadily growing. I will therefore appeal to you in all humility that it is necessary that you should pass this resolution. (Cheers.)

Sriyut T. PRAKASAM (Madras) supported the resolution in Telugu. (Vide appendix).

Sjt.

T. Prakasam.

The English rendering of the speech is as follows —
Mr. President, Brothers, and Sisters !

Some friends have told you that this resolution for removing the differences among the Hindus, the Muhammadans, the Sikhs and other communities and for concerting measures to establish unity amongst all is unnecessary and should therefore be thrown out. To throw out this resolution is tantamount to the deletion of the fundamental item of the Constructive Programme. According to Mahatma Gandhi, Hindu-Muslim unity is the foundation of Non-Cooperation. So long as Mahatma Gandhi was out, there was strong unity and everything went on peacefully without any differences and quarrels. Soon after he went to Jail, everything crumbled to the dust and quarrels and riots ensued. The disputes between the Hindus and the Muhammadans arose on account of the designs of our enemies. These religious disputes increased on account of the starting of the Hindu Sanghatan by Malaviyaji, the introduction of the Shuddhi movement, and the complaints of the Muhammadans against the Hindus and the Hindus against the Muhammadans. I have seen with my own eyes in Multan and Sahranpur how the foundations laid by Mahatma Gandhi were razed. All that horrible sight is tearing my heart. There is no use of destroying the foundations of the Constructive Programme. This resolution says that a report should be submitted after receiving suggestions and that meanwhile the constructive programme should be worked up until there were changes brought about. Such being the case, why should there be unnecessary fear about it? A

pact was drafted to put a stop to the quarrels between the Hindus and the Muhammadans in Bengal. You are not called upon to say whether that pact is right or wrong. It has been introduced in order that it might also be considered. What the Bengal people asked was that they had settled some matters for themselves and that they might also be considered. Are we then to say that they should not be considered? When quarrels arose in Nellore, telegrams were sent to me and Mr. Yakub Hasan. We went and should we not send a report of what we have done? And, should you not consider it? Therefore, there is nothing objectionable in it. I request you to accept the original resolution. (Cheers.)

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Sjt.

T. Prakasam.

SRIMATHI SAROJINI DEVI who was received with loud cheers as she ascended the rostrum first spoke in Hindustani in response to the repeated requests of the audience and afterwards in English thus: (*Vide* appendix: Hindi speech).

*Srimati
Sarojani Devi.*

Friends, I have not been able to understand the heat that has been evinced in the course of this discussion. There was really no need of speeches about so simple, so formal a resolution. (Hear, hear.) It does not ask this great assembly of composite races and religions to commit itself to any Pact at this moment. It merely, as a matter of course,—a mechanical, automatic and official procedure—asks your leave to place before the nation through the instrumentality of a Committee a Pact for all India and a Pact suggested by the dire necessities of local circumstances of Bengal for the criticism and suggestion of a people at leisure to consider it. I have not been able to understand the spirit of almost fanatical warmth, the almost religious fervour of denunciation about so simple a thing. I have not been able to understand why a Pact merely suggested provisionally for your consideration by Bengal, should be so hotly disputed. Surely, Bengal or Andhra or Bombay or Behar has a right in times of urgent local need to consider Magna Chartas of Peace between communities in those lands. Why does my young friend, my very young friend, Gauri Sankar Misra, say there is no need of Pacts? May I remind him that in lands where there is only a homogeneous people with one faith and one tongue, it is found necessary to have their political constitutions written in indelible ink. (Hear, hear.) Are we with all our unique and dangerous and difficult local and national conditions to be the only people deprived of what the smallest homogeneous and harmonious nations have a right to own? And yet we are not asking for anything but your leave and sanction to allow the Committee that you selected at Delhi to communicate with the nation, to be your office, to be your Post Office and to invite from your country, of all people at large, suggestions that ultimately might lead to a real national Magna Charta. (Cheers.)

One point only. Has it not been almost a shame that Hindu speaker after speaker has come forward to oppose even the consideration of the Bengal Pact? Does it not give an impression to our Mussalman brethren, that minority of compatriots, that we with our numerical strength behind us grudge to them rights that might seem a little excessive but which are the irreducible minimum that a chivalrous majority can accord to a minority in any country. I trust in your political judgment, I trust in your social judgment, I trust in your patriotism and therefore, believe you will pass with one voice this resolution. That does not ask you to give your judgment to-day: but to permit an opportunity to the nation whose representatives you are, to pass its judgment and so set the seal of approval or disapproval upon a document that is human to the core and must be the sign-manual of a united nation, ready to bear the burden of its National Freedom. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

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Sjt.

C. Rajagopalachari.

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI whose voice had sunk very low on account of illness, spoke thus: (His speech which was quite inaudible even in the Press gallery, was repeated sentence by sentence in a loud tone by Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.)

I can only whisper and do nothing more. This Indian National Pact had its origin at Gaya. It was considered by a Committee. It was not published in the Press till six days ago. It is a very legitimate thing, therefore, to publish it and then to consider it. Two things have been suggested before you— one completely to throw out the national pact proposal, another to reject only the Bengal Pact. It is better you consider these two things separately. If you summarily and altogether throw out the National Pact after it has been 'so long before the public, it would be injurious to national interests. It would make people think that you are unable to deal with the question and are therefore shelving it. It is not right to stop half way. I believe that work and non-violence are the only safe-guards for peace in this country. At the same time, a National Pact has great advantages. I certainly agree with the President's view expressed this morning that, if we start constructive work, the Hindu Muslim trouble will stop. At the same time, I say that we must go on with the consideration of the Hindu-Muslim Pact and place it before the public for further consideration. I would advise you, therefore, not to accept the suggestion that the whole resolution should be dropped. I would advise you to accept the resolution that it should be published in the Press and opinion invited and the All-India Congress Committee consider it. As regards the proposal to omit the Bengal Pact, there is much misapprehension. The Bengal Pact too was not published before it was accepted by the Provincial Congress Committee. There is reason, therefore, that it should be published and that the All-India Congress Committee should consider it. You are not invited to accept what the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has recommended. You are only invited to accept the proposition that it should be published in the Press and that after opinions have been invited from the public the All-India Congress Committee should consider those opinions from all provinces in the country in the same manner as the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has offered its opinion. It is quite clear that both should be before the public and neither should be choked. All Provinces, all organisations, all communities should have equal opportunities to give their suggestions. Therefore, we should have no difficulty in accepting the main proposition. The main proposition is nothing more than this. I would, therefore, advise you to reject the proposal to cut down the main proposition as it has been printed. I have no more to say.

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, as desired by Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari, gave the substance of the above speech in Telugu.

It was 7-20 P. M. when the President rose up and said :

I have received a large number of requests for being allowed to speak. I am afraid that at this rate, I do not think we shall be able to finish the Congress this year or next year. In order to be as impartial as I can, I may consider in what way I should regulate the discussion. I think one excellent speaker is enough. I may now ask Mr. Yakub Hasan who will be the only Mussalman that will speak for the motion.

Janab YAKUB HASAN (Madras) then spoke in support of the amendment in Urdu. (*Vide* appendix : Hindustani speeches).

The following is the English rendering of the speech :—

SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

From the very beginning I have been opposed to this resolution. But I came to know that at Gaya a resolution was passed to the effect that a pact

should be prepared between the Hindus and the Mussalmans. At Delhi it was found necessary to pass another resolution and form a Committee. At that time I was in jail. If I were free I would have opposed it. But this resolution was accepted at two sessions of the Congress. It is for this reason that I am not opposing this pact. I wish to tell you why I support this amendment. I support it because I am afraid that otherwise there would be no strength in this resolution.

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*Janab Yakub
Hasan.*

Gentlemen, why do you want a pact between the Hindus and the Muslims? Where is the necessity for it? Will the relationship between the Hindus and the Muslims be better after this pact than before? I believe it will be impaired. There was a time when the Muslims were away from the Congress. Then they did not like to join the Congress. They believed that the Congress could not protect their rights. They organised the Muslim League. Afterwards, an agreement was entered into by the Congress and the Muslim League. Union was effected between the two. The Mussalmans took part in the Congress. What necessity has arisen now to prepare a pact? It was said that religious matters would not find a place in the Congress. The Muslims agreed to this with a view to cultivate mutual sympathy. At Lucknow the Hindu-Muslim Pact was prepared. It was with this pact that the co-operation of the Hindus with the Mussalmans had begun. The Congress then, for the first time, became the All-India national body. The pact was already prepared at Lucknow. What occasions this new pact? Do you want to destroy the first pact. (Cries of "No, no.") Have the Muslims asked the Hindus for it? Have they expressed their dissatisfaction? Have they told you of their discontent with the previous percentage of representation given by you? I think they did not demand a settlement of this affair. What are the circumstances that require a new pact? For these reasons I am opposed to the pact but the Congress has decided about the pact. Accordingly a committee was formed and the committee gave its report. Provincial Congress Committees are also expressing their opinions on it. Therefore you cannot ignore it. If you throw this out now, you will be undoing your former act. Therefore, you should hereafter proceed cautiously with regard to what is being done by this Committee. But this matter is likely to foment quarrels between the Hindus and the Muslims. The Bengal Congress Committee decided that wherever there is a Muslim majority there should be a reservation of 60 per cent. of the seats for the Mussalmans and 40 per cent. for the Hindus and similarly where the Hindus are in a majority they should get 60 per cent. and the Mussalmans 40 per cent. The Hindu non-co-operators of that province are opposed to this pact on the ground that it does not benefit the Muhammadans. The Muhammadans also were dissatisfied. If it is left in the hands of the Hindus, they say they cannot live with them. The Hindus are opposing this because the Bengal Congress Committee gives 60 per cent. to the Muslims and 40 to the Hindus. They say the percentage must be proportionate to the respective populations. If you give your verdict against this, the Bengal Muhammadans will forsake it. They will begin to think of the reasons that prompted the rejection of this pact. I am a resident of Madras. Madras people say they should get 33 per cent. Their number there is 6 per cent.

PRESIDENT: You have not as yet moved your amendment.

Janab YAKUB HASAN: But in Madras there are 6 per cent. Parsis. If you do not give the Mussalmans their due, the Madras Muslims will be compelled to leave the Congress. You see what loss will arise out of this problem. It is difficult to set right the serious quarrels that already took place in the past and are likely to occur in the future. I support the view that the Bengal Pact

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should be omitted. If you pass the resolution of 60 and 40 per cent. introduced by Bengal, it practically amounts to this that the Committee simply exists for it.

PRESIDENT : I would call your attention to the fact that you are not to discuss the merits of the Bengal Pact.

The speaker replied : " No, I am only saying that if this resolution is passed, if this Bengal Pact is passed.....

PRESIDENT : We have not yet come to that, if the opinion of the Congress Committee is taken,.....

The speaker continuing his speech in English said :

If this report goes before Provincial Congress Committees. they would have to consider two things. One is the report of this Committee and the other is that of the Bengal Committee. This will arouse hot discussion in the Provincial Committees and much bad blood will be passed. Mussalmans will pull one way and the Hindus the other. That's why I don't want the Bengal Pact to be referred to the Provincial Committees. Leave the question to the Provincial Congress Committees and they would take their own line in considering the question. If the Bengal report is not before them they would consider the question of the Hindu-Muslim Pact in their own light. Besides this, you are here to consider your own committee's report and not that of the Bengal Committee. You know that when 87 people were addressed to by this Committee, only 8 replies were received by it. So, that Committee has not completed its work. This Committee is now asked to get more opinions. When all the opinions are before the Committee, it will place this Bengal Pact also along with others before the All-India Congress Committee. Let it come before the country through that Committee in the usual course and not direct through the Congress. Personally I may like the Bengal Pact on purely selfish grounds because it has pleased the Mussalmans of Bengal. But we have to take a broader view of the whole thing. I am sure I am incurring the displeasure of a number of my co-religionists by supporting the amendment for the deletion of the Bengal Pact but I would rather take that risk and incur the displeasure than spoil the whole thing. I will conclude my speech with this. I support the amendment of deleting the Bengal Pact for the reason that I don't want it to be referred to the whole country by the Congress. (Hear, hear. Cries of "Allaho Akbar.")

PRESIDENT: Before I call upon the Hon'ble mover to reply, I request Dr. Ansari who is the only one present here of the small Committee appointed at Delhi to draw up the Indian National Pact, to express his views and the views of the country on the resolution.

Dr. Ansari.

Dr. ANSARI who rose amidst loud cheers of "Allaho Akbar", said :—

I wish Lala Lajpat Rai was well enough to be present amongst you to-day. With his great experience in public affairs and the great personality that he has, he would have placed the matter before you more ably than I shall ever be able to do. This matter of the Indian National Pact is not such a very new thing as it is made out to be in some of the speeches. I know that our great leader Mahatmaji had in his mind some scheme by means of which the just rights of the various communities inhabiting India should be adjusted and the minorities should be put at ease by giving them full guarantees for their rights in the future Swaraj Government. The idea of a Pact was placed before the public at Gaya in the Presidential address of Sjt C. R. Das as well as in my own address at the annual sessions of the Khilafat Conference. Even before

the Gaya sessions the Working Committee of the Congress had appointed a committee to draft an Indian National Pact but unfortunately the work was not finished. After Gaya the All-India Congress Committee appointed me as the convener of a Committee elected by them to prepare a Pact and ever since that time, through correspondence, by private conferences and conversations, from the public platform and through the press I have been able to get opinions of various sections of the people and a great deal of preliminary work has been done towards the preparation of the draft Pact. The Indian National Pact which is before you is not the result of the labours of only the small committee appointed by the Congress at Delhi. Occasions have also been found to discuss the draft with persons of importance in the country; and the views of leaders of communities and of various shades and schools of political thought have been freely sought and received. After a great deal of careful thought the Indian National Pact was prepared by the committee. It was circulated for opinion among the hundred and fifty persons whose names were given to us by the Congress in Delhi. It has been published recently in all the newspapers of the country. After its consideration and full discussion in the All-India Congress Committee it is referred to you by means of this resolution. Now this resolution which I ask you to support, mentions the Indian National Pact prepared by the Committee and another Pact submitted by the Provincial Congress Committee of Bengal. Gentlemen, it seems to me that there is a great deal of misunderstanding about the two pacts. I may tell you that if you take the principles of the Pact prepared by the Committee,—that is to say, the Indian National Pact, and apply them to the province of Bengal or any other Province where there is a majority of Mussalmans, the result would be exactly the same as you see in the Pact prepared by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. I do not see what the trouble is, and where lies the unfitness of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee Pact. If you are not prepared to concede the just rights of whatever community they may be—it happens to be the Mussalmans in Bengal and it will be the Hindus in the Central Provinces, the United Provinces and several other Provinces,—I assure you that you can never come to any agreement, there can never be peace, there can never be unity, and I am afraid there will never be Swaraj. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, Gentlemen, I ask you to look at the matter from this point of view, that, if you once accept the principle of representation according to population you will find the majority in some Provinces of one community and in other provinces of another community. That is all that the Bengal Pact embodies and wishes to place before you. I would ask you to accept the original resolution. In one portion of it you have got simply the abstract principles while in the other you see those principles worked out in concrete figures. You will have exactly the same thing in all the provinces. That is the meaning of the resolution. If you do not concede that the Bengal Pact should be placed before the country for consideration, it would be unfair, it would shew your bias against it and that would cause misunderstanding in the country and would create an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust which would spoil all chances of any understanding between the communities. The Bengal Pact is already published, it is before the public, they will read it, they will consider it and they will compare it with the National Pact. They will of course come to their own conclusions. Why, then, I ask you, should you take the odium of throwing out the Bengal Pact, and ask the people not to consider it when you know they will consider it? I can't understand this attitude of mind, it is beyond my comprehension why so much fuss is being made about such a small matter.

Therefore I ask you, Gentlemen, to accept the original resolution and pass it as it has been placed before you by Pandit Motilal Nehru; because what

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—
Dr. Ansari.

is asked of you is only that these Pacts should be placed before the Nation for opinion. The All-India Congress Committee will be able to discuss the matter thoroughly after receiving the views expressed by the country and place their final recommendation for your acceptance. If you are not prepared to be fair, if you don't want even to consider the opinion expressed by one of your provincial Congress Committees or if you don't want any pact at all, well, I assure you I shall feel extremely sorry and I know Lala Lajpat Rai would also say the same. In your own heart of hearts you know that without the removal of the apprehensions, the doubts and the suspicions which are at the bottom of all the differences between the communities inhabiting India, without a clear and definite understanding about all the contentious matters dealt in the two Pacts, there cannot be harmony and therefore there cannot be Swaraj.

Therefore I beg of you to remove all the sentimental considerations placed before you and judge the question in the light of reason. It is not only necessary, it is absolutely vital for the very Swaraj which you are all striving for, that you should without losing any more time come to an understanding between yourselves and without any division or diversion put the combined effort of a united Nation to gain the freedom which is the one desire of your hearts.

The PRESIDENT: As I already said, this would be the last speech on this motion. I now call upon Pundit Motilalji to reply. I wish I had more time and you had more time to listen to many other speeches. I appeal to you in the name of the various provinces that it is really impossible to get the views of the various parties and the provinces represented here, and what is more important, of persons represented here. After I have done my best not only in my own interests but also of this large audience, we shall still have a great deal of work to do. I hope that Punditji would be shorter than he was in the beginning.

*Pundit Motilal
Nehru's
reply.*

PUNDIT MOTILAL NEHRU replied to the debate in Urdu. (*Vide* Appendix : Hindusthani Speeches).

The English rendering of the Urdu speech is as follows :—
Mr. President, Brothers and Sisters !

I do not take much of your time to reply to the debate. I place this resolution before you with much regret, With great diffidence I do so. I am sorry to say that the main theme of the opposition speeches can be traced to the estrangement that rankles in the hearts of both the communities. This has been thought of as a remedy to drive away the animosity that is existing between brothers. What is the reason for the division among them? And what is the bond of agreement that brings them together? With regard to the contention that the word "Bengal" should be deleted I have nothing more to say than to place before you one or two statements advanced by my brother, Desabandhu Das. What is the meaning in Bengal speaking out her opinion? Don't you know that the Bengal Congress Committee passed a resolution and that it was published in all papers? That resolution was communicated by proper authority to the All-India Congress Committee. What is it that you take exception to in that pact? Eloquent speeches urging the deletion of the word "Bengal" are delivered by my brothers. Is Bengal an untouchable to be ashamed of? Bengal Congress Committee, rightly or wrongly, introduced a subject before you for consideration. You may or may not accept it. Whether accepted or not, has not every delegate assembled here got the right to record his opinion on the matter? If an individual has got such a right, is not a province entitled to place its views before you either for your acceptance or rejection? Brothers, I am most surprised to hear Mr. Yakub Hasan saying that if this

pact was placed before the country, other parts of India might demand the same as was granted in Bengal. I ask him, do they not demand the same if the word "Bengal" is omitted? Who in the whole of India does not know about this pact? In which paper was it not published? But people did not understand it and are therefore opposing it. If you omit this word, it will be understood, not only by Bengal but all, that the Congress is not prepared to give even a hearing to any part of India that gives greater rights to the Muhammadans that inhabit that part. Let the Bengal pact be right or wrong, but we hear much was given and that so much ought not to be given. From this it should not be inferred that the Congress is being asked to give similarly. But it has asked the Congress to hear and think about it. It is bound by your decision just as the smaller committee is subordinate to the bigger committee. That is why you are removing the word Bengal. What I want to impress upon you is this, that if you pass an amendment to omit the word 'Bengal' or reject the resolution in toto, you will be doing immense harm to the Congress movement. If everything were clear and if the question whether there should be or should not be a pact at all had arisen in the beginning, as I have told you in my opening speech, I should never have stood up in support of this resolution. But this is not the first time and events have marched a good deal. We should consider coolly what we have to do. All matters are finished and no new things happen to-day. This resolution was passed in December 1922. This began with the resolution of the Working Committee of December 1922. I am now reading to you the resolution adopted by the Subjects Committee.

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*Pundit Motilal
Nehru's
reply.*

"This Congress resolves that the following gentlemen be appointed to prepare a draft of the National Pact, to circulate it for opinion among the leading representatives and influential persons of different communities in the country and after consideration of the opinion received to submit their report to the All-India Congress Committee for disposal at the Cocanada Congress."

Afterwards this was brought before the Delhi Congress. From December 1922 till now we did not hear a single voice speaking against the resolution. After all has happened and after the report is ready it is now proposed to annihilate it. Instead of giving new hope to the depressed, you are pulling down even the hopeful. Instead of winning confidence you are frustrating the attempts made in that direction. The result, as all people know, is this. Bengal Muhammadans think they have gained something and the Hindus think they have lost something of their rights. What does a man with a cool judgment do when he sees one opinion ranging on one side and another on another side? Shall we leave them to themselves? Or shall we try to unite them by persuasion? We should try to unite them. I want to convince you. My friends may say what they like in their speeches. But for the last forty years I have been engaged in settling the disputes between the Hindus and the Mussalmans. Not one, but hundreds of disputes have I helped to solve. These quarrels do not fetter the freedom of our tongue. All parties will be given proper hearing. Speeches were made with regard to telegrams. The telegrams contain that haste should be avoided in coming to a decision and that all people and associations concerned in the matter should be consulted and that a most careful consideration should be given to the subject. This has been fully done and the opinions of the country and the Sanghatan are being worked out. I am coming to a close. I humbly entreat brothers who want to amicably settle these disputes, that after return to their homes, they should explain to the people and enthuse them with this idea. Telegrams too contemplate that we should work after due deliberation.

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At 8-5 P. M., the President got up the rostrum and put the amendment, to delete the words "Bengal National Pact", to vote. He also gave the translation in Urdu and Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya translated it into Telugu.

Having seen the hands raised for and against the amendment, the President declared that the amendment was lost.

Sj. Harodayal Nag and some others cried out that it was not so.

The PRESIDENT: Order, order, order, please. I have seen how many hands have been raised and I have found that the amendment was lost. (Voices of loud protests and confusion.) If you all speak at once, gentlemen, it is impossible to hear anything. I think more have been raised for keeping in the "the Bengal Pact" and a fewer hands against having pact in the resolution. (Cries from all sides: No, no.) Very well then, I shall call for a division if you press for it.

Pundit Santanam and Sjt. Vallabhai Patel also were called upon by the President to act as tellers. The visitors and the members of the Reception Committee were asked to clear out of the tent.

At 9-15 P. M. the President announced the result of the poll. 678 voted *for* the amendment and 458 *against*.

The announcement was received amidst loud cheering among a section of the delegates in the House.

The proposition as amended was then put before the House and the figures of the poll were declared as 771 *for* and 205 *against*; and the resolution as amended was declared carried.

It was 9-50 P. M. when the Congress rose for the day, and the President announced that the Congress would meet again at 2 P. M. the next day.



The Indian National Congress,

The 38th. Session.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Sunday, the 30th December 1923.



The Congress reassembled at 3-35 P. M. on the 30th December. Proceedings commenced with the singing of a National song by Bhai Raichura. A big choir of girls next sang a patriotic song in sweet tones. Then followed Telugu verses by Sriyut Kallakuri Narayanarao, a Hindi song by Srimati Saraswati Devi. and a Telugu song by Mulukta Venkatasastri, a boy of fourtee.

The Late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar.

THE PRESIDENT in moving the following resolution said :—

Friends, I referred yesterday to an omission in our condolence resolution. Now we make up for it and I rise to move:

That this Congress resolves to place on record its deep sense of the loss sustained by the country by the death of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, an Ex-President of the Congress.

I was not myself personally acquainted with Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, but I knew he was a great worker in the cause of Education and he was one of our Presidents. I think it was in 1900 at the Lahore Session. I did not happen to be even in this country at the time. Times have changed very much since then, but I am sure we have not changed our respect for our Presidents of the National Congress who served the country according to their lights and according to the best of their capacity. Apart from what I have been informed, I know that he was one of the great social workers in our country and he was a man of reformed views on religion. That is a very great consideration in these days when you hear so much about dissensions between the various communities in the country. I hope you will adopt this resolution standing and offer prayers for the departed.

The whole assembly accordingly stood in silent prayer for a minute and the resolution was duly adopted. There was a solitary voice of protest that the resolution should not be adopted, but it was carried by a decidedly overwhelming majority.

Volunteer
Organisation.

Pundit
Jawaharlal
Nehru.

The All-India Volunteer Organisation.

The PRESIDENT: I now call upon Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru to speak on the resolution with regard to the Volunteer Organisation.

A delegate: We are not able to follow what has been said there.

The PRESIDENT: Alright, please follow. Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru will speak.

PUNDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU then rose amidst cheers and moved the following resolution and addressed the assembly in Hindi. (*Vide* Appendix Hindusthani Speeches.)

The following is the English rendering of the speech:—

Mr. President and Gentlemen! (Cries of "English, English"). Please allow me to speak in Hindi. I shall read the resolution to be placed before you in English.

This Congress is of opinion that in order to train the people of India and make them effective instruments for the carrying out of the national work on the lines laid down by the Congress, it is necessary to have a trained and disciplined body of workers. This Congress, therefore, welcomes the movement for the formation of an All-India Volunteer Organisation and calls on the Working Committee to take all necessary steps to form such a body of trained volunteers in co-operation with the organisers of the movement and keep control and supervise over it, while giving it freedom of internal management and administration.

It means that in the opinion of the Congress, it is necessary to give the people of India the requisite training that helps them to carry on their national work efficiently. It is a matter of joy for the Congress that an All-India Volunteer Organisation is coming into being for the purpose. This resolution suggests to the Working Committee to render the necessary help in organising the volunteers. It further suggests that the Working Committee should bring under its control all those that devote their whole time and energy for the Volunteer Organisation. But that does not mean that we should interfere with their internal organisation. Gentlemen, it is now more than three years since we began this war of non-violent non-co-operation at Calcutta. Since then Mahatmaji pushed on vigorously. It is proclaimed all along that this movement is non-violent, that it intends no harm to anybody and that nobody shall raise his sword against others. Nevertheless you will understand that this is war. If you really want to attain success in this movement, you must all become soldiers. Non-violence does not mean timidity and hiding ourselves in the *pardah*. Mahatmaji has told us that Sepoys in a non-violent war should be many times bolder than soldiers fighting in a violent fight. We have carried on this fight for three years and four months. You know how during this period thousands have sacrificed and thousands of men and women put a bold fight against the Government without yielding. But the result is not commensurate with this huge sacrifice. Have you thought of the reason for it? Our organisation was not thorough. If we had a perfect organisation British Government would not have existed in India. Now-a-days I have been always thinking whether or not this British Government should remain here. Should we change our creed or not? I do not know if this was placed before you,

but I would that the present system of Government were rooted out of this land. You may do great sacrifice and undergo difficulties; leaders may come but you cannot attain your end without properly organising yourselves. We must see whether we are going along the right path and also in the right direction. After choosing the right path we must conform to it. This resolution intends that all Indians should undergo training and organise themselves effectively to be fit soldiers of Swaraj. We are all speakers and none of us is a soldier. We should talk little and do better. So long as we have not got sepoys, we cannot oppose a nation of soldiers. We are fighting the British now. If you are capable of governing your country you must be ready to offer yourselves at the altar of your Motherland. You will be able to defeat your opponents the moment you outdo them in the immensity of your sacrifice. If you want that an alien nation should not dominate you, if you want to manage your affairs for yourselves, your immediate duty is to organise the volunteers effectively. But a question arises as to the nature of the organisation. Who will manage it? Will it not turn against the Congress itself? Or do others interfere in its organisation? This organisation will be subordinate to the All-India Congress Working Committee. We are asking the Working Committee to organise this in consultation with those who are already making attempts in this direction. The Working Committee should keep it under its control and see that its aim and object are not tampered with. Minor details need not be interfered with. Such interference would impede work. Do not view this lightly. Please begin the necessary organisation in your respective parts of the country. By bringing this resolution into force, you will not only learn the principles that should guide a volunteer but you will also put an end to futile discussions and the spirit of insubordination to your superior's orders. An army that spends its time in mere discussions can never enter the battlefiled. All organisation should be united. All of you should follow one creed. You are also responsible for your provinces. In the Punjab, the Sikhs and the Akalis are practising Satyagraha. Remember that the whole of the Sikh community is opposed to the Government. They are determined to fight and offer Satyagraha. In every part of the country the Akalis are offering Satyagraha. Why is this community so small in numbers able to oppose the British Government? They are not extraordinarily heroic. Sacrifice too is not great among them. We can find people among the Hindus and the Mussalmans who are capable of greater sacrifice. But they have not got the necessary training. The Sikhs have good organisation and we have not. Gentlemen, I request you to accept this resolution and prepare in your respective provinces the army that can face difficulties, fight the enemy and do national service in a non-violent manner. (Loud and continued applause).

SHRIYUT MANILAL V. KOTHARI, (Gujarat,) in seconding the resolution, said :—

Mr. President, Brother & Sister Delegates !

It is really a great pleasure to me to have to second this important resolution that has been placed before you so ably by my esteemed brother, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru. In seconding this proposition, I think I am doing a national duty at a critical moment like this. It cannot be denied even for a single moment that, in a mass movement like this in which there are so many important items to be worked out, we want a proper organisation, a regular body of well-trained and well-disciplined volunteers. Ours is a mass movement involving tremendous sacrifices and immense sufferings, it is necessary that we should have such a body of volunteer workers. When the movement began and the call came, there was indeed hearty response. There were plenty of men to fill up the jails, but we have also found much to our disappointment that in some parts of the country those young men who went to jails could not give a

*Volunteer
Organisation.*

*Pundit
Jawaharlal
Nehru.*

*Sjt. Manilal
V. Kothari.*

*Volunteer
Organisation*

*Sjt. Manilal
V. Kothari.*

good account of themselves, not because they were not patriotic, not because they had not faith for the cause, but only because they had not the training which was supremely necessary. (Hear, hear.) We don't want the repetition of some ugly scenes that have taken place in some of the jails. We want that this movement should be scrupulously kept pure and therefore we should have well-trained volunteers.

Brother and Sister Delegates! My dear friend, Mr. Deshmukh and my friend Mr. Hardikar started this movement, and since then much work has been done to organise the volunteers. You had three days ago a very important function over which our esteemed brother, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, presided. So many eminent men, statesmen and politicians of our country took part in it. But, what was wanted, was the evolution of that body out of the Congress. I happened to be the President of one Provincial Volunteer Board of the All-India Volunteer Organisation. But I have felt all along that the volunteer organisation cannot be and cannot afford to be a separate body, but it should be under the guidance and supervision of the Congress and Congress leaders. (Applause.) And therefore, it is that to-day I have pressed my views on my friends with the result that we have this resolution.

By virtue of this resolution, the Congress calls upon the Working Committee to take immediate steps for the All-India Volunteer Corps. It is a very wholesome affair. I, therefore, beg of you to help this movement since it is one of my departments, and since it is a very important and imperative necessity, of the movement.

And, before I sit down,—I don't want to take a long time for this little affair, but I want to mention to those young friends who are here who wanted to be enlisted, and who naturally desire to be enlisted. Dear brothers, the Congress invites you not for any decorations, dainty dinners or such other functions, but the Congress invites only those who are prepared to work day and night for this great movement, who are prepared to lay down their lives, if needs be, in the name of the Motherland and in the precious cause of the Motherland. The Congress wants people who without any hesitation are prepared to carry out the mandates and the orders that may be issued from the parent body, whether it may be the Working Committee or the All-India Congress Committee. Therefore, people who feel intensely for the movement and who feel within themselves the passion to die for the country—if I were one of the organisers and if it were left to me to be an advisor in this affair I would say that—only such who are in enthusiastic haste to lay down their lives, need apply. Hindus and Muhammadans have got to be enrolled.

And secondly there is a lull, there is a general lull, a depression all over the country. If you want to dispel this general depression, if Civil Disobedience be inaugurated, if the day on which its functions are started—on all such occasions the whole work is of the volunteers and so volunteers are needed. And therefore, volunteers should come forward. Then a third time you will have a very interesting programme, God-willing, in front of you. We want such a programme. This resolution or that, whatever it be the fate of this resolution,—the country needs work, tremendous work to fight the Government, to exterminate the evil, and for that work let young men come forward, let us all, let all of us be united. Let there be no division. Ladies—I think there is no harm,—ladies are invited because Maulana Shaukat Ali has got very important work to do, for which he really feels very genuinely, it is the Khaddar work; and he wants to organise lakhs and lakhs of sisters—very important—so that a few men who are at present engaged in the Khaddar work and propaganda might

go to work actively and immensely against this Satanic government. Therefore I appeal to you, gentlemen, to accept this. Remember, your responsibility does not cease simply because the resolution is passed. Those who pass this resolution owe a responsibility to this country. Those ardent people should come forward in very large numbers, and I hope they will. (Hear, hear. Applause.)

*Volunteer
organisation.*

*Sjt. Manilal
V. Kothari.*

Shriyut G. HARISARVOTHAMA RAO (Andhra) next supported the resolution in Telugu. (*Vide Appendix: Telugu Speeches.*)

*Sjt. G. Hari
Sarvothama
Rao.*

The English rendering of the speech runs as follows:—

Mr. President, Brothers and Sisters !

I give out the resolution in Telugu which I am going to support. (The resolution published above was translated by the speaker.) It is essential to have well-disciplined national workers to carry out the national work on the lines laid down by the Congress. Therefore, this Congress while heartily congratulating the country upon all the attempts made towards the Volunteer Organisation calls upon its Working Committee to form such an organisation in co-operation with those already working for it, and supervise over it without interfering much with its internal management. I need not tell you at length why there should be such a resolution like this. Our responsibility increased with the entry of Mahatma Gandhi into the political arena and with our launching upon, the non-violent war. If we are to carry out the *satvik-dharma* we must possess a great many good qualities. It is not possible unless and until the least of us have those qualities which have made up and shaped the Mahatma. True it is that our countrymen filled with enthusiasm jumped in tens and hundreds into the scene of war without any hesitation, because the ideal of independence and the inspiration inculcated by the Mahatma in the country went deep into the recesses of our hearts and made us surrender completely. To-day even middle-aged men like me who have received Western education but are devoid of such qualities as courage and control over the body and the senses, the requisites for the non-violent war, are obliged to stand this test. Our defects are brought to light when on such occasions as these where there should be mutual fellowship and toleration and mutual sharing of troubles and sufferings with sympathy and good-will, voluntary service is being called for and performed: moral virtue, non-violence and courage are on the ebb: endurance is on the wane: the strength to suffer is weak. And the differences among the leaders do illustrate them. We are incapacitated to do completely whatever we wish to do. I am voicing these sentiments having in view the body of national workers also. This defect of the inability to carry out the work is merely due to the lack of sufficient discipline in the national workers. There cannot but be defects and faults in the actions of every one whenever a thing, in fact all kinds of work are to be accomplished. There cannot but be accidental obstacles in the way. At the present juncture we have come to such a position as not to be able to see one another heart to heart and tolerate one another. We cannot achieve any purpose unless thousands and lakhs of people possess this virtue. Work cannot be done unless, as Mahatma Gandhi said, it is done with clock-like regularity and with the regularity of the movements of the Sun, and the Moon. Nothing can be achieved by us unless one controls oneself and treats another with respect when his faults are shown by him, unless there is such self-discipline even in such volunteers as those who supply water to these Congress delegates and unless there is that strength to work hard with fortitude and sacrifice. Most important of all, the Body of National Workers should be organised. Work has been going on in our parts as well as in other parts of the country; but the All-India Congress Committee has been otherwise engaged in Council-entry controversies

*Volunteer
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*Sjt. G. Hari
Saradhama
Rao.*

and the like and has not yet taken steps to form the body of the well-disciplined national workers. To-day it is within sight. I think the matter has already been delayed. We are congratulating the country on the attempts already made. This resolution lays down that the Working Committee of the Congress should carry out this thing well, supervise and support it.

Sisters and Brothers! It is not a great thing that this Congress should decide upon the organisation of a body of well disciplined volunteers for the purpose of removing the present trouble, calamity and the unbearable misery by working morally, non-violently, courageously and with devotion. Surely it is a matter for congratulation if this one thing alone is achieved by this Congress. I, therefore, pray that all of you should accept this unanimously. (Cheers.)

The President then said, "I don't think there is any member who would oppose the resolution".

"None" was the response from the assembly. Then the President declared that the resolution was carried.

He next called upon Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya to move the resolution on the amendments in the Congress constitution.

Dr. B. PATTABHI SITA RAMIAH said :

There are a few amendments which I beg to propose formally for your acceptance this evening. In Article VII, it is proposed to convert the words "any organisation" into "any primary organisation". The idea is that, if any man pays four annas, he is entitled to become under the article as it exists, a member of any organisation. Some difficulties have arisen in certain provinces, because, by virtue of the same four annas, people have claimed membership of the district as well as provincial Congress organisations, despite the fact that for membership of those organisations, a large fee has to be paid. Therefore, this small amendment is considered necessary.

In article VIII, instead of para 2, read as follows:—

No one shall be qualified for election who is not a member of any Congress organisation.

Article VIII as it exists, says;

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.

There is a small discrepancy in the existing arrangements, for, according to the existing law, any one may become a member of a Congress organisation, provided he is 18 years old and even a member of the All-India Congress Committee. A member of the All-India Congress Committee is an ex-officio delegate to the Congress. But then, there is the law that no one can become a delegate unless he is 21 years of age. In order to remove this inconsistency, the eligibility for delegateship is thrown open to all members and that is the amendment which is now proposed.

In the third paragraph, instead of "Last Census", have "Census of 1921". That is only a small verbal alteration to clear the ground.

In the seventh paragraph beginning with "The rules framed by each Provincial Congress Committee" to be deleted and instead of it, the following to be put in:

Notice of changes in the rules framed by the Provincial Congress Committee shall forthwith be sent to the General Secretaries of the Congress.

*Congress
Constitution.*

*Dr. B. Patta-
bhi Sitaramiah.*

In the eighth paragraph beginning with "Each Provincial Congress Committee", instead of "the 15th day of December every year" etc., have "10 days before the date fixed for the holding of the session. No changes shall be made in the list within ten days of the Congress. In case, however, of interim vacancies, the Provincial Congress Committees shall fill them in accordance with the rules made in that behalf, such rules having been communicated previously to the All-India Congress Committee."

*Congress
Constitution.*

*Dr.
B. Pattabhi
Sitaramayya.*

According to the existing constitution, the list of delegates is sent to the Reception Committee on the 15th day of December. But no provision exists for the sending in of the supplementary lists which may be occasioned when interim vacancies have to be filled up. For that reason, instead of putting "the 15th day of December" as a fixed and inalterable date which, of course, bears no relationship to the date of a Special Congress, (should one become necessary) we have put it as 10 days before the meeting of the Congress, and a provision is made for the filling up of the interim vacancies whenever they should occur in the ranks of the delegates.

PUNDIT JAWAHARALAL NEHRU seconded the resolution addressing the assembly in Hindustani.

*Pundit
Jawaharlal
Nehru.*

The PRESIDENT: I take it that there is no opposition to these changes. Those who are in favour of this proposition, please raise hands. Those against? Is there no opposition?

"None" was the reply.

The President said, "Resolution carried *nem-con.*"

—:0:—

The Independence Resolution.

The PRESIDENT: I call upon Pundit Ram Prasad Misra to move the resolution standing in his name. This was moved in the Subjects Committee, but was rejected. He then gave notice that he would move it in the open session. At present there is nothing in the constitution to prevent that. Therefore, it is brought on the agenda of the House. It would now be for the House whether it would support the Subjects Committee or agree to the minority resolution that is being moved here. I have been asked to inform the House by what principles this was rejected in the Subjects Committee. I do not think I should prejudice the result of the discussion here. It is a fact that it has been moved and rejected in the Subjects Committee. This House would now have to decide upon it.

*Independence
Resolution.*

*Pundit
Ram Prasad
Misra.*

PUNDIT RAM PRASAD MISRA (United Provinces) then moved the following resolution:—

Resolved that Article I of the Constitution of the Indian National

Congress be so amended that it may read as follows:—

"The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swarajya i. e., complete independence, by the people of India by legitimate and peaceful means."

The following is the English rendering of his speech in Hindi. (*Vide Appendix: Hindusthani Speeches.*)

*Independence
Resolution.
—
Pundit
Ramprasad
Misra.*

Mr. President and Brother Delegates !

This resolution, of which I gave notice to the President in the Subjects Committee, is about the Creed of the Congress. The present creed of the Congress is this: the object of the Congress is the attainment of Swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means. I will tell you what changes I propose in this. My amendment is that we should define clearly the meaning of Swaraj without hiding anything by implication. I will tell you the reasons that necessitate a change in our creed. You know the constitution well but let me tell you about it briefly. Our position will not be better until we clearly define our creed, and, if things continue like this, I fear we will become worse. Till the Special Congress of 1920, the aim of the Congress was merely to secure Self-Government to the country. But on account of the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs you were compelled to change your creed at Nagpur. Our indignation at the insult hurled at us was given expression to at Nagpur. Then the creed of the Congress was defined as the attainment of Swaraj. When you changed the creed of the Congress at Nagpur and introduced the word *Swaraj* into it, even then some big leaders questioned as to the exact meaning of that expression. Our leader, Mahatma Gandhi, and other national workers said: Swaraj includes both within and without the Empire. Whether within or without would be decided by the system of government which the Englishmen would adopt in our land. If the conduct of the Government in the ensuing year is satisfactory, we might choose to remain within the Empire. But if the Government by their behaviour would not make it possible for the Indians to remain within the Empire, then the word *Swaraj* in the creed meant complete independence. Brothers, it is three years since the Nagpur Congress was over. We completed one year's programme till the next Congress at Ahmedabad. Hopes were held out that Swaraj would be established. In the Ahmedabad Congress the great patriot, Maulana Hazrat Mohani, moved that the Congress should declare that *Swaraj* meant the attainment of complete independence by all possible means. It was true that Mahatma Gandhi did not accept it. Though there was much sympathy among the people, the resolution was not supported by many on account of the great personality of Mahatma Gandhi. You remember that the attention of the people was mostly claimed by the constructive programme when they opposed this change. News of compromise was current from all sides. The whole country was ready for Satyagraha. Before Bardoli the whole of young India was ready to reply to the high handedness of Government. But a crash has come down upon us since Bardoli. You know, this amendment to define our position clearly was seriously pressed both at the Gaya and Delhi sessions of the Congress. All these years this resolution about the creed is being recorded. This is being moved again before you. Brothers, accept this amendment since the Delhi Congress passed a resolution authorising a re-examination of constitution. You know that the Articles XXVIII & XXIX of the constitution are amended and accepted by you. When you are considering changes in the constitution, I want you to explicitly say that *Swaraj* means complete independence. After the Delhi Congress ordered a revision of the constitution, this question came before many Provincial Conferences.

At its Benares session attended by 5,000 people, the Provincial Conference of the United Provinces suggested that the creed of the Congress be so amended: as to define *Swaraj* in terms of complete independence. Remember one thing in this connection. Maulana Hazrat Mohani wanted to win Swaraj by all possible means. My amendment is this, that our goal is complete independence; but I want you the same by the peaceful means of Mahatma Gandhi. We should think of that Swaraj which satisfies thirty crores of people. I want to

discuss it from a political point of view. It is true India is under the control of the English. In our view some Dominions are enjoying a Dominion form of Government under the British flag. But India cannot accept such a position. Those Dominions are incapable of defending themselves both from inside and outside. India is a land of thirty crores of people. If all these people are imbued with the spirit of independence they can safely defend themselves from all internal and external aggression. India is a land of heroes. Our country abounds in natural resources. Please think of the nature of Swaraj you should aspire for. I wish that Independence be established wherever human life breathes.

*Independence
Resolution.*

*—
Pundit
Ram Prasad
Misra.*

A programme for one year was passed at the Nagpur Congress. The country followed Mahatma Gandhi and gave one crore of rupees and many volunteers. But if you now place before the country the ideal of Complete Independence, we can buck up and march on with former vigour. Then Vakils, young men and all will come off from their occupations and carry forward a great deal. My friends are using the name of Mahatma Gandhi to oppose this resolution. I say they have no right to use his name like this. Those that opposed Council-entry are entering the Councils in the new elections saying they are not matters of conscience or religion. They are ready to take up responsive co-operation. Some leaders are conferring with Governors with regard to Provincial autonomy and I tell you many are anxious to get Dominion status. But they are not substantial things at all. We have to try as much for these as we should for our emancipation. Kenya is staring us in the face. How can you avoid it? This question can only be solved by complete independence. We will put an end to such ideas if we change our creed to Complete Independence. If you remember that there are our brothers outside the country whose lot we should improve, you will accept this amendment. (Cheers.)

MAULANA AZAD SOBHANI seconded the resolution in Urdu. (Vide Appendix : Hindusthani Speeches).

*Maulana
Azad Sobhani.*

The following is the English translation :—

Mr. President, Brother and Sister Delegates !

I stand before you to support the resolution on Complete Independence moved by Pundit Ram Prasad Misra. I express my joy for three reasons. Firstly because, it is moved under the Presidentship of so great a lover of freedom as Maulana Mohamed Ali. Who can deny that there is no one who cherishes the idea of freedom in his heart more than Maulana Mohamed Ali? But he has told you the reasons that prompted his opposition to this resolution. He said that since the country is not ready, we should not change the creed of the Congress till some time hence.

The PRESIDENT: I have a right to speak about a personal matter. I did not tell you that was the reason. Another year's time is being given to the Government. Meanwhile, the Government should settle their policy. If the Government does not change its attitude within this year I will unfurl my banner. (Cheers). I am speaking by the way. My creed is the same as that of Mahatmaji. I will be in the British Empire if possible and go out of it if necessary. We shall settle it within one year.

*Independence
Resolution.*

*Maulana
Azad Sobhani.*

Proceeding the speaker said :

The cause of my satisfaction is removed. I really thought that Maulana Mohamed Ali was objecting to this on the ground that the country was not ready for it. From his speech it is clear that he is giving unnecessary time to the Government.

I express my satisfaction again for representing the view of a man who for two years by now has been giving strength to the idea of Complete Independence and who is against all half measures.

Thirdly, Mahatma Gandhi without explicitly defining Swaraj, gave an opportunity to the Government to come to the right path by giving us our due rights within the Empire. But instead, the Government did serious injustice to us. Government have imprisoned for six years Mahatma Gandhi, the prince of peace-makers and the embodiment of union. The Government have created for us the opportunity to think whether we should strive for complete independence or be satisfied with small reforms. I am glad even Mahatma Gandhi did not escape this *zoolum* as a reward for his goodness. This resolution is placed before you as a reply to that. In spite of his immense goodness towards the English and his desire to live with them amicably, Mahatma Gandhi was unjustly locked up in Yarrowada Jail. Can we bear to look at this? We can only put a stop to this injustice by advancing boldly along the path chalked out by him. We took this advanced step as the duty of those who understood his mind and realised his position amidst enemies. We shall send word to Mahatmaji that he is guiding us from behind the prison bars of Yarrowada. I hope you share the joy I feel in moving this resolution. Let us not go with empty hands from Cocanada for which we have been longing all these days. I am placing this resolution only after mature deliberation. People say, they do not have any objection for the word *Swaraj*. They say that no body can remove this word which also means complete independence. And, by so doing, it is argued, we will be delimiting the Congress. Some say that by moving this resolution an unbearable burden is being laid on the weak shoulders of India. By accepting this resolution you are told by many that you will be excluding the underlings of Government. I never subscribe to narrow views. I shall explain to you point by point and you can see if there is anything false in it. There is double meaning to it. It means complete freedom as well as something which may mean more or less than *Swaraj*. If you are not going to prepare the required ammunition to raze this wall of slavery, then why have you committed the mistake of bringing great patriots under this non-co-operation movement. We began this serious opposition to Government since then. Before that, both co-operators and non-co-operators sat together in this pendal. Why have you committed this mistake in the Calcutta Congress? Perhaps you did not like it then. By taking up non-co-operation the Congress has already undertaken the responsibility but you are ready to be satisfied with small things. Your opposition to this is not based on sound argument. My reply is that we changed co-operation into non-co-operation, not with the help of the many who talked but with the help of the few that sacrificed their all for the country. Those that are capable of sacrifice are a great asset for the carrying out of our work. You may say we will be attacked from all sides. My reply to that is this: Many may leave the Congress but from among the few that remain will rise brave souls that can readily sacrifice. Then it is for you to decide the plan of action. They will be the first to offer themselves at the altar of the Motherland and evoke greater sacrifice from the people and finally the whole country. No co-operator can lift his little finger against the course chosen by the Congress. Delegates from all firkas in the country are present here, but some may not be able to follow. Nevertheless they are at

liberty to remain in the Congress. Believe me, you will be gaining more by defining Swaraj than by keeping it undefined. Therefore change the creed. It may be narrow but it presents a high ideal that helps the nation to grow. It may look as if the Congress is limited in its scope, but I say, in spirit it is broadened. People in the distant corners of the country may not understand it fully but it is fruitful of results. The path chosen by co-operators is narrow in outlook and their demands are meagre. Accept the greatness of our ideal and the Congress will naturally grow in its usefulness. My friends say, that by defining Swaraj, we will be impeding the further progress of the Congress work. They say the Congress itself will be imperilled. For that very reason I ask you to keep your ideal high enough. People tell me that "complete independence" is included in the word *Swaraj*. If so, why should they draw back to say it unequivocally? If you concede that *Swaraj* is a high ideal, you should agree for the smaller changes also. An educated friend tells me we are placing the ideal of *Swaraj* too high. If that is too high, why are you reluctant to accept lesser things? Some say that *Swaraj* is even higher than complete independence but that term is now being taken to mean anything between Provincial autonomy and Dominion status. Therefore its meaning is indefinite. We can realise the full significance of *Swaraj* only after attaining complete independence and that is for the liberation of the world. Dominion Status is therefore secondary to *Swaraj*. Unfortunately the word *Swaraj* is being retained to be interpreted both ways. Why do people not accept the lesser of the two meanings of the word? They want to define it. We are told we should not vainly discuss about the meaning of a word but should work. If word cannot influence action why was the creed of the Congress changed and why was non-co-operation introduced? If you do not recognise the relation between word and action it is better you give up all discussion about words and follow the most expedient line of action. There is a great connection between word and deed. So also faith and action are mutually related. You cannot advance in work without the inspiration of a great ideal. There was no scope for great ideas to take root in your minds so long as you were not inspired by religion. I tell you of an illustration which pleases Maulana Mohamed Ali. It was announced that Mahomed was coming into this world. Then all the heathens that were down-trodden rose from their fallen position and followed the path of inspiration. So also we should chalk out an ideal programme to be followed by the nation. Much discussion has taken place and more remains to be told but the President wants me to be brief. I request you to give your decision after due deliberation and with firm belief. Let not personalities influence you. Place your hands on your hearts and with God above and the experience of the past three years before you, I ask you to think well and give your vote in favour of this resolution. I hope you will see this resolution passed in the Cocanada Congress under the Presidentship of Maulana Mohamed Ali. (Cheers).

*Independence
Resolution.*

—
*Maulana
Azad Sobhani.*

Shriyut N. S. VARADACHARI, (Tamil Nadu), said:-

*Sjt. N. S.
Varadachari.*

Mr. President, Ladies and gentlemen!

In announcing to you that I rise to oppose this motion I wish to state at the outset that it is no little responsibility that the movers of this resolution have undertaken. If they had but realised the fact that every time a resolution on Independence is moved and lost in open sessions of the Congress, it means that this assembly is paying homage to the existing British Government, unwittingly no doubt, they would probably have preferred not to press this

*Independence
Resolution.*

*Sjt. N. S.
Varadachari.*

motion. It is not suggested by the movers of this resolution nor is it a fact that the delegates either assembled here or the great democracy that lies beyond this House would rest content with the ideal of Dominion Status. Nobody in India is willing to be humiliated by allowing himself to be dragged at the fiery chariot wheels of an Anglo-Boer vendetta. The Kenya White paper has brought home to us what our position in the British Empire is. And, it is no doubt true that to work up to independence or full freedom is the only thing left open to every individual in this country who knows the distressing implications in the present position of our countrymen in the Empire. Further, gentlemen, it is also true that it is derogatory to the dignity of a nation like this to have such a limited ideal as Dominion Status. But what ought now to concern us most is not the clarification of so-called ambiguity in the Congress creed, but, how best to organise national effort so as to lead us to our goal. When Mahatmaji opposed the motion on Independence at the Ahmedabad Congress, what actuated his mind most was not any objection to the clarification of ambiguity in the present position but the anxiety to discover how best national endeavour could be directed towards the attainment of Independence as our goal. It is that frame of mind that I would respectfully draw your attention. We know full well that to-day we look like a people tired of war. It is one of the major ironies of our politics, and I deliberately say it, that the Indian people are feeling war-weary to-day though they have not risked so much as a skirmish. And, what ought now to concern us most is how to galvanise ourselves, weary and fatigued as we are, to renewed effort. No doubt that could be achieved not by patching up an artificial unity amongst us but by an earnest determination on one fact to march forward as one man, towards the ideal which we have deliberately chosen. It is that that determination is lacking to-day. If that were not so we would not have displayed such levity by putting forward this motion before the House, knowing full well that we risk the loss of this motion. I would humbly ask my friends not to be parties to paying homage to the existing Government but to vote against this motion advocating a change in the present Congress creed.

*Sjt. V. V. S.
Aiyar.*

Shriyut V. V. S. AIYAR, (Tamil Nadu,) in moving an amendment, said:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen!

I move the amendment that stands in my name. I want to substitute the words, "*which is possible only through the attainment of absolute independence*" for the words which the proposer has put in his resolution after "i. e.,"

I would tell you, friends, that it is with the greatest surprise that I see such a resolution opposed in this assembly of the Indian National Congress. After so many weary years of struggle we have recovered the right of speaking what is in our hearts, if not of doing what we desire to do. If, when we have obtained this right, gentlemen stand up and say that the idea of absolute independence should not be included in the creed. Well, I don't know how to characterise that attitude. (Laughter.) Leaders, I believe, will stand here and possibly oppose this resolution. But I would call upon you to think for yourselves and not be carried away by their arguments. I respect our leaders. The President will not give much time. But I will tell you in one or two words the arguments that some of our leaders might advance, because they have done it in the Subjects Committee. They might say that the word "Swaraj" is beautiful and therefore much better than the word "independence." Others might say that the word "Swaraj" is a safe word which can be interpreted in two ways and that therefore the wording of the creed should not be changed. Friends, it is something like what a mother tells her child when it wants sweets. "No," she will say

at one time, "the thing is too good for you, my dear child. You should not have it." At another time, if it asks for it again, she will say, "It will injure you, it will spoil your health." This is something like that. Our leaders will advance both the arguments. But let us think for ourselves. Let us recognise that the goal of the Indian National Congress includes the idea of political independence. We shall certainly be for Swaraj. Swaraj, as Deshabandhu explained to you so many times, is something more than political independence. Let us not however forget that it includes also political independence and it is for that reason that I would call upon the House to adopt my amendment which adds the words, "Which is possible only through the attainment of absolute independence." Do those who oppose this resolution believe that we shall be for ever in the leading strings of Brittainia? Let us remember that no power has lasted for ever in this world. At least in the declaration of our goal let us speak what is in our hearts; and in our heart of hearts, I believe, there is nobody who thinks that absolute independence is not our goal.

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—
*Sjt. V. V. S.
Aiyar.*

The original resolution, as it stands, wants the creed to be amended as follows: "The goal of the Indian National Congress is Swaraj, that is, complete independence by the people of India by legitimate and peaceful means." I would substitute for the words after "Swaraj" the following, namely,

"which is possible only through the attainment of absolute political independence."

I say that the words referring to political independence should be added in the creed, because the word "Swaraj" has been spoiled by having been used by the king of England in one of his proclamations, wherein he promises that he will allow us to attain Swaraj. I would say that the idea of those responsible for the proclamation in using the word "Swaraj" is to take off half the significance from the word itself. It is for that that I desire to redefine the word "Swaraj" by adding the words referring to political independence. Is it a sin for us Indians (who are 31 crores, as we are always used to say from different platforms) to declare that we want to be free? Shall we say that we are afraid of absolute political independence? I am glad that our President has said that within one year he will take courage in his hands and declare an Indian Republic, if certain things do not happen or perhaps if certain things do happen. But, what we say is, let us declare now that our goal, at least after a year, is political independence. Where is the harm in including this idea in "Swaraj"? Swaraj, it is said, is a beautiful word and connotes something higher. But unfortunately, that word has been degraded by being used by the Bureaucracy in its State documents and it is our duty to state in unmistakable terms what the people of Hindusthan desire their political goal to be. Again it is said that the Moderates would be afraid to rejoin the Congress, if the idea of absolute independence is to be included in our goal. Gentlemen who bring forward this argument never thought of the Moderates when they helped the non-co-operation resolutions to be carried by the Congress. It is only when they want to oppose a proposition which is in danger of being accepted by the Congress that they grow very tender towards the Moderates, and trot out the argument that if such a resolution is passed the Moderates will not reenter the fold of the Congress. I believe that after the Kenya decision, there is no Moderate in the whole of India that will say that his ideal is not political independence. But if there is such a Moderate, if there is such an Indian, he need not have any place in the Council of the Indian nation. Therefore, my friends, do not be deceived by the arguments that might be brought on the other side. I tell you, my friends, if you throw out

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*Sjt. V. V. S.
Aiyar.*

the amendment you would be publishing to the whole world that India does not want independence. I do not believe that any of you wants that effect to be produced. If you do not want this amendment at least pass the resolution as it is. But if you throw out both the resolution and the amendment, it will mean that the Indian National Congress and all the workers that have been working for independence do not want independence. And, the whole world will mock at us as cowards. I hope that the wisdom of this House will prevent such a catastrophe from happening. (Cheers.)

The PRESIDENT: I have received no notice from anybody to second this amendment.

*Sjt. S. Krishna-
swami Sarma.*

Shriyut S. KRISHNASWAMI SARMA said in Tamil "I formally second it, if there is no objection."

*Andhra Ratna
D. Gopala
Krishnayya.*

ANDHRA RATNA D. GOPALA KRISHNAYYA next rose to speak in Telugu, when there were cries from the assembly asking him to speak in English. Then, he said, "I shall speak in Telugu, while translating it into English where necessary.

THE PRESIDENT: My friends, everybody cannot be expected to speak in English and understand English. For the benefit of the Telugu-knowing people he may speak in Telugu. Will you please allow the speakers to speak in any language they like? [Turning to the speaker] You may speak in any language you may like.

The ANDHRA RATNA: I shall first give my statement in Telugu and then I shall put it in English too where it is important.

He then spoke in Telugu giving English here and there. (*Vide Appendix: Telugu Speeches.*)

Gentlemen, the purport of this resolution is this: The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swaraj, i. e., complete independence. That our aim should be towards Swaraj was defined by Mahatmaji and we were told that the word was comprehensive enough. Now a commentary is given on that word Swaraj as connoting complete independence. What is its underlying significance? It comes to this: that Swaraj should be one without any subjection to our Government and without any connection with it. This resolution came to light two years ago but it was then thrown out. Now it is introduced more vigorously than before. Our elders have considered this matter in the Subjects Committee. Prominent among our leaders, Sjt. Desabandhu Chitha Ranjan Das, clearly stated that the idea in the word *Swaraj* had higher significance than in the expression *Complete Independence*.

It is but meet to comment upon this in a different manner on the basis of our principles as advocated in our *Puranas* and *Ithihasas*. Just look here, Sri Ramachandra's strength could not be known to Ravana'sura.

श्लो. जानाति राम तवनाम रुचि महेशो ।

जानाति गौतम सती चरण प्रभावं ।

जानाति दोर्दल पराक्रम मीश चापो ।

जानात्वमोक्ष पदुवाण गति पयोधिः ॥

The prowess of Sri Ramachandra was not manifest in the killing of Ravana. It may be understood from this that the great prowess of Sri Ramachandra was estimated in the breaking of the Sankara's bow and the aim of the arrow was

chiefly manifested in the suppression of the pride of the visible manifestation of the infinite Sea. The Sankara's bow was the symbol of violence which was a great terror to the three worlds and it was in the breaking of this symbol of violence the distinguishing prowess of Sri Ramachandra was visible. The power of the arrow was manifest in the subjugation of the Sea that is symbolic of the Almighty in its depth, vastness and infinitude.

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D. Gopala
Krishnayya.*

Similarly, the greatest virtue lies in utilising this great institution founded by the whole nation more in giving righteous training to the Westerners who are ranged in the opposition and bringing them round to our side than in driving them away. Therefore, it is unbecoming and inappropriate to give a narrow interpretation of this word *Swarajya*, the choice expression of Mahatma Gandhi. This great expression of a postulate from the tongue of Mahatmaji ought not to be altered at all. (Loud Cheers).

DESHABANDHAVI DUVVOORI SUBBAMMA (Andhra) supported the resolution in Telugu. (*Vide* Appendix: Telugu Speeches.) She commenced her speech by reciting the following verses.

*Deshabandhavi
D. Subbamma.*

శ్లో. వాత్సల్యా దభయప్రధానసమయే ఆతార్తినివాపిణా ।
దౌదాయీ దవశోపణా దగణితాశ్రయః పదప్రాపణాత్ ।
శత్రువశోపతిరేవ ఒకజగతా యతేచ షడ్సాక్షిణః ।
ప్రహలాదశ్చ విभीషణశ్చ కరీరాటపాంచాల్యహల్యా ధ్రువః ॥

సీ. చెప్పినదంతయు చేసి తీరుటెగాని జరదాటియెరుగని శత్రుమూరి
ధారపోయుటెగాని తప్పలాపేక్ష సుంతయు నిచ్చుగింపని త్యాగరాజు
భీష్మించుటెగాని విడువేమి యెరుగని బ్రథితభీష్మచార్య వరసుకీరి
తనవలెనే సమస్తము జూచుటెగాని భవినార్థమెఱుగని బుద్ధమూరి
గీ. విశ్వకళ్యాణమెఱుగని విష్ణుమూరి
నివ్వతేజోవిభాసి గాంధీమన్నారి
అవని నాచంద్రితారార్కమలయనట్లు
దీవెనలాసంగుమా భారతీమతల్లి ('మహాత్మా గాంధీకిజై' అని కేకలు)

(Cries of "Mahatma Gandhiki Jai ")

The following is the English rendering of her speech:—
Mr. President, Brothers and Sisters !

Numerous patriots have assembled here from all parts of India. We find amongst them great national leaders, gallant workers, very enlightened men, and people of immense sacrifice. I am sorry I am obliged to stand up and address you. Still I feel it my duty to express my opinion.

Mahatma Gandhi preached non-co-operation and inspired all these great men for united action. That sage has left his wife and sons and is now in the Yarrowada Jail. It is our primary duty to get him released. Many people are disheartened, because of his absence. Several people have now spoken in favour of the independence resolution and several others against. In 1921, I spoke in favour of the declaration of independence but no resolution was passed. How long should we wait? Why should we be impotent so long? If we have no freedom to speak out this much, how shall we achieve Swaraj? When bangles are put on to the hands of a lady all of them should be put on at one stretch, otherwise it would not be easy to put them on afterwards. (Laughter.)

Independence Resolution. Everybody was enthusiastic when Mahatmaji delivered his message but now all are dispirited.

Deshabandhavi D. Subbamma. Shuka; the great Rishi, taught the king Parikshit that he should not grieve at his approaching death since man is mortal and that he should pray to God Vishnu and attain salvation. The great men of our country passed away leaving behind them the message that Swaraj is our birthright. I therefore request you to accept this resolution unanimously. If this point cannot be settled in this House presided over by Maulana Mohamed Ali no further propaganda is necessary. You may ask if Swaraj cannot be attained without my propaganda. I do not think that there would be any loss if I do not carry on propaganda. Everybody must do his bit and I will do mine. You know the proverbial squirrel that rolled its body in the sands and carried small particles and contributed its mite in the construction of the famous bridge of Sri Rama across the Cape. I am prepared to undergo all troubles and lay down my life in the cause of the country. I believe that Swaraj will soon be realised if people like me offer their lives in this *yagjna*. All are getting ready for this great sacrifice. Offer yourselves in a body. I have given up everything of this world; nor do I care for this life. Several European officers tried to persuade me to give security when I was in jail. They even sought to coerce me into submission. I was made to grind the flour. All these would have been agonies, if there was any attachment to this body. When the Bhakta, Ramadas was in jail, Sri Rama appeared before him. Please look at the grand old Bi-Amma, the mother of the Ali Brothers. She gave her two sons to the country, sent them to jail at Karachi and still continued to serve the country with unabated enthusiasm, forgetting the pangs of maternal affection. You should make an offering of your bodies. I appeal to you not to think that these great men are incompetent to achieve freedom. (Loud and prolonged cheers).

The PRESIDENT :—Mr. Gauri Sankar Misra will support the proposition.

When SHRIYUT GAURI SANKAR MISRA rose to speak there were huge cries of 'Hindi', 'Hindustani', 'English'.

The PRESIDENT :—Order, order!. Every member is at liberty to speak in the language he wants to speak.

A delegate :—We have lost a day before and this day also we are going to lose. We must do something for the country instead of having an endless debate.

The PRESIDENT :—This is what we do. Everybody wants to speak.....

Another delegate :—The President will have to find that this controversy cannot be put a stop to.

The PRESIDENT :—You can do it by voting it down. If this House wants a closure it can move it at any time.

As Sjt. Gauri Shanker Misra began to speak in Hindi, a gentleman moved for the closure.

The PRESIDENT :—I think it is not proper to move a closure at this time. [Turning to the speaker] You may proceed with your speech.

PUNDIT GAURI SANKAR MISRA supported the resolution in Hindi. (*Vide Appendix : Hindusthani Speeches*).

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The following is the English translation :—

*Pundit Gauri
Sankar Misra.*

Mr. President, Sisters and Brothers !

I am astounded that in this Congress, the only national assembly of India, the resolution of complete Independence is being opposed by the young and old. If there is any country on the face of the earth in whose national Panchayat Independence is opposed, it is India. (Cries of "Shame, shame"). How much I wish the younger generation should demand that the leaders should place before us the ideal of complete independence. The resolution placed before you wants to lay down that the aim of the Congress is the attainment of complete independence. My Andhra friend, the General Secretary of the Congress, told you that complete independence is a small thing. He told you that the word Swaraj contains everything. Afterwards another young man who is tired of fighting also opposed this. The effect of slavery is still great in India. It is no wonder we hear young men and old speaking against independence in this land of ours. After three years of fight what are you going to proclaim from this great assembly ? Do you want to remain in the Empire or do you quit it ? But it is said that if you introduce complete independence as your goal some people will leave the Congress. What is the danger if they so leave the Congress ? Many had to leave the Congress even according to the present constitution. Those who leave the Congress will blow the trumpet of complete independence in the country. They will lead the vanguard by their tremendous sacrifices. Mr. Vallabhai Patel and Mr. Vithalbai Patel say that it is a wrong step for the Congress to take. Yes, they are the leaders of slaves and you cannot expect anything greater from them. Is it a light affair to place complete independence as our goal ? It is ridiculous that young men who want complete independence as their ideal, are being discouraged. If others hear of this, they will certainly say that the leaders who cannot see good in complete independence are lagging behind. You may, like our elders, oppose this resolution, but we will not be discouraged. We understand that our slavery is so deep-rooted and only feel sorry for our misfortune. It is said this resolution is impracticable. All the countries in the world have great ideals for their guidance. They might not have been able to follow them up in practice. True, the aim of our Congress is Swaraj. But you have shrouded it in doubt. On account of this, Mr. Vithalbai Patel says, we should have connection with the English. Some say, Dominion Status is enough. Others are interpreting Provincial autonomy as Swaraj. (Cheers.) Even in this year, 1924, in the twentieth century, do you want to keep the aim of our Congress stale and enveloped in doubt. Your aim must be complete independence. It is feared that some will leave the Congress. But complete independence includes Dominion status and provincial autonomy. Liberals and Moderates too can stay in the Congress. It is not a shameful thing to have a great ideal. Our ideal should be high. I do not want to say anything more. Think deeply and exercise your vote. If you think Swaraj is a good enough word, it is already there. Still you must clearly define it. Complete independence includes that. Please understand it well and give your vote. (Cheers.)

SRIMATHI SAROJINI DEVI who was received amidst enthusiastic cheers as she ascended the rostrum began to speak in English. Then cries of 'Hindi, Hindi, Hindi' and cries of 'English, English, Urdu, Urdu' were heard from all sides. She then spoke in Hindustani and next she addressed in English thus :—

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*Srimati
Sarojini Devi*

Friends, whenever I hear that pathetic and tragic cry of a slave for independence, I begin to realise the intensity of our slavery in the history of the world—whether in the past or in the present. They dare to be independent but the cry of the slave in his helplessness—in his mental, physical helplessness—is for a futile independence, that means nothing at all. What is Swaraj? Swaraj means that strength and that courage born of a perfect national unity that dares to share on equal terms with the rest of the world, the responsibility of freedom and a comradeship of responsibility. But you and I—day after day, year after year—quarrelling amongst ourselves, full of mutual suspicion, full of mutual rancour and full of bitterness, dare to talk of that independence which is only the outcome of only a disciplined national unity, that knows how to subordinate all merely individual, sectarian or communal interest, and gain and greed, for the sake of common good. Do not let me hear of the Indians and India with a great spiritual heritage behind it, with a great legacy of liberty to leave to posterity, do not let me hear of cheap, Western easy things like words, “independence”. (Hear, hear). Let us realise that bigger ideal that results out of its own purposes, but that by consolidated and steady discipline of the nation, annihilates once for all the internal slavery of a disunited people, and then united, say to the rest of the world: “Here are we with you in that interdependent Commonwealth of common human responsibilities, in which a united India dares to be one with you—not isolated, not ringed round, not separated by that refuge of the weak called Independence, but without partitions, without walls, without barriers, but on a common ground of endeavour sharing the common heritage of a common dream realised by a common contribution by the progress of humanity.” (Loud Cheers.)

PRESIDENT :— I call upon Ram Narayan Singh of Behar to speak.

I wish to say I have to get through the programme. There are still names given to me and they should be given an opportunity to speak. I shall ask the House so that there might be no complaint that speeches on one side were not allowed.....

A delegate :- Well, the President will please let us know how many more speakers there are.

Then there were some cries from the audience, obviously expressing tiredness due to prolongation of the debate.

President :- Please sit down. I shall conclude the debate in my own way. Please sit down. (Again, when there were cries) Order, order.

A delegate :- I think the President should take the sense of the House.

President :- I call upon you to order. Sit down. Sit down. (Cries of “Sit down.” and “Obey the Chair”).

When the House was maintaining order, the President said :—If the House is not in a mood to listen, to be patient, and if it goes on interrupting, every speaker would complain for want of time. I have got a deliberate plan to adopt.

Then Sjt. RAM NARAYAN SINGH, Behar, supported the resolution in Hindi. (*Vide* Appendix: Hindustani Speeches.)

The following is the English rendering of the speech:-

Mr. President, dear brothers, and sisters !

