# INTRODUCTION. 

(Translated from original Hindi.)

The Cawnpore Congress Committee had requested the Provincial Congress Committee to invite the Congress to meet at Cawnpore in 1925.

On the 28th December 1924, just after the close of the Belgaum Session, the All India Congress Committee decided to accept the invitation of the United Provinces to hold the next session of the Indian National Congress at Cawnpore. Shortly after, a Provisional Reception Committee was formed by the Provincial Congress Committee, and work started.

The Reception Committee had from the beginning to face unforeseen difficulties in securing a suitable site for holding the Congress and our first choice fell on what is known as the Sisamau site-a big area under the Improvement Trust; but in view of its proximity to a dumping ground and the difficulties of obtaining a good water supply, it was abandoned. Efforts were then made to secure several other places which would have been suitable for our purposes but we were unsuccessful on account of the obstacles that were thrown in our way by the Government authorities. Ultimately we secured possession of the site on which the Congress was held, by paying heavy compensation to the tenants of the Improvement Trust. But here again, untortunately, a difficult situation was created by the Improvement Trust by its objecting to our holding the Congress on this site on account of the opposition of the European members including the District Magistrate. Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was then approached by the Chairman of the Reception Committee for legal opinion. According to him we were legally entitled to use the land for our purposes without the intervention of the Trust. This opinion, coupled with our determination to hold the Congress on this site, as well as the sympathetic attitude of the Chairman of the Trust, Rai Bahadur Babu Anand Swaroop, helped us all finally to secure the site and hold the Congress session there. In this connection we deem it our duty to mention that while a number of influential Europeans opposed the holding of the Congress on this site, there were several others residing in the neighbourhood who openly came forward and said that they had no such objection.

Another shock came in the last week of September 1925, when some of our prominent and active workers were arrested in the Kakori Dacoity case. The arrests cast a gloom over the province and the
work of the Reception Committee suffered a serious set-back. For a time, it appeared as if the Congress would not be allowed to be held in peace but ultimately most of our friends were released. They came out unscathed but their absence created a gap in the work, and the Reception Committee was not able till the end to recover the ground lost in their absence.

The work of enlisting members of the Reception Committee and securing donations was impeded and the whole of the province could not be approacbed. The elections to Municipal and District Boards took place throughout the province in the month of December and they, too, divided the energies of our workers.

The main burden of the session fell upon Cawnpore and some of the neighbouring towns. Notwithstanding the slump in business and lack of enthusiasm for political work, the citizens of Cawnpore responded admirably to the call of the Congress.

The Volunteers numbered about 1200 , including about 120 lady volunteers. They had to work hard, especially owing to some unforeseen difficulties. They had, in particular, to meet the unexpected disturbances created by some of the men who were dissatisfied with the invalidation by the All India Congress Committee of the delegates' list submitted by the Ajmer Provincial Congress Committee. The thanks of the Reception Committee are due to the Volunteers and to Dr. Hardikar, the chief organizer of the Hindustani Seva Dal who helped the Reception Committee in every possible way and worked untiringly for the success of the session.

The members of the Reception Committee numbered 1287 ; and the number of delegates who actually attended the session was 2688. Two thousand free tickets were issued for peasants, sadhus, political sufferers and members of the suppressed classes. A batch of about 50 persons from Santhal Parganas and surrounding hill-tracts travelled on foot to Cawnpore. They were given free lodging and free visitors' tickets.

The Swadeshi Exhibition which was opened by Mabatma Gandhi attracted a large number of visitors. The chief feature of the Exhibition was, of course, khadi in its various forms and aspects. The exhibits showing the stages of improvement in the texture of khadi during the last few years were particularly interesting, and the many varieties of khadi available from different parts of the country filled with pleasure all those who recognised in that pure article a powerful instrument for the elevation of the masses of our country. The All India Spinners' Association gave us great help in organising the Khadi Section of the Exbibition, particularly the demonstration of the production of fine yarn and the beautiful fabric woven out of it. Another
special feature of the Exhibition was its Art Gallery, the success of which was due solely to Rai Krishan Das of Benares.

Tents were used for accommodating the delegates. They proved more convenient and comfortable than ordinary huts which are usually put up at Congress sessions. Some 20 bungalows were rented for accommodating gentlemen who had previously asked the Reception Committee to make special arrangements for them.

The change in the Congress constitution had reduced the delegates' fee from rupees ten to rupee one only. This reduction came into effect for the first time at Cawnpore. It is not within our scope to deal with the question of the delegates' fee but we may point out that its reduction to such a low figure will considerably add to the difficulties of future Reception Committees.

On behalf of the Reception Committee we take this opportunity to express our gratitude to all the workers of Cawnore and other places of the province. To their zeal and cheerful help was solely due whatever measure of success the Reception Committee, working against heavy odds, was able to achieve. The thanks of the Reception Committee are also due to the Cawnpore Municipal Board which spent about Rs. 13,000 in keeping Tilak Nagar clean and its surroundings well watered and lighted.

Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi
Sri Krishna Datt Paliwal
Rafi ahmad Kidwai

Secretaries,<br>Reception Committes.

Some Misprints.

| Page | Line | For <br> Musslaman | Read <br> Mussalman |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 9 | 16 | Deshbandhu | the Deshbandhu |
| 12 | 38 | aften | often |
| 17 | 34 | you | your |
| 24 | 35 | though | through |
| 31 | 23 | privisions | provisions |
| 45 | 39 | I | (i) |
| 60 | 14 | II | (ii) |
| 61 | 7 | III | (iii) |
| $"$ | 9 | costitution | constitution |
| 98 | 3 | Hindu | Hindi |



President Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

## 40th Indian National Congress. Cawnpore Session, December 26, 1925.

## FIRST DAY.

The Fortieth Annual Session of the Indian National Congress commenced its sittings at Tilaknagar, Cawnpore, in the Congress Pavilion, on Saturday, the 26th December, 1925 at 2-30 p.m.

Delegates and visitors began to pour in from twelve noon and by the time the proceedings commenced, the Pavilion which had a sitting accommodation for fifteen thousand people, was filled to its utmost capacity. About a thousand ladies were among the audience.

Preceded by a band of the Hindustani Seva Dal, singing the Bande Mataram, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the President-elect, was led to her seat in a procession composed of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nerhu, Maulanas Abul Kalam Azad, Mohamad Ali and Shaukat Ali, Dr. Ansari, Messrs. Kelkar, Murari Lal, Srinivasa Iyengar, Deshpande, Sanv tanam and Girdharilal.

Among the prominent persons present on the dais were Lala Lajpat Kai, the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel, Messrs. Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Shyam Sundar Chakravarti, Iswar Saran, Mahomad Shafee and Deep Narayan Singh, Srimati Urmila Devi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Moonje, Dr. Kailasnath Katju, Mr. C. V. S. Narasimha Raju, Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Messrs. Ranga Iyer, T. C. Goswami, S. C. Basu, J. M. Sen-Gupta, A. Rangaswami Iyengar, T. Prakasam and Abhyankar, Dr. Mahmud, Dr. Abdur Rahman and the other members of the South African Indian Deputation, Mr. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande, Dr. Rutherford, Rev. Holmes, Miss Slade and Mr. and Mrs. Huxley.

The proceedings were commenced with the singing of "Bande Mataram " sung by a choir of boys to the accompaniment of music, followed by patriotic songs sung by Mr. Shamlal Gupta and Prof. Vishnu Digambar.

Dr. Murarilal, Chairman, Reception Committee, then climbed the rostrum amidst cheers and said :

Madam President, ladies and gentlemen: The speech I am going to deliver is mostly an apulogy for what we have not been able to do to entertain you who have come here from distant parts of the country. There will be nothing more than that, and those who may be expecting anything more will, I am afraid, be
disappointed. There is one thing however which I should mention here and it is this: I say the movement of Non-co-operation which has been going on in this country for our regeneration is not dead-it has taken its root. It will sprout up into a mighty tree and show its results when the time comes. This is the only way in which this country is going to attain its salvation. That is what I am going to say. So you will please excuse me when I read my address in Hindustani.

Dr. Murarilal then read his welcome address in Hindustani.
Dr. Abdur Rahman, leader of the South African Indian Deputation, next presented Mrs. Naidu with a photograph of her own on behalf of the Indians of South Africa and said :

Madam, ladies and gentlemen : I have been asked by the Indians of South Africa in their name to present to your President and also President of the South African Indian Congress and the Indian National Congress, Nairobi, a small photograph of her own-a very small and insignificant token. Nevertheless, it is an expression of the love we have for one of the greatest women of the world today. (Hear, hear). We cannot send her something in gold. We cannot give her anything in diamond. But we want to assure the people of India that her sons abroad love her and as a token of that love we ask her to accept this little sketch prepared by an Indian-Gabriel. I give it to you, Madam, in the name of the Indian settlers of South Africa, but we make one condition. We have given you one of the greatest living men in the world-Mahatma Gandhi. (Hear, hear). He belongs to us. (Hear, hear). We, South Africans, have given him to you-Mrs. Sarojini Naidu also belongs to us. (Applause). One of them at least, if not both, will have to go to South Africa to fight our battle. And if we take the greatest woman of India away with us we are leaving her photograph so that you can look at her face. (Laughter). Ladies and gentlemen, I am not going to detain you. I know you are awaiting the great presidential address. I want you, Madam, or shall I say what we call you in South Africa "My Auntie"-to accept this as a token of love-as the true expression of love from the Indians of South Africa, to you. (Applause).

## Messages of Sympathy.

The President: In the absence of Dr. Murari Lal, Mr. Girdharilal will read out the messages of sympathy and support wishing success to the Congress.

Mr. Girdharilal read the following messages :-" Deeply regret inability to be by your side owing to my bereavement. Sister, light up the undying fire in the land and let a united nation rise out of the smouldering ashes, purified and strong. God willing, under your tender and womanly care, the nation may grow to a fulness unknown at any time or in any clime, that can make India's froarnm's hat.te
a worthy fight for which my husband cheerfully gave his life and for which two hundred of cur dear sons are biding their time behind the prison bars. Dear sister, do not forget them".-Basaniti Dovi.
" May your mission as a poet and as a woman be fulfilled in this Congress directing our love and service to the real cradle of the people where our great Mother's milk for her children has run dry through poverty, ignorance, disease and disunion, where life is waning and the light of joy is nearly extinct."-Dr. Tagore.
"Forgive unavoidable absence. Wish this session every success. Respectfully and prayerfully submit that permanent principle and policy should ever be the lodestar of the Congress and national union. Appointment of a committee for drafting Indian constitution to be considered and adopted in a special session of the Congress is more opportune and critically necessary. Like to meet Lord Birkenhead's challenge and excuse as well as to educate and mobilise imperfect ideas about soundest constitutional government and true constitutional liberty into healthy ideals under the presidency of the first of the Indian gifted ladies. India and her foreign friends hopefully looking for a constitutional government for India without which true constitutional liberty and justice and adequate protection for her children here and abroad is impossible. May the great God of us all grant you the statesmanlike foresight to rise superior to the present unfortunate embarassing political tendencies to save ourselves and posterity."-C. Vijiavaghavachaviar.

[^0]like you to open Overseas Department. We emphatically urge Indian people and Government through you to give unstinted support to South African Deputation. South. African Indian question is also your; question $\qquad$ ".-Congress, Nairobi.
"Wish you success. Hope you do everything possíble for the cause of Hindu-Moslem unity. We appeal whole India to back our. Deputation."-British Indian Association, Pretoria.
" Rely on the strong support of your Congress to our deputation. Desire strongly Hindu-Moslem Unity. Wish success to the Congress." Transuaal Indians, Joianneshurg.

Other messages received were from Srimati Sarala Devi, Messrs. Rajagopalachari, S. Satyamurti, Shuaib Qureshi, Khattri, Brelvi, Gopabandhudas, Aney, Jinnah and Saklatvala, Lord Sinha and others.

## Presidential Speech.

After these messages were read Mrs. Naidu, amidst sceñes of intense enthusiasm and prolonged and loud cries of "Bande-Mataram,"; "Alla-ho-Akbar" and "Sarojini Naidu-ki-jai" ascended the rostrum" and spoke as follows:-

Friends, I have asked the permission of this great gathering to address you in a language that is not ours because today I have been made the mouthpiece of a nation in struggle, the consolation of a nation in sorrow, the heart-beat of a nation in agony and the promise of a nation defermined to win freedon at the uttermost sacrifice. You have before you in two national tongues and in one foreign language something of that unkindled fuel of myheart that I have piled up, awaiting your kindling hands to bring radiance to that dead wood. You having elected me at so grave an hour of the nation's history, have done something that throughout centuries may serve to redeem for one moment the shame and degradation of yqur fallen manhood, in giving to a nere woman, the woman who for years and years rocked the cradle and sung hullaby to that national standard which is the emblem of your own regeneration, you have gone back to the earliest inspiration that built your civilization and admitted the woman a co-sharer and comrade in the secular and spiritual evolution of a people. And though I be unworthy and have not in me one single quality that fits me for so great an honour-even I, weak and unworthy though I be, am of that spiritual descent that knows no mortality; I am of that descent that has for mothers the purity of Sita, the courage of Savitri and the faith of Damayanti and having this for ancestry, the meanest woman becomes consecrated, perhaps by tradition, to serve and to succour her land.

Today we are gathered together under the shadow of a tragedy. Dusing the last forty years in city after city of this great continent the races of India have gathered together and sent messages of
hope or mandates of battle to the world. Today we are bowed down with tragedy. Hundreds of our youngmen are rotting in prison because they dared to love the country and for that crime there is no redress today in the law of the land. (Shame, shame). : There are Sikh prisoners-brave men the emblem of whose faith is the black turban-unreleased, though they say peace has been made. And though the signatories of that peace have bravely surrendered themselves and accepted the terms, those who drew up the terms of that treaty did not realize or fulfil their obligations and the Sikh prisoners are still rotting in the Northern Jails. (Cries of 'Shame,' shame').

Only the other day when the preparation for this great assembly was being made, how in a moment's caprice without reason-and no reason is forthcoming because there is no reason-workers in the United Provinces were arrested on a most monstrous charge-so monstrous indeed that it makes one ashamed to think that the bureaucracy is so bankrupt of its lies that it has stooped to something trivial and unworthy of Britain as that.

But more than that tragedy of the young and the brave in the prison, is our sorrow for the brave and dead, whose faces we shall never see again. Last year when my leader Mahatma Gandhi was presiding over the destinies of our people there was one by his side-there was: one at his elbow-there was one in his counsel, there was one in his confidence, there was a comrade of his hope, there was a sharer in his struggle--and he is no more with us to day. He was called the friendi of the poor-they called him Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das. In the land that produced Lord Sri Gouranga, was horn that man who in his soul was a worthy incarnation of Chaitanya's love and whose whole life was a mystic rhapsody of sacrifice because to him to die for his country was more than the tragedy of things-and dying on the battle-felddying of the victor's wound-he so loved his people, that soldier on his. death bed-lying on his bed of arrows-he stretched forth his hand to the enemy and said "Here even now make peace though I can carry the struggle to the utmost end of death. For the peace of my people, for the prosperity of my nation, I will make peace with you it you be men enough to make peace with me and mine."

And very soon after this king had passed away to the unseen kingdom of the next world, there died a patriot of the nation. Long before you and I were born his voice was thundering against the heavens saying "liberty for my stricken people." He was one of those who founded this great Congress over which I have been called upon to preside today. And. we miss not from our midst but from this world Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea and when we realize that he was one of the founders of this great national ideal of deliverance trom bondage, we
cannot fail to realize that Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das but confirmed and completed the dream that was a dream of the youtb, Surendra Nath Banerjea.

But not politicians alone, not the soldiers on the battle field alone, will win the liberty of India or raise our prestige in the eyes of the world. While Deshbandhu was fighting for liberty, while Sir Surendra Nath in his early days was dreaming of liberty, there was a man in Western India in the sanctuary of his academic seclusion, saying 'let the patriots fight for today. I will see that yesterday shines once more before the world ignorant of the beauty of yesterday,' and so Ramakrishna Bhandarkar lighted the long-extinguished lamp of Sanskrit learning and lifted it high above the tumult of the world and showed to the dazzled Europeans the secrets of our ancient Vedic civilization.

Others also have died, alas! To them also we offer our most mournful tribute. But let us remember the highest tribute, the loftiest memorial that we can offer to our illustrious dead, is to make our lives a more radiant remembrance of their dreams, their deeds, their hopes and aspirations and their failures and achievements also. How today shall we raise that memorial, how today shall the living justify, how today shall the living vindicate and immortalize the dreams, the aspirations and sacrifices of the dead? Oh my friends, today where shall I find the language, where shall I find that living fire that shall kindle in your hearts an undying fire of which Basanti Devi has spoken to you in her message? How shall I stir your hearts, how shall I light that flame that cannot die so that your slavery, so that your disunion, so that all the things that make you hungry and naked and forlorn, oppressed and battered, shall be burnt in that undying fire? We are today a people disorganized. We are today a people bowed down in the storm of reaction and hatred. Only the other day we were saying ' Behold ! Liberty is at hand.' Only the other day we said, 'Out of South Africa there came a wizard across the seas'. We said, 'Here comes the magician.' We said, 'Here comes the great sorcerer and by some magic he shall teach us deliverance from bondage' and throughout the length and breadth of this great sorrowing country went the magio fire-that was called "Non-coperation", "Non-co-operation". The old saw visions. The young dreamed dreams; women saw their souls lit up like so many lamps extinguished. The young men said, "Let every drop of blood in me become a sacred sacrifice for the liberty of my people". The old said, "Oh God! give us youth again so that we may live to die for that ideal." And thousands went to prison. Thousands took the vow of poverty and the rich became poor and the poor became hungry and the hungry became corpses, but, we todaywe are unable to sustain the might of that doctrine. We have not. tho courage, we have not the nobility, we have not the faith of our
fathers to sustain the epic-sacrifice. And so we are today in the grip of despair, we are today in the grip of hateful reaction which comes after a great epoch of life and sacrifice. How shall we rise out of that terrible despair? I said the other day only, "In the battle for liberty, fear is the one unforgivable sin." And today we are traitors because we are afraid, we are unpardonably sinful because we know despair. How shall I raise you out of that despair? How shall I bring together the scattered, demoralized, hostile and conflicting forces of the Indian people?

Oh my brothers! if today you are to realise that your brethren in South Africa are threatened with extermination because the rulers of that land say, "Who are you, slaves of India today who dare to interfere with the extermination of your slave kindred over here." Our brothers in South Africa have sent their ambassadors to us in their hour of agony. They have come to the last desperate stage when they cannot stand alone and they come to you with hands of supplication saying, " Oh , rise out of slavery because your slavery is the guarantee of our death in that country ; your freedom is the prophesy of our honour in the eyes of the world. "What answer shall you make to your Colonies? In East Africa, in Kenya, where our people have been living for centuries making historic Colonies of India-where sailors from Cambay showed to Vasco De Gama the way to India, the Eldorado, India the Eldorado, the dream of the world-there they say to your people, ' You shall not be anything but inferior because you belong to a slave nation called India.' In South Africa where your people by the sweat of their brow and blood of their lives have built up that beautiful Natal, they say to us, "You shall not trade here; you shall not live here; you are the Asiatic menace that we must cut off from our lives." and we, with all the tyranny of our social system, with all the curse of disunion, with all the dishonour of our bondage, have not the power or authority to say to them "Thus far and no further, because the million-armed and free India stands before her stricken children in South Africa."

Friends, you have not the power today to resist a single wrong against you. Only a few weeks ago I went up to the Frontiers-to that old Peshawar where the people of Central Asia pour down. I went to the historic Khyber Pass and I saw the Khyber caravans out of Central Asia coming with hundreds of camels loaded with food and spices and all those things that come to India for traffic; and standing on that ancient highway I realized how India has always known the Khyber guarding her own destiny-how even today history might repeat itself and how again that ancient Khyber might once more be the road of destiny to India, not the road of India's freedom, but once again the road of India's new slavery. And yet millions of men growing up, marrying and giving in marriage, building their
'homes, breeding children and amassing wealth-has any one of you the power to defend the honour of your homes, the sanctuary of your shrines? You, unarmed, defenceless, as I have said, cowards by compulsion, have you today the right to be free when you dare not guard your frontiers of the mountains or your frontiers of the oceans against the enemy that might overcome you as through the centuries the has overcome you in the past? Shall you not say from this platform of the Congress, one of the first essentials of our $\sim$ regeneration is that military training and education that will make us a free people and enable us to guard our peace that nobody would dare to attack us in war? Shall you not form a National Militia that the old may take courage and the young be filled with enthusiasm and ecstasy? Will you not say that the high-ways of the oceans are open to your peopleto your own ships and supplement your own defences on land? Will you not see to it that your commerce today is again in your own hands-you people, exploited by roads and by seas by White races, Yollow races and Brown races of the world? You talk of the wealth of India-exploited in every inch of you, every fibre of you --every drop of your blood being exploited by the rapacity of the imperial policy-by the cupidity of the nations who for economic gain would suck your blood dry today-what are you doing to prevent the terror of exploitation against you? What are you, my people, going to do to become human again intellectually? Today you are a mere imitation-cheap imitation-the fifth rate imitation of second rate models of the West. You have forgotten your own art. You have forgotten your own language. You do not know how to evolve your own music. You have betrayed your own inheritance because you have run after false gods and your intellect has bowed down in worship to the gods that slave you and your imagination burns incense at the shrine of those that devour the honour of your race. What effort will you make to give to your children that right place in the world which is theirs? The Nations of the West say, "Oh, these slaves ! We have nothing common." The Nations of America, of Atrica, of Asia say, " What can we hope from that slave nation called India!"

Deshbandhu Chittaranajan Das talked and dreamed of Asiatic Federation and yet when I think of the Asiatic Federation, I wonder if a slave nation dare to send a message to any free nation in either. hemispheres of the world. But even slaves must have ties with the outer world and I would ask you to remember that India cannot remain in isolation but Indian nationalism can only be a unit of that great international development of the world-and slaves though we be today, without the right to send our message of hope to the outer world, at least let us try to create bonds of friendship with the, outer. world aaping "Our time is coming when we shall make good those:
pledges that we send you and in equal comradeship of effort and liberty help you fulfil the great ideal of the world brotherhood and world peace." But, friends, you cannot do this without those things that are necessary for the production of the great world ties and sense of kinship. You have no Press to day that can educate the outer world in the authentic affairs of the Indian nation. You have no ambassadors whom you can send to friendly countries saying 'these, are our ideals that we shall achieve'-saying, 'these are our miseries which we shall overcome,' and not saying to them 'we ask your succour,' because no brave race could take succour from any other race of the world, but saying 'these are the ambitions of the Indian people-these are the ideals of the Indian people, therefore oh, sympathetic and progressive people of the world, keep a place for us on that pilgrimage of yours towards the fulfilment of the world's destiny.' And then my brothers and my sisters, Hindus, Musslamans, Parsis and Christians, Chinese and Europeans, whoever be here, I want to say to you that the ideal of India can only be the great ideal of peace. The whole synthesis of the Indian genius is that all those gifts, that come to a weaker nation, that are now Indian, but came across the Khyber or came across the oceans whether to conquer-whether to live in the East-whether to trade-whether to be friends or whether as sanctuary or for succourthe synthesis of the Indian genius is built up of the civilization that every race has brought to his great hospitable land of ours. And today if we talk of freedom we can only do so in terms of that great composite ideal that builds up the Indian nation. And yet the world is shaking at the dreadful clamour of our internecine troubles. Whoever goes round this great country -instead of those lovely Bhajans that one should hear-those lovely songs-of peace and friendshipinstead of those lovely lullabies sung to the little childrenand yours is a land of beauty-yours is the land of peace-but instead of those lovely Bhajans and sweet lullabies, does he not hear the lullabies of ichildren sung to the tune of hatred-does he not hear Bhajans singing the hymn of hate within the boundaries of the great India herself. Today the hand of the Hindu is against his Muslim brother and the hand of the Muslim is raised against his Hindu comrade. And yet do you dare talk of Swaraj when you with your own hands are crumbling into dust all the dreams that ever were dreamt of a free and united India. This is not the moment, I know, to draw in too sharp an outline or in too living a colour that tragic picture of our disunion and feuds. And yet until we find some supreme solution for this greatest of ills that is eating like a cancer into the very vitals of life, believe me, there can be no Swaraj for the Indian people. And what is the remedy for this dreadful disease? And what is it that has
brought this disease so prominently to our eyes? What is the poison which is vitiating our very life blood? What is the remedy, I ask ?

Oh, my friends, do you think that Swaraj today is a thing that can be taken in piecemeal on communal lines or racial lines or on lines of creed, caste or province ? Is it not an organic thing-the very life-blood of our being that we cannot separate-that we cannot divide and yet keep, a living Swaraj? Why should the Hindus, the great majority, proud of their ancient civilization, forget that the basic glory of their culture has been the recognition of the beauty of all creeds and aoceptance of all classes, giving them sanctuary, hospitality, succour, sympathy, unity, friendship and love offered in real generosity to all those who came to our doors. Is it not Hinduism to have apotheosis of tolerance and reverence for all good and for all the beauty of the world and shall the Hindus be so untrue to their inheritance that they shall today stand in isolation and say, 'Swaraj will be won on the strength of the Hindu people and let the Musalmans stand aside'? That is to deny the fundamental principle, that great Vedic faith which belongs to you and to me as the imperishable heritage, that no foreign invasion has been able to corrupt or to defraud. But when, on the other hand, seven crores of Indian Moslems turn their faces beyond the frontiers of India and are also deeply preoccupied with the sorrows of Islam in other lands they forget that India their Mother is bleeding of her manifold wounds. What shall I say to my Moslem brothers-has not their Prophet taught them that paradise lies at the feet of the Mother and shall I not ask my Moslem brothers to turn their eyes and come back to the feet of the Mother in whose benediction lies their paradise? Shall not their recognition in its fullest measure of the Indian nationality be the greatest of gifts that Islam can give to India to crown the great gifts that came across the desert to my India? Shall not the Hindus and Moslems cease to talk of majority and minority -of safeguards and protection-of neutrality and hostility-and shall they not say "India, our Motherland is the one bond of 'unionand though we the Mussalmans may belong to the desert called Arabia and though we the Hindus come of the forest culture of the Vedas, we are indissolubly bound together." Let the desert and the forest meet together in one paradise of culture whose name is Indian Liberty for the Indian Nation. Oh, my friends, how shall we solve this problem, I do not know. Some say to me, give us separate communal representation and all things will be well. Others say, give us a joint electorate and all things will be well. Oh, is it so easy to treat the fatal disease with a few canting formulæ of separate or joint representation or is there any magic in the number of seats given to one community or the other? If the remedy is so easy-a mere incantation of a number of seats or separate representation-some jugglery of the polling booth-I would
say, give it and be done with it. But the disease is very deep indeed and the name of that disease is 'distrust' and 'hatred' and it cannot be cured, believe me, until the women of the race say, "No more shall our little children be cradled to the lullaby of this hymn of internecine hate"-until the women of the race say-until the sisterhood and motherhood of India say, " we shall stop this dreadful disease that perpetuates our slavery and makes us the mockery of the civilized world;" and then and then only shall there be hope for this unhappy country. But that is not the end of our catalogue of sins.

Today in this country you and I stand branded as the parasites of the city-we stand arraigned for our neglect and forgetfulness and for our betrayal of the needs of the poor. What shall a few thousand palaces in the city-what shall a few banks that hold your coffers and gold-what shall a few Universities here and a few Universities there and a few modern appliances to show how far you come in line with modern Western things - do to help the poor? Is this to be the criterion of your progress? No, no. Believe me, your progress, your liberty, your achievement will only be worth having when there is food in every home in the villages (cries of 'Hear, hear')-when there is cloth enough to cover the shame of the naked women-when there is milk enough to moisten the lips of the suffering children who die of want in a land that is full of harvest. When Mahatma Gandhi gave to the world the wonderful creed, he made the spinning wheel the centre of our great redemption. Today, the poet Tagore, with his poet's vision and seer's vision has sent you a message to say 'direct your love and service to the cradle of your people where nature's milk has run dry-where joys are extinct and where life is on the wane.' What are you and I doing to still the hunger-those million mouths in hunger that cry for bread? What are you and I doing-with our intellect, with our powers, with our prestige-with our wealth and with our fame-to meet that myriadhanded supplicant gesture that says "Oh; save us from death for the pangsof hunger are terrible within our vitals". Shall you not, young men, come out in your hundreds and thousands as missionaries of salvation to go over the length and breadth of this agricultural country-this agricultural country whose harvests are transhipped to feed millions of little children elsewhere when the mouths of your own little children are smitten by your hands unto death? Shall you not use your intellect -shall you not use your talent-shall you not use the plenty that you amass in the city to go back to the poor who have fed you? They have tilled the soil that you may reap the harvest. They rot in poverty so that you may benefit. But you have condemned them to be living corpses in the midst of harvest. You have enjoyed, you have slept, you have married, you have lived and been famous and powerful, while those who are your Annadata-those on whom you live, they are dying oday in their lunger and misery. From them comes the cry of
anguish saying, " We are dying-our little children are dying-we are naked-our women are naked--send us clothes, send us food, send us money, send us men." How shall you men, go and work amidst the villagers unless you are true to the old tradition that makes the household feed the missionaries, the Sanyasis, the Bairagis of your race. Unless you do your duty and set them free from all material care those missionaries who shall go forth and redeem the villagers from hunger, from poverty, from disease, from misery, from death-how shall they be able to give their lives for the cause? And remember, friends, because there is not enough food in the villages in this great agricultural country, men crowd into cities-are herded together like animals-work for a pittance-starve, exposed to temptations and viles-become nothing but the churning house of every disease that comes. These men are exposed without any sheet-anchor to temptation they cannot resist. Is it not your duty to so organize the labour in the city-the labour in the great industrial towns-so that your work in the villages-your beneficent work that will set free the villagersshall be complemented and completed by the work you do for the industrial workers in the crowded cities? Do you not know how they are exploited so that the coffers of the profiteers might be swelled, and do you not also know how many of you who seek after fame-how many of you who seek power or prestige or political gain-exploit these men, their poverty, their bonesty, the misery they suffer from. But let it not be said of us as a nation that we have brought the tactics of the West into the East, rather let us revive our own ideals, and in serving labour let us not make a new class war in this country where there are already too many castes and creeds. Let us therefore discipline labour and discipline the capitalists as well. Let us teach both of them that they are equal partners in the service of India so that the industrial development of India-the commercial development of India-shall not be the work of labour only or of the capitalists only, but the result of their equitable and fruitful co-operation-each working with the other in the service of the land.

Friends, I do not know, because I have not the knowledge-I have not the qualification-how to deal with all the other problems that face us. But whatever constitution you wish to evolve out of our knowledge or experience of India-whether it be some day absolute independence -whether it be as Deshbandhu used to say, freedom through interdependence with other free nations-whether it should be in the initial stage self-Government on the lines of that constitution which has been evolved by one of your ex-Presidents-that great Irish woman who has made for herself an Indian soul and whose name is Annie Besant-or whether it should be evolved as a temporary measure-mark you, as a temporary measure, out of that demand which is the minimum demand-of rights to be given at once-that
was put forward in the Indian Legislative Assembly by the chosen representatives of the Indian people-whatever form your initial constitution may take, remember that one-third of India belongs to the great Indian Chiefs and one of your initial duties is to evolve some policy of friendship, without interference, with the Indian States and Native Chiefs of India so that they on their part might come in line with the great ideal of-I do not know-of what is now called British India. And let not the Princes believe for a moment that we want to crush them by any subtlety or device, hidden or covert, like what the British have done, taking State after State by strategy and by oppression, and let them feel that some day when we have the great Federation of free India, the Indian States will come in line with it as an integral unit of greater India working on the same basis of democratic Freedom with the people of India. And side by side with the Indian States I place the Frontier Provinces of India. They are always ruled by martial law. You cry out against the martial law in the Punjab-you cry out against the martial law in Malabar-but what about those people-Hindus and Mahomedans, Afridis, Usufees and Afghans-living always under the shadow of martial law and being denied even the ordinary amenities of life. The ordinary redress of law is not granted to them. When I was in the Frontier Provinces, friend after friend told me " Will not the Congress and the people of India do something to help us to get the ordinary normal amenities of life?" But as I said already, the Congress should take all these interests as mere auxiliary work, and I have suggested in that little pamphlet that the Congress should be divided into departments of activities and each department should be worked by men or women who have enthusiasm and capacity and experience to minister to all the growing and divergent needs of the people. One of these departments should deal with village reconstruction with a band of eager, self-less missionaries of whom I have spoken ; the other with the fortune or misfortune of our people overseas and yet another with foreign propaganda and publicity in India, so that there will remain not one single village or hamlet in India whose people shall not be educated in their civic rights and social rights and duties and their political rights, so that our people shall know how wrong a system it is that governs them with an iniquitous fiscal policy that ruins their trade and deprives them of their rightful place in the economic and industrial progress of the world.

But when all is said and done, remember the work of the Congress is the attainment of Swarajya. The Congress after five years has today returned to its great political duty as the one channel through which Swarajya must be attained. How shall we work for this. You all know that the Congress is divided today. Though united, it has two wings. One wing is presided over by Mahatma Gandhithat group of congressmen, I believe the influential group who refused
to change with the changing time and who say" we shall seek Swarajya through Mahatma Gandhi's gospel alone". And so today within the Congress itself the only political group actually battling with the bureaucratic tyranny is the Swarajya Party which had for its leader the brilliant Deshbandhu and which has today for its leader that man who chose poverty, having once been a prince of men-Motilal Nehru. How shall a single party give battle to the powerful bureaucracy? Today is it not the duty of the Liberals, the Conventionalists or Independents-no matter what particular label they attach to their names-no matter what be their shibbolethsto return to the Congress-shall they not come to the common field of battle and united and firm say to the Bureaucracy-"We shall not serve you any longer-we shall not any longer suffer the insults and insolence of the bureaucracy's challenge to our manhood." Shall they not stand together and say whether within the Councils or without-" Westand to fight for our rights and we shall not be deprived of our rights an hour longer and we must have our rights which belong to us." There is a demand which is called the National Demand which was given as an ultimatum to the Government. What is the will of the people-what is the mandate to your representatives in the Legislative Assembly-are you prepared to still have the devastating passion that disintegrates your manhood-are you prepared to say, 'let us wait a little longer-when so many centuries have gone into slumber with this brand of slavery, let a century still go by, let us still be patient'? Oh, if I could destroy that patience of yours-if I could break that devastating patience of yours! Oh, if I could redeem India from her horrible'patience! Say to your chosen representatives 'Our patience is at an end-we cannot wait. Come out of that Assembly and Council of yours if within a week the answer does not come that shall guarantee your Swaraj.' Say to them, 'We will not wait that you should go there and make the Assembly a debating ground for eloquence and rhetoric.' Say to them 'Come out and work and redeem the country by your work. We have had enough of it. We have had enough of constitutional requests denied by constitutional Imperialists.' Today we want you to go to the country and say ' $\mathrm{Oh}, \mathrm{men}$ and women of India, we tried and we have failed to shake the mighty, we come back to the poor, we come back to the hungry, the homeless, the oppressed and ask for their mandate for our sacrifice.' Do you think by mere promise from White Hall or Simla or Delhi the poor would be ted, the naked clothed and shame wiped out from the forehead of your manhood? In your millions you must stand together and march shoulder to shoulder through stage after stage of sacrifice till the last sacrifice is demanded of you.

I am not afraid of the ultimate saorifice. I am only a woman. I am only a woman but I am the standard bearer of your honour and I will see to it-the women of India will see to it-that you men shall no more betray the heritage of our nation. The Indian woman calls, ' Oh, my men stand up and say what is manhood but sacrifice, what is life except to die that our children may be reborn in their heritage of freedom.' And if men falter, as they have done through centuries, go to your homes and let me, a mere womanlet me go to the world and say-' Mother, rise, we redeem you from bondage-rise from the nightmare of slavery. Shall it be left to the women to say that thy sons were faithless but thy daughters have saved thee.' Bande Mataram. (Applause and prolonged cheers).

## Presidential Address

The following is the Presidential Address, copies of which were printed and circulated :

## Friends,

Were I to ransack all the treasuries of human language I fear I should fail to discover words of adequate power or beauty to translate my deep and complex emotion in acknowledging the signal honour you have done me, by entrusting to my unskilled hands the high burden and responsibility of so exalted an office, which for two score years has been ennobled by the brilliant and memorable achievement of my distinguished predecessors both of our own and of alien race. I am fully aware that you have bestowed upon me the richest gift in your possession, not merely as gracious recompense for such trivial service as I may have been privileged to render at home or abroad; but rather in generous tribute to Indian womanhood and as token of your loyal recognition of its legitimate place in the secular and spiritual counsels of the nation. In electing me to be the chief among your chosen servants, through a period so fraught with grave issues and fateful decisions, you have not created a novel precedent. You have only reverted to an old tradition and restored to Indian woman the classic position she once held in a happier epoch of our country's story : symbol and guardian alike of the hearth-fires, the altar-fires and the beacon-fires of her land. Poignantly conscious as I am of my own utter unworthiness to interpret so exquisite, so austere an ideal of wisdom, devotion and sacrifice, as embodied through the ages in the radiant heroines of our history and legend, I trust, that to the fulfilment of the lofty task you have allotted me, even I might bring some glowing ember of the immortal faith that illumined the vigil of Sita in her forest exile, and bore the feet of Savitri undaunted to the very citadels of Death.

The accepted convention of this august assembly imposes upon me, alas, the duty of placing before you a formal document of plans and policies of work for the coming year. I therefore, contrary to the impulse and custom of a life-time, am vainly groping for appropriate phrases that might serve dimly to foreshadow some of the thoughts that can only find spontaneous expression when I stand in your midst and the inspiration of your living presence shall give to my heart its voice of hope, and to my words their wings of fire.

Before we reach the central purpose of our labours in this northern city, to which we have journeyed from the farthest ends of India, let us offer our mournful homage to the memory of ourillustrious dead-to that great patriarch of our national renaissance. Surendranath Banerjea, who for well-nigh half a century assailed the heavens with
the thunders of his splendid oratory in indignation at the burning wrongs of his people; to Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, the famous scholar of the Deccan, who with patient and dedicated hands rekindled the lamp of our ancient Sanskrit culture, and lifted it high above the clamour and conflict of political throngs, to Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das, kingliest of dreamers, whose whole being was a Vaishnavite rhapsody of incomparable passion for the liberty of his Motherland, who died with his hand outstretched in a royal gesture of reconciliation towards a powerful antagonist against whom he had fought so often with such reckless and victorious chivalry.

Would that he were with us today to guide us aright in our anxious deliberations and help us to apprehend the true and tragic significance of the stupendous problems that call for immediate settlement and cannot with impunity be deferred to a more convenient season. A singular combination of domestic and international circumstances has conspired to implicate us against our will and almost without our knowledge in a labyrinth of intricate and unparallelled difficulties that threaten the stability and integrity of our national existence. Our imperative duty therefore, is to survey with eyes unhooded of their habitual illusion, the sinister and melancholy spectacle of our abject helplessness born of our foolish disunion and nourished by our long dependence upon the caprice or the compassion of Imperial policies. What means shall we devise, what schemes shall we evolve to deliver ourselves from the manifold dangers that encompass us? How shall we combat the deadly forces of repression that challenge our human rights of liberty, how defeat the further encroachment of ruthless and rapacious Imperialist exploitation that despoils the remnants of our moral and material heritage? How circumvent the insidious and ingenious aggression of other foreign races eager to profit by the conditions of our economic and intellectual servitude? How shall we avert the implacable doom that menaces our unfortunate kindred in the Colonies, how quell the rampant forces of reaction or divert the disaster of our internecine feuds?

The answers that we need are fully enshrined in the magnificent Gospel of sacrifice enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi, in which he vainly strove to teach us the heroic secret of national self-redemption. But we, so long disinherited from the epic faith that sustained our brave forefathers, were too weak and unworthy to respond for more than a brief period to the demands of that noble and exacting creed. Whatever may be the verdict of history, it cannot be gainsaid that the movement of non-violent non-co-operation that swept like a tempest over the country shook the very foundations of our national life, and though today it is quiescent and its echoes are almost still, it has irrevocably changed the aspect of our spiritual landscape.

However remote may be all our programmes for the future from the principles and ideals of Mahatma Gandhi, they must inevitably be permeated by the influence of these recent years which have permanently shifted the currents of our political thought and altered the direction of our political destiny.

We need today some transcendent miracle of intrepid and enduring statesmanship to enable us to remobilize, reconcile and discipline our scattered and demoralised energies to a supreme unanimous effort for the final deliverance of India from the last shackles of her political subjection ; and to devise a comprehensive scheme that shall act as a natural and indispensable auxiliary of political emancipation, and include within the scope of its interest or benediction all the enterprises and endeavours that substantially contribute to the social, economic, industrial and intellectual advancement of India, consistently with the requirements of her own peculiar conditions and in accordance with the finest ideals of modern progress.

To give concrete expression to our decisions in regard to these ancillary activities, the Indian National Congress should create definite departments to be governed by groups of men and women specially qualified by their capacity or enthusiasm to administer to the vital and divergent wants of the people. The main divisions might be few but should include within their sphere of responsibility all cognate matters. To my mind it is of paramount importance to formulate a practical scheme of village reconstruction on the lines of Deshbandhu Das's dream. For this purpose we must try to enlist a large band of missionary patriots of burning zeal who set free from material wants by the pious charity of the house-holders of the country as in ancient times, should carry through the length and breadth of the land the beneficent evangel of self-reliance and self-respect, taking the immemorial twin symbols of the plough and the spinning wheel as the central text of the teaching that shall liberate our unhappy peasantry from the crushing misery and terror of hunger, ignorance and disease. Closely allied to the task of village reorganisation, is the task of organising the industrial workers in the crowded cities, who are so aften compelled to live under conditions that degrade and brutalize them; and who, dislocated from the steadying influences of the familiar traditions and associations or the rural homes they leave in search for bread, are so hopelessly exposed to the temptations of immorality and vice. It should be our endeavour to assist in securing for them improved housing conditions, better wages and a cleaner atmosphere, and to establish an equitable and harmonious co operation between Capital and Labour as a valuable joint asset of national progress.

I am appalled at the criminal apathy of our general attitude towards the urgent problem of Indian education. The surpassing evil of
foreign domination has been to enslave our imagination and intellect and alienate us from the glorious tradition of our national learning. We are today no more than the futile puppets of an artificial and imitative system of education which, entirely unsuited to the special trend of our racial genius, has robbed us of our proper mental values and perspectives, and deprived us of all true initiative and originality in seeking authentic modes of self-expression. It is pre-eminently our duty towards the young generation to so recreate our educational ideals as to combine in felicitous and fruitful alliance all the lovely regenerating wisdom of our Eastern culture with all the highest knowledge of art and science, philosophy and civic organisation evolved by the younger peoples of the West.

In addition, I would insist with all the force at my command on including a complete course of military training as an integral part of national education. Is it not the saddest of all shameful ironies that our children whose favourite lullabies are the battle songs of Kurukshetra and whose little feet march gaily to the stirring music of Rajput ballads, should be condemned to depend for the safety of their homes, the protection of their sanctuaries, the security of their mountain and ocean frontiers, on the fidelity and strength of foreign arms? The savage Massai, the primitive Zulu, the Arab and the Afridi, the Greek and the Bulgar may all carry their tribal weapons and claim their inalienable right to defend the honour of their race, but we whose boast it is that we kindled the flame of the world's civilization are alone defrauded of our privilege and have become cowards by compulsion, unfit to answer the world's challenge to our manhood, unable to maintain the sanctity of our homes and shrines.

Whatever the experiments recommended by the Commission now sitting to explore the avenues of military advancement for our people, it is incumbent upon the Congress to form forthwith a national militia by voluntary conscription, of which the nucleus might well be the existing volunteer organisations. Further we should also carefully consider the question of nautical as well as naval and aerial training to equip the nation for all purposes of defence against invasion or attack.

Let it not be said of us, however, that our selfish absorption in our own domestic affairs has made us oblivious of the distress and difficulty of our kinsmen in foreign lands. Our adventurous compatriots, who have crossed the seas to seek their livelihood in the dominions and colonies have from time to time been subjected to restrictive and repressive legislation. The White Paper still stands as a reproach against our failure to redress the wrongs of the Indian community in Kenya. But in the whole chronicle of civilized legislation there has never been so cruel and relentless an outrage against humanity as is
deliberately embodied in the anti-Asiatic Bill, which is calculated to exterminate the Indian community from South Africa.

Shall we not send across the seas a loving and ready response to their heart-rending cry for succour, and, through their ambassadors whom we welcome today, offer to our harassed and afflicted brothers in South Africa the assurance that India stands behind their courageous struggle to vindicate their inherent civic and human rights against the onslaught of such terrific injustice and oppression?

Never before has our duty to our kindred in foreign countries been so vividly brought home to our minds; nor the necessity of establishing a close and living contact with all their changing fortunes. We should not lose a single moment in forming an Ovearseas Department in the Congress manned by those who can keep themselves vigilantly aware of all the legislations and enactments that adversely or otherwise affect Iudian settlers abroad.

Here my heart pleads with me to remember those sorrowful and lonely exiles, pining in strange and far off corners of the earth, consumed with a desperate hunger and nostalgia for a glimpse of their motherland, to which they cannot return because, once they sought to serve her and win her freedom in ways unrecognised by the common law. But many amongst them surely have made fullest atonement for all the fervent folly of their too impatient youth. Surely they, who have been chastened in the searching crucibles of dreadful suffering and privation, have been refashioned to become consecrated vessels of selfless service for the amelioration of the poor, the fallen and the depressed.

I cannot conceive how we have allowed ourselves to be so heavily handicapped by the lack of an efficient publicity which is the first essential of any campaign. We should therefore take immediate steps to form a department for widespread political propaganda and for the education of the masses in all matters pertaining to their civic and social interests, to the wrongs under which they labour, the struggles in which the nation is engaged, the iniquitous and unstable fiscal and financial policies so ruinous to the prosperity of the country. I am confident that we could secure the willing co-operation of those who, otherwise prevented from active participation in public affairs, would gladly place their expert knowledge at our disposal, to advise us on questions connected with the revival of cottage industries, on commerce, railway, shipping, co-operative banking and all other branches of development necessary for our material welfare.

The nationalist press both vernacular and English, should be amongst the accredited channels of our propaganda; above all a reliable foreign news service should be established to transmit to all the chief centres of the world the correct version of Indian affairs,
and friendly embassies appointed to foster feelings of goodwill and understanding between India and the people of other lands.

And now I approach with the utmost hesitation and regret, the most baffling and most tragic of all the problems before us. I, who have dedicated my life to the dream of Hindu-Muslim unity, cannot contemplate without tears of blood the dissensions and divisions between us that rend the very fabric of my hope. I have tried to arrive at a just appreciation of the many unfortunate causes that have brought about so deep a gulf between the two communities, and tended to quicken such a sharp and importunate sense of aloofness on the part of my Muslim brothers, which, to the profound alarm and resentment of the Hindu community, manifests itself in a growing and insistent demand for separate and preferential rights and privileges in academic, official, civic and political circles of life. Though I am convinced that the principle of communal representation, whether through a joint or a separate electorate, frustrates the conception of national solidarity, I am compelled to recognise that situated as we are today, in an atmosphere so tense and dark and bitter with unreasoning communal jealousy, suspicion, fear, distrust and hatred, it is not possible to reach any satisfactory or abiding readjustment without the most earnest and patient collaboration between Hindu and Muslim statesmen of undeniable patriotism, to whom we should entrust the delicate and difficult task of seeking some sovereign remedy for so devastating a disease.

I beseech my Hindu brothers to rise to the height of their traditional tolerance which is the basic glory of our Vedic faith and try to comprehend how intense and far-reaching a reality is the brotherhood of Islam, which constrains seventy millions of Indian Mussalmans to share with breathless misery the misfortunes that are so swiftly overtaking the Islamic countries and crushing them under the heel of the military despotism of foreign powers.

In their turn I would implore my Muslim comrades not to permit their preoccupation with the sorrows of Syria, Egypt, Iraq and Arabia to obliterate the consciousness of their supreme duty to India their motherland, who must always have the first claim upon their devotion and allegiance.

If Hindus and Mussalmans would both learn to practise the divine qualities of mutual forbearance and accord to one another perfect liberty of worship and modes of living, without the tyranny of fanatical interruptions of one another's appointed rituals and sacrifices, if they would but learn to reverence the beauty of each other's creeds and the splendour of each other's civilizations, if the women of the two communities would but join together in the intimate friendship of their common sisterhood, and nurture their children in an atmosphere
of mutual sweetness and harmony, how near we should come to the fulfilment of our heart's desire !

We should grossly fail in our duty to our neighbours were we to omit to try and foster cordial ties of sympathy and trust between ourselves and the princes and the people of the great Indian States, scrupulously refraining from all interference in their internal concerns but always ready to serve in their wider interests.

Nor can we afford to ignore the claims of the frontier provinces which owing to their peculiar geographical and strategio position on the map, are governed by a form of perpetual martial law. We should render them all the assistance in our power, in their efforts to obtain the normal civic and social amenities which are so abundantly enjoyed by their sister provinces.

These are some of the accessory features of our work. The real function, however, of the Indian National Congress is the speedy attainment of Swaraj.

There is a large and influential section of Congressmen who still cling with touching and jealous loyalty to the orthodox creed of Non-co-operation. Sternly refusing to take cognizance of legislative bodies they devote themselves to the pursuit of Mahatma Gandhi's benevolent mission, propagating the cult of the spinning wheel and ministering to the lowly and pitiful outcastes of our society whom, in our arrogance, we have so long deprived of their elementary human rights.

Today therefore, the Swaraj Party with its highly disciplined organisation and its striking record of success is the only political body within the Congress engaged in actual combat with bureaucratic authority. Is it not in this crucial hour the unmistakable duty of all the other political parties in the country, irrespective of their particular labels and particular beliefs, to return to the Congress which invites them with open doors, and coalesce all their divided energies and talents in devising a common programme of action in pursuance of a common goal?

All of them have openly acknowledged that the Reforms of 1919 which were to have created a new era of progress have proved nothing but a mirage and the powers they professed to transfer to the people nothing but a deceptive myth. All of them surely, are tacitly agreed upon some common maximum of the wrongs they are still prepared to endure, some common minimum of the rights they are now determined to enforce. And whatever be my own personal conviction, they at all events are all in favour at least as an initial form of self-government of the ideal of Dominion Status, so elaborately expounded in the Commonwealth of India Bill, and more succinctly and emphatically embodied in the National Demand which has been
endorsed by the representatives of all political schools in the Legislative Assembly. Below the limits of that demand the Indian nation cannot descend without irretrievable damage to its dignity and selfrespect. It is now for the Government to make the responsive gesture that shall decide our future attitude. If the response be sincere and magnanimous, with ample guarantees of goodwill ard good faith on its part, it will necessitate an immediate revision of our present policy. But if by the end of the Spring Sessions we receive no answer or an answer that evades the real issues or proves unworthy of our acceptance, the National Congress must clearly issue a mandate to all those who come within its sphere to vacate their seats in the Central and Provincial Legislatures and inaugurate from Kailas to Kanyakumari, from the Indus to the Brahmaputra, an untiring and dynamic campaign to arouse, consolidate, educate and prepare the Indian people for all the progressive and ultimate stages of our united struggle and teach them that no sacrifice is too heavy, no suffering too great, no martyrdom too terrible, that enables us to redeem our Mother from the unspeakable dishonour of her bondage, and bequeath to our children an imperishable legacy of Peace.

In the battle for liberty, fear is the one unforgivable treachery and despair, the one unforgivable sin.

With palms uplifted in ardent supplication, I pray that, to us, in our coming hour of travail, may be granted in sufficient measure an invincible faith and an inflexible courage, and that He in whose name we begin our labours today will in the hour of our triumph keep us humble and in the beautiful words of our ancient invocation

Lead us out of the Unreal into the Real,
Out of the Darkness into the Light, Out of Death into Immortality.

## The Resolutions.

## I Condolence.

The President moved from the Chair the following Resolution which was carried in solemn silence, all standing :

The Congress places on record its sense of deep sorrow over the deaths of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea, Dr. Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Syt. S. Krishnaswami Sarma, Syt. V. V.S. Aiyer and the other patriote who worked for the country's progress in their respective spheres, and tenders its respectful condolences to the bereaved families.

## II SOUTH AFRICA.

The President called upon Mahatma Gandhi to move the Resolution on South African Indians.

Mahatma Gandhi as he walked to the rostrum was greeted with cries of 'Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai.'

He first addressed the Congress in Hindi.
Mahatma Gandhi then spoke in English. He said :
Srimati Sarojini Devi and friends: I do not know if you have received copies of the resolution that is in my hand; in that case, I want to spare you the trouble of listening to the resolution and save some portion of the nation's time. This is how the resolution reads :

The Congress extends its cordial welcome to the South African Indian Congress Deputation and assures the Indian settlers of South Africa of its full support in their unequal struggle against the consolidated forces which threaten their very existence in that subcontinent.

The Congress is emphatically of opinion that the proposed legislation known as the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill, is in breach of the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement of 1914, in that it is racial in character and is calculated not only to make the position of the aettlers much worse than it was in 1914, but is designed to make the residence in that country of any selfrespecting Indian impossible.

In the opinion of the Congress, if the interpretation of the said agreement as put upon it on behalf of the settlers is not accepted by the Union Government, it should be decided by reference to arbitration, as was done in 1893 in connection with the treatment of Indian settlers of
the Transvaal in matters arising from the administration of Law 3 of 1885 .
The Congress heartily endorses the suggestion that a Round Table Conference, containing among others proper Indian representatives, should be called to settle the question, and trusts that the Union Government will accept that reasonable suggestion.
In the event of the proposal for a Round Table Conference and the proposal regarding arbitration failing, the Congress is of opinion that it is the clear duty of the Imperial Government to withhold the Royal Assent to the Bill, should it pass through the Union Parliament.

This is the Resolution I have not only the greatest pleasure in submitting to you for approval but I consider it a rare privilege that I am authorised by Sarojini Devi to place this resolution before you. She has introduced me to you as a South-African-she might have added-"by adoption." (Laughter). Though born in India, I was adopted in South Africa and you will discover when Dr. Rahman, the leader of the Deputation to which you extend your hearty welcome by this resolution, comes on this platform, he will tell you that the Indians of South Africa claim that they have given me to you. I accept that claim. It is perfectly true that whatever service-or it may be disservice-I have been able to render to India, it is because, I come from South Africa. But if it is disservice it is not their fault. It is my limitation. I propose to place facts before you in support of the statement made here that the Bill that is hanging like a sword of Damocles over the heads of our countrymen in South Africa is designed not merely to heap greater wrongs upon their heads but virtually to expel them from South Africa. Such is admittedly the meaning of that Bill. It is admitted by the Europeans of South Africa. It is not denied by the Union Government itself and if such is the result you can imagine how keenly the Indians in South Africa must feel. Imagine for one moment that an Expulsion Bill is to be passed in the next session of the Assembly, expelling one hundred thousand Indians from India. What should we do or how should we behave in such a crisis. It is in such circumstances that you have the Deputation in you midst. The Deputation comes here for support from the people of India-from the Congress and from the Viceroy, the Government of India and through it the Imperial Government itself. Lord Reading has given them a long reply and I wish I could have said also a satisfactory reply. The reply His Excellency has given is as unsatisfactory as it is long and if that was all the comfort that Lord Reading proposed to give to the members of the Deputation, he could have said that in a few words and spared them and spared this land the humiliating spectacle of a great Government confessing its inability to render proper redress to those who for no fault of their own-who, as many South African Europeans would admit, for their
very virtues-are in danger of being expelled from South Africa. To some ot them South Africa is a land of their birth. It is no comfort to these friends of ours, it is no comfort to us, to be told that the Indian Government has always reserved to itself the right of making representations to the South African Government, the right of petitioning. The Government of India is a mighty Government, which is supposed to hold the destinies of three hundred millions of people in the hollow of its hands. That Government confesses its powerlessness. And why ? Because South Africa enjoys Dominion status, because South Africa threatens to cut the painter if the Indian or the Imperial Government dare to interfere in any of the steps that the Government of South Africa may take. Lord Reading has told this Deputation that the Indian Government or rather the Imperial Government cannot interfere in the domestic policy of a colony enjoying Dominion status. What is the meaning of domestic policy when that policy is calculated to bring ruin to the homes of hundreds and thousands of foreigners who have been only recently domiciled there and to whom they deny the common rights of humanity? Is that domestic policy? Well, what would be the case if instead of Indians they happened to be Europeans-if instead of Indians they happened to be Englishmen? Let me quote a precedent. Do you know why the great Boer War took place? It took place in order to protect the Europeans of South Africa who were domiciled there, 'Uitlanders' as they were described by the Transvaal Republican Government. The late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain claimed for the British Government that even though the Transvaal was an independent Government, he declined to believe that this was purely a domestic policy or a domestic question, but he claimed to protect the rights of the "Uitlanders', as the aliens were called there in the Dutch language, and in order to protect the claims and the rights of the 'Uitlanders' of the Transvaal, this great war took place. I go a step farther-Lord Selborne or Lord Lansdowne, the champions of that war-one of them said, I forget who-that his blood boiled-I think it was Lord Lansdowne, an ex-Governor-General of India, who said that his blood boiled when he thought of the disabilities of the Indians of the Transvaal-a mere handful of twelve thousand. It made Lord Lansdowne's blood boil and he said that one of the potent causes of the Boer War was the disabilities of the Indians in South Africa-or more accurately, of the Indians in the Transvaal. Where are those declarations today? Why should not the British Government go to war against the Union Government when the life, the honour, the livelihood of one hundred and fifty thousand Indians is at stake according to their own admission? Nobody questions the description that I have given to you of this legislation. Nobody has questioned the ever-growing grievances of the British Indians in South Africa. If you have seen a little pamphlet by the American
bishop-Bishop Fisher, who is today spending some time in British India and who went only a few months ago to South Africa-he has published, in view of this wrong that is about to be perpetrated, a beautiful little pamphlet-you will find that there he has given a summary of the grievances-a summary of the wrongs that are going to be heaped upon the Indians of South Africa. The bishop has come to the impartial conclusion that for these wrongs the Indians are not to blame. It is the Europeans-it is the jealous European traders and it is the insolence of the European Boer that is responsible for these wrongs. He gives his testimony that the Indians have deserved better at the hands of the Europeans of South Africa. If justice could possibly eradicate this wrong-if admission by the European statesmen of South Africa could eradicate this wrong-if right rules this world, or rules South Africa, it should be impossible to bring this Bill, and it will not be necessary for me to waste your precious time and for the Deputation to waste the money of the poor people of South Africa. But no; might is right. The Europeans of South Africa have chosen to heap this wrong upon our countrymen. For what purpose? "Conflict of two civilizations'! I do not use my own expression. This is the expression used by General Smuts-"Conflict of two civilizations." He cannot put up with that. And he thinks the Europeans of South Africa consider that they will be overwhelmed by the East if they allow these hordes to pour down into South Africa from India. How should we corrupt their civilization? Because we live as thrifty men and women, because we are not ashamed to hawk vegetables and fruits and take them, whether we are men or women, on our heads, from day to day-these fruits and vegetables to the very doors of the farmers of South Africa. And you do not know what I mean when I tell you that these South African farms are not like the farms of India, mere patches of land on which we can barely live. They are not half. a bigha or two or three lighas. There are hundreds of acres belonging to one man. He is the sole and undisputed master of hundreds of bighas of land. By this you can understand what great service the Indian hawkers are rendering to. the South African, European or Boer farmers. This is the conflict!

Some one has said-I do not remember where I heard it-but only recently, that Europeans in South Africa dread-what do you think ?-the advent of Islam, Islam that civilized Spain, when Spain was barbarous-they dread the advent of Islam that took the torch of light to Moroceo, to Africa-that Islam that preached to the world the living gospel of brotherhood. The Europeans of South Africa dread the advent of Islam. They dread the fact that the native races of South Africa, the aboriginal races of South Africa, may embrace Islam. If brotherhood is a sin-if it is the equality of the coloured races that they dread, that dread is well-founded. Because I have
seen with my own eyes-I have seen mission work in South AfricaI can give you my own testimony that no native, no Zulu who embraces Christianity becomes ifso facto an equal of the missionary. This is my experience. I have seen the Zulu embracing Islam. Immediately he does so, he drinks from the same cup, and eats from the same dish. That is what they dread. That is the conflict they want to avoid. But how do they want to avoid it? Not by becoming frugal themselves. They do not want to be frugal. They want to be the lords of the Universe. They want to appropriate the whole of the land for themselves. The Kaiser, down-trodden though he is, fears an Asiatic Federation and thinks that it is a danger which the Europeans must guard against. That is the conflict of civilizations. And that is why Lord Reading is powerless to intervene in their domestic policy. Such are the tremendous consequences of the struggle which this resolution describes as unequal. And it is in that unequal struggle this Congress is called upon to be privileged to take its due share.

I want to make an appeal, if my voice can go as far as South Africa, to the statesmen that are ruling the destiny of South Africa. I have given you the dark side of South African Europeans. Let me also say that I claim among the Europeans of South Africa some of my most precious friends. I have enjoyed from individual South African Europeans the greatest kindness and the greatest hospitality. I claim the privilege of having been a close friend of that great poetess and philanthropist, and that most self-effacing woman-Olive Schreiner. What she gave away with her right hand, her left hand never knew. She was a friend of the Indians, equally with the natives of South Africa. She loved the Indian, the Zulu and the Bantu as her own children. She knew noldistinction between the White and the Black races. She would prefer to accept the hospitality of a South African native in his humble hut. Such precious men and women have also been born and bred in South Africa. I can give you many more such names. I claim also to know General Smuts though I may not claim to be his friend. General Smuts was a party to the agreement on behalf of his Government with me on behalf of the Indians. He it was who said that the British Indians in South Africa had deserved that settlement and it was he who said, "This is the final settlement and Indians should not threaten passive resistance and the European settlers should allow rest to the Indian community; ' and the Indians expected better conditions. But hardly had I turned my back on South Africa when a series of wrongs began to be heaped upon them. Where is the plighted word of, General Smuts? General Smuts will go one of these days the same way that every human being has to go, but his words and deeds shall remain for ever. He is not a mere individual. He spoke the right thing in his representative capacity. He claims to be a Christian. And every one of the members of the

South African Government makes the same claim. Before they open their Parliament they read the Common Prayer from the Bible and a South African divine opens the proceedings with a prayer that goes up to Goi-not the God of the Whiteman, not the God of the Negro, not of the Mussalman, not of the Hindu, but the God of all-the God of the Universe. They send up their prayers to Him. I say this from my place of position-knowing my responsibility to its fullest extent-that they will deny their Bible, they will deny their God, if they hesitate for one moment, if they fail to render the elementary justice that is due to the Indians of South Africa. With these words I commend the resolution to your acceptance. (Cries of Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai).

The President then called upon Maulana Mohamad Ali to speak on the Resolution.

Maulana Mohamad Ali on rising to speak was received with cheers. In seconding the resolution in Urdu he said that it was with a feeling of pain and anguish he had to admit that they were really helpless to come to the succour of their brethren in South Africa. Because, today the nation did not take the gospel of the spinning wheel which their great Mahatma Gandhi had given them. On the contrary they had started many war zones in the form of fights between Hindus and Mussalmans, Brahmins and Non-Brahmins, Nochangers and Swarajists, and now the latest to fill their cup, the fight between the Swarajists and the Responsive Co-operators. They must have Swaraj in India before they could protect the rights of their compatriots residing abroad. Was it not painful to realize that one among every four Indians was untouchable? Mahatma Gandhi had inculcated a new inspiration-a message of hope and deliverance and readiness to die. If they had followed Mahatma Gandhi they could have defied the most mighty. The speaker offered himself for service in South Africa any time it was required.

The President: I now call upon Mr. Karandikar to support the resolution.

