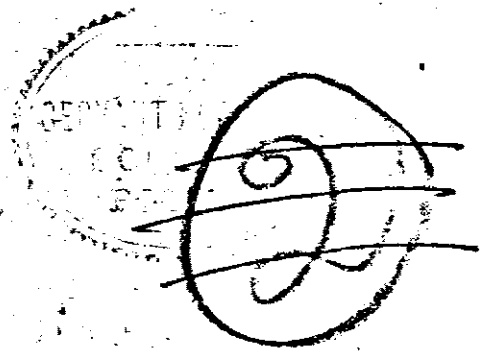


REPORT

R-324

OF THE



THIRTY-SIXTH

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

HELD AT

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38653

AHMEDABAD

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ON THE

27th and 28th December 1921

AHMEDABAD
NAJEEVAN PRESS

I have the pleasure and privilege to issue the Report of the 36th Session of the Indian National Congress, which has been recognised as the most momentous in the history of the Congress. The preparation of the Report had to be undertaken under very difficult circumstances and considerable pressure of work, due to the peculiar political atmosphere in the country and it is hoped that the generous readers will overlook the short-comings in the arrangement and the general get-up of the Report. Excepting the art-paper for the illustrations, the paper used for the Report is purely Indian. All the vernacular speeches have been printed in the 'Devnagari' character accompanied by their English renderings. The Urdu speeches have, in addition, been printed in a special Appendix in the Urdu script. My special thanks are due to the Navjivan and the Khilafat presses for the neat and timely printing.

Valabbhai. J. Patel.

Chairman Reception Committee.

36th Indian National Congress

PRESIDENT-ELECT



Deshbandhu C. R. Das

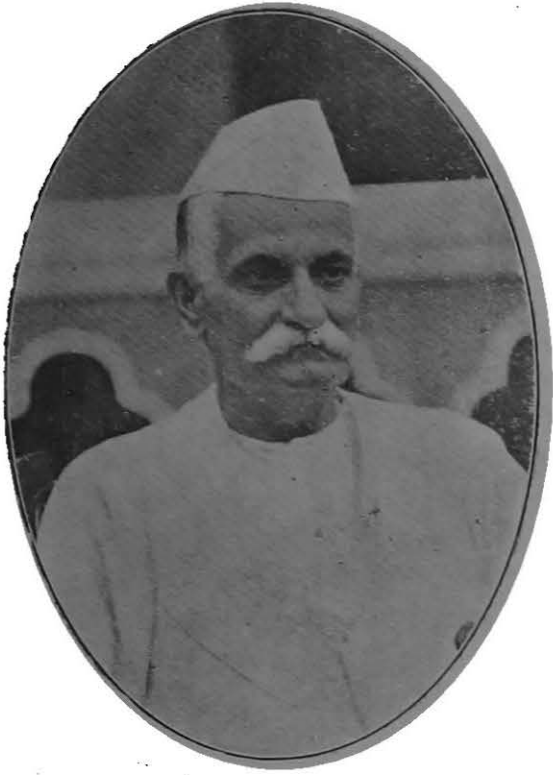
ACTING PRESIDENT



Hakim Ajmal Khan Saheb

AHMEDABAD

1921



Pandit Motilal Nehru
Congress General Secretary
(In Jail)



Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar
Congress General Secretary
(In Jail)

AHMEDABAD

1921



Dr. M. A. Ansari
Congress General Secretary



Sjt. Vallabhbhai J. Patel
Chairman, Reception Committee

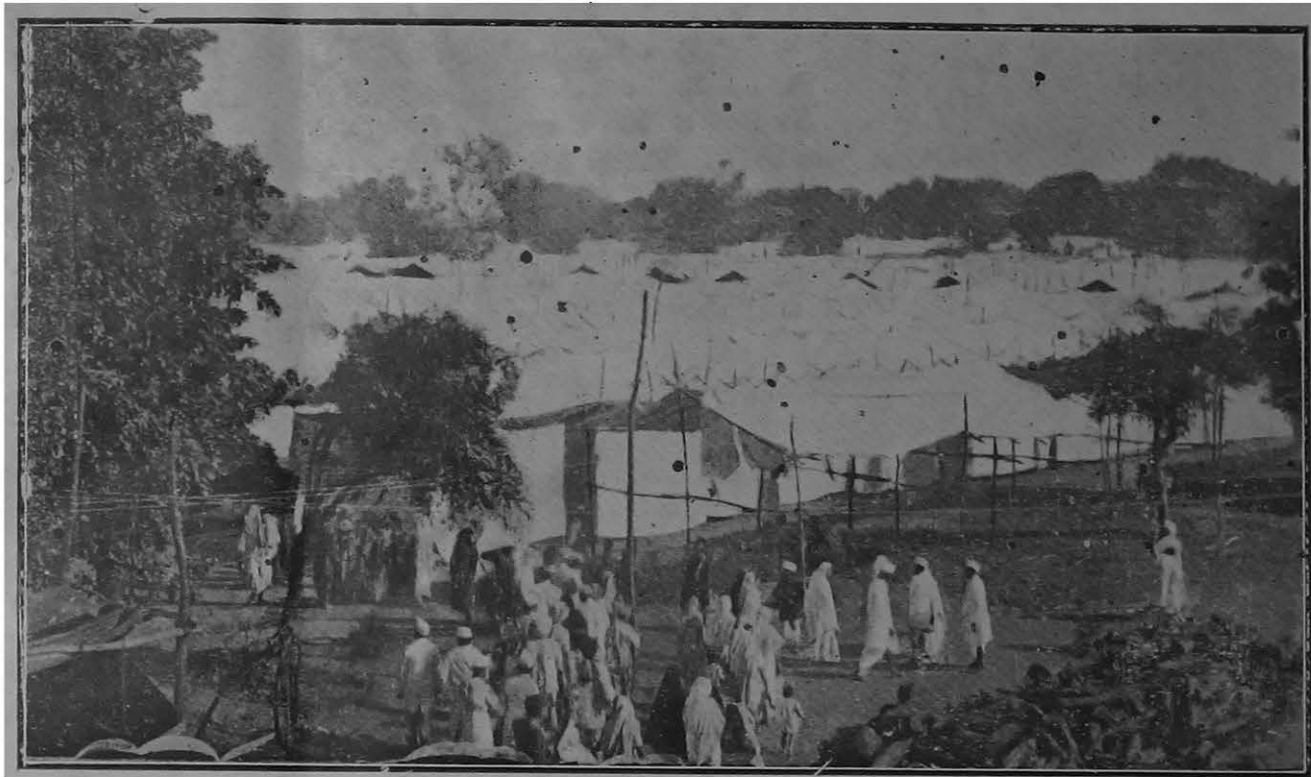
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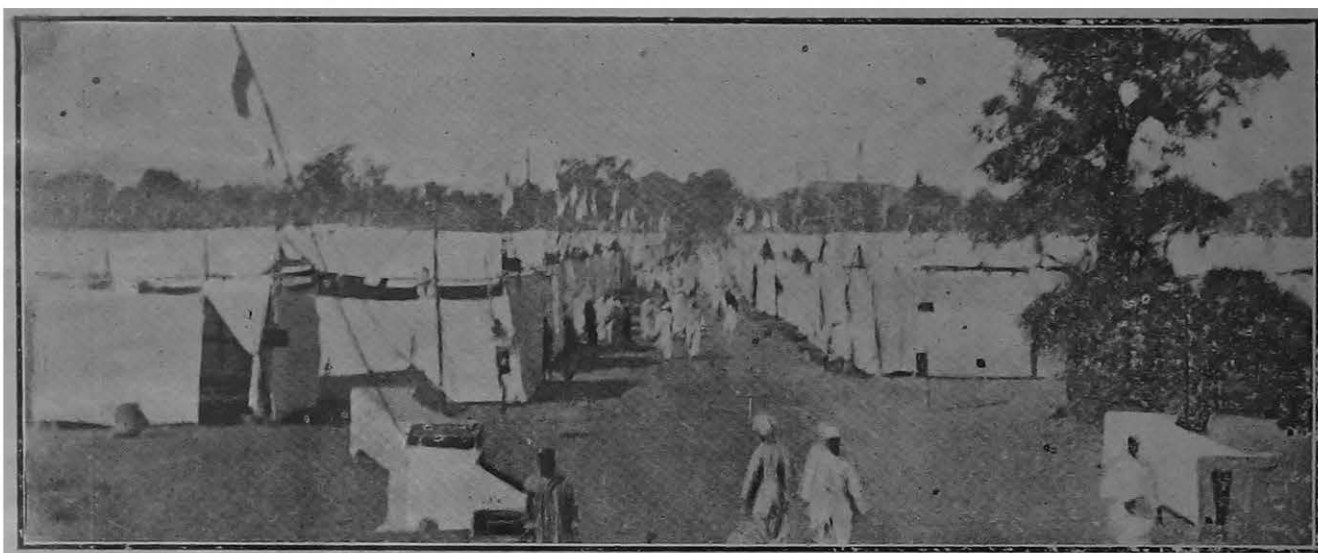
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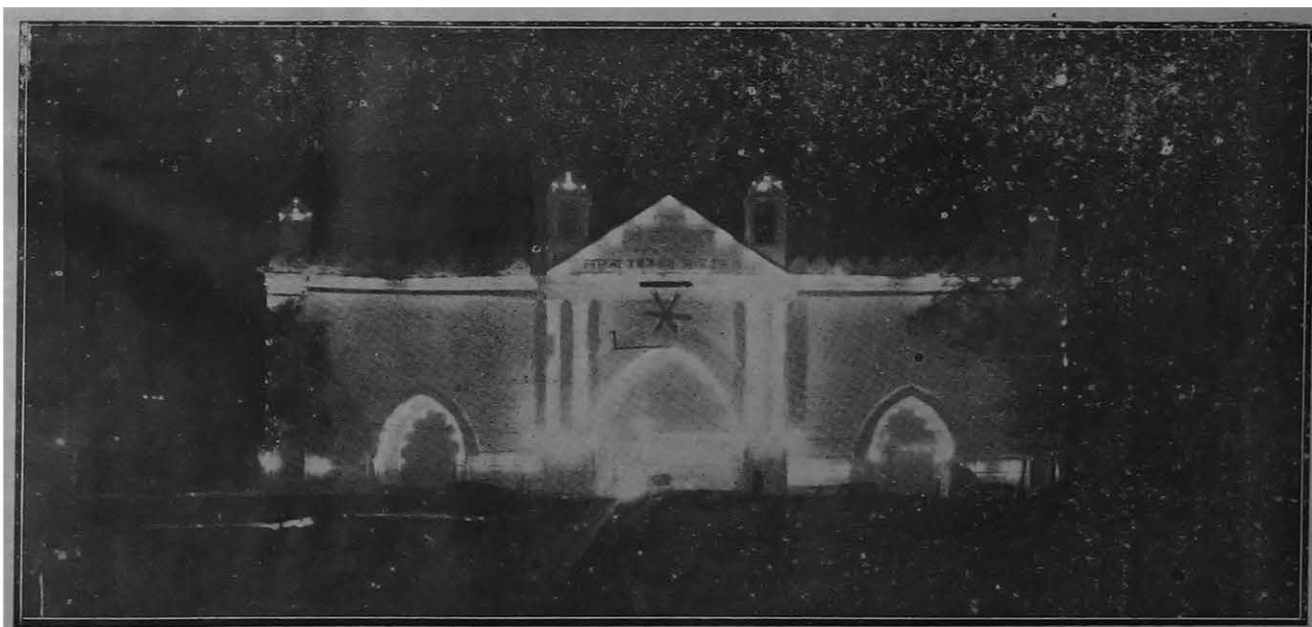
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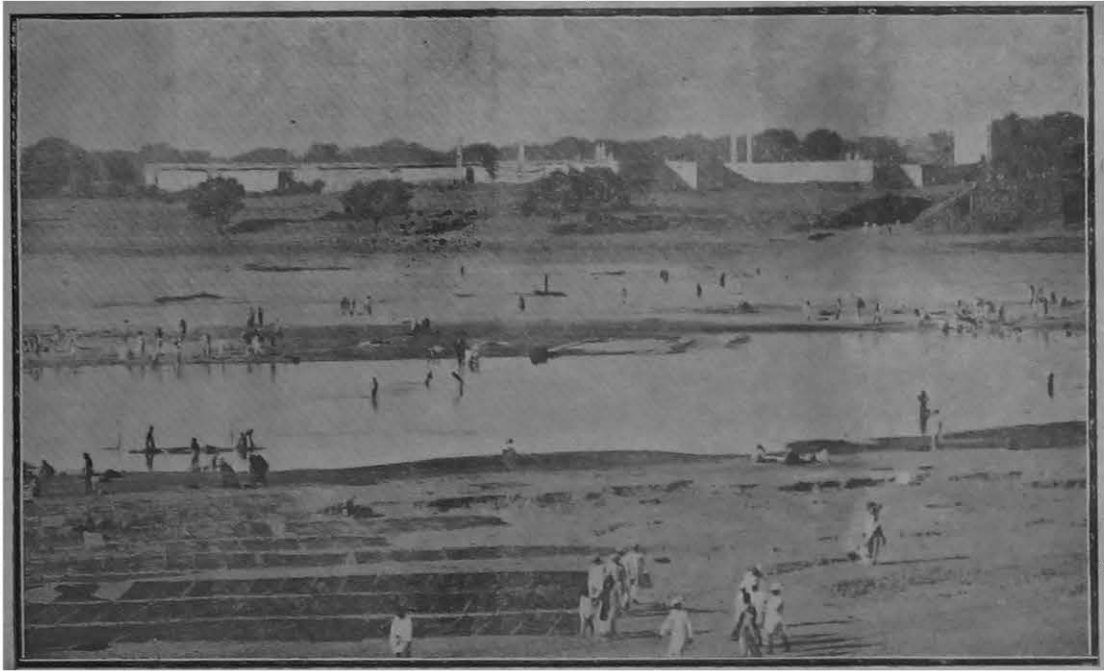
A Bird's eye-view of the Khadi Nagar



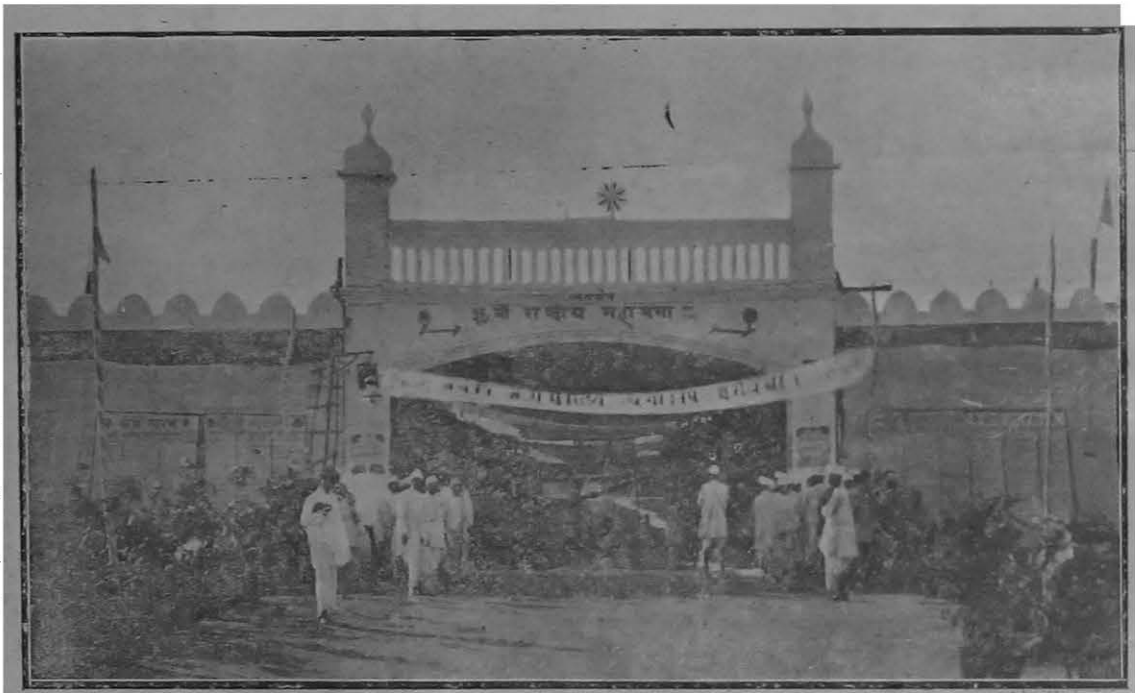
A Street in the Khadi Nagar



The Lokamanya Darwaja Illuminations
Main entrance to the Pandal Enclosure



Congress Pandal and enclosure
(From the left bank of the Sabarmati)



The Swaraj Dwar
Entrance to the Pandal



Inside the Pandal

The Indian National Congress.

The 36th Session

HELD AT AHMEDABAD, 1921..

INTRODUCTORY

General.

Ahmedabad first held the 18th Session of the National Congress in the year 1902 under the Presidentship of Mr. Surendranath Banerji. It is interesting to note that it was after 18 years again that Ahmedabad was graced by the Session of the National Congress in December 1921. Ahmedabad is next to Bombay in the Presidency and is well known not only for its textile industry but also for its past glory and historical monuments. It was also destined to be the fountain-head of new ideals and inspiration electrifying the whole country. The 36th Session of the Congress, unique in all respects, has added to the glory of this Historic City.

It was a great responsibility that Gujrat had undertaken in inviting the Congress this year. The Gujrat Provincial Congress Committee started making preparations for the Congress Session early. It was resolved by the Committee on 27-3-21 to form the Reception Committee. The first meeting of the Reception Committee was held on 3-5-21 when provisional appointments of the office-bearers were made. The final appointments were made in a meeting of the Committee on 14-8-21. In addition to the Office-bearers, an Executive Committee and various Sub-Committees were appointed to make the necessary arrangements. The Chairman, the General Secretary, and the Financial Secretary were Ex-officio members of all these Committees. The names of the Office-bearers and the various Sub-Committees with their members are given in Appendix No. 1.

The Reception Committee had decided to hold a Swadeshi Exhibition along with the Session of the Congress. A similar Exhibition was also organised when the 18th Session of the Congress was held at Ahmedabad. The Committee had also arranged for an All India Music Conference, with the object of assigning the Art of Music its proper place in the National regeneration, and a series of lectures by specialists on various subjects for the benefit of the general public.

The special features of the arrangements made by the Reception Committee were :-

Special features.

- (1) Delegates as well as visitors were accommodated in a special camp, called the Khadi Nagar, erected for the purpose. The camp was a small town in itself, with all the sanitary and other arrangements.
- (2) The Delegates' Camp, the Congress Pandal and other structures were all covered in pure handspun Khaddar.
- (3) The seating arrangement in the Pandal was of Oriental style, the whole assembly squatting on the floor covered with pure Khaddar.
- (4) The number of visitors to the Pandal as well as that of the members of the Reception Committee were each restricted to 3,000.
- (5) A special Pandal was put up just behind the Congress Pandal where distinguished Congressmen addressed large gatherings of people who could not get admission to the Congress Pandal. This kept the large crowds outside the Congress Pandal in touch with the proceedings of the Congress.

- (6) The volunteers, about 1400 in number, were accommodated in a special camp erected between the Khadi Nagar and the Congress Pandal.

Situation.

The Khadi Nagar, the Pandal, the Exhibition and the Volunteers' camp were all situated on the right bank of the Sabarwati about a furlong from the Ellis Bridge connecting the city of Ahmedabad on the left bank. The area covered by the Pandal, Khadi Nagar and other structures was about 100 acres.

The Pandal.

The Congress Pandal was erected in a spacious enclosure bearing the appearance of a castle. The area of the enclosure was about 15 acres, while the area covered by the Pandal proper was about 8000 sq.yds. The main entrance to the enclosure, named Lokmanya Darwaja, was a facsimile of the famous historical Three Gates of Ahmedabad and was a special feature of attraction. At the top of the main gate was flying the national tricolour flag. Below the flag was placed a huge Charkha, decorating the central arch of the gate. The entrance to the Pandal proper, named the Swaraj Dwar, was about 85 yards from the Lokmanya Darwaja. The path from the gate to the Pandal entrance lay through a beautifully laid out garden with an oval-shaped fountain in the middle. Outside the Swaraj Dwar were kept big boards whereon was painted the roll of honour, being a list of prominent leaders and workers then in Jail. The Pandal was oval-shaped and intended to accommodate 15,000 persons. It was draped entirely in handspun and hand-woven Khaddar and was tastefully decorated by Khaddar canopies, wreaths of flowers and Ashoka leaves, photos and paintings of prominent leaders and various other pictures. Opposite the entrance and at the other side was erected a platform providing accommodation for 4000 persons. In the centre of the platform was hung up a life-size bust-portrait of the President-elect Deshbandhu C. R. Das, while on the left side there was placed a bust of the late Lokmanya. The speakers' Rostrum was a few yards in front of the platform and was practically in the centre of the Pandal. Special accommodation for Purdah ladies was provided just near the platform on the right side. The seating accommodation was altogether of the Oriental style, the assembly sitting on the floor covered with Khaddar.

The Reception Committee Offices and the special Hall for the Subjects Committee sittings were located within the Castle Enclosure. A few refreshment stalls were also kept within.

The Khadi Nagar.

The Khadi Nagar. The Delegates' camp was named Khadi Nagar (the Khaddar City) as it was entirely covered with pure handspun Khaddar. It was located about 2 furlongs from the Pandal and occupied an area of about 60 acres. The residential quarters consisted of 117 blocks of 9 to 13 rooms each. Every room measured 16' X 12' and was intended to accommodate 4 persons. There was a special block, complete with all the necessary sanitary arrangements erected at the centre of the Khadi Nagar for the use of Mahatma Gandhi. In addition, a few blocks with separate bathing and conservancy arrangements were reserved for ladies and families. Between every two blocks, there was at the front a road 15 ft. wide and at the back, an open space 6 ft. wide; between the sides of every two blocks, ran roads of 15ft. width. In addition to these roads and open spaces there were two big cross roads 26ft. broad, dividing the Nagar in four parts. Such an arrangement had not only the advantage of providing ample passages but was a safe-guard against the spread of accidental fire.

The other constructions in the Nagar in addition to the residential quarters were:—

- (1) A spacious central kitchen and dining hall and a few Provincial kitchens and dining rooms.
- (2) Store-house.
- (3) Bath-rooms and open baths.
- (4) Privies and urinals.
- (5) Incinerator.
- (6) Hospital.

- (7) Luggage Room and Reading Room.
- (8) Water Works.
- (9) Electric Installations.

The Khadi
Nagar?

Sanitary arrangements at the Khadi Nagar.

(a) **Water Works**—There were two large wells in the Nagar grounds from which water was pumped out by steam-pumps specially put up for the purpose, into a big tank of the capacity of about 15000 gallons and then distributed by pipes to the whole Nagar. This water was not intended for drinking purposes for which special taps from the Municipal mains were provided.

(b) **Conservancy**—A special incinerator was constructed about a couple of hundred yards away from the Nagar where all the sweepings of the Nagar, including the kitchen, were burnt.

(c) **Disposal of Nightsoil**—Trench-privies only were constructed from which nightsoil was not removed but the excreta were, after every use, covered with earth. The system is based on the deoderising quality of earth. The trenches were two feet wide and 2½ feet deep. Experience has shown that this system is more sanitary and more cleanly than the system of removal. The whole credit of the successful working of the system is due to the devoted band of volunteers who had, of their own free choice, undertaken to supervise the sanitation of the privies. Occasions were not rare when the volunteers had themselves, on account of the carelessness or indifference of the users notwithstanding special instructions, to clean the spoilt foot-boards or to put clean earth on the excreta.

(d) **Drainage**—The used water from the kitchen and baths was carried away in open drains to a distance. The sullage water was allowed to be absorbed in the privy and the urinal trenches.

(e) **Lighting**—The Nagar, the Pandal as well as the Exhibition grounds were lighted by electricity supplied by special installations. Kitson lights and hurricane lanterns were also kept ready for use in case the electric installation engines failed.

(f) **Kitchen**—The Reception Committee had addressed the Provincial Committees to arrange, if they so desired, for opening their own kitchens, the Reception Committee undertaking to supply cooking utensils, the necessary kitchen accommodation and provisions at cost price. This was suggested with a view to give delegates and visitors all possible facilities and conveniences as regards their daily food as well as the cost thereof. A few of the Committees accepted the responsibility and for the rest the Reception Committee maintained a central general kitchen.

(g) **Hospital**—A hospital, with a dispensary, open day and night was maintained for medical help. Local qualified practitioners had volunteered their services for the work.

(h) **Post, Telegraph and Telephone** facilities were provided at Khadi Nagar as well as at the Pandal. There was a special Telephone service connecting the Khadi Nagar, the Exhibition, the Moslem Camp, the Khilaphat and the Congress Pandal and the general offices.

(i) **The Khadi Nagar Superintendent**—All the arrangements at the Khadi Nagar were in charge of a special Congress Officer styled the Khadi Nagar Superintendent who also looked to the comforts and conveniences of the residents of the Nagar.

The Exhibition

The Exhibition was located in a spacious bungalow with an extensive enclosure. The Exhibition consisted of four sections ;—

The Exhibi-
tion.

- (1) Demonstration Section.
- (2) Museum Section.
- (3) Sales Section.
- (4) Competition Section.

The Exhibi-
tion.

The Museum Section was accommodated in the bungalow while special stalls were erected for the other sections. There was a special Mandap for the Musical Conference.

(1) The Demonstration Section included demonstrations of the various stages leading to the manufacture of cloth from indigenous raw cotton. For this purpose experts in the various processes such as carding, spinning, weaving etc. were invited from different provinces. The Andhra party of carders, spinners and weavers was a special feature of attraction.

(2) The Museum Section consisted of two main Divisions; (a) Cloth and (b) general. In the cloth Section, only the handspun and handwoven was allowed to be exhibited. The General Section was open for manufactures other than cloth such as earthen-ware, wooden-ware, stone-ware, leather-ware, ivory and fibre works etc.

(3) In the Sales Section suitable stalls were rented out for sale of cloth and other articles manufactured in India.

(4) The Competition Section was organised to encourage the manufacture of Khaddar. All the Provincial Congress Committees were requested to depute competitors for this purpose. The section was divided into three parts, (1) carding and preparing slivers (2) spinning and (3) weaving.

The Exhibition was open from the 24th of December to the 2nd of January. Admission to the Exhibition was free to the Delegates, members of the Reception Committee and the visitors to the Congress, who numbered in all over 9,000; others were charged a nominal fee of 4 annas per entry. Transferable season tickets were also issued for Rs. 3 each. 11,261 Season tickets and 26,740 four-anna tickets were sold. It is estimated that more than a lakh of persons visited the Exhibition.

Volunteers.

Volunteers.

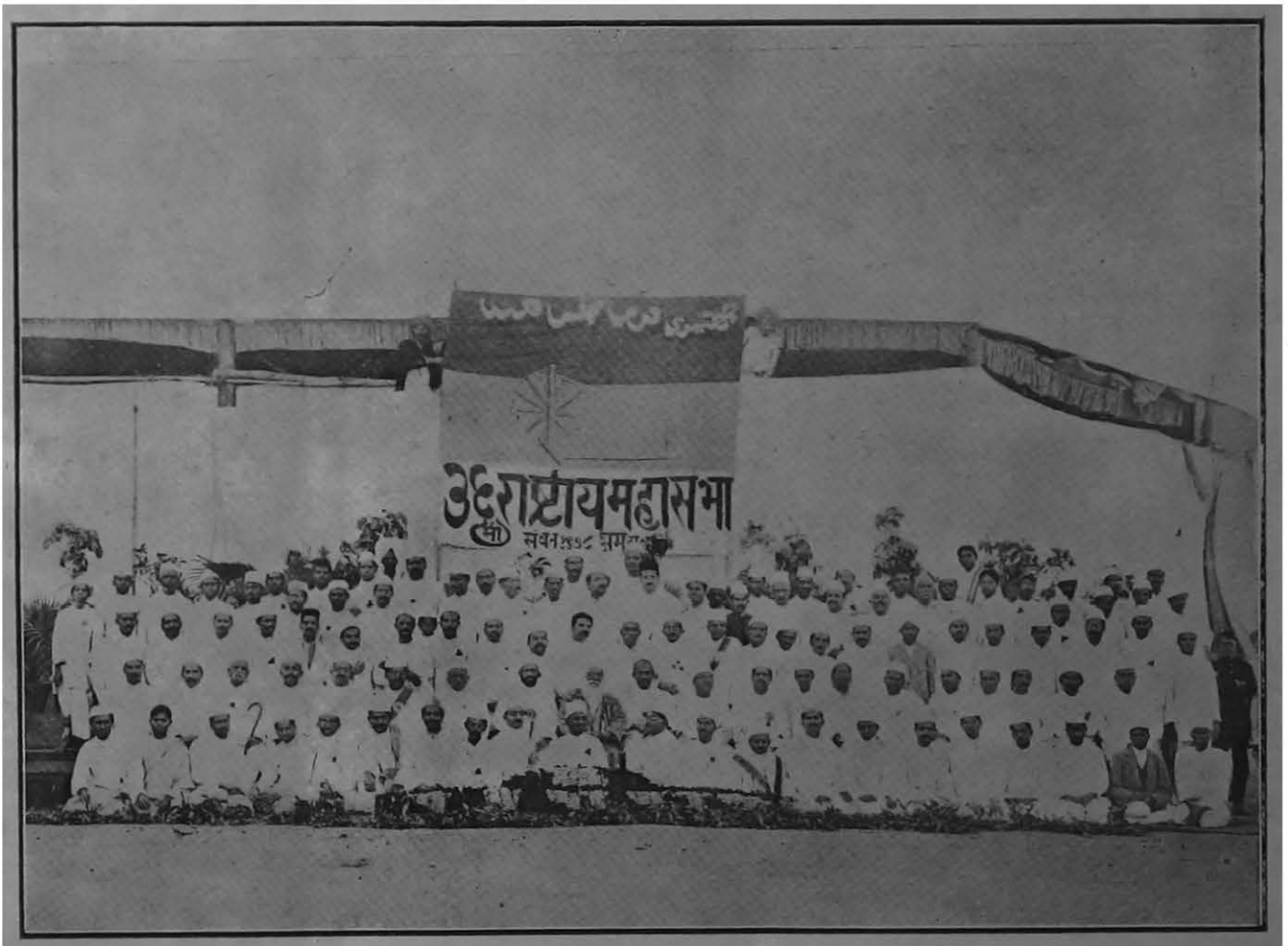
The working out of the arrangements made by the Reception Committee would not have been possible but for the energetic and willing services of the large number of volunteers 1383 strong, under the able management of the Captain, his lieutenants and other officers of the Volunteer organisation. The entire force was recruited solely from Gujrat and Bombay. There were besides 131 lady volunteers. In addition to the ordinary duties at the Pandal, the Khadi Nagar and the Exhibition, the volunteers did also splendid work as night watches and regulators of the enormously heavy traffic on the Congress grounds and the roads leading thereto. Volunteers' services in the maintenance of the sanitation of the Khadi Nagar, and in particular; in keeping the trench-privies clean have already been referred to.

Muslim Nagar
and the Khila-
fat Pandal.

The Muslim League and the Khilafat Camp (called the Muslim Nagar) and their Common Pandal were just adjacent to the Khadi Nagar and the Congress Pandal with only a road intervening. This proximity afforded facilities as well as opportunities to delegates and visitors of these bodies and the Congress to meet each other and to move from one to the other camp or Pandal.



Lady Volunteers

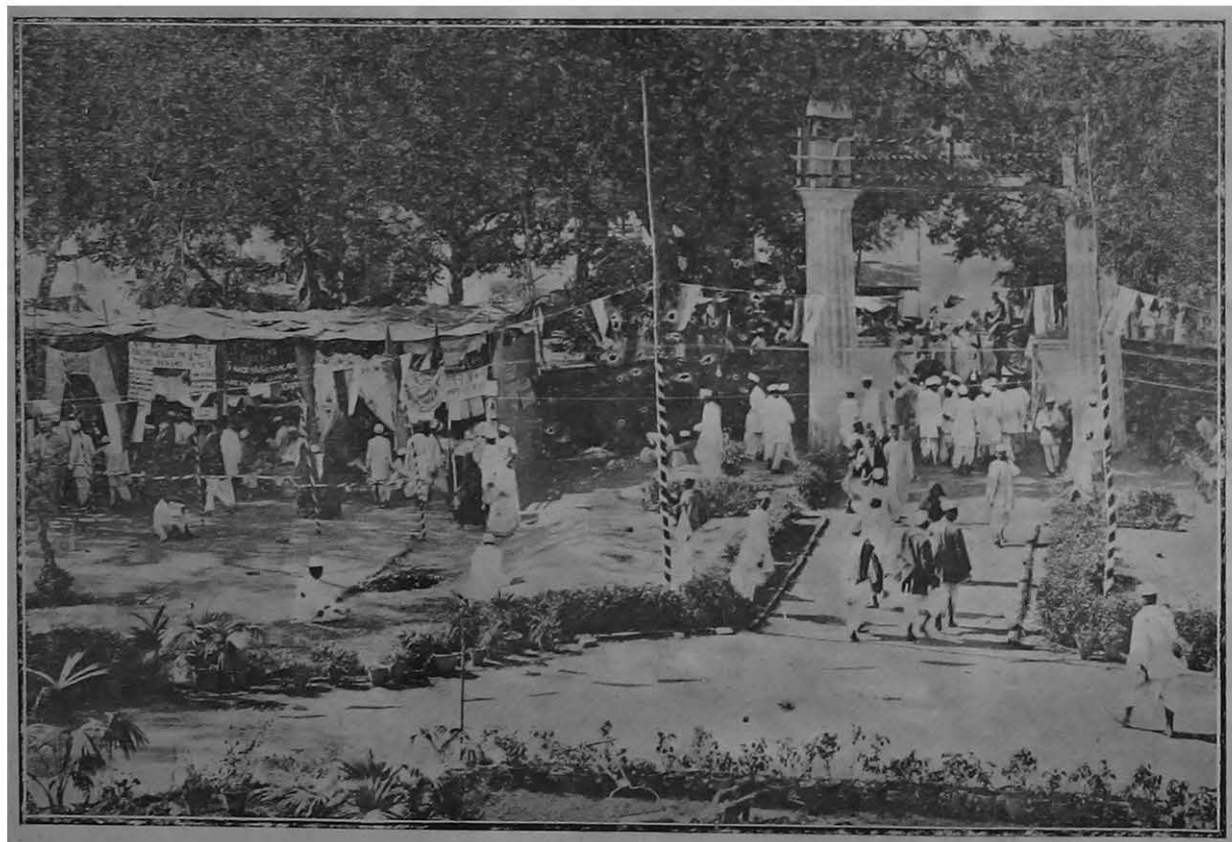


Working members of the Reception Committee

✦ The Exhibition ✦



Museum Building



Stalls and Exit

Reception Committee Arrangements

(PICTURED BY MAHATMA GANDHI.)

Mahatma
Gandhi.

The Congress week was a week of joy and celebration. None thought that Swaraj was not attained. Every one seemed to be conscious of the growing national strength. There was confidence and hope written in every face. The Reception Committee had provided for admitting one hundred thousand visitors to the Congress Pandal. But the lowest calculation puts down the figure at two lacs. The rush was so great that it became impossible to issue either season tickets or the entrance tickets. And this phenomenal attendance would have been still larger if all kinds of false rumours had not been started to scare away people. The imprisonment of leaders and workers and their courage have filled the people with a new hope and a new joy. There was a feeling in the air that the people had found in suffering the surest remedy for the attainment of freedom and breaking down the mightiest force that might be pitted against it.

The Constitution has worked for a year and in my humble opinion it has proved a thorough success. There was a serious business air about the Subjects Committee which had ample time for deliberation. It was a committee not chosen hap-hazard, but deliberately by electors who knew what they were doing. The Congress itself was an impressive spectacle. Hakimji made an ideal and patient President in the place of Deshabandhu Chitta Ranjan Das. The delegates insisted upon their doubts being solved before they voted. They insisted on understanding everything that was going on.

Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Chairman of the Reception Committee, took no more than fifteen minutes to read his address in Hindi. There were no speeches to induct the President. The whole of the function was performed by the All-India Congress Committee. That saved at least two hours of the twelve thousand delegates and visitors. The President's address took no more than twenty minutes. Every speech was to the point and not a minute was allowed to be wasted in idle talk.

In the nature of things too, it could not well be otherwise. The resolutions were addressed to the nation. They presented a programme of earnest work that had got to be done if the nation was to find her place in the world.

Extraordinary care was therefore taken both in the Subjects Committee and the Congress to see that the resolutions were properly understood before they were voted upon.

So much for the business side.

The spectacular was no less impressive. The Pandal itself was a majestic structure covered with Khadi all over. The arches also of Khadi, the Subjects Committee pandal of Khadi. A beautiful fountain surrounded by green lawns ornamented the front of the Pandal. At the back was a large pandal for overflow meetings where all that had gone in the Congress Pandal was explained to the thousands of spectators, men and women, who could not gain entrance for love or money.

The whole ground was a blaze of light at night, and being on the river bank and just at the end of Ellis Bridge, presented for full eight days, for thousands of admiring spectators on the other side, a gorgeous appearance.

The Exhibition ground was quite near. It attracted huge crowds. It was a complete success. The attendance was beyond all expectation, no less than forty thousand visited the Exhibition daily. It was a unique demonstration of what India can produce. The chief attraction was the party from Chikacole who demonstrated all the processes of cotton leading to the drawing out of yarn up to 100 counts. No machinery could possibly make the snow-like slivers that the delicate hands of the women of Andhra produced with their simple bones. No machine could draw the exquisite thread that the delicate fingers of the Andhra women drew. The music of

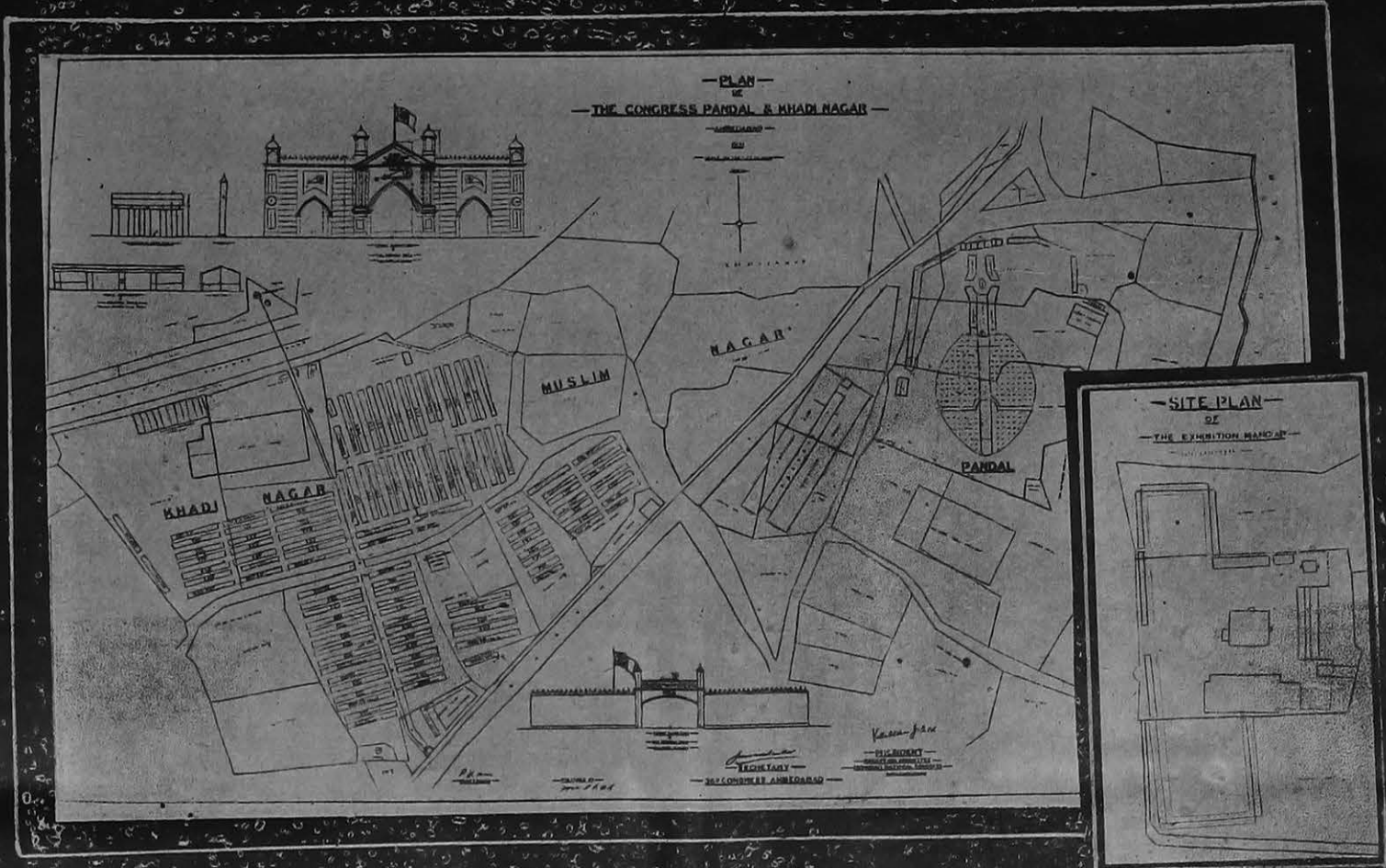
Mahatma
Gandhi.

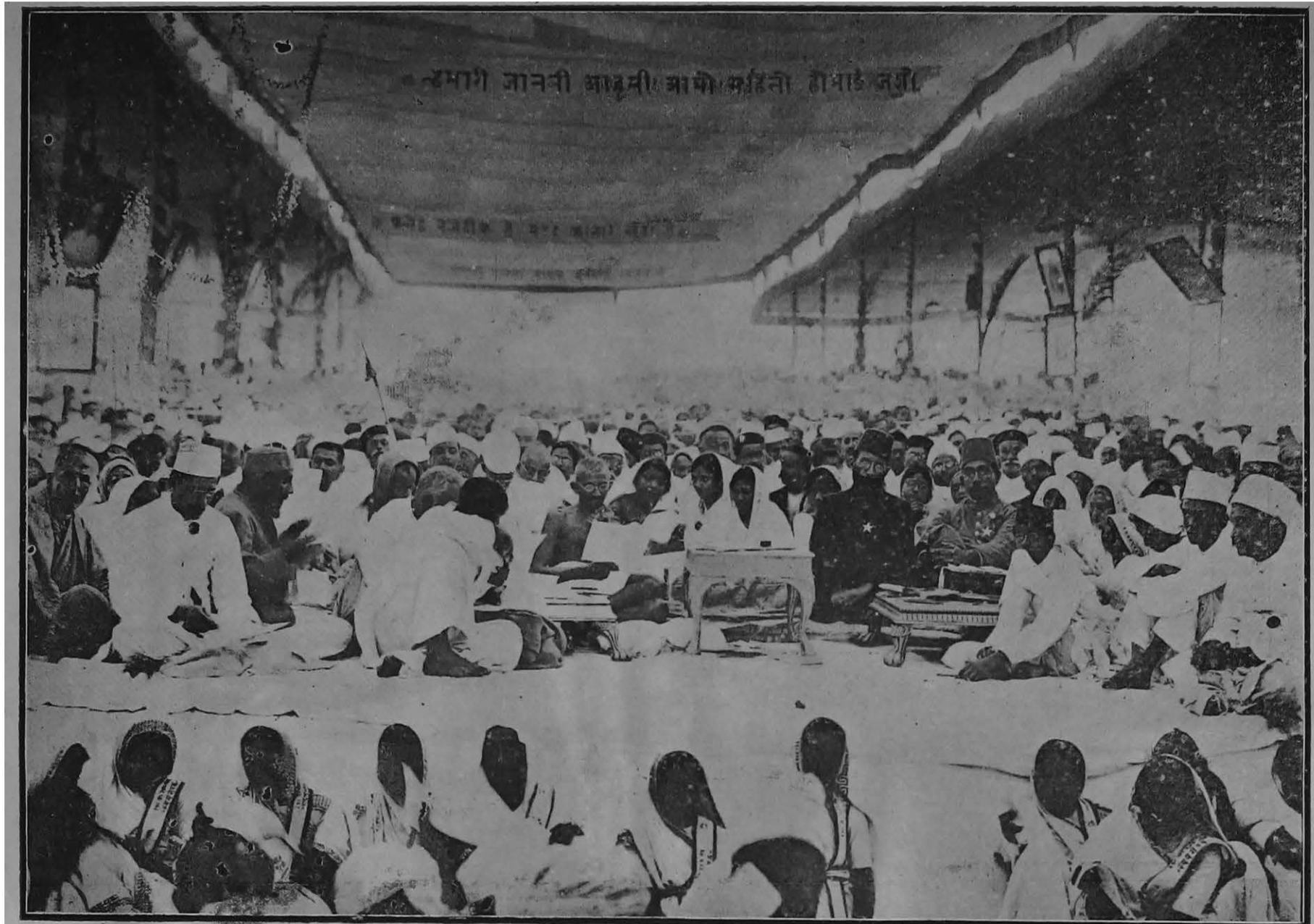
the spindle, as it performed its gentle revolutions, is incapable of being reproduced. The evolution that Khadi has undergone during the year could also be studied in a room where every variety of Khadi was collected. The paintings from Shantiniketan and elsewhere and the beautiful carvings afforded instruction to the close student as well as the ordinary spectator. The musical concerts in which musicians from all parts of India took part was an irresistible attraction for thousands of spectators. It ended in the convening by Vishnu Digamber Shastri of the first All India Musical Conference whose object is to popularise music in national assemblies and organise *Bhajan Mandalis*.

The Khadi Nagar, the adjoining Muslim Nagar, and the Khilafat pandal next to it were a triumphant demonstration of Hindu-Muslim Unity and an ocular demonstration of the hold that Khadi has on the public. The Reception Committee used only Khadi manufactured in Gujrat and worth three hundred and fifty thousand rupees. The Committee paid Rs 50,000 for the use of the Khadi. All the tents including a big kitchen and store-house were covered with Khadi. Nearly two thousand volunteers, both Hindu and Musalman and including a few Parsis and Christians, looked after all the arrangements for the guests in both Khadi Nagar and Muslim Nagar.

The sanitary arrangements were a special feature. Trenches were dug for the purpose. Perfect privacy was secured by Khadi partitions. And the excreta were covered over with clean earth after every use. Every time the trench was used, it was therefore found to be in a clean condition. The work of attending to the trenches was done not by paid Bhangis but by unpaid volunteers belonging to all castes and religions. Those only were taken who had no repugnance to this necessary work. The reader may not know that the process is so clean and so expeditious that the cleaner does not have to touch either the excreta or the earth. He has but to take a few shovelfuls of earth, and with it carefully cover up the dirt. The result of this simple attention was that the camp was clean, sweet and free from the plague of flies. All the camps were lighted by electricity.

(Young India, Jan. 5, 1922)





Congress in session

The Indian National Congress.

36th Session.

Tuesday, the 27th December 1921.

OPENING DAY.

The 36th Session of the Indian National Congress opened at Ahmedabd on Tuesday the 27th December 1921 at 3-30 P. M. in the spacious and simple Pandal erected for the purpose. This Session was unique in more than one respects. It was the first session held under the new Constitution adopted by the Congress at Nagpur in 1920. It was the first session where delegates and Congressmen had assembled with a changed out-look of national problems. Every Congressman came with a conviction that national salvation could be brought about by forces within and not without. Action was desired rather than words. It was the first Congress assembling, when wild and wholesale repression was going on in the country, when its President-elect Deshbandhu C. R. Das and two of its General Secretaries, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Sjt. C. Rajgopalachariar, were in jail and when prominent Congress workers, with thousands of others from almost all the Provinces, were also in jail.

Long before the appointed time, the Pandal was full with Delegates, Visitors and Members of the Reception Committee. A little before the opening time, arrived the acting President Hakim Ajmalkhanji and other leaders. The President, the Chairman of the Reception Committee Mr. Vallabhbai J. Patel, leading Congressmen, distinguished guests and visitors and Members of the All India Congress Committee took their seats on the front part of the Platform.

The proceedings commenced at 3-30 P. M., with the following songs:—

(१)

वन्दे मातरम् ॥ सुजलाम्,
सुफलाम्, मलयजशीतलाम्,
शस्य-श्यामलां मातरम् ॥ १ ॥
शुभ्र-श्रयोत्सवा-पुलकित-यामिनीम् ।
फुल्लकुसुमित-द्रुमदल-शोभिनीम्
सुहासिनीम्, सुमधुर-भाषिणीम्
सुखदाम्, वरदाम्, मातरम् ॥
वन्दे मातरम् ॥

(२)

आओ आओ सकल भारत—कुमार,
तज मान मोह मद अहंकार,
हुआ दरशन से आनंद अवार ॥
यह धन्य देश और धन्य काल,
जहाँ मिले बन्धु सब उर विशाल,
स्थिर रखे ईश यह सद्बिचार ॥ १ ॥
निर्बल निर्धन सब निःसहाय,
बिन ऐक्य नहीं अब कुल उपाय,
अब तो समता कीजे प्रचार ॥ २ ॥
दुखसे बचनेका मार्ग एक,
अपनेपनकी सब ग्रहो टेक,
निश्चय होगा फिर जय-जय-कार ॥ ३ ॥

Opening of
the Session.

Songs.

(Sung by Gandharva Mahavidyalaya Volunteer Corps, Bombay)

(३)

शमशेर सारी खल्कनी अमने नहि तावे करे [२]
 अम आत्म छे प्रभु-तेज ते नहि तुच्छ-शले गाभरे शमशेर०
 महायज्ञ छे अम आदर्श,
 परो करीशु हामथी [२]
 विघ्नो कदि आवी नडे,
 तो होमीशु अम जातने, शमशेर०
 लांछन गुलामी शिर लई,
 पाळ्या पशुसम जगफर्या, [२]
 आंखो अमारी छे खुली,
 बस धोईशु सौ पापने, शमशेर०
 परतेजथी नहि भडकशु,
 पण तेज अम जग दाखशु, [२]
 जोशे बधी आलम हवे,
 अम हिन्दीनी ताकातने, शमशेर०

(४)

गुल चमन से फुल फुलों की खुशु मीठी बही रही है.
 ज्ञाति-देवी ऐसी अब तो मधुर बीणा सुना रही है। गुल चमनसे०
 येहि आया है जमाना, जींदगी सूधा...र लो [२]
 तोलकर टंटा पुराना, बीगरी सूधार लो, गुल चमनसे०
 सिन्धु के बिच में हि अपना नाव झोले खा...रहा [२]
 हूँदकर सुकानी द्राना, जन्म भव से तार लो, गुल चमनसे०
 झलक ध्रुवकी बादलों से, छा रही भर देश...को [२]
 वो बतादे पंथ अपना, किस्ति वह हंकार लो, गुल चमनसे०
 ऐक्यकी हाकल विरादर, भर रही दिगन्त को [२]
 आगे बढ़कर ऐक्य-बल से आत्म को उद्धार लो, गुल चमनसे०

(Sung by Rashtriya Stree Mandal, Ahmedabad.)

(५)

लकब था एक दिन हिंदोस्तां जन्नत नशां तेरा
 जमींथी दामने गुल आहना-था आसमां तेरा
 गुवार आलद मतल आजकल तेरा हैं कयू आखिर ?
 ये मजलुमोंकी आहें हैं के छाया है धुंवां तेरा ?
 हैं सेहराए जहांमें भेड बकरीकी तरह अब हम
 मआजलाह लाया रंग ये अमनो अमां तेरा
 कफनके वास्तेभी हो गये मौहताज गैरों के
 हुआ बे-दस्तोपा इसतरहसे पीरो जवां तेरा
 असीरीमें रिहाई के मजे सब मल बैठे हैं
 कफस से छुट के उडता कब है मुगें नातवां तेरा

(Sung by Miss Rajhana Tyabji.)

[Translation of the above.]

The Dirge.

Oh Hind, that once was known as Paradise,
 The home of flowers, the land whose soil was gold,
 Whose proud serenity the Heavens themselves
 Did take delight to mirror ! Ah but now
 Whence come these clouds that do obscure thy brow

Once clear as crystal ! Know it is the sighs
 Of hearts that beat in sorrow and in fear,
 That, rising upwards, curl in smoky strands
 Towards that throne from which God justice deals.
 The vaunted peace and order, foreign rule
 Has brought into this land, has made us slaves,
 And in the wilds of this terrestrial globe
 We roam as cattle, scorned, insulted, spurned !
 What is this comfort, law and order ? What
 This peace, that in its slavish chains doth bind
 The heart, the soul, the mind of Hindustan ?
 So helpless are we. Oh, so poor, so weak,
 That for a piece of cloth to cover our dead
 We need must turn to other lands. Oh shame !
 Alas, alas, our Greatness, where art thou ?
 Lost in the dust ! Our freedom ? Sold for chains
 Of brass, that in our slavish ignorance
 We do mistake for gold ! Ah ! Now the cage,
 Wherein so long we fluttered, 'prisoned birds',
 Is flung wide open ! But ah, woe is me !
 Where is the strength in our enfeebled wings
 To soar unto that liberty we crave
 For which we hunger, thirst, we pine, we die ?

Mr. Vallabhbhai J. Patel's Address.

Mr. Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Chairman of the Reception Committee, then, read his address of welcome in Hindi as follows:—

इकीमजी साहब, प्रतिनिधि भाई-बहनो तथा महिलाओ और सज्जनो,

परमात्मा के अनुग्रह से जैसे मुहूर्त में यह महासभा हो रही है वैसे में इससे पहले कभी नहीं हुई थी। आज हमारे कितने ही प्रिय और पूज्य कार्यकर्ता हमसे जुदा कर दिये गये हैं। उनके वियोग से जहां हमारे चित्त में शोक की छटा दिखाई दे सकती थी तहां हमारा हृदय आज हर्ष से उछलता हुआ दिखाई देता है। उन कार्य-कर्ताओं को मैं 'नेता' न कडूंगा। क्योंकि इन पिछले चारह महीनों ने हमें यह बता दिया है कि नेतापन तो 'सेवा' में है। हम इस बात को तो मानते हैं कि कितने ही महान् और विद्वान् मुसलमान और हिन्दू-भाई सरकारी जेलों में अपनी खरी कमाई का आराम पा रहे हैं। इसका कारण यह है कि उन्होंने हमारी सेवा की है, हमारे लिए कष्ट-सहन किया है और उस पारितोषिक को प्राप्त किया है जिसके लिए हम लालायित हो रहे थे और जिसे इस सरकार ने—जोकि कानून और व्यवस्था का आधार रखने का ढकोसला करती है, पर वास्तव में जो पशुबल पर स्थित है, जैसा कि दिन पर दिन स्पष्ट प्रकट होता जाता है—अबतक अपने पास रख छोड़ा था।

हमने तो यह आशा की थी कि हम स्वराज्य की स्थापना का महोत्सव मनावेंगे और इसलिए हमने उस अवसर के योग्य स्वागत की तैयारियों का प्रयत्न किया था। परन्तु यद्यपि आज हम उस मंगलोत्सव के लिए यहां एकत्र नहीं हुए हैं तथापि परम कारुणिक परमात्मा ने हमारे पास कष्ट-सहन को भेज दिया है। जिससे हमारी परीक्षा हो जाय और हम उस बहुमूल्य प्रसाद के योग्य हो जाय। और ये धडाधड कैंदें, मारपीट, जबरन तलाशियां, हमारे दफ्तरों और स्कूलों के ताले तोड़ कर खुलवा लेना—आदि घटनायें स्वराज्य के आगमन के निश्चित लक्षण हैं, मुसलमान और पंजाबी भाइयों के घावों का ठंढा मरहम है। यह समझ कर हमने हर तरह की सजावट में, संगीत के जत्सों में तथा आपके स्वागत के किसी भी हर्ष-सूचक कार्यक्रम में किसी तरह का परिवर्तन और कमी नहीं की है।

परन्तु हम आपसे यह नहीं कहते कि आप अपने स्थान, भोजन-पान आदि की सुविधाओं के प्रबन्ध को देखकर इस बात का निर्णय करें कि हम आपको निमंत्रण देने के सौभाग्य के योग्य हैं अथवा नहीं। मैं इस बात को अच्छी तरह से जानता हूँ कि हमारी सेवा में कितनी ही त्रुटियां हैं और स्वागत-समिति को विश्वास है कि आप भाई उदारता-पूर्वक उनकी ओर ध्यान न देंगे।

परन्तु जो कसौटी आपने हमारी योग्यता के लिए रखी है और जिसे हमने सहर्ष स्वीकार किया है वह है—असहयोग के विधायक कार्यक्रम को परा करना और उसके साथ ही उसका मुख्य और

Address of
 Welcome by
 Mr. Vallabhbhai
 J. Patel, Chair-
 man, Reception
 Committee.

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J. Patel, Chair-
man, Reception
Committee.

प्राणप्रद तत्व अहिंसा । वह सरकार स्वतन्त्र लोकमत का संगठन करने के बजाय पशुबल का संगठन करके अपनी रक्षा करना चाहती है । इसकी संस्थाओं से हमारा अलहदा हो जाना इसी बात का सूचक है कि हम हर हालत में हिंसा से दूर रहते हैं । मैं सचाई के साथ यह दावा करता हूँ कि हमने मनसा, वाचा, कर्मणा शान्तिमय बने रहने का प्रयत्न किया है । हमने अपने अन्दर की दुर्बलता को दूर करते हुए अपनी आत्म-शुद्धि के लिए सच्चे दिल से और पक्की कोशिश की है ।

हिन्द-मुसलमान-एकता उसका सबसे बड़ा प्रत्यक्ष ज़िह है । अबतक तो हम आपसमें विश्वास नहीं रखते थे बल्कि एक दूसरे को अपना कूदरती दुश्मन समझते थे । परन्तु अब हम आपस में प्रेम करने लगे हैं और पूर्ण मित्र-भाव से रहते हैं । मुझे यह कहते हुए बड़ा अभिमान होता है कि हमारी मित्रता केवल निष्क्रिय नहीं है; बल्कि हम लोग तो एक साथ मिलजुल कर अपने राष्ट्रीय ध्येय की सिद्धि के लिए प्रत्यक्ष कार्य कर रहे हैं । इसी प्रकार अपने पारसी, ईसाई, तथा अन्य देश-भाइयों के साथ भी हम लोग मेल-मुद्बत से रहते हैं । अपने कार्यक्रम के अनुसार बहुत जोर-शोर के साथ काम करते हुए भी हमारा सम्बन्ध हमसे मत-भेद रखने वालों के साथ बहुत अच्छा रहा है । हमें यह बात जंच गई है कि सहिष्णुता अहिंसा का प्राण है ।

मुझे दुःख है कि पदवियों के त्याग तथा वकीलों के वकालत बन्द कर देने के विषय में मैं आपके सामने ऐसी कोई बात नहीं पेश कर सकता जिससे मुझे कुछ अभिमान हो । हाँ, धारासभाओं का बहिष्कार, जहांतक मतदाताओं से सम्बन्ध है, बहुत व्यापक रूप से हुआ । विद्यालयों के बहिष्कार के सम्बन्ध में अलबत्ते हमारे यहाँ खूब काम हुआ है । कुछ अच्छे से अच्छे स्कूलों और हाईस्कूलों ने सरकार से अपना सम्बन्ध तोड़ दिया है और उनमें से किसी की भी हालत बुरी नहीं है । अधिकांश राष्ट्रीय पाठशालाओं में लड़कों की संख्या बढ़ती जा रही है । हमारे यहाँ एक राष्ट्रीय महाविद्यालय और एक विश्वविद्यालय है । कितनी ही राष्ट्रीय पाठशालायें उससे संलग्न हैं । गुजरात विद्यापीठ से संलग्न तथा असंलग्न राष्ट्रीय पाठशालाओं में पढ़नेवाले लड़के और लड़कियों की संख्या ३१,००० है ।

दो वर्ष पहले गुजरात में शायद ही कोई चरखा चलता होगा । पर आज कम से कम १,१०,००० चरखे काम कर रहे हैं । इस अवधि में खादी भी दो लाख पाँच से कम तैयार नहीं हुई । स्वदेशी-प्रचार के संगठन में हमने कोई ५ लाख रुपये लगाये हैं । यहाँ के भिन्न भिन्न सभा-मण्डलों तथा खादी-नगर में जो खादी लगाई गई है वह, मेरी राय में, स्वदेशी-प्रचार के लिए किये गये हमारे प्रयत्नों का प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण है ।

मद्यपान-निषेध के संबंध में हमने विस्तृत परिमाण में 'पहरा रखना' जारी किया था और उसका फल भी बहुत उत्साह-वर्धक हुआ । हमने पहरेदारों के चुनाव में बड़ी सावधानी से काम लिया था । उन्हें बड़ी कठिन परिस्थिति में काम करना पड़ा और कुछ लोगों को तो शराबियों तथा शराब के दुकानदारों के हाथ मार भी खाना पड़ी ।

छुआछूत के विषय में हमारे प्रान्त ने शायद सबसे अधिक प्रगति की है । हमारी सभाओं में हमारे अछूत भाई-बहन बिना स्कावट के शामिल होते हैं । राष्ट्रीय विद्यालयों में उन्हें भरती करने की बात सिद्धांत-रूप में तो स्वीकार कर ली गई है । पर उसके लिए उनके सेनेट को बहुत झगडना पड़ा है । तथापि अभी इन भाइयों के लड़कों को विद्यालयों में बुलाने का, उन्हें यह मालूम कराने का कि 'हम किसी भी तरह से दूसरे लड़कों से हलके दज के नहीं हैं,' आग्रह-पूर्वक प्रयत्न नहीं किया गया है । यद्यपि हमारा ध्येय तो यह नहीं है कि ऐसे लड़कों के लिए अलग पाठशालायें खोली जायं तथापि कुछ समय के लिए तो हमें ऐसा करने पर बाध्य होना पडेगा । लेकिन इस कुप्रथा के दूर हो जाने की माप उनकी पाठशालाओं की तादाद तथा राष्ट्रीय पाठशालाओं में उनकी संख्या के अनुसार न करनी चाहिए । छुआछूत का सम्बन्ध तो दिल से है और मुझे यह कहते हुए आनन्द होता है कि यद्यपि अभी हमें इसके विषय में बहुत कुछ काम करना बाकी है तथापि लोगों के दिलों में गहरा परिवर्तन हो गया है ।

परन्तु मैं यह जानता हूँ कि हम गुजरातवासी अभी कष्ट-सहन की उस अग्निपरीक्षा में उत्तीर्ण नहीं हो पाये हैं जिसमें बंगाल, पंजाब, संयुक्त-प्रान्त तथा दूसरे प्रान्त उत्तीर्ण हो रहे हैं । मैं आशा कर रहा हूँ कि जिस अहिंसा का मैंने बड़े गर्व के साथ उल्लेख किया है वह हमारी अशक्ति की अहिंसा नहीं है बल्कि हमारे स्नेह से अखत्यार किये गये आत्मसंयम की अहिंसा है । संत और नडियाद के स्कूलों पर जबरदस्ती कब्जा करके सरकार ने हमें एक मौका दे दिया है । अहमदाबाद के सामने भी यही सवाल दरपेश है । और अन्त को जाकर वह सविनय कानून-भंग के बिना हल नहीं हो सकता । बारडोली और आनन्द ये दो तहसीलें सामुदायिक सविनय कानून-भंग की तैयारी बड़े जोर के साथ कर रही

हैं। मैं इस महासभा की ओर से यह प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि परमात्मा हमें इतना बल दे कि जिससे हम कष्टसहन की इस अभि-परीक्षा में उत्तीर्ण हो सकें और दूसरे प्रांत के भाइयों के कन्धे से कन्धा भिड़ा डटे रहें। उसके साथ ही मैं आपको यह निश्चय दिलाता हूँ कि हम कोई काम बिना सोचे-समझे न करेंगे और न कोई बात ऐसी करेंगे जिसे शांत और शांति-प्रिय मनुष्य को राष्ट्रीय सन्मान की रक्षा के लिए तथा राष्ट्रीय हकों की हिफाजत के लिए न करना चाहिए।

अब मैं हकीमजी अजमलखान साहब से अनुरोध करता हूँ कि आप कार्यवाहक सभापति की हैसियत से अपने स्थान को ग्रहण करें। आज यद्यपि देशबन्धु चित्तरंजन दास का शरीर यहाँ उपस्थित नहीं है तथापि उनकी पवित्र, देशभक्ति और अपना बलिदान कर देने वाली आत्मा यहाँ मौजूद है। उन्होंने अपना जीवन संचार करनेवाला और धर्मवृत्ति से भरा हुआ भाषण भेज दिया है। बंगाल सरकार ने हमारे लिए जो यह परिस्थिति पैदा कर दी है उसमें हमने अपने मुस्लिमलीगवाले भाइयों का ही अनुकरण किया है। क्योंकि उन्हें भी अपने सभापति मौलाना महम्मदअली की अदम मौजूदगी में एक कार्यवाहक सभापति चुनना पड़ा है। मैं जानता हूँ कि हकीमजी अजमल खान साहब, जिन्हें अखिल भारत राष्ट्रीय महासभा-समिति ने देशबन्धु चित्तरंजन दास की जगह पर काम चलाने के लिए चुना है, हमारे देश के एक बड़े ही कुलीन और महान् पुरुष हैं। क्योंकि हकीम जी हिन्दू-मुस्लिम एकता के जीते-जागते उदाहरण हैं। आप जितने ही मुसलमान भाइयों तथा दूसरों के विश्वास-पात्र और प्रेमपात्र हैं उतने ही हिन्दुओं के भी हैं।

Address of
Welcome by
Mr. Vallabhbai
J. Patel, Chair-
man, Reception
Committee.

Following is the English rendering of the welcome address of Sjt. V. J. Patel:—
HAKIMJI SAHIB, BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Never before has the Congress met under auspices such as God has provided for us this year. We seem to be pulsating with joy when we might have been grieving over the separation of our loved and revered workers. I shall not call them leaders; for the year that is about to close on us has taught us that leadership consists in service. And if we recognise that great and learned Musalmans and Hindus are now having their well-earned rest in the Government jails, we do so because they have served and suffered for us and earned the reward coveted by us and reserved by a Government which pretends to be based on principles of law and order but which is really based on force as is becoming clear day by day.

English render-
ing of the
Chairman's
address.

We had hoped that we could meet to celebrate the establishment of Swarj and therefore endeavoured to arrange the reception befitting such an occasion. But though we do not meet to celebrate that happy event, God in His abundant mercy has sent us suffering to try us and make us worthy of so precious a gift. And therefore, viewing the imprisonments, assaults, forcible searches, breakings open of our offices and schools, as a certain sign of the approaching Swaraj, as a balm for the wounds inflicted upon our Musalman brothers and Punjabees, we have not in any way altered or toned down our decorations, musical programme and other events, betokening joy and arranged for your reception.

But we do not ask you to judge our fitness for the honour of having you in our midst by the adequacy of our arrangements for your comforts and entertainment. I am fully conscious of our defects and the Reception Committee relies upon your generously overlooking them.

But the test you imposed upon us and we gladly accepted was our response to the Creative Programme of non-co-operation with its life-giving and central fact of non-violence. Our dissociation from the institutions of a Government, which seeks its safety by organising violence in the place of organising free public opinion and giving effect to it, meant our abstention under every circumstance from violence. I can truthfully claim that we have endeavoured to be non-violent in thought, word and deed. We have made a serious, and definite effort to purify ourselves by conquering the weak flesh in us.

Hindu-Muslim Unity is its most visible symbol. Whereas hitherto, we have distrusted and considered ourselves as natural enemies, we have begun to love each other and live in perfect friendliness. I am proud to be able to inform you that the relations between us have been and are not merely negatively friendly but we have been actively working together for the advancement of the national cause. Similarly we have cultivated sweet relations with our Parsi, Christian and other country-men. Whilst we have vigorously prosecuted our Programme,

English rendering of the Chairman's address.

we have endeavoured to retain friendly relations with those who have differed from us. We have recognised that toleration is the essence of non-violence.

As to the renunciation of titles and practice by lawyers, we can, I am sorry to say, show nothing of which we can feel proud. The Boycott of Councils was certainly extensive so far as voters were concerned. We have a creditable record about education. Some of the best schools and high-schools have given up their connection with the Government and are none the worse for it. Attendance in most of the big national schools is on the increase. We have a National College and a National University to which institutions are affiliated. In the affiliated and other national schools there are 31,000 boys and girls receiving instruction.

Whereas two years ago there was hardly a spinning-wheel working in our Province, to-day there are at least 1,10,000 spinning wheels at work. The output of khaddar during the period under review is no less than two lacs of pounds. We have spent about 5 lacs in organising Swadeshi. The use of khaddar in construction of the various pandals and Khadi Nagar is in my opinion, a striking ocular demonstration of our work in the direction of Swadeshi.

In temperance we have resorted to picketing on an extensive scale with encouraging results. We have been most careful in the choice of pickets. They have done their work under trying circumstances and some of them have received injuries at the hands of the enraged drinkers and sellers.

We have perhaps made the greatest advance in the matter of untouchability. Our suppressed countrymen freely attend our meetings. The national schools are open to them in theory for which the Senate had to fight a tough battle. In practice, however there is not yet the insistent canvass to bring the children of these countrymen to our schools and make them feel that they are in no way inferior to our own.

Though, therefore our goal is not to multiply separate schools for such children we shall be compelled to maintain such schools for such children for some time to come. But the removal of the curse is not to be gauged by the number of schools opened for them or even their attendance in ordinary national schools. Untouchability is an attitude, and I am glad to be able to note that whilst we have yet to work much in this direction, it has undergone a most noticeable change.

But I know that we have not passed through the fire of suffering that Bengal, Punjab, United Provinces and the other provinces are passing through. I am hoping that our non-violence, to which I have proudly referred, is not non-violence due to helplessness but is due to self-imposed restraint. The Government has provided for us an opportunity by taking forcible possession of national schools from the Municipalities of Nadiad and Surat. Ahmedabad has the same problem to solve, and it can only be solved by Civil Disobedience in the last resort. The Tehsils of Bardoli and Anand are making elaborate preparations for Mass Civil Disobedience. I bespeak the prayers of this great Assembly that God may give us the strength to go through the ordeal of suffering and enable us to stand shoulder to shoulder with other sister Provinces. At the same time I wish to assure you that we shall do nothing reckless, nothing that we, as peaceful and peace-loving human beings, may not do for the preservation of the national self-respect or safe-guarding of national rights.

I now ask Hakim Ajmalkhan Sahab to take the chair as Acting President. Though Deshbandhu Chittranjan Das is not in our midst in the body, his pure, patriotic and self-sacrificing spirit is with us. He has sent his inspiring address full of religious fervour.

In the circumstances created for us by the Bengal Government, the All India Congress Committee has followed the example of our brethren of the Muslim League when in the absence of Moulana Mahomad Ali, their President, they had to elect an acting President. I know that in Hakim Ajmalkhan Sahab, whom the All India Congress Committee has elected to act in Deshbandhu Chittranjan Das's place, we have one of the greatest and noblest of our countrymen. For Hakimji is an embodiment of Hindu-Muslim Unity. He commands the confidence and the affection of Hindus and others equally with our Musalman brothers.

Hakim Ajmalkhanji's Address

Hakimji's
Presidential
Address.

Hakim Ajmalkhanji, the Acting President, then came to the Rostrum amidst cries of "Allaho Akbar" and delivered his presidential address in Urdu as under :—

डेक्लिमेंट भाईयो, बड़ेनो और हजरत,

इन्डियन नेशनल काँग्रेसके तारीखमें पहली दफा आज हम् इस हालतमें जमा है के बरतानिया हुकूमत के ताजीद और निहायत सख्त तशहद की बजह से हमारे वो बेअरमन् हमारे वो प्रेसिडेंट हममें मौजूद नहीं है जिनको जाबताके मुवाफिक चुना गया था। हम सबके लिये ये बात निहायत रंजका सबब है के आज हमारे गोरो फिक्कर के लिये और आज हमारे रेहनुमायी के लिये सिटर सी. आर. दास हममें मौजूद नहीं है। मेरे नजदीक बंगाल के उस शानदार मुहब्बे वतन की बेशुमार कौमी खिदमत को बयान करना या उनके उस मर्तेबे जिकर करना जो उन्हें हमारी सियाली और सोशल जिंदगी में हासिल है जरूरी नहीं है। जब के खुद तमाम कौम ने उन्हें सदारत की वो बडी से बडी इज्जत दी जो कौम की तरफ से दी जा सकता है। कौम ने ये इज्जत देकर साफ तौर पर बता दिया है के अहले मुल्क की नजर में उनका मतबा किस कदर दुर्लद और उंचा है। मगर इस खियाल से उनकी गैरमौजूदगी और न होनेपर अफसोस करने के साथ ही हम् सबके लिये ये बात इत्मिनानकी काबित है के जिस् जाते गिरामीके कौमने अपना खास नुमायंदाह मुन्तहिब किया था। उसने अपने मजबूत जरूरते मरदानगी और शानदार कुरबानी के साथ बहुशी तकलिफें और मुसीबतें बरदास्त करके अपनेको उस बडी इज्जतका अहल साबत कर दिया जो उन्हें कौम की तरफ से दि गई है। और न सिर्फ ये बल्के उनके खिफ्तारी में हसें कामयाबी से एक मन्जिल और ब्यादा करीब कर दिया. मि. सी. आर. दास ने अपने वतन की जिस कदर शानदार खिदमत गिरफता हो कर अन्जाम दी है उतनी शायद वो मन्नेदे सदारतपर बैठकर अन्जाम न दे सकते थे। उनके गिरफ्तारी ने मुल्क के सेवकों के दिलोंको बडा दिया है और उनके यानी मुल्कवालों के इरादे को मजबूत कर दिया है। और तमाम् मुल्क में ऐसी बिजली दौडा दी है कि उस ऊरवानीओं ने और कोशिशों के लिए पहले से बहुत ज्यादा तयार कर दिया है। मगर हजरत, मुन्जिल यह है के मैं अपने अन्दर सी. आर. दास जैसे सख्त की जगह बैठकर उनके फरायेइके इन्जाम देने की चाकपि तौरपर काबूलियत नहिं देखता। और दुवा करता हूं के जो इज्जत आपने मुझे दी है मैं अपनेको उसका अहल साबत करने की कोशिश कर सकूं।

न सिर्फ इस पन्डाल में बल्के उस वख्त भी जब के अपने मुल्क और अपने खुदाके लिए उन कुरबानियों के करनेका वख्त आये जो हमारे लिये हमारे बहोत से खुश किसमत और आला मरतबा भाइयों ने की है। गुजस्ता इज्जाल काँग्रेस के बाद से आजतक तेहरीके अद्रम इशतराक अमल मे जो तरकी की है उसकी तफसीली तजकिरा करने में आपका बहुतसा वक्त सर्फ हो जायगा। इसलिये मैं निहायत इस्तसार के साथ उसे कामयाबी का जिकर करूंगा। जो मुल्क की पुरअमन तरके मवालात की तहरीक को शुरू से इस वकतक हसिल हुई है। आज पुरअमन तरके मवालात की रूह तमाम मुल्क मे सरायत कर चुकी है और हिन्दुस्तान के हर आजम के किसी गोबे ने सचे कौम मस्तका एक दिल ही ऐसा न होगा जो स्वराज्य हासिल करने और खिलाफत और पंजाब के नाइस्ताफियों की तलापी करने और मुल्की तरकी करने के लिये खुशी के साथ तकलिफ बरदास्त करने और कुरबानियां देने की खाहिश से भरा हुआ न हो। हमारी इस तहरीक ने समंदर के दूसरे साहिल से भी वो बेहेतरीन खिराज तहसीन वसूल किया है जो किसी एक कौम से दूसरी कौम को मिल सकता है। मैं उस आलामरतब मिस्मी कौम का जिकर कर रहा हूं। जिसने कल की बात है अपनी सियासी जरूरियात की मुनासबत से तरके मवालातके उखुल को इखतियार कर लिया है।

हकीकत में हिन्दुस्तान के लिये ये बडी खुशी की बात है के हिन्दुस्तान में जो तेहरीक शुरू की गई और जिस पुरअमन तरीके से इनकलाब को तरफ कदम बडा दिया गया उसे एशिया की दूसरी कौम तेसलीम करती जाती हैं। मैं समझता हूं के हिन्दुस्तान की इस तेहरीक की बहुत बडी फतह है के दूसरी कौम हमारी तेहरीक को बतदरीज इखतियार करती जाती हैं। और हमें यकीन करना चाहिये के आयन्दाह का जो एशिया होगा उसको लीड करनेवाला हमारा हिन्दुस्तान होगा। हमारे लिये यह बात बहोत फखर की है के अब हमारा मुल्क दूसरे मुमालिक की रेहनुमाई कर रहा है। अब पुरअमन तरके मवालात सिर्फ हिन्दुस्तान ही तक मेहदूद नहीं। बल्के ये तेहरीक बहोत तेजी के साथ एक एशियायी तेहरीक होती जाती है। और जहतक मैं समझता हूं वो दिन दूर नहीं मालूम होता जब के दुनिया इसे बातिल और ना हक के खिलाफ एक आलमगीर हथियार की तरह इस्तेमाल कर सकेगी। खुद हिन्दुस्तान में इस तेहरीक की कामयाबी से कौन इन्कार कर सकता है ? जब के हम देख रहे हैं के लोग किस कदर खुशी के साथ और रजा वो रगबत के साथ अपने वतन की खातर ऊर्बानियां कर रहे हैं और उनकी तअदाद रोज-रोज बढ़ती जाती है। हमारे हिन्दुस्तान के सेवक मुस्तुरते हुए जेलखानों को जा रहे हैं और सबसे ब्यादा तो यह के इनतहायी तशहदभी उनको बदअमनी और जवाबी तशहद पर भडका नहीं सकता

बल्के कामों के अजम को दृग्नी ताकत दे रहा है। सख्तगिरी के जो किट्स और दौरे हुकूमत को होते हैं वो जमीअत-उल्-उल्मा ये हिंद के फतवों की जन्ती के सिलसले में या कराची के मुकदमे से मुतअल्लिक हो या कानून मजालिस मुगवियाना या कानून तरमीम या दफा १४४ के आम इस्तेमाल के सिलसले में हों जिनके जरीयेसे रजाकारों की पुर अमन मशागिल को रोका जाता है। और जरूरियात के बुनयादी उसूल को दबाया जाता है। मगर इस किसम के उसूलों का सिर्फ एक असर होता है के कौमी कोशिश को जारी रखने और हुकूक और मतालबात को पूरा करने के लिए अहले मुल्क का इरादा और भी ज्यादा कबी होता जाता है। जेलखानों का यह मुसलसल और न खतम होनेवाला जाना बराबर जारी रहता है। ताकि शुमाली हिन्दुस्तान में और तमाम महाराष्ट्र आन्ध्र में हुकूक इनसानियत की डिफाजत रखी जाय। आज सारी हिन्दुस्तानी कौम उस बड़ी कश्म कश और अहमियत को खुब मेहसूस करती है जिसमें वह मशगूल है और उस खामोश इरादे के साथ काम कर रही है जो एक आलम कसद के लिए लड़नेवाले बहादुरों के शायाने शान है। हजरात, ये तमाम कोशिश जिसमें आजकल हिन्दुस्तान मसरूफ है निहायत मामोका और वक्त के ऐन मुताबिक है। अब ना सिर्फ एशिया और आफ्रिका के जरूरियात बेदार हो रहे हैं बल्के ये आसारभी नजर आते हैं जो भुंधले हैं। मगर उमीद अफजा है के यूरोप का मूरदा जमी रही बहुत लम्बी नींद के बाद करवटें ले रहा है। मेरा फरज है के इस मौके पर हिज् रायल हायनेस प्रिन्स आफ वेल्स की आमद के मुतअल्लिक भी कुछ अर्ज कर दू। हम हिज् रायल हायनेस से कुछ अनाद नहीं रखते, और ना वाकई तौरपर उनकी किसी किसम की तौहीन करना चाहते हैं। मगर हम यह नहीं चाहते जिसके तदन्वुर का अगर सही तौरपर मुझसे आप पूछें तो दिवाला निकल चुका है। शाहजादे की आमद से फायदा उठाकर अपनी साख और ऐजाज को खेबारा कायम करने न पाये-यही हमारी गरज है। न हमारा मुल्क इस वरततक प्रिन्स के खैर मुकद्दम करने के काबल है अबतक खिलाफतख पंजाब के खसम हमारे दिलों में बाकी हैं। पस हमने ये तै किया था के प्रिन्स के खैर-मुकद्दम में हिस्सा लेने में तामूल करें। और अगर ऐसी हालत में बाज नागवार हालात पेश आये और उनकी वजह से कुछ ता-अलकात पैदा हुवे तो उनकी तमाम जिम्मेदारी जहांतक मैं सही तौरपर अन्दाजा कर सकता हूँ गव्हर्नमेंट के ऊपर है। जिसमें गव्हर्नमेंटके फैसला और फहम से, अफसोस नाक उमभूर जाहिर हुए। और एक निहायत गैर-मौजू और नामुनासिब तरजे अमल इखतियार किया गया है, जिसका कोई मौका नहीं था। हजरात, मौतरीन कहते हैं के तेहरीक तरके मवालात नाकाम रही, और इस दावे की दलील यह लाते हैं के सरकारी मदारस खिताब याफता लोग नयी कौन्सिलों के मेम्बर और अदालतों के वोक्ला ये खस मौजूद नहीं। लेकिन इसका जवाब तो ये है, और जो कुछ भी किया जा चुका है उसके बाद भी किसी जवाब की जरूरत मेहसूस होती हो तो—के जहांतक सरकारी मदारस का ताआलुक है, हमारे मोअतर जीन कलकत्ता के व्हाईस चैन्सेलर का वह बयान देखें जिसमें इस तेहरीक का जिकर किया है। और फिर उस हालत में जब हमने सरकारी मदारस और तुलवा के लिए कौमी मदारस की काफी तैअदाद कायम नहीं की। रहे खिताब याफता और मेम्बरान् कौन्सिल ये वो तबका है जो कुदरती तौरपर इस काबल नहीं के फौर नहीं हमारी आवाज को सुन सकें।

यह तो बताओ के उन लोगों को आज कौम के अंदर क्या इज्जत क्या बकअत है? आज उन असहाब की किस्मत, मुझे वो हजरात माफ फरमायें जो इस वरत कौन्सिल के मेम्बर हों और यही तशरीफ रखते हों। क्योंकि मेरा जाती रुप सखुन किसी शरस के तरफ नहीं है; मगर मैं कहता हूँ के आज उन लोगों की जो गव्हर्नमेंट के साथ मिलकर काम कर रहे हैं खाहह वो कौन्सिल के मेम्बर हों या खिताब याफता हों उनकी बकअत दूसरे जिना के बकअत से भी ज्यादा गिरी हुई है। ये सच है के सिवाय चंद काबिल इहताराम मिसालों के बहैसियते एक तबके के और बहैसियत एक गुरोह बुकलाने हमारे तेहरीक को कबूल नहीं किया, जैसा के हम जायज तौरपर उनसे तबको रख सकते थे। मगर जिस वक्त हमारी पंचायतें कायम होंगी जो दूसरे कामोंकी बजहसे इस वक्त तक काफी तेदाद में कायम हो नहीं सकी हैं, उसी कदर हमारे कानून-पेशा भाई हमारी आमरायके साथ साथ जायेंगे।

सरकारी मुलाजातों का मसला किसी कदर जुदा गाना है। लेकिन अगर उन उस्तफों की तैद को जो शुकिस्ता महिने में दिये गये हैं उन उस्तफों की तेदाद से मुकाबला किया जाय जो पिछले चन्द महिनों में गुरे हैं, तो हमारे लिये नतायज से गैर-मुतमईन होने की बजाहिर कोई बजा नहीं मालूम होती। खुसूसन ऐसी हालत में जब के हम देखते हैं के ये नतीजा है उस जाती सख्ती और जबर का जो हुकूमत ने इखतियार किया है। यह सच है के हमारे बाज ए-त-दाल पसद भाई जिनके दिलों में इस मुल्क की जो हमारा और उनका दोनों का यकसा वतन है सच्ची मोहब्बत है; इस कश्म कश में हकीकत को अच्छी तरह न समझ कर और उन उसूलों से ना आशना रेहकर और नावाकिक रेहकर अबतक कौम-परस्तों की सफों में उस जगह नहीं आये हैं जो उनके लिये मुनासिब है। और जो मैं कहता हूँ उनके लिये खाली भी है—मगर हम मेहसूस करते हैं के अगर हुबे-वतन का शोला उनके दिलोंमें मौजूद है तो वो बहोत जल्द अपनी गलती को समझेंगे और अपने उन भाईयों की जगह लेलेंगे जिनका नाम कौमी जानबाजोंकी फेहरिस्त में नजर आ रहा है। मैं

अपने ध्यान को उन हसरतनाक वाक्योतका जिकर किये हुए बगैर खतम कर नहीं सकता जो हररोज मलबारमें पेश आ रहे हैं। न मैं अपने मोपला भाइयोंकी लंबी दास्तांनसे कताअ नजर कर सकता हूँ। इस मौके पर मुझे साफ तौर पर बता देना चाहिये कि इस मसअलेके दो टुकड़े हैं, एक उस हकमत के मुतअलिक है जो इस मुल्क में कायम है और दूसरा हिंदू भाइयों के साथ मोपला के ताअलुक का सवाल है। पहिली बात ये है के जो शहादतें और सुबूत हासिल हुए हैं उनके ऊपर गौर करके फैसला किया जाय तो सिवाय इसके चारा नहीं के हम समझ लें के खुद हुकुमत ही इसबार अपनी काबायस हुई है। आप उन तरीकों को लीजिये जो इस बदअमनी के रोकने के लिये इखतियार किये गये तो मुल्क में एक भी समझदार शख्स ऐसा न होगा जो उन्हें काबिल मलामत न करार दे। जिन लोगों को अमृतसर के बाद तजुरवा हो गया वो इस किसम की अमन को कायम रखने की खौफनाक हकीकत को अच्छी तरह समझ सकते हैं। ये बिल्कूल इतफाक था के रेल्वे ट्रेनमें साठ आदमीओं के करीब धुद कर हलाक हो गये और ये बाकैया जाहेर हो गया। घटना यू तो और भी बहोत से ऐसे वाकआत हैं जो आजतक रोशनी में नहीं आये लेकिन उम्मीद है के जितना जमाना गुजरता जायगा उसी कदर वहां के वाकआत आहिसता आहिसता आप भाइओं तक पहुँचते जायेंगे। उस वक्त हम लोग मलबार के मुतलि क इस काबिल होंगे के अपनी सच्ची और सही राय कायम कर सकें। जहांतक उन हिंदू भाइओंका ताअलुक है जिन्हें जबरन मुसलमान बनाया गया था जो मोपलाओं के हाथ से दूसरी तकलिकों में मुवतला हुए हम उन हिंदू भाइओं से पूरी हमददी रखते हैं और उन्हें यकीन दिलाते हैं के लाखों मुसलमान इन वाकआत में उनके साथ हमददी रखते हैं। मुझे यकीन है के इस किसम के चंद वाकआत थोडीसी जाहिल शख्सोंका काम है और यह के वाक्री मोपले उन वाकआत पर मलामत करने के लिये उसी कदर तैयार नहीं जितना के हम में से कोई शख्स हो सकता है। मैं सच्चे दिल से उन वाकआत पर मुतासिफ हूँ और मुझे उम्मीद है के मेरे दूसरे भाई अपने ताअसुफ का इजहार करने में कोई कमी नहीं करते। हजरात, हमारा मुल्क सख्त तकलीफ वरदास्त कर रहा है। लेकिन ये पेशीनगोई मुशकल नहीं के ये सख्तियां उस नैदौरका आगाइ हैं जो इस कदीमी रिवायातको शिदा कर देगा के हमारा वतन अकवाम आलम की सफ में आपनी जगा पायगा।

Hakimji's
Presidential
Address.

The following Presidential address was then read to the audience by Mr. Shuaib Qureshi:—

BROTHER AND SISTER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

For the first time in the history of the Indian National Congress we are assembling under circumstances when, as a result of the latest measures of the British Government in India, our duly elected President, is not amongst us. It is a matter of deepest regret to all of us that Mr. C. R. Das is not with us to guide our deliberations to-day. It is superfluous for me to enumerate the numerous national services of that great patriot from Bengal or refer to the prominent place he occupies in the political and social life of our country, when the nation has itself unequivocally said in what esteem it holds him by conferring on him the greatest honor in its giving. But while we regret his absence on that account, it should be a matter of deepest satisfaction to us all, both because the man whom the nation had chosen as its chief representative has, by his undaunted courage, splendid self-sacrifice and spirit of cheerful suffering, proved himself worthy of the great honour conferred on him and because his arrest brings us a stage nearer to our success. Mr. C. R. Das has done greater service to his country by his arrest than he would probably have done by presiding over our deliberations to-day. His arrest has infused greater spirit and determination into the hearts of national workers and galvanised the entire country to greater activities and sacrifices.

I, however, realise my own inability to fill the place of Mr. C. R. Das and while thanking for the great trust you have reposed in me by electing me to act for him, I hope and trust that I will prove myself worthy of the great honour you have conferred on me not only in this Pandal but when the time comes for me to make, for my country and my God, the sacrifice that it has been the good fortune of many of our noble brethren to make.

Brother and Sister Delegates, I am not going to deliver a lengthy speech first because the time at my disposal is short and in the second place I feel that the time for long speeches is gone. We all are called upon to solve the most serious problem in the history of our country and the present is the time for decision and action. It will take a

Hakimji's
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Qureshi.

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long time to enter upon a detailed survey of the progress of the non-co-operation movement since the last Session of the Indian National Congress. I will only briefly touch on the advance the country has made since the inauguration of non-violent non-co-operation. The Spirit of non-co-operation pervades throughout the country and there is no true Indian heart even in the remotest corner of this great country which is not filled with the spirit of cheerful suffering and sacrifice to attain Swaraj and see the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs redressed. It has received the highest tribute that a nation could pay to another from our sister nations across the Indian Ocean. Our Egyptian brethren have adopted it to fight their own political battle. It should be a matter of pride to all of us that India is showing the way to other sister countries. Non-violent non-co-operation has ceased to be an Indian movement. It is fast becoming an Asiatic movement and the day is not distant when the conscience of the world will adopt non-violent non-co-operation as the world-weapon against universal injustice and untruth. Who can deny the success of the spirit of the non-co-operation movement in India after witnessing the cheerful spirit with which our workers have made and are making willing sacrifices for the cause of their country and are going to jail in ever increasing numbers with a smile on their lips? What is still more is that not even this intense repression has provoked violence. It has only redoubled the national determination. Every successive fit of repression on the part of the Government whether it was in connection with the confiscation of the Fatwa of Jamiat-ul-Ulema, the famous Karachi Trial or the wholesale application of the Seditious Meetings Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act or Section 144 of the Cr. P. Code by means of which the right of association and peaceful activities of the volunteer organisations, together with other elementary rights of citizenship, were suppressed had had but one effect viz. the determination on the part of the people to continue the national activities and persist in their demand. A ceaseless pilgrimage to the jail is kept up in vindication of the primary rights of citizenship in all the northern parts of India as also in Maharashtra and Andhra. The nation to-day realizes the grimness and gravity of the great struggle it is engaged in and is behaving with the cool determination worthy of heroes fighting for a noble cause.

Nor is the time at which we are waging this noble struggle inopportune. Not only the conscience of Asia and Africa is awake and active but there are signs, feeble no doubt, yet full of hope and promise, that the conscience of Europe too, is at last rousing itself from its long slumber.

I must add one word about the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. We have no quarrel with His Royal Highness; but we do not want a bankrupt Government to re-establish its fallen political credit by making a capital out of his Royal Highness's visit. Nor is the country in a mood to accord the Prince a cordial welcome so long as the two sores of the Khilafat and the Punjab are still running and Swaraj is still unattained. We therefore resolved simply to refrain from taking part in the welcome to His Royal Highness. And if there have been any regrettable incidents with consequent bitterness of spirit, the responsibility for them lies entirely at the doors of the Government that betrayed such a lamentable lack of sense and judgment and acted in a manner utterly unjustifiable.

Our critics say that the non-co-operation movement has failed and in support of that statement point to the Government educational institutions, the ranks of the title-holders, the members of the new Legislative Councils and the Bars of the various High Courts. My answer to that, if answer be still needed after what I have just said, is that so far as the Government educational institutions are concerned, I would invite the attention of our critics to what the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University had to say on the effect of the non-co-operation movement. That result was achieved in spite of the fact that we had not made provision for a sufficient number of national colleges and national schools and for the students who left their institutions. As to the title-holders and members of the Legislative Councils - the classes which would naturally not be the first to respond to such an appeal - what is their position? Where is their prestige to-day? It has fallen lower than Czarist rouble. The Government may still manufacture and place them in the market

but the public simply does not care for them and after all it is the public alone that can give them the position of trust and honour that is claimed for them. As to the lawyers, it is true, that with some noble exceptions they have not, as a class, responded to our appeal as they ought to have done. But as we develop our Panchayat system, a work to which we have not been able to devote much of our time and energy, the legal practitioners would soon fall in with public opinion. The question of Government servants is slightly different, and comparing the number of resignations offered last month with the average for the previous months, we have no reason to feel dissatisfied with the progress that non-co-operation is making in that direction, specially as the increased number of resignations is unquestionably the result of the policy of intensive repression adopted by the Government.

Hakimji's
Presidential
Address in
English, read by
Mr. Shuaib
Qureshi.

True, there are some of our Moderate brothers with genuine love of our common country in their hearts who, for want of true appreciation of the real nature of the struggle we are engaged in and the issues that it involves, have not yet taken their proper place in the national ranks. But I feel sure that if the fire of patriotism is still alive in their hearts, and I feel confident that it will not die, they will soon realize their mistake and will be found taking the place of their brothers whose names figure on the national Roll of Honour.

I cannot close without referring to the tragic events that are daily taking place in Malbar and the prolonged agonies of our unfortunate Moplah brethren. And here I must make it quite clear that this question has two aspects: one with reference to the Government in the country and the other with reference to the treatment by the Moplahs of their Hindu brethren. As to the first, judging from the evidence before the public, one cannot help coming to the conclusion that the responsibility of provoking these disturbances rests entirely on the shoulders of the Government. While as to the method adopted in suppressing these, there will be no thinking person in the country who will not condemn them. All of us who have had the experience of Amritsar know the horrible nature of this "pacification". It was only accidentally that the terrible train-tragedy was revealed to the public the other day. But how many other tragedies there are that have not come to light?

As to our Hindu brethren who have been forcibly converted or have otherwise suffered at the hands of some of the Moplahs, I fully sympathise with them and there will be no Muslim worthy of the name who will not condemn this entirely un-Islamic act in the strongest possible terms. I feel sure that these stray incidents are the acts of a few misguided individuals and that the rest of the Moplahs are as ready and strong in condemning them as any of us here. Still I should not like the fair name of Islam to be tarnished in the slightest degree and I sincerely regret these deplorable incidents.

Ladies and Gentlemen, our country is experiencing terrible convulsions but it requires no prophet to foretell that these are the birth-pangs of young India that will revive the glorious traditions of our ancient country and take its proud place by the nations of the world. (Loud applause).

Dr. M. A. Ansari, the only General Secretary spared to the Congress, then read out a number of telegrams, received from various persons and institutions from several parts of India and outside, wishing success to the Session.

Deshbandhu's Message.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, being then requested by the President to read the messages of Deshbandhu Das and Shrimati Basanti Devi, said:—

Following is the message to you from your President-elect Deshbandhu Chittranjan Das.

"The only method of warfare which is open to us is non-co-operation and that is the programme which we adopted at the two successive Congresses. We are devoted to the doctrine and you do not require me to discuss with you its ethics. What is non-co-operation? I cannot do better than quote the eloquent words of Mr. Stokes: 'It is the refusal to be party to preventable evil. It is refusal to accept or have injustice. It is refusal to acquiesce in wrongs that can be righted or to submit to a state

Deshbandhu's
message read
by Mrs. Naidu.

Deshbandhu's
message, read
by Mrs. Naidu.

of affairs which is manifestly inconsistent with the dictates of righteousness, and as a consequence it is the refusal to work with those on grounds of interest or expediency who insist on committing or perpetuating a wrong.'

"But it is argued that the whole doctrine of non-co-operation is a doctrine of negation. I agree that the doctrine is a doctrine of negation but I maintain that in substance it is one of affirmation. We reject in order to accept. This is the whole history of human endeavours. If subjection is an evil then we are bound to non-co-operate with every agency that seeks to perpetuate our subjection. That is a negation; but it affirms our determination to be free, to win our liberty at any cost.

"Nor do I agree that the doctrine is one of despair. It is the doctrine of hope and confidence and unbounded faith in its own efficacy. One has only to look at the faces of the sufferers as they are led to prison to realise that victory is already ours. It is not for nothing that Moulanas Mahomad Ali and Shaikat Ali, courageous and resourceful, have lived and suffered. It is not for nothing that Lala Lajpatraj, the bravest of hearts that ever faced the gun, flung the order of the bureaucracy in its face and marched boldly to the prison that waited him. It is not for nothing that Pandit Motilal Nehru, prince among men, spurned the wealth that was his and defied the order that would enslave him, refusing no pain that the malice of power could invent.

"But I must not forget to mention the students, who are at once the hope and the glory of the Motherland. I, who have been privileged to watch the current of political life in its very centre, can testify to the wonderful courage and unflinching devotion displayed by the students. Theirs is the inspiration behind the movement. Theirs is the sacrifice. Theirs is the victory. They are the torch-bearers on the road to freedom. They are the pilgrims on the road to liberty." (Applause).

Mrs. Naidu after reading the above message said:—This is the message that comes to us like trumpet-call from that great hero of Bengal, who instead of adorning the masnid of the Presidential seat to-day has bartered his individual liberty for national freedom. (Loud applause)

Sbrimati Basanti Devi's Message.

Next she read the message of Mrs. Das as follows:—

Shrimati
Basanti Devi's
message, read
by Mrs. Naidu.

"Let every man and woman of India ask himself or herself to-day this one supreme question only. Do I stand for India in her present struggle? Let us search our hearts and directly answer it now or never. We must decide and the responsibility for the decision is ours. The country demands stern and resolute action. If we feel in our heart of hearts that we stand for India in her struggle then we must act, act, act. We ask for no more; we expect no less. Let therefore every delegate to the Congress be sworn in as a Congress Volunteer. Let every member of the Congress be enrolled as a Congress Volunteer. Let every man and woman in India to-day offer himself or herself as a Congress Volunteer. Let the whole country be mobilised for the Congress work. Let all our normal activities be suspended until the struggle in its present form is finished. Men and women of Indja, act, act and act: directly act, while the time is yet." (Applause)

Mrs. Naidu further said:—

This also comes as a clarion-call because in the service of the nation the voice of the man and the voice of the woman may not be divided, neither may their action, neither may their aspiration, neither may their sacrifice, neither may their life, their destiny nor their liberty.

Mrs. Naidu in the end explained the two messages in Hindi in her own forceful, eloquent and appealing style amidst continuous applause. When she finished, the house rang with cries of Deshbandhu Das ki Jai and Basanti Devi ki Jai.

Munshi Akhtar Ali thereafter sang the following song:—

Urdu song.

सर फरोशी की तमन्ना अब हमारे दिलमें है,
देखना है जोर कीतना बाजूये कातिलमें है.
रहखे राहें मोहब्बत रह न जाना राहमें,

लज्जते सेहरान-बर्दी दूरी ये मंजिल में है,
 आज फिर मकतलमें कातिल केह रहा है बार बार,
 क्या तमन्ना ए शहादत भी किसी के दिलमें है,
 अब शहीदे मुल्को-मिल्लत में तेरे उपर निसार,
 अब तेरी हिम्मत का चर्या गैर की महफिलमें है,
 वक्त आने दे बतादेंगे तुझे ऐ आसमां !
 हम अभी से क्या बताए क्या हमारे दिलमें है,
 अब न पेहले बलबले हैं और न अरमानोकी भीड,
 सिर्फ मिट जानेकी येह हसरत दिले बिस्मिले है.

Urdu song.

After the song, the President adjourned the Session to 1-30 P. M. the next day.

End of the first days' proceedings.

Deshabandhu's Address

The following is the full text of Deshabandhu Das's Presidential address, with a prefatory note by Mahatma Gandhi, as published in Young India of 12th. Jan. 1922.

Deshbandhu's
Address.

[I must apologise to the public for the delay in issuing Deshabandhu Das's presidential address. It was received by me in a fragmentary condition with instructions to revise it and put it in shape. The reader will be glad to learn that beyond restoring one sentence which had been ruled out and adding one to complete a thought and beyond slight verbal immaterial alterations, the address is being printed as received. I see from the sentences ruled out in the original that Deshabandhu's intention was to give a review of the year's work and his considered opinion in detail on non-co-operation. But sufficient appears in the printed text to enable us to know his opinion. We know it too from his emphatic and stirring messages to the country just before he was silenced. In appreciating the address the reader will be helped to know that it was prepared just before his arrest. The reader will not fail to note the marked self-restraint with which the address is prepared as also the fact that Deshabandhu believes in non-violence as his final creed. That the only use the Government has for such a man is to put him in prison is about the greatest condemnation it can pronounce upon itself.

M. K. G.]

MR. CHAIRMAN OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE AND DELEGATES OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

We have arrived at a critical stage in our struggle with the bureaucracy; and it behoves us, every one of us, to search our hearts and to ask ourselves the question, "Do I stand for India in her present struggle?" It is because I stand for India that I have responded to your unanimous call to-day. I thank you for your confidence in me; but I warn you that I have no worldly wisdom to offer you. I come from a city which has felt the full force of the wrath of the Government. Measures for stifling political life have been taken, as I believe, in order to coerce the people to receive His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; but it is the imprisoned soul of Calcutta that will greet His Royal Highness on the 24th December. I come from the struggle which has just begun in Calcutta, chastened and purified; and, if I have no wisdom to give, I at least bring before you unbounded enthusiasm, and a resolute determination to see this struggle through.

I think that at the very outset we ought to define our attitude in relation to the present struggle. What is our aim? Whither are we going? I think that most people will agree that we are out to secure freedom, freedom from foreign subjection, freedom from foreign interference. It is as well, however, that we should have a clear grasp of what is meant by the word "Freedom." In the first place it does not imply absence of all restraint. When I am forbidden to steal my neighbour's purse or to trespass on my neighbour's land, there is necessarily a restraint on my action: but there is no opposition between freedom and such restraint as has the sanction of the

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people behind it. In the second place, freedom does not necessarily imply absence of the idea of dependence. Dependence there must be so long as we live in society, and need the protection of society; and there is no necessary opposition between freedom and such dependence as is willingly suffered by the people. But though there is no necessary opposition between freedom and restraint, and freedom and dependence, it must be remembered that restraint that does not deny freedom can only be such restraint as has the sanction of the people behind it; and dependence consistent with freedom can only be such dependence as is willingly suffered by the people for its own protection.

What then is freedom? It is impossible to define the term; but one may describe it as that state, that condition, which makes it possible for a nation to realize its own individuality and to evolve its own destiny. The history of mankind is full of stirring stories as to how nations have struck for freedom in order to keep their nationalism and their individuality inviolate and untarnished. To take only modern instances, one may refer to Finland and Poland, Ireland, Egypt and India. Each of these nations has offered a determined resistance to the imposition of a foreign culture upon it. The history of these nations has run on parallel lines. First there is the protest against 'cultural conquest'; secondly, there is the desire for national education; and lastly, there is the demand for its recognition as a separate organism with the power to work out its own destiny without any hindrance from any foreign power.

We stand then for freedom, because we claim the right to develop our own individuality and evolve our own destiny along our own lines, unembarrassed by what Western civilization has to teach us and unhampered by the institutions which the West has imposed on us. But here a voice interrupts me, the voice of Ravindranath, the poet of India. He says, "The Western culture is standing at our door; must we be so inhospitable as to turn it away, or ought we not to acknowledge that in the union of the cultures of the East and the West is the salvation of the world?" I admit that if Indian nationalism has to live, it cannot afford to isolate itself from other nations. But I have two observations to make to the criticism of Ravindranath;—first we must have a house of our own before we can receive a guest; and secondly, Indian culture must discover itself before it can be ready to assimilate Western culture. In my opinion, there can be no true assimilation before freedom comes, although there may be, as there has been, a slavish imitation. The cultural conquest of India is all but complete; it was the inevitable result of her political conquest. India must resist it. She must vibrate with national life; and then we may talk of the union of the two civilizations.

I must dispose of another objection, this time of my moderate friends. "You concede," I hear them say, "that freedom is not an end in itself, but a means to an end, the end being self-realisation, self-dependence, self-control; why not work out your destiny within the British Empire?" My answer is that so long as India occupies the position of a dependent in the British Empire, so long the task cannot be undertaken. Go into the villages, the heart of India and see the life that is lived by the average Indian. They are sturdy and fearless men; they are men of whom any country would be proud; but the degradation, that must inevitably follow subjection, is writ large on their brow, and their lot is made up of caste troubles, petty squabbles and endless pursuit of litigation for litigation's sake. Where are now the institutions that made them self-dependent and self-contained? Where is the life that enabled them to earn their livelihood and yet left them free to worship the God of their fathers? I assert that once a nation passes into subjection, degeneration must inevitably set in, attacking the very life-blood of that nation. Its effect is to be seen not in this sphere or that sphere but in every sphere of the nation's activity. Economically, the British rule has had a disastrous effect on our national well-being. Mr. R. C. Dutt and after him Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has shown how deliberately the destruction of our national industry, the spinning and weaving industry, was planned. Who can contemplate with equanimity that every year many crores of rupees go out of India without corresponding advantage? Morally, we are becoming a nation of slaves, and have acquired most vices of the slave. We speak the language of the master, and ape his manners; and we rush with alacrity to adopt his institutions while our own institutions lie languishing in the villages. Intellectually,

we have become willing victims to the imposition of a foreign culture on us; and the humiliation is complete when we are deliberately breaking away from the past, recognising no virtue in its continuity. "But then," say my moderate friends, "How can you hope to win freedom until you have elevated the people?" If I am right in my diagnosis that the present condition of India, material, moral and intellectual, is the direct result of the foreign rule in India, then it must follow that so long as our subjection continues, so long there is no hope of recovery. You may of course tackle side problems, as we are trying to do. You infuse such enthusiasm amongst the people as may be of great assistance to you in your political campaigns. But, believe me, it is the disease that you must fight, and not the outward symptoms of the disease.

I object then to the perpetuation of British domination as in my opinion it is impossible to find the fulfilment of our nationality, our individuality, our personality, so long as that domination continues. In arriving at this conclusion I have entirely ignored the character of the British rule in India. That rule may be good or bad, it may be conceded that it is partly good and partly bad, but my conclusion is based on the view that there is inherent in subjection something which injures national life and hampers its growth and self-fulfilment. Whether within the Empire or outside it, India must have freedom so that she may realise her individuality and evolve her destiny without help or hindrance from the British people.

I now come to the question—what are the methods which we ought to adopt in our fight with the bureaucracy? There are three, and only three, methods that I know of, (1) armed resistance, (2) co-operation with the bureaucracy in the councils that have been established under the Government of India Act and (3) non-violent non-co-operation. The first I must dismiss as beyond the range of practical politics. Even if it were not so, on principle I am opposed to violence. We must then choose between co-operation and non-co-operation.

I confess, that in considering the question of co-operation, I am not a little troubled by the fact that some of our leaders who assisted at the birth of political life in India are ranged against us on the question. I therefore propose to consider some of the arguments that are advanced against us by these supporters of the Government of India Act; and in doing so, I shall consider first whether the freedom of the Indian nation, that is to say, its right to develop its own individuality and evolve its own destiny, has been recognised in the Act; secondly, whether the Act either expressly or by necessary implication gives even the beginnings of responsible government to the Indian people; and lastly, whether the legislature has any control, effective or otherwise, over the purse.

Now the Preamble of the Act is the key to the situation. "Whereas it is the declared policy of Parliament", so the Preamble runs. What is the declared policy of Parliament? To recognise the inherent right of the Indians to responsible government? Not at all. To recognise the inherent right of India to be treated as a free and equal partner of the commonwealth of nations known as the British Empire? Not at all. But, mark the timid concession to the rights of India, "To provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration, and for the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire." I do not think a more halting concession could ever be made to the rights of a people. Now, is there anything in the Preamble to compel the British Parliament to recognise India, at any time, as a free and equal partner of the British Empire? I think not. "Progressive realization of responsible government in British India"! These are vague words, and they will not, at any time, tax the ingenuity of a British statesman. Omitting the second paragraph and coming to the third, we find "that the time and manner of each advance can be determined only by Parliament upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples." Mark the word "peoples", not "people", an assertion by the Parliament that India is not one, but many. I, for, one am not prepared to submit to the insult offered to India in the third paragraph of the Preamble, and I feel bound to protest against it.

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We are quite prepared to undertake the responsibility for the welfare and advancement of the Indian people (not peoples), and I altogether deny that a foreign Parliament can possibly discharge its responsibilities in relation to a subject nation. I resent the doctrine that the Parliament is to determine the time and manner of each advance, and I say that the whole object of the legislation, as disclosed in the third paragraph of the Preamble, is to perpetuate the domination of the British Parliament, which I cannot for a moment accept. The fourth paragraph holds out a distinct threat. "And whereas the action of Parliament", so it says, "in such matters must be guided by the co-operation received from those on whom new opportunities of service will be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility." In other words, if we are good boys, and if we satisfy the British Parliament that we have a sense of responsibility, then the British Parliament will consider whether we ought not to have a further instalment of reforms. In other words, we are perpetual infants, and the British Parliament is our sole guardian.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have very great respect for the opinion of my political opponents, but I cannot accept the fundamental principle on which the Reform Act is based. I think that we should preserve our self-esteem, whatever the stage of our progress may be. I think that we should solemnly declare in open Congress, that freedom is inherent in every nation and that India has and possesses the right to develop her own individuality and to evolve her own destiny unhampered by what the British Parliament has decided or may decide for us. I think we should recognise that any power that in any way hampers or embarrasses the self-realization and self-fulfilment of the Indian nation is an enemy of India and must as such be resisted. I am willing to co-operate with England, but on one condition only, that she recognises this inherent right of India. That recognition you will not find anywhere in the Government of India Act, and I for one will not be a party to the perpetuation of British domination in India. But my moderate friends tell me, that though the freedom of the Indian people, in the sense in which I understand the term, has not been recognised in the Act of Parliament, still, if we work the reforms, it will not be in the power of Parliament to withhold that freedom. I do not doubt the wisdom of my friends nor deny their patriotism; but the question, in my opinion, is entirely irrelevant. My position is this, that however willing I may be to enter into a compromise with the English Government in matters of detail, and I am willing to make great sacrifices, I will not enter into any compromise on the question which I hold to be fundamental. Freedom is my birthright, and I demand a recognition of that right, not by instalments nor in compartments, but whole and entire. I do not doubt that victory will be on our side; but supposing we fail, we would at least have preserved inviolate our national self-respect and dignity, we would at any rate have repudiated the insult on which the Government of India Act is based. The difference between the Indian National Congress and the Ministers who are working the Reforms Act seems to me to be fundamental, in that the former has its eye fixed on the ultimate and would reject as essentially false anything that does not recognise the freedom of the Indian people, whereas the latter have their eyes fixed on the departments of which they are in charge, and hope to attain freedom through the successful working of those departments.

I will now consider whether the Act gives even the beginnings of responsible government to India, and whether the Legislature has any control over the purse. The two questions must be considered together. It is the view of the moderates in Bengal that out of seven members of the Bengal Government, five are Indians. The view is entirely erroneous. I think I am right in saying that provinces are governed, in relation to reserved subjects, by the Governor-in-Council, and in relation to transferred subjects, by the Governor, acting with ministers. The statute makes no provision whatever for the joint deliberation by the Governor and his Council and his Ministers sitting together, except in regard to proposals for taxation and borrowing, and the framing of proposals for expenditure of public money. In regard to the reserved subjects and these are subjects which are of vital importance to us as a nation in our struggle for political liberty, the Ministers have no voice whatever. I think I am right in saying that they are the dumb spectators of the fight that is now going on between

us and the government. They are not part of the Government to consider whether, in relation to the non-co-operation movement, a repressive policy should or should not be initiated in the country. Their advice will not be sought when the Local Government has to consider the question whether Mahatma Gandhi ought or ought not to be arrested. If I am right in my view as to the position of the ministers in relation to reserved subjects, then I suggest to my moderate friends that they are under an entire misapprehension when they say, that a majority of the members of the Government are Indians. The truth is, that in relation to the reserved subjects, the Indian element is in a minority and cannot affect the policy of the Government in the slightest degree, provided the Governor and the English members of the Council combine against it.

I have now to consider the position of the Ministers and the relation between the Ministers and the Legislature in regard to the transferred subjects. My first point is, that it is a mistake to suppose that any 'subject' has been transferred to the Ministers. I concede that certain departments have been transferred, but I maintain that they have been transferred subject to the encumbrances created by a century of bureaucratic rule, and the Ministers have no power whatever to discharge those encumbrances. I will at once make my meaning clear. Now medical administration is an important department of the State; and so is public health. These departments, I understood, have been transferred to the Ministers, and the Minister, provided he has complete control of the "subject," is in a position to confer a lasting benefit on the community. But what is the position? The Minister has no effective control over the officers who run these departments, and no voice whatever in the selection of his own officers. It is a peculiar circumstance in the history of the bureaucratic rule in India that whenever the people have cried for something essential to their existence, the Government has given them expensive administration, expensive offices and expensive buildings instead. The test whether the "subject" has been transferred to the Minister is this: Is the Minister for health under the law in a position to take up this attitude, "I will recast the whole system under which these departments have hitherto been administered. I will abolish the Indian Medical Service, and employ local agencies who would know how to disinfect a well and what steps to take in the case of an epidemic. I will then have more money to spend on the needs of the people"? But no! This attitude the Act denies to him, and yet it is said that the subject has been transferred to him. One of the Ministers in India described his position in bitter terms in the course of a council debate. He complained that if he applied to the Medical department or the Sanitary department for doctors to meet an emergency, they said to him in reply, "We have no doctors". If he took the responsibility of sending doctors to the affected area, the Medical department said to him, "We do not recognise your doctors, and you must pay them out of your own pocket". When I point out to you that the Minister in question is the Minister in charge of the Medical department and Sanitary department, you will grasp the full significance of the "transfer of subjects" that has taken place under the Act. Well might a Minister exclaim, as one actually did, "Silver and gold have I none, but of such as I have I give unto thee", that is, sympathy. He added that he could only give sympathy, because the purse was held by somebody else, that is to say, the finance member.

This brings me to a question of great importance, and that is whether the Legislature has any control over the purse. The moderates maintain the affirmative of the proposition; I maintain the negative. I shall presently refer to the provisions of the Act to support my position; but I have a witness of undoubted position and respectability in my favour, whose evidence I should like to place before you. In the course of the general discussion on the budget in one of the councils, a Minister said as follows: "The two poor men who have been put down here as Ministers are presumed to be clothed with all the powers of Ministers in the House of Commons, and therefore they are called upon to account for everything for which perhaps a Minister in the House of Commons is responsible.....The Minister here begins his life by getting a dole of money that is given by those who are in charge of the whole administration." The question is whether the moderates are right or the Minister in question is right. Both may be wrong; but both cannot be right.

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Under the rules framed under the Government of India Act, the framing of proposals for expenditure in regard to transferred and reserved subjects is a matter of agreement between the Members of the Executive Council and the Ministers; but if they do not agree as to the apportionment of funds between reserved and transferred departments respectively, the Governor has the power to allocate the revenues and balances of the province between reserved and transferred subjects by specifying the fractional proportions of the revenues and balances which shall be assigned to each class of 'subject'. What, then is the position? The moderates proudly assert that the majority of members of the Government are Indians. If that were so, one would expect the question of apportionment to be decided in accordance with the view of the majority; but that is not done, because the entire scheme is based on the distrust of the Ministers. We have therefore this result that if the members and the Ministers are unable to come to an agreement, the matter is decided by the Governor who may act either in accordance with his own discretion or in accordance with the report of an authority to be appointed by the Governor-General in this behalf on the application of the Governor.

That is the impossible position in which the Minister is placed by the scheme framed under the Act; but what is the position of the Council? Has it any power to say, "We require the funds to be apportioned in the way we suggest and not according to the proposal made by the Government?" Can it say, "We require you to spend so much to fight malaria or so much for primary education?" The Act undoubtedly gives power to the Council to refuse its assent to a demand or to reduce the amount therein referred to either by a reduction of the whole grant or by the omission or reduction of any of the items of expenditure of which the grant is composed, but this is subject to an important proviso, viz, that the local Government shall have power, in relation to any such demand, to act as if it had been assented to, notwithstanding the withholding of such assent or the reduction of the amount therein referred to, if the demand relates to a reserved subject, and the Governor certifies that the expenditure provided for by the demand is essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the subject. This, according to the Moderates, is the effective control which the Legislature has over the purse. It has no power whatever to say in what proportion the revenue of the country should be allocated between reserved and transferred departments respectively; it has no control whatever over the revenue allocated to the reserved subjects. All that it can do is to say to the Ministers, "We refuse our assent to your demand", or, "We reduce the amount referred to in your demand either by a reduction of the whole grant or by the omission or reduction of any of the items of expenditure of which the grant is composed." It is ridiculous to describe the limited control exercisable by the Council in relation to the transferred subjects as "an effective control over the purse."

In administrative matters, the position of the Minister is no better. The Act provides that in relation to transferred subjects, the Governor shall be guided by the advice of his Ministers, unless he sees sufficient cause to dissent from their opinion, in which case he may require action to be taken otherwise than in accordance with that advice. In a dispute between the Minister in charge of the department of health and his officer on a question of policy, it is possible for the Governor to support the officer against the Minister. In matters of legislation in relation to the transferred subjects, there is in theory some power in the Legislature, but in practice the finance department, controlled by a member of the Executive Council, would have the last word on the subject, for I can conceive of no legislation which does not involve expenditure of money, and it is the duty of the finance department (of which, be it remembered, the Minister is not a Member) to examine and advise on the scheme of the new expenditure for which it is proposed to make provision in the estimates.

In regard to the whole scheme, it is legitimate to ask, "Does it secure even the elementary rights which every citizen under any civilised Government possesses? Is repressive legislation impossible under the Act, except with the consent of the people? Does it give to the people the right to repeal the repressive legislation which disgraces the Statute book in India? Has a repetition of the Punjab atrocities been made impossible?" I think I am right in saying, that in regard to all these matters the position is exactly the same as it was before the Reforms Act.

This, then, is the scheme which is being worked by the Ministers, and we have been solemnly assured by the Moderates that the beginning of Swaraj is to be found in the Scheme. Much as I would like to end all unnecessary conflict, I cannot recommend to you the acceptance of the Act as a basis for co-operation with the Government. I will not purchase peace with dishonour, and so long as the Preamble to the Government of India Act stands and our right, our inherent right to regulate our own affairs, develop our own individuality and evolve our own destiny, is not recognised, I must decline to consider any terms of peace.

The only method therefore of warfare open to us is non-co-operation; and that is the programme which we adopted at two successive congresses. We are devoted to the doctrine of non-co-operation, and you will not expect me to discuss its ethics. But there are friendly critics whose doubts we ought to dispel, if it is in our power to do so. They say that the doctrine of non-co-operation is a doctrine of negation, a doctrine of despair; they stand aghast at the narrowness, the exclusiveness which such a doctrine implies; and they draw our attention to the trend of political events in the world, and they ask us whether there is any hope for a nation that is determined to live a life of isolation.

I feel bound to answer the questions which have been raised by these critics, and, in doing so, I must ask myself the question, "What is non-co-operation?" I find it easier to answer the question by considering for a moment what is not non-co-operation. Non-co-operation is not a refusal to co-operate with the English people because they are English people. Non-co-operation does not advocate a policy of separation, a policy of isolation. Indeed, in our conflict with the forces of injustice and unrighteousness, we are not forgetting Him, to quote the words of Ravindranath, "Who is without distinction of class or colour, and Who, with His varied Shakti makes true provision for the inherent need of each and every class." But before we can join the forces of the world in the missionary enterprise to uplift humanity, it is at least necessary that we should find fulfilment in self-realization and self-development; for, it is only as a nation, that has realized itself, that we can hope to be of any service to humanity. Let us consider the matter for a moment. Our philosophy recognises that there is an essential unity behind all diversities, and that these diversities, "*Vaiokhitya*" if I may use that expression, constitute the "*Lila*" of the Supreme Reality. The whole object of human endeavour, as I understand it, is to reconcile these endless diversities so as to affirm the Supreme Reality. God's *Lila* requires that every manifestation must have an unhampered growth. Every nation on the face of the earth represents such a manifestation. Like the various flowers in a garden, the nations must follow their own laws and work out their own destiny, so that in the end they might each and all contribute to the life and culture of humanity. In order that humanity may be served, the ultimate unity realized, that essential something, which distinguishes one nation from another, which I may describe as the individuality of the nation, must have unfettered growth. This is the essence of the doctrine of nationalism for which men have been ready to lay down their lives. Nationalism is not an aggressive assertion of its individuality, distinct and separate from the other nation's, but it is a yearning for self-fulfilment, self-determination and self-realization as a part of the scheme of the universal humanity by which alone humanity can fulfil itself, determine itself and realize itself. Non-co-operation, therefore, though it does not refuse co-operation with the English because they are English, will refuse to co-operate with any power or institution which embarrasses in any way the growth of the individuality of the Indian nation or hampers its self-fulfilment. Non-co-operation again does not reject Western culture because it is Western. But it recognises that there must be rejection in order that there may be whole-hearted acceptance. The cry for national education is not a protest against foreign education. But it is a protest against the imposition of foreign culture on India. Subjection is hard to bear, whether it be political or cultural; and indeed, as history shows, cultural subjection must inevitably follow in the wake of political subjection. Our desire for national education is only an endeavour to establish a continuity with the past and to enthrone our culture in our hearts. The doctrine that we preach does not exclude any light that may come from outside; but we say to those who care to listen to us,

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"First light the lamp that lies neglected in your home; look into the past and realise your present position in the light of the past; and then face the world with courage and receive whatever light that may come from outside."

What then is non-co-operation? I cannot do better than quote the eloquent words of Mr. Stokes; "It is the refusal to be a party to preventable evil; it is the refusal to accept or have any part in injustice; it is the refusal to acquiesce in wrongs that can be righted, or to submit to a state of affairs which is manifestly inconsistent with the dictates of righteousness. And as a consequence, it is the refusal to work with those who, on grounds of interest or expediency, insist upon committing or perpetuating wrong."

But it is argued that the whole doctrine is a doctrine of negation, a doctrine of despair. I agree that in form the doctrine is one of negation. but I maintain that in substance it is one of affirmation. We break in order to build; we destroy in order to construct; we reject in order to accept. This is the whole history of human endeavour. If subjection be an evil, then we are bound to non-co-operate with every agency that seeks to perpetuate our subjection. That is a negation; but it affirms our determination to be free, to win our liberty at any cost. Nor do I agree that the doctrine is one of despair. It is a doctrine of hope and of confidence, and of unbounded faith in its efficacy. One has only to look at the faces of the sufferers as they are led to prison to realise that victory is already ours. It is not for nothing that Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali, courageous and resourceful, have lived and suffered. It is not for nothing that Lajpat Rai, one of the bravest of spirits that ever faced the sun, flung the order of the bureaucracy in its face and marched boldly into the prison that awaited him. It is not for nothing that Motilal Nehru, that prince amongst men, spurned the riches that were his, and defied the order that would enslave him, refusing no pain that the malice of power could invent. Time will not permit me to read to you all the names that are inscribed on the roll of honour; but I must not forget to mention the students who are at once the hope and glory of the Motherland. I, who have been privileged to watch the current of political life in its very centre, can testify to the wonderful courage and unflinching devotion displayed by the students. Theirs is the inspiration behind the movement, theirs the victory. They are the torch-bearers of the time; they are the pilgrims on the road. If suffering has been their lot, victory is their due.

This, then, is the philosophy on which the non-co-operation movement is based: to defy with absolute constancy the hostile powers that would hamper in any way our growth and self-fulfilment as a nation, to keep its evil always in view, not hating the power but recognising its evil as an evil, and refusing no suffering that the malice of that power can invent. I admit, gentlemen, that the ideal is very high, but I maintain that it is the only method which we can adopt for the early establishment of Swaraj. It requires no wisdom to see that if every one of us withdraws our helping-hand from the machine that is relentlessly working to prevent our growth and self-realization as a nation, the machine must, of necessity, stop its work. We are told, however, that once the machine of Government stops its work, we shall be swept away by the forces of disorder and reaction. There is a simple answer to this argument. The non-co-operation movement can never hope to succeed, unless our forces are properly organised, and the ethics of the movement properly understood by the nation. If they are not understood, the question will not arise, for we cannot then hope to carry the struggle to a successful termination; but if they are understood, then the inherent strength of the movement will prevent anarchy and bloodshed. But I cannot disguise from myself the fact that there have been disturbances in Bombay in the course of our propaganda. We must accept responsibility for such disturbances and frankly admit that, to the extent to which there has been violence, intimidation and coercion, we may be said to have failed. But what is the remedy? Surely not to abjure our faith, but to see that the faith is properly understood. Bloodshed and disorder have been associated with every great movement that has taken place,—the spread of Christianity for instance. But is it to be argued, that because, in the spread of a New Idea there is danger of disorder and disturbance as it comes into conflict with old ideals and the old view of life, the missionaries must of necessity stay their hand and decline to carry the light they feel? Such an argument is not worth a moment's consideration. You may argue, if you like, that our doctrine has not yet been understood by the people.

You may argue, if you choose, that our programme ought to be revised in the light of the disturbances which have taken place in Bombay. But the fact that disturbances have in fact taken place in a single small area is no argument against the essential truth of our movement. We must meet the situation with courage and devise means to prevent the recurrence of those disturbances; but I cannot and I will not advise you to stay your hand from the non-co-operation movement. The fact that India has remained calm in spite of the recent arrests shows that the Bombay lesson has gone home. The recent manifestation of courage, endurance and remarkable self-control has in my opinion demonstrated the efficacy and the necessity of non-violent, non-co-operation. And nothing can stop our onward march if the same spirit is still further developed and retained to the end.

Ladies and gentlemen, the success of our movement has made a deep impression on the bureaucracy, if we may judge by the repressive policy which it has initiated and is carrying into effect. I observe that His Excellency the Viceroy objects to the policy being described as "repressive", but I have yet to know that the Seditious Meetings Act and the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act are part of the ordinary criminal law of the land. Indeed, if I am not mistaken, these were two of the Acts that were considered by the Committee appointed to examine repressive legislation. It is true that the Committee consisting of an Indian Chairman and six Indian Members out of eight were unable to recommend the repeal of these two Acts. They have only shown what confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility. But the fact remains that the Acts were treated as repressive laws and discussed as such. Lord Reading is obviously in error in suggesting, as he has done, that the arrests now being made in Calcutta and in other parts of India are under the ordinary criminal law of the land. His Excellency asserts that there are organized attempts to challenge the law, and he does not understand what purpose is served by flagrant breach of the law for the purpose of challenging the Government and in order to compel arrest. I would, with all respect, put one question to His Excellency. If Japan planted her national flag on Australia, and gave Australia such freedom and such constitution as we enjoy under Great Britain, neither more nor less, what would His Excellency's advice be to the Australians, if they were determined to win freedom at all costs? And if Japan promulgated repressive laws without the sanction of the Australians, prohibiting meetings and declaring as unlawful all voluntary associations, through which alone the Australians could hope to work for national regeneration, what would His Excellency's advice be to the Australians, supposing they solemnly agreed to defy such laws and disregard the orders issued under such laws? I venture to think that His Excellency does not understand the situation which has arisen in India, therefore he is puzzled and perplexed. Rightly or wrongly, the Congress has adopted the policy of non-co-operation as the only legitimate political weapon available for its use. That is not breaking the law. Rightly or wrongly, the Congress has decided to boycott foreign goods, and especially foreign cloth. That is not breaking the law. Rightly or wrongly, the Congress has decided to boycott the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. That is not breaking the law. Now in what way is the Congress to carry on its work except through the voluntary organisations which you have proclaimed under the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act? In striking at these voluntary organisations, you strike at the Congress propaganda which, you are bound to admit, is not unlawful. Why should it puzzle your Excellency, assuming you credit us with the same amount of patriotism which you have, that we have solemnly resolved to disobey your orders and court imprisonment? I assert that it is you who have broken the law and not we. You have transgressed the law which secures to every subject, freedom of speech and action, so long as the speech and the action do not offend against the ordinary criminal law of the land. You have transgressed the law which secures to the subject the unrestricted right to hold meetings, so long as these meetings do not degenerate into unlawful assemblies. These are the common law rights of the subject which you have transgressed, and I would remind your Excellency that it is on the due observance of these elementary rights that the allegiance of the subject depends.

But then, it is said that these associations interfere with the administration of the law and with the maintenance of law and order. If they do, then the

Deshbandhu's
Address.

ordinary criminal law is there, and it ought to be sufficient. I have heard of no instance of violence in Calcutta; certainly none was reported to the police. Charges of violence can be investigated, and therefore they were not made. But charges of threat and intimidation are easy to make, because they cannot be investigated. I would ask the authorities one question: Was any case of threat or intimidation reported to the police? Has the local Government found, on enquiry, that quite apart from general allegations which can easily be made, there were specific cases of threat or intimidation practised by the non-co-operators on the "loyalists" of Calcutta? An English Journalist, signing himself as "Nominis Umbra," gave as his opinion to an English paper in Calcutta that the *hartal* was willingly acquiesced in by the people. We read in "A Ditcher's diary" in *Capital* of the 24th November last, "the people surrendered at discretion, but it was impossible for a careful observer not to see that not only were they, for the most part, willing victims of new zoolum, but also that they exulted in the discomfiture of the Sirkar." If that be so, then what case is there for the declaration under Sec. 16 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act? Was the position in Calcutta on the 17th November last worse than the position in England when a big strike is in progress? And is it suggested that there resides any power in the Cabinet of England to put down a strike and prevent picketing? No, gentlemen, the real object of the application of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act is not to protect society against the threats and intimidation of the non-co-operators, but to crush the Congress and the non-co-operation movement. It is to such threat that you have to return an answer.

There is another object which the Government has in view: it is to make, by threat, intimidation and coercion, the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to Calcutta a success. On your behalf I would respectfully lay before His Royal Highness our wishes of good-will to him personally. There is no quarrel between us and the Royal House of England; but he comes here as the ambassador of a Power with whom we have decided not to co-operate; as such we cannot receive him. Also, we are in no mood to take part in any rejoicing. We are fighting for our national existence, for the recognition of our elementary rights freely to live our own life and evolve our own destiny according to our lights. It would be sheer hypocrisy on our part to extend a national welcome to the ambassador of the Power that would deny us our elementary rights. There is, in the refusal to extend a national welcome to His Royal Highness, no disrespect either to him or to the Royal House of England. There is only determination not to co-operate with the Bureaucracy.

The Indian National Congress.

The 36th Session.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Wednesday, the 28th December 1921.

The Congress resumed its sitting at 2-15 P. M. the next day. Hakim Ajmal-khan Sahab presided. The proceedings opened with the following songs:—

(१)

वदे मातरम् ॥

(See page 7).

(२)

भारत हमारा देश है, हित उसका निश्चय चाहेंगे;
उसके हित के कारन हम- कुछ न कुछ कर जायेंगे;
भारत हमारी मातृभूमि, उसका ऋण हम पर है बहुत;
उसको मिटाने के लिये हम कुछ न कुछ कर जायेंगे.
भारतकी दुःखप्रद अवनति पर क्यों न अश्रु बहावेंगे?
उनको हटाने के लिये हम कुछ न कुछ कर जायेंगे.
धर्म, विद्या और धन से, उन्नति भारत की होवे;
उस उन्नति के मार्ग में हम कुछ न कुछ कर जायेंगे.
संसार के उद्धार हेतु, कृष्ण जन्मे जल में;
तो फिर भला हम क्यों डरेंगे? कुछ न-कुछ कर जायेंगे.
चाहे कितने कष्ट हमको, क्यों न हो उसके लिये ?
सब सहेंगे पर मिटेंगे कुछ न कुछ कर जायेंगे.

(Sung by the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya Volunteers.)

(३)

ऐ मातृभूमि तेरे चरणों में शिर नमाऊं,
मैं भक्तिभेट अपनी, तेरी शरण में लाऊं. (टेक)
माये पे तू हो चंदन, छाती पे तू हो माला,
जिह्वा पे गीत तू हो, मैं तेरा नाम गाऊं. (ऐ०)
जिससे सुपूत उपजे, श्री राम कृष्ण जैसे,
उस तेरी धूलि को मैं, निज शीष पे चढाऊं. (ऐ०)
मानी समुद्र जिसकी धूलि का पान करके,
करता है मान तेरे उस पैर को मनाऊं. (ऐ०)
बे देश मानवाले चढ कर उतर गये सब,
गोरे रहे न काले तुझ को हि एक पाऊं. (ऐ०)
सेवामें तेरी सारे भेदों को भल जाऊं,
वह पुण्य नाम तेरा प्रति दिन सुनू सुनाऊं. (ऐ०)
तेरे ही काम आऊं, तेरा ही मंत्र गाऊं,
मन और देह तुझ पर बलिदान में चढाऊं. (ऐ०)

(४)

जननि भारत आज हमको, मधुर बीणा सुना रही है;
स्वतंत्रता का राग गाकर, मानो अमृत पिला रही है.
सैंकड़ों वर्षों से थे, भाग्य ही के फेर में;

Songs.

उसकि निर्भरता छुडाकर, स्वावलंबन सिखा रही है.
था निराशा का भयानक, भूत जो हम पर चढ़ा
राष्ट्र के संगीत बल से, शीघ्र उसको भगा रही है.
फिर भला मैं दीनता के, शब्द कैसे कह सकूँ ?
जब कि माता मीठे स्वर से, शक्ति मंत्र पढा रही है.

(Sung by Rashtriya Stree Mandal Ahmedabad.)

(4)

नगमये उम्मीद.
उठ ऐ हिंदी के है दर अस्त ये हिंदुस्ता तेरा.
जो बेगाना है ना खानदाह है बेशक मेहमां तेरा.
जो कुछ कहना है तुझको हां उसे अब करके बतलादे.
तेरा होकर रहेगा एक दिन हिंदुस्ता तेरा
तेरा च्योपार तेरा माल तेरी सनअतो हिरफत
तेरा सौदा सरो में हो खां हो कारवां तेरा
खजाना तेरा, तेरी फौज और जंगी तेरा बेडा
उमुरे मुमलेकत में " जॉन बुल " हमदास्तां तेरा
वो दिन आये इलाही आप तुहो हुकमरा अपना
सुफीदो सन्धो सुख उडता हो दुनिया में नशां तेरा.

(sung by Miss Raihana Tyabji)

[English rendering of the above urdu song.]

THE SONG OF TRIUMPH.

Arise oh Hindi ! For this land of Hind
Is thine in truth ! The sovereign from o'erseas
Comes to thy house an uninvited guest,
A burden under which thy country bends,
A yoke to which thou needst must yield thy neck
This is no time for talk; Arise and Act !
Thy trade, thy commerce and thy industry,
These take into thy hands. The sons of Hind
Shall fight for Hindustan, the arms of Hind
Be used for Hind alone, the wealth of Hind
Shall be controlled by Hind, and none but Hind !
And haughty John Bull, master yesterday,
To-morrow shall be equal, and no more.
Then let thy Motherland, the ancient home
Of culture, learning, beauty, rise and say
Unto a world amazed, "See, here I stand;
A slave no more, but equal, friend and guide !"
Ah God, Who leads us to our destiny,
Show us the day when, masters in our home,
Our eyes shall see a banner, white and green
And red, stand tall and straight and beautiful
Midst other emblems of proud nationhood,
Their equal and their peer ! Amen ! Amen !

Dr. M. A. Ansari next announced the receipt of some more congratulatory telegrams and letters.

Thereafter the President in calling upon Mahatma Gandhi to move the main and the central resolution said:—

The President
calling upon
Mahatma
Gandhi to move
the main
resolution.

बिरादरान्,

अब मैं महात्माजी साहेबसे दरखास्त करता हूँ के वो रेशोल्यूशनको आप सब भाइयों के सामने पेश करें। मैं इसके मुतअल्लिक हस्से पेहले महात्माजी साहेब आप सब भाइयों को वो रेशोल्यूशन पढकर सुनाएँ जलसेमें निजामको कायम रखने के लिये और आप के वक्त का लिहाज रखने के लिये दो तीन

बातोंका एअखान करना चाहता हूँ। पहली बात ये के मैं इस रेजोल्युशन के उपर सिर्फ दो घंटे के बास्ते गुप्तग करने के लिये, इसे पेश करने के लिये, इसकी तेहरीक करने के लिये, इजाजत दूंगा। दूसरी बात मैं महात्माजी साहेबसे दरखास्त करूंगा के रेजोल्युशन को पढ़ने के बाद उपर जो तकरीर करें वो आद घंटे से ज्यादा न होना चाहिये। और इस तरहसे और भाई ताईद करेगे। दस दस पांच पांच मिनट से ज्यादा उनके लिये बख्त नहीं है। इसके बाद मैं दरखास्त करता हूँ महात्माजी साहेबसे के वो रेजोल्युशन को पेश करें।

The President calling upon Mahatma Gandhi to move the main resolution.

[English rendering of the above.]

BROTHERS,

I now request Mahatmaji to put the resolution before you. However, before Mahatmaji moves this resolution, having regard to your time and maintenance of order in the assembly, I have to say a few words. First, I want to say that I would allow only 2 hours' time for this resolution—for moving it and discussing it. Next, I request Mahatmaji not to take more than half an hour for moving the resolution after having read it. And, therefore, the speakers who will follow Mahatmaji to support the resolution will not get more than 5 to 10 minutes each. I now request Mahatmaji to move the resolution.

As Mahatma Gandhi got down the platform to reach the rostrum in his usual loin-cloth, there was an enthusiastically devotional and deafening applause. Having taken his seat on the rostrum, he spoke in Hindi as under :—

सदर साहब, भाईयो और बहिनो,

हकीमजी साहबने मुझे ३० मिनट दीं हैं। और मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ के जो हकीमजीका हुकम है उसके मुताबिक मैं चलूंगा। लेकिन इसके साथ साथ सदर साहब यह कहना भूल गये के जितना बक्त इसके अंग्रेजी और हिन्दी पढ़नेमें लगेगा वह मुझे मुजरे मिलेगा। (इसीध्वनि)

The Main Resolution.

—
Mahatma Gandhi.

[English rendering of the above.]

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHERS, AND SISTERS,

Hakimji Saheb has allowed me 30 minutes and I hope to be able to keep within the limit prescribed. The President however missed to add that the time taken in reading the resolution in Hindi and in English would be excluded (laughter).

Before proceeding, he added:—

आप लोग मुझे मुआफ करें जो अंग्रेजी नहीं जानते। बादको मैं हिन्दी में इसका मतलब दूंगा। (Those of you who do not know English will kindly excuse me. Later on I shall give the substance of this in Hindi).

He then read out the resolution in English rendering it in Hindi, paragraph by paragraph, as he proceeded:—

1. Whereas, since the holding of the last National Congress, the people of India have found from actual experience that, by reason of the adoption of non-violent non-co-operation, the country has made great advance in fearlessness, self-sacrifice and self-respect, and whereas, the movement has greatly damaged the prestige of the Government, and whereas, the country on the whole is rapidly progressing towards Swaraj, this Congress confirms the resolution adopted at the special session, of the Congress at Calcutta and reaffirmed at Nagpur, and places on record the fixed determination of the Congress to continue the programme of non-violent non-co-operation with greater vigour than hitherto, in such manner as each province may determine, till the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs are redressed and Swaraj is established, and the control of the Government of India passes into the hands of the people from that of an irresponsible corporation.

यह इसका पहला हिस्सा है और इसमें बतलाया गया है कि जो काम हमने नागपुर और कलकत्तेमें किया और उनका अनुभव हमने किया उससे हम देखते हैं के लोगोंमें कुवत और हिम्मत आगयी है। जो आप अगर समझते हैं हम जानते हैं और कहते हैं के यह तरीका हमें शांतिमय असहयोगसे नॉन-व्हायोलेंट नॉन-को-ऑपरेशनसे मिला है। इस लिये आजतक जैसे हम कार्रवाई करते आये हैं इसी तरह हमको आगेभी करना चाहिये। मतलब यह है के हमारा इतना विश्वास इसपर हुआ है के हम इसीपर

The Main
Resolution.

Mahatma
Gandhi.

काम करना चाहते हैं—उस वक्त तक जब के खिलाफत और पंजाब के प्रश्न न हल हो जायें और जबतक हम स्वराज जिसमें नौकरशाही हमारी जिम्मेदारीका ह्याल नहि रखते, हमारे हाथमें न आ जाए।

And whereas, by reason of the threat uttered by His Excellency the Viceroy in his recent speeches and the consequent repression started by the Government of India in the various Provinces by way of disbandment of Volunteer Corps and forcible prohibition of public and even committee meetings in an illegal and high-handed manner and by the arrest of many Congress workers in several Provinces and whereas, this repression is manifestly intended to stifle all Congress and Khilafat activities and deprive the public of their assistance, this Congress resolves that all activities of the Congress be suspended as far as necessary and appeals to all, quietly and without any demonstration, to offer themselves for arrest by belonging to the Volunteer Organisations to be formed throughout the country in terms of the resolution of the Working Committee arrived at in Bombay on the 23rd day of November last, provided that no one shall be accepted as volunteer who does not sign the following pledge.

इसका दूसरा हिस्सा यह है के बाइसराय ने अपने व्याख्यानों से हमें डराया है और घमकी दी है और हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार बहुत तरह से दमननीति चला रही है जैसेकी व्हालंटीयर कोर जो पेहले से है उसे रोकती है और जबरदस्ती से हमारी कमेटियां रोक रही है जैसे पंजाब में लाला लजपतराय की मीटिंग रोक भी और कांग्रेस के बड़े अच्छे सेवकों को पकड़ लेती है और उसका हेतु भी हर एक आदमी देख सकता है के खिलाफत और कांग्रेस के काम को मिटा देना है और पब्लिक को बहुत मदद उससे मिलती थी उसे हटा रही है। इसलिये कांग्रेस चाहती है कि कांग्रेस का और काम जहांतक रोका जा सके, रोककर व्हालंटीयर कोर बनावे और मीटिंग भी करनी चाहिए।

With God as witness, I solemnly declare that,

- (1) I wish to be a member of the National Volunteer Corps.
- (2) So long as I remain a member of the Corps, I shall remain non-violent in word and deed and shall earnestly endeavour to be non-violent in intent, since I believe that, as India is circumstanced, non-violence alone can help the Khilafat and the Punjab and result in the attainment of Swaraj and consolidation of unity among all the races and communities of India whether Hindu, Musalman, Sikh, Parsi, Christian or Jew.
- (3) I believe in and shall endeavour always to promote such unity.
- (4) I believe in Swadeshi as essential for India's economic, political and moral salvation, and shall use hand-spun and hand-woven Khaddar to the exclusion of every other cloth.
- (5) As a Hindu I believe in the justice and necessity of removing the evil of untouchability and shall, on all possible occasions, seek personal contact with and endeavour to render service to the submerged classes.
- (6) I shall carry out the instructions of my superior officers and all the regulations, not inconsistent with the spirit of this pledge, prescribed by the Volunteer Board or the Working Committee or any other agency established by the Congress.
- (7) I am prepared to suffer imprisonment, assault or even death for the sake of my religion and my country without resentment.
- (8) In the event of my imprisonment I shall not claim from the Congress any support for my family or dependents.

This Congress trusts that every person of the age of 18 and over will immediately join the volunteer organisations.

यह इसका तीसरा हिस्सा है के जो मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ और इस पर आप सब भाई चाहे आप हिन्दू हों, चाहे मुसलमान, चाहे यहूदी, चाहे पारसी या ईसाई, कोई हों, खुब समझ लें क्यों के आपको इसपर काम करना है। पहली कसम खुदा के सामने खाकर आप यह निबय करें कि:—

- (१) व्हालंटीयर कोर में हम सम्मिलित होना धर्म समझते हैं।

Mahatma Gandhi

Moving the Main Resolution.



“ I am a man of peace.....But I do not want peace at any price.....I do not want the peace that you find in the grave. ”

“ स्वराज्य कमजोर दिलके लिये नहीं ! ”

Volunteers saluting the National flag



Privy Volunteers
For the uplift of the 'untouchables.'

- (२) जबतक हम इसमें हैं तबतक हम काम, बोली और मन से अच्छी तरह शान्ति का पालन करेंगे। हम सबे दिलसे हमारे इरादे में भी अशान्ति को मिटाकर गुस्सेको जगह नहीं दे देंगे। क्यों कि हम मानते हैं कि अगर हम हिन्दुस्तान में खिलाफत, पंजाब और स्वराज का प्रश्न हल करना चाहते हैं अगर हम हिन्दुस्तान में हिन्दु, मुसलमान, सिक्ख, यहूदी, पारसी में मोहब्बत से बरतना चाहते हैं तो हिन्दुस्तान में शान्ति को छोड़कर दूसरा याने तलवार का तरीका नहीं।
- (३) और प्रतिज्ञा यह है कि मैं ऐसे ऐसे मोहब्बत के कामों में शान्ति के लिये कोशिश करता रहूंगा और दूसरों को हम इसी तरह का बनाना चाहते हैं।
- (४) मैं स्वदेशी को हिन्दुस्तान की आर्थिक उन्नति के लिये, हिन्दुस्तान की नैतिक उन्नति के लिये और हिन्दुस्तान की राजनैतिक मुक्ति के लिये, एक बड़ी जरूरी चीज है ऐसा मानता हूँ। और इस कारण मैं दूसरे लिबास छोड़कर, क्या वह मिला हो क्या विदेशी हो, छोड़कर शुद्ध खदर का कपड़ा पहनूंगा। इस तरह, जबतक मैं क्लॉन्टीयर रहूंगा, यह भी मेरे लिये कसम है।
- (५) अगर मैं हिन्दू हूँ तो मैं मानता हूँ कि अस्पृश्यता का मेल मिट जाना चाहिए। इसलिए जब मुझे मौका मिलेगा अस्पृश्य की सेवा भी करूंगा। मैं कहता हूँ के अगर आप ऐसा मानते हैं तो आज हम ऐसा मौका मिलेगा। आज आठ बजे रात में जो अन्त्यज भाई आये हूवे हैं उन्हें अपनी मोहब्बत बतलावें।
- (६) यह बात भी कही गई है कि जो मेरे कसन मुझे आजा देगे उसके मुताबिक चलूंगा। यह बात भी आप सोचें, यह भी एक जरूरी बात है।
- (७) मैं तैयार हूँ जेल के बरदास्त के लिये, मैं तैयार हूँ मारपीट की बरदास्त के लिये, मैं तैयार हूँ धर्म और मजहब के वास्ते मौत की तकलीफ उठाने के लिये। हम गुस्सा न करेंगे, शान्ति को कायम रखते हुए। शान्ति छोड़कर सारा काम बिगड़ता है, ऐसा हम मानते हैं।
- (८) अगर मैं जेल गया तो मेरे औरत और लडके के लिये मुझे कोई कांग्रेस से खर्च की जरूरत नहीं है। ऐसी कसम जो खास के वह क्लॉन्टीयर कोरमें होगा। हिन्दुस्तान का कोई लडका जो १८ वर्ष का है या अधिक है तो वह क्लॉन्टीयर कोरमें हो सकता है। सबको क्लॉन्टीयर कोरमें होना चाहिये यह पहला सवाल है।

Notwithstanding the proclamations prohibiting public meetings, and in as much as even Committee meetings have been attempted to be construed as public meetings, this Congress advises the holding of Committee meetings and of public meetings, the latter in enclosed places and by tickets and by previous announcements, at which as far as possible only speakers previously announced shall deliver written speeches, care being taken in every case to avoid risk of provocation and possible violence by the public in consequence.

बात दूसरी जो इसमें है उसमें मीटिंग की बात है। कांग्रेस कहती है के अगर सरकार कोई मीटिंग नहीं करने देती है तो भी आप करें। लेकिन पब्लिक मीटिंग मकानमें करें और टिकट लगा कर उसे करें। जो लोग जेलमें जानेको तैयार हों वे उसमें जाएं। व्याख्यान लिखा हुआ हो और आन्दोलन न फैले। कोई बोलनेवाला, ऐसी बात न करे कि फसाद हो।

This Congress is further of opinion that Civil Disobedience is the only civilized and effective substitute for an armed rebellion, whenever every other remedy for preventing arbitrary, tyrannical and emasculating use of authority by individuals or corporations has been tried, and therefore advises all Congress workers and others, who believe in peaceful methods and are convinced that there is no remedy save some kind of sacrifice to dislodge the existing Government from its position of perfect irresponsibility to the people of India, to organise Individual Civil Disobedience and Mass Civil Disobedience, when the mass of people have been sufficiently trained in the methods of non-violence and otherwise, in terms of the resolution thereon of the last meeting of the All India Congress Committee held at Delhi.

आनन्द और बारडोली के भाई अच्छे तरह सुनै कि कांग्रेस यह भी राय रखती है कि अगर हम हथियार से हमारा काम नहीं करना चाहते तो हमारे पास एक तरीका सिविल डिओबिडियन्स है। यह

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तरीका हथियार से भी अच्छा है। ऐसा देखकर कांग्रेस सलाह देती है, कांग्रेस और दूसरों को, कि अगर हम कुरबानी पर-यक़ीन रखते हैं तो उन कानूनों को सविनय भंग करें जो हमारी बेइज्जती करते हैं। कांग्रेस राय देती है हर आदमी को अकेले कानून भंग करने को और मिलकर कानून भंग करने को। जैसा आनंद और बारडोली करते हैं।

This Congress is of opinion that in order to concentrate attention upon Civil Disobedience, whether mass or individual, whether of an offensive or defensive character, under proper safeguards and under instructions to be issued from time to time by the Working Committee or the Provincial Congress Committee concerned, all other Congress activities should be suspended whenever and wherever and to the extent to which it may be found necessary.

और चूंकि कांग्रेस मानती है कि सिविल डिसेबिडियन्स करनी जरूरी है तो हम कहते हैं कि हमारा सारा काम जहां तक कम कर सकें, करके सिर्फ सिविल डिसेबिडियन्स करने की कोशिश करें।

This Congress calls upon all students of the age of 18 and over, particularly those studying in the National Institutions and the staff thereof immediately to sign the foregoing pledge and become members of National Volunteer Corps.

और जो विद्यार्थी हैं उन्हें भी कांग्रेस कहती है कि हमारे १८ वर्ष के जो विद्यार्थी हैं क्या वे राष्ट्रीय मद्रसे में हैं क्या कहीं हैं उसका फर्ज है कि न्हाल्टीयर कोर में दाखल हो जाएं और साथ साथ जो शिक्षक हों वे भी इसमें दाखिल हों।

In view of the impending arrests of a large number of Congress workers, this Congress, whilst requiring the ordinary machinery to remain intact and to be utilised in the ordinary manner whenever feasible, hereby appoints until further instructions Mahatma Gandhi as the sole Executive authority of the Congress and invests him with the full powers of the All India Congress Committee including the power to convene a special session of the Congress or of the All India Congress Committee or the Working Committee, such powers to be exercised between any two sessions of the All India Congress Committee and also with the power to appoint a successor in emergency.

This Congress hereby confers upon the said successor and all subsequent successors appointed in turn by their predecessors all his aforesaid powers.

इसके उपरभी आपको अच्छी तरह गौर करना चाहिए। क्योंकि जो आपके हाथ में अख्तियार है उसे एक आदमी के हाथ में आप देना चाहते हैं। ऐसा आप हयाल न करें कि यह अख्तियार आप ऐसे आदमी के हाथ में दे रहे हैं जिसपर आपका विश्वास है और मोका पाकर अख्तियार न देना पागलपना है। यह कांग्रेस कहती है कि, आगे जो नेता है उन्हें भी सरकार पकड़ लेगी तो यह कांग्रेस कहती है कि जहां तक हो सके कांग्रेस का काम जैसे चलता है चले मगर ऐसे न चल सके तो वह गांधी को आज्ञा देती है कि वह उसका सारा काम करे जैसे वह करती है। उन्हें यह भी अख्तियार देती है कि अपने बाद दूसरे को भी वह अख्तियार दे सकें और यह भी कहती है कि जब तक दूसरी ऑल इन्डिया कांग्रेस कमिटी न बने तब तक इनको यह अख्तियार दिया जाता है।

Provided that nothing in this resolution shall be deemed to authorise Mahatma Gandhi or any of the aforesaid successors to conclude any terms of peace with the Government of India or the British Government without the previous sanction of the All India Congress Committee, to be finally ratified by the Congress specially convened for the purpose, and provided also that the present creed of the Congress shall in no case be altered by Mahatma Gandhi or his successors, except with the leave of the Congress first obtained.

यह भी शर्त है कि यह अख्तियार दिया जाता है तो भी यह अख्तियार नहीं है कि वह सरकार से सुलाह कर लें जो देश के लिये हो। यह भी काफ़ी नहीं है। अगर सुलाह करना चाहें तो वह काफ़ी नहीं है जब तक इसके लिये कांग्रेस से इजाजत न ले लें। यह काम दूसरे आदमी को नहीं दे सकते। कांग्रेस का कीड बदलने का भी अख्तियार न होगा। हम यह निश्चय करते हैं कि अगर सरकार चाहे तो शान्ति से।

This Congress congratulates all those patriots who are now undergoing imprisonment for the sake of their conscience or country and realises that their sacrifice has considerably hastened the advent of Swaraj.

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और यह कांग्रेस मुबारकबाद देती है कि जो स्वयंसेवक स्वराज्य के लिये, या मजहब के लिये जेल में हैं और तकलीफ बरदास्त कर रहे हैं। उनकी सेवा से स्वराज्य नजदीक आ रहा है।

Having finished reading the resolution Mahatma Gandhi said:—

It has taken me exactly 35 minutes to read the resolution in English and in Hindustani. I shall hope if I can at all avoid it, not to take even the 30 minutes that Hakimji Saheb has allotted to me. And I do, not propose if I can help it, to take all that time because I feel that the resolution explains itself. If at the end of 15 months' incessant activity, you, the delegates assembled in this Congress, do not know your own minds, I am positive that I cannot possibly carry conviction to you even in a two hours' speech. And what is more, if I could carry conviction to you to-day because of my speech I am afraid I would lose all faith in my countrymen because it would demonstrate their incapacity to observe things and events; it would demonstrate their incapacity to think coherently; because I submit, there is absolutely nothing new in this resolution that we have not been doing all this time, that we have not been thinking all this time. There is absolutely nothing new in this resolution which is at all startling.— Those of you, who have followed the proceedings from month to month of the Working Committee, of the All India Congress Committee every three months, and have studied their resolutions, can but come to one conclusion that this resolution is absolutely the natural result of the national activities during the past 15 months; and if you have at all followed the course, the downward course, that the repressive policy of the Government has been taking, you can only come to the conclusion that the Subjects Committee has rightly come to this resolution; and that the only answer, that a self-respecting nation can return to the Viceregal pronouncements and to the repression that is overtaking this land, is the course mapped out in this resolution.

I am not going to take the time of the English-knowing friends over the religious subtleties of the pledge that the volunteers have to take. I wish to confine my remarks in Hindustani to that subject. But I want this assembly to understand the bearing of this resolution. This resolution means that we have outgrown the stage of helplessness and dependence upon anybody; this resolution means that the nation through its representatives is determined to have its own way without the assistance of any single human being on Earth and with the help of only God above.

This resolution, whilst it shows the indomitable courage and the determination of the nation to vindicate its rights and to be able to stare the world in the face, also says in all humility to the Government, "No matter what you do, no matter how repress us, we shall one day wring reluctant repentance from you; and we ask you to think betimes, and take care what you are doing and see that you do not make 300 millions of India your eternal enemies".

This resolution, if the Government sincerely wants an open door, leaves the door wide open for it. If the Moderate friends wish to rally round the standard of the Khilafat, and round the standard of the liberties of the Punjab and therefore of India, then this resolution leaves the door wide open for them too. If this Government is sincerely anxious to do justice, if Lord Reading has really come to India to do justice and nothing less, and we want nothing more—then I inform him from this platform, with God as my witness, with all the earnestness I can command, that he has got an open door in this resolution if he means well, but the door is closed in his face if he means ill, no matter how many people go to their graves, no matter what wild career this repression is to go through.

There is every chance for him to hold a Round Table Conference, but it must be a real conference. If he wants a conference at a table where, only equals are to sit and where there is not to be a single beggar, then there is an open door and that door will always

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remain open. There is nothing in this resolution which any one who has modesty and humility need be ashamed of. This resolution is not an arrogant challenge to any body but it is a challenge to authority that is enthroned on arrogance. It is a challenge to the authority which disregards the considered opinion of millions of thinking human beings. It is an humble and irrevocable challenge to authority which in order to save itself wants to crush freedom of opinion and freedom of association—the two lungs that are absolutely necessary for a man to breathe the oxygen of liberty. And if there is any authority in this country that wants to curb the freedom of speech and freedom of association, I want to be able to say in your name, from this platform, that that authority will perish, unless it repents, before an India that is steeled with high courage, noble purpose and determination, even if every one of the men and women who choose to call themselves Indians is blotted out of the Earth. God only knows, if I could possibly have advised you before to go the Round Table Conference, if I could possibly have advised you not to undertake this resolution of Civil Disobedience, I would have done so.

I am a man of peace. I believe in peace. But I do not want peace at any price. I do not want the peace that you find in stone; I do not want the peace that you find in the grave; but I do want that peace which you find embedded in the human breast, which is exposed to the arrows of the whole world but which is protected from all harm by the power of the Almighty God. (Loud applause)

Mahatma Gandhi next addressed the Assembly in Hindi as follows:—

भाइयों और बहिनो,

मैं ने जो कुछ अंग्रेजी में कहा है वही आपसे नहीं कह रहा हूँ। जो बात आप से कहता हूँ वह आप जानते हैं और समझते हैं। हमारी बात यह है कि सिख्ख भाई से क्या करना है। मैं स्वराज्य पाने तक आप को शान्ति से जो काम कर रहे हैं करने को कहता हूँ। और जो बात सम्बन्धित कमेटी में हुई थी आपसे कहता हूँ। आपलोग इरादे में भी हथाल में भी शान्ति रखें। हाथ से तो शान्ति कायम रखते हैं लेकिन जुबान भी साफ रखनी चाहिये। हमारी जुबान अब तक साफ नहीं रही है। हमने कसम ली है, खिलाफत और असहयोग में शान्तिसे काम करनेवालों को जुबान भी साफ रखनी चाहिये। हम हमारे दिल में जो गुस्सा है अगर उसको रोकना नहीं चाहते तो मैं कहता हूँ कि आपकी जुबान और हाथ से शान्ति रखना असम्भव है। हर एक औरत और मर्द को अगर काम करना है तो मैं कहता हूँ कि अपनी इस कसमका पालन करें, और यह कसम लेकर यानी गुस्सेको निकालकर काम करें। मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि अगर आप हिन्दुस्तान को आझादी पर पहुँचाना चाहते हैं तो जरूर यह कसम किजीये।

अगर आप यह बात नहीं मानेंगे तो इस काम को खराबी दे जायेंगे। हिन्दु और मुसलमान बराबर खराब होंगे। पागल हिन्दू कहेगा कि मुसलमानों ने सोमनाथ का मन्दिर तोबा और इसी तरह पागल मुसलमान और बात कहेगा। वह अफगानिस्तान की ताकत का ख्याल करेगा। आप शान्ति को छोड़ देंगे तो शान्ति न रहेगी। शान्ति रखनेसे ही शान्ति रहेगी। हिन्दुस्तान की जो हालत है उसका भी ख्याल करना होगा। जो आप जानते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में यदि हम पारसी, हिन्दू, मुसलमान के साथ मुहब्बत से रहें तो यह कसम लेनी होगी, और तलवार खींचें तो काम न चलेगा। जो लोग ऐसे हैं वे अंग्रेजों के पास चले जायेंगे। कुछ लोग कहेंगे कि अंग्रेजी राज में हम यहाँ बैठ तो सकते थे। मैंने यह लम्बा कहा। स्वराज लाने और क्वालंटीयर कोर के लिये आप जान लो के यह बात आवश्यक है। दूसरी बात और है। बात यह है कि हम जेल के लिये तैयार हैं, मारपीट बरदास्त करने के लिये तैयार हैं, मौत की बरदास्त के लिये भी तैयार हैं। अब दूसरी शर्त क्या है? दूसरी शर्त यह है कि हम गुस्सा रोककर बरदास्त करें। अगर गुस्सा न रोकें तो यह बरदास्त बरदास्त न हुई। हजरत अली पर एक आदमी ने थका तो उन्होंने ने गुस्सा नहीं किया। ऐसा करते तो इसलाम आज तक कायम न रहता। यह तो हमारा पुराना तरीका है। सब से हम हमारा काम कर तो खुदा कहेगा कि अच्छा किया। तलवार नहीं चलानी चाहिये। अगर इस तरह हम काम करना चाहें तो अच्छा है। हिन्दुस्तान के लिये मरना आत्महत्या नहीं है। आत्महत्या हिन्दु और मुसलमान दोनों के लिये बुरी है। हिन्दू मजहब सीखाता है कि अगर आप किसी औरत की बेइज्जती करना चाहते हैं तो जाकर डूब मरिये। आत्महत्या बुरी है मगर यह आत्महत्या ठीक है। आगे पन्ना (१५) महीनेसे काम किया है। ऐसा ही काम करना चाहिये।

स्वराज्य कमजोरदिल के लिये नहीं। शौकतअली होता तो कहता कि स्वराज्य के लिये मर जाना होगा। जोर छोड़ देना होगा। स्वराज्य के लिये यह बड़ी बात नहीं। (Loud applause and continuous cries of Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai.)

Mr. Vithalbai J. Patel (Bombay), in seconding the above resolution, said in Gujarati:—

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“ मसुख साहेब, ब्हेनेा अने भाइओ,

Sjt. Vithalbai J. Patel.

महात्मा गांधीजीए जे ठराव आपनी पुरसे रजु कर्यो छे तेने टेको आपवा माटे हुं कभो थयो छु. ई ए ठरावने टेको आपुं छु, एटलुं ज नहि, पण ते ठराव रजु करतां गांधीजीए ते ऊपर करेला भाषणना अक्षरे अक्षरेने हुं टेको आपुं छु.

ब्हेनो अने भाइओ, हिन्दुस्तानमां हाल जेवो समय छे तेवो समय आपणी राज्यद्वारी चळवळमां ब्रिटिश राज्यनी शरआतथ्यो ते आज सुधीमां पहेलां कोइ वखत आव्यो ज नथी. दोढसो वर्षथी हिन्दुस्ताननी नीस करोड प्रजा गुलामगिरीनी स्थितिमां आवी पडेळी छे. व्हाइसरॉय लॉर्ड रेडिंग, जे शुद्ध न्याय करवाने माटे हिन्दुस्तानमां आवेला छे, ते दमणां ज भौडा दिवस पहेलां कलकत्तामां कही गया के “हिन्दुस्तानने स्वराज्य तो मात्र बे उपायोथी ज मळी शके; पहेलो उपाय तलवार, अने बीजो उपाय बंदीस.”

हिन्दुस्तानने स्वराज्य जोइतुं होय तो हिन्दुस्ताने तलवारथी लेवुं, अथवा तो ब्रिटिश प्रजा पासेथी बंदीस तरीके सेकवतुं. ए बे सिवाय नीजो रस्तो तेमने नथी सूज्यो.

महात्मा गांधीजीए जे ठराव हाल रजु कर्यो छे, जे ठराव आपणे कलकत्तामां पसार कर्यो हतो अने त्वार पछी जेनुं नागपुरमां समर्थन कर्युं हतुं, ते ठराव लॉर्ड रेडिंगने आपणा जवाबरूप छे.

स्वराज्य सेकवताना मात्र बे ज रस्ता नथी. ए बे सिवाय नीजो रस्तो पण छे. अने ते कायदाना सविनय भंगनो.

आपणा ठरावमां चोइवुं कहेलुं छे के सशस्त्र बळवो एटले के तलवारने बदले बीजो उपाय, ते सविनय भंगनो छे. अने ते हथीयार वापरवानो हवे वखत आथ्यो छे तेथी दरेक प्रतिनिधितुं, दरेक हिंदीतुं, अंतःकरण प्रकृत शबु जोइए.

आ ठराव जो के लांबो छे पण तेनो हुं एक ज अर्थ करे छु. ते एटलुं ज कहे छे के आपणे दरेक ली अने पुरखे जेलमां जवुं, के मरी जवुं, के स्वराज्य लेवुं. आपणे माटे बे ज रस्ता छे—जेल जवुं, मरवुं के स्वराज्य लेवुं. माटे ब्हेनो अने भाइओ, हुं विनवनि कहुं छुं के जो तमारामां जेल जवानी अने जरूर पडे तो खुशीथी मरवानी हिंसल न होय तो तमे आ ठरावनी विरुद्ध मत आपजो. महेरबानी करीने तमे पोताने अने दुनीयाने छतरशो नहि. परसेश्वर तो कोइथी छतरतो ज नथी. जो अंतःकरणथी मानता हो के सविनय भंग शिवाय एटले केदमां जवा शिवाय के जरूर पडे तो मर्या शिवाय बीजो अन्य रस्तो ज नथी, एनी जो तमारी खानी थइ गइ होय तो ज लाममां मत आपजो. नहि तो नकामा हाथ उंचा न करथो. तमे ठराव पसरा कर्यो एटले इशरने माथे राखी शान्तिथी, खुशीथी, जेल जवतुं, देशने माटे मरवानुं तमे कबुल राख्युं. तेम न करवुं होय तो ठरावनी विरुद्ध हाथ उंचा करजो.

ए तो आ ठरावनो अर्थ में कइयो. तेनो अर्थ घणए भिन्नोए पहेलां कहेलो छे के आ गुलामी स्थिति भोगवबी तेना करतां दुनीयामांथी विनाश पासवुं ए वधारे सारी बात छे.

ए तत्व कबुल होय तो ज ठरावने टेको आपजो. ए तत्वमां अने सविनय भंगमां फेर एटलो ज छे के सविनय भंगमां सामाने मारवातुं नथी, पण आपणे पोते ज मरवातुं छे, जेल जवातुं छे. कोइने मारीने नहि, कोइने दुःख आपीने नहि, पण खुशीथी देशने सार आपणे मरवाने तैयार छीए, जेल जवाने तैयार छीए. उपर कहेलुं तेमां अने सविनय भंगमां एटलो फेर छे. आ अर्थ आपणे कबुल राखीए छीए, ए आ ठराव पसार कर्यानो अर्थ छे.

हवे सरकारने बे शब्दो तमारी रजाथी कहुं छुं. आ जयाएथी म्हारी जे जवाबदारी छे ते बधी समजीने हुं आ सरकारने पुछुं छुं के तमारि ने अमारि शो बांधो छे ? समजोवो. असे स्वतंत्रता—स्वराज्य मागीए छीए. तमे तमारी पालिमिन्ट मारफत कहुं छे के तमे स्वराज्य आपवा मागो छो. राजाए बचुक ऑफ केनोट साथे मोकलेला संदेशामां पण स्वराज्य शब्दने कबुल राख्यो छे. तो पछी आपणा वचने फेर तो ? फेर एटलो ज के तमे बचनो आथी पाळता नथी. तमारा उपर अमने बीलकुल भरोसो नथी. तमे जेटला शब्दो कइया छे एटला वधा पाळ्या नथी. क्विक्टोरीआ राणीना बखतथी आज सुधी तमे जे जे बचनो आथ्यां छे ते बंधानी तमे मुद्दानी बावतमां भंग कर्यो छे. जो तमे प्रमाणिक हो तो तुं कहुं छुं के महेरबानी करी स्वराज्य आपी दो.

भिन्नो, बीजी बात लइए. जो वखतनो ज फेर होय, ए पांच के दश वर्ष कइता होय अने आपणे अत्यारे ज स्वराज्य मागता होइए, तोए तेनो निकाल थइ शके. जो तेमणे स्वराज्य आपवुं ज होय तो जे पॉलिस्की—नीति—तेमणे हाल अधिकार करी छे ते होय ज नहि. अंग्रेजोने कही देवुं जोइए के जो अमारी चळवळने दाबी देवा जशो तो तेनुं परिणाम तमारि सोखवुं पडके. अमारा नेताओने तमे केदमां लइ जाथो तो

The Main
Resolution.

Shri. Vithalbai,
J. Patel.

खुनामरकी थाय तेने माटे कोण जवाबदार ? हुं सरकारनु बंगालनी गुप्त मंडळीओ तरफ ध्यान खंचु छुं. तमने हिंदी पोलीस अने हींदी लश्कर उपर भरोसो नथी. एटले तमारं मन उंचु तो रहसे ज. अमे तो अहिंसाने धर्या छीए ते छतां पण तमने उजागरो रक्षा करवानो छे. तमने उजागरो थाय, अमने नीस. करोडने उजागरो थाय, ए शा सार ? तेना करतां तो स्वराज्य आपवानुं होय तो आपी देवुं ज जोइए.

मोडरेट भाइओने हुं कहेवा मागुं छुं के जे सरकार आपणा नेताओने, भइ रहेओने, हजारोनी संख्यामां जेलमां नांखी रही छे ते सरकारनी साथे तमे असहकार करो. असहकारना तत्त्वमां तमे न मानता दो तो महासभा साथे तमे मले सहकार न करो. पण जे सरकार आटला अन्यायो करी रही छे तेनी काउन्सिलोने छोडी दो. तेना प्रधानपद छोडी दो. तेनी साथे असहकार करो.

[English rendering of Mr. Vithalbai Patel's Gujrati speech.]

MR. PRESIDENT, SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

I stand before you to second the resolution just moved by Mahatma Gandhi. I support not only the resolution but endorse every word of what Mahatma Gandhi said in putting the resolution before you. Sisters and brothers, there has been no parallel to the present situation in the history of the political life of our country since the advent of the British rule. The 300 millions of India have been in a state of slavery for the last 150 years. Lord Reading who came to India as Viceroy to administer even-handed justice, has, in his recent speech at Calcutta, said that India could attain Swaraj in two ways only,—either by sword or as a gift. If India desires Swaraj she should either take it by sword or receive it as a gift from the British people. The Viceroy cannot conceive of a third alternative. The resolution just moved by Mahatma Gandhi and the resolution adopted by us at Calcutta and reaffirmed at Nagpur are our reply to Lord Reading. It is not that Swaraj can be obtained in two ways only. There is also a third way in addition and that is Civil Disobedience.

The resolution says in clear terms that the substitute for armed rebellion, that is sword, is Civil Disobedience. Time has come to use that weapon and therefore every delegate, every Indian must be full of enthusiasm.

The only meaning I make out from this lengthy resolution is that every one of us, man and woman, has either to go to jail, to die or to take Swaraj. There are only two ways open to us— to go to jail, to die or take Swaraj. And therefore, sisters and brothers, if you do not feel in you the courage to go to jail and die cheerfully if necessary, I appeal to you to vote against this resolution. Pray, do not deceive yourself and the world. God you cannot deceive. If you sincerely believe that there is no way other than Civil Disobedience, that is going to jail and dying cheerfully, if necessary, and if you are convinced of this, then and then only vote for the resolution. Otherwise do not uselessly raise your hands in its favour. If you adopt the resolution it means that you accept, with God as witness, to go to jail and die for the country, peacefully and cheerfully. If you are not prepared for this, please vote against the resolution. This is the meaning I attach to the resolution. Many friends have understood the resolution to say that it is better to be wiped off the face of the earth than to remain in this state of slavery.

You cannot support this resolution unless you accept this principle. Civil Disobedience differs from this only in this respect that in civilly disobeying one has not to injure the opponent but has to suffer himself. A civil resister has to go to jail cheerfully without injuring others in body or mind. He is prepared to go to jail and die for his country. This is the only difference above referred to. The adoption of the resolution means the acceptance of this interpretation.

I shall now address a few words to the Government with your permission. With a full sense of all my responsibility, as speaking from this platform, I ask the Government to point out their differences with us. "We demand Freedom, Swaraj. You have declared through your Parliament that you intend to grant us Swaraj. The King in his message through the Duke of Connaught has accepted the word "Swaraj". What then are our differences? The only difference is that you never keep the promises you make. We have not the least confidence in you. You have not kept any of the promises you made. You have substantially violated all the pledges given by you from the time of Queen Victoria to date. If you are honest, pray, grant Swaraj."

Friends, let us consider the other aspect. If the difference was, only in respect of time, if they put the time-limit of five or ten years and we wanted Swaraj immediately, the differences could be settled. If they did intend to grant Swaraj they would not have adopted the policy they are following. We must tell the English that they will be worse off if they attempt to put down our movement. If you imprison our leaders, who would be responsible for the consequent violence if any? I invite the attention of the Government to the secret societies of Bengal. You will always continue to remain uneasy as you have no confidence in the Indian Police and the Indian Military. We are wedded to non-violence. Notwithstanding, you will always remain uneasy. Why this uneasiness to you and to 300 millions of us? Better to grant Swaraj if you at all intend to do so.

I appeal to my Moderate friends to dissociate themselves from a government which has been imprisoning our leaders and our brothers and sisters in thousands. If you have no faith in the principles of non-co-operation you may not co-operate with the Congress. But leave the Councils and the Ministerships of a government which has been committing so many iniquities. Dissociate yourselves from such a Government.

Maulana Abdul Majid (U. P.) in supporting the resolution said in Urdu:—

जनाब सर, वा मोअजमिज हाजरीने काँग्रेस,

मैं इस वक्त आप हजरातके सामने उस तजवीजके मुतअल्लीक जो आपके मुल्कके मुसलमा लीडर जनाब महात्मा गांधी साहेबने पेश किया है, एक ताइदके बाद इस सूरतमें के दूसरे मोइद और ताइद करनेवाले रखे गये हैं, चंद बातें अरज करनेके लिये आया हूँ।

पहली बात ये है के ये तजवीज जो महात्माजीने आपके सामने पेश की है उसकी ताइद के लिये तकबीरें पुकारनेवाली और बन्दे मातरम् की शोर मचानेवाली जवानोंकी जरूरत नहीं है। ये तजवीज उठे हुए हाथोंसे पास नहीं होगी। बल्के झुकी हुई गर्दनो की इस तजवीज को पास करने के लिये जरूरत है। ये तजवीज जिस चीजके साथ पास की जायगी वो रूहोंके तडपते हुए जहन्नमत हैं। वो दिलोंके सद्मात् पाये हुवे वो टुकडे हैं जो मुस्लिम खिलाफत और मुसायबे पंजाब की राहमें इस हिन्दुस्थान के हरशरीफ खसलत इनसान को, ख्वाहवो किसी तबके का हो, बरदास्त करना पडा है। अगर तुम्हारे दिलमें महात्माकी इज्जत है अगर आज तुम् इस मुसीबत के जमानेमें इस बात के मुतमन्नी हो के वो तुम को इस मुसीबतसे नजात दे तो उस के लिये मुलद आवाजों गुर्ज पैदा करनेवाली आवाजों की जरूरत न समजो।

बल्के उसके वास्ते मजबूत अहेद और मुस्तकल हिमत और ऐसे ना पलटने वाले इरादे की जरूरत समझो के जो तुम को तुम्हारी कामयाबी की भंजलतक पहुंचा दे। आज का दिन हमारी आझादी का एअलान का दिन होना चाहिये था। आज के दिन हमारे इस दो सालकी जद्दो जेहदके उस नतिजे का दिन होना चाहिए था, जिस के लिये हम मखलुक को मुतशर बना चुके थे। हम खुश हैं के अगर चे एअलाने आझादी का दिन नहीं है। इसके कहनेमें मुझे बाक नहीं है के आज का दिन एअलानी जंग का जरूर है अगर एअलान आझादीका नहीं है। हमारी जंग जिस जालम और जाबर कुच्चतसे है, जिस गारतगर ताकत के मुकाबला में तुम जंग करने के लिये तय्यार हुवे हो, उसके मुकाबला के वास्ते गरजती तोपों और उठते भालों, बरसते हुवे तीरों की जरूरत नहीं है। बल्के जीस चीजकी जरूरत है वो अदम तशद्द और पुरअमन तरके मवालात है। यहि एक हमारा निजामे अमल है जो हिन्दुस्थान की इनसानियत का जो मुस्तलिफ कौमोंका गेह्वारा है और एक खास मेहजर बना हुआ है। तुम निहायत अमन के साथ गैर मुतशद्द रैहकर तशद्द के अमलको नाजाहेर करके जैसे इस तजवीज पर अमल करनेके लिये तैयार हो, जो तुम्हारी नाब को भुंवरसे निकालने वाली है और गीरदावे जुलमसे सलामती के साहिल पर तुम को ले जानेवाली है। अभी कुछ देर पेहले जनाब मौलाना बारी साहेब तशरीफ लाये और फरमाया के लखनौ से स्टेशनो पर अपने पेशवा की जियारत के लिये आनेवालों का हजूम था और फरमाते थे के जो वो पेहेली बात करते थे तो पुछते थे के काँग्रेस से लौट कर क्या लायगा। मैंने कहा के ये वोही दिन होना चाहिए था लेकिन अगर तुम् अपने इरादे का नफस का पुरे तरिके का जायझा लो तो आज तुम् यह केहने का हक रखते हो के आज एअलान आझादी का दिन नहीं है मगर एअलाने जंग का दिन है। जिस्के बाद खुदा वो दिन जल्द लायगा के हम एअलानी-आझादी के लिए तैयार हो जायेंगे। मैं मुनासिब समझता हूँ के आप की एक अमानत आप तक पहुंचा दूँ। दोस्तों, वो अमानत हमारे मुल्क और सुबे के और हिंद के मोहतरिम जनाब पंडित मोतिलाल साहेब नेहरू की अमानत है। मैं २०-२१ तारिख को लखनौ में उनसे मिला, उन्होंने जाहेर किया और बताया के मैं मुन्तखीर था किसी ऐसे शख्स का के जिस्के हाथ अपनी एक अमानत महात्मा गांधी और हकीम अजमलखों और तमाम पेशवायाने मुल्क और हाजरीने काँग्रेस तक पहुंचा दूँ। मेरे लिये मुकाम मुसरत था

The Main Resolution

Sgt. Vithalbhai J. Patel

The Main Resolution

Maulana Abdul Majid.

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Maulana Abdul
Majid.

के उस अमानत का अमानतदार उन्होंने मुझ को सुतस्वीय करमाया। वो अमानत ये थी के कौम आगे बढ़े पीछे न हटने पाये। वो ज्याय ये था के हम किसी मसालेहत के लिये तय्यार नहीं हैं। हमारा महात्मा गांधीपर एअतबार है। हमने तर्कें मवालांतको निहायत कामयाब पाया है। उसको तेस्ती के साथ बढ़ाना चाहिये। इसकी जिसने ताइद की और जिसने नाम लिखकर दे दिया वो नाम ये है। मौलाना सलामतुल्ला, पंडित जवाहिरलाल, पंडित शामलाल, पंडित मोहनलाल, कमालुद्दिन साहेब। मैं जिस तेहरीक के ताइद में ये चंद अल्फाज माहात्मा के तकरीर सुना देने के बाद और एक काबल दमायके ताइद कर देने के बाद मैं जरूरत नहीं समझता के एक बिमार आदमी जो दोन दिनसे दर्द गुर्दा में मुबतला है आपका वक्त जाया करे। हमने जो आपकी कामयाबी का रास्सा और तरीका आप के गेर सुतशइद रेहकर कामयाब होनेका बताया और उसमें यकीनी आपको इस हद तक गेरसुतशइद होना होगा जबतक खुदकुशीका इलजाम आपपर लाश्कीम न आये। हिन्दुस्तानपर चमनेका वाला सूरज अब फिर पुरे किरन आपपर भेजंगा। हिन्दुस्तानकी जमीनपर रोशनी दिखलाने वाले चांदसूरज आपकी किसमतकी कसम खायेंगे। और तमाम हिन्दोस्तांकी बेहिस और झलील कौम जो किसी नहजसे कोमीयत के दफतर में जगा पानेवाली न थी उसने आलात हरबवालों के मुकाबला में खाली हाथ ना उठाया। उसके हाथ उठते थे मगर किसीको नशाना बनाने को नहीं। अगर उसके हिलते हुवे हाथ उठते थे तो परमेश्वर की दरगाह में अपनी सचाई के लिये। और ये वो चीजें लेकर आई है के माड़ी ताकत का गुर्र मिट जानेको है। मगर खुदा पर भरोसा रखनेवाली कौम अगर चे वोह बेकस है अगर चे जलियांवाला बाग में उसका खून मिट्टी में मिला दिया गया है अगर वो आज खुदापर भरोसा रखकर आज अपनी सदाकत की ताकतपर अपने पुर अमन तर्कें मवालात पर भरोसा रखती है तो वो बड़े गुर्र करनेवाली एंटेनेवाली ताकतों का सर झुकते बंद पडता है उनका गुर्र खाक में मिलता नसर आता है। मैं अलील हूँ और इस निहायत सुतस्वीम और बाझाबता मजलिस में निजाम को बिगाडना मुत्किल है। मैं तकरीर को खतम करता हूँ।

[English rendering of the Urdu Speech of Maulana Abdul Majid.]

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,

I here stand before you to support the resolution moved by our recognised All India leader Mahatma Gandhi. The resolution has already been supported, but as others are also to further support it I beg to address a few words in that connection.

The first thing, that I have to invite your attention to is, that the resolution put by Mahatmaji needs no support by way of enthusiastic shouts and loud cries of Bande-Mataram. This resolution cannot be adopted by mere raising of hands but needs for its adoption the readiness to sacrifice your heads. This resolution will be passed by the burning feelings of the soul. It will be passed by the voices of the lacerated heart of every self-respecting Indian who had had to submit, whatever party he belonged to, to the Khilafat wrongs and the Punjab outrages. If you have at heart respect for Mahatmaji, if you long for deliverance at his hands from the present calamities in these difficult times, take it that it is not necessary to raise thundering acclamations, but it is essential to have strong faith, unflinching courage and unchanging resolve. Only these will take you successfully to your goal.

This day should have been the day of our declaration of Independence, the end for which in our two years' struggle we have raised the expectations of the nation. I am however satisfied that though to-day is not the day of declaration of Independence, I can say without hesitation that it is the day of declaration of war. To meet the tyrannical and mighty power whom we have to give battle, the predatory power whom we are prepared to fight out, it is not necessary to resort to thundering canons, raised spears or showers of arrows. What is required is peaceful and non-violent non-cooperation. This is your only line of action as India consists of diverse creeds and races. You have to be prepared to act on this resolution in a peaceful and non-violent manner, keeping away from violence. This resolution will lead your boat out of the whirlpool of tyranny to the beach of safety. A short time back, respected Moulana Bari Saheb graced this assembly by his presence when he said that there were crowds of people to greet their leaders at every station from Lucknow and they were questioning as to what we would present them, on our return from the Congress. I have already told you that this should have been the day (of declaration of independence) but if you properly weigh the strength of your determination, you are entitled to-day to say that to-day is not the day of declaration of independence but it is the day of declaration of war, and the Almighty will soon bring the day when we shall be prepared to declare Independence. Friends,

here I deem it proper to convey to you a trust (message) coming from Pandit Motilal Nehru who is highly esteemed in our province and in the whole of India. I saw him at Lucknow on the 20th or 21st instant. He said to me that he was very anxiously looking forward to a person to convey his message to Mahatma Gandhi, Hakim Ajmalkhan, other leaders and all those present at the Congress. It was, indeed, a happy time for me to have been selected by him as a trustee of his message. That message is that there shall be onward march and no retreat. We are not prepared to accept any compromises. We have the fullest confidence in Mahatma Gandhi. We have found non-co-operation very effective and we must advance it vigorously. The gentlemen who endorsed this message were Maulana Salamat Ulla, Pandit Jawahirlal, Pandit Shyam Lal, Pandit Mohanlal and Kamaluddin Saheb. I believe it is not necessary for a sick man like myself, suffering from kidney pain since the last two days, to further take up your time in saying any more words in support of this resolution, after you have heard Mahatmaji and the able seconder of the resolution. I have said to you that non-violence is the key to success and therefore you will have undoubtedly to remain non-violent to such an extent that none may accuse you of committing suicide. The Sun that is to shine on India will again send forth all his rays to us. The Sun and the Moon lighting the Indian soil will wish us good luck; and History will say that the unimaginative and disgraced populace of India, which could not have had, in any manner, a place in the nations of the world did not raise even a finger to fight out the devotees of violence; that India could raise her hands not for attacking any people but for offering prayers to the Almighty in the defence of our honour. Non-violence will bring about the break-down of the pride of materialism. But if a Nation, with faith in the Almighty, whether it be weak or whether it be down-trodden as in the Jallianwala Bag, believes in non-violent non-co-operation and relies upon its strength derived from Truth, the haughty and the defiant nations shall bend down their heads and their pride will soon vanish. I am unwell and it is not proper to disturb the order in this assembly. I finish with my say.

The Main Resolution.

Maulana Abdul Majid.

Maulana Syed Mahomed Fakir (U. P.) in further supporting the resolution said in Urdu:-

The Main Resolution.

Maulana Syed Mahomed Fakir.

जनाब सदरे अंजुमन व हाजरीन व हजरात,

किसी रेडोल्यूशन की ताईद कौल से होती है या अमल से होती है। मैं इस रेडोल्यूशन का अमली मोइद हूँ। और मैं ने अपने एकलौते लडके को पंडित मोतिलाल और जवाहिरलाल के बाद एक साक के लिये जेलखाना भेज दिया है। जो कुछ कोतवाल ने उसे कंहा के गिरफ्तारी के बाद कोडे मारेंगे तो वो हंसा और कहा के तुमारे हाथ में ताकत नहीं है के कोडा मार सको। ये वो रेडोल्यूशन है जो सिर्फ हिन्दुस्तान के लिये नहीं बल्के दुनिया के लिये एक आफतावे रेहनुमाई है। अगर आज हम शान्ति और सबर के खिलाफ कोइ काम करने चलेंगे, कबल इस्के कोइ काम हो, आपस में वो टकरें लगेगी के मुल्क बरबाद हो जायगा। बडी से बडी कुवत को तबाह करनेवाला आदमी का इस्तिकलाल है, इस्के ये मायने नहीं के हमारी बहादरी में कोइ फरक आता है। ये भी एक सुरत है बहादरी की जो इस रेडोल्यूशन में बताई गयी है। मारना आसान है, मरना मुश्किल है। ताकत रखते हुए ऐसे मरना जियादा लुप्त देगा के उधर से तीर आता है, तोप के गोले निकलते हैं, बंदक की गोलियाँ आती हैं, लेकिन आप ये कहते हैं के ये मच्छर की विनविनाह और खटमल के काटने से जियादा नहीं है। हिन्दुओं के यहां आवागवन का मसला है। मुसलमानों के यहां लिखा है के जो कोइ खुदा के लिये मरता है वो मरता नहीं। जालिम जानता है के हमने इस्की गर्दन काट ली, लेकिन जालिम की गर्दन पर बला रही। जहांतक मैंने तजरबा किया है गांधीजी ने रहानियत की तरफ तवज्जो की है और उसीका असर है के सारा मुल्क उनकी आवाज पर लब्बेक कहेता है। अगर कोइ दूसरा शाखस ऐसा तैयार होगा तो दुनिया उसकी आवाज पर लब्बेक कहेगी। आप ये न समझें, मैं मुसलमान होकर गैरमुस्लिम की रहानियत का एतराफ करता हूँ। ये एक वाकिया है के वो अपनी रियासत से चूके अपने नफस को मारते जाते हैं। उसका तजरबा उन मुखालफतों के बाद आप कर सकते हैं के उनको अपनी राय और निय्यत और इरादे पर कितना भरोसा है। दोस्तो, अहमदाबाद में नहीं बल्के सारे हिन्दुस्तान में उनके लफजों को एक झंडा बनाकर उडाना चाहिए और उनकी ताईद करना चाहिए। मैं इन लफजों में इस्की ताईद करता हूँ।

[English rendering of Maulana Syed Mahomed Fakir's Urdu speech]

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

A resolution is supported by word or by action. I support this resolution by

The Main
Resolution.

Maulana Syed
Mahomed Fakir.

action. I have sent my only son to jail for a year just after the imprisonment of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru. When the Kotwal said to him that he would be whipped on arrest, he smiled and replied that the Kotwal had not the strength to beat him.

This resolution is a brilliant guiding-light not only to India but to the world. If, to-day, we were not to stick to non-violence and patience, there will be such internal dissensions as will ruin the country, before we achieve anything. Man's resoluteness brings about the downfall of the mightiest power. This cannot mean that we lack in valour. This resolution gives you one aspect of valour. To kill is easy; to die is difficult. To be possessed of strength and yet to die without raising a finger is more delightful. Placed amidst shooting arrows, canon balls and bullets coming in from all quarters, you do not feel them any more than the buzzing of mosquitoes or the biting of bugs. The Hindus believe in the transmigration of the soul. The Muslim scriptures say, that 'he dies not who dies for religion'. The tyrant believes that he has beheaded his victim but thereby he has invited a calamity on his own head. So far as I have been able to see, Gandhiji is for spirituality and that is why the whole of the country has responded to his call. The world will similarly respond to any other person of a similar bent. Do not misunderstand me that, though a Muslim myself, I subscribe to the spiritual doctrines of a non-muslim. He has curbed his passions by religious penances and you can realise the strong faith he has, in the face of opposition, in his principles and programme.

Friends, the flag of his preachings should be raised and kept flying, not only in Ahmedabad but throughout the whole of India. With these words I support the resolution.

The Main
Resolution.

Shrimati
Mangaladevi.

Shrimati Mangaladevi in giving her support to the resolution said in Hindi:—

सभापति, भाइयो और बहिनो,

आपके सामने जो प्रस्ताव महात्मा गांधीजी ने पेश किया है, जिस पर दूसरे भाइयों ने बहुत कुछ बतलाया है, मुझे भी ३ मिनट दिये गये हैं। मैं भी अपने विचार आपके सामने रखना चाहती हूँ। भाइयों, यह सौभाग्य भारतवर्ष को और एशिया को प्राप्त है, कि दुनिया को रहमत सिखानेवाले, रक्षा करनेवाले, अध्यात्म की शिक्षा देनेवाले, यहां पैदा हुए हैं। यह भी एक नया मसला हिंदुस्तान में ही उत्पन्न हुआ। इस नयी चीज राजनैतिक क्षेत्र में विचित्र हुई है। अगर यह नयी बात आप मानकर चलेंगे तो दुनिया के सामने आप यह उदाहरण रख सकेंगे कि इस तरह रहमत से आजादी, स्वतंत्रता और स्वराज्य मिलता है। अब स्वतंत्रता आएगी। वह आजादी शान्ति बना रखने से मिलती है। इस आजादी के युद्ध में ३० करोड़वासियों का हिन्दुस्तान शान्ति का मार्ग मान चुका है। वह कहता है की भरे पास कोई हथियार नहीं, बस रहमत की ही ताकत है। आजादी को हम इसी ताकत से लेंगे। भाइयों, जिस सिद्धान्त पर लाला लजपतराय, मोतिलाल नेहरू, जवाहिरलाल नेहरू और सी. आर. दास जेल में हैं, उनकी स्त्री, पुत्र और बंधू इस तरह आत्म विश्वास के साथ काम कर रहे हैं। तो बहिनो, मैं आशा करती हूँ कि इस प्रस्ताव पर अटल रूप से कार्य करना हम अपना धर्म मानेंगे।

[English rendering of Shrimati Mangaladevi's Hindi speech.]

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Much has been said, by the previous speakers, on the resolution moved by Mahatma Gandhi. I am allowed 3 minutes and would like to submit my views thereon for your consideration. Brothers, India as well as Asia are singularly fortunate to have produced guardian-angels conveying the message of Mercy and Spiritualism to the world. This new gospel also originates in India. It has revolutionised politics. If you accept this new creed and act up to it you will teach the world the new lesson that freedom and Swaraj can be obtained by non-violence. Freedom will now dawn. That freedom can be obtained by complete non-violence. In this battle for freedom, India, with her 300 millions, has accepted the weapon of non-violence. She says she has no weapon but the strength of non-violence. We shall win freedom by this very strength. Brothers, with faith in this principle, Lala Lajpatrai, Pandits Motilal and Jawahirlal Nehru and Mr. C. R. Das have gone to jail and with the same faith have been working their consorts, sons and friends. Sisters, I therefore hope you will consider it your religion to carry out this resolution with implicit faith.

His Holiness Shree Shankaracharya of Sharda Peeth, was the fifth speaker who supported the resolution in the following speech:—

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SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

H. H. Shree
Shankaracharya
of Sharda Peeth.

It is now one year since, in the normal session of the Congress at Nagpur, we resolved to begin the programme of Non-co-operation and stated in the preamble to that resolution that, because the Government refused to redress the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and because we were determined to achieve Swaraj within the year, therefore we had no option but to declare non-co-operation with the Government. One year has passed since then, and it behoves us now to think of our duty at the present day and to plan out the future. It is under these circumstances and for this purpose we have met to-day. We find that, far from redressing the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and devising a satisfactory scheme of Swaraj, the Government has, on the contrary, gone to the extent of declaring unlawful even the normal daily activities of the Khilafat and the Congress Volunteers. Under these circumstances, we have to think out the next step that we should take in order to achieve our purpose. We find, (in the second place, that the highest representatives (in the Judicial line) of His Majesty the King of England in India, have declared openly or virtually that the orders and even the whims of petty officials of the Government are superior to God's Law, superior to the Imperial proclamations of three successive Sovereigns of England and superior also to their own regular laws. On the other hand, we find every ethical and religious code relentlessly insisting that God's Law is always superior to man's. What should we do under these circumstances? We cannot go back upon our policy of Non-co-operation. That is absolutely unthinkable. We began Non-co-operation because we wanted the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs to be redressed and Swaraj to be established. None of these three things has taken place and therefore, if we would be faithful to our pledge taken last year, we have no justification for going back even an inch from the policy of Non-co-operation. On the other hand, the repression and the injustice having progressed in the other direction, in the opposite direction, it is our duty to think of further measures and not of retracing the steps which we have already taken. And, especially as God's laws have been dethroned and man's laws, nay man's whims, have been placed upon God's throne, it is our duty, unwillingly though, to adopt the elementary Spiritual weapon of Civil Disobedience against all unrighteous orders. We in India have the example herein of Prahlad who disobeyed the unrighteous orders of his father and king Hiranyakashyapu.

In the Scriptures of Christianity too we have, in the old Testament, the example of Daniel which is almost on a par with that of Prahlad. In all the Scriptures of the world, generally, the elementary principle is inculcated that a man for any worldly cause whatsoever, either for fear or for favour, ought not to disobey the law of God, the law which he regards as divine. It is just because of this elementary principle that the Ali Brothers and others in Karachi had their loyalty put to the test, and they cheerfully went to gaol. Their whole defence was that their Islamic Law, which they regarded as the Divine law, gave them no alternative but to take the stand which they actually did. If any person believes that God's law is superior to man's and that the trained individual conscience is the final arbiter in matters pertaining to religion and morality, such a person has no option but to stick to the principle of Civil Disobedience with regard to all unrighteous orders. Therefore it is, that the programme of Civil Disobedience has, to-day, become the painful but unshirkable duty of the country to adopt.

While I say all this with the utmost gladness, I am at the same time unfortunately in the position that I cannot honestly say that I approve of the entire resolution or that I see, eye to eye, with the mover and the other speakers in the programme they have just laid before you. And that is because I believe that No-co-operation and Civil Disobedience, in order to be effective, looking at them for the moment merely from the worldly point of view, depend upon the united co-operation of all the people in the country. If all of us will co-operate amongst ourselves and non-co-operate with the Government, every department, nay, every office of the Government, must immediately come not to a comma, nor to a semi-colon, nor even

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H. H. Shree-
Shankaracharya
of Sharda Peeth.

to a colon but to a full-stop. (Laughter). If however we give room for unnecessary divisions and unnecessary controversies amongst ourselves, our programme will, to that extent, be weakened. We have divisions enough already in the camp owing to the 'Moderates' or the 'Cooperators' as they are called, holding aloof from us. And I may tell you my conviction with reference to the Karachi Case, that, if the Moderates had stood side by side with the Nationalists, there was no chance of that conviction of my six co-accused there.

Under these circumstances, I feel that it is the duty of the Congress not to force upon others, who disagree from it, any view which it may earnestly take. I refer particularly to one part of the pledge which the programme requires every volunteer to take, that is, with regard to the question of untouchability. I spoke last year at Nagpur in support of that part of the Non-co-operation Resolution in which this question was taken up, and you will remember that that resolution called upon the religious heads of India to take vigorous steps for the elevation of the depressed classes. Therefore, I feel confident you will acquit me of any intention or tendency to take a reactionary attitude in the matter. But my position is this that, just as you demand liberty of conscience for yourselves, so too should you give to others the same liberty. And from the point of view that God's law should invariably be placed upon man's and this principle should be applied to all equally, I don't see that you have any right to force others to take the same view as you do. If you have large numbers of people who satisfy your requirements, in every other respect, but don't see eye to eye with you on this question of untouchability alone, you certainly have no justification, from the general point of view or moral principle or even of political expediency, to coerce them to accept your view, on pain of being shut out from all possibility of participation in this glorious national work. That is why I feel that there ought to have been a separate resolution in the nature of a recommendation on this subject and it should have been left to stand on its own merits.

Similarly we find that the resolution speaks of the wearing of khaddar only, to the exclusion of all other kinds of cloth, and the Delhi resolution with regard to Civil Disobedience (which is reaffirmed here) requires every Civil Resister to be a person who knows how to spin and weave with his own hands. I sincerely hope every one in the country will be able to do it. But I do not see how you will be justified in insisting that a person, who fulfils all your conditions including perhaps the one on untouchability but is unable to spin or weave for himself, should be forcibly kept out. And if he receives official orders which he cannot conscientiously obey, say, for instance, to shoot a cow, is he to obey such orders or disobey them? Evidently according to the programme placed before you, he will not be allowed, at any rate under the auspices of the Congress, to disobey even such orders.

These and such other elementary matters of religious principle regarding liberty of conscience excepted, I am fully for the acceptance of the resolution. I am for the complete policy and the programme of Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience of all orders of an unrighteous character, the unrighteousness being determined by the individual conscience under the dictates of the religious and ethical codes to which we are all pledged by individual religious faith.

With these few words, sisters and brothers, I would earnestly suggest that the various parts of the resolution should be put to the vote, clause by clause, and not as one substantial proposition to be either rejected or accepted in toto. I am myself in the unfortunate position that I cannot support it entirely or oppose it entirely. With these remarks I would fervently beseech you to come to such a conclusion on these matters that, by this resolution, you may find your way to the immediate redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and the speedy establishment of real Dharmic Swaraj. (Cheers)

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Resolution.

Khwaja Abdul
Behman Ghaji.

Kwaja Abdul Rahman Ghaji next supported the resolution in Urdu:—

जनाब सदर, और मेरे मोहनरीन भाइओ और बहिनेनो,
जो रेसोल्युशन आज आप के सामने महात्मा गांधीजी ने मुन्ह किया है वो दर असल हिन्दुस्तान,
आझादी की खायश करनेवाले हिन्दुस्तान, और हिन्दु मुसलमानों, सिखों, पारसीओं और इसाईओं के
मुतफिका हिन्दुस्तान के तरफ से लॉर्ड रीडिंग की उस धमकी का जवाब है, जो के उन्हों ने अपनी उस

तशदुद आमीन पॉलिसी हिन्दुस्तान की मर्दानगी, हिन्दुस्तान की गैरत, हिन्दुस्तान की इज्जत और हिन्दुस्तान की अक्षमता को दी है। हम देखना चाहते हैं के तुम बत्तीस करोड़ हिन्दुस्तान के रहनेवाले कैसी हुकुमत, कैसी खास इक्तदार पसंद हुकुमत और खास तौर पर ब्रितानवी हुकुमत के मेहकूम और गुलाम बनकर नहीं रह सकते। हम उनको दिखाना चाहते हैं के दुनिया की नज़रो में वो हिन्दुस्तान की ब्यूरोकसी, जिस्के मातेहत बुझ दिलाणा पंजाब के वाकिफ्यात जालियांवाला बाग का कतले आमू मियानवाला के खिलाफ कारंवाई, और इराक, अरब और खिलाफत के मुशालम वाके हो सकते हैं, दुनिया के वर्डिकट के साथ ब्रितानिया गव्हर्नमेंट के सिंदगी के खिलाफ हैं। इस दफ्तरी हुकुमत के दिन खतम हो चुके हैं। वो अपनी आखरी सांस ले रही है। और जो हमारा रेडोव्युशन जिस्से हम लोगों से अपील करते हैं के वो इसमें भरती होकर नान-व्हॉयलेंट तरीके पर इन ब्रितानवी इक्तदार को इस हिन्दुस्तान में कायम है खतम कर देना होगा। लार्ड रीडिंग ब्रितानिया के इक्तदार के खतरनाक दोस्त है। मैं कहता हूँ के वो इस इक्तदार के लिये मोत का घंटा थे। अब हमने दुनिया के सामने अपना पोझिशन सेही तौर पर रख दिया है। और हम चाहते हैं के उस लिहाज को निहायत अमन और शान्ति और दियत के साथ इस हिन्दुस्तान से उठाकर दुनिया को दिखा दें और इस्को दफन कर दें।

The Main
Resolution.

—
Khwaja Abdul
Rehman Ghazi.

[English rendering of the Urdu speech of Khwaja Abdul Rehman Ghazi]

MR. PRESIDENT, RESPECTED BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

The resolution moved to-day by Mahatma Gandhi is in fact a reply, by an India thirsting for Freedom, by an India wherein all the communities, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsees and the Jews, stand united, to the threat given by Lord Reading, in the form of his repressive policy, to the Manhood, Self-respect, Honour and Greatness of India. We are anxious to see that, we the thirty two crores of Indians, cannot continue to remain as slaves under any domination, however dignified, and especially under the British domination. We want to make it clear to them that the whole world sees that under the bureaucracy in India, cowardly outrages in the Punjab, wholesale massacres at the Jallianwala Bag, incidents at Miyanwala, and the injustice regarding Iraq, Arabia and the Khilafat can take place. We are against the continuance of the British Government, with the verdict of the world on our side. The days of this Government by red-tapism are numbered. It is breathing its last. In this resolution we appeal to the people to end, by non-violent methods, the continuance of the British Government, by enlisting themselves as volunteers. Lord Reading is a dangerous friend of the British power. I say, he is striking the death-knell of this power. We have now clearly defined our position to the world, and we wish to prominently expose to the world and send to its grave this bureaucracy by peaceful, non-violent and straight methods.

Khwaja Abdul Rehman Ghazi further added in English:—

MY FRIENDS,

I have got to say a few words in English to those who do not know Urdu. The repressive policy inaugurated by Lord Reading's Government is virtually ringing the death-knell of the British bureaucracy in India. We want to show to the world that the British Imperialism has come to an end. We want to show to the world that Imperialism, under which the Khilafat wrong, the Punjab atrocities and the Jallianwala Bag are possible, has no place in the world. We wish to show that by this resolution it has come to an end and that we should like to bury the dead body of the British bureaucracy in India. (Loud applause)

Sardar Gurubux Singh of Delhi next supported the resolution in Hindi on behalf of the Sikhs as follows:—

मेरे प्यारे भाइयों,

सदर ने मुझे ५ मिनट दिये थे लेकिन दो मिनट ले लिये अब सिर्फ ३ मिनट रह गये हैं। जिसकी ताइद करनेका मुझे हक है उस प्रस्ताव को पेश करनेवाला महात्मा गांधी है। भाइयों, इस रेडोव्युशन में इस जंग के सामना में आपके आगे दो बातें हैं। कि एक तो तलवार को हाथ में रखकर भी शान्तिमय तरीके से आजादी लेना चाहते हैं। जो सब काम हमको करना है वह जल्द करना चाहिए यह दूसरी बात है। उम्मीद है कोई आदमी न हिचकेगा और हम इस जंग में उतर कर उस आशाको पूरा करेंगे और खिलाफत और स्वराज को ले लेंगे।

The Main
Resolution.

—
Sardar Guru
Bux Singh.

The Main
Resolution.

Sardar Gurn
Bux Singh.

[English rendering of Sardar Gurn Bux Singh's Hindi speech]

MY DEAR BROTHERS,

The President had allowed me 5 minutes' time but has now reduced the number to three. The resolution, which I have the privilege to support, has been moved by Mahatma Gandhi. Brothers, this resolution prominently lays down before you the two features of this struggle. The first is that we desire to win freedom by non-violent means, even though possessed of arms, and the other is that whatever we have to do has to be done quickly. I hope, none of us will waver and we shall in fighting this battle fulfil the above conditions and redress the Khilafat wrong and attain Swaraj.

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Resolution.

Mrs. Sarojini
Naidu

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu while supporting the resolution said :—

Citizens of India of which we dream to-day but which we shall achieve to-morrow,

You have heard the representatives of all the great religions of India to-day. You have heard the Moslems, the Hindu and the Sikh. You have heard the men and women speak. I speak, not as representing any religion, any province, any sex to-day; but, arrogant as it might seem; in all humility I say, I speak as the spirit of Free India. (Hear, Hear.) Therefore I stand here to offer my support to this great resolution which has been placed before you, not in the manner of resolutions of 35 years' experience from the platform of the National Congress, but which has been thundered out to you with the voice of a Prophet from the mountain-tops of Vision and of Hope. (Cheers). I am not one who cares for Government or Authorities; I care only for principles and ideals. I am not one who panders to expediency. I acknowledge and follow only the wisdom of the ever-living Truth. Therefore, if I stand before you to speak, it is because I am the voice of your own heart, the very inmost, secret, surging voice of your own conscience, your own aspirations, your own hopes, your own certainty (Cheers).

What does this resolution say? What does it mean? What challenge does it throw? What does it affirm? What does it deny? It denies the right of a most powerful Government on earth to trample on the heart of a living nation. What does it affirm? That, in Lokmanya's words "Liberty is our birth-right and we shall have liberty to-day." What is the challenge that is thrown to the Government? It says, as Mahatma Gandhi so wonderfully put it, that the door is open. Oh, Rulers of Britain, march with us to the destined goal, that we see before us, that you and your children might stand side by side with us in friendship and in comradeship. But, unless you realise, that it is not by the might of the sword but by the invincible, slender, fragile, silken cord of love that nations can be bound together, you have no place in our midst.

And what is the answer to repression? The answer is that those dozens of delicately nurtured women who having sent their sons, husbands and fathers to prison, have come to-day to take the place, "to carry on the torch" in the words of Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das, to be the pilgrims on the road and to build up the edifice of your freedom on their corpses, if death be necessary. As well might you tell the Sun not to rise at dawn as to say to India, "Don't move towards your destined freedom" As soon, you might say to the Ganges, "Cease to flow" as to say to the spirit of Indian womanhood, "Don't flow to the sea of Liberty". You might as well say to the earth, "Cease to flower in the Spring", and to the stars in the sky at mid-night, "Don't shine" as to say to the young ones amongst us, "Don't join the Volunteer Corps". Do I not know what the younger generation can endure? Do I not know what it can achieve? During those dreadful few days in Bombay, when it seemed that the whole of our work was to be cast in the ruins, who was it that saved the situation? Who? Not only the fast of the Saint within his cell, but the endurance, the courage, the sacrifice of my young volunteers who stood night and day fearlessly, riot around them, disaster around them, bloodshed around them, but true to their posts—the symbol of India's Victory (Loud applause). Therefore I don't share the fears of Shree Shankaracharya nor of any one else who thinks that India will give a divided support to this proposition. There is no division in India to-day. No caste, no tradition of caste, no tyranny of caste can keep the untouchables from being the comrades and equals of the twice-born Brahmans in this

volunteers' march to freedom. (Hear, Hear). Therefore in the name of young men of India, the young women of India, the older men and older women of India, the oldest men and the oldest women of India, I pledge the lives, the souls, the all of every Indian to this great cause and say "In this great land, may there be peace, because we live only through peace". (Loud and continued applause).

The Main
Resolution.

Mrs. Sarojini
Naidu.

Mr. Rustomji K. Sidhwa of Karachi, next supported the resolution on behalf of the Parsis and said in Gujrati :—

The Main
Resolution.

Mr. Rustomji K.
Sidhwa.

प्रमुख साहेब, भाईओ अने बहेना,

कदाच त्‌हमे एम मानो, अने समजो के जे ठराव मुकवामां आव्यो छे, तेने फक्त हिंदु अने मुसलमान भाईओनो ज टेको छे, अने एवा ज ख्याल साथे त्‌हमे मंडप छोडी जाओ, ते माटे हुं तमने ए जणाववा आव्यो छुं, के पारसी कोम, केटलाक अपवादो शिवाय आ ठरावनी तरफेणमां ज छे. मुंबइनां तोफानोथी केटलाक पारसीओनां दील दुखार्या छे, ए खरुं; पण हुं तमने कहेवा उभो छुं के जे सिद्धांतथी आ लडत चाले छे, तेमां पारसी कोम तमारी साथे हमशरीक छे. हिंदना दादा दादाभाइ नवरोजीए जेम कलकत्तामां स्वराज्यनो झंडो सौथी पहिलो फरकाव्यो, तेम ज जे सिद्धांतने माटे आ देशे लडत मांडी छे तेमां पारसी कोम दादाभाइनी पेटे ज तमारी साथे उभशे ए खचीत मानजो. जे कोमे राजद्वारी तवारीखमां महान हीस्सो आप्यो छे, ते कोम पछात रहे ए असंभवित छे. मुंबइमां भाई बरजोरजी भरुचा केवुं काम करी रह्या छे ए पण त्‌हमे जाणो छो.

म्हारे विशेष कहेवानुं नथी. आ ठरावमां स्वयंसेवक संबंधी जणावलुं छे ते संबंधमां हुं जणाववा माणुं छुं, के आ काममां पारसी भाईओ पण टेको आपसे हुं करांचीथी आव्यो छुं. त्यांनी पारसी कोममांथी पण सारी संख्यामां स्वयंसेवको निकळशे, त्यारे त्‌हमे जोइ शकशो के आ लडतमां पारसी कोमनो पण टेको छे. एटलुं कही हुं आ ठरावने टेको आपुं छुं.

[English rendering of Mr. Rustomji K. Sidhwa's Gujrati speech]

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Lest you believe that the resolution put before the House has the support of only the Hindus and Mahomedans and lest you leave the Pandal under that impression, I stand here to convey to you that the Parsi Community, barring a few exceptions, is entirely in favour of this resolution. It is true that the Bombay disturbances have hurt the feelings of a few Parsis, but I desire to assure you that the Parsi Community entirely identifies itself with you in the principles underlying the struggle. Dadabhai Naoroji, the G. O. M. of India, was the first to unfurl the banner of Swaraj. So take it as certain that the Parsi community will stand by you, just like Dadabhai, in attaining the aims, this country is striving for. That, a community, which has played such a prominent part in the political life of the country, would lag behind, is impossible. You are all aware of the splendid services that Mr. Barjorji Bharucha is rendering in Bombay.

I have nothing particular to add. Relating to that part of the resolution which deals with volunteers I wish to say to you that the Parsi community will give you their support in that respect. I come from Karachi and therefore can say that a good number of the Karachi Parsis will enlist themselves as volunteers. It will then be visualised to you that the fight has the support of the Parsi community also. With these words I support the resolution.

The President then came to the Rostrum and in putting the resolution to the vote said in Urdu:—

The President.

ہزاروں،

ये रेशोल्युशन, जो आपके सामने महात्मा गांधीजीने निहायत काबलीयत के साथ पेश किया और चंद भाईओ और बहिनीने ताईद कीई, उसके मुतअलक राय लेनी चाहता हूँ। मैं समझता हूँ के आप सब भाई समझ गये होंगे। अगर कोई भाई ना समझे हो तो मेहेरबानी करके दर्याफ्त कर सकते हैं।

[English rendering of the President's Urdu speech]

DELEGATES,

I now want to put to the vote the resolution which has been so ably moved by Mahatma Gandhi and supported by other brothers and sisters. I take that you have all understood the resolution, but in case any of you requires any explanation, he can ask for the same.

The Main Resolution.

A voice—Is the resolution put to the vote in parts or as a whole ?

The President—As a whole.

A voice—What about the gentleman who wanted to oppose the resolution, I mean Mr. Kidwai, as stated in the agenda paper ?

The President—He has not thought it right to turn up.

The President then requested those in favour of the resolution to raise their hands. There was a forest of hands. He then asked those who wanted to oppose it to raise their hands. A few hands were raised. The President declared the resolution carried by an overwhelming majority, only 10 persons voting against.

Dr. M. A. Ansari thereafter moved, on behalf of the President, the following five resolutions which were to be put from the Chair :—

Resolution II

Appeal to the non-N. C. O.

RESOLUTION II

This Congress appeals to all those who do not believe in full non-co-operation or in the principle of non-co-operation, but who consider it essential for the sake of national self-respect to demand and insist upon the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, and for the sake of full national self-expression, to insist upon the immediate establishment of Swaraj, to render full assistance to the nation in the promotion of unity between different religious communities, to popularise carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving from its economical aspect and as a cottage industry necessary in order to supplement the resources of millions of agriculturists who are living on the brink of starvation, and to that end preach and practise the use of hand-spun and hand-woven garments, to help the cause of total prohibition and if Hindus, to bring about the removal of untouchability and to help the improvement of the condition of the submerged classes.

Resolution III

The Moplah disturbance.

RESOLUTION III

This Congress expresses its firm conviction that the Moplah disturbance was not due to the Non-co-operation or the Khilafat movement, especially as the non-co-operators and the Khilafat preachers were denied opportunity of carrying on effective propaganda of non-violence in the affected parts by the district authorities for six months before the disturbance, but is due to causes wholly unconnected with the two movements and that the outbreak would not have occurred had the message of non-violence been allowed to reach them. Nevertheless, this Congress deplores the acts done by certain Moplahs by way of forcible conversions and destruction of life and property and is of opinion that the prolongation of the disturbance in Malabar could have been prevented by the Government of Madras accepting the proffered assistance of Maulana Yakub Hassan and other non-co-operators and allowing Mahatma Gandhi to proceed to Malabar and is further of opinion that the treatment of Moplah prisoners as evidenced by the asphyxiation incident was an act of inhumanity unheard of in modern times and unworthy of a Government that calls itself civilised.

Resolution IV

Congratulations to Mustafa Kemal Pasha

RESOLUTION IV

This Congress congratulates Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the Turks upon their successes and assures the Turkish nation of India's sympathy and support in its struggle to retain its status and independence.

Resolution V

The Bombay occurrences.

RESOLUTION V

This Congress deplores the occurrences that took place in Bombay on the 17th November last and after, and assures all parties and communities that it has been and is the desire and determination of the Congress to guard their rights to the fullest extent.

Resolution VI

Congratulations to Sikh leaders.

RESOLUTION VI

That this Congress heartily congratulates Shreeman Baba Gurudatsinghji—the great organiser of Sri Guru Nanak Steamer who willingly surrendered himself after seven years' fruitless search by the Government as a sacrifice for the nation and also congratulates the other Sikh leaders who have preferred imprisonment to the restriction

of their religious rights and liberty and congratulates the Sikh community on their non-violent spirit at the time of the Babaji's arrest and on other occasions in spite of great provocation by the Police and the Military.

Resolution VI
—
Congratulatory
to Sikh leaders

The above resolutions, after being translated by Dr. Ansari in Hindustani, were unanimously adopted without any discussion.

Mr. Vithalbhai J. Patel in moving, on behalf of the President, the 7th resolution said:—

Resolution VII
—
Changes in the
Constitution.

This is, friends, another resolution which the President has asked me to read to you for him. It refers to certain changes which have been found necessary during the working of the Congress Constitution for the last one year. They are very minor changes and therefore the Subjects Committee have decided that the resolution should be put from the chair. The resolution reads thus:—

Mr. Vithalbhai
J. Patel.

RESOLUTION VII

“The following changes be introduced in the Constitution:—

1. In article IV instead of ‘the age of 21’ read ‘the age of 18’
2. At the end of article VII add ‘provided that no person shall become a member of two parallel Congress organisations at one and the same time’.
3. At the end of clause 3 Art. VIII add ‘the members of the All India Congress Committee shall be ex-officio delegates to the Congress, the Provincial Congress Committees deducting the number of elected and, if any, the ex-officio members of the All India Congress Committee in their province from the number of delegates they are entitled to return.’
4. In clause 5 Art. VIII remove the brackets and after ‘a single transferable vote’ add ‘or by any other method.’
5. In clause 2 of Art. XIX after ‘shall be’ add ‘the elected President’.
6. In the same clause after ‘past presidents of the Congress’ add ‘if they sign the Congress Creed and are members of any Congress Organisation.’
7. In Art. XXIII after ‘the General Secretaries’ add ‘and two Treasurers’ and in the beginning of the second sentence instead of the word ‘they’ read the ‘General Secretaries’.

Mr. Patel referring to the first clause of the above resolution said:—This means that any person of the age of 18 can hereafter become a member of any Congress Organisation.

Referring to Clause 5 he said:—“This means that past Presidents of the Congress, if they want to be ex-officio members of the All India Congress Committee and thus become also ex-officio delegates to the Congress, must sign the Congress Creed and must also belong to some Congress Organisation in the country.”

In connection with the same clause he further said:—“The elected President need not be elected as a delegate or as a member of the All India Congress Committee. As soon as he is elected President for the year he becomes by virtue of his office an ex-officio member of the All India Congress Committee and therefore an ex-officio delegate.”

The resolution was put to the vote and carried.

Mr. Patel then said:—There are other resolutions which are also to be put from the chair. They run as follows:

Resolution VIII
& IX

RESOLUTION VIII

“This Congress reappoints Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. Ansari and Sjt. C. Rajgopalachariar as General Secretaries of the Congress for the year 1922, and as Pandit Motilal Nehru and Sjt. C. Rajgopalachariar are now in jail, appoints Sjt. Vithalbhai J. Patel and Dr. Rajan respectively to act for them, the former to be the Working Secretary.”

Appointments of
Secretaries and
Treasurers.

RESOLUTION IX

“This Congress reappoints Sheth Jammalal Bajaj and Sheth Chotani as Treasurers of the Congress, the former to be the Working Treasurer.”

Mr. Vithalbhai
J. Patel.

The resolutions were explained to the audience in Urdu and were adopted.
Mr. Vithalbhai J. Patel then addressed the House as follows :—

“The President has asked me to tell you that you will be kind enough to stick to your places till the Congress Session is over to-day. There is one important resolution that will come before you. It will be discussed and then put to the vote. Thereafter there will be some formal motions according thanks to our worthy President and the workers in connection with this Congress. Then there will be the closing speech of the President. I hope you will all remain in your seats and not make any noise till the whole proceedings are over. That is the special request which I, on behalf of the Working Committee and the President, make to you.”

The President.

Thereafter the President, in calling upon Maulana Hazrat Mohani to move his resolution for change in the Congress Creed, said in Urdu :—

हजरात्,

जनाब मौलाना हजरत मोहानी साहेब काँग्रेस के कीडमें तबदील करने के मुतअल्लीक रेशोल्युशन पेश करेंगे। ये रेशोल्युशन पेश किया गया था सबजेक्ट कमेटी में और कसरत रायसे हार हुई थी। लेकिन मौलानाने वहाँ नोटीस दे दिया था और सब लोगोंने उसको पसंद किया था। अब आप अपने उस रेशोल्युशन को आपके सामने पेश करेंगे।

[English rendering of the President's Urdu speech]

DELEGATES,

Janab Maulana Hazrat Mohani Saheb will now move a resolution for a change in the Congress Creed. He had moved it in the Subjects Committee. It was lost there by majority. But Maulana gave there a notice and it was accepted by all. He will now place his resolution before you.

Resolution re
change in
Congress Creed

Maulana
Hazrat Mohani.

Maulana Hazrat Mohani then advanced to the Rostrum, amidst cries of Alla Ho Akbar, and moved the following resolution:—

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

In moving the resolution he said in Urdu as follows:—

जनाब सदर व हाजरीन,

मैं इस वक्त आपके स्वरू जिस रेशोल्युशन को पेश करूंगा वो निहायत दर्जे अहम है। इस लिये मैं आपसे दरखास्त करूंगा के इस्को मामूली रेशोल्युशन की तराह कबल न कीजिएगा। बल्के निहायत गौर व खोज के साथ राय कायम कीजिएगा। वो रेशोल्युशन ये है। पहले मैं इस्को अंग्रेजी में पढकर सुनाता हूँ।

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

इस्के माने ये हैं के इस वक्त तक जो रेशोल्युशन काँग्रेस कीड का है उस की रू से हिंदुस्तान का मकसद, नेशनल काँग्रेस का मकसद, सिर्फ स्वराज का हासिल करना है। उसमें लपझे स्वराज की तशरीह नही की गई है। अब मैं ये रेशोल्युशन पेश करता हूँ के स्वराजसे हमारा मतलब कामिल आझादी का है। मैं इस रेशोल्युशन को पेश करने के कबल आप लोगोंसे दरखास्त करता हूँ के आप एक साल कबल की तरफ नजर दोडाईए। आप को याद होगा के जब नागपूर काँग्रेसमें ये रेशोल्युशन पेश किया गया था और स्वराज का लपझ दाखिल किया गया था तो केह दीया गया था के हम ये लपझ मुबहम शकलमें इस लीये रखतें हैं के लोगों को मौका रहे के जो माने चाहें वो करार दे सकें। जो लोग स्वराज के माने within British Empire चाहतें हैं वो और जो नहार चाहते थे दोनो काँग्रेसमें रेह सकें। महात्माजीने फर्माया था के अगर खिलाफत और पंजाब का फैसला हमारे मुवाफिक हो आयगा तो हम बाहर जाने की कोशिश न करेंगे। अगर फैसला मुवाफिक न हुवा तो हम without की हवादिश करेंगे। जब वो शर्त पूरी नही हुई, जब एक साल के अंदर खिलाफत और पंजाब के मुसलमिन के मसअले तै नहि हुवे तो क्या वजा है के हम अपने कौल के मुताबिक आज एक साल के बाद क्यों न कह दें के स्वराज के माने कामिल आझादी और कम्प्लीट इंडीपेन्डंस के हैं। महात्माजीने फर्माया के अब मौका है के हम खिलाफत और पंजाब के मसअले को

हल कर सकेंगे इस लीए हमें जल्दी न करना चाहिए। इसके दो जबाब हैं। पहला जबाब ये है के खुद महात्माजीने एकहि साल की मुद्दत करार दी थी और बार बार कहा था के हम स्वराज इसी सालमें ले लेंगे। यहाँ जितने लोग आये हुवे हैं सब येही उम्मीद ले कर आये थे और सब के दिलमें येही जोरा था के हम अहमदाबाद इस लीए जाते हैं के वहाँ जा कर हम अपनी आझादी का एखलान कर देंगे। अगर आप इस वक्त आझादी का एखलान नहीं कर सकते तो कमअजकस इतना तो जरूर कीजिए के अपने नसबुलएन को तो साफ कर दीजिए और ये केह दीजिए के अगर इस वक्त हम आझादी का एखलान नहीं करते (अगर चे मेरी रायमें येही होना चाहिए) तो कमसे कम ये जरूरी है के हम अपने नसबुलएनको चाजेह और साफ कर लें। हजरात, महात्मा गांधी साहब ये कहेंगे के पंजाब और खिलाफत के मसअले का फैसला अबभी हमारे मुवाफिक हो सकता है। मैं केहता हूँ के वक्त का जो सवाल था उसका मैं जबाब दे वूका के वक्त पुजर गया। हमारा दावा ये है के दोनो मसअल का फैसला बगर कामिल आझादी के नहीं हो सकता है। उसकी वजाह मैं बयान करूंगा।

पंजाबका फैसला क्यों कर होगा? महात्मा गांधी फरमाते हैं “हाथर और ओडवायर की पेन्शन बंद कर दी जाय और वो अपने कीयेपर नादिस हो तो मैं समजंगा के पंजाब का फैसला हो गया”। लेकिन मैं कहूंगा के पंजाब का फैसला उसी वक्त होगा जब वाकेआत पंजाब के दुबारा खुला होने का मौका था इमकान न रहे। जिस वक्त तक हमको कामिल आझादी हासिल न होगी उस वक्त तक जो कुछ हाथर ओडवायरने कीया है उन के दूसरे भाई भी कर सकते हैं और जिसकी भिसाल आप देख रहे हैं के मोपला लोगोपर क्या क्या जुल्म हो रहा है। इस मौकेपर हकूमत के जानिबसे एक गलत फेइसी फैलाकर ये कीया जा रहा है। जब वो मुमकिन है तो और हिंदुस्तानमें भी इसी तरह हो सकता है। पंजाब का फैसला ये है के उसका इमकान जाता रहे और इस किसम के वाकेआत फिर न हो सके और ये जबहि हो सकता है के हिंदुस्तान कामिल तौरपर आझाद हो जाए। बाद असहाब केने डीयन फॉर्म ऑफ सेल्फ गवर्मेंट को पेशे नजर रखकर कहेते हैं के देखो केनेडा आझाद हो गया; आस्ट्रेलिया आझाद है, आयरलैंड को आझादी की न है। जिस तरह अंग्रेजोने इन मकबजात को आझाद कीया, क्या ये मुमकिन नहीं के वो हिंदुस्तान को भी आझाद कर दें। ये अफवाहें उड़ रही हैं के गवर्मेंट मुसालिहत के लीए तैयार है। जहांतक मैंने गौर कीया है हिंदुस्तान के लीए केनेडा के किसम की आझादी और कम्प्लीट इन्डिपेन्डंस में कुछ जियादा फरक न होगा। अंग्रेज कभी हिंदुस्तानीओ को केनेडियन फॉर्म ऑफ सेल्फ गवर्मेंट देने पर राजी न होंगे। जिन जिन मुल्कों को उन्होंने ये दीया उसकी दो वजहें थी। पहली वजह ये है के जिन मुल्कों को उन्होंने आझादी दी वो उन्ही के हममजहब, हमरंग, हमजुबान थे। दूसरी और इससे बड़ी वजह ये थी के जिन जिन मुल्कों को ऐसी गवर्मेंट उन्होंने इनयात की खुद उन मुल्कोंका भी फायदा इसमें है के वो अंग्रेजोंके मातेहत रहे। अगर वो आज अंग्रेजोंकी मातेहतीसे निकल जायें तो दूसरी क्रौमें उन को हजेम कर लें। अगर हिंदुस्तान के लीए इन दोनो बातोंमेंसे कोई बात मौजूद नहीं। हिंदुस्तानमें हर किसम का मौसम, हर किसम की जमीन और हर किसम की जरूरत की चीजें मौजूद हैं। हिंदुस्तान अपनी जरूरियात जिंदगीके लिए दूसरेका मोहताज नहीं। और इस लिए इसमें उसका कोई फायदा नहीं है के वो किसी दूसरेका मातेहत रहे। किसीका येह समझ लेना के अंग्रेज लोग हिंदुस्तान को इस तरहकी सेल्फ गवर्मेंट बखुशी दे देंगे, मेहेजू खुआब न स्याल है, ऐसा नहीं हो सकता। जब मैंने ये साबित कर दिया के केनेडियन फॉर्म ऑफ गवर्मेंट का मिलना मुम्किल है जब अंग्रेज वो भी अपनी खुशी से न देंगे तो क्या वजह है के हम अपने मकसद को आला दर्जेपर न रखें और क्यों न कहें के हम कामिल आजादीके दपें हैं।

हजरात! मसअले खिलाफत के मुताअलिक आप को मालुम है के स्वराज्य का मसअला मुसलमानोंने दो हेसियतसे कबूल किया है। एक तो आम हिंदुस्तानी की हेसियतसे, और दूसरा इस्लामी हेसियतसे। जो मसअला खिलाफत के मुताअलिक है सिर्फ हिंदुस्तानके लिए केनेडियन फॉर्म ऑफ सेल्फ गवर्नेमेंट भी मुफीद हो सकती है मगर खिलाफत के मुताअलिक स्वराज के एकही माने हो सकते है याने पूरी और कामिल आजादी। खिलाफत का तहफफुज उस वक्त तक नहीं हो सकता जब तक अंग्रेजोंकी शाहनशाही कुव्वत शकस्त न। जबतक ऐसा न होगा अंग्रेजोंके कदम इराक, अरब, और जजीरतुल-अरब की सर जमीनसे हट न सकेंगे और तमाम दुनिया उनके असरसे दगिज पाक न हो सकेगी। इस लिए मसअले खिलाफत के मुताअलिक स्वराज के सिर्फ एक माने हो सकते हैं याने कंफ्लीट इन्डिपेन्डेंस। केनेडियन फॉर्म ऑफ सेल्फ गवर्नेमेंटसे मसअले खिलाफत का फैसला नहीं हो सकता बल्के ये उसके खिलाफ होगा क्योंकि उससे इम्पिरिशलिक्म को मदद गेहचेगी। जब तक हिंदुस्तान कामिल तौरपर आजाद न होगा महात्मा गांधी साहब का ये दावा के हम पंजाब और खिलाफत के मसअल हल कर लेंगे दगिज पूरा न हो सकेगा जहां तक मेरे मुसलमान भाइयों का तअल्लुक है उनका कर्तार हिस्सा स्वराज को कामिल आजादी के मानेंमें समझने लगा है।

Resolution re
change in
Congress Creed

Maulana
Hazrat Mohani.

कलके दिन खिलाफत कॉन्फरन्समें इत्तेफाकसे बो मसअला पेश न हो सका। लेकिन उसी वक्त और इन्हीं हाजरीन का जो जलसाए आम हुवा उसमें मुसलमानोंने बिल्इतेफाक ये पास कर दिया के स्वराज के माने कामिल आजादी के हैं। अगर आप को ये सब बातें मंजूर हैं और आप के बड़े बड़े रेहनुमां जो जैलखाने में चले गये हैं उन की बात को अगर कायम रखना है तो इस रेहोल्यूशन को बिल्इतेफाक मंजूर फर्माइये। जिस वक्त सी. आर्. दास जेलमें गये उन्होंने ये कहा के हम इस हकमत को तसलीम नहीं करते। जिस वक्त फंडित मोतीलाल नेहरू अदालतमें पेश किये गये उस वक्त उन्होंने कहा के हम इस अदालत को तसलीम नहीं करते। जिस वक्त अली ब्रादरान् पर मुकद्दमा कराचीमें हो रहा था उन्होंने भी कहा के हम इस अदालत को तसलीम नहीं करते। बल्के शौकतअल्लीने अलल एलआन के ह दिया के ३१ दिसंबर को हमारा ये फर्ज हो जायगा के हिंदुस्तानी रिपब्लिक का हम एअलान कर दें। इन फिरादी तौरपर हरएकने के ह दिया है के हम आजाद हैं। जितने लोग यहां मौजूद हैं अगर अकेले अकेले और फर्दन फर्दन उन की राय पछी जाए तो हरेक उनमेंसे यही कहेगा के हम आजाद हैं। फिर क्या बजा है के हम सब मजमूद तौरपर दिन के ह दें के हम आजाद हैं, आज की तारीख से आजाद हैं, और पूरेतौरसे आजाद हैं। लोकमान्य तिलक का ये कौल हमको खूब याद है के आजादी हमारा पेदायशी हक है और हमारा फर्ज है के आजादी के लिए रहें।

मैं आपसे दरखुवास्त करूंगा के आप किसीकी शखसियतसे असर पिजिर न हों। महात्मा गांधी की अपील का आप पर जरूर असर होगा मगर मैं समझता हूँ के अगर आप गौरी फिरसे काम लेंगे तो अपनी जातीराय पर महात्माजी की अपील को भी तरजीह न देंगे।

[English rendering of Maulana Hazrat Mohani's Urdu speech.]

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The resolution, which I am going to move before you, is very important and therefore I would request you not to take it as a commonplace resolution but ponder over it most carefully and thoughtfully.

I first read the resolution to you in English. (Here he read the resolution). This means that up to now, by virtue of the Article relating to the Creed of the Congress, the goal of India, of the Indian National Congress, is merely to attain Swaraj. But the word 'Swaraj' is not defined. Now I move this resolution that by 'Swaraj' we mean "Complete Independence." Before inviting you to accept the resolution, I request you to turn to (the events of) the past year. You will remember that when the resolution about the creed was moved at the Nagpur Congress and the word "Swaraj" was inserted in it, it was said that, that word was left undefined so that it might be open to the people to attach to it any meaning they liked; that those, who desired to interpret "Swaraj" as 'whithin' the British Empire as well as those interpreting it as "without", might continue to remain in the Congress fold. Mahatmaji had said that if the Khilafat and the Punjab questions were settled according to our wishes, we would not attempt to go out of the Empire. But if the settlement was not satisfactory, our efforts would be directed for Swaraj "without" (the British Empire). When that condition has not been fulfilled, when the Punjab and the Khilafat questions have not been settled within a year, why should we not be able to say to-day, after one year, according to our word that Swaraj means "Complete Independence" ? Mahatma Gandhi has remarked that there is still time for us to settle the Khilafat and the Punjab questions and therefore we should not be precipitate. There is a two-fold reply to this. The first is that Mahatmaji himself had fixed the period of one year only and had repeatedly said that we would have Swaraj during this very year. All those, who have come here, have come with this hope and their hearts were pulsating with this expectation that they were going to Ahmedabad with a view to declare independence. If you are unable to declare independence, you should at least clearly define your ideal and say : "If at the present time we do not declare our independence (in my opinion however it should be done) it is at least essential that we should have a clear vision of our ideal." Ladies and gentlemen, Mahatma Gandhi would say that the Swaraj and the Khilafat matters can be settled satisfactorily even now. So far as the time limit is concerned, I have replied that it has already elapsed. My contention is that none of these questions can ever be settled without complete independence. I shall now urge my arguments in support of this contention.

How can the Punjab question be settled? Mahatma Gandhi says that if the pensions of Dyer and O'Dwyer are stopped, if they are repentant for their deeds, he would consider the Punjab question as settled. But I hold that the Punjab problem will be settled only when a repetition becomes impossible. So long as we do not attain complete independence, it is possible for other Dyers and O'Dwyers to do what Messers Dyer and O'Dwyer did. The cruelties at present perpetrated on the Moplahs will serve as an illustration. The Government in this case, have been doing this by creating a false impression (on the public mind). If this is possible (in one part of India) it is possible in the whole of India. The question of the Punjab can only be settled when the possibility of its repetition is removed, and this is possible only when India is completely independent. Some friends, having in view the Canadian form of self-government, tell us of the emancipation of Canada and Australia, and of the persistent efforts of Ireland for emancipation. Is it not possible for the English to grant freedom to India just as they granted freedom to all these possessions? Rumours are afloat that Government is prepared for a compromise. So far as I have considered the question, I have come to the conclusion that there is no difference between the Colonial form of Government and complete independence so far as India is concerned. The English will never be prepared to grant the Colonial form of Government to India. To whatever countries it has been granted, there existed two essential reasons for granting it. The first reason was that the countries to which freedom has been granted profess the same religion, belong to the same race and speak the same language as the English. The second and the more important reason was that it was to the advantage of those countries themselves to whom such form of Government was granted, to remain within the British Empire. If to-day they get out of the British Empire, they will fall an easy prey to other nations. None of the above two reasons holds good in the case of India. In India there exist all sorts of seasons, all sorts of soils and all sorts of necessaries. India does not depend on other countries for the necessities of life. It is not therefore, to its advantage, to continue as a dependent of any other nation. It is merely a dream of some who imagine that the English would voluntarily grant such form of self-government to India. It cannot be realised. I have shown that it is difficult to attain even the Colonial form of Government and that the English will not voluntarily grant it. Why should we not then place before ourselves the highest ideal possible? And why should we not say that we insist on complete independence?

Ladies and gentlemen, you know it, in connection with the Khilafat question, that the Mussalmans have accepted Swaraj as their goal for two reasons: first, because they are Indians and secondly, as Mussalmans, for the solution of the Khilafat question. So far as India alone is concerned, the Colonial form of self-government may suffice but so far as the Khilafat is concerned Swaraj can have only one meaning and that is complete independence. The Khilafat question is not possible of solution so long as British Imperialism is not broken. The British will not retrace their steps from Iraq, Arabia, and the Jazirat-ul-Arab and the whole world will not be free from their domination so long as their Imperialism is not broken. For this reason Swaraj can have only one meaning when applied to the Khilafat and that is complete independence. The Colonial form of self-government would not solve the Khilafat question but it would, on the other hand, go against the Khilafat for this reason that it will strengthen British Imperialism. Mahatma Gandhi's claim that we shall be able to solve the Punjab and the Khilafat problems is incapable of realisation so long as India is not completely independent. So far as my Mussalman brothers are concerned, the majority of them have begun to take Swaraj to mean complete independence. This question could not be brought before the Khilafat Conference yesterday by chance; yet in the public meeting held after the Conference the Mussalmans unanimously passed a resolution to the effect that Swaraj meant complete independence. If you accept this view, and if you want to stand by the great leaders who have been sent to the gaol, please adopt this resolution without a division. When Mr. C. R. Das went to jail he said that he did not recognise this Government. When Pandit Motilal Nehru was brought to the court, he said that he did not recognise the court. While the trial of the Ali

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Brothers was going on in Karachi they also said that they did not recognise the court. On the other hand Maulana Shaukat Ali publicly declared that after the 31st of December, our only duty would be to proclaim the Indian Republic. Individually every one has been asserting his independence. If all those present here be individually and separately asked to give their opinion, every one of them would say that he is free. Then why should we not collectively declare that we are free from to-day and completely free? We have kept to our hearts the words of Lokmanya Tilak that "Liberty is our birthright and it is our duty to attain it."

With these words I would request you not to be swayed by any one's influence. Mahatma Gandhi's appeal will certainly influence you to a great extent, but I am sure that if you think for yourself, you will not allow even Mahatma Gandhi's appeal to have the better of your own inclinations.

Sjt. R. Venkat-
ram.

Sjt. R. Venkatram (Karnatak), in seconding the proposition of Maulana Hazrat Mohani, said:-

MR. PRESIDENT, SISTER AND BROTHER DELEGATES,

I stand before you to-day to second the resolution that has just been moved by my friend Maulana Hasrat Mohani. As the resolution is quite explicit it does not require many words from me, and I do not want to inflict on you any speech at this stage. I only hope you will all appreciate the need for explicitness and frankness and give your whole-hearted support to the resolution. With these few words, I beg to second the resolution".

Swami
Kumaranand.

Swami Kumaranand (Ajmer-Merwara) supported the resolution in Hindi as follows :-

मेरे हिन्दु मुसलमान भाईयों, माताओं और बहिनो,

मैं इस प्रस्ताव को ताइद कर के पास कराने के वास्ते उठा हूँ। आप जानते हैं कि नागपुरमें एअलान हुआ था कि एक सालमें स्वराज्य मिलेगा। हमें अफसोस है कि काँग्रेस जैसा चाहती थी वैसा आप ने पूरा काम नहीं किया इस लिये हम आज कम्प्लीट इन्डिपेन्डेन्स दिक्कर न कर सकें। इस लिये भाईयों, इतना तो करो कि जो स्वराज्य हम चाहते हैं वह अण्डर गवर्नमेंट नहीं मगर विधाउट गवर्नमेंट। जो गवर्नमेंटने बंगाल के राजद्रोह के जमाने में किसी किसी राजद्रोहियों को कन्फेस कराने के वास्ते पानी की जगह में पैशाब पीने को दिया था उस गवर्नमेंट को हम साथ नहीं रख सकते। इस लिये मैं एअलान करता हूँ कि We want Home-rule not within the British Empire or Commonwealth but outside the British Empire. आपने सी. एफ. एण्ड्रुज का आर्टिकल पढा होगा। वेह लिखते हैं के इस गवर्नमेंट के साथ हम ताल्लुक रख नहीं सकते। इसी लिये हम आस्ट्रेलिया, केनेडाके तरीके का स्वराज्य नहीं चाहते। आस्ट्रेलिया और दूसरी जगह के लोग उनके भाई हैं, उनके धर्म के हैं। हम उन के भाई नहीं हैं। हम उनसे नहीं मिलते। इस लिये यदि आप इरादा करके आये हैं कि स्वराज्य स्थापन करेंगे तो कम से कम यह तो निश्चय करें कि इस के कानून के अंदर स्वराज्य नहीं चाहिये। क्या आप ब्रिटिश से संबंध चाहेंगे? (नहीं, नहीं, ज्वनि) इस लिये क्या आप इस रेझोल्यूशन को राय पास नहीं करेंगे? अगर आप लोग चाहते हैं तो सोच कर इस रेझोल्यूशन को पास कीजिये।

[English rendering of Swami Kumaranand's Hindi speech]

MY HINDU AND MAHOMEDAN BROTHERS, MOTHERS AND SISTERS,

I stand to support this resolution and to get it passed. You know that it was declared at Nagpur that Swaraj would be obtained in a year. We are extremely grieved that we have not been able to work as wished for by the Congress. It is owing to that, that we are not in a position to-day to declare complete independence. Therefore brothers, declare this much at least that the Swaraj, we are out for, is not within but without the Government (the Empire). We cannot associate ourselves with a Government which was capable of giving urine in place of water to political prisoners in the days of Bengal unrest with a view to obtain confessions from them. I therefore declare "we want Home-rule not within the British Commonwealth or Empire but outside the British Empire." You may have read the article by Mr. C. F. Andrews. He writes that we cannot have any relations with this Government. We therefore do not want Swaraj on the lines of Australia or Canada. The people of

Australia or the Colonies are their kith and kin and profess the same religion. We are not their kith. We cannot mix with them. Therefore if you have come with the intention of establishing Swaraj, the least you should do is to resolve that you do not want Swaraj subject to their authority. Would you still desire the British Connection? (Cries of No No.) Have you therefore not a desire to pass this resolution? If you desire, adopt this resolution after due consideration.

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Mr. Yakub Ali Khan in supporting the resolution said in Urdu :—

Mr. Yakub Ali
Khan.

जनाने सदर, और मेरे हिंदु और मुसलमान भाईओं,

मैं आप के सामने इस रेसोल्यूशन की ताईद के लीए आया हूँ। मैं ये जानता हूँ के नागपुर के एअलान के बाद जिसमें ये साफ अल्फाज में केह दीया गया था के एक साल तक जो अंग्रेजों का खैया हमारे साथ होगा वो इस बात को तै करेगा के आया हम अंग्रेजों के तहतमें रहेंगे या बिलकुल अलेहदा हो जायेंगे। आज आप इनसाफ से केहें, मैं आपसे पूछता हूँ, के आज उनका बर्ताव हमारे साथ क्या रहा है। हम लोग फैसला कर सकते हैं के हमारे लिए गैर मुमकीन है के उनके साथ कोई ताअल्लुक रख सकें। वो लोग वो हैं के जिनके जमाने में इन्साफ के माने इन्साफ नहीं रहे। जब इन्साफ का लपझ उनके मूहसे निकलता है हमारे दिल थर्रा जाते हैं। पंजाब की हालत आपसे पोशीदा नहीं है। पूछीए मिल् के रहेनेवालों से जिन को बचाने के लिये ये गये थे। पूछीए ईरानवालों से। जब उन की दोस्ती का सवाल आता है तो हमारा दिल थर्रा जाता है। पूछीए रूसवालों से के उन्होंने उन की दोस्ती से क्या फायदा उठाया। जो लोग आज दुनिया में दोस्ती के और हिफाजत करने के माने इस तराह खराब कर रहें हैं क्या आपको उम्मीद है के आप के साथ इन्साफ करेंगे? बहेसीयत एक self-respecting कौम के आप का ये फर्ज है और दुनिया का ये फर्ज है के वो आझाद हो कर रहें। मैं इससे इनकार नहीं करता के अगर वो आपसे दोस्ताना ताअल्लुक रखना चाहे आप की आझादी के बाद जरूर रखें। अब इन बातों में फर्ज कीजिए के हम इस्को ideal के तौर पर रखना चाहतें हैं। इन अल्फाज के साथ मैं इस रेसोल्यूशन की ताईद करता हूँ।

[English rendering of Mr. Yakub Ali Khan's Urdu speech.]

MR. PRESIDENT AND MY HINDU AND MUSLIM BROTHERS,

I stand before you to support this resolution. I know that it was stated in clear terms at Nagpur, that the way in which the English behave towards us for the period of a year would decide whether we shall remain with them, or be quite independent of them. I charge you to tell me, in all justice, as to their present attitude towards us. We can decide for ourselves that it is not possible for us to-day to have anything to do with them. They are the people, in whose regime, justice does not mean justice. Our hearts tremble when they speak of justice. The Punjab wrongs are not unknown to you. Ask the people of Egypt, where the English had gone as their saviours. Ask the Persians. Our hearts quake at the idea of friendship with them. Ask the Russians as to the benefits derived by them from their friendship with the English. How can you hope to get justice at the hands of a people who are thus perverting the meaning of friendship and protection? As a self-respecting nation it is our duty, and it is also the duty of every other nation that each should live in independence. I do not maintain that, if they desire to have friendly relations with us, we should not have them. By all means have them, but after you are independent. Please bear in mind that we desire to keep this as our ideal. With these words I support the resolution.

Addressing the Assembly further he said in English :—

Friends, all that I want to say in English is that we should keep independence at least as an ideal, though we are not in a position to declare it at this moment. In order to secure complete independence in the shortest possible time we must have it as an ideal, and therefore I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution.

In further supporting the resolution, Mr. T. P. Alwar (Andhra) said:—
SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

Mr. T. P. Alwar.

I am representing here the Andhra nation. Our Provincial Congress Committee has sent to this Congress a suggestion for separation of India from the Empire. Complete Independence is our aim and goal. By that no body need fear that we are declaring independence on this very day; after all that is an aim, say, an

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Mr. T. P. Alwar.

ideal. I want to inform the world from this platform that India's goal is complete independence. We may reach it on any day, no matter when and how we attain the goal. On our part there is no going back from this struggle till our efforts be crowned with success. This may entail on us the greatest sacrifices. Every man wants to be free. A lion, an ant, or even the lowest animal wants to be free. When such is the order of the creation, is it not right on the part of an Indian to aim at complete independence and not to be a serf? I, therefore, think that Mahatma Gandhi or in fact even the worst moderate will be with me when I say that no body likes to be under any body's suzerainty. There are friends who bestow a good deal of thought on settlement as planned out by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. For my part, I have no belief in it. Because any settlement at this stage will be quite premature, even if the hopes of a settlement materialise—May God forbid it—for the result will be a shadow but not the substance. What guarantee is there that the results of this premature settlement will be profitable any more than the Mont-Ford Scheme? Perhaps this resolution may cause pain to some of the easy-chair politicians and job-seekers. There are again some friends who fear that the movement may fail for our creed is non-violence. It will never fail; because the bureaucracy has got in its hands the tool of violence, whereas ours is non-violence. The world is sick of violence, and non-violence alone can bring permanent peace. Therefore, I make bold to say that even the whole world will have to copy us as soon as we win and I am sure that we shall win as we must. It is now time that the dubiety in the word "Swaraj" should be cleared. Further some of our friends suggested to me not to move such a silly resolution, because we have neither navy, nor army nor have control over finance. Some other friends suggested that though Ireland had passed the resolution of separation yet the Dail Eireanne did not meet even once in public. But I say though Dail Eireanne had not got the courage to meet in public, we here are not only holding Congress and other Committee meetings in public but we are also expressing and publishing our views as Satyagrahis should do. We have no secrets. Our aim and goal is separation. We never want to be under British rule. I am forced to think that British people also are professing to the world by their sweet words that we are a burden, placed upon them by Providence so that they may make us stand on our own legs. Let nobody entertain the belief in the phrase, "the white man's burden" that the British people are so fond of using on many an occasion such as Queen Victoria's Proclamation, Macaulay's despatch regarding the introduction of English Education in India, and in various speeches of various responsible Englishmen on many an occasion. The Irish declared a republic as their goal and they have attained the Free State. The higher the goal, the greater is the achievement. When things are so conditioned, what harm is there to declare that our aim is to be free and to be separate from the British Empire? With fervent appeal to your reason, I beg of you to pass this resolution unanimously.

The President.

The President, thereafter, said in Urdu :—

भाइयों और बहिनो,

जैसा के आप साहेबान का मालूम है ये बिलकुल नामुमकीन है को ज्यादा लोगों को बोलने की इजाजत दी जाय। मैंने शुरूमें केह दीया था के मैं मौलाना हसरत मोहानी को सपोर्ट में चार असहाब को लूंगा। और उन की मुखाफिकत में महात्मा गांधीजी फरमाएंगे। इन पांच अदमी से ज्यादा मैं किसी आदमी को इजाजत नहीं दूंगा। मैं दूसरे भाइओसे दरखास्त करता हूँ के अगर मैं इजाजत न दू तो वो मेहरबानी फर्माकर माफ फर्मावें। जिस वक्त मैं राय पुछू उस वक्त जो सहाब मौलाना हसरत मोहानी साहब के मुखाफिकत में हों वो अपनी रायका इजहार हाथ उठाकर कर सकेंगे।

[English rendering of the President's Urdu speech]

SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

You know that it is not at all possible to allow a large number of speakers on this resolution. I had said in the beginning that I would allow four speakers to support the resolution and that Mahatmaji would oppose it. I cannot allow any more than these five. I beg of the other delegates to excuse me for my inability to allow any more to speak. Those who support Moulana's resolution should express their support by raising their hands when the resolution is put to the vote.

Mahatma Gandhi then proceeded to the Rostrum amidst cries of Vande Mataram and Alla Ho Akabar and in opposing Maulana Hasrat Mohani's motion, he said in Hindi :—

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Mahatma Gandhi

सदर साहब, भाईयो और बहिनी,

मुझे रंज होता है कि हमारे में ऐसे भी आज प्रतिनिधी बैठे हैं कि जो बिना ख्याल के ऐसी आवाज निकालते हैं कि हम ऐसा चाहते हैं, हम वैसा चाहते हैं। यह बतलाता है कि हमारे सामने क्या मोका है, हम नहीं जानते। साथ साथ खुरी है कि ऐसे भी आदमी हैं जो कोई भी चीज कहनेसे डरते नहीं। हमारी आवाज ऐसी हो गयी कि एक दफा स्वराज का नाम लेकर डरते थे, लेकिन आज यह बात कह सकते हैं कि ब्रिटिश सल्तनत के साथ नहीं रह सकते, पूरी आजादी चाहिए। इससे भी अधिक चीज कहने से नहीं डरते यह विश्वास है।

आपने सुना कि हसरत मोहानीने क्या बम्ब का गोला रक्खा। एक बात रक्खी के स्वराज पर। इस प्रस्ताव अगला प्रस्ताव का विरोधी है, कांग्रेस कीड का भी विरोधी है। हम छोटी बात को नहीं कर सकते हैं, और बड़ी बात को सोचना चाहते हैं ऐसा मायना हसरत साहेबके प्रस्ताव का है। जो कुछ उनके प्रस्तावमें अच्छा है वह सब कांग्रेस के प्रस्तावमें हैही है। हसरत साहब के प्रस्तावसे बहुतसे लोग डर जायगे। अबतक हमारेमें हिन्दु मुसलमानका एक्य भी अच्छी तरहसे कायम नहीं हुआ है। उसके आगे हम लम्बी बात करना चाहते हैं। इससे हमारा काम बिगड़ता है। मेरी उमीद है आप हसरत साहेबके प्रस्ताव को नापसंद करेंगे।

Addressing those who did not understand Hindi Mahatma Gandhi said in English :—

Friends,

I have said only a few words (in Hindi) in connection with the proposition of Mr. Hasrat Mohani. All I want to say to you in English is that the levity with which that proposition has been taken by some of you has grieved me. It has grieved me because it shows a lack of responsibility. As responsible men and women we should go back to the days of Nagpur and Calcutta and we should remember what we did only an hour ago. An hour ago, we passed a resolution which actually contemplates a final settlement of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and transference of the power from the hands of the bureaucracy into the hands of the people by certain definite means. Are you going to rub the whole of that position from your mind by raising a false issue and by throwing a bombshell in the midst of the Indian atmosphere. I hope that those of you who have voted for the previous resolution will think fifty times before taking up this resolution and voting for it. We shall be charged by the thinking portion of the world that we do not know really where we are. Let us understand too our limitations. Let Hindus and Mussalmans have absolute indissoluble unity. Who is here who can say to-day with confidence, 'Yes, Hindu-Muslim Unity has become an indissoluble factor of Indian Nationalism'? Who is here who can tell me that the Parsis and the Sikhs and the Christians and the Jews and the untouchables about whom you heard this afternoon,—who will tell me that those very people will not rise against any such idea? Think therefore fifty times before you take a step which will redound not to your credit, not to your advantage, but which may cause you irreparable injury. Let us first of all gather up our strength. Let us first of all sound our own depths. Let us not go into waters whose depths we do not know and this proposition of Mr. Hazrat Mohani lands you into depths unfathomable. I ask you in all confidence to reject that proposition, if you believe in the proposition that you passed only an hour ago. The proposition now before you rubs off the whole of the effect of the proposition that you passed only a moment ago. Are creeds such simple things like clothes which a man can change at will? For creeds people die and for creeds people live from age to age. Are you going to change the creed which, with all deliberation and after great debate in Nagpur, you accepted? There was no limitation of one year when you accepted that creed. It is an extensive creed; it takes in all, the weakest and the strongest, and you will deny yourselves the privilege of clothing the weakest amongst yourselves with protection if you accept this limited

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creed of Maulana Hasrat Mohani which does not admit the weakest of your brethren. I therefore ask you in all confidence to reject his proposition." (Loud Applause.)

Maulana Hasrat Mohani, in reply to Mahatma Gandhi, said in Urdu:—

जनाबे सदर व हाजरीन्,

अगर ने महात्मा गांधी के ईर्ष्या का जबाब देना छोटा मुद्दा बड़ी बात समझा जायेगा लेकिन फर्ज का पेहचानना मुझको मजबूर करता है के जो कुछ सच्ची बात हो उसको आपके सामने अल्ल एअलान पेश कर दूं ।

इजरात, महात्मा गांधीने जितना अपनी तकरीर में कहा है उसमें सबसे बड़ी बात ये पेश की है के हमको अपनी ताकत का पूरा अंदाजा करना चाहिए और वृके मोतदिल जमाअत के अफ़ाद भी अब हमसे करीबतर होते जाते हैं इसलिए हम को भी लाजमी है के सिर्फ उसी चीज का मुतालिबा करें जिसपर सबतरह के ख्यालात रखनेवाले लोगों को हम अपने साथ ले सकें । इजरात, इस बात को हमारे मुतालबसे कोई तअल्लुक नहीं है । हम जो चाहते हैं वो ये है के हम कामिल आजादी को अपना नसबुलएन बना लें और समझ लें के हम को अखिरकार वो चीज हासिल करना है उस को हासिल किये बगैर न रहेंगे । कामिल आजादी को आयदिअल बनानेसे ये नतीजा नहीं निकलता के अगर फिलहाल उससे कमदर्जेकी चीज मिलेगी तो हम न लेंगे । बेशक हमारा नसबुलएन वोही रहेगा । इसकी कोई बजा नहीं है के हम जो कुछ चाहते हैं उससे कम मिलेगा तो हम उसे रद कर देंगे । नागपुरमें एक साल पेहले कहा गया था के खिलाफत व पंजाब का फैसला खातिर खुवाह हो जायगा तो स्वराज ब्रिटिश एम्पायर के अंदर रहेगा वर ना बाहर । उस वक्त येवी कहा गया था के एक साल के अंदर इसका फैसला किया जायगा । अब वो एक साल गुजर गया । फिर इस का फैसला क्यों नहीं किया जाता ? अगर नहीं किया जाता है तो क्या ग्यारंटी है के ये बात योही होती न चली जायगी ? स्वराज का लफ्ज ऐसा मुन्हम है के हम गलत फेहमी को समझ कर हुकमतने खुद स्वराज का लफ्ज इस्तेमाल करना शुरू किया । क्या इसका ये मतलब नहीं है के स्वराजके माने को भी हो सकते हैं जो हुकमते अंग्रेजी की वाक्सुमेंटसमें लिये गये हैं ? गवमेंटी स्वराज के माने सिवा इसके कुछ नहीं हो सकते के चंद मद्दी के खिलोने हमारे सामने पेश किये जायें । अब कहा जाता है के राउन्ड टेबल कॉन्फरन्स होगी । उसमें कहा जायगा के प्रोविन्शियल ओटोनोमि ले लो । तमाम दुनियाको धोका दिया जाता है और कहा जाता है के हिंदुस्तान के लोग क्या चीख पुकार कर रहे हैं ? स्वराज तो उनको मिल गया, रिफोर्म जो उनको दी गई है यही स्वराज है । पस मैं आपसे दरखुवास्त करूंगा के स्वराज को इसके सही मानेमें लीजीए न के उस मानेमें जैसा हुकमत केहती है । जबतक आप इस लफ्ज की तशरीह न कर देंगे उस वक्त तक हर शाख्स अपनी मर्जी के मुताबिक उसका मतलब निकाल सकेगा ।

मैं नहीं समझ सकता के जब हमारे बड़े बड़े लोगोंने जो जेलखाने में चले गये हैं फर्दन फर्दन इसकी तशरीह करदी है के हम न इस गवमेंट को तसलीम करते हैं न उसकी अदालत को और न कानून को तो हमको क्या बात रोकती है के हम सब एक बार मजमुई तौरपर भी अपने नसबुलएनका एअलान न कर दें, और फिर पूरी कुवत के साथ उसका दावा करते रहें ?

इजरात, हुकमतें इसी तरह बनती हैं के किसी बड़े दिमाग के एक गोशेमें एक ख्याल पैदा होता है, और वो फिर अमल की शकल में जाहीर होता है, और दुनियामें छा जाता है । क्या आप दुनियामें इसकी कोई मिसाल बता सकते हैं के बगैर किसी नसबुलएनके मुकर्रर किए हुवे इसपर अमल किया गया हो ? आप इस बात का ख्याल कीजिये के वो जो लोकमान्य तिलकने कहा था के स्वराज हमारा पैदायशी हुक है तो क्या ये बात किसी के बेहेम में भी आ सकती है के तिलक महाराज का मतलब उससे ये था के सिर्फ चंद रिफोर्म मिल जाएं ? मैं केहता हूं के हमारी आलाख्याली का तकाजा ये है के हम दुनिया पर साबित कर दें के हम ऐसे कमहौसला नहीं हैं के आजादी को इस महदद मानेमें समझें ।

लिहाजा मैं आपसे दरखुवास्त करूंगा के बिला लिहाज इस अग्रके के महात्मा गांधीने क्या फरमाया है, आप अपने नसबुलएन का इजहार कर दीजिए के इस का यही वक्त है । अगर इस वक्त आपने एअलान न किया तो आप को मालूम होना चाहिए के तमाम दुनियामें हमारी आबरूमें फरक आजायेगा । क्योंकि तमाम दुनियामें एअलान हो चुका है के हम इसी सालमें आजादी हासिल कर लेंगे । क्या आप चाहते हैं के महात्मा गांधी का ये कौल पूरा न हो ? मैं चाहता हूं के महात्मा गांधी के जवानसे जो निकला है वो पत्थर की लकीर हो । शायद आप कहें के ये कैसे हो सकता है ? क्या स्वराज आस्मानसे टपक पड़ेगा ? मैं केहता हूं के स्वराज दूसरों के हाथमें नहीं है । स्वराज हम खुद ले सकते हैं । गौर कीजिए के अगर आजसे हर शाख्स समझ ले के हम आजाद हैं तो स्वराज

हासिल हो गया। महात्मा गांधीने जो कहा था के स्वराज एक सालमें ले लेंगे उन्होंने भी येही समझा था के जिस वक्त चाहेंगे एअलान कर देंगे के हम आजाद हैं। आखिर में मैं आप हजरातसे अपील करता हूँ के आप जो कुछ रायें दें वो बिलाकिसी शर्ह के जाती लिहाजसे दें। इन् अलफाज के साथ मैं आप हजरातसे रखसत होता हूँ।

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[English rendering of the Urdu speech of Maulana Hazrat Mohani.]

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Although it may appear presumptuous on my part, to attempt to meet Mahatma Gandhi's arguments, my sense of duty compels me to frankly place before you the truth:

Ladies and gentlemen, the strongest of all the arguments urged by Mahatma Gandhi in the course of his speech is that we must correctly measure our strength and now that the views of the other parties in the Country are approximating to ours, it behoves us to so adjust our demands as to enable us to carry with us all shades of opinion. But ladies and gentlemen, this consideration has nothing to do with the question at issue. What we want is that we should have "Complete Independence" as our ideal, and we should realise that we can have no rest until we get it. By having "Complete Independence" as our ideal, it does not follow that we shall refuse to accept anything less than that. By all means it will continue to be our ideal. There is no reason why we would refuse to accept anything less than what we aim at. Last year it was declared at Nagpur that if the Khilafat and the Punjab questions were settled, Swaraj would be within and not without the British Empire. It was also said then that the question would be settled within a year. Now that one year has passed, why not decide this? If it is not so decided, what guarantee is there that we would ever decide it? Swaraj is such a vague term that the Government itself, recognising its vagueness, has begun to use the word Swaraj. Does that not mean that the word Swaraj is capable of even the interpretation put upon it in the Government official documents? The Swaraj of the Government does not mean anything else than placing a few earthen toys before us! They say now that there will be a Round Table Conference. You may be told therein to have Provincial Autonomy. The entire world is sought to be deceived by saying that the Indians are crying for nothing as they have already obtained Swaraj. The Reforms that have been given to them are Swaraj! I would therefore request you to interpret "Swaraj" in its true sense and not as the Government would have it. So long as you do not define the word, every one would be at liberty to import his meaning into it.

I am at a loss to understand the reason why we should not once collectively declare our ideal, and try for its realisation with all our might when our great leaders now in jail, have, every one of them, said that they owed no allegiance to this Government, or to its court or to its laws.

Ladies and Gentlemen, kingdoms are built in this way only. An idea strikes a great mind; that idea is then translated into action and spreads over the whole world. Can you point to a single instance where any great deed is achieved without the goal having been first defined? Just think over what Lokmanya Tilak had said, "Swaraj is our birthright." Does any one imagine that Lokmanya Tilak meant thereby only a few reforms? Our spiritualism and high imagination demand that we prove to the world that we are not so weak-brained as to accept the word 'Swaraj' in such a limited sense.

I request you therefore to define your goal, irrespective of what Mahatma Gandhi has said. This is the time for it and you should know that, if we do not declare our ideal to-day, we will suffer in the estimation of the world. For, it has been declared throughout the whole world that we would attain freedom in this year. Do you desire to falsify Mahatma Gandhi's word? I wish that whatever has come out of Mahatmaji's mouth may prove unalterable. You will perhaps ask how it is possible. Will Swaraj drop from heaven? I say that Swaraj is not in any other hands but our own. We ourselves can take Swaraj. Just consider that if every one begins to feel in his heart that he is free from to-day, Swaraj is a reality. When Mahatma

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Gandhi talked of Swaraj in a year, he also thought that we would declare freedom whenever we liked.

In conclusion I appeal to you, ladies and gentlemen, to vote irrespective of personal considerations. With these words I take my leave of you. (Cries of "Al'ah Ho Akbar")

The President, before putting the resolution to the vote, said in Urdu:—

इजरात,

आप सब भाइयों के सामने मौलाना, हजरत मोहानी साहेबने, जो रेझोल्यूशन पेश किया था और जिसकी तेहरीक हुई थी आप को मालूम हो गया के उसका मतलब क्या है। वो इस रेझोल्यूशन के जरियेसे कांग्रेस के क्रीडमें तरमीन वा तोसी चाहते हैं। आप की कांग्रेस की क्रीडमें जो स्वराज का लफ्ज है और जैसा के महात्माजी साहबने आप के सामने बयान किया दो मान रखे गये हैं। जिनमेंसे किसी एक मानको जैसीही आपकी ताकत हो वक्तपर आप इस्तेमाल कर सकेंगे। वो अपने रेझोल्यूशन के जरियेसे उन दो मानोंमेंसे एक माने याने मुकम्मल आजादी के माने लेते हैं। ये रेझोल्यूशन उन की तरफसे पेश किया गया जिस की ताईद चार और भाइयों की और जिसकी तरदीद महात्मा गांधी साहबने की। अब मैं ये रेझोल्यूशन आप साहेबोंके सामने आप भाइयोंकी रायके लिए रखता हूँ। और जब हमारे भाई अंग्रेजीमें मेरी तकरीर का खुलासा कर दें तब मैं आप सब भाइयोंकी राय खूंगा।

[English rendering of the President's Urdu speech]

DELEGATES,

You know now the purport of the resolution moved before you by Maulana Hazrat Mohani. By that resolution he desires to have a change in the Congress Creed. The word 'Swaraj' in the Congress creed is capable of two interpretations as explained to you by Mahatmaji. You can adopt any one of the interpretations at any time according to your capacity. Maulana Hazrat Mohani, by this resolution, wants to fix only one of the interpretations and that is complete independence. The resolution has been put before you by him, supported by four other speakers and opposed by Mahatma Gandhi. I now place the resolution before you for your votes and will record them after my friend explains to you, in English, what I have just said.

Mr. Shuaib Qureshi then explained to the audience in English the President's speech.

On votes being taken by show of hands, the resolution was rejected by an overwhelming majority amidst cries of Mahatma Gandhiki Jai. The President declared the motion lost.

The President, before closing the session, said in Urdu:—

डेलिगेट भाइयों, और बेहनो,

इससे पहिले के कांग्रेस का यह इजलास खतम हो मैं अपना फर्ज समजता हूँ के चंद अल्फाझ आप के सामने अर्ज करूँ। सबसे पहिले मैं आप बेहनो और भाईओ का शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ के आपने निहायत खामोशी के साथ कांग्रेस की तमाम कार्रवाईयों अपनी गेहरी दिलचस्पी का इजहार करते हुए हिस्सा लिया। मैं समजता हूँ के आप के सामने इस इजलासमें सबसे ज्यादा अहम वो रेझोल्यूशन था जिसे महात्माजीने पेश किया था और जो खुशीकी बात है के बहोत बडी कसरते रायसे पास किया गया।

इजरात, आप अच्छी तरह जानते हैं के जिस रेझोल्यूशन को आपने पूरजोश तरीकेके साथ पास किया है उसे कबूल करते हुए आप एक ऐसी जिम्मेदारी इस कांग्रेस के इजलाससे लेकर अपने साथ जाते है जिसे पूरा करने के लिए मुझे उम्मीद है के आप हमेशा आमादा रहेंगे। वीरादरान, मैं उन भाईयों के सामने इजहारे माजिरत करता हूँ जिन्हे मेरी रुलिंग या बोलनेसे रोक देनेकी बजाहसे (तकलीफ) पोहची हो। वो खुद अच्छी तरह जानते हैं के वो तागावारे खिदमत है जो ईस किसम के इजलासों के जिम्मेदार अशाखास को कभी कभी अदा करनी पडती है।

इजरात, इस मौकेपर मुझे देरतक तकरीर करनी नही है। इसलिये के जब मैंने दूसरे भाईयों को तकरीर के लिए वक्त कम दिया है तो मेरा भी फर्ज है के मैं खुद अपने लिए भी वक्त की कमी को मलइज्ञ रखूँ। लेकिन इससे पहिले के मैं अपनी तकरीर खतम करूँ उन सब भाईबेहनो का, जिन्होंने आम तौर पर अमदावादमें मेजबानी की खिदमत को अंजाम दिया है, सिद्धकीली के साथ शुक्रिया अदा करूँ और खास तौरपर उन दोस्तों का जिन के नाम मैं आपके सामने पेश

President's
concluding
speech.

कर रहा हूँ। मिस्टर वल्लभभाई पटेल जो रीसेप्शन कमेटी के चेयरमैन हैं और जिन्होंने अपने फराइज को अदा करनेमें परी मुस्तादीसे काम किया है। शेट कस्तुरभाई मणीभाई जिन्होंने कॉंग्रेस के मौकेपर स्वदेशी अस्थाकी नुमायश के लिए जगाह दी। शेट विमलभाई मयाभाई जिन्होंने कॉंग्रेस के पंडाल के लिए एक अच्छे मौकेपर जमीन इनायत फरमायी। मिस्टर पंडित जिन्होंने आप के इस हॉल और दूसरी चीजों का नकशा तैयार किया। मिस्टर गज्जर जिन्होंने मिस्टर पंडित के तजवीज किये हुए नकशों के मुताबिक इन चीजों के बनाने का इन्तेजाम अपने हाथमें लिया। इनके अलावा वह मेरा फर्ज है क्रु में जनाना और मर्दाना रजाकारो और उन के कप्तानों का दिलीजोश के साथ शुक्रिया अदा करूँ जिन्होंने निहायत मेहनत और जांकिशानी के साथ जैसे के आप हजरात शबरोज देखते रहें हैं इस बड़ी कौमी खिदमत को खुश असलुभी के साथ अंजाम दीया है। इस सरद मौसममें जो इन्तझामात हमारी इन बेहनी और भाईओने किये हैं वो इस कबील हैं के हम उन्हें हमेशा इज्जत और मोहम्मत के साथ याद रखें। अब मैं आपसे रखसत होते हुए दुवा करता हूँ के जिस जिम्मेदारि का बोज हम आज इस पंडालसे लेकर बहार निकलते हैं खुदाताआला हमे तोफिक दें के हम उसें पुरा करनेमें कामयाब हों।

[English rendering of the Presidents' speech in Urdu]

BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I feel it my duty to say a few words before the close of the session. First, I must thank you, brothers and sisters, for the way in which you participated in all the proceedings with deep interest and perfect patience.

I believe that the most important resolution of the session was the one moved by Mahatmaji, and let me add with great pleasure, passed by an overwhelming majority. Ladies and gentlemen, you know very well that, by enthusiastically adopting this resolution, you are returning from this session with a very heavy responsibility on your shoulders. I feel confident that you will be ever ready to discharge that responsibility.

Brothers, I beseech those, who may have felt offended by my rulings or by my having had to prevent them from speaking, to excuse me. They know very well that it is an unpleasant duty which those, holding positions of responsibility in assemblies like this, have, at times, to discharge.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not want to make a long speech on this occasion. Because, while speaking myself, I must keep in mind that I could allow little time to other speakers. But before I finish my say, you will allow me to express my heartiest thanks in general to all those brothers and sisters of Ahmedabad who have shown to us such splendid hospitality. In particular let me thank those friends whose names I am just going to mention to you—Mr. Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Chairman of the Reception Committee, who has not spared himself, in the discharge of his duties; Sheth Kasturbhai Manibhai, who lent the use of his grounds for the Swadeshi Exhibition; Seth Vimalbhai Mayabhai, who lent the use of his lands, commanding a fine situation, for the Congress Pandal; Mr. Pandit, who prepared the plans of this hall and the other structures; and Mr. Gajjar who executed the structures according to the plans of Mr. Pandit. Our warmest thanks are also due to the men-volunteers as well as the lady-volunteers and their captains, who have been rendering this splendid and arduous national service, which you are witnessing day and night. We shall always cherish the sweet and loving memory of the conveniences and the comforts they have provided for us. Before we part, let me pray that the Great Almighty may give us the strength to shoulder the heavy responsibilities with which we leave this Pandal.

Sjt. C. Vijayaraghavachariar while proposing the vote of thanks to the President said :—

Thanks to the
President

"A pleasant task has been assigned to me. The task is on your behalf to tender thanks to our worthy and distinguished President, Hakim Ajmal Khan Saheb. Those of you who were in the Subjects Committee would know with what tact and good humour he managed the proceedings of that Committee—a rather hard task. Here also you saw that his observations were short and to the point, and at the same time humorous. We may congratulate ourselves that out of our misfortune, that is, the arrest of Mr. Das, came our good fortune—the presidentship of Hakim Ajmal Khan. I need hardly say that he is a firm believer in the gospel of the Hindu-Moslem unity without which our freedom is but ignis-fantus light. I therefore call upon you all to give him a hearty vote of thanks. (Loud applause)

Sjt. C. Vijaya-
raghvachariar

Thanks to the
President.

Swami Shra-
ddhanandji.

Swami Shraddhanandji in seconding the vote said in Hindi :—

प्रतिनिधी भाइयों और बहिनो,

मैं श्रीयुत राघवाचार्य ने जो कहा है उसका समर्थन करता हूँ। मेरा समर्थन करना उचित ही है। इतना मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि दिल्ली के छह मेरे भाई मसहरमुल्क अजमलखान हैं। इनके साथ मैं तीन वर्ष से काम कर रहा हूँ। यह सच कहा है कि आप जरूर खुश किस्मत थे कि ऐसा शान्त आदमी आपका समापती हुआ। हम एक बात और कहना चाहते हैं। आपने देशबन्धु को नियत किया था। आपने त्याग से दिखा दिया कि देशमें क्या त्याग-भाव है। इस लिये अगर हिन्दु मुस्लिम में इत्तफाक है तो आप सबको एक मरकज में बांधनेवाला कोई है तो हकीम अजमलखान है। हम कहते हैं कि अगर सारे देश में हिन्दू-मुसलिम युनिटी एक बन्ध में शान्त है तो इस भाई के सबब से। मैं यह जवानी दिखाने की बात नहीं कहता। मुझे इनसे अधिक प्यारा भाई नहीं है, न इनको मुझसे अधिक है। लेकिन यह मुंबालगा नहीं है। इस लिये हकीम साहब सारी ताकत ले कर काम करें और खुदा करे इन्हें रख कर हम सबको इकठा करे और काम बराबर जारी रहे। इस लिये इन शब्दों के साथ, भाई प्रतिनिधी, आप से मैं कहता हूँ कि यह बन्धुवाद सिर्फ दिखाने से न हो बल्कि दिर से हो।

[English rendering of Swami Shraddhanandji's Hindi speech]

BROTHER DELEGATES AND SISTERS,

I second the vote of thanks proposed by Shreeyut Vijayaraghavachariar. It is in the fitness of things that I should second this proposal. My friend Mashahar-Mulk Ajmal-khan is the soul of Delhi. I am working with him for the last three years. It is truly said that we are fortunate to have such a sober person to preside over our deliberations. I want to say one thing more. You had elected Desh Bandhu Das to the presidential chair. He has by his own example given us the measure of the spirit of sacrifice in the country. From that standpoint as well as from that of Hindu-Muslim unity, Hakim Ajmal Khan is the only fittest person. I say it is solely due to this one personality that Hindu-Muslim unity is undisturbed in the whole of India. This is not an oratorical effusion. None is dearer to me than he nor any to him than I. But that is not the point. May Hakimji be able to work with all his strength and may God spare him and may he unify us and carry on the work vigorously. With these words, brother delegates, I request you to accord this vote of thanks, not as a matter of formality but from the bottom of your hearts (Loud applause.)

Mr. Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Chairman of the Reception Committee, put the proposal to the vote which was unanimously adopted. He next garlanded the President amidst applause.

Thanks to the
Chairman
Reception
Committee.

Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj then proposed a vote of thanks in Hindi to the Chairman of the Reception Committee which was seconded by Shrimati Satyavati Devi in Hindi as follows:—

भाइयों और बहिनो,

इस कठिन समयमें जिस प्रकार का उत्तम प्रबन्ध रहा है उसके लिये हमें समापति स्वागतकारिणी समाको हार्दिक धन्यवाद देना चाहिये।

[English Rendering of Shrinati Satyavati Devi's Hindi speech.]

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

We must all accord hearty thanks to the Chairman of the Reception Committee for the excellent arrangements made in these difficult times.

Reply by Mr.
Vallabhbhai
J. Patel.

After the proposal was carried with loud acclamations, Mr. Vallabhbhai J. Patel, in responding said in Hindi :—

प्रिय भाइया और बहनो,

इस प्रान्तीय महामासमिति ने आवश्यक बातों की व्यवस्था करने का काम जिस समय शुरु किया उस समय इस का रास्ता अनेक कठिनाइयों से भरा पड़ा था। काम शुरु करके कुछ ही दिन बीते होंगे कि बम्बई के अत्यंत शोचनीय उपद्रवों के शोक-समाचार आ पहुंचे। भारत आखिर एक शरीर ही है। बम्बई में करीब करीब शान्ति प्रस्थापित हुई कि इधर बड़े बड़े नेताओं की गिरफ्तारीयों

के समाचार धडाधड आने लगे । हमने जब यहाँ काम शुरू किया तब तो हम यह सोच रहे थे कि हमें शायद भारत की पहिली पार्लियामेंट को भी यहाँ निमन्त्रित करने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हो । पर आदमी सोचता है एक और परमात्मा करते हैं और ही कुछ । बम्बई के उपद्रव और नेताओं की गिरफ्तारियों के हाथ पढ पढकर बाहर के और अन्य प्रान्तों के लोग सोचने लगे कि इस साल अहमदाबाद में महासभा का आविषेशन नहीं, बल्कि उस के स्थानपर गोलियां चलेंगी । हमारे कार्य कर्ताओं की हालत भी बिचित्र हो रही थी । उन्हें अपनी स्वतंत्रता का जरा भी विश्वास नहीं था । वे सूचते थे कि हम लोग चाहे जिस समय जेलों में डूंस दिये जायेंगे । ऐसी अवस्था में हमारी की गई व्यवस्थामें कई जगह त्रुटियां रह गई हैं । हम आप को अपने मेहमान नहीं, बल्कि अपने ही दयालु और उदारहाय भाई मानते हैं और इसी लिए शायद आपने हमारी उन तमाम त्रुटियों की ओर ध्यान भी नहीं दिया । मैं आप के इस बढापन के लिए आप का हृदय से अत्यंत अनुगृहीत हूँ । आपने इस व्यवस्था के लिए जो अच्छे शब्द कहे तथा एहसान भेदी जाहिर की उस का श्रेय मुझे नहीं बल्कि मेरे तमाम साथियों को है । क्यों कि काम केवल एक आदमीने नहीं, बल्कि सबने मित्र कर किया था । कई विख्यात महात्तुभावोंने भी यहाँ पर पधारने की कृपा की है । मैं उन की इस कृपा के लिए भी बहुत अनुगृहीत हूँ । महासभा को यहाँ निमन्त्रित करके गुजरातने अपने शिर पर बहुत भारी जम्मेदारी ली है । मैं परमात्मासे अत्यंत नम्रता और भक्ति-भावसे प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वह हमें वह शक्ति दे जिस से हम इस महाकार्य को भली भांति सम्पन्न कर सकें ।

Reply by Mr.
Vallabhbhai
J. Patel.

[English rendering of Mr. Vallabhbhai J. Patel's Hindi speech]

DEAR SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

When the Provincial Congress Committee started the work of making the necessary arrangements, our path was beset with difficulties. Only a few days after, was received the sad news of the most regrettable disturbances in Bombay. India is one organic whole. When the atmosphere in Bombay had almost quieted, we heard of the arrests of our great leaders. When we started the arrangements, we had an idea of inviting the first Parliament of India. But man proposes and God disposes. After the Bombay disturbances and after the arrest of our great leaders people outside Gujerat and Ahmedabad, believed that in Ahmedabad there would not be Congress Session but firing instead. Our workers were in a strange plight. They believed that they would have to go to prison at any time. In these circumstances our arrangements are defective in many respects. We feel you have been with us as kind and generous brothers and not guests, and as such have overlooked all our short-comings, and I thank you most sincerely for that. The thanks accorded to me by you are really due not to me but to all my co-workers as the arrangements were made by all of us and not by any single individual. Distinguished persons have graced us by their presence. I have to express my thanks to them for their kindness. Gujerat has shouldered greater responsibility by holding this momentous session of the Congress. May God give Gujrat sufficient strength to discharge the responsibility.

After the national song Vande Mataram was sung by the lady-volunteers of the Rashtriya Stree Mandal, Ahmedabad, the President declared the session closed amidst cries of Vande Mataram and Mahtma Gandhiji Ki Jai.

Session Closed.

FINIS.

36th Indian National Congress 1921.

Appendix I.

Office-bearers and members of the various sub-committees of the Reception Committee.

CHAIRMAN

Sjt. Vallabhbhai Jhaverbhai Patel.

VICE-CHAIRMEN

Sjt. Abbas Tyebji.

„ Asudmal Tekchand Gidwani.

Dr. Balvantrai Narsinhlal Kanuga.

GENERAL SECRETARIES

Sjt. Indulal Kanialal Yagnik (up to 6-10-21)

„ Ganesh Vasudeo Mavalankar.

TREASURER

Shriyut Acharatlal Chunilal Sheth.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1	The Chairman.	19	Sjt. Balvantrai Pramodrai Thakore.
2	The Vice-chairmen.	20	„ Bhogilal Chotalal Sutaris.
3		21	„ Wamanrao Sitaram Mukadam.
4		22	„ Kalyanji Vithalbai Mehta.
5	The General Secretaries.	23	„ Mansukhlal Rawjibhai Mehta.
6		24	„ Manilal Vallabhji Kothari.
7		25	„ Gajanan Krishnarao Mavalankar.
8	The Secretary, Exhibition Committee.	26	„ Manilal Harivallabhdas Bhagat.
9	„ Mandap Committee.	27	„ Krishnalal Narsilal Desai.
10	„ Accomodation Committee.	28	„ Kalidas Jaskaran Jhaveri.
11	„ Volunteer Committee.	29	„ Hariprasad Pitambardas Mehta.
12	Shrimati Anasuyaben Sarabhai.	30	„ Dr. Hariprasad Vrajrai Desai.
13	Sjt. Ranchodlal Amritlal Sheth.	31	„ Manilal Maganlal Abhaichand.
14	„ Ambalal Gordhandas Kashiparekh-wala.	32	„ Pranlal Narbheram Thakore.
15	„ Imam Saheb Abdul Kadir Bawazir.	33	„ Mohanlal Vithaldas Gandhi.
16	„ Dr. Syed Jalal-ud-din Kadri.	34	„ Bhogilal Tribhuvan Thakkar.
17	„ Jaysingbhai Chunilal Seth.	35	„ Ambalal Manekalal Mehta.
18	„ Motilal Hariilal Jagabhaiwala.	36	„ Chotalal Chelabhai Gandhi.

THE MANDAP COMMITTEE.

1	The Chairman.	8	Sjt.	Lalshanker Aditram.
2	} The General Secretaries.	9	"	Krishnalal Narsinhlal Desai.
3		10	"	Laxmidas Purshotamdas.
4	The Treasurer.	11	"	Bhogilal Chotalal Sutaria.
5	Shriyut Kalidas Jaskaran Jhaveri.	12	"	Lalabhai Dalsukhram Saheba.
6	" Anandrao Ganesh Pandit.	13	"	Purshottam Govindlal Gajjar (Secretary).
7	" Gokuldas Hansjibhai Patel.			

THE ACCOMMODATION COMMITTEE.

1	The Chairman.	13	Sjt.	Keshavlal Bulakhidas Parekh.
2	} The General Secretaries.	14	"	Shambhuprasad Chimanlal Thakore.
3		15	"	Amritlal Kalidas Seth.
4	The Treasurer.	16	"	Ishwarbhai Naranbhai Patel.
5	Sjt. Chimanlal Chotalal Gandhi.	17	"	Ishwarlal Trikamlal
6	" Manilal Maganlal Abhaichand.	18	"	Gajanan Krishna Mavalankar.
7	" Kuberdas Hargovandas.	19	"	Jamnadas Maganlal Kinariwala.
8	" Dayabhai Manordas Patel	20	"	Mohamad Habib Abdul Kader.
9	" Sakeralal Bulakhidas.	21	"	Dahyabhai Chotalal.
10	" Chimanlal Lalubhai.	22	"	Ratilal Bapa'lal Divanji.
11	" Mulchand Asharam Jhaveri.	23	"	Nandubhai Mancharam (Secretary).
12	" Ambalal Gordhandas Kashiparekhvala.			

THE VOLUNTEER COMMITTEE

1	The Chairman.	7	Sjt.	Ambalal Balkrishna Purani.
2	} The General Secretaries.	8	"	Gajanan Krishna Mavalankar.
3		9	"	Nandlal Manilal Shah.
4	The Treasurer	10	"	Jaysinghbhai Chunilal Seth.
5	Sjt. Chandulal Chotalal.	11	"	Vallabhdas Hiratal.
6	" Durgashanker Shivashanker Yajnik.	12	"	Jivanlal Hariprasad Divan (Captain).

THE EXHIBITION COMMITTEE

1	The Chairman.	11	Sjt.	Hariprasad Vrijrai Desai.
2	} The General Secretaries.	12	"	Vadilal Jamnadas.
3		13	"	Narayan Maneklal.
4	The Treasurer.	14	"	Shankerrai Amritrai.
5	Shrimati Gangaben Marjundar.	15	"	Hariprasad Pitambardas Mehta.
6	Sjt. Maganlal Khushalchand Gandhi.	16	"	Chandulal Sakeralal.
7	" Ranchodlal Amritlal.	17	"	Motilal Tulsidas.
8	" Himatlal Dalsukhram Saheba.	18	"	Keshavlal Bhagwandas Nanavati.
9	" Harilal Wadilal Kapadia.	19	"	Amubhai Mulchad Mehta.
10	" Bhogilal Bulakhidas.	20	"	Laxmidas Purushottamdas (Secretary).

THE STATION COMMITTEE

1	Sjt. Bhogilal Tribhuvandas Thakar.	5	Sjt.	Pianlal Narbheram Thakore.
2	" Manilal Vallabhji Kothari.	6	"	Ramanlal Govindlal Shah.
3	" Dayabhai Manordas Patel.	7	"	Dr. Manilal Bhagat.
4	" Vamanrao Sitaram Mukadam.	8	"	Kalidas Jaskaran Jhaveri. (Secretary).

THE MEDICAL COMMITTEE

1	Sjt. Dr. Balwantrai N. Kanuga.	4	Sjt.	Dr. Durgashanker Raval.
2	" " Manilal H. Bhagat.	5	"	" Gajanan R. Talvarkar. (Secretary)
3	" " G. L. Godbole.	6	"	" Hiratal M. Desai.

Appendix II

MEMBERS OF THE SUBJECTS COMMITTEE.

(Members of the All India Congress Committee, vide Article 25 of the Constitution).

The Subjects Committee held its sittings at Ahmedabad on the 24th, 25th, 27th and 28th December 1921. The following members were present:—

AJMERE, MERWARA

- 1 Shrimati Gaumati Devi Bhargava.
- 2 Sit. Kumar Chandakaran Sharda.
- 3 Pandit Gaurisanker Bhargava.
- 4 Swami Narsinghdeo Saiswati.
- 5 Dr. Abdul Aziz.
- 6 Swami Kumaranand.
- 7 Maulvi Moulad Din.

ANDHRA

- 1 Shrimati Ponaka Kanakamma.
- 2 Md. Omar Ali Saheb.
- 3 " Mohamed Abdal Satar Saheb.
- 4 " Mohamed Riza Saheb Belgam.
- 5 Dr. Dhanwada Ramchandrarao.
- 6 Sjt. Kusuma Venkatarammayya.
- 7 " Varhagiri Venkata Giri.
- 8 " Vasant Rao Butchi Sunderrao.
- 9 " Balusu Samba Murti.
- 10 " Dandu Nandu Narayana Raju.
- 11 " Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.
- 12 " Konda Venkattapayya.
- 13 " Bezwada Chandra Shekhara Reddi.
- 14 " C. V. Rangam Sraisty.
- 15 " Ketu Venkata Reddi.
- 16 " Medam Venkayya Sraisty.
- 17 " Kalluri Subbarayal.
- 18 " Dharmavaram Gopalacharyulu.
- 19 " Bhaminipati Chinna Yagnarayana.
- 20 " Gadde Rangayya Naidu.
- 21 " T. Prakasam.
- 22 " K. Nagayeshwarrao.
- 23 " Dr. Nazir Ahmad Sahib.
- 24 " Duggirala Raghavchandra.

ASSAM

- 1 Sjt Kankhyaram Baruah.
- 2 " Gopinath Bardoloi.
- 3 " P. K. Baruah.
- 4 " Moulvi Fyar Ahmed.
- 5 " Moulvi Wazid Ali.

BEHAR

- 1 Shrimati Lila Singh.
- 2 Sjt Rajendra Prasad.

- 3 Sjt. Brajkishore Prasad.
- 4 " Gorak Prasad.
- 5 " Deep Narayan Singh.
- 6 " Arunjay Sahay Varma.
- 7 " Baransi Prasad Jhun Junwala.
- 8 " Jaleshwar Prasad.
- 9 " Gorakha Nath Trivedi.
- 10 " Bepin Behari Varma.
- 11 " Thakur Ram Nandan Singh.
- 12 " Ram Vinode Singh.
- 13 " Punyanand Jha.
- 14 " Dr. Purna Chandra Ghose.
- 15 " Prem Sunder Bose.
- 16 " Fazl-ul-Rahman.
- 17 " Chandra Bansi Sahay.
- 18 " Abdul Bari.
- 19 " B. Bajrang Sahay.
- 20 " Sashi Bhushan Ray.
- 21 " Seth Ramjas Agarwala.
- 22 " B. Anugraha Narayan Singh.

BENGAL

- 1 Shrimati Urmila Devi.
- 2 Sjt. Akhil Chandra Datta.
- 3 " Basanta Kumar Majumdar.
- 4 " Arang Mohan Ghose.
- 5 " Shah Badilal Adam.
- 6 " Ashraf-ud-din Chowdhri.
- 7 " Md. Abdul.
- 8 " Taibuddin Ahmed.
- 9 " Indu Bhushan Sen.

BERAR

- 1 Sjt. Madhav Srihari Ane.
- 2 " Ramrao Madhavrao Deshmukh.
- 3 " Narayan Ramling Bamangaonkar.
- 4 " Sadashiv Waman Kelker.
- 5 " Gangadhar Bapurao Bapat.
- 6 " Abdul Roulapsha.
- 7 " Pannalal alias Prithvi Raj Vyas.

CITY OF BOMBAY

- 1 Shrimati Sarojini Naidu.
- 2 Sjt. S. G. Banker.

- 3 " Umar Sobani,
4 " Vithaldas V. Jerajani,
5 " K. P. Khadilker,
6 " M. R. Jaykar,
8 " Ahmed H. S. Khatri.

BURMA

- 1 Shrimati Santosh Kumari Gupta.
2 Sjt. Ranchoddas Hargovandas.
3 " Nanalal Kalidas.
4 " C. V. Galliar.
5 " C. A. Mehta.
6 " S.S. Halkar.
7 " V. Madrit.
8 " Abdul Satar Ismail.
9 " P. S. S. Aiyer.
10 " P. K. Ray.
11 " S. B. Petit.
12 " V. D. Mehta.

CENTRAL PROVINCES (Hindi)

- 1 Sjt. E. Raghavendra Rao.
2 " Thakur Chedilal.
3 " Ravishanker Shukla.
4 " Narayanrao Meghwale.
5 " Ghanshyam Singh Gupta.
6 " Babu Govinddas.
7 " Shyamsunil Bhargava.
8 " Mansur Tajjudin.
9 " Nathuram Hiralal Modi.
10 " Abdul Kader Siddiqi.
11 " Umakant Balwant Ghate.
12 " Shambhu Dayal Misra.
13 " Keshav Ramchandra Khandekar

CENTRAL PROVINCES (Marathi)

- 1 Sjt. Mohomed Samiullah Khan.
2 " Seth Jamnalal Bajaj.
3 " Dr. B. S. Munje.
4 " M. V. Abhyankar.
5 " Dr. M. R. Cholkar.
6 " " L. V. Paranjape.
7 " " Balwantrao Deshmukh.

DELHI

- 1 Sjt. Hakim Ajmal Khan Saheb.
2 " Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari.
3 " Swami Shradhanandji.
4 " Pandit Pyarelal Sharma.
5 " Raja Lal.
6 " Goswami Chabille Lal.
7 " Mohomed Ismail Khan Saheb.
8 " Saradar Guru Bakhsha Singh.

GUJRAT

- 1 Mahatma Mohandas Karmchand Gandhi.
2 Shrimati Anasuya Sarabhai,
3 Sjt. Abdul Kader Bawazir.
4 " Vallabhbai Jhaverbhai Patel.
5 " Indulal Kanialal Yagnik.
6 " Balwantrao Narsihlal Kanuga.
7 " Fulchand Bapuji Shah.
8 " Wamanrao Sitaram Mukadam.

- 9 Sjt. Abbas Tyabji.
10 " Haribhai Jhaverbhai Amin.
11 " Mohannath K. Dixit.
12 " Manilal Vallabhji Kothari.

KARNATAK

- 1 Sjt. Dr. Narayanrao Subarao Hardikar.
2 " V. S. Umachgi.
3 " Vishvanathrao N. Joshi.
4 " Dattopant R. Majli.
5 " Srinivasrao V. Koujalgi.
6 " Seshgirirao T. Datar.
7 " Jayarao M. Deshpande.
8 " Madhavrao R. Kembhavi.
9 " D. H. Rangrao.
10 " K. Sadashivrao.
11 " A. Bhojrao.
12 " Manjunathbhat Karkee.
13 " Osman Shaikh.
14 " Mahmud Saheb Futtur.
15 " Divansaheb Janvekar.

KERALA

- 1 Sjt. W. P. Ignatious.
2 " T. R. Krishna Swami Aiyer.

MADRAS (Tamil)

- 1 Sjt. M. Pattabi Rama Ayyar.
2 " K. Rajgopalan.
3 " S. Subramania Nayanar.
4 " P. D. Asher.
5 " Dr. T. V. S. Shastri.
6 " T. A. Ramchandran Chettiar.
7 " K. P. Yagneswar Sarma.
8 " E. Syyed Ahmed.
9 " Dr. T. S. S. Rajan.
10 " C. Balaji Rao.
11 " Pantulu Venkatram Aiyar.
12 " Moulvi Said Murtaza Sahib.
13 " T. V. Narsu Pillai.
14 " Suryanarayana Aiyar.
15 " K. Santanam.
16 " Safi Mohomed.
17 " N. Narayanan.
18 " K. S. Margam Aiyar.

MAHARASHTRA

- 1 Shrimati Indumati Bai Naik.
2 Sjt. N. C. Kelker.
3 " N. N. Ashtaputre.
4 " J. M. Samant.
5 " K. S. Phirodia.
6 " P. G. Joshi.
7 " B. J. Marathe.
8 " B. L. Mehta.
9 " V. J. Patel.
10 " R. N. Mandlik.
11 " B. R. Nanal.
12 " L. B. Bhopatkar.
13 " Mohomed Hussin Maddu.
14 " Mir Munshi Shikralla.
15 " Ismail Nurmohomed.
16 " Jammadas M. Mehta.

PUNJAB & N. W. F. P.

1	Shrimati Sarla-Devi Chowdhran
2	Sjt. Pandit Ramprasadji.
3	" Aga Mohamed Safadar.
4	" Raizada Hansraja.
5	" Hafiz Farad Ahmed.
6	" Choudhry Rambhujia Datta.
7	" S. Rabsingh
8	" Jugal Kishore
9	" S. Gurdial Singh
10	" Nihalsingh
11	" L. Dupichand
12	" Professor Ruchinam Sahani
13	" S. Hajra Singh
14	" M. Abdul Kadir
15	" L. Bodh Raj
16	" L. Keval Kishan
17	" L. Sham Lal
18	" L. Shamlal Wakil
19	" Dr. Mohamed Alam
20	" Diwan Niranjan Prasad
21	" M. Muzar Ali
22	" Giani Sher Singh
23	" Dr. Kishansingh
24	" S. Kishensingh
25	" K. A. Desai
26	" L. Girdharilal
27	" Master Gurudatta Mall
28	" Rana Firoze Uddin
29	" K. Abdul Rashid
30	" Said Attaullah Shah
31	" S. Premsingh Sodhvans
32	" Nidhan Singh
33	" Mohamed Daud
34	" K. Abdul Reman Gazi
35	" M. Mohamed Shariff
36	" Dr. Mohamed Mumtaz Farukhi

SINDH

1	Sjt. Dr. Choitharam P. Gidwani
2	" Virumal Regraj
3	" Abdul Jabbar
4	" Mohamed Khan
5	" Seth Narandas Anandji
6	" Lalchand A. Jagatiani
7	" Kazi Abdul Rehman
8	" Kazi Khuda Bax
9	" Prof. Ghanshyam Jethanand

UNITED PROVINCES

1	Shrimati Kamala Nehru
2	" Swatuprani Nehru
3	" Begum Hazrat Mohani

4	Shrimati Mrs. Abdul Majid Khwaja
5	" Begum Mohamed Ali
6	" Uma Nehru
7	Sjt. Moulana Hasrat Mohani
8	" Musbir Hussain Kidwai
9	" Dr. Kishanlal Nehru
10	" Bishambharnath Bajpai
11	" Melaram
12	" Trivenishanker Kashiv.
13	" Suleman Nadvi
14	" Subhan Allah
15	" Nawab Ali
16	" Sarfraz Ali
17	" Jaidyal Avasthi
18	" Jainarayan Chaudhary
19	" Abdul Sa'ani
20	" A. G. Kher
21	" R. V. Dhulkar
22	" Beni Madhav Tiwari
23	" H. M. Hayat
24	" Kunwar Dig Vijay Singh
25	" Ramswarup
26	" Sampurnanand
27	" Shivaprasad Gupta
28	" Narendra Dev
29	" Victor Mohan Joshi
30	" Jagjivanlal
31	" Azad Sobhani
32	" R. P. Kapoor
33	" Jagad Guru Swami Shankaracharya
34	" S. K. Datta Lalwal
35	" Abdul Majid
36	" Maulana Fakir
37	" Rafi Ahmed
38	" Zahur Ahmed
39	" M. Ram Sharan
40	" Fazlul Rehman
41	" Abdul Quavi
42	" Swami Satyadevji

UTKAL

1	Sjt. Pandit Gopabandhu Das
2	" Jagabandhu Singh
3	" Bhagirathi Mahapatra
4	" Niranjan Patnaik
5	" Harkrishna Mehtab
6	" Dharanidhar Misra
7	" S. Ekaram Rasal
8	" Pandit Nilkantha Das
9	" Chaudhry Nilkanth Das
10	" Jaminikant Biswas
11	" Gopabandhu Chaudhary
12	" Atal Bihari Acharya

Appendix III.

ANALYSIS OF THE ATTENDANCE OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SUBJECTS COMMITTEE

No.	Province.	Ladies.	Mahomedans.	Hindus.	Sikhs.	Pars.	Total attended	Total entitled
1	Ajmere-Merwara, (Rajputana)	1	2	4	...	...	7	12
2	Andhra	...	4	20	...	...	24	24
3	Asam.	...	2	3	...	...	5	5
4	Behar.	1	2	19	...	...	22	33
5	Bengal.	1	3	5	...	...	9	48
6	Berar.	...	1	6	...	...	7	7
7	Bombay.	1	2	4	...	...	7	7
8	Burma.	1	1	9	...	1	12	12
9	Central Provinces, (Hindustani)	...	2	11	...	...	13	13
10	Central Provinces, (Marathi)	...	1	6	...	...	7	7
11	Delhi.	...	3	4	1	...	8	8
12	Gujrat.	1	2	9	...	...	12	12
13	Karnatak.	...	2	13	...	...	15	15
14	Kerala	...	...	2	...	...	2	8
15	Madras. (Tamil).	...	3	15	...	...	18	18
16	Maharashtra.	1	3	12	...	...	16	16
17	Punjab and N. W.F.	1	12	18	5	...	36	37
18	Sindh.	...	4	5	...	...	9	9
19	United Provinces.	6	15	21	...	...	42	45
20	Utkal.	...	1	11	...	...	12	12
Total.		14	65	197	6	1	283	350

Appendix IV.

Election-return of delegates

who attended the

36th Indian National Congress

held at Ahmedabad on the

27th and 28th December 1921.

AJMER—MERWARA

1	Srimati Anjana Devi	44	Sjt.	Chunilal
2	" Chandramani Devi	45	"	Chhaganlal
3	" Shrimati Gangabai	46	"	Chhotey Lal
4	" Miss Bari	47	"	Chhaganlal Tungya
5	" Madha Bai	48	"	Chhotunilal Gopal
6	" Shrimati Sykhda Devi	49	"	Chhoteylal Sharma
7	" Shanti Bai	50	"	Chaudkaran Sharda
	" Bhagabai	51	"	Dayashanker
9	" Keharbai	52	"	Devidayal
10	" Gomabai	53	"	Doongersingh Bhatt
11	" Shyambai	54	"	Dharamchand
12	" Gangabai	55	"	Darbarilal
13	" Sumitra Devi	56	"	Ghunsalal Gagodia
14	" Mrs. Gangaprasad	57	"	Girjaprasad
15	" Rama Devi	58	"	Gulabchand Mangak
16	" Bhagyavati Devi	59	"	Gajadbar
17	" Raj Devi Kunrari	60	"	Govardhanlal
18	" Sita Devi	61	"	Gyananand Swami
19	" Mahorani Devi Avasthi	62	"	Gulabrai Nemani
20	" Godavari Devi	63	"	Ganeshilal
21	" Reva Bai	64	"	Govindaprasad
22	" Subhagyavati	65	"	Gumanmal Lohara
23	" Jiwanbar	66	"	Govind Atmaram
24	" Gomti Devi Bhargava	67	"	Gangadharrao Gardey
25	Sjt. Baburam Sharma	68	"	Hemraj Sethi
26	" Bharadey	69	"	Hiralal Jalori
27	" Bansidhar Varma	70	"	H. S. Chowdhary
28	" Bhuralal Kathabias	71	"	Haridas Swamy
29	" Bharulal	72	"	Harikrishna Sohani
30	" Bhainrunditta Sharma	73	"	Harcharandas
31	" Bhishinadas Sahastri	74	"	Harishchandra
32	" Bhagwandas Dhand	75	"	Harinarayana
33	" Brahamchariji Hariji	76	"	Harchandr i
34	" Bhagwandas			
35	" Bheempratapsingh	77	"	Harikrishna
36	" Budhsingh	78	"	Ishwarsen Singh
37	" Brajbhushaulal	79	"	Indarkrishna Mota
38	" B. K. Shahji	80	"	Inderlal Deora
39	" B. S. Pathik	81	"	Jaisen
40	" Brajlal Gandhi	82	"	Jaidayal Varma
41	" Champalal Agarwal	83	"	Jwalaprasad
42	" Champalal Rathi	84	"	Jagannath Pandey
43	" Chaskar	85	"	Kunapal

86	Sjt.	Krishnagopal	146	Sjt.	Riazuddin
87	"	Krishnakumar	147	"	Ramchandra
88	"	Kesharisingh	148	"	Ratanlal Karambir
89	"	Kanahiyalal Neeran	149	"	Radhakrishna
90	"	Kashiprasad	150	"	Radhakrishna Toraniwal
91	"	Krishna Rao	151	"	Ramchaddas
92	"	Kaluram Nahar	152	"	Ramdas
93	"	Kesarimal Lara	153	"	Ramcharanlal
94	"	Kunmanlal	154	"	Satya Chaitanya
95	"	Kumaravand Saraswati	155	"	Surajmal Jain
96	"	Kedarnath	156	"	Sukhsampatrai Bhandari
97	"	Katu Dhakar	157	"	Samirnal Soni
98	"	Laljiibhai	158	"	Shanti Prasad
99	"	Lakshmanji	159	"	Sardarmal
100	"	Lekhran Sharma	160	"	Sagarmal Biani
101	"	Lalprasad Mhad	161	"	Shiva Bhagwan Biani
102	"	Muhammad Jamal	162	"	Sitaram Sodhani
103	"	Mananlal	163	"	Shiva Ram
104	"	Manjilal Arya	164	"	Sher Singh
105	"	Mahadeo Vishnu Paranjpe	165	"	Suraj Karan
106	"	Murlidhar Inani	166	"	Shiva Shanker
107	"	Muhammad Hussain	167	"	Shanker Bhan
108	"	Mahadeo Prasad	168	"	Sitaram
109	"	Muhammad Ghulam Kadir	169	"	Swaroop Nath
110	"	Motilal	170	"	Suryamal Bhil
111	"	Muthraprasad	171	"	Satya Brit
112	"	Mordiygh	172	"	Seyed Gulum Ali
113	"	Madausingh	173	"	Tillojchand
114	"	Mohanlal	174	"	Thakurprasad
115	"	Muhammad Akram Shah	175	"	V. G. Bhaskar
116	"	Muhammad Asgar, Ali	176	"	Wazir Alli
117	"	Muhyuddin	177	"	Waliwul Rahaman
118	"	Murlidhar	178	"	Yudhistra Prasad
119	"	Maganlal	179	"	Fakirchandji Agarwala
120	"	Mahendranath	180	"	Rushedatta Nagar
121	"	Nityanandsagar	181	"	Pyarelalaji
122	"	Nathulal	182	"	Khemkaran Gayal
123	"	Nrityagopala Bhattacharya	183	"	Chhutanlal Agarwal
124	"	Nainuram	184	"	Lalchand
125	"	N. G. Madhav Rao	185	"	Syed Kutubbuddin
126	"	Nathulal Agarwala	186	"	Loharlal Sharma
127	"	Nibalchand	187	"	Vithaldasji
128	"	Nandlal Gorhodia	188	"	Govanmal
129	"	Narsinghdeo Maraswati	189	"	D. Bhargav
130	"	Onkardatta Sharma	190	"	Ramchandarl Vahora
131	"	Pirmuhammad	191	"	Saligram
132	"	Parmeshwaridas	192	"	Ramagopalli Gupta
133	"	Prabhladdas	193	"	Moulana Mohamed Unao
134	"	Piyarelal Dixit	194	"	Pir Mohamed
135	"	Parshadilal Bhoola	195	"	Mohamed Satar
136	"	Punamchand	196	"	Vishevar Dayal
137	"	Ramkaran	197	"	Badrilalji Agawrwala
138	"	R. C. Pathak	198	"	Ajeet Prasadjee
139	"	Ram Nath	199	"	Bhimshanker Gupta
140	"	R. N. Karandas	200	"	Mir Moonir
141	"	Ramnarayan Nijum	201	"	Fakhar Uddin
142	"	Ramnivas Garg	202	"	Tikamchandji Jain
143	"	Ramkrishna Agarwal	203	"	Hajailal Sharma
144	"	Ramchandra	204	"	Shaikh Mohamed
145	"	Ramnarain Chowdhari	205	"	Misrilal Jain

Ajmer Merwara (Contd.)

206	Sjt.	Guru Brijanarayanacharya	265	Sjt.	Baluram Nagá
207	"	Gauswaini Gopal Ballabh	266	"	Bajranglal Lobia
208	"	Sohanlal	267	"	Bajinath Dhanka
209	"	Chandmalji Mori	268	"	Ganeshlal Varma
210	"	Chhotalal	269	"	Gopalal
211	"	Aunkalal Agarwala	270	"	Jitendranath Mukerji
212	"	Jasraj	271	"	Shankeral Varma
213	"	Hiralal Kothari	272	"	Ramnath
214	"	Asharafial Mehta	273	"	Radharaman Bhargava
215	"	Shaul Karanji	274	"	Indrasinghji
216	"	Kanyalalji	275	"	Chowdhari Badaluji
217	"	Suma Karanji	276	"	Mulchand Varma
218	"	Ramdayal Sevarankar	277	"	Ugrasena
219	"	Jwaladatta Lojalaka	278	"	Ved Mitra
220	"	Mahadeva Loyakala	279	"	Surat Singh
221	"	Brijlal Biaui	280	"	Sardar Harnam Singh
222	"	Ramalalji Suvarankar	281	"	Versinghji
223	"	Pandit Umashanker	282	"	Ramajee Sharma
224	"	Ramkuar Bidla	283	"	Chaturbhuj
225	"	Hiralal	284	"	Parbhu Dayal
226	"	Narayanprasad	285	"	Gopalal Kothia
227	"	Hararimal	286	"	Jagannath
228	"	Daulatram	287	"	Yadavrao Shrivana
229	"	Krishna Shrivastva	288	"	Chiranjilalji
230	"	Kalyanmal Bansal	289	"	Prayag Dutt Sharma
231	"	Bayjnath Agrawala	290	"	Rajabahadur
232	"	Gurd Balachand	291	"	Guvalal
233	"	Motilal	292	"	Saddiq Hoosein
234	"	Vishnukumar	293	"	Mathuradasji Bhuti
235	"	Laxmi Narayan	294	"	Ramnivas Savalkar
236	"	Manmal	295	"	Brijmohan Das Jagodia
237	"	Jahkidas	295	"	Pooshamal Mody
238	"	Kedar Nath Hedo	297	"	Ramakrishna Bhattar
239	"	Bakhtavarmal	298	"	Atmaram
240	"	Sukhanandji	299	"	Gulabchand Sand
241	"	Motisingh Kothari	300	"	Shrimal Bhandan
242	"	Sajansingh Kothari	301	"	Sahesmal Bohra
243	"	Wazid Faiz Mohamed	302	"	Jaideoprasad
244	"	Jadanlal	303	"	Ramgopala Agarwala
245	"	Murajilal	304	"	Virendra
246	"	Shirish Chandra	305	"	Ambaprasad Baher
247	"	Govind Prasada	306	"	Balakishen Gopala
248	"	Kalyanmal Banthia	307	"	Sakharan Gopal Abhyankar
249	"	Sir Suhya	308	"	Krishnalal Master
250	"	Madhavlal Sharma	309	"	Ramkumar Motia
251	"	Dwarkalal Gupta	310	"	Sakarnal Newini
252	"	Biharilal	311	"	Bhirnraj
253	"	Ramkrishna Pandya	312	"	Shivnath Prasan
254	"	Vidyaram	313	"	Khandwala
255	"	Chimanlalji	314	"	Shivnarayan
256	"	Ramnarayan	315	"	Jawahirlal Rohd
257	"	Mahadeo Datt	316	"	Harakrishan Khanna
258	"	Abdul Aziz	317	"	Rameshvardas
259	"	Abdul Aziz	318	"	Vishvanath Govind Bakore
260	"	Amarasinhji	319	"	Jorawarsidgh
261	"	Amarachandra Thari	320	"	Chinanjlal
262	"	Ambalal	321	"	Sitaramsai
263	"	Atyalla Khan	322	"	Mohavirprasad
264	"	Badridatta Hira	323	"	Kanhayalal

Ajmer Merwara (Contd.)

324	Sjt.	Chandmal Kolanti	360	Sjt.	Dhani Ram
325	"	Balekishna	361	"	Krishna Datta
326	"	Chaddmal Sharma	362	"	Swami Nischal
327	"	Hansraj Sharma	363	"	Jagannath
328	"	Baburam Gupta	364	"	Harcharanlal
329	"	Motiram	365	"	Abdul Baiqr Chirsti
330	"	Ruprangi	366	"	Nemchandji
331	"	Gopikrishna Mundra	367	"	Harikrishan God
332	"	Govindlal Pitty	368	"	Kanyalal
333	"	Mukundlal Pitty	369	"	Medanlal Jagan
334	"	Ramkrishna Sharma	370	"	Bisnallal
335	"	Kanyalal Bhayya	371	"	Ramkrishna Rathi
336	"	Vrijisiji Gandhi	372	"	Amarchandji
337	"	Munnalal	373	"	Anandlal
338	"	Sundarlal Sharma	374	"	Arya Datta
339	"	Shivshanker	375	"	Narayan Sharma
340	"	Chhotalal	376	"	Maharaj Sahai
341	"	Jagendra	377	"	Narandas
342	"	Mohamed Abdullah	378	"	F. D. Prustake
343	"	Aunkarnath	379	"	Gambhirmall
344	"	Murrubkhan	380	"	Hamir Mal
345	"	Nayamuddin	381	"	Jamnadas
346	"	Dworkadas	382	"	Syed Arfan Ali
347	"	Ramalal	383	"	E. B. Gupta
348	"	Ganga Bishen	384	"	D. P. Narayandeora
349	"	Mannalal	385	"	Gaurashinker Bhargava
350	"	Hiralal Soni	386	"	Nemilal Mnshai
351	"	Moulvi Abdul Aziz	387	"	Narayan Singh
352	"	Ramanath	388	"	Prakashchandra Sethi
353	"	Shyamal	389	"	Rampressad Herkat
354	"	Ramadas	390	"	Ramnarayan
355	"	Syed Mohamed Hanif	391	"	Ram Gopalji Gupta
356	"	Syed Farjand Ali	392	"	Gunilal Loharia
357	"	Mohmed Hussein	393	"	Parmanand Swami
358	"	Abdul Latif	394	"	Surojmal Kayastha
359	"	Syed Fazel Hussain	395	"	Reshmilal
			396	"	Kanyalal

ANDHRA

1		Shrimati Devi Annapurna Devi Maganti	20	Sjt.	N. Krishnaswami Aiyengar
2	Sjt.	Apparau Dausural	21	"	T. K. Shrinivasacharya
3	"	Ordapragada Sunhechelam	22	"	Bapuraji Adivi
4	"	Anjaneyalu Palaparti	23	"	V. Daskecharu
5	"	Alwar T. P.	24	"	Bapandia Sureshti Vanepalli
6	"	Govade Rganxathala	25	"	Sisla Bhavanma Gajand
7	"	Apparau Patibanda	26	"	N. P. Sinha
8	"	Ali Shair Kadappa	27	"	G. Satyanarayan
9	"	Apparao Basavaraju	28	"	Chetervedun Satyanarayan
10	"	Achutrao Royyuri	29	"	Marupurukondaderami
11	"	Mantiv Shivrajaju	30	"	Chulupati Kollepara Venkatta
12	"	Anantyam Aiyengar	31	"	O. Laxmanswami Rao
13	"	Mantiv Sabbaraju	32	"	Nalan China Bhimraju
14	"	Mantiv Gubbaraju	33	"	Mannidi Laxmipati
15	"	D. Shivramraju	34	"	Susuria Purushottam
16	"	M. Venkatraju	35	"	Devarappalli Laxminarayan
17	"	B. Laxmi Narayanrao	36	"	Chenchar Dersi
18	"	Ananatrao Patri	37	"	Chandra Shankara Reddi
19	"	Kakamanu Satyanarayan	38	"	Bhattiprolu Gangapatirao

Andhra (Contd.)

39	Sjt.	Chinna Narasa Reddi	98	Sjt.	S. Bhavenaganerayan
40	"	B. N. Ibrahim Saheb	99	"	Luxmipati
41	"	Dnanand Swami	100	"	Kameshwar Rao K.
42	"	Turla Pati Venkafashwera Rao	101	"	D. Subba Rao
43	"	Desikcharlu Dharmapoon	102	"	Laxminatasubayama
44	"	Derasama Aiyengar	103	"	Uppudi Subrashmanya
45	"	Najir Ahmed Sahib	104	"	K. Suryanarayan
46	"	Emanappa Pernandi	105	"	Laxminaran Duvruri
47	"	Gartesala Sitaramshaama	106	"	Lacharao Nandanrapu
48	"	Garikipati Sppayva Shastri	107	"	Laxminarayan Musti
49	"	Choda Sobanachalapati	108	"	Laxminarayan Gupta
50	"	Govindrao Baru	109	"	T. Venkatswerrao
51	"	T. K. Virachariar	110	"	Laxminarayan Bhagawantalu
52	"	G. Venkatswerrao	111	"	Laxminarayanrao Kommaruri
53	"	Vopalrao Kovnali	112	"	Nagasuri Virraghavayya
54	"	B. Chinmaman	113	"	V. Subba Rao
55	"	V. Kamallaba	114	"	Laxminarayansaiiah Parnasala
56	"	Gurdhanam Maturi	115	"	R. Rangacharyulu
57	"	Gopalshastri Dhara	116	"	Laxminarasinha Mantarala
58	"	Kuppa Venkatswerrallu	117	"	Laxminarashm Angarapu
59	"	Parvati Sitaramayya	118	"	K. Chimanangamma
60	"	Garimerla Satyanarayan	119	"	B. Rama Raju
61	"	Susarala Venkata Suparao	120	"	P. Kondada Reddi
62	"	Hanumantrao Gerlapati	121	"	Mangaih Yndramilli
63	"	Hanmantrao Nadipelli Venkata	122	"	Dasu Damodar Rao
64	"	Hanumayya Gupta Polliseti	123	"	Madhav Rao Dasu
65	"	T. Vishwasunderam	124	"	P. Bayyapareddi
66	"	N. Vankalla Swarthy	125	"	E. Azizuddin
67	"	Hanumanrao Digupati	126	"	Moulvi Abdul Hok
68	"	T. Narasinhastarma	127	"	N. Adilashamma
69	"	Jaganandhrao Nabhi	128	"	P. Kriahavenamma
70	"	Jogayya Chanoragni	129	"	Meshak D.
71	"	Jaganadhdoss Kondapalli	130	"	P. Venkatram Dekashitulu
72	"	Vissa Rajgopalrao	131	"	C. Shrinivasachrye
73	"	D. Anant Padmanabha Satry	132	"	Narayan Murti Laxmi
74	"	Krishnamoorti Malari	133	"	P. Subrayada
75	"	D. Venkattaerwarulu	134	"	Narasinha Pamaraju Lakshmi
76	"	Kameshwarrao Ellajosyika	135	"	Narasinham Upadhyala
77	"	K. Chinna Raghupati Rao	136	"	Narasangrao Mngara
78	"	M. Venganna Chetty	137	"	G. Sitaramma
79	"	Kodandaramaiah Pusuloori	138	"	Neeladri Raju Dosea Midipati
80	"	V. V. hiyer	139	"	Narasinhainurti
81	"	Krishnamurti Tattvarti	140	"	Narayan Raju Dandu
82	"	G. Ramurti	141	"	V. Muniyamma
83	"	Kameshwarrao Kotamraju	142	"	Narasinha Rao Danoji
84	"	D. Rangacharyulu	143	"	V. Padmavallima
85	"	A. Laxmi Narasinha	144	"	V. M. Krishnayya
86	"	Krishnanath Nagalla	145	"	Narayanraju Duntuluri
87	"	A. Babu Rao	146	"	Nerasinharao Gherukunda Venkata
88	"	Bh. V. Supparao	147	"	Nageshwarrao Gherali
89	"	Krishtnain Maladi Ven Katta	148	"	Narasinha Rao Kamaraju
90	"	D. Suryanarayan	149	"	M. V. Krishnayya
91	"	N. Venkatraju	150	"	B. Venganna
92	"	Krishuaia Chaturvedulu Venkatta	151	"	Nagaratnam Moodilar
93	"	Krishna Bayama Digumurti	152	"	A. V. K. Somayayulu
94	"	K. Mohd. Rahimtulla	153	"	Narasinhacharyulu T. K.
95	"	Kanakamma Ponaka	154	"	Narayanmurti Bandhuwala
96	"	Krishnalal Prabhatal Venkatta	155	"	Y. China Ramurti
97	"	T. Denaragu	156	"	Shriram Narasinhrao

Andhra (Contd)

157	Sjt.	Narsinhau S. V.	216	"	A. Raintaju
158	"	Nageshwarrao Kashinidhuru	217	Sjt.	Radhakrishniah Madidi
159	"	R. Sippala Narasinhrao	218	"	Rangrao Ranuri
160	"	V. Lakshamma	219	"	Rajeshwarrao Rotamraju
161	"	Prakasham Tegmuturi	220	"	Itikala Ramsastry
162	"	J. Narayan Murti	221	"	Raghav Ballakonda
163	"	P. S. B. Suryarao	222	"	Venniri Shriramulu
164	"	Pararaju Poduri	223	"	Ramanand Sarma
165	"	Prakash Rao T. V. S.	224	"	A. Vijisaradhi
166	"	Shrinivas Koteshwarrao	225	"	Vadlommndi Mukteshwar
167	"	Pitchua Kalaguru Mangipundi	226	"	Ramkrishniah Charan
168	"	Purushottam Raji Indu Kuri	227	"	Ramireddi Tikka Uruga
169	"	P. J. Krishna Rao	228	"	Rangiah Desh Chotla
170	"	Pundarikanshudin Damaraju	229	"	M. Jaganadhdan
171	"	Punnaiah Goparaju	230	"	Ramkrishniah Shreshti
172	"	D. Suryanarayan Murti	231	"	Nukulapari Ramreddi
173	"	Pattabhiramayyah Chedalba	232	"	K. Samayya
174	"	N. Bapamma	233	"	V. Veerbhadra Rao
175	"	M. L. Narayan	234	"	Ramswami Aiyer
176	"	Y. Satyanarayan	235	"	B. Sararaju
177	"	T. Laxminarayan	236	"	N. Subbaraya Sarma
178	"	R. Satyanarayan	237	"	S. V. Ramayya
179	"	Ramanujswami Butchu	238	"	S. Subbarao
180	"	E. Wagbhushan Rao	239	"	Rangaswami Aiyengar
181	"	R. V. Subbarao	240	"	Ah. Rammurti
182	"	Ratnamraju Vyasraju	241	"	N. Peraraju
183	"	S. Ramjogi Sastry	242	"	Rangacharyulu Chakraverho
184	"	Rangan Tankala	243	"	Rangacharyulu Nallam Chakravarti
185	"	Rammurti Rani	244	"	Ratnam Kandala Venkata
186	"	Ramkrishna Sharma	245	"	R. Sunder Shivrso
187	"	Ramrao Pulugurtha	246	"	Kamchandraya Pandyam
188	"	T. V. Shriramayya	247	"	K. Ranayya
189	"	A. Suryanarayan	248	"	W. Satyanarayan
190	"	I. Buduvaharu	249	"	P. Purushottam
191	"	N. Papayya	250	"	T. Jagannadham
192	"	Raya Jagpati Varma	251	"	N. Ramkrishna Rao
193	"	R. Venkatchalan	252	"	Ramanna Akuhuti
194	"	Ch. Radhakrishnayya	253	"	V. V. Ramayya
195	"	D. Satyanarayan	254	"	V. V. Subhaya
196	"	M. Peri Dikshitulu	255	"	V. Perthshardhi
197	"	I. Jaganadda Sarma	256	"	Tangaya Naidu Gaddey
198	"	Ramchandriah Bhenukurda	257	"	Ch. Rama Naidu
199	"	Ramchandriah Bhennapragada	258	"	M. Niladri Rao
200	"	Rammurti Settiraju	259	"	Satyanarayan Pokla
201	"	Ratnam Bandado Veketa	260	"	V. Narasamma
202	"	Ramkrishna Rao Venur	261	"	Shriram Murti Paramkusham
203	"	M. Subbarao	262	"	N. Subhaya
204	"	M. Suryarao	263	"	Somanna Putta
205	"	Ramswamy Kalagara	264	"	S. Nagendra Deo
206	"	P. Satyanarayan Raju	265	"	Sarveshwar Shastry Kandala
207	"	Ramnadhan Cerammilli	266	"	N. Nagayya
208	"	M. V. Subbarao	267	"	G. Chins Rajah
209	"	Raghavachandriah	268	"	R. Venkataswarlu
210	"	C. Surapraju	269	"	Subbarao Sukkaraju
211	"	Ramchandrarao Dhannada	270	"	Gajwella Ramchandra Rao
212	"	R. Satyanarayan	271	"	Satyanarayan Murty
213	"	Ramansaha Aiyanki	272	"	J. Sujamyulu
214	"	Ramkrishniah Sadhu	273	"	Ruppa Rao Kasturi
215	"	Aka Arjanyelu	274	"	P. Subaram Chetty

Andhra (Contd.)

275	Sjt.	N. Narasimham	329	Sjt.	Subbarao Sharma
276	"	Subbarao Nerga	330	"	Subramanyam Cheryulu
277	"	Sheshgiri Rao Kossa	331	"	Tamayya Yarlagadiyya
278	"	M. Harischandra Reddi	332	"	Tivamalarao Karumu
279	"	Satyanarayan Elapaka	333	"	Sitaranayya Vardala
280	"	M. Ramkrishna Rao	334	"	Timaraddi Venkashi
281	"	Sayad Moulana Saheb	335	"	Umra Alsha
282	"	K. Parashadi Aiyengar	336	"	Venkiyat Vennamu
283	"	Ch. Raghavayya	337	"	Venkatramiah Kusuma
284	"	Ch. Krishnayya	338	"	Venkata Rao kala
285	"	Katyanarayan Venitti	339	"	Venkat Chalam Goteti
286	"	Sheshagiri Rao Kakulu	340	"	Venkat Varah Narasimhamurty
287	"	G. Narayan Cheety	341	"	Venkatumayya Anukuri
288	"	Satyanarayan Raju	342	"	Vir Raghav Attata
289	"	Subramanyam Gonoyunt	343	"	Venkatswarlu Nori
290	"	Subarayya Mulu	344	"	Venkt Ramrao Andhmala
291	"	Subramanyeshwar Sarma	345	"	Venkatappaya Pantulu
292	"	T. Manikyan	346	"	Virayya Vasireddi
293	"	Satyanarayan Vellore	347	"	Venkataramaih Ekamurty
294	"	Satyanarayan Murty Manepalli	348	"	N. Nathi Krishna Reddi
295	"	N. Samayakulu	349	"	Venkatappa Sankala
295	"	Suryanarayan Manepalli	350	"	Venkatkrishnamacharyulu
297	"	N. Kurumbrao	351	"	Virraghavacharyulu
298	"	Sitaranajanyulu Malladi	352	"	Venkaiah Chetty
299	"	Sambiah Gadiyatam	353	"	Garimella Dapanna
300	"	S. Achutramayya	354	"	Venkatesam Bharmanum
301	"	Sayana Shreshti	355	"	Vasudeo Bramhaiah
302	"	I. Jagannath Rao	356	"	Venkatgiri Rao
303	"	Suryanarayan Hikalla	357	"	Venkata Reddi
304	"	Shriram Rao Kehutirumelli	358	"	Venkataram Naidu
305	"	Shriram Sharma Kuppa	359	"	Fakirallah Varahi
306	"	Akharaju Ramchandra Rao	360	"	Divaveru Venkata
307	"	Saktchi Somayajulu	361	"	Venkat Reddi
308	"	Sitaranashastry Golapuddi	362	"	Sitaranaya Titalli
309	"	Sunderranayyan Tadepalli	363	"	Kuppu Venkataram
310	"	K. Satyanarayan Sharma	364	"	Govind Charyulu
311	"	Subbaraya Shrashti	365	"	Chitrap Rajgopalan Rao
312	"	Subbaramudi Kopollu	366	"	P. R. -Krishnam Raju
313	"	G. Padmanabhaiah	367	"	Ganella Satyanarayan
314	"	Shivaramayya Polanarapu	368	"	Bhamini-Pati Chimzugabalagova
315	"	Subbaramayya Polanarapu	369	"	Venkatেশrao Dirant
316	"	Sunder Ramireddi Bezwada	370	"	Satyanarayan
317	"	Sunder Ramireddi Valaburu	371	"	Velikata Reddi
318	"	Subbaiah	372	"	Velimati Desardhramayya
319	"	Shrinivasacharyulu M.	373	"	C. Rajgopalacharyulu
320	"	Satyanarayan Lakkaraju	374	"	C. Ramswamy Choudhary
321	"	Sayad Mohidin	375	"	Cholapatirac konnuttu
322	"	Shehiahb Polimera	376	"	Mamkend Kuttana Berin
323	"	T. Govind Reddi	377	"	Butchi Sunderao
324	"	Sitarammurti Swayampakulu	378	"	Laxminarayan Vararia
325	"	Subbarao	379	"	Laxminarayan Sinham Puthu
326	"	M. Nageshwarrao	380	"	Y. Peruyzen
327	"	Subbamma Duneru	381	"	Sitarammurty Senapputtu
328	"	Subarayundu Nukalla			

ASSAM

1.	Sjt.	Budheswar Gagai	10	Sjt.	Surendra Kumar Borooah
2	"	Chndra Nath Sharma	11	"	Omeo Kumar Das
3	"	Gopi Nath Bardaloi	12	"	Sasimadhav Borooah
4	"	Indra Nath Kakati	13	"	Profulla Sumar
5	"	Jyoti Prasad Agarwala	14	"	Paramananda Agarwala
6	"	Gangan Ch Day	15	"	Abdul Hossain
7	"	Kamakhyaram Borooah	16	"	Sya Sheikh-ul-Mosaikh Chisti
8	"	Purna Kanta Sarma	17	"	Habibar Rahman
9	"	Basanta Kumar Das	18	"	Maulvi Wazid Ali

BEHAR

1		Shrimati Lala Dolatram	46	Sjt.	Sadhu Sransingh
2	"	Jankidevi	47	"	Chhurampresad Chaudhary
3	"	Gulaban Devi	48	"	Haridas
4	"	Haramati Devi	49	"	Santisingh
5	"	Manada Devi	50	"	B Vidyabhusan Pathak
6	"	Lila Singh	51	"	Madhudevdas
7	Sjt.	Shivnath Prasad	52	"	Pandit Beharilal Sharma
8	"	Suryanarayan Singh	53	"	Radha Mohansingh
9	"	Narayan Bhadra	54	"	Vinayakram
10	"	Gulam Ahmed Khan	55	"	Gobind Prasad
11	"	Ram Kumar Singh	56	"	Gaurishanker Singh
12	"	Bholanath Misra	57	"	Gulabchund
13	"	Saryu Prasad Singh	58	"	Bhuvaneshwar Pandit Singh
14	"	Shib Kali Bose	59	"	Hari Prasad
15	"	Hari Har Prasad	60	"	Lalulal
16	"	Ohheliram	61	"	B. Satnarayan Singh
17	"	Rajaprasad Burman	62	"	B. Bhawani Prasad
18	"	Panchu Momin	63	"	B. N. N. Singh
19	"	N. P. Patel	64	"	B. Baldeo Singh
20	"	Shitalprasad Teyal	65	"	B. Bahampresad Singh
21	"	Dayalal Mulchand	66	"	Pandit Raghunandan
22	"	Sayed Marjid-ur-Rahman	67	"	B. Siddheswarprasad Singh
23	"	Narayan Tanaji Kangade	68	"	Pandit Babunandan Pandey
24	"	Maneklal M. Oza	69	"	B. Nathasingh
25	"	G. A. Bhatta	70	"	Deviprasad
26	"	Muljibhai Ochhavhal Jinwala	71	"	Manoharilal
27	"	Charadaiprasad Poddar	72	"	Santlal
28	"	Pandit Rameshwar Prasad Sharma	73	"	Santlal
29	"	Mathuraprasad Dixit	74	"	Ramdularisarma Sigh
30	"	M. B. Parivar	75	"	Ramdin Bhatwade
31	"	D. D. Shethja	76	"	Keshavlal Sen
32	"	Lala Dolatram	77	"	Manindra Chandra Kanungoe
33	"	Mohamed Jalil	78	"	Dolabram Joram
34	"	Chandrashanker Pandit	79	"	H. Abdullah
35	"	Beniram	80	"	Badrinath Varma
36	"	Hari Banslal	81	"	Baldev Sahai
37	"	Motilal	82	"	Babu Prasad
38	"	Kedarnath Sharma	83	"	Ramnavmi Prasad
39	"	Laxmi Narayan	84	"	Radha Khosaldas Varma
40	"	Maulvi Afjah-ul-Haq	85	"	Gayaprasad Chaudhry
41	"	M. Seyed Husan	86	"	Yugeshwar Prasad Sahai
42	"	Kantsprasad Sharma	87	"	Ramchariprasad
43	"	Jugalprasad Sinha	88	"	Harnarayansingh
44	"	Swami Vijianand	89	"	Brahmdev arayan
45	"	M. Habibukhan	90	"	Rajendra Narayan

Behar (Contd.)

91	Sjt.	Nem Narayan Sigh	149	Sjt.	Shrikrishna Misra
92	"	Laxmikanta Misra	150	"	Brijlal Mokania
93	"	Yamunaprasad Singh	151	"	Maghfoor Shmed
94	"	Vinidananda	152	"	Ramdeviram
95	"	Brajkishore Prasad	153	"	Bachhulal
96	"	Harnandan Sahai	154	"	Badrinarayan Sharma
97	"	Gokarnanath Trivedy	155	"	Abu Mohamed
98	"	Ramaprasad	156	"	Bilashbeharilal
99	"	Mudrika Prasad Singh	157	"	Babu Ambikacharan
100	"	Aurang Behari Sahai	158	"	Bhagwanprasad
101	"	Devnarayan Mahant	159	"	A. Dubey
102	"	Ramnandan Sinha	160	"	A. S. Nandkirtikar
103	"	Syed Mahmud	161	"	Harendra Bahadur Chandra
104	"	Vidyanath Jha	162	"	Mahadevprasad
105	"	Brahmachari Ramanand	163	"	Rameshwar
106	"	Raghunathprasad Singha	164	"	Bajrang Sahai
107	"	Navalkishorprasad Singh	165	"	Rameshwarprasad
108	"	Pranchandra	166	"	Mittan Chaudhary
109	"	Shukdeo Prasad Gaud	167	"	Haribans Sahai
110	"	Pandit Ramraksha Misra Vaideya	168	"	Brajnandan Prasad Mahi
111	"	Ralbehari Singh	169	"	Rajmangal Prasad Mahi
112	"	Laxminarayan	170	"	Dr. Syed Mahomed
113	"	Ramvinod Singh	171	"	Hanumandas Himatsinhka
114	"	Ram Vilas Singh	172	"	Maulvi Mohamed Slam
115	"	Bajwari Lal	174	"	B. Mahhayalal
116	"	Jaleshwar Prasad	174	"	Janab Dulan Sahab
117	"	Vidyaprasad	175	"	M. Jalaluddin Ahmed
118	"	Radhakrishna	176	"	Husan Arzu
119	"	Baldevprasan	177	"	Chunilal Bhimbhai Vakil
120	"	Dr. Siddheswar Prasad Singh	178	"	Pandit Nageshwar Prasad Sharma
121	"	Jaikishan Singh	179	"	Riyasat Ali
122	"	Sukhhdeo Singh	180	"	Dr. D D Tendan
123	"	Manoranjanprasad Singh	181	"	Udaiashankar Bhatta
124	"	Vaidhyanath Singh	182	"	Dr. B. S. Tendon
125	"	Sashibhusan Raj	183	"	Mohamed Husain Sahab
126	"	Gorakprasad	184	"	Pandit Jagat Narayan
127	"	Shivprasad Thakur	185	"	Rama Charitra Singh
128	"	Rajendraprasad	186	"	Udho Narayan Sahab
129	"	Anand Mohan Sahai	187	"	Mohamed Aram
130	"	Vipin Vehari Verma	188	"	Jagannath Pandit
131	"	W. Mohtaz Alam	189	"	Nandlalji
132	"	Ramratansingh	190	"	Rameshwar Prasad
133	"	Rasbehari Lal	191	"	Bhawanilal
134	"	Shyamnarayansingh	192	"	Hardattsingh
135	"	Syed Jahurhasan Hammit	193	"	Meghji Bhimji
136	"	Shamsuddin	194	"	Balkrishna Keskar
137	"	Mathuraprasad Singh	195	"	Mannilal
138	"	M. Mohamed Ishaq	196	"	Jiwaram Dixit
139	"	Jankiprasad Varma	197	"	Rameshwarnath
140	"	Babu Surygomba	198	"	Bhagwandas Agnihotri
141	"	Brazahdansharma	199	"	Shankardayal Tewari
142	"	Jugalkishore Prasad	200	"	Pandit Shivramji Dwivedi Vaidyafatna
143	"	Hajari Bhagat	201	"	Ramswarup
144	"	Ramcharitra Bhagat	202	"	Devisingh
145	"	Paramhansa Jagdishwaranand Parivrajak	203	"	Pyarelal
146	"	Mahadeopal Poddar	204	"	Raghunandan Singh
147	"	Shitikantha Jha	205	"	Munisuddin Khan Sahab
148	"	Vasudeo Thakur	206	"	Banwari Lal Sharma
			207	"	S. K. Panyal

Behar (Contd.)

208	Sjt.	Sukhnandan Lal	267	Sjt.	Nath Sahai
509	"	Krijashanker D. Vora	268	"	Abnaram Varma
210	"	Kalidas Dayaram Dave	269	"	Nandkishore Singh
211	"	Syed Kazim Husain	270	"	Pashpateshwarsahai Goud
212	"	Raghunandan Prasad	271	"	S. Chakradharsingh
213	"	Ramdeva Pandit	272	"	Tripunarisaran Sharma
214	"	Briaj Nandan Sinha	273	"	Banwarilal
215	"	Rameshwar Sinha	274	"	Lalitmohan Sen
216	"	Syed Fazlul Rahman	275	"	Shambhu Saran Varma
217	"	Ghanshyamdas Jalal	276	"	Vindheshwariprasad Singh
218	"	Jamnuprasad	277	"	Shivdhari Pandey
219	"	Kamal Kishore	278	"	Rambhashan Ram
220	"	Laksmiprasad Dhandhia	279	"	Ganeshprasad Sathu
221	"	Hiralal Jalan	280	"	Bhojaram Solauki
222	"	Bholanath	281	"	Muhammad Yasin
223	"	Shtinivas	282	"	Sobharam Gupta
224	"	Samserprasad	283	"	Radhaprasad
225	"	Pyarelal	284	"	Vishvanath Trivedy
226	"	Manna'lal	285	"	Ramnarayanprasad
227	"	Gnansingh	286	"	Babu Harmandan Singh
228	"	Baboolal Sharma	287	"	Shyamji Sahai
229	"	Ramnarayanlal	288	"	Kanubhai A. Desai
230	"	Nandkishoreprasad	289	"	Suryanarayan Singh
231	"	Bishanand Ahsen	290	"	Sudarlal Singh
232	"	Deviprasad	291	"	Kantaprasad
233	"	Maulvi Sulan Ahmed	292	"	Yadunandan Thakore
234	"	Shah Mohamed Umair	293	"	Narsinarayan Singh
235	"	Tashim Hasan Khan	294	"	Nath Singh
236	"	M. Murad Ali	295	"	Ramchandi Singh
237	"	Mohamed Yusufuddin	295	"	Jadunandan Singh
238	"	Mohanlal Parekh	297	"	Shree Kishan Thakur
239	"	Shree Krishnadas	298	"	Amir Prasad Singh
240	"	Nagendralal	299	"	Brajnath Das
241	"	Krishnadas Agarwal	300	"	Raghunandan Lal
242	"	Ishwardayasingh	301	"	Mohamed Owais
243	"	Siddheswariprasad Singh	302	"	Hafullah Khan
244	"	M. Reyaz Ahmed	303	"	Syed Ahmad
245	"	Maulvi Mohamed Udaya	304	"	Mukund Prasad Varma
246	"	Md. Moinul Haq	305	"	Rajkishorelal Nandkyoliar
247	"	Dr. Abdul Hamid	306	"	Murariprasad
248	"	Baldevprasad Singh	307	"	Ramyansingh
249	"	Syed Abu Akhtar	308	"	Gaurishankar Prasad
250	"	Gajamal	309	"	M. Mohamed Hasan
251	"	Prshlad Rai	310	"	Majdur Rahman
252	"	Vishveshwar Sahai	311	"	Mohomed Mustafa
253	"	Siyavar Saran	312	"	M. Lutfullah
254	"	Bhagwandas	313	"	Syed Abdul Rahman
255	"	Shiam Keshav Khanna	314	"	Syed Mohamed Isa
256	"	Keshavnarayan Chaudhary	315	"	Abdul Satar Mullick
257	"	Raghunathprasad Shukla	316	"	S. Wasiuddin Ahmed
258	"	R. Shukla	317	"	Syed Munzar Hasan
259	"	Surishtanarayansinah	318	"	Raghunandan Das
260	"	Rajendraprasad	319	"	Mohamed Ogair
261	"	Mahabirprasad	320	"	B. Dinkarnath Singh
262	"	Kedarnathsingh	321	"	Narayandas
263	"	Ambikaprasad Chaudhary	322	"	Maulana Farkhat Husain
264	"	Durgaprasad	323	"	Chendrika Singh
265	"	Ramswaruplal	324	"	Babu Vishveshwar Prasad Singh
266	"	Satyanarayansingh			

Behar (Contd.)

325	Sjt.	Babu Rambhajanlal	384	Sjt.	Mahabir Bhakta
326	"	Laxminarayan Misra	385	"	Badu Murlī Manohar Lalji
327	"	B. Gajeswar Singh	386	"	Babu Ramnarayan Singh
328	"	Tolaram Marwari	387	"	Babu Umangaya Prasad
329	"	Suddha Deva	388	"	Vrajlal Parshottam Rolia
330	"	Ramnarain Singh	389	"	Balubhai Singh
331	"	Harihar Singh	390	"	Ramdayalprasad Singh
332	"	Shreekanta Pathak	391	"	Gajadharprasad
333	"	Ramayana Prasad	392	"	Maniklal
334	"	Shakrool Hasan	393	"	Harikishnaprasad Singh
335	"	Sadanlal	394	"	Abdul Rahim
336	"	Kalicharan	395	"	Dhirendra Majmudar
337	"	Navalkishore	396	"	Ramaksharyalal
338	"	Shivkrishna Tendon	397	"	Shatrughnaprasad Singh
339	"	Kashinath	398	"	Suryanarayan Singh
340	"	Bhagwat Singh	399	"	Maheswariprasad
341	"	Govind Singh	400	"	Chandramohan Thakur
342	"	V. Prasad	401	"	Gauriprasad Misra
343	"	Lala Labhdas	402	"	Indranath Prasad
344	"	Bhagwati Charan	403	"	Vaidanath Prasad
345	"	Haranarayan Singh	404	"	Abul Gana
346	"	Padmasharan Singh	405	"	Pandit Jagannath Sharma
347	"	Krishnaprasad Chaudhary	406	"	Chandrajit Purve
348	"	Baldav Sahai	407	"	Abdul Karim Faruki
349	"	Ramnaren Tripathi	408	"	Radayram Mahant
350	"	J. D. Chudhary	409	"	Buddhinath
351	"	D. Chamanlal	410	"	Vishvamisra
352	"	Deepnaryan Sinha	411	"	Jagdev Thakur
353	"	Laxminarayan Varma	412	"	Pandit Ramanand Upadhya
354	"	Radhakrishna Misra Vijay	413	"	Kesrinandan Tewari
355	"	Tarini Prasad Chaudhary	414	"	Baldeva Sharma
356	"	Mahant Mahendra Narayandas	415	"	M. A. Hamid
357	"	Akshyavar Singh	416	"	Munshirandan Gupta
358	"	Babu Upendraprasad	417	"	Dr. A. S. Verma
359	"	Babu Yamunaprasad	418	"	Murlidharprasad N.
360	"	Babu Hiraprasad	419	"	Narayandas
361	"	Badu Lobhelal	420	"	Ramkishan Shah
362	"	Ramkishorprasad Singh	421	"	Radaynarayan Lal
363	"	Ramadhin Singh	422	"	Tirthanand Misser
364	"	Harbansprasad Singh	423	"	Jagat Narayan
365	"	Bharkhandi Prasad	424	"	Veshista Narayan
366	"	Nandkumar Singh	425	"	Babu Upendrachandra Singh
367	"	Yadu Singh	426	"	Premisunder Bose
368	"	Nageswar Prasad	427	"	Vishvanath Sinha
369	"	Jagannathji Manuj	428	"	Ranchhodlal Shah
370	"	Ramswarup Ram	429	"	Vaidyanath Misra
371	"	Dwarkaprasad	430	"	Banke Behari Lal
372	"	Devavrita Vidyarathi	431	"	Lal Bahadur Lal
373	"	Rameshwar Prasad	432	"	Hiranand Jha
374	"	Jagadish Prasad Sinha	433	"	Maniram
375	"	Mahadeoprasad Sinha	434	"	Laxminarayan Gupta
376	"	Ganesh Prasad Gupta	435	"	Azhar Ali Kidwai
377	"	Navalkishorprasad	436	"	Madhav Prasad Sahu
378	"	Bhagwat Datta Pandey	437	"	Rajeshwarprasad Singh
379	"	Mahadev Rai	438	"	Gajadhar
380	"	Pandit Jaynandan Jha	439	"	Parmeshwari Prasad
381	"	Sahdeva Singh	440	"	Ganga Vishnu
382	"	Madhusudan Tewari	441	"	Suryaprasad Narayansinh
383	"	Ramdattaprasad	442	"	Jagannath Misra

Behar (Contd.)

443	Sjt.	Deepnarayan	475	Sjt.	Ramjas Agarwal
444	"	Dinanath Pande	476	"	Arjunlal Agarwal
445	"	Balaram	477	"	Hariprasad Agarwal
446	"	Khendar Rai	478	"	Chhotelal Jani
447	"	Nanniprasad Sinha	479	"	Madan Gopal
448	"	Ayodhya Sinha	480	"	Gulab Narayan Tewari
449	"	Rameshwar Narayan Agrawal	481	"	Khudai Singh
450	"	Vajjnath Prasad	482	"	Pandit Harinarayan Sharmas
451	"	Ramshankar Raj	483	"	Babu Bhagwandas
452	"	Jankiprasad Goud	484	"	Babu Gangbahadur Singh
453	"	Ramnaryan Thakur	485	"	Varanesiprasad
454	"	Brahmdeva Praladsingh	486	"	Khatijur Rahman
455	"	M. Basbirul Hasan	487	"	Chetnarayan Singh
456	"	Sbdul Mohmed Sajjad	488	"	Babu Raghavprasad Sinha
457	"	Raghavsingh	489	"	M. Shafi
458	"	Rajnandan Pradsingh	490	"	Nandshadur Singh
459	"	Mathuraprasad Singha	491	"	Mohamed Hussein
460	"	Shantiprasad Singh	492	"	Hafiz Neemalattah
461	"	Suryavali Misra	493	"	Ishwar Dayal
462	"	Chandrasekhara Jha	494	"	Abdul Bari
463	"	Makhansingh	495	"	Gangdev Singh
464	"	Prajapati Misra	495	"	Jagajal Chaudhary
465	"	Jaynarayanprasad	497	"	Firangi Singh
466	"	Babu Vasudev Narayan	498	"	Kamlanayanbhatta
467	"	Rajbahadur	499	"	Nilaru Chandra
468	"	Ramnandan Prasad	500	"	Govindchandra Bhattacharya
469	"	Ali Azim	501	Shrimati	Latif
470	"	Badu Genda Singh	502	"	Shafi
471	"	Pandit Panyadeva Shama	503	}	Names are illegible.
472	"	Rajeshwari Prasad Sharma	to		
473	"	Bhagyeshwar Singh	558		
474	"	Kuldip Singh			

BENGAL

1	Shrimati	Hempraba Majumdar	25	Sjt.	Anath Roy
2	"	Mrs. Hiralal Mehta	26	"	Sarat Chandra De
3	"	Mrs. J. G. Amin	27	"	Basant Kumar Majumdar
4	"	Kamala Devi	28	"	Brahma Mohan Ghose
5	"	Mrs. Lachman Singh	29	"	Barda Pershad Pain
6	"	Maya Devi	30	"	Bijayratna Baxi
7	"	Suniti Devi	31	"	Asutosh Sinha
8	"	Svarna Lata Devi	32	"	Lalit Mohan Mukerjee
9	"	Shanti Devi	33	"	Abdul Rehman
10	"	Urmila Devi	34	"	Sarada Kanta Das
11	"	Snehlata Das	35	"	Anil Chandra Majtra
12	"	Sarayubala Devi	36	"	Abdul Hayat
13	Sjt.	Anand Pershad	37	"	Bhujang Bhushan Laheri
14	"	Afsarudin Ahmed	38	"	Bhupendra Nath Bose
15	"	Ahi Bhushan Haldar	39	"	Balai Chand De
16	"	Amia Kumar Roy Choudhary	40	"	Binay Bhushan Dutta
17	"	Ajit Lal Roy	41	"	Omkareshwar Dixit
18	"	Amulya Bhushan Mukerjee	42	"	Beni Mahdavi Mukhti
19	"	Agam Giri	43	"	Bepin Behari Ghose
20	"	Abdul Hamid	44	"	Binayak Lal Khanna
21	"	Hakim Moh. Ahmed Hussein	45	"	Pannalal Jain
22	"	Anath Gopal Sen	46	"	Bimla Charan Ganguli
23	"	Amerendra Nath Ghose	47	"	Birendra Sinha Neofi
24	"	Amr Nath Bhattacharya	48	"	Badri Das Agarwala

Bengal (Contd.)

49	Sjt.	Benoy Krishna Dey	108	Sjt.	Jyotish Chandra Chakravarty
50	"	Birendra Nath Sen Gupta	109	"	Jnanendra Chandra Majmudar
51	"	Bijoy Ray Lal Chodhari	110	"	Jitendra Kishore Roy
52	"	Biswa Mohan Senyal	111	"	Jogendra Chandra Chaudhari
53	"	Bejoy Lal Chatterjee	112	"	Jay Krishna Bhattacharya
54	"	Chunilal Roy	113	"	J. D. Bose
55	"	Caandi Chandra Datta	114	"	Ashutosh Kali
56	"	Charu Chandra Senyal	115	"	Braja Gopal Goswami
57	"	Rupesh Chandra Deb	116	"	Balarama Bhattacharya
58	"	Devidas Chatterjee	117	"	Kalachandra Sinha Roy
59	"	Dhirendra Nath Mukerjee	118	"	Kashiswer Chakarwerty
60	"	Maulvi Mizzata Hussein	119	"	Krishna Das Bairagi
61	"	Dhirendra Mohan Sen	120	"	Kangal Giri
62	"	Jitendra Nath Mitra	121	"	Kali Pada Ganguli
63	"	Giasuddin	122	"	Amulya Chandra Chatterjee
64	"	Gulam Raheman	123	"	Kunja Lal Bannerjee
65	"	Gaurhari Shome	124	"	Satish Chandra Roy
66	"	Sauri Charan Paul	125	"	Krishna Charan Sarkar
67	"	Girya Mohan Sanyal	126	"	Krishna Jiban Sanyal
68	"	Gunadhar Hazra	127	"	Kshitish Chandra Chakarvarty
69	"	Binod Bihari Das	128	"	Kshetrapala Ghose
70	"	Girija Nath Ray	129	"	Parimal Chandra Datta
71	"	Ganga Pershad Bhutika	130	"	Kshitish Chandra Bose
72	"	Govardhan Prasad Amin	131	"	Khagendra Nath Das Gupta
73	"	Gulraj Gnaniwala	132	"	Lalit Mohan Ghosal
74	"	Gopal Chandra Chattopandhya	133	"	Lalit Mohan Poddar
75	"	Ganga Chandra Biswas	134	"	Pandit Lachhminarayan Garde
76	"	Bipin Behari Ganguli	135	"	Bansa Dhar Sarkar
77	"	Hemanshu Sekhar Das	136	"	Alaukik Chandra Maiti
78	"	Hrishikesh Roy	137	"	Laxmi Narayan Bhalothia
79	"	Hamidali	138	"	Mathra Prasad Burman
80	"	Hemanshu Kumar Roy Chaudhari	139	"	Mohamed Yassin
81	"	Hemchandra Bhattacharya	140	"	Mohini Mohan Mukerjee
82	"	Hemant Kumar Ukil	141	"	Srish Chandra Choudhary
83	"	Hemant Shashi Datta	142	"	Maniruddin Ansari
84	"	Kali Chandra Bhattacharya	143	"	Mahendra Nath Das
85	"	Hiralal Saraf	144	"	Mohamed Mairouhjaman Islambadi
86	"	Hiralal Mehta	145	"	Moulana Yakub
87	"	Bhola Nath Saha	146	"	Maniruddin Ahmed
88	"	Harendra Lal Ghose	147	"	Makhyada Ranjan Kanugo
89	"	Kedar Singh	148	"	Bhupendra Kumar Dutta
90	"	Kali Bar Dutt	149	"	Mehim Chandra Deb
91	"	Indu Bhushan Sen	150	"	Mohamed Kabiruddin Biswas
92	"	Indu Bhushan Sanyal	151	"	Amar Nath Basu
93	"	Jagadishchandra Sengupta	152	"	Mohini Mohan Samant
94	"	Satcowrie Mukerjee	153	"	Sufar Muluk
95	"	Kamakhya Charan Majmudar	154	"	Mohamed Muslia
96	"	Jogeshwar Chatterjee	155	"	Mahendra Chandra Roy
97	"	Jagadish Maitra	156	"	Motilal Purkayastha
98	"	Narmadeswar Dixit	157	"	Mahadev Prasad Jungtunwalla
99	"	Jogananda Nath Dhar	158	"	Mani Mohan Mukerjee
100	"	Jogananda Brahmachari	159	"	Manilal Gandhi
101	"	Jyotish Chandra Kar	160	"	Pandit Mukhadyacharan Samadhyee
102	"	Jitendra Kumar Basu	161	"	Sujan Kumar Choudhari
103	"	Jitendra Mohan Datta	162	"	Mohamed Ali
104	"	Nalini Mohan Roy Chaudhari	163	"	Nripendra Chandra Choudhari
105	"	Jitendra Nath Roy	164	"	Nishikanta Choudhari
106	"	Janada Nag	165	"	Nalini Mohan Majmudar
107	"	Jogendra Lal Roy	166	"	Nakuleswar Basu

Bengal (Contd.)

167	Sjt.	Nilarām Chandra Ghose	226	Sjt.	Ramesh Chandra Choadhary
168	"	Naba Kumar Mallik	227	"	Binod Chandra Chakravarty
169	"	Nagendra Nath Mukerjee	228	"	Ram Kumar Bhawalka
170	"	Nani Gopal Ray	229	"	Radha Kishan Nivattia
171	"	Nagendra Nath Sen	230	"	Ram Gopal Saraf
172	"	Sailesh Nath Bishi	231	"	Shekh Rustum
173	"	Narayan Chandra Bannerjee	232	"	Shridhdhanand Bramhachari
174	"	Nibaran Chandra Roy	233	"	Sastul Chandra Roy
175	"	Prabahat Charan Chakarwarty	234	"	Suresh Chandra Das
176	"	Maulana Mohamed Usman	235	"	Manindra Nath Begchi
177	"	Nalini Bandhu Bhattacharya	236	"	Subodh Kumar Banerji
178	"	Hemendra Lal Guha Ray	237	"	Shishir Kumar Ghosh
179	"	Surendra Nath Bose	238	"	Sushen Kumar Makerji
180	"	Nalinni Nath Choudhari	289	"	S. M. Narayan Choudhary
181	"	Pandit Narayan Jagannath Bade	240	"	Satya Charan Shastry
182	"	Jitendra Nath Sarkar	241	"	S. V. Pande
183	"	Nishith Nath Kundu	242	"	Sahileshwar Chakrabarti
184	"	Nagendra Nath Choudhari	243	"	Suresh Chandra
185	"	Nishar Ahmed	244	"	Satish Chandra Sarkar
186	"	Prakriti Bhushan Gupta	245	"	Saileshwar Bose
187	"	Pramath Nath Bannerjee	246	"	S. Sen
188	"	Jadupati Gousai	247	"	Traknath Pal
189	"	Panchanan Roy	248	"	Satya Bhushan Mookerji
190	"	Har Kumar Rakshit	249	"	Shelaindia Nath Chakravarty
191	"	Prafulla Chandra Sen	250	"	Suraj Kumar Mitra
192	"	Pravat Chandra Maitra	251	"	Harendra Kumar Bose
193	"	Pravas Chandra Lahiri	252	"	Suresh Chandra Bhattacharya
194	"	Prafulla Nath Bannerjee	253	"	Satish Chandra Sarkar
195	"	Puran Chandra Sen	254	"	Satish Chandra Agarwala
196	"	Parneswar Maiti	255	"	Surya Prasad Bihani
197	"	Phani Bannerjee	256	"	Hari Bhushan Das
198	"	Pravas Chandra Bose	257	"	Surendra Nath Sarkar
199	"	Pandit Jagdamba Prasad Shukla	258	"	Suresh Chandra Majmudar
200	"	Pyarelal	259	"	Atul Chandra Gupta
201	"	Pulin Behari Paul	260	"	T. Nath Roy
202	"	Prithish Chandra Bose	261	"	Sudhang Subhushan Chatterji
203	"	Pandit Parushottam Ray	262	"	Sralkumar Dutt
204	"	Maulvi Abdul Sukul	263	"	Sailesh Nath Choudhary
205	"	Padma Lochan Sahoo	264	"	Indubhushan Das
206	"	Mahabir Prasad Poddar	265	"	Asutosh Misra
207	"	Prabodh Kumar Das	266	"	Syed Ahmed Mia
208	"	Purna Chandra Mukerjee	267	"	Amrendra Nath Bose
209	"	Jitendra Nath Choudhary	268	"	Ali Mohamed Khan
210	"	Rajani Kant Dutt	269	"	Jadu Gopal Mookerji
211	"	Ratneshwar Basu	270	"	Suraj Kumar Soma
212	"	Ranjit Rumar Chatterji	271	"	Sudhir Kumar Basu
213	"	Rabindra Nath Palit	272	"	S. Bhawani Shanker
214	"	Ram Charan Das	273	"	Ranjanlal Das
215	"	Himmatlal Shah	274	"	Tribeni Charan Sur
216	"	Rabati Mohan Mitra	275	"	Tyebuddin Ahmed
217	"	Basant Kumar Roy	276	"	Tulsiram Saroji
218	"	Rabindra Nath Banerji	277	"	Tarachandra Shukla
219	"	Ramesh Chandra Ghosh	278	"	Umesh Chandra Das
220	"	Jinendra Nath Sen Gupta	279	"	Upendra Nath Ghosh
221	"	Radhika Prasad Basu	280	"	Upendra Mohan Ghosh
222	"	Rajani Kant Chattopadhyaya	281	"	Vishwanath Bhalothi
223	"	Ram Gopal Choudhary	282	"	Vahid Hussain
224	"	Radha Binde Choudhry	283	"	Vahid Reja Choudhary
225	"	Rabindra Mohan Sen Gupta	284	"	Ramesh Chandra Das

Bengal (Contd.)

285	Sjt.	Amarendra Nath Laha	330	Sjt.	Hiralal Choudhary
286	"	Bhotilalji Bagala	331	"	Keshvlal Maganlal
287	"	Hamuman Prasad Potdar	332	"	Nazamuddin Arifin
288	"	Prabodh Chandra Mitra	333	"	Desaibhai S. Patel
289	"	Nityanand Ghosh	334	"	Gulam Soban
290	"	Sudhendu B. Mookerji	335	"	Alim Mohmed Wall.
291	"	S. M. Sen Gupta	336	"	Mahomad Ennus
292	"	Kisan Das Khanna	337	"	Subodh Chandra Banerji
293	"	Madanlal Mishra	338	"	Diwan Chandra
294	"	Ramchandra Kapur	339	"	L. Mulchand
295	"	A. K. Das Gupta	340	"	Mohani Mohan Mookerji
295	"	Nandkishor Vidyalankar	341	"	Mukund N. Desai
297	"	F. D. Ahmed	342	"	A. A. Choudhary
298	"	Gouriahanker Lodhia	343	"	Akhil Chandra Dutt
299	"	Narendra Nath Shah	344	"	Anany Mohan Ghosh
300	"	Ben Prasad Garg	345	"	Upendra Chandra Bhadra
301	"	Laxman Prasad	346	"	Ram Kumar Nivatia
302	"	Shitish Chandra Bagchi	347	"	Gunendra Chandra Sen
303	"	Ishwariprasad Bhatia	348	"	Nishi Kant Maitra
304	"	Gourishankar Gounka	349	"	I. K. Lakhia
305	"	Baji Nath Kadia	350	"	Dayashanker
306	"	Ram Charan Tevari	351	"	Amir H.
307	"	Krishnajl	352	"	Hari Kumar Chakravarty
308	"	Bhagatram	353	"	Dhamchand Raiwala
309	"	Biharilal	354	"	Suresh Chandra Bose
310	"	Pandit Keshavram	355	"	Narendra Nath Mookerji
311	"	Harbax Singh	356	"	Priyaranjan Sen
312	"	Ramlal Barman	357	"	Ramesh Chandra Ray
313	"	Pandit Ishwari Prasad	358	"	Kunwar Singh
314	"	Bibhuti Bhushan Das	359	"	Surendra Mohan Ghosh
315	"	Prabhosh Chandra Bose	360	"	Lab Singh
316	"	Niratranjad Majmudar	361	"	Lala Mahataj
317	"	Biharilal shout	362	"	Tulshiram Saroji
318	"	Jitendrayaa Dey	363	"	Baluram
319	"	Madhusudan Das Barman	364	"	M. A. Isar
320	"	Amulya Kumar Ghose	365	"	Hashim Abdul Rahiman
321	"	Dwijesh Chandra Sen	366	"	Abdul Karim Tyeb
322	"	Paresh Nath Maiti	367	"	A. V. Patel
323	"	Bibhuti Bhushan Naiti	368	"	J. P. Mehta
324	"	Maulvi Mahomed Abdulla	369	"	V. N. Shah
325	"	Suresh Chandra Chakravarty	370	"	Tulsidas-
326	"	Shah Badilal Alum	371	"	Abdul Ghani Dada
327	"	Maulvi Abdus Satria	372	"	Abdul Gatib Sakkar
328	"	Kumarchandra Jana	373	"	Alim Mahomed
329	"	Surya Kumar Chakravarty			

BERAR

1	Shrimati	Jankibai Kanitkar	11	Sjt.	Dinanath Kalsiram
2	"	Mrs. Parvatibai Patwardhan	12	"	Dwarkadas Gupta
3	Sjt.	Amanitulla Shekhla	13	"	Gangadhar Nagorao Hood
4	"	Balkrishna Ganesh Khaparde	14	"	Gangadhar Bapoorao Bapat
5	"	Bhimrao Hanumant Jatkar	15	"	Ganpatrao Sitaram Malli
6	"	Chhaganlal Assaram	16	"	Ghanshyam Govind Deshpande
7	"	Chintaman Vishvanath Garde	17	"	Gangadhar Ganesh Joshi
8	"	Dattatraya Balwant Somau	18	"	Govinda Narayan Mahajan
9	"	Dayaldas Giddulal Choudhari	19	"	Gul Sher Khan
10	"	Dinkar Keshav Deshpande	20	"	Gulam Yassin Khan

Berar (Contd.)

21	Sjt.	Haji Ahmed Saheb	40	Sjt.	Purushottam Krishna Kalele
22	"	Hiralal Radhakisen	41	"	Ramchandra Anant Kanitkar
23	"	Aney Madhav Shihari	42	"	Ramchandra Ganga Ihar Bhagwat
24	"	Khushalrao Yadaoao	43	"	Ramrao Madhaoao Deshmukh
25	"	Krishnaji Damodar Varhadpande	44	"	Sadashiv Vaman Kelkar
26	"	Laxman Gangadhar Chitale	45	"	Sayyad Abdul Roulphsha
27	"	Laxman Kashinath Cak	46	"	Shamrao Prahlad Deshpande
28	"	Mohamedali Kurbanali	47	"	Shanker Gopal Dabir
29	"	Mahdhavrao Sakhaley	48	"	Shanker Ramkrishna Naik
30	"	Mahadev Narayan Parasnis	49	"	Shanker Vishvanath Barde
31	"	Namdeo Anyaji Mahajan	50	"	Shiwaji Ganesh Patwardhan
32	"	Nanabhai Ichharam Mashruwala	51	"	Sidhanatha Krishna Kane
33	"	Narayan Govind Sahasrabudhe	52	"	Timbak Laxman Sheode
34	"	Narayan Ramling Bamangaonkar	53	"	Vyanktesh Keshao Soman
35	"	Narhari Ramchandra Ghude	54	"	Wasudeo Balaji Pimpalikar
36	"	Nilkantha Sakharam Barve	55	"	Wasudeo Damodar Bhagwat
37	"	Pannalaji Vyas	56	"	Wasudeo Ragunath Shahane
38	"	Parasram Chintaman Joglekar	57	"	Yadao Madhao Kale
39	"	Anant Sakharam Athley	58	"	Yadao Shihari Aney

BOMBAY

1	Shrinati	Sarojini Naidu	11	Sjt.	Khatri Ahmed H. S.
2	Sjt.	Bhavsar K. N.	12	"	Motivala B. N.
3	"	Chhotani M. M.	13	"	Mehisheri B. N.
4	"	Dave R. S.	14	"	Banker S. G.
5	"	Desai V. A.	15	"	Nappoo Velji L.
6	"	Deshpande S. V.	16	"	Padbidri R. S.
7	"	Errunza J. C.	17	"	Sillam S. M.
8	"	Jayakar M. R.	18	"	Umor Sobani.
9	"	Jerajani V. V.	19	"	Velkar M. B.
10	"	Khadiikar K. P.			

BURMA

1	Begum	Hafiza Mall	24	Sjt.	Ramprasad Pandey
2	Shrinati	Mahalaxmi M. Gandhi	25	"	Ratilal Dahyabhai Parekh
3	"	Santosh Kumari Devi Gupta	26	"	Gokuldas Mansukhlal Parekh
4	"	Mrs. Ranchhoddas Dharshibhai Modi	27	"	Chunilal Govindram Patel
5	Sjt.	Swami Brahmanandji	28	"	Patel S. B.
6	"	Dhudalal Manga ji	29	"	Mohanlal H. Raja
7	"	C. V. Galiara	30	"	Ranchhoddas Andarji
8	"	Hiralal Keshavlal Gandhi	31	"	Ramdayal Sevak
9	"	Hirjibhai Chaturbhuj Gandhi	32	"	Manilal Padamshi Shah
10	"	Manilal Keshavlal Gandhi	33	"	Sukhlal Dhansibhai Shah
11	"	Hargovindas Narandas	34	"	Tbakkur Manilal Himatram
12	"	Iyer P. S. S.	85	"	Ishvoral D. Tripathy
13	"	Dashrathlal R. Joshi	36	"	Ganpatram Upadhya
14	"	V. Madanjit	37	"	Nandulal D. Vaidya
15	"	Dulabram Mangalji Mahesh	38	"	Vekharis G. T.
16	"	Manilal Sobhagchand	39	"	Fulshanker Nathubhai Vyas
17	"	Mehta V. K.	40	"	Chandulal Nyalchand
18	"	Mehta V. D.	41	"	Bhagwandas Mathuradas
19	"	Mehta Vadiial Manilal	42	"	Shyamji Narberam Parekh
20	"	Moosa Mall	43	"	M. Hussein Khan
21	"	Ranchhoddas Dharshibhai Modi	44	"	Krishndas Dayalnathob
22	"	Mehta C. A.	45	"	Ranchhodlal A. Mehta
23	"	Nanalal Kalidas	46	"	Lachmanrao

Burma (Contd.)

47	Sjt.	Amritlal Harjivandas	52	Sjt.	Nagindas D. Shah
48	"	A. R. Bhimani	53	"	V. A. Sunderam
49	"	Oodeylal Himatlal	54	"	Jamdanas H. H. Pitambar
50	"	Swami Mohandas	55	"	Natvarlal Narandas
51	"	Varjivandas J. Gandhi	56	"	V. B. Saurashtins

C. P. (Hindustani)

1	Shrimati	Rukhmanibai Pandya	51	Sjt.	Gopalrao Shrikhande
2	"	Annapurnabai Ghate	52	"	Govinddas Seth
3	"	Rukmini Bai	53	"	Govindram Aijayshanker Tiwari
4	"	Mrs. Shyamsundar Bhargava	54	"	Govindrao Joshi
5	"	Subhadra Kumari	55	"	Govindrao D. Tamasker
6	"	Rangubai Mhalas	56	"	Govind K. Lokras
7	Sjt.	Abdul Gufur	57	"	Govind Rao
8	"	Ahesan Ali	58	"	Guru Dayal
9	"	Akbar Khan	59	"	Gyauchandra Varma
10	"	Amar Nath	60	"	Habibkhan
11	"	Amar Sinha	61	"	Hakim Ajal Hussein
12	"	Abdul Satar	62	"	Hanwant Rao
13	"	Ayodhya Pershad	63	"	Hardayala Prasad Agnihotri
14	"	Babasaheb Mahajan	64	"	Hariprasadji Modi
15	"	Bahawal Haq	65	"	Hariprasad Pande
16	"	Beharilal	66	"	Imamali
17	"	Baldeo Pershad	67	"	Jamnadas
18	"	Bapooji	68	"	Jugalprasad
19	"	Benimadhav Avasthi	69	"	Kapurchand Agarwala
20	"	Umar Ali	70	"	Murlidhar Shukla
21	"	Bhayyalal Choudhari	71	"	Kashi Prasad
22	"	Bhayyalal Jain	72	"	Kedarnath Rohan
23	"	Brahmadin	73	"	Keshvanand Misra
24	"	Dayachand Bajaj	74	"	Keshao R. Khardekar
25	"	Devki Nandan	75	"	Kushul Chand
26	"	Brajmohanlal Verma	76	"	Motilal Bhura
27	"	Chhedilal	77	"	Kunjilal Singh
28	"	Chidambaram Pillai	78	"	Kunjbeharilal
29	"	Chhotelal	79	"	Kurban Hussein
30	"	Chhotelalji	80	"	K. A. Kaothankar
31	"	Chhotelal Jain	81	"	Lala Arjun Singh
32	"	Devendranath Mukerjee	82	"	Lalchand Seth
33	"	Deviprasad Shrivastava	83	"	Lala Dalchand Agarwala
34	"	Dilip M. Gadgil	84	"	Laxman Prasad
35	"	Pyarelal	85	"	Laxmanrao Udgirkar
36	"	Durgashanker Mehta	86	"	Lakshman Singh
37	"	Dwarkanath	87	"	Laxmiprasad Pathak
38	"	E. Raghvendra Rao	88	"	Laxmichand
39	"	Gangadhar N. Munje	89	"	Laxminarayandas
40	"	Illejib'e	90	"	Madholal Chodhari
41	"	Vishwanath Pendharkar.	91	"	Madhavprasad
42	"	Gotelal Bhajji	92	"	Maneklal Kalar
43	"	Gaurishanker Sharma	93	"	Majid Khan Azad
44	"	Gayadattaji Sharma	94	"	Manoolal Daw
45	"	Ghanshyam Singh Gupta	95	"	Mukund Nath Tewari
46	"	Girdharilal	96	"	Shiva Satya Narayan Lal
47	"	Gokul Chand Singal	97	"	Manohar Pant
48	"	Gopaldas Naga	98	"	Masaud Khan
49	"	Gopal Rao	99	"	Mirza Ahmed Raza Beg
50	"	Gopal Ramji	100	"	Mohamad Gul

C. P. Hindustani (Contd.)

101	Sjt.	Tanjan	155	Sjt.	Abdul Ajim Khan
102	"	Vishwanath Pendharkar	156	"	Abdul Samad
103	"	Narmadashanker Shukla	157	"	Amarsingh
104	"	Narayanao Meghawale	158	"	Muhammed Hanif
105	"	Narottam Prasad Shukla	159	"	Muhammed Salamat Khan
106	"	Nathooji Jagtap	160	"	Shaikh Abdul Hai
107	"	Nathooram Modi	161	"	Ashan Khan
108	"	Prabhakar D. Jathar	162	"	A. Venkata Ramma
109	"	Premshanker Tewari	163	"	Ballelal
110	"	Parshottam Mahant	164	"	Baboolal
111	"	Purshotam Das	165	"	Brijlal Gupta
112	"	Thakur Pyarelal Singh	166	"	Bagheshwarprasad
113	"	P. T. Kathale	167	"	Bantaram
114	"	Ramchandra T. Pande	168	"	Badriprasad
115	"	Ramchandra V. Indapawar	169	"	Chhabildas Kishendas
116	"	Ramcharan Tiwari	170	"	Girjashanker Agnihotri
117	"	Ramlal Rajvaidya	171	"	Ganpat Singh
118	"	Ramnarayan Agarwala	172	"	Hemanath Chandrawanshi
119	"	Ramchandra S. Naik	173	"	Jit Bahadur
120	"	Ramprasad Deshmukh	174	"	Krishna Damodar Tamaskar
121	"	Premshanker Shivshanker	175	"	Mohanlal Gandhi
122	"	Rupnarayanji	176	"	Matadin Awasthi
123	"	Abdul Karim Mahomad	177	"	Parmeshwardin
124	"	Sadashiv R. Shende	178	"	Rewashauker Pandya
125	"	Shaumbhu Dayal Mishra	179	"	Rajaram
126	"	Shantaram Manjrekar	180	"	Radhelal Kalwar
127	"	Shivdulare Mishra	181	"	Abdul Hadi
128	"	Shambhuprasad Misra	182	"	Ranjan Kalar
129	"	Sheoprasad Varma	183	"	Rauidularey
130	"	Thakur Shersinghji	184	"	Vishnuprasad Paterya
131	"	Sitaram Master	185	"	Vishwasrao Bhawe
132	"	Shardhar Bhagwat Silledar	186	"	Wamanrao Konher
133	"	Shyam Sunder Bhargava	187	"	Sheoram
134	"	Abdul Hakim Hafiz	188	"	Atmarampant
135	"	Abdul Jabbar Khan	189	"	Shanker Narayan Tikekar
136	"	Abdul Kadir Sidique	190	"	Nizam Parshad Tikekar
137	"	Sukhru Prasad	191	"	Vithal Ramchandra Kelkar
138	"	Sunder Lal Sharma	192	"	Gopalrao Gakhale
139	"	Tajuddin	193	"	Kamlakar D. Jatar
140	"	Thakur Prasad Shri Vastava	194	"	Hatkeshwar Prasad
141	"	Umakant B. Ghate	195	"	Balaram Agarwala
142	"	Vinayakrao Telang	196	"	Ballaaji Oza
143	"	Vishvanathrao Apte	197	"	Dwarika Prasad
144	"	Vishvanath D. Salpekar	198	"	Madhavrao Sapre
145	"	Vishvanath N. Deo	199	"	Mahadevi
146	"	Vithal R. Dhok	200	"	R. P. Karmarker
147	"	Wamanrao Khankhoje	201	"	Maneklal Kochar
148	"	Wamanrao Lakhe	202	"	Abdul Hamid Shafi
149	"	Wasudeorao Subedar	203	"	Munnalal Radhelal
150	"	S. M. Josula	204	"	Shankarrao Gadodwale
151	"	Khwaja Ahmed Khan			
152	"	Hafiz Abdul Mintalkhan			
153	"	Abdul Majid Khan			
154	"	Anupishanker			

C. P. Marathi

1	Shrimati Jankibai Bajaj	23	Sjt.	Loma Katanji Marwari
2	Sjt. Syed Abul Razak Hanfi	24	"	Madho Moreshwar Tembhekar
3	" Balibhadra Vishvanath Dixit	25	"	Moreshwar Ramchandra Cholkar
4	" Balkrishna Sheoran Moonje	26	"	Moreshwar Vasudeo Abhyankar
5	" Balvant Ragho Deshmukh	27	"	Mukund Balkrishna Gadre
6	" Bhawanishanker Niyogi	28	"	Narayan Krishna Buche
7	" Bhagwant Vianayak Muthal	29	"	Nilkantha Gangadhar Buche
8	" Dajishastri Chandekar	30	"	Prabhakar Sitaram Pendarkar
9	" Deorao Mukund Patil	31	"	Pralhad Dinkar Haskare
10	" Ganesh Vasudeo Pranjpey	32	"	Ramchandra Vbhyankar
11	" Gangadhar Baliram Deshmukh	33	"	Ramkrishna Sharma
12	" Ganapati Purushottam Deo	34	"	Nilkantha Krishna Sadafal
13	" Hanmant Bapoorao Deshmukh	35	"	Ramnatayan Sitaram Varma
14	" Harilal Premshanker Pancholi	36	"	Samiullahkhan
15	" Haribhou Vithobaji Komti Bandewar	37	"	Samiullahkhan
16	" Jageshwar Baliram Joshi	38	"	Satyadeoji Vidya'ankar
17	" Seth Jaunalal Bajaj	39	"	Shankerrao Nakade
18	" Janardan Diwakar Chepe	40	"	Shesh Rao Govind Pophale
19	" Mohamed Anisuddin Ahmed	41	"	Taheralli
20	" Kanhayalal Ramamand	42	"	Vishnoo Vasudeo Kane
21	" Laxman Vasudeo Pranjpey	43	"	Yadeo Gopal
22	" Lodulal	44	"	Vinayak Raghunath Abhyankar

DELHI

1	Shrimati Subhadra Devi	33	Sjt.	Muataq Ahmed
2	" Sushila Devi	34	"	Mittan Lall Vaishya
3	" Kubra Begum Saheba	35	"	Narain Das
4	" S. N. Begum Ansari	36	"	Onkar Parshad
5	" Mrs. Niram	37	"	Prabhu Dayal
6	" Surendra Bala	38	"	Pirthi Singh
7	Sjt. Basiruddin Ahmed Qazi	39	"	Pyarelal Sharma
8	" Garubaksh Singha Bahadur	40	"	Ramji Lall
9	" Dwarka Prasad Bhatta	41	"	Rajendra Nath
10	" Chhabil Lall Goswami	42	"	Raja Lall
11	" Din Dayal Singh	43	"	Ram Kirpal Singh
12	" Gopi Nath Misra	44	"	Raghubir Narayan Singh
13	" Ghanshyam Singh	45	"	Swami Shraddhanand
14	" Haya Shah	46	"	Amrit Lal
15	" Jagannath Prasad	47	"	Prof. Indra
16	" Joti Prasad	48	"	Surendra Balal
17	" Kutubuddin Mohamed	49	"	Satya Vati
18	" Kedarnath Bhargav	50	"	Shiv Datta Sharma
19	" Kashi Ram	51	"	Soti Barmah Sarup
20	" Karimuddin	52	"	Shri Chand Jaini
21	" Kirti Prasad	53	"	Shiv Dial
22	" Kamta Prasad	54	"	Satya Virt
23	" Lachman Das Seth	55	"	Shiam Sunder
24	" Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari	56	"	Abdullah Khan
25	" Mohamed Ashfaq	57	"	Vishnu Saran Dubhis
26	" Mohamed Hussein Said	58	"	Madan Mohan Lal
27	" Misri Lal Chatterjee	59	"	Jagdish Sarup
28	" Mohamad Fateh Khan	60	"	Amir Singh
29	" Moti Ram Goel	61	"	Ramchandra Deo
30	" Mohamed Ismail Khan	62	"	Bulaqui Dass
31	" Mahabir Prasad	63	"	Balaram Chander
32	" Mutassadi Lall	64	"	Badri Prasad
		65	"	Jaganuath Prasad

Delhi (Contd.)

66	Sjt.	Bohura Goverdhan Das	78	Sjt.	Mohamed Hussain
67	"	Mulchand	79	"	Raghunath Sjngh
68	"	Keshavchandra Chatterjee	80	"	Khawaja Sultanali Khan
69	"	Chandan Lal	81	"	Abbus Hussain
70	"	Lala Prem Kishan Khanua	82	"	Govind Sing Saheb
71	"	Lala Gulari Dal	83	"	L. Ghanshyamdas
72	"	Cairajiv Lal	84	"	Hardet Opath Jilya
73	"	Ramnarayan Das	85	"	Samait Prasad
74	"	Babu Ram Garg	86	"	Uga Sain Jani
75	"	Ramsarup Garin	87	"	Kaji Nizamudin Ahmed
76	"	Prabhudayal Halwai	88	"	Haji Syad Mohmed Hussain
77	"	L. P. Naga	89	"	Balmukund Sharma

GUJARAT

1		Shrimati Anasuya Sarabhai	45	Sjt.	Deochand Damji Kudlakar
2	"	Atilaxmi Balwantraj Thakore	46	"	Devchand Uttamchand Parekh
3	"	Mrs. A. T. Gidwani	47	"	Dayalji Bhimbhai Desai
4	"	Chaturlaxmi Diwan	48	"	Dayalji Nanubhai Desai
5	"	Gangabehn Majmudar	49	"	Dayaram Sitaram Sura
6	"	Shivganga Masar Harilal Nathuradas	50	"	Ismail Abul O'a
7	"	Jayavati Desai	51	"	Ismail Aliji Shabhai
8	"	Mrs. Kalidas Jaskaran Jhaveri	52	"	Ismail Daudbhai Ghiwala
9	"	Kastoorba Gandhi	53	"	Ismail Mohamedbhai Karbhari
10	"	Mrs. M. K. Dxtit	54	"	Ismail Rasul Gandhi
11	"	Parvatiben Gulabrai Desai	55	"	Imam Abdul Kadar Bavazir
12	"	Vijjagauri Balvantraj Kanuga	56	"	Ishvarlal Jivanbhai Patel
13	"	Trambankbai Mansukhlal Mehta	57	"	Anratlal Dalpatbhai Seth
14	Sjt.	Balvantraj N. Kanuga	58	"	Fulchand Bapuji Shah
15	"	Balwantraj Parmodrai Thakore	59	"	Balvantraj Gopalji Mehta
16	"	Barjorji Vikaji	60	"	Fulchand Harichand Doshi
17	"	Bhailalabhai Mathurbhai Patel	61	"	Fulchand Kasturchand Shah
18	"	Tulsidas Mulji	62	"	Gajanan Krishnarao Mavalankar
19	"	Shivlal G. Mehta	63	"	Girdharlal Bhavanbhai Kotak
20	"	Bhulashanker Jagjivan Pandit	64	"	Gokaldas Dwarkadas Talati
21	"	Champaklal Jekishandas Ghia	65	"	Gopaldas Ambaidas Desai
22	"	Chaturbhai Zaverbhai Amin	66	"	Gopaldas Vrajrai Desai
23	"	Chandulal Becharbhai Patel	67	"	Gordhandas Chutlibhai Desai
24	"	Genesh Vasudeo Mavalankar	68	"	Gulamrasul Rasul Mia Kureshi
25	"	Chandulal Manilal Desai	69	"	Gulam Mohiuddin
26	"	Chhaganlal Chunilal Mazmudar	70	"	Hakamchand Deochand Jasani
27	"	Chaganlal Chunilal Modi	71	"	Gulabbhai Kikabhai Desai
28	"	Chhaganlal Narotandas Diwawala	72	"	Haji Sheikh Hussein Shaikh Rasul
29	"	Chhotalal Anupram Vyas	73	"	Hakim Ahmed Shargad
30	"	Chhotabhai Bhaidas Marfatia	74	"	Haribhai Zaverbhai Amin
31	"	Chhotalal Ghelabhai Gandhi	75	"	Harilal Dwarkadas Sanghvi
32	"	Chhotalal Laxmishanker Mankad.	76	"	Harilal Govindji Parikh
33	"	Chhotalal Ravjibhai Patel	77	"	Hariprasad Chhotalal Kantharia
34	"	Chhotabhai Gulabrai Desai	78	"	Hariprasad Vrajrai Desai
35	"	Chunilal Anandji Kapadia	79	"	Hariprasad Pitambardas Mehta
36	"	Chunibhai Dungarji Amin	80	"	Hatimbhai Shekh Abdul Hussein
37	"	Chunilal Garbaddas Gupta	81	"	Hiralal Harjivandas Narielwala
38	"	Dharamshi Somchand	82	"	Syed Hussein Urezi
39	"	Dahyabhai Manordas Patel	83	"	Indulal Kanaiyalal Yajnik
40	"	Dahyalal Hargovind Jani	84	"	Ishwerlal Kalidas Vyas
41	"	Dahyabhai Mohanbhai Desai	85	"	Jallaluddin Kamruddin Kadri
42	"	Damodardas Deochand Sukhadia	86	"	Jamnadas Amarchand Gandhi
43	"	Dalsukhbhai Lalbhai	87	"	Ambalal Nanlal Shah
44	"	Abbas Tyabji	88	"	Ambalal Mohanlal Acharya

Gujarat (Contd.)

87	Sjt.	Jivanlal Jethabhai Gandhi	136	Sjt.	Mohamed Alvi Syed
88	"	Jivanlal Hariprasad Diwan	137	"	Mohanlal Kameshwar Pandya
89	"	Jasbhai Dahyabhai Patel	138	"	Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi
90	"	Jethalal Chimanlal Swaminarayan	139	"	Mohanlal Kedarnath Dixit
91	"	Abdullah Ali Kassambhai	140	"	Mohanlal Maganlal
92	"	Jinabhai B. Naik	141	"	Mohanlal Vithaldas Gandhi
93	"	Jivabhai Dewabhai Patel	142	"	Mulchand Motilal Mehta
94	"	Jivanji Ranchhodji	143	"	Mulchand Uttamchand Parekh
95	"	Juwarsingh Gulabsinghji Chahwan	144	"	Muladas
96	"	Kalilas Jeskaran Jhaveri	145	"	Nandlal Manilal Shah
97	"	Kalilas Pragji Makwana	146	"	Nizamuddin Kamruddin Kureshi
98	"	Maulvi Abdul Zafar	147	"	Ambalal Harakhchand Seth
99	"	Kalilas Kamanji Patel	148	"	Narmadashanker Balashanker Pandya
100	"	Kalianji Vasanti	149	"	Narayan Tulsaji
101	"	Kavasji Katpitia	150	"	Narayan Thackesahi Bhimnathvalia
102	"	Achiralal Chunilal Seth	151	"	Ochavilal Jivanlal Parikh
103	"	Kalianji Vithalbai	152	"	Odhavji Ravji Raja
104	"	Kashibhai Zaverbhai Patel	153	"	Padmakanta Balashanker Vaidya
105	"	Keshubhai Dorabji Patel	154	"	Panachand Premchand Gandhi
106	"	Keshavlal Nanlal Dixit	155	"	Purushottandas Maganlal Shah
107	"	Keshavlal Dayashanker Thakkar	156	"	Pragji Khandubhai Desai
108	"	Keshavji R. Vaghela	157	"	Pranlal Vishvanath Shukla
109	"	Khatan Morarji	158	"	Syed Ahmed Edrus
110	"	Keshavlal Nagindas Shah	159	"	Ramji Gordhandas
111	"	Khursidas F. Pathak	160	"	Purshottandas Bhowanidas Gordia
112	"	Khursibhai Kalidas Patel	161	"	Rauji Hansraj
113	"	Kuverji Moolchand Shah	162	"	Ratansha Dinshaji Munshi
114	"	Kuverji Vithalbai Metha	163	"	Ratilal Bapalal Dwivedi
115	"	Krishnalal Narsilal Desai	164	"	Ratilal Manilal Chhatrapati
116	"	Lalchand Maganlal	165	"	Rasuibhai Jiwabhai
117	"	Lalloobhai Desaiabhai Patel	166	"	Rasul Hasan Kasiaji
118	"	Lalloobhai Laxmidas Patel	167	"	Ravishanker Shivram Vyas
119	"	Madhalal Nathubhai Dwivedi	168	"	Abdul H. Acchamia
120	"	Maganbhai Chaturbhai Amin	169	"	Shankarlal Dwarkadas Parikh
121	"	Maneklal Maganlal Gandhi	170	"	Sidibhai Perbhai Maslavala
122	"	Maneklal Narsidas Shah	171	"	Sukhdeo Viadynatha Trivedi
123	"	Maneklal Dwarkadas Parikh	172	"	Vadilal Chbaganlal Zaverchand Shah
124	"	Manibhai Chaturbhai Patel	173	"	Abbas Ali Abdul Ali Bohra
125	"	Mangaldas Pranjvan Bhavsar	174	"	D. B. Shukal
126	"	Manibhai Jivanji Desai	175	"	Vallabhbhai Jhaverbhai Patel
127	"	Manibhai Vallabhji Kothari	176	"	Vallabhdas Uttamchand Parekh
128	"	Manishanker Shamji Trivedi	177	"	Vallabhji Jeshtaram Bhatta
129	"	Mansukhlal Ravjibhai Mehta	178	"	Vasudeo Ganapatram Vaidya
130	"	Mathuradas Lalji Gandhi	179	"	Vamanrao Sitaram Mukadam
131	"	Mir Saheb Syed Mohamed	180	"	Velji Thakarshi Shah
132	"	Mohamed Abdul Vaheb Saraf Dehalvi	181	"	Venibhai Parbhudas Patel
133	"	Mohamed Afjal Narmawalla	182	"	Vinayakrao Balashankar Vaidya
134	"		183	"	Viraji Manaji
135	"			"	

KARNATAK

1	Shrimati	Sitabai Mokhasi	7	Shrimati	Kamalabai Sheshital
2	"	Tarabai Kargupi	8	"	Laxmibai Chikodi
3	"	Radhabai Deshpande	9	"	Rangoobai Chandragiri
4	"	Athabai Ramrao	10	"	Gangabai Mirzankar
5	"	Mrs Raja Mauna	11	"	Saraswatibai Dixit
6	"	Chimnabai R. Chandragiri	12	"	Mrs. Sukhanand Seth

Krnatak (Contd.)

13	Skrimati Narsobai V. Hulgool	72	Sjt.	G. V. Pai
14	" Shantabai Shivrao Koppal	73	"	Govind S. Mahajan
15	" Radhabai Bailoor	74	"	G. D. Tinyakar
16	" Shantabai Baburao	75	"	Ganesh D. Shapade
17	Sjt. Akram Sirajudin	76	"	G. S. Nadgouda
18	" Anant Narayan Jalihal	77	"	G. J. Manoli
19	" Budhu Khan Rahim Khan Pathan	78	"	G. B. Kulkarni
20	" Bhimsen Vidyalkar	79	"	G. R. Ginde
21	" K. S. Rajacharya	80	"	Govindrao V. Masur
22	" B. Gopal Aiyangar	81	"	Polali Parmeshwaria
23	" Trimbak V. Deshpande	82	"	Vithoba Nikam
24	" Bhimrao S. Kowjalgi	83	"	Govindraoji Gadgil
25	" Baburao R. Kumbhavi	84	"	G. T. Daddibal
26	" B. B. Manolikal	85	"	Gururao V. Jorapur
27	" H. P. Nadgauda	86	"	G. L. Ajrekar
28	" Bajirao Gotkhandi	87	"	Ganpat Sadashiv Nadkarni
29	" Swami Siddhashrama	88	"	Ganpatrao R. Masur
30	" Raghvendra G. Kadapa	89	"	Gopal Ramchandra Deo
31	" Shrinivas R. Potdar	90	"	Gangadhar Timmappa Ghargi
32	" Anant Ramchandra Sevakar	91	"	Achutrai K. Hulgol
33	" Abdul Karim	92	"	Hanumant Balkrishna Kulkarni
34	" Arbi Ghannad	93	"	Hari Balkrishna Tembe
35	" Donwad Madhaoa.	94	"	G. R. Murdekar
36	" Bolur Venkatrao	95	"	H. V. Subramanyam
37	" Kanewar Venkapara	95	"	G. S. Ogale
38	" D. Mulia	97	"	Harishanker Nandram Pathak
39	" Annappa Ram Nair	98	"	Hari M. Bailur
40	" Chanabasappa Murgodi	99	"	Keshav R. Joshi
41	" Ramchandra Madhav Yavagal	100	"	Shivangoda Patil
42	" Babaji Bhimrao	101	"	Hari R. Saraf
43	" Chanamalapa Kurli	102	"	H. V. Ginde
44	" J. D. Deshpande	103	"	Hanmant S. Naik
45	" Daubal N. H.	104	"	Hanmant G. Deshpande
46	" Digamber Seehaji Kondur	105	"	Shripad N. Samant
47	" Dhondo Y. Kulkarni	106	"	Yeshwant Kowadkar
48	" D. Mohmed Hussein	107	"	S. D. Karkhanis
49	" Dhanji Javerchand	108	"	T. R. Patki
50	" Visanj Jetshi	109	"	Hanumantrao B. Gunaste
51	" D. G. Chandawarkar	110	"	Hiryadak Narayanrao
52	" D. R. Majli	111	"	Bhujangappa Bangale
53	" Divendra T. Setti	112	"	Balasaheb Hasansaheb
54	" D. R. Thakur	113	"	V. D. Kelkar
55	" R. P. Belgi	114	"	Iman Saheb A. Patel
56	" Diwan Saheb Janwekar	115	"	Jeevappa Rukmappa Anegundi
57	" D. Swamirao	116	"	Janardandas Krishnadas Puneekar
58	" R. Venkatram	117	"	Jeevraj Manik Pitamber
59	" Jethisith	118	"	Jayaram Acharya Koppal
60	" D. Hanmant Naik	119	"	J. Bhimrao
61	" D. Jamaluddin Saheb	120	"	R. R. Divekar
62	" Dewappa Waman Shenai	121	"	Krishnaji A. Dixit
63	" Munshi Abdul Rahaman	122	"	Anant Krishnacharya Sastri
64	" C. Krishnarao	123	"	Krishnaji Bhimrao Ankalgil
65	" Gurunath Naik	124	"	Keshavlal B. Parikh
66	" Govindappa G. Kushtagi	125	"	Krishnaji N. Karguppikar
67	" G. K. Walwekar	126	"	Karim Saheb Sanghwala
68	" Gopalrao Umachigi	127	"	K. Rang Aiyangar
69	" G. N. Thanedar	128	"	R. V. Sharma
70	" B. B. Potdar	129	"	A. A. Maniar
71	" Govindrao Hannan Setti	130	"	R. R. Sarma
		131	"	Krishnaji Sivrao

Krnataka (Contd.)

132	Sjt.	Krishnaji Venkatesh Yalji	190	Sjt	K. M. Patel
133	"	Keshav G. Gokhale	191	"	P. G. Sidhanti
134	"	Datto Dhondoo Hanmeeth	192	"	P. Venkat Bhimachar
135	"	Krishnaji A. Dalal	193	"	Ramrao K. Shevade
136	"	Krishnaji Hari Dixit	194	"	Ramchandra Balacharya Arbatl
137	"	Keshav Vaman Deshpande	195	"	L. M. Annigeri
138	"	L. Chaturbhuj Tejpal	196	"	R. N. Walwekar
139	"	K. Padmanabha	197	"	R. Gundurao
140	"	R. Amte	198	"	M. K. Raghunathrao
141	"	Kumble Raghvendrarao	199	"	R. Krishnaya
142	"	Karnan Sadashiv Rao	200	"	Balvant D. Mather
143	"	Kudkolli Shrinivas Rao	201	"	R. V. Padabidri
144	"	Kuppaya	202	"	Haji Osman Saikh
145	"	Karkal Ramdas	203	"	R. S. Sali
146	"	B. Venkata Ramania	204	"	Ramchandra Tatya Chawan
147	"	S. S. Surjekar	205	"	Ramrao Mangoli
148	"	Maneklal Balakdas	206	"	Raghvendra Huddar
149	"	Raghvendra Rao Byahatti	207	"	Ramrao Sholapurkar
150	"	Krishna Murthy S. Mathar	208	"	Ramdas Durbar
151	"	C. M. Sundararao	209	"	Ramrao Kora
152	"	M. Subbarao	210	"	R. S. Bannur
153	"	M. S. Karguppi	211	"	R. R. Jahagirdar
154	"	Madhavacharya K. Tonpi	212	"	R. A. Jahagirdar
155	"	M. B. Kulkarni	213	"	R. R. Gumaste
156	"	Ramrao Mukashi	214	"	Pandurang Bhau Jorapur
157	"	Yamunabai Bisopant Shevde	215	"	Ramrai Glaya
158	"	Y. R. Bhide	216	"	R. Ramachar
159	"	Dada Mohodin A.	217	"	Anant Subarao Yatgiri
160	"	Narayan Govind Mahasur	218	"	Raghuram Malai
161	"	Narayan S. Joshi	219	"	Shrinivasrao Deshpande
162	"	L. R. Bhide	220	"	Somappa S. Kurajgi
163	"	Madhavrao Raghvendra Khambhavi	221	"	Shivaji Gangadhar Kulkarni
164	"	Manilal Surajmal	222	"	Surendra S. Desai
165	"	Madhavlal Jalwad	223	"	Syed Abdulla Hussein Peerjade
166	"	Sadasiv Tuljarama	224	"	Shiyappa S. Jaladi
167	"	Manjunath Batta Devarbhattach Karki	225	"	Shrinivas R. Sawarkar
168	"	M. Rrishtachar	226	"	Syed Hussein Syed Ali Banadar
169	"	K. K. Karnanatha	227	"	Shivarao Koppal
170	"	Mayagiri Ramappa Adiga	228	"	Atma Ram Dhonddeo Tendulkar
171	"	M. N. Kini	229	"	Sukhanand Seth
172	"	Mahabal Holla	230	"	Vishnu Krishna Gokhale
173	"	Chonirappa Mantappa	231	"	Annarao Deshpande
174	"	Nanjangoda Gurjangowda Patil	232	"	Lingo Annaji
175	"	Narayan Subbarao Hardikar	233	"	Sitapati Naidu
176	"	Narayan T. Datar	234	"	Y. Yellogirao Sindhe
177	"	Babalal Saifuddin	235	"	Shivlingappa Kittar
178	"	Nllkanthappa Sugandhi	236	"	G. V. Yalgi
179	"	Narayandas T. Darbar	237	"	Shrinivasrao N. Deshpande
180	"	Narayanrao R. Khembhavi	238	"	S. T. Datar
181	"	S. R. Bhide	239	"	S. S. Kowlgudda
182	"	Ningappa Fakirappa Hallikeri	240	"	Sakharam K. Sindhe
183	"	Nagappa Padmasetti	241	"	Ramchandra N. Sindhe
184	"	Naidu Narrula Saheb	242	"	R. V. Khandle
185	"	Nagappa Merta	243	"	G. P. Sunthankar
186	"	Parmeshwarappa Hosmitani	244	"	S. V. Kowja'gi
187	"	Tabib Gopal Naik	245	"	Sivlingappa Virnapaxappa Jatti
188	"	P. Shamrao	246	"	Shrinivas R. Mangalvedhkar
189	"	Pr h Gudad	247	"	Abdul Samad Hussein Saheb Sowdagar
			248	"	Arbail Bhojarao

Karnatak (Contd.)

249	Sjt.	S. R. Kirsur	275	Sjt.	Venkatrao Ramrao Hulgol
250	"	S. D. Jethar	276	"	V. S. Umachgi
251	"	Shantwirappa Chowdapur	277	"	Vishvanath Naranji
252	"	S. M. Purulkar	278	"	Yellappa Sheshapa
253	"	Shamrao G. Badri	279	"	Venkatidas Gopaldas Daubal
254	"	S. Venkatbhivacharya	280	"	V. N. Thanedar
255	"	Sankya Anant Padmanabha Bhatta	281	"	Vithal Y. Gawade
256	"	Surappa	282	"	V. S. Konnur
257	"	T. Narayanrao	283	"	V. D. Belvi
258	"	Shripada Shatma	284	"	V. R. Savanur
259	"	Y. V. Dharwarkar	285	"	V. V. Nattu
260	"	V. V. Nayak	286	"	V. R. Majli
261	"	S. R. Shrinivasa Raghavan	287	"	V. P. Anklikar
262	"	Tadpatri H. A.	288	"	B. R. Patwardhan
263	"	Narayanrao Betgri	289	"	M. Kulkarni Musgari
264	"	S. K. Lele	290	"	N. B. Mujumdar
265	"	T. B. Purohit	291	"	M. P. Savkar
266	"	Tammanna Naik	292	"	B. G. Kurunbawadkar
267	"	Mathraprasada Ishwarprasada	293	"	Vaman B. Desai
268	"	Tonashai Upendra Pai	294	"	V. V. Kollalli
269	"	Kela Puvan Hegde	295	"	Bindu Venkata Pure
270	"	Udhoji A. Bhate	295	"	B. V. Buri
271	"	Uchchil Ramarao	297	"	Vamanrao B. Dharwarkar
272	"	Udipi Govindrao	298	"	Vasudeorao Shanbhog
273	"	R. S. Hukerikar	299	"	Wullul Sanjivaraya
274	"	V. T. Bapat	300	"	Yeshwant Swamrao Tigul

KERALA

1	Sjt.	Abdulahiman M.	18	Sjt.	Parneswara Pillay N.
2	"	Chidambara Iyer L. A.	19	"	Ramanadan Prasad
3	"	Chathukutty Nair	20	"	Pamuni P. C.
4	"	Gopalmenon M.	21	"	Ranganath Iyer L. R.
5	"	Govindan Nambran Ch.	22	"	Pamuni Menon P.
6	"	Govindkurup M. M.	23	"	Shanker K. Lombrabail
7	"	Ignatius W. P.	24	"	Sundra Iyer L. S.
8	"	Krishnan Nair	25	"	Shivaram K. S.
9	"	Kushi Raman Nambiar K. M.	26	"	Samajee Sunderdas
10	"	Krishna'r S.	27	"	Vallabhdas Purushottam
11	"	Krishnaswami Idey I. R.	28	"	Vasudevan Nambriri
12	"	Krishna Sarma P. V.	29	"	Thankerapillais K. G.
13	"	Kunnakura Menon P.	30	"	Mathurdas Purshottandas Ashar
14	"	Mathooney M.	31	"	Kakerla Veerath
15	"	Madhawa Menon K.	32	"	Krishna Swami
16	"	Neelakundan Nambudripad K.	33	"	Ch. Venkata Reddi
17	"	Narayana Menon M.			

MADRAS

1	Shrimati Mrs. Laxmi Annal.	10	Sjt.	Asher Sait P. D.
2	Sjt. Abdul Kareem Saheb	11	"	Blaji Rao C.
3	" Acharya M. K.	12	"	Balasubramaniam V.
4	" Adinarayan Chettiar T.	13	"	Bhasyam Ayyangar K.
5	" Ayyangar N. S.	14	"	Chokalingam K.
6	" Alagirisamy Naidu G.	15	"	Dokku Mohamed Ghouse Sahib
7	" Annasamy Ayyar P. K.	16	"	Doraisamy Ayyangar
8	" Appath Saghayam Ayyar	17	"	Ganghadar Shatry A. V.
9	" Appaji Reddir	18	"	Gopala Chettiar N. V.

Madras (Contd.)

19	Sjt.	Copala Krishna Ayyar	78	Sjt.	Ramchandia Ayyar K.
20	"	Dava Rajan A.	79	"	Ramchandra Chettiar T. A.
21	"	Gopalan P.	80	"	Ramchandra Naidu G.
22	"	Helalasundaram Mudaliar S. A.	81	"	Muthusamy Ayyar S.
23	"	Isma'il Sahib	82	"	Ramiah V.
24	"	Jamal Khan Sabeb E.	83	"	Ramamurthy Ayyar S.
25	"	Kilasam Chettiar M.	84	"	Rajan T. S. S.
26	"	Kandasamy Pillai	85	"	Ramathan S.
27	"	Karuppana Chettiar N. V.	86	"	Ramasamy M.
28	"	Karuppana Thevar V. K.	87	"	Ramasamy Odaiyar A. G.
29	"	C. V. Rajagopalachari	88	"	O. Ram'samy Reddiar
30	"	S. Kasturiranga Ayyangar	89	"	Renga Ramanuja Ayyangar
31	"	Somanatha Rao T. P.	90	"	Abdul Salam P.
32	"	Krishna Ayyar K. R. M.	91	"	Ren'samy Ayyar E.
33	"	Appavu Chettiar S. K.	92	"	Venkatram Ayyar
34	"	Krishnamachari N.	93	"	Sambaudham S.
35	"	Krishnamachari T. K.	94	"	Sambasiva Ayyar V.
36	"	Krishnamurthy V. A.	95	"	Sambasiva Ayyar M. R.
37	"	Krishnamurthy R.	96	"	Sampat Seit V. P.
38	"	Krishnasubba Ayyar K. S.	97	"	Sangameswar Chettiar P.
39	"	Krishnasamy Ayyar K. S.	98	"	Sankar Ayyar C. T.
40	"	Krishnasamy Ayyar T. S.	99	"	Sankararam Ayyar K. S.
41	"	Krishnasamy Sarma S.	100	"	Santanam K.
42	"	Kuppusamy Ayyar Y. S.	101	"	Satyamurthey
43	"	Mahadeva Ayyar T. R.	102	"	Kandasamy Solanga Devar.
44	"	Mohmed Ghouse M. N.	103	"	Rajamani Vyyar.
45	"	Mohmed Hussain	104	"	Janab Mohmed Shafi
46	"	Mohmed Maraikair K. M. P.	105	"	Sastri Dr. T. V. S.
47	"	Mohmed Mohideen V. K. N.	106	"	Sitaram Ayyar T. S.
48	"	Mohmed Sultan Saheb	107	"	Nanniappo P.
49	"	Margam Ayyar K. S.	108	"	Sivasubramaniam. N. S.
50	"	Maulana Moulvi Faziullah	109	"	M. D. Narasimha Chettiar
51	"	Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib	110	"	Srinivasa Ayyangar S.
52	"	Munisamy Gounder B.	111	"	Rengaramanuja Ayyangar.
53	"	Muthurama Ayyar K. S.	112	"	Srinivasan. S. V.
54	"	Narasimhachariar T. A.	113	"	Srinivasarao W. S.
55	"	Narayan Ayyangar	114	"	Subbaroyan N.
56	"	Narayanan N.	115	"	Srinivasagopalachariar
57	"	Narayanan S. T.	116	"	Subbarao T.
58	"	Narayanasamy Ayyar T. V.	117	"	Subramania Ayyer V. S.
59	"	Natrajan K.	118	"	Subramia Mudaliar U.
60	"	Natesa Ayyar S.	119	"	Subramanian K.
61	"	Palaniappa Asari	120	"	Subramanian K. S.
62	"	Panchapakesa Ayyar K.	121	"	Subramanai Nainar. S.
63	"	Sundaram T. R.	122	"	Janab Abdul Hamid N. P.
64	"	Parthasarathisamy.	123	"	Sundaram Pillai, P.
65	"	Patabiramlah M.	124	"	Subba Ayyar K. V.
66	"	Periasamy Reddiar L. M.	125	"	Surianaryana Ayyar E.
67	"	Pratap Narayan Vajpaye	126	"	Swaminathan S.
68	"	Raghav Ayyar V.	127	"	Syed Hamid Saheb.
69	"	N. Venkatavaradan	128	"	Somanatha Rao. T. P.
70	"	Mahadeva Rao K. S.	129	"	Thirukootasundaram Pillai
71	"	Reghuvan Dayalu Misra	130	"	Vadiraja Rao T. S.
72	"	Raghavan B. S. S.	131	"	Vaidynatha Ayyar V. R.
73	"	Rahiman Sheik M. A.	132	"	Varadachary N. S.
74	"	P. Abdul Malik	133	"	Vasudevan T. V.
75	"	Rajagopal Ayyangar	134	"	Vasudeva M. G.
76	"	Ramchandran T.	135	"	Venkatachalam Reddiar K. V.
77	"	Rajagopalan V. S.	136	"	Venkatakrishna Pillai, P. S.

Madras (Contd.)

137	Sjt.	Venkatrama Ayyar S.	146	Sjt.	Ayyar. E. L.
138	"	Venkatangam Naidu. C.	147	"	Halasyam. N.
139	"	Stimula Naidu T.	148	"	Kothandaraman P.
140	"	Vankatasamy Naidu A.	149	"	Nagaratinam A. S.
141	"	Vijayaraghavachariar C.	150	"	Rengasamy Ayyengar. A.
142	"	Visvanath Ayyar S.	151	"	Srinivasa Ayyar. T. K.
143	"	Ramachandra Rao. C. P.	152	"	Narayansami Rao.
144	"	Yegneswara Sarma K. P.	153	"	Abdul Majid Sahib.
145	"	W. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar	154	"	Ayyasamy Ayyar. V.

MAHARASHTRA

1	Shrimati	Dastane Varubai	46	Sjt.	Ganesh Sadashiv Altekar
2	"	Laxmibai Deodhekar	47	"	Date G. R.
3	"	Gunjetkar Rajubai	48	"	Davre V. B.
4	"	Jannabai S	49	"	Deo S. Dattotrya
5	"	Kshirsagar Venubai	50	"	Desai H. V.
6	Sjt.	Sadashiv Khande Altekar	51	"	Desai K. K.
7	"	Hari Krishna Abhyankar	52	"	Deshpande S. Abaji
8	"	Abhyankar Krishnaji Gangadhar	53	"	Deshpande S. G.
9	"	Athavle Rajaram Dattartya	54	"	Deshpande B. T.
10	"	Agarkar Sadashiv Damodar	55	"	Deshpande S. M.
11	"	Agafazal Ili A. Karim	56	"	Deshmukh D. H.
12	"	Aroskar Sitaram Pandurang	57	"	Divekar S. M.
13	"	Agarkar Narayan Laxman	58	"	Gujarathi K. K.
14	"	Ashtaputre Narayan Laxman	59	"	Dixit P. D.
15	"	Badrul Hassan	60	"	Divekar H. M.
16	"	Bagul Sadashiv Krishna	61	"	Deodhekar N. D.
17	"	Bal Pandurang Gopal	62	"	Dr. D. G. Abhyankar
18	"	Batane Ganpati D.	63	"	Dabu D. Gopal
19	"	Bavdekar Vinayak Vishwanath	64	"	Digambar Das
20	"	Bavadekar R. Hari	65	"	Fhaki Gulam Nabaru
21	"	Bhate Ganga lhar Ramchandra	66	"	Fhirodia K. S.
22	"	Bhide G. K.	67	"	Fhule B. Bhaurao
23	"	Bhide R. G.	68	"	Gadre Raghunath Hari
24	"	Bhilvadikar B. V.	69	"	Gadgil G. G.
25	"	Bochre V. Vasudeo	70	"	Gadgil V. B.
26	"	Badra V. Srichand	71	"	Gadgil N. V.
27	"	Boravankar M. B.	72	"	Gaikar R. B.
28	"	Boregaonkar Gopalrao	73	"	Gandhi B. Narayan
29	"	Bhat M. Damodar	74	"	Ghorpade S. M.
30	"	Bhat Ganesh Abbaji	75	"	Ganpat Raoji Vakil
31	"	Bhanushali M. B.	76	"	Ghate V. N.
32	"	Bhavsar T. T.	77	"	Gharpure D. R.
33	"	Bhave L. Keshav	78	"	Godbole K. P.
34	"	Bhopatkar L. B.	79	"	Gokhale D. V.
35	"	Chirmule V. G.	80	"	Gokhale V. R.
36	"	Chitale G. Y.	81	"	Gokhale H. K.
37	"	Chitale S. G.	82	"	Gogate G. R.
38	"	Dandekar K. M.	83	"	Gokhale S. H.
39	"	Dandekar B. V.	84	"	Gosavi M. R.
40	"	Damle V. K.	85	"	Govilhar M. V.
41	"	Damodar Bhagwan	86	"	Gujar M. V.
42	"	Datar V. K.	87	"	Gunjal M. V.
43	"	Datar Ambaka	88	"	Gune S. V.
44	"	Dastane V. V.	89	"	Sheth Abdulla Isack
45	"	Dastagir Gulam	90	"	Abdul Munaf Khudabax

Maharashtra (Contd.)

91	Sjt.	Gurjar G. N.	150	Sjt.	M. Hanuantsao
92	"	Pradhana R. Vithal	151	"	M. S. Shastri
93	"	Gulvi B. V.	152	"	Madoo M. H.
94	"	Gupte P. C.	153	"	Nahar S. B.
95	"	Gupte B. M.	154	"	Mahajan P. V.
96	"	Gujarathi M. C.	155	"	Mandlik R. N.
97	"	Hakim Ismail N.	156	"	Marathe B. J.
98	"	Hulyalkar D. R.	157	"	Mahishi A. R.
99	"	Inamdar V. N.	158	"	Mali M. K.
100	"	Jaju R. G.	159	"	Marulkar G. A.
101	"	Jape M. N.	160	"	Marvadi K. P.
102	"	Jagjivandas K.	161	"	Mehta B. L.
103	"	Javdekar S. D.	162	"	Mehta J. M.
104	"	Raghvendra	163	"	Modak H. V.
105	"	Jayachand Somchand	164	"	Maue K. P.
106	"	Jog N, S.	165	"	Mule B. V.
107	"	Joglekar K. B.	166	"	Mutha P. B.
108	"	Jog P. G.	167	"	Mutha M. K.
109	"	Joshi D. V.	168	"	Nadkarni S. R.
110	"	Joshi P. G.	169	"	Nagindas Vithaldas
111	"	Joshi P. V.	170	"	Naik V. R.
112	"	Joshi V. D.	171	"	Naik V. V.
113	"	Joshi H. R.	172	"	Naik V. S.
114	"	Joshi P. O.	173	"	Naik R. B.
115	"	Jeurkar M. D.	174	"	Phanse B. M.
116	"	Kambre H. L.	175	"	Nalk N. G.
117	"	Kale V. N.	176	"	Nakhave Y. L.
118	"	Kambre L. S.	177	"	Narayan Bhagwandas
119	"	Kanitkar G. N.	178	"	Nene Yeshwant Vishnu
120	"	Kalekar U. B.	179	"	Patankar D. V.
121	"	Kalvankar S. R.	180	"	Nulkar Anant Krishnaji
122	"	Karulkar K. T.	181	"	Ogale Keshav Laxman
123	"	Karlekar M. G.	182	"	Patil Padmnappa S.
124	"	Kelkar N. C.	183	"	Parchure Balwant Vishnu
125	"	Keshaorao Vavil	184	"	Pathak Pandurang B.
126	"	Katkar V. G.	185	"	Pathak Shridhar Keshav
127	"	Karve M. V.	186	"	Patwardhan Sitaram P.
128	"	Khadkilkar R. G.	187	"	Pandit K. Vinayak
129	"	Khare A. N.	188	"	Pardeshi Gopalsingh S.
130	"	Khare S. R.	189	"	Riamal Hirji
131	"	Khatib S. Badesahib	190	"	Pranjpey L. Vishnu
132	"	Anant Sadashiv Altekar	191	"	Khare M. V.
133	"	Kohira A. V.	192	"	Patankar D. V.
134	"	Kirtane V. V.	193	"	Patel Vithalhbai
135	"	Kolvankar G. D.	194	"	Pranjpey S. Mahadeo
136	"	Koushalya G. B.	195	"	Phadke Vasudeo R.
137	"	Kulkarni D. B.	196	"	Phadke S. G.
138	"	Kaujalgi G. V.	197	"	Phadke Dattatraya K.
139	"	Kothari V. P.	198	"	Phadke S. K.
140	"	Kolhapatri M. M.	199	"	Phansalkar B. Hari
141	"	Kuber G. M.	200	"	Phadnis Anant V.
142	"	Ladlesahib Lalsahib	201	"	Pathak V. D.
143	"	Lagu B. C.	202	"	Rajwade Vishnu R.
144	"	Lele M. C.	203	"	Rajwade R. S.
145	"	Lele M. V.	204	"	Rajorkar Kashinath V.
146	"	Limaye V. G.	205	"	Ram Gopal
147	"	Limaye D. H.	206	"	Rangrao Vakil
148	"	Limaye V. P.	207	"	Ardesar Rustomji
149	"	Lohokare L. G.	208	"	Sagar Arjun G.

Maharashtra (Contd.)

209	Sjt.	Ali Sardar Sheikh Hussain	237	Sjt.	Tanankar Vithal G.
210	"	Sathe Dattatraya Vasudeo	238	"	Tilak Govind Krishna
211	"	Sahasrabudhe C. N.	239	"	Tuljaram Mehta
212	"	Sahasrabudhe S. B.	240	"	Tulpule Hai Vithal
213	"	Samant J. N.	241	"	Thosar S. L.
214	"	Saptarshi C. M.	242	"	Udgaonkar M. B.
215	"	Samant Eapuji N.	243	"	Upadhye V. P.
216	"	Saptarshi P. M.	244	"	Vaisbampayan P. R.
217	"	Saraswat D. Narayan	245	"	Vaidya Tuljashanker D.
218	"	Sethe Pandurang Mahadeo	246	"	Va'abhdas Ranchhoddas
219	"	Satavalekar Shripad D.	247	"	Vani Dulabhadas V.
220	"	Shah B. B.	248	"	Virkar M. Bajaji
221	"	Shah Manikchand V.	249	"	Phadke D. G.
222	"	Shah V. Deochand	250	"	Vandrekar D. N.
223	"	Saligram V. Vinayak	251	"	Vagha Lakshman S.
224	"	Sethe D. Amvatrao Patil	252	"	Mahabal K. B.
225	"	Shiralkar P. Keshao	253	"	Naik N. G.
226	"	Shri Kishen	254	"	Joshi G. S.
227	"	Shikbare Balkrishna V.	255	"	Guve J. G.
228	"	Shroff C. R.	256	"	Gandhi H. D.
229	"	Siddiq Abdul Alim	257	"	Nanal B. R.
230	"	Sukralla M. Mir	258	"	Bhatt G. D.
231	"	Sardeshmukh V. G.	259	"	Gujar S. K.
232	"	Sulakhe Dattatraya U.	260	Srimati.	Vad Gangabai
233	"	Surajmal Govindram	261	"	Pandit Tarabai K.
234	"	Surnis Gopal Dhondo	262	"	Nene Durgabai Ganesh
235	"	Soman Ramchandra G.	263	"	Indumatibai Naik
236	"	Talathi L. Govind			

PUNJAB

1	Srimati	Amar Kaur	29	Sjt.	Nasir Ali Khan
2	"	Bhag Devi	30	"	Hans Raj
3	"	Mrs. Desai	31	"	Abdul Khan
4	"	Maya Devi	32	"	Ahmed Hussein Josh
5	"	Mrs. Satyapal	33	"	Swami Gyananand
6	"	Mrs. Hans Raj	34	"	Anait Ullah
7	"	Lajavati	35	"	Amrat Rai
8	"	Parmeshwari	36	"	Prananath Sondhi
9	"	Krishna Kumari Santanam	37	"	Amar Nath
10	"	Pushpawati	38	"	Anand Mohan
11	"	Puran Devi	39	"	Amar Nath
12	"	Sohan Devi	40	"	Girdharilal
13	"	Sarla Devi Choudhrani	41	"	Agia Ram
14	"	Miss Ratan Devi	42	"	Agha Mohamed Safdar
15	"	Miss Gopa Devi	43	"	Amarsingh Jahbal
16	"	Mrs. Gangadhar Rai	44	"	Abdul Rahman Gaji
17	"	Kausalya Devi	45	"	Abdul Rashid
18	"	Ram Piari Devi	46	"	Balanti Ram
19	Sjt.	Amir Chand	47	"	Bhagat Ram
20	"	Anand Kishore	48	"	Balak Ram
21	"	Abdul Majid	49	"	Bishendas
22	"	Ahmed Khan	50	"	Beli Ram
23	"	Jagadish Singh	51	"	Baldev Singh
24	"	Anait Ullah Khan	52	"	Bhimsen Sachhar
25	"	Mangat Sani	53	"	Bodh Raj
26	"	Amar Nath Dud	54	"	Bodh Raj
27	"	Gangaram	55	"	Bishen Das
28	"	Ajab Singh	56	"	Bhola Nath

Punjab (Contd.)

57	Sjt.	Bishesharnath	117	Sjt.	Devi Das
58	"	Baikunth Nath	118	"	Shankar Nath
59	"	Lala Sen	119	"	Dina Mal
60	"	Bishen Das	120	"	Duni Chand
61	"	Bodh Raj Shah	121	"	Durga Das
62	"	Brij Lal	122	"	Desai K. A.
63	"	Balvant Singh	123	"	Daud Gajnavi
64	"	Sukh Dial	124	"	Fazal Ahmed Hafiz
65	"	Amir Chand	125	"	Dhan Raj
66	"	S. Harnam Singh	126	"	Fateh Chand
67	"	Lalchand Gupta	127	"	Feros Chand
68	"	Banke Dayal	128	"	Sarb Sukh
69	"	Bhagat Ram	129	"	Gopichand Kapur
70	"	Badri Prasad	130	"	Fakir Chand
71	"	Bhandu Ram	131	"	Bhag Sudi
72	"	Bhambaram	132	"	Faizullah Khan
73	"	Bhagat Ram	133	"	Jagannath
74	"	Birdhi Chand	134	"	Fakir Ahmed Khan
75	"	Dr. Bashir	135	"	Faujdar Singh
76	"	Barkat Ullah Qureshi	136	"	Atma Ram
77	"	Bodh Raj	137	"	Feroj Din Rana
78	"	Bishen Das	138	"	Hakim Khulla Daud Khan
79	"	Bir Singh	139	"	Gopal Singh
80	"	Bhagwan Sarup	140	"	Sonalal
81	"	Bhagwan Das Agarwala	141	"	Gokal Chand Chopra
82	"	Bashambher Nath Mehta	142	"	Ganesh Das
83	"	Ganpat Rai	143	"	Ganga Ram
84	"	Chunilal	144	"	Gulam Rahiuddin
85	"	Bhagwati	145	"	Gurdas Singh
86	"	Chint Ram Thapur	146	"	Gurbux Singh
87	"	Chaju Ram	147	"	Gulam Husein
88	"	Chiranjil Lal	148	"	Gulam Hyder
89	"	Chirangit Lal	149	"	Govind Ram
90	"	Chiranjilal Prabhakar	150	"	L. Krishna Lal Malhotra
91	"	Chunilal Bani	151	"	Gobind Ram Sethi
92	"	Chunilal Malik	152	"	Abdul Ghani
93	"	Chaman Lal	153	"	Hari Chand
94	"	Chandra Sen	154	"	Ganga Sahai
95	"	Murari Singh	155	"	Gopal Lal
96	"	Chander Bhan	156	"	Gaurishanker
97	"	Chaji Ram	157	"	Gulam Bhik
98	"	Ali P. Singh	158	"	Ganpat Rai
99	"	Daulat Ram	159	"	Asgar Ali
100	"	Daulat Ram	160	"	Gurdit Singh
102	"	Dhanpat Rai	161	"	Girdhari Lal
103	"	Dev Raj	162	"	Gopal Singh
104	"	Balak Ram	163	"	Gogan Singh
105	"	Devi Prasad	164	"	Gurdayal Singh
106	"	Mulk Raj	165	"	Gurubux Singh
107	"	Durga Das Vaid	166	"	Gupna Singh
108	"	Ajaib Singh	167	"	Gulam Mohamed
109	"	Mohan Lal	168	"	Munshi Ram
110	"	Dewan Chand	169	"	Gian Prakash
111	"	Durga Das	170	"	V. D. S. Iyengar
112	"	Daulatram Bhandari	171	"	Girdhari Lal
113	"	Keshonath	172	"	Hazura Singh
114	"	Shamlal	173	"	Gurditta Mal
115	"	Des Raj	174	"	Ghansham Das
116	"	Daulat Ram	175	"	Gurdit Singh

Punjab (Contd.)

176	Sjt.	Hansha Chandra	236	Sjt.	Amir Chand
177	"	Hans Raj	237	"	Kalyan Das
178	"	Harbans Rai Dongra	238	"	Brijlal Mehta
179	"	Hari Chand	239	"	Kahan Chand
180	"	Surdas Das	240	"	Kalu Ram
181	"	Hansraj Bhandari	241	"	Kirpa Ram
182	"	Kashi Ram Sethi	242	"	Katumal Paudit
183	"	Hari Mohan Chatterjee	243	"	Karam Chand Shukla
184	"	H. N. Mukerjee	244	"	Hasham Din
185	"	Hans Raj Doctor	245	"	Bhai Surat Singh
186	"	Hakam Chand Gupta	246	"	Dwarkanath
187	"	Hamam Din	247	"	Karam Singh
188	"	Hans Raj	248	"	Rama Sharma Shet
189	"	Hari Chand	249	"	Harnam Deo
190	"	Hardayal Sarma	250	"	Sardar Khatak Singh
191	"	Har Dev Singh	251	"	Kewal Krishn
192	"	Harbans Lal	252	"	Kishen Singh
193	"	Hans Raj	253	"	Kashi Ram
194	"	Amanullah Khan	254	"	Lachhman Das
195	"	Makhanlal	255	"	Lachhmi Chand
196	"	Isher Singh	256	"	Labhu Ram
197	"	Habi Bux	257	"	Lak Nath
198	"	Isher Das	258	"	Butaram Kalia
199	"	Ikram Ulla Khan	259	"	Lal Chand
200	"	Indrajit	260	"	L. Chand Hans Raj
201	"	Abdul Hakim	261	"	Lal Chand Falak
202	"	Janki Persad	262	"	Mangalsen
203	"	Phulachand	263	"	Ladha Ram
204	"	Radha Krishna	264	"	Labh Singh
205	"	Des Raj	265	"	Walait Beg
206	"	Jwala Ram Sikri	266	"	Parsasingh
207	"	Jasvant Singh Bhagat	267	"	Paharchand
208	"	Jagat Narain Chopra	268	"	Latif Hussein
209	"	Jugal Kishore	269	"	Labh Singh
210	"	Jaitanand	270	"	Lachman Das
211	"	Jagjit Singh	271	"	Lalchand Khanna
212	"	Ratan Lal	272	"	Lalkhan Malik
213	"	Khusi Ram	273	"	Mohamed Yakub
214	"	Jasvant Singh	274	"	Mohan Lal
215	"	Jamna Das Bajaj	275	"	Mohiuddin
216	"	Balakshan	276	"	Mohan Singh
217	"	Jagat Singh	277	"	Mukt Rai
218	"	Jasvant Rai	278	"	Mohamed Nazir
219	"	Joti Sarup	279	"	Mukand Lal
220	"	Juggannath	280	"	Govind Kaur
221	"	Arjan Dev	281	"	Makhanlal
222	"	Kishen Das	282	"	Chatar Singh
223	"	Kirpal Singh	283	"	Atunosh Choudhuy
224	"	Karta Ram	284	"	Mull Raj
225	"	Khairati Ram	285	"	Hansa Raj
226	"	Krishna Gopal Chodhari	286	"	Mohan Lal Malik
227	"	Kishen Chand	287	"	Man Singh
228	"	Zahur Shah	288	"	Matu Ram
229	"	Kishen Singh	289	"	Man Singh
230	"	Kundan Lal	290	"	M. A. Khan
231	"	Kishen Dass Kohli	291	"	Tola Ram
232	"	Karam Chand	292	"	Mela Ram Puri
233	"	Khem Singh	293	"	Manztr Ali
234	"	Nathu Rao	294	"	Jagannath Kohli
235	"	Kahan Chand Sharma	295	"	Megh Singh
			296	"	Mul Raj
			297	"	Mul Raj Ganda Mal
			298	"	Mohan Lal

Punjab (Contd.)

299	Sjt.	Malik Mohamed Ansil Ullah	351	Sjt.	Ram Rakh Mai
300	"	Manohar Lal	362	"	Ramji Lal
301	"	Moti Ram Chawla	363	"	Raja Ram
302	"	Malik Madan Mohan	364	"	Husain Jafari
303	"	Lal Thakur Datta	365	"	Rahim Bax Khoj
304	"	Muki Dharia Bux	366	"	L. Hushnak Rai
305	"	Mohamed Alam	367	"	Radha Kishen
306	"	Mohamed Munitaz Faruki	368	"	Rup Narain
307	"	Mohamed Sarif Saheb	369	"	Raghubir Singh
308	"	Devi Datta Mall	370	"	Ramlal Kapur
309	"	Mohan Singh	371	"	Rudra Sen
310	"	Moti Ram Chawala	372	"	Ram Piar Mal
311	"	Natha Singh	373	"	Ram Kumar
312	"	Nathu Singh	374	"	Ram Das
313	"	Nanak Chand	375	"	Ram Kishen Baxi
314	"	Nand Lal	376	"	Ram Gopal
315	"	Lal Bihari Lal	377	"	Ruplal Puri
316	"	Nand Lal	378	"	Ranshan das Sheth
317	"	Nasur Ullah Rehman Aziz	379	"	Radha Kishen
318	"	Nandlal Kohli	380	"	Krishnalal
319	"	Vishnu Datta	381	"	RachchawalSingh
320	"	Naziz Hussein	382	"	Ram Pershad
321	"	Nand Gopal	383	"	Raghubir Dayal Bhargav
322	"	Nehal Chand	384	"	Ratti Ram
323	"	Wazir Chand	385	"	Narayanrao
324	"	Panatal	386	"	Ram Chand Gonda
325	"	Nasun Nihal	387	"	Bulaki Ram
326	"	Nand Lal	388	"	Ram Nath
327	"	Nand Lal	389	"	Ram Kishan
328	"	Nehal Singh	390	"	Ramji Das
329	"	Uttamchand Aibet	391	"	Rambhuj Datt Choudhary
330	"	Khaja Mohamed Said	392	"	Rachchi Ram Sahani
331	"	Mela Ram	393	"	Shesh Ram
332	"	Nasik Chand	394	"	Ganga Ram
333	"	Shemlal	395	"	Shiv Kumar
334	"	Niranjan Prasad	396	"	Satyanand
335	"	Nadan Singh Alam	397	"	Satya Pal
336	"	Pohlo Ram	398	"	Sunder Singh
337	"	Pancham Chandra	399	"	Mathura Das Malik
338	"	Bishend's	400	"	Permanand
339	"	Paras Ram	401	"	Deo Raj
340	"	Pirthoi Chand Chhadah	402	"	Sevak Ram
341	"	Chhabil Deo	403	"	Shiri Nath
342	"	Pindi Das	404	"	Shiv Dev Singh
343	"	Pindi Das	405	"	Sunder Das
344	"	Benarashi Das	406	"	Sham Deo
345	"	Puran Chand	407	"	Swadesh Pal
346	"	Abinashi Ram	408	"	Sant Ram Sahani
347	"	Pirthi Singh	409	"	Shfi Ram Trivedi
348	"	Pirzada Valli Ullah	410	"	Shanti Sarup
349	"	Deshbandhu	411	"	Shanti Narayan
350	"	Prem Singh Sodhmal	412	"	Shiv Dyal
351	"	Ralya Ram Satdhari	413	"	Sharif Ahmed
352	"	Ram Phool Singh	414	"	Sewa Singh
353	"	Ram Narain	415	"	Har Narayan
354	"	Raghu Nath	416	"	Shiv Dayal
355	"	Ram Chand	417	"	Sohan Lal
356	"	Ram Das Chhokra	418	"	Sant Ram Sheth
357	"	Ramanand Swami	419	"	Sant Ram Arora
358	"	Rura Ram	420	"	Saling Ram
359	"	Kashi Ram	421	"	Pratap Singh
360	"	Ram Kishen	422	"	Sarujiddin
			423	"	Shambhu Des

Punjab (Contd.)

424	Sjt.	Sita Ram	471	Sjt.	Lokchand
425	"	Shiv Ram	472	"	Sunder Dass
426	"	Sunderlal Puri	473	"	Govind Rao
427	"	Suraj Bhan	474	"	Lala Bunkilal
428	"	Mahesh	475	"	Mahadeo Das
429	"	Sant Singh	476	"	Mahadev Das
430	"	Sham Sunder	477	"	Abdul Gafur Khan
431	"	Shiv Dyal	478	"	Tulshidas
432	"	Syed Ismail	479	"	Mohan Singh
433	"	Fakir Chand Suri	480	"	Bikramlal Sundhi
434	"	Shiv Nath Raj	481	"	Gadhare Raj
435	"	Sunder Das	482	"	Ratidev Sundhi
436	"	Somnath Chandan	483	"	Sohan Singh
437	"	Seva Ram	484	"	Thakar Singh
438	"	Siraj Din	485	"	P. Lalchamandas
439	"	Bhog Ram	486	"	S. Sant Singh
440	"	Gaurilal	487	"	Rana Kishan
441	"	Sham Lal	488	"	Permanand
442	"	Abdul Aziz	489	"	Ram Piaralal
443	"	Tej Bhan	490	"	Rati Ram
444	"	Tikam Lal	491	"	S. M. Bali
445	"	Thakern Nitt	492	"	Ahiuddin
446	"	Tafzul Hussain	493	"	Mandharial
447	"	Narayandas	494	"	Lalchand
448	"	Tara Chand	495	"	Khan Chand
449	"	Prem Nath	495	"	Bramhiraj Jairamdas
450	"	L. Ramnand	497	"	Attanulah Khan
451	"	Thakar Singh	498	"	Abdul Quadir
452	"	Tilok Chandra Kapur	499	"	Atanulah Shah
453	"	Tehl Singh	500	"	Behari Lal
454	"	Rattan Singh	501	"	Bishendas
456	"	Vidyanand	502	"	Chandar Bhan
457	"	Ram Lal	503	"	Dina Nath
458	"	Bholanath	504	"	Aulat Ram
459	"	Wadhwa Ram	505	"	Karam Chand
460	"	Wahabuddin	506	"	Sardar Keshar Singh
461	"	Zahur Ahmed	507	"	Kahan Chand
462	"	Sardarni Prakash Kar	508	"	Hukmi Chand
463	"	Achcheb Rassel	509	"	Kala Ram
464	"	Govind Ram	510	"	Abdul Haq
465	"	M. Abdullah	511	"	L. Kishori Lal
466	"	Syed Nizamuddin	512	"	A. M. John
467	"	Swami Satchidananda Sanyasi	513	"	Abdul Rashid
468	"	Lala Bhagat Ram	514	"	S. Avtar Singh
469	"	Lala Chand	515	"	S. Attar Singh
470	"	Ghadi Ra	516	"	Abdul Rashid Pirzada

SINDH

1	Shrimati	Saraswati Devi			
2	"	Saraswati Devi	10	Sjt.	Chimnadas Isherdas
3	Sjt.	Mangharan	11	"	Choitram Partabrai
4	"	Kazi Abdul Rahman	12	"	Dhalomal Kishinchand
5	"	A. M. Ahmed	13	"	Bhojraj Sacharand
6	"	Pir Ali Anvar Shah	14	"	Fatehchand Bijesingh
7	"	Aminuddin Najmuddin	15	"	Pararam V. Thairamani
8	"	Syed Assadullahshah	16	"	Ghanshyam Jethanand
9	"	Bhojraj Motumal Ajwani	17	"	Seth Haji Abdullah Haroon
			18	"	Haji Ghulam Hussein Kasim

Sindh (Contd.)

19	Sjt.	Pir Illahibux Navazali Shah	41	Sjt.	Seth Narayan as Adnandji
20	"	D. E. Parmanand	42	"	Narayandas Thakurdas
21	"	Jashanmal Ramchand	43	"	Bhai Nevandram Tirthamal
22	"	Jhamatmal Lakhasingh	44	"	Nikchadas Maharsingh
23	"	I. W. Raisinghani	45	"	Pir Nuruddin Shah
24	"	Kazi Khudabax Nabibux	46	"	Khemchand
25	"	Bhai Koudumal Hoiromal	47	"	Bhai Pokardas Gellanand
26	"	Lalchand A. Jagtiani	48	"	Ramchand Bhojraj
27	"	Lilaram N. Pherwani	49	"	Shankarlal Ratanlal
28	"	Maharaj Lokram Nainiram Sharma	50	"	Abdul Jabar Mohamed Yakoob
29	"	Syed Mahbubali Shah Sardasrali	51	"	Moulvi Abdul Karim Chisti
30	"	Syed Mahbubshah	52	"	Sobhraj Dwarkadas Vutecha
31	"	Manilal J. Vyas	53	"	Sukhramdass S. Tounmalani
32	"	Manohardass Kauromal	54	"	Sheth Sunderdas Vallabhdass
33	"	Mansing Chuharmal	55	"	Pandit Udheban
34	"	Meghraj Chainrai	56	"	Vattamal Gulabrai
35	"	Metharam Isherdass	57	"	Kunwar Veenjhranj Ranchorsingh
36	"	Pir Mithal Shah	58	"	Verhomal Begraj Bhurani
37	"	Mir Allabux Talpur	59	"	Pir Ziauddin Ashidalla Shah
38	"	Pir Mohamed Ali Jan Harahandi	60	"	Changomai Chothiram
39	"	Motiram Wadhupal	61	"	Verhomal
40	"	Mulchand Pesumal			

U. P.

1	Sjt.	Chait Behar	35	Sjt.	Ram Gopal
2	"	Mahabir	36	"	Suraj Prasad
3	"	Bramha Datt	37	"	Ram Singh
4	"	Mukendlal	38	"	Deo Pal Singh
5	"	Maulana Hasrat Mohani	39	"	Shri Ram Tripathi
6	"	Sadanandji	40	"	Taj Singh
7	"	Vishwambhar Nath Bajpeya	41	"	Fakir Hussain
8	"	Ambika Rao	42	"	Har Bilas
9	"	Melaram	43	"	Dr. Nandalal
10	"	Nasir Ahmed	44	"	Pannalal Pucharua
11	"	Nawab Ali	45	"	Choudhary Abdul Majid
12	"	Sarfarad Ali	46	"	Motiram
13	"	Jaya Dyal	47	"	Balvant Singh
14	"	Jaya Narayan Chaudhary	48	"	Rakheshwar Prasad
15	"	Abdus Salam	49	"	Hardwari Singh
16	"	A. G. Kher	50	"	Jagadishwaranand Swami
17	"	R. V. Dhulekar	51	"	Lala Jhamanlal
18	"	B. M. Tivari	52	"	Lala Jhamanlal
19	"	A. M. Hayat	53	"	Lala Jialal
20	"	B. Shivprasad Gupta	54	"	Shah Mahomad Hussain
21	"	Narendra Deo	55	"	Shah Nazir Hussain
22	"	Ram Kis'hor Lal	56	"	Pannalal
23	"	Azad Sobani	57	"	Swami Prakashanandji
24	"	M. Rafi Ahmed	58	"	Pandit Ramchandra
25	"	Fazlul Rahman	59	"	Shekh Zahur Ahmed
26	"	H. Abdul Quaic	60	"	Madhusudan Gusain
27	"	Swami Satya Deo	61	"	Bannumal
28	"	Ajin Ali	62	"	Dinkar Sharma
29	"	Ganesh Prasad	63	"	Har Saran Das
30	"	Manilal	64	"	Fakaruddin Faruki
31	"	Kunvar Bahadur	65	"	Shankarlal Arhati
32	"	Shri Kishen Chand	66	"	Harnarayan Gorhar
33	"	Mul Chand	67	"	Nihal Kumar Sndyal
34	"	Piara Lal	68	"	M. P. Varma

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69	Sjt.	Prayag Das	129	Sjt.	Tapel Swani
70	"	Karori Mal	130	"	Raghubir Dayal
71	"	Shiv Charan Singh	131	"	Rameshwar Singh
72	"	Gulam Haider Khan	132	"	Raghubir Dayal
73	"	Baijnath Singh	133	"	Tej Bhadur
74	"	Muni Ram	134	"	Dr. Tandon
75	"	Mohanlal	135	"	Girdhar Gopal
76	"	Damodar Joshi	136	"	Biharilal
77	"	Dharmavir Singh	137	"	Ganesh Prasad
78	"	Lalita Prasad Singh	138	"	D. Rayol
79	"	Raghunath Prasad	139	"	Tej Pal Singh
80	"	Mahavir Prasad	140	"	Dwarka Prasad
81	"	Baldeo Das	141	"	Sardarul Bagala
82	"	Damodar Das	142	"	Bishambhar Nath
83	"	Shiv Singh	143	"	Raghunandan B.
84	"	Vishwambar Singh	144	"	Gopinath Vaishya
85	"	Yagna Narayan Upadhyaya	145	"	Triveni Sahaya Mishra
86	"	Mahomad Daud	146	"	Khavar Mal Choudhary
87	"	Dr. Abdul Karim	147	"	N. N. Sen
88	"	Majit Singh	148	"	Brij Mohanlal
89	"	Lachumal	149	"	Mahomed Zahuruddin
90	"	Mahomed Kasim	150	"	Moti Singh
91	"	Ram Shankar Abasthi	151	"	Bankelaji
92	"	Govind Belon Pant	152	"	Rambhajan Lal
93	"	Gunnu Raghuvir Dayal	153	"	Ramnarayan Khanna
94	"	Harishchandra	154	"	Shishupal Singh
95	"	Naler Mahomad Khan	155	"	Bhagwan Singh
96	"	Madanlal	156	"	Bansidhar Pathak
97	"	Mohanlal	157	"	Kali Charan Agarwala
98	"	Girjanandan	158	"	Takayat Ram Varma
99	"	Gusain Singh Thakur	159	"	Safi Ullah Khan
100	"	Balram Chandra	160	"	Ram Nandan Fande
101	"	Hanuman Singh	161	"	Jaykumar Sharma
102	"	Surendra Nath Mishra	162	"	Pandit Jhokharam Mishra
103	"	Vasi Suddin Ahmed	163	"	Keshav Prasad Upadhyaya
104	"	Sitaram	164	"	Eadri Prasad
105	"	Khishanand Uprati	165	"	Thakur Prasad
106	"	Bhokan Singh	166	"	Balmukund Malaviya
107	"	Inammulla	167	"	Sarjoo Prasad
108	"	Hasan Musanna	168	"	Mohamed Abdul Rashid
109	"	Irshad Ullah Khan	169	"	Agta Ali Khan
110	"	Janki Das	170	"	Abdul Samad
111	"	Jyoti Prasad	171	"	Mathura Datta Joshi
112	"	Babu Ram	172	"	Badar Singh
113	"	Sheb Chandra	173	"	Balmukund Sahai
114	"	Mahomad Mumtaj Ali	174	"	Devi Das
115	"	Haji Bullah	175	"	Haji Lal
116	"	Megh Raj Singh	176	"	Ibrahim Khan
117	"	Indra Man	177	"	Narain Sahai
118	"	Ram Shankar	178	"	Mangal Sen
119	"	Badrul Hussain	179	"	Shyama Charan
120	"	Shankar Datt Pandit	180	"	Ramnarayan Misra
121	"	Abul B. Sakula	181	"	Ram Bahadur
122	"	Mumtaj Ali	182	"	Raj Kumar
123	"	Mahomed Ali Shah	183	"	Shatrughna
124	"	Bahan Singh	184	"	Tulsi Ram
125	"	Chandrika Prasad	185	"	Hakim Abdul Sattar Khan
126	"	Natharam Vaishya	186	"	Achal Singh Seth
127	"	Malik Abdullah	187	"	Abdul Said
128	"	Hemchand Joshi			

U. P. (Contd.)

188	Sjt.	Azamat Ali Shah	247	Sjt.	Mohamed Athar
189	"	L. Baluram	248	"	Aziz Ahmed Zuberi
190	"	Janki Parsad	249	"	Bansilal Sevak
191	"	Hakim Hayat Khan	250	"	Shib Lal
192	"	Hakim Illies Mohamed Khan	251	"	Kunwar Madho Singh
193	"	Thakur Ram Singh	252	"	Ganga Singh
194	"	Shiv Charan Lal	253	"	Sheo Charan Lal
195	"	Shivchand Dhenuria	254	"	Pandit Baldeo Prasad
196	"	Ziaul Islam	255	"	Dr. Pearey Lal
197	"	Master Yakub Ali Khan	256	"	Ananda Sahu
198	"	Sheoram Rao Lautia	257	"	Badri Prasad Panda
199	"	Hemchand Joshi	258	"	Ghulam Mabsan
200	"	Krishnanand Uprati	259	"	Goreri Ram
201	"	Madhusudan Gusain	260	"	Laxmi Narayan Tandan
202	"	Mathura Datta Joshi	261	"	Ghisiawan Bharti
203	"	Hargovind Pant	262	"	Mahant Sheo Raza Bharti
204	"	Pranlal	263	"	Mahavir Sahai
205	"	L. Harakrishna Malhotra	264	"	Mahadeo Ram
206	"	Lal Mursda Lal	265	"	Pabeshurai Pandit
207	"	L. Shyam Lal Vaishya	266	"	Syam Sunder
208	"	Lala Hakim Lal	267	"	Mohamed Hafiz
209	"	Anand Swarup Gupta	268	"	Tula Ram
210	"	L. Raj Kishore	269	"	Mathura Prasad
211	"	Banarashilaji Kokashia	270	"	Bhupal Krishna Bhatnagar
212	"	Bhagvati Sahai Bedar	271	"	Raghubir Saran
213	"	Bishanchandra	272	"	Bishambhernath
214	"	Deva Dutta	273	"	Nathu Chanju
215	"	Harilal	274	"	P. Pyarelal
216	"	Madan Mohan	275	"	Shareful Hasan
217	"	Kaviri-ul-raza-khan	276	"	Raghubir Pershad
218	"	Ramprasad Bismil	277	"	Liladhar
219	"	Ragunath Sahai	278	"	L. Lakshmi Narayan
220	"	Prithvi Nath	279	"	Fufail Mohamad Khan
221	"	Sadhoolal	280	"	L. Keshavram
222	"	Saligram Vaid	281	"	Munshilal Sidh
223	"	Sidheshavari Singh	282	"	Raghubir Saran
224	"	Jantri Prasad	283	"	Umrao Singh
225	"	M. Jagannath	284	"	Shyamsundar Pande
226	"	Benichand Sette	285	"	Abdul Jaffar
227	"	Farruiddin Ahmed	286	"	Hayat Mohamed
228	"	Dr. S. N. Bussa	287	"	Ajirullah
229	"	Baija Nath Prasad	288	"	Mohmed Wasim
230	"	B. Sanganlal Wakil	289	"	Mohamed Hebeeb
231	"	Bansi Dhar Misra	290	"	Devi Din
232	"	Pyare Lal	291	"	Pannalal Vaisa
233	"	Abdul Jahhur Khan	292	"	Khwaja Khaleed Abued
234	"	Abdul Latif	293	"	Binda Singh
235	"	Amichand	294	"	Jalpa Prasad
236	"	Bishamber Nath	295	"	Dr. Jaikaran Nath
237	"	Nemi Sarma	296	"	Md. Shafi
238	"	Mazhar-ud-din	297	"	Kirti Prakasha
239	"	Sahid Hussain	298	"	Raghuandan Singh
240	"	Lala Thakurdas	299	"	Ram Lal
241	"	Kazi Adil Madina	300	"	Razarat Hassan
242	"	Bhagwati Parshad	301	"	Janki Prasad
243	"	Ashafaq Ali	302	"	Anmole Singh
244	"	Balmukund Gupta	303	"	Sh. Faizul Hasan
245	"	Hardeoprasad	304	"	Deva Kanta Jha
246	"	Hati Lal Daas	305	"	Shambhu Gopal Gupta

U. P. (Contd.) :

305	Sjt.	Thakur Megh Singh	365	Sjt.	Ali Afzal Malik
307	"	Jiwa Ram Paliwal	366	"	Azhar Hussain
308	"	G. H. Vinchurkar	367	"	Badshah Hussain
309	"	Thakur Aamba Prasad	368	"	Qumar Alam
310	"	Jurawan Misra	369	"	Badruddin
311	"	Suryanarayan Tripathy	370	"	Shanker Lal
312	"	Surjan Man	371	"	Mohamed Ahmed
313	"	A. Latif Pusain	372	"	Hakim Zalid Khan
314	"	Purushottam Dass	373	"	Narayan Das Gupta
315	"	Ram Prasad	374	"	Nand Kishore
316	"	Moiuddin	375	"	Devi Prasad
317	"	Ram Khelwanjee	376	"	Seth Behari Lal
318	"	Dhirendra Najmudar	377	"	Shivavadan Singh
319	"	Ram Asharya Lal	378	"	Shiv Charan Dat
320	"	Tribeni Sahai	379	"	Thaneshwar Pandit Vaishya
321	"	Vidya Kant	380	"	Rampratap Singh
322	"	Laxmi Narayan	381	"	Vijendra Varma
323	"	Bachchu Lal	382	"	Abdul Hamid Khwaja
324	"	Suraj Mal	383	"	Bhagwati Prasad Pande
325	"	Kallu Mall	384	"	Bhagwati Sahai
326	"	Jaggiwan Laj	385	"	Chedda Singh
327	"	Kailash Bihari Misra	386	"	Gopeshwar Babu Misra
328	"	Mannalal	387	"	Navalkishore Gupta
329	"	Muktaprasad	388	"	Nawal Kishore
330	"	Pryag Singh	389	"	Niranjana Deva Sharma
331	"	Sant Lal	390	"	Haji Moosa Khan
332	"	Rajnarayan Pande	391	"	Krishna Pandit
333	"	Lakumi Shankar	392	"	K. Abdul Vahib Khan
334	"	Ram Bharose Tewari	393	"	Daulat Ram
335	"	Shamsar Girji	394	"	Vishambhar Dayal
336	"	Rajrang Lal	395	"	Uma Shankerivastave
337	"	Shrinaryan Pande	396	"	Nauik Prasad
338	"	Sudarshannarayan Pande	397	"	Jugal Kishore
339	"	Sri Nath	398	"	Kuar Jagannath
340	"	Bishambhet Lal	399	"	Sridharji
341	"	Lakshmi Narayan	400	"	Balmikji
342	"	Bishesan Dayal	401	"	Shiva Dayal
343	"	Madho Singh	402	"	Bankey Lal
344	"	Har Prasad	403	"	Hazari Lal
345	"	Abdul Salam	404	"	Manohar Singh
346	"	Babu Ram	405	"	Mulchand
347	"	Bashir Ahmed	406	"	B. Kedarnath Kapur
348	"	Behari Lal	407	"	Abdul Hamid
349	"	B. V. Narina	408	"	Swami Darshavnand
350	"	Pandit Bhoja Nath	409	"	Gulam Mall Halwai
351	"	Madan Mohan Varma	410	"	Rajaram Sharma
352	"	Abdul Kabir Kha	411	"	Maheswari Lal
353	"	Mohamed Shafi	412	"	Abdul Halami
354	"	Munshi Ahmed Khan	413	"	Abdul Kadir
355	"	Radhyalal	414	"	Fasiqzaman
356	"	Rudra Datta Bajpai	415	"	Bashir Ahmed Siddiqi
357	"	Raj Narain	416	"	B. Baijnath Pande
358	"	Shaber Hasain	417	"	Ram Govind Kal
359	"	Shiam Sunder Law	418	"	Hardev Lal
360	"	Tu'a Ram Joshi	419	"	Mohmed Ishiq
361	"	Abdul Aziz	420	"	Bhavani Prasad
362	"	Abdul Hussain	421	"	Ali Nagikhan
363	"	Bisambharnath	422	"	Siddheshwari Sinha
364	"	Amjad Hussain Chaudhary	423	"	Surya Praksaa Misra

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424	Sjt.	Devi Sinha Gupta	483	Sjt.	Dip Narayan Varma
425	"	Pandit Balkrishna Sharma	484	"	Jumna Parshad
426	"	Harischandra Bajpai	485	"	Har Gobind
427	"	Mohamed Hasan	486	"	Khaderan Sahu
428	"	Manilal	487	"	Lalapershad
429	"	Shamsuddin Ahmed	488	"	Bhataqi Ullah Khan
430	"	Shaumbhu Dayal Gupta	489	"	Ram Narayan
431	"	Shivapad Dvada	490	"	Buddhu Singh
432	"	Shankar Saran	491	"	Daumi Narayan
433	"	Vishambhar A. Tripathi	492	"	Ram Sanmukh Sukla
434	"	Anasuya Prasad	493	"	Rameshwar Pandit Sinha
435	"	Kishan Data Shukla	494	"	Riyasat Hussain
436	"	Jagannath Singh	495	"	Kasim Ali
437	"	Nihal Chandji	495	"	Lalji Trivedy
438	"	Lalarama	497	"	Chandi Prasad
439	"	Awantikaprasad Shukla	498	"	Abdn. Majid
440	"	P. Chantamani Pande	499	"	Moorul Hussein
441	"	P. Kanyalji	500	"	Shiva Narain
442	"	Mahesh Narayan Singh	501	"	Charanjilal Misra
443	"	Syed Ali	502	"	Gopal Dutt Bhut
444	"	Gopal Narayan Tandan	503	"	Khyali Ram
445	"	Baldeo Prasad	504	"	Krishna Narayan
446	"	Mohamed Asbaraf	505	"	Raja Ram
447	"	Bhagwandas	506	"	Nath Mal
448	"	Charuchandra Joshi	507	"	Bhawanishankar Tandan
449	"	Ashgar Ali	508	"	Boman Rai
450	"	Bhagwan Din	509	"	Amichand
451	"	Shri Ram	510	"	Basantrai Bhandari
452	"	Rajaram Bharati	511	"	Bhagwandin Misra
453	"	Shanku Datta	512	"	Bharat Das
454	"	Narayan	513	"	Jugal Bihari
455	"	Nandkishore	514	"	Mahadev Pandit
456	"	Sheth Narayan Das	515	"	Mohanend Upadhye
457	"	Amarnat Kapur	516	"	Murari Lal
458	"	Keshavdev Malaviya	517	"	Nand Kishore
459	"	Girdharilal	518	"	Ram Chander
460	"	Ramnarayan	519	"	Shiam Bihari Pande
461	"	Bhagwati Pindi	520	"	Jagat Narayan
462	"	Raghunath Pindi	521	"	Laxmi Narayan
463	"	Pandit Kanayalel	522	"	Brahmchari Chaitanya
464	"	Ramratan	523	"	Amritlal
465	"	Siddha Gopal Ojha	524	"	Krishna Lal
466	"	Lakshmi Chand	525	"	K. P. Mukerjee
467	"	Beharilal Gupta	526	"	Abdul Majid Khan Sherwani
468	"	Bachchu Singh	527	"	Master Narayan Das
469	"	Badri Prasad Gupta	528	"	Fida Ahmed Sherwani
470	"	Bal Bhadra Singh Kumar	529	"	Raja Ram
471	"	Attaullah	530	"	Hakim-Mohamed
472	"	Jagdish Bux Singh	531	"	Pandit Kirti Deva
473	"	Lalbehari Malhotra	532	"	Shivsaran Lal Dubey
474	"	Madho Prasad Pandit	533	"	Anand Ram
475	"	Manohar Lal Gupta	534	"	Dr. Girdhar Lal
476	"	Ramcharan Seth	535	"	Narayan Das Bhargav
477	"	Jhan Singh	536	"	Fasuzzamam Uahel
478	"	Chatra Singh	537	"	Basir Ahmed Saheb
479	"	Abdul Hamid Qamm	538	"	Randas
480	"	Abdur Rahman	539	"	Ram Swarup
481	"	Iibat Singh	540	"	Amichand Rai Johari
482	"	Pajarangi Sahu	541	"	Gulari Lal

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542	Sjt.	Abdul Rahman	601	Sjt.	Mahabir Prasad
543	"	Ram Chandra	602	"	Harchandi
544	"	Sohan Lal	603	"	Bhagwati Prasad Dube
545	"	Om Prakash	604	"	Suresh Datta
546	"	Mohamed Sharif	605	"	Hansraj
547	"	Ram Swarup	606	"	Maulana Mursbadali Nadir
548	"	Riyasul Mustafa	607	"	Syed Suleman Nadir
549	"	Baliguddin	608	"	Ramesh Chandra
550	"	Ahmed Said Khan	609	"	L. Chhedi Lal
551	"	Behari Lal	610	"	Parneswaridin
552	"	Hariman Malhotra	611	"	Radhelal
553	"	M. Nazir Hasan Khan	612	"	Zahur Ahmed
554	"	Lakhat Narayan Lal	613	"	B. Ram Saran
555	"	Nrapendra Narayan Indra	614	"	Udho Narayan
556	"	Pearelal Bhargava	615	"	B. Bishambhar Nath Gupta
557	"	Nirantra Devia	616	"	Rajendra Sharma
558	"	Ramesarnath	617	"	Prithvi Pal Singh
559	"	Balaqidas	618	"	Sardar Singh
560	"	Bhawani Shankar	619	"	Mathura Prasad
561	"	Sharma	620	"	Paras Rama
562	"	Ram Rakha Misra	621	"	Paisih Narayan
563	"	Laltaprasad	622	"	Thakur B. Pandit
564	"	Kanhaya Lal Chaudhary	623	"	Giradaya Chaudhary
565	"	Ramnaryan Agad	624	"	Jagmohanlal
566	"	Gulazari Lal Misra	625	"	Khyali Ram Pathak
567	"	Sahib Singh	626	"	Lalman Varma
568	"	Krishna Kuar	627	"	Abdul Rahman
569	"	Radha Krishna	628	"	Jiwan Lal
570	"	Bishambher Dayal	629	"	Gangaprasad
571	"	Abdul Jafaar Kazi	630	"	R. C. Kapoor
572	"	Vishwanath	631	"	Sheopaisingh
573	"	Gauri Shanker	632	"	S. Hasan
574	"	Ramgopal	633	"	Shfiquzaman
575	"	Raghunath Prasad	634	"	Pyareial Malhotra
576	"	Banarsi Prasa l	635	"	Banarsi Lal
577	"	Birendra Gupta	636	"	Kundan Lal
578	"	Bhudeva Vidyalkar	637	"	Dr. Kishanlal Nehru
579	"	Mir Mohamed	638	"	Mangla B. Sustash
580	"	Moazzam Ali	639	"	Aledullah
581	"	Yahaya Khan	640	"	Gobind Swami
582	"	Qamar Ahmed	641	"	Krishna Mohan
583	"	Nizamul Haq Razi	642	"	Bindachal Prasad
584	"	Mohamed Mustafa Qazi	643	"	Banwari Lal
585	"	Udi Bhan	644	"	Parmeshwari Dayal
586	"	Laxman Rao Kadam	645	"	Shukrullah
587	"	M. Sukhan Ali	646	"	Goswami Hemraj
588	"	Mohamed Ashaq.	647	"	Baijnath Tiwari
589	"	Saghir Ahmed	648	"	Vaidya Nath
590	"	Shri Ram Sharma	649	"	Shankerlal Jain
591	"	Tarachand	650	"	Mohamed Shakur
592	"	Basudeo Singh	651	"	Nandkishore
593	"	Jugal Kishore	652	"	Nazir Ali
594	"	Kundanlal Bharatsevak	653	"	Raghuraj Singh
595	"	L. Baburam Subodi	654	"	Rajkishore Singh
596	"	Swami Madhusudan Das	655	"	Sankata Choube
597	"	Mathura Prasad	656	"	Madanlal Kapoor
598	"	B. Sundaral Gupta	657	"	Abdul Samad Shaikh
599	"	Bhagwant Sarma	658	"	Abdul Masud Maulvi
600	"	Ram Swarup	659	"	Bechalal
			660	"	Chandrika Prasad

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661	Sjt.	Krishna Chandra	719	Sjt.	Zahur Ahmed
662	"	Balram Misra	720	"	Bhagirath Prasad
663	"	Asharfi Ram Gupta	721	"	Laxman Prasad
664	"	Mahant Sheoram Jiri	722	"	Siligram
665	"	Ramjas Misra	723	"	B. Agwan Sahaj
666	"	Maulvi Abdul Rahman	724	"	Pooran Singh
667	"	Bhagwatnarayan	725	"	Mohanlal
668	"	Har Prasad Zamidar	726	"	Jagat Narayan
669	"	Jaliluddin Ahmed	727	"	Baijnath Khatri
670	"	Mohamed Farooq	728	"	Jamunda Das
671	"	Nandkishore Kiledar	729	"	L. Sheo Dayal
672	"	Seth Nand Kishore	730	"	Natiul Rahmad
673	"	Prem Narayan Dubey	731	"	Chaman Maharaj
674	"	Ram Das Gurha	732	"	Krishnand Vakil
675	"	Sital Prasad	733	"	Raghunandan Pandit Misra
676	"	Ram Chandra	734	"	Jamna Prasad
677	"	Saryu Pande	735	"	Maulvi Manzkrat Nabi
678	"	Mahant Mahabir Das	736	"	Kanhyalal Trivedy
679	"	Saryu Pande	737	"	Chandi Prasad
680	"	Pandit Prasad Misra	738	"	Ghulam Sabir
681	"	Ram Subhag Das	739	"	Ratanlal Bazaj
682	"	Keshav Deo Sharma	740	"	Zakiuddin
683	"	Rama Pyareji	741	"	Ramdas Agarwal Seth
684	"	Ramajal Avasthi	742	"	Durgashanker Shukla
685	"	Rama Kishore Trivedi	743	"	Shadilal Sarma
686	"	Subha Ullah	744	"	Tribhuvannath
687	"	M. Abduj Majid	745	"	Ram Narayan Singh
688	"	Wasiqul Yaqsen	746	"	Ram Harakh Singh
689	"	Barak Ullah	747	"	Suraj Bux Singh
690	"	Fariduddin Ahmed	748	"	Ghulam Nabi
691	"	Sant Baksh Singh	749	"	Abdul Haje
692	"	Satrughna Singh	750	"	Keshawanand
693	"	Shripat Sahai	751	"	Maharaj Bahdur
694	"	Vaidya Nath Sharma	752	"	R. S. Sinha
695	"	Mul Chand	753	"	Omkareshwar
695	"	Haji Ayaz Ali	754	"	Narbadeshwar
697	"	Izzat Ali	755	"	Maheshchandra Dwivedi
698	"	Kishen Chand	756	"	Atma Ram
699	"	Hayat Mohamed	757	"	S. K. Dutt Paliwal
700	"	Munshi Budhulal	758	"	Dasiath Lal
701	"	Baburam Vaishya	759	"	Gangadhar Ganesh
702	"	Abdul Aziz Shahji	760	"	Manilal Abasthi
703	"	Badarul Hasan	761	"	Pieray Lal
704	"	Abdula Usman	762	"	Dig Vijay Singh
705	"	Badrul Hasan	763	"	Yagya Dutta Sharma
706	"	Syed Ahmed	764	"	Radhan Lal
707	"	Gajanand	765	"	Piary Lal Sharma
708	"	Swami Sahajanand Saraswati	766	"	Mathura Prasad
709	"	Gangaram	767	"	Lalchandra Paliwal
710	"	Manuram Rama	768	"	Kalichandra Mawar
711	"	Inderdeva Tripathi	769	"	Jawahar Singh
712	"	Harkishandas	770	"	K. Jaskaran Singh
713	"	Herdhyan Das	771	"	Jai Krishna Chaudhary
714	"	Gopi Krishna	772	"	Dinesh Chandra Chakraborty
715	"	Kashi Prasad	773	"	Choni Sukh Paliwal
716	"	Manulal	774	"	Brij Lal Paliwal
717	"	Dalaram	775	"	Bireshwar Singh
718	"	Ambika Prasad	776	"	Hannant Singh
			777	"	Kailash Chandra

U. P. (Contd.)

778	Sjt.	Laxminarayan Bajpai	833	Sjt.	Baijnath Singh
779	"	Mahabir Prasad Hajila	834	"	Ram Pirya Sharina
780	"	Ram Sanchi Lal	835	"	Syed L. Hussain
781	"	M. Hayat Ullah	836	"	Nawab Gulam Hussain
782	"	M. Oudhinarayan	837	"	Baijnath Sahai Bhatta
783	"	Ram Singh	838	"	Gopinath Srivastava
784	"	Chandmal	839	"	Maheshprasad
785	"	Disheswardayal	840	"	Manoharprasad Saksena
786	"	S. Kanta Prasad	841	"	J. N. Saksena
787	"	Seth Radha Krishna	842	"	Jagannath Prasad
788	"	Sant Swarup Shri Vastava	843	"	Rati Dularay
789	"	L. Guraj Chand	844	"	Manalanad Puri
790	"	L. Jagannath Pandit	845	"	Sarju Prasad
791	"	B. Jayanti Prasad	846	"	Ram Nandji
792	"	Shri Bhagwan Sevak	847	"	Ramadhan Bajpai
793	"	L. Basant Lal	848	"	Shiv Duvedi
794	"	Gopal Prasad Bhargava	849	"	Ram Nathji
795	"	B. Jai Gopal Chaudhary	850	"	Ram Narayan Misra
796	"	Omprakash	851	"	Bartilal
797	"	Jag Bahadur Singh	852	"	Narayandas Gour
798	"	Gopinath Shrivastava	853	"	Raghubir Dayal
799	"	Radha Krishna	854	"	Krishna Behari Tewari
800	"	Pandit Bansidhar	855	"	Bhagwati Prasad
801	"	Chandra Bhan	856	"	Beni Sewak Tewari
802	"	Madanlal	857	"	Beni Madhav Singh
803	"	Khusawat Rai	858	"	Shyani Narayan Sahai
804	"	Chunilal	859	"	L. Naranchand
805	"	K. Behanilal	860	"	Udhiramji
806	"	Jwala Prasad	861	"	Jayanti Prasad
807	"	Anandi Prasad Sinha	862	"	Mitrasen
808	"	Shankarlal Kapoor	863	Shrimati	Saruprani Nehru
809	"	Fateh Bahdur	864	"	Uma Nehru
810	"	Raja Ram Misra	865	"	Laxmibai Dixit
811	"	Prabhat Kumar Das	866	"	Saraswati Devi
812	"	Shri Kant	867	"	Mrs. Kishanlal
813	"	Raj Kumar Das	868	"	Surajwati Nehru
814	"	Sadhu Saran	869	"	Kamla Nehru
815	"	Jivanlal	870	"	Abadi Begum Sahiba
816	"	Udai Shanker	871	"	Pachuni Devi
817	"	Baburam Saxena	872	"	Mangla Devi
818	"	Ramcharan	873	"	Prem Sundari Devi
819	"	Purushottam Deo Sharma	874	"	Ramkumari
820	"	Ananglal	875	"	Tarawati Devi
821	"	Vishnu Karan Metha	876	"	Mrs. Har Pranj
822	"	Manlal	877	"	Lakshmibai
823	"	Phuljoshlal	878	"	Suniti Vidyavati
824	"	Kalugam Vaidya	879	"	Bhagirathi Devi
825	"	Ram Bharos	180	"	K. Nehru
826	"	H. Prasad Patak	881	"	Dharma Devi
827	"	Durga Prasad Gour	882	"	Nathi Devi
828	"	Maheswari Prasad	883	"	
829	"	Devi Prasad Sharma	to	"	Illegible
830	"	Ram Lal Chania	897	"	
831	"	Ram Kisban		"	
832	"	B. Gangarai		"	

UTKAL

1	Sjt.	Abhirama Nanda	56	Sjt.	Nabakrishna Choudhary
2	"	Ambika Madhav Prasad	57	"	Nandkishore Das
3	"	Ananta Mishri	58	"	Narsinh Sarangi
4	"	Arjun Panigrahi	59	"	Naran Hirabar Samanta
5	"	Baikunth Nath Nayak	60	"	Narayan Gantia
6	"	Bansidhar Mishri	61	"	Nilkantha Das
7	"	Bhagirath Mishri	62	"	Narsinh Guru
8	"	Bhagirathi Mahapatra	63	"	Niranjana Patanayak
9	"	Bharatchandra Gosal	64	"	Prankrishna Pratiharj
10	"	Bholanath Saha	65	"	Parneshwara Behara
11	"	Bhakta Hari Das	66	"	Pranji Jagmai
12	"	Bepin Bihari Das	67	"	Ram Pratap
13	"	Brajbandhu Das	68	"	Ramkrishna Behara
14	"	Braj mohan Das	69	"	Ratanshi Bhui
15	"	Baikunthnath Nayak	70	"	Raghnath Mahapatra
16	"	Chakradahar Das Adhikari	71	"	Sarat Chandra Mahopatra
17	"	Dharnidhar Mishra Banaprastha	72	"	Sankar Prasad Padhi
18	"	Debendranath Mahant	73	"	Schidananda Mahanty
19	"	Deegamber Sreechandana Rai	74	"	Sewchand Rai
20	"	Fakir Panda	75	"	Sheikh Wahiduallah
21	"	Fakir Charan Panda	76	"	Shreedhar Sahoo
22	"	Ghanshyam Sadhu	77	"	Sreekanta Mishra
23	"	Ghanshyam Nanda	78	"	Shyam Sundar Patnayak
24	"	Ghanshyam Panigrahi	79	"	Surendra Nath Das
25	"	Ganesh Prasad Padhi	80	"	Subodh Chandra Deb
26	"	Gangadhar Mahanty	81	"	Upendra Panda
27	"	Gadadhar Das	82	"	Yogeshwar Giri
28	"	Ganga Bux	83	"	Saik Mohamed Ismail
29	"	Gopabandhu Chowdhari	84	"	Serupani Kar
30	"	Pandit Gopabandhu Das	85	"	Gurucharan Sinha
31	"	Gurucharan Jen	86	"	Anam Ho
32	"	Harakrishna Mahatab	87	"	Jotyapat Pitua
33	"	Jaganath Panigrathi	88	"	Gatikrushna Sarangi
34	"	Jamnikanta Biswas	89	"	Iswarichandra Sarangi
35	"	Javerichand Doshi	90	"	Godavari Misra
36	"	Jadumani Mangraj	91	"	Govind Misra
37	"	Jagabandhu Singh	92	"	Gopinatha Das
38	"	Kunji Lal Sharma	93	"	Shyamsundar Das
39	"	Karunakar Panigrahi	94	"	Madan Mohan Das
40	"	Krishna Prasad Mahant	95	"	Ramhari Rount
41	"	Krishna Sasmal	96	"	Ramchandra
42	"	Kurtibas Birtia	97	"	Ba'aram Mahapatra
43	"	Kulmani Samantaraj	98	"	Sailaja Kanta Mazumdar
44	"	Ladabhai Thoria	99	"	Swami Vidyandana
45	"	Lingaraja Mishra	100	"	Narayan Panigrahi
46	"	Madan Mohan	101	"	Jagannath Prasad Das
47	"	Madhusudan Patnajak	102	"	Trilochan Sai
48	"	Madhusudan Das	103	"	Devidatta Khemka
49	"	Madan Mohan Mahapatra	104	"	Shanti Sekharieswara Ray
50	"	Madan Mohan Patnayak	105	"	Brahmanand Satpati
51	"	Mahabir Singh	106	"	Hari Krishna Sinha
52	"	Mohamed Hakimuddin	107	"	Bhairam Charan Mahapatra
53	"	Mukunda Prasada Das	108	"	Narsinha Charan Patnaik
54	"	Mohamed Azizullah			
55	"	Markanda Mahanty			

Appendix V.

Analysis of the attendance of delegates.

Province.	Ladies.	Mohamedans.	Parsis.	Sikhs.	Others	Total attended.	Total entitled
Ajmer-Merwara.	24	34	...	...	341	399	400
Andhra.	1	8	...	...	374	383	420
Assam.	...	4	...	...	14	18	63
Behar.	8	54	...	...	495	558	588
Bengal.	12	41	...	4	316	373	386
Berar.	2	6	...	...	50	58	61
Bombay.	1	3	...	...	15	19	19
Burma.	4	2	...	...	50	56	100
C. P. (Hindi)	6	30	...	...	169	205	209
C. P. (Marathi)	1	5	...	...	38	44	50
Delhi.	6	14	...	4	66	90	100
Gujrat.	13	27	5	...	140	185	195
Karnatak.	16	10	...	...	278	304	320
Kerala.	...	1	...	...	32	33	160
Madras.	1	17	...	...	136	154	410
Maharashtra	9	12	2	...	240	263	292
Punjab	18	65	...	54	381	518	540
Sindh.	2	17	...	...	44	63	71
U. P.	20	167	...	3	707	897	900
Utkal.	...	4	...	...	104	108	300
Total	144	521	7	65	3991	4728	6234

Appendix VI

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE 36TH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AHMEDABAD, 1921.

RESOLUTION I.

Whereas, since the holding of the last National Congress, the people of India have found, from actual experience, that by reason of the adoption of non-violent non-co-operation, the country has made great advance in fearlessness, self-sacrifice and self-respect, and whereas the movement has greatly damaged the prestige of the Government, and whereas, the country on the whole is rapidly progressing towards Swaraj, this Congress confirms the resolution adopted at the special session of the Congress at Calcutta and re-affirmed at Nagpur and places on record the fixed determination of the Congress to continue the programme of non-violent non-cooperation with greater vigour than hitherto in such manner as each province may determine till the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs are redressed and Swaraj is established and the control of the Government of India passes into the hands of the people from that of an irresponsible corporation,

And whereas, by reason of the threat uttered by His Excellency the Viceroy in his recent speeches and the consequent repression started by the Government of India in the various provinces by way of disbandment of Volunteer Corps and forcible prohibition of public and even committee meetings in an illegal and high-handed manner and by the arrest of many Congress workers in several provinces, and whereas, this repression is manifestly intended to stifle all Congress and Khilafat activities and deprive the public of their assistance, this Congress resolves that all activities of the Congress be suspended as far as necessary and appeals to all, quietly and without any demonstration to offer themselves for arrest by belonging to the Volunteer organisations to be formed throughout the country in terms of the resolution of the Working Committee arrived at in Bombay on the 23rd day of November last, provided that no one shall be accepted as volunteer who does not sign the following pledge:—

With God as witness I solemnly declare that,

- (1) I wish to be a member of the National Volunteer Corps,
- (2) So long as I remain a member of the Corps I shall remain non-violent in word and deed and shall earnestly endeavour to be non-violent in intent since I believe that as India is circumstanced, non-violence alone can help the Khilafat and the Punjab and result in the attainment of Swaraj and consolidation of unity among all the races and communities of India whether Hindu, Musalman, Sikh, Parsi, Christian or Jew,
- (3) I believe in and shall endeavour always to promote such unity,
- (4) I believe in Swadeshi as essential for India's economic, political and moral salvation and shall use handspun and handwoven khaddar to the exclusion of every other cloth,
- (5) As a Hindu I believe in the justice and necessity of removing the evil of untouchability and shall on all possible occasions seek personal contact with and endeavour to render service to the submerged classes,
- (6) I shall carry out the instructions of my superior officers, and all the regulations not inconsistent with the spirit of this pledge prescribed by the Volunteer Board or the Working Committee or any other agency established by the Congress,
- (7) I am prepared to suffer imprisonment, assault, or even death for the sake of my religion and my country without resentment,
- (8) In the event of my imprisonment I shall not claim from the Congress any support for my family or dependents.

This Congress trusts that every person of the age of 18 and over will immediately join the volunteer organisations.

Notwithstanding the proclamations prohibiting public meetings, and in as much as even committee meetings have been attempted to be construed as public meetings, this Congress advises the holding of committee meetings, and of public meetings, the latter in enclosed places and by tickets and by previous announcements at which as far as possible only speakers previously announced shall deliver written speeches, care being taken in every case to avoid risk of provocation and possible violence by the public in consequence.

This Congress is further of opinion that civil disobedience is the only civilized and effective substitute for an armed rebellion whenever every other remedy for preventing arbitrary, tyrannical and emasculating use of authority by individuals or corporations has been tried and therefore advises all Congress workers and others, who believe in peaceful methods and are convinced that there is no remedy save some kind of sacrifice to dislodge the existing Government from its position of perfect irresponsibility to the people of India, to organise individual civil disobedience and mass civil disobedience when the mass of people have been sufficiently trained in the methods of non-violence and otherwise in terms of the resolution thereon of the last meeting of the All India Congress Committee held at Delhi.

This Congress is of opinion that, in order to concentrate attention upon civil disobedience, whether mass or individual, whether of an offensive or defensive character, under proper safeguards and under instructions to be issued from time to time by the Working Committee or the Provincial Congress Committee concerned, all other Congress activities should be suspended whenever and wherever and to the extent to which it may be found necessary.

This Congress calls upon all students of the age of 18 and over, particularly those studying in the national institutions and the staff thereof, immediately to sign the foregoing pléde and become members of National Volunteer Corps.

In view of the impending arrests of a large number of Congress workers, this Congress whilst requiring the ordinary machinery to remain intact and to be utilized in the ordinary manner whenever feasible, hereby appoints until further instructions Mahatma Gandhi as the sole executive authority of the Congress and invests him with the full powers of the All-India Congress Committee including the power to convene a special session of the Congress or of the All-India Congress Committee or the Working Committee, such powers to be exercised between any two sessions of the All India Congress Committee, and also with the power to appoint a successor in emergency.

This Congress hereby confers upon the said successor and all subsequent successors appointed in turn by their predecessors all his aforesaid powers.

Provided that nothing in this resolution shall be deemed to authorise Mahatma Gandhi or any of the aforesaid successors to conclude any terms of peace with the Government of India or the British Government without the previous sanction of the All India Congress Committee to be finally ratified by the Congress specially convened for the purpose, and provided also that the present creed of the Congress shall in no case be altered by Mahatma Gandhi or his successors except with the leave of the Congress first obtained.

This Congress congratulates all those patriots who are now undergoing imprisonment for the sake of their conscience or country and realises that their sacrifice has considerably hastened the advent of Swaraj.

RESOLUTION II

This Congress appeals to all those who do not believe in full non-cooperation or in the principle of non-cooperation, but who consider it essential, for the sake of national self-respect, to demand and insist upon the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, and for the sake of full national self-expression, to insist upon the immediate establishment of Swaraj, to render full assistance to the nation in the promotion of unity between different religious communities, to popularise carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving from its economical aspect and as a cottage industry necessary in order to supplement the resources of millions of agriculturists who are living on the brink of starvation, and to that end preach and practise the use of hand-spun and hand-woven garments, to help the cause of total prohibition and if Hindus, to bring about the removal of untouchability and to help the improvement of the condition of the submerged classes.

RESOLUTION III

This Congress expresses its firm conviction that the Moplah disturbance was not due to the Non-cooperation or the Khilafat movement especially as the non-cooperators and the Khilafat preachers were denied opportunity of carrying on effective propaganda of non-violence in the affected parts by the district authorities for six months before the disturbance, but to causes wholly unconnected with the two movements and that the outbreak would not have occurred had the message of non-violence been allowed to reach them. Nevertheless this Congress deplures the acts done by certain Moplahs by way of forcible conversions and destruction of life and property and is of opinion that the prolongation of the disturbance in Malabar could have been prevented by the Government of Madras accepting the proffered

assistance of Maulana Yakub Hassan and other non-cooperators and allowing Mahatma Gandhi to proceed to Malabar and is further of opinion that the treatment of Moplah prisoners as evidenced by the asphyxiation incident was an act of inhumanity unheard of in modern times and unworthy of a government that calls itself civilised.

RESOLUTION IV

This Congress congratulates Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the Turks upon their successes and assures the Turkish nation of India's sympathy and support in its struggle to retain its status and independence.

RESOLUTION V

This Congress deplures the occurrences that took place in Bombay on the 17th November last and after and assures all parties and communities that it has been and is the desire and determination of the Congress to guard their rights to the fullest extent.

RESOLUTION VI

This Congress heartily congratulates Shreeman Baba Gurudatsingji, the great organiser of Sri Guru Nanak Steamer who willingly surrendered himself after seven years' fruitless search by the Government as a sacrifice for the nation and also congratulates the other Sikh leaders who have preferred imprisonment to the restriction of their religious rights and liberty and congratulates the Sikh community on their non-violent spirit at the time of the Babaji's arrest and on other occasions in spite of great provocation by the Police and the Military.

RESOLUTION VII

The following changes be introduced in the Constitution:—

1. In Article IV instead of " the age of 21 " read " the age of 18 "
2. At the end of Article VII add " provided that no person shall become a member of two parallel Congress organisations at one and the same time "
3. At the end of clause 3 Art. VIII add " the members of the All India Congress Committee shall be ex-officio delegates to the Congress, the provincial Congress Committees deducting the number of elected and, if any, the ex-officio members of the All-India Congress Committee in their province from the number of delegates they are entitled to return. "
4. In clause 5 Art. VIII remove the brackets and after " a single transferable vote " add " or by any other method. "
5. In clause 2 of Art. XIX after " shall be " add " the elected president. "
6. In the same clause after " past presidents of the Congress " add " if they sign the Congress creed and are members of any Congress Organisation. "
7. In Art. XXIII after " the General Secretaries " add " and two Treasurers " and in the beginning of the second sentence instead of the word " they " read " the General Secretaries. "

RESOLUTION VIII

This Congress re-appoints Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. Ansari and Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar as General Secretaries of the Congress for the year 1922 and as Pandit Motilal Nehru and Sjt. Rajagopalachariar are now in jail, appoints Sjt. Vithalbhai J. Patel and Dr. Rajan, respectively, to act for them, the former to be the Working Secretary.

RESOLUTION IX

This Congress reappoints Seth Jannalal Bajaj and Seth Chhotai as Treasurers of the Congress, the former to be the Working Treasurer.

Appendix VII

THE NON-CO-OPERATION RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS HELD AT CALCUTTA IN SEPTEMBER 1920.

In view of the fact that on the Khilafat question both the Indian and the Imperial Governments have signally failed in their duty towards the Musalmans of India, and the Prime Minister has deliberately broken his pledged word given to them and that it is the duty of every Non-muslim Indian in every legitimate manner to assist his Musalman brother in his attempt to remove the religious calamity that has overtaken him ;

And in view of the fact that in the matter of the events of the April of 1919 both the said Governments have grossly neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Punjab, and punish the officers guilty of unsoldierly and barbarous behaviour towards them and have exonerated Sir Michael O'Dwyer who proved himself directly or indirectly responsible for most of the official crimes, and callos to the sufferings of the people placed under his administration and that the debate in the House of Commons and especially in the House of Lords betrayed a woeful lack of sympathy with the people of India, and showed virtual support of the systematic terrorism and frightfulness adopted in the Punjab, and that the latest Viceregal pronouncement is a proof of entire absence of repentance in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab.:

This Congress is of opinion that there can be no contentment in India without the redress of the two afore-mentioned wrongs, and that the only effectual means to vindicate national honour, and to prevent a repetition of similar wrongs in future is the establishment of Swarajya. This Congress is further of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive non-violent non-co-operation until the said wrongs are righted and Swarajya is established.

And in as much as a beginning should be made by the classes who have hitherto moulded and represented public opinion, and in as much as Government consolidates its power through titles and honours bestowed on the people, through schools controlled by it, its law-courts and its Legislative Councils, and in as much as it is desirable in the prosecution of the movement to take the minimum risk and to call for the least sacrifice compatible with the attainment of the desired object, this Congress earnestly advises :—

- (a) surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in Local Bodies;
- (b) refusal to attend Government levees, Darbars and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials or in their honour,
- (c) gradual withdrawal of children from schools, and colleges, owned, aided or controlled by Government and in place of such schools and colleges establishment of national schools and colleges, in the various provinces,
- (d) gradual boycott of British Courts by lawyers and litigants, and establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid for the settlement of private disputes,
- (e) refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia,
- (f) withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the Reformed Councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may, despite the Congress advice, offer himself for election,
- (g) the boycott of foreign goods.

And in as much as Non-co-operation has been conceived as a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice without which no nation can make real progress, and in as much as an opportunity should be given in the very first stage of Non-co-operation to every man, woman, and child for such discipline and self-sacrifice, this Congress advises adoption of Swadeshi in piece-goods on a vast scale, and in as much as the existing mills of India with indigenous capital and control do not manufacture sufficient time to come, this Congress advises immediate stimulation of further manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving hand-spinning in every home and hand-weaving on the part of the millions of weavers who have abandoned their ancient and honorable calling for want of encouragement.

Appendix VIII

THE NON-CO-OPERATION RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS NAGPUR 1920.

Whereas in the opinion of the Congress, the existing Government of India has forfeited the confidence of the country, and whereas the people of India are now determined to establish Swaraj, and whereas all methods adopted by the people of India prior to the last special session of the Indian National Congress have failed to secure due recognition of their rights and liberties and the redress of their many and grievous wrongs, more especially in reference to the Khilafat and Punjab, now this Congress, while reaffirming the resolution on Non-violent Non-co-operation passed at the special session of the Congress at Calcutta, declares that the entire or any part or parts of the scheme of Non-violent Non-co-operation with the renunciation of voluntary association with the present Government, at one end, and the refusal to pay taxes, at the other, should be put in force at a time to be determined by either the Indian National Congress, or the All India Congress Committee and that, in the meanwhile, to prepare the country for it, effective steps should continue to be taken in that behalf:—

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

(a) by calling upon the parents and guardians of school children (and not the children themselves) under the age of 16 years, to make greater efforts for the purpose of withdrawing them from such schools as are owned, aided or in any way controlled by Government and concurrently to provide for their training in national schools or by such other means as may be within their power, in the absence of such schools;

(b) by calling upon students of the age of 16 and above, to withdraw without delay irrespective of consequences, from institutions owned, aided or in any way controlled, by Government, if they feel that it is against their conscience to continue in institutions which are dominated by a system of Government which the nation has solemnly resolved to bring to an end, and advising such students either to devote themselves to some special service in connection with the Non-co-operation movement, or to continue their education in national institutions;

(c) by calling upon trustees, managers and teachers of Government, affiliated or aided schools and municipalities and local Boards to help to nationalise them;

BOYCOTT OF LAW-COURTS.

(d) by calling upon lawyers to make greater efforts to suspend their practice, and to devote their attention to national service, including boycott of Law-courts by litigants, and fellow-lawyers, and the settlement of disputes by private arbitration;

BOYCOTT OF FOREIGN GOODS.

(e) in order to make India economically independent and self-contained, by calling upon merchants and traders to carry out a gradual boycott of foreign trade relations, to encourage hand-spinning and hand-weaving and in that behalf by having a scheme of economic boycott planned and formulated by a committee of experts, to be nominated by the All India Congress Committee;

CALL FOR SELF-SACRIFICE

(f) and generally, inasmuch as self-sacrifice is essential for the success of Non-co-operation, by calling upon every section and every man and woman in the country, to make the utmost possible contribution of self-sacrifice to the national movement;

(g) by organising committees in each village or group of villages with a provincial central organization in the principal city of each province, for the purpose of accelerating the progress of non-co-operation;

(h) by organising a band of national workers for a service to be called the *Indian National Service*; and,

(i) by taking effective steps to raise a national fund to be called "The All India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund" for the purpose of financing the foregoing National Service, and the Non-co-operation movement in general.

CALL TO COUNCILLORS TO RESIGN

This Congress congratulates the nation upon the progress made so far in working the programme of Non-co-operation, specially with regard to the boycott of Councils by the voters and claims that, in the circumstances in which they have been brought into existence, the new Councils do not represent the country, and trusts that those who have allowed themselves to be elected in spite of the deliberate abstention from the polls of an overwhelming majority of their constituents, will see their way, to resign their seats in the Councils, and that if they retain their seats in spite of the declared wish of their respective constituencies, in direct negation of the principle of democracy, the electors will studiously refrain from asking any political service from such councillors.

GOVERNMENT SERVANTS

This Congress recognises the growing friendliness between the police, the soldiery and the people, and hopes that the former will refuse to subordinate their creed and country, to the fulfilment of orders of their officers, and by courteous and considerate behaviour towards the people, will remove the reproach hitherto levelled against them that they are devoid of any regard for the feelings and sentiments of their own people, and this Congress appeals to all people in the Government employment, pending the call of the nation for resignation of their service, to help the national cause by importing greater kindness and stricter honesty in their dealings with the people, and fearlessly and openly to attend all popular gatherings, whilst refraining from taking any active part therein and more specially by openly rendering financial assistance to the national movement.

This Congress desires to lay special emphasis on non-violence being the integral part of the Non-co-operation resolution and invites the attention of the people to the fact that non-violence in word and deed is as essential between people themselves as in respect of the Government and this Congress is of opinion that the spirit of violence is not only contrary to the growth of a true spirit of Democracy but actually retards the enforcement (if necessary) of the other stages of Non-co-operation.

Finally, in order that the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs may be redressed and Swarajya established within one year, this Congress urges upon all public bodies, whether affiliated to the Congress or otherwise, to devote their exclusive attention to the promotion of non-violence and Non-co-operation with the Government. And in as much as the movement of Non-co-operation can only succeed by complete cooperation amongst the people themselves, this Congress calls upon public associations to advance Hindu-Muslim unity and the Hindu delegates of this Congress to call upon the leading Hindus to settle all disputes between Brahmins and non-Brahmins wherever they may be existing and to make a special effort to rid Hinduism of the reproach of untouchability and respectfully urges the religious heads to help the growing desire to reform Hinduism in the matter of its treatment of the suppressed classes.

Appendix IX .

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS BY THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE OF THE 36th INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

(Up to 30-10-22)

RECEIPTS.

DISBURSEMENTS

1. Fees for admittance to the Congress Pandal during Session.	2,18,580- 0 -0
(a) Reception Committee fees...	78,125- 0- 0
(b) Visitors Fees ...	93,175- 0- 0
(c) Delegates Fees] ...	47,280- 0- 0
2. Fees for entrance to the Pandal enclosure and the Exhibition	50,098- 8- 0
(a) Season Tickets ...	33,783- 0- 0
(b) Pandal Enclosure Tickets.	9,698- 0- 0
(c) Exhibition Tickets ...	6,617- 8- 0
3. Receipts from the Kitchen and donations...	41,705- 4- 0
(a) Sale of Dinner Tickets ...	7,205- 4- 0
(b) Donation for free dinner for one day.	9,000- 0- 0
(c) Adjustment entry for free dinner passes to Volunteers, workers and officers...	25,500- 0- 0
4. Rent	12,072- 0- 0
(a) Rent received for the Khadi Nagar rooms.	7,765- 0- 0
(b) Rent for the Exhibition Stalls. ...	4,002- 0- 0
(c) Rent for Stalls within the Pandal Enclosure.	305- 0- 0

1. By Pandal Committee as per Schedule (I)	1,22,759-2-11
2. By Accommodation Committee ,, (II)	44,992-13-9
3. By Volunteer Committee ,, (III)	24,511-9-0
4. Cots, conveyances &c. ,, (IV)	29,073-10-0
5. By Station Committee ,, (V)	364-5-9
6. By Music Section, ,, (VI)	4,316-2-0
7. By Medical Committee ,, (X)	527-14-9
8. General Expenses ,, (VII)	16,891-12-4
9. A. I. C. C's $\frac{1}{2}$ share of Delegates Fees	23,640-0-0
10. By Exhibition Committee ,, (VIII)	10,395-12-4
11. By Superintendent Khadi Nagar ,, (IX)	734-8-9

Total Carried over 3,22,455-12-0

Total Disbursements Rs. 2,78,207-11-7

(Carried over to the next page)

(Brought over from the last page)

	Total brought over	3,22,455-12- 0		Total brought over	2,78,207-11- 4
5. Miscellaneous	...	428- 0- 6			
6. Deposit by the Exhibition Committee	...	992-15- 6	* Balance with Gujarat provincial Congress Committee Rs.	45,569-0-5	
	Total Rs.	3,23,876-12- 0		Total Rs.	3,23,876-12-0

NOTE:—Rs. 25,500 showed in item No 3 (c) is not the actual income but is an adjustment entry included in item No. 2 of the debit side (in respect of messing charges of workers and volunteers)

NOTE:—* This amount does not represent the net savings by the Reception Committee as the expenditure on the printing of the report and other heads is yet to be adjusted.

The above mentioned Income and Expenditure Account for the period ending 31st October 1922 has been examined by me with the books and Vouchers of the Reception Committee and is found correct.

ACHRATLAL, CHUNILAL,

Hon. Finance Secretary.

RAMANLAL G. SHAH,

Hon. Auditor, (B. Com).

Ganesh Vasudeo Mavalankar,

Hon. General Secretary.

Schedules to Appendix IX

Schedule I

DISBURSEMENTS BY THE PANDAL COMMITTEE

1. Loss on re-sale of, damage to &c and the hire charges for timber	...	...	...	14,632-11-0
2. Miscellaneous Articles...	...	...	...	7,571-6-3
Ropes...	...	...	1,434-0-9	
Petty Articles	...	...	1,616-14-0	
Chatais and Tatas	...	...	1,716-5-6	
Screws, Nails &c.	...	...	2,804-2-0	
3. Charges for Khaddar (including hire-charges and the sewing bills)	...	...	...	40,165-10-8
Hire charges for Khaddar	...	...	33,759-5-3	
Sewing bills	...	...	3,530-3-10	
Loss on re-sale of Hessian	...	...	2,876-1-7	
4. Bricks, lime, sand, stones &c.	...	...	...	4,460-2-3
Bricks	...	...	1,899-6-7	
Sand and Lime	...	...	1,593-13-0	
Stones	...	...	966-14-6	
5. Cost of Labour	...	...	...	37,955-3-11
Miscellaneous	...	...	141-8-8	
Miscellaneous cartage	...	...	425-9-0	
Digging	...	...	3,124-3-3	
Erections	...	...	7,219-3-6	
Water works	...	...	6,867-5-0	
Salaries to servants	...	...	3,005-3-6	
Labourers' wages	...	...	8,186-12-0	
Carpenters' wages	...	...	6,691-14-0	
Masous' wages	...	...	2,293-9-0	
6. General charges, stationery, furniture &c	...	...	...	629-9-6
7. Lorry and cart hire &c.	...	...	...	4,134-6-0
8. Compensation paid for standing crop	...	...	...	5,486-5-7
9. Lights (Kitson )	...	...	...	4,478-0-0
10. Fuel and coal charges	...	...	...	874-3-3
11. Decoration charges	...	...	...	1,711-12-0
12. Garden Charges	...	...	...	659-12-6
Total Rs-				1,22,759-2-11

Purshotamdas Govindlal Gajjar.
Secretary.

Schedule II

EXPENSES INCURRED BY THE ACCOMMODATION COMMITTEE

		32,450-6-0
1. Stores for Kitchen		
1. Grain	8,420- 9-6	
2. Ghee	8,793- 8-3	
3. Tea, milk and curds	3,451- 7-5	
4. Oils	1,577- 7-6	
5. Chillies, condiments and other provisions	2,027- 10-3	
6. Vegetables	2,560- 10-0	
7. Fuel	2,592- 5-0	
8. Leaf dishes and cups &c	3,326- 12-0	
		12,542-7-9
11. Labour charges		
1. Cooks and servants wages	6,149- 4-0	
2. Labourers wages	1,217- 6-9	
3. Loss on resale and for breakage of earthen pots	1,895- 13-0	
4. Printing charges	280- 0-0	
5. Adjustment entry for the free dinner passes &c., issued to cooks, servants &c., and labourers.	3,000- 0-0	
		44,992- 13-9

Total Rs. 44,992- 13-9

NANDUBHAI MANCHHARAM

Secretary

Schedule III

EXPENSES INCURRED BY THE VOLUNTEERS COMMITTEE

1. Adjustment for free dinner passes for 1250 Volunteers for 10 days	18,750- 0-0
2. Refreshments for Volunteers	4,264- 0-0
3. Badges	742- 3-9
4. Carriage charges	380-13-0
5. Printing charges and stationery	258- 6-0
6. Furniture &c.	115- 7-6

Total Rs. 24,511- 9-0

JIVANLAL HARIPRASAD DIWAN

Captain

Schedule IV

DISBURSEMENTS FOR COTS, LIGHTING AND OTHER CONVENIENCES

1. Motor hire charges	6,115 0 0
2. Electric Lighting	10,000 0 0
3. Loss on resale of bed-steads	9,479 5 0
4. Loss on resale of tin-pots.	134 4 3
5. Expenses for Office badges & mottoes for Pandal decoration.	952 11 0
6. Expenses for refreshments to the members of the Subjects Committee	1,509 10 0
7. Free Visitor's tickets to Sadhus	425 0 0
8. Loss on resale of the buckets.	319 3 9
9. In respect of the publication of "Congress Guide."	138 6 0

Total Rs. 29,073 8 0

Schedule V

EXPENSES INCURRED BY THE RAILWAY COMMITTEE

1. Lighting charges.	34 15 6
2. Carriage Hire.	88 14 3
3. Office Expenses.	106 6 3
4. Luggage Office Expenses	34 0 0
5. Labour charges	340 2 0
6. Miscellaneous Expenses	36 10 0
7. Adjustment entry for the food-charges for workers.	335 1 3

Total Rs. 976 1 6

Less the amount realised as luggage charges at 2 annas, per packet. 611 11 9

Net Expenses Rs. 364 5 9

Schedule VI

EXPENSES INCURRED BY THE MUSIC SECTION

1. Railway fare to musicians.	2,172 7 9
2. Adjustment for free dinner passes	1,957 4 9
3. Printing charges.	144 8 0
4. Carriage hire	30 6 0
5. Postage and Stationery.	11 7 6

Total Rs. 4,316 2 0

N. M. Khare

Secretary.

Schedule VII

GENERAL EXPENSES

1. Office kitchen charges	791 0 6
2. Stationery charges	1,203 3 0
3. Salaries to the staff.	4,445 10 1
4. Office printing	782 14 9
5. Postage	702 2 6
6. Miscellaneous	85 7 0
7. Telephone charges.	1,144 0 9
8. Telegraph charges	142 2 0
9. Furniture.	1,417 6 0
10. Tickets &c. printing charges	4,581 7 9
11. Exchange on remittances and other petty items	842 0 0
12. Remuneration to Official Reporters.	754 8 0

Total Rs. 16,891 12 4

Schedule VIII

EXPENSES INCURRED BY THE EXHIBITION COMMITTEE

A. Office Expenses.

6,692 0 3

1. Furniture.

32 5 6

2. Travelling.

586 5 3

3. Stationery.

20 8 0

4. Music.	87 0 0	
5. Exhibition.	134 12 6	
6. Lights.	437 8 0	
7. Telegrams.	18 8 0	
8. Labour charges.	1,666 3 0	
9. Dying charges.	165 0 0	
10. Charges for materials.	263 1 3	
11. Printing charges.	325 10 9	
12. Sewing charges.	84 0 0	
13. Adjustment for free dinner passes.	879 7 3	
14. Miscelleneous.	109 7 6	
15. Postage.	73 11 6	
16. Salaries to staff.	401 2 9	
17. Charges towards the Demonstation Section.	927 1 0	
18. Prize distribution.	480 4 0	
B. Expenses in purchasing the exhibits.		2,710 12 7
1. Loss on sale of Exhibits.	2,179 6 4	
2. Railway frieght.	408 8 6	
3. Custums Duty	51 15 6	
4. Labour charges.	30 5 3	
5. Printing.	39 15 0	
6. Postage.	0 10 0	
C. Deposit kept for giving Medals aud Certificates.		992 15 6
		Total Rs. 10,335 12 4

LAXMIDAS PURSHOTAMDAS.

Secretary.

Schedule IX

EXPENSES INCURRED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT KHADI NAGAR

1. Adjustment for free dinner passed.	450 0 0
2. Miscelleneous Items.	229 13 0
3. Stationery &c.	30 3 3
4. Light.	24 8 6

Total Rs. 734 8 9

BALVANTRAI. P. THAKOR

Superintendent.

Schedule X

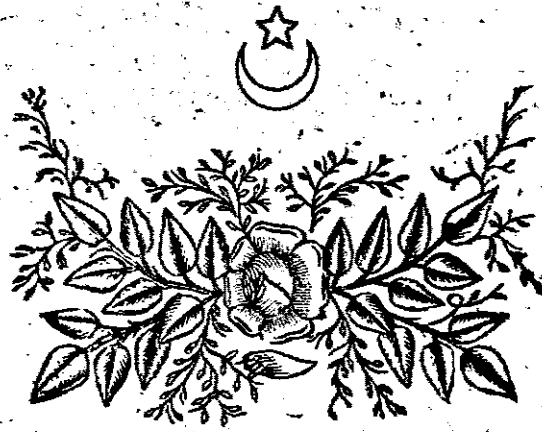
EXPENSES INCURRED BY THE MEDICAL COMMITTEE.

1. Medicines.	438 14 9
2. Furniture.	14 0 0
3. Adjustment for free dinner passes	75 0 0

Total Rs. 527 14 9

G. R. TALWALKER

Secretary.



URDU SPEECHES

ی اس میں سزا رہے ہیں یا آپ کو امید ہے کہ آپ سے ساتھ انصاف کیسے برصیت سی بیوب یا تھا

اک سلف رسپیکٹنگ قوم کے آپ کا یہ فرض ہے اور دنیا کا یہ فرض ہے کہ وہ آزاد ہو کر رہے اور اس کے بعد تو ضرور رکھیں آپ ان باتوں میں فرض کیجئے کہ ہم اسکو آئیڈیل کے طور پر رکھنا چاہتے ہیں ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں اس ریڈیویشن کی تائید کرتا ہوں۔

جناب مولانا حسرت موہانی کا جواب

مولانا حسرت موہانی
مصاحب کی دوسری
تقریر

جناب صدر و حاضرین! اگرچہ ہاتھ کا ندھی کے ارشاد کا جواب دینا چھڑانا منہ بڑی بات سمجھا جائیگا لیکن فرض کا یہ پیمانہ مجھ کو مجبور کرتا ہے کہ جو کچھ بھی بات ہو اسکو آپ کے سامنے علی الاعلان پیش کر دوں۔ حضرات! ہاتھ کا ندھی نے اپنی تقریر میں جتنا کہا ہے اس میں سے بڑی بات یہ پیش کی ہے کہ ہکو اپنی طاقت کا پورا اندازہ کرنا چاہئے اور چونکہ معتدل جماعت کے افراد ہی اب ہم سے قریب تر ہوتے جاتے ہیں اس لئے ہم کو بھی لازم ہے کہ صرف اسی چیز کا مطالبہ کریں جس پر سب طرح کے خیالات رکھنے والے لوگوں کو ہم اپنی ساتھ لے سکیں۔ حضرات! اس بات کو ہمارے مطالبے سے کوئی تعلق نہیں ہے۔ ہم جو چاہتے ہیں وہ یہ ہے کہ ہم کامل آزادی کو اپنا نصب العین بنالیں اور سمجھ لیں کہ ہم کو آخر کار وہ چیز حاصل کرنا ہے۔ اسکو حاصل کرنے بے زینہ رہینگے۔ آزادئے کامل کو آئیڈیل بنانے سے یہ نتیجہ نہیں نکلتا کہ اگر فی الحال اُس سے کم درجہ کی چیز ملیگی تو ہم نہ لینگے۔ بیشک ہمارا نصب العین وہی رہیگا۔ اسکی کوئی وجہ نہیں ہے کہ ہم جو کچھ چاہتے ہیں اس سے کم ملیگا تو ہم اُسے رو کر دینگے۔ ناگور میں ایک سال پہلے کہا گیا تھا کہ خلافت و پنجاب کا فیصلہ خاطر خواہ ہو جائیگا تو سورج برش امپائر کے اندر رہیگا ورنہ باہر۔ اسوقت یہ بھی کہا گیا تھا کہ ایک سال کے اندر اس کا فیصلہ کیا جائیگا۔ اب وہ ایک سال گزر گیا پھر اسکا فیصلہ کیوں نہیں کیا جاتا؟ اگر نہیں کیا جاتا ہے تو کیا گارنٹی ہے کہ یہ آئیں یوں ہی ہوتی نہ چلی جائیگی۔ سورج کا لفظ ایسا مبہم ہے کہ اس غلط فہمی کو سمجھ کر حکومت نے خود سورج کا لفظ استعمال کرنا شروع کیا۔ کیا اسکا یہ مطلب نہیں ہے کہ سورج کے معنی وہ بھی ہو سکتے ہیں جو حکومت انگریزی کی ڈاکو منٹس میں لے گئے ہیں۔ گورنمنٹی سورج کے معنی سو اس کے کچھ نہیں ہو سکتے کہ چڈھی کے کھلونے ہمارے سامنے پیش کئے جائیں۔ اب کہا جاتا ہے کہ زونڈ ٹیل کا نفرنس ہوگی اوس میں کہا جائیگا کہ پراولپ آٹانمی لیبو۔ تمام دنیا کو دھوکہ دیا جاتا ہے اور کہا جاتا ہے کہ ہندوستان کے لوگ کیا بیچ پکار کر رہے ہیں۔ سورج تو اُنکو مل گیا۔ ریفارم جو اُنکو دی گئی ہے وہی سورج ہے۔ پس میں آپ سے درخواست کر دینگا، کہ سورج کو اس کے صحیح معنوں میں لیجئے نہ کہ اُس معنی میں جیسا حکومت کہتی ہے۔ جب تک آپ اس لفظ کی تشریح نہ کر دیں گے اسوقت تک ہر شخص اپنی مرضی کے مطابق اُسکا مطلب نکال سکیگا۔

مولانا عسرت موہانی
صاحب کی پہلی تقریر

ایک غلط فہمی پھیلا کر یہ کیا جا رہا ہے۔ جب وہ ممکن ہے تو اور ہندوستان میں اسی طرح ہوسکتا ہے۔ پنجاب کا فیصلہ یہ ہے کہ اس کا امکان جتنا رہے اور اس قسم کے واقعات پھر نہ ہوسکیں۔ اور یہ جب سہی ہوسکتا ہے کہ ہندوستان کا کل طور پر آزاد ہو جائے۔ بعض اصحاب کنیڈین فارم آف سلف گورنٹ کو پیش نظر رکھ کر کہتے ہیں کہ وہ کنیڈین آزاد ہو گیا۔ اسٹریلیا آزاد ہے۔ امریکہ کو آزادی کی دعوت ہے جس طرح انگریزوں نے ان مغربوں کو آزاد کیا۔ کیا یہ ممکن نہیں کہ وہ ہندوستان کو بھی آزاد کر دیں۔ سید آغا امین اڑھی ہیں کہ گورنٹ مصلحت کیلئے تیار ہے۔ جہاں تک میں نے غور کیا ہے ہندوستان کیلئے کنیڈین قسم کی آزادی اور کپلیٹ انڈیپنڈنس (Complete Independence) میں کچھ زیادہ فرق نہ ہوگا۔ اگر یہ کبھی ہندوستانیوں کو کنیڈین فارم آف سلف گورنٹ دینے پر راضی نہ ہو سکے۔ جس میں ملکوں کو انھوں نے یہ دیا اسکی دو دو جہین تھیں۔ پہلی وجہ یہ کہ جن ملکوں کو انھوں نے آزادی دی وہ انھیں کے ہم مذہب تھے۔ ہنگامہ ہمزبان تھے۔ دوسری وجہ اس سے برسی وجہ یہ تھی کہ جن جن ملکوں کو انھوں نے ایسی گورنٹ عنایت کی خود ان ملکوں کا بھی فائدہ ہی نہیں ہے کہ وہ انگریزوں کے ماتحت رہیں۔ اگر وہ آج انگریزوں کی ماتحتی سے نکل جائیں تو دوسری زمین انکو مضم کر دیں۔ مگر ہندوستان کے لئے ان دونوں باتوں میں کوئی بات موجود نہیں ہندوستان میں ہر قسم کا ہوسم ہر قسم کی زمین اور ہر قسم کی ضرورت کی چیزیں موجود ہیں۔ ہندوستان اپنی ضرورتیں زندگی کیلئے دوسرے کا محتاج نہیں اور اس لئے اسکا انہیں کوئی فائدہ نہیں ہے کہ وہ کسی دوسرے کا ماتحت رہے۔ کسی کا یہ بچھ لینا کہ انگریزوں کو ہندوستان کو اس طرح کی سلف گورنٹ بخوشی دیدینگے محض خواب و خیال ہے۔ ایسا نہیں ہوسکتا۔ جب میں نے یہ ثابت کر دیا کہ کنیڈین فارم آف گورنٹ کا ملنا مشکل ہے۔ جب انگریز وہ بھی خوشی سے نہ دینگے تو کیا وجہ ہے کہ ہم اپنے مقصد کے اعلیٰ درجہ پر نہ کھین اور کیوں نہ کہیں کہ ہم کامل آزادی کے لئے تیار ہیں۔ حضرات مسئلہ خلافت کے متعلق آپکو معلوم ہے کہ سوزا ج کا مسئلہ مسلمانوں نے دو حیثیت سے قبول کیا ہے۔ ایک تو عام ہندوستانی کی حیثیت سے اور دوسرے اسلامی حیثیت سے جو مسئلہ خلافت کے متعلق ہے۔ صرف ہندوستان کے لئے کنیڈین فارم آف سلف گورنٹ بھی مفید ہوسکتی ہے مگر خلافت کے متعلق سوزا ج کے ایک ہی سے ہو سکتے ہیں یعنی پوری اور کامل آزادی۔ خلافت کا تحفظ اس وقت تک نہیں ہوسکتا جب تک انگریزوں کی شاہنشاہی قوت شکست نہ ہو۔ جب تک ایسا نہ ہوگا انگریزوں کے قدم عراق عرب اور جزیرۃ العرب کی سرزمین سے ہٹ نہ سکیں اور تمام دنیا کے آخری ہرگز پاک نہ ہو سکی۔ اس لئے مسئلہ خلافت کے متعلق سوزا ج کے صرف ایک منہ ہو سکتے ہیں یعنی کپلیٹ انڈیپنڈنس کنیڈین فارم آف سلف گورنٹ سے مسئلہ خلافت کا فیصلہ نہیں ہوسکتا بلکہ یہ اسکے خلاف ہوگا کیونکہ اس سے اپنی دلیل ازم کو مدد پہنچگی۔ جب تک ہندوستان کا کل طور پر آزاد نہ ہوگا جہاں تک مذہبی صاحب کا یہ دعویٰ کہ ہم پنجاب اور خلافت کے مسائل حل کرینگے ہرگز پورا نہ ہو سکیگا۔ جہاں تک میرے مسلمان بھائیوں کا تعلق ہے اسکا نتیجہ

درخواست کروں گا کہ اس کو معمولی ریزولوشن کی طرح قبول نہ کیجئے گا بلکہ نہایت خوردخوش کے ساتھ رائے قائم کیجئے گا وہ ریزولوشن یہ ہے پہلے میں اس کو انگریزی میں پڑھ کر سناتا ہوں۔ (انگریزی) اس کے معنی یہ ہیں کہ اس وقت تک جو ریزولوشن کانگریس کرے گا وہ اس کی رو سے ہندوستان کا مقصد شیل کانگریس کا مقصد صرف سوریج کا حاصل کرنا ہے اس میں لفظ سوریج کی تشریح نہیں کی گئی ہے، اب میں یہ ریزولوشن پیش کرتا ہوں کہ سوریج سے ہمارا مطلب کامل آزادی کا ہے۔ میں اس ریزولوشن کو پیش کرنے کے قبل آپ لوگوں سے درخواست کرتا ہوں کہ آپ ایک سال قبل کی طرف نظر دوڑائیں آپ کو یاد ہو گا کہ جب ناگپور کانگریس میں یہ ریزولوشن پیش کیا گیا تھا اور سوریج کا لفظ داخل کیا گیا تھا تو کہہ دیا گیا تھا کہ ہم یہ لفظ مبہم شکل میں اس لئے رکھتے ہیں کہ لوگوں کو موقعہ رہے کہ جو معنی چاہیں قرار دے سکیں جو لوگ سوریج کے معنی میں دی برٹش امپائر (Within the British Empire) چاہتے ہیں وہ اور جو باہر چاہتے تھے وہ دونوں کانگریس میں رہ سکیں، مہاتما جی نے فرمایا تھا کہ اگر خلافت اور پنجاب کا فیصلہ ہمارے موافق ہو جائیگا تو ہم باہر جانے کی کوشش نہ کریں گے، لیکن اگر فیصلہ موافق نہ ہوا تو ہم وہاں (without) کی خواہش کریں گے۔ جب وہ شرط پوری نہیں ہوئی جب ایک سال کے اندر خلافت اور پنجاب کے مطالب کے مسئلے حل نہیں ہوئے تو کیا وجہ ہے کہ ہم اپنے قول کے مطابق آج ایک سال کے بعد یہ نہ کہہ سکیں کہ سوریج کے معنی کامل آزادی اور کمپلیٹ انڈیپنڈنس (Complete Independence) کے ہیں۔ مہاتما جی نے فرمایا کہ اب موقعہ ہے کہ ہم خلافت اور پنجاب کے مسئلہ کو حل کر سکیں گے۔ اس لئے میں جلدی نہ کرنا چاہئے۔ اسکے دو جواب ہیں۔

پہلا جواب یہ ہے کہ خود مہاتما جی نے ایک ہی سال کی مدت قرار دی تھی۔ اور بار بار کہا تھا کہ ہم سوریج اسی سال میں لیتے۔ یہاں جتنے لوگ آئے ہوئے ہیں سب یہی امید لیکر آئے تھے، اور سب کے دل میں یہی جوش تھا کہ ہم آج اس لئے آئے ہیں کہ وہاں جا کر ہم اپنی آزادی کا اعلان کر دیں گے۔

اگر آپ اس وقت آزادی کا اعلان نہیں کر سکتے تو کم از کم اتنا تو ضرور کیجئے کہ اپنے نصب العین کو توصیف کر دیجئے اور یہ کہہ دیجئے کہ اگر اس وقت ہم اپنی آزادی کا اعلان نہیں کرتے اگرچہ میری رائے میں یہ ہونا چاہئے تو کم از کم یہ ضرور ہے کہ ہم اپنے نصب العین کو واضح اور صاف کر لیں۔ حضرات! مہاتما گاندھی صاحب یہ کہیں گے کہ پنجاب اور خلافت کے مسئلہ کا فیصلہ اب بھی ہمارے موافق ہو سکتا ہے۔ میں کہتا ہوں کہ وقت کا جو سوال تھا اس کا جواب میں دے چکا کہ وقت گزر گیا۔ ہمارا دعویٰ یہ ہے کہ دونوں مسائل کا فیصلہ غیر کامل آزادی کے نہیں ہو سکتا۔ اسکی وجہ میں بیان کر دوں گا۔ پنجاب کا فیصلہ کیوں نہ ہو گا۔ مہاتما گاندھی فرماتے ہیں۔ ڈائر اور ڈوائے کی پیشین بند کردی جائے اور وہ اپنے لئے پریشان ہوں تو میں سمجھوں گا کہ پنجاب کا فیصلہ ہو گیا۔ لیکن میں کہوں گا کہ پنجاب کا فیصلہ اسی وقت ہو گا جب واقعات پنجاب کے دوبارہ رونما ہونے کا موقع یا امکان نہ رہے جس وقت تک ہم کو کامل آزادی حاصل نہ ہوگی اس وقت تک جو کچھ ڈائر، ڈوائے نے کیا ہے ان کے دوسرے بھائی بھی کر سکتے ہیں انہیں کی مثال آپ دیکھ رہے کہ مولانا لوگوں پر کیا کیا ظلم ہو رہا ہے۔ اس موقع پر حکومت کی جانب سے

مولانا عبد الماجد صاحب
برایوں کی تقریر

پراعتبار ہے۔ ہم نے ترک موالات کو نہایت کامیاب پایا ہے اس کو تیزی کے ساتھ بڑھانا چاہیے۔ اس کی جسے تائید کی اور جسے نام لکھ کر دیا وہ نام یہ تھے۔ مولانا سلامت اللہ۔ پنڈت موتی لعل۔ پنڈت جواہر لعل۔ پنڈت شام لعل۔ پنڈت موہن لعل۔ کمال الدین صاحب۔ میں جس تحریک کی تائید میں یہ چند الفاظ ہمارے تھے کہ تقریر سنا دینے کے بعد اور ایک قابل دماغ کے تائید کر دینے کے بعد میں ضرورت نہیں سمجھتا کہ ایک بیار آدمی جو دو دن سے درد گردہ میں مبتلا ہے آپ کا وقت ضائع کرے۔ ہم نے جو آپ کی کامیابی کا راز اور طریقہ آپ کے غیر مشدد اور کمر کامیاب ہونے کا بتایا اور میں یقینی آپ کو اس حد تک غیر مشدد ہونا پڑے گا۔ جب تک خود کشی کا الزام آپ پر لازم نہ آئے۔ ہندوستان پر چکنے والا سوچ اب پھر پوری کرن آپ پر بھیجے گا۔ ہندوستان کی زمین پر روشنی دکھلانے والے چاند سوچ آپ کی قسمت کی قسم کھا لینگے اور تمام ہندوستان کی بے حس اور ذلیل قوم جو کسی نہج سے قومیت کے دفتر میں جگہ پانے والی نہ تھی اس نے آلات حرب والوں کے مقابلہ میں خالی ہاتھ نہ اٹھایا۔ اس کے ہاتھ اٹھتے تھے مگر کسی کو نشانہ بنانا نہ سیکھیں۔ اگر اس کے ہتھے ہوئے ہاتھ اٹھتے تھے تو پریشور کی درگاہ میں اپنی سچائی کے لیے اور یہ وہ چیزیں لیکر آتی ہے کہ مادی طاقت کا غرور مٹ جائیکو ہے مگر خدا پر بھروسہ رکھنے والی قوم اگرچہ وہ بیکس ہے اگرچہ جلیانوالہ باغ میں اس کا خون مٹی میں ملا دیا گیا ہے۔ اگر وہ آج خدا پر بھروسہ رکھ کر آج اپنی صداقت کی طاقت پر اپنے پُر اسن ترک موالات پر بھروسہ رکھتی ہے تو وہ بڑے غرور کر سکیں گی اینڈ نیوالی طاقتوں کا سر ٹھکے بن پڑتا ہے اور ان کا غرور خاک میں ملتا نظر آتا ہے۔ میں علیل ہوں اور اس نہایت منتظم اور باضابطہ مجلس میں نظام کو بگاڑنا مشکل ہے۔ میں تقریر کو ختم کرتا ہوں۔

جناب مولانا محمد فاخر صاحب

مولانا محمد فاخر صاحب
کی تقریر

جناب صدر انجمن حاضرین۔ کسی ریزولوشن کی تائید قول سے ہوتی ہے یا عمل سے ہوتی ہے میں اس ریزولوشن کا عملی مؤید ہوں اور میں نے اپنے اکلوتے لڑکے کو پنڈت موتی لعل اور جواہر لعل کے بعد ایک سال کے لئے جلیانوالہ بھیجا ہے جو کچھ کو تو ال نے اس سے کہا ہے گرفتاری کے بعد کہ کوڑے ماریں گے تو وہ ہنسنا اور لڑکھانے میں طاقت نہیں ہے کہ کوڑی مار سکویہ وہ ریزولوشن ہے جو صرف ہندوستان کے لئے نہیں بلکہ دنیا کے لئے ایک قباہت ہے۔ اگر آج ہم شانتی اور صبر کے خلاف کوئی کام کرنے چلیں گے قبل اس کے کہ کوئی کام ہو آپس میں وہ ٹکریں لگیں گی کہ ملک برباد ہو جائے گا۔ بڑی سے بڑی قوت کو تباہ کرنے والا آدمی کا استقلال ہے اس کے یہ سنی نہیں کہ ہماری بہادری میں کوئی فرق آتا ہے۔ یہ بھی ایک صورت ہے بہادری کی جو اس ریزولوشن میں بتائی گئی ہے۔ بارنا آسان ہے مرنا مشکل ہے۔ طاقت رکھتے ہوئے اس طرح مرنا زیادہ لطف دے گا کہ او دھر سے تیرا تا ہے، توپ کے گولے نچکتے ہیں، بندوق کی گولیاں آتی ہیں لیکن آپ یہ کہتے ہیں کہ یہ بچہ کی بھینٹا اور گٹنل کے کاٹنے سے زیادہ نہیں۔ ہندوؤں کے یہاں آواگون کا مسئلہ ہے۔ مسلمانوں کے یہاں لکھا ہے کہ جو کوئی خدا کے لئے مرتا ہے وہ مرنا نہیں ظالم جانتا ہے کہ ہم نے اس کی گردن کاٹ لی لیکن ظالم کی گردن پر بلا رہی۔ جہاں تک میں نے تجربہ کیا ہے گا مذہبی جی نے روحانیت کی طرف توجہ کی ہے اور اسی کا اثر ہے کہ سالانہ ان کی آواز پر ٹیک کھتا ہے۔ اگر کوئی دوسرا شخص ایسا تیار ہوگا تو دنیا اس کی

ملک کے مسلم لیڈر جناب مہاتما گاندھی صاحب نے پیش فرمایا ہے ایک تائید کے بعد اس صورت میں کہ دوسرے موبد اور تائید کرنے والے رکے گئے ہیں چند باتیں عرض کرنے کیلئے آیا ہوں۔ پہلی بات یہ ہے کہ یہ تجویز جو مہاتما جی نے آپ کے سامنے پیش کی ہے اس کی تائید کے لیے تکبیر میں پکارنے والی اور ہندو ماترم کا شور مچانیوالی زبانوں کی ضرورت نہیں ہے یہ تجویز اٹھتے ہوئے ہاتھوں سے پاس نہیں ہوگی بلکہ جھکی ہوئی گردن کی اس تجویز کو پاس کرنے کے لیے ضرورت ہے یہ تجویز جس چیز کے ساتھ پاس کی جائیگی وہ روحوں کے تڑپتے ہوئے جذبات ہیں وہ دونوں کے صدمات پاتے ہوئے وہ ٹکڑے ہیں جو مقالہ خلافت اور مصائب پنجاب کی راہ میں اس ہندوستان کے ہر شریف شخصیت انسان کو خواہ وہ کسی طبقہ کا ہو برداشت کرنا پڑا ہے۔ اگر تمہارے دل میں مہاتما کی عزت ہے اگر آج تم اس مصیبت کے زمانے میں اس بات کے متمنی ہو کہ وہ تم کو اس مصیبت سے نجات دے تو اس کے لیے بلند آوازوں گرج پیدا کرناوالی آوازوں کی ضرورت نہ سمجھو۔ بلکہ اس کے واسطے مضبوط عہد اور مستقل ہمت اور ایسے نہ پلٹنے والے ارادے کی ضرورت سمجھو کہ جو تم کو تمہاری کامیابی کی منزل تک پہنچا دے۔ آج کا دن ہماری آزادی کے اعلان کا دن ہونا چاہیے تھا۔ آج کے دن ہمارے اس دو سال کی جدوجہد کے اس نتیجہ کا دن ہونا چاہتا تھا جس کے لیے ہم مخلوق کو منظر بنا چکے تھے۔ ہم خوش ہیں کہ اگرچہ اعلان آزادی کا دن نہیں ہے۔ اس کے کہنے میں مجھے باک نہیں ہے کہ آج کا دن اعلان جنگ کا ضرور ہے اگر اعلان آزادی کا نہیں ہے۔ تمہاری جنگ جس ظالم اور جاہل قوت سے ہے جس غارتگر طاقت کے مقابلہ میں تم جنگ کرنے کیلئے تیار ہوے ہو اس کے مقابلہ کے واسطے اگر جتنی توپوں اور تھتے ہالوں پرستے ہوئے تیروں کی ضرورت ہمیں ہے بلکہ جس چیز کی ضرورت ہے وہ عدم تشدد اور پرامن ترک موالات ہے یہی ایک تمہارا نظام عمل ہے۔ جو ہندوستان کی انسانیت کا جو مختلف قوموں کا گوارا ہے۔ ایک خاص محضرتا ہوا ہے۔ تم نہایت امن کے ساتھ غیر متشدد رہ کر اور تشدد کے عمل کو نظر ہر کر کے جیسے اس تجویز پر عمل کرنے کیلئے تیار ہو۔ جو تمہاری ناکو کھنور سے نکالنے والی ہے اور گرداب ظلم سے سلامتی کے ساحل پر تم کو لجانے والی ہے۔ ابھی کچھ دیر قبل جناب مولانا عبدالباری صاحب تشریف لائے اور فرمایا کہ لکھنؤ سے اسٹیشنوں پر پہنچنے پریشو کی زیارت کیلئے آئیواوں کا ہجوم تھا اور فرماتے تھے کہ جو وہ پہلی بات کرتے تھے تو پوچھتے تھے کہ کانگریس لوٹ کر کیا لائے گا۔ میں نے کہا کہ یہ وہی دن ہونا چاہیے تھا۔ لیکن اگر تم اپنے ارادہ کا نفس کا بوسے طریقہ پوچھا نہ لو تو آج تم یہ کہنے کا حق رکھتے ہو کہ آج اعلان آزادی کا دن نہیں ہے مگر اعلان جنگ کا دن ہے جس کے بعد خدا جلد وہ دن لائے گا کہ ہم اعلان آزادی کے لیے تیار ہو جائیں گے۔ میں مناسب سمجھتا ہوں کہ آپ کی ایک امانت آپ تک پہنچا دوں۔ دوستو۔ وہ امانت ہمارے ملک اور صوبہ کے اور ہند کے محترم جناب پنڈت موتی لعل صاحب نہرو کی امانت ہے۔ مین۔ ۱۰۔ ۱۱۔ ۱۲۔ تاریخ کو لکھنؤ میں اون سے ملا۔ انھوں نے ظاہر کیا۔ اور بتایا کہ میں منتظر تھا کسی ایسے شخص کا کہ جس کے ہاتھ اپنی ایک امانت مہاتما گاندھی اور حکیم اجمل خان اور تمام پیشواؤں ملک اور حاضرین کانگریس تک پہنچا دوں۔ میرے لیے مقام منسرت تھا کہ اس امانت کا امانتدار انھوں نے جھکو منتخب کیا۔ وہ امانت یہ تھی کہ قدم آگے بڑھے بیچے نہ بیٹھے پائے۔ وہ پیام یہ تھا کہ ہم کسی مصالحت کے لیے تیار نہیں ہیں۔ ہمارا مہاتما گاندھی

مولانا عبدالماجد صاحب
بداون کی تقریر

خطبہ صدارت حکیم مولانا صاحب
 یگانہ وطن ہے سچی محبت ہے۔ اس کشمکش میں حقیقت کو اچھی طرح نہ سمجھ کر اور اون اصولوں کے آشنا
 رہ کر اور ناواقف رہ کر ایک قوم پرستوں کی صفوں میں اوس جگہ نہیں آئے ہیں جو ان کے لئے مناسب
 اور جو میں کہتا ہوں اون کے لئے خالی بھی ہے۔ مگر ہم محسوس کرتے ہیں کہ اگر حب وطن کا شعلا اون کے دلوں
 میں موجود ہے تو وہ بہت جلد اپنی غلطی کو سمجھیں گے اور اپنے اون بھائیوں کی جگہ لے لینگے جن کا نام تو می
 جانا زون کی فہرست میں نظر آ رہا ہے۔ میں اپنے بیان کو اون حسرتناک واقعات کا ذکر کئے ہوئے بغیر
 ختم نہیں کر سکتا۔ جو ہر روز مالابار میں پیش آ رہے ہیں۔ نہ میں اپنے مولیا بھائیوں کی لہبی داستان سے
 قطع نظر کر سکتا ہوں۔ اس موقع پر مجھے صاف طور پر بتادینا چاہیے کہ اس مسئلہ کے دو ٹکڑے ہیں۔ ایک
 اوس حکومت کے متعلق ہے جو اس ملک میں قائم ہے اور دوسرا ہندو بھائیوں کے ساتھ مولیا کے تعلق کا
 سوال ہے۔ پہلی بات یہ ہے کہ جو شہادتیں اور ثبوت حاصل ہوئے ہیں اون کی اوپر غور کر کے فیصلہ
 کیا جائے تو ہواے اسکے چارہ نہیں کہ ہم سمجھ لیں کہ خود حکومت ہی اس بد امنی کا باعث ہوئی ہے
 آپ اون طریقوں کو سمجھئے جو اس بد امنی کے روکنے کیلئے اختیار کئے گئے تو ملک میں ایک بھی سمجھدار
 شخص ایسا نہ ہوگا جو انہیں قابل ملامت نہ قرار دے۔ جن لوگوں کو امرتسر کے بعد تجربہ ہو گیا وہ اس قسم
 کی امن کو قائم رکھنے کے فوفاک حقیقت کو اچھی طرح سمجھ سکتے ہیں۔ یہ بالکل اتفاق تھا کہ ریلوے سٹین
 میں ساٹھ آدمیوں کے قریب گھسکر ہلاک ہو گئے اور یہ واقعہ ظاہر ہو گیا ورنہ یوں تو اور بھی بہت ایسے
 واقعات ہیں جو آج تک روشنی میں نہیں آئے لیکن امید ہے کہ جتنا زمانہ گذرنا جائیگا اسی قدر وہ ان کے واقعات آہستہ
 آہستہ آپ بھائیوں تک پہنچتے جائینگے۔ اُحوقت ہم لوگ مالابار کے متعلق اس قابل ہو گئے کہ اپنی سچی اور صحیح رائے
 قائم کر سکیں۔ جہاں تک ان ہندو بھائیوں کا تعلق ہے جنہیں جبراً مسلمان بنایا گیا یا جو مولیاؤں کے ہاتھ سے دوسری
 تکلیفوں میں مبتلا ہوئے ہم ان ہندو بھائیوں سے پوری ہمدردی رکھتے ہیں اور انہیں یقین دلاتے ہیں کہ
 لاکھوں مسلمان ان واقعات میں ان کے ساتھ ہمدردی رکھتے ہیں۔ مجھے یقین ہے کہ اس قسم کے چند واقعات مشورہ
 سے جاہل شخصوں کا کام ہے۔ اور یہ کہ باقی مولیاے ان واقعات پر ملامت کرنے کے لئے اُستیدار تیار ہیں جتنا
 کہ ہمیں سے کوئی شخص ہو سکتا ہے۔ میں سچے دل سے ان واقعات پر تاسف ہوں اور مجھے اُمید ہے کہ میرے
 دوسرے بھائی اپنے تاسف کے اظہار زمین کوئی کمی نہیں کرتے۔ حضرات ہمارا ملک سخت تکلیفیں برداشت کر رہا ہے۔
 لیکن یہ پیشینگوئی مشکل نہیں کہ یہ سختیاں اس نئے دور کا آغاز ہیں جو اس قدیمی روایات کو زندہ کر دینگا کہ ہزار
 وطن اقوام عالم کی صف میں اپنی جگہ پائے گا۔

جناب مولانا عبدالماجد صاحب بدایونی

مولانا عبدالماجد صاحب
 بدایونی کی نقشہ

جناب صدر و معزز حاضرین کا تکریمیں۔ میں اسوقت آپ حضرات کے سامنے اس تجویز کے متعلق جو آپ کے

خلدہ صدرت
حکیم اجل خان صاحب

اختصار کے ساتھ اس کامیابی کا ذکر کروں گا جو ملک کی پُر امن ترک موالات کی تحریک کو شروع سے اس وقت تک حاصل ہوئی ہے۔ آج پُر امن ترک موالات کی روح تمام ملک میں سرسُرت کر چکی ہے اور ہندوستان کے بڑے عظیم کسی گوشہ میں پیٹے قوم پرست کا ایک دل بھی ایسا نہ ہو گا جو سوراج حاصل کرنے اور خلافت اور پنجاب کے ناصافیوں کی تلافی کرنے اور ملک کی ترقی کرنے کے لئے خوشی کے ساتھ تکالیف برداشت کرنے اور قربانیاں دینے کی خواہش سے بھرا ہوا نہ ہو۔ ہماری اس تحریک نے سمندر کے دوسرے ساحل سے بھی وہ بہترین خراج تحسین وصول کیا ہے جو کسی ایک قوم سے دوسری قوم کو مل سکتا ہے۔ اس اعلیٰ مرتبہ مصری قوم کا ذکر کر رہا ہوں جس نے کل کی بات ہے اپنی سیاسی ضروریات کی مناسبت سے ترک موالات کے اصول کو اختیار کر لیا ہے۔ حقیقت میں ہندوستان کے لئے یہ بڑی خوشی کی بات ہے کہ ہندوستان میں جو تحریک شروع کی گئی اور جس پُر امن طریقہ سے انقلاب کی طرف بڑھایا گیا اسے ایشیا کی دوسری قومیں تسلیم کرتی جاتی ہیں۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ہندوستان کی اس تحریک کی بہت بڑی فتح ہے کہ دوسری قومیں ہماری تحریک کو بہ تدریج اختیار کرتی جاتی ہیں اور ہم یقین کرنا چاہتے ہیں کہ آئندہ کا جو ایشیا ہو گا اس کو لیڈ کرنے والا ہمارا ہندوستان ہو گا۔ ہمارے لئے یہ بات بہت فخر کی ہے کہ اب ہمارا ملک دوسرے ممالک کی رہنمائی کر رہا ہے۔ اب پُر امن ترک موالات صرف ہندوستان ہی تک محدود نہیں بلکہ یہ تحریک بہت تیزی کے ساتھ ایک ایشیائی تحریک ہوتی جاتی ہے اور جہاں تک میں سمجھتا ہوں وہ دن دور نہیں معلوم ہوتا جبکہ دنیا اسے باطل اور ناحق کے خلاف ایک عالم گیر ہتھیار کی طرح استعمال کر سکے گی۔ خود ہندوستان میں اس تحریک کی کامیابی سے کون انکار کر سکتا ہے جبکہ ہم دیکھ رہے ہیں کہ لوگ کس قدر خوشی کے ساتھ اور رضا و رغبت کے ساتھ اپنے وطن کی خاطر قربانیاں کر رہے ہیں اور ان کی تعداد روز بروز بڑھتی جاتی ہے۔ ہمارے ہندوستان کے سیوک سُکراتے ہوئے جیلخانوں کو جا رہے ہیں اور سب سے زیادہ تو یہ کہ انتہائی تشدد بھی ان کو ہراسی اور جوبالی تشدد پر پیر کا نہیں سکتا بلکہ کاموں کے عظیم کو دو گنی طاقت دے رہا ہے۔ سخت گیری کے جو فلسفے اور دورے حکومت کو ہوتے ہیں وہ جمعیت العلماء ہند کے فتوے کی ضابطی کے سلسلے میں یا کراچی کے مقدمہ سے متعلق ہوں یا قانون مجالس مغمویانہ یا قانون ترمیم یا دفعہ ۴۴۱ کے عام استعمال کے سلسلے میں ہوں جن کے ذریعے سے رضا کاروں کی پُر امن مشاغل کو روکا جاتا ہے اور ضروریات کے بنیادی اصول کو دبا یا جاتا ہے۔ غرض اس قسم کے اصولوں کا صرف ایک اثر ہوتا ہے کہ قومی کوشش کو جاری رکھنے اور حقوق اور مطالبات کو پورا کرنے کے لئے اہل ملک کا ارادہ اور بھی زیادہ قوی ہوتا جاتا ہے۔ جیلخانوں کا یہ سلسلہ اور نہ ختم ہونے والا جاترا برابر جاری رہتا ہے۔ تاکہ شمالی ہندوستان میں اور تمام مہاراشٹر اندھرا میں حقوق انسانیت کی حفاظت رکھی جائے آج ساری ہندوستانی قوم اس بڑی کشمکش اور اہمیت کو خوب محسوس کرتی ہے۔ جہاں وہ مشغول ہے اور اس خاموش ارادہ کے ساتھ کام کر رہی ہے جو ایک اعلیٰ مقصد کیلئے لڑنے والے بہادروں کے شایان شان ہے۔ حضرات یہ تمام کوششیں جہاں آج کل ہندوستان مصروف ہے نہایت باموقع اور وقت کے عین مطابق ہے۔ اب نہ صرف ایشیا اور افریقہ کے ذریعے بیدار ہو رہے ہیں بلکہ یہ آثار بھی نظر آتے ہیں جو دھندلے ہیں مگر

کارڈانی جلسہ آل انڈیا ٹینس کانگریس چھتیسواں سیشن منعقدہ احمد آباد تیارچ ۲۷ اکتوبر ۱۹۲۱ء بصدار جناب حکیم اجل خان صاحب خطبہ صدارت جناب حکیم اجل خان صاحب

خطبہ صدارت حکیم اجل خان صاحب

ڈیلیگٹ بھائیو بہنو اور حضرات۔ انڈین ٹینس کانگریس کی تاریخ میں پہلی دفعہ آج ہم اس حالت میں جمع ہوئے ہیں کہ برطانیہ حکومت کے ہارے اور نہایت سخت تشدد کی وجہ سے وہ حیرت ہمارے وہ پریسڈنٹ ہم میں موجود نہیں ہیں جو صوابہ کے موافق چنا گیا تھا۔ ہم سب کے لیے یہ بات نہایت رنج کا سبب ہے کہ آج ہماری غم و فکر کے لیے اور آج ہماری رہنمائی کے لیے مسٹر سی۔ آر۔ داس ہم میں موجود نہیں ہیں۔ میرے نزدیک بنگال کے اس شاندار محبت وطن کی بے شمار قومی خدمات کو بیان کرنا یا ان کے اہم مرتبہ کا ذکر کرنا جو انہیں ہماری سیاسی اور نیشنل زندگی میں حاصل ہے ضروری نہیں ہے جبکہ خود تمام قوم نے انہیں صدارت کی وہ بڑی سے بڑی عزت دی جو قوم کی طرف سے دی جاسکتی ہے قوم نے یہ عزت دے کر صاف طور پر بتا دیا ہے کہ اہل ملک کی نظر میں ان کا مرتبہ کس قدر بلند اور اونچا ہے۔ مگر اس خیال سے ان کی غیر موجودگی اور نہ ہونے پر افسوس کرنے کے ساتھ ہی ہم سب کے لئے یہ بات اطمینان کے قابل ہے کہ جس ذات گرامی کو قوم نے اپنا خاص نمائندہ منتخب کیا تھا اس نے اپنی مضبوط جرات مردانگی اور شاندار قربانی کے ساتھ خوشی تکلیفیں اور مصائب برداشت کر کے اپنے کو اس بڑی عزت کا اہل ثابت کر دیا جو انہیں قوم کی طرف سے دی گئی ہے اور نہ صرف یہ بلکہ ان کی گرفتاری نے ہمیں کامیابی سے ایک منزل اور زیادہ قریب کر دیا۔ مسٹر سی۔ آر۔ داس نے اپنے وطن کی جس شاندار خدمات گرفتار ہو کر انجام دی ہیں اتنی شاید وہ آج مسند صدارت پر بیٹھ کر انجام دے سکتے تھے۔ ان کی گرفتاری نے ملک کے سیوکون کے دلوں کو بڑھا دیا ہے اور ان کے یعنی ملک والوں کے ارادہ کو مضبوط کر دیا ہے اور تمام ملک میں ایسی جلی دوڑا دی ہے کہ اس قربانیوں اور کوششوں کے لئے پہلے سے بہت زیادہ تیار کر دیا ہے۔ مگر حضرات شکل یہ ہے کہ میں اپنے اندر سی۔ آر۔ داس جیسے شخص کی جگہ بیٹھ کر ان کے فرائض کے انجام دینے کی واقعی طور پر قابلیت نہیں دیکھتا اور دعا کرتا ہوں کہ جو عزت آپ نے مجھے دی ہے میں اپنے کو اس کا اہل ثابت کرنے کی کوشش کر سکوں نہ صرف اس پنڈال میں بلکہ اس وقت بھی جبکہ اپنے ملک اور اپنے خدا کے لئے ان قربانیوں کے کرنے کا وقت آئے جو ہمارے لئے بہت سے خوش قسمت اور اعلیٰ مرتبہ بھائیوں نے کی ہیں۔ گذشتہ اجلاس کانگریس کے بعد سے آج تک تحریک عزم اشتراک عمل نے جو ترقی کی ہے اس کے تفصیلی تذکرہ کرنے میں آپ کا بہت سا وقت صرف ہو جائے گا۔ اس لئے میں نہایت

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جو

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کے

چھٹیسویں اجلاس

منعقد

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