

Full Proceedings of the
CAWNPUR CONGRESS 1925
and all other Conferences of the
Congress Week.

BY
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THE CAWNPUR CONGRESS 1925

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FORTIETH SESSION OF THE

Indian National Congress

CAWNPORE—26TH DECEMBER 1925

The Opening Day

The 40th session of the Indian National Congress commenced on the 26th December afternoon in a spacious pandal. Decorations were simple. Khaddar was, as usual, extensively used. Portraits of Leaders on the dais were those of Mahatma Gandhi, Lok. Tilak, Pt. Malaviya, Deshbandhu Das and Pt. Motilal. Oil paintings of Deshbandhu C. R. Das and Lok. Tilak were prominently placed. Unlike other sessions mottoes were few and taken from quotations of pithy sayings of various leaders—"Be Honest"—(Gandhi) "End or Mend"—(Deshbandhu) "Deeds not Words"—(Lajpatrai) "Home Rule is our Birthright"—(Tilak). The main motto in front of the dais declared "Unity is Strength." Delegates and visitors began to pour in from 12 noon. Lady delegates and visitors were quite numerous.

Great Confusion.

At 1-30 a considerable stir was caused by Ajmere-Merwara Delegates trying to force their way into the pandal. They numbered about sixty and held themselves entitled to attend the Congress in defiance of the Congress Subjects Committee's ruling invalidating their election. A large number of volunteers had to be collected to prevent the onrush. Doors were barred and volunteers armed with lathis formed a cordon. Still the Ajmer delegates, who had determined to fight their way in, continued to press and refused to disperse in spite of persuasion by the volunteers who cried "no violence please" But Mr. Arjunlal Sethi, leader of the Ajmer delegates, lay across the entrance and a few delegates of other provinces in their hurry to get in trampled upon him. By this time the pandal was packed though not very fully. After some time the rush was controlled and the Ajmere delegates were kept out. Sj. Arjunlal Sethi soon regained consciousness but another Ajmere delegate had to be taken out as he also wanted to force in. Some minor injuries were reported in two or three cases.

By 2-30 the leaders arrived in a procession, the band playing. Pandit Motilal entered first with Lala Lajpat Rai on his right. Dr. Murarilal came next with Moulana Abul Kalam Azad. Mahatma Gandhi's appearance was the occasion for shouts of "Gandhikijai" and next came in order Maulana Mahomed Ali, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Mr. J. N. Sen Gupta, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Mr. V. J. Patel Mr. Vallabhai Patel, Shjva Prosad Gupta, Rajendra Prosad, Doctor Ansari, Mr. Parshottamdas Tandon, Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Swami Shradhanand and Mr. N. C. Kelkar. A number of distinguished persons were on the dais. Over a dozen European ladies and gentlemen were present including Mr. and Mrs. Hubley and Dr. Rutherford, and Miss Slade. Dr. Abdur Rahaman and

other members of the South African Indian Deputation were also on the dais. The other Indian leaders present included Munshi Ishwar Saran, Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, C. V. S., Narsinha, Mr. Mohamed Safoe, Khan Bahadur Sarafraz Hussain Khan, Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer, Mr. Duni Chand, Mr. Barucha, Mr. Deepnarain Singh, Lala Hansraj, Dr. Syed Mahmud, Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, Mr. Prakasam, Mr. Abhyanker, Dr. Moonji, Mr. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande, Swami Govindram, Mr. Goswami, Mr. Chamanlal and Mr. D. P. Sinha.

Proceedings began at 2-45 P.M. The pandal was packed to overflow by over fifteen thousand people. Only the Ajmere-Merwar gallery was vacant. The proceedings began with national songs all standing. After Vishnu Digambar and others had sung, Dr. Murarilal delivered his address as Chairman of the Reception Committee. He narrated the difficulties put in their way by the authorities and declared that non-co-operation was not dead but had taken firm root. He took fifteen minutes to deliver his speech. The following is the summary of his address.

Chairman's Address

In the course of his speech Dr. MURARILAL said that at the time of extending invitation to Cawnpore they had great hopes and high aspirations about according a reception befitting the dignity of the representatives of the National Assembly, but combination of causes stood in their way. Besides difficulties which faced the country they had to contend with local difficulties. After referring to death of Mr. C. R. Das and Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee he mentioned the Hindu-Muslim tension which in Cawnpore however led to no untoward happenings. The Opponents of Indian National progress, seeing their temporary weakness, had begun to talk despairingly of their policy and programme, but they had not grasped the full significance of their peaceful methods of work. Mutual recriminations had led many a seasoned soldier to relax his interest in healthy national activities. Their workers were handicapped for want of adequate financial aid owing to depression in trade. The economic policy of Government was one of heartless and cruel exploitation. Organised pillage of the disarmed nation had undermined their manhood and the deadly evil of poverty had made the lives of millions unbearable. Despite these and several other discouraging factors like obtaining site for Congress they worked undaunted and there was the Kakori trial which had snatched away many of their ardent and sincere workers, many of whom had not been even admitted to bail. Those incidents painfully reminded them of the low value that was attached by bureaucratic Government to their rights of liberty and citizenship but he was confident about the success of their struggle. The gospel of non-co-operation had shaken off their frightful terror of coercion and intimidation. To say that the movement was dead was to ignore facts. They might have temporary set-backs but at no distant date the movement would bear fruit.

After the Chairman's Speech Dr. Abdur RAHAMAN, leader of the South Africa Indian Deputation, in a short speech said the Deputation was presenting to one of the greatest women of the world (Mrs. Naidu) her photo. The South African Indians had given India the greatest living man (applause). "Mahatmaji belongs to us (applause). Mrs. Naidu also belongs to us. You will have to give us at least one of the two to go to South Africa and fight our battle. If we take the greatest woman of India we are leaving behind her

photograph so that you may look at it and be satisfied. We present this photo to our mother and our aunt in token of love of the South African Indians."

MESSAGES OF SYMPATHY

Mr. Girdhari Lal then read the following messages received from eminent persons wishing success of the Congress :—

Sjta. Basanti Dobi (widow of Mr. C. R. Das) asked the President to light up undying fire and let the united nation rise out of smouldering ashes purified and strong. India's freedom's battle must be made a worthy fight for which Doshabandhu Das gave his life and for which two hundred of their sons were abiding their time behind prison-bars.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore requested Mrs. Naidu to direct the Congress to love and service to the cradle of the people. The great mother's milk for her children had run dry through poverty, ignorance, disease and disunion, whose life was waning and light of joy was nearly extinct.

Mr. B. Chakravarti urged a policy by which to consolidate national forces and make national demand irresistible.

Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachari (Salem) suggested the constitution of a committee for drafting Indian constitution to be adopted in a special session of the Congress.

Mrs. Annie Besant wired : " May Congress be guided by you along the path to Home Rule by union of all parties who work for India's freedom and revive her splendid past."

Hon. Mr. G. S. Khaparde wanted Mrs. Naidu to restore the Congress to its truly political character with responsive co-operation as the settled policy.

Lord Sinha sincerely hoped there would be great gathering and a successful session.

Mr. Jinnah said the immediate issue was securing the revision of the present constitution, but any action of principle of direct action would be fraught with serious consequences and imperil political advance.

The Indian Congress Committee of Nairobi said, unless the whole of India was united and attained Swaraj, all efforts to secure equal status for Indians in British colonies and foreign countries would be futile.

The Transvaal Indians through their committee asked the Congress to support the South African Deputation. The Pretoria British Indians' Association made a similar request.

Hon. Syed Raza Ali from Maritzburg wired appealing for modification of the constitution to admit all parties.

The Presidential Address

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the first Indian lady to preside over the National Congress, then proceeded to the rostrum and received a great ovation. She spoke for over an hour extempore. Her printed address no doubt briefly covered most of what she said, but she spoke at the spur of the moment without restricting to language used in the address. She kept the audience spell-bound. The following is the full text of her Address :—

" 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 treated 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 exquisitely, 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.

Homage to Departed.

" 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 our illustrious dead—to that great patriarch of our national renaissance, Suroudranath Bannerjee, 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 Kamakrishna Bhundarkar, the famous Scholar of the Deccan, who with patient and dedicated hands rekindled the lamps of our ancient Sanskrit culture, and lifted it high above the clamour, and conflict of political throngs; to Dashbandhu 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 to-day 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 unparalleled 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 expression 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 aggressions 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?

Non-Violent Non-Co-Operation.

"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 to-day 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 current of our political thought and altered the direction of our political destiny.

"We need to-day 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.

Village Reconstruction.

"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 householders 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 often compelled to live under conditions that degrade and brutalize them; and who, dislocated from the steadying influences of the familiar traditions and associations of 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.

The Education Problem.

"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 to-day 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.

National Militia.

"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 volunteer 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.

South-African Question

"Let it not be said of us, however, that our selfish absorption in our own domestic affairs has made us oblivious to 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 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 to-day, offer to our harassed and afflicted brothers in South Africa the assurance that India stands behind their courageous struggle to vindicate their inborn civic and human rights against the onslaught of such terrific injustice and oppression ?

An Overseas Department

"Never before has 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 forcing an Overseas Department in the Congress manned by those who can keep themselves vigilantly aware of all the legislations and enactments that adversely or otherwise affect Indian 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.

Foreign Propaganda

"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.

Hindu-Moslem Question

"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 to-day 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 seeing 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 power.

"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, which 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 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!

The States and Frontier

" 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 strategic 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.

Our Common Goal

" 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 outcasts of our society whom, in our arrogance, we have so long deprived of their elementary human rights.

" To-day 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 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 self-respect. 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 good-will and 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 stage 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 to-day 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".

Proceedings and Resolutions.

1.—The Condolence Resolution.

After the Presidential Address Mrs. Naidu moved from the chair a resolution mourning the death of the departed leaders, which was passed, all standing.

2.—The South African Indians.

Mahatma Gandhi then moved the following resolution about South African Indians in the form passed by the Congress Subjects Committee.

"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 struggle against the consolidated forces which threaten their very existence in that sub-continent.

"This 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 1911, in that it is racial in character and is calculated not only to make the position of settlers much worse than it was in 1911, but is designed to make 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 connection with matters affecting the Indian settlers of the Transvaal, and in matters arising from the administration of Law 3 of 1895.

"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 of a Round Table Conference and the proposal regarding arbitration failing, the Congress is of opinion that the Imperial Government should withhold Royal Assent to the Bill should it pass through the Union Parliament,

In moving the above resolution Mahatma Gandhi delivered the following speech:—

"This is the resolution which 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 before you. She has introduced me to you as a South African. She might have added "By adoption, though born in India." I was adopted there and you will discover that when Dr. Rahaman, the leader of the deputation, to which you will extend your cordial welcome, will tell you that Indians of South Africa claim that they have given me to you. I accept that claim. It is perfectly true that whatever service I have been able to render—it may be disservice—to India, it is because I come from South Africa. If it is disservice it is not their fault; it is my limitation. Therefore, the evidence that I propose to give before you in support of the statement made here is that the Bill which is hanging like the 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.

Indians' Feeling

"Such is admittedly the meaning of the Bill. It is admitted by the Europeans of South Africa. It is not denied by the Union Government itself. If such is the result, you can imagine how keenly the Indians in South Africa must feel. Imagine for one moment that the 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 under such a crisis? It is under such circumstances that you have the deputation in your midst. The deputation comes here for support from the people of India, 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 efforts Lord Reading proposed to give to the members of the deputation he could have said that in a few words and spared them and spare 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 now in danger of being expelled from South Africa. To some of them South Africa is a land of their birth. It was no comfort to those friends of our, it was no comfort to us to be told that the Indian Government has always reserved to itself the right to make representation to the South African Government—the right of petitioning—that is to say by a mighty Government, a Government which is supposed to hold the destiny of 300 millions of people in the hollow of its hands. That Government confesses its powerlessness. And why, because South Africa enjoys Dominion Status.

Domestic Policy

"Lord Reading has told the deputation that the Indian Government or the Imperial Government cannot interfere with the domestic policy of a colony enjoying Dominion Status. What is the meaning of "domestic policy" when that policy is calculated to bring ruin upon the homes of thousands of Indian settlers domiciled there whom they deny the common rights of

humanity? Well, what would be the case if instead of Indians they happened to be Europeans or 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, or "uplanders," as they were described by the Transvaal Republican Government. The late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain claimed for the British Government that even if the Transvaal was an independent Government he declined to believe that this was purely a domestic policy, or domestic question. He claimed to protect the rights of the "Uplanders" of Transvaal, and that was why the great Boer War took place.

Where are the Declarations?

"Lord Lansdowne said that it made his blood boil when he thought of the disabilities of Indians in Transvaal. He held that one of the potent causes of the Boer War was the disabilities of Indians in South Africa, or more accurately Indians of the Transvaal. Where are the declarations to-day? Why does not the British Government go to a war against the Union Government when the life, honour and livelihood of 150 thousand Indians are at stake?

"No body questions the description I have given. No body questions the ever growing grievances of the British Indians in South Africa. If you have seen a little pamphlet by Bishop Fisher who had been to South Africa you will find that there he gives a summary of the wrongs that are going to be heaped upon the South African Indians. 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; it is the insolence of the European power that is responsible for these wrongs. He gives his testimony that Indians deserved better at the hands of Europeans of South Africa.

"If justice can possibly eradicate this wrong, if admission by South African European statesmen could eradicate the wrongs, if right rules this world—for South Africa it will be impossible to bring about this Bill and it will not be necessary for me to waste your precious time and the time of the deputation and waste the money of the poor people of South Africa.

Thrifty Indians

"But no! Might is right. The Europeans of South Africa have chosen to heap these wrongs upon our countrymen, and for what purpose? Conflict of the two civilisations, as General Smuts said. He cannot put up with that and he thinks Europeans of South Africa consider that they will be overwhelmed by the East if they allow these hordes to pour down to South Africa from India. But how could we corrupt their civilisation? Is it because we are not ashamed to hawk vegetables and fruits and bring to the very doors of the South African farmers? This is the conflict.

"Someone has said (I do not know where, but only recently) that Europeans in South Africa dread the advent of Islam that civilised Spain, that took the torch of light to Africa and preached to the world the Gospel of Brotherhood, they are afraid that the natives of South Africa are embracing Islam. If brotherhood is a sin, if it is equality of coloured races that they dread, then that dread is well founded. The thing is they want to become lords of the universe. They want to appropriate the land for themselves. The Kaiser, though down-trodden, fears an Asiatic federation and speaks even from his haunt that it is a danger which Europeans should

guard themselves against. That is the conflict of civilisations and that is why Lord Reading is power-less to intervene in their domestic policy.

Unequal Struggle

"Such are the tremendous consequences of the struggle which this resolution describes as unequal, and it is in that unequal struggle that 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 the South African Indians.

"I have so far given only the dark side of South African Europeans. Let me also say that I claim among them some of my most precious friends and I have received from individual South African Europeans the greatest kindness and greatest hospitality. I claim also to know General Smuts, though I may not claim to be his friend. He was a party to the agreement on behalf of his Government. He it was who said that the British Indians in South Africa deserved this settlement. It was he who said that this was a final settlement and that Indians should not threaten passive resistance and that the European settlers in South Africa should allow rest to the Indian community.

Broken Pledges

"But hardly had I turned my back from South Africa than 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 tread, but his words and deeds shall remain after him. 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 is Christian. They claim to be Christians. Before they open their Parliament they read out the common prayer from the Bible and a South African Divine opens the proceedings with a prayer that goes up to God, not of white men, not of the Negro, not of the Mussalman, not of the Hindu, but the God of all.

"I say this from my place of position, and knowing my responsibility to its fullest extent, that they deny their Bible, they 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".

Maulana MOHAMED ALI deplored that it was because the nation had not taken to the spinning wheel and had on the other hand established many war fronts in the form of fights between Hindus and Muslims, Brahmins and non-Brahmins, No-ohangers and Swarajists, and now the latest between Swarajists and Responsive Co-operators that they were feeling helpless in helping their brothers in South Africa. Was it not a shame that one among every four of Indians was untouchable? He, however, felt that Mahatma Gandhi had introduced a new force—the readiness to die—with which they could defy the most mighty. The speaker offered himself for service in South Africa any time that his life was required.

Mr. KARANDIKAR, ex-member of the Council of State, in supporting the resolution said some time ago this question was discussed in the Council of State. He became aware of the attitude of the Government that it was anxious to do all that was possible, but in the end it turned out to be nothing more than impotent rage. He asked the Government of India

to do its duty in ameliorating the conditions of Indians in South Africa, for it was the Government of India, who under pressure from the Home Government, sent them there to develop that land.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously amidst acclamation.

Dr. Abdur RAHAMAN then came to the rostrum to acknowledge thankfully the resolution passed, which he said was the first thing since their arrival in India that had inspired them with a little hope for the future (Applause.) He had no doubt that if only they could get Mahatmaji to put their case before the Indian people there would be no difficulty in getting the Indian nation to stand by the sons of India in their sufferings in South Africa.

The Union Government's Bill intended that the Indian community be either exterminated or hounded out. "The majority of us in South Africa are not going to give in. (Hear, hear.) We feel we are fighting your battle; when a wound is inflicted on us we feel it has been inflicted on our Motherland—the Great Indian Empire.

As Mahatmaji has said, we are disappointed with the Viceroy's reply. He said that we could not interfere with domestic legislation of South Africa. Why is it domestic? We are fortunately or unfortunately a part of the British Empire, and it is because we are a part of the Empire that the Government of India is impotent and helpless. (Shame.) If the British Empire only means exploitation of non-European races, if it stands only for letting Europeans exploit the weak, the sooner the Empire is done with the better it is for the world." (Applause).

He asked those in the Councils that if the Government of India failed to assist them, they should put the South African issue in their elections and throw out all Bills. "Do not sanction a farthing and hold up all government machineries until we who are treated as political holots and are held in industrial serfdom, are treated honourably." (Applause).

Dr. Abdur Rahaman pleaded that they should let Mahatma Gandhi go to South Africa just for a few months and all their troubles would be over. Mahatma Gandhi did not look ill. The longer he spoke the stronger his voice grew. Mahatmaji knew their difficulties. Either their shops were stopped, or they had no schools to give education to their children or to learn skilled trade. The law of the land prohibited them from being so employed. (Cries of shame.) If only Mahatmaji could go with them, all troubles would vanish, just as snow melted before the morning sun.

They must have discovered again and again that they were suffering because they were members of the British Empire. "If you had some battleships to-day, if you had your army, a little handful of the so-called whites, who were vomitted forth on the shores of Africa from the slums of Europe, would not have dared do what they are doing to-day. No Englishman would be let to suffer these conditions for 24 hours.

We are going through 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 don't give us a Round Table Conference, then the British Government should veto that Bill, and if the British Government does not use it, then it will show that they have tricked us, that they

have betrayed us, because they put that Section into the Act, and they refuse to use it. We are your soldiers. We are not beaten. We are not going to give in. It is your duty to say : Go on boys ; fight on in South Africa ; we will stand by you ; we will support you in every way. Then we will go on and maintain the honour of the great Indian Empire. (Loud Applause).

The Congress then rose for the day and adjourned till 12 noon the next day.

SECOND DAY—27TH DECEMBER 1925

The Congress reassembled at 1-30 p.m. Attendance was as large as yesterday, as the agenda on this day contained the central resolution of the session regarding the political programme of the Swarajya Party as finally approved of by the Congress Subjects Committee on the previous day. Other resolutions condemned Government's action under the Bengal Ordinance, demanded unconditional release of Sikh prisoners, urged the Viceroy to withhold sanction to the Expulsion of Non-Burman Offender's Bill and Tax on the Sea Passenger's Bill. Pandit Malaviya attended on this day.

3.—The Bengal Ordinance Condemned.

Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta moved :—

" This Congress strongly condemns the abuse of Regulation III of 1818 and the autocratic enactment of the Bengal Ordinance Act and the arrest and detention without definite charge and open trial of a large number of patriotic youngmen of Bengal under the said Regulation and the Act and further condemns their continued incarceration, mistreatment and deportation outside Bengal notwithstanding the clearly and repeatedly expressed opinion of the people both inside and outside the legislatures."

Mr. Sen Gupta said Government had broken its pledge given in a Government Resolution on the Repressive Laws Committee's Report to repeal Regulation III of 1818. On the other hand the Bengal Ordinance was secretly hatched and 150 persons were arrested for conspiracy, but not a single document or ammunition of an incriminating nature was discovered. The Ordinance itself was so framed that to silence some critics it was provided that there would be trial by Special Magistrates. More than a year had, however, passed and the 150 patriots were kept in jail without trial and without any charge against them. (Shame, shame). Government apologists had stated that witnesses and jury would be intimidated. This was a lie. One single European, Mr. Day, during the last five years has been killed and it was a jury with a majority of Indians that returned a verdict of guilty. Witnesses, all Indian, gave evidence in the case. Same was done in the case of a bomb thrown into a shop. The fact, however, was that Government had no proof which could stand the test of judicial scrutiny.

" My charge is that their object is not to punish criminal activity, but to smash the legitimate activities of the Swaraj Party and the Congress." (Applause). Mr. Sen Gupta charged the Bengal Government for violating the Ordinance by not providing comforts to the prisoners promised by the Act and held it unlawful on the part of Sir Hugh Stephenson to have stated that it was a part of the Burma Government's job and not the Bengal Government's to fix the allowance of detainees transferred to the Rangoon jails. He declared that the administration which stood in the way of the

forces of liberty would be demolished as similar institutions have been demolished in the past in other countries. (Applause).

Mr. M. R. Jayakar, seconding the resolution said the Ordinance was a disgrace upon any civilized Government, much more so on a Government which had in its own country produced the Common Law and the Law of Evidence to sift falsehood from truth. He did not know of any instance since 1908 when a prisoner killed a co-prisoner for perfidy or where a witness had been intimidated.

Mr. Shyamsunder Chakraverty held that mere passing of resolutions on the Bengal Ordinance every year showed only impotent rage.

After Dr. Satyapal and Mr. Purushottam Roy had spoken the resolution was passed unanimously.

4.—The Gurdwara Prisoners.

Lala Lajpat Rai moved :—

"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 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 questions until the Gurdwara prisoners are unconditionally released."

Lala Lajpat Rai said the Bengal Partition agitation and the Sikh Gurdwara agitation stood before them as outstanding examples of what a determination to win a right cause could achieve. The Sikhs were determined and made the life of the Government most inconvenient and they had their way. The Government paid no heed to mere bluff and threat. He was one of those who had previously advised the Sikhs to accept the condition, but when the Sikh prisoners had gone on better and had enrolled themselves as voters under the Act there is no basis for the Government to insist on its particular condition being fulfilled.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar held that it was nothing but a spirit of meanness that the Government was exhibiting in asking for an idle undertaking.

Maulana Shaukatali's advice to the Sikhs was that let all their leaders rot in jail but never to give an undertaking.

Pundit Nekiram said the Sikhs had won right through and the Government had now put the last hitch to keep up its prestige. But the Sikhs who had sent in thirty thousand men to jail, had suffered four hundred of them to death and had paid eleven lakhs to penalties, could not yield.

Qazi Abdul Rahiman and Mr. Barucha also supported.

Sardar Mangal Singh in thanking the Congress for the support said Sir Malcolm Hailey's Government would have to surrender. How were they saying that the country was not fit for Civil Disobedience, when hundreds of them in the Punjab who were members of unlawful bodies—the Akali Dal and the S. G. P. C. of which he was the President—were not being arrested? The Government dared not. When Mahatma Gandhi and Lala Lajpat Rai told them to accept the condition of the Punjab Government, Sikh leaders felt that it would involve national humiliation, if they did so after such sacrifice. He assured them that the Sikhs would be prepared for even greater sacrifices for national liberty but on one condition that the Hindus and the Muslims did not fight. It was, indeed, because of the Congress's

weakness that it took them two years to win their point at Jaito, because the Government thought that without the help of the Hindus and the Muslims the Sikhs could not hold on for long.

The resolution was passed.

5.—Non-Burman Offenders' Bill.

Mr. T. Prakasam then moved :—

"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 citizens and 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 and is of opinion that the Bills should not receive Viceregal sanction".

Mr. Prakasam said he had recently been touring in Burma, closely studying the conditions there. The real object of the Expulsion Bill was the prevention of political propaganda among the Indians there. Schedules attached to the Bill included trivial offences like the failure to take out license for keeping wireless installation. If the Bill became law they would soon have a Kenya in the very heart of India. The Viceroy expressed his powerlessness to do anything substantial for the Indians in Kenya. But Burma was a part of India and the Bill was introduced with his previous permission. He could not plead now powerlessness.

Continuing Mr. Prakasam described in detail the effects of the Sea Passengers' Bill that proposed a tax of Rs. 5 on every Indian getting into boat for Burma from any part of India. It was the paramount duty of India to see that these two obnoxious Bills did not get into the Statute Book. Concluding Mr. Prakasam said the Burmans themselves did not give their approval to these two Bills. Even the Nationalists who were originally responsible for the passing of them had come to realise their mistake. Mr. Prakasam hoped that the Indian M.L.C.s in the Burma Council would co-operate with the Swarajists and the Home Rulers and get these Bills revoked. Mr. Prakasam also put in a strong plea for the regulation of the emigration of labour from India to Burma and Ceylon. India was fast becoming, said Mr. Prakasam, a labour depot. Was it not our duty, he asked, to see that labourers who went out were not subjected to ill-treatment?

Mr. HALDER seconding said there was no organised movement to support our resolutions. The trouble in Burma was the same as the trouble in South Africa. Everything was a question of bread and butter, especially so in the country of virgin soil. The mighty Europeans who were exploiting the Indians must be attacked on their weak spot. The speaker asked, would there be an organised movement from India which would go to Burma and vindicate our rights there? This could be done by the peaceful weapon of the Akalis.

Sj. N. C. BANERJEE, ex-editor of the "Rangoon Mail", deplored that the Indians here had not realised the danger that threatened the Indians in Burma. After the qualified Home Rule given to Burma the cry of 'Burma for the Burmans' had been raised to the detriment of the Indians and the Burmans and in the real interests of the British exploiters. The Burmans were opposed to the Bills but the leaders of such Burmans were in jail. Sir Harcourt Butler, very courteous but very astute, had managed to

divide the Burmans from the Indians. It was for the Viceroy to remedy the injustice and danger proposed by the Bills.

Mr. Abdul Sattar WALI (Burman) supported the resolution. The Bills referred to were clearly directed against the Indians because they constituted the majority of the Non-Burman foreign element in Burma.

Mr. MADANJIT (Burma) appealed to the Indians here to come to the rescue of the one million of the Indians in Burma who could not peacefully breathe there if the proposed legislation were not voted by Lord Reading. The Indian Congress was taking interest in the position of the Indians in South Africa, of those in Fiji and Kenya, but not of those in Burma.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

6.—The Franchise Question.

Dr. SATYAPAL in place of Mahatma Gandhi moved the resolution approving and confirming part I of resolution passed by the A. I. C. C. at Patna regarding the alternative Franchise and creating the All-India Spinner's Association. He made a long speech explaining the importance of Khaddar.

Mr. C. Venkatramana IYENGAR, though he possessed shares in Mills, supported the resolution as he believed there was at present no antagonism between the mill industry and the Khaddar industry. If the manufacture of hand-spun yarn was increased there would be great possibility of reducing the import of foreign cloth and foreign yarn. Mills in India could not completely clothe us and there would always be demand for Khaddar and if the quality and quantity of Khaddar was improved it would be all the better.

Moulana Hasrat MOHANI opposing the resolution objected to the insistence of Khaddar dress for Congress work although he believed in the utility of wearing Khaddar. To be a member of the Congress was the right of every Indian and to deprive him of it on the ground that he did not put on Khaddar was nothing short of coercion. He wondered if the Congress would appreciate the resolution that those who were not vegetarians should not be entitled to exercise their Congress membership rights. It was argued that there must be a National Uniform but what was the need for it. By these sartorial requirement the Congress was shutting out persons like Mr. Jinnah, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Chintamani who were not opposed to the Congress nor to Khaddar. Maulana Hasrat Mohani had a suspicion that the Congress workers did not always put on Khaddar. At best each could have but one pair of Khaddar cloth to put on on Congress occasions and yet why have the compulsion and disqualification in case of not wearing Khaddar?

Maulana MOHAMED ALI complained that what India possessed was not intelligentsia but unintelligentsia, for if they really had intelligentsia the country could never have remained for so long in the occupation of a handful of Englishmen. Mr. Hasrat Mohani had opposed the resolution on the ground of his dislike of conscription. The speaker asked whether it was not a fact that during the last war when voluntary recruitment did not come up to the standard, conscription was a necessity. The speaker emphasised that what India needed was not protection to transfer 70 crores from the pockets of

Manchester to those of Bombay, but a machinery for the proper distribution of wealth so that those 70 crores might be distributed among twenty crores of poor "Kisans." They jeered at Mahatma Gandhi's prescription for liberty, perhaps because it was so cheap. He asked them to remember that Napoleon used to say that every army was a reptile. It marched on its bellies. It was, therefore, important to feed the bellies in India. Crores of people did not fill their bellies by two meals a day and until they did that India would be unfit for liberty. The same was true regarding the "untouchables." "If you do not remove untouchability and ask for liberty, you are fools and you pretend to be philosophers."

The resolution moved by Dr. Satyapal was then put to vote and carried, only a few voting with Hasrat Mohani.

American's Tribute to Mahatmaji.

Mrs. Naidu then introduced Professor Holmes of U.S.A. whom she described as the American Ambassador who had come to tell them that America was looking to India to get her freedom as speedily as possible. (Applause).

As Professor HOLMES rose from the dais towards the rostrum, dressed in English clothes and wearing a white Gandhi cap, he was cheered. He said he could not claim in an official way to represent America. He belonged to the Society of Friends known as Quakers and was a member of the Federation of Labour. He could unofficially claim to speak for his Society and labourers and in those two capacities he was there to express sympathy and interest of the American people for the service of humanity as well of India that the Congress had undertaken and especially American affection and loyalty for the great leader who had risen among them. (Applause). "Yesterday I heard Dr. Abdul Rahman claiming Mr. Gandhi as a South African. May I not to-day claim him for the world? (Applause). May I not say that the Society of Friends which I represent regard him with the same reverence and believe in his work as you do? (Hear, Hear). I ought to say that we people have been 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 among some and has caused labour troubles. Our longing to the west for power has brought on war after war and seems likely to plunge into still further war until perhaps it destroys our civilization. So we gladly turn to you who are indicating another and better way and we hope that while keeping good things in our civilization regarding the power over nature and inventions we should follow the brotherly spirit which is represented by the great prophet among you (applause)."

"It would be presumptuous for me to say anything about the problems before you but let me say that no one brought up in U.S.A., however he or she might have gone wrong, can fail to be touched and thrilled by every movement for human freedom and for the liberty of the people of the world (applause).

7.—The Political Programme

At 5-45 p.m. Pandit Motilal rose amidst cheers to move the main

resolution of the session outlining the political programme. The following is the full text of the resolution as amended by the Subjects Committee.

" This Congress confirms Part B of the resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee, at the meeting held at Patna, on the 22nd and 23rd September last, and resolves that the Congress do now take up, and carry on, 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 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 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 governmental or other activity that may impede the nation's progress towards Swaraj; and this Congress adopts the following programme of political work:—

" (1) 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 khaddar, promoting inter-communal unity, removal of untouchability, ameliorating the conditions of the suppressed classes and removal of the drink and drug evils; and shall include the organisation of villages, the capture of local bodies and the promotion of education on national lines and of labour, both industrial and agricultural, the adjustment of relations between employers and labour, and between landlords and tenants, and the general advancement of the national, economical, industrial and commercial interests of Indians, both in India and Overseas.

" (2) The work outside the country shall be directed to the dissemination of accurate information.

" (3) This Congress adopts the terms of the settlement offered by the Independent and Swarajya Parties of the Assembly on the 18th February, 1924, and incorporated in its resolution of the same date, as terms on behalf of the country, and, having regard to the fact that the Government have so far not made any response even to the said offer, the following further 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 demand, and in case no decision is announced before the end of February, or the decision announced in kind not to be satisfactory by a special committee consisting of the Working Committee of the Congress and the members named below, 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, but will go into the country to work among the people. The Swarajist members of the Assembly and the Council of State will vote for the rejection of the Finance Bill and, immediately after, leave their seats. The Swarajist members of such Provincial Councils as may be in session at the time shall also leave their seats and 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 future meetings of the said Councils, and shall, likewise, report themselves to the Special Committee.

" (2) No member of the Swaraj Party in the Council of State, Legislative Assembly or 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, provided that it shall be open to the special committee to allow the Swarajist members of any legislatures to attend the said legislatures when such attendance is, in its opinion, essential for some special or unforeseen purpose, and provided also that, prior to their being called upon to leave their seats, it shall be open to the Swarajist members of the various Legislatures, to engage themselves in such activities in their respective legislatures as permissible to them under the existing rules of the party; .

" (3) The special committee shall immediately on receipt of the reports mentioned in Sub-clause (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 the Swaraj Party organisation in co-operation with each other throughout the country;

" (4) The said programme of work shall include selected heads of the general work mentioned in Clauses (1) and (2) 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 ;

" The Congress hereby authorises the Provincial Congress Committees to select candidates for the Provincial Legislative Councils and the Indian Legislative Assembly in their provincial areas for the general election next year, as early as possible, provided that the policy of non-acceptance of offices in the gift of the Government shall continue to be followed until a response to the terms of settlement aforesaid is made by the Government.

" (5) In the event of the final decision of the Government, on the terms of settlement of the Assembly, being found satisfactory and acceptable by the aforesaid Special Committee, a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee shall forthwith be held to determine the future course of action.

" (6) Until the Swarajists leave the legislatures, as herein provided, the constitution of the Swaraj 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 ;

" (7) For the purpose of starting the work under 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 that 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."

Pt. Matilal spoke for little less than an hour in Hindi mainly explaining the provisions of his long resolution for the information of the delegates who had not been yet supplied with the Hindi version of it. He said he knew the resolution would be strenuously opposed by some. He would, therefore, reserve his arguments for the final reply, but he emphasised that since the Gaya Congress this was the first time that a resolution was moved representing the common demands of the two wings of the Congress. It had come before the Congress in the shape he was putting it forward after undergoing many alterations and after a stiff fight in the Swaraj Party Council and Congress Subjects Committee.

PANDIT MALAVIYA'S AMENDMENT

Pandit MALAVIYA then rose amidst cheers to move his amendment, which was supported by Mr. M. R. Jayakar. Pandit Malaviya's amendment proposed considerable alteration in the main resolution :—

Firstly, it omitted the para referring to Civil Disobedience.

Secondly, it amplified the Congress programme of political work, by including in it the following : " That the work in the legislatures shall be so carried on as to utilize them to the best possible advantage for 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."

This suggestion, Pandit Malaviya said, embodied exactly what Lokamanya Tilak and Deshbandhu C. R. Das had stated in their speeches at the Amritsar Congress in 1919. Lokamanya Tilak had said : " We shall utilize the Reforms Act to the best possible advantage, and Mr. C. R. Das had said : " We shall co-operate when it may be necessary to advance the national cause, and shall obstruct when that may be necessary for the advancement of the same cause."

Another change proposed by Pandit Malaviya's amendment was that

While Pandit Motilal's Resolution commits the Congress only to the Assembly's resolution of 18th February regarding a Round Table Conference, he wishes to commit the Congress also to the acceptance of demands for Reforms enunciated in the Assembly's resolution of September last.

A further change proposed was that

The Congress should call upon not only the Swaraj Party but also jointly the Independent Party of the Assembly to ask for final decision in the next session of the Assembly.

Pandit Malaviya's amendment finally proposed

To omit all the details proposed to be taken in connection with the withdrawal from the Councils in case the Government's reply was not satisfactory.

Pandit Malaviya's amendment merely said that in case the reply was held to be unsatisfactory by the All-India Congress Committee, it should call a Special Session of the Congress before the end of May to decide the future course of action.

Pandit Malaviya said he had come there to give his honest opinion. They should not let the people have jokes at their expense by setting forth a detailed programme, which he knew the Swaraj Party would not be able to carry out. In the past the Swaraj Party had not been able to fulfil all pledges about the programme. He wanted to avoid that in future. Why tie their hands now at this stage!

As the hour was late the Congress was adjourned for its final sitting the next day.

THIRD DAY — 28TH DECEMBER 1925

The concluding sitting of the 40th session of the Congress was held on the 28th December and was mostly devoted to the discussion of the resolution about the political programme. The Pandal was full of delegates and visitors.

The proceeding were begun at 12.30 by Mr. Syed MAJID BUX moving an amendment, declaring that the country was fit for Civil Disobedience. He ridiculed the idea of the resolution, in one breath admitting the country's unfitness for Civil Disobedience and in another giving an ultimatum to the Government. They would be merely laughed at and ignored by the Government. His opinion was that the leaders were reluctant to lead, but the country was fit for Civil Disobedience. (Applause). He proposed that the Special Committee should be asked to declare Civil Disobedience in case the Government did not respond.

Mr. SAMBAMURTI moved another amendment. He would not entrust it to a Special Committee to declare Civil Disobedience. He held that the country had in the past responded nobly to calls of civil Disobedience. He told his Swarajist friends that nothing would capture the imagination of the electors at the forthcoming elections than the launching of resistance campaigns in various provinces, on the issue of prohibition, tax, or some other local grievances. If they would wait till the minor communal differences were got over, they would have to wait for the Doomsday. The best way to train

the country to fight the battle of freedom was to engage in skirmishes in numerous places.

Mr. Srikrishnadas LULLA moved an amendment urging that when the Swarajist members of the Councils withdrew, those holding elective or nominated offices in the Legislatures or Committees should also resign their posts. He said his motion would have the effect of making Pandit Motilal resign his Committee membership of the Sken Committee and Mr. Patel the Presidentship of the Assembly. He warned that Pandit Motilal's refusal to agree to his motion made him feel that there was some camouflage being practised.

Pandit MALAVIYA received an ovation on rising to explain his amendment, moved the day before towards the close of the sitting.

Pandit Malaviya recalled the proceedings at Amritsar where Deshbandhu Das, Mahatma Gandhi and Lokamanya Tilak were all united in making an earnest effort in working the Reforms Act, to co-operate or to obstruct as country's interests required. Pandit Motilal's resolution however was neither fish nor flesh and he appealed to the Congress to save the honour of the nation by not passing it, for the Swarajists would not be able to carry out the programme and would make the Congress a laughing stock of the world. Pt. Malaviya drew attention to a motto in the Pandal, "Be Honest" giving Mahatma Gandhi's advice. Pt. Malaviya endorsed this and asked them to be honest. His view was that non-co-operation did not succeed. Then the Swarajists entered the Councils with a manifesto in favour of consistent and uniform obstruction. This programme was not carried out and, indeed, could never have been carried out. In effect only responsive co-operation had been observed and had caused amusement. He did not want to bring in personalities, for he himself felt ashamed in confessing that his brother Pandit Motilal's policy had failed. He asked the Congress to place the interest of the nation above personality. He knew that the Swaraj Party would not be able to do what Pandit Motilal's resolution had outlined. As for acceptance of office it had been decided already by Mr. Patel and Pandit Motilal accepting the Chair of the Assembly and the Sken Committee membership respectively. Pandit Motilal expected a great deal from the Sken Committee. The speaker did not, because his experience of the Military Requirements Committee before whom he was examined for 3 half hours, had made him less hopeful. But the speaker was pleased at their accepting office. For, he believed, that if they could fill the places of Ministerial and Executive responsibility with patriotic men whose policy they could control, the cause of the country would be advanced. In his fifty years of public life he had not come across a sharper intellect than that of Lokamanya Tilak. (Applause). Even Mahatma Gandhi had been deceived, but Lokamanya Tilak was never deceived. And Lok. Tilak had advised responsive co-operation, for he believed in entering into all quarters of Government and squeezing as much as possible for national advance. The Swarajists, however, had entered Government quarters, but refused to exploit them.

Continuing Pandit Malaviya asked why should any reference be made to Civil Disobedience? Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest authority on the subject, had stated that the country was not fit for it.

Pandit Malaviya further emphasised that no fight was possible without unity and Mahatma started his movement, because Indian opinion had become united on the Rowlatt Bill issue. If they wanted Government to yield, the only

way was to embrace all political parties and establish only one Congress Party. Up till 1919 the doors of the Congress were open to Musalmans, big Zomindars and all took part in it. Now, however, the Congress was being handed over to a handful of Swarajists, Muhammedans and landlords were prominent by their absence. The resolution itself was full of inconsistencies. While they had opened the door of the Congress for all, they had kept it virtually closed, even by their revised franchise. Pandit Malaviya warned that the Swaraj Party did not succeed at the last election and it would succeed even less at the next. If the Congress adopted the resolution, it would ruin the interests of the country during the next four years at the end of which a Royal Commission must in any case be appointed.

Concluding Pandit Malaviya said he was glad that there was larger section now to support him than during the past four years. Even if he failed on that day he would not be disappointed, but hoped to succeed soon. He pleaded that the honour of the nation demanded that the Swarajists who had not fulfilled their previous pledges, should no longer be trusted to carry out a new pledge. His suggestion was safe, inasmuch as it urged that a Special Congress should be summoned to give them a fresh mandate in May.

MR. JAYAKAR'S RESIGNATION.

Mr. JAYAKAR seconded the amendment of Pandit Malaviya. At the outset he made a dramatic announcement that he (Mr. Jayakar), Mr. Kelkar and Dr. Moonje had resigned their seats in the Bombay Council, the Legislative Assembly and the Central Provinces Council respectively. This step they had to take because, being members in the Councils on the Swaraj Party ticket, they could not at present subscribe to the policy and moreover they wanted to educate the country regarding Responsive Co-operation. This announcement was received amidst applause from a section of the House.

Mr. Jayakar said that there were only two ways open to them, viz., either they believed in the Council programme or they did not. If they did not believe in the Council entry they must get out of it and educate the country for such action as the country would be ready for. If, on the other hand, they remained in the Councils they must, as Pandit Malaviya rightly observed, take the last juice out of it by occupying every place of power, initiative and responsibility and would give no quarter to the bureaucracy. He agreed that it did mean considerable humiliation, that people who went to the Council to obstruct should have to take offices of power and responsibility. But if they wanted to be honest they must suffer the humiliation of working the Councils.

They all admitted that the country was not ready for civil disobedience and yet outlined it in the resolution. This weakening process ought to be dropped. What was the use of this pious expression that civil disobedience was the only effective weapon and all that? If they believed in that then "Come out of the Councils and start Civil Disobedience." If they did not believe in it "Don't say so." There was one man who understood this civil disobedience and who knew when to practise it. It was Mahatma Gandhi. Let all be guided by him. If they did not believe in civil disobedience then the most honest course was to work the Councils for such as they were worth. He could understand the proposition of leaving the seats in the event of unsatisfactory reply. But what was this statement in the resolution that the Special Committee might allow the members to get in

again for special or unforeseen circumstances? Then the proviso to clause 3 talked of the non-acceptance of office in the gift of the Government till the response was made. It logically followed that Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. Patel must leave their respective seats on the Skeen Committee and the Presidentship. But it was a great mistake to be logical in politics. So let them be there and carry out their duties with honour and self-respect as they had been doing up till now. The principle of Responsive Co-operation was, however, established by their actions and in course of time it would become the accepted policy.

Mr. J. N. SEN GUPTA supported Pandit Motilal's resolution. First of all he drew the attention of the House to the proviso that no offices in the gift of the Government would be accepted until the Government response was satisfactory. This must not be lost sight of by those who would vote on this proposition. It was mere acedemical at present to talk of civil disobedience. Mahatma Gandhi did not feel confident of starting civil disobedience. Pandit Motilal was also hesitant and so also was the late Deshbandhu Das. But God willing if this resolution of Pandit Motilal Nehru was passed by the Congress and Congressmen were sent in a large majority in the next general election then in the February of 1927 Bengal would not hesitate to start civil disobedience. With the Congress mandate behind them they would return in a majority in Bengal, Madras, Assam and several other Legislative Councils.

Mr. Jayakar's Responsive Co-operation was mere co-operation without any response. But if the motion was passed the working of the Reforms machinery would be stopped in February 1927. Pandit Malaviya had talked of Lok. Tilak's Responsive Co-operation. But that was in 1919. Demand after demand in the Assembly and in the Provincial Councils had been refused by the Government and Mr. Jayakar still talked of Responsive Co-operation. Pandit Malaviya had also talked of unity and no-party. But the duty of all Congressmen was to submit to the decision of the Congress and not to create parties.

A voice : What about Gaya ?

Mr. Sen Gupta : At Gaya we had faith in our own programme and therefore we got out and raised the standard of revolt. But our friends want to be in and create parties. So I say, either submit and unite or raise your revolt.

Mr. ABHYANKAR supported the resolution of Pt. Motilal and controverted the arguments of Mr. Jayakar. He was surprised that Mr. Jayakar and Pandit Malaviya who had never stood within ten miles distance of Lok. Tilak in his life were invoking his name. To say that the acceptance of ministership was Responsive Co-operation was an insult to the doctrine of Responsive Co-operation. He had no quarrel with the doctrine as such but with the programme that was sought to be shoved under it. Pandit Malaviya had talked of swords. Great words indeed—India would indeed thank herself if Pandit Malaviya could come to swords. However, Mr. Abhyankar congratulated Messrs. Jayakar and Kelkar on having dragged Dr. Moonje into the open. (Laughter). Mr. Jayakar had asked the Congress to think of the country and not of the party. Had he forgotten that the Swaraj Party—in the words of Mahatma Gandhi, Lord Birkenhead and Lord Rounding, was the only party which was going ahead with its programme. Did Mr. Jayakar think that the Swaraj Party was not for the

country. There might be differences between the pure No-changers and the Swarajists. But they would be able to join hands soon and stand boldly in the face of the Government. But Mr. Jayakar with his programme of Responsive Co-operation was falling at the feet of Government.

Mr. Jayakar said that civil disobedience was a camouflage. Was it not a camouflage to which he agreed only 24 hours ago and that he changed his views about it the moment Pandit Malaviya arrived from Benares? Then again was it not Mr. Jayakar who in the Subjects Committee agreed not to oppose this resolution.

[Mr. Jayakar intervening, explained that he merely told in the Subjects Committee that he would not move his own amendment and he had done so.]

Mr. Abhyankar continuing said that Mr. Jayakar had asked them to be logical by remarking "either join the Council, work or get out of it." But the next moment he changed his logic and said that Responsive Co-operation meant the acceptance of office, such as ministerships. Mr. Jayakar and his party had indeed reached the top of the hill and the next step was descent. It was for them to decide whether that descent should be orderly or disorderly, graceful or disgraceful (Applause).

Mr. PALLIWAL in eloquent Hindu supported Pandit Motilal's proposition and pointed out that the country was certainly not for civil disobedience at present. There was no use embarking on it at present. All the same they all believed that it was the last weapon to be used against the Government in order to enforce their national demand. But in the meanwhile the programme of work chalked out in the resolution of Pandit Motilal was the best and should obtain the approval of the entire Congress. Pandit Malaviya had quoted Mahatma Gandhi's dictum hung on one side of the pandal, "Be honest." But he had forgotten to see the other side of the pandal where there was the motto of Doshbandhu Das, "End or Mend." It was this policy that was embodied in the resolution.

Sr. Shyam Sunder CHAKRAVARTY (No-Changer of Bengal) opposed the resolution. It was a pain to him to have to oppose a motion which was said to have the sympathy of Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatmaji was certainly not in very much sympathy with it. His heart was against it. But what could he do? Like Jesus, Mahatma Gandhi, too, was not listened to or to be more accurate, obeyed. This resolution was the denial of Gandhism. It was all words. It was an inconsequential document and it was inconsistency personified. The resolution talked of self-reliance in one breath and in the next suggested asking the Government to give an answer to the Assembly's resolution. By passing the resolution the chariot of progress would be dragged back and the Non-co-operation policy would be jettisoned. Non-co-operation was a creative programme notwithstanding its negative name and it was the one "mantra" which would in the end bring Swaraj.

Dewan CHAMANLAL declared that responsive co-operation would mean in practice responding to every kick received from the bureaucracy. No Governor would appoint a Minister pledged to obstruction. Then, again, even the Liberal Ministers had told the Muddiman Committee that the Reforms were unworkable. Pandit Malaviya's amendment would weaken the backbone of the people of the country at a time when the need was to strengthen it.

Dr. MOONJI said Lala Lajpat Rai had said that he could not find his way in the prevailing darkness. Responsive co-operation showed him the way. He agreed with Lalaji that Government service was not desirable, but in a case where a party was in majority then its leaders must be nominated Ministers and those Ministers could not be dismissed by the Governor and would be servants not of the Government but of their own party. He knew that just as at Gaya Lalaji patted them on their back two years hence Lalaji would do the same when the speaker's plea would succeed.

The English were a heartless people. No amount of sacrifice moved them. Twenty-five thousand men went to jail but the Criminal Law Amendment Act was not repealed. They should take a lesson from the Bengal partition and work to success through responsive co-operation.

PUNDIT NEHRU'S REPLY

Pandit MOTILAL, replying to the debate, said Pandit Malaviya had quoted the speeches made in 1919. The speaker's honest view was that Pandit Malaviya might have more appropriately quoted from Ramayana. (Laughter). For who did not know to-day in India why since 1919 their opinions had changed and why Mahatma Gandhi had to launch non-co-operation.

Pandit Malaviya had quoted Das of 1919, but had forgotten what Das had on his lips at his last moment in his Faridpur speech, with which even the Government was pleased. The speaker had followed the course outlined by this speech. Das had said that if a settlement was not arrived at, the Government must be let to carry on government by exercise of exceptional powers, and that then the people be advised to refuse to pay taxes. Civil Disobedience, however, required a high state of organisation and he saw little hope of India being ready for Civil Disobedience until she was prepared to work Mahatma Gandhi's constructive programme. But the ultimate end must be kept in view if freedom must be won.

Mr. Jayakar had in Bombay held this speech of Das as the last will and testament. Pandit Malaviya had not taken part in the disobedience campaign, but like one sitting high up and seeing beyond had told them: "Did I not tell you so." Pandit Malaviya had accused the Swarajists of loud talks but doing little. Pandit Motilal challenged to prove that the Swarajists had carried out their pledge to every inch of it. They had declared in favour of uniform obstruction only if they were returned in a majority. Otherwise, how could they obstruct successfully?

Pandit Motilal declared that he as the Leader of the Swaraj Party—a party whom even Lord Birkenhead had described as highly organised—was surrendering it to the Congress. The Swarajists were of the Congress, and were not like Pandit Malaviya, who had stood all through aside.

Pandit Motilal defended Mr. Patel's presidentship of the Assembly as even the King could not dismiss him. His ruling were binding on all and so long as he did not come nothing that the Government could do would enable them to have a session of the Assembly. Was such an office one in the gift of the Government?

As for his seat on the Sken Committee the Assembly had asked for an Indian Sandhurst and the Government said: "Show us the way." What they wanted was negotiation to show the Government the way to

Sandhurst and meet their demand. And if in the same way the Government asked them to show the way to the reforms they would certainly co-operate.

Pandit Motilal made reference to the appeal of Pandit Malaviya "Be Honest," and quoted from Pandit Malaviya's speech in the Assembly regarding the throwing out of the Finance Bill showing that Pandit Malaviya had characterised the Reforms as a sham. And he was asking them to work those very Reforms! Pandit Malaviya had emphasised the need for unity. The speaker agreed, but unity by itself could not achieve their end. Unless they had sanction behind them in the form of the ultimate idea of Civil Disobedience the Government would not yield. He emphasised that Mahatma Gandhi had given his approval to the resolution. Pandit Malaviya on the other hand wanted them to divorce themselves from all that had occurred since 1919 and accept the programme of Amritsar.

Pandit MALAVIYA then came to the rostrum for a personal explanation. He said: "Mr. Sen-Gupta, Pandit Motilal and others who spoke in the same strain with them have misrepresented me in two or three respects. (Voice—no, no, yes, yes, go on, go on.) Mr. Sen-Gupta told you that I misrepresented Mr. Das. I wish to point out that a compromise clause was added to the Amritsar resolution and on that occasion Mr. Das said he wanted full responsible Government and he would use co-operation when it would be necessary and resort to obstruction when that would be necessary to attain the same object. Lok. Tilak said on that occasion that—(At this stage several delegates cried: Order, Order).

Pandit Malaviya—"Learn to hear the truth even if it is unpleasant. I quoted the 1919 speeches not to say that Gandhiji, Mr. Das and Lok. Tilak are authorities for your action at present. I never suggested that I wanted to show that the policy which the Swarajists pursue is the same as that advocated in 1919. After that Gandhiji advised non-co-operation which has failed and the Swarajists started in effect responsive co-operation. I wish Gandhiji had been here to hear all these points and hear out my statements. I am sure if he had been here he would not have supported Pandit Motilal's resolution".

Pandit Motilal NEHRU characterised Pandit Malaviya's statement not as a personal explanation but that dealing with his arguments. This was not fair. The audience was not here to decide what Gandhiji might have thought if he had been here but judge on the merits of the proposition before them and vote.

AMENDMENTS LOST

Mr. Majid Buksh's amendment regarding Civil Disobedience was withdrawn, as also Mr. Sri Kishandas Lullah's amendment regarding acceptance of elected offices. The latter withdrew on an assurance that the All-India Congress Committee could deal with it.

Sri Govindanand's amendment for deletion of the statement that the country is not now ready for Civil Disobedience was lost.

Pandit Malaviya's amendment to Pandit Motilal's resolution was lost without division.

Then Pandit Motilal's resolution was carried by a large majority amidst applause.

Other Resolutions.

The other resolutions on the agenda were formally put from the chair and carried without any opposition.

1. The first was that the proceedings of the Congress Committee, All-India Congress Committee and Working Committee should ordinarily be conducted in Hindusthani, English or any provincial language may be used if the speaker is unable to speak in Hindustani or whenever occasion arises. The proceedings of the Provincial Congress Committee should ordinarily be conducted in the language of the Province. Hindustani may also be used.

2. The second resolution authorised the opening of a Foreign Department under the Congress to look after the interests of Indians abroad and carry on an educative propaganda in the country regarding their position in the British Empire and foreign countries.

3. The Congress placed on record its grateful appreciation of valuable services rendered by the General Secretaries, Messrs. Jawaharlal Nehru, Bharucha and Shuaib Quarashi; and in their place the following were appointed for 1926: Dr. M. A. Ansari, Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar and Pandit K. Santanam. Old Treasurers and Auditors were re-appointed. The report of the All-India Congress Committee together with accounts was presented.

The next session of the Congress was decided to be held in Assam.

THANKS TO DELEGATES.

Dr. MORARILAL, on behalf of the Reception Committee, thanked the delegates and said by having come to Cawnpore in such numbers they had strengthened the local people in Congress work, and added to their earnestness for political work. He also thanked those who contributed to the success of the exhibition and helped the Reception Committee by contributing to its funds. Volunteers were also particularly thanked.

Pt. Ganesh Shankar VIDYARTHI seconded, remarking that they would have been able to serve better had a number of difficulties not been put in their way, and made special mention of the Kakori Dacoity Case which took away some of the most important Congress workers from amongst them.

Mr. S. Srinivasa IYENGAR thanked Cawnpore on behalf of the delegates. The Congress had been a success in as much as unity had been reached between several sections of the Congress, and Lala Lajpat Rai had supported the main resolution. But his satisfaction was tempered by the fact that some of his most able colleagues had perhaps chosen to part company. But he hoped they would think over the position.

PRESIDENT'S CLOSING REMARKS.

Mrs. NAIDU in her closing remarks dissolving the session said: "In the course of these three days you have repeatedly taken the oath that you will choose between liberty or death. You will be sinners if you do not stick to your vow. I am only a standard-bearer. I shall keep up the standard of liberty that you have entrusted to a woman, with my whole strength, and assure you I shall not allow it to fall down." (Applause.)

All-India Khilafat Conference

CAWNPUR—24TH DECEMBER 1925.

The All-India Khilafat Conference opened its proceedings on the 24th December at 2 P.M. under the presidency of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Prominent among those present were Maulanas Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, Janab Yakub Hassan, Mr. Murtuza Sabib, Mahatma Gandhi, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Messrs. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, A. Rangasamy Iyengar and T. Prakasam. The proceedings commenced with prayers. A message of sympathy from Hakim Ajmal Khan was then read.

Fundamentally opposed views on the Hedjaz were expressed at the Conference on this day by Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Chairman of the Reception Committee, and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, President of the Conference. Some excitement was caused when the former spoke.

The Chairman's Address

Maulana Hasrat MOHANI, in welcoming the delegates, said the Turks had no power to end the Khilafat, which must endure so long as Islam existed. It was only the responsibility for the office that the Turks had refused to assume. He held they were prepared to help the Khilafat. They had indeed already received a message through Dr. Ansari that the Turks after settling their internal difficulties would be able to undertake the responsibilities of the Khilafat. But the Turks insisted that it must be democratized, namely that the Khalifa be elected and be helped by a Council whose opinion he voiced through the chosen Khalifa. With the Turks refusing to have the Khilafat it must go to the King of Hedjaz or President of the Republic of Hedjaz. He would prefer the latter, though there seemed no immediate prospect of getting it.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani, however, held it was impossible to protect the Khilafat without the aid of Turkey, and therefore the strongest blow to the Khilafat was the English and French mandates over Iraq and Palestine. The speaker held that the only silver lining in Sheriff Hussain's career was that he refused to sign an agreement with Britain regarding the Jewish Home in Palestine, but what Sheriff Hussain refused to do has been readily done by Ibn Saud in the form of the Clayton-Ibn Saud agreement, thereby jeopardising the interests of Turks and Druses. Indeed, he held that this settlement opened the way for Britain to do a gross wrong to Turkey by securing the League's decision in her favour regarding Mosul.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani urged that the Central Khilafat Committee should cease to support Ibn Saud and should stand for a Republic in Hedjaz. For, if Ibn Saud once established himself in the Hedjaz, it would be impossible to have a Republican form of Government. After the formation of the Hedjaz Republic its head should act in Council and be declared Khalifa in Council, India being duly represented on this Council to consolidate the Khilafat. Efforts should be made to rid Syria, Palestine and Iraq

of foreign control and establish direct contact between Turkey and the Hedjaz. He declared any one opposed to this programme should be repudiated. He asked the Central Khilafat Committee to rise above party factions, or it would lead to ruin.

The Presidential Address

Maulana Abul Kalam AZAD in his Presidential Address, which was delivered "extempore," first dwelt on the need for continuing and strengthening the Khilafat organisation. This body, he held, was the only "bona fide" body representing Muslim opinion on the issues now troubling the Muslim world. To dissolve the organization would be held to be a serious set back to their work.

The Hedjaz question was the most important. They should all have rejoiced at the downfall of the Sberifian family and should applaud Sultan Ibn Saud's efforts. In this behalf the Central Khilafat Committee had already declared its abhorrence at demolition of some of the holy places. Ibn Saud had declared that he was for the inquiry done to the holy places in his absence and he had declared his willingness to abide by the opinion of theologians and to afford facilities for repair. A Conference of Muslims of the world should be soon held. India should be properly represented on it. The Khilafat organization was representative of the Muslims in India.

Touching on the internal politics, Maulana Azad said the Khilafat Committees should ally themselves with the Congress organization for the furtherance of the national programme. The Khilafat Committee should have definite views on the question of Council-entry and the Maulana would himself advocate Council work. The Khilafat Committee should put forward its programme in clear and unambiguous terms. The Maulana laid stress on the political education of the people so that the desired end could be achieved.

MAHOMED ALI'S ATTACK ON MOHANI

After the Conference was over, the Khilafat demonstration was held late at night when several speakers addressed a large audience in the Khilafat Conference. Maulana MOHAMED ALI spoke adversely on the speech delivered by Maulana Hasrat Mohani as Chairman of the Reception Committee in which Mohani Sahab had gone beyond his province on commenting upon various matters. Maulana Mohamed Ali held that they must not, as Maulana Hasrat had done, accept the newspaper rumour of the Clayton-Ibn Saud Agreement. Of course, if Ibn Saud behaved in the manner Sberiff Hussain had acted they would all oppose him too. But so far no definite proof was forthcoming about the Agreement. On the other hand, Ibn Saud had done well in turning out the Sherifians.

As regards the necessity for the Khilafat Conference, he said, if the Turks had won their independence the Indian Khilafatists had in some small way made that possible by carrying on the agitation that it was "haram" (sin) for the Muslim to kill a Muslim. This had prevented the Government in those days to send Indian troops to fight the Turks. The same situation might now arise, if the League's decision about Mosul was enforced. He prayed that the Turks might remain in possession of Mosul. The Khilafat Committee's activities would be required to prevent

Indians being again asked to assist to turn out the Turks from Mosul. Maulana Mohamed Ali at this stage was handed over a cable just then received from the Khilafat Deputation which had gone to inquire into the true state of affairs in Hedjaz. He read it to the audience amidst applause.

The following is the text of the Cable which was published in newspapers under the caption

"How Ali's Garrison Surrendered".

"Emir Ali's Medina garrison surrendered on the 4th of December. Uta on the 10th. Alwajh on the 13th and Tabuk and Zuba on the 14th. Governor Yumboo is reported to have fled. Troops are expected to surrender soon. Vast quantities of arms, ammunition, railway materials and five wireless apparatus fell into the Mejd's hands. Amir Mohammed entered Medina on the 6th and we on the 10th and offered Juma prayers, all the Mejd's joining. The Amir presented robes to Imam.

"The reports of a crack in the dome of the Prophet's tomb is entirely false. A minute examination disclosed two stray bullet marks on the dome and one minaret, all from Ali's side headquarters. The Belouins are hostile to Ali. The location of responsibility is impossible. The tomb and the dome of Sydna Hamza is uninjured. Only two of the ornamental tops on the iron railing surrounding the tomb and the portion of the pucca Tawiz Aqil's tomb next to Sydna Hamza (since restored) are injured. One raised platform facing the tombs known as Masjid Abuzar also suffered. Other tomb domes and historical monuments are quite safe.

"Quba and Hamza Mosques in the Mejd's occupation zone were slightly hit by sharpshooters from Ali's guns. Magharibi Bukhari and the Hindi houses near the city wall were destroyed by Ali's troops. Interviewed Abdul Majid, Ali's commander, justified their action. Reports of indecent search of women leaving Medina by Ali's soldiers, removal carpets and money from Harem of Nabvi by Husain and Ali are confirmed by Shurfaei, Medina Harem officials, Abulq Baqi, Farangmahall and others. Documentary proof of the offer of Medina to Transjordan by Ali's officials is available. Amir Mohammed are treating the Medinites with brotherly affection and providing relief but distress is acute and extensive. We are opening free kitchen with four thousand rupees under the Supervision Committee consisting of Shaikhul Harem, President Municipality, Maulana Abul Baqi, Farangmahall, Shaikh Mohammed Hussein, Samman Syed Malmoot Fyzabadi Mohammed and Husain Gabbal."

Maulana Mohamed Ali after reading the teletogram appealed for funds to relieve the distress in Medina. Rs. 337 were subscribed on the spot and more was promised.

Proceedings and Resolutions

25TH-28TH DECEMBER 1925.

The Khilafat Conference re-assembled next day on the 26th December. As Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was indisposed, Maulana Mohamed Ali took the chair.

The first resolution moved was regarding the Riffs whose valiant stand against the two mighty European Powers was referred to and their love of Islam and patriotism were applauded. The following resolutions were also passed :-

"The All-India Khilafat Conference resolves that enlistment of volunteers in every district and province should be taken in hand with a view to execute with vigour the constructive programme of Khilafat organization :

"This Conference expresses its profound sympathy with its South African Indian brethren in their struggle for protection of their national and civic rights, and assures them that every Indian fervently desires success to their

cause and would do everything possible for them in their present condition of helpless slavery :

" The Conference invites the attention of all Khilafat workers to the critical and serious situation that has arisen and calls upon them to strengthen the Khilafat organizations in the various districts and provinces within the next three months of the coming year, if they do not want to kill the progressive spirit of national consciousness created in the Muslim community ".

I R A Q A N D M O S U L

On the 26TH DECEMBER the Conference re-assembled with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presiding. The first resolution adopted, after several speakers had spoken, was regarding Iraq and Mosul. It was moved by Maulana Abdul Rahman and was seconded by Maulana Shaukat Ali. It reiterated the opinion of the Conference that from a religious point of view they could never accept foreign interference in the affairs of Jazirat-ul-Arab, that Iraq was a part of Jazirat-ul-Arab and that the present administration of Iraq was really British.

The Conference further held that the decision of the League on Mosul was not acceptable, inasmuch as it was against the understanding given by Lord Curzon on the occasion of signing of the Lausanne treaty that no decision regarding Mosul would be taken in defiance of the wishes of the Turks.

The Conference declared that if the Turks were consequently forced to a war, they would be justified in so doing, and that the Khilafat Conference would consider it its duty to help Turks.

Further that Indians should learn from the bitter experience of the last war and should not repeat the same mistake. If, therefore, a war arose on the issue of Mosul, the Conference would try to see that Indians did not render any help in men or money to the British Government.

B O M B A R D M E N T O F D A M A S C U S .

The next resolution condemned the brutal bombardment of Damascus by the French, expressed whole-hearted sympathy with the people of Syria in their struggle for freedom. This was moved by Maulana Suleman Sahib Nadvi and supported by M. Mohamed Ali.

The third resolution declared that Ukba and Muan were essentially a part of the Hedjaz and protested against any attempt by Britain to separate these from the Hedjaz.

The last resolution passed on this day urged the Conference workers to join the All-India Spinner's Association in greater numbers, so that they may not lag behind other communities in this respect.

M O U L A N A M O H A N I ' S A D D R E S S E X P U N G E D

On the 27TH DECEMBER an important decision was taken by the Khilafat Conference to expunge from the official Khilafat documents the address which Maulana Hasrat Mohani delivered as the Chairman of the Reception Committee. It was held that the address advocated views opposed to the declared views of the Central Khilafat Committee and that the views condemning the Khilafat policy for the year had been made in the spirit of irresponsibility. Maulana Azad, President of the Conference, made it clear that in passing the resolution they should not mix up personalities with prin-

ciples and should be guided solely by sense of responsibility and of loyalty to the Khilafat. They had to weigh on one hand the gravity of the issue at stake and on the other the consequences of being forced to deal with personalities. They could not allow such a document to form part of the Khilafat literature without causing grave misunderstanding.

Regarding the attitude of the Conference Maulvi Habibur Rahman said that the address had been condemned in moderate language and that the activities of Moulana Hasrat Mohani in connection with the Khudamul Harman had made him forfeit their confidence. Islam was respectful of no person, however great his past services, if he defied the Muslims in religious matters.

Another resolution of the Conference resolved to take steps to create an atmosphere for healthy annual pilgrimage to Hedjaz, to establish, in case of necessity, Khilafat organization centres in Arabia.

On the 28TH DECEMBER the Conference concluded its session after passing some more resolutions two of which were important namely, those relating to proposed settlement of Moplahs in Andamans and the liberation of Hedjaz.

The Moplah Settlement.

The resolution regarding Moplahs was adopted by the Conference on the motion of Mr. Yakub Hossain of Madras. It declared its resentment at the proposal of the Government of India to make Moplahs with their families settle down in Andamans for the reason that the Jails Committee had already declared against the island being made an abode of prisoners. Moreover, the Conference was opposed to Moplahs being sent away from their homelands to any country, however suitable. Further, the Conference feared, that as men number ten times the women in the island, this would have a very serious effect on the morals of Moplah prisoners and their children.

Liberation of Hedjaz.

The Conference in the resolution about Hedjaz "offers its congratulations to Ibn Saud on the peaceful entry of his forces in Medina and Jeddah and expresses its hearty gratification for complete liberation of Hedjaz from the tyrannical regime of the Sherifian Government. The Conference further affirms its full satisfaction and confidence in the policy of the Sultan regarding the future of Hedjaz as conveyed in all his declarations, and trusts that the whole Islamic world will welcome his invitation and an International Islamic Conference will soon meet to decide the future of Hedjaz. This Conference resolves that the Central Khilafat Committee should widely proclaim in India that the present well-ordered and peaceful conditions of Hedjaz provides all possible facilities for despatch and return of a very large number of pilgrims during the coming Haj season and may also open its offices at Jeddah or other places, if necessary, for the attainment of this object".

THE PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING SPEECH

Moulana Abul Kalam AZAD delivered a brief spirited address in bringing to a close the proceedings of the Khilafat Conference. Referring to the main resolution of the session passed, he said: "These urge the Muslims to take the vow of earnest, uninterrupted, solid work for the performance of the duties that are binding on every individual. Nations have their duties

in the same manner as have individuals. Corporate life can be illustrated by the example of bricks and walls. Bricks not joined together can be picked off easily, but once they are joined together—that is, a relation is established (on solid foundation) between each of these—a blow to the bricks would result in injury to one's own feet. This difference was created through a change of relationship. When one brick was put in such a position as to help and support the others, it was made infinitely more strong than it originally was, when it was deprived of the support of others. For nations there are fixed codes of conduct, deviation from which renders them weak, helpless and morally and politically degenerated and deformed. The Indian Muslims are a hopelessly divided and disorganized people—a flock of slaves, a herd of men no better than cattle, neither of use for itself nor of any benefit to the community at large. India's independence cannot long be withheld now but our shameful indifference to our duties and our disregard of the most fundamental political demands might postpone it and the responsibility is great, if we feel that we are retarding the progress of a people advancing towards Swaraj.

“There is an auspicious change in Hedjaz. The land of Arabia has been purged of a great tyrannical administration. From the very first Sultan Ibn Saud had made his policy and position clear and unambiguous. He had declared that he was not seizing Hedjaz for establishing control over it. After the autocratic atrocities of Hussain he was inviting representatives from different countries to decide the future of Hedjaz. There is no possibility of any further doubts as regards his intentions. Past events are proofs conclusive on this vexed question. Those who have eyes can see things clearly and in their true perspective. It was a great mercy that the Almighty showered on us when after ten years of shameful mismanagement and disorganization that was rampant in the very heart of Arabia and which was the cause of much sorrow and suffering, a man came forward to liberate that Holy Land. For full ten years that tyrannical Government of Sharif Hussain was supreme in Hedjaz, in spite of the declared wishes of forty crores of Mussalmans of the world to the contrary. During the course of these thirteen hundred years there has not been an evil of such portentous magnitude than the reign of the Sharifian family. The devastation of Damascus was but a natural corollary to that evil.”

“The Mosques should be educational centres for Muslims. Unless a change is sought to be effected in the daily life of a Muslim, no useful results are likely to accrue. Orphanages should also be established where there is need for them. The Khilafat Committee should fix three months for collecting, if necessary, funds required for carrying on its work and the rest of nine months to actual completion of the work taken in hand. This will insure economy of time. Energies will thus not be frittered away in unuseful direction. On an appropriate occasion the Committee shall be accountable for a fixed quota of work undertaken at the beginning of the year. It shall have to fulfil the promises it made at the beginning of the year and provide the much-needed religious education of the Muslims. This would mean enlightenment and education in its truest sense on every seventh day. This refinement of mind would thus be repeated with unfailing regularity. This would be establishing an educational institution, as it were with the minimum expenditure of energy.”

All-India Hindu Mahasabha

CAWNPUR—29TH DECEMBER 1925.

The special session of the Hindu Mahasabha was held in the Congress Pandal on the 29th December, the admission being free. Over twenty thousand attended and heard Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Kelkar, Pundit Malaviya and others expounding the aims and objects of the Hindu Mahasabha organisation. The pandal was packed to the utmost capacity. A quite large number of Hindu ladies were present.

Rai Bahadur Vishamber NATH, in his address as the Chairman of the Reception Committee, emphasised that so long as the Hindu community did not stand united, India's salvation would not be achieved. Sangathan was therefore, the most important part of their programme.

Lala Lajpat RAI said, in his capacity as the President of the All-India Mahasabha, that he had invited Mr. N. C. Kelkar who had succeeded to Lok. Tilak's 'gadi' to preside over the day's function. Lalaji himself spoke briefly. He said that the Hindu community, perhaps excepting only the Chinese, was the oldest in the world. It was not inferior to any community in Asia in matters of brain and intellectual equipment, for it had produced a poet of Dr. Tagore's eminence, a scientist of Sir J. C. Bose's calibre and a chemist of Sir P. C. Roy's reputation. What then was the Hindu weakness due to? It was the lack of unity and organisation. The Hindu Mahasabha had been, therefore, brought into existence to unite all the Hindus of India with a common bond. Let them have their own differences of caste or creed, if they liked, but they must stand together as a community. The Mahasabha's business would be to organize the community and render help wherever necessary. He was most pained to find the Hindus declare that they had been robbed or killed. He wanted them to remove this weakness and this fear. Let them all harden their mind and face the world in the belief that none could bring them to dust. He reminded them that the Hindus' religion told that they were born to die and that they died to be re-born. Why then the fear of death in upholding their faith and the community's honour? The Hindus' weakness lay in their being too analytical. They must now learn also to synthesise the first lesson which every Hindu child must be taught was not to care for the riches or education, but to stand for his Dharma, to give up cowardice and become lion-hearted in the defence of his faith, not to depend upon the Government or any other powers' help to protect them but to learn self-defence.

Illustrating his point of view Lalaji said that when Sita was in the custody of Ravana and Hanuman reached Lanka and told Sita that he could take her away to Rama, Sita refused to go, because her protection was Dharma of her husband Rama, and that if any one else helped in the escape, Rama would not be able to fulfil his Dharmic obligation (applause). The same way it was the religious obligation of the Hindus alone to protect their wives and children and not to depend upon the Government help. In India

to-day there were not even a dozen true Brahmins. If they had been the cows would not have been sacrificed. There were not even half a dozen true Kshatriyas. If they had been the community would not have had its present difficulties. There were no true Vaishyas who when the community was in danger should have placed their riches at its disposal, as they believed in old times that riches were intended for these ends. The existence of untouchables was a disgrace and should be removed.

Mr. N. C. KELKAR delivered his Presidential address which could be summed up in his sentence that "Hindus not only wish to attain political Swaraj in India, but they also wish to have their proper share of remaining Hindus." The full text of the address is given below.

Pundit NEKI RAM referring to the mass of surging humanity that had filled the pandal felt pleased that it showed that the Hindu community was awake. He said just as to-day the doors had been kept open for free admission, so also must the Hindu community keep the doors open for all to come in. A firm which continued to the debit and put nothing to the credit soon went into insolvency, so would happen to the Hindus, if they continued to diminish and did not add to their numbers.

Sardar Sardul SINGH on behalf of the Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee thanked the Hindus from the platform of the Mahasabha for the help they had rendered in their struggle. He assured them that they would give their life for the protection of the Hindu community; for every one Hindu who died for its protection four Sikhs would lay down their lives (applause). The Punjab Government unsuccessfully tried to divide the Sikhs and the Hindus on the Gurdwara issue, but the Hindus' better sense prevailed. So far as Sikhs were concerned, he declared that in any dispute Pundit Malaviya, a Hindu, would be their nominee for arbitration (applause). Let the Hindus select another.

Mrs. Sarojini NAIDU, the President of the Congress, was given an ovation on coming to the rostrum. She said that for some six days they had been engaged in setting their political programme. But at the same time they realized that Swaraj was not possible so long as there was division among the Hindus and untouchability was not removed. She pleaded especially that the Hindu women must receive their just due and be brought into line with them in the national struggle and national service. The Hindus must organize to defend themselves, but they must see that in so doing they did no injustice to others. Hindu Rajas gave protection to all minorities.

Professors YEN of China, a Buddhist, spoke briefly in English. He pleaded that they should revive the ancient kinship among all ancient people and laid emphasis on social service as being the most important teaching of the religion.

Presidential Address

Following is the presidential address delivered by Mr. N. C. Kelkar at the Mahasabha :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let me thank you for the honour you have done me by electing me to preside over this gathering. I value this honour less for the honour itself than for the opportunity it gives me for explaining my position with regard to the communal contest of controversy in which for the moment all of us seem to be involved willingly or unwillingly.

I believe I am one of those who are the least affected by what is really a communal spirit. To me political life and progress in the country is of infinitely greater importance than the progress or set-back of any single community in this country and I can, if necessary, prove that my favourite motto has been the question-asked by the Irish Poet in the following words :

Shall I ask the brave soldier
who fights by my side
in the cause of my country
if our creeds agree?
Shall I give up the friend
I have valued and tried
If he kneels not before
the same altar with me?

In saying this I am perhaps making a large order upon the credulity of those who believe that I am steeped over head and ears in the mire of a bad communal spirit. But whatever others may think of me I owe it to myself to make my own position clear as far as I can.

I have said that, left to myself I would give the complete go-bye to any communal movement in the country. But I find it impossible to ignore the hard realities of the situation. Strange as it may seem, the prospect of political advance though neither very concrete, nor substantial, has produced a reactionary effect upon the communal tendencies of the people in this country. And what is stranger still, in my opinion, is that the advance of education has, instead of ameliorating the bitterness of communal strife, apparently served only to furnish more abiding reasons for the continuance of its intensity than the unaided religious sentiment of the followers of the different religions in India. The proportional growth of communal feeling in India side by side with the progress of education and political sentiment looks indeed like a problem for a psychological investigator. But I think the problem is not insoluble or even hopelessly difficult. To any acute thinker the problem gives no surprise; for the rousing of sectional instincts is a necessary preliminary stage through which every national movement has to pass its early career. To my mind the communal reaction only accentuates the fact of the development of political instinct. It is probably because political rights and privileges have begun to loom large before the mind of even the common man in India that he has begun to take greater care of his religious and communal denomination. He finds in this denomination a much wider plane for the adjustment of his relations with other communities. Without meaning profanation or offence to any religiously minded man, I would say that the real beneficiary of his present much advertised religious movement is not his soul "vis-a-vis" salvation in the other world, but his desire to have more and better goods appertaining to this very worldly life.

In this manner only can I hope to account for the fact that the present political state of the country should seem to be overshadowed by communal squabbles and increasing communal bitterness. In saying this I may appear to be too cynical to some people. But I would make it clear that what I have said covers only one and the immediate aspect of the revival of communalism in this country. I am otherwise a believer in the possibility of religious missionaries who are absolutely disinterested in a worldly way in a communal strife and who honestly regard it a sacred duty to preach the truths of their own religion to people outside the pale of those religions.

Christian Community.

To be fair in the statement of the position I must say that there are at present three communities or religions who have been participating in the sectional contest or strife. Each of them, however, is in a distinct and peculiar predicament of its own and one must dive a little below the surface to assay the real quantity and quality of the contribution of each of them. We will first of all take the Christian Community in India. This designation covers both the Indo-British, the Anglo-Indian and the Indian Christian Communities. Of these the first can conveniently affect to separate their religious and political activity in this country, for the simple reason that the Indo-Britisher is indisputably the supreme political master in the country and Christian propagandism has very little of political fruit now left to be added to his table. He frankly bases the foundation, and continues to trust the maintenance of his political power on his military and industrial superiority. It must not be forgotten, however, that even so the European has provided for himself separate communal representation in the higher constituted bodies. And perhaps he wants nothing more personally because

be is merely a bird of passage with no deep-rooted personal interest in this country as a Christian.

As for the Anglo-Indian he is already more than adequately provided for in several Government departments and shares with the Indo-Britishers a kind of special prestige and protection even from the overwhelming Indian majority. He too, therefore seems to be not taking any interest in communal matters from a religious point of view. But as for the Indian Christian community, it must be said to their credit that they are showing the least sectarian or propagandist spirit though placed in a peculiar position. They might have asked for special representation or communal electorates, taking benefit of the prevailing communal madness. But they have not done this, and their spokesmen like my friends Mr. Baptista and Dr. Datta always give the first place in their hearts to a purely national sentiment, trusting absolutely to their own sterling worth, if any to secure to them the coveted place in the Sun.

Mahomedans.

The next community contributing to this communal contest is the Mahomedans. And their contribution is, in one sense, larger than that of any other community. Like the Hindus they occupy quite a subordinate place in this country, so far as real political power and authority are concerned. But unlike the Hindus they have connections and attachments outside India and what they lack in point of inspiration from their immediate Indian surroundings they can make up by baiting and hallooing to their co-religionists in other lands, who enjoy a kind of quality with European Nations in point of international prestige or military power. It is obvious to any one that but for this extra-territorial attachment the Mahomedans in India would not have been a great political problem. Perhaps nine-tenths of the Mahomedan population in India is made up of converts from Hinduism and they would naturally live content with their Indian setting like the native Christian community if political heaven were not introduced in the community by over-recurring thoughts of what is being said and enacted by Mahomedan powers in other parts of the world. The position has been aggravated by the ever irrepresible propagandistic tendency of the Mahomedan religion. Their territorial conquests and religious propagandism have acted and reacted upon each other with a kind of affinity the like of which has not been seen in any other instance. They have advanced themselves into the position of the largest numerical minority in the country. And yet their ambition and aspiration are not strictly in proportion to their numerical strength. They put forward a transcending claim to representation, and when they ask for an "effective" representation it is coloured less by a numerical sense than a sense of political importance based not only on the fact of their having once been the Rulers of India but brought into relation with the prospects however visionary or fanciful of ruling India once more. This idea they do not of course put in a concrete form, for it offends the legal sense so far as the present Government is concerned and offends the national sense so far as the Hindus are concerned. The fact, they think, of a coherent continuous chain from Angora to Saharanpur of Mahomedan power and influence cannot be disputed. The further prolongation of the chain is of course immediately unthinkable, but what is impossible if a man like Kamal Pasha was found to secure the freedom of Turkey from hostile European powers and when Afghanistan is so near at hand and may be ready and willing to cross over to accomplish the eternal purpose of Islam and to secure a proper foundation for this future construction? The Mahomedans have already begun to advance a claim for complete separation of every political interest all along the line in the body politic of India, so that the identity of the Moslem Raj may be effectively emphasized and its integrity rapidly developed.

Hindus

Then comes the Hindu community which also may be said to be contributing to the communal contests by its Sangathan and other movements; but in this matter the issue must be clearly understood. It is obvious that the Hindus as Hindus have not complicated the political situation by putting forward any communal claim to anything. The Sangathan has no directly political significance. I am cognizant, however, of the retort, that the Hindus have everything to gain and nothing to lose by general electorates and by the maintenance of the status quo in other matters. But there is also a counter-retort to his. In at least two provinces the Hindus are in a minority and at least in one province and one sub-province they are hopelessly condemned to an insignificant numerical position for ever. And yet in those provinces the Hindus did not put forward any communal claim at any time. The only position which the Hindus have taken and which, I think, they should never give up is that the Mahomedans cannot be allowed

to claim special representation in different Provinces according to a special rule for that Province. In other words they do not object to any rule of universal application which Mahomedans may choose to abide by. But they object and will object to "ad hoc" pieces or rules, so that the Mahomedans may be enabled to say 'heads I win, tails you lose.' The application of any one universal rule would result naturally in hostages being given by both communities in different Provinces. In the Frontier Provinces, the Punjab, Bengal and Sindh the Mahomedans would be in a position of advantage. On the other hand the Hindus would be in a position of advantage in other Provinces. Does this not give a kind of automatic guarantee against the ill-treatment of any one community by another in any Province, assuming that the Hindu and Mahomedan communities are both animated by fellow-feeling for co-religionists ?

Shuddhi and Sangathan,

From the above it will be seen that the contribution by the Hindus to the communal contest from the political point of view is the least of all the communities in India. Why, then, it may be asked, the Sangathan is a finakly communal movement ? The answer to the question is that the movement though communal is both in point of religion and politics simply a defensive movement. It has only a negative character in that it seeks to prevent further losses to the Hindu community occurring by reason of the propagandistic activities of other religions. Hinduism has as much right to live as any other religion. One need not go into the question whether Hinduism was right or wrong in being, in the past, a passive, exclusive, non-proselytizing religion. Even now the most aggressive Hindu is not found to preach among his co-religionists that Hinduism should go forth and conquer those who have never been Hindus before. Unfortunately the idea seems to be too wild or even heretical to the typical or even to the average Hindu. He has not yet been reclaimed from that spirit of exclusiveness from foreign contact which led him to think that outside India there was nothing worth taking account of and that even within India the Hindu population that already existed was, as it were, numerically too big to be effectively good for its own welfare, that numerical plenty must be a cause of the degeneration of the social and religious ideal and that to shrink in the shell was the surest way to salvation and prosperity than to come out and advance. Even Shuddhi, he thinks to be an adventure and would hedge it round with innumerable limitations and would propound in connection with it mystifying conditions which would baffle the average Hindu and react upon the typical Hindu. Even in the matter of prevention of future conversions he would make his own conditions and would rather lose the lower classes than give them even legitimate concessions. All this shows the narrow compass within which even the protective activities of the Hindu Community are being manifested, and yet there are men in this country who must accuse the Hindu of having started the cry of Hinduism in danger, and that the Hindus would be held responsible for spoiling the cause of national advance. I have always wondered that these critics have never given a straight categorical reply to the categorical question, namely, why should the Hindus not stir themselves to seek organised unity among themselves of other religions in India are doing not only that but much more ? Why should it be the responsibility of the Hindu alone to do nothing that would have even the most distant effect of disturbing the present complacent mood of Christians and Mahomedans who have been furiously nibbling not only at the fringe of Hinduism but daringly attacking at times even its heart and core. Will some body point out to me the least little breath of protest uttered by these wisacres against the propagandistic activities of the Christian Missionaries and the Moslem Tablighists ? Their warning against danger to national interest could be appreciated, if they were impartial in their condemnation of the disturbing communal activities of all communities alike. I really wonder why their wholesome advice should have been reserved only for the Hindu community and yet none of them, I believe, is really ignorant of the ravages that are being made in the ranks of the Hindu community from day to day and, I may say, almost from hour to hour. Bishop Whitehead openly claims that the toll which Christianity levies upon Hinduism comes to two thousand souls or heads, which—ever you may like to call it, every week. The real figure of conversions to Mahomedanism from week to week cannot be precisely estimated. But it must be evidently a good round figure. All possible means are being preached and practised for the benefit of Christian and Moslem aggrandizement among Hindus and it is an open secret that even the resources of Hindu States governed by Moslem Rulers are being used for this purpose. But whereas complaint is heard against the Shuddhi and Sangathan movements of the Hindus there is hardly an audible or even formal demur to the proselytizing propaganda of the non-Hindus.

Advice to Hindus.

But I would ask the Hindu community no longer to concern itself with the accusations brought against them in this matter by interested critics. The Hindus ought not to lose the continuity of their effort by the re-herring drawn across their path. They should have sense enough to see through the attempt to exploit their patriotism and national sentiment by people who have not themselves forsworn communal activity. The losses they have suffered in the past should now open their eyes to look at a future correct policy without the least blinking or hesitation. The Hindus cannot afford to lose their integrity even in the name of Swarajya. And in this respect history indicates the reasonable limits beyond which any religion or community cannot be called upon to make concessions. It is almost amusing that some people should affect to believe that Hindus have been guilty of a great crime in happening to be in a majority over other communities in Hindusthan, that is to say, their own native country. If the other communities in India are in a minority here, have they not more than a *quid pro quo* or counter-balancing set-off in other countries? Are the Hindus to blame that these others are in a minority in India? And can any one seriously say that, if other things were allowed to be equal, the present numerical proportion between the different communities would disappear or even materially change for centuries? And in that case have not the minorities in India to accept their position in a reasonable spirit without fretting and foaming over the irremediable situation. As a Hindu I can say this, that the Hindu community in India will always be prepared to abide by any rational scheme or method of giving protection to the minorities in India, which can be devised from any working parallel in any other country where a similar position may have been or is in existence. I may mention the methods of proportional representation, preferential vote, limited vote, and second ballot etc. It is open to any one even to suggest another and a better method, if imaginable. But as a Hindu, I would refuse, with all the insistence at my command, to be penalized or shamed like a sheep for the fault of being a numerical majority in this country. Further, I would insist upon the right being conceded to the Hindu of not only preserving in fact their present numerical strength by every conceivable method, but also increasing it by the Shuddhi movement for the sake of recouping at least the immediate losses. I would go even further and say this to my Hindu brethren: "You have a right to be proud of your religion, as every body else and you have a right to aspire to spread it." There is nothing reprehensibly boastful in saying that the Hindus are the custodians, on this side of what is called the Aryan culture and they will consider it a proper mission to give non-Hindus the benefit of it, if, of course, they would have it. One thing, however, I will warn my community against and that is, some of the methods by which Christian or Muslim propagandists carry on their conversions. This opens up a subject on which, for the sake of my own mental peace, I would not further dilate. But I would unhesitatingly say to my Hindu Brethren: "let the Hindu religion or the Hindu community die rather than practise fraud or force or other notorious methods of conversion, which are tinged with melancholy meanness of mind in any form." Matters of religious faith deserve, more than any other matters, to be sacred ground which ought not to be polluted by the footfall of any interests or motives of a worldly character.

Difficulties.

In conclusion, I would point out that even those who strongly feel the need of the movement of Hindu organization do not, in many cases, realise the difficulties which beset their path. And what is worse, many of these difficulties are of their own making. The Hindu Society, we must all remember, cannot be well organised unless it has purged itself of its own inherent impurity and injustice. Hindu organization cannot be had merely for the asking, that is to say, expressing approval for it. Its exclusive spirit has put it within a narrow and a straight jacket and even within that jacket it has been torn to pieces by the operation of quite a number of disintegrating forces. The caste system has been pushed to a ridiculous extent and we have been taught to glory in the very meagreness of our social groups. This naturally leads to each group acting for itself and working for its own exclusive welfare. Even the depressed and untouchable classes, though themselves kept at arm's length by the upper classes, practise the same fault in their own case and behave towards each other as they themselves were a superior caste and the rest no where. Another line of cleavage runs along religious sectarianism which in the fury of its internal quarrels and dissensions completely oblivious to the common danger which threatens from without. The Dwaiti and the Adwaiti, the Shankara and the Madhava, the Arya Samajist and the Sanatanist, the Shak'a and the Shaivite, must all now agree to bury their small differences and to put in the forefront the one idea that they have all to lose in common equally, if they do not present a united front

and join hands in organising the Hindu Society. They have stake in the country greater than any other community in India. In the recent troubles the Indian Mahomedans could at least think of such a thing as 'Hijrat,' though of course they could not practise it successfully. But where in the whole wide world, is there an inch of space which the poor, unbefriended and threatened Hindu can call his own, outside Hindustan? Other communities have their whole bases of operations and world-wide lines of communication and flotillas of boats and transports which can replenish them in India at need. The Hindu Society, on the other hand, has long ago burnt its boats, cut off every possible line of communication with the world with its own hands, and has cooped itself up unwisely with a ditch around its ill and foolish contrivance in which the valve shuts against itself but opens out for any hostile soldier, adventurer or camp-follower to safely come across and give the best account of the slightest capacity of mischief or harm which he may possess. The only hope therefore of this beleaguered community now lies in strong fortifying itself at all points of attack, make friends with all amongst itself and take good care of the blind, the lame and the diseased and to enthuse the whole garrison with the hope that it can save itself even now, if it makes up its mind, the hope being reinforced by the warning that it is doomed to destruction if it flinches or falters for a moment. Hindus not only wish to attain political Swaraj in India, but they also wish to have their proper share of it, remaining Hindus. Like the late Lokamanya Tiark at Lucknow they should of course be prepared to make all reasonable concessions to the minorities in the country, but also like Lala Lajpatrai at Bombay, they must be prepared to decide that they will fight for Swaraj cheerfully along with Mahomedans and others, shoulder to shoulder but will carry on the struggle by themselves and without the others if the worst comes to the worst. Swaraj will not be worth having if we cannot purchase it with any price less than the loss of Hinduism itself.

All-India Muslim League

ALIGARH—30TH DECEMBER 1925.

The 17th Session of the All-India Muslim League opened at Aligarh on the 30th December, Sir Abdur Rabim presiding. The President-elect entered the Pandal in a procession. Among those present were Sir Mian Mahomed Shafi, Sir Ali Imam, Mr. Jinnah, Moulana Mahomed Ali, Moulana Shaikut Ali, Seth Yakub Hossain, Dr. Kitchlew, Seth Mohani, Mr. Asaf Ali, Mr. Ali Nabi, Mr. Tasadduq Ahmed Khan Shorwani, Dr. Abdur Rahim and Mr. Sorabji Rastamji of the South African Delegation.

Mr. Sheikh Abdullah, Chairman of the Reception Committee welcomed the League to Aligarh, the place of its birth.

Mr. JINNAH in inviting Sir Abdur Rabim to take the chair said that Sir Abdur Rahim became famous when he was first appointed Member of the Royal Commission by writing his note of dissent. He was an upright Judge on the Bench of Madras High Court. After that he transferred his activities to the bureaucratic camp where he was a power. As a member of the Bengal Executive Council he rendered them many services which did not see the light of the day. The situation in India, he declared, was more serious than he had known during his life time. He felt no doubt that, under the able guidance of Sir Abdur Rabim and by the co-operation of all who had assembled there the League would achieve results which would not only benefit the community but India as a whole. They desired unity in India between the different communities and the first step to this desideratum was to bring about unity among themselves.

Presidential Address

In his lengthy presidential address Sir Abdur Rahim reviewed the position of Indian Mussalman and made some practical suggestions for advancing their moral and material progress. He strongly defended the attitude of Mussalman towards their co-religionists and criticised a section of Hindu politicians whose mischievous activities according to him were a serious challenge to Islam and a grave menace to the political status of Mussalman. He supported the proposal for communal electorates not only for Mussalman but also for Englishmen and advocated the formation of a solid Muslim Party in the Legislatures as an essential and foremost need of the situation and without which he feared the political ruin of the community would be brought about by their own men.

He suggested the appointment of a strong committee fully representative of different communities and interests to investigate the entire position in regard to the question of making Provincial Governments entirely responsible to the legislature and ascertain the opinions and desires of the people on as large a scale as possible in the different concrete political and administrative problems that might arise and then recommend a constitution which would meet

the requirements of the situation. He dwelt on the political importance of the Muslim League and deplored the attacks on Muslim community in the form of Suddhi, Sangathan and Hindu Mahasabha movements and activities led by politicians like Lala Lajpat Rai and Swami Shradhdhanand. Some of the Hindu leaders had spoken publicly of driving out Muslims from India as Spaniards expelled Moors from Spain. Mussalmans would be a too big mouthful for their Hindu friends to swallow. Thanks to the artificial conditions under which they lived they had to admit that Hindus were in a position of great advantage and even the English had learnt to dread their venomous propaganda. Hindus were equally adept in the art of belittling in every way possible the best Mussalmans in public positions excepting only those who had subscribed to the Hindu political creed. They had in fact by their provocative and aggressive conduct made it clearer than ever to Muslims that the latter could not entrust their fate to Hindus and must adopt every possible measure of self-defence. Muslims must tell these politicians frankly and explicitly that their claim that India belonged solely to Hindus was preposterous and unfounded and was unjust to India itself.

Anyone who was at all acquainted with the history of the Muslim races throughout the world would never deny that they were the greatest patrons of human talent, energy and enterprise without any consideration of race, colour or creed. Politicians should realise that it would be impossible to establish Self-Government without Muslim help.

He criticised the Swaraj Party and its incongruous mixture and said that unless Swarajists made up their minds definitely to free their party from the influence of monopolists and capitalists it was not possible for them to act as a genuine People's Party. He defended the accusation against Mussalmans that their patriotism was not wholly confined to this country and said Mussalmans are proud of their international outlook and India would have been a happier country if she was not embarrassed by caste and untouchability. He sympathised with the gallant Rifles and brave Druses. The most disquieting news to him was the award of the League of Nations on Mosul question. The decision was pregnant with sinister possibilities affecting the relations between England and Turkey and he fervently hoped that matters would not be pushed beyond limits of friendly negotiations.

Referring to the Hindu-Muslim problems Sir Abdur Rahim declared that it would perhaps be years before a substantial fusion of the two peoples came about and probably it would be as a result of some general social upheaval. He instanced the position of Mussalmans in Bengal, their past glory and their present abject position and pleaded for reconstruction of the community. English and Bengali were substituted for Persian and Urdu and in one generation Muslims were swept out of the administration. The motive was mainly political though it was supported on administrative grounds.

After dealing with the great value of Mussalmans to India he narrated his own experience in public positions and acknowledged without reserve that he had much to learn from his English colleagues at every stage of his career and he would have been a great loser if he had not the advantage of working with them. Most of the progressive measures were initiated by Englishmen themselves and he could not recall a single occasion when there was an agreement on any question among Indian members for a substantial fusion of the two of the Executive Council. Their opinion was disregarded.

If the Indian point of view had not prevailed on any question where it should have then it must be attributed more to the weakness of Indian members and Ministers than anything else.

As regards Indians in Government it was alleged that the system was such that an Indian majority in Government could not enforce their views. Even without any formal rules enunciating joint responsibility there was nothing to prevent all members of Government in any province acting together in enforcing their views if the Governor overruled any of them or all of them in any measure of importance. He emphasised the necessity that the Imperial Conference should be given a constitution in which India would have an honoured and equal place and he looked forward to the time when the League of Nations would become a greater League of Humanity. India, he said, was far off from the ideal of responsible Government in this essential respect that her electorate was not educated that it would be years before every man and woman would have a vote. Nor was it possible under present circumstances to have one common general electorate.

Subject to these limitations the present constitution should be modified for securing political and economic progress of the country unhampered. He also referred to the useful work of the Khilafat Committee and Tansim and pleaded for a common language and common name for Indian people. He had no objection for Hindi with this compromise that Mussalmans would use Arabic Script.

Proceedings and Resolutions

2ND DAY—31ST DECEMBER 1925

ROYAL COMMISSION

The second sitting of the All-India Muslim League commenced on the 31st morning, Sir Abdur Rahim presiding. The following resolution was moved by Sir Ali Imam :—

"Whereas the speedy attainment of full responsible Government is one of the declared objects of the League and it is now generally felt and recognised that the conception of Swaraj should be translated into the realm of practical Politics and whereas it is the declared policy of the British Government also to enable the people of India to take a decisive part in the moulding of their own destinies which is marked by the declaration of August 1917, and the enactment of 1919 which formed a definite epoch in the history of India, as a herald of the time when India will possess full autonomy and will rank as an equal with the Dominions and with the United Kingdom itself as a member of the British Commonwealth, the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the present constitution of India must be amended and urges that for this purpose the Government should undertake the revision of the Government of India Act 1919 and without any delay appoint a Royal Commission to formulate after due enquiry and investigation a scheme so as to place the Indian constitution on a sound and permanent basis with provisions for automatic progress to establish full Responsible Government in India and thereby secure stability in the Government and the willing co-operation of the people, provided however, that for any scheme of the future constitution of India the All-India Muslim League reaffirms and unequivocally declares that the following basic and fundamental principles must be secured and guaranteed viz, (1) all legislatures of the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even to an equality (2) the representation of communal groups shall be continued by means of separate electorates as at present provided that it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favour of

joint electorate (3) any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and the North-West Frontier Province, (4) full religious liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda association and education shall be guaranteed to all communities, (5) no Bill or resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislature or in any other elected body if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such bill or resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community, or in the alternative, such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases."

In commending the resolution to the League Sir ALI IMAM said that the present constitution was considered to be unsatisfactory because it did not give sufficient scope for proper expression of their political aspirations. Reforms were short in one thing that they had not in truth conferred upon the country self-Government. They wanted reforms which must secure Self-Government. The appointment of the Royal Commission should be declared as it would be legal step for the authorities in England to take. There should be no delay in the appointment of the Royal Commission as the wasting would only mean sheer loss of time.

It was in the interest of good Government that the people should not feel disappointed as regards the appointment of the Commission. Hope deferred would make the heart sick. If there was delay of this kind it might endanger the position in India as there was an idea for separation from British Empire. If their place was going to be of an equal partner in the Empire, then and then alone, they could be content. So much for the preamble of the resolution. As for the provisos obvious justice was contained in the provision for adequate and effective representation of minorities in the legislatures. Experience has shown how a sectarian majority could be of a wicked nature and a perpetual minority had always to bear from it in provinces where they had got a majority. That majority should in no way be reduced, but maintained. As to the representation of communal groups, he said that he had always felt a repugnance for separate electorates, the reasons being that no country could take long strides towards political advancement without joint action. He wished that the condition did not exist in India for separate electorates. The deplorable fact was that the country was so placed racially that it was incomprehensible to do without separate electorates. It was a necessary evil according to him so far as the principle of separate electorates was concerned. It favoured both the communities wherever they were in a minority. He hoped and trusted that all these little rivulets and streams would grow into an united river of Indian nationalism. In these circumstances they would not help resorting to this sort of scheme and that would ultimately lead to harmony after which they were hankering. The most strategic provinces were Bengal, the Punjab and the North West Frontier Province, the last being a province which though looked upon as backward province was going to play an important part in the history of India. It was a province of the greatest possible value to the whole of India. Behind all their beautiful and progressive scenes they had to consider as to who would keep the peace. In order to maintain the peace of the country it was essential that the frontiers must be protected from foreign aggression.

The Hon'ble Shuhibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan seconded the resolution.

MOHAMMED ALI'S AMENDMENT

Moulana MOHAMMED ALI moved an amendment to the resolution which ran as follows:—

"Whereas Swaraj is our birthright and the existing Government of India provides a constitution for India which falls far short of Swaraj and is extremely unsatisfactory, the All-India Muslim League calls upon the Government to invite a Round Table Conference of the representatives of all communities and political parties in India in terms of the demand made in February 1924 by the Legislative Assembly for the purpose of framing the constitution of Swaraj Government to be brought into force in the manner provided by the resolution of the Legislative Assembly passed in this behalf on that occasion. The League trusts that the constitution exacted in this manner would be based on the following principles for the protection of minorities: (1) that all communities shall have representation in all elected bodies as far as possible in proportion to their members; (2) that minority communities shall have their representation secured to them in every elected body by means of separate electorates, provided that it shall be open to a minority community in any elected body at any time to abandon its separate electorates in favour of joint electorates; (3) that no territorial redistribution shall affect the existing majority of any community in any province without its own consent; (4) that religious liberty, i.e. liberty of religious belief, worship, observance, association, propaganda and education shall be guaranteed to all communities; (5) that no Bill or resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislative or any other elected body if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such Bill or resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would injuriously affect their community".

A m e n d m e n t R u l e d O u t .

The PRESIDENT ruled this amendment out of order as it was a substantive resolution in itself and it was not placed before the Subjects Committee.

Moulana MOHAMMED ALI then opposed the original resolution. He said that that resolution was full of short-comings. They should not demand a Royal Commission, but Hindus and Mussalmans should sit together and frame a constitution for India. He was of opinion that the existing majority of any community should be maintained and that the representation should be based on proportion to numbers of each community.

Mr. JINNAH supporting the resolution asked them to concentrate their minds on the realities and facts placed before them. He referred to the speech of Lord Birkenhead in which His Lordship had remarked that they were not the slaves of dates and that all political parties in India should first hold a Round Table Conference among themselves and then frame a constitution for India. The speaker maintained that if all the people of India were agreed on a constitution then no Government could resist the demand for Self-Government. He asked them to come to an agreement between themselves first. The only issue between the Government and the people was that the present constitution be revised and that a scheme be formulated for putting the constitution on a permanent basis with provisions for automatic progress.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried by an overwhelming majority.

R E F O R M S I N T H E F R O N T I E R

Mr. Abdul AZIZ of Peshawar next moved a resolution

Urging upon the Government the imperative need to give effect to the majority report of the Frontier Enquiry Committee without further delay and asked the members of the Central Legislature and the Punjab Legislative Council to make efforts and press the Government to carry out the recommendations of the Frontier Enquiry Committee.

He went into the history of the question and asserted that the Chief Commissioner's plea in reply to the Muslim Deputation on the ground that

the Hindus were opposed to the extension of Reforms to the province was untenable.

Sir Ali IMAM in seconding the motion said that it was their duty to serve the province to their utmost. The geographical position of the province being such as it was, if the Reforms were not extended, it might create difficulties for the future self-governing India and progressive Afghanistan. It was necessary, therefore, he held that in the interest of defence of India the North-Western Frontier Provinces must be allowed to develop itself. This would create a feeling of affection in the hands of the frontier people for the rest of India. It would be a political blunder not to extend to them the Reforms which they demanded.

Maulana MOHAMMED Ali supporting the resolution said that their demand was just. He was surprised at the attitude of Sir Denis Bray who held one view as the President of the Frontier Enquiry Committee and quite another in the Council of State—representing the Government.

After further discussion the resolution was unanimously adopted.

3RD DAY—1ST JANUARY 1926

At the last meeting of the League on the 1st January the following resolutions were passed.

REFORMS AND CO-OPERATION

Mr. JINNAH moved a resolution that although in the opinion of the League the present constitution was unsatisfactory the Muslim representatives in the various legislatures should utilise the Reforms as far as they went and in view of the appeal of Lord Birkenhead and Lord Reading should show a spirit of co-operation in all measures calculated to advance the welfare of the people of India pending enquiry and investigation by Royal Commission whose appointment the League had already urged.

In a learned speech he said that he wanted the League to express its opinion on this question. He was not prepared to ask the Muslims to resort to civil disobedience. He urged upon them to show a spirit of co-operation in the measures which would benefit the people of India.

Mr. Asaf Ali seconded the resolution. The motion was put to the vote and carried.

IRAQ AND MOSUL

In another resolution which was unanimously adopted the League emphatically declared that Iraq was a part of the Jazirat-ul-Arab and as such should not be left under non-Muslim control of the British as the mandatory power and that the Muslim League protested against the recent decision of the Council of the League of Nation which offered to the British an extension of their mandate over Iraq for 25 years. The Muslim League further protested against the Mosul decision of the Council of the League of Nation as a glaring injustice to Turkey and hoped that Britain would recognise the right of Turkey to the Mosul Vilayet and settle the question by peaceful negotiation. In the event of war breaking out the League considered that the feelings of the Mussalmans of India were calculated to be inflamed beyond control throughout the country and might prove a great and serious disaster.

A resolution moved by Dr. Ziauddin AHMAD to the effect that while it was necessary to fix a suitable standard of educational qualification for the different Services and appointments the League was of opinion that it was extremely undesirable in the best interests of the people to place undue emphasis on the principle of competitive examinations at the expense of other considerations having an important bearing on the needs of an administration was adopted.

THE ASIATIC BILL

Before the resolution on the South African question was moved Dr. ABDUR RAHMAN of the South African Deputation was given the opportunity of explaining the position of Indians in South Africa. The speaker said that for the last twenty years the Indians in South Africa had their grievances and no relief was offered to them. Their rights were curtailed and their privileges abridged to such an extent that life to the Indians there had become intolerable. He then referred to the Areas Reservation Immigration and Registration Bill and pointed out the disabilities to which they would be subjected under it. They would not be permitted to trade, to live outside certain areas, to purchase property outside those areas and to take charge of a machine. They could not sit in the Parliament and had no political or municipal franchise. He was dissatisfied with the reply which the Viceroy gave to the Deputation. He considered the Bill not only a stigma, but an insult to the intelligence of India. If their demand for a Round Table Conference to bring about a settlement of the question was not acceded to by the Union Government, they would resort to passive resistance and it was going to be a fight of East against West.

The following resolution was moved by Mr. Asaf Ali and adopted unanimously :—

"The All-India Muslim League whole-heartedly supports the Indian settlers of South Africa in their just and honourable struggle against the consolidated forces which threaten their very existence and extends its most cordial welcome to the South African Indian Deputation now in India. The League views with the greatest apprehension and enters its emphatic protest against the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (further provision) Bill which the Government of the Union of South Africa proposes to pass during the next session of the Union Parliament. The League further urges upon the Government of India to make a strong representation to the Union Government and secure a Round Table Conference before any further action is taken by the latter in respect of the proposed Bill, and should this reasonable proposal be declined and the Bill forced through the Union Parliament the Muslim League appeals to the Imperial Government to withhold its assent and disallow the measure."

Among other resolutions passed by the League was one related to the appointment of a Committee to frame a scheme for constitutional advance to be placed before the Royal Commission when appointed.

The other resolution dealt with the deplorable bitterness of feeling existing between the Hindus and Mussalmans in different parts of the country and the constitution of conciliatory boards consisting of representatives of all communities with a Central Board in the Capital of each province to settle all matters likely to create communal differences and to deal with all cases of conflict and enquire into the acts of aggression on the part of any particular community.

The next resolution protested against the Government attempt at the colonisation of Moplah prisoners in the Andamans and urged upon the Government to set free the Moplah prisoners convicted during the Moplah Revolt of 1921.

Another resolution supporting the Mussalmans of Behar and Orissa in their demand for option to present their pleadings in the courts in that province in the Urdu script and in their demand for extension of the system of separate electorates to all local bodies in that province was passed.

A resolution urging upon the Government the necessity of allotting two seats to the Delhi province in the Assembly, one of which should be reserved for the Mussalmans and one seat to it in the Council of State was adopted unanimously.

Sheikh Abdul Majid moved a resolution to the effect that Sindh should be separated from the Bombay Presidency. The resolution was carried with a vote of thanks to the chair. *The League then came to an end.*

All-India Volunteers' Conference

CAWNPUR—25TH DECEMBER 1925.

Mr. T. C. GOSWAMI, Swarajist M.L.A. of Bengal, presided over the Third All-India Volunteer's Conference which opened its session at Cawnpur on the 25th December 1925. Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Patel, Mrs. Naidu, Pandit Motilal, Maulana Shaukat Ali and Lala Lajpat Rai were among those present.

In opening the proceedings Maulana Shaukat Ali, the outgoing President, said the people had hitherto treated the volunteer organization as a joke. He felt, however, that they could never attain freedom without making the volunteer organization strong in the real sense. His duty to the country and to religion demanded that the British be turned out, but this could not be done so long as they were not organized and fought shoulder to shoulder. There was too much vain talk in the country now-a-days. He was distressed particularly to find how they were again falling into the hands of the British and instanced the programmes arranged for the Aligarh Jubilee celebration where a wrestler from Poland was being invited to meet a Punjabi wrestler.

Mr. PALIWAL, Chairman of the Reception Committee, emphasised that without a disciplined army of volunteers they could not win Swaraj and that even if Swaraj was won without such an organisation, it could not be maintained, because to keep Swaraj secure was even more difficult than to attain it.

Presidential Address

Mr. GOSWAMI began his presidential address by reading the message of the Congress President, Mrs. Naidu, which, he said, condensed the cardinal principle of the volunteer movement. The message ran:

"I should like to have a general conscription of the young generation to discipline it for national service. I believe that the volunteer organisation all over the country, trained to obedience, promptness, co-operation and self-sacrifice, would go far towards building up the foundation of national character a thousand times better than academic moral precepts and maxims."

The Cardinal Principle.

"In this short message is condensed the cardinal principles of the volunteer movement for which I offer my humble services and in which I earnestly invite the co-operation of all sons and daughters of India who wish their country well. I am sincerely thankful for the honour that has been done to me and I prize highly the distinction of being called upon to succeed such a well-known patriot as Maulana Shaukat Ali. He is conspicuous in more senses than one. Apart from his great position in the public life of India he has endeared himself to all sections of the people by his sincerity, by a complete absence of ill-will, by his wide tolerance and by a sweetness of temper which is such a power of good in all public activities and which is so indispensable in the volunteer movement. I appeal to him for his continued support and I know, and you all know, that my appeal will not be in vain. I invoke the blessings of other distinguished leaders of

our country—those who are not here to-day as well as those who have shown their interest and sympathy by their presence amongst us. This infant movement needs a good deal of sympathy and support and your President is only too conscious that he needs active help and guidance from those who are better equipped for leadership by wisdom, experience and service.

Record of past two years.

"It is now two years since the Hindustani Sevadal was formed at Coconada under the Presidentship of the best known and best loved young man of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (Applause), who with his characteristic modesty described himself as a mere soldier, a private called upon to lead a great venture as he put it, full of promise of high endeavour and noble achievement. We all know however that no better choice could have been made. There have been volunteers of various kinds, even volunteer organisations for a long time, not only in connection with the Indian National Congress but also in alliance with provincial and local activities. But Dr. Hardikar is the creator of a nucleus of an All-India Volunteer Organisation. To him and his province of Karnatak belongs the credit of a great beginning which it must be the endeavour of us all to magnify into a great achievement. The Karnatak volunteers proved the quality and strength of their organisation, their discipline and training at Belgaum last year, and besides drill and parade in which they exhibited smartness and martial bearing, they earned the gratitude of the delegates and visitors to the Congress by the constant and ungrudging readiness to assist and direct by their efficient regulation of traffic and by their entry work. They combined courtesy with efficiency. They were soldiers in the truest sense.

Value of Discipline.

"Our soldiers shall not be mere machines. But they must be most perfect examples of discipline. Discipline is not essentially a matter either of brute force or precepts and dissertations. It is primarily a matter of "esprit de corps." Ideas of unity and duty must be conscious ideas in every soldier and even obedience must be an intellectual process. Every man who strikes out a new line apart from his fellows in the name of conscience, is not true either to himself or to his fellow men, nor is the man a slave who has learnt to obey. There is often more merit in obedience than in self-assertion. It is a part of a true soldier's training to distinguish between judgment and conscience. In joining an association the volunteer not only enters an organised body, but also undertakes to serve a cause which he believe to be righteous.

The Imperialistic Idea.

"The militarist idea is different. The invader and the Imperialist have no better conception of soldiery than as the hired assassin's trade. The conception of a soldier as a licensed destroyer of life and property, is a very old one in history. But there have also been, from remote antiquity, other kinds of soldiers, whose weapons were not made of steel, whose power was not the power of gun powder. The power that is engendered by the consciousness of right and the will to serve is more potent than all the ammunition of mercenary hordes.

"When the English poet spoke of a soldier's duty.—"Theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do and die." I feel he was slightly censorious, perhaps slightly sarcastic. But even this little couplet may embody a great idea. For while soldiers of Imperialism are deliberately trained in dispensing with reasoning and individually so that they may be freely employed for plunder, for destruction of the sanctuaries of faith and learning, for

oppression and massacre of citizens, for preservation of Imperial dominions, for satisfaction of greed and lust, our volunteers, our soldiers of freedom, shall be those who have firm belief in the cause, who, far from having dispensed with reasoning, shall by deliberate conviction, after full analysis of the purpose of the work before them, have subscribed to the laws of corporate life and united action.

Value of Organisation.

"Discipline in appearance is mechanical, in purpose it is moral and its motive force is intellectual. The merging of individuality is not annihilation of individuality. Much of the self-assertion that one sees in this world is the assertion of our petty vanities. In corporate existence personal predilections are sacrificed in order to make personal freedom secure. Poets and philosophers for whom race and creed are no bars, who feel even the idea of nationality or nationhood too narrow, have declared that organisation is not brotherhood. It will be readily conceded that organisation is not necessarily brotherhood, but we must also agree that it does not exclude brotherhood. On the contrary it arms brotherhood with the power to do justice to themselves and others. While military organisations have generally been employed for national and Imperial aggrandisements, there is much in military training that is valuable, provided the directing idea "Iidie directricee," is of the right sort. The virtue of smartness is not merely spectacular. It is an aid to efficiency, for sloth and smartness cannot live together. That is the inner meaning of a saying which one hears frequently in military camps viz. 'a regiment is known by its salute.' The object of the salute is impersonal, whether it be partly the General bedecked and bejewelled or merely a gaunt painted pole. The salute is to the cause. It is a token of the readiness to serve that cause with head erect. Even after the War I was told in Germany by peaceful Professors that the period of compulsory military training used to be the most valuable part of the education of the German youth. They were not so much regretting Germany's loss of military power. They were thinking of the effect that corporate life had in shaping character and producing citizenship. Rank and caste are in camps, at least for the time being, obliterated and what are called individual angularities are considerably rounded off. Careful observers cannot have failed to notice that in our colleges the problem of Hindu-Moslem unity, of removal of caste restrictions, even the problem of removal of 'untouchability' are solved by the exigencies and attractions of corporate life and by natural spirit of youth which rebels against artificial conventions. These two factors would operate in a much more potent manner in well-directed volunteer organisations.

Non-Violent Creed

"The volunteer organisations that we have had or at present contemplate, are not only non-violent, to use the current expression, but practically disarmed. This is so, as the President of the First All-India Volunteers' Conference pointed out in 1923, by the very nature of our struggle. While opposed to militarism, I cannot say that I regard non-violence as an absolute principle of conduct. I say this because I think there are dangers in quibbling and meanings are attached to words and phrases at the dictation of current controversies. Whether our national struggle can, or even ought to remain to the end non-violent, I do not pretend to be able to foretell. That would depend upon circumstances which in human affairs are so inconstant. Whether it is ethical under all circumstances to remain non-violent, great men may answer with a categorical 'yes'. But others would think of circumstances where the rule must be broken. Whether the

resistance should be of the passive character or civil disobedience, non-violent in thought and in deed, is a matter of academic controversy. The fact is that upon full consideration of all circumstances we have adopted a policy of non-violence. To contravene that policy would be an outrage on the movement itself.

Basis of Work

"And further it should be clearly understood that the basis of our volunteer work has been and shall be service. As I went about in the mofussils of Bengal in connection with the last general election (in 1923), I frequently heard from conservative and cautious men and from pensioned Government officials, who were afraid of supporting the Swarajist candidates the reluctant confession that when even a sick man, too poor to afford proper medical attention and nursing, had to be looked after or a dead body carried and cremated, it was always "these" young men of the "Congress Party." There are bands of selfless young men in most of the villages who do a great deal of humanitarian work. But as yet we are only on the threshold of organisation. But before I proceed to the subject of organisation, let me say again that the non-violent character of our volunteer movement is due to the nature of our political struggle and to our ideal being the ideal of service. It is not with the object of keeping clear of the Law. Our volunteer organisations have not escaped the clutches of what passes for Law in this country and both Law and the Judiciary appeared in their true colours in connection with the wanton arrests and the still more wanton trials of 1921. Ordinances will be promulgated in the future, as they have been in the past, not to suppress crimes, but to suppress life, and since the volunteer organisations are calculated to stimulate and invigorate national life, the Executive will not shrink from full-throat d purjury and in the Judiciary there will not be wanting men with an adjustable sense of justice when our success becomes imminent. But let us always remember that the crown of thorns is a privilege.

Advantages of Volunteering

"Volunteering helps physical development and produces self-reliance and the capacity for obedience. The Westerner has an advantage over us in this because for them this training is provided in many ways by the State and by other public bodies without being hindered by foreign Government. There is no inherent incapacity in the Indian, physically, mentally or morally. There is no inherent superiority in the Westerner, despite the cant of which interested people seek to make an axiom, merely by repeating it "ad nauseam." The volunteer movement is primarily a young people's movement. There are in the provinces, I know, young men anxious to do work. We must not standardise volunteer work too rigidly. In my opinion provinces ought to be encouraged to form Volunteer Boards, not so much to control all the volunteer work, as to direct it and correlate it and above all to keep a census of the activities of all young men's unions. We should not limit ourselves to forming volunteer corps, uniformed and drilled, though the uniform and drill have in them secrets of discipline and united work. But it must be recognised that our volunteers are not like the standing army, paid, fed and clothed by the State and subject to a Special Code of laws, known as Military Law. The large majority of our volunteers would have to pursue normal vocations, but there must also be some paid-workers and officers and where possible provision for camping expenses should be made by local organisers with or without the help of the All-India Board. Provinces should have a very large amount of freedom in the matter of recruitment and organisation within their territorial limits, but the chief workers of the provinces should be represented on a Central (All-India) Board and should meet several

times during the year for the interchange of ideas and experience. I am not asking you to ride "federalism" to death. I am only suggesting a practical scheme so far as the All-India Association is concerned. I have not attempted to work out the details of the scheme or schemes for provinces nor to schedule all the various kinds of activities that might be regarded as volunteering. In my own province the All-Bengal Youngmen's Association started by that soldier of peace, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, is endeavouring to correlate the activities of youngmen.

Part of the Congress

"Young people trained to ameliorative or constructive work in the villages are also volunteers in the best sense of the term. The dreams and passions of youth must be guided into channels of national service in which they may have a scope for healthy realisation. The General Secretary of the Hindustani Seva Dal has always made it clear that his Association is a part of the Indian National Congress, but is not an appanage to any Party. It has sought to keep its fortunes apart from those of any Party. I do not deplore the fact that its relation to the Congress is somewhat indefinite. It may not be officially a part of the Congress, but no national movement can be apart from it. At the same time my own feeling is that the Congress should continue to support it by financial help. The question of finance is always the question of questions. It ought not to be formidable if a scheme of provincial and local devolution is devised:

"A question may be raised what relationship ought we should seek to establish with the Territorial Force units, established or proposed to be established by Government. I will not make this an occasion for making my comments on the report of the Auxiliary Forces Committee which has been with the public for nearly a year. The Congress should, in my opinion consider whether to allow its members either to enlist themselves or to encourage enlistment in the Auxiliary Forces even under the unsatisfactory conditions at present offered. But the volunteer organisation must be kept apart from them. It does not conflict with them and it is difficult to discover possible points of contact.

The National Flag

"The volunteers want to keep the National Flag flying. A National Flag is not merely a symbol. It is a great institution. The late King Edward VII is reported to have shown his keen sense of the honour that is due to the colours of a nation other than his own when on the occasion of a visit to a foreign country the organisers of his reception tried to bridge over a bit of road made muddy by unexpected rain by placing on it one of the flags used for decoration. King Edward recognised the colours and instead of stepping on the flag he picked it up with his hand and walked over the mud. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation, hoisted the Swaraj Flag for the first time on the Town Hall of Calcutta and decorated it with Swaraj colours to the horror and dismay of the mighty. It had a tremendous moral effect, for it was a great challenge. The National Flag shall inspire in us loyalty to the land of our birth. It will restore loyalty from the mire in which alien rule has sunk. It shall be the emblem of law and order which shall proclaim to the world that law is without function, unless it be the law of the people and that order is worthless unless it stands for progress. It shall be the symbol of the union of the races and creeds of India, of all the sons and daughters of the Motherland. Let us salute the National Flag. Let us salute the Motherland."

Indian Communists' Conference

CAWNPUR—26TH DECEMBER 1925

The First Indian Communists' Conference met at Cawnpur on the 26th December. Mr. SINGARAVELU, the President, delivered a lengthy address in course of which he explained the aims and objects of the Indian Communist Party which, he declared, stood for the emancipation of workers from their present state of economic bondage. The Party, he continued, aimed at securing the rights of the working classes and establishing a Workers' State in India under any system of Self-Government.

Moulana Hasrat MOHANI, Chairman of the Reception Committee, described the aims of the Party to be the establishment of a Soviet Constitution in India after the establishment of Swaraj. In the course of his address the Maulana said :—

"The movement Communism is the movement of peasants and workers. The people of India generally agree with the principles and aims and objects of this movement, but owing to certain misunderstandings some weak and nervous people fear the very name of Communism, although these misunderstandings have been deliberately set on foot by Capitalists and others who are opposed to it. Some, for instance, consider that Communism necessarily leads to bloodshed and terrorism. The only basis for this wrong notion is that we sanction non-violence only as expedient and necessary and do not like Mahatma Gandhi accept it as a fixed principle for all time. Again, some people wrongly allege that Communism and 'thine is mine' doctrine are one and the same. The fact is we have divided property into two classes, viz personal (e.g. watch, umbrella, utensils, beds, clothing, etc.) and private (like land, factories, etc.). The Communist principle applies only to private property and not to personal one.

Aims and Objects.

"The detailed programme of our Party which resembles the Soviet Constitution will be discussed by them and passed by this Conference. Our aims and objects are as follows :

"To establish Swaraj or complete Independence by all fair means. After the establishment of Swaraj to see that it takes the form of the Soviet Republic on which all principles of Communism will come into force. Before the establishment of Swaraj to work for the freedom and prosperity of peasants and workers by all possible means and in this respect to co-operate with every political Party of India so far as they help the promotion of the above mentioned objects. To arrange for the propagation of the principles of Communism and create popular opinion in their favour so that they may be acted upon the moment Swaraj is established.

"Our organisation is purely Indian. It is necessary to mention here that at least for the present the work of our Party will be restricted to India alone. Our relation with similar Parties of other countries will be only that of sympathy and mental affinity to all these in general and to the Third International in particular. We are only fellow travellers in our paths and not their subordinates. Neither we give them any practical help, nor do they extend any financial aid to us.

"Some evilly disposed persons incriminate Communism as necessarily an anti-religion movement. The fact, however, is that in matters of religion we allow the largest possible latitude and toleration. Whosoever accepts our principles will be accepted in our Party, whether he is a Muhammadan, a Hindu, a Christian, a Buddhist or anybody with or without any religion. In other words, we recognise the existence of all religions and consider even no-religion also as a religion. Some of our Muslim leaders baselessly represent Communism as against Islam. The fact is, however, quite different. The opposition of Islam to Capitalism, for instance, is stronger than even the Communistic conception of

it and the obligation of 'Zakat' is imposed mainly for the consideration that so long as there is one single hungry creature left the Capitalists have no right to indulge in business.

"The emphasis laid on the 'Zakat' in the Qorān is next only to prayers and the first Kalif had ordered jihad" against those who refused to pay "Zakat." Besides the only reason of the prohibition of interest can be that the usurer profits by his capital alone without doing any actual labour and this is against the principles of Islam just as it is against Communism."

The Presidential Address

The President, Mr. Singaravelu, then began to read his address with the following significant remarks. The following are extracts from his speech:—

"At a time when the opponents of Communism are attempting to crush our beneficent movement for making this world happier and pleasanter for all human beings dwelling in it, we, Communists in India, are meeting in this hall to-day, to take a general view of the political and economic situation obtaining in India, and to concert measures by which we can render the life of our own countrymen better and happier. We wish that our peaceful movement will be better understood both by our countrymen and our rulers, by means of the deliberations we are having here in this Conference, and we hope that our work will be better appreciated by the general public, especially the industrial and agricultural workers for whose benefit this conference is mainly held."

"Judged by the persecution to which our comrades in this land and in other lands are put," continued the President "we should think that our movement is totally misunderstood and misinterpreted by the ruling classes, and to them we have only one answer to make—that is, the answer which one of the greatest of our race gave to his persecutors at Calvary 2000 years ago. "Oh, you know not what you do." It is unfortunate that in this world of ours, the pioneers of every reform whether social or religious, political or economic, scientific or philosophical, are obliged to suffer for their thoughts, ideas and actions. But as "Kalachakra," the wheel of time rolls on, the suffering which the world reformers have undergone, spur others to further suffering until in the end, the whole world stands to adore them. This has been the history of humanity from the dawn of ages. Perhaps this may be the history of the few Communists who to-day are put to unmerited suffering for trying to serve their fellow men, all the world over."

Tribute to Lenin

Next, after expressing sympathy for the persecuted Communists, both Indian and British, the President referred to the death of Rosa Luxemburg who was cruelly done to death while pacifying the mob in Berlin; Karl Liebknecht, who was also done to death while serving the German workers, and to Lenin, and said:—"By his death the world has grown sadder. Here was a man who cared nothing else in the world except the well-being of suffering humanity. Such a man was snatched away by the cruel hand of death at a time when the great Workers' State in Russia needed his advice and guidance. The Communist world has lost in him a real benefactor of mankind whose counsels would have immensely benefitted them in these trying times. In the days of the Revolution in Russia, following the Great War of 1914, the world of Capital misjudged him and as the old adage goes, that truth will be out, the thinking world is now in a position to judge of this man and his actions. That greatest Christian man now living in England, George Lansbury, has paid this man one of the greatest tributes ever paid to any other human being on earth, and in the course of ages, there can be no doubt that the work begun by this man in Russia, will ultimately benefit mankind and shower happiness and contentment upon the human race."

About "Our Country's martyrs" the President mentioned "the loss of some of the greatest of India's sons who have struggled in their own way and according to their own lights to serve their fellow men in various ways. On the topmost rung of the ladder stands that unique figure of Tilak—that beacon of light for all true lovers of freedom. It was only the other day that we lost the true lover of our country, our Deshbandhu Das, for whom the whole country wept. There was yet another man who left us, and whose head and heart was devoted to the freedom of our country. This was Siva of South India and we deeply deplore his loss."

Referring to "Our Countrymen" Mr. Singaravelu said:—"Among the peoples of the world, our countrymen alone form the saddest portion of the human race on earth.

Bereft of the necessities of life—food, house and clothing, bereft of the higher necessities of human life—freedom, equality and knowledge, the majority of our countrymen are far below the level reached by other nations of the world. It is computed that 40 millions out of over 300 millions of fellow beings are scantily fed and clothed; and nearly half of this seething mass of humanity are ill-housed and are devoid of decent human habitation. More than 80 per cent. are illiterate. Nearly a fourth are what are known as untouchables—a species of humanity who have no other social relationship with their countrymen than to serve their masters. They have no right of entry into public temples. They cannot bathe in public tanks. In some places they cannot use public roads.

"Then we have a million or two intellectuals who cannot serve their countrymen except in ways prescribed by the alien rulers of the land. In the land of ours to agitate against the wrongs under which many of our countrymen suffer is often times considered objectionable, and sometimes treated as crimes. The growing taxation of the necessities of life is becoming intolerable. With it grows the expenditure, especially the military expenditure. Over sixty crores are spent annually for a mercenary army to keep out imaginary or fanciful foes. The Government of the country is not merely over-manned but over-paid. In the annual budget the essentials of national well-being are sacrificed for non-essentials. The health of the nation is far from satisfactory. Millions and millions die of preventable diseases. If the vital statistics is in any measure a test of civilised existence, Indian cities stand at the lowest ebb ever reached by any other country in the world. Education has become so costly that only a few thousands can afford to avail themselves of the highest education and culture, among these vast millions. Children of the soil are disarmed and unarmed and stand helpless to defend their home and their hearth when necessary.

"To recount the tale of woe under which this unhappy country suffers, will require more time and energy than I could afford in this address. A few rich men are more bent upon making riches for their own comfort, convenience and luxury, than for the common-weal. Of those who suffer most are the peasants of the country, and who alone number two-third of the population. Their life in the villages is awful. Swept by famine, pestilence, and disease, their existence is kept up by the high birth rates which often accompany poverty and destitution. The agricultural labour, while providing all, can have no direct access even to a morsel of what he procures by his toil. Living amidst plenty, he cannot get even the crumps. The industrial workers in the city are unable to meet both ends meet on account of their low wages. While all other countries are trying to secure a living wage to their countrymen, India alone does not even think about it and much less express it. This is the sum and substance of the politico-economic conditions and under which a fifth of the human race has its existence under the British administration in India."

Explicating Communism and Swaraj the President went on: "In the great struggle for Swaraj which is now in progress throughout the country, we communists have to take up the greatest share in the struggle. Though small, even negligible in numbers, we form the vanguard of the future Workers' State of India. Therefore we have to see that the workers and peasants in the land have their rights recognised in any constitutional change that may come about in the immediate future. Whatever may be the form of Swaraj which we may get—that workers' and peasants' right to live a decent human life here on earth should be vouchsafed to them. Whether Swaraj is one of Home rule, or Free State or Republic, workers' right to be represented in the governance of the country by their fellow workers or by the intelligentsia of the country ought to be secured to them. Without this right being secured or conceded to the workers, no form of Swaraj is worth having. Therefore it is the duty of the communists to be vigilant enough to see that the future form of Swaraj does not essentially become bourgeois, but substantially become proletarian. In fact complete self-determination and universal workers' suffrage ought to be the ideal towards which we communists have to stand in next constitutional change that may come about in the near future. I therefore request you to consider in this conference the methods our party have to adopt with or without the conjunction of the existing political parties in the country, for securing the rights of the workers and peasants in the coming Swaraj State. The motto, therefore, of every Indian communist ought to be, "No life without Swaraj and No Swaraj without workers."

Referring to Congress, he said:—"We should define what our attitude shall be as regards this national organisation. This is the only organisation whose potentiality for good was great. The National Congress was once a power in the land. Though bourgeois in origin, in scope and outlook, it was the one organisation which continually voiced the political grievances of the nation. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, it was a live force for at least a year. During the campaign of the Non-co-operation movement, the

prestige of the Congress was at its height. It aimed at Swaraj without defining it or much less understanding it. It spoke in the name of the people. It acted in the name of the people. When its great leader called the nation to offer non-violent fight against the bureaucracy, thousands responded and they placed their all at the altar of freedom of the land. But it struck blindly. Instead of directing its whole weight against the bureaucracy and rendering it impotent for evil, it struck wildly in all directions. It burdened itself with the redress of all sorts of grievances, political, social, economical and religious and therefore it got itself hopelessly entangled in mutually contradictory ideas and actions. If it had only struck for Swaraj and sought for the co-operation of the workers in the fight for it, it would have succeeded. But it weighted itself with all sorts of considerations including those of ethics, that the N. C. O. campaign which opened so brilliantly under its auspices broke down under its own weight, and the retreat of the movement which began at Bardoli ended in the arrest and confinement of its great leader without a word of protest from his followers. The bureaucracy triumphed and the leaders humbled.

"Amidst turmoil and confusion in the nationalist ranks, the surviving leaders of the movement quarrelled among themselves and split into various parties, and the split is still undergoing further division. A very numerous party among Congressmen who survived the debacle at Bardoli, formed themselves into a new party and calling themselves Swarajists, they sought to capture the Legislative Councils and began to give fight to the bureaucracy within the councils which they once abandoned. But here again the bourgeois mentality has begun to show its cloven hoofs even in the Council fight, and the Swarajist Party which under Desabandhu showed some clean fight, has begun to degenerate into a fight for loaves and fishes of office among themselves.

"From this short resume of the rise and fall of various Congress parties engaged in the pursuit for Swaraj, one thing stands clear before the nation, that it is impossible for the bourgeois of the country to secure Swaraj for the nation unaided. Without the active co-operation of the working masses, the intelligentsia of the country are incapable of winning Swaraj. Neither the Congressmen nor the present dominant party of Swarajists will be able to bend the bureaucracy to their will without the active co-operation of organised workers. It is enough to state that the Congress bourgeois leadership lacked sincerity in their reaction to the workers of the land. The pious hope now and then expressed by various parties, of helping, educating, and organising the workers, both urban and rural, will never fructify for the simple reason, that their mutual interests are opposed and contradictory. Therefore, it is the duty of the communists to take up the organisation of the masses, and endeavour to obtain Swaraj. Whether with or without the co-operation of other political parties of the country, that is for you to decide."

Coming to Swarajists' work, the President continued: "Council entry with or without office has become the dominant plank of the Swarajists. It stands to the credit of the Swarajists to have brought the bureaucracy to a halt in its triumphant career. This temporary defeat of the bureaucracy has made the bureaucracy look small in the eye of the world. But the Indian bureaucracy, like the other bureaucracies of the rest of the world, is inexhaustible in its resources, and it is too shrewd and too powerful to be easily defeated. Swarajists will be readily mistaken, as they should learn from the split in their own ranks, if they hold that unaided and with a house, divided against itself they can bend the bureaucracy to yield to them. Single handed they cannot. Nothing short of completely paralysing the bureaucratic administration will bring the bureaucracy to its legs, but to achieve this consummation, the active co-operation of the organised Labour is necessary for any party bent upon achieving Swaraj. Here again the Communists have to learn from the successive failure of every political party in this country that in the organisation of the workers and peasants, lies their salvation and that of their country. Whether you have to agitate for direct labour representation in the councils is also one of the subjects which you may tackle in your present deliberations."

"About 'Communism and suppressed classes' he said it should be clearly understood that from the standpoint of communism, this question of untouchability is purely an economical problem. Whether this class of people are admitted into temples or tanks or streets is not a question connected with our fight for Swaraj. With the advent of Swaraj, these social and religious disabilities will fall of themselves. Communists have neither caste nor creed nor religion. As Hindus, Mohammedans or Christians, they may have any private views about them. The question of untouchability is essentially associated with economic dependence of the vast mass of these Indians. No sooner their economic dependence is solved, the social stigma of untouchability is bound to disappear. It is this inequality in the ownership of land which is mainly responsible for the existence of

belotry of the vast masses of the suppressed peoples. Not mere entry into temples, tanks and roads will raise these unfortunates in the social scale in equal terms with their affluent brethren.

"A word with reference to Khaddar and its potentiality to win for us Swaraj. Khaddar is hand-made or hand-woven cloth. It was claimed in the days of the N.C.O. movement that by producing Khaddar in enormous quantity, India can dispense with British-made cloth which is imported to the enormous sum of 60 million sterling annually. It was further thought that by clothing the nation by our own cloth, British cloth would be effectively boycotted, and to that extent the British worker would be injured, and that this injury would give rise to such clamour that the British Government will be compelled to go down and concede all that we wanted. It was further argued that if the nation, especially the workers, should take to the wholesale production of Khaddar, it would substantially help the unemployed in India in earning something by which they can supplement their scanty wages paid by the capitalists and the landlords. All these sounded very well during the short-lived enthusiasm of the N.C.O. movement, but when these theories were confronted with actualities it was found that Khaddar production had its own limitations. To wear Khaddar as a national costume in our fight for Swaraj, we can grant that it may be necessary in the absence of any other national uniform, but that it would supplement machine-made cloth is an impossible feat. And that such production would effectively boycott foreign cloth is still more problematical.

"The Americans were never able to boycott foreign cloth during their fight for Independence, in spite of their homogeneity of color, race and religion and their intense patriotism. It was Bunkers Hill that decided their independence, and not the boycott of British goods. So also the Irish in their recent fight for a Free State. To hold further that it would be an economic salvation for the masses is bad economics. For, the Indian working man wants higher wages and more leisure. To ask the famishing worker to drudge at the charka for few more hours, in order to supplement his scanty wages with his still more scanty earnings by means of the charka, is simply cruel. If the agricultural labourer has no work for few months in the year, let him be provided with work which will give him higher wages or let him be given the opportunity to acquire higher knowledge, so as to raise himself equal to his more cultured brethren in the cities, but let us not make him drudge again throughout his weary life without any prospect of any intellectual improvement.

The President then explained communism as a system or doctrine which aims at the betterment of humanity from almost all the ills of life, and said :—

"Communism is as old as history. It was taught by Buddha in a form and practised by his disciples, Jesus Plato, Moore, Morris and others taught mankind a form of communism which was vague, indefinite and utopian. But it was Karl Marx who gave it a scientific and a definite form so as to be applicable in practice.

"Indian Communism is not Bolshevism, for Bolshevism is a form of communism which the Russians have adopted in their country. We are not Russians. Bolshevicks and Bolshevism may not be needed in India. Bolshevism literally means the doctrine of the Majority. And this Russian majority are men in power in Russia with their peculiar method of their rule, administration and propaganda. Bolshevicks are the political party in power in Russia as opposed to Menshevicks, the minority party, now out of power. We are one with the world communists but not with Bolshevicks. We hope this explanation of our position in India will clear all misapprehensions about our party and aims and method. We shall briefly state our aims, methods and ideals.

"Our Communist Ideal" :—First our ideal is, to end the domination of capital, make war impossible, wipe out state boundaries and frontiers and wield all states into one co-operate commonwealth and bring about real human fraternity and freedom. This is the dream of the Communist.

"Our immediate aims" :—And our immediate aim is to win Swaraj for the masses in India, to prevent exploitation of the workers and peasants by suitable land and industrial legislation, to secure to the bread-winner a minimum wages by which he and his children shall have the necessaries of a decent life and to end all distinctions of castes, creed or sect in all political and economical relationships.

"Our method." :—And all this we hope to achieve through the unions of Labour and when necessary, in co-operation with other political organisations in the country. We require the co-operation of all other parties in the country to secure the workers' right in the land. But we feel no doubt that we will be the party who will ultimately succeed in securing these rights to the Indian peoples and therefore we appeal to all thinkers and workers to join our party and work both for our communist's ideals and our immediate aims.

Political Sufferers' Conference

CAWNPUR—28TH DECEMBER 1925

The Political Sufferers' Conference commenced its sitting on the 28th December. The gathering consisted of a large number of those who at one time or other had been to jail, with a fair sprinkling of Communists.

Swami KUMARANANDA, welcoming those present doubted if India would ever require Swaraj if Mahatma Gandhi could get non-violence established. The Non-co-operation movement failed because it was not a movement for suffering India but a spiritual movement. The Congress was at the brink of a fall. Where was the challenge to the Government of 1920? Should their sufferings go in vain? If rumour was true the Government of the United Provinces was about to promulgate the Ordinance on the basis of the Kakori train dacoity. Political sufferers must unite to lighten the sufferings of soldiers for freedom.

Presidential Address

Swami GOVINDANAND, President, at the outset, cleared the misapprehension that this was a conference of dacoits and revolutionaries. It was a conference of those who for the sake of India winning freedom were prepared even to shed their blood. They considered the suspension of the 1921 programme as a national disgrace and wanted it to be resumed. Liberty first and unity thereafter, was their motto. The vain pursuit after Hindu-Muslim unity was the cause of all political blunders and disasters. The way to Swaraj lay through the prisons. They did not want politics and politicians but patriotism and patriots. Civil Disobedience (Satyagraha) was the only method of achieving Swaraj, and not bombs, nor spinning-wheels, nor Council debates.

Swami Govindanand in course of his address styled the Conference as a Conference of the Indian Emancipation Army, for theirs was the living faith that through prison and gallows lay the way to freedom. Remember the times, said he, when they were not only prosecuted and subjected to torments by the Government but were disowned by their party—very nation whose battle of self-respect and freedom they were fighting with very slender resources—nay, actually poohpooched and considered as political untouchables. Through all those stages the sufferers had passed undaunted.

Attitude of Congress

It was only in 1917 when a resolution was moved from the Congress platform demanding release of detainees that the Congress gave some of them its first official recognition. But still they were not recognised as the builders of the nation. Yet they continued to serve the country believing that the way to freedom was through the horrors of Jallianwalla Bagh. Mahatma Gandhi forced attention to this truth but he had to abandon his

movement in the last Congress at Belgaum, when a resolution for relief to political sufferers and their families was rejected. That rejection was a calamity greater than the Bardoli retreat and it was a blow severer than the Bengal ordinance. Whatever concessions Britishers had been forced to yield had been wrung out by the sacrifices of these men whom the Congress was slow to recognise. That was his grievance against the Congress. If the Congress still refused to recognise them he would advise political sufferers to organise themselves. They must first be fully initiated into the mystery of sacrifice and then the enjoyment of fruits of victory.

How to Protect the Patriots

Proceeding Swami Govindanand observed that it was vain to protest against the Bengal Ordinance and Kakori dacoity cases. Government in so many words said: "If you are out to destroy us, we are out to destroy you." The Conference must, therefore, consider means of protecting their patriots against molestations and crushing out of existence. They must have an association in each province to keep a record of such persecutions. He felt that now that the U. P. Government had been forced to release some Kakori dacoity prisoners it would soon apply for an Ordinance, and the bogey or revolutionary societies, spread in every village and hamlet of the United Provinces and bands of dacoits and assassins threatening the life of every Englishman, would be raised "to justify the burial alive of every honest son and servant of India in British bastilles." There was no hope of national salvation through the Councils and spinning wheels. They wanted patriots and patriotism and not politicians and politics. Indians would gladly remain within this Empire if Britain forthwith abandoned the narrow idea of British Empire.

Indian Political Sufferers Abroad

Referring to Indian political sufferers abroad the President alluded to the fact that some of them were denied passports to return to their home and the properties of some had been confiscated and their dependants are starving. It would be impossible to bring these people back to India without winning freedom. But they could meanwhile establish connections with them and they should be ambassadors of Indian national movement in foreign lands. There should, therefore, be a Foreign Office for this Conference which would keep itself in touch with these nationals abroad and the latter in turn would suggest to us here the ways and means of changing tactics to suit altered conditions.

The President also urged starting of an organ in which would be recorded the history of Indians' struggle for freedom.

The States Subjects' Conference

CAWNPUR—29TH DECEMBER 1925.

Presidential Address

Presiding over the 3rd session of the All-India States Subjects' Conference, Mr. SHANKERLAL KAUL said that the inauguration of the Montford Reforms had drawn the people's attention to Indian States, and the forms of administration prevalent there. But the speaker deprecated the confusion of ideas on the subject of the future of Indian States. Gandhiji had, himself, recognised that they must provide for Indian States in the future Constitution of India. The speaker did not think there was such a thing as "Government, by the people, for the people," existent in any part of the world. Russia showed them what an Eastern Democracy could become. In U.S.A., Democracy had become an actual danger. They had all read about lynching, the Klu Klux Klan and the recent monkey trial. In Italy, Mussolini was the sole dictator. They need not therefore be anxious in India to introduce the latest western experiment. If limited monarchy was good enough for Great Britain, it should be good enough for Indian States.

The President asked the audience to remember that the States were more Indian than the provinces in British India. He believed in the process of evolving a common political destiny for whole of India. The relations between the Government of India and the States were, in theory dependent on treaties and sanads; but while these ensured the integrity of the States, there had always been an understanding that the Rulers, in their turn, should have a corresponding obligation of administering their States on sound lines. Mr. Kaul assured that even under self-government, the integrity of the States would not be disturbed. The Swaraj Party had left the Political Department out of their programme. If the Princes were wise, they would appreciate the modest ambitions of the people; but by denying the desire for legitimate ambitions they would stimulate desire for illegitimate ambitions. By behaving like little Czars they would become fathers of Bolshevism in India.

As to what changes should take place in the administration of Indian States was a big question. They could not think of British India as an entity; similarly they could not think of Indian States as one. The States were, in a real sense, independent of one another, and, theoretically, at least, independent of British India. Again the States were in varying stages of advancement. They could not, therefore, lay down a cut and dry programme applicable to all; but they could propound only the general proposals. He urged for the encouragement of local talent and quoted Lord Hardinge's address to an Indian Prince, wherein the ex-Viceroy had urged: 'Build up within your own States a body of your own subjects, on whom you can rely, to serve you. Take them, educate them. Select the best. Fit them for high places, and, when fit, confer high places on them. Give them responsibility and power. Enlist their interests and sympathy

in the work of the administration, and I confidently predict that you will not regret the step you have taken.' Another reform needed was that in States where there was no proper system of revenue collection, the needed reform should be introduced, and the peasantry saved from oppression by petty officials. It was also necessary to have codes of law for judicial administration. Complaints regarding lawless procedure were by no means uncommon in States. But finance was the most important question. The States were not zamindaris and jagirs. In some cases there was reckless misuse of public money. The Princes drew as much as they liked. There was no proper budgeting, auditing or accounting. Budget system should be introduced and the Princes should draw only the maximum of five per cent. of the State revenue for themselves and their entourage. That would be comparatively, more in proportion than their King-Emperor drew in England. Surpluses should be utilised for reduction of taxation.

Mr. Kaul pleaded for freedom of the speech. The Indian Princes should not consider their States sacrosanct. Instances of blackmailing had come to his notice. But that did not justify all the restrictions put on the press. His suggestions would not satisfy the people in the advanced States, but he had to give only a broad outline for all States. In dealing with Provinces, they must remember they would be dealing with their own people.

As for adoption of the constructive programme of Gaudhiji, about khaddar and untouchability, definite proposals should be drawn up by a special committee. Mr. Kaul pleaded that instead of meeting only annually they should have a permanent organisation. He pleaded that the leaders should understand the system of government in the State, and not urge revolutionary changes. Above all, he appealed to the Princes to strengthen their position by responding to the spirit of the times. It was for them to show to the world that hereditary rulership could possess all the advantages of perfect democracy, without being open to its evils.

CAWNPUR—30TH DECEMBER 1925.

The Indian States Subjects' Conference met next day and passed a number of resolutions. First of all, it passed a resolution of condolence regarding the death of the Maharajas of Gwalior and Kashmir. Secondly, it framed a constitution declaring that the object of the Conference was the attainment of Responsible Government in Indian States by all legitimate and peaceful means.

Then, on the motion of Seth Jamanlal Bajaj, seconded by Manilal Kothari, the Conference passed a resolution, deploring the Nimucharna tragedy in Alwar, and, still further, the obstinate refusal of the State to permit an open and impartial enquiry into the causes of the atrocities and the irregularities committed by the State Police and Officers.

The Conference, while extending its warmest sympathy to the many bereaved families and to those rendered homeless by the wanton destruction of property in the name of law and order, wished that the Conference had the power to render some effective assistance to them in their present trial.

National Liberal Federation

CALCUTTA—28TH DECEMBER 1925

The opening of the 8th Session of the National Liberal Federation took place in the Town Hall on the 28th December, Sir Moropant Joshi presided. Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. The delegates numbered about 200 including those of Bengal. A batch of boys and girls sang a Vedic hymn and then the National Anthem—"Bande Mataram" after which the Conference opened.

Sir Chimanlal SETALVAD in proposing Sir Moropant Joshi to the chair said that the Chairman of the Reception Committee observed in his address that the Liberal Party, and its principles had been thoroughly vindicated. That was, he said, perhaps literally true. When the cult of non-co-operation and civil disobedience was started by that great magician of Ahmedabad it was the Liberal Party that kept its head on that occasion. When the triple boycott was started by that great magician, it failed miserably and when they soon realised how wrong they were those, who formed what was called the Non-co-operation party, made up their minds—at least some of them—to enter the Councils. As they were all aware they were keeping up the pretence that they were entering the Councils for the purpose of non-co-operating, they wanted to non-co-operate still within the Councils and make Government impossible. They failed to make it impossible by triple boycott; they failed to make it impossible by that pretended non-co-operation in the Councils. On the contrary, as they were aware, they had done on many occasions all that was possible to do—all that lay in their power—to co-operate, and one of them had taken the presidentship of the Assembly (laughter). What greater proof of the success of co-operation could there be. He was there sitting in the chair to work the constitution which they despised—the very constitution, which, they said, they went into the Councils to destroy. They realised again—at least some of them—that it would not do to go into the Councils to throw down all measures, to throw out budgets and to do the rest of it. It won't do. They would do all that and not take office! Therefore they had now started the cult of responsive co-operation and they wanted to take office but again to keep up the pretence. The speaker saw in the newspapers the other day that they wanted to take office for the purpose of obstructing from within, for making Government impossible by taking office. They would still keep up the pretence and would clamour for exploding theories which had been discredited by them. However he would say that they were growing wiser.

Then they had their friends, the Independents. They had taken seven years to discover what the Liberal Party thought all along from the beginning. They now realised that the Swarajist tactics would not do: they must make frantic efforts to join hands with the people and to stop the mischief that the Swarajists were doing. Therefore some of them in a patronising

manner wanted to level up the Liberals (laughter), as if the Liberals stood in need of being levelled up. The real fact was that these people who were doing all these were the people who stood out in 1919 and had not the courage to take the public obliquy and disapproval and stuck steadfast to its principle, and in doing that they thought that it was in the best interests of the country. These Independents were of the same view then and were of the same view now; they wanted to checkmate the Swarajists if they could. The speaker said that they had not the courage and honesty in doing that in 1919; they were not prepared to take the public disapproval. When they found that the Swarajists were disassociating from them they patronised the Liberals and said "Oh, you come: we will level you up and join hands with you." The speaker thanked them for their solicitude.

It was gratifying that even now they said that the Liberal way was really the proper way, it did not matter what their past work was—either of the Swarajists or of the Independents they were willing to welcome them in their fold. The speaker assured them that they (Liberals) were quite willing to go on with their own Liberal principles in the manner they had done. He failed to see where the difference lay between them and the Liberal principles. The speaker said that there was no difference at all, and if that was so why did they not come and join the Liberal Party. Why did they not level it up if they wanted to do so? Why did they say in a patronising way 'You, little people, do not understand; you must level up'. The Liberal Party and the Liberal principles had been all these long ago. They had consistently worked for it and they were prepared to work for it through good report or bad report. That was where the real strength and success of the Liberal Party rested. If they went on working as in the past in hoping for any popular clamour, he was sure that they (Liberals) should again put the country in the right path of political progress, of law and order and of ordered progress for constitutional Government. This, in that sense, was a memorable session of the Liberal Federation and it was only right that they should have selected a man of the history of the past, Sir Moropant Joshi, to be their President of this meeting.

Sir Tej Bahadur SAPRU in seconding the proposal said that he was not so much concerned in politics of his own. So far as the other parties were concerned he believed they stood on their merits, but what he was most anxious about was that they must do something to bring additional strength to their own party (hear, hear). Sir Moropant Joshi had been recognized as a level-headed and practical politician. He could do something to bring the strength to their party and to give a clear lead to it. Liberals might be weak but the principles of liberalism could never be weak and it had never been weak in the past. It was with that conviction alone that they could hope to acquire influence and power in the country; it would not do any harm to them. There was no doubt that so far as the country was concerned it had been for the last five years under the spell of politicians of different schools and notwithstanding the fact that that spell had very much been removed by their own conduct, but the fact remained that popular mind still preferred to cling to that delusion and it was for this reason that one of the most important duties of the Federation was to do something to bring their real convictions into the public mind so that they might convince them that although they might be described by another section as the arm-chair politicians, yet their convictions were as deep and as strong and

as powerful as they were prepared to abide by that conviction. He hoped that something should be done by Sir Moropant to add strength to their party and to their existence and that he would give a clear lead to the Liberal Party.

Sir Provas Chandra MITTER supported the proposal. He said that Sir Moropant was well known as an old Congressman. From the early days of the Congress he threw his own heart and energy into the cause of the Congress and that he made a name for himself. He hoped that Sir Moropant in the fulness of years with his name instinct would be able to lead them on and at the present day they were in need of such a man.

Presidential Address

Sir MOROPANT JOSHI then read his address of which the following is the full text. At the outset he referred to the loss the country suffered in the death of Sir S. N. Banerjee and Mr. C. R. Das and proceeded to discuss constitutional reform. He said:—

“The one theme of paramount importance to our and other political parties in the country is the possibility of the realization in the near future of responsible government and dominion status for India or as near an approach to it as possible. All of us have set our heart on the common goal and the existence of different political parties is based only on differences as to the methods of attaining the ideal. Expectant India awaited with extraordinary interest the result of the Viceroy's conference with the Secretary of State.

Lord Birkenhead's Speech

“The theme having been the subject of conference and deliberation between the two highest authorities in Indian affairs, it was some consolation to know that no decisions had been or would be reached till the Legislative Assembly and the Government of India expressed their opinions on the vital issue. The Secretary spoke at last and so did the Viceroy, and weighty pronouncements were made by them. The speech strikes me as a curious blend of light and darkness, of half truths and fond misconceptions, of rays of hope and a dismal trail of disappointment. It lays extraordinary emphasis on the preamble of the Government of India Act and is obviously saturated with a mentality adverse to any acceleration of the pace of reform and largely influenced by the recalcitrancy, real or supposed, of the political party now dominant in this country in not co-operating with the Government in working the quantum of reforms effected by the Government of India Act. Strangely enough, it takes absolutely no notice of the reasons which led to this obstreperous conduct of the Swaraj Party. The Swarajist mentality had for its foundation an almost complete mistrust of British policy and purpose caused by broken pledges and deferred hopes,—distrust which, I may say, has permeated not only the intelligentsia but the non-vocal strata of society. It was born of deep disappointment and desperation which found expression in non-co-operation and reached its adolescence in the attempt to create a constitutional dead-lock by open though frantic obstruction in the Legislature.

“His Lordship has authoritatively declared his view that the ten years' limit for the setting up of the statutory commission is not decisive against an

earlier reconsideration for further advance and said that one of two conditions was essential to such a reconsideration—loyal and cheerful co-operation by all political parties in India in working the present system or the disclosure of grave and glaring defects in it. He has discussed the former condition but said nothing about the latter, which is much the more important—unless indeed his opinion is implicit in the conclusion reached by him that diarchy has neither failed nor succeeded. His Lordship speaks of the high trusteeship of India as if it were a perpetual tutelage, though he no longer relies on the doctrine of holding the gorgeous East in fee, and calls upon India to associate with England in a fruitful and harmonious partnership. He asserts that India is not a nation and doubts if she ever will be, notwithstanding the fact that India is a recognised unit in the League of Nations and the Imperial Conference and her assent would be required if she with the dominions is to agree to the Locarno Pact.

"The answer that can emphatically be given to Lord Birkenhead is that the country as a whole is actually even now co-operating; non-co-operation has been officially suspended by the Indian National Congress, being merely hung up before it is solemnly buried. The talk of civil disobedience is a futile and empty threat. It was held to be impracticable by a special committee appointed by the Congress, of which Pandit Motilal Nehru himself was a most prominent member, and has lately been declared by Mahatma Gandhi himself to be impossible. Lord Birkenhead's insistence on co-operation by all political parties in India before advance could be thought of thus loses a great deal of weight. It is more than doubtful if a demand for the complete surrender of an adversary is an act of statesmanship calculated to secure the willing co-operation of a people who are particularly responsive to real good-will. Anything but co-operation was offered by the Boers, the Egyptians and the Irish but statesmanship in England never insisted on co-operation as a condition precedent for the conferment of responsible government. There is still time for his lordship to reconsider the position in view of the change that has taken place in the situation.

"The occasion for such reconsideration will be the action to be taken by the Secretary of State for India on the Muddiman Committee Reports. If Sir Muhammad Shafi's opinion expressed after his relinquishment of office in favour of a more extended enquiry be taken into account, the minority's recommendation for an enquiry by a Royal Commission or some other method for putting the constitution on a permanent basis becomes the majority recommendation.

"It would not here be out of place to take a brief review of the history of the demand for the acceleration of progress as pressed by the Indian Legislature. In 1921 a resolution was passed by the Assembly expressing the view that there should be a re-examination and revision of the constitution. The resolution was then accepted by the Government of India. It was, however, turned down by Lord Peel. In 1924 the Assembly passed a resolution for a round table conference for settling the constitution of this country. The Government in England sanctioned only the Reforms Enquiry Committee with a full consciousness of the then uncompromising attitude of the Swaraj party. Notwithstanding this, a distinct statement was made in the Indian Legislature that if the enquiry showed that within the scope and structure of the Act no substantial progress was possible, the question of revising the constitution would be a separate issue in regard

to which Government did not commit themselves. The most recent development was the motion carried by the Legislative Assembly last September. The opinions of local Governments on the working of diarchy were quoted by Lord Birkenhead in his speech. The general deduction that may be drawn from them is that diarchy can at best be worked with good-will and is being worked more smoothly where diarchy is least in evidence. The defects pointed out show that they are inherent in the system which cannot serve the purpose of advancing India on the path of responsible government. The Majority Report acknowledged the fact that mere changes in the rules so as to minimize occasions of friction would not satisfy anybody in India, but it kept within the limits imposed by the terms of reference and suggested minor amendments. The Minority Report found that there was hardly any scope for progress under the existing constitution and urged that the constitution should be put on a permanent basis with provision for automatic progress in the future and that for this purpose a Royal Commission or other suitable agency should be employed for investigation of the problem.

The Majority Report was disapproved by the Indian press and Indian public opinion generally and by the adoption of Mr. Nehru's amendment last September the Legislative Assembly has virtually set on it its seal of disapproval. Indeed there is no section of the Indian community which is opposed to advance. It is true that some communal organizations ask for special concessions for their separate communities but they all want progress, I know of none of them—I have not in mind the European Association—which is satisfied with things as they are. And differences among them can be adjusted on the basis of compromise, and suitable provisions inserted in the constitution to be framed. The Commonwealth of India Bill drawn up by Mrs. Besant's National Convention point to an almost unanimous public opinion in support of the principles embodied in the motion adopted by the Legislative Assembly. It is true that the Council of State has not agreed with it, but it is plain that the Assembly's demand has the support of the country.

The Secretary of State's Objections.

Lord Birkenhead has suggested several reasons for making little or no advance. That India is not a nation is one of them. Want of a national army to deal with the problem of external defence and internal peace and communal dissensions are the other two. It is significant that each time an advance, however small, is to be made towards giving Indians political rights, these same reasons are put forward. They were there when the Morley-Minto Reforms were introduced and also when the Act of 1919 was passed. They are there still in full force. The objections have been repeatedly answered by Indians. The geographical area known as Hindoostan may be peopled by races of various creeds and different languages but all of them have common interests, common aspirations and a common political ideal and a strong desire to act as one nation. We are certainly no less a nation than the Poles or the other recently created nationalities in Europe. The objection loses much of its force when it is remembered that India aspires to be a "United States of India" suitable and necessary changes being made of provincial boundaries, as far as possible on a linguistic basis.

That India has no national army at present is true enough, but British policy having been and still being one of preventing Indians from officering the army, a national army was not possible. Distrust of the people has

throughout been the British military policy in India and instead of frankly acknowledging the mistake, they fling the fact in our face as a plea for no further advance. This is to add insult to injury. Nobody says that the whole of the British Army with all the British officers should disappear at once; all are content to wait till military experience has been gained by Indians. But all want the Government to make an honest effort on a scale which within the next 25 or 30 years will give India Indian soldiers and Indian officers ready to defend the country. The eight units scheme of Indianization upheld by Government is condemned by Indians and it is disappointing to find the Secretary of State determined to make no advance till this very scheme has succeeded to the satisfaction of the Government. The Skeen Committee's scope of inquiry is so limited that it is very doubtful if it may not be as disappointing in its results as the Reforms Enquiry Committee.

"Communal tension is an old and favourite plea of the Government in power. When a national government comes into existence, it will be strong enough to uphold authority as is now the case even in the Indian States. All these are difficulties which are not incapable of solution and ought certainly not to bar the way to immediate further Reforms.

Diarchy.

"The most crucial fact in this connection, however, is the answer to the question. Has diarchy failed or succeeded? Its failure is said to be a necessary preliminary to exploring avenues for advance. This is the alternative stipulation made by the Secretary of State for advance before the expiry of ten years. In order to answer the question satisfactorily the test of failure or success must be first ascertained. Diarchy as a transitional measure was mainly intended to give valuable training to the people in responsible Government so that they might be prepared for complete responsible government. Diarchy must be said to have failed if such training is not possible under it. The Minority Report of the Muddiman Committee has among other reasons given three reasons to support this conclusion:—

- (i) The position of the Ministry has not been one of real responsibility.
- (ii) There has been no collective responsibility of Ministers, and no joint deliberation between the two halves of the Government in most provinces.
- (iii) The close connection between the 'reserved' and 'transferred' departments has made it extremely difficult for Legislatures at times to make in practice a distinction between the two sections of the Government with the result that the policy and administration of the reserved half have not infrequently been potent factors in determining the attitude of the Legislature towards Ministers and have also prejudiced the growth and strength of parties in the Councils.

"Even the official reports quoted however, show that the system is working "creakily" at the best and in Madras where the system is claimed to have worked best as judged by the relations between the Ministry and a majority in the Legislative Council, both the Ministers and the ex-Ministers who recorded their opinions have pressed for complete provincial autonomy. It is apposite to quote here the testimony of Sir Frederick Whyte, the first President of the Legislative Assembly. Speaking at Calcutta to the

European Association, he said in effect that enough co-operation had been rendered by the representatives of the people, certainly in the first Assembly and to a lesser but an increasing degree in the second, and that unless a more generous measure of Reforms was introduced in the provinces the training of the people in responsible Government was not possible.

The Civil Services.

"The Secretary of State has praised the civil services in India. Nobody grudges the services' just and fair treatment, but it is expected that they will perform functions similar to those of the civil services of their countries. What strikes people in India is the extraordinary rapidity with which the question of the interests of the services was taken up and decided. The Bill for securing certain advantages to the services has passed its third reading in both houses of Parliament. Not only have their emoluments been increased but allowances which had been subject to the vote of the Legislature have been made non-votable. Not only has the financial burden of the tax-payer been considerably increased but a backward constitutional move has been taken, the limited power of the Legislatures being further curtailed, and the "steel frame" has been further strengthened. While a comparatively small interest, because it is concerned with the continuance of British domination, is thus dealt with promptly and generously larger questions of great public importance which concern the entire Indian nation have evoked little sympathy and powerful opposition. The contrast is so great : and it is painful.

Communal Disturbances.

"Unfortunately, communal disturbances do take place in this country, music before mosques and cow-killing being the two main heads of contention between Hindus and Mahomedans. The state of Hindu-Muslim relations is a very favourite plea with foreign rulers eager to show the dire necessity of their holding the balance in a disinterested manner between two contestants. The plea amounts to a justification of British domination over India for as long as the Sun and Moon endure as there is no hope of the two religions merging into one. No Britisher, I hope, expects to be here for all eternity. The fear of minorities being unfairly treated comes with ill-grace from the Britishers. Moreover, both the Indian and Muslim communities realize that they have to live here in this country side by side and that Islam has made its home in India. After the Unity Conference between Hindus and Mahomedans efforts are being made in several places to settle the music question and it is due to the efforts of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Pandit Motilal Nehru that a solution has been found at Nagpur by the Hindus agreeing to stop music at prayer times before certain ancient mosques and the Mahomedans not objecting to music at other times. This is being followed in several places in the Central Provinces and is a good working compromise for other provinces to follow.

Excise Duty on Cotton Goods.

"For once the Governor-General's power to promulgate ordinances has been employed for a beneficial purpose and the excise duty on cotton goods has been suspended. We ought to be thankful that the Central Government was in a position to suspend the duty. This resulted in ending the strike in the Bombay Mills. The impost was an unjust one and could always be characterized as having been imposed for the benefit of British interests and

to the detriment of Indian industry. It is inconceivable that the impost can be revived next year. In fact, we have been assured that it will be repealed.

Indians in South Africa

"The latest step taken by the Government of India towards the amelioration of the condition of the Indian nationals in South Africa is the recent deputation of one Englishman and three Indians to that country. We have to wait and see what results are achieved by this deputation. "A common Empire" becomes unmeaning to us here in India when Indians are treated as in South Africa. It is sought to deprive the Indians who have been there now for generations, of rights which they already enjoy, and England, "India's self-appointed trustee," can do little to support our nationals. The susceptibilities of the white settlers in the dominions and colonies always carry undue weight with the British Government while Indian susceptibilities are but a negligible quantity. A few politicians like Lord Willingdon and a few pious bishops in England hardly count in the struggle to secure justice to Indian nationals within the Empire, Kenya and South Africa.

Liberal Party and Government

"The Liberal party is the party which has all along put a discerning and discriminating trust in Government for taking suitable action to establish responsible Government and in the people to do their part in the country's advance. They are disposed to make favourable presumptions in favour of the established Government. They have worked the Reforms though they did not consider them wholly satisfactory. No one of us has ever been tempted to assume an attitude of non-co-operation. Candidates of our party were routed at the last elections, partly because of our defective organization, no doubt, but chiefly because they were critics but not opponents of the Government. Has Government policy been such as to enhance the prestige of its friendly critics and to confound its opponents? The Government's attitude was for a time responsive, but what afterwards? The people judge by tangible results, and by the perceptible impression made by a party on the Government in furtherance of the ideal. What have the Government done, however, so that the public may be inspired with confidence in the Liberal party?"

"The Liberal party has been variously criticized and one Swarajist friend described it by saying, "You are a train without engines; you have first, second and third class carriages in plenty, the old four wheeler in Bombay and a powerful brake in Bengal." I never forgave him for this: but it has served to arrest my attention and made me think of suggestions for improving the static condition of the party. I am suggesting towards the end of my speech methods for more useful work. The Liberal party is at the present moment expected to answer two very important questions. Why does it and how can it still ask the people of India to work the Reforms when the Liberals, having co-operated and done their best, have found by experience that the present system has failed to achieve its main purpose and therefore assert that a far larger measure of responsibility must be given to the people? How is it that Jallianwala, Rowlatt Act, Certifications and Ordinances notwithstanding, the Liberals can continue to advise co-operation with a Government so irresponsible and so callous to public opinion? The answer is simple. The Reforms have put powers in the hands of Ministers which even under limitations they could use and did use for constructive work in the nation-building departments.

"Another question to which an answer is expected is what is the method which the Liberals are prepared to adopt to put pressure on Government and to enforce the national will to be free. The Liberals have always had an abounding faith in the people. They believe that it is quite feasible to bring adequate pressure to bear on Government to grant India dominion status if the electorate and the people as a whole take much keener interest in matters political. The will to be free must be infused in the masses and intensity of feeling secured by constant reiteration of the birth-right of Indian citizens. The Liberals have still faith in constitutional methods which they believe have not been adequately tried. As extreme measures nothing is ruled out for achieving political emancipation—not even revolutions, much less civil disobedience and obstruction.

"However unfortunate and deplorable their methods might happen to be the Liberals realize that all are working for a common objective. Circumstances which drive persons like Mahatma Gandhi and Messrs. Das and Nehru into a mentality that spurns co-operation and advises obstruction are certainly unfortunate and deplorable, and the Government responsible for them must reconsider its attitude. From our national point of view, the union of all political parties is extremely desirable at this juncture. It is quite conceivable that the Liberals, Independents, Conventionists and Responsive Co-operators would not find it difficult to have a common platform and the efforts that are being made in this direction will, I hope, prove fruitful. The greatest difficulty in achieving union is perhaps the desire of each party to have its own policy and methods adopted by the rest. A great deal of the energy that is now wasted in mutual recrimination and individual abuse is urgently required for the more beneficent purposes of common effort and common achievement. This must be realised by all, and it should not be impossible for all parties to unite by means of give and take.

Conclusion.

"The present condition of political parties in England may not warrant us in entertaining the hope that our views will receive favourable consideration or acceptance. Indeed, Lord Reading apprehends an adverse verdict from Parliament if matters are pressed now. The serried phalanx of party votes backing the party in power will protect an adverse Secretary of State in refusing us the freedom which is the birth-right of nations. The majority in Parliament consists of 67 per cent. representatives on a 47 per cent. poll and any decision by Lord Birkenhead may be the last word during the life of the present Parliament. Even then we still have the moral judgment of the wide civilized world to which an appeal could be made with considerable effect though it may not be immediately productive of solid results. It was the pressure of the moral sense of America that gave the Irish their freedom and perhaps to Egypt, and with the Locarno Pact the League of Nations may become a potent instrument of securing freedom for countries not yet emancipated. It will be increasingly difficult for England to continue to plead that the liberty of India is a matter merely of domestic concern between India and herself. To rouse the moral sense of the world our united effort for freedom must be continuous, and strident if need be, and that should inevitably lead us to that glorious partnership in the Empire of equals to which Lord Birkenhead has beckoned us. Let us work in Hope."

Proceedings and Resolutions.

2ND DAY—29TH DECEMBER 1925

Next day, the 29th December, the Federation resumed its sittings at the Town Hall under the Presidency of Sir M. Joshi. The main debate centred upon the resolution regarding constitutional reforms and the speakers in support of the resolution criticised the policy of the Government.

Mr. C. Y. CHINTAMONI opened the proceedings by moving the resolution on the constitutional reform of which the following is the full text :—

1.—Constitutional Reforms

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of disappointment at the Majority Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee, which is against the volume and weight of evidence placed before it and warmly approves of the Minority Report of the Committee. It records its sense of appreciation of the patriotic service rendered by the signatories of the Minority Report, three of whom, it notes with gratification, are among its ex-President.

(b) The Federation is deeply disappointed at the position taken by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy in their speeches of July and August respectively, and by the Government of India in the resolution moved by the Home Member in the Legislative Assembly in September, which position is against the unanimous opinion of all parties in India.

(c) While according its general support to the amendment to the Home Member's resolution, which was adopted by the Legislative Assembly, the Federation affirms its conviction of the necessity of a reform of the constitution without delay on the lines indicated below :—

- (1) Provincial Governments should be responsible to the respective provincial Legislative councils which should be wholly elected.
- (2) The Central Government should be responsible to the Legislative Assembly in the whole sphere of internal civil administration.
- (3) The control of the foreign and political relations of the Government and of the military, naval and air defence of the country should remain vested in the Governor-General, for a definite period, after the expiry of which the position should be reviewed by a commission on which the Indian opinion is adequately represented.
- (4) During the period a fixed amount should be allotted for expenditure on the departments controlled by the Governor-General, and should be free to spend up to that limit notwithstanding an adverse vote of the Assembly.
- (5) When the Governor-General certifies that an emergency has arisen which requires additional expenditure for the safety of the country, he shall have authority to incur such expenditure, but he shall apprise the Legislative Assembly of such expenditure at its next sitting.
- (6) Indians should be trained for and freely admitted to all arms of defence and such financial provision shall be made for their training as the Legislative Assembly may decide.
- (7) The principle and conditions of recruitment for all All-India Services shall be laid down by, and the control over such services shall vest in, the Government of India; the actual recruitment being made by an independent statutory body like the Civil Service Commission.
- (8) All subjects not specifically vested in provincial Governments should be under the control of the Central Government.
- (9) The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished, and his position should, as far as possible, be made analogous to that of the Secretary of State for the Dominions.
- (10) The strength of all legislative bodies should be increased, the franchise widened and lowered and adequate provision made for the representation by election of the backward, depressed and labouring classes.
- (11) Alike in respect of franchise and of eligibility for membership of legislative

and local bodies as well as for the public services, women should be placed on an equality with men.

(d) The National Liberal Federation of India urges that His Majesty's Government should make an early announcement of the appointment of a Commission to report on the aforesaid proposals and that Indian public opinion should be adequately represented thereon.

Moving the resolution Mr. Chintamani said that he spoke several times during the last two years upon the subject of the resolution and although there had been developments in recent months he found it no easy task to place before them any new matter in a speech upon the subject. In the first clause of the resolution the Federation expressed their decisive disapproval of the Majority Report of the Indian Reforms Enquiry Committee and their equally emphatic approval of the Minority Report. Since the publication of those reports there had been so much discussion on it that he believed every one was at least moderately acquainted with the course of affairs and was familiar with the principal recommendations made by the majority and the minority.

Proceeding Mr. Chintamani said: "We are told by our Swarajist friends and by those who agree with them, "it is all right to say you want all these things, but what is the sanction behind them. How are you going to enforce your demands?" My reply is the sanction of the nation of India—the sanction of right. How are you going to enforce your demands—by Spinning wheel? By continuous, uniform and consistent obstruction? Where is it? (A voice—Nowhere). We do not find obstruction anywhere. Where is indiscriminate obstruction? In the Madras Legislative Council, in the U. P., in the Punjab, in Bengal, in Bombay and in the Central Provinces? They have become dummies in Bombay. In the Legislative Assembly let the Steel Protection Act and the reference of Contempt of Court Bill to the Select Committee answer that. Let the Hon. Mr. Patel answer. Let the Skeen Committee answer. There is no indiscriminate, consistent or continuous obstruction anywhere. As regards consistency the leader of the Swaraj Party has told us that it is an asinine virtue. We have heard that by means of non-violent non-co-operation we shall get Swaraj, but the 31st of December 1921 has been left four years behind. Non-violence had degenerated into violence, Non-co-operation has become a hypocritical god for a species of co-operators. Are these the sanctions by which you will get Swaraj? Every species of political extremism that has got for its net result merely a repressive campaign and a new series of repressive laws resulting in the curtailment of liberties which we enjoy. Therefore the pursuit of constitutional agitation is the only method by which we can reach our goal. If any one tells me that it is a bankrupt method I should like to be a bankrupt of that description. If any one tells me that constitutional agitation will succeed no more in the future than it had been in the past I will say boldly and with the force and conviction that I shall be happy and content if in the future constitutional agitation India shall attain the same measure of success as in the past."

Concluding Mr. Chintamani said: "If constitutional agitation fails it is because of the misleading prescriptions which Swarajists, non-co-operators and others like them placed before the people. It is because they misled the people and weakened the strength of the constitutional party. If in the

future we can devote ourselves to the pursuit of organised constitutional agitation with strength, force and convictions as we have done in the past,— if we are not unworthy successors of Dadabhoj Naoraji, Surendranath Banerjea and Gokhale. I say the present Liberal party strengthened, better organised, more active and doing more work from day to day will succeed in future in a richer measure than constitutional parties had succeeded in the past.

Mr. S. M. CHITNAVIS said that the present constitution had been worked honestly and in a reasonable spirit. It had been disclosed that it could not be worked satisfactorily, that it did not give them the responsibility to a legislature, it did not allow them to develop a party system or an unitary system of Government. In his personal contact with larger classes of people in his Province, he would say without hesitation that there was deep dissatisfaction over the present constitution and the only remedy for the Government was to take a bold and courageous step by giving full responsibility in the Provinces and introducing an element of responsibility in the Central Government and for this purpose they should get the present constitution examined by a Royal Commission.

Mr. Bopin Chandra PAL said they had been told that they must destroy before they could construct. Those who talked like that were in the mechanical plane of thinking. They did not understand that Society was not a house which must be pulled down in order to be rebuilt. Society was an organism and every medical man would tell them that he would never try to kill his patient first and then to improve his health. Similarly in the case of Civil Society they must preserve it to build up their Swaraj Government. If they went in for violence what would be the result? If it succeeded it would not give them Swaraj but a military dictatorship and their sons and grand-sons would have to shed their blood to get rid of the new shackles which would come from the revolt or revolution. And if it failed, the chances were that it would fail—there would be more rigorous repression which would demoralise the people. They were told that people had become courageous and that the prison had lost its terror. But if the prison was like the house of a father-in-law it was no wonder that it would create no terror in the hearts of the people and he maintained that the political prisoners were not treated with same rigor now as they used to be done before.

While deploring the death of Mr. C. R. Das, Mr. Pal said that Mr. Das had not acted like a wise statesman in declining the offer made by the Governor to form a Ministry in Bengal. If he had formed a Ministry and then resigned office after serving for a certain period for the difficulties and limitations in the post of a Minister he would have made a good case in his favour. They must work the constitution, otherwise they would suffer in the judgment by default. They could not overlook this fact that they could never get Swaraj except by two means, namely sword and constitutional methods. Dismissing the question of sword from consideration he would assert that the Congress had committed itself to the latter course.

What was the cause of the Swarajist's success? It was the universal and seething discontent in the country. The Government should take a note of that fact. If the discontent grew the inevitable result would be social convulsion. There was a time when they fostered discontent. It was divine up to a certain point but when beyond the limit it became diabolical. This discontent must

bo fought by Government in their own interests. Something must be done to revive the people's faith in ordered progress. If the Government would co-operate with them in removing this discontent time would not be far when it would be possible for them to co-operate with the Government honorably and effectively for the future of India's freedom and the continuance of India's connection with the Empire.

The motion was put to vote and carried.

2.—The Bengal Regulations.

Mr. Charuchandra BISWAS moved the following resolution:

- (a) The Federation protests against the continued detention of many persons in Bengal under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1925, and urges in the interests of justice that this should either be set free or tried under the ordinary criminal law.
- (b) The Federation is further of opinion that the said Act should be repealed.
- (c) The Federation urges once more that the Regulations of 1818, 1819 and 1827 which empower the Government to deport any persons for reasons of state should also be repealed.

Mr. BISWAS said that it was not for the first time that the Liberal party had recorded their protest against the repressive laws which still disgraced the Statute Book. Thousands of youngmen had been deported without trial and there had not been the slightest intention of Government to bring them for trial even now. A charge had been brought against the members of Liberal Party that they had entered into an unholy contact with the Government to support them in all measures that were required for the maintenance of law and order. Mr. Biswas said that that was a foul calumny which was indulged in by their enemies for the purpose of winning away votes from the Liberal candidates. They were often reminded that the spirit of anarchism was still abroad but he did not know if there was any one present in this hall who believed that there was anarchism still rampant in the country. He lost his father at the hands of anarchists, but whatever his personal feelings might be, his whole heart and soul raised a protest against the idea that people could be caught hold of, sent away, and detained without trial. In this matter all parties in Bengal and in other provinces were united. The Viceroy and the Secretary of State had declared that the people in India had not extended that measure of co-operation. But the fault was not theirs. If the Government persisted in adopting measures of this kind against the unanimous wishes of the people they could not fairly accept that amount of co-operation which they might otherwise have extended to them.

Mr. R. A. JAIVANT seconded the proposal. He said that the Government of Bengal for whose benefit this ordinance had been enacted had been in communication with the Government of India for a long time, but immediately before the promulgation of the Ordinance the Legislative Assembly was sitting but the Government of India did not think it right to take the Assembly into confidence. Speaking of the men detained without trial the speaker said that they must take it for granted that they were innocent men and hoped that they should be released as soon as possible.

Principal J. R. BANNERJEE supported the motion. He said that freedom was the birthright of every individual in a civilized country. People with one voice are said to have proclaimed that the men detained without trial should be set at liberty. If they were not going to be released they should be tried in open court so that the fair name of Britain might not be impaired. Was it British justice associated with the name of Britain, the home of

freedom, that people should be deported under the Ordinance, detained without trial? (shame).

3.—COTTON EXCISE DUTY.

The following resolution which was put from the chair was carried.

The Federation gratefully welcomes the suspension of the collection of the excise duty on Indian cotton goods and the assurance of His Excellency the Governor-General that proposals will be laid before the legislature to repeal the duty from the next financial year.

4.—SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE.

Rao Bahadur S. N. BRAHMO of Central Provinces moved the following resolution.

The Federation strongly urges the immediate and complete separation of judicial from executive functions, the recruitment of the judiciary from the bar, and prompt action on the report of the Civil Justice Committee so as to expedite the disposal of suits.

He said that the separation of judicial from executive functions must be now carried out without further delay because the demand had been at least 35 years old. He hoped that the Swarajists would give their assent to this proposal.

Mr. R. K. DAS, seconded the motion. He said that in a resolution like this there ought to be unanimity of opinion of all parties. The matter was so obvious and so fair that one would get it by mere asking.

Mr. Kelkar of Nagpur supported the motion which was carried.

5.—BACKWARD CLASSES.

Dr. R. P. PARANJPEY moved the following resolution :

(a) The Federation re-affirms its deep sympathy for the so-called depressed classes, re-iterates its abhorrence of the ungodly and unsocial sentiments that any section of humanity is untouchable and calls upon the Hindu community to exert to the utmost of their power to undo this grievous and impious wrong against those so treated and to take all possible steps to ameliorate their condition socially, economically and educationally.

(b) The Federation is in full sympathy with all legitimate efforts of all backward classes to improve their condition—educational, social and economic—and urges that the Government as well as relatively advanced classes should give them full support in their endeavours.

(c) The Federation is of opinion that whenever communal facilities are granted either in the matter of representation or in service or in educational institutions the backward classes should be allowed to participate in such facilities.

Dr. Paranjpey said that during recent years the question of untouchability had been usually considered in all political conferences. The Liberals were gradually keen on the question and they had considered it always as an integral part of their movement for freedom. If liberalism meant anything at all it was the full enjoyment of opportunity given to every person in the land irrespective of caste, colour, or creed. The disabilities imposed on the depressed classes should be removed simultaneously and agitation should be carried on as vehemently as possible as their agitation for political enfranchisement.

Mr. C. C. Banerjee and Mr. Dwijendra Nath Bhattacharyya supported the motion which was carried. The Conference then adjourned till next day.

3RD DAY—30TH DECEMBER 1925.

The Liberal Federation concluded its sitting on Wednesday the 30th Dec. after an interesting discussion on the plight of Indian emigrants in South

Africa and Kenya. The speech Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru created an impression in the Federation. The military policy of Government was severely criticised and there was a dramatic surprise when a porter of the Howrah Station appeared at the meeting and spoke of the hardship caused to the station porters by a Cooly contractor. Immediately after, the resolution demanding better conditions of labour was moved by Mr. Joshi and seconded by Mr. K. C. Roy Chaudhury, Labour Member, Bengal Council.

The President on arrival was given an ovation. The proceedings commenced with the singing of National songs.

6.—FINANCIAL POSITION OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT.

Sir Chimanlal SITALVAD moved the following resolution :

The National Liberal Federation has noted with grave concern the financial embarrassment of Provincial Governments which have severely handicapped ministers and Legislatures in developing beneficial services and contributed to the unsatisfactory working of the Reforms in the provinces, and urges the Government of India to abolish the system of provincial contributions, and to set up a Committee to reconsider the division of sources of revenue and taxation between the Central and Provincial Governments, so as to leave to every one of the latter, adequate sources of revenue for the efficient discharge of their responsibilities.

7.—INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND KENYA.

Sir Tej Bahadur SAPRU moved the following resolution :

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its indignant protest against the anti-asiatic Bill now before the Union Parliament, which is the most offensive and oppressive of the Union Government measures against the loyal and inoffensive Indians settled in that Dominion and which, if passed into law, will make conditions still more intolerable for them, and strongly urges that, if the Union Government should finally reject the proposals of a Round Table Conference, the Government of India should move His Majesty's Government to advise the Crown to disallow the Act under section 65 of the South Africa Act, 1909, and further, should not hesitate to take whatever retaliatory action may be feasible to mark the deep resentment of the people of India.

(b) The Federation reiterates its strong protest against the anti-Indian policy of His Majesty's Government in Kenya, and urges that the Government of India should not acquiesce directly or indirectly, in the policy of the segregation of races in separate areas in that territory.

Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu and Mr. R. K. Mitter supported the resolution which was carried.

8.—MILITARY POLICY, EDUCATION AND EXPENDITURE.

Dr. R. P. PARANJPYE moved the following resolution :

(a) The Federation is deeply disappointed at the Secretary of State's decision to adhere to the so-called scheme of Indianisation of eight units of the Army, which is grossly inadequate as well as unsound, and has noticed with gratification that the opinion of Indian military officers expressed before the Committee of Military Training accords with Indian opinion generally on this matter.

(b) The Federation expresses the hope that the Committee on Military Training will recommend adequate measures for the provision of facilities in India for the training of Indians in all arms of defence and for all ranks.

(c) Indians should be eligible for employment in all branches and ranks of the defensive organization of the country.

(d) The recommendations for the Committee on Non-Regular Forces should be promptly carried into effect, adequate financial provision being made therefore in the Budget for 1926-27.

(e) The strength of the Indian Army should be determined with reference to India's requirements and not upon consideration of the needs of Britain's Empire in Asia, and any excess of troops stationed in India for the latter purpose should be paid for by Britain.

(f) Military expenditure should without delay be brought down to Rs. 50 crores as recommended by the Indicape Committee, and as the Federation believes that even at that figure it will be excessive and beyond India's capacity, it urges that an early examination should be made of the possibilities of a further substantial reduction.

Dr. Paranjpey in moving the resolution said that the people who took an interest in the general public questions in the country were at a peculiar disadvantage in speaking on military matters. The intelligentsia of the country had been kept away entirely from all contact with such holy matters as army, navy and defence. It was true that the ordinary ranks of the Indian army were recruited from among Indians, but these were people who were generally uneducated and who were unable by their own education and upbringing to give a lead on matters of the general policy.

When they made demands for political advancement they were always told that India was unfit for any such advancement because Self-Government in India would not be worth a month's purchase as India was unable to defend herself without the aid of the British. On the other hand under the present constitution they were unable to take the necessary steps to enable them to defend themselves. They were thus on the horns of a dilemma which must be got rid of.

Mr. Sachindra Nath MUKERJEE of Calcutta supported the resolution. He described the military policy of the Government as a colossal wrong done to the people whereby they had been made weak, helpless and emasculated. The right to bear arms for purposes of defending their hearths and homes and protecting the honour of their mothers and sisters had been denied. He concluded with an eloquent plea for throwing open military careers for all ranks to the young men, so that they might rise to the full development of their manhood and herald the advent of Swaraj.

The resolution was carried.

OTHER RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolutions which were moved from the Chair were carried:

This Federation is of opinion that Liberal Organisations, provincial and district, should, wherever possible, do social work for the improvement and uplift of the people in rural areas; and the Federation urges all Liberal party associations and leagues to apply themselves to such work.

The National Liberal Federation impresses upon the Government the necessity of providing adequate medical aid to the rural population by establishing more hospitals and dispensaries in villages.

The National Liberal Federation recommends that the relation between the tenants and landlords in various provinces should be improved so as to give free scope to the advancement of the masses of the country who are dependent upon agriculture.

The Liberal Federation places on record its opinion that the condition of labour in India, including wages, housing, care of health, education, provision against sick, unemployment and old age and general welfare of labour should receive the sympathetic attention of the Central and Provincial Governments.

The Federation also recommends to all Liberal Associations in the country to help the working classes to organise themselves into unions for the protection of their interests.

AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRIES.

Moving a resolution impressing upon the Government and the people the importance of improvement of methods of agriculture and establishment of educational institutions for imparting vocational education, Rai Bahadur Dr. Haridhona DUIT said that the latest pronouncement of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy foreshadowed strenuous activities on the side of agriculture. The appointment of the present Viceroy-designate confirmed

the great desire on the part of the authorities to take up the matters in real earnest. It was probable that with the advent of the Viceroy-designate a large influx of foreign experts would be employed to improve the condition of their agriculture. In his opinion, however, the attempt to improve the staple agricultural industries of India by super-imposed foreign experts disregarding the accumulated knowledge of over thousands of years was a vain attempt.

Thakur Hanuman Singh of Lucknow and Mr. M. D. Altekar of Bombay also supported the resolution which was passed.

COMPULSORY ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

Mr. S. N. Mallick moved the following resolution :

(a) The Federation urges upon provincial governments the urgency of measures for the introduction of universal compulsory elementary education among both boys and girls of all classes and communities, and is of opinion that special encouragement shall be given to spread it among women and the depressed and other backward classes.

Moving the resolution Mr. MALLICK said that while it was certain that there was no panacea for all the evils which human society was subject to there was undoubtedly a great remedy for most of them and that was education. This was a very important question for the public men of the country to discuss but unfortunately their best men only bothered about politics as if with the exception of constitutional matter everything else was milk and honey.

Proceeding he said that the resolution urged upon the Government to introduce free compulsory education. But in Bengal Government had done very little in this direction. Let them urge the Government as much as they liked but what was really necessary was that the people themselves, the municipalities and the local boards should be asked to do their duty in this respect.

The resolution was carried.

CONSTITUTION OF THE FEDERATION.

The Constitution of the Federation as determined by resolutions passed at its second, third, sixth, and seventh sessions, is hereby amended as follows :—

- (1) Among the aims of the Federation shall be included "the promotion of inter-communal unity."
- (2) The Punjab National Liberal League shall be included among the component parts of the National Liberal Federation of India.
- (3) For "two General Secretaries" should be substituted the words "one or more General Secretaries."
- (4) Every Reception Committee shall make over to the General Secretary (or secretaries) a sum equivalent to 250 pounds sterling for financing work in England, and shall be at liberty to decide what fee must be paid by Delegates.

It was resolved that Sir Morepant Joshi be elected President of the Liberal Federation for 1926 and that Mr. C. Y. Chintamani be elected General Secretary. A strong Committee was formed consisting of a large number of office-bearers in all provinces.

Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra proposed a vote of thanks to the President. The Federation then came to an end.

The Non-Brahmin Congress

AMRAOTI—27TH DECEMBER 1925.

Presidential Address

The second All-India Non-Brahmin Congress met] on the 27th. Dec at Amroati, the Raja of Panagal presiding.

The President began his address by referring to the loss sustained by the Congress by the deaths of Sir P. T. Chetty and Dewan Bahadur Vijjaraghavalu Mudaliyar. In the course of his speech the President said:—

Non-Brahmin Party's Ideals

"It is too late in the day for me" he continued, "to defend what has been termed the Non-Brahmin movement; so small at its inception was it, that it was derided and contemptuously looked down upon, but to-day when it has become an All-India movement, when its activities have spread from Bombay to Madras, from the Vindhya mountains to Cape Comorin, its very extent and the lightning rapidity with which its principles have pervaded the country, will be the best justification of the movement. The future that our great leader predicted for us in his Presidential Address at Hubli in 1920 is come; the time when the movement of love for all and of hatred for none, the movement which seeks to afford equal opportunities for all, which makes everyone whatever his class or community or creed may be, feel that he is a common citizen of the land enjoying equal rights and liberties and exercising such privileges—the time when such a movement of all consuming love shall spread through the whole country carrying its message of hope and peace has arrived at last. The country is eagerly and longingly waiting for the lead which will bring it back to sane and practical politics. This therefore is the opportunity for us to expound our principles to give expression to the faith in us, to place our ideal before the country.

"We have realised from the very start that our true and ultimate masters are the masses, that in the village lives the nation and that democratic self-Government will be a hollow mockery if the ryot in the village is not given his proper share in the working of it. Look at the position of the masses ten years back and compare that with their position to-day. Their material position has been considerably advanced. Their ignorance is gradually being dispelled. During the last five years in Madras elementary education has increased by leaps and bounds and in nearly twenty out of eighty municipalities has free and compulsory education been introduced. In the rural areas likewise have so many elementary schools been started that before the end of next year it is expected that there will not be a single village with a total population of over five hundred which will not have its own village school. Side by side with the expansion of elementary education has secondary and higher education been developed and I need only refer to the large number of secondary schools that have been established and to the two University Bills that have been passed by the Madras Legislative Council. Nor have the physical needs of the rural population been ignored. Medical institutions in the country

have developed rapidly sometimes with the aid of Government and sometimes under direct Government management. A new system of rural medical relief has been started by which relief is carried to the interior of the district and dispensaries are opened in remote parts, the medical officer being an honorary worker receiving a small bonus from Government. Medical schools have been increased and another Medical College has been opened whereby more medical practitioners will be available for giving relief to suffering humanity.

"What is far more important is the organisation of an efficient sanitary staff, a corps of District Health Officers who will patrol the district and detect the faintest signs of coming epidemics and take the earliest opportunity to root them out, has been undertaken and the staff is functioning all over the Presidency. A College of Indigenous Medical systems has been established and training is given to young men to become proficient in these systems. Again facilities are being given for the opening of Ayurvedic dispensaries and it is hoped that all that is best and valuable in our indigenous systems of medicine will be conserved for the benefit of future generations.

"The problems of the village are the real problems of the nation. It is undeniable that after so many decades of self-government the question of village communications and water-supply for drinking purposes has not been completely solved.

"There is also under consideration a scheme of local self-government in which the village will play an important part and by which the ancient systems of village self-government will be attempted to be restored. It has been realised that to make local self-government a complete success one must build from the village upwards and not start from the top. Village panchayats will be formed and they will be given large powers of managing the internal affairs supervising the village schools, attending to sanitation, village communication and medical relief looking after the other public activities connected with the village. Every village with a minimum population will be brought under the panchayat scheme. Over village panchayats will be a District panchayat composed of members, some of whom will be elected by the village panchayats and some directly. The purpose for which the District panchayat is organized will be to correlate the work of the village panchayats, to help secondary education, to control trunk roads and other roads which are not purely village roads and to organize medical relief in the district and in general to do everything needed for the physical and material prosperity of the citizens of the district. By this means it is hoped that the village ryot will be brought into a more real touch with the problems of administration."

The Rajah of Panagal proceeded to observe that there were reforms which might not strike the imagination of some. To those, however, who complained that their programme was not militant enough the Rajah would reply that they should read the history of political parties during the last ten years—of "that strong militant organisation, the Home Rule League," of the Congress, "once the pioneer political organization of the country," of the Swaraj Party with "its perfect organization" and "its series of broken promises and pledges." The Swarajists had killed dyarchy in two provinces only to let "an undiluted bureaucracy" to reign in its place and had progressively diluted their programme to a mockery of obstruction. The Rajah continued:

"Our Policy."

"I have dilated on the activities of some of the different groups of political parties in the country with the idea of contrasting such activities with those of our own party. Our programme has been before the country during the last ten years. The principles for which we stand, of orderly

progress, of an evolutionary growth towards self-government, of taking the masses with us in all our endeavours to get greater privileges, of affording equal opportunities to all and of doing injustice to none, these have stood the test of time and are getting more and more adherence as the day go by. We need not be ashamed of our caste; our principles have been put to the acid test and have proved true metal. Turning over the pages of the history of this country during the last ten years, we can well say; Here and here our faith was tried and in its trial it was vindicated by the event. We do not live in the mere past; we find in it inspiration for the present and have boundless and confident hope for the future. And when we invite the confidence of the electorate we do not come empty handed with exaggerated promises for the future and with no accomplishment in the past. Our best recommendation lies in our own record and we bring with it the unimpeachable reference of our own achievements. We have won a place under the sun for each distinct community however backward and uneducated and ignorant it might once have been. We are trying to broadbase our institutions upon the people's will. We are trying to emancipate the labouring and the depressed classes. We have laid the foundations of a democratic system of finance. We have opened up the road to a better social order and we are trying to moralise the whole conception of Indian society and are endeavouring to establish better relations between the different communities. Our whole political tenet has been not to substitute one set of oligarchy for another, not to converse power in the hands of the few but to broadbase the government on a people's will, and while we are as keen as anyone else, perhaps really a little more keen than others, that our country should have full self-government, we realise that self-government can only mean Government by the people themselves.

Proceeding to speak of the achievements of his party, the President referred to the passage of the Hindu Religious Endowments Bill.

The Reforms Question.

The President then put forth a plea for further reforms. Referring to his memorandum on the subject to the Government of India, he said:

"I have stated in that memorandum the province of Madras, which, notwithstanding the inherent defects of the Act of 1919 has worked the Reforms fairly satisfactorily, must have responsibility conceded in respect of all subjects even as a reward for its good sense and loyalty. A concession of the kind to Madras will, I am sure, prove to be an inducement to the people of other provinces to improve their attitude towards the British Empire. There can be no doubt that the people of the province who under very trying circumstances were able to keep their head cool and work the Reforms as smoothly as they could, can be trusted to get on well with all provincial subjects transferred."

"In this connection," he continued, "may I be permitted to express the thanks of the Madras Ministry to the Earl of Birkenhead for the generous terms in which he has been pleased to refer to their work. But I must confess to a feeling of disappointment and regret that the speech of the Secretary of State has not given much hope of an advance in the direction suggested. It is no desire of mine to create an unhealthy rivalry between province and province, but when the objection is stated that conditions have not been satisfactory for the grant of a further instalment of reforms, one is constrained to point out that such is not the fact at least in some of the provinces. I feel satisfied that the time has come if it is not overdue when provincial autonomy ought to be granted in provinces like Madras. I shall not refer to the position of affairs in the Central Government, because conditions are more complicated there. But I believe that there is general consensus of opinion even among the most cautious of Indian statesmen

that there ought to be a certain amount of responsibility introduced into that legislature."

The President proceeded to what the Non-Brahmin Party had done to the Depressed classes and appealed for mutual confidence between the party and the Non-Brahmins.

"The question, therefore, of further constitutional Reforms is, indeed, the question of the hour, and Indian opinion is unanimous that the British Government should take steps towards this end. We, as a party, are anxious to promote cordial relations between Great Britain and India. And I have no hesitation in stating that a further constitutional advance for India is as much in the interests of India as it is of the British Empire. I feel sure that Britain itself realises how much it will ensure the stability of the Empire and promote that feeling of fellowship which ought to exist between the component parts of a great Empire.

"Signs are not wanting to show already how a section of the Indian people are viewing this problem. The question is asked, what shall be India's response, if, after all this appeal, the British Government turns a deaf ear? Will the country go back to civil disobedience, to that policy of passive resistance which was so vehemently preached till recently, as the only method of gaining political concessions? Even the most reckless of politicians will realise that, apart from the disasters with which such a policy is attended, it is an absolutely futile and impracticable course to pursue, specially in view of the Himalayan failure of such a policy on the last occasion when it was adopted. Will it take to obstructive tactics and preach the doctrine of bringing the Government to a standstill? I cannot conceive of any serious individual taking to such a course, after the travesty that obstruction has proved as a political weapon. What then? The only alternative seems to be meek submission or an appeal to the British nation and to the League of Nations, through the British manufacturers, by boycotting the British goods. Judging from the state of mind of the people, the former seems to be out of question, and I am sure that British statesmanship, which has been able to solve many a delicate international problem will rise equal to the occasion.

The South African Indian Problem

"Next to the Reforms, the question that is engaging the attention of the people is, undoubtedly the position of Indians in the colonies, in general, and in South Africa, in particular. The deputation that has been sent out to South Africa, by the Government of India, and the Indian Deputation from South Africa, which is in our midst, are but reminders of the gravity of the situation. The position of our countrymen in that country is indeed most unfortunate, and it is sad to contemplate that, inspite of all the appeals that have been sent up by the Government and the people of India, inspite of numerous pacts and promises, the question has become more acute than ever. Dr. Malan's Class Areas Bill is a piece of legislation, which I feel sure that none beyond the small (European) community in South Africa can justify. The most cautious of Indians feels that the situation is fast getting beyond control, and those who have watched the attempts that are being made to promote and build up a Pan-Asiatic Movement, realise how such acts afford valuable material for political incendiaries, and what a disservice is done to the cause of a united and harmonious Empire. May we not hope that the most strenuous efforts will be made to avert such undesirable results, as much in the interests of the Empire, as in the interests of justice and fairplay towards the Indian settlers?

"While expressing this view, may I not turn to my Indian brethren, and tell them that, so long as there is bigotry and intolerance in our land so long as one-sixth of our own race are condemned to live a miserable life,

not merely of poverty and ignorance which is universal, but of social dégradation which is peculiar to India, so long as the frame of mind and that mental attitude which was exhibited at Kalpathi is either connived at or even tolerated, so long shall we lose much of that moral justification which is, and must always be, behind our condemnation of the South African Whites?

"Our conscience will tell us that the impartial outsider, who smiles with incredulity at the virtuous indignation which we feel at the treatment meted out to Indians overseas, is not absolutely unjust and unfair. Let us strengthen our demand for the redress of our grievances in South Africa, by insisting on our countrymen changing their attitude of mind towards the Depressed Classes."

The President went on to observe that the British connection with India was providential. "I feel certain also," he said, "that under no other empire could we have developed so well, and so rapidly as under the British empire. It therefore we desire changes in the form of government, if our hopes are centred on a day when we shall have a large share in the administration of our country—believe me, it is in no way because we are unmindful for the benefits we have so far received through the British connection. It is rather a logical fulfilment of the training that we have received a natural climax to the lessons that we have learnt from western political science".

Proceedings and Resolutions.

2ND DAY—28TH DECEMBER 1925

At the second day's sitting of the All-India non-Brahmin Congress on Monday the 28th Dec. a resolution expressing deep sorrow at the demise of Her Majesty Queen Alexandra and conveying the respectful condolence of the Congress to His Majesty the King Emperor and Members of the Royal family, was passed first.

The next resolution expressed profound sorrow at the demise of Sir P. Theyyagaraya Chetty, leader of the Non-Brahmin movement, and exhorted the Non-Brahmins in all provinces to commemorate his invaluable services, and, to keep his memory ever green by observing the 28th April, every year, as the Theyyagaraya Memorial Day.

The third resolution expressed deep regret at the death of the late Maharaja of Gwalior, Sir Surendranath Bannerjee and Messrs. C. R. Das, Swamikanou Pillai and others, and the next one exhorted the Non-Brahmins to commemorate the services of His Highness the late Sabu Chattrapathi of Kolhapur, by observing the 6th May, annually, as the Memorial Day.

THE REFORMS RESOLUTION.

The next resolution was the subject of several speeches, and related to Reforms. Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar of Madras moved:—

(a) "This Congress is, emphatically, of opinion that the time has come when further extension of Reforms ought to be given to all provinces, many of the provinces have already in spirit and in letter worked the new constitution and helped to promote the development of democratic self-government and as Non-Brahmins of the Central Provinces and Berar are prepared to do the same, and, while expressing its regret at the disappointing reply of the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India, urges on H. E., the Viceroy, the Secretary of State and the British Cabinet, the necessity of immediately granting full provincial autonomy to all provinces, with adequate safeguards, if necessary, so as to remove the apprehension that the British Cabinet is not genuinely interested in ensuring the speedy realisation of Self-Government in India.

(b) "This Congress exhorts Non-Brahmins, excluding Mahomedans, Christians and Parsis, of the Central Provinces and Berar to secure as many seats as possible at the coming Legislative Council elections, to form a non-Brahmin Ministry, and to co-operate in working the Reformed Constitution and promoting the growth of democracy.

(c) "This Congress is also emphatically of opinion that the Central Government may be made responsible to the electorate."

Mr. R. G. Pradhan moved an amendment to the first clause, to insert the words "with adequate safeguards if necessary."

Mr. K. V. Reddy, Mr. Patel of Bombay and others spoke on the resolution which, as amended, was carried unanimously.

S. AFRICAN ISSUE.

The next resolution extended a hearty welcome to the Indian Deputation from South Africa. The following is the text of the resolution:—

"The Congress and the non-Brahmins in the country will do everything in their power to help them in their just and moral fight for getting their legitimate rights of equal citizenship recognised by the white population in South Africa.

"The Congress desires to impress on H. E. the Viceroy, the Government of India and the British Cabinet that nothing is calculated more to impair the unity of the British Empire than the feeling of resentment which is fast growing in the country at the iniquitous treatment, which is now given and is in future intended to be given, to Indian settlers in a portion of British Empire, and urges on them the necessity of giving practical manifestation of their sympathy by taking such steps, retaliatory or otherwise, as would ensure recognition of the just rights of Indians by the South African whites."

The resolution was carried, and the sitting adjourned at about 9 p. m. till next day.

3RD DAY—29TH DECEMBER 1925

The All-India Non-Brahmin Congress concluded on the 29th after passing some more resolutions accepting the Unity resolution passed at the All-India Unity Conference at Delhi in 1924, and impressing upon Non-Brahmins, both Hindus and Muslims, the need for bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity for promotion of national development, and calling upon them to act up to the principles contained in that resolution amidst cries of Hindu-Muslim-ki-jai."

Sir K. V. Reddi moved a resolution, observing that, when real unity between the two communities was accomplished Swaraj would be in their hands.

Resolutions relating to communal representation in the Councils, removal of untouchability, etc., were also passed.

Sir K. V. Reddy, speaking on the resolution, asked the audience to remember that they contributed the bulk of the revenue, and made a stirring appeal to them to return only Non-Brahmins in the coming elections.

The Congress exhorted the Non-Brahmins all over India to support the Justice newspaper, the only Non-Brahmin organ.

President's Concluding Remarks.

In dissolving the session, the President impressed upon the audience the necessity for relentless propaganda among the Non-Brahmin masses. He characterised the Non-Brahmin movement as revolt of the masses against classes, who held monopoly over social and political concerns.

All-India Social Conference

CALCUTTA—31ST DECEMBER 1925

The All-India Social Conference was held on Thursday, the 31st December in the Albert Institute Hall, Calcutta. Srijukta Sarala Devi CHAUDHURANI presided.

The President in her address said that she felt honoured to have been asked to guide the deliberations of a Conference which owed its birth 40 years ago to the farsighted genius of Mahadeo Govind Ranade. Referring to herself she said that she had been born under a more enviable position than many of her countrymen, and that she had been served with the highest culture of the East and West in unstinted measure. She called upon her countrymen and countrywomen to rally under the flag of social reform. She invited fresh recruits of the young lovers of their race and of humanity to throw their strong arms around the sick and the weary, to cheer the faint and to lighten the burden of those whose future was black and hopeless. Unless, said Srijukta Sarala Devi Chaudhurani, their house was set in order, they could not step out, claim or bear the burden of political rights in the outside world. Continuing, she said that a selfish, narrow-minded, unlightened priesthood was hampering the nation's march for freedom at every step, and it was doomed to advance at a ridiculously crawling pace. Either the women and priests must be left to take care of themselves or they must be turned into trained allies by education of mind and made to add to the strength of the nation and the happiness of the units.

The President said again that the average woman had been kept intellectually united for ages by the average men in India. It was only when the armed ships of the West anchored in her harbours, foreign aggressors sucked India's blood away, that Indian men were conscious of their self-created handicap—its unresponsive women-folk. Female education, abolition of purdah, widow re-marriage, prohibition of early marriage, child protection, drink prohibition, removal of untouchability, taking back to the social fold repentant apostates, were made the planks of the Social Reform platform. The Indian National Congress, she said, now looked upon the Social Reform Conference as a powerful ally and has engrafted much of its programme.

Continuing the speaker said that there were countless nooks and corners where its message had not reached yet, where human hearts had not reverberated to the call of social uplift and lives were being wasted away in misery and ignorance, in subjection and tyranny, in selfishness and sordid materialism. The speaker said once more that a vast mass of humanity awaited the torch-bearers of reform to help to disentangle the tangled threads of their lives. In conclusion, the President said that she prayed that the usefulness of the Conference might not wane for the want of focussing.

Resolutions

The following resolutions were adopted unanimously:—

“This Conference notes with satisfaction the growing interest of the people in female education and urges upon all Social Reform Associations and workers to make greater efforts to accelerate its progress both on general and vocational lines.

" This Conference, while recording with satisfaction the rise in the age of marriage, emphasises the need for further raising the age both for boys and girls in view of physical degeneration and other evils resulting from early marriage.

" This Conference is strongly of opinion that the system of Purdha is prejudicial to the physical and moral development of woman and ought to be abolished.

" This Conference condemns the practice of charging dowries at marriage as well as the practice of making extravagant expenditure at social functions as involving a heavy drain on the purse and being calculated to lower the moral tone of the people.

" This Conference views with satisfaction that opposition to the remarriage of widows is growing less and less, and urges that renewed efforts should be made to ameliorate the condition of widows and remove restrictions on their re-marrriage.

" This Conference urges that the baneful restrictions of caste should be relaxed so as to promote the growth of nationality and the upbuilding of society on the foundations of justice and equality.

" This Conference records its firm conviction that the evil custom of regarding some castes as untouchable is unjust, degrading and humiliating and should be done away with. The Conference urges that measures should be instituted for improving the condition of the neglected classes of the society.

" This Conference calls upon the people to admit to society women and girls who have been innocent victims of crime and thereby save them from a life of perpetual misery and shame. In the opinion of the Conference, this measure of reform will help in effectively checking the crimes of kidnapping and abduction of girls which are rampant in the country.

" This Conference urges the necessity of giving women political franchise entitling them to become members of Legislative bodies and Municipal and other local Corporations so as to enable women to take their proper share as citizens in the national affairs of the country.

" This Conference is of opinion that the educational institutions should take up the cause of temperance and urges for the total prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic drinks and intoxicating drugs except for medical purposes.

" This Conference views with alarm the growth of the pernicious habit of gambling at races, which is bringing about discontent and distress in families and appeals to the people to make earnest efforts for its discontinuance.

" This Conference urges the establishment of rescue-homes and welcomes the enactment of legislation for the protection of children in some provinces and calls upon the other provinces to pass legislation on similar lines.

" This Conference strongly appeals to the people to make vigorous efforts securing the better administration of religious trusts and endowments in the country and in this connection it lends its support to the general principles of Mr. D. P. Khaitan's Bill introduced in the Bengal Legislative Council.

" This Conference calls upon the people to ceaselessly strive for the maintenance of cordial relations between Hindus and Mahomedans by cultivating a spirit of mutual trust and forbearance and by removing all hindrances to the growth of amity and fellow-citizenship in the country.

With a vote of thanks to the Chair the Conference terminated.