Of all the resolutions that come before you (cries of "too many speeches" "closure." The President thereupon emphasised the importance of the subject. Opposition subsided). Of all the resolutions that come before you and are yet to come before you this resolution is the most important. Congresses are being held for the last thirty-eight years. We have not as yet attained Swaraj. The reason is that we have not settled our goal, and have not decided what we want. Every year you gather at great expense but you do not know what to do. Brothers, remember why you are putting up with all this trouble. You do not know your purpose. This resolution clearly tells you what your purpose is. It means that we shall substitute the word *Complete Independence* in the place of the word *Swaraj*. "Complete independence" means a separate existence. We should sever our connection with General Dyer who was responsible for the Jallianwallah Bagh. Do you want to have anything to do with the Englishmen who are responsible for the atrocities of the Punjab? There is nothing to think of this. Let not your vote be influenced by others. Exercise your vote according as God and your conscience tell you. Mahatma Gandhi's name is being used here. You know in the Boer War Mahatma Gandhi recruited soldiers for the British. Also during the recent war he did the same. It is he that introduced Non-co-operation. I tell you that if Mahatmaji were here he would have agreed to this resolution of complete independence. After what we saw in Kenya we have no other option but complete independence. The President wants me to be brief. It is said that the people are not united. If there is no unity how so many of us could have gathered here. We are all one and united. We shall win Swaraj. We never went back. They say people are not ready, but we are ready. If we pass such resolutions we will certainly be prepared. With God in your minds, vote for it. Let this be your ideal. (Cheers.)

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*Sjt. Ram
Narayan Singh*

The President :—I call upon my "Big Brother" to address you. (Laughter.) I am sending you the biggest coward. (Continued laughter.)

MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI then ascended the rostrum amidst deafening cheers and cries of "Mahatma Gandhiki Jai", "Vande Mataram", "Allaho Akbar" etc., He then addressed the audience in Urdu and English, which was translated into Telugu by Andhra Ratna D. Gopalakrishnayya sentence by sentence. Maulana, in opposing the resolution, said:—

*Maulana
Shaukat Ali*

Sisters and Brothers !

I am one of the biggest cowards of India. (Laughter). Whether I am a coward or a brave man, you know how much I honour this Government. I want all those, who want independence,—I want to ask them the reason why they did not ask for this independence two years ago. Since I have come out of jail I have been touring all over India seeing all those brave people, the cowards, the workers and all the talkers also. (Laughter). Every one I have heard saying to me: "Because Mahatmaji was imprisoned therefore this movement became cold". Where were these wonderful people then? Friends, it is painful for me to talk like this. All my anger, and all my hatred,—everything is reserved for the enemies of my Faith and my country. Even if any one of you were to tear me to pieces I cannot quarrel with you. You will be my brothers and friends always, (Hear, hear. Applause.) Well, I promise you if you — all those who are for

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—
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Shaukat Ali*

independence — within three or four months show to us and to the world at large that you are fit for independence, I will, on my own responsibility, call for a Special Session and we will unfurl the Flag of Independence. I go to Mussalmans and they tell me thus:- "Oh Khilaphat! No use; the Hindus are treating us badly; it is all the fault of the Hindus. Let us go and kill the Hindus." I go to the Hindus and my other friends and ask, "Come and work." They say, "The Mussalmans are getting out of hand. They are dreaming to put a Mussalman king on the throne of Delhi. We must kill them first." Before God I am declaring—I am speaking God's Truth. The Hindu is a *Sureman* i. e., a brave man in front of a Mussalman. When opposed to a mild Hindu the Mahommadan is one of the bravest of the brave. But when a question of this Government and the Englishman comes both of them are shaking with fear. I have no time to waste over empty threats. If you are ready to make this country free you will not find me on the side of those who want to keep it back.

Brothers and Sisters, from 4-30 in the morning I have been working. I am also fortunately presiding over the Khilafat Conference this year along with my brother whom you have honoured and given the Chair here. I told them the time had come for work. Within an hour we, in our Subjects Committee, passed 15 resolutions including one of practical rebellion! What has your Subjects Committee done in four days? (Cries of "Shame".) Our Mahatmaji is in Jail and we are discussing about January, February, March, and April!

[When asked by the President and others who were on the dais whether he opposed or supported the amendment, he said:]

Friends, Brothers and Sisters, I support the Creed which Mahatma Gandhi so wisely devised. That gives me and you all actual permission, if we can, to win independence and Swaraj within the British Empire. If not, we go outside. (Cheers.) I ask you all to stand firm by the Creed which Mahatma Gandhi has given us, provided as long as it gives the fullest scope to all our energies. I think we can get independence within it. I oppose all amendments to the present creed. (When asked by the President to say it clearly, he said:—) With these few words I oppose both the amendment and the resolution. (Cheers).

President's Remarks.

The President.

The PRESIDENT, MAULANA MAHOMED ALI, before putting the resolution and the amendment to vote, ascended the rostrum and spoke thus:— (Translated into Telugu by Andhraratna.)

I apologise to the House for having delayed the decision on this question so long. My position is a very difficult one. I have to stay the whole day long in the Subjects Committee. There discussions go on interminably, and nobody likes a closure; but I think sometime or other votes have to be taken, But even then it is not a closure. Those who are defeated there immediately serve a notice upon me like the Government and I am bound to obey it. (Laughter.) They give notice that they will move the same thing here. Now, there is no check whatever at all upon this excepting people's goodness. The President cannot give all the good sense he possesses to every speaker and the Congress gets the speakers it deserves. Everything depends on the Congress itself. You have to give your decision in such a way that it will prove to the world that you are sensible men. You must prove that you are not carried away by personalities. You must also prove that you are not carried away by empty rhetoric and you must also prove that you are not carried away by the desire for notoriety. This will depend always upon your votes. It is

in your power to stop all these things. People may impress you with their personality or with their desire for notoriety or with their rhetoric or anything else.

*Independence
Resolution.*

The President.

One thing I would like to say, because I was several times mentioned in the course of the debate. One speaker in seconding the motion said that he was bringing this forward because nobody was a greater lover of Freedom and Liberty, than myself. But when I said that I did not support him he dropped me like a hot potato. But it is not with reference to that that I wish to bring in one name. There are people who were yesterday shouting over a small matter, when they were victorious in a division,—“Mahatma Gandhiki Jai”.

said to them: “If Mahatma had been here he would have grieved over that shouting of that “Jai” for such a petty matter.” These were men who mostly called themselves Gandhites and yet to-day they are opposing Gandhi who had opposed this very thing at Ahmedabad and they are the very people who carry posters saying, ‘We believe in principles and not personalities!’ I don’t want you to be impressed by Mahatmaji’s personality. I don’t want you to be impressed by my personality. Least of all would I ask you to be afraid of the big bulk of my brother there! (Laughter). He won’t hurt a fly.

But I want you to take stock of the present state of the country. Several members in the Subjects Committee implored my friend, the mover of this resolution, not to bring it forward again. They said you will be compelling us to give our votes against this which might appear to the Government and to others that we are opposed to the principle itself or to complete independence. Several speakers and gentlemen on the dais said they would not like to oppose this resolution although they would vote against it because they don’t want it to be taken that they are against full and complete independence. But they said, “Look at the present state of the country.” At the Ahmedabad Congress Gandhiji deliberately rejected this. Have we gone forward since those days? Is there more Khadi more temperance, in the land? Is there larger Congress membership? Is there less of untouchability? What is it in which we have gained? And Shudhi? It is like a man who cannot meet the claims of his creditors and says to himself: “I will be a bankrupt to-morrow! Because, I shall be able to pay only four annas in the Rupee.” And therefore, he says, “Let me spend three annas or four annas more so that I need pay nothing in the rupee. Bankruptcy is all the same.” So the less we work for liberty, the more we shout for it, and we make ourselves the laughing stock of the world. As your President, please excuse me if I don’t want to be made the laughing stock of the world. This is all the explanation I have to offer to you about my own self.

I quote the words of my absent leader. They talk of complete independence, but they do not define what complete independence is. Swaraj is no Swaraj unless it makes India more completely independent in the sense that there shall be no slavery. If India is to be governed according to the will not of Indians but of outsiders, this is no Swaraj. But if India has to be governed according to the wishes of the Indians, that is Swaraj. But it is within the power of Indians to declare at any time whether they would like to have any connection with Great Britain or not and whether the connection is wholly incompatible with Swaraj in any sense, that is, to be ruled according to the wishes of foreigners. Therefore, that kind of connection is ruled out by the word ‘Swaraj’. It is possible to have a connection with the British Empire—a connection of freedom—so Mahatmaji said: Swaraj within the Empire if

*Independence
Resolutions.*

—
*President's
Resolutions.*

possible and Swaraj outside the Empire if necessary. I say the same. I am not afraid of proclaiming to the British Government that I am prepared to walk out of the Empire. But I am not ashamed to say I am prepared to live within the Empire but live as a free man. I gave them one year and give myself and give you one year. It is an ultimatum to the Government and it is an ultimatum to my friend who has moved this resolution. Let him show what work he does within the year. It is not sufficient to go to prison for six months under a special arrangement from the U. P. Government. Mahatma is not going to be sentenced to six months under special treatment.

[Sjt. Gauri Shankar Misra rose up from the dais and complained to the President that his (President's) remarks might prejudice the delegates against voting for his proposition.]

The President said:—"I am merely stating my own position."

Sjt. Gauri Sankar Misra : Am I to understand that you are stating your own position without reference ?

The President.—I say it is not enough, it is not difficult, to go to prison for six months or even six years. The difference between Mahatma and others is not that he was sent to jail for six years, but that he had loved India, that he had lived for India and worked for India. My position is this: Work like him for six, twelve months outside the jails and then go to prison. If at the end of that, you do not get Swaraj as a price for your work, I am your man. But if at that time I fail you, you have every right to say I have sold you. But if you think that you have done sufficient work to demand the prize of Swaraj, at once do it. If you cannot be influenced by the judgment of the Mahatma, I am sure you cannot be influenced by my judgment. I don't wish to prejudice you by what my position is. Because, obviously, you cannot be influenced by Mahatma himself. I want you to take my position entirely out of consideration. Vote absolutely freely, independently of what has been said by any individual. Judge for yourself. As I said in the beginning, you will be responsible for this judgment to God and to man. (Cheers.) I am here to register your judgment. But you are not here to register mine.

At the request of a delegate he then spoke in Urdu.

Proceeding next in English, the President said.—Now there is one amendment before you. I will put before you the small amendment moved before you by Mr. Aiyar unless he withdraws it. (A voice: no.) He does not withdraw it. Very well. This is the amendment:—The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swarajya which is possible only through absolute political independence, by the people of India by legitimate and peaceful means.

The President put it to vote and declared it lost. Votes were then taken on the main proposition and it was also declared lost.

The President then said: Now, I could foresee the result. But I was anxious that it should not be said they were in a minority and they were not given any chance. I allowed a large number of speakers. Well, it has been announced to you that the Subjects Committee meets at 9-30 P. M. and sits through the whole night. Since there is the Khilafat meeting, it will meet not this night but to-morrow at 8 A. M.

Proceedings of the day closed at 9-30 P. M.



The Indian National Congress,

The 38th Session.

FOURTH DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Monday, the 31st December 1923.



The Indian National Congress reassembled at 4-15 P. M. on the 31st December 1923.

Andhra Ratna D. Gopalakrishnayya : The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Desabhakta Konda Venkatappayya will occupy the Chair until Maulana Saheb arrives.

Then Desabhakta presided and called upon the choir of Brahmans to chant the Vedas.

The assembly heard with rapt attention the beautiful chanting of a hymn from the *Samaveda*.

Next Telugu, Hindi and Urdu national and patriotic songs were sung by a choir of volunteers, by Messrs. Katkar and Tadgarkar of Sholapur, by Master Madan, by Mr. Siva Sankar Rewal, by an Oriya and by Mr. Aktaranali.

Then the President arrived and conducted the proceedings. Mr. Gopala Krishnayya translated the Presidential remarks sentence by sentence.

Congress Departments.

The PRESIDENT: Ladies and Gentlemen ! I have to move a resolution from the chair. I believe copies have been distributed to you. At any rate it is a very short one. I think you will be able to hear me. Thank God, it is a very uncontentious resolution. The Subjects Committee did not take more than five minutes to pass it. I hope you will take still less. But it is a working man's resolution; it is a resolution for working men and working women. It really means nothing more than that. Resolved that the Congress do work. That's all. It is the shortest resolution on record. I will read it to you.

*Congress
Departments.
The President.*

Resolved that this Congress calls upon its Working Committee to prepare and submit at as early a date as possible to the All-India Congress Committee for its consideration a scheme of organisation of separate Congress departments for more efficiently, expeditiously and uninterruptedly carrying out the various items of the programme of constructive work under its supervision and control,

The second part says:

That the Working Committee should also submit a scheme of National Service of paid workers who would carry out the work of the various departments and provide adequate and efficient Central and Provincial Secretariats and local office establishments.

Congress
Departments.

The President.

It would be something like our permanent National Civil Service. The third part says:

That this Congress authorises the All-India Congress Committee to adopt these schemes with such modifications as it may deem necessary and to put them into force at the earliest possible date.

Various suggestions have been received for incorporation of this item or that item. All those suggestions should be sent to the Working Committee at the earliest date so that they may be incorporated in their schemes. Now I have nothing further to say but to recommend this resolution to you. I put before myself this ideal that at least during this year—probably, as far as possible, during the first six months of the next year,—we should at least have as large a membership in the Congress as the franchise which the Government has given to India—sixty lakhs. It is no use wasting hour after hour, day after day, in Subjects Committee discussions when we have got a small membership not going beyond a few lakhs. Every district, every village, every Tahsil, every Taluk, every province will have to provide ample funds, even the membership fees, for carrying on this organisation and also send in their contributions to the Central Body of the All-India Congress Committee to carry on the Central Secretariat. Of course, the details of it all will have to be worked out by the Working Committee and placed before the All-India Congress Committee. I hope you will authorise the All-India Congress Committee to adopt these schemes with such modifications as are necessary at the very earliest possible moment so that our work should not be hampered and we should be in working order before long. All this means expenditure of money. But that money will be well spent, only you will have got to earn that money by enrolling as many Congress members as possible. Six thousand delegates have been elected to the Congress. Every delegate can judge for himself how many Congressmen he has got to enlist at the earliest possible moment in order to raise the membership to 60 lakhs. No man has a right to go and say, he represents the nation unless he has behind him the men whom he has made the members of the Congress. And, those who send in their names to the President asking for five minutes to be allowed to explain, which five minutes expand into 20 minutes—those men, I think it will be right for the future President to ask them how many men are behind them, and not if their lungs were big and if they can speak for long. I will not detain you long. I will ask those of you who are in favour of the resolution to raise your hands.

Next the President explained the resolution in Urdu and put it to vote.

He declared that the resolution was carried.

The PRESIDENT:—I call upon Mr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya to propose the amendments of the Constitution.

Dr. B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA said:—

Congress
Constitution.

Dr.

B. Pattabhi
Sitaramayya.

There are a few more amendments to the Constitution which are coming in day by day.

Article XVII:—You are required to add another paragraph so as to provide not only for the audit of the accounts of the Reception Committee formed to organise the Indian National Congress, but also, what is more important and more urgent, the audit of the accounts of the All-India Congress Committee. The present rule only applies to the auditing of the Reception

Committee by the Provincial Congress Committee which in turn should send the Auditor's report and the statement of accounts to the All-India Congress Committee within six months. Now, the proposed clause runs thus:—

*Congress
Constitution*

*Dr.
B. Pattabhi
Sitaramayya.*

The accounts of the All-India Congress Committee shall be audited every year by an Auditor appointed at the annual Session. It shall be competent for the Auditor to call for and inspect the accounts of the Provincial Congress Committees.

Hitherto there has been no provision in the Constitution for the auditing of the accounts of the All-India Congress Committee. Now, in view of this rule, an Auditor should be appointed by the Congress every year and he is authorised to audit the accounts of the All-India Congress Committee and call for and inspect the accounts of the Provincial Congress Committees.

The next clause is,

The All-India Congress Committee shall take steps to ensure that the accounts of the Provincial Congress Committees are properly audited.

By this the All-India Congress Committee is invested with power to see that the Provincial Congress Committees' accounts are also properly audited.

There is a small misprint in the paper circulated to you. That is, Article XIX paragraph 1,—No change is intended to be made here.

Then Paragraph 4,—it should be read as follows :—

“The allotment shall be as far as possible on the basis of population according to the linguistic distribution of provinces as given in Appendix B”.

In the present rule it is stated that the allotment shall be on the basis of population 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 January 1921. All this discretion given to the All-India Congress Committee is unnecessary and should be omitted.

Then in Article XIX paragraph 7, it is said that the first All-India Congress Committee under this Constitution shall be elected on or before the 30th of June 1921 and that, till then, the members of the All-India Congress Committee recently elected shall continue in office. This rule was framed in order to provide for the reorganised constitution and it was in the year 1921. It has therefore no place in the Constitution and may be omitted.

The following is proposed instead of the existing rule:—

“Casual vacancies in the All-India Congress Committee caused by resignation, death or absence from India, or otherwise, shall be filled by the Provincial Congress Committee.”

This is a necessary provision which has been included.

In Paragraph 8, change '15' to '30'.

The existing Constitution makes it obligatory to call for a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee on a requisition sent by 15 members. Now that number is changed to 30. A new clause is also added to it in order to make

*Congress
Constitution*

*Dr.
B. Pattabhi
Sitaramayya.*

it possible for the All-India Congress Committee to consider additional subjects provided due notice has been given to the members of the same.

“When once such a meeting is requisitioned and convened, additional subjects may be brought up for consideration provided due notice has been given to the members of the same”.

Hitherto, strangely enough, there is no quorum fixed for the All-India Congress Committee. Now, according to the clause, the quorum for the All-India Congress Committee shall be fifty.

I formally propose these amendments to-day for your acceptance.

*Pundit
Jawaharalal
Nehru.*

Pundit JAWAHARALAL NEHRU seconded the motion explaining the amendments in Hindusthani.

The President put the motion to vote and declared it carried.

The Compromise Resolution.

The PRESIDENT : I call upon Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari to move the resolution standing in his name,

*The
Compromise
Resolution.*

SRIYUT C. RAJAGOPALACHARI ascended the rostrum amidst loud cheers and cries of “Mahatma Gandhiki Jai” and in moving the resolution, said:

*Sjt. C. Raja
Gopalachari.*

Mr. President, Sisters and Brothers!

I place before you a proposition which I want you to carefully consider and accept in case it meets with your approval. The first thing that we have to settle in this Congress is, what is to be our future work? We all know that the Congress as a whole is determined upon non-co-operation. But we have to decide what part of non-co-operation we shall work during the ensuing year, and in what manner we have to act under the leadership of Maulana Mohamed Ali during the next 12 months. We all know what Maulana Mohamed Ali wants us to do so far as he himself is concerned. He has told you already that we must concentrate on the constructive programme adopted at Bardoli not merely in policy, but in day-to-day work and with strenuous concentrated effort. I, therefore, want you to accept that programme of work, and if you do that, one part of the proposition that I place before you must be approved by you. You must decide upon carrying out the constructive work which is part of the non-co-operation programme.

Another part of the resolution which I place before you is a declaration that we still adhere to the principle and the policy of the Triple Boycott. I shall be brief, and therefore, straight and to the point. I want you to adopt the principle and the policy of the Triple Boycott as inaugurated and enforced by Mahatma Gandhi. I do not want you by this resolution to adopt the Triple Boycott in the sense that you should immediately and aggressively enforce the programme of calling off the lawyers, school boys and councillors. We must keep that principle as insisted and enforced by Mahatma Gandhi, before us. To carry out the constructive programme and to get the concentrated effort of the people, we want the atmosphere of non-co-operation as contained in the Triple Boycott. This foundation of the constructive programme is necessary to be reaffirmed, because I feel that the atmosphere in the country has been disturbed by what we have been talking and doing regarding the Councils. That declaration of policy, that reaffirmation of the Congress policy as inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi, forms the second part of the resolution.

Another part of the resolution is a clear expression of our determination not to undo what we did at Delhi or to disturb those who acted under the Delhi decision. It does not mean that we adopt that policy of compromise for future elections. It only means that we do not disturb what has already been done. These are the three things contained in this resolution. I have given them to you in the order of importance according to my opinion. I must place, before you an important consideration for adopting this resolution in the form in which I have placed it. It is that this resolution will be supported by Desabandhu Das and his friends from whom we have had the misfortune to differ up till now. (Hear, hear.) Why does he give his support? It is because he does not want a battle now; but simply wants you to accept the facts as they are. On the one part, we should not disturb what has been done at Delhi, and on the other part, he should not divide this House again over the programme which to him appears to be right and which the Congress has hitherto failed to accept. He does not ask you either to adopt his programme or to reject it. He recognises the fact that the Congress has the same policy to-day which it had before.

*The
Compromise
Resolution.*

*Sjt. C. Raja
Gopalachari.*

I do not think I need add anything more, except that, if an alternative were before you, whether we want a stronger resolution after a battle with all its consequences or whether we shall have this resolution which contains the substance of what we want; without the evil effects of a conflict and a battle I would certainly prefer the latter. I want those who agree with me in the policy with which my name has been always associated up till now, to rely upon themselves and not upon the services of others except in so far as they are pleased to give it. Each man and woman must depend upon himself or herself. At the same time, he ought not to do anything to prevent other people from assisting him. Where union is not possible, we should at least avoid the aftermath of a bitter war. But if we proceed with work and forget the passions of war, we might in the end get even union.

I shall not detain you further, but proceed to read the resolution which is as follows. Mr. Konda Venkatappayya will follow me later on and will read the resolution in Telugu. You will pardon me, therefore, if I read it only in English and allow time to other speakers who follow. What my friend has said, must be enough for all those who do not know English. [This is a reference to the translation of his speech into Telugu made by Andhra Ratna D. Gopala Krishnayya who was translating it sentence by sentence.] Those who know English might like to know every word of the resolution and therefore I read it:—

This Congress reaffirms the Non-co-operation resolution adopted at Calcutta, Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Gaya and Delhi.

Since doubts have been raised by reason of the Non-co-operation resolution adopted at Delhi with regard to Council-entry, whether there has been any change in the policy of the Congress regarding the Triple Boycott, this Congress affirms that the principle and policy of that Boycott remain unaltered.

This Congress further declares that the said principle and policy form the foundation of constructive work, and appeals to the nation to carry out the programme of constructive work as adopted at Bardoli and prepare for the adoption of Civil Disobedience. This Congress calls upon every Provincial Congress Committee to take immediate steps in this behalf with a view to the speedy attainment of our goal.

*The
Compromise
Resolution.*

*Sjt. C. Raja
Gopalachari.*

I do not place before you a more complete and detailed programme of constructive work, because each Provincial Congress Committee will have to consider what particular items are more urgent and necessary and possible, in each province the Executive of the Congress will consult each particular province in this matter and issue instructions. But one thing is clear, that we give a mandate to our Executive to concentrate on constructive work.

Details with reference to the propriety of words and phrases in this resolution have been thoroughly threshed out in your Subjects Committee which has recommended to you this resolution in the form I have proposed it. I want you, therefore, as a National Assembly of men intent on business to accept this resolution without further doubt or discussion about words. We do not want to ask those who have entered Councils to come out. The fact that we gave them permission at Delhi continues and we do not alter that permission. What was decided at Delhi remains without being extended by a single inch or fraction of an inch. Know also that it is not reduced by a single inch. That is all that I have to say. (Cheers)

*Desabandhu
C. R. Das.*

DESABANDHU CHITHA RANJAN DAS who was lustily cheered as he ascended the rostrum to speak, said:—

Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in seconding this resolution. I do so formally now and reserve my speech, if there is any necessity for it later on.

The PRESIDENT:— I call upon Sjt. Jagat Narayan Lal, Behar, to move the amendment standing in his name.

*The
Compromise
Resolution:
Amendment*

*Sjt. Jagat
Narayan Lal.*

SHRIYUT JAGAT NARAYAN LAL in moving an amendment to the resolution spoke in Hindi. (*Vide* Appendix: Hindusthani Speeches).

AMENDMENT :—Delete the word *Delhi* in the first paragraph and the word *non-co-operation* in the words "by reason of the non-co-operation resolution adopted at Delhi" occurring in the second paragraph.

The following is the English rendering of the Hindi Speech.

Mr. President, Sisters & Brothers!

I have been thinking of placing my amendment before you a few minutes hence. But I have stood before you as the President has called upon me to move the amendment now. Gentlemen, it is with much regret that I come forward with my amendment to my revered leader's proposition. I think it is but meet that I should in this House express myself and the opinions I have in my mind without any reference and regard to personalities. Brothers, Sjt. Rajagopalachari has moved a resolution before you and with immense pleasure Deshabandhu Das seconded it without making any speech. I presume that you would accept it with a few more speeches upon it. I think on the other hand that you who have come here representing various districts and provinces know what you should do. I have been hearing people say from the platform th the speakers here are merely speech-makers without doing anything. I am not going to make anything like a speech here. Unfortunately, I was a Vakil; notwithstanding, I beg of you, for God's sake, to kindly save this country from the hubbub of these big Vakils.

Gentlemen, what is the resolution placed before you? It reads thus:—"This Congress reaffirms the Non-co-operation resolution adopted at Calcutta,

Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Gaya and Delhi". My brothers, just consider carefully, what this resolution means. What is the meaning of "reaffirm"? I ask you, is it a play or joke to confirm what we have already done? It is nothing like that, I believe that graduates will surely understand what the word "reaffirm" means. I ask you, sirs, if the resolution passed at Delhi is acceptable to you even to-day. Do you still accept it? (No, no.) I am not asking you to put it into force. I wish that it should not be executed. What does "reaffirm" mean? It is a thing already finished. There is no need to confirm it now. There can be some meaning in confirming but not in deleting it.

I have now received a piece of paper. (Laughter. Obviously because the speaker was informed of the time-limit.) There will be no more speakers on this amendment to come after me. The old gentleman, Babu Hardayal Nag will come here to speak in his feeble tones. I, therefore, request the President to excuse me if I take a little time more.

Sirs, if you want to reaffirm, you better reaffirm only the non-co-operation resolution passed at Calcutta, Gaya, and Ahmedabad. There, you find the principle laid down and we are prepared to adopt it. My second point is that the word "Delhi" in the resolution should be deleted. I am neither confirming nor cancelling the Delhi resolution. The second part of the resolution says: "Since doubts have been raised by reason of non-co-operation resolution adopted at Delhi with regard to Council-entry....." Brothers, I ask you, do you mean to say that the non-co-operation resolution was passed at Delhi or was it passed to bring the non-co-operation to an end? Better consider and examine it yourselves. It can be taken into account so far as there is any connection with non-co-operation. I tell you, don't you be carried away in the flood of Vakils' arguments. The thing is that we are wishing for one thing and they are wishing for another: they are endeavouring to carry their word. Brothers, if you adopt non-co-operation you must adhere to some principle. But if co-operation with Government is treated purely as a game, then this also is not non-co-operation. The principle of non-co-operation is what the country has till now been trained in. These people who have done great service are now saying that nothing can be achieved if non-co-operation is removed and if they think they are non-co-operators. Brothers, it is my misfortune that I am being ridiculed every time when I say that on this platform there are none who work but talk empty words. For the last three years there has been no leisure for us to give up work and talk. For God's sake, don't be misled by captivating orations. It would suffice if the words "Delhi" in the first paragraph and "non-co-operation" in the words "by reason of the non-co-operation resolution adopted at Delhi" occurring in the second paragraph, should be removed. Please excuse me my brothers, for having taken a few minutes of your time. (Cheers).

The PRESIDENT: I call upon Sriyut Hardayal Nag to speak on the amendment.

SRIYUT HARDAYAL NAG, Bengal, next spoke on the amendment thus:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen!

The resolution put before you by Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari is this: "This Congress reaffirms Non-co-operation resolutions adopted at Calcutta, Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Gaya and Delhi." Well this is the first clause of the resolution. I submit, in this part of the resolution the sting lies in the tail,

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Compromise
Resolution:
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*Sjt. Jagat
Narayan Lal.*

*Sjt.
Hardayal Nag*

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—
Sjt.
Hardayal Nag.

i. e., in the word, "Delhi." Probably, you understand me and follow me that in "Delhi." lies the sting. You know, you are to know, why this is put like that: only to worship personalities at the sacrifice of principles. Now, you have been hitherto—worshipping principles and not personalities—in voting, in exercising your power of franchise, you will do your duty having in view that principle is to be worshipped and not personalities.

In the second clause, "Since doubts have been raised by reason of the Non-co-operation resolution adopted at Delhi with regard to Council-entry"—you see here, once it is said, "Non-co-operation resolution," again it is said, "Council-entry." This combination is not clear. However, I want you to delete the word "Non-co-operation" from the resolution. Here the "Non-co-operation resolution" has no proper place and therefore it should be deleted from here. The word "Non-co-operation" is placed here only to please personalities and no other. I wish to place before you one thing. Well, don't compromise your principles. At once I must say that compromise presupposes quarrel. There is no quarrel between us. Until and unless there is real friendliness and until and unless there is real unity such compromise will never work. So, I ask you, my friends, to delete these words, "Delhi" and "Non-co-operation," from the first and second parts of the resolution. This resolution is commonly called the Compromise Resolution. While, in the agenda paper you will see another amendment which stands in the name of our worthy friend and which is to be moved by my worthy friend, Babu Shyam Sundar Chakravarti. And, this resolution should be called the Peace Resolution. It is between this so-called Compromise resolution and the Delhi resolution. That resolution is the proper compromise. (Laughter). With these few words I second the amendment. (Cheers).

The PRESIDENT:— I call upon Babu Shyam Sundar Chakravarti to move his amendment.

Another
Amendment

—
Babu S. S.
Chakravarti.

AMENDMENT:— This Congress reaffirms its adherence to the programme of non-violent non-co-operation including the Triple Boycott as inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi as the only means of attaining Swarjya and calls upon the people to take further steps towards the fulfilment of the programme by

- (i) mobilising the public life of the country through the Congress so as to increase its hold on the people and maintaining an attitude of dissociation from the legislatures,
- (ii) establishing *Panchayats* for the private settlement of all disputes and by refraining to Government courts,
- (iii) organising national institutions for the education of the youth of the country and dissuading attendance at schools and colleges run under Government auspices,
- (iv) increasing the production and use of Khaddar,
- (v) abolishing the sin of untouchability, and,
- (vi) achieving national solidarity by strict adherence to the principle of non-violence in all matters of inter-communal relationship and producing the spirit of brotherliness between the Hindu, Mussalman, Christian, Parsi, Sikh and other inhabitants of the country.

Before Babu Shyam Sundar Chakravarti came up the rostrum, a baby of 5 years came up and began to deliver a sermon asking people to spin at the Charkha and wear khaddar. He was then lifted up amidst enthusiastic cheers by Andhra Ratna Gopalakrishnayya.

*The
Compromise
Resolution:
Amendment.*

SRIYUT BABU SHYAM SUNDAR CHAKRAVARTI who was given a thundering ovation on his ascending the rostrum, addressed the House thus:—

*Babu S. S.
Chakravarti.*

Mr. President and Fellow Delegates !

I shall begin to move my amendment to the resolution by making a humble request to all my elders and leaders to accept it in the spirit in which I now happen to bring it before you. I cannot put it too strongly that I am not proposing this resolution for a party triumph. All that I feel called upon to do, as a humble servant of the country and of you all, is to consider my presentation of the state of things as they affected—not principally you, not principally me who am an insignificant factor in this movement but an obscure man. Now go to the villages and confront the real difficulties in the way of the prosecution and execution of the Non-co-operation programme.

Gentlemen, if you believe me, I have had never such anxious moments in my life, I could not have even a wink of sleep since I set my foot on the soil of Cocanada. You can very well appreciate and realise what it is to have to differ from friends on such vital matters and decide to work against their wishes. Had it affected me alone, I would have gladly offered to hide this struggling pang of conscious truth. But that is not the case here. The very future of the non-co-operation movement, in my humble opinion, is fraught with this resolution. I know that speeches and presentations of cases do not affect the opinions of men already formed. But still, I shall beg of you to consider the case that I shall put before you. My dear sir, I would have gladly, most gladly, with a sense of utmost relief, consented to the request of all my beloved and revered friends not to strike a jarring note, if I had been a participant of the weakness of the proceedings of the Subjects Committee this morning. I would have finished my Cocanada labours there and gladly traced my steps home. But what I saw there, what I experienced there, what I was a sorry witness to there, all have compelled me to bring this question up to this supreme tribunal before it is decided one way or the other.

My revered leader, Sjt. Rajagopalachari, says that it won't open the door of controversy. My dear sir, I say, seeing this is evil, is there any room for speculation, or surmise, or cogitation, or conjecture, or anything of that sort, after what I have seen this morning.....

The PRESIDENT: I would request the Hon'ble Member not to refer to anything that has taken place in the Subjects Committee. It is highly out of order.

[Then some delegates cried out, "Continue, continue." Some delegates protested that Shyam Babu was in order and said that the President's ruling was unjust.]

The PRESIDENT: It is highly out of order. I call you to order. (This was addressed to the remonstrators.)

BABU SHYAM SUNDAR CHAKRAVARTI: Gentlemen, I was led into these things only to make my points clear and not with the least intention of getting anything or any one discredited. If I had done anything of that

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kind, I think the President will forgive me. I had done it unconsciously without the least intention of giving any offence to anybody.

The PRESIDENT : Alright, it is a rule. There is no question of giving any offence. It is only out of order.

BABU SHYAM SUNDAR CHAKRAVARTI : Alright, thank you.

Continuing he said : Gentlemen, my friend, revered and esteemed friend, Mr. Rajagopalachariar, says that he has no difficulty in accepting my resolution except on one point, and that is that it causes dissociation from the Council Party. I beg to emphatically dissent from him on that point. My views on their activities and programme are well known. But still I shall be most sorry to be a party to anything that dissociates from the Congress whatever they might think about me. What I want to submit before you is this. If the confirmation, the reaffirmation of the principle and the policy of the Triple Boycott does not cause our agonising wrench from the Swarajists, why should we merely act up to the policy and the principle and do not do it? I am a little puzzled to reconcile these two things. The Council Party is welcome, thrice welcome, to remain with us. I shall compromise a little even my uncompromising no-change views, (laughter), if they as Swarajists go to the Council and lend their help to us in our constructive work. Only all that we say is, that in the interest of the effectiveness of the Congress work, only in the interest of the prestige and power of the Congress, in the interest of the indirect help that we otherwise count on the Congress itself, let them not in their Swarajist activities identify themselves in the Congress work. That's all our submission. And, in this respect, so far as I have been able to gauge their mind, they are also perfectly as one with us. Do their Liberal friends in power drive the Conservatives out of the Parliament or *vice versa*?

My dear sir, even if that is a dissociation to some of the Swarajists, this I shall say in mellowing parlance, that dissociation is sometimes helpful. Mahatma Gandhi, you know, is an advocate of non-violence. Does he non-co-operate with the present Government because of the feeling of hatred in him? Therefore, I do not at all understand Sj. Rajagopalachari's difficulties as to the question of dissociation.

My resolution is not concerned either with the confirmation or the jettisoning of the Delhi resolution. I only say, enunciate clearly, affirm, reaffirm, and thrice reaffirm the principle and policy of what is most important, the programme of non-co-operation. You are all afraid that if we again ask young men of the schools and colleges to come out, if we again ask the lawyers to come out of the Courts, and as they, most certainly, will not obey the order of the Congress, the Congress will be a butt of ridicule,—my dear sir, this very question was put to Mahatma Gandhi. When we, fifty of us, assembled at Bombay to sign the Karachi resolution for which the Ali Brothers and others were sent to jail,—I don't exactly remember if it was Mr. Patel, Mr. Jayakar, or Mr. Kelkar who referred to this point,—like honest men, they asked Mahatmajee, “do you mean to say that by our simply signing this Fatwa and the Karachi resolution, the army is going to be dissolved, the police is going to be dissolved” and so on and so forth? I was seated near him (Mahatma Gandhi), his words are still ringing in my ear. He said, “My dear sir, I know what you say, I have got my experience of it. When Maulana Mohamed Ali was taken away from my side at Waltair, there was a big gathering waiting outside to be addressed by him, and I was asked to address them. I consented with much reluctance. I said and appealed to them thus: You people of Waltair, now that Maulana Mohamed Ali has been taken

away from my side, can it not be expected that you should at least discard for the time being everything that is foreign and wear Khaddar?" And, he let us know with a grieving heart that the response was very poor. Then, when that Nankhana affair took place everybody knew who was behind it. Mahatmaji said he asked the people concerned then to think of driving out the army. He said with equal grief that the result was very poor. But, he said, duty, duty, duty has to be done. The programme inaugurated by him—and on which we have launched—has to be carried on. So, my dear sir, it is no answer to my argument if you want non-co-operation to go on, honest non-co-operation, then begin again this Triple Boycott or for the matter of that, multiple boycott. Don't fling in my face any statement that it will not succeed. Consideration of success or failure ought never to deter a worker from his course of action. Gentlemen, the people are embarrassed only a few minutes before; Mr. Siva Prasad Gupta was telling me that the most consistent resolution under the circumstances would be to ask the country to suspend non-co-operation for the time being. My dear sir, if you all feel like that, if you all feel that non-co-operation cannot go on, if you all feel that the Triple Boycott, or for the matter of that, any boycott, is dead beyond resurrection, have the courage, have the sincerity, have the honesty to say so and act accordingly. (Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya: Hear, hear). But don't be content with dubious ways.

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What I urge you to do and in all humility and with all the earnestness of which I am capable: Don't you create a desert of confused thinking and acting in the name of peace. Don't you take a leaf out of the Book of the Bureaucracy and cry for law and order, the hollowness of which Desabandhu Das has ably vindicated in his Presidential address at Gaya—to set the door against law and order.

Gentlemen, that is my humble submission. I am not here for vote-catching or anything of the kind by my speeches. I present my case before you, I again submit, I again say, I again assert, that there cannot be a constructive programme without the constant preaching of the idea of dissociation. We want enthusiasm in the country, we want fire in the country, we want feeling in the country. In that matter the Swarajists are absolutely right; and that enthusiasm cannot be created without any political impulse. So, behind your constructive work keep hammering in season and out of season this idea of progressive dissociation. These are the chief words in your vocabulary. The leaders might be there, the followers might be there, there might be abundance of good wishes, but without the necessary motive force, you will be nowhere, without the active forces we will be nowhere. Did we not all experience when we were coming with the President to Cocanada from Secunderabad that the whole railway line was there, but it refused to carry us, because the steam engine got out of gear? So, there might be materials, there might be people to speak, there might be everything else that is necessary, but, do you find political impulse, the constant and ever burning idea in the mind and heart of the people that all this is meant for making the people free, free of every control other than the control of God? Unless this idea is always there, I shall tell you that we shall never, never, never succeed.

I think I have already told you the difficulties that Mr. Rajagopalachariar raised with regard to the acceptance of my amendment,—it is only a reaffirmation of the Bardoli programme making explicit everything that was implicit there, dilating on its salient points, helping the country to concentrate on a few things in order that the non-co-operation movement may gain in strength and efficiency what it loses in width and comprehensiveness. Gentlemen, either co-operate or non-co-operate, but don't you make this supreme representative

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body of this country understood by the people that the Congress says one thing and does another thing. *Ne me hakim khathre jan, ne me moulvi khathre iman.* A false physician kills life, a false Moulvi kills faith. Don't you place yourself under the charge of a false physician. Don't you place yourself under the charge of a false religious preceptor. Don't you place yourselves that you are going to be destroyers of an ideal by seeming incompatibility in your programme and principle. I don't say that my leaders have not their own justification for bringing forward this resolution. I quite sympathise with them. I quite appreciate them. But they will, I am sure, be liable to the charge contained in a Samskrit *Shloka* of the great grammarian, Panini. It runs thus;—

*Kacham kanchana mani meka sutra gradhnati bala natatra vichitram
vishesha vid panini reka sutre shvanam ivanam maghavana maha.*

It is not at all surprising that a simple unsophisticated child draws on the same piece of thread a valueless piece of glass, a precious piece of gold and a pearl, but the great and learned Panini, specialised as he was in Grammar and prescribed rules,—such great grammarian, Panini, said in the same rule, used such inadequate words, as dog, boy and Devendra in the same rule bringing them all in one line.

Whatever be the moral strength or necessity of the resolution of my leaders, I have absolutely no doubt that they laid the same charge which the Pundits laid against Panini. Don't you confuse them. I conclude my speech. I won't take up much of your time but say this. I have come here neither for applause nor for any opinion about my speech, but for light, for guidance, for your considered opinion, for your decree and verdict on the case that I have presented to you. If you feel that I have been able to meet all your objections I need not tell you what you will have to do. But I have nothing to say to those—they are perfectly out of court with me—who don't attach any importance to the decrees and decisions of the Congress. I know that the country has learnt to attach great importance to them. Therefore, I say, my dear brother delegates, let the Indian National Congress grow higher and higher in the appreciation of the world and do not stultify your consent to things which you don't understand. (Loud and continued applause).

The PRESIDENT : I call upon Sjt. Vallabhai Patel to speak on the resolution.

SRIYUT VALLABHAI PATEL said:

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen!

I rise to give my support to the resolution that has been proposed by Sjt. Rajagopalachariar. This resolution gives us all what is possible and what is expected under the present circumstances from this platform for working out the constructive programme. You have heard the two speakers. (Maulana Shaukat Ali shouted on the dais "Vandemataram" "Vandemataram" and it was continued by the audience welcoming Dr. Ray to the Chair.)

At this stage Dr. P. C. Ray occupied the Chair when Maulana Mohamed Ali vacated it for a few minutes.

Sjt. Vallabhai Patel continuing said :—

Of the two amendments the second amendment especially is intended to provide for taking steps in furtherance of the Triple Boycott as soon as circumstances would permit. I feel that any attempt to work in the direction of the

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Boycott of Councils at the present moment is not only not possible but is to my mind somewhat unfair. It may be alright for those to whom it is open to say that the Delhi resolution was a mistake. Those who did not attend the Delhi sessions or those who then opposed the Delhi resolution are entitled to oppose the resolution here also. But it seems to me that it would not be fair to work in that direction now. Because, it is not a resolution like the resolution of the Boycott of British Goods or like any other resolution that has been passed at Delhi and which is still to be worked out. The resolution that has been passed at Delhi with regard to Council-entry has already been worked. It is a fact accomplished. And you cannot ignore the fact that a large number of voters in this country have voted in pursuance of that resolution: that a large number of Congressmen have entered into the Councils by the support of the voters who gave us votes in consequence of that resolution. Immediately after that resolution has been worked, do you think it advisable, do you think it proper to rescind the Delhi resolution or to do anything in the way of condemning the entry into the Councils? It is to my mind futile and at any rate not honourable. The resolution that was passed at Delhi and that has been worked out by the country giving tremendous success to the Swaraj Party makes it impossible for us now to say that we shall alter that resolution here because we committed a mistake. I would be the first to take the very first opportunity, at a psychological moment to work in that direction, but I feel any attempt in that direction will at present ruffle the public mind and create tremendous difficulties in the work that we have before us in the near future. I am conscious as much as any one in this House that Constructive Programme is the most difficult programme that can be conceived and it requires an allround inspiring atmosphere which can be generated only by the complete dissociation with Government institutions, and that programme can thrive only in the revolutionary rejection of all association with Government institutions. But keeping the principle and the policy in tact we must as practical men wait for a psychological moment when that programme can be worked, when you can go to people for asking the Councillors to come out of the Councils. But to-day I am sure a large number of the delegates themselves have, if not voted, at any rate, supported the Swaraj Party candidates in getting their success. Many of them have wished their success. To my mind no attempt can be made to reverse what has been done. In my opinion it would lower the prestige of the Congress. I therefore feel that in this resolution you have got the maximum that is possible under the circumstances. It may be possible a few months after, when the Councils are worked for some time and after they have tried their experiment there in one sitting or two sittings when they themselves find out that they cannot work out their own programme nor can they fulfil the promises given to their electorate then would be the time for a revival of the programme of the Boycott of Councils. But I have got a right to ask even from those who are going to the Council, and I am told they are willing to give it, that the people should not expect anything from these Councils. I believe that the mind of the nation should be diverted from the Councils to the constructive work. The mind of the people should be directed on one thing and one thing alone, namely this constructive programme. So long as the work is done in the Councils we will wait in vain and we will have to wait for a long time till we once again realise that our salvation depends upon standing on our own legs: we will have to go and tell the people that the Councils will not give what we want: let those who went to Councils try and do what they want: we don't want to quarrel with them and they don't want to quarrel with us. It is quite true that if we can work for the Triple Boycott the constructive programme would be worked out very rapidly; but nobody would venture to say that under the present circumstances it is possible to conceive of the methods by which a boycott of the

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Councils can in any manner be affected. Then if there is a programme which does not compromise your conscience, which does not compromise your principles and which gives an opportunity for both parties to work without quarrel in peace, and in their own way, why should we reject that opportunity? I am not for fight for the sake of a fight, I am not for a quarrel for the sake of a quarrel. I fought for a year and a half against many odds but at last unfortunately had no alternative but to accept the inevitable at Delhi. Now, I ask gentlemen, would you consider it advisable or honourable to do anything which would appear to man that you intend to reverse the Delhi resolution? It is all very well to say 'Down with Delhi'. But you have to go out from here to-day or to-morrow to the people and if you tell the people "Down with Delhi" they will say "Down with you." (Laughter). You will not be able to advance your cause. That will not give you what you want. Because those that voted under the Delhi resolution will not be in a mood to hear you "Down with Delhi." They will at once say you bear ill-will to your co-workers, and your leaders, because they have gone in a different direction. There is nothing in this resolution which says against this programme. Therefore, I give my whole-hearted support to this resolution that has been proposed. (Loud cheers).

The PRESIDENT: I call upon Maulana Azad Sobhani to speak.

MAULANA AZAD SOBHANI then spoke in Urdu. (*Vide* Appendix: Hindusthani Speeches).

The English rendering of the speech is as follows:—

Mr. President! I request you to allow me to support the amendment without any speech.

The PRESIDENT: Alright, that is over. (Laughter).

*Maulana
Azad Sobhani.*

MAULANA SOHBANI: Dear brothers and sisters, permit me, however, to say a few words. Now, there are two resolutions before you: one of them is said to be a resolution and the other an amendment to it. But both of them may be considered as resolutions. One is a compromise resolution and the other a non-co-operation resolution. You have to determine which of them is acceptable to you. You have to say which you adopt and which you reject. You have got the right to accept either Mr. Rajagopalachari's compromise resolution or Babu Shyma Sundar Chakravarti's non-co-operation resolution. Brothers, I come here to support the non-co-operation resolution, and, I advise you also to give your support to it. I have already told you that one is a compromise resolution. I must tell you why they are so. You may have heard praiseworthy speeches laying great stress on the compromise resolution. But, however, I shall try to tell you why it should be thrown out.

My brothers, the Acharya's resolution is a compromise resolution. It means that you would be adopting the compromise resolution passed at Delhi. If you adopt what has already been adopted, it comes under the same category. That which is adopted, reaffirmed and supported, must be called the compromise resolution. The Acharya's resolution reaffirms the Delhi resolution. Therefore, his resolution became the compromise resolution, and it cannot be otherwise. Mr. Achari and his supporters might argue that it was not a compromise resolution but was explicit of non-co-operation. But just consider, my brothers, what the first part of the resolution says. There you would see the reaffirming of the Delhi resolution. Whatever may be in the second part of the resolution, it cannot contradict what is contained in the first part; because, there is express reaffirmation of the Delhi compromise resolution in the first part. It should

be a mistaken view to introduce it here in this resolution. Since doubts have arisen about the Delhi resolution, it is now attempted to clear them by adopting it here in this manner. If it is true that by bringing the Delhi resolution into the first part of this resolution, or by keeping it in any amended form, the resolution must be self-contradictory. So the reaffirming of the Delhi compromise resolution has no place here. It must be explicit without any contradiction between the two parts. When there is no connection it must be a compromise resolution.

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There is one thing here for your consideration. Which do you like, pure undiluted non-co-operation or conglomerated compromise? If you like the compromise resolution, you are welcome to accept the Acharya's resolution; it is but meet that you accept his. No method which is genuine, pure and undiluted has yet resulted and will result by the adopting of a compromise resolution or a compromise programme. Remember that such a confused resolution may be passed if these three years were not spent in pure undiluted non-co-operation and if no plans were hatched up from time to time to have compromise with co-operators. Can contrivances for compromises, and empty words and speeches pave the way for the advancement of this country? The insight and wisdom of Mahatma Gandhi is in those pure, upright and undiluted principles which he set forth before the country. There is no reflection of compromise in it. Your country has been going along the right path. If perchance you go along the defective path, if you take the hazardous course, leaving the principle hitherto followed on some pretexts of compromise, unfitness of the country, influence of personalities and the like, you will have to go home with friendliness: you cannot go with any programme in your hand. When you go home and sit with your friends, you will not be able to say anything as to what you brought from Cocanada. Therefore, my dear friends, you must continue the course you have till now adopted, until you reach the goal set forth. (The bell rings denoting the time-limit of the speaker.)

The PRESIDENT: Time is up. The time fixed is over.

The speaker said: Then, please allow me some time to conclude my speech.

The PRESIDENT: Yes, alright.

The speaker continuing said:—

This is my misfortune. When I wanted to express my views this time-limit should be removed. My last word to you is this. Don't be influenced and swayed by personalities. This resolution is but illusory and contains nothing in it. If any right path is suggested to you therein, you must follow it. Just remember this. What is that right path? You find it in Babu Shyam Sundar Chakravarti's resolution. It is an unkind, cut and dry, upright path. In it is the sacred principle: in it, is self-sacrifice. Therefore, I beg of you to accept it. Then you may go along the path of salvation safely. Please don't accept any other resolution. (Cheers).

The PRESIDENT: I call upon Mr. Venkatappayya to speak.

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DESABHAKTA KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA who rose amidst enthusiastic cheers spoke in Telugu supporting the resolution. (*Vide* Appendix Telugu Speeches).

The following is the English rendering of his speech :—

Mr. President, Sisters and Brothers !

I shall now read to you in Telugu the resolution now being debated upon (The speaker translated the resolution into Telugu). You yourselves know that discussions were being held and arguments advanced from both parties and that a resolution on Council-entry was pressed for at Delhi. In passing that resolution at the special session of the Delhi Congress there was a lot of discussion and confusion at the time, and it was passed so as to arrive at a settlement and avoid all that confusion. It was then resolved permitting those who wished, to enter the Legislative Councils and vote for such candidates who have no objection to enter. Those elections were over. Now has arisen the question, what should be the programme of work. It was resolved at Delhi that both the parties in the Congress should unite. Therefore no more discussion would arise on that, but we find the discussion going on in the country. The N. C. O. nationalists began to ask in a spirit of derision what the Swarajists would do in the Councils and how they would conduct themselves in the Councils. Doubts have arisen in the people's minds regarding the triple boycott and a kind of depression prevails in their minds. Sjt. Das has said in a statement that the principle and policy of Non-co-operation must be affirmed. We are not going to ask that a mandate should be given by the Indian National Congress. Therefore no such doubt should be entertained. If such a resolution is placed before us we may throw it out. It is attempted that the triple boycott should be introduced in a different manner. When the Congress assembled at Delhi both the parties came to an agreement and both entered into a compromise. And therefore all those who have good determination work and who are really feeling at heart should accept this resolution. They should not hesitate to accept it. You know that I am a non-co-operator who does not agree for any change either in the triple boycott or in the constructive programme; and you know what I have done. I have firm faith in the constructive programme and in the policy of the non-co-operation. I did not give my vote to the Delhi resolution at Delhi. You may ask why I am supporting this resolution. The honour and prestige of the Congress should be maintained. If the thing about the Delhi resolution is not mentioned here in this resolution, it would mean that those who entered the Councils should be asked to withdraw from the Councils. It would therefore be creating an obstacle in the way of those who have subscribed to the Congress programme. I don't take much time and I wish to tell you briefly. There is no use of wasting time by having recourse to unnecessary matters. Now there is no question of elections. Perhaps there may come by-elections. They need not be taken into consideration. What we do should not look to the English and the public in jocular light-hearted fashion, that we are unable to agree to the principle and that we are unable to work. How much work did we turn out by spending 175 lakhs of rupees under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi?

Here Mr. D. V. S. PRAKASARAO rose up and interrupted the speaker by asking him to explain the views of both sides, but not partially.

Mr. L. SUBBARAO drew the attention of the President to the fact that Mr. D. V. S. Prakasarao was not a delegate and as such he had no right to question.

The PRESIDENT called Mr. Prakasarao to order.

The speaker continuing said: I do not like to take much time. I only request you to work the programme and attain success. I commend the resolution to your acceptance. (Cheers).

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The PRESIDENT: I call upon Mr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya to speak.

Dr. B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA, Andhra, in supporting the amendment, said:—

*Dr.
B. Pattabhi
Sitaramayya.*

Ladies and Gentlemen !

The amendment which I am supporting should have been read to you by Babu Shyam Sundar Chakravarti, but that was not done. I, therefore, must read it to you. You know Mr. Rajagopalachariar's resolution and it has also been rendered into Telugu and now this will be read in English. Dr. Subrahmanyam who will come after me will read it in Telugu.

This Congress reaffirms its adherence to the programme of non-violent non-co-operation including the Triple Boycott as inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi as the only means of attaining Swarajya and calls upon the people to take further steps towards the fulfilment of the programme by

- i. mobilising the public life of the country through the Congress so as to increase its hold on the people and maintaining an attitude of dissociation from the Legislatures,
- ii. establishing Panchayats for the private settlement of all disputes and refraining from having recourse to Government Courts,
- iii. organising national institutions of the education of the youth of the country and dissuading attendance at schools and colleges run under Government auspices,
- iv. increasing the production and use of Khaddar,
- v. abolishing the sin of untouchability, and
- vi. achieving national solidarity by strict adherence the principle of non-violence in all matters of inter-communal relationship and promoting the spirit of brotherliness between the Hindu, Mussalman, Christian, Parsi, Sikh and other inhabitants of the country.

Now, gentlemen, I had not intended to speak in the open Congress, because, I have not the voice nor the capacity to do so. I betray no confidence of the Subjects Committee to you,—I betray no confidence, sir,—when I say that this morning I read the two resolutions on two different sheets of paper, while this evening I read them printed, one below the other and taking them together at one glance, in the same sheet; and, I find that on putting them together I feel that—if one honestly felt that there was any defect or anything of a misleading nature in Mr. Rajogopalachariar's proposition—it is one's duty to explain it clearly before the country assembled at this Congress.

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Sitaramayya.*

You have already heard Babu Hardayal Nag's amendment, viz., that the word "Non-co-operation" should be deleted from the words—"Non-co-operation resolution of Delhi in respect of Council-entry." Now, if you look at the paper you will find altogether a new import and a new significance given to the Non-co-operation resolution at Delhi. Mr. Rajagopalachariar's proposition says "Since doubts have been raised by reason of the Non-co-operation resolution adopted at Delhi with regard to the Council-entry." Now this Congress for the first time in its history ratifies the idea that the resolution at Delhi is a non-co-operation resolution in respect of Council-entry. (Hear, hear). This is a position to which you are unwittingly and insidiously, I beg your pardon, imperceptibly, being committed. I tell you it is a most dangerous and pernicious position to take up in the Congress. (Hear, hear). For the first time you are putting your seal upon the proposition, that non-violent non-co-operation has two aspects, has two strings—one string which will work from within the Councils and another which will work from outside the Councils. I challenge any one to deny that the Congress resolution will bear this interpretation that I have given. That's why, Babu Hardayal Nag has asked for the deletion of that expression. But I am not satisfied with it. I want you to go further and examine the position and the conditions in the land, to see whether, after we have done in Delhi, it is not our duty to say definitely and once for all what should be our attitude towards the political problems in this ancient land, to say whether we should achieve our salvation through the Councils by a process of Boycott from within or apart from the Councils and irrespective of them by a process of non-co-operation from without, by a process of mobilisation of public life through the Congress institutions, having nothing to do with the Councils. At Nagpur after Calcutta you said that people should come out of the Councils. But, having regard to the conditions of the present day, to the antecedent circumstances of the present hour, I honestly feel that it is your duty, (certainly not to ask for the withdrawal of candidates or members from the Councils—for that would be meaningless now) but, to say that the Congress has, in so far as the political destinies of the country are concerned, nothing to do with these Councils. (Hear, hear). Will you or will you not make that position clear?

But I have had one difficulty in the matter. The language which has been adopted in the resolution has been misinterpreted in certain quarters as meaning that dissociation from Legislatures signifies and includes dissociation from the Council-Party. I say, I repudiate such an interpretation altogether. This Congress repudiates all association and all connection with, and the entertainment of all hopes through, the Legislative Councils in so far as its emancipation is concerned; and yet reserves a most hospitable, a most respectable, a most well-deserved corner of this Mandap for Desabandhu Das and Pundit Motilalji and all his noble comrades who are striving, to the best of their lights, for the emancipation of the country. (Hear, hear). Therefore, if anybody comes and tells you this evening that you are dissociating yourself from the Council Party by this resolution, I ask you not to accept that interpretation.

I have described to you the nature of compromise that has been entered into. It is painful to me, yea, it would be presumptuous on my part to stand on this pulpit and say that I have the audacity, the courage, the duty to differ from men like Rajagopalachariar and Vallabhai Patel, the latchet of whose shoes I am unworthy to unloose. (Hear, hear). But, gentlemen, we have to do our duty here. It is not a question of personalities. We feel honestly that we are war-wearied and the leaders having fought and fought and fought again, feel that the time has come to call for a truce. So they have adopted an armed

neutrality for the present. (Applause). And, this compromise like the aftermath of war in all arbitrations of inter-national disputes, bears in itself certain ample, abundant and exciting material for interpretations of the resolution by each according to his tastes, his abilities and his lights. Is that a compromise? Do you, in the name of compromise, want to adopt a formula in respect of the interpretation of which already there have been differences of opinion? Such misinterpretations have arisen. One does not know whether the word "forthcoming" in the Delhi resolution is an expression which included only those foregone elections or all the forthcoming elections in the next six months, six year, three years, twenty years, hundred years. (Laughter). Mind, we are not undoing Delhi. No sensible man would address himself to such a fatuous and foolish task. Delhi is there writ large in the annals of India, very much like those Empires of Delhi that lived and thrived and vanished in the past. The Delhi resolution also lived and perished. There is an end of the matter. We cannot repeat it. We cannot reaffirm it. We cannot cancel it. It is as fatuous to try to abrogate it as to reaffirm it, because we loyally carried out its behests. We let those who wanted to enter the Councils to do so freely. However simple, however beautiful it may be, this suggestion—that the word 'Delhi' should be deleted,—this removal of the word, is not a simple matter. It goes to the heart of the Compromise. It goes to the very root of the adjustments that have been made between the two parties. Therefore, I do not think that you can readily delete the word unless you delete the whole paragraph. But my contention is not merely that we should delete this paragraph or delete that. But that a vicious scheme or vicious resolution having been formulated, it is our duty to delete it through and through and replace it altogether by a different resolution, namely, that sponsored by Babu Shyam Sundar Chakravarti. The purpose of the compromise must be considered its nature, I have explained. At Allahabad we entered into a compromise, yet nobody came to our help in making the Gaya collections or even carrying on the Gaya programme. The purpose of the Congress and its programme, it was that really was compromised. It was always a policy of you-give-and-I-take. Nobody came to our help with regard to the collections of money for the Tilak Swaraj Fund that we advertised so widely, and so well as having been promised or collected. They vanished in the evanescent air the moment the compromise was settled. Again, we had a compromise at Nagpur. Later we had a compromise at Waltair and the greater compromise at Delhi. These compromises have never helped us. It is a compromise between parties who are looking in two different directions without a common bond. Undoubtedly, our pathways are becoming divergent and more divergent. One party looks at the Councils and the other to the people for the emancipation of the country. And, there are as many interpretations in regard to the rules of conduct of the people that have entered the Councils as there are in regard to non-co-operation itself. These interpretations have differed from 148, Russa Road to Bandra in Bombay, (laughter) and these interpretations will go on multiplying and multiplying. We cannot expect for one moment that boycott through the Councils is an aspect of the question that might be entertained in this House. And yet, you know what wonderful potentialities it had borne during the last ten days..... What replies have been given? You know the Das-Lytton pourparlers all in the name of non-co-operation (laughter) and that of a non-violent character. I therefore say that the compromise is not going to advance the country at all, especially in relation to the constructive programme which is being talked of lightly at times, seriously at other times, which serves as a handy weapon for all parties to fling in the face of these untutored masses whenever an adjustment is to be made amongst the leaders. (Hear, hear).

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Sitaramayya.

*The
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Resolution:*

Dr.

*B. Pattabhi
Sitaramayya.*

Finally, I wish to add one word before I conclude. We have met here at a crucial moment in the history of the country. Our star of progress is virtually at its nadir. Nobody can deny that. Even the most self-deluded non-co-operator cannot say that our progress is as great as in the pompous days of Ahmedabad and Nagpur. Yet, gentlemen, what is our duty? What's the duty of some of those who feel intensely in favour of the old programme of non-violent non-co-operation? Because we were not given an abundant chance, because we have not worked out our programme aught, shall we give it up, shall we say, "Look at the school at Rajahmundry: it is closed, or about to be curtailed, but, as a matter of fact it is not going to be closed. Look at Cocanada, it is closed. Look here, look there, and, give up the whole business!" How easy to taunt ourselves, how much easier still it is to taunt our brethren and our fellow-men! (Hear, hear). Yet is that the attitude that we have to adopt in respect of this question? Political tides have always their ebb and flow. The flow of this tide was at Ahmedabad. We are now at the ebb. Are we to be stranded on the beach and say that this tide will recede for ever and will not take us into the bosom of the ocean? Or are we to bide our time, make ourselves available for any emergency, and catch the Government at its weakest moment and then mobilise the whole country in such a manner that it can readily respond to a great public duty? (Hear, hear). You know there are two views of non-co-operation that are being held, as they have been held in the country—one view formulated by Gandhiji based upon the doctrine of self purification, based upon the doctrine of suffering, based too upon the noble and vitalizing principle formulated by the Congress and upheld by the great seers and sages of the world, namely, "do not resist evil but overcome evil with good". The other view has been based upon the doctrine of retaliation,—a tooth for a tooth, and a nail for a nail, a shot for a shot, and a blow for a blow. On this principle our friends wanted to go to the Councils and wreck them and throw them into the Bay of Bengal. They want to create quarrels, make life impossible for Governors and Governors-General, dictate terms to them from their palaces and then win Swaraj for the mob. These two views have been explained and formulated in the country. Which view, you gentlemen, who represent the vast masses of India, are you going to take? Are you going to take the compromise in which all the sophistries and all the palpable fallacies and all the tortuous intricacies of the human intellect have been grouped and formulated? (Cries of "No, no"). Or will you ask plain, honest, straightforward questions and expect straight replies from all these estimable gentlemen who are asking? "What shall we do with reference to Councils?", and tomorrow may ask, "What shall we do with reference to Khaddar?" Get a plain answer to plain questions. Do not be wearied by all these sophistries and these adjustments. They are for us who are trained in the arts of European political knowledge and European political science. They are not for you, the untutored, the unsophisticated masses who know the truth in its sober, simple and unfrenzied fashion, and would stick to it, though the very heavens may fall.

That's the position to-day. Gentlemen, this is a resolution of Mr. Rajagopalachariar's. I do not know how he has given his assent to it. I honour him and respect him. Yet to-day there has arisen a position, in which doubts have seized the public mind and interpretations have been so made in a manner which has never been contemplated in the history of non-co-operation, viz., that the Delhi resolution was a non-co-operation resolution in respect of Council-entry. I tell you the whole seat of danger lies there. And to-morrow it will be open to our friends, notwithstanding any assurances that may come to-day from this platform by gentleman after gentleman, by leader after leader of the other

party, to say that deadlocks are permitted by this resolution. And I challenge the whole intellectual world of this country to deny that to go into Councils and invoke the authority of the Indian National Congress for the formation of deadlocks is a phase and development that contained in this resolution. (Loud and prolonged cheers).

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Compromise
Resolution:*

*Dr.
B. Pattabhi
Sitaramayya.*

SRIYUT T. PRAKASAM, (Andhra, Madras), in supporting the resolution, said:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen!

I have come here to oppose the amendment so ably moved by Babu Shyam Sundar Chakravarti and supported by my friend over there, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. I have come to ask you, friends, to consider the situation and the proposition and the amendments that are placed before you with patience, with a little consideration. I would ask you to consider and see what you are doing. What is the result of your doing? This is an amendment which reaffirms the Triple Boycott in express terms. The object of the amendment is to solidify the nation and to promote the national unity amongst ourselves. Consider what the first clause of this amendment says, whether the means suggested is not one which would destroy every chance of solidifying the nation. (Hear, hear). You consider for one moment, dispassionately. What is it that is proposed now by this amendment to carry on propaganda from this day forward when you pass this amendment in this House, to the country, to every village and to every home in the country calling upon the people to dissociate themselves from the Legislatures. What are these Legislatures? Do the Legislatures, does that expression, mean the Councils or the persons who go there to represent the voters who sent them there? (Hear, hear). Dissociation—if it is dissociation only from the brick and the *chunam* and from the mud walls of the Legislative Council, I have no objection. But if it is dissociation from friends who had entered the Council Halls just a few weeks ago, I will ask you to consider what you are doing. Three months ago in Delhi, in all seriousness you passed a resolution stating that those persons and friends who have no religious or conscientious objections had the liberty to enter Councils, to give their names as candidates and those who have no such objections are at liberty to give their votes to such candidates. Now, speak honestly? I would ask you to examine your hearts and say what has happened in this country of ours during the last elections. How many of the No-changers and how many of us voted at the elections? How many of us sent these friends into the Council, relying upon the permission given under the resolution? I admit there is no mandate. Now, in three months, you turn round and tell your workers, "Go to the country, and tell those very people that those who have gone to the Councils are undesirable people. Dissociate yourselves from those persons." It is nothing short of treachery and betrayal. (Shame). Is it the work that this august body, this great National Assembly, this Congress, should do? What is the position of the Congress if it does? (A voice:—Nothing). If you had gone with me into the country, you would have known the result. It is very easy to sit here and say 'nothing'. So I say it is betrayal in the first instance.

*Sjt.
T. Prakasam.*

Secondly, the resolution says, "the object is to achieve national solidarity by strict adherence to the principle of non-violence in all matters of inter-communal relationship and promoting a spirit of brotherliness." Does this

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 T. Prakasam.

propaganda create a spirit of brotherliness at all, if you go and preach against those very friends whom you permitted to enter the Councils? Does it not create bitterness, hatred and ill-will which we all noticed in the past, and created an impasse which made it impossible for us to go forward with our constructive programme? What is it that induced us in the month of February 1923 at Allahabad to suspend active propaganda against the Councils for two months? What happened then? Was it not Shyam Sundar Babu that spoke in the All-India Congress Committee in Allahabad and said how he was compelled to support Sjt. Rajagopalachariar to adopt that suspension of Boycott for two months? I will tell you what he said. He said that he and Sjt. Das had gone to a certain place—himself to carry on the Congress propaganda and Sjt. Das to carry on the Swaraj Party propaganda. There, he said, they both addressed a public meeting—(Sjt. Chakravarti:-No, sir, I did not)—and the people there, when they were asked to pay money, divided the money that was brought for Tilak Swaraj Fund, into two parts. One-half was paid into the hands of Sjt. Das and the other into the hands of Babu Shyam Sundar Chakravarti. Such was Shyam Babu's story then.

At this stage a delegate raised a point of order and asked the President, "Is it permissible for the speaker, Mr. Prakasam to refer to the proceedings of the All-India Congress Committee at Allahabad, while Babu Shyam Sundar had been disallowed to refer to the Subjects Committee discussions?"

The PRESIDENT: I disallow that point of order. (Laughter).

Sjt. PRAKASAM then proceeded to say:—

Now, my friends, what was stated by Shyam Babu was in February 1923. Have we not found the position to be more difficult after April, every month as we went into the country, on account of wrangling, on account of controversy and the quarrels among the leaders? The country was looking aghast all the time at what has been happening in this world of ours. The country,—I can tell you with all the authority I can command, I have gone in my province to almost every corner of the 14 districts,—did not want these quarrels. I can tell you the places where the ryots, told me, "why not make up these differences, why are you hanging us like this, is all this intended for your quarrels?" "Are you not bound to do your work for us?" That is the way in which we were asked when we went into the country. So, from experience I tell you that I support today what Shyam Babu said in February in 1920. It has come to a worse position now. Our President, Maulana Mohamed Ali, had the courage at Delhi to take his heart in both his hands and face the situation in the same manner in which Mahatma Gandhi faced it when he recorded the Bardoli decision. (Hear, hear). When he cried 'halt' at Bardoli, Mahatma Gandhi, the author of the movement, himself was not spared by all of you. (Hear, hear). Who would be spared for the matter of that? That's why I say, consider well. The last words which Mahatma Gandhi gave us when he went to jail were: "Carry on the Constructive Programme I have given you. All the political prisoners will be released and you will be able to establish Swaraj without anything else if you carry on the constructive programme." For nearly two years, we have disobeyed that order and we had to pay the penalty. We have been criminally responsible for all the time wasted for the last 18 months. Now, at any rate, these brothers, this Big Brother and his Small Brother, after coming out of jail took up the programme of Mahatma Gandhi within the shortest possible time and placed it before you. If we were able to prove that our salvation lies not in Council Halls of the Government, but in our village committees, to-day we should have been doing our duty in the village committees. (Hear, hear). Instead of going

to villages and organising village committees and establishing our national parliaments in every village, in every town, in every city, what have we been doing? So, my friends, I say we have failed in our duty in the past. Let us now take the advice of our leaders. Mr. Rajagopalchariar framed the resolution with eyes wide open and quite deliberately. Now, sir, I ask you whether we are honest in to-day reaffirming the Triple Boycott, reaffirming the Boycott of Courts. Who is to reaffirm the Boycott of Courts? The Boycott of Courts must be reaffirmed by those honest gentlemen who have not touched the Courts, who have not engaged the Vakils and who have not filed suits. Similarly, with regard to National Schools. (The President's bell was then heard to show that the time was up). The bell is going. Don't commit yourselves, I say, to an untrue position created by the amendment of Shyam Babu. The resolution of Mr. Rajagopalachariar lays down that the principle and policy of the Triple Boycott is maintained. Accept that and reject the amendment. (Applause).

Dr. B. SUBRAHMANYAM (Andhra, Rajahmundry) next spoke in Telugu in support of Babu Shyam Sundar Chakaravarti's amendment. (*Vide* appendix : Telugu Speeches).

BARJORJI FRAMJI BHARUCHA (Bombay) spoke thus :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen !

In the history of the Indian National Congress, we have reached a psychological point, when it will be decided, whether this national institution is going to exist as a fully representative body, or whether it is going to give way. Friends, consider fully your responsibility to the country. Consider fully your responsibility to the great Guru, who is now at Yeravda. Consider your responsibility to the generation to come. Think for a moment the whole situation. Last year at Gaya our leaders disagreed. To-day the same leaders have come to an understanding. Our goal is Swaraj. That goal is to be reached, not by academic discussion, not by debate, not by controversy; but that goal is to be attained by solid work; and for that solid work, kindly know that all your leaders are united to-day. I say, Friends, that at this psychological moment Providence has given you the two Ali Brothers to work in your midst. Give them the chance, give them the opportunity. We must admit, we are not where we were in 1921; and since Mahatmaji's incarceration, our progress has been poor. But, yet to-day, give the Brothers a chance to work. Now that our leaders are united, now that our leaders have come to an understanding, now that Desabandhu Das and Sjt. Rajagopalachari have reached an agreement,—my countrymen, I beseech you, in the name of Mahatma Gandhi, to know your responsibilities, sink your differences, avoid all controversies, and accept the resolution of Rajagopalachari. Friends, think of the great Satyagraha that is going on in Borsad to which you have not given a single moment's thought till now. Think of the Akali struggle. Think of Hindu—Muslim Unity. Think of the constructive programme and be prepared for solid, substantial work. Don't be led away by personalities or by past prejudices. Think of your God. Think of your Nation. Think of your Congress. Try to save it. Follow Mahatmaji's great example. I tell you, friends, if you fail to press this resolution, you will be wrecking the Congress, before your friends wreck the Council. I therefore, beseech you and pray to you, in the name of God, to support the resolution of Sjt. Rajagopalachari, and to carry on the constructive programme and thus save the Congress and free Mahatmaji (Hear, hear).

Sjt. DANDAPANI PILLAI, Tamil Nadu, explained the resolution in Tamil.

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*Sjt.
T. Prakasam.*

*Dr.
B. Subrahman-
yam.*

*Sjt.
B.F. Bharucha*

*Sjt.
Dandapani
Pillai.*

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Resolution.

Sjt.

V. Ramaswami
Naiker.

Sjt. V. RAMASWAMI NAIKAR, Tamil Nadu, next addressed the assembly in Tamil supporting the amendment of Babu Shyam Sundar Chakravarti.

Sjt. GANGADHARARAO DESHPANDE, Karnatak, said:—

Sjt.
Gangadhara-
rao
Deshpande.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am going to speak only one sentence and that is this, that I come here to support the resolution moved by my friend and leader, Sjt. Rajagopalachariar. (Hear, hear). And, I have come here to ask you to reject all other amendments to that resolution. Now, I am addressing my own brother delegates in my own province in Canarese, and if you like, in Marathi. (Cries of Canarese and Marathi).

He then spoke in Canarese.

REV. U. OTTAMA, Burma, supported the amendment of Babu Shyam Sundar Chakravarti in Hindi. (Vide Appendix: Hindusthani Speeches).

The following is the English translation:—

Mr. President, Brothers & Sisters !

Rev.
U. Ottama.

Do you know to which country I belong ? Some ask me to speak in Burmese. But my South Indian friends cannot understand me if I speak in Burmese. I will speak in Hindi which most of you know. Even Europeans can understand Hindi. You see that all the speakers that spoke here are *grihasthas*. But a *Sadhu* is speaking to you now. I tell Mr. Shyam Sundar Chakravarti I am not against him. I oppose Mr. Rajagopalachari. I say I am against him. (Laughter). You have heard them to be big people. I have been for twenty years a Buddhist *Sadhu*. I have been a civil resister since then. I never paid any tax to the Government, nor did I obey them. (Laughter). I am guided by the Law of God. Therefore, I am not a pro-changer of the non-cooperation movement. (Laughter). A *Grihastha* may have two words but a *Sadhu* has not. I am a no-changer from the beginning. In Burma some people want to go to Councils with Khaddar dress on. How shameful ! Burmese say we should speak to such men. Do you go to Government and beg their pardon ? They are our enemies. Do you want to get our release from jail by apologising to the Government ? (Laughter. Cries of "Mahatma Gandhiki Jai"). I was in Europe for six months. Mahatma Gandhi is known everywhere. Who is responsible for the glory of Bhratavarsha ? It is Mahatma Gandhi that proclaimed the greatness of India: Not from the Councils but from the jail. Do you want to exclude Mahatma Gandhi from Bharatavarsha ? (No, no). It is against our *Dharma* to enter these Councils. Every village will accept the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. I do not know Hindi well. Therefore please excuse my mistakes. I say I am not an enemy but a friend of the country. (Laughter and applause).

Dr. RAJAN, Tamil Nadu, spoke next and said:

Dr.
Rajan.

Friends, I am going to speak in Tamil. Therefore, I want you to understand that I am addressing a small portion of the Tamil-knowing audience. I am supporting the resolution.

He then spoke in Tamil. In the course of his speech he said in English, "If you vote against the resolution it will be against the Ali Brothers.

It was 8 P. M. when the speech of Dr. Rajan was finished. Then a delegate said, "Sir, I move for a closure".

The PRESIDENT: There are some more speakers. After that list is finished closure may be moved.

MAHATMA BHAGAVAN DIN next spoke in Hindi in support of the amendment of Babu Shyam Sundar Chakravarti. (*Vide* Appendix : Hindusthani Speeches).

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen !

I stand here before you to oppose Mr. Rajagopalachari and shed my tears of blood before him in order to impress upon him the immensity of the sacrifice for freedom that is being carried on by self-sacrificing young men in Nagpur, Mulshipet and Nabha. Tears are dried up in my eyes when I see young men falling into the sacrificial fire like insects. The Khilafat and the Jallianwallah Bagh exhausted my tears. Only blood remains in my eyes. They can only be dried by Maulana Mohamed Ali and Moulana Shaukat Ali. But I am opposing them. I love them from the bottom of my heart. I think the people of India as a body have passed through this fire of non-co-operation. The body consists of two parts: the head and the heart. The head sets the heart in motion. I want you to temper your head with your heart. I do not like that either should get the better of the other. A conflict is going on between our head and our heart. Really the heart should gain the upper hand but should not be a mere instrument of the brain. Besides these two there is the third, the soul, which is above them. So long as the soul cannot control the mind and the brain, work will not go on. Therefore, gentlemen, I ask you to control your minds and your intellects. In Delhi all souls were asleep except that of Mr. Varadachari. (Cheers). Some souls were trembling. Even to-day they are weak. Time was when a thousand hearts and minds could be moulded into one. But now we are divided. That leader is not with us now. Otherwise such resolution would never have come before you. You are forgetting him and voting. I do not want to say more. Oh, God! What is Thy will? When this resolution was accepted at Delhi Mahatmaji's name was associated with it; but now, alas, that too is being left out. (Applause).

*Mahatma
Bhagavan Din.*

MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI then rose amidst a big enthusiastic ovation and said, while his speech was translated into Telugu sentence by sentence by Andhra Ratna Gopalakrishnayya.—

*Maulana
Shaukat Ali.*

I don't want to make a long speech. I have been trying all these days that there should have been no discussion over here. Even at this last hour I make the last effort that there should be no voting, that there should be a clear programme of work. I have been told that if this resolution is passed there will be no constructive programme. And, they say that the people, the masses, in the country will not be able to understand what constructive work they had to do.

The Maulana then addressed in Urdu obviously forgetting that he had been speaking in English.

Then Andhra Ratna remarked: "I must translate in Sanskrit". (Laughter).

THE PRESIDENT : Order, order.

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—
Maulana
Shaukat Ali.

MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI next proceeding in English said:—

This morning when I attended the Ladies' assembly where there were nearly 50,000 people, I enquired those sisters who assembled there if they understood what was meant by spinning and Khaddar and what was meant by Civil Disobedience. They said they knew very well, they knew full well. I have no concern whatever how voting is done and how we win. Some of our brothers, wrongly in my opinion, have decided to go to Councils. We tried our best and opposed each other from the platform and wasted one whole year. I don't want that any more time should be wasted. I don't want that we should oppose them and oppose ourselves. Suppose there is a question and some brother of your own quarrels wrongly and says, "Don't vote for the Swarajist, and vote for somebody else". Then this man like an angry cat would rise and say that he was stopped in his work when he was fighting and asking the country to fight the British Lion. I don't want an Indian angry cat when I am fighting against the British Lion. We must see how we work for the constructive programme within three months. I have made thousands of speeches all over India. I personally love work and go where there is work done and I hate to make speeches. I only seriously want to propose as long as our chief is in the Yerrowada jail, there should be only unanimous resolutions passed in our Congress and not otherwise.

Then Maulana explained in Urdu what he had said in English.

He lastly said : I support the resolution of Mr. Rajagopalachari.

Mrs. YAMINI POORNA TILAKAMMA next spoke in favour of the amendment. (*Vide* Appendix : Telugu Speeches).

The following is the English translation of her speech :—

Mr. President, Sisters & Brothers !

Mrs. Yamini
Poorna Tilakamma.

At this critical moment we are fighting for compromises for want of other work. We all know how sacred is the Non-co-operation movement inaugurated by Mahatmaji. It provokes laughter when it is said that we do all things except this fundamental item of the full-blown non-co-operation movement shining like the full moon. It is not righteous in this world for any one to attempt to lessen the fullness of the movement in view of personal prejudices. Now they say that you may go to Councils : and then, it may be said that you should go to Courts and schools, and in course of time you may wear only Swadeshi mill cloth as Khaddar is dear. Ultimately it will come to the waning of the movement. This compromise is to be accepted because of Deshabandhu Das. Some of our brothers who do not like to dissociate themselves with Sjt. Das are spoiling this movement. When in the Mahabharat war Dharmaraja and others heard that Karna was their elder brother, they had to keep quiet without being able to do anything. It is not worth while to throw obstacles when *Dharma* moves on in its course. The stream of *Dharma* is being bridged across like this. Alas ! What doubt is there that the movement would die ! I pray that this great assembly would vote on the side of *Dharma* knowing their responsibility. Otherwise, it is certain that this movement would crumble to dust. I request you to accept Sjt. Chakravarti's resolution. I resume my seat before the bell rings. (Cheers).

Sjt. B. SURYAPRAKASARAO in supporting the resolution, said:—
Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen!

Please excuse me for taking the liberty to talk to you in English and please permit me to say a few words. This is a question about councils about which our people have been discussing for the past many months. While I was in jail, Mr. Das came to Coimbatore. Then somehow I created an opportunity for myself and slowly went to the gathering which was being addressed by Mr. Das. Probably you might be astonished to know how it could be possible for a prisoner to go and see a political assembly. I can tell you how I had that opportunity. I was a convict officer and I was given the garden duty. Then I went slowly near the wall where Mr. Das was addressing and Mr. Satyamurti was translating. Since that time this question has been troubling me very much. Excuse me when I say that all the Andhras know that I occupy the first place among the ex-convicts of Andhradesa. Now I request all my brethren to vote for Mr. Rajagopalachariar. I do not belong to any party. But it is necessary for all those people who have been anxious to have unity in the country, to vote for Mr. Rajagopalachari. Therefore, gentlemen, before some of you vote against Mr. Rajagopalachari's resolution, I request you and prostrate before you to consider this problem seriously and vote in support of Mr. Rajagopalachariar. By these Councils we cannot do any good to the country. But we can prevent any evil being done to us. When I was released from the Coimbatore Jail I went to the Moplah country and felt sorry to see many females crying for their husbands. Mr. Knapp, I hear, is going to colonise the Andamans by having these women sent there to their husbands. If you go to the Councils, you can surely discuss these questions. Therefore, I request you to vote for Mr. Rajagopalachariar.

Then a delegate raised a point of order which he personally communicated to the President and the latter ruled it out of order.

PUNDIT SUNDAR LAL (Central Provinces) next spoke in Hindi, in favour of Babu Shyam Sundar Chakravarti's amendment. (*Vide* Appendix: Hindusthani Speeches).

The following is the English rendering thereof:—
Mr. President and Friends!

I am very sorry that certain doubts are sought to be cleared by means of the resolution placed before you. Myself and men of my way of thinking will be affected deeply by it. The President is appealing to you in the name of unity to save the Congress from disruption by accepting this resolution. I am oppressed by the fact that this resolution is being moved by one, the dust of whose feet I am not worthy to touch. Friends, I stand before you to impress upon you the gravity of the situation in the country as I see it. My voice is hoarse and I request your co-operation to make myself heard. It is a year and a half since the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee Report was published. No one can hide the fact that demoralisation has crept upon us since then. Before the report of this Committee saw the light of day Mahatma Gandhi's movement was in its full swing. That committee came into existence to enquire whether the country was prepared for civil disobedience. But the enquiry was futile. Instead of finding whether the country was prepared for civil disobedience the Committee enquired whether the country was prepared for Council-entry. By this the movement was given a set back. We see now that we are taking gradually a downward course as a consequence of want of foresight on our part. The subject broached in the report of the Civil Disobedience

*The
Compromise
Resolution:*

*Sjt.
B. Surya
Prakasarao.*

*Pundit
Sundar Lal.*

*The
Compromise
Resolution :
—
Pundit
Sundar Lal.*

Committee was brought up for serious discussion before the Gaya Congress. The question of Council-entry was forcibly pressed before the Gaya Congress and the country gave its unequivocal verdict on it. Those that say the country is not ready for civil disobedience will please bear with me for a few minutes. Those that say that the country is not prepared to follow Mahatma Gandhi's lead will please also be patient to hear me. Maulana Shaukat Ali will excuse me for a while. I have been going round villages, I have been mixing with the common people in the villages and in the trains and I do not find any despair among them. My experience with the Nagpur Satyagraha was the same and there is no despair in my heart. I freed myself of all depression. Now, co-operation does not give room for depression. Those who want a pact with others are really depressed. At Gaya this question of Council-entry came for discussion. Then arose the question whether the triple boycott of Mahatma Gandhi should be retained or not. But at Gaya also we were as determined as when we were with Mahatma Gandhi. The country retained the triple boycott. That was the decision of Gaya. But only a short time afterwards the All-India Congress Committee and the Working Committee that met at Bombay began to think of making the way smooth to the Council-going gentlemen. The first mistake was committed at Bombay by passing the compromise resolution. Opposition started and with it the impediment of work has begun. If Council boycott is an undesirable thing and if that is responsible for indiscipline, then Mahatma Gandhi is certainly to blame. I told Maulana Shaukat Ali that if people were approached for votes I would certainly ask them not to vote. I do not feel if you are displeased with me. No good man need care for others' disgust. I look upon Pundit Motilal Nehru with the same reverence as his son, Pundit Jawaharlal. I deem it a great privilege to be his servant. But our political methods are different. They want to win Swaraj through Councils, but my path is different. There is no connection between them and myself in methods of political work. They have done great sacrifice, no doubt. They decided the formation and the name of the Swaraj Party in their Patna sittings. They have put an end to Mahatma Gandhi's movement. Even before the Delhi session, permission was granted for Council-entry. They advanced a step further in Delhi. Sjts. Chitha Ranjan Das and Rajagopalachari were vehemently opposing each other then. Now, unity is being brought about between the two. There was no connection between what happened at Delhi and what happened at Calcutta. When I see what Sjt. Rajagopalachari is doing to-day I am persuaded to sacrifice non-co-operation at his feet. I asked Sjt. Rajagopalachari if union between himself and Das were possible with this single resolution. He told me that union was not possible so long as the resolution was susceptible to two different interpretations. This double-faced resolution is placed before you. One leader told me that they would have freedom till three years hence and therefore the time was not fixed. That you will be accommodating the other party in the Congress is another meaning attributed to it. I cannot agree with the views of Mr. Rajagopalachari, Maulana Mohamed Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali. Maulana Mohamed Ali was ready to support the amendment of Babu Shyam Sundar Chakravarti. Mr. Rajagopalachari too was prepared to support the amendment which I am now supporting. What better programme can you have besides the boycott of law courts, schools and colleges, and Legislative Councils, Khaddar, removal of untouchability and Hindu-Muslim unity? I asked Maulana Mohamed Ali if there was anything objectionable in the above. I cannot agree with Maulana Mohamed Ali and Mr. Rajagopalachari, because the country is sound and will accept the programme. How can I repudiate the wishes of the people? The creed of the Congress is *love*. But are you prepared to work according to the path laid

down by Maulana Mohamed Ali and Sjt. Rajagopalachari? Where is the necessity for the Swaraj Party? But the resolution agrees for the Delhi resolution and there is no knowing when it will end. You can understand what it means when you see Sjt. Das supporting it. Brothers, if you want to destroy in Cocanada that non-co-operation which was presented to us by Mahatma Gandhi at Calcutta you will accept the resolution moved by Sjt. Rajagopalachari. If you care for non-co-operation and Swaraj you will accept the amendment of Babu Shyam Sundar Chakravarti. There are two problems before you. One is non-co-operation and the other is compromise. You may vote either for Mahatma Gandhi or for Sjt. Rajagopalachari. (Loud and continued applause).

*The
Compromise
Resolution :
—
Pundit Sundar
Lal.*

Dr. KITCHLEW was next called upon to speak. Before he commenced his speech, the President pointed out that already an hour and forty-five minutes was taken up by the speakers on this resolution and he had fixed a time-limit to every speaker and he requested every speaker, to confine himself to the time-limit.

Dr. KITCHLEW then spoke in Urdu. (*Vide* Appendix: Hindusthani Speeches). The following is the English rendering of the speech:

Mr. President, Sisters & Brothers!

I do not take much of your time to speak on this resolution. I hope to finish in a few minutes. Please give me a patient hearing. Never before did I feel so much pain and sorrow as I do now. To-day, while the whole country is working for the uplift of the nation, some delegates are quarrelling about words and ideas. None of them speaks one useful word. (Shame, shame.) Excuse me. I have not come here to prate something and thus make it possible for the Englishmen to ridicule us that we are incompetent, headless people incapable of managing our affairs. What is it that Sjt. Rajagopalachari moved before you? In Delhi too I was of the same opinion. Even if Maulana Mohamed Ali asks me to accept it I will tell him I cannot. This was accepted at Delhi only, when it was realised that nothing could be done without compromise in this world. You saw the majority supporting it. Will not the world laugh at us to see us reversing a judgment arrived at by responsible opinion only after a few months of its happening? (Yes, yes). I tell you what you decided at Delhi. The whole controversy is now centred round the ethics of Council-entry. It was clearly told that non-co-operation was not given up. By this resolution we should understand that we are in the same position with regard to principle as we were with Mahatmaji. We are suspending our propaganda against such of the Congress men who desire to work not from the Congress platform, not on behalf of the Congress but on the strength of their own individual responsibility and influence. Friends, I ask you to tell me with God as witness whether you want to revive the old quarrels which you stopped once by refraining from propaganda against the Councils. If any doubts are entertained by the people about this resolution as a consequence of propaganda carried by some people that the Congress is always with them, the Congress reaffirms its position by this resolution. You see Sirdar Mangal Singh sitting in this pendal. The balance is held by the Sikh Sardars. News has arrived that Satyagraha was begun at Borsad. Do you want to weaken that fight by your internal quarrels? They will be defeated if we are not alert. I agree with Sjt. Sundar Lal that we have not done where we ought to have done since Mahatmaji's incarceration. Don't you wish that Mahatmaji should be released by your efforts? Did you not expect you would be able to do better work after the release of Ali brothers? Ali brothers are against this amendment. I ask

*Dr.
Kitchlew.*

*The
Compromise
Resolution :*

Dr. Kitchlew.

Pundit Sundar Lal if he is ready to lead the country. Who is it that is now ready to give a proper lead, I want to know.

PUNDIT SUNDAR LAL interrupting said:—With the permission of the President, I say that Maulana Mohamed Ali and Shukat Ali would never abdicate their leadership. If you pass this resolution it will be an insult to them.

The PRESIDENT then said in Urdu:—I thank Pundit Sundar Lal for giving me an opportunity. Mohamed Ali or any other man is not prepared to work in this atmosphere. If you want work, think deeply and calmly. (Proceeding next in English he said:—) Mr. Sundar Lal rose to a point of order and made some personal explanation while Dr. Kitchlew was speaking. I rise to say it is no question of individual threats. Nobody is going to leave the Congress. Nobody can take the responsibility of leading a nation which is so divided, and in that spirit these things are being done to-day. Mahatma Gandhi could not take the lead when the country was in such a condition. He took the lead only when the country was prepared to work. We are not prepared to work, but we are prepared to quarrel!

Then Dr. KITCHLEW continuing said:—Friends, we are being attacked by outsiders and our only word is to reply them. Work can be pushed on with enthusiasm if men of sacrifice in both the parties can join together. We may not begin the attack and possibly it might come from the Government itself. Pundit Sundar Lal says : people are ready; let us march and do what we say. I support Mr. Rajagopalachari. Nobody mooted the question of civil disobedience. I tell you the common people who do not know the leaders well, who are only capable of working under the guidance of a leader and who cannot think for themselves and do not take interest in the wordy warfare—it is they that are ready to work out the constructive programme soon after Mahatma Gandhi comes out. We will give time to Ali brothers and Deshabandhu for three months. Then with the key of the Yerrawada Jail we shall release Mahatmaji. (Applause).

The PRESIDENT:—I call upon Shriyut Rajagopalachari to reply.

It was exactly 9 P. M. when Sjt. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR replied to the debate as follows, Mr. Gopala Krishnayya translating sentence by sentence into Telugu.

Mr. President, Brothers and Sisters !

Mover's Reply

We are closing the discussion and I crave your attention for a few minutes. Dr. Subrahmanyam, I was very sorry to see, was in the middle of a sentence, when like a true volunteer and Satyagrahi, he got down when the bell was rung. More than that, he was in the middle of a very important statement, when he sacrificed his own feeling that it was important and obeyed the Chair. You will permit me, therefore, to make for myself what he wanted to say as I thought, and reply to it and give it the place of honour in the few words I propose to say. It may be that I am wrong, but he will pardon me if that is so. Dr. Subrahmanyam was, I thought, about to say that we non-co-operators who stand by the old programme, should have the right of frankly and openly doing propaganda and, if necessary, dissociate ourselves from the Legislatures. You remember that Mr. Prakasam said that dissociation from Legislatures would mean dissociation from our friends who are now in the Legislatures. That may be a fear, but I do not agree that it is a correct statement at all. Like Dr. Subrahmanyam I do not claim the right that we on our part should have the right

under our resolution if and when we feel it necessary to say that we have nothing to do with the Legislatures and we should not look to them for progress to freedom. We have not to say and we ought not to say that we dissociate ourselves from the gentlemen sitting in the Legislatures. We never say it even as regards the Government members therein. (Sjt. Prakasam : Hear, hear). We ought to dissociate ourselves from the institutions,—not from the persons.

I tell you I am really surprised at the misinterpretation-phobia that I see. (Laughter). Fear of misinterpretation has reached the condition of disease. I want you to recall to your memory the very clear manner in which I put forth my interpretation of the resolution I proposed. I tell you again that I claim the utmost right of dissociation, of dissociation from the Legislatures, in this resolution, not only from the Legislative Councils, but from the Courts and the Schools of Government. It is quite another thing for me and the Congress organisations to decide whether we will have an aggressive propaganda or not in the future. You saw Mr. Das seconding the proposition and he did so without any speech or word. Do you think that after hearing me Mr. Das would certainly not claim his own interpretation if he had one? But I believe he saw the misinterpretation-phobia prevailing and he chided us in silence by not uttering a word.

I was surprised to see some speakers coming and claiming that the amendment was a non-co-operation resolution and that my own resolution was the expression of the death of non-co-operation. I am surprised that men, who have worked with me faithfully and with the conviction of their own judgment, could imagine that, to-day, I could sign a warrant for the death of non-co-operation. Pundit Sundar Lal's whole speech was this and nothing else and my friend Mr. Ramswami Naicker's Tamil speech was also this and nothing else. Let me assure Pundit Sundar Lal and Mr. Ramaswami Naicker that I accept every material portion of the amendment which they propose; but my complaint is that they give the go-bye to the Delhi resolution and that is why I cannot accept it. We might claim the maximum faith in the programme of Non-co-operation, but how can we ignore what we did in Delhi in variance of that programme. We must either have the courage to move a resolution rescinding that resolution and cancelling that resolution of Delhi, or we must accept it and give a place to it to-day when we again reaffirm the boycott. What we say is that we stand by the facts. We do not cancel them. But our future policy and programme continue to be the same as it did before, unaltered.

Comment was made on the calling of the Delhi resolution—a non-co operation resolution. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's whole speech was based on this single word, "Non-co-operation" attached to Delhi. I tell you that, because the word "non-co-operation" is there, my position is stronger and safer. Why are you afraid of the Delhi resolution? It is because it is claimed that it is another form of non-co-operation. If so, is it not your duty to say that, in spite of that non-co-operation resolution, our policy is the same as before Delhi? (Hear, hear). Can anybody say that the policy that we confirm in my resolution is not the policy of the Triple Boycott as inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi and adopted by the country? Can any one imagine that in my resolution I consent to a form of non-co-operation and Triple Boycott as interpreted by anybody else? We to-day confirm the policy and the principle of the Triple Boycott as interpreted by Mahatma Gandhi. Not that Mr. Das or any of his party accepts that programme as correct, but they say, "We shall not fight with you over it here." He accepts the fact that you and I of the majority in the Congress are committed to that policy and continue to be committed to it. If you want to accept

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Mover's Reply.

Desabandhu Das's interpretation, you must join the Swaraj Party: you won't do that by accepting this resolution. Speaker after speaker placed before you the most lurid picture, as if the present issue was an issue between the Swaraj programme and the non-co-operation programme. Take it from me, that if you vote for the proposition I have moved, you may sleep soundly and that you don't thereby accept the Swaraj Party programme. You confirm the policy which we had before the Delhi decision. But, at the same time, you assure our friends who differ from us that what was done at Delhi is not to be undone now. What we permitted, we permitted. It would be dishonourable to attach any stigma to what was done under that permission. If we want to keep the prestige of the Congress, we must maintain the integrity and the unity and continuity of the institution, and its proceedings. We ought not to undo what we did with open eyes, unless there is a grave reason for doing so. There would have been grave reason if you and I were prepared to-day to take up an aggressive Triple Boycott programme. But what you want is not an aggressive whirlwind programme, but only a foundation for your constructive work. I remind all the speakers who spoke against the proposition that what we have to do is the constructive programme. An aggressive whirlwind programme is out of place now.

Talk about bye-elections was also introduced. A boycott to be effective must be all-embracing. A boycott of a particular bye-election would be as ludicrous as a hartal in only one of your streets. When all the other streets are open and business is going on, would it be wise, would it be sensible to try for hartal in one single street which is open to you? In the same manner, a bye-election would be merely an act vindicating something or other, but it would not be useful to the whole nation. Let us not, therefore, bother about bye-elections. Let us leave to the local Congress organisations to decide such things in the programme: Let us now decide on broad principles.

When I recommended the proposition to you, I dealt briefly and only with general principles. Details of drafting and language ought to be left to the Subjects Committee and it would simply be impossible to thresh out resolutions word by word in open Congress. I am sorry I was compelled to enter into some discussions of words in my reply.

The fear of misrepresentation is born of weakness. Put it aside. If you believe me, there is non-co-operation in all its force in this resolution, and there is authority for constructive work, and a mandate for constructive work in the resolution which I place before you. And, that is what I want for the year. I beg of you, therefore, to give your acceptance to this proposition and reject the amendments.

If you think that you are convinced by my arguments, I wish you not to be afraid of mistakes. Mistakes can always be corrected. Let us act according to our present convictions. (Cheers).

The PRESIDENT then rose amidst loud cheers to put the resolution to vote. Mr. T. Prakasam was also called upon to translate what the President would say.

The President:—I am now about to take votes. There is one amendment to the resolution. It is to delete the word "Delhi" from the first paragraph and the word "Non-co-operation" from the second paragraph in the original resolution.

Mr. DAS:— The last amendment should be put first.

The PRESIDENT:— For the sake of convenience I am doing like this.

*Voting on the
Compromise
Resolution:*

Sj. JAGAT NARAYAN LAL.— Mr. President, with your permission I withdraw my resolution.

Sj. HARODAYAL NAG (who seconded the amendment) said: I don't withdraw. I request the President to put the amendment in my name, whether it may be accepted or rejected.

The President accordingly put the amendment to vote and declared that it was defeated.

The next amendment standing in the name of Babu Shyam Sundar Chakravarti was then put to vote. When the President asked to raise hands in favour of the amendment there were cries of "all, all." The President said, "Don't say 'all.' There are so many who spoke against." Having seen the hands raised in favour of and against the amendment, he declared that the amendment was defeated.

A division was then demanded and the President said, "If you wish to waste two more hours of the House you may do so." He asked the visitors and the members of the Reception Committee to leave the hall. It was 9-30 P. M. when the counting of the poll was begun.

At 10-10 P. M. the President declared the result of the poll thus: "413 are for the amendment and 703 against. The amendment is therefore lost."

The original resolution was next put to vote and declared carried.

The House was then adjourned to reassemble the next day.



The Indian National Congress,

The 38th Session.

FIFTH DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Tuesday, the 1st January 1924.

The Indian National Congress reassembled for the last time at 4-20 P. M. at its concluding session on the 1st January, 1924, after the final sittings of the Subjects Committee. Though some of the delegates had left the place the shamiana was full owing to the presence of a large number of visitors. The attendance of the delegates was not perceptibly low and the proceedings were characterised with the usual unabated enthusiasm. The proceedings commenced with a national song in Telugu by a choir of volunteers.

Secretary's Report.

The PRESIDENT said:—

*Secretary's
Report.*
—
The President.

Friends, under Article XXIII of the existing Constitution of the Congress the report of the Secretary for the year is to be presented to the Congress and then sent to the Congress Committees. That report has now been presented formally and I wish to inform you of it. And that is placed before you so that you might carry it.

The Report was approved.

Greetings to Kenya.

*Greetings
To Kenya.*
—
The President.

Next I have to move a resolution from the Chair on the subject of Kenya. It is in the following terms:

This Congress sends the greetings and sympathy of the Nation to the Indian Community in Kenya and while adhering to the opinion that unless Swarajya is won for India, the sufferings and grievances of Indians abroad cannot be properly remedied, it authorises Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mr. George Joseph to attend the forthcoming Indian Congress in Kenya and study the situation and advise the Indian Community there, as to what steps they should take in carrying on their struggle against the insults and injustices imposed upon them.

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya translated the above resolution into Telugu.

The PRESIDENT having explained the resolution in Urdu, said:—

Friends, with reference to this, I only want to emphasise this one point—that really Kenya and questions like Kenya can only be settled when this big Kenya question of India itself is settled. (Hear, hear). I was once told that, when Lord Sinha went as a representative—not of India, mind you, but of India's foreign Government—to the Imperial Conference, he there met Mr. Borden, the Prime Minister of Canada. When they were discussing the subject of the rights of the Indians themselves, Mr. Borden made a sudden discovery. (Laughter). What was it? He discovered that Lord Sinha did not represent

the *nation* of India, but only the *unnational* Government. Then, Mr. Borden is said to have cut short all discussion. He said, "what is the use of discussing these things here with us, my friend? Go back to India, take the first boat to India (laughter) and come back as a representative of a *national* Government. Don't wait, go and give to India *national* Government to-morrow." Well, friends, Lord Sinha has not given to India a national government yet. But, he has even denied that Mr. Borden ever spoke to him like this. So it is not Mr. Borden's fault, if Lord Sinha has not given a national Government to India. Now, his successor, Dr. Sapru, was reminded of the same fact and he also denied it, that he ever received a reminder from the representative of the Free State of Ireland.

Greetings
To Kenya.

The President.

Now, all I want to say is this—that slaves cannot be free slaves. But even slaves can express sympathy with slaves elsewhere. (Hear, hear). And it is for this purpose mainly that our sister Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and our brother Mr. George Joseph are going to Kenya to carry the message of a slave to another slave, that a slave sympathises with another slave in his difficulties. But there is something more. You want them to advise and help our fellow-countrymen living in Kenya. There may not be very much use. But it is up to us to assure through our delegates, our brothers and sisters in Kenya that we, slaves of India, will be no longer willing to remain slaves. Yesterday, the Congress Session settled all the arrears of the past congresses—Delhi, Gaya, Nagpur and Calcutta. Now the debts are clear for action. Now, if you mean to pass this resolution, I want you to say that you are resolved to win your freedom within this year and thereby, win the freedom of Kenya. May I take it that this is your vote? (Cries of yes, yes). Then, raise one long shout of Mahatma Gandhiki Jai, louder, louder, still. (Immediately, there was a tremendously long shout to that effect and needless to say, it resounded through the air far beyond). I now take it that the resolution is passed. (Cheers).

Ceylon Labourers.

The PRESIDENT continuing said:—

Now, another resolution is for our brothers in Ceylon and runs as follows:—

This congress appoints a committee consisting of Sjts. M. A. Arulanandam, A. V. Dias Perisundaram and L. Muthukrishna to investigate into the conditions of life to which the South Indian Labourers in Ceylon are subjected and to make a report to the Working Committee.

In moving this resolution, he said:—

Friends, India's connection with Ceylon is an old and intimate one. You know the story of Ramayana. But perhaps, many of you do not know the Muhammadan tradition which says that, when Adam left the Paradise, he first came to Ceylon. We want to make Ceylon as much a paradise as we can, for Indian labourers. Therefore, we are sending a committee to enquire into the condition of our South Indian labourers there and this is the least we can do for the return of the cordial hospitality of our South Indian friends in Cocanada. Now I ask that you should pass this resolution also. Are you agreed? (Cries of yes, yes). Is there any one against? (No, None). Resolution carried *nem. con.*

*Satyagraha
Committee.*

Satyagraha Committee.

The PRESIDENT next moved the following resolution:—

The President.

Resolved that this Congress authorises the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee to perform the duties of the Civil Disobedience Committee appointed at the Delhi Session of the Congress, and further resolved that the Satyagraha Committee do henceforward cease to exist as a separate Committee.

In moving this resolution the President said:—

Friends, you remember that, at Delhi, we appointed a Satyagraha Committee which has presented its report. The All-India Congress Committee has decided that the Working Committee itself should help forward the work of the Satyagraha Committee and it is unnecessary to keep a separate committee for the purpose. Since this was originally appointed by the Congress itself, I have to formally ask the Congress to permit us to do so. Do you agree? (Cries of yes, yes, we all agree.) No opposition? (No opposition whatever).

The resolution was unanimously carried.

Akali Struggle.

Akali Struggle

Srimathi SAROJINI DEVI, (Bombay), moved the following resolution on the Akali Struggle, and in moving the same, she said:—

*Srimathi
Sarojini Devi.*

Friends, I have the great privilege of moving the resolution that, I am sure, will meet with your whole-hearted support and the words run thus:—

This Congress declares that the attack made by the Government on the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and the Akali Dal is a direct challenge to the right of free associations of all Indians for non-violent activities, and being convinced that the blow is aimed at all movements for freedom, resolves to stand by the Sikhs and calls upon Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians, Parsees and all people of India to render all possible assistance to the Sikhs in the present struggle, including assistance with men and money.

The Congress authorises the All-India Congress Committee to take all necessary steps in this behalf.

In moving this resolution, I feel that I am but discharging a very small portion of the debt of inspiration that I owe to the ideals and the achievements of that dauntless little section of Indian humanity who, in their black robes and their black turbans, stand in the vanguard of the army of India's Freedom. (Hear, hear). So great, so profound is the impression caused on my heart and on my mind by the struggle of the Akalis that, only a few weeks ago, when I rose from my sick bed almost unable to walk, I none the less re-entered public life by marching at Amritsar in the "unlawful" Akali Dal as a protest against the tyranny of the Government and as a practical token of my resolution, not merely to stand by and support, but to participate, if necessary, in the activities of the Akalis.

Friends, I do not know how many of you realise what the Akali movement stands for. I wonder how many of you have studied those glorious Scriptures that have evolved that Akali movement, how many of you realised that just in times of such tyranny as these that we are passing through, it was Guru Govind Singh who resolved to transform the disciples of Guru Nanak Dev into lions; the Sikhs, who were the mere disciples—docile and sweet and brave—of a great teacher who like Mahatma Gandhi taught the immortal lesson of service and self-sacrifice and of resisting evil with good. But when the day came that in defence of their faith, in defence of their right of free speech, in defence of their right of free worship, in defence of their right of free association there was tyranny to overcome, it was Guru Govind, who, poignant with the persecutions of his fathers and his forefathers, resolved to convert the Sikh disciples into the lions of the Faith. So to-day the Akali movement is the legacy of Guru Govind Singh, and from the one Akali Takth in the golden temple where the arms of Guru Govind Singh are dedicated, are consecrated as the deity, as the goddess of Free-thinking,—there they spoke to the Sikh nation, “Stand by in defence of the Faith, stand by the Lions of Guru Govind Singh, stand by the true disciples but also overcome every might that comes”. Then the black turbans, the black robes filled the streets of Amritsar, and the black flag of the Akali soldiers waved in the air, and the songs of the Akali women said, “Rise, oh! ye men, give lead and conquer your enemy and fight for your Truth and save your Temple.” To-day, if the Hindus, Mussalmans, Parsis and Sikhs are called upon, they are not merely to offer lip loyalty and lip praise to the proved Akalis,—it is because that day is gone for ever. Thank God, when one little minority, no matter, how small within this land, could be separated and isolated either in its anguish or in its joy, the Indian Nation is indivisible. The Indian Nation can no longer be divided—and the tremendous ordeal of the Sikh nation is the success of the ideal of the Indian people; the anguish of the Sikh nation is the anguish of the Indian People; the sacrifice of the Sikh nation is the victory of the Indian people. Let it not be said that they who would suffer for the vindication of Mahatma Gandhi’s ideal of non-violence shall lack support and comradeship in us. I remember when Mahatma Gandhi was delivering his great message of non-violent non-cooperation to the world, his one fear, his one doubt, his one hesitation, lay in this that the Sikh nation with armed *Kirpans* and the tradition of swords might not come into line with his gospel. But God moves in his mysterious way his wonders to perform. And, it is because the armed Sikhs of the Indian nation had to be in the vindication of the arm and the fist, there followed miracle upon miracle, tragedy upon tragedy and victory upon victory from the Nankhana Saheb and the Gurukabagh to the struggle of Satyagraha at Jaito. (Enthusiastic cheers of Mahatma Gandhiki Jai). I say, these proved men, these bearded soldiers, these stalwarts with their broad burly frames and strong belts with their sharp swords, they have offered to us a discipline to the disintegrated spirits and sections of the Indian people to win Indian Freedom, have given that supreme lesson which might be contained in one phrase, viz., selfless discipline for a cause. To-day the streets of Amritsar resound with the epic determination of every man, woman and child that wears a *Kirpan* and the black turban of Guru Govind. I am proud to believe that there are millions after millions of Hindus and Mussalmans who, without the right to *Kirpan*, without the right to the black robe, none the less have the right of Guru Nanak’s discipline and Guru Govind’s Lions, and mixing their action, the *Amrita* and *Vira*, the nectar of the Lions of Amritsar, join in that vanguard and help India to come into the heritage of Freedom. (Loud and continued applause).

Akali Struggle

Dr. SAIF-UD-DIN KITCHLEW seconded the resolution in Urdu.

Dr. Kitchlew. (*Vide Appendix : Hindusthani Speeches.*)

The following is the English translation.

Mr. President, Sisters and Brothers !

I whole-heartedly support the resolution placed before you by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. I want to tell you something which pleases you. I will explain to you the full import of this important resolution regarding the Akali Satyagraha of the Punjab and specially in Amritsar. I do not wish to take much of your time. I will try to be brief. What is the meaning of the fight that is now going on in the Punjab in consonance with the principles of Mahatmajee? It was in the year 1920 that the Sikhs began the reform movement of the Gurudwaras. They formed a committee known as the Gurudwara Prabhandak Committee. It is not exclusively political in its character. But the Government say it is a political Committee. I proclaim that it is a lie. The Prabhandak Committee is a religious body. There is another organisation known as Akali Dal along with it. There is no connection between the Prabhandak Committee and the Akali Dal. But the Government are trying to show that both are purely political unconnected with religion and are jointly aiming at secret revolt.

The reason is that the Sikhs were entirely in the hands of the Mahants of Gurudwaras. Unfortunately the Mahants were not able to administer these Gurudwaras according to the prescribed rules. I do not want to say much against the Mahants. It was for this that the Akalis and volunteers fell victims to the lathi blows. Firstly Mahant had to be opposed. Government supported the Mahant. But God gave victory to the Sikhs. (Applause). I tell you there is no time for us to think. Akalis are forty lakhs in number, of whom a majority are males. On behalf of the Akalis, I say that $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of Akalis, both young and old, are ready to sacrifice their all, even their lives, in defence of their *dharma*. Mrs. Sarojini Devi fears that the Akalis may raise their swords that always dangle about them. Mahatma Gandhi is anxious whether they can practise Satyagraha without recourse to violence. But they have shown to the world that they could win their rights without fighting, and without shedding a drop of blood. India's freedom too can be won similarly. If anybody had demonstrated the principles of Mahatma Gandhi on actual practice it was not Hindus, not Muslims, not Christians, but the splendid army of Akalis. (Say Satyagraha Akaliki Jai. Cheers).

Bullets rained, lathi blows fell on their heads and they were tied hand and foot but with the song of the Lord on their lips they bore the brunt firmly on the citadel of their Dharma. (cries of Mahatma Gandhi-Ki-Jai). We, the Hindus, Mussalmans and others who call this our land cannot sit with folded hands looking at the difficulties our brethren are put to. The Congress had passed a series of resolutions expressing sympathy. It is not enough. This question does not effect merely the Akalis but effects the whole country. If Nabha had not been violated we could not have had such an opportunity as this. But the Government have challenged our right to freedom of association by declaring the Akali Dal and Sri Shiromani Gurudwara Prabhandak Committee unlawful.

The leaders present here to-day have agreed that this is an All-Indian question. You must show to the Government that they cannot dare to separate the Akalis from us and annihilate them. Even for the smallest trifle we must show that India is united. By passing this resolution you will be proclaiming that the Akali question is a national question. I tried to convene the

Working Committee at Amritsar. I did not mind the Satyagraha Committee. I gave my whole time for the Akalis. Many leaders visited Amritsar and saw with their own eyes Akalis marching in the Amritsar Bazaar.

Akali Struggle
—
Dr. Kitchlew.

Even women and children marched along with the procession. We flew the banner signifying the unlawful assembly. We were going about in the bazars at Railway Stations delivering street lectures. We declared "Come and arrest us, we are members of the unlawful assembly, we do not fear jail but we cannot renounce our dharma!" (Applause). Our leaders and members of the Working Committee had seen it all.

Members of the Civil Disobedience Committee also saw all this. It was told that when necessity arose they would be helped with men and money. They believed it. Those who promised are trustworthy leaders. You can take it that Satyagraha will be an accomplished fact. It is proclaimed to the world that we are prepared to whole-heartedly support the Akalis. Either with men or with money or with both we shall help them. You must have understood the significance of this resolution. I will finish soon. The Sikhs who were the right hand of the Government, who made it possible for them to step into this country and establish themselves, now turned against them and joined the country. A war is to be fought on behalf of *dharma*. We shall fight. Strengthen the forces and proclaim we are ready to fight for our independence. With these words I support the resolution. You must be prepared to show work and not words and I ask you to get yourselves ready for it. (Cheers).

JANAB UMRALI SHAH SAHEB supported the resolution in Telugu.

The President put the resolution to vote and declared it carried.

The All India Khaddar Board.

PRESIDENT:—I call upon Maulana Shaukat Ali to move this resolution re All India Khaddar Board.

MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI who received a tremendous ovation as he ascended the rostrum moved the resolution, Sjt. A. Kaleswara Rao translating his speech into Telugu:—

All India
Khaddar
Board.
—
Maulana
Shoukat Ali.

It is resolved that an All India Khaddar Board be formed consisting of Sjts. Jammalal Bajaj (Chairman), Vallabhbhai Patel, Maganlal Gandhi, Reva Shankar Jagjivan Jhaveri, Velji Nappu, Belgaumwalla, Shaukat Ali, and Sankarlal Banker (Secretary), with full power to organise and carry on Khaddar work throughout India under the general supervision of the All India Congress Committee, and to raise funds (including loans) therefor in addition to the allotment that may be made from the General Funds. The Board shall hold office for three years, any vacancies to be filled in by the rest of the members. A report and statement of accounts shall be presented to the All India Congress Committee at its annual meeting and whenever else called for. The Board shall act as Central Authority on behalf of the All India Congress Committee with regard to Khaddar work and in co-operation with Provincial Congress Committees. It will supervise and

*All India
Khaddar
Board.*

*Maulana
Shaukat Ali.*

control the Khaddar Boards established by Provincial Congress Committees and organise new ones in co-operation with the Provincial Congress Committees where they do not exist.

THE MAULANA said:—

Mr. Chairman, Brothers and Sisters!

I have got very little to say, very little to commend this resolution for your acceptance. My brother, Vallabhbhai Patel will give you more details. My position here is simply that of a big drum. You have all been good enough to call me a big brother and I will convert myself into a big drum. (Maulana Mohamed Ali interrupted from his Presidential seat saying: "I will continue to beat the big drum". Laughter and cheers). Friends, brothers and sisters, I had never intended to speak at length at all; but I am obliged to do so, considering the importance of the subject—even at the risk of being ruled out of order by our President. (Laughter). You made a great mistake, I say, in appointing my younger brother as your President this year. (Renewed laughter). You ought to have appointed the big brother for the place. (Roars of laughter). I assure you I would have taken less time in speaking. Though you may miss many jokes, I think your tempers would have been far better. (Laughter). There is a Persian proverb which says, "Be a dog rather than a younger brother". (Roars of laughter, in which Maulana Mohamed Ali himself joined). But unfortunately, this Western Education demoralised us. Is it right and proper that an younger brother should go and tell his elder brother that he is going to beat him? (Laughter). I have got the reputation of being a very honest man. I honestly confessed that my position in this All India Khaddar Board would be that of big drum: to go about the country, asking my sisters to spin. I would ask you all to put on Khaddar. This is my department. But this ungrateful brother whom I have brought up as a son, when I said I will be the big drum, announced that he is going to beat me. (Laughter). My dear brothers and sisters, I was always strong, even when I was young and in my College days, I was a great athlete. I was the Cricket Captain of the Aligarh College Team. I used to put on beautiful silk shirts and fine flannel turbans. Whenever my brother had no pocket money and asked me for something, I gave him a little taste of my right hand. (Loud laughter). When I myself needed money and was hard up for it, I willingly and quite readily took possession of all his money. (Renewed continued laughter).

(At this stage, the President rang the bell indicating that the speaker's time-limit was up and that he should wind up his speech in a trice. This caused considerable merriment in the whole House for nearly five minutes.)

Maulana Shaukat Ali continuing said:—

Brothers and sisters, all these threats of beating, all this ringing of bells is nothing else but revenge for the past. (Laughter). If I have wasted your time, I am not responsible for it. It is your President who made an absolutely irrelevant remark. Now, I want to tell you this, that I promised you last night that, if you give us peace, we will not allow a single day to pass without starting work. Last night, we went to bed at 2 o'clock and this morning again, we were out of our beds at 5 o'clock and discussed this All-India Khaddar Board in our camp. No speeches were made, I tell you, but we settled our affairs in about an hour's time. And I assure you, God willing, India will again wear her own cloth (cheers) and entirely dispense with the foreign cloth. Some friends may ask you why many other fine and big workers in the cause of Khaddar are

not on this Board. And there is at least one omission that must strike you all. After Mahatma Gandhi in India, there is only one man who loves Khaddar most and it is your Bengali, Dr. P. C. Ray, and yet, his name is not on it. Brothers and sisters, let me tell you that this Board is a practical business board. Whenever called for, even at a minute's notice, we will come and help you to prosecute business. It is no use disturbing our great Doctor from the excellent work he is doing in Bengal to come up for a little business that the Board might have to transact elsewhere. I think that, if he is made a member of this Board, it would disturb the great work that he is doing for Bengal. Well, I have done with you.

*All India
Khaddar
Board.*

*Maulana
Shaukat Ali.*

I hope that when you, brothers and sisters, go back to your homes, to your villages, towns and provinces, you will in right earnest start and organise this Khaddar work. (Hear, hear.) If it be the will of God that we can't shake off this Government by the time our great chief from Yerrawada jail comes out, let him at least see the whole of India clad in Khaddar. When an idle man like myself, when an aged man like myself is ready to devote all my time to this work, I sincerely hope all of you will be able to spin. But the appeal I am going to make is mostly to our sisters. I will go to Hindu sisters, I will go to Mussalman sisters, and nobody will be safe unless she promises that she would spin. I will try to get four or five lakhs of lady volunteers to take up this Khaddar work in the whole of India. The Andhra sisters sent for me yesterday morning. There were 20 to 25 thousand sisters assembled in the Congress pandal and I was the only man. They made a solemn promise to me that they would regularly spin. They also gave me these two rings on my fingers. Further more, a sister's ring in India carries great weight. You gave me this ring and it has bound you at least to a definite promise that all Andhra sisters will do their utmost for Khaddar. I am sure my brothers here may forget this promise, but you (turning towards the lady delegates and visitors) will not forget your promise. (No, we will not forget we will surely spin.) Thank you. I am going to wear these rings till Mahatmaji comes out and the whole of India is clad in Khaddar.

Then he said a few words in Urdu. As he finished, there was enthusiastic cheering.

At this stage Desabhakta Venkatappayya took the Chair for a few minutes in the absence of the President. He called upon Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel to speak.

Sjt. VALLABHBHAI PATEL said:—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen!

The resolution that has been moved by Maulana Shaukat Ali (President addressing a corner of the assembly said, "Please keep quiet, make no noise.") You have heard the two interesting speeches of the elder brother and the younger brother. If the amendment that appears under this printed resolution is moved I will have to give a reply to the arguments that may be advanced in support of that amendment. But for the present I confine my remarks to the proposition that has been moved by the mover of the resolution. (The President maintained order and asked the audience to keep silence.)

*Sjt.
Vallabhbhai
Patel.*

Sjt. Patel continuing said, "This resolution means nothing else but business. (Repeating) This is a business resolution. I think this resolution is

All India
Khaddar
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—
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Vallabhbhai
Patel.

to be the most important of all the resolutions during this sessions of the Congress, of which you have heard for the last 4 or 5 days. When Mahatma Gandhi went to jail, he gave only one message to the people of India. That message was, "Give me Khaddar and I give you Swaraj." He has been in jail for about 20 months, and the work of Khaddar that he had left at the time when he went to jail, has been mostly neglected. There was no Khaddar drum up till now. You had heard many drums of very interesting and exciting tales and stories. The whole country was plunged into drums which drowned the drum of Khaddar. To-day, in this country we want to have one voice throughout the length and breadth of the country, -at any rate, till we put this resolution on a sound workable basis. This resolution proposes to form a committee which is authorised to raise funds including the raising of loans in the market. A Government that proposes to govern needs power to raise funds. It needs power to raise loans. Our Congress must have the reputation and credit to raise funds and loans. (Hear, hear). And this Board of business men of established reputation must have power and capacity to raise loans in open market in a more convenient manner than the Government that has got power to govern by force. "What is there in Khaddar?", you may ask me. I can tell you and it might be known to those who have witnessed the last elections, that even the votes went to the Khaddar cap, the votes went in favour of those who went putting on Khaddar caps. In my small province, in the Taluk of Borsad, there is a band of a few Dharalas running amok and this Government with all its authority and power to enforce law and order have failed to arrest them for the last seven years. But those very Dharalas have sent letters to the Satyagraha Camp of Borsad to the effect that "we assure you that we don't loot, we don't molest, we don't harass people who put on white caps". That shows the tremendous influence and power of Khaddar. This Board will undertake the work of the establishment of business centres, which must spread the message of Khaddar, all over the land. Then and then only we can compete with the foreign trade which at present is ruling India. To-day there are 20 Congress Provinces in the country. You all must have experience with regard to your respective provinces. How many provinces there are which can organise and raise funds, borrow loans and return loans and keep this ancient industry which has once again been revived and which is intended to compete with the foreign industry that has been firmly established in this country. The foreigners have got all the advantages on their side. You cannot have the popular support unless and until you have established credit. Mahatma Gandhi sends a message that if you turn all the Congress organisations into Khaddar Boards you can have Swaraj.

This Board is supposed to help all these provinces in organising provincial Khaddar Boards. But it can only be done if this Board is given sufficient powers. It has no desire to interfere with the powers of the Provincial Congress Committee. But business stands on a different footing. Many businessmen are afraid of dealing with Congress organisations because there is no stability and people are virtually afraid of lending their money to such organisations. To-day one committee is in power. As the political situation changes, the policy also changes. You cannot have business in that fashion. Therefore, it is proposed that the life of this Board should be of three years. I should have desired much wider powers than those contained in this resolution. I desire to emphasise that the All-India Congress Committee should not interfere in matters of business and it must be prepared to trust honest businessmen. But I think it will take sometime before the A. I. C. C. can be brought to that frame of mind. I therefore appeal for your moral support and also appeal for advising your provincial organisations to trust upon select men. By all means ask for the report, look

into the accounts, remove them if they do not satisfy your requirements. But don't interfere if your political views change. It is with this view that this resolution is framed. Under this resolution there is complete co-operation from the various Provincial organisations. You will see that this Board has to work in co-operation with the Provincial organisations. All Provincial Boards are appointed by the Provincial organisations, and this Board has to work with the Provincial Board. There is no time for other work except for constructive work. And, what is that constructive work? This is that constructive work. Take charge of all the district organisation, the taluk organisation, the village organisations, turn them into Khaddar Boards, turn them into running wheels, and then and then only we can carry on the business, and then and then only we will be able to complete the work. Don't think that the rule is established by bayonets. Nobody is afraid of a gun. The only thing that counts for attaining Swaraj is the capacity to govern. In this resolution you want at least to establish and show your capacity as business men. This is all what I have to say. If there is any amendment I shall come to give my reply.

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Board
—
Sjt.
Vallabhohari
Patel.*

The PRESIDENT : I should like to announce that the gentlemen who had given notice of the amendment had not sent in the name of the seconder. He himself had disappeared. There is no trouble about it, it causes no uneasiness for us, but the printing here costs some money for the Congress.

The mover of the amendment who has given notice said that he was there.

Sjt. J. M. GHOSH who was called upon to speak, said :—

Mr. President, Brothers and Sisters! here I am to say nothing new except what you have been hearing for the last 3 years. I am sorry I am to oppose it. I think that this Khaddar movement after all cannot be a success because to-day the cost of living here in this country is rather higher. Every man will have at least, not less than 8 annas a day by working otherwise ; but by producing yarn on the Charkha no man can earn more than two annas a day. And therefore, I don't think in any way at this present condition of the country this Khaddar movement can only be a success if we have a Protection policy in order to protect the industry for ourselves. I have gone through the work that has been produced by Acharya Profulla Chandra Ray, but we have found that the cost of production is great ; and on this particular point I believe we are handicapped. I believe, when India is connected with other parts of the world and when within 48 hours whatever is done we can get information whether we might not want all that, when there are such facilities the Foreigners may offer us,—but they are still knocking at our doors. You remember the history of Japan. When Japan did not intend to communicate with other nations of the world, but still when the American trade was at the gate (The President rings the bell indicating that the time was up). I am sorry (Cries of "Go on, go on"). Japan—(Again the bell rang). I have no time.

*Sjt.
J. M.
Ghosh.*

The speaker then withdrew from the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT:— The mover says that no reply is necessary after the speech that has been heard. So I now put the resolution to vote.

The mover of the amendment withdrew his opposition.

The PRESIDENT having taken the votes, declared that the resolution was carried.

Congress Constitution.

Dr.
B. Pattabhi
Sitaramayya.

Dr. B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA in moving further amendments to the Constitution said:—

There are a few more amendments to the Constitution. These may be very dry, but I think they form the very basis of our Congress organisation (Hear, hear).

Article XXIV should be read as follows:—

The All-India Congress Committee shall, at its first meeting after the annual sessions of the Congress, elect nine members who shall, with the President, General Secretaries and Treasurers, be the Working Committee of the Congress and the executive authority responsible to the All-India Congress Committee in all matters.

In the existing Article, it is said that the Working Committee should discharge such functions as are delegated to it from time to time by the All-India Congress Committee. Now, in so many words the Working Committee is made the executive of the All-India Congress Committee which, in its turn, is the executive of the National Congress. But the Working Committee is at the same time made responsible to the All-India Congress Committee. Then again, the words, "after the annual sessions" are newly added, so that the appointment of the Working Committee may take place after the Congress is over; and this year, it will take place to-morrow. A rider is also added that all the proceedings of the Working Committee shall be placed before the next meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. The need for such a rider is evident.

Then Article XXIX. Add the following below Article XXIX.

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

- (a) The resolutions recommended for adoption by the Subjects Committee.
- (b) Any substantive motion not included in (a) but which does not fall under Art. XXIX of the Constitution 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.

This rule which you may see in the paper circulated before you is bodily copied from the old rules of the National Congress—rules made by the late Mr. Gokhale. The object of this rule is to make it impossible for any one to come to the open Congress and bring up an altogether new motion without its having

been previously considered by the Subjects Committee. No provision exists in the present Constitution to prevent such a contingency and the old rule which had been abrogated by the altered Constitution of 1920 has been restored to-day.

*Congress
Constitution.*

Dr.

*B. Pattabhi
Sitaramayya.*

Then Article XXXI. Delete the Article altogether. That Article was only a transitory provision designed to help the elections at the time of the Ahmedabad Congress or the Nagpur reconstitution. Instead of that, it is worded thus :

The All-India Congress Committee shall at its first meeting every year nominate a panel of 12 members to enquire into and finally decide all election disputes. The parties to the dispute shall nominate one each out of this panel to represent the respective disputants and the President shall choose the third.

It may be within your knowledge that there have been numerous election disputes both in relation to the elections to the All-India Congress Committee as well as the elections of delegates to the Congress ; and it has not been possible to establish tribunals then and there to dispose of these disputes. It has therefore been thought necessary to establish an impartial panel of 12 members elected by the members of the All-India Congress Committee at its first meeting every year—that is to say, just before the Congress sits. Then out of these 12 members each party chooses one as its representative and the President shall select the umpire between the two. Therefore, an impartial tribunal is always guaranteed and work will be expedited.

Congress Proceedings To Be In Hindusthani.

Then you go to what is really a most interesting portion of the amended constitution and what perhaps constitutes a landmark in the history of the Congress.

“Article XXXIII. The proceedings of the Congress, shall be conducted as far as possible in Hindustani; English or the language of the Province may also be used.

“All other consequential changes are to be made in the articles and appendices.”

Now, Gentlemen, for the first time in the history of the Congress this important innovation has been made but at the same time, this innovation only registers a practice which has steadily grown in the deliberations of this National Assembly. Those of you who have been attending the Congress must have seen how imperceptibly Hindustani—call it Hindi or Urdu—has replaced English as the national language of India. Sooner or later, this must come into existence and it is a matter of great shame to all to hang on to English as our national language. But, at the same time, when this question was brought up at Delhi three years ago, it was considered premature as well as tactless to force a decision in so many words especially against the wishes of South Indian delegates. Therefore, a period of two years has been allowed to elapse not only to prepare the public mind for this radical alteration, but also in order to give an opportunity to the South Indian delegates themselves to learn Hindi. Now, those of you who belong to Andhradesa may know how almost in every village there is a Hindi teacher holding his school, appointed on Rs 40 a month and leading a most honourable livelihood, preparing the country for the understanding of the proceedings of the National Congress.

Congress
Constitution.

Dr.

B. Pattabhi
Sitaramayya.

When we ourselves went to Ahmedabad or Nagpur, we had to return with gaping mouths and blank minds because we could not appreciate and understand Hindustani jokes and the Hindustani jokes were often practised in the deliberations, and we had to receive all these from the so-called untutored minds who had no knowledge of English. Therefore, I commend this resolution to your acceptance.

There are a few more amendments of a consequential nature based upon the previous amendments and I commend them also to your acceptance. In the absence of Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, the President asks me to propose as well as second. I dare say you will be prepared to accept this innovation also. (Laughter).

The PRESIDENT: I will explain this resolution in Urdu or Hindustani before I put it to vote.

After his speech in Urdu, he put the resolution to vote and declared it carried.

Indians Abroad.

The following resolution was put from the Chair:

Indians
Abroad.
The President.

In view of the humiliating treatment accorded to Indian labourers in various parts of the British Empire, this Congress advises the people of India to consider the question of stopping all kinds of emigration from India for labour purposes and calls upon the Working Committee to appoint a small committee to examine the matter in all aspects and report to the All-India Congress Committee.

In moving the resolution the President, Maulana Mohamed Ali said: (Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya translated into Telugu).

Time has come when we must seriously consider the question of the position of our countrymen abroad and let it be known to the whole world that Indians are not going to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. But it has been suggested to us that before actually stopping emigration, we should consider the condition of our labourers here in this country itself. For this purpose, this Committee will examine the entire question and will report to the All India Congress Committee, on behalf of the Indian nation.

The resolution was put to vote and carried *nem con.*

Office-Bearers.

Office-bearers.
The President.

The PRESIDENT next moved the following :—

“Resolved that the following office-bearers be appointed:—

General Secretaries: Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.
Dr. Saif-ud-din Kitchlew.
Sjt. Gangadharow Deshpande.

Treasurers: Sjt. Velji Lakshmsi Nappu.

Sjt. Reva Shankar Jagjivan Jhaveri.

Auditors.

Resolved that Messrs. C. H. Sopariwalla and Co., be appointed auditors for the year.

The resolution was put to vote and carried.

Thanks To The Out-going Office-bearers.

The President moved:

"This Congress places on record its grateful thanks for the valuable services rendered by the out-going General Secretaries."

I hope you will all place on record your sense of gratefulness to our retiring Secretaries. I would particularly like to mention Mr. Gopalakrishnayya, our working Secretary who has been most indefatigable in assisting us. Do you accept it? (Oh, yes.)

The motion was carried by applause.

Venue Of The Next Congress.

The President next announced that the Subjects Committee had decided to accept the invitation for the next Congress from Karnatak where he himself was a prisoner. (Laughter). He moved:

"This Congress resolves that its next sessions be held in Karnatak."

The motion was put to vote and carried.

Sjt. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar.

Lastly, the President moved:

This Congress condemns the continued incarceration of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, and expresses its sympathy with Dr. N. D. Savarkar and other members of his family.

Mr. Savarkar, as you know, received a life sentence from this Bureaucracy. His brother also received, I believe, the same sentence. And, I may add, as a prisoner myself, I occupied the room in the Bijapur jail where the brother of Sjt. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, Sjt. Ganesh Savarkar was living. Mr. Ganesh Savarakar has been released. But Mr. Vinayak Damodar Savarakar has not been released and this is the reason why we are making an exception in condemning the action of the Government with regard to one single prisoner. The reason is that this poor man is being most vindictively kept in jail when he is entitled to be released. And yet, this Government calls itself a Christian Government and says, "Revenge is God's Law," Friends, the time is past when we will have to protest against these things. But by passing this resolution, we only show to the whole world how the Government is dealing in this matter in a most vindictive and mean spirit. I hope you all accept this resolution.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Auditors.

The President.

*Thanks to the
Out-going
Office-bearers.*

The President.

Next Congress

The President.

*Sjt.
Vinayak
Damodar
Savarkar.*

The President.

Sjt.
Vinayak
Damodar
Savarkar.

Sjt. KEDARINATH SHUKLA spoke in Urdu. (*Vide Appendix : Hindusthani Speeches*).

The following is the English translation:—

Mr. President and Brothers !

Sjt.
Kedarinath
Shukla.

I stand here just to speak a word. I never spoke until now on any subject. Therefore I beg to be excused for any possible mistakes. I am astonished to see you passing a resolution about Mr. Sarvarkar's going to jail. What is your view in passing a condolence resolution yesterday at Mr. Chandrovarkar's death? Who was it that sent Savarkar to jail? It was Chandravarkar, that sent him to jail. You are passing a resolution expressing sympathy for his demise. (Cries of question, question). Is the Congress promising anything. (Cries of "Sit down, Sit down").

Srimathi SARASWATI BAI sang an Urdu song paying a laudable tribute to Sjt. Savarkar.

Vote of Thanks.

Vote of thanks.

Desabhakta
Venkataswamy

At 6-50 P. M. DESABHAKTA K. VENKATAPPAYYA, Chairman of the Reception Committee, rose amidst cheers to propose a vote of thanks and he spoke thus:—

Mr. President, Brothers & Sisters!

By the grace of God, the regular business of the Congress has come to a close. I have now the most pleasant duty of offering thanks to those who have made it possible for us to hold the Congress and also to those who have made this session the great success it has come to be. You have come here from far and near and at great inconvenience and expense to yourselves. You have come from the most distant corners of the country in spite of numerous difficulties of journey, particularly due to the breaches in the railway line from Calcutta to Cocanada. Some of you, I know, have travelled long distance even on foot. That demonstrates the great love that you bear for our Motherland.

The one unique feature of this Congress is the Reception Committee with as many as 4,500 members on its rolls—men and women of all communities and classes belonging to towns and villages, thus making this Congress pre-eminently a people's Congress. (Hear, hear). You also might have seen the great interest evinced by the people of Andhradesa for the Congress in the large crowds that have been going round all these days over these grounds and the huge attendance of 40 to 50 thousand people at the overflow meetings.

Gentlemen, these grounds which are about 120 acres in extent, affording almost illimitable space for the construction of all the structures which you find round about this great pavilion, mostly belong to private owners who have lent them for the purpose of the Congress, and part of the ground belongs also to the Municipality. The Reception Committee owes its thanks to the owners and the Municipality for the generous way in which they have lent these grounds to us, and particularly to the Municipal Council and to its Chairman, K. Suryanarayana Murthi Naidu Garu, who has been so liberal to us, though he belongs to a political school of thought different from ours. He has generously helped us in our endeavours to hold this Session here in every possible way that a Municipality can help us, in laying out the roads, in the repair and

construction of bridges in the laying out of water-pipes and in affording all such other accommodation and convenience as has been found necessary. Particular mention must be made of the sanitary arrangements by the Municipality and their efficient management by its staff.

Vote of thanks.

—
*Dcsabhakta
Venkatappayya*

I also feel bound to acknowledge with thanks the help rendered by the Railway authorities by constructing a platform on the grounds. The delegates and visitors found it easy to alight on the platform and walk direct to the various camps allotted to them. This undoubtedly is a great convenience afforded to us by the liberality of the Railway authorities.

I must also make mention of the remarkable co-operation that we have received at the hands of the merchants, of the great body of pleaders,—the practising lawyers of this City and of the surrounding towns. They have liberally come forward to make a common cause with the actual Congress workers,—not only to collect funds necessary but also to make all the arrangements required for the holding of the Congress. Night and day they have toiled hard and contributed to the success of the Congress.

Then come our large army of volunteers and its Captain, Mr. J. Ramachandrarao, who was also in jail with me for one year. (Cheers). Many of these volunteers also served their terms in the jail. They have all laboured hard for the Congress. They need no thanks, but, at the same time, we must appreciate the great work done by them. They are the great army ready to march for Civil Disobedience when the call comes from the Congress. (Hear, hear and applause). It is for you, gentlemen, to judge how they have acquitted themselves in the various duties that have been assigned to them during this by no means a short session.

One special feature of our volunteer body is the lady volunteer corps consisting of 150 ladies with Mrs. Kamaladevi as their Captain. (Hear, hear). The ladies in the Andhradesh are taking a great deal of interest in the Congress work generally and have co-operated with us in our endeavours to make this Congress a success.

It is impossible to refer to all the workers by their names and even to make mention the names of some of them will lead to invidious distinctions. In fact it is difficult to distinguish between them, as every one of them has done his utmost. Even the cooks in the kitchen have had their own share in the success of this session. It was highly commendable to have kept off from this great assembly and to have studiously attended to their own duties in the kitchen with uncommon self-restraint on their part. (Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya added: good example to politicians!) I make mention of one only of workers that is Mr. M. Venkatrao who has been responsible for the laying out of the plan of this fine City, Gandhinagar and Shaukatabad which is a part of it. Mr. Venkatrao, our Engineer, is a non-co-operator *par excellence*. He gave up his service in the Government and joined the Congress corps of workers. He has toiled night and day for the construction of these buildings and supervising every detail thereof.

I must also mention the great body of contractors who have so successfully fulfilled their agreements.

The special feature of this Congress is its great pavilion in which we are all now seated. Mr. Mukherji, a citizen of Calcutta reputed to be one of the most leading tent-builders in India, has loaned us this tent on hire. It has sitting accommodation for 14,000 people. It may not be out of place to refer

Vote of thanks.
 ———
Desabhakta
Venkatappayya

here to one of the stipulations in the agreement entered into with him. The cost of the lease is 23,500. But it is agreed that on payment of Ra. 13,000 more he would leave us the whole tent, giving up ownership in it. This stipulation was made with the hope that the All India Congress Committee might purchase it and thus secure a settled habitation at least for some years for the Congress, special or general that might be held in different parts of the country. One other matter that deserves your notice is that the whole covering of the tent is made of pure Andhra Khaddar, (hear, hear and applause) manufactured in the towns and villages in the neighbourhood of Cocanada.

Now, I make the humble suggestion that the All India Congress Committee may purchase it. If they undertake to do so, we shall now advance the thirteen thousand rupees required for the purchase and take it ourselves to give it away to the All India Congress Committee on payment of the amount at their convenience. (President: Hear, hear). I may make another suggestion to my esteemed friend, Mr. Gangadhararao, Deshpande as the invitor of the next Congress Session to Karnatak, that he may advise the Reception Committee to purchase the tent for their use at the next session and after using it, hand it over to the next Reception Committee which may in its turn transfer it to the next Reception Committee and so on; it will change hands while forming the permanent property of the Congress to be utilised for each annual session. We can thus relieve the Reception Committee each time of the great burden of putting up a pendal at enormous cost and labour. I hope these suggestions of mine will receive proper consideration on the part of those to whom I have made them.

Then, I am reminded also of the Sanitary department and of the hospital without which it is impossible that such a large gathering as this, could be properly conducted. The attendance at the hospital was as much as 3,000 and odd out-patients and 81 in-patients of whom 43 were ladies. We may easily understand what amount of labour and trouble and attention this hospital authorities, these doctors and compounders that were in charge of the hospital had to undergo in order to give relief to those that had gone to them. In the hospital there was not only Allopathic treatment but also Unani and Ayurvedic treatment all acting not in opposition to but in harmony with each other.

I must also make mention of the Decoration Department whose skill has contributed to make the tent so beautiful and entertaining.

The Post and Telegraph Departments have also opened their offices here and received telegrams, letters and packets at any hour of the day, to the utmost convenience of the delegates and office bearers that have been conducting their business here.

I should also refer to the Co-operative Bank which has opened its branch office here to receive deposits from the delegates and to keep accounts and hand over the balance to them on demand.

I must also thank the Ladies' Recreation Club who have given their grounds for opening the stalls for Exhibition. There is also the Ambulance Corps. In this connection I gratefully acknowledge the services of my friend Dr. Sathay who has come down with his corps from the Bombay National Medical College and has been helping us and co-operating with us in this department of the Congress work.

If I have omitted by oversight to mention any other department or body of workers or any individual who have contributed their services for this session

of the Congress, I beg their pardon for the omission and propose to them a hearty vote of thanks.

Vote of thanks.

