

**REPORT
OF
THE FORTY-SECOND
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.**

HELD AT

MADRAS

1927.

**PUBLISHED BY
THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE
THE FORTY-SECOND INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, MADRAS.**



Dr. M. A. ANSARI
President.

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SERVANTS OF INDIA
SOCIETY.
POONA.



RECEPTION TO MAHATMA GANDHI.

FOREWORD.

The entire burden and responsibility of collecting and arranging the material for this report of the Madras Sessions of the Indian National Congress, and of seeing it through the press, has fallen on the Secretaries of the Reception Committee of this Congress. That burden should rightly have been borne by the Secretaries of the All-India Congress Committee. But fifteen hundred miles or more separate Madras from Allahabad and the office of the All-India Congress Committee being in Allahabad, it was not easy to supervise the publication of this report from that distance. At our request, therefore, the Madras Reception Committee were good enough to agree to take charge of the work, and on behalf of my co-secretaries and myself, I have to express our indebtedness and thanks to the Reception Committee and their Secretaries.

ALLAHABAD, }
June 16th 1928. }

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU,
General Secretary, A. I. C. C.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

Madras Congress Report.

I General. Tamil Nadu had for the first time, the honor of inviting the Indian National Congress, after she had been constituted into a separate linguistic Congress Province. The Tamilians therefore eagerly welcomed the idea of holding the Congress, and the Districts vied with one another in having the session in their own Districts. But since the Gauhati Congress gave no choice on the venue, it was decided without much discussion, to hold the Congress in the City of Madras.

II Financial Aspect. The year in which the Congress was held in Madras was unfortunately a famine year in the Tamil Nadu, and further it was also a bad year for businessmen in the city and the towns. So it was a matter of great anxiety and concern to the Reception Committee to find money for the expenses. It was almost feared in the beginning that the Reception Committee would have ultimately to meet a large deficit. But the interest of the people of Tamil Nadu in their National organisation was much greater than their capacity. Even those who could not afford to spare Rs. 25 willingly came forward to join the Reception Committee. The enlistment of members to the Reception Committee had even to be stopped, on the eve of the Session as it was not possible to procure enough accommodation in the Congress Pandal. But the rush for visitors' tickets during the last few days was even greater. As our statement of accounts would show, the proceeds from the sale of visitors' tickets amounted to more than Rs. 85,000. Our tickets were sold like hot cakes, and in this connection, we have to express our regret that some persons had to be disappointed, as our accommodation was limited, though large. The Madras Congress was thus an unprecedented financial success, leaving a surplus over Rs. 85,000 and this only shows the hold of the National Assembly over the people of the Tamil Nadu. It must be said to the credit of Tamil Nadu that she liberally contributed to the funds of the Reception Committee, in spite of the fact that it was a bad year for agriculturists and that she had only recently responded nobly to the appeal of Mahatma Gandhi and contributed more than a lac of rupees to the Khadi Fund.

III Arrangements. (i) *Committees.* The Reception Committee had an influential and active Executive Committee with 80 members including Ten Secretaries, and Sixteen Sub-Committees to attend to the

details of the arrangements. A separate influential Committee was formed to run the Exhibition, which was conducted on a grand style.

(ii) *Lay out of the Congress Nagar.* After a great deal of consideration the Spur Tank in Egmore was selected as the site for holding the Congress session. The site was taken on lease from the Government by the Reception Committee from August 1927, on a monthly rent of Rs. 100. and the site was appropriately styled the Congress Nagar. In the very heart of the Congress Nagar, the South Indian Railway Company put up a temporary Flag Station for the convenience of the Public.

The main entrance to the Congress Nagar was on the Spur Tank Road which led into the Ansari Avenue—It must be mentioned here that the various halls, quarters, streets, and pathways were called after the many respected leaders of the Country—Walking along this avenue led one into the Gandhi Round. In this round there were two approaches to the Tilak Mantap, the Main Pavilion where the Congress was held.

The Congress Pavilion. Although it was the usual practice for the last few years, to hold the Congress under the Khaddar Tent, it was decided very lately, on account of the uncertainty of the weather, to dispense with it, and have a special structure. The Pavilion intended to hold easily about 20,000 people. Its structure was built up of casurina posts, cocoanut leaves and bamboo thattis. It was a huge and magnificent structure which attracted the admiration of all the visitors. It was the biggest pavilion ever run up in the city of Madras and reflects great credit on the designers as well as the contractor who put it up in such a short time.

The decorations in the main entrances to the Tilak Mantap and over the Pavilion were neatly and beautifully done after the style of South Indian Temples.

We must mention here that besides the big session of the Congress many other Conferences, such as the Khilafat Conference, the Social Reform Conference, the Music Conference, the Youth Conference and the M. & S. M. Railway Union Conference were held in the various Pavilions in the Congress Nagar during the Congress week.

The Reception Committee Offices, the Telegraph and Post Offices lay adjoining the Malaviya Maidan. From the Maidan a few minutes' walk led into the Srinivasa Avenue, in which were situated the Subjects' Committee Pandal, a neat little structure called after the late lamented Gopala Krishna Gokhale, the Library, and other Pavilions.

Opposite to the porch in the Ansari Avenue was planted the Congress Flag Staff. It may be noted here that the National Flag was unfurled by the Bengal Leader, Sjt. Sen-Gupta, on the morning of the 25th instant, in a grand, and ostentatious ceremony, characteristic of



THE UNFURLING CEREMONY OF THE FLAG.

Hindu Festivals. The Delegates' quarters and the volunteers' camp were also situated in the Gandhi Nagar. The kitchen and the dining halls were situated to the North-East of the Tilak Mantap.

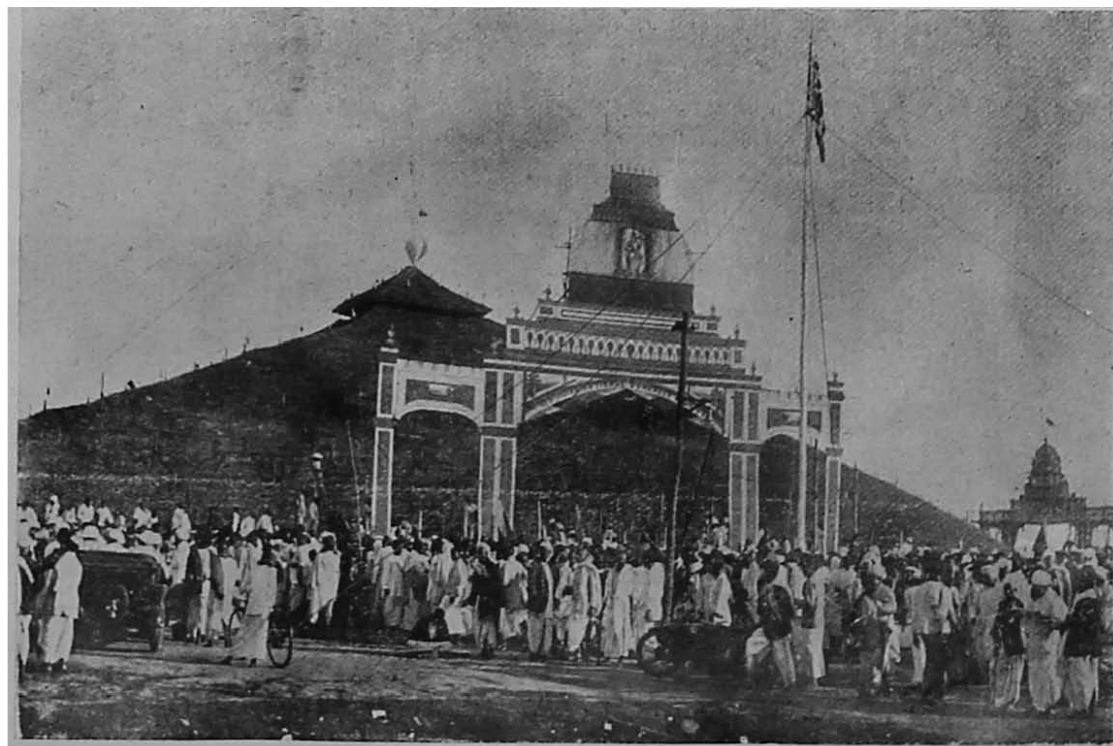
(iii) *Dining arrangements.* Different kitchens were arranged to suit the conveniences of delegates from different provinces, and although catering was left to different contractors the arrangements were quite satisfactory, as they were under the direct and immediate supervision of the Food Sub-Committee.

IV Conclusion. In conclusion, the Reception Committee feel bound to thank the people of the Tamil Nadu who so nobly and patriotically responded to the call of the Congress, the Volunteers, the members of various Sub-Committees, the different contractors and many other friends every one of whom took the cause as his or her own, and co-operated with the Committee in every possible manner and made the Madras Congress a grand success not only from the point of view of the arrangements made, but from the point of view of the epoch-making resolutions passed by the Congress.

Finally, the Reception Committee regret the delay in the publication of this Report under circumstances beyond their control.

Madras,
25th October 1928.

The Reception Committee



ENTRANCE VIEW OF CONGRESS PANDAL.

THE 42ND SESSION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Open Session

The Congress was held in the Congress Nagar, Spur Tank, Madras, on the 26th December and the two following days.

PART I.

The Congress Nagar was a beautiful city worthy of the great cause to which it was dedicated. It was brought into existence as if by a magician's wand on the spacious and attractive site of the Spur Tank. The streets were well planned and laid out. They ran parallel to one another and were named after the great men and women of India.

The delegates were accommodated in excellent quarters and were well protected from the sun and rain. The main entrance to the Nagar was on the side of the Spur Tank very close to the pavilion. Outsiders who came to visit this pavilion took it for a picturesque hill with the National Flag waving high in the air. The Subjects Committee pandal was close to the Congress pavilion. The pavilion was constructed for an assembly of 20000 people (2500 members of the Reception Committee, 3000 delegates and about 15 thousand visitors). The seats were arranged for delegates as near as possible to the President. Lady visitors were seated in a separate enclosure close to the delegates. Other visitors were given seats, the proximity of which to the President's seat varied in proportion to the value of their tickets. The rostrum for the speakers was fixed in a central and a convenient place. The Pandal was decorated with pictures of national leaders, khaddar buntings and festoons. The President's dais had on embroidered canopy and floral hangings. Loud speakers and trumpets were fitted up to enable the audience at the farthest corners of the pandal to hear the speakers well.

The Congress assembled at 2 P.M. on Monday the 26th December 1927 to deliberate and decide upon problems of momentous importance to the country. Dr. M. A. Ansari, the great Muslim National Leader, presided over the session. Almost all the prominent leaders of the

Congress belonging to different communities and many ex-presidents of this great national Institution graced the occasion with their presence. Local leaders of other schools of thought were also present as members of the Reception Committee or as donors.

Punctually at 2 P.M. Dr. Ansari, the President Elect was received at the main entrance of the Congress Nagar by Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar, Chairman of the Reception Committee, and Secretaries and members of the Committee, and conducted to a retiring tent in the compound of the pavilion, where he took a short rest. Dr. Ansari and the leaders then marched in procession accompanied by a band and volunteers to the Congress pavilion, which they entered amidst deafening cheers and shouts of "Dr. Ansari ki jai" and proceeded to the dais through the central passage, where young men and lady volunteers presented an arch of staves. Leaders went in pairs in the following order:—

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar and Mr. Satyamurti, Mr. T. Prakasam and Mr. Venkatappiah, Maulana Shaukat Ali and Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Mr. Sen Gupta and Mr. Jammalal Bajaj, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Mahomed Ali, Mr. Vijayaraghavachari and Mr. Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Annie Besant and Pandit Malaviya, The President Elect, Dr. M. A. Ansari and the Reception Committee Chairman, Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar.

When the President took his seat, others took their seats.

On the President's dais were seated besides the leaders who formed the procession the following:—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Mahomed Shaffee Davood, Mr. Mardy Jones, the Raja of Ramnad, the Raja of Panagal, the Raja of Kollengode, the Hon'ble Dr. Subbaroyan (Minister), The Hon'ble Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliar (Minister), the Hon'ble Mr. R. N. Arokiaswami Mudaliar (Minister), the Hon'ble Mr. C. V. S. Narashima Razu, Sir Ebrahim Rahimtullah, Mr. Sami Venkatachellam Chetti, Dr. Varadarajulu, Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi, Mr. Justice Venkatasubba Rao, and Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar.

In the adjoining block reserved for donors and distinguished visitors were present the following gentlemen among others:

Sir. R. Venkataratnam, Mr. T. Rangachari, Mr. N. Krishnaswami Iyengar, Sir K. V. Reddi, Dr. Muthu, Mr. K. Srinivasa Aiyangar, Mr. Justice C. R. Thiruvengkatachari, Mr. T. C. Srinivasa Iyengar, Mr. G. A. Natesan, Mrs. Hannen Angelo, Mr. Vidyasagar Pandya, the Rev. Mr. Popley, Mr. Macleland, Mr. P. D. Asher Sait.

The proceedings commenced at 2-30 P.M. with the singing of the Bandemataram and other national songs by the Congress music chorus, which included ladies.



C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDALIAR
Chairman,
Reception Committee.

THE ADDRESSES.*

The Chairman of the Reception Committee then ascended the Rostrum and welcomed the President and the delegates.

Mr. Muthuranga Mudaliar occupied about half an hour to read his address which was received well by the audience as indicated by the friendly demonstrations which the audience made towards the close of the address especially when he said that he re-affirmed his faith in Gandhiji's original policy of boycott of Councils. There were cries of "Hear, hear", and Mahatmaji-ki-jai.

Dr. Ansari was garlanded amidst cheers and without the usual formality of speeches before installation as President, he proceeded to the rostrum and delivered his presidential address. As he stood on the rostrum and laid the rose garland on the wooden palisade, the rose petals naturally showered on Mahatmaji's large size photograph decorating the rostrum.

The President started reading his address at a few minutes after three and took over an hour to finish it. He was frequently cheered by the audience.

RESOLUTIONS.

Late Mr. P. C. Ray.

The following resolutions were put from the chair and carried unanimously:

(1) This Congress places on record its profound sorrow at the untimely demise of Mr. Prithivis Chandra Ray, one of the former Secretaries of the Bengal Congress Committee and conveys its deep sympathy to his family.

Sympathy For Kakori Victims.

This Congress puts on record its sense of deep pain at the callous attitude of the government in not commuting the brutal sentences passed in the Kakori case against Sjs. Ramprasad Bismal, Rajendranth Lahir, Ashfaqulla and Roshan Singh in spite of the powerful public indignation aroused by the vindictive sentences and offers its heartfelt sympathy to the families of the victims.

The League Against Imperialism.

This Congress welcomes the formation of the League against Imperialism at the Congress against Imperialism held at Brussels in February 1927 and approves of the decision of the All India Congress Committee to associate itself with this organisation in the struggle against Imperialism.

China.

This Congress sends its warmest greetings to the people of China and its assurances of full sympathy with them in their fight for emancipation and records its condemnation of the action of the Indian

* See Appendix I.

Government in refusing passports to the Medical Mission which the All India Congress Committee wanted to send to China. The Congress has noted with deep resentment that Indian troops have again been used by the British Government to further their imperialist designs in China and to hinder and prevent the people of China from gaining their freedom.

The Congress demands that all Indian troops and police forces still in China be recalled immediately and that no Indian should go to China in future as an agent of the British Government to fight or work against the Chinese people who, in the opinion of the Congress are the comrades of the Indian people in their joint struggle against imperialism.

The Congress further demands the withdrawal of Indian troops police and consulate guards from Mesopotamia and Persia and from all British Colonies and foreign countries, wheresoever they may be.

Refusal of Passports.

(i) This Congress condemns the policy of the British Government of refusal to issue passports to some Indians who desire to visit foreign countries and of preventing the entry into India of some Indians and others by the refusal to grant them the necessary visas. The Congress demands that all unnecessary passport formalities be done away with and full freedom of movement to and from India be permitted.

(ii) The Congress particularly condemns the action of the British Government in cancelling the Indian visa of Mr. Shapurji, J. Saklatvala thereby preventing him from visiting his native country and making him an exile. The Congress records its appreciation of the courage with which Mr. Saklatvala has consistently stood for the freedom of India in spite of the opposition and difficulties he has had to face in a hostile chamber where there was often no second person to support him.

War Danger

Pandit Jawaharlal.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (U. P.) moved the following resolution:—

This Congress has noted with grave concern the extraordinary and extensive war preparations which the British Government is carrying on in India and in the Eastern Seas, specially in the North West Frontier of India. These preparations for war are not only calculated to strengthen the hold of British Imperialism in India in order to strangle all attempts at freedom, but must result in hastening a disastrous war in which an attempt will be made to make India again a tool in the hands of foreign imperialists.

The Congress declares that the people of India have no quarrel with their neighbours and desire to live at peace with them, and asserts their right to determine whether or not they will take part in any war.

The Congress demands that these war preparations be put an end to; and further declares that in the event of the British Government embarking on any warlike adventure and endeavouring to exploit India in it for the furtherance of their imperialist aims. It will be the duty of the people of India to refuse to take any part in such a war or to co-operate with them in any way whatsoever.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in commending the resolution to the acceptance of the Congress said :—

Mr. President and comrades—This session of the Indian National Congress will have many important resolutions to consider and adopt. But I venture to say that not one of them will be more important than the one I have just now placed before you. It is important because any war now-a-days is an international disaster. It must result in terrible slaughter and destruction. It must let loose as the last war let loose, the flood-gates of hatred and barbarism. When all countries and all nations are linked together and cannot be separately considered it is inconceivable, even if a war is fought outside the frontiers of India that it would leave India untouched. We have intimate connection with any such war, because it is likely to be fought very near our frontiers and India is very likely to be involved in it. If there is such a war, you and I will not sit peaceably holding our Conferences and Congresses. Indeed, we may ourselves hear the roaring of cannon and we may see bombshells dropping from aeroplanes upon our peaceful villages. It is very important also because such a war may result—I hope it does not result—in strengthening British Imperialism to such an extent that it may make it more difficult for us to achieve freedom. It may remove for a generation or two our hope of freedom, so that in any event we cannot ignore any preparations for war or any chance of war.

No man or woman can ignore it, least of all an Indian who desires to achieve freedom for his country. It is a well known fact that all countries are preparing more or less for war. It is not England only it is every country because in Europe to-day there is fear. Europe is in the grip of fear and out of fear comes hatred and out of that come violence and barbarism. Every country in Europe hates every other country. The most feared and hated country in Europe is England. There is talk of disarmament, there is talk of peace. But those of you who have taken the trouble to study what has been happening at Geneva and elsewhere will realise that all this talk of disarmament is mere camouflage. To-day Europe is perhaps a greater powder magazine than it was in 1914 when the last Great war broke out. War has

not broken out yet because all nations are exhausted. But all the seeds of war are present and at present in greater number than they were thirteen years ago. When you look at the Balkans, Poland, Italy, Czecho Slovakia, Lithuania and Russia, everywhere there is preparation for war, and there is chance for war. Let us see what attitude the country with which we have most relation, has taken in these war preparations and in this talk of peace and disarmament. We are specially interested in Britain's attitude. We have had in recent times various disarmament conferences at Geneva. There was a Naval Disarmament Conference also. But these Conferences failed largely because Britain could not agree to proposals made by other countries. Indeed in the past Britain has definitely refused to accept the principle of compulsory arbitration. Britain has refused even to make a treaty of compulsory arbitration with a little country like Switzerland because it may be giving up a dangerous principle! It has stood to its right to wage war without any reference to the League of Nations or to any other authority. At the last meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations Sir Austen Chamberlain made an extraordinary speech on behalf of England. He stated that he was not prepared to sacrifice the Empire for the vague ideals of peace and disarmament of the League of Nations. For him the British Commonwealth was a greater thing than those ideals.

What is the Empire but India? It comes to this; for the sake of India to hold India under subjection. Sir Austen Chamberlain and the British Government cannot agree to the principles of disarmament of peace. It is well recognised in Europe, especially by small nations who are always raising this question in the League of Nations, that England is the greatest obstacle to-day in the attainment of disarmament or world peace. I should like to indicate to you some of the war preparations which England is making. You know that preparations for war are secret preparations. Nations do not advertise when they are going to prepare for war. None the less when preparations are being carried on on a most extensive scale—on the scale which England has been carrying on—it is impossible to hide them. So some of these things have come to light. The biggest and one of the latest things we have had for a number of years before as is the Singapore base. Why is England spending millions and millions of pounds and making this great Naval base at Singapore? Surely it can only be a challenge directed against some of the powers which have interests in the Pacific and round about the Eastern Seas. It is primarily directed against China and Japan also against France, for, if there is a war there is a danger of France declaring war against England. Then England can threaten French possessions in India, China from Singapore. It is also directed against the Dutch East Indies, because England can force Holland to be neutral in case of

war. It is directed partly at any rate against America and American Dominions in the Pacific, because in case of conflict England could sweep down on the Philippine Islands and take possession of them. It is chiefly directed against India because it is for the retention of India that all these things are done. Imagine, that there is a struggle in India, then, the Singapore base will facilitate the transport of troops from Australia to India and in many other ways will help the British in taking the offensive in India. So much for the Singapore base.

Then, we have another naval base which is being made at Trincomalee. We have also the great Royal Indian Navy which has recently been created with a flourish of trumpets. Whatever it may be, it is not an Indian Navy except perhaps that the expenses for it will come out of the Indian Exchequer. This Navy is merely an adjunct of the British Navy to help the British Government against India although it may be at our cost. Again, I should like to draw your attention to the rapid development of the transport system in India especially in the North-Western frontier province, Western Punjab and the north-east frontier in India. War now-a-days very largely depends on transport. That is why the transport system has been perfected. Strategic railways have been laid all over the North-Western frontier. You have heard of the Khyber Pass Railway. You will also hear subsequently of other strategic Railways which are being built at great cost for military reasons. When military reasons are considered, cost is no consideration. Military roads have been built from the Khyber Pass, from the Punjab, from the North-West frontier, right up to Karachi. Motor-lorry services have been started from Karachi to Peshawar. All this will facilitate the transport of troops and other materials in time of war. Although railways are there, railways might perhaps not be suitable—they may perhaps have strikes to contend against; therefore the whole military machinery of England is being made self-sufficient.

Now let me come to the North-Eastern frontier in Assam. Recently you might have noticed in the papers, that proposals are being considered that a part of Assam to the north-east of India may be converted into a new military province like the North-West frontier to facilitate the carrying on of war there, if necessary. For this purpose roads are laid. Railways are projected between Bengal and Burma and even between Burma and Assam. You may remember that the "Forward" of Calcutta was some time ago banned from entering Burma. The reason why it was banned was that it published and criticised something about these military roads in Assam, and the proposal to create a new military province. Let me now go back to the North-Western Province where there is an extraordinary concentration of air forces and tanks. Those who know have told us, it is the finest and best equipment that any army possesses. Karachi has been

created an air-base and other bases in the North-Western Province are being prepared ; so that Province is to-day full of activity for preparations for war. Two proposals have been made in England and also in Anglo-Indian journals in India which, although officially denied in Parliament, persist in getting publicity in the press. These periodicals are supposed to know what the Government are doing and these proposals are of the greatest interest to us. The first was that a part of the British Expeditionary Force should be stationed in India because there is more danger of war in Asia than in Europe. Therefore, it is desirable that that force should be ready in India and should immediately start war-like preparations when necessary. The second proposal was that these highly developed mechanised forces should be used when there is any danger of war. The procedure that England should adopt was coldly stated in the English Press to be not to wait for an attack but to make a forward spring into Central Asia across Afghanistan in one sweep. This was proposed because just in the same way Germans are supposed in their attack on France to have made a forward spring across Belgium.

I should like to tell you one or two things also in connection with the war preparations of Britain, which a friend of mine has drawn attention to. He himself is a famous doctor and he tells me that a large number of persons have received a circular letter from the Medical Military Department in India. This letter has been issued to every member of the Civil Military Department and he has been asked if he is prepared in case of emergency to serve as Medical Military Officer. Another letter has been issued to all Military doctors who have served in the last war asking them if they are prepared to join the Medical Reserve. Friends, I should like you to consider what all this means. When this resolution was moved in the subjects Committee, some people thought that it was rather an unnecessary resolution. They have not heard of any military preparations and they do not know anything of the coming war. They think that our domestic problems are more important. They ask why we should waste time and energy over what might be happening in the North-West Frontier Province. I beg of you to consider whether these few facts are not sufficient to make you realise the great danger of war that exists in the world and round about India in particular. If such a danger exists, are you prepared to take no notice of it, but discuss only petty problems ?

Two more things I want to tell you in connection with these preparations. The recent treaty between England and Mesopotamia—the Anglo-Iraq treaty—is one. And the second is the Amir's visit to India. I would not be surprised if the cordial welcome the British Government extended to him, has not something to do with the desire of the British Government to win him over. We are not in a position

to stop the war, it may be. But at any rate we are in a position to make it clear what attitude India will take up and it is quite possible and conceivable that if India's attitude is clearly stated then England too may change hers. England might not dare to provoke war when she knows that India would not support the war but actually hinder the conduct of the war. Now this resolution lays down clearly that India has no quarrel with her neighbours. As to the declaration itself, it is our right to determine whether we shall join the war or not. Thirdly, another declaration follows and that is the most important. In case war comes and an attempt is made to exploit you, you will refuse to be exploited and to take any part in the war. I trust that if war comes and I think war may be nearer than most of us imagine—it may come in a year, two years or five years—this National Congress will follow up the lead given to-day. I also trust that the Indian people will rally round the Congress forgetting their petty differences and generally adopt the attitude which the Congress has suggested and refuse to participate in the war and suffer any consequences that might follow. I am convinced that if the Congress and the Indian people adopt this attitude they will emerge from that great ordeal much better, much freer and India will be a unified independent Nation. (Applause).

Mr. Nimbkar in seconding the resolution said:

"Ladies and Gentlemen, it is with the greatest pleasure that I am seconding the resolution about War Danger proposed by my friend Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The first thing that the Viceroy did in India was to open a railway on the North West Frontier Province. If you take into consideration this very fact you will realise the attempts of British Imperialism in preparing for future War. Not only on the North West Frontier Province Railways and Roads and other military preparations are being made but also on the North East Frontier or the Burmese Frontier and on the Yennan Frontier war preparations are being made. Then let us take the other side of it; that is the naval one. We hear in Bombay and Karachi and Trincomalee of air forces. We know that the War Secretary of the British Government is in India at present. 13 years ago the Imperialist powers of the world started war on the principle of righteousness. It is eight years since peace was declared and ever since preparations are slowly being made. England, United States of America, Japan are all Imperialist Powers. What is Imperialism? Imperialism is an advanced development of capitalism. Every misfortune in the world results from Capitalism and militarism. A new force is being created in the world. Russia by the Revolution of the 7th November 1917 has started the mass force of emancipation in the world to-day. If you look to the other part of the Globe, I mean China, Imperialist Powers have by mutual consent entered that country and have begun to exploit it. We find revolution going on in China. Like Russia

peasants have begun to rule in China. It makes one-third part of the globe, which is dominated by the new theory of emancipation, call it socialism or communism or by any other name. This is a fear to the capitalist world and the Imperialistic world. England knows her position. Britain is a very small microscopic island in Europe. Her colonies refuse any measure of help if she wants to enter war with any other nation. We know Great Britain wants to fight out China, fight out Afghanistan and fight out Russia. These nations exist to safeguard the liberation of the world, if not to help it. If England's colonies are not going to help her, on what does she rely? England has a dependency in India. Though India was conquered rightly or wrongly her power and her other resources have been utilised for the Imperialistic purposes of Great Britain. (Shame). If a war is threatened, India is going to be a base of that war with the Afghan and Russian menace. Whilst Nationalist India is fighting for her independence and Swaraj, is she going to be a tool in the hands of British Imperialism to fight out independent nations of the world which stand for the emancipation of Mankind. (Cries of No, I no!).

Afghanistan, China and Russia do not want to fight India. In Russia there has been a revolution. Therefore, if India determines by this resolution not to play into the hands of British Imperialism not to fight the nations who are not enemies of India but who want to be her friends, I hope you will not be satisfied with merely passing this resolution, but as the resolution demands you will carry on propaganda to start an anti-War League.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar translated the resolution in Tamil while Mr. B. Raja Rao translated it in Telugu.

The resolution was put to the House and carried unanimously.

The Congress then adjourned till 1 P.M., on Tuesday the 27th December.

TUESDAY'S PROCEEDINGS

The President's Announcement

The Congress re-assembled on Tuesday at 1 p. m. The proceedings began with the singing of National songs by volunteers.

The President made the following announcement :

Before I commence to-day's proceedings I owe an apology to the members of the Subjects Committee for not holding the Subjects Committee meeting yesterday afternoon as announced. But I wish to tell you that the most important question of Hindu-Muslim unity on which really depends the entire work in the future was under discussion and I am very glad to be able to announce that all the Hindu and Muslim leaders and men of importance from the various provinces who

were consulted have unanimously come to a decision (Cheers.) and therefore every obstacle in the way of our advancement has been removed. (Cheers.) I hope, therefore, that the members of the Subjects Committee would pardon me for not coming to the meeting yesterday but I propose that we should go on from now till 4 o'clock and get through all the resolutions which are ready to be placed before you here and then the Subjects Committee will meet from 5 till 8 P.M., when there will be an interval for dinner. After it, if necessary, we will have an all-night's sitting and finish drafting all our resolutions, and thus I hope that to-morrow morning we will be able to get through all our work in the open session of the Congress.

Mr. Avari's Hunger-Strike

The following resolution was put from the chair :

This Congress congratulates General Manchershaw Avari, leader of the Arms Act Satyagraha movement of Nagpur and his followers on their sturdy patriotism and self-sacrifice and expresses the deepest sympathy of the Nation on the 75th day of the hunger strike of Avari.

Dr. Ansari in moving the resolution said :—

Ladies and Gentlemen, a telegram has just been received and handed to me by Mr. Sambamurti. It is sent from Nagpur on the 26th and it reads thus :—General Avari is on the 78th day of Hunger-strike and in dangerous state (Sd.). Ambaker, so that today is the 80th. day of the Hunger-strike.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Ayyangar read the resolution in Tamil and it was put and carried unanimously.

Separation of Burma

Mr. Maung Maung Ji moved the following resolution :

This Congress disapproves of all attempts to separate Burma from India and condemns the idea of creating the North-Eastern Frontier Province.

This Congress appeals to the Indians and Burmans in their mutual interests to promote Indo-Burmese *entente* in all possible ways.

Maung Maung Ji

Maung Maung Ji said : Brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,

The resolution which I have just moved requires that we should be united in all our struggles for freedom and liberty and we have come all the way from Burma to win your sympathy and understanding in order that we may carry on the fight against separation of Burma. We want to be as free as an Englishman is free in England, to tax our

own people, to defend our own homes and to educate our own people. But you will realise that every effort is made by the Government to keep us divided in our aspirations and therefore you will see that racial animosity is growing up everywhere in India and Burma, and thus you will find that the Hindus and Mohamedans are quarrelling and the Government is taking advantage of that. The same thing is engendered in Burma and you will see there what is called the Black Bill which has been passed by the Government of Burma in order to keep the Indians and Burmans divided in their aspirations. The policy of divide and rule has been adopted by the Government and therefore in their diplomatic way they want to separate Burma from India so that Burma might be called a separate English province, a solitary province entirely in the hands of the British capitalists, in the hands of the European nation and thus will entirely become a tool in the hands of the Englishmen themselves. We talk to-day of freedom, but I ask you, is there such a thing called freedom in the British Empire. We in Burma are handicapped at every step to attain our freedom. The idea of separation is being engendered in Burma so that Burmans may become haters of Indians and drive them out. We have realised that Indians are essential, are needed in our political work and in our aspirations for liberty. We have heard about the creation of the North-Eastern province. And what is the purpose of that creation? It is merely to create a kind of border-land between Burma and India and thus Burma will become entirely a province wherein Englishmen and other nations of Europe will carry on their exploitation and have their tyrannical way of ruling us. You will realise that sometime ago the Government of Burma on the pretext of freeing the plains, investigated the North-Eastern Frontier plains. Under this guise they were simply striving to capture a strategic position in order that they might create a North-Eastern Province so that in a few years Burma will become a smaller province than she is to-day. We cannot adopt that policy. We should not allow ourselves to be divided in our aspirations. We appeal to you who have given us Buddha not to allow such a thing to be done. When you go to Burma you will find that the Burmese are one with you in their aspiration for political freedom. (Cheers). Therefore when the Englishmen say that we are divided, we say that we are not, even though there may be superficial differences here and there. We will not allow the policy of divide and rule to divide us. Let us be united. Let us give up racial hatred. I know that India and Burma is one, the whole Asia is one and we should guard ourselves against the aggression of the west. We in Asia should unite ourselves realising that Britons have only come, in order to carry on their economic war.

Therefore the resolution which I have just read out to you will I am sure, receive the consent of all of you, for I can tell you that all

our aspirations are one. India and Burma hand in hand will be more powerful than separate and in course of time we may be in a position to effectively fight our own battles, realise our own aspirations and declare our own independence. Whether we are a Hindu, a Mohamedan, or Buddhist, or Parsi or Jain to whatever religion or caste we belong, or to whatever race you may belong we are united, we are one and therefore, I say again that Burma and India and the whole of us should throw our lots together and be united in our aspirations. If the Government should say that the Burman people should be separated, be firm and reply that they should not in the least be separated from you politically or otherwise. I therefore beg to move this resolution which I just read and I am sure you will be able to give your solid vote to this, because this time we have come all the way from Burma to throw in our lot with you to fight our struggle with other Nations because we are only slaves in our own country. Those of you who have gone to Europe and other places would realise that it is better to be free or to be shot at rather than be slaves in our own land. (Loud applause.) I have been to Europe myself, I have stayed there, I have been educated there and when I came home I found that we are no better than slaves in the land of our origin. People are wont to say that Britain is the custodian of liberty but I say "No". In the land of our birth, the Englishman to-day is the boss, the Englishman dominates over all of us, the Englishman controls the whole show. When you go in the streets you will find that the Englishman is better placed. You go into your own office you find that the Englishman has the upper hand. So I say we will be one whether Hindus, Mohamedans or Buddhists, we will be united in our aspirations and I say once again that by this means we shall fight against the Western domination. (Loud and prolonged applause).

श्री. ओटामा—वर्मा

वर्मा को हिन्दुस्तान से मिल रखने के प्रस्ताव पर बोलते हुए श्री. ओटामाने कहा—

प्यारे भाइयो, ईसा महाहि के जन्म के पहले, आज से २००० वर्ष पूर्व पाटलीपुत्र के महाराज अशोक ने धर्म प्रचारार्थ कुछ बौद्ध सन्यासियों को वर्मा भेजा था। उसी समय से हिन्दुस्तान और वर्मा का सम्बन्ध चला आता है। जो कुछ हमारे पास है, हम ने हिन्दुस्तान से पाया है, और जो कुछ हम ने सीखा है हिन्दुस्तान से सीखा है। असल में वर्मा राजनीति में अभी बच्चा है।

यह अंग्रेजी सरकार वर्मा को हिन्दुस्तान से अलग करना चाहती है। पर यह बात हम वर्मनों की इच्छा के बिल्कुल खिलाफ है। वह कहती है हिन्दुस्तानी वर्मा को

छूट रहे हैं और उसका धन हिन्दुस्तान में ले जा रहे हैं। इसलिए बर्मा को हिन्दुस्तान से अलग करना चाहिए। पर सच्ची बात कहने में मुझे कोई डर नहीं। अगर हिन्दुस्तान में हमारा धन चला भी जाय तो वह फिर हमारे पास आ सकता है। पर जो धन अंग्रेज़ हमारे देश से ले जाते हैं उसका एक पैसा भी हमारे पास नहीं लौटेगा। हिन्दुस्तानी अगर कुछ ले जाते हैं तो हमारा पैर पकड़ के ले जाते हैं। पर अंग्रेज़ जो कुछ ले जाते हैं वे हमें लात मार के ले जाते हैं। इस कांग्रेस की ४२ वीं बैठक है और बर्मा की गुलामी का भी ४२ वां साल है। बर्मा हिन्दुस्तान से अलग होने पर विधवा स्त्री की तरह हो जायगा। अगर बर्मा हिन्दुस्तान से अलग हो जाय तो उस से हिन्दुस्तान की कोई हानि नहीं होगी पर उस हालत में बर्मा की रक्षा मुश्किल हो जायगी। हिन्दुस्तान हमारा पिता, माता, भाई बहिन सब कुछ है। हमारी आप से प्रार्थना है कि बर्मा को हिन्दुस्तान के साथ रखने की आप कोशिश करें।

Mr. Prakasam

Mr. Prakasam supporting the resolution said:—

Ladies and Gentlemen, President and brother delegates, I am asked to support the resolution because two or three years ago I happened to be in Burma and toured the whole country and studied the conditions there within the time at my disposal. The first part of the resolution condemns the attempts made to separate Burma from India and condemns also the idea of creating a north-eastern province. These attempts to separate Burma from India have been made for sometime because the British Government feels that the Burmese people are more united on account of the one religion and one race which they have adopted and to which they belong. They know that when once political ideas spread from India across the sea into Burma, Burma and the Burmese people will not stop short like ourselves here in India. When Montague-Chelmsford Reforms were introduced in India, Burma was ignored and Burmese people took up the cause and agitated and got what was called the Frederick Whyte Commission and with regard to Frederick Whyte Commission, I would tell you how wonderfully they succeeded. It was the Burmese women that made the Commission impossible in Burma. It was the Burmese ladies that went and stretched themselves on roads and asked the men to walk over them if they ever dared to walk. What was denied to Burma when reforms were introduced here, under the plea that Burma was a backward province they got what was granted to India on account of their boycott. So it is believed by the British people that Burma would prove any moment a more dangerous country with regard to the political agitation in India, and Burma is to-day one of the Provinces under the Government of India Act. There are two members from

Burma who are coming to the Legislative Assembly and it is believed that they would be carrying on these ideas of political agitation to Burma. Above all the irrepressible Rev. Uttama and thousands and lakhs of people would be following him as they hold him in the same estimation in Burma as that in which Mahatma Gandhi is held in India. Rev. Uttama has been put into the jail and he says 'throw me again and I will come back again'. Rev. Uttama is not a man who is afraid of losing his rights. Burma is there and India is here. Rev. Uttama comes here and Maung Maung Ji delivers his address here. What would happen if ultimately there is a huge trouble in Burma? That is why there is this anxiety of Burmese Government to separate Burma from India. I would tell you one another point. As I was travelling from South to North of Burma, to what is called Shan States which is as big as Burma and which has been separated from the whole of Burma they have taken care to see that Burmese people are not employed in Shan States. By carving out this North-Eastern frontier a large portion of Burma would be taken away and Burma would be absolutely nothing then. That is the idea and that is why we are anxious to oppose this formation of the North-East frontier also. When I was touring in Burma I made it a point to appeal to the Burmese friends for the Indo-Burmese Entente and it is that very thing, that is put in the resolution to-day. I therefore commend the resolution to all of you.

Mr. A Rangaswami Ayyangar by permission of the President said 'I shall read the resolution and put it to vote after translating it in Tamil'.

The resolution was translated in Tamil, Telugu and Hindi and then put to vote and passed unanimously.

THE INDEPENDENCE RESOLUTION

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru rising amidst cheers said :

"It is my high privilege to place before you the resolution on Independence (Cheers).

The resolution reads thus :—

"The Congress declares the goal of the Indian people to be complete national independence".

I do not think I can describe this resolution in any better language than that used by the distinguished Ex-President of the Congress, Dr. Annie Besant in an interview which she gave immediately after the Subjects Committee had accepted this resolution. She said that it was a dignified and a clear statement of India's goal. (Cheers),

No special remarks are necessary from me in commending this resolution for your acceptance specially after the almost complete unanimity with which the Subjects Committee approved of it. But I wish to explain very clearly one or two points connected with this resolution. The first thing is that this resolution although it makes clear the goal does not change the present creed of the Congress. If you pass this resolution, you declare by a majority, I hope by an over whelming majority that the Congress is to-day for complete independence. None the less you leave the doors of the Congress open to such persons as may not approve of this goal has they perhaps are satisfied with a lesser or a smaller goal. I think that although the door of the Congress is open there should be no doubt, if you approve of this resolution, then everybody must say that the majority of the Congressmen to-day demand complete independence for the country. Now this resolution as placed before you is a very short and simple one. In the Subjects Committee the resolution as you may know because the proceedings are quite public was slightly longer and more complicated. But ultimately it was changed to this present formula and this formula was adopted.

I wish to make it clear to you that the adoption of this formula does not in any way change the spirit or the meaning of the resolution. It means what it says. It means complete independence. It means control of the defence forces of the country. It means control over the financial, economic policy of the country. It means control over the relations with the foreign countries (Hear Hear). Without these things independence would be a travesty and camouflage.

Thirdly I wish to point out to you lest there be any mistake that this goal, which I hope you will adopt to-day is the immediate goal and not a goal of the far distant future. (Cheers). Whether we achieve it to-day or to-morrow, a year hence or 10 years hence I cannot say. That depends on your strength and the strength of the country.

May I in conclusion express my heartfelt gratitude that the Congress is about to adopt the goal worthy of our country's high destiny and hope that this goal may be reached in the near future (Cheers).

He then explained the resolution in Hindi.

Mr. Bulusu Sambamurthi

Mr. Bulusu Sambamurthi (Andhra) in seconding the resolution said :—

“ Sisters and Brothers, it is with great pleasure that I support this resolution. The clarification of the ideal of a nation is the fundamental thing on which the whole superstructure of the constitution

of a nation can be built. It is that the sovereignty of every country rests in the people of that country and that is the fundamental right of every nation. (Hear, hear). No other country in the world can interfere with that fundamental birthright. Lord Birkenhead, Earl Winterton, Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and all the British Politicians have, as it were, entered into an intrigue and have made the declaration that it is the British Parliament that has got the right to dictate the constitution for India. They assume that the sovereignty of India rests in the British Parliament, in the British people. This Congress repudiates those declarations, (Hear, hear) made in the Houses of Parliament and clearly asserts to-day that the sovereignty of India is vested in the people of India. (Hear, hear). The theory of trusteeship which these fine gentlemen in England are propounding both in the Parliament and outside it is knocked on the head by the Indian opinion by the assembly in this House. This is a clear answer to the challenge which these British people have repeatedly made to the Indian people. The challenge which Lord Birkenhead has been giving these two years has been to-day accepted by the Indian nation. We are telling the British people and the whole world that India stands hereafter for full sovereignty and no other. It was in 1906 that the grand old man of India, Dadhabai Naoroji (Cheers) that declared from the Congress platform in the Indian National Congress at Calcutta that Swaraj is the right of the Indian people meaning thereby full national independence and nothing short of it. The cry went forth throughout India that we shall have nothing to do with the British Empire and afterwards it was our moderate friends that watered it down and defined that goal to be self-Government on colonial lines. The Congress later on in 1920 at Nagpur defined that goal of Indian nation as Swaraj, which means absolute severance of the British connection but because those British Politicians were professing that they would grant equal partnership to the Indian Nation in the British Commonwealth of nations that some defined that goal as Swaraj within the British Empire, if possible, and outside it, if necessary. Now that the whole of the British Politicians have definitely told us that we shall not have equal partnership at all and apart from it, I am not in favour of dominion status in the British Empire at all because there is conflict of civilization between the British and the Indian nation. (Hear, hear). There will be eternal conflict between the two countries. Dominion status is neither good to India nor to Britain. It will be a menace to the British Empire and to the whole world. The sooner the people of India, say, we shall have nothing to do with the British Empire and that we stand on our own legs and we declare the full sovereignty of India the better for the whole of the world. It is the right of the Indian people as a sovereign people to enter into a treaty either with Great Britain, France or Germany as they please and say that Great

Britain shall not interfere in the internal or external affairs of India. Lord Birkenhead has thrown out a challenge to the whole of India that the British Civil Service, British Army and the British Navy will be withdrawn from India. We say we can get on without the Indian Civil Service, without the British Army and without the Navy. Let them withdraw these forces to-day. We shall be none the less worse for it, and also may I say it is the existence of these three bodies that is the menace to the freedom of India and may I say that the very moment that these bodies are withdrawn from India, the statement of Lord Birkenhead that the responsibility for the peace of India rests in the British Parliament does not hold water for one moment ; because it is the people of India that are responsible for keeping their own peace. The British people have been making slaves of the Indian Nation. It is rather the peace of the slaves and not the peace of a free people. Lord Birkenhead says there will be anarchy in India. I would prefer anarchy in India if the British withdrew from India to-day rather than slavery. (Cheers). Out of this anarchy will come that beautiful, that glorious Indian nation, which will be the standing glory of humanity. (Cheers). I would therefore heartily support this resolution and I hope that to-day marks the day when the Indian people will stand up and say we are freemen ourselves, now from to-day, and we are no longer the slaves of the British Empire. (Cheers).

Mr. V. L. Shastri

Mr. V. L. Shastri (Andhra) in opposing the resolution said :—

" Mr. President, Sisters and Brothers I rise before you to do a very unpleasant duty, namely, to oppose the present resolution. (Cries of Shame, Shame).

The speaker was not allowed to proceed. Mr. K. Bhashyam ascended the rostrum and asked the house to allow Mr. V. L. Shastri to go on. But this was not heeded and then the President came to the rostrum amidst cheers and said as follows :—

" Ladies and gentlemen, I would appeal to you, I would beg of you to have the courtesy to allow every speaker whatever his views may be to place them before you. Let it not go out to the world that we are narrow-minded, prejudiced and that we do not like to hear our opponents' views. I would request you to hear Mr. V. L. Shastri.

Mr. V. L. Shastri continuing said :—

"Mr. President, Sisters and Brothers it pleases me even more than my friends who tried to obstruct me, from starting my speech and see that this house to-day is so spirited that at any rate we want independence for this country and nothing short of it. Let me tell you Sisters, and Brothers, that I am no less than any other Indian sister or brother

am no less a servant of India and wish that this country, which is to-day suffering from the trammels of British bondage should be free from it. I am not the slave of this Government or any Government or anybody else but am the humble servant of the Lord and our Mother country. There are a few reasons, which prompt me to oppose the resolution so ably moved by one of the leading citizens of India, my friend and brother, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and seconded by an equally and capable and well-known servant of India, my friend and brother Mr. Bulusu Sambamurti. It is my privilege to stand against them and while doing so, I beg of you to have patience, and hear my reasons. Our objective is the attainment of Swaraj by all legitimate and peaceful means as the Congress Constitution stands to-day. That does not deter you and me from putting the construction that it means complete independence. As Mahatma Gandhi has said Swaraj means self-determination for India within the British Empire if it is possible and beyond it if it is necessary. I am one of those humble servants of India who believe that we have scope to have complete independence with or without British connection. If English-men want that India should remain in the British Empire they should not say as Lord Birkenhead with his swollen head has said that Parliament alone is the judge of our destinies. If the Britisher has brains enough to understand that he can only keep India as part of the British Commonwealth, not as a servant of British tyrant, then it will be for him to see that he helps India to remain within the British Empire. Whether Britain is going to keep India in her possession or not we are very keen that our country should have Swaraj. We want to be in India, what the Britisher is in Britain, what the American is in America and what the Italian is in Italy and nothing short of it.

I oppose the resolution because, now, by merely passing it we are not going to gain anything. I am afraid it is a sign of our weakness if we should state that what our country to-day wants is independence. It is realised on all hands in India and elsewhere that our goal is independence and by passing this resolution we shall be only stultifying ourselves. So I oppose the resolution.

Mr. S. Satyamurti

Mr. S. Satyamurti :—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentleman, this resolution which I know will be carried by an overwhelming majority, if not unanimously has had the distinction of being opposed by my friend Mr. V. L. Shastri. Apart, however, from irrelevant praise of the mover, the seconder and supporter, I heard no arguments from him in favour of the so-called opposition to this resolution. (Laughter). He was good enough to tell us that Swaraj included independence. If it did, why should we not say it? Are we ashamed or afraid of independence? I should like to ask him and those who think with him in all humility a straight question and

demand a straight answer. Sir, this resolution is merely a statement of fact which no man or woman in India dare deny. If he or she claims to be a man or woman and denied that, he or she is a bond slave. I should like to ask any one in this huge audience whether he or she does not want complete national independence for India. And what does independence mean? It seems that we Indians shall be in India what Britishers are in Great Britain controlling our own army, navy and air-force and our own foreign affairs and brooking no interference whatever, not acknowledging the sovereignty of the King-Emperor of Great Britain, making our own treaties and our own wars and treating England a little more mercifully than she is treating us to-day (hear, hear) because I claim that we are a greater and more generous race than the race of Englishmen. Again, Sir, there were historical reasons why the goal was not declared as independence, but as my friend Panditji in his opening speech has declared, I want to emphasize the declaration if I may. This resolution does not seek to change the creed of the Congress. Mr. Shastri may therefore remain inside the Congress, but this Congress says that the goal of the Indian people is complete national independence. I heard also that phrase which has been repeated *ad nauseum* 'within the Empire if possible, without the Empire if necessary'. We are sometimes slaves of phrases, but I should like to ask those who swear by those phrases whether after Lord Birkenhead's insulting and arrogant statement that Great Britain cannot and will not share her responsibility for the future of India with India itself, shall we be so lost to all sense of self-respect as not even to say to Lord Birkenhead and his countrymen that we shall not share his view. That is the meaning of the resolution. Then, we are told by Indian wiseacres amongst us that while dominion status is possible of attainment, shall we ever be strong enough to attain independence. I have considered this question carefully, Mr. President, Sir, and I may say in all humility that in my humble judgment independence for India, complete national independence, is at least as easy of attainment for India if not easier than dominion status. I will tell you the reason why. If India is to be a dominion in the British Empire, India will become a mother country by the sheer weight of her size and population and England will have to become a colony of India (hear, hear). Therefore Great Britain would far prefer India to be independent and deal with her than have this monstrous daughter as a member of the family. Therefore it seems to me that from the point of view of England, independence is easier of attainment than dominion status. Then comes our own point of view. If you and I believe that we could get dominion status by sweet phrases either here or in London, we must be irredeemable fools if I may say so with all respect. I believe there is none hereafter Lord Birkenhead's speech and the speech of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, that great leader of the Labour Party, that

friend of India, who has not got the courage to speak out what the Conservatives speak out with courage, who thinks we are going to get dominion status, when, and only when, Great Britain realises, it is impossible not to recognise our dominion status. When we develop that pressure, we can easily get independence as I have already stated.

Then, Sir, Lord Birkenhead has insolently asked us, "Do you want the British Army of occupation to be withdrawn? Do you want the protection of the British Navy to be withdrawn?" Yes, I say from this rostrum on behalf of the Indian National Congress (hear, hear). Let Lord Birkenhead withdraw his army, let Lord Birkenhead withdraw his British Navy and then Great Britain will find that India will not be so meek and so defenceless as His Lordship imagines. After all we pay for the Army and the Navy and our people are good soldiers and sailors. We have friendly neighbours in Asia. England has no friend throughout the world (Applause). Her name to-day stinks in the nostrils of Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, Americans, Japanese, Chinese and Turks, everybody, (laughter). Let, Lord Birkenhead, withdraw his army. India will give battle to him and teach His Lordship that his only job is to write to newspapers and earn money and not to seek to govern India (laughter and cheers). Further, this resolution is a clear and dignified statement and that is the only alternative to subjection. Have you ever heard of any subject country asking for dominion status? Did the United States of America ask for it? Did Egypt ask for it? Did Ireland ask for it? Did South Africa ask for it? Therefore, it seems to me that the only answer to the insolent challenge of Lord Birkenhead by means of the Simon Commission is to declare our national independence.

Therefore, it seems to me, Sir, that this resolution, if accepted, will reverberate to the whispering galleries of the world and throughout the world people will know that Indians are no longer political children but have come by their manhood and have demanded and are willing and able to assert their birthright. This also means that the other parties who, because the Congress talks of dominion status want to hand over the Army, the Navy and foreign affairs, the key of the House to the foreigner, will tone up their demands at least to dominion status and last but not least our own people to whom we shall go on with this message will for the first time, walk with heads erect, hearts uplifted as free and brave men who know that they have to attain their freedom and are determined to make it a fact very soon. It was Parnell who told Irishmen and Englishmen no man has a right to set any limit to the progress of the nation. We have never said to Ireland, we will never say to Ireland thus far and no further, and I ask anybody here and elsewhere what right has he or she got to say to India thus far and no further. These are the reasons why I support this resolution.

I am told that very soon we shall be told that because you asked for it you must resign your seats in the Legislatures and not take the oath of allegiance. I do not see how it follows, but if this Congress resolves that because we claim independence we ought to resign our seats, I certainly will not shrink from it. We Congressmen have no use for those toys any longer and it seems to me that we should however use every strategic position for the purpose of keeping the enemies out, those toadies and flunkies who will flock those Chambers and help Great Britain to tighten her grip. That is however a different matter.

One word I want to say in conclusion. Lord Birkenhead once told us :

He either fears his fate too much
Or his deserts are small
Who dare not put it to the touch
To win or lose it all.

To-day Lord Birkenhead is told by the Congress that we neither fear our fate too much nor our deserts small we dare put it to the touch to win or lose it all.

Brother-delegates, I ask you to vote for the resolution not only with your hands and brains but with your hearts so that Lord Birkenhead may know that he has got to deal with a new India from the morrow of to-morrow.

Mr. Satyamurti then gave a brief resume of his speech in Tamil.

Moulana Shaukat Ali

Mr. Shaukat Ali who had a rousing reception on ascending the rostrum said : -Dear friends and brothers, I am told to speak through this box. I promise to make a speech through this box and I am trying my best to speak through this box. I am afraid if this box does not treat me well, my voice will disappear. I am happy to-day (and I thank God at the age of 55, I am alive at least to-day) when my countrymen and country-women, Hindus, Mussalmans, Parsis, Sikhs, Jains, Christians and Jews have all openly declared that our country has to become independent, (hear, hear). I have been calling myself as an outlaw and rebel (laughter) and I assure you the real cause why I look so happy and stout is that I am an independent person. To all those who are lean and thin and who are weak in their hearts and who are nervous I would ask to join us to-night in their declaration of freedom and God will then give them all the things they desire. I was told the other day when I made a speech in support of this resolution that I had used very strong language. I am not very fond of using strong language. At times when I am in bad temper and my friends and relations and

the country outside surrounding me are people who at every turn instead of speaking out bold and brave words so as to put the heart into the country and into my own old heart, when I hear nervous words of weakness and cowardice, then I used to feel weak and I lost my temper and used strong language. To-day when I see this wonderful crowd before me and friends what you decide to-day the whole of India will know to-morrow and the whole country will feel happy. Therefore to-day, in this day of our triumph it is not for me to use strong language or use the language of threat. To-day I use the language of contentment, language of thankfulness. Thank God, India has made up its mind finally. Thank God, India has become free and I am positively certain that when Lord Birkenhead and his company hear about it they may try to laugh and ridicule, but in their heart of hearts they would feel the seriousness of the situation. Brothers and Sisters, do not lose nerve. I lay claim as I have repeatedly told people that I am not a clever man. There is no lack of cleverness in our country. There are heaps of wonderful intellectual people in our country. There are very many people who when they get up in the morning are something and by the time they finish the evening they are something else and would argue in justification of the change. What we lack is courage. But to-day after the last few years of trouble and pain and humiliation of the Hindu and Muslim differences, thank God India is united to declare her independence and to be a free country. I feel happy to day, I repeat.

The day before yesterday at the Subjects Committee meeting I met a young boy, the nephew of our worthy President, a name-sake of mine, who is studying in Paris and who has come on a holiday for three months in India and heard him say "I feel ashamed in France before my friends and my French fellow students when they mentioned as to what was happening in India. Through shame and humiliation I had to hang my head down". Thank God he feels he will be happy when he returns back to Paris. He will stand erect, he will walk erect, he will get rid of the idea of slavery and bondage and would proclaim to the world at large he is a free Indian to-day. I do not want to say more. I have not made a passionate speech. There is no time for a passionate speech. We are a nation of talkers, we are told. I do not know that. I do not think we are only a nation of talkers after this decision. After this decision the world will see that, we Hindus, Mussalmans, Parsis, Sikhs, Jains, Christians all races combined are not a nation of talkers but a nation of active workers and God willing England will know soon that this time you have made a wise decision. I congratulate you on this. Friends, make up your minds that the words of this resolution on which you are hearing speeches and, to which you will give your consent, means that every one of you, man, woman and child has

taken an oath before God that you will sacrifice your all to see that the banner of Indian freedom stands erect. So, vote for this resolution, day and night think of how to carry out this resolution. God willing your leaders and co-workers would not fail the motherland and putting their heads together will bring out a scheme, a practical working scheme to make us free again.

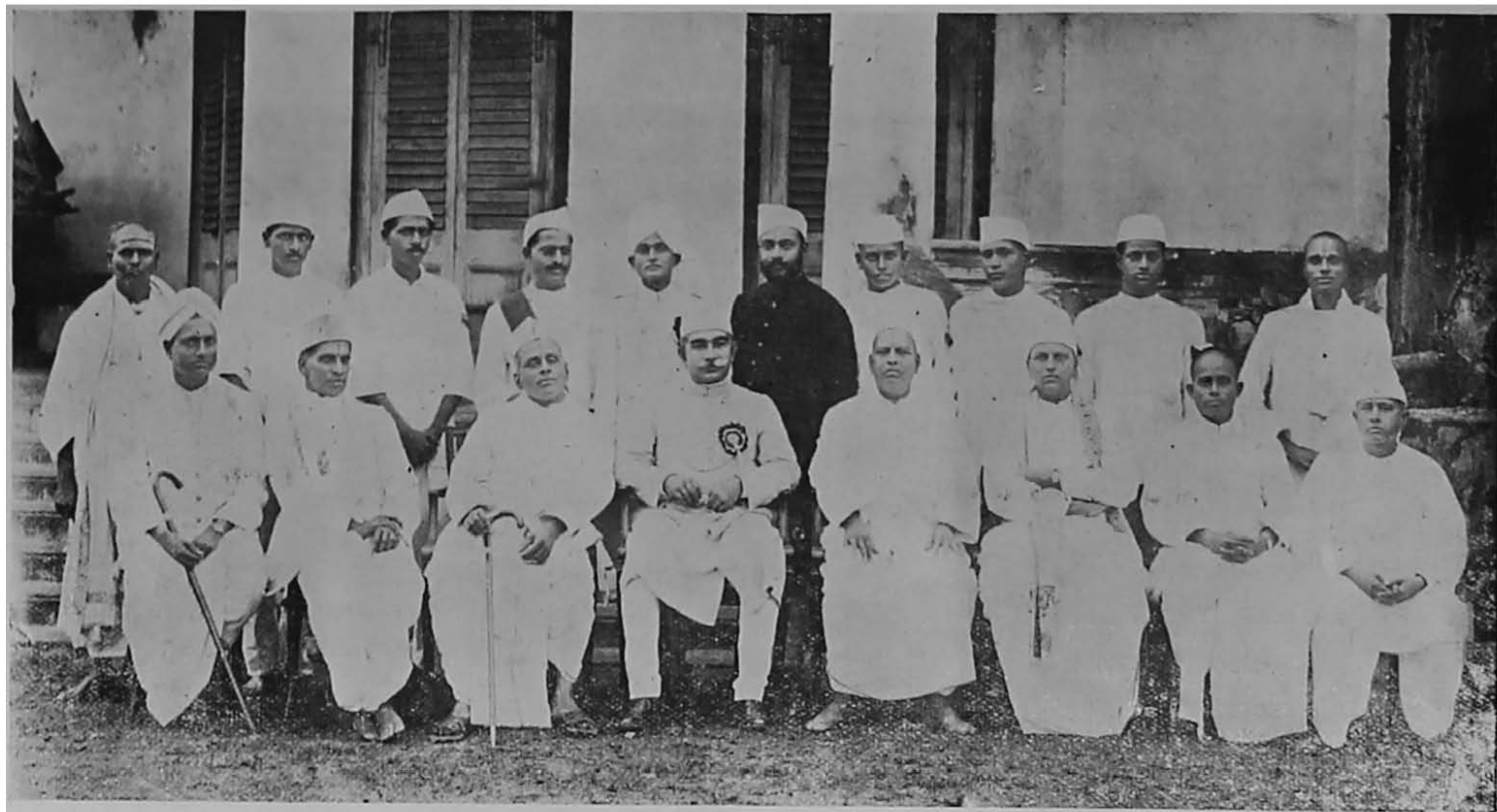
Mr. Shaukat Ali then gave a brief resume of his speech in Hindi.

The resolution was then translated in Tamil and Telugu and Urdu, put to vote and declared carried unanimously amidst enthusiastic cheers of the Assembly and cries of "Bandemataram" and "Allaho-Akbar."

BENGAL DETENUES

Dr. J. M. Das Gupta

Dr. J. M. Das Gupta :—I owe you an apology for standing here to move this resolution to-day. It really ought to have been moved by my friend Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta. It is his indisposition that necessitates my standing here and proposing this resolution but standing as I am here in this great pandal when I look around I see the portrait of my leader Mr. C. R. Das who suffered so long in the British prisons as a detenue and contracted the fatal disease which really caused his death. Turning to the other side, I find the portrait of the Great Man, Mahatma Gandhi, Tilak Maharaj and others who have been detenues imprisoned in British jails for the only crime of loving their own motherland. I feel that I really should not have much difficulty in placing the case of the sufferers, the detenues, of Bengal before you. Brothers and sisters, I do not want to go very far back into the history of the question but I want to place before you only the immediate history. The present campaign started from 1923 when my leader the late Mr. C. R. Das launched the great movement. It was at that time, when he first wanted to establish a great national organ in that part of the country that these arrests were started. The first people to be arrested were those on whom Mr. Das depended for the conduct of his newspaper "Forward". Then, afterwards, when he launched the movement in real earnest the Government tried to stultify it by arresting his chief lieutenants. They arrested Mr. S. C. Bose whom we have the good fortune to have amongst us to-day and who will appear before you in moving the next resolution. Mr. S. C. Mitra was at that time the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. The bureaucracy thought by imprisoning him they would seriously impede the Congress work in Bengal. Then the next person to be arrested was Mr. H. B. Roy who was in charge of another department; and so on and so forth and, the final the blow was given when the present leader of my province Mr. S. C. Bose was arrested,



*Sitting :—*Mr. K. Bhashyam Aiyangar,
(Joint Secretary, R. C.)
 Mr. A. Rangasami Iyengar,
 Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar,

Dr. Ansari,
(President).

Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar,
(Chairman).
 Mr. T. V. Muthukrishna Aiyar,
(Joint Secretary)

Brothers and sisters, imagine all these fervent followers of Mr. Chitranjan Das, young men full of health, all ardent in doing national service. They were taken away from the midst of their work, from the midst of their families and put in jails. A good many of them have been kept in jails for nearly five years now. Upto now, I believe something like 150 detenues are still suffering like that and though the Governor of Bengal promised only last August that Government would gradually release them, that has really proved to be another promise, the usual promise expected from British Government, instead of releasing these young men a very large number of whom have been interned in the villages. I want to tell you what these internments really are. The places of their internment are very carefully selected, as a general rule they are to be found in the most unhealthy places in the districts in which they are placed. I know of several of my friends who are interned in such places. They are placed in the most unhealthy places imaginable, cut away from all intellectual surroundings, cut away from all social intercourse and in every way persecuted with funds barely sufficient to subsist, they lead a life which is worse than death. Not only that, a very large number of our political sufferers are suffering from several fatal diseases. You all know that it is a peculiar feature of our British jails that national workers wherever they are interned are kept for any length of time, they suffer from fatal diseases. And the same was the fate of Mr. C. R. Das and Tilak Maharaj and all their predecessors and the same fate also we find has overtaken not only Mr. S. C. Bose but a very large number of our detenues are suffering badly from all sorts of diseases. But allow me to tell you that in this respect they suffer a good deal from their internment in the villages. They are not supplied with proper medical help, medical help in most places is practically unknown and not only that, the monetary help that is given to them is really too inadequate to give them any proper medical help. Another subject also I want to place before you. Brothers and sisters, these detenues who are suffering the imprisonment, prolonged imprisonment for so many years in the British Jails, a good many of them, in fact a large majority of them have their friends and families outside and a good many have been bread-earners of their families. Subsistence allowance was not always given to their families. One of the most important national workers in Bengal Sriyat Harikumar Chakravarti practically died without any proper medical relief. That is the state of affairs. I have placed their case before you. Their only crime was their love of independence. If you have really pledged yourself to work for independence, it is up to you also to stand up for those who are to-day suffering for the love of their mother country. Brothers and sisters, they do not want you to in any way slacken your national progress so that the British Government may be persuaded to release them. On the other

hand I want to remind you of the magnificent letter that my leader Subas Chandra Bose wrote from Mandalay and the letter written by Mr. Mitra before he was released. Speaking after his release he said "I want to assure you that the Bengal detenues are willing to remain in jails, I am sure not for a few years but all their lives if their detention will in any way help our cause." It is up to you I say and up to us not only to express our sympathy for them but also to devise some means by which they can come out and I say devise the means by which you will be able to help them. Remember that the British Government have hurt you and in fact are directing their most terrible weapon against you when they are detaining your young men in jails for long periods only for the crime of loving their mother country. When they are hurting you like this it is up to you to devise some means to help them and if you adopt the next resolution boycott of British goods. By boycotting the British goods altogether you will be helping them a great deal. The resolution that stands in my name runs thus :—

"This Congress strongly condemns the policy of the Indian Government and the Bengal Government of imprisoning, interning and externing innocent citizens and Congress workers without trial for indefinite periods under the Bengal State Prisoners' Regulation III of 1818 and the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925 and sends fraternal greetings to all those who have suffered and are suffering for the cause of their motherland owing to the above repressive policy of the Government.

This Congress demands the immediate release of all detenues who have been put under restraint without trial and of all political prisoners who have been convicted by Special Tribunals constituted under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925.

(ii) This Congress also strongly condemns the arrest and imprisonment of Sardar Santa Singh under the Bengal State Prisoners' Regulation III of 1818."

Dr. Satyapal

Dr. Satyapal of Punjab, spoke as follows :—

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, it is one of the gravest misfortunes to belong to a slave country. To be a slave is the greatest curse that has befallen human head. I say it is a curse nothing worse than a curse to be a slave in one's own country. You have the British riding over your heads, pressing you down with their heels and crushing your finer sentiments, crushing your nobler sentiments to dust. I ask is there any country on the surface of the world where patriotism is a crime? It is in India where patriots of the first water,

who render national service of the most devoted type instead of being raised to the highest possible position are rotting in jails behind iron bars. And their only crime is that they love their country. Friends, we of the Punjab have a very good recollection of all that is obtaining in Bengal. These so called tribunals are nothing else but the machinery of the executive to execute the innocent, to hang the innocent people and to detain the best sons of the soil behind the iron bars. I know that young men hardly out of their teens have been sent by this relentless bureaucracy in the name of law and order to jails. It has deprived them of their liberty without any rhyme or reason. It is the findings of these tribunals that have helped to perpetuate this cruelty, this persecution, this tyranny of the British. I can relate to you a small anecdote that has happened an incident which is worthy of your attention. A certain gentleman from the United Provinces came to Punjab and posed as a patriot. He worked for at least six months and moved with some of our men there. He had a revolver with him which was found to belong to the Government. That man was placed before the Magistrate who gave him five years rigorous imprisonment for keeping a revolver. One thought the man was innocent and deserved to be helped. An appeal was filed on his behalf in the High Court. But after a month of his incarceration he was released from the Jail not because he was found to be innocent but because by that time he had established his credentials with the Government. In reality he was not a patriot or a son of the soil but one whose body though built of Indian soil had been bought by the Government. Therefore I tell you that these persecutions that are going on have practically no justification in the eye of law. We want to send our greetings to these friends who are behind the bars. Our preparation for a huge sacrifice, to free India alone can sooth the hearts of young men, who for the sake of their country are separated from those near and dear to them and who have sacrificed their health and lives for the sake of their country.

శ్రీ గాడిచర్ల హరిసర్వోత్తమరావుగారు.

“ఎంజివేదన్తీర్థిశులను” సూక్ష్మ శీర్షికముపై శ్రీ గాడిచర్ల హరిసర్వోత్తమరావుగారు ఉపన్యసింపిరి. —

“భాగ్యం” సోదరీమణులారా! సోదరులారా!

నేను మీనుముట్ట బెట్టదలచితి తీర్థావములెంగాలులో నిర్వహింపబడుచు మనసోనాలకు సంబంధించినది. ఆట్టి నిర్వహములు వ్యాధులుగాదరియు, యుక్తముగాదరియు, ఆనిర్వహములను వదిలి తొలగింపదలెను, ఈతీర్థావము మొక్క నానాశము. మీరివరో వ్యవస్థ తీర్థావమును గావించియున్నారు. బ్రిటిషుప్రభుత్వము నారు మనకు వరము లొసంగవలయు సంప్రదించు

ప్రసాదించుచున్నది చెల్లుచూ, ఎప్పుటి కన్నడ కండ్లనప్పి వెగా ము చేయు ఆభ్యాసము ఈ దేశమున సామాన్యమై పోయినది. అట్టి ఆభ్యాసము సమయముచగినే, శేడో వేదో రాయల్ కమిషన్ ను బ్రతికిన దేశమునూడి రానుండగా, ఇప్పటికిని విచారణగాని, సాక్ష్యముగాని, నిర్ణయముగాని, సరియైనగాని, లేక కారాగానములలో మన సోదరులను పట్టియుండుట నట్టివ్యాయమా, పరాక్రమమునకు సంబంధించి నవో ప్రశ్నకముగ వస్తు మన నుచున్నది.

గ్రీ మరూన్ మోరెన్ వోను నామము మీదందగు వినియే యున్నాడు. నాగు క్లిఫ్ ఫీషులగు నేతలగు విద్వంసుల నామముగానికి మితిభజముగనుండి భాగవదేశమునగు భ్యాసగించినవారు. అట్టి యునును, అట్టి భాస్యాలను, అట్టి ములెప్పొనెనెనులు, అటువంటివారు నురులలోని విచారణలేక కారాగానములలో సమయముచగ మనమిట్లుచూచుచుండుట వ్యాసముగాను. కాబట్టి మన మీసీర్మానమును ఏమగ్రము ఆలోచనచేయక జూరునే ఆమోదించుని ప్రార్థించుచున్నాను. మనకు దేశభాషలో ఉపన్యాసములను లంకాకాము లెప్పుచుగాబట్టి ఇంతటిలో విమోచుచున్నాను.

After this, the resolution was put to vote and carried unanimously.

BOYCOTT OF SIMON COMMISSION

Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar

Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar next moved the following resolution :—

"Whereas the British Government have appointed the Statutory Commission in utter disregard of India's right of self-determination, this Congress resolves that the only self-respecting course for India to adopt is to boycott the commission at every stage and in every form. In particular (a) this Congress calls upon the people of India and all Congress organisations in the country (i) to organise mass demonstrations on the day of the arrival of the Commission in India, and similar demonstrations in the various cities of India which the Commission may visit; (ii) to organise public opinion by vigorous propaganda so as to persuade Indians of all shades of political opinion effectively to boycott the Commission. (b) This Congress calls upon non-official members of the Indian Legislatures and leaders of political parties and communities of India and all others not to give evidence before the Commission nor co-operate with it in any manner, public or private, nor attend or participate in any social functions given to them. (c) This Congress calls upon the non-official members of the Indian Legislatures, (i) neither to vote for nor serve on Select Committees that may be set up in connection with this Commission; (ii) to throw out every other proposal, motion or demand for grant that may be moved in connection with the work of the Commission. (d) This Congress also calls upon the non-official members of the Legislatures not to attend meetings of the Legislatures except for the purpose of preventing their seats being declared vacant or for the purpose of making the boycott effective and successful or for the purpose of throwing out a ministry or of opposing any important measure which in the opinion of the Working



S. SRINIVASA AIYANGAR
The out-going President.

Committee of the Congress, is detrimental to the interests of India. (c) This Congress authorises the Working Committee to confer with and secure the co-operation, wherever possible, of other organisations and parties with a view to make the boycott effective and complete."

In doing so he said :—I first apologised to you in my own language for the necessity of speaking in English. I propose to put the case for the boycott of the Statutory Commission in as brief a manner as possible, for Mrs. Besant and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya are going to speak and it will not be necessary for me to more than indicate the reasons which have impelled the Congress this year to put it in this form before you. It has been said, and I have sometimes felt, that without a spur and stimulus national unity is not always steady. The Punjab wrong, the Khilafat wrong and other things made the people not only alive during the two years but made the Indian Nation a live-force in the whole world. The imperturbable Viceroy by his management of the situation is claimed by the British people and to have subjugated the Indian people and to have very clearly out-manouvered us. Fortunately for us, Lord Birkenhead and the British Cabinet His Excellency Lord Irvin and his members, Indian and European, of the Executive Council have come to our rescue this year. This Statutory Commission has really been the one thing needed to make it quite clear what our duty is. Till then it was in the minds of some that they could still place some faith in the British Government. I am afraid that that faith has not been deserved by the British Government at any time. But nevertheless we Indian people have been accustomed to place faith in people who deserved no faith from us and unfortunately that faith has been placed by some schools of thought. Fortunately to-day India witnesses a greater unanimity of opinion than it witnessed during the great days of non-co-operation. Then it was only those who came within the Congress fold fully that were able to participate in the movement. To-day members of the Liberal League who were supposed to have differed from the Congress on many points have justified their patriotism and have shown that they are going to boycott the Commission. I hope Dr. Sapru, Mr. Chintamani and Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar will continue without any faltering the pledges they have given to their party and the nation, that they will relentlessly boycott the Commission. I am certain that they will not agree if the Chairman of the Statutory Commission says a few words or accepts a cup of tea from them. I am certain they will not go back. I am equally confident that Mr. Jinnah and Chimanal Setalvad will stand by us in this hour of need. There have been some telegrams which I understand from Mrs. Naidu are not altogether quite accurate. I believe that we have no right to judge of our colleagues until it is made clear to us that they are not going to co-operate with us. We must trust in their co-operation and have no doubt

whatever that the way in which the same Bombay information has been utilised by the English Press will make our friends realise the extreme gravity of any step that we might take which will be in the direction of letting us down. I have therefore no doubt that Mr. Jinnah and Chimanlal Sotolvad will stand firmly by us.

Then again, our Nationalist friends headed by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai and Dr. Moonjee are going to stand by us. In fact the difference between Nationalist friends and ours has been only in regard to the Council programme and not in connection with any other matter. I have therefore the greatest pleasure in saying that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in spite of his ill-health has come to our rescue and as your President told you to-day he has helped us also to find a solution of the Hindu-Muslim dispute.

Lastly, we have got the solid fact that Mohamedans and Hindus who were divided on political issues ever since the debacle of the non-co-operation movement to-day—thanks to a variety of all united. (Here, hear.) Your gratitude and my gratitude must go to our Moslem friends all over India to those that have come here for the great support which they have given to us. Just imagine what it must be for them even to create a split in the Moslem League for the purpose of boycotting the Statutory Commission. Therefore no longer doubt the patriotism of our Moslem brethren. Take it from me they will stand not only shoulder to shoulder, they will even be in the van-guard and lead us. Maulana Shaukat Ali in his speech on independence has given you many indications that the Hindus and Mussalmans are going to weld themselves together once more for the purpose of freeing the country from the foreign yoke. In this state of things why is it some parties still hesitate to join us? I regret Lord Sinha's statement. I regret the statement of those who qualify their statements by, untills, ifs and buts. I really have no sympathy with that kind of school nor do I think it right on the part of Indian publicists that they should lag behind others. There are some people who still think that co-operation with the British people will yield successful results. They are a handful and I hope they will be a negligible handful of people. The vast majority of political parties and the Independent school of thought led by Mr. Jinnah, the Nationalist party led by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai and Dr. Moonjee and the Liberal party led by Mr. Chintamani and others have come into this boycott movement. Dr. Besant's adhesion has been of inestimable value and I have no doubt her support will be valuable right through the campaign. In this state of things I hope that whatever amendments may be, whatever opposition to this resolution may be, I want not one single voice against the effective and successful boycott

raised in this Congress. It will be a disgrace to the fair name of Madras, it will be a disgrace to the Congress if any one opposes this boycott resolution and I would ask you therefore to carry this resolution unanimously. The reasons why we should boycott the Statutory Commission have been told you from a hundred platforms and in hundred newspapers. Put shortly it is this. The sovereignty of the people of India must be exercised by the people themselves. We have claimed the right of self-determination, the right to determine our own constitution and that right to determine our own constitution has been recognised at the time of the war by Mr. Lloyd George the then Premier of England. Nevertheless it has suited the Bureaucracy, Lord Birkenhead and the British Government and it has suited the English Labour Party to go back upon their own resolution and interpret and misinterpret and tell us many interesting things of which you have seen similar examples in the past notably in connection with the enactment of the Bengal Ordinance. I would therefore appeal to you to put aside any faith whatever in the Labour Party, any faith whatever in English people in connection with this. The only exception that I would make is of those English people who are entirely with us like the members of the Independent Labour Party, Mr. Fenner Brockway, who I am sorry to say, has been seriously injured in a motor accident and is not with us to-day; and Mrs. Besant, of course claims to be an Indian and we have recognised her as an Indian. Therefore you will not bring her into that category. I would ask you to pass this resolution unanimously without any hesitation.

The first part of the resolution calls upon the people of India and all Congress organisations in the country to organise mass demonstrations on the day of the arrival of the Commission in India and similar demonstrations in the various cities of India which the Commission may visit.

This mass demonstration, let me assure one and all of you, includes very successful hartals and Madras will have one of the most successful hartals. Every mass demonstration will be according to the conditions of each province. I have my own ideas of mass demonstration which in the fulness of time I shall be able to publish.

The second part of this resolution asks Congressmen to organise public opinion by vigorous propaganda so as to persuade Indians of all shades of political opinion effectively to boycott the Commission. Popular propaganda is as important as any other item of the propaganda. A few persons saying or pledging themselves not to go and give evidence before the Commission will be of no value. Hundreds of people will volunteer to give evidence and if some hundreds won't give evidence the others will give. Therefore there must be a

vigorous propaganda in the country so as to make the atmosphere of a persuasive quality and prevent people, going and giving evidence. Our persuasiveness should not be of a gentle description but must be of a most effective description.

In the third place the Congress calls upon all non-official members of the Indian Legislatures and leaders of political parties and communities of India and all others not to give evidence before the Commission nor co-operate with it in any manner public or private nor attend nor participate in any social functions given to them. Every word of this part of the resolution must be committed to our memory and must be observed with scrupulous and religious care. It is this attendance at social functions that has been responsible for giving indirect evidence and private conversations by which schemes may be put before the Commission will not be at all proper. Therefore you place a ban upon not only public evidence but also private evidence and all informal evidence in social parties.

The next part of the resolution runs as follows: "This Congress calls upon the Non-Official members of the Indian Legislatures (1) Neither to vote for nor serve on Select Committees that may be set up in connection with this Commission." (2) "To throw out every other proposal, motion or demand for grant that may be moved in connection with the work of the Commission." You know that the Assembly and the Legislative Councils do consist also of nominated members and official members. It is therefore necessary that the greatest effort should be made in order to secure a majority in every Provincial Legislature as well as in the Central Legislature to see that the Select Committees are not set up by the votes of these Legislative bodies and steps should be taken by the electorates themselves. The electorates must be organised and they must give notice to members to quit unless they co-operate with the Congress Party and turn down all proposals in connection with the setting up of the Statutory Commission and they should be told they will have no chance of a re-election next time if they did not obey their mandate. An influential electorate must form an organisation in every constituency and throughout the length and breadth of India issue notices to every member of the Council or Assembly or Council of State asking him not to vote for the Select Committee but to turn down every kind of proposal in connection with that committee.

The next part of the resolution is even more important. The sincerity of the Congress Party or what was known as the Swarajya Party has been doubted in many quarters. Nobody can say in the beginning of the Congress organisation everything has been perfect but we all know that the Congress Party has done yeoman service to



the country and let me assure you though I am as harsh a critic as any one else—take it from me that the party has deserved well of every one.

This Congress also calls upon the Congress Members and requests the non-official members of the Legislatures not to attend meetings of the Legislatures except for the purpose of preventing their seats being declared vacant or for the purpose of making the boycott effective and successful or for the purpose of throwing out a Ministry or of opposing any measure which in the opinion of the Working Committee of the Congress is detrimental to the interests of India." Do not imagine that this is a Walk-in and Walk-out resolution like the old Delhi Resolution of the All-India Congress Committee. But regard this as a quite different resolution. Even this was meant well, sincerely and earnestly. It may be that in the actual working of it, the experiment did not prove as successful as some others wanted it to be. I am not sure if the experiment was not to a great extent successful. It may not have been a perfect success. What this resolution requires you to do is this—not to resign your seats. If you resign, nothing will be more welcome to the bureaucracy for your places will be filled by toadies and flunkies and other persons. We have tried the Council boycott on the last occasion. You know Mr. Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru and other prominent members of the Swarajya Party advocated a change in the programme not so much for the purpose of going in and doing this or that, though some of them may have said so and I never agreed with them but for the purpose of keeping out the supporters of the bureaucracy. To that extent the Congress party's programme has been eminently successful. We have captured really every Council, though in some Councils we may be in a minority. Take it from a person who is as harsh a critic of the party as any outsider can be. It is, therefore, not right to revive the non-co-operation movement and ask the members to resign their seats in the Council. Thereby you will be playing into the hands of the Government and that is the very reason why they want the boycott. The second exception that is made is for the purpose of making the boycott effective and successful. It has been provided that you must go there and turn down any proposal for the formation of any Select Committee, any proposal for money grant in connection with the Select Committee. Therefore, it is necessary for the purpose of making the boycott effective to go there and prevent the formation of a Select Committee. It has been suggested that the throwing out of the Ministry is not feasible. Whether feasible or not, it has been found feasible in Bengal. And it is just possible it may become feasible in every province. A power like this should be held in reserve so that it may be a terror to the Ministry. It is absolutely necessary to compel the people who are in the Councils to agree to the boycott, if we will go there to throw out the Ministry.

The last clause is one which was added in the Subjects Committee and which was proposed by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. It deals with the Working Committee's power to secure the co-operation, wherever possible, of other organisations and parties with a view to make the boycott effective and complete.

Kindly see that this boycott resolution is carried without any dissentient voice. Let not a single man or woman be heard to say that this Statutory Commission is to be co-operated with in any fashion. Any amendments to make the boycott effective I can understand; but any amendments to turn it down will not, I think, be heard. With these few words I commend this resolution to your acceptance.

Dr. Besant

Dr. Annie Besant in seconding the resolution said :—

Friends, I want this afternoon in seconding the resolution to lay stress only on two points in the resolution and to ask you to endorse them. The resolution deals with the methods of boycott and the Congress relies on you to carry out these methods. The main points I want to mention are only two. The first of these is the one in the beginning of the resolution where it says that the British Government have appointed the Statutory Commission in utter disregard of India's right of self-determination. Then it goes on to say that the Congress resolves that the only self-respecting course for India to adopt is to boycott the Commission at every stage and in every form. The first of these points recalls to us an incident very very early in the War when the overwhelming forces of Germany on the road to Paris saw only a very small number of British soldiers called by their Emperor a contemptible little army. In number it was contemptible but not in courage. They checked the advance of the great German hoards to Paris. They fought every yard of the way and pressed on yard by yard. At last they lay exhausted on the ground and as they lay there they saw not far off sparks of light reflected from the sun falling on the lancers of the Indian cavalry and as the cavalry came nearer and nearer galloping as far as they could gallop, in the despairing need of the situation, I read in the papers of England how the men on the ground tried to raise a cheer as the Indian cavalry galloped past them to try to check the German advance. They rode on, they checked the advance, they gave time to England to gather their distant resources and at that time there was one great cry of gratitude that went up from the Houses of Parliament, from the Press of England and others declaring how India had saved the situation and the Indian troops continued their splendid work. It was then that they spoke of self-determination. It was then said by the Prime-Minister of England that self-determination applied to tropical countries as well as to the West. India alone has no self-determination. The war went on, the King sent over his uncle the

Duke of Connaught to open the first legislature in India after the reforms and in that message to India the King-Emperor used the words "the Bill was the first step towards Swaraj within my Empire." (Cheers). Then you may remember that before that message two of the highest officials that had to do with India went on a tour round India. The Secretary of State for India came over here. The Viceroy of India, the King's representative toured India with the Secretary of State in order to see every class of Indian people who wanted to represent their needs and so to gather India's thoughts before the Parliament came upon the stage at all. Look at the difference then and now. You will see why I lay stress on these two points of self-determination and the self-respect of India demanding the boycott of the Parliamentary Commission coming over here. The question for us is a point of honour and not so much what we can get by accepting what England gives. We are told that only a Parliamentary Commission can be appointed because it is said that Parliament must decide the future of India. The Parliament had to decide India's needs in those days. I venture to point out, as much as it has to do now. The two highest officials representing the King toured in India then in order to find out what India needed. Now they send over a small Commission of Parliament not including a single Indian in it. At that time I would remind you when Mr. Montagu came over to India and the Viceroy toured with him, England was in deadly danger and needed the help of India's soldiers who were good enough to die in trenches, who were good enough to stay in the cold till they were lifted up from their paralysed condition. Now those for whom they fought, those whose liberty was saved have been forgotten and thrown aside. Now we hear nothing of self-determination. We hear nothing of India's needs and India's terrible wants. Now we hear nothing of that picture, nothing of India's services to the Empire, nothing of the sacrifices made by thousands of poor Indian soldiers. We are only told that this Parliamentary Commission shall come and shall decide the kind of legislation necessary for this country. Before that, it was not a Parliamentary Commission but two of the highest officials. The report drawn from what they heard from Indians was the basis of legislation.

However much we were dissatisfied with that, however much we said that it was unsatisfactory, none the less India was treated with respect as a nation that had a right to represent her needs in the very centre of the Empire and now all that is lost. We hear nothing of India's rights. If others forget our rights, we should remember our duty to resent the insult on the Indian people. On this no one is the judge except India herself. A man's honour, a nation's honour must be felt, decided, thought over by the man or by the nation as the case may be, and not by others for him. If a man's honour is touched, the

man must stand up against it. If a nation's honour is touched the nation must rise up and protest against the insult and that is what I ask you to do by passing the resolution. It is not a question whether it is the best way or not. It is not a question whether we shall get much more by going before this Commission than what we can get in other ways. My answer is even if we get a hundredfold at the price of India's honour it is not worth having, because honour is greater than a gift by another nation. Its defence lies in the hands of Indians themselves. I ask you to take it into your own hands as other assemblies of India in other parts of the country are sure to do. The Congress is the oldest political association in India, the body that has in it great political Indians striving for the welfare of their country, and it is its voice that has to be heard to bring pressure upon England. So we shall say to England, "We will have nothing to do with your Commission. You have appointed it without our consent. You have constituted it without any consultation with us, you ask us to accept a constitution which Indians have to live under not the British people." In these circumstances have we no right to say that India must have the opportunity to say what she likes about that constitution on equal terms with this Parliamentary Commission? After all what is the Parliamentary Commission composed of? For the most part it consists of men about whose qualifications we have to turn to the "Who is Who." Surely, if a Commission is to come over it should be composed of men who know India. What is the use of men who know nothing of India? We are told that they have no prejudice. It is an empty bucket. We want men who knew India's needs and India's wrongs, men who can understand Indian problems. Then we should not prejudice them. What about the Civil Service, the so-called British Civil Service in India? Are they going to stay away from the members of the Commission? Are they never going to meet them, talk with them, persuade them and give them their own ideas as to what is best for this baby of India who cannot manage her own affairs? They say they are the trustees of India. If that is so, what right has the trustee to sit in judgment on his own administration? The members of the Commission are all men who do not know India, who do not know her needs nor sympathise with her wrongs. I would say to you friends, pass this resolution unanimously. It does not matter so much about the details, this, that or the other. All these we can work out as we go on varying the methods in the various provinces according to the conditions in each. Let the Congress with one voice pass this resolution. Let not one Indian venture to dissent from India's answer to the insult on her honour. Let us say "You have boycotted us, we boycott you." You have said that no Indian shall sit on the Commission. We say "let no Englishman judge India's fitness." Englishmen have administered India very much more for England's benefit than for India's greatness. So let us say that we will have nothing to do

with the Commission and that we will not even touch it with the tips of our fingers. Our honour is our own. We think it right to guard it. We are responsible to India for our position in this matter and more for the sake of the motherland, of India, for the sake of our children and grand-children who hereafter shall be free or bound as we fight this great battle for freedom, let us stand firm unchanging, determined to succeed. The boycott will be answer to Lord Birkenhead, it will be India's answer to a man who insulted her by saying that she will not dare to have a boycott and that if she did, he would see. Let him see that the answer comes from every town in India, "We shall have nothing to do with the Commission. Let them go back and consult India as to what India wants." (Cheers).

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya first spoke in Hindi and then in English. He said :—

Ladies and gentlemen, I come here to support the proposal that the people of India should boycott the Statutory Commission. It is hardly necessary for me to do so. Ever since the announcement was made, the country has declared itself in unmistakable language, has been practically of one mind in regard to this matter. The unanimity of opinion which has been disclosed over this question has been extremely encouraging, and I hope that though there are differences here and there, though we are told that some Mohamaden friends are looking at the attitude of their Hindu friends, and though some Hindu friends are looking at the attitude of their Mohamaden friends, this is what they shall finally do. I think every self-respecting Indian who has the honour of the Motherland at his heart, has made up his mind to make the only answer which may be made to this impertinent and unjust attitude taken up by the British Parliament, (hear, hear and cheers.) and that is to fling back the Commission in the face of the Parliament. So far it lies in our power to have nothing to do with it at any stage or in any form. I fear that the depth of insult which has been offered has not been fully realised by our English fellow-subjects. I fear they do not realise how deep has been the insult which they have offered to us. They think that after the war, the power that they have acquired in this world makes them immune from the criticism as to their conduct being right or just. Dr. Annie Besant has reminded you of what the attitude of the English fellow-subjects was towards us during the War. I shall also remind you slightly of the same. You remember when war broke out, His Majesty the King-Emperor, sent a message to the Princes and people of India calling upon them to support him in the righteous war against

the Germans. Messages came from the Viceroy and the Governors and the people were called upon to take up the cause of the King Emperor, because it was the cause of Right against Might. As the war proceeded the Princes and the people of India lent the services of men and troops, and English statesmen began to express their gratitude for what the Indians had done. We had no quarrel with the Germans. We have no quarrel with any Nation upon earth, but we made the cause of our fellow English subjects our own, and sent our own men to England and France to fight the cause of the British and of their Allies—the French. Mr. Asquith, who was then Prime Minister of England, expressed his appreciation of what we did in the following words:—"We welcome with appreciation and affection India's proper aid to the Empire, which knows no distinction of race or class. They are all alike subjects of the King Emperor and the joint and equal custodians of our common interests and common fortunes. We hold with profound and heartfelt gratitude their association side by side and shoulder to shoulder with the Home and Dominion troops in the conflict. It is a symbol of all the unity that the world in arms cannot dis-sever or dissolve. Mr. Bonarlaw said: "I do not think we fully realise how much those Indians who have fought and died side by side with our soldiers have helped us during those long months." Lord Haldane said: "Hindus are fighting for the liberty of humanity as much as ourselves. India has freely given us her lives and treasures in the great humanitarian cause. Hence the Indian Nation cannot be left aloof." Mr. Lloyd George said: "The contributions of the Dominions and of India have been splendid. The assistance they have given us in the most trying hours of this campaign has been incalculable in its value." Lord Curzon stated: "When the Indian expeditionary force reached France in the nick of time, when it helped to save the cause both of the Allies and of Civilisation, the nature and value of their services can never be forgotten." Mr. Lloyd George again said: "Then there is India who very bravely and loyally supported the British Empire. The immediate powerful aid which she willingly accorded in the hour of our trouble will not be forgotten after the war is over, and when the affairs of India come up for examination and action." Speaking on another occasion, at the end of the war, Mr. Lloyd George said: "You are entitled to rejoice, people of Britain, that the Allies, the Dominions and India have won a glorious victory. Remember, you are entitled to rejoice—people of Britain—that the Allies, the Dominions and India have won a glorious victory, which is the most splendid victory ever heard of in the history of the world." And lastly, the same accredited spokesman of England said: "These nations and dominions have fought bravely, contributed greatly and won their place at the council table. What is true of them is equally true of the great Empire of India, which helped us so much to win those brilliant victories which

was the beginning of the disintegration of our foes. India's interests must not be forgotten when the peace conference is reached." "We have had 4 years of great Brotherhood, let it not end there," said Mr. Lloyd George, Prime minister of England. Where does that brotherhood now exist? Our English-fellow-subjects came into this country to trade with us, not to lord it over us. They managed, owing to the then prevailing conditions of India, to acquire power and position. They managed to build up the Empire, but from the first they were anxious to tell us, and make us believe that their object in taking up the administration of the country was to help us to rebuild our Empire and re-establish our Government there. Early English statesmen used to say that. After some time, when the British rule had been going on here, there was the mutiny in 1857. Some people wanted to put an end to British rule and when the British armies succeeded in suppressing the mutiny with the help—he it remembered—of Indian Princes and Indian People the great Parliament through its Sovereign sent us a great proclamation in which they promised that the Sovereign of England would look upon the people of India with the same eye with which she would look upon her subjects in other parts of the world. We were to be equal fellow-subjects of Englishmen. When a discussion was raised during the Councils Act in Parliament, the grandfather of our present Viceroy, Sir Charles Wood, who was then the Secretary of State for India, was asked to introduce a clause to say that Indians shall be appointed to high offices as well as Europeans. He refused to do so on the ground that wherever His Majesty's subjects were spoken of, Indians and Europeans were equally included in it as equal subjects. He said Indians and Europeans were equal subjects in the eye of the law. Since that time up to this they established and carried on administration in a representative system. They established Legislative Councils in 1861. After the Congress was born, Government introduced reforms in three instalments, which introduced the Indian element in a representative character in the Councils. From 1885 we Indians have held this great Indian National Congress. We have been coming together year after year at great sacrifice and have discussed questions of common interest to the country. I ask any man to say where is there a Parliament existing in the world which deals with the affairs of such a large unit of human population as 320 millions of India. I ask anybody to say where is there a legislative assembly, which deals with the affairs of a people so great as the people of India. We have met and discussed questions year after year. Our proceedings have been recorded and published. Our debates are there and anybody who has eyes to see and head on his shoulders can read these proceedings and decide we have sense, real patriotism, sincere interest and sufficient strength to be able to manage our own affairs. I challenge any man or woman to read the proceedings of the Congress, read the proceedings of the Councils, which

have been in existence, where we have spoken on different subjects and say Hindus, Moslems, Christians, and Parsis have not been inspired by one common feeling for the country. I challenge any one to pick up differences and disputes which have arisen in the Councils. I venture to say and I assert that the points of difference have been conspicuously absent from our debates. In 999 questions of a thousand, Indians of all creeds and castes have only one interest, the interest of India and I submit that this spectacle of the National Congress meeting year after year for 42 years and proceedings being conducted in one common language, resolutions being considered as they are considered in the great Parliament of England, with the experience we have of the work in the Legislative Councils, is it not extremely insulting to us to say that we are not fit to decide what shall be the future constitution of this country. Is it consistent with the professions which our English fellow-subjects made during and after the war? Is it consistent with truth and justice? India has been under British Rule for nearly 165 years or so. Long before Britain ever dreamt or heard of India, India had attained a high degree of civilization. For thousands of years Hindus had ruled over this country, ruled in a manner of which any nation can be proud. History records how that rule was conducted. When Mohamedans came to this country, they also ruled for several hundred years. After a short time in the period of Moslem History, Mohamedans settled down in this country and adopted India as their mother-land. The rule of the Moghul was not the rule of foreigners entirely, because he had become the denizen of the Indian Empire and adopted India as his mother-land. You know how Akbar, Jehangir and Shajehan ruled our country. The period of Moghul rule under those three sovereigns might be held up in comparison with the history of any other country. At the time Shajehan reigned, India was prosperous, India was powerful, India was happy. The administration was smoothly going on with little to complain of. Industries flourished. Liberty was secured to the people, and justice offered without any distinction. What was there wanting? I say nothing. Then came the period of disruption owing to the religious zeal of Aurangazeb and later when Chathrapathi Maharaj Shivaji Rao on the one side and Guru Govind Singh on the other side ruled over small parts of the kingdom, India was once more governed by her own children. The Hindus and Moslems united during those days and they co-operated with each other for the re-establishment of peace and order in the country. It was at this juncture that our English fellow-subjects came in. They had got their own ideas as to how to rule our country. They went on, they have gone on for 150 years. But I submit that whilst recognising the amenities and comforts of life, which they have introduced into India as they have introduced in all parts of the civilized world, while we are grateful for the unified system of laws, which have been introduced in this country

during their administration, we feel that India has gone down in prosperity and that India's power has gone to the dust. We feel that we should go back to our own position of power and prosperity. Englishmen fought during the great war for liberty and right as against might and not might as against right. We ask them, "is it right to take advantage of the position to which they have attained, to refuse to us our birthright to govern our own country." They say "we have given you reforms." They passed it against our wishes. They put in the preamble that at the end of ten years the affairs of India will be examined by a Statutory Commission. They said that during the war when we protested against the preamble we were told that the matter would be reconsidered. National self-respect demanded that we should have a Round Table Conference and not a commission of teachers, peripatetic teachers sent to us to examine what had been done. In spite of that when the time for the appointment of the Commission comes what does the Parliament do. It selects seven members of the British Parliament all Britons and tells us that the Commission should be a Parliamentary Commission—all bosh. There was no suggestion that the Commission should be a Parliamentary Commission when the Government of India Act was passed. There has been a great change in the minds of Englishmen. Their intentions now are changed. Their desire was not to find out what the next step should be but to find out what can be done to delay the introduction of full responsible Government in India. It is this desire that has made us feel deeply insulted. Are we not to be associated in this Commission? Is it not but right that this enquiry should be left to us? If English fellow-subjects are honest and just, they would have told us to prepare a constitution for India and send it on to them and they would introduce it and put it into an Act of Parliament. Or, they might at least have asked us to be associated with them to examine what the next change should be. They have refused us even that courtesy. They have decided to take upon themselves the responsibility to examine the progress made during the last ten years or so and to say what the next step should be. There is only one honest step in the name of righteousness and justice and that is full responsible Government and nothing short of it. Even if disinterested foreigners are appointed to examine the situation in India I venture to say that the verdict of that Commission, if it were composed of a few Americans, a few Frenchmen, a few Germans or Italians or at least of a Russian, an Italian or an Englishman and an Indian or even if an Indian is excluded, if there was a Commission to examine and report whether India was fit for full Self-Government or not, I have no hesitation in saying that the verdict would be in favour of India and nothing less (cheers). I have been a student of history for the whole of my life and I say that there is no country better prepared to have a system of full responsible Government than is India.

And I say in spite of the fact that there have been differences between the Hindus and Muhammadans in some parts of this most extensive Empire, this country is prepared for full responsible Government. Why all this talk of examination as to the fitness of this country? If an examination is to be, why not appoint Indians also to see and hear what is being urged against them? You want to receive evidence which will affect us. You want to shut us from being able to examine those who will give evidence against us. You want to have documents presented to the Commission of which we shall have no knowledge, which will be another stab at our backs. You want that the future of India should be determined in that manner. We claim justice. In common courtesy we should have been asked to sit on the Commission in a majority. If English fellow-subjects had taken us into confidence and given us seats on the Commission so that we might examine witnesses and go through documents and take part in the submission of the report, we should have been happy to co-operate with them. They have not done so. What is the next course left open to us. The only course consistent with our national self-respect is for us to have nothing to do with the Commission in any form or manner. I ask you—my countrymen—the moment the call to that determination comes, to consider that it is the duty which we owe to the Motherland that no temptation of any small advantage which might possibly be gained by going before the Commission, will deter you from pursuing the path of honour and of national self-respect. It is possible that there are some of my countrymen who think that some advantage will be gained by our presenting our cases to such a Commission. I entirely agree with Dr. Besant that we should spurn those advantages, those advantages gained by the humiliation of the people of our Motherland are not worthy of being looked at. You must remember, if you show that you possess a sense of self-respect that you have felt this insult as a nation and that you are prepared to resent it as a nation. I assure you there will be a greater gain to India. It is possible that some of our people are under the influence of the Government and what is worse under the influence of their countrymen who, I regret to say are in the service of the Government and have sold themselves to the Government (cries of shame) who are not content to discharge their official duties falling upon them but use their influence as officers of Government to dissuade their fellow-countrymen from the right path of duty. I adhere firmly to the decision that you have nothing to do with this Commission but to show by your action in every city or town which the Commission may visit that you have felt the insult as a nation, in one word turn your face sternly upon the Commission. (Cheers.)

Babu Shyam Sunder Chakravarthi

Babu Shyam Sunder Chakravarthi :—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen—The amendment that I propose to this resolution labours under the great disadvantage of having to be moved by one of the last if not the least amongst you. (Cries of no, no.) For the last few years I have been crying in the wilderness. You have been defying history, you have been defying commonsense and what pains me most, you have been defying the God of Hindus and Mussalmans. Gentlemen, I am going to characterise this resolution. This resolution has been placed before you by men at whose feet I should be delighted to sit for years to learn political lessons. I have to say that I beseech them with all the humility that I can command to give some plain answers to my plain questions. If the gentlemen on the dais will not enlighten me of my stupidity, I ask my brother delegates to come to my rescue. I ask Moulana Muhammad Ali to do it. I ask my No-changer friends who have deserted me (cries of no, no) to do it. You have adopted this resolution because something has been done in utter disregard of your right of self-determination. What is that which is called for in reply. Is it not the cultivation, the perpetuation of a self-determining mentality all through your life? I repeat my question. You have been adopting this resolution of the boycott of the Simon Commission because something has been done.

A voice : What is your amendment ?

Mr. Shyam Sunder Chakravarthi :—My amendment is to delete clause 'D' and substitute for it the resignation of the members of the council supplemented by concentration on national work including the promotion of Khaddar and the boycott of foreign cloth also (hear, hear). Does this not satisfy you as an adequate and satisfactory answer? The resolution says that the Commission will have to be boycotted at every stage and I ask you gentlemen when the very citadel of our principle of self-determination is assailed, do you seek strategic positions? Is it not a dirty piece of business to fight for scraps of self-determination when you are out for complete independence and complete self-determination? Gentlemen, if independence is your goal as you have rightly declared, an offence for which Bala Gangadhar Tilak and Arabinda Gose and others were politically ostracised—much water has flown down the Godavari since that time—does not it become you to put your feet on the first step in the ladder of self-determination and independence? Why should you allow your representatives to look behind to cast a longing and lingering look behind towards those spheres where according to their own repeated statements they have got nothing like self-determination. Gentlemen, your President in this famous Madras Congress has supplied me with the text of my amendment. He says with his doctor's insight, he gives us as his right

diagnosis that non-co-operation has not failed us, it is we that have failed non-co-operation. What should then be our duty if we are not to stultify our President, if we are not to stultify the Madras Congress. As Lord Morley once spoke even of America, that if America consented for ever to be a back house of Westminster, America could not have been what she now is, so the demand in my amendment to give a finishing touch to your boycott resolution, which every one of the proposers wants to be effective, is that you should not look to Westminster any more. Don't you look to Whitehall any more? Don't you look to Downing Street any more? Don't you look to Simla or Delhi, Ooty or Darjeeling, but begin in right earnest to feel and act in terms of the country and nation, the nation that is in the cottage of the poor people, the masses by whom you swear all hours of the day and night. Gentlemen, my fervent request to you is not to miss this golden opportunity but act up to my amendment.

Mr. T. Prakasam

Mr. T. Prakasam :—Mr. President, Ladies, Brother Delegates and Gentlemen,—The amendment that I am moving for your consideration runs as follows :—

Omit in clause 'D' the last clause which runs as follows :

"Opposing any measure which in the opinion of the Working Committee of the Congress is detrimental to the interest of India."

I am not moving the amendment that I proposed in the next clause, here. I am confining myself to the omission of the last words of clause 'D' or of "opposing any measure which in the opinion of the Working Committee of the Congress is detrimental to the interests of India". My reasons are these. In the first place, the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee is so far removed from the Legislative Assembly of Delhi and also the Provincial Councils, that it will not be in a position to understand the difficulties of the members of the Provincial Councils and also of the members of the Legislative Assembly. They will have to hear evidence and come to a judgment after taking a lot of time. That is one reason. Secondly, I say that we have to stop after the word 'ministry.' In my opinion there are only two alternatives so far as the Congress is concerned. That is revise the Gauhati resolution which has been declared by the Chairman of our Reception Committee, Mr. Muthuranga Mudaliar, as a failure, which has been declared to be a failure by our retiring President Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar, which has been declared to be a failure by our present President Dr. Ansari. It is admitted that all other attempts to work out the resolution of Gauhati by co-operating in all beneficial measures have failed. We did try to co-operate on all measures which are beneficial for the people. I will tell you how in the last session of the Assembly and before that measures that had

been passed, measures which were beneficial for the people and which were passed, by the majority of the Assembly—had been certified or had been set aside by that upper, wiser body, the Council of State, at the dictation of the Viceroy and his Council. The salt duty was reduced to 10 annas from what it is to-day and that was taken almost the same day to the Council of State and voted down. Again, Sir, with regard to Repressive Laws Amendment Bill, we passed that certain modifications should be made, if not abolition altogether of Repressive Laws. That was taken to the Council of State and at the dictation of the Viceroy and his Council that was reversed. In that manner anything done for the benefit of the people, anything that is done with a view to prevent damage or harm to the people is easily undone by the Council of State or by the Viceroy himself. I therefore say now the time has arrived when we should consider and take an attitude which will justify the position of the Congress and maintain its self-respect and honour. The All-India Congress Committee called upon the Congress members in the Assembly and the Provincial Legislative Councils to resign their seats and appeal to the people with a view to getting themselves returned in larger numbers. They were returned in large numbers if not larger and they have formed the majority party in the Councils, though not in the Assembly. And what is their position? The position is nothing but utter helplessness. I therefore say that if it is left to us we should take only one of the two courses. We have to say there is no use of sitting in this Assembly and the Councils and attempting to do any other thing than to prevent mischief. In that case what is it that could be done? An amendment has been moved by my esteemed friend Shyam Sunder Chakravarty that we should resign altogether from the Legislatures. I am not supporting that amendment because when we resign, the reactionary element will take our seats and will be voting in the name of the Congress and in the name of the people. I want that to be prevented. I therefore say that we should mark our attendance and keep the seats vacant, engage our attention on the country, educate the people upon financial and other questions by mere statement of facts. That is my idea. While the Statutory Commission has come, all the parties, moderates, liberals included have resolved to boycott the Commission and prevent Committees being formed by Government in the name of the people. We must reserve power to vote down those Committees. Hence I would support the giving of powers to members to remain there and vote for these two purposes, and they should not stay there for other purposes. The Working Committee should be the last body to accord sanction from time to time. In the past, there was a Special Committee appointed to decide when they should walk in and walk out. That Special Committee did not function and failed in its duty. There is no good appointing any Committee or giving the Working Committee power and creating trouble. So I would request you to

omit the last clause and maintain the honour and position of the Congress and the dignity of the people. Let us thus say that the Indian people are not dead but they are alive and they know what to do when a challenge is thrown by men like Lord Birkenhead.

Mr. K. R. Karant

Mr. K. R. Karant :—Ladies and Gentlemen, the amendment which I propose to move is to delete clause 'D' from this resolution. My object in doing so is that though a member of the Council myself I want you to come to a conclusion on this point considering what actually is being done and not because I still want to continue in the Council. So far as I know, the Working Committee's resolution says that this boycott should prevail as far as the Simon Commission is in India. You see the preamble to the resolution is as an answer to the boycott of the Commission. You are to come away from the Councils practically. You are aware that we have passed the Independence resolution to-day. We are going to pass this resolution also, but I am sorry to say that there is no definite programme of work before the country. If there was any such programme, I for one would agree that we should come out of the Councils and then wholeheartedly work for it, but in the guise of this resolution we are going to give a go-bye to the Gauhati programme. I do not say that this Congress should ask the Working Committee or any other body to have a definite programme of work to be done in the Councils. What we are now doing is, as an answer to the boycott of the Commission, we are asked to come away from the Councils. I can give you a few instances from our Council in Madras. There are legislative bills regarding Malabar Tenancy and the Andhra University Act and I do not know whether, apart from the enthusiasm that you all display here, you want us to keep quiet and do nothing. If this is your verdict, I for one have no objection whatever to do that, but what I feel is that as long as we are in a very serious struggle and there is no definite programme before the country, it is not time for us to come out of the Councils. I therefore request you not to put off this programme. Let us not pass this resolution in a moment of enthusiasm. I wish to ask whether this resolution before it came to the All-India Congress Committee was discussed by any Provincial Congress Committees excepting the Andhra Committee. When the resolution came before the Subjects Committee, the boycott of the Councils was to last only as long as the Simon Commission was in India, but the resolution has since been changed. It pains me very much that the Council work should be treated in this manner. I am very sorry that the proposer of this resolution and the leader of our Province should have stated that whatever amendments may be moved you have to reject it. I hope that you will consider this amendment of mine in a calm manner. Let not your enthusiasm cloud your judgment.

Mr. George Joseph

Mr. President, Brother and Sister Delegates.—The amendment I have the honour to move should read alone after clause 'B' in the printed resolution and it reads as follows :—

“ This Congress appeals to political and communal leaders and to the spokesmen of public opinion through press and platform to suspend where they cannot end communal dissensions and ascerbities and concentrate on the common grievances and demands of the people of India.”

I might say at once that I have made a few verbal alterations in the amendment as I originally drafted and submitted to the President, and I might say that I have done so at the instance and with the authority of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. I have done so for this reason; since he agrees to the amendment as it stands now, I shall be able to invoke his authority also in support of this amendment. I want to make clear the reason why I propose this amendment. To me it appears that there is a risk of the true issue and purpose of the boycott being misconceived and failure possibly threatening us on the basis of that mis-conception, for when all is said and done the matter that we should look to here is that when this Commission comes and goes about the country, conducts examinations individually and in a body, interviews people, holds informal conversations, the thing that matters is not the memoranda or the formal statements of opinion that are sure to be submitted to them or likely to be submitted to them in case this boycott does not wholly and exclusively succeed. As for that matter, the Secretariats in the country are full of materials, memoranda, discussions and comments of evidence which will be sufficient to surfeit half a dozen Commissions of this kind. The thing that matters will be the tales that one party is likely to carry against the other, the suggestions of injustice, of failure, and unfair dealing. The Hindus will be saying that the Muhammadans failed in such and such a thing and the Muhammadans will be saying that the Hindus had failed in such and such a thing. Here in this Presidency of Madras we all have got our parties based on communalism. Political differences I do not mind and I can tolerate. I suppose a political body such as that of the Simon Commission would be able to appraise them of their true value, but if the Simon Commission comes to this country and discovers that we cannot possibly co-operate with one another, that we are carrying tales against one another, they will necessarily come to the conclusion that in us is not implanted the business of parliamentary instinct, the capacity for team work. I do not say that our fate should be determined by this Commission, but surely we do not want them to come to this country and say that one party is quarrelling with another. The Hindus are not satisfied with

the Muhammadans and the Muhammadans are not satisfied with the Hindus and with a view to avoiding that I want by this amendment to have a truce declared and I want that at least as long as this Commission is in this country there should be a general appeal to the public men and the leaders of public opinion that they would not carry tales to the Simon Commission, but concentrate on the catalogue of grievances against the British Government and the British Parliament and press for the redress of those grievances by such boycott.

Mr. M. V. Abhyankar

Mr. M. V. Abhyankar :—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen—I stand here to support the original proposition and to oppose all amendments that have been made to the original proposition. In my opinion, the original proposition does not require much support from me. I should like to tell you a few obvious truths in a few plain words. I am not an orator. I think you need not be told that if I were to speak out plainly—and it is time that every Indian begins at least to speak freely and openly, if not anything more—to-day this Commission is a huge humbug. It is a huge fraud (Laughter). This is simply meant to delude you, to show that you would be given something while in fact the history of the world tells us that no Commissions have ever given anything to anybody (hear, hear). Please remember England has not stepped into India to give you rights out of mere considerations of justice. No dominant nation I have ever seen giving a domineered nation rights out of considerations of justice: and therefore if you think that you would be losing anything by boycotting this Commission, let me tell you you are hopelessly mistaken. England will certainly give you something only when you compel her to give it and not till then. If you want to get yourselves in the meshes of the Commissions, of these enquiries, of these pattings on your backs, then please say good-bye to the goal which you set for yourselves a few minutes before. (Hear, hear).

Gentlemen, it has been said by previous speakers that England gave such promises in times of war. Nothing strange in that. They all give such promises. English people are after all human beings and you must remember no human being gives anything to another out of considerations of justice. It is we who are not human beings but we are beasts. A few amongst us took them to be our Gods and even to-day take them so, which they are not and which they never were. We have got to be human beings. We have become beasts, beasts in the sense that we do not know how to kick in return when we are kicked. Unless and until you are prepared to kick automatically in reply to the kick you receive, you are not likely to get anything. Now to the amendments. One of them says "no control over the members

in the Legislatures." Let them go on in the same giddy old way in which they have been going on. Let them go on doing things in the name of the Congress in order to bring ignominy upon that institution which they have so many times done until now. I am against it. I want at least some control to be placed on these people who have gone in the name of the Congress to the Legislatures (hear, hear), and it is time that we should see disciplinary action is taken against them when they defy (hear, hear). It is no good your merely passing resolutions here. You must see immediately a member disobeys this resolution that he is made to resign or brought to contempt by the Congress and unless you do that you will not achieve your object. Some people may resign altogether. I am against resignation and why, for the simple reason that if your Congress candidates or Congress members, as they are to-day in the Legislatures, were to resign, sycophants, flunkies and toadies will take their places (cheers). I do not want the politics in this country at least to-day to pass into the hands of those toadies and flunkies. Unfortunately we have no means of keeping the Councils empty were we not to enter them. My friend Moulana Muhammad Ali says they would be filled by flunkies and let them be filled by flunkies.

Mr. Muhammad Ali:—Otherwise they will be filled by fools.

Mr. Abhyankar:—This of course is so. Let me not go on with this argument any further. Gentlemen, one of the amendments suggests that we should go on working in the country for Hindu-Muslim cause. That is a good amendment but it can find no place here as an amendment to this resolution for the simple reason that we have drafted a separate resolution on the Hindu-Muslim unity and it is the duty of every Congress-man who agrees to that resolution or who says that India's salvation lies in that resolution to work for it. Why bring in a big topic in a small way by way of amendments to the resolution? That will really be taking away the great importance that attaches to that topic. I know Hindu-Muslim unity is going to be the basis of all our resolutions, the basis of all our agitations and therefore in my humble opinion that amendment also finds no place here.

One last word and I have done, because I do not want the bell to be rung in order to call me back (laughter). It is better that I finish in time. Gentlemen, if the councillors and legislators have got to be in the Councils and Legislatures, they have to be there to sit in open defiance of the Government. I hope a day will soon come in these Legislatures within the next six months when the Congress party will refuse to take any part in the debate and will simply speak through its leader a few words "Our vote shall be our reply." I hope they will not be drawn into the meshes of the temptation of doing good to the country. No councillor, no legislator, constituted as he is to-day,

I assure you, can do a bit of good to his country (hear, hear) by remaining in the councils. He is going to be there merely to prevent harm being done to the nation and what is the harm that is going to be done. The harm is that they would spread in the markets of the world their story to-day that they are governing India with the full consent, the connivance and the help and support of the Indian nation. That is the one thing which you have to prevent by keeping your seats in the Councils. For this commission I have no fear. It can do you no harm, nor can it do you any good. It is you yourself who can do yourself good or harm. Remember, due to the present state of affairs, you have got to take this defiant step to free the virile, the bold, the fearless, the red blood of the nation which has become turbid. For God's sake now at least rise out of that morbid stupor.

Desabakhta Konda Venkatappiah.

Desa Bakhta Konda Venkatappiah said :—"President, gentlemen and brother delegates ; I have come here to second the amendment so ably proposed by my esteemed friend Babu Shyam Sundar Chakrabarthy. After the great speech that you have heard from him, few words are required from me to recommend the amendment for your acceptance. However, I wish to point out that the resolution as it stands is halting, incomplete and not comprehensive. It is not a fitting answer to the insult, to the great national insult, that has been offered to us and to the denial of the right of self-determination which is the elementary right of even the smallest nations of the world. Many and serious have been the insults and wrongs done to us by the British Government and it is in the nature of us Indians to forget the wrongs done to us. We forget them almost to a fault. The Punjab atrocities, the Jallianwalla Bagh tragedy and numerous other wrongs were forgotten by us. We entered the Councils and insults after insults have been heaped on us. The resolutions passed by the representatives of the nation and supported by the united voice of the representatives of the nation have been thrown to the winds. The demand for a round-table conference adopted by the united voice of all parties in the Legislative Assembly has been brushed aside. Numerous other resolutions with regard to the wrongs done to us have been practically of no use. It is claimed now as an objection to the amendment that if we altogether resign the seats, some fools some sychophants, may enter the councils. After all, what have we been able to achieve. We have not been able to get even one of the detenues released, nor any wrong clearly redressed. This is the mentality with which we entered the councils, but that mentality has undergone a serious change, because, there have been confessions time after time made at public meetings which have made it clear to us that the work in the councils was altogether futile. A situation has arisen now for taking up the appeal

to the masses and to the mass mind. Now, we all of us of the intelligentsia in the land ought to concentrate our energies for awakening the masses, to prepare for non-co-operation, details of which may be arranged later on, if the points are agreed upon. Therefore, I submit that the glamour of the councils has to be killed, destroyed, buried deep in its grave. Until this glamour is destroyed, there is no hope for our country. There is no opportunity for the country to engage in a wide agitation. There is no opportunity of realising Swaraj. Therefore this amendment calls upon all the members of the Legislative Councils to come out and concentrate their energies as they did in 1921-22 and carry on an agitation in the country and to prepare the country for the fight of non-co-operation.

Mr. Basheer Ahmed Sayeed.

Mr. Basheer Ahmed Sayeed, M.L.C.—(Tamil Nadu) said:—"I come here to support the resolution moved by my leader and supported by my other leaders. While supporting the resolution I wish to state only one or two facts the chief being that those friends of mine who have opposed or brought in amendments to this resolution are labouring under a misconception as to the purpose for which we went into the Councils and Assemblies. Friends, I only beg of you to re-call to your minds the days when the late Desabandu C. R. Das brought forth his scheme of non-co-operation within the Councils. I only beg to remind you that we your representatives in the Councils have done you no harm or injury and nothing has been done to the detriment of the interests of this country. We are there in the Councils to watch your interests, to safeguard your rights and we are there as policemen to prevent as much crime and as much offence being done by this wicked Government. If anything beyond our powers is done within the Councils and which we are not able to prevent, we come back to the Indian National Congress for guidance, advice and help. Our friends who have asked us to resign from the Councils have forgotten specially this aspect of the question. We did not go there to do any positive work. Any positive work as Mr Muhammad Ali used to say is quite impossible. When we know that so long as the power of veto and power of certification are there, nothing constructive, nothing positive could be done through the Councils. But all the same there is the immense possibility of the greatest harm being done to the country's interests which later on becomes impossible to be undone. In order to prevent that as far as possible we are there. I therefore say that the amendments that have been proposed except the one that has been moved by my friend Mr. George Joseph are contrary to the spirit of this resolution, are contrary to the spirit of the times that we are passing through. I therefore request and appeal to my friends to take the resolution as a whole and not to forget the

spirit with which we went into the Councils, and to pass the resolution as a whole, and in doing so, not to carry any amendment to add or subtract from this resolution. I therefore appeal to you friends to pass this resolution unanimously (cheers).

Mr. V. Ramdoss.

The Hon'ble Mr. V. Ramdoss Pantulu (Madras) said :—

" Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I rise to support the amendment of Mr. Karant to delete clause (d). Clause (d) seeks to impose further restrictions upon the council programme of Swarajists. I do not think that in the interests of the country that clause will work well. Freedom of work in the Legislative Councils embodied in the Gauhati and Cawnpore resolutions was secured after a great deal of fight. This Congress is trying to go back upon that, and therefore I am opposed to it.

Another reason why I am opposed to this is this. That is if you are going to call back the freedom of work in the councils the chances of the Congress Party uniting with the other parties in the council will become few and the idea of boycotting the commission will not be successful, because the other parties will be under no obligation to the Congress party. Therefore when the chances are that a committee will be appointed in the Legislatures, the Congressmen will be ill-advised in vacating their seats in the councils and refusing to co-operate with the other parties in the Assembly.

Thirdly, I think it unnecessarily mixes up the Council work and the Simon Commission. Council work depends upon its own merits. The resolution should not be mixed up with the Simon Commission business. It is very ill-advised. Fourthly, the Congress has taken up the work of labourers and tenants, and for the labouring classes there is a good deal of work of a beneficent character in the Councils, both Central and Provincial. We have gone there to safe-guard their interests and these opportunities will be lost if the Congress confines itself merely to outside work. We ought not to curtail our utility in any manner. For all these reasons I am opposed to this resolution.

Clause (d) says that the congressmen may enter into the councils to oppose any measure which in the opinion of the Working Committee is detrimental to the interests of the country. I have always fought against the principle of an outside body controlling the work in the Councils. It is not possible for the Working Committee to be always on the alert and to find out which measure is detrimental and which measure is not. People have to wait in Delhi or Simla and it may take long to find out what the Working Committee will say in regard to any particular measure. Moreover, the Working Committee or the Congressmen will become liable to the charge that they have camouflaged the country's interests in order that they may enter the

Councils and to carry on the work there. I strongly feel that clause (d) ought to be voted down as I am sure it will bring discredit to the Congress and more discussions in the Councils, so leave us where we are to work in the legislature and thus supplement the work of the country.

Mr. Bulusu Sambamurti.

Mr. Bulusu Sambamurti (Andhra) said :—

" Friends, I have come here to support Mr. Prakasam's amendment and to speak against all other amendments. You know that if the boycott of the Royal Commission should be carried on very effectively and if the members of the Legislative Councils are engaged in the normal work of the Councils as before, it would be very difficult to make the boycott real and effective. Therefore it is necessary to delete the last portion of clause (d) namely of attending Councils to oppose any measure which in the opinion of the Working Committee is detrimental to the interests of India.

Mr. Ramdoss has told you definitely that this clause (d) is detrimental to the interests of any work hereafter. But he wants the deletion of the clause altogether. We must be entirely against it and we should not be led away by the specious arguments of Mr. Ramdoss. After passing the full independence resolution, the natural corollary is that we should keep the seats vacant in the councils. That is the programme of the Sinn Feinn, to occupy and then vacate the seats. We must take a forward step after the unanimous passing of the resolution. I am told also that it is the personal opinion of Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, the mover of the resolution that Mr. Prakasam's amendment is absolutely necessary and therefore I ask every one of you to vote in favour of Mr. Prakasam's amendment. A few words with regard to the other amendments. You have heard Desa Baktha Konda Venkatappiah and Babu Shyam Sundar Chakrabarthy say that this is not the time when we should work the Councils and if the members were to resign their seats, a General Election will be forced on the country and we should not divert the energies in a General Election at a time when all our energies should be fixed upon the boycott of the Parliamentary Commission.

We have to organise mass demonstration everywhere and make it real and effective. I do not want that the energies of the Councillors and workers should be diverted into any other channel, viz. the channel of a General Election. Therefore, I want every one of you to vote against the amendment of Babu Shyam Sundar Chakrabarthy for the deletion of clause (d) of the resolution. I want every one to vote against all other amendments and vote for Mr. Prakasam's amendment (loud applause).

Mr. Mohamed Ali said :—

"The resolution that has been moved to-day so eloquently by the President of the Congress, the Retiring President I mean, which has already occupied so large a slice of your time, is the measure of our weakness. I repeat that this resolution which has occupied so much of our time is the measure of our weakness and not our strength. Had you continued the non-Co-operation movement started in 1920 there would have been no Commission and there would have been no necessity for this resolution (cheers). Does any one of you except Mahatma Gandhi go before a Commission and give evidence that he and his countrymen are fit for self-rule. It is because we deserted non-co-operation; it is because we failed, it is because we were caught in the trap of Councils that we have to move this resolution now. I come to ask you to support this resolution and I have come specially to ask my friends Mr. Shyam Sundar Chakrabarthi and others to withdraw their amendments and let the resolution pass. I have no love for the Councils as you know and if I were to go to the Councils particularly after passing the resolution of Independence of to-day and took the oath of loyalty to the throne it will stick in my throat. I could not do it. It has been stated by those who opposed Mr. Shyam Sundar Chakrabarthi's amendment that if we did not keep our seats vacant flunkies would fill them. Well, I would rather see flunkies sit in the Council than that wise men should sit there. We can do no good by remaining in these Councils and there will be no harm if flunkies alone go and sit there. Do you want the Select Committee to be filled by nominated members and flunkies? I say that if the Members of the Assembly came out, it would not be impossible for any Government to make any Committee and ask it to be associated with the joint committee of the House of Commons and the House of Lords. Friends, I have not been in any election campaign. But I know what great efforts are made by those great friends of mine, how much money is spent, how much time and eloquence are wasted to get into these Councils and they are always in fear and trembling thinking that it is very difficult to get into these Councils. From my experience I have found that it is not so difficult to get into the Councils. It is a far more difficult thing to get out of the Councils. But here we are, you must face facts. Our Council friends will not come out of the Councils (laughter). If they agree that they would not sit in the Councils except for certain definite purposes you should be content with this greatest common measure. When I was a school boy I thought that the greatest common measure was a good figure. I was told what the lowest common measure was. I thought it would be a very small measure. But I found the answer in my arithmetic book that the least common measure was all very big and the greatest common measure was very small. That is the doctrine of compromise.

Greatest common measure is the lowest common measure of our strength but we must accept it. Friends, I am out of any of these Councils, and my brother is out of it. We are lunatics. Mahatma Gandhi is the head of the lunatics. In this connection I shall tell you a story. There was a lunatic asylum. Near it was a stream. One of the lunatics somehow or other managed to get over the wall of the asylum from where he saw a man fishing in the stream. He saw him fishing for hour's and hours patiently. The lunatic asked the fisherman 'what are you doing?' The fisherman said 'I am trying to catch fish. The lunatic asked him 'how many fish have you caught?' The fisherman replied 'none'. The lunatic then asked him 'how long do you want to catch fish?' The fisherman replied 'till sun sets'. The Lunatic said 'you have not got any fish' and the fisherman replied 'none'. The lunatic then said 'come inside, come inside'. The lunatic said to the fisherman who fished from morning till evening and got no fish 'come inside, come inside'. Well my friends this resolution is the lowest common measure. The fisherman who sat from morning till evening and got nothing went inside. If you come inside you could pass this resolution as it is, otherwise several amendments will be moved and delayed. I am surprised at the attitude of my friend the Hon'ble Mr. V. Ramadoss. I wish the time will soon come when he will no longer be honourable he will be one of us. I must tell him to come inside. I ask Mr. Shyam Chunder Chakrabarthi in particular to withdraw the amendment. Some fishermen have come into the lunatic asylum and I hope other will follow.

Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar.

Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar:—We must see that the boycott is really effective and commands the greatest possible support in the councils. If you accept Mr. Shyam Chunder Chackrabarthi's amendment that the resignation of the membership of Council should take place, the result will be a disaster. Far from then being a boycott they will elect Select Committees from the Legislatures in your absence. Therefore it is not a practical proposition. I know my friends who are champions of the non-co-operation movement and who felt that the change in the programme was not as 'successful as they wished, have always maintained the view that their view was the right one. But experience has shown and Mahatma Gandhi both at Bombay and Cawnpore has shown that the Swaraj party's programme to the extent to which the capture of the Councils went, was a successful and practical programme. The capture is successful. So far as the work in the Councils is concerned there are always difficulties. But we are trying one experiment after another. But the main reason why we cannot accede to this policy of resignation of membership is, as I told you, you will be playing into the hands of the Government, and you will be allowing men of other parties to come in immediately into the Councils and Sir Muhammad Shafi and others of his way of

thinking will come in and the only result will be boycott of the Statutory commission will prove ineffective. And therefore I ask you as practical men, as men who passed the Independence resolution to accept the policy of political boycott in spite of the mere religious non-co-operation. We are now pursuing the boycott of British goods. Thanks to the resolution of independence, by passing it we are going to alter the face of the country if you will have it. I would earnestly request you to vote against Mr. Shyam Chunder Chakrabarthi's amendment and Moulana Muhammad Ali has also requested him to withdraw his amendment. I am in sympathy with Mr. Prakasam's amendment, it depends upon your view as to what exactly should be done. In the Subjects Committee this amendment was added by a majority. My own personal view is and has been undoubtedly in favour of the view put forward by Mr. Prakasam but opinion has differed on this point and I leave it to you to decide it. Then there is the amendment of Mr. George Joseph and Mr. C. S. Ranga Ayyar. Every body is in sympathy with the principle of it, namely that we should suspend all communal quarrels, but I would request you not to accept the amendment, because, it does not come in the proper place in the resolution of boycott. It is merely an appeal to the other parties. Such an appeal can be made in speeches and public meetings and we know that there are other methods of doing it. I do not see why in a formal document of this description which the British people must look at, why we should say that we should suspend communal differences and ascerbities. The amendment is thoroughly superfluous and the earnest appeal of Mr. George Joseph is there. That is enough. Then there is the amendment of Mr. Karant for the omission of clause (d). I do not think the boycott will be effective if the members of the Legislative Council should go there only for the purpose of preventing the election of Select Committees and in other matters follow discriminative co-operation. Therefore it is necessary that they should keep the seats vacant except for the purpose of forfeiting seats. They should go in to throw out ministries and make the boycott effective. They must not only turn down Select Committees but they should turn down every other proposal connected with it. If you do not take sufficient power now there will be difficulties afterwards. Therefore I ask you to accept the formula that you must go to the Councils, for the purpose of making the boycott effective. To omit clause (d) would be to contradict other parts of the resolution. All these amendments are amendments which do not commend themselves to me. Except Mr. Prakasam's amendment I do not agree with others. I would ask you to vote solidly with an overwhelming majority for the resolution and not be distracted by the intellectual quibbles and subtelties. I would ask you to vote for the resolution which has been drafted carefully by the Subjects Committee and the Working Committee and which has been now placed before you, for the purpose of concentrating as large

a number of men as possible upon this programme. I would in conclusion ask you to remember the Independence resolution that has been passed and voted against Mr. Karant's amendment that you should delete clause (d). I cannot understand how Mr. Karant pleaded for his amendment. I would most earnestly request you to accept the resolution that has been placed before you.

ALL AMENDMENTS LOST.

Then the amendments were put to the Congress one by one and were all declared lost.

The original resolution was then put to the meeting and declared carried amidst loud and continued applause.

The Congress rose for the day at 6 p.m. and adjourned the sitting till 8 a.m. on Wednesday the 28th December 1927.

Mr. Fenner Brockway's Message.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar announced that Mr. Fenner Brockway even in the midst of his suffering in the hospital sent a message to the Congress.

The following is the message :—

Although my body is aching with pain, and my mind blurred, I feel that I must send a message to the Congress, expressing briefly what I would have said if I had been able to speak. I came to the Congress not only as a personal friend of India but as an official representative of the British Independent Labour Party. This organisation is the most definitely socialist and internationalist of the societies which form the British Labour Party. I believe that the settlement of the relations between Britain and India is one of the most important issues in the world to-day. Upon it largely depends the whole future of the East and of the relations between Europeans and other races of the world I have no greater wish than to see the Indian issue settled with good will and co-operation between England and India. The Independent Labour Party believes that to be possible. Its policy for the British Government would be to ask the elected members of the Indian assemblies, and members of other representative organisations to prepare a constitution expressing the wishes of India. British representatives should be appointed to meet them at a round table conference and to collaborate on the detailed operation of these proposals.

We are confident that a solution could be found for the problem if approached in the right spirit, a solution which would be just to India's national life, and to the responsibilities and interests which Britain has incurred. Instead of adopting this course the British Government has appointed a purely British Commission, and it is clear that the Indian

committee, despite all the claims made for it, will be merely a subsidiary body; and no alteration in the procedure can change this fact. The Independent Labour Party has, therefore, from the first opposed the labour party's participation in the commission, and though we have failed to secure the adoption of our views, the issue is so important that we must continue our protest.

I am delighted that the Indian parties are supplementing the pledge of boycott with constructive policies. I hope that a representative conference will be called, drawn from all sections of the Indian peoples, which will prepare from the drafts now before the country a constitution representing the voice of India. I have been associated with the drafting of one of these constitutions, but our object has not been to impose any scheme, and our only concern would be that the final draft should reflect the wishes of the people of India. Even at this moment of political tension between Britain and India I hope that an effort will be made to refrain from exaggerating the antagonism. Miss Mayo's book, written in a disastrous spirit, and grossly overstating her case sought to find the worst and not the best of India. It would be very easy for an Indian to point out the advantages which Britain enjoys in material and scientific discovery, and yet show the overcrowding unemployment, starvation wages and prostitution which are rife in England, but this would get us no further.

Let me cite one of my own experience. I visited in Bombay a chawl occupied by mill hands consisting of a long dark passage, with single rooms ten feet by nine, I was amazed by their cleanliness under such conditions, and pay my tribute to them. Just as there is a tendency to overstate the case against Indians by Europeans, so if I may say so, is there a tendency to overstate the case against Englishman. The average British worker does not want to dominate any other race. The Labour Party, which represents the workers' organisations is not an Imperialist party despite the recent decisions, and the tone in which its leaders sometimes speak.

I appeal to the Indian peoples. While they maintain an attitude of self-respect and dignity, to meet the immediate situation, and to take a long view as well, wherein the Indian and British peoples together with the peoples of other nations must co-operate for the good of the world. I would have liked to say more, but I am tired. It is the biggest disappointment of my life that I should have come 6,000 miles to attend a conference and then been prevented from going at the last moment. My only consolation has been that in hospital I have been growing a beard that rivals that of Shaukat Ali, which his brother tells me is the surest sign of his devotion to India, but the barber came this morning and even this consolation has been taken away from me.

WEDNESDAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

President's Statement.

The Congress resumed its sitting on Wednesday, the 28th December, at 9-10 a.m. The proceedings commenced with the singing of National songs.

Before the actual proceedings commenced, Dr. Ansari in explaining why the Congress commenced its sitting that day later than the announced time said:—

Fellow-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am very sorry for being late but I assure you that it has been physically impossible to get here before this time. Last night at the Subjects-Committee we had to go on until about 3 a.m. and therefore you can understand that I could not possibly get here before 9, although I promised you to be here at 8. Please accept my apology but you would be very glad to hear that we have been able to pass by an almost overwhelming majority, I should say unanimously, through the Subjects-Committee all the various things which have been causing the Hindu-Muslim misunderstanding. (cheers.) The political, the religious and the social problems between the two communities have now been amicably settled. (cheers.) The resolution which consists of three parts will be placed before you very soon and really that is the most important work for us to-day. But, as some of our brother-delegates are not here I would just take a few resolutions which have to be passed and which could be put from the chair so that there may be a little more time for them to come here.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Dr. Ansari then read the following resolution relating to Indians in South Africa:—

This Congress while acknowledging the relief received by the Indian settlers in South Africa and regarding the signing of the Indo-Union agreement as a token of the desire of the Union Government to accord better treatment to the Indian settlers, cannot be satisfied till the status of the settlers is brought on a par with that of the enfranchised inhabitants of the Union and appeals to the Union Government to consolidate the goodwill created between the two countries by repealing all Class Legislation, especially the Colour Bar Act of 1926, the Clause in the Liquor Bill of 1927 prohibiting the employment of Indians as waiters in hotels and the Municipal Land Alienation Ordinances of Natal in so far as the latter involve racial segregation.

This Congress places on record its sense of deep gratitude to Deenabandhu C. F. Andrews for his great and humanitarian work in South Africa and East Africa in connection with the status of the Indian settlers in those countries.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously amidst loud cheers.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

Dr. Ansari next read the following resolution relating to Indians in East Africa :—

This Congress (i) enters its protest against the appointment of the East African Federation Commission without any Indian representative and also against the tendency under cover of responsible government, to give the European adventurers further powers of exploiting the unsophisticated natives of the soil and of oppressing by harassing and racial legislation the peaceful Indian settlers who had settled in East Africa long before any European ever went there and who have for centuries established and enjoyed friendly commercial relations with the natives ;

(ii) calls the attention of the League of Nations to the imminent danger of infringement of the Tanganyika mandate by opening highlands in that territory exclusively for European settlement ;

(iii) condemns the Feetham Report on Kenya local self-government as giving unfair and disproportionate representation to Europeans in Nairobi and Mambassa ; and hopes that the Indians in East Africa will continue their struggle for full status.

The resolution was also put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who was called upon to move the resolution on Hindu-Muslim Unity ascended the rostrum and made the following speech :—

The resolution that I am going to place before you is to me the most vital, the most epoch-making of all the resolutions that have been passed or will be passed in this historic and epoch-making Congress even more historic and vital than the resolution on Independence ; because this resolution, if you pass it, practise it, if you make it a thing perfect, will be the first step towards that independence which you have declared as your goal. (Cheers.) I will now read the resolution.

The first part deals with political rights. We have arrived at some sort of settlement on the outstanding and immediate daily matters of strife and quarrel. The second part deals with religious and other rights. Before I speak of the very important step towards the goal of independence, I would ask Dr. Satyapal to give the substance of the resolution in Hindustani and Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar in Tamil, so that everyone can know the responsibility of the vote that he records.

The resolution was then explained in Hindustani and in Tamil.

Part A.—Political rights.

This Congress resolves :—1. That in any future scheme of constitution, so far as representation in the various legislatures is concerned, joint electorates in all the provinces and in the Central Legislature be constituted ;

2. That, with a view to give full assurances to the two great communities that their legitimate interests will be safe-guarded in the Legislatures such representation of the communities should be secured for the present, and if desired, by the reservation of seats in joint electorates on the basis of population in every province and in the Central Legislature.

Provided that reciprocal concessions in favour of minorities may be made by mutual agreement so as to give them representation in excess of the proportion of the number of seats to which they would be entitled on the population basis in any province or provinces and the proportions so agreed upon for the provinces shall be maintained in the representation of the two communities in the Central Legislature from the provinces.

In the decision of the reservation of seats for the Punjab, the question of the representation of Sikhs as an important minority will be given full consideration ;

3. (a) That the proposal made by the Muslim leaders that reforms should be introduced in the N. W. F. Province and British Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces is, in the opinion of the Congress a fair and reasonable one, and should be given effect to, care being taken that simultaneously with other measures of administrative reform an adequate system of judicial administration shall be introduced in the said provinces ;

(b) (i) That with regard to the proposal that Sind should be constituted into a separate province, this Congress is of opinion that the time has come for the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis—a principle that has been adopted in the constitution of the Congress ;

(ii) This Congress is also of opinion that such readjustment of provinces be immediately taken in hand and that any province which demands such reconstitution on linguistic basis be dealt with accordingly ;

(iii) This Congress is further of opinion that a beginning may be made by constituting Andhra, Utkal, Sindh and Karnatak into separate provinces ;

4. That, in the future Constitution, liberty of conscience shall be guaranteed and no legislature, Central or Provincial, shall have power to make any laws interfering with liberty of conscience ;

"Liberty of Conscience" means liberty of belief and worship, freedom of religious observances and association and freedom to carry on religious education and propaganda with due regard to the feelings of others and without interfering with similar rights of others ;

5. That no bill, resolution, motion or amendment regarding inter-communal matters shall be moved, discussed or passed in any legislature, Central or Provincial, if a three-fourths majority of the members of either community affected thereby in that legislature oppose the introduction, discussion or passing of such bill, resolution, motion or amendment.

"Inter-communal matters" means matters agreed upon as such by a Joint Standing Committee of both communities—of the Hindu and Moslem members of the legislature concerned appointed at the commencement of every session of the legislature.

Part B.—Religious and other rights.

This Congress resolves that :

1. Without prejudice to the rights that Hindus and Mussalmans claim, the one to play music and conduct processions wherever they please and the other to slaughter cows for sacrifice or food wherever they please, the Mussalmans appeal to the Mussalmans to spare Hindu feelings as much as possible in the matter of the cow and the Hindus appeal to the Hindus to spare Mussalman feelings as much as possible in the matter of music before mosques.

And therefore, this Congress calls upon both the Hindus and Mussalmans not to have recourse to violence or to law to prevent the slaughter of a cow or the playing of music before a mosque.

2. This Congress further resolves that every individual or group is at liberty to convert or reconvert another by argument or persuasion but no individual or group shall attempt to do so, or prevent its being done by force, fraud or other unfair means such as the offering of material inducement. Persons under eighteen years of age should not be converted unless it be along with their parents or guardians. If any person under eighteen years of age is found stranded without his parents or guardian by persons of another faith he should be promptly handed over to persons of his own faith. There must be no secrecy as to the person, place, time and manner about any conversion or re-conversion, nor should there be any demonstration of jubilation in support of any conversion or re-conversion.

Whenever any complaint is made in respect of any conversion or re-conversion, that it was effected in secrecy or by force, fraud or other unfair means, or whenever any person under eighteen years of age is converted, the matter shall be enquired into and decided by arbitrators who shall be appointed by the Working Committee either by name or under general regulations.

Continuing Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said: The reading and the translation of this long resolution has taken almost as long as the time we take for Swaraj. Nonetheless, it has to be read, imperfect as it is, in all its various halting clauses. Usually it is a matter of great pride and pleasure to be associated with any resolution of such importance, but I confess that it is without pleasure, without pride but with all humility that something at least has been achieved, however imperfect. I place this resolution before you and ask you to remember the responsibility of your vote and the solemnity of the occasion. I do not propose to enter into the discussion of any detail in connection with this long transitional Magna Charta of tolerance. It is not a Magna Charta of liberty, it is not a Magna Charta of Unity, but it is a small, a little halting Magna Charta of tolerance towards one another. (Cheers.) And in this 20th century on this day and from this platform when we as a nation have already proclaimed our determination of freedom in terms of independence, it grieves me, it shames me, it bows my head down before the very world to place before you your ideal of independence this plea for tolerance towards one another. I want you to consider how disgraceful a chapter has been written in our contemporary history that it should be necessary after the passing of that resolution of independence to place before you a thing that we should be ashamed to have to pass. But, we must pass it to-day if we would give an earnest to ourselves and to the world that we mean to go forward on the path of freedom as a united people.

What does this resolution say? It says nothing final. It only asks you, Hindus and Mussalmans, who have been engaged in shameful conflict, in tragic conflict, heaping bitterness upon bitterness, tumult upon tumult, shame upon shame, sorrow after sorrow—it asks you to cry halt and cry truce and consider your position. Would you be a living nation among the living nations of the world or would you be no more than a graveyard full of corpses in your country? This is the only question that you have to deal with in considering this question. I am one of those who have not the suspicion or shadow of any communal feeling, sectarian feeling in my whole constitution. I am one of those, I am proud to say in this hour of my humiliation. I do not know whether I am anything but an Indian. (Cheers). My religion, my conviction stands above all creeds, castes and races and my conviction is this, that the only religion for India is the religion of deliverance from bondage. Shall we be Hindus and Mussalmans in the magnificent sense in which our ancestral cultures were conceived and consummated. Till then we are no more than slaves leading ourselves into further slavery and tying ourselves with further ties of slavery in the consciousness that we are Hindus and Mussalmans claiming our rights to the detriment and death of our sister communities. Therefore, this resolution puts together the two parts, one the political rights

and the other the religious rights. Political rights of a community will not be conceded to conciliate one another because we are not as yet politically minded enough to know that the business of the nation is the polity of the nation which is freedom. Therefore before we progress as a nation towards political freedom we have to settle quarrels and strifes in our temples and homes, schools and colleges, nay, a quarrel between lifelong friends, now turned to enemies for the mirage of sectarian feeling. Therefore, I will take the second part first.

The question deals with this age-long thing, the sanctity of the cow of the Hindus and the Mussalmans' objection towards music as one of the religious prohibitions. For so many centuries history has been written that side by side Hindus and Mussalmans have been living and the old traditions will tell you that they have been living in most intimate kinship spiritually more dear, more deep, and more abiding than all the bloodkinships in the world. But, to-day we have a hybrid education. Because we read history not quite rightly—rightly or wrongly we are imperfect in our patriotism, unsure in our ways, unstable in our aspirations, because we are cowardly in our own spirit, we need to assert the grievances of cowards in order to make the world believe that we are brave. That is why we Hindus and Mussalmans lay violent hands and violent tongues upon one another. It is not straight speaking but distrust of fellow cowards and fellowmen towards one another which breeds all these dissensions, conflicts, tragedies and death. Therefore after many many months and years of careful consideration, weighing the weaknesses of each community and conceding that a slave nation has weaknesses which it must outgrow before it can march on, this Congress which is equally the home of every community without favour in this country has resolved that the two communities now warring with one another for such foolish things as the passing of procession before mosques or sacrifice of cow. I say we should come to some adjustment, temporary no doubt, but this temporary adjustment shall bring out permanent settlement not on the basis of weakness but on mutual trust and love, not by coercion, not by compulsion not even by persuasion but by abdication of rights that belong to one another as a sister community and as brothers and comrades. Therefore, the second part of the resolution deals with the claims of the Hindus and Mussalmans in which they respectively acquiesce not under compulsion, but they do acquiesce that the Hindu shall have the right to take their music and worship their God on the highway even before a mosque. But, what does it say. It says, Oh! Hindus whose old religion has been tolerance and magnanimous surrender not by compulsion, but of your own grace and strength, spare the religious feelings of your comrades whose home is India, whose mother is India and in the exercise of your claim and right to play music and take procession before mosques, and try to adjust your

sentiments to the sentiments of your brothers under different name, in a mosque which is as much a sanctuary as a temple to which you take your procession and music. It says to the Mussalmans, you have the right and the claim to sacrifice a cow, for reasons economic. You say you are poor and the reason why you eat a cow that is sacred to the Hindu, your co-religionist, is your poverty. You have therefore economic as well as religious sanction. What do we say to the Mussalmans? We say we do not dispute your right, but we claim your grace and consideration. You are our comrades, you are our brothers, and therefore that courtesy that spiritual consideration towards our sacrosanct sentiment must be conceded to us, must be observed by you and then we do not stand in your way to the detriment of your right and claim. We ask of you that you shall not outrage the most sacred and most immemorial Hindu racial sentiment by your pursuit and exercise of your rights for economic or religious reasons. It further says to the two slave factions, "Do not go to a court of law, do not have recourse to violence but by the magnanimous gesture of each to the other let love win where hatred and violence cannot conquer. On that basis an agreement has been come to by the most revered leaders of the Hindu community whose leadership no man dare challenge—my revered leader, friend and father, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (cheers) whose sanction has been given and by the most unchallenged leaders of the Muslim community within and without the Congress. And therefore making this as the basis of that toleration, that education in toleration, that discipline in toleration, and magnanimous consideration of each other's sentiments, we proceed to the first part of the resolution which deals with political rights, as they are in a transitional condition. The Mussalman friends have made a proposal to us the Hindus.

When that proposal was made in Delhi on the 20th. March, I did not know anything of the inside psychology of the mass Mussalman mind, I did not know whether I was dreaming. The Mussalmans for years and years had made separate electorate as the very sheet-anchor to their very existence in India. They said rightly or wrongly, wrongly according to my reading of the whole situation, that without separate electorates, they being in a minority, they would, in all those things that mean power, knowledge, education, wealth and social advance, be swamped by the majority community. Year after year, in spite of our requests and entreaties their leaders said, "No, no, no." To-day their leaders came suddenly and said, "Yes, Yes, Yes." They said, if you will make that magnanimous gesture, if your leaders and your people will, according to the ideals, traditions and customs of the great Hindu race, make a gracious gesture of assurance towards us who are brave, but who in our ignorance of you are suspicious and distrustful, we the leaders promise, no matter the loss, we shall march side by side with you in your pilgrimage towards liberty. They said, we give up separate electorate which has been the very citadel and sanctuary of the Moslem minority. We throw ourselves upon your mercy. We are imperfect Nationalists, we have been backward, but it took you very long to learn and you have not yet completed your education. How do you expect that we shall be complete and perfect in our solidarity when you, an advanced and powerful Hindu community, have not yet become consolidated and united? Therefore, give us time, we shall join the general electorate. But, give us a little time as a transitional

measure during the period of our initiation into the lessons of wide and confident National feeling. Give us the opportunity and protection, something of the protection, the illusion of protection if you like and give us the concession of reservation of seats on the basis of the population. They have further said, give us if you will by such distribution of provinces on the lines of your Congress distribution which will make, among other provinces, Sindh a separate province, that will give to Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier provinces, which Amanullah His Afghan Majesty rules, the opportunity to develop brotherhood and freedom. Give it the right of those reforms which you enjoy, call it what you like, give it that opportunity of equal development as it is backward. Do not keep it backward. Therefore the Mussalman proposals were that you should give joint electorates to the Mussalmans who abdicate their sheet-anchor—separate electorate. They have set us a lesson by foregoing separate electorates. They trust in you that, by your practice and example if a joint electorate is agreed to, you will put them on equal terms. They have asked that Sindh may be separated. You will hear many arguments for and against it. I personally love Sindh, I have presided over the Sindhi Provincial Conference. I have been a delegate of the Congress from Sindh and I have ties of affection to that beautiful country because of its music and traditions. I have always held that Sindh should be for its own evolution a separate province, because that is separated from the largest community in the Bombay Presidency. I am putting forward this not because the Muslim community wants but because the Congress recognizes the right of the distribution of provinces on linguistic basis. It is for the integrity and love of the people speaking the same language following the same traditions and customs, that I am saying this.

You have also before you all the other clauses. I am not now going to enter into any more details but I do beseech you, nay, even more, I venture to command you in the name of that freedom which you say you desire, give an earnest that you are ready for a small readjustment; the sacrifices that are necessary to-day are the sacrifices of your sentiments if indeed you wish to reach the goal of Independence. What is Independence? What is freedom? Freedom is that which demands of you the uttermost sacrifice of life, property, liberty, sentiments and all things most precious and sacred. If you Hindus and Mussalmans will throw on Lord Birkenhead the insult that he has flung on India, you would throw back that arrogant falsehood of that American woman who has exploited your dissensions and weaknesses, that you are a slave race and that you have no right for Swaraj, and who for the sake of unity had dared to defy the most sacred conventions, traditions, ideals and birthright of the people. I ask you Hindus and Mussalmans, no matter what it costs you, by giving up of your life-blood and certain of your cherished traditions and predilections. I beg of you to hold this as the Magna Charta of education, of discipline and of tolerance, as the first step towards that unity that will lead you to that Independence that you claim, without which you as a Nation would be nowhere. Even if you would be re-born, re-vivified and twice-born in a spiritual sense, freedom alone will give you the right and claim to Independence, laying the foundation of that Hindu-Muslim Unity which is the only guarantee of the liberty and freedom of this dying race. (Loud Cheers).

[illegible]

کئے بلا ڈر اور خوف کے یہ معاملہ حل ہو جائیگا۔ اور ہر ایک قوم خوشی سے ایک دوسرے کے حق کا اعلان کر دیگی۔ جیسی اس معاملہ کا آخری حل ہو گا ابھی اس کے لئے آب و ہوا ٹھیک نہیں اس موجودہ آب و ہوا میں یہ مسئلہ حل ہو نہیں سکتا اور اس رزلوشن کا اسپرٹ بھی یہی ہے ہندوؤں اور مسلمانوں میں عادت ڈالی جائے کہ ایک دوسرے کو مذہبی جذبات میں دخل نہ دیں جہاں تک ان کا تعلق ہے اس معاملہ میں دور رہیں گاؤں کے معاملہ میں ہندو اپنی جنبہ داری ترک کر دیں اور جہاں چاہیں اپنا جلوس لیجا لیں! اسی طرح مسلمانوں کو بھی یہ آزادی ہے کہ جہاں چاہیں گاؤں کو کشتی کریں۔ لیکن باوجود اس حق کے دونوں کو چاہئے کہ وہ ایک دوسرے کے جذبات کا لحاظ رکھیں

ہمارے ایک دوست نے کہا ہے کہ اس رزلوشن کے ساتھ ساتھ ان مساجد ٹی جن کے آگے باجہ نہیں بچانا چاہئے اور جن جن مقامات میں گاؤں کو کشتی کرنی چاہئے۔ اوکلی ایک تفصیل شائع کر دی جائے لیکن فی الحقیقت تمام ملک میں ایک رواج نہیں اسوقت جہاں کہیں باجہ روکنے کا رواج تھا۔ وہاں وہ رواج اڑ گیا۔ اور جہاں گاؤں کو کشتی نہیں ہوتی تھی وہاں بھی گاؤں کو کشتی ہونے لگی۔ اس خیال سے کوئی تفصیل پیش کرنا مشکل ہے۔ اس سے یہ نتیجہ نکلیگا کہ کام کرنے والوں کا بند ہو جائیگا اور نہ کسی خاص حالت میں کچھ کر سکیں گے۔ پھر بھی اگر کوئی تفصیل تیار بھی کی جائے تو اتنی بڑی ہو جائیگی کہ جس کی ایک کتاب

بنجائیگی میرا خیال یہ ہے کہ اس بات کو بالکل نبدیا چھوڑ دیا جائے۔ مین یہ
 گھنٹا ہوں کہ مسلمانوں کو اس رزولوشن سے بھی زیادہ رعایت کرنی پڑیگی۔ اگر
 ۱۹۲۷ء سے ہندو مسلم آپس کے جھگڑوں کو اور ملک کی بدقسمتی کو مٹانے کو تیار
 ہوں تب تو کسی تفصیل کی ضرورت نہیں اور اگر وے تیار نہیں تو آپ
 تفصیلوں کی کتاب تیار کر کے بھی چھہ کر نہیں سکیں گے اس رزولوشن پر خوب
 غور کیا جا چکا ہے۔ پنڈت مدن موہن مالویہ اور مصافحہ گاندھی جی کی بھی یہی
 رائے ہے آپ اپنی رائے قائم کریں۔ ہندو اور مسلمان ۱۹۲۷ء کے خاتمہ پر اور
 ۱۹۲۷ء کے لئے تیار ہو جائیں مین اپیل کرتا ہوں کہ آپ اس پر عمل کریں
 آپ اس تجویز کو غور کر کے ہندو مسلم فسادات کا خاتمہ کر دیں

Mr. Gauri Sankar Misra.

Mr. Gauri Sankar Misra, speaking next, said :

Mr. President, brother and sister delegates.—The proposition relating to Hindu-Muslim Unity has been placed before you, moved and supported by no less individuals than Srimathi Sarojini Devi and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Friends, I want to ask you one question. Yesterday in this very house you passed a resolution declaring complete National Independance as the Goal of India. I want to know whether that declaration made solemnly here in this Congress was a declaration of a sincere Indian Nation and whether it was one to be negatived and nullified to-day in the shape of a resolution full of communalism from top to bottom. The resolution talks of Hindu-Muslim Unity. Yes, we do require Hindu-Muslim Unity to facilitate Independance—complete National Independance in this country. But, is this resolution before you going to help us in any way at all? No. I may tell you, brother and sister delegates that you must pause and consider the resolution in all its aspects. To me it is nothing but a resolution stinking with the same spirit of communalism which that notorious Lucknow pact brought about in this country.

Friends, the resolution says we will have joint electorates. Yes, have them by all means, but it has been provided also that there

should be reservation of seats for communities. What does that reservation of seats mean? It means representation of communities. And that representatives chosen by the votes of all communities should after the election shall call themselves representatives of the Moslems to protect Moslem interests, representatives of Christians to represent Christian interests and so on. I wish as Sarojini Devi said every Indian realised himself an Indian. The reservation of seats is not really going to help Moslems, Christians and other communities really feeling that they are Indians. Therefore our leaders who felt shy of passing the Independence resolution for the last so many years and passed it yesterday, should not be fascinated by the name of the reservation of seats. But, if reservation of seats they must have, let them have it, not on the basis of communalism but on the basis of interests such as Peasant, Labour and Capital. While you give joint electorates, you also give at the same time reservation of seats. This will result in taking away with one hand what you give with the other. My friends, people say that this resolution is meant to solve communalism. Now, it would not disappear after the resolution. The very idea of the leaders that by this method they will be able to solve the poisonous question of communalism—the idea which was behind the back of Lokamanya Tilak who gave support to the poisonous Lucknow pact which gave birth to the separate electorates has been the root cause of so much evil, denationalisation and demoralisation of public life in this country. Yesterday, you passed the resolution declaring the goal of Independence and, before the end of March, you are going to have a meeting of the All India Congress Committee at which will be considered the constitution for India. I want to know whether that constitution will contain a provision under which the goal of Independence for this country would be kept intact. I don't know if there is any country in the world which has declared Independence as its goal, ever made a constitution containing such communal things as are contained in this resolution. Therefore I beg of you in the spirit in which you passed the important resolutions yesterday—I know you young friends are yearning for Independence—you do not stand to be camouflaged—not to be misled by any elders.

Mr. Gauri Sankar Misra now read his amendment "whereas a constitution on communal lines is detrimental to the interests of the country".

Mr. A. Rangaswami Ayyangar the General Secretary; The amendment was not in order for lack of notice.

Mr. Gauri Sankar Misra: I am surprised to hear from the General Secretary that I have not given notice of the amendment. Yesterday in the presence of the revered President sitting here, I told him that I was going to move the amendment. Here is the amendment and I have the right to move it.

The President at this stage proceeded to the rostrum and spoke to Mr. Gauri Sankar Misra who then left the rostrum amidst cheers.

The President : Gentlemen,—Pandit Gauri Sankar Misra has given his views to you. He asked me, to allow him to speak against the resolution. I have received no amendment from him. Therefore whilst giving him fullest latitude to express his views against the resolution, I really cannot allow without receiving due notice, this amendment at the last moment. (Hear, hear and applause).

I am glad, however, that he has acceded to my wishes and has gone back without placing the amendment before you. Unless we work on constitutional lines, the work in the Congress would be absolutely impossible. Therefore I would call upon the next speaker to come and speak to you. (Applause).

Babu Jagat Narayan Lal of Bihar spoke as follows :

It has given me deep pain that I should come to you to express my own views on this momentous resolution brought before this house. I wish I could not differ, but I come before you to express a dissentient voice on certain clauses of the resolution. But Brothers and Sisters, deep as is the feeling in some of us in some portions of the clauses, I hope you will give me a patient hearing. Without dealing with the whole resolution, I wish to refer to the cow and music clauses in part (b), which is known as the religious part of the resolution. You heard the mover Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and you have heard Moulana Abul Kalam Azad on these resolutions. If we were to be guided by what the respected Moulana Abul Kalam Azad has expressed to you, I would not be here to express anything against that particular clause. But the clause as it stands is so worded and it will surely give rise to so many innumerable difficulties and such serious complications that I feel certain that it is going to defeat the very object for which it has been brought. I shall read to you the clause. (He read the second part of the resolution here)

This is the particular portion. Now in this portion you have three parts. In the first part 'it is said that without prejudice to the rights which the Hindus and Mussalmans claim, in regard to the cow question and music, etc. The second part is an appeal both to the Hindus and Mussalmans to spare and have regard for each other's feelings as much as possible. The third part calls upon both the communities not to have recourse to violence or to law. That is a simple thing. Now in these three portions, so far as the first portion is concerned you have heard two speakers. You have heard what the mover Mrs. Naidu has said. It was explained by several brothers outside and by persons who had been sitting in the Subjects-Committee, and by persons whose opinions carried great weight with us, that there is no question of the admission of rights of the Hindus or

Musalmans. We simply say that the Musalmans claim a right to kill a cow and the Hindus to music before mosques. When it was said like that, so soon as Mrs. Naidu came before you she said that we have acquiesced in the claims of each other. I know it is merely an interpretation of the resolution. It is not the resolution itself. But don't you see that the very mover has said in that manner. She says that in the rights claimed by both the communities both of them had acquiesced. She appealed to the Mahamadans "we do not dispute your rights but ask you to have regard for others, feelings." That is exactly the ambiguity which we are afraid of. This resolution, if it is passed, is going to allow the Musalman to kill cows wherever he chooses and whenever he likes. She said to us that although the claim is put there, the Hindus do not acknowledge it. Is it not going to lead to a number of interpretations, wherein one community wants to snatch away as much as possible from the other community and the other community wants to gain as much as possible. Is it not going to lead to further strife. I therefore consider this clause most unhappily worded. I know that in this matter Mahatma Gandhi's name, Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya's name and Dr. Monjee's were also mentioned and it is also said that they acquiesced in this resolution. I have talked to friends who sat yesterday in the Committee. I have talked to several important members. So far as that talk goes, the very spirit with which the resolution was drafted is quite different. But let me tell you a secret that neither Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya nor Dr. Monjee considered the resolution a desirable one. Even Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad does not say that it is a happy resolution. If it were possible I would appeal to the Musalmans to abolish cow slaughter altogether. But that is the millenium for which we ought to aim at. It was this appeal which was made in the Delhi Conference when Mahatma Gandhi was fasting to insist on the compromise that was arrived at. There he made the appeal. That is the spirit behind it. But brothers I ask you what is the spirit behind this anxiety to have the right acknowledged. If my brother who wants to have a regard for my feeling and who wants to abolish something with which I am deeply pained, would he be going forward every moment saying "first acknowledge my right" and then "I will abolish". I know that Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad and the President and several other respected members and Hakim, have all declared that in this blessed land the ultimate millenium should be to abolish cow-slaughter altogether. But I know that at the same time there is a most pressing demand from the Mussalman community that this right should be acknowledged, and further this acknowledgement of the right is going to give trouble. If I were to tell you the condition prevailing in the United Provinces, Bihar and in those towns and districts where cows are sacrificed,

whatever you may pass here, that is not going to be accepted there ; on the other hand, there is going to be more blood-shed and riots over it. I deplore it as much as you do. We want to arrive at happy solution. Let me tell you that here have been three pacts ; the Delhi Unity Conference Pact, the Calcutta Unity Conference Pact and another standing before you to-day. We are anxious to have the solution, but let us arrive at the solution which can be the right and the lasting solution, which can help us out of our difficulties instead of complicating matters. You go further and say in the second clause, have regard for each others' feelings. In a prayer like that there will be no difficulty. In fact I moved an amendment in the Subjects-Committee, but in deference to the wishes of several of my leaders, I did not press that amendment. So far as the third clause is concerned you will see that in the first clause there is an appeal to both the communities not to have recourse to violence or law in the matter of cow-slaughter and music and I say that the trouble is going to come in. The Mussalman is going to say "I have a right to slaughter cows wherever I like, don't you have recourse to violence or law." I certainly do not want that there should be a recourse to violence or law but I want that there should be an understanding and some pressure when we open the door to this thing. It is with deep pain that you always find music and the cow question being put up together. Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad has very much cleared the situation when he said before you that the music question is a question of recent growth and it has been given too great an importance and will vanish within a few years. The cow question is known not to Hindus alone, but to all who have come into this country. The British also know that the cow question, for the Hindus, is a sacred one and that they regard the cow not simply as a cow but she is to them something like a God. Gentlemen, the Hindus know that our Shastras have said the cows are the mother of the three worlds. Baber's mother's parting words to her son were "My son if you want to rule India do not sacrifice cows." In British India Queen Victoria it was who issued the proclamation in the matter of religion and in the matter of sentiments. The Indian Mutiny was the outcome of this great faith. All the rulers and the persons who have come into this country know rightly or wrongly that there is the deepest feeling on this question. There is no question of reason in matters of sentiment and religion. You cannot ask the Mussalman to surrender his right of cow-slaughter and to be heroic in matters of sentiment or religion. Brothers I have now placed before you my amendment and I am certainly grateful to the revered President for having allowed me to express my feelings in regard to this question. I feel that the first three clauses should be removed and if only there has been a spirit behind that, appeal a genuine spirit to bring troubles to a close, matters would have been very much for the better. But, on

the other hand, this would create dissensions. I say, as responsible delegates here, and as responsible well-wishers of the country, we all share the anxiety with you all that there should be peace in this country, but it is with the same feeling I think that it would not be possible to have a resolution in this way. I am very thankful to you for the indulgence with which you have heard me and I hope you will think over it and accept it in the way in which it ought to be accepted.

Mr. Govind Ballabh Pant.

Mr. Govind Ballabh Pant (U. P.) :

Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen:—The question with which we are concerned at present is the most solemn and at the same time the most delicate one. I appeal to you to consider it in a cool, calm and dispassionate spirit. It is easy for people to excite sentiment over matters which can reveal a sharp difference of opinion. It is not difficult for anybody to criticise an arrangement which is admittedly made to meet a difficult situation and to provide a remedy of a transitional character. The question, however, has to be considered, not in the light in which a doctrinaire politician would look at it, but we have to give our earnest thought to it as practical men. There can be no two opinions about the gravity of the Hindu Muslim problem to-day. If our national honour is lying low, if inconceivable insults are being hurled on us, if we are being maligned all over the world, it is because of this weakness which has been introduced into the body politic during the last four years through this unfortunate communal tension. There is graver malady to-day than this. This has eaten into the very vitals of our beings. It has not only hampered our political progress, but it has in fact reduced us from the scale of civilised social beings to that not far removed from that to which brutes belong. Even our existence had become almost impossible. Friends, all this is due to the spirit of distemper, to that spirit of distrust and hate which has taken hold of almost all our people in the cities and towns to-day. Obviously, in the circumstances, it is the sacred duty of every one of us to devise such means as would conduce to the improvement of the present situation and as would pave the way for the consummation of the goal for the attainment of the ideals, for the fulfilment of those desires which we all cherish. In these circumstances the resolution which has been placed before you is the best and the most suitable arrangement which carries with it the largest amount of support from both communities.

You must notice that this resolution is in two parts, the one relating to matters political, that is replacement by joint electorates and the other, religious and social problems relating to conversion, cows, and music before mosques. It was admitted even

by those who opposed the resolution that the system of separate electorates had brought about an inconceivable state of demoralisation and political dismemberment in this country. It is obvious that the system of separate electorates is responsible to-day for accentuating our points of difference for giving prominence to those who are of a fanatical spirit, to those who are not prepared to compromise on matters national or communal. It is in these circumstances absolutely necessary to devise some measure which will lead people to concentrate on points of agreement, and in consequence of which the points of difference will slide into the back ground. That is the first step which can lead us on to the goal which we all have in view. We have been told that the reservation of seats is not in any way compatible with complete national independence which the Congress has adopted as its goal. I ask you whether the system of separate electorates is possibly the way which will lead us on to the goal. I ask you before we can make any earnest endeavour towards political emancipation, is it or is it not absolutely necessary that the spirit of distrust, suspicion, animosity and bitterness between the two communities should give way to amity and friendship and good will and to mutual and reciprocal trust. If you admit that it is only by removing the mistrust and suspicion that we can attain our goal, it follows logically that the first step is to bring about such a sort of arrangement as will help the growth of national solidarity and that will lead us on to a state of complete and implicit trust in each other. The present system which is to-day causing so much mischief is a machiavelian contrivance which has been designed to put an end to our political unity, and to all those things which could lead to the growth of our national spirit. In the circumstances, gentlemen, it is clear. I think, you will accept it, unless the Hindus and Mussalmans agree to a permanent arrangement which should prove futile. Hindus and Mussalmans made the proposal which is embodied in this resolution. It was accepted by the Hindus at a meeting of the All India Committee with the full concurrence of Messrs. Jayakar and Kelkar, both of whom had been the President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha. So the proposals that are contained here carry with them the approval of both the communities. It is, I believe, the next best step than can be taken in that direction. You know the cogency of the whole thing. You know that in a joint electorate it is the easiest thing for all concerned to bring about such pressure on their representative as will make him a representative of the people and not of any one particular community. There have been certain other suggestions as to the extension of the reforms to those parts of India which have not got the benefit to-day, and for the re-distribution of certain provinces on a linguistic basis. The Congress has long ago adopted the principle of the formation of provinces on a linguistic basis and there is no reason why it should depart from it,

simply because some other friends want some principle to be adopted on certain other consideration. We stand for self-determination, we have declared that as our principle and in these circumstances we cannot but concede to every part of our country the right to make its own constitution.

The other part of the resolution relates to social and religious matters. It is plain enough. The first part only says that certain rights are claimed by certain communities. It does not commit the Congress to that claim. It does not say that the Hindus accept the claim that the Mussalmans make, or that the Mussalmans accept the claim that the Hindus make. It only says that a certain claim is made by Hindus and Mussalmans. Take the second part of that resolution and you will see how very necessary it is to rely on the active support of the communities themselves for putting an end to the mischief of religious intolerance than to anything else. It imposes reciprocal obligations on Hindus and Mussalmans. It admits in a way that it is the goal of the Indian people that cow-slaughter should be abolished. But every reasonable man should expect that the goal could be attained only with the consent of the Mussalmans. You know, those who are mostly responsible for cow-slaughter in this country are not Mussalmans. If you want to stop cow-slaughter in this country it is absolutely necessary that we should ask for and secure the co-operation and good-will of the brother communities residing in this land. This resolution says that it will be the duty of the Mussalman community to do their utmost to respect sentiments in this matter. It has been stated before you by no less a person than Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad that the Mussalmans recognise that the Hindu sentiment in this matter is very deep-rooted. In fact, if I may say so, the Hindu is proud of his ancient civilisation in respect of this matter to get over the feeling even if he wanted, most earnestly to do so. Our Mussalman friends recognise it and say it is not through law, not through force, not through extraneous imposition that the Hindus will be able to attain their end and the only way that this can be done is through the good will of the other community which should make an effort to regulate the manner and extent of cow slaughter, if there are people who consider it absolutely necessary to have cow-slaughter.

Similarly in the case of music before mosques, it is admitted and I have no doubt that this question has recently come into prominence and to the fore, but any way it is there, and it is the duty of the Hindus to regulate the processions and to so conduct the music and not to wound the susceptibilities of the Mussalmans. It leaves to both the communities to develop a spirit of tolerance and good will through which alone this country can pass on to a higher step than that which it occupies to-day.

The third part of the resolution consequently calls upon both the communities not to resort to law or violence. The reason is obvious enough. If you have to rely on the good will of the communities themselves then you impose a moral obligation upon the communities concerned to look after the sentiments and susceptibilities of the other community. If you resort to law or to violence, you retard the progress of that sentiment which can alone lead us to the protection of the cow and the freedom of procession, music and prayer in the mosques. In these circumstances I hope and believe you will agree with the resolution. As you are aware, it has the approval of no less a man than Mahatma Gandhi. It has the approval of no less a leader of the Hindus than the revered leader Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyya. It has the approval of no less a person than Dr. Monjee. Can anybody say that these gentlemen have committed themselves to a policy which will be harmful to the Hindus? Of course I am prepared to accept that the idea underlying this resolution is not a happy one. Who would not hang his head in shame when he feels that in this country we are not able to live together as brothers and sisters. I appeal to you all to accept the resolution which has been so eloquently moved by Mrs. Sorojini Naidu and seconded by Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad.

Mr. Pande.

Mr. Pande (United Provinces) said :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen.—It is with great reluctance that I have come to oppose this resolution, which has already got the support of this House, if I am not mistaken about it. Yet I think it is my duty to oppose the first part of this Resolution because I think it deals with a political matter and the communal problem of Hindu-Muslim unity. I think you should not confuse the two issues, one political and the other communal or religious. In my opinion this resolution, which was known as the Bombay pact has many things in whose favour nothing can be said.

Firstly, the whole of the resolution is out of order. You will laugh at it when I say it is out of order but I wish to tell you that only yesterday you have passed a resolution that you shall boycott the Simon Commission and to-day you are recommending very indirectly what you want, this, that or such thing. Is there any one in this House, who says that it is not evidence for the Simon Commission. Friends, I wish to remind you that in 1916 when we anticipated the Reforms—and what were anticipated came in the shape of Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms—there was the same situation. At that time our great departed Leader Lokamanya Bala Gangadhar Tilak and Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah—I do not know the names of others—they made great efforts to bring the two communities together. I say they were

mistaken in confusing political ideas and political issues with communal points. What is the result? After 10 years of experience, we come to know that their efforts have been futile and they have been injurious and harmful to the growth of national unity; and now we are committing the same blunder. We are now going a step further. Now we are eliminating the great discord of separate electorates; still the reservation of seats is there—and a no less hindrance to the growth of national unity.

Secondly I think that you are going to frame a Constitution yourselves. Then, what is the need for having a discussion on an obviously separate article of that constitution here? What is the speciality to-day, that is leading you to discuss this issue separately? Can you not discuss this principle jointly with your constitution?

Thirdly can you propose another plan in which you could get nothing? Can you promise the Muslims, Hindus and others whom you call minorities, what is not in your hands? What you can do is that you can simply recommend to the Simon Commission as you did in 1916 when Reforms were granted. I do not know whether the Simon Commission will accept it or not. You are repeating your last mistake. You cannot give effect to the resolution until and unless we get Swaraj. We cannot add this article in the Swaraj constitution, because a constitution which we cannot work, we cannot recommend. With these words I oppose the resolution.

Sardar Sardul Singh Cavishar (Punjab).

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:—I whole-heartedly support the resolution, which has been put before you so ably by Mrs. Naidu and supported by Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad. I do not wish to say much on this resolution. I will refer only to two points. It has been said here that the resolution is not a perfect one. Certainly it is not a perfect one. Nobody claims perfection for it. (Hear, hear). It will be perfect only when we ourselves are perfect. (Cheers.) You have to judge this resolution specially the first part of it referring to communal representation, whether it is really an advance or a set-back. Formerly we had separate electorates. All of us know how harmful the separate electorates have been to the nation-building of India and for those separate electorates, we propose to have joint electorates. Certainly reservation of seats is there but you have to judge between joint electorates with reservation of seats and separate electorates as they are at present. I am sure if you have also reservation of seats with joint electorates, you would by far prefer them to separate electorates. That is all I have to say about the first part of the resolution.

The second part deals with the cow and music questions. I think the present is a far better solution than the solution suggested so far before. You can settle this question only by two ways. One way is this, that the Hindus should rather insist than they should ask the Muslims not to slaughter cows. They would not allow Muslims to slaughter cows either for food or for sacrifice and similarly Muslims would not want music to play before the mosque. Then in that case we can only settle this question by free fight, but that is not possible at present, because if the Hindus were strong they would not have allowed cow-slaughter at all and if the Muhammadans had been strong enough they would not have allowed music. In our present position when we both of us are slaves that solution is not possible for either of us. What is possible is that we are actually now doing. At present Government are allowing at one place Muslims to bully Hindus and in another place Hindus to bully Muslims and in this way a perpetual war is allowed to go on. (Hear hear). Therefore you cannot solve this question by asking one community that it should not do this and the other community that it should not do that. The only solution is that we should ask Hindus to let them to do what they like as regards the question of music and similarly Mussalmans to do whatever they liked as regards the cow because they would have allowed both of the communities to do whatever they liked. Both communities would think that now when our rights are recognised and our claims are admitted on our honour we must respect the feeling of the other community. Now I say to my brethren here at this point, I have got this feeling. My feeling is wounded if you do this or that but at the same time I will not use any force. I will not have recourse to law. I throw myself at your feet, only you should have some consideration for my feelings, and I am appealing to you. Such an appeal will I am sure, have greater force than any threat. Facts and experience of the last few years have proved it. When Hindus and Muslims were brethren, Hindus did not ask Muslims not to slaughter cows. During the Khilafat agitation we know that Hindus placed themselves like brethren at the side of Muhammadans. (Cheers). What was the result? In Delhi notwithstanding the best efforts of Government officials fewer cows were slaughtered, than now when Hindus assert their right and want the Muslims not to slaughter cows. The result is that more cows were slaughtered last year in Delhi than at the time when Hindus and Mussalmans were on good terms.

Similarly about music. At Rawalpindi Muslims used to allow Hindus to play music before mosques. They would not object to a Sikh procession which used to pass before Jumma Masjid. When the procession reached the mosque, they used to come out and greet them and offer pan and naturally the Sikhs would stop music. Last year Mussalmans wanted the Sikhs not to play music by force and the result was that



A Group of Volunteers (F. & V. Sections combined).

Sikhs played music before the mosques and the Muslims had to bear it. So gentlemen, I think it is wrong to have these things stated. We should leave everything to the honour of our brethren saying "we leave you everything. We have regard for you and we appeal to you to have regard for our feeling." In these other ways the music and the cow questions can be settled.

Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta (Bengal):—Mr. President, fellow-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I have come before you not for the purpose of making a long speech but only for the purpose of meeting a few arguments which were advanced by those who opposed this resolution. In the main, the opposition was directed to the second part of the resolution. It has been said that the resolution was not a perfect one. It has been also said that Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. Moonje and others have not wholly approved of that part of the resolution. I agree with it, but I think it was my friend from Behar, Mr. Jagat Nayayan Lal, who forgot to tell you the additional fact which was in the air. I also share the view with Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Dr. Moonje that the resolution is not perfect but Mr. Lal who gave you that information ought to have added if he had been properly informed—because I know he was not present at the private conversations that took place amongst selected leaders from all Provinces. Therefore he ought to have told you further if he had been properly informed that in the present circumstances, having regard to all political conditions, there could not be a better solution for immediate political work (hear, hear). It is on that basis the resolution has been drafted. It was after all Mahatma Gandhi's draft. We are all faced with this great difficulty that we have to go forward with our political work in the country. The country is faced with the crisis. Are we going now to solve this problem and face this crisis? In some way or other we must solve it. Or are we going to wait and wait and wait until we are absolutely killed and more communal tension has developed in the country? That is the issue and it is for that reason that we have come to this decision. Having removed that little suspicion which was attempted to be created amongst you that Mahatma Gandhi had not approved of it,—in that sense no one has approved of it we have to approve of it, we have to get a cut and dried agreement upon which we can go on with our political work.

Then do you not realise that this resolution is an improvement on the Calcutta settlement? In the Calcutta resolution it was practically agreed that the Muhammadans had the right to slaughter cows both for purposes of religious sacrifice and for food and the Hindus had the right to take processions with music before mosques. Those rights were admitted by all communities in that resolution, but in this resolution—and here I join issue with my friend from Behar who said that

there is an admission of the right of Hindus to march processions with music before mosques and also the admission on the part of the right of Muhammadans to slaughter cows--there is no such admission. On the contrary, in the resolution what you say is this: "without prejudice to the rights that the Hindus and the Mussalmans claim, the one to play music and conduct processions wherever they please and the other to slaughter cows for sacrifice or food wherever they please" and therefore there is absolutely no recognition of the right of the Muhammadans to slaughter cows, nor is there any recognition of the right of Hindus to carry procession with music before mosques. There is no recognition of the right but what is true has been stated there namely, that the Muhammadans claim to have a right to kill cows. It is true that the Hindus say that they have a right to take processions with music before mosques. We have told the truth and nothing but the truth that the claim is allowed by each community, that they have certain rights and the admission of the other communities as to those rights. There is nothing mentioned about it in the resolution. And what is the frame of the resolution? What is the purpose of the resolution? The purpose is not to have a resolution by which you prohibit the Muhammadans from slaughtering cows because that would absolutely spoil the purpose for which you want the resolution. The Hindus want that cows should not be slaughtered. The Muhammadans want that music should not be played before mosques. How are we to have these two? The only way to have it is to allow the Mussalmans to appeal to their brethren not to slaughter cows and the Hindus to go before their own community and tell them 'For Heaven's sake do not play music before mosques'. And that is exactly the way of giving absolute freedom to each community without recognising the right. You have to ask them "I put you on your honour, go if you like and kill cows. We will not oppose it by violence, we will not have recourse to law, we depend upon the honour of the Mussalmans not to kill cows" (cheers). Is that not a much better way of solution? Do you want to follow the bureaucratic way? Do you want to follow the Government's way? I will give you a few examples and show that the other way is the wrong way.

I remember on the 2nd April 1926 when riots broke out in Calcutta, I remember those terrible days in April and May when everyday Hindus were killed, Muhammadans were killed, mosques were desecrated, temples were attacked. I remember also the jubilation of the Hindus when with the help of British bayonets and the British police they led a procession with music playing before mosques. My head was down with humiliation when my countrymen said 'Victory for the Hindus' It was a defeat for the Hindus. It was not a defeat for the Muhammadans while with the help of the Police force of the British Government they went on playing music before mosques. That is

exactly what this resolution wants to prevent (hear, hear). It wants you not to seek the Britisher, not to go to a Magistrate, not to get British troops for the purpose of preventing cowslaughter. That is not the way to lead to your national freedom. The other way is the one the Congress has suggested. Leave it to the honour of the Mussalmans to stop it.

Later on when the Hindus wanted to take the Raja Rajeswari procession in Calcutta, permission was given by the Police, but at the last moment it was cancelled and the Muhammadans were allowed to come on the streets of Calcutta, on the tramway line, sit there and offer their prayers. Not a single Police Officer intervened or interfered. I ask you, was not the Government playing one against the other? One day the Hindus were given the permission to lead a procession with music before mosques and the next day the Muhammadans were allowed to stop the procession, and not the slightest assistance was forthcoming from the Government. Are you going to have recourse to law in these circumstances? One day the Hindus were patted on the back and a slap was given to the Muhammadans and the next day the Muhammadans were patted on the back and a slap was given to the Hindus. That is the policy the English people would follow if you allow your own countrymen to have either recourse to violence or to these law-officers as they are called. Therefore this resolution is drafted in this particular way. There is merit in this resolution, that instead of trying to restrict the communities from exercising what they claim to be their right you have allowed them perfect freedom and depended upon the community's honour to see that they do not in the slightest way harm the other community's feelings.

There is the last part of the same resolution on which there is absolutely no trouble, namely the question of conversion and re-conversion. No one can take objection to the language of that resolution and so far as the first portion is concerned, I have not heard any objection raised to the formation of joint electorates instead of separate electorates and the re-adjustment of the provinces on a linguistic basis. That must come and that is the only way to settle our differences. We must go forward with our political work and if you do so you should accept this resolution absolutely unanimously, if not, at least by a great majority so that we can to-day give a proper answer to the insolent challenge of Lord Birkenhead (cheers)

Mr. S. Satyamurthi.

ஸ்ரீமான் எஸ். சத்தியமூர்த்தி ஹிந்து - முஸ்லீம் ஒற்றுமைத் தீர்மானத்தை ஆதரித்துப் பேசியதாவது:—அக்கிராசனாதிபதி அவர்களே, சர்க்காரப் பிரதிநிதிகளே, சீமாட்டிகளே, சீமாண்களே,

இந்தப்பெரிய தீர்மானத்தை எனது நண்பர் ஸ்ரீமான் எ. ரங்கசுவாமி அய்யங்கார் மொழிபெயர்த்துச் சொல்லி விட்டார். ஆகவே அதனுடைய

கருத்தை நான் மறுபடியும் விளக்கிச் சொல்லவேண்டிய அவசிய மில்லை. ஆனால் அதில் அடங்கியுள்ள சில அம்சங்களை மட்டில் எடுத்துச்சொல்லி, அவை சம்பந்தமாகச் சொல்லப் பட்ட ஆட்சேபங்களுக்குச் சமாதானம் கூறுகிறேன். நீங்கள் செவிகொடுக்க வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். 1916 ம் ஆண்டு முதல் நமது நாட்டில் ஹிந்துக்களுக்கு வேறென்றும், முஸ்லீம்களுக்கு வேறென்றும் தனித் தொகுதிகளை ஏற்படுத்தியதன் பலனாக நமது நாட்டில் ஜாதி மதச்சண்டைகள் வளர்ந்து வருவதை நாம் கண்ணாடிகண்டிவருகிறோம். அதனால்தான் நாட்டில் ஹிந்து, முஸ்லீம் வேற்றுமையும் வளர்ந்து வருகிறது. இவ்வித நிலைமையைப் பரிகரிக்க வேண்டுமானால், பித்தம் தெளிய மருந்தொன்று தானிருக்கிறது. இத்தனித்தொகுதி முறையை எடுத்து விட்டு ஹிந்துவாயினும் முஸ்லீமாயினும் சட்டசபைக்குச் செல்ல வேண்டுமானால் நான் ஹிந்து, முஸ்லீம்களை ஒழித்து விடுகிறேன் என்றாவது, நான் முஸ்லீம், ஹிந்துக்களை ஒழித்து விடுகிறேன் என்றாவது சொல்லி வாக்கு வாங்கும் காலம் மலை யேறிவிடும்படி செய்ய வேண்டும். உலக சரித்திரத்தை நாம் படித்திருந்தால், நமது புத்தியை நாம் உபயோகிப்பதாக இருந்தால், தனித்தொகுதிகளை எடுத்து விட்டு கலப்புத் தொகுதிகளை ஏற்படுத்த வேண்டும். அவ்விதம் செய்தால்தான் நாட்டில் சுயராஜ்ய உணர்ச்சியும், தேச உணர்ச்சியும், தேசபக்தியும் ஏற்படும். அதற்கு முதல் ஏற்பாடு என்னவெனில், சட்டசபைக்குச் செல்லுகிறவர்கள் கலப்புத் தொகுதிகள் மூலமாகச் செல்ல வேண்டும், அது சம்பந்தமான சில பிரேரணைகள் இத்தீர்மானத்தில் அடங்கியிருக்கின்றன. இதனால் எந்தக் கெடுதலு மெற்பட்டுவிடாது. இதனால் ஹிந்துக்களுக்குக் கெடுதலேற்படுவதாக இருந்தால் உண்மையான ஹிந்து வாகிய நான் இதை ஏற்றுக் கொள்ளமாட்டேன். இதனால் ஒருவருக்கும் கஷ்டமேற்படாது. எல்லோருக்கும் இதனால் நன்மையே ஏற்படுமாதலால், எல்லோரும் ஒரு மொழியாக இத்தீர்மானத்தை ஆதரிக்கும்படி கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். இத்தீர்மானத்தை ஆட்சேபித்தவர்கள் பசுவை வதை செய்வதை ஹிந்துக்கள் ஒருக்காலும் ஒப்புக்கொள்ள முடியாதென்று சொன்னார்கள். அதை நான் மனமார ஒப்புக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். ஆனால் நாம் கோருவது ஒரு பக்கம் அதை அடைவது, ஒரு பக்கம் 1919, 1920, 1921, இந்த வருஷங்களில் நமது நாட்டில் ஹிந்து முஸ்லீம் ஒற்றுமை உணர்ச்சிகள் பலமடைந்திருந்து, அக்காலத்தில் டில்லிமாநகரில் ஒரு பசுக்களையும் வதை செய்யவில்லை, இருதரத்தினருக்கும் இருந்து வந்த சகோதர உணர்ச்சியும் காரணமாகவே பசு வதை நிறுத்தப்பட்டிருந்தது. பசு வதையை ஒழிக்க வேண்டுமானால், நான் ஹிந்துக்களை ஒருகேள்வி கேட்கவிரும்புகிறேன், அவர்கள் முஸ்லீம்களுடன் போராடி பசுக்களை வதை செய்வதைத் தடுக்க போடுமார்களா? இல்லை, அது ஒருவேளை சாத்தியமாகத்தான் இருந்தாலும் அது தேசத்திற்கு நன்மை பயக்கத்தக்கதன்று. அல்லது பசுக்களை வதை செய்யக் கூடாதென்று சட்டமியற்ற வேண்டுமென்று சொல்லுகிறீர்களா? நமது தேசத்தின் சுயஆட்சி ஏற்பட்டுவிடின், பசுக்களை வதை செய்யக்கூடாதென்று

சட்டமியற்றுவதில் எனக்கு ஆசைப்படவில்லை. ஆனால் நாம் அந்நியருடைய ஆட்சிக்குப் பட்டிருப்பதால் கம்முலமாகவே நாம் இவ்விஷயத்தை நிர்வகித்துக் கொள்ளவேண்டும். அரசாங்கத்தோடு நம்புவதில் பிரயோஜனமில்லை. அவர்கள் ஒருவருஷம் ஹிந்துக்கள் பக்கமும், மற்றொருவருஷம் முஸ்லிம்கள் பக்கமுமிருப்பார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு பக்கவாதித்தில் பக்தி இல்லை. தங்களுடைய கொடி இறக்காமலிருப்பதற்கு எது சவுக்கியமோ அதைச் சொல்ல அவர்கள் தயாராக யிருப்பார்களேயன்றி நமக்கு உதவி செய்யமாட்டார்கள். ஆகவே பசுவதைையைத் தடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று கருதுகிறவர்களுக்கு நான் ஒரு வார்த்தை சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன் - பசுவதைையைத் தடுக்கவேண்டுமானால் நாம் சுயராஜ்யமடையவேண்டும். இத்தேசத்தில் ஒருவருஷத்தில் கொல்லப்படும் 4½ லட்சம் பசுக்களில் 30 லட்சம் பசுக்கள் அந்நிய நாடுகளுக்கு ஏற்றுமதி செய்வதற்காகச் கொல்லப்படுகின்றன; 10 லட்சம் பசுக்கள் ராணுவத்திலிருப்பவர்களுக்காக கொல்லப்படுகின்றன. 2 லட்சம் பசுக்கள்தான் இதரங்களால் கொல்லப்படுகின்றன. அதிகப் படியாகப் பசுவைக் கொல்லுகிறவர்கள் அவ்விதம் செய்யாமலிருக்கும்படி தடுக்க நம்மால் முடியவில்லை. பெரியவனை விட்டுவிட்டு சின்னவனுடன் சண்டை செய்வது பொருத்தமானதாக இருக்கவில்லை. பூரண தேசிய சத்திரமே இந்திய மகாஜனங்களுடைய லக்ஷியமென்று பண்டித ஜவஹர்லால்நேரு பிரேரணைசெய்த காரியத்தையும், ஸைமன் கமிஷன் பஹிஷ்கரிக்கவேண்டுமென்று ஸ்ரீமான் எஸ்.ஸ்ரீனிவாஸய்யங்கார் கொண்டுவந்த தீர்மானத்தையும் நீங்கள் ஒருமனதாக நிறையேற்றி வைத்தீர்கள். அத்தீர்மானங்களை அமுலுக்குக் கொண்டுவரவேண்டுமென்று அந்தரங்கமாக நீங்கள் விரும்பினால், இத்தீர்மானத்தை நீங்கள் ஏற்றுக்கொண்டு நாட்டில் ஒற்றுமையை யுண்பெண்ணவேண்டும். இல்லையெல் சாத்தியமில்லை. நாம் என்ன செய்கிறோமென்று நமது சத்துருக்கள் கவனித்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள் - இத்தீர்மானத்தை நீங்கள் அங்கீகரிக்காவிடில், பாரதமாதாவுக்குப் பெரிய அவமானத்தை நீங்கள் செய்தவர்களாகீர்கள். ஆகவே இத்தீர்மானமானது நாட்டிற்கு அனுகூலமான தென்பதை நீங்கள் உணர்ந்து இதற்கு வாக்குக் கொடுக்கும்படி கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

सिध को हिन्दुस्तान का एक अलग प्रान्त बनाने के प्रस्ताव विरोध करते हुए ज्योतिराम (सिध) ने कहा:—

सभापति महोदय, भाइओ और बहनो, आपके सामने एक बात पर विचार प्रगट करने के लिये उपस्थित हुआ हूँ। इस प्रस्ताव के अन्दर एक बात प्रान्तों के विभाग के ऊपर कही गई है और उस में यह कहा गया है कि सिध बंवाई से अलग किया जाय। यह प्रस्ताव आपके सामने कैसे और क्यों आया यह मैं आपको बतलाता हूँ। हमारे कुछ मुसलमान भाई सिध को अलग एक प्रान्त बनाना चाहते हैं। इस ज़माने में एक नया नेशनलिज्म चला है। उस के मुताबिक किस कम्युनिटी के कितने प्रतिनिधि होने चाहिये इस

वात का सवाल पेश है। पर यह बात कौमीयत के खिलाफ है। अगर आप को ज़रूरत मालूम हो कि इस तरह के विभाग से उस प्रान्त की उन्नति होगा या नहीं।

कहा गया है कि बलुचिस्तान का भी एक अलग प्रान्त बनाया जाय। बलुचिस्तान की जन संख्या लग भग ४ लाख के है। अगर इस तरह प्रान्तों का बटवारा किया जाय तो एक बंबई के ही कितने प्रान्त किये जा सकते हैं। इस तरह कई छोटे २ प्रान्तों में देश बांट देने से खर्च बढ़ जायगा। यह बात हमारे हिन्दू भाई नहीं सोचते। वे सिर्फ़ इसी लिये सिंध को अलग करना चाहते हैं कि मुसलमान भाइयों का यह सवाल है। अगर इस से प्रान्त का कोई फ़ायदा हो तो इस में कोई अज़ नहीं पर इस प्रश्न पर हमारे राष्ट्रवादी भाई विचार नहीं करते।

सिंध में बहुत से हिन्दू भाई सिंध को एक अलग प्रान्त बनाने के खिलाफ़ हैं और अगर आप यहाँ अमन (Peace) रखना चाहते हैं तो उन भाइयों की राय के खिलाफ़ उसे क्यों अलग किया जाय? इस से नेशनलिज्म तो हट रहा प्रान्त की उन्नति भी रुक जायगी। इस से प्रान्तीय भाव बढ़ेगा और नेशनलिज्म घटेगा। किसी दृष्टि से आप देखें, एकता की दृष्टि से या उन्नति की दृष्टि से, इस से कोई लाभ नहीं दीखता। मेरी राय है कि यह प्रश्न भी उस कमीटी के हाथ में, जो स्वराज्य-विधान बनाने जा रही है, सौंप दें। आपसे मेरा निवेदन है कि आप इस प्रस्ताव को पास न करें।

Mr. Sidhwa.

Mr. Sidhwa:—Friends, I come here to whole-heartedly support the resolution in general and that part of it relating to Sindh in particular. Allow me to say frankly and candidly in the name of justice and righteousness that the question of the separation of Sindh was considered only for the first time this year in the month of May in Bombay by the A.I.C.C. People of the province of Sindh have been considering this question for the last twenty years. In the interests of the province of Sindh, from the economic, financial, and political points of view we have found we are not at all administered successfully by the presidency of Bombay. We are about a thousand miles from Bombay proper and I can tell you gentlemen that the Commissioner of Sindh who is the ruler of the province is all in all, is the boss of the whole province and enjoys the powers of the Executive Council of the Bombay Presidency. You can, therefore, very well imagine that in a province where one man's rule really prevails you would never be willing to remain under that rule. We have been trying for the last twenty years, as I said, for separation from Bombay in our interests and the Bombay Government is the only hindrance to us. I can assure you, gentlemen, this separation of Sindh is not for the purpose of gaining some more offices. I can also assure you that this question has not only been considered by the people of the province as a whole, but by the Sindh Provincial Congress Committee which had

appointed a Sub-Committee as early as 1918 before the reforms were introduced into this country, to report whether any representation should not be made to urge this point of view before the reforms of Enquiry Committee. At that time even my friends who are now opposing this separation were entirely with us for the separation. We have been burdened to-day with extra taxation on account of the Back-bay Scheme of the Bombay Presidency. We have been asked to pay for their bungling and we are suffering consequently because of our connection with Bombay. All things considered, it is not an advantage at all, on the other hand a positive disadvantage not to be separated from Bombay. I, therefore, appeal to you in the name of the province of Sindh, in the name of justice and equity, that you will be pleased to support that part of the proposition relating to Sindh.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya spoke in Hindi.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

श्रीमान् पंडित मदन मोहन मालवीय जी ने हिन्दू मुसलिम एकता पर बोलते हुए कहा:—

सभापति महाशय, और प्यारे भाइओ, इस प्रस्ताव पर बहुत कुछ बहस आप सुन चुके हैं। मैं थोड़े से शब्दों में कुछ कहूँगा। यह प्रस्ताव मेल बढ़ाने, हिन्दुस्तान के सब भाइओं में अनवरन मिटाने व स्वराज्यके मार्ग पर चलाने के लिये है। इस में सबसे भारी बात यह है कि इस में पृथक् निर्वाचन (Separate Elaborate) को स्थान नहीं दिया गया है। मैं श्री गौरी शंकर मिश्र की बातों से सहमत हूँ और चाहता हूँ कि Reservation of Seat नहीं होनी चाहिये। जहाँ तक हो सकेगा हम लोग साथ जायेंगे और आपस के झगड़ों को खुद ते करेंगे। अब हिन्दू और मुसलमानों को मिल कर अपने प्रतिनिधि चुनने चाहिये। अभी यह रखा गया है कि सब को सीट की तायदाद मुकर्रर रहे पर मैं यह नहीं चाहता। मेरे बहुत मुसलमान भाई ऐसा चाहते हैं और जब यह बात बहुत दिनों से चली आई है तब एकाएक इसको मिटाना कठिन होगा। मेरा अभिप्राय यह है कि हम सब मिल कर चलें और ऐसा करने से उस में की और भूलें भी हम मिटा सकेंगे। जब हिन्दू-मुसलमान मिल कर किसीको अपना प्रतिनिधि मुकर्रर करेंगे और जब हिन्दू, मुसलमान, पारसी, ईसाई, जैनी सब जातिओं का उस पर विश्वास होगा तब इस प्रस्ताव की बात केवल तवारीख में ही रह जायगी। मैं चाहता था कि यह Provision (सीट निर्धारण) उड़ा दिया जाय पर उड़ाने से भी कोई हानि नहीं।

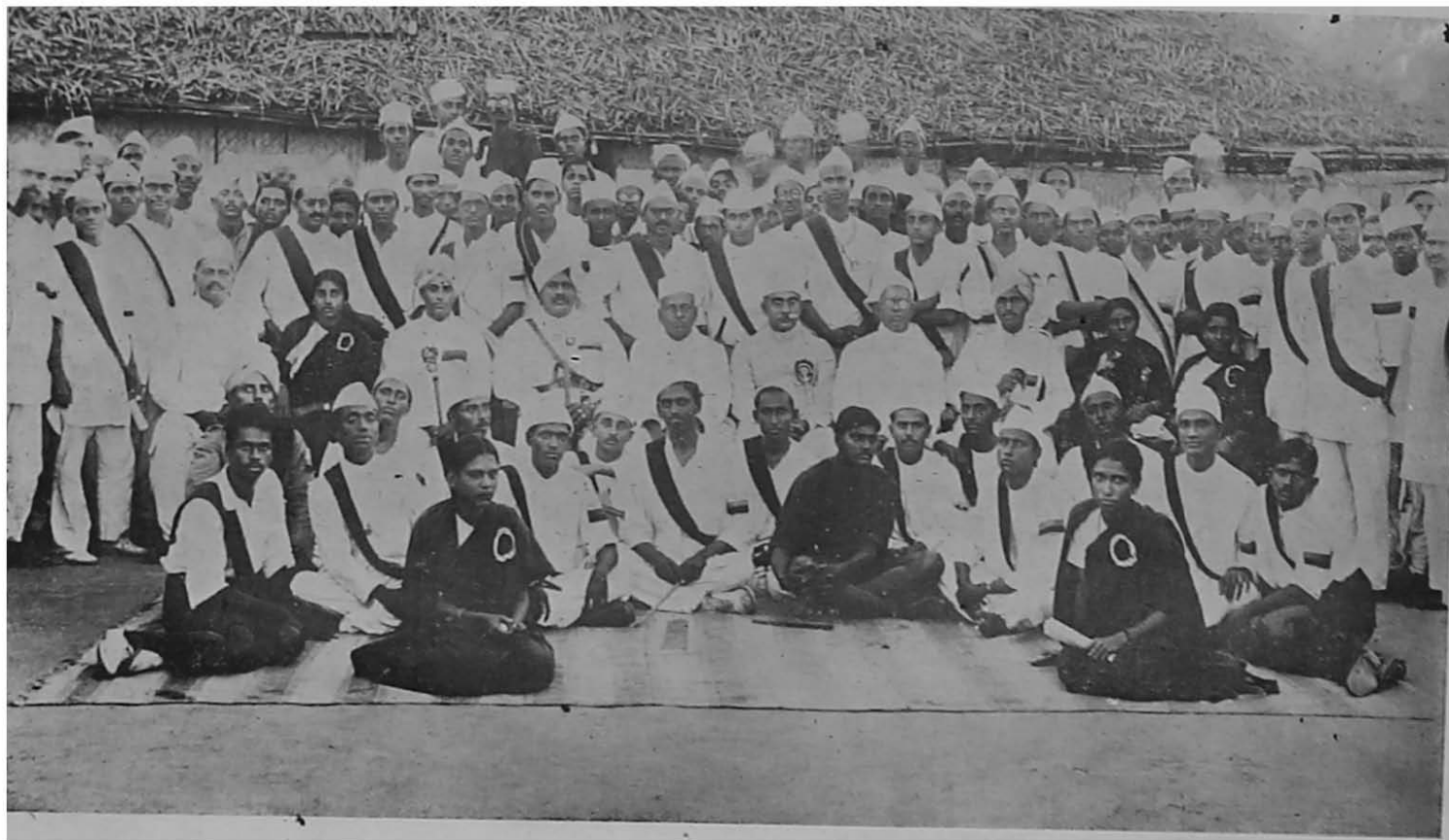
नार्थ वेस्टर्न प्राविन्स (उत्तर पश्चिम के प्रान्त) के विषय में कहा गया है कि वहाँ भी अन्य प्रान्तों के समान सुधार किये जायँ और वहाँ भी इन्साफ के विषय में अन्य प्रान्तों की नीति काम में लाई जाय। सिन्ध में कुछ भाई अलग होना चाहते हैं और कुछ नहीं चाहते। यह प्रस्ताव यही कहता है कि राजनैतिक विचार से नहीं आर्थिक और भलाई के ख्याल से अगर वे भाई अलग होने में हानि नहीं देखते तो अलग हो सकते हैं।

गौ और बाजे का मामला सबसे भारी है। इस प्रस्ताव से किसीको संतोष नहीं होगा। महात्माजी ने प्रस्ताव किया था कि बाजे के बारे में आपकी बात हम मान लें और गौ के बारे में हमारी बात आप मान लें। कई मुसलमान भाई ऐसे हैं जिनकी राय गोकुसी एकदम बन्द करने की है। पर मुसलमान समाज बड़ा है। सबको समझाना बड़ा कठिन काम है। महात्माजी ने सब से साफ़ कह दिया कि यह हमारे दिल की आगज़ू है। जो दुःख, हिन्दुओं को गौ मारने से होता है उसे बन्द कर दो। पर जब महात्माजीने देखा कि ऐसा समझाना कठिन है तब यह प्रस्ताव तैयार किया।

मुसलमान कहते हैं कि धर्म के मुताबिक गौ मारने की उन्हें इज़ाजत है, इज़ाजत नहीं है, फ़र्ज़ है। इतिहाँस इस बात का शाक्षि है कि बहुत पुराने समय से हजारों वर्ष से गो वध की बात सुन कर दुःख होता है। काशमीर के महाराज जैनुल उद्दीन ने गो वध बन्द कर दिया था। बाबर ने भी गो वध को रोकने की आज्ञा दी थी और अकबर के समय तक बन्द रहा। औरंगज़ेब के समय में गो वध फिर शुरू हुआ पर उस समय भी बहुत थोड़ा था। जब से अंग्रेज़ी राज्य का आरंभ हुआ तब से वध बहुत होने लगा। मुसलमान कहते हैं कि हम ठीक कहते हैं पर वे ठीक हैं या नहीं हिन्दू भाई इस वहस छोड़ दें। मुसलमान मुसलमान भाइयों से कहें कि हिन्दुओं के दिल के दुःख को देखो। हिन्दुओं को गौ को मारने से दुःख होता है अगर उस दुःख को बन्दकरना चाहते तो गो वध बन्द करो। अगर वे गो वध करते समय हिन्दुओं के दुःख का ग़्याल रखें तो विश्वास है गो वध बहुत कम हो जायगा। इस के साथ साथ हिन्दू भी मुसलमान भाइयों के दुःख का ग़्याल रखें। जब मुसलमान मसजिद में नमाज़ पढ़ते हैं तब बाजा से उन्हें नमाज़ में ग़ुल्ल पड़ता है। उस समय मसजिद के सामने बाजा आने से तौहीन होती है। जब नमाज़ का वक्त हो तो बाजा बन्द कर दिया जाय या ऐसा बाजा रहे जिससे उनको नमाज़ में ग़ुल्ल न पड़चे। इससे दोनों ओर के झगड़े बन्द हो जावेगी और शान्ति की आशा है।

यह प्रस्ताव कहता है कि हिन्दू गो वध और मुसलमान मसजिदों आगे बाजा ज़ोर से न रोकें। पर आप कहेंगे कि इस का माने तो मुसलमानों को गो वध करने और हिन्दुओं को मसजिदों के आगे बाजा बजाने की इज़ाजत देना है। पर ऐसा नहीं, यह प्रस्ताव हमें हिन्दू मुसलिम एकता की ओर ले जाता है। मुसलमान भाई भाई का लेहाज़ रख कर गो वध बन्द कर दें। पर हिन्दू उसे ज़ोर से रोकने की कोशिश न करें। झगड़े से झगड़ा और रगड़े से रगड़ा बढ़ता है। अगर हम ज़ोर से गो वध रोकना चाहते हैं तो यह निश्चय है हम उनकी रक्षा नहीं कर सकते। ऐसा करने से गौण और भारी जायगी।

कानून हमारी क्या मदद कर सकता है? वह तो कभी हमारी और कभी उनकी मदद कर हम दोनों के बीच झगड़ा पैदा कर देता है। जहाँ जहाँ बाजे की वजह से हिन्दुओं और मुसलमानों में झगड़ा हुआ वहाँ वहाँ अफ़सों के रहने पर भी कितने खेद की बात है कि कितने से हिन्दू और मुसल मारे गये। वह कानून तो इन्हीं झगड़ों से बिलकुल नहीं बचाता। जैसे सूरज के डूबने से अंधेरा बढ़ता जाता है उसी तरह इस जाँच कमीशन की



Officers of the Volunteer-corps with the Congress President.

बात उठी है तब से किमाद बढ़ता जा रहा है और कुछ लोग उस का बेजा उठा के कह रहे हैं कि ये स्वगन्ध के लायक नहीं हैं।

शास्त्र के अनुसार हम युद्ध नहीं कर सकते, उसमें पाप होगा पर हम उन से प्रेम से कहेंगे कि जो चाकू तुम उठाना चाहते हो वह हमें दे दो। यह प्रस्ताव भी यही कहता है कि, लाठी, छुरी, डंगा, फुसाद, लड़ाई, झगड़े, सब त्याग दो। उन्हें प्रेम से कहो कि वे गो-बध छोड़ दें। मुसलमानों की तहजीब नई नहीं है। वे जब देखेंगे कि इतना बड़ा मामला हिन्दू उनके ऊपर छोड़ देते हैं तो वे भी हमारी बात मान लेंगे। हम कहेंगे—आप इस प्रस्ताव को मान लो, गो हम सबको माता के समान दृष्टि देती है, केवल हिन्दू वच्चों को ही नहीं मुसलमान बच्चों को भी—ऐसे जानवर को मारना हमारा कर्ज़ नहीं है। हम आपसे अज्ञ करते हैं आप इस नज़र से इस मामले को देखो—तो आप से एक महीने के अंदर बाजे और गो का प्रश्न बिलकुल मिट जायगा। हम परमात्मासे प्रार्थना करें कि वह हिन्दू-मुसलमान दोनों के दिलों को नरम करें।

हम स्वगन्ध चाहते हैं हम अंग्रेज़ी राज्य की तरह हिन्दुस्तान में अपना राज्य स्थापित करना चाहते हैं। हम चाहते हैं कि जापान की तरह हिन्दुस्तान के जहाज हिन्दुस्तान की ध्वजा उड़ाते हुए हिन्दुस्तान के समुद्र में फिरें। हम चाहते हैं कि हमारी सेना के सब सिपाही, कर्नल, जेनरल और कमांडर हिन्दुस्तानी हो और उनके चलने से ज़मान हिल जाय। हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे सिविल सर्विस (Civil Service) में हमारे ही आदमी हों, बैंकों और दफ्तों के बड़े २ आफिसर हिन्दुस्तानी हों। हम चाहते हैं कि तिराग्त में, राजनैतिक क्षेत्र में, जल सेना में, व स्थल सेना में, हिन्दुस्तानी ही हों। पर यह अकेले किसी जाति की कोशिश से नहीं हो सकता अगर हम चाहते हैं कि डाक्टर अन्तर्गामी कमांडर-इन-चीफ हों और पंडित मदन मोहन मालवीय शिक्षा विभाग के प्रधान अधिकारी हों, तो इसके लिये जरूरी है कि हिन्दू, मुसलमान, सिख, पागसी, क्रिस्तियन, व यहूदी सबके, उनके ऊपर विश्वास हो। हमारे मन में यह भाव आजाना चाहिये कि हिन्दू, मुसलमान पागसी कोई भी हो वह हिन्दुस्तानी है। काठो, मारो, जलादो, राख कर दो तो भी यही आवाज़ निकलेगी कि हम हिन्दुस्तानी हैं और हिन्दुस्तान हमारा देश है।

हिन्दू और मुसलमान सब एक ही और एक ही ईश्वर के बच्चे हैं और एक ही हिन्दुस्तान हमारा वतन है। मुझी भी अंग्रेज़ ६००० मील से आकर हिन्दुस्तान पर राज्य करें इतने बड़े कर शर्म की बात और क्या हो सकती है? मित्रो इस शर्म को। अपने धर्म का पाठन करो पर साथ ही स्वदेशी धर्म का ग्वाल रखो और इस को बढ़ाओ। मुसलमान कम्युनिस्ट, अगर हुकूम देदे, मुसलमान नेता अगर कह दें कि मसजिदोंके सामने बाजा बन्द कर दो तो बन्द कर दो। लड़ाई के वक्त अगर झगडा रहा तो क्या कर सकते हैं? एकता के आगे कोई दुश्मन नहीं जो टिक सके अंग्रेज़ों में यह ताकत नहीं कि वे एक निमित्त भी, हिन्दुस्तान पर हुकूमत कर सकें अगर हम यह भाव धारण कर दें कि ईश्वर हमारा पिता है और हिन्दुस्तान हमारी माता है अगर हमारा निवेदन सुनेंगे तो २४ महीनों के भीतर स्वगन्ध प्राप्त हो जायगा।

Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar.

Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar—Mr. President, sister and brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen :—After the passionate appeal which Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, my leader and your leader, has made, it were idle, nay impertinent, on my part