

REPORT

OF THE

THIRTY-SEVENTH



INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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HELD AT



GA Y A

ON THE

26th, 27th, 29th, 30th and 31st December, 1922.

PATNA

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Secretary, Reception Committee.

1923

INTRODUCTION.

When the Indian National Congress met at Ahmedabad in the month of December, 1921, a large number of delegates from Bihar attended it, and at a private meeting of their own decided to invite the Congress to hold its next session in Bihar. But the Congress, on account of the then political situation in the country was unable to fix the place of its next session and left it to be decided by the All India Congress Committee or its Executive body, the Working Committee. The question was ultimately decided by the Working Committee at its sittings in Calcutta in April 1922. The Bihar Provincial Congress Committee met at Gaya under the Presidentship of Sjt. Deep Narayan Singh on 4th May, 1922, and formed a Reception Committee for making arrangements for the Congress. It considered Gaya as the most suitable place for the Congress for the year in Bihar. The reception Committee held its first meeting on the following day and provisionally appointed the Treasurer, the General Secretary and his assistants and an Executive Committee to carry on its work. Later on the election of office bearers with certain additions was confirmed and Babu Brajkishore Prasad was elected Chairman of the Reception Committee. The work of collecting funds for the Reception Committee commenced early but on account of the monsoons having commenced and lasted rather longer than usual, much progress was not made until October. At a subsequent meeting of the Reception Committee it was decided to hold an Exhibition along with the Congress. It was further decided that the Exhibition should be confined to Khaddar, including a practical demonstration of all the processes of preparing silk, woollen and cotton Khaddar of all descriptions, coarse as well as fine.

Apart from the collection of funds the preparation of a plan for the Pandal and residential quarters for delegates was also taken in hand, and the lease of plot of land at the foot of the Brahmayoni hill was taken. On a survey of the plot it was, however, discovered that it was too small to accommodate the Congress and Khilafat camps and the other national assemblies which are held in the Congress week. The site at which the Congress was actually held was ultimately secured on the bank of the Phalgu and a plan of the Pandal and residential quarters following the Ahmedabad model was prepared by Mr. H. K. Banerjee, Engineer of Calcutta who voluntarily placed his services at the disposal of the Reception Committee. It was felt that in the severe cold of Gaya, it was not possible to accommodate the delegates in huts covered only with Khaddar, and that we must have straw huts. On account of the rather unusually heavy and prolonged rains, the work of construction could not be taken in hand until about the middle of October. The foundation stone of the Pandal and Swarajyapuri, as the Congress grounds were named, was laid by Maulvi Haji Syed Khurshad Husnan and Babu Rajendra Prasad with due Muslim and Hindu ceremonies. The work of construction of the Pandal was entrusted to Messrs. B. C. Dutt and Co. of Calcutta while that of Swarajyapuri to Messrs. Buxi and Sons of Patna. The Gaya Municipality was approached and gladly consented to supply water to Swarajyapuri without any charge and the work of laying out pipes was entrusted to Messrs. Anjum and Co. of Gaya.

It must be mentioned here that the difficulties of arranging a session of the Congress in a place like Gaya without the facilities of big cities like Calcutta and Bombay are enormous. Suffice it to say that we had to build a city of our own, with its own arrangements of water supply, conservancy, lighting, conveyance etc.

As the site of the Pandal was some three miles off from the Railway station

and about a mile and a half from the main town, and as it was not possible to find sufficient accommodation for all the delegates and visitors in houses in the town, the Reception Committee had decided to erect huts. We had 36 blocks of huts of 192'x24' each, containing 12 rooms of 16'x24', each accommodating 8 persons. We had also 5 blocks for accommodation of families each having 8 rooms and a separate kitchen and a block of separate privies reserved for ladies staying in them. Besides these there were blocks of different sizes, for accommodating the large number of volunteers, and one block for the various offices of the Reception Committee. On both sides of the residential blocks and at some distance from them was a series of trenches partitioned off into compartments for privies. There were also water pipes for bath near the privies, and on the north side there was also arrangement for hot water for bath. The reception Committee undertook to supply only the two principal meals to the delegates and had erected a number of rooms each for kitchen with a large quadrangle in the middle. The Provincial Congress Committees were given the option to make their own messing arrangements for delegates from their own Provinces, the Reception committee supplying them with accommodation and provisions and they engaging their own cooks to prepare food to suit the delegates of their respective Provinces. The Reception Committee of the Khilafat Conference had very kindly undertaken to arrange for the lodging and boarding of the Musalman delegates to the Congress. The Reception Committee had also arranged to lodge the President and some of the distinguished guests in the town. In Swarajyapuri itself a bazar was opened for the sale of food stuffs and other necessaries.

The Pandal was made of a wooden and bamboo structure covered entirely with Khaddar. It was elliptical in shape and the extreme length and the breadth of the ellipse were 370 ft. and 255 ft. respectively. It was divided into blocks for the various Provinces, visitors and members of the Reception Committee etc. and was tastefully decorated with flags, festoons and portraits of distinguished leaders supplied by the firm of Goras studio of Benares and Mr. Mahulikar of Ahmedabad. A life size portrait of Mahatma Gandhi, specially painted for the occasion by Mr. C. Nageshwar Rao, and another of Rana Pratap Singh were also hung in two very prominent places on the platform. The main entrance to the Pandal was a gate after the pattern of the Buddhist gate of Sanchi and a round pillar standing in the middle with a lion as its capital was an imitation of one of Asoka's Pillars in which the Province abounds. In the Pandal compound there were shops and windows for tickets, the hall for the Subjects Committee, the electric power house and a press which had to be set up to cope with the large amount of printing required for the Congress. Just behind the main gate was a beautifully laid out garden with four marble fountains.

The Exhibition was held in the separate compound of a bungalow lent by Babu Mohan Lal Pathak of Gaya. The compound was tastefully decorated and apart from the stalls for the sale of Khaddar, silk, wool and cotton goods, there were several demonstration Stalls, each for showing the actual processes of making Khaddar. The process of dyeing Khaddar was demonstrated by Volunteers from the School of Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray of Bengal.

Under the constitution of the Congress the minimum fee for becoming a member of the Reception Committee was Rs. 25/- and there were 2666 members enrolled. The same amount was fixed as the lowest fee for visitors. It had been decided early to encourage ladies of Bihar, where strict Parda prevails to attend the Congress, and the Reception Committee had fixed the admission fee for them to be Rs. 10/-. It had also been decided to reserve a separate block for the free accommodation of 1,000 persons who had suffered imprisonment in the country's cause and to admit one hundred Sadhus, fifty Ulemas and two

hundred Akalis free of charges. To enable poorer kissans (agriculturists) to see the Congress, it had been decided to admit 1,000 of them at the reduced entrance fee of Rs. 5/- each. As for others the admission fees for various classes of visitors were Rs. 1,000/-, Rs. 500/-, Rs. 250/-, Rs. 100/-, Rs. 50/-, and Rs. 25/-. For admission to the Exhibition the fee was four annas daily, while for admission to the Pandal ground when the Congress was not being held or to enable visitors to attend public lectures by such distinguished leaders as Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya a similar fee of four annas was charged. The fee charged for the two meals supplied in the Reception Committee kitchens was Rs. 1/8—per day per head, and the seat rent for staying in the residential blocks for the season was Rs. /3—per head. It need hardly be pointed out that many persons had for various reasons not only to be admitted free to the Congress but also to be lodged and sometimes even fed free in the kitchen.

The number of persons joining the Reception Committee was 2666 including 28 ladies. The total number of ladies attending the Congress in their various capacities of members of the Reception Committee, delegates, visitors and volunteers cannot be exactly given, but is believed to be not less than 500 by no means small and a number when the rigour of Parda in this Province is borne in mind. The accommodation for about 200 ladies on the balcony in the Pandal was insufficient and quite a large number of them sat in a block reserved for them in front of the dais. The number of persons attending the Congress was estimated to be over 12000. There were 3848 delegates registered in all, but under a ruling of the President declaring those elected after the 15th December and those in substitution of others, are not to be treated as delegates but only as visitors.

Apart from the ex-prisoners, the Akalis, the Sadhus, the Ulemas and the agriculturists, another special feature of the Congress was the presence of about 250 persons belonging to the aboriginal tribes of Chotanagpur, most of whom had walked all the way, about 150 miles or so, from the interior of the district of Ranchi, with their own rice, fuel and earthen cooking pots to have a sight of the great national assembly. The Reception Committee had to do very little for them, as they had brought all that they needed with themselves, and were quite content to live in an orchard reserved for them and to squat on the passage floor in the Congress Pandal.

The Reception Committee had to encounter great difficulties in collecting funds part from the natural causes, such as the rains which made it impossible for us to make tours, particularly in the District of Gaya. It may also be mentioned that the myrmidons of the bureaucracy did all they could, especially in the District of Gaya but in some other places also, to prevent rich people from giving pecuniary aid to the Reception Committee. At one time the Reception Committee felt so hard pressed for money that it had to adopt a resolution authorizing the members of the Executive Committee to borrow Rs. 50,000 on their personal responsibility for the expenses of the Congress. This Resolution stung all the Congress workers and people throughout the province to the quick, and it must be noted with gratitude and gratification that all our financial difficulties were over in less than a fortnight's time and while we were not without misgivings until after the end of the Congress, we felt assured that after all we could manage to keep ourselves above water.

The organisation of volunteers was one of the most difficult things. It was also undertaken rather late. It may be pointed out that at Gaya most of the volunteers from Behar were from amongst the villagers, men most of whom had no English education, many not even much of Hindi education, but

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all inspired by the ideal of service and sacrifice for the country. There were some people belonging to the educated middle classes, such as pleaders, students, particularly of national institutions, merchants from Jharia and other places. There were also volunteers who came to help the Reception Committee from outside the province, such as, the volunteers from Delhi, from Bombay, from the Kashi Vidyapitha and the Benares Hindu University and the boy scouts from Raipur. Our thanks are due to all for the very heavy and onerous work they had to do. The first thing to which the volunteers had to put their hand was the construction of the pandal itself. The contractor being unable to complete it in time, the Reception Committee had to take it up departmentally and had it not been for the willing and ungrudging service rendered by the volunteers of all classes who did not hesitate for a moment to do the work of coolies, the Pandal could not have been made ready for the Congress.

It remains only to thank all the gentlemen who helped the Reception Committee. Special mention must be made of the heads of the various departments to whose zeal and untiring efforts is due what little success can be claimed on behalf of the Reception Committee. Also thanks of the Reception Committee are due to Chairmen & Members of the District Board & Municipal Board for rendering such assistance as they could.

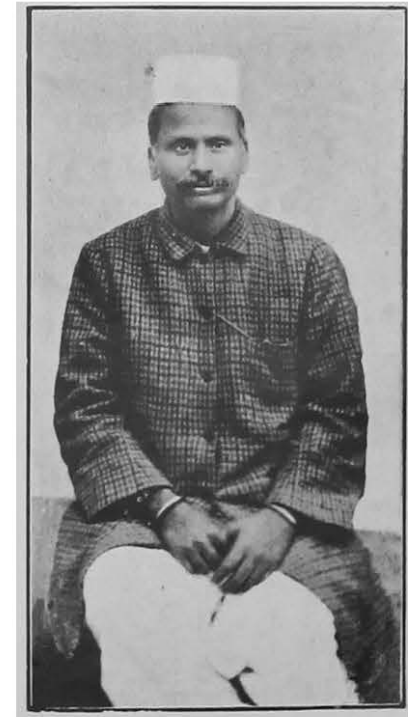
RAJENDRA PRASAD,
General Secretary.



Deshbandhu Chitranjan Das,
*President, 37th Indian National
Congress, GAYA.*



Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in the Rostrum.
(Modern Review.)



Srj. Brajakishore Prasad,
Chairman, Reception Committee.

37th Indian National Congress.

RESOLUTIONS.

Condolences.

1. This Congress places on record its deep sense of the loss sustained by the country in the death of Babu Motilal Ghose and offers its condolence to his family.

This Congress has learnt with grief of the death of Babu Ambika Charan Mozumdar one of its ex-President, and places on record its deep sense of the loss sustained thereby by the country.

Tribute to Mahatma Gandhi.

2. This Congress places on record its grateful appreciation of the services of Mahatma Gandhi to the cause of India and Humanity by his message of Peace and Truth and reiterates its faith in the principle of Non-Violent Non-Co-operation inaugurated by him for the enforcement of the rights of the people of India.

To Sufferers.

3. This Congress places on record its profound appreciation of the services rendered to the National Cause by all those brave citizens, who have suffered in pursuance of the programme of voluntary suffering and who, in accordance with the Congress advice, without offering any defence or bail, served and are serving various periods of imprisonment, and calls upon the Nation to keep alive this spirit of sacrifice and to maintain unbroken the struggle for freedom.

Akalis.

4. This Congress records with pride and admiration its appreciation of the unexampled bravery of the Akali Martyrs and the great and noble example of non-violence set by them for the benefit of the whole Nation.

Khilafat.

5. This Congress congratulates Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha and the Turkish Nation on their recent successes and further records the determination of the people of India to carry on the struggle till the British Government has done all in its power and removed all its own obstacles to the restoration of the Turkish Nation to free and independent status and the conditions necessary for unhampered national life and effective guardianship of Islam and the Jazirat-ul-Arab freed from all non-Muslim control.

Boycott of Councils.

6. 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 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.

7. 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.

8. 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 pledge, 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.

Turkish Situation.

9. In view of the serious situation in the Near East which threatens

the integrity of the Khilafat and the Turkish Government and in view of the determination of the Hindus, Mussalmans and all other peoples of India to prevent any such injury, this Congress resolves that the Working Committee do take steps in consultation with the Khilafat Working Committee in order to secure united action by the Hindus, Mussalmans and others, to prevent exploitation of India for any such unjust cause and to deal with the situation.

Boycott of Educational Institutions.

10. 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.

11. 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 Panchayets and to cultivate public opinion in their favour.

Private Defence.

12. 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.

Labour Organisation.

13. Whereas this Congress is of opinion that Indian Labour should be organised with a view to improve and promote their well-being and secure to them their just rights and also to prevent exploitation of Indian Labour and of Indian resources, it is resolved that this Congress, while welcoming the move made by the All India Trade Union Congress and various Kisan Sabhas in organising the workers of India, hereby appoints the following Committee with power to co-opt, to assist the Executive Council of the All India Trade Union Congress for the organisation of Indian Labour, both agricultural and industrial :—

COMMITTEE :—1. C. F. Andrews. 2. J. M. Sen Gupta. 3. S. N. Haldar, 4. Swami Dinanand. 5. Dr. D. D. Sathaye. 6. M. Singaravelu Chettiar.

Affiliation.

14. This Congress resolves that the Natal Indian Congress Committee, Durban, the British Indian Association, Johannesburg, the British Indian League, Capetown, and the Point Indian Association, Durban, be affiliated, with power to send ten delegates—this number to be allotted amongst themselves by agreement to be reported to the All India Congress Committee.

This Congress resolves that the Kabul Congress Committee be affiliated, with power to send two delegates.

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General Secretaries.

15. This Congress places on record its grateful thanks for the valuable services rendered by the out-going General Secretaries, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. M. A. Ansari and Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar.

This Congress appoints M. Moazzam Ali. Sjt. Vallabhbhai J. Patel and Sjt. Rajendra Prasad as General Secretaries for the next year.

Treasurers.

16. This Congress re-appoints Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Seth M. M. H. J. M. Chotani as Treasurers.

Next Sessions.

17. This Congress resolves that its next sessions be held in Andhra Desha.



Out side view of the Pandal Gate.

(Modern Review.)



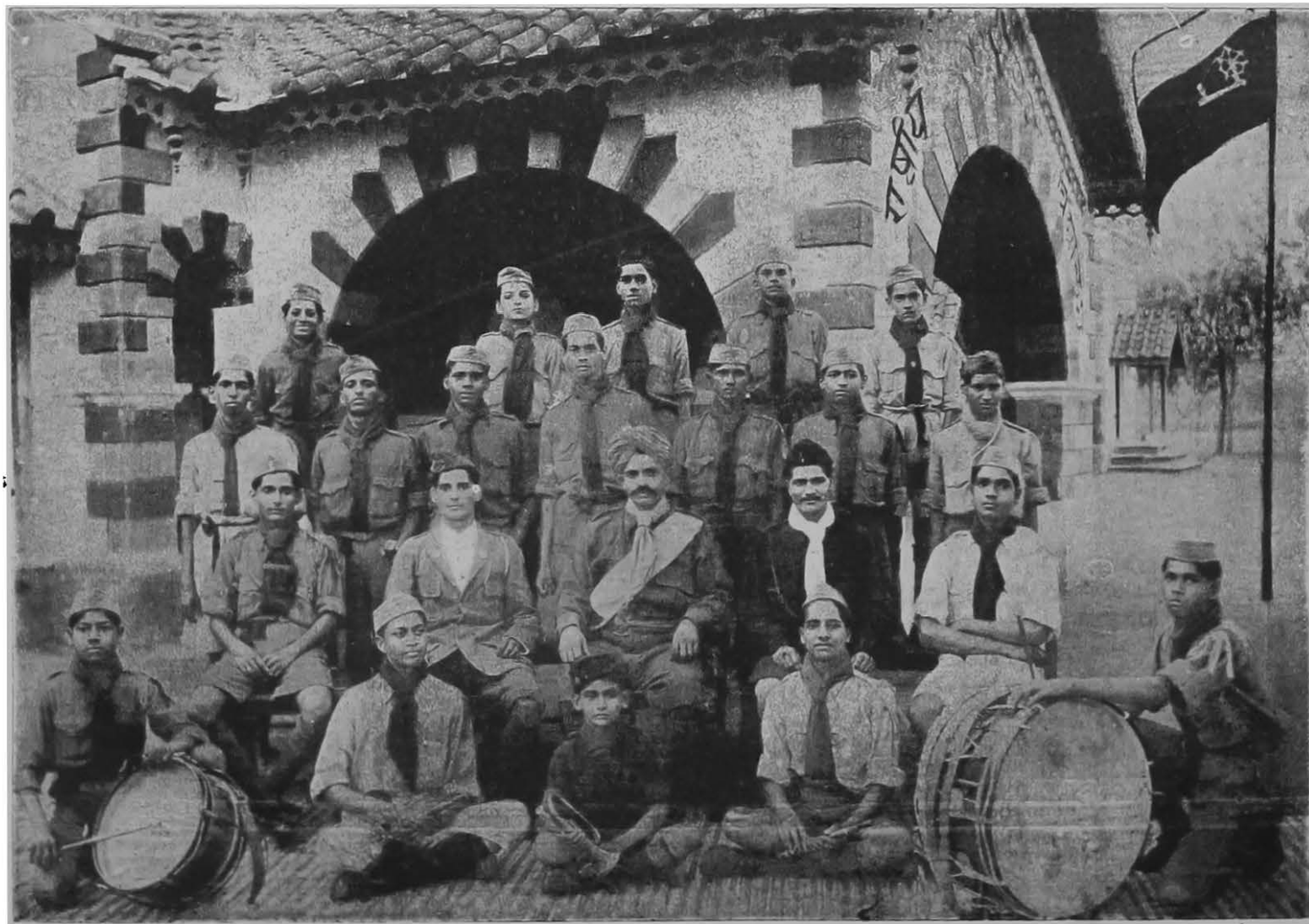
Gate of the Sawarajpuri.

(Modern Review.)



Congress Pandal.

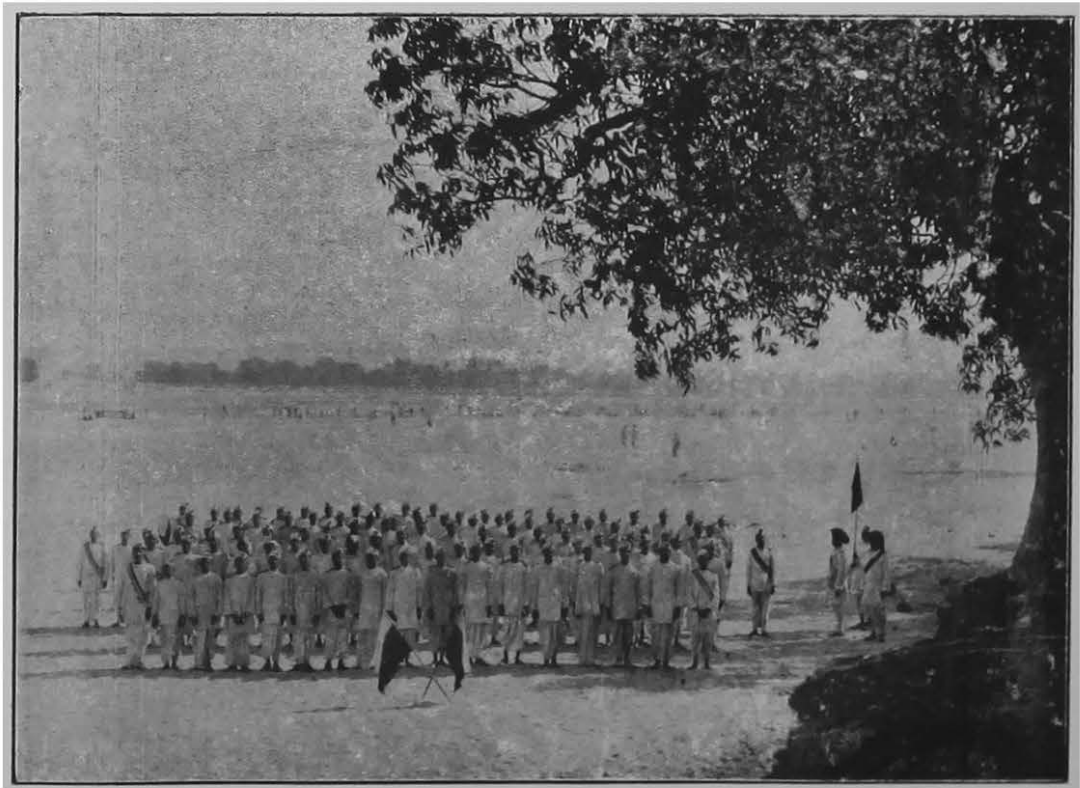
(Modern Review.)



Byscouts, National School. Rajpur (C. P.)



In the Pandal when National song was being sung.
(*Modern Review.*)



Banares Volunteers.

(*Modern Review.*)

The 37th Indian National Congress

GAYA.

26th December, 1922.

First Day's Proceedings.

The Thirty-seventh Session of the Indian National Congress commenced its deliberations at Gaya at 2 in the afternoon of 26th December, 1922 under a specially erected Pandal made of bamboo and Khadi on the bank of the river Falgoo at a place two miles from the sacred Hindu town. First day's Proceedings

Everything inside the Pandal—the sitting arrangements, decorations and the costume of the audience, all in Khadi, were in right oriental fashion—simple yet impressive. From the President down to the visitors and the Press Representatives all squatted on the floor cushioned with sand and covered with Khadi. Costly chairs and tables were dispensed with making room for small desks to write on.

A majestic full size portrait of Rana Pratap overlooked the whole Pandal from behind the President's Musnad. Paintings and photos of Mahatma Gandhi of Lokamanya Tilak and other leaders, past and present, in jails or outside, were hung up almost in every prominent place and suitable mottos were hung up in conspicuous parts of the Pandal.

Amid flourish of trumpets, sounding of bugles and marching of volunteers and Congress Boy scouts the President arrived in a procession composed of Ex-Presidents, Chairman Reception Committee and other well known leaders at 1.30 P. M.

The Proceedings commenced with "Bande Mataram" sung by a choir of Bengali girls led by Professor Brajendra Nath Ganguli followed by the majestic voice of Prof. Bishnu Digambar of Gandharva Maha Vidyalaya, the soul-stirring song of Miss. Tyabji and songs in vernacular.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee Sj. Braja Kishore Prasad who took about forty-five minutes to read his address in Hindi after finishing his address formally invited Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das to take the Chair of the Thirty-seventh Indian National Congress and deliver his Presidential address.

Chairman's Address.

प्रियारे भाइयो, बहिनो और देशके प्रतिनिधियो !

मैं आजका दिन अपने जीवनमें अति पवित्र और महत्वका मानता हूँ, जबकि मुझे बिहार निवासियोंकी ओरसे इस पुरयक्षेत्र गयामें आपका स्वागत करनेका शुभ अवसर मिला है और मैं सादर हृदयसे आपका अभिनन्दन करता हूँ। मैं जानता हूँ कि जो प्रबन्ध हमलोगोंने आपके लिये किया है, उसमें बहुत सी त्रुटियाँ हैं और हम आपको वह सुख नहीं दे सकते जो अन्य प्रान्तोंने आपको दिया है। हमलोग नातजुरवेकाद हैं, हमलोगोंका प्रान्त गरीब है; इसपर भी हमलोगोंको इस कांग्रेसके इन्तजामके लिये धन इकट्ठे करनेमें

Chairman's Address.

Chairman's
Address.

बहुत बाधाय ही गई हैं जिनके वजहसे जो रूपया मिलनेवाला था नहीं मिल सका। इस-
लिये मैं आशा करता हूँ कि आप इन त्रुटियोंपर ध्यान न देंगे। मैं आपको विश्वास दिलाता
हूँ कि आपके प्रति आदर, स्नेह और प्रेमसे बिहारका दृश्य परिपूर्ण है और आप हमारे
'पत्रं पुष्पं फलं तोयं' को सहर्ष अङ्गीकार कर हमें कृतार्थ करेंगे।

सज्जनों! आपको मालूम होगा कि इस स्थानसे—जहां आप एकत्रित हुए हैं
वह पवित्र और पुण्यस्थल केवल तीन मीलकी दूरीपर है जहां भगवान बुद्धदेवने प्राचीन
कालमें बुद्धत्व प्राप्त किया था और जो इस कारण 'बुद्धगया' के नामसे प्रसिद्ध है। मैं
इस बातको बहुत शुभ समझता हूँ कि ईश्वरने सारे हिन्दुस्तानके प्रतिनेधियोंको इसी
पुण्य और प्रशान्त स्थानपर एकत्रित किया है कि वे देशका परिस्थिति पर विचार करें,
मातृभूमिके उद्धारका उपाय सोचें और कर्त्तव्यारूढ़ हों। दक्षिण अफ्रिकासे लौटनेपर
महात्मा गांधीजीने इसी प्रान्तके चम्पारन जिलेमें पहले पहल अपनी नई रीति और ङंगसे
हिन्दुस्तानमें कार्य करना शुरू किया था। यह ढंग सौधा, साफ़ खुला हुआ और बिमल है।
इसका अवलम्बन करनेसे दूसरेका मुहताज रहना नहीं पड़ता। स्वावलम्बन और आत्मा-
भिमान भा जाता है; मनुष्य अपने पैरोंपर खड़ा होना सीख जाता है और मुश्किलसे मुश्किल
कामको खूबीसे अन्जामकर लेता है। प्रायः एक बरसतक महात्माजीने चम्पारनमें रहकर
वहांको अति दुखी, पीड़ित और गिरे हुए रैयतोंका अंग्रेज निलहोंके जुल्मोंसे उद्धार
किया। चम्पारनमें पेर धरते ही महात्माजीको नौकरशाहोंसे मुठभेड़ हो गई, पर वे शिकस्व
खाये और महात्माजीको विजय हुई।

सन् १९२० के पहले कांग्रेसके काम करनेका ढंग पुराना ही था, याने प्रस्ताव
पास करना, गवर्नमेन्टमें उसको भेजना और अखबारों द्वारा आन्दोलन करना। इस तरीके
को कांग्रेसको एक बैठकमें श्री आशुतोष चोधरीने (Political mendicancy) राज-
नैतिक भिक्षमंगो कहा था। प्रायः लोगोंको यह बात जंचो थी कि इस ढंगसे कार्यवाही
करनेसे कुछ नहीं हो सकता; परन्तु कोई नया और उपयोगी तरीका किसीको नहीं सूझा
था। यह महात्माजीका ही काम था कि जिन्होंने कांग्रेसके अभिष्ट साधनके लिये असह-
योग या तर्कमवालातका जरिया अख्तियार कराया। यह असहयोग वही सीधा साफ़,
खुला हुआ, बिमल और पवित्र तरीकेका रूपान्तर मात्र है।

इसका क्या फल हुआ, हम और आप सभी जानते हैं। जो काम पचासों बरसके
अन्दर इस मुल्कमें न हो सका था उसको बरस डेढ़ बरसके अन्दर इसी कांग्रेसके द्वारा
महात्माजीने कर दिखाया। जैसी जागृति देशमें फैली हुई है, जैसा जोश और उत्साह
जनतामें भा गया है, जैसा उनको इस बातका अनुभव हो गया है कि हिन्दुस्तानको आधु-
निक शासन-प्रणाली विदेशी याने (Foreign) है और हमें रसातलको पहुंचा रही है,
जैसे लोग निडर हो गये हैं और वास्तविक आत्मगौरव, आत्माभिमान और स्वावलम्बन
सीख रहे हैं, देश और धर्मके लिये जिस तरीकेपर खुशीसे मार खाते हैं, पीटे जाते हैं और
जेलको तीर्थ स्थान और आजादीका घर समझकर उसमें सङ्घर्ष जाते हैं, यह सभी पर
साफ़-साफ़ जाहिर है। इस विषयमें विशेष कुछ कहना जरूर नहीं। असहयोगने देशका
काया पलट दिया है (Politics) याने राजनैतिक आन्दोलन अब पुराना खेलवाड़ नहीं
रहा। यह देश और धर्मकी सच्ची सेवाका एक गम्भीर कार्य हो गया है जिसमें मेरे पूज्य
नेतागण और बहुतसे भाई तन मन धनसे पड़े हुए हैं। राजनैतिक विषयोंमें पवित्रता और
धर्मका समावेश कराना महात्माजीका काम है। टेढ़े, गन्दे और अपवित्र जरियोंसे कोई
साफ़, सुथरा, स्थायी और पवित्र कार्य नहीं हो सकता। जातो (Private) और आम
खलन (Public character) में जो भूठा भेद माना जाता है वह निर्मूल और मिथ्या

साबित हुआ। सज्जनों! महात्मा गांधी पर पूरी भ्रष्टा और विश्वास रखिये। वह Chairman's
Address. आपको सीधा और सच्चा रास्ता बतलाने वाले हैं।

असहयोग ।

अब मैं आपको असहयोग वा तर्कमत्रालातके विषयमें कुछ कहूंगा जिसे कांग्रेसने अपना मनोवाञ्छित फल हासिल करनेके लिये एक जरिया या तरीका अख्तियार किया है। असहयोगका जो कार्यक्रम (Programme) कांग्रेसने बतलाया है उसकी दो शकलें या सूत्रें हैं—एक असली साधक वा रचनात्मक जिसे अंग्रेजोंमें (Positive or Constructive) कहते हैं, और दूसरी मूर्ख, मोहलक या बाधक जिसे (Negative or Destructive) कहते हैं—इनमें असली वा रचनात्मक बहुत जरूरी है जिसपर ध्यान देनेसे और जिसे कार्यमें परिणत करनेसे दूसरी शकल याने मोहलक या बाधक आपसे आप सिद्ध हो जायगी; किन्तु केवल मोहलक या बाधक सूरत ही (Negative or destructive aspect) पर ध्यान रखनेसे इसकी असली शकल (Positive or Constructive Aspect) अस्तिद्ध रह जायगी और हमलोग अपने ध्येयको नहीं प्राप्त कर सकेंगे, अपने मंजिले-मकसूदको नहीं पहुँचेंगे। यह बात मेरे बहुतेरे भाइयोंको साफ-साफ नज़र नहीं आई है इस लिये मैं इसको कुछ सविस्तर बयान करता हूँ।

काउन्सिलका बहिष्कार (Boycott of Councils), सरकारी अदालतोंका बहिष्कार (Boycott of Law Courts by Lawyers and Litigants), सरकारी और सरकारसे मदद पानेवाले स्कूलों और कालिजोंका बहिष्कार (Boycott of Government and Government aided Schools and Colleges), विदेशी कपड़ोंका बहिष्कार (Boycott of Foreign Cloths) से कांग्रेस और महात्माजीका क्या मतलब था? काउन्सिलके बहिष्कारसे यही मतलब था कि जनता इससे अलग रहे ताकि समी जान जाय कि यह देशकी असली प्रतिनिधि-सत्तात्मक-संस्था (Representative Body) नहीं है और हमलोग इस मायाकपी काउन्सिलके जालमें फँस कर अपना समय बरबाद न करें, बल्कि जो लोग काउन्सिलमें जानेवाले हैं वे उससे अलग रहकर देशके दूसरे ओर ज़रूरी कामोंमें आनेको लगवें। काउन्सिलके बहिष्कार (Boycott of Councils) के प्रस्तावसे न महात्माजी और न कांग्रेसकी समझमें यह बात थी, जो एकदम असम्भव बात है—कि काउन्सिलके चुनावके सम्बन्धमें ऐसी स्थिति हो जाय या कर दी जाय कि एक भी वोटर (Voter) न वोट देने जाय और न एक भी उमोदवार खड़ा हो। इस किसमसे काउन्सिलका बहिष्कार (Boycott) तो बच्चोंकी समझमें भी असम्भव मालूम पड़ेगा। हर तरहके लोग हिन्दुस्तानमें ही नहीं, बल्कि हर मुल्कमें रहते हैं। आपजोग जो चुनावके नियमोंको जानते हैं, आसानीसे समझ लेंगे कि वोटरोंको एक बहुत थोड़ी तायदादके वोटोंसे तथा बिला वोटके भी—जब उतनी ही उमोदवार हों जितनी कि जगदें हैं—चुनाव हो सकता है। इसकी कोई नहीं रोक सकता। अब आपको साफ़ ज़ाहिर हो गया होगा कि इस बहिष्कार (Boycott of Councils) के दो ही आशय थे :—(१) जनता इस काउन्सिलसे—जिसे मुल्कने रद्दी ठहराया है—अलग रहें ताकि यह देशकी असली प्रतिनिधि-सत्तात्मक-संस्था (Representative Body) न समझी जाय और (२) वे लोग जो इसमें खानेवाले थे देशकी सच्ची सेवामें लग जाय, न कि घर बैठ जाय। इसी रीति पर कांग्रेसका यह मतलब नहीं था कि बकील और मुअक्किल अदालतोंको और लड़के स्कूल और कालिजोंको छोड़कर घर बैठें। इतने होसे हमारा काम नहीं निकलता। कांग्रेसका

यह आशय था कि सरकारी अदालतोंको छोड़कर अपनी पंचायतें कायम करें—क्योंकि भगड़े तकरार तो होतीही रहेगी—और सरकारी स्कूलों और कालिजोंकी जगह राष्ट्रीय पाठशालाएं खोली जायं जहां हमारे लड़के तालीम पायें। सारांश यह है कि सरकारी संस्थाओंको छोड़कर उनसे अलग रहकर हम उनकी जगह अपनी राष्ट्रीय संस्थाएं बनावें जिनके स्थायी और दृढ़ रूपसे चलने पर सरकारी संस्थाएं आपसे आप टूट जायं। अब आपको यह भी साफ़-साफ़ मालूम हो गया होगा कि सरकारी संस्थाओंसे अलग रहनेका जो हमारा काम है वह असहयोगकी मूज़िर या मोहलिक या बाधक शकल (Negative aspect of Non-co-operation) है; और उन सरकारी संस्थाओंकी जगहमें अपनी राष्ट्रीय संस्थाएं कायम करनेका जो काम है वह असहयोगकी असली या रचनात्मक वा साधक शकल (Positive aspect of Non-co-operation) है। इसी तौर पर चर्खा चलाना, खद्वर और स्वदेशी धारण, असहयोगकी असली शकल और विदेशीका बहिष्कार उसकी मोहलिक शकल है। यदि मैं इन सब संस्थाओंको और इनके कामको एक या दो शब्दोंमें कहूं तो मैं इसे देश वा ग्राम-संगठन (Country or Village Organization) कहूंगा। असहयोगके सभी असली वा रचनात्मक कार्य इसीमें भा जाते हैं। यह संगठन जहां किया गया है वहां यह इस रीति पर हुआ है :— पहले ग्रामों और शहरोंमें कांग्रेसके सदस्य बना लिये गये ; बाद प्रत्येक ग्राममें या दो तीन छोटे ग्रामोंको मिला कर उनमें एक ग्राम पंचायत वा कमिटी कायम की गई। मेम्बरोंने आपसमें मिल कर अपनी जरूरतके मुताबिक पंचायत वा कमिटीके कर्मचारी चुन लिये। अब वह पंचायत या कमिटी अपने मेम्बरों और कर्मचारी द्वारा ग्रामके काम करती है। वे काम क्या हैं ? १—ग्राम शिक्षा। २—ग्राम स्वास्थ्य सफ़ाईकी देख-भाल। ३—ग्रामके भगड़े और तकरारका निपटारा। ४—चर्खा, खद्वर और स्वदेशीका प्रचार। ५—हिन्दू, मुसलमान तथा अन्यान्य सम्प्रदायोंके लोगोंमें एकता स्थापन। ६—गिरी जातियोंका उठाना। ७—इन कामोंके करनेमें जितने धनकी जरूरत हो वह मुठिया आदिके जरिये इकट्ठा करना। यह ग्राम पंचायत स्वराज्यकी पहली या सबसे नीचेकी यूनिट यानी नीच है। ग्राम कमिटीके ऊपर यूनियन वा सर्कल कमिटी है, जिसको उस यूनियन या सर्कलके मन्दरकी कुल ग्राम-कमिटियां मिलकर चुनती हैं। वह यूनियन कमिटी अपने अपने हल्केके मुतफ़रि़क ग्राम-कमिटियोंको एक सूतमें बांधे रहती है और ग्राम-कमिटियोंको काम करनेमें मदद देती है, उनकी देखरेख करती है और नये सिरेसे भी काम करती है। इसी सिलसिलेसे सबडिविजनल वा ताल्लुका, ज़िला और प्रान्तीय कमिटियां बनती हैं और इन्हीं कामोंको सविस्तर करती हैं।

मैं आपसे पूछता हूँ कि यदि जनता स्थाई रूपसे आपके साथ नहीं रहे तो क्या आप स्वराज्य हासिल कर सकते हैं ? कदापि नहीं। तब जनताको स्थायी रूपसे साथ रखनेका क्या उपाय है ? इसी ग्राम या देश संगठनसे बढ़कर कोई दूसरा उपाय नहीं है। जबतक हम उनके साथ रहकर देहातोंमें काम न करें, जबतक हम उनको यह न दिखावें कि उनके लिये हमने क्या किया, उनको क्या सिखाया, तबतक वे स्थायी रूपसे और समझ बूझकर (Steadily and intelligently) हमारे साथ नहीं रहेंगे। सिर्फकभी-कभी देहातोंमें जाकर लेक्चर देने और रुपया मांगनेके लिये ही वहां जानेसे काम नहीं निकलता। काम करनेवाली, काम करती हुई जीती और जागती ग्राम-यूनियन, ताल्लुका, ज़िला और प्रान्त संस्थाओं या कमिटियोंका संगठन करना हमारे स्वराज्यकी मज़बूत और अच्छी नीच डालना और ढांचा तैयार करना या बनाना है। ज्यों ज्यों ये संस्थाएं मज़बूत होती जायंगी त्यों-त्यों आधुनिक नीकरशाहीकी सस्तनत कमज़ोर होती जायगी और अन्तमें

स्वयं फट फट कर गिर जायगी। जब जनता हमारे साथ होती जायगी तभी हमारे बलको कोई नहीं रोक सकेगा और हम सविनय कानूनभङ्ग (Civil Disobedience) याने आखिरी अस्त्रका भी प्रयोग कर सकेंगे। जबतक हम ऊपर बताई हुई संस्थाओंको कार्यकारिणी रूपमें परिणत न कर लें और जबतक हमारी संस्थाएं उन कामोंको आसानी और सुभीतेसे करना न सीख लें तबतक सविनय कानूनभङ्ग (Civil Disobedience) की तरफ नज़र रखना फजूल है। सविनय कानून भङ्गकी मानी (Complete Out-lawry) अर्थात् नौकरशाहीके हुकुमको एकदम नहीं मानना है। आननफानन इसको शुरू कर देनेसे यह सवाल सहज ही उठ खड़ा होगा कि मुल्ककी सत्तनत और इन्तजामके लिये आपने कौन सी तैयारी कर रखी है; क्योंकि मुल्कमें चोरी, डकैती, मारपीट होती ही रहेगी; दुर्जनोंको हर किसिमका दंगा-फसाद करनेका मौका मिलेगा। उस अफत फौरन क्या आपको कोई संस्था रचनेका मौका मिलेगा? जब पहलेसे आप इसका संगठन और प्रबन्ध किये रहेंगे, और आपकी उपरोक्त संस्थाएं काम करती हुई मौजूद रहेंगी, तभी इन सब बातोंका प्रबन्ध आसानीसे हो सकेगा और ज्यादा उपद्रव न होने पावेगा।

इस संगठनके जरिये हमारा सारा काम आसानीसे होता जायगा। यदि ग्राम कमिटियां या पंचायतें मजबूत हो जायं तो ये एक दिनमें शराब-खोरी रोक सकेंगी। खदेशी और खादी सुखसे चल चलेगा। राष्ट्रिय स्कूल कायम होते जायंगे और सरकारी स्कूल आसानीसे बहिष्कृत होते जायंगे। देहातोंमें तकरार वगैरह ग्राम पंचायतों द्वारा निपटती जायंगी और सरकारी अदालतें फोकी पड़ती जायंगी। केवल हज़ा-हशरातसे कुछ काम नहीं चलता। रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम (Constructive Programme) असहयोगकी असली शकल शुरू हीसे है। बरदोलीमें कुछ नये सीरेसे नहीं बतलाया गया। असली बात यह है कि सिवा दो तीन प्रान्तोंके और किसीने इस रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम (Constructive Programme) पर कभी और कुछ भी ध्यान नहीं दिया और अपना सारा समय पिकेटिङ्ग वगैरह नुमायशी और फजूल कामोंमें लगाया। इसलिये बरदोलीके प्रस्तावपर उन प्रान्तोंमें हाहाकार मच गया और हमारे चन्द नेताओंने भी असंतुष्टि जाहिर की। यही नहीं; मैं तो यहांतक कहनेको तैयार हूं कि बरदोलीके प्रस्तावके बाद फौरन दिल्लीमें जो भारतीय कांग्रेस कमिटीकी बैठक हुई थी उसमें महात्माजीके प्रति बड़ाही अन्याय किया गया था। मैं पूछता हूं, सच कहिए, इस कार्यक्रम (Programme) की कभी आजमाइश की गयी? कदापि नहीं। तब यह कहना कि इसमें विश्वास नहीं, इस रास्ते स्वराज्य नहीं मिलेगा और यदि मिलेगा तो बहुत देर लगेगी, महज़ फजूल है। आपने तो कभी इसकी कुछ आजमाइश नहीं की; और कहनेको तैयार हो गये कि यह जनताको नहीं भाता? हमारे कार्यकर्त्ता और हमारी जनता शिथिल हो गयी है; किसी उत्तेजककी जरूरत है और वह उत्तेजक काउन्सिलके जरिये मिलेगा। यह सरासर आपकी भूल है। सज्जनों! मुझेभी देहातोंमें सफर करनेका अवसर मिला है और मैं अपनी जाती तजुर्बेसे कहता हूं कि जनतामें सुस्ती नहीं है, जनताको उत्तेजककी जरूरत नहीं है, और जनतामें पहले ही जैसा जोश बना है। अबतत्त हमारे कुछ कार्यकर्त्ताओंमें और—माफ़ कीजिये—चन्द नेताओंमें सुस्ती और मायूसी आ गयी है इसलिए वे उत्तेजकको तलाशमें हैं। मेरी तुच्छ बुद्धिमें इस सुस्तीके कारण दो हैं—पहले तो उनके दिमागमें यह बात बैठी हुई है कि स्वराज्य कोई पेसी चोज़ है जो बहुत जल्द और किसी अति सहज और सुलभ रीति (Short-cut) से प्राप्त हो सकती है और दूसरे यह कि उननै असहयोगके असली वा रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम (Constructive Programme) को सम्भवतः ध्यानका उपयुक्त विषय नहीं माना और इस कारण उसमें उनका विश्वास नहीं हुआ और उनका ख्याल है कि इस रास्तेसे

स्वराज्य मिलनेमें बहुत समय लगेगा। इन्हीं कारणोंसे वे कहते हैं कि किसी जरियेसे जनता तैयार हो या नहीं—सरकार (Government) के साथ मुठभेड़ हो जाय। यदि अधिक नहीं तो कमसे कम व्यक्तिगत सविनय कानूनभंग (Individual Civil Disobedience) कसरतसे शुरू कर दिया जाय या यह भी कहते हैं कि एक बड़ी तायदाद स्वयं-सेवकोंकी इकट्ठी कर इस नियतसे पिकेटिङ्ग शुरू कर दिया जाय कि गवर्नमेण्टसे ताक़त आजमाई हो जाय। मैं इन भाइयोंसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह उनका भ्रम है। स्वराज्य कोई ऐसी चीज़ नहीं है जो ऐसे पिकेटिङ्ग या व्यक्तिगत सविनय कानून-भङ्ग (Individual Civil Disobedience) से मिल जाय। स्वराज्य आसानीसे नहीं मिलेगा। उसके लिये हमको भीष्म-प्रतिज्ञा और भगीरथ-प्रयत्न करना होगा। जब तक जनता समझ बूझ कर और स्थायी रूपसे हमारे साथ नहीं होगी, यह नहीं मिलेगा और जबतक हम अपने देशका सिलसिलेवार नीचेसे, ऊपर तक संगठन न कर लेंगे; जबतक अपनी भिन्न २ संस्थाओं, ग्राम, यूनियन, तालुका, ज़िला वा प्रान्तकी कमिटियोंको जीती जागती स्थायी और काम करने वाली न बना लेंगे—जिसको करनेमें हमें बराबर जनताके साथ काम करना पड़ेगा तबतक जनता हमारे साथ नहीं होगी। यह ब्याल भी भूल है कि इसमें बहुत समय लगेगा। आपने इसको शुरू तक नहीं किया, कैसे कहते हैं कि बहुत समय लगेगा? इसके विषयमें आप गुजरात और अन्ध्रके भाइयोंसे पूछिये। वे आपका सन्देह दूर कर देंगे। यदि इस काममें हमारे पूज्य नेतागण और हमारे कार्यकर्त्तागण दत्तचित्त होकर लग जाय तो देखिये कि कैसे जोरोंसे काम चलता है। यह असहयोगका असली वा रचनात्मक कामका करना उपरोक्त संस्थाओंको स्थापित कर उनकी कार्यकारिणी रूपमें परिणत करना करीब-करीब अपनी सल्तनत (Government) कायम करनेकी व्यवस्था है। जितने ही आप इसमें काम करेंगे उतने ही आपको इसका रस मिलेगा। आप और जनता एक ओर मज़बूत होते जायेंगे और तब अन्तमें ज़रूरत पड़ने पर थोड़े ही प्रयत्नसे आप सार्वजनिक सविनय कानून-भङ्ग (Mass Civil Disobedience) कर सकेंगे। जब स्वराज्य लेने चले हैं तब एक वर्ष, दो वर्ष, और पाँच वर्षमें क्या भेद है? यह दृढ़ संकल्प रहे कि अपना काम उदसाह पूर्वक करते जाय और बिना स्वराज्य लिये न रहें।

कौन्सिल (Councils).

अब मैं आपकी आज्ञासे काउन्सिलके विषयमें कुछ कहूँगा, परन्तु उसके पहले मुझे अफ़सोसके साथ कहना पड़ता है कि हमलोगोंमें चन्द ऐसे भाई भी हैं, जिनपर असहयोगके पवित्र भावने कुछ भी असर नहीं किया है, जिन्होंने महात्माजीसे कुछ भी नहीं सीखा। चूँकि हमारे पूज्य नेताने काउन्सिलके पक्षमें राय दी है, क्या इसलिये वे गर्हित हो गये? चूँकि आपको राय उनकी रायसे नहीं मिलती, क्या इसी कारण वे कलङ्कित हो गये? मैंने कलकत्तेमें सुना था और समाचारपत्रोंके पढ़नेसे भी मालूम हुआ कि जो सज्जन काउन्सिलके विरोधी हैं, उनमेंसे चन्द भाई भूठी लाञ्छनाओंकी अपमानयुक्त बातें मेरे उन नेताओं और भाइयोंके प्रति जो काउन्सिलके पक्षमें हैं, कहा करते हैं—इससे बढ़कर कोई घृणित बात नहीं हो सकती। भाइयो! ऐसा न कीजिये। यह न समझिए कि वे लोग अपनी ऐसी राय ज़ाहिर करनेसे देशविरोधी हो गये और आप देशहितैषी और बुद्धिमान बने हुए हैं। मैं तो यह कहूँगा कि जब आपका यह काम है, तो आप उन पूज्य नेताओंके चरणतक पहुँचनेके योग्य नहीं हैं और भूठ असहयोगका ढोंग रचे हुए हैं। मैं यहीं यह भी कइ देना चाहता हूँ कि जो हमारे भाई कांग्रेस और असहयोगमें नहीं हैं बल्कि इसके विरोधी हैं, उनके प्रति भी हमलोगोंको आदर और प्रेमका भाव रखना उचित और

आवश्यक है। वेयानन्दारी, सच्चाई और अकिलमन्दी असहयोगियोंका डेका (Monopoly) नहीं है। आपको उचित है कि जब आपकी रायके विरुद्ध कोई किसी अहम मसले पर विचार पेश करें, तो ख़ासकर उसे ध्यान-पूर्वक सुनिये और सोचिये, मुतअस्तिब (Intolerant) न होइये। यदि आपके व्यवहार और आचरणमें असहिष्णुता और अहमन्यता, तअस्सुब और हमचुनीं दीगरेनीस्त (Attitude and behaviour, Intolerance and self-sufficiency) का भाव भरा रहे तो देशका सारा काम नष्ट हो जायगा।

Chairman's
Address.

कौन्सिलमें जानेकी या उसके चुनावमें खड़े होनेकी क्या ज़रूरत है और इससे क्या लाभ है? इसके विषयमें मेरे चर्च पूज्य नेताओं और कुछ और भाइयोंका यह कहना है कि अभी देश सविनय कानूनभंग (Civil Disobedience) के लिये तैयार नहीं है और कार्यकर्त्ताओंमें सुस्ती आ गयी है, कांग्रेसका काम ढीला पड़ गया है इसलिये किसी उत्तेजककी ज़रूरत है। ऐसी हालतमें उनकी राय है कि कौन्सिलके लिये कोशिश करना उत्तेजकका काम करेगा और इसी जरियेसे सविनय कानून-भंगका मौका मिलेगा और अन्तमें स्वराज्य प्राप्त होगा। यह भी कहा जाता है कि कौन्सिलके लिये कोशिश करनेसे देहातोंमें जाना ज़रूर होगा और वहांके निवासियोंके साथ सम्पर्क होनेसे कुछ रचनात्मक काम भी होगा। मेरी तुच्छ समझमें यह एक बड़ी भूल है। मैं अभी आपको बता चुका हूँ कि जनतामें कोई सुस्ती नहीं आयी है और उसमें जोशकी कमी नहीं है। कार्यकर्त्ताओंकी तायदाद कुछ घट गयी है, जब भी बहुतसे स्वार्थत्यागी और समझदार कार्यकर्त्ता हमको आसानीसे मिल सकते हैं जो देहातोंमें जाकर काम करेंगे। उन प्रान्तोंमें जहां रुपयेकी कमी नहीं है, जैसे कि गुजरातमें—वहां काम ठिकानेसे चल रहा है। मैं यह भी बतला चुका हूँ कि असहयोगका असली अथवा रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम (Constructive Programme) के बिना साधे न जनता आपके साथ स्थायी रूपसे रह सकता है और न आप सविनय कानून-भंग (Civil Disobedience) कर सकते हैं। इस कार्यक्रम (Programme) को बहुतसे प्रान्तोंमें आजतक आजमाइश नहीं दी गयी और यह फजूल कहा जाता है कि इसमें विश्वास नहीं है और इसके जरियेसे स्वराज्य मिलनेमें देर लगेगी। इससे आपको साफ मालूम हो जायगा कि जिन तर्कोंसे कौन्सिलमें जानेकी या उसके लिये कोशिश करनेकी ज़रूरत दिखलायी जाती हैं वे एकदम निर्मूल हैं। अब आप देखें कि कौन्सिलमें जाने या उसके लिये खड़ा होनेसे आपके कामोंमें कैसे मदद मिलती है। कहा जाता है कि कौन्सिलके लिये कोशिश करनेमें देहातोंमें जाना होगा और वहां कुछ काम करनेका मौका मिलेगा। मैं तो पहलेही बतला चुका हूँ कि असहयोगके असली या रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम (Constructive Programme) को सिद्ध करनेके लिये देहातोंमें जानाही नहीं वरन् वहां रहना ज़रूर है। वहांके निवासियोंके साथ रहकर काम करना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। तब, क्यों नहीं इन्हीं कामोंको करनेके लिये देहातोंमें जाते और काम करते, कि कौन्सिलके बहाने वहां जानेका एक जरिया ढूंढते हैं? कौन्सिलके लिये कोशिश करनेको जो लोग देहातमें जावेंगे वे उनके मित्र और प्रजेट सभी ख़ासकर घोट इकट्ठा करने और इसकी फिक्रमें रहेंगे। स्मरण रहे कि आप जब कौन्सिलके लिये खड़े होंगे तो दूसरा फ़रीक़ भी जोरोंसे उसके लिये कोशिश करेगा और ज्यादा सम्भव है कि नौकरशाही उसकी पूरी मदद करेगी। विचारे, दिहाती घोटर सालभर कौन्सिलके इसी खींचा-तानीमें पड़े रहेंगे ऐसी हालतमें क्या रचनात्मक काम हो सकेगा? मेरी समझमें तो उसमें मददके बदले बहुत दिक्रते और बाधाएं होंगी, और रचनात्मक काम होना असम्भव हो जायगा। इसलिये मेरी रायमें यदि कौन्सिलकी चर्चा छोड़कर आप अपना पूरा

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ध्यान दे एकाग्रचित्तसे रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम (Constructive Programme) को पूरा करनेकी कोशिश करें तो आप तत्काल ही जनताके लिये कुछ काम कर दिखायेंगे, उनको रफते-रफते अपने साथ करते जायेंगे, और अपनी उन ज़रूरी राष्ट्रीय संस्थाओंको जिनके विषयमें मैंने ऊपर बहुत कुछ कहा है दृढ़ और मज़बूत करते जायेंगे। यही स्वराज्यका सीधा रास्ता है। कौंसिलके लिये खड़ा होनेमें कांग्रेसके कार्यकर्त्ताओं और मेम्बरोंमें बैमनस्य हो जानेकी बहुत सम्भावना है। कितने उमीदवार खड़े हो जायेंगे। मेम्बरों और कार्यकर्त्ताओंमें तकरार फैल सकता है, कांग्रेस कमिटियां अभी इतनी मज़बूत नहीं हैं कि इसको रोक सकें। आप देखते हैं कि कांग्रेस कमिटियोंके चुनावमें कोई सभापति, कोई उपसभापति, कोई सेक्रेटरी, कोई कार्यकारिणि समितिके मेम्बर, कोई भारतीय कांग्रेस कमिटीका सदस्य होनेके लिये तकरार कर बैठते हैं, गड़ियां बना लेते हैं और कांग्रेसके काममें बड़ी बाधा पड़ जाती है।

वृष्टिश जाति जगतमें एक बड़ी मायावी जाति है। संसारमें कहीं तकरार हो, लड़ाई हो या कहीं सुलह हो जिससे इसको कुछ सरोकार नहीं वहां भी वह अपनेको जगतके सुसाशन और सभ्यताका एक मात्र ठीकेदार और धातीदार करार देकर किसी न किसी बहाने घुस जाती है और दोनों फरीकको बाहे नफा हो या नुकसान हो यह अपनी दलालों गांड लेती है। कौंसिल एक विचित्र जगह है। करीब-करीब सभी बड़े-बड़े सरकारी नौकर उसके सदस्य हैं। उनकी सदा ऐसी ही चेष्टा रहती है। नौकर-शाही इस मुल्कको अपने काबूमें रखनेके लिये सब कुछ करनेपर तैयार रहती है तो इसमें आश्चर्य ही क्या है? किसीको गवर्नर, किसीको कार्यकारिणि कौंसिलका मेम्बर, किसीको मंत्री, किसीको कौंसिलका सभापति, किसीको सेक्रेटरी, किसीको होईकोर्टका जज, किसीको जिलाका जज, किसीके रिश्तेमंदोंको डिप्युटी मैजिस्ट्रेट, मुनिसिफ, रजिष्ट्रार इत्यदि बनाकर इनको फसा लेनेका काम सदा चलता रहता है और हम फसते रहते हैं। कौंसिल (Councils) में, डिनर्स (Dinners) में, गार्डनपार्टी (Garden party) में, उनको हमसे मिलनेका जबादा अवसर मिलता है और उसी घण्ट वे अपना जाल फैलाते हैं। इसलिये उन जगहोंसे जहांतक हो सके हमको फरक रहना चाहिये। हमारे चन्द भाई कहते हैं कि क्या असहयोगने हमें इतना भी ताकतवर नहीं बनाया कि हम इस लोभ या जालमें न फसे? इसका उत्तर यही है कि आदमी आखिर आदमी ही है, असहयोगने हमें अभीतक देवता नहीं बना दिया है। सभी तो देख चुके हैं और सुन चुके हैं कि कांग्रेस कमिटियोंके चुनावके समय जाती मामला लेकर तकरार हो जाया करता है, उससे कहीं-कहीं कांग्रेसके काममें बहुत हर्ज भी पड़ जाता है।

चन्द सजनोका क्याल है कि इस समय गवर्नमेण्ट कौंसिलकी बातोंपर इस कारण ध्यान नहीं देती कि वह समझती है कि इसके वर्त्तमान सदस्य देशके असली प्रतिनिधि नहीं हैं, जनता और देश इनके साथ नहीं है जब श्री देशबन्धु दास, श्री नेहरू प्रभृति नेता वहां जायेंगे जिनके साथ देश है तो वे जो कहेंगे गवर्नमेण्टको माननाही पड़ेगा ("They can dictate their own terms") कलकत्तेकी बहसमें श्री जयकरजीने यही बात पेश की थी और बहुतसे लोग इस तर्ककी भूल न समझकर इसपर मुग्ध हो गये थे। आप क्याल करेंगे कि इस तर्कमें यह बात मानली गयी है कि जब देश और जनता आपके साथ है तब आप जो कहेंगे वह गवर्नमेण्टको करनाही पड़ेगा। मैंने तो शुरूहोमें कहा है कि जनता जबतक समझबूझकर और स्थायी रूपसे हमारे साथ न रहे तब तक हम स्वराज्य नहीं हासिल कर सकते और उनको साथ करनेके लियेही असहयोगका असली या रचनात्मक कार्यक्रमको अमलमें लाना ज़रूर है। जनताके साथ रहकर काम करना और

कराना उनको उठाना और मजबूत करना अति आवश्यक है। जिस रीतिसे मैं ऊपर बनला चुका हूँ यदि उस रीतिसे हम नीचेसे ऊपर तक अपनी राष्ट्रीय संस्थाओंको कार्याकारिणी रूपमें परिणत करलें और इस जरियेसे देश और जनताको अपने साथ करलें तो कौंसिलमें जानेकी जरूरत कुछभी नहीं रहेगी बिना कौंसिलमें गये हम उस वक़्त अपनी बातें माननेको गवर्नमेंटको मजबूर कर सकेंगे। जनता और देशको साथ रखनेहीके लिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप एकाग्रचित्त हो असहयोगका रचनात्मक कार्यक्रमको पूर्ण कीजिये। देशका संगठन कीजिये। देहातोंमें जाकर जनताके साथ काम कीजिये, उनको काम करना सिखाइये। अपनी सारी संस्थाओंको नीचेसे ऊपर तक ग्राम-कमिटीसे भारतीय-कमिटी तक—काम करनेवाली, और आसानी और सुभीतेसे काम करती हुई दृढ़ और मजबूत बनाइये। यही तो स्वराज्य-स्थापन करनेका काम है। इन्हीं संस्थाओंका समष्टिरूप हमारे स्वराज्यका मजबूत नींव और ढांचा है। इसलिये सारा ध्यान इसीपर दीजिये। कौंसिलके भ्रंशटको छोड़िये। इस भ्रंशटमें हमारा सारा काम नष्ट हो जायगा और स्वराज्य दिनोंदिन हमारी नज़रोंसे दूर भागता जायगा और आप उसी स्थानपर फिर पहुंच आयेंगे जहांसे पहले चले थे।

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अब दूसरी रीतिसे देखिये। मान लीजिये कि आप कौंसिलके लिये चुने गये, आप वहां करेंगे क्या? चन्द भाइयोंका कहना है कि हम वहां जाकर शपथ (Oath of allegiance) नहीं लेंगे। बस, जगह खाली समझी जायगी। फिर बड़े होंगे, चुने जायेंगे और फिरभी शपथ (Oath of allegiance) नहीं लेंगे। यह तो लड़कोंकी बहस है। आप क्या गवर्नमेंटको एकदम भोलीभाली समझते हैं? कौरन कोई ऐसा क़ायदा बना दे सकती है कि जिससे कौंसिलके उमीदधारोंको उमीदवारीहीके वक़्तमें किसी रूपसे शपथ (Oath of allegiance) लेना पड़े। ऐसा भी क़ायदा बना दे सकती है कि जिससे आप सरीके भाई उमीदवारही न हो सकें। अलावे इसके, क्या इस चुनावके फेरमें बराबर पड़े रहनेके लिये आपको या आपके वोटोंको उतना धन या उतनी शक्ति है? अब लीजिये उनकी बात जो शपथ (Oath of allegiance) लेनेको तैयार हैं। कौंसिलमें यदि इनकी संख्या कम (minority) रही तो सारी मिहनत बरबाद गयी। इसलिये देखना है कि इनकी संख्या अधिक (majority) हो सकेगी या नहीं। ऐसी अधिकता (Absolute majority) कि जिससे कोरम न बन सके गैरमुमकिन है, क्योंकि कौंसिलोंका संगठन (Constitution) इस तरहका है कि जितनी तायदाद सरकारसे मुकर्रर किये गये अफसरों और गैर-अफसरोंका है उससे कोरमकी तायदाद कमही है। अब देखिये आपके कामके लायक भी अधिकता (Working majority) हो सकती है या नहीं? मेरी समझमें यह भी असम्भवसा दोष पड़ता है। आप किसी कौंसिलको लेकर देख लीजिये। सरकारसे मुकर्रर किये गये अफसर और गैरअफसरोंकी तायदाद, और उन खास एलेक्टरेट्स जैसे इस प्रान्तमें खानवाले (Mining), नीलवाले (Planting), तिजारतवाले (Commercial) यूरोपियन (European), और ज़मीन्दार (Land-holders), एलेक्टरेट्स जिसमें बड़े-बड़े राजा महाराजा और तमल्लू क़दार हैं उनके चुने लोगोंको तायदादसे जोड़ दें तो दोनों पूरी जोड़ कौंसिलकी आधी तायदादसे थोड़ी ही कम होती है जैसे कि इस प्रान्तके कौंसिलमें १०३ मेम्बरोंकी जगह है। इसमें ४६ गवर्नमेंटसे मुकर्रर किये गये और उपरोक्त खास एलेक्टरेट्ससे चुनेगये लोग हैं। बाक़ी ५७ जगहें ऐसी हैं जिसके लिये हम और हमारे फ़रीक़ (Moderates) प्रभृति कोशिश कर सकते हैं। यह भी कहाँ रहे कि नौकरग़ाही हमारे बरख़िलाफ़ दूसरे फ़रीक़को मददकर सकती है वा

इस कॉमिटीके विषयमें अब मैं ज्यादा कहना नहीं चाहता। पर एक बातका
 अग्रणी आपसे अवश्य कहना और वह यह है कि इस कॉमिटीके विषयपर जब बहस
 पेश हो, आप दोनों फील्डकी बातें और बहसें पढ़ान और आदरसे, गौर और इज्जतके
 साथ सुनें और उन पर विचार करें। यह नहीं कि एक दूसरेको लातें देते और उनके
 आख्यायके समय शोशुल मचायें। और सबसे बड़का यह बहस जैसी बात है कि
 हमारी महासभा यानी कांग्रेस जो फेसलता करे उसको सभी शुद्ध मनसे प्रारोपण्य समझ
 और किसी तरहसे आपसमें बमस्तय न होने दें बल्कि और भी ज्यादा मिल जाय। जमाना
 बहुत नास्तिक है, दुश्मन बहुत जोरदार और दरबान है। मैं विचारकी तरफसे आपको
 विचारस दिलना है कि कांग्रेसका फेसलता हमें सर्वथा मान्य है। कांग्रेसका फेसलता
 किसी तरह ही हमें इसका हर्ष-विषाद नहीं, यदि कांग्रेसने कॉमिटीमें जिनकी अनुमति
 दी तो हम जो असहयोगके असली वा रचनात्मक काय्यक्रममें परा विषयस रखते हैं और
 उसकी सहायका सीधा रास्ता समझते हैं कांग्रेसकी मानदहीमें काम बाँटकर उसी
 रचनात्मक काममें सारा ध्यान देने और उसकी असली गौरवर करने। और जो
 आई कॉमिटीमें जाना चाहते हैं वे भी कांग्रेसकी मानदहीमें कॉमिटीमें आकर उसे
 अनुमति देना हों। उनके काममें हम किसी तरहकी अड़बट नहीं डालेंगे याने दोनों

पर पढ़ेंगे और वे समझेंगे कि आप पणाल ही गये हैं।
 इसका भी विचार करेंगे और इसे नहीं होने देंगे। इसका बहुत बुरा असर जनसाधारण
 मानकी बात पेशही जिससे हिन्दू या मुसलमान चाहते हैं तो आप अपने उसके मातापितृ
 कॉमिटीमें पेश हो जिससे रियासतों का नफा है या हिन्दू या मुसलमानके मन्दिर या मस्जिद
 रचनाके नफेकी जैसे मुनाफिक रचना है (Tenancy rights) देनी बात
 आपके उदासिदान (Philosophy) की जनसाधारण नहीं समझ सकेंगी। कोई
 मानकी विचार आप करते रहे तो देशमें एक विचार अवस्था उत्पन्न हो जायगी।
 भाषा नहीं रख सकेंगे। हमको अपना उदार आपही करना है। यदि कॉमिटीमें सब
 हिकमतकी नगरसे देखनी है। हमारी माननी अध्यक्षीयमें नहीं है। हम उनसे कुछ
 भूल है। हमलोग परधान और गुलाम बने हुए हैं। माननी सचिव आशिया हैं, हमको
 हमलोगोंके साथ अन्यथा स्वतंत्र रियासतों और जातियों की सहाय्यता देनी महज
 क्योंकि इस तरहकी कार्रवाई करनेसे गवर्नमेंट संसदकी नजरमें हैव हो जायगी और
 जिला कॉमिटीके भी वह काम बजा सकेंगी है। यह कहना कि ऐसे नहीं हो सकता
 जमानमें कोई सकार नहीं होगा—बल्कि उसकी इसमें और भी आसानी होगी।
 गवर्नमेंट जितनी और सटीकतः हारा काम बजानी रहेगी। उसकी सहाय्यता
 जो विषय कॉमिटीमें पेश होंगी सभीका विचार करेंगे। इसका क्या फल होगा?
 majority) भी हो गयी। अब देखिये कि आप करोगे क्या—आप कहते हैं कि जो
 मैं थोड़ी देरके लिये मान लेता हूँ कि आपका काम करने योग्य अधिकता (Working
 मान्य नहीं या कि बुने गये प्रयत्नोंमें हमारी कठिनाई होगी न कि कॉमिटीमें। और,
 राजान देते ही हमलोगोंकी संख्या Majority (अधिक) हो सकती है उनका इससे
 मित्ठी) के समाने उदाहर देते समय यह कहा है कि कांग्रेस यदि कॉमिटीमें जानेकी
 सहाय्यता (Civil Disobedience Enquiry Com-
 लक्ष्य अधिकता (Working majority) कैसे होगी। जिन महाशयोंने सहाय्य
 से-धी हम ४० से ज्यादा न ले सकेंगे। अब आप बतायें कि हमारी कल्प बजानी
 ५० आदिके हमार फार्म काम-से-काम १६ भी न ले सकेंगे? हम समझते हैं कि धीरे-
 धीरे धीरे वह पेश न भी करे। ऐसी राजनीति क्या आप समझते हैं कि निरवसर

Chairman's Address.