Desabhaia

Venkatappayya

I shall not detain you any further. I venture to state that it is a successful session (hear, hear) because of the unity that has been brought about (applause) in the ranks of the Congress. We are more united to-day than ever before, at least more invited than since Delhi Special Session which was held a few months back. After this I hope the differences will be forgotten and that we shall all enter into the field united and work out the constructive programme. If we carry on our work vigorously, we shall forget all differences as we did in 1921 under the guidance of Mahatmaji himself. We shall set ourselves to the task and be able to give a good account of ourselves by the time Mahatmaji comes out of the jail which, I hope, will not be very long. It shall not be long if we work vigorously, with real sincerity and devotion to the cause. It is our inability, our incapacity, our indifference and the disputes and dissensions amongst us, that have kept Mahatmaji so long in the jail.

With these remarks, ladies and gentlemen, I beg to take leave of you. I thank you once more, all of you from the bottom of my heart. Before resuming my seat, I feel bound to refer to our worthy President (loud applause) who has so ably conducted the proceedings and has spared no pains to bring about a union, (hear hear and applause), on which undoubtedly depends our future progress. I call upon Mr. L. Subba Rau to propose a vote of thanks to the President. (Cheers).

Sjt. L. SUBBA RAU (Andhra) said :—

Mr. President, Sisters and Brothers!

I am asked by the Chairman of the Reception Committee to propose a hearty vote of thanks to our worthy President, Maulana Mohamed Ali Saheb. He has been presiding over the deliberations of this Congress for the past five days. He came here in the hope that the Congress Sessions would commence on the 26th instant, but he was disappointed, somewhat pleasantly, of course, when he was told that it was adjourned to the 28th instant. He has put up with all inconveniences with patience and with pleasure. When I attended the previous sessions of the Congress, I knew that the President was being housed in palatial buildings and beautiful hotels. I am sorry to confess that we have neither palatial buildings here, nor beautiful hotels. We have put him in one of our own cottages amidst the delegates' camps behind the Congress Mantap. In this connection, I am happily reminded of Maulana Mohamed Ali's reply to an address presented to him by the ryots of the Godavari District. He asked us to go back to our villages. "Back to the huts," he has said. But even before he gave his reply to the ryots, we sent him back to the hut and back to this village of Gandhinagar which, in fact, forms part of the village, Ramarowpeta, which has been recently annexed as a suburb to the Cocanada City. We have paid him in his own coin (laughter) and he put up with this inconvenience with great pleasure.

Sjt.

L. Subbarau

I must also beg pardon of those ladies and gentlemen who have been put to considerable inconvenience by being lodged in some of the cottages which have been built after our fashion. All of you are aware that Cocanada is not a very big city and the arrangements here have been absolutely defective. None of us has been hitherto trained in arranging for a Congress on this huge scale and this is the first attempt we have made and it would be for our successors hereafter,

Vote of thanks. prohaps to hold a Congress session once again in Andhradesa. So far as we are concerned, we don't hope to see that day and we ask both the President and the delegates that have come here from far and near to excuse us for the defective arrangements that we have made.

Sjt.

L. Subbarau.

Let me mention here in this connection that, but for the whole-hearted manner in which our President has thrown himself into the Congress and its manifold activities ever since his release in August last, to-day we should have witnessed dissensions between Hindus and Mussalman, between Congressmen and Swarajists. The unity which was achieved at Delhi, or rather, the indifference with which the No-changers treated the Swarajists at Delhi was, I am speaking only from my knowledge of what appeared in newspapers, solely due to the efforts made by Maulana Mohamed Ali at the Delhi session. And, if the success of this session is in any way due to any personality,—of course, to any outstanding personality—I must say it is due to Maulana Mohamed Ali and the eloquent persuasion which he brought to bear upon the No-changers. Persons who were irreconcilable at Gaya and Delhi have now reconciled themselves to the present situation, chiefly with a view to bring about unity in the Congress ranks even at the sacrifice of some of their cherished personal opinions. That is an achievement for which Maulana Mohamed Ali's name will stand for ever and for ever in the annals of the history of this Congress. (Hear, hear, applause).

One more thing I have to mention that, with the greatest inconvenience, the mother of Maulana Mohamed Ali, the venerable Bi-Aman Saheba, in spite of her ripe age, has come to witness this session of the Congress. (Applause).

There is another important matter to mention. I must couple the name of Maulana Shaukat Ali who has contributed to the success of the Khilafat Conference and I might be permitted to add, to the success of the Congress also. (Hear, hear. Prolonged Cheers). Might I be permitted to add the name of Begum Mohamed Ali who has come here to witness our proceedings at considerable inconvenience.

Gentlemen, once more I thank the President and his party for having come to Cocanada at considerable personal inconvenience and successfully conducting the proceedings of this Congress. Gentlemen, there is one other thing which I originally wanted to mention and which I thought, would not have been quite in place. But I am reminded of it now and it has been pointed out to me that I should mention that Mrs. Kasturibai Gandhi has come into our midst in spite of a great shadow hanging over her since Mahatmaji has been incarcerated. (Loud Cheers). I might be permitted to add one personal note. My daughter who was born in May 1922 soon after the incarceration of Mahatma Gandhi was named after Mrs. Kasturibai. Gentlemen, it is a pride and privilege to associate my family with the name of Mrs. Kasturibai Gandhi.

Gentlemen, with these words, I once more propose a hearty vote of thanks to all our friends assembled here. (Cries of MAHATMA GANDHIKI JAI and ALLAHO AKBAR.)

Sjt. GANGADHARROW DESHPANDE, Karnatak, in supporting the vote of thanks to the President, said: (He was lustily cheered as he ascended the rostrum).

Ladies and Gentlemen I

As one of the oldest Congressmen here, I beg to support this proposition of vote of thanks to the President which has been placed before you. Maulana

Mohamed Ali is a towering personality not only in status, but in eminence which he has won in the country by his great patriotism. I may say, in fact, he is regarded as next to Mahatma Gandhi. He is the person to whom the country looks for guidance. (Applause). He is the gentleman in whom the country relies to make India united against a common enemy. England divided Germany because England knew how to unite and how to divide against a common enemy. (Unheard.) Gentlemen, under Maulana's guidance we have to learn how to unite against a common enemy and therefore, his services to the country at this session of the Congress would for ever be remembered by us. And therefore, I ask you to work out his programme. I do the utmost that I can for the completion of the constructive programme. I therefore heartily support this proposition of vote of thanks. I hope you will carry on with acclamation. (Loud Cheers.)

Vote of thanks.

Sjt.

*Gangadharrow
Deshpande.*

SRIYUT T. PRAKASAM in further supporting the vote of thanks, said:

Mr. President, Sisters and Brothers!

I have come here to offer our thanks to the Akali Dal, our Akali brethren, who have come here all the way from Amritsar; most of them came on foot walking. The Akali Dal which has been here doing the work of feeding the poor and all the while showing to the people of this part of the country how they should organise themselves, how they should conduct themselves and learn to serve others and work for the country and how they should not waste their time in controversies and discussions. (Hear, Hear). Those brethren have done very good propaganda by giving lectures to the large numbers of people that gathered and distributing leaflets containing precious stories of the Sikhs and leaders like Sirdar Mangal Singh gave us this opportunity and have taken great trouble and so we express our thanks to those Akali brethren and the Akali leaders. (Cheers).

Sjt.

T. Prakasam.

My revered leader, Mr. Gangadharrow Deshpande, has, in supporting the proposition of the vote of thanks to the President, told you about the President and his brother. I spoke already about them who, as soon as they came out of jail worked in the footsteps of Mahatmaji and began to take the lead (Hear, hear and applause). There is every prospect now of a new life being given to the country, and people marching as briskly as Maulana Shaukat Ali and the President are urging us on. Above all, the words that fell from the lips of Maulana Mohamed Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali gave the secret of how nations have been built. It is only by marching in union. Then only it can fight the enemy successfully whenever there is a necessity. There might be fighting amongst us on many occasions but when a question of common good arises, they should be ready to unite and it is only then the nation is fit to govern. And these brothers have shown how it is possible and it is this spirit that made them and Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel and Motilalji and others strive for unity and that is the greatest achievement of the Cocanada National Congress in the history of the national movement in India. I hope we are nearing our final Stage and that will be due to these two brothers and those who have co-operated with them. I hope you all and those of the Reception Committee would join with me in heartily thanking these brothers and all others. (Applause).

One other thing you might have noticed, or perhaps you might not have noticed, a thin figure moving about in these grounds, a white man who has come over here. (Hear, hear). His name is Peter Zavitski. He is a young man whom I happened to meet when I went to meet these Maulana brothers. The President asked me to provide a decent Bungalow for him. After bringing him

Vote of thanks.

Sjt.

T. Prakasam.

here I was taking him into the town to lodge him in the rest-house. After going a little distance he asked me, "Where are you taking me?" I said, "To a dak bunglow." He said with a smile, "Why are you taking me? Am I so unfortunate as not to live amongst you all? Give me some corner in one of your cottages here and I would sleep there and it would satisfy me." Then I brought him and put him up in a cottage. At first you would have seen him with his uniform, with his boots, trousers and tweed coat and a hat. But after the first day he took off his hat and put on the Gandhi cap. (Cheers). The next day you would have noticed him taking off the black coat and wearing a Khaddar jacket and to-day he is hiding himself there on the dais. You will find him in a *dhoti*, in all Indian Khaddar dress. (Addressing Mr. Zavitski) Will you please come over here? (Mr. Zavetski came up the rostrum and showed himself smilingly). There he is. (Loud and continued applause). Now I will finish with this gentleman. I finish with one word. This afternoon before the President's arrival, we met on the platform at the other end there. He took hold of me and asked me "Look here, I want to have one Charka in my hand. I would like the position of my life sanctified with it. I would like to go with it and preach peace in this land. (Hear, hear. Renewed applause). That is Peter Zavitski and that is the sort of man. I offer my thanks to him also here. (Cheers).

One gentleman, apparently mad, then came up the rostrum and began to say that he gave the Gandhi cap to Mr. Zavitski and that he was called as a C. I. D., a mad man and so forth. He created some fun. The President ordered him to withdraw.

Srimathi SAROJINI DEVI, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Reception Committee, said:—

*Srimathi
Sarojini Devi*

My Friends, I do not know whether I am the proper person to thank the Andhra Desa on behalf of all the other delegates as well as myself. I am an Andhra, I belong to the Andhradesa; perhaps you do not know that. But still, on behalf of all the delegates here assembled—from the big "drum" brother and the little brother that beats him (laughter) all the other little brothers and little sisters and the venerable mother and the sweet wife of the great leader whose sad eyes are watching us—I give thanks to the Andhradesa for its hospitality. Its graciousness and the great gift of unity that it has brought to disintegrated India. (Hear, hear). Everybody said, as I was coming to this place, "Well, Mrs. Naidu! What is this Timbuctoo, what is this Kamatschatka, where are we going? Why don't they choose a more civilised and easily accessible place? There will be naked people and there will be this and that." Yes, there was a naked soul of India asking for compassion in the midst of the Cocanada Congress (hear, hear) and the naked soul of India has received at least the compassion of the children of India. I think that, in the annals of the history of the Congress, this little Cocanada, this little seaport of Andhradesa will be ever remembered, because we have come to that stage where we can set about packing up our slavery, send away from our shores across this very sea. (Hear, hear, loud applause). Though it may seem very immodest, almost praising myself, when I praise Andhradesa, I think I may tell you how everybody here in this miraculous city that has known how to bring about unity into our divided ranks, men and women alike, look very charming. Usually, it is the women who are supposed to be more charming than men. But people tell me, the ladies also tell me, how sweet are the men of Andhradesa! It is the peculiar quality of this great country. Though Andhradesa has not the high intellectual faculty and the superior, dogged, stubborn culture of the neighbouring province of the Tamil Nadu so very well represented

on the platform here, yet it is in keeping with their steadiness and grace that are peculiar heritage of the women whom Mahatma Gandhi called "the Queens of the Spinning wheel", and therefore, their consorts also have qualities worthy of those queens. I am proud to-day that high and low alike, the leaders and the volunteers, all have kept alive that tradition of the last king of Andhradesa, Krishnadevaraya's hospitality, has been offered to the rest of India. (Cheers). I thank the elders and the leaders who got this big drum and the small drum as well. (Laughter). But still the young volunteers more, who night and day, day and night, were eager to discharge their duties willingly and to the best satisfaction of all always ran to serve before there was any need of service. That is a spirit which I have loved most and my fellow-delegates also have loved it with me. (Hear, hear). My first thanks, therefore, are to these young men who form our citizen army. Mr. Prakasam and Mr. Venkatappayya have said that they will readily march into prisons, when required.

Vote of thanks.

—
*Srimathi
Sarojini Devi.*

There is nothing more to say. There is only one name I am going very specially to mention. Mr. Prakasam talked to you of the white spectral figure from Europe. I am going to talk of an almost unclothed figure of the Andhradesa, a man who only a few weeks ago had his heart wounded with the biggest wound that can come to any man who is a father. And yet, in the service of his country, Mr. Sambamurti forgot his personal sorrow (hear, hear, applause) and transformed the tears of his agony into pearls of welcome for his fellow-countrymen and the anguish of his heart was turned into dedicated service and if he represents the embodied spirit of the Andhradesa the Andhras will set India free. (Loud applause).

PUNDIT MOTILAL NEHRU, in supporting the proposition of the Vote of Thanks, said :—

Mr. President, Brother and Sister Delegates !

(The speaker then spoke in Hindi. Continuing in English, he said :)

This is the usual proposition which is proposed at the conclusion of a session of the Congress. But my experience of this resolution in previous Congresses has always been that if there is one resolution which all the delegates assembled passed whole-heartedly, it is this resolution. I have seen for the last few years that we assemble with feelings of doubt, with feelings of suspicion and we are not at all sure as to how we shall part. But it has been our good fortune in the past, so it has been at this Congress, though that element of doubt continued, you allow me to say that we are passing with the lightest of hearts and with full sympathies with our friends. I thank the volunteers of the Reception Committee on your behalf for the very kind attention they have paid to us and I endorse every word of Mrs. Naidu had said before you. Indeed, I don't think I can speak so portentous as she has indulged in any figure of speech or in any poetical description, but any description would fall short of the real truth. The volunteers of the Reception Committee have done their duty so remarkably well that no praise can be so high to them. Speaking personally, for all the attention which my age and limitation require, I have seen there was not of one voice of complaint raised by anybody as regards the arrangements of the Reception Committee and the willing services rendered by the volunteers. Now, I congratulate you, gentlemen, at this concluding hour of the Congress for having to part with your friends with the pleasure of love which you must have borne in your heart, and all must carry. (Cheers).

*Pundit
Motilal Nehru*

This is almost the translation of what I spoke in Hindi, I suppose.
(Laughter).

Vote of thanks.

SARDAR MANGAL SINGH in supporting the vote of thanks said:—

*Sardar
Mangal Singh.*

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen !

I regard it a great pleasure and privilege in taking part in this pleasant function. In fact I regard it a special honour to join the thanks giving to the Chair. I take this opportunity to pay my humble tribute of love and affection to our worthy President. I trust that under his able generalship the country will march from victory to victory until the walls of the bureaucratic citadel are broken and the gates of the jails are thrown open. Gentlemen, I must thank you all for your kind references and generous remarks in your speeches about the Sikhs throughout the national week and for unanimous resolution you have passed to-night giving us your whole-hearted support in our struggle for freedom against the bureaucracy. You all know that this time the Government have come out with their last weapon to crush us once for all. You are also aware that ever since the inception of the Akali movement the Government have been trying to put us down by all means fair or foul. They have tried wholesale arrests, they have tried fines and confiscation of property, they have tried the use of lathi, they have tried bayonets and what not? But thank God, from every fire of persecution we have come out purified and ever more strengthened. (Hear, hear). At every attempt to break us down we have risen up ever more united; at every effort to dispirit us we have come out all the more determined to carry on our sacred mission up to the last. (Hear, hear and loud applause).

Gentlemen! We have come here with a message of love and I am glad to say we find here a splendid response on behalf of the brave Andhras. Ever since our arrival here we have received nothing but love and respect. Everywhere in the street of Cocanada as well as in the Gandhinagar we have all along been treated most kindly by the volunteers and the members of the Reception Committee and in fact by all Andhras, for which I cannot give an adequate expression of our feelings of thankfulness and gratitude. I and my friends here will carry with us loving memories of your treatment and we will tell our friends there in the Punjab that the brave Andhras will stand by the Akalis to a man. (Hear, hear, and loud applause).

Gentlemen, we are small in number; We are not a rich people. We are fighting for the vindication of the most elementary rights of freedom of worship and freedom of association. And for this we have been declared unlawful, but this is not the only time that we have been declared unlawful. We were declared so at our very birth. The policy of repression has not succeeded anywhere in the world and it is still less likely to succeed with the Sikhs for we are a community of martyrs. The oppression would only give us a chance to grow—for the Khalsa grows with the blood of the martyrs. I say not with pride but in all humility that by the grace of God and with your kind and generous support we will carry on the struggle to a successful termination. With ill-will towards none and with love for all we are determined to demonstrate to the world that the ideal of soul force, that is, Gandhism is not only an empty talk but it can be used as a powerful practical weapon in vindicating the demands of truth and justice. (Cries of Mahatma Gandhi ki jai). With these few words I thank our worthy President and pray for his long life and unbroken health; so that he may always be able to lead us along the right path at this most critical juncture of our history. (Loud applause).

As the President rose to conclude the deliberations of the Congress, there were cries of "Bolo Mahatma Gandhiki Jai". Then, Mr. Kowjalgi wanted to speak and the President said, "Here comes an invitation from Mr. Kowjalgi."

Vote of thanks.

*Invitation of
the Congress.*

Sjt. Kowjalgi.

Shriyut KOWJALGI of Karnatak spoke thus:—

Sisters and Brothers !

I don't stand before you to thank anybody but merely to complain. The first complaint I have to make is against my older, though not the bigger, brother Sjt. Gangadharrao Deshpande. After telling me to go and to propose the invitation of the next Congress to Karnatak, after thrusting upon me this work, he apparently did not inform the President. I came and sat waiting, waiting for an announcement from the Chair to speak but nearly half-a-dozen speakers came after me and spoke for nearly forty-five minutes.

My second complaint is against our worthy President himself. I know you have all thanked him. I won't thank him for thrusting himself and you all on Karnatak uninvited. Personally, gentlemen, I am glad of his attitude in this matter, because there is a saying in our parts that when a friend comes home uninvited he is doubly dear. (Hear, hear). Therefore, I am fully satisfied and feel happy over the fact that my friend Maulana Mohamed Ali has accepted our invitation on your behalf even without our formally proposing it.

(President : I am a Karnataki myself). But young Karnatak feels that her self-respect is offended. And, they said, "How is this invitation put to the House without our giving it formally? You must go forward and give it." They insisted upon my doing so and I requested the President to make up for this offence against the self-respect of young Karnatak by not throttling me with his bell till I finish. Brethren, leaving out this lighter vein, I most seriously, most heartily, on behalf of Karnatak invite you all to our province where we want to hold the next Congress. Ours is a small province only three years old and divided between three sovereigns. Still, we have made up our hearts to serve our Motherland, and what are our credentials? We have gained during that short time the good opinion of Mahatma Gandhi by our solid and selfless work. Some of our friends might be afraid that Karnatak may change its resolve as they did here at Cocanada in regard to the resolution passed by the Bijapur Conference. But, I assure you, gentlemen, that Karnatak will not change in this their resolution to hold the next sessions of the Congress. Yesterday speaker after speaker assailed Karnatak for having changed so soon after Bijapur. Karnatak sat silent. Do you know, why? Because, it could not talk. Karnatak does not boast of any big orators or big politicians. It only takes credit for having pure and genuine workers of the Congress. They are known more for the quality of their hearts than the quality of their head, and, gentlemen, I tell you it is this quality which has endeared them to Mahatmaji. They intend to put this quality to test before the united patriotism of India next year; and, God willing, they hope to succeed. Brothers and sisters, I feel in the heart of my hearts some inspiration. Shall I whisper to you? (Moulana Shaikat Ali:- No, no. Laughter). Next year we hope to have Mahatmaji as our President in Karnatak. (Hear, hear.) Loud and continued applause, cries of "Mahatma Gandhiki Jai". The devotion of Karnatak to Mahatmaji, if it be true and if the prayers that they are sending forth to God night and day be effective,—I assure you, brothers

Vote of thanks.

*Invitation of
the Congress.*

Sjt. Kowjalgi.

and sisters, that Mahatmaji would be out before the next session of the Congress and will preside at this august assembly in the Karnatak. I was going to say, Bijapur. But that would have been taken as an offence by my friends and brethren in Karnatak. Some friends ask me here about the venue of the next Congress in Karnatak. I said, my good brothers, there is a quadrangular fight for the venue. Mangalore is claiming as the biggest City in Karnatak to have the Congress there. Dharwar says, "I am the capital of Karnatak. So the next Congress must be held in Dharwar." Belgaum, the residence of our Chief, Sjt. Gangadharrao Deshpande, claims, "Here is our President's residence. Therefore the Congress should be held here." But my poor self and my colleagues say that Bijapur is a historic city and therefore it should have precedence over others. Gentlemen, I expect to satisfy the other gentlemen, but there is going to be a big fight between me and my elder brother over this question. (Laughter). I tell you in confidence success is trembling in the balance. And nobody knows whether Belgaum wins, or Bijapur. Whatever that be, gentlemen, I can assure you we will not carry our fight to that pitch to which it has been carried in other provinces. Whatever fight we may have, we will serve each other wholeheartedly and through our united co-operation, our Motherland. That is the strong point of Karnatak. As I told you, we were charged with having changed so soon. For myself, I tell you, I do not care whether we changed or not. Our chief leader, Sjt. Rajagopalachariar assured us that we have not changed. (Some one on the dais rings the bell so as to mean that the speaker should close his speech). I accepted it with full faith yesterday at the time of voting. Young Karnatak knows about it. Do you know, gentlemen, that Karnatak has saved the situation in order to bring about unity? My sister, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, wants to give credit to Andhradesa. However, I want to claim it for Karnatak. (Hear, hear). If Karnatak had not changed yesterday and gone into that enclosure what would have been the fate of the main resolution? Therefore, the credit for bringing about unity must be given to Karnatak. But let me assure you I am not envious about my Andhra brethren. I wanted to explain fully the philosophy of this change.

I have taken much of your time. My friends are anxious that I should close. Therefore I am stopping. Gentlemen, change or no change, Karnatak will welcome all the patriots of India next year. And, we extend our welcome in spite of our change to my friends, Babu Shyam Sundar Chakravarti, Pundit Sundar Lal and Gauri Shankar Misra, and we tell them that they might go on fighting there if they like. But Karnatak will not join them in their fights. Her only pleasure is in serving the Motherland to her best. (The bell rings amidst continued applause).

Sriyut DIWANSHEB JANAVEKAR of Karnatak in seconding Sjt.

Kowjalgi, said:—

*Diwansheb
Janavekar.*

Mr. President and brother delegates, I do not take much of your time in seconding Mr. Kowjalgi's proposition inviting the Congress to Karnatak. I wish you will all accept our invitation heartily and you will all come next year, and, as my brother has told you, we shall elect Mahatma Gandhi as our President. (Cheers).

The President's Concluding Address.

Maulana Mohamed Ali, President of the Congress, in bringing the session to a close, said :—

Friends, I am no lawyer, but if I had been, I could have rejoiced over the fact that as the President of this Congress, I who have the last word would have given the last verdict—just as I had almost my first word even though it was a very big word. I don't like to propose to take four hours to-night as it was on the first day for my Presidential address, because there is still a Committee—thank God, there is no longer the Subjects Committee—but still a committee to meet immediately after we have closed the business of the day. With reference to the very extraordinary incident that has occurred, while the resolutions were being voted upon, came in a complaint that Karnatak invitation had not been given and we had accepted it! (Laughter). May I say the invitation was thrust upon us? (Renewed laughter). Seven or eight provinces were there and Karnatak fought tooth and nail almost violently and won. And now, Mr. Kowjalgi comes here at the last moment with his complaint and he says he hopes that the President will not be going to ring the bell. Even myself found it difficult to bell the cat. I found it still more difficult to bell Mr. Kowjalgi. That bell was the sign of my office, and sad to say, I have parted with that sign of my office now. And my friends in the Subjects Committee and my friend here will no longer hear that bell. (Laughter). But that bell was a very necessary instrument. It has done its work.

*The President's
Concluding
Address.*

The last use to which I should like to put it to-day is to remind you that we are to-day in the New Year. Let us also begin a new era of life and unite and let us ring out the old and ring in the new. This is the last use to which I should like to put that bell. Let us with the New Year start a new era. So far as Karnatak is concerned, it is I who have got a complaint against Karnatak. What right has Mr. Kowjalgi greater than myself to invite the Congress to Bijapur? My name is Mohamed Ali Bijapurkar, and as such, I ought to invite, I entirely deny the right of Mr. Kowjalgi to take my place. (Hear, hear. Applause).

The Reception Committee has already been thanked by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, by Pundit Motilal Nehru, by Sirdar Mangal Singh and by others. I should also like to thank them not only on behalf of the delegates, but also on my own behalf. I think I need not apologise, perhaps, I can assure them that although I am not a prince, I have seen many princely palaces—I put up in palatial buildings—but I can assure them I was in none of them happier than in my hut to which they had consigned me. And, I do not know that there is any Indian out of the three hundred millions who would not have had liked to share with me the hut that was given to me.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee has thanked the owners of this plot of land, the ladies of the Recreation Club, the Railway authorities, the Municipality, the merchants and the practising lawyers who went out in collecting funds, showing that there is use even for co-operating lawyers. He has thanked them all and others whom, he said, he might have omitted. If he has omitted, I am here going to thank the leaders of the Liberal and the Justice Parties in this Province who have responded most cordially to our invitation. One of the leading lights of Liberalism and Journalism thinks that I am changed beyond recognition. I am afraid my friend had never recognised me before. (Laughter). However, it is not my fault. I am a "no-changer". But I hope

*The President's
Concluding
Address.*

he is more than wrong in saying that there is nothing in common between these Non-co-operators and the Liberals. For, I hope one thing is common between us and that is the love of this land. (Cheers).

I have already stated in my opening address and I repeat it that we will not have to wait very long, I hope, for a united Congress very shortly not only of No-changers and Swarajists but one in which we shall also have the Liberals and the Moderates and even the Zo-huzoors. (Hear, hear). We shall always be a combined and united Congress. But then I am not quite sure we are going to have another Congress in Bijapur; I do not want that the record of the Congress over which I preside should be beaten by the Bijapur Congress over which my friend Kowjalgi wants Mahatma to preside. (Laughter). No, friends, let this be the last Congress and let us at Bijapur open the Parliament of India. (Loud and prolonged applause. Cries of "Mahatma Gandhiki Jai," "Allaho Akbar," etc).

In exhausting the list—which is inexhaustible—of the people, we owe our thanks to those wonderful Keertan parties to whom I am obliged. Even though I have gone to bed at 3 o'clock I have been able to rise at 6 o'clock and offer my morning prayers. This is the first Congress when I had the most enjoyable feast. This is the first experience I have had of these Keertan parties and I can assure you it is the most enjoyable thing that I ever had. The volunteers were all thanked in most eloquent words by Mr. Motilal Nehru and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and I need not thank them, but still I thank them, for, in spite of the fact that they are not such a disciplined people as I and my friend Pundit Jawaharalal Nehru who is one of our new Secretaries. I feel certain that there was plenty of love in them, there was willingness in them, there was a deep desire in them to serve the country and to serve those who were working for the country. But who can thank those vast crowds that waited outside the pendal? I have never in all my life seen crowds more enthusiastic, more alive, more intensely national than the crowds that I have been privileged to see both at Bezwada in 1921 and at Cocanada now, which is the heart of Andhradesa where we meet. I feel certain, whatever the croakers might say of those who were and who have been forward for a campaign of Civil Disobedience—I feel certain that Andhradesa will be able to give us something like fifty thousand men who shall match our Akali brethren in bravery and courage to carry on the campaign of Civil Disobedience in the same peaceful and yet successful manner in which our Akali brethren are doing. (Applause).

Last of all, or almost last of all, I would like to thank, and whom do you imagine? Our Subjects Committee. (Laughter). They lost time and I lost temper. Well, I think we are fairly equals. But I am not quite sure that without being an archangel I could find no other way except by these fits of temper.

Ladies and gentlemen, delegates of the Congress, members of the Reception Committee and visitors, while you should wait here in your thousands, while you thought we were absolutely wasting your time, I should like to remind you that the dish that we have prepared for you is not a European dish which could be cooked in five minutes by an electric stove. Ours has been the curry which is laboriously cooked up for several hours in order to be a tasteful dish. If we have spent much time in bringing resolutions before you, I assure you that time was spent in method. Needless speeches have been made, needless amendments have been brought forward and needless divisions called for, and yet I feel certain that the greatest desire on the part of the Subjects Committee was

to see that their work was well done and that they should not bring anything here of which they should be ashamed. I was carefully watching all along and I knew many a proposal came from a bigwig or a leader, which if he had not brought forward and which, when afterwards thrown out, if he had not pressed forward before you, we should have repented and felt ashamed; but no more shall I call them to order creating more disorder, by myself calling them to order! (Laughter). It was when the Subjects Committee meeting was going on. No more, as I said, shall I call them to order and creating disorder call them to order. However, every Congress gets the President that it deserves. And yet, if I have failed in being always courteous to my friends, I hope they will remember that this is their own *Karma*. (Laughter). And this reminds me of another *Karma* to which allusion was made by my big brother. He said that he should have been made President and not I. (Laughter). Even without being made the President, he would be worshipped far more than I myself. (Renewed laughter). There is a word in the dictionary, "al firbah makha" which means a fat man is willy-nilly a respectable man. (Laughter). This is not just Urdu but a mixture of all. The fat man is a respectable man. No matter how I could rise to the occasion. I could never equal that (pointing towards his brother on the dais) 7 by 5 feet man, that big brother. It seems in order to remove this inequality between us, God has evidently chosen me to be the President of the Congress and my big brother to be the Peace-maker. (Laughter. Maulana Shaukat Ali rang the bell as if to remind the President that it was time to close. (Continued outburst of laughter). He also told you that he was the big drum, and naturally, I said as the President of the Congress that it would be my bounden duty to beat the big drum. (Continued laughter). And then, he told you of the childish tales, how he used to clothe himself in fine English flannels and beautiful French silks. And, this is *Karma* again that he is now in charge of the Khaddar Board. He told you how he beat me black and blue, and this again is the *karma* that I am going to beat him now. (Laughter). Again, gentlemen, a few tears should have been shed and a few shrieks of indignant protests should have been heard, and, I think, we had also a good deal of laughter. I might have caused some of those indignant protests coming from some of those delegates; but I think I also contributed to your merriment. Now, as I promised you, I do not take four hours.

I retire now with my last word—I hope, as the last President of the last Congress. So the first President of the first Indian Republic, or at any rate, the first National Government, should preside at Bijapur over our next National Parliament. (Cheers). Friends, forget not, when you go from this place, this countryman whose heart is full of love: forget not that there is still one man in prison who would not ask you to free him but who would certainly ask you to free yourselves, for, in your freedom is his freedom as well. (Hear, hear). And in your hands I once more remind you, is the key of the Yerrawada Jail. I think we have found in Andhradesa the metal of which that key is made. (Cheers). Let us in this year use the key and open the gates of the Yerrawada

*The President's
Concluding
Address.*

Jail and Swaraj, the Heaven of Liberty, will have no ambiguity about it when once you have won it under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership. I ask you, friends, once again, to remember him now and to stand up, every one of you and raise three times the cry "Mahatma Gandhiki Jai". (Thundering cheers and prolonged shouts of Mahatma Gandhiki Jai).

The proceedings of this session of the Congress thus came to a close at 8-30 P. M.

National songs were sung by lady volunteers and the 38th session of the Indian National Congress was then dissolved.



38th Indian National Congress, 1923.

APPENDIX I.

Office-bearers and members of the various sub-committees of the Reception Committee.

Chairman.

Desabhakta Konda Venkatappayya Pantulu.

Vice-Chairmen.

Sjt. Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao.
" Tanguturi Prakasam.
" Rajah Kotagiri Venkata Krishna Rao Bahadur.
" Pyndah Venkatachalapaty.
" Nalam Ramalingayva.
" Chayali Rama Somayazulu.
" Kandula Viraraghavaswamy.
" Tarigoppula Srinivasa Rao.
" Dhanvada Ramachendra Rao.
" Unnava Lakshminarayana.
" C. Doraswamy Iyengar.
" Bhogaraju Pattabhi Sitharamiah.
Desabandhavi Duvvuri Subbamma.
Janab Mahomed Salar Shariff Saheb.

General Secretaries.

Sjt. Bulusu Sambamurti.
" Netrakanti Srinivasa Konetrao.
" Yellajosyula Kameswarā Rao.
" Brahmajosyula Subrahmanyam.
" Malladi Krishnamurty.
" Dandu Narayanaraju.
" Bezawada Sundararami Reddi.
" Gadicherla Harisarvottamarao.

Treasurers.

Sjt. Lakkaraju Subbarao.
" Pyndah Venkatachalapaty.

The Executive Committee.

| | | | |
|----------|---|-----|--|
| 1 | The Chairman. | 68 | Janab Syed Moula Saheb |
| 2 to 15 | The Vice-Chairmen | 69 | „ Umra Alisha Saheb |
| 16 to 23 | The General Secretaries. | 70 | Sjt. Solasa Bapaniah |
| 24 | The Treasurer | 71 | „ Nalam Pattabhiramarao |
| 25 | Sjt. Mandhata Venkatrao | 72 | „ Kesavarapu Kamaraju |
| 26 | „ Kolluri Sarveswararao | 73 | „ Malyala Gopalarao |
| 27 | „ Darbha Venkayya | 74 | „ Chode Ramalinga Choudari |
| 28 | „ Mandapaka Rangiah | 75 | „ Venneti Satyanarayana |
| 29 | „ Manyam Surayya | 76 | „ Bikkina Venkataratnam |
| 30 | „ Korlepara Venkatachelapaty | 77 | „ Josyula Ramachendrarao |
| 31 | „ Chaganti Sundiah | 78 | „ Duvvuri Venkateswarlu |
| 32 | „ Yellajosyula Venkateswarlu | 79 | „ Jonnalagedda Mallaparaju |
| 33 | „ Kakulavarapu Seshagirirao | 80 | „ Kala Venkatrao |
| 34 | „ Pydah Suryanarayanamurti | 81 | „ Nadimpalli Subbaraju |
| 35 | „ Challa Kameswararao | 82 | „ Namana Bapanna |
| 36 | „ Pandrangi Narasingarao | 83 | „ B. B. Devara |
| 37 | „ Challa Subbarao | 84 | „ Gade Balaramadas |
| 38 | „ Pydah China Ramakrishnayya | 86 | „ Vasantarao Buchisundararao |
| 39 | „ Mosalakanti Tirumalarao | 86 | „ Mallimadugula Bangariah |
| 40 | „ Duggirala Lakshmi Devalraju | 87 | „ Bhamidipati China Yegnanaraya Sarma |
| 41 | „ Pulapaka Narasingarao | 88 | „ Yerramilli Mangiah |
| 42 | „ Desaraju Satya Subrahmanyam | 89 | „ Gajavilli Ramachendrarao |
| 43 | „ Vajapeyajula Bhavannarayana | 90 | „ Kusuma Dharmanna |
| 44 | „ Uppuluri Sitaramaswami | 91 | „ Ayyadevara Kaleswararao |
| 45 | „ S. Seshu Aiyar | 92 | „ Ayyanki Venkata Ramaniah |
| 46 | „ Chebrolu Atchutaramiah | 93 | „ Nadimpalli Narasimharao |
| 47 | „ Kavali Sitaramiah | 94 | „ Kanneganti Suryanarayana Chou- dar |
| 48 | „ Kasturi Subbarao | 95 | „ Leburi Subbarama Reddi |
| 49 | „ Duvvuri Krishnamurti | 96 | „ Toomuluri Siva Ramiah |
| 50 | „ Veturi Krishnabrahmam | 97 | „ Pratapagiri Ramamurti |
| 51 | „ Vedantam Venkata Kristniah | 98 | „ Kalloori Subbarayulu |
| 52 | „ Bhamidipati Sivayya Sastri | 99 | „ Kotlo Sreenivasarao |
| 53 | „ S. L. Narayanarao | 100 | „ C. V. Rangam Sresti |
| 54 | „ Uppuluri Bhimasankara Sastri | 101 | „ Gonugontla Venkata Subrahman- yam |
| 55 | „ Ivatoori Vinayakasarma | 102 | „ Vavilla Venkateswarlu |
| 56 | „ Duggirala Venkata Surya Prakasarao | 103 | „ Gadde Rangiah Naidu |
| 57 | „ Parupudi Satyanarayana | 104 | „ Uppuloori Lakshminarayana- Sas tr |
| 58 | „ Puram China Venkata Narayana | 105 | „ Duggirala Gopala Kristniah |
| 59 | „ Mandavilli Ramanna | 105 | „ Unnava Ramalingam |
| 60 | „ Uppuloori Pattabhiramiah | 107 | „ Gollapudi Sitaramasastri |
| 61 | „ Darbha Venkata SivaramaRoss | 108 | „ Itikala Sooryanarayana |
| 62 | „ S. V. S. Krishnarao | 109 | „ Cherukuvada Venkata Narasim- ham |
| 63 | „ Pothula Sattiraju | 110 | Srimati Ponaka Kanakamma |
| 64 | „ Sreepadam Venkanna | | |
| 65 | „ Pulavarti Bheemalingamurti | | |
| 66 | „ Palakodeti Gurumurti | | |
| 67 | „ Bangaru Raghavayya | | |

The Fund Collection Committee.

| | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|----|--------------------------------------|
| 1 | The Chairman | | 43 | Sjt. Ayyadevara Kaleswararao |
| 2 | to-15 | The Vice-Chairmen | 44 | " Duggirala Raghava Chandra Choudari |
| 16 | to 23 | The General Secretaries | 45 | " Kanuri China Venkata Dasayya |
| 24 | The Treasurer | | 46 | " Cherukuvada Venkata Narasimham |
| 25 | Sjt. Duvvuri Krishnamurti | } Secretaries. | 47 | " Amche Sivayya |
| 26 | " Veturi Krishnabrahmam | | 48 | " Kanneganti Suryanarayana Choudari |
| 27 | " Chode Ramalinga Choudari | | 49 | " Leburu Subbaramareddi |
| 28 | " Namana Bapanna | | 50 | " Mesakoti Seetaramareddi |
| 29 | " Palakodeti Gurumurti | | 51 | " Medam Venkayya Sresti |
| 30 | " V. V. Giri | | 52 | " Nandyala Mahanandayya |
| 31 | " Immidiseti Ramamurti | | 53 | " Kotlo Srinivasachari |
| 32 | " N. S. Somayajulu | | 54 | " Takojirao |
| 33 | " P. C. Venkatapati Raju | | 55 | " Kalluri Subbarayulu |
| 34 | " Dharmala Appalanarasayya | | 56 | " Pratapagiri Ramamurti |
| 35 | " Chavali LakshminarayanaSastri | | 57 | " Ketu Venkatarreddi |
| 36 | " Bokka Narayanamurti | | 58 | " M. Sreenivasachari |
| 37 | " Gummedadala Ramachandrarao | | 59 | " K. Rajagopalachari |
| 38 | " Vadrevu Ramamurti | | 60 | " G, Venkata Subrahmanyam |
| 39 | " Mulukutla Subbarayudu | | 61 | " Yanamandra Suryanarayana |
| 40 | " Yerramilli Mangayya | | 62 | " Mandapaka Rangiah |
| 41 | " Sanivarapu Subbarao | | | |
| 42 | " Ayachitula Lakshmi Narasimha Sarma | | | |

The Pandal Committee.

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|----|------------------------------|-------------------------|----|-------------------------------|
| 1 | The Chairman | | 31 | Sjt. Kavali Sitaramayya |
| 2 | to 15 | The Vice-Chairmen | 32 | " Puram China Venkatanarayana |
| 16 | to 23 | The General Secretaries | 33 | " Gadepalli Jogayya |
| 24 | The Treasurer | | 34 | " Pulipaka Ramayya Pantulu |
| 25 | Sjt. Chaganti Sundayya | } Secretaries. | 35 | " Mandapaka Rangiah |
| 26 | " Yellajosyula Venkateswarlu | | 36 | " Mosalakanti Tirumalarao |
| 27 | " Kakulavarapu Seshagirao | | 37 | " Mandavilli Ramanna |
| 28 | " Duvvuri Venkateswarlu | | 38 | " Mamidi Bucheyya |
| 29 | " Pyndah Suryanarayanamurti | | 36 | " Pandiri Satya nandam |
| 30 | " Vemulakonda Ramarao | | 40 | " Vadrevu Ramamurti |

The Dinner Committee.

| | | | | |
|----|------------------------------|-------------------------|----|------------------------------------|
| 1 | The Chairman | | 33 | Sjt. Kasturi Subbarao |
| 2 | to 15 | The Vice-Chairmen | 34 | " Bhamidipati Sivayya sastri |
| 16 | to 23 | The General Secretaries | 35 | " Parupudy Ramamurti |
| 24 | The Treasurer | | 36 | " Netrakanti Venkata Yo ganandarao |
| 25 | Sjt. Mandhata Venkatrao | } Secretaries. | 37 | " Mandalika Bhimasankaram. |
| 26 | " Kolluri Sarveswararao | | 38 | " Sreepadam Venkanna |
| 27 | " Darbha Venkayya | | 39 | " Korlepara Ramamurty |
| 28 | " Manyam Surayya | | 40 | " Mandavilli Ramanna |
| 29 | " Korlepara Venkatachalapaty | | 41 | " Addala Ramamurti |
| 30 | " Nalam Pattabhiramarao | | 42 | " Kasivajjula Venkata Ramana |
| 31 | " Venneti Satyanarayana | | | |
| 32 | " Mandapaka Rangiah | | | |

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| 43 Sjt. Satyavolu Lakhmi Narayana | 47 Sjt. Gollakota Lakshmi Narasimha Sarma |
| 44 „ Davvuri Lakshmi Narayana | 48 „ Chandragiri Jogayya |
| 45 „ Mandulika Narasimham | 49 „ Chavali Lakshmi Narayana Sastri |
| 46 „ Malladi Viswanadha Sastri | 50 „ Duvvuri Venkateswarlu |

The Exhibition Committee.

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|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1 The Chairman | 30 Sjt. Vemuri Sreenivasarao |
| 2 to 15 The Vice-Chairmen | 31 „ Netrakanti Venkata Yoginindirao |
| 16 to 23 The General Secretaries | 32 „ Ivaturi Vinayaka Sarma |
| 24 The Treasurer | 33 „ Nalam Satyanandam |
| 25 Sjt. Mosalakanti Tirumalarao | 34 „ Mandavilli Ramanna |
| 26 „ Duggirala Lakshmi Devalraju | 35 „ Pydah Suryanarayanamurti |
| 27 „ Pulipaka Narasingarao | 36 „ Garikipati Surya Prakasarao |
| 28 „ Desaraju Satya Subrahmanyam | 37 „ Kauta Sreerama Sastri |
| 29 „ Avasarala Kameswararao | |

The Volunteer Committee.

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| 1 The Chairman | 33 Sjt. Uppuluri Pattabhiramiah |
| 2 to 15 The Vice-Chairmen | 34 „ Palakodeti Gurumurti |
| 16 to 23 The General Secretaries | 35 „ Brahmajosyula Sitaramayya |
| 24 The Treasurer | 36 „ Mamidi Devendrudu |
| 25 Sjt. Venneti Satyanarayana (Secretary) | 37 „ Kandregula Ramachendrarao |
| 26 „ Josyula Ramachendrarao (Captain) | 38 „ Bajeneni Suryanarayana |
| 27 „ Ayyanki Venkata Ramanayya | 39 „ Nirogi Subbarao |
| 28 „ Unnava Ramalingam | 40 „ Kala Venkatrao |
| 29 „ Pulavarti Bheemalingamurti | 41 „ Tanikella Ramakrishnarao |
| 30 „ S. V. S. Krishnarao | 42 „ Vepuri Venugopala Das |
| 31 „ Davvuri Satyanarayanamurti | 43 „ Kallapalli Kasanna |
| 32 „ Dinavahi Satyanarayana | 44 Srimati Vedantam Kamala Devi |
| | 45 „ Baluntrapu Seshanna |
| | 46 „ Vemuganti Papayamma |

The Medical Committee.

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| 1 The Chairman | 29 Janab Zulkernain Saheb |
| 2 to 15 The Vice-Chairmen | 30 „ Nazir Ahmed |
| 16 to 23 The General Secretaries | 31 Sjt Koralla Rajarao |
| 24 The Treasurer | 32 „ Palakodeti Gurumurti |
| 25 Sjt. Vedantam Venkata Kristnayya (Secretary) | 33 „ S. V. Ramarao |
| 26 „ Uppuloori Gopalkrishna | 34 „ B. B. Devara |
| 27 „ Uppuloori Pattabhiramayya | 35 „ Jonnalagadda Mallaparaju |
| 28 „ Veeturi Vasudeva Sastri | 36 „ Velala Raghavarao |
| | 37 „ Dronamraju Ramarao |

The Station and Conveyance Committee.

| | | | |
|----------|-----------------------------|----|-------------------------------|
| 1 | The Chairman | 30 | Sjt. Devarakonda Krishnamurti |
| 2 to 15 | The Vice-Chairmen | 31 | , Chekka Suryanaryanamurti |
| 16 to 23 | The General Secretaries | 32 | „ Gamini Sreeramulu |
| 24 | The Treasurer | 33 | „ Addepalli Harischendrudu |
| 25 | Sjt. Pandrangi Narasingarao | 34 | „ Gollapudi Vasudevamurti |
| 26 | „ Challa Subbarao | 35 | „ Kakulavarapu Seshagirirao |
| 27 | „ Pydah China Ramakrishniah | 36 | „ Manda Samudrudu |
| 28 | „ Mandapaka Rangiah | 37 | „ Pothula Sathiraju |
| 29 | „ Pydah Suryanaryanamurti | 38 | „ Pydah Satyanarayanamurti |
| | | 39 | „ Palivela Venkata Subbarao |

} Secretaries.

The Music Committee.

| | | | |
|----------|--|----|--|
| 1 | The Chairman | 28 | Sjt. Pydah Suryanaryanamurti |
| 2 to 15 | The Vice-Chairmen | 29 | „ Duvvuri Krishnamurti |
| 16 to 23 | The General Secretaries | 30 | „ Vedantam Venkata Krishnayya |
| 24 | The Treasurer | 31 | „ Damojipurapu Venkata Narasim- harao |
| 25 | Sjt. Challa Kameswararao (<i>Secretary.</i>) | 32 | „ Dasu Kesavarao |
| 26 | „ Chaganti Sundiah | 33 | „ Hari Nagabhushanam |
| 27 | „ Nandagiri Venkata Ramadas Pantulu | | |

The Procession Committee.

| | | | |
|----------|---------------------------------|----|-------------------------------|
| 1 | The Chairman | 27 | Sjt. Manda Samudrudu |
| 2 to 15 | The Vice-Chairmen | 28 | „ Pydah Suryanarayanamurti |
| 16 to 23 | The General Secretaries | 29 | „ Bhogerla Kanakaratham |
| 24 | The Treasurer | 30 | „ Korlepara Venkatachelapathy |
| 25 | Sjt. Yellajosyula Venkateswarlu | 31 | „ Sreepadam Venkanna |
| 26 | „ Mandapaka Rangiah | 32 | „ Ravu Ramarao |

The Lighting Committee.

| | | | |
|----------|--------------------------|----|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | The Chairman | 25 | Sjt. Vajapeyajula Bhavanna- rayana |
| 2 to 15 | The Vice-Chairmen. | 26 | „ Vuppuloori Sitaramaswami |
| 16 to 23 | The General Secretaries. | 27 | „ S. Seshu Aiyar |
| 24 | The Treasurer | 28 | „ Mandapaka Rangiah |
| | | 29 | „ Yellajosyula Venkateswarlu. |

} Secretaries.

The Tickets Committee.

| | | | | |
|----------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | The Chairman | 28 | Sjt. Avasarala Kameswararao | |
| 2 to 15 | The Vice-Chairmen | 29 | „ Addala Ramamoorti | |
| 16 to 23 | The General Secretaries. | 30 | „ Vemulakonda Ramarao | |
| 24 | The Treasurer | 31 | „ Mandapaka Rangiah | |
| 25 | Sjt. Chebrolu Achutaramiah | } <i>Secre-</i> <i>taries.</i> | 32 | „ Parupalli Venkatramiah |
| 26 | „ Yerramilli Mangiah | | 33 | „ Nalam Pallayya |
| 27 | „ Kilambi Raghavacharyulu | | | |

The Accommodation Committee.

| | | | |
|----------|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 | The Chairman | 27 | Sjt. Yellajosyula Venkateswarlu |
| 2 to 15 | The Vice-Chairmen | 28 | „ Mandapaka Rangiah |
| 16 to 23 | The General Secretaries | 29 | „ Mosalikanti Thirumalarao |
| 24 | The Treasurer | 30 | „ Duvvuri Venkateswarlu |
| 25 | Sjt. Kasturi Subbarao | } <i>Secretaries.</i> | |
| 26 | „ Kavali Sitaramiah | | |

The Publicity Committee.

| | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | Sjt. Bhogaraju Pattabhi Sitaramiah | 3 | Sjt. Gadicherla Harisarvothamarao |
| 2 | „ Bulusu Sambamurti | 4 | „ Mosalikanti Thirumalarao |



APPENDIX II.

Members of the Subjects Committee.

(Members of the All-India Congress Committee, *Vide* Article 25 of the Constitution.)

The Subjects Committee held its sittings at Cocanada on the 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th and 31st December 1923. The following members were present:-

BEHAR.

- 1 Babu Bajrang Sahay
- 2 Pandit Dhanraj Sharma
- 3 Babu Ram Narayan Singh
- 4 „ Brajkishore Prasad
- 5 „ Mathura Prasad
- 6 M. Mohamed Shaffi
- 7 Babu Deep Narain Singh
- 8 Chotalal Jani
- 9 Babu B. Varma
- 10 Babu Ramvinode Sinha
- 11 „ Punnyanand Jha
- 12 Syed Mahmud
- 13 Jagat Narain Lal
- 14 „ Anugrah Narain Singh

UTKAL.

- 1 Sjt. Nilakanta Das
- 2 „ Rajkrishna Bose
- 3 „ Niranjan Pattanaik
- 4 „ Nalea Krishna Choudary
- 5 „ H. K. Mahtab
- 6 „ Banchanidhi Mahanty
- 7 „ Krishna Prasad Mahanty
- 8 „ Lingaraj Misra
- 9 „ Gobind Chandra Misra

BENGAL.

- 1 Babu Hardayal Nag
- 2 „ P. C. Ghose
- 3 Maulana Muniruzzaman
- 4 Babu Sukumar Ranjan Das
- 5 Srimati Mohini Devi
- 6 Syed Jalaluddin Hashemi
- 7 Desabandhu C. R. Das
- 8 Satish Chandra Chakravarti
- 9 Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

- 10 Sjt. Satyendra Chandra Mitra
- 11 „ Surendra Mohan Ghose
- 12 „ Girja Mohan Sanyal
- 13 M. Abdul Rashid Khan

DELHI.

- 1 Dr. M. A. Ansari
- 2 M. Abdul Aziz Ansari
- 3 M. Shuaib Qureshi
- 4 Sjt. Pyarilal Sharma
- 5 Lala Shankar Lal

THE PUNJAB & N. W. F.

- 1 Pandit A. C. Bomwal
- 2 Sjt. K. Santanam
- 3 Master Nandlal
- 4 Sjt. Kedarnath Saigal
- 5 Sardar Mangal Singh
- 6 Pandit Nathuram
- 7 Sjt. Bodhraj
- 8 Maulana Ghulam Mohiuddin
- 9 Diwan Nanak Singh Kabli
- 10 Dr. Kitchlew
- 11 Maulana Malik Lalkhan
- 12 Sjt. Shamlal
- 13 Maulvi Daud Ghaznavi

MAHARASHTRA.

- 1 Sjt. S. K. Altekar
- 2 „ B. L. Mehta
- 3 „ S. K. Damle
- 4 „ C. V. Vaidya
- 5 Srimati Satyabhama Bai Kuvalekar
- 6 Sjt. D. R. Gharpure
- 7 Mir Shukaralla
- 8 Sjt. S. D. Deo
- 9 „ V. J. Patel

- 10 Sjt. V. D. Phatak
 11 „ S. M. Paranjpe
 12 „ V. G. Joshi
 13 „ M. A. Kanetkar

KARNATAK

- 1 Dr. V. S. Umachigi
 2 Sjt. R. Venkat Ram
 3 Diwan Saheb Janwekar
 4 Sjt. S. V. Kowjalgi
 5 Maulana A. A. Siddique
 6 Dr. N. S. Hardikar
 7 Sjt. G. B. Deshpande
 8 „ M. R. Kembhavi
 9 „ K. Sadashiva Rao
 10 „ H. S. Kowjalgi
 11 „ R. K. Shevde
 12 E. Abdulla Saheb Akki
 13 Sjt. D. K. Bhardwaj

SINDH.

- 1 Sjt. Tarachand Sahani
 2 „ Jairamdas Daulat Ram
 3 Dr. Choitram

* AJMERE.

- 1 Sjt. Arjunlal Sethi

UNITED PROVINCES.

- 1 M. Kaliq-uz-Zaman
 2 Sjt. Lakshmi Narayan Agnihotri
 3 „ Ramdas Gaur
 4 „ Shiva Prasad Gupta
 5 „ Gauri Shankur Misra
 6 Maulana T. A. K. Sherwani
 7 Swami Sahajanand Saraswati
 8 Sjt. Ram Swarup Gupta
 9 Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru
 10 Pundit Motilal Nehru
 11 M. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai
 12 M. Manzar Ali Sokhta
 13 Sjt. Bindya Basni Prasad
 14 „ Victor Mohan Joshi
 15 „ Sitla Sahai
 16 „ Jyoti Shanker Dikshit
 17 „ Ram Prasad Misra
 18 „ Biswanath Mukherji
 19 M. Azad Sobhani

- 20 Sjt. Mahabir Tyagi
 21 „ Bankimchandra Mukerji

MARATHI (C. P.).

- 1 Seth Jamnalal Bajaj
 2 Sjt. B. L. Satidas
 3 „ A. R. Tijari
 4 „ N. M. Ghatwai
 5 „ M. Abdul Razak Hanfi
 6 „ M. T. Kanitkar

TAMIL NADU.

- 1 Sjt. K. M. Thangaperumal Pillai
 2 „ S. Krishnaswami Sarma
 3 „ W. S. Srinivasa Rao
 4 „ P. K. Ratnasabhpathi Gounder
 5 „ M. Pattabhirama Iyer
 6 M. Abdul Hameed Khan
 7 Sjt. Ramachandra
 8 „ N. S. Varadachari
 9 „ C. Vijayaraghavachari
 10 „ S. Ramanathan
 11 „ S. Srinivasa Iyengar
 12 „ C. Rajagopalachari
 13 „ E. V. Ramaswami Naiker
 14 „ W. P. Ignatius
 15 M. Haji Mahomed Maulana Sahib.

ANDHRA.

- 1 Sjt. G. Rangiah Naidu
 2 Dr. Nazir Ahmed Saheb
 3 Sjt. Dandu Narayana Razu
 4 „ B. Sundararam Reddi
 5 „ A. Kaleswara Rao
 6 „ A. Sivayya
 7 „ K. Srinivasachari
 8 Srimati B. Lakshminarsamma
 9 Sjt. B. Sambamurti
 10 Srimati D. Subbamma
 11 Sjt. G. Harisarvottama Rao
 12 „ B. Subrahmanyam
 13 „ T. Prakasam
 14 „ K. Venkatappayya
 15 Dr. Ramachandrarao
 16 Sjt. Pratapagiri Ramamurti
 17 „ C. V. Rangamchetti
 18 „ D. Gopalakrishnayya
 19 „ K. Nageswara Rao
 20 „ M. Krishna Murti
 21 Syed Moula Saheb

BOMBAY

- 1 Sjt. D. D. Satheye
- 2 „ V. J. Joshi
- 3 Mrs. Sarojini Naidu
- 4 Seth Usman Sobani
- 5 „ Umar Sobani
- 6 „ Revashanker Jayajiven
- 7 Sjt. Velji Lakhmsi Nappoo
- 8 „ S. V. Puntambekar
- 9 „ B. F. Barucha
- 10 „ N. H. Belgumwala

KERALA

- 1 Sjt. K. P. Kesava Menon
- 2 Md. Abdul Rahman
- 3 Janab. E Moidu Moulvi
- 4 Sjt. Sanku Pillai

GUJRAT

- 1 Sjt. Devidas Gandhi
- 2 „ Amratlal D'Sheth
- 3 „ Chandulal M. Desai
- 4 „ Manilal Vallabhaji Kothari
- 5 „ Kalidas Jarkaran Jhaveri
- 6 „ Mahadev Haribhai Deasi
- 7 „ Vallabhai J Patel
- 8 „ S. G. Banker
- 9 Janab. Imam A. K. Bavazir

BERAR

- 1 Sjt. Y. M. Kele
- 2 Dr. N. S. Paranjpe
- 3 Sjt. M. S. Aney.

HINDUSTHANI (C. P.)

- 1 Sjt. Sunderlalji
- 2 „ Rupanarain Srivastava
- 3 „ Thakur Lachman Singh
- 4 „ Makhanlal Chaturvedi
- 5 „ Vasudevrao Subedar
- 6 „ Ganpatrao Tikekar
- 7 „ Sunderlal Sharma
- 8 Mahatma Bhagawandiinji
- 9 Maulaha Karamat Hussain Saheb

BURMA

- 1 Sjt. V. Madanjit
- 2 „ U. Brahmabahu
- 3 „ Bhagwanji
- 4 „ Shyam Sunder Chakravarti
- 5 „ Mohanlal Kalidas
- 6 „ Mansingh
- 7 „ Ottama
- 8 Mahomed Dowjee Dadabhai
- 9 Sjt. Kasam Das

ASSAM

- 1 Sjt. Kuladharchaliha



APPENDIX III.

Election-Return of Delegates who attended the 38TH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

HELD AT COCANADA

On the 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st, December 1923, and 1st January 1924.

AJMERE-MERWARA.

| | | | | | |
|---|------|--------------------|----|--------|--------------------|
| 1 | Sjt. | Arjunlal Sethi | 8 | Sjt. | Kesava Lal |
| 2 | " | Argunda Lakshmayya | 9 | " | Kishan Lal |
| 3 | " | Bhagavandas | 10 | " | Ramdutji |
| 4 | " | Bajrang Singh | 11 | " | Ram Gopal |
| 5 | " | Gangavishan | 12 | " | Sushen K. Mukherji |
| 6 | " | Hanuman Prasad | 13 | Pundit | Sohan Lalji |
| 7 | " | Jayanarayan | | | |

ANDHRA

| | | | | | |
|----|----------|---------------------------|----|-------|--|
| 1 | Srimathi | Adilakshamma Gandham | 26 | Sjt. | Bhimasankaram Duvvuri |
| 2 | " | Annapurnadevi Maganti | 27 | " | Buchiraju Korukonda |
| 3 | Janab | Abdul Azaz | 28 | " | Buchi Sitaramachandra Raju Pusapati |
| 4 | " | Abdul Khaddar | | | |
| 5 | " | Abdul Lateef | 29 | " | Chalapathi Rao Kammanamanchi |
| 6 | " | Azizulla Saheb | | | |
| 7 | Sjt. | Achayarao Rao | 30 | " | Chenna Krishna Reddi G. |
| 8 | " | Amnayya Choudary | 31 | " | Chenchayya Darsi |
| 9 | " | Anantapadmanabhayya | 32 | " | Chengalvarayachetti Thomandra |
| 10 | " | Anantasayanam A. | | | |
| 11 | " | Anjaneyulu Kodali | 33 | " | China Bhimaraju Nalam |
| 12 | " | Appalanarasimham Dhanala | 34 | " | China Subbarama Reddi Poondla |
| 13 | " | Appayyasastri Garikipati | | | |
| 14 | " | Arunachalam Chebiyyam | 35 | Janab | Dadekhan Shirami |
| 15 | " | Atmaramappa Velamakuru | 36 | Sjt. | Deokaram |
| 16 | Srimathi | Buchi Sitaramamma Bachu | 37 | " | Dharmanna Kusuma |
| 17 | Sjt. | Baji Krishnarao | 38 | " | Doraiswami Aiyangar |
| 18 | " | Balaramayya Medikonda | 39 | " | Ganapatayya Gudipati |
| 19 | " | Balavantareddy | 40 | " | Ganeshmall Singham |
| 20 | " | Bapayya Peta | 41 | " | Gauri Shankar Namapalli |
| 21 | Sjt. | Bapiraju Penumachcha | 42 | " | Giri Varahagiri S. |
| 22 | " | Bhagayyareddi | 43 | " | Gopalakrishnamurti Bhaskarla |
| 23 | " | Bhagayyareddi Varma M. V. | | | |
| 24 | " | Bhaskararao Devagupta | 44 | " | Gopala Krishnayya Duggirala |
| 25 | " | Bhimarao I. | | | |

ANDHRA (Continued.)

| | | | | | |
|----|----------|-------------------------------------|-----|----------|------------------------------------|
| 45 | Sjt. | Gopalarao Kovvali | 84 | Sjt. | Kasanna Rallapulli |
| 46 | " | Govindacharlu Atmakuri | 85 | " | Kalyan Ramulu |
| 47 | " | Govindarao N | 86 | Srimathi | Lakshmi Narsamma |
| 48 | " | Gowrilingam Kaza | | | Brahmajosyula |
| 49 | Janab. | Gulam Ahmed | 87 | " | Lakshmayamma Pendyala |
| 50 | Sjt. | Gupta B. N. | 88 | Sjt. | Lakshmi Narasimham |
| 51 | " | Hanumantarao G. M. | | | Putcha |
| 52 | " | Hanumantarao Madapati | 89 | " | Lakshmi Narayana Rao K. |
| 53 | " | Hanumantarao Ramachan- drula | 90 | " | Lakshmpathi Mamidi |
| 54 | Srimathi | Hanumayamma Goparaju | 91 | " | Lakshminarasayya M. |
| 55 | " | Hanumayamma Tanguturi | 92 | " | Lakshmi Narasimham |
| 56 | Sjt. | Harisarvothama Rao Gadicharla | | | Kandarpa |
| 57 | Janab. | Hassan Ahmed | 93 | " | Lakshminarasimham |
| 58 | Sjt. | Iswarappa Paranandi | | | Mantrala |
| 59 | " | Jagannadha Gupta | 94 | " | Lakshmanaswami Gemhali |
| 60 | " | Jagannadham Kotikalapudi | 95 | " | Latchayya Dhilli |
| 61 | " | Jaggayya Nagalla | 96 | " | Lakshminarayana Pratti |
| 62 | " | Jayaramireddi Kota | 97 | " | Lakshmayya Chowdari Ka- kumanu |
| 63 | " | Jogayya Chandraraju | 98 | " | Lakshmayya Vemuru |
| 64 | " | Jogayya Pantulu Varahagiri | 99 | Srimathi | Mahalakshamma Unnava |
| 65 | Srimathi | Kanakamma Ponaka | 100 | " | Mahalakshamma Ayyanki |
| 66 | " | Kotamma Sistla | 101 | " | Manikyambamma Goteti |
| 67 | " | Kanakamahalakshamma Kotamarthi | 102 | Sjt. | Magan Lal |
| 68 | Sjt. | Kumaraswami Garimella | 103 | " | Muddiraja K. K. |
| 69 | " | Krishnamacharya K. A. | 104 | " | Manoranjitam K Pillai |
| 70 | " | Krishnayya Nagalla | 105 | " | Minnarao Korada |
| 71 | " | Krishnamurti Duggirala | 106 | " | Mukteswara Prasadarao Vaddamudi |
| 72 | " | Kodanda Ramayya Pasuloori | 107 | " | Mool Singh |
| 73 | " | Krishnarao Amancherla | 108 | " | Muttamraju Vuppuluri |
| 74 | " | Kalyanarao Katikani | 109 | " | Mohanlal Baldha |
| 75 | " | Kundan Lal | 110 | " | Mrityunjayarao Nemala- kanti |
| 76 | " | Krishnamurti Malladi | 111 | Janab | Mohamed Sarwakhani |
| 77 | " | Krishnaswami Therla- vajjula. | 112 | " | Mohamed Khaza Mohiuddin |
| 78 | " | Krishnamurti Nishtala | 113 | " | Mauli Hakku |
| 79 | " | Krishnamurti Gandhidoss Kallakur | 114 | Srimathi | Narasamma Vellala |
| 80 | " | Krishnaswami Naidu Pasu- paleti | 115 | Sjt. | Narayanarao Sandhyavan- danam |
| 81 | " | Kamalanabham Dunna | 116 | " | Narasimham Cherukuvada |
| 82 | " | Kanakaraju Pasumarti | 117 | " | Narayanamurti Deshabhatla |
| 83 | " | Kaleswararao Ayyadevara | 118 | " | Narayanarao Agali |
| | | | 119 | " | Nageswararao Kashinadhuni |
| | | | 120 | " | Narasanna Marina |
| | | | 121 | " | Narayanareddi C. |

ANDHRA (Continued.)

| | | | | | |
|-----|----------|---------------------------|-----|------|--------------------------|
| 122 | Sjt. | Nagabhushanam Ponugupati | 161 | Sjt. | Ramachandrarao Kanigiri |
| 123 | " | Narasimhachari M. V. | 162 | " | Ramachandrarao Dhanvada |
| 124 | " | Narayana Andhavaram | 163 | " | Ramachandrarao Gajavilli |
| 125 | " | Narasimhareddi K. R. | 164 | " | Ramachandrarao Josula |
| 126 | " | Narasimhareddi Cheeda | 165 | " | Ramachandra Sastri Mare- |
| 127 | " | Narayanareddi K. R. | | | palli |
| 128 | " | Narasimhamurti Atyam | 166 | " | Ramamurti Pratapagiri |
| 129 | " | Narasimhulu Naidu Varada | 167 | " | Ramamurti Shreshti Im- |
| 130 | " | Nagireddi Gangireddi | | | midiseti |
| 131 | " | Narisireddi Yeddula | 168 | " | Ramamurti Ravi |
| 132 | " | Narayanreddi V. | 169 | " | Ramamurti Satthiraju |
| 133 | " | Narayana Sastri J. L. | 170 | " | Ramarao Tumu |
| 134 | " | Narasimharao Kodali | 171 | " | Ramarao Hejibu |
| 135 | " | Narasimhacharlu Koil | 172 | " | Ramarao Medepalli |
| | | Kandadai | 173 | " | Ramarao Gottipati |
| 136 | " | Narayan Potubari | 174 | " | Rangacharyulu Ampolu |
| 137 | " | Narasimhacharlu Mariganti | 175 | " | Rangacharyulu Kodeti |
| | | Bhattar. | 176 | " | Rangacharyulu Madabhushi |
| 138 | " | Narayanaraju Dandu | 177 | " | Rangachari Tuparam |
| 139 | " | Narasingarao M. | 178 | " | Rangarao Parasa |
| 140 | " | Narasimhamurti Tangudu | 179 | " | Rao P. T. |
| 141 | " | Narayanarao | 180 | " | Rangayya Gundareddy |
| 142 | Janab. | Nazir Ahmed | 181 | " | Rangayya Naidu Gadde |
| 143 | Srimathi | Padmavathibayamma | 182 | " | Rangarao Chowluri |
| | | Kanugo | 183 | " | Rangacharlu N. C |
| 144 | Sjt. | Perraju Gade | 184 | " | Rangarao Padakal |
| 145 | " | Pedavenkataswami | 185 | " | Rajagopalarao P. |
| | | Tommandra | 186 | " | Rajagopalacharlu C. |
| 146 | " | Praksarao Nibhanapudi | 187 | " | Rajareddi Tandra |
| 147 | " | Pullayya Gadepalli | 188 | " | Ramanujaswami Bachchu |
| 148 | " | Papireddi Kesireddi | 189 | " | Ramesam Kappagantula |
| | | Singamreddi | 190 | " | Rangamchetti C. V. |
| 149 | " | Pattabhi Sitaramayya | 191 | " | Rangarao Tekmal |
| | | Bhogaraju | 192 | " | Raghavacharlu K. S. |
| 150 | " | Pattabhiramayya Uppuluri | 193 | " | Raghavachandra Chowdari |
| 151 | " | Pattabhiramayya Kotha | | | Duggirala |
| 152 | " | Papayya Nalluru | | | |
| 153 | " | Padmanabhadras Loluru | 194 | " | Raghavayya Vennelaganti |
| 154 | " | Purushothama Sarma | 195 | " | Ramadikshitulu Dwaraka |
| | | Mangipudi | | | Bhamidipati |
| 155 | " | Panikkar K. M. | 196 | " | Rama Krishan Dutt. |
| 156 | " | Pardhasaradhi Saran | 197 | " | Ramalingam Ayyalavajhula |
| | | Durvasula | 198 | " | Radhakrishnayya Maddi |
| 157 | " | Paramanandan Tadepalli | 199 | " | Ramakrishnarao Manepalli |
| 158 | " | Papal Lal Madan Lal | 200 | " | Ramakrishnarao B. |
| 159 | " | Praksam Tanguturu | 201 | " | Ramakrishnarao Nabhi |
| 160 | Srimathi | Ramabayamma | 202 | " | Ramaswami Naidu |

ANDHRA (Continued.)

| | | | | | |
|-----|----------|---------------------------------|-----|----------|--------------------------|
| 203 | Sjt. | Ramarao I | 246 | Sjt. | Suryaprakasarao Ippili |
| 204 | " | Root Singh | 247 | " | Sarweswarasastri Kandadi |
| 205 | " | Ramacharlu Pappusu | 248 | " | Satyakesavarao Sabnivisu |
| 206 | " | Ramakrishnarao Takuru | 249 | " | Satyanarayana Garimella |
| 207 | " | Ramasastri Itikala | 250 | " | Subbarayudu Mulukutla |
| 208 | " | Ramjivan Lal | 251 | " | Sundaramireddi Beza wada |
| 209 | " | Radhapathayya | 252 | " | Suryaprakasarao |
| 210 | " | Ramadas Pantulu Vemava- rapu | | | Bhattiprolu |
| 211 | " | Rajagopalachary K. | 253 | " | Shyamasundararao Pullela |
| 212 | Srimathi | Sundaramma Kotra | 254 | " | Srinivasacharlu Kotlo |
| 213 | " | Sundaramma Uppala | 255 | " | Seshagiri Rao Vedurumudi |
| 214 | " | Shantabayamma Pratapagiri | | | Suryanarayana Sarma |
| 215 | " | Subbamma Duvvuri | 256 | | Gadepalli |
| 216 | " | Sundaramma Maddi | 257 | " | Suryareddi Ketu |
| 217 | " | Somidevamma Chebiyyam | 258 | " | Sadasivareddi |
| 218 | Sjt. | Somayya Chebiyyam | 259 | " | Srinivasa Reddi P. |
| 219 | " | Swamibabu Potnuri | 260 | " | Sanjivarao Tamparathi |
| 220 | " | Someswararao Satyavada | 261 | " | Subrahmanyam Bhagi |
| 221 | " | Satyanarayana Vedula | 262 | " | Sriramasarma Kota |
| 222 | " | Sundaramayya Tadepalli | | | Suryanarayanamurti |
| 223 | " | Sivayya Anche | 263 | | Rentachintala |
| 224 | " | Sitaramasarma Varahapatla | 264 | " | Sarvothamacharlu K. |
| 225 | " | Subbarao Prayaga | 265 | " | Sitaramastri Vavila |
| 226 | " | Sakshi Somayajulu Sistla | 266 | " | Srikantasastri K. B. |
| 227 | " | Seshagirirao Pendyala | 267 | " | Seshagirirao B. S. |
| | " | Suryanarayanadev | 268 | " | Subbarayadu Rupanaguntla |
| 228 | " | Sankaravamsam. | 269 | " | Seshappa H. R. |
| 229 | " | Sannayya Malaroutu | 270 | " | Srinivasarao P. |
| 230 | " | Subbarao Vasa | 271 | " | Suryanarayana Itikala |
| 231 | " | Subbarao Jayanti | 272 | " | Subbaramayya Polavarapu |
| 232 | " | Subbarao Kodipalli | 273 | " | Srinivasacharlu M. |
| 233 | " | Subbarao Chintakunta | 274 | " | Sitaram Sangam |
| 234 | " | Subbarao Marina | 275 | " | Seshachari |
| 235 | " | Subbarao P. | 276 | " | Srinivasachari Kanugo |
| 236 | " | Subbarao Lakkaraju | 277 | " | Srinivasan Kandala |
| 237 | " | Subbarao K. | 278 | " | Seshureddi Deshireddi |
| 238 | Janab | Sayed Imam Saheb | 279 | " | Seshireddi Bomma |
| 239 | Sjt. | Suryanarayana Makena | 280 | " | Satyanarayana Achanta |
| 240 | " | Suryanarayana Murti | 281 | " | Sastri V. L. |
| | | Pabhati | 282 | " | Subrahmanyam |
| | | | | | Brahmajosyula |
| 241 | " | Subbaraju Penumachcha | 283 | " | Sambamurti Bulusu |
| 242 | " | Satyanarayanarao Pokala | 284 | " | Subbasastri G. |
| 243 | " | Somasundaram Patnala | 285 | " | Sreenivasarao K. |
| 244 | " | Sanyasayya Kurumeti | 286 | Janab | Sayed Maula Saheb |
| 245 | " | Srinivasarao Tarigoppula | 287 | Srimathi | Samma Pokala |

ANDHRA (Continued.)

| | | | | | |
|-----|----------|---------------------------|-----|------|----------------------------|
| 288 | Sjt. | Tirumalachandra reddy | 320 | Sjt. | Venkata Satyanarayana- |
| 289 | " | Tammayya Kotni | | | Murti Kavikondala |
| 290 | " | Tippajirao Patangi | 321 | " | Venkata Ramanayya Ay- |
| 291 | " | Tilshankar Prasad | | | yanki |
| 292 | Srimathi | Vedamma Manikonda | 322 | " | Venkata Narasimham Didu- |
| 293 | " | Venkata Lakshmmamma | | | gu |
| | | Polachaveedu | 323 | " | Vaman Naik |
| 294 | Sjt. | Venkata Ramanappa | 324 | " | Venkata Subbareddi Sunka- |
| | | Ghatti | | | ra |
| 295 | " | Venkata Rangacharlu | 325 | " | Vobulareddi Kanchamareddi |
| | | Chennampalli | 326 | " | Venkata Rangareddi |
| 296 | " | Venkata Ramanacharlu | 327 | " | Venkata Subbayya Gottii |
| | | Pohachaveedu | | | pat- |
| 297 | " | Venkata Ramana Sastri | 328 | " | Veeraraghavayya Dittakavi |
| | | Panyam | 329 | " | Varadadasu Sayam |
| 298 | " | Venkata Subbayya Oruganti | 330 | " | Venkannacharlu Kumbhari |
| 299 | " | Venkata Narasimham Cha- | 331 | " | Venkata Subbarao Kanu- |
| | | krala | | | muri |
| 300 | " | Venkata Subrahmanyam | 332 | " | Venkataratnam Bondada |
| | | Gonuguntala | 333 | " | Venkata Sivaramayya Bod- |
| 301 | " | Venkata Ratnam Bikkini | | | danapalli |
| 302 | " | Venkata Subbayya Gun- | 334 | " | Venkata Krishnarao Mosala |
| | | туру | | | kanti |
| 303 | " | Venkatareddi Tikkavarapu | 335 | " | Venkayya Unnava |
| 304 | " | Venkataramulu Pendam | 336 | " | Venkatarao Choudary Vella- |
| 305 | " | Venkatarao Gotti | | | bhanivi |
| 306 | " | Venkatramayya Akkaraju | 337 | " | Venkateswararao Alampalli |
| 307 | " | Venkata Suryaprakasarao | 338 | " | Venkata Krishnarao Go- |
| | | Pedaparti | | | vindarajula |
| 308 | " | Venkata Rama Sarma Bha- | 339 | " | Venkata Tirumalarao |
| | | gavatula | 340 | " | Venkata Krishnayya Malladi |
| 309 | " | Venkata Krishnamacharlu | 341 | " | Venkatappayya Desabhakta |
| | | Tirupathi | | | Konda |
| 310 | " | Venkateswararao Govinda- | 342 | " | Venkata Sitaramanjaneyulu |
| | | raju | | | Malladi |
| 311 | " | Venkataswami Nadimpalli | 343 | " | Venkata Ramarao Alampal- |
| 312 | " | Venkatareddi Kesireddi | | | li |
| 313 | " | Venugopalam Chitla | 344 | " | Venkata Narasimham Kap- |
| 314 | " | Venkata Narayana Sripada | | | para |
| 315 | " | Venkata Rangacharlu Srin- | 345 | " | Viswanadham Kota |
| | | gara | 346 | " | Venkatraya Pillai |
| 316 | " | Vasantarao Poliseti | 347 | " | Veera Venkata |
| 317 | " | Venkatrao Alavakonda | | | Satyanarayana Misala |
| 318 | " | Venkata Chainlu Vedula | 348 | " | Varaha Narasimha Sarma |
| 319 | " | Venkata Ramamurti Malla- | | | Garimella |
| | | vajjhula | 349 | " | Venkayya K. |

ANDHRA (Continued.)

| | | | | | |
|-----|------|-----------------------|-----|----------|-------------------------|
| 350 | Sjt. | Venkayya P. G. | 352 | " | Venkata Seshayya Bobba |
| 351 | " | Venkata Subbarao Vare | 353 | Srimathi | Yamini Poorna Tilakamma |
| | | | 354 | Sjt. | Yagjnanarayana Veluri |

ASSAM

| | | | | | |
|---|------|-----------------|---|------|----------------------|
| 1 | Sjt. | Golok Chandra | 3 | Sjt. | Rohini Kanta Barooah |
| 2 | " | Kuladhar Chalik | | | |

BEHAR

| | | | | | |
|----|--------|-----------------------|----|--------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | Maulvi | Abdul Bari | 37 | Janab | Latif Hussain |
| 2 | Sjt. | Aswani Kumar | 38 | Sjt. | Lakshmi Narain |
| 3 | " | Adalat Pandey | 39 | " | Madhura Prasad Sarma |
| 4 | " | Aswarai Bhagat | 40 | " | Manogi Lal |
| 5 | " | Anugrah Narain Singh | 41 | " | Manki Sahu |
| 6 | " | Bepin Behari Varma | 42 | " | Mahendranath Jha |
| 7 | " | Baijnath Prasad | 43 | " | Mathura Prasad |
| 8 | " | Bisweshwar Dayal | 44 | " | Mathura Prasad Sinha |
| 9 | " | Basant Lal | 45 | " | Mangal Prasad Sahu |
| 10 | " | Braja Kishore Prasad | 46 | " | Mahendra Singh |
| 11 | " | Bhukha Bhagat | 47 | Maulvi | Mohamed Shafi |
| 12 | " | Bajrang Sahai | 48 | Sjt. | Nibaran Chandra Das Gupta |
| 13 | " | Bola Bhagat | 49 | Sjt. | Nageswara Prasad Sinha |
| 14 | " | Budhu Bhagat | 50 | " | Narayan Bhagat |
| 15 | " | Chotilal Jani Seth. | 51 | Pundit | Punyanand Jha |
| 16 | " | Charo Bhagat | 52 | " | Rajan Singh |
| 17 | " | Chotilal Sahu | 53 | " | Rameswar Chowdri |
| 18 | " | Charwa Bhagat | 54 | " | Ramdevi Singh |
| 19 | " | Devendranath Gupta | 55 | " | Ram Binod Sinha |
| 20 | " | Deep Narain Sinha | 56 | " | Ramanand Sarma |
| 21 | " | Dhano Bhagat | 57 | " | Rama Bhagat |
| 22 | Pundit | Dhaurai Saraa | 58 | " | Ram Narayana Sinha |
| 23 | Sjt. | Devakinandam Prasad | 59 | " | Rambilas Singh |
| 24 | Dr. | Dulat Ram | 60 | " | Rameswar Pandey |
| 25 | Sjt. | Gola Bhagat | 61 | " | Ram Bishelal |
| 26 | " | Joshi M. G. | 62 | " | Ramanand Sinha |
| 27 | " | Jagannath Misra | 63 | " | Ramdyal Prasad Saha |
| 28 | " | Jugal Prasad Sinha | 64 | Pundit | Ram Prasad Chandra Upadhyay |
| 29 | " | Jumna Prasad Tripathi | | | |
| 30 | " | Jamna Prasad Simha | 65 | Sadhu | Sri Ram Krishna Gopal Dass. |
| 31 | " | Janki Saram Sahi | | | |
| 32 | " | Jagat Narain Lal | 66 | Sjt. | Sitaram Bhagat |
| 33 | " | Khabya Bhagat | 67 | " | Salarai Bhagat |
| 34 | " | Lilna Bhagat | 68 | " | Shrinadhari Pandey |
| 35 | " | Lakshman Das | 69 | Dr. | Sayed Mahmood |
| 36 | " | Lakshmana Bhagat | 70 | Janab | Sayed Trahur Hussain |

BENGAL

| | | | | | |
|----|----------|---------------------------------|----|----------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | Sjt. | Amarendranath Ghose | 45 | Sjt. | Jaidish Chandra Maitra |
| 2 | " | Aftabuddin Chowdhary | 46 | " | Jagadish Chandra Mitra |
| 3 | " | Ashutosh Mahalanobis | 47 | " | Jamini Mohan Ghosh |
| 4 | " | Amarendranath Bose | 48 | " | Jatindra Mohan Dutt |
| 5 | " | Amulya Bhushan Mukherjee | 49 | Maulvi | Jalal-uddin Hussain |
| 6 | " | Abinash Chandra Bose | 50 | Sjt. | Khageri Chandra Das |
| 7 | " | Anil Chandra Biswas | 51 | " | Kalibar Dutt |
| 8 | " | Abinash Chandra Chatterjee | 52 | " | Kalipada Roy |
| 9 | Janab | Abdul Hamid | 53 | " | Kiron Chandra Basu |
| 10 | Srimathi | Bagala Sundara Devi | 54 | Janab | Korban Sab Mohamed |
| 11 | " | Bogola Shome | 55 | Sjt. | Lalit Mohan Ghosal |
| 12 | Sjt. | Banasdhar Sarkar | 56 | Srimathi | Mohini Devi |
| 13 | " | Benoy Bhushan Sarkar | 57 | " | Manoranjan Banerjee |
| 14 | " | Binayak Hariramji | 58 | Maulana | Manurujanan Islamabadi |
| 15 | " | Bhupendranath Bose. | 59 | Maulvi | Mohamed Shyamsuzzoha |
| 16 | " | Benoy Krishna Bose | 60 | " | Muhammad Elias |
| 17 | " | Bhagabati Charan Some | 61 | Janab | Mohamed Mozharul Hapue Khan |
| 18 | " | Benod Chandra Chakravarti | 62 | Sjt. | Mankumar Nag |
| 19 | " | Bholanath Ghai | 63 | " | Makhan Lal Sen |
| 20 | " | Brij Lal Jani | 64 | " | Madan Mohan Khetri |
| 21 | " | Bhabani Prasan Chatterjee | 95 | " | Madhusudan Das Burman |
| 22 | " | Bhupendranath Banerjee | 66 | " | Man Bahadur Giri |
| 23 | " | Charu Bhushan Chowdhary | 67 | " | Nani Gopal Ray |
| 24 | " | Dhirendranath Das | 68 | " | Nagendranath Sen |
| 25 | " | Dwijaraj Bhattacharji | 69 | " | Nagendra Kumar Das |
| 26 | " | Dharam Chand | 70 | " | Nishitha Nath Kundu |
| 27 | " | Dinesh Chandra Guha | 71 | " | Narayan Das Rathi |
| 28 | " | Dwijendranath Sarkar | 72 | " | Prasanna Kumar Sen |
| 29 | " | Gorta Behari Pal | 73 | " | Prafulla Chandra Mitter |
| 30 | " | Gopal Chandra Chatterjee | 74 | " | Padma Raj Jain |
| 31 | " | Girija Mohan Sanyal | 75 | " | Prafulla Chandra Ghosh |
| 32 | " | Govind Chand Bora | 76 | " | Pramatha Nath Banerjee |
| 33 | " | Gunendranath Mukherjee | 77 | " | Purushotham Roy |
| 34 | Janab | Golam Rahman | 78 | " | Rajani Kanto Chatterjee |
| 35 | Sjt. | Hardayal Nag | 79 | Dr. | P. C. Ray |
| 36 | " | Haran Chandra Ghosh Chowdhry | 80 | Srimathi | Surama Bala Majumdar |
| 37 | " | Hari Bhusan Das | 81 | Sjt. | Satish Chandra Roy Choudary |
| 38 | Janab | Haji Abdur Rasid Khan | 82 | " | Sirish Chandra Sen |
| 39 | Sjt. | Indra Narayan Sen Gupta | 83 | " | Sailendra Nath Chakravarti |
| 40 | Srimathi | Jasuda Lakshmi Trivedi | 84 | " | Surendra Chandra Majumdar |
| 41 | Sjt. | Jagadish Chandra Sen Gupta | 85 | Sjt. | Satis Chandra Samanta |
| 42 | " | Jnanendra Chandra Majumdar | 86 | " | Suresh Ch. Majumder |
| 43 | " | Jyotish Chandra Ray | 87 | " | Siblal Dipchand Patwa |
| 44 | " | Jadabendrunath Punja | 88 | " | Satish Chandra Agarwalla |
| | | | 89 | " | Surja Prasad Behari |

BENGAL. (Continued.)

| | | | | | |
|----|------|----------------------------|----|------|----------------------|
| 90 | Sjt. | Satish Chandra Chakravarti | 95 | Sjt. | Sourindra Mohan Bose |
| 91 | " | Shyamananda Misra | 96 | " | Salendra Nath Bose. |
| 92 | " | Sailendra Mohan Chaudhry | 97 | " | Satyendra Kumar Guha |
| 93 | " | Sudhangshu Sekhar Banerjee | 98 | " | Trilochan Sinha |
| 94 | " | Sambhu Nath De | | | |

BERAR.

| | | | | | |
|---|------|-------------------------|----|------|----------------------------|
| 1 | Sjt. | Aney Madhao Shrihari | 9 | Sjt. | Purushottam Krishna |
| 2 | " | Bhikamsing Bahadur Sing | | | Kalele |
| 3 | " | Gulsherkha Murkha | 10 | " | Rajeswar Martand Rajderkar |
| 4 | " | Kesheo Waman Shaligram | 11 | " | Ramachandra Anant |
| 5 | " | Narayan Rao Ganorkar | | | Kanilkar |
| 6 | " | Narahar Bivram Paranjpe | 12 | " | Sadashiv Hanumant Ballal |
| 7 | " | Parashram Chintaman | 13 | " | Waman Govind Mohorir |
| | | Joglekar | 14 | " | Wasudev Anant Sohoni |
| 8 | " | Pranishankar Meheta | 15 | " | Yadev Madhav Kale |
| | | | 16 | " | Yadev Shrihari Aney |

BOMBAY.

| | | | | | |
|----|----------|---------------------------|----|----------|----------------------------|
| 1 | Sjt. | Belgaumwalla N. H. | 11 | Janab | Osman Sobhani |
| 2 | " | Barucha B. F. | 12 | Sjt. | Puntambekar S. V. |
| 3 | " | Bhagwati Prasad Nigam | 13 | " | Rewa Shankar J. Jhaveri |
| 4 | " | Hirji Verji | 14 | " | Rustomji N. Bapasola |
| 5 | Srimathi | Jaramati Jamnadas Errunza | 15 | Srimathi | Sarojini Devi |
| 6 | Sjt. | Jamnadas C. Errunza | 16 | Sjt. | Seth Velji Lakshmsi Nappoo |
| 7 | " | Jayakar M. R. | 17 | " | Sivam C. V. P. |
| 8 | " | Khadilkar K. P. | 18 | " | Sathaye D. D. |
| 9 | " | Mathooradas Trikamjee | 19 | " | Sayaji Lakshman Silam |
| 10 | Janab | Mahomed Jakaria Maniar | 20 | " | Umar Sobhani |

BURMA.

| | | | | | |
|----|------|-------------------------|----|------|---------------------------|
| 1 | Sjt. | Ambalal Bajibhai | 13 | Sjt. | Brahmabahu |
| 2 | " | Ananga Mohan Dam | 14 | " | Byomkesh Sett |
| 3 | " | Ananthanath Bose | 15 | " | Chunalal |
| 4 | " | Apurba Kumar Das | 16 | " | Dalaya M. |
| 5 | " | Aswini Kumar Ghose | 17 | " | Dharmarao K. |
| 6 | " | Becharlal Kalidas | 18 | " | Dhireschandra Chakravarti |
| 7 | " | Benoy Krishna Modak | 19 | " | Gauhari Some |
| 8 | " | Bhagabat Prasad | 20 | " | Gadunath Pal |
| 9 | " | Bhagavanjee Purushottam | 21 | " | Hanuman Bux |
| 10 | " | Bibhuti Bushan Chandra | 22 | " | Haripada Chatterji |
| 11 | " | Biswanath Maha Patro | 23 | " | Hagi Gamming A. K. |
| 12 | " | Bogayya G. | 24 | " | Iswaradayal |

BURMA. (Continued.)

| | | | | | |
|----|----------|----------------------------|----|------|----------------------------|
| 25 | Srimathi | Javant Devi Harilal | 42 | Sjt. | Ramprasad Ganguly |
| 26 | Sjt. | Khagendranath Das | 43 | " | Rao K. V. |
| 27 | " | Madanjit V. | 44 | " | Ranganayakulu D. |
| 28 | Janab | Mahamood W. Dadubhai | 45 | " | Rupnarayan |
| 29 | Sjt. | Madlalesara Singh | 46 | " | Sachiladas Roy Choudary |
| 30 | " | Mansingh Kachara | 47 | " | Sadhan Saran Singh |
| 31 | " | Manulal Kshetri | 48 | " | Saibusu ChandraChakravarti |
| 32 | " | Mohanlal | 49 | " | Skarchand Shyamji Shah |
| 33 | " | Naga U. | 50 | " | Shyam Sundar Chakravarti |
| 34 | " | Nagendranath Mukherjee | 51 | " | Sicandar K. M. |
| 35 | " | Narendranath Mukherjee | 52 | " | Sisir Kumar Ghose |
| 36 | " | Nibaran Chandra Dey Sarkar | 53 | " | Siva Nagulu A. |
| 37 | " | Ottama U. | 54 | " | Sivarai Singh |
| 38 | " | Pantayya P. | 55 | " | Sundaram T. |
| 39 | " | Pravat Kusum Rao | 56 | " | Tej Bahadur |
| 40 | " | Ramayya G. J. | 57 | " | Vasudev Padi |
| 41 | " | Rakkaldas Mukherjee. | 58 | " | Venkata Reddy |

C. P. (HINDUSTHANI.)

| | | | | | |
|----|----------|----------------------|----|----------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | Janab | Abdul Hai Saheb | 28 | Sjt. | Lanme Chand Seth |
| 2 | " | Abdul Jabbar Saheb | 29 | " | Lakshman Singh |
| 3 | " | Ahmed Saheb | 30 | " | Lakshminarayan Das |
| 4 | Sjt. | Brindaban Sharma | 31 | " | Mukundanath Tiwari |
| 5 | " | Bishramharji | 32 | " | Mulji Sicka |
| 6 | " | Baironlal | 33 | Janab | Mohammed Abdul Karim Saheb |
| 7 | Pundit | Brahaddin Sarma | | | |
| 8 | Sjt. | Chedilal Thakur | 34 | Sjt. | Matroo Lal |
| 9 | Seth | Dip Chand | 35 | " | Mahatma Bhagavan Din |
| 10 | Sjt | Devi Prasad Shukla | 36 | Pundit | Makhan Lal Chaturvedi |
| 11 | " | Dhundiraj Pant Halve | 37 | Sjt. | Narayana Rao Meghavale |
| 12 | Srimathi | Dev Mati Devi | 38 | " | Nandakumar Dani |
| 13 | Sjt. | Gopal Rao | 39 | Srimathi | Parvati Bai |
| 14 | " | Ganpat Rao Tikekar | 40 | Sjt. | Pyarelal Garu |
| 15 | Janab | Hussain Khan Saheb | 41 | " | Pandurang Ramchendra Dondgaonker |
| 16 | Sjt. | Hari B. R. | | | |
| 17 | Janab. | Inam Ali Saheb | 42 | " | Pyarelal |
| 18 | Sjt. | Jethmal Mohta | 43 | " | Prasad Onkar |
| 19 | " | Jwalaprasad | 44 | " | Ramjiwanlalji |
| 20 | " | Kripal Dass | 45 | " | Ramdayal Chaturvedi |
| 21 | " | Keshari Singh | 46 | " | Roop Narayan Shrivastava |
| 22 | " | Kishenji | 47 | " | Raghavendrarao E. |
| 23 | " | Kashiram | 48 | " | Shri Krishna |
| 24 | " | Kashiram Tiwari | 49 | " | Sundarlal Sharma |
| 25 | " | Kapalanarayan Daan | 50 | " | Shankar Lal Choudari |
| 26 | Janab | Karamat Husen Saheb | 51 | " | Sundar Lal |
| 27 | Sjt. | Labboo Ram | 52 | " | Suraj Prasad Sharma |

C. P. HINDUSTHANI (Continued).

| | | | | | |
|----|-------|---------------------|----|------|---------------------|
| 53 | Janab | Umardaraj Saheb | 55 | Sjt. | Viswambhara Nath |
| 54 | Sjt. | Umrao Singh Chandan | 56 | " | Vasudeo Rao Subedar |

C. P. (MARATHI).

| | | | | | |
|----|------|-----------------------------------|----|----------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | Sjt. | Appa Ramachandra Tijare | 11 | Sjt. | Nilkant Murar Ghatwai |
| 2 | " | Bridhichandji | 12 | " | Nilkanth Rao Deshmukh |
| 3 | " | Bhiyalal Satidas | 13 | " | Pandarinath Punjaji Ambul- kar |
| 4 | " | Chaturbhuj Vithaldas | 14 | Pundit | Radha Mohan Gokulji |
| 5 | Mrs. | Gohara Sultan (Mrs. Abidali) | 15 | Sjt. | Rajanna Mochi |
| 6 | Sjt. | Gopalrao Sahasrabudhe | 16 | " | Seth Punnamchand Pugaliya |
| 7 | " | Jamnalal Bajaj | 17 | " | Satyadev Vidyalkar |
| 8 | " | Jagannath Shripur Putward- han | 18 | Srimathi | Subhdra Devi |
| 9 | " | Kalyanj Vithal Das | 19 | " | Sitabai Koti |
| 10 | " | Lalaiya Mochi | 20 | Sjt. | Yadeo Rao Udhoji |

DELHI.

| | | | | | |
|---|------|----------------------|----|-------|------------------------------------|
| 1 | Dr. | Ansari M. A. | 7 | Sit. | Raghubir Narayan Singh Choudhry |
| 2 | Md. | Abdul Azziz Ansari | 8 | " | Ram Kirpal Singh |
| 3 | Pt. | Bal Mokand | 9 | Janab | Sahwait Quroeshi |
| 4 | Sjt. | Gopinath Simha B. | 10 | Pt. | Viswanath Trivedi |
| 5 | Pt. | Kunjbehariial Sharma | | | |
| 6 | " | Peary Lal Sherma | | | |

GUJARAT.

| | | | | | |
|----|----------|--------------------------------|----|----------|--------------------------------------|
| 1 | Srimathi | Anasuyabeheni Sarabhai | 17 | Sjt. | Harilal Anoopchand Shah |
| 2 | Sjt. | Amaratlal Dalpatbhai Seth | 18 | " | Hariratanshankai N. Dave |
| 3 | " | Balubhai Nadilal Patel | 19 | " | Haridas Kalianji |
| 4 | Srimathi | Chandukuwar Jivanlal | 20 | " | Harakh Chand Motichand |
| 5 | Sjt. | Chhaganlal Vanmali Yogi | 21 | " | Harilal Brijlal |
| 6 | " | Chimanlal Mahasukhram | 22 | Janab | Imam Abdul Kadar Bawazir |
| 7 | " | Chotalal Ghelbhai Gandhi | 23 | Sjt. | Jaisukhlal Amritlal Gandhi |
| 8 | " | Chandulal Bikhhabhai Satia | 24 | " | Jivraj Bhurabhai |
| 9 | " | Chandulal Manilal Desai | 25 | " | Jivan Lal Motichand |
| 10 | " | Devadas Gandhi | 26 | " | Kalidas Jaskaran Jhaveri |
| 11 | " | Dharmasi Liladhar | 27 | " | Keshavlal Shivprasad |
| 12 | " | Gokuldas Kimji | 28 | " | Kanchanlal Motilal Barfiwalla. |
| 13 | " | Gopaldas Purushottam Desai | 29 | " | Kooverjee Vithalabhai Mehta |
| 14 | " | Ghansyam Natavarrai Mehta | 30 | " | Kantiprasad Chandrashankar Antani |
| 15 | " | Goculdas Hirjee | 31 | " | Keshrisinhiji Balubha Sodha |
| 16 | " | Goculdas Dwarakdas Raichura | 32 | Srimathi | Kasturibai Gandhi |
| | | | 33 | Janab | Khoja Mahomed Hassan Chaman |

GUJARAT. (Continued.)

| | | | | | |
|----|----------|---------------------------------|----|----------|----------------------------------|
| 34 | Sjt. | Lalji Manekji | 53 | Sjt. | Narothamdas Harakhchand |
| 35 | " | Laloobhai Bikhabhai | 54 | Srimathi | Prabhakuwar Dharamsi Liladhar |
| 36 | " | Lalbai Laloobhai Naik | | | |
| 37 | Srimathi | Manimukta Narottamdas | 55 | Sjt. | Pitambar Bhut |
| 38 | " | Maneck Gauri Chotalal Gandhi | 56 | " | Premlal Sakerchand Mehta |
| | | | 57 | " | Pragjibhai Khandubhn Desai |
| 39 | Sjt. | Manilal Goculdas Gandhi | | | |
| 40 | " | Mahadeo H. Desai | 58 | " | Purushothamdas |
| 41 | " | Mohanlal Vithaldas Gandhi | 59 | " | Ratansi Champsi |
| 42 | " | Mathuradas Gandhi | 60 | " | Ramji Hansraj |
| 43 | " | Mothilal Vithaldas | 61 | " | Ratilal Mayashanker Raval |
| 44 | " | Manilal Motilal | 62 | " | Shankerlal Banker |
| 45 | " | Manilal Valabhji Kothari | 63 | " | Shyamji Sivji Modi |
| 46 | " | Manilal Mansang Mehta | 64 | " | Shivji Devsi |
| 47 | " | Maganlal Jatashankar Seth | 65 | Srimathi | Vasumati Dhimatrai Pandit |
| 48 | " | Nagindas Amulkray Adaita | 66 | Sjt. | Vraj Kumar Jivraj Bhura |
| 49 | " | Naraindas Gandhi | 67 | " | Vithaldas Maganlal |
| 50 | " | Narsingh Prasad Kanji | 68 | " | Vallabhdas Purushottamdas |
| 51 | " | Narothamdas Karsandas | 69 | " | Vallabhbhai Javerbhai Patel |
| 52 | " | Nanalal D. Upadhia | | | |

KARNATAK.

| | | | | | |
|----|--------|-------------------------|----|------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Sjt. | Anatarao Dabade | 24 | Sjt. | Bapurao Basatkar. |
| 2 | " | Anantacharya B | 25 | " | Basavantappa Bandak |
| 3 | Janab | Abdulla Saheb Akki E | 26 | " | Belvi D. V. |
| 4 | Sjt. | Ashwathrao Mahishi | 27 | " | Balvantarao R. |
| 5 | " | Anvatti K. V. | 28 | " | Bandachar Chakot |
| 6 | Janab | Arbi Chan Murad Saheb | 29 | " | Bhimarao B. |
| 7 | Sjt. | Asundi G. N. | 30 | " | Bhimarao J. |
| 8 | Janab | Abdul Hameed Sait | 31 | " | Bhimarao Tulsegiri |
| 9 | " | Abdul Hussein Allum | 32 | " | Bindacharya. Burli |
| 10 | " | Abdul Siddiq Sait | 33 | " | Balvantarao Natu |
| 11 | " | Abdulla Jabdar | 34 | " | Chandavarkar |
| 12 | Sjt. | Ajrekar K. G. | 35 | " | Chanmalappa Kurlé |
| 13 | " | Auklikar V. P. | 36 | " | Dharwadkar Y. V. |
| 14 | " | Anantarao B. Kankanwadi | 37 | " | Dharwadkar B. V. |
| 15 | " | Albal V. V. | 38 | " | Daddibal G. T. |
| 16 | Janab | Khadar Asadi | 39 | " | Deshpande K. S. |
| 17 | Sjt. | Annarao Deshpande | 40 | " | Deshpande G. T. |
| 18 | " | Aribail Bhojarao | 41 | " | Deshpande Annaji Narayan |
| 19 | Maulvi | Abdul Alim Saheb | 42 | " | Deshpande G. B. |
| 20 | Sjt. | Bharadwaj D. K. | 43 | " | Deshpande Hunmantrao |
| 21 | " | Bapt V. T. | 44 | " | Deshpande Dattopant |
| 22 | " | Bhimachar S. V. | 45 | " | Deshpande S. R. |
| 23 | " | Bhagalkot B. B. | 46 | " | Dambal N. H. |

KARNATAK (Continued).

| | | | | | |
|----|----------|--------------------------|-----|--------|-------------------------|
| 47 | Sjt. | Dabar G. R. | 92 | Sjt. | Jorapur K. V. |
| 48 | " | Dajisaheb Rashivadkar | 93 | " | Jayade |
| 49 | " | Desal H. G. | 94 | " | Jayarao Nargund |
| 50 | " | Desai R. N. | 95 | " | Jahagirdar R. A. |
| 51 | " | Daddi Hanmanta Naik | 96 | " | Jahagirdar R. R. |
| 52 | " | Deshpande Vishwa mbharao | 97 | " | Jagamohan Surajmal |
| 53 | " | Fakirapa Galpali | 98 | " | Jalawadi Madhu |
| 54 | Srimathi | Gangubai Shevade | 99 | " | Joshi D. C. |
| 55 | Sjt. | Ganjam Tambulwadkar | 100 | " | Jiswantrao V. Yalgi |
| 56 | " | Ganeshrao H. | 101 | Janab | Jamaluddin Saheb |
| 57 | " | Gokhale V. K. | 102 | Maulvi | Kutabuddin Saheb |
| 58 | " | Gopalnaik Tabib | 103 | Sjt. | Karguppikar M. T. |
| 59 | " | Govindappa Kushtiji | 104 | " | Katigeri H. R. |
| 60 | " | Govindarao Udipi | 105 | " | Katti V. P. |
| 61 | " | Guide G. R. | 106 | Janab | Karim Saheb Alli Saheb |
| 62 | " | Guttal G. G. | 107 | " | Khaja Saheb Mursaheb |
| 63 | " | Gulwadi S. S. | | | Chatni |
| 64 | " | Gururao Kanmadi | 108 | Sjt. | Kora R. K. |
| 65 | " | Gangoli Krishnarao S. | 109 | " | Kowjalgi K. S. |
| 66 | " | Govardhan Simji | 110 | " | Kowjalgi T. S. |
| 67 | " | Gangapa Nagapa | 111 | " | Kowjalgi S. V. |
| 68 | " | Ganpatrao Shahade | 112 | " | Kowjalgi H. S. |
| 69 | " | Gundo Krishna Naregal | 113 | " | Krishtacharya M. |
| 70 | " | Gopalrao Vakil | 114 | " | Krishtapanaik Harapana- |
| 71 | " | Govindarao Mudhol | | | halli |
| 72 | " | Gurajarao | 115 | " | Krishnarao P. |
| 73 | " | Gumaste H. B. | 116 | " | Krishnarao Parvati |
| 74 | " | Huilgol N. K. | 117 | " | Kulkarni A. R. |
| 75 | " | Hulzalkar D. R. | 118 | " | Kulkarni Balvant S. |
| 76 | " | Hanmanta Rao | 119 | " | Kulkarni Kalyan |
| 77 | " | Huli T. B. | 120 | " | Kulkarni H. G. |
| 78 | " | Havaladar G. G. | 121 | " | Kulkarni R. A. |
| 79 | " | Hanmantarao Sabnis | 122 | " | Kulkarni D. B. |
| 80 | " | Huilgo V. R. | 123 | " | Kembhavi N. R. |
| 81 | Janab | Haji Usman Sait | 124 | " | Kodgi Krishnabhat |
| 82 | " | Haji Muhammad Sait | 125 | " | Kirsur S. P. |
| 83 | Sjt. | Hanmantarao Nadgonda | 126 | " | Kulkarni S. P. |
| 84 | " | Hardikar N. S. | 127 | " | Katti H. B. |
| 85 | " | Hari B. Tembe | 128 | " | Keskar B. V. |
| 86 | " | Hari R. Saraf | 129 | " | Kembhavi B. R. |
| 87 | " | Harishankar Nandram | 130 | " | Kalamdani A. R. |
| | | Pathak | 131 | " | Kembhavi M. R. |
| 88 | " | Hukinkar R. S. | 132 | " | Laxman Bapuji |
| | | | 133 | " | Limaye S. P. |
| 89 | " | Irapa Lali | 134 | " | Laxman Kudar K. |
| 90 | Janab | Imam Saheb Bepori | 135 | " | Masurekar V. A. |
| 91 | Sjt. | Janvekar D. A. | | | |

KARNATAK (Continued).

| | | | | | |
|-----|-------|---------------------------|-----|----------|--------------------------|
| 136 | Sjt. | Masaraguppi | 181 | Sjt. | Raghavendrarao P. |
| 137 | " | Mugali S. S. | 182 | " | Raghavendaarao Sharma |
| 138 | " | Mundewadi K. S. | 183 | " | Raghavachari S. N. |
| 139 | " | Mangalvedekar M. S. | 184 | " | Ramachar R. |
| 140 | " | Mahajan G. B. | 185 | " | Ramakrishnayya G. |
| 141 | " | Mahajan G. S. | 186 | " | Ramakrishna Hegde |
| 142 | Janab | Mohamed Elias Sait. | 187 | " | Ramachandrarao |
| 143 | " | Mohamed Hussen Adwale | 188 | " | Ramachandra Rao Antoo |
| 144 | " | Mohamed Ibrahim Saheb S. | 189 | " | Ramachandra Bhat H. |
| 145 | Sjt. | Mallappa Naik Tatti | 190 | " | Ramachandrarao P. |
| 146 | " | Manjiah S. | 191 | " | Ramarao H. |
| 147 | " | Mudvedkar K. H. | 192 | " | Ramarao V. Sholapur |
| 148 | " | Mudkavi R. H. | 193 | " | Ramlal Thiwari |
| 149 | " | Mallappa I Akki | 194 | " | Rangarao Jamkhindi |
| 150 | " | Lalikchandra Gujar | 195 | " | Revappa Mangshetti |
| 151 | Janab | Mahomed Sherul | 196 | Srimathi | Sitabai Shevade |
| 152 | " | Mir Abdul Hugh | 197 | " | Santayar Gauribai |
| 153 | Sjt. | Navidmal M. Vakani | 198 | Sjt. | Sadasivarao K. |
| 154 | " | Nagabhat B. | 199 | " | Sripathirao D. |
| 155 | " | Naik S. R. | 200 | " | Satwajirao S. |
| 156 | " | Narasingarao Desai | 201 | " | Srinivasarao Sarma |
| | | Kallapur | 202 | " | Srinivasarao Nadgonda |
| 157 | " | Narasingarao Nadgir | 203 | " | Shrinivasa shastry K. S. |
| 158 | " | Narasingarao Mutgi | 204 | " | Shrinivasaarao Jog |
| 159 | " | Narasingarao Hindupur | 205 | " | Shrinivasa Chetty K. A. |
| 160 | " | Naik A. G. | 206 | " | Sheik Farip Saheb |
| 161 | " | Nageshbhat S. Nargundkar | 207 | " | Santayar Anant Padmana- |
| 162 | " | Narayanrao Jaliba | | | bhabhat |
| | | Anantrao | 208 | " | Shantappa Chowdapur |
| 163 | " | Narasimhamurti Acharya | 209 | " | Shamarao P. |
| 164 | " | Narundappa B. Shetti | 210 | " | Sangapa Herkal |
| 165 | " | Nadkarni Ganpat S. | 211 | " | Sanjeevarao Ullal. |
| 166 | " | Naik H. S. | 212 | " | Sawkar S. R. |
| 167 | " | Nilkanth Mahadeo Halpeth | 213 | " | Shankararao Perulkar |
| 168 | " | Narasingarao Wadoni | 214 | " | Shenkarappa Gonda M. G. |
| 169 | " | Potdar B. B. | 215 | " | Shevade R. K. |
| 170 | " | Parvati G. R. | 216 | " | Shivarao Koppal |
| 171 | " | Parvatikar V. J. | 217 | " | Shridhararao H. |
| 172 | " | Paramanni Hosmani | 218 | " | Siddur G. Pujari |
| 173 | " | Parvatikar V. P. | 219 | " | Siddingappa Jatti |
| 174 | " | Pooramshetty K. | 220 | " | Sondur Hamumantachar |
| 175 | " | Potdar S. R. | 221 | " | Subbasastry K. |
| 176 | " | Purohit T. B. | 222 | " | Subbarao A. N. |
| 177 | " | Patel R. M. | 223 | " | Subbarao M. |
| 178 | " | Paniyade Shrinivas Upadye | 224 | " | Subbayya Rao Ariyadak |
| 179 | " | Purohit V. N. | 225 | " | Subrahmaniyam H. V. |
| 180 | " | Raghavendrarao K. | 226 | " | Shankararao Davare |

KARNATAK (Continued).

| | | | | | |
|-----|------|------------------------|-----|------|---------------------------|
| 227 | Sjt. | Shambol M. M. | 239 | Sjt. | Umachigi G. S. |
| 228 | " | Sampatgiri Rao K. | 240 | " | Umachig V. S. |
| 229 | " | Setlur S. K. | 241 | " | Venkappa T. S. |
| 230 | " | Shamanna K. | 242 | " | Venkapparao |
| 231 | " | Tankasali A. V. | 243 | " | Venkatram R. |
| 232 | " | Tankasali S. A. | 244 | " | Viswanatharao Naik |
| 233 | " | Thanedar G. N. | 245 | " | Vasudevacharya S. Bankpur |
| 234 | " | Thitte N. S. | 246 | " | Vithoba Nikam |
| 235 | " | Tilgul Y. S. | 247 | " | Venkata Subbiah |
| 236 | " | Thanedar V. N. | 248 | " | Viswanatharao R. Majli |
| 237 | " | Thirumalarao Tatti | 249 | " | Wamanarao Desai |
| 238 | " | Tammaji Krishna Potdar | 250 | " | Walwekar G. K. |

KERALA.

| | | | | | |
|----|--------|-------------------------|----|--------|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | Sjt. | Ambadi Krishna Menon | 18 | Janab. | Muhamad Yakoob Hussain |
| 2 | Janab. | Abdul Raheem M. K. | 19 | " | Mathooney M. |
| 3 | " | Abdul Hameed M. | 20 | Sjt. | Nurni Patta Ramair |
| 4 | Sjt. | Appunni Menon P. | 21 | " | Premjee Goverdhandas |
| 5 | " | Bangalore Muraliah | 22 | " | Ramuri Menon |
| 6 | " | Brhamakesh | 23 | " | Raman Menon |
| 7 | " | Bangee Karamsee | 24 | " | Subramanian P. R. |
| 8 | " | Chittedath Sanku Pillai | 25 | " | Satyawageswara Iyer |
| 9 | " | Chidambara Aiyer L. A. | 26 | " | Sanka Pillai |
| 10 | " | Embernmal Naidu M. | 27 | " | Subramonia Pillai P. |
| 11 | " | Govindan Nambiar Ch. | 28 | " | Subramoniam K. V. |
| 12 | Janab. | Hussain Kutty M. | 29 | " | Siva Ram Pillai M. |
| 13 | Sjt. | Jamnadas Kasarjee | 30 | " | Seshu Iyer C. P. |
| 14 | " | Kesav K. | 31 | " | Thanumalayya Perumal Pillai, P. C. |
| 15 | " | Kumar K. | 32 | " | Viswanatha Achari V. K. |
| 16 | " | Kesav Menon K. P. | 33 | " | Vallabhadas Purushottam |
| 17 | " | Krishnan Nambudripad | 34 | " | Vittaladas Krisandas |

MAHARASHTRA.

| | | | | | |
|---|------|-----------------------------------|----|------|---------------------------------|
| 1 | Sjt. | Ahamadbhai Mohemedhabi Tamboli | 9 | Sjt. | Bajirao Shridhar Sagamnerkar |
| 2 | " | Abaram Purushottam Deshmukh | 10 | " | Baburao Kashikar |
| 3 | " | Abas Bhai | 11 | " | Chandhati Digambardas. |
| 4 | " | Ambadasrao Kanvale | 12 | " | Chintaman Vinayak Vaidya |
| 5 | " | Ambadasrao K. | 13 | " | Deshpande Bhimarao Trimbak |
| 6 | " | Ambadasrao Wakil | 14 | " | Dattatraya Atmaram Phatak |
| 7 | Mrs. | Anandibhai Jogekar | 15 | " | Divekar Dinkar Vasudeo |
| 8 | Sjt. | Balakristna Lakshmidia Mehata | 16 | " | Damodar Moreswar Bhat |

MAHARASHTRA (Continued).

| | | | | | |
|----|------|-------------------------------------|----|------|-------------------------------|
| 17 | Sjt. | Dattatrya Ramachandra Gharpure | 56 | Sjt. | Marathe Narayan Sadashiv |
| | | | 57 | " | Munshi Mir Shukrala |
| 18 | " | Dhanarg Gokulchand | 58 | " | Nagappa Basawanti |
| 19 | " | Gaikurid Mayaji Nathuram | 59 | Sjt. | Natu Dattopant |
| 20 | " | Gogate H. R. | 60 | " | Narayanpetkar Viswanth |
| 21 | " | Ganeshshastry Joshi | | | Ekanath |
| 22 | " | Gangargekar Viyankatrao | 61 | " | Narayan Goyanoha Ekhanda |
| 23 | " | Ganapatrao M. Deshapande | 62 | " | Premeg Harbakar |
| 24 | " | Gopal Sadasiw Madane | 63 | " | Patel Harilal M. |
| 25 | " | Gokhale Damodhar Viswnath | 64 | " | Pandhye Bhagavant Appaji |
| 26 | " | Ghate Vinayak Narayan | 65 | " | Palanaji Bitwanji Bhat |
| 27 | " | Gokhale Narayan Mahadeo | 66 | " | Palnitar S. M. |
| 28 | " | Ganesh appaji Kulkarni | 67 | " | Ramachandra Narayan |
| 29 | " | Ganeshrao Kale. | | | Mandalik |
| 30 | " | Hartalkar Yeshwantrao | 68 | " | Raghunathrao Bhole |
| 31 | " | Hasan Gaus Mohidden | 69 | " | Rathi Sankarlal |
| 32 | " | Hafis sajid ali Awasi | 70 | Sjt. | Raghu nath Haji Gandre |
| 33 | " | Hari vithal Talpule | 71 | " | Ramacheri Vakil |
| 34 | " | Hari Maruti Waghri | 72 | " | Ramachendra Jaganath Ogle |
| 35 | " | Joshi Viswanath Bapuji | 73 | " | Samant Jaganath Moreshwar |
| 36 | " | Jashi P. V. | 74 | " | Surajmal Govindram |
| 37 | " | Jagu Ramakristniah | | | Marwadi |
| 38 | " | Kachi Gotirani Santram | 75 | " | Sridhar Abaji Deshpande |
| 39 | " | Kachi Rapachand Gulabchand | 76 | " | Sadasiw Bhivaba Pathare |
| | | | 77 | " | Sivaram Mahadeo Paranjape |
| 40 | " | Kashinath Thakoji Jadhav | 78 | " | Sitaram Keshav Damale |
| 41 | " | Khare L. G. | | | |
| 42 | " | Krishnaji Shivaram Paranjpe | 79 | Mrs. | Styabhaiabhai Kuwalekar |
| 43 | " | Kristnarao Vithalrao P | 80 | Sjt. | Shankar Dattatraya Deo |
| 44 | " | Kadagaumkar Shrinivasrao | 81 | " | Sadasiw Khando Attakar |
| 45 | " | Kashinath Saghunath Vaishampayan | 82 | " | Swami Dharmadnd sara swati |
| 46 | " | Kulkarni R. V. | 83 | " | Shankar Vinayak Thakur |
| 47 | " | Krisnaji Gopal Naik | 84 | " | Udagomkar Madhav Bairao |
| 48 | " | Kamalakar Ramachudra Samant | 85 | " | Viswanath Vasudeo Bocharo |
| | | | 86 | " | Vinayak Sadasiw Jakadar |
| 49 | " | Latif Meghaji | 87 | " | Vidyalankar Vinayakrao |
| 50 | " | Laji Meghaji | 88 | " | Vasudeo Govindu Apte |
| 51 | " | Laxman Narayan Mahajan | 89 | " | Viswanath Damodar Phatak |
| 52 | " | Mahadev Ramachendra Goravi | 90 | " | Vasudeo Ganesh Joshi |
| | | | 91 | " | Venkotesh Balwant aarolikar |
| 53 | " | Meth Manubhai Gopalji | 92 | " | Wagh Mahddeo Narayan |
| 54 | " | Mahant Sitaram das shastri | 93 | " | Visham Ganeth Apte |
| 55 | " | Mahade Givind Karleekar | 94 | " | Jashwant Wisham Nine |

PU NJAB.

| | | | | | |
|----|----------|-------------------------|----|------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | Sjt. | P. Amir Chand | | | |
| 2 | " | Abdul Ghuffar | 12 | Sjt. | Kethernath L. |
| 3 | Swami. | Balswaroop | 13 | Dr. | Kitchlew |
| 4 | Srimati. | Chandabhai | 14 | Sjt. | Maliklal Khan |
| 5 | Sjt. | Choundari Gulam Moidden | 15 | " | Mangal Singh S. |
| 6 | " | Pandit Gandamal Sarma | 16 | " | Moulvi Mohmad Davood Ghajanvi |
| 7 | " | Hakim Abdul Katil Nadvi | | | |
| 8 | " | Kaji Jan Mohamad | 17 | " | Pandit Mathu Ram |
| 9 | " | Kishenchand Bheteya L. | 18 | " | Nandlal M. |
| 10 | " | Kaji Abdul Rahman M. | 19 | " | Shamlal L. |
| 11 | " | Kahan chand M | 20 | " | Pandit Santam K. |

SINDH.

| | | | | | |
|---|------|-------------------|----|------|--------------------|
| 1 | Sjt. | Chaitram P. | 9 | Sjt. | Seth Sundardass |
| 2 | " | Ghanshan dass J. | 10 | " | Sugnamal H. |
| 3 | " | Gopaldass J. | 11 | " | Sidna S. K. |
| 4 | " | Hundunal K. | 12 | " | Thamordas |
| 5 | " | Jairamdass D. | 13 | " | Tarachand Shahani. |
| 6 | " | Swami rishnanand. | 14 | " | Valiji Nanji |
| 7 | " | Lal Chand P. | 15 | " | Vasanmal M. |
| 8 | " | Rachiram | | | |

TAMIL NADU.

| | | | | | |
|----|-------|----------------------------|----|------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | Janab | Abdul Gaffar Sahib | 22 | Sit. | Arulanandam M. A. |
| 2 | " | Abis Saheb | 23 | " | Aravamuthu Iyengar T. |
| 3 | " | Abdul Latief Sahib | 24 | " | Annamalai Pillai N. |
| 4 | " | Abdulla Batcha Sahib | 25 | " | Ariva Nandakara Nallaswamy |
| 5 | Sjt. | Audinarasimha Gupta T. V. | | | |
| 6 | " | Audikesavalu Niaker P. M. | 26 | " | Aihsamy Gownder C. M. |
| 7 | " | Aiaga Pillai R. | 27 | " | Bangaru Chettriyar K. |
| 8 | " | Arunachelam Chettyar A. | 28 | " | Bhaktavatsla Mudaliar |
| 9 | " | Ariharabhudra Pillai | 29 | " | Bhaskara Narayana Ayyar |
| 10 | Janab | Abdul Wahab Sahib | 30 | " | Bapur Reddair P. |
| 11 | Sjt. | Audiperumal Pillai | 31 | " | Bharatāsanthān Muthiadas |
| 12 | Janab | Addul Lateef Saheb (Salem) | 32 | " | Chinasami Ayyengar R. |
| 13 | Sjt. | Angamuthu Chettiar | 33 | " | Chinnayan aliss Nadimuth Pilai |
| 14 | " | Arunachelam Pillai | | | |
| 15 | " | Apparao | 34 | " | Chidambara Swamikal |
| 16 | Janab | Abdulla Saheb S. A. | 35 | " | Chidambar Udayar |
| 17 | " | Abdul Kadder | 36 | " | Chakkarai Chettiar V. |
| 18 | Sjt. | Alalasundarm Mudaliar S.A. | 37 | " | Chellamuthu Goundar |
| 19 | " | Adinarayana Chettiyar T. | 38 | " | Chidambararao Ayyer S. |
| 20 | " | Acharya M. K. | 39 | " | Chidembar Chettiyar |
| 21 | " | Alagarsamy Naidu K. | 40 | " | Chidambaram Pillai S. |

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| | | | | | |
|----|--------|----------------------------------|-----|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| 41 | Sjt. | Cunnayya Naidu | 85 | Sjt. | Krishna Ayyer S. P. |
| 42 | " | Devanayaka Reddiar | 86 | " | Krishnaswamy Pillai E. K. |
| 43 | " | Doraisami Ayyer N. S. | 87 | " | Krishnamoorthy V. A. |
| 44 | " | Doraikannu Mudaliar C. | 88 | " | Krishnaswamy A. C. |
| 45 | " | Dorasamy Nadar | 89 | " | Krishnan Chettiar N. V. |
| 46 | " | Doraisamy Ayya T. S. | 90 | " | Krishna Ayyer R. |
| 47 | " | Duraiswamy R. | 91 | " | Krishnarao K. V. |
| 48 | " | Elumalai Mudaliar | 92 | " | Kandasamy Pillai P. |
| 49 | " | Ethirajalu naidu T. B. | 93 | " | Karuppanan Chettiar M. V. |
| 50 | " | Ekambara Chettiyar | 94 | " | Kumarsamy Pilai T. V. S. |
| 51 | Janab. | Fajilulla Sahib | 95 | " | Kannappa Mudaliar |
| 52 | Sjt | Gurunathan Servai | 96 | " | Kulandai Gounder S. |
| 53 | " | Gangadhara sastrigal A. V. | 97 | " | Kinghappa Gounder P. |
| 54 | " | Gopala Mudaliar | 98 | " | Kadirvelu Pillai |
| 55 | " | Gangathara Mudaliar | 99 | " | Kanathaswami Iyyer N. |
| 56 | " | Gopal chariar M. S. | 100 | " | Kadirvelu Servai |
| 57 | " | Gangathreswar Mudaliar | 101 | " | Kuppuraj A. V. |
| 58 | " | Gopala Pillai | 102 | Sreemathi | Lalithdevi Ammal |
| 59 | " | Gopala Chettiar M. V. | 103 | Janab. | Mohmad Ibrahim K. P. |
| 60 | " | Gopalakrisant Ayyer K. R. | 104 | Sjt. | Munirathnasari |
| 61 | " | Ganapathiappa Pillai | 105 | " | Muthukumaraswamy Che- tتيyar |
| 62 | " | Gopala Krishna Iyer | 106 | " | Muthumodaliar |
| 63 | " | Gopalrao T. R. | 107 | " | Maragam Iyer K. S. |
| 64 | " | Gopalkrishna Iyer N. | 108 | " | Mohamad Ghouse H. N. |
| 65 | " | Govindhaswami Muturaja N. P. | 109 | " | Mohideen Pillai Rowther U. M. S. |
| 66 | Janab. | Hakim Rahimathulla Sahib | 110 | " | Madhavarao K. S. |
| 67 | " | Hajee Mohmed Moulana Sahib. | 111 | " | Mohamad Salia Routhar |
| 68 | Sjt. | Iyyasamy Iyer V. | 112 | " | Mohamad Abdulla Marakayar S. M. M. |
| 69 | " | Ignatius W. P. | 113 | " | Mohamad Said Rowther S. M. S. |
| 70 | " | Janikiram Reddiar | 114 | " | Muniappa Chettiya M. |
| 71 | " | Janikiram Mudaliar | 115 | " | Munuswamy Gounder |
| 72 | " | Kuppusamy Gounder. | 116 | " | Mahadevarao J. S. |
| 73 | " | Krishnamorrthy Iyer | 117 | " | Muthurenga Mudaliar C. N. |
| 74 | " | Kuppasamy Mudaliar A. | 118 | " | Muthu kumaraswami Mudaliar T. V. |
| 75 | " | Karuppan Dhevan V. V. | 119 | " | Muthupillai |
| 76 | " | Kulandavelu Mudaliar A. K. C. | 120 | Janab | Mohammed Usuf Sahib |
| 77 | " | Kandaswamy Reddiar A. | 121 | " | Mohammed Ali Ambalan P. |
| 78 | " | Krishnasamy Ayyengar P. S. | 123 | Sjt. | Munirathna Mudaliar L. |
| 79 | " | Krishnamachariar T. R. | 124 | " | Mahalinga Sarma S. |
| 80 | " | Krishnamachariar M. O. | 125 | " | Muthurama Iyer T. K. |
| 81 | " | Krishnasamy Sarma S. | 126 | Srimati. | Naga Ammal |
| 82 | " | Krishnasamy Naidu | 127 | Sjt. | Natesa Iyer E. R. |
| 83 | " | Krishnamachary | | | |
| 84 | " | Krishnamoorthy Iyer M. | | | |

TAMIL NADU. (Continued).

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| 128 | Sjt. | Nataraja Sarma | 173 | Sjt. | Radhakrishna Chettiar. |
| 129 | " | Nata raja Nadar S. | 174 | " | Ramamoorthy Iyer S. |
| 130 | " | Natarajan Chettiar P. | 175 | " | Rajan Chettiar D. S. |
| 131 | " | Nataraja Iyer M. | 176 | " | Ramanatham Chettiar |
| 132 | " | Nataraja Mudaliar A. | | | T. N. |
| 133 | " | Natesa Iyar M. K. | 177 | " | Ramasami Reddiar P. |
| 134 | " | Natesa Ayyer S. | 178 | " | Rangasami Pillai S. |
| 135 | " | Natesa Nakaar | 179 | " | Ramasami Raja E. P. |
| 136 | " | Nandagopala Chettiar A. | 180 | " | Ramalinga Pillai. |
| 137 | " | Navanetham Chettiar T. S. | 181 | " | Ramalingachi Reddiar |
| 138 | " | Narasimha Achariar A. | 182 | " | Rajaratnam Mudaliar S. |
| 139 | " | Narayan N. | 183 | " | Rajaratnam M. S. |
| 140 | " | Naranappa Naidu K. N. | 184 | " | Ranganatha naidu |
| 141 | " | Nattu Ponnuswamy | 185 | " | Ramanujam P. S. |
| | | Reddiar | 186 | " | Ramayya Iyer |
| 142 | " | Natesa Chettiar | 187 | " | Ramalingam Chettiar |
| 143 | " | Narasimha Iyyengar K. | 188 | " | Ramsubrahmania Aiyar |
| 144 | " | Nainiya Pillai T. | | | K. R. |
| 145 | " | Narayanasami Chettiar R. | 189 | " | Ramaswamy Iyengar K. |
| 146 | " | Narasimha Naidu N. | 190 | " | Ratnam Pillai R. |
| 147 | " | Narasiah V. R. | 191 | " | Rajagopalachariar C. |
| 148 | " | Nagaratnam A. S. | 192 | " | Ramanathan S. R. M. |
| 149 | " | Narayana Ayyengar R. | 193 | " | Roya Chokalingam Chettiar. |
| 150 | " | Nagoremeer Rowther P. | 194 | " | Ramasami Chettiar T. S. |
| 151 | " | Narayana Ayyer A. R. | 195 | " | Ramalingam Chettiar C. |
| 152 | " | Narayanarao K. V. | 196 | " | Raghava Iyer K. S. |
| 153 | " | Narasu Pillai T. V. | 197 | " | Ramanujadesaker C. R. |
| 154 | " | Pattabhirama Ayyer. | 198 | " | Rangachary R. |
| 155 | " | Parianna Chettiar A. | 199 | " | Ratnam E. V. |
| 156 | " | Palaniappa Chettiar A. | 200 | " | Ramaswamy Mudaliar T. S. |
| 157 | " | Perumal Naidu R. K. | 201 | " | Ramaswamy Gounder K. S. |
| 158 | " | Palayam Pillai S. | 202 | " | Ranga Gounder K. |
| 159 | " | Parthasarathy Mudaliar E. | 203 | " | Rajaram Naidu N. |
| 160 | " | Panchapakesa Iyer. | 204 | " | Ramalingam Pillai K. |
| 161 | " | Pareekh S. S. | 205 | " | Ramakrishna Naidu N. |
| 162 | " | Palaniamy chettiar M. A.M. | 206 | " | Rajagopala Iyer M. V. |
| 163 | " | Pasupathy Pillai M. | 207 | " | Rajagopala Iyer P. |
| 164 | " | Palnivelu Mudaliar. | 208 | " | Rajan T. S. S. |
| 165 | " | Punnavanam Pillai. | 209 | " | Ramachandran Chettiar |
| 166 | " | Padmanabharao J. | | | T. A. |
| 167 | " | Puvan Chettiar | 210 | " | Rajagopala Iyengar |
| 168 | Sreemathi | Ramamirtha Ammal | 211 | " | Rangasami Ayyengar V. N. |
| 169 | Sjt | Ramaswamy Iyengar V. | 212 | " | Ramakrishna Naidu |
| 170 | " | Rangasami Pillai T. A. | 213 | " | Raghavachary. |
| 171 | " | Ramaswamy Naikar E. V. | 214 | " | Raghavendraro K. V. |
| 172 | " | Rangaswami Iyengar A. | 215 | " | Ramachandra Naidu G. |

TAMIL NADU. (Continued).

| | | | | | |
|-----|--------|-------------------------------------|-----|----------|---|
| 216 | Sjt. | Ramanarao Y. V. | 257 | Sjt. | Srinivasa Ayyer D. |
| 217 | " | Ramaswamy N. S. | 258 | " | Subrahmaniam K. |
| 218 | " | Rajagopalachariar C. V. | 259 | " | Sangarappa Chettiar K. |
| 219 | " | Rao K. R. | 260 | " | Sallivathi Iyer C. |
| 220 | " | Raman Chettiar K. V. M. | 261 | " | Seshadri Iyengar |
| 221 | " | Rangaswami Iyengar R | 262 | " | Swaminatha Iyer S. |
| 222 | " | Rathnasabhpathy Gounder P. K. | 263 | " | Subbarayapantulu R. S. |
| 223 | " | Rangachary V. S. | 264 | " | Subrahmaniam Ayyer V. V. |
| 224 | " | Ramanathan S. | 265 | " | Sivarama Ayyer A. N. |
| 225 | " | Sammandam S. | 266 | " | Subbiah P. S. |
| 226 | Janab. | Syed Murthusa Sahib | 267 | " | Srinivasa Ayyer T. K. |
| 227 | Sjt. | Singara Mudaliar | 268 | " | Sreenivasa Ayyer S. |
| 228 | " | Srinivasa Ayyangar S. | 269 | " | Subrahmanyam S. K. |
| 229 | " | Swaminatha Ayya A. | 270 | " | Sivasubrahmanya Iyer K. |
| 230 | " | Shanmugam Pillai R. K. | 271 | " | Sitharam Iyer K. |
| 231 | " | Satyamurthy Ayyer S. | 272 | " | Subbaraya Acharya K. |
| 232 | " | Subrahmaniam Iyer M. S. | 273 | " | Subbanna Gounder K. |
| 233 | " | Selvaganapathy Chettiar N. M. K. | 274 | " | Subrahmania P Thevear A. |
| 234 | " | Subbaraja P. S. | 275 | " | Somasundaram Iyer, N. K. |
| 235 | " | Savunduramalingam Pillai S. C. | 276 | " | Subrahmania Ayyer P. |
| 236 | " | Subbanagulu Naidu. | 277 | " | Sundararaja Iyengar M. K. |
| 237 | Janab. | Syed Ismail Sahib | 278 | " | Sobrahmaniam K. M |
| 238 | Sjt. | Srinivasan A. V. | 279 | " | Srinivasaraghavan N. K. |
| 239 | " | Sodalaimuthu Pillai | 280 | " | Srinivasarao W. S. |
| 240 | " | Subbanarayana Iyer G. V. | 281 | " | Sivagurunatha Pillai |
| 241 | " | Sreenivasachariar S. | 282 | " | Swaminatha Iyer L. S. |
| 242 | " | Sivasamba Aiyar | 283 | " | Subbaraman N. M. R. |
| 243 | " | Singaravelu Chettiar M. | 284 | " | Sastry T. V. S. |
| 244 | " | Santhanam K. | 285 | " | Srinivasa Iyer L. S. |
| 245 | Janab | Shaffi Mohammed S. A. | 286 | " | Sankaralingam Pillai S. M. |
| 246 | Sjt. | Subrahmania Iyer P. | 287 | " | Srinivasachariara E. |
| 247 | " | Sankarlingam Pillai | 288 | " | Samy N. K. |
| 248 | " | Srinivasachariar | 289 | " | Subbier K. T. |
| 249 | " | Sankarakrishna Iyer A. | 290 | " | Somalinga Alagirisamy Iyer |
| 250 | " | Sadasiva Chettiar | 291 | " | Subbanna Iyer (alias) subba Iyer R. V. |
| 251 | " | Sankara Sadasiva Ayyer G. | 292 | " | Subramania Pillai S. |
| 252 | " | Sankara Narayana Iyer K. R. | 293 | " | Thirumalai Iyengar |
| 253 | " | Sivaramakrishnasarma C. | 294 | " | Kandu Ramaswamy, Reddiar |
| 254 | " | Sidharaj K. L. | 295 | Srimathi | Thillai Arumal |
| 255 | " | Sundararazulu Naidu S. D. V. | 296 | Sjt. | Thirumalai Subbu Chettiar |
| 256 | " | Srinivasa Iyengar T. | 297 | " | Thirumalai Naidu A. |
| | | | 298 | " | Thangaperumal Pillai K. M. |
| | | | 299 | " | Vasudevarao T. B. |

TAMIL NADU (Continued).

| | | | | | |
|-----|------|----------------------------|-----|------|------------------------------|
| 300 | Sjt. | Veerappan P. M. | 315 | Sjt. | Venkatachela Ayyer G. |
| 301 | " | Venkatachela Reddiar K. V. | 316 | " | Venkatakrishnam Pillai P. S. |
| 302 | " | Vasudeva Sastry. | 317 | " | Vasudevayya M. G. |
| 303 | " | Venkatachariar | 318 | " | vasudevarao M. |
| 304 | " | Venkatachala Pandithar | 319 | " | Venkatappa Gounder R. |
| 305 | " | Veerappa naikar V. V. | 320 | " | Venkatachelam Pillai K. |
| 306 | " | Venkatarangam naidu | 321 | " | Viswanatha Iyyer S. |
| 307 | " | Vydyanatha Iyyer S. P. | 322 | " | Venkata Arya P. S. |
| 308 | " | Venkataadri Naidu G. | 323 | " | Vedantachariar P. S. |
| 309 | " | Viswanadha Ayyer T. K. | 324 | " | Varadachari M. S. |
| 310 | " | Vaidyanatha Ayver A. | 325 | " | Venkatrao |
| 311 | " | Viswanatha Ayyer S. V. | 326 | " | Veerabhadra Naiker M. |
| 312 | " | Venkata Subba Naidu | 327 | " | Venkatraman K. S. |
| 313 | " | Varatharajan A. | 328 | " | Viswanatham Chettiar S. |
| 314 | " | Veerabhadram Chettiar | 329 | " | Venkata Subba Naidu K. |
| | | S. V. K. | 330 | " | Vijayaraghavachariar C. |

UNITED PROVINCES.

| | | | | | |
|----|---------|----------------------------|----|----------|---------------------------|
| 1 | Janab | Abu Baker M. | 26 | Begum | Mohamad Ali |
| 2 | " | Abdul Hamid Qaum | 27 | Sjt. | Moolchand Gupta |
| 3 | Sjt. | Bechen Sarma Ugra (Paneya) | 28 | " | Motilal Nehru |
| 4 | " | Balmukund Vajpeyi | 29 | " | Mahavir Tiagi |
| 5 | " | Bechan Misra | 30 | Janab | Munshi Manzar Ali Sohka |
| 6 | " | Bind Basni Prasad | 31 | " | Monazirali |
| 7 | " | Biswa Nath Mukherjee | 32 | " | Masud alim Nadri M. |
| 8 | Pt. | Brahma Deo Sharma | 33 | " | Mohamad Ali |
| 9 | Sjt. | Bajarangi Sahu | 34 | Pt. | Nand Prasad Misra |
| 10 | " | Bhagawat Saran | 35 | Sjt. | Prabhat Kusum Banerjee B. |
| 11 | " | Chatur Bihar Lall | 36 | " | Ram Swarup Gupta |
| 12 | Srimati | Gyanavati Devi | 37 | " | Ram Prasad Misra |
| 13 | Pt. | Gouri Shankar Misra | 38 | " | Rama Chender Sharma |
| 14 | Janaba. | Hafizur Rahman Khan | 39 | " | Ram Prasad Gupta B. |
| 15 | " | Hakino Nasiruddin | 40 | " | Rambali Misra |
| | | Mahammud | 41 | " | Rama Sakhi Singh |
| 16 | Sjt. | Hanuman Prasad Pandeya | 42 | " | Ram Shanker Shukla |
| 17 | " | Jagmohan Lal Tandon L. | 43 | " | Sivanath |
| 18 | " | Jawahar Lal Nehru | 44 | " | Vishnukaran |
| 19 | " | Jamuna Singh Rawat B. | 45 | Srimathi | Gangabhai |
| 20 | " | Jamuna Prasad Gupta | 46 | Sjt. | Pandit Saligram Dikshit |
| 21 | " | Krishanand Nath Khare | 47 | " | Siva Prasad Jahi |
| 22 | " | Krishna Chandra Sharma | 48 | " | Pulipaka Gurunadha Sarma |
| 23 | Janab | Khaliq Uz Zaman Saheb M. | 49 | " | Vindheswari Prasada Matya |
| 24 | " | Kariya Sahib B. | | | Veena |
| 25 | Sjt. | Lakshmi Narain Agnihotri | 50 | " | Ram Surut Misra |

UNITED PROVINCES (Continued).

| | | | | | |
|----|----------|----------------------------|----|-------|------------------------|
| 51 | Sjt. | Pandit Veera Bhadra Misra | 62 | Sjt. | Som Datta |
| 52 | " | Rama Sanmuka Sukla | 63 | Janab | Syed Hamid Hasan |
| 53 | " | Bhalavat Saranjee | 64 | " | Shaukat Ali |
| 54 | Sreemati | Mahalakshmin Bhai | 65 | Sjt. | Sukhudeo Govind Rao B. |
| 55 | Sjt. | Sait Janaki Prasad | 66 | " | Sitla Sahai |
| 56 | Janab | Rafi Ahmad Kidwai | 67 | " | Thakur Das Gupta |
| 57 | Sjt. | Ramdass Gaur | 68 | Janab | Tasadduq Ahmad Khan |
| 58 | " | Ram Naresh Singh | | | Sherwani |
| 59 | " | Swami Sahajanand Saraswati | 69 | Pt. | Umma Shankar Dikshit |
| 60 | " | Sunjoo Prasad | 70 | Sjt. | Viswa Mitra |
| 61 | " | Sundarsan Narain Sukla | 71 | " | Vijai Bahadur Singh |

U T K A L.

| | | | | | |
|----|-----------|----------------------------|----|------|-------------------------|
| 1 | Sjt. | A. Raghavayya | 29 | Sjt. | K. Gurumurthi Patro |
| 2 | " | A. Somasekharam | 30 | " | K. Balakrishna Patro |
| 3 | " | Ananarasi Gurumurthi Patro | 31 | " | K. Krushnamurti Patro |
| 4 | " | Appanna Parikha | 32 | " | K. Ramayya Patro |
| 5 | " | Alupati Raghunath Patro | 33 | " | K. Rangayya Patro |
| 6 | " | Alupati Gangadhar Patro | 34 | " | Lingaraj Patnaik |
| 7 | " | A. Krishnamurti Patro | 35 | " | Lingaraj Misra |
| 8 | " | Ananta Prasad Agarwalla | 36 | " | Lingaraj Panigrahi |
| 9 | " | Basudev Mahapatro | 37 | " | Lingaraj Das |
| 10 | " | Bhairab Chandra Maha Patro | 38 | " | Madan Mohan Das |
| 11 | " | Binode Behari Parida | 39 | " | Mathura Mohan Behara |
| 12 | " | Banchanibhi Mahaanty | 40 | " | Niranjan Mohan Behara. |
| 13 | " | Banchanidhi Patnaik | 41 | " | Naba Krishna Choudry |
| 14 | " | B. Gopinath Prusthy | 42 | " | Nanda Kishore Misra |
| 15 | " | B. Raghunath Prusthy | 43 | " | Nilamber Das |
| 16 | " | Bhagirathi Patnaik | 44 | " | Nilakanta Das |
| 17 | " | Chinang Ananta Patro | 45 | " | Narasing Charan Patnaik |
| 18 | " | Ekaram Rasul | 46 | " | Nagendra Kumar Roy |
| 19 | Sreemathi | G. S. Lakshmi | 47 | " | Nakul Biswal |
| 20 | Sjt. | Gokulnanda Mahanty | 48 | " | Nanda Kishore Das |
| 21 | " | Gobind Chandra Misra | 49 | " | Narasing Patro |
| 22 | " | G. S. P. Rao | 50 | " | Raghunath Muni |
| 23 | " | Ghanashyam Sahu | 51 | " | Ramachandra Rath |
| 24 | " | Godabaris Das | 52 | " | R. K. Bose |
| 25 | " | Harikrishna Mahatab | 53 | " | Suryanarayan Patro |
| 26 | " | Harihar Panigrahi | 54 | " | Satyavadi Panigrahi |
| 27 | " | Krishna Prasad Mahanty | 55 | " | T. Varat Patro |
| 28 | " | Karunakar Panigrahi | 56 | " | Upendra Nath Panda |

1 Deshbandhu C. R. Das (Bengal)

2 Sjt. Shankar K. Pupala (Bombay)

3 Sjt. Satish Chandra Gupta (Burma)

4 Name illegible

Appendix IV.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS BY THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE OF THE 38th. INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, COCANADA.

(UP TO 5-12-1924)

| RECEIPTS. | | | | DISBURSEMENTS. | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|--|-----------|-----|----------------|-----|----|--------------------|---|-----|---------|-----------|-----|---|
| | | | | Rs. | A. | P. | | | | | | | |
| | | | | Rs. | A. | P. | | | | | | | |
| 1. | Fees for admission to the Congress Pandal during the Session ... | ... | ... | 1,73,369- | 0- | 0 | 1. | Pandal and Accommodation Committee expenses as per Schedule | A. | 82,495- | 8- | 9 | |
| | (a) Reception Committee fees... | 1,20,862- | 0- | 0 | | | 2. | Dinner Committee | " | B. | 24,037- | 12- | 0 |
| | (b) Visitors' fees ... | 23,397- | 0- | 0 | | | 3. | Volunteer Committee | " | C. | 14,370- | 4- | 6 |
| | (c) Adjustment entry for free visitors' passes to Sadhus, Panchamas and workers... | 12,500- | 0- | 0 | | | 4. | Lighting Committee | " | D. | 8,047- | 15- | 6 |
| | (d) Delegates' fees ... | 16,610- | 0- | 0 | | | 5. | Medical Committee | " | E. | 1,002- | 11- | 0 |
| 2. | Exhibition Entrance fees ... | ... | ... | 6,809- | 5- | 3 | 6. | Exhibition Committee | " | F. | 3,517- | 15- | 3 |
| | (a) Exhibition Tickets ... | 6,547- | 9- | 0 | | | 7. | Music Committee | " | G. | 730- | 0- | 0 |
| | (b) Fees for exhibits and spinning competition | 261- | 12- | 3 | | | 8. | Procession Committee | " | H. | 766- | 15- | 3 |
| 3. | Receipts from the Dinner Committee ... | ... | ... | 19,557- | 1- | 0 | 9. | Station & Conveyance Committee | " | J. | 702- | 6- | 0 |
| | (a) Sale of Dinner Tickets ... | 8,357- | 1- | 0 | | | 10. | General Expenses | " | K. | 45,208- | 15- | 9 |
| | (b) Adjustment entry for free dinner passes to volunteers workers and officers ... | 11,200- | 0- | 0 | | | 11. | Cost of oil painting of Mahatma Gandhi's portrait (presented to the Pydah Venkata Chelapathy Town Hall, Cocanada, as per Committee's resolution). | ... | ... | 675- | 0- | 0 |
| 4. | Sale of Music Tickets ... | ... | ... | 1,235- | 9- | 0 | 12. | 'Advances paid for Congress Report work ... | ... | ... | 3,608- | 0- | 0 |
| 5. | Sale of Tickets for Overflow meeting ... | ... | ... | 2,323- | 14- | 9 | 13. | Advance outstanding from the President, Utkal Provincial Congress Committee ... | ... | ... | 80- | 0- | 0 |
| 6. | Rent ... | ... | ... | 9,272- | 8- | 0 | 14. | Amount paid to the A. I. C. C. towards the half share of delegation fees. ... | ... | ... | 8,294- | 6- | 0 |
| | (a) Camp fees ... | 5,749- | 0- | 0 | | | 15. | Amount paid to the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee ... | ... | ... | 12,200- | 0- | 0 |
| | (b) Exhibition Stalls ... | 1,293- | 0- | 0 | | | 16. | Amount paid to the Cocanada Congress Memorial Fund Committee as per A.P.C.C.'s resolution ... | ... | ... | 1,000- | 0- | 0 |
| | (c) Gandhinagar Stalls ... | 2,230- | 8- | 0 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total Carried over | | | | 2,12,567- | 6- | 0 | Total Carried over | | | | 2,06,737- | 14- | 0 |

Carried over to the next page:

Brought over from the last page.

| | |
|--|-----------------------|
| Total brought over | 2,12,567- 6- 0 |
| 7. Interest received from the Godavari District Co-operative Banking Union, Ltd., Cocanada. ... | 225- 9- 3 |
| | <u>2,12,792-15- 3</u> |

| | |
|---|----------------------|
| Total brought over | 2,06,737-14- 0 |
| 17. Cash balance with the Treasurer:— | 6,055- 1- 3 |
| (a) Imperial Bank of India, Cocanada. ... | 952-14- 0 |
| (b) Godavary District Co-operative Banking Union Ltd, Cocanada | 5,082- 5- 9 |
| (c) Cash Balance | 19-13- 6 |
| | <u>2,12,792-15-3</u> |

NOTE:—The amounts of Rs. 12,500 and Rs. 11,200 shown in items 1 (c) and 3 (b) respectively are not the actual receipts but they are adjustment entries included in item Nos. 10 and 2 on the debit side in respect of free visitors' tickets and messing charges of workers and volunteers, Sadhus and Panchamas., respectively.

Item (17) includes Rs. 5,100 allotted by the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee for the Congress Memorial at Cocanada.

The Congress Report printing account and outstanding items, if any, will have to be adjusted hereafter.

The above statement of receipts and disbursements by the Reception Committee of the 38th Indian National Congress, Cocanada, for the period ending 5—12—24 has been audited by me with the books and vouchers of the above Committee and is found correct.

N. S. KONETIRAU,
Honorary Secretary,
in charge of finance.

L. SUBBARAU,
Working Treasurer.

V. NARAYANAMURTY, F. R. C. A. (Glas),
Corporate Accountant,
Auditing Inspector,
All India Khadi Board,
(formerly Auditor to the Andhra P. C. C.)

B. SAMBAMURTI,
General Secretary.

Schedules to Appendix IV.

Schedule A,

PANDAL, ACCOMMODATION, SANITATION AND WATER WORKS.

| | Rs. As. Ps. | Rs. A. P. |
|---|-------------|-------------------------|
| I. Materials for Sheds:— | | 21,136 12 4 |
| 1. Casuarina | 2,560 4 3 | |
| 2. Bamboos | 7,680 15 3 | |
| 3. Palmyrah leaves | 2,430 15 3 | |
| 4. Bamboø mats | 1,274 6 9 | |
| 5. Palmyra mats | 9,930 9 6 | |
| 6. Corrugated iron sheets | 1,712 8 6 | |
| 7. Bricks | 280 3 6 | |
| 8. Ropes, fibre etc. | 415 11 6 | |
| 9. Country wood planks, reepers etc. | 170 4 7 | |
| 10. Cuddapah slabs | 414 14 3 | |
| | <hr/> | |
| | 26,870 13 4 | |
| Less value realised on resale of sheds | 5,734 1 0 | |
| | <hr/> | |
| | 21,136 12 4 | |
| | <hr/> | |
| II. Cost of Labour:— | | 18,545 14 8 |
| 1. Construction of sheds | 15,364 9 7 | |
| 2. Felling charges and cartage of casuarina | 2,387 1 1 | |
| 3. Shipping and conveyance of bamboos | 794 4 0 | |
| | <hr/> | |
| | 4,143 7 0 | |
| III. 1. Cots | 4,143 7 0 | |
| 2. Pots, hay etc. | 424 11 5 | 4,568 2 5 |
| | <hr/> | |
| IV. Khaddar Tent. | | 24,851 1 6 |
| 1. Hire for the tent | 24,197 8 0 | |
| 2. Other charges | 653 9 6 | |
| | <hr/> | |
| V. Earth-work & Communications:— | | 2,493 15 9 |
| 1. Material | 1,483 12 3 | |
| 2. Labour charges | 828 13 6 | |
| 3. Floating Bridge | 181 6 0 | |
| | <hr/> | |
| Total carried over | | <hr/> <hr/> 71,595 14 8 |

| | Rs. | A. | P. |
|---|---------------|----------|----------|
| Total brought over | 71,595 | 14 | 8 |
| VI. Sanitation | 731 | 9 | 0 |
| VII. Fire protection | 1,430 | 13 | 0 |
| VIII. Decorations | 2,913 | 3 | 0 |
| IX. Water Works:— | 2,904 | 4 | 4 |
| 1. Amount paid to the Municipality to meet the cost of pipes and laying | 2,826 | 11 | 4 |
| 2. Other charges | 77 | 9 | 0 |
| X. Stationery | 96 | 7 | 6 |
| XI. Furniture | 1,036 | 10 | 1 |
| XII. Servants | 1,257 | 8 | 8 |
| XIII. Miscellaneous, including Lighting, Postage and Telegrams, Travelling etc. | 529 | 2 | 6 |
| | <u>82,495</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>9</u> |

Y. VENKATESWARLU,

P. SURYANARAYANAMURTI,

Secretaries-in-charge.

Schedule B.

EXPENSES INCURRED BY THE DINNER COMMITTEE.

| | Rs. | A. | P. | Rs. | A. | P. |
|--|-------|----|----|---------------|-----------|----------|
| I. Stores for kitchen.— | | | | 19,255 | 10 | 5 |
| 1. Rice | 4,731 | 7 | 10 | | | |
| 2. Ghee | 4,822 | 9 | 0 | | | |
| 3. Oils | 492 | 5 | 6 | | | |
| 4. Milk and curd | 1,656 | 15 | 10 | | | |
| 5. Pulses | 579 | 14 | 3 | | | |
| 6. Wheat flour | 569 | 2 | 2 | | | |
| 7. Chillies, tamarind, condiments and other provisions | 1,194 | 11 | 2 | | | |
| 8. Vegetables | 3,530 | 5 | 11 | | | |
| 9. Leaf dishes and cups | 710 | 9 | 3 | | | |
| 10. Fuel | 967 | 9 | 6 | | | |
| II. Refreshments to A. I. C. C. members | | | | 1,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Total carried over | | | | <u>20,255</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>5</u> |

| | Rs | A. | P. |
|---|-------------|-------|----|
| Total brought over | 20,255 | 10 | 5 |
| III. Charges etc.: | | | |
| | | 3,782 | 1 |
| 1. Wages to cooks and Brahmans | 1,712 | 12 | 0 |
| 2. Travelling charges etc. | 524 | 15 | 9 |
| 3. Postage and telegrams | 38 | 13 | 6 |
| 4. Loss on resale of articles including pots | 1,011 | 12 | 7 |
| 5. Miscellaneous | 343 | 11 | 9 |
| 6. Brass vessels given free to the Town Congress Committee, Cocanada, as per resolution passed on 21-5-1924 | 150 | 0 | 0 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | 24,037 12 0 | | |
| | <hr/> | | |

M. VENKATRAO,
Secretary-in-charge.

Schedule C.

EXPENSES INCURRED BY THE VOLUNTEERS COMMITTEE.

| | Rs | A. | P. |
|--|------------|----|----|
| 1. Adjustment for free dinner passes for 1,250 volunteers | 9,375 | 0 | 0 |
| 2. Refreshments for volunteers | 3,651 | 3 | 6 |
| 3. Badges | 759 | 12 | 0 |
| 4. Travelling | 353 | 2 | 9 |
| 5. Postage and telegrams | 97 | 13 | 6 |
| 6. Stationery | 75 | 9 | 9 |
| 7. Miscellaneous | 57 | 11 | 0 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | 14,370 4 6 | | |
| | <hr/> | | |

J. RAMACHANDRARAO,
Captain.

V. SATYANARAYANA,
Secretary-in-charge.

Schedule D.

EXPENSES INCURRED BY THE LIGHTING COMMITTEE.

| | Rs | A. | P. |
|-------------------------------------|-------|----|----|
| 1. Electric lighting | 5,080 | 0 | 0. |
| 2. Hire for gas lights | 2,364 | 10 | 0. |
| 3. Loss on resale of Dietz lanterns | 268 | 10 | 6 |
| 4. Candles | 92 | 8 | 0 |
| 5. Kerosine oil | 76 | 0 | 0. |
| 6. Ropes and pullies | 68 | 3 | 0. |
| 7. Miscellaneous | 98 | 0 | 0 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | 8,047 | 15 | 6. |

V. BHAVANARAYANA,

Secretary-in-charge.

Schedule E.

EXPENSES INCURRED BY THE MEDICAL COMMITTEE.

| | Rs | A. | P. |
|--|-------|----|----|
| 1. Medicines, (including the loss on resale) | 932 | 2 | 6. |
| (a) Allopathic | 667 | 6 | 0 |
| (b) Ayurvedic | 164 | 12 | 6 |
| (c) Unani | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| 2. Loss on resale of furniture | 37 | 0 | 0. |
| 3. Postage | 7 | 7 | 0. |
| 4. Miscellaneous | 26 | 1 | 6 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | 1,002 | 11 | 0 |

V. V. KRISHNAYYA,

Secretary-in-charge.

Schedule F.

EXPENSES INCURRED BY THE EXHIBITION COMMITTEE.

| | Rs. | A. | P. |
|--------------------------|-------|----|----|
| 1. Demonstration Parties | 1,676 | 0 | 6. |
| 2. Medals | 449 | 13 | 0. |
| 3. Printing charges | 167 | 11 | 0 |
| 4. Ground rent | 200 | 0 | 0 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| Total carried over, | 2,493 | 8 | 6 |

| | Rs. | A. | P. |
|--------------------------|--------------|-----------|----------|
| Total brought over | 2,493 | 8 | 6 |
| 5. Stationery | 80 | 14 | 6 |
| 6. Postage and Telegrams | 56 | 15 | 0 |
| 7. Decorations | 50 | 3 | 0 |
| 8. Labour charges | 200 | 0 | 0 |
| 9. Travelling | 95 | 8 | 0 |
| 10. Conveyance charges | 93 | 4 | 0 |
| 11. Miscellaneous | 447 | 10 | 3 |
| | <u>3,517</u> | <u>15</u> | <u>3</u> |

M. THIRUMALAROW,
Secretary-in-charge.

Schedule C.

EXPENSES INCURRED BY THE MUSIC COMMITTEE.

| | Rs. | A. | P. |
|---|------------|----------|----------|
| 1. Charges for musicians (<i>Sonai, Dhanka</i> etc.) | 415 | 1 | 0 |
| 2. Travelling charges | 117 | 13 | 6 |
| 3. Telegrams and postage | 17 | 9 | 0 |
| 4. Stationery and printing | 54 | 6 | 0 |
| 5. Miscellaneous | 125 | 2 | 6 |
| | <u>730</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |

C. KAMESWARA RAO,
Secretary-in-charge.

Schedule H.

EXPENSES INCURRED BY THE PROCESSION COMMITTEE.

| | Rs. | A. | P. |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|------------|-------------|
| 1. Decoration of Arches:- | | 240 | 14 9 |
| (a) Loss on resale of Khaddar | 124 | 14 | 9 |
| (b) Decoration charges | 116 | 0 | 0 |
| | <u> /</u> | 80 | 0 0 |
| 2. Flute Band | | 354 | 11 0 |
| 3. Expenses for horses and carriage | | 60 | 0 0 |
| 4. Motor expenses | | 31 | 5 6 |
| 5. Miscellaneous | | <u>766</u> | <u>15 3</u> |

M. RANGIAH,
Secretary-in-charge.

Schedule J.

EXPENSES INCURRED BY THE STATION AND CONVEYANCE COMMITTEE.

| | Rs. | A. | P. |
|-----------------------|------------|----------|----------|
| 1. Carriage hire | 629 | 1 | 0 |
| 2. Travelling | 49 | 4 | 0 |
| 3. License tin plates | 14 | 1 | 0 |
| 4. Cooly hire | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| 5. Stationery | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| | <u>702</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>0</u> |

P. NARASINGARAO,
Secretary-in-charge.

Schedule K.

GENERAL EXPENSES.

| | Rs. | A. | P. |
|--|---------------|-----------|----------|
| 1. Free visitors' tickets to Sadhus, Panchamas and workers | 12,500 | 0 | 0 |
| 2. Free dinner passes to workers etc., | 1,825 | 0 | 0 |
| 3. Printing:— | 9,459 | 1 | 6 |
| (a) General Printing | 2,529 | 7 | 6 |
| (b) Welcome Address | 339 | 7 | 0 |
| (c) Presidential Address | 6,570 | 3 | 0 |
| 4. Salaries to staff | 5,160 | 3 | 9 |
| 5. Bonus and medals | 3,584 | 5 | 6 |
| 6. Travelling expenses | 2,722 | 8 | 11 |
| 7. Motor account | 2,400 | 15 | 6 |
| 8. Stationery | 993 | 0 | 6 |
| 9. Congress Reporters | 900 | 0 | 0 |
| 10. Furniture (Loss on resale) | 970 | 15 | 0 |
| 11. Cycles (Loss on resale) | 935 | 4 | 0 |
| 12. Telegrams | 952 | 6 | 0 |
| 13. Postage | 269 | 14 | 0 |
| 14. Badges to delegates and Reception Committee Members | 552 | 10 | 0 |
| 15. House rent | 554 | 11 | 9 |
| 16. Miscellaneous | 1,006 | 15 | 4 |
| 17. Items written off | 421 | 9 | 9 |
| | <u>45,208</u> | <u>15</u> | <u>0</u> |

N. S. KONETIRAU,
General Secretary-in-charge of Finance.

APPENDIX V.

The Non-Co-Operation Resolutions.

CALCUTTA, NAGPUR, AHMEDABAD, GAYA, DELHI, COCANADA.

I.

Calcutta Special Session, September, 1920.

In view of the fact that on the Khilafat question both the Indian and the Imperial Governments have signally failed in their duty towards the Musalmans of India, and the Prime Minister has deliberately broken his pledged word given to them and that it is the duty of every Non-muslim Indian in every legitimate manner to assist his Musalman brother in his attempt to remove the religious calamity that has overtaken him;

And in view of the fact that in the matter of the events of the April of 1919 both the said Governments have grossly neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Punjab, and punish the officers guilty of unsoldierly and barbarous behaviour towards them and have exonerated Sir Michael O'Dwyer who proved himself directly or indirectly responsible for most of the official crimes, and callous to the sufferings of the people placed under his administration and that the debate in the House of Commons and especially in the House of Lords betrayed a woeful lack of sympathy with the people of India, and showed virtual support of the systematic terrorism and frightfulness adopted in the Punjab, and that the latest Viceregal pronouncement is a proof of entire absence of repentance in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab.

This Congress is of opinion that there can be no contentment in India without the redress of the two afore-mentioned wrongs, and that the only effectual means to vindicate national honour, and to prevent a repetition of similar wrongs in future is the establishment of Swarajya. This Congress is further of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive non-violent non-co-operation until the said wrongs are righted and Swarajya is established.

And in as much as a beginning should be made by the classes who have hitherto moulded and represented public opinion, and in as much as Government consolidates its power through titles and honours bestowed on the people, through schools controlled by it, its law-courts and its Legislative Councils, and in as much as it is desirable in the prosecution of the movement to take the minimum risk and to call for the least sacrifice compatible with the attainment of the desired object, this Congress earnestly advises :—

- (a) surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in Local Bodies;
- (b) refusal to attend Government levees, Darbars and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials or in their honour,
- (c) gradual withdrawal of children from schools, and colleges, owned, aided or controlled by Government and in place of such schools

and colleges establishment of national schools and colleges, in the various provinces,

- (d) gradual boycott of British Courts by lawyers and litigants, and establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid for the settlement of private disputes,
- (e) refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia,
- (f) withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the Reformed Councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may, despite the Congress advice offer himself for election.
- (g) the boycott of foreign goods.

And in as much as Non-co-operation has been conceived as a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice without which no nation can make real progress, and in as much as an opportunity should be given in the very first stage of Non-co-operation to every man, woman, and child for such discipline and self-sacrifice, this Congress advises adoption of Swadeshi in piece-goods on a vast scale, and in as much as the existing mills of India with indigenous capital and control do not manufacture sufficient yarn and sufficient cloth, for the requirements of the nation, and are not likely to do so for a long time to come, this Congress advises immediate stimulation of further manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving hand-spinning in every home and hand-weaving on the part of the millions of weavers who have abandoned their ancient and honorable calling for want of encouragement.

II.

Nagapur Session, December, 1920.

Whereas in the opinion of the Congress, the existing Government of India has forfeited the confidence of the country, and whereas the people of India are now determined to establish Swaraj, and whereas all methods adopted by the people of India prior to the last special session of the Indian National Congress have failed to secure due recognition of their rights and liberties and the redress of their many and grievous wrongs, more especially in reference of the Khilafat and Punjab, now this Congress, while reaffirming the resolution on Non-violent Non-co-operation passed at the special session of the Congress at Calcutta, declares that the entire or any parts or parts of the scheme of Non-violent Non-co-operation with the renunciation of voluntary association with the present Government, at one end, and the refusal to pay taxes, at the other, should be put in force at a time to be determined by either the Indian National Congress, or the All India Congress Committee and that, in the meanwhile, to prepare the country for it, effective steps should continue to be taken in that behalf:—

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

- (a) by calling upon the parents and guardians of school children (and not the children themselves) under the age of 16 years, to make greater efforts for the purpose of withdrawing them from such schools as are owned, aided or

in any way controlled by Government and concurrently to provide for their training in national schools or by such other means as may be within their power, in the absence of such schools;

(b) by calling upon students of the age of 16 and above, to withdraw without delay irrespective of consequences, from institutions owned, aided or in any way controlled, by Government, if they feel that it is against their conscience to continue in institutions which are dominated by a system of Government which the nation has solemnly resolved to bring to an end, and advising such students either to devote themselves to some special service in connection with the Non-co-operation movement, or to continue their education in national institutions;

(c) by calling upon trustees, managers and teachers of Government, affiliated or aided schools and municipalities and local Boards to help to nationalise them;

BOYCOTT OF LAW COURTS.

(d) by calling upon lawyers to make greater efforts to suspend their practice, and to devote their attention to national service, including boycott of Law Courts by litigants, and fellow lawyers, and the settlement of disputes by private arbitration;

BOYCOTT OF FOREIGN GOODS.

(e) in order to make India economically independent and self-contained, by calling upon merchants and traders to carry out a gradual boycott of foreign trade relations, to encourage hand-spinning and hand-weaving and in that behalf by having a scheme of economic boycott planned and formulated by a committee of experts, to be nominated by the All India Congress Committee;

CALL FOR SELF-SACRIFICE.

(f) and generally, inasmuch as self-sacrifice is essential for the success of Non-co-operation, by calling upon every section and every man and woman in the country, to make the utmost possible contribution of self-sacrifice to the national movement;

(g) by organising committees in each village or group of villages with a provincial central organization in the principal city of each province, for the purpose of accelerating the progress of non-co-operation;

(h) by organising a band of national workers for a service to be called the *Indian National Service*; and,

(i) by taking effective steps to raise a national fund to be called "The All India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund" for the purpose of financing the foregoing National Service, and the Non-co-operation movement in general.

CALL TO COUNCILLORS TO RESIGN.

This Congress congratulates the nation upon the progress made so far in working the programme of Non-co-operation, specially with regard to the boycott of Councils by the voters and claims that, in the circumstances in which they have been brought into existence, the new Councils do not represent the

country, and trusts that those who have allowed themselves to be elected in spite of the deliberate abstention from the polls of an overwhelming majority of their constituents, will see their way, to resign their seats in the Councils, and that if they retain their seats in spite of the declared wish of their respective constituencies, in direct negation of the principle of democracy, the electors will studiously refrain from asking any political service from such councillors.

GOVERNMENT SERVANTS.

This Congress recognises the growing friendliness between the police, the soldiery and the people, and hopes that the former will refuse to subordinate their creed and country, to the fulfillment of orders of their officers, and by courteous and considerate behaviour towards the people, will remove the reproach hitherto levelled against them that they are devoid of any regard for the feelings and sentiments of their own people, and this Congress appeals to all people in the Government employment, pending the call of the nation for resignation of their service, to help the national cause by importing greater kindness and stricter honesty in their dealings with the people, and fearlessly and openly to attend all popular gatherings, whilst refraining from taking any active part therein and more specially by openly rendering financial assistance to the national movement.

This Congress desires to lay special emphasis on non-violence being the integral part of the Non-co-operation resolution and invites the attention of the people to the fact that non-violence in word and deed is as essential between people themselves as in respect of the Government and this Congress is of opinion that the spirit of violence is not only contrary to the growth of a true spirit of Democracy but actually retards the enforcement (if necessary) of the other stages of Non-co-operation.

Finally, in order that the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs may be redressed and Swarajya established within one year, this Congress urges upon all public bodies, whether affiliated to the Congress or otherwise, to devote their exclusive attention to the promotion of non-violence and Non-co-operation with the Government. And in as much as the movement of Non-co-operation can only succeed by complete co-operation amongst the people themselves, this Congress calls upon public associations to advance Hindu-Muslim unity and the Hindu delegates of this Congress to call upon the leading Hindus to settle all disputes between Brahmins and non-Brahmins wherever they may be existing and to make a special effort to rid Hinduism of the reproach of untouchability and respectfully urges the religious heads to help the growing desire to reform Hinduism in the matter of its treatment of the suppressed classes.

III.

Ahmedabad Session, December, 1921.

Whereas, since the holding of the last National Congress, the people of India have found, from actual experience, that by reason of the adoption of non-violent non-co-operation, the country has made great advance in fearlessness, self-sacrifice and self-respect, and whereas the movement has greatly damaged the prestige of the Government, and whereas, the country on the whole is rapidly progressing towards Swaraj, this Congress confirms the resolution adopted at the special session of the Congress at Calcutta and re-affirmed at

Nagpur and places on record the fixed determination of the Congress to continue the programme of non-violent non-co-operation with greater vigour than hitherto in such manner as each province may determine till the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs are redressed and Swaraj is established and the control of the Government of India passes into the hands of the people from that of an irresponsible corporation,

And whereas, by reason of the threat uttered by His Excellency the Viceroy in his recent speeches and the consequent repression started by the Government of India in the various provinces by way of disbandment of Volunteer Corps and forcible prohibition of public and even committee meetings in an illegal and high-handed manner and by the arrest of many Congress-workers in several provinces, and whereas, this repression is manifestly intended to stifle all Congress and Khilafat activities and deprive the public of their assistance, this Congress resolves that all activities of the Congress be suspended as far as necessary and appeals to all, quietly and without any demonstration to offer themselves for arrest by belonging to the Volunteer organisations to be formed throughout the country in terms of the resolution of the Working Committee arrived at in Bombay on the 23rd day of November last, provided that no one shall be accepted as volunteer who does not sign the following pledge:—

With God as witness I solemnly declare that,

- (1) I wish to be a member of the National Volunteer Corps,
- (2) So long as I remain a member of the Corps I shall remain non-violent in word and deed and shall earnestly endeavour to be non-violent in intent since I believe that as India is circumstanced, non-violence alone can help the Khilafat and the Punjab and result in the attainment of Swaraj and consolidation of unity among all the races and communities of India whether Hindu, Musalman, Sikh, Parsi, Christian or Jew,
- (3) I believe in and shall endeavour always to promote such unity,
- (4) I believe in Swadeshi as essential for India's economic, political and moral salvation and shall use handspun and handwoven khaddar to the exclusion of every other cloth,
- (5) As a Hindu I believe in the justice and necessity of removing the evil of untouchability and shall on all possible occasions seek personal contact with and endeavour to render service to the submerged classes,
- (6) I shall carry out the instructions of my superior officers, and all the regulations not inconsistent with the spirit of this pledge prescribed by the Volunteer Board or the Working Committee or any other agency established by the Congress,
- (7) I am prepared to suffer imprisonment, assault, or even death for the sake of my religion and my country without resentment,
- (8) In the event of my imprisonment I shall not claim from the Congress any support for my family or dependents.

This Congress trusts that every person of the age of 18 and over will immediately join the volunteer organisations.

Notwithstanding the proclamations prohibiting public meetings, and in as much as even committee meetings have been attempted to be construed as public meetings, this Congress advises the holding of committee meetings, and of public meetings, the latter in enclosed places and by tickets and by previous announcements at which as far as possible only speakers previously announced shall deliver written speeches, care being taken in every case to avoid risk of provocation and possible violence by the public in consequence,

This Congress is further of opinion that civil disobedience is the only civilized and effective substitute for an armed rebellion, whenever every other remedy for preventing arbitrary, tyrannical and emasculating use of authority by individuals or corporations has been tried and therefore advises all Congress workers and others, who believe in peaceful methods and are convinced that there is no remedy save some kind of sacrifice to dislodge the existing Government from its position of perfect irresponsibility to the people of India, to organise individual civil disobedience and mass civil disobedience when the mass of people have been sufficiently trained in the methods of non-violence and otherwise in terms of the resolution thereon of the last meeting of the All India Congress Committee held at Delhi.

This Congress is of opinion that, in order to concentrate attention upon civil disobedience, whether mass or individual, whether of an offensive or defensive character, under proper safeguards and under instructions to be issued from time to time by the Working Committee or the Provincial Congress Committee concerned, all other Congress activities should be suspended whenever and wherever and to the extent to which it may be found necessary.

This Congress calls upon all students of the age of 18 and over, particularly those studying in the national institutions and the staff thereof, immediately to sign the foregoing pledge and become members of National Volunteer Corps.

In view of the impending arrests of a large number of Congress workers, this Congress whilst requiring the ordinary machinery to remain intact and to be utilised in the ordinary manner whenever feasible, hereby appoints until further instructions Mahatma Gandhi as the sole executive authority of the Congress and invests him with the full powers of the All India Congress Committee including the power to convene a special session of the Congress or of the All India Congress Committee or the Working Committee, such powers to be exercised between any two sessions of the All India Congress Committee, and also with the power to appoint a successor in emergency.

This Congress hereby confers upon the said successor and all subsequent successors appointed in turn by their predecessors all his aforesaid powers.

Provided that nothing in this resolution shall be deemed to authorise Mahatma Gandhi or any of the aforesaid successors to conclude any terms of peace with the Government of India or the British Government without the previous sanction of the All India Congress Committee to be finally ratified by the Congress specially convened for the purpose, and provided also that the present creed of the Congress shall in no case be altered by Mahatma Gandhi or his successors except with the leave of the Congress first obtained.

This Congress congratulates all those patriots who are now undergoing imprisonment for the sake of their conscience or country and realises that their sacrifice has considerably hastened the advent of Swaraj.

IV.

Gaya Session, December, 1922.



BOYCOTT OF COUNCILS.

Whereas the boycott of councils carried out during the elections held in 1920 has destroyed the moral strength of the institutions through which Government sought to consolidate its power and carry on its irresponsible rule,

And whereas it is necessary again for the people of India to withhold participation in the elections of the next year, as an essential part of the programme of Non-violent Non-co-operation,

This Congress resolves to advise that all voters shall abstain from standing as candidates for any of the Councils and from voting for any candidate offering himself as such in disregard of this advice and to signify the abstention in such manner as the All India Congress committee may instruct in that behalf.

REPUDIATION OF DEBTS.

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

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

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

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

This Congress reaffirms its opinion that Civil Disobedience is the only civilized and effective substitute for an armed rebellion when every other remedy for preventing the arbitrary, tyrannical and emasculating use of authority has been tried:

And in view of the wide-spread awakening of the people to a sense of the urgent need for Swarajya and the general demand and necessity for Civil Disobedience in order that the national goal may be speedily attained and in

view of the fact that the necessary atmosphere of non-violence has been preserved in spite of all provocation:

This Congress calls upon all Congress workers to complete the preparations for offering Civil Disobedience by strengthening and expanding the National organisation and to take immediate steps for the collection of at least Rs. 25 lakhs for the Tilak Swarajya Fund and the enrolment of at least 50,000 volunteers, satisfying the conditions of the Ahmedabad pléde, by a date to be fixed by the All India Congress Committee at Gaya: and empowers the Committee to issue necessary instructions for carrying this resolution into practical effect.

Note:—The powers of the Provincial Committees under the resolution of the All India Congress Committee passed at Calcutta on the 20th November, 1922, shall not be affected by this resolution.

BOYCOTT OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

With reference to the boycott of Government and Government aided and affiliated educational institutions, this Congress declares that the boycott must be maintained, and further resolves that every Province should be called upon to put the existing national institutions on a sound financial basis and to improve their efficiency in every possible way.

BOYCOTT OF LAW COURTS.

This Congress declares that the boycott of law courts by lawyers and litigants must be maintained and further resolves that greater efforts should be made to establish Panchayats and to cultivate public opinion in their favour.

PRIVATE DEFENCE.

This Congress declares that Non-co-operators are free to exercise the right of private defence within the limits defined by law, except when carrying on Congress work or on occasions directly arising therefrom, subject always to the condition that it is not likely to lead to a general outburst of violence.

Note:—Using force in private defence in gross cases, *e. g.*, insults to religion, outrages on the modesty of women or indecent assaults on boys and men is not prohibited under any circumstances.

V.

Delhi Special Session, September, 1923.

While reaffirming its adherence to the principle of Non-co-operation, this Congress declares that such Congressmen as have no religious or other conscientious objections against entering the legislatures are at liberty to stand as candidates and to exercise the right of voting at the forthcoming elections, and this Congress therefore suspends all propaganda against entering Councils. The Congress at the same time calls upon all Congressmen to double their efforts to carry out the constructive programme of their great Leader, Mahatma Gandhi, and by united endeavour to achieve Swaraj at the earliest possible moment.

VI.

Cocanada Session, December, 1923.**THE COMPROMISE RESOLUTION—THE TRIPLE BOYCOTT.**

This Congress reaffirms the Non-co-operation resolutions adopted at Calcutta, Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Gaya and Delhi.

Since doubts have been raised by reason of the Non-co-operation resolution adopted at Delhi with regard to Council-entry, whether there has been any change in the policy of the Congress regarding the Triple Boycott, this Congress affirms that the principle and policy of that boycott remain unaltered.

This Congress further declares that the said principle and policy form the foundation of constructive work and appeals to the nation to carry out the programme of constructive work as adopted at Bardoli and prepare for the adoption of Civil Disobedience. This Congress calls upon every Provincial Congress Committee to take immediate steps in this behalf with a view to the speedy attainment of our goal.



Appendix VI.

Statement of the attendance of delegates according to provinces.

| No. | Names of Provinces. | Total No. of delegates entitled. | Total No. of delegates attended. |
|--------------|---------------------|---|---|
| 1 | Ajmere Merwara | 400 | 13 |
| 2 | Andhra | 420 | 355 |
| 3 | Assam | 63 | 3 |
| 4 | Behar | 588 | 70 |
| 5 | Bengal | 986 | 99 |
| 6 | Berar | 61 | 16 |
| 7 | Bombay | 23 | 21 |
| 8 | Burma | 100 | 59 |
| 9 | C. P. (Hindi) | 209 | 56 |
| 10 | C. P. (Maharatti) | 50 | 20 |
| 11 | Delhi | 100 | 10 |
| 12 | Guajrat | 195 | 69 |
| 13 | Karnatak | 320 | 250 |
| 14 | Kerala | 160 | 34 |
| 15 | Maharashtra | 292 | 94 |
| 16 | Punjab | 540 | 20 |
| 17 | Sindh | 71 | 15 |
| 18 | Tamil Nadu | 410 | 330 |
| 19 | U. P. | 900 | 71 |
| 20 | Utkal | 300 | 56 |
| Total | | 6188 | 1661 |

N. B. Owing to the heavy breaches on the Railway line between Berhampore and Cocanada on account of a very severe cyclone, through traffic could not be resumed before the Congress Session by the Railway authorities. Hence delegates from Northern India could not attend in large numbers.



**TELUGU
SPEECHES.**



శ్రీ ప భారతదేశీయ మహాజనసభ,

కాకినాడ



1923 డిసెంబరు 28, 29, 30, 31 తేదీలు,

1924 జనవరి 1 వ తేదీని జరిగెను.



సభాపాఠాంశము.

1923 వ సంవత్సరము డిసెంబరు 28 వ తేదీ శుక్రవారము మధ్యాహ్నము 4 గంటలకు కాకినాడపురమున గాంధీనగరములో ఆంధ్రదేశమునకు తయారైన శుద్ధభిక్షువులతో నిర్మించబడిన విశాలముగు చక్కని డేరాలోపిరి వ భారతదేశీయ మహాజనసభ సమావేశమయ్యెను. కాంగ్రెసులోని అన్ని గాఢజీయపక్షముల పాఠియం దైకమత్యము స్థాపితము కావలెనని భావితములందఱు విస్తారముగ గాంధీంచుచున్నతరి యిది సమావేశముగుట చేతను, అట్టి వికమత్యము అందరకును తృప్తికరముగ జేకూరినందునను, యీసమావేశము ఎక్కువ పాఠిముఖ్యము గాంచెను. గాంధీనగరమున పురపాలక సంఘమువారిచే పౌల విహారమునకై ప్రోత్సేకించబడిన విశాలస్థలమున వండ్రొండువేలకు మించిన సభ్యులకు సరిపడునట్లు గుడారము నిర్మించబడెను. సభాస్థలి నిరాడంబరముగ అక్కరణీయముగను అలకరింపబడెను. సభాభ్యంతరము ప్రముఖులును కూర్చుండుటకై ప్రోత్సేకముగ నొక విశాలమైన మండపము నిర్మించబడెను. దీనియుండుభాగము పూర్వపు సభాభ్యంతరములకంటె నొక యితరనాయకులయొక్కయు పటములతో నలంకరింపబడెను. ఆ మండపములో నొక షోకాను ప్రముఖులగు ప్రేక్షకులును మఱియొక షోకాను అఖిలభారత హితీయోచనంఘ సభ్యులును కూర్చుండిరి. మండపమున కెదురుగ అర్థచందాశ్రుతిని ప్రతినిధులు కూర్చుండిరి. ప్రతినిధులు వెనుకను డేరాలోపల వలయాకారముగ నిర్మించబడిన గాలరీపైచి ప్రేక్షకులును, సన్మానసానుసభ్యులును, అధ్యక్షులుండవమునకు కుడివైపున ప్రీప్రతినిధులును, ప్రీప్రేక్షకులును కూర్చుండిరి. ప్రీలకు ఘోషాయేర్పాటు చేయబడలేదు. సన్మానసంఘ సభ్యుల సంఖ్య 4,181. ఇంతకు పూర్వ మెప్పుడును ఏ కాంగ్రెసులోను ఇంతమంది సన్మానసభ్యులు చేరియుండలేదు.

సభ సమావేశముగుటకు మూడుగంటలకు ముందే డేరామండలము ప్రతినిధులు తోను, ప్రేక్షకులతోను సన్మానసంఘ సభ్యులతోను కిక్కిరిసి మూడెరు. గుడారమున గూడిన మహాజనులందఱును అత్యానంద పూరితులై కార్యక్రమము శీఘ్రముగ జాగ్రంభించుటకు మిక్కిలి త్వరపడుచుండిరి.

అధ్యక్షుడు మూలానా మహమ్మద్దాలీగారు ఉత్తనసుల్తో 31 గంటలకు విజయము చేసిరి. అధ్యక్షుడపరివారమునకు ముంబయి, సర్దార్ భిషేక్ సింగ్ గారి నాయకత్వమున అకాలీఖిల్లలు గౌరవారముగు సేనాపరివారముగనుండి నడచిరి. కాంగ్రెసుముక్క పూర్వపు అధ్యక్షులైన దేశబంధు చిత్తరంజణ్ దాసు, పండితమోతీలాల్ నెహ్రూ, మూలానా అబ్దుల్ కలామ్ ఆబాద్, శ్రీనూర్ సేలం విజయరాఘవచారిగార్లు, ప్రముఖనాయకులైన మూలానా మోకతాలీ, శ్రీమతి సరోజినీదేవి, డాక్టర్ అన్నాదీ, శ్రీయత నల్లభద్రాయ్ జె. పటేల్, డాక్టరు కిచ్చూ, శ్రీయత సేలం రాజగోపాలచారి, శ్రీయత విఠల్ భాయ్ పటేల్, సర్దార్ మంగల్ సింగ్, దేశభక్త కొండ వెంకటప్పయ్యపంతులుగార్లు, యింకను అనేక ప్రముఖులును అధ్యక్షుడపరివారములో నుండిరి.

నందేమాతరం, అల్లాహా అక్బర్, మహాత్మాగాంధీకి జై, సత్ శ్రీ అకాల్, మున్నగు జయజయధ్యానములతో మహాసభయంతయు లేచి, అధ్యక్షునికి స్వాగతమిచ్చిరి. సభ్యులందఱును తమతమ స్థానములందు కూర్చుంప, యజ్ఞమునందు యజమానుడు అగ్ని హోతునకు అజ్ఞమును సమర్పించుచు గానముచేయు నీకీంది యజ్ఞార్చన మంత్రమును ఘనతో 20 మంది ఘనాపాఠాలు ఉచ్చస్వరముతో సభాకార్యక్రమమును ప్రారంభించిరి.

మనసామా భూతేనా విశేత్యాహ మనోవైప్రజా పత్యం ప్రాజా పత్యో యజ్ఞో
 మనసవ యజ్ఞమాత్మ నతే వాగస్యైస్త్రీ సపత్నీక్షుణ్ణోవాచా మేన్ద్రియేణా
 విశేత్యా వైస్త్రీవై వాగ్వాచమే వైస్త్రీ నూత్రస్తతే

పిదప ఒక మాల్వీగారు కొరారుమండి ప్రార్థన సలిపిరి. తరువాత కొండలు బాలురు పందేమాతరం కీర్తనను, బాలికలు స్వాగతకీర్తనను అహోవకరముగ పాడిరి. సభాధ్యక్షుడు రచించిన నొక సుందరమగు పాటను అక్షరార్థ ఆరీగారును, కాకివాడ వాస్తవ్యులగు క. నరసింహముగారు భారతమాత ఆంధ్రీమాలిం స్వములను గానము చేసిరి.

బొంబాయి వాస్తవ్యులగు పండిత విష్ణుదాసబారు తమ యరుచరులతో గలిసి “భారత్ హమార దేశ్ హై” అను కీర్తనను హృదయరంజకముగ పాడిరి.

సన్మాన సంఘాధ్యక్షులగు దేశభక్త కొండ వెంకటప్పయ్య పంతులుగారు తమ స్వాగతోపన్యాసమును హిందీ భాషలో చదివి సభాధ్యక్షులైన మూలానా మహమ్మద్దాలీగారిని అధ్యక్షుడపదవిని స్వీకరించి సభను నడిపింప గోరెను.

అంతట జయజయధ్యానము లినుమడింప అధ్యక్షుడు కుషన్యాసవేదిక నధిష్టించి నాలుగుంటల కాలము మహోపన్యాసము చేసెను.

సభాస్మారంభము.

దేశీయ మహాజనసభా కార్యక్రమము విశేషముగ జాతీయ భాషయగు హిందీ భాషయందును ఆంగ్ల భాషయందును జరిగెను.

జాతీయైక్యత, విచ్ఛిన్నభటసంఘము, స్వాతంత్ర్య ఆదర్శము, అసహాయోద్యమ వడ్డతియందు రాణి, — యీ తీర్మానములపైన ఆభిమున నిచ్చిన ఉపన్యాసములు యీ దిగువను ప్రచురింపబడినవి.

జాతీయైక్యత.

శ్రీయుత టంగుటూరి ప్రకాశంగారు.

జాతీయైక్యత తీర్మానమును బలపరచుచు నిట్లుపన్యసించిరి.

సోదర సోదరీమణులారా ! అగ్రాసనాధిపా!

జాతీయైక్యత.
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శ్రీయుత టంగుటూరి ప్రకాశంగారు.

హిందూ, మహమ్మదీయ, సిక్కు-మొదలైనటువంటి సంఘములయొక్క భేదములను తీర్చివేసి అందరికిని ఐకమత్యము కుదిరేయేర్పాటు చేయవలసినదను తీర్మానమును ఇప్పుడు కొంతమంది స్నేహితులు అవసరము లేదనియు, కొంతమంది త్రోసివేయవలసినదనియు, చెప్పి యున్నారు. ఈ తీర్మానమును త్రోసివేయుట అనగా, నిర్మాణ కార్యక్రమములో ముఖ్యమైన హంశమును తీసివేయుట. ఈ సహాయ నిరాకరణముయొక్క పునాది మహాత్మాగాంధీ ఏర్పరచినట్టి హిందూ మహమ్మదీయ ఐకమత్యము. మహాత్మాగాంధీ బయట నున్నంతవరకు ఎట్టి భేదములు, పోరాటములు లేక దృఢమైన ఐకమత్యముతో శాంతియుతముగా కార్యము జరిగినది. ఆయన జైలుకు వెళ్ళనే అంతయు మట్టిపాలైనది. కలహములు, పోరాటములు బయల్పడినవి. మనశత్రువుల పన్నుగడచేత హిందూ మహమ్మదీయులలో కలహములు కలిగినవి. మాలవ్యాగారు హిందూ సుభుటా యేర్పాటు చేయుటచేతను, శుద్ధి ఉద్యమముయొక్క యేర్పాటులచేతను, మహమ్మదీయులు హింసాచూలమీద చెప్పుటచేతను, హిందువులు మహమ్మదీయులమీద చెప్పుటచేతను, ఈమోస్తరుగా తరపులు హెచ్చిపోయినవి. మహాత్మాగాంధీ చేసిన పునామలు భంగమగుట నాకండ్లతో ముల్తానులోను, సహ్యాద్ పూరులోను చూచినాను. ఆ ఘోరమంతయు చూచేసరికి నావృద్ధయము బద్దలై పోవుచున్నది. మీరుమాత్రము నిర్మాణకార్యక్రమముయొక్క పునాదులను బ్రద్దలుకొట్టుటకు ఆలోచించి తే వీలులేదు. నిర్మాణకార్యక్రమమును జరుపుచు తిరుగ మార్పువరకు సలహాలు చెప్పించి రిపోర్టు చేయవలసినదని యీ తీర్మానములోనున్నది. అట్లుండగా దీనినిగురించి తేనిపోని భయమొకటి ? బెంగాలులో హింసాచూలకు మహమ్మదీయులకు కలహములు జరుగకుండా నెకపాక్టు ఏర్పాటుచేయబడెను. ఆ పాక్టు సరియైతే కాదా అని అడుగలేదు. ఆ పాక్టుచూడ ఆలోచనచేయవలసినదని పెట్టినారు. బెంగాలువారు అడిగిన దేమంటే, మేము కొన్ని వ్యవహారములు సరిపడునట్లు చేసికొన్నాము, వాటినిగురించి ఆలోచన చేయవలసినదని కోరినారు. ఆలోచన కూడదని మనము అనవచ్చునా ? నెల్లూరులో కలహములు

బయల్దేరినపుడు నాకును, యాకూబ్ హాస్సేనుగారికిని తంతివార్తలు పంపబడినవి. మేము. చెల్లెళ్ళి ఆలోచన చేసినదానిని పంపకూడదా? పంపినదానిని ఆలోచించకూడదా? కాబట్టి అందులో యేమిన్ని లేదు. అసలు తీర్మానము అంగీకరింపవలసినదని కోరుచున్నాను.

కాతీయైక్యత.
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శ్రీయుత టంగుటూరి ప్రకాశంగారు.

విచ్చికభటసంఘము.

శ్రీయుత గాడిచర్ల హరిసర్వోత్తమరావుగారు.

విచ్చికభటసంఘపు టేర్పాటుగలతీర్మానమును బలపరచుచు ఆంధ్రమున నిట్లుపన్యసించిరి.

సభాధ్యక్షా! సోదరులారా! సోదరీమణులారా!

నేను బలపరచునట్టి తీర్మానమును తెలుగులో తమకు నివేదించుకొనుచున్నాను.

“ భారతదేశప్రజలకు శిక్షణయిచ్చి, దేశీయమహాజనసభవారి షడ్గతుల ననుసరించి దేశకార్యమును నిర్వర్తించు నిమిత్తము తర్ఫీదుపొందిన సుశిక్షితులైన దేశారాధకబృంద మొకటి యుండవలెనని యీసభవారు అభిప్రాయపడుచున్నారు. కావున యీసభవారు అఖిలభారత విచ్చికభటసంఘము ఏర్పాటుచేయు నుద్యమమును అభినందించుచున్నారు. మరియు, అట్టి ఉద్యమమున బనిచేయువారలతో సంప్రతించి సుశిక్షితులైన విచ్చికభటసంఘమును ఏర్పాటుచేయుటకు తగుప్రయత్నములు చేసి, ఆసంఘముయొక్క ఆంతరంగిక పాలనములోను, వ్యవహారములోను, జోక్యముతీసికొనకుండ, వైచిత్ర్యము చేయుచు నడుపు చుండవలసినదని యీసభవారు కార్యనిర్వాహకవర్గమువారిని కోరుచున్నారు.”

విచ్చికభటసంఘము.
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శ్రీయుత గాడిచర్ల హరిసర్వోత్తమ రావుగారు.

కాంగ్రెసువారు నిర్ణయించిన సూత్రము ననుసరించి దేశముయొక్క కార్యములను నడిపించుటకు సుశిక్షితులైన దేశారాధకులు అత్యవసరము. కాబట్టి యీ దేశములో నుపక్రమితమైయుండు వాలంటీరుసంఘ ప్రయత్నములను హృదయపూర్వకముగా అభినందించుచు దేశీయమహాజనసభయొక్క కార్యనిర్వాహకవర్గమువారు ఆసంఘము నేర్పాటుచేయుటకు ప్రయత్నించుచుండు నితరులతో సంప్రతించి అట్టి వాలంటీరు సంఘము స్థాపించి వారిని నడుపుచు ఆసంఘము సుబుధించిన ఆంతరంగిక కార్యనిర్వహణము విషయములో నక్కువ జోక్యము కలుగజేసికొనక వైచిత్ర్యము జరుపవలసినదని కోరు చున్నారు. ఈతీర్మానమునకు అవసరము ఏమిగలదో నేను దీర్ఘముగా వివరించి చెప్పనవ సరములేదు. మనదేశములో గాంధీమహాత్ముడు రాజకీయరణరంగములో ప్రవేశించి శాంతియుతమైన సంగ్రామములోనికి మనము దిగిననాటినుండియు మనభాష్యత షిక్కిలి బలమైపోయినది. మనము సాత్వికధర్మమునే నిర్వహించవలసియున్న యడల అనేకములైన సుగుణము లున్న నేకాని అట్టిపని జరుగజాలదు. మహాత్ముడు ఏగుణముల స్వరూపమో, మహాత్ముడు ఏగుణముల రాశియో ఆగుణములు మనలో కట్టకడపటిపానికిగూడ కొంతకు కొంత అలవడిననేకాని సాధ్యముకాదు. మొట్టమొదట ఆమహాత్ముడు దేశములో ప్రవేశిం పజేసిన స్వాతంత్ర్యభావము, అతనియొక్క ఉత్సాహశక్తిచేత మనిహృదయాంతరాళ మును పూర్ణముగా వశము చేసికొనుటచేత మనదేశజనులు పదులకొలది, వందలకొలది ముందు వెనుకలు చూడక రణరంగములోనికి ఉద్యోగపూరితులై దూకినమాట వ్రాస్తవము.

ఐచ్ఛిక భటస్థము.
క్రియల గాడిచర్ల
హరిశ్చంద్రము
రాజుగాను.

నాబోటి నడివయస్కులుగూడ నేడు పాశ్చాత్యవిద్యాప్రభావముచేత శాంతియుద్ధమున కత్యవసరములైన శాంతి దాంతి ధైర్యము మొదలగు సకల విషయములు లేనివారై ఈపరీక్షలో నిలువబడవలసివచ్చినది. పెద్దపెద్ద సభలు జరుగునపుడు ఒకరి నొకరు సహించుకొని యొండురుల కష్టములను గౌరవముతో ఆదరముతో చూచుకొనవలసివచ్చినప్పుడు, ఐచ్ఛిక సేవచేయునప్పుడు, ఐచ్ఛిక సేవను మనము స్వీకరించునప్పుడు మనలోపములు బయట పడుచున్నవి. నైతికధర్మము.—శాంతి, ధైర్యము—తక్కువగానున్నవి. సహనము తక్కువగానున్నది. కష్టపడుకొని తక్కువగా నున్నది. మన నాయకులలోనూడు వైషమ్యభావములుకూడ దీనిని ఋజువుచేయుచున్నవి. ఏకార్యము తలపెట్టినను మనమేదియు పూర్ణముగా చేయలేకపోవుచున్నాము. దేశారాధకబృందమునుగూడ నిండులో కలిసి మాట్లాడుచున్నాను. కార్యశక్తిలోపము కలుగుటకు కారణము దేశారాధకబృందమునకు తగిన శిక్షణము లేకపోవుటయే. ఏకార్యము నిర్వహింపదలచినను సర్వకార్యములందును ఒక్కొక్కరును చేయుపనులందును లోపములు, దోషములు లేకపోవు. ఆకస్మికముగ అంతరాయములు కలుగకపోవు. ఇట్టి తరుణములో ఒకరినొకరు సౌహృదయముతో జూచుకొనుటకుగాని, ఒకరినొకరు చూచి సహించుకొనుటకుగాని తగిన సామరస్యము లేనివారమైనారము. ఇట్టి యోగ్యత వేనవేలప్రజలకు, లక్షలకొలదిప్రజలకు గలిగిననే కాని మనము కార్యసాధనము చేయజాలము. మహాత్ముడు చెప్పినట్లు గడియారమువలె నడుచుకొనిననేగాని పని జరుగజాలదు. ప్రతినీత్యము సూర్యచంద్రాదులు పనిచేయునట్లు పనిచేసిననేగాని పనిజరుగజాలదు. తనయందు దోషమున్నదని యెరుగివాడు దూషించినను ఎరుగివానిని గౌరవించి, మన్నించి, వానిదోషములను ఊషించి త్యాగముతో ధైర్యముతో కష్టపడి పనిచేయుకొని ప్రజలలో గలిగిననేగాని—చివరికి నీదేశీయమహాజనసభాప్రతినిధులకు నీరుదెచ్చు ఐచ్ఛిక సేవకునిగూడ అట్టిశిక్షణకలిగిననేగాని—మనమేపనినిగూడ సాధింపలేము. అన్నింటిలో ముఖ్యతముగా దేశారాధకబృందసంస్థ యేర్పడవలసియున్నది. దేశముదన్ని ప్రాంతములందును మనప్రాంతములందునుకూడ పని జరుగుచున్నది. కాని దేశీయమహాజనసభ వారు కొన్నింటినుగూర్చి, తదితరవిషయములనుగూర్చి తకరరుపెట్టుకొనుటతో కాలముగడపుచు సుశిక్షితమైన దేశారాధకబృందమును నేర్పరచు ప్రయత్నములను నిదివరకును జేయలేదు. సుశిక్షితమైన ఐచ్ఛికభటసంస్థ నేడు చూపుమేరయందున్నది. ఇప్పటికే చాల ఆలస్యము చేసినామని నాయభిప్రాయము. దేశములో నిదివరకు జరిగినప్రయత్నములను మనము అభినందించుచున్నాము. దేశీయమహాజనసభాకార్య నిర్వాహకవర్గమువారు దీనిని చక్కగా నిర్వహింపవలెననియు, కనిపెట్టవలసినదనియు, పోషింపవలసినదనియు, యీ తీర్మానములో నున్నది.

సోదరీమణులారా! సోదరులారా! మన దేశమునకు నేడు కలిగిన విపత్తు, నేడు సంభవించిన యీకష్టదశ, మర్కటమైనమస్థితి, శోలగొచగలగుటకు నైతికముతో, శాంతిలో, శ్రద్ధాభక్తులతో, ధైర్యముతో, దేశసేవచేయవల సుశిక్షితులైన దేశారాధక బృందమును సమకూర్చుమని యీదేశీయ మహాజనసభవారు నిశ్చయించుట విశేషముగాదు. నిజముగా దేశీయమహాజనసభ యీ ఒక్కపనిగావించినను సంతోషించవలసిన విషయమే. కాబట్టి మీరందఱును ఏకమనస్కులై ఏకగ్రీవముగా అంగీకరింపవలసినదని వాపోర్ణన.

స్వాతంత్ర్య ఆదర్శము

ఆంధ్రీరత్న దుగ్గిరాల గోపాలకృష్ణయ్యగారు.

కాంగ్రెసు మూలనూత్రీమును మార్చువలసినదను తీర్మానమునకు వ్యతిరేకముగా నిట్లుపన్నునించిరి.

మహాజనులారా !

ఈతీర్మానమును తమకు తెలుగుచేసి మనవిచేస్తా. (అంతట ఇంగ్లీషున మాట్లాడవలసినదని సభలో కేకల.) ఏదైన ముఖ్యవిషయ మున్నప్పుడు ఇంగ్లీషులోకూడ మాట్లాడెదను. అని సమాధానమిడి యిట్లుపన్నునింప దొడగెను.

స్వాతంత్ర్య ఆదర్శము -
ఆంధ్రులకు దుగ్గిరాల
గోపాలకృష్ణయ్య
గారు.

ఈతీర్మానముయొక్క సారాంశము:—“అఖిలభారత జాతీయమహాసభయొక్క లక్ష్యము స్వరాజ్య సంపాదన అనిన్ని,—అంటే సంపూర్ణమైన స్వాతంత్ర్యము అనిన్ని— గ్రహించవగును.” ఇదివరకు మహాత్మునిచే మనకు నిర్వచనము చేయబడిన లక్ష్యము ‘స్వరాజ్యము’ అనేశబ్దముతో తెలియబరచబడ్డది. ఆ స్వరాజ్య శబ్దమునకు ప్రస్తుతము వ్యాఖ్యానము సంపూర్ణ స్వాతంత్ర్యము అని చేయబడ్డది. దాని అంతరార్థము ఏమంటే, మనప్రభుత్వమువారికి లోబడిన స్వరాజ్యము కాకుండా వారితో ఏవిధమైన సంబంధము లేదని సారాంశము. రెండోడక్కిత విూతీర్మానమే తీసుకురాబడినది. కాని వీగిపోయినది. మునుపటికంటె ఇప్పుడు చాలతీవ్రముగా బయలుదేరినది. మనపెద్దలు సబ్బక్కబుట్టిలో ఈవిషయమును విచారించారు. మన నాయకులలో ప్రిముఖులగు శ్రీయుత చిత్తరంజన దాసుగారు సంపూర్ణ స్వాతంత్ర్య మనుపదమునందుకంటె స్వరాజ్యము అనుపదమునందున్న భావము మహాత్ములవైష్ణవమైనదని తెలిపియున్నారు.

ఈవిషయమును మరొకరీతి మన పురాణేతిహాసద్రష్టమైన ధర్మమార్గముల ననుసరించి వ్యాఖ్యానము ఒనర్చవగును. శ్రీరామచంద్రునిశక్తి రావణాసుకునికి తెలియజాలదు.

- శ్లో! జానాతి రామ తపనామ రుచిం మహేశో!
- జానాతి గాతమసతీ చరణ ప్రిభావం!
- జానాతి దోర్బల పరాక్రమ విూశ చాపా!
- జానాత్యమైూఘ పటుభాణ గతిం పయోధిః!

అని శ్రీరామచంద్రునియొక్క పరాక్రమము రావణసంహారత్యా వివరింపబడి యుండలేదు. దోర్బలపరాక్రమము శంకరుని ధనుస్సుచు భంగమొందించుటయందు ప్రదర్శించబడినదనియు. బాణగతి అనంతము ర్తియైన సముద్రుని దర్పమును అణచడమును ప్రధానముగా పోదర్శించబడ్డదనియు, దీనిబట్టి గ్రహించవగును. “శంకరుని శనుస్సు హింసాచిహ్నము, త్రిలోకములకు భయోత్పాతకారణమైపట్టి చిహ్నమును సూరించుటయందే యీమనసరాక్రమ వైష్ణవము ద్యోతకమగుచున్నది. బాణగతి అనంతమై అపారమై గభీరమై యీశ్వరుని చిహ్నములతో వెలుగొందు సముద్రుని

స్వాతింజ్యకమ్ము.
అంజ్యకమ్ము
గోపాల్కృష్ణస్వాతి
గారు.

స్వాతింజ్యకమ్మునవరచుటయందే ప్రజ్ఞతమైనది అటువలెనే, యావద్భారతసంకల్పిత మహాప్రస్థానము కేవల ప్రాతిపక్ష్యము నందియున్న పాశ్చాత్యులను దూరీకృతుల గావించుకొనుట యందుకన్న ధర్మశాస్త్ర నాసంగి వశీకృతులు గావించుకొనుటయందు వినియోగింపబడుట పరిమోక్షోష్టధర్మము. కావున మహాత్మునిచే నిర్దేశింపబడిన స్వరాజ్యశబ్దమున యిట్టి సాకుచితవ్యాఖ్యాన మొనర్పజూచుట అసమంజసము, అనార్యము. బీజసంపుటికరణమై మహాత్ముని వాగ్దండమున వెలసియున్న యీమహాద్వాక్కును అణుమాత్రీము మూర్ఖజనము.

దేశ బాంధవి దుష్టూరి సుబ్బమ్మ గారు.

కాంగ్రెసు సూత్రీమును గురించిన సవరణ తీర్మానమును బలపరచుచు నిట్లుపన్యసించిరి.

దేశ బాంధవి దుష్టూరి
సుబ్బమ్మ గారు.

శ్లో॥ వాత్సల్యా దభయప్రదానసమయే అర్తార్తి నిర్వాపణా
దాదార్యా దఘశోషణా దగణితశ్చేయః పదప్రాపణాత్
సేవ్యశ్చీపతిశేవ ఏకజగతాం ఏతేచ షడ్ సాక్షిణః
ప్రోక్షోదశ్చ విభీషణశ్చ కరిరాట్పంచా ల్యహాల్యాధువః॥

సీ. చెప్పినదంతయు చేసితీరుటెగాని జవదాటి యెరుగని సత్యమూర్తి
ధారపోయుటెగాని తత్ఫలాపేక్ష సుతయు నిచ్చగింపని త్యాగరాజు
భీష్మించుటెగాని విడువేమి యెరుగని బ్రథితభీష్మాచార్య వరసుకీర్తి
తనవలెనే సమస్తము జూచుటెగాని భువి సార్థమెఱుగని బుద్ధమూర్తి.

గీ. విశ్వకళ్యాణ మెఱుగని విష్ణుమూర్తి । దివ్యతేజోవిభాసి గాంధీమహర్షి
అవని నాచంద్రితారార్క మలరునట్లుదీవన లొసంగుమా భారతీమతల్లి.

(‘మహాత్మాగాంధీకి జై’ అని కేకలు).

సోదరులారా ! సోదరీమణులారా ! అగ్రాసనాధిపా !

ఈసభాస్థలికి అనేకమంది దేశీయమహాజనులు దయచేసియున్నారు. అందులో దేశ సేవాధురంధరులు, అసహాయశూరులు, మహాజ్ఞానసంపన్నులు, మాతృ సేవాపరాయణులు, స్వార్థత్యాగపరాయణులు వీరందఱు యీసభయందు విచ్చేసియున్నారు. వీరిముందర నేను ఇక్కడ మాట్లాడుట విచారకరముగానున్నది. ఇనను నాలభిప్రాయమును వెల్లడించుట నాధర్మము గనుక నేను లేచి చెప్పవలసివచ్చినది. మహాత్మాగాంధీగారు అసహాయోద్యమ ప్రచారముచేసి ఈమహాజను లందరినికూడ ఏకగ్రీవముగా ఉత్పసించినారు. ఆమహానుభావు డిప్పుడు దారాపుత్రీత్యాగముచేసి యరవాడ జైలునందు స్వార్థత్యాగియై ఉన్నాడు.

ఆయనను విడిపించుట మన ముఖ్యకర్తవ్యము. చాలమంది జనులు మహాత్ముడు లేనిలోటుచే చాల నిరుత్సాహులై యున్నారు. ఇప్పుడు చాలమంది స్వతంత్రప్రకటనకై మాట్లాడిన వారును, వ్యతిరేకముగా మాట్లాడిన వారును కలరు. నేను 1921 వ సంవత్సరములో స్వాతంత్ర్య ప్రకటనకు అనుకూలముగ మాట్లాడియున్నాను. కాని తీర్మానము అంగీకరింప లేదు. ఎన్నాళ్ళు ప్రకటనము చేయకుండు ఉండుట? ఇంతకాలము అసమర్థులమై ఎందుకుండ వలెను? ఈమాత్రము చెప్పకొనుటకు స్వాతంత్ర్యము లేకపోతే స్వరాజ్యము ఏలాగు రాజాలును? గాజులు తొడిగించుకొనినప్పుడే మరొకొన్ని గాజులు వెంటనే ఎక్కవలెనుగాని అటుతర్వాత గాజులు సులభముగా ఎక్కవలెనంటే ఎక్కజాలవు. (సభలోనప్పుడు). 1921 వ సంవత్సరమునందు మహాత్ముడు పదేశించినప్పుడు ప్రజలందఱు ఉత్సాహవంతులై యుండిరి. నేడందరు నిరుత్సాహులైయున్నారు. చూడండి.

స్వాతంత్ర్యఆవర్ణము
దేశబాంధవి చువ్రావి
సుబ్బమ్మగారు.

“ ఏను మృతుండనాడునని యింత భయంబు మనంబులోపలక
మానుమా సంభవంబుగల మానవకోట్లకు జావునిక్కమే
గాన హరిందలంపుమిక గల్గుజన్మము నీకు ధాత్యివై
మానవనాథ పొందెదవు మాధవలోకనివాస సౌఖ్యముల్.”

శుకమహర్షి యిట్లు పరీక్షితునకు ఉపదేశకృమము చెప్పినాడు. నేను వెళ్ళిపోవు చున్నాను. విచారించకము. విష్ణువును ధ్యానింపుము. నీకు జన్మములేదు. స్వర్గసౌఖ్యము లనుభవించెదవు. అని చెప్పినారు. మహాపురుషు లందఱు స్వరాజ్యము నాజన్మహక్కు అని దేహమును త్యజించినారు. కనుక మీరందరును యీ తీర్మానమును యేకగ్రీవముగా అంగీకరించవలెనని నాప్రార్థన. ఎక్కడ అంగీకరించకపోయినను మనకీమహాసభయందు యీమహమ్మదాలీగారి ఆధ్యక్షతలో విషయనిర్ధారణము తేలకపోతే యీప్రచారము అక్కరలేదు. నీవు ప్రచారము చేయకపోతే స్వరాజ్యము రాదా అనుకుంటారేమో, నేను ప్రచారము చేయనంతటితో ఏమి లోపముండునని నేను తలచను. కాని ఎవరికివారు ఉసుత భక్తి చూపించవలెనుగదా. నాచేతనై నంతవరకును నేను చేయదలచుచున్నాను. శ్రీరాము లవారు సముద్రమువై వారిధి బంధించు సమయమందు ఉసుత తనదేహమును యిసుక యందు పారల్చి వారిధియందు విదళించుచు తనయొక్క సేవాధర్మము నెరవేర్చినది. దేశముకొరకు సమస్త బాధల ననుభవించుటకును ప్రాణమిడుటకును నేను సంసిద్ధముగా నున్నాను. నావంటివారి జీవితమును, దేహమును యాయుజ్ఞమునకు సమర్పణము చేస్తే స్వరాజ్యము త్వరలో రాగలదని నానమ్మకము.

“ పాంచాలికా పరాభవ సంభవంబైన ఆగ్రహంబుప్రతిష్ఠితాగ్నిగాగ
ఆలీసహోదరుల్ లాలా పటేలాది దేశబాంధవులు ఋక్ష్విజులుగాగ
ఆసేతు శీతాచలాంతరస్థతము భారతజాతి హోతృవర్గంబుగాగ
ధర్మసంస్థాపవార్థం బుద్భవింపు గాంధీమహర్షియే ఉపదేశగాగ
పటుతరాదర్శమే యిందు పశువుగాగ
కాలపురుషుడె యాజిగా గడగు యీమహా

స్వాతంత్ర్యోద్యమము.
జేతభక్త
కొండ వెంకటప్పయ్య
పంతులుగారు.

ధ్వజమును సలుపుచో యామ్యలార !
యాగసామగ్నికొరకు ఆత్మార్పణంబు.”

యజ్ఞమునకు అందరు వచ్చుచున్నారు. కార్యసాఫల్యమునకు అన్ని సామగ్రిలు ఉన్నవి. ఒక్కమారుగ ఆత్మసమర్పణ చేయండి. నాకు ప్రపంచముతో సంబంధములేదు. నాజీవితముతో సంబంధములేదు. నేను చెరసాలకు వెళ్ళియున్నప్పుడు చాలమంది దొరలు నన్ను జామీను యివ్వమని చెప్పారు. అనేక కష్టములచే నెప్పింప జూచినారు. పిండి విసరించిసారు. దేహభిమాన మనుచూపు ఉంటే ఇవన్ని కష్టములుగా కనిపించును. రామదాసు బందిఖాసాలో ఉండగానే శ్రీరాముడు ప్రత్యక్షమైనాడు. మీరీ ఆలీసోదరులతల్లిని యీ వృద్ధురాలిని చూడండి. తన యిద్దరికొమాళ్ళను దేశమునకర్పించి వారిని కరాచీ జైలులో నుంచి పుత్రీవాత్సల్యమునుగూడ వదలి అత్యుత్సాహముతో దేశసేవయే కోరుచున్నది. దేహము నివేదనకావలెను. మహాపురుషులు స్వాతంత్ర్య సంపాదనయందు అసమర్థులని తలచవద్దని నాపార్థన. (హర్షధ్వనులు).

స హ య ని రా క రణ ము.

దేశభక్త కొండ వెంకటప్పయ్యపంతులుగారు.

కాంగ్రెసు కార్యవిధానమును గురించిన తీర్మానమును బలశరచుచు నిట్లుపన్యసించిరి.

సహాయనిరాకరణము.
జేతభక్త
కొండ వెంకటప్పయ్య
పంతులుగారు.

అగ్రోసనాధిపా ! సోదర సోదరీమణులారా ! ఇప్పుడు తమయెరుట ప్రసంగింప బడుచున్న తీర్మానమును తెలుగులో చదువుచున్నాను.

“కలకిత్తాలోను, నాగపురములోను, అహ్మదాబాదులోను, గయలోను, ఢిల్లీలోను, ఆమోదింపబడిన సహాయనిరాకరణ తీర్మానమును యీమహాజనసభవారు తిరుగ ధృవపరచుచున్నారు.”

“ఢిల్లీలో శాసనసభాప్రవేశమునుగూర్చి సహాయనిరాకరణ తీర్మానము ఆమోదింపబడిన కారణముచేత బహిష్కారత్రయమునుగూర్చి కాంగ్రెసుయొక్క విధానము ఏదయిన మార్పు కలిగియుండినదా యని సందేహములు బయల్దేరినవి గనక, ఆబహిష్కారముయొక్క మూలధర్మమును విధానమును మార్పుచెదకుండనున్నవని యీమహాసభవారు మరల ధృవపరచుచున్నారు.”

“మరియు పైన నుదహరింపబడిన ధర్మమును విధానమును నిర్మాణకార్యమునకు పునాదిగా యేర్పడుచున్నవని యీమహాజనసభవారు తెలియపరచుచున్నారు. బర్మోలీలో అనువదించిన నిర్మాణకార్యక్రమమును కొనసాగింపవలయుననియు, శాసనోల్లంఘనము చేయుటకు సంసిద్ధపడవలెననియు దేశీయులను యీమహాసభవారు ఉద్బోధించుచున్నారు. మన గమ్యస్థానమును త్వరలో చేరుటకు యీవిషయమై శీఘ్రముగా ప్రయా

త్వము చేయవలయునని కోరుచున్నారు.”

యీమహాసభవారు పోతి రాష్ట్రీయ కాంగ్రెసుసంఘమును

సహాయని కాకరణము.

ఫిల్లీలో అదివరకు చిరకాలమునుంచి వాదజోతివాదములు జరుగుచున్న శాసనసభా పోవేశమునుగురించి తీర్మానము చేయుమనునట్లు మీరాకే తెలియును. ఆతీర్మానము చేయుడములో - శాసనసభా పోవేశమునుగురించి వాదజోతివాదములు గండరగోళము నివారించు సందర్భమున ఏవిధముగానైన పరిహరించుకొనుటకు ఎట్లనో ఆతీర్మానము ఫిల్లీలో పోత్యేకకాంగ్రెసు మహాసభలో చేయబడినది. ఆతీర్మానములో శాసనసభలకు వెళ్ళే దలచినవారికి అవకాశమిచ్చేట్లు తీర్మానించబడినది. శాసనసభలకు వెళ్ళుటకు ఆక్షేపణ లేనిపాఠే వోట్లు యివ్వవచ్చునని తీర్మానించబడినది. శాసనసభా పోవేశములు యిప్పుడై ఘోషింపబడినవి. ఇంక యిప్పుడు కార్యక్రమము ఏమిచేయవలసినదను విషయము వచ్చినది. ఫిల్లీలో ఇరుపక్షములవారును ఏకమై తీరకలెనని తీర్మానించినారు. ఇప్పు డాచర్చు అంతయు అనవసరము కాని అది దేశములో బయల్దేరినది. ఈ ఫిల్లీ తీర్మానమువలన శాసనసభలకు వెళ్ళినవారు ఏలాగు శాసనసభలలో నడుచుకొందురని చెప్పట చారంభించినారు. జాతీయవాదులు స్వరాజ్యవాదులను నిరసనభావముతో చెప్పియున్నారు. బహిష్కారలీయమునకు అనుమానములతో మనస్సులు నెచ్చియున్నవి. తిరిగి సహాయ నిరాకరణనూలీయమును విధానమును ధునివము చేసినగాని వీలులేదని దానుగారు ఒక ప్రకటనచేసియున్నారు. దేశీయమహాజనసభవారి యాజ్ఞ కావలెనని మనము అడుగడలచుటలేదు. అందుచేత అట్టి అనుమాన ముంచుకొన వసరములేదు. అట్టి తీర్మానమును మన యెదుట పెట్టినట్లయితే దానిని మనము భంగపరచవచ్చును. వేరే మఱియొక రీతిగా బహిష్కారలీయమును పెట్టవలెనని ప్రయత్నించినారు. ఫిల్లీలో సమావేశమైనప్పుడు ఉభయపక్షములవారును ఒకరాజీక బహుకొన్నారు. ముందుకార్యమునందు నుంచిదీక్షగలవారును, నిజమైన పరితాపముగలవారును దానిని ఆమోదవలసినదే కాని శంకించవలసిన పనిలేదు. నేను అసహాయవాది ననియు, బహిష్కారలీయములోగాని నిర్మాణకార్యక్రమములోగాని యేయూర్పునకును అంగీకరింపనివాడ ననియు మీరాకే తెలియును. కార్యచరణలో ఎంతచేసినానో మీరాకే తెలియును. సహాయనిరాకరణ కార్యక్రమమునందును, విధానమునందును నాకు దృఢవిశ్వాసము గలదు. ఫిల్లీలో ఆతీర్మానమునకు నావోటును యిచ్చియుండలేదు. ఇప్పు డీతీర్మానమును ఏలబలపరచుచున్నానో మీరాడుగవచ్చును. కాంగ్రెసుగారవమును, పటిష్ఠము కాపాడవలసియున్నది. ఫిల్లీ తీర్మానమునుగురించి యిందులో చెప్పకుండ ఉన్నట్లుయితే శాసనసభలకు పోమునవారిని తిరుగ రమ్మనమని అర్థమిస్తుంది. కనుక కాంగ్రెసుకార్యక్రమమును అంగీకరించినవారికి కష్టము. సంక్షిప్తముగా మనవిచేయుచున్నాను. అసంబంధమైనవిషయములు పెట్టుకొని వాదములుచేయుచు కాలయాపనచేయుట ప్రయోజనములేదు. ఇప్పుడు యెన్నికలు లేవు. ఒకవేళ బై ఎలక్షన్లు రావచ్చును. వాటిని తలపెట్టినక్కరలేదు. మనము చేయునట్టిది ఎదుటివారికి, ఇంగ్లీష్ వారికి, మనము సిద్ధాంతము నంగీకరింపక అశక్తులమై పోయినామని హాస్యాస్పదముగాను, చులకనగాను కనిపించనూడదు. 1921 వ సంవత్సరములో 175 లక్షలరూపాయలు ఖర్చుపెట్టి మహాత్మా గాంధీగారిని సారథికిందనుంచుకొని యెంతవని నడిపించినాము. మనమిప్పుడు చక్కగా కార్యక్రమమును నడిపించి జయమును పొందవలసినదని కోరుచున్నాను.

దేశభక్త

కొండ శౌకటప్పయ్య పంతులుగారు.

శ్రీమతి యామినీపూరణ్ణికమ్మగారు.

సవనము లలపరచుచు నిట్లుపన్యసించెను.

అగ్రీసనాధిపా! సోదర సోదరీమణులారా!

సహాయనిరాకరణము.

శ్రీమతి
యామినీపూర్ణ
ణ్ణికమ్మగారు.

మనము యీ సంక్షిప్త సమయమున నేమియు తోచక రాజీకొరకు. తగవులూడుకొను చున్నాము. మహాత్ముడు ప్రారంభించిన అసహాయోద్యమ మొంత పవిత్రమైనదో అందఱ మెఱుగుచుము. నిండుచంద్రునివలె సంపూర్ణత్యముకలిగిన అసహాయోద్యమమునందుగల ప్రధానమగు మొకకళను తీసిపారవైచి తక్కినవన్నిటని చేసెదమని చెప్పట హాస్యాస్పదముగానున్నది. ఎవ్వరైనను ప్రపంచమున వ్యక్తులపై ప్రత్యేక అభిమానముచే సంపూర్ణత గల ఉద్యమమునకు కొరతగలిగింకజూచుట ధర్మముగాదు. ప్రస్తుతము శాసనసభలకు వెళ్ళవచ్చునని చెప్పుదురు. అట్లెని పాఠశాలకు వెళ్ళవచ్చుననియు, ఇంక కొన్నిదినములకు ఖద్దర పీయముగాన విల్లుఖద్దరు ఉపయోగించుచున్నవనియు చెప్పవచ్చును. ఉద్యమము “ నానాటికి తీసికట్టు నాగంభోట్లు ” అన్నట్లు జరుగును. దేశబంధు దాసుగారికొరకు రాజీ బిచ్చకొనుచున్నారు. దాసుగారిని వదలుకొనుటకు యిష్టపడని సోదరులు కొందఱు ఉద్యమమును భంగముగావింపుచున్నారు. భారతయుద్ధమున కిరుడు అన్నగారని తెలిసిన ధర్మరాజులు విని ఊరకుండిరి గాని ఏమియు చేయకుంరైరి. ధర్మము తనంతటతాను నడచుచున్నప్పుడు అడ్డుతగులుట అధర్మము. పారుచున్న ధర్మప్రవాహమును నిట్లు అడ్డు కట్టలు కట్టుచున్నారు. అయ్యో! ఉద్యమము నశించుననుటకు సందియములేదు. మహా జనులు న్యాయముకనుగొని ధర్మముకక్షమున వోటును తమభాధ్యతను గురైరిగి ఇచ్చెదరని కోరుచున్నాను. లేనిచో ఉద్యమమును గంగలోగలిపి దేశమును అథోలోకమునకు దోలె జరనుట నిశ్చయము. చక్రవర్తిగారి తీర్మానమును బుజరచగోరెదను. గంట వాయింపక పూర్వమే శలవుపుచ్చకొనుచున్నాను. (హర్షస్థనులు).



అ కాలీ స త్యా గ్ర హ ము.

ఉమర్ ఆలీషాగారు.

అకాలీ సత్యాగ్రహ తీర్మానమును బలపరచుచు నిట్లుపన్యసించిరి.

మహాశయిలారా !

మనఅకాలీ సోదరులు తమస్వత్వమును తాముగొనుటకు తమ గురుస్థానమును దాము బడయుటకుఁ బోయినవారిపై ప్రభుత్వ మొనరించుచున్న దండగము లిదివఱకు నాకంటె ముందుపన్యసించిన వారెఱింగించియే యున్నారు.

అకాలీ
సత్యాగ్రహము.
ఉమర్ ఆలీషాగారు.

ఇట్టివిషయ సమయమునందు మన యకాలీసోదరు లెట్టి యగచాటులకు దలనిచ్చి యెన్నియిడునులకు సహించి యెన్ని యమబాధ లనుభవించుచు తమకట్టుదల వదలక సత్యమునందునుగల స్వత్వమునందునుగల అభినివేశమును మానక అహింసాధర్మమును మహాత్మాగాంధీ మహాద్యమములోని నిజసత్యమును గ్రహించి తమ శారీరకమగు అస్త్రీమాంసవసావికారమైన కించిత్రత్వమును తృణప్రాయముగా విసర్జించి శమదమాద్య నంత కళ్యాణగుణములను నాదర్శమ గాఁ జెట్టుకొని దార్జన్యము పొంతబోక కేవల భారత దేశ స్వాతంత్ర్యమునకై మత సంవిధానమునకై వ్యక్తిత్వమునకై నిష్ఠగాక మొన్నటి పర్యంతము దాస్యశృంఖలముల బంధింపబడి అజ్ఞానతమోవృతాగాధకూషమున ద్రేళ్ళి దీర్ఘనిద్రా ముద్రితులై యుండియు మహాత్ముని శంఖధ్వజమునకు నులికిపడిలేచి మేఘము లందలి మెఱపులవలె రూపించుచు ప్రభుత్వపు కఠకుటమ్ములకు సరికుఁగొనక కార్యకూ రులై మనకట్టెకుట గొప్పనాటక మాడుచున్నారు. దానిని లోకము పరిమోహితాత్మయై నిరీక్షించుచున్నది. ఇదే పూతభారత భానూదయశ్రీభాత సమయము. మీరే మగళ గీతములు పాడుశకుంత కదంబములు. జయము నిశ్చయము.

అనాటకముజేసు “సత్యాగ్రహము”. రంగము గురుద్వారము. నటకులు “శిరోమణి గురుద్వార ప్రబంధక సంఘసభ్యులు”. ఇతివృత్తము “మానవస్వాతంత్ర్యము”. (జన్మహక్కు) సూత్రాధార “మహాత్మాగాంధీ”. ప్రస్తానములోని మొదటి నాందీపద్యము.

“కీయాసిద్ధిస్సత్వే భవతి మహతాన్నోపకరణైః”

మఱియు,

- మ. తనదేశం బణమూత్రమైనను మహా * త్మాగాంధీ యధ్యాత్మ విద్యను బోహ్మండశరీరుడై భరితదే * శానర్థమున్ బాషగా ఘోషించి బసహాయ ముత్రిములఁ దా * గావించుచున్నాఁడు వే జనుడి కుంఠింకకుశ ప్రభు దురా * చారాజ్యమున్ బోయగన్.

ఈదివ్య ప్రదర్శనమునకు ఈయపురూప ప్రత్యగభిన్న సముత్పన్న సముత్పంగ రంగ మునకు మూతతెర “రాజప్రతినిధి”. అది ప్రభుత్వ విధానము, దురహంకారము లను విష పూత మహావాలముచేత ప్రచలితమగుచున్నది.

ఈమూతతెర కాలజీమూతసన్నిభమై అగ్రహమును ఉఱుములు, మెఱుములు రాల్చుచు ధారాపాత శరపరంపరలఁ బరపుచు నటకులను పంచబుగాళము గావించుటకు

ఆకాలీ
సత్యాగ్రహము.
ఉపల్ తీనాగారు.

జూచుచున్నది. నీనిదాకి కాగలేక నెల్లరు చెల్లాచెదరై పోవువారను సొకల్పము దానికి గలిగినది. కాని అది మిథ్యాభాంత్తి. స్వయం కృతాపరాధము. ఘోరము. కాలమును, నభమును, ధ్వనిని, ప్రాణాహమును, సుకల్ప మాత్రమున దృశ్యమగు మహాపదార్థములను చంద్రోహసముగాని, శితఘ్నిగాని, బాంబుగాని పరిమార్చలేదు. నాశనము సేయలేదు. అమెరికాలోని రెడ్ ఇండియనులు, ఆస్ట్రేలియాలోని అదిమనివాసులు, ఆఫ్రికాలోని గాక్షులు, ఇండియాలోని రాక్షసులు కూకటివేళ్ళతో వెల్లగొపబడినారు కాని భారతీయులగు మా అకాలీలు అట్టల వెలుగబడరు అది యసాధ్యము, గగనాదుల కాశ్రయము, నిష్పలము. ఈశ్వరశక్తి సామాన్య లర్థముజేసికొనజాలను. చార్జన్యముచే చేయఁదలచిన వారము న్యధకము.

“ సర్వం నిష్ఫలితం తదైవ విధినా । దైవే బలే మర్భలే ”

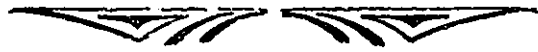
అని ప్రకృతి పాడిన గీతము ప్రకృతి చేసిన రుతి మీకు వినబడలేదా?

ప్రజ్ఞోకుని కత్తి ఖండింపలేకపోయినది. మోసానిలోదాగిన నూనవుఁడు (ఇదీరస నుప్రవక్త) తెగిపోయినాఁడు. ఇస్మాయేలు గొంతుక ఇబ్రాహీము కోయలేక హతాశుడై పోయినాడు. చుమ్రీని రాహువు కబళించినను జీర్ణముచేసికొనలేదు నాతాపి. అగస్త్యుని గర్భగోళమునఁ బడి మడిసినాఁడు. ఇది ప్రపంచమున నీశ్వరుఁడు చూపినయోగశక్తి. ఇదే ప్రభుత్వమని పేనుపెట్టుకొని అకాలీసోదరులపై చేయుచున్న ఘోరమరంతములను బరిమార్చు సన్నోహనాస్త్రము.

ఈయకాలీ భౌతలు భారతవూత కనుంగుబిడ్డలయి పరిణమించినారే! భీరుల వలె వసించేయుచున్నను ధీరులు శూరుల లెక్కలో నెన్నబడుచున్నారు. పామరుల తెఱంగున వెట్టిపోకలకు పోయినను జ్ఞానులచ్చెరువొంద యశంబు నార్జించినారు. విద్యాగంధములేని మోరకులధంగి ధంగపడుచున్నను అసంగులగు ఋషిపుంగవుల మార్గమిదియని ప్రబోధించుచున్నారు. ఆహా! నెలవంక కాలకన్యకకు సానసాత్రముగా నుండి ముద్దులు మూటఁ గట్టుచు కోమముగా పూర్ణచంచునీదశకు మాఱి ప్రియురాలి మోముదమ్మిలో నైక్యమగుచున్నాఁడని కవి వ్రాసిన శృంగారగీతమునం దితీతయోక్తి యుండవచ్చును. గాని మాఅకాలీ సోదరసమితి సత్యాగ్రహము దురాగ్రహ గ్రహముల దిగమింగి శాంతసుధామధురరసమును జలుకుచు స్వగాజ్యసంపద కాకరమై కలుముల వెలదికి నాటకట్టు పరిభక్షిల్లులలో నతిశయోక్తి యొకింతయును లేదు.

భారతస్వాతంత్ర్య సాధనోపాసమునకు ఆకాలీల సత్యాగ్రహము మొదటిమెట్టు స్వరాజ్యలక్ష్మీ యీమెట్లెక్కి వెళ్ళినప్పుడే ప్రత్యక్షమగుచున్నది. అప్పుడే “అల్లాహ్ అక్బర్” “వందేమాతరమ్” ఇత్యాది మనోహర విజయపూర పూఠిత మహామంత్రములు వేణువును విడిచి వాయువులో లీనమై ఏనులకు వినవచ్చును. అదే శాంతిగీతము. అదే మంగళము. మంగళాచరణము. అదే హిందూ మహమ్మదీయ పారసీ క్రైస్తవ మత మతాంతర సమీకరణ సమున్నత దివ్యరంగప్రదేశము. అదే మేమిప్పుడు కోరుచున్నాము. అదే రానున్నది. ఇట్లు నేనితీర్మానము ను బలపఱచుచున్నాను. (హర్ష ధ్వనులు)

**HINDUSTHANI
SPEECHES.**



भारत राष्ट्रीय महा जन सभा ३८ वी. अधिवेशन कोकोनाडा.

२८ दिसम्बर १९२३, शुक्रवार.

प्रारम्भ दिवस.

*Opening of the
Session.*

भारत देश की पवित्र भूमिके कोकोनाडा प्रान्त में २८ दिसम्बर १९२३ के दो बजे दिन को राष्ट्रीय महा सभा का अधिवेशन प्रारम्भ हुआ भारत के सभी प्रधान नेता श्रेष्ठेय लाला लजपतराय तथा पण्डित मदन मोहन मालवीय को छोड़कर उपस्थित थे महात्मा गान्धी की अनुपस्थिति अवश्य ही हृदय विदारक थी—खर निर्मित विस्माल मंडप १८ हजार जनों के लिखे छाया करता था और वायु से संचारित हो उस विस्तृत सागर का प्रतिस्पर्धी बन रहा था। जिस के तट से थोड़ी ही दूर पर खड़ा था। दशकों से पात श्रीसफरी की तरह भरा हुआ यह मंडप अतीव शोभामान था। वन्दन चार, पुष्पमाला तथा सूक्तियों से रुसित स्तम्भ जिन के आश्रय यह मंडप अब्रमलिह बन रहा था किसी धर्म के गूढ तत्त्वोपदेश विबुध से कम न थी जो भक्तों द्वारा अप्रपुण्य हो उन्हें ज्ञान सिखा रहा हो! “अस्तु” आदिमें विप्र मंडली ने त्रेध्वनि से संगल गान किया तदनन्तर कुरान की आयत पढ़ी गई जिसका सार पाठक महाशय ने इस प्रकार बताया : मौलाना महम्मद अली साहब ने इसका लफ्ज़ी तरजुमा समझाने को कहा है; ये लफ्ज़ अरबी के हैं—पहली आयत जो पढ़ी गई उसमें लिखा है कि-आपस में इतिफ़ाक़ करो, इतिफ़ाक़ से रहो-अगर लडोगे, तुकसान होग-कोई झगड़ता हो ताम्मुल करो विला शको शुबहा सब करोगे तो अह्लाताला तुन्हारा साथ देगा !

दूसरी आयत का तरजुमा यह है कि हे नबी सत्कर सद्वार-दुश्मन बर करो तो तू भलाई कर-दुश्मन जो होगा दोस्त हो जायगा-हमदर्द हो जायगा.

तीसरी आयत यह है कि-अल्लाह को भरोसा कर, उसकी रहमत से तमाम काम होगा-यह निहायत मुत्ससर तरजुमा बना दिया ॥

तत्पश्चात् बंदमातरम गान, स्वागत गान, स्वागत हो भारत सरदार-बंगरह गात्रा गया। फिर सभापति द्वारा निर्मित शेर मेरा यह शेरों शैबन सक्दरे वंक्त जहाँतक है..... पढ़ाया ॥

पुनः भारतमाता' गान तथा श्री विन्गु दुगम्बर द्वारा आओ सकल भारत कुमार... गान के पश्चात् स्वागत कारिणी के अध्यक्ष महोदय देवाभक्त श्री कोडा वेंकटपय्या जी ने अपना लिखित भाषण-मंच पर आने से पहले महात्मा गान्धी की जय, भारत माता की जय, अल्लाहो अकबर, हिन्दू मुसलमान की जय ध्वनि हुई। कुछ भाग हिन्दी में पढ़कर कुछ अंग्रेजी में पढ़ा-भाषण समाप्त करके मौलाना महम्मद अली को फूलमाला पहिनाई जय २ ध्वनि से मंडप गूँज रहा था। मौलाना साहब सभापति के आसन पर होकर अपना लिखित भाषण पढ़ने आये जातीय मंच जय ध्वनि से कोलाहल सा मचगया था-कहीं कहीं से, बोलो मौलाना महम्मद अली की जय' ध्वनि भी आरही थी ॥

भाषण के पश्चात् आज का कार्य सम्पादित हुआ। और विषय निर्धारिणी समिती की बैठक अगले दिन ९ बजे प्रातःकाल तथा कॉंग्रेस २ बजे मध्याह्न को होना घोषित हुआ ॥



दूसरा दिन

यथापूर्व दूसरे दिन २९-१२-२३ के दो बजे कार्य प्रारम्भ में वालंटियरों ने मंगल गान किया-कोटमर्ति कनकम्पा जी ने एक खदर वस्तु सभापति जी को दिया-जय २ ध्वनि हुई वालिकाओं ने एक गान किया और फिर सहानुभूति के तार पढेगये ॥ पश्चात् ॥

श्रीयुत जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी ने क्रीड मे संशोधन प्रस्ताव को तार्ईद करते हुए कहा !

हज़रात!

देहली काँग्रेस में एक कमेटी मुकर्रर हुई थी। काँग्रेस के नियमावली पर गौर करने केलिये, और इस बात पर गौर करने के लिये कि वह कहाँ कहाँ बदली जाय। उस कमेटी ने अपनी रिपोर्ट पेश की है उस पर सब्जेक्टस कमेटी में गौर हुआ था। जो जो वहाँ पास हुए हैं उन्हें मैं पेश करता हूँ और तार्ईद काता हूँ ॥

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पहली बात यह है कि दूसरे दफे में हमारे क्रायदे में यह लिखा है कि क्रिसमस के दिनों में हमारा सालाना जलसा हो। हम चाहते हैं कि यह लिखा जाय कि दिसम्बर के आखीर हफते में हो—यह पहली बात है ॥

दूसरी बात यह है कि दूसरे हिस्से में दूसरे दफे के यह लिखा है कि काँग्रेस का खास खास जलसा भी कभी २ किया जासकता है—इसके लिये इस में यह रक्खा है और इसके दो हिस्से हैं एक तो यह है कि इसके लिये देश भर के सूबा कमेटियों में से ज्यादा कमेटियाँ इस के लिये दरख्वास्त करें—इस वक्त २१ प्रान्त हैं उन में से ११ प्रान्तों की काँग्रेस कमेटियाँ दरख्वास्ता करें। दूसरे आलइण्डिया काँग्रेस कमेटी को भी अख्तियार होगा कि खास जलसा बुलावें लेकिन इस तरह के जलसे के लिये जब दो तिहाई मेम्बरों की राय हो तो बुला सकती है। अब तक यह क्रायदा था कि आल इण्डिया काँग्रेस कमेटी की कसरत राय भी अब किसी क़दर दो तिहाई की शर्त कर दी गई और प्रान्तीय काँग्रेस कमेटियों को अख्तियार दिया गया है ॥

तीसरा हिस्सा यह है कि फ़िहरिस्त पर काँग्रेस कमेटी का सिलसिला बदला मया है—पहले था वर्किङ्ग कमेटी-फिर आल इण्डिया काँग्रेस कमेटी-अब आल इण्डिया को उपर कर दिया और वर्किङ्ग कमेटी को नीचे। फिर प्रान्तीय काँग्रेस कमेटी-तहसील-तालुका दूसरी और कमेटियाँ जो हिन्दुस्तान के बाहर बनायें जय्यं जिन्हें काँग्रेस मंज़ूर करें। दूसरे जलसा की बात है यह निश्चय हो गया है कि ज़िला तहसील के जलसे कान्फेन्स होंगे वह सिर्फ़ प्रचार के लिये होंगे-यानी फ़र्क कर दिया गया है कि ज़िला दूसरी कमेटियाँ सिर्फ़ प्रचार करेंगी ॥

चौथा दफ़ा यह है कि पंजाब और सरहदी सूबे काँग्रेस की तरफ़ से दो सूबे समझे जायेंगे। यानी दो वर्ष पहले तक ये सूबे अलग कर दिये गये थे अब एक करदिये जाते हैं क्यों कि काम करने में दिक्कत होती है चूँकि सूबे कम होंगे इसलिये सूबों का नम्बर भी इसी सिलसिले से बदल गया। अब आख़िरी हिस्सा उसका निकाल दिया गया—चूँकि उसमें

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लिखा है कि १९२१ में नया क्रायदा तो इसलिये लिखा है कि प्रान्तीय काँग्रेस कमेटी संगठन फौरन बनाये इसकी ज़रूरत नहीं है कि नया बनाया जाता है. ६ दफे में यह तज़वीज़ की गई है—सिर्फ लज्फ बदले गये हैं—हमारे प्रान्तीय काँग्रेस कमेटियों से वही नुमाइन्दे आयेगे जो चुनाव से बमूज़िब क्रायदे से हुए हैं और उस कमेटी को वाज़िब होगा कि साल भर के कामों की रिपोर्ट ३० नवम्बर तक आल इण्डिया के पास भेज दें। और कोई शख्स चुनाव में किसी किसम के चुनाव में शारीक न होगा न ओट देगा—चाहे ज़िला तहसील या किसी में हो जो ४ आना चन्दा वक्त पर न देदे। ऐसे वक्त पर न देदे जो कमेटियाँ मुक़रर करें ॥

आप फ़र्ज कीजिये कि एक तारीख़ मुक़रर हुई चुनाव की—१० रोज़ १५ रोज़ या १ महीना चंदा की तारीख़ रक्खी गई उस में जो पहिले चंदा नहीं देदेता उसे अख्तियार न होगा। इसके बिना कितनी नावाज़िब कार्रवाइयाँ होजाती हैं आप को मालुम है ॥

अख़ीर में ७ वें दफे में काँग्रेस का साल बतलाया गया है—यानी अबतक मेम्बर पुराने खतम होगये नये साल नया चंदा देकर होंगे—३१ दिसम्बर से १ जनवरी तक ३१ दिसम्बर को साल खतम हीगा फिर जनवरी में चंदा देना पडेगा ॥

और भी तज़वीज़ पेश हैं जैसे २ सब्जेक्ट्स कमेटी में पास होगी आप के सामने पेश होंगी। मैं पट्टाभिषीतारामय्या की तार्द करता हूँ ॥ इसकेबाद—

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श्री पण्डित मोतीलाल नेहरूजी ने नेशनल पेक्ट का तज़वीज़ पेश करते हुए उरदू में कहा :—

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जो रिज़ल्यूशन में आप की खिदमत में पेश करने के लिये खडा हुआ हूँ उसके अंग्रेजी एल्फ़ाज ये हैं “रिज़ल्यूशन” इस रिज़ल्यूशन का मतलब यह है कि जो नेशनल पेक्ट, जो एकरारे कौम मुरत्तब हुआ है और बंगाल के लिये जो एलहिदा मुरत्तब हुआ है इन दोनोंको देखने के बाद यह काँग्रेस तज़वीज़ करती है कि जिस कमेटी के सिपूर्द कौमी-इकरार का तक्रमीला हुआ था वह कौम की राय सामन्न कर लोगोंसे मिल कर और इन रायोंपर गौर करके एक दूसरी रिपोर्ट ३१ मार्च १९२४ तक आल इण्डिया कमेटी के सामने पेश करे और इस कमेटी में बजाय सरदार मेहतावसिंह के जो पोलिटिकल मामले में जेलने हैं सरदार अमरसिंह शब्बल रक्खे जायेंगे ॥

मैं आप के सामने बहुत अफ़सोस के साथ तसलीम करता हूँ कि इस रिज़ल्यूशन को पेश करने में जिस क़दर कि मुझे अपने दिल में शरमिन्दगी होना होता है मैं आप के सामने बयान नहीं कर सकता। यह रिज़ल्यूशन याद दिलाता है आप को उस ना इतिहासी की जो इस मुल्क की बदकिस्मती से चन्द साल से बल्कि कई साल से पैली हुई है। अफ़सोस और शरमिन्दगी मुझे इस बातकी होती है कि हाय ! हमारे ही मुल्क के लिये रक्खागया था कि एक भाई और दूसरे भाई के बीचमें अच्छा बर्ताव कायम रखने के लिये किसी इकरार नामे की ज़रूरत हो—एक हमसाये और पडोसी के साथ दूसरे पडोसी के साथ ऐसा इकरार हो, तज़वीज़ की जाय कि जिस के लिये ज़रूरत हो कि एक कमेटी बैठे और सोर मुल्क में तहकीकात करे ! यह बात एक ऐसी अफ़सोसनाक है कि आप गौर करेंगे तो आप उस हालत को जो मेरे दिल पर इस तज़वीज़ को पेश करने में गुज़र रही है फ़ौरन महसूस कर लेंगे लेकिन क्या किया जाय ? जब मुसीबत पडती है तो इसकी ज़रूरत

पडती है—मुसीबत आगई, ना इत्तिफ़ाकी आगई—झगड़े जगह जगह जावजा होते हैं तो लाज़िम यह है कि झगड़ो को रफ़ा करने के लिये ऐसा किया जाय, कोशिश की जाय ॥

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मेरे एक भाई ने दर्याफ़ किया कि वह कौमी—इक्कार जो मुल्क की तरफ़से बना है और बंगाल की तरफ़ से बना है क्या वह आप से पढ़ा गया । मैं आप को यकीन दिलाता हूँ कि मैंने खुद उन दोनोंमेंसे एक भी नहीं पढ़ा—बावजूद इसके मैं इनको पेश करने के लिये आप के सामने खड़ा हुआ हूँ इसकी क्या वज़ह है ? इस की वज़ह यह है, और आम तौर पर देखा जाय तो यही है कि एक भाई के साथ दूसरे भाइयों का ताल्लुक़ किस तरह से रहना चाहिये । इसके लिये किसी इक्कार का होना, किसी कमेटी का होना, किसी बड़ी पंचायत में पेश होना मेरी समझ में उस वक्त तक नहीं आया जब यह इक्कार छपछुप भी गया ! मेरी तबीयत स्वीकार करती है कि इसकी ज़रूरत है मेरा दिल क़बूल नहीं करता कि इसकी कोई ज़रूरत है ॥

बाहर हाल वह दोनों इक्कार ऐसे हैं और कोई किसिम का मसौदा या इक्कारनामा या कम्पैक्ट ऐसा नहीं है कि जो काँग्रेस की मुकर्रर कमेटीने बनायाहो या बंगाल की कमेटीने बनाया हो तो उसकी ताईद हरफ़देवशर पर लाज़ीम हो ॥ सबसे पहले यह बतलाना है कि देहली में जब यह पास हुआ कि कमेटी एक मसविदा तैय्यार करें कि मतभेद हिन्दू मुसलमानों के दूर हों, ताकि उनके ताल्लुक़ अच्छे आपस में रहें ॥ उस वक्त काँग्रेस की हर्गिज यह मन्शा न थी कि इस कमेटी के यह अख्तियार दिया जाय कि वह किसी भी एक हिन्दू को या मुसलमान को या इसाई को या पारसी को या यहूदी को मजबूर कर सके ॥ आप ख्याल फ़र्मियें कि इस कमेटी को क्या कहा गया था ॥ इस को कहा गया था कि एक अहद का मसौदा फ़र्मान बनायें ॥ इसके मानी यह थे कि जब वह मसौदा तमाम मुल्क में घूम कर जाँचकरके मुकम्मल हो जायगा तो वह तमाम मुल्क के सामने पेश किया जायगा और जो लोग वहाँ होंगे उनको अख्तियार होगा कि इस पर ग़ौर करके कहै कि हम इसको तसलीम करते हैं या नहीं । इसी तरह पर बंगाल की काँग्रेस कमेटी ने जो एक मुसविदा तय्यार किया उस को साफ़ साफ़ मसविदा के नाम से यानी फ़र्मान के नाम से साया किया लेकिन बदक़िस्मती से इसकदर ग़लत फ़हमी इस बंगाल के मसविदे की निस्वत सारे मुल्क में ज्यादातर पंजाब और मेरे सूबे में फैली कि इस वक्त मेरे पास सैकड़ो तार मुख्तलिफ़ जगहों से मुख्तलिफ़ लोगों से आये हैं उस में शिकायत की गयी है कि बंगाल को क्या हक़ था कि हिन्दू मुसलमान को अपने रिजोल्यूषन से बंद कर दें । मैं तसलीम करता हूँ बंगाल तसलीम करता है मेरे दोस्त देशबंधु ने तसलीम किया है और कोई शक़ भी नहीं कर सकता कि चोह काँग्रेस हो प्राविन्स हो उस को यह अख्तियार नहीं है कि मेरे और आप के बीच में यह कहें कि यह इक्कार या फ़र्मान ज़रूरी होगा जबतक आप उस को मान न लें—कोई ख्याल दुनिया में ऐसा नहीं होगा कि फ़रीक़ राज़ी न हो तो उस को मजबूर कर दें तो महज़ यह है कि मसविदा लज्फ़ है मगर यह नहीं कह सकता कि वह तय्यार आया है । जो बंगाल कमेटी ने तज़वीज़ की है वह आप को मंज़ूर हो यान हो उस पर ग़ौर करने के लिए सब इकदे हुये हैं आप चाहें इस को मंज़ूर करें या न करें इसपर इसकदर बलबले की क्या ज़रूरत थी ? मैं समझवता हूँ कि यह बात ऐसी है कि फ़ौरन दिलपर असर करती है इस वास्ते मेरे भाइयों ने वाज़ २ काबिल भाइयों ने नज़र अंदाज़ किया कि यह ख़ाली मसौदा है । मुल्क की इस पर राय माँगी जाती है । यहाँ तक तो दोनों मसविदों का मुद्दा बतलाने की हाज़न हुई । इस में एक लज्फ़ भी ऐसा नहीं है कि हिन्दू मुसलमान या मुल्क के और लोगों पर रायज़ होता है और बंगाल ने किया है । आप इस बात को भूल जाइये और यह देखिये कि इस में आप को

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क्या एतराज है—आप इन एलफ़ाजों के वास्ते कौनसे अलफ़ाज रखना चाहते हैं। इसी लिये यह तमान मुल्क में रक्खा गया है तो अब यह रिजोल्यूशन जो आप के सामने पेश है उसका मुद्दा यह है कि जो कमेटी दिल्ली में मुक़र्रर थी वह कमेटी और जो रिपोर्ट उस ने की है वह रिपोर्ट भी नातमाम है। आप को हम लोगों के डाक्टर अनसरी साहब ने जो उन लोगों में अठस्सी, नव्वे साहबों को सभाओं को पब्लिक बाडोज़ को कमेटी के मक़सद की नक़ल भेजी थी और उन की राय तलब की थी। उन में से सिर्फ़ आठने जवाब दिया। कई ने एतराज किया है। आप ख्याल कर सकते हैं कि तमाम हिन्दूस्तान में सिर्फ़ अठस्सी लोगों की राय ली जाय इतने बड़े अहम मामले के लिये कि जो हिन्दू मुसलमानों के ताहक़ूक़ का फ़ैसला कर सकते हैं और हिन्दू मुसलमानों का नहीं बल्कि जिस पर सारे स्वराज का दारमदार है। उसका फ़ैसला इतनी ज़ल्द कैसे हो सकता है ॥

बंगाल का जो पैकट है और जो नेशनल पैकट है उन दोनों को ग़ौर देखे मैं आपके सामने खड़ा होगया क्यों कि मेरा यह काम नहीं है कि देखकर कहदूँ कि यह सही है और यह ग़लत। यह हरेक हिन्दू मुसलमान को हक़ है। उसलिये बिना नज़र डाले मैं आपके सामने खड़ा होगया। इतना कहना काफी है कि उसपर ग़ौर काफी नहीं हुआ ऐसे अहम मामले पर जितना चाहिये उतना ग़ौर नहीं हुआ कि राय कायम करें। यह जो कांग्रेस की तरफ़ से कमेटी बनी थी उस पर एक बात अभी नहीं हुई बकिङ्ग-कमेटी में भी पूरी बहस नहीं हुई तो आप मुझसे इत्तिफ़ाक़ करेंगे कि बंगाल का पैकट नेशनल पैकट दोनों मुल्क के सामने रहें और पहली कमेटी जो मुक़र्रर हुई थी चंद साहबों से राय ले और जब राय शामिल होजाय तो आल इण्डिया कमेटी के लिये एक दूसरी रिपोर्ट लिखे कि जिस में उन रायोंका नतीज़ा दर्ज़ हो और रायोंके लेहाज़ से वह कमेटी क्या तै करती है कि क्या होगा साफ़ २ यह भी कहदें और रिपोर्ट दे कि यह फ़ैसला है यह मुद्दा है क्यों कि जो दिक्कत पेश अभी है और न आये ॥

जब वह रिपोर्ट आप के सामने आवे तो आपको समझलेना चाहिये कि महज़ इस-केलिये है कि आपको इत्तला है कि और आप एतराज रखते हैं तो करें। अब आपको एक बात की इत्तला देनी है कि एक पहली कमेटी जो मुक़र्रर हुई थी उसमें डाक्टर अनसरी साहब, लाला लाजपतराय और चूँकि लाला लाजपतराय की तबीयत अच्छी नहीं है इसलिये पण्डित मदनमोहन मालवीय का नाम था कि तबीयत अच्छी न हो तो वह काम करें और तीसरे अदमी थे सरदार मेहताव सिंह। सरदार मेहताव सिंह उस बड़े अकालियों के मुक़दमों में जिस की तहकीक़ात अम्भृतसर में होरही है जेलमें चलेगये गोया वह कमेटी में बात नहीं कर सकते। तो दूसरे भाई अमरसिंहझब्बल उनकी जगह मुक़र्रर है ॥

बंगाल कमेटी का पैकट कोई पैकट नहीं है मसविदे का मतलब यों करसकते हैं कि यह जो कि बंगाल के बहुत लोग जो उसमें शामिल थे उसमें से देशबंधु भी बाहर नहीं हैं उन लोगों से यह तज़वीज़ की है और आप के पास मंजूरी के वास्ते भेजा है। तो जहाँ तक आप को इस रिजोल्यूशन में ताहक़ूक़ है आप बिना किसी किसमकी बहस के इसको फ़ैसला नहीं करना चाहिये—घर को आए हुए तार तो दरकिनार हैं १० मिनट में न जाने कितने तार आये हैं इस की बज़ह से जितनी आमदनी टेलीग्राफ़ आफिसकी हुई ऐसी और तरह पर नहीं हुई। (हास्यध्वनी) और मुफ्त मुल्क का रूपया जाया हुआ ॥

अब दो बातें करनी हैं। अब बेतरह मजबूरी यह है आप तबज्जुह कर सकते हैं कि कोई मसविदा हो पैक्ट हो लेकिन मैं आपके हक में इन्साफी करूंगा अगर यह साफ़ न बतला दूं कि ऐसे पैक्ट के बारे में मेरी राय क्या है। ऐसी हालात केलिये ऐसे पैक्ट केलिये जो हमारे सामने हैं मैं यह कहूंगा कि जो कुछ पंजाब में-यू-पी-में देखते हैं, मुल्क के और बाज़ हिस्सों में देखते हैं उस के लिये जरूर कुछ फ़ायदे मंद है लेकिन अगर आप यह चाहते हैं कि अपना स्वराज हासिल करें तो जब तक आप हिंदू मुसलमान का एतहाद इस बात पर मुबनी नहीं होगा कि जो स्वराज की तरफ़ रगवत करनेवाला है तो हज़ार ज़वाने तक ऐसे पैक्ट से स्वराज से हाथ धोना है और हज़ारों कदम हटते हैं। हज़ारात! किसी इकरार से या इस बातसे कि फ़लों वक्त बाजा बजाओं फ़लों वक्त यह काम करो फ़लों वक्त यह मत करो मुहब्बत होती है वह ठीक नहीं है। दिली मुहब्बत दिलमे होती है और दूसरी तरह से नहीं होती। दिली मुहब्बत को जाने दीजिये—आप हिंदू मुसलमान दोनों केलिये जो एक ही रास्ता हो कि जिस पर चलने से नज़ात मिले तो कौन अक़मंद होगा कि दोनों लड़ते हैं इसलिये उस रास्ते पर नहीं चलेंगे। 'कोई शख्स यह बात नहीं कहता है कि स्वराज हासिल करने को गुलामी रफ़ा करनेवालों को सिवा हिन्दू मुसलिम एतहाद के कुछ और है ॥

तो या तो कह दीजिये कि स्वराज्य की जरूरत नहीं आपस में कटते मरते रहेंगे या एक दूसरे केलिये दिल में जगह दीजिये यह मुफ्त का ढोंग फ़ज़ूल खर्च और सालाना जल्सा किस फ़ायदे का? मेरी कतई राय यह है कि वक्त जाया क्यों करते हैं। अब एक कहानी कहूंगा जब मैं रैल में सफ़र कर रहा था एक पंजाबी भाईने पूछा कि आप बड़े होशियार क्राविल एडवोकेट भी थे बड़े क्राविल समझे जाते हैं क्या आप समझते हैं कि हिंदू मुसलमान कभी मिलेंगे? क्या मुमकिन है? मैंने यह जवाब दिया कि मैं तो यह सरगरदी कर रहा हूँ दुनियां में मारा मारा फिरता हूँ सिवा इसके कि स्वराज्य मिले गुलामी दूर हो कुछ और है? उन्होंने ने कहा यह सच है आप की नीयत ठीक है आप इसी केलिये कोशिश करते हैं। मैंने पूछा कि क्या स्वराज्य हिन्दू मुसलमानों के इत्तहाद के बिना हो सकता है? उन्होंने ने कहा नहीं हो सकता! मैंने कहा कि फिर क्या मैं पागल हूँ जो फिरता हूँ। जरूर होगा (हास्यध्वन) जानवर भी जंगल में आग लगती है तो भाग कर एक जगह खड़े हो जाते हैं शेर, हिरन तक जो एक दूसरे को खाजाते हैं तो क्या हिन्दू मुसलमानों का एतहाद नामुयकिन है? आप इस तज़वीज़ को पास कीजिये मगर जो रिपोर्ट होगी वह आस्मान से नहीं आवेगी जो हिन्दू मुसलमानों में सुलह हो ने देगी ओर वे बग़लरीर होंगे। आप एक दूसरे से मिल जाइये मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि आप ऐसा करेंगे (जयध्वन) ॥

इसके बाद ॥

प्रस्ताव तथा संशोधन का विरोध करते हुए श्री पण्डित गौरीशंकर मिश्र ने कहा :—

श्रीमान सभापती जी, वहिनो, और भाई यो !

National Pact.

*Pundit
Gauri Sankar
Misra.*

आप के सामने एक प्रस्ताव हमारे मान्यनेता श्रीमान पण्डित मोतीलाल नेहरू ने पेश किया है और उसका समर्थन भी आप के सामने हो चुका है उस के बाद बंगाल के एक हमारे बुजुर्ग हैं उन्हो ने एक संशोधन उसमें पेश किया है । मैं सारे प्रस्तावों का विरोध करता हूँ । भाईयों आज हमलोग जो परार्थीनता के बंधन में जकड़े हुए हैं—आज हिंदूस्तान के बाशिन्दों का न तो कोई समाज है हिन्दूस्तान के बाशिन्दों का घर होते हुए वे बे घर हैं मुल्क होते हुए आपने मुल्क में वे मुल्क हो रहे हैं ऐसी हालतमें जब हमारे पास कुछ भी नहीं है राष्ट्रीयमहासभा से यह प्रस्ताव पास करना है कि हिन्दू मुसलमान और सारी जातियाँ आपस में समझौता करें कि उन्हें आइन्दा आनेवाली काँउसिलों में १० फीसदी मिलेगा २० फीसदी मिलेगा मेरी जानमें एक हँसी की बात मालुम होती है ॥

भाईयो, उस समय नेशनल पैक्ट के बनाने का समय होगा, उसवक्त जब अपने मुल्क में हिन्दुस्तानी आज़ाद होकर हिन्दुस्तान को आपने हाथमें रखते होंगे । आप एक नेशनल पैक्ट बनाते हैं आप कहते हैं कि हिन्दू अपने प्रोसेशन को मस्जिद के सामने लेजाय तो गाना बजाना बन्द करदें साथ ही यह भी कहते हैं कि मुसलमान भाई इदुल जुहा के रोज़ छोड़ कर और दिन कुर्बानी न करें कि हिन्दुओं का दिल दुखे । क्या सारी जातीयता हमारे आज गाय की कुर्बानी में या मस्जिद के सामने बाजा न बजाने में मुवनी है ? मैं तो इसे एक ऐसी छोटी बात समझता हूँ कि जिसमें जातीयता या समझौता के पैक्ट में यह बात होनी चाहिये कि हर एक हिन्दू मुसलमान इसाई पारसी आपस में इतनी मुहब्बत करें कि छोटी या मामूली बातों में मन्दिर या मस्जिद के सामने बाजा बजाने या गोकुशी इस बात की ज्यादा परवाह न करें । नेशनल पैक्ट में एक ऐसी बात का लिखना जैसा प्रस्ताव में है बहुत नामुनासिब बात है—आज हमलोग ऐसे नेशनल पैक्ट को बना कर हिन्दू मुसलमानों में झगड़ा पैदा कर देंगे ॥

आप कहते हैं कि उदुल जुहा को छोड़कर मुसलमान और दिनों कुर्बानी न करें । लेकिन हैदराबाद में उदुलजुहा को भी फूरमान से कुर्बानी मना है । और आप यह पास करते हैं तो हैदराबाद के मुसलमानों को मौक़ा देते हैं यह कहने के लिये कि काँग्रेस ने उदुलजुहा को कुर्बानी करने की इज़ाज़त दी है तो हमको भी इज़ाज़त मिलनी चाहिये । यह कहा गया है कि पंजाब में हिन्दूमुसलमानों में झगड़ा है और एक दूसरी बात यह भी कही गई है कि संयुक्त प्रान्तके कई जिलों में हिन्दू मुसलमानों में अनबन होगई है । भाईयों मैं यह कहूँगा कि पंजाब के झगड़े से सारे मुल्क में झगड़ा फैलाना पंजाब के मज़ को दूर करना नहीं है । भाईयो पंजाब में अनबन है अजमेर में झगड़ा खड़ा होगया है कि मंदिर के सामने बाजा न बजाये मुसलमान नेशनल पैक्ट से यह माना है तो जिन जगहों में मस्जिद के सामने बाजा बजाने को मुसलमान नहीं रोकते थे । वहाँ भी रोकेंगे कि बाजा न बजाओ । जबतक छोटी बातें हम लोगों में रहेंगी बाजा बजाने को रोक देंगे, हिन्दू पीपल की डाल को न काटकर हजारों जान जाया करेंगे तब तक मुल्क के लिये स्वराज्य मिलना ख्वाब की बात है । और उस कम ज़ोरी को जानते हुए इस को ज़ारी रखना हमारे बुज़ुर्गों का काम नहीं है । इसके लिये ओट देना राष्ट्रीय महासभा के प्रतिनिधियों का काम नहीं है । इसलिये कुछ ज्यादा न कहकर यह कहा जाता है कि यह पैक्ट ठीक है । इस के लिये दिल्ली में एक कमेटी बन चुकी थी । वन चुकी थी ठीक है झलती हो चुकी है

समझदारों का काम है कि गुलती समझते हों तो गुलती को भिटा कर ठीक रास्ते पर आजाय । पंजाब में झगड़ा है इसके लिये सारे मुल्क में झगड़े फैले ऐसी बात न करें । इसलिये भाइयों और बहिनो ! हाथ जोड़ कर हम प्रार्थना करते हैं कि ऐसे ज़हर को आप राष्ट्रीय महासभा से बाहर न जाने दें ॥

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Pundit
Gauri Sankar
Misra.

यह वह ज़हर है जो हिन्दू मुस्लिम समाज को कूतल करेगा यह वह विष है जो देखने में एकता करने वाला है मगर और प्रान्तों के हिन्दू मुसलमानों के हृदय को हरण करने वाला है । समझते हैं कि जहाँ कोई मुसीबत है आप लोगों को इसलिये हम समझायेंगे । आप छोटे और बे समझ हिन्दू मुसलमानों की छोटी बातों को जारी न रहने दें । वहादुरी और वीरता के साथ कहें और मैं अपने भाइयों से अली भाइयों से कहता हूँ कि छोटी बातों को जैसे बाजा नहीं बजाना वगैरह छोटी बातें हैं मुसलमानों के लिये वह न ख्याल करें । इसीतरह हिन्दुओं के लिये पीपल नहीं काटेंगे खून करदेंगे यह छोटी बात है यह धर्म की बात नहीं है महज़ फूट बढ़ाने वाली चीज है । इसलिये नेताओं को वीरता के साथ मानापमान का ख्याल छोड़ कर हुंदाभी बजादेनी चाहिये कि इस तरह और मारकिकत की वज़ह से हिन्दू मुसलमानों में एकता हो सकती है ॥

अगर आप एकता चाहते हैं अजमेर में हिन्दू मुसलमानों में लडाई हुई हिन्दू मुसलमान मारेगये, पंजाब में लडाई हुई मौलाना महम्मद अली साहब, सदर साहब, जहाँ तक मालुम है वह नेशनल पैक्ट के खिलाफ हैं । उनका ख्याल यह है कि पंजाब में भगड़ा है तो हिन्दू मुसलमान नेता जो हैं एक महीने के लिये अपने सूबों को घरोंको छोडकर वहाँ जाय कोई वजह नहीं है-क्या कोई भाई बहिन प्रतिनिधि कह सकता है कि हमारे नेता हमारे प्रेम पात्र शौक़त अली महम्मद अली पण्डित मोतीलाल देशबंधु दास पटेल भाई राजगोपालाचारी यह नेता अपनी सिपाहियों के साथ, फ़ौज के साथ पंजाब में पहुँच जाय तो क्या समझ सकते हैं कि हिन्दू मुसलमानों के फूट का बीज ठहर सकता है ? वह उनके पवित्र चरणों के पडते ही पंजाब को छोडकर भागेगा । अगर यह नेता वहाँ पहुँच कर उपदेश दें तो यह भेद दूर होकर हिन्दू मुसलमान गले न मिलें यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता हिन्दू मुसलमानों के मेल के लिये पूज्यनेताओं में एकता की नदी के बहाने केलिये प्रारम्भ केलिये यत्न करना धर्म है । मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि इसके विरुद्ध हिन्दू मुसलमानों में झगड़ा पैदा करने वाला पैक्ट रखना चाहिये । इसलिये मैं पैक्ट का जोर से विरोध करता हूँ । और उमीद करता हूँ कि आप भाइयों और बहिनो खिलाफ़ ओट देकर इसको गिरा देंगे, पास न होने देंगे ॥

इस के बाद ॥

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तरमीम को तार्द करतें हुए श्री पुरुषोत्तमराव, बंगाल के निवासी ने कहा :—

सभापति महाशय की सेवामें इस बंगाल पैक्ट के विषय में बोलने की सूचना कर दी थी किन्तु मैं आप लोगों को बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि बंगाल के वयोवृद्ध प्रसिद्ध नेता हरदयालनाग जी ने आंग्लभाषा में इस विषय में आप को बहुत कुछ बतला दिया है । मैं बंगाल पैक्ट को इस में से निकाल देने केलिये समर्थन करता हूँ और आप लोगों को बतला देना चाहता हूँ कि इस पैक्ट के प्रकासित होने से बंगाल में जो एक आन्दोलन हो रहा है आप लोगों से एक इशारे मात्र में दिखा दूँगा बंगाल के जितने हिन्दू मुसलमान आये हैं उनके पास एक नहीं १०, १२ तार आये हैं उनको

Sjt.
Purushottam
Roy.

National Pact.

Sjt.
Purushottam
Roy.

पढ़कर यह मालुम होता है कि दुःखमय स्वराज्य लेने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है। मैं आप को बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि जब राष्ट्रीय महासभा ने नेशनल पैक्ट केलिये एक कमेटी बनायी है जिस में कितने श्रेय लोग हैं, जो प्रस्ताव श्रेय षण्डित मोतीलाल नेहरू का है उसमें जो बंगालने देशके सामने रक्खा है उसे देख कर हिन्दू मुसलमानों के इतिफाक में भविष्य में एक गोलमाल अवस्था उपस्थित होसकी है। मैं दिल से कहता हूँ कि हिन्दू मुसलमानों के इतिफाक केलिये हर एक हिन्दू मुसलमान के प्रेम का होना अवश्यक है इस केलिये उनके अधिकार को निश्चित कर रहे हैं परन्तु इस केलिये बंगाल पैक्ट नहीं है—तो मैं कहता हूँ (सभापति ने कहा:—आप बंगाल पैक्ट की खराबी या खूबी बयान न करें) मैं बयान करता हूँ कि क्यों निकाल देना चाहिये—जो हम आज नेशन में देखते हैं यहाँ नहीं—बंगाल पैक्ट कुल हिस्से से निकाल देना चाहिये ॥

मैं आपको इतना बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि आज राष्ट्रीय महासभा इस को मंजूर कर देगी और देश के सामने रखदेगी तो इस केलिये हिन्दू मुसलमानों को बद्ध बनना होगा। मैं इतना और कहूँगा कि बंगाल हिन्दू उस मामले पर सोच रहे हैं आप यदि इस नेशनल पैक्ट के साथ शामिल रखते हैं तो देशभरमें आन्दोलन होगा उस में जाकर इसको देखना होगा कि क्यों बंगाल ने ऐसा किया है। इसलिये मैं आपसे प्रार्थना करूँगा कि बंगाल पैक्ट को इस में से निकालने की कृपा करें ॥

इस के बाद ॥

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श्री शेरवानी साहब ने तरमीम को ताईद करते हुए कहा :—

जनाब सर, वहिनों और भाइयो !

Janab
T. A. Sherwani

(अंग्रेजी २ की ध्वनि) मैं आपकी काँग्रेस का मेम्बर हूँ। हिन्दुस्तानी हूँ और हर एक काँग्रेस में आता हूँ। आज ११ वर्ष का अर्सा हुआ मगर मैं आप को यकीन दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि इस ११ वर्ष के असें में आपने मेरी कोई तक्ररीर न सुनी होगी। मैं तक्ररीर करना आप लोगों के वक्त को जाया करना समझता हूँ और यह भी बतला देना चाहता हूँ कि इस ११ वर्ष के असें में मुझे आज तक कभी यह बात महसूस नहीं थी कि काँग्रेस के प्लेटफार्म पर कभी एक मुसलमान को यह ख्याल करने का मौका होगा कि उसके कौमी हक काँग्रेस के हाथ महफूज नहीं हैं प्यारे भाइयो ! आप के सामने एक एमेन्डमेन्ट पेश किया गया है और वह यह है कि बंगाल पैक्ट को विलकुल रिजोल्यूशन से निकाल दिया जाय। भाइयो ! जहाँ तक क्रौम का तालुक है मैं आप को बतला देना चाहता हूँ और बतला देनाही नहीं बल्कि मैं ने करके भी दिखा दिया है। मैं अपने बुजुर्ग श्याम सुंदर चक्रवर्ती साहब और गौरी शंकर मिश्र से कहना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने ने गायका सवाल उठाकर आप की तवीयत को इस्ताल देना चाहते हैं। मैं आप से कहता हूँ और काँग्रेस के प्लेट फार्म से कहना चाहता हूँ कि गाय को माँग करेंगे; और मुसलमान उदुलजुहा पर यह कहा गया है मैं आपने दोस्तों की तरह बोल कर, नहीं, करके दिखा चुका हूँ कि जहाँ मैं अलीगढ़ में रहता हूँ वहाँ बकरीद के मौके पर भी गाय की कुर्बानी ५०० से लेकर दो तक कम करने का इन्तजाम किया है और वह खाने केलिये नहीं बल्कि आज्ञादी केलिये जुबह हुई। (धन्य धन्य की ध्वनि) और वह गायें भी गवर्नमेंट के मुलाजिमों ने जुबह कीं ॥

और मेरे भाई बाजा वगैरह केलिये फुरमाते थे । कहते थे कि दूसरी जगह के मुसलमान भी एतराज करेगे इसके मुतअल्लिक में आपने दोस्त से कहता हूँ कि पिछले डेढ़ सालसे जहाँ रहता हूँ बाजे जहाँ नहीं निकलते थे अपने भाइयों से कहकर उन मस्जिदों के पीछे से भी निकलवा दिया मगर आज मैं क्या देख रहा हूँ, श्याम सुंदर चक्रवर्ती हरदयाल नाग और गौरी शंकर मिश्र ने कुछ बातें कहीं हैं सुनकर मैं जो एक खादिम हूँ कॉंग्रेस के पीछे चलने वाला हूँ चाहता हूँ कि स्वराज्य हिन्दुस्तान को मिल जाय चाहे राज हिन्दुओं का ही क्यों न हो—कॉंग्रेस के प्लेटफार्म पर बैठा हुआ क्या सोच रहा था ? वह यह सोच रहा था कि क्या हिन्दू भाई यह भी सुनना नहीं चाहते कि जिस में मुसलमानों को हक दिया गया हो—यहाँ जितने साहवान हैं यही इम्पेशन लेकर जायेंगे और यह कहूँगा कि ११ वर्ष का खादिम अगर आप अमेन्डमेन्ट फेक दें तो यह इम्पेशन लेकर जायगा कि हिन्दू भाई मुसलमानों की बराबरी का हक सुनने को भी तैयार नहीं हैं । आप उस अमेन्डमेन्ट को फेंक देते हैं—अमेन्डमेन्ट के मुतअल्लिक बंगाल पैकट में इसके विना ओर कुछ नहीं देखते कि सियासत के मस्ले को सही करलें । उस में यह भी है कि मुसलमानों को उनका हक दिया जाय । तो आप उस को अगर फेकते हैं तो यह मानी है आप किसी रिजोल्यूशन में यह कहने को तैयार नहीं हैं कि मुसलमानों को उनका हक दिया जाय ॥

National Pact.

*Janab
T. A. Sherwani*

भाइयो ! जहाँ खास पारटीशन का तअल्लिक है जिसकी मुखालिफत गौरी शंकर मिश्र ने की है उसके बारे में यह कहूँगा कि आज पूरे सालभर के बाद हरदयाल नाग गौरी शंकर मिश्र और एक भाई और आये थे बहुत अकमंद होगये हैं—आज साल भर के बाद । मैं ने गया में भी कहा था मैं पैकट के खिलाफ था—मैं यह कह रहा था कि इस पैकट को नहीं आना चाहिये । और दिल्ली में भी खिलाफ था । मगर २ कॉंग्रेसों में पास करके आज गौरी शंकर मिश्र इस की मुखालिफत करने आते हैं भाइयों ! जरा सोचिये इसके क्या मानी है । इसके मानी यह है कि कॉंग्रेस चाहे तो हिन्दू मुसलमानों का पैकट होना चाहिये । मगर आज जब एक चीज में मुसलमानों के हक को बात आयी है तो इसके सुनने का मौक़ा भी नहीं है । पण्डित गौरी शंकर ने कहा—मेरा यह मतलब नहीं है कि मुसलमान भाइयों को अधिकार नहीं दियाजाय या उनका अधिकार कम कर दिया जाय—मेरा मतलब और कुछ है मैं तो यह अर्ज कर रहा था—शेरवानी साहब ने जवाब दिया—मेरा ख्याल यह है कि उसका मतलब कुछ और ही है और मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि मेरे ऊपर क्या असर हुआ है । मैं आप को यह यक़ीन दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि मेरे ही ऊपर नहीं जितने मुसलमान हैं सब पर यही असर हुआ होगा ॥

मैं मुतनबी करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आपने मुखालिफत इसकी की तो जो गवर्नमेन्ट वे इन्तहा रुपया खर्च करने के बाद जो चीज़ हासिल नहीं कर सकी थी वह आप इसके गिरादेने से हासिल करा देंगे, भाइयो थोडा वक्त मिला था । मैं आप से निहायत अदब से अर्ज करूँगा कि जब यह एक मर्तबा नहीं दो मर्तबा कॉंग्रेस से पास हो चुकी है जब आप को अख्तियार है कि इसमें क्या रक्खें—क्या न रक्खें, जब मुखालिफत आपस में शुरूहुई है, जब आप देख रहे हैं कि मिनिस्ट्रों के पोलसी जब कि एक राय तैयार है हिन्दू और मुसलमानों को लडाने के लिये, जब वाक़्या यह है कि हिन्दू मुसलमान लडरहे हैं—पंजाब में जो शुरूहुआ था बराबर बढ़ता जा रहा है आप उसको जरूर पास कीजिये ॥

इस के बाद ॥

श्रीमति सरोजनी नायडू ने तज़वीज़ को ताईद करते हुए कहा :—

भाइयो !

National Pact.

*Sreemati
Sarojini
Naidu.*

मैं हिन्दी में मेराख्याल का इज़हार करूँगी और इस के बाद अंग्रेजी जवान में। मैं निहायत अफ़सोस के साथ तमाम मुवाहिसे को सुन चुकी और मुझे ताज़्जुब है कि इस तरह दिल में कपट रखनेवाले स्वराज्य की ख्वाहिश रखते हैं ॥ भाईयों! अगर आप ने रिजोल्यूशन को समझा है तो उसकी मुखालिफ़त कैसे कर सकते हैं—उस में यह बात है कि जो पैक्ट आल इण्डिया की तरफ़ से तैयार हुआ है, जो बंगाल की तरफ़ से काँग्रेस मज़लिस में आया है मुल्कके सामने पेश करने की, कि मुल्कको अख्तियार होगा कि उस को रहने दे फिर काँग्रेस को आख्तियार होगा कि उस पर राय कायम करें। किसी ने नहीं कहा कि आल इण्डिया या बंगाल पैक्ट पर राय कायम करे बल्कि ताईद चाहते हैं कि उसको मुल्कके सामने पेश करें ताकि हिन्दू मुसलमान इसाई, पारसी जैन जो भी गिरोह फिरका, मुल्क में है, हिन्दूस्तान में बसता है उसकी बेहबूदी केलिये सोचने का मैका मिले जिस में काम हो ॥

मैं निहायत अफ़सोस के साथ देखती हूँ कि हिन्दू भाइयों के दिल में डर है—और समझती हूँ कि कोई पैक्ट पर राय कायम करना दरकिनार, मगर ग़ौर करना भी पसंद नहीं करते। मैं शर्म के साथ हिन्दू कहलाती हूँ जब मैं देख रही हूँ कि हिन्दूओं में बुज़दिली है, और दरियायेदिली के एवज़ में फ़ैयाजी के एवज़ में बगलगीरी करना चाहते हैं मुसलमानों के साथ। जब वह हकूक कुर्बानी करते हैं उनको हक़ नहीं देते। जो इन्साफ़ करते हैं, वे अपने फ़ैयाजदिली को कायम रखते हैं मेरे भाई गौरीशंकर मिश्र, मेरे बुजुर्ग़ हरदयालनाग और श्याम सुन्दर चक्रवर्ती ने गर्मी के साथ आप के दिलको भडकाने की कोशिश की—शान्ति पूर्वक उस को नहीं कहा। जो मज़हबी ख्याल को भडका कर जो सियासी में राय कायम कर रहे हैं उनको ठंडे खूनसे ग़ौर करना चाहिये। और मुझे उम्मीद है कि अगर आप सियासी हकूक के मुस्तहक़ समझते हैं यह फिरयाद, समझौते में जो भी नाम से बोलिये इस बात पर ग़ौर करने केलिये गुल्क को आज़ादी देंगे, और अगर आप यह आज़ादी काँग्रेस को नहीं देंगे तो याद रखिये कि यह अहदनामा के एवज़ में मौतनामा होगा। आप अपनेलिये मरसिया लिखते हैं—आप खुद अपने हाथ से अपनी एलजी लिखते हैं। मैं ज्यादा कहना नहीं चाहती मगर इस मज़लिस में हिन्दू भाई हैं। मैं चाहती हूँ कि हिन्दू क्रौम की तरफ़ से एक दिलेरी की, फ़ैयाजी की आवाज़ निकले कि हमारे तमाम हकूक मुसलमानों को देदिया जाय, जबभी हमारा हक़ कायम है ॥ (प्रमोदध्वनि.)

इस के बाद ॥

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श्री याकूब हसन साहब ने तरमीम को ताईद करते हुए कहा :—

बहिनों और भाइयों !

मेरा दिल तो यह चाहता है कि शुरू से इस रिजोल्यूशन की मुखालिफत करूँ मगर मुझे मालूम हुआ कि गया में हिन्दू मुसलमान पैक्ट हिन्दू और मुसलमानों के दरमियान एक मुद्दा तैयार करने केलिये एक रिजोल्यूशन हुआ था और दिल्ली में भी एक रिजोल्यूशन पास करने और कमेटी तैयार करने की ज़रूरत पड़ी-और यह ज़माना था जब मैं जेल में था। अगर मैं आज्ञाद होता तो इसकी सख्त मुखालिफत करता। मगर चूंकि काँग्रेस से दो जलसों में वह रिजोल्यूशन पास हो चुका है और वह आप के सामने पेश हुआ है इसलिये मैं मुखालिफत नहीं करता। मैं अपने ख्याल जाहिर करना चाहता हूँ क्यों करता हूँ—मैं जो करता हूँ वह यह है कि जो तरमीम पेश है उस की ताईद करूँ ताकि जो चीज़ आप के सामने है वह ऐसे बज़रार और कमज़ोर हो जाय कि इस से वही नुकसान न पहुँचे जिस के पहुँचने का अँदेशा है ॥

National Pact.

*Janab
Yakub Hassain*

हज़रात ! आप हिन्दू मुसलमान पैक्ट क्यों चाहते हैं ? इस की ज़रूरत क्या हुई आप को ? उसका मुद्दा है कि हिन्दू मुसलमानों का ताल्लुक अच्छा हो जायगा जैसा पहले नहीं था ? मगर क्या वह ताल्लुक ऐसा करने से अच्छा हो जायगा ? मेरे ख्याल से वह विगड जायगा। एक ज़माना था कि मुसलमान काँग्रेस में शिरकत नहीं देना चाहते थे उनका ख्याल था कि काँग्रेस उनके हकूक की हिफाज़त नहीं करसकती। उन्होंने ने मुस्लिम लीग बनाई फिर उस मुस्लिम लीग और काँग्रेस में समझौता हुआ, दोनों में इत्तिफ़ाक़ हुआ मुसलमान काँग्रेस में दाखिल हुए। अब क्यों इस वक्त ज़रूरत पेश हुई है कि एक माहिदा तैयार हो। उस वक्त यह कहा गया था कि काँग्रेस में मज़हबी तरीक़ा नहीं रहेगा। मुसलमानों ने दोस्ती के ख्याल से इसको क़बूल किया कि मयावत होजाय—लखनऊ में हिन्दू मुसलिम पैक्ट बनगया। इस समझौते पर शुरू काम हिन्दूओं का मुसलमानों के साथ हुआ—यह पहली दफ़ा यह काँग्रेस आल इण्डिया नेशनल हुई। लखनऊ में यह पैक्ट बन चुका है अब नये की क्या ज़रूरत है कि जो तैयार किया जाता है—क्या पहले को तोड देना चाहते हैं ? (No, No नहीं नहीं की ध्वनि)। क्या मुसलमानों ने हिन्दूओं से दरख्वास्त की है ? क्या उन्होंने ने कहा है कि हम रज़ामन्द नहीं हैं ? जो रिप्रेजेन्टेशन दिया गया है क्या मुसलमानों ने दरख्वास्त की है हम उस से रज़ामन्द नहीं हैं ? क्या मुसलमानों को डर है कि वह इसका फ़ैसला चाहते हैं ? मैं समझता हूँ कि उन्हो ने कुछ नहीं कहा। फिर क्या ज़रूरत आयी कि इस पैक्ट बनाया जाय ? उसलिये मैं उस की मुखालिफत करने में आता-लेकिन चूंकि काँग्रेस ने पैक्ट का मसला तै करदिया है, इस के मुताबिक़ कमेटी बनी है रिपोर्ट भी कमेटी ने दे दी है—सूबे की काँग्रेस कमेटियाँ राय पेश कर रही हैं उसलिये आप उसको अलग नहीं कर सकते ॥

इसको अगर आप इसवक्त फ़ेंक देंगे तो आप पहली कार्रवाई के बरख़िलाफ़ आजायेंगे। उसलिये आगे यह कमेटी जो कार्रवाई करे उस में फ़ूँक फ़ूँक कर क़दम उठावे। तो यह मसला तो ऐसा है कि हिन्दू मुसलमानों के झगडे पैदा करता है। आज बंगाल की काँग्रेस कमेटी ने फ़ैसला यह किया है कि मुसलमानों की मेजारिती हो तो ६० फ़ीसदी

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मुसलमानों को और ४० हिन्दुओं को और हिन्दुओं की मेजारिटी हो तो ६० हिन्दुओं को और ४० मुसलमानों को मिलना चाहिये। अब इसका नतीजा क्या हुआ है कि देख रहे हैं कि वहाँ इसकी हिन्दू असहयोगी मुखालिफत कर रहे हैं कि मुसलमानों को इनके मुखसान ज्यादा पहुँचेगा—मुसलमान भी घबरा गये हैं और फिर २ मुखालिफत करते हैं कि हिन्दुओं पर छोड़ा जायगा तो हम बहुत दिन साथ नहीं देंगे। यह देख कर कि बंगाल की काँग्रेस कमेटी ने ६० और ४० फीसदी दिया है। हिन्दू इसकी मुखालिफत करते हैं। वह ताईद करते हैं कि हिन्दू मुसलमानों का तादाद उनकी आबादी के मुताबिक हो। मगर आप इस के बरखिलाफ़ राय करते हैं तो बंगाल के मुसलमान इसको छोड़ देते हैं—वह सोचेंगे क्यों क्या वजह है कि इस राय को कायम नहीं रखते ॥

मैं मद्रास का रहनेवाला हूँ वहाँ मद्रास के लोग यह कहेंगे कि इनको ३३ फीसदी होना चाहिये—उनकी तादाद वहाँ ६ परसेण्ट है। सभापती ने कहा—(अभी तक, आपने अमेण्डमेण्ट पेश नहीं किया) मगर मद्रास में ६ परसेण्ट पारसी हैं। अगर आप मुसलमानों को नहीं देंगे तो मद्रास के मुसलमान काँग्रेस से अलग होने केलिये मजबूर हो जायेंगे। इस सवाल से आप देखते हैं स्वासा नुकसान होगा जो झगड़े पैदा होगये हैं और जो जगह २ में होंगे तै करने में भी दिक्कत होगी ॥

अब मैं इसको ताईद करता हूँ कि बंगाल निकाल दिया जाय। बंगाल ने जो ६०-४० की स्कीम पेश की है अगर आप रिजोल्यूशन को पास करते हैं तो नतीजा यह होगा कि कमेटी पैकट के लिये हुई है ॥

इस के बाद ॥

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श्री पण्डित मोतीलाल नेहरू ने तमाम मुबाहिसे को ज़वाब देते हुए कहा :—

जनाब सदर, और मेरे अजीज बहिनों और भाइयो !

Pundit
Motilal Nehru.

मैं बहुत थोड़ा वक्त चाहता हूँ उन सब तक्रारियों के जवाब के लिये। मैं बहुत वक्त नहीं छूंगा। मैं रंजीदा दिलसे इस रिजोल्यूशन को आपके सामने पेश करता हूँ एक निहायत सहम दिली के साथ पेश करता हूँ। जो मुखालिफत में तक्रारीर हुई है उनके नतीजे में अफसोस के साथ कहता हूँ कि यह आपस की अनबन की जड है। आप ख्याल करें कि यह मामला वह है कि जिस में भाई भाईके झगड़े को दूर करने की तदबीर सोची गई है—वह क्या बात है कि जो इन भाइयों के बीच में जिन ज़रियों से दुश्मनी हो सकती है और जिन को लेकर दोनों भाई मंजूर कर सकते हैं ? ॥

जहाँ तक तरमीम का ताख़्त है कि लफज़ बंगाल की निकाल दिया जाय वहाँ तक तो सिवा इस के कि आप के सामने मैं उन दो तीन फ़िक्रोंका तरजुमा कर दूँ जो मेरे भाई देशबन्धु दास ने कहा और कोई ज़रूरत नहीं है। इसकी क्या मन्शा है ? बंगाल का जिक्र करने की क्या मन्शा है ? क्यों उसका जिक्र किया गया ? क्या आप इसको नहीं जानते कि बंगाल की प्राविन्शल काँग्रेस कमेटी ने एक तज़वीज़ की है और जो सब अखबारों में छप गयी है और आल इण्डिया काँग्रेस के पास भेजी गयी है कि वह कौन सा अम्र है आपसे पूछते हैं कि उस पैकट में क्या नामुनासिब समझते हैं ॥

मेरे भाइयों ने बड़ी लायक और क्राबिल तक्ररीर की हैं कि बंगाल का लफ्ज़ निकाल दिया जाय। बंगाल का लफ्ज़ क्या कोई अलूत लफ्ज़ है कि उस के पास पटकना भी नहीं चाहते ? बंगाल की काँग्रेस ने आप के सामने सही या ग़लत एक बात पेश की है। आप उस को मानें या न मानें—आप जितने डेलीगेट भाई मौजूद हैं क्या हर एक को यह अख्तियार नहीं है कि आप उस को मानें या न मानें मगर जो राय होती है उस को आप रखते हैं। अगर एक शख्स को यह हक़ है तो क्या एक सूबे को यह हक़ नहीं है कि आपके सामने जो उसका ख्याल है रखे कि आप अपना राय कायम करें कि वह आप को तसलीम है या नहीं ॥

National Pact.

*Pundit
Motilal Nehru.*

मेरे भाइयो, मुझे सख्त ताज्जुब तो यह है कि याक़ूब हसैन साहब ने तक्ररीर की है कि अगर यह मुल्क के सामने रखवा गया तो और सूबों में इसको तक्रलीद की जायगी और लोग कहेंगे कि बंगाल के सूबे में जो दिया गया है वही हम को भी दो। मगर मैं पूछता हूँ कि अगर वह ऐसा कहेंगे तो क्या बंगाल का लफ्ज़ निकाल देने से नहीं कहेंगे—हिन्दूस्तन के बीच ऐसा कौन है जो नहीं जानता कौनसा अख़वार है जहाँ यह नहीं छपा ! लेकिन लोग नहीं समझते इस के खिलाफ़ हैं। अगर यह एलफ़ाज निकल गये तो तमाम मुसलमान न सिर्फ़ बंगाल के बल्कि सब को यह ख्याल होगा कि अगर कोई सूबा मुसलमानों को कोई हक़ ज्यादा देता है तो काँग्रेस उसको सुनना भी नहीं चाहती। बंगाल पैक्ट सही है या ग़लत लेकिन जो सुना है वह यह है कि बहुत कुछ दिया गया है और इतना नहीं दिया जाना चाहिये—तो उसका यह मतलब नहीं निकालना चाहिये कि काँग्रेस को भी यह कहते हैं कि इतना देना चाहिये ॥

कहा यह गया है उस में काँग्रेस से कि सुन तो लीजिये, ग़ौर तो कीजिये—वह इस के वास्ते आपको मंजूरी के पावन्द है जैसे एक छोटी कमेटी बड़ी कमेटी के पावन्द होती है। उसकेलिये आप बंगाल का लफ्ज़ निकालते हैं। यह बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि जिस वक्त आप रिजोल्यूशन में कभी पेश करते हैं कि बंगाल का लफ्ज़ निकाल दिया जाय, या तमाम रिजोल्यूशन को गिरा देते हैं तो वे इन्निहा नुक़सान काँग्रेस के तमाम तहरीकों को पहुँचाते हैं ॥

अगर अब तक सब साफ़ होता और पहले पहल यह बात आयी होती कि पैक्ट होना चाहिये या नहीं तो कहता हूँ; इतमीनान दिलाता हूँ कि मैं इसकेवास्ते खड़ा न होता जैसा आपने मेरी पहली तक्ररीर से सामझा होगा। लेकिन यह पहला मौक़ा नहीं है—बहुत कुछ इसमें हो चुका है। अब ठंडी समझसे हमें देखना चाहिये कि क्या करना है। अब सब बात हो चुकी है, आज कोई नयी बात नहीं हो रही है। दिसम्बर सन् २२ में यह रिजोल्यूशन पास किया “२२ सन् का रिजोल्यूशन” यह उस वक्त से शुरू हुआ जब सन् २२ के दिसम्बर की बर्किङ्ग कमेटी का रिजोल्यूशन हुआ। मैं उस पैक्ट की तहरीक़ पढ़ता हूँ जो सञ्जेक्टस कमेटी हुयी उस में यह भी कहा, “रिजोल्यूशन” “यह काँग्रेस नीचे लिखे हुए शख्सों को मुकर्रर करती है कि वे क़ौमी मुहाद का एक नक़ल तैयार करें जोकि मुल्क में मुख्तलिफ़ गिरोह के लोगों और नेताओं की राय लेकर मशविरा करने के बाद अपनी राय को एक मुहाद के शक़्ल में बनावें और वह कोकोनाडा के काँग्रेस में तै कराने केलिये आल इण्डिया काँग्रेस कमेटी के पास भेजदें” इसके बाद दिल्ली की काँग्रेस में यह रिजोल्यूशन हुआ “रिजोल्यूशन” आज तक १९२२ के दिसम्बर से एक आवाज़ इस के अताबिक़त के खिलाफ़ उठाई गई कि ऐसा कोई पैक्ट नुक़सान करेगा।

National Pact.
Pundit
Motilal Nehru.

जब इतना हो चुका, जब इतना ख्याल बढ चुका, जब रिपोर्ट हो चुकी—अब कहा जाता है कि इसकी दवा दीजिये । बजाय इसके कि किसी की उम्मीद बढे और किसी की घटे, जिनकी बढी है, उनको कम होगी । इतमीनान दिलाना चाहिये बजाय इसके कि आप इसको गिराना चाहते हैं । इसका नतीजा यह है और उस को सभी समझते हैं कि बंगाल के मुसलमानों को इसका फ़ाइदा दिखाई देता है और बंगाल के हिन्दू समझते हैं कि उनका हक कम होगया—जब एक तरफ़ एक ख्याल है और दूसरी तरफ़ दूसरा ख्याल है तो एक ठंडी और समझदार अक़ क्या सोचती होगी । क्या इन दोनों को हम छोड दें या समझा कर उनको मिलाने की कोशिश करें ? मिलाने की कोशिश करना चाहिये । मैं आप को यकीन दिलाता हूँ कि मेरे भाई जो तक्ररीर कर गये वह तक्ररीरों में यह कहलें मगर मैं ४० वर्ष से हिन्दू मुसलमानों का झगडा तै कराने के काम में रहा हूँ एक नहीं सैकड़ों झगडें तै कराये हैं मैं यकीन दिलाता हूँ कि झगडें ऐसे तो नहीं होते कि किसी की ज़वान बंद करदें कि एक फ़रीक़ को सुनेंगे नहीं और दूसरे की सुनेंगे ॥

आपके सामने जिक्र किया गया है तारों का-तारों में यह है कि यह मामला ज़ल्दी नहीं करना चाहिये । उसपर ग़ौर करना चाहिये और तमाम सभाओं और लोगों से इसके मुतलिक़ पूछना चाहिये जिन का इससे ताहुक़ है । इसको तामील इस में साफ़ की गयी है । जो संगठन की राय है जो तमाम मुल्क चाहता है वही किया जाता है ॥

मैं भी अभी स्वतम करता हूँ—मैं मतनूब करता हूँ कि ज़्यादा जोश पैदा किया जाय और आप फ़ैसला करना चाहें लडाई का तो आप लोग मेरे भाई जो काँग्रेस से लौट कर जायेंगे उनका यह काम होगा कि लोगों को समझायें—तार में जो बात है उसका भी मतलब यही है कि समझ २ कर काम करें ॥

तत्पश्चात् सभापति यहोदय ओट लेने को आए-बडा कोलाहल सा मचा अंग्रेजी २ हिन्दी २ की ध्वनि हुई । सभापती ने संशोधन पढा और अनुवाद करते हुए कहा :—“तहरीक आप के सामने है बंगाल और आल इण्डिया नेशनल दोनों पैक्ट पढा गया—काँग्रेस यह फ़ैसला करती है कि एक कमेटी जो दिल्ली के इज़लास में मुक़रर हुई थी वह मौजूद रहे और पूरे तौर पर लोगों से राय लेकर एक रिपोर्ट सन मार्च १९२४ तक आल इण्डिया कमेटी के पास भेजे । इस कमेटी में सरदार शम्बल सिन्ध सरदार महताब सिंह की जगह में रखे जाय कि यह बढ क्रिस्मती से जेल में हैं । एक बात छोड दी जाय-बंगाल का लफ़ज़ निकाल दिया जाय-वह हाथ उठावें—अब जो चाहते हैं कि बंगाल का लफ़ज़ रहे—

अमेन्डमेन्ट लास्ट—नहीं नहीं डिवीजन २ की ध्वनि के पश्चात् डिवीजन हुआ—संशोधन के पक्ष में ६७८ और विपक्ष में ४९८ सम्मति आयीं ॥

सभापति ने फिर कहा कि अब तरमीम रिजोल्यूशन के रूप में पेश होगी—जो चाहते हैं कि बंगाल का लफ़ज़ निकालदिया जाय वह इस तरफ़ जायेंगे और जो नहीं चाहते किसी क्रिस्म का पैक्ट वह ख़िलाफ़ राय देंगे । अब यह तहरीक़ है “संशोधन” अब आपके सामने यह तहरीक़ है “आल इण्डिया पैक्ट का मुलाहिज़ा किया गया—काँग्रेस की राय है कि जो कमेटी दिल्ली में बनाई गयी थी वह राय मांगे और रिपोर्ट करे ३१ मार्च तक आल इण्डिया कमेटी को, ताकि वह ग़ौर करे और महताब सिंह की जगह सरदार शम्बल सिंह हो ॥

डिवीजन के अनन्तर प्रस्ताव के पक्ष में ६६९ और विपक्ष में २०९ ओट भिली प्रस्ताव बढ सम्मति से पास होगया और इस के साथ ही दूसरे दिन का कार्य सम्पादित हुआ ॥



तीसरा दिन

यथापूर्व तीसरे दिन का कार्य मंगलाचरण के साथ मध्याह्न के पश्चात् प्रारम्भ हुआ। मिस्टर रायचुराने “भारत मादिर दर्शन करिये-माल ज्योति दिप दिल में धरिये” तथा बालिकाओं ने “जय जय प्यारा भारत देश जय जय प्यारा जगसे न्यारा शोभित सारा देश हमारा गान किया। तत् पश्चात् कैसा छंदर समय आज है हम अनेक थे एक हुए हैं-सोते थे सो जाग गये हैं अब सचेत छविवेक हुए.....और श्री काल्हूरि नारायण द्वारा एक तेलगू गान के पीछे श्रीमति सरस्वती देवी ने मधुरस्वर में “मेरी जान रहे मेरा सर न रहे-सामान रहे मेरा साज रहे। मुल्क मेरा आज़ाद रहे-माता के सर पर ताज रहे...गाया। पुनः बालिकाओं ने एक तेलगू गान किया और अन्त में मिस्टर उपाध्याय ने “तबदील गवर्नमेण्ट की रफ्तार न होगी-अगर कौम असहयोग पर तैयार न होगी...का मधुर गान किया। इन गानों के बाद ॥

वालंटियर अर्गनिजेशन का प्रस्ताव उपस्थित करते हुए श्री पण्डित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने कहा :—

जनाब सदर, हज़रात !

(English English की ध्वनि)

इज़ाज़त दीजिये हिन्दी में बोलने को। जो रिजोल्यूशन मुझे आप के सामने पेश करने का दिया गया है उसको मैं अंग्रेजी में पढ़ता हूँ (रिजोल्यूशन) यानी इस काँग्रेस की राय में हिन्दूस्तान के लोगोंको कौमी काम करने केलिये पूरी तौर पर तैयार करने केलिये इस बात की ज़रूरत है कि उनको इसबात की खास तौर ट्रेनिंग दी जाय। यह काँग्रेस इसलिये अपनी खुशी ज़ाहिर करती है इसबात पर कि ऐसा किया जा रहा है-एक वालंटियरों का संगठन सारे हिन्दूस्तान का बनाया जा रहा है। और वर्किंग कमेटी को हिदायत करती है कि जो मुनासिब काम इसके मुतलिक हो करें और ऐसे वालंटियर संगठन बनावें। उन लोगों के मसविरा के साथ जो वालंटियरों का काम करने केलिये हमेशा कोशिश करते हैं और उनको अपने क़ाबू में रक्खे रहे। लेकिन क़ाबू का यह मतलब है कि उनकी अन्दरूनी कामों में दखल न हों ॥

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हज़रात, तीन वर्ष से ज्यादा हुआ जब इस काँग्रेस के शांतिमय असहयोग की लड़ाई कलकत्ते में शुरू की गई-उस वक्त से महात्मा जी ने भी जोर दिया और बराबर इस पर जोर दिया जा रहा है कि यह लड़ाई शांति की है और इस में किसी पर जुल्म नहीं कर सकते न हथियार उठा सकते हैं आप यह भी जानते हैं कि यह लड़ाई लड़ाई ही है। अगर आप इस में वाकई कामयाब होना चाहते हैं तो यह बतला देना चाहता हूँ कि आपको सिपाही होना पड़ेगा। नानवाइलेन्स का यह मानी नहीं है कि हम आप बुज़दिल हों परदे में छिपे रहें। महात्मा जी भी यही कहा है कि लडनेवले सिपाहियों से नानवाइलेन्ट सिपाहियों को दुगुना तिगुना हिम्मत और जुरअत होना चाहिये ॥

तो यह लड़ाई तो शुरू की-और सवा तीन वर्ष तक जारी रक्खी, और इस असें में जो कुछ हुआ है आप देखते हैं कि किसतरह हज़ारों भाइयों ने कुर्बानी की हज़ारों भाई बहिनों ने सरकार का मुक़ाबिला किया और वावजूद इस के कि उन शख्सों ने सर नहीं झुकाया, अपने यह भी देखलिया और देखते हैं कि इतनी कुर्बानी का नतीजा हासिल नहीं हुआ जो होना चाहिये था। इस की वज़ह क्या है आपने ख्याल किया है या नहीं ?

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इस की वजह यह है कि हमारा निज़ाम ठीक न था। हमारा निज़ाम दुस्त होता संगठन ठीक होता तो अंग्रेजी सरकार हिन्दूस्थान में नहीं होती। मुझे तो आजकल बहुत इस बात का ख्याल होता है कि अंग्रेजी सरकार को यहाँ रहना चाहिये या नहीं। हमें अपने ध्येय को बदलना है या नहीं? शायद आपके सामने यह मज़मून पेश हो या नहीं-मैं तो यह चाहता हूँ कि फ़िलहाल की तर्ज़े अमल इसवक्त तक जड़ से उखड़ गई होती ॥

अगर आप अभी से कोशिश नहीं करेंगे कितने भी नेता आजाय मगर यह नहीं कीजियेगा तो मुसीबत भी झेलियेगा कुर्बानी भी होगी लेकिन नतीजा वह नहीं होगा जो होना चाहिये। देखना होगा कि रास्ते पर चलते हैं या नहीं-हज़रात! न सिर्फ़ देखना होगा कि जिस रास्ते पर चलना है वह ठीक है या नहीं बल्कि उस पर चलते हैं या नहीं ॥

तो मैं जो रिजोल्यूशन पेश करता हूँ उसके मानी यह है कि ऐसी कोशिश करें कि संगठन ठीक हो ट्रेनिंग आये, हिन्दूस्थानी सिपाही बनें। हम तक्रार करते हैं लेकिन सिपाही नहीं हैं। बात करना थोड़ा होना चाहिये थोड़ी तैयारी का कार्य करना है—जाब तक सिपाही नहीं होंगे तब तक सिपाही कौम का मुक़ाबिला नहीं कर सकते जो तैयार है। हम आप अंग्रेजों का मुक़ाबिला करते हैं-अगर हम हुकूमत कर सकते हैं तो हमें तैयार होना चाहिये-मुल्क के लिये कुर्बानी करने पर जिस वक्त आप की कुर्बानी उनसे ज्यादा होगी उस वक्त आप उनको हटा सकते हैं। तो अगर आप उसके बिना अपना काम करना चाहते हैं तो आपका फ़र्ज़ है कि वालंटियरों को जोर से बनावें ॥

आप का एक सवाल यह होगा कि यह कैसा संगठन है? कौन इसको अपने हाथ में रखेगा कहीं यह काँग्रेस का मुक़ाबिला तो नहीं करेगा? या और लोग तो इस के निज़ाम में दखल नहीं देंगे पहली बात यह है कि यह वालंटियर संगठन आल इन्डिया और वर्किंग कमेटी का मातहत है-यानी वर्किंग कमेटी से कहा जाता है कि ऐसे संभठन बनावें और मशविरा करें उन लोगोंसे जो इसके बनाने की कोशिश करते हैं। इस के साथ यह भी कहा जाता है कि कच्चा रखे देखे कि उसूल में कोई ग़लती तो नहीं होजाती मगर छोटी मोटी बातों में दखल न दें। हर एक बात में दखल देने से काम नहीं हो सकता, यह दो बातें रखनी हैं। आप इस की ला परवाही नहीं करेंगे। अपने अपने सूत्रों में जाकर ठीक ठीक इन्तज़ाम करेंगे। अगर आप उस पर अमल करेंगे इस के असर यही नहीं होगा कि आप वालंटियरों के कायदे सीख जायेंगे बल्कि नतीजा यह होगा कि लोग आपस में बहस करते हैं, अफ़सर की हुकूमत मानने में बातें करते हैं, आपस में बहस करने लगते हैं उस से परहेज़ होगा। कोई फ़ौज़ आज तक नहीं लड़ी जो आपस में बहस करे। सब का निज़ाम एक हो। एक क्रीड के अनुयायी हों। एक तरफ़ आप हो एक तरफ़ सूत्र को देखें ॥

एक सूत्र में सिख अकाली जो पंजाब में सत्याग्रह कर रहे हैं। याद रखिये कि इस वक्त पूरी सिख क़ौम गवर्नमेण्ट के खिलाफ़ करती हैं। उन्होंने ने सोच लिया है झगडा करेंगे सत्याग्रह करेंगे। इस मुल्क के हर हिस्से में अकाली सत्याग्रह कर रहे हैं-क्या वजह है कि यह क़ौम देखने में तादाद में कम हैं अंग्रेजी सरकार का मुक़ाबिल कर सकती है उन में कोई बहादुरी ज्यादा नहीं है, कुर्बानी ज्यादा नहीं है। बहुत हिन्दू मुसलमान मिलेंगे जो बेसी कुर्बानी कर सकते हैं-लेकिन ट्रेनिङ नहीं है जो हिन्दू मुसलमानों में होनी चाहिये उनका निज़ाम दुस्त है, हमारा नहीं है ॥

तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि हज़रात! आप इसको मंज़ूर कीजिये जाकर अपने २ सूत्रों में फ़ौज़ तैयार कीजिये; जो लडसके, मुसीबतों का मुक़ाबिला कर सकें, मुल्क की सेवा करे, नानवाइलेन्स के साथ सेवा करे ॥

इस के बाद ॥

पूर्ण स्वाधीनता का प्रस्ताव उपस्थित करते हुए श्री राम प्रसाद मिश्र जी ने कहा :—

सभापति महोदय, वहिनों, और प्रतिनिधि भाइयों !

जिस प्रस्ताव की नोटिस मैं ने सब्जक्ट्स कमेटी में सभापति जी को दी थी वह काँग्रेस की क्रीड के सम्बन्ध में है। काँग्रेस की क्रीड अब तक जो कुछ है वह यह है “क्रीड” अर्थात् हिन्दुस्तान की नेशनल काँग्रेस की मकसद स्वराज्य का हासिल करना है हिन्दुस्तान के लिये हर एक मुनासिब और अमन के ज़रिये से। जो तवदील मैं उस में करना चाहता हूँ वह इस शब्द से आप को प्रगट हो जायगी— इस की तरमीम यह है “तरमीम” इस का मानी यह है और मैं जिस तरह से क्रीड में बदली करना चाहता हूँ उस में स्वराज्य के मानी सुबहम न रख कर बाहर का सम्बन्ध नहीं होना चाहिये ऐसा साफ़ कर देना चाहिये ॥

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मैं आप को यह बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसे कौन कौन से कारण हैं जिन से अब इस क्रीड में बदलने की ज़रूरत है। आप भाई कानस्टिट्यूशन के इतिहास को जनाते हैं मैं भी संक्षिप्त रूप से बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि क्रीड को, मकसद को उद्देश को जबतक साफ़ नहीं करते तो वह शुद्ध अवस्था उपस्थित नहीं होती, जो अवस्था आज है नहीं होती। १९२० की विशेष अधिवेशन तक काँग्रेस की क्रीड दूसरे २ उपनिवेशों की तरह हिन्दुस्तान को अधिकार दिलाना था—लेकिन पंजाब और ख़िलाफ़त के अत्याचार के कारण आप को नागपूर में अपनी क्रीड बदलने की ज़रूरत हुई। नागपूर में साफ़ साफ़ कह दिया गया कि हिन्दुस्तान अपना अपमान सहने से अब किसी तरह संतुष्ट नहीं है। इस लिये उस वक्त यह काँग्रेस की क्रीड कह दी गई है कि स्वराज्य हासिल करना है। अब सवाल यह है मेरे भाइयों! नागपूर की काँग्रेस में जैसे काँग्रेस क्रीड के बदलने की ज़रूरत हुई थी और स्वराज्य लिखा गया कुछ बड़े बड़े नेता और लोग जब शक़ कर रहे थे और कहते थे कि स्वराज्य से मतलब साफ़ साफ़ क्या है यह मालुम हो जाना चाहिये— उस समय हमारे स्वराज्य कर्मचारी कर्मवीर महात्मा गान्धी ने कहा था कि स्वराज्य से मतलब बाहर और भीतर दोनों से है और यह तर्जें अमल पर मुनहसर है— अगर अंग्रेजी सरकार का बर्ताव अगले साल अच्छा है और हिन्दुस्तानी साम्राज्य के अन्दर रहना पसंद करते हैं तो बडी खुशी से रहेंगे लेकिन अगर अंग्रेजी सरकार का व्यवहार कुछ ऐसा हुआ कि अंग्रेजी साम्राज्य में हिन्दुस्तानियों को संतोष नहीं है तो वह इस क्रीड के स्वराज्य का अर्थ पूरी पूरी आज़ादी समझ लेंगे ॥

मेरे भाइयों ! नागपुर को हुए ३ वर्ष हुआ। अगले काँग्रेस के अधिवेशन में— अहमदाबाद की काँग्रेस में १ वर्ष का प्रोग्राम पूरा हुआ जिस से स्वराज्य दिलाने की आशा प्रकट की गई थी—उस समय अहमदाबाद के पिण्डाल से देशभक्त कर्मवीर नेता मौलाना हसरत मोहानी ने पेश किया कि उस वक्त साफ़ साफ़ पास कर देना चाहिये कि स्वराज्य का मतलब सभी सुभीते के उपायोंसे पूरी आज़ादी हासिल करना है। यह ठीक है कि उस समय महात्मा गान्धी जी ने इसको पसंद नहीं किया और शायद उनकी परसनैलिटी का यह असर था कि लोगों में इससे पूरी सहानुभूति होने पर भी बहुत कम इसपर गौर हुआ। लेकिन यह भी भेद महोनज़र रखना है कि जिस समय महात्मा गान्धी ने स्वराज्य को सुबहम लफ़्ज़ में रहने दिया उस समय कनस्ट्रक्टिव प्रोग्राम का ज़ोर था। चारों तरफ़ से समझौते के प्रस्ताव आ रहे थे—देश भर सत्याग्रह के लिये तैयार था—बरडौली के पहले जवान

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जिन्हे देख रहे थे कि गवर्नमेण्ट का अत्याचार हो तो उसका बदला लेने केलिये तैयार हैं—लेकिन अहमदाबाद से अब खास तरह की सिथिलता है ॥

आप को मालुम है कि काँग्रेस के जितने अधिवेशन हुए गया और दिल्ली काँग्रेस में बार बार प्रतिनिधियों ने जोर दिया कि यह तहरीक पास किया जाय और स्वराज्य के भाव को साफ़ साफ़ ज़ाहिर कर दिया जाय । और यह क्रीड का प्रस्ताव तब से आज तक बराबर फ़ेल होता है और यह प्रस्ताव फिर से आप के सामने पेश है । मेरे भाइयो ! उसको आप ज़रूर पास कीजिये क्यों कि दिल्ली काँग्रेस ने यह पास कर दिया कि क्रीड में संशोधन हो । आप जानते हैं कि १९-२१ संशोधन मंजूर किये गये हैं । मैं इससे चाहता हूँ कि जब इस समय कानस्टिट्यूशन में संशोधन हो रहा है तो यह साफ़ साफ़ प्रकट कर दिया जाय कि स्वराज्य का मतलब इस समय कामिल आज़ादी से है । एक बात और है इस सम्बन्ध में जो कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिस वक्त दिल्ली की काँग्रेस ने क्रीड को दुरुस्त करना मंजूर किया उस वक्त यही बात प्राविन्शल कान्फ़ेरेन्सों में आयी । यू-पी-की काँग्रेस जो ५ हज़ार आदमियों की सभा है उस में बनारस के अधिवेशन में यह कहा गया है कि काँग्रेस अपने क्रीड को बदले और स्वराज्य से मतलब पूरी स्वाधीनता जाहिर कर देना चाहिये ॥

मेरे भाइयों ! एक बात और है जो इस के सम्बन्ध में याद रखना चाहिये । अहमदाबाद में मौलाना हसरत मोहानी चाहते थे कामिल आज़ादी और हर एक मुमकिन ज़रिये से । जो तरमीम में करने जा रहा हूँ वह यह है कि उस तरमीम के ज़रिये से आप अपना ध्येय उद्देश पूरी स्वाधीनता ज़ाहिर करते हैं और इसके साथ उन सब पुर अमन ज़रियों से जो महात्मा गान्धी ने आपके सामने रक्खा है ॥

उस हालत में यह सोचने की ज़रूरत है कि स्वराज्य से ऐसे कौनसा मतलब हो सकता है कि जो ३० करोड़ आदमियों को संतीष दे सके । मैं कुछ पोलिटिक्स के ज़रिये से इस पर बहस करना चाहता हूँ हिन्दुस्थान अंग्रेजों के मातहद में है । यह सही है और कुछ डोमीनियन्स हिन्दुस्तान की नज़र में ऐसे हैं जो अंग्रेजी साम्राज्य के भीतर अपना डोमीनियन में उतनी कमी है कि वह अपनी अपनी रक्षा भीतर और बाहर नहीं कर सकते-उनमें उतनी शक्ति नहीं है । लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान ३० करोड़ लोगोंका देश है । अगर ३० करोड़ आदमी आज़ादी के रंग में रंग जाय तो अपने मुल्क को भीतरी और बाहरी हमलों से बचा सकते हैं—हिन्दुस्तान में बहादुर हैं, हिन्दुस्तान की ज़मीन इतनी ज़रखेज़ है हिन्दुस्थान में पहाड़ नदी हैं—हिन्दुस्थान प्रकृति का ऐसा घर है कि कभी किसी का मुहताज नहीं हो सकता । ऐसी हालत में यह सोचना है कि आप कौन सा स्वराज्य आपने सामने रख सकते हैं जिस मुल्क में जीवन संचार करे मेरा ध्येय यह है कि ऐसा स्वराज्य स्थापित हो, ऐसी स्वाधीनता हो ॥

नागपुर में एक वर्ष का प्रोग्राम रक्खा था देश ने महात्मा गान्धी की आज्ञा मानी, मुल्क केलिये १ करोड़ रुपया, स्वयंसेवक दिया । आज जितनी सिथिलता मुल्क के सामने है उसका कारण यह है मेरे भाइयों ! कि आप एक बहुत कम तूल आदर्श स्वराज्य का मुल्क के सामने रखते हैं । अगर मुल्क के सामने आप साफ़ साफ़ ज़ाहिर कर दें कि स्वराज्य अपना मक़सद रखता है तो फिर से जोश बहना क़ायम हो सकता है । मुल्क के वकील युवक सभी अपने अपने व्यक्तिगत कामों को छोड़कर देश केलिये अपना क़दम आगे बढ़ा सकते हैं ॥

लोग इस समय जब प्रस्ताव पेश है महात्मा गान्धी का नाम लेकर इसका विरोध करते हैं। मैं उनको होशियार करता हूँ कि उस का हक़ नहीं है कि नाम की दुहाई दें जिन्होंने काँग्रेसियों के खिलाफ़ होते हुए नये चुनाव के ख्याल से अपने मुल्क के सामने रक्खा है वे यह भी कहते हैं कि धर्म और आत्मा के खिलाफ़ नहीं है। कुछ रिस्पानसिब को आपरेशन को ले लेना चाहते हैं कुछ नान को आपरेशन की राय लेना चाहते हैं। कुछ नेताओं ने प्राविन्शल अटानमी पर गवर्नर से बात चीत की है सब से आखीर में मैं यह बात जाहिर करना चाहता हूँ कि डोमीनियन स्टेट्स जिस केलिये बहुत लोग ललाइत हैं कोई चीज नहीं है—इस केलिये हम को उतनी ही कोशिश करनी पड़ेगी जितनी अपने जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार केलिये। केनिका जैसा प्रश्न हमारे सामने है जिससे बाहर रहना ना मुमकिन हो रहा है। यह प्रश्न बिना कामिल आज़ादी के नहीं हल होगा। अगर पूर्ण स्वधीनता होगी तो यह डिप्रेशन ख़तम होगा। अगर जानते हैं कि हमारे भाई बाहर हैं उनकी भी दशा सुधारीजाय तो इस प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार कीजिये ॥

इस के पश्चात ॥

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कामिल आज़ादी के तज़वीज़ को ताईद करते हुए श्री मौलाना अज़ाद सभानी ने कहा :—

जनाब सदर, और डेलीगेट भाइयो और बहिनों !

मैं इसलिये हाज़िर हुआ हूँ कि कम्प्लीट इन्डिपेन्डेन्स की जो तज़वीज़ रामप्रसाद मिश्र साहब ने पेश की है उस की ताईद करूँ। मुझे इस तज़वीज़ के पेश करते वक्त खास तीन किस्म की खुशी है। पहली खुशी यह है कि यह तज़वीज़ ऐसे शख्स की सदरत में पेश हो रही है जो आज़ादी का शायद सब से बड़ा अशिक़ है यानी मौलाना महम्मद अली से ज्यादा किस शख्स के दिल में आज़ादी का इश्क़ हो सकता है। लेकिन आप को उन की तरफ़ से इन्कार की खबरें जो पहुंची हैं उन का सिर्फ़ एक सबब अब तक उन्होंने ने बयान किया है। वह कहते हैं कि मुल्क तैयार नहीं है—गोया मौलाना की दलील अर्सा तक यह है कि वह काँग्रेस के यकीदे को बदलना नहीं चाहते इसलिये कि मुल्क की तैयारी में देर है ॥

*Moulana
Azad Sobhani.*

बात काट कर सभापति ने कहा — मैं समझता हूँ कि प्रेसिडेन्ट का हक़ है कि परसनल मामले पर खडा हो सकता है मैं यह नहीं कहा कि यही कारण है। गवर्नमेंट को १ साल और दिया जाता है—उस एक साल में गवर्नमेंट अपने रवैये को जाहिर करे। अगर गवर्नमेंट का रवैया नहीं बदला तो मैं झण्डा लेकर खडा हो जाऊंगा (जय २ की ध्वनि) ख्याल की बात कही गयी है—मैं ने यह भी नहीं कहा है—मेरा थकीदा वही है जो महात्मा गान्धी का है (ब्रिटिश एम्पायर के अन्दर अगर मुमकिन हो बाहर जाकर अगर ज़रूरत हो) १ साल के अन्दर फ़ैसला कर देंगे। सुभानी साहब ने कहा—मेरे दोस्तों! मैं अपना खुशी का वापस लेता हूँ। मैं समझता था कि मौलाना महम्मद अली वाकई सारे मुल्क की ना तैयारी की बाइस उस मक़सद से गुरेज़ फ़रमा रहे थे। लेकिन आज की तज़वीज़ से जाहिर हो रहा है कि वह गवर्नमेंट को बहुत सा फ़ज़ूल मौक़ा देने को तैयार है—मैं अपनी खुशी को वापस लेता हूँ ॥

दूसरी खुशी यह है कि मैं उस शख्स की ताईद करता हूँ कि जो आज इस की वज़ह से २ वर्ष से गोया कामिल आज़ादी को पूरा कर रहा है और यह बतला रहा है कि हर एक

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हिन्दुस्तानी को आज़ादी केलिये कामिल कोशिश करनी चाहिये और हिन्दुस्तान के अथूरे मक़सद को दूर कर देना चाहिये। और तीसरी खुशी यह है कि महात्मा गान्धी जिन्होंने ने स्वराज्य का लफ़्ज़ मुबहम रखकर उस गवर्नमेण्ट को मौक़ा दिया था कि वह ठीक रास्ते पर आवें। इम्पायर के अन्दर सही हक़ूक़ देदें, लेकिन मेरे दोस्तों! उनकी बावजूद इस रिआयत के गवर्नमेण्ट ने जुल्म किया उस सुल्ह के अवतार को अमन के शहज़ादे को जेल में ६ वर्ष केलिये बन्द करके हिन्दुस्तान पर मुसीबत नेआज़ का आलम ज़ाहिर कर दिया। और हिन्दुस्तान को यह सोच ने का मौक़ा दिया कि लोग इस बात को सोचें, ख्याल करें कि पूरी आज़ादी का ख्याल करना चाहिये या अथूरी आज़ादी की भँवर में घूमते रहना चाहिये। मुझे खुशी है कि जुल्म महात्मा गान्धी पर हुआ बावजूद उनके एतदाल के। उस का सही बदला यह तज़वीज़ आप के सामने पेश करता हूँ कि महात्मा गान्धी जी ने अपनी नेक दिली से जो मुरब्बत अंग्रेजों के साथ दिखाई और ब्रिटिश के साथ रहने पर राज़ी थे फिर भी अंग्रेज जो जुल्म यरवाडा जेल में उन पर कर रहे हैं उसे हम बरदाश्त कर सकते? और एक क़दम आगे बढ़कर उनकी रहनुमाई की माँग को पूरा करते हुए महात्मा गान्धी पर होते हुए जुल्म को पूरा नहीं कर सकते, और उनकी दिली मन्शा और बुज़्ज की हालत को ख्याल करके फ़र्ज़ को पूरा करके हम ने एक क़दम आगे बढ़ा दिया। यरवाडा जेल में यह खुश ख़बरी भेज दें कि आप हमारी रहनुमाई उसी तरह बंद होकर करते हैं ॥

मेरे दोस्तो! मुझे ये तीन खुशियें हैं इस तज़वीज़ को पेश करने में—मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि आप सब लोग इस खुशी में शरीक होंगे और इस कोकोनाडा से खाली हाथ घर न जायेंगे जिस के लिये इतने दिनों से शिकार और जिस के शोले के परवान हो रहे हैं। मैं आप के सामने खास चुने हुए बहस के साथ उस को पेश करता हूँ लोग कहते हैं कि स्वराज्य के लफ़्ज़ पर किसी को एतराज़ नहीं हो सकता न कोई इस को निकाल सकता है क्योंकि यह लफ़्ज़ कमप्लीट इन्डिपेन्डेन्स और मुबहम है। और इस तज़वीज़ को पेश करने में काँग्रेस के वसीय हलके को तंग कर देते हैं, लोग कहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान तैयार नहीं है इस वास्ते इस तज़वीज़ को पेश करके हिन्दुस्तान के कम जोर कन्धों पर पहाड से ज्यादा वजनी बोझ रखते हैं और परेशान करते हैं। लोग कहते हैं कि इस मक़सद को क़बूल करके आप उन ग़रीब मुतालबों को निकाल देते हैं ब्रिटिश एम्पायर के मातहदों को निकाल देते हैं। मेरे दोस्तों! इस क़िस्म की बहस सारी जगह से सुन लीजिये आरही है। मैं आप को यकीन दिलाता हूँ कि मेरे तो कभी दलीलों से बारीक़ से बारीक़ ख़त क़ुलब पर नहीं पडा। मैं आप के सामने एक एक पहलू लेकर दिखलाता हूँ कि उन में नक़ली सफ़ाई है या कोई पान्तिक़। आप सब से पहले यह लीजिये कि स्वराज्य का लफ़्ज़ दो मानी है—आज़ादी भी है—और आज़ादी के अलावे और चीज़ भी तो कोई स्वराज्य के क़सदी लफ़्ज़ को लेकर बडा वनें और दूसरे को निकाल दे ॥

मेरे दो ज़बाब हैं और तसकीन बल्श है—अगर काँग्रेस को गुलामी की दीवार को तोडने केलिये गोली बनानी है जिस में आप साफ़ रास्ता मुकरर नहीं करना चाहते तो मेरे दोस्तो! क्यों कलकत्ते में ख़ास गलती की कि काँग्रेस का एक मुहीत करके बडे २ मुहब्बताने वतन को देश के भर्तों को उस में नान-को आपरेशन के नाम को लगाकर निकाल दिया? भाइयों! तभी से यह मुख़ालिफ़त फैली वरना इस से पहिले को-आपरेटर और नान-को आपरेटर दोनों इस पेंडाल में बैठा करते थे। मेरे दोस्तों! कलकत्ते में यह ना समझी क्यों की गई? इसलिये कि यह आप के खुशी के ख़िलाफ़ थी? मेरे दोस्तों! अगर नान-को आपरेशन का वर्क लेकर काँग्रेस को दिलेर करते हैं तो मक़सद तो ऊँचा रखते हैं कि उसको सुन करके काँग्रेस के हलके को तंग से

तंग बनाते हैं मगर काँग्रेस को एक बड़ी चीज़ की फेर ले जाने को तैयार तो हैं। जो जवाब आप एतराज़ का देंगे वह अलफ़ाज़ पर होगा। मेरा जवाब यह है कि अलफ़ाज़ को आपरेशन को नान को आपरेशन से बदला गया है—वज़ह यह हुई कि ज़रूरत थी कि बहुत से बात कर ने वाले भाइयों को छोड़ कर थोड़े से कुर्बानी करने वाले चुने जाय। जो मुस्तेद हों कुर्बानी करने केलिये। जो काम करने वालों केलिये एक ज़रूरी चीज़ है। आप कहेंगे उस से चारों ओर मुखालिफ़त होगी मैं निहायत बड़ा जवाब उस पर दूँगा।

बदल ने से हल्का तंग होता है काँग्रेस का—और बहुत से लोग निकल जाते हैं। लेकिन इसका फ़ैसला तो इस से होगा कि बड़े बड़े लोग थोड़े में से बहुत कुर्बानी करने वाले सामन्त निकलेंगे। और फिर एक उम्दा रास्ता मुज़रर आप कीजियेगा। और फिर वह हिन्दुस्तान पर कुर्बानी करके तमाग थोड़े को खींच सकेंगे—और आखीर में सारे हिन्दुस्तान को खींच लेंगे। क्या कोई को आपरेटर को यह कहने की ताक़त है कि हिन्दुस्तान आज इस रास्ते पर चला आ रहा है। डेलीगेट फिरके की क़ौदी नहीं हैं मगर किस किस फिरके के लोग इस में नहीं हैं तमाम लोग निहायत मुहब्वत से शामिल हैं और कोई मज़बूरी से नहीं आता, नसही, लेकिन मेरे दोस्तों! काँग्रेस के उमूल से हर शख्स आज़ाद है॥

आप यकीन कीजिये कामिल आज़ादी करदेंगे तो इस से ज्यादा नतीज़ा होगा जितना स्वराज्य को मुवहम रखने से हुआ है। इस लिये यह अलफ़ाज़ ठीक नहीं है इसको बदलिये दूसरी यह बात और माकूल जवाब है। जिस क़दर मक़सद ऊँचा होता है और हल्का तंग होता है उसी क़दर हल्का फ़ैल जाता है। यही सबब नान को आपरेशन में हुआ—काँग्रेस का हल्का तो तंग था लेकिन लफ़ज़ में कुशादा था गो इवारत में तंग था। क्या ख़बर थी किसीको, क्या ख़बर थी आलम को, क्या ख़बर थी हिन्दू मुसलमानों को, सिख को, क़ौम क़ौम को, फिरके फिरके को कामयाबी का पैगाम था। को आपरेशन का हल्का आलम में तंग था हक़ पुरशी में तंग था। यह सही है कि जितना लफ़ज़ में तंग होगा, ख़याल में ऊँचा होगा उतना हक़ पुरशी में बड़ा होगा। इसलिये मेरे दोस्तों! मक़सद चाहे जितना ऊँचा हो उसको क़बूल करना चाहिये। काँग्रेस का हल्का ऐसा करने से आप ही बड़ेगा॥

मेरे दोस्तों! कहा जाता है कि स्वराज्य की तशरीह कर दी जायगी तो नतीज़ा यह होगा कि इसके बाद काँग्रेस आगे बढ़ने से रुक जायगी और ख़तरा ज्यादा आयगा। ऐ मेरे दोस्तो! ख़तरा ज्यादा आये या कम लक्ष्य को बुलंद करो। फिर कहा जाता है कि स्वराज्य में आज़ादी शामिल है फिर क्या वज़ह है कि इसकी ताईद करें अगर स्वराज्य में शामिल है तो क्यों इसको शामिल करने में हिचकते हैं। अगर आप स्वराज्य को ऊँची चीज़ समझते हैं तो इस छोटी चीज़ को ज़रूर क़बूल कर लेना चाहिये। एक लायक दोस्त ने कहा था कि ऐसा करने से स्वराज्य को बहुत बुलंद कर देंगे। मेरे दोस्तों, अगर यह दलील ठीक है तो सवाल यह है कि आपको नीची चीज़ क़बूल करने में क्या तरद्दुद है। अलावा इसके अगर मन्तक़ी तरीके पर कहें तो यह लगता है—अगर स्वराज्य आज़ादी से बड़ी चीज़ है तो प्राविन्शल अटानमी से लेकर डोमीनियन स्टेटस तक बराबर उस केलिये बोला जा रहा है और स्वराज्य का इस्तेमाल यहाँ मुख्तलिफ़ लफ़ज़ों की तरह हो रहा है, कोई वाक़ई मतलब नहीं होता॥

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वाकई बात यह है कि स्वराज्य ऊँची चीज़ हो सकती है मगर यह मानी उस वक्त है जब वह आज़ादी के बाद आने वाली चीज़ हो। अगर स्वराज्य के मानी यह नहीं है कि वह दुनिया की आज़ादी है डोमिनियन स्टेट्स है तो वह मेरे दोस्तो ! आज़ादी के बाद की चीज़ है। अगर वह आज़ादी के बाद की चीज़ होती तो हरगिज़ हिन्दुस्तान के दिमाग में यह ख्याल न होता कि आज़ादी को इसके सरीह कर दें। लेकिन बद्रकिष्मती से स्वराज्य का लफज़ रक्खा गया उस ख्याल से कि दोनों मानी होंगे। जब दोनों स्वराज्य के मानी होगये तो जो इसके छोटे मानी को नहीं मानते उनका ख्याल हुआ कि उस लफज़ को साफ़ करदी जाय ॥

कभी कभी कहा जाता है कि काम की जरूरत है लफज़ पर बहस करने से क्या फायदा अगर यह ठीक है लफज़ का काम पर कोई असर नहीं पड़ता तो क्या वजह थी कि काँग्रेस के पुराने यकींदे को बदल कर यह नान-कोआपेरेशन का लफज़ रक्खा गया। अगर वाकई लफज़ और काम में ताल्लुक नहीं है तो लफज़ के झगडे को छोड कर सब लोग मिल कर मैदान अमल में आगे बढ़िये उस के अलावे लफज़ और काम में एक फ़िल्हा सफ़ान ताल्लुक है। एतकाद और अमल में एक बड़ी निस्वत है। यह नहीं हो सकता कि बग़ैर बुलन्द ख्याल के आप को अमल में बुलन्दी आयें आप की तवीयत में बुलन्दी आ सकती थी जब तक कि तमाम मामलाये दीन उस में न पास किये जाते; मैं एक मिसाल रखता हूँ जो मौलाना महम्मद अली को दिल चस्प मालुम होगी—महम्मद ने इज़हार दिया दुनिया में भेजे जाने का—अगर उस के वुत परस्ती में फँसी हुई कौम इस बुलन्द ख्याल को सुनती तो किसी क़दर अपनी गिरी हालत से उठ जाती। ठीक इसी तरह मैं आप से कहूँगा कि जो रहनुमाई की तहरीक हैं आप का फ़र्ज़ है कि उसे अमली प्रोग्राम कर दीजिये—ख्याल में जो बुलन्दी है उसे अमल में लाइये। इस से बड़ी कामयाबी हो सकती है ॥

मेरे दोस्तो ! मुवाहिसा बहुत हो चुका है और बहुत सी बातें रक्खी जा सकती थी मगर सदर की तवीयत है कि मैं मुख्तसर में अपने ख्याल का इज़हार करूँ। मैं आप से अर्ज कर चुका हूँ अब सिर्फ़ यह कहूँगा कि आप समझ कर अपनी राय देंगे। उसूल और एतकाद से अपनी राय देंगे परसनेलटीज आयेंगी, शख़िआयतें आयेंगी मगर आप अपने कान्शन्स पर हाथ रख कर दिल पर हाथ रख कर खुदा को ख्याल करके तमाम तक्करीरों और तज़वीज़ों का जो आज तक ३ वर्ष में हुई हैं ख्याल करके आप इस तज़वीज़ के माफ़िक राय देंगे, और ऐसा करेंगे कि कोकोनाडा के जलसे और मौलाना महम्मद अली को फ़ख़ हो इस के पास होने में ॥

इस के बाद ॥

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प्रस्ताव के पक्ष में श्री पण्डित गौरी शंकर मिश्र ने कहा :—

जनाव सदर, बहिनों और भाइयों !

*Pundit
Gourisankara
Misra.*

आज इस नेशनल काँग्रेस में हिन्दुस्तान की क़ौमी पंचायत में मुझे यह सुनकर बड़ा तअज्जुब होता है कि आज दुनिया के पर्दे पर कोई मुल्क है कोई देश है तो वह हिन्दुस्तान है जिस की कौमी पंचायत में भी आज़ादी मुकम्मल आज़ादी के खिलाफ़ नवजवानों और बुदों की आवाज़ उठती है। (शोक २ की मन्द ध्वनि) कुछ तो नवजवानों को हौसला होता कि हमारे नेता ऊँचा ऊँचा आदर्श रखते। लेकिन यहाँ एक प्रस्ताव पेश होता है कि काँग्रेस का आदर्श स्वराज्य है मगर उसका मानी मुकम्मल आज़ादी है। हमारे एक आन्त्र भाई काँग्रेस के जनरल सेक्रेटरी ने जोर से

कहा है कि विलकुल इन्डिपेन्डेन्स एक छोटी चीज़ है। उसलिये मुकम्मल आज़ादी को रहने दो जो पहले से लिखा है उसी में सब चीज़ें शामिल हैं। इसके बाद क्या कहा गया? हमारे एक नवजवान भाई, लडाई से थके भँदे नवजवान ने भी इसका विरोध किया है—खैर हिन्दुस्तान है—हिन्दुस्तान में गुलाबी का स्वभाव ब्यादा है और यहाँ के नवजवान और बुढ़ों के मुँह से आज़ादी के खिलाफ़ ज़बान निकलती है तो ताज्जुब नहीं है ॥

*Independence
Resolution.*

*Pundit
Gourisankar
Misra.*

भाइयो! आप यहाँ एक ऐसे जलसे में इकट्ठे हैं और इसके बाद एक ऐसी बात रखते हैं कि ३ वर्ष के लडाई के बाद अब आप यह चाहते हैं कि अंग्रेजी एम्पायर के अन्दर रहना है या यह कहना चाहते हैं कि आज़ाद रहेंगे किसी के अन्दर नहीं। भाइयो! यह कहा जाता है कि हमारे बहुत से भाई आप मुकम्मल आज़ादी मक़सद रखते हैं तो काँग्रेस को छोड़ देंगे ॥ भाइयो! छोड़नेका डर क्या है—आज काँग्रेस को बनाया गया है करोड़ों आदमी छोड़ने पड़े हैं। जिनको काँग्रेस से मुहब्बत है वह आज़ादी की दुंदुभी मुल्क में बजायेंगे वे बढ़ते हुए आप का साथ देंगे और ऊँची से ऊँची क़ुर्वानी करके साथ देंगे ॥

आज तो विठ्ठलभाई पटेल और उनके भाई बल्लभ भाई पटेल साहब यह समझते हैं कि काँग्रेस से ऐसा फैसला करना बहुत बुरा है। ठीक है, गुलामों का नेता है (हाशय ध्वनी) उनके मुँह से उससे बढ़कर और क्या निकलेगा? आज़ादी का ध्येय रखना क्या हँसी की बात है? हँसी की बात यह है कुछ नवजवान आज़ादी का ध्येय बनाये बजाय इस के यह कहते हैं कि यह क्राबिल शर्म बात है। आप का यह एलान दूसरों के कान पर सुनाई देगा और इस में शक नहीं, कोई शुबहा नहीं कि जिस मुल्क के नेता आज़ादी दिलाने को बुरा समझते हैं वह बहुत ही पीछे है। इस में शक नहीं है कि आप भाई हमारे बुजुर्ग का साथ देसकते हैं और आप इसके खिलाफ़ राय दें लेकिन ख्याल रखिये उस समय हम पस्त हिम्यत नहीं होंगे—यह समझेंगे कि हिन्दुस्तान में गुलामी इतनी फैल गई है और यह समझ कर अपनी बद किस्मती पर रोऊंगा ॥

भाइयों! कहा जाता है कि यह इम्पैक्टिक्वुल है—इस का अमल नहीं किया जा सकता। ठीक है दुनिया में हर एक मुल्क ऊँचे से ऊँचे मक़सद रखता है—इस में शुबहा नहीं है कि वह अमल उसके बल को लायक़ न हो फिर भी ऊँचा रखता है ॥ भाइयो! आज यह ठीक है, हमारे काँग्रेस का ध्येय स्वराज्य है लेकिन इस से एक संदेह का परदा ऐसा रक्खा गया है कि विठ्ठल भाई कहते हैं कि अंग्रेजों से ताज़ुक़ रखना है—कुछ लोग समझते हैं कि डोमिनियन बहुत है। नये विचार के लोगों को प्राविन्शल अटानमी मालुम हो रहा है (हाशय ध्वनि) आप का २० सदी में १९२४ में भी आप की काँग्रेस का ध्येय ऐसा मामूली और संदेह से ढका होगा। आप का ध्येय होना चाहिये आज़ादी ॥

यह जो कहा जाता है कि कुछ लोग निकल जायेंगे। भाई! मुकम्मल आज़ादी में भी डोमिनियन और प्राविन्शल एटानमी शामिल है! इस में लिबरल और माडरेट को भी मौक़ा है। लेकिन साथ ध्येय ऊँचा होने से कोई लज्जा की बात नहीं है—ध्येय ऊँचा होना चाहिये। मैं आप को और कुछ कहना नहीं चाहता। आप सोच समझ कर राय दें—अगर आप समझते हैं कि स्वराज्य अच्छा लफ़्ज़ है, स्वराज्य वहाँ रक्खा हुआ है—फिर भी उसको साफ़ करदेना चाहिये, कामिल आज़ादी में वह भी आ जाता है। आप इसको समझकर मुनासिब ओढ़ दें ॥

इस के बाद ॥

श्रीमति सरोजनी देवी ने तजवीज़ के खिलाफ़ में कहा :—

भाइयों !

*Independence
Resolution.*
*Sreemati
Sarojini Devi.*

जब मैं सुनती हूँ कि गुलामों के मुँह से आज़ादी का लफ़्ज़ निकलता है मैं समझती हूँ कि दिलशिकनी का मसला है जो शक्स समझता होगा कि आज़ादी, मुकद्दम आज़ादी सब से बड़ी चीज़ है वह सियासी तरबियत को मुकम्मल तौर पर नहीं जानता। सब से बड़ी चीज़ दुनिया में आज़ादी के अंजाम के लिये इन्तानी इन्ट्रीज हैं गुलामी को खानेवाली चीज़ एनमिटी (Enimity) है। क्या आप लोग आज़ादी मुकम्मल आज़ादी सियासी आज़ादी को पुकार २ करके अपने कौमी फ़ुर्ज को खतम करते हैं ? क्या आप को शर्म नहीं होती कि इस काँग्रेस में छोटे मामले पर लड़ते हैं आज़ादी का नाम लेते हैं मगर उस के लिये एत्काद चाहिये। पहले कौमी एत्काद पैदा कीजिये। पहले बुनियाद को मजबूत बनाइये फिर आज़ादी का नाम लीजिये फिर स्वराज्य, आजादी के मुश्तहक होंगे ॥

इस के बाद ॥

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तजवीज़ के ताईद में श्री राम नारायन सिंह ने कहा :—

श्रीमान सभापति महाशय ; प्यारी बहिनों तथा प्यारे भाइयों !

*Sjt.
Ram Narayan
Singh.*

जितने प्रस्ताव आप के पास आये हैं (घोर कोलाहल झोजर बहुत व्याख्यान होचुके आदि ध्वनि) सभापति विषय की गंभीरता बताकर कोलाहल शान्त किया—जितने आयेंगे सब से भारी महत्व का यह प्रस्ताव है। प्यारे भाइयो! आज ३८ वर्ष से काँग्रेस हो रही है लेकिन अब तक स्वराज्य नहीं हुआ इस का कारण क्या है ? इस का कारण यह है कि उद्देश ध्येय अब तक ठीक नहीं किया गया है कि क्या होना चाहिये। आप लोग हर साल इतना खर्च करके इतनी दूर आये हैं नहीं जानते कि क्या करना होगा ॥

प्यारे भाइयो ! साथ २ याद रखना चाहिये कि जितने दिनों से आप लोग उतनी तकलीफ़ झेल रहे हैं उस का उद्देश आप नहीं समझते हैं। उस वास्ते प्यारे भाइयो ! जो आप के सामने प्रस्ताव रक्खा गया है उसका केवल साफ़ साफ़ मानी बतलाने को रक्खा गया है। इसका मतलब यह है कि स्वराज्य के बदले में कामिल आज़ादी रक्खा गया है और कुछ नहीं है। आप को याद रखना चाहिये कि कम्प्रीट इण्डिपेण्डेन्स के मानी क्या है इसके मानी यह है कि जलियानवाले बाग की करनी करनेवाले डायर से अलग रहना है। हमारा पूछना यह है कि आप को पंजाब में अत्याचार करनेवाले अंग्रेजों से अलग रहना है या उनके साथ ॥

भाइयो ! इस में सोचने की कोई बात नहीं है। मैं आपसे सिर्फ़ यह कहूँगा कि आप किसी के कहने से ओट न दें। अपने दिलसे पूछ कर ईश्वर के साक्षात होकर ओट देंगे। यहाँ महात्मा गान्धी का नाम लिया जाता है—लेकिन आप को मालुम होगा कि बोयर वार में अंग्रेजों को लिये महात्मा गान्धी सिपाही भरती करते थे। इस लडाई में भी करते थे और उन्हीं ने असहयोग भी उपस्थित किया। इसी तरह आप को याद रखना चाहिये कि महात्मा गान्धी यहाँ होते तो ज़रूर इस इण्डिपेण्डेन्स के प्रस्ताव को मानते। क्रिनिया के तहरीक के बाद ज़रूर कामिल आज़ादी कहनी है ॥

जिस प्रकार की मैं ने आप के सामने रखी थी वन का एक संशोधन आप के सामने आया है। (पुनःपुनः) मेरे दोस्तों! मुवालिफत की है जिस का जवाब मेरे दोस्तों के दे दिया है। मैं एक बात करता हूँ कि मेरे बड़े भाई ने अशील की है उन्होंने ने कर्तव्य के नाम पर आप से अशील की है कि अगर मुक नैयार हो तो अपना सर्वस्व अर्पण कर दोगे लेकिन सवाल यह है कि मुक नैयार कैसे हो। देश में मुझे सिधिलता है परदेसी मान्यता ने मुक के सामने पूरा करने के लिये रखी थी, पूरा हो गया है-आप देश के सामने अशील करने जा रहे हैं कि कैपिटल उद्योगों को पूरा करें। अगर आप पूरा अशील अपना उद्योग बनाने लगे तो जो छोटी २ बालों में अपना समय गुप करना चाहती नही समझे वे कल फिर मुक की नैयारी पूरी करें। देश के कोने २ में जाकर एक दूसरे भाई से कहें कि सवाल का उद्देश्य कैपिटल की स्थापना से-और कृपातः करदिया। इसलिये बड़े होकर काम करने के लिये कोशिश करनी चाहिये। आप ऐसा करते हैं-तो आज एक मास में एक बाल बनाने की परिचयन पूरा करें। इसलिये भाइयो! मैं अशील करता हूँ कि चाहे मौलाना शौकत अली ने किसने स्ट्रेचनेली उदार में अपने लयाल की क्यों न रखते हो, लेकिन आप समझ कि देश को "सी, पी" से पूरा उदार किया है। मैं अपने भाई को उदार दूँगा कि अगर आप इस प्रकार की पास करें तो आप पर यह ठीक साबित होगा कि मुक नैयार है। इन्हीं शर्तों से मेरे भाइयो! मैं आप से निवेदन करूँगा कि आप मुक नैयार

Pundit
Rama Prasad
Misra.

भाइयो!

आप को उदार दूँगा श्री राम प्रसाद मिश्र ने कहा :-

क्या कोई बाहर का आदमी आया और देखे कि इनका सरदार बोल में पड़ा है और ये शर्तें करते हैं कि बल्लभ भाव में या एशिय में (देशिय धनि) वह हैसिया-कोई काम करना ही पूरा ताकत लगावो - इतिहासिक राय से सब बहरीक पास करो। इस लड़ाई के लिये वैश्व हो तो इन्हीं अखिरे कल को बंद लेकर मैं चलांगा (देशिय धनि) ॥

Shankar
Montana

उत्तराखण्ड की मौलाना शौकत अली ने कंधी में भाषण किया और अशिय में शर्तें की :-

रामानुज जी की शर्तें हैं कि बाहरीक शक्तों को बल्लभ नहीं है लेकिन मैं आप लोगों से कह दूँगा कि लोग करते हैं कि आप में इतिहास नहीं है। इतिहास नहीं है तो एक शान्त नहीं बैठे क्यों हैं-हम लोग शौके क्यों नहीं गये हैं लोग करते हैं नैयार नहीं है-नैयार है-ऐसे प्रकार की शियोग तो नैयार होजाये। भावान को लेकर दिलसे और इतिहास-गरी आप का बल्लभ हो ॥

Sgt.
Ram Narayan
Singh.
Independence
Resolution.

Independence
Resolution.

—
Fandit
Ramaprasad
Misra.

गई हैं। इस वक्त ऐसे लोगों की ज़रूरत है जो मुल्क को एक मुल्क समझते हैं। इस वक्त देश के प्रतिनिधियों का काम है कि अपने नेताओं को सच्चे रास्ते पर चलावें, देश का संगठन हो जाय। मैं आप से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि आप उन सब का विरोध करके मेरे प्रस्ताव को पास करेंगे ॥

इन ब्यख्यानों के बाद धोर जन गुजार के साथ सभापति जी मंच पर ओझ लेने आये और बोले—अब वक्त हो गया मैं ने कह दिया मेरे वही लफज हैं जो महात्मा गान्धी के हैं। १ साल तक काप करें—स्वराज्य न हों तो बं बाहर हो जाय। अगर एक साल तक तुम ने काम नहीं किया है तो कोई अख्तियार नहीं है अगर काम किया है तो स्वराज्य मिलेगा ॥

साम्राज्य के अन्दर अगर मुमकिन हो बाहर अगर जरूरत हो। एक साल के बाद इस कृ फैसला होगा मुझे खौफ नहीं है बाहर जाने में मुझे शर्म नहीं है अन्दर रहने में। दूसरे की हुकूमत स्वराज्य नहीं है। हुकूमत स्वराज्य है। यहाँ बर्तानिया के साथ कोई लड़कू नहीं हो यह कलकत्ते अहमदाबाद से पेश है—तर्ज अमल पर मुनहसर है ॥

अब अमेन्डमेन्ट सामने पेश है हाथ उठाइये जो पक्ष में हैं माफिकत में हैं अमेन्डमेन्ट के ? जो मुखालिफत में हैं ? अमेण्डमेण्ट लास्ट ॥

अब राम प्रसाद मिश्र का रिजोल्यूशन है। जो माफिकर हैं हाथ उठाइये—जो खिलाफ हैं ? लास्ट ॥ (जय ध्वनि) ॥

सत्रजेक्टस क्रमेटी कल साढ़े ९ बजे सुबह होगी ! इसके साथ तीसरे दिन का कार्य पूरा हुआ ॥



चौथा दिन

अब से आगे तकरीरों का मतलब ही दिया जाता है ॥

श्री राजगोपालाचारी जी के भविष्य असहयोग के प्रस्ताव में संशोधन उपस्थित करते हुए श्रीयुत जगत नारायण लाल जी ने कहा :—

जनाब सभापति जी प्यारी बहिनों और भाइयों !

जो नान को आपरेशन तज़वीज़ कलकत्ता, गया, अहमदाबाद में हुआ था उसको रिअफ़र्म कीजिये । मैं ताईद करता हूँ कि लफ़्ज़ दिल्ली और नान को आपरेशन को इस तज़वीज़ से निकाल दिया जा ॥

बाबू श्याम सुंदर चक्रवर्ती के समर्थन कर्ता मौलाना अजाद उभानी का भाषण :—

जो तज़वीज़ बाबू श्याम सुंदर चक्रवर्ती जी का है वह नान को आपरेशन का है और राजगोपालाचारी का है कॉप्रोमाइज का । मैं श्री बाबू श्याम सुंदर चक्रवर्ती के प्रस्ताव को ताईद करता हूँ । हम अगर बाबू श्याम सुंदर चक्रवर्ती जी के नान को आपरेशन तज़वीज़ को कबूल करें तो हम अपना मक़सद को पहुँचेंगे ॥

श्रीमान उत्तमा जी ने बाबू श्याम सुंदर चक्रवर्ती के संशोधन के समर्थन में कहा :—

सभापति जी, प्यारे भाइयों और बहिनों !

मैं श्री श्याम सुंदर चक्रवर्ती जी के प्रस्ताव को ताईद करता हूँ और राजगोपालाचारी जी का मुखालिफ़त । मैं तो पहले ही से सिविल डिस्ओबिडियन्ट हूँ असहयोगी हूँ । मैं सरकार को टेक्स नहीं देता न उनके कहने में चलता हूँ । सिर्फ़ महात्मा गान्धी जी ने ही हिन्दुस्तान का नाम मशहूर किया है । वह हिन्दुस्तान का नाम किया है जेलसे-काउंसिल से नहीं । इसलिये आप नान को आपरेशन प्रस्ताव को कबूल कीजिये ॥

श्री भगवान दीन ने तरमीम के ताईद में कहा :—

सभापति महोदय, सन्नारियो ! सत्पुरुषों !

देश के जगह २ में हेने वाली सत्याग्रह में अपनी आखों से नवजवानों को पतंगों की तरह आजादी की आग में झोंकते हुए देखकर जी में तो यह आया था कि मैं श्रीयुत राजगोपालाचारी के खिलाफ़ अपने खून के आँसू उनकी जाँव पर रखदूँ । क्यों कि पानी के आँसू तो खिलाफ़त और जलियान वाले वागमें खप गये । साहबान मैं यह कहूँगा कि हे परमात्मन ! यह प्रस्ताव दिह्टी के कॉप्रोमाइज में शामिल है तो दिल्ली के प्रोग्राम में महात्मा गान्धी का नाम लिया गया था । आज इस में तो वह भी नीचे जा रहा है ॥

श्री पण्डित सुंदरलाल जी ने बाबू श्याम सुंदर चक्रवर्ती के तरमीम को ताईद करते हुए कहा :—

हज़रते सद्र और मेरे प्यारे हम वतनों !

मुझे सब से पहले इस बात का ख़ासा फ़ौस है कि जो मामला आप के सामने दर पेश है उस मामले में एक ख़ास शक को दूर करने का सवाल लिया गया है और मेरे और मेरे हम जमात के लोगों को इससे परहेज होगा । कहते हैं कि मुल्क सिविल डिस्ओबिडियन्स केलिये तैयार नहीं है सब तैयार हैं महात्मा जी के उसूल पर चलने केलिये । मुझे ज़रा भी निराश नहीं है । मैं तो उन्नति असहयोग करने में मानता हूँ । यदि असहयोग को सपन्न रहे हैं तो श्रीयुत श्याम सुंदर चक्रवर्ती की तज़वीज़ मंज़ूर कीजिये ॥

श्री डाक्टर किचल ने राजगोपालाचारी जी के तज़वीज़ को तार्ईद करते हुए कहा :—

जनाव सदर और मेरी बहिनों और भाइयों !

मुझे सख्त अप्सोस होता है कि कुछ डेलीगेट भाई नुमाइन्दा बना २ कर सडते हैं एलफ़ाज़ पर जब देखा कि कॅम्प्रोमाइज़ के बिना दुनिया में काम नहीं कर सकते तब दिल्ली का फैसला किया मुझे सुंदरलाल से इतिफ़ाक है कि महात्मा गान्धी के जेल जाने के बाद जो काम करना था नहीं किया गया। आओ देशबन्धु दास और अली भाइयों के साथ तीन महीनों में एगज़ामिनेशन करें और यरवाडा जेल के कुंजी लेकर महात्मा जी को आज़ाद करें ॥

बाद असलौ प्रस्ताव क्रम से पास हुआ ॥ चौथा दिन समाप्त ॥

पाँच वे दिन

डाक्टर लेजुहीन किचल ने अकाली सत्याग्रह के बारे में कहा :—

जनाव सदर, भाई व बहिनों !

यह प्रस्ताव जो आप के सामने बहिन सरोजनी ने पेश किया है उस को मैं बड़े जोर से तार्ईद करता हूँ। महात्मा जी के उमूल पर पंजाब में जो जंग हो रहा है उस का मतलब क्या है। १९२० में सिख भाइयों ने पंजाब के अन्दर अपने गुरुद्वारा के इसलाह केलिये एक कमेटी बनाया जिसका नाम गुरुद्वारा प्रबन्धक कमेटी है। उसका तालुक विलकुल सियासी नहीं है। गवर्नमेन्ट कहती है कि यह पोलिटिकल है। झूट है। यह मजहबी कमेटी है। आप जानते हैं कि बड़े २ सिख भाइयों को और वालंटियरों को डंडे इस के लिये पडे। पहले महन्त का मुकाबला करना पडा गवर्नमेन्ट ने महन्त का साथ दिया और खुदा ने सिखों को जय दिया। डेढ लाख अकाली भाई जानो माल कुर्बानी करने के लिये तैयार हैं। महात्मा गन्धी जी सोचते थे कि यह कौम सत्याग्रह के उमूल पर कुर्बान हो सकती है या नहीं। महात्मा जी के उमूल के पाबन्द होकर उस उमूल को पूरा करने केलिये अगर हिन्दुस्तान में कोई कौम हो तो वह बहादुर फौज अकाली थे। आज सरकार को दिखाना चाहिये कि वह अकालियों को अलहिदा करके तवाह करने की जुरत नहीं कर सकती। गवर्नमेण्ट गुरुद्वारा कमेटी को अनलाफुल कहती है और यह चालंज देती है कि हिन्दुस्तान का ख्याल आजाद हो ! बहुत से लीडराने कौम ने देख लिया है कि बहादुर अकाली अमृतसर के कोने २ में ट्रेडन बाजारों में घूमते थे, तकरीर करते थे और कहते थे हम अनलाफुल एसोसियेशन का मेम्बर हैं हमको पकडो ! दुनिया के सामने यह एलान है कि पूरे जज़वात के साथ अकाली भाइयों का साथ देने को तैयार हैं। आदमी और रुपये से कुर्बानी करने को तैयार हैं। इन एलाफ़ाजों के साथ मैं इस की तार्ईद करता हूँ ॥

श्री केदार नाथ शुक्ल ने सावरकर धन्यावाद प्रस्ताव के बारे में कहा :—

प्यारे देश भित्तों !

मैं सिर्फ एक लफज़ कहने के लिये खड़ा हूँ। मुझे ताअज्जुब है कि आप आज सावरकर जी केलिये रिजोल्यूशन पास करते हैं कि वे जेल में गये। फिर कल जो यह रिजोल्यूशन पास किया चन्दावरकर की मृत्यु पर इसका क्या मतलब है ? सावरकर को किसने जेल भेजा ? चन्दावरकर ने उसको जेल भेजा। उसकी मृत्यु पर आप सहानुभूति पास करते हैं ? यह क्या कॅम्प्रेस ठीक करती है ? ॥

पाँच वे दिन का कार्य तमाम समाप्त हुआ ॥