Mr. R. P. Karandikar (ex-Member, Council of State) said :
Madam, ladies and gentlemen: I had intended to address a few words to you in my broken Hindustani but am obliged to do so in English. I am toying to place my .views before you on this important resolution. I possess certain information which you also possess (laughter), but I have had a little occasion to look into this question. (Cries of 'Louder please'). I shall exercise the utmost volume of voice belonging to me. Lately a resolution was moved in the Council of State when I came to know the attitude of the officials connected with the Government of India regarding the South African question. I came to know that the Government of India was anxious to do what they could in the matter. I came to know that beyond
impotent rage they could not do anything in the matter. Thequestion before the House was, who induced the Indian people to go to South Africa and settle there. Looking to the history of this question I came to know that it was under pressure from home that the Government of India, the Company's Government, framed enactments authorising the enrolment of indentured labour for the benefit of the settlers in South Africa. They were then led to believe that those who would go there could settle there as citizens. It was under that impression that they went over there. It is now cruel to tell them, when their purpose has been served, that they are to be repatriated. It is now cruel to tell them when they have developed the land, that they are to be repatriated for the benefit of European settlers there. It behoves not any power representing India or England to say that the Indians ever will be repatriated. They have as much right to live there as we have the right to live here. I should think that the Indians have a right to follow their brethren wherever they go and to see that they are respected and live as any other British citizens. It is the logic of the national idea that if any individual goes from one country to another it is the right of his fellow-countrymen to follow him wherever he goes. It is therefore the privilege of India to look after its people who go there. We should not only pass this resolution but do our best for the amelioration of our people there. With these words, I support the resolution.

The President : I put the resolution to vote. Do you support it wholeheartedly? (Cries of 'All, all'). None against it? (Cries of 'None, none').

The motion is carried unanimously.
In addition to what my leader Mahatma Gandhi has said I would pay my own tribute to the distinguished sons of India who have come from South Africa to vindicate our rights there. I now call upon Dr. Rahman to address the meeting.

Dr. Rahman said: Madam President, ladies and gentlemen: On behalf of the Indians of South Africa I wish first of all to thank our leader, if I may do su, Mahatma Gandhi. I wish to thank you all for all that gou have done. I wish to thank the Indian people as they are represented here this afternoon, for adopting this Resolution which is the first thing since we arrived here, that has inspired me with a little hope for the future. We no doubt thought when we arrived here that if we could get Mahatma Gandhi to put our case before the people of India-and he can do so as nobody else can, because he has suffered in South Africa-we felt sure that there would be no difficulty in getting the backing of the whole Indian nation to stand by the sons of India in their sufferings in South Africa. The thing which has brought us here
is to be the means by which they intend to rob the Indian of his bread there-by which they intend to drive every Indian trader out of South Africa-by which the Indian community there will be hounded out of South Africa. There are some of us-I want to say the majority of us there in South Africa-who are not going to give in. ('Hear, hear'). Whatever else we may do, you will at any rate find that the sons of India in South Africa are true to the great Indian people. ('Hear, hear'). We feel that we are not fighting our own battle; we are fighting your battle -your own battle while you are sitting here. Any injury done to South African Indians is a stab at the back of India. Every man that suffers there, believe me, feels that he suffers not for himself but he feels that it is a wound that is inflicted on the Motherland-any harm done to us there--it is the sons of Mother India who suffer.

It is true, Mahatna Gandhi, what you have said that every one of us must necessarily be disappointed with the answer that the Viceroy gave us. What did His Excellency say? He said that he could not interfere with the domestic legislation of South Africa. Gentlemen, we are a part of the British Empire,-fortunately or unfortunately we are a part of the British Empire. It is because we are a part of the British Empire that the Indian Government is impotent and helpless and cannot come to our succour in South Africa. ('Sbame, shame').

What is our next remedy? Probably they will send me back to South Africa if I were to tell you that the British 'Empire exists only for exploitation-if this expression is only a cloak for wider exploi-tation-if British Empire means the exploitation of the non-European races, the sooner that lie of the British Empire is done away with, the better it is for the world. ('Hear, hear'). But you must come to our assistance. This vast assemblage of our people-the chosen representatives and leaders of our people-you who are intelligent men-you must come to our assistance. We will leave that lady there, but give me that Indian who shall free Indians in South Africa. But if in the British Empire nonEuropeans, Asiatics and lndians in South Africa be kept down as political helots and reduced to industrial serfdom, then I say it is your duty during the next election to make it the one cry-every one who stands for election will take a pledge that the first thing that he will do after entering the Parliament-after he enters the Legislaturesthat he will make it a point to move a resolution on South Africa and stand by the Indians of South Africa, until we have broken the chains of serfdom which tie us down there.

There is our great leader Mahatma Gandhi. He said very kind things about us. I want you to give him to us. Give us that man even for a fow months. And all our troubles will be over. . Did you notice when he sat over there and enumerated the many ills that we have
been suffering from in South Africa? Did he look ill then? No. Did you notice how he spoke about South Africa because it took him back to the days when he suffered for us there? He knows what we are suffering from. He knows what it is to be a South African Indian. The longer Mabatma spoke about South Africa, the stronger his voice grew. When you are taxed, you have no schools for your childrenwhen you have got education, you have no opportunity for learning skilled trade-when you have a skilled trade, you have no opportunity to develop. (Cries of 'Shame, shame'). I say, therefore, give us Mahatma Gandhi just for a few months and all our troubles will vanish like snow before the morning sun. (Applause).

Let me again thank you but let me advise you here in India-if you feel against the connection with the British Empire which makes you suffer-for you have already discovered that because you are a member of the British Empire you suffer-consider what you ought to do. If you had battle ships today-if you had your army, that little handful of so-called Whites, who were vomitted forth on the shores of Helena from the slums of Europe, would not have dared to do what they are doing today. Are you men? If you are not, let the women stand up and say, "Why should Indians suffer year after year and why would no Englishman allow himself to sufier in the hands of the Indian nation for twenty-four hours."

We are going though the country. I have told the Viceroy that we are going to ask the people of India to back him up. The Viceroy must tell Great Britain that she must exercise the power reserved under Section 65 of the South Africa Act, that if they do not give us a Round Table Conference then the Government should veto that Bill. If the British Government does not use the veto it will show they have tricked us-how they have betrayed us-how they ane robbers -because they put that section into the Act and they refuse to use it.

In conclusion, we come to you as your soldiers. Though battered and torn, we are not beaten. We are not going to give in. ('Hear, hear"). But it is your duty today to say "Go on, boys, fight on in South Africa; we will stand by gou; we will support you in every way." Then we will go on and maintain the great honour of the great Indian Empire. (Applause). I thank you, Madam.

Maulana Shaukat Ali : I ask Mahatma Gandhi to lead us now. Those who are for fighting for our brothers in South Africa will go with Mahatma Gandhi.

The President: The Congress stands adjourned till tomorrow noon.

## SECOND DAY.

December 27, 1925.
The Congress reassembled on December 27, 1925, at 1 p.m.
The proceedings commenced with the singing of "Bande Mataram" by a chorus of young boys.

The songs over, the President said: Friends, we now begin our business. I call upon Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta, the President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, to move the Resolution on Bengal Prisoners.

## Ill Bengal Prisoners.

Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta who on rising to speak was greeted with enthusiastic cheers said:

Madam President, ladies and gentlemen: The Resolution which I have the honour to move for your acceptance runs as follows:

This Congress strongly condemns the abuse of Regulation III of 1818 and the autocratic enactment of the Bengal Ordinance Act, otherwise known as the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1925, and the arrest and detention without definite charge fand open trial of a large number of patriotic young men of Bengal under the said Regulation and Act, and further condemns their continued incarceration, maltreatment and deportation outside Bengal notwithstanding the clearly and repeatedly expressed opinion of the people, both inside and outside the legislatures.
Before I go into the merits of the question I would like to tell you how Regulation III of 1818 is being applied to Bengal for about a year and a half. You remember that about four years ago there was the Repressive Laws Committee appointed by the Government of India for the purpose of advising the Government for repeal or otherwise of the repressive laws. That Committee, so far as I remember, was presided over by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the other members were the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, Sir William Vincent, Mr. J. Chowdhury from Bengal and others. The Committee came to an unanimous decision that Bengal Regulation III of 1818 should be repealed. The only limitation that was imposed upon that repeal was that it could be applied to the frontier provinces for the purpose of preventing frontier troubles. The recommendations of that Government Committee were approved and accepted by the Government in the form of a Resolution and a pledge was given that legislative effect would be given to the recommenlations, but-as it has been said before from this platform by many a patriot that the history of British Rule in this country is a history of broken pledges,-those recommendations were not given effect to. On the contrary it was applied to Bengal some time in 1924. Under that Regulation certain of the Bengal prisoners are even today detained.


Gentlemen, that is not all. About a year ago secretly and silently the Governor-General hatched an Ordinance without any notice either to the people or the so-called people's legislatures formed under the Reforms Act. Secretly and silently the Government hatched an Ordinance by which they spirited away peaceful citizens and kept them in prison without charge and without open trial. And this happened when peace was reigning in the land. Under this secretly hatched Ordinance over one hundred and fifty houses of private citizens in Bengal were searched at dead of night suddenly and simultaneously and nearly a hundred people arrested. And the Government's case for promulgating this Ordinance was that these people whose houses were searched-these people who were arrested for detention without trial and without charge-were conspiring to overthrow the Government by means of bombs and revolvers. But listen. There was no notice given to these people that their houses would be searched. Even the Police officers did not know the promulgation of the Ordinance. It was done so secretly and even before the Ordinance was published in the Gazette or even in the newspapers, all on a sudden these one hundred and fifty places were searched but no cartridges, no bombs, no revolvers-not a single incriminating document was found, although there was no opportunity for these people to hide any arms or ammunition or incriminating papers and secrete them somewhere else. It was absolutely impossible; and in spite of the fact that there was no'evidence produced, the Government arrested these people under the Ordinance. And what did they do? They have kept these goung men confined.for over a year now and they are still going on arresting other people.

Gentlemen, you are perhaps aware that this Act contains some sort of a provision for silencing the critics viz., that there would be a trial under the Ordinance before certain Magistrates appointed by the Government, but not a single man has till now been brought forward before such a tribunal which the Ordinance Act created. Gentlemen, you are also aware that when the Ordinance was placed before the local Legislature for its sanction, the Bengal Council by an overwhelming majority threw it out. Not being satisfied with that, the Viceroy by the use of extraordinay powers vested in him vetoed the decision of the Bengal Legislative Council and made it into a law of the land and under that enactment today over one hundred and fifty persons have been rotting in jail.

Gentlemen, how do the Government justify this detention of so many men? Not a tittle of evidence was produced. They were not placed before the ordinary courts of law for trial. And the charge that I make against the Government-the charge that I want the Indian Nation to make through the Indian National Congress' against
the Government-is this: that it was not for the purpose of crushing any violent movement in Bengal that this Ordinance was promulgated; it was done for the purpose of crushing the Swarajya Party and the nationalist activities of the Indian National Congress. I shall show to you that these people who were taken away were arrested at midnight without any previous notice and no incriminating document, revovler, cartridges or bomb was found. But all the time they say they were guilty of secret revolutionary conspiracy. Now there was one gentleman, Manmohan Bhattacharya. He was deputed to sell shares and collect subscriptions for that great paper the "Forward", started by the late Deshbandhu. He went from place to place all over India with printed papers trying to get people to buy sharas of the "Forward." He was so busy with this that he had no time to think of anything else. For no reason whatsoever he was suddenly arrested one fine morning. To my personal knowledge this man was busy in connection with the "Forward" and was going from town to town, and from Province to Province enlisting sympathy for the paper and inducing people to take an interest in it. But that man was arrested. What does it show?

That was not all. There was another gentleman-Mr. Upendra Nath Banerji, an Assistant Editor of the "Forward." He was also similarly working day and night for bringing out this paper. He was similary treated. Was there any justification for his arrest?

There was another man-we all love him-whose name is Subhas Chandra Bose. He had just then been appointed the Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation. I speak from personal experience. From morning till night, that man was immersed in official files of the Corporation. He had not even time to see his friends. I know when I attempted to see him, he could only drop in after eleven in the night when returning from office. He was arrested. Under what charge? The charge against him was that he was hatching revolutionary conspiracy. It was preposterous that that man should be taken away. That shows that the Government was not aiming at revolutionary conspiracy but at the Swarajya Party and at the Indian National Congress. Gentlemen, that is the charge I make against the Government.

Then, some say-some are more frank than others-some apologists of the Government say, "Well, the evidence they have got against these persons will not stand the test of cross-examination-it will not stand the test the judges would require." That is very frank. But there are more jealous apologists of the Government who say that these people are detained because there is sufficient proof against them but unfortunately, they say, they cannot be brought before open courts of law for trial, because the jurors are intimidated, witnesses will be murder-
ed and they are afraid of coming to the witness box. I say that is a lie. It is a slander against the Bengali race. I shall show to you from cases decided in open courts of law that in every case said to be of a political nature, whenever any individual was brought to trial, the Indian jurors never hesitated to declare their verdict whenever they found him guilty of the offence he was charged with and hundreds of Indian witnesses testified to the guilt of the accused whenever there was any. Take the case of Day's murder, when an Englishman was killed, it was said, for political reasons. In Bengal, let me tell yau during the last five or six years only one single European, Mr. Day, was killed, but no other Englishman has been killed in Bengal since that famous case of Muzzafarpur. The accused in the Day murder case was placed before a jury the majority of whom were Indians. He was found guilty and hanged and fifty or sixty Indian witnesses deposed against him. Was there any difficulty in finding witnesses? Is it the case of the Government that the witnesses were threatened? Is it their case that the jurors were intimidated? Then there is another case-the Sankaritola Postmaster murder case. There again a man was brought up for trial, the witnesses were Indians and the majority of the jury were Indians. He was unanimously found guilty of murder and sentenced to death. That is not all. There was a case in which a bomb was thrown into a shop. In that case there were a number of Indian witnesses and the Indian jury convicted the accused. This is the way that you get justice in Bengal, and I have proved that no Indian jury has hesitated to find the accused guilty even in political cases. Therefore from this platform I challenge the Government to produce one tittle of evidence in any particular case to prove the contrary. I do not speak of future cases, because I remember when I spoke about the agent provocatecty at a meeting in Calcutta and when I spoke about the absence of any incriminating thing-revolvers or bombs-at those searches last year, when I spoke about all those-within one day a Bomb Factory of one bomb, one revolver and a few cartridges was found. (Laughter). Therefore I challenge the Government to produce any evidence that in a single case witnesses were'threatened in the past or that the jurors were intimidated when doing their duty in the jury box. Gentlemen, I hope to have satisfied you that there is no reason for not bringing these men to trial, but the only reason why they have not been placed on their trial is because there is no evidence against them. And that shows that they want not to punish the offenders-not to punish the criminals, but their object is to smash the legitimate activities of the Swarajya Party and the Indian National Congress.

Gentlemen, how is this Act being administered now? There is a provision in the Act that people arrested under it would be cared for
according to their station in life. Gentlemen, you all know Subhas Chandra Bose. He had been a member of the Indian Civil Service. Englishmen cannot say that that is not a service of responsibility. He was at the time of arrest the Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation, drawing a very big pay. Along with him there was another gentleman-an M. A. of the Calcutta University, Advocate of the Calcutta High Court and Member, Bengal Legislative CouncilMr. S. C. Mitter. These two men were kept in a cell meant for drunkards, in a police lock-up for a whole wintry night without any beds, without any arrangements for lying down to sleep. The floors were dusty-not swept for several days and the walls never cleaned for several years. In that condition they were allowed to sleep there for the whole night ('Shame, shame') while the guardsthe Inspector and the Sub-Inspector were sleeping comfortably elsewhere. That is how this Act is being administered and how they are looking after these men according to their station in life, as provided for in the Act itself. I am not going through all the cases that I have got. What justification is there for the Government to put people in solitary cells where those condemned to death are kept? Most of us have been inside the jails. We know the conditions of life in these cells. But that is how these persons are being treated according to their station in life. I can give you instance after instance of ill-treatment. I can give you that famous incident when three prisoners were taken away from Berhampore to the Hazaribagh jail forcibly on a wintry night without any clothing to cover the upper parts of their bodies. I can tell you how Mr. S.C. Mitter, a diabetic patient--he was being treated by a Kaviraj and improving in health-how suddenly, lo and behold! one fine morning he was deported to Burma and has been confined there since then in Mandalay. This is a sorry tale to tell. Almost every person who has been deported to Burma is suffering from some disease or other. But whatever application is made to the Government for their removal is not listened to. Gentlemen, there was a recommendation by the Superintendent that these people should receive four rupees for sustenance instead of two rupees a day. That recommendation was approved by the Jail Visitor, Mr. Justice J. R. Das of the Rangoon High Court. Our charge is that the Bengal Government had turned down that recommendation. But Sir Hugh Stephenson from his seat in the Bengal Legislative Council said that the Bengal Government had no responsibility in the matter. They threw it entirely upon the Government of Burma. The law is that the Local Government shall fix the allowance of these prisoners. This is a funny way of getting out of the responsibilities imposed upon the Government by that very Act. What do they do? They are supposed to look after them. They are responsible for
keeping them in comfort. But instead of that, they first of all deport them outside Bengal and subsequently say that they are not responsible for their comforts. That is absolutely against the law.

That is how the Act is administered today. They are detained without trial, without any charge-they are deported and kept in most insanitary places and when we tell the Government that they are violating their own rules, they say they are not responsible. ('Shame, shame').

I told the Government in another place and I tell them again-and I hope I voice the opinion of you all--that this is not the way to stop our agitation for freedom. If you want to stop us, remove the cause for all these troubles-remove the cause, namely, our hunger for freedom-change your Constitution and give us Swaraj. If you do not, remember, the British Government will be down and will be demolished in the same way as other Governments in other countries were demolished when they tried to impede the onward march of a Freedom Movement. (Applause).

The President: I now call upon Mr. Jayakar to second the resolution moved by Mr. J.M. Sen-Gupta.

Mr. Jayakar (Bombay) walked to the rostrum and was hailed with cries of 'Hindi, Hindi'. He said:

I do not know Hindi well enough to speak before you. I do not know the art which the ancient Indians possessed, to speak in a new language at a moment's inspiration. (Laughter). Therefore you will have to content yourself with a short speech in English, until I possess the art of my ancestors, of getting up a language in the twinkling of an eye.

The resolution betore you needs no additional recommendation from me. I wish you had come here in that part of the morning when I could have spoken to you with a hungry stomach bringing the necessary language and embellishments, for my phraseology will suffer to a large extent by reason of the circumstance that $I$ am speaking on this resolution after a full meal. (Laughter). The resolution has already been read to you. You have noted the several clauses thereof. But there is one clause which I should have expected there but which unfortunately is not written in ink but perhaps written in unseen letters of Indian martyrdom. That clause which I do not find here but which ought to have been there and which, I am sure, is there in unwritten letters of Indian martyrdom, I shall read out to you with the inscrutable eye and it is this: "This Congress congratulates the Indian people on their wonderful patience with which they have borne this kind of insult for so many years." That clause is not here but I read it here because that is the most important circumstance of
all and requires considerable comment. The fact that we have borne for all these years with patience this singular insult to the manhood and youth of our country shows, in my opinion, wonderful patience indeed! What this resolution embodies has already been put before you which such wealth of information and phraseology as my friend Mr. Sen-Gupta has employed. It is not therefore my function to travel over the same ground and I do not wish to take your time unnecessarily on that. I shall only put before you one or two considerations. And those are, that it is a disgrace upon any civilized Government, much more so upon a Government that prides itself on having evolved a common law in their own country-that Government which is supposed to have given a law of evidence which contains such wonderful rules for the ascertainment of truth as against falsehood. And what is the reason for which these young men have not been brought to trial. I want you to find it out. I only mention two grounds. One is that although there is moral proof of their guilt and absence of innocence of these young men, that proof is not such as will allow itself to be tested by cross-examination and court trial. That is one ground. But we all realize that that proof which cannot allow itself to be tested by cross-examination and trial is no proof at all. It might have a good force or it may exist in the bedchamber as it very often happens in the case of husband and wife, but a proof that cannot lend itself to crossexamination and trial in open courts where the innocence or guilt of any individual is concerned, is no proof at all. The second ground is that if the Government were to disclose the names of their witnesses and approvers, there will be intimidation practised on these people, with the result that the necessary proofs will not be forthcoming at the trial. This is an absolute lie. And why? Since the time when Gosain was murdered in 1908 by two of his co-prisoners-a kind of outburst against his perfidy-since that time, I can say without any fear of contradiction, there has been no case at all where approvers or witnesses have been dealt with by force in order to prevent their evidence from coming before the court. I throw this challenge to the Government, which I hope they will accept, to give us a single instance since that date-since that time up till now-is there any case on record-any single case where Indian witnesses have been intimidated in order that their evidence may not be forthcoming at the time of trial? Then take those two trials-important in Bengal-a fact which is not realized in other parts of the country-take those two cases, the Bomb shop and the Day murder in Calcutta. Who is it that traced the criminals? Not the police but the Indian bystander who saw the commission of these crimes. They came to the rescue of the law. They pursued the criminal and handed him over to the police. That being the testimony, I say, it is a gross libel on the Bengali people to say that they intimidate approvers or witnesses and that therefore
it is a false ground which the Government is adducing. Frima facie, these young men who have been arrested and kept in prison without any trial-what kind of men were they? I happen to know two of them. Of these two whom I know, Subhas Chandra Bose belonged to the heaven-born service. No Englishman can say that he is not a member of a respectable family, in the sense of service. I have never known a young man more gentle, more dutiful, more honest, more obliging, more considerate and more in keeping with the gentle traditions of the country than Subhas Chandra Bose. Prima facie, when a gentleman of his type is arrested, people have a right to demand that he should be brought to trial immediately.

This, gentlemen, speaks of our wonderful patience, that we have borne these insults for so many years. I say therefore that we must make this resolution the first instalment of that change of heart for which Mahatma Gandhi has pleaded. Our cry for Swarajya is an empty dream so long as the importance of resolutions like this is not realized. That being the importance of the resolution, I ask you to accord your acceptance. (Applause).

Dr. Satyapal supported the motion in Urdu.
The President: I now call upon Mr. Syam Sunder Chakraverty to address the Congress.

Mr. Syam Sunder Chakraverty (Bengal) who on rising to speak was greeted with cheers said:

Srimati Sarojini Naidu and my dear Fellow-Delegates: (Cries of ' Hindi, Hindi').

First addressing the delegates in Hindustani, he thereafter spoke in English as follows:

The resolution that has been placed before you is an impotent one. It will only tend to give an impression to the Government that we do not mean business. You are keeping the administration intact; you are allowing everytbing to go on as merrily as a marriage-bell with this reservation-with the word "obstruction" on your lipsyour only one cowardly reply to all these serious challenges-" Mai to tast bolay nai". If you are worth anything, if you really deserve to have men like Mahatma Gandhi in your midst, then make a solemn determinatiou from this very moment-from this very assembly, under the presidency of one of our august ladies of India, that from the next hour, nay, if possible from the next moment, you will have nothing to do with an administration under which such inhuman Ordinances and Regulations are at all possible. (cries of 'Hear, hear'). Are you prepared to do that? Or, will you only shout 'Hear, hear'? This one Bengal Ordinance is a cause worth 'going wilderness into' for years and years. If we are really impotent-if we have really
lost all that was once Indian, then let us retire into wilderness and gather strength to give a fitting challenge to those who are oppressing us like this.

If you want to hear from me something of the secrets of prison cells of which you have heard so much from my predecessors, you will be disappointed. I shall tell you only one story and that will be enough. When after my four and a half years' internment I returned to Calcutta, there was an occasion for me to see the Political Secretary. That gentleman had the frankness to tell me that all the revolutionaries whom he happened to ask about my complicity in their affairs gave him to understand in unequivocal language that I did my best to dissuade them from their suicidal course. A voice: 'That is a compliment'. (Laughter). Well that may not be a compliment, but that was the compliment paid to me by men who incarcerated our young men. The sequel may prove interesting to those who are taking me to be a coward. (Cries of 'No, no'). I asked that gentleman-if I happened to be such a good boy of Vidyasagar's primer, then what it was that made him keep me in durance vile for four and a half years. He said 'there we tread on firmer ground'. I retorted that that firm ground might prove to be quicksand. What was it, I asked. He said that they had unmistakable proof that I was for achieving India's freedom with German aid. I told him, 'when my own councrymen did not think of me when you snatched me away from my dear and near ones, do you think that the Kaiser went out of his way far away in Germany and took it into his head to conspire with me to achieve Indian independence?' He saw the situation far too inconvenient for him and returned to other topics.

When such is the case, then why do the Government spin out such false stories against the young men of Bengal. The very fact that they are imprisoned without trial-though for myself I have no special charm for that law which is a discredited law, which rules by means of brute force-so far as I am concerned I have got absolutely nothing to do with this law-is quite enough for $m e$ and $I$ am never disposed to forgive the man who has anything to do with that law. They say that it is the most barbarous thing that can be done under the sun to shut up men without trial. But that thing has been happening for the last twenty or twenty-five years or since the English administration began. But it never tires your patience. You come to the Congress, pass strong resolutions, make moving speeches and repeat 'mai to tasu bolay nai'. (Laughter). Do not repeat that phrase any more if you are men, and if you do not want to become the laughing-stock of the world. Learn to give proper reply to these things-if not by anything else, at least by withdrawing your hands from this wretched machinery of administration. (Cries of 'Hear, hear' and applause).

The President: I now call upou Mr. Jamnadas Mehta to support the resolution.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta (Maharashtra) said :
Madam President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I rise to support the resolution which has been moved by my friend Mr. Sen-Gupta. I will confine myself to a few observations regarding the genesis of this Ordinance. You will remember that on October 25, 1924 the Ordinance was promulgated and the Viceroy made a declaration as to the reasons which moved the Governor-General to promulgate the said Ordinance. Any one who has read that declaration of reasons will remember that the Viceroy depicted the then situation of Bengal in a most dark and dismal manner. Like the fat boy in Dickens, he described the situation so as to make the blood in our veins freeze-he described as if in every village in Bengal there was a bomb factory and every street corner of Calcutta was infested with revolutionaries throwing bombs and shooting at policemen and Englishmen. Yet, if you examine the record of the so-called revolutionary conspiracy, you will find that in the course of two yєars barely two murders could be recorded and only a few other crimes which may not be very violent-that was all the amount of crime for which a population nearly as large as that of the United Kingdom has been penalized.

As a matter of fact, it has been shown by my friend the mover of the resolution that all this story about revolutionary conspiracy was a grossly exaggerated statement. And I say that already the ex-ChiefJustice of England has forfeited his claim of doing justice and after this Bengal Ordinance his reputation for veracity is gone. (Cries of 'Hear, hear'). Nobody can believe the words of the ex-ChiefJustice of England because in his declaration of the Ordinance he has made a statement which has been proved to be false by subsequent statements. Now, I will describe one or two clauses of the socalled Ordinance.

In that Ordinance there is a provision for trial of those arrested under this Act by Commissioners, the majority of whom are to be Government nominees. In spite of these safeguards-in spite of the suspension of the rules of evidence and procedure and in spite of the fact that the Commissioners who are to be judges will be mostly Government nominees, the Bengal Government had not the courage to bring these arrested persons to trial. That is the fact about this Bengal Ordinance and no trial has been held although in this lawless law there is a provision for trial.

The second thing is the judicial enquiry. After these people are arrested, if they are not tried, it is open to the Government to appoint
a Committee of Enquiry. No Committee has been appointed even though the Committee's report is not binding on the Government. That is the Ordinance. That is the real substance of that Ordinance.

Now there remains for me one last fact to mention and that is this: in the Legislative Assembly when the Bengal Ordinance was under discussion, Col. Crawford made a statement which was significant. He said that the Europeans of Bengal were getting out of hand after the 'Day murder' and perhaps the Europeans would have taken the law into their own hands if this law had not been promulgated. This will be found in the records of the debates of the Assembly. Here was a European representative declaring on the floor of the House that if the Bengal Ordinance had not been promulgated the Europeans of Calcutta would have gone out of hand. That is an admission which, I think, can only mean this, that if the Government did not arrest these people, then the Europeans of Bengal would have broken the King's peace as they call it. My only reply is that the Europeans of Bengal became so lawless as to threaten the peace so that the arrest of one hundred and fifty young men of Bengal was a necessity for the security and good behaviour of the Europeans of Bengal. That was the reason underlying the arrests of these one hundred and fifty innocent patriots.

Lastly, it is said that Calcutta and Bengal are seething with revolutionary conspiracies and discontent and that there are bomb factories and revolvers in every street corner. In my humble opinion the greatest conspiracy in this country is the Government of India. It is the most gigantic conspiracy against the liberty of the people of this country, and the greatest bomb factory is the Home Office of the Government of India. And if anybody is to be deported it is Sir Alexander Muddiman, the Home Member, who is sitting over this bomb factory and not the hundred and fifty innocent young men of Bengal and if anybody is to be kept under arrest it is the Government of India and not the people of Bengal. That is the real situation as it appears to me. And I quite endorse the sentiment expressed by Mr. Syam Sunder Chakraverty that mere resolutions and condemnation of Government measures cannot meet the situation. If $w e$ are really serious, something more tangible than the mere passing of resolutions of protest is necessary. And I am here to tell my friend that Swarajists, so far as I am able to understand them, will be at one with him in having a constructive programme for carrying on the agitation in a real practical and business-like manner and not by mere resolutions. Gentlemen, I support this resolution. (Applause.)

The President: I now call upon Dr. Ansari to support the resolution.

Dr. Ansari (Delhi) supported the resolution in Urdu.

Syt. Purushottam Ray (Bengal) next supported the resolution in Hindi.

The President: The resolution is before you and you have heard with what eloquence and force the mover and supporters of the resolution have placed their case. Before putting it to vote $I$ want to remind you of the message of Srimati Basanti Devi, not to forget those young men rotting in prison, and I want you to realize the full implication of the resolution. When you pass this resolution you take upon yourselves the responsibility of getting them out of prison. Those who are for the resolution will please raise their hands. (Cries of 'All, all').

Those against: (Cries of 'None, none').
The resolution is unanimously carried. (Enthusiatic cheers).
IV. Gurdwara Prisoners.

The President: Lala Lajpat Rai will now move the Punjab Gurdwara resolution.

Lala Lajpat Rai walked to the rostrum and was greeted with prolonged cheers and cries of 'Lala Lajpat Rai-ki-jai.'

Lala Lajpat Rai (Punjab) said :
I will first read out the resolution (cries of 'Hindi, Hindi') which runs thus in English :

This Congress deeply regrets that the Punjab Government has not yet released the Gurdwara Prisoners in spite of the settlement brought about by the Gurdwara Act, merely on the technical ground that the Gurdwara prisoners would not give an undertaking which the high-souled prisoners declared to be derogatory to their self-respect. This Congress is of opinion that there will be no proper settlement of the Gurdwara question until the Gurdwara prisoners are unconditionally released.

After reading the resolution he spoke in Hindi.
He then addressed the Congress in English as follows:
I began my remarks in Hindi with the observation that it was in the fitness of things that this resolution should immediately follow the Bengal Ordinance resolution. In one case, I submitted, people were put behind the prison bars under suspicion of being revolutionaries-suspected to be members of a revolutionary conspiracy which aimed at upsetting the Government, that is, they were suspected of acting contrary to the intention of the Government established by law. On the other hand, the Government is keeping behind the bars gentlemen who are not accused of any revolutionary campaign-who are not accused of
having done anything wrong against the law except that they showed by their conduct that they would not submit to any settlement unless their grievances were redressed, that is, unless the management of the Gurdwaras was placed in their hands. When this question was settled-and the Government wanted these gentlemen to give an undertaking that they would abide by the provisions of the Gurdwara Bill and in future would desist from taking any direct action in connection therewith-I was one of those people who thought that an undertaking of that kind was absolutely harmless and would not in any way affect the prestige of the prisoners. But the prisoners themselves thought otherwise, and since then by registering themselves as voters under the provisions of the Gurdwara Act, they have practically given much more than a written undertaking of their willingness to abide by the Gurdwara Act. In these circumstances, the Government has no justification for keeping them in jail or threatening them with prosecution. It is purely obstinate, high-handed and tyrannical to keep these persons behind the prison bars after they have proved by their conduct that they will abide by the Gurdwara settlement. That is the substance of the speech I made in Hindi.

The President: I now call upon Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar to second the resolution.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar (Tamil Nadu) said :
Madam President, sister and brother delegates: I am very sorry that I am obliged to speak in a language which is neither mine nor yours. After Lalaji's exposition both in Hindi and in English, it will be superfluous for me to add any words to commend this resolution to your acceptance. But I am asked to say a few words because I was on the Gurdwara Enquiry Committee appointed by the Working Committee of the Congress and therefore I am able to testify from impressions gathered during that time to the splendid discipline and the nonviolent agitation which was carried on by the Akalis and other Sikhs in connection with their fight regarding religious endowments. Appropriately enough for this Congress-which, I am certain, will open a new era in the history of our national movement, when a brave woman calls men to be brave-you will see that the resolutions which are placed in the forefront are, one about Bengal prisoners and another about the prisoners in the Punjab. It is only by constant memorising of our grievances of this description that the patriotism which we can grasp by fits and starts can be stabilised in us and can be a permanent possession with us. It is only then that we shall be able to resort to measures which shall make it unnecessary for us to move resolutions of this description. A time there was in the old Congress when people appealed to the traditions
of British justice and said that in India things were different; and appeals were made to the Cabinet and public men of England to amend the state of things here because the bureaucrats were at fault. But we have now realized that whether in England or in India, the mentality that oppresses us is identically the same. You have no better illustration than the subject of the first resolution, namely the detention of the Bengali prisorers under the Ordinance, which was sanctioned by the Labour Party, supposed to be pro-Indian in sympathies, and has been continued by the present government in England. Every province in India has her own crown of thorns, but Bengal and the Punjab have been particularly marked for a perpetual destiny, for wearing the perpetual crown of thorns which the British Government is capable of forging. After the martial law business which has been discredited even according to their own admission, you have the example of the treatment of these Akali prisoners. (Cries of 'Shame, shame'). What then is the justification, you may ask, for this detention? The Sikh Akalis have gained their point. They started the agitation for the purpose of getting popular control over their religious endowments and they have now got it. Instead of these endowments being in charge of autocratic and irresponsible Mahants, they have now got a legislation by way of compromise under which the Akalis and other Sikhs have constituted themselves into an electorate so that it might be able to set up a Committee of management to supervise their respective endowments. In that state of things, it is not at all easy to understand why the British Government in the Punjab as elsewhere want to have an undertaking from the prisoners. On their behalf and on behalf of the whole community, some settlement has been arrived at. That settlement has not been entirely satisfactory. Nevertheless on broader lines it has been accepted. And I am told that about 90 per cent of the Sikhs have enrolled themselves on the electoral rolls which were going to govern through a representative Committee the endowments in that part of the country. Sirdar Kharak Singh, late President of the Shromani Committee and the Provincial Congress Committee, has not enrolled himself. But the fact that he did not enrol himself does not entitle the Government to keep him and other prisoners in jail. What the Government mean to say is that these prisoners, while in jail, without the assistance of their friends, should make themselves acquainted with the privisions of the Act and as such give an undertaking. The Government talk of civilization, of law and order ; and here they want the Sikh gentlemen in jail to give an undertaking as a condition of their release, that they should agree to a legislation which they have not studied. I should imagine, if you want an undertaking it should be an undertaking to abide by the provisions of
the Act and to work it out; but how could you give an undertaking binding yourself not to resort to any direct action, in case you are dissatisfied with the legislation. I suppose it is the Swarajya Party's movement of obstruction and Deshbandhu's 'ending of dyarchy' that is responsible for this kind of undertaking and working the Act. Hereafter, I am certain whatever reforms are going to be given, a proviso must be added that it should be worked out. It is this kind of Government which merits the balanced opinion of a Srinivasa Sastri, but $I$ have no patience with such balanced opinion. I can only express my opinion and the opinion of the country in respect of a Government which denies the barest justice-which denies the barest freedom to persons to think and act for themselves in connection with certain legislative measures which have been introduced. Why .should an Indian be asked to work out an Act or to abide by the provisions of the Act? If they are unwilling to abide by the Act, certainly the Government has large powers in the name of 'Law and Order'. Therefore it is really an idle undertaking which they want. The Government is capable enough to go on without any undertaking. If it is powerful enough, it does not want an undertaking ; and if it is not powerful enough, then there is no necessity for this undertaking either. But my idea is that it is a spirit of meanness which is characteristic of this Government-it is this pettifogging spirit which says that the Sikh prisoners must offer an apology to the Government so that the prestige of the British Government might be materially enhanced in the eyes of the whole world. It is this absurd system of administration that is responsible for this. When we shall be able to end this system, is a question which is universal. So far as I am concerned, I have no faith in a system of government like this. All that I can tell you from my experience of the Gurdwara agitation is that I can whole-heartedly support the resolution which has been moved, namely that this Congress deeply regrets the attitude taken by the Government. It is a very modest resolution and I do not suppose that even a balanced opinion will jibe at it.

But you have this fact that the Akalis have deserved well of us. They, in periods of our depression, were able as beacon-lights of the Non-co-operation spirit, to keep the movement alive. I myself witnessed the splendid effect of the doctrine of non-violence on the Akali Sikhs. It is significant that a martial race like the Akalis and other Sikhs should have got into the habit of thinking and acting politically in line with the other races and I have no doubt that the Punjab alone will be able to wrest Swaraj for herself and for the rest of India from an alien Government. I hope there will be unity in the Punjab among the Hindus and Mussalmans and in the next election the whole
country will hum with life, and that she will shoulder worthily the burden which upon a martial province is necessarily cast. (Applause). With these words I commend the resolution to your acceptance.

Maulana Shaukat Ali (U.P.) supported the resolution in Urdu, Pt. Neki Ram Sharma (Punjab) in Hindi, Ghazi Abdur Rahman (Punjab) in Urdt, Syt. B.F. Barucha (Bombay) in Hindi and Sirdar Mangal Singh (Punjab) in Urdu.

The President then put the resolution to vote and it was carried unanimously.

## V. Expulsion of <br> Non-Burman Offenders Bill.

The President: I now call upon Mr. T. Prakasam to move the resolution on Non-Burman Expulsion Bill.

Mr. Prakasam (Andhra) said :
Madam President, ladies and gentlemen : You will forgive me for not being able to address you in Hindi. I shall promise to make an effort next time when I appear before the Congress. The resolution that I am here to move before you runs thus:

This Congress regards the Expulsion of Non-Burman Offenders Bill and the Tax on Sea Passengers Bill of Burma to be an attack on the liberty of the citizen. In the opinion of the Congress, the first Bill imperils the vast interests of Indians resident in Burma inasmuch as it exposes innocent men to the mercy of the executive. The Congress is of opinion that the Bills should not receive the Viceregal sanction.

The resolution is a very mild one and expresses the hope that the Viceroy would not give his sanction to these two measures. I had been to Burma three months ago with a view to study the local conditions, particularly with reference to these two Bills. The first Bill, Non-Burman Expulsion Bill relates to the expulsion of Non-Burmans in Burma if they should be found guilty of the numerous offences enumerated in the schedule attached to the Bill and the offences defined in the schedule include the offence of insult, libel, slander and of not possessing or obtaining a licence for installation of wireless telegraph and other similar offences. The object of the Bill as propounded in the Statement of Objects and Reasons is the prevention of criminal tribes entering or staying in Burma. But the real object is the prevention of any political propaganda or any education of the Indian in political matters. Another object is to prevent Indians from settling there and to remove from Burma on the slightest pretext, for a trivial offence those Indians who have established long vested interests
there-those Indians who were born there and who had gone and settled there years ago. If these two Bills were passed into law we should have another Kenya or South Africa in the heart of India. In South Africa early legislations started in the same manner. If these measures are not prevented-if they should get the assent of the Viceroy and remain on the Statute Book then not only those Indians who have settled there would suffer but India herself would sufier. This is an insult and challenge to India. Burma is not South Africa. It is not Kenya. It is an integral part of this unfortunate country ruled by the Government of India. The Viceroy has been pleading that he could not do anything with regard to the Anti-Asiatic Bill of South Africa, because it is a self-governing colony and His Excellency had no power to do anything to influence that Government. But here is a Bill which has been passed without his previous sanction in the Burma Legislative Council and has been awaiting his assent for a number of months. These measures should be prevented from remaining on the Statute Book even if they receive his assent.

As regards the Sea Passengers' Bill, it contemplates imposing a tax of five rupees per head upon every passenger that gets into Burma either from Bengal or from any of the coasts of Madras. Already there is a tax on family-men of five rupees per head and in the case of an unmarried person it is Rs. 1-8. There is also a Capitation tax in Lower Burma. This was introduced with a view to prevent Indians from going to Burma. It is the duty of India to see that these two measures do not become law and if they become law, they should not be enforced. So far as labour is concerned, you will see that the population in Burma is about $13 \frac{1}{2}$ millions. This is one of the minor provinces under the Government of India Act. Indians in Burma number over ten lakhs, of these Bengalis are more than three lakhs. It is to the interest of India to see that these ten lakhs of our compatriots in Burma are well protected and strong measures ought to be taken from now.

I had been touring Burma since these two Bills had been passed into law by the Burma Council. You know that they did not get the approval of the Burmese nation or even of the non-official European members of the Burma Council. After these Bills were passed, there was a monstrous meeting at Rangoon presided over by a Burmese leader and attended by thousands of Burmese themselves. They protested against this measure with one voice. These measures were brought by interested parties, engineered as they were by the Nationalist party under a misapprehension, as they have since discovered to their own cost. They were responsible for piloting these Bills and passing them into law. They thought that in the first Council they
-having got the so-called power and position of two ministerscould do these things; but after the next elections which took place only a month ago, they found that they were thrown overboard by the very government who used them for passing these Bills, because the ministerships were not given to the ministers responsible for this Bill but given to the members of the Independent party-the creation of the government itself. These Nationalists themselves were good enough to invite me and assured me that they were not opposed to the interests of Indians in Burma, and it will be well just now for the Indian representatives in the Burma Council to co-operate with the Swaraj Party, the Home Rule Party in the Burma Council and see that these measures are revoked, even if they get the assent of the Viceroy. I hope that it will be done. After the last general elections, the Nationalists of Burma arrayed themselves against the Government and have been fighting with the Swarajists who are in a minority and as a result of this difference between the Nationalists and the governmental group, a Swarajist has been elected Deputy President of the Burma Council today and he has accepted the position without any salary. So it is just the opportune time for us to regulate the conduct of labour and immigration, to educate them and to see that they do not go there in such large nuinbers only to suffer. India today seems to have become a labour depot. From the southern districts-from the Tamil districts -we are sending labour to promote the interests of the English planters of Ceylon ; and now we are sending labour to Burma. You do not know how they are suffering. Thirty or forty of them live in a small room without space enough to move about. They cannot find room to sleep in ; they sleep in the streets of Rangoon. It is a tragic sight to notice that no effort has been made to alleviate their distress. On the contrary, racial bitterness has been created on account of this Bill. I hope the Congress will not remain silent by passing this resolution. I hope you will do your best to see that Indian labour is regulated wherever it goes, either to Burma or to Ceylon or to South Africa.

With these words I commend the resolution to your acceptance.
Mr. S. S. Halkar (Burma) seconded the resolution in Hindi.
Mr. Nripendrachandra Banerjea in supporting it said :
Madam President, ladies and gentlemen: It appears that the house is tired. (Cries of 'No, no'). I am one of those who claim to have some experience of the situation in Burma. But I shall be the last person at this late hour of the day to tire your patience with a long speech. My only excuse for troubling you at this late hour is that I was in Burma for two years and have tried in my humble way to fight for the cause of Indians in Burma and for Indo-Burmese unity.

The situation today is ominous. The situation is akin to that in South Africa. Our brothers and sisters in South Africa are sitting on
the crater of a volcano by reason of the Expulsion Bill, which means compulsory repatriation and even starvation and death. Likewise, Indians in Burma are threatened today. For the Burmans have now raised the cry, after the qualified Home Rule they have got, 'Burma for the Burmese ' which means expulsion of those who hold the view that the British hold Burma for their own interest. But the Burmese themselves do not understand what harm it will do them. All Burmans are not anti-Indian. There are pro-Indian Burmans like Rev. Uttama. We know that this insidious poison of anti-Indianism has been instilled into the minds of semi-educated Burmans. The Burmese are a lovable people. They are an artistic race but they are a people who have an arrested development and so the British have been able to instil into the minds of the Burmese this poison of antiIndianism with the result that they have forgotten their own history -what they owe to Buddha and to India. They have forgotten the history of their Indian origin, and the fact that all they own today--their religion, their culture, their social customs -have an Indian origin.

After all, the Burmese are taught that they are powerless by the side of the British. What is the psychology ? The British people have realised that their career of exploitation in India is fast coming to an end-it will cease in the course of fifteen or twenty years. They realise also that in Burma they have a clean slate to write upon-beautiful fields, pretty damsels, fine country, monasteries ard pagodas which might be Europeanised ; there is plenty of timber, coal and so on. That is the psychology-the psychology of our illustrious ex-Governor of the United Provinces, Sir Harcourt Butler who put our leader Pandit Motilal Nehru in jail. Sir Harcourt is a fine gentleman, courteous and astute - he is trying to see that the Indians in Burma and the Burmese may not come together. Therefore, I tell you that unless the Indians in Burma are organised, unless there is an Indian National Congress in Burma and unless we have a mandate from the Congress to organise the Indians there, the Indian question there will be finished in the course of the next ten years.

Called upon by the President to address the Congress, Mr. Abdus Sattar Wali (Burma) said:

Madam: I am here to support the resolution and voice the feelings of the Indians in Upper Burma who consider the two Bills passed by the Burmese Legislature recently as unprecedented in nature, unique in harshness, unparalleled in conception and barbarous in execution, and as obliterating the very principles of justice and equity. The Sea Passengers Bill aims at the exploitation of Indian labour in Burma by imposing a tax on every passenger coming by boat to Burma. It is directed mainly against poor Indian coolies who form ninety per cent of Indian emigrants to Burma.

Considering the object of the Bill, we find that it violates the very principle of taxation of any government in any part of the world. The Expulsion Bill aims at expelling the Indians from Burma. No Indian is safe in that country henceforward. The second clause of the Bill though it does not mention the word 'Indian', is primarily and solely directed against the Indians because the Indian's are the majority of the non-Burman residents in Burma. The number of Indians in Burma is about one million whereas the number of non-Burman residents in Burma is one lakh twenty five thousand roughly, that is, $12 \frac{1}{3}$ per cent. Therefore it can be said that these Bills aim particularly at that community which forms the majority. The second important point regarding this Bill is, whereas the Europeans are governed by the principle of international law to have the right of retaliation, the Indians in Burma have not got that right because they have no government of their own. If I am to compare the two Bills, that is the anti-Asiatic Bill in South Africa and the Expulsion Bill in Burma,-I shall deal with only three salient features-I may say that first the Expulsion Bill aims at turning out and doing injustice to a greater number of Indians than the number of Indians in all the colonies in the British Empire put together. The second point is that the expulsion in South Africa will be gradual whereas in Burma it will be a sudden extermination of Indians. Thirdly, the South African Bill is directed not only against the Indians but against all Asiatics. The Expulsion Bill here in Burma is solely intended for the Indian community. Therefore I appeal to you, ladies and gentlemen, to help us in this dire hour of need so that we may vindicate our rights and attain our liberty. Whether you help us or not, the Indians in Burma have realised the full significance of these three words ' Unity is strength', and we shall go on as martyrs for India's glory whatever may come to us (applause), and we shall act in a way quite befitting this land of Aryas. I know we have not the power, I know we have not the strength. I myself feel the pang of slavery and I hope it is burning within us, urging us to agitate and march forward till we win back the greatest boon which God has given to man-Freedom. (Applause).

President: I now call upon Mr. V. Madanjit to support the resolution.

Mr. Madanjit (Burma) said :
Madam: I am here to speak on the two Bills recently passed in the Burma Legislative Council. Those Bills, as Mr. Prakasam has told you, are the most pernicious Bills that have been passed by any legislature. The effect of the Bills is that the Indians in Burma-one million strong-will not be able to stay there in peace. Then there is the Sea Passengers Bill. Every year
three lakhs of Indians go to Burma and they will come under the operation of the Bill. A large number of Indians live in towns which have got to pay the Capitation tax. The Government levies the tax on every household. This tax is levied on every man after he attains eighteen years of age at Rs. $2-8$ per head and if he is a married man he has got to pay five rupees; while the Sea Passengers Bill will levy five rupees on each adult ticket. An adult ticket may mean a girl of twelve years who pays the full fare. Mr. Prakasam has told you what the effect of this levy will be. The Expulsion Bill involves all the indignities that can be hurled upon the Indian people. I cannot go through all the details of the measure. The Bill includes all such sections of the Indian Penal Code as Section 144 and all such offences which come under the category of Sections 108 and 110 of the Indian Penal Code and all those offences punishable with two years imprisonment and more. Now even an assault is included in the Bill. A man may be discharged and warned, but if he is convicted twice, he must be deported by a first class magistrate. It is for you to realise the situation in which the Indians in Burma are. You are thinking of doing something for your people in South Africa, Kenya and Fiji but you are indifferent so far as Indians in Burma are concerned. There was a time when Indians were very keen on a subject of this character but the indignities hurled upon us are so many and so great, that we have ceased to take interest in it.

Before the Viceroy leaves India in February, he may give his assent to these Bills and then our position will be anomalous. We shall be at the mercy of the executive who are not always favourable to the Indian interest. Sir Harcourt Butler is a very astute gentleman. He got the support of the Burmese nationalists in this matter. I want you-when you go home-not to sit tight but take up the question in every home, village or town and hold public meetings to protest against these measures so that something might be done to make the Viceroy withhold his assent to them.

The President: I now put this motion to vote. I know you all sympathise with the grievances of Indians in Burma and protest against the injustice that is being done to them. I hope you will pass the resolution unanimously and be true to your comrades in Burma.

Those who are in favour of the resolution will kindly raise their hands. (Cries of 'All, all'). Those against: ('None, none'). The resolution is carried unanimously.

## VI. Congress Franchise.

The President: I now call upon Dr. Satyapal to move the resolution regarding the Congress Franchise.

Dr. Satyapal (l'unjab) moved :
This Congress approves and confirms Part $A^{1}$ of Resolution I of the All India Congress Committee, passed at Patna on Scptember 22, 1925.

Dr. Satyapal spoke in Urdu explaining the meaning of the resolution. He urged the necessity of the Khaddar clause as he said the wearing of Khaddar dress was a constant reminder of their fight for India's freedom, that they were so many soldiers who were out to win their liberty. Khaddar dress should be a sort of national uniform and the emblem of Swaraj and as such no lovers of Indian Swarajya should have any objection to the wearing of Khaddar.

The President:-I now call upon Mr. C. V. Venkataramana Iyengar to second the resolution.

1. The folluwing is l'art A of the Patna resolution referred to above:

In view of the fact that there is a demand from a considerable section in the Congress for a revision of the franchise and there is a general consensus of opinion that having regard to the present situation the franchise should be extended, the All India Congress Committee resolves that Article VII of the Congress Constitution be repealed, and replaced by the following :-

Article VII.
(i) Every person not disqualified under Article IV and paying a subscription of 4 annas per year in advance, or 2030 yards of evenly spun yarn of his or her nwn spinning, shall be entitled to become a member of any primary organisation controlled by a Provincial Congress Committee: provided that no person shall ba a member of two parallel Congress organisations at one and the same time.
(ii) The yarn subscription mentioned in sub-section (i) shall be sent direct by the spinner to the Secretary, All India Spinners' Association or to any person nominated by the Secretary in this behalf, and a certificate from the Secretary, All India Spinners' Association to the effect that he has received 2000 yards of evenly spun yarn of the holder's own spinning as his or her yearly subscription shall entitle the holder to the membership mentioned in sub-section (i) hereof : provided that for the purpose of checking the accuracy of the returns made by the All India Spinners' Association, the All India Congress Committee or any Provincial Congress Committee or any sub-committee thereunder shall have the right to inspect the accounts, the stock and the vouchers of the All India Spinners' Association or any subordinate organisation thereunder and provided further that in the event of any inaccuracy or error discovered by the inspecting body in the accounts, stock or vouchers examined, the certificates issued by the All India Spinners.'

## Mr. Venkatare mana Iyengar ('Tamil Nadu) said:

Madam President, ladies and gentlemen: It is with great pleasure that I second this resolution, and for several reasons.: The first reason is that I am a mill-owner. I am very much interested in the working of mills and $I$ had been practically going through a process of conversion for two years until I was convinced of the utility of Khaddar about three years ago because apart from other reasons Khaddar work is one of the chief and necessary things for the salvation of our masses. (Hear, hear). I may say at once that at present it is not correct to say that there is antagcnism between the mill industry and the Khaddar industry. According to the figures given for the six months ending with September last, the value of cloth produced in Indian mills came up to twenty-nine crores of rupees, but mark, at the same time the price of cloth imported into India for the same period of six months was also twenty-nine crores of rupees. Therefore if the Khaddar industry is to have a fair chance you can very well at least reduce the quality and quantity of goods imported

Association in respect of persons with reference to whose membership the accounts have been examined, shall be declared cancelled; provided that the All India Spinners' Association or the person disqualified shall bave the right of appeal to the Working Committee. Any person wishing to spin for the membership of the Congress may, if he or she desires, be supplied upon due security with cotton for spinning.
(iii) The year of the membership shall be reckoned from the 1st January to 31st December ànd there shall be no reduction in the subscription to be paid by members joining in the middle of the year.
(iv) No person shall be entitled to vote at the election of representatives or delegates or any committee or sub-committee or any Congress organisation whatsoever, or to be elected as such, or to take part in any meeting of the Congress or Congress organisation, or any. Committee or sub-committee thereof, if he has not complied with sub-section (i) hereof or does nut wear hand spun and hand woven khaddar at political and Congress functions or while engaged in Congress business. The Congress expects Congressmen to wear khaddar also on all other occasions and in no case to use or wear foreign cloth.
(v) All the existing members at the end of the year shall be entitled to remain such up to the 31st January following although they may not have paid their subscription for the new year.

## Saving Clause:-

Sub-section (i) shall not uffect the rights of those who have been already registered as members under the Article repealed, provided their membership is otherwise in order and provided further that those who shall have paid yarn subscription whether of self-spun or hand spun yarn up to September, 1925, shall be entitled to remain members for the current year though they may not pay any further yarn.
into the country. Besides cloth, I know there is a very large quantity of yarn imported from foreign countries and in my own Presidency there are some weaving mills which use forcign yarn. Therefore, if the manufacture of Indian spun yarn is increased, there will be considerable room for reducing the import of foreign cloth as well as foreign yarn. But, gentlemen, there is a very important reason why the mill-owners and mill-shareholders should take this matter as a national question and do all they can for improving the Kbaddar industry. We cannot forget that after all, the masses are our own blood and what is more, we cannot be ungrateful to the nation at large for it is the nationalist leaders that compelled by moral force as it were the unwilling Government of India and the British Government to cancel the Excise Duty on cotton. The mill-owners have through this resolution which the Nationalists have passed in the Legislative Assembly saved about three crores of rupees of Excise Duty. If they are national and grateful there is no reason why they should not be made to pay'a certain amount towards the manufacture of Khaddar. Therefore as one who has been taking a great deal of interest in the manufacture of mill-cloth I have come to the conclusion that after all, the Indian mills cannot clothe the nation for some decades to come and even then there will not be sufficient mill-produce to do away with the manufacture of Khaddar.

So far as I know there is a very great demand for Khaddar among the masses and today mill and Khaddar cloth meet the demand only to a very small extent and mill people ought to be grateful for this Khaddar demand because I know there are some mills that manufacture Khaddar and the poor masses who cannot get pure Khaddar, sometimes have recourse to mill-woven Khaddar. Therefore there is a great necessity and increasing demand for hand-woven Khaddar. As I said I was not a full believer in Khaddar about two or three years ago. I went through a process of conversion but it was completed when I undertook at the suggestion of my esteemed friend Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar to tour over a portion of the Coimbatore District where there had been no rain for the last three years and people had been suffering from starvation. I came to know that there was a very large proportion of the rural womanhood, who knew how to spin yarn of high quality and $I$ found that they could spin yarn of 20 or 30 counts even in darkness. Besides these, there is a large number of people who can spin yarn of 20 or 30 counts; and now the Congress Relief Committee are tapping this source of yarn manufacture in the faminestricken places. We have found that those people who could not earn As. $2 \frac{1}{3}$ a day can earn at our relief works about three annas a day by spinning higher counts of yarn. The Government only pay them two annas per head per day under their Famine Code. There are people who do not come to the Government reliof camps for doles. They are able to
earn three annas a day by spinning. There was famine in the District and although I tried my best to convince the Madras Government of it, they would not come to their rescue. But I have found that these people who can spin can get much more money by spinning than by working in the relief camps.

That is my experience and facts and figures clearly show that even from the economic standpoint, plying the Chavkha as an occupation is a very useful one. Therefore the theory that hand-spinning is not an economic one and that it will not be able to compete with mill yarn has been exploded. The Khaddar Board of Soutbern India have now agreed to take up the work of tapping the source of getting yarn. And therefore I think it is absolutely neces* sary that we should do our best to improve yarn manufacture. There is a great demand for Khaddar among the masses and there is no doubt whatever that if we can tap that source ourselves and improve the quality and quantiry of hand-spun yarn it will be a very great thing for the economic salvation of the country.

There is another question-why we should be morally bound to wear Khaddar cloth on certain occasions. I cannot see, if people have no objection to wearing prescribed modes of dress at Dinners and Tea parties in Government Houses and if some of these wear turbans when attending Council meetings, why they should object to a particular national costume to show to what school of thought they belong. (Cries of 'Hear, hear'). With these few words I have the greatest pleasure in commending the resolution to your acceptance.

The President: Maulana Hasrat Mohani will now oppose the resolution.
M. Hasrat Mohani (U. P.) opposed the resolution in Urdu. He said although he believed in the utility of Khaddar he had great objection to its being made compulsory for Congress workers. Every Indian has the right to be a member of the Congress but to deprive him of this right because he did not happen to wear Khaddar dress or to compel him to wear Khaddar if he wanted to be a member of the Congress was nothing short of coercion. He wondered if the Congress would appreciate a resolution to the effect that those who were not vegetarians should not be entitled to exercise their Congress franchise. It was said that there should be a sort of national uniform but why should it be, if it had the effect of shutting out from the Congress such men as Mr. Jinnah, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Chintamani and others who were neither opposed to the Congress nor to Khaddar?
M. Hamid Ali Saheb (C. P. Hindustani) seconded M. Hasrat Mohani in Urdu.

The President then called upon Maulana Mohamad Ali to address the Congress in support of the main motion.

Maulana Mohamad Ali on rising to support the resolution was accorded a rousing ovation. He first spoke in Urdu, and then addressing the Congress in English he said:

You must walk, fight and march on. You cannot, however, march but can only go back. You play the tune to the masses but they will not dance. What have you done for the masses that they will work for you. You want that offices should come to you. You talk of responsive co-operation, reflexive co-operation and the next thing will be non-co-operative co-operation or co-operative non-co-operation. We are good at coining phrases and words, but we cannot coin the money wherewith to get food for the twenty-eight crores of Indians, whose whole problem is one of food-belly-fill it before you can expect your army to march. The one thing your army requires is that it must be well-fed. Fill the bellies of your army and then they will fill your ranks.

Today you want the masses to do everything for you. But you will not even spin, you will not wear Khaddar. You want to come to the Congress with a pocket handkerchief and that is all-that is how you want to encourage Khaddar. I think it was an American lady who said that the national dress of India is a pocket handkerchief and a turban. Now if the people have lost the turban and stuck to the pocket handkerchief, I am afraid, the intelligentsia have not only lost their turbans but also the heads underneath. You are the artificial creation of the West. If you want freedom, you will have to do everything to feed the twenty-eight crores of Indians. You cannot fill the hungry mouths except by spinning yourselves. If you and I spin and wear Khaddar, then you and I produce everything. Without Khaddar you cannot feed the masses. The example of Khaddar-as the master of the real intelligentsia has said-the example of Khaddar in the way of distribution of wealth is an example of God's rain. You have your irrigation canals-but how many pieces of machinery have to be lubricated and oiled before you get water to drink and to water your crops. Wells have to be sunk, tanks have to be excavated and how many processes have to be gone through! But God's rain waters the fields of the poor as well as the gardens of the rich. That is the beauty of Khaddar. It is God's own well-it is the lesson of self-reliance, the power to make yourselves rich and the strength to fight freedom's battle. All that you have to do is to give to the masses an employment that they may have the food, that they may have the spirit to fight. And when they have got that spirit to fight then and then only you can cry 'Mahatma Gandhiji-ki-Jai'. (Applause),

The President: The resolution and the amendment of Maulana Hasrat Mohani will be explained to the delegates by Mr. Girdharilal, both in English and in Urdu. I shall ask the delegates to remember that they are bound by the resolution of Patna and no one is entitled to vote who has not conformed to the regulation of wearing Khaddar. No visitor should lift his hand. It is confined only to delegates.

A delegate: On a point of order. Can Maulana Hasrat Mohani move an amendment without wearing Khaddar?

The President: I hope you will drop that at my request.
Mr. Girdharilal: The amendment of Maulana Hasrat Mohani is this:

In section 4, article 7 in part A of the Patna Resolution, delete the words ' or do not wear handspun and handwoven Khaddar at political or Congress functions or while engaged in Congress business.'

Those who are in favour of Maulana Hasrat Mohani's amendment will please raise their hands.-(Only three hands were seen raised in favour of the amendment.)

Those who are against: (Cries of 'All, all').
The President: I declare that the amendment is lost by an overwhelming majority.

The President: I now put the main resolution to vote. Those who are in favour of it, that is, for the confirmation of part A of the Patna resolution as moved by Dr. Satyapal, will please raise their hands. (Cries of 'All, all').

The President: None against ?-(Cries of 'None, none').
The President: I declare the resolution is carried. (Prolonged cheers).

The President: Before I call upon Pandit Motilal Nehru to move his resolution, here is an ambassador from the great nation of America who wish the Congress well and are looking to India to get her freedom as speedily as possible.

Prof. Holmes of the Pennsylvania University, United States of America, wearing a Gandhi cap, walked to the rostrum and was greeted with cheers.

Prof. Holmes said: I cannot rightly claim to represent in any official way the United States of America, Madam Chairman and friends of the Congress. I do represent the Society of Friends of America known as Quakers and as a member of the Federation of Labour, I may say I also represent, in an unofficial way, the Labour of America. In these two capacities I want to express the sympathy and interest of the American people for the great service of humanity as well as of India, that you have undertaken and especially our
affection and loyalty to the great leader who has arisen among you. (Applause.)

Yesterday I heard Dr. Abdur Rahman claim Mahatma Gandhi as a South African. May I not today claim him for America, ('hear, hear')-for the world. (Applause). May I not say that the Society of Friends whom I represent, regard him with the same reverence and belief in his work as you do. (Hear, hear). I ought to say further more that we believe that we have gone very far wrong in our Western civilization. We have gone too far in the pursuit of wealth and power. It is a deep evil in our whole Western civilization. Our love of wealth has resulted in the concentration of wealth and the oppression of the poor and the labourer. Our longing in the West for power has brought on war after war and seems likely to plunge us still further into war-perhaps into actual suicide of our civilization and so we gladly turn to you who are indicating to us another and a better way. And we hope that without losing the good things of our Western civilization-the power over nature, inventions, scientific improvements and the like-we may add to that the kind of selfcontrol and the kind of co-operative brotherly spirit which is represented by the great prophet amongst you. (Applause).

It will be presumptuous for me to say anything about the problems actually before you. I do not desire to say further than that no one who has been brought up in the traditions of the United States of America, however wrong he or she might have gone, can fail to be touched and thrilled by every movement for human freedom or for the liberty of the people in any part of the world. (Applause).

The President: Dr. Satyapal will now translate Prof. Holmes's speech in Urdu.

Dr. Satyapal accordingly explained the speech in Urdu.

## VII. Future Programme.

The President: I nuw call upon Pandit Motilal Nehru to move the most important resolution of the day.