भाई एकही कांग्रेसके दो अङ्ग बने रहेंगे, यदि कांग्रेसने कौंसिलके खिलाफ राय दी तो मैं उन भाइयोंसे जो उनके पक्षमें हैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि वे कौंसिलके भ्रष्टको भूलकर असहयोगके रचनात्मक कार्यमें लगजायं और मैं उन्हें विश्वास दिलाता हूँ कि वे थोड़ेही दिनोंमें देखेंगे और अनुभव करेंगे कि यही असली काम है और इसीसे देशका उद्धार होगा।

Chairman's
Address.

मैं अब समाप्त करता हूँ किन्तु उसके पहले आपका ध्यान एक ज़रूरी बातपर दिलाना चाहता हूँ। दो तीन वर्षसे कांग्रेसमें बहुतेरे ऐसे डेलिगेट आते हैं जो अंगरेज़ी नहीं जानते, बहुतसे किसान भाई दर्शक या डेलिगेट होकर आते हैं। महात्माजीका बराबर यह ख्याल रहा है और इसपर उन्होंने बहुत जोर दिया है कि जहां तक हो सके कांग्रेस या और संस्थाओंमें भी हम हिन्दुस्तानी जवानसेही काम लें। आन्ध्र और मद्रासके सिवाय हिन्दुस्तानके प्रायः सभी प्रान्त हिन्दुस्तानी समझलेते हैं। इसलिये मैं प्रार्थी हूँ कि जो भाई हिन्दुस्तानी बोल सकते हैं वे कृपया इस भारतीय राष्ट्रीय महासभामें इसी जवानमें बोलें।

अन्तमें मैं फिर आपलोगोंका तहेदिलसे स्वागत करता हूँ और अपना कृतियोंके लिये क्षमा चाहता हूँ।

बन्देमातरम्।

English translation of the Chairman's address.

Brothers, Sisters and Representatives of the Nation.

It is a supreme moment in my life, when I have been privileged to offer you, on behalf of the people of Behar, a cordial welcome to the holy city of Gaya. I am conscious of the fact that the preparations that we have made for your reception are imperfect in various ways and that we have been unable to arrange for those comforts, with which you were provided in other provinces. We are lacking in experience, our province is proverbially poor and obstacles have been deliberately put in the way of our collecting funds, as a result of which we have not been able to get all that we expected. I therefore, trust that you will not mind our shortcomings. I may assure you that our heart overflows with feelings of love, esteem and affection for you. I hope, gentlemen, you will earn our lasting gratitude by graciously accepting the humble offerings, that we have laid at your feet.

Gentlemen, it is perhaps known to you that the hallowed spot where Gautama Budha attained his supreme enlightenment and by which reason it has come to be known as Budh Gaya, is only at a distance of three miles from where we have met. I regard it as a happy augury that in the wise dispensation of Providence we have been brought together at the same sanctified place to deliberate on the present situation, to devise means for the liberation of our Motherland and to renew our determination to serve and sacrifice. It was in this province that Mahatma Gandhi, on his return from South Africa, commenced work in accordance with his own method and principle. That method is clean, straight, pure and open. It is calculated to make you self-reliant and self-respecting. You cease to depend on others and learn how to stand on your own legs. The problems that baffled you once become easy of solution. By staying for about a year in Champaran Mahatmaji put an end to the long-drawn agony of its suffering tenants and released them from the oppression of the European planters. As soon as he set his foot on its soil, he had to come in collision with the bureaucracy. But Mahatmaji triumphed, and they had to confess defeat.

Chairman's
Address.

Before 1920, the activities of the Congress were confined to passing resolutions, sending memorials to the Government and agitating in the press. It was this method which Sir Ashutosh Choudhury once characteristically described as "Political Mendicancy." People generally had come to realise the futility of the method, but no one could devise a new and more effective substitute. It was left to Mahatma Gandhi to initiate a departure from the ancient lines by persuading the Congress to accept the policy of Non-co-operation as the sole means to achieve its cherished ends. His message of Non-co-operation was really a reaffirmation—albeit in a different form—of his well-known method and principle, to which reference has already been made.

You and I know so well the record of its achievements. What could not be done during the last 50 years Mahatmaji was able to achieve through this Congress within the limited space of a year and a half. The general awakening in the country, the enthusiasm that pervades the people, the realisation by them of the grim reality that the system of Government that holds sway on them is really foreign in its character and is steadily driving them to perdition the spirit of fearlessness, independence and self-reliance that they have shown, the composure with which they have borne physical sufferings in the cause of their country and religion, and the cheerfulness with which they have marched to the prison house, looking upon it as a pilgrimage to the temple of the Goddess of Liberty—all these are matters of history and need not be recounted. Non-co-operation has entirely transformed the national life. Political agitation has ceased to be a pastime of holiday-makers, and has become a serious feature of national service, absorbing all the energy and devotion of our leaders and fellow-workers. The introduction of the element of purity and spirituality in our political life is the work and glory of Mahatma Gandhi. No pure and enduring results can be achieved through dirty, crooked and impure methods. The distinction that was sought to be drawn between private and public character has been proved to be artificial and baseless. Gentlemen, continue your faith in Mahatma Gandhi, for he has shown you the right path.

NON-CO-OPERATION.

Now, I desire, with your permission, to say a few words about Non-co-operation which the Congress has adopted as a means to attain its end. The programme of Non-co-operation which the Congress has put before the country has two aspects:—(1) Positive or Constructive, (2) Negative or Destructive. Of these two the positive or constructive aspect is essential, for if we concentrate our attention on it, the other, and the negative aspect, is realised of itself. But if we focus our energies only on the destructive or negative aspect, we shall not be able to visualise the real, which is the constructive aspect of the movement and can never hope to reach our goal. Many of our fellow-countrymen have not clearly grasped this fact. Therefore, I propose to dwell on it at a little length. What was the real purpose of Mahatmaji and of this Congress in advocating the boycott of Councils, boycott of law courts by lawyers and litigants, boycott of Govt. and Govt. aided schools and colleges and the boycott of foreign cloths. The object underlying the boycott of councils was that the people should keep themselves aloof from them so as to make it clear to all concerned that these councils are really sham institutions and do not represent the nation, and that we should not allow ourselves to succumb to their glamour and waste our precious time and energy over them, but that by remaining outside, we should devote ourselves to other and real national work. Mahatmaji or the Congress never thought that the resolution with regard to the boycott of councils was intended to create a situation in the country in which no voter would vote and no candidate would seek his election, for that would have been an impossible feat. Boycott

of this character would strike even a school boy as absolutely impotioable. Chairman's
Address. Men of all varieties are to be found not only in this unfortunate country but all the world over. Those of you who are familiar with the rules of election, will easily appreciate the fact that elections can take place with a very small number of voters and sometimes without any voting-when there are as many candidates as there are vacancies to be filled up. Nobody can prevent that state of things. Now, it must be clear to you that the object of boycotting the councils; which had been rejected by the nation as worthless, was twofold:—(1) Firstly, to expose their pretensions of being representative institutions, by making the people at large abstain from participating in the elections thereto and (2) Secondly to enable those, who intended to stand as candidates, to devote themselves to the genuine service of the country. On the same principle, it was never contemplated by the Congress that pleaders should leave their courts, and students their schools and colleges only to quietly retire to their homes. This alone could not further our plan of work. The object of the Congress was that after severing their connections with the British courts, the lawyers and litigants should apply themselves to the establishment of panchayets to settle private disputes, for it was inconceivable that the litigious propensity in our people would all at once be completely eradicated. Similarly, it was intended that national institutions should spring into existence to give proper training to our boys, who left institutions connected with the bureaucracy. In short, the fundamental basis of the programme of non-co-operation was that with the withdrawal of co-operation with the institutions maintained by the Government, we should also be able to establish our own in their places and the successful organisation of our institutions would eventually result in the break-down of the administrative machinery. Our activities, in so far as they relate to the cutting off of our association with the Government, represent the negative aspect and the establishment of our own institutions in place of those of the Government, the positive aspect of non-co-operation. Thus Charkha, Khaddar and Swadeshi are the positive aspect and the boycott of foreign cloth, the destructive aspect of non-co-operation. If I were to attempt to describe in one word the nature of the work of organisation that has to be done in this connection, I will say that it is nothing else than the organisation of the entire country. This work embraces within its fold all the varied forms of the positive aspect of our movement. Wherever the work of organisation has been taken up in right earnest, it has proceeded on these lines.

Firstly, people in towns and villages are enrolled as members of the Congress. Then a Panchayet or Committee is formed in every village or a group of two or three small villages. Members elect the office-bearers of such Panchayet and Committee according to their requirements. Now, this Panchayet or Committee, functioning through its office-bearers, looks after the affairs of the village, such as:—(1) Education, (2) Health and Cleanliness of the village, (3) Settlement of local disputes, (4) Spread of Charkha, Khaddar and Swadeshi, (5) Fostering and development of unity among Hindus, Muhammedans and other communities, (6) Uplifting of the suppressed or depressed classes and (7) Raising of necessary funds for these purposes through the system of *Muthia* or in any other way. The village Panchayet is the real foundation of the edifice of Swaraj. Above these village committees there is the Union Committee, which is elected by the village committees lying within that particular union. The village committees are, as a matter of fact knit together through the circle or union committee, which guides them in the discharge of their functions, supervises them, and even undertakes work on its own initiative. In this way Sub-divisional, Taluk, District and Provincial committees are formed and do these very works on an extended scale.

I would ask you if you can ever hope to attain Swaraj, if you do not carry the masses with you. It is only a truism to say that you can not. Then what

Chairman's
Address.

is the means of enlisting their whole-hearted support to this movement? To my mind, there is no other course than the one I have sketched above, that is, the work of village organisation. So long as we do not spread our activities to villages, and live and move amongst the masses and show some tangible results of our labours and thus make them realise what we have done for them, we can not expect them to steadily and intelligently follow our lead. Occasional lecture-tours or repeated visits for the purpose of collecting money from them, will not serve the purpose we have in view. To establish living and virile organisations in villages, Taluks, districts and provinces is to lay the foundation of SWARAJ, broad and deep, and also to construct its framework. As our organisations grow in strength those of the bureaucracy will weaken, and in course of time will crumble to pieces. It is only when the masses are entirely and whole-heartedly with us that no one can dare to resist our demands and we can, if necessary, effectively employ that last weapon in our armoury, Civil Disobedience. So long as we are unable to make these organisations living realities, and so long as they are not in a position to work with ease and regularity, it is useless to think of Civil Disobedience. Civil Disobedience, we must fully realise, Gentlemen, means complete out-lawry. If you propose to embark upon it without having made the requisite preparations, the question will have to be answered, as to what arrangements you have made for taking up the reins of administration in your hands, for you must bear in mind that human nature will not suddenly change, and theft, robbery and violence will not disappear from the land. The probability is that the lawless elements, that are to be found in every society, will not fail to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by the prevailing excitement to create disturbances of all conceivable kinds. Is it then that you will think of suddenly ushering into existence a well-equipped organisation to deal with the situation? Gentlemen, it is only when you have built up such an organisation from before, that you will be in a position to tide over the difficulties that will present themselves to you and ensure the freedom of the country from much lawlessness and disorder.

Through such organisations our programme can be easily worked. If our village committees are firmly founded, the sale of liquor will stop in a day. Swadeshi and Khaddar will receive an immense impetus, National schools will increase in number and quality and the boycott of Government schools will also become easier and more effective. Local disputes will be easily adjusted through the village Panchayets and the popularity of the British courts will decline in proportion to our success in that direction. No real work can be done by mere demonstration. From the very outset, the constructive programme has been the integral feature of our movement. It was not at Bardoli that it was first conceived. The fact of the matter is that excepting two or three provinces, none have devoted any attention to this programme of solid construction and their entire time and energies have been expended in picketing and other demonstrative and, consequently, fruitless activities. So, when the Bardoli Resolution was announced, those provinces raised an outcry and some of our leaders also expressed their dissatisfaction at it. It did not rest there. I am prepared to state that a great injustice was done to Mahatmaji at the meeting of the All India Congress Committee, which was held at Delhi, immediately after the adoption of the Bardoli resolution. Gentlemen, for the sake of truth, put the question to yourselves whether you have given a fair trial to this programme. If you have not, is it right to declare that you have no faith in it and that it will not lead to the establishment of Swaraj, and, if at all—will take an unconscionably long time? You have not yet worked this programme, but you are prepared to argue that it does not commend itself to the masses and that our workers are disheartened and need some stimulant to rouse them up. If I may respectfully say so, you are entirely mistaken in this matter. Gentlemen, I have had some opportunity of moving and working amongst the people in villages and I can tell you.

From personal experience, that they are not at all depressed and that their enthusiasm continues unabated. The fact is that a feeling of despondency has crept over the spirits of our workers and, you will pardon me for saying so. Some of our leaders also have been affected by it and, therefore, they have set about searching for a stimulant. In my humble opinion, there are two reasons for this depression:—Firstly, that they are under the impression that Swaraj is capable of easy attainment and that there is a short cut to it and, secondly, that they have perhaps regarded this programme as not deserving of much attention on their part, and so they never put faith in it. They have persuaded themselves to believe that we shall take a long time to reach the goal through the course chalked out by this programme. Therefore, they say that somehow or other—whether we are prepared or not, that does not seem to trouble them—we must come into grips with the Government. If we can not do any thing more, we can, at least, begin Individual Civil Disobedience on a large scale. It is also said that a large number of volunteers may be enrolled with a view to start picketing, to hasten a final trial of strength between the people and the Government. I desire to tell my friends, who are of this view, that they are labouring under a great delusion. Swaraj can not be attained by resorting to such picketing or Individual Civil Disobedience. It is not such an easy matter as we fondly imagine. To succeed in this struggle we require the indomitable will of a Bhishma and the irrepressible spirit of a Bhagirath. So long as the masses do not lend their whole-hearted and intelligent support to our movement, our efforts can never be crowned with success. And so long as we are not able to cover the country with a network of organizations and make of our various village, union, Taluka, district and provincial committees effective and active institutions, in the working of which we shall have to constantly associate ourselves with the masses, the latter can never be with us. It is also a mistake to presume that the work of building up of these organizations will be a tedious and weary process. Gentlemen, when you have not commenced the work as yet, what justification is there for your thinking that it will take a long time? Please ask your Gujerat and Andhra friends and they will remove your doubts about it. If only our leaders and workers concentrated their undivided efforts on prosecuting the constructive programme, we would easily realize how successfully this work could be carried on. To give effect to this programme on an intensive scale and to construct and consolidate the above organisations is really to evolve our own system of Government. It is only when you have applied yourselves to this work that you will realise the beauty and the utility of it. You will become one with your people, and that means an irresistible strength. Finally, if circumstances demand it, you can, with a little effort, launch upon Mass Civil Disobedience. Gentlemen, when we are out to achieve Swaraj, what does it matter whether we achieve it in a year or two or even five years? Let us only unflinchingly pursue our course, determined to stop not till the goal is reached.

COUNCILS.

Now, with your permission, I would like to make a few observations on the question of Council Entry. But before I do so, I am constrained to observe with pain that there are some friends with us, whom the purifying influence of this movement has left untouched, and who have completely failed to imbibe the message of Mahatma Gandhi. Gentlemen, are our revered leaders to be treated with contumely, because they have expressed themselves in favour of going to the Councils? Are they to be caluminated, because they do not see eye to eye with us on this particular question? I had heard in Calcutta, and the perusal of daily newspapers only serves to confirm the information, that some gentlemen, who are opposed to Council entry, have taken to vilifying our leaders and other workers, who hold different views on this question. For myself, I can not conceive of a more abominable conduct. Friends, do not

Chairman's Address. flatter yourselves that you continue to be great patriots, while they have proved faithless to the best interests of the country. I feel no hesitation in saying that you have shown by your conduct that your professed allegiance to the principle of Non-co-operation is but a pretence and you are not worthy enough to have the privilege of touching the feet of these distinguished servants of the nation. I would also avail myself of this opportunity to emphasise that our attitude even towards those who are avowedly opposed to our movement, should be one of love and esteem. Honesty, truth and wisdom are not the monopoly of non-co-operators. It behoves you to listen to all those, who think differently from you on any knotty question, with special attention and respect, and to calmly and dispassionately consider their view points. For the sake of the country which you love, pray, do not be intolerant. If you exhibit an attitude of intolerance and self-sufficiency in your relations with others, rest assured that our entire work will come to naught.

Now, let us consider the utility, if any, of entering the councils, or standing for elections. Some of our revered leaders and co-workers are of opinion that as the country is not prepared for Civil Disobedience, and there is a general depression among the workers and consequent slackening in Congress work, a fresh stimulant must be discovered. In these circumstances they believe that an attempt to capture the councils will provide the needed stimulus, and the country also will in this way get an opportunity of working to Civil Disobedience, will finally end in the establishment of Swaraj. It is also said that election to the councils will necessitate going to villages, and that will enable us to work the constructive programme of non-co-operation. In my opinion, this process of reasoning is based on incorrect premises. I have just told you that there is no lack of enthusiasm amongst the masses. The number of workers has undoubtedly dwindled. But even now we can secure the services of many willing and selfless workers, who will be prepared to work in villages. In those provinces, where there is no dearth of money, as in Gujerat, work is proceeding with the usual vigour. I have already pointed out to you that without fulfilling the constructive programme, we can not expect to command the unfailing support and sympathy of the masses, nor can we successfully embark upon a campaign of Civil Disobedience. In some provinces, this programme as I have observed before, has not been tried at all, and yet it is being seriously contended that the people have no faith in it or that it will take a long time to attain Swaraj through this means. Now, let us examine how far entry into the councils or contesting elections to them will help and advance the work before us. It is said that in the course of their election campaign, workers will have occasion to proceed to villages, and thereby get an opportunity of working the constructive programme. I have already told you that to successfully carry out that programme, flying visits to village will not do, but that is essential that the workers must go and live amongst the people. It passes my comprehension why they should not at once betake themselves to villages, but choose to wait for the appearance of a pretext, in council elections to go and work the constructive programme. The chief preoccupation of people, visiting rural areas for purposes of election, with their friends and agents, will naturally be canvassing votes. And, be it remembered, that when you stand for election your opponents will not be sitting idle. They may very likely count upon the resources and the influence of the bureaucracy in their contest with you. For full one year the poor voter will continue to be a mute and helpless victim to this dirty warfare! May I ask you what work of construction can possibly be done in these circumstances? In my opinion, instead of being a help, council elections will be a real hinderance to the furtherance of the constructive programme. As a matter of fact, work of this nature will be rendered absolutely impossible. Therefore, if you do not allow a diversion of your energies into this channel and vigorously prosecute the constructive programme, you will soon be able to claim a record of solid and substantial

work to your credit, and will succeed in winning over the masses to your side, and also be in a position to strengthen the organisations, to which I have already referred. That is the direct road to Swaraj.

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There is every likelihood that council elections may breed strife in the ranks of Congressmen themselves. So many will offer themselves for election that one may be pardoned for entertaining a genuine apprehension that they may ultimately begin to fight among themselves. The Congress committees are not yet strong enough to enforce rigorous discipline among the members. You know how our people begin to quarrel and go to the length of forming factions even in matters of election to the offices of the president, vice-president, secretaries of the various Congress committees as also in the election to the All India Congress Committee. Such disputes hamper the work of the Congress.

The British are a most diplomatic people. You know that whenever some question of war or peace arises in any part of the world, England, although she may have absolutely no interest in the matter, assumes the role of the sole custodian of the interests of humanity and civilisation and intrudes herself upon the parties and whichever of them may win or lose, she never fails to make out something for herself by way of brokerage. The council is a peculiar institution. Almost all the highest officials of the land are members of it. All their endeavours are directed towards one end. There is nothing to wonder at it, when we remember that the bureaucracy does not scruple to do any thing to keep its hold on the country. By throwing the tempting baits of Governorship, Executive Councillorship, Ministership, Presidentship of the Councils, Secretaryship, Judgeship of the High Court, District Court Judgeship and other offices, high and low, and even by holding out prospects of appointments to their friends and relations, they try to entrap our countrymen. This process goes on from day to day and yet we knowingly allow ourselves to be caught in the mesh. It is at the dinner table, in the garden parties, and in the council chamber, where they meet us at close quarters, that they try to throw their spell over us. Therefore, it is advisable to avoid such points of contact, as far as practicable. Some of our friends enquire if the non-co-operation movement has not made us strong enough to resist such temptations. The reply to that is that we continue to be human beings even now and non-co-operation has not transformed us into angels. We have just seen how during the last elections to the various Congress Committees disputes occurred on purely personal grounds, resulting, at some places, in utter dislocation of the Congress work.

Some gentlemen are of opinion that at the present moment the Government does not pay any heed to the members of the councils, because it is known that they do not truly represent their constituencies and that the masses and the country are not with them, but when leaders, like Sri Deshbandhu Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru and others will enter the council, "with the nation at their back," they will be able to "dictate their terms" to the Government. In his speech at Calcutta, Mr. Jayakar advanced this argument, and I know that many of us, not quite realising its fallacy, were deeply impressed with it. You will kindly notice that this argument is based on the assumption that the people and the country are with us, and, therefore, the Government is bound to listen to what we say. I have already observed that Swaraj is an impossibility so long as we fail to take the masses with us, and that we must work the constructive programme for that consummation. To work with the masses, to awaken them to political consciousness and to make them fearless and independent is one of the essential features of that programme.

As I have said above, if we succeed in building up our organisations from the lowest to the highest unit and thus link the masses with ourselves, it will not be at all necessary to go to the councils. We shall be able to bend the

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Address. Government to our will without having had to enter the council chamber. It is because I am anxious that we should carry the people with us that I have ventured to lay stress on the urgency of concentrating our entire efforts on the fulfilment of the constructive programme. Organise the country, go to villages, work with the people and teach them how to work. Make your Congress Committees, from the village panchayet upwards to the All India Congress Committee, living, working and powerful institutions. That is the real work to be done for the attainment of Swaraj. Therefore, let this controversy about councils cease to distract our thoughts and energies and let us devote ourselves wholeheartedly to this work. Otherwise, all that has been done so far will be spoiled and Swaraj will begin to recede from our vision, and we shall be relegated to the position from where we had started.

Now, look at it from another standpoint. Suppose you are returned to the council what do you propose to do there? Some friends say that they will not take the oath of allegiance. Their seats will, in due course, be declared vacant. But they will again stand, get themselves elected and then again refuse to take the oath. This argument, if I may say so, is childish. Do you seriously think that those who ran the machinery of administration are so easily gullible? They can at once frame rules making it obligatory on a candidate to take the oath of allegiance, in some shape or other, before he is allowed to stand as such. They can make further rules preventing your entry into the councils. Over and above this, are you and your voters endowed with sufficient wealth and energy to keep yourselves constantly engaged in this perpetual strife? Now, let us consider the case of those who are prepared to take the oath of allegiance. If they are returned in a minority, all their labours will have been in vain. It remains to be seen how far they can hope to be returned in a majority. To be in such an overwhelming majority as to be able to prevent the formation of a quorum is to expect the impossible, because under the present constitution of these councils, the number of official and non-official members, appointed by the Government, is larger than the number required to form a quorum. Now, let us see if you can have a fair working majority. Take any council, by way of illustration. The number of official and non-official members, nominated by the Government, and those returned from special electorates, such as mining, planting, commerce, European, and that of land-holders, which is mainly composed of big Maharajas and Talukdars, is little less than half of the total number. For example, in this province, there are one hundred and three members. Of these, 46 are either nominees of the Government or elected by the special constituencies, referred to above. Thus, there are only 57 seats, which are open to us and our Moderate friends. It is just likely that the bureaucracy might stretch its helping hands to the party opposing us. But let us assume that they will do nothing of the kind. Do you think that of these 57 seats our opponents will not get even 16? My personal belief is we shall not be able to capture more than 40 seats at the highest. You can very well realise now what sort of working majority it will be. Those gentlemen, who stated in their examination before the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee that if the Congress sanctioned entry into the councils, they would easily command a majority, were perhaps thinking only of a majority amongst the elected members of the council and not in the council itself. But I will concede, for a moment, that you will have a working majority to start with. You propose to oppose every measure that may be introduced into the council. Have you ever thought of the consequences that will flow from such a course of conduct? The Government will continue to function through certification and vetoes. They will not experience the slightest difficulty in carrying on the administration. As a matter of fact, their path will be rendered smoother. They can afford to go on without these councils. To say that this action of the Government will lower them in the estimation of the civilised world, and will draw the sympathy of other free peoples to this country in its struggle for freedom is really to confess blissful ignorance. We are a nation of slaves. All

independent nations look down upon us with contempt. As a matter of fact, we are not reckoned among human beings. We can not, therefore, entertain any hope of sympathy from them. We have to work out our own salvation. If you go on opposing all good and bad measures in the council, you will create a strange situation in the country. The masses are incapable of appreciating your high philosophy. Suppose a measure dealing with rights of tenants and beneficial to them is brought before the council. Or some question about the construction of a Hindu temple or a Moslem mosque is raised in conformity with the wishes of the particular community concerned. You are bound by your principles to oppose it. But, believe me, this action on your part will inevitably produce undesirable effect on the people and they will at once conclude that you have lost the balance of your minds.

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I do not propose to say any thing further on this question, but I would take the liberty of making a personal appeal to you in this connection. When the proposal relating to entry into the councils is debated in this House, you will please listen to the arguments, advanced on either side, with respect and attention, and give them your best consideration. You will not show the slightest discourtesy to any one, or indulge in noisy demonstrations. Above all, it is of the utmost importance that whatever decision the Congress arrives at must be ungrudgingly and unreservedly accepted by the country and all controversies thereafter must cease. As a matter of fact, we should become more united than ever. The times are critical and the enemy is powerful and wary. I assure you, Gentlemen, on behalf of the people of my province, that the decision of the Congress will be loyally accepted and followed by them. Whatever the judgment of the Congress might be, we shall never allow ourselves to be elated or disheartened. If the Congress resolves in favour of entering the councils, those of us, who believe in the efficacy of the constructive programme and look upon it as the true road to Swaraj, will divide the work under the supervision of the Congress, and devote their whole attention to the carrying out of that programme. And those who are in favour of entry into the councils, following the lead of the Congress, will seek election and give a trial to their programme from inside the Council chamber. We shall never hamper them in their work. That is to say, like two brothers, we shall continue to be the two active limbs of the Congress organisation. If the Congress records its judgment against the council entry, I shall beseech my friends, who are today advocating this change in the programme, to forget the present controversy and to earnestly apply themselves to the constructive work. I assure them that they will soon realise, from their personal experience, that that is the real work, which will ultimately secure the freedom of the country.

I shall conclude now, but before I do so, I propose to draw your attention to an important matter. For the last two or three years, many people, who are unacquainted with the English language, have been attending the Congress as delegates or visitors. Mahatmaji always felt, and he missed no opportunity to emphasise his view, that the proceedings of the Congress and other connected organisations ought to be carried on in Hindustani, as far as practicable. Therefore I would beg of those friends, who can speak Hindustani, to address the National Assembly in that language.

In conclusion, I again offer you a hearty welcome and apologise to you for the many deficiencies in our arrangements.

After Mr. Braj Kishore Prasad had garlanded the president and put on him the president's Star, Deshabandhu walked to the rostrum amid deafening shouts of 'Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai' and read out his address covering twentyfive printed foolscap pages in bold and clear voice lasting for two hours and quarter amid pin drop silence broken only at intervals by cries 'hear, hear' and lusty cheers.

President's Sisters and Brothers,
Speech.

MAHATMA GANDHI.

AS I stand before you to-day a sense of overwhelming loss overtakes me, and I can scarcely give expression to what is uppermost in the minds of all and everyone of us. After a memorable battle which he gave to the Bureaucracy, Mahatma Gandhi has been seized and cast into prison ; and we shall not have his guidance in the proceedings of the Congress this year. But there is inspiration for all of us in the last stand which he made in the citadel of the enemy, in the last defiance which he hurled at the agents of the Bureaucracy. To read a story equal in pathos, in dignity, and in sublimity, you have to go back over two thousand years, when Jesus of Nazareth, "as one that perverted the people" stood to take his trial before a foreign tribunal.

" And Jesus stood before the Governor : and the Governor asked him, saying,

Art thou the king of the Jews ? And Jesus said unto him, Thou sayest."

" And when he was accused of the chief priests and elders, he answered nothing.

"Then said Pilate unto him, Hearest thou not how many things they witness against thee' ?

" And he answered him to never a word ; in so much that the Governor marvelled greatly, "

Mahatma Gandhi took a different course. He admitted that he was guilty, and he pointed out to the Public Prosecutor that his guilt was greater than he, the Prosecutor, had alleged ; but he maintained that if he had offended against the law of Bureaucracy, in so offending he had obeyed the law of God. If I may hazard a guess, the Judge who tried him and who passed a sentence of imprisonment on him was filled with the same feeling of marvel as Pontius Pilate had been.

Great in taking decisions, great in executing them, Mahatma Gandhi was incomparably great in the last stand which he made on behalf of his country. He is undoubtedly one of the greatest men that the world has ever seen. The world hath need of him, and if he is mocked and jeered at by " the people of importance, " " the people with a stake in the country "—Scribes and Pharisees of the days of Christ—he will be gratefully remembered, now and always by a nation which he led from victory to victory.

" LAW AND ORDER. "

Gentlemen, the time is a critical one and it is important to seize upon the real issue which divides the people from the Bureaucracy and its Indian allies. During the period of repression which began about this time last year it was this issue which pressed itself on our attention. This policy of repression was supported and in some cases instigated by the Moderate Leaders who are in the Executive Government. I do not charge those who supported the Government with dishonesty or want of patriotism. I say they were led away by the battle cry of Law and Order. And it is because I believe that there is a fundamental confusion of thought behind this attitude of mind that I propose to discuss this plea of Law and Order. "Law and Order" has indeed been the last refuge of Bureaucracies all over the world.

It has been gravely asserted not only by the Bureaucracy but also by its apologists, the Moderate Party, that a settled Government is the first necessity of any people and that the subject has no right to present his griev-

ances except in a constitutional way, by which I understand in some way recognised by the constitution. "If you cannot actively co-operate in the maintenance of "the law of the land" they say "it is your duty as a responsible citizen to obey it passively. Non-resistance is the least that the Government is entitled to expect from you." This is the whole political philosophy of the Bureaucracy—the maintenance of law and order on the part of the Government, and an attitude of passive obedience and non-resistance on the part of the subject. But was not that the political philosophy of every English king from William the Conqueror to James II? And was not that the political philosophy of the Romanoffs, the Hohenzollerns and of the Bourbons? And yet freedom has come, where it has come, by disobedience of the very laws which were proclaimed in the name of law and order. Where the Government is arbitrary and despotic and the fundamental rights of the people are not recognised, it is idle to talk of law and order.

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Speech

The doctrine has apparently made its way to this country from England. I shall, therefore, refer to English history to find out the truth about this doctrine. That history has recorded that most of the despots in England who exercised arbitrary sway over the people proposed to act for the good of the people and for the maintenance of law and order. English absolutism from the Normans down to the Stuarts tried to put itself on a constitutional basis through the process of this very law and order. The pathetic speech delivered by Charles I just before his execution puts the whole doctrine in a nutshell. "For the people," he said, "truly I desire their liberty and freedom as much as anybody whatsoever, but I must tell you that their liberty and freedom consist in having Government, those laws by which their lives and their goods may be their own. It is not their having a share in the Government, that is nothing appertaining to them. A subject and a sovereign are clear different things." The doctrine of law and order could not be stated with more admirable clearness. But though the English kings acted constitutionally in the sense that their acts were in accordance with the letter of law and were covered by precedents, the subject always claimed that they were free to assert their fundamental rights and to wrest them from the king by force or insurrections. The doctrine of law and order received a rude shock when King John was obliged to put his signature to the Magna Charta on the 15th of June, 1215. The 61st clause of the Charter is important for our purpose securing as it did to the subject the liberty of rebellion as a means for enforcing the due observance of the Charter by the Crown. Adams, a celebrated writer of the English Constitutional History says that the conditional right to rebel is as much at the foundation of the English constitution to-day as it was in 1215. But though the doctrine of law and order had received a rude shock, it did not altogether die; for the intervening period the Crown claimed and asserted the right to raise money, not only by indirect taxes but also by forced loans and benevolences; and frequently exercised large legislative functions not only by applying what are known as suspending and dispensing powers but also by issuing proclamations. The crown claimed, as Hallam says, "not only a kind of supplemental right of legislation to perfect and carry out what the spirit of existing laws might require but also a paramount supremacy, called sometimes the king's absolute or sovereign power which sanctioned commands beyond the legal prerogative, *for the sake of public safety* whenever the council might judge to be that in hazard." By the time of the Stuarts the powers claimed by the Crown were recognised by the courts of law as well founded, and, to quote the words of Adams, "the forms of law became the engines for the perpetration of judicial murders." It is necessary to remember that it was the process of law and order that helped to consolidate the powers of the Crown; for it was again and again laid down by the Court of Exchequer that the power of taxation was vested in the Crown, where it was "*for the general benefit of the people.*" As Adams says, "the Stuarts asserted a legal justifica-

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tion for everything done by them," and, "on the whole, history was with the king."

But how did the Commons meet this assertion of law and order? They were strict non-co-operators both within and outside the Parliament. Within the Parliament they again and again refused to vote supplies unless their grievances were redressed. The king retorted by raising Customs duties on his own initiative and the courts of law supported him. The Commons passed a resolution to the effect that persons paying them "should be reputed betrayers of liberties of England and enemies to the same." There was little doubt that revolution was on the land; and King Charles finding himself in difficulty gave his Royal Assent to the Bill of Rights on the 17th of June 1626. The Bill of Rights constitutes a triumph for non-co-operators; for it was by their refusal to have any part or share in the administration of the country that the Commons compelled the king to acknowledge their rights. The events that followed between 1629 and 1640 made the history of England. In spite of the Bill of Rights the king continued to raise Customs duties, and Elliot and his friends were put on their trial. They refused to plead, and the result was disastrous for the arbitrary power of the king. The king levied Ship money on the nation. The Chief constables of various places replied that the Sheriffs had no authority to assess or tax any man without the consent of the Parliament. On the refusal on the part of the people to pay the taxes their cattle was distrained, and no purchaser could be found for them. The king took the opinion of the Exchequer Court on the question whether, "*when the good and safety of the kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole kingdom is in danger*," mark how the formula has been copied verbatim in the Government of India Act, "may not the king * * * command all the subjects of his kingdom, to provide and furnish such number of ships, with men, victuals and munitions, and for such time as he shall think fit, *for the defence and safe guard of the kingdom from such peril*,"—again the formula!—"and by law compel the doing thereof in case of refusal and refractoriness? And whether in such case, is not the king sole judge, both of the danger, and when and how the same is to be prevented?" The judges answered in the affirmative and maintained the answer in the celebrated case which Hampden brought before them.

I desire to emphasize one point, and that is, that throughout the long and bitter struggle between the Stuarts and Parliament, the Stuarts acted for the maintenance of law and order, and there is no doubt that both law and history were on their side. On the eve of the civil war, the question that divided the parties was this: could the Crown in the maintenance of law and order claim the passive obedience of the subject, or was there any power of resistance in the subject, though that resistance—might result in disorder and in breaches of law? The adherents of the Parliament stood for the power and the majesty of the people, the authority and "independency of Parliament," individual liberty, the right to resist, and the right to compel abdication and secure deposition of the Crown; in a word, they stood for Man against the coercive powers of the State. The adherents of the Crown stood for indefeasible right, a right to claim passive obedience and secure non-resistance on the part of the subject through the process of law and order; in a word, they stood for state coercion and compulsory co-operation against individual liberty.

The issue was decided in favour of Parliament, but, as it must happen in every war of arms, the victory for individual liberty was only temporary. Though the result of civil war was disastrous from the point of view of individual liberty and though it required another revolution, this time a non-violent revolution to put individual liberty on a sure foundation, "the knowledge that the subject had sat in rude judgment on their king, man to man, speeded the slow emancipation of the mind from the shackles of custom and ancient reverence."

The revolution of 1688—a bloodless revolution—secured for England that rule of law which is the only foundation for the maintenance of law and order. It completed the work which the Long Parliament had begun and which the execution of Charles I had interrupted. But how was the peaceful revolution of 1688 brought about? By defiance of authority and by rigid adherence to the principle that it is the inalienable right of the subject to resist the exercise by the executive of wide, arbitrary or discretionary powers of constraint.

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The principle for which the revolution of 1688 stood was triumphantly vindicated in the celebrated case of Dr. Sacheverell. In the course of a sermon which he had preached, he gave expression to the following sentiment. "The grand security of our Government and the very pillar upon which it stands, is founded upon the steady belief of the subjects' obligation to an absolute and unconditional obedience to the supreme power in all things lawful, and the utter illegality of resistance on any pretence whatsoever." This is the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance—the doctrine of law and order which is proclaimed to-day by every Bureaucrat in country, foreign or domestic, and which is supposed to be the last word on the subject's duty and Government's rights. But mark how they solved the problem in England in 1710. The Commons impeached Dr. Sacheverell giving expression to a view so destructive of individual liberty, and the Lords, by a majority of votes, found him guilty. The speeches delivered in the course of the trial are interesting. I desire to quote a few sentences from some of those speeches. Sir Joseph Jekyll, in the course of his speech said, "that as the law is the only measure of the Prince's authority, and the people's subjection, so the law derives its being and efficacy from common consent; and to place it on any other foundation than common consent, is to take away the obligation, this notion of common consent puts both prince and people *under*, to observe the laws. * * My Lords, as the doctrine of unlimited non-resistance was impliedly renounced by the whole nation in the revolution, so divers Acts of Parliament afterwards passed, expressing their renunciation, * * * and, therefore, I shall only say that it can never be supposed that the laws were made to set up a despotic power to destroy themselves, and to warrant the subversion of a constitution of a Government which they were designed to establish and defend." Mr. Walpole put the whole argument in a nutshell when he said, "the doctrine of unlimited, unconditional passive obedience was first invented to support arbitrary and despotic power and was never promoted or countenanced by any Government that had not designs, some time or other of making use of it." The argument against the doctrine of law and order could not be put more clearly or forcibly: for his argument comes to this, the doctrine is not an honest one, if law and order is the process by which absolutism consolidates its powers and strengthens its hand I will make one more quotation, and that is from the speech of Major-General Stanhope. "As to the doctrine itself of absolute non-resistance it should seem needless to prove by argument that it is inconsistent with the law of reason, with the law of nature, and with the practice of all ages and countries. And indeed, one may appeal to the practice of all churches and of all states and of all nations in the world, how they behaved themselves when they found their civil and religious constitutions invaded and oppressed by tyranny."

This, then, is the history of the freedom movement in England. The conclusion is irresistible that it is not by acquiescence in the doctrine of law and order that the English people have obtained the recognition of their fundamental rights. It follows from the survey that I have made, firstly, that no regulation is law unless it is based on the consent of the people; secondly, where such consent is wanting, the people are under no obligation to obey; thirdly, where such laws are not only not based on the consent of the people but profess to attack their fundamental rights, the subjects are entitled to compel

President's their withdrawal by force or insurrections; fourthly, that law and order is, and has always been, a plea for absolutism, and lastly, there can be neither law nor order before the real reign of law begins.

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I have dealt with the question at some length, as the question is a vital one, and there are many Moderates who still think that it is the duty of every loyal subject to assist the Government in the maintenance of law and order. The personal liberty of every Indian to-day depends to a great extent on the exercise by persons in authority of wide, arbitrary or discretionary powers. Where such powers are allowed the rule of law is denied. To find out the extent to which this exploded doctrine of law and order influences the minds of sober and learned men you have only to read the Report of the Committee appointed to examine the Repressive Laws. You will find in the Report neither the vision of the patriot nor the wisdom of the statesman; but you will find an excessive worship of that much advertised, but much misunderstood phrase, "Law and Order." Why is Regulation 3 of 1818 to be amended and kept on the Statute Book? Because for the protection of the frontiers of India and the fulfilment of the responsibility of the Government of India in relation to Indian States, there must be some enactment to arm the Executive with powers to restrict the movements and activities of certain persons who, though not coming within the scope of any criminal law, have to be put under some measure of restraint. Why are the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908 and the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, 1911 to be retained on the Statute Book? For the preservation of law and order. They little think, these learned gentlemen responsible for the Report, that these Statutes, giving, as they do to the Executive, wide, arbitrary and discretionary powers of constraint, constitute a state of things wherein it is the duty of every individual to resist and to defy the tyranny of such lawless laws. These Statutes in themselves constitute a breach of law and order, for, law and order is the result of the rule of law; and where you deny the existence of the rule of law, you cannot turn round and say, "it is your duty as law-abiding citizens to obey the law."

We have had abundance of this law and order during the last few years of our National History. The last affront delivered to the nation, was the promulgation of an Executive order under the authority of the Criminal Law Amendment Act making the legitimate work of Congress Volunteers illegal and criminal. This was supported by our Moderate friends on the ground that it is the duty of the law-abiding subject to support the maintenance of law and order. The doctrine, as I said before, has travelled all the way from the shores of England. But may I ask—is there one argument advanced to-day by the Bureaucracy and its friends which was not advanced with equal clearness by the Stuarts? When the Stuarts arrogated to themselves a discretionary power of committing to prison all persons who were on any account obnoxious to the Court, they made the excuse that the power was necessary for the safety of the nation, and the power was resisted in England, not because it was never exercised for the safety of the nation, but because the existence of the power was inconsistent with the existence at the same time of individual liberty. When the Stuarts claimed the right to legislate by proclamations and by wide exercise of suspending and dispersing powers, they did so on the express ground that such legislation was necessary for public safety. That right was denied by the English nation, not because such legislation was not necessary for public safety, but because such right could not co-exist with the fundamental right of the nation to legislate for itself. Is the power of the Governor-General to certify that the passage of a Bill is essential for safety or tranquility or interest of British India any different from the power claimed by the Stuarts? There is indeed a striking resemblance between the power conferred on the Governor-General and the Governors of the provinces and the powers claimed by the Tudors and

the Stuarts. When the Stuarts claimed the right to raise revenue on their own initiative, they disclaimed any intention to exercise such right except "*when the good and safety of the kingdom in general is concerned and the whole kingdom is in danger.*" That right was registered in England, not because the revenues raised by them were not necessary for the good and safety of the kingdom, but because that right was inconsistent with the fundamental right of the people to pay such taxes only as were determined by the representatives of the people for the people. Is the power conferred on the Governor to certify that the expenditure provided for by a particular demand not assented to by the Legislature is essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the subject any different from the power claimed by the Stuarts? It should be patent to every body that we do not live under the rule of law, and the history of England has proclaimed that it is idle to talk of the maintenance of law and order when large discretionary powers of constraint are vested in the Executive. The manhood of England triumphantly resisted the pretensions of "Law and Order." If there is manhood in India to-day, India will successfully resist the same pretensions advanced by the Indian Bureaucracy.

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I have quoted from English history at length because the argument furnished by that history appeals to most people who are frightened by popular movements into raising the cry of "law and order," and who think that the development of the great Indian nation must follow the lines laid down in that history. For myself I oppose the pretensions of "law and order," not on historical precedent, but on the ground that it is the inalienable right of every individual and of every nation to stand on truth and to offer a stubborn resistance to the promulgation of lawless laws. There was a law in the time of Christ which forbade the people from eating on the Sabbath, but allowed the priests to profane the Sabbath. And how Christ dealt with the law is narrated in the New Testament.

"At that time Jesus went on the Sabbath day through the corn; and his disciples were an hungred, and began to pluck the ear of corn, and to eat. But when the Pharisees saw it, they said unto him, Behold, thy disciples do that which is not lawful to do upon the Sabbath day.

"But he said unto them, Have ye not read what David did, when he was an hungred and they that were with him;

"How he entered into the house of God and did eat the shewbread which was not lawful for him to eat, neither for them which were with him, but only for the priests?

"Or have ye not read in the law, how that on the Sabbath days the priests in the temple profaned the Sabbath, and are blameless?"

The truth is, that law and order is for Man, and not Man for Law and Order. The development of nationality is a sacred task and anything which impedes that task is an obstacle which the very force and power of nationality must overcome. If, therefore, you interpose a doctrine to impede the task, why, the doctrine must go. If you have recourse to law and order to establish and defend the rule of law then your law and order is entitled to claim the respect of all law abiding citizens; but as soon as you have recourse to it not to establish and defend the rule of law but to destroy and attack it, there is no longer any obligation on us to respect it, for a Higher Law, the natural law, the law of God compels us to offer our stubborn resistance to it. When I find something put forward in the sacred name of law and order which is deliberately intended to hinder the growth, the development, and the self realisation of the nation, I have no hesitation whatever in proclaiming that such law and order is an outrage on man and an insult to God.

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But though our Moderate friends are often deluded by the battle-cry of law and order, I rejoice when I hear that cry. It means that the Bureaucracy is in danger and that the Bureaucracy has realized its danger. It is not without reason that a false issue is raised; and the fact that false issue has been raised fills me with hope and courage. I ask my countrymen to be patient and to press the charge. Freedom has already advanced when the alarm of law and order is sounded; that is the history of Bureaucracies all over the world.

In the meantime it is our duty to keep our ideal steadfast. We must not forget that we are on the eve of great changes, that world forces are working all around us and that the battle of freedom has yet to be won.

NATIONALISM : THE IDEAL.

What is the ideal which we must set before us? The first and foremost is the ideal of nationalism. Now what is nationalism? It is, I conceive, a process through which a nation expresses itself and finds itself, not in isolation from other nations, not in opposition to other nations, but as part of a great scheme by which, in seeking its own expression and therefore its own identity, it materially assists the self-expression and self-realisation of other nations as well: Diversity is as real as unity. And in order that the unity of the world may be established it is essential that each nationality should proceed on its own line and find fulfilment in self-expression and self-realisation. The nationality of which I am speaking must not be confused with the conception of nationality as it exists in Europe to-day. Nationalism in Europe is an aggressive nationalism, a selfish nationalism, a commercial nationalism, of gain and loss. The gain of France is the loss of Germany and the gain of Germany is the loss of France. Therefore French nationalism is nurtured on the hatred of Germany, and German nationalism is nurtured on the hatred of France. It is not yet realised that you cannot hurt Germany without hurting Humanity, and in consequence hurting France; and that you cannot hurt France without hurting Humanity, and in consequence hurting Germany. That is European nationalism; that is not the nationalism of which I am speaking to you to-day. I contend that each nationality constitutes a particular stream of the great unity, but no nation can fulfil itself unless and until it becomes itself and at the same time realises its identity with Humanity. The whole problem of nationalism is therefore to find that stream and to face that destiny. If you find the current and establish a continuity with the past, then the process of self-expression has begun, and nothing can stop the growth of nationality.

Throughout the pages of Indian history, I find a great purpose unfolding itself. Movement after movement has swept over this vast country, apparently creating hostile forces, but in reality stimulating the vitality and moulding the life of the people into one great nationality. If the Aryans and the non-Aryans met, it was for the purpose of making one people out of them. Brahmanism with its great culture succeeded in binding the whole of India and was indeed a mighty unifying force. Buddhism with its protests against Brahmanism served the same great historical purpose; and from Magadha to Taxila was one great Buddhistic empire which succeeded not only in broadening the basis of Indian unity, but in creating, what is perhaps not less important, the greater India beyond the Himalayas and beyond the seas, so much so that the sacred city where we have met may be regarded as a place of pilgrimage of millions and millions of people of Asiatic races. Then came the Mahomedans of divers races, but with one culture which was their common heritage. For a time it looked as if here was a disintegrating force, an enemy to the growth of Indian nationalism, but

the Mahomedans made their home in India, and, while they brought a new President's
speech. outlook and a wonderful vitality to the Indian life, with infinite wisdom, they did as little as possible to disturb the growth of life in the villages where India really lives. This new outlook was necessary for India; and if the two sister streams met, it was only to fulfil themselves and face the destiny of Indian history. Then came the English with their alien culture, their foreign methods, delivering a rude shock to this growing nationality; but the shock has only completed the unifying process so that the purpose of history is practically fulfilled. The great Indian nationality is in sight. It already stretches its hands across the Himalayas not only to Asia but to the whole of the world, not aggressively, but to demand its recognition, and to offer its contribution. I desire to emphasise that there is no hostility between the ideal of nationality and that of world peace. Nationalism is the process through which alone will world peace come. A full and unfettered growth of nationalism is necessary for world peace just as a full and unfettered growth of individuals is necessary for nationality. It is the conception of aggressive nationality in Europe that stands in the way of world peace; but once the truth is grasped that it is not possible for a nation to inflict a loss on another nation without at the same time inflicting a loss on itself, the problem of Humanity is solved. The essential truth of nationality lies in this, that it is necessary for each nation to develop itself, express itself and realise itself, so that Humanity itself may develop itself, express itself and realise itself. It is my belief that this truth of nationality will endure, although, for the moment, unmindful of the real issue the nations are fighting amongst themselves; and, if I am not mistaken, it is the very instinct of selfishness and self-preservation which will ultimately solve the problem, not the narrow and the mistaken selfishness of the present but a selfishness universalized by intellect and transfigured by spirit, a selfishness that will bring home to the nations of the world that in the efforts to put down their neighbours lies their own ruin and suppression.

We have, therefore, to foster the spirit of Nationality. True development of the Indian nation must necessarily lie in the path of Swaraj. A question has often been asked as to what is Swaraj. Swaraj is indefinable and is not to be confused with any particular system of Government. There is all the difference in the world between Swarajya and Swaraj. Swaraj is the natural expression of the national mind. The full outward expression of that mind covers, and must necessarily cover, the whole life history of a nation. Yet it is true that Swaraj begins when the true development of a nation begins, because as I have said, Swaraj is the expression of the national mind. The question of nationalism, therefore, looked at from another point of view, is the same question as that of Swaraj. The question of all questions in India to-day is the attainment of Swaraj.

NON-VIOLENT NON-CO-OPERATION.

I now come to the question of method. I have to repeat that it has been proved beyond any doubt that the method of non-violent non-co-operation is the only method which we must follow to secure a system of Government which may in reality be the foundation of Swaraj. It is hardly necessary to discuss the philosophy of non-co-operation. I shall simply state the different viewpoints from which this question may be discussed. From the national point of view the method of non-co-operation means the attempt of the nation to concentrate upon its own energy and to stand on its own strength. From the ethical point of view, non-co-operation means the method of self-purification, the withdrawal from that which is injurious to the development of the nation, and therefore to the good of humanity. From the spiritual point of view, Swaraj means that isolation which in the language of Sadhana is called *protiyahar*—that withdrawal from the forces which are foreign to our nature—an isolation and withdrawal which is necessary in order to bring out from our

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hidden depths the soul of the nation in all her glory. I do not desire to labour the point, but from every conceivable point of view, the method of non-violent non-co-operation must be regarded as the true method of "following in the path of Swaraj."

FORCE AND VIOLENCE.

Doubt has, however, been expressed in some quarters about the soundness of the principle of non-violence. I cannot refuse to acknowledge that there is a body of Indian opinion within the country as well as outside according to which non-violence is an ideal abstraction incapable of realisation, and that the only way in which Swaraj can ever be attained is by the application of force and violence. I do not for a moment question the courage, sacrifice and patriotism of those who hold this view. I know that some of them have suffered for the cause which they believe to be true. But may I be permitted to point out that apart from any question of principle, history has proved over and over again the utter futility of revolutions brought about by force and violence? I am one of those who hold to non-violence on principle. But let us consider the question of expediency. Is it possible to attain Swaraj by violent means? The answer which history gives is, an emphatic "No." Take all the formidable revolutions of the world.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

The history of the French Revolution is the history of a struggle at the first instance between the Crown and the nobility on one side and the Representative Assemblies with armed Paris on the other. Both took to violence, one to the bayonet and the other to the pike. The pike succeeded because the bayonet was held with uncertain hands. And then, as is usual after the victory gained with violence, the popular party was sharply divided between two sections—the Girondins and the Jacobins. Again there was an appeal to force. The Girondins asked the provinces to rise in arms, the Jacobins asked Paris to rise in arms. Paris being nearer and stronger, the Girondins were defeated and sent to the guillotine—the Jacobins seized the power. But it did not take them many months to fall out among themselves. First Robespierre and Danton sent Hebert and Chaumette to the guillotine, then Robespierre sent Danton to the guillotine. Robespierre in his turn was guillotined by Collot, Billaud and Tallien. These men, again were banished by others to the far off South America. If there was a slight difference of views between the Girondins and the Jacobins—there was practically none between the different sections of the Jacobins. The whole question was which of the various sections was to rule France. Force gave way to stronger force and at last under Napoleon France experienced a despotism similar to if not worse than the despotism of Louis XIV. As regards liberty there was not more liberty in France under the terrible Committee of Public Safety and Napoleon than under Louis XIV or Louis XV. The law of Prairial was 'certainly' much worse than Letters de Cachet. And the people—? On the Pont au Change, on the Place de Greve, in long sheds, Mercier, at the end of the Revolution, saw working men at their repast. One's allotment of daily bread had sunk to an ounce and-a-half. "Plates containing each three grilled herrings, sprinkled with shorn onions, wetted with a little vinegar; to this add some morsel of boiled prunes, and lentils swimming in a clear sauce; at these frugal tables I have seen them ranged by the hundred; consuming, without bread, their scant messes, far too moderate for the keenness of their appetite, and the extent of their stomach". "Seine water" remarks Carlyle grimly—rushing plenteous by, will supply the deficiency." One cannot forget the exclamation of Carlyle in this connection :

"O Man of Toil" "Thy struggling and thy daring, these six long

years of insurrection and tribulation, thou hast profited nothing by it, then? Thou consumest thy herring and water, in the blessed gold-red of evening. O why was the Earth so beautiful, becrimsoned with dawn and twilight, if man's dealings with man were to make it a vale of scarcity, of tears, not even soft tears? Destroying of Bastilles, discomfiting of Brunswicks, fronting of Principalities and Powers, of Earth and Tophet, all that thou hast dared and endured,—it was for a Republic of the Saloons? Aristocracy of Feudal Parchment has passed away with a mighty rushing; and now, by a natural course, we arrive at Aristocracy of the Moneybag. It is the course through which all European Societies are, at this hour, travelling. Apparently a still baser sort of Aristocracy? An infinitely baser; the basest yet known."

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Even to-day France is plodding her weary way towards Swaraj.

REVOLUTIONS IN ENGLAND.

The history of England proves the same truth. The revolution of the Barons in 1215 took away or purported to take away the power from the King; but the power fell into the hands of the aristocracy, and democracy did not share in the triumph of the Barons. Thus the great Charter, as a great historian has observed, was thus not a Charter of Liberty but of liberties. The revolution in the reign of Charles I produced a new dictator who suppressed freedom. The work which the Long Parliament began was interrupted by the revolution which followed the execution of the King, and it required another revolution this time, a bloodless revolution, to complete the work. I deny that the work is yet complete. The continual class war and the obvious economic injustice do not proclaim that freedom which England claimed for herself. I maintain that no people has yet succeeded in winning freedom by force and violence. The truth is that love of power is a formidable factor to be reckoned with, and those who secure that power by violence will retain that power by violence. The use of violence degenerates them who use it, and it is not easy for them, having seized the power, to surrender it. And they find it easier to carry on the work of their predecessor, retaining their power in their own hands. Non-violence does not carry with it that degeneration which is inherent in the use of violence.

REVOLUTIONS IN ITALY AND RUSSIA.

The Revolutions in Italy and Russia illustrate the same principle. The Italian Revolution inspired by Mazzini and worked out by Garibaldi and Cavour, did not result in the attainment of Swaraj. The freedom of Italy is yet in the making, and the men and women of Italy are to-day looking forward to another revolution. If it results in a war of violence it will again defeat its purpose, but only to allow Freedom and Non-violence to triumph in the end.

The recent revolution in Russia is very interesting study. The shape which it has now assumed is due to the attempt to force Marxian doctrines and dogmas on the unwilling genius of Russia. Violence will again fail. If I have read the situation accurately I expect a counter revolution. The soul of Russia must struggle to free herself from the socialism of Carl Marx. It may be an independent movement, or it may be that the present movement contains within itself the power of working out that freedom. In the meantime the fate of Russia is trembling in the balance.

NON-VIOLENT NON-CO-OPERATION THE ONLY METHOD.

I believe in revolutions, but I repeat, violence defeats freedom. The revolution of non-violence is slower but surer. Step by step the soul of the nation emerges and step by step the nation marches on in the path of Swaraj. The only method by which Freedom can be attained in India at any rate, is

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the method of non-violent non-co-operation. Those who believe this method to be impracticable would do well to ponder over the Akali movement. When I saw the injuries of the wounded at Amritsar and heard from their lips that not one of them had even wished to meet violence by violence inspite of such grave provocation, I said to myself, "here was the triumph of non-violence."

Non-violence is not an idle dream. It was not in vain that Mahatma declared "put up thy sword into the sheath." Let those who are "of the truth" hear his voice as those others heard a mightier voice two thousand years ago.

The attempt of the Indian nation to attain Swaraj by this method was, however, met by severe repression. The time has come for us to estimate our success as well as our failure. So far as repression is concerned, it is easy to answer the question. I have not the least doubt in my mind that the nation has triumphed over the repression which was started and continued to kill the soul of the movement.

SUCCESS OF NON-VIOLENT NON-CO-OPERATION.

But the question, which agitates most minds, is as to whether we have succeeded in our work of non-violent non-co-operation. There is, I am sorry to say, a great deal of confusion of thought behind the question. It is assumed that a movement must either succeed or fail, whereas the truth is that human movements, I am speaking of genuine movements, neither altogether succeed nor altogether fail. Every genuine movement proceeds from an ideal, and the ideal is always higher than the achievement. Take the French Revolution. Was it a success? Was it a failure? To predicate either would be a gross historical blunder. Was the non-co-operation movement in India a success? Yes, a mighty success when we think of the desire for Swaraj which it has succeeded in awakening throughout the length and breadth of this vast country. It is a great success when we think of the practical result of such awakening, in the money which the nation contributed, in the enrolment of members of the Indian National Congress and in the boycott of foreign cloth. I go further and say that the practical achievement also consists of the loss of prestige suffered by Educational Institutions and the Courts of Law and the Reformed Councils throughout the country. If they are still resorted to, it is because of the weakness of our countrymen. The country has already expressed its strong desire to end these institutions. Yet it must be admitted that from another point of view, when we assess the measure of our success in the spirit of Arithmetic, we are face to face with "the petty done" and "the undone vast." There is much which remains to be accomplished. Non-violence has to be more firmly established. The work of non-co-operation has to be strengthened, and the field of non-co-operation has to be extended. We must be firm but reasonable. The spirit of sacrifice has got to be further strengthened, and we must proceed with the work of destruction and creation more vigorously than before. I say to our critics, I admit we have failed in many directions, but will you also not admit our success where we have succeeded?

CHARGE OF CORRUPTING THE YOUTHS.

We have been denounced by the Moderates for having corrupted the youth of the country. It has been asserted that we have taught sons to disobey their fathers, the pupils their teachers, and the subject the Government. We plead guilty to the charge, and we rely upon every spiritual movement as argument in our support. Christ himself was tried for having corrupted the people, and the answer which he gave in anticipation is as emphatic as it is instructive :

"Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I come not to send peace, but a sword."

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"For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against his mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law."

CHARGE OF HYPOCRISY.

It has been said that with love on our lips we have been preaching the gospel of hatred. Never was such a vile slander uttered. It may be we have failed to love, it may be we lost ourselves, some of us, in hatred, but that only shows our weakness and imperfectness. Judge us by our ideal, not by what we have achieved. Wherever we have fallen short of that ideal put it down to our weakness. On behalf of the Indian National Congress I deny the charge of hypocrisy. To those who are ever anxious to point out our defects, I say with all humility, "my friends, if we are weak, come and join us and make us stronger. If the leaders are worthless, come and join us to lead and the leaders will stand aside. If you do not believe in the ideal, what is the use of always criticising us in the light of that ideal?" We need no critic to tell us how far we have fallen short of that ideal. Evidence of weakness has met me from every direction in which I have looked; but in spite of our defects of human weakness, of human imperfection, I feel bold enough to say that our victory is assured and that the Bureaucracy knows that our victory is assured.

HOW TO APPLY THE METHOD OF NON-VIOLENT NON-CO-OPERATION.

But though the method of non-violent non-co-operation is sure and certain, we have now to consider how best to apply that method to the existing circumstances of the country. I do not agree with those who think that the spirit of the nation is so dead that non-violent non-co-operation is no longer possible. I have given the matter my earnest thought, and I desire to make it perfectly clear that there is absolutely no reason for entertaining any feelings of doubt or despair. The outward appearance of the people to-day is some what deceptive. They appear to be in a tired condition and a sense of fatigue has partially overcome them. But beneath all this exterior of quietude, the pulse of the nation beats as strongly as before and as hopefully as at the beginning of this movement. We have to consolidate the strength of the nation. We have to devise a plan of work which will stimulate their energy so that, we can accelerate our journey towards Swaraj. I shall place before you one by one the items of work which, in my opinion, the Indian National Congress should prescribe for the nation.

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF DIFFERENT COMMUNITIES.

It should commence its work for the year by a clearer declaration of the rights of the different communities in India under the Swaraj Government. So far as the Hindus and the Mahomedans are concerned there should be a clear and emphatic confirmation of what is known as the Lucknow Compact, and along with that there should be an emphatic recognition of each other's rights, and each should be prepared to undergo some kind of sacrifice in favour of the other. Let me give an instance to make my meaning clear. Every devout Musalman objects to any music in front of a mosque, and every devout and orthodox Hindu objects to cows being slaughtered. May not the Hindus and the Musalmans of India enter into a solemn compact so that there may not be any music before any mosque and that no cows may be slaughtered? Other instances may be quoted. There should be a scheme of a series of sacrifices to be suffered by each community so that they may advance shoulder

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to shoulder in the path of Swaraj. As regards the other Communities such as Sikhs, Christians and Parsees, the Hindus and the Mahomedans who constitute the bulk of the people should be prepared to give them even more than their proportional share in the Swaraj administration. I suggest that the Congress should bring about real agreement between all these communities by which the rights of every minority should be clearly recognised in order to remove all doubts which may arise and all apprehensions which probably exist. I need hardly add that I include among Christians not only pure Indians, but also Anglo-Indians and other people who have chosen to make India their home. Such an agreement as I have indicated was always necessary but such an agreement is specially necessary in view of the work which faces us to-day

FOREIGN PROPAGANDA.

I further think that the policy of exclusiveness which we have been following during the last two years should now be abandoned. There is in every country a number of people who are selfless followers of liberty and who desire to see every country free. We can no longer afford to lose their sympathy and co-operation. In my opinion, there should be established Congress Agencies in America and in every European country. We must keep ourselves in touch with world movements and be in constant communication with the lovers of freedom all over the world.

THE GREAT ASIATIC FEDERATION.

Even more important than this is participation of India in the great Asiatic Federation, which I see in the course of formation. I have hardly any doubt that the Pan-Islamic movement, which was started on a somewhat narrow basis, has given way or is about to give way to the great Federation of all Asiatic people. It is the union of the oppressed nationalities of Asia. Is India to remain outside this union? I admit that our freedom must be won by ourselves but such a bond of friendship and love of sympathy and co-operation, between India and the rest of Asia, nay, between India and all the liberty-loving people of the world is destined to bring about world peace. World peace to my mind means the freedom of every nationality, and I go further and say that no nation in the face of the earth can be really free when other nations are in bondage. The policy which we have hitherto pursued was absolutely necessary for the concentration of the work which we took upon ourselves to perform, and I agreed to that policy whole-heartedly. The hope of the attainment of Swaraj or a substantial basis of Swaraj in the course of the year made such concentration absolutely necessary. To-day that very work demands broader sympathy and a wider outlook.

DEMANDS FOR PUNJAB WRONGS, KHILAFAT, SWARAJ &c.

We are on the eve of great changes, and the world forces are upon us. The victory of Kemal Pasha has broken the bond of Asia, and she is all astir with life. It is Prometheus who "spoke within her" and her thoughts are like the many forests of vale through which the might of whirlwind and of rain had passed." The stir within every European country for the real freedom of the people has also wrought a marvellous transformation in the mentality of subject races. That which was more or less a matter of ideal has now come within the range of practical politics. The Indian nation has found out its bearings. At such a time as this, it is necessary for us to re-consider and to re-state our demands. Our demands regarding the Punjab wrongs have got to be restated because many of them have already been realised; our demands regarding Khilafat have got to be re-considered because some of them have already been

worked out, and we hope that before the Lausanne Commission has finished its work very little of it will remain unrealised. Our demand for Swaraj must now be presented in a more practical shape. The Congress should frame a clear scheme of what we mean by a system of Government which may serve as a real foundation for Swaraj. Hitherto, we have not defined any such system of Government. We have not done so advisedly as it was on the psychological aspect of Swaraj that we concentrated our attention. But circumstances to-day have changed. The desire is making us impatient. It is therefore the duty of the Congress to place before the country a clear scheme of the system of Government which we demand. Swaraj, as I have said, is indefinable and is not to be confused with any particular system of Government. Yet the national mind must express itself, and although the full outward expression of Swaraj covers the whole life history of a nation, the formulation of such a demand cannot be any further delayed.

President's
Speech.

SCHEME OF GOVERNMENT.

It is hardly within the province of this address to deal with any detailed scheme of any such Government. I cannot, however, allow this opportunity to pass without giving you an expression of my opinion as to the character of that system of Government. No system of Government which is not for the people and by the people can ever be regarded as the true foundation of Swaraj. I am firmly convinced that a parliamentary Government is not a Government by the people and for the people. Many of us believe that the Middle Class must win Swaraj for the masses. I do not believe in the possibility of any class movement being ever converted into a movement for Swaraj. If to-day the British Parliament grants provincial autonomy in the provinces with responsibility in the central Government, I for one, will protest against it, because that will inevitably lead to the concentration of power in the hands of the Middle Class. I do not believe that the Middle Class will then part with their power. How will it profit India, if in place of the white Bureaucracy that now rules over her, there is substituted an Indian Bureaucracy of the middle classes. Bureaucracy is Bureaucracy, and I believe that the very idea of Swaraj is inconsistent with the existence of a Bureaucracy. My ideal of Swaraj will never be satisfied unless the people co-operate with us in its attainment. Any other attempt will inevitably lead to what European Socialists call the "Bourgeoise" Government. In France and in England and in other European countries it is the middle class who fought the battle of freedom, and the result is that power is still in the hands of this class. Having usurped the power they are unwilling to part with it. If to-day the whole of Europe is engaged in a battle of real freedom it is because the nations of Europe are gathering their strength to wrest this power from the hands of the middle classes. I desire to avoid the repetition of that chapter of European history. It is for India to show the light to the world,—Swaraj by non-violence and Swaraj by the people.

To me the organisation of village life and the practical autonomy of small local centres are more important than either provincial autonomy or central responsibility; and if the choice lay between the two, I would unhesitatingly accept the autonomy of the local centres. I must not be understood as implying that the village centres will be disconnected units. They must be held together by a system of co-operation and integration. For the present, there must be power in the hands of the provincial and the Indian Government; but the ideal should be accepted once for all, that the proper function of the central authority, whether in the Provincial or in the Indian Government is to advise, having a residuary power of control only in case of need, and to be exercised under proper safeguards. I maintain that real Swaraj can only be attained by vesting the power of Government in these local centres,

resident and I suggest that the Congress should appoint a Committee to draw up a
 Speech. scheme of Government which would be acceptable to the nation.

The most advanced thought of Europe is turning from the false individualism on which European culture and institutions are based to what I know to be the ideal of the ancient village organisation of India. According to this thought modern democracy of the ballot box and large crowds has failed, but real democracy has not yet been tried. What is the real democracy of modern European thought ?

The foundation of real democracy must be laid in small centres—not gradual decentralisation which implies a previous centralisation—but a gradual integration of the practically autonomous small centres into one living harmonious whole. What is wanted is a human state not a mechanical contrivance. We want the growth of institutions and organisations which are really dynamic in their nature and not the more static stability of a centralised state.

This strain of European thought found some expression in the philosophy of Hegel according to whom "human institutions belong to the region, not of inert externality, but of mind and purpose, and are therefore dynamic and self-developing".

Modern European thought has made it clear that from the Individual to the "unified state," it is one continuous process of real and natural growth. Sovereignty (Swaraj) is a relative notion. "The individual is sovereign over himself"—attains his Swaraj—"in so far as he can develop, control and unify his manifold nature." From the individual we come to "integrated neighbourhood" which is the real foundation of the unified state which again in its turn gives us the true ideal of the world-state. This integrated neighbourhood is great deal more than the mere physical contiguity of the people who live in the neighbourhood area. It requires the evolution of what has been called neighbourhood "consciousness." In other words, the question is "how can the force generated by the neighbourhood life become part of our whole civic and national life ?" It is this question which now democracy takes upon itself to solve.

The process prescribed is the generation of the collective will. The democracy which obtains to-day rests on an attempt of securing a common will by a process of addition. This really means a war of wills, the issue being left to be decided by a mere superiority of numbers. New democracy discountenances this process of addition, and insists on the discovery of detailed means and methods by which the different wills of a neighbourhood entity may grow into one common collective will. This process is not a process of addition but of integration, and the consciousness of the neighbourhood thus awakened must express the common collective will of that neighbourhood entity. The collective wills of the several neighbourhood centres, must by a similar process of integration be allowed to evolve the common collective will of the whole nation. It is only thus, by a similar process of integration that any league of nations may be real and the vision of a world state may be realized.

The whole of this philosophy is based on the idea of the evolution of individual. The idea is to "release the powers of the individual." Ordinary notions of state have little to do with true individualism *i. e.*, "with the individual as consciously responsible for the life from which he draws his breath and to which he contributes his all. According to this school of thought "representative Government, party organisation, majority rule with all their excrescences are dead-wood. In their stead must appear the organisation of non-partisan groups for the begetting, the bringing into being, of common ideas, a common purpose and the collective will." This means the true development and extension of the individual self. The institutions that exist today have made

machines of men. No Government will be successful, no true Government is possible which does not rest on the individual. "Up to the present moment," says the gifted authoress of the *New State*, we have never seen the individual yet. The search for him has been the whole long striving of our Anglo Saxon history. We sought him through the method of representation and failed to find him. We sought to reach him by extending the suffrage to every man and then to every woman and yet he eludes us. Direct Government now seeks the individual." In another place the same writer says: "Thus group organisation releases us from the domination of mere numbers, thus democracy transcends time and space. It can never be understood except as a spiritual force. Majority rule rests on numbers; democracy rests on the well grounded assumption that society is not a collection of units, but a net work of human relations. Democracy is not worked out at the polling booths; it is the bringing forth of a genuine collective will, one to which every single being must contribute the whole of his complex life, as one which every single being must express the whole of at one point. Thus the essence of democracy is creating. The technique of democracy is group organisation." According to this school of thought no living state is possible without the development and the extension of the individual self. State itself is no static unit. Nor is it an arbitrary creation. "It is a process; a continual self-modification to express its different stages of growth in which each and all must be so flexible that continual change of form is twin-fellow of continual growth." This can only be realised when there is a clear perception that individuals and groups and the nation stand in no antithesis. The integration of all these into one conscious whole means and must necessarily mean the integration of the wills of individuals into the common and collective will of the entire nation.

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Speech.

The general trend of European thought has not accepted the ideal of this new democracy. But the present problems which are agitating Europe seem to offer no other solution. I have very little doubt that this ideal which appears to many practical politicians as impracticable will be accepted as the real ideal at no distant future. "There is little yet" I again quote from the same author, "that is practical in practical politics."

The fact is that all the progressive movements in Europe have suffered because of the want of a really spiritual basis and it is refreshing to find that this writer has seized upon it. To those who think that the neighbourhood group is too puny to serve as a real foundation of Self-Government, she says, "is our daily life profane and only so far as we rise out of it do we approach the sacred life? Then no wonder politics are what they have become. But this is not the creed of men to-day; we believe in the sacredness of our life; we believe that divinity is for ever incarnating in humanity, and so we believe in Humanity and the common daily life of all men."

There is thus a great deal of correspondence between this view of life and the view which I have been endeavouring to place before my countrymen for the last 15 years. For the truth of all truths, is that the outer *Leela* of God reveals itself in history. Individual, Society, Nation, Humanity are the different aspects of that very *Leela* and scheme of Self-Government which is practically true and which is really practical can be based on any other Philosophy of life. It is the realisation of this truth which is the supreme necessity of the hour. This is the soul of Indian thought, and this the ideal towards which the recent thought of Europe is slowly but surely advancing.

To frame such a scheme of Government regard must, therefore, be had—

- (1) to the formation of local centres more or less on the lines of the ancient village system of India.

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- (2) the growth of larger and larger groups out of the integration of these village centres.
- (3) the unifying state should be the result of similar growth.
- (4) the village centres and the larger groups must be practically autonomous.
- (5) the residuary power of control must remain in the central Government but the exercise of such power should be exceptional and for that purpose proper safeguard should be provided, so that the practical autonomy of the local centres may be maintained and at the same time the growth of the central Government into a really unifying state may be possible. The ordinary work of such central Government should be mainly advisory.

As a necessary corollary to what I have ventured to suggest as the form of Government which we should accept, I think that the work of organising these local centres should be forthwith commenced. The modern subdivisions or even smaller units may be conveniently taken as the local centres, and larger centres may be conveniently formed. Once we have our local areas—"The neighbourhood group" we should foster the habit of corporate thinking, and leave all local problems to be worked out by them. There is no reason why we should not start the Government by these local centres to-day. They would depend for their authority on the voluntary co-operation of the people, and voluntary co-operation is much better than the compulsory co-operation which is at the bottom of the Bureaucratic rule in India. This is not the place to elaborate the scheme which I have in mind; but I think that is essentially necessary to appoint a Committee with power, not only to draw up a scheme of Government but to suggest means by which the scheme can be put in operation at once.

BOYCOTT OF COUNCIL.

The next item of work to which I desire to refer is the boycott of Councils. Unhappily the question has become part of the controversy of Change or No-change. To my mind the whole controversy proceeds on a somewhat erroneous assumption. The question is not so much as to whether there should be a change in the programme of the work; the real question is whether it is not necessary now to change the direction of our activities in certain respect what I mean. Take the Bardoli Resolution. In the matter of boycott of schools and colleges the Bardoli Resolution alters the direction of our activity, which does not in any way involve the abandonment of the boycott. During the Swaraj year the idea was to bring the students out of Government schools and colleges, and if National schools were started they were regarded as concessions to the "weakness" of those students. The idea was, to quote the words of Mahatma Gandhi, "political" and not "educational." Under the Bardoli Resolution, however, it is the establishment of schools and colleges which must be the main activity of national education. The idea is "educational," and if it still be the desire of the Congress to bring students out of Government schools and colleges, it is by offering them educational advantages. Here the boycott of schools and colleges is still upheld, but the direction of our activities is changed. In fact, such changes must occur in every revolution, violent or non-violent as it is only by such changes that the ideal is truly served.

In the next place, we must keep in view the fact that according to unanimous opinion of the members of the Enquiry Committee, Civil Disobedience on a large scale is out of question because the people are not prepared for it

I confess that I am not in favour of the restrictions which have been put upon the practical adoption of any system of civil disobedience, and in my opinion, the Congress should abolish those restrictions. I have not yet been able to understand why to enable a people to civilly disobey particular laws, it should be necessary that at least 80 per cent of them should be clad in pure "Khadi." I am not much in favour of general Mass Civil Disobedience. To my mind, the idea is impracticable. But the disobedience of particular laws which are eminently unlawful, laws which are the creatures of "law and Order," laws which are alike an outrage on humanity and an insult to God—disobedience of such laws is within the range of practical politics and in my opinion, every attempt should be made to offer disobedience to such laws. It is only by standing on truth that the cause of Swaraj may prevail. When we submit to such laws, we abandon the plank of truth. What hope is there for a nation so dead to the sense of truth as not to rebel against lawless laws, against regulations which insure their national being and hamper their national development?

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Speech.

I am of opinion that the question of the boycott of Councils which is agitating the country so much must be considered and decided in the light of the circumstances I have just mentioned. There is no opposition in idea between such civil disobedience as I have mentioned and the entry into the Councils for the purpose, and with the avowed object of either ending or mending them. I am not against the boycott of Councils. I am simply of opinion that the system of the Reformed Councils with their steel frame of the Indian Civil Service covered over by a dyarchy of deadlocks and departments, is absolutely unsuitable to the nature and genius of the Indian nation. It is an attempt of the British Parliament to force a foreign system upon the Indian people. India has unhesitatingly refused to recognise this foreign system as a real foundation for Swaraj. With me, as I have often said, it is not a question of more or less; I am always prepared to sacrifice much for a real basis of Swaraj, nor do I attach any importance to the question as to whether the attainment of full and complete independence will be a matter of 7 years or 10 years or 20 years. A few years is nothing in the life history of a nation. But I maintain that India cannot accept a system such as this as a foundation of our Swaraj. These Councils must therefore be either mended or ended. Hitherto we have been boycotting the Councils from outside. We have succeeded in doing much—the prestige of the Councils is diminished, and the country knows that the people who adorn those chambers are not the true representatives of the people. But though we have succeeded in doing much, these Councils are still there. It should be the duty of the Congress to boycott the Councils more effectively from within. Reformed Councils are really a mask which the Bureaucracy has put on. I conceive it to be our clear duty to tear this mask from off their face. The very idea of boycott implies, to my mind, something more than mere withdrawal. The boycott of foreign goods means that such steps must be taken that there may be no foreign goods in our markets. The boycott of the Reformed Councils, to my mind, means that such steps must be taken that these Councils may not be there to impede the progress of Swaraj. The only successful boycott of these Councils is either to mend them in a manner suitable to the attainment of Swaraj or to end them completely. That is the way in which I advise the nation to boycott the Councils.

A great deal of discussion has taken place in the country as to whether the boycott of Councils in the sense in which I mean it, is within the principle of non-violent non-co-operation. I am emphatically of opinion that it does not offend against any principle of non-co-operation which has been adopted and applied by the Indian National Congress. I am not dealing with logical or philosophical abstractions. I am only dealing with that which the Congress has adopted and called non-co-operation. In the first place may I point out that we have not up to now non-co-operated with the Bureaucracy? We have

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Speech. been merely preparing the people of this country to offer non-co-operation. Let me quote the Nagpur resolution on non-co-operation in support of my proposition. I am quoting only the portions which are relevant to this point :

“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 * * * now this Congress * * * declare that the entire or any part 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 into 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.*”

Then follows the effective steps such as, national education, boycott of law courts, boycott of foreign goods, etc., which must be taken “in the meanwhile.” It is clear therefore that the Congress has not yet advocated the application of non-co-operation but has merely recommended certain steps to be taken, so that, at some time or other, to be determined by the Congress, the Indian nation may offer non-co-operation. In the second place, let us judge of the character of this principle, not by thinking any of logical idea or philosophical abstraction, but by gathering the principle from the work and the activity which the Congress has enjoined. When I survey that work, it is clear to my mind, that the Congress was engaged in a twofold activity. In everything that the Congress commanded there is an aspect of destruction as there is an aspect of creation. The boycott of lawyers and law courts means the destruction of existing legal institutions; and the formation of Panchayats means the creation of agencies through which justice may be administered. The boycott of schools and colleges means the destruction of the department of Education ; and the establishment of National schools and colleges means the creation of educational institutions for the youth of India. The boycott of foreign goods followed as it was by the burning of foreign cloth means the destruction of the foreign goods already in the country and the preventing, in future, of foreign goods coming into the country. But on the other hand, the spinning wheel and the looms mean creative activity in supplying the people with indigenous cloth. Judged by this principle, what is wrong about the desire either to convert the Councils into institutions which may lead us to Swaraj, or to destroy them altogether ? The same twofold aspect of creation and destruction is to be found in the boycott of Councils in the way I want them to be boycotted.

It has also been suggested that it offends against the morality and spirituality of this movement. Let us take the two points separately. As regards the question of morality apart from the ethics of Non-co-operation, it has been urged that entering the Councils for the purpose of ending the Councils is unfair and dishonest. The argument implies that the Reformed Councils belong entirely to the Bureaucracy and the idea is that we should not enter into other people's property with a view to injure it. To my mind, the argument is based on a misconception of facts. Inadequate as the Reforms undoubtedly are, I do not for a moment admit that the Reforms Act was a gift of the British Parliament. It was, to quote the words of Mahatma Gandhi, “a concession to popular agitation.” The fact is that it is the resultant of two contending forces, the desire of the people for freedom and the desire of the Bureaucracy to oppose such desire. The result is that it has travelled along lines neither entirely popular nor entirely bureaucratic. The people of India do not like these Reforms, but let us not forget that the Bureaucracy does not like them either. Because it is the result of two contending forces pulling in different directions, the Reforms have assumed a tortured shape. But so far as the rights

recognised are concerned, they are our rights—our property—and there is nothing immoral or unfair or dishonest in making use of the rights which the people have extorted from the British Parliament. If the fulfilment of the very forces which have succeeded in securing the Reforms require that the Councils should either be mended or ended, if the struggle for freedom compels the adoption of either course, what possible charge of immorality can be levelled against it? I admit if we had proposed to enter the Councils stealthily with the avowed object of co-operation but keeping within our hearts the desire to break the Councils, such a course would undoubtedly have been dishonest. European diplomacy, let us hope, has been abolished by the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. If we play now, we play with all our cards on the table.

But some people say that it is immoral from the point of view of non-co-operation, because it involves an idea of destruction. The work of non-co-operation according to these patriots—I have the highest reverence for them—is only to build our national life ignoring altogether the existence of the Bureaucracy. It may be an honest ideal, and logically speaking, it may be the inner meaning of non-co-operation. But the non-co-operation which the Congress has followed is not so logical and I claim that if the principle of non-co-operation is to be advanced as a test of my programme, let it be the same principle which the Congress has accepted, adopted and applied. As I have already said, that principle countenances destruction as well as creation. As a matter of fact, circumstanced as we are with the Bureaucracy to the right and the Bureaucracy to the left, Bureaucracy all round us, it is impossible to create without destroying; nor must it be forgotten that if we break, it is only that we may build.

It has also been suggested that the very entry into the Councils is inconsistent with the ideal of non-co-operation. I confess I do not understand the argument. Supposing the Congress had sanctioned an armed insurrection, could it be argued that entry into the fort of the Bureaucracy is inconsistent with the principle of non-co-operation? Surely the charge of inconsistency must depend on the object of the entry. An advancing army does not co-operate with the enemy when it marches into the enemy's territory. Co-operation or non-co-operation must therefore depend on the object with which such entry is made. The argument, if analysed, comes to this that whenever the phrase "entry into Councils" is used it calls up the association of co-operation, and then the mere idea of this entry is proclaimed to be inconsistent with non-co-operation. But this is the familiar logical fallacy of four terms. Entry into the Council to co-operate with the Government and entry into the Councils to non-co-operate with the Government are two terms and two different propositions. The former is inconsistent with the idea of non-co-operation, the latter is absolutely consistent with that very idea.

Next let us understand the opposition from the point of view of the spirituality of our movement. The question of spirituality is not to be confused with the dictates of any particular religion. I am not aware of the injunctions of any religion against entering the Councils with a view either to mend them or end them. I have heard from many Mahomedans that the Koran lays down no such injunction. Other Mahomedan friends have told me that there may be some difficulty on that ground, but that is a matter with regard to which I am not competent to speak. The Khilafat must answer that question with such assistance as they may obtain from the Ulemas. It is needless to point out that should the Ulemas come to the conclusion that under the present circumstances it would be an offence against their religion to enter the Councils the Congress should unhesitatingly accept their decision, because no work in this country towards the attainment of Swaraj is possible without the hearty

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co-operation of both Hindus and Mussalmans. But I am dealing with that spirituality which does not affect any particular creed or any particular religion. Judged from the standpoint of such spirituality what objection can there be in removing from our path by all legitimate means any obstacle to the attainment of Swaraj? We burned foreign cloth without a scruple, and the spirituality of the movement did not receive a shock when we burned them. It is as well to start with a clear conception as to what that spirituality is. Apart from any creedal or doctrinal injunction and apart from any question of morality the basis of spirituality must be the attainment of freedom and of Swaraj. What is the duty which every human being owes not only to his race, not only to his nation, not only to humanity but also to his God? It is the right to fulfil oneself. It is the duty of living in the light of God. Shortly after my release from imprisonment I said in a public speech that all our national activities should be based on truth. Ever since that day questions and conundrums have been put to me. I have been asked to define what is truth. It has also been suggested that because I dared not tell the truth that I took refuge under the general expression. I still insist that our national activities must be based on truth. I repeat that I do not believe in politics, or in making water-tight compartments of our national life which is an indivisible organic whole. I repeat that as you cannot define life, you cannot define truth. The test of truth is not logical definition. The test of truth lies in its all-compelling force in making itself felt. You know truth when you have felt it. God cannot be defined, nor can truth, because truth is the revelation of God. Two thousand years ago, a jesting judge asked the same question of the Son of God. He made no answer by word of mouth; but he sacrificed himself and Truth was revealed. When I speak of spirituality I speak of the same truth. I look upon history as the revelation of God. I look upon human individual personality, nationality and humanity each contributing to the life of the other as the revelation of God to man. I look upon the attainment of freedom and Swaraj the only way of fulfilling oneself as individuals, as nations. I look upon all national activities as the real foundation of the service of that greater humanity which again is the revelation of God to man. The son of God brought to the world not peace but a sword—not the peace of death and immorality and corruptions but the "separating sword" of Truth. We have to fight against all corruptions and all immorality. It is only thus that freedom can be attained. Whatever obstacles there may be in the path of Swaraj either of the individual or of the nation, or humanity at large, these obstacles must be removed by the individual if he desires his freedom, by the nation if that nation desires to fulfil itself, by all the nations of the world if the cause of humanity is to prosper. That being the spirituality of the movement as I understand it I am prepared to put away all obstacles that lie between the Indian nation and the attainment of its freedom, not stealthily but openly, reverently in the name of truth and God. Judged from this ideal of spirituality the entry into the Councils for the purpose I have stated is necessary to advance the cause of truth. Everything in connection with the controversy must be judged by that standard.

At present the question before the country put by those members of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee who are in favour of Council entry is simply that the members of the Congress should stand as candidates. It is unnecessary therefore to go into other questions raised, such as in the matter of taking oath, the probability or otherwise of securing a majority and so on. With regard to the question of oath all that I need say at present is this, that apart from the dictates of any particular religion which I do not propose to deal with, the question does not present any difficulty at all. The oath is a constitutional one. The king stands for the constitution. Great changes in the constitution have taken place in England under that very oath. Now, what is the oath? It binds those who take it—first not to make any use of powers which are not allowed by the Reforms Act; secondly to discharge their duties

faithfully. So far as the first point is concerned, there is nothing in my suggestion which militates against it. So far as the second point is concerned, I am aware that a forced interpretation has been sought to be put upon it, namely, that a member taking the oath is bound to discharge his duties faithfully to the Bureaucracy. All that I need say is, that there is no constitutional authority of any kind to justify that interpretation. To my mind, the words mean a faithful discharge of a member's duties to his constituency by the exercise of powers recognised under the Reforms Act. I do not therefore understand what possible objection there may be to take the oath. But there again the question does not arise at present.

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Various other questions have been asked as to whether it is possible to secure a majority and as to what we should do supposing we are in a majority. I think it possible that having regard to the present circumstances of the country, the Non-co-operators are likely to get the majority. I am aware of the difficulty of the franchise, I am aware of the rules which prevent many of us from entering the Councils; but making every allowances for all these difficulties, I believe that we shall be in the majority. But here also the question doesn't arise till we meet in the Congress of 1923 when the matter may be discussed not on suppositions but on actualities.

As regards the question as to what we should do if we have the majority, the answer is clear. We should begin our proceedings by a solemn declaration of the existence of our inherent right, and by a formal demand for a constitution which would recognise and conserve those rights and give effect to our claims for the particular system of Government which we may choose for ourselves. If our demands are accepted, then the fight is over. But, as I have often said, if it is conceded that we are entitled to have that form of Government which we may choose for ourselves, and the real beginning is made with that particular form of Government in view, then it matters nothing to me whether the complete surrender of power is made to us to day, or in five years or even in twenty years. If, however, our demand is not given effect to, we must non-co-operate with the Bureaucracy by opposing each and every work of the Council. We must disallow the entire Budget. We must move the adjournment of the House on every possible occasion; and defeat every Bill that may be introduced. In fact we must so proceed that the Council will refuse to do any work unless and until our demands are satisfied. I am aware of the large powers of certification which Governors can exercise under the Reforms Act. But Government by certification is just as impossible as Government by Veto. Such procedure may be adopted on a few occasions. The time must soon come when the Bureaucracy must yield or withdraw the Reforms Act. In either case it is a distinct triumph for the nation, and either course if adopted by the Bureaucracy will bring us nearer to the realisation of our ideal.

Another question is often asked suppose we end these Reformed Councils,—what then? Could not the same question be asked with regard to every step the Congress has hitherto undertaken in the way of breaking, or destroying institutions. If we had succeeded in destroying the Educational Department, might not somebody ask—what then? If we had succeeded in destroying the legal institutions, might not the question be put with equal relevance? The fact is, destruction itself will never bring us Swaraj. The fact further is that no construction is possible without destruction. We must not forget that it is not this activity or that activity which by itself can bring Swaraj. It is the totality of our national activity in the way of destruction and in the way of creation, that will bring Swaraj. If we succeed in demolishing these Reformed Councils you will find the whole nation astir with life. Let them put other obstacles in our way; we shall remove them with added strength and greater vitality.

President's
Speech.

It has also been suggested that the Bureaucracy will never allow the Non-co-operators to enter the Councils,—they will alter the rules to prevent such entry. I cannot conceive of anything better calculated to strengthen the cause of non-co-operation than this. If any such rule is framed I should welcome it and again change the direction of our activity. The infant nation in India requires constant struggle for its growth and development. We must not forget that a great non-violent revolution is on the land, and we shall change the direction of our activities as often as circumstances require it. To-day the Councils are open and we must attack them,—to-morrow if the Councils are closed, we must be prepared to deal with the contingency when it arises. What do we do when it pours with rain? We turn our umbrella in the direction from which the water comes. It is in the same way that we must turn the direction of our activities whenever the fulfilment of our national life demands it.

The work of the Councils for the last two years has made it necessary for non-co-operators to enter the Councils. The Bureaucracy has received added strength from these Reformed Councils, and those who have entered the Councils speaking generally, have practically helped the cause of Bureaucracy. What is most necessary to consider is the fact that the taxation has increased by leaps and bounds. The expenditure of the Government of India has grown enormously since the pre-war year 1913-14. In that year the total expenditure of the Government of India amounted to 79 crores and 37 lakhs; in 1919-20, it rose to 138 crores, and in 1920-21, the first year of the reformed system of administration, it stood at 149 crores. The expenses of the current year are likely to be even higher. To meet the successive increases in expenditure, additional taxation was levied in 1916-17, 1917-18, 1919-20, 1921-22, and 1922-23. We may prepare ourselves for proposals for further additional taxation in the ensuing year. In spite of the levy of additional taxation, seven out of the last nine years have been years of deficit.

The increase in military expenditure is chiefly responsible for the present financial situation. In 1913-14, the expenses of this department amounted to about 31½ crores, in 1919-20, after the conclusion of the war they mounted up to 87½ crores, and in 1920-21, they stood at 88½ crores. As Sir Visvesarya remarks, the expenses under the head "Civil Administration" also have shown a perpetual tendency to increase. As a part and parcel of the Reform Scheme, the emoluments of the members of the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Educational Service, the Indian Medical Service and of all the other services recruited in England have been enormously increased; and to maintain some kind of fairness the salaries of the subordinate services which are manned by Indians have also been increased.

The financial situation in the provinces is not much better. Under the financial arrangements of the Reform Scheme, the provinces of India, taken together, secured an accession to their resources of about 11 crores of rupees. Besides the provinces had between them in 1920-21 a total accumulated balance of 21 crores and 68 lakhs. But so great has been the increase in provincial expenditure during the last two years that even those provinces which had hoped to realise large surpluses are now on the verge of bankruptcy. In the first year of the reform era most of the provinces were faced with deficits and were just able to tide over their financial difficulties by drawing upon their balances. But in the current year, the financial situation in many of the provinces has become worse. The Burma budget shows a deficit of 1 crore and 90 lakhs, the Punjab, 1 crore and 30 lakhs, Behar and Orissa, 51 lakhs, Madras, 41 lakhs, the United Provinces, 27 lakhs, the Central Provinces, 37 lakhs. The deficit of the Madras Government would have been much higher had it not taken steps to increase its revenues by Rs. 77½ lakhs from fresh taxation.

The Bengal statement shows an estimated surplus owing to the remission of the Provincial contribution to the Central Government and expected receipts from fresh taxation amounting to 1 crore and 40 lakhs. But it is very doubtful if the expectation will be realised and early next year, further fresh taxes are likely to be imposed. Assam has budgetted for a deficit of 14½ lakhs after the imposition of additional taxation. Proposals for further taxation are under consideration in the Punjab, Behar and Orissa, the Central Provinces and Assam. In the United Provinces the proposals brought forward by the Government were rejected by the Legislative Council.

President's
Speech.

I warn my countrymen against the policy of allowing these Reformed Councils to work their wicked will. There will undoubtedly be a further increase of taxation and there is an apprehension in my mind. I desire to express it with all the emphasis that I can command, that if we allow this policy of drift to continue the result will be that we shall lose the people who are with us to-day. Let us break the Councils if the Bureaucracy does not concede to the demands of the people. If there is fresh taxation, as it is bound to be, let the responsibility be on the Bureaucracy. Then you and I and the people will jointly fight the powers that be.

LABOUR ORGANISATION.

I am further of opinion that the Congress should take up the work of Labour and Peasant organisation. With regard to labour there is a resolution of the Nagpur Congress, but I am sorry to say that it has not been acted upon. There is an apprehension in the minds of some non-co-operators that the cause of non-co-operation will suffer if we exploit Labour for Congress purposes. I confess again I do not understand the argument. The word "exploitation" has got an ugly association, and the argument assumes that Labour and Peasants are not with us in this struggle of Swaraj. I deny the assumption. My experience has convinced me that Labour and the Peasantry of India to-day are, if anything, more eager to attain Swaraj than the so-called middle and educated classes. If we are "exploiting" boys of tender years and students of colleges if we are "exploiting" the women of India, if we are "exploiting" the whole of the middle classes irrespective of their creed and caste and occupation, may I ask what justification is there for leaving out Labourers and the Peasants? I suppose the answer is that they are welcome to be the members of the Congress Committees but that there should not be a separate organisation of them. But Labour has got a separate interest and they are often oppressed by foreign capitalist, and the Peasantry of India is often oppressed by a class of men who are the standard-bearers of the Bureaucracy. Is the service of this special interest in any way antagonistic to the service of nationalism? To find bread for the poor to secure justice to the class of people who are engaged in a particular trade or avocation—how is that work any different from the work of attaining Swaraj. Anything which strengthens the national cause, anything which supports the masses of India is surely as much a matter of Swaraj as any other item of work which the Congress has in hand. My advice is that the Congress should lose no time in appointing a Committee, a strong workable Committee, to organise Labour and the Peasantry of India. We have delayed the matter already too long. If the Congress fails to do its duty, you may expect to find organisations set up in the country by Labourers and Peasants detached from you dissociated from the cause of Swaraj, which will inevitably bring within the arena of the peaceful revolution class struggles and the war of special interests. If the object of the Congress be to avoid that disgraceful issue let us take Labour and the Peasantry in hand, and let us organise them both from the point of view of their own special interest and also from the point of view of the higher ideal which demands satisfaction of their special interests and the devotion of such interest to the cause of Swaraj. Here again we have to make use of the very selfishness of Labourers and

President's
Speech. Peasants as we know that the fulfilment of that very selfishness requires its just and proper contribution to the life of the nation.

WORK ALREADY TAKEN UP.

I now turn to the work which the Congress has already taken up. I may at once point out that it is not my desire that any work which the Congress has taken up should be surrendered. The change of direction which I advocate and the other practical change which I have mentioned is not by way of surrendering anything that is already on the plank—but it is simply by way of addition.

BOYCOTT OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

I am firmly of opinion that the boycott of schools and colleges should be carried on as effectively as before. I differ from the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee when they propose the abandonment of the withdrawal of boys from such Schools and Colleges. The question to my mind is of vital importance. It is on the youth of the country that the cause of Swaraj largely depends and what chance is there for a nation which willingly, knowingly sends its boys its young men to Schools and Colleges to be stamped with the stamp of slavery and foreign culture? I do not desire to enter into the question more minutely. I have expressed my views on the subject so often that I find it unnecessary to repeat them. I however agree with the recommendations of the Enquiry Committee that National Schools and Colleges should also be started.

BOYCOTT OF LAW COURTS AND LAWYEARS.

With regard to the question of the boycott of lawyears and legal institutions I agree with the main recommendations of the Committee. Many questions have been raised as to whether the right of defence should be allowed or not, and on what occasions, and for what purposes. I have never been in love with formal rules and I think it impossible to frame rules which will cover all the circumstances which may arise in particular cases. All that I desire to insist on, is the keeping in view of the principle of the boycott of courts.

HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY.

With regard to the questions of Hindu-Muslim unity, untouchability and such matters, I agree with the recommendation of the Enquiry Committee. I desire to point out, however, that true unity of all sections of the Indian nation can only be based on a proper co-operation and the recognition by each section of the rights of the others—that is why I propose that there should be a compact between the different sections, between different communities of India. We will do little good to the section known as Untouchables if we approach them in a spirit of superiority. We must engage them in the work before us and we must work with them side by side and shoulder to shoulder.

KHADDAR.

I now come to the question of Khaddar which I regard as one of the most important questions before us. As I have already said, I am opposed to the manufacture of Khaddar on a commercial basis. I said among other things when I seconded the Bezwada resolution on the 31st of March 1921 proposed by Mahatma Gandhi:

"Our reason in asking the people to take to the Charkha was not based upon any desire to enter into any competition with foreign capitalist production either from without or from within. Our idea is to enable the people to understand and fashion for themselves their economic life and utilize the spare time of their families and opportunities with a view to create more economic goods for themselves and improve their own condition." The idea is to make

the people of this country self-reliant and self-contained. This work is difficult but essential and should be carried on with all our strength. I would much rather that few families were self-contained than factories were started on a large scale. Such factories represent a short-sighted policy, and there is no doubt that though it would satisfy the present need it will create an evil which it would be difficult to eradicate. I am naturally opposed to the creation of a new Manchester in India of which we have had sufficient experience. Let us avoid that possibility, if we can.

President's
Speech.

It is often stated that Khaddar alone will bring us Swaraj. I ask my countrymen in what way is it possible for Khaddar to lead us to Swaraj? It is in one sense only that the statement may be true. We must regard Khaddar as the symbol of Swaraj. As the Khaddar makes us self-contained with regard to a very large department of our national life so it is hoped that the inspiration of Khaddar will make the whole of our national life self-contained and independent. That is the meaning of the symbol. To my mind, such symbol worship requires the spreading out of all non-co-operation activities in every possible direction. It is thus and only thus that the speedy attainment of Swaraj is possible.

CONCLUSION,

It remains to me to deliver to you a last message of hope and confidence. There is no royal road to Freedom, and dark and difficult will be the path leading to it. But dauntless is your courage, and firm your resolution; and though there will be reverses, sometimes severe reverses, they will only have the effect of speeding your emancipation from the bondage of a foreign government. Do not make the mistake of confusing achievement with success. Achievement is an appearance and appearances are often deceptive. I contend that, though we cannot point to a great deal as the solid achievement of the movement, the success of it is assured. That success was proclaimed by the Bureaucracy in the repeated attempts which were made, and are still being made, to crush the growth of the movement, and to arrest its progress, in the refusal to repeal some of the most obnoxious of the repressive legislations, in the frequent use that has been made of the arbitrary or discretionary authority that is vested in the executive government, and in sending to prison our beloved leader who offered himself as a sacrifice to the wrath of the Bureaucracy. But though the ultimate success of the movement is assured, I warn you that the issue depends wholly on you, and on how you conduct yourselves in meeting the forces that are arrayed against you. Christianity rose triumphant when Jesus of Nazareth offered himself as a sacrifice to the excessive worship of law and order by the Scribes and the Pharisees. The forces that are arrayed against you are the forces, not only of the Bureaucracy, but of the modern Scribes and Pharisees whose interest it is to maintain the Bureaucracy in all its pristine glory. Be it yours to offer yourselves as sacrifices in the interest of truth and justice, so that your children and your children's children may have the fruit of your sufferings. Be it yours to wage a spiritual warfare so that the victory, when it comes, does not debase you, nor tempt you to retain the power of Government in your own hands. But if yours is to be a spiritual warfare, your weapons must be those of the spiritual soldier. Anger is not for you, hatred is not for you; nor for you is pettiness, meanness or falsehood. For you is the hope of dawn and the confidence of the morning, and for you is the song that was sung of Titan, chained and imprisoned, but the Champion of Man, in the Greek fable:

To suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite;
To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;
To defy Power, which seems omnipotent;
To love, and bear; to hope till Hope creates
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;
Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent;
This, like thy glory, Titan, is to be
Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free;
This is alone Life, Joy, Empire and Victory.

The business of the day closed with a song and the Congress stood adjourned till 1 P. M. next day.

The 37th Indian National Congress,

GAYA.

27th December, 1922.

Second Day's Proceedings.

The Congress met for the second day at two in the afternoon and the proceedings opened with a Rig Veda Hymn sung in chorus followed by other songs.

RESOLUTION I.

The President—Ladies and gentlemen, I am putting the first resolution from the chair and I ask you to pass it standing. I shall read it:—

Tribute to
Mahatma
Gandhi.

"This Congress places on record its grateful appreciation of the services of Mahatma Gandhi to the cause of India and humanity by his message of peace and truth and reiterates its faith in the principle of Non-Violent Non-co-operation inaugurated by him for the enforcement of the rights of the people of India."

Babu Rajendra Prasad explained it in Hindi.

The Resolution was carried, all standing, amid prolonged cheers.

RESOLUTION II.

The President—Ladies and gentlemen, the second resolution is this:—

Tribute to
Sufferers.

"This Congress places on record its profound appreciation of the services rendered to the national cause by all those brave citizens, who have suffered in pursuance of the programme of voluntary suffering, and who, in accordance with the Congress advice, without offering any defence or bail, served and are serving various periods of imprisonments, and calls upon the nation to keep alive this spirit of sacrifice, and to maintain unbroken the struggle for freedom."

Babu Rajendra Prasad explained it in Hindi.

The Resolution was carried.

RESOLUTION III.

The President—The third resolution that I am putting before you is this (Reads) :—

Tribute to
Akalis.

"This Congress records with pride and admiration its appreciation of the unexampled bravery of the Akali martyrs and the great and noble example of non-violence set by them for the uplift of the whole nation."

Babu Rajendra Prasad explained it in Hindi.

The Resolution was carried.

RESOLUTION IV.

Congratulation to
Turks.

The President—I now call upon Srimati Sarojini Naidu to move the next Resolution :

Mrs. Naidu who on rising was greeted with cheers spoke as follows :

Fellow Delegates and Citizens of India : The resolution in my charge reads thus :

This Congress congratulates Ghazi Kamal Pasha and the Turkish nation on their recent successes and further records the determination of the people of India to carry on the struggle till the British Government has done all in its power and removed all its own obstacles to the restoration of the Turkish Nation to free and independent status and the conditions necessary for unhampered national life and effective guardianship of Island and the Jazirat-Ul-Arab freed from all Non-Muslim control.'

Friends, it is one of the happiest auguries of the modern times that the very moment we have done with the discussion and expression of our own intimate personal domestic joys and sorrows our thoughts should compass the oceans and reiterate once for all that central factor which was the origin of Mahatma Gandhi's Non-co-operation movement in India. Those who accuse us of narrow patriotism, those who accuse us of blind and bitter and local enthusiasm, will find the refutation of those accusations in this one resolution that carries us as a united body to stretch our hand of fellowship to those indomitable Turks who under the leadership of Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha Shariful Islam, as our President said yesterday, has broken once for all the bondage of the Asiatic peoples. We are congratulating the Turkish nation and that embodied soul of the Turkish honour—Mustapha Kemal Pasha. And we are congratulating ourselves—we are honouring ourselves in associating our enslaved nation with the struggle of these brave indomitable people by assuring them that the people of India will continue their struggle till the one enemy of the Turkish nation—the enemy, I repeat, of the Turkish people, the British Government—whether in India or in England, has removed with its own hands the obstacles it created out of its own passionate desire for its own interests to crush the very soul of Islam out of a corrupt Christian Continent.

But let us realise why it is that we are pledging that the Indian people—the united people of India—the greater majority being Hindus of India—are pledging themselves to the uttermost—to the last step the Turks might take so that their ultimate peace shall be the peace of Asia—the initial peace shall be the prophesy and guarantee alike of Asiatic deliverance from bondage. But we are assuring the Turkish nation not merely of our determination to continue the struggle till the Turks become an Independent nation but till all those Koranic injunctions are fulfilled and the spiritual supremacy of the Khalifa whose seat is the capital of the Turkish nation is set free from the prison walls of mandates and Protectorates at the hands of the enemy people, and further more till the Jazirut-Ul-Arab is freed from all Non-Moslim control. I know there are in this very audience who, say—why not be fair and say 'foreign control?' Why 'Non-Moslim control?'—But we—I, at least a Hindu woman, speaking on the most intricate, speaking on the most intimate, speaking on the most poignant of all religious problems of the Mussalmans—can only be guided, can only be directed, can only be illuminated in my own thinking by the thought of the Islamic people when they say that Jazirut-Ul-Arab must be in the hands of the Musalmans alone, and just as Musalman soldiers fought, fought to the bitter end in their war against the Christians because their Christian brothers brought on a Crusade for the tomb of Christ—it is on the same princi-

ple that the Islamic nation wish that the tombs of their Imams—the tombs of their prophets—the tomb of Ali—the tomb of Hossain whose Kerbala was the baptism of blood—of an undying Islam—should be in their hands. Is it not meet and right that the Moslem people should have full, unbroken and unchallenged control over the graves of the founder and sustainers of Islam? Therefore I in your name give the Turkish people—give the Islamic people of the world, our assurance, the assurance of our bond, the bond of our love, the bond of fellowship, that while there is a menace of one single non-Moslem hand or a shadow of non-Islamic control over the sacred island where the revelation of one Godhead came to the dreamer in the desert, the camel driver while tending his camel received from the Heaven, the illumination of that central truth, of that democracy that all men are bound together in a common brotherhood and are the creatures of the emanation of the breath of one God—to the Turkish people we say that while the British Government is fighting you, we fight the British Government—Your independence is our independence. We are bound hand and foot with your freedom because seventy millions of our own kith and kin are the followers of that light which is menaced to day in the citadel of the Khalifa. We say to the Turkish people when we have settled with England we shall not stop fighting with her so long you continue your battle with that enemy of yours—we, the Moslems and Hindus of India, would wage war against Britain in your behalf as it is in our behalf.

Congratulation to Turks.

And I want to say to you Hindus, my co-religionists, in this vast audience, my Akali brothers, my brothers of the Arya Samaj and Sanatanis alike—we the Hindus of India are bound with a double bond to sustain the honour of Islam because our Islamic brothers are in a small minority in our land, and alike by the call of chivalry and the call of love are we pledged to-day every single Hindu, man and woman, that till the sword of Mustafa Kemal Pasha stands aloft unchallenged by the Christian nations, so long shall every Hindu, man and woman, be dedicated to the cause of Islamic freedom. And so long as there is, as I said, the menace of foreign Christian control, Christian or Hindu control, Christian, Hindu or Buddhist control, in a word of Non-Moslem control over the graves of Ali and Hossain, so long shall we pledge to support and succour the Islamic nations in their death struggle for existence in a land of Christian enemies.—And I assure the Islamic people in our midst, whether Shias or Sunnis is, whether those to whom the Khalifa is the very soul of their souls, or the holy tombs of their Imam the very breath of their breath, the protectors of their tombs, I mean, I assure them that Islam will not die while there is a single Hindu alive to die for the freedom of Islam (hear, hear), and even if rivers of blood must flow before Islam can be free, let me assure the Islamic people it will be the confluent blood of the Hindus and the Moslems alike and then shall the sword of Mustafa Kemal Pasha be lifted unchallenged."

Sardar Dan Sing seconded the Resolution.

सरदार दान सिंह ने प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करते हुए कहा—“जनाब सरर, मुमजिज़्जव भाइयो और वहिनो ! चूं कि आप मतलब हिन्दो में कहने को कहते हैं इसलिये मैं पहिले रेज़ोल्यूशन हिन्दो में पढ़ कर सुनाता हूं। जो अभी हमारी वहिन सरोजिनी नायडू ने अंग्रेजी में सुनाया है उसका तरजुमा यह है :—“यह क़ौम कमाल पाशा और तुर्की कौम को उनकी फ़तह के लिये मुबारकबाद देती है और अपना जहू जहद उस तक कायम रखने का इरादा ज़ाहिर करती है जब तक सलतनत बरतानियां तुर्की की कौमी ज़िन्दगी में जो रुकावटें खुद मुँयाकी हैं दूर न कादें ताकि उनकी आज़ादी को बहाली में रुकावटें न हों और जब तक ज़ज़ीरतुठ अब गैर मुसलिम सत्परस्ती और अमल से खाली न हो जाय”— यह रेज़ोल्यूशन है जो पेश हुआ और जिस पर तक्ररीर की गयी है। साहवान, भारत और धर्म के सच्चे रक्षक गुरु गो.बिन्द सिंहने क्या कहा है वह एक श्लोक पढ़ कर पहले मैं सुनाता हूं :—श्लोक “देह शिवा वरमो यद्दे, शुभ कर्मन ते कश्च न दरीं । न डरीं

Congratu-
lations to
Turks.

अरि से जब जाय लरौं, निश्चय कर अपनी जीत करौं ॥ अरस कहुं अपने ही मनको यह लालच हौं गुणलौं उचरौं । जब आयु की आय निधान बने, अतही रण में तब जुझ मरौं ॥ इस कामतलब यह है कि हे परमात्मा मुझे यह बरदान दीजिये कि शुभ कर्मों के करनेमें पीछे न हटें । अच्छे काम में पैर आगे बढ़े और दुश्मन से लड़ाई में फूटह हो । आप के नाम का तान मन में बजे और आखिरी वक्त हमारी जिन्दगी का घोर संग्राममें हो । आप देखें कि इस बरदान में किसी किस्म की दौलत या मोक्ष नहीं माँगा बल्कि परमात्मा का नाम और घोर संग्राम (धर्म युद्ध) में जान जाने को माँगा है । साहवान ! आज कल ज़वरदस्त कौम ज़ेर दस्त कौमों को कैसे कुचलती हैं आप बखूबी जानते हैं । आज से नहीं बहुत दिनों से, सदियों से ईसाई कौमों ने मुसलमानों को फना करने पर कम्मर बाँधा है । मुसलमानों ने मुतहिद्दा होकर उनका मुकाबिला बराबर किया है ऐसा न करते तो यह नजारा होता कि मुसलमान कौम दुनिया से उठ गयी होती । लेकिन खुदा की ताकत कोई चीज़ है जो दुनियावी ताकत पर हावी होती है । उसी नियम के मुताबिक तुर्कों कौम जिस को गार्जा कमाल पाशा ने रहनुमा बन कर चलाने का ठेका लिया है और बावजूद अपनी बे सरो सामानी के जिसने मुतहिद्दा हो कर योरोपी कौमों से फंसले की ठानी है कि जिस का लोहा सब मानते हैं उस को जो कामयाबो हुई है उस के लिये मुवारकवाद देने के लिये मैं खड़ा हुआ हूँ । साहवान, मैं आप से यह कहने का हक रखता हूँ कि जहाँ कमाल पाशा को मुवारक बाद देने को खड़ा होते हैं वहाँ उन के करामात को सिर्फ कहने वालेही हम न रह जायें बल्कि अमली बनें । साहवान, सिख कौम ने यह सोचलिया है कि इन्सान के मुतलिक जो हकूक हैं यानी इन्सानी हकूक को बिना लिये हुए इस अपने जद्दो जहद से पीछे न हटेंगे । ४० लाख सिख फिना हो जायेंगे मगर इन्सानी हकूक को हासिल किये बिना पीछे न हटेंगे (जयध्वनी)। हिन्दू मुसलमान की मुतहिद्दा ताकत से कोई काम ऐसा नहीं जिसे हम पूरा न कर सकें । लेकिन इतना ही बस नहीं है । जमाना आप को देख रहा है, दुनिया की आंखों आप पर लगी हुई हैं । आप का फर्ज है कि अमली कार्रवाई से आप यह साबित कर दिखायें कि जो आज़ादी आप चाहते हैं वह ठीक है । आप यह भी साबित कर देंगे कि आप अपने हकूक लेकर रहेंगे या मर मिटेंगे । यह बदर्जहा बेहतर है कि आप मर मिटें और आप का नाम हो । गुलामी की जिन्दगी अच्छी नहीं । हज़रात, यह आनों शान का मुक़ाम है । गयो हुई दौलत आ सकती है मकान गिरकर फिर बन सकता है मगर कौम की गई हुई इज्जत वापस नहीं आ सकती । आज हिन्दुस्तान की मुतहिद्दा कौम के लिये यह मौका है कि वह साबित कर के दिखला दे कि या तो हम अपने हकूक लेंगे या मर मिटेंगे । आप जहाँ तुर्क कौम की फूटह पर खुश हैं मैं आप से फिर अपील करता हूँ कि आप अपनी सारी ताकत इसी काम के लिये खतम कर दें । इन्हीं चन्द लफ्ज़ों के बाद मैं अपनी तकरीर खतम करता हूँ

The President then called upon Mr. Harisarvothama Rao (Andhra) to speak.

Mr. G. Harisarvathama Rao (Andhra) in a supporting the Resolution said: Mr. President, brother and sister delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I support this resolution as a dreamer. I am a dreamer of dreams and there is coming over this world a dream that must ultimately be a reality; we are coming to those golden days when once for all I know spirituality is bound to be the role in the world. This is the Juga of Mahatma Gaudhi and in this Juga of the Mahatma we all have joined here to rejoice over the triumph of Turkey. Why do you rejoice over the triumph of Turkey? My reason is simple enough. This is a rejoicing of all sects, of all communities, of all religions. I claim that every individual belonging to every faith in this world must subscribe to this resolution. I claim the allegiance of the Hindus, I claim the allegiance of the Christians, I claim the allegiance of the Sikhs, I claim the

allegiance of the Budhists, I claim the allegiance of every individual belonging to every religion in this world to this resolution. My reason is simple enough. We have had enough of materialism, long and under the heel of materialistic life we have almost forgotten the life of the spirit and if today there is one religion which is pre-eminently and which is to the largest extent alive—it is Mahomedanism. I claim on behalf of my Moslem brethren here and elsewhere that if there is one religion which is alive it is Mahomedanism and therefore the triumph of Mahomedanism is the triumph of spiritual life and life hereafter in the world to come. From that point of view I feel that the success of Ghazi Kemal Pasha and of Turkey is an event which is to be writ large on the history of the world. Standing as I do with Mahatma Gandhi for non-violence and Satya (truth) how is it that I support this cause? It may be a relevant question but my belief of the supreme capacity—of the supreme necessity of Satya does not rule out of this world other methods. There are other methods of achievement which are human. My belief in Satya is the belief in the best method—the highest method. But there are other methods. There are human methods, there are imperfect methods—there are methods which may not be ultimately supreme methods but all these methods are legitimate and may be used by those who have to struggle for their liberty (hear, hear). I feel therefore that this question of nonviolence does not enter in congratulating Ghazi Kemal Pasha of Turkey. I therefore have the greatest pleasure in supporting the resolution that has been moved before you and I request that all of you may with one voice vote for this resolution—all of you whatever denomination you belong to. I have nothing to add after the brilliant speech that was made by the lark of India (applause). I shall now close.

Congratu-
lations to
Turks.

AMENDMENT.

Mr. Shiva Prasad Gupta (U. P.) moved the following Amendment and made a speech in Hindi.

“That the word ‘Foreign’ be substituted for ‘Non-Muslim’ in the last line of the resolution.”

“पूज्यवर सभापति महोदय, बहिनो और हिन्दुस्तान के भाइयो आप मुझे पहले इजाज़त दें कि हिन्दुस्तान के एक आज़ाद सिपाही की तरह मैं गाज़ी मुस्तफ़ा कमाल पाशा के चरणों में सिर नवाऊँ। हज़रत कमाल पाशा ने जो जान टर्की में डाली हैं, जो आज़ादी को आवाज़ उठाया है उस के लिये और उस आज़ादी के लिये जो उन ने अपने मुल्क के वास्ते हासिल की न केवल हिन्दुस्तान बल्कि दुनिया की सारी आज़ादी पसन्द कौम उन को मुबारक वाद देगी। सज़नों में टर्की की आज़ादी देख कर इस लिये खुश हूँ कि आज़ादी का दौरा शुरू हो गया। अब की बार आज़ादी का सूरज पूरब में निकल कर पश्चिम में निकला है। और उस की रोशनी सब जगह पहुँच कर दुनिया की हर गुलाम क़ौम को आज़ाद करेगी। सज़नो, हम इस प्रस्ताव के द्वारा यह संकल्प भी करते हैं कि जब तक टर्की को कामिल आज़ादी न मिल जाय तब तक यह आन्दोलन बन्द न करेंगे। सज़नों, हम लोग आज़ादी के पुजारी हैं—हम यह नहीं चाहते कि दुनिया के एक हिस्से में दूसरे लोगों का राज एक मिन्ट के लिए भी न हो हम चीन में जापान का राज नहीं चाहते। हम हिन्दुस्तान में अंग्रेजी राज नहीं चाहते (जय ध्वनी) फ़ारस में जर्मनी का राज नहीं चाहते। हम पुजारी हैं आज़ादी के। अगर कोई आदमी हमारे इस ब्याल के विरुद्ध है तो जो बात मैं आगे कहने वाला हूँ उसे पसन्द न आयेगी। लेकिन जो लोग सच्ची आज़ादी चाहते हैं उन को जो कुछ मैं अभी कहने वाला हूँ जरूर पसन्द आयगा। सज़नो, इस कुर्रें ज़मीन पर २५ करोड़ मुसलमान भाई बसते हैं उन का घर अरविस्तान और तुरकिस्तान नहीं दुनिया के हर हिस्से में मुसलमान बसते हैं।

मुसलमान चीन में बसते हैं, मुसलमान मध्य एशिया में कसरत से बसते हैं।

क्या कोई आदमी यह कहने को तैयार है कि हिन्दुस्तान के रहने वाले मुसलमान हिन्दुस्तान के सियासी मामले में हिस्सा न लेंगे। क्या आप इटली पर टर्की का राज्य चाहते हैं। विक्रम की बीसवीं शताब्दी में एक कौम पर दूसरी कौम को हुकुमत कोई न चाहेगा। अगर ऐसा है तो जो अमेण्डमेन्ट में चाहता हूँ (जो सुधार चाहता हूँ) उसे सब हिन्दुस्तान के भाई सिख, मुसलमान हिन्दु या ईसाई स्वीकृत करेंगे। सज्जनों, मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि अरबिस्तान में जज़ीरतुल अरब में दूसरे धर्म के भाई भाई भी हैं इस लिये उन को भी वहाँ के सियासी मामलों में बोलने का हक है। मैं जानता हूँ कि खलीफतुल इस्लाम दुनिया में जहाँ जहाँ कोई शख्स कलाम अल्लाह का मानने वाला मौजूद है वहाँ उनको वहाँ के मज़हबी मामले में पूरी तौर से माना जाय। लेकिन कोई भी मुसलमान भाई दूसरे मुल्क का रहने वाला यहन पसन्द करेगा कि उस के मामले में चाहे कोई पुजारी हो, चाहे शंकराचार्य हों, चाहे पादरी हों पोप हो या खलीफा हो उस की बात मानी जाय।

पस मेरा सुधार यही है कि जहाँ पर आपने लिखा है कि "जज़ीरतुल अरब गैर मुसलिम कंट्रोल से बाहर" वहाँ यह बना दें कि "विदेशी अधिकार से बरी न हो जाय; क्या आपने विचार किया है कि वह वक्त आवेगा जब अरब वाले यह आवाज उठावेंगे कि अरबिस्तान में वही आज़ादी चाहते हैं जो हम यहाँ हिन्दुस्तान में, तुर्क तुर्किस्तान में। अगर अरब के रहने वाले अपने मुल्क में आज़ादी चाहते हैं तो हम और आप जो यहाँ ईकट्टे हैं कि पोलिटिकल क्याल से दुनिया की आज़ादी दिला सकें क्या हक रखते हैं कि अरबिस्तान को तुर्की के नीचे रखें। हज़रात, खास कर मुसलमान भाइयो, मैं आप से दस्त बस्त: यह अरज़ करना चाहता हूँ कि मैं यह बरदाश्त नहीं कर सकता कि खलीफ़ा के सिवा और कोई दखल न दे। और मैं मज़हब की चीज़ को मुल्क की चीज़ से अलग रखना चाहता हूँ।

क्या कोई इस बात को पसन्द करेगा कि बनारस के परिडित ऐसी व्यवस्था कर दें कि हिन्दुओं के सिवा जो म्यूनिसिपैलटी में हैं मन्दिरों पर दूसरे मेम्बरों का अधिकार न हो। अगर ऐसा करें तो मैं पहला आदमी हूँगा जो इस के विरुद्ध आवाज़ उठावें। मुझे उम्मीद है कि आप लोग इस में मुझ से मुत्तफ़िक् होंगे। अगर यह सही है तो आप को क्या हक है कि आप ऐसा कहें। सियासी प्लेटफ़ॉर्म से यह आवाज़ क्यों? मुसलमान यहूदी, पारसी कोई हो उनका हक है कि अपने मुल्क के सियासी मामले में पूरा हिस्सा लें। अरब वाले अरबिस्तान में उसी तरह आज़ाद रहें, जैसे हम और आप हिन्दुस्तान में आज़ाद रहने की इत्नाहिश करते हैं। अन्त में मैं कमाल पाशा की तसवीर को प्रणाम करता हूँ जिसने पूरब में आज़ादी की चमक डाली है। पच्छिम को तलवार के बल से हराया है। इस के बाद यह सुधार आप के चरणों में रख कर जाता हूँ।

Babu Bhagwandas of Benares supported the amendment in Hindi.

इसके बाद श्रीबाबू भगवान् दास जी ने तरमीम का समर्थन करते हुए कहा— "सभापति महाशय और भाइयो और बाहनो, भाई शिवप्रसाद जीने जो तरमीम आपके सामने पेश की है उसकी तार्इद मैं भी करता। मेरा क्याल है कि इसके मंजूर करने में जिन्होंने तहरीक की हैं उनको भी एतराज न होगा। सिर्फ ध्यान दिलाना था। आप जानते हैं कि यह कांग्रेस एक सियासी मजमा है, राजनैतिक समाज है। हमसे भाईबन्द और दूसरे भाईबन्द जो दूसरे देशमें हैं उनके हक पर कोई नाजायज़ दबाव डाला जाय— चाहे वह दबाव मज़हबी हो माली हो मुल्की हो सियासी हो या कुछहो हमको इस सियासी

प्रस्ताव इसका विरोध करते हुए हकीम अजमलखान साहब ने कहा—“जानाब
 प्रिंसिपल साहब, विरारदान डेप्युटी साहब और डिप्युटी साहब और बाबू भावान् दासने प्रश्न किया है।
 रिजोल्यूशन सुन लिया है और उसके साथही तर्कही भी आप सब भाइयों ने सुनी है।
 जिसे मैंने दोस्त मिस्टर शिवासाद गुप्त साहब और बाबू भावान् दासने प्रश्न किया है।
 पहले मैं चाहता हूँ कि अखरी रिजोल्यूशन के मुताबिक जो वाकई चीज है और जो इस
 रिजोल्यूशन की मर्यादा है आप भाइयों के सामने रखूँ। अतीरजल अरब से गौर करदोज
 इत्यादि यह एक मजहबी मसला है। मुसलमानों के पीछे नै सबसे आखिरी प्रामा
 न्य दिया है वह यह है कि इस जगह से गौरसलामी कच्चा इतना चाहिये। इसलिये
 मुसलमानों ने डिप्युटी के मुताबक मैं यह साफ तौर से बयान कर दिया है और इस
 मसले के मुताबक यह विहायन सफाई से कह दिया है कि यह मजहबी मसला है।
 कायिसनेह, जिसने डिप्युटी के मसले में जो मजहबी मसला है बताने साथ दिया है,
 इस मसले की भी रकबा है क्योंकि यह भी एक मजहबी मसला है। अगर आप बजाय
 नानमुसलिम के वह लिखते हैं जो मुहंरिक और मुहंदि इत्यादि प्रश्न की है तो आपका
 मकसद पूरा नहीं होता। मैं साफ तौर से कह देना चाहता हूँ कि कायिस की जो यह
 करना है नहीं करनी। आपका मकसद यह है कि आप मुसलमान भाइयों के मुताबक
 मैं उनकी मदद करे और बजाय इसके कि मुसलमान अपनी तह, आबाज उठावे आप उस
 में अपनी आबाज मिलाकर अंग्रेजी गवर्नमेंट में पहुँचावे क्योंकि अंग्रेज मुसलिम जाकन
 के आप अपने मकसद को हासिल नहीं कर सकते। अगर आप इन दोनों की बात मानते
 हैं तो आपका मकसद नहीं होता। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि इन दोनों दोनों के बताने का
 नतीजा ऐसा है, बसून इनकी बात ऐसी है जिसके डिप्युटी को नही कह सकता।

Hakin Ajmal Khan spoke against the amendment and supported the original resolution in Urdu.

उत्पन्न करना है कि आपलोग इसे कबूल करेंगे।”
 होता है। महज इस बात के लिये मैं यह तर्कही भी आपके सामने प्रश्न की गयी है। मैं
 वहाँ के डिप्युटी साहब में अपने गुमानों न भ्रम सकें। इस तरह उन कौमों की हकलफती
 हो। गौरमुसलिम हकमन से बरी होने के मानी यह होना कि दूसरी गौरमुसलिम कौम
 हकलफती न हो। इसलिये यह लिखिये कि अरब फारनकल (विदेशी हकमन) से बरी
 शुक है—इसलिये हमको यह ख्याल रखना चाहिये कि जो कौम इत्यादि में है उनकी
 बाहरी—गो अमी स्वरुप लफ्ज की तयारी कायिसनेह नहीं करनी मगर अब इसकी जहाँ
 इसलिये इस में यह लिखा है। जैसा मैंने शिवासाद जीने कहा कि वह भी स्वरुप
 लफ्ज है उसमें ऐसा लफ्ज नहीं रखना चाहिये कि गौरमुसलिम का हक न समझा गये।
 मुक है, बहुतेरा कौम उसमें बसती है। अगर आप उनके बाबदे स्वरुप चाहते हैं तो
 मुसलमानों की हकमन होनी चाहिये। मगर अतीरजल अरब से कौमों मील अरबा चौंदा
 हमारी बहिन सयिदानी ने शुक में लिख किया कि बहुत मुकदम, अतीरजल अरब पर
 परखाल करना हमारा धर्म नहीं है चाहे कोई मुसलमान हो, पारसी हो या इसाई हो।
 हमको यह सब सिर्फ सिवासा ख्याल से करना चाहिये। धर्मका
 है और खुशी जाहिर की है। लेकिन सिर्फ उसमें ध्यान करने की इनाही बात है कि
 मिटाने का एक नमूना दिखाना है। इसके पत्र में हिंदुस्तान ने इत्यादिना पसार बखशा
 हमारी हमदर्दी टर्की के साथ है। कमाजपाना ने अपने आत्मत्याग से उस जूलम के
 करना फर्ज समझना चाहिये। इसमें कौम यानी एजहान ने टर्की पर जूलम किया इसलिये
 नियुक्त राजनयिक टुरि से उन मजहब लोनों के डिप्युटी उन भाइयों के साथ हमदर्दी

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लेकिन आपको यह कहने का अख्तियार कहाँ है कि जो काम दूसरी कौम का अपने मुलकमें है उसका फ़ैसला आप करें। इस मसले को उन्हीं मुसलिम और ग़ैरमुसलिम दोनों कौमों पर छोड़ देना चाहिये कि वह अपना तसफ़िहा आप करें।

मैं एक ज़रूरी बात और बयान करना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि जज़ीरतुल अरब एक ऐसा जज़ीरा है कि यहां इसाई सलतनत के जहाज़ बराबर आते हैं। वह ऐसा ताक़तवर नहीं कि इनके मुकाबिले में लड़ाई की सहासत कर सकें। अगर आप यह तरमीम पास करते हैं तो इसका मतलब यह है कि इन ताक़तवर ताक़तों का मुकाबिला वह न कर सके। इसलिये योरोपो कौमों के कण्ट्रोल में उसे रक्खेंगे। अगर अरब इस बात की ख़्याहिश करे कि अपने हक़ को रख सके तो ऐसी सूरत में उनको यह फ़ैसला करना होगा कि दूसरी ताक़त से खलीफ़ा की ताक़त की ताक़त से मदद हासिल करें ताकि इसाई सलतनतों के हमलेसे महफूज़ रह सके। ऐसी हालत में और कौमों अरब को अकेला छोड़ दें और वह इसाई कौमों उसपर कण्ट्रोल करेंगे। अरबवाले अपने हक़ की हिफ़ाज़त नहीं कर सकते तो क्या मैं यह दरियाफ़त कर सकता हूँ कि अरब को तनहा छोड़ देना चाहिये।

एक और बात है जो बाबू भगवान् दासने कही है जिसे मैं अपनी तक्ररीर में लेना चाहता हूँ। वह यह कहते हैं कि जो दूसरी कौमों हैं उनके हक़के तहफूज़ के लिये क्या सूरत है। मैं उनकी खिदमतमें अदब से अज़ कर्गा कि असली रिज़ोल्यूशन पर उन्होंने ज़्यादा ग़ौर नहीं किया। उसका मतलब दूसरी कौमों के हक़ का नहीं पहले तो सवाल उसके हिफ़ाज़त का है। इस जज़ीरे में हमेशा से इसाई, यहूदी और दूसरी कौमों साथ रहती आयी हैं और उनके हक़ की बराबर हिफ़ाज़त होती आई है। अब भी जब अरबका हुक़म कायम हो जाय तो मुस्तक़िल तौर पर खलीफ़ा की मदद से वहां दूसरी कौमों के हक़का ख़्याल होगा। अगर आप नानमुसलिम सियासत से हुकूमते चाहते हैं तो तरमीम को पास न करें। अपने शक़्क को नोकाल डालें। तरमीम को पास करने से वाक़ई तौर पर कोई असलियत नहीं रहेगी।

स्तपश्चात् श्री सरोजिनी नाइडूने जवाब देते हुए कहा “हाज़रीन मैं अपना वादा पूरा करने के लिये तैयार हूँ। मैंने कहा था कि एक लफ़्ज़ अंगूजी मैं न बोलूगी। मैं २ मिनट से ज़्यादा कहने की ज़रूरत नहीं समझती। जब हमारे मुअज़्ज़ रहनुमा हक़ीम अजमलख़ां साहबने तरमीम के ख़िलाफ़ इस ज़ोर और अथारटी के साथ कहा है तो मेरी तरफ़ से तक्ररीर की ज़रूरत नहीं है। जिसज़ोरसे हक़ीमजी कह सकते हैं मैं नहीं कह सकती। मैं ने अंगूजी तक्ररीर में कहा था कि “फ़ारन” नहीं कह सकते। ऐसा कहने से ख़िलाफ़त टूट जायगी—ख़िलाफ़त कहाँ रहेगी? इस लिये आप तरमीम को हरगिज़ न मानेंगे। बेङ्करम साहब ने यह कहा है कि तमाम रुका-घट्टे अंगूज़ दूर न कर लें तबतक हम इमदाद के लिये तैयार हैं। मैं बड़ी खुशी ख़र्षम हूँ कि हम ऐसा इत्दा करते हैं और तमाम हमारे हम मज़हब भाई इसको तसलीम करेंगे मगर तहरीक में इसके जोड़ने की ज़रूरत नहीं है। मैं तो इसके लिये मरने को तैयार हूँ। आपको इसके वास्ते मोत के लिये भी तयार होना पड़ेगा। इसलिये मैं उम्मीद करती हूँ कि आप तरमीम का ख़्याल न करेंगे और कुर्बानी और मोत के लिये भी पेर आगे बढ़ावेंगे”।

The President—Ladies and gentlemen, I think we have had enough speakers on this amendment and the Resolution. I will ask Mrs. Naidu to address a few words in reply and then put this proposition to vote. Two of the amendments have been withdrawn.

Pundit Motilal Nerhu coming to the rostrum said - The amendment is being put to the vote - those in favour of the amendment and against the resolution will kindly raise their hands -

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The amendment on being again put to vote was found lost by an overwhelming majority.

The President — The amendment is lost.

Pundit Motilal Nerhu — Those who are for the Resolution will please raise their hands - (Cries of all, all).

Those who are against - (None).

The Resolution was declared carried.

The two other amendments which were on the agenda were withdrawn before they were moved.

The proceedings closed for the day and the Congress adjourned till 1 P. M. next day.

The 37th Indian National Congress,

GAYA.

29th December, 1922.

Third Day's Proceedings.

The Congress reassembled for the third day punctually at 2 in the afternoon of 29th, (there being no sitting on the previous day, the Subjects Committee having taken up the whole day in discussing the controversial Resolution regarding the Council entry question). The attendance was quite as large as on the opening day because of the interest centring round the two controversial issues viz., The Boycott of British goods and advisability or otherwise of contesting election, on which the Congress was asked to record its verdict.

The proceedings began with a song by Pundit Madho Prasad Sukul of Calcutta and a chorus sung by four Bengali girls. The President called upon Mr. S. Satyamurti to move the first Resolution (Resolution V) on the day's agenda. The President allotted 10 minutes for the mover and 5 minutes for the seconder.

RESOLUTION V.

Mr. Satyamurti (Madras) in moving the resolution spoke as follows:—
Mr. President, brother and sister delegates, the resolution which I have the honour to place before you is as follows: (reads).

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goods.

V. This Congress accepts the recommendation of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee regarding the question of the boycott of British goods and resolves that the question be referred to a Committee for a full report as to what British goods may be successfully boycotted and the places from where such goods can be easily obtained and that the said report be submitted to the All India Congress Committee within two months next.

Resolved further that the Congress programme regarding Khaddar and boycott of all foreign cloth shall not be affected by this resolution.

That the following gentlemen shall be the members of the said Committee:—

Sjts. N. C. Sen, J. K. Mehta, N. C. Kelkar, M. Umar Sobani and Prof. Ruchi Ram Sahni.

In the first place I am anxious to point out to this house that this resolution is a very modest and a very practical one. This is a very modest one, because the resolution does not contemplate the boycott of all or even several British goods. The Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee in their Report recognise that it is not possible to successfully boycott all British goods, and therefore they only recommend that such goods as may be usefully and effectually boycotted may be selected for that purpose.

Secondly, Mr. President, this resolution is a very practical one because it leaves it to a committee of experts who know their business to select and frame a list of such goods as may be so successfully boycotted and present that

report to a meeting of the All India Congress Committee within two months from now so that that Committee may act upon that recommendation and recommend to this country that the following goods may be boycotted. I therefore commend this resolution to this house as a very modest and a very practical one.

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goods'

I also want to say this, sir, that this resolution is by no means sprung upon the Congress as a surprise. At two successive sessions of the Indian National Congress, this Resolution, under a somewhat modified form, was accepted unanimously adopted by the Indian National Congress. At the Special Calcutta Session a battle royal was waged over this question and ultimately Mahatma Gandhi himself moved this Resolution before the Calcutta Congress: and brother delegates, if you will kindly remember the terms of that resolution you will find that the boycott of foreign goods as it was then called was placed exactly on the same level as the boycott of the schools and colleges—boycott of law courts and the boycott of councils as forming essential parts of the Non-co-operation programme. Moreover the word 'gradual' which finds a place before the three other boycotts does not find a place in the boycott of foreign goods. I therefore submit that it is too late in the day to suggest that the boycott of British goods or the boycott of foreign goods is inconsistent with the principle or programme of Non-co-operation; and further in that very session on the very subject Mahatma Gandhi made this motion. He said "I want the country to boycott foreign goods but to do that I am aware, it is practically impossible!" So the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee is aware that so long as we have got to rely upon foreign countries for our needs and pins, both real and figurative, so long the boycott of foreign goods is an impossibility—mark the words, gentlemen. "If any body is impatient to attain the goal of Swaraj and can rise to the height of sacrifice, I confess to you that if this nation can bring about the boycott of British goods, the British in India will resign all their power into our hands in the twinkling of an eye." Later on he said "I want to place before the country a workable programme and I freely admit that the boycott of foreign goods is certainly a like thing if you can attain it." Surely, Mahatma Gandhi admitted in the Calcutta Congress and moved this resolution for the boycott of foreign goods. Had the matter stood there, there might have been some doubt. But the Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress under the distinguished presidency of my esteemed countryman Mr. C. Vijairaghavachariar had adopted a resolution on boycott of foreign goods and in a more practical form, which I crave your leave to read "In order to make India economically independent and politically free this Congress calls upon the merchants and traders to carry out gradual boycott of foreign trade relations and engaged in hand spinning and handweaving and in that behalf (meaning in behalf of gradual boycott of foreign goods) to have a scheme of economic boycott planned and formulated by a committee of experts to be nominated by the All India Congress Committee." The All India Congress Committee went to sleep over it and thank God, the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee have made it within the ken of practical politics and to-day the All India Congress Committee wants you by means of this Resolution to adopt that resolution which the Nagpur Session directed the All India Congress Committee to adopt two years earlier and therefore I ask you not to be led away by the impression that there is anything new or fresh in it.

Gentlemen and Mr. President, you are asked to commit yourselves to a resolution—is it altogether without significance that five out of six members of the C. D. E. Committee recommended the boycott of British goods and only one member of that Committee dissented? Is it also without significance altogether that of the witnesses who were examined by the Committee—as many as ninety-nine witnesses favoured the boycott of British goods while seventy-

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seven were against it. There can be no doubt whatever today—whatever may be the causes—that there is a lull in the country. I have the high authority of that unanimous opinion of the C. D. E. C. in that behalf. They say that the solid fact which cannot be ignored is the Bardoli Delhi Resolutions and the subsequent incarceration of Mahatma Gandhi was followed by a general depression throughout the country. I humbly suggest that this boycott of British goods if accepted by you and the country will do something that will go a little way towards lifting this depression and making our life active and making Swaraj nearer. There can be no doubt that already boycott of foreign goods has produced its effect in Lancashire. Firms have to close down and the working men of England have seen that with an India irreconciled their future is uncertain (hear, hear). Therefore they are anxious to placate India. So the C. D. E. C. recommended to the All India Congress Committee to take one logical step, further to recommend to the country the boycott of British goods so far as it is practicable. It requires no argument on my part to convince you that if the boycott of foreign cloth only could produce such an effect, the boycott of a much larger number of British goods by this whole country must produce a still greater effect upon the British people indeed.

I donot want to anticipate the objections which might be urged against this resolution but I do want to say one word. I totally deny that the boycott of British goods is against the principle of Non-co-operation. I know it is suggested by some subtle and supersubtle arguments which I cannot understand that while the boycott of foreign goods is not against the principle of Non-co-operation, the boycott of British goods is. I will leave the matter to those metaphysicians and psychological experts who follow this principle and expound the deplorable doctrine. Suffice it to me to address my fellow countrymen of the practical means and method and to tell them that foreign goods mean English goods so long as Great Britain is in India and not outside it. It is a geographical fact which nobody dare deny.

Secondly, a more formidable objection is urged that this is based upon hatred or is likely to engender hatred. I for one totally deny it. I am anxious that we should boycott British goods. I do not mind if those of you who want the boycott of British goods have overwhelming love for the British. I am anxious that you should boycott British goods. And if you, Non-co-operators cannot harbour any hatred towards the British and if you can carry out successfully the boycott of British goods without any hatred of the British I do not mind. Therefore by all means love the British but only boycott his goods. But I go further and suggest that the question of love and hatred is wholly irrelevant. I have neither love nor hatred towards the British. Neither have I any affection for them. But if any of you are anxious to weigh my affection in the balance I refuse to condemn that Indian who refuses to love the British. I am not anxious that you should show hatred. But is there any body in this hall or outside it who can condemn those who refuse to love that nation — not the nation which produced General Dyer, because foresooth he might have acted in a momentary impulse but the nation which long months after Dyer's massacre coolly collected thirty thousand pounds and presented that money to the author of that massacre of his fellow men (cries of shame, shame) and also presented him with a sword of honour (shame, shame)? Surely, this is asking me to be a superman thereby asking me to be insincere and hypocritical to come and tell you that I love the nation. Neither I love nor I hate them. They are ruling me. This is the weapon which the history has given me. And God willing, hatred or love notwithstanding, I shall use it. Nor am I able to understand the argument that this boycott of foreign goods or the boycott of British goods involve more hatred than the boycott of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales whom the British people love with all their heart. Does it involve more

hatred than the burning of foreign cloth including the Manchester or the proposed boycott of the British Empire Exhibition. This is trying to use hairsplitting argument. I therefore ask you not to be led away by this wholly irrelevant argument of love or hatred. Let us go forward and use this precious weapon in order that we may achieve Swaraj. There is no room for such sickly sentiment in this Indian National Congress. We are all business men and let us go about with business methods. And in your business if you cannot manufacture affection or love or hatred, you cannot do so by a resolution of the Congress. Coming to think of the passage from the magnificent and soulstirring statement of Mahatma Gandhi before the Trial Judge at Ahmedabad when he said "Sir, Sec. 124 under which I am happily charged is perhaps the prince among the political sections of the I. P. C". designed to suppress the liberty of the citizens. Affection cannot be manufactured or regulated by law and may I add that love or hatred towards the British nation cannot be regulated by a resolution of the Congress. This is a human feeling. If one has no affection for a person or a system one should be free to give the fullest expression to his disaffection so long as he does not contemplate, promote or incite to violence. I venture to say this, Mr. president, that those of us who support this resolution do not contemplate, promote or incite to violence subject to that restriction and that restriction only. I maintain, that we walk humbly in the footsteps of Mahatma Gandhi when we say that we refuse to submit to this tyranny of psychological experts who want to convert our hatred or want of love into that of love and affection and want to make us angels when we do not particularly want that honour. I therefore beg of you to follow in the footsteps of Mahatma Gandhi and accept this resolution.

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There is one more fallacious argument I want to answer. This resolution, it is seriously suggested will affect prejudicially the Khaddar propaganda and the boycott of foreign cloth unless the opposers of the resolution go to the extent of distrusting our bonafides. They cannot honestly say that this resolution expressly excludes the boycott of foreign cloth — they dare not say honestly that this resolution expressly excludes the boycott of foreign cloths from its scope. And therefore you do not give up by one jot or tittle by passing this resolution propaganda with regard to the boycott of foreign cloth or with regard to Khaddar. This is an addition to it. I have not the time to elaborate the figures. I want to say one word. If it is asked what are the goods from Great Britain which can be successfully boycotted, I mention a few leather goods, fancy goods, toys, biscuits, perfumeries, hardwares and many other things which one can mention and get from other countries. Therefore one knows that we can do it and we have the example of the United States of America which attained its independence by throwing out chests of tea—of the battle for freedom of Ireland which boycotted English goods—of England which boycotted Russian trade—of Russia which boycotted English trade. What is good for England, Ireland or America is good for me subject to this restriction that we do not contemplate, promote or incite to violence. This is a clean and useful weapon;—and if you mean—mean sincerely when you say that you wish to achieve Swarajya in this Congress by legitimate and peaceful means. I may tell you there is no way of attaining Swaraj except by settlement with the British nation and in order to put that nation in proper frame of mind—I humbly suggest that you may accept this resolution and make Swarajya nearer and see to its accomplishment. I ask you finally not to be misled by the profuse use which will be made of Mahatma Gandhi's name. I do not for one moment suggest that you will be wanting in loyalty to him. I am loyal and I want the Congress to be loyal to Mahatma Gandhi but loyalty to him does not, as I conceive today, does not consist in crossing the Ts and dotting the Is of Mahatma's message but loyalty consists according to his best light to serve the country and achieving that for which Mahatma Gandhi laboured night and day, that

is for the attainment of Swaraj, while he was free and with us. If therefore, ladies and gentlemen, you are convinced by my arguments or by other arguments or by your own conviction or reason that this boycott is a clean, useful, legitimate and peaceful weapon, I ask you in the name of Mahatma Gandhi himself—in the name of your country not to be misled by the name of Mahatma Gandhi but to give your vote straight and make the accomplishment of Swaraj easier. I know, Mr. President, there are very many difficulties in the ways of achieving Swaraj. Equally so, there are many difficulties in the way of our accomplishing successfully even a partial boycott of British goods because there are obstacles but I think it is a pitch of cowardice and unmanliness and want of wisdom and statesmanship to run away from such obstacles. I ask you to pass this modest—this practical resolution and give one more weapon to the hands of the oppressed people so far as they can help it—and may God help them to achieve freedom which is their birthright. Brother delegates, I ask you to accept this resolution unanimously.

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Swami Bhaskartirtha (U. P.) seconded the Resolution in Hindi.

सभापति महाशय और मित्रो, आपके सामने जो प्रस्ताव रक्खा गया है उसका हिन्दी अनुवाद मैं आप लोगों को पढ़ कर सुनाता हूँ। यह राष्ट्रीय महासभा सत्याग्रह जांच समिति की रिपोर्ट की सिफारिश को जो ब्रिटिश माल के बायकाट के बारे में है स्वीकार करती है और निश्चित करती है कि यह प्रश्न एक ऐसी समिति के सुपूर्द किया जाय जो जांच करके यह पेश करे कि कौन कौन माल कामयाबी से तर्क किया जा सकता है और यह भी कहे कि उसके बदले कहां कहां से अन्य अन्य चीजें मिल सकती हैं। यह रिपोर्ट आल इण्डिया कमेटी के सामने आजसे दो महीने के अन्दर पेश हो जाय। यह सभा यहभी निश्चय करती है कि खद्वर और अन्य माल के प्रस्ताव पर इस प्रस्ताव का प्रभाव न हो। इस प्रस्ताव का अनुमोदन करते हुए मैं आप लोगों से कहता हूँ कि मित्रो हमलोग अपने देश को स्वतंत्रता के लिये, अपनी आजादी के लिये प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं। हमारा काम है कि हम उन तरीकोंको, उन मार्गों को, उन उपायों को इस्तेमाल करें कि जिससे हमें आजादी हासिल हो। हम यह भी समझते हैं कि हमारे मुल्क की आजादी के रास्ते में, स्वतंत्रता के मार्ग में सब से भारी पहाड़ अङ्ग्रेजी गवर्नमेंट है। पहले हमारा काम है इस पहाड़ को उखाड़ कर फेंकना। आप यह अच्छो तरह समझते हैं कि इसका उखाड़ना मामूली काम नहीं है। इस सत्यनत को बुनियाद त्रिजारत है और त्रिजारत ही इसकी ताकत है। हमारा काम है कि इस ताकत पर ऐसा वार करें कि यह कमजोर हो जाय। हमारा काम है कि इंग्लैण्ड के व्यापार के रास्ते को बन्द करें तभी आजादी हासिल होगी। हम कह सकते हैं कि इंग्लैण्डने हिन्दुस्तान को कैसे लूटा है—धोखाबाजी करके, नाना प्रकार के कानून पास करके इंग्लैण्डने हिन्दुस्तान को लूट लिया। एक जमाना था जब हिन्दुस्तान को बनी चीजें दूसरे देशों में जातो थीं और उनके बाजारों को सुशोभित करती थीं। और आप को यह भी मालूम होगा कि इंग्लैण्ड की महाराज्ञी एनी ने यह कानून पास किया था कि क्वीन एनीकी सभा में जो जाय वह हिन्दुस्तान का बना कपड़ा पहिने—चाहे वह कम कोमत हो, या बेश कोमत—इसकी कुछ बात नहीं। जिस देश में हिन्दुस्तान के कपड़े की यह खाहिश थी वहां यह देख कर कि हिन्दुस्तान का व्यापार बढ़ा तो इंग्लैण्डने डूबा लार्ड सिलेसबरीने, जो उस वक्त प्राइम मिनिष्टर थे, कहा था कि "If England is to live Manchester must live; if Manchester is to live India must be bled." जिन्होंने कहा था कि इण्डिया मस्ट बी ब्लेड' वह देखें कि "मेन्चेस्टर मस्ट बी ब्लेड।" हिन्दुस्तान के खून को जैसे इंग्लैण्ड ने निचोड़ा है हम अब वीसा पसंद नहीं कर सकते। अंग्रेजों के व्यापार को बन्द करेंगे। यह हम घृणा के

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भाव से नहीं करना चाहते—बहुत से लोग कहते हैं घृणा होगी नफरत होगी—लेकिन हम इसमें सिर्फ आत्मरक्षा समझने हैं और इस लिये इन उपायों को करते हैं । न हम तलवार उठाना चाहते हैं न इंग्लैण्ड को भूखा मारना चाहते हैं हिन्दुस्तान की सीमा के बाहर इन्हें भेजना नहीं चाहते, न इन्हें भूखा मारना चाहते हैं—भूखा मारने का दृश्य बड़ा भयानक होता है—हमने जैसे भूखे आदमियों को अकाल में सड़कों पर मरते देखा है वैसा देखना नहीं चाहते । हमारा ख्याल है सिर्फ अपनी आजादी और इसी हालत से उसका वायकाट करते हैं । बहुत से आदमी दया का भाव दिखाते हैं । मैं कहता हूँ दया अच्छी चीज है लेकिन यह दया कब काम आती है ? लड़ाई में नहीं । हिन्दुस्तान ने आज लड़ाई में कमर कसो है इस वक्त दया हम हिन्दुस्तानी नहीं कर सकते । लड़ाई में शत्रु के बार को बरदास्त करना चाहिये और उसपर वार करना चाहिये । लड़ाई में दया करे तो कर्तव्य पालन नहीं हो सकता । नेपोलियन ने एक बार कहा था “Quality of mercy is not strained. It blesseth him that takes and him that gives” .हमारा कर्तव्य है कि दुश्मन को मजा चखावे और दुश्मन को घुटने के बल भुका दें । अगर वह पर पर गिरे और कहे कि दया करो तो दया करना ठीक है । क्या हिन्दुस्तान ने शत्रु को जीता है ? नहीं तो दया करने का हमें मौका कहां है । इसमें हेट का सवाल भी नहीं है । इसके बारे में एक दो बात कहकर अपनी तकरीर खतम करूंगा । हम इसमें नफरत नहीं चाहते हेट नहीं करते । हमें तो अपने मुश्किल साथ प्रेम है । जिसके मिट्टी पानी से हमारा शरीर बना है जिसदेश का अन्न पानी हमारे खून के कतरे में है उसी से हमें प्रेम है—मैं किसी से नफरत नहीं करता—लेकिन मातृ भूमी की रक्षा के लिये आप लोग से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि यह विलायती माल जो आता है उसे तर्क करें । इन्हीं शब्दों से मैं इस प्रस्ताव का अनुमोदन करता हूँ ।

The President then called upon Mr. Vijairaghvachariar to move his opposition.

Mr. C. V. Achariar who in opposing the resolution was greeted with cheers said :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,

I desire to oppose this resolution chiefly on two grounds. One is that it is wholly impracticable and the other is that it is altogether undesirable. In doing so I call your attention to only two or three aspects of the whole question. Much has been made of the letter and spirit of Non-co-operation because there is the boycott of foreign goods already sanctioned under the auspices of Mahatmaji. I venture to submit that a greater fallacy has not been placed before you. There is a well recognised principle in the boycott of foreign goods. But there is none that I know of except that of revenge and mischief in the boycott of British goods. (Cries of hear, hear.) The boycott of British goods is only another name for a well known expression—the policy of protection—the policy of protective tariff. Because our Government, the Government of India is not the Government of the people, by the people and for the people, we are obliged to have recourse to the boycott of foreign goods in the place of protective tariff or prohibition. There is that principle. It is recognised by all nations of the world and text book writers—the idea of protection or protective tariff being to encourage native industry to the extent of prohibition or such tariff on foreign goods as should make the import of it altogether impossible or would diminish it in the highest degree. Any controversy there might be between free trade and protection is mostly confined as to which is most useful to the country. It is claimed that for England free trade is best; some say—there are people who say—even in

England—protection is best. Whatever it may be, you know that the United States of America and almost all the countries have adopted protective tariff for the sake of manufacture or stimulation of industry in their own country. That being so, I wholly ask you to say that those gentlemen who had been party to the resolution already passed, *viz.* the boycott of foreign goods can also resist this resolution. There is no inconsistency between the two. I am astonished that this argument is repeated by both the mover and the seconder. There is absolutely no connection between the two. Because we are required to boycott foreign goods for the sake of protecting our own industry now existing and hereafter to come in force, are we justified in asking you to pass a measure which would simply mean nothing but a plea of vendetta and mischief.

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All that I can ask you, ladies and gentlemen, is what is the principle in the report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee? They say that they accept the principle. But they have not been kind enough to tell the people like me what is the principle. I may tell you that that is a principle different from the principle embodied in the boycott of foreign goods. The resolution about the boycott of foreign goods is already in the Congress literature. Why do the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee say that they accept the principle? Why don't they say that it is a new principle? I therefore beg of you to note the distinction between the two. And I say it is undesirable for other purposes, one of which is the boycott of foreign goods. Remember there is a sacrifice imposed upon ourselves. In the earliest stages of the boycott of foreign goods the consumers of India suffered. No doubt they might not suffer to the fullest extent. It might be that the producers and possibly the middlemen also suffered but the consumers of India suffered greatly. But this is a well recognised sacrifice imposed by all civilised country on the whole people in order that its manufacture—that its industry and its average wealth might increase. Therefore that sacrifice is necessary in the interest of our Motherland. But may I know what will be the effect in the case of boycott of British goods? Other countries will import more—and they will increase their prices, I know. Because to day you are getting goods from one competitor like England—if you deduct that one competitor from the Indian market—if you exclude them and go to other countries, you give them an opportunity to increase their prices too. Do you really believe that in order to carry out this policy of boycott the Congress will be justified in imposing an additional item of expenditure on the people of this country? So that it is mischievous alike to us and to England. To us it is doubly mischievous.

Then there is another thing to which I would call your attention. It would greatly displease the Labour Organization and the Labour Members in England. You may say that you do not care. But there are people who do care. The Labour is His Majesty's opposition now in the British Parliament. It is not fair that we should put forward a resolution not useful to us—not economically useful—not useful to us in any wise but simply as a bluster or a bluff. The Labour people are shrewd people. They will soon find that you are not well disposed towards them and they would dislike us. On the other hand if boycott fails as it is bound to fail they will look down upon us—they will laugh at us. This will be the result.

I leave the question in your hands.—Whether it is within the four corners of Non-co-operation or not people more competent than myself—people who belong to the esoteric circle will tell you. But I believe it is within the four corners of Non-co-operation that we should not cause hatred needlessly as in the case of boycott of British goods. It will. It has a negative aspect. It is the negative side to the positive gain. The positive side is that we should all try to manufacture and stimulate the industries of our country—that is the positive side. The negative side is the boycott as I said in case of protection or protective tariff. In fact, there are two sides,

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The boycott of foreign goods is the positive side—call it Swadeshi if you like—it is a positive to the negative side. But in the boycott of British goods you have only the negative side and not the positive side. And it will be a mid-summer madness on our part to undertake the boycott of British goods without a positive side and with only a negative side. Therefore I call upon you to vote for me. And it is not an unfair appeal.

May I ask you why this resolution has been brought forward while the boycott of foreign goods resolution is in force? Why have they brought this Resolution? On the other hand look at the Resolution. A Committee will be appointed to find out what are the places from which the goods we are going to boycott can be obtained. It is a tortuous way of dragging a question. It is an insult to the authors of that Resolution, that is to say, of the boycott of British goods to appoint a Committee to tell us what goods we can get from other countries and from where. It is virtually repealing the resolution of the boycott of foreign goods already existing on the paper. For this reason I believe you are bound to oppose this Resolution and I appeal to you that you will oppose it. (Cheers).

The President called upon Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyenger to support the Resolution.

Supporting the Resolution he spoke as follows :—

Mr. President, sister and brother delegates, I had no intention to inflict a speech upon you on this resolution upon which I thought it was the unanimous desire of the delegates and other members of the Subjects Committee to agree, but when I found that notwithstanding the fact that the Subjects Committee adopted the resolution of the boycott of British goods our friends have thought fit to formally oppose it on the Congress platform and put forward my revered leader Mr. Vijairaghavachariar as their spokesman. At the outset it is my duty to place before you the position as I understand it to be. I was listening, sir; very carefully to what our revered leader said. He began by saying that this resolution is wholly impracticable and utterly undesirable. I, ask, sir, when the boycott of foreign goods was resolved upon at Nagpur under his distinguished presidency was that a wholly impracticable or a practicable resolution? (Cries of hear, hear.) Was that really undesirable or desirable resolution? I therefore put it to you that the arguments about the impracticability or undesirability of the resolution should not come with propriety from the President who piloted that resolution in that Congress at Nagpur.

Then, sir, he told us that when that resolution was in force—when that was operative and when a Committee was appointed and that Committee did not work, this resolution ought not to be put forward in contravention of that resolution. I on my part could not understand why the Committee appointed then did not work. I leave it to the Executive of the Congress with which my friend has not identified himself. But in answer to that what I want to say is this—that if that Committee did not do their work it was because of the utterly unpractical character of an attempt to enforce a wholesale boycott of foreign goods. Therefore it is that this Congress with more wisdom, with more practicability has put forward a resolution for the boycott of classified British goods which a Committee to be appointed now will consider and settle.

Then, sir, Mr. Achariar pointed that this Resolution was inconsistent with the Resolution (passed at Nagpur). Mr. Vijairaghavachariar has stated that it was not inconsistent for those who accepted the resolution upon the boycott of foreign goods at Nagpur to oppose a resolution on the Boycott of British goods only. My friend Mr. Satyamurti who moved the resolution

pointed out to you clearly that the boycott of foreign goods included the boycott of British goods and therefore it was an inevitable consequence of that resolution and those who put forward the resolution—who moved and supported it at Nagpur did intend by passing that resolution not merely to put a pious resolution on paper on the boycott of foreign goods but to actually set about to boycott classically British goods, and my authority, sir, is none else than Mr. Vijairaghavachariar himself (laughter and cries of hear, hear). I desire to read to you what he meant by this boycott of foreign goods which he says he accepted. He says in his monumental Presidential address at the time the following: He says—"With the people of India thus renovated, if not reborn, into a nation, well knit and vital, we have the means of converting not simply the personnel of the bureaucratic Government but what is still more important the non-official English Exploiters of our country as well into a new angle of vision. With this scheme, we can starve the English planters, the English merchants, traders and manufacturers in our country with increasing scarcity of labour into gradual exhaustion and into a satisfactory mentality towards us. And this will give us power in reserve to produce national strikes of inferior and unskilled workmen in Railways, Posts, and Telegraph departments and so forth. Let us remember that the great Bible of the Englishmen (not of the foreigner) is the financial code. Financial statistics which show loss of income and which threaten progressive loss of income have far greater effect on the mental outlook and the moral calibre of the average Englishman than any other weapon we can conceive of." Mr. Vijairaghavachariar continued—"I desire that we intentionally and with set purpose make provision for gradually and rapidly affecting the income of the English exploiter in India and even of England in so far as India is her market and supplier of raw produce." "The Congress must appoint a select committee of experts with power to form branch Committees that is what we propose to do, sir, throughout the country for making suitable arrangements for the gradual boycott of foreign goods." I ask, sir, what does the word 'foreign goods' mean? They must mean goods by which we starve the English merchants and English exploiters. There is no escape from the position. The weakness of the Exploiters, not to speak of the English nation is money finance, if you like. We must attack him there if we desire to attack him with any hope of success. A Frenchman once said that the Englishmen would rather forgive a parasite than the theft of a penny. Let us remember that English men punished murderer with fine while it hanged men for perjury and theft. A composite army of Englishmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen went to fight the Frenchmen, the Scotchmen and the Irishmen advanced gave battle and broke the enemy's line but last came the English to pick up the booty (laughter).

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I do not want to detain you any longer with this debate. I want to conclude with one word. I am sorry that I should be considered to have undertaken the greatest task of dissecting my revered leader. I am only trying to put him on my side and to vote with me on this resolution. Therefore I shall only answer one other argument. He told us that by accepting the resolution on the boycott of British goods you antagonise Labour or our friends of the Labour party in England. I do not know that those Non-co-operators who accepted the full programme of Non-co-operation are so enamoured of our friendship with the Labour Party (Cries of no, no) as my friend Mr. Vijairaghavachariar has told us. But I put it to him, the reason why we put forward the boycott programme is not hatred or love but the same which my friends-my brethren of Bengal put forward when they started the famous Partition Agitation. I put it to you, sir, when they started it, they started it with a political purpose as a political weapon. When they started that boycott, no less an authority than the great Moderate leader of our time, the late Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale in his famous Presidential address at Benares distinctly told the Congress at the time that in the circumstances in which Bengal

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was split in which her grievances were unredressed - they had no other alternative but to resort to the boycott of British goods so that the British people might come to their senses and redress their grievances. I ask, sir, have not our grievances been infinitely multiplied since then? If so, why hesitate to adopt a weapon which late Mr. Gokhale had blessed. I ask you ladies and gentlemen, to accept this resolution.

A delegate - Answer the economic side please.

Mr. Rangaswami - (To the President) May I answer the question, sir. (The President nodded his assent).

Mr. Venkataram - I remember that in the Subjects Committee we were actually divided.

Mr. Ramgaswami - I take it that the proceedings of the Subjects Committee are not to be discussed in detail before this house. I said at the outset that the Subjects Committee having adopted the resolution we should not divide the house again. But since it has happened there is no justification—and I do not think that there is any ground upon which my friend Mr. Venkataram can legitimately take objection that on this matter the Subjects Committee was more or less divided. I do not at all think that this fact is of any consequence. Therefore on the authority of my predecessor who opposed the resolution I ask you to accept the resolution wholeheartedly.

Mr. Sunderlal supported Mr. Vijairaghavachariar in a Hindi Speech.

हजरात, मुझे निहायत अफसोस है कि इस किस्म की तजवीज का विरोध करने के लिये मैं खड़ा हुआ हूँ जिसे ज्यादातर प्रतिनिधियों और तकरीर करनेवाले दोस्तों ने इसबात को कहकर पेश किया है कि इस तजवीज में इस हाउसकी दो राय न हो जाय। मुझे अफसोस है कि दर असल सवाल गैरवसूल न हो। अगर मैं यह महसूस न करता कि आप अपने कलकत्ते और नागपुर के वसूल के खिलाफ नहीं जाते तो मैं विरोध नहीं करता मगर अफसोस है कि तजवीज के पेश करनेवाले नान-वाइलेण्ट नान-कोआपरेशन के खिलाफ जाते हैं। पहले भी यह तजवीज महात्मागांधी की खिदमत में पेश की गयी थी—मेरे दोस्तों और बुजुर्गों तजवीज में बिलायती माल नहीं बल्कि अंग्रेजी माल का बायकाट है। मैं यह बात जानता हूँ और महात्मा गांधी के नाम पर अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि गुजश्त दो तीन सालों में यह तजवीज पेश की गयी और महात्मा जीने इसकी बराबर मुखालफत की। अगर वह एक राय से मुखालफत करते रहे तो मैं अपना हक समझता हूँ कि उनके नाम पर अपील करूँ। मैं यहभी कहने को तैयार हूँ कि आप नानकोआपरेशन के वसूल को भी एक मिनट के लिये ताक पर रखिये और महात्मा गांधी को भी भूल जाइये। लेकिन यह देखिये कि जिस ग़रज़ से इस तजवीज को पेश करना चाहते हैं वह भी पूरी नहीं होती। क्या आप जरा गौर करेंगे पेशतर इस के कि इस तजवीज को पास करें कि अगर यह पास हुई तो आप अपनी ताकत को कमजोर कर देंगे। मेरे पहले बिजयराघवाचार्य ने बतलाया है कि कलकत्ते में जो प्रस्ताव हुए उसमें " बायकाट आफ वृटिश गुड्स " भी पास करना चाहते थे।—मेरे पास किताब है, मैं दिखा ला सकता हूँ—नागपुर में भी इसकी तशरीह कर दी गयी थी। महात्मा गांधी ने यङ्ग इण्डिया में लिखा है कि फ़ारन गुड्स के बायकाट का यह मतलब है क कपड़ा चाहे किसी भी देश का हो उसे हम इस्तेमाल न करें। पहले से यह मौजूद है। और बिलायती कपड़ों को छोड़कर दुसरो चीज़ों को चाहे किसी भी देश की हो आपने नियम यह किया है किसी भी दुसरे देश का माल जहांतक आप के लिये मुमकिन

हो आप इस्तेमाल न करें। लेकिन आज आप इसे छोड़कर अगर यह इजाजत देते हैं तो जहां कोई पहले जर्मनी रेज़र इस्तेमाल करता था आप उससे पूछ सकते थे कि जर्मनी रेज़र क्यों इस्तेमाल करते हैं। अब आप को यह पूछने का हक नहीं रहा। वह साफ़ कह देंगे कि रेज़र जर्मनी-मेड है वृटेन मेड नहीं। अगर आप जर्मनी, जापान और अमेरिका के मालको निश्चित करेंगे तो स्वदेशी तहरीक़ ख़तम हो जायगी। बायकाट आफ़ वृटिश गुडज़ को पास करने से लोग कहते हैं सरकार पर प्रेसर पड़ेगा। नफ़रत का सवाल छोड़ दीजिये। मैं तो यह भी मानता हूँ कि अगर स्वराज्य के लिये नफ़रत भी करना पड़े तो कोई हरज़ नहीं। लेकिन जो दबाव आप डालना चाहते हैं ज़रा सोचिये तो इससे आप उसे ज्यादा करेंगे या कम। १९०७ से आपने वृटिश बायकाट रक्खा था लेकिन बायकाट की हालत १९०५ में १९०७ से बदर्ज़हा बेहतर थी। आज सिविलिडिस-ओबीडियन्स-इन्क्वायरी कमेटी की रिपोर्ट यह साफ़ कहती है हमारी मौजूद घो ज़िशन ने अंग्रेज़ी गवर्नमेन्ट पर वह भार डाला है जिसका हमें ख़ाव में भी ख्याल नहीं था। उस रिपोर्ट में साफ़ लिखा है कि सिर्फ़ खादी के प्रोग्राम के बदीलत लड्डाशायर के कितने कारखाने बन्द हो गये।—Quotations from C. D. E. C. Report—आपने अपने मौजूदा प्रोग्राम से कितनेही कारखानों को जंग डाल दिया। उसमें साफ़ लिखा है कि अंग्रेज़ मज़दूर गवर्नमेन्ट को आगाह करते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान से सुठह नहीं करता तो (अंग्रेज़ी quotation) ठीक नहीं। आप साफ़ तौर से देखें कि इससे अधिक प्रेशर डालने का मौक़ा आप को नहीं मिलेगा। मैं आप को आगाह करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आपने यह तजबीज़ जो पेश है वह अंग्रेज़ी फ़ैक्टरी पर दबाव डालने के लिये सोचा हो मगर हिन्दुस्तान को जानते हुये मुल्क के जनता के जानते हुये कि काम करनेवाले कैसे हैं, मौजूदा तहरीकों पर काम करनेवाले कैसे महदूद हैं, मौजूदा खादी के प्रोग्राम पर ज़बरदस्त असर होगा। आप वृटिश मैनुफ़ैक्चर पर एकोनोमिक् प्रेशर भी नहीं डाल सकते। क्योंकि कपड़े को छोड़कर जिसका बायकाट हमारे मौजूदा प्रोग्राम में आलरेडी मौजूद है दूसरी चीज़ें लक़ज़री की हैं जिनके बायकाट से कुछ असर नहीं हो सकता। अगर आप कहते हैं हमें इङ्ग्लैंड से आनेवाली लक़ज़री नहीं चाहिये तो वह इसकी ख़ाक भी परवाह नहीं करेंगे। और दूसरी चीज़ें मसलन मशीन घगोरह हैं इनका बायकाट मुमकिन नहीं। ऐसी सूरत में मैं आप से अरज़ करता हूँ कि इस फ़र्जी बायकाट के लिये मौजूदा खादी के प्रोग्राम को आप कुचल देंगे जिस से गवर्नमेन्ट पर इतना ज़बरदस्त असर पड़ा है। इस प्रस्ताव का एक दूसरा हिस्सा यह है कि एक सब-कमेटी बेंडेगी जो यह बतलावे कि क्या २ चीज़ें तर्क की जा सकती हैं और क्या २ चीज़ें नहीं। मेरे दोस्तों ने सब-कमेटियों के बनाने का यह बुरी आदत वृटिश-गवर्नमेन्ट से सीखी है। इन कमेटियों की बक़ीयत मैंने सिविल-डिस-ओबीडियन्स इन्क्वायरी कमेटी से देख ली। इलीह्वाह खुदा इनसे बचावे। दोस्तों, कमेटियों पर विश्वास न करो। अपने मौजूदा प्रोग्राम पर कायम रहकर देखो कि तुम कैसे दिन दूनी और रात चौगुनी तरकी करते हो। अभी चन्द घन्टों के अन्दर आप के सामने एक दूसरी तजबीज़ सिविल-डिस-ओबीडियन्स सत्याग्रह शुरू करने की मेरे दोस्त सी० राजा गोपालाचारी के तरफ़ से आनेवाली है। उसमें लाखों काम करने वालों की जरूरत होगी। अगर यह भी उसके साथ लगा दिया तो काम करने वालों की कमी होगी। अगर मुझको बेहतरी चाहेते हैं, सत्याग्रह शुरू करना चाहते हैं, सिविल-डिस-ओबीडियन्स के लिये मुल्क को तैयार करना चाहते हैं तो मौजूदा आन्दोलन जो एक ज़बरदस्त होल है चलाइये और इन ढकोसलों में घक जाया न कीजिये।

Mr. Sivaprasad (Benares) supported the original Resolution in Hindi:

सभा पत्रि महाशय और प्यारे भाइयो, जिस प्रस्ताव का अनुमोदन करने के लिये

कने सूतके कपड़े के दूसरा कपड़ा इस्तेमाल में न लावेंगे कपड़े को छोड़कर दूसरी चीजों के बारे में कहा जाता है । क्या इस सिद्धान्त से वह काम करना चाहते हैं कि जिन २ चीजों का हम बायकाट करें दुनियां की तमाम कौमों उसे महंगो कर देगी । जिन २ चीजों को महंगा करेंगे जिनके पास रुपया है उन्हें उसकी परवाह नहीं कुछ लोग उनमालों को खरीदेंगेही नहीं इसपर भी विलायती मालको इस्तेमाल करने वालों को यह मुवारकहो वह अंग्रेजी माल इस्तेमाल करें । लेकिन जिस जाति की जूतियां रोज २ सहनी पड़ी है उस जाति से हम कोई ट्रेडरिलेशन, व्यापारीसम्बन्ध रखना नहीं चाहते । सज्जनों, हमारे भाई सुन्दर लाल ने बड़े जोर से बतलाया है कि अगर हम ब्रिटिश माल का बहिष्कार करें तो शान्तिमय असहयोग का सिद्धान्त टूट जाता है । मैंने गया में आकर और इससे पहले भी मैंने यह दलाल इतनी बार सुनी है कि मेरा कान थक गया । मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि आप का सिद्धान्त स्वराज्य प्राप्त करना है या शान्तिमय असहयोग करना । अगर शान्तिमय असहयोग से यह मालूम हो जाय कि स्वराज्य नहीं मिलेगा तो हांथ पर हांथ रख कर बैठ जायेंगे या कुछ और उपाय सोचेंगे । हमारा सिद्धान्त स्वराज्य प्राप्ति है शान्तिमय असहयोग केवल एक मार्ग है जिसे हमने स्वीकार किया है इस लिये कि हमें स्वराज्य जल्दी से जल्दी मिल जाय । इससे आगे और कुछ नहीं । शान्तिमय असहयोग को सिद्धान्त मानना हमारे ख्याल में भारी भूल है । मेरे भाई ने यह भी कहा है कि अगर यह प्रस्ताव स्वीकार हुआ तो स्वदेशी का खून हो जायगा । भाइयो, इसके बारेमें मैं सिर्फ एक लफ्ज कहना चाहता हूं । क्या बंगाल भंग के समय में जब स्वदेशी और ब्रिटिश बायकाट चला था तो स्वदेशी का खून हुआ था । क्या कोई बंगाली भाई कहेगा कि ऐसा हुआ था—हर्गिज नहीं । इसी तरह इसमें भी एक भाग कस्ट्रिक्टिव है दूसरा डिस्ट्रिक्टिव । एकमें देश के बाहर जरूरी चीजें देश में पैदा करें और दूसरे में हम अपने अपने उन प्रन्चर्ड भावों को जाहिर करते हैं कि हम उस जाति के विरुद्ध हैं जिसने १५० वर्ष से हमें अमानुषिक रूप से गुलाम बना रक्खा है । क्या बाबू सुन्दर लाल अपने हृदय पर हांथ रख कर कह सकते हैं कि उन की यह दलोल ठीक है । अगर नहीं तो क्यों ऐसी लचर दलील दी जाती है । भाई सुन्दर लाल ने यह भी बतलाया है कि कपड़े के अतिरिक्त इंग्लैण्ड से दो चीजें ज्यादा आती हैं—एक लकजरी दूसरी मशीन । भाइयो, क्या मशीने हम अंग्रेजों से ही लेना चाहेंगे ? आप यह भी जानते हैं कि मशीनों में कपड़ा बुनने की मशीने ज्यादा आती हैं । तो क्या हमारे भाई मशीनों का प्रचार करते हैं और इस उपदेश में खट्टर का प्रोग्राम उनको भूल गया । क्या वह यह उपदेश करना चाहते हैं कि मशीनों से कपड़े बने ? फिर वह कहते हैं कि इलिललाह हमारे मुल्क में कमेटीयें न बनें । अगर कमेटी लफ्ज से आप को नफरत है तो कांग्रेस कमेटी को बन्द कर दीजिये (हसोधवनी) अगर कमेटी ही हीआ है—नहीं तो ऐसे आदमियों की कमेटी बनाइये जिनमें आप को विश्वास हो । उसमें बाबू सुन्दर लाल को ही रखिये ताकि वह गलती न हो जो सिविलडिसओबिडियेन्स इनवकायरी कमेटी से हुई है । अन्तमें यह कह कर जाना चाहता हूं कि अपने इन्सानी जज़बात का ख्याल करके कि आप को नुकशान और तकलीफ अंग्रेजों से पहुंची है या दुनिया से आप अपना विचार स्थिर करें । आपसे यह दरखास्त नहीं है कि आप दूसरे मुल्कों से जरूर चीजें मगावे । अपनी जरूरत को कम कीजिये लेकिन जो चीजें निहायत जरूरी हैं उन्हें भी आप अंग्रेजा से न लेकर उन मुल्कों से लें जिनसे आपको तकलीफ न पहुंची हो । इन शर्दों से यह प्रस्ताव पेश कर यह आशा करता हूं कि आप इसे स्वीकृत करेंगे ।

Boycott of
British
goods

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, who on rising to support Mr. Vijairaghavachariar's opposition was lustily cheered, spoke as follows :—

President, ladies and gentlemen, I have come to stand before you to oppose this proposition. After considering several times whether I should compel by any thing that I might do a division of the house over a proposition like this. I regret I am compelled to come before you and earnestly appeal to you to reject this proposal which has been accepted by the Subjects Committee. I stand before you as I said to ask you to reject this proposition because I consider that this proposition is a symptom of our weakness and will contribute to a growing weakness and will interfere with the programme of self-reliance that we have (hear, hear). As I said, a symptom of weakness, because we instead of depending upon Swadeshi turn our thoughts to other nations in order to substitute the things which we have been getting from England. If we do not wish to get anything from England it is our duty to manufacture it ourselves and not to turn away to Japan and create that domination for the future under which we have suffered already in our previous history. Why should we lay the foundation for a future domination of other countries when we have sufficiently seen the evils of such neglect of self-reliance and the results of foreign domination? I beg of you therefore not to lay this foundation for future misery and never in anger to do that which will afterwards be an evil out of which we cannot get out.

I ask you to reject this not because I do not hope by anything that I am able to say to convert you. There was only one man who could have resisted the anger in your hearts and restrained it. I know the overpowering, the growing the accumulating wrong under which we suffer tempt us to this resolution; at the same time we must restrain ourselves. We must restrain and convert that anger into something constructive, and not merely to ask of you to buy from Japan or America what we do not wish to buy from Great Britain. I do not want to lead you to questions of philosophy or principles of Non-co-operation. Please dispose of this on the plain and simple ground of expediency only, if you like.

We get from England only a third of all the goods that we get from abroad. We get from England a third of the goods that we get from abroad in the shape of cloth and so far as cloth is concerned we have already resolved not to get it from England or from any other country outside India as far as possible and we are succeeding in that effort. In the boycott of foreign cloth, in the Khaddar and Swadeshi programme we have successfully boycotted Britain after we decided to do that, and that is the third of the total imports from abroad. The cloth that we get from England alone is one third of the total imports that we get from abroad. Therefore in the Khaddar and foreign goods boycott programme we have already a clear programme of the boycott of British goods to that extent. It is not a mere question of Arithmetic that if we turn to the remaining two thirds we are adding to what we are doing. It is a question of interference with our concentrated effort. It is a question of leaving (?) the foreign importers from misleading the country. It is a question of turning away our workers from one concentrated effort which has been proving successful. I ask you therefore not to divert the nation from the single idea of Khaddar.

Mahatma Gandhi alone was capable of restraining anger and converting it into a concentrated constructive effort. And when he is gone—after he had resisted the proposal for the boycott of British goods for so long a time—shall we in his absence—so soon after he has turned his back to us—turn our resolution from one to another. I do not appeal to you to do anything simply because he said so. But still we did not start the proceedings of this Congress without

paying homage to him—and not merely that not only paying homage to him but accepting the policy which he recommended to us. Therefore I ask you to turn into the one resolution which we passed the other day. The man who brought peace to the world as he said, he is in gaol and I say he successfully resisted this and now it is difficult to resist your anger. I admit, he said that this boycott of British goods is not to be confounded with the boycott of foreign goods. I am obliged to my friend the mover of this proposition who placed before you the Resolution of the Calcutta Special Session about the boycott of foreign goods which was reaffirmed with the addition of the word 'gradual' at Nagpur because at Calcutta itself Mahatma Gandhi said that it was an impracticable proposition to pass that you boycott all foreign goods—when he meant what he said—when he intended to say what he meant. The resolution was passed by Mahatma Gandhi. I am not going to explain how it was passed. But at Nagpur it was converted into a 'gradual' boycott of foreign goods. He made it perfectly clear that boycott of foreign goods meant Swadeshi only and nothing else. The two are only difference of expression. But here the boycott of British goods is not a case of the part being included in the whole. Boycott of foreign goods means 'the constructive effort to replace foreign goods by our own efforts. Boycott of British goods means—reject all British goods and make a turning to other countries for getting those goods. This is a symptom of our weakness as I said. This is not a thing which we should accept. Then please consider that when the poor as well as the rich when every one, man, woman and child in this country has to get their cloth from England and that is what we are boycotting—that is a thing which will affect the question—which will do some thing. But if we turn to other things also we turn to a particular class and we have to appeal to a particular class of people to reject British goods. But when we turn to a particular class of people to reject British goods are we likely to succeed? Is it a practicable proposition? It may be said that this is a question which may be decided by the Committee which is to be appointed. But you are asked to accept a proposition wherein you accept the principle and therefore you have to examine the principle and its practicability no doubt leaving the details of it to the Committee which is going to enquire. But I say on the face of it it is not a practicable proposition. Therefore you ought not to appoint this Committee. If there has been no acceptance of the principle we might have passed it. But if a Committee is going to go into the question why place this before this Congress? A Committee like this could be appointed by the all India Congress Committee or any other Committee. They are placing this proposition before you—you are asked to appoint a Committee I who will consider over this policy but I ask you not to be committed to this policy.

I do not think I should detain you any longer. What I have said on this subject being—and which has been published in writing—that which was said last year. In reply to Mr. Baptista Mahatma Gandhi said that even he would not be capable of restraining the feeling of anger that would be roused in a propaganda for the boycott of British goods. And even if he was not capable of restraining that anger, are we likely to be able to restrain the natural forces which will be aroused in this propaganda? If Mahatma Gandhi feels that he would not be equal to the task how could we restrain this anger? And as prudent men, I think, it is necessary because with the programme of civil disobedience—either now or in the near future before us, how can we afford to raise the forces which we shall not be able to control. As prudent men—not as a matter of principle decide that this new difficulty, this new change ought not to be started now. Therefore I ask you to reject this proposition.

Friends who are wholeheartedly with me in other points are not with me in this matter, therefore it is not to be treated as a party question. I beg of you to reject it as a matter of principle and by your own judgment and I shall be much more pleased even if you decide it as a party question.

Mr. Padamraj Jain supported the main Resolution and spoke as follows in Hindi :—

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मान्यवर सभापति महोदय और मैं वहाँ आ रहा हूँ, मैं आपके सामने इस प्रस्तावका विरोध करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। और मैं आपको यह बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि जो दलाल अब तक इसके विरोध में ही गया है वे मैं विरोध नहीं करती जिस इच्छा आरामसे किया गया है कि इसके पास होने से नाम-बादलेदार नाम-को-आपदेशन में हानी होगी या हैद्वे जाहिर होगा यह कुछेक पत्र नहीं। अगर इसके अधिक हैद्वे करके भी बुद्धिमान का वाकफाद कर सकने तो मैं कभी को तैयार होता। अबतक इस प्रस्ताव पर व्यापार की दृष्टि से विचार नहीं हुआ। अगर आप व्यापार को दृष्टि से देखें जिन पर इस का मुख्य आधार है तो आपका मार्गम होगा कि यह प्रस्ताव मात्र है कामयाब नहीं हो सकता। थोड़ी देर साबित कि आप इस प्रस्तावसे का करता चाहते हैं। आप चाहते हैं अंग्रेजी मुद्राका बहिष्कार। इस का मतलब यह है कि इंग्लैण्डकी जगह अमेरिका आपका इन्डो का माल होगा तो आपकी उसके लेने पर तय न होगा। इसका अर्थ यह होगा कि बुद्धिमान को छोड़कर दूसरे लोग को मालव यह है कि इंग्लैण्डकी जगह अमेरिका आपका इन्डो का माल होगा तो आपकी इस प्रस्तावसे का करता चाहते हैं। आप चाहते हैं अंग्रेजी मुद्राका बहिष्कार। इस होगा कि यह प्रस्ताव मात्र है कामयाब नहीं हो सकता। थोड़ी देर साबित कि आप आप व्यापार को दृष्टि से देखें जिन पर इस का मुख्य आधार है तो आपका मार्गम को तैयार होता। अबतक इस प्रस्ताव पर व्यापार की दृष्टि से विचार नहीं हुआ। अगर अगर इसके अधिक हैद्वे करके भी बुद्धिमान का वाकफाद कर सकने तो मैं कभी नाम-बादलेदार नाम-को-आपदेशन में हानी होगी या हैद्वे जाहिर होगा यह कुछेक पत्र नहीं। काम नहीं करती जिस इच्छा आरामसे किया गया है कि इसके पास होने से चाहता हूँ कि जो दलाल अब तक इसके विरोध में ही गया है वे मैं विरोध नहीं करती जिस इच्छा आरामसे किया गया है कि इसके पास होने से प्रस्तावका विरोध करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। और मैं आपको यह बतलाना

Mr. B. L. Sastri spoke as follows :—

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Mr. President, sisters and brothers, the subject of this resolution is the boycott of British goods. The mover of this resolution and other speakers have given you the details. Now the question is whether we will boycott British goods alone as this resolution asks us to do or the goods of all other countries. Every sister and brother of mine born of this land would give you the same answer that if you can boycott the goods of every country except that of Mother India, well and good ; there can be no two opinions on that. But the question is whether it is up to this Congress—this National Assembly which is guiding the destiny of 320 millions of this glorious land to take up this question immediately—the question of the boycott of British goods alone. With due deference to the previous speakers I have heard them with curiosity. They have said that in case we boycott the goods manufactured in Britain alone there is hatred in that—that violence may spring up. Ladies and gentlemen, with regard to the question of violence or non-violence there is one supreme example set to us by that sage whom the supporters as well as the opposers of this resolution have not hesitated to quote, quote and quote, that is our venerable Mahatma Gandhi. He has set this one glorious example. You are to burn away foreign cloth. There is no doubt that the act of burning of cloth is a violent act but if you care to look to the full meaning with which Mahatma Gandhi engineered that, you will find that in such a burning of foreign cloth there is pure love and there is absolutely no question of hatred. In the words of Bhagwad Geeta “Shrean Swadharmo biguno paradharmat swanusthitat”—better one's own *dharma* though devoid of excellence than another's *dharma*—in the discharge of Swadharmo cling to it but paradharmo is fraught with fearful consequence. Now this boycott of British goods is not a new thing. When Lord Morley brought about the partition of Bengal this was the weapon which unsettled the settled fact. The settled slavery of this country was unsettled when you took this one weapon seriously. The Britisher is sensitive of one thing. That is in the matter of his own pocket. He cares for his goods. If you can touch his pocket you can make him feel. He is after all a business man. I beg of you therefore to consider the proposition. Let no personal consideration weigh with you. It is a fact that Mahatma Gandhi at one stage refused to take up this question alone. But if boycott of anything is bad, boycott of foreign goods is not worse than the boycott of British goods. After all, sisters and brothers, you and I ought to have no love—no greater love for a foreigner than for the children of this land. It is rather a human factor. Can you have any reason to love my children more than you do yours. Is it human ? At any rate it is not human. There are two principles involved in it. Swadeshi is the positive principle. Boycott is the negative principle. When a friend said that Mahatmaji shrank from this boycott, I say it is not a fact. He is the last man to shrink from anything that he feels convinced about. Do not for a moment think that Mahatmaji was not up to it. At that time he thought it unwise to take up British goods alone. So he recommended and the Congress accepted the boycott of foreign goods at that time. I bear no hatred to any Britisher personally. But that is another matter. But we must boycott his goods. We must make him feel that India contains among her children, daughters and sons who are capable of making the British feel. The fact is unless you boycott his goods, you are done for.

At this stage several delegates demanded a closure, and the speaker stopped.

The President then called upon Mr. Satyamurti to reply to the debate.

Mr. Satyamurti in reply to the opposition to his original resolution on the boycott of British goods spoke as follows :—

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I stand here to reply to the

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arguments which have been advanced against my very innocent and practical resolution. I must say at once that none of the arguments advanced by those who spoke in support of the resolution has been met by those who opposed it. Mr. Vijairaghavachariar complains of the want of principle in this resolution. Mr. Rajagopalachari asks you not to accept the principle in this resolution. When two such estimable men—finished commentators on the principle of Non-co-operation—differ, I will not venture to arbitrate between them.

I will take Mr. Rajagopalachari's point first and say that there is a principle in it, because to me, he is the more orthodox interpreter of the doctrine of Non-violent Non-co-operation. I say, any how there is a principle in the resolution and I want you to accept it and the principle is this: the principle. I say, is the principle of non-violently non-co-operating with the British manufacturer and exploiter who form part of the nation which governs us or the Government which by a sad irony of fate rules over this unhappy nation. But both of them are afraid of the fact that other countries will supply the goods which we now get from Great Britain and which we ask you to boycott. But, surely, those countries are even now supplying those goods. I want them to answer my question, how will the political or economic future of India will be impelled by the fact that your cigarettes and biscuits come from Germany and not from England; and surely, it is idle to suggest that because other countries may economically exploit us we should like to remain slaves to the country which both politically and economically exploit us and thereby preventing other countries from economically exploiting us.

And strangest of all Mr. Vijairaghavachariar develops a fresh love for the susceptibilities of the Labour leaders and the Labour Party in England. I was much surprised. But I know the Labour Party and I know some of the Labour leaders and if this Congress rejects this manly, self-relying resolution of the boycott of British goods, they will look upon us as pusillanimous creatures unworthy of the aim we are striving for. On the other hand, if I know the Britisher, I know, he will grasp the hand of fellowship if I go and tell them 'No, Sir, if your country is governed by the German today would you or would you not boycott their goods?' I was on the very move of the rank and file of the Labour Party and I know they are not so much enamoured of the Capitalist exploit them and exploit our country, that they will not cry joy to us and cry joy to themselves—they will not come to help us to break this Capitalistic imperialism both in this country and in England.

I need say one word more with regard to Mr. Sunderlal's objection—that because the boycott of foreign goods is already there, the boycott of British goods is unnecessary. I grant that. And then if his whole objection is that my resolution is superfluous, don't they give us the benefit of the underlying resolution which he agrees. Then Sir, he says, our energy will be frittered away. I want to know what is the programme of the country today. I take it, the constructive programme. Well, if this nation can find workers to solve the agelong problem of untouchability, to bring about communal unity, to promote Swadeshi and to do various other things, surely there must be some people found who may help us in boycotting British goods. What does it come to? We have got to go to our brothers and sisters and ask them to boycott all foreign goods, including English cloth. What will it cost? Will it cost very much extra time? Will it cost extra energy or will it cost extra money? I say please boycott not only foreign cloth, but also British goods—knives and scissors, unless as Mr. Vijairaghavachariar thinks that it will insult and antagonise Manchester and Sheffield.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari put forward only two or three arguments which I want to answer and finish my speech. He said that this will interfere with

the programme of self-reliance. Now, sir, I most humbly protest against the tyranny of words. The only programme which I recognise and which the Indian National Congress recognises is the programme of Swaraj. If tomorrow America comes to my help and helps me to get Swaraj I will not spurn his help and say—'yes, reject the resolution' because it conflicts with the principle and will embarrass the Great National Institution. Then, Sir, Rajagopalachari complained that these goods will come from other countries, but he forgets perhaps unconsciously the words of the resolution. The Committee has got to investigate and report on the places from where such goods could easily be obtained. I submit that this Committee will certainly say whether those goods cannot be supplied from India itself. Therefore you are wrong in assuming that we must go to other countries and if we do go it will only be for a time. This boycott of British goods does not suggest a permanent political weapon in our armoury. We want it as a temporary weapon of expediency till we get Swaraj. Therefore all arguments are based upon future economic regeneration of the country.

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But Mr. Rajagopalachari walks into my argument and gives away his whole case when he says that the resolution also contemplates boycott of British goods *pro tante*. Therefore his objection is not based on principle but on question of expedience. He asks you to vote on this question on the consideration of expediency. If you can boycott British goods *pro tante* according to him to the extent he says you may, may I not ask you to boycott British goods *pro tante* to the extent which the Committee will recommend. I wish that Mr. Rajagopalachari stopped his argument but he went on and said "is it right that so soon after Mahatma Gandhi's incarceration we should go back on his programme." I don't want to be misunderstood and I say with all the conviction that I can command that I have no sympathy with those speakers who want to substitute one slave mentality into another. By that we have not laid the foundation of Democratic Swaraj. I am not going to surrender my God-given right to any man, no matter how respectful he is—with all respect to Mahatma Gandhi;—but it seems Mr. Rajagopalachari wants to snatch away my birthright of independent thinking and win his victory by using his name. But I know that this country will adopt this, if not today, but sometime after.

Fellow delegates, in the meantime I want you to be rid of the cobweb of great name dragged down to low controversial purposes and make up your mind on the great question. And last of all, Mr. Rajagopalachari said that we must conserve our anger from a superior moral pedestal which runs in our veins. Anger or no anger, but surely, even if Great Britain governs this country well—if there was no General Dyer, no Punjab atrocities, no Khilafat wrongs—if Great Britain were angels and governed the country well still I want to get rid of them (hear, hear). I want to use this honest, manly, clean, self-relying political weapon in order to hasten the advent of Swaraj in this country. And I most earnestly appeal to you—you don't know the condition that will be created in England if you pass this resolution today—to pass this resolution. I may tell you if you will pass the resolution today it will be cabled across the wires to night and tomorrow morning at the breakfast table in London, Cabinet Ministers, employers of labour, manufacturers—will be staggered by the blow we give by passing this resolution and come to terms with us (applause). I ask you therefore to strengthen yourselves and go forward, my friends, with this programme, and I do hope that whatever your predisposition may be—whatever your predilection may be, you will vote for this resolution and give your poor unfortunate country a clean, honest and manly weapon with which to fight your battle for Swaraj. (Cheers.)

Mr. Shiyaprasad Gupta (Benares) on coming to the rostrum said—With the permission of the President I ask you to give your consent for or against

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this resolution. I am putting this resolution before you by the permission of our President. He has asked me to request those of you who are delegates only to vote in favour of or against this resolution. He has asked me to request all the visitors and the members of the Reception Committee who are not delegates to restrain from voting—not to vote. He has also asked me to warn those gentlemen who have been elected delegates after the 15th of December against the rules of the Congress to restrain from voting. I hope all of you have understood what are the instructions of the President. Now I shall read out to you the resolution in English as well as in Hindi and then will request you to vote for the resolution then against it. (Explained in Hindi) You have to vote, only those of you who are bonafide delegates and not those who have been elected after 15th December. Those gentlemen who are against the boycott of British goods only—who are against the resolution as has been framed—will please raise their hands—(Cries of all, all).

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu then walked to the rostrum and addressed the delegates in Urdu and also speaking in English said—Those who are for the resolution of the boycott of British goods will please shut their mouth but lift their hands and keep them lifted till the President asks them to put them down. Those in favour of the resolution will raise their hands. (Then repeated in Urdu.)

Uproar prevailed. Mr. Shamlal Nehru intervened and asked those in favour of the resolution to raise their hands and those against to do likewise when time came.

The resolution was finally put to vote and overwhelming number of hands were raised against the resolution and there was much uproar.

The President—order, order. I have to declare that the resolution is lost. (Cries of Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai.)

After an interval of a couple of minutes Mr. Shamlal Nehru again walked to the rostrum and announced that the President had allowed him to move for a division.

A delegate— After he has declared it as being lost ?

Mr. Shamal Nehru— A division has been claimed and a division has been decided upon by the President. Provincial Secretaries are required to come to the President. The object of the division is to see whether those who raised their hands were the delegates,

Mr. Harisarvottam Rao— Delegates from all the Provinces are requested to be seated in their respective places.

After an elapse of several minutes, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya announced — Ladies and gentlemen, those who wanted a division has been good enough to withdraw the proposal. The next resolution (on the agenda) will now be taken up.

The President—Gentlemen, those gentlemen who wanted a division have withdrawn their objection. A voice— I have not.

The President— As those gentlemen who wanted a division have withdrawn their objection I decide that there should be no counting of votes. Mr. Rajagopalachari is to address you on the next resolution.

The President called upon Mr. Rajagopalachari to move resolution VI on the question of council entry. Mr. Rajagopalachari who on rising to move the resolution was given an ovation said :—

Mr. President, sisters and brothers, I beg to move this proposition which is as follows :— (reads). 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 its irresponsible rule :

And whereas it is necessary again for the people of India to with-hold participation in the elections of the next year, as an essential 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.

I need hardly tell you that this is a proposition which I commend to you with all my heart and in spite of any difference of opinion to accept it with such overwhelming number as to make it effective in the country. In spite of any difference of opinion in matters of detail we are all agreed, I make bold to say, as to the object in hand not only as to the ultimate object but also as to the immediate step for attaining that object, *viz.*, an effective boycott of the Councils. Though there are differences of opinion as to how the boycott of these Councils will be better attained one way than in another—we are all agreed that an effective boycott has to be effected—we are all agreed that an effective boycott has to be attained. I therefore feel quite confident that whether you accept one amendment or another our object is fairly unanimous. And I therefore believe—that after contesting, discussing and obtaining your vote on the amendment—if this resolution is ultimately carried you will attempt to bring about the object, that is the effective boycott of the Councils in the manner in which the majority of the Assembly has decided upon. Therefore I am quite certain that whatever the differences of opinion there might be on the various amendments that might be proposed in regard to the form in which this boycott should be effected, I have no doubt whatever that after the decision, the boycott of councils will be an object in which you will all join to bring about—to make it effective. I particularly commend to you this proposition because I feel certain, I have no doubt in my mind, and believe, in most of your minds also, that the only way, the only effective way in which we can boycott the Councils is by boycotting the elections themselves. Unless we boycott the elections we shall not boycott the Councils because if you accept the scheme of the Reforms you thereby accept to a certain extent the prestige of these Councils. And our boycott is not merely the physical boycott of the Councils but it is the moral breakdown of the prestige that they are after. If the breakdown, the destruction of the prestige of the Councils, the destruction of the moral importance of the Councils is our object we shall lose it partly by accepting their moral importance and not merely trying to fight with them. If Vishma challenges me to fight my importances is accepted by him. Therefore I say this Nation this Vishma of India should not accept the moral importance of these Councils and try to fight with them, but may rather treat them with the indifference which we should treat them with. Treat the Councils with indifference and that is the most effective manner in which this Nation when once it has resolved upon boycotting the Councils can boycott them.

Various forms of boycott have been suggested : — One, for instance which will be placed before you is — boycott the councils by standing for election, by paying homage to the electorates with which these councils have been proposed to be worked by this Government, accept their votes, get their mandate and then

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let the members who have succeeded in capturing the electorates not to go into the Councils and take their seats. I can suggest to you another form—let the members who have got the votes of the majority of the electorates get into the councils and there not co-operate with the Government, boycott the councils that way. Then there is yet another form, you can go and take your seats in the Councils but refuse to appoint your ministers. Then there is another way. You can go in, appoint your ministers and through those double representatives ask the Councils not to perform any function. That is also another kind of boycott. One more method is to appoint your ministers, ask them to accept office and yet ask them not to do anything which the Government may ask them to do. That is also a kind of boycott. Then you can ask the ministers, not to accept office and to do certain things and yet not to do certain other things. That also may be a kind of boycott.

But I commend to you — please do not enter into definitions, but please decide it on the question as to which is the effective boycott which we in order to further our programme can only accept. I do not think it will serve any useful purpose to attempt at definitions. In a house of this magnitude I can only express my views humbly though firmly and I ask you to decide it for yourselves. Here I say that if we disturb the atmosphere which we have succeeded so far in creating with reference to the Councils and try a new experiment we will have first of all to undo what we have done and then to begin afresh, probably more effectively but verily not so effectively.

Therefore I ask you at once what is the atmosphere we have created? It is not a mere wax thing. But every body here —every body feels that we have sufficiently reduced the Councils to a mockery. Every body knows that the Councils do not represent the people and that they are the masks of the Government. The Government is executing its will —its irresponsible will through these Councils. The Government is prepared to execute its irresponsible power through one mask or another so long as we go on co-operating with them in material ways. If the lawyers co-operate, if the students co-operate, if the army co-operate, if the population of India co-operate, it does not matter in the least what mask the Government has. It does not matter in the least what members sit in the Councils. The will of the irresponsible Government will go on manifesting itself. Therefore it is that our representatives should not sit there. It does not matter therefore if only nominated members of the Government sit there. It is only a mask. We have boycotted it if Government places only nominated members. We have effectively boycotted the Councils if members are not technically nominated but are technically elected, but really not elected by the people. Therefore if there is any value if there is any sense in the boycott of councils the only thing that we have to do is to boycott them in a real manner.

To compare the question with the other question; viz., that the Government is still carrying on its work is a mere confusion of issues. The Government will go on with its work even if the Councils are abolished and must devise measures how to stop that process. But so far as this boycott of councils go—so far as the immediate step is concerned we have boycotted it. This the world knows, this the Government knows and we know that our representatives are not helping the Government, and that it is only a false mask that is being presented as a representative Government. How to deal with this falsehood is a different question altogether. How to deal with the mask is but operation of a different sort. If the boycott of councils is finished we will have to operate on such a mask—we shall show that is but a mask and we shall have to tear the mask in to pieces. We shall non-co-operate truly. We shall have to go on with our other programme. But so far as the boycott of councils is concerned we shall be helping to keep the mask alive so long as we try to go there one way or the other.

I shall deal with the arguments on the amendments that may be presented to you in my reply. At present I shall content myself with commending this proposition to you. This resolution is merely a repetition of the proposition we adopted in Calcutta. It is a repetition of what we adopted in 1920. Any proposal that we should change the method is based upon a feeling that we have failed. The basis of the new proposal is that we have failed. That we have failed is sought to be proved by the fact that a few people sat in the councils. To me it is no proof. It has been sought to be proved that we have failed because a minority has gone there—because repression is going on. I tell you it is no proof at all. Because if you intend by any other form of boycott by entering the councils to stop repression by a resolution there then it may be a remedy but so long as any other form of boycott does not involve carrying on or working the councils by our operating inside the councils, there is no difference on that score. Some may tell you that taxes are going on accumulating—what is the use of boycotting from outside? But do you mean to go there to move for a reduction of taxes? No. Do you mean to go there to move for retrenchment. They say no. Therefore there is no difference between that position and this on that score. I beg of you therefore not to be carried away by references to what they might possibly do by co-operation inside the Councils so long as we are resolved on boycott of councils. If when we feel that we have given sufficient trial to the programme of Non-co-operation—if when we feel that we can no longer carry on Non-co-operation but must frankly confess that we have failed and take up another line—then it is right that we should discuss the question as to what miseries we could stop by going into the councils. But so long we feel that we have not given this great programme sufficient trial and so long we feel that we have not achieved our purpose which we intended to achieve within the short period of our trial, we have to continue the trial. And so long as we have that programme before us we cannot do anything which is inconsistent with that programme.

Therefore the only question before you is whether this form of boycott is effective or not. I commend this Resolution to you with all my heart, and if you find on hearing the other amendments that may be proposed that they are better form of boycott—even after I have replied, you are at liberty to adopt that method.

There is no necessity to imagine that though leaders are united in the object to be achieved there will be any division in the sense in which a split of this Organization is understood: then the issue is confused. I beg of you not to confuse the issue by any of those ideas. We have to determine like wise men the line as to the best form of boycott without distrust of each other. You are not to distrust each other. We must believe that every one will act according to his conviction and that no misfortune is going to happen by reason of a mistake on an intellectual question. I therefore beg of you to direct your attention to one question as to what is the best thing—as to what is futile, what is wise—what is useful or useless and decide upon that question. (Applause.)

Dr. M. Ansari seconded the Resolution in urdu.

जनाब सदर और डेलीगेट्स में, इस रिजोल्यूशन की सिर्फ ताइद करूंगा और अपनी तकरीर कल के लिये मुलतबी जनाब सदर को इजाजत से करूंगा और मैं उर्दू जवान में इस रिजोल्यूशन का तर्जुमा पढ़ कर सुना दूंगा कि आप मतलब समझ जायें। —
“चूंकी कौन्सिल के बायकाट से जो सन् १९२० में किया गया था कौन्सिल के एतबार को जिनके जरिये गवर्नमेन्ट अपनी कूबत और ना जायज़ हुकम खलावी थी गैर इनसानी बना दिया है और चूंकि हिन्दुस्तान के वाशिनटों को दुबारा लाज़िम है कि आइन्दा इनखाब में हिस्सा न लें जो नानकवापरेशत का एक लाज़िम हिस्सा है। इस लिये यह कांग्रेस

(50)

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मशबिरा देती है कि कोई कांग्रेस का मेम्बर बतौर उमीदवार के खड़ा न हो और न यह कि कोई घोटार उमीदवार को वोट देने में हिस्सा ले। यानी वोट न दें। और नीज़ इस तरीके पर जो कि बाल इण्डिया कांग्रेस कमिटी आप को बता देगी आइन्दा कितई इन हरास कर इस में हिस्सा न लें। यह रिजोल्यूशन जिस पर तक्ररीर करने को खड़ा हुआ हूँ। लेकिन मैं अपनी तक्ररीर कल करूंगा। आज दिन इतना ही बस है।

(The Congress adjourned till 12 P. M. next day.)

The 37th Indian National Congress

GAYA.

30th December, 1922.

Fourth Day's Proceedings.

The Congress reassembled (Fourth day) at one in the afternoon of 30th December, 1922.

As the President did not till then arrive Pundit Motilal Nerhu commenced the Proceedings. He said :

Gentlemen, I have been asked by the President to begin the proceedings as he will be a few minutes late. So I will begin the proceedings I do hope that by the time the usual programme of music is over the President will also be here. But if there is some delay still we shall go on with some speeches while he comes. He has asked me to take his place in his absence.

The proceedings opened with a song by Miss. Tyabji. The President arrived in procession while she was still singing.

After she had finished, a choir of Bengali boys and girls sang in chorus the song "Mahasabha Unmadinimamo Banee gaho aji Hindusthan" followed by a song by Srinati Sarswati Devi.

This over, Mr. Deep Narain Singh walked to the rostrum and said :

Brother delegates, there are two formal resolutions to be put from the Chair.

CONDOLENCE RESOLUTIONS.

VII. This Congress places on record its deep sense of the loss sustained by the Country in the death of Babu Motilal Ghose and offers its condolence to his family.

(Put from the Chair and passed all standing)

VIII. This Congress has learnt with grief of the death of Babu Ambica Charan Mozumdar, one of its ex-Presidents and places on record its deep sense of the loss sustained thereby by the country.

The Resolutions were passed in solemn silence all standing.

COUNCIL RESOLUTION.

The Council resolution was then taken up. Pt. Nekiram Sharma spoke as follows :—

तत्पश्चात् प्रस्ताव छठवां का समर्थन करते हुए श्री नैकी राम शर्मा ने कहा :—
“ मान्यवर सभापति जी ! भाइयो और बहीनो ! जो रिजोल्यूशन हमारे पूज्य नेता श्री राज गोपालाचारी ने कल आप के सामने पेश किया था मैं उसका अनुमोदन करने के लिये इस वक्त आप की सेवा में हाज़िर हुआ हूँ । सज्जनों, आपको मालूम होगा कि जिस वक्त से आप की कांग्रेस ने जो आन्दोलन आपके सामने है, मंजूर किया कलकत्ते की स्पेशल कांग्रेस और नागपुर की कांग्रेस ने इसे अपने हाथों में लिया ।

Boycott of
Councils.

हिन्दुस्तान में जो १५० साल से गैरों का गुलाम है, दूसरों का ताबेदार है एक नई हलचल, जिन्दगी और रुढ़ खून पैदा हो गया। तमाम हिन्दोस्तान के अन्दर, हिन्दुस्तान का तमाम क़ीमों के अन्दर, बाल-बच्चों के अन्दर यह ब्याल पैदा हो गया, यह भाव जग गया कि हिन्दुस्तान को अब हम किसी ढंग पर पहुंचाकर छोड़ेंगे। हर एक ने यह समझा कि इस जीवन से मरण अच्छा है और जबतक हम हिन्दुस्तान को स्वराज्य न दिला दें, न खुद चैन से बैठेंगे न दूसरों को बैठने देंगे। इस आन्दोलन, पाक तहरीक का प्रचार हिन्दुस्तान के कोने कोने में हुआ। और उसके अनुसार काम भी हुआ। हमारे भाई जो पहले किसी को देख कर कांपते थे, इस आन्दोलन से यह भाव आ गया कि नौकरशाही क्या है, इसका रवैया क्या है? ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट और नौकरशाही का जो मान, गवर्नमेंट की जो धाक, जो हीवा घुसा हुआ था मैं साफतौर से कह सकता हूँ कि इस आन्दोलन से वह निकला, नहीं तो, निकलने वाला ही है।

लोग समझ गये कि वह क्या है? नौकरशाही क्या है? जब कहा गया कि नई कौन्सिलें स्वराज्य का दरवाजा है। जिस वक्त में कांग्रेस ने हुक्म दिया कि कौन्सिल में जाने से फायदा नहीं, बेहतर है कि हिन्दुस्तान के प्रेम के नाते हम उनसे अलग रहें। आपको यह याद होगा कि पिछले दो साल में घरघर में यह चर्चा थी कि कौन्सिलें खराब जगहें हैं, जहां जाकर हम अपना भला नहीं कर सकते। इसका फल यह हुआ कि ६० लाख वोटों में से कितने कम पोलिंग स्टेशनों पर हो गये। अब अगले साल में वही मौका और चुनाव आने वाला है। इसमें यह कहना है कि अगर आप सच्ची कुरबानी करते हैं, और नौकरशाही पर ज्यादा धाक जमाना चाहते हैं तो अपने नुमाइन्दे कौन्सिलों में न भेजें असल में देखा जाय तो कौन्सिलों के बायकाट से ही स्वराज्य हमारे हाथ में आयेगा। इसलिये आपका फ़र्ज़ है कि कौन्सिलों के बायकाट पर आप अटल रहें।

Dr. Ansari spoke as follows:—

तत्पश्चात् डाक्टर अनसारी ने कहा:—

“जनाबे सदर व हाजिरीन कल में ने इस रिजोल्यूशन का उद्दू में तरजुमा सुना दिया था जिसे राजगोपालाचारी ने आपके सामने पेश किया है। और जिसकी तार्इद करने को मैं खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मुझे कुछ ज्यादा तक्रौर करने की ज़रूरत नहीं मालूम होती और दूसरी एक मजबूरी यह भी है कि मेरी आवाज गालिबन आप लोगों तक पहुंच भी न सकेगी। मैं आप लोगों से सिर्फ चन्द बातें अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ। पहली बात यह कि यह रिजोल्यूशन जो आप के सामने है वह तहरीक तर्कमवालात जो कलकत्ते, नागपुर और अहमदाबाद में पास हुआ था उसका ठीक दुहरावा है और कोई वजह नहीं कि इससे इनहिराफ़ किया जाय और मुखालिफ़त करें। यह मैं जानता हूँ कि कहा जाता है कि दर असल कौन्सिल का बायकाट १९२० में होता तो कामयाबी भी होती यानी ८० फी सदी ने हिस्सा नहीं लिया और २० फी सदी से कौन्सिल पूरी हुई। और कौन्सिल में ऐसे लोग जो मुल्क के नुमाइन्दा न थे जाकर सरकार के साथ मिल कर मुल्क को नुकसान पहुंचाया। इस वास्ते यह तजविज पेश की जाती है कि कसरत राय से ऐसे लोगों को कौन्सिल में जाने से रोका जाय और उनकी जगह तर्कमवालातियों को मुन्तख़ब किया जावे। और यह भी कहा जाता है कि ये तर्क मवालाती न हलफ़ लेंगे न कौन्सिलों में ही जायेंगे। मैं नहीं समझता कि इतनी मिहनत और मुसक़त करने पर भी उनको रोकने में कामयाबी न होगी तो इसकी क्या ज़रूरत? मैं यह भी तसलीम करता हूँ कि एक मर्त्बा नहीं दो मर्त्बा आप ऐसा करने में कामयाब भी हो जायें। मगर कोई नहीं कह सकता कि तीन साल तक बराबर ऐसा करेंगे और माइरेट्स को रोक देंगे। जब ऐसी सूरत है तो ऐसी

तकलीफ़ से क्या फायदा कि आपने अपने वसूल को भी बालायताक़ रख दिया और कामयाबी भी हासिल न हुई । दूसरी चीज़ यह कही जाती है कि मुत्तख़ब कर लेने और यह तसफ़ीहा न करें कि वहां जाकर बुराई करेंगे या गवर्नमेन्ट के साथ मोका मोहाल देख कर उसके प्रस्तावों की मुख़ालिफ़त करेंगे । इस बात को १९२३ की कांग्रेस पर छोड़ देंगे । इसके मानी यह कि इस वक्त इन्तख़ाब करलें । मुल्क में तहरीक फ़ला-कर इसके लिये मुल्क को तैयार करें फिर १९२३ में एक ख़ास सूरत पैदा करके, २३ में रिजोल्यूशन पास कर के चले जायें अगर कौन्सिल में जानेका ख़याल हो ही गया है तो बहुत ज्यादा बेहतर है कि हम यह साफ़ २ कह दें कि कौन्सिलमें जाना चाहते हैं और वहां मुल्क की खिदमतके लिये, मुल्कको आफतसे बचानेके लिये गवर्नमेन्टसे मुख़ालिफ़त करेंगे या नहीं करेंगे जैसा मोका होगा । इस तौर पर आप साफ़ २ क्यों नहीं कह देते कि कांग्रेस के प्रोग्राम की ना कामयाबी हुई । मैं इससे ज्यादा कुछ और नहीं कहना चाहता । समझ में नहीं आता कि तहरीक तर्कमवालात जिन्दा है या मुर्दा ! यहभी आर्गुमेन्ट पेश किया जाता है कि तर्कमवालात में काम नहीं हो रहा है और इस तरह उसमें जिन्दागी पैदा की जायगी — (नहीं २ की आवाज़) मैं कहता हूँ एक बार नहीं कईबार यह आर्गुमेन्ट पेश किया गया है । हज़रात, मैं आप से इस हालत में पुछता हूँ कि आप का क्या फ़र्ज़ है । क्या आपलोग तहरीक तर्कमवालात को मरा समझते हैं । (नहीं नहीं की ध्वनि) अगर मरा नहीं समझते तो मैं आपसे कहूंगा कि इस कौन्सिल के तमाशे को डुकरा कर दूर कर दीजिये । अगर आप तर्कमवालात को सामने रखकर काम करना चाहते हैं तो इसे छोड़कर नतीजाखेस चीज़ तर्कमवालात को बढ़ाईये जबतक यह मसला मुल्क के सामने रहेगा, मुख़्तलिफ़ ख़याल मुल्क में रहेंगे सिविल नाफ़-रमानी के लिये मुल्क को आप तैयार नहीं कर सकते । इसलिये, हज़रात, जिस रिजोल्यूशन की तारिद करने को मैं खड़ा हुआ हूँ उसे कबुल कीजिये इसीसे मुल्क को आप आगे बढ़ा सकते हैं । इन्हीं अलफ़ाज़के साथ मैं इस रिजोल्यूशन की तारिद करता हूँ । ”

Begum Hasrat Mohani spoke as follows :—

इस के बाद बेगम हसरत मोहानी ने कहा :—

जनाब सदर, मुअजिज़ हज़रात, मैं ज्यादा बोलने की ख़्वाहिश नहीं रखती, और न ज़रूरत समझती हूँ इसलिये सिर्फ़ चन्द अलफ़ाज़ मुझे कहना है । मैं काउंसिलके खिलाफ़ हूँ । दरअसल मसला यह है कि हम कामिल आज़ादी चाहते हैं या नाक़िस । जो कामिल आज़ादी चाहते हैं वह काउंसिल में जाकर आज़ादी पाना पसंद नहीं करेंगे । वह इसलाही आज़ादी पसन्द नहीं करेंगे । वह उनको सिर्फ़ बर्बाद करेंगे और पार्लियामेन्ट के साथ काम करने नहीं जायेंगे । कामिल आज़ादी की मुख़ालिफ़त महात्मा गांधी ने अहमदाबाद की कांग्रेसमें की थी उसकी सज़ा उनको मिल रही है कि उन्हीं के सख़ावस साथी परिडत मोती लाल नेहरू इस वक्त दाखिले काउंसिल पर ज़ोर दे रहे हैं । और बड़ी दलील यह पेश कर रहे हैं कि गवर्नमेन्ट के फ़ानून के अन्दर या नामुफ़म्मल आज़ादी सलतनत बरतानिया के अन्दर चाहते हैं तो फिर इनहराफ़ की क्या ज़रूरत । सिविल नाफ़रमानी के बजाय सिर्फ़ इसलाह से जो काम निकल सकता है वह इसलाह बन्द काउंसिलों में जाने से नहीं हो सकता मैं इन अलफ़ाज़ों में इसकी तारिद करती हूँ और उम्मीद करती हूँ कि आप हज़रात भी इसकी तारिद फ़र्मावेंगे ।

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu speaking in support of the Resolution said :—

Mr. President and friends, I think it is hardly necessary that I should stand up today in your midst to support the ably expounded resolution of my friend Mr. Rajagopalachari. (Cries of Hindi, Hindi)

हाज़रीन, मादरी ज़बान की क़दर, गो यह मेरी मादरी ज़बान नहीं, मैं ज़रूर करूंगी। इस वक्त मुतलक ज़रूरत नहीं समझती कि मैं आपके सामने खड़ी होकर इस तहरीक की ताईद करूं।

तमाम हिन्दुस्तान जानता है कि मेरा ख्याल इस में क्या है क्योंकि मैंने इसपर परदा नहीं डाला था मगर शुरू से जब से यह पेश हुआ मैंने खुलमखुला अपनी राय देने में कोताहि नहीं की है मैं आज वही राय रखती हूँ और दलील पेश करती हूँ जो मद्रास, बनारस और दूसरी जगहों में देती हुई इस तीर्थ स्थान में पहुंचती हूँ। मेरे ख्याल में जब तक यह कांग्रेस इस सत्याग्रही असहयोग पर अपनी बुनियाद डालती है तब तक कौन्सिल के इन्तखाव के लिये खड़ा होना हल्के वफादारी लेना और किसी तरह से मवालात काना मेरी मरजी के मुताबिक नहीं है। मेरे लिये नाजायज़ और मनहूसी है। मनहूस इसलिये कि हमारे मुस्लिम वसूल से एक रमक भर भो हट गये तो हमारी कौमी बेतबूदी के लिये बिल्कुल खिलाफ और खतरनाक है। इसलिये मैं समझती हूँ कि हमें हमारी जगह से जरा भी नहीं हटना चाहिये और हमें इस बात से दूर नहीं होना चाहिये। हमारे पूज्य नेता राज गोपालाचारी ने कहा है कि क्या वजह है कि काम करने या तोड़ने के लिये कौन्सिल में जाना चाहते हैं। किसी ख्याल से न जाना चाहते। मैं यह बतलाती हूँ कि सिर्फ कौम की सेवा के ख्वाहिशमन्द होने से यह जाना चाहते हैं कि हम किसो तरह इस ज़ालिम सरकार का मुकाबला करके स्वराज्य हमारे देश के लिये लें। लेकिन बड़े दुख दर्द और रंजोमलाल के साथ उनसे माफी चाहती हूँ अगर मेरे इख़लाफ से मेरे मन में ज़रा भी फर्क हो। जब तक यह कांग्रेस अपने प्लेटफार्म से यह पेलान नहीं करेगी कि तर्क-मवालात करें मगर वह नहीं जो महात्मा गान्धी ने सिखाया था। जब तक मेरे दम में दम है लबों पर लफज़ है दिल में जोश है इस का मैं इख़लाफ़ करती रहूंगी। क्योंकि कांग्रेस ने दुनिया के सामने यह क़रार किया था कि हम तर्कमवालात करेंगे। इस बना पर कि महात्मा गान्धी ने सत्याग्रही असहयोग सिखाया था। मुफ़ से और सेवा नहीं होगी। मैं लाजिक और फिलास्फी नहीं जानती, मैं एक तुच्छ सेविका हूँ। देश की वासुती हूँ आप के रुद की आवाज़ हूँ दिल की तसरीर हूँ। मैं कोई चीज़ नहीं। मैं यकीन करती हूँ कि आप मुकम्मल तौर से अपनी राय देंगे। और आप के बुजुर्ग नेताओं का उस के वजा लाने में ताज़ होगा।

She resumed her speech in English and spoke as follows :—

My friends, when I was interrupted in my first sentence I was saying that it is hardly necessary for me to stand up here to support the most ably—most lucidly expounded resolution of my friend Mr. Rajgopalachari. In every corner of India there is still the echo of my voice saying that I do not agree, my brain does not agree, though my heart almost compels me to agree with what my beloved, trusted, honoured and ever to be followed leaders have placed before the country. I am not going to analyse the proposition. I am not going to give a philosophic discourse on this or that aspect of the problem. I am though a woman, a soldier of Swaraj (Cries of hear, hear), and so long this Congress continues to take its stand upon the pledge given to the world—as a follower of Mahatma Gandhi's doctrine of Satyagrahic Non-co-operation, so long must I as one of the five earliest of his lieutenants in the Satyagraha movement of 1919 continue to give allegiance to that ideal of Satyagraha. I recognise that as times change, circumstances change, conditions change—policy must be readjusted, programme must be realtered; but with the change of times—with the change of circumstances, the changed need of the people, the changed demand of the people, it is necessary to reaffirm or to readjust the programmes and policies according to which we have been acting and which we have been following so long. But until those policies are re-

stated, those programmes are readjusted and the scope and function, the letter and spirit of the new non-co-operation movement is clearly defined, most illogical as I am—most loyal as I am, I cling to my own Satyagrahic definition of Mahatmaji's Non-co-operation and shall fulfil his ideal through that channel of Civil Disobedience rather than through the channels of a contest with the Government in which contest again nonetheless we say we shall only go up to the door of the citadel and then return to the people and say what next. (Applause).

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BOYCOTT OF COUNCILS-COMPROMISE AMENDMENT.

The President next called upon Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar to move his amendment.

Mr. Iyengar walked to the rostrum and spoke as follows :—

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, This amendment which I have the honour to propose for your consideration and acceptance runs as follows :—

Whereas notwithstanding the fact that the majority of the electors in the whole country abstained from voting at the council elections of 1920 many Indians allowed themselves to be elected there to and did not resign their seats in spite of their being so advised by the Nāgār Congress with the result that though the new councils do not represent the country they are used to consolidate the power of the present system of Government in India which the Congress has resolved to put an end to, this Congress earnestly advises with a view to render the boycott of councils more effective than in 1920, all electors to vote for Congressmen who shall when elected absolutely refrain from taking their seats in the councils.

President, ladies and gentlemen, I regret and never have I regretted more than on this occasion — I regret my inability to express myself in the national language of this part of India here in this great National assembly. If I express myself in my own tongue — Tamil, most of you will not be able to understand me. And therefore it is that I must crave your forgiveness for being obliged by the present system of education to speak to you in a foreign tongue.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have the misfortune to come with this amendment before you immediately after Mrs. Sarojini Naidu but I do hope that you will consider this question unperturbed by any emotional considerations. I want you to look at my amendment as a business proposition and as a compromise between the two schools of thought which I may say are now dividing the opinion in Congress circles, not only in the Congress here but right through the country and in every province. You know perfectly well that in these two years far from opinion in favour of boycott of elections becoming more consolidated even those who accepted unhesitatingly the boycott of councils in the beginning of the Non-co-operation campaign—in an appreciable percentage of them — have come to think that it is necessary to change the direction as the President put it in his address. And I would therefore ask you to look at the question in that aspect, viz., that there is a greater body of opinion in favour of capturing the electorates to day than was in the Congress circle in 1921 or in the beginning of this year before Mahatma Gandhi's arrest and imprisonment. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that it has been found not owing to any defects on the part of workers but it has been found owing to a variety of circumstances which it is not necessary for me to refer to, but which may be in the minds of all — that it has been found impossible to carry on very active work against the Government during the last 7 or 8 months. Now I want you also to agree with me that those who seek to capture the electorates are swayed by no unworthy motives. Inconsistency is a thing, I think, which can be flung on every body and any body and on all occasions. Consistency is by no means the criterion of soundness or even of bonafides. And therefore I would ask you to put aside that aspect of the question altogether. And I would ask you again to

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put aside one other aspect. The fact that the Congress at Calcutta and at Nagpur did affirm the boycott of councils by preferring a particular method, which was then found to be fairly effective, should not weigh with you in rejecting my amendment. You must look at today on its own merits. Otherwise you will be clinging to the prestige of an idea which no longer retains that mental vitality—that sincerity and that backing which it had in those days.

Speaking for myself I must confess that I am for the boycott of the councils and I might say I am against any entry into the Councils. That is due to personal experience in an unfortunate part of India and the experience of others in other parts of India may be different. But I do not wish one section or other to be unduly influenced either by my own experience or the various opinions which have been formed of these Councils. But I do still maintain that my opinion is applicable to the Madras Presidency that it is useless to enter the Councils. Holding that opinion I felt bound to place before you entirely as a compromise a proposal which will keep in its integrity Non-violent Non-co-operation in regard to the legislative councils and at the same time bring round those who oppose the capture of the electorates. I must say that those who have sought to propagate their view of Council entry for the purpose of effecting deadlocks or responsive co-operation in other forms have been willing to agree to my compromise which I propose today. They are willing to give up one part of their idea and that part is the desire that it should be by entering the Councils and by fighting in the Councils in an abnormal way. The majority of them will be willing to do that on the other hand I should say that I do not find the same willingness to compromise among those friends of mine with whom I have been cordially working for the last ten months. When I say I have found no similar spirit of compromise among my other friends I make no reproach whatever. I know perfectly well they are guided in their opinion by perfect bonafides and by their desire to be absolutely loyal to the name of Mahatma Gandhi and to his teaching specially when he is in jail—a loyalty which must touch us all and which has touched me, which several times prevented me from expressing my opinion to the country. But whatever that may be I wish you, members of the Congress, to form your opinion unbiased by these two considerations. You know perfectly well that opinion is divided amongst us. You know perfectly well that an increasing section of our countrymen are desirous of capturing the electorates. One party says that it is in the direction of council entry. Another party says—even if we enter the councils we really propose to boycott or create deadlocks in a particular way. I say, no, not in the direction of council entry but in the direction of completing and making effective the boycott which we started in 1920. That is the way in which I ask my friends who are for council entry, and as has been said God willing, most of them—are willing to agree with my proposition. On the other hand I ask those other friends of mine here—because the more prominent men among them have not been willing to agree with me. Therefore I must place before you my proposition and ask you to agree with my view that a compromise might be effected. We cannot allow war amongst ourselves when as we pompously say we are engaged in a war with the Government. We are not going to fight against one another. Is that the kind of fight which will lead us on to Swaraj? Is that presenting an united front to win Swaraj? I am not troubled with the question of majority or minority. That was in days when I believed as an English educated gentleman in the western system. I have come to believe after the new movement that any movement in India will have the real backing only if there is a practical unanimity of opinion and if there is a clear policy of give and take. The minority is never disciplined by majority and the majority which has power is seldom tolerant of a minority. And the defect which applies both to them, is a defect which

can only be cured by periodical compromises and observing this principle of practical unanimity. Now, if you will look at it in that way I have no doubt you will agree with me that the present proposition which I have placed before you is a business proposition. It says to the first party—do not enter the councils but contest the election. You want to enter the councils not for the purpose of destroying them, not for the purpose of misleading the people—not for the purpose of giving up civil disobedience—not for personal whim, but you want to enter the councils because you now find in the absence of Mahatma Gandhi's guidance you must find a fighting programme and you find the constructive programme is by itself insufficient and you find that civil disobedience cannot be immediately started in such a manner and in such a scale as to bring the Government to its knees—and therefore you want to enter the councils and you not forgetting the education which the electorates will have by this propaganda agree to accept my proposition. Therefore I tell you—those of you who want to destroy the councils to take up this electorate part of the councils. The Government of India Act says that seventy percent of the members in the legislative councils must be elected members and as I believe—as I am confident and as I am informed by people who are competent on the matter that it is easy to capture the majority of seats in a majority of the Provinces. Why, then our most important duty is to capture the electorates not for the purpose of entering the councils but for capturing them and for telling them that you are out to destroy these councils and you want to do so by preventing other co-operators from entering them because like picketing you want to prevent people from going into the institutions which are used by the Government for your destruction. Therefore you want these councils to be destroyed. It is more than ever necessary to prevent co-operators voting for co-operator candidates. It is not with any feeling of hostility for the Moderates that I say this. I have many friends in their camp and I have the greatest respect for their ability and I am certain they are quite able to carry on these councils as ably and quite skilfully as any of us. But that is not the point.

Therefore just as you resort for picketing the sale of foreign cloth for the purpose of preventing foreign exploiters from exploiting the country and helping Swadeshi and such other things which in your opinion is for the good of the country, similarly I would ask you to prevent co-operators from being returned to the councils. I find that I am strengthened in this argument by a speech which Sir Dadabhai as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the National Federation League made at Nagpur. In his speech he made no secret of the fact that the Moderates are to a certain extent responsible for checking the spirit of Non-co-operation, and that they desire to keep the N. C. O. movement under reasonable control. We knew it when Sir Sankaran Nair had addressed me and Mahatma Gandhi at the Malviya Conference at Bombay. I know what mischief has been done by these gentlemen, who I dare say a quite sincere but are too much wedded to the most illogical—to the most grotesque to the most puerile conception of law and order, which is untrue, inconsistent with the theory of Constitution and our notion of what is right and proper. I therefore ask you to remember that it is your primary duty to withdraw from the Government co-operation without which the Government would be unable to repress you as it is doing now. What is the use of talking so much of the bureaucracy without finding that the official bureaucracy, the ministerial bureaucracy—the Benami Government of the day is most hostile to the national interest? I would rather prefer the old council of the pre-reform days to the present reformed councils and the Government as it is functioning to day.

Therefore I speak from some experience and from little knowledge of the working of the councils. I assure you that I have been hesitating to bring

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forward this resolution having convinced myself that council entry is a futile thing although it may not be harmful. Having thus convinced myself I have been hesitating to bring forward this proposition. But I do find that capturing the electorates is the thing in which the party which want entry into councils agree with me. They do not want council entry for the purpose of council entry—they want it not for the purpose of capturing the electorates in a dynamic fashion—and when that capture is easy to obtain without entering the councils, I find the majority of them are perfectly willing to agree to this proposal of mine.

Have I no right to ask you at this critical stage in our national history—in the history of the Congress—when you see the difference between the Ahmedabad Congress and the Congress here—when it is an open secret amongst you—is it not your duty before you do any thing else, when your opinion is so much divided, to promote that unity—to promote that concord and to remove the spirit of discord that is manifest amongst you to day? How will you be able to get rid of that spirit of discord? Will it be by rule of the majority? With great respect to those friends of mine who believe in the rule of majority I differ from that view. Our Indian mentality is different from the West and our country will only agree if there is a practical unanimity. Even if it is a negligible number you should be failing in your duty if you do not attend to this as more important than the passing of a resolution of this nature which is merely a repetition of the resolution which you have passed in the last Congress.

Some one tells me that it will be an expensive thing, this contesting elections. But I know the electorates will be only too glad to return members and it would be far less expensive when contesting election with the object of not entering the councils. And entering into the councils will not raise the country but capturing the electorates will raise the country. Merely boycott of councils will not raise the country. In the pre-reform days there was no ministerial party. Here we have got a new bureaucracy unbending in its prestige and influence and ready with its patronage in the various local bodies in the Province. But whatever it might be if you have been practical men you will agree with me it will be easier for Congressmen to secure votes and the Government is sure to meet with difficulties which it did not last year. Gentlemen, I want to say to you another thing. It is not that Congress fund is going to be used. It is the candidates themselves who will look after it.

A great deal has been said as regards concentration upon our constructive programme. Do you mean to say that we have not been doing so. Every one of us has been concentrating upon constructive programme. Let us therefore use no shibboleth of concentrating upon the constructive programme. There are a number of Congressmen who have no work to do and because having no work to do they differ in their opinion. if they have something to do in the Congress you will not find this want of harmony amongst them. Therefore there is ample room for a vigorous and new party one devoted to the constructive programme and the other devoted to the civil disobedience programme and to the capture of the electorates; there is ample room for the party which is devoted to the capturing of the electorates but not entering the councils. Therefore you need not unnecessarily embarrass yourselves by thinking that workers will not be found. The workers will be all those persons who will differ from you, who are obsessed by their own opinion and who cannot be turned simply by a hostile majority vote—into a willing active co-operator in your constructive programme which they have tried sincerely and which they will try to promote sincerely still. Therefore do not bring forward that thing as an object.

As to the question of loyalty to Mahatma Gandhi, I yield to none in

my loyalty to Mahatmaji. I do differ from you, but I do not believe that I am less loyal to him than any of you. Let us not imagine that what he wanted really was boycott of councils for all time to come. It was only for the time. At that time the Non-co-operation party had not been formed. Discipline was not there. At that time there was no possible or comparative chance of success of capturing the electorates. Owing to multiplicity of consideration he came to the conclusion that the best way was to boycott the councils. But today when there is more discipline than there was then—when we have understood the true meaning of non-co-operation and have practised it, I think the chances of success are greater. Mr. Rajagopalachari should not have addressed you in the way that he did, viz, that you may afterwards enter the councils and then you may refuse to carry out their command—that is not the language which Mahatma Gandhi or I can use but I presume Mr. Rajagopalachari used this expression ironically. Therefore the only question before you is the difference in method in applying this boycott. If this is so—it is the best subject for compromise and not a subject in which we ought to differ as if our loyalty is at stake. I dare say loyalty to Mahatma Gandhi will be the more increased if you accept this compromise. Just as Hinduism will gain if untouchability is removed, similarly let us remove this difference.

I would ask you not to imagine that the persons who are leading us are influenced by considerations other than those which ought to influence they leaders at the present moment. Their opinions are entitled to weight. And therefore I would submit that this is not a question for any real difference of opinion. Both are on the whole for the real boycott of councils. I would ask the part which want to destroy the councils to agree to the capture of the electorates because the other party thinks and I think that it is most valuable—the most potent and effective instrument of destruction of the legislative councils. That will create an atmosphere which will be calculated to be of incalculable value to us. But if you distrust the gentlemen who come with these amendments you distrust yourself and your own friends. This suspicion is a sign of weakness. Is the Congress so debilitated that it cannot maintain its non-co-operation principle? If you cannot get non-co-operator majority next year, then I may tell you Non-co-operation is doomed to extinction.

I feel myself at perfect liberty to tell you what these councils are. They can only be ended in the words of the President and the only way is to adopt the proposition which I have suggested to you. What will follow if you are elected? It is a great experiment just as the other experiment of the boycott of the Prince of Wales. By two or three elections the Government will come down and if it does not, at least the Moderate party will not be there to support the Government. You are not tied to a programme for a long time to come. Mahatma Gandhi with his semi-divine quality was not able to lay down a programme for all time to come. Let us take things from him and not from a typical speech which he made on this or that occasion. Whenever he saw that his ranks were likely to be divided he made compromise. He wanted to carry out the pitch of enthusiasm to the highest degree with a united front.

Therefore I would ask you to regard this step not as a step in the direction of council entry but giving a distinct orientation to the national movement. I therefore appeal to you without the slightest diffidence for a practical unanimity and to support my proposition. I do not propose to detain you any further. I hope the spirit of compromise is more in you than it is in me. Please show this spirit of compromise by your action,—by your votes and by accepting my proposition.

Kumari Lajjavati of the Punjab supported the amendment in the following Hindi speech.

प्रधान जी, बहिनो और भाइयो, मैं आपको यह बताना चाहती हूँ कि जिस ऐमेन्ड-मेन्ट को मि० श्रीनिवास पेर्यंगर ने आप के सामने रक्खा है मैं इसको तार्द्द करने के लिये खड़ी हुई हूँ। बहिनो और भाइयो, मैं आप को यह बताना चाहती हूँ कि यहां आने से पहले मेरा ख्याल इसके पक्ष में नहीं था। पर जब मैंने यह देखा कि देश नान-को-आपरेशन के एक अच्छे मौके पर पहुंच चुका है—नान-को-आपरेशन की तहरीक में एक निहायत गंजुक मौका आ गया है, नान-को-आपरेशन के सब से बड़े वानी अहिंसा की प्रतिमा और शान्ति के अवतार महात्मा गांधी अपनी गाइडेन्स देने के लिये यहां नहीं है जिनका यह हम सब देख रहे हैं हमारे जैसे व्यक्ति के लिये कठिन है कि कुछ उनके लिये कह सकें। श्रद्धा के भाजन श्री राजगोपालाचारी और उनके साथ हिन्दुस्तान की बुलबुल श्रीमती सरोजिनो और बहुत से हमारे नेता एक स्कूल आफ थोट के और त्याग की मूर्ति श्री दास महोदय और युक्त प्रान्त के रूई खाफ़ पण्डित मोतीलाल एक दूसरे स्कूल आफ़ थोट की ओर हैं मैं आपसे यह कहूंगी कि आप यह ख्याल छोड़ दें कि हम सब यहां किसी पार्टी लाइन पर बैठे हुए हैं। साथही उन्नति के लिये और देश के साथ के लिये यह देखिये कि देश की भलाई किसमें है—मैंने यह जरूरी समझा कि भारतवर्ष भी आनो आजादी के लिये एक समझौते की तकरीर होनी चाहिए। मैं भलाई इसीमें समझती हूँ कि दोनों स्कूल आफ़ थोट के लोग एक ही जगह काम करें। इसके लिये एक ही मौका था जो मैं आप को बतलाना चाहती हूँ। हमारी बहन सरोजिनी ने अपनी तकरीरमें कहा था कि लड़ाई हुई चीज को कठिन हाथ नहीं मिला सकता। उसे औरत का कोमल हाथ मिला सकता है। मैं अपने पर अभिमान नहीं करती। अपनी सेकूल की बड़ाई पर दोनों स्कूल आफ़ थोट को मिलाने की इच्छा से खड़ी हुई हूँ। मैं कांसिल एन्टी के बरखिलाफ़ हूँ। दूसरी तरफ़ गो में अथाटी नहीं हूँ मगर यह कहूंगी कि अगर नान-को-आपरेशन को एक थियोरी न मान कर जैसा मेरी बहन सरोजिनी ने अभी कहा है सिर्फ़ इतना मान लें जो महात्मा गांधी ने कहा है, तो इस तरह हम अपना दायरा तंग कर लेंगे। अगर आप यह मान लें कि नान-को-आपरेशन एक दिल का रवैया है और यह समझ लें की लड़ाई के वक्त जब लड़ाई लम्बी है वह नान-को-आपरेशन सिर्फ़ एक एट्टीच्यूड औफ़ माइण्ड है तो हमारा उद्देश्य पूरा होता है। लड़ाई के वक्त हमको यह देखना होगा कि कहां खड़े होने से दुश्मन का नुकसान होता है। अगर इसके लिये हमें अपनी जगह बदलनी पड़ेगी तो हम जरूर थोड़ा हट जायेंगे ऐसा करवे से हम अपने वसूल को नहीं छोड़ देते। सिर्फ़ अपने फायदे और दुश्मन के अधिक नुकसान का ख्याल है। मैं समझती हूँ कि देशबन्धु ने अपनी स्पीच में अच्छी तरह कहा था कि कम्पलीट नान-को-आपरेशन टैक्स बन्द करने में है। इससे पहले यह सब उसकी पूर्ति की तैयारी है। मैं अदब से कहूंगी कि यह बतलाना महात्मा गांधी के प्रति श्रद्धा और भक्ति में बाल भर भी फ़र्क नहीं लाता। बहिनो, और भाइयो, क्या आप छः वर्ष तक यहां हाथ पर हाथ रख कर बैठे रहेंगे तो महात्मा गांधी जैलसे लौट कर हमपर फ़ख़ करेंगे! भाइयो, क्या इसी में हमारी लायल्टी है सच्ची लायल्टी में साफ़ तौरसे कहना चाहती हूँ स्वराज्य के दौर को आगे बढ़ाने में है। लेकिन सवाल यह है कि एक स्कूल आफ़ थोट तैयार है कि एक काम हाथ में लेकर कुर्बानी करें कहा जाता है कि ज्यादातर लोग ऐसा चाहते हैं और इसमें कन्सट्रक्टिव प्रोग्राम जीता रहेगा। दूसरी ओर कहा जाता है कि आने वाले कांसिल के एलेक्शन के लिये सन् १९२३ में एक जबरदस्त प्रोग्राम बना लिया जाय इस पर बड़ा एतराज यह है कि इतना फ़ण्ड और इनरजी नहीं खर्च करना चाहते और ऐसा है तो हमारा कन्सट्रक्टिव प्रोग्राम कहा जायेगा? उसमें भी तो आदमी लगेंगे, रुपया लगेगा। भाइयो, सवाल यह है

धर्मों कि प्रेम धर्मों सहयोग के लिए नहीं-सहयोग के लिए, सर्वोपरि से लड़ने के
 सामने रखते कि जो जो नीचा काठिलों की ओर को पकाना चाहते हैं वे देश में सामान्य
 आप से विरक्त यह कहें कि इन साहवान के अन्तर्गत जाने से आप उस तत्त्वों की अपनी
 अजम्बल खां से आप को लाभ है या नहीं अगर सम्भव है तो आपको अज्ञान्यार है । मैं
 सम्भव है कि आप को हमारे मान्यता शीघ्र विवरण देना चाहें, मोती लाल नेहरू और हकीम
 हैं ? काप्रस के नीचा उसे बरबर उसी ढंग पर चलाने या काप्रस में जाने ? आप खूब
 कि यह एक प्रस्ताव है जिसके मानने से काप्रस जैसी है वैसे चली चले तो आप क्या चाहते
 आप नीचे से सोचें और करत इस प्रस्ताव को मानने के मैं आप से यह साफ कह देना चाहता हूँ
 प्यार भ्रातृ, यह प्रस्ताव जो आपके सामने पेश है मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि इस पर
 की अन्तर्गत लिखे कोशिस कर सकता हूँ उसका फर्म हूँ कि अपना सवाल पेश करें । मेरे
 आन पत्र है कि मैं सम्भवता हूँ कि हर शकस जो सम्भवता है कि अपने भ्रातृ
 हमारे कुछ कहने की जगह नहीं । मगर यह हमें इतना न, लूक बक काप्रस के सामने
 लज्जती देवी है जो आपके सामने बात पेश की है, इस खूबसूरती से, कि
 मेरे प्यार भ्रातृ और बहिनो, हमारे बहिनो और श्री श्री आभार और कुमारी

The President then called upon Mr. Deep Narain Singh to support the amendment.
 Mr. Deep Narain Singh in supporting Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's amendment addressed the house in Hindi as follows :—

बहनो है । इसलिये मैं श्री श्रीनिवास आभार की बखाने की शक्ति हूँ ।
 आपसे कहूँ कि अगर आप इस आमण्डमेण्ट की रिजेक्ट कर दें तो काप्रस ही हिन्दो में
 होगा जब २ मास सिविल डिपार्टमेंट्स की जायगी । तो यूनियन के विचार से मैं
 माना है । वह सैकीपाइस ठीक नहीं जिसमें अपना कुलमान ही दूसरे का नहीं । यह
 करने की कोशिस करनी चाहिए । बहिनो और भ्रातृ, लड़ने की सैकीपाइस के दो
 कहते हैं कि देश मास सिविल डिपार्टमेंट्स के लिए तैयार नहीं है जो उसके तैयार
 बदलना है । पीछे हटना तो तब ही जब हम अपने प्रदीर्घ से हटें । बहुत से लोग यह
 मैं न आवें कि आप पीछे हट रहे हैं । यह तो सिर्फ़ मीठा बूढ़ या आर्योनीक्षण का
 हाथकी खाली रखना चाहिए । इस लिए वे भ्रातृ और बहिनो, आप इस सिपेशन
 और क्या होगा कि वहाँ सीट नहीं लें और आगे न जाय । यह ठीक है कि आगे किसे
 नहीं । यह एम्प्लोयमेंट्स का बचन देना है कि आप सीट नहीं लेंगे ॥ इससे अधिक
 एम्प्लोयमेंट्स के लिए कन्टेन्ट किया जाय । मेरे खयाल से यह मान-का-आपरेक्षण के विचार
 किसी बड़े रकम पर करना चाहिए । तब हमारे सामने यह प्रयोजन था कि कांठिसल
 की छोड़ दीजिए और इन्डिस्ट्रियल आफरमानी उसपर कोई प्रेशर नहीं डालेंगे । इसे
 है कि सैकीपाइसको बेकार फँक दिया जाय । इसलिये सिविल डिपार्टमेंट्स के सवाल
 अब अगर दूसरा हमला किया जाय तो बेधाक सैकीपाइस होगा मगर यह अक्षयमन्त्री नहीं
 बन्द करे । बरदौली, प्रोप्रायसका माना यह है कि हम दूसरे हमले के लिये आतनातन करें ।
 आदमी, इन्डो लड़के और देश के लुने लुने नीचा देश में मौजूद थे महारामा जो ने कहा
 विनयी इस व्यक्तियोंकी से लड़ने में चाहिए इसलिये उन्होंने बन्द कर दिया । जब इन्डो
 देखा क्या मतलब था ? महारामा गांधी ने देखा कि हमारी फौज उतनी मजबूत नहीं कि
 इन्डोपुल दूनी । बरदौली में महारामा गांधी ने सारी ऐक्टिविटीज बन्द कर दी थी तो
 डिपार्टमेंट्स के लिये तैयार नहीं है । व्यक्तिगत सिविल ना फर्मानी के लिये एक

लिए । कुछ लोग साथ २ यह कहेंगे कि वोट न दो । क्या आप यह दृष्य बिना कांपते हुए देख सकेंगे ? यह अमेंडमेंट जो भाप के सामने पेश है इसके लिए रास्ता निकालना है । यह भी काउंसिल का व्यायकाट है । व्यायकाट वही है कि जिस में जगहें खाली रहे । दूसरे तरीके पर मुमकीन नहीं कि खाली रहे । क्योंकि जो जाना चाहते हैं वह अकेले अपनी वोट लेकर जा सकते हैं और जगहें खाली नहीं रहेगी । अगर खाली रखना चाहते हैं तो वोट लेवें और चलकर उसे खाली रखें । और कोई तरीका नहीं । अगर यह भाप कहें कि सहयोग हुआ तो अपने भाइयों इन वोटों से मिलकर उन का वोट ले लेते हैं । मेरा ख्याल तो यह है कि वोटर क्या आप मोडरेट भाइयों को, पुलिस को और नोकरों को भी मिला लेना चाहते हैं इस तरह हमारे नेता भी साथ रहते है और सिद्धान्त भी नहीं टुटता । कांग्रेस भी बचती हैं और असहयोग भी चला जाता है । सिर्फ एक उज्र किया जाता है कि इस में वक्त बहुत बर्बाद होगा, रुपया बहुत खर्च होगा । मेरे भाइयो, आप देखें कि इसमें आप अमली प्रोग्राम कर सकते हैं । आप कहेंगे कि हमें वोट दो कि हम काउंसिलों को तोड़ें । आप ५५ लाख आदमियों को कांग्रेस का वोटर बनाना चाहते हैं । अगर आपने यह कहा कि वोट किसी को मत दो तो जो आदमी जाना चाहता है अपनी अकेली वोट से जा सकता है । इसमें फीसदी दस या बीस जाति हैं १०० मेंसे ८५ वे मान लीजिये बाकी रहे तो उनको कहने का मौका है कि लोग कम है लेकिन क्या वे ८५ आप की कांग्रेस के साथ है ? हरगिज नहीं और उस तरह जब से आप वोट ले लें तो कह सकते हैं कि वह हमारे साथ हैं । भाइयों मैं और कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता लेकिन यह मामला नाजुक है । आप पार्टी का ख्याल छोड़ दिजिये-यह न सोचिये कि कौन नेता किस के साथ है । आप हिन्दोस्तान के डेलिगेट हैं आप से प्रतीत है । कलकत्ते के प्रोग्राम से जब यह प्रश्न हटाया गया तो कोई रास्ता दिखानेवाला न था । अब आप रास्ता दिखाइये-लीडर्स को फौलोवर्स बनाइये । आप के हाथ में ताकत है लीडर्स को खींचकर अपना लें । नाजुक वक्त का ख्याल करके, पार्टी का ख्याल मत कीजिए और कांग्रेस के गौरवके ख्याल से अपनी वोट दीजिए । प्यारे भाइयो, अंगरेजी में दो चार बात मद्रास भाइयों के लिए कहना चाहता हूँ ।”

Babu Deep Narain Singh then spoke in English as follows:—

Mr. President, sister and brother delegates, I have said what I had to say in Hindi and I do not wish to repeat that in English. But I will lay before you very briefly the reason that has brought me to this place to address you in support of this amendment.

Friends, I come here because I find that this Congress has reached a most critical moment of its existence. We are now at a time when it is quite probable—it seems probable that the Congress shall be split in two (Cries of no, no). Believe me that times are such and you are hugging a delusion if you think (Renewed cries of no, no.) that it will not be so. You cannot imagine this. In Calcutta when this Resolution was brought, Srimati Sarojini Devi with the best of intentions and as a peace-maker had it postponed so that our leaders who are equally divided—our great leaders who could not see eye to eye with one another could find time to put their heads together and come to a unanimous conclusion so as to carry the Congress with them. I am sorry, deeply sorry that it has not happened. The division is still so very clear cut and if you want this the Congress to go on doing its work of non-violent non-co-operation and together hand in hand with all our leaders of both parties—I say that this amendment is the only point—is the only ground by which this compromise can be made. (Cries of hear, hear).

Brother delegates, what is this resolution? I say that this amendment is

not going to destroy the spirit of the resolution of my revered leader Sriji Rajagopalachari (question, question). I shall answer this with another question. The object of the original resolution is to keep the seats of the councils vacant. I tell you it is impossible to keep the seats—a single seat! in the council vacant because one man—a candidate himself with his solitary vote will find himself seated in the Council chamber. And what the amendment asks you to do? It is to keep the seats vacant by drawing the majority of your countrymen to follow you and agree with you in the programme of non-violent non-co-operation and give you their votes on the express condition that you will burn those votes at the very moment and will refrain for ever from entering the council chamber or taking the oath of allegiance. Where is any breach in the principle of non-co-operation in this, I ask you? I may tell you if by the original resolution you manage to keep ninety per cent of the people away from the polling booth what have you proved? Have you proved that ninety per cent are with you? (Cries of yes, yes). Certainly not. I still hold that fifty per cent of those men have gone through apathy, forty may not have gone because of other reasons. But if you can draw that ninety per cent voters in your favour there can be no clearer proof that we have succeeded in changing the mentality of the nation. Any how I say that party feeling is still rife and I beg of you in the name of this Congress, if you desire this Non-co-operation to move on its old laid down plan of last year taking with you all the leaders of both the parties to consider this and I say this and this alone is the solution of the whole problem.

With these few words—I will not detain you any further—I ask you as the last compromise, men of both parties to vote for this amendment in a tremendous majority. I have never been in favour of entering the councils. I have always been with Mr. Rajagopalachari till this resolution was placed before you. And feeling this I promise you that I for one shall never stand nor go near the door of the council (applause).

The President next called upon Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar to speak.

Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar speaking in support of the original Resolution said:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, Endeavouring my best not to come here to make a speech some how or other I have been prevailed upon to believe it to be my duty to make my humble contribution to the discussion on this question today and I shall make a conscientious endeavour to do so. There are now two propositions before you—one by Mr. Rajagopalachariar and the other by Mr. Srinivas Iyengar and there will presently be a third by Pundit Motilal Nehru. I shall briefly tell you the distinction between the three propositions. Mr. Rajagopalachari's proposition is simply a repetition, at least substantially a repetition of the resolution already in force and passed in the Calcutta Special Session of the Congress in 1920. Mr. Nehru's proposition which will be placed before you is the same as Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's plus one thing. Mr. Srinivas Iyengar's proposition is he asks for a final decision at once from the Congress. The Punditji asks for the present a preliminary decision from you to be followed by a supplementary decision later on from the Congress to be convened in the 1st week of December (1923). Otherwise the two amendments coincide, viz. Mr. Srinivas Iyengar's and the Punditji's.

Mr. Rajagopalachariar's proposition I need not dwell upon. It says practically—leave things as they are. The Resolution passed in Calcutta in September in the Special session of 1920 says that it is very necessary as part and parcel of the programme of non-co-operation that voters and candidates should both avoid the legislative councils. Now, the amendments says—'no'. One amendment says—no. You go on and take votes from the electors, get elected, but do not attend the councils at all. That is Mr. Iyengar's proposition. Mr. Nehru says—no, Let the Congress in the first week of December (1923) say what we shall have to do.

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So that we have three phases of the same question upon which you must make up your minds before you give your votes. I will leave Mr. Rajagopalachari's proposition alone. This, as I said before, asks you to leave things as they are. I shall generally take the two amendments together. It is very difficult to discuss these amendments altogether detached from what has been going on in the country these two months and from the Report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee. What I wish to ask you is this; I would beg of you as Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar has begged of you and as Mr. Deep Narain Singh has begged of you to decide the question on its merits entirely, devoid of all adventitious circumstances, devoid of any idea of peril of what would be the fate of yourselves and of the Congress if you adopt this or that proposition that you are now called upon to vote upon.

Two years ago I thought it my duty to appeal to you that if ever we have to reach our freedom—we have to take our place among the great nations of the world and overtake them if we can, it is necessary that we should think and judge for ourselves. When a great community blindly, without question, follows a leader or a number of leaders the decay of that community begins. (Cries of hear, hear.) At Nagpur I called your attention to the state of things in Athens. I called your attention to the fact that her greatest statesman, Pericles, was a misfortune to Athens. Since he began to rule, his dazzling capacity and his high character made every Athenian cease thinking. Pericles wants them to say so—why should they think. That was the state of affairs in Athens. A great historian has said that Athens would not have fallen if Pericles had not been such a great man as he was. I would therefore ask you first of all to determine for yourself what should be your decision in pursuance of the programme of the Congress and in pursuit of our service to the country. Then think of your leaders, please. Do not think of your leaders first and then think of your argument and decision later on. Please do not proceed in that way.

I will now take Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's amendment and what it is for. He uses some cathing expressions. He speaks of a fighting programme, unity discipline and so forth. How is it a fighting programme, may I know? Who fights? What for? It hopes—you will take it in its highest degree—you will take it that if the Congress gives a mandate you will capture all the votes and all the seats if you can. What is it you are going to do? What do you hope? Nothing. If you do not go into the councils and do not take your seats there what will happen? What will happen if the rules and the laws are allowed to remain the same as they are used and if you can take the Bureaucracy will have no time in one night, in the sitting of one session to alter those rules and laws—they have the power to do that—they can alter the statute too in one night—they are capable of doing that but independent of this consideration, take the rules and laws as they are. You will declare that seventy per cent of the seats should be vacant. I will take it according to the argument put forward in the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee report. Very well, you say if you will have such a majority as to prevent a quorum being formed you will have paralysed the Government. But how on earth are you going to do it? You will never be able to do it by the majority of numbers not going into the councils at all. This Government and the diehards in England—who are now the Government of England, do not forget—those diehards in England have got rid of the great Lloyd George—The Liberals and Coalition Liberals and all—they are all Conservatives and diehards who form the present Government of England—these diehards in England will be only too glad. There in England the only opposition to the Government now is the Labour—but not very strong although it has technically become his Majesty's Opposition. What do you think you will get by not entering the councils and keeping seventy or eighty per cent of the seats vacant? These diehards will say—"well,

gentlemen, thank you, we have got too numerous Acts with which to rule over the people and maintain 'Law and Order.' What is it they have made legislature for? If there is no quorums and if there is trouble in the legislature, they have an easy way out of it. They have a power, under the Reforms Act X which they had not before. Under the Reforms Act the Governor General and every Provincial Governor can dissolve their legislative councils as often as they like. Please do not forget that provision. If they find that you can give them trouble, embarrass them they will be able to emasculate the voters. You might again go to the voters and try to capture their votes. But what do you think of the trouble and expense and other things? Then you go into the councils again. I will take it that you succeed the second time as well as proceed to paralyse Government again. The Council is dissolved a second time and they have the power to do so and they need assign no reasons—in fact it is one of those clauses against which I along with several others made my humble protest in the official interview before the Rt. Hon. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford. I said that it makes the law more tyrannical and their Government more arbitrary. Under the previous law when a man was elected he was bound to remain for the full term. There was no provision to remove him for any mis-conduct or to dissolve the council. But now without assigning any reason whatever the Executive Government in the exercise of its mere desire can dissolve the council. Therefore for the second, third and then fourth time they dissolve the councils without assigning any reason. And what they will then say to the world? You will give the Government, the bureaucracy opportunity at the bar of the public opinion of the world to pose as martyrs. They would say—we gave these people—these orientals—a chance—we gave them the first instalment of self-government with a view to gradually rear them up into a fully self-governing nation—but these people have wrecked it. They do not want it. So they will pose as martyrs at the bar of the world's opinion. And their cause and not our cause will be sanctified by the obstruction proposed (Cries of hear, hear.) It will be they that will be martyrs and not we. Have you thought over this aspect of the new plan? I pressed this point before the All India Congress Committee in Calcutta and apparently no heed was given to it, I place this before you. Of course my friends are not bound to honour me by recognising these points. And since then neither in the press nor on the public platform have I been able to find an answer. No notice at all has been taken of these points. How then on earth are you going to paralyse the Government? This method does not appeal to common sense; nor has it any parallel in the history of the world.

The Sinn Fein parallel is quoted but I tell you it was under a totally different circumstance no example for us; and the authors of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Report admit that there is no parallel to what they were recommending. In the face of that admission we need not go to find out what Sinn Feinism did. It would hardly be model and guide for us. Is there anything to show that the Sinn Feins are keeping aloof from the Parliament added an iota to the success of their cause? If you exclude that the proposal is without parallel in the history of the world. Tell me whether a priori this conduct would be beneficial to ourselves. No doubt there might be no parallel, they tell you, but they will create one. Therefore a number of such phrases are used. We will go to the electors on the issue on the triple issue—of the redress of the Khilafat wrongs, the Punjab wrongs and the attainment of Swarajya. May I know how the poor electorates in Bengal and Madras are to be electrified into judgment as regards the Khilafat wrongs, the Punjab wrongs and Swarajya? Any ordinary voter will ask you—'if I vote for you how will you redress the Khilafat wrongs, the Punjab wrongs and how shall you attain Swarajya?' May I know what is your reply? I have been listening to all the speakers. I am not deaf (laughter). But I have not heard a single syllable of argument of what you will say to the poor voters. "On the issue"—this is a phrase taken from the

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Parliamentary language in England and with due respect to friends who say this I say, this phrase is carelessly and rashly applied to a totally different state of things here. In England the voter is the sovereign. The mass are the sovereign. In England the voter can tell the person for whom he votes that if he does not obey the mandate of his constituency he would not be an M. P. again. In England a Cabinet would not last one day if they do not voice the view of the majority in the House of Commons and if this majority do not represent the electorate. What do you see here in Bengal and in Madras? What are these poor voters? What is the use of saying 'the triple wrongs—the Khilafat the Punjab and Swarajya'? I would ask you to give up the idea. You all know what is the Khilafat wrong? If it is going to be remedied at all, it is not going to be remedied by us. It will be remedied both by the sword and statesmanship of Turkey and it is being so remedied. So far as the Punjab wrong is concerned, it is (cries of no, no.) It is too late to punish the wrong-doers or even to secure compensation to the sufferers. Mahatma Gandhi himself in speaking on the Resolutions on the Punjab wrongs said that we should get into power that such a thing would not recur again. But the two things are different. You cannot redress the Punjab wrongs. All that you want is that you want Swarajya or Home Rule for the prevention of such wrongs. It would be foolish to ask the councils to redress the Khilafat wrongs. What can the Provincial governments do. As regards the Punjab wrongs even the Punjab Government could not do anything. I need hardly remind you that Mahatma Gandhi himself in his Report of the Congress Committee (on the Punjab wrongs) recommended forgiveness of the wrong-doers. (?) I don't say we have to forgive those responsible for the massacres but whether we should do so or not it is too late to think of successfully punishing any of these people who are guilty of that massacre of men and children in Amritsar. As regards the past we have no more consolation than in the words of Milton when he heard of massacre of the Protestants in the Alpine regions—and his consolation was put forth in a divine sonnet opening—"Avenge oh Lord; thy slaughtered saints." So I say—"Avenge oh Lord; thy slaughtered sons of Amritsar". We have no other recourse as regards the Punjab wrongs. Nothing more is possible and to put this question on the election ticket next year this time is by no means intelligible. Why is it that we should go to the electorate, call them to give up their labour, come to the polling booth and vote as we direct them to vote and ourselves spend time and money and energy to get a vote and then after getting a seat do not go into it? And this may have to be repeated. Several times. For these reasons I think it is a most futile and mischievous amendment.

But one other aspect of the question, I believe, has not been placed before you. I do not know if it was placed by the Urdu speakers. What are you going to speak to the voters? We told them two years ago in the Calcutta Special Session not to vote at all and we succeeded in keeping a large percentage of voters out of the polling booth. And if we now ask them to vote, certainly it will puzzle them. But the supporters of the amendment tell us that they only change the direction. They were asked go eastward before. We change the direction and they are now asked to go 'westward ho'. The elector may ask,—Sir, you wanted me to go towards the East before and now you ask me to make a somersault and to go westward. What shall we say then? Therefore I say it will confuse the voter a great deal. Far from educating him unless you think as a great writer said that a man subject to contradictory influences is better educated than under ordinary circumstances—it will confuse him. He was asked not to vote at all. Under the auspices of Mahatma Gandhi—and I may tell you his control over the popular mind continues unabated—they were told not to vote, now they are told to vote. Surely, unless you should give very extraordinary and convincing reasons this change of direction, entirely in the opposite way, is not at all borne out by any change in the circumstances nor any change in the circumstances has

been pointed out. You are told that the legislative councils are doing harm. No body ever expected and shall not be able to ever expect that we shall be able to control the electorate to the fullest extent. You can never prevent a few voters from electing a few people. You cannot prevent the importation of foreign cloth altogether. You cannot prevent some people from selling foreign cloth as Khaddar. In all great movements such things will exist. But if you want the movement to be nourished on the bedrock of broad morality and general purity you cannot take into consideration things of this kind. We are moving onward, we are in the march forward towards freedom—economically and politically—but scoundrels there will be in our camp. It is impossible—absolutely impossible to prevent such people from taking advantage of this movement. On that account we shall not be justified in adopting a policy which would arrest the progress which we have made hitherto and above all the mental process started by Mahatma Gandhi throughout the length and breadth of the country instead of advancing and profiting by that process you are now going to tell them—"no, that process won't do." I am going to give you a new nostrum which will cure you of all your ancient ills and that is "capture the electorate" but "don't enter the councils; don't sit". That is the new process now proposed. I would appeal to all of you to put your hands on your breast and say if it is really a genuine remedy and will really save us.

Then the next argument is and I am very sorry that that argument is advanced, the next argument is for the sake of unity. This unity argument is, I humbly submit, abused. What I would ask you is this: If between voters on a particular proposition and the promoters of that proposition there is a conflict, I ask you, for the sake of unity who should yield? May I humbly say that it is the promoters of that proposition that ought to yield and not the voters.

Mr. Satyamurti—Let Mr. Rajagopalachari withdraw his proposition.

Mr. Vijiaraghvachariar—whether he withdraws his proposition or not that is not the question. The question is whether you will vote for Pundit Motilal Nehruji's amendment or Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's amendment.

Mr. Venkataram (Madras)—Pandit Nehru's amendment is not before us.

Mr. Vijiaraghvachariar—I have taken his permission to allude to it.

Mr. Achariar continuing said; What I mean is this: If there is a difference of view between the promoters of proposition and the voters, I unhesitatingly say that for the sake of unity it is the promoters that ought to give in and wait. If the voters do it, it is sporting with their conscience. Vote is a case of conscience. And it is a case of clear conscience. If not, why do you vote at all? If not, why do you come here at so much expense? If not, you could have sent your votes recorded and sent by means of Post Cards? Why do you assemble here in the Congress? I say it is a perilous argument. Our white bureaucrats will be in raptures if you accept such an argument. The many to follow a few because they say they will not—yield not on the merits of the case—is peculiar to semi-slavery—it is peculiar to India because we are demoralized by over ten centuries of tyranny. It is in the blood. This argument is symptomatic of the ancient stain in our blood. We are cultured under semi-slavery. The thing which annoys me most is that a few of our leaders—and I respect them no less than you do, indeed a great deal more than you do—want you to forsake your judgment. I may appeal to you but I cannot play a trick with you and ask you to accept my judgement. I may not conceal my cards from you and ask you to accept my personal judgment without disclosing the cards. Excuse me, that man who does that is no real leader of the people. That man who ignores the feeling of the people is not a leader.

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Therefore I ask you once again to think of this proposition.

I put it plainly, I gave an instance from history. I gave you the history of the greatest people of the world. I gave you the history of the Athenians. They were the pioneers of freedom. I told you how their decay began, because they obeyed Pericles a great deal too much.

Therefore I beg of you to consider most seriously the question. I regret—I lament this 'Split', as well as any one else here.

Several of you heard me in Calcutta. There I said that this controversy ought not to have been placed before the country by the Civil Disobedience Committee.

(Time being up the president sounds the gong. At speaker's request time limit was extended.)

Mr. Achariar proceeded: Ladies and gentlemen, I lament it. But as I have said this controversy ought not to have been placed before the country by the C. D. E. Committee, three against three, they ought not to have put forward a proposition like this before the country. It is lack of cabinet statesmanship—lack of proper understanding of corporate political life. I say this controversy ought not to have been placed before the country—three against three, all equally patriotic, equally inspired and animated by the loftiest feeling for the service of the country. I decline to go into the comparative capacity of those six gentlemen even if it be possible for me. But I admit they are moved by the loftiest of motives—I admit they are great patriots inspired by the loftiest of motives. At the same time I should say three against three is an unfortunate incident that ought not to have been placed before the country that is my humble view. Because we want parliamentary government our friends might say we don't. But I say the one guarantee of that Parliamentary government is, in the language of Gladstone, the accommodation of differences. One must be prepared to surrender his views or he ceases to be a member of the cabinet. They might discuss their personal views, they might put forward arguments. All that may be done but if the Cabinet is to exist, if the corporate life is to continue some one of the members must give way to others and their decision must be unanimous. This was not thought of by our six friends. I say therefore that the misfortune is not of your making, it is the making of the leaders, and they must suffer for that. It would be a terrible suffering no doubt if any of these gentlemen withdraws from active politics on that account. I believe they won't. But I am told they would. But they never chose to tell you and they never chose to tell me. It is a delicate question. But be that as it may, you must reply upon God. For this great movement you are suffering. It will be an additional suffering no doubt. You must take it as a judgment of God upon ourselves to ransom our great cause. This additional suffering which will be inflicted upon you by the retirement of any of the leaders, this may be added to the suffering already inflicted upon you for the renaissance of the motherland—the might cause about which we are all here. That being so, it is not right argument although you may not be able to produce great leaders. I will give you the history of a regiment of ours in France. There a European Officer commanding an Indian Gharwal regiment was killed by the Germans. A private, a Gharwali put himself at the head of the regiment, commanded them and killed him Germans himself and let that regiment to victory. He received a medal from the King. There is another moral to this story. This private was obeyed by his comrades with extraordinary discipline. There was no jealousy, no quarrel—one private leading all other privates magnificently and the regiment was saved. I am sure that under the providence of God if any leader of yours chooses to retire from you. I am certain that like those Gharwalis you will be able to produce

a man who will be equal to the occasion and lead you to victory (Cries of hear here.) If you have not got that hope, let us go home and content to remain slaves. If you have not that hope, you are unfit for democracy.

Do you believe that any one of your leaders will take you to the goal? Do you believe that he will be immortal? Therefore you must be prepared for accidents. You must be prepared for accidents—old men must make room for new younger men either willingly or by death or disease in the discharge of their duties. You should take all these things into consideration.

I therefore beg of you for all these reasons, ladies and gentlemen, to reject both the amendments as being suicidal and detrimental to the first principles and programme of this movement and it does not matter whether that comes altogether within the letter and spirit of the Non-co-operation movement or not. You may as well go home if you accept these two amendments, I leave it to your judgment. I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to give up all fictitious arguments and look facts straight in the face. It is a part of your duty in the present mentality of suffering and self-sacrifice to face facts with courage. You must face that doom with courage and take the consequences and with hope in God take the necessary consequences manfully. (Loud applause.)

After Mr. C. V. Achariar had spoken in favour of the original Resolution of Mr. Rajagopalachari and against that of Mr. Srinivas Iyengar's amendment Mr. Abdul Rahaman Gazi (The Punjab) moved for an adjournment of the debate in order to allow the Subjects Committee to meet to consider the serious situation created at the Lausanne Conference with a view to launch Civil Disobedience at once.

A delegate—If the previous speaker has moved an adjournment of the house in view of the Turkish question in the Lausanne Conference I would second him.

The president then called upon Mr. Moazzam Ali to address the house: He said—

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I have the misfortune to come here to oppose the proposition moved by my friend Mr. Abdul Rahaman. I may be permitted to explain the situation. The reason why I oppose this proposition is not that the Congress should not decide the question of the principle of contesting elections but because the Congress and the Subjects Committee of the Congress have already decided this question of contesting elections on principle and now to re-open this question will be merely a waste of time. As far as I am concerned I merely stand for the principle. If there are certain personalities who desire to go for contesting the elections they are welcome to do so. But as far as the question of our non-co-operation movement is concerned we must adhere to the principles which have been placed before the country and on which the country has been so far working. Now, on account of a new situation which has arisen here in the Congress just to discuss that situation and postpone the question of contesting elections will not be a happy event. Because, I may tell why? As far as the decision of the Jamiat-ul-Ulama is concerned it is binding on every Mussalman. The decision does not require any re-opening at all.

The president—please keep to the question of adjournment. Please do not refer to other matters.

Mr. Moazzam Ali—The question of adjournment does not arise at all in this case because contesting of elections has already been decided and the resolution which is before the house is really whether we should contest the elections or not. The adjournment proposition has been evidently sprung up

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in your midst merely for the purpose of, I suppose, reopening the question again. For our own reason the Khilafat Committee has decided to postpone this question because it is likely to create certain dissension and we do not desire that certain gentlemen whom we desire that they should remain with us and especially when there is a question of.

(Before the speaker could finish his sentence he was stopped by the president from proceeding further.)

The president—Gentlemen, I have stopped the discussion because I want to finish every thing in connection with the Council Resolution at least today. I have got to put to vote the motion for adjournment. Those of you who are in favour of adjourning the question (of contesting elections) will kindly raise their hands.

Several delegates wanted to have the Resolution explained.

Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya walked to the rostrum and said—The propositions that this house should adjourn to the Subjects Committee in order to consider whether in view of the news from Europe regarding the Lausanne Conference—whether in view of that news this Congress should not adjourn the discussion of the question whether Congressmen should or should not seek election to the next councils. That is the proposition of Mr. Gazi. (To Mr. Gazi.) Have I interpreted you rightly ?

Mr. Gazi—I want that after postponing the discussion it is necessary that you should decide whether you go in for Civil Disobedience or not.

Pundit Malaviya—He wants me to make it known to you that the part of his proposal is that if you adjourn the house to the Subjects Committee you should decide to go in for Civil Disobedience—to adopt Civil Disobedience at once as a result or as a protest against the news regarding the Lausanne Conference. That is the proposition.

The motion for adjournment was put to vote and was found lost by an overwhelming majority.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer in support of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's amendment spoke as follows :

सभा पति महाशय, बहिनो औरभाइयो, मैं पहले एकदो शब्द टूटी फूटी हिन्दी में प्रयोग करूंगा। मेरे पूज्य नेता विजय राघवाचार्य ने प्रेक्लीज साहब का उपदेश किया था। पच्छिम देश की कथा सुनाया। मैं आपको कहता हूँ सुनिये। पच्छिम देश की हिस्ट्री हम लोगों को भूल जाने की जरूरत है। पेराल्कीज साहब का उपदेश सुनने का वक्त आया नहीं। बुद्ध भगवान का उपदेश सुनिये। बुद्ध भगवान पच्छिम वाले नहीं थे। इस दुनिया से कहाथा एक!हो जाओ दिल दिमाग एक होना जरूरी है। हिन्दुस्तान में जरूरत है एक ही। हिन्दुस्तान की हिस्ट्री में जैचन्द ने पृथ्वी राज से असहयोग किया-आपसमें भगड़े से हिन्दुस्तान आसमान से ज़मीन पर गिर गया आज नेशनल कांग्रेस में आपस में भगड़ा होने का वक्त नहीं है। हिन्दुस्तान में दुशमन हैं दुशमन को निकालने का वक्त है। इस मामले में मैं मेरे पुज्य नेता पं० मोती लाल की राय में तैय्यार हूँ। मैं काँउंसिलों को बिलकुल विरुध हूँ। और मैं भी परिडत जी के साथ देश बन्धु के साथ, आन्दोलन करने को तैय्यार नहीं हूँ। इसलिये एका करने के लिए हम लोग बहुत विचार करके एक कम्प्रोमाइज़ पास कर चुके। परिडत जी ने काँउंसिलों में जाने की राय छोड़दी। हमलोगों ने एलके को मज्जूर किया। इसलिये आप से कहूंगा कि आप राजगोपाला चारी की राय को छोड दीजिये

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I stand here today though absolutely convinced of the unwisdom of going into the councils I stand here to support the compromise proposition. And I tell you friends, I do not do so guided almost by the logic of the most able lawyer of South India (laughter). I have the greatest respect for the ability of Mr. Vijairaghavachariar. He is the ablest lawyer in Salem and he has put the case before you as a lawyer before a judge. And I put my case before you as a humble nationalist before my fellow nationalists. He asks you to consider the question on its merits alone. He said do not think of adventitious circumstances. I tell you do not consider it on its merits, do not think of its merits alone. Do not think this as an intellectual proposition. I want you to treat the question as an important national question bearing in mind the totality of the national circumstances. If Mr. Achariar considers the totality of circumstances then I say he has considerably changed since the Nagpur Congress. For, Sir, it was at Nagpur Congress that our revered leader whose feet we bear on our head—it was there that Mahatma Gandhi came forward for unity and compromise. Mahatma Gandhi was not afraid or ashamed of compromise with his colleagues and fellow workers. I hope Mr. President you will give me some indulgence. Mahatma Gandhi believed in unity of organization. He believed in settlement. I remember that disastrous day, as many held it to be, but which later on proved to be a red letter day in the history of the nation. At the Amritsar Congress I remember how two of the finest patriots of the land, leaders of a great movement who have ventured greatly and sacrificed greatly because the cause is great were ranged on opposite sides—Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi on one side and Lokamanya Tilak who is not away from us—whose spirit is hovering over our head and Mr. Das who is a personification of the will of the nation for complete independence—on the other. Both leaders were ranged that day on opposite sides. I as a humble camp follower happened to support Mahatmaji's proposition of Non-co-operation inside the Councils from the Congress platform. Mr. Das said with Lokamanya Tilak—No, we must have responsive co-operation and after all Mahatma Gandhi closed the controversy by yielding. Mr. Achariar said—do not yield. My dear Sir, it is not yielding, it is the triumph of unity (Hear, hear). Gentlemen, though a few months later when Mahatma Gandhi divided the house at Calcutta when he wanted to launch the country on civil disobedience what did he do at the very Congress over which our veteran leader presided. What did he do at Nagpur? He said—how can I work without Mr. Das, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar. And if Mahatma Gandhi was here today he would have added 'how can I stand the separation of Pundit Motilal Nehru who stood on my side, shoulder to shoulder (hear, hear), sacrificing all, spurning the wealth that was his, dressed as a Fakir and going to prison as it was awaiting for him. Mahatma Gandhi cannot stand the sacrifice of unity because he believed in real sacrifice. And therefore, friends, do not be carried away by catch phrases—or logical disquisitions. Logic alone is not governing the affairs and destinies of men and things. I say hundred years ago—Mr. Achariar likes western history—hundred years ago the prophet of Italian Independence Mazzini compromised with Garibaldi in the great crisis when the enemy was thundering at the gate and Garibaldi reconciled himself to Mazzini's leadership. Again Garibaldi entered into a compromise with Cavour and got freedom for Italy. You call it compromise. You call it unity. Such a time has now come. Mazzini spoke to the youngmen of Italy—"Youngmen, there are times and occasions when in the lives of nations you must think with the heart" Now you must think with your heart and not your head alone and if you consult your heart, your heart will tell you—not the lawyer's heart—but the Non-co-operator's heart—it will tell you do not divide when the enemy is in the house, do not go mad on logic alone. Read the inward fragrance of the others hearts.

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I shall have no respect for Pundit Motilal if he surrenders his conscience even as Mr. Vijairaghavchariar pleaded this proposition on conscience. I cannot paraphrase conscience but a catch phrase. I do not know when and in what dictionary vote became synonymous with conscience but Mr. Vijairaghavchariar is lawyer.

I still believe that the Indian National Congress recognises the totality of circumstances to vote properly for unity and compromise ; but if it divides the house I stand by Pundit Motilal Nehru as I humbly stood in the past (Cries of enough, enough, stop). Well, I have had enough in these few days. If you are going to be so very inconsistent then I say you drive the cause to the slope of a volcano. Are you the gentlemen who are going to start civil disobedience when you cannot listen to a brother. I shall not speak to you if you do not want to hear me. But I must come to the other proposition of your Guru which is a party proposition.

Mr. Vijairaghavchariar went out of his way and dealt with a proposition which happily is not before this house (President's gong). I conclude with a humble prayer—Do not put your vote into the mouth but think of God think of Buddha and stand by unit and not divide in a proposition.

Pundit Motilal Nehru who walked to the rostrum amidst cries of Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai and prolonged cheers to propose his amendment spoke as follows :

“जनावेसदर, मेरे प्यारे भाइयो और बहिनो, मैं आप के सामने कोई स्पीच देने नहीं खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मैं सिर्फ यह चाहता हूँ कि जो मेरी मंशा है अपनी तरमीम के पेश करने से वह आपको समझा दूँ। और समझाने के बाद अपनी जगह वापस जाऊँ मैं आप से वह न अपील करता हूँ कि तरमीम को मंजूर करें या रिजोल्यूशन के खिलाफ राय दें। सिर्फ कहना यह है कि आप बिल्कुल ख्याल न करें कि कौन लीडर है कौन नहीं। आप सिर्फ यह देखें कि जो आपके सामने तजवीज़ पेश है और जो कुछ आपके सामने मसालहत सुलहकी निरूबत कहा गया है। यानी जो रिजोल्यूशन श्री निवास आयेडूर ने पेश किया है, और जिसकी ताइद बड़े ज़ोर से दीप नारायण सिंह और उनके असवा लोगों ने की है। मैं सिर्फ यह कहने आया हूँ कि मैं किसी एक खास तरीके के ऊपर ऐसा मजबूर नहीं हूँ कि मसलेहत के उस तरीके को जो मेरे वसूल के मुताबीक हो जिसमें कान्शेन्स का खून न होता हो न मानूँ मैं उसकी मंजूर करने के लिए सदा सब तरह तैयार हूँ। मेरा रिजोल्यूशन बल्कि मेरी तरमीम, जो आप के सामने है उसमें यह मन्शा है कि काँउसिल के चुनाव में—इन्तखाब में कांग्रेस के मेम्बरान कांग्रेस के हुकम से खड़े हो और बाद खड़े होने के यह कोशिश करें कि वहाँ कसरत से उनके माफिक वोटों की राय हो। इसके घासते मैं यह भी कहता हूँ कि अभी साल भर बाकी है उसके बाद जो आप की राय हो वह करें, मैं यह नहीं कहता कि क्या करना चाहिए बल्कि जो १९२३ में कांग्रेस की राय हो वही किया जाय। आपने समझ लिया कि इसकी मंशा यह नहीं है कि चुनाव में आगये तो काँउसिलों में ज़रूर जाँय। बल्कि इससे बेहतर तरीका और कोई मुल्क में अस्तियार किया जाय और या अब भी किया गया हो तो ज़रूर उन तरीकोंको लेकर काँउसिलों के बाहर रहकर मैं काम करने को तैयार हूँ। क़सम का भी सवाल अभी आप के सामने पेश नहीं करता। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि क़सम लिया जाय या नहीं और कांस्टिच्यूशनल ली में वह किस मानी में पेश होती है क्यों कि जब मैं आप के सामने वह हालत भी रख रहा हूँ कि कोई क़सम लेले और वहाँ न घुंटे तो कोई वजह नहीं कि इस बहस में डाला जाय कि उसके मानी क्या है और यह क़सम है या नहीं। इन बातों को

आप भुला दें । मैं हरिगंज कांग्रेस को किसी तजवीज से नहीं चाहता कि पास काउंसिलों में जाय या कसम लें । इस नियत को साफ करने के लिए कि कोई इसके खिलाफ अपने दिल में न ले मैं यह कहने आया हूँ कि मसालहत पर जोर से तकरीर की गई है मैं उसे इस नुक़तये नज़र से मानता हूँ कि वह आपको मंज़ूर हो । लेकिन अगर वह आपको मंज़ूर नहीं हो तो मैं फिर अपनी तरमीम पर इस्तरार करूंगा । और आपको उस परवोट देने के लिए तकलीफ़ न दूंगा क्यों कि जो हालत है आप इसकी ताइद न करेंगे । लेकिन मैं इस तरमीम पर उसी कांशेन्स, यकीन और यकीदे से काम करूंगा कि जिससे दुसरे कोई पास शुदा तरमीम, उसके खिलाफ नहीं । साथ ही इसके मैं यह समझता हूँ कि चूंकि मेरे और श्री निवास आर्यंगर के रिजोल्यूशन में इतना फ़र्क है कि मैं इत्तहाद को नज़र से यह चाहता हूँ कि एक साल तक आप यह नहीं जानते कि क्या २ वक्त आवे इसलिए यह नहीं कहते कि आप क्या करेंगे । वह यह कहते हैं कि आप अभी कह दें कि हरिगंज काउंसिलों में न जायेंगे । मैं इसे दिलोजान से मंज़ूर करता हूँ । मैं हरिगंज काउंसिलों के पास भटकना नहीं चाहता । इस वक्त तक जो लोग यहां बैठे हैं वह जो कुछ ननकोअप-रेशन के माफिक है करे वही करें लेकिन जैसा मैंने कहा कि मैं अपने रिजोल्यूशन के विरुद्ध नहीं करूंगा क्यों कि जिस नियत से मेरे दोस्त श्री निवास आर्यंगर ने अपना रिजोल्यूशन पेश किया है उसमें मेरा वसूल नहीं जाता । और इस पर मेरे भाइयों ने जोर दिया है यहां तक कि उन लोगों ने भी जोर दिया है जो इसके खिलाफ थे । तो मेरी गरज ऐसी नहीं कि उनकी बात ज़रा भर भी असहयोग के वसूल के खिलाफ़ की जाय । चाहे आप काउंसिल के लिए खड़े हों या नहीं । मैं चूंकि नेक नीयत से यह समझता हूँ कि जो तरीका मैंने आप के सामने रक्खा है वह काउंसिलों के बहिष्कार का सबसे अच्छा तरीका है इस वास्ते मैं इस पर जोर देता हूँ । मेरी राय यह है कि तरीकों में सिर्फ़ तरीके का फ़र्क है । आप एक तरीके को आजमा चुके कि कामयाबी हासिल हुई या नहीं । अब यह दूसरा तरीका भी देखिए कि क्या होता है । दुसरी अहमियत या इम्पारटेन्स जो इस रिजोल्यूशन को दी जाती है वह यह है कि वह असहयोगके सिद्धान्तके खिलाफ़ नहीं है । क्योंकि जो कुछ कल-कत्ते की कांग्रेस से लेकर अहमदाबाद की कांग्रेस तक हुआ है हम उससे बाल बराबर फ़र्क नहीं करना चाहते । सिविलडिसोबिडियेन्स की शकल कोई जो होसकती है, और मेरे नज़दीक कामयाबी को पहुंचासकती है वह मेरे या आपके सामने आवे, इससे और उससे कोई नतावत नहीं है । यह काम दूरदेशका है । यह है क्या बड़ी बात । खर्चा, सूत, युनिटी, मेम्बर बनाना तो क्या सिविल नाफरमानी का मौका आवे, तो वह भी किया जाय । यह आप हरिगंज न समझें कि काउंसिलों में खड़ा होना ही चाहता हूँ या काउंसिल को सिविल-डिसोबिडियेन्स को जगह बतलाता हूँ बल्कि मिल्जुम्ले दूसरी बातों के यह भी पेशकरता हूँ कि इयादह कामयाबी हो । मैं काउंसिलों के लिए तैयारी करना चाहता हूँ । या उसमें जाना ही चाहता हूँ यह कोई समझता है तो वह सही नहीं है । मैं यह कहता हूँ कि बहिष्कार काउंसिल का लीडर होने का कामयाबी को लालच से मैं खड़ा नहीं हुआ हूँ । मैं मतवाला हूँ, अपनी धुनका चाहे आप लीडर करके रखिए तोभी, लीडर न रखिए तोभी मुझे हमेशा अपनी धुन होगी । मैं तो हमेशा अपनी धुन का आदमी हूँ । यह धुन है खराज्य़ कायम करने की—और उसके लिए जिन चीज़ों की ज़रूरत है उन्हीं को चाहता हूँ । मैं आप से यह नहीं कहता कि आप यह तरमीम पास करें या श्री निवास आ० की तरमीम पास करें । मैं किसी क्लिस्म की सिफारिश नहीं करता कि आप मसालहत की तजवीज को पास करें या न करें ॥

Pundit Motilal Nehru ther spoke in Urdu :—

I stand here simply to clear my position. I am not here to commend this

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or that resolution to you, nor am I here to move or oppose any amendment. I am here to tell you that the amendment of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar which has been moved in this house as a compromise measure is an amendment which I am ready and willing to accept by way of compromise (Cries of hear, hear), not that I do not believe in my own amendment—I do stand by it, but to give and take, is the essence of compromise and I say that if the house is inclined to accept the compromise measure which has been moved by my friend Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, I will not even put my amendment to the vote, because I will take that amendment in the spirit in which it has been moved. But I wish to make it perfectly clear that I do believe that my amendment is the more prudent one and is the wiser one of the two, because I do not believe in tying my hands by any compromise or undertaking long long before the occasion arises but in order to show you that I have not set my heart on these councils and I do not necessarily believe or ask you to believe that entry into councils is necessary. I am perfectly willing to bind myself now in case you accept the amendment (Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's amendment) by way of compromise. I have also stated that whether you accept the compromise or you do not accept it, nothing can be further from my intention than to resort to the least little co-operation with the Government in any particular. But either in the matter of standing for councils or in the matter of going further than that, it must be of our own national council outside the Government council. I have pointed out to you that after the elections, going into the councils is not only the thing open to us. In fact, it is one of those things which I least like. What is open to us is that we may form a National councils of our own, elected by the very people who elect the Government councils, elected by the very people whom you have to go to and on whom you have to depend for the purpose of civil disobedience. Because you must remember that it is the taxpayer and taxpayer alone who can make your movement of civil disobedience a success by joining it—by with holding taxes. Before that time comes all attempts can, but be incomplete and infructuous.

This is my position. Please consider the position and consider all the arguments. As for my arguments, I say—refer to what I have stated in the Report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee and I also rely strongly upon the remarks of our worthy President which you have heard in his Presidential address. It is unnecessary to take any further time and with this explanation I beg to retire.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta—I have very great pleasure in seconding this amendment.

Babu Rajendra Prasad supported the original resolution in Hindi and opposed the amendment.

“सभापति महोदय, बहिनो और भाइयो, इस समय जिस प्रस्ताव के सम्बन्ध में आपकी सेवा में कुछ निवेदन करने के लिए मैं यहां खड़ा हुआ हूं वह एक ऐसा प्रस्ताव है जिसपर आपने देखा होगा हमारे देश के नेताओं के बीच बड़े मतभेद हो रही है। मुझे इस बात का बड़ा दुख है, मैं आपको विश्वास दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि जब मैं पूज्य परिषद मोती लाल, पूज्य देशबन्धु और हकीम अजमल खां की राय के विरुद्ध अपने को पाता हूँ तो एक बार नहीं बार २ विचार करता हूँ कि क्या मेरे लिए यह सम्भव है कि अपनी रायको बदल कर इन पूज्य नेताओं की राय कबूल कर लूँ। मैं आप को विश्वास दिलाता हूँ कि एक बार नहीं बार २ मैं ने अपने हृदय को समझाया है और दिमाग को समझाने की कोशिश की है कि इन पूज्य नेताओं की राय मुझे कबूल करनी चाहिए मगर दुःख है कि यह भ्रष्टा भक्ति रहते हुए भी मेरा दिमाग और दिल इनका

बात कबूल नहीं करता। मैं इन पूज्य नेताओं के पैर पर अपना मत्था टेकने को तैयार हूँ और यह भी विश्वास दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि मेरी जो भक्ति, जो श्रद्धा इनके लिए थी वह अब भी वैसी मौजूद है, और बनी रहेगी। कौन हिन्दुस्तानी ऐसा है जो इन महानुभावों के त्याग को देखकर, स्वराज्य के लिए इनकी तपस्या को देख कर अपने को धन्य नहीं समझता; कौन ऐसा नीच है जो उनकी तपस्या देख उनके पैरों पर सिर रखने को तैयार नहीं है? भाइयो अगर आप किसी दूसरे की बात मान कर, राय कायम करते हों तो मैं सच्चे दिल से हाथ जोड़ कर कहता हूँ कि आप उन नेताओं की राय मान लें। पर अगर आप दिल और दिमाग से काम लेना चाहते हैं तो दोनों तरफ़ की बात सुनकर विचार कर के काम करें। जो प्रस्ताव श्रीयुत राजगोपालाचारी ने उपस्थित किया है मैं उसके सम्बन्ध में कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता। मैं उसी प्रस्ताव के सम्बन्ध में दो तीन बातें करूँगा जिसे श्रीयुत श्री निवास आयङ्गर ने रक्खा है। मैंने बार बार अपने दिल से पूछा है और उनसे भी पूछा था कि आप जो यह प्रस्ताव रखते हैं उसका क्या मानी है। मुझे अफ़सोस से कहना पड़ता है कि उन्होंने तशफ़ूरी नहीं दी। मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि अगर आप काउंसिल के लिए खड़े होकर काउंसिल के चुने गये, तो चुने जाने के बाद आप क्या करेंगे।

आप इसे मान लें, क्यों कि बहस के लिए बहुत समय नहीं है, कि अगर आप मेजरिटो में चुने गये तोभी चुने जाने के बाद आप कहते हैं कि काउंसिलों में जाकर नहीं बैठेंगे। भापलोग शपथ भी जो वहां लीजाती है न लेंगे। तो चुने जाने से क्या लाभ। मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि जिन्हें सरकार नियुक्त करती है जो सरकारी आदमी है उनकी संख्या इतनी काफ़ी है कि एक दिन एक मिनट के लिए भी काउंसिलों का काम बन्द न रहेगा। और अगर आपने एक बार (स्थान) प्राप्त कर लिया और इसे प्राप्त कर दाखिल न हुए तो उसका नतीजा होगा कि आप की जगह वह खाली करार दे देंगे और इसके बाद एक या दो महीने पर नया चुनाव कर देंगे। इसके बाद आप क्या करेंगे? वह प्रश्न मैंने श्री निवास जो से पूछा था उन्होंने ने कहा कि तबतक कोई नई बात निकल आयेगी। मैं यह कहता हूँ कि क्या यही कहना काफ़ी है कि कोई बात निकल आयेगी अगर जगह खाली हुई तो नये चुनावमें भी खड़ा होना होगा। इसमें भी बहुतायत से जाने की कोशिश करनी पड़ेगी। बार २ तीन २ महीने पर नया चुनाव होगा। मैं पूछता हूँ, बहिनों और भाईयों से कि क्या मुल्क इसके लिए तैयार है कि तीन २ महीने के नये एलेक्शन पर कांग्रेस को जितनी संख्या ये हैं वह अपनी सारी शक्ति इस काम में खर्च करें? कांग्रेसकमेटियें इस बोझे को और इसके खर्च को बरदाश्त नहीं कर सकती। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि देश इसके लिए तैयार नहीं है। वे घोट्टर जिन के पास जाकर आप दी तीन महीने पर घोट्ट मांगेंगे तैयार नहीं होंगे। वह कहेंगे तुमने काउंसिलों के तोड़ने के लिए घोट्ट लिया मगर कुछ नहीं करसके। उधर आप इस खेल में, इस भूलभलैया में लगे हुए हैं इस काम में शक्ति लगा रहे हैं, उधर उस वक्त सरकार की कार्रवाई चलरही है। कहा जाता है कि सरकारी दमन नीति आप रोकना चाहते हैं, फ़ौज पर जो ज़्यादा खर्च होरहा है उसे आप रोकना चाहते हैं, जब, आप उधर इस काम में हैं उधर यह सब बराबर जारी है। एक बात और है क्या माडरेट भाई जिनको आप हृदय से लगाना चाहते हैं उनके खिलाफ़ खड़े होकर आप उन्हें दुशमन बनाना नहीं चाहते? भाइयो, यह फूट का रास्ता है। इसे मेरा दिल कबूल नहीं करता। आप सोचकर अगर आपका दिल कबूल करे तोइसेभावें। नेताओं की बात अवश्य मानें। अबमुझे पूज्य परिडित मोतीलाल जो, ने जो तरमोम पेश की है उसके बारेमें एक बात

काहनी है। इतनी और उस तरकीब में सिर्फ़ यह फ़र्क है कि श्री निवास आयज़र महोदय सभी रास्ता निश्चय कर देते हैं मगर पण्डित जी राह खुला रखते हैं और एकसाल के बाद और काम करनेका विचार करते को कहते हैं। भाईयों, इस हालत में बहुत सी नयी बातें हो सकती हैं—अगर पण्डित जी की बात मानें तो यह होता है कि सर्कार के साथ मिलकर जैसे आज हमारे नर्मदिल के भाई काम करते हैं, वैसा भी हो सकता है और यह भी हो सकता है कि जैसा हमारे पण्डित जी का ख्याल है याने अच्छी से अच्छी बात भी प्रेशही तो उस सर्कार की रिज़ोल्यूशन का विरोध करना हमारा सिद्धान्तही। यह सब बर्तौ भासकभी हैं। भाईयों, मैं यह बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि श्री निवास आयज़र जी के विचार से यह कहीं अधिक बतलनाक है। इसलिए आपसके सामने मेरा नम्र निवेदन यह है कि इस सब बातों पर विचार करके, आप करें इनको मंजूर न करें। एक बात और मेरे पूज्य मित्र बाबू शीपवारयण ने बड़े जोर से यह कहा है कि एका रहना चाहिए, किसी तरह मतभेद नहीं करना चाहीए। मैं इसकी इत्दर करता हूँ। ईश्वर जानता है कि मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि काँग्रेस में फूट नहीं होनी चाहिए। ईश्वर गवाह है कि मेरी श्रद्धा इसके लिए सब से ज्यादा है। लेकिन क्या यही अपील नेताओं से वह नहीं कर सकते। हमारे ख्याल पर ध्यान देकर क्या इस पर वह विचार नहीं करेंगे मैं उनसे यही प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि के उस बात पर विचार करके अब भी हमें अपने पीछे चलने का सौभाग्य देते रहेंगे।

इसके बाद श्री प्रकाश जी ने कहा।

समापति महोदय मैं इस सवाल के बारे में दुसरे की न लियाकत रखता हूँ न समझ सकता हूँ न इस की जरूरत है। मैं आप लोगों के सामने सिर्फ़ एक सवाल पछुता हूँ कि हम लोग, इस वक्त लड़ाई की क्या में हैं या नहीं? बार २ हम से यह कहा गया है कि हम लोग इस वक्त स्ट्रेट आफ वार में हैं। अगर ऐसा है तो जो उस की दिक्कत है वह उसे बदलास्त करना होगा और जब स्वराज्य मिलजायगा उस वक्त इसका मौका होगा कि दलबन्दी करके रायदे और अपनी वा और आप एक एक से मिलकर आगे चलें वक्त लड़ाई में हैं उस वक्त वह जरूरत है कि हम और आप एक एक से मिलकर आगे चलें लड़ाई और से नहीं हो सकती दलबन्दी से नहीं हो सकती। लड़ाई में जीत उस वक्त होगा कि एक एक सिपाही मिलकर आगे बढ़े और नेताओं की बात माने। अगर आप जानते हैं कि आप लड़ाई में हैं तो इसी तरीकेसे चलना होगा दूसरे तरीके से लड़ाई जीत नहीं हो सकती। हमारा आप लोगों से इसलिये बिनती है कि क्या मैं यह न हो कि काँग्रेस टूट गई। काँग्रेस को हम को और आप को बन्द रखना है। और जब इतना मतभेद कि है कोई कौब है पर ख्याल नहीं एक एक के खिलाफ है तो एक समझ की जरूरत है कि सिपाही साथ हों और नेता भी एक साथ हों और हमलोग भी लड़ाई में बिजई हों। इसलिये मैं श्री निवास आयंगर के संशोधन का समर्थन करता हूँ। और यह चाहता हूँ कि आप इसके लिये घोट दें मुझे यह नहीं मालूम कि इस में वखुल कराव होता है काँग्रेसलस का सवाल भी हुआ हमारा वखुल दुसरा नहीं है हम सिर्फ़ स्वराज्य चाहते है इसके सिवाय कांग्रेसस या वखुल नहीं मानते हैं। इसलिये जब हमारी कांग्रेसस स्वराज्य लेना है तो एक साथ मिलकर लड़ना जरूरी है इसलिये समझीते का सवाल जो श्री निवास अंगर ने पेश किया है इस में किसी का वखुल कराव नहीं होता। जो लोग काँग्रेसलों में जाना नहीं चाहते उन का यह आस्वासन दिया जाता है कि वह काँग्रेसलों में नहीं बैठेंगे। और जो कोन्सिलों के पक्ष में वह भी कहते हैं कि हम उस में जायेंगे नहीं इसलिये इस संशोधन में दोनों बातें मिलती है मेरा मान्य है कि आप उसे स्वीकार करें। बाबू राजेन्द्र प्रसाद ने कहा है कि वे नेताओं

के खिलाफ नहीं है लेकिन अपनी ही बात मनवाना चाहते हैं समझौता एक तरफ नहीं होता कुछ राय देनी होती कुछ लेनी होती। आप यह जरूर मानें और कांग्रेस को बनाये रखें। नेताओं को एक रखें अगर नेता और कांग्रेस अलग होंगे तो शत्रु को लूटने के साधन की मौका मिल जायगा २।

Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya in the following Hindi speech supported the amendment.

“देवियों और सज्जनों! संध्या का समय आ गया और इस रिजोल्यूशन की बहल समाप्त होने को है। मैं केवल चान्चु बातें आप से कांग्रेस के पुराने नते से कहने आया हूँ। मेरी समझ में जो लोग राज गोपालाचारी के साथ धर्म के विचार में हैं वे आत्मसत्की का फ्याल कर के और दूसरी बात को नहीं मानते हैं। इस तरह यह भार महात्मा गान्धी की बात को पकड़ कर बैठे हुये हैं मेरी विनती यह है कि जो असहयोग महात्मा गान्धी ने उठाया उसमें तीव्र बातें हैं। लड़कों को स्कूल में मत भेजो अदालतों में मत जाओ और कांड सलों में मत जाओ इनमें से दो यानी लड़कों को स्कूल में न भेजने और अदालत का ब्याल आपने उठा लिया (नहीं वहीं की ध्वनि) नहीं क्यों? क्या आपने अपने प्रस्ताव देखे की बकील चक्रालत करते भी मेम्बर हो सके। सिर्फ काउंसिल के बारे में आप कहते हैं कि “प्राण जाए बर बचन न जाई” यह न्याय नहीं है कि वह दो बातें आप करना चाहते हैं मगर यह नहीं। एक लड़ाई आपने शुरू की थी वह लड़ाई क्या! बारह महीने में सराज्य! — लेकिन अब बारह महीने की मियाद पार कर गये तो देखना यह है कि आगे काम कैसे होगा। आप में से बहुत से लोग जेल में गये इसलिये कि कुछ काम हो सकेगा। जब देश बन्धुदास प० मोती लाल वर्गेरह खड़े हुये तो उनको देख कर लोग अेर गये। थोड़े दिन बाद कांग्रेस ने इस जेल जाने के काम को बन्द कर दिया। और आपने यह कहा कि जेलखाने जाना जरूरी नहीं और यह भी कहा कि जवाहिर लाल शंकर अली मोहमद अली दूसरे नेता जो जेल में है उनको छुड़ा नै का ब्याल है? उनको कैसे छुड़ावेंगे? कांसद्रक्टिव प्रोग्राम से चर्ख का काम कर के कराधा चला कर के। मैं चर्खे का विरोधी नहीं हूँ मैं भी उसके पोटै हूँ। लेकिन मैं आप से कहता हूँ कि आप चर्खे से इन नेताओं को नहीं छुड़ा सकते। आप का काम पानी से नहीं हो सकता। अबबारों में लिखा क्या? कोई भी रास्ता सौचने को हाथ बन्द कर लिया किया तो यह कि हजारों को ताथशब्द में चले जेल नै में। मैं दुर्भाव नहीं कहता मैं यह कहता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट पर इससे असर न होगा। गवर्नमेंट पत्थर से भा कड़ो और लोहे से भी जड़ी है तिसपर भी आप कहते हैं कि हाथ बांध कर बैठे रहें। भारं वह उपाय करो कि यह लोग पिघल जायें और पत्थर फुट जाय इसकी उपाय के साधन में एक तरीका तो कांसद्रक्टिव प्रोग्राम बलाओ जितने भारं बहिन हैं सब शुद्ध भाव से खुरा को हाजोर नाजिर जान कर कांसद्रक्टिव प्रोग्राम बढ़ावें लोगों को तैयार करें कि यदि आप महात्मा गान्धी का काम करते हैं तो लाग उस को करने के लिये तैयार हों लेकिन इस के साथ यह भी जान लो कि जिस महाल में पुलिस के लोग नहीं हैं और चौकीदार बस्ती का दिये गये तो भास पास के चोर आकर जबर उपद्रव करेंगे। इसी तरह मजिस्ट्रेट लोग और अधिकारि गवर्नमेंट के साथ हो गये थीर कानून के खिलाफ लोगों को निर्दोष लोगों को फंसा २ कर जेल खाने में भेजा। अगर कांडसिल में अच्छे लोग होते तो यह अन्याय नहीं कर सकते। आपने इधर तो चौकीदार हटा दिये उधर घर का दर्वाजा खोल दिया। वो लेलो मुकदमे में सफाई भी न देंगे नतीजा यह हुआ कि बुने हुये लोग जेल खाने में गये। महात्मा गान्धी जेल में गये यह आवसी जिस के पैर की धूल करोड़ो भादमियों ने सर पर लगाई हगारु श्रका भुक्ति का

भजन जो हुआ उसे जेल में रखा लाला लाजपत राय और सरदारसिंह जैसे लोग जेलमें रक्खे गये हमारा प्यारा जवाहिर लाल क्या जेल खाने में रहने लायक हैं इतना सब देखते हुये भी क्याआप इस प्रस्ताव को काउंसिल में न जाने का है पास करेंगे ? यह प्रस्ताव ऐसा है कि हमारे देश के सर्व मान्य नेताओं ने कहा था कि काउंसिलों में न जाओ इसमें गवर्नमेन्ट पर जोर पड़ेगा। यहां मैं आपसे एक गुप्त कथा बतलाता हूँ कि महात्मा गान्धी ने नागपुर में मूस से जब इसके संबन्ध में बात आई तो यह कहा था कि चलने दीजिये थोड़े दिन में फल अच्छा होगा उनको अन्तर से मित्र हैं देश भक्त हैं देश की भलाई चाहते हैं ऐसा समझ कर मैंने उनकी बात मान ली थी इसका तात्पर्य यह कदापि न लो कि सदा के लिये काउंसिलों में जाओ ही नहीं। बिचार का काम यह है कि हमारा सामना बड़ी कुटिल लोगोंसे आ पड़ा है। अंग्रेजी गवर्नमेन्ट हिन्दोस्तान से अपना अख्तियार कम करना नहीं चाहता। आप रिजोलयुशन जो राजगोपालाचारी ने रखा है मंजूर करलें फिर देखिये एग्लों इन्डियन्स के घर कैसी खुसी होती है वायसराय और गवर्नरस अभी से कहते हैं, कि ननकोअपरेशन काउंसिलों में आवेंगे तो उनको रोकने की फिक्र होनी चाहिये। दुसरी कठिनाई और देखो! काउंसिलें बनी हुई हैं। इन काउंसिलों को आप मिटा नहीं सकते क्योंकि दुसरे लोग काउंसिलों के मेम्बर दे सकते हैं पहिली काउंसिलों आपने देखा कि किस प्रकार उसके हिन्दु और मुसलमान दोनों ही मौन थे। यह तो असल में ऐसा मामला है कि मुकदमें में आप खुद वकील न करें और दुसरे फरीक से कहीये की हमारे तरफ से तूमही वकील करादो वह अवश्य ही ऐसा करेगा जिसमें उसका काम न चले—गवर्नमेन्ट अपने अनेक लोगों को,भरले जो आप ने तो कह दीया काउंसिलों में ननकोअपरेशन न जाये। जायगे कौन ? ऐसे लोग जिन्हें क्वात्र में भी काउंसिलों जाने की आशा न थी। वह लोग आप के प्रति कुल डिग्री कर सकते हैं देखिये ४० करोड़ रुपया टैक्स लगभग यह उन्ही उम्मेदवारी की ओर से लगा जो वहां पर बैठे हैं क्या दशा है ? कितना खर्च बढ़ गया ? मान्टेगु और वेम्सफीर्ड ने एक हाथ से रिफॉर्म दिया और दूसरे हाथ से रुपया लिया—सिविल अफसरों की पेनशिन बढ़ गई तनखाहें बढ़ गई। ४० करोड़ रुपया टैक्स बढ़ा देखिये कितना खर्च बढ़ गया। अगर आप अपने वकाल मुकर्रर करते तो वह कुछ कहता सूनता मुखालिफ कमजोर पड़ता मगर हुआ क्या मुखालिफ तो कमजोर नहीं हुआ,आपके सम्मानित नेता देश के प्यारे लोग जेल में पड़ गये तो बताते यह हैं कि देखें कि आपके लायक लोग काउंसिलोंमें जाय—आप उनको भेजिये जो लोग इस सम्बन्ध के प्रस्तावों को,पेश करते हैं चाहे पक्ष में या विपक्ष में हो उनका सिद्धान्त यही है कि स्वराज्य कैसे जल्दी मिल जाय—(प्रश्न क्या आप अमेण्डमेण्ट के बारे में बोल रहे हैं—उत्तर, जी हां जनाब अब तक आप नहीं समझे तो शायद आगे भी आप नहीं समझे मैं दोनो तरफ बोल सकता हूँ)—लेकिन इसमें एक राय नहीं है कुछ लोगों का कहना है कि काउंसिलों में न बैठेंगे न राय देगे बल्कि लौट आवेंगे। एडित मोती लाल का कहना यह नहीं है उनका कहना है कि आप मेम्बर चुन लीजिये और फिर निर्णय कीजिये कि काउंसिलों में जाकर काम करेंगे या नहीं। इस के लिये छह साल भर का समय देते हैं—यह बहुत अच्छा है क्योंकि यह कौन जानता है कि साल भर में क्या होगा कैसा समय आवेगा। किसे मालूम था कि साल भर में महात्मा गांधी कैद होंगे इसी तरह अब भी नहीं मालूम कि साल भर में क्या होगा। सब लोग साल भर तक सोचें बिचारें शुद्ध भाव से कि देश की भलाई किस में है और फिर उसके मुताबीक आगामी कांग्रेस में फैसला करें। पहले मकान में कब्जा करो फिर निर्णय करो कि उसे कैसे काम में लावेंगे। अगर ऐसा न हुआ और दुसरों ने कब्जा किया तो तीन वर्ष तक आप न जायेंगे और इस

तरह भी काम धाम ठोक न चकने से सिद्धान्त पूरा न होगा । इसलिये आप देश की भलाई का विचार करके सोचिये कि काउंसिलों में जाना अच्छा है या नहीं । यह दो पक्ष काउंसिलों के हुये । दूसरे वह जा काउंसिलों में न जाने की राय देने हैं । जो खिलाफ है यह उनकी जड़ता नहीं है—इम जानते हैं वह लोन देश के हित के भाव से ऐसा कह रहे हैं । हम उनसे यह कहना चाहते हैं कि आप साच लें कि काउंसिलों का प्रस्ताव इसलिये पास नहीं करते कि वह अस-योग के सिद्धान्त के खिलाफ है मगर यह चाहें कि वह खिलाफ न होतो काउंसिलों में ऐसे लोगों को भेजिये जो को पार्टी वा सोशल पार्टी का न्योता न माने, गार्डन पार्टी में जाने से इनकार करे फिर देखिये क्या होना है । काउंसिलों में गपास्टक करने नहीं बलिक उसे काम में लाने जायें स्वराज्य को जल्द हासिल करने जायें । अगर ऐसा हुआ तो यह सच्चा ननकोअपरेशन होगा । हमारा ननकोअपरेशन और कुछ नहीं है हमारा दल ऐसे लोगों का हो जो ननकोअपरेशन में लगे हुये हों । उनके पास न्योता आय और इनकार हुआ । फिर देखिये क्या खल बली मन्वती है । इस प्रकार मौका देख कर काउंसिलों को काम में लाना चालिये । जिस से स्वराज्य स्थापित हो । मेरा तो यह सिद्धान्त है और मैं आप से कहता हूँ कि इस के लिये पण्डित मोती लाल का प्रस्ताव आप के सवीकृत करने लायक है इस में आप साल भर विचार सकेंगे कि क्या अवस्था है । और लोगों की अवस्था विचार कर दवा करेंगे । कानून सिकनी की तो आशा नहीं है पर एक ओर से कहा गया दूसरी ओर से यह कहा गया काउंसिलों में मत जावो ऐसी दशा में परमेश्वर सबको इकट्ठा करे तो निर्णय अच्छा हो पंच में सौच कर निर्णय हुआ कि दोनो ओरसे लडेंगे । एक ओर कान्सट्टुक्विटव प्रोग्राम दूसरी ओर काउंसिल का प्रोग्राम । अगर राज गोपालाचारी के निर्णय को मानते हैं तो वह कांग्रेस को दो टुकड़े में करने का है—उनका कहना है कि कांग्रेस सलाह देती है कि काउंसिलों में मत जाओ । अगर ऐसी है तो कांग्रेस क्या?—कांग्रेस से क्या मतलब? इस से हम देश बन्धू की सलाह समझे जिन ने लाखों की धन आहुत कर दिया है या पण्डित मोती लाल की राय समझें जो राजों का हैसियत में रह चुके हैं अथवा राजेन्द्र प्रसाद की बात समझें । हम को वह रास्ता लेना चाहिये जिस में निकास का काम हो । अगर आप राज गोपालाचारी की बात सुनी तो आज ही राय देदी और अगर पं० मोतीलाल की बात मान ली तो काउंसिल की सीट पकड़ ली और अब वहां जाकर क्या करना है यह सोचना बाकी रहा । अगर आज रास्ता बन्द कर दिया तो आगे क्या करेंगे । इसलिये बहिनों भाइयों से मेरा यह निवेदन है कि बेर भाव नहीं है दोनों शुद्ध भाव से काम कर रहे हैं । एक एक तरफ पुराने लोग हैं दूसरी तरफ शुद्ध भाव से काम करने वाले । जब ऐसा द्वैध आपड़ा है और ऐसा युद्ध है तो वह रास्ता लो जिनमें सौचने का रास्ता हो । पण्डित जी के प्रस्तावमें सालभर का मौका है राजा गोपालाचारी की बानमें किवाड़ बन्द हो गया बन्दूक रख दिया निकास बन्द हो गया और अगर पण्डित जी की धर्म मानली तो आज से ३६० दिन में ३६० बार आप विचार कर सकते हैं । राजा गोपालाचारी की बात मानने से आप एक घर को दो टुकड़े में करते हैं और इस का फल यह हांगा कि देश का निर्णय ऐसा है । एक एक रास्ते पर जायगा दूसरा दूसरे पर । एक कुछ राय देगा एक कुछ । आखिर में निर्णय एक एक के हाथ में । ऐसी दशामें ऐसे संकठ के समय—प्रेम के साथ निकास करना चाहिये । अकूती तरह सोचना चाहिये कि राय माफिक दे या खिलाफ अगर विचार कर काम करना है तो ऐसी बात माने कि साल भर विचार कर के काम कर सके शिक्षा करने से दोनो भई प्रेम से काम कर सकते हैं । भाइयो और बहिनी जय संका की समय है शत्रु का मुकाबिला है तो फिर क्यों जंगले का रोक कर खड़े होते हो जब हमारे नेता जेलखाने में बन्द है तो क्या घर में लड़ाई करना चाहिये ? आज

Boycott of
Councils.

बिचार करके मन में परमात्मा को स्मरण करो भारत माता की मूर्ती का स्मरण करके सालभर फंसले को रखो । सिविलडिसोबिडियन्स की तैयारी करो चरखे का प्रचार करो कांसिलों में जाकर क्या कहेंगे यह बिचार मुलतबी रखो अभी तो इतना हो करना है कि कब्जा करलो यह भी काम नहीं है फिर सालभर है निर्णय कर लेना । ऐसा करोगे तो देश भर जकर इसे सुनकर खुश होगा । प्रेम से कहते हुये मेरे शब्दों में कोई अनुचित बात निकली हो तो क्षमा करें मेरे भाव को देख कर प्रेम से इस बात को मन्जूर करो कि सालभर में फंसला करेंगे तो भारत माता की आत्मा शान्ति पायेगी ।”

प्रश्न का उत्तर देते समय जो किसी साहब ने कर दिया था पंडित जी ने आगेकहा

इस में हमारे एक मित्र ने यह पूछा है कि आप यह बतलाइये कि आप ने यह किस मन्तिक से कहा है कि ज्यादा सीट अपने काबू में कर सकते हैं । हम यह कहते हैं कि अपनी बात के प्रभाव से गांव २ में जायेंगे तो हमको अधिक राय मिलेगी अगर कांग्रेस के हुकम से ओट नहीं दिया तो उस के हुकम से लोग ओट देंगे । पूछते हैं कि आप कौन्सिल में क्या किया ? भाई तब ऐसी दशा न थी तब अंग्रेज ज्यादा थे अब ऐसा नहीं है अगर हमारे आदमी ज्यादा कुछ अच्छे आदमी हमारे साथ दी तो हम उन को समझा दें कि गवर्नमेंट को कैसे चलाना चाहिये अगर हमारे आदमी होता तो इस वर्ष तक महात्मा । गान्धी को बन्द नही कर सकते । जब सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट में यह प्रस्ताव होगा कि पोलिटिकल प्रिजनर्स को छोड़ो नहीं तो काम न होगा—बजट के प्रश्न पर राय न देंगे तो स्वराज्य का प्रश्न हल होगा ।

Mr. Rajagopalachariar who on rising to reply to the debate was received with loud cheers spoke as follows :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I do not propose to detain you any further after such long deliberations over this question. I deem it my duty to stand before you to just say a few words before your opinion is taken by the President. I admit what has been repeatedly placed before you that some of our biggest and wisest leaders have taken a view different from that which I have placed before you. I admit this frankly and fully but I ask you to remember that no great change from a great programme can be recommended seriously by any but the wisest and the greatest and the most important. It is not possible for smaller men to ask—to have the courage to ask you to take a different line from what this Assembly sitting at Calcutta had decided after full and grave consideration. And therefore it is but natural that the biggest leaders must now stand before you to advise a change. But still I am certain that those leaders do not in the least, whatever other speakers might have said, desire that you should decide except by your own judgment. I therefore ask you to consider this question of mere policy, not as a matter of difference which will divide people at all. I entirely endorse what the editor of the “Tribune” recently said that the constitution of the Congress is now so framed—and is so elastic that no difference of opinion can possibly lead to what is described as an undesirable split. There might be differences of opinion but it is a poor compliment for speaker after speaker to appeal to you—it is a poor compliment to those to say that there can be anything wrong by our dividing ourselves over a public question like this.

The simple question is whether we boycott the councils one way or by another way. We may be wrong in our decision but surely we can not quarrel over that. You had better decide and if you lose time in one way when you gain time in another way it is merely our fortune or misfortune, but surely, rest assured that we are not going to

divide the country or ourselves over this failure or error of judgment. I am quite capable of misjudgment. I assure you that I really believe that I may be wrong, but with your decision the country will work and not with my error of judgment. Let your decision go and if it is wrong you bear the responsibility I only place before you what I deem right. Others placed before you what they deemed right. And should the country take a particular line to effect this boycott, it is because they feel that it is easy and let them try it. It may be that another way might be better but how can we work unless people can agree to it.

The proposals of Pundit Motilal Nehru and Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar are based on the elementary assumption that the majority of the country will support that method. Otherwise even though in theory it might be a more effective method, in result it cannot be. I therefore ask you to express your opinion clearly by your own judgment so that the leaders might say which is consistent with popular opinion and which is likely to be better effected with the help of that majority on which they rely and on which I rely. We cannot carry even though it might be better proposition—we cannot get a majority if people hold different view. Therefore give your judgment as you feel. It is not therefore a matter of sentiment but purely a matter of judgment.

What is the proposal of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, to which Pundit Motilal Nehru has given his qualified assent? The proposal is that we stand for election—that we ask for the votes of the electorate and that we assure the country here and now and at once that we do not want to go inside and sit. If it was merely a question of mistrust — if it was a question of my believing or not believing what others said, this might be an assurance which can be called a compromise. But I at once grant to you — I assure you at once that it is not on mistrust that I differ. It is on the ground that it is not a practical proposition. The question is this: Are we going to put forward candidates repeatedly every time the Government makes declaration after declaration that the seats are vacant? Is this poor nation capable of conducting such a programme? The Government has the power to make rules. We have the power and the brains to try to act in spite of these rules, I admit, but we cannot win in an intellectual contest between the Government power to make rules and our power to evade them. The proposal of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar and also of Pundit Motilal Nehru which is only a reservation of the method to the end of next year is rather to have a competition of intellects between the Government's rule making capacity and our capacity to keep the seats vacant. The other programme is a contest of intellect inside the councils as to how they can overrule our decision and we best persist in our position and proceed to create deadlocks. The power to create deadlocks is merely brain power. The power to rule out deadlocks is also merely brain power. And is this contest of brains going to bring us Swaraj? I assure you it cannot be a successful programme. Our fight must be not of a contest of brains but of a contest of the one hand of giving violence and on the other of bearing violence. Our contest must be a contest of suffering on our part and a power to inflict suffering on the other. It is not by a contest of intellect that we succeed.

Again, pray, consider, what the rules are. I do not think I will detain you with that. If you go home and read the rules or if you have read them already you will find that they have the power to make rules. If you will see them you will see that this is a hopeless task. What is the reason then why these gentlemen place before you this proposition? I shall speak for them in this connection and I tell you, they do not rely on the success in the brain contest but they rely on the demonstrative value of the failure in brain contest. I tell you that this kind of demonstration has been made and found futile. And if you still seek demonstration the boycott of councils is a better demonstration.

Boycott of
Councils.

This boycott of councils as I propose is a better demonstration than the capacity for our representatives to create deadlocks or to effect vacancies.

Then again I ask you to consider whether we have to go back to depend upon demonstrations — whether we have to go back upon our programme and depend upon such demonstrations. That we can do if we have found that we have no capacity for direct action or for suffering. If you are convinced that we have given enough trial to this programme of action then we have to go back to demonstration should we still have hope that way. But I assure you that I do not feel that I for one have given sufficient test to this great programme during the past year or two. We must therefore carry it on, keep our faith in action and not yet go back to the value of demonstration.

Then again it may be said by those who oppose my proposition by way of amendment that they do not depend either on demonstrations or upon deadlocks but upon the occasion which this appeal to the electorate will give to go and organize the electorates. Therefore we come back to the demonstrative programme. We come to our capacity to organize our people into the strength which will defeat the Government. This power of organization, this constructive programme, can you say, can be better worked by mixing it up with requests for votes? 'Capture the electorates', is a phrase which has constantly been used in this agitation over this question which I wish to explain to you. It has been said that it is a very useful thing to capture the electorate. I assure you that we cannot capture the electorates more effectively by getting their votes than we can hope to do by constructive work. If you can go to the very persons whom you call the electorates and do services to them and organize them into Congress organizations, you capture those electorates as effectively as by going to them and saying to them — 'vote for me and not for a man who has not accepted the congress mandate — and not for that or this man.' That additional request carries no further cement between you and the electorates than what you have already established by your service and by their faith in you.

Therefore I say there is no meaning in the use of the expression 'capture of electorates' in this connection. The opportunity for organizations is the same in both cases.

Then it is said that if you go on an election programme it may be easier to go to the people than if you can go on a simple boycott of councils programme. How can it be so? If you expect repression that I tell you that repression is the better method to capture the electorates.

If it is said—if you believe that you can evade the rules and go to the men and organize them— I for one cannot believe it. The only true solution is the withdrawal of your voluntary co-operation in the whole reforms scheme and nothing else. You must voluntarily and determinedly refuse to accept the services which Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya with great fervour has placed before you, we can possibly secure from councils filled with our own men. He said—send your representative to get your prisoners released. How can we ask Mahatma Gandhi to come out by service obtained from these councils? That is securing his release by surrender. It is then that by surrendering our principle that we can secure him. There is a much simpler method than this costly, expensive method of going to the councils and obtaining Mahatmaji out if you and I am prepared to surrender our principle and pass a resolution to day that we suspend the programme of Non-co-operation and then tomorrow Mahatma Gandhi will be released, and this when we shall not have the face to reopen the Non-co-operation programme after we have surrendered it so ignobly. Therefore I tell you that we cannot get our prisoners out by a programme

of co-operation inside the councils even though it may be mixed up with plenty of obstruction. **Boycott of Councils.**

I do not think I should detain you any longer. I beg of you to reject the amendment and accept my proposition. (Loud cheers).

Babu Rajendra Prasad (with the President's permission).

The President desires all those who are not delegates should go out of the pandal. Today's business so far as they are concerned is now over. The delegates have to wait because there will be voting on this (Council) Resolution.

Visitors, Press Representatives and other outsiders were made to go out.

The Congress remained adjourned till 1 P. M. next day.

The 37th Indian National Congress

GAYA.

31st December, 1922.

Fifth Day's Proceedings.

The Congress reassembled at its final sitting of the Gaya Session on the 31st of December at 2 P. M.

Before the regular proceedings commenced Miss Tayabji moved the whole house by her pathetic national song followed by a chorus sung by a choir of Bengali boys and girls. Srimati Saraswati Debi and Mr. Nanabhai Upadhaya charmed the whole house by their patriotic songs.

As the President till then did not arrive Mr. Vijairaghavachariar opened the proceedings saying—As Mr. Das has not yet turned up we shall begin the work. The result of votes taken on Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar amendment last night although known to the world will be announced before this house when Mr. Das comes here. I call upon Mr. Deepnarain Singh to move the Resolution standing in his name.

In the meantime the President arrived and took his chair.

RESOLUTION X.

X Whereas this Congress is of opinion that Indian Labour should be organized with a view to improve and promote their well-being and secure to them their just rights and also to prevent exploitation of Indian Labour and of Indian resources: It is resolved that this Congress, while welcoming the move made by the All-India-Trade-Union Congress and various Kisan Sabhas in organizing the Workers of India, hereby appoints the following Committee with power to co-opt to assist the Executive Council of the All-India-Trade-Union Congress for the organization of Indian Labour both Agricultural and Industrial.

Labour Or-
ganisation.

*Suggested names—1. C. F. Andrews; 2. J. M. Sen Gupta; 3. S. N. Halder
4. Swami Dinanand; 5. Dr. D. D. Sathaye; 6. S. J. T. Singaruveul Chettiar
7. E. L. Iyer.*

Mr. Singh in moving the Resolution in Hindi in the course of his speech suggested the inclusion of the name of Mr. E. L. Iyer of Madras to the Committee to be appointed and spoke as follows:—

सभापति महाशय और हमारे भाइयो और बहिनो, रिज़ोल्यूशन जो हमारे सामने है और जो मैं आप के सामने पेश करना चाहता हूँ उस के मानी यह है कि चूँकि यह कांग्रेस की राय है कि हिन्दोस्तान के लेबर क्रीमों का आरगेनायज़ेशन होना चाहिये और मौजूदा हालत बेहतर की जाय और उन के हकूक उनको मिले और हिन्दोस्तान के मज़दूरों को धनो और दूसरे जो लोग, अपने फ़ायदे के लिये उनका मुकसान करके अपने काम में लगा रहे हैं उसको रोकने के ब्याल से यह प्रस्ताव है कि

ऑल इण्डिया ट्रेड यूनियन की ओर से जो काम हो रहा है उस की मदद करके उसके साथ ऐसा काम हो कि उनका फायदा हो, और एक समिति भी बनायी जाय जिस के नाम यह है (प्रस्ताव न० १० में अंकित) और एक नाम मैं और बढ़ाना चाहता हूँ—E. L. Iyer. यह लागू औद्योगिक इण्डिया ट्रेड यूनियन की कमिटी से सलाह करके ऐसा काम करें कि किसान भाई और मजदूरों की बेहतरी हो और उनके हकूक के लिये कार्रवाई की जाय। प्यारे भाइयो, हम को ज्यादा नहीं कहना है सिर्फ यह दिखाना चाहता हूँ कि सोचने की बात है कि कांग्रेस जो कुछ उनका गौरव या प्रेम देश में है वह यह है कि वह गरीबों की रक्षा करती है। अब मैं शुद्ध भाव से यह कहूंगा कि नानक्वापरेशन में भी ऐसे प्रस्ताव पेश हुये थे जिनकी कार्रवाई दो वर्ष से बराबर हुई है। मगर अबतक कोई कांग्रेस की तरफ से ऐसा प्रवन्ध नहीं हुआ कि हमारे दोन मजदूरों को इस बात की तसल्ली दी जाय कि कांग्रेस उनकी मदद के लिये तैयार है। अबतक कांग्रेस उनके लिए क्या होगा यह नहीं बतलाया। बारबार यह जब कभी मजदूरों, किसानों और धनी मालदारों के भगड़े हुये तो कांग्रेस उन से दूर रही। यह दूसरी बात है कि महात्मा जी की कोशिश रही कि आपस में मेल हो। इसका यही मतलब है कि शान्ति के मामले में भगड़े न हों। हम यहां तक कहने को तैयार हैं कि मजदूर भाई कई मौकों पर अपना काम छोड़कर अलग हुये तो उनका दोष था, मगर यह ऐसा मौका मुल्क के सामने आया है कि जहां जमींदार किसानों पर जुल्म करें, धनी मजदूरों पर जुल्म करें तो कांग्रेस के लिये फर्ज है कि कमजोर और निर्बलों की सहायता करे। प्यारे भाइयो! आप याद रखें कि कांग्रेस का बल हमारे मजदूर और किसान भाइयों के हाथ में है। आप जानते हैं कि ३६ या ४० वर्षों से जितने पढ़े लिखे लोग, वकील इत्यादि हैं वही सियासी मैदान में काम करते थे। गवर्नमेन्ट को इसकी कुछ फिक्र न थी क्योंकि वह जानती थी कि यह सिर्फ दस फी सदी काम करेंगे। इनसे क्या हो सकता है क्योंकि ६० फी सदी हमारे साथ हैं। आज दो वर्ष में नब्बे फी सदी किसान मजदूरों में हरकत आई तो गवर्नमेन्ट की आंख खुल गई। अगर आप चाहते हैं कि किसान और मजदूर नब्बे फी सदी आप के साथ हों, उनका प्रेम और उनका इत्फाक आप चाहते हैं तो आप का इस प्रस्ताव को पास करना जरूरी है। आज तो आप किसानों और मजदूरों से यह कहते हैं कि कुर्बानी कते, बलिदान करो लेकिन यह बलिदान कहां तक करेंगे। उनको पेट भर खाने की भी नहीं मिलता। अगर आप उनसे कुर्बानी के लिये कहते हैं तो आप उनको यह भी दिखला दीजिये कि हम तुम्हारी सहायता के लिये खुलम खुला कमर बांधे तैयार हैं, अब मैं ज्यादा बक्त नहीं लूंगा हम अपने किसान भाइयों से और दूसरे भाइयों से जो यहां बैठे हैं उम्मीद करते हैं कि इस रिजोल्यूशन को मजदूरों के दुःख को दूर करने के लिये पास करेंगे और तब तक एक भी आवाज़ खिलाफ न होगी।

Dr. K. D. Sastri of Delhi in seconding the Resolution said :—

सभापति महोदय बहिनो और भाइयो! आप को यह बात मालूम हो गई है कि सिविल डिस्ओबिडियनस इन्क्वायरी कमेटी के सब मेम्बरों ने इत्फाक से इस प्रस्ताव के लिये अपनी राय दी है। इस के यही माने हो सकते हैं कि उन के ख्याल में इस बक्त यह बड़ा जरूरी काम है कि देश भरके मजदूर और देश भर के किसानों का संगठन किया जाय। यह प्रस्ताव बतलाता है कि उन के वेल-बीइङ्ग को परमोट किया जाय। लेकिन यह कैसे हो सकता है। यहाँ पर मैं आप से एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ। अमेरिका में एक बार गवर्नमेन्ट की तरफ से एक कमेटी बनी थी कि सारे देशमें घूम कर मालूम करे कि एक मजदूर परिवार के लिये कितनी आमदनी हो कि उसकी अच्छी तरह गुजर हो सके। उस

कमेटी ने रिपोर्ट दी थी कि कम से कम २०० रुपया माहवार की आमदनी होनी चाहिये । इसके बाद गर्वनमेन्ट की तरफ से ओर म्यूनिसिपल्टी की तरफ से यह मानलिया गया कि मजदूरों की मजदूरी इस से कम नहीं हानी चाहिये । हमारे देश में मजदूर और किसानों में कोई अच्छी बात पंदा नहीं हो सकती जब तक कि कार्रवाई उन का यूनियन न हो । आप उन के हकूक की रक्षा करना चाहते हैं लेकिन जब तक आप एक आर्गनाइजेशन न करलें तब तक वे अपने हकूक की रक्षा नहीं कर सकते हैं दो वर्ष में आल इण्डिया ट्रेड यूनियन की तरफ से बहुत अच्छा काम हुआ है जब साठ हजार मजदूर जमशेदपुर में स्ट्राइक पर थे तो उन के हकूक की हिफाजत हुई । रेलवे के स्ट्राइक में ट्रेड यूनियन के बिना उन के हकूक की हिफाजत नहीं हो सकती । क्योंकि आप यह जानते हैं कि वे अपने आप अपने हकूक की हिफाजत नहीं कर सकते । लेकिन अगर उनको समझा दिया जाय तो वे अपने हकूक की रक्षा कर सकते हैं । जैसे भरिया काल फील्ड में इतने मजदूर काम करते हैं अगर उनको यह समझा दिया जाय कि वे यह कहें कि अगर हमारे हकूक की हिफाजत न होगी तो दो चार दिन बाद कोल फील्ड में पानी भर देंगे तो लाखों रुपयों का हर्जा हो जायगा । इस तरह कामों के मालिकों ने मजदूरों को बात मानी और तब मजदूरों ने उनके साथ मिलकर काम करना शुरू किया है । मजदूरों में बड़ी ताकत है । अगर उनको यह सब बातें समझा दी जाय तो वे अपने हकूक की रक्षा कर सकते हैं । इसके सिवा हमारा फर्ज है कि उनका एक यूनियन एक समाज बना दें । पिछले साल कुछ काम हुआ था । कुछ स्ट्राइकें हुई थीं अगर मजदूरों या किसानों पर ख्याल नहीं किया गया । इस देश में जहां पंचाली फ्री सदी किसान हैं, और ऐरो-कलबुर पर उनका जीवन निर्भर है । उनके पास न पहिने को कपड़ा है न खाने को अन्न । अमेरिका से एक बार एक रिपोर्ट में कहा गया था कि एक किसान के पास १५ करोड़ रुपया था । तो आप विचार कीजिये कि हमारे यहां कितना कम है। अगर आप चाहते हैं कि सारे हिन्दोस्तान के किसान अच्छे हों उनका मालदारी के लिये दवाब से काम न लेना पड़े । तो उनका एक यूनियन बनाना चाहिये जो कांग्रेस के साथ मिल कर काम करें । इस लिये मैंने जैसा अर्ज किया है कि सिविल डिस्ओबिडियन्स इन्क्वायरी कमेटी ने इस बारे में अपनी राय दी है । इस लिये यह प्रस्ताव जो कि आप के सामने रखा गया है मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि आप इसको स्वीकृत करेंगे ।

Mr. K. P. Sen Sinha supported the Resolution and said :—

मेरे प्यारे भाईयो और बहिनो ! मैं आप का बहुत नहीं लेना चाहता । प्रि० दीप नारायण जी और शास्त्री जी ने बतला दिया है कि इसका मतलब यह है कि मजदूर और किसान भाई जो संकड़े नव्हे आप के मुल्क में हैं उनकी मदद के लिये कोशिश करना चाहिये और उसके लिये एक कमेटी बना दी जाय जो ट्रेड यूनियन के साथ मिलकर काम करें और मजदूरों और किसानों के साथ हमदर्दी दिखलावें । आप जानते हैं कि मजदूरों के ही जोर से स्वराज्य मिल सकता है इस लिये हमारा फर्ज है कि उनसे हमदर्दी करें और उनको हिफाजत करें । इतना ही कह कर मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि आप इस प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार करेंगे ।”

Mr. Singaravelu Chettiar in supporting the Labour Resoluition spoke as follows :—

President, comrades in this hall, fellow workers, peasants of Hindustan, ryats of Hindusthan, I have come to speak on your behalf as a fellow worker. I have come here as a representative of the interest of the world interest—represented by the great order of the Communists—and I have come to tell you

Labour Or-
ganisation.

the great message which communism offers to the world workers. Therefore I come before you and offer the greetings of the workers of the world—of the communists in America, of the communists of Soviet Russia, of the communists of Germany and other world communists who are interested in securing you your liberty—your home—your food, your clothing. Comrades, we all know that our Congress is fighting for our rights. Rights for whom? we do not want the accumulation of power in a few or fewer hands. We want power enough to enable us to be fed properly—to be clothed properly and to be housed properly. These are the essentials we want. Our Congress pledges itself to it. The world communists has pledged to assist the Congress to secure your rights to you. Comrades, all the communists all over the world have the common faith and common demand. They have come here in spirit at least for helping you to attain Swaraj. Let us welcome them. Comrades, there is only one thing to do, that is, in the first place we have to attain Swaraj and the only method which we as followers of Mahatma Gandhi can use is Non-violent Non-co-operation. I have my greatest faith in that method. That method has been disputed by our fellow communists abroad. I need not tell their names. But there has been disputing with me as to the efficacy of that method. I told them that we adopted this method as a practical necessity and I believe in it and believe in Mahatma Gandhi. Therefore we differ fundamentally with their method. We the communists in India differ from our fellow communists abroad. Therefore not only do we give them a message that not only we believe in non-violent non-co-operation but that we are going to use Non-violent Non-co-operation against British Domination here. The world workers know that and we ask them to know it. Therefore comrades, one thing specially, that the Congress may take greater interest of labour.

I have one more idea that the workers in India should be made a part of our Congress organization. One thing more, we have not acted up to the Bardoli Resolution — it has been a disaster — the Congress has failed to take up the workers of India in the cause of Swaraj. We have failed to do that and we have miserably suffered for our errors and mistakes. I therefore want the Congress to lead the nation under Non-violent Non-co-operation method so far as to secure national strikes. I tell you that without resorting to national strikes — I do not think — we shall be able to swerve by an hair's breath the British domination in India. I therefore request you to deal with Indian Labour not in this fashion of working through the All India Trade Union Congress but to go direct to labour. Organize labour unions.

One thing more — Comrades and workers, you know not your strength. You know the story of the giant and the Crane in the book. In the land of Crania in Russia, there is a tradition—there is a giant called (Interruption) he could not see anything lying beyond (interrupted).

We have now begun to see beyond the frontier — beyond the oceans.

The workers of Russia — the workers of India — of Australia, America — have all pledged themselves. We know no caste or creed. We believe in the brotherhood of human race. The workers of India can effect such a unity of the human race. Therefore harken, ye bourgeoisie—harken to me — know ye all India is awakened (repeated interruptions and cries of stop, stop) The seal The seal

The Indian labour can be compared to the Cindrella of the East. They have been assigned to all the bitter things of the world — famine — pestilence, no food — no house — no clothing. Beware, ye rich men, beware ye big men and remember all our sorrows. The world is going to the cindrellas. The change is fast approaching while the Cindrella, the Labour of India is coming up and up. Bourgeoisie—bourgeoisie, remember Cindrella — Labour has

awakened — it is wide awake and is coming steadily and surely up and up to save the world.

Labour Organisation.

Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta — Ladies and Gentlemen, those who are in favour of the resolution will please raise their hands (cries of all, all).

The Resolution was declared carried unanimously.

Mr. Sen Gupta — The President has directed, me to declare the result of poll taken yesterday on Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's amendment. For the amendment there are 890 votes and 1740 against. Therefore the amendment is lost. The President has also directed me to declare that Pundit Motilal Nehru's amendment is also lost and that Mr. Rajagopalachari's is carried (Cries of hear, hear, Bande-mataram)

A Delegate — May I know how the motion of Mr. Rajagopalachari has been carried — by what procedure please? Votes were not taken.

Mr. Sen Gupta—But the President has directed me to say that he has agreed that the votes on the amendment of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's amendment would cover all the resolutions.

RESOLUTION XI.

XI With reference to the boycott of Government and Government aided 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 Government Schools and Colleges.

Babu Rajendra Prasad in moving the Resolution in Hindi said—

“सभापति महाशय, भाइयो और बहिनो ! जो प्रस्ताव मैं आप के सामने रख रहा हूँ, वह अंगरेज़ी में है—इसका हिन्दी अर्थ यह है कि—सरकारी या सरकार से मदत पाने वाले स्कूल के बायकाट का जो प्रस्ताव इस समय जारी है उसे जारी रखना चाहिये । और यह कांग्रेस यह भी निश्चित करती है कि जो क़ीमी मदर्स स्थापित किये गये हैं उनकी माली हालत, आर्थिक-अवस्था, जहाँ तक हो सके अच्छी की जाय । इस प्रस्ताव के सम्बन्ध में अधिक बहस करने की ज़रूरत नहीं, क्योंकि आप ने इसे दो बर्ष से कबूल कर रक्खा है । और इसके अनुसार बराबर काम करते आये हैं । इसी को अब भी जारी रखना है-।

अभी जो राष्ट्रीय विद्यालय कायम किये गये हैं उनमें से बहुतों की माली अवस्था बहुत खराब है । इस लिये मैं आप से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि उनकी माली हालत अच्छी कर के लड़के और लड़कियां जो वहाँ पढ़ती हैं उनके पढ़ने की ठीक व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये । जिस साल मैं यह काम जारी किया गया तो जो स्कूल मेरे हाथ में थे उनकी हालत अच्छी न थी । बिचार करने की बात है कि जब तक स्कूल अच्छे न होंगे और पढ़ने का अच्छा प्रबन्ध न होगा, तब तक लड़कों को बिना तालिम के नहीं रख सकते । और जो काम शुरू किया उसे अच्छे तरीके पर चलाना चाहें तो उनको हालत सुधारना हमारा धर्म है । उनको हालत सधार ने की इस लिये भी ज़रूरत है कि जो लड़के वहाँ पढ़ रहे हैं वह दस रोज के बाद हमारे देश के काम के लिये तैयार होंगे, तो उनको बचपन सेही उसके लिये अच्छी तरह से तैयार करने की ज़रूरत है । इसलिये यह ज़रूरी है कि उनको चलाया जाय । इन्हीं चन्द शब्दों के साथ मैं इस प्रस्ताव को आप की सेवा में उपस्थित करता हूँ ।”

Boycott of
Government
Schools and
Colleges.

Mr. President; with your leave I desire to add the word "affiliated" after the words Government and Government aided, and it should read as, Government, Government aided and affiliated institutions &c. because that is what is intended to convey in the resolution.

Mr. Srish Chandra Chatterji (Bengal) in seconding the Resolution said—

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution proposed by my friend Babu Rajendra Parsad I beg to second it. My ground for seconding this resolution is not only that the present University does not give us proper education but it does not make us men—it is only a slave creating machinery. My point is that I want a sufficient number of youngmen to come under the banner of Swaraj — to fight for it and help its advent and that is the reason why invite youngmen to boycott these schools and colleges (hear, hear). I quite admit, circumstanced as we are it is impossible for us to make better arrangement for their education unless we attain Swaraj when and when only it will be possible to properly educate our children. I only want self-sacrificing hardy youngmen who will be at the command of the mandate of the congress—of the leaders even ready to sacrifice their lives for the cause of freedom. That is why I invite youngmen to come out of their schools and colleges. But at the same time I am cognizant of the weakness of our people. Guardians, parents of youngmen want to give their children some sort of education. Therefore my submission is that we will make proper arrangement for their education by establishing national Schools and colleges. As a concession to the weakness of our people we must establish national institutions. Do you know what is the condition now? Last year in my district Dacca there were about thirty National schools and one college but after my release this year what I find? They are not properly helped by the people, nor, I am sorry to say, by the Congress even. It is a matter of great regret that the Congress is not helping these institutions properly. They ought to help these institutions with money. There is no dearth of students but there is dearth of money. That is the thing we want and my submission is that the Congress ought to support these institutions -especially with funds sufficient to enable them to go on. If you do not support these institutions—if the Congress does not help these students who have come out at the call of the country — at the call of our leaders like Mr. Dass and others what will be the result? I can tell you what was the result during the partition agitation. We called out students—we called out youngmen in 1905 without making previous arrangement for the education and what was the result? Many of them joined the revolutionary movement. And so now also I may tell you if you do not support these national institutions there is every danger of these youngmen becoming anarchists. With these words, ladies and gentlemen, I second the resolution hoping that you will carry it unanimously.

The Resolution was unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION XII.

XII 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 Panchayets and cultivate public opinion in their favour.

Boycott of
Law Courts.

Mr. K. P. Sen Sinha moved the Resolution in Hindi as follows.

“ जनाब सदर और मेरे प्यारे भाइयो और बहिनो ! मैं आप लोगों के सामने एक तक्ररि पेश करता हूँ जिसमें न मुखालिफत की ज़रूरत है न कुछ कहने की। इसे अंग्रेजों में पढ़कर हिन्दी, उर्दू में उसका तर्जुमा करदूंगा—(English)—यानी इस काँग्रेस की राय में सरकारी अदालतों का बहिष्कार या बायकाट अपनी जगह पर रहना चाहिये। और हर जगह पर पंचायत कायम होना चाहिये। भाइयो ! इस में न तो व्याख्यान

की ज़रूरत है नतो प्रश्न को ज़रूरत है । इसका मतलब यह है कि आप माई अदालत में जाकर मुकदमा न करें । दो वर्ष से आप जानते हैं कि आपने इस तहरीक को पास किया है इस लिये अब भी आपको मन्जूर करना चाहिये । खूँ कि अपने अमन आमन को बचाने के लिये इसकी सख्त ज़रूरत है और यह भी ज़रूरी है कि हमको दूसरे के सामने जाकर अपने मुँह में कारख नहीं लगाना चाहिये । फिर से यह तहरीक में आपके सामने पेश करता हूँ । तत्पश्चात् श्रीश चन्द्र चटर्जी द्वारा समर्थित होने पर प्रस्ताव पास हुआ ।

Boycott of
Law Courts.

Mr. Srish Chatterji—I beg to second it without any speech. I hope you will carry it unanimously. The Resolution was carried.

CHANGE IN CONGRESS CREED.

THE INDEPENDENCE RESOLUTION.

Mr. Basanta Kumar Majumdar—I have to move a resolution rejected by the Subjects Committee. It is rather an amendment of Art. I of the Congress Constitution. It runs thus :—

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creed.

"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."

We want Swaraj—if the natural meaning of the term is that Swaraj is always Swa—Raj and not under any foreign or any other Raj when Swa itself indicates myself it must be my Raj. It is not a new thing this year. There is a school of thought and there is a section of the people who understand by the word Swaraj—complete independence (hear, hear). I think the time has come when every one ought to express his opinion without fear. Until and unless we learn to express our thoughts clearly and boldly we cannot expect to get Swaraj. I think you remember what our President has said in his presidential address that time has come when the meaning of Swaraj is to be defined. And I take the earliest opportunity to tell you—and those who are of my view will support me in this that Swaraj means independence without any sort of control whether of European, Asiatic or any other. Time has come when all sorts of obstacles which handicap the people of India to attain Swaraj should be done away with. And here I say when our aim is Swaraj the means of attaining it will also be free from control. I think it should be by proper and legitimate means. The thing is this. It is known to you that under our great leader Mahatma Gandhi we all united and marched under his flag to attain Swaraj by non-violent non-co-operation. Gentlemen, I think Mahatma Gandhi alone is capable of leading such a movement. He had the capacity—he had the—he had the tolera—planks of the Congress. But his subsequent follower as well as other leaders are not equal to the occasion. Mahatma Gandhi alone was able to bring round him people holding different views and knew how to work with them.

You know what he did and said to get Mr. C. R. Das and Pundit Malaviya to his views. We have already sufficiently divided this house (President's gong).

Gentlemen, my time is up. At the same time I ask you—those who believe that straight forwardness, honest conviction and courage to express one's views are the things necessary for the independence of India and at the same time I ask you to accept another argument.—Turkey is soon going to be invaded. My Mahomedan friends have already taken the challenge. They are determined to carry it. The question is whether the Hindus with their soul force are going to stand in hand with their Mahomedan brothers. (President's gong)

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Congress
creed.

Mr. Singaravelu Chettiar in seconding the Independence Resolution said—

Comrades, I most heartily second this proposition, because I want this august assembly to define the term 'Swaraj'. No subject nation has hitherto obtained its independence without understanding what they were fighting for. Now, we are fighting for Swaraj with the weapon showed to use by Mahatma Gandhi. But what is that form of Swaraj? There are various interpretations given. Is it Swaraj under British rule—a quasi sort of independence—a free state under British dependence—some hazy thing? I therefore ask this assembly not to leave the term undefined, unexplained and vague—vague as the nebulous dust. There it is essential that we should know what we are fighting for. There is only one swaraj known to this world and that is complete independence—freedom from all control. The British people tell us they are our conquerors—they are our trustees—they bear our burden—our misery and all the evils that trouble us. We tell them, well, sirs, do not bear all the miseries of this world, unloosen them. Become free. We do not aspire for an empire. You hang upon us like a night mare—this idea of empire involves bloody resolution and so much misery upon subject races. Therefore we honestly go and tell them—let there be no delusion. Let us not be deluded by some sort of Swaraj which they give or grant, but I ask you to free your mind of all gants.

Comrades, therefore you ought to define the term that even the Englishmen might know that we are not fighting for a vague term but for a reality—for complete independence.

Next as to method. We have adopted non-violent non-co-operation as a practical necessity not in a metaphysical way because we are the most helpless nation in the world—no ally—no sinews of war, disarmed. We have therefore adopted non-violent non-co-operation as a practical necessity (interrupted).

MR. C. Rajagopalachari in opposing the resolution spoke as follows:—

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I am sorry that on this occasion I have to address you again in English and that I am not able to speak the language of most of the people here. I come before you to oppose the resolution, I stand before you to reject this proposition. The present creed of the Congress, I am sure, you all know. But yet I should trouble you by reading it once. It is very short, (Reads) "The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means." There was a reference to this question of Independence when this creed was adopted at Nagpur. This creed was definitely adopted in view of the possibility of our having to separate from Great Britain if necessary. Therefore this creed covers both the grounds whether we attain Swaraj—absolute independence or whether we seek to attain Swaraj as a part of the British Empire. The Creed that we now work under covers both the positions. That is certain. The necessity for separation will certainly arise if the Khilafat question is finally settled against us. The necessity will certainly arise if the position of Indians in other parts of the British Empire is finally found to be impossible of solution. Therefore let us have independence also—absolute separation also as a possible solution of our present condition—as a solution of our difficulties. At the same time what I beg of you now is that that proposition should not be finally resolved now. I therefore ask you to retain the present Creed and reject the proposed change of it by Mr. Majumdar. I ask you to reject that proposition.

Further, not only is it a question of Swaraj outside the British Empire but there is an attempt at distinguishing the methods — which to me seems ambiguous. The words "legitimate and peaceful" are sought to be changed into "legitimate and proper". The words "legitimate and peaceful" are quite clear but "proper" can cover more things than peaceful. I ask you to accept the proposition that 'peaceful' means alone shall be tried by us and not 'proper non-peaceful' one. Therefore I beg of you to reject this motion and to stand by the Creed that we adopted at Nagpur and by which Mahatma Gandhi stood at Ahmedabad when a proposal to change the Creed was made last year. Therefore I beg of you to reject the proposition.

Mr. Sunderlal explained the opposition of Mr. Rajagopalachariar in Hindi and supported the contention of Mr. Achariar as follows :—

“हज़रत मैं आप के सामने उस तजवीज़ की मुखालिफ़त करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ जो मेरे दास्त ने अभी पेश की है। एक मिन्ट से ज्यादा नहीं लेना चाहता। मैं यही बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि श्री राजगोपालाचारी ने आप को बतलाया है कि दो वर्ष के पहले की कांग्रेस की क्रीड आज इस प्रस्ताव से बदली जा रही है। इस तजवीज़ में यह बतलाया गया है कि स्वराज्य की जगह—(X III English)—लिखा जाय। मैं यह बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि महात्मा गान्धी के समय में यह तजवीज़ पेश की गई थी। उन्होंने ने इसका विरोध किया था इस लिये कि कांग्रेस में सबको शामिल होना चाहिये। चाहे वह किसी किसम का स्वराज्य चाहते हों। इसलिये मैं आप से यह अर्ज करूँगा कि आप अपने स्वराज्य शब्द को वहीं रहने दें। और उसकी व्याख्या यहां न करें। और इस साल में वहां जैसा कुछ लिखा है रहने दीजिये, अगर ऐसा न करेंगे तो अगले नाश होगा। आज अकालियों ने अहिंसा के बल पर मौका पाकर आजादी हासिल की। आप अहिंसा से हाथ धोते हैं और तलवार के बल से स्वराज्य लेना चाहते हैं। तो इस तरह अगर आप मौजूदह वसूल पर कायम नहीं रहना चाहते तो इस तजवीज़ को मन्ज़ूर की जाय। लेकिन अगर अहिंसात्मक रहना चाहते हैं तो इसे रिजेक्ट कर दीजिये।”

Mr. Fazlur Rahaman in whose name the resolution stood on the agenda supported Mr. Majumdar's proposition in Urdu thus :—

“हज़रत, यह रिजोल्यूशन जो आपके सामने पेश किया गया है मेरा था लेकिन इसको हमारे दास्त ने पेश किया है इसलिये सदरसे मैं अर्ज करूँगा कि इस का आवखरी जवाब देने का हक मेरा है। इसके पेश करने में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि नागपुरमें, जब, महात्मा गान्धीने, स्वराज्य लफ्ज के मुतल्लिक बात हो रही थी, कहा था कि इस में दोनों बातें शामिल हैं—दोनों मिल जाय तो स्वराज्य के मानीको पूरी तरह ज़ाहिर कर सकें। मगर दो तीन वर्ष से ज्यादा हुए कोई मुतालबा हमारा पूरा नहीं हुआ। तो महात्मा गान्धी के ख्याल को पेश करके मैं आप से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि बगैर ताल्लुक के स्वराज्य की आप मुखालिफ़त न करें। मैं इसके बारे में महात्मा गान्धी के ख्यालात जो नाग पुर में थे बतला दूँगा। उन्होंने कहा था कि अगर हमारे, मुतालबे पूरे न हुए तो इसको बदल दिया जायगा। आज वह वक्त आ गया है कि हम अपने ख्याल को आजादी के मुतल्लिक पूरे तौर से ज़ाहिर करें। कहा जाता है कि स्वराज्य लफ्ज को कॉन्स्टिटुशन १ में है दोनों ख्यालों का रखने वाला है। लेकिन यह सही नहीं है। अपने दूनिया के सामने जिस कुर्बानी, जिस ईसार के लिये खड़े हुए हैं अगर वह कोई फायदेमन्द चीज़ है तो उसे साफ़ तौर पर ज़ाहिर कीजिये और इस बात का पलान कीजिये कि हम कामिल आजादी चाहते हैं।”

Mr. Basanta Kumar Majumdar in replying to the debate said : In reply

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creed.

to Mr. Rajagopalachari I may tell you what I mean by the word 'proper' I think Mr. Achariar did not hear me properly. I said — I make it clear — I wanted to omit the word non-violent (??) and my reason was this: My reason was— it has been proved to us — when Mahatma Gandhi was in jail and there is none to lead us on the non-violent way because you know there is a party which can only be controlled by Mahatma Gandhi himself. So I appeal to those who have got identical views with me to come forward and have the courage once to say fearlessly and freely that we want Swaraj and Swaraj alone.

In reply to my friends Mr. Sunderlal that it is Ahinsa, I say we are tired of these words. We are not all Budha or Chaitanya. I preached from the Congress platform that non-co-operation is a policy and policy alone and that it is a thing which Mahatma Gandhi alone can follow. Now, even in the boycott of British goods the Creed comes in my way. We cannot take recourse to boycott of British goods because it will engender Ahinsa. All these hamper us under the creed. Before beginning to work let us be free. If the Congress is the institution of Buddha or Chaitanya or Jesus Christ, well let us part. I like you to come forward and say whether this Congress will be of the thirty Crores of Indians or will be of those people who will purify their souls and until and unless their souls are purified they will not think of Swaraj. So I say let us be definite and then and then only can we proceed Mahatma Gandhi himself said that if India drew the sword she would have drawn it for freedom's sake. (Repeated interruptions.)

The Resolution was put to vote and declared lost by a show of hands with an overwhelming majority amid cheers and cries of "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai."

The President called upon Mr. Radhakrishna Bhargava to move Res. XV when several delegates cried for a definite declaration as to the fate of the Amendment to the Congress Creed.

Mr. Das—The Amendment to Article I of the Congress Constitution has been lost and the Constitution stands as it is.

RESOLUTION XVI.

The president then called upon Mr. Radhakrishna Bhargava to move the Resolution.

AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE II (a) OF THE CONSTITUTION.

XVI "*The words X'mas Holidays be substituted for by Chaitra Shukla paksha.*"

Mr. Radhakrishna Bhargava in moving the Resolution said: I also come before you to move an amendment. I come before you to move an amendment but it does not concern with politics. It concerns your personal comfort and convenience. The amendment is that the words "X'mas holidays" be substituted for by Chaitra Shukla Paksha." The Article so amended will read as follows; "The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily meet once every year during the Chaitra Shukla Paksha at such place as might have been decided in the previous Congress or at such other place that might be decided by the All India Congress Committee hereinafter referred to." My reasons are, that during the X'mas holidays the winter is so sever and especially in Northern India that you have to carry a lot of luggages and the Reception Committee is put to great trouble and arrangements have to be made at great cost. During the X'mas days on account of the vacation the railways are crowded, people move about and those who come to attend the Congress are put to great inconvenience during these days and the days are also shorter than nights, and work suffers on that acco^{nt}

unt. I admit that you work in the night also but the work in the night cannot be so very well done. One more reason, sometimes the rains continue. In Amritsar the pandal was flooded. Therefore I propose that the session be held during the Chaitra Shukla Paksha, i.e., about the end of February or beginning of March which is Basanta Reetu (Spring season). My last argument is that my Madras brothers or people from Southern India cannot bear cold climate during these months.

Amendment
to Art II (a)
of the constitution.

Swami Bhaskartirth seconded the Resolution in Hindi.

भाइयो, मित्रो और माताओ, जो अमेण्डमेण्ट या संशोधन आप के सामने पेश किया गया है उस के सम्बन्ध में हमारा यह कहना है कि आज कल जो कांग्रेस होती है उस में शीत अधिक होता है और हम लोगों को कपड़े बहुत लाने पड़ते हैं। अगर यह बसन्त में हो तो कपड़े इतने नहीं लाने पड़ेंगे। और स्वागत कारिणी सभा को इसके कारण जो दिक्कत होती है वह भी कम होगी। बसन्त ऋतु का समय होता भी बहुत अच्छा है। गीता में कहा है "ऋतूनां कुसुमाकरः" पहले यह कांग्रेस दिसम्बर को छुट्टियों से मिली हुई होती थी क्योंकि प्रैक्टिस करते हुए लीयर इस में काम करते थे। आज कल प्रैक्टिस करता हुआ लीयर हमारी कांग्रेस में कोई नहीं है। इस के अतिरिक्त कांग्रेस में ज्यादा जनता दूसरे तरफ़ की है जिस को शीत से कष्ट होता है। इन सब बातों का ख्याल करके आप इसको स्वीकार करें। मैं इन शब्दों में इसकी शिफ़ारिश करता हूँ।

Mr. Harisarvottama Rao in opposing the Resolution said :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, It is unfortunate that I cannot address you in the language that you speak here. I come from the South and I am attempting to learn your language. I promise you I shall address you in that language next time I come here. Gentlemen, I oppose this resolution not because I do not agree with my friend that there is a necessity for an amendment. There are other matters in the Constitution that I have to be amended but upon this point specially you will hear later on that we the Andhras have been allowed the privilege of inviting you to our province next year. I may assure you that March is not a very good month with us. It is very nearly very hot. I therefore request you all to kindly consider our position before you vote upon it in the light of the season in that part of the country to which you are called upon to go next year for the Congress. December will be a very fine month with us. It is fairly cool. It is not as cold as it is here. I need not detain you very much longer upon this issue. I may say in passing that if March is insisted upon I do not know if we have to arrange within three months to come or whether we shall have fifteen months more. I therefore beg of you not to accept the resolution at present, leaving it to the All India Congress Committee to make the necessary amendment in the Constitution that may be necessary in the light of experience. I have nothing more to add.

Pundit Nekiram Sarma spoke against the amendment in Hindi.

सज्जनो, इस संशोधन में यह कहा गया है कि कांग्रेस बड़े दिन की छुट्टियों में न होकर चैत सुदी में हो। मैं इसका विरोध करता हूँ। और आप इसको मंजूर करते हैं तो इसका मतलब यह है कि आप किसान भाइयों को कांग्रेस में शामिल नहीं करना चाहते हैं। चैत का महीना गेहूँ काटने का है। हम गेहूँ काट कर घर में रखेंगे कि कांग्रेस में जायेंगे? चैत में हमारे श्रीरामचन्द्र का जन्म हुआ है हिन्दुओं का त्यौहार होता है। क्या आप इस प्रस्ताव को पास करके धर्म को मिटाना चाहते हैं? भागवत साहेब ने कहा है कि आज कल वर्षा होती है। सच है लेकिन उनको यह भी मालूम

Amendment
to Art II (a)
of the consti-
tution.

है कि चैत में ओले पड़ा करते हैं। श्री स्वामी जीने कहा है कि इस मौसिम में बहुत सा बिस्तरा लेजाना पड़ता है। लेकिन याद रखना चाहिये कि चैत में मटुके लेजाने पड़ेंगे। और मारे गर्मी के हाथ र करना पड़ेगा। अगर इन सब बातों की सोचकर आप कांग्रेस को इन्हीं दिनों में रखेंगे तो नौकरों और वकीलों कोभी शामिल होने का मौका देंगे।”

The Resolution was put to vote and declared Lost.

Mr. Rajagopalachari in moving the next Resolution said :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I beg to move a long proposition which I ask you to hear when I read it. (Reads)

Repudiation
of the autho-
rity of the
Legislature
to incur
debts.

XVII 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 majority or any substantial fractional of the voters, and despite their declared repudiation of the authority of such assemblies to represent the people :

And whereas it, the Government, if 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 maybe formed by the Government inspite of the national boycott of said institutions, in future to raise any loan 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 diabilities incurred on and after this date on the authority or section of the so called legislatures brought into existence inspite of the national boycott.

I do not think that anything remains for me to tell you after this resolution has been heard by you. The reasons are incorporated therein. I could only detain you with figures. Within the last four years ninety crores (of rupees) of deficits have been accumulated by the present Government and they have got this money by borrowing repeatedly and by issuing unbacked currency notes and the interest on these loans we are paying. Of course it may be said that this is because we have not entered the legislature and protested against it. But whether you protested or not you can not interfere with the causes of this accumulated debt. The cause of this accumulated debt is the military expenditure. The cause is our own servility and the suspicion of any foreign Government as to the loyalty of its people. Unless we remove the causes the military expenditure cannot be reduced and the Legislature is not likely in the near future to get power enough to interfere with this expenditure. Therefore I admit at once that Swaraj is the only remedy. But we have not yet attained Swaraj as rapidly as we had intended to do. But we must, in the meanwhile, after what our struggle has attained—yet at this stage—we must tell those that even though we stand out of the Legislative Councils and allow the Government to govern by its executive will, naked and unmasked, until we have attained power to control this expenditure, we cannot be responsible for the expenditure hereafter to be made by the Government of India’.

It may be said that this is a pompous claim we make. But may I ask you—have you not the faith that we will attain Swarajya.—If you have that faith—if there is any truth in that—if there is honesty in our purpose we must attain Swarajya. And no doubt when we have attained that, are we going to pay the debts which hereafter they are going to incur. What has already happened will be a matter of adjustment when the final treaty between us and Britain is settled. What has already been incurred will be a matter of compromise—it will be a matter of settlement. There is no doubt that thirty crores we have the moral right to debit to the British nation and to reduce that amount from our debt. As to the future, we shall give notice to the Government that these loans shall not be our liability.

Repudiation
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It may be said that there has not been sufficient discussion. If it is considered by any of our friends or leaders that there has not been sufficient discussion I will leave the matter to the All India Congress Committee for its consideration. And I say this because it was strongly pressed upon me before I came here that this is a resolution which should be further considered. I leave to the house to decide it. But I tell you this is time that we give this clear notice to the people.

It may be said that this will create suspicion among our own class who invested money. But it cannot be so. Because what has been already borrowed we admit it here. The only question is whether Britain shall be liable or not when we take the affairs in our own hands. All that we say is that we shall not hold ourselves bound to discharge any liabilities to be incurred hereafter by the Government. What (loan) will be raised by the Government hereafter is not matter of ours. We must give clear notice to the people outside and inside India that we shall not furnish the Government the withall for its unnecessary and wasteful extravagancy which the Government is incurring in our name. (Cheers).

Seth Jammalal Bajaj seconded the Resolution in Hindi.

पूज्यवर प्यारे सज्जनो, मैं इसके बारे में वास्तविक बात इस समय नहीं बतला सकता। सिर्फ यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप प्रस्ताव को ज़रूर स्वीकार करें क्योंकि जब आपने बार बार यह बतला दिया कि सरकार जो कर्जा बारलोन या दूसरे तरीकों से ले रही है हम उसके जिम्मेवार नहीं इसलिये कि वह न हमारी रायसे है न हमारे प्रतिनिधियों की राय से। उसके खर्च भी प्रतिनिधियों की राय से नहीं है। इन सब जथावों के होते हुए भी सरकार अपना कर्ज और खर्च नहीं रोकती। कांग्रेस दो वर्ष से बराबर कहती आ रही है। मेरी समझ में तो यह है कि कलकत्ते और नागपुर की कांग्रेस में ही इसको पास करना चाहता था। परन्तु अद्यतक लोगों ने इसको पास नहीं किया। इसलिये जो प्रस्ताव आप के सामने रखा गया है उसमें बतलाया गया है कि जो कर्जा सरकार लेना चाहती है उसके हम जिम्मेवार नहीं होंगे। जब तक हम ने यह नहीं बतलाया है उस वक्त तक के लिये जिम्मेवार होना हमारा कर्तव्य है। आगे के वास्ते हम जनता को बतलाना चाहते हैं कि यह कर्जा हमारे फ़ायदे के लिये नहीं होता है। इससे हम उसके जबाब देह नहीं मेरी समझ में इस कर्जे के यह मानी है कि सरकार ने समझ लिया है कि अब हम हिन्दुस्तान को राजनैतिक गुलाम नहीं रख सकते इसलिये राजनैतिक ज़रूरत से वह हमको कर्जे का गुलाम बनाना चाहती है कि आगे जब तक समुझीता हाता हम कर्जे के बोझ से दबे हों और उस समय हमको आर्थिक और नैतिक दृष्टि से नीचा दिखना पड़े। बहुत से सज्जन कहते हैं कि कर्जा लेने दो हम इनकार कर दिया करेंगे। लेकिन यह ठीक नहीं ऐसा करने से सरकार का नुकसान होगा। और दूसरे देश का भी। हम किसी को धोखा देना नहीं चाहते। सरकार को भा साफ़ बतलाना चाहते हैं और

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लेन देने वालों को भी बतलाना चाहते हैं कि सरकार का जो व्यवहार चल रहा है उस में अगर कोई कर्जा देगा तो हम उसके जिम्मेवार नहीं होंगे। इस वास्ते नैतिक दृष्टि से यदि अब भी कोई कर्जा दे तो,--हिन्दुस्तान में अब वारलोन नहीं बदलता योरोप में बदलता है-इन देश वालों को भी मालूम होगा कि हिन्दुस्तान के राय के विरुद्ध जो कर्जा हम सरकार को देंगे तो हिन्दुस्तान के लोग उस के जिम्मेवार नहीं होंगे। आप इस प्रस्ताव से उनको यह साफ़ तौर से बतला देते हैं। इस पर भी जो भूल करेंगे वह अपनी जिम्मेवारी आप लेंगे। इस वास्ते मैं कहता हूँ कि यह प्रस्ताव बहुत ठीक है। अगर कोई समझदार आदमी इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता तो अच्छा होता। मेरा समर्थन यही है कि आप इस पर बोट देंगे और अगर यहां कोई सरकारी वारलोन लेने वाले भी मौजूद हों तो वह भी समझ लें कि ऐसा वारलोन लेना जोखिम है। इतना कह कर मैं इस का समर्थन करता हूँ।

The President then called upon Mr. Vijairaghavachariar to move his amendment.

Mr. Vijairaghavachariar in moving an amendment to this resolution said:—
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I desire to move that this Resolution be referred to the All India Congress Committee. I shall not make many observations. This is a most serious question and it involves the application of principle in the matter of domestic justice and national justice. A very serious problem is involved in this resolution—it is a problem by the solution of which we shall stand or fall in the eyes of the world. The question has not been long before the public. It was very recently started and the attention of the public has not been—sufficiently well directed towards it. Therefore I beg of you to allow my AMENDMENT viz., to refer this question to the All India Congress Committee for consideration and report to the next session of the Congress. No doubt it will be a year hence but we are not going to get Swaraj in the meanwhile and the time for the solution of the question has not yet come. Therefore I submit you will allow my amendment.

Mr. Vallabhbai Patel seconded the amendment.

Mr. Rajagopalachari in reply said—I must admit that this proposition—when it was taken up by the Subjects Committee it was too late and there was practically not a full discussion of the pros and cons of the Resolution. It has now come before you after the Subjects Committee has accepted it no doubt. But if as I told you even before if Mr. Vijairaghavachariar's suggestion is acceptable to you I have no objection at all. It is suggested that the question be considered by the All India Congress Committee and brought before the next session of the Congress. I don't really oppose it, I submit the Resolution is there and if it is your pleasure that it should not be discussed all in a hurry you will accept Mr. Vijairaghavachariar's amendment.

Mr. Harisarvottama Rao in opposing the Resolution said:— It is a painful duty of mine to oppose the Resolution as well as the amendment before the house as against our revered friends Mr. Vijairaghavachariar and Mr. Rajagopalachariar who have done yeoman's service within these few days to carry us through the proceedings of this Congress. This Resolution is faulty in principle and is not bound to redound to our credit in the world. I am sorry to say so, but I must point out the principle of history to you that no nation on the face of this earth has ever repudiated debts or loans raised by any Government of whatsoever form—of whatsoever colour—of whatsoever morality when it existed. I therefore feel that when the question is raised as to whether we would be right to repudiate the debts of whatever kind we would be right to repudiate the debts of whatever kind it may be, I must ask your indulgence to point out that it is at least—I should have used a stronger term—non-moral. Standing

as I do for the principle of Ahimsa—Non-co-operation and truth, I must say that I will not accept a proposition which is even non-moral. Apart from other considerations I ask my friends what right they have to ask the people of the other world who are likely to lend out to present Government to stop lending as well as the people of our own country who are voluntarily contributing to the coffers of the Government by paying taxes—by helping the Government in the manner of contributing to their income in many directions. Unless we have successfully declined to pay any form of taxation—unless we have successfully declined to allow the Government machinery to go on by putting the financial curb on it—we, I think, have no moral right to go before the world to say it—that you shall not lend to this Government any money.' I feel that morally we would be wrong—now as a temporary measure and later on as a permanent one if we accept the resolution at all. My time is over. I hope you will reject the resolution as well as the amendment. (Cries of no, no.)

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Mr. Rajendraprasad—The President has asked me to put the amendment of Mr. Vijairaghavachariar which has been accepted by Mr. Rajagopalachari to vote—Voice—Amendment is not yet accepted.

Mr. Rajendra Prasad—The mover has no objection to accept it if you accept the amendment. The amendment is that the question be referred to the A. I. C. C. for report to the next session of the I. N. C. Those who are in favour of the amendment please raise their hands. (Only a few hands were raised.)

Those against the amendment—(Cries of all, all, all).

The amendment was declared lost.

Babu Padamraj Jain (Bengal) opposed the main resolution in Hindi as follows :—

मान्यवर सभापति महोदय और भाइयो ! मैं रिजोल्यूशन का विरोध करने के लिये आप के सामने खड़ा हुआ हूँ और मैं आप को बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रस्ताव का अर्थ क्या है ? मेरे भाइयो ! यह प्रस्ताव यह कहता है कि हम को जब स्वराज्य मिल जायगा तो गर्वनमेन्ट के लायबिलिटिज़ जो हैं उसे हम स्वीकार नहीं करते । मैं आप को दो बातें बतलाना चाहता हूँ । पहली बात तो यह है कि हम क्या डायर और ओडायर को पेन्शन को स्वीकार करते हैं ? क्योंकि आप साफ़ तौर से कहते हैं कि आज तक की लायबिलिटिज़ को हम स्वीकार करने हैं लेकिन कांग्रेस ने बार २ कहा है कि डायर को और ओडायर को पेन्शन हम नहीं देना चाहते । दूसरी बात यह है कि आप कहते हैं कि जब स्वराज्य होगा तो गर्वनमेन्ट के कर्जों के जिम्मेवार न होंगे । इसका अर्थ यह है कि सरकार मुल्क की पूरी रखवारी न कर सकेगी । विचार यह है कि भाइयो स्वराज्य होने दो, जिसदिन स्वराज्य होगा और नेशनल काँग्रेस बैठेगी तो स्वीकृत और अस्वीकृत करने का उसको अधिकार होगा । आज इस प्रस्ताव से हम केवल संसार का बतलाना चाहते हैं कि कांग्रेस ऐसा प्रस्ताव पास करती है कि जिनका कुछ अर्थ नहीं होता है । क्या, सरकार जो वारलोन लेगी उसको क्या नाजायज़ कर सकते हैं ? जब गर्वनमेन्ट के क़ानून को मानते हैं और टैक्स देते हैं तो इस प्रस्ताव का क्या अर्थ है ? इस लिये मैं आप लोगों से प्रार्थना करूँगा कि वोट देने से पहिले आप इसको विचार कर लें ।

Lala Duni chand who was welcomed with an ovation spoke as follows :—

“प्रेसिडेन्ट साहब, भाइयो और बहिनो ! मैं सिर्फ़ एक या दो मिनट आप का लूँगा । अभी जो साहब आप के सामने तक्रोर कर चुके हैं । मैं समझता हूँ कि उन्होंने, आप के सामने यह बयान किया है कि जो कर्जा गर्वनमेन्ट ने पहले लिया है उसको

Repudiation
of the authority
of the
Legislature
to incur
debts.

हम स्वीकार नहीं कर सकते। इसका मतलब यह है कि गवर्नमेन्ट ने पहले जो कर्ज़ा लिया है, उसके हम जिम्मेवार हैं। लेकिन आगे जो कर्ज़ा लेगी उसका मुल्क जिम्मेवार नहीं होगा। इसके लिये एक हिक़मत दी गई है कि इस वक्त गवर्नमेन्ट ने विला तहासा अपना खर्चा बढ़ा दिया है। बहुत कर्ज़ा रोज़ कर रही है और सी बहुत सा कर्ज़ा कर रही है। एक तजवीज़ यह हुई है कि फ्रान्टियर पर एक सड़क बनाई जाय जिस पर ४० करोड़ रुपया खर्च हो। मिविल सर्विस की तनख़ाहें बढ़ाई जाती हैं। इस लिये, आइन्दा जो लोग कर्ज़ा देंगे अब कर्ज़ा न दें नहीं तो मुल्क उसका जिम्मेवार न होगा। मैं ज्यादा कुछ न कह कर घेठ जाता हूँ।

इस के बाद राजेन्द्र वावू ने कहा :—“सभापति महोदय की आज्ञा है कि जो प्रस्ताव राजगोपालाचारी ने आप के सामने रखा है, आप उस पर राय दें। प्रस्ताव पास हो गया।

The Main Resolution was then put to vote and carried with only a few dissentients.

RESOLUTION. XIV.

Mr. Abbas Tayabjee in moving the next Resolution said :

President, ladies and gentlemen, The Resolution that I have to move runs thus :

Civil Dis-
obedience.

IX This Congress reaffirms its opinion that 'Civil Disobedience' is the only civilised 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 a widespread 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 inspite 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 Swaraj Fund and the enrolment of at least 50,000 volunteers satisfying the conditions of the Ahmedabad pledge 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.

Gentlemen, I am one of those who had expected some kind of mass civil disobedience at Bardoli and also if possible at Anand. But on the Bardoli Resolution being passed for reasons that you all know our activities in connection with the promotion of civil disobedience in these two districts were practically abandoned. A numbness has gradually crept all over India—numbness has crept in the whole movement—at least I should say numbness among the workers has crept in workers and not among the masses. The mass still continues to have faith in us. In fact, they were ready to subscribe money, become members of the Congress. You may ask and very properly you may ask—how it is that we have failed to enlist large numbers this year? How is it that we have not been able to collect money. Well, gentlemen, let me tell you it was our own numbness more than the numbness of those who can come and can join. We were not able to work. There have been reasons. I have no desire to find fault with any one. One of the reasons was this Committee that was touring round the country and has left the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee Report—with the remedy of going into the Councils. Having got out all that how are we going to work for the coming year? I think, knowing at least my part of the country—I will not speak for any other province—I shall not undertake

to speak off hand of other provinces—I feel confident that if once the people know that by a certain date this Congress expects the people to get ready both by joining in large numbers, that is, by strengthening and expanding the national organization and subscribing liberally to the Tilak Swarajya Fund for which necessity might arise in connection with the carrying on of Civil Disobedience—I feel perfectly certain that within the prescribed time we shall be able to get Rs. 25 lakhs for the Tilak Swarajya Fund and 50,000 thousand volunteers—I believe we shall get considerable accession of numbers to the Congress. Please recollect that today you pass this resolution and it is only tomorrow that the All India Congress Committee is going to function and that Committee has to decide at Gaya itself—it has to fix a date and give necessary instructions for carrying out this resolution into effect—it will have a tremendous effect upon the people. And I do trust that just the same people who want to try to go into the Councils will also try once more to get ready for civil disobedience for you to postulate that the only way of remedying this Government and getting Swaraj, except by rebellion which you have abandoned keeping to our mind the only other method that we have got, is by organizing ourselves for civil disobedience. It may be at first civil disobedience of individual character, but let me assure you that once civil disobedience of an individual character commences it grows like a snow ball and becomes a tremendous thing and will at once be Mass Civil Disobedience. It is no use asking for Swaraj and when something is put forward in the way of suggestion for preparing to get that—to get back from it. It is therefore that the Subjects Committee has passed this resolution and I have been asked to put this before you and I hope you will carry this resolution and will make your best efforts to realise your desire and I trust also that you and I on our returning home from here will assist in carrying out the resolution into effect to the best of our capacity (Cheers).

Civil Disobedience.

Mrs Sarojini Naidu in seconding the Resolution on Civil Disobedience spoke as follows :—

Friends, it may have surprised many of you to see the Resolution of rebellion proposed by so venerable looking and law abiding a gentleman like Mr. Abbas Tyabji, but I think it was an act of great diplomacy on the part of those who want Civil Disobedience—to let the Resolution of Civil Disobedience be godfathered by one whose very appearance speaks of 'sanity' and 'sobriety'—not one like me who was born a rebel against every injustice—social, political and spiritual. I do not think it is necessary for me to use many words in commending this resolution to you. It is nothing strange—either in our thought or in the achieved history of the ages that Civil Resistance—Civil Disobedience should come before you. It is the legitimate weapon of all civilized people in their legitimate struggle against embodied and perpetual tyranny. We, in this Congress—we in this country are pledged—at least. I believe, we are still pledged to Non-violent Non-co-operation—and we who have chosen it—not because there was no other choice left—but deliberately chosen to follow the path of peaceful revolution do not fight our enemy either within our own land or outside our boundary with the acknowledged age-long weapon also of the civilized world—of savage warfare. I still maintain, we are pledged to fight our enemy with this weapon, not of steel but of the intellect—of the spirit—of sacrifice—of daring and of endurance. We therefore believe that the time has come for us to embark, not lightheartedly and not with a divided or a doubtful allegiance to this great principle on civil disobedience—recognising and accepting the manifold and intricate implications of that great principle and ideal of civil disobedience in spirit and in keeping with that ideal. Civil disobedience is no more the license to disobey all things at all times and in accordance with one's own will than it is the right to murder or the right to steal. Civil disobedience means a higher—an intellectual and moral discipline

Civil Disobedience.

of the army. It means implicit obedience demanded of every soldier to the integrity of the law of civil disobedience. It means training to the soldier but it means victory to the cause. It means continued struggle—it means perpetual perennial sacrifice of all that we hold most dear. If you will embark on this civil disobedience—if you are to embark on individual civil disobedience on a large scale—that I would like to see here and now on the sacred soil of Gaya—if we will give battle to them—that battle demands this preparation. War demands the sinews of war. War demands the soldiers of war. War demands the organised tactics and strategy of war. War demands chosen battle fields. Therefore in this Resolution which to some people seems to be delusive—to some doubtful as to the bonafide of those that propose this Resolution—it asks you as the first step towards the sinews of this war—as the means and ammunitions of war—to prepare your army, the minimum number being fifty thousand—a mere fifty thousand—a shameful fifty thousand—a contemptible fifty thousand—because I believe that number to be a sign of our confession that we are not sure. If after the repression of the last year—the heroic provinces of Bengal, the Punjab and the United Provinces—whose leaders—whose heroes were the martyrs of tyranny—will respond to the call of the Congress to this noble martyrdom—if they offer themselves to the shield and buckler of the forces behind—it will not be much to have fifty thousand men—a mere fifty thousand. Men—youngmen by choice though old in age—old men with young heart like Mr. Tyabji—old men with perennial enthusiasm like Mr. Vijairaghavachariar—middle aged men—middle aged women like me—we are ready but we want to know whether the youth of India is also ready for sacrifice (cries of yes, yes, yes). So if you are ready—where is the money to come from. Let those who will not join the active forces the force on duty—let them form the reserve force of the nation and supply from behind—from the base all those things that are necessary for the carrying on of this war.

Some of my friends believe—very strongly believe that this civil disobedience resolution was put forward either as a concession or a consolation to those who believe in the right to contest the election and that they having been defeated and having found themselves for the time being in a narrow minority this resolution has been put forward that they may be pacified. Believe me, I am not a party—never in my life have I been guilty of equivocations. My aye is aye—my nay is nay. It is my birth right, it is the tradition of my family—it is the only heritage that my father has left to me. And therefore when I say—when I second this resolution—I do it believing that the nation is ready—that the soldiers of Mahatma Gandhi will not let fall the flag that he has given to a waiting world. We shall show that by this weapon—not made of steel—not forged by the hands of man—but the weapon that comes from the heart—radiant and invincible from the very breath of God—we shall conquer—we shall achieve.

Moreover I believe in augury. On the very eve of our intention to start civil disobedience on our own account for the sake of Swaraj to give battle to the battling forces of tyranny—remember our pledge to Mustafa Kemal Pasha—remember, that for the sake of that pledge which in your name from this very platform I gave two days ago we stand to the end by our Moslem brothers. We are doubly pledged for the sake of Swaraj and for the sake of our Islamic brothers—and love of Islam to start civil disobedience and in addition to this resolution which asks you to prepare for individual civil disobedience for the sake of India—for the sake of Swaraj, there will soon be a proposition before you with the authority of the combined wisdom of the Khilafat Conference and the Congress—though some doubt that any wisdom is left in the Congress. That will be put to you and I know, you, who through

my mouth have given this challenge to Great Britain that till the integrity of the Turkish Empire is established and the holy places of Jazirut-ul-arab is freed from non-Moslem control, we the people of India shall stand by the people of Islam — and therefore with double pride — with double pleasure and a double sense of my responsibility I place this Resolution and with it the hint of another Resolution before you and ask you to carry it with the acclamation of those who mean to follow the Flag. (Cheers and applause.)

Civil Disobedience.

Mr. Basantakumar Mazumdar (Bengal) in moving an amendment to the resolution said—I come here with an amendment. My sister has charged us with cowardice. She is not confident whether we shall get fifty thousand men ready to sacrifice for the cause of Swaraj I ask her—during the Criminal Law Amendment Act was there any dearth of volunteers? Then why is she hesitating? I am sure there is something in her mind I tell you frankly. I know that they are not earnest about this resolution. I promise to give more than fifty thousand from Bengal alone (hear, hear). Mr. Das will bear me out—when he started civil disobedience last year, he left behind more than fifty thousand ready to welcome jail and it proved to be so by subsequent events. Even ladies were in the arena to carry his flag. Had it not been for the Bardoli Resolution we would have solved the cause of India's freedom. I do not know the bonafide character of the resolution. Civil disobedience is civil disobedience. There could be no question of Khaddar involved in it. Can you give me the percentage of khaddar produced within the year. I do not believe—

Several voices—we believe.

Mr. Majumdar—with full clear conscience, with God overhead I can tell you until and unless the prohibitory clauses are removed we cannot believe in the bonafide character of the Resolution. So I come with this amendment. It is this. My Mahomedan friends are going to launch upon civil disobedience to solve the Turkish question. I also ask you to resolve that immediately civil disobedience should be started and at once and that the provincial Congress Committee to be authorised to suspend or modify the conditions for starting civil disobedience as contained in the Ahmedabad Resolution.

I can tell my sister that I guarantee that I shall give not less than 1 lakh of boys from Bengal to be guided by her. But if you do not limit time and other prohibitory clauses do not for God's sake pass this Resolution.

Mr. Fazlur Rahaman (Bihar) moved "Add the words" within three months' after Civil Disobedience in para 3" and made a speech in Urdu thus:—

“मैं इस रिजोल्यूशन के मुताबिक़ जो आप के सामने पेश है और जिस में यह कहा गया है कि इसके लिये कोई मियाद मुकर्रर नहीं की गई। मैं चाहता हूँ कि उसकी मियाद मुकर्रर कर दी जाय। मैं ६ महीने की मियाद देने को कहा था। इसी में रुपये और ५० हजार वोलन्टियर की तादाद पूरी हो जानी चाहिये। मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह सब तैयारियें सिर्फ़ तीन महीने में पूरी हो जाय। मुझ से यह कहा गया कि यह फैसला आल इण्डिया कमिटी करेगी। मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो तमाम काम करेगी वह बेहतर होगा उससे जो आल इण्डिया कमिटी करेगी। अगर आप ने यह तय कर लिया कि तीन महीने में पहुंच कर आप इस पर काम करने के लिये मजबूर हो जायेंगे। इस लिये मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि कम से कम आप यह तय कर लें कि तीन महीने में यह सब बात तैयार हो जानी चाहिये। इसी गरज़ से आप के सामने यह तरकीब पेश करता हूँ।

Mr. Srisih Chandra Chatterji (Bengal) in seconding the amendment said:

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I beg to second this amendment.

Civil Disobedience.

My position is this : In the original resolution you will not find any time limit within which preparation for civil disobedience is to be made. I request you to make a limit within which the preparation for civil disobedience is to be made. In the printed copy of the amendment it is six months. It is a misprint. I suppose that within three months preparation should be made. Unless time limit is given the fate of the resolution will be that of the Bardoli Resolution. I hope therefore that you will accept this amendment. It is not impossible to do. Last year time limit was given that by second of December 1921 Civil Disobedience was to be started and many came forward with that hope. You all remember the enthusiasm it created. I hope therefore that the mover of this resolution will accept this amendment which is not very difficult because we can prepare the country within these three months if we are earnest. With these words, I second the amendment.

Mr. K. Santanam supported the original Resolution in Hindi as follows:—

“पुधान जी, बहिनो और भाइयो ! आप के सामने यह तज़वीज रखी गयी है और मैं आप को ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि इस तज़वीज को पास करने से आपकी जिम्मेवारी बढ़ जायगी । आप ख्याल रखें यह कोई खेल की बात नहीं है । इस रिजोल्यूशन को पास करते हुये आप को यह ख्याल रखना होगा कि यह खेल जीवन और मौतका खेल है ।

सज्जानो ! मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि मुल्क के सामने इस किस्म का काम अभी तक नहीं रक्खा गया है और जब इस किस्म को तज़वीज आप के सामने लोग रखना चाहते हैं तो अफ़सोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि चन्द साहबान मज़ाक करना शुरू करते हैं । मैं आप से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह तज़वीज इस वास्ते रखी गई है कि आप इस कांग्रेस से एक हुकुमनामा मुल्क को दें कि आइन्दा के लिये नियम क्या होंगे ? आप को याद है कि जब हमने-तर्कमवालात को यह रुमभा कि वह स्वराज्य का मार्ग है । उस वक्त से सिविल डिस्ओबिडियन्स के सिवाय और दूसरी कोई चीज़ नहीं जो हमारे मुतालिक बात को पूरा करे ! चन्दसाहबान यहां आकर नानबाईलेन्स के खिलाफ भी बोलें हैं । जब तक आपका नियम नानबाईलेन्स है तब तक सिविल डिस्ओबिडियन्स के सिवाय कोई रास्ता नहीं और पिछले दश महीने से जो राधिलता मुल्क में पैदा हो गई है उसको वजह यह है कि जब सिविल नाफ़रमानो करने के लिये दम भरते थे उस वक्त रोके गये । इस वक्त आप को एक मौका है । आप कह चुके हैं कि जाकर मुल्क को सिविल नाफ़रमानी के लिये तैयार करो तैयार करने की क्या ज़रूरत है ? जब हमने पिछले दिसम्बर में तैयार किया था तो क्या साल भर के वास्ते फिर तैयार करने की ज़रूरत है ? मैं यह कहता हूँ कि सिविल डिस्ओबिडियन्स इन्क्वारी कमिटी ने यह कहा है कि मास सिविल डिस्ओबिडियन्स के लिये मुल्क तैयार नहीं है, इनफ़िरानी के लिये उसने कुछ भी नहीं कहा और ज़रूरत के वक्त में उसके करने इज़ाजत दे दिया । मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि एक बार के ठिठक गये होते तो बहुत ज़रूरी होता कि मुल्क को तैयार करें । हमारे चन्द और लीडर दोस्तों का यह ख्याल है कि बिना कौन्सिल के तैयारी के यह तैयारी नहीं हो सकती । मैं यह ख्याल नहीं रखता । आप मुल्क को हमारे तरीके से तैयार कर सकते हैं ? और बहुत ज्यादा और आपका फ़र्ज है कि आप इसके लिये तैयार हो जाय ।

आप की तैयारी का क्या निसान है ? —क्या इम्तिहान होगा कि आप इस के लिये तैयार हैं ?—इस के लिये २५ लाख रुपया और पचास हजार वालंट्रीयर्स होना चाहिये । क्योंकि बिना सरमाया और आदमी के किसी किन्गम की लड़ाई शुरू नहीं की जाती । आप मेंसे बहुत से लोग यह समझते हैं कि क्या ज़रूरत है कि ऐसी तैयारी

की जाय । वेशक ! यह निहायत जरूरी नहीं है, मगर जब मुल्क में किसी क्रिस्म की कार्रवाई शुरू करते हैं तो कुछ न कुछ ताकत देनी चाहिये, और उसके लिये एक ख्याल दिल में पैदा करना चाहिये । इस पर इस से ज्यादा कहने की कुछ जरूरत नहीं है । मगर आप के सामने दो तरमीमे पेश हैं । उन के मुतल्लिक दो तान बानें कहना चाहता हूँ । उन के मंजूर करने में मुफ़ को उजुर नहीं मगर उस से हमारा काम बेहतर है । एक यह है कि 'सिविल नाफरमानी फौरन शुरू की जाय' और हर एक प्राविन्सीयल कांग्रेस कमिटी को अख्त्यार दिया जाये कि सब बालेसिट्यर को शर्ते' उठा लें अगर इस की जरूरत हो, और आल इण्डिया कमेटी के रिजोल्युशन के मुताबिक कांग्रेस कमेटियों को अख्त्यार दिया जाये कि वह उन नियमों को बदल सकें, जो तजवीज आप के सामने हैं । वह यह है कि मुल्क के सामने एक लाइन रखी जाये और मैं यहां तक कह सकता हूँ कि किसी न किसी क्रिस्म की नाफरमानी शुरू होगी । इसी तरह दूसरे जगहों में भी करे, मगर इस के लिये किसी तजवीज की जरूरत नहीं, और इन शर्तों के बारे में एक बड़ी भारी गलत फौरी है । अस्सी फी सदी खदूर हो लेकिन अस्सी फी सदी खदूर इनफेरादी नाफरमानी के लिये शर्त नहीं है ६० या ७० फी सदी खदूर मास सिविल डिसेबिडियस के लिये है । जैसा महात्मा जी चारडाली में कह रहे थे ।

बालनटियरों के बारे में जो शर्त है कि वे अमन या शान्तिमय असहयोग से काम करें अगर वह अमन पसन्द नहीं करते या तर्कमावालात को पसन्द नहीं करते और इस शख पर चलते हैं तो कोई जरूरत नहीं कि वह इस पर चलें, इस लिये, वसन्त कुमार मजुन्दार ने जो तरमीम पेश की है मैं उसकी मुखालफत करता हूँ । और कहता हूँ कि इस को मनजूर करने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है । दूसरी तरमीम जो मेरे मुकर्रम दोस्त फजलुर रहमान साहब ने तान महीने के अन्दर तैयारी की जाये । इस के मुताबिक पेश की है । उस की निसवत में यह कहना चाहता हूँ, कि यहां तक मेरा ख्याल है, कि चन्द प्रान्त ऐसे हैं कि जो तीन महीने क्या इस से कम में भी तैयार कर सकते हैं । मगर हमारे प्रान्त के लिये ऐसा नहीं कह सकते, और कांग्रेस में ऐसा वरत मुकर्रर करना शुरू करेंगे तो पीछे यह जरूरत आयगी कि इस के बतलाने के वास्ते आल इण्डिया कांग्रेस कमेटी को इख्त्यार न हो और तजवीज में यह लिखा है, कि आल इण्डिया कांग्रेस कमेटी में कल गया में मीट करेगी इस को मुकर्रर करें, तीन या चार या पांच महीने को वाब्त सिर्फ यह ख्याल होना चाहिये कि, जल्द से जल्द पूरी से पूरा तैयारी हो, तो इस ख्याल से आप वरत मुकर्रर करने का काम आल इण्डिया कमेटी के हाथ में छोड़ दे । मैं आप से इतना और कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस रिजुलसन को पास करते हुए आप याद रखें कि पास कर देने से काम पूरा नहीं होता । पस यह कि आप इस पर काम करने का कौल करें ।

Mr. Gurbux Singh (Delhi) spoke as follows :—

भाइयो और बहिनो आपके सामने फ्रेशन में कई रिजुल्युशन आये और आपने उन्हें पास किये लेकिन यह पहिला प्रस्ताव है जो हमारे लिये अमली प्रस्ताव कहा जा सकता है । इस पर हमारे मुल्क की आजादी का दार मदार है । अगर हम वाक़रई दूरदराज़ देश से यहां पर मुल्क आजादी के लिये यहां जमा है । इसके पास काने से पहिले यह सोच लेना होगा कि बेहतरी किस में है । प्यारे भाइयो ! आप के सामने सिविल डिसेबिडियन्स का एक प्रस्ताव मिस्टर तैयब जी ने पेश किया जिस की ताइद हमारी बहिन सराजिनी देवी ने की इसके बाद दो तीन तरमीमें आपके सामने आईं मैं यह कहने आया हूँ

Civil Disobedience.

कि जो प्रस्ताव असली आपके सामने पेश है उस में जब आप यह कहेंगे कि जब से सिविल नाफरमानी बन्द की गई उस वक्त से देश की सेवा में बालनटियर काम कर रहे हैं २५ हजार नेताओं को जेल में भेजने के बाद में कामयाबी हो सकती है। और देखना यह है कि लोग जंग के लिये तैयार भी हैं या नहीं जंग शुरू करने से पहले जंग के सामान जमा करना यह तरीका हमेशा से चला आया है जंग छिड़ने से पहिले ही यह काम हो जाना चाहिये आप से कहा गया है कि २५ लाख रुपया और ५० हजार बालनटियर पहिले भर्ती करलें और उसके बाद काम शुरू करें, आपने यह भी सुना कि हमारे एक भाई ने एक तरमीम इस बात की पेश की है कि छे महिना में या तीन महिना में काम शुरू करना चाहते हैं। और एक ने यह तरमीम पेश की है कि हम फौरन शुरू करना चाहते हैं। आप सोचिये कि इस में क्या मतलब है। प्यारे भाइयों हम वाकई चाहते हैं कि कल काम शुरू कर दें हमारे दिल पर जखम लगा हुआ है। उससे दवा लगा कर आज़ाद होना चाहते हैं लेकिन देखते हैं कि बखत मुर्कर करने करने हो, अपने कूर्बानी को नुकसान नहीं पहुंचा लेंगे यह बड़ी भूल होगी कि हम मियाद मुर्कर करके काम शुरू करें, मुसलमान भाई भी सोचें कि ज्यादा कामयाबी किन तरह होगी छः महिना या तीन महिना में ५० हजार आदमी और २५ लाख रुपया इकठ्ठा करके काम शुरू करना चाहते हैं। इसलिये मैं आप से कहता हूँ कि अपनी रिजोल्युशन, को पास कीजिये।

Mr. Baburam Varma (Etawa) moved the following Amendment :

"This Congress is emphatically of opinion that the time has come to launch a campaign of Civil Disobedience on a large scale and whereas the United Provinces and Assam where the Criminal Law Amendment Act is still in force offer a suitable field for immediate launching of individual Civil Disobedience on a large scale it is hereby resolved that twenty thousand volunteers be forthwith enlisted throughout India and proceed to the United Provinces and Assam and start a campaign of individual Civil Disobedience under instructions to be issued by the All India Congress Committee and that each Province should contribute its share of volunteers in proportion to its population.

Resolved further that of the twenty thousand volunteers four thousand be assigned to Assam and sixteen thousand to the United Provinces."

Mr. Siv Narain made the following speech in Urdu :—

“जनाव सदर भाइयो और बहिने ! जो तरमीम आप हज़रात के सामने पेश की गई है मैं उस तरमीम की तारीफ़ करने के वास्ते आप हज़रात के सामने खड़ा हुआ हूँ। जैसा कि आप हज़रात से इससे कबल कहा जा चुका है कि मौक़ा है कि मुल्क को मौजूदा हालत में उसे किसी किसम के सिविल डिस्ओबिडियन्स के वास्ते तैयार किया जाय और अगर चाहते हैं कि हम अपने मक़सद में जल्द कामयाब हों तो हम को इनफ़िरादी सिविल डिस्ओबिडियन्स के लिये तैयार होना चाहिये मैं आप हज़रात को बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि इसके लिये इससे बढ़ कर दूसरी बात क्या हो सकती है जो इस तरमीम में बतलाई गई है। सिविल ना फरमानी ऐसी चीज़ नहीं है जो किताबों में पढ़ कर, अख़बारों को पढ़ कर या स्पीचों को सुन कर तैयार हों। सिविल डिस्ओबिडियन्स एक ऐसी चीज़ है कि इसके वास्ते जो आदमी तैयार होना चाहें तो अपने पूरे ज़ोर से तैयार हो जायें। अगर आप चाहते हैं कि सिविल नाफ़रमानी करें तो इस तरमीम के माफ़क़त अपनी राय दें इसके लिये इस बात के अलावा आप हज़रात का गौर इस बात पर दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि टर्की के मसले और खिलाफ़त के मसले पर गौर करते हुए आप को यह ज़रूर करना चाहिये।

Mr. Krishnakanta Malaviya spoke as follows :—

सभापति महाशय, देवियो और सज्जनो ! मैं आप से व भाइयों से यह कह देना कर्तव्य समझता हूँ अपना फर्ज समझत हूँ कि आपके सामने जो सिविल डिसोबिडियन्स का प्रस्ताव उपस्थित किया गया है उसका विरोध करने के लिये मैं यहां पर उपस्थित नहीं हुआ हूँ मैं आप सब सज्जनों से यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जिस काम को आप करने के लिये उत्सुक है लाभाश्त हैं आप अच्छो तरह सोच लें कि आप करना क्या चाहते हैं । मैं हरगिज आप से यह निवेदन नहीं करूंगा कि आप अपनी इच्छा के अनुसार कार्य न करें पश निवेदन आपसे यह है कि सिविल डिसओविडियन्स की सफलता के लिये इस प्रस्ताव को कार्य रूप में परिणत करने के लिये यही तरीका है कि हम और आप देश सब कार्य करने वाले ने तो एक साथ दिलसे इसमें लग जाइये इस में निवेदन मेरा आपसे यह है कि जिस समय आप के देश के नेताओं ने कार्य करने के तरीकों में इतना मतभेद है मुझे यह संभव नहीं मालूम होता कि इस काम में सहज में सफलता होगी (होगी की ध्वनी) मेरे एक मित्र कहते हैं कि इस कार्य में सफलता होगी मैं उनका विश्वास दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि मुझे इस में उनसे कम प्रसन्नता न होगी अगर इस कार्य में परमात्मा सफल कर सके ।

Mr. Kazi Abdur Rahaman (Sindh) spoke as follows :—

Mr. President, Ladies and gentlemen, this resolution which our revered old leader Mr. Tyabji has placed before you and which Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has seconded is nothing but an expression of the determination of the Indian Nation to reply to the policy of repression started by the Government in a modest yet in an effective manner and it shows to the world that not only youngmen like myself but old men—white bearded like Abbas Tyaji the proposer of the Resolution and ladies like Mrs. Sarojini Naidu are ready to be sacrificed at the altar of the Motherland (hear, hear) and free her from bondage Ladies and gentlemen, I appeal to you most earnestly to pass this resolution as placed before you by Mr. Tyabji. There are people I know who are either not ready or want to put obstruction in our way. But whatever obstruction or obstacles there might be I beseech you to put your faith in God that has created you and with Him as your guide march onward with honest conviction through the difficulties that you have to face. Until yesterday we were talking of doing the thing but to day, I am glad, immediately on the receipt of the news of the threatened situation that might arise in the Near East we are issuing from this platform a reply to the Government (hear, hear.) a reply to the Allies, nay, to the world that we are here determined and perfectly determined to free ourselves and to do all that we can to help our brethren the Turks, (Applause).

Mrs. Naidu—Friends, I have not come here to make any-thing like a speech now. One of the amendments that have been moved—in the amendment moved by Mr. Basanta Kumar Mujumdar we have been challenged and it has been said that if we are earnest we should come to Assam and the United Provinces to disobey the Criminal Law Amendment Act there. My answer in the name of the people who propose this Resolution is that if tomorrow the All India Congress Committee which will be called upon to consider this in a most serious spirit, recommends it, we shall be only too glad to go to Assam and the United Provinces or if there is a better situation, let me assure you that we are prepared to do it. But today we cannot in our resolution say that the All India Congress Committee is to be empowered to give necessary instruction on the matter.

We can neither accept the amendment for time limit today, although I do believe in a time limit till it has been passed by the All India Congress Committee.

Civil Disobedience.

Now, I have one more duty—to put Mr. Baburam Varma's amendment to vote. Those in favour of his amendment that here and now we accept his amendment about going to the United Provinces and Assam will please lift their hands. (No hand was found to be raised).

The amendment was declared lost.

Mrs. Naidu—The next amendment is that of Mr. Fazlur Rahaman (Bihar) about three months time limit—those in favour of this amendment will please raise their hands—(Cries of 'all, all' and 'not all not all').

The amendment was declared lost.

Mrs. Naidu — The next amendment is that of Mr. Basanta Kumar Majumdar that the Provincial Congress Committees be empowered to launch upon Civil Disobedience at once. Those who are in favour of this amendment will please raise their hands.

The amendment was lost.

Mrs. Naidu — Now, the original resolution. Those who are in favour of the Resolution will kindly signify their assent by raising their hands. (Cries of 'all', 'all'.)

Those against—No hands were raised.

The President—The Resolution is carried.

Mrs. Naidu announced — The Tamil Nadu people of South Africa believing in our good faith have sent a cheque for Rs 110 for the Civil Disobedience Fund. Mr. Tyabji has given Rs 1000 — and Miss Tyabji Rs. 500 for the Civil Disobedience Fund. Mr. Tyabji has also given Rs 1500 for the Tilak Swaraj Fund (Cheers and applause). Several other contributions were announced. A gentleman who preferred to remain anonymous promised a donation of Rs. 1000.

RESOLUTION XV.—PRIVATE DEFENCE

The President then called upon Mr. Rajagopalachari to move the following Resolution.

Private Defence.

XV 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 not likely to lead to a general outburst of violence.

NOTE :—Using force in private defence in good 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.

Mr. Rajagopalachari in moving the above Resolution (XV) Said—

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, As there have been some doubts in regard to the extent to which Non-co-operators—or those people who have accepted the Congress policy of non-violent non-co-operation are bound down in regard to the use of force in defence of their lives and property and of the lives and property of their friends and wards, this Resolution is proposed to be placed before you. This Resolution embodies the recommendation of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee and I have much pleasure in placing it before you for your acceptance. My friends will place it before you in Hindusthani and I hope you will accept the resolution.

I want to point out that it has nothing to do with defence in courts. It

is a resolution with regard to the use of force privately by yourself when you are attacked and without reference to Law courts, and as regards what you can do to protecting yourself. This Resolution gives you the right—to those who have not accepted Mahatma Gandhi's well-known doctrine of non-violence in full but who have accepted the policy of non-violence as a honest policy for the carrying out of the Congress programme—for them it lays down the rule that though in matters arising out of Congress work they must be non-violent but in other matters they are left to their natural rights. And further it lays down that in matters of insults to religion, outrages on the modesty of women or indecent assaults on boys and men—and such other grave cases, the nature of the case itself puts it outside the description of a political case and therefore individuals are at liberty to defend their honour and their bodies and their religion. This is all the Resolution says and I commend it to your acceptance.

After a delegate had seconded it the Resolution was carried nem com.

RESOLUTION RE : THE AFFILIATION OF COMMITTEES OUTSIDE INDIA TO THE I. N. C.

Mr. Rajagopalachari moved—According to the constitution of the Indian National Congress, besides the Provincial Congress Committees, Committees outside India such as the Indian Congress Committees in South Africa and other places can ask for and obtain affiliation to the Congress by a resolution of the Congress itself. This suggestion is placed before you at the request of the Indians in South Africa and Indians in Kabul. (Reads :—)

RESOLUTION.

This Congress resolve that the Natal Indian Congress Committee, the British Indian Association, Johannesburg, the British Indian League, Capetown and the Point Indian Association, Durban be affiliated, with power to send ten delegates—this number to be allotted among themselves by agreement to be reported to the All India Congress Committee.

This Congress resolves that the Kabul Congress Committee be affiliated, with power to send two delegates.

I place these two Resolutions before you. (To a delegate) The constitution provides for it. The constitution is not affected unless the Creed is affected.

Mr. Rajendra Prasad Moved :

In view of the serious situation in the Near East which threatens the integrity of the Khilafat and the Turkish Government and in view of the determination of the Hindus, Mussalmans and all other peoples of India to prevent any such injury, this Congress resolves that the Working Committee do take steps in consultation with the Khilafat working Committee in order to secure united action by the Hindus, Mussalmans and others to prevent exploitation of India for any such unjust cause and to deal with the situation.

After Mr. Khattri of Bombay had seconded, the Resolution was carried unanimously.

THE AUDITED ACCOUNTS.

Mr. Rajendra Prasad—with the permission of the President I inform you that under the Constitution the audited accounts of the All India Congress Committee has to be placed before the Congress. The Accounts have been placed before the Congress. Members who want to see them may do so.

Private
Defence.

GENERAL SECRETARIES.

The resolution in appreciation of the services rendered to the Country and the Congress by Pundit Motilal Nehru, Dr. Ansari and Mr. Rajagopalachari was passed amid cheers. (From the Chair) —“ *This Congress places on record its grateful thanks for the valuable services rendered by the outgoing general secretaries, Pundit Motilal Nehru, Dr. M. A. Ansari and Sjt. Rajagopalachariar.*”

RESOLUTION. “*This Congress appoints Mr. Moazam Ali, Mr. Vallabhabhai Patel and Mr. Rajendra Prasad as General Secretaries of the Congress for the next year.*”

After the audited accounts of the Treasurer and the General Secretary were submitted the following Resolution was passed :

This Congress reappoints Seth Jammalal Bajaj and Seth, M. H. L. Chotani as Treasurers for the next year.

THE NEXT CONGRESS.

Mr. K. Nageswar Rao in inviting the next Congress to be held in Andhra said—Gentlemen, On behalf of the Andhras I invite the next Congress to the Andhra Desha and I request you to accept the invitation. The city will be announced later on.

The invitation was accepted. The resolution runs thus :—

This Congress resolves that its next sessions be held in Andhra Deshas.”

THANKS GIVING

Mr. Deep Narain Singh in thanking the President at the close of the deliberations of the Congress said :—

I have at last come to perform the pleasant duty of offering on behalf of the Reception Committee, on behalf of the Delegates and visitors assembled in this hall and on behalf of my Province of Behar our most heartfelt thanks to the President Srijut Chittaranjan Das—(applause and cheers) and, Sir, I am not going to minimise at all the honour, the highest honour that is in the power of this country to confer upon any of its sons—that has been offered to you. And the greatest tribute that I can pay to you, sir, is to assure you that you have worthily filled the chair (Cries of hear, hear). Your great speech will go beyond the shores (hear, hear)—your great speech will go beyond the boundaries of India. It will be a message of hope to all Asiatics, and I hope, a warning to the Imperialist countries of Europe (applause).

Sir, we have heckled, we have put you to all sorts of inconvenience. We have tried and tested your temper and we gratefully admit that by your indulgence, by your suavity, by your dignity you have upheld the honour of the nation (hear, hear). I do not wish to say more. All that I can say is that if the Presidentship has been an honour to Srijut Chittaranjan Das, Srijut Chittaranjan is and will always continue to be a pride to Mother India (hear hear).

Gentlemen, I have another duty, equally pleasant to perform—that is on behalf of the Reception Committee and on behalf of my Province again to thank those fellow delegates of ours, those countrymen and countrywomen of

ours who have graced this Assembly from all parts of the country. Whilst thanking them I must not forget the apologies previously made for the many shortcomings of which we have been guilty. (Cries of no, no.) But you must take the humble hospitality that we have been able to offer you in the best of spirit—in a spirit of comrade-ship—and partly in weakness for the shortcomings that we have been guilty of (no, no). But you might know, brother delegates that we have had to work under peculiar difficulties. We have had to make amends for the lowness of our exchequer by the fulness of our heart, and believe me. Behar will always remember this great Congress that has been held in Gaya and will have pleasant memories of this week of fraternal association with one and all of the delegates that are assembled in this great hall.

Private
Defence.

Before I go I must not forget, indeed, I cannot forget the thanks that we owe to our gallant band of volunteers (hear, hear). If we are officers, leaders each one of you of the National Army, they are fighting in the front rank. Least spoken of, they have done the hardest work that we can imagine. Would you believe me, but for them—five hundred of them to the tune of the national song, digging earth, climbing the poles, spreading Khadi on the top (bravo)—would you believe me that but for them you would not have sat in the pandal. They will have no worry—no trouble—uncomplaining and ungrudging like soldiers in the National Army they have done their duty; and I believe you will join with me in thanking our young volunteers. (Cries of hear, hear.)

Another word, ladies and gentlemen, although it forms on part of our organization—I must say a word of thanks to the Municipality, and the District Board of Gaya but for whose help and complete co-operation we would have been handicapped in doing what we have been able to do. I have no more to say. I wish a pleasant journey back to your homes and a quick *au revoir*.

Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das, the President, as he rose to make his concluding remarks was greeted with loud and prolonged cheers and cries of 'Deshabandhu Chittaranjan-ki-jai.' (As Mr. Das lost his voice his speech was repeated word per word and translated in Hindi by Mr. Sunderlal.) The president said:

Sister and brother delegates, I have lost my voice and I hope you do not expect anything like a speech from me. Although I cannot express in a loud voice my thanks, I assure you my thanks are nevertheless sincere and genuine. I wish I could say that I congratulate myself and I congratulate you, sisters and brothers of the National Congress upon the Resolutions we have passed. But although I cannot do that I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the patience which you have shewn—the wonderful manner in which you have allowed the proceedings to go on in spite of such vast difference of opinion. That indeed is a matter for congratulation for all of us. Difference of opinion must arise in every healthy organization or institution. And although to day I differ from the majority of the members I have not given up the hope that a day will come when I shall get the majority on my side (hear, hear). I hope we have learnt how to respect each other's opinion. I am filled with hope in spite of what appears like a split (hear, hear) and I believe that we are really united in more points than we differ (Cries of hear, hear and jai, jai). We agree in one thing from which nothing will separate me and that is the speedy attainment of Swaraj (hear, hear). Although we differ on the question of programme all of us agree, I have not the least doubt, in the principle of Non-violent Non-co-operation.

I thank you again, sisters and brothers for the magnificent way in which you have carried on the proceedings of this session. I thank you, Mr. chair-

Private
Defence

Chairman of the Reception Committee and you, the members of the Reception Committee for your magnificent hospitality. I know how difficult was the work which you took upon yourselves to do. I know also the splendid way in which you have discharged your duty. On behalf of myself and on behalf of the delegates I thank you Mr. Chairman and the members of the Reception Committee.

Our special thanks are due to the volunteers. I have seen them at work and I can tell you that a band of more devoted workers it will be difficult to find any where in India.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have finished and I dissolve the present session of the Indian National Congress. (Prolonged cheers and cries of jai, jai).

APPENDIX. I

List of the Office bearers and members of the Executive Committee Office bearers.

- | | | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|-----|-----|-------------------------|
| 1. | Babu Braj Kishore Prasad | ... | ... | <i>Chairman.</i> |
| 2. | „ Rajendra Prasad | ... | ... | <i>Secretary.</i> |
| 3. | „ Anugrah Narain Sinha | ... | | <i>Joint Secretary.</i> |
| 4. | „ Mukutdhari Varma | ... | | „ |
| 5. | M. Bashirul Haque | ... | | „ |
| 6. | Babu Gauri Shanker Sharan Sinha | ... | | „ |
| 7. | Nawab Syed Mubarak Ali, M. L. C. | ... | | <i>Treasurer.</i> |

Members of the Executive Committee All the office-bearers Ex-officio.

1. Babu Mahendra Prasad.
2. M. Mir Shafayet Husain.
3. „ Latifur Rahman.
4. Babu Nemdhari Sinha.
5. Chaudhary Karamat Husain.
6. Babu Chotelal J. Jani.
7. M. Quazi Ahmad Husain.
8. Babu Rambinod Sinha.
9. „ Jamuna Prasad Sinha.
10. „ Dasarath Lal.
11. „ Manik Chand.
12. „ Nripendra Chandra Mitra.
13. M. Abdul Bari.
14. Babu Ram Charitra Sinha.
15. „ Rajkishore Lal Nandkeoleyar.
16. „ Arunjay Sahay Verma.
17. „ Amir Prasad Sinha.
18. „ Dip Narayan Sinha.
19. „ Gorakh Prasad.
20. M. Mazharul Haque.
21. Babu Banarasi Prasad Jhunjunwala.
22. „ Nageshwar Prasad Sharma.
23. „ Shiw Nath Prasad.
24. Rai Hari Prasad Lal.
25. „ Suraj Prasad Mahajan.

List of the members of the Exhibition Sub-Committee.

1. Babu Mahendra Prasad.
2. „ Banarasi Prasad, Jhunjunwala.

(2)

3. Babu Ashutosh Chatterjee (Secretary)
4. „ Deep Narayan Sinha.
5. „ Lakshmi Narayan Varma.
6. „ Suraj Prasad Varma.
7. „ Madan Gopal Joshi.

**Names of gentlemen in charge of the various departments
noted against their names.**

Mr. Manthreshwar Sharma	...	<i>Publicity work.</i>
Babu Mukutdhari Prasad Varma	...	<i>Water Supply.</i>
„ Badarinath Varma	...	<i>Captain of Volunteers.</i>
„ Mahendra Prasad	...	<i>Kitchen.</i>
„ Banarasi Prasad Jhunjhunwala.	...	<i>Exhibition</i>
„ Anugrah Narayan Sinha		<i>Office.</i>
„ Shiwnath Prasad	...	<i>.. Lighting.</i>
„ Deep Narayan Sinha	}	<i>Reception, Decoration of town and music.</i>
„ Krishna Prakash Sen Sinha		
„ Gorakh Prasad	}	<i>... .. Pandal.</i>
„ Mathura Prasad		
„ Baidyanath Prasad Sinha.	...	<i>Decoration of Pandal.</i>
„ Bepin Behari Varma.	...	<i>Superintendent Swaraj puri.</i>
„ Narayan Prasad Sinha.	...	<i>Conservancy.</i>
„ Ramkishore Lal Nandkeoleyar	...	<i>Transport, and conveyance.</i>
Dr. Arunjay Sahay Verma	...	<i>Medicine.</i>

List of members of the Finance Committee.

1. Babu Deep Narayan Sinha.
2. Babu Banarasi Prasad Jhunjhunwala.
3. Babu Anugrah Narayan Sinha.
4. Chairman Reception Committee.
5. Secretary. Chairman Reception Committee,

APPENDIX. II
37th INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
RECEPTION COMMITTEE,
G A Y A.

Statement of accounts
Balance Sheet as on 4th December 1923.

Receipts.	Disbursements.
1 Membership fee ... 73950 0 0 (2666 members)	1 Kitchen ... 20526 14 3
2 Delegate's fee (including rejected delegate's fee) 38480 0 0	2 Swarajyapuri ... 28209 14 3
3 Donation ... 38332 13 9	3 Pandal ... 20283 7 9
4 Visitor's fee ... 28215 15 0	4 Transport ... 14186 0 3
5 Rent and taxes ... 9111 0 0	5 Light ... 13008 2 3
6 Exhibition ... 2485 15 3	6 All India Cong. Com. ... 16215 0 0
7 Interest ... 82 11 9	7 Printing and Paper ... 9643 2 9
8 Lost property ... 45 1 0	8 Water supply ... 8355 4 0
190703 8 9	9 Volunteers ... 7449 9 3
	10 Hire on Khaddar ... 6660 0 0
	11 Reception of guests ... 4156 3 9
	12 Miscellaneous ... 3207 10 0
	13 Office
	Pay 1877 1 0
	Messing 1084 6 0 2961 7 0
	14 Travelling ... 2443 11 3
	15 Music ... 2452 8 6
	16 Badges ... 1394 13 0
	17 Decoration... 1336 2 0
	18 Stationery ... 1728 0 6
	19 Stores (stretchers &c.) 1507 2 0
	20 Railway freight ... 1103 4 6
	21 Refreshments ... 1833 8 0
	22 Reporting ... 1057 0 0
	23 Suspence ... 985 0 9
	24 Postage &c. ... 374 0 3
	25 Medical relief ... 46 7 0
	26 Conservancy ... 1020 6 0
	27 Commission ... 181 3 3
	28 Dt. Cong. Com. ... 1175 8 0
	29 Loan ... 1667 15 9
	Difference ... 0 11 0
	30 Bank of Bihar ... 38 0 3
	Balance with P.C.C. 15495 7 3
	190703 8 9

I have examined the above statement of a/c with the books and vouchers of the above Committee and I beg to report that I have obtained all the informations and explanations that I required. The above statement exhibits a true and correct state of the above committee's affairs. Kitchen Dept. accounts were audited by the local auditor and certified statement of a/c of the Kichen Dept. submitted to me.

Sd. C. H. Supariwalla

Anugrah Narayan Sinha,
Asst. Secretary, Reception Committee.

APPENDIX. III

Kitchen Department.

RECEIPTS.				DISBURSEMENTS.			
1.	From the General Fund of the Reception Committee	36300	15 0	To Purchase of food materials	...	...	8461 3 0
2.	From Sale of materials	...	...	To Purchase of Ghee &c.	...	...	9853 14 0
	Meal coupons	3818	3 10½	To Purchase of Sugar	...	...	764 3 0
	Food stuffs	3428	4 9	To Purchase of Spices &c.	...	...	931 15 3
	Oil	11	2 6	To Purchase of Vegetables	...	...	1261 4 0
	Utensils	486	6 9	To Purchase of Utensils	...	...	3152 11 0
	Surplus materials	6812	4 9	To Purchase of fuel	...	...	1565 12 9
		14556	6 7½	To Cost of building materials	...	...	3009 8 0
3.	Suspense Account	...	...	To Servants wages	...	...	4065 1 3
			477 9 0	To Transport	...	...	851 2 9
				To Refund of meal Charges	...	...	2 4 0
				To Arrear of meal coupons	...	...	533 3 6
				To Miscellaneous expenses	...	...	420 7 1½
				To General office Reception Committee	...	...	806 4 9
				To Suspense account	...	...	228 2 3
							35907 0 7½
						Balance	15427 14 0
							51334 14 7½
			51334 14 7½				51334 14 7½

AUDITOR'S NOTE:—I am satisfied that the above statement of accounts is correct to the best of my knowledge and information and in the light of the books and Vouchers supplied to me.

PATNA,

20-11-23

H. B. CHANDRA,

Hon. Auditor.

ANUGRAH NARAYAN SINHA,

Asst. Secretary,

RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

MAHENDRA PRASAD,

(Incharge Kitchen Department.)

APPENDIX IV.

Exhibition Department.

Receipts.	Rs.	A.	P.	To Price of Exhibits and * travelling charges of De- monstrators and their re- muneration	Rs.	A.	P.
From sale of visitor's tickets and stall rent. ...	6478	5	3	... ..	3992	6	0
				Balance ...	2485	15	3
					<u>6478</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>

* This item does not include the sum of Rs.1500/—which was paid to contractors for building the exhibition stalls and demonstration sheds shown under head Pandal nor does it include the cost of medals certificates, and prices which have not yet been incurred and which may come to nearly a thousand rupees. Taking the two figures together the net result is that there was practically neither loss or gain under thishead.

ANUGRAH NARAYAN SINHA,
Assistant Secretary.

B. P. JHUNJHUNWALLA,
Incharge of Exhibition.

**Statement showing the number of delegates
who were enrolled from the various Congress Provinces.**

Serial No.	Names of Provinces.	No. of delegates returnable.	No. of delegates actually enrolled.
1	United Provinces	960	575
2	Andhra	360	299
3	Gujrat	185	196
4	Bengal	986	555
5	Keral	160	25
6	Maharashtra	292	142
7	Karnatak	320	199
8	Bombay	18	16
9	Burma	100	99
10	Punjab	540	274
11	Sindh	71	48
12	Delhi	100	69
13	Rajputana and Ajmer	400	228
14	Utkal	300	120
15	Central Provinces (Marathi)	50	43
16	Assam	63	55
17	Berar	61	43
18	Madras	410	175
19	Central Provinces (Hindi)	209	161
20	Behar	588	526

N. B.—Out of 3848 delegates who were enrolled 600 delegates were rejected under the ruling of the President of the Congress, being returned either in excess of the number allotted to the Province, as in case of Gujerat or returned after the 15th of December, which was the case with almost all the Provinces. They were admitted in the Pandal as visitors and were not permitted to exercise the right to vote on the resolutions.