Pandit Motilal Nehru (U. P.) rose admist cheers and was accorded a prolonged ovation. He first explained in Hindustani the resolution which read as follows :

This Congress confirms part $\mathbf{B 1}^{1}$ of Resolution I passed by the All India Congress Committee at its mecting held at Patna on the 22nd September last and
${ }^{1}$ The following is part $B$ of the A.I.C.C's resolution referred to above:
Whereas thie Congress in its 39th session beld at Belgaum endorscd an agreement entered into between Mahatma Gandhi on the one hand, and Deshbandhu C.R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru, acting on behalf of the Swaraj Party, ou the other, whereby the Congress activity was restrictel to the constructive
resolves that the Congress do noty take up and carry on such political work as is necessary in the interests of the country and for this purpose do employ the whola of the machinery and funds of the Congress save and except such funds and assets as under that resolution have been declared to belong to the All India Spioners' Association, and save such funds and assets as may be earmarked;

This Congress reiterates its faith in Civil Disobedience as the only effective weapon to be used in the last resort to enforce the national claim and vindicate our national honour, but realizes that the country is not now ready for it and in view thereof this Congress resolves that the guiding principle in carrying on all political work shall be self-reliance in all activities which make for the healthy growth of the nation and resistance to every activity governmental or other, that may impede the Nation's progress towards Swaraj;

And this Congress adopts the following programme of political work :-
I. The work in the country shall be directed to the education of the people in their political rights and training them to acquire the necessary strength and power of resistance to win those rights by carrying out the constructive programme of the Congress with special reference to popularising the spinning wheel and kLaddar, promoting inter- communal unity, the removal of untouchability, ameliorating the condition of the suppressed classes and the removal of the drink and drug evil
programme mentioned therein and it was provided inter alia that "the work in connection with the Central and Provincial Legislatures should be carried on by the Swaraj Party on behalf of the Congress and as an integral part of the Congress organisation and that for such work the Swaraj Party should make its own rules and administer its own funds "; and

Whereas subsequent events have shown that this rostriction should not continue under the altered circumstances that face the country and that the Congress sloould henceforth be a predominantly political body;

It is resolved that the Congress do now take up and carry on all such political work as may be necessary in the interest of the country and for this purpose do employ the whole of the machinery and funds of the Congress, save and except such fuads and assets as are specially earmarked and such funds and assets as belong to the All India Khaddar Board and Provincial Khaddar Boards which shall be handed over with all existing financial obligations to the All India Spinners' Association started by Mahatma Gandhi as an integral part of the Congress organisation but with independent existence and full powers to administer these and other funds for the fulfilment of its object:

Provided that the work in connection with the Indian and Provincial Legislatures sball be carried on in accordance with the policy and programme laid down by the Swaraj Party under the Constitution framed by the Party and the rules made thereunder, subject to such modifications made by the Congress as may be found necessary from time to time for the purpose of carrying out the aid policy.
and shall include the capture of local bodies, the organisation of villages, the promotion of education on national lines, the organisation of labour both industrial and agricultural, the adjustment of relations between employers and workmen and between landiords and tenants and the general advancement of the nationaleconomical, industrial and commercial interests of the country.
II. The work outside the country shall be directed to the dissemination of accurate information in foreign countries.
III. This Congress adopts on behalf of the country the terms of the settlement offered to the Government by the Independent and Swarajya Parties of the Assembly by the resolution passed on the 18th February 1924, and having regard to the fact that the Government have so far not made any response to the said offer, resolves that the following action shall be taken :

1. The Swarajya Party in the Assembly shall at the earliest opportunity invite the Government to give their final decision on the said terms and in case no decision is announced before the end of February or the decision announced is held not to be satisfactory by a Special Committee consisting of the Working Committee of the Congress and such other members as may be appointed by the A.I.C.C., the Party shall by adopting the proper procedure, intimate to the Government on the floor of the House that the Party will no longer continue to remain and work in the present legislatures as heretofore. The Swarajist members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, shall vote for the rejection of the Finance Bill and immediatuly after, leave their seats. T'he Swarajist members of such Provincial Councils as may be in session at the time shall also leave their seats and all members of the various legislatures so leaving their seats shall report themselves to the Special Committee aforesaid for further instructions. Swarajist members of such Councils as are not in session at the time shall not attend further meetings of the said Councils and shall likewise report themselves to the Special Committee.
2. No member of the Swarajya Party in the Council of State, in the Legislative Assembly or in any of the Provincial Councils shall thereafter attend any meeting of any of the said Legislatures or any of their committees except for the purpose of preventing his seat from being declared vacant and of throwing out the Provincial Budget or any other measure involving fresh taxation:
Provided that prior to their being called upon to leave their seats it shall be open to Swarajist members of the various Legislatures to engage themselves in such activities in their respective Legislatures as are permissible to them under the existing rules of the Party:
Provided also that it slall be open to the Special Committee to allow the Swarajist members of any Legislature to attend the said Legislature
when such attendance is in its opinion essential for some special or unforeseen purpose.
3. The Special Committee shall immediately on receipt of the Reports mentioned in sub-clanse 1 call a meeting of the All India Congress Committee to frame a programme of work which shall be carried out by the Congress and Swarajya Party organisations in coooperation with each other tbroughoat the country.
4. The said programme of work shall include selected heads of the general work mentioned in clauses I and II above as also the education of the electorates in the policy herein laid down and shall indicate the lines on which the next general election is to be run by and in the name of the Congress and state clearly the issues on which Congressmen shall seek election :
Provided that the policy of non-acceptance of offices in the gift of the Government slall continue to be followed until in the opinion of the Congress a satisfactory response to the terms of settlement aforesaid is made by the Government.
5. This Congress hereby authorizes the executives of the several Provincial Congress Committees to select candidates for the Provincial Legislative Councils and the Indian Legislative $\Lambda$ ssembly in their provincial areas for the general elections next year as early as possible.
6. In the event of the final decision of the Government on the terms of settlement offered in the resolution of the Assembly aforesaid being found satisfactory and acceptable by the aforesaid Special Committee, a meeting of the All India Congress Cominittee shall forthwith be held to confirm or reject the decision of the Special Committee and to determine the future course of action.
7. Until the Swarajists leave the Legislatures as herein provided, the Constitution of the Swarajya Party and the rules made thereunder shall be followed in the Legislatures subject to such changes as may be made by the Congress or the All India Congress Committee from time to time.
8. For the purpose of starting the work referred to in sub-clanses 3 and 4, the All India Congress Committee shall allot such funds as it may consider sufficient for the initial expenses of the necessary propaganda in this behalf, but any further funds required for the said purpose shall be raised by the Working Committee or under its directions by contributions from the public.
Then speaking in English, Pandit Motilal Nehru said:
Friends. who have not been able to follow me in what $I$ just said in Hindustani, I am going simply to tell you the purport of what I have said so far. I have simply been informing the Hindustani knowing friends that

I shall place my resolution before them in the first instance in Hindustani for two reasons, the one being that Hindustani itself has the first and foremost claim upon us being our mother tongue ('Hear, hear'), and the other reason being that such friends as do not understand English have not got any notes, not even a scrap of paper before them to inform them as to what the contents of my resolution are. Those friends who understand English, have got copies of the resolution in English -I am afraid not every one, but I hope most of them. (Cries of 'No, no, not all'). Well, if not most of you, at least some of you have. (Laughter). But I may inform you that copies are being distributed as they are being received from the press and the supply has not yet ceased. It continues.

I propose today only to explain the terms of the resolution and the implications of it as briefly as I can. As you know, I being the mover of the resolution have the right to reply and I shall reserve my arguments in support of my resolution till then. I may inform you, as you may have noticed from the printed copy in your hand, that there are various amendments to this resolution and not only that, but the whole of the resolution is going to be most strenuously opposed from certain quarters. It is therefore unnecessary for me to waste my breath in anticipating arguments. It is much better that the arguments that will be advanced against my resolution should be before you before I deal with them. For this reason $I$ intend for the present to content myself with just laying before you the terms of the resolution as a whole. Those who have copies or at least those who can borrow copies from their neighbours have got the whole text of the resolution but those friends who cannot understand English have got nothing. So you will now permit me to turn my attention to my friends who do not understand English.

Pandit Motilal Nehru next addressed the Congress in Hindustani again.

Then addressing the Congress in English Pandit Motilal Nehru said:

Friends, at present I shall reserve my remarks which I intend to make in English because it is not necessary for me to explain to those who know English as to what the contents and the purport of my resolution are. They have got all that in the Resolution itself. To those friends who do not understand English, I have only explained the purport and the trend of my resolution in Hindustani. I reserve my arguments in answer to the amendments which will be moved before you either for rejection of certain clauses or for the total rejection of the whole thing from top to bottom. Therefore I will now beg leave of you to make room for the seconder of my motion.

The President: Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar will formally second the resolution.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar (Tamil Nadu) : I beg to second this resolution which has been moved by Pandit Motilal Nehru. I reserve my speech till tomorrow.

The President: Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya will formally move his amendment and Mr. Jaýakar will formally second it. They will reserve their speeches till tomorrow. I now call upon Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to move his amendment :

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (U, P.) rose amidst cheers and moved his amendment which ran as follows:

Substitute for the original resolution the following:--
This Congress confirms Part B of the Resolution passed by the All India Congress Committee at its meeting held at Patna on the 22nd September last and resolves that the Congress do now take up and carry on both in the Legislatures and outside them all such political work as is necessary in the interest of the country and for this purpose do employ the whole of the machinery and funds of the Congress save and except such funds and assets as under that resolution have been declared to belong to the All India Spinners' Association, and save such funds as may be earmarked:
And this Congress adopts the following programme of political work:-

1. The work in the Legislatures shall be so carried on as to utilize them to the best possible advantage for the early establishment of full responsible government-co-operation being resorted to when it may be necessary to advance the national cause and obstruction. when that may be necessary for the advancement of the same cause.
2. The work in the country shall be directed to the education of the people in their political rights and training them to acquire the necossary strength and power of resistance to win those rights by carrying out the constructive programme of the Congress with special reference to popularising the spinning wheel and Khaddar, promoting inter-communal unity, removal of untouchability, ameliorating the condition of the suppressed classes and removal of the drink and drug evil and shall include the organisation of villages, the capture of local bodies, the promotion of education on national lines, the organisation of labour, both industrial and agricultural, the adjustment of relations between employers of labour and workmen and between landlords and tenants and the general advancement of the national-economical, industrial and commercial interests of the country.
3. The work outside the country shall be directed to the dissemination of accurate information regarding the present position and the aspirations of Indians in foreign countries.
4. Ihis Congress adopts on behalf of the country the terms of the settlement offered by the Independent and Swarajya Parties of the Assembly by the resolution passed on 18th February 1924 and of September 1925 and having regard to the fact that the Government have so far not made any response to the said offer, resolves that the fullowing action shall be taken :
The Congress calls upon the Swarajya and Independent Parties in the Assembly at the carliest opportunity to invite the Government to give their final decision on the said terms and in case no decision is announced before the end of March or the decision announced is held not to be satisfactory by the A. I. C. C. it shall convene a special session of the Congress before the end of May to consider the situation and to advise the country what course to adopt in relation thereto.
Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya then explained briefly in Hindi the purport of his amendment.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar: I have great pleasure in seconding the amendment. You have heard Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya explaining to you his amendment. I formally second the amendment and reserve my speech till tomorrow.

Syed Majid Baksh (Bengal) then moved the following amendment : "Delete para 2 and substitute the following":
This Congress resolves that Civil Disobedience is the ouly way left to the people of India to enforce the national demand, to vindicate national honour and to make the bureaucracy yield to their wishes; and with a view to carry this resolution into effect this Congress further appoints a Committec to be hereinafter called the Special Committee which shall have power to declare, suspend or stop Civil Disobedience in any form, at any time, at any place and under any condition without further reference to the All India Congress Conmittee if it thinks necessary, and such decision shall be binding upon all Congress Committees and the people of India.

Swami Govindanand (Sind) moved the next amendment which was as follows:

Delete the following words occurring in para 2 of the resolution :
"but realizes that the country is not now ready for it and in view thercof this Congress"

And substitute the word 'and' therefor.
Mr. Sambamurti (Andhra) : I second the amendment moved by Swami Govindanand.

Mr. Srikishendas H. Lulla (Sind) then moved the following amendment:

That the following words be added after the word "seats" occurring in (b) (iii) 1 of the resolution :
"Including all offices elective or nominated in the Legislature or outside and all seats on Committees or Commissions whether of the Legislatures or otherwise and shall be available for carrying on agitation in the country."
The President: The Congress is adjourned till 12 o'clock tomorrow.

## THIRD DAY.

December 28, 1925.
The Congress resumed its sittings on the third day at 12 noon.
The President: I call upon Syed Majid Baksh to move his amendment.

Syed Majid Baksh said :
Madam President, ladies and gentlemen: I do not think any speech on my part is necessary. I will simply explain the difference between my resolution and the main motion of Panditji. In a nutshell, I am moving for the deletion of para 2 of Pandit Motilal Nehru's resolution and what $I$ want to substitute in its place is this:

This Congress resolves that Civil Disobedience is the only way left to the people of India to enforce the national demand, to vindicate national honour and to make the bureaucracy yield to their wishes; and with a view to carry this resolution into effect this Congress further appoints a Committee to be hereinafter called the Special Committee which shall bave power to declare, suspend or stop Civil Disobedience in any form, at any time, at any place and under any condition without further reference to the All India Congress Committee if it thinks necessary, and such decision shall be binding upon all Congress Committees and the people of India.
The resolution merely says that the Congress reiterates its faith in Civil Disobedience. But I want to go further. I want to go a step forward-further than what is proposed in the resolution. And I want to stiffen up Panditji's resolution. We know what Civil Disobedience is and we had a taste of it when about four years ago some twenty-five thousand of our people went to jail. These people have once gone to jail and I believe they are even now ready to embrace the rigours of prison life again for the attainment of Swaraj. ('Hear, hear'). I do not like to be told off and on that the country is not ready for Civil Disobedience. I do not want it to be dinned into our ears that the country is not prepared for it. Let me know when the country shall be prepared for it and I will put in that date in my amendment. But as days go on, the bureaucracy come upon us with their Ordinances and Regulations because they know that we are not determined to do anything. In the language of Pandit Motilal Nehru the difference between the Moderates and the Swarajists is that the Moderates are like a flock of crows who could be soared away by a few blank shots. But are you Congressmen and Swarajists going to be like that? I want an answer. Do not speak in the language of disheartened men that are not prepared to move forward. When are you to be prepared? Are you the people of Bengal not ready to offer Civil Disobedience when two hundred of your young men-when men like Subhas Chandra Bose and othersare rotting in jail? How can you say that you are not pre-


Congress Pandal.


Main Gate
for Delegates
pared when you have before you the picture of sacrifice and nobility of men like Subhas Chandra Bose, incarcerated without trial in the wilds of Mandalay? Are you prepared to say that you are not ready now, and to let the bureaucracy go on as merrily as ever? Are you justified in not accepting the challenge of the bureaucracy? Do you not know the bull-dog tenacity of the British and the roughness of the bull? Do you not know that this bull-dog tenacity yields to the great determination of a nation to be free? ('Hear, hear '). I cannot understand this argument of our not being prepared. If you read the history of the late war, you will find that all the authors agree that England was not prepared for the war when it broke out. America was not likewise prepared for the war. But this unpreparedness did not hinder them from joining in the war and winning the laurels of victory. Unpreparedness cannot be a plea. Take courage in both hands and you will find that God will help you. The situation will change and you will be victorious in the end, prepared or unprepared, as has been the verdict of history. In Gaya this fissiparous tendency manifested itself and it is again upon us. If you decide upon a plan of direct action, you will find that all this fissiparous tendency will disappear and we shall march on to give battle to the common enemy. (Applause).

The President: I now call upon Mr. Basanta Kumar Majumdar to second the amendment of Syed Majid Baksh.

Mr. Majumdar (Bengal) : The amendment I am going to second is a simple one. My leaders of the Swarajya Party say that we are not ready for Civil Disobedience. I ask them if they themselves are ready for it. They say they are not ready. And upon this alone they have drafted the resolution laying down the future programme of the country.

Civil Disobedience is not a new thing. They had already had a taste of it. In 1921 they had passed their examinations when thousands of them took up the challenge of the bureaucracy and embraced jail. The only examination then left, as Mahatma Gandhi told us, was the examination of gunpowder. They had also this examination of gunpowder in Salanga Ghat and Assam. Did not the people stand with open breasts before this gunpowder, defying the bureaucracy's challenge? And I have every faith that our people will yet stand like men in a non-violent way before the mighty bureaucracy to win their rights. I say, the poople are ready, the country is ready but it is only the leaders who are not ready to go ahead. (Cries of 'Hear, hear '). When theiSwarajya Party was formed at Gaya, the Deshbandhu told us that the fight with the bureaucracy must be carried on simultaneously both within and outside the legislatures. But what do we find today? The resolution says that the Congress simply reite-
rates its faith in Civil Disobedience and in the same breath it adds that we are not ready. Instead of that, let us tell the bureaucracy, 'Give us our rights, or we shall attack your citadel from every corner.' I ask the audience to tell our leaders that we are even ready to die, if need be, for the sake of the country-that we are ready to court imprisonment by offering Civil Disobedience. (Cries of 'Hear, hear'). I ask you again, are you ready to die for your motherland? (Cries of 'Yes, yes'). We are Saktas and we believe that the blood of our martyrs will not go in vain. The blood of Kanai, of Satyendra, of Khudhiram, the precious blood of the Deshbandhu and the Lokamanya and others has not been shed in vain. Let us have heart. Let us not say any more that we are not ready. (Applause).

The President: The movers of amendments will have ten minutes each and the seconders five minutes each. Mr. Girdharilal will now read to you certain verbal alterations that have been made in the resolution.

Mr. Girdharilal (Punjab) : In cl. (iii) of the resolution of Pandit Motilal Nehru after the words 'settlement offered ' please add the words 'to the Government' and the resolution with these words added reads thus, 'The Congress adopts on behalf of the country the terms of the settlement offered to the Government by the Independent and Swarajya Parties..... etc '.

In sub-clause 1 of cl. (iii), after the word 'State' change the word ' will ' into 'shall'.

In the proviso under "sub-clause 4, after the word 'until' and before the word ' $a$ ', please add 'in the opinion of the Congres '.

Under sub-clause 5, after the word 'the' and before the word ' Provincial' please add 'Executives of the several '.*

The President: I now call upon Mr. Sambamurti to move the amendment of Swami Govindanand.

Mr. Sambamurti (Andhra) said :
Madam President, brother and sister delegates: I beg your pardon for not being able to speak in Hindi. I confess my inability to address this gathering in Hindi, although I know a little bit of Hindi for ordinary conversation. So you will please excuse me for not being able to address you in the national language and you will bear with me for a few minutes when I address you in a foreign tongue.

I have the honour to move the amendment which is in the name of Swami Govindanand, that tho words in para 2:
'but realises that the comutry is not ready for it'
be deleted. The difference between my amendment and that of
*These alterations bave alreads boen incorporated in the main resolution. (Vide
61 and 62. ) pp 61 and 02. )

Syed Majid Baksh is this: while Mr. Baksh's amendment entrusts the launching of Civil Disobedience to the Special Committee mentioned in the resolution, we say that we do not recognise that the Special Committee has got the qualification or that it is competent to deal with Civil Disobedience. Although the Special Committee may be able to deal with Council work and Council-obstruction or Council-co-operation, we deny its right or its competency to deal with the subject of Civil Disobedience. Therefore, we do not agree with Mr. Baksh. We simply ask the House not to commit the country to the proposition that if the Congress demands, the country will not now and today, launch upon Civil Disobedience. I tell you, members of the All India Congress Committee and the delegates assembled here, 'if you are ready, the country is ready'. I do not say that you are not ready. You are ready; but there is some purpose for which this proposition is put here. Next year the Council campaign is going to be fought out throughout the country and the Council advocates do not want Civil Disobedience to be launched anywhere. The country demands Civil Disobedience-the country wants that we should launch upon a campaign of Civil Disobedience here and everywhere. But these Councilwallas think that their campaign for capturing the seats in the Legislatures will be affected if the workers choose to sit in jails or offer Civil Disobedience. I say that the programme of Civil Disobedi-ence-intensive individual Civil Disobedience in every province-will enhance the reputation of the Congress and would secure even the seats in the Councils. The best way of assisting the pro-councilmen is that each Provincial Committee should launch upon Civil Disobedience on a particular grievance of its own or on the general principle of prohibition or some other general principle. The country is now ready for it. With regard to the proposition that Civil Disobedience is the only effective weapon to be used in the last resort to enforce our national claim and vindicate our national honour, we entirely agree with it. But we deny that the country is not now ready for it. This country has responded and responded nobly whenever we launched upon Civil Disobedience. What right has this Congress now to say at this hour that this country is not ready for Civil Disobedience? What demand has this Congress made on the country this year for Civil Disobedience to justify the position that the country is unfit for Civil Disobedience?

The President: Are you speaking on your amendment?
Mr. Sambamurti : Certainly I am.
Mr. Majid Baksh : The President says that you must not oppose other amendments. (Laughter).

Mr. Sambamurti : I want these words to be deleted from the resolution because the presence of these words there casts a slur on the
nation's manhood. There are thousands and tens of thousands of our young men who are ready to stake their all for the sake of the motherland. And there are thousands who are ready, if necessary, to surrender their lives for the cause. In this Congress I do say that the best way to capture the whole electorate is to offer resistance in a practical manner. There is no use in simply reiterating your faith in Civil Disobedience. Why do you want this empty proposition from this platform? We do not want it. We want that the delegates should go forth into the country and each Provincial Congress Committee-it has got provincial autonomy--may take upon itself the responsibility of launching on Civil Disobedience.

I know the difficulties in the way of offering Civil Disobedience. I am aware of the dissensions among the Hindus and the Mussalmans, the Brahmins and the Non-Brahmins. But I ask how do these affect the question of offering Civil Disobedience? There may be religious riots but the Hindus and Mussalmans who are out for national liberty will fight like one man and give battle to the bureaucracy. In spite of your Tanzim, Sangathan and Suddhi movements, the nationalists of these movements are ready to stake their all for the freedom of the country. I would therefore say that these religious movements would not in any way affect your power or opportunity to offer Civil Disobedience. In this country, full of diverse faiths and many races, there are always bound to be differences and if you will wait for the unity of all these types, you will have to wait till Doomsday. Therefore, I say, let not these small differences deter you from launching upon a campaign of Civil Disobedience everywhere. The country may not be fit for mass Civil Disobedience but it is always fit for Individual Civil Disobedience. What is the best way of preparing the country for Mass Civil Dis* obedience? It is by means of a series of campaigns of Individual Civil Disobedience. How do you prepare the country for war and armed rebellion? By training the people in a series of battles and wars. So if you really believe that Civil Disobedience is the only effective weapon in the hands of an unarmed nation struggling to free itself from bondage, then it is your duty to have a series of campaigns in Individual Civil Disobedience to prepare the nation for General Mass Civil Disobedience which will ultimately obtain for us the liberty of our country. So long as the Congress excludes armed resistance to the bureaucratic Government, so long as the Congress demands adherence to the principle of Non-violence, the only programme before the country is the programme of Civil Disobedience and no other. Therefore, the ultimate battle which would place liberty in your hands is mass rebellion which would refuse to pay taxes to the Government, which would refuse to recogniṣe the British Government altogether. If you want this Mass Civil Disobedience and that in the course of the next few years, then in my humble opinion,
the only preparation for it is to organise a regular battle of Civil Disobedience against this Government.

I would say that all the parties in the Congress are at one on this question of Civil Disobedience-Mahatma Gandhi with his Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience, the late Deshbandhu and Pandit Motilal with their programme of Council obstruction and Civil Disobedience, Messrs Kelkar and Moonje with their doctrine of responsive coroperation and Civil Disobedience. They all agree that ultimately it is Civil Disobedience that will rescue this nation from bondage. Therefore do not commit the country to the proposition that the country is not ready for Civil Disobedience. Brother Delegates, I appeal to you not to accept Panditji's resolution or place the power in the hands of the Special Committee which is concerned with Council work.

I may tell you that we are not out for a small fraction of Swaraj. We are out for full Independence. All parties will ultimately work out full Independence of India bey ond the British Empire-that is the ultimate goal of the Indian nation. I may tell you that you have no place in the Empire as a partner with the Dominions. The Dominions are really against you. Only the day before yesterday, Dr. Abdur Rahman told you that you should join them in their struggle for South Africa. The South African Government are going to have their Anti-Asiatic Bill passed and the British Government have not the courage to withhold their assent. The fight for the liberty of India -the storm centre for the freedom of India may to-morrow be in South Africa. If our South African brethren offer Satyagraha against the South African Government, could you say from this Congress that the country is not ready for the same. Is it not a matter of national honour that our South African brethren should be supported in their campaign of Civil Disobedience? They are going to have a campaign of Satyagraha in South Africa and it will be your duty to go there and fight their battle. Therefore, let us not say that the country is not ready for Civil Disobedience. I, therefore, ask you to delete those words. That is my amendment. (Applause).

The President: I now call upon Mr. T. S. Ramabhadra Odayar to support Swami Govindanand's amendment.

Mr. T. S. Ramabhadra Odayar (Tamil Nadu) said : Friends, I can only speak in English. I am not an orator, nor a lawyer, nevertheless I want to tell you that the country is ready for Civil Disobedience. Why should you say that the country is not ready? What is the difficulty? Who are the persons that are not ready? Are they the leaders or are they the people? I want to have your answer to this. You may go to the Councils but do not discredit Civil Disobedience. What is the good of reiterating your faith in Civil Disobedience when
in the very next breath you say the country is not ready? This is the phraseology of lawyers. I appeal to you-especially the young people-to come out and do constructive work and prepare the country for Civil Disobedience for that is the only weapon for winning Swaraj. You need not be afraid. Mahatma Gandhi has given you the great thing-Non-violence. Take up that principle. Take up Civil Disobedience. I appeal to you to vote in favour of this amendment.

The President: Mr. Srikishendas H. Lulla will now move another amendment.

Mr. Srikishendas H. Lulla said:
Gentlemen, the amendment which I propose to move here for your acceptance runs as follows:-

That the following words be added after the word "seats" in clanse (iii) subclause 1:
"Including all offices whether elective or nominated in the Legislatures or outside and all seats on Committees or Commissions whether of the Legislatures or otherwise and shall be available for carrying on agitation in the comatry."
My plea for moving this amendment before you is to make the Resolution which has been moved by the leader of the Swarajya party, consistent. Ladies and gentlemen, just scan that resolution and decide for yourselves if that Resolution is consistent with itself. I first of all invite your attention to sub-clause 1 of clause (iii). You have grasped the scheme of that resolution. That Resolution says that in the event of the Government making no response-which is most pro-bable-to the national demand within a particular period the Swarajist members will leave their seats in the Legislatures. The Resolution says that the Swarajist members in the Assembly and in the Council of State shall vote for the rejection of the Finance Bill and immediately after leave their seats. What seats? The Resolution is discreetly silent. Does it include seats in the Legislatures only? Does it include seats on the Committees also? Does it include governmental Committees? Or does it exclude such seats as Pandit Motilal Nehru holds on the Skeen Committee, which the Swarajist members hold with credit to themselves and honour to the nation? I want you to consider that. Does the resolution give a clear mandate so that there may be no difficulty on that? We do not want camouflage. I want a clear decision from you. What do you want? Panditji's next clause gives you a little inkling of his mind. For, in sub-clause 2 of clause (iii) he tells us, "No member of the Swarajya party in the Council of State, the Legislative Assembly or any of the Provincial Councils shall thereafter attend any meeting of any of the said Legislatures or any of their Committees, etc." I ask you to consider if this is consistent with the proviso contained in sub-clause

4 and I will respectfully invite your best attention to that part of the resolution. That proviso in express terms says, "Provided that the policy of non-acceptance of offices in the gift of the Government shall continue to be followed until a satisfactory response to the aforesaid Demand is made by the Government." Now, here the proviso in clear terms tells you that until the Congress gives a mandate to the contrary the Swarajists shall not hold any offices in the gift of the government. Why do you not then accept my emendment which makes it clear that the seat on the Skeen Committee and the seat of the President of the Assembly come within this sub-clause 1.? You will now mark my amendment (reads). In addition to the posts to which I have already invited your attention there are certain minor posts-such as nominated seats on certain Madras Advisory Committees. But I will not trouble you with them. I will confine my remarks to these two posts and only as specimens I mention Panditji's seat on the Skeen Committee and the President of the Assembly. And when Panditji opposes my amendment it means that he does not mean to resign until my amendment is accepted.

Now, I ask you ladies and gentlemen, this question. If as a protest against the conduct of the Government in not making due response, the members of the Legislatures will have to leave their seats, what justification is there for Panditji to continue to hold an office in the gift of the Government? What justification is there for him to continue there? I dare sey, your answer shall be, 'None'. Therefore, you shall accept my amendment. But he might say, ' No , it is not so.' And therefore I shall anticipate his argument on this matter. He says that the Skeen Committee is a very important Committee. He will say that the Skeen Committee has been appointed in response to a resolution passed in the Assembly. He will say that it is concerned with the important question of defence of our country. As I have no right to reply to his arguments in defence, I shall try to anticipate him. Gentlemen, the Skeen Committee is a committee of the Government and the seat thereon is a gift from the Government. How can you, then, say that it should not be included in sub-clause 1 when it comes expressly within sub-clause 4. I ask, what is the principle? This is the thin end of the wedge. If you accept the resolution and reject my amendment, there is no reason why you should not accept what you have heard of Responsive Co-operation from Maharashtra leaders. What is the difference between the two? There might be a difference of opinion as regards Dyarchy, but are we going to fight on these small things? If Panditji says that the Committee is composed of a majority of Indians and he must be there on the Skeen Committee to safeguard our interest, well and good. But Mr. Jinnah is there and we do not doubt his patriotism though he be not with us today. On this question of military training of Indians there is no difference
among Indian politicians and I do say that the interest of the nation shall be sufficiently guarded by Mr. Jinnah who will be there in the absence of Panditji. Gentlemen, it has often been dinned into our ears that an office is a dark chamber and (President's gong.)

I shall take only a minute more. Gentlemen, what I was going to say was this: If you accept the principle of non-acceptance of office then I dare say you shall accept my amendment. With these words I shall leave the question of the Skeen Committee.

I shall now deal with the office of Mr. Patel as the President of the Assembly. You will remember that Mr. Patel was elected because he was a Swarajist member of the Assembly and he went there on the Swarajist ticket. And if the members of the Swarajya Party walk out of the Assembly what justification is there for Mr. Patel not to leave his Chair? Brothers, I want you to consider another point. What is the object of the proviso that after leaving their seats the members of the legislatures shall report themselves to the Special Committee? The object is that they should be made available for work in the country. If our respected leader Mr. Patel does not leave his seat and report himself to the Special Committee how can he be available for agitation in the country? Hence my amendment that both of them should be made available for agitation in the country. (President's gong). I ask you in the name of principle, in the name of truth, in the name of all that you hold sacred, to exercise your judgment and not to be influenced by any other considerations. Exercise your judgment and if your judgment goes wrong, I can only say that I have done my duty.

Mr. N. V. Gadgil (Maharashtra) : I rise to support the amendment moved by Mr. Srikishendas H. Lulla. (Cries of 'Hindi, Hindi').

He then spoke in Hindi.
The President: Pandit Madan Moban Malaviya will now move his amendment.

On rising to explain his amendment Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was received with an ovation. He spoke in Hindi.

The President: I now call upon Mr. M. R. Jayakar to second the amendment of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

Mr. Jayakar: Madam President, ladies and gentlemen : I bave great pleasure in seconding the amendment which has been moved by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. I have also to perform the work of opposing the amendment moved by Mr. Srikishendas H. Lulla. This I will do at the same time so that I may not take up your time again. Between these two I propose to take very little time indeed. Firstly, because Pandit Malaviya has put his case from his points of view in all its details and with a wealth of illustration and argument which are not necessary or,
possible for me to rival. First of all, I just want to mention that the Resolution which our venerable leader Pandit Motilal Nehru has put before you is Resolution No. VII, and is also the official resolution of the Swarajya Party. It was passed in the General Council of the Swarajya Party two days ago and it is also the Resolution moved before the Congress to which I was going to move an amendment implying opposition to the main principle of that Resolution; but in order to avoid the embarrassment of doing so and in order to have the liberty and freedom of perfect criticism I have very great pleasure in stating to you that Mr. Kelkar, Dr. Moonje and myself have this morning tendered resignations of our seats in the legislatures which we occupy as Swarajist members thereof. You will be glad to hear that it gives us freedom of expression for which we have been longing for a long time. But until the General Council of the Swarajya Party met and officially recognized this Resolution which does not conform to our view we could not take the somewhat drastic step of leaving our seats in the legislatures. But now that the Council of the Swarajya Party met and have done the needful we thought it would be better and less embarrassing and more honourable to all parties that before we take up the work of criticising this Resolutionwhich criticism may sometimes involve strong expression-which I do not propose to indulge in on this occasion but may do so later on in the course of our propaganda which we propose to start-we thought it much more honourable to tender our resignations which we have done this morning, of our seats in the legislatures; and we propose to occupy our leisure in creating opinion in favour of the point of view which has been put before you by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. My view is-(A voice-Louder please). I am trying to stretch my voice as much as I can.

It is a great misfortune to have to differ from a person of Pandit Motilal's eminence and experience in the political world. It is to me personally a great misfortune indeed. We went to the Councils together. We worked for two years. We have derived certain experience and I am speaking from my experience just as he speaks from his experience and there arc other friends who speak from their own experience also. I think public life requires that we should most honestly-without any kind of recrimination or bitterness-state our experience to this august body, which meets once a year and in whose name we went into the Councils. I tell you quite frankly that there are two ways before the country. Either you believe in the Council programme or you do not. (Hear, hear). Both are honest views. My friends Mr. Syam Sunder Chakravarty and Mr. Sambamurti do not believe in the Council programme. Others believe in it. Well, if you have gone into the Council and have lost faith in the working of that Council, the best plan would be
to get out of the Council, resign your seats and go to the country and propare it for such action as you think the country is ready for or should be made ready for. If, on the contrary, you wish to remain in the Council-as Pandit Malaviya says, "take the last juice out of it,"-make the best use of it. Capture every place of power, influence, responsibility and initiative and like fighters neglect no chance, give no quarter to this Government and occupy every place of power and for that make the best of the Councils. I quite agree, it does mean a considerable amount of humiliation that people who went to the Councils to obstruct have now to take up power and responsibility. It is no doubt very humiliating, I entirely agree. But if you want to be honest, suffer this humiliation and work the Councils. Or if you do not want to suffer this humiliation, I can understand honourable men not willing to do so, do come out and agitate in the country for a programme of co-ordinate work, for a programme of constructive work and devote your leisure to it. But the present Resolution is neither here nor there. That is my strongest objection to it. I shall explain why. Now, for instance, turn to Sec. (b) of the Resolution. (Reads). May I in the name of goodness know what is the good of this clause. I do not know what you want to state in this clause here. I take the liberty of saying that this constant reiteration that the country is not ready for Civil Disobedience is a weakening process and ought to be avoided. You had a Committeethe Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee-to consider this question and Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. Patel also served as members in that Committee and they deliberately came to the conclusion that the "country was not ready for Civil Disobedience". After that, in the name of goodness why do you want to have this section time after time every year and repeat the words that the country is not ready for Civil Disobedience? This is a weakening resolution. Why do you not wait till the country is ready and then come out with it. I say therefore it is a weakening process and ought to be dropped. It deceives no body at all-not even the Government. Some critics say that it is merely a camoulage to catch the votes of unwary voters. Why do you lay yourselves open to this charge. Therefore Malaviyaji suggests that this section-this wonderful proclamation that the country is not ready for Civil Disobedience ought to be dropped. Do you think that you will be able to make the country ready for Civil Disobedience by reiterating every year that the country is not ready for it? This constant dinning into your ears that the country is not ready, is not belpful. If you have faith in it start the process immediately. If you believe in it, start the process and I will illustrate what I mean when I say it is a camouflage, in five minutes. A friend of mine in Bombay told me that a gentleman came to him and asked him to preside over a meeting to be held at the Marwari Vidyalaya for the purpose of creating
public opinion in favour of Civil Disobeditnce. My friend, a great public man, said-"Yes, provided you get the signatures of some people who intend to start a no-tax campaign against an iniquitous tax which the Bombay Municipality levied on households." My friend agreed to preside over the meeting provided the gentleman could get him the names of ten persons who were unwilling to pay the tax openly and get their signatures. My friend said that he was also being charged this tax and be would not pay it and he was ready to put his name first and asked the gentleman to get him nine more names. He told my friend that he would let him know the next day. On the second day he came to my friend and said he was sorry he could not get nine names. This is the story of Civil Disobedience. And I tell you not to be led away by pious resolutions. Those who believe in Civil DisobedienceI have great respect for them. They do not delieve in camouflage. They say, come out and start Civil Disobedience. I can undeistand that. But I cannot understand the meaning of this pious_resolution and this consant dinning into our ears that the country is not ready. You do not make the country stronger by telling us that constantly. For Heaven's sake keep silent till the country is ready to start the work. That is the one honest course. I do not believe in Civil Disobedience, but I leave it to Mahatma Gandhi, the one man who understands this Mantra. He knows the very Mantra-the Beeja of Civil Disobedience. He is the one man in the country, notwithstanding all the dilettanti who talk of Civil Disobedience, who understands the secret of this message. Be guided by him. Leave that question to him. And what he tells you from the infinite knowledge which he possesses-be guided by it. I therefore ask you not to pass the Resolution in this way. I ask you not to accept the section 'but reject it. If on the contrary, you are not in favour of Civil Disobedience, the most honest, the most straightforward course-though I know it will be a humiliating course-but the most honest course would be to work the Councils for what they are worth. Work the Councils, take the best out of them, fight from every corner, fight with every weapontake everything that you can get and make such progress as you can.

I now ask you to look at clause (iii), sub-clause 1 ; it says " leave their seats and report themselves....." "Leave their seats "-this I can understand. But in the original sub-clause 2 they were to have gone back for two purposes-to defeat the budget and prevent additional taxation, but with that curious metamorphosis which shows the cooperator's mind, a proviso is added to sub-clause 2 of clause (iii)-(Reads) -"Provided also that it shall be open to the Special Committee to allow the Swarajist members of any Legislature to attend the said Legislature when such attendance is in its opinion essential for some special or unforeseen purpose." A carriage and four has been driven through this clause. Going back for a distinct purpose, to defeat
the budget and prevent additional taxation-and then "leave sour seats and come out"-this I can understand ; but I cannot understand the proposition of coming out and going back whenever you want. The whole of it seems to $m \theta$ to be a farce. This reminds me of the days when $I$ was a youngster, when we were engaged in such boyish plays. I have not much faith in this skulking method, because we tried this method in the Bombay Council and our electorates became angry. I wonder at the ingenuity of the framer of the Resolution. But this is not going to succeed. This might succeed in getting votes; but this will not intimidate the Government. This clause means that for special purposes these gentlemen will go in again. I am sure this is not going to succeed. However, I wish success to those who believe in it.

Now, I come to the second part of my duty, namely to oppose the amendment of Mr. Lulla. So far as I have understood the scope of this amendment, it practically means this and I strongly want to oppose it-that Pandit Motilal Nehru with all his experience and influence in public life and prestige will have to leave the Skeen Committee and come out. It means that my friend Mr. V. J. Patel will have to leave the Chair of the President of the Legislative Assembly and come out. I quite agree that it is the logical consequence of the proviso under sub-clause 4 of $\mathbf{c l}$. (iii), namely, the non-acceptance of offices in the gift of the Government: But in politics, do not be too logical. Do not attach too much importance to that clause. That clause is inconsistent with Pandit Motilal Nehru remaining in the Skeen Committee--it is inconsistent with Mr. Patel remaining the President of the Assembly. But for Heaven's sake, realize what that means. Today Pandit Motilal Nehru is on a Committee-a most important Committee -dealing with military instruction. He has very clearly pointed out in the Subjects Committee the advantage of this Committee. He will be able to learn the secrets of the Government-he will be able to carve out a military career for our youths-he will be able to travel at Government expense. Therefore, it is a great mistake to be logical in politics and to come to a conclusion which amounts to the rejection of Pandit Motilal's place in the Skeen Committee and Mr. Patel's place in the Assembly on the ground that it is the necessary logical consequence of. the proviso in sub-cl. 4 of cl . (iii). I am sure-and I am quite hopeful that when you defeat this amendment, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. Patel will be able to keep their respective places-Pandit Motilal will be able to serve in the Skeen Committee and my friend Mr. Patel, stalwart as he is in politics, will be able to retain his high office in the Assembly and my principle will be established that you can work the offices with sacrifice, with great patriotism and honour. You need no coffers and you need not necessarils be Kafirs, because you will be in the Kaaba. . I am oure you will defeat this amendment because I am anxious that Pandit

Motilal by the good work which he will do, by the information which he'will get and by the amount of public revenue which he will save by travelling at Government expense will establish my principle. Then I think the principle of Responsive Co-operation will be established and I shall be able to hold that report aloft and say-here is the justification of my doctrine that even a Swarajist can work without temptation in highly paid posts and work in conjunction with Government officials also. Therefore I ask you to defeat Mr. Lulla's amendment and allow Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. Patel to remain in their respective places because I am anxious that these stalwarts should work in conjunction with Government officials. Mr. Patel should work with the Viceroy and tell him that he should respect the Indians, and I am anxious that European officers should be brought in juxtaposition with the best and most patriotic amongst us, so that they come to respect us and learn to admire our patriotism. I am anxious therefore, that you should not out of a mere desire to be logical in politicslogic in politics does not pay-pass the amendment moved by Mr. Lulla, because that will have a most disastrous consequence, namely, removing from their proper places in the Skeen Committee and in the Legislative Assembly two eminent patriots who will teach the bureaucracy to respect and admire the Indian Nation. (Applause).

The President: I now call upon Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta to support the Resolution.

Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta (Bengal) who on rising to speak was received with cheers said:

Madam President, ladies and gentlemen: I rise to support the Resolution that was moved yesterday by Pandit Motilal Nehru and I oppose most strongly the amendment that has been moved by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The main principle of the resolution which my leader of the Swarajya Party moved yesterday is to be found in the proviso, namely, "the policy of non-acceptance of offices in the gift of the Government shall continue to be followed until in the opinion of the Congress a satisfactory response to the terms of the settlement aforesaid is made by the Government." That is the main theme. I do not care whether in the main Resolution there may be phrases here or there with which I cannot agree, but the main thing is that the Swarajya Party backed by the Congress should have another chance of stopping the working of this system of Government through these Councils. I do not care whether there is a clause here or a clause there, saying that we are not prepared for Civil Disobedience or that Civil Disobedience will have to be launched in the last resort for gaining our freedom. Those are merely academic questions so far as the present time is concerned. I disagree with many and I agree with Maulvi Majid Baksh who says that if a leader were
to stand with courage in both hands and say that he will start Civil Disobedience he could do it within the course of the next eight or ten months. (Hear, hear). But our leaders are there. Mahatma Gandhi today does not feel confident of starting Civil Disobedience at once. Pandit Motilal Nehru is also hesitating and remember, we have lost not many months ago our Deshbandhu. Therefore it is not for us to quarrel about words here and there. Let us keep the main thing. And I shall show to you when the time comes in February or March 1927nearly fifteen or sixteen months hence-when we have succeeded in capturing all the seats of the legislatures-when the new Councils are sitting again (Hear, hear) -when'the general elections are over, Bengal will not hesitate, if you give the mandate today, to start Civil Disobedience. (Hear, hear). With the manadate of the Congress behind and the majority of seats not only in the Assembly but also in the majority of Provinces-and we hope to have a majority in Bengal, Assam, Behar, the Central Provinces and Madras-the difficulty I know is about the Punjab and Bombay-but if we have the majority of seats in the majority of the Provinces and are backed by the mandate of the Congress, I may tell you at the end of 1926 or in the beginning of 1927 Bengal will not either be wanting to rebel 'against the Council or hesitate to start Civil Disobedience after the Councils have been stopped. (Hear, hear).

I shall show why I say this proviso is the main substance of this resolution. There have been two parties-one large and another a very small one-within the Swarajya Party, the minority saying that the time has come when we should go in for 'Responsive Co-operation', as they term it. As a matter of fact, it is a kind of co-operation without any response whatsoever from the Government and that they like to call Resporsive Co-operation. I say this Congress should once for all decide here and now whether you approve the principle of non-acceptance of office (Hear, hear) or you do not; whether you approve the principle of going into the Councils for the purpose of running them for what they are worth or not. Mr. Jayakar has put forward before you certain premises from which he argues that he could understand the position of Mr. Syam Sunder Chakravarty and others who do not believe in Councils and want to boycott them and he also understands the position of himself and Pandit Malaviya who say " go into the Councils and get the best of them--take hold of every office in the gift of the Government." He assumes that those are the only two ways of looking into the question of Councils. Mr. Jayakar forgets that those were not the only two premises which be accepted with regard to Council entry when at Gaya he joined the Deshbandhu after the Congress and signed the Swarajya Party pledge. He forgets that there is a third alternative for those who go there to stop the working of the legislatures within three quarters of an hour. And God willing,
with your mandate behind, the Swarajya Party in February or March, 1927 will be able to put a stop to the whole working of the machinery in the Councils and the Legislative Assembly. How do I say that? Do you not remember that immediately after the general elections of 1923 the Swarajya Party in the Central Provinces were returned in a majority. What did they do there? To everything that was brought forward before the Council by the Government the Swarajya Party members said 'No'. Every proposal, every measure, every demand for grants was negatived by the Swarajya Party members and within fortyfive minutes the Central Provinces Legislative Council came to an end.

Let me go step by step. I shall show to you why we did not get the majority in the other Provinces and why it is that no satisfactory result like that in the Central Provinces was obtained in other Provinces. It was because the Congress refused to give us the mandate of running the elections and that was why we did not get the majority in other Provinces. Do you know with what difficulty we defeated the opponents of Council entry? You know the difficulties of the situation. The Congress was not behind us. The Indian National Congress did not give us the sanction to fight the elections till the elections had actually taken place. Yet in the Central Provinces Legislative Council we were returned in a majority and with what success you know.

A Delegate: In Bengal you passed the Ministers' salaries.
Mr. Sen-Gupta: We never passed any salary. We never brought forward any resolution to that effect, nor had we opposed the back salaries of the Ministers because we did not want to be mean. We had refused their salaries when they acted as Ministers. When the back salaries of the Ministers were passed, the Swarajists did not take any part in the voting. There was no question of principle involved. We had nothing to do with that and we did not like to do anything which might be misconstrued as mean or might indicate that we had a personal grudge against the ex-Ministers.

A Delegate: Absenting from voting means passing the Resolution.
Mr. Sen-Gupta : We did so because we did not want to be petty. No question of principle was there and the question of Dyarchy was not raised at all.

Gentlemen, I was telling you that with the mandate of the Congress behind, there is every possibility of our being returned in a majority in most of the Provinces and we shall get it. Let there be a majority of Swarajist members in the Councils as well as in the Legislative Assembly, and you will see that in March, 1927 there will be a dead stop of the working of the constitution. And friends who want to start Civil Disobedience, I may tell you that then those who are in the

Councils would be free to come out of the Councils and work with you for Civil Disobedience. If we do not succeed in getting a majority in most of the Provinces, I can tell you on behalf of the Bengal Swarajists at least that we will not ask you again to give us the right to contest the elections. We will then be with you and leave the Councils alone because then it will be proved to the hilt that it is not possible to get a majority in the majority of Provinces. Last time when with all the strength he possessed the Deshbandhu started the election campaign he had neither sufficient time nor sufficient backing from the Congress and that was the reason why the Swarajya Party could not get a majority in the majority of Provinces. I am only asking you, particularly my no-changer friends, to help us and give us the right to experiment this once more and put a stop to the working of the Councils-not merely in one Province but in all the Provinces by being returned in a majority in the majority of Provinces.

Gentlemen, never before had my revered leader the late Deshbandhu been so misrepresented as he has been here in this Congress by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. (Hear, hear). He did the same injustice to the memory of the late Lokamanya Tilak by saying that he believed in the same course of action that Malaviyaji asks you to do in the present circumstances. And I dare say Mr. Abhyankar will come to my rescue. We all know what happened at the Amritsar Congress in 1919. Mr. Das had proposed a Resolution which did not talk of 'obstruction when necessary and co-operation when that was necessary'. That Resolution was backed up by Lokamanya Tilak. But there were certain difficulties. Malaviyaji was against it and there was a compromise resolution adopted and that was the resolution from the speech on which he quoted. Gentlemen, do not forget the reasons for which that compromise resolution was adopted. In the same Congress a Resolution for the Declaration of Rights of the Indian people was passed and in the resolution about the Reforms it was declared that we were fully fit for full responsible Government. Gentlemen, the Hunter Committee's Report on the Jallianwala Bagh massacre had not yet been published. The Report of the Punjab Enquiry Committee of the Congress was ready but it was resolved not to publish the report on the Punjab massacre until the Hunter Committee's Report was published. Much water has flown through the sacred Ganges since then; six years have elapsed. After the publication of the Hunter Committee's Report, Mahatma Gandhi realised that the Government was not going to retrace its steps nor was it going to redress our grievances. And what is the use now of quoting Mabatma Gandhiwhat he said in 1919-when we know that immediately after the publication of the Hunter Committee's Report the situation had changed and Mahatma Gandhi realized the attitude of the

Government and advised that another policy had to be followed. Therefore it is not right to say that the Deshbandhu was in favour of the proposition of 1919 which Malaviyaji wants you to accept six years after, in 1925.

As regards Lokamanya'Tilak, I have told you that he was entirely in favour of the Deshbandhu's resolution. As a matter of fact, it was put up before the Congress although it was eventually dropped because of the compromise resolution. The word "Responsive Co-operation "was for the first time used by Lokamanya Tilak. He used the expression in the course of an interview when he was coming to attend the Amritsar Congress from Poona. But whatever it is, I am sure the Lokamanya never meant by "Responsive Co-operation" acceptance of office-acceptance of Ministership and Executive Councillorship when there was no response whatever from the Government -when there was absolutely a deliberate desire on the part of the Government to flout the public opinion expressed both inside and outside the legislatures. Is it not a fact that demand after demand has been made in the legislatures-resolution after resolution has been passed in the Provincial Councils, in the Punjab, Bengal and Madras and in other Councils? But not one of them has been taken notice of by the Government. Has there been any response? None. Therefore it is unwise-it is dishonouring the memory of a great man like Lokamanya Tilak to say that he would have favoured today this principle of acceptance of offices in the gift of the Government. It is no use misrepresenting him simply by quoting solitary passages here and there without reference to the context, from a speech which the Lokamanya delivered as long ago as 1919 when the situation was different.

Gentlemen, there will be other speakers coming after me. I shall not detain you long. But I will make a final appeal to you. I tell the no-changers that we are with them. Whether we succeed in December 1926 elections or not and whether we succeed in bringing about a deadlock in the legislatures or not, I say it makes no difference to you. The Swarajists will come out. The Swarajists will not ask for another mandate from the Congress to run the elections again. To Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Jayakar and to all Moderates and Liberals I say-you will have your heart's desire when we come out of the Councils-you will have a free hand in 1927 after we have failed. But I say-we have absolute confidence that we shall succeed in carrying out our programme in February or March, 1927. Give us one more year and then you can do whatever you like. If we succeed you will praise us. If we fail you will take our place.

One more word. Malaviyaji has talked of unity. He told us that we must work together. He said that some Raja was a member of the

Congress before and he is not with us today, therefore we must get him with us-we must get everybody here! Gentlemen, I ask you-how are we to get that unity? Unity is to be got when a resolution passed by the majority in the Congress is also carried out even by those who disagree. Unity is to be got when those who do not hold the majority view yet work within the Congress and do not create parties. (Hear, hear).

A Delegate: What about Gaya?
Mr. Sen-Gupta: Yes, what we did at Gaya was because we had faith in our programme.

Several voices: We have also faith in our programme-we are simply following you.

Mr. Sen-Gupta: If you have faith in yourselves and do not want others in your fold, then do not in the same breath talk of unity. There are two courses open to you-either you submit to the decision of the majority and preserve unity or you raise the standard of revolt. Sometimes we followed the one course and sometimes the other according to the exigencies of the situation. At Gaya we unfurled the flag of revolt, and we think we were justified. At Amritsar we compromised and on other occasions also we submitted to the decision of the majority.

Gentlemen, with these words I commend the resolution to your acceptance.

The President : I now call upon Mr. S. K. Datt Paliwal to support the resolution.

Mr. Paliwal (U.P.) supported the resolution in Hindi.
The President: I now call upon Mr. Abhyankar to support the resolution moved by Pandit Nehru.

Mr. Abhyankar (C. P. Marathi): I stand here to support the resolution and I oppose the venerable Malaviyaji and the redoubtable Jayakarji. They say that India is a land of wonders. Today I find it is really so. Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Jayakar who never stood within ten miles' distance from Lokamanya Tilak in his lifetime, have begun after his death to invoke his name. To say that the resolution is one that would have been sanctioned by Lokamanya Tilak is a blasphemy on his name. I learnt the first lessons of my life at his feet, and all my inspirations I have received from him.

A voice: What about Kelkar ?
Mr. Abhyankar : I am coming to him in a minute. I do not wishbut if you do, I am coming to it. To say that the acceptance of ministership in the present circumstances is Responsive Co-operation is an insult to that doctrine. I may tell you that I am a Chela of the Lokamanya. I took him as my Guri and I accept nobody else. I
do not also quarrel with the principle of Responsive Co-operation but my quarrel is with the programme that is being presented under that principle. My quarrel is with this throwing of dust into the eyes of the unwary and the unthinking. Malaviyaji talked of swords-great words indeed. I think India will have good reason to thank herself when Malaviyaji will come to us.

Mr. Jayakar has told us that he, Dr. Moonje and Mr. Kelkar have tendered resignations of their seats as Swarajist members in the legislatures. I congratulate them on having done that and come into the open. Mr. Jayakar only a day before this had told us that he wanted to accept ministership for opposing the Government at every step. I am going to quote his words: 'thereby obstruct the Government at every step in their attempt to impede the nation's progress towards Swaraj'. Today he tells us-not more than 24 hours after-'We want to work the Councils for what they are worth.' Why this? Mr. Kelkar through his paper has been telling us during the last one month that he wants to work the Councils for what they are worth. All honour to him, because he is the only honest man $I$ have found on the other side. I do not agree with him but all honour to him for his honesty and for his boldness in having come out with clear-cut ideas. The idea of all others seems to be, 'Let us have ministerships.' That seems to ime to be the common point of all-the centre of the circle in which they are moving-the pivot on which they are revolving. But once they have captured ministerships, what will they do? There is disagreement among them regarding the very objective of their action. Is it possible for us to give even one moment's consideration to their programme?

My friend Malaviyaji asks you to look to the country and not to the party. He has forgotten that the Swarajya Party today in the words of Mahatma Gandhi-in the words of Lord Birkenhead, your very opponent, and in the words of Lord Reading-is the only party in the country, that is going ahead with a programme which the government has now come to recognise. Do you mean us to understand that when you ask the audience not to look to the party but to the country, the Swarajya Party is a party not for the countiry? Do you mean us to understand that? If you do, the highest authorities have given a clear lie to your statement. My friend Mr. Jayakar very wisely and very nicely tried to bring about a split between the no-changers and ourselves-by ourselves I mean the Swarajya Party. He said that he could understand the remaining out of the Council but he said he could not understand getting into the Council and not accepting ministerships. Yes, let me tell Mr. Jayakar that there might be differences between no-councilwalas and ourselves, but time will not be long before we join hands. Time is coming and fast coming when we shall join hands-
when we shall have to join hands with them for the very simple reason that though we may differ, we have to stand boldly before the Government and tell them, 'Concede our demands or we shall see that you are damned'. Whatever wedge you want to drive between the nochangers and ourselves, whatever seeds of disunion you may. try to sow between the two wings, I am sure, they will not be guided by the advice of Mr. Jayakar. Mr. Jayakar says, "Why this camouflage, this talk of Civil Disobedience?" Yes, sir. But was it not the very camouflage to which you agreed only 24 hours before in the Subjects Committee? Did you not note then that it was a camouflage? I know, because there was no Malaviyaji amongst us. Directly he comes from Benares, they think they can oppose us-they come here and oppose the resolution. It was Mr. Jayakar who told us only 24 hours ago that he would not oppose this resolution.

Mr. Jayakar: On a point of personal explanation, I am very sorry that the speaker is bringing personality into the argument. I may point out that what I said in the Subjects Committee was that I will not move my amendment and I have not done so.

The President : I hope the speaker will not go into personalities.
Mr. Abhyankar: Madam, I should like to know what difference there is between his amendment and the present one that he seconded.

The President: Mr. Abhyankar, you must not refer to Mr. Jayakar.

Mr. Abhyankar: I bow to your ruling, Madam. Mr. Jayakar wants us not to be guided by pious resolutions. I ask you not to be misled by his guiles in which he is an adept and by which he can bring out any argument that is suitable to the occasion. (Laughter). My friend Mr. Jayakar, as is usual with him, as is customary with him, advances the most fallacious argument that he could on the matter of Civil Disobedience and I will prove it to you from his own words. He first told you that Mahatma Gandhi is the only one man who understands it and can speak authoritatively on the subject. Do you not know what Mahatmaji has said on the subject? Has not Mahatmaji told you, told the whole world that the country is not fit for Civil Disobedience but that Civil Disobedience is the only ultimate end? If you have not heard it, I make a present of it here. Mr. Jayakar has also asked us to go to the logical conclusion, either to keep out of the Councils or, if we desire to enter them, to accept offices. He tried to impose his logio upon us but when he closed his speech, he said: in politics do not be too logical, in politics logic does not pay. The method by which he argued wanted us to be logical, but when his turn came, he implored you not to be logical and not to scrutinise his speech or amendment with any logical test. Gentlemen, if you carefully consider the speech
of Mr. Jayakar, then you will find that he stands condemned by his own words and he now wants to take a chance during the next year to get himself condemned by the whole nation in the next election by his own action. (Cries of ' No, no.') It was said by Dr. Moonje that the Swarajists in Bengal had passed the Ministers' salaries. At least it does not lie in his mouth to make that interruption when Mr. J. M. SenGupta was making a speech. Has he forgotten that he is the leader of that majority of Swarajists in the C. P. Council which has been hankering after offices? Has he forgotten that? You showed the way to Bengal. Bengal is not to be blamed.

In the end, I am going to tell you one thing. The time is come when you must tell the Government-mark you-by your action that they have already reached the top of the hill and that their next step is descent. It is for them to deside whether the descent will be orderly or disorderly. graceful or disgraceful. They will have to take a warning in time. If they do not, who knows what is in the womb of futurity? We on our side trust in God and shall seek from Him light on this grave issue. (Applause.)

The President: I now call upon Mr. Syam Sunder Chakravarty to oppose the Resolution.

Mr. Syam Sunder Chakravarty (Bengal) who on rising to speak was received with cheers said: Sarojini Devi and my beloved fellowdelegates: It is with a deep pain gnawing at my heart that I stand here to oppose the Resolution which it is said has the sympathy, tacit or expressed, of my leader Mahatma Gandhi. It was only last evening that my friend Mr. Patel asked me if $I$ ever had had a talk with Mahatma Gandhi before I made up my mind to oppose the Resolution. And gentlemen, he took me to Mahatmaji's. I did not ask him any question as to what I was going to do. But I was scanning his looks, his words and his attitude all the three or four hours that I happened to be with him last night ; and all that I saw only put into me an additional bit of determination to protest against this Resolution. Gentlemen, from what I saw of Mahatma Gandhi it seemed to me that his had been the tragedy of all greatness throughout ages. His lips seemed to exclaim, "Throughout my career I have cried with all the anguish of my heart, withihands uplifted,-'Be good to the world.'-but no body has listened." Was it not Vyasa Deva who had to cry out, "Urdhvabahtu...........Yatodharmastatojayal'? That was also the case with the Jesus of Nazareth. For has he not said in the deepest anguish of his heart, "Why do you cry 'Lord! Lord!' but not do what the Lord wants you to do?" This resolution has been the inevitable outcome of such an attitude on the part of this great man. I had not the least iota of doubt about this when I myself sat at his feet to ascertain his own attitude. Even his disciples of whom I claim to be one are not really oast in that magnificent mould.

His surrender is a historic event. a classic event both for poets and artists, but for his followers and workers who have made his formula, his gospel of love their own, it teaches another losson, and this reminds me of Tulsidas. Once while be was seen to bow down his head to Srikrishna and was pulled up by another who said, 'Well Tulsi, what are you doing ?' he came back to his senses and said "Bhala......... Nath.........'. I told my Master, my Guru Mahatma Gandhi, 'Your surrender is a historic event, your surrender will form the text of preachers and pulpitwalas, but those who entertained high hopes, whom you led to revel in the glorious vision of the freedom of the country, cannot bow their head to that attitude of surrender. And we want "Dhanurban Lao hate". So much for my personal explanation with regard to my attitude towards Mahatma Gandhi. From what I have seen of him, from what Maulana Mohamad Ali and myself have studied of his mental con-dition-I am betraying no secret-I think the passing of this Resolution will be a great shock to him, the greatest possible shock in his life. (Cries of 'Hear, hear, ' and 'No, no'). The Saint cannot outlive his message Can he, Mohamad Ali?

Maulana Mohamad Ali : No one will reclaim the sinner.
Mr. Chakravarty : I do not call any body a sinner. I call my esteemed friend Pandit Motilal Nehru a good saint. I wish I could have his undying determination-I wish I could have the quiet courage of Mr. Sen-Gupta-I wish I could have the youthful energy, sacrifice and enthusiasm of Mr. T. C. Goswami - I wish I could have the thoughtpower of a Jayakar - the subtlety of a Kelkar and the driving force of a Moonje. They are all excellent saints, but Kaupinaya Bigraha.

This reminds me of the story that I heard only this morning. A Sanyasi in his yellow garb starts as a recluse in a forest. He used to spread his yellow garment under the shadow of a tree and a little bird used to spoil it. Thus worried, he adopted a little girl to look after his garb As years rolled by, the girl grew up and the Sanyasi took a fancy to her and by degrees fell in love with her. They married and the Sanyasi became a Grihi and began his career of worldliness with a vengeance. One day his Guru came and asked him, "What is this?" The disciple simply said "I am all right but Kanfinaya Bighraha." (Laughter). All these Swarajist friends of mine-all these Councilwalas including my friend Pandit Malaviya are all excellent saints, but Kaupinaya Bigraha. (Renewed laughter). If you want any proof, look at this Resolution. I am pained that such a resolution should have been at all brought before you because I cannot characterize it by any other word except by saying that it is a negation of Gandbism-it is a denial of Gandhism. There is only a small paragraph regarding the work in the country and so forth, the Kaulpin comes again there too.... (Laughter).

Gentlemen, my object in protesting against this Resolution is that my friends should get rid of this Kintin. I have heard the supporters of this Resolution. Only Mr. Jayakar has chosen to speak attacking some of the clauses of the Resolution. What a Resolution is this? What shall I call it? -It is neither fish, flesh, nor good red herring, but words, words, words. One is apt to be lost in the labyrinth of words and one cannot find one's way out. And as for its usefulness, whom has it satisfied? Has it satisfied Mr. Basanta Kumar Majumdar, my fiery friend from Bengal? No. It has only given rise to untold annotators. My friend Mr. Sen-Gupta, the leader of the Swarajya Party in Bengal came to support this Resolution and began his harangue on Civil Disobedience. He said, if the leader was forthcoming they could immediately start Civil Disobedience. Is there anything of the kind in the Resolution? So I say this Resolution while shedding no light has opened the floodgates of controversy. Is not this long series of amendments a proof of that? So, my dear fellow-delegates, if you are true to gourselves read this Resolution, or if you have no time to read it, accept the explanation of one who nas gone through it and that is this. It is a piece of inconsequential document. It is inconsistency personified. I shall draw your attention to only one sentence: "This Congress resolves that the guiding principle in carrying on all political work shall be self-reliance in all activities." That is all right. This reads like Chanakya's Sloka or Smiles's Self-help. But next comes the Katpin item: "This Congress adopts on behalf of the country the terms of the settlement offered to the Government by the Independent and Swarajya Parties " and so on, and then Government comes in. What sort of self-help is that which keeps our eyes rivetted on the Government? Had we not by the adoption of the programme of Non-co-operation under the august auspices of Mahatma Gandhi and his mighty lieutenants Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru jettisoned for good the programme of looking to the Government? Our poet Tagore once describing Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea said, "It is all good with him except that he has one weakness-he always keeps his eyes directed overseas. " So, Madam, in connection with the discussion of this Resolution I have heard very often the hallowed and memorable name of Lokamanya Tilak. I do not know whether Mr. Jayakar happens to know it. But I think neither Dr. Moonje nor Mr. Kelkar nor Mr. Phadke whom I met on the banks of the Ganges when we bathed together today, will deny that we poor Bengalees had something to do with Lokamanya Tilak. When he incurred the displeasure of the whole intelligentzia of India, what was his argument-why did he choose to make an enemy of everyone of his friends? Because, he said that the progress the Congress had made in spite of enormous odds at the Calcutta Session under
the Presidency of the late Dadabhai Naoroji, should be maintained intact, Mehta and Gokhale notwithstanding. He would never allow the chariot wheels of progress to be dragged behind. And you my brother-delegates-will you my countrymen, who are so anxious to see the early attainment of Swaraj, lead back the chariot of progress by subscribing to this Resolution, by being a party to its sanction in this Congress? My friend Pandit Malaviya has said that Non-co operation has failed. Do you subscribe to that sentiment? (Cries of ' No , no'). If in the chequered annals of Indian politics, anything, any programme, any formula has ever 'succceeded, it is the formula, the programme, the Mantra of Non-co-operation (Cries of 'Hear, hear'). If you want any proof, it is there. Is it not a fact that Lord Birkenhead, Lord Reading, Earl Winterton and every Provincial Governor-whenever they make an offer to you, the one condition that they make, the one thing that they demand of you before advancing an inch is that you must co-operate, cooperate, co-operate. (Cries of 'Hear, hear'). Is it not a fact? Do not the readers of newspapers know the fact that it is co-operation that they want from us? The implica-tion-the conclusion is irresistible that it is this movement of Non-co-operation that they are afraid of. You say, Non-co-operation is a passive programme. I say it is the most creative of all programmes. It is a programme, notwithstanding its negative name, for putting your house in order. And what more do we require? Here on this platform there have been so many speeches, eloquent or otherwise, about the immediate and remote necessity of Civil Disobedience. It is only the gods in whose lap the future is said to lie who could say at what hour the country is fit. I have never been a practical man and cannot therefore venture to say that this is the moment when a certain thing ought to be done or that this is not the moment when a thing ought to begin. The American War of Independence or for the matter of that any other War of Freedom anywhere in the world does not corroborate that theory ; but we must all agree that we should join our hands, we should first collect our resources, we should look around before we leap. This Non- co-operation programme-this programme of nation-building-requires no more than that, viz. that we should strengthen ourselves where we are not really strong. Was not the bureaucracy shaking when Non-co-operation was at its height? You talk of unity. If unity can ever be an accomplished fact in the midst of these schisms and sects, then it can only be on the platform of Non-co-operation, (Hear, hear) and you have seen it in the days of Khilafat, Non-co-operation and Swadeshi. We were then united, Hindus fighting by the side of Mussalmans. It was through the help of the Mussalmans and Khilafat soldiers that I made my campaign of Civil Disobedience successful after the incarceration of the Deshbandhu. It is all within our memories What was oncedone can again
be done; only put an end to this state of suspension. Only, again put your hands to the plough. Do not talk of suspension and all these 'tions' and 'sions' which have proved our undoing. Be a little practical which you claim to be, but which you are not. I shall not waste your time further. I shall not tire your patience further by inflicting on you a long speech. But all that I want you to do is to remember the implication of this Resolution. It gives you no life. It gives you no lead. It keeps us in status quo. Nay it takes us backward. By voting for this Resolution I shall not be far wrong if I say that you shall be voting away the destiny of India. Because by voting for this Resolution you shall be showing to the world that you have jettisoned for good the principle of self-help. It is no good saying that you will launch civil disobedience in 1927 -it will be as good as waiting for the Greek Calends. I want you to remember the advice of that great statesman who said to Rama, 'Sherbhasy'a Sheeghram.' If you want to be yourself, if you want to hearten Mahatma Gandhi who is going to retire and who is the only man who can lead you to the goal, do not vote for this Resolution. I do not want you tu reject this Resolution in a moment of impulse or in a huff or in disgust or to be carried away by speeches, or out of regard for that man, Mahatma Gandhi-but remember when you give your vote, that your acceptance of this Resolution will unmistakably give the world the impression that you have given the go-by to the principle of self-help and have embraced co-operation of whatever brand it may be. (Cries of 'Bande Mataram' and cheers).

The President: I now call upon Lala Lajpat Rai to support the main Resolutions. (Cries of 'Bande Mataram' and cheers).

Lala Lajpat Rai (Punjab) on rising to speak was given a prolonged ovation. Lalaji supported Pandit Motilal Nehru's Resolution in Hindi.

The President: I now call upon Dewan Chamanlal to address the Congress.

Dewan Chamanlal (Punjab): I rise to support the resolution put before the house by Pandit Motilal Nehru. And in doing so $I$ want to draw the attention of the house to the position created by the main resolution and the position created by the amendment of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Mr. Malaviya in moving his amendment said that there was no chance whatsoever of the resolution placed before you by Pandit Nehru being worked to a successful conclusion. You will notice that there is no difference whatsoever except in one particular point between the resolution and the amendment, the wording and the phraseology being the same. But there is a very important difference which is this: Malaviyaji is for Responsive Co-operation whereas the mover is for giving a fight to the British Government in India at every step and at every turn. I want to find out from those who are in agree-
ment with Malaviyaji as to what they exactly mean by the word 'Responsive Co-operation'. This can only mean that you respond to the kicks the British Government give you. It means you co-operate with the iniquities heaped on your heads by the British Government. Responsive Co-operation I could understand if it meant a reply of the Indian people for something tangible granted to us by the British Government. But the sort of Responsive Co-operation for which our friends are pining is no Responsive Co-operation. It is irresponsive co-operation; it is handing over the destinies of 320 millions of the Indian people to the sweet will of the British officials in this country. Let me read out to you, as Malaviyaji has done, the proceedings of the Indian National Congress of 1919. There is a vital difference in the resolution passed at Amritsar and the amendment which is before you. At Amritsar it was said by no less a person than Malaviyaji himself that when he read out the compromise resolution this country would work out the reforms as far as possible. But there was a loophole left. But where is the loop-hole left in the amendment which has been moved by him? You are simply accepting the proposition, by your amendment, laid down by Lord Birkenhead when he asked the people of this country to co-operate with him. He said he was not prepared to give you anything unless you showed your willingness.

Lalaji has told you that there is nothing you can expect from the British Government-it is impossible for any man to imagine or to dream that he can expect from the British Government anything by giving in-by accepting ministerial offices. The one proposition is this: No British officer in this country will allow any obstructionists to go in and accept ministerial responsibilities. Even if you do go, you will never be able to carry on not for months or years but even for a day. If you are going to obstruct the Government, there is no such fool among the bureaucrats as will be willing to let you cut off his nose in order to spite his face. It is impossible to think that any Governor will hand over the destiny of his province to those who would go there with the avowed object of putting an end to the administration of the province. I ask you if this sort of provision is to be accepted by you blindfolded, not knowing the responsibilities attaching to it-I ask you if you are going to declare in one voice that we shall accept that Responsive Co-operation. You know the condition of our people. I ask those who are for accepting Government posts to tell me how they intend to remedy and cure the disease which is eating into the vitals of this nation. Their cure is like that of a doctor who wishes to cure a cancer by giving the remedy in the shape of cough pills. (Laughter). The remedy is different; the cure is different.

Just consider the position of our country today, where millions of people are hungry. I ask if'any minister by accepting the office
will be able to give a little bit of food to the mouths of the hungry millions. I ask, in a country where the average income of a man is not more than an anna per day, how many ministers will be able to help us in the increase of our annual income? I ask if they can eradicate this terrible disease of poverty. I ask if they can help the country in the slightest manner by going in for offices. Have they forgotten the Muddiman report? Have they forgotten that Liberal minister after Liberal minister came forward before the Committee and said that the reforms were such as could not possibly be worked out. And it is that unworkable scheme which these gentlemen are intending to work again in the face of the verdict of their Liberal colleagues.

If that was the verdict of men of such moderate instincts as Lala Harkishen Lal, Mr. Chintamani and others, can you say that men of our camp will succeed where these men of moderate mentality have failed. I cannot imagine how any gentleman can succeed where they have failed. In face of the verdict of the Muddiman Committee, it is impossible to imagine that the country is going to gain anything by accepting the creed of Responsive Co-operation. My colleagues over there are obsessed with the idea of the Skeen Committee. I say, whatever the Committee, whatever the office may be, if the Congress decides that a particular post should be given up, it should be given up. But in spite of this difficulty-in spite of the verdict given by the Muddiman Committee-in spite of the clear impossibility of achieving anything under the present constitution, I assert you will be doing a great crime to India if you still bend your knees to the British Moloch. You know prefectly well that the British Government in Great Britain is eager for your co-operation. It will be the surest sign of your weakness if you yield at this particular moment For, the country now needs a stiffening of the back.

I appeal to you in the best interests of the country, not to vote for the amendment but to pass the resolution moved by Pandit Nehru. (Applause).

The President: I will now call upon Dr. Moonjo to address the Congress.

Dr. Moonje (C. P. Marathi) supported the amendment of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in Hindi.

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant (U. P.) then rose to support the Resolution in Hindi.

At this stage several delegates demanded closure.
The President announced that it being the last day of the session there could be no closure so long as the speakers would go on. After Pandit Pantji had finished Pandit Motilal Nehru would reply and the debate would then be closed.

The President: Those who are for closure? (Cries of 'All, all'). I now call upon Pandit Motilal Nehru to reply.

Pandit Motilal Nehru on rising to reply was greeted with cries of 'Bande Mataram ' and prolonged cheers. He spoke in Hindi.

After Pandit Motilal Nehru had finished his reply there were cries of 'English, English' from all sides of the Pandal.

Pandit Nehru: It is too late. You are tired and I am tired too.
A delegate from Andhra: We have heard the other speakers but we could not follow you, Lalaji and Pandit Malaviya because you three spoke in Hindi which we do not understand. How do you expect us to follow you? We have spent more than Rs. 200 each to travel such a long distance to hear you.

Pandit Nehru: It is too late.
The President: Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviga will now address the Congress on a point of personal explanation.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Ladies and gentlemen, I wish to point out to the delegates that my friend Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta and others who spoke in the same strain and my friend Pandit Motilal Nehru have misrepresented my position in two or three matters. (Cries of 'No, no'). You must hear me before you say 'No, no'. Mr. Sen-Gupta said that I misrepresented the late Mr. C. R. Das when I quoted him. Now, gentlemen, I did not read to you the three parts of the resolution which constituted the resolution which Mr. Das moved at the Amritsar Congress and which had the support of Lokamanya Tilak, merely to save time. But I did say that the compromise clause was added to the resolution and that, I thought, would make it clear.

A delegate: I rise to a point of order.
Pandit Malaviga: I did say that it was added and if any member did hear it otherwise, I am sorry for his sense of hearing. I did say that this clause was added as a compromise and I pointed out that when that compromise was agreed upon, the Deshbandhu said what I quoted from him. He said that we wanted full responsible government. We should co-operate when it would be necessary to advance the national cause. We shall resort to obstruction when that will be necessary to obtain the same object. That was what the Deshbandhu said after the compromise resolution had been agreed upon by him, Lokamanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi. This is the first misrepresentation which Mr. Sen-Gupta made.

Another thing was said; that I had quoted Lokamanya Tilak. I did quote him and give you his exact words. He said, "We are prepared for full responsible government-we are fit at this moment. We are not satisfied with the Act because it does not give full responsible government. But we want to work the Act to the best advantage to bring
about full responsible government." This is what I said and I ask the Congress to consider whether there was any misrepresentation made by me or whether the misrepresentation was made by my friend Mr. Sen-Gupta.

One thing more. My friend Pandit Motilal Nehru told you that I would have been wiser if I had quoted what happened in Ramayana and Mahabharat and not what happened in 1919. I read Ramayan and Mahabharat every day-ihat is part of my religious duty. But if I quoted the Ramayana and the Mahabharat--(Cries of 'No, no.' and 'Go on, go on'.)

My friends, my fellow countrymen, be patient. Learn to hear truth, even if it is unpleasant and I ask my friend Pandit Motilal to do the same. He said I should have quoted from the Ramayana and the Mahabharat. I should have and if I had, it would have done him good. But when he is not prepared to hear what happened five years ago........

Mr. Chamanlal: I rise to a point of order.
Several voices : Let Malaviyaji go on. (Uproar and cries of 'Goon, go on '.)

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: I beg of you to be patient. I referred to 1919 not to say that Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Das or Lokamanya Tilak are authorities for your action at present. I never suggested when I talked of 1919-how could it enter your head or that of any body who kept his head cool-that I was quoting in support as if to say that I want you to follow that policy now. I told you that the policy which the Swarajya Party has adopted now in practice was exactly the policy which Lokamanya Tilak, Deshbandhu Das and Mahatma Gandhi had advocated in 1919. I told you that after 1919 owing to the events that occurred later Mahatma Gandhi advised the policy of Non-co-operation. I told you that that policy had a play for several years. I told you that that policy had failed and that the Deshbandhu and Pandit Motilal Nehru had adopted the policy of res* ponsive co-operation as it has been described and I said in support of that policy that you had the opinion (Cries of 'No, no' and 'Order, order') of Lokamanya Tilak, Deshbandhu Das and Mahatma Gandhi. I quoted their opinion because that supports the present practice of the Swarajya Party and nothing more and I quote it to you again. (Reads) Remember what thes said and what the Swarajy a Party practises-not professes. Their practice is supported by what I quoted. If your judgment, if your regard for the country led you to think that that policy was the correct policy, do adopt it, not because we say that that should be adopted but because their advice of 1919 comes and supports you when the policy of Non-co-operation has been abandoned. It is no good using the name of Mahatma Gandhi. He is a great
man. But it is no good appealing in his name and saying he has given his sanction. (Hear, hear). I am sorry my friend and brother Mahatma Gandhi is absent today. I wish what I have said I said in his presence. I wish him to say-after hearing both of us-if he supports the proposal of Pandit Motilal Nehru. I doubt if he will. (Cries of 'No, no '.)

Pandit Motilal Nehru: I did not intend to inflict a speech in reply. I only come to exercise my right of having the last word and that right has been conceded to me by Madam President. It is not that I am speaking, as my friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji did, on merely a personal explanation; for in speaking on a personal explanation he dealt with my arguments knowing full well that it could not be a part of personal explanation. (Hear, hear). I have nothing more to add to what $I$ have already said. I am not at all afraid of the remarks he has made now. He has simply repeated what he said before. And in the last thing he expressed a hope that if Mahatma Gandhi were here he would have been simply floored by the argument of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. (Cries of 'No, no.' A VoiceHe never said that). He was quite certain (cries of 'No, no') that if Mahatma Gandhi were here, he would, after listening to him (Pandit Malaviya), have altered his opinion. I am not asking you to accept or not to accept what his or my estimate of Mahatma Gandhi is. I am simply asking you to remember that today Malaviyaji is quoting from the speech of Mahatma Gandhi delivered in 1919 and commending that speech to you; but he is giving the go-by to all that Mahatma Gandhi has said from 1919 up to this day. That was my argument and tbat argument has not been controverted. But my friend says that the answer to that is that if Mahatma Gandhi were here and listened to the brilliant argument that has been addressed to you, then there is no doubt at all that he (Mahatma Gandhi) would have entirely disabused his mind of all those things that have been said during the last three or four years. Is that a fair argument? It is a most dangerous thing thus to be told to make up your mind - not what you yourself think of a question but you must first try to picture in your mind how Mahatma Gandhi would have taken a certain measure and what opinion he would have formed and then you must form the same opinion. I now say simply I have no regard for what has been said. I simply refer you to Mahatma Gandhi's later utterances. I never claim that Mahatma Gandhi has agreed to or accepted my resolution. I had no intention of saying so. But now that my friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has made an observation, I say and I declare that those parts of the Resolution which speak of Civil Disobedience and other things which Malaviyaji has oriticised have the fullest concurrence of Mahatma Gandhi, ('Hear, hear ' and Applause).

The President: Friends, I do not want any visitor to make noise or to lift his hand or make any demonstration whatsoever; otherwise I shall clear the pandal when taking votes. I want you, delegates, to be very careful in giving your votes on the different amendments that I am going to put before you.

Mr. Majid Baksh not being here, his seconder, Mr. Basanta Kumar Majumdar, asks your leave to withdraw his amendment.

Leave was granted and Mr. Majid Baksh's amendment was withdrawn.

The President: Mr. Srikishendas H. Lulla wants the permission of the Congress to withdraw his amendment on the assurance that has been given him that the All India Congress Committee has the power to deal with the question whether the Swarajists holding elected offices in the legislatures should come out or not, with the rest of the Swarajist members when they leave the legislatures in pursuance of the mandate of the Congress.

The Congress thereupon permitted Mr. Srikishendas H. Lulla to withdraw his amendment

The President: I now put to vote the amendment moved by Swami Govindanand, viz, "Delete the words in para 2,'but realizes that the country is not now ready for it.........Congress' and add 'and'." Those who are in favour of the amendment will please raise their hands. (Only a few hands were raised). Those against : (Many hands were raised).

The President: I declare the amendment lost.
The President: I now put Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's amendment before the House. Those who are in favour of the amendment will please raise their hands. (Only a few hands were raised). Those against the amendment-(Cries of 'All, all').

The President: The amendment is lost. (Acclamation and prolonged cheers.)

The President: Those who are in favour of the original resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress will please raise their hands-(Cries of 'All, all'). Anybody against? (A few hands were raised).

The President: I declare the resolution carried. (Prolonged cheers).

Mr. Girdharilal: The President desires me to inform you that the rest of the Resolutions on the agenda will be moved from the chair.

The following Resolutions (VIII-XIII) moved from the Chair were declared carried.

VIII Hindustani (Amendnent to costitution.)
This Congress resolves that Article XXXIII of the Constitution be amended as follows:-
The Proceedings of the Congress shall be condacted as far as possible in Hindustani.
The English language or any provincial language may be used if the speaker is unable to speak Hindustani or whenever necessary.
Proceedings of the Provincial Congress Committees shall ordinarily be conducted in the language of the Province concerned. Hindustani may also be used.

IX Foreign Department.
The Indian National Congress authorises the All India Congress Committee to open a Foreign Department under it to look after the interests of Indians abroad and to carry on educative propaganda in the country regarding their position in the British Empire and foreign countries.

X Retiring Secretaries.
This Congress places on record its grateful appreciation of the valuable services rendered by the General Secretaries, Pandit Jawaharlal Neluru, Syt. B. F. Bharucha and Shuaib Qureshi Saheb.

XI Office-Bearers for 1926.
Resolved that the following office-bearers be appointed for the coming year:-
General Secretaries:-
(1) Dr. M. A. Ansari.
(2) Syt. A. Rangaswami Iyengar.
(3) Pandit K. Santauam (Punjab).

Treasurers :-
(1) Seth Revashankar Jagjivan Zaveri.
(2) Seth Jamnalal Bajaj.

XII Auditors.
'This Congress appoints Messrs. Dalal and Shah of Bombay, Auditors for the next year.

XIII Next Session,
This Congress resolves that its next sessions be held in Assam.
The General Secretaries' annual report was then presented to the Congress with the accounts of T.S.F. for 1925.

Dr. Murarilal, Chairman of the Reception Committee, then addressed the Congress in Hindi. He thanked the delegates and apologised to them for the shortcomings of the Reception Committee,

Mr. Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi, General Secretary of the Reception Cornmittee, followed and also spoke in Hincu apologising for the trouble and discomfort caused to the delegates during their stay in Cawnpore.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar then rose to thank the Reception Committee. He said:-On behalt of the delegates, I have been called upon to perform the pleasant duty of thanking the Chairman and the members of the Reception Committee for organizing this most successful session of the Indian National Congress. In many ways it has been an epoch-making Congress. It might be usual to say so of other sessions, but on this occasion I consider that the third chapter of the national movement has begun. And it is with this rising hope that I on behalf of the delegates thank those who had the foresight to choose this city in the United Provinces where the Congress would bring in fresh enthusiasm to the people and there would be a revivification of our national life. I have not the slightest doubt that Dr. Murarilal did not exaggerate in the least the enormous difficulties with which he had been confronted before bringing this session to a successful termination. Nowadays it is a very difficult task to hold the Congress. You have got to create a small town with all the amenities of city life. You have got to arrange for water supply and for lighting. You have got to look to boarding, conservancy and sanitation. Thousands of workers have got to be employed. All the resources of the Congress government have to be tapped to the fullest extent. All that you have done reflects the greatest credit upon the United Provinces and particularly upon this ancient city of Cawnpore.

People had come from all parts of India looking for a clear lead from this Congress and they came with hopes. But there was controversy of a formidable type among the Swarajists themselves here which led the people to think in terms of despair. You Swarajists have journeyed over many tedious courses-yours is the most disciplined and well-organized body and no wonder that it has raised the jealousy. of the bureaucracy and every other group of politicians. You rose to success in quite a short time. You have done so efficiently and well that men who held aloof from the beginning had no hesitation in joining the Swarajya Party after you had thrown out the Finance Bill. There were others-the no-changers-who had held aloof but who were converted to your views by the way you had managed the work. But unfortunately the curse of the country is such that division has come upon us and it is sad indeed that such a wonderfully built-up party has been split. And my satisfaction at our success has been tempered today by the fact that some of our most able colleagues-men for whom I have great respecthave chosen to think that they must perhaps part company. I say
advisedly ' perhaps' because I hope they will yet think over it and wilt be with us again. Any one who has listened to the discussion on the most important Resolution and listened to our most venerable leader, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who with his silver tongue has charmed our hearts away but whose eloquence has nevertheless been resisted because we hold that our way is the proper one in this critical hour of our national life-any one who bas heard the deliberations would be convinced of the admirable manner in which we conduct our business. Therefore it is a demonstration for any one to say-for any of those Europeans that have visited the Congress to say-how we have conducted our organization and how that dynamic patriotism is not going to remain for long in opposite schools of thought. We feel that unity of a real type is being forged on the anvil of the Indian National Congress. Unity is of no use unless there is unity in methods. Any unity short of that is not going to lead us anywhere. Unity produced by the grossest indiscipline-by groping in the dark-is not going to lead us anywhere. Such unity cannot therefore be possible ; but real unity we have achieved in this Congress.

This Congress is successful also because of my revered leader Lalaji having supported the resolution and belped us. And I consider that this Congress is still more successful in that it has placed in the forefront-it has declared its abiding faith in the doctrine of Civil Disobedience. I do not consider this Congress to be a failure in having said that the county is not now ready for it. True, there is a conflict of opinion. But I consider the Congress a success in every way. Particularly it has been successful in putting down the cry of acceptance of offices in the gift of the Government. The cry was raised not for the purpose of winning Swaraj but merely for the purpose of getting some improvement in the administrative details.

I anglad that the success of this Congress is due to the spirit which animated the citizens of Cawnpore and those who undertook this great task. I not only thank the volunteers but I also thank those other workers who have suddenly distinguished themselves. (Hear, hear). At Belgaum our volunteers were so disciplined that we found sometimes great difficulty in getting an entrance. But here we find they are somewhat discriminating and have helped us greatly. I admire their sterling discipline here. There might have been difficulties unknown to me but those in authority may speak with greater authority. Although a stranger to the United Provinces, from this day I consider myself a citizen of this province because you have compelled me by one of your resolutions in this Congress to learn Hindustani. But it is yet necessary for me to speak in English because I do not know Hindustani. I bave got tha greatest pleasure in proposing a hearty vote of thanks on behalf of us all
to the Reception Committee, the Volunteers and the workers for the very magnificent success of this Congress and for their very strenuous exertion which must have been responsible for this success. I have the greatest pleasure in thanking onceagain everyone of the members of the Reception Committee-the Chairman, the Secretaries, the Volunteers and every one of those known to the Congress dictionary and not having this dictionary in my hand 1 cannot mention other names off-hand (laughter). Once more, gentlemen, without any discrimination, on behalf of the delegates I wish to tender our profound gratitude to all for this magnificent success of the Congress. (Applause).

The President then walked to the rostrum amidst prolonged cheers and cries of 'Bande Mataram' and delivered the following concluding speech before dissolving the Fortieth Annual Session of the Indian National Congress :

Friends, I am not going to make a long speech. (Cries of 'Hindi, Hindi'). In view of the decision arrived at by the Subjects Committee last night most of the speakers today, including Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya have spoken to you in Hindustani. I shall conclude my closing remarks with a short speech in English.

Friends, my generals, my soldiers, it is only the sounding of the tocsin before the battle begins. In the olden days, on the threshold of a battle it was the sounding of the great tocsin that assembled people together to reveal to the world the determined and unanimous will of a people to win liberty. Not only in the civilized countries of

- the world, but among the most primitive people of the world too, it is the custom on the eve of battle to collect their men, their women and their poets. Your Rajputs going to the battle bave the hands of their women, those flower-like hands that seem destined merely to strew flowers - those silken bands-to equip the men for battle with swords, sheaths, arrows and spears and say to them, "Oh, come back with wounds on your heart but not on your back because we women of the Rajput race do not acknowledge cowards to be our kinsmen." (Applause). Ind the poets used to stand before the warriors and chant the old deeds of heroes so that those going to battle might remember their heroic ancestry.

Friends, I am a woman and I am a poet. I am only a woman. I am only a poet. As a woman I give you the weapons of faith and of courage and the shield of that high heroic valour to go into battle for your children's sake. And as a poet I bid you recall the epic of the Mahabharat--the battle song of Kurukshetra and the song of

Padmini standing at the window hoping that her lord, her lover, her beloved lord would come back victorious with warrior's wounds. Take you the blessings of a woman that bids you fight for the honour of your womanhood. Take the blessings of a poet who says, "Oh, do not betray the greatness of yesterday because you too have to leave a legacy for tomorrow." Let there be no taint by your cowardice and folly upon the glory of your past and let your deeds be the imperishable gift of Liberty; let not the generations unborn stand up and arraign you saying-"Oh, cowards, why did you sell us into slavery?" Do not let that abject reproach of posterity be yours. But rather when tomorrow dawns let the women, let the poets, let posterity say, 'The courage of our men won the freedom of our children.' Let the poets say 'Those who were the inheritors of our dream have left behind coffers, coffers, coffers of lyric gold'. Let this be your privilege that poets may carry this holy dream to posterity-young men seeing visions and young women dreaming dreams of love. Bande Mataram! (Lusty cries of ' Bande Mataram' and prolonged and continued cheers).

The Congress was then dissolved.


## APPENDIX J.

## Accounts.

Note :-No audited accounts were received from the Reception Committee bnt only the following rongh statement :
"The total expenses at Cawnpore came to about Rs. 1,77,000. The income side shows a deficit of about Rs. 7,000.

The main items of income were:

| Bazar | $\ldots$. | Rs. 13,992 |
| :--- | :--- | ---: |
| Exhibition | $\ldots$ | 15,600 |
| Tickets | $\ldots$ | 20,314 |
| Delegates'accommodation fee | $\ldots$ | 8,494 |
| Reception Committee membership | $\ldots$ | 32,175 |
| Cawnpore Donation | $\ldots$ | 39,975 |
| Other Donations | $\ldots$ | 3,191 |

The main items of the expenses are :

| Volunteers Corps | $\ldots$ | Rs. | 13,608 | 13 |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 3 |  |  |  |  |
| Publicity | $\ldots$ | 3,812 | 4 | 9 |
| Kitchen | $\ldots$ | 22,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Water | $\ldots$ | 2,062 | 0 | 0 |
| Light | $\ldots$ | 9,125 | 0 | 0 |
| Sanitation | $\ldots$ | 5,388 | 0 | 0 |
| Office | $\ldots$ | 8,678 | 0 | 0 |
| Bazar | $\ldots$ | 2,859 | 4 | 3 |
| Pavilion | $\ldots$ | 5,966 | 5 | 9 |
| Land (site) | $\ldots$ | 8,237 | 0 | 0 |
| Conveyance | $\ldots$ | 3,461 | 3 | 3 |
| Stores | $\ldots$ | 31,200 | 0 | 0 |
| Accommodation etc. | $\ldots$ | 20,459 | 12 | 3 " |

## APPENDIX II.

Number of Delegates Present at the Congress. Name of Province.

1. Ajmer
2. Andhra
Number Present.
3. Assam
Invalidated**
4. Bihar

5. Bengal 204 $\because$
6. Berar 7
7. Bombay ..... 11
8. Burma ..... 27
9. C. P. Hindi ..... 265
10. C. P. Marathi ..... 63
11. Delhi ..... 92
12. Gujerat ..... 19
13. Karnatak ..... 34
14. Kerala ..... 12
15. Maharashtra ..... 105
16. Punjab ..... 143
17. Sind ..... 47
18. Tamil Nadu ..... 130
19. United Provinces ..... 900
20. Utkal ..... 26
Total. ..... 2,688
[^1]
## APPENDIX III.

"; The following resolutions were passed by the Indian National Congress at its
40th Sessions held at Cawnpore on December 26, 27 and 28, 1925.
I. Condolence.

The Congress places on record its sense of deep sorrow over the deaths of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea, Dr. Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Syt. S. Krishna Swami Sarma; Syt. V. V. S. Aiyer and the other patriots who worked for the country's progress in their respective spheres and tenders its respectful condolences to the bereaved families.

## II. South Africa.

The Congress extends its cordial welcome to the South Africa Indian Congress deputation and assures the Indian settlers of South Africa of its full support in their unequal struggle against the consolidated forces which threaten their very existence in that sub-continent.

The Congress is emphatically of opinion that the proposed legislation known as the Area Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill, is in breach of the Smuts-Gandhi agreement of 1914 in that it is racial in character and is calculated not only to make the position of the settlers much worse than it was in 1914, but is designed to make the residence in that country of any self-respecting Indian impossible.

In the opinion of the Congress, if the interpretation of the said agreement as put upon it on behalf of the settlers is not accepted by the Union Government, it should be decided by reference to arbitration as was done in 1893 in connexion with the treatment of Indian settlers of the Transvaal in matters arising from the administration of Law 3 of 1885.

The Congress heartily endorses the suggestion that a round table conference, containing among other proper Indian representatives, should be called to settle the question and trusts that the Union Government will accept that reasonable suggestion. In the event of the proposal for a round table conference and the proposal regarding arbitration failing, the Congress is of opinion that it is the clear duty of the Imperial Government to withbold the royal assent to the Bill should it pass through the Union Parliament.

## III. Bengal Ordinance Act.

The Congress strongly condemns the abuse of Regulation III of 1818 and the autocratic enactment of the Bengal Ordinance Act, otherwise known as the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act 1925, and the arrest and detention without definite charge and open trial of a large number of patriotic young men of Bengal under the said Regulation and the Act and further condemns their continued
incarceration, maltreatment and deportation outside Bengal notwithstanding the clearly and repeatedly expressed opinion of the people both inside and outside the Legislatures.

## IV. Gurdwara Prisoners.

This Congress deeply regrets that the Punjab Government has not yet released the Gurdwara prisouers in spite of the settlement brought about by the Gurdwara Act merely on the technical ground that.the Gurdwara prisoners would not give an undertaking which the highsouled prisoners declared to be derogatory to their self-respect. This Congress is of opinion that there will be no proper settlement of the Gurdwara question until the Gurdwara prisoners are unconditionally released.

## V. Expulsion of Non-burman offenders Bill.

This Congress regards the Expulsion of Non-Burman Offenders Bill and the Tax on Sea Passengers Bill of Burma to be an attack on the liberty of the citizen. In the opinion of the Congress, the first Bill imperils the vast interests of Indians resident in Burma in as much as it exposes innocent men to the mercy of the executive. The Congress is of opinion that the Bills should not receive the Viceregal sanction.

## VI. Congress Franchise.

This Congress approves and confirms Part A of Resolution 1 of the All India Congress Committee passed at Patna on September 22nd, 1925.

## ViI. Future Programme.

(a) This Congress confirms Part B of the Resolution passed by the All India Congress Committee at its meeting held at Patna on the 2nd September last and resolves that the Congress do now take up and carry on such political work as is necessary in the interests of the country and for this purpose do employ the whole of the machinery and funds of the Congress save and except such funds and assets as under that resolution have been declared to belong to the All India Spinners' Association, and save such funds'and assets as may be earmarked ;
(b) This Congress roiterates its faith in Civil Disobedience as the the only effective weapon to be used in the last resort to enforce the national elaim and vindicate our national honour, but realizes that the country is not now ready for it and in view thereof this Congress resolves that the guiding principle in carrying on all political work sball be self-reliance in all activities which make for the healthy growth of the nation and resistance to every activity governmental or other, that may impede the Nation's progress towards Swaraj;

And this Congress adopts the following programme of political work:-
(i) The work in the comutry shall be diracted to the education of the people in their political rights and training them to acquire the necessary strength and power of resistance to win those rights, by carrying out the constructive programme of the Congress with special reference to popularising the spinning wheel and khaddar, promoting inter-communal unity, the removal of untouchabilits, ameliorating the condition of the suppressed classes and the removal of the drink and drug evil and shall include the capture of local bodies, the organisation of villages, the promotion of education on national lines, the organisation of labour, both industrial and agricultural, the adjustment of relations between employers and workmen and between landlords and tenants and the general advancement of the national, economical, industrial and commercial interests of the country.
(ii) The work' outside the country shall bedirected to the dissemination of accurate information in foreign countries.
(iii) This Congress adopts on behalf of the country the terms of the settlement offered to the Government by the Independent and Swarajya Parties of the Assembly by the resolution passed on the 18th February, 1924 and having regard to the fact that the Government lave so far not made any response to the said offer, resolves that the following action shall be taken:

1. 'Ihe Swaraj Party in the Assembly shall at the carliest opportunity invite the Government to give their final decision on the said terms and in case no decision is announced before the end of February or the decision announced is held not to be satisfactory by a Special Committee con sisting of the Working Conmittee of the Congress and such other members as may be appointed by the All India Congress Committee the Party shall, by adopting the proper procedure, intimate to the Government on the floor of the House that the Party will no longer continue to remain and work in the present legislatures as herctofore. The Swarajist members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, shall vote for the rejection of the Finance Bill and immediately, after, leave their seats. The Swarajist members of such l'rovincial Councils as may be in session time shall also leave their seats and all members of the various legislatures . 30 leaving their seats shall report themselves to the Special Committee afuresaid for further instructions. Swarajist members of such Councils as are not in session at the time shall not attend further meetings of the said Councils and shall likewise report themselves to the Spucial Committee.
2. No member of the Swarajya Party in the Council of State, in the Legislative Assembly or in noy of the Proviacial Councils thereatter attend any meeting of any of the said Legislatures or any of their Committees except for the purpose of proventiag his seat from being dechared vacaut and $\cdots$ of throwing out the Provincial Bulget or other measure involving fresla taxation iA

Provided that prior to their being called upin to leave their seats it shall be open to Swarajist members of the various Legislatures to engage themselves in such activities in their respective Legislatures as are permissible to them under the existing rules of the Party.

Provided also that it shall be open to the Special Committee to allow the Swarajist Members of any Legislature to attend the said Legislature when such attendance is in its opinion essentia! for some special or unforeseen purpose.

3 The Spacial Committee shall immediately on receipt of the Reports mentioned in sub-clause 1 call a meeting of the All India Congress Committeo to frame a programme of work which shall be carried out by the Congress and Swarajy Party organisations in co-operation with each other thoroughout the country.
4. The said programme of work shall include selected beads of the general work mentioned in clauses (i) and (ii) above as also the education of the electorates in the policy herein laid down and shall indicate the lines on which the next general election is to be run by and in the name of the Congress and state clearly the issues on which Congressmen shall seek election.

Provided that the policy of non-acceptance of offices in the gift of the Government shall continue to be followed until in the opinion of the Congress a satisfactory response to the terms of settlements aforesaid is made by the Government.
5. This Congress hereby authorizes the executive of the several Provincial Congress Committees to select candidates for the Provincial Legislative Councils and Indian Lcgislative Assembly in their provincial areas for the general elections next year as early as possible.
6. In the event of the final decision of the Government on the terms of settloment offered in the resolution of the Assembly aforesaid i,eing found satisfactory and acceptable by the aforesaid Special Committee, a meeting of the All India Congress Committee shall fortliwith be held to confirm or reject the decision of the Special Committee and to determine the future course of action.
7. Until the Swarajists leave the Legislatures as herein provided, the Constitution of the Swarajya Party and the rules made thereunder shall be followed in the Legislatures subject to such changes as may be made by the Congress or the All India Congress Committee from time to time.
8. For the purpose of starting the work referred to in sub-clauses 3 and 4 the All India Congress Committee shall allot such funds as it may consider sufficient for the initial expenses of the necessary propaganda in this behalf, but any further funds required for the said purpose shall be raised by the Working Committee or under its directions by contributions from the public.

## VIII Hindustani.

This Congress resolves that the proceedings of the Congress, the All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee shall
ordinarily be conducted in Hindustani ; the English language or any provincial language may be used if the speaker is unable to speak in Hindustani or whenever necessary;
proceedings of the Provincial Congress Committees shall ordinarily be conducted in the language of the province concerned. Hindustani may also be used.
IX. Foreign Department.

The Indian National Congress authorises the All India Congress Committee to open a Foreign Department under it to look after the interests of Indians abroad and to carry on educative propaganda in the country regarding their position in the British Empire and foreign countries.

## X. Retiring Secretaries.

This Congress places on record its grateful appreciation of the valuable services rendered by the General Secretaries Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Syt. B. F. Bharucha and Shuaib Qureshi Sahab.
XI. OfFICE-BEARERS FOR 1926.

Resolved that the following office-bearers be appointed for the coming year:-

General 'Secretayies.
(1) Dr. M. A. Ansari-
(2) Syt. A. Rangaswami Iyengar.
(3) Pt. K. Santanam (Punjab).

Treasurers.
(1) Seth Revashanker Jagajivan Javeri.
(2) Seth Jamnalal Bajaj.
XII. AUDITORS.

This Congress appoints Messrs. Dalal and Shah of Bombay, Auditors for the next year.
XIII. NEXT SESSIONS.

This Congress resolves that its next Sessions be held in Assam.

NOTE.
Following is Part A of resolution I of the All India Congress Committee referred to in resolution ${ }^{\prime} I$ of the Cannpore Congress:-
A.-In view of the fact that there is a demand from a considerable section in the Congress for a revision of the franchise and there is a
general consensus of opinion that having regard to the present situation the franchise should be extended, the All India Congress Committee resolves that article VII of the Congress Constitution be repoaled, and replaced by the following:-

## Article VII.

(i) Every person not disqualified under Article IV and paying a subscription of 4 annas per year in advance, or 2,000 yards of evenly spun yarn of his or her own spinning, shall be entitled to become a member of any primary organisation: controlled by a Provincial Congress Committee. Provided that no person shall be a member of two parallel Congress organisations at one and the same time.
(ii) The yarn stubscription mentioned in sub-section (i) shall be sent direct by the spinner to the Secretary, All India Spinners' Association or to any person nominated by the Secretary in this behalf, and a certificate, from the Secretary, All India Spinners* Association to the effect that he has received 2,000 yards of evenly spun yarn of the holder's own spinning as his or her yearly subscription shall entitle the holder to the membership mentioned in sub-section (i) hereof. Provided that for the purpose of checking the accuracy of the returns made by the All India Spinners' Association, the All India Congress Committee or any Provincial Committee or any sub-committee thereunder shall have the right to inspect the accounts, the stock and the vouchers of the All India Spinners' Association or any subordinate organisation thereunder and provided further that in the event of any inaccuracy or error discovered by the inspecting body in the accounts, stock or vouchers examined, the certificates issued by the All India Spinners' Association in respect of persons with reference to whose membership the accounts have been examined, shall be declared cancelled, provided that the All India Spinners' Association or the person disqualified shall have the right of appeal to the Working Committee. Any person wishing to spin for the membership of the Congress may, if he or she desires, be supplied upon due security with cotton for spinning.
(iii) The year of the membership shall be reckoned from the 1st January to 31 st December and there shall be no reduction in the subscription to be paid by members joining in the middle of the year.
(iv) No person shall be entitled to vote at the election of representatives or delegates or any committee or sub-committee or any Congress organisation whatsoever, or to be elected as such, or to take part in any meeting of the Congress or Congress organisation, or any Committee or sub committee thereof, if he has not complied with sub-section (i) hereof or does not wear hand spun and hand woven khaddar at political and Congress functions or while engaged in Congress business. The Congress expects Congressmen to wear khaddar also on all other occasions and in no case to use or wear foreign cloth.
(v) All the existing members at the end of the year shall be entitled to remain such up to the 31st January following although they may not have paid their subscription for the new year.

## Saving Clatse:

Sub-section (i) shall not affect the rights of those who have been already registered as members under the Article repealed provided their membership is otherwise in order, and provided further that those who shall have paid garn subscription whether of self-spun or hand spun yarn up to September 1925, shall be entitled to remain members for the current year though they may not pay any further yarn.

Following is Fayt B of Resolution 1 of the All India Congress Committee, referred to in resolition VII of the Caron pore Congress:
B. -Whereas the Congress in its 39 th session held at Belgaum endorsed an agreement entered into between Mahatma Gandhi on the one hand, and Deshbandhu C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru, acting on behalf of the Swaraj Party, on the other, whereby the Congress activity was restricted to the constructive programme mentioned therein and it was provided inter alia that " the work in connection with the Central and Provincial Legislatures should be carried on by the Swaraj Party on behalf of the Congress and as an integral part of the Congress organisation and that for such work the Swaraj Party should make its own rules and administer its own fund '; and

Whereas subsequent events have shown that this restriction should not continue under the altered circumstances that face the country and that the Congress should henceforth be a predominantly political body ;

It is resolved that the Congress do now take up and carry on all such political work as may be necessary in the interest
of the country and for this purpose do employ the whole of the machinery and funds of the Congress, save and except such funds and assets as are specially earmarked and such funds and assets as belong to the All India Khaddar Board and Provincial Khaddar Boards which shall be handed over with all existing financial obligations to the All India Spinners' Association started by Mahatma Gandhi as an integral part of the Congress organisation but with independent existence and full powers to administer these and other funds for the fulfilment of its object.

Provided that the work in connection with the Indian and Provincial Legislatures shall be carried on in accordance with the policy and programme laid down by the Swaraj Party under the constitution framed by the Party and the rules made thereunder subject to such modifications made by the Congress as may be found necessary from time to time for the purpose of carrying out the said policy.

## APPENDIX IV.

The following Annual Report with accounts is appended, under
Art. XXIII of the Congress Constitution:-

## Annual Report for the year 1925

## Presented by the General Secretaries to the All India Congress Connmitlee.

The Annual Report issued by the General Secretaries last year referred to the agreement entered into by Mr. Gandhi, on the one hand, and Deshbandhu C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru, acting on behalf of the Swarajya Party, on the other. In this agreement it was recommended that certain important changes be made in the Congress programme and franchise. The Belgaum Congress accepted these recommendations and adopted them in full. The programme of non-co-operation was thus suspended as a national programme, except in so far as it related to the refusal to use or wear cloth made out of India, and the Congress decided to concentrate on the constructive programme. In particular stress was laid on handspinning and khaddar, and a vital change was made in the franchise. The annual subscription of the Congress which used to be four annas now became 24,000 yards of handspun yarn, payable at the rate of 2,000 yards per month. Authority was given to the Swarajya Party to carry on political activities in the Councils on behalf of the Congress.
2. It was hoped that a great impetus would thus be given to the khaddar movement and the new franchise would result in greatly increased handspinning. To a certain extent this impetus was given and progress in the spread of khaddar was made. But the progress was not very marked largely owing to the fact that proper arrangements were not made by most provinces for the enrolment of members under the new franchise. The membership figures varied from month to month, the maximum provincial figures in any month being as follows:-

| Ajmer | 19 | Delhi | 258 |
| :--- | ---: | :--- | ---: |
| Andhra | 2,678 | Gujrat | 1,853 |
| Assam | 376 | Karnatak | 1,124 |
| Behar | 1,539 | Kerala | 174 |
| Bengal | 3,169 | Maharashtra | 700 |
| Berar | 222 | Punjab | 321 |
| Burma | 93 | Sind | 212 |
| C. P. Hindustani 307 | Tamil Nadu | 2,250 |  |
| C. P. Marathi | 911 | U. P. | 1,443 |
| Bombay | 544 | Utkal | 146 |
|  | Total maximum membership | 18339 |  |

Many of the members were in arrears in September but this might have been largely due to an expectation that the franchise would be changed. The franchise was in fact changed by the All India Congress Committee towards the end of September.
3. The committse of the All Parties Conference appointed in November 1924 met in Delhi in the last week of January and conferred for some time. A sub-committee to consider the Hindu-Muslim problem met from day to day but were unable to come to a satisfactory settlement. The committee was therefore adjourned sine die and no subsequent meeting of it has taken place.
4. Hindu-Muslim relations continued to be strained and although no riots comparable to last year's outbreaks took place, much bitterness prevailed. A fracas took place in Panipat and another at Kidderpore near Calcutta. In Delhi and in Allahabad there was considerable tension on the occasion of the Bakrid and the Dasehra respectively, in the latter place the celebration of the Ramlila being abandoned. In Lucknow the breach of last year has not yet been made up or healed. Nagpur, however, afforded a pleasant contrast and a settlement was arrived at with the help of leaders of both communities. The most frequent cause of friction now is the question of playing music before or near mosques. The Delhi Unity Conference considered this question and dealt with it but their decisions appear to be more honoured in the breach than in the observance.
5. Mahatma Gandhi, the president of the All India Congress Committee, toured extensively during the year and wherever he went he laid great stress on the message of the charkha. He began the year by touring in Kathiawad and then went to Vykom in the South to see for himself the Satyagraha that was being offered to assert the right of untouchables to go along the public roads. His presence was very helpful in lessening the gulf between the Satyagrahis and the authorities and in bringing a settlement nearer. Ho then toured in Tamil Nadu and later in Gujrat.
6. Early in May the president went to the Bengal Provincial Conforence at Faridpur presided over by Deshbandhu. C. R. Das. He remained in Bengal and visited a large number of districts.
7. On the 16th of June Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das suddenly passed away at Darjeeling. The whole country was deeply grieved and extraordinary and unparallelled demonstrations in his honour took place in Bengal and elsewhere. An appeal for a Bengal Deshbandhu Memorial Fund, for the establishment of a women's hospital in Mr. Das's old home, resulted in the collection of eight lacs of rupees. An All India Deshbandhu Memorial Fund appeal was also issued by a number of distinguished signatories, the fund being earmarked for the
propagation of the spinning wheel and khaddar. So far a little over ninety thousand rupees have been subscribed to this fund.
8. Owing to the death of Deshbandhu Das, Mr. Gandhi cancelled his tour programme in other provinces and stayed on in Bengal, chiefly in Calcutta, to the end of August 1925. He devoted himself to the collection of funds for the Bengal Deshbandhu Memorial Fund. In September and October he toured in Behar, paid a brief visit to the U. P. and went to Cutch.
9. Soon after the death of Mr . Das another great Indian and Bengalee, a pioneer of Indian nationalism and twice president of the Congress, Sir Surendranath Banerjea passed away. His death was mourned all over the country.
10. Apart from the activities of the president of the All India Congress Committee and to a certain extent of the All India Khadi Board not much work was done on behalf of the Congress during the year. There were very fow meetings of the Working Committee and the All India Congress Committee. The latter has only met once so far in 1925, apart from the meeting held in Belgaum on the 28th December, 1924 after the Congress. The Working Committee bas actually met 3 times and on one occasion it could not meet for want of a quorum.
11. In September the All India Congress Committee decided to revise the Congress Constitution in anticipation of the sanction of the Congress. Instead of the yarn franchise an alternative franchise was introduced-either four annas per annum or 2,000 yards of selfspun yarn. The Committee further authorised Mr. Gandhi to start an All India Spinners' Association as an integral part of the Congress organisation but with independent existence, and transterred all the assets of the All India Khadi Board and the Provincial Khadi Boards to this Spinners' Association. This association was formed immediately after and it has already taken charge of the All India Khadi Board's assets. It is acting as the agent of the Congress in regard to the spinning members of the Congress.
12. The effect of the September decision has been to change entirely the outlook of the Congross and partly to reverse the process begun in Belgaum. From a body mainly doing constructive and nation-building work, it has again become a predominantly political organisation and the constructive work has been largely delegated to other and more specialised organisations. The Cawnpore Congress will be called upon to consider this vital change made by the All India Congress Committee and, if it so wills, to confirm it.
13. The All India Congress Committee at its September meeting also passed a resolution expressing its sympathy with the Chinese in their struggle against foreign domination and protesting against the
despatch of Indian soldiers to suppress the Chinese national movement. The Committee further expressed its deep sympathy with the Indian settlers in South Africa and fixed the 11th October, as à national day of protest against the treatment meted out to them. Resolutions were also passed against the Burma Expulsion of Offenders Bill, and the action of the United States Government in refusing entry in the United States to Mr. Saklatwala, M.P.
14. The South Africa protest day, October 11th, was celebrated all over India by meetings in which all parties joined. The Anti-Asiatic Legislation passed recently and the Class Areas Bill introduced in the Union House of Assembly are definite breaches of the Gandhi-Smuts agreement and they have been resented greatly in India. But the people have been unable to take any effective action owing to their powerlessness. Mr. C. F. Andrews has recently sailed for South Africa and a deputation of Indians is coming to India from South Africa.
15. The protracted struggle of the untouchables in Vykom has ended in victory for them and the roads in dispute have been thrown open to them. It was a remarkable test of endurance and peaceful behaviour and the Satyagrahis came out successful. As mentioned above Mr. Gandhi visited Vykom in the early part of the year and his visit greatly eased the situation. The campagin against untouchability was also carried on by him with vigour in Cutch and elsewhere and in some places much opposition was en countered.
16. The Akali situation took a favourable turn during the year and a Gurdwara Act, acceptable in the main to the Sikhs, was passed. The restrictions on the performance of the Akhand Patha at Jaito in Nabha State were also removed and a large number of Akhand Pathas were performed there. The Akali prisoners have however not been released by Goverament and no final settlement can take place so long as a large number of respected Sikhs are in jail. Government insists on the prisoners giving undertakings which they refuse to give.
17. The persons interned under last year's Bengal Ordinance still continue in internment or in jail in spite of the repeated and unanimous protests of all parties in India. The Ordinance was sought to be passed as a bill in the Bengal Council. This attempt having failed it was certified by the Governor.
18. The Congress Opium Enquiry in Assam was completed during the year and the report and evidence have recently been published. The report is a detailed and authoritative exposure of the evils of the opium policy of Government. Enquiries are now being carried on in some centres in the Punjaj, Andhra and Orissa where the opium habit is prevalent.
19. The Working Committee in January last appointed a committee consisting of Syt. Totaram Sanadhya and Syt. Sampurnanand
to enquire into the condition of returned emigrants in Northern India. Some work has been done by this committee but it has not finished its labours yet.
20. The A. I. C. C. meeting hold at Belgaum on the 28th December appointed Syt. Rajendra Prasad to investigate the proposals of the Buddhists in regard to the Bodh Gaja temple and asked him to report within a month. Mr. Rajendra Prasad has not been abie to present his final report yet.
21. For some years past there have been disputes between Andhra and Utkal provinces and Utkal and Behar in regard to their boundaries. Committees and individuals have been appointed repeatedly to settle these disputes but they remain unsettled still, with the result that people in some of the areas affected do not know who to deal with and sometimes go unrepresented in the Congress.
22. Most of the Provincial Committees have not been working properly and few have sent annual reports. It does not appear in most instances what, if any, collections were made by the provinces Probably little money was collected by them. All collections for the Deshbandhu Memorials went direct to the central funds and the provinces got no part of them. Early in the year however Bengal under the leadership of Mr. C. R. Das collected $2 \frac{1}{4}$ lacs of rupees for village reconstruction work.
\%3. The All India Khadi Board had a fairly active year. They devoted themselves, with considerable success in some places, to the introduction of efficient business methods in the production and distribution of khadi. The Tamil Nadu Khadi Board in particular have evolved a stable and effective organisation and are producing a large quantity of good kbadi which meets with a ready sale in the immediate neighbourhood and elsewhere. They produced khadi worth Rs. $7,05,788$ during the year and their sales amounted to Rs. $8,32,846$. Their centre, Tirupur, has become well-known all over India. In Bengal the Khadi Pratisthan has made great progress in all departments of khadi activity and las built up a great organisation with a large staff of efficient workers. In Behar good progress has been made and production and sales have both gone up remarkably-the production being more than double that of last year. Andhra, famous for its fine yarn and beautifulkhadi, has'not been able to make as much progress as was hoped or to justify the promise of the previous years. But the field is a most fruitful one and with better organisation great progress is certain. The Punjab is steadily but rather slowly increasing its output and improving the quality of its khadi and at the same time reducing its price. Work is also being carried on with some success in Karnatak, U. P., Utkal and Delhi. All these provinces as well as Assam and Rajputana offer immense possibilities for the
production of good and cheap khadi and all that is needed is money and efficient workers.
21. Many municipalities and local boards, specially in the United Provinces, have helped the khadi movement by abolishing the octroi duty on khadi and by introducing spinning in their schools. A recent competition in takli spinning aniong the boys of the Ahmedabad Labour Union schools demonstrated the peculiar fitness of the talli for schools.
25. The Belgaum Congress authorised the A.I.C C. to appoint the auditors for the year, and the A I.C.C. in September gave this authority to the Treasurer who has appointed Messrs. Dalal and Shah, incorporated accountants, as the auditors of the Committee for the year. The auditors have audited the accounts of the A.I.C.C. office and of a number of Provincial Congress Committees. They are proceeding vith their provincial audit.
26. A number of realisations of old dues were made by the A.I.C.C. in the course of the year. The total realisations were Rs. 64518-10-11. This figure includes Rs. $30,863-3-9$ of the Punjab Relief Fund and Martial Law Enquiry report accounts. The Working Committee has decided to keep the Punjab funds earmarked for relief of persons subjected to government repression, the claims of the Punjab receiving priority. A detailed list of realisations is attached.
27. In spite of strenuous 6 fforts to realise all the dues of the All India Congress Committee a great number of outstandings remain. Many of these are bad debts and irrecoverable and the sooner they are written off the better. Of the Punjab funds Rs. 48,031 are still lying with others, Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya holding Rs. 45,842. He bas promised to transfer this amount but great delay has taken place in getting this done. Considerable difficulties were experienced in the course of the year in realising the garn quotas or their equivalents in cash from provinces. The sums involved were small but most of the provinces have yet to pay them. Among these are Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Gujrat, Andhra, Behar and United Provinces.
28. The principal disbursements during the year were the routine ones of the offices of the General Secretary and the Treasurer and the Auditor's charges. The only cash grant made was one of Rs. 2,000 to the Hindustani Seva Dal. Other grants were made to some provinces but the object was to write off some old dues from them.
29. The opening balance with the Treasurer amounted to Rs. 1,45,751-13-3. His closing balance on 30-11-1925 was Rs. 1,74,578-12-2, the latter including Rs 30,863-3-9 earmarked Punjab funds and Rs. 24,873-7-0 earmarked for other objects. Even excluding the Punjab earmarked monies the closing balance is not much short of the opening balance. This position is satisfactory specially as no
attempts at collecting funds for the All India Congress Committee were made, most of the collections going to the Deshbandhu Memorial funds. In past years a fixed source of income of the All India Congress Committee has been the half share of the delegates fees. This has now gone since the reduction of the delegate's fee to Re. 1 by the Belgaum Congress. The only other source of income, apart from donations, is the rent of the Congress pavilion. But the pavilion is already showing signs of wear and is not likely to last long. The committee will thus be faced with difficulties in the future unless fresh sources of revenue are tapped.
30. During the year the All India Congress Committee received the library of the old British Committee from London. This library contains valuable books and old reports. It is at present lodged in the Congress House in Bombay.
31. A number of books relating to Congress activities were published during the year. The resolutions of the Congress, the All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee passed in 1924 were published in book form under the title "Indian National Congress, 1924 '. The Belgaum Congress report and the Assam Opium Enquiry report were also published. The All India Khadi Board brought out a valuable Khadi Guide and the Khadi Pratisthan the " Khadi Manual" in two volumes.
32. An audited statement of the receipts and expenditure of the A.I.C.C. office from 1st December, 1924 to 31st October, 1925, is attached to this report. The Treasurer's statements of accounts are also attached as also lists of realisations and outstandings.

ALLAhabad,
11th December, 1925.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU,
General Sccretary.

This report has only been signed by one secretary as Mr. Shuaib Qureshi is touring in foreign countries and Mr. B.F. Bharucha is unwell.

[^2]
## ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Statement of Receipts and Disbursments from 1st December 1924 to 31st October 1925 in the office of the General Secretary, Allahabad.


## ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITEE

Statement of Recei pts and Disbursements from 1st December 1924 to 31st October 1925 in the office of the General Secretary, Allaliabad - (contd)


## ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Statement of Recicipts and Disbursements from 1st Decmber 1924 to 31st October 1925 in the offie of the General Secretary, Allahabard.-(concld.)


ALLAHABAD
21st Novenber, 1925.
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, Gencral Secretary,
K. B. RAMAKRISHNAIAH, Accountant,
B. RAJA RAU, Assistant Secretary, Examined and found correct. DALAL AND SHAH, Incor porated Accomntants (London). A.1.C C. Auditors

* All advnces except Rs. 35 out of Jls. 50 shown against Syt. N. C. Banerjee have since been adjusted.


## THE ALL INDIA TILAK. MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND

Statement of Fiecipts and Disbursentents from 11th Deimber 1924 to 30th Noveriber 1925.

| RECEIPTS. | RS. A. P | Rs. A. | P. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Cash and luvestments as on 11-12-24. |  |  |  |
| In fixed deposits with banks .. | / 1,25,000 00 |  |  |
| In curront accounts with banks . | 20,650 $12 \quad 6$ |  |  |
| In hand ... | 1010 |  |  |
| Tlink Swarajya Fund. |  | 1,45,751 13 | 33 |
| General ... | 2,974 3 3 3 |  |  |
| Earmarked ... .. | ${ }^{\prime} 30,863 \quad 3 \quad 9$ |  |  |
| Amount of Provincial quota from the |  | 33,837 7 | 0 |
| Sind P C C ... .. | $44 \quad 3 \quad 9$ |  |  |
| Ajmere P. C. C. ... | 388 |  |  |
| Behar " ... | 8480 |  |  |

## THE ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND

Statement of Recieipts and Disobusenents from 11th December 1924 to 30th
November 1925 -(contd.)


## THE ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND

Statement of Receipts and Dishorsements from 11th December 1924 to 30th Noventer 1925.


## THE ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND

Statement of Receipts and Disbursaments from 11th Decmber 1924 to 30th
November 1925 -(Contd)

| DISBURSEMENTS - (Contd) | Rs A . | Rs. A, P. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Payment of interest on old Bombay |  |  |  |  |
| P C C Funds to Gujrat, Maha- |  |  |  |  |
| rastra, Karnatak and Bombay |  |  |  |  |
| P. C C's. in equal Shares ... | ...... | 1,946 | 4 | 0 |
| Bombay $P$ P C C Old ment for interest $\quad$... | ..... |  | 6 | 6 |
| Treasarer's Office Expenses |  |  |  |  |
| Salaries, 883-12-0 | ...... |  |  |  |
| Postage, $\quad 38-14-9$ | . |  |  |  |
| Printing \& Stationers, 3,818-6-0 | ...... |  |  |  |
| Miscellaneous . 33-1-0 | ..... | 4,774 | 1 |  |
| SabsCommittee Expenses |  |  |  |  |
| C. D. Enquiry Committee | 17,753 8 |  |  |  |
| Sikh Repression Committee ... | 9313 |  |  |  |
| Akali Repression Committee ... | 3082 |  |  |  |
| East African Deputation Committee | 2484 |  |  |  |
| Emigrants' Enquiry Committee... | 11215 |  |  |  |
| Unity Conference, Delhi ... | 1,480 7 |  |  |  |
| Akali Publicity Bureau ... | 6,059 11 |  |  |  |
| Guru Ka Bagh En. Committee ... | 3,086 4 | 29,143 |  |  |
| Dead Stock | ...... |  |  |  |
| Advances made |  |  |  |  |
| General Secretary A. I. C. C. ... | 14,667 14 |  |  |  |
| Akali Publicity Bureau ... | 2,628 3 |  |  |  |
| Guru Ka Bag Enquiry Committee | 2,586 4 |  |  |  |
| Assam Opium Enquiry Committee | 750 |  |  |  |
| Emigrant's Enquiry Committee... | 150 |  |  |  |
| Buddha Gaya Enquiry Committee | 50 |  |  |  |
| Inspecting Auditor ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | 1,100 0 | 21,932 | 6 |  |
| Loan: All India Khadi Board (Tamil Nadu adjustment) | ...... | 15,000 | 0 |  |

THE ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARJAYA FUND
Statement of Reccipts and Disburscanerts fromi 11th Dacmber 1924 to 31st
Novernler 1925-(Contd).

C. H. SHAH,

Accointant.
REVASHANKER JAGJIVAN.
Hon. Working Treastiver

## AUDITORS' CERTIFICATE.

We beg to report that all our requirements as auditors have been complied with.

We certify that in our opinion the above return of receipts and disbursements exhibits a true and correct view of the state of the All India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund's affairs according to the best of our information and explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the above Fund.

We have examined investments.

70, Medows Street, Fort,
Bombay, 15th December 1925

DALAL \& SHAH,
A. J. C. C. Auiditors.

## THE ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND

The Income and Ex fernditurc Account for the Period from 11-12-2 4 to 30-11-25.


# THE ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND 

Balance Shect as at 30th November 1925.


## पशताचना।

कानपुर कांग्रेत कमिटी ने प्राf्नित कांग्रेश कमिटी से घ्रार्थचा की थी कि वह १९२४ की कंग्रेत को कानपर के लिये निमंत्रित करे। २८ दिसंतर 1९२४ को, वे लगांव कांप्रेत का अधिवेश़न समाप होते ही, भाß इंडिया कंप्रेत कमेटी ने यह तय किया कि संगुक्त प्रान्त का निमंत्रता स्वीकार किया जाय भ्रैर कांपेल का श्रगामी अधिवेशन कानपर में हो। 9 फ़रसरी ९९२९ को माखाडी विद्यालय में, कानपर के नागरिकों की एक सार्वजनिक सभा हुई। उस समा द्वारा कानपुर के निवासियों ने कांग्रे का स्वागत किया और्रैर कांगेत अधिवेशन की तैपारी की बातों पर विचार किया। इस के बाद ही प्रान्तक कांप्येल कमेटी द्वारा एक अस्षायी स्वागत समिति बनायी गयी। डा० मुरारीलालजी इस के संयोजक (कनीीनर) निर्वाचित हुए। तीन कमेटियां बनायी गयीं। एक चंदा जमा करने के लिये, दूसरी रिसेप्श्श कमेटी के मेंतर बनाने के लिये और तीसरी वालंटियर भरती करने के लिये। श्रीयुत गंगधर गणेश जोग को वालंटिघों के संगठन का काम सौंपा गया। कर्नाङ के श्रीयुन पंडित श्रारम्म ही से सुल्रा लिये गये। उन्होंने बेल्यांव कांग्रे में बड़ी अच्छी तरह काम किया था। इस घकार स्वंय-सेवकों की भरती करने और उन्हें शिक्षा देने के काप का श्चारम्म बहुत श्न्डी तरह हुझा। $१ २$ अभैल को पंडित जवाहरहाल नेहरू ने वांखंटियों का पहिला ट्रेंनिंग कें कावम किया। $\rho$ घगस्त को रिसेव्रान कमेटी के मेंक्रों की ए币 बैठक हुई औौर कार्व कारिणी - समिति और पदाधिकारियों का निर्वाचन हुआ। कार्य कारिणी किमटी को ध्रकिकार दिशा गया कि वह् उवस्समितियों का निवाधचन करे और उन के लिये मेंत्री. चुने। कार्य कारिणी कमिटी ने कई उप समितिदां बनायों जिनकी तालिका श्रुत में दी हुई है।

रिसे प्रन कमिटी को धारम्भ ही से, वांमें के लिये जगह हूँबने में कितनी ही कठिाइयों का सामना करना पड़ा। हमारी नजर पहिले सीसामऊ नाम के स्वान पर पड़ी। यहु स्यान इइन्मूपेमेन्ट ट्न्ट्ट के आधीन था किन्तु पास ही कूड़े की भरती की जमीन थी और वहां पानी का भी श्रन्ठा प्रचन्ष नहीं हो सकता था। इसलिए उस स्थान के लेने का बिचार त्याग देना पड़ा। इल के बाद अन्य कई स्थानों परे नज़र गयी। किन्दृ सरकारी अधिकारी द्मारे किरद्ध थे। उनके काएए हमें सफल्ता नहीं मिल्री। अंत में, फलतु के मुभाविजे और इस्पूवेन्ट ट्रिट के किराये के रूप में एक बड़ी रकम देने के घाद हमने वह ज़मीन प्रात की जहां कंग्रित का अधिवेरान हुआ। किन्तु इस में भी एक काठनाई का सामना करना पड़ा। इन्मूवेण्ट टस्ट के यूरोपयन सदन्यों ने, जिनमें उिस्ट्रिक्यनजिन्ट्रेट भी ज्ञामिल थे, इस ब्ञात का
 भी घह तथय किया कि वह ज़मीन कंयेंस के हिये न दी जाय। रिसेपशान कमेटटी ने डा० तेजबहादुर समू से काननी सलाह ली। उनकी यह राय थी कि मुभ्याविज़ा दे चुकने के बादद रिसेपशन कमेटी को ज़मीन इस्तेमाल करने का पूरा हक है। हम लोगों ने भी यह निक्षय कर हि.या या कि कंप्रेम का अधिवेशन उसी भूमि पर होगा। इस घ्रकार डा० समू की कान्नी राय, अपने दढ़ निश्यय और इन्मूपमेण्ट ट्रन्ट के चेयरमैन राय चहादुर बादू भानन्द्वर्वरू और नगर के लगभग सभी प्रतिधित भागरिकों कीं Fहानुभूर्ति से, श्रंत में, यह ज़मीन हमें मिल्री। यहां पर यह कह देना हम भवना कर्तर्च्य समभते हैं कि जब कि भनेक प्रभावशाली यूरोपियन उस चात का विरोष कर रहे थे कि वहां पर कांप्रे का अधिवेशान न किया जाय, पास पड़ोस के रहनेवले ऐसे भी चई यूरोपियन सजन थे जिन्होंने खुले तौर से आकर कहा था कि हमें उस ज़मीन पर कांग्रेप के अधिवेशन के किये जाने में कोई एतराज़ नहीं है।

ज़मीन प्राप्त करने की इन कठिनाइों ने हमें स्वर्गीय पं. अयोष्यानाय जी की इसी प्रकार की उन कठिनाइयों की याद दिखाषी जो उनहं कंश्रेत्रे के भारम्भ के दिनों में हलाहाइाद में कांप्रेत करने के लिये न्यान खोजने में उठानी पडी थीं।





























अवसर था। उनकी कर्तक्य－परायणता की यद् बहुत्ता कठिन परीक्षा थी । किन्त्व षन्यवाद है उनकी कर्तन्य－निष्ठां को कि उन्होंने बड़ी योग्यता से अवस्या को संभाल ल्रिया। उस समय यू० पी० के हेलीगेट भी एक बड़ी तादाद में स्पेशल वालन्टियर बन कर आगे बढ़े। वालयिटयरों को उन से बहुत सहायता मिली। यह सं सजन—जो वालण्टिर थे，और जो समय पड़ने पर वालंटियर बन गये थे，श्रौर दिन्दुस्तानी सेशा दत्र के संचालक मि० हार्डिकर，जिन्होंने कंग्येल ；की सफलता के लिये，रात दिन काम किया，रिसेपरान कमेटी के घन्यवाद और वृतज्ञा के पात्र हैं।

रिसेपशन क．मेट़ी के सद⿸厂्यों की संख्या १२८७ थी। ：प्रछिवेशेन में सम्मिलित होनेवाले प्रतिनिषियों की पूरी संख्या रिपोर्टे के अत में दी गयी है। वहीं उनके सम्बन्व की जानने योग्य अन्य बातें मी मिलेंगी। किसानों，साधुओं，राजनैतिक पीड़ितों और दूलित जातियों के ल्रोगों में २००० से अधिक टिकट मुक्त बादे गये । संथाल परगना तथा श्यासपास के अन्य वहाड़ी सथार्नों से 以० आद्मियों का एक जत्था पैदु चल कर कानपर श्भाया था। इन लोगों को रहने की जगह औौर दर्रान टिकट मुफ्त दिगे ग़ये।

स्वदेशी पदर्शिनी का उद्वाटन म．गांधी ने किया था। दर्शों की खासी भीड़ रहती थी। दर्शई－टिकट का मूब्प केवल ।）था，और वह् भी २८ दिसंत्र के वाद $\Rightarrow$ कर दिया गया था। प्रदर्रानी की मुरू्य वन्तु खादी थी झो श्रवने भिन्न भिन्न रूप में प्रदर्शित की गयी थी। पिछले वर्षौ．में खाढ़ी की किस भ्रकार उम्नतिः हुई，यह प्रदर्शित करने के लिये भी कुछ चीज़े प्रदर्शिनी में रखी गयी थीं।：इन चीज़ों को देख कर उनलोगों के द्वदय फूले नहीं समाते ये，जो इस बात् वरः विभ्षास करते हैं कि यह् पवित्र वस्तु देश के जन－समुदाय को ऊंचा उठाने के लिये एक शक्ति－राली सांधन है 1；भाएतीय चश्रा संघ ने प्रदर्शेनी के खाढ़ी विभागः का संघठन करने में बड़ी सहायता दी । खास कर पतला स सूत कातने，और उससें． कषड़ा बुनने के प्रर्रान में संघ से बड़ी सहायता मिली पूदर्शिनी की दूसरी： ख़ास बात उसका चित्र कला－मवन था । इसकी सफलना का साराः श्रेय काइी के श्रीयुक्त रामकुष्ण दास को है।

डेलिगोटों को ग्ने के लिये तम्बुओं का प्रक््ध किया गया था। साधारणतया कंश्रेस के अधिवेशरनों में बननेगाली भोपड़ियों की अपेक्षा यह तम्बू अधिक पुविशाजनक श्रौर सुलवद्र सिद्ध हुए । जिन लोगों ने पहिले ही से सुचना दी थी उनके लिये २० बंगले भी किराये पर लिये गये थे। घह ंगले बहुत दूर दूर तक कैके हुए थे, धौर स्वागत समिति को उनके प्रात करने और
 कहना पड़ता है कि इस प्रश्न्ध ने रिसेपशन कमेटो को न केवठ बड़ी अभुविषा ही दी, वल्कि बहुत से अनावरायक गहो खर्ई में मी डाला।

नियम में तददीली हो जाने के कारण डेलीगोटों की फीस 30 ) से परा कर १) हो गयी है। यह नियम पहिले पहिले कानपुर में ही बनमल में आया। यह हमरे अधिकार की बात नहीं है कि हम प्रतिनिषि गुनक के संबन्च में टीकाहिव्धणी करें, किन्तु हप यह वहना चाहते हैं कि फीस के इतना अधिक कम कर देने से भ्भागे रिसेपशान कमेटियों की कठिनाइ्यां और बढ़ जायँगी।

अंत में, इस श्रवसरे पर, रिसेपश्न कमेटी की ओर से हम कानgर तथा प्रान्त के श्रन्य स्थानों के कार्य कर्ताओं के प्रति हार्दिक कृत्जता प्रकट करते हैं। भनेक विघ बाषाकों के होते हुल भी रिसेपरान कमेटी को जो कुछ सफलता मिली वह इन कार्य कर्ताओं की कार्य-त्त्परता और सहायता की बदौल्त मिली। हम कानपर न्युनिसिपल बोर्डं के भी भामरी हैं। उसने तिलक नगर की सफ़ाई करने और भासपास की सड़के छिड़काने और उनमें रोशानी करने में ब्र्यभग १३०००) खर्च किये।

गणेरांकर विग्रार्थी<br>श्रीक्गपद्त पालीवाल<br>रफ़ी अद्मद किदवईई<br>मंत्री





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दें कि मैं अप्येज़ी ज़ान में तक्ररीर करूं मैं आपको इत्रमिनान दिलाती है कि में ऐसा एक एंत्र भी न वहूँ'ी नो श्राप के ज्ञान के खिलाफ़ हो या श्राप की उन उमीद़ों के खिलाफ़ हो जो हमारी कौम से रली जती है या जो स्वराज्य के लिये खतरा हो और भाप के मुल्क की इन्ज़त व आवक को नेक्त करे ।

जो हिन्दू और मुलिम्मान के इच्तहात की भूख को पैदा करे जो ग़रीव ब. गुखा वैदा करें जो तहरीर हमारी ताकत को पैद़ा करे वह सब र्वाहिरों और र्वालत मैं स习 दुनिया के सामने इ्जहार करना चाहती हू इसलिये आप मुले माफ़
 के दुरमन हैं औौर जो साप की नाइृत्राऩी की वनह से जो भाप की ग़फ़रत की वनह से जो भाप की नतवानी की वजह से जो अ्राप की दुर्देशा की वनह से गुलुमी में खक्खे हमेशा गुल्रामी में रखना चाहें मगर, अगर भाप और हम भाज प्रतिज्ञा कर ले, कमम खाले——हाथों को उठा कर खड़े हो कर—तो भाज के दिन से हमारी गुणुमी खतम हो जाय जिस शहर में रानी लक्ष्मी बाई वैदा हुई थी उस शाहो में भान
 एक औरत हृं। मगर उसी जाति की हुं जिस की सीता देवी थीं, जो कि इसी मध्यदेश्र में छभवा राज्य छोड़ कर बियावान में राम के ताथ गई थी। में उस जाति की हूँ जित जांति की सावित्रो थीं जिस ने यम के मज़बूत्त जगददन्त हाथों से श्रवने पति की श्रावरू दुजारा लौटा कर दुनिया में द्रकाश किया था मैम बही जाति की हूं जित जाति की रानी लक्ष्मी बाई थीं जित ने अवने नान्चीज़ और नातवान हाथों में कौम की इज्ञत रखे हुई थी। जिन नातवान हाथों से भूल झुलुखाया करती थीं उसी नातवान हाथों से वह सन छड़े कर कौमी मंड़ा हाथ में लेकर कहती हूं 'अाजादी और स्वर्ज्य बरना मौत हमेशा के लिये'।
(इसके परचा़ देवी जी ने अंप्रेज़ी में अ्यना व्वाएवयान दिया)
तरंश्रात सभानेत्री ने शोक्रदद्र प्रस्ताव पेश किया जित को सबों ने खड़े होकर समर्थन किपा।

महार्मा गांधी ने दल्क्षण सभीका का प्रन्ताब पेश करते हुए हिन्दी में कहा: -
सरोजनी देवी, बहिनो और भाइयो, आप सं रान्त्त हो जाइये जो प्रस्ताव में




























पैसा इकका कर लेते हैं तो इनका सबत यह है कि उन लोगों के साथ वहां के गोरे लोग और बहां के ह्र्री लोग जो वहां के रहने वाले हैं वह दोनों उनके साथ क्यापार करते हैं अन्बल एक लाख या डेढ़ लाख हिन्दी व्यापरी की श्रावादी वहां भापल में इनना व्वापार नहीं कर सहती कि जिससे सैकटों हिन्दीं का व्यापार हो सके, लेकिन वहां के गोरे और उबशी लोग भी हमरे हिन्दी के साथ व्यापार करते हैं इसलिये उन लोगों से जाकर कुछ पैसा इकका कर लेते हैं। इस को बद्दास्त जो बड़े २ गोरे हैं करते हैं हेकिन कुष कर नहीं 队कते औौर जो गोरे व्यापारी उनसे मी व्यापर बर्दास्त नहीं कर सक्रते बह अदावत के कारेल और रंग हेपे से। दक्षिए अभ्रीका में एक कानृत घह भी है कि पीले काले गेढूँओं के बरन ऐसे लोगोंको पूरा हक नहीं दिया जाय, उनको गुलभी में ही रख़ा जाय घह उस का श्रनुचाद है तो इस हालतमें जो कानून अब पेश करने वाले हैं.उस का नतीजा यही कि चन्दब्यापारी जो वहां उवावार कर रहे हैं या चन्द वैरिष्टर भी थोड़े उाकटर लोग भी उन लोगों को दक्षिए अभीका छोड़ना चाहिये। सन से दर्दनाक बात तो यह है कि वहां के ैैदाइइरी लोग भी डा० अब्दुक्त ग्मान ने उनके लिये अखवारों में लिखा है इस के बाद उनके साथ दूसरे मी जो वहां दन्जिए अभीका में वैदा हुये हैं एक जिनका नाम मि० जेम्स गाड़फे है जो वहीं बसे, जिन्होंने वही इल्म पाया, इस मौके पर पहले पहल हिन्दुस्तान को देखा है उन को भी यहीं ॠंना पड़ेग। यह इस कानुन का नतीजा होता है इस कानून को न बदी़ित्त किया ध्रौं न हैम कर सकते हैं।

तो इस प्रहताद में दो तीन बातें बताई गई हैं एक बात तो यह है कि $२ ९$ १ 3 की साए में वहां की सरकाए हमारे लोग उनके बीच थोड़ा सा इकराइ हो गया। उत में में घरीफ़ हुं इस कारण उस को 'स्मटस-गान्धी इक्रार' कहा जाता है। उसमें लिखा
 भी अमल घंत्र ऐसा कि,या जायाा जिस से हम लोगों को कुछ दुःख न होगा। हम कोई मया कानुन ऐसा नहीं चाहते जिससे ज्यादा कह ज्यादा ईजा बर्दास्त करनी पड़े लेकिन वहां दन्तिए अभीका का इतिहास तो यह है कि इस प्रतिझा को साउप अ्रफीका सरकार ने एक वक्त, दो तीन वक्त या ज्याद्व: वक्त, भंग किया। घह उनका भाखिरी हद हो गया। ऐसा कानून है-इसलिये में अपने लोगों के नज़दीक में वरों से

कहता हूँ, तीस वर्ष पहले हमारे लोगों को ट्रिंसबाल में दुःख या। उस वत्त ट्रान्मवाल रिपषिलक थी तो वहां के साथ संग्रेज़ी सरकार ने बात कर ली हिन्दुस्तानी दृटिश रैषत को इतना दुख नहीं दिया जाय और इस बारे में एक कानून भी था और उस कानृन का माने क्या किया जाय। इस बारे में श्रेंज़ी़ी हलतनत और वहां की बड़ी सरकार दोनों के बीच घह फैसला हुआ कि इस बारे में एक पंचायत बनाई जाय। इस बोरे में घह लिखा गया कि भगर वहां की सरकार न्याय करना चाहती है तो षंचायत से अभी भी न्याय किया जाय। अगर इस ब्ञात को वहां की सरकार मन्ज्ञार कर ले तो वहां तरन्वार अुक जाय; ऐेकिन मुझ को. डर है कि हम में कुछं भी ताकत नहीं तो साफ काम और जो न्वाय है, इन्माफ़ है, वह स₹कार नहीं करेगी। दूसरी घात भी, इसमे कहा है कि ज३ सरोजनी देढ़ी चहां से ईस्ट सभीका में मेजी गई तो उन्होंने अद्धुत काम कर हिया। वहां के अंग्रेज़ लोगों ने भी उनकी तारीफ की और वहां की सरकार पर भी सरोजनी देवी का बड़ा असर ह्रुभा। सरोजनी देवी ने उस सलत्तनत से यह कहा कि अच इस घरे में
 वक्त ऐसी उम्मीद की जाती थी कि उसे वहां की सक्षार कन्नूल कर लेगी उस वक्त वहां के ऐेचर गर्नमेण्ट के मिनिएटर टामस वहां चलेगये और जब उन्होंने इस जात को सोच लिखा तब उन्होंने भी कहा कि यह ब'त सही है और मैं भी यही सलाह देना चाहता हू कि इस मामले में राउप्टेतु कान्फेर्म किया जाय तो अचछा हो; या इस प्रत्ताब में यह भी कहा गया है कि अगर राउण्टेनुल कान्फेरन्व न करें तो पंचादत में फैलला कर ले, हमारा काम निषट जाय। ऐसी सीधी बात कही गई और तीसरी बात कही कि श्रगर यह दोनों बाते न हो से और सरकार इनकार करे तो विरिश सरकार का फ़र्ज है कि यहां के गर्नर्र जनरल को वह हुक्म भेज दें कि उस पर बादगांह के नाम से दसतबत न देदें । वहां का एक कानून है कि. केई भी कायदा कोई भी कानूत रंग भेद या जाति भेद का हो या एक कौम और दूसरे कौम के बीच भेद किया जाव ऐसे कानून पर ज₹ तक
 झतनी बात हो कि कमसे कम पार्लियमेण्ट इसे मंजूर न करे या चहां का गवर्नर जनरल






















 $1 \frac{8}{1}$ 促到 1 今



दिल में थोड़ा सा भी इत्तहाद हो जाय तो श्रभी सत्याग्रह करें। मैं भाष को इतमिनान दिलाता हूं कि गो में अभी मुद्र होगया हूं अगर सुफ को अतना इत्वमिनान हो जाय तो समभ रखे भाज जैसा मुर्दी बन गया हुं तो किर जिन्दा हो सकता हूं और दक्षिण आफ्फिका के लिये सत्व्यम्यह कर स₹ता हूं। इ्तना श्राके घ्रत्ताव के माने हैं। और श्राप भगर इस म्न्ताइ को मंजूर करना चाहते हैं तो भाप इस
 की श्ञाज्ञा लेका थोड़ा भाषण घंभेजी में वहना चाहता हूं। अंयेनी में कहना कोई मुभे पतन्द बात नहीं लेकिन हमोर् भाई डा० अश्दुर्दहमान् नो हिन्दी नहीं जानते वह भी कुछ सुनलेले। औौर वहां की सरकार जो मुम को अन्की तरह जानती है वह भी मुझझो जानले । इसलिये जो कुछ मैंने कहा है उसका अनुवाद दूटी फूडी अगरेजी में बहूंगा। आप जानते हैं कि हमारे भाई एण्डूू्ज वहा चले गये हैं उअका तार हमेशा हमारे पात् आता है। आज भी दो तार अाये हैं। ऐेकिन उस का मतलघ में आपके सामने नहीं कहना चाहता क्योंकि 尹्यन बहुत समय चल गदा। इ्तना कह कर थोड़ा भाषए में अंश्रेज़ी में भाप को सुनादूं।

इसी प्रस्ताव के समर्थन में मुह्म्मद अली ने हिन्दी भाषण किया।
बहिनो औौर भाइयो, श्राप ने न सिर्म हिन्दुस्तान के सब से बड़े सख्श की तकरीर घुनखी बल्क आजा दुनिया साउय अफीका के ममले पर सन से बड़े export की तकरीर भी सुन ली। में इस रिजुल्युरन के किसी हिस्से पर न कुख कहना चाहता हूं और न कुछ कहने की जरूतत समभता हूं। सिर्फ आप हजरात से भाप बहिनों और भाइओं से अृतना पूत्वता हूं कि जो हाइत हमरे बहिनों और भाई़यों की साउय अभीका में हो रही है श्रौर उससे ज्यादः जो हालत होने वाली है . उसका रूपाल करने के बाद क्या आप़े दिलों परे कुछ भसर नहीं होता? भगर इसका कुछ भी असर इतना सा भी भसर आपके दिल में होता तो श्राज यह हिन्दू-मुसलमानों का भगडा हिन्दुस्तान को बर्बाद न करता। अगर इतना सा भी श्यर श्रापके दिलों में होता तो आज हिन्दुस्तान भर में चरखा चलता होता और ७० करोड रुपया जो बाहर चला जाता है भापके हिन्दुन्तान

से बाहर न जाता श्यौर हमारे गरीब माईयों में जट जाता श्रगर आपके दिलों में तिनके के बराइर ₹्रसर होत। तो हिन्दुस्तान में छः करोड अछ्कूत जाति न होती। जन अप अपने हिन्दुस्तान म̈ छ: करोड को श्रछूत समझते हैं तो औरों से क्या उमीद रखते हैं ? हमì भाई डा० घ्यद्दुलर्टहमान जो यहां बैठे हैं उनको श्याप क्या जबाब देंगे ? हमने छोटे War fronts बाह्सण-अब्राहण श्रौर ऊंच और अछ्छूत लोगों के कायम कर लिये हैं। हमने छोटी २ पार्टियां No-changers, changers, responsivecooperaters, Swarяjists वैगरहह की कायम कर रखी हैं। हमारी लड़ाई से फुरसत ही नहीं और हम जनूवी ग्रफीका की लड़ाई लड़नी चाहते हैं। मैं श्रापको क्या तसह्धी दे सकता हुँ? मुझ़ से रुस्तम जी ने जिन का अन्तकाल हो गया कहा था कि भाई, महात्मा गान्षी तो बेचारे धीमे आदूमी है वह बातों से किसी को धमकी या किसी के दिल में खौफ पैदा नहीं करते । तुम चाहते हो कि कुछ ऐसी बातें कहें जिससे उनके दिलों दहहतत पैदा हो मगर आप में क्या है जिससे साऊॅ अफीका के गोरे क्या एक मच्छर के दिल में ज़रा सा भी खौफ वैद़ा हो। अगर तुम गोरों के दिलों में खौफ पैदा करना चाहते हो तो खौक खुदा का अवने दिलों में पैदा करो। चरखा हाथ में, श्रघ्डूत को छूत्त बनाश्रो, दुनिया में श्रवने लिये आजाद़ी हासिल करो। हम कहते हैं बतीस करोड़ भाई और बहिन किसी के गुलाम नहीं। हम लोग दुनिया के पांचवे हिस्से है हम लोग कहते हैं हमको श्राज़ाद होना चाहिये। दुनिया में इतनी बड़ी तादाद कहीं गुलाम नहीं है। हम चार भाई जिस दिन पांचर्वे भाई से न भगड़ंगे एक मजह习 एक धर्म में इत्तफाक रखेगा एक दूसेरे से मिल कर रहे हैं उसके बाद हम गोरों के दिल में खौफ और दहसत पैदा कर सहते हैं ।

एक बात चाहता हुं अगर श्राप कहें तो भ्रापकी तरफ से और श्राप न कंहे तो अपनी तरफ से आप भाइयों से कहता हुं। यह जात चाहतl हुं कि $\{E \uparrow\}$ की सत्याप्रह के बाद मैंने, जो लण्डन मे था, कहा कि यदि साउथ अफि,का के गोरे इस ताकत को जानते हैं कि आप को मारे या मारने का खौफ सं के दिलों में डाले लेकिन दुनिया में नत्री और बली पहले भी हो गये हैं और एक बली और नबी दुनिया में भाज आया है जो जो हर एक यूरोपीय को नलीहत्त दे कि एक कूवत जो दुनिया के तमाम कूखतों से बड़ी है वह है Readiness to die मरने के लिये

## प्रथमदिबस।

आमादगी। तुप आज अपनी तोपों से नहीं उडा सकते अवने हघाई जहाज़ों से नहीं डा सकते। तुम्हारी गैस से नहीं डोगा वहां सौौफ़े ख़ुदा-एक ऐनी चीज़ वैदा हो गयी है और वह गह कि Our determinat:on to die में तो अपनी नज़र बन्दी के ज़माने में कह चुछा हूं श्रैर, भाज भी कहता हे कि ३२ करोड़ अदमी हिन्दुस्थान में रहते हैं और अगर उनमें से १२ आदुमी भी इसकी यकीदी करके खडे होजांय तो खुदा की कमम हिन्दुद्वान की Maximium Dimand पूरी हो जाय। मेरी एक जान मौनूद है। दक्षिण अफिकात के लिये मरने को में तैपार हू। भगर इन कीज से कुछ बौफे खुदा दिए में भाजाय तो मेरा यंह तकमा बने।""We shall win because we are determined to die".

यह प्रस्ताव सर्वस्मति से स्वीकृत हुच्रा। इसके बाद प्रथम दिभत की कर्रवाई खतम हुँ 1

## द्रितीय दिवस २७-१२-२५।

गान-₹न्द्वेवातरम्,
एक महाराय द्वारा—कवितापाठ
Resolution on Bengal Ordinance
ढा० सत्यवालने इसका हिन्दो में समर्थन क्रिया-सभानेत्रीजी, बहिनो और भाइयों, जिस रिजुल्युरान की त़ाईद के लिये मैं आप के सामने खड़ा हुत्रा हूं वह ंगाल के बहादुरों की याद़ ताजा करता है जो इस जाविर और जालिम अहकाम के नादिर शाही हुभम की बजह से भाज अपने घरों से बाहर कर के जेल खानों में बन्द् कर दियेये गपे हैं। हमें इП मामिले में जरा भं ताज्जुच नहीं कि गवर्वमेंट ने इन मासूम श्च।दृ[मयों को उनकी आजादी से महरूम कर दिया । वह गर्वन्नमेंट एक भरेसा दर्राज़ से एक बड़ी लम्त्री मुद्दृत से इन बातों की आद़ी हो गई है कि जिन लोगों में मातृभुमि का पेम इस गवन्मेंेंट ने देखा उनको कुचलने में अपनी ताऋत भर बाज़ न आई ।

पंजाब के मार्शूल्र्ञा के दर्दुनाक बयान क्या हम मूल गये ? गवर्नमेंट के हुक्मों ने हमारे माहूम भादृमियों पर गोलियां चलाई। इस कसुर के लिये कि उनमें देश पेम था; ये हम क्या भूल गये ? हमारे नवजवानों को टिकटिकी पर डाल कर बेहोश किता, इसलिये कि उन के दिलों में देश का ेेम था। श्रीमान सेन गुपा ने साफ बतलाया है कि बंगाल में जहां अ्याधीरात को तलाशी लीगई तो एक भी कोई ऐसी चीज बरामद नहीं हुई जिस से कोई जुर्म साञित हो। मि० बेलोवी के ही कुछ इल्जाम हगाये हैं तो मि० सेन गुप्ता के चैलेंज को मंजूर करें किसी का सवूत पेश करे, किसी पर भी थोड़ा सा भी जुल्म साबित करें सामने मैद्ढान में कोई सावूत दे मैं उसे चैलेंज करता हृं लेकिन अंग्रेज यह जान कर ही अपने इकराइ से फिर गये। मगर में घह कहता हुं। कि ह्मार वीरों की जितनी ही मासुमियत होगी उतनी जल्दी हिंदुस्तान की भाजाढ़ी का दर्शान आप को हो सकता है। जितना ही
18













 वे घगर जियेंगे तो श्राजाद होकर नहीं तो मरना बेहतर है।








श्रीयुत ₹वामुन्द्य चक्रवर्ति ने काा—

18


येई झो Ordinance Resolution है उस को हडताल कांप्रेस के सामने लाने में हम ज जो अ्रवने : दिल का निशाना देते हैं उसको मालूम यह है कि- हर द्व Ordinance होगा जो Ordinance करता है उसके ऊभर ज़रा भी रिकायत नहीं हैं वो तो एक ज़ालिम है वह तो श्राप को सताने भाया है। वह तो हर अाददी को नाश करने केलिये श्रपना हुकुप बहाए करता है लेकिन हम लोगों का जोर कहां है कि हर साल येई Ordinance को देता है।: तुम तों दिहली करने भाया है। सेन गुप्ता, जयकर, सत्यपाल जो दुख बतलाये उसके लिये तुम क्या करने को तैयार हो ? मैं एक दफा नहीं, दो द़का गहीं, तीन दफा नहीं, चार दफा नहीं, पांचं दफा येई Ordinance कां तकलीफ़ सहा। लेकिन हम देखा कि जन ंगाल में दो हज़ार श्रादमी मौल़ाना भाजाद साहच श्रौर मैं श्रौर कितने लड़के कैद होगये बंगाल तक भी पोलीटिकल लीड़र श्रावाज़ नहीं उठाया। आज तन क्या तक्ररीर करते हो। हमारा बर्तव देखकर हमें एक किस्सा याद आता है। एक स्वामी ने उसके जी:्री से फ्रगड़ा था और वह बातन्चीत बन्द्द कर्र दिया लेकिन जश आतचीत घन्द् कर अपना २ काम चले गये शौहर आकर कहा 'मैं तो तासु बोले नाई' बीवी से बोला 'मैं तो बोले नेई खाना पकाये कोई' जंत प₹्नी ने खानां पका लिया तो उन्होंने आकरकहा 'मैं तो तासू बोले नेई जेवे कोई' जब खाना का वखत होगयां तब स्वामी ने कहां 'मैं तो तासू बोले नेई सेज बहावे कोई' तो जन सेज होगया तब उन्होंने कहा ‘में तो तास बोले नेई सोवे कोई्'। अप़ने कुछ English में कहकर अपना भावया समात किया।

डाकटर अ-सारी ने कहा:-
जनाब सदर चहिनो और भाइयो, १९१९ में गवर्नमेंट ने जंग की मदढ़ के मावजे में रौलट ऐकट का इनाम दिया था लेकिन उस के जवा₹ में हिन्दुस्तान ने एक ऐसा मझवूत सकजेहती सबूत दिखाया कि रौलट ऐक्ट जो व कायदा पास हो चुका चा बिल्कुल कल अद्रप हो गया बतिक उस यक्ज हेदी के वजह से तमाम तिन्दुस्तान ने कम से कम इतना जबरदस्त कदू भागे बदाया कि एक सदी पीछे भी नहीं बढ़ाया था। भांज बंगाल आार्डिनेन्म पास हो चुका श्रैंर नेहायत ख़री के साथ तमाम

हिन्दुप्तान के लोग कैठकर उसे पुने हैं। यहां रिजुल्युरन पास होता है औरं जरा भी असरे मुल्क पर नहीं होता। क्या भाप लोगों के रु्याल में इस का संच भाता है？में तो सिर्फे एक सं习 समभता हूं वह यह कि हमारे और श्राप के भमाल और करूतु में फर्क था भाज हिन्दू सभा के प्लेटकार्म से मुसएम्मानों को तिल्कुल श्यह्ददा कर देने का मुतालवा भाता है तो तन्जीम के पे प्रेफार्म से हिन्दुओं को डंडा सिकन कर देने का जवा घ1ता है। ईमाई अपने हामी मजहती लोगों कों वोट देने के लिये जोर देते हैं और ग्राहनन नान－वालन，एक दूनरे से ताश्रहुक रखना नहीं चाहते । में कहता हूं कि जिस मुलक में यह ज़जबात बढ़ रहे हैं，जिस मुल्क में ऐसी नफरत फूट और अल्द्धगी हो तो क्या ताभजुब कि बंगार् अर्भिंमे से झतने भादमी जेळ जायं। सचत्रो यह है कि आपकी और भी ज्यादा सजा की ज़ाय जब आप के दिभाग में ग्राये कि ह्म को एक दूसरे से मिल कर श्राजादी के लिये मर मिटने की ज़रूरत है।

विरादरान，में आप से बहूंगां कि अगर आप लोग इस निहभ को महस्मू कर संकते तो इस के बजह को दूर करें। ज⿰习习क श्राप झ्ष नफरत को，वाखतलावं को दूर नहीं करेंगे ऐसी जिल्ख्यें क्या इस से बढ़ कर जिल्लते कावेगी और में कहूँगा कि भाप उस के मुमतहक होंगे।

बा० पुरोत्तम राय ने काः ：－
ड्रीमती सभानेनी，घहननाँ और माइयो，इस बंगाल भारडिनेन्म के घ्न्ताव पर जितने नेताओं ने भाष्या दिये हैं हस के चाद हमारे पात ऐसा कोई घाब्द नहीं है जो में अ्रपनी ओर से इस के बारे में कह संक्रे हैंकन में इ्वना अव₹प कहता हूँ कि के दैर यह proceeding में रखने के लिये है या यह प्रस्ताव आप लोगों के सम्मुख रख कर इस की उमीद करे कि यह देश में जागृति पैदा करेगा। भाताम के गुपधिन्तक लोगों को गो बंगाल भार्डिनेन्स से arrest हु؟ उन को हम मुक्त कर संके । गंतब बर्ष बेलगांब में देराइन्बु दास ने जिम शब्दों से इस प्रस्ताव को उपस्थित किया था उस प्रक्ताव को अगर हमने एक वर्ष मनन किया होता तो भाज इस अन्ताव को पुन： उपधित करने की अाक्यकता न हुई होती। शापनो में बतल्गना चाहता हूं कि यह

गबर्नेमेट ऐसे आदुमियों को चुन २ कर गिरक्तार करना चांही है जो अ्यवने को माता की सनतन्र्ता के लिये बल्दिदान करते हैं। मुझे तो आम्थर्य है कि गवर्नमेंट ने पं० जवाहर लल को क्यों नहीं arrest किया। में तो चाहता हूं कि हिन्दुस्तान में जितने काम करने वाले हैं उन्हें पकड़कर गवर्नमेंट बंद़ कर दे। लेकिज में कह्ता हूं कि चाहे सूर्र्य की किरणें या भाग में इन्हें तपा ले पइ्तु ये देश के शुपर्चन्तक बृट्टिश गनर्नमेंट को देश से जड़ से उखाड़ दे और वे लोग जन आंखों से आंसू नहीं, खूून चहावेंगे तो आप समझ़ सकते हैं कि श्रार्डिनेन्त से हो ही क्या सक्ता है। जितने अच्छे झ्रादमी होते हैं उन को गर्वर्मेंट ऐसी अवस्था में नज़रचन्दू कर देती है और कई वर्षो तक बन्द्द रख कर उनका स्वाए्ज्य विगाड़े देती है। गआर्नमेंट जित नीति से काम कर रही है उसे आप अचछी तरह जानते हैं । मुसे आाइचर्य है कि जालियान वाला बाग के लिये आवरोते हैं। गचर्नर्मेट को condemn करते हैं, श्रफसोस!

मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान के नवयुक्कों को वह काम करना चाहिये जिस से गर्नरमेंट को मालृम हो जाय कि देशा में कोई ऐला हिन्दुनतानी घफचा नहीं जो देश की स्वतंत्रता के किये श्रपने को बहिदान न कर दे। गवर्नमेंट ने सुभामनन्द् बोस को न्युनिसिपालटो के नाते और श्री अनिल्ररन राय को बंगाल पोविनिशाघल कंग्रेस कमिटी के नाते अरेस्ट किया और उन भोले भाले नवयुक्कों को गिरफ्तार किगा क्योंकि देश के लिगे हिक कुछ दे देते थे जिससे मालुम हो कि हमोरे यह भाई
 जान २ कर उन लोगों पर कोई न कोई दोष लगाया करती है।

में तो चाहता हूं श्राज इस क्छेटफर्म से बुलंद़ श्रावाज में कोई ऐली घोषणा होनी चाहिये कि दूसरे वर्ष हम ऐसा रिसोल्यूशन नहीं करेंगे चल्कि हम लोग कुछ ऐसा प्रस्ताव कर ले जिस से हम ह्मरा नेताओं को यह सबूत दे कि उन के जेल में जाने पर हम लोगों ने क्या किया है । मैं तो चाहता हूं कि बंगाल का श्रार्डिनेन्स का, हिन्दुषतान का भार्डिनेन्म हो जाय औरते हम लोगों को कोई ऐसा काम करना चाहये जिससे वे जेऋ में न रहें, चाहे वह अहिसात्माक हो या हिसात्मक।

लाला लाजपतराय ने गुस्द्यार कमेटी के संबन्ध में प्रन्ताव उपरिथत करते हुरे कहाःदेवीजी, बहिनो, और भाइयो, जो प्रस्ताव मेरे छुप्द्रद हुआ उस के अंम्रजी शान्द ये हैं। This Congress... ...released, इसका भावीर्थ यह है कि इस कांग्रेत को बहुत बडा अफसोस है कि पंजान गर्नरमेव्ड में बाइज़ुद इस के गुरु द्वारा ऐक्ट्टका कैसला होगया। इस वक्त तक गुद्द्वारा के कैदियों को नहीं होडा। महज़ इल वजह से कि उन लोगों ने इकरार नामे पर द्नसखत करने से इन्कार किया fजित को वे उच. घात्मा लोग अपनी ज्ञान के खिखाफ समभते हैं। इस घश्न पर गुद्द्धारा कमेटी भी कोई राय नहीं दे सकती। जच तई गर्वमेण्ट्ट उन को विना शर्ता छोड दे मेरी राय में मुनासित्र घही माढूम होता है कि बंगाए भाड़िनेन्म के रिज़ल्युरान के बाद यह रिजुल्पुरान श्राप की सेवा में उपfिघत किया जायगा। बंगाल में बंगाली नवयुकों को कैद विया गया क्यों? उनके सम्बन्ध में कहा जाता है कि उनका मन्तेव्य गवनममेट की उलट्टुछृ करता था और खून खराबा से गर्नेंेंट को मज़वूर था। वंजान में उनको इस बनह से कैदि किया उन्हों ने विना किसी तरह के ऐसी साजिश के नेहायत अमन और चैन से अवने आवको तकलीफ में डालकर अपनी तकलीफ को बढ़ा कर दल बात को साबित कर दिया ज习 तक गुर्द्यारों का इन्तजाम उनकी मन्सा के मुतानिक न किया जायगा तबतक वह चैन से न बैंटंगे। एक तहराक ऐसी ही fिसमें खून बहाने की मन्सा की जाय जो इनकललकी है, दूसरी तहरीक वह है जो सिर्फ अपने ऊपर तकलीफ उठाने को तैयार है। एक कानून को महदूद करना चाहता है दूमरा कानून के खिलाक कारवाई करता है। मगर दोनों के साथ मुल्क की गनर्नेमेट का सलूक करीबन करीव एक है। एक में थोडाता कर्क बिना मुकदमा चलाये पकड कर बन्द कर दिगा गया और दूसर में बाज़ के सम्बन्व में कानूत के अन्द्रर काराराई की और बाज़ के बरार में नहीं भी की गई। में ¥ावको यह बतचाना देना चाहता हू कि गुर्द्वारा की हद ठीक और उसका नतीजा गो कुछ हुश्म है वह सबून इस बात का है कि इस दुनिया में कोई गबर्नेंट अपनी रियावा के किसी अश को कोई हक नहीं देती जश तक गरनमेंट को यह साबित न कर दिया जाय कि मुतारखा करने वाले सर्श झ्ष बात के लिये भामाद हैं। Determined है कि गर्ननमेंट को चैन से नहीं सोने देंगे

वह् नतीजा दो बार मेरे सामने भाया। पहला बंगाल के partition का दूसरा पंजाब के गुरु द्वोरे का। मैं ॠ्रावको बतलाना चाहता हूं कि बृटिश गवर्नमेंट प्रस्तावों और धमक्यिों से नहीं डरती मगर जन श्रमल से ऐसा काम किया जाय कि उन के अमल और इन्तनामर बतलाया पडे तो डरती है तथ वह जरूर षुन्ती है और इस पर श्रमल करती है। महज रिज्यु्युन पाती करने से महज देश वालियों के अर्ज करने से कुछ नहीं मिलता।

लेक्रन कोई शाख्म खारख्वाह मुसीबत मोल लेना नहीं चाहता। सभी चाहते हैं कि अासान से भामान तरीके से काम हो जाय। कोई सरुम ऐता काम पसन्दू नहीं करता जिससे उसे तकरीफ हो। कुदततन लोग चहते हैं कि हमारा काम :भासानी से निकख जाय इसलिये लोग गरन्नमेंट से दरखानत हैं; इए के बाद तमाम मुखतलीक तरीका को घ्यबतियार करते हैं लेकिन उसकी कुछ सुनवाई नहीं होती। बाज लोग घमकियां देते लेकिन कुछ नहीं होता पर कोई अप्रवे तरीके अमङ से बतला देते हैं कि जन तक इस कानून को तबदी़ न किपा जाय तब न खुद चैन लेगे न उनको चैन देंगे। हमारे पंजाबी भाइयों ने गुरुद्वाएत के सम्बन्ष में जो कुछ किया है वह इसी तरह का है। उन्हों ने पहले अमन के तरीकों से जो कारावाई की जा स₹ती थी किया। इस का नतीजा घह हुआआ कि सत्वप्यह्ह का कम्पेन श्रुरू हुघा जिन में उनके ऊपर सिफेफ बन्त्र ही नहीं फेकाका गया बल्क गरर्नेमेट के जिम्मेदार मुलाजमान की मौनूदगी में उन. पर जुल्म किया गया लेकित उन को जो कुख तकलोफ दी गई वह उन्होंने जेहायत तुहम्मुल से बर्दास्त किया।

मेरा यहह बकीदा है कि जिए घक्त बृटिया सरकार का इतिहाषे ल्खिता जायगा तो 3 B के दो काले चेम्टें होंगे एक जलियान वाला बाग, दूसरा गुरु का जाग जिस में ग़र्नमेंट ने निहथ्थे भांदमियों को लाठियों से मरवाया और उन्हों ने उंक तक नहीं किया। मैं समफता हूं यह इतिहास सुनहो हरफों लिखा जायगा ए. जहाँ येह बृटित रूल के darkest chapter है वही यह हिन्दुस्तानी suffering और aacrifico के brightest. chapter होंगे।

जो कुत सिंत भाइयों ने गुरु के बाग के मामिले में किया ₹पा वह बन आवं

भूल गये ? कुउ घरेस्ट हुआ कि गरनमेणेट्ट ने तसलीम किगा कि उनको गुद्द्वारों की शिकायते है भौर उस पर गर्वमेण्ट ने कानून बनाया पर सिलों ने उस को नामन्जूर किया। अंखिरी सिब भाइ्यों से मश़िरा कर, उनको समभा कर, उनको इतमिनान दिलाकर रिमङः में एक कानृन चनाना गया। में घहाँ यह बतलगाना चाहता हूं कि वह कान्नन बनाना ही सांित करता है कि गर्भर्मेंट की हरकतो नियाहत जालिमाना थीं और जो कुछ सिखों की निकायतें थीं बजा थीं। रिकायत बजा समफकई गर्नमेंट ने कानुन बना कर हमें यह बतला दिया कि अन वह 'सगड़ा खतम हो गया और सिए भाई भी जो कुछ चाहते थे मिल गया। गर्नमेंट को अब होशा आा गया। उन्हों ने कानृन में तबदीली चैदा किया। उनकी भाजादी से दन्तरददार हुए मगर हम क्या देखते हैं किहमोे सिख के मुसीबत का पैमाना हत्रेज नहीं हुग्रा। जिस वक्त वह कानून पाष हुुआा मैंने घह प्रइन ज़ाहिए किया था कि मेंरे सिख भाइ़यों जो जेल खाने में हैं उन को छोड़ देने गवर्मेणट को कोई एतराज नहीं होना चाहिये ेेकित मातुम हुग्रा कि गर्नमेंट निख भाइयों को जभी छोड़ना चाहती है कि वे इस पर दन्तरखत करें कि उनको इस से कोई एतराज नहीं और घह एकरार करें कि उनको घह मन्जूर है। उन्हों ने दस्तखत नहीं किया लेकिन गुरु द्वारा प्र₹न्बक क्मेटी ने बतखा दिया कि वह करेंगे वैला ही जैसा गकर्मेंट चाहती है। इस से ज्यादा और क्या हो सकता है कि उन्होंने अपने को गुद्धारा ऐचट के मुताबिक ओोटर रजिट्टर करा लिया जित वक्त सिख लीहों ने यह मन्ज्र कर लिया और अपने आपको उस कानुन के मुताक्विक रजिस्ट्र करा लिया उस क्त उनको रिहां कर देना था। क्योंकि चब कोई नजर बाकी न रही। मगर इस बात पर गबनेमेयट भामाद नहीं हुई और उनको नहीं छोड़ा। वे भव तक जेल खाने में पड़े हुए हैं। मंने दुनियां में ऐसी कम मिसाले देखी हैं कि एक गषनमेंट एक उन में चडे दल को criminal करार दे और वह दूल अपने छाती पर यह लिख कर कि हम रहहान करते हैं fि हम इस दल के मेम्बर हैं घोरोमन निकारते हैं। औौर गत्रून्मेट का घह हौसला नहीं होता कि उन को कैद करले । में नहीं समभ सकता कि गबसमेंट ऐसी बेक्वूकी की हाकते क्यों करती है जिसते उस के रोव दाव में फर्क पड़ता है ।

जिससे रेयाया को नाराज़ होकर आखिर एक साथ इभठा होने का मौका मिलता है जो गर्वनेपेट्ट को हिला दे। लेकित इन्षान का स्वभाव है कि कोई सए्श श्रपनी भादृत से बाज ऩहीं आता जच तक उसे तजरवा न होजाय इसी. तरह गवनमेंट श्रपने तरीके को नहीं बदल़ी़ी। गवर्वमेंट अपने Prestige को कायम रख़ी है। भगर गवर्नमेंट उन तरीकों को छोड़ दे तो उसके रोबदान में फर्क पड़ जाय। मेरे समझ़े में नहीं अाता कि भगर झ्त कानून को मान टिया जाय और इस कानून को मुलक Submit भी कर दे तो फायदा होगा। इसकी अमलद्दरामद का इससे ज्वादः क्या सवूत हो सकता है कि उन्होंने उसके मुताबिक घ्यपने को वोट रजिस्टरे करवा लिया। लेकिन गर्वर्मेंट इस बात पर तुली है जब तक वे इस बात पर न राज़ी होंगे जो हमेशा के लिये उनके कलंक का टीका है । इस गवर्नमेंट का तरीका है कि हमेश़ा अपनी सदा बुलन्द्य करती और कुछ नहीं कहती। इस बात का हम शोक प्रकट करें औरे कुछ नहीं हम नहीं कर स₹ते।

मौल्गना शौकत अलीने प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करते हुए काइः -
हजुरवाला औरे व्योर हिन्दू मुसिलमान बहिनो, भाइयो, मेरी आवाज खराब है ; मेरी आवाज बोलते २ मुराकिल तौर पर खराश होगई है। मेरा कोई इरादा न था कि इतने बड़े मेजमें में बोलॉर अपनी श्रावाज़ और खराज करूँ। मगर सिख भाइयों कीจहादुर भकलियों की —मुहग्ञत की बजह से, जिन्होंने हम हिन्दुस्तान के ३ २ करोड़ हम हिन्दू मुमलमानों को -२६ करोड़ हिन्दुओं व ७ सात करोड़ मुस्लमानों को स२क्र सिखाया कि जो कौम श्रपने जान व माल को कुर्वान करे श्रपनी क्रौम की भावरू के लिये वही काम कर सकती है। मेंरे बहादुर भाई सरद़ार सार्दूल सिंह ने पूछा कि तुमने गुर्द्वारा बिल के मुताबिक कोई राय न दी.। मुभ को काम से फुरसत न थी मैंने राय न दी लेकिन आज राय दूंगा। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरद़ार सार्दूध सिंह, और हिन्दुस्तान के बहादुर सिपाही गुरुद्त्तस्सिंह और सरदार तेजासिंह महाराज नाभा जेलों के अन्दर सड़ २ कर कौम के लिग्ये तवाह हो जायं मगर हरगिज किसी किसम की Undertaking न दें।

बहिनों और भाइयो में ज़ेल में गया हूं; महात्मा जी जेल़ में गये हैं; मुह्मद़

अली भी जेल में गये हैं। यह गर्नर्नेट भगर हमको जेल में मरे, हमको नंगा करे, हमारे गोस्त के नोच २ कर कौऔ्रों को चीलों (खल्यावे (Shame) हमको तरीके २ से मारकर खतम करे तो भी सुझे कोई रिकाएत न होगी । मुभको शिकायत इस गर्र्रमेंट से इसलिये है कि मैं देखता हुं कि उन्होंने हमें इतना ज़ल़ल समझ़ रखा है कि हमें सिक्के जेलों में तेग करते हैं। मुहम्मद अली को करान्ची में तंग किया, देशान्धु दास को कितने दिनों नेल में तंग किया और किर कहती हैं कि हम तुपझो जेल से निकाले जन तुम इन कागनों पर दस्तरबत्त कर दो। में कोई रिजुल्यूर्यान की ताईद करने नहीं भाया हूं। मेरा गला बोलने के काविल नहीं रहा, हेकिन यह गला काटने के काविक, फांली के काविल अभी है। खुदा की दुवा करता हूं। खुदा की कसम, यह दुवा करता हू कि क习习 वह दिन आवेगा कि मुदे तकरीर न देना हो। जब तकरीर न कर fिमे एक श्यदपीी घहे कह दे कि भाज हिन्दुस्तान से अंस्रज कौम को बाहर निकाल कर दम लेंगे।

पं. नेकीराम शर्म्मा ने कहा: —
सभानेती जी, बहिनों और भाइयो, इतने बडे २ नेताओं के बादद और खास कर मौलाना शौकत सली के बाद में इस प्रस्ताव पर क्या कहू यह मुभ को विचार भाता है। रिजुल्युगन का जो मतलन है वह भाप ने सुन लिया। मैं चाहता हूं कि चंद् मिनटो में में अाप के सामने उस सरे मामिले की तसीीर रख दूं। मुभे यह तो एक मिनट के लिये भी ख्याल में नहीं शाता कि जिस गर्वमेण्ट ने हमारे fिख भाइयों को जेल में कन्द कर रखा है वह अपने इडदे पर देर तक हिकी रहेंगी यंह मे नहीं मानता। में यह कहना चाहता हूं कि सिलों के साथ गर्र्ममंट की जितनी लड़ाई तोप बन्दूक की नहीं, जजतनी आन्दोलन की लडाई भाज तक दुई है उन सज में पहले नहीं तो कुछ दिन चलकर गवर्मेंट हारी है। गवनमेंट बिल्कुल हार गई है, मुँ की खाई है। में अब भी कहना चाहता हे कि इत तहरीक में भी गबर्नमेंट हारेगी। हार तो सब भी गई है लेकित ज़बान से नहीं कहती कि वह हार गई है। यह मैं क्यों कहता हूं जबसे यह गुस्द्वारा आन्दोलन चला है तब से यह गवर्ममेंट

बागाइर इस कोशिश में है किसी तरेह इस सि干्ख कौम को दचावे और इस भान्दोलन को नस्ट करे।

सन् ९९२०में गुर्द्वारा प्रन्धक कमेटी कायम हुई। गुर्द्धारा कमेटी की और कोई मन्डा नहीं थी सिवाय इस के कि वह अपने तमाम गुर्द्धरे एक निज़ाम में रहँ और उनकी अमदनी कौम के काम में खर्च हो 1 गार्वमेंट का कई बार एलान हुभा है कि वह किसी मज़हबी मामिले में दखल न देगी पर गर्वमेन्ट इस में क्यों दबल देना चाहती है यह बात समफ में आई। वह चाहती है कि गुद्वारा अ्रन्दोलन को दबददे। सब习 क्या है？ यह कुछ सतलती नहीं। गर्वनेमेन्ट इसे ोोलिखिकल मूवमेन्ट समझती है क्या？ तो गर्वर्नेन्ट चह जानती है कि यह कौम एक बहादुर कौम है और गरर्नमेन्ट यह जानती है कि अर्मन习ार में हमने इनकी बौौलत विजय पाई। गवर्मेन्ट जानती है कि अगर इल जाति के पास ख्वजाना भी आजाय तो men and money दोनों इकहा हो जाय घौर उस हालत में ऊँट किस करषट उठ बेठें। बात यह है कि हम किसी भी मज़हनी कौम में हिन्दुओं में जो महन्त लोग उस समय पूजा का इन्तज़ाम करते थे बड़ी खुरी के साथ गुद्धारा कमेटी के साथ समभौता करते थे गर्नमेन्ट ने समभा कि मामिला विगड़ गया गर्वमेन्ट श्रवनी चाए से जाज़ न भाई। जगह २ पर उपद़व किये गये। इस बात की जराबर कोशिरा की गई कि किसी तरह महन्तों में गुर्द्धारा के पुजारियों में गुर्द्धरा प्रन्व कमेटी में बराइार अनवन रहे। लेकिन वहादुर सिख कौम，गुहगोविन्दसंसिं की कौम ने अन तमाम बातों की पबाह न की और जिस तरह तलवाए की लड़ाई में बन्दूक की लड़ई में हमेशा मर्दानगी दिखाती रही है महात्मा जी की शान्ति की लड़ाई में भी उस से बढ़कर मर्द़नगी का सबूत दिया। इस का नतीजा क्या हुआ？आप सुत कर हैान होंगे तमाम भसहयोग भान्द्धोलन मे २३ हज़ार श्राद口ी ज़ेल में गये लेकिन अकालियों के स习习 से पंजाई में ९९२० से लेकर अवत्त干 तीस हज़ार भादमी जेल में गये। सिखों की 阣 से कुर्वानी का सच से बड़ा सबून यः है कि यातनाओं से ही बत नहीं। अपनी कौम के सिरताज $\langle$ सौ अद्वी रण भूमि मे कुरेवान कर चुके। चार सौ ने रण भूलि में भपनी जान लो दी। जेल गये，जान दी। यही नहीं

भभी रिपोर्ट निकली कि ?? ल्यास रुपया नुक्कसान किया, तीहहज़ार कैद् हुए और चारे सौ शहीद हुए। इस तरह जन देखा कि सिक कौम झतना दुख भोग कर भी बराइर कदप भागे बढ़ाती जा रही है तो गबनेमेन्ट ने कहा कि अब इस कदर कदापि काम नहीं चलेगा जैसा मेंने वहले कहा वह भुकी लेकिन जैसा श्राप जानते थे छोटा भादमी बुकने लगे तो भले ही क्रुक्तकता है लेकिन लम्बा श्रादमी क्रुकने लगे। धौर खड़े रहते हुए सो कैसे हो सकता? गर्वनमेंट से मैं वहता हूं नामियों के मामिले में सिख जेलों मे गये सरदार सादूंखल्बसिंह और सरदार मंगलसिंत भी नामियों के मामिले में कैद किये गये। मैंने देखा है कि नाममयों के मामिले में सिख बराशर कैद होने के लिये भाते थे मैंने देखा है ऐसे श्रादमी पन्चकी मलाई के लिये देश की भलाई भाते थे जिन्हे जिस्म थे पर भांतें नहीं थीं ऐसे आददमी वहां पर जेळ में पहुचे। लेकिन जज देखा कि ताता नहीं र्कता बराबर कैदी आते ही हैं तो इस ग्र्मेमेट्ट ने चाभी दे दी। मैं अप से यह पृँअना चाहता हु कि यह गर्नमेन्ट की सच से पहली हार है या नहीं। हमारे नेता लंला जी उस समय न थे। पृन्य माखी जी वर्तमान थे शौर भी कितने नेता वर्तमान थे मैंने भी इस ह्रय को देखा कि किस तरह से सिखों ने अपना बलिदान किया। साढे पांचहज़ार आदमियों को गर्वमेन्ट ने गिफकतार किया। इन्माफ का झ्ञंडा ऊँचा करने वाली गर्वमेन्ट्ट एक ही आदमी को एक ही जुर्म में दो २ दफा सज़ा देती थी लेकिन गुरु के बाग के मामिले में भी गवर्मेन्ट हारी। अ习习 जैतो का अखण्ड पाठ हुआ। सिल भाई वहां जाने लगे। वह वहां इसलिये जाते थे कि वहां यन को भपने पवित्र घर्म ग्रन्थ गुरुन्थ साहच का पाठ करना था गवरममेन्ट को षर्म के मामिले मे दवख देना मन्नूर नहीं। क्यों महराज, भख़ण्ड पाठ हो जाता तो गर्नममन्ट का खंड हो जाता। सिखों ने कहा जिए काप को वह मना करते हैं वही करना हमारा घर्म है, सिश़ अड़ गये। कितने ही भादमी पाठ करने के लिये पहुँचते हैं वे जानते हैं जैतो जाने पर वे कैद कर लिये जायंगे प्रेनु सिखों को क्या परवाह थी। भाखिर गनर्मेमेन्ट यहां भी हारी। लेकिन जबान से नहीं वहा।

इस तरह से सिख बराबर द्वाये जाय रहे हैं लेकिन झ्पपर भी सिख एक इन्नदवे नेंहीं पस्त्रु अभी भी गर्नमृंट हारने एगी। जरा कोइ कह दे कि सिख बहादुर हैं

वह भी मजा चख ले। मह्राज नाभा इससे सहानुभूति रखते थे। दूतरे कार्मों में महाराजा साहच मेम्बर बन कर काम नहीं करते थे ऐेकिन इस पाठ के मामले में वे सिखों से हमदर्दी रखते थे। अख习ार पढने वाले जानते हैं कि रियासत के वलीं को जिसकी करोड़ों श्राप हो उस को खर्चे के लिगे कुछ भी न दिया जाय यह तो न्याय है। इसे गर्वर्मेंट का इन्साफ कहते हैं लेकिन अच भी गर्वर्वेंट कहती है कि हम हारे तो नहीं। तुम जो धर्म कहते थे उसी को हम कानून बनां देते हैं इपऋा नतीजा क्या हुग्रा? गुर्द्बारा ऐक्ट बनाया गया। इसके बाद़ का नतीजा यह होना चाहिये या कि जिन लोगों को इस मामले में जेल दिया गया था वे एक दम छोड़ दिगे जाते, लेकिन नहीं छोड़ा। हमें यकीन था कि सिख इसके बाद फ़ौरन छोड़ दिये जायंगे। मैं पूत्ञना हूँ सिखों के मूँछ्छ और दाड़ी दोनों होते हैं फिर मूँछों का सवाल कैमा ? गुरू द्वारा ऐकट को वह कामयाज नहीं बना सकेंगे तो नाकामयाव भी नहीं चनावंगे। गवर्नमेंट जानती है कि सिखों का फर्ज है कि ऐक्ट को काम में लवे। बस सिर्म ऊँची मूलों का सवाल अड़ गया है गद्नेमेंट ने कह्रा कि 'जो बात हम कहते हैं सिख वह लिख दे '। सिखों ने कहा चार सौ कं। कुर्बान करके अगर आज तक हमने अपना सिद्धान्त नहीं छोड़ा तो क्या केवल इस थोड़ी सी बात के लिये अपने सिद्धान्त को छोड़ दें। सिख बहादुरी से भरे हुए हैं। सर्राए खड़ग सिंह जो बडे ऊँचे दर्जे का झादमी है सिर्फ सिद्धान्त के लिये अनेक कट उठा रेहा है। जेल में यह हुकुम दिंया गया कि तुम केवल पगंडी दे सकते हो लेकिन गांधी टोणी नहीं। सिद्धान्त को मानने वाले खडग सिंह ने कहा कि तुम मेरी ख़रुामद्य करते हो। लेकिन गान्धी टोपी जो हिन्दुस्तान के बेताज़ बाद्राह की टोपी है उसे मैं नहीं होडूँगा। मैं कपड़े उतार कर फें देता हूँ। स习 उनके बदन के उपर ₹वडे नहीं हैं। भाइर्चर्य है, ग्राव जानते हैं जाडे के दिनों में ओवर कोट पहनने वाले बडे मालदार सरदार खडग सिंह हगभग दो साल से नंगे हैं । भ्राज भी गवर्नमेंट वेसी ही अडी है। हमारी बात कैसे माने। हालांकि दूसरे जेलों में यही टोपो दी गयी लेकिन सरदार खडग सिंह ने कहा कि टोपी की जरुरत मुभे नहीं है। यह् हाल सिख श्रान्द़ोलनं का हैं। . श्रब मैं अ्भापको बताऊ कि गवर्नमेंट क्यों इस बात में भी क्कुक जायगी। १४ भकूबर सन १६२३ में गवर्वमेट ने यह Order (ग्भार्डर) निकाला कि

गुस्द्वारा प्रन्धक कमेटी धौर अ्रकाली दल दोनो नाज़ायज—कायदे के खिलाक हैं। और घह कह कर बहादुर अकालियों को फछड़ने ल़गी। ये बराबर फ₹ड़े गये और नतीजा यह हुछा कि हीरों जेल में बन्द किये गये। अन्त में गुद्दारा ऐक्ट बनाया गयया। सिख कहते हैं उन्हे गुछद्धारा ऐकट काम में लाना नामन्ज्ञार है जघ तक fिख कैदी छोड़ न दिये जांय । में कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर गवर्मेनेन्ट हार न माने तो अगर गर्नमेन्ट में ताकत है तो इस Unlawful assembly के 夕सिडेन्ट सरदार मंगल लिंह इस जलसे में भ्राए हुये हैं उन को कैद करे। कौन इतनी बहादुरी रखता है कि Unlawful assembly के सरदार को touch (टच) करे । मै भाप से यह पहले कह चुका हूं घौर किर कह देना चाहता हूं कि इस रिजुल्युरान के माने यह है कि जः तक वे कैंदी विना किसी शर्त के जेलों के बाहर न कर दिये जायँगे तच तक ऐक्ट ॠा काम मे लावा जाना मुमकिल नही। क्योंकि में यकीन के साथ fिख भाईकों की तरफ से गरनमेंट को बता देना चाहता हूं कि यह सिख कौम पंजाइ में बड़ी ता干त रखती है। वह ऐली मæली नहीं कि खाकर कोई उन्कर ले सके। यह हजम नहीं हो सकती आव भाई यकीन रखे कि गनर्भमेंट फौरन ही अ्भवनी हार मान लेगी घौर विना किसी शर्त के उन को रिहा के गी ।। मैं सिलो की तरफ से मौलाना शौकतत्रही को विरवास दिलाना चाहता हृं कि सिख ऐसी नाकाम कौम नहीं है वे ऐसे भोले नहीं हैं कि इस शर्ता को स्वीकाए करले ।

श्रीयुत गाजी श्रम्दुखरहमान ने कहाः —
सदूर साहिता बहिनों और भाइयों, में इस रिन्पुल्युरान की ताईद में नो श्रभी भाप के सामने पेश किया गया है चन्दू भल्फाज कह देना चाहता हूं। अकाली बहदुदों में जो लड़ाई पंजान के अन्दर दक्तरी टुकुम के खिखा़ जुरु की और उन्होंने जो दफ्तरी हुक्व को challenge दिया और उस challange को निभा कर भवनी कामयावी हासिल की। तन्जीमी दुनिया के एबलाई के खिलाफ वह एक ताअजुञ देह वाकया है। श्राज हम देलते हैं कि पन्जाई गवर्मेणट के तरफ
 गया है लेकित़ दूसरी तरफ अकल़ी बहादुर अभी तक जेलों के अन्दूर बाकी है

जिसके यह माने है कि जंग तो खतम होगया लेकिन जंग के कैदी अभी तक जेलों के भीतर रखे हुये हैं। मैं पूछ्छता हू कि जेलो में जंग के कैदी रखे गये हैं जव तक कि मुलह का एलान गरनमेण्ट ने न किया हो। सुझे कोई कहने की जरुसत नहीं मौजुदा गउनमेपटट को हडाई कायदे के मातहत नहीं है। जब मैंने दौरा किया था। उस समव जो हालत और जुल्म मालुम हुए उनको में कहं नहीं सकता। दर हनीकत में वहां जलियानवाला बाग का एक दूसरा chapter हो गया। मैं सिर्म यह कह देना चाहता दूं कि हिन्दु और मुसलमानो में जित जंग को महात्मा जी ज्रुु किया उसे अकालियों ने पूरा किया। अन हमरा फर्ज यह है कि हम उन भाझ्यों की इपदाद करें एएक मुसीवत के वक्त में हिन्दुद्तान के नानवायलेन्ट मूवमेट जारी रखा। हमाएा फर्ज है कि कांग्रे के प्रेटार्म से उनकी मदद करे।

में एक बात और कहना चाहता हूं वह घह कि वे शर्तों जो गर्नमेण्ट अकालियों से लिखावा चाहती है यकीनन उसके माने वह कि कोई कौम अपने मजह习 के लिये काम करने की उमीद न रखे लेकिल अकाली बहादुर जो कि जेलों में पड़े हुए हैं जेलों से बाहर नहीं जाना चाहेते। पेखत्र इसके कि उन गतों को पन्जान भवर्मेण्ट्ट हाले। मगर वह इस इर्त को नहीं ह्याती तो हमें जंग का एलान कर देना चाहिये। इस Spirit में में इस रिन्पुल्युरान की तायीद करना चाहता हू

श्रीयुत सी. एच. भहचा ने कहाः —
बहिनो और माइयो, रिजुल्युशन की हकीकत सुनकर सुभ को बड़ा अफझोस हुत्रा है भौर बड़ी समिदिभी हुई है। घकाली तो शेर हैं। हम हिन्दु मुसलमान और पार्ली बकरी बनकर बक कक करते हैं। श्रकालियों ने महात्मा जो के श्रहिंतात्मक भान्दोलन को पूरा दिबा दिया। और हिन्दु नारसी और हुषहममान जनाना बन करे वही सहयोग छोड़कर यह नतीजा पाया है कि मुभे यह रिज़्युरान बाचते शार्मिन्दगी होती है कि हम बकरी लोग इस सेर के वास्ते क्या करें। मेरा भाई घकाली जत्थे के साथ धूमा है। उन लोगों का जनाना मर्दाना है श्रौर श्रपना मर्दाना जनाना है । मै हिन्दुस्तान वालों को कहता हूं ज习 तक महात्मा जी क्या श्रहहयोग नहीं करैगे तब तक देशका उद्धार नहीं होगा। औौर गोरे लोगों. को कहता हुं

भ1प लोग रोर हैं तो अावो अकालियों से लड़ो और हिन्दुसत.न को Fन्रोज्य मिल ज्ञायगा।

सरदार मंगलस्सिंह ने कहा:-
सद़र साहिबा, व्यारे भाइयो श्यौर चहिनो, भाq के सामने इस वक्त दो दर्द़नाक कहानियों का बयान है। एक दर्द़ सदा बंगाल से ञ्राती है दूसरी दर्दनाक कहानी की खशर भाप के हामने पन्जाव से आई है। जितना जुल्म, जितनी सरित्तयां जितना कष्ट पिछले पांच सालों से इस हुकमत की तरफ से सिखों को दिगा जा रहा है उनको बयान करने में मैं भाप का वक्त न ल्बुँगा। मैं भाप को इस जात के लिये सिखों की तरफ़ से सचचे दिल से शुक्रिया अदा करने के लिये भाया हूं जो कि भाप ह्मारी हंड़ाई मे पिछले पांच साल के घ्मरसे में मदद करते रहे हैं। मैं ख़ांत तौर पर इस वक्त महात्मा गान्धी, लाला ह्रजपतराय, डा० सत्यपाह, परिडत मोतीलाल जी, मौलाना मुहम्मद -सली और शौकतश्यु़ी और उन तमाम साहनों को जो बराइर मदद़ देते रहे हैं, खाष तौर पर परिडत मद़नमोहन मालवी जी को जो हर वक्त श्रकलियों की तकलीफ में हमारे साथ रहते हैं शुक्रिया अदा करता हूं। जिस वक्त गुरु के बाग़ के मौके पर अकालियों को छाठी से मार २ कर गिराया जाता था उस वक्ष माल्वी जी अपंन कोट से उनकी जरुम वोंछते थे। कितने वक्क हमारे साथ आपने : भांखों से श्रांसू बहाया है। इस हमदद्दीं के लिये हम लोग यहसान फरामोश्रा नहीं हैं। श्राप को हमारी तकलीफ का जिक पं०-नेकी राम ने बतला दिया कि \{पछले पांच सालों में क्या हुआ है। इस इम्बी लड़ाई में गवर्नमेंट के किसी प्रशन को लेकर मोर्चा₹न्दी की गई। पिछ्बले पांच साल सें, में अभिमान से नहीं कहता, अकाल पुरुष की महिमा से श्रकालियों ने पांच, च $(乡, \xi)$ हडाइयों में इस मगरूर ग१र्नेमेट को नीचा दिखल्राया। चामियों के मामिले को लीजिये । उसमें गवर्वमेट की हार हुई यह तो श्राप के सामने भा चुका है। अ्रकाली Agitations इस घात को लेकर शुरू हुुभा कि हमरे धर्मस्यानों का होगों के राय के मुताबिक प्रन्न्ध किया जाय इस issue पर नितनी हड़ाईयां हमने लड़ी हैं कहने को हम कमज़ोर थे लेकिन गवर्नेमेंट को उस ताकत के सामने फ्रुकना
 कानूनी कराए दिया उस वक्त से गबर्मेंट स्यातार सिलों को जअददस्ती दaा ही रही है। लेकिन वे दे नहीं। और उसी कक्त से शिरोोमणि गुरुद्वारा प्रन्वन्वक कमेटी का मंडा अभी तक फहरा रहा है और सर माउ₹म हेली को प्राखियस ध्रुकना पड़ा। सभी पं० नेकीराम ने कहा है कि में उस सभा का प्रेतिडेन्ट्ड हु अन में पकड़ा जा स₹ता हूं इस वक्त पर जन कि हम कहना चाहते हैं कि हमारा मुल्क सिविक डिस ओणिडियन्त के लिये तैयार. नहीं हैं पर इस वक्त पन्जाओ में लोग तैयार हैं। डिरोमणि-गुद्धारा-पषन्धकन-कमेटी खिलाफ कानृन है उसकी कारवाई सं के :सामने की जाती है लेकित गरर्मेंट को ट्रिम्मत नहीं कि उसके खिखाक कुछ कर सके। हमें एक बात की शिकायत भी है। में मौलाना शौकत भली से कहता हूं कि जिए वक्त महात्माजी ने, लाला लाजपषतराय ने द्की़ी जबान से कहा था कि इन शत्तों को मान ेेना चाहिये लेकिन हम समभके थे कि इस श्रार्त को मान कर सिख कैदियों को निकलना ठीक न होगा। में यकीन दिश्राता हुं कि कोई भाई सिख उस शर्त को मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं है और इस issue पर हम उती तरह हड़ेगे जैता कि वहले। इषका मलंक्त मैं अापको यकीन दिलाना चाहता हूं जित तरेह सिखों ने अपने पर्म के लिये कुखानी की है बल्कि उु से भी ज्यादा भपने को अंज़ाद करने के लिये एड़ँगे। लेकिन एक रात्त है वह तः मुपकिन हो. सकता है जन हिन्दु मुसलमान भापस में २ड़ना बंद कर दें। मैं सच कहता हूं हिन्द्व-मुसएमान भापस में एड़ते हैं उनकाः कुछ-नहीं तिगड़ता लेकिन जो उुक्तान हमें वहुंचता है उस का श्रन्दाज नहीं। वहले जो मोची हव हेते उसके भागे गरर्ममेंट दो .महीने भी नहीं टिंक्र सकती थी ध习 दो सालं लग जाता है। यह भाप की एढ़ाई ने तभाम बोम हमारे कल्बों पर डल दिया है। इन झल्फाज़ों के सम ह्म शुकिया अद़ा करते हैं कि भाप हमारे तकलीक में सथथ देते रहे हैं।

डाकटर सत्पपांख ने पटना के प्रस्ताब को पेश करते हुए कहाः -
सभानेती जी बहिनो और भाइयो, में आपके सामने यह रिंजुल्युरान पेश करना


कंग्रेस के मेम्बरी के मुतांक्तिक रिंजुल्युरान पास किया था उस कों पंदंद करती है। भाप साहबों को माहूम है कि २२ सितम्धर ९९२५ को पटना में श्याल इण्डिया कांप्से कमेटी में कांमेत को मेम्बों के मुत्तालिक एक रिजल्युर्यान पात किया गया था। भापको मालूप होगा कि पहले कांप्रें की मेम्ब्री की जर्त थी कि हर एक मेम्रर भवने हाथ या और किसी के हाथ का काता हुश्भा २,००० गज माहबारी सूत दे और दुसरे रार्त कांग्री के जर्सों के मौके पर शुद्ध :खद्र पहनने की थी। पृना में यह् रिजुल्युगान इस कदर बददल दिया गयां कि हर भदममी या औरत 8 भाना नकद्र या $२, 000$ हजारे गज हाथ का कता हुआा सुत देकर मेम्बर हो सकता है औौर जितना सुत होगा भाल इणिडया हिवनिग असोशिगेरान जो महान्मा गान्धी की सरपरस्ती में कायम होगया है उसके पास्म भेज दिया जायगा। इस का मतलन यह भी है कि कोई
 पहने हुभा न हो। यह बिजुल्युरून जो आव की खिदमत में रखा है बिक्कुल साफ है और दस पर ज्यादः त₹रीर की. ज़रूरत नहीं है। कुछ लोगों का ल्वाल है कि हाथ के कते सूत की रार्त को कताई उटा दिया जाय लेकिन में बतला देना चाहता हूं कि जन हम यह महम्सुस करते हैं कि हिन्दुध्तान के कुब भाई बहिन इस को मन्जुर करते हैं तो हम क्यों इस को दूर करे इस लिये यह एक Alternative रखा गया कि कोड़़ शाल्म 8 भाने या दो हजार गज हाथ का कता हुश्रा सुत देकर मेग्रा हो सकता है। एक खात बात यह है कि हर एक मेम्बर को ख़ास मौकों पर खद्र पहनना होगा इस पर भी एक एतराज़ किया गया कि हखक्र क्यों नहीं खददर पहना जाय। लेकिन रिजुल्युशन हखक्क खदर पहनने की मानाही नहीं करता जो हखक्त खदर नहीं पहन सकते वे जैसा कह चुका है जिस वक्त किसी कांप्रेस में जाँय तो खदर पह्ने। उस में कोई बुराई नही है लेकिन कांग्येत के मौकों पर तो श्युद्र खदर पहनना ही चाहिये। वह रिज्ञुप्युन भाप साहों के सामने रखते हुए में उमीद करता 宸 कि श्राप इसे पसन्द कर्रेे क्यों कि इमनें पूरी आानादी उन लोगों केलिये है जो सूत कातना नहीं चाहते और उन लोगों के लिये भी है जो हाष का कता सूत देना चाहते हैं। इममें वह लोग भी जामिल हो सकते हैं जो हर क्त खदर नहीं पहन सकते ; मार मौकों पर
श्रीयुत ह由रत मुहानी ने इस प्रस्ताव का विरोष करेते हुए कहा：－



















止定 先



कि यह एक बड़ी भारी रार्त्त है। इसके हज़ारों फायदे हैं औ वह खद्र के फायदे से ज्यादा हो सकते हैं। लेकिन क्या हज़रात ऐती श्शत्त को कोई तहलीम करेगा ? सी कहंगें भाई खाने से और कांप्रेत से क्या ताल्लुक? इस बात को कौमियत का वैज बताना बिलकुल फ़िजूु और लग़ो बात है। मैं कंहता हूं भगर खाने के मुतालिक कोई ऐसी शर्ता नहीं रवेगा निंसी भच्चाई में कोई खुचहा नहीं तो क्या कजह कि पोराक के सुताल्दिक कोई शर्त रखी जाय। जिस शाए्म में हिन्दुन्तान की कौमियत का दर्द है उसे हर हाहत में कांग्रेत का मेम्रर होना चाहिये लेकिन यह सज़ा कि उसको कौमियत से खारिज़ करें हरगिज कोई नहीं कर सकता और कोई इख्स इस को तसलीम करने केलिये तैयार नहीं होगा। वाज़ हज़रात्व यह कहंगे और मेंने सुना है कि यह तो कौम की बर्दी है अ्भौर तमाम हिन्दुसतान की भावाज़ इसके साथ है इसलिये हमें इसको क्कवूळक करना चाहिये। मैं इस बात को तसलीम करने से इनकार करता हूं। मैं श्राप को यादद दिलाना चाहता हृद कि बेलगाँव में Yarn Franchise के निन्वत भी यही कहा गया था और इसके वा़त भी यही कहा जाता है लेकिन वहां सिर्फ एक शार्म की राय थी च्रैर उस शाए्त के वनह से समों ने यही समभा था कि मेरी भी यही राय है हालां कि उनऋा दिल द्वंढा जाता तो यही बात मिलती। मैंने भावज़ उसके खिलाफ़ उठाई थी और $\psi$, ६ महीने के बाद वह हुयाई गयी। उसी तरह मैं श्राज श्रापसे कहता हृं कि यह एक ऐनी शर्ती है निसे हर-


सुभ को मालूप है कि ₹वराजिष्ट मेम्ब्रों में भी साधे से ज्यादा मेन्बर ऐसे हैं जो इसके खिसाफ़ हैं। जो साषे मेम्बर इसके मुताविक हैं मैं उससे पूलता हूं कि क्या वे इस बात का दावा कर बकते हैं कि फ़र्ज़ मुहाल इस वक्त शगर महाल्मा गान्धी इस श्ते को छोड़े दे ता क्या कोई भी स्वराजिए इ्भानदारी से कह सकता है कि बह ऐसी शर्त्त रखेगा। क्या कीतदी एक भी स्र्राजिष्ट ऐसा होगा जो इमानदारी से कहे कि खद्र की शर्ता जरी रखनी चाहिये। लेकिन सभी एक शएल्म की राय के त्रिना कोई अ्पपनी भावाज - उाते हुए उतते हैं। मैं इस केश्रफार्म पर उस लिये भाया हुँ कि में अपनी राय अावके सामने पेश करूं। में सापके सामने भाया है. कि भाप इसे मंजूरी न दे।

मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि मेरे वे स्वराजिए दोल्त जो इस वक्त खद्र के लिये तैयार हैं उन पर मुभ्ष छुुहहा है जैसा बेल्याव में हुआ था। वह इस लिये तैयार है कि जिससे वे महत्मा गान्धी को खुश रख सके इस हिये नहीं कि उनकी बात
 मंशा है कि महान्मा गान्धी की थोड़ी सी मदद हालिल करें। इसका मतर्न क्या है! कांप्रेत को महार्मानी सवर्ााजष्ट के हाय दे देना चाहते हैं। लेकिन इन्माफ की बात यह है कि स्वराजिए में और लिबलों में कुछ भी फ़र्क नहीं है। लेकन वे लिजनलोंको घहां श्भाने नहीं देना चाहते क्योंकि उनको मालूम है कि Liberals और Nationalists $\begin{aligned} & \text { से } \\ & \text { ज्यादा काशिल हैं। }\end{aligned}$

हज़रात, इस मौके पर में एक छोटी सी मिसाल देना चाहता हूं. फड़़ कीजिये मिष्र fिन्वा चिन्तामणि और सप्र कंप्रेल में भाना चाहें. क्या उनकी कौमपरस्ती में कोई धुवहा है, लेकिन वे भान सकेंगे। वे कभी भावंगे भी नहीं। उनको वूू माबूप है कि कोई राल्स खद्र कढ़ा पहनने की राते के बजह से कांप्रेत में नहीं रह सक्ता। वह खद्र के खिलाफ़ नहीं हैं मिसळ इस के ऐला एक किसहा मशहूर और्रेंजेब के मुतालिक। उन्होंने देबा कि रिवाजी कमी किसी के सामने सिर नहीं झ्रुकाता इस लिये उन्होंने एक ऐसा दरवाजा तैयार करवायां कि जिसमें उनको तिर अुकाकर आना पड़े। यह खद्र की मिताß ठीक उसी तरह की है। वह समझते हैं कि जो श्दापी ध्राने Whin के बजहह से सिर नहीं भुका सकते वे घहां नहीं भावेंगे।

मैं जानता हूं कि श्रगर महात्माजी भभी खद्ध़ की रूर्त को हहा दें तो एक भी स्वराजिए नहीं रहेगा जो खद्र की बात मानेगा। इन्माफ़ से कहो कि वह राएत जो खद्दर नहीं पहनता इस से क्या वह हिन्दुस्तानी नहीं। कौमियत के लिये खद्र क्या इतनी जरुती है ? इत वान्ते इ़ किकरे को निकाल दो । दूसरी बात कि हिन्दुस्यान के सन लोग सदा खद्र पहने. में इसके खिखाफ नहीं। सुभ को खद्र से कोई नफ़रत नहीं है। में खुद खदर भी पहनता हूं और देरी भी वहनरा हूं। २५ वर्ष से मेंने विदेशी पहनंना छोड़ दिया है, मेरे घर में से कोई एक भी विदेदेशी कड़ा निकाल दे। मैं चैलेंज करता हूं कि जो लोग खद्र की अत्वरा बात

फहते हैं उनके घों में अवशय एक न एक जोड़ा वैजामा कोट तो विदेपी निकलेगाही। मैं इस शर्त्त को फ़िजुल समझ़ता हूं और एलानिया कहता हुं. कि श्राज तक तमाम दुनिया के तबारीख़ में ऐसी लोग़ और मुहमिल शार्त कभी पेश न हुई यी और न हिन्दुस्थान में कभी पेश होनी चाहिये ।

श्रीयुत हामिद् अली ने ताईद करते हुए कहाः
जनावे सद्र शौर हाज़िरनी, ह्यारत मुहानी ने जिन पुरज़ोर एकज़ों में इस रिनोल्यूयान के जित फिकेर की मुखालिफ़क की है में उस की ताईद करता हृं। शौर भापको बतलाना चाहता हुं कि इस रिजोल्युशान का वह फफिकरा निसके श्भन्दर जबरी कानून भाया है कि हम जन कांप्रेत के जअ़ों में भार्व तो हप खद्र पहने हुए हों वाजिः और दुरुसत नहीं है। इसके अलावा श्राज ही बे लगांक में जो रिजोल्युरान पेश कर्के वाष किया गया या कि २8 हजार गज सूत दे करके कोड़़ कांग्रे का मेम्बर हो स干ता था। उस रिज़ोल्युशान को योड़े दिनों बाद तामीन करना पड़ा औौर आज यह रिज़ोल्युगन पेश किया गया है कि चार भाना देशा चाहिये या २8 हजार गज़ सूत देना चाहिये ज习 तक यह न दिया जाय तब क्क कोई कंग्रेस का मेम्वर नहीं हो स₹ता। में भापसे दर्याफक करता हूं कि कौमी मजलिस के लिये घह चार्ता लगाकर किस क़ा जब किया जाता है। में जानता हूं कि झंत्रेव या उसके बाहा हमेरा खद्र वहनना चाहिये और जहां तक हो सके हाथ का कता हुआआ और हाथ के बुने हुए सुत्र के कभडे को ही इत्तेपाल पर करना चाहिये हम पर जो घह जब लगा दिया जाता है मैं उसको कनूल करने के लिये मैं तैयार नहीं और न उम्मीद करता हूं कि शाप लोग भी कूूल करने के लिये तैयार होंगे मैंने देखा है कि लोग खद्र वोट पाने करने के हिये पहनते हैं वोट देने के वक्त लोगों ने एक खद्देर की रमाल पहन कर वोट दिया है। इस वाहते हम जरुर इस की मुरालिफति करें निबसे यह जन न किया जाय।

मौलाना मोहम्मद अली ने प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करते हुए कहाः -
बहनो और भाइयो, मेरा इादा बोलने का विल्कुल नहीं था और जच जनान सद्र

साह्याने सुभसे फरम।या．कि मुके इसके मुताल्धिक श्रपनी राय जाहित करनी होगी तो मैंने कहा कि में इसे बिि्दुल फ़िजुल समझता हूं। क्योंकि छई वार अस पर तकरीर हो चुकी है। चेलगांव में मैंने घंटे，सावा घेटे तकरीर की．थी। उस का असर भगर मुलक पर अज तक नहीं है तो $१ ५$ मिनट में क्या होगा। मेरे भाई अभी फरेमा गये हें कि में बद्य को कौमी रिवाज बनाना चाहता हूं मगर जन गैवारा नहीं कर सकते। में क्या करू मेरे साथ जन किया गया है जनाइ सद्ध ने कहा और मुक़ को यहां आना पड़ा，में कहता हूं कौन सा जन है जो उन पर गौरों ने किया और वह उन्हों ने मंजूर नहीं किया और तुम ．श्राज अपने ．भाइयों के जु को कूूल नहीं करते।

तुम को भाज जंग लड़ना है तो कौमी वरदी पहन कर आना चाहिये। आज जो दूसरी गीज़ पहन कर आता है तो जरूसत सभी को मालूम होता है कि वह भपने में से नहीं है। कहते हो तुम्हें कौम में से निकाएते हैं । कौन निकाउता है ？में अपनी फौौज में की चारिक ये अपने भाइयों को रखना चाहता हूं मगर दुरमम की－चत्रु की－फौज को नहीं रखना．चाहता（चीयई）भाइयों，तुम को अगर दुकुम दिया जाय विदेरी कवड़ा उतार दो तो तुष भगर कौमी 『ड़ाई लड़ना चाहते हो तो श्पपनी सबाल उतार कर देदो।

इहनो और भाइयो，शापचो चीयर्स मालूप है कि यह क्यों कहा जाता कि हिन्दुन्थान में श्य习 Certorial requirements की जरूत है। सारी दुनिया में यह किस्ती ने नहीं कहा कि फरां तरेह का कपड़ा फहना करो। हम चहते है Quality of work हृ cloth नहीं चाहते। महान्मा जी कहते हैं कि इस मुएक की Intelligentia पर मेरा भ्रसर नहीं। मुल़ को गिकायत नहीं कि वह Intelligentia उनको छोड़कर चल रही है। इल लिये नहीं कि वह अपनी Iutelligentia मे एक बेबक्रफ़ चर्ले की बात सुनना नहीं चाहती। मुदे तो रिकायत यह है कि This intelligentia is the most unintelligent in this world तुम कहते हो कि ऐसा कोई मुलक नहीं जिस में खद्र की Franchise हो लेकिन सुफे कोई ऐसा मुल्क बताओ नितमें ३२ कोड श्रादमी एक मुही भर के गुश्राम हों। लडाई में एक एक सिपाही ने खाना नहीं खापा जन तक कि Reading

Biscuit बन कर नहीं श्राया। एक एक बच्चा भी भूखा रहता जब तक कि Reading Biscuit बनकर नहीं ध्राया। लेकिन सारे हिन्दुस्थान में एक कपास नहीं दिसाई देती। भाप वहां Queen's garden में भी जाइये तो एक कपास का पेड़ नजर अा जायगा। $७$ हज़ार मोल की दूरी पर हमारे मुल्क कपास भेजी जाय और वहां से काडा तैयार होकर भाये इृलिये हम उसको भेजे।
 बाज़ार वस्त्र खींचा गया लेकिन उसकी सजा रही-नितना वस्न खींचा गया वह धाता गया। हेकिन श्राज मैंघेंघर के हाथ में उसकी सारी है और हम लोग उसे नेंगी देख रहे हैं (Shame, Shame) ज习 कि Suej cannel से जहाज नहीं मिलते थे, जित वक्त हिन्दुस्तान की तमाम मरीनें लडाई के औजार बनाती थीं उस वक्त Manchester ने क.,डा भेजना बन्द कर दिया 1 बंगाए के एक हिस्ते में दुс्नाइ पड़ा। हमारी Intelligentia भीख का ट्रुडा लेने के लिये बाहर गई ऐक्नि घर की स्तियां बहर नहीं निकली, भूखों मर गंई। इस्सलिये कि ! उनके पास कवड़े नहीं थे जिसे लपेट करेे जाहर निकलतीं लेकिभ तुम कहते हो कि हम Compulsion करते हैं। जहां कि गह हालं हो वहां क्या खद्र की ज्ञार्ता งब है।

सारी दुनियां ने इब महायुद्ध में देखा कि जब तक वालंटरी onterprise से काम हला तब तक चला। लेकिन जच नहीं चला तब सब ने Consoription किया लेकिन आज हमोरे भाई हीरत मोहानी श्राते हैं और कहते हैं कि हमारे साथ Compulsion करते हैं । हमरे बिलाफ़ लडने के लिये वह Voluntarily भाते हैं लेकिन दु₹मन से हड़ने के लिये Conscription से उरते हैं भाज हम लोग law को amend करना चाहते हैं। . वह हमारे हिन्दुस्तान में खसुतियत है मज़ों में Appendioitis बहुत होता है और हिन्दुस्तान में Amendicitis का मर्ज़ बहुत है।

जनाब, यहां सवाल विदे़ी क्यड़ा के बावकाट का नहीं है खली विदेरी बायकाट हो जाने ही से मेरा कोई फायदा न होगा। में नहीं ज़ाहता कि ७० करोड़ रुपया
पंडित मोतीर्लाल नेहाँने कहः:-
 उअका हिन्दी में या उर्दू में तरज़मा भभी छकरर नहीं भाया। लेकिन छापेलाने


















है में अंप्रेजी में उन भाइयों के वान्ते कह दूं तांकि जो साह्व हिन्दी नहीं समभ अ₹ते उनको माएूप हो जाय कि में अंग्रेनी भी कमी न कमी बोल्दंगा।

इศना सारांश पंडितनी ने अंप्रजी में कहा। पंडितनी ने फिर हिन्दी में कहा:माइयो,

इस प्रस्ताव को पेश करने के पहले मैं भापको एक मुरुतसर तौर पर इसका इतिहाम बताता हूं। आपको सं मारूप है मगर में भापको याद दिलाता हूं। यह श्रावको याद होगा कि स्वाज्य पार्टी डुरू शुरूू में कित हालतों में गया की कांपेल में कायम हुई थी।. यह भी आपको याद होगा कि उन भाइयों में जो स्वराज्य पार्टी के मेम्बर थे औौर उन भाइयों में जो मेम्बर नहीं थे बहुत मतमेद रहा। भाखीर में कंग्रेत मेम्बरों को इञाजत दी गयी कि जो मुनासित समझते हैं जिनकी राय में जाने से कुछ फ़ायदा होगा उनको अख्तियार है कि वे कौसिलों में जाँ लेकिल फिर भी स्वराज्य पार्टी की हालत ऐली रही जैसी खानद़ान में किसी सौतेले बेंे की होती है। कंग्रेत के बेटे दोनों ही थे जो कौंसिलों में जाने वाले थे भी और जो नहीं जाने वाले भी। ऐेकिन जो स्वराज्य पार्टी के मेम्वर्र थे उनको अपनी कोशिरों कांग्रेश के बाहर करनी बड़ती थीं। इसके बाद कल़कते में देश习习्धुदास और में स्वराज्य वर्टी की तरफ से करने और महात्वा जी निज की तरफ से तो नहीं अपन ही तरफ से और यदि पुधिये तो सारी दुनिया की तरफ से क्योंकि जो बाते करते हैं वह किसी हळ लिये नहीं बहिए सारी दुनिया के फायदे केलिये करते हैं। लेकिन इस मापले में वे एक तरक से और देशन्चु दास
 वहले कांप्रेप की तरफ से श्भन स्वरान्य वार्टी की कोई मुखालिफ़ित न होगी। बहिक स्वर्राज्य पार्टी अपना कौंसिका या पोलिटिकल काम जो कुछ करेगी और कांप्रेत जो नानकोग्रापरेरान से चलग श्राला है सन १८२० से उसको बिलकुल मुल्तनी कर देगी यही प्रस्ताव पास हुआा बेलगांव की कंगेंते में और उस वक्त की स्वराज्यापार्टी और वह भाई जो कौंतिलों के खिलाफ थे वह कांप्रेत में बराबर काम करते रहे । लेकित फर्क यह हुआ़ा कि भः कंग्रेश में स्वर्राज वार्टी को एक जगह दिया गया और

तसलीम किया गया कि उनको श्रदने घर में रूता मिलता है लेकित वही बातफिर भी रही क्योंकि जो कुछ वह काम करना चाहती उसके लिये पैला पार्टी को खुद मांग करे लाती।

घ习习 देशबन्धु दास के मरने के बाद ज₹ महात्मा गांधी और में कहकते में मिले तन महात्मा जी ने मुक्को एक चिही टिरी कि में इस मातम में जो स्वराज्य पार्टी को देशान्धु दास के मरने से पड़ी है उस में भापकी श्रौर अ्रापकी पार्टी की इसले ज्याढ़ा और क्या मदद कर सकता हूँ कि में आपकी वार्टी यानी स्वार्य पारीं को जो कुब में कूवत में है वह यह है कि उसको ताकत दूं और उसको कामयान करने की कोरिश करं घौर उन्होंने अपनी कैयाज़ी से ．अपने उचख्वाएल के वनह से यह कतला दिया कि अ习 स्वराज्य पार्टी श्राज से पोलिटिकल पारी कींश्रेत में समभी जायवी और जितना पोलिटिकल काम था वह स्वराज्य पार्टीं के हाण में दिया गया। इसके बाद पटना में जश भाल इण्डिया कांप्रेत कमिटी का इजलास हुर्भा तो उस में जो समभौता महात्मा जी और स्र्राज्य पारीं के दर्मियान हुआा उस पर एक पस्ताव पास हुग्रा था उसके दो ढ़िस्से किये गये－एक का नाम ए（A）रसा गया और दूसरे का नाम बी（B）एक तो यह था जो अभी भाप के सामने पास हुआ है वह $(A)$ वाला प्रस्ताव था वह खादी के मुताल्किक औौर स्पिनिगं असोशियेशान के मुताह्किक वह पFताब भापने अभी पास्कर दिया है और पटना में जो श्राल इण्डिया कांपेत क．मिटी में हुश्रा था उस में जो बी（B）भाग था वह पोलिटिकल काम के मुताल्धिक और कौंतिलों के काम के मुताह्किक था उस में चह कहा गया जो नानकोआपेरेशन मुलत्तबी कर दिया गया था तो अच मुनातिब यह है कि कंप्रेत अपवे हाथ में किर पोलिटिक邓 काम लेले और स्वाज्य पार्टी की सहायता जहां तक हो सके कौंसिश्ों में करेगी।

पटना में जन यह रिज़ोल्युरान पात हुुआ था तो घह नहीं कहा गया था कि कौनसा पोलिटिकल काम देश में किया जाय और कौंकिलों के काम में क्या खात बात की जाय，खाली उस में इतना ही कहा गया था कि स्वराज्य पाटी का जो पोग्राम है विएफेल उसी घोग्राम पर काम होगा। अाज़ घह मौका भाया है कि कांग्से उस रिज़ेल्युरान के पार्ट $(\mathrm{B})$ बी को स्वी घार करे और उसके बमूलिब काम के मुतालिक जो समझे वह हुक्षम धन्न दें।

श्र习 मैं श्रसली रिज़ोल्युरान पर आता हृं अलली रिज़ोल्युरान घह है कि जो पटना में तज़वीज हुई थी कि कांप्रेस को श्रव पोलिटिकङ काम करना चाहिये तो यह कंप्रेत वोलिएक₹ काम अभने हाथ में ते और ऐसे पोलिटिकल काम अपने हाथ में ले जो भाज कल की हाएत को देखते हुये मुल्क के फायदे के लिये हो और उस काम को करने के लिये कांप्रेत का जो रुया है वह सिवाय उस रूपये के जो चरखा संघ या जो किसी खाषा काम के वानते श्रहहद्धा कर दिया गयां है सिवाय उसके बाकी रूपया पोलिटिकल काभ के लिये खर्च करे। नान－ कोआापरेशन को मुलतब्वी कर देने के बाद घह बात मुल्क के सामने आई कि अब पोलिटिकह काम करने के खिये कौन २ काम किये जलयं क्या अादर्श हमारे सामने रखा जाय और उसे किस तरीके पर करें।

वहले तो अपना उसूल यह रिज़ोल्युरान आ१के सामने रखता हूं। वह उसुल क्या है। यह कंग्रेध का यछदादा है－कांग्रत को पूरा इतमिनान है कि सिवाय सिविल डिमओโबडियेन्म के भाखिर्र में और किसी तरह से हमारा काम नहैं निकल सकता। भगर हमारी सम कोजूरों बेकाम रहें तो अन्त में सिविल डितोविडियेन्स के सिवाय औौर कोई हथियाए हमारे पास नहीं जिससे काम ले से़्रे। पहले तो यह कांग्रेत की धारणा कांप्रेत का यकीदा भाप के रिजुल्युरान ये रखा गया। लेकिन इवके साथ गह बात मानी गयी कि अभी मुल्क सिविलडिमओविडियेन्त के लिये झ्ञाज ही तैवार नहीं। छ丬 जानते हैं，जो साह्व घखबार पढ़ते हैं जानते हैं महात्मा जी ने मेंने और किसी ने भी वह दावा नहीं किया है कि आज देश इस वाहते तैयार है कि टैक्ष देना बन्द कर दे सरकार से बिलकुल ताल्लु丂 छोड़ दे। तो जच हमारा असली हायियार हमोरे पास नहीं हैं हम को क्या करना चाहिये？तो जितना प्रोग्राम भापके सामने है वह सिलसिलेवार में रखता हूँ। यह रिज़ोल्युयन इस बात के लिये है कि जो बाते हपर्र अभ्रतली हथियार के काम में लाने से रोक्ती उनको दूर करें। जो पोग्राम श्रापके सानने रखा है उसका उसूल यह है। एक बात तो यह है कांप्रेत पोलिटिक काम अवने हाय में लें। दूसरी बात यह है कि जञ तक सिविए डिसओोविडियेन्म पूरी तौर से नहीं हो सकता उस वक्त तक आपको किसी बात का कोई भी भरोषा

नहीं कर सकता तो यह ल्राजमी बात है फिर आभे क्या किया जायगा। लेकिज जो हाल मोजूद हैं उस में जो कुछ हो सकता है सिविलडिएश्रोबिड़ेगेन्ब की तैयारी के वान्ते वह क्यों न किया जाय। कितने काम ऐसे हैं जिनसे हमरे देशारा घ巴 और ताकत जहती है और जिनसे हम सरकार का सुकाबला कर सकते हैं वह सश काप तो शुरू होना चाहिये। और जो काम ऐसे हैं जिनसे हमाश सुकाइला करने में सखकाए के सामने खड़े होने में हम को कमझोरी आती है वह चाहे भाज हो या $\rho \circ$ वर्ष में आयेगी वह काम कांग्रेस न करे। यह मोटी जातें कह दुंगा कि कौन कौन काम किये जायं औौर कौन काम न किये जायै। वह कौन ऐसे काम हैं जिनसे फायदा आखिर में होगा चाहे आज हो या कॠ या कुछ देरी में वह रख़ंगा। Constructive Progaramme यानी जो जो बाते सुछार के प्रोग्राम की उस जमाने में उ₹ कि अवहयोग का जमाना था वह सन से ली गयी हैं उन में कोगिरा की जायगी कुष्द न छोडोगे। एक जारगी होंगे। मगर किसने काम ऐसे हैं गो करना है बौर कितने ऐसे जो नहीं करना है। वहले यह बतला द्डूंगा कि करने के काम क्या है वह हम क.र्ये का Constructive Programme रखेे हैं। वे हैं चरखा और खद्द को बढ़ाने वाले काम, घन्नूत्दाद्धार करने वाले काम और उन जातियों को जो गिरी हुई हैं उनको बढाने वाले काम, गावों का संपठन (Organizaiton) गावों का झन्तेजाम, जो गावके रहने वालों को मЛबूती पहुँ घावें और तालीम दे राष्ट्रीय उसूलों का और मज़दूर ल्रोगों को चाहे बह करधे के मज़दूर हो झ्रापके काइतकाए उनको पहुँचाेे और शराइलेरी और भंगखोरी इककी बुगाइ्यों को रका करे और जमींदार काइतकाश में श्रण्छा रिशत्ता पैदा करें। यह तो वह काम है जो देश के अन्द्द करना है। श्रन चह तो रख दूं कि हिन्दुसतान के बाहर करने के क्या काम है वह घह कि श्रौर मुल्कों में निन्दुन्तान की सम्ची ? खर्ट पहुँचाना। भाज कल यह हालत है कि कौई समच्ची बात और मुल्कों में बड़े मुशिकल से पहुंचती है गर्ज़मन्द्द लोग भूठी और नुक्रतान पहुंचाने वाली बातों को छापते हैं। तो दूसरी बात यह है कि देशा के बाहर ऐसा इन्तेजाम किया जाय कि सम्ची २ खनर और भसली. असली हाल विदेशों में पहुंचे। अब मैं भाता हूं जो कौंतिल के सुताहिक है। मैं आपको बता देना चाहता




















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घ习 इसे तज़रीज़ कौन करेगा कि जवाब वाजिः है या नहीं। तो इसके लिये भाए इंडिया कіंग्रेत कमिटी एक भौर कमिटी बनावेगी जब हम लोग निकलेंगे और निकह कर कमिटी को यह ख्वर देंगे कि हम लोग कौंतिए छोड़कर चले आये। उस वक्त वह कमिटी आल इण्डिया कंप्रेश कमिटी की एक मीटिंग बुलावेगी और उस में यह तय होगा कि हममरे सामने क्या घोग्राम रखा जाय। वह पोग्राम घह बतलावेगा कि हमझो कौन २ से काम करने हैं। उन कामों में से ज्यादा चा कम चुन कर एक दो तीन मद रखे जायंगे सारे मुलक के सामने। और इसके साथ यह होगा कि उसके जाद कोई स्वराजिए किसी कौंसिल में या असेम्बली की किसी मीलिं में किर नहीं जायगा और दूसरी बात यह है कि जन आल इणिडया कांप्रे कमिटी की मीटिंग हो तो वह एक पोग्राम ऐसा भी बनावे कि अब की दफ़ा नवंचर में जो चुनाब होनेवाधा है वह किस उसूल के उपर हो और उसका एक ElectionManifesto तैयार कर्रेगी कि वह किस बात पर हड़ना चाहते हैं कौंसिलों में जाकर।

श्राप जानते हैं कि एक एक सीट के ऊपर कई उम्मीद्वार खड़े होते हैं और Munifesto में खाया जागया कि उनको कौंसिल में जाने के बाद क्या कर्ना होगा इसके सिवाय वे और कुछ नहीं करेंगे। इसके बाद एक शर्त देनी होगी और उसके ऊपर भी भापके सामने बड़ा श्शाड़ा होगा। मैं जिस बजह से इसे पेशा करता है वह यह है कि किसी हाल्त में जब तक गर्नमेणट की तरक से कोई ऐसा जबाः नहीं आयेगा जितको हम मंजूर करें हमके माने कांग्रेत है औौर हमारा हक है कि हमें अपनी अपनी तरक से कांप्रे को इतमिनान देना चाहिये कि उस वक्त तक कोई किसम की नौकरी जो गवरेंण्ट के देने से मिलती है जैसे Minister ship, Exeéutive Councillor-ship और Secretary ship यह कोई Farाजिए मंजूरू न करे। इसके भलावा यह बा़ रखी गयी श्रौर वह यह है कि धगर कोई बात अचानक भाजाय तो जो कमेटी मुकरिर की जायगी Working Committee के साथ काप करने को वह किसी खास मौके पर टैक़ बगैरह की बढ़ती रोकने के लिये ऐसे खास मौकों पर इजाजत दे सकती है कि फलैा मौकों पर स्वराजिन्ट जायं या न जांय। अलाव इसे एक बात जहरूी है जिते












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 88

अखस्त्त में घह भी तसलीम करने के लिये तैवार हूं कि अगर यह प्रस्ताव मेरा होता तो कहीं इससे ज्यादा कड़ा और कहीं इसससे नु पेश़ होता । लेकिन यही प्रस्ताव कांगरेत की Working Committee और Subjects Comimittee से मेंूर हुभा है Working Comnittee ने इसे Subjects Committee में पेश किया। उसके एक एक टुकड़े पर बड़ी बहल के बाद यह Subjects Comwittee से पास हुछआ और Subjects Conmittee में जो तरमीमें हुई : वह जावना मानली गयीं।

सः में अापसे इजाजत चाहता हूं कि भाष मुदे रुबहत्त देगे क्योंकि मेरा काम वह था कि में भा१ो बतला दूं कि भाखिए यह है क्या चीज़। अन जो आपके सामने दलीत्र पेश हो कि फलां हिस्मा क्यों रखा गया और फलां ज्ञात क्यों नहीं रखी गयी उस का जवान देने के लिये में फिर आवके सामने. हाज़िर होऊंगा।
(इस के बाद पंडित जी ने कुछ श्रंगेरेजी में कहा)
अमीरोंका जेव भरना चाहते हो लेकिन में भाभ से कहता हैं कि में उनसे काटर मिख ओनर्क को चहीं देना चाहता बलिक उनको देना चाहता हूं जो अपने हाथ से श्भनाज वैदा करते हैं। जो पेट भरता है तो Communision करना चाहते हो 1 पहले हिंद्दुन्भान के किसान दोनों वक्त पेट भर कर खाते थे । लेकित इत वक आाप बतलावें कि वे दो वक्त खाते हैं या एक वक्त (एक-आवाज भाई़) दोनों वक्त क्यों नहीं ? भब तो एक वक्त का ख्वाना Munchester में जाता है। हमरो भाई खद्दर नहीं पहनना चाहते। Communist बनते हो और मिल का कवडा पहनते हो Mill-owners के जेच में रुपया भरते हो मुभे तो रामचन्द्र और इनाहिम भाई का पेट मरना है भाई साह्ं जितके सर पर मुलीबत पड़ती है उसी का सर जानता है ।

देख़ार त्करीर की र्जजत की जो उसने कहा:-
मैंने ये जाना कि गोया मेरे ददल में ये भी हैं। किसी ने जो सिखा दिया वही करते हो तोते को जो सिखाया वही बोलता है! मेरे भाई $!$ सवाल़ Production का नहीं है सबाल Distribution का है। मैं भी Politioal Economy

जानता हूं । मेंने भी Political Economy पढ़ी है। श्राज एक सम्बा चौड़ा Prescription लंडन से भाये तो वह तुम्हें अक्सीर मालूम होता है लेकिन एक चुक्कला हिंनुस्थानी वैद्द का दो पैसे में मिलता है तो वह तुम्हे पसन्दु नहीं भाता। सारा कसूर महात्मा जी का है कि उन्होंने एक छोटा सा नुखता बतल दिया। क्या चाहते हो कि वह यह कह दें कि ७० करोड़ र्वया मैंचेछर और मिल ओनर्स को भेंट दें । लेकिल वह तो घह चाहते हैं कि v० करोड़ रुपया को सांरे हिन्दुस्थान में कैला दें। सवाल Production का नहीं Distributicn of wealth का है। मुभ को ख्वाल है कि-एक लेख में लिखा गा कि A hungry man is an angry man कमज़ोरी और गुन्मा साथ साथ चहते हैं । में भाई को गुन्सा बहुत श्भाता है और वह कमज़ोर हैं इश वान्ते पिट जाया करते हैं। घह तो पेट भरे के चोंचले है और इस गर्नरेमेंण्ट से हड़ना चाहते हो। जिस के पात्त Poison gas है; जश चाहे तथ तुमको मRल円कती है और आप इसले एड़नें के लिये चाहते हो गुस्भा से भूखे पेट से । नैपोलियन ने कहा था Every army is a reptile (श्रश्न मौलाना साह्व ने अंगरेज़ी बोलना ज्युरू कर दिया I)

श्रीयुत गिरघरी लाल ने आकर पहले श्रीयुत हमरत मोहानी के सुभार को बोट के लिये रखा। बहुमत से सुषार गिर गया और श्रन्त में मुख्य प्रस्ताव भाय: सर्वसम्मत से पास हो गया।

शाप डा. होम्म पेन्सिल मैनिवाक है आपने यह फरमाया है कि Quakers Association की तरक से हिन्दुन्वान की मैनुदाँ जंदोनेहए में इस कग्रेश में हप हमद्दी ज़ाहिर करते हैं। अ्रापने काा है कि जतूबी अफ्रिका से जो लोग श्राये उन्होंने आपके नेता को हिन्दुन्थान का सं से बड़ा श्रादमी बताया है। वह यह कहते हैं कि महात्मा गान्धी सारी दुनिया के सं से बड़े भादृी हैं । (त्रीयर्स) उन्होंने वह फ़रमाया है कि इस वक्त मगखी कौस और अमेरिका दौख्तन हासिल करने में बहुत मारी जद्दो निहदे कर रही है इसी लिये गरीनों पर जुल्म भौर भापस में जंग पर जंग हो रहां है। इस लिये वह चाहते हैं कि हिन्दुम्यान

## कानपुर कांप्रिस।

में महात्वा जी ने जो पिलात Passive resistance का पेश किया है उसले तमाम दुनिया को फ़ायदा हो। मगर्र भमरिका के जलिव से वह यह सकते हैं त₹ श्रमरिका ने आज़ादी की कोलिश की है उसी तगह अमरोका हिन्दुन्यान की आजाद़ी की कोशिरा को निहायत हम दर्दी के सं देखता है। (चीर्स)

इस के चाद पंखित मोतीलाल नेहर ने भपना प्रन्तान पेश किया।
ध्रोयुत पंडिन मदनन मोहन माखीय ने कहा: -
देवियो और सजनो,
जो सुछार में इल में चाहता हूं उत को में श्राप को संक्षेप में बताता हूं। रिज़ोल्यूरान अम्रेनी में छपा है इसलिये मैं भमजी में आप को अभी बताता हुँ; पीछे इस दा हिन्दी में श्रन्वाद अाप को मिल जायगा। मेरा सुछार पहला यह है। रिज़ोल्यूरान के पहले हिस्से में तीसरी लाइन में Carry on के बाद़ both in the Legislature and outside them ये शघ्द्द जोड़ दिये जाँँ । दूसरा पैराम्याफ़ त्रिलकुल उड़ा दिया जाय। तीसेर पैराग्राफ में Political work के बाद घह शच्द जोडे जायँ -The work in the Legislatures sball be so carried on as to utilise them...........for the advancement of the same cause. (देखो सुभार पैरा अ) वह पहला पैरगमाफ़ होगा। इस के बाद इस पेज में जो पह्या section है वह दूसरा हो जायगा और जो दूपरा section है वह तीसरा होगा और जो जो तीसरा होगा उसमें accurate information के घाद घह हैफ़ज़ घ्रौर जोड़े जायँ regarding the present position and aspirations of, Indians. दूसे पेज में १हली लाइन में 18t' February 1924 के बादद and of september 1925 यह जोड दिया जाय । इस के चनद इस मे के.कल स्राज्ब-पार्टी का जिक है। मैं चाहत数 कि वह यों हो-The Congress calls upon the Swarajya and Independent parties और shall को हeा कर to जो अद्विया जाय और Not to be aatisfactory के बाद वह वरफ़ज़ जोडे जायँ-by the A. I. C. C It shall convene a special session......... What course to adopt in relation thereto (देलो सुभाए) और जाकी एक रिज़ोल्यूयून खारिज़ कर दिया जाय।

इस प्रन्ताव को मैं भाप के सामने पेशा करता हैं। इस के मुख्य सिद्धान्त को में श्राप को बतला देना चाहता हूं। जो म्रहताव मेंने रखा है वह लोकमान्य तिलक ने
 कहा था-We shall co-operate............

मिंने यह दो वाक्य १ह१ह की कांग्रेत की रिपर्ट में से और देशान्धु दास की Fीीच में से ेेकर सुनाये हैं।

दूसरे पेज में मैंने यह रखा है कि The Congress call upon the Swaraiya and Independent Parties तो जब श्राप वहले हिन्से में दो वान्यों को रखते हैं तो यहां भी दोनों पार्टियों को रखना चाहिगे। इम के बाद बाकी जो इृ में दिखा है उस को खारिज कर दिया जाय । द्स का परिखाम घह होगा कि जन हम लोगों को माळूप हो जायगा कि गबन्वमेंट के पास इसका जवान क्या है तो इस के बाद स्पेरशल कांप्रेस बतलावेगी कि अव क्या किया जायगा घह मेरा विचार है। यह कोई ऐला आतान काम नहीं कि झतने detail में वहले जो कहा जाय उती के मुताबिक काम किया जा सके। इस में हमारे F्वराजिस्ट भाईयों का पूरा उपहास होगा। भगर हमरो स्वराजिस्ट भाईयों के उवहास में हमें खुरी होती तो में खामोश रहता। लेकिन मुझे निध्यय है कि जो इस प्तनाव में कहा गया है वह पूरा नहीं हो सकता क्योंकि जब स्वराजित्ट कौसिलों में गये थे तब उन्होंने Election notices में जो कहा था वह नहीं कर सकते। इस हंटी को बचाने के लिये ही हम ने यह घ्रFताव पेश किया है हम को वही Promises करना चाहिये जिसे हम पूरा कर सके ज₹ शाप कौंसिलों में जायँ तो निश्यय कर लें कि उनको हमें काम में लाना है । लोकमान्य और दे दाशन्धु के व्याए्यान को जो पढ़ सकते हैं उन्हें पढ़ना चाहिये। उन्होंने कहा We shall utilise

इस पर में विस्तार के साथ कह निवेदन कंखंगा में भाशा करता हूँ कि भाप लोग इस पर बिचार कर्रेगे एक ही निवेदेन है। कांगेस में जो प्रस्ताक कमिटी की त叉फ से पेशा नहीं होता उस के पास होने की कोई भाशा नहीं रखता। सुभ से फिर श्राप कह सकते हैं कि ऐसा क्यों करते हैं। मैं समक़्ता हूँ कि मेंा घर्म साफ़ है; मेरा जो विचार था उस को मैने भाप के सामने रख दिवा। भब भाप विचार कर्天 इस को मंजूर

करे या त्यांग करें। इसलिये बड़ा शम्छा अवसर आप के सामने आया है। श्राप इस पर् निष्पक्ष भाव से विचार करें कि जिससे सारे देश की हैँसी हो वह काम कर्शा चाहिगे या वह काम जिस से हमारी शक्ति चंढे। यही मेरा निवेद्न है।

स्वामी गोविन्दानन्द ने अपने सुषार को पेशा करते हुए कहा: बहनो और भाईयो,

जो प्रFताव मैं कल भाप के सामने रवंबूा वह थोड़ा इस प्रकारे का है। में सारा प्रस्ताव पंडित मोतीलाल नेहरू का कबूरु कग़ने के लिये तैगार हूँ लेकिन प्रस्ताव के दूसरे पैराम्रफक का वह भाग जिस में लिखा हुआ है कि हमारा देरा हिन्दुस्तान इस वक्त सत्याग्रह् के लिये तैयार नहीं। वह भाग निकाल दिया जावे। क्योंकि में समफता हूं कि उस से हमारी दुर्वलता जाहिर होगी। कल जो मुभ्के कहना होगा वह श्रां के सामने इम प्रन्ताव के संनंघ में कहूंगा।


Lady Volunteers going to work.

## तृती|य दिशस।

 हमारे दोस्त N. S. Marathy उन्होंने जो Amendment पेशा किया है उसे ताईद करने के लिये में आया हुँ उस में ल्रिखा है। इस पर कहने के पहले में भ्राप को एक बात बिलकुल साफ़ करके करना चाहता हुँ कि दू Amendement में कोई Personality हमरे फूँ्य नेता पंडित मोतीलाल नेहरू की तरह नहीं है लेकिन अगर भाप इस कंप्रेते में महान्मा जी के सत्य के Principle के उपर चलना चाहते हैं तः आप का यह फर्ज है कि हमारे amendment को पात करें। If you want common flag to reign in the Congress तो भाप हमार amendment के खिलाफ हो जायं। आपदेंबगे कि वहले यह कहा गया है कि एक मांग लेजिस्लेखि असेम्बली में पेश किया जाय अ्रगर response न हो तो स习 member बाहर निकल आवें। भगर इस Principle के रुपाध से National self-respect के रुप्पाल से कः भाई कौंद्सलों के बाहर निकलनां चाहते हैं तो हमारे पून्य नेता मोतीलाल जी और पेटे का पहला फन है कि वे भो National selfrespect के लिये जाहर निकलें। इललिये में दरख्वान्त करता हूँ कि भगर भाप Common-flag नहीं चाहते हैं तो इसे स्वीकार करें ।

श्री० पंडित मदन मोहन मालनीय ने कहाः 一
देवीजी, बहनो और भाईयो,

कल मेंने भाप को संक्षेप में भ्भवा प्रहताव कता दिया है। आज में कुछ विरोष रीति से भाप के सामने |  |
| :---: |
| के जो गुण और दोष हैं अताता हूं। और जो | प्रस्ताव मेरें व्योर भाई पंडित मोतीलाल नेहरू ने आप के सामने रखा है उसका में क्यों विरोष करता हूं यह् सझ समभाना चाहता हुं। इस समय में भाप के सामने जो प्रधान प्रस्ता मोतीलाल जी ने पेश किया उस में और. मेरे पस्ताव में क्या श्भर





 - 4 rs of 7 qres




















कि हम लोग ऐक्ट के अनुसार काम करेंगे, इस लिये कि जिस में संपूर्ण Responsible Government कायप करें । He said:-We are disappointed......

उस में उन्होंने फिर कहा-We want now to clear........
ॠर जो एक्ट गवर्नरेंट से पास हुश्रा है जिस के अनुमार कौसिल बनी है उस से हम लोगों को सन्तोष नहीं है लेकिन यह हम सारी दुनिया से कहना चाहते हैं fि We want to... ......

हम चाहते हैं कि हम अपना अ्रान्दोलन जारी रखें लेकिन यह भी चाहते हैं कि जो एक्ट पास हो गया है उस से जितना लाम हम निकाल सर्क निकाले इसलिये पूरी Responsible-Government कायम कर सने यह लोकमान्य. तिलक ने कहा। उस दिन बड़ी बह्स के बाद दोनों ने कहा। उस दिन बड़ी बहस के बादद दोनों तरफ से विद्यानों ने श्रपनी ग्रपनी राय पक्ट की । और बड़ी बहस के बाद समभौता हुआ। उस समभौता के मुताबिक यह संशोषन अन्त को स्वीकार किया गया। संशोधन यह था कि जन तक Responsible-Government न कायम हो डस समय तक यह कांग्रेस जहां तक बन सके इस को काम में लावें और उसके ज्रनुमार ...........इस तरह से रिफार्म को काम में लार्बे कि जिस से जल्द्य से जल्द Responsible-Government कायम हो। इस म्रस्तावं को स习 सजनों ने स्रीकार किया । मिस्टर दास ने इस के पास होने पर यह कहा कि हम यह कह देना चाहते हैं कि हमने इन समभौते को क्यों English......

हम गवर्नेमेंट से मिल कर काम करेंगे जहां हमारे जातीय हक का फायदा होगा और गवर्नमेंट की मुखालिफ़त कर्रेंगे जहां जातीय हक के लिये उस की जरू!त होगी। ध्राज जो आप के सामने प्रस्ताव है मेरा सुषार उस का यही अर्ध है । भाप उस नीति का अवलंबन करें जिस को $q \varepsilon q \varepsilon$ में महांत्मा गांधी, लोकमान्य, देशान्धु और देशा के सन्ञ नेताश्रों ने एक मुख से स्वीकार किया।

जो प्रस्ताव पंडित मोतीलाल नेहरू ने अाप के सामने पेरा किया है वह आधा वेटर है। इस लिये कौम की इज़त के रु्याल से मैं श्राप से कहता हूं कि ठंढी अकृ से विचार करो कि हमें क्या करना चाहिये। १९१९ में जन कि ऐसे बड़े २ नेता महात्मा जी,

लोकमान्य; देशाबन्धु भौर उस कांग्रेस के सभापति पंडित मोतीलाल नेहरु ने क्या विचार किया था।

इस के उपरान्त मल्ञत्मा गांधी ने खिलाफ़त के वजह से और पंजाज में जो जुल्म हुश्रा था उस के कार्या नानको-आपरेशान की पालिसी को —नीति को स्वीकार किया यह नीति बड़े ज़ोरों से चली औौर उस में सारे देश को संगठन के साथ उस पालिसी पर चलाया गया। लेकिन जो आशा थी मैहात्मा गांघी को श्रैर उन लोगों को जितना विध्वास था कि यह पालिसी सफल होगी उन के अनुमार वह् पालिसी सरल नहीं हुई 1 No; No कहने से काम नहीं चलेगा। जो मैं कहता हूँ वह अक्षरशः सत्य है। नतीजा यह हुआ कि जो कहा गया था कि कौंसिलों में नहीं जाना उस को फिर बद़्लना पड़ा। गया की कंप्रेस में महात्मा जी नहीं थे। उस समय देशबन्धु की सलाह किर से कौंसिलों में जाने की हुई। मगर इस के साथ चूँकि होगों की राय खिलाफ़ थी इस लिये वह यह कह कर गये कि कौसिलों को तोड़ने के लिये जाऊंगा।

एक छोटा सा मोट्टो (Motto) लिखा है——Behonest । उस को मैं याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ। वह् काम करो जिसे देशानंधु ने बताया। यहां मालवीय जी ने कुछ अंमेनी में कहा जो कौसिलों का काम है उसे करो खुरामद न करो। लेकिन लोग उस वक्त मह्तात्मा जी के उददेश से कौंसिलों में जाने के इतने विल्गफ़ थे कि वे उन लोगों को कितना ही समभाते लेकिन बिना उस शर्त के लोम कौंसिलों में जाने की नीति को स्वीकार नहीं करते। जच कौसिलौ में जाने लगे तो हमोर भाईयों ने प्रग्ट में एक manifesto fनकाला कि श्रमर गवनमेंट हमारी बात न मानेगी तो हम गवर्वमेंट को कद्प कद़म पर रोंकेंगे। कौसिलों को तोडंगे। Obstruction का क्या नतीजा हुआा हमारे भाईयो ने जो कहा था उस को काम में नहीं ला सके। मैं इस वक्त निन्दा करने के लिये नहीं भाया हूँ। अपने भाईयों की निन्दा करना मैं शारम की बात समझता हूं। हां उस पर शफ़सोस जरुर होता है।

मेरी राय जैसी थी वैस्सी ही अव भी देता हूं जो बात नहीं कर सकते उन से भलग हो। भौर मेरा धर्म है यह आप से कहूं। इस टिये कोई भाई यह न

सममें कि में अपने भाई मोतीलाल जी का भनादर करना चहता हूं। में चाहता हूं कि जो देश के लिये हित है उस को भाप सुन लें और समम लें। उस वक्त जो बड़ी २ बातें कही थीं उन को पूरा न कर सकने के वजह से बड़ी हेसी हुई । जन से हपरे भाई Fनराजिएट कौसिलों में गये उस वक्त से जितने काम भाये उन सब में कर्रवाई उन होगों की वैसी हुई है जैसा देशचनच्धु दास और लोकमान्प तिलक ने कहा था। उन्होंने उसी Responsible-Co-operation की नीति को स्वीकार किशा। उन्होंने कहा था हम Budget को पास न होने देंगे। वह केषल वहले साल सफ़ऋ हुए। उप का कहुखार हूं तो मैं हैं और ज़िम्मेदार हू तो मैं हूं। मुझे यह भाबना हुई कि भगर यह विंख पास होता है तो जो जुल्म गवर्ममेंट कर रही और (Tax) देन्म लगाती जाती है यह बहुत वेजा हैं तो मेंने कहला भेजा कि में Finance Bill का विरोष करता हूं और हमारी सब की कोशिश से Finance Bill खारिज हो गया लेकिन यह उन का Programme चल नहीं। दूसरे माल उन्होंने कोरिस की जरू, लेकिस वह कामयान नहीं हुए। में खुद उस में शामिल नहीं हुआा। इस लिये वह सफल नहीं हुए। तो में कहता हूं कि जो कुछ पहले स्वराज्प-पार्टी ने कहा था उस का अनुपरण नहीं किया। घाज किर यह कहा जाता है कि हम ऐला ऐसा करेंगे लेकिन यह निश्यव है कि जो लिखा गया है उस को हमरे भाई नहीं करंगे तो में चाहता हूं कि फिर एक मर्तवा हमारे भाईयों की बन्भामी न हो कि उन्होंने यह सब कहा था लेकिन किया नहीं इस लिये में चाहता हूं कि वही कहा जाय जो चाप को करने की भाशा हो जो आप के वृते के सन्द्र हो। वह क्या है जो श्राव कर सकते हैं। हर मामले पर On the merits बहम होनी चाहिये। जन कोई बात विरोष करने की हो तो सं मिल कर उस का विरोष करें और जहां संशोषन की ज़रूरत हो वह संगोषन करं । दूने साल किर Buaget पेश हुपा। हम लोगों ने कहा कि हम बलली $3 \mathbb{F}$ के तीन तलन को काटंगे और त्रीन तबन खारिज करें । उन्होंने Constitutional Protest किये कि हम इस को ठीक नहीं समझ़ते। हम लोग एक ही पात कर सरेका चाकी में लोगों की राय मुत्तफ़िक चहीं हुई। अब जितने मामले पात होते हैं उन में उन को morits पर विचार

कर के राय दी जाती है। इसी करण यह भी भाप देखें कि जश कौसिलों में प्रसिड्टंट के चुनाँ का मामला पेश श्राया स्वराज्य-पर्टी की रोय थी कि ओोहदा नहीं ऐेना चाहिये ौौकरी के भोलदे सीजकार नहीं करना चाहिये । लेकित स्वराज्य पार्टीं की राय से हमारे भाई निहुछ भाई पेेळ खड़े हुए और हम सब लोगों ने बोट दे कर उन्हें चुन ल्रिया। उन्होंने इस जगह को स्वीकार किया। इस तरह से ज母 स्कीम कमिटी मुकर्भरिए हुई तो सन से राय कार के पंडत मोतीलाल ने उसे सीकार किमा। आप जानते हैं कि पे सेडेग्ट को चार हज़ार की तनख़्जाह
 उन्होंने देखा कि वह कौसिल्र में रोड़ा हटाने का काम कर सकते हैं। एकीम कमटी की बड़ी तारीफ़ पंडित मोतीलाल नेहरू करंगे। उन्हें उस से बड़ी अभा है पर्त्वु भुझ़े उतनी नहों है। तन भी जो कुछ हो ह्म सज यह समझ़ते हैं कि उनको सकीम-कमिटी में मेंबर रहना चाहिये।

शब वह पेश भाता है कि स्वराज्प-पार्दी जो कहती है वह करगी। दो बातों से सत्य की परीज्ता होती है एक तो यह कि पहले जो कहा उसे किया या नहीं। या दूसरी घात यह हो सक्ती है कि उसे मौका ही नहीं मिला हो। जन स्वरानिए्टों ने कहा था. उस समय अनहयोग की ताकत थी। तब भी उन्होंने जो कहा था उसे किया नहीं। अन वह किर कहते हैं। इस समय वह ताक़त नहीं। सं स्वराज्य-पार्ग्री के दीवारा में एक बड़ा भारी ध्भन्तर पड़ गया है। उद का एक भारी खंभा जिसको महाराष्ट्र-पार्टी कहते हैं के नहर, जयकर भादि उस नीति से भलग हो गये हैं। वह लोमान्य की नीति को बुलन्द्र करना चाहते हैं । मैं जानता हूँ कि अगर राजनीतिजों में कोई ऐसा पुखा हुआ जो सचा राजनीतिज्ञ था तो वह लोकमान्य बालगंगाषर तिएक थे। सन ने रामनीति में धोखा खाया। महात्मा जी ने भी धोला खाया लेकित एक पुरु जिसने धोला नहीं खाया वह लोकमंन्य तिलक हैं । हमारे भाई जयकर और केलकर फिर उस नीति को बुलन्द् करना चाहते हैं। वह क्या कहते हैं । घुस जावो गर्नमें के घर में और जितना हो सके उतना निकाए कर साओ। भ्यव वह यह कहते हैं कि अनुमव करने के लिये जाओ कौंसिल में।




























उसूल Guard-Policy कायम कर दो । इन लिये मैंने लिखा है कि पहला वैराप्राफ़ श्राप निकाल दे त्रौर उसके जगह पर वहाँा घह लिब दें-The worl in the Legislative. of the same cause. यद प्रवान बात मेर इस संरोषन में है । यदि झ् को श्राप मान ले तो श्राप को इतने तकलीफ़ की ज़रूरत नहीं कि गब्नमेटे श्रगर न माने तो क्या करेंगे और माने तो क्या करें बत खाली एक मोटी बात कह दी। और दूसरी बात जो मेंने पेश की है कि श्रमर गर्वमें है लोगों की जो मांग है उसे नामंजुर करें और अगर A. I. C. C. को माऊूम हो कि वह ठीक नहीं है तो वह एक स्पेशल सेषन बुलावे और उस में घह बहत हो कि गर्नमेंटे ने जो कुन किया है वह काक़ी है दा नहीं। हमारे भाई़ लेक्नि उस प्रत्ताव में यह घात चाहेते हैं कि आखीर में A. I. C. C. इस पर फैमला करेगी। उन्होंने ल्रिबा है कि स्पेशल कमिटी बाद की A. I. C. C. का एक जलषा कायम करेगी और सपना काम A. I. C. C. के सामने पेश करेगी (यहैँा पर पंडित जी ने कुछ अंमेपेनी में कहा) तो वह भी A. I. C. C. के सामने आखीर में पेश करना लाजिमी समझ़़े हैं। मैं कहता हूँ कि A. I. C. C. उस को सोच लें और यदि उस को ठीक न समभें तो एक खास्त जलता कांपेप का करें।

इस में अप को बाकी जितना प्रस्ताइ है उस को खारिज कर देने का मौका है। घौर में कहता हैँ कि उस प्रस्ताँ के दूमरे पैराग्राफ को ज़रूरे खारिज कर दो। वह क्या है ? वह दूसरा पैराग्राक-Civil-Disobedience के लिये है कि— This Conference reiterates its faith............nation's progress towards Swaraj. (देखो प्रस्ताव पैरा २) में बहचा हृँ लड़ने का तरीका यह नहीं है । Civil-Disobedience के मामले में घहुत दिनों से ज़ोर देने की रीति चली आती है। महार्मा गांधी से ज्यादा Civil-Disobedience के लिके मुल्क तैगाश्रहीं। महात्मा गांधी ने सन् ९९२०, ९ह२१ मू इसको जितनी ज़ोर से चल्राया वह सि जानते हैं लेकिन अ्राप को माहूम है कि वक्त न श्राने के कारण उस को बारदोली में मुल्रती करना पड़ा किर खखनऊ में Civil-Disobedience करने के हिये अरज किया गया। मैंने कहा यह क्या करते हें-मुलक

## बृतीय दिवस।

इस के लिये तैयार नहीं है। मेरे ध्ररज करने पर इस के लिये एक कामटी कायम हुई। मैंने कह दिया कि लोग इस वक्त तैयार नहीं हैं Civil-Disobedience के लिये और उस कमिटी ने भी जो मुकरर हुई थी यही राय दी कि मुल्क Civil-Disobedience के लिये तैगार नहीं। उसके बद्द महात्मा गांधी ने भी यही राय जाहिर करे दी ग़रजे कि छोटे बड़े समी ने यही कहा कि अभी Civil-Disobedience का मौका नहीं आया है मुलक उसके लिये तैयार नहीं है। इस लिये में कहता हूं कि इस वक्त Civil-Disobe ${ }^{3}$ ieuce की चर्चा बिलकुल वेमौका है। कोई कोई भाई कहलंगे कि हम तो कुछ कर नड़ीं सकते फिर गवर्वमेंट को ष्ष्मकाने के लिये ज़वान से भी न कहें । लेकिन यह अँ̈पज़ बड़े करेटे है । वह यह सं खून सममते हैं। एक अग्रेज़ अफसर ने कहा या कि जितना कडडी म्पीच यह् लोग देना चाहें देलेने दो समभलो बक रहे हैं। हम लोगों की सीीचों से उन पर कुछ असर नहीं होता।

इस वक्त भाप कहते हैं कि Civil-Disobedience is the affective weapon यह गलत है। मैं कहता है कि नंहीं है Last resort में एक ही Weapon जिस से हर देश के श्यादमी श्राज़ाद हो सकते हैं वह खड्ग है। Civil-Disobedience अन्तिम शत्र्र नहीं है। वह तो खड्ग हधियार है। में कहता हू Civil-Disobedience Constitutional method हैं Non-payment of Taxes Consititutional method है । में इस से घ्रागे जाता हूँ। गवर्नमेंट के अधिकारियों के खिलाफ़ King Emperor के राज्य को उलटने के लिये नहीं मगर उन के नौकरों के बेइन्माफी के खिलाफ़ उनको उलट देने की मंशा से हथियार उठाना भी Constitutional method हैं । में फिर कहता हूँ कि उस वक्त के Civil Disobedience करना न्याय है Tax न देना न्याय है और उस समय श्रत्न लेकर श्रन्याय को मिटाने का यत्न करना विलकुल न्याय है । (चीयर्स)। लेकिन श्रभी इस के कहने की ज़रुरत ही क्या है । खाली भापको और अपने दिल को खुरा करने के लिये । यह तो इारम की बात है। मगर न्याय न करेंगे तो ए币 रोज़ ₹गावत होगी गवर्नेमेण जब समफलेगी तब ठीक होगा। इस लिये जनतक भा१ उन बातों को करने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं तन्तक उसकी

चर्चा न करें। भाप कहेंगे चर्च भी नहीं करने दोगे तो Civil Disobedience कैसा करेंगे। अरे भाई, Civil Disobedience के एक चह तरीका है कि सि पैदा हुआ था जच रौलट बिल पेश हुई थी। उस समय देश्रा के एक कोने से हिमाल्य से लेकर कन्या कुमारी तक एक भाव भर गया था। उस समय महात्माजी हड़ताल के लिये कहते थे और सारी दूकाने बन्द हो जाती थीं। परन्तृ इस समय एक भाई एक दूसरे के खिलाफ़ है इस हालत में Civil Disobedience नहीं हो सकती तो मैं कहता हूँ कि वह तरीका श्राध्तियार करो कि जिस से Civil Disobedience करने का मौका मिले। आपत में एकता का भाव पैदा करो। मैं समझताहूँ कि तमाम कोशिशे फिजूल होंगी जन तक सब में एक्रा का भाव न श्रावे। मुमकिभ है वह Round Table Conference न करें और निबुआ नून चटा कर सब को चलता के उस हालत में अगर स习 एक होकर एक आवाज उठावें तो गर्वमेंट हमारी बात सुनेगी। इस लिये हर एक काम के लिये एकता की बडी जरूरत है। लेकिल आाज क्या हालत है। श्राज गवर्मूण्ट को जनता की बातों का बिलकुल रूगाल नहीं है। आव जानते हैं सरदार खड़गतिंह एक कच्छ बांध कर पंजान की ठंढ में पडे हुए हैं। कितने शर्म की बात है। आप देखते हैं कि भ्रकली भाइयों पर कितना जुल्म किया जारेहा है। गुरुद्रारा ऐक्ट पास हुआ लेकिन नवाज सर मालकम हेली ने अभी तक उनको बन्ध कर रखा है। इस से बढ़कर कोई क.मीना से कर्माना काम नहीं हो सकता है। लेकिन कुछ नहीं हुआ। इसी तरह से बगाल के मामले में गवर्मेण्ट ने फिर बहुनों को घैद कर लिया है और गवर्नमेण्ट बैठी हुई है उस के कान पर जूँतक नहीं रेंगतीं। इस का कारए भी कमी सोचा है ।. (किसी ने कहा Your obstruction) नहीं भ्याप की सबख हैं। माइयों, हम में आप में एऋता होनी चाहिये । स्वराज्यपार्टी इंण्डिपेण्डेण्ट पार्टी को मिटादो एक कांग्रेस पार्टी सार देश में कायम करो। एक ही पार्टी कांग्रेस की स习 जगह होनी चाहिये। और हजारों कांग्रेस की संस्थायें कायम होनी चाहिये तः काम चलेगा । भाज हिन्दु मुसलमान अलग हो गये हैं। श्भाप देखते हैं Liberals एक तरफ अपना Federalists कर रहे हैं। स्वराज्य पार्टी कौसिलों में अलग जा रही हैं। लेजिस्लेटिव असेम्बली में स्वराज्य पार्टी

की एक तरफ बंरी बजती है तो दूसरी तरफ Independent Party की बंरी बनती है। यह सब कुछ होगा जब तक हम झन वार्टियों को कायम रखेगे। जब. सब एक कांग्रेत के साये में आ जांय। लेकिन क्या भाज जमींदार कंगेंते में हैं जिस समय कबक्ते में कंग्रेत हुई थी उस समय वे लोग ज्ञामिल थे। लेकिन आज कितने यहां है ?

मुन को स्वराज्य पार्टी से बैर नहीं है लेजिस्लेटिव श्रसेम्बली में कोई मौका नहीं भाया जित में मैंने स्वराज्य वाटीं के खिलाक राय दी। मेरी और स्वराज्य पार्टी की राय क्रीब करीच एक ही रही। भाइ्यों, में २५ वर्ष से काम करता आया हूं हमने मझ श्भलियत देख ली है। झाप इस तरीके से चाहे रिजोल्यूयन पास कर ले स्वराज्य-पारी चाहे कितनी ही कोरिशा करले लेकिन जन तक कि ऐसे ऐसे ल्रायक आदमी जैसे केल $\begin{aligned} & \text { जर } \\ & \text { जयर } \\ & \text { डा० मुंजे और fि० भणे }\end{aligned}$ अ1खे भलग हैं तब तक आप की कामयाबी में बहुत शुरुहा है। इबका नतीजा यह होगा कि इस स्वराज्य-पार्टी में भी कई पार्यों हो जायंगी । तो में यह अरज़ करता हुं: कि आप वह रिजोल्यूरान को वास करें जित से भापस में इच्चफाक बढ़े।

प्रधान प्रस्ताव Inconsistencies से भरा है। भगर में पूरी तौर से बयान करू तो ज्यादा समय लगेगा । भाप तीसरे Clause में देख लिखा है कि कांप्रेस उस को मंजूर करती है जो रिजोल्यूश्शन स्वरान्प-पर्टी धौर इण्डियंडेएट-पर्टी ने अ्यसेम्बली में पेश किया था। दूषरे जगह कहते हैं कि सवाल करेगी। में ₹्राप को बता देना चाहता हूं कि स्वराज्य-पार्टी और इण्डिपेड्डेट्ट पारी एक दूसरे के मदद के बिना चावल भर मी काम नहीं कर स₹तीं। दोनों का मिलना जहूरी है जिस प्रकार स्वरान्पवार्टी को जरुतत है इण्डिपे्डेण वार्टी की उसी प्रकार इण्डिपेण्डेट्ट वर्धी को Fवराज्य पार्टी की जरूत है । सभी तो भाप एक तरक से कहते हैं हम इतिकाक बहाना चाहते हैं। हमने र्वृनिग क्रोंचाइ़ज़ (Spinning Franchise) की जगह पर चार श्राना कर दिया है इसका क्या नातीजा होगा क्या कांप्रेस की ताक्रत नहीं बढ़ेगी? और में कहता हूं इसी लिये ज़खरी है कि हम झाप इस पर किर से गौर करें। इस मामले में यही जो श्राप के सामने पेश है उस की ओर में तबन्ज़दद दिलाना चाहता हूं।
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 1 Hf ses sefrpipuro




चु कर हम जल्दी से जल्दी अवने उद्रेश के पास पहुँच सकते हैं। हमारी सररोज्य की लड़ाई के दो हिस्से हैं। एक तो खुद एड़ाई और दूसरी लड़ाई की तैपरी । इसी को राजनैतिक शु्द्वाबली में हम Destructive धौर Construtive Programme (विध्यात्मात्मक और रचनात्मक कार्वक्म) के भाम से पुकारते हैं। इत प्रस्ताव में ये सी बाते भा जाती हैं। मैं तो यह कदृँगा कि हमरार दुर्भाग्य से इस समय देश की जैसी स्थिति है उस में इसते अच्छा प्रक्ताव और कोई हो ही भहीं सकता। हपरो कुछ मित्र यह भापति करते हैं कि इस प्रल्ताव में कहा गया है कि मुल्क इल समय सन्यागह के लिए तैयार नहीं है। इत में से अधिकांश खुद इस बात को मानते हैं कि इस समय देश में जैसी हा वह रही है उसको देखते हुए दे को सर्यावह के लिए तैयार नहीं कहा जा सकता। लेकिन वे यह कहते हैं कि हमें प्रह्ताव में इस बात को नहीं लाना चाहिए। इन बात को कहने से हमारी कोई कमजोरी साबित नहीं होती। हमने जो कुछ कहा
 अनुरूल नहीं है। सत्वाग्रह के शाचार्य महार्वा गान्धी की भी चही राय है। उन्होंने भी कहा है कि देशा अभी सत्यावह के लिए तैयार नहीं है। ऐकिन इस के मानी यह नहीं हैं कि देश सत्यागह के लिए तैपार ही नहीं हो सकता। वायुमण्डल एऋ ऐनी चीज़ है जो हमेशा बदल्री रहती है। में तो कदू้ॉगा कि वायुमंडल बादलों की छाया की तरह बदलता रहता है । यद्यदि दुर्भाज्य से भाज देशा का वायुभंदुँ सत्वाग्रह के लिये उपयुक नहीं है—त्रेकित निंश भी कौन मह संता है कि श्राज से छः महीने बाद देश का वायुमंदउ सत्यावह के लिये उपयुक्त नहीं हो जारगा? इस के घ्यलवा ग़ेर तैयारी की जो बात कही जाती है वह सिर्फ Mas3 Civil Disobedience (सार्वजनिक सत्याम्यई) की बाबत कही गई है। जहां कक व्यक्तिगत सत्याशह से सम्बच्ध है वहां तक तो हम हमेशा तैवार हैं-इस वक तैयार हैं । और जब चाहें, तथा जरूती समक़ें, तथभी वैयक्तिक सत्याइ्रह कर सकते हैं।

श्रभी आपके सामने महामना मालवीय जी ने एक तरमीम पेश की है। वे इस मन्ताव को नहीं मानते। महापना मालवीय जी भी देश के एक बड़े पून्य-

नेता हैं। उनके भागे मेरा मस्तक श्राप ही झुक्त जाना है；लेकिन मुभे बड़े श्रफसोम के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि मैं महामना मालवीय जी की इस तरेमीम से सहमत नहीं। यह तरमीम पेश कर के वे हमें पीचे हटने की सलाह दे रहे हैं। और यद्यवि，सालों के लिहाज से，वे हमें सिफ़फ छ：वर्ष पीछे हटटन को कहते हैं；लेकिन राष्ट्रीय－तरकी के लिहाज़ से और राष्त्रीय सम्मान के लिहाज़ से वह हमें साठ रर्ष पीचे ढकेल रहे हैं। मालन्रीय जी अपनी इश तरमीम से हमोरे देश का भपमान करते हैं। इस वाहते मैं महामना माल्रीय जी की इस तरमीम का विरोष करता हूँ। पून्य माल्वीय जी ने कहा है कि यह प्रस्ताव तो त्री है और न पुरुः। परन्तु मैं यह कहूंगा कि यह प्रस्ताव ही भी है श्रौर पुरुष भी। यह पूर्ण（Complete in itself）है। मनामना मालनीय जी सनातनधर्मी हैं। बे हमारी ज़ान्मिक गाथाओं को भली भांति जानते हैं। हृमारे घर्म के लिए यह कोई नई शौर अभूःपर्न ज्ञात नहीं है। हम जानते हैं कि श्यद्धात्न महाप्रमु－शिव जी महाराज स्री और पुरष दोोनों हैं। इसलिए में कह सकता हुं．कि यह प्रस्ताव इस समय शिव－स्ररूप है—इस समय वह यह कहत्ता है कि देश सत्याम्रह के लिए तैयार नहीं है लेकिन जन वह रुद्र रूभ धारण करेगा त⿹丁口 देश की दुर्गात का संहार कर देगा।

महामना मालवीय जी ने पण्डाल में टँगे हुए एक मूल－मंत्र की ओर सक्षते कर के कहा था कि Be honest（ईमानदार बनो）। में मालवीय जी को विरवास दिलाता हूँ कि हम Honest（ईमानदार）हैं और इस मामले में उनके पक्के भनुगायी हैं । लेकिन ह्मारी दूसरी ओर एक और मोटो，जिस की：तरफ़ माथेवीय जी ने ध्यान नहीं दियां Mend or End（सुधार करो या संहार करो） है। और यदि＇ईमानदार बनो＇वाल्रा मोटो हमारी Right side（दाहिना पक्ष） पर है；इसलिए हमें यही मूल मंत्र सन्निहित है ।

महामना माल्दीय जी ने भाप के सामने $\{E\{\varepsilon$ की अमृतसर की कांप्रेस में जो कुष्ब हुआ था उसको पढ़ कर स्रुाया है और श्रीयुत जे० एम० सेन गुत्ता साहच ने भाप को यह बताया है कि महामना माएवीय जी ने लोकमान्य तिलक और देशाबन्धु दास के भाव को मिथ्या व्यक्त किया है। पर मैं तो यह कहता है

कि अगर दल़ील के 'लिए ' वह भी मान लिया जाय कि महामना माल्बी जी ने जो कहा था वह ठीक है तो भी इन से घह सावित हरणगिज़ नहीं होता कि हम्म अब भी उसी नीति को मान हेना चाहिये जिसे लोक्रमान्य या देशानन्धु उस समय चाहते थे।। उस समय, सन् \{ह२४ में, स्वयं महामना मालवीय जी इस नीति के विरोधी थे। अगर वे Responsive Co-operation (सहदोग के बदले सहयोग) की नीति को मानने हुगे हैं तो क्या लोकमान्य तिलक जो उस समय उन से भागे थे इस समय भी उन से भागे थे इल समय भी उन से भागे न होते ? महामना माखनीय जो कहते हैं कि मिनिस्टर हो कर हम शिक्षा की उन्रति कर सकते हैं। मैं यह मानता हू कि माल्मीय जी के सामने में निरा बचा हुं लेकिन राजनीति के एक विद्यार्थी और प्रान्तीय ठ्यवस्थापिका सभा के मेम्र्र की हैसियत से मुझे भुल्क की मोजूदा श्रामन-प्राल़ी का जो योड़ा बहुत ज्ञात और श्रनुमव है, उस के आषाषर पर में यह कह्र सकता हूं कि मैज़दा हालत्त में माखीय जी जैसे योग्य व्यक्ति भी मिनिस्टर हों, तः भी वे मुलक की कुब भी भलाई नहीं कर सकते। मैचुद्धा शाबन प्रणाली के अनुमार हमारे बनट के दो भाग होते हैं। Votable and Non-votable-खर्व की कुछ मदें ऐली होती हैं जिन पर कौंसिल की राघली जाती है; कुछ पर नहीं। सरकार कुछ महक्ममों को सुरक्षित रखती है और मिर्फ कुछ महकमों के खर्व पर हमें रोय देने का श्रक्षार देती है। इल तरह सरकार के अवने दुछारे महकमों के खर्व के बाद जो योड़ा सा रूपया बच जाता है, वही बस मिनिस्ट्यों के महकमों के रूनें के काम में भाता है। इस तरह हम भगर मिनिस्टर हो कर शिक्षा-प्रचार करना चाहें, तो नहीं कर सकते । श्रौर उस में भी भगर गार्वर्र fिनिस्टर की किसी नीति से सहमत न हो, तो गर्वर्नर उसे रद कर सकता है। और भगर गगर्नर भी मंजूर करे हे तो फ़ाइनेंत मेम्बर उस में घ्यड़ंगे ह्या सकता है। मतख习习 यह कि मौजूद्वा हालत में ओहदे ले कर हम मुलक की कुछ भी भलाई नहीं कर सकते।

माइवीय जी की वाकरान्ति को सः लोग जानते हैं। उन लोगों के द्वदय को अपनी ओर भाइर्षित करने की बहुत अधिक शक्ति है। इस्लिए मेरी भाप

से प्रार्थना है कि भाप माल्रीय जी की बातों में न श्रांे और पंडित मोतीलाल जी के प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार करें। एक कवि के शब्द्दो में उस प्रस्ताव का सार यह है:दीन हैं, हम, किन्तु रखते मान हैं। भंज्य भारत वर्ष की सन्तान हैं ।। न्याय से अधिकार अपने चाहते। क्या किसी से, मौँगते हम दान हैं ? इन शब्दों के साथ मैं एक वार किर इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ।

श्रीयुत लाल लाजपतराय ने कहा: —
सदर साह्वा देवियो श्रौर मेरे भाइये।
मैं इस गरज़ से श्राष के सामने भाया हूँ कि इस रिज़ल्यूरान के मुताह्धिक श्रपने रूयालात को साफ़ तौर पर आापके सामने पेशा करू। मैं आपसे वादा करता हूँ कि मैं बिलकुल माफगोई से काम लुंगा और कोई बात Mental Reservation श्रवने दिलमें बाकी नहीं रखंगा। मुपकिन है कि इस साफगोई से मुझे देश के सभी नेतात्र्रों से इखितलाफ़ राय करनी पडे। मगर मैं कदूँगा वही जो मेरे दिल के भाव हैं और्रो जिसे मैं सचा समभता हूँ। मुझे इस ज्ञात को वयान करने में अपने पृजनीय नेता श्रीमान मालनीय जी से मुखाहिफ़ित करनी पडे। अप लोगों को मालूम है कि मेरे दिल में उनके वाहते किस कद्र श्रद्धा और भक्ति है 1 मैं आपको अपने पिता के समान समझता है और इस वास्ते मुके अत्यंत दुख होता है। जन मुझे मज़नूरूरन उनसे मुखालिफ़त करना भडता है। दूमरी तरेफ़ भाप को यह भी मालूम है कि मेरे दिल में इस वक्त उस बडे महापुरुष महात्मा गांषी के वान्ते बहुत बडी भक्ति चौर बहुत बडा प्रेम है। मगर मुझे दुख है कि उनके साथ भी दुर्भाग्य से इृक्तिफ़ाक नहीं है। इस वासते मेरा Position काविल रहम के है चाहे अपने नेता से इखितलफ़ राय रखू तो भी जो कुछ मेरे दिल में भाव है उन्हें आप के सामने अग्ट करूंगा।

मित्रो, हमारी हालत अत्यंत शोचनीय है और सच तो गह है मैं अपने दिल के अन्तरीय भाव से कहता हूँ कि हम को अवने सामने दो गज़ आगे का रास्ता भी दिखाई नहीं देता। ईमान की बात तो यह कि हमरो सामने एक किसम का बिल्कुल अन्वकार छाया हुुआ है। और हम निश्थित गौर से इमानदारी से

यह नहीं कह सकते कि हम कैसे मंजिते म₹सुद तक पनुँचगे। एक तरफ़ हम Cooperation के लकज़ से नफरत करते हैं और पूरी तौर से समझ़ते है कि Co-operation करने से न कोई फल निकला है और न भाइन्दा कोई फल निक्लने की उम्मीद हो सकती है। ऐेकिन इस के साथ ही निहायत शोक से तसलीप करना पडता है कि हम Non Co opperation के लायक नहीं। हमारे भाई ने कहा है कि नानको भ्रापेरशन कामयान नहीं हुआा काइा भपनी कि मैं भी अपनी भोर से कह सकता कि नानको-आपेरेरान कामयान नहीं हुआ। मैं अपना विश्थास कई जगह पगट कर चुकाहूं कि नान-कोभापेरान की बुनियाद भरळ सचाई पर है। इस के साथ वह भी बतराना चाहता हूं कि हम ने श्रपनी कमज़ोरी से नान कोश्रापरेशन की जहाज़ को गहो समुद्र में डुछा दिया घौर उसको निकाळ बाहर करने की अभी किलह्हा队 हमूं कोई उम्मीद नहीं दीवती भाइयो। गह समभलेना चाहिये कि दुनिया के परदे में एऋ ही नीति एएए मौके के मुताबक नहीं होती ।

दुनिया के Intellectnafs सममते हैं कि इ्वर भगरे दुनिया में कोई दो आद्मी हुए तो एक हिन्दुF्थान में महात्मा गान्धी और दूमरी तरफ रूममें लेनित हुभा। लेनिन रूस में Communism का प्रचार किया। ऐेकिन मैं ध्रापको याद दिखाना चाहता हूं कि जिस समय (Hungary) हंगेरी में सोवियट गबर्नमेन्ट कायम हुई थी तो लेनिन ने कहा कि यह बडी वेक्रूफ़ी हुई क्यों कि वह मुलक इसके लिये तैंयार नहीं है। उसने साफ़ कहा कि रूस 900 साल के बाद इस काविल हुए कि हमें सोवियट गर्ममेण्ट बता सं। हंगरी ने इसके लिये अवने को विथकुल तैयार नहीं किया और उससे कुछ उम्मीद करना पूरी बेशक्फफ़ी है। मेरे कहने का मतरब यह है कि वही धर्म सचा है जो देश काल के अनुतार हो। इस भकार का पोलिटिकल वसुल अपनी माक़िक हालत में सरज़मीन होता है वरना नहीं। सम्चाई की हालत क्या है इसके का माने है। आाइये हम चन्द एहमों के लिये को-््रापरेंशन और नान-कोआआपेरान दोनों पर नज़र डलं। १\&i९ से पहले हमने सारी उम्र कोआपरेशन में खर्च की। उसते ज्यादा क्या और कोझापरेशान हो सकता है जो हमारे नेताओं ने इस गर्नमेंट के साप लडाऱ के मौंके

पर किया। इस से ज्यादा क्या कोश्शावररेान कोइ जाति किसी दूसरी गवर्नमैंट के साथ कर सकती है जो हमने किया। लेकिन इस कोआपरेशन का क्या फल हुआ एक तरफ़ इसका फल हुआ जल्रियावाल्रा बाग और दूसरी तरफ़ Treaty of Service日: साहनों, इ१ के बाद़ हमने समझ़ा कि राजनीति में सच्चाईं के वसूलोपर ध्यांन नहीं दिया जाता। हम पहले समझते थे कि इस गअर्नमेट को चल.नेवाले निहायत सन्चे अ द्री हैं वह्ट ऐसे पागल नहीं कि अ्रपने ताकंत के रहते हुए किसी मातहत कौम को योंही अ।जाद़ी दे दें। इस वानते इस पोलिटिकल वसूल की सचाई को बिना समझे हुए आप इस चात का भरोसा करते हैं कि घ्र्येज आव के साथ इन्नाफ़ करेंगे। हां, अंग्रेज़ यह वेशक चाहते हैं कि जहांतक ताकत में कोई कभी न भ्रावे, उनकी ताकन वमज़ोर हुए वगैर जहां तक आप के साथ इन्माफ़ कर सकते हैं उसे स्रूनेंगे। आपस के भगडों को निहायत इमानदारी के साथ निकालने की कोरिारा कर्रेंगे। जहां पर उनकी घ्यसली मशा हिन्दुस्थान पर हुकूमत करने की है वहां पर वह श्राप की वेहबूद्री भी चाहते हैं। वह यह चाहते हैं कि श्रापके खैरख़्नाह रहें लेक्रिन याद रखिये जिस वक्त भाप कोई ऐसी हरकत करेंगे जित से उनकी सल्तनत की बुनियाद कमज़ोर होगी या कोई एसी ह्रकत करें जिल से उनकी पोलिटिकल ताव.त आप के हाण में भाती हो उस वक्त तपाम कानून को वालाये ताख रख़ कर आप को कुचल देंगे। याद़ रखिये यह असली सच्चाई है जो मैं आप के सामने कई दफ़ा कह चुका हूँ कि जिस दें तक आप उनकी बुकता चीनी जड में तेल नहीं डालेगे डम दरजे तक वह हमारी सुनेगी हभांरा इन्माफ़ करेंगे। लेकित निर लह्दे पर ग्राप श्रानाद़ी के लिये कि सर उठावंगे वह अाप को कुचल देंगे। जलियानवाल चाग में क्या हुश्रा जेनरल डायर को उन लोगों से कौई दुशमनी ने थी उसे किसी से कोई श्रदावत न थी मैं समशता हूं वह कोई वहरी भी नहीं था। उस ने इमानदारी से कहा है कि उस तमाम तहरीक को देख कर मुझे खुवा हो गया कि यह ब्रिटिशा गवमेंण्ट को निकाल की तदृनीर कर रहे हैं इस वास्ते उतको ऐसी रिन्ता देनी चाहिये जिस से दोषारा ऐसी हरकत करने की गुर्रत न करे।

यह Boundary की हद्ध थी। (Co-operation) को-आपरेशान की। $१ ₹ २ ₹$ के तर्जुमे के बाद हमारे धर्मात्मा नेता महात्मा जी ने कहा कि हमारा
(Co-operation) को-आपरेशान खतम हो गया। मुझे माफ़ करेंगे श्रगर में
 और साफ़ दिल हैं वैसे ही उस के मुखालफ़ भी हैं। उन्होंने समभा कि वह अपने Soul-force से गवर्मेण्ट की तोपों का सामना कर सकते हैं लेकिल उन्हों ने यह नहीं जाना कि यह गर्वर्नेण्ट किस कदर चतुर है उन्होंने गर्मेण्ट की Cunuing policy का अन्दाज़ा नहों किया। वेशाक हम लोगों ने उस वक्त बडी कुखवानियां की। लेकिन में यह् घात नहीं मानता कि हमने स्वराज्य के लिये जितनी कुरवानियों की जरूरत है उतनी की। फिर भी हमने खास काम किया। इस से ज्यादा काम क्या हो सक़ा है कि चाल्रीस हनार भादपमी जेलों में चले गये। उस वक्त भी उस के Diplomacy के resources इतने थे कि उसने हमारी तमाम Soulforce को खतम कर दिगा। इस गवर्नमेंट ने ऐली कार्राई की जिससे हमारे ही हाथों हमारे ऊपर जुते पडे। इन पिद्धले वर्षो में क्या हो सका। गर्नमेंट के ओहदेदारों की और भी ताकत बढ़ गयी। उधर से लार्ड वर्कनहेड हम को Sermon सुनाते हैं और हम सर नीचा कर सुन लेते हैं। क्यों कि वह जानते हैं और हम महसूत करते हैं कि हमारी तमाम रोखी के पुशत में कोईं Sanction नहीं है कोई एसी चीज़ नहीं है जो उन को हमारे Fक्हूल को देने पर मज़वूर करे। क्या इस का नतीजा है। हम कुदुती तौर पर चाहते हैं कि घ्राश्रो भाई अच्छा फिर Co-operation करे जो हमारा दिल यद् कहता है कि नहीं भाई यह रास्ता ख़ाइ है लेकिन ज习 कोई दूसरा रास्ता दिखाई नहीं देता तो कुदर्तो तौर पर यह रासता देने पर कहते हैं देखो भाई यह लोग मले मानस हैं उन की बःत मान लो उन की बात पर तो चलो। उस के साथ थोडा Co-operation ही कर लो। भाप समभ लें कि देशबंबु ऐसा बुद्धिमान और शेरदिल आदूमी जो देश की श्राज़ाद़ी के लिये लडता हुआआ मरा जिस ने सन कुछ देश के लिये कुरवान कर दिया वह भी उनके जाल में अागया। भाप को याद होगा कि दार्जिर्लिग में उन्होंने महात्माजी से क्या कहा था देशाचन्धु को अपने मरने से चन्द्ध दिनों पहले यह भाशा थी कि लार्ड वर्केन्हेड इस मुलक के विये कुछ नुमाया करने वाले हैं। उन के मृत्यु के चार

पांच्र दिन बाद वह Statement सुनाई पढ़ा। अभी उनके स्पीच के (Dots) डाटस भी नहीं सूखे थे कि उनके रु्याल के बिलक्रुल वरएँ वह्र (Lord Berken-. head,(लार्ड वर्कनहेड का वह स्टेटेण्ट निकला।

मेरे ध्यारे भाइयो, मै भाप को यह बतलाना चाहता हूं कि इस समय बडी कठिनाई इस बात की है कि हम करें क्या। न तो नानकोआपरेरान करते बनता है और न कोअपपरेान। कोआपरेरान तो हम करना नहीं चाहते और अन्दर से आवाज़ आती है नान कोश्यापरेरान करो लेकिन उस के लिये ताकत ही न्हीं है। तो हम बडे पशोपेश में हैं हमारे बल नहीं कि नानकोआपरेशन करे और कुदरतन हमारी कमज़ोरी हमको को-अ्रापरेरान की ओर ढकेले जा रही है। एसे समय में कोई कैच फ्रेज़ काम नहीं करेगा। को-आपरेरान Responsive Co-operation नान-कोश्रापरेशान यह कोई इस वक्त आप की सहायता नहीं देगा। श्राप को दे a ना होगा कि हर मसले पर हर कद्म पर श्राप क्या करें। आप को सोचना होगा कि भाप के मुखालिफ क्या चाल चल रहे हैं। और आप उस की चालों को किस तरह Meet करें। दो किस्म की कार्राइइ Remedy होती है एक जिसे अंगरेजी में कहा जाता है Curative और दूसरा जिसे भंगरेजी में कहते हैं Preventive तो Curative अ्राप को दिवाई न दे तो Preventive दवा ले लीजिये। इस वास्ते मैं श्राप को बतलाना चाहता हूं कि मेरी राय में इस समय जो हम इस तल्राश में है कि हम को कोई Catch Phrase मलना चाहिये बिलकुल बेकाम है। हमारे वास्ते स习 से पहला काम यह है कि हम श्रपने र्याल को मज़बूत करें इस के साथ हम उन तमाम Remedies को वर्तें जिस से हम कूसरों को अपने ऊपर हानि पहुँचाने से रोक सकें। एक तरफ़ कोरिश करे कि दूसरे ध्रगर हमारी मदद नहीं कर सकते तो उन से नुकसान होने से तो कम से कम बचना चाहिये । मैं यह द्रखास्त करना चाहता हूं कि आप CatchPhrase को छोड कर काम करे।

Co-operation तो हम गवर्नेंटे के साथ कर नहीं सकते लेकिन करना चहते हैं। हम अरज करते हैं कि हम को Negotiate करने का मौका तो दो लेकिन धीरे से जवां मिलता है जब तक Complete surrender न करोगे तब

तक जबाइ नहीं मिलेगा। और जब Surrender कर दो तो कहते हैं अब तृम में बल नहीं है तुमसे बात करने से फायदा ? यह नीति है। चही नीति है कि हम से एक आदमी कहता है कि को-भापेरान करो तन तुम्हे जवाः, दंगे और जब कोत्रापरेशान के नज़दीक शाते हैं तो कहते हैं तुम्हारा कोई Influence नहीं तो कोभापेरान से कुछ नहीं मिंेगा लेकिन मैं जानता हूं कि मेरे पून्य नेता माखीय जी ने जो कहा है उस में मी कुछ समच्चाई है। लेकिन में भाप को बतहा देना चाहता हूं कि मेरा ख्वाल इस बारे में क्या हैं। में चह्ता हूं कि मूलक में एक पोलिटिकल पाटी हमेगा ऐसी बनी रहे जो इस गबनंमेंट का ऊंचा से ऊंचा बहदा मंजूर करने के लिये तैपार न हो। मैं जानता हूं इस बात को कुछ बहदों को स्थीकाए करने से कुछ फायदा हो सकता है लेकिन मैं पुउता हूं कि भगर Government of India के Executive Councillor या पंजाइ कैविनेट मिनिषर ही हो जाते तो वह क्या कर सकते थे। में उन से पुअवा हूं कि श्रगर उस गवर्नमेंट ने श्रकाबी दल को unlawful करार दिया तो क्या वह वहां से बाहो नहीं निकल आते। गुभे किव्वास है कि जयकर्रा इस तौर पर कभी २ हफे से भी ज्यादा मिनिट्री नहीं कर सकते हैं। उन के दिक्र में ख्याल है कि वह Obstruction करने के लिये जा रहे हैं मुदे माफ़ करें वह समझ़ते हैं कि गवर्मेणट नादान है। वहले तो वह उनको Obstruction का मौका नहीं देगी तो उन की अ्रहुविषा के पीछे अपनी कारखाई छोड़ेगी भी नहीं। इसलिये मेरा विरवास है कि जो इाइत अज़ादी का भक्त है वह इस गबर्मेएट के मातहत होकर कोई काम नहीं कर सकता। मैं इल बात को मानता 党 कि बंबई प्रांत की हालत बडी नाजुक है और मुलऋ में इस वक्त जो कुछ श्यन्बा धुन्व कैला हुआा है जित तरह से बज़ीर मुकर्रर किये जा रहे हैं जहां ऐसे लोग ताकत की मसनद पर बैठाये जा रहे हैं जो अपनी खुदारज़ी के लिये बैे हैं भगर इन जाहों पर हमारे श्भादमी जाय तो वह कुछ रोक थाम स से । लेकिन मुदे विश्वास नहीं गर्वर्मेंट की मसनद पर कोई ईमानदार हिन्दुस्तानी दो चार महीने से ज्यादा ठहर सकता है। इस देश में कंग्रेत पार्टी या कम से कम कोई ऐेसी पार्टीं रहनी चाहिये नो हमेशा इल झ्झण्डे को बुख़्द्द खे कि हम को कितनी ही तनख्वाह दो और कितनी ही जागीरं दो

लेकित हम तुम्हरे मुल्खाज़िम नहीं होते। मैं चाहता हूँ कि देश में एक वारीं हमेशा ऐसी बनी रहे जो ज़बर्वस्त्त से ज़ार्द्धक्त Temptations पर लात मारे।

मैं ने सारी दुनिगा में आवाराग्रीं की है। मैं आप को ब?ला देना चाहता हैं कि हमारी कौस हिन्दू और मुसलमान-इमानदारी में Character में दुनिया की किसी कौम से Inferiorनहीं है दूसरी बात घह है कि जिम किसम को पोलिटिकहु बदमारी घहां नज़र भाती है वह उन्हीं मुल्कों से तशरीफ़ ल्राती है। कोई घह न समझ़े कि दुनिया के तमाम गुनाह हमने मौल ले लिये हैं। यह र्वाल बिएकुल गख़त्र है। मगर पुरकी यह है कि हम इपानदारे हैं, नेकचलन है, लेकित वैोों में बडी है हम दलित है। एक तरफ गिरे है उठाना सुराकिल है उस पर जो श्भाता है लात मारता है। कहीं टोपी उतार कर ले जाता है कहीं कमीज़ और कहीं वैजाभा भी खोल ले जाता है। क्या करे हम में Individual character तो भोड़ा बहुत है लेकिन ह母 जो चोहैं कि हप संगठित काम करे तो नहीं कर सकते हम में संगठित Character नहीं है। हमारी कौम जिसे में हिन्दू कहा करता हूं भाज मैं तमाम कौम को कहता हूं कि उनके रदमाग के श्नन्दर एक कीड़ा है (Philosophy) फिलासफी औरे लाजिक का मुझे याद़ है कि कई मित्र अमरीका में झुभ से पूखा करते थे कि हमारी सं से बडी कमज़ोरी क्वा है। में कहता था कि हमारी सब से बडो कमनोरी Logic श्रौर Philosophy है। में कहता हूं ' कि दुनिया (Logic) ल्राजिक पर कायम नहीं है श्रौरे जश तक हिन्दुस्थान (Logic) लाजिए नहीं छोडेगा तः तक भाज़ाद नहीं होगा। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि भाप Illogical बन जाय मैं कहता हूं कि श्राप Logic और Philosophy को :Hobby बना कर अपने घरों में रलो ऐेकिन उसको खुदा बना कर उस की पूजा न करें क्यों कि हमारा ज्ञान मुकम्प弓 नहीं है जिस से हम ल्याजिक के कहने ही पर चले। ल्राजिक (Logic) पालिटिक में Fail कर जाती है वहां Facts of Logic illogical घन जाते हैं। लेकिन दूसरी कमज़ोरी हमारे श्न्दर है और जिस से दूपरे फायदा उठाते हैं वह यह है कि हम बाल की खाल निकाएने के बहुत अदी हैं। हम समभते हैं कि दूसरों की बात वरदाशत कर लेने में ही घर्म है तुप लात खाओ वुम्हरी औरतों को दुनिया लात मारे लेकिन किसी के वरखिलाफ़ हाप

न उठाश्रो। मगर में कहता हूं कि घह ख्वाल कि हम बरदाइत कर लें यह हमारी हानि करता है घंदाशत करने का र्वाल Political Field में ोोलटिक मैदान में भी खरावी लाता है। में इस बात का पूरी तौरसे से Consciouz हुं कि हपारी हालत--बेचरगी की हाएन-उस शर्स की हालन है जो अध्रे में टटोलन्ता फिरता हो और उसको कोई रास्ता न दिखाई दे जहां हृम आव अपनी कमज़ोरियों से तंग है वह उस के साथ वहली जबरतत है कि हम को छढ़ा होनी चाहिये। को आपरे शन से कोई बात न मिलेगी वह तो कहते हैं दरखाँस्त करो मेरे भाई कहते हैं कोई ऐमा रिज़ोल्यूरान पेशा करो जित में दरख्वाहत हो National demand जो हम (assembly) श्रसेम्घली में खंबगे उस में क्या कहलेगे यही कि हमें कुऊ Basis बातचीत नहीं करूँगे। भगर Complete surrender करो तो तुससे बातचीत करें। लेकिन Complete Surrender के माने यह है कि हम भाज्ञादि की कोशिशा छोङकर उनके जालमें श्राजांय। तो में आपसे अपील करूंगा कभी ऐसा नहीं करे लेकिन में अ्रावको यह भी बतलादेना चाहता हूं कि में एन्नरानियत के हामियों में में भी नहीं हूं। हपारे बुर्गुर्ग गह समझ़ते थे कि मानसिक विचार हमारी ताकत के बापस हैं। आज कल लेकिन समझा जाता है कि एन्ष̄ हमारी ताकत के सबूत हैं। यह बिलकुल गलत हैं। एन्तरानिया करने से हरागिज कुछ नहीं बनता और मैंने कल भी कहा था और ₹्राज भी कहना चाहता हूं कि घमकक्रों से कोई काम नहीं बनता में पूजनीय मालवीप जी से पूरा महमत हूं कि Bluff हमारे लिये खाली हिमा कत की जात है।
 कहते हैं कि साह尹 हम तो Civil Disobedience के लिये तैवार हैं। एक भाई ने कहा कि (Leader) लीङर जो कोई मिल जाय तो हम १० महीने में Civil Disobedience कर सकते हैं। में उससे पुख्या हूं कि क्या उनको इल के लिये महात्वा गांधी से बहतर लीउर मिल सकता है जिन्हों ने बारदोल़ी प्रोग्राम बना कर सिविल नाफरमानी को मंसूख कर दिया। क्या कोई़ बात है जो वह साकित करे कि बारदौली पोपाम से देश का नकशा बद़्र गया। मेरे मित्रो हवाई किले न बनाओ क्यों कि हमारे सामने सचमुच्चे के किले बने हुए मौनूद्द है जिन को बहाना

## कानपुर कंश्र्रेस।

है। मेर भाई कहते हैं साहच हम तो तैयार हैं लेकिन चह लीडर लोग तैयार नहीं है। में उनसे पूखता हूं कि अगर लीडर तैयारे नहीं है तो उन को घता वता कर क्यों नहीं श्भागे आाते। बह जो रोज़ शिक्ञावत करते हो कि लीडोों ने हमारे साप घोला दिया कि ग्रापने जेलों में जाकर मज़ा करते थे और हमें बाहर छोड दिया। घह उन की गिकायत भूठी है। 80 हज़ार श्रादमी जेळ्र में गये क्या नतीजा हुआ आज रोते हो। भ्रावरागर्द हो कहते हो काम करने की भी कावलिघत न रही बाल बच्चे भी तबाह हो गये। यह रिकायत केजा है लेकिन जो भाई कहते हैं कि मुल्क सिविल नाफर्मानी के लिये तैयार है तो क्या उन्हों ने यह बात सोचली हे जो बात $\{\varepsilon \uparrow \&$-९९२० में हुई वह फिर न होगी। दूसरे भाई प्लैऐकार्म पर अ्राकर कहते हैं हम स₹ मरने के लिये तैवार हैं। में जानता हूं कि वे सच कहते हैं। लेकित में यह कहना चाहता हूं कि भाई मरने के नाते इस देश के लिये जातीयता के लिये मरना श्रालान है लेकिन इस देश के लिये जीना मुरिकल है। मरना क्या मुरक्रिल है। एक मिनट में सैझडों भादमी मर जाते हैं। हर रोज एक काटे के बल पर हजारों मुजरिम मरते हैं। श्ञाज़ादी के नाते मरने से जीना ज्यादा कठिन है। व्वारे भाइयो मरने, की जुस्तजु करो। जी कर देश की पूजा करो मर कर देश नहीं ूूजा जाता।

ज习 मैं जे ऐखखानों में था-अव मैं एक गुनाहि का निक्र करूँ-तो मुभे देरानन्धु की एक चिही मिली उन्होने पूक्ञा था कि Civil Disobedience के वारे में क्या राय है। मैंने उनको जबाश दिया कि इस दका अगर कोई लाख डेढ़ ल्राख श्रादमी नहीं मेग सके तो Civil Disobedience का नाम न ले। एक बात और भी याद रखिये। जेलखाना जाना भासान है लेकिन जायदाद का कुडकी होना असह है। Civil Disobedience शौर Non-Payment of taxes अभी जारी नहीं हो सकते। उसमें Property का सवाल श्राता है। हमने भगर No-tax campaign: श्रु किया ज्रौर जायदाद भी कुङक हुई तो क्या अाप उत खतेर के लिये तैयार हैं। किर Civil Disobedience क्या होगा। अभ वान्ते मैं भपसे दरख्वात करता हुं कि साप इस विधास को अपने दिल से निकाल दें। एक तरफ माननीय मालनीय जी कहते हैं कि यह Civil Disobedience

का पैरा रिज़ोल्यूरान में से निकाल देना चाहिये। एक तरफ हमारे भाई तरमीम पेश करते हैं कि "इस वक्र मुल्क Civil Disobedience के लिये तैयार नहीं" इसे निकाल दो। यह दोनों दहीलें इस बात को साफ करती हैं कि रिज़ोल्यूरून को इस शकु में पेश करना जहरी है। एक तरफ़ लोग कहते है कि Civil Disobe dience सुमकिन है। दूसरे कहते हैं कि टैक्स न देना यह Unconstitutional नहीं है। औौर में खुरा हु दस बात को जान कर कि हमारे लि्वियल भाई इक्त बात को कनूल करने बगे कि Civil Disobedience constitutional है। तब भी हमरोर भाई अखबारों मे कहा करते हैं कि Civil Disobedience unconstitutional है। उन लोगों को घह बतलाना चाहता हुं कि देश Civil Disobedience को unconstitutional नहीं समझझ़त। उनको गह वतलाना अरूदी है कि आाखिरमें हमारी निजात झसी से होगी। झस के साथ ही दूसरी तरक हमारे कौजवान हर तीसरे दिन उठ खडे होते हैं उनको भी तसली देनेने की जरूसेत है कि भाई जरा मेहरवानी करो।

मैं अप को बतलाना देना चाहता एूँ कि सब से पहिली बात जिसने मेरे दिल पर श्रसर किया वह Civil Disobedience clause था। मैं चाहता हूं कि कांप्रेत की तरफ़ से भाखिरी तौर से कैसला हो जाये कि Civil Disobedience हमारी भाखिरी गोल है। इस वालते जो तरमीमें भाप के सामने पेश की गयी हैं उनको नामंज़्र करें। यह पहला वसूल है यह वहले शक़ हैं इस रिजोल्यूशन की जिस ने मुफ को अपील किया। वूसी बात उुस क्जिज़ल्यूइनन की जिसने मुस़को अपील किया है वह यह है कि इल रिज़ोल्यूटान से कौसिति की तमाम कारखाई स्वरोज्य पार्टी के हाथ से निकाह कर कांपेरे के हाय में रखी गयी है। यह पहली बात है कि कांप्रेत की फैटैटफार्म से एलान किया जाता है कि आइन्दा तमाम कारखाई कौंसिलों की कांग्रेत के ओोर से होगी। उस में एक पार्टी nonco-operation ही की नहीं। उस में ३, 8 , पाटी हैं। मैं चाहता हूं कि देश की पालिटिक्स एक पार्टीं के तंग दायरे निकल कर खुले दाघरे में श्रा जाय और कई लोग मिल कर उस में काम करें । इस लिये दूसरा फ़ापदा इस रिज़ोर्यूरून का में यह चाहता हू। में पारे घाधयो. तीसरी बात जो उस रिज़ोल्यूरान के संबंघ में कहना चाहता

हूं बह यह हैं कि लोगों का यह ल्याल है कि चह रिज़ोल्यूरान भानमति का तमाशा है लेकिन मैं कहता हूं घह भहीं हैं। हम कहते हैं हम मौजुदा हालत में ढाई महीने तीन महीने काम करलें जैसे भागे करते भाये हैं। इस के बाद एक तारीख को कौंसिलों से जाहर निकऊ भायेंगे और आऋर अपनी कमिटि से कहेंजे कि अच श्राइन्दा क्या करें। हमने चह नहीं कहा कि हम वापस नहीं जांये या हम घह करंगे या वह कोंगे हम घह कहलंगे कि एक तरफ़ श्रपने Failureका demonstration करके श्राइन्दा के लिगे हम हुकुम मांगते हैं। उस के माने गह स्वराज्य पार्टीं भाइन्दा के लिये झ्रपने को कंग्रेत के ह्वाले करती है। इन के साथ लेकिल यह भी कहा जाता है कि इस का Logical नतीजा तो यह होना चाहिंे कि पेेल अपनी प्रेजिडेन्टरिप से इस्तीफा दे दें। और मोतीललळ नी एक्रम कमिटी से इन्तीका दे दें। इस का Logical Conclusion घह नहीं होगा। इसका Logical नतीजा यह होगा कि यह अभफ्तिगार A. I. C. C. को हो वह जब चाहे तथ पंडिन मोतीलाल और fि. पेटल से इन्तीफ़ा दिला दे ।

में भाप से दरखास्त करूंगा कि आप अपने Amendment वापृ हेलें। में चाहता हुं कि भाष इस प्रश्नर र्याए रखते हुए अापकेmmendment को नामंजुर करें 1

इल के आगे इस रिज़ोल्यूप्रन के दो चार हिन्से हैं। उन में यह एक फिकरा है कि पान्तीय कमिट्यों को अखित्तयार होगा कि वह कौंसिलों के लिगे Candidates को चुने। मेरी राय में चह बेट्दृध है।

भाइयों, मैं किसी Cath Phrase ${ }^{\top}$ काय天 नहीं में किसी व्मूल का कायल नहीं जहां कक कांग्रे मुझ्ने कोई ऐसा हृव्म देगी जिसे मैं सममझा ट्ठें कि मेंरे देश के लिये हानि का रक नहीं है में कंप्रेत के उस हु尹म को तबलीम कहुंगा लेकिन जहां कांप्रेत कोई ऐसा काम करने को कहेगी जो देश के लिये हानिकारक है में उस को कभी क़नूल न करंगा। इस वान्ते में श्राप सामने दरल्वास्त कहंगा कि एक को आप तो मंजुर करें दूमरे को वापस करलें और तीसरे पर जैसा चाहें वैसा करें।

डाक्टर मुंजे ने कहा：－
मेहखान भाइयो，
बहुत थोडे में आप बहनों और भाइयों के सामने बयान करता हैँ। आवने अभी लाला जी के विचारपूर्ण व्यारूयान को सुन लिया है और लालानी ने बडी वेदान्त की भाषा में चडे विचार पूर्वक आपके सामने बयान कर दिया कि क्या करे हिन्दुस्थान के आदमी बडे सच्चे चडे नेक्नीयत हैं। इस के खिलाफ़ अंग्रेज लोग बडी कुटिल नीति के श्रादमी हैं। श्习习习 उन दोनों का नेक और कुटिल का साथ एक ठिकाने होने से व्यवहार कैसे चले। हमारे एक बडे कवि ने कहा है—भारवे： अर्थ गौरवम्। उस कवि के हर शब्द में बहे २ महत्व पूर्ण सिद्धान्त रखे हैं। लाल्लाजी आाज बडे पेच में पडे हुए थे कि हम हिन्दुस्थानो लोग बडे नेक हैं घ्यौर अंग्रज बडे कुटिल नीति वाले हैं। इस वेच में लाळाजी पडे हुए हैं। हमारे भारवी कवि उनको मार्ग दिखलाते हैं जित को आाज श्रेम्रनी में Responsive Co－operation कहते हैं। भारवी क्या कहते हैं＂बजन्ति ते．．．．＂वह मूर्व श्यादी इस दुनिया में परामव पाता है। कौन वह अादुमी जो कि कुटिल ग्रादमी है जो मायावी आदूर्मी है उनके साथ कुटिलता से व्यवहार नहीं करता वह झ्रादृमी दुनिया में पराभच को प्राष होता है। लालानी ने वही बात चतलायी है। लालाजी ने वही मार्ग खुल्खया है और में उम्मीद करता हुं कि लालानी का भाषया मेरे Responsive Co－operation के अनुमोदन में है। मैं लाल्ञाजी की इस बात को कवूल करता हूं कि जितनी पार्टी हिन्दुन्तान में है सत पार्टियां इस कांग्रेस में होनी चाहिये। में लाला जी की यह् बात भी क．बूल करता हूं＇क काप्रेस की कोई एक पार्टी ऐसी भी होनी चाहिये जो मिनिस्टरशिष नहीं लेना चाहती इस को मैं कनूल करने के लिये तैयार हूं। मिनिम्टर तो दुनिया नहीं हो सक्ती लेकेन किसी न किसी को ऐेना ही चाहिये तो लालाज़ी के व्वाळ्यान का यह नतीज़ा निक्रता है कि ऐसी पार्दी भी हो जो कांग्रेल में भी बैठे और मिनिस्टरी में भी बैठा करें। और फिर लालाजीने कहा है कि लानिक（Logic）और फ़िलासफी को खुदुा के वाFंत पालटिकस में न लाओो। में भी यही कहता हूं। अन मैं अ्यपनी मराठी भापा में

Responsive Co-operation की व्याए्या बतलाता दूर। सभी लालानी ! कहा कि अगर हम मिनिस्टरी लेते हैं तो हमें गर्वमेंणट के मातहत होकर नौकर् करना पडेगा और कोई हिन्दुस्तान का मिच्चा आद्मी सरकार की नौकरी करते हुल मातहत होकर चाहे जो कार्य राष्ट्रीय पक्ष का करे तो नहीं कर सकता लेकित मिनिस्टर तो नहीं, मह को मालूम है कि जिस कौन्तिल में स्वराजिएट की मेजारिटी होती है उन्हें कौंसिल में मिभरनस्ट्र र्शाप मिलती है यह सरकार के मातहत की नौकरियां नहीं हैं, गबनरमेण्ट्ट को मिनिस्टर appoint करना ही पडेगा उस मेजारिदीपार्टी से दो भादृमियों को रखना ही पडेगा। वह गअन्नमेण्ट के नौ末र नहीं और न गउर्मेन्ट उनको नौकरी में से निकाल सकती है। गर्नरममन्ट जानती है कि इन दो श्रादमियों कों निहाल दे तो दूसे दों भादमी नहीं मिलेगे। श्रौर Government of India Act के मुताबिक मिनिन्टर रबना जरूरी है अप को यह विध्याल खखना चाहिये कि मातहत की नौ₹री करने के लिये महाराष्ट्र में अदृमी उत्पन्न होकरं घह नहीं कहेगा। अफसोस है लालाजी ने इतना विच्चार किया लेकिन ज़रा और थोडा विचार करते तो हमारे तरक ढुक्क जाते श्रौर हमारी श्रौंर कुछ
 में च习ना चाहिये मैं लालाजी से पूर्ष लहमत हूं। इस के बाद लालाजी कहते हैं कि एक पत्त ऐसा होना चाहिये जो मिनिस्टी न हे। वहृं तक लालाजी औौं हमं सह्मत हैं और किर इस क्तनाभ में नो priso लहते हों वह क्यों है ? हमें इस priso का वसुल से विरोष करना पडता है हम जानते हैं कि जो अनुभ₹ पण्डित मोतीलल और दास ने किया था वही अनुभव हम को भी भानेवाला है। और वह भनुभव जो आज आक्को है वह बरस भर, दो बरस बाद हम को भायेगा। आप निध्रय रते क्यों कि वह श्रभी जो शलोक बतलाया है कि कुटिल आदपी के साप कित तरह ब्यवहार करना यह जो पेन है वह भापके सामने रखा है। हम उम्मीद करते हैं कि दो बरस के भीतर जो आप को है वहीं अनुभव हम को श्रायेगा। लालाजी पीठ ठोंगें।

अन रही Civil Disobedience की बात Civil Disobedience यह •राद्द महात्मानी ने निकाला है और Civil Disobedience का अर्य महात्माजी के

अतिरिक्त दूसरा आदमी नहीं समफ सनता। एक समय महात्मा गांधी ने कहा है Civil Disobedience के लिये भानारा शुर्दि की सहुत भाक्ययकता है। उनछा कहना है कि भगर ज़रा भी हिसा होगी तब तक Civil Disobedience नहीं चल सकता उन्होंने कहा है कि अभी लोगों को Non-Violence का अभ्यास नहीं। मैं मोटी बुद्धि से विचार करनेवाला भदृमी हुं। भाप Civil Disobedience, Non-Violence के तरीके. से शहिंतात्पक रूप से कर संक्रोगे यह मैं मुमकिन नहीं समफता । ३० करोड प्रना ऐसी अहिंतामय हो जाय कि ३० करोड प्रजा में से B की भादमी जझ तक महृत्माजी का Civil Disobedience का प्रयोग चलता रहेगा तब तक Violence नहीं करे मैं नहीं समझ सकता कि उछ्र मर की शिक्षा के बाद भी साप इस माफिक का Civil Disobedience करे सँकेगे। साप ख्याल करें कि कलकते में जका आग आन्द्ढ़लन चल रहा है सरे हिन्दुन्थान में वेता
 दिलाता हूं। भाप उनके परिएाम में फर्ई देख लें। परिणाम में कर्क क्या है। भान कलकते में दास के ीीछे समी हडके २ऐ हज़ार भादमी जेल खानो में गये मगर Criminal Law Amendment Act उठाया नहीं गया। लेकिन १९०७-く में Partition of Bengal के एक झटके में ही सं खतम होगया उस समय २३ हज़ार भादमियों को जेल जाने की जरूसत नहीं पडी। भगर ज़ुरूत भाती तो १०० हज़ाए आदमियों को भेजकर भी अनर नहीं हाँ सकते थे। कोई लोग कहते हैं कि इंगलैण्ड का हृ्यय बडा भारी है। संनुच इंगहैग्ड का कलेगा इतना बडा है कि वह तमाम दुनिया को अपने कालेजे में लेले। आप संये देख हें कितनी सचाई के साथ आवने उनकी लहाई में मदद की थी। उस वक्त उनका Heart microscope देखते तो पता चलत्ता कि अन आदमियों के साथ कैसे व्ववहार करना चाहिये । इन आदमियों के साथ प्रेज़िडेट्ट विख्रनन ने कोशिशा की थी। P8 Points लेकर भाये थे और 4 महीने बाद हाथ हिछाते बापू गये। इन लोगों के साथ व्यवहार नहीं कर हों। इन के साप कैसा च्यह्हार करना चाहिये वह मैंने आ आपो बतला दिया है। श्राप अच्छी त्रां विचार करें। यह उसी माभिक फल्दावक होगा जैसा बंगाए Partion के जमाने में हुश्रा था।

## कानपुर फग्रिस।

कुटिल लोगों से कुटिल होकर जब अाव व्यवहार करें तथ साप कामयान होंगे। मुस्ऩो ख़री है कि पण्डित मोतीलललनी ने जो बार्ता कही हैं वे Responsive Cooperation का समर्थ्य करती हैं। में मानता हुं कि उनको Skeen Committee में रहना चाहिये। आाप लोग कहते हैं कि पण्डितनी को Fकीन कमिटी से घाहर निकळ श्राना चाहिये। लेकिन में उन लोगों में से नहीं हुं जो ऐला कदूं। इस Responsive Co-operation की बदौौलत आागन Responsive Co-operation का राह दिखलाया है। इस स्कीन कमिटी के बद़ौनत सरकुर आापके साथ Responsive Co-oporation करेग़ी औौर आप भी खुरी के साथ Responsive Co -operation करेंगे। अ习 आपके सी० पी० के बारे में जो कुछ कहना हें-सहूंगा। इस के बरा में थोड़ा कह कर में सपना भाष्या समात करंगा। हमार सी० पी० में हम छोटे आदमी जो कुछ काम कर रहे हैं वह आप श्रखचारों में पढ़ते ही होंगे। सेन गुस महाराय ने सी० ीी० के कार्य करने वालों की प्ररंसा की है। लेकिन हमारे श्रभयंकर महाशयय को नजदीक होने से कुब्ब मालूम नहीं। श्रति परिचयाद्ज्ञा। मुके जो कहना था वह मैंने कह दिया। यह भस्ताव जो भाप के सामने पेश किया है उसे श्राप मेहरवानी करे सीीकार करें।

पण्डित गेविन्दू वह्धभ पन्तेजी ने कहा: -
श्रीमती सरोजनीदेनी बहिनो और सन्जनो,
मैं भाप के सम्मुख $\dot{4} \circ$ मोतील्राल जी ने जो प्रस्ताव उपस्थित किया था उसको समर्थन ₹रने के लिये उपर्चतत हुत्रा हूं। इस प्रत्ताव के सें₹घ में बहुतसी बाते (Closer, Closer) सजनों, में श्रापते दरखणान्त करता हूं कि श्रीमती सभानेत्रीजी जब तक इज्ञाजत न दें त्व干क आ१ कुछ न कहं (ोोर) मुझे इस बात का बडा खेद है। श्रीमान माæीय और केलकर ने ऐसे मौके पर उचित सममा है कि इस अवसर पर नौकर शाही के साथ सहयोग करने का प्तनाव बडे जोरों के साथ रखा। मुड़े रुपाल था कि जो कुछ हम लोगों के ऊभर अन्यांचार हो रहा है बगाए Ordinance से बहुतोरे पकडे गये हैं इससे हममें और ताकत बढ़ेगी जिष से कि हम और भी मिल जायँ। मगर खिलाफ इससे के हमारे माननीय नेताओंने इस बात
बतीवपद्विस्त

 के पेश करेने में की गई हैं

पंडित मोतीहाल्जी नेहरू ने कहा:—





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भौर सच्ची थी और उसके बाद जो राय हुई वह ठीक नहीं हो सकती। दाश साहं की स्पीच का ह्वालरा दिया गया है मगर सफसोस यह है कि जिस को कहते कहते देशंघु मरगये उस का कुछ रु्याल ही नहीं किया। क्या वजह थी वह कौनसी जात थी जो देशान्धु को Fट्टेश्रर के उपर कौंतिल के अन्दर लाया गगा ऐसी हालत में जञ कि एक डानटर्र का हाथ उसके नक्न पर था और एक डानटरं का हाथ उसके दिखपर था वह
 स्पीच लें नो देशान्ध्धुप्ष ने फरीददर में दी थी जिव पर गवर्नमेंट बहुत खुख है उसके


 बाद्ध उसका मतळज बतांदूरा।

पहले यह कहकर कि बंगाउ में जो Anarchical crimes हो रहे थे उसको Condemn करने के बाद् यह कहा कि If our offer इसे बाद नो फिफरा आता है उनकी लंक मैं खास तौर पर उन शरखूों को तबन्ज्नुर दित्राना चाहता हूं जिन्होंने Amendment पेश किगा है। Let us．．．．．．．．．．．．．．．

यह जो देश习न्धु के आखिरी लफ़ज़ हैं जसे मेरे दोस्त जयकरने अपनी खम्वई की स्पीच में देशान्धु का Last will and testament माना है । क्या कहते हैं देश习न्धु यही कि श्रगर हम गर्नर्नेम्ट से यह कहल कि इस ज्ञात का तमफीया करो और वह उसका तीकारया न करे तो सिभाग Civil Disobedience के कोई दूसरा चारा नहीं हैं। क्यों कि किसी कौम को जिसे दूदरी कौम ने दुरा लिया हो उसको पास सिवाप इप हचियार के श्रौर कुछ नहीं है। इव के साप ही उन्होंने इंग्लिस्तान के इतिहास से बतराया कि वहां भी टैंदू न देने का movement नुझ्भ था उस वक्त कहा जाता है कि वहां．के लोग तैयार नहीं थे। इस के साथ ही देश习न्धु ने कहा कि Civil Disobedience एक बडी भारी चीज़ है। इस को＇习्राप बहुत भासानी से दिल़्गी में नहीं कर सकते। इसके लिये बड़ी तैयारी की जरखत है। खाली जिह्मानी नहीं रहहानी भी। इस केलिये वह तरीका बतलाते हैं कहते हैं कि स्तिवाय महात्मा गांधी के Constructive Programme को पूरा किये


















नहीं। मैं दोवे के साथ यह कह सकता दूं कि जो हमने कुछ कहा वह एक ३ बाल रत्ती २ मर पूरा किया। कहीं एक कदप पीछे नहीं हटे हो जंग में सैचलों कैत्रो पीछे पैर रबा है जिस में एक गहरी चोट लगी है तो यह कहना कि देखो वह पीछे हृट गया। यह ठीक नहीं। Election के वक्त हमने यह कभी नहीं कहा कि हम Uniform Obstruction करेंगे ही। खाली हमने यह कहा था कि जः majority पाँवेगे तः हम Uniform Obstruction करेंगे हमने जो नहीं किया वह इन्हीं वजहों से नहीं कर सके। अध नो करंप्रेस के दोनों चाजु इस र्वाल से मिलते हैं कि दोनों अपना २ काम करें घ्रपना अवना Experiment करें और एक दूमरे को मदद दें। तो श्यन में आवके सामने इस वक्त देशक्ध्धुदास के मरने के बाद् इन्तिफाक से और ज़माना की तबवद्दीली से मैं उनकी जगह पर तमाम हिन्दुस्थान को स्वराज्य पार्टी का Leader बन गया हूं मैं जित वक्क वैहिसियत Leader के इस प्रस्ताव को पेश कर्से आया तो मैं क्यों कर श्राया। सारी स्राज्य पर्टी की ओंर से श्राप के सामने यह वैजाप लया हूं कि श्र习 कांप्रत भागे नो हुक् देगी वह वैसा करेगी। क्या श्राप इस्लिये तैयार हैं कि हमारी इस प्रार्यना को स्वीकार करें। यह याद रखिये वह कोई निर्बळ पर्टीं नहीं है। महत्मा नी को माबूप है कि यह लार्ड बर्कनहेड को मालूू है most well organized party है तो हम जो प्राप के सामने आययें हैं ो हमारी प्रार्थना है भाप स्वीकार करें। हम कौन हैं हम वह नहीं हैं जो दहैं कि हम जभी कहते थे हम पहले से जानते थे कि ऐला हो जायगा। हम वह है जो श्राप लोगों के साथ इल कांप्रेस के १ع1₹ से आाज कऋ कायम है और हम श्राप के सामने एक पार्टी कायम करने के पीके श्राये हैं यह कहने कि भाप और हम एक किस तरह से ? जिस तरह से दूष और चीनी एक होती हैं क्या आप हमरे Resolution को ठुक्रा कर केक देंगे। में अ习 धापका ज्यादः वक्त न ल्खंगा। वर्ना कहोगे कि बहुत्ती बातें करते हैं ।

मेरी और माएवीय की मोहण्बत और जानहचान आाज की नहीं है मैं और वह साथ ही <ः वर्ष के हो गये मगर < महाने के बरोाबर मेरी अकल ज्याद: है तो उन्होंने कोई बात साफ़ २ तो कहीं नहीं मगर चलते २ Fकीन कमिटी के ऊभर और पेटेल लाहच के पेलिडेच्राशप के ऊपर कुछ न कुछ थोडी घहुत ौौछार करते चले गये और यह कहा कि यह हमारी स्वाज्य पाटीं के कायद़ों के खिलाफ़ है। इस पर
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तबजुह दिलाया कि 'Be honest' (मोटो की ओर) में वही द़खास्त अपने दोस्त से करता हूं भौर यह अाशा करता हूं कि वह इस पर रव्याल करें । हमारे दोस्त मालवीजी ने एक साल के श्नन्दर ही एक राय के चादु बिलकुल दूसरी राय हो गयी। लेकिन हम को वे $\uparrow ९ \rho \rho$ की ओर ले जाना चाहते हैं। मैं भाq ज़िकर करना चाहता है कि १९२६ में जो बनट 'Throw out' हुआ वह उनकी शोर से हुआ यह सही जात है। श्रौर उसको जितनी क्रेडिट है सिवाय मालवी जी के और कोई दूसरा हझ्दार नहीं। श्यगर चार बजे उनको aspiration न हो जाता तो मेरी कोशिशा स्वराजी फ़ौज बेकाम थी। मैं ने कहा भाप भण्डा उठाये बौर में अपनी सारी़ फ़ौज़ लेकर उनके पीछे हुआ । . और बडे जोर शोर की स्पीच उन्होंने बहां दी । , एक फिकरा आपक सामने है ।

This................so long as the $\qquad$
में यह अर्ज करता हूं भा से इस बुनियाद पर कि मालवीजी ने कहा कि में जब तक मेरा Conscience औरे ज习 तई कि Self-respect श्रपने दिल में है उस वक्त में गवर्नमेएट की किसी लगानेपर मदद़ नहीं कर सकता और जच तक गवर्नमेन्ट आफ़ इण्डिया ऐक्ट सर्मीम न किया जाय तन तक फ़ाइनेंत बिल नहीं पास करेंगे। यह तो उनकी ही धमकी है । लेकिज श्रगर तग्मीम करना है तो उन्हें तहनीज से पेश भाना चाहिये। १९२५ से इस १२ महीने के जमाने में कुछ ऐसा तजुरता हुआ कि उन्होंने उसे ठीक नहीं समझा और बह अच उसे ठीक समभते हैं। मैं यह कहता हूं कि १९९९ का अनुपव मेरे पास है पर १ह२५ का अनुभव आपके पास है। भब मैं अपका ज्यादः वक्त नहीं लूंगा मगर एक बात जरूरे कह्रंगा।

एकता पर माल्वीय जी ने बड़ा ज़ोर दिया है इस में कोई राक नहीं कि एकता हुुए बिना कोई काम नहीं हो सकता। हर एक मांग के लिये sanction की जरुरत होती है। इस लिये कोई ऐसी बात करे कि जिसे हम एक होकर मांगे और गवर्नमेंट न माने तो उसको न मानने पर हम कुछ करेंगे तो कुछ होगा तो आपके पास ऐली क्या चीज़ है। खाहो ए₹ता ही ए₹ता से कुछ न होगा। कुछ तो बल चाहिये। मैं कहता हुं कि जः तक भ्रापमें बल नहीं आवेगा तब तक कुष्ध नहीं होगा। एक फारसी शेर है :-

हज़ार जगरा
कहते हैं कि लाखों कौवे अगर जमा हो जाँ तो अप उन्हें खाँस कर ही उठा सकते हैं। लेकिन धगरे कौके मिलकर इरादा करलें कि हम मिए कर चोचेचे मरंगे तो फिर भाप कुज नहीं करे सकते। तो हम कहते ये कि सिंवाय Civil Disobedience के हमारे वास और कोई दूसरा हथियार नहीं है। माल़वीय जी ने तर्वार की बात की है। वह उसे भी जायज़ बतलाते हैं। लेकिन सच पुछ्विये तो Civil Disobedience का हथियार ही काम दे सकता है। और इसके 'घ्रलाता महात्मा गान्धी जी ने जो non-violence के वसुल के मुताविक्र हम यह भी नहीं कह सकते कि वह सही है। यह् याद रखिये कि भाजæल तो आप का हिन्दुस्थान एक गुलाम देश है। एक कद़म श्रपने बलपर नहीं चलता। मैं कहता हू कि हथियार के जोर पर भी रियाया आजईल कुळ नहीं कर सकती। रियाया बिचारी कहां और कैसे लड़ेगी । Aeroplane से लडेगी? मरीन-गन श्र习 तो 2000 गज से कितनों का खातम कर देती है। बैर इसको जाने दीजिये।

अब मैं कहूँगा कि दोनों में क्या फर्क है। भगर शापको घह मंजूर है कि .चार, पांच वर्ष में जो कुछ हुभा है वह विलकुल मेट न दिया जाय श्रौर भगर भाप को यह मंजुर है कि वह महार्मा गान्धी जिसके लिये कल भाप के सामने डाक्टर होम्स अमेरिका से एक पैगाम लाये थे और जिसकी जात के और बजह से भाप सम को मुवारकवादी दी थी और जब औौर मुलक के दूरे दूर के लोग यह कहते हैं कि इस वक्त २ हस्तियां दुनिया में हैं। जिस में एक का वसूल दूनरे के खिलकुल बराब्म है एक लेनिन है दूसरा गांधी हैं । इस गांधी को वे गलती बताते हैं। अंगर श्राप भी यही समफते हों तो उन्हे वोट दे ।

मैं कुछ दावा नहीं करता। में तो वही बात कहता हू जो देरानन्षु ने कहा है। घगर हमारी कामयाबी हुई तो बेहतर है झगर नहीं हुई तो हम श्रौर श्रवनी मजवूती बद्वावेंगे । हमारी कामयाबी वहीं तक होगी अहां तक हमारी majority होगी। इसके त्विभा कुछ हो नहीं सकता तो घच में खतम कर रहा हूं। मैं यह कहता हूं कि भगर भाप को यह मंजूर है जित शाल्स की

तारीफ सारी दुनिया करेती है उसकी भसली पैरीी नहीं होसकती तो बेशक श्राप मेरे रिजोल्यू्रान को फेंक दें। अगर भाप को घह मंजुर है कि वह चालीस हज़ाए कैदी जो मुख्तलिफ जेलखानों में बन्द् कर दिये जांय श्रगर श्राप को यह मंजुर है कि बंगाल आर्डिनेन्मं के कैदी जो इस वक्त बग़ैर मुकद्में के बन्द् कर दिये गये और वे वहीं सडा करें अगर भापको मंजुर है कि जल्रियांवालाइाग हुश्रा करे और हम गर्न्र्भेण्ट की दस्तवस्ता हो कर मिन्नत करें और जो कुछ वह दे वह लें और जो कुछ वह्न देना चाहें उसे न लें। अगर आपको मंजूर है कि उस भदृमी को जिसे दुनिया मानती है उसे न मानना चाहित्रे तो फिर भाप मेरे खिलाफ वोट दीजिये। अगर भाप को यह नहीं मंजूर है तो मुझे वोट दें। हम जो मर्दानगी का दावा करते उसका अप इम्तहान लें। अस मुझे कुछ औौर नहीं कहना है।

लालाजी ने कहा है कि वह Provincial Committees की बात से इतिफाक नहीं रखते । लालाजी की और मेरी राय एक है जिन साहनों की राय से यह तरमीम हुईं थी उनकी मैंने रज़ामन्दी लेली है । जिसके निस्बत लालाजी ने फरमाया है उसको में वापस लेता हूं। उपसंहार
डाक्टर मुरारीलाळ जी ने कहा:-
सदर साहचा बहनों धौर भाइयों,
मैं. घाप से दररखगास्त करता हूं कि यह एक ऐसा फर्ज है जो हमारे प्रान्त और कानपर को तो खास तौर से श्रदा करता है ध्यौर में समझ़ता हूं कि इस वक्त खामोश के साथ मेरा साथ दें जः कि में श्रपने मेहमानों का शुक्रिया अदा करता हूं। कुछ ज्यादा वक्ष नहीं ल्खँगा। मैंने शुरू में जिस रोज़ कांग्रेस शुरू हुई थी भपनी और अापकी मुरिकलात अपने मेहमानों के सामने इजहार कर दिया था। उन मुरिकलात में हम घापकी खातिर वो तवाजा न कर सके। और भपने मेहमानों को जैसा ध्राराम देना चाहिगे था वह सं हमसे कुछ नहीं बन सका। इस के लिये मैंने उस वक्त भी माफी मiंगी थी और फिर दुआारा माफी का यास्तगार द्वें और भाप का शुकगुज़ार हूं कि इल पर भी मैंने बाप की




























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## कानपुर काँ्रेंस।

माहूम है कि यहॉं पर कु及 ऐसे साह्ं भाये थे जो भाप के इस काम को भंग करने की नीयत रखते थे। लेकित में ड्युकिया अदा करता हूं अपने मेहमानी की और अहले जहार की कि कीई विम नहीं हो सका और तारीफ़ है वालंटियों की कि जो वाकृता मौजुद हुआ था उप को बड़ी खून्ती के साथ रोका जितका खयान नहीं हो सकता। जो साहों ने ऐसे मौके वर इन मावखातों को देबा है वह जानते हैं कि हमारे वालंटियर किस कदर गुक्किया के मुस्तहक हैं। मैं अाप को खतलाना चाहता हूं कि जश यह खतरा आप के सामने पैदा हुशा या उद वक्त अहले शहर के
 गुजर गया है और ज्यादा कक्त नहीं हेना चाहता और भाप की तरक से सदर साहिशा की जुकिगा अदा करता हूं इस लिये कि उन की रहनुमाई में जिस तरीके पर काम होना चाहिये बड़ी पूरी के साथ हुशा और आई़न्दा भी काप चडी खृनी के साथ होगा। बहुत से लोग हैं यह कि कांपेते का रिज़ोल्यूयून पास करके कुब नहीं करती। लेकिन यह र्प्पाल भाप कां ठीक नहीं। अगर कुछ काम है तो वह भाप के करने के ऊरर सुनस्तिर है। श्रगर अ्राप झुकिया अदा करना चाहते हैं अभने मेहमानों का तो कम से कम इन सुने का यह फ़र्ज होना चाहिये कि जो रिज़ोल्यूरून यहां पास हुए हैं उनको भमॠ में हावां। और में दरख्वास्त करता हूं अहले शहर से कि आपने जो रिगोल्यूर्रान पास किया है उस पर सचमुच श्भमल करोंगे। यह भरज है भहले सुंधा और भ्रहले शहर से। अाखिर में में अवने मेहमानों से माफ़ी मांगता हूं औरे उनकी तहे द़ल से श्युक्रिया अदा करता हूं।

श्रीयुत गणेश शंकर्र विद्यार्थी ने कहा:-
साहचान, में भाप का ज्यादा वक्ता नहीं लेना चाहता आप भाईयों में से जो साहच बाहर से तथरीफ़ लाये हैं इस में इक नहीं कि उन्हें बहुत सी श्यसुविषाओों का सामना करना पड़ा उन्हें बहुतुसी तकलीकी उठानी पड़ीं । लेकिन Reception committee की तरफ़' से में भाप को विध्वास दिलाता हैँ कि हुम लोगों ने स्व्भ में भी किसी ऐसी बात का विचार किया निससे आपको नहीं असुविधा हो। हमारी बराबर यही

कोशिार रही कि जहां तक बने भापको भाराम पहुँचावे औौर जहां क币 हो सके भाव को राष्ट्रीय यज्ञ में सहायता दें पर्नु यथार्थ में जितनी सेवा होनी चाहिये थी हम उसे नहीं कर सके। इस में जो जुरियां हुईई उस के बड़े बड़े कारण हैं और जो कारए हैं वह एक तरफ़ ही के नहीं कई तफफ़ के आाये । हमरे सामने जो बाषायेय उपस्थित हुईई हम गर्भ के साथ नहीं कहते। वह वाषायें किसी दूनरे कंभ्रेल में नहीं उपस्थित हुई थीं। आप को माइुम. है हमरो बड़े बड़े कार्य कर्ता जेलों में पकड़ कर रे. गये हैं और भंत तक कई वहीं कन्द हैं। कुष ऐसी भी पेश बन्दियां धी कि कानपर की कांप्रू, सफल न हो सके। इस में बाहर का हाथ भी शाविल था। श्राप हमारी श्रुविषाओं का विचार करके हमारी त्रुटियों को नजर अन्दाज करें । और हम से नो कुछ शनजाने में अ्रभाब हो गया हो उस के लिये हम नतमक्तक हो कर भाप की माफ़ी के रुवासतगार हैं।

इस के उपरान्त में दो राद्दों में अपने वालंटियों को धन्पवाद देता हैं और साथ ही भाप की सेवा में निवेदन कर देना चाहता हूँ कि इइस बांप्रेल में कानपर के नागरिकों ने जो पर्शामनीय योग दिया और हमरे श्रादमियों ने जित प्रकार दमन चक्र का सामना किया वह सर्षथा सुत्य है । हमोर वालंटियों ने जो कुछ किया उस के लिये वह हपर्पर चुक्रिशा के मुन्तहक हैं. 1. आवाप राष्ट्रीय काम के सम्ब्बन्ध में जिस नतीजे पर पहुँचे हैं उस के बनहह . से आप को और भी सफल्रा मिलेगी। में कानपर की ओर से आप को विंधास दिछाना चाहता हैँ कि भाप जित नतीजे पर पहुँचे हैं उस में कानपर जो मदढ दे सेकेगा वह मदद देगा।

श्रीमती सरोजनी देंी ने कहाः-
भाइंयो !
मैं कोई तकरीर नहीं करना चाहती। घहां तीन दिन के. भन्दर आापने बार बार कसम खाई है कि भाजादी या मौत मौत या भाजादी श्राप यह न समें कि तमाशा खतभ हो गया। हम घर जाकर कहेंगे कि फलाना भच्छा नाहक देखा और

फन्खाना अव्बा नहीं देखा। मगर घादूरखिये दुनिया के सामने गुनहगार ठहरंगे भगर वहां कलम के मुताविक भाप का अमलन होगा। ैैंने भाप के खिद्मत में अर्ज किया था कि में एक मामूल्डी भालम बरदार हूँ। मेरे सेनापति इकर और मेंे सिपाहि उखर हैं। मगर में श्रालम उददार है हैर अ्भालम बददार का कम यह है कि जंग के मेदान में स习 से अ्रागे कदृ बढावं ।（चीपर्म）मेरे सेनापति，में सिपहसालार，मेरे सिपाही मेरे बीरों，में भापक्ते सामने वह प्रतिजा करती हूं कि जब तक इस हाथ में दप है जश तक इस हाथ में एक करारा भी ख़ुन है तब त्र कौम का भ्नण्डा नहीं भुकेगा।（चीयस्त）और कोई ग़नीम，कोई दुरून की मजाल ．नहींजो औरत के हाय से स्वराज्य या मौत का झ़ण्डा निकाल ले।

भ्रीयुत लाहाहजजपराय ने कहाः－－
मित्रो।
मेरे जिम्मे यह फर्ज रखा गया है कि में श्राप की ओर से अपने मोहतरिक भौर मुर्करम प्रेसिडेन्ट साह्वा का श्रुक्रिया अदा करूं। मिसेत नायद्र को．इल से पहले ही से बुर－बुते हिन्दु का खिताब मिला हुग्रा है औरे जो तकरीरें उन्होंने यहां पर कीं उन से उन्होंने साबित कर दिया कि वह हकीकत में बुल्बुले हिन्दि हैं और श्राप लोग न सिर्फ उन की ल्याकत पर खुश हैं बहिक उन की भावाज पर भी म户त्त हैं। जिस तहह से खुरुनुमा तरीके पर उन्होंने इन तमाम काराराई को भ्जाम दिया है और हर एक छोटे 邓ड़े का र्याए किया है यह उन्हीं के हिस्से का है और इस के लिये मैं श्राप सब साहवों की．श्रोर से शुक्रिया अदा ₹ता हूं। इस जब्बते की जो कुछ कामयान्ती हुई है वह उनकी ल्याकत का सवूत है। मैं अ्याखिए में उनका तहेदिल से हुक्किया अदा करता हू और परमात्मा से प्रार्थना करता है कि वह उन की उन्र में तरकी दे़ें कि वह किर ？ भपनी भावाज़ से भाफको मस्त करती रहें।


## परिशिष्ट（？）

नीचे लिखे कचे चिछे के सिवाय कोई जौँच किया ह्रुभा हिताब，कानपर की स्वागत कारियी समिति से शभी तक नहीं मिल्र।

कानपर कांपे़े का सं ख़्र्व स्यभभा १，७७，०००）रुपये का हुका है। श्राम－ दनी को देखने से पता लगेगा कि करीन ह．$\cup, 000$ ）का अधिक खर्च हुका। भामदनी के खात्त जरिये ये हैं ：－

बाज़ार
घदर्दानी
民िऋ己
प्रतिनिधि गुरक
Fवागत कारिणी के सदर्स्यों से
कानपुर से दान
अन्व दान
रूर्ष के ख्ञास जरिये ये हैं ：－

| Fаयं सेवक |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| प्रकाइान | ק，¢？२1）！ |
| भोजनालय | २२，000） |
| पानी | २，०६२） |
| रोरनी | ह，？${ }^{\text {PQ）}}$ |
| स्वाF्य विभाग | 9，३＜6） |
| दक्तर | く，६७く） |
| बाज़ार | २，く५९｜）1 |
| पण्डाल | ¢，9¢¢1－）III |
| ज़मीन | く，२३७） |
| मार्गव्यय | 1，8：$?$ \＃） |
| स्टोर（पण्डार） | ऐ？，२०0） |
| स्थान（निवास） | २0，8\＆¢111） |


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२०，३१8）
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३२，？งぬ）
३९，९७ぬ）
₹，१९ ？）

## परिशिष्ट (२)



## परिशिष्ट (३) *

## चालीसवीं कांग्रेस कानपूर

के इजलास तारीस २६, २७, २८ दिसम्बर
१९२५ में ₹वीकृत

## प्तसाव

## ?-रोक प्रकारा

यह कांगरेस देशबन्धु चित्तरक्जन दाध, सर मुरेन्द्रनाथ बैनर्जी, डा० सर ःराम़कृषण भडारकर, कृष्णन्वामी शमरी, वी. वी. एन. अययर भौर द्दूसरें देश मिक्रों की मात पर गहरा शोक पगट करती है। इन्होंने अपने अपने हेत्रों में देशः की उव्नति का प्रयत्न किया।. उनके शोकाहत परिवारों के साथ यह कांगरेस समवेदऩाए प्पग़ करती है।

## २—दक्षिण अफ्री|का

दक्खिन अभीका के इन्जियन कंगरेत के डेपेटेशान का घह कांगरसेस स्वागत करती है और उन स्वम्मलित श्ञात्तियों के खिखाफ़ जो दक्खिन अभीका हिन्दुसतानियों का उस उपनिवेश से भन्त कर देना चाहती हैं जो संम्राम वहां के हिन्दुस्तानी अपनी कमज़ोर दशा में कर रहे हैं इस स्र्भाम में यह कांपेस पूरे तौर से उनकी मदद करनें का वादा करती है।.

[^4]2kS

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { घनमानी तौर पर बंगाए औौड़ंनेन्म ऐक्ट के प्रचलिंत करने का जिसे ए९२र का }
\end{aligned}
$$

भभियोग ल्याये और निना खुले तौर पर मुक्दमा चहाये बंगाल के बहुत से देशा-

काउन्मिलों में और कौउन्सिलों के बाहर भी कई बार साफ़ तौर पर दू के खिलाफ़ राय ज़ाहिर की जा चुकी है, यह कोगरेस ज़ोरों के साथ निषेध करती है।

## 8-गुरुद्वारा संग्राम के कैद्दी

यह कांगरेस श्रफ़सोस जाहिर करती है कि गुर्द्वारा ऐक्ट के द्वारा जो निशदारा हुश्या है उसके बाद भी पंजाब सरकारने ध्यकाली केदियों को के.वल इस कारण से अ习 तक नहीं छोड़ा कि अकाली कैदी वह शर्त क़ूूल करने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं जिसे के आत्म-म्ममान के खिलाफ़ समभरे हैं। कांगरेस की रोय में गुरद्दारा प्रश्न का ठीक निपटारा उस वक्त त干 नहीं होगा जन तक श्रकाली कैदी विना किसी रार्त के रिंहा न कर दिये जायं।

## ५-गैर बर्मन अपराधी निर्वासन बिल

वर्मा के ग़ैरवर्मन अपराधी निर्वसन बिल और समुद्र यात्रियों पर टैक्त के बिल को यह कांगरेत नागरिकों की स्वतंत्रा पर भाकमण समफती है चौर इस कांๆरेम के मत में पहला बिल जम्री वासी भारतियों के व्यापक स्वार्थ पर भाघात करता है, क्योंक वह उनहें शासकों की द्या पर छोड़ता है। कांगरेस की राय में इन कानूनों पर वाइसराय की मंजृरी न होनी चाहिये।

## ६-कांग्रेस का मताधिकार

यह कांगरेस २२ सितम्वर बन् १६२४ के आ्यॉल इन्डिया कांगरस कमेटी के पहले प्रस्ताव के "अ" भाग को जो पटना में पास हुुअा था नामंजुर क्रती है श्रौर उसे बहाल करती है।

७-आगामी :. ार्य-क्रम
(अ) विछले सित्वर्बर की २२ और २₹ तारीख को होने वाली पटने की बैठक












 Hf











逃
(२) विदेदों में काम इस प्रकार होगा:-सही और सण्ची खंनरें विदेदोों में पहुचाई जायंगीं।
(३) देश की ओर से चह कांगेते सरकार से सुलृ करने को उन शारों को मंजुर करती है जो १८ फ़रखरी सन् १९२४ को देहली के ऐसेमेब्बी के स्वराज भौर इन्डिपेन्टेन्ट दल ने पेश की थी। चूंकि सरकार ने श्र习 तक इस बोर में कुब नहीं किया कांगरेस निचचय करती है निम्न लिखित काईवाई :-

१-बहुत जल्द ऐसेम्बहरी में स्वराज पारीं सरकार से उन शतौं का जवाश तरम करेगी और अगर फ़रवरी का महीना बीतने के पहले सरकार ने किसी क़ैमले को ऐल्गान नहीं किया या अगर स्पेशल कमेटी जित में बर्कितग कमेंही के भतिरिक्त भॉल इन्डिया कमेटी के चुने हुए सदद्य भी होंगे सरकार के फ़्सहले को सन्तोपजनक न सममें तो ऐसेम्बली में अपनी जगः से सरकार को सुचना दे देगो कि ऐसेम्बली धौर काउf सलों में रहृ कर ₹वराज पार्टी श्न काम न करोगी जैसा भज तक करती भायी है। ऐसेम्बली और काउन्मिल भाफ़ स्टे में Fभराज पार्डी के मेम्बर सरक्रारी बजेट को नामेजुरी का प्रन्ताव पेश करंगे और उसके बाद फ़ौरन उन सुशा काउन्मिलों में मी जिनका इजलास उस समय होता रहेगा स्वराज पारीं के मेम्बर अ्रपनी जगह छोड़ देंगे थौर उपरोक्त स्पेशल कमेगी को फ़ौरन सूचना वेंगे। जिन सुखा काउन्मिलों का इनछास उस समय न होता रहेगा उनके भी स्वराज वारी के मेम्घर भगते इनलार्सों में सम्मिलित नहीं होंगे और दूदरे मेव्बरों की तरह स्पेराल कमेटी की आज्ञाओं की प्रतीज्ता करेंगे।

२-—ईाउन्बित्र भाफ़ सटेय में और किसी सूः काउन्निल मे उसके बाद सनराज पार्टी का कोई मेग्रर किसी इजलास में सम्पिलित न होगा सिवा जन हाएतों के कि उसकी जाह खाली न बतलाभी जाय और दूसेर उसंकी जगह न चुने जाँँ और सिवा उन मौनों के जन बह अपनी जगह पर सिवा इस गरज के लिये जायँ कि सुवा का बजेट या ऐला पस्ताव नामंजुर कराने की कोरिश करे जिस में नया हैक्त हगाया जाय।
 पार्टी के मेम्बर वह तमाम काम कर सकते हैं जिनकी पर्ट्री के बर्तमान नियमों के भजुभार करने की इज़ाजत है ।

स्पेइल कमेटी को यह भी श्रिकार होगा कि स्वराज़ पार्टीं के．मेम्ब्रों को ऐसमम्बली बौर काउनिमलों में उस समय सम्मिलित हो जाने की भाज्ञा दे जन ऐसा करना स्प्ड़ाल कमेटी की राय में देरा－हित के लिये ज़रूरी हो या ज习习 बिएकुळ खांत या नयी बात सामने भा जाय।

३—सनराज वार्टीं के मेम्बरों से उन सून्नांकों को पाकर जिनका उल्लेख इसी भाता
 निमंश्रित करेगी जिसमे वह कार्य्य•्रम निश्चित किया जायगा जिसे कांगेरे और स्वराज पार्टी मिख्कर सारे देगा में पच्चलित करेंगी।

8 —इस कार्य्य－कम में वह साधारण कार्य्य जामिल रहंगे．जिनका उल्仑ेख उपरोक्त भाग ？भौर २ में हो चुछा है और जिस नीति का इस प्रस्ताव में वर्णन किया गया हे उसे वोटों को सममावा जायगा और जिस तरीके पर कांगरेस की तरफ़ से और कांगोरेत के नाम से आगामी चुनाव का प्रयत्न किया जायगा और जिन प्रश्नों को लेकर कांत्रेवाले आ आगामी चुनाव के लिये उम्मीद्वार होंगे उनको सफ़ू साफ़े तौर पर सुचित कर दिया जायगा।

लेकिन यह रार्त हहेगी कि जिन ओहदों का देना सरक्रार के हाथ में है उनक़ो भा स्रीकृत करने की नीति उस समव तक जारी रहेगी जब तक कांप्रे की राथ में सरकार की तरफ़ से जो इर्तों समभौते को पेश की गयी हैं हनका संतोपजनक जजनाझ न मिल जाय।

9－सूश्रांप्रेल कमिटियों के कार्यं－कारिएी－समिति को यह कांपेल अधिकार देती है कि अपने सूते में ऐसेम्बल़ी के श्रौर सुचा काउन्मिए के श्रनझे सांल के चुनांव के लिये जल्द से जब्द्ध उम्मीद्वार चुन लें।

६－ध्रगर समभौते की रार्तों पर सरकार का आखिरी फ़तलला उपरोक्त सपेशल कमेटी की राय में संतोषजनक होगा ग्रैर अगर स्पेशाउ कमेटी उसे स्वीकृत करेगी तो भाल इंडिया कंग्रेत कमेटी का एक इज्ञात फ़ौरन किया जायगा जिस में स्पेशल कमेटी के फैसले को स्वीकृत या अन्वीकृत किया जायगा और अभाइन्दा के लिये कार्खाईई तय की जायगी।

७— स्वराज पार्टीं के मेम्बर जन तक इस प्रस्ताव के श्नुनारार काउन्सिखों से

बाहर नहीं चले भाते तब तक ₹्राज पार्टी को विषाम और उसकी नियमावली के भनुताए काउन्विलों में काम किवा जापगा सिवाय उन परिवर्तनों के जो समय समय परं काप्रेस या भाल इंडिया भांप्रें कमेंटी उन में करता रहे।
<—उपर के तीसंर और चौथे भागों में जित काम का उल्हेस किया गया है उसको भारम्भ करने के लिये आल इन्डिया कांपेस कमेटी उतने हपयों की मंजूरी करेगी जो इस काम के लिये अन्दोलन के श्रारंभिए व्यय के लिये ज़हूरी हो, लेकिन इस उदे़ा के लिये भार और रुपयों की बाद. को जन्रूत पड़ेगी तो उनको वर्कित क.मेटी जनता से चंदा मांग कर जमा केरगो।

## <——हिन्दुरतानी

यह कंग्रेते तय करती है कि कंप्रेत कमेटी और वर्किं कमेटी की कार्वाईयां साषारएातः हिन्दुस्तानी भाषा में होगी अगर बोलनेवाल हिन्दुस्तानी नहीं बोल सकता या भगर ज़खूतत पढ़ जाय तो अंश्रेनी या अपने प्रान्त की भाषा में बोल सकता है।

सुचा च्मेटियों की करारवाईयां साधारणन: प्रान्त की भाषा में हुश्रा करेंगी । हिन्दुस्तानी का भी प्रयोग किया जा सकता है ।

## ९—त्रिदेरीी त्विभाग

कांप्रे आंल इन्जिया कंग्रेत कमेटी को भधिकार देती है कि अपने मातहत यह एक विदेदी विभाग खोले जो विदेरों में हिन्दुसततिनियों के हित पर नज़र रक्से और जो हिन्दुस्तान में लोगों को यह बतावे कि विरिटा साम्राज्व और दूवो मुल्कों में हिन्दुस्तानियों की क्या हालत है ।

## ใ०-गतवर्ष के पधान मंबी

यह कांपेस उनकी बहुमूल्य सेवाओं के लिये मुखुप मंत्रीगण पंडित जवाह्ललाल नेहठ, भ्रीयुत वी० एफ़० भर्वा और श्रीयुत ग्रुएव कुरँसी के प्रति कृतज्ञता और भादर के भाव जाहिए करती है।

# ११-१९२६ के पद्वाधिकारी 

कंग्रेत श्यांमी साल के लिये निन्न लिखित पद़ाधिकारियों को चुनती है। प्रधान मंत्री :-
(?) हाकटर एम० ए० श्यन्मारी
(२) श्रीयुत ए० रंगास्वामी ऐयंगार
(३) पंडित के० सन्तानम

खजांची :-
(१) सेठ रेवारांकर् जगजीवन जावेरी
(२) श्रीयुत जमनालाल बजाज

## १२-आडीटर

यह कांगरेस बम्बई के दल्डाल एन्ड सन्स को आगामी साल के ल्रिये भाटिय सुकर्रर करेती है।
१३—अगला इजलास ।

यह कांग्रेस तय करती है कि कांगरेस का अमला इजलास आसाम में हो।

## नोट।

## पटने का पर्ताव।

प्रनाब नं० \& में पद्वा के नित प्रत्ताब का उल्केत है उसका "み" भाग यो है:-

अ--यह देखते हुए कि कांप्रेस में चहुत लोग यह चाहते हैं कि कांम्रेस में मताधिकार की रार्त में संशोषन हो और चूंकि यह भम राय है कि मौजुदा हाल्त को देखते हुए मताषिकार विनतृत किया जाय आल इयिडया कोप्रेस कमेटी तय करती है कि कांग्रेत विषान का द़फ़ा ज मनसूख किया जाय और निम्न लिखित दूफ़ा उसकी जगह पर रकखा जाय:-

द़फ़ा ( (१) दफ़ा 8 के अनुसार हर एक व्यक्ति जिसके कांग्रेस के मेम्नर होने में कुछ बाध्य नहीं है वह्ट चार भाना सालाना पेशगी चन्दा़ देकर या अपना कातः ह्हुआ हर माल दो हज़ार गज़ ऐसा सूत देकर जो बराइर हो काँमेस की किसी ऐसी प्रारंभिक समिति का मेम्बर हो सकता है जो सूबा कांप्रेस कमिटी के चन्तर्गत हो 1 लेकिन कोई एक ही समय दो बराइर हैसियत की कांग्रेस समितियों का मेम्बर न हो सकेगा।
(२) उपरोक्त सुत का चंदा सीधे मंत्री आल ह्रि्डया चर्वा संघ के पास या उत्के नियुक्त. किये हुए किसी और श्राल्त के पास कातनेवाले को भेजना होगा। घपना काता हुग्र। सुत भेजनेवाले को सेकेटरी आए इण्ठिया चरार्वंघ की घोर से एक सनद इस माइाय की मिलेगी कि इस सनद के फनेवाले से उसका काता ह्रुआ दो हज़ार गज़ सुत सेकेटरी श्राल इण्डिया चरखा संच को मिल गया। एनद़ पाने वाला कांग्रेस की किसी ऐसी प्रारंभक समिति का मेम्नर होने का अधिकारी होगा जिसका जिक्र इस दफ़ा के प्रथम भाग में भा चुका है। लेकिन ₹र्ता यह होगी कि धाल इण्डिया च्चरख़ा संश की श्रोर से दी हुई सनदों की तसदीक़ के लिये चाल इण्डिया कांग्रेल कमिटी या कोई मी सूबा की मातहत कमिटी अल इण्छया चरखा संज के या उसकी मातहत समितियों के हिसान माल धौर वाउच्र को मांच्ता सकेगी।

यह भी रार्त होगी कि जांचनेवाली समिति भगर हिताइ, माल या वाउचर में किसी तरह की गखती पावेगी तो भाल इण्डिया चरंखा संघ द्वारा दी दुई वह सनदें निनकी
 को या उस व्थनि को जिसका मताधिकार इस तरह मनसुख किया जाय a南ग कमिटी के सातने घपील करने का हक्र होगा। जो कंभ्रेत्त की मेम्बरी के लिये सूत कातना चाहेगा भगर वह चाहेगा तो मुनासिव ज़मानत के बाद उसे ह क्र दी जावगी।
(३) मेम्बरी का साल १ जनवरी से ११ दिमम्बर तक समभा जायगा और साल के बीच में भगर कोई मेम्दर होना चाहेगा तो उससे कुछ भी कम चन्दा न लिया जायगा।
(8) इस दफ़ा के भाग ? की शर्तों को जिसने पूरा नहीं किया है या नो हाप के कते और हाथ के बुने सूत का खद्द भाननैतिक, कांगरस संखन्धी या कांगरेत का काप करने के भवसरों पर नहीं पहनता वह प्रतिनिधियों या डेलीगोटों या कंगरेत की किसी समिति या उपसमिति या किती संस्था के चुनाव में मताधिकार न खक्खेगा और न खुद चुना जां सकेगा और न कांगरेत या कांगरेत की किसी संहचा, समिति या उपसमिति के इज्ञखंस में. सम्मिलित हो सकेग।। कांगरेसवालों से कांगेस वह भी भाशा रखती है कि के और स习 अवसरों पर भी खद्दर ही पहिंगे और विदे़ी कवड़ा तो किसी दरा में न वहलंगे और न इनतेमाल करंगे ।
${ }^{1 /}(x)$ माल के कंत में कुल मौऩदा मेक्र प्रागामी ३? जनवरी तक मेग्रर रहंगे यद्यपि उन्होंने नये बरस का चन्दा न भी दिया हो।

## अस्थाई रार्त

 मनसेख़ धुदा दफ़ा के भन्मार पहिले से मेम्बर बन चुके हैं बरात्ता. कि उनकी मेक्षी
 और के हाप से कते सूत का चन्दा fितम्बर ९९२१ तक दे चुके हैं बह इस साए के अंत तक मेख्वर रहंगे चहे वह शः श्रक्तिक मूत न दें।.

प्रत्ताव नं० $७$ में पटना के जिस प्रन्ताव का उल्लेख है इसका "व" भाग वों है:-

-     - चूँकि कांगरेत ने बेलगांव में अपने ३ह वें इजखास में उस एकरारनामा को स्वीकार किया था जो महात्मा गांधी के और स्वराज पार्टी की ओर से देशचन्षु दास और पंडित मोतीलाल के बीच में हुभा था जिससे कांगरेस का कार्यक्ष्च उस रचनात्पक पोग्राम तक परिमित हो गया था जितका उक्त ए इर्रारानमे में ज़िक है और चूंकि उक्ष एकरारनामे में वह कहा गया था कि "ऐेसेम्बहली भौर सुवा की कौउन्हिलों के सम्नन्प में काम कंप्रेत की भोर से वद्येत के एक सम्पूर्या धग की हैतिपत से स्वराज दल करेगा और इस काम के लिये स्वराज दल अवने नियम बनाये औौर भवने रुपयों का प्रयोग करे " और

चृंकि बाद की घहनाओं ने प्र尹ट कर दिया है कि उस परिवतन को केलते दए जिसका सापना देश को करना पड़ रहा है इस बन्धन का कायम रहना मुनातिश नंहीं है औौर कीवेत्रे का मुख्यतः राजनैतिक संस्या हो जाना मुनासिः है।

तय पाया कि भः कांपेत ऐसे तमाम राजनैतिक काम भपने हाप में ले और उन्हें जारी रंख्वे जो देशहित के लिये ज़ूरूरी हैं भौर इस उद्देश से कांपेस का पूरा संगठन और घन काम में लावे सिवा धन धौर संपति के जो जो स्खां काम के लिगे मिले थे और सिवाय धन और संपत्ति के जो भाल दुणिया खद्र बोर्ड या सूता के खद्ध बोडौं की मिलिघघत हैं और जो भवनी मौनूद्दामाली
 कर दिये जांय जो कांपेस का एक पूथक और स्वतंत्र अंग होगा और निते इन रुपयों औौर अन्य रुयों का अवने उद्देश की पूर्ति के लिये घयोग करने का भधिकार होगा।

यह भी शर्त होगी कि ऐसेम्ब्ली भर स्वा काउन्मिलों के संक्न्धी काप स्वराज दल के विधान और नियमों के अनुमार स्वराज दल द्वारा नियुक्त नीति और रैडी के चज्ञार होगा और कंघेले समय समय पर उस नीति की प्रति के लिये भावरयकताभुतार संरोषध कर सकेगी।

## परिशिष्ट- (\%) <br> जेनरल सेक्रेट्रियों की <br> सालाना रिपोर्ट बाबत १९२५ <br> (जो आल इण्डिया कंग्रेस कमिटी में पेश हुई)

१-पिछ्ले साल जेनरल सेक्रिट्रयों ने जो श्षालना रिपोर्ट पेशा की थी उस में उस एक्रोरनामा का ज़िक किया गया था जो एक तरफ़ से म० गांघी और दूसरी तरफ़ से F्रराज पार्टी की भोर से देशान्धु चित्रंजन दास और पं० मोतीलाल नैहरू के बीच में हुश्रा था। इस ब़र्रारनामा में किफ़ार्रिश की गयी थी कि कांपेस के कार्यकम औौर मताधि干ार में कुछ ज़हुरी तब्दीलियाँ की जायँ। बेलगाम कंमेंस ने इन सिफ़करिरों को मंजूर किया और उक्क एकरारारनमा पूरे तौर पर मान लिया। भसहयोग भोप्राम को कौमी घोग्राम की हैसियत से उक्त एक्रारनेमा के मुताबिक्र कांग्रे ने रोक दिया। अ्यहहयोग क्रोग्राम का सिफ़फ़ वह हिस्ता क़ायम रक्बा गया जिए के मुताबिक्र बिदेेरी कवड़े का त्याग करना हाज़िमी कर दिया गया था। कांप्रे ने सिर्फ़ रचनाह्मक काम पर ज़ोर दिया। खांस कर चर्बा चलाने और खद्र पहिनने पर ज़ोर दिया गया। मताधिकार में बहुत बड़ी तन्दीली की गयी। कांयेस का सालाना चन्दा जो भव तक्र चार भाना था उसके स्थान पर हाथ से काता दुरुमा २४,००० गज़ सूत खंपेत :मेम्बरी का सालाना नन्दा कर दिया गया जिसे हर महीना २,००० गज़ के हिमाइ से अदा करना था। ₹वराज पार्टीं को कंश्रेत्स की भोर से काउन्मिलों में काम करने का अस्तियार दिवा गयां।

२-उम्मीद थी कि खद्र का प्रचाए श्रच ज़ोरों से होगा और नये मताधिकार की वजह से चर्बा चलाने का काम बहुत ज्यादा तरक्री करेगा । : कुछ हद तक यह काम भागे बढ़ा और खद्र के प्रचार में तखकी हुईं। लेकिन यह तरककी बहुत ज्पादा नहीं हुई जिसकी बड़ी वजह यह् यी कि नये मताधिकारे के मुताविक्र

बहुतु से सूरों ने कांप्रेत के मेम्बर बनाने का मुनासिब इन्तज़ाम नहीं किया। जो मेम्बर चन्दा मेम्बरी देते थे उनकी संख्या घटती बढ़ती रहती थी। किसी महीने में जो ज्यादा से ज्यादा चन्दा देनेवाले मेम्बों की तादाद थी वह सुकावार नीचे दर्ज है：

| अजमेर ．．．． | 19 | दिल्धी | ．．．． | 2\％く |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| भांध ．．．．श | २६७く | गुजरात | ．．．． | \｛く३३ |
| श्रासाम | ३७¢ | करनाटऋ | $\cdots$ | 1928 |
| विहार | 193¢ | केरल | $\cdots$ | 908 |
| बंगाल | ३¢६¢ | महाराष्ट्र | ．．． | ง00 |
| बरार | २२₹ | पंज1ब | ．．．． | १२？ |
| बर्मा | ¢३ | โึ่า | ．．．． | २१२ |
| हिन्दुस्तानी मध्य प्रान्त | そ ${ }^{\text {¢ }}$ | तमिलनाड | ．．．． | २ア女。 |
| मराठी मध्य प्रान्त | 999 | यू० पी० | $\ldots$ | 188 ₹ |
| बस्वई | 488 | उन्कल | ．．．． | 9\％\％ |

सितम्बर में बहुत से मेम्बरों का चन्दा बाकी था। मुपकित है इसकी यह वजहह हो कि मताषिकार के बदल जाने की लोग उम्मीद करते थे। भारी़र सितम्बर में श्राद इण्डिया कांप्रेस कमिटी ने मताधिकार को बदल दिया।
$\therefore$ ३—आल पार्टीज़ कान्फेन्म ने नवम्बर १९२४ ई० में जो एक समिति खनायी थी उसका एक इजलाब जनवरी के श्भासीर हफता में हुआ और कुछ अरसे तक यह समिति भाभ्ष में मशवरा करती रही। इस समिति ने एऋ उपतमिति हिन्दू सुसलिम सवाल पर ग़ौर करने के हिये बनायी जो कई दिन तक बराबर सलाह म₹वरा करती रही। लेकिन कोई संतोष जनक फ़ैसला न हो सक। इस लिये भ्भागामी इललास की कोई तारीख विना तग किये ही समिति ने श्यवना इजलास मुल्तवी कर दिया तथ से अभी त干 उक्त समिति का कोई इसलास नहीं हुआा है।

8 —हिन्दू－भासलमानों में पहले की तरह परसपर मनमुराव रहा। लेकिन
 बैमनस्य रहा। पानीवत और किद्यपू (करकत्ता) में योड़ी बहुत भाइए-पीट भी
 रंजिश बहुत बढ़ गयी थी। इलाहाघाद में दरहहरा नहीं हुआा। अवनऊ में पिषले साए का श्रन-कन अभी तथ नहीं हुश्रा भौर मनोमालिन्य श习 त干 बना हुुभा है। लेकिन नागपूर में इमके खिलाफ़ हर्ष-जनऋ घग्ना हुई। दोनों फ़िकों के नेताओं की मदद से भापस के भगड़े तय हो गये। भाज कल लड़ाई की सबन से भाम वनह मfनिदों के करीश्न या सामने चाजा छजता है। दिली की मिलाप सभा ने इन सवाल पर गौर किया था श्रैर इसे तय भी कर दिया था लेकिन उस फ़ैसले को मानने के बदले ज्यादातर उसके खिखफ़ कार्वाई की गई है।
 में दौरा किया। जहां वह जाते थे चले़ और खद्र पर बहुत ज्यादा जोर देते थे। साल्ह के ज्रुरू में उन्होंने कावियावाड़ में दौौरा किया और तथ दक्खिन भारत में वाइकम गग्रे जहां भाम सढ़क पर घ्रचूत्तों का हक क्रायम करने के लिये सत्यागह हो रहा था। महात्मा गांधी के वहां जाने से सत्यावहियों और राजर्मर्मारियों में जो भगगड़ा था वह बहुत कुछ कम हो गया घौर मुआमिले के तय होने की सूरत पैदा हो गयी। गांषी जी ने वहां से तमिलनाड में दौरा किगा। इसके बाद गुन्रात में भम्रणा किया।

६-मई के अारम्प में म० गांधी बनाल सूथां कान्फन्म में इरीक होने के लिये फ़रीदपर गये जिंकके सभापति देश -न्न्धु चित्तरंजन दास थे। वहां से चन्ता में कई जगहों का दौरा किया।

७-९ई जुन को दारजिलिंग में देशानच्चु दास की अचानक मृन्यु हुई । सारे देश को इससे गहा शोक हुश्रा। बन्नल में और देश के दुसरे स्थानों में जनता ने भसाषारण तौर पर शोक प्रकट किया और स्वर्गचासी का सम्मान किषा। बन्नाल देश-अच्छु मेमोरियङ अवील पर आठ लाख हुगये इस गरज़ के लिये जमां हो गये कि देशान्न्णु के मकान में औरतों के लिये एक शफ़ाखाना सोलः जाय। श्राल इयिएया देरा-न्न्धु अपील भी जितकर बड़े बड़े नेताब्षों ने हस्ताक्षार किया है जारी की गयी है।

घ习习习 नक ९० हज़ार से कुछ ऊपर रुपया इस कोष में मिल चुका．है ।
く—देश－चन्धु दास की मृत्यु की वजह से．म० गांधी ने और सुनों में दौरा करने का पोग्राम मन्सूख कर दिया और श्भगस्त के आाखीर त₹ बह्गाल में，खास कर कल्कत्ते में रहे । इस अरसे में बह्ञाल देरा－शन्धु मेमोरियल के लिये रुपया जमा करते रहे । सितम्बर श्रौर श्रक्तूचर में विहार में दौरा किया। यू० पी० में भी थोड़े अरसे के लिये आये और किर कच चले गए।

९－देशा－शन्धु दाव की मृत्यु के घाद ही हिन्दुस्तान ध्रौर शह्नाल के एक भर सुप्रतिद्ध देश भक्त सर सुरेन्द्रनाथ बैनर्जी की मृत्यु हुई जिन्होंने जातीयता के भाव को पहले पहल उभारा था श्यौर जो दो चार कांप्रेत के सभापति．रह चुके थे। \＆ अगहत को उनका देहान्त हुआ। सारे देश में उनकी मृत्यु पर शोक मनाया गया ।

20．－समापति भाह इरिडया कांभेस कमिटी और ज्याखिल भारतीय खद्दर बोर्ड ने ज़ो काम किया उसके ज्रलावा कुछ ज्यादा काम कांग्रेत का नहीं हुझ्या। वर्किक कािटी और अा० इa कां० कमिटी के बहुत कम इजलास हुए। अ्रा० इ० कां० कमिटी का इजलास २८ दिसम्ञर १९२४．ई० को बेलगाम में तुत्रा था। उसके बाद सिर्फ़ एक इजलास हुग्रा। वर्किंग कमिटी के तीन इजलास हुए और एक इज लास कोरम न होने की वजह से नहीं हो सका।．
$\therefore$ १ १—सितम्बर में भा० इ० कां० कामटी ने कांग्रेस के विषान को．इस आाशा पर－बदलने का फ़ैसला किया कि कांपेत इस परिवर्तन को मान लेगी। अब तक कंग्रेस मेम्बर्री का चन्दा हाथ का काता हुआ सुत था। अब कांगरेस का चन्दा चार आना साल याः२००० गज़ हाथ का काता हुग्रा सूत कर दिया ग़या ।．इस कमिटी ने म० गांधी को यह भी श्रस्तियार दिया कि अखिल भारतीय चर्खी संघ स्थापित＇करें जो कांग्रेम का एक संपूर्ण धौर अखंड हिसमा होगा लेकिन अपने काम श्रौर संमठन के बार．में विलकुल स्वतंब होगा：। आा० ३० कां० कमिटी ने यह， भी फ़ैसला किया कि श्राल इन्डिया खद्द बोर्ड श्रौर प्रांतीय खद्र बोडौं की कुल संपत्ति चर्खा संघ को दे दी जाय। इसके बाद ही चर्खा संघ स्थापित，हुभा श्रोर उसने आल इूप्डिया खद्दर बोर्ड की कुल संपरित．अपने हाथ में ले ली है। चर्बा




























सी० एफ० ऐण्वऩन हाल में दक्खिन अफ़ीका गये हैं और कुछ हिन्दुस्तानी दक्खिन अभीका से हिन्दुन्तान भा रहे हैं।
$? x$ —इइकम में "सब्बतो" का संग्राम जो अरसे से ज़ारी था ख़तम हुछ्शा। जात "ध्यद्बूतो" की हुईं। जिन सड़कों पर "अछ्छूतें" को आने जाने की इजाज़त नहीं थी उन पर अव वे भा जा सरेंगे। सत्याविहियों की हहन-रीलता, कष्ट सहन औौरंसहिंता की कड़ी परीज्ञा इस संग्राम में हुई श्रौर इल परीक्षा में सत्याम्रही पूरी तरह उत्रे घौर उनकी जीत, हुई। उपर बताया जा चुका है कि शुरू साङ में म० गांधी के वहकमम जाने से इल समझ्या के हल होने में बहुत सुविषा हुई। श्भात की क्लुषित श्रौर कुरूप प्रथा के खिलाफ़ म० गांधी ने कच्छ ज्रौर दूसोर स्यानों में भी बहुत प्रयत्न किया और घोर विरोष का मुकाबिल्रा किया।

१६-इस साल अकाली श्रान्दोलन ने सफलता की ओर रख किया ध्यौर गुद्दारा ऐकट पास हुभा जो बहुत अंशों तक सिक्बों को मंजूर है। घंखंड पाठ करने के बारे में जो रुकावेट जैतो ( रियसत नाभा) में थीं वे ह्या ली गयीं भौर कई भ्रखंड पाठ जैतो में किये गये। लेकिन शकाली कैदियों को सरकार ने भ्ञ तक नहीं छोड़ा और जन सम्मानित fिक्खों की इञनी बड़ी तादाद जेल में है तब तक श्रकालियों के मुआमिले का पूरा नितटरा नहीं हो सकता। सरकार इस बात पर ज़ोर दे रही है कि लिक्ख कैदी सरकार की जतौं को मान ले। सिक्ख कैदी ऐसा करने से इननार करते हैं ।

१७—वंगाल आर्डिनेन्त के मुताकिक पिछले साल जो लोग कैद्द या नज़खबन्द किये गये थे वे अब त币 छोड़े नहीं गये हालांकि इस कार्पाई के खिल्राफ कुल विचाखालों ने एन्न राय होतर नाखुरी ज़ाहिर की है। पहले इस बात की कोशिशा की गयी कि अ्भार्डिनेन्ध को चंगाल कौन्मिल स्वीकार कर ले। जन यह कार्ववाई नहीं चली तो गवर्नर जेनरल ने इसकी मंजूरी दे दी ।

१<——ासाम में अफ़ियून की जो तहकीकात कांगरेत ने शुरू की.थी वह इ阝 साल पूरी हो गई। गवाहियाँ और रिपोर्ट किताइ की सूरत में छाव दी गई हैं। इस रिपोर्ट में अफ़ियून के बारे में सरकार की नीति का पद्वा सवृत और ह्वाला देकर खोल दिया गया है घौग शफ्रियून के बुरे नतीजे

ज़ाहिर कर दिये गये हैं। पंजघघ, शान्ध श्रौर उड़ीसा के सुनों में चन्द जगहों पर जांच हो गही है।

1. १९--जनचरी में वर्किंग कमिटी ने श्रोंयुत तोताराम सनाब्च और क्रीयुत संपूर्णनन्द की एक कमिटी इसलिये बनायी कि उत्तरी हिन्दी में विदेशें से पलेटे हुए हिन्दुस्तानियों की हालत की जांच करें। इस कमिटी ने कुब्ध काम कर लिया हैं। लेकिज जैँच भभी समात्त नहीं हुई।

२०--बेलगाम में २८दिसम्बर १९२४ के इजलास में भाल इंडिया कांगरेस कमिटी ने बुद्ध गया मंदिर के बरे में बुद्ध धर्मवालों की तजवीज़ों पर गौर करके बाबू राजेन्द्र प्रताद को इसकी जांच करने और इस पर रिपोर्ट पेश करने के लिये बहा। बाबू राजेन्द्र प्रसाद की अाखिरी रिपोर्ट अभी नहीं आयी।

२? -कुछ बसों से भान्ध्र भौर उऊकल के सूनों में और उत्कल व बिहार के सूबों में अपनी सरदद के बोरे में कुछ भाड़े रहे हैं। कई बार समितियां औरं च्यक्ति इ्न भगगड़ों की पंचायत करने के लिये सुर्कर किगे गये। लेकिन शब तक कोई फ़ैसला नहीं हुआ। जिन स्थानों के बारे में भगड़े!़े हैं वहां के लोग इस कठिनाई में हैं कि किस सुने से अ्यना सम्छन्ध रक्ष और अनकर कांग्रेस में इनकी शिरक्त नहीं होने पाती।

२२——शिक्रांश सुका कमिटियों का काम ठीक तरह पर नहीं चल्ता रहा और बहुत कम सूत्रा कामटियों ने अप़नी सालाना रिपोर्ट मेनी हैं। अधिकतर कमिटियों के बरो में यह मालूप नहीं हो सका कि उन्होंने कुछ रुपया जमा किया या नहीं और जमा किया तो कितना जमा किया। ग़ालिबन घहुत कम रुपा सुर्वों में जमा किया गया। देशबन्धु मेमोरियल में जो कुछ मिला वह सीधे मुख्यको़ में भें दिया गया और प्रान्तों को उसमें हिस्ता , हीं दिया गया। साल के शुरू में
 करने के लिये जमा किया गया।

२₹-भाल इृण्डिया खादी बोर्ड ने इस स्साल काफ़ी काम किया। कुछ स्थानों में बोर्ड ने जो काम शुरू किया उसमे बहुत सफलता हुई खामकर खादी के तैपार कराने थौर बिक्राने में वापारिक नियमों के मुताक्क काम जारी कियों

गया। तमिल नाड ख्वादीबोड़ को स्थाई औौर प्रभावशाली संगठन कायम करने में सफहता हुई है। घह बोर्ड बहुत अन्डी खादी काफ़ी तैपार करा रहा है जिसकी
 रुपये का खद्र तैवार कराया और (३२,८४ई) रुपये का खद्र बेचा। इस वोड़ के काम का केन्द्र तिर्षूर में है जो सारे देश में मझाहर हो गया है। बत्राए में खादी़ प्रतिषान ने खद्र के सम्चच्ध में हर तरह के काम में बड़ी तरक्की की है भौर उस⿰干ा प्रन्ष बहुत बड़े पैपाना पर है। खादी प्रतिषान में कई घुयोग्य कार्ष-कती काम कर रहे हैं। विहार में खद्र के काम में अच्छी उन्नति हुई है भौर खद्र की तैवारी और बिकी दोनों बहुत बढ़ गयी है। पिछते साल जितना ख़द्दर विहाए में तैगार हुश्रा या उसके दूने से ज्यादा इस साल तैगार हुआा। अांध ज़ो बारीक सूत और खूक्षूरत खद्र के लिगे मशहुर है ऐली तरकी नहीं कर सका जैसी आाशा यी या जैसी उसके विछ्घले काम को देखते हुए होनी चाहिये थी। लेकिन आंध में खद्र का काम बहुत बढ़ाया जा सकता है और अगर संगठन दुरुस्त कर के काम हुआ तो बहुत ज्यादा तरक्की होना निसन्देह है। पंजाः में मुस्तकिल तौर पर लेकिन धीरे धीरे रखद्र की तैयारी श्रौर खृत्री बढ़ती जाती है और दाम भी कम होता जा रहा है। संयुक्त प्रांत, उक्कल और दिल्डी प्रान्त में भी खद्र का काम हो रहा है। इन प्रांतों में और झ्रासाम व राजपूताना में भी खद्र तैयार कराने का हुतु मौका है। सिर्फ रुपयों और योग्य कार्य-क्ताओं की ज़रूतत है।

२8-इहुत से म्युनिसिपल और ज़िल बोड्डों ने खाषकर संयुक्तपांत के बोड्डों ने खद्यर के काम को मदद पहुँचाई है। कुछ बोडौं ने बद्र पर से चुंगी उठा ली है घौर उनके Fकूलों में सूत कतववाया जाता है। अ्यद्मदावाद लेबर यूनियन के एसूकों में तकली पर सुत कातने का एक दंगङ हुग्रा जिसमें स्कूलों में सूत कातने के लिये तकल़ी ख़ास तौर पर कारभामद साबित हुई ।

२५-बेलग्राम कांपेत ने भाह इणिडया कंग्रेत कमिटी को १९२५ ईस्वी के लिये भाडिटर मुर्कर करने का शधिकार दिया था। सितम्बर के इज्ञास में भाल इण्डिया कमिटी ने खज़ांची को यह अख्तियार दिया कि वह आडिटर मुकर्कर करें।


कमिटी भाफ़ित और कई स्वा कमिटियों का हिसाब आाडिटर जांच चुके हैं। बाकी सूता कमिटियों का हिसाइ जांचा जा रहा है।
२२:-इस साल भाल इरिएया कमिटी ने कुछ ऐसे रुपये वसूल किये जो दूसरों
 गयां। इस में ३०, <气₹ रु० ₹ शा० ९ पा० पंजाइ रिलीफ़ फ़ण्ड और मार्शाल ला रिपोर्ट के हिलाब से मिल्रा। वर्कित कमिटी ने फ़ैसला किया है कि पज्जाब कोष उनं लोगों की सहायता के लिये अख्या कर दिया जाय जिन पर सरकार की ओरंर से जुल्म किया गया है। लेकिन सहायता करने में पहले पंजाइ का ख्याल किया जाया

२७-भा० इ० कां० कमिटी को जो रुपया मिलना चाहिये उनकी वसुली की बरांरर कोशिरा करने पर भी बहुतसी रकमें बा़ी़ी पड़ी हैं। इन में कई रकमें वसुह नहीं हो सकनीं। जिनके जिम्मे घह बकी है वह रुया ध्यदा नहीं करं मक्षे। इन ऐक्रमों को जितनी जल्दी हिसाब से काट दिया जाय उतना ही श्भच्छा होगा। पजाइ कोष के $8<, \circ$ ₹१) रुपये श्रभी दूसरों के पात पड़े हैं जित में $89,<४$ २) रु० पं० मदननोहन नी माएवीय के पास हैं। उन्होंने उसे मुन्तकिल कर देने को कहा है लेकिन इस में बहुत देर हो चुकी है। इ़ साल सुका से चन्दा मेम्बरी के सूत में भा० ३० का०० क० का हिस्सा वसूल करने में या उसके बदले नक़दे बसूल करने में बड़ी दिक्कते हुई हैं। इनुत मामूली रकमें इस मद में मिलनी थीं लेकिन सषिक्तर सुका कमिटियों से ये रकमे श्रभी तक वसूल नहीं हुई। बंगाल, तमिखननाड, गुजरात, आंध, विहार और संयुक्तभान्त से यह रकमें मिलनी बांकी हैं।

२०-खास खर्व इस साल उन्हीं मदों में हुआा है जो मामूली हैं यानी आ० ३० कां० कमिटी के और खज़ांची के दक्तरों का खर्तु और हिमाज शाडिट कराने का खर्च । सिर्फ़ एक रकम $२, ० \circ \circ$ ) रु० की हिन्दुस्तानी सेवा द़ल को दी गयी। कुछुऔर रकमें कुछ सुनों को दे डाली गयीं लेकिन इसी अर्थ में कि उनके ज़िम्मे जो रुपये बाक़ी थे वे हिसाब से काट दिये गये।

 संख्या में ₹०, く६₹ रु० ३ भा० $९$ पाई पंजाइ कोष की वह रकम भी है जो सरकारी दमन के पीड़ितों के लिये भलग कर दी गयी है और २४, ૬७३ रु० ७ भा० की वह रकम भी राामिए है जो अन्य कामों के लिये अस्ग कर दी गयी है। जो रकमें अ्लम करेके जमा हैं उनको घटा कर भी हिमान के अंत में जिसना ख़्रज़ांची के पास है वैह उससे अधिक है जितना खज़ांची के पास हिसान के ग्रुरू में था। यह स्पिति संतोष जनक है खाएकर यह देखते हुए कि भा० इ० कां० कमिटी के लिये धन जमा करने का उदोग नहीं किया गया। करीब करीज जो कुछ जमा हुुआ
 कांप्रेत कमिटी की भामदनी का एक सुस्तकिल ज़रिया डेलिगोटों की फ़ीस का श्राषा हिस्सा था। यह ज़ऱिया अच रक गया जन से बेख्याम कांप्रेस ने हेलगेटों की फीस कम कर के १) रु० कर दिया। दान के श्रंखावा भामदनी का दूसरा ज़रिया कंग्रेते के खेमे का किराया है। लेकिन यह खेमा कुछ कुष फट चला है और शायद घहुत दिनों तक नहीं चलेगा। भगर भामदनी के और जरिये न निकाले गये तो झागे चल कर कमिटी को कठिनाइयाँ पड़ेग़ी।
₹०-इस साल श्राल ईंखडया कांग्रेत कमिटी के वाल व्रिटिश कांप्रेत कमिटी के पुस्तकालय पहुँच गया। इस पुस्तकालय में बहुमूल्य कितान और कांप्रेल की पुरानी रिपोटे हैं। इस समय घह पूह्तकालय कांग्रेत हाउस बम्बई में है।

३? क्ंगंगरेत के काम से सम्ब्न्ध रखने वाली कुछ्ध कितार्ब इस साल प्रकाशित की गयीं हैं। भा० ३० कां० कमिटी और वर्किण कमिटी के वह प्रत्ताव जो
 के नाम से प्रकाशित किये गये। बेलगाम कांगरेत की रिपोर्ट छप गयी। सासाम में अफ़ियून की तहक्रीकात की रिपोर्टी छ१ गयी। आ० इ० खादी बोर्ड ने "खादी-गाइड " प्रकारित किया। खादी प्रतिष्ठान ने दो जिल्दों में "खादी मैंडएल प्रकाशित किया ।

३२-आण० इ० कर० कमिटी के द्दभ्तर का भादिट किया हुभा हितान ? दिसम्बर १९२४ से ३? अक्तूरर १९२३ तक इस रिपोर्ट के 'साथ नन्थी है।

खज़ांजी का ोेशा किया हुथा हिसाक की त्त्यी है औौर उन रक्रमों का हिसाप भी जो वसुल हुंद वा बाकी हैं ।





 के माध़म होता औ।


[^0]:    "Let me join with many in offering congratulation to the Congress on your election as President. Knowing you from ohildhood my congratulations are based on knowledge and I deem India fortunate in having as leader one of her own daughters. Any help that I can give is at your service. May the Congress be guided by you along the path of Home Rule by the union of all parties to work for India's freedom within her homeland and thus revive her splendid past. May divine blessings rest on the Congress that all may co-operate to win Home Rule."-Dr. Besant.
    "Regret unavoidable absence. Trust Cawnpore Congress will lay down a policy which will so consolidate national forces as to make the nation's demand irresistible."-B. Chakravarti.
    "Regret cannot proceed. Hearty blessings for success of Con-gress."-Sankaracharya.
    "Best wishes for success. A real modification constitution to admit all parties."-Mr. Reza Ali.
    "Wish Congress unqualified success. Hope you succeed in uniting all political parties during your regime. Unless whole India unites, the attainment of Swaraj-all efforts to secure equal status for Indians in British Colonies and foreign countries futile. We

[^1]:    *, About 400 delegates from Ajmer were: invalidated.

[^2]:    Note:-After this report was in print, Mr. B.F. Bharucha intimated that he agrees with it with the fxception of the reference in paragraph 28 to the work of the lamil Nada Khadi Board. He does not agrec that their orgnaisation is as good as the report states.

[^3]:    h)
    

[^4]:    * क्ष्मा प्रार्थना-कुस असावधानी के कारण प्रस्ताव ठीक जगह पर भाषणों के साथ नरीं दिया जा सका इसलिये पाउक क्षमा करें।

    राजा राव
    सहायक मंसी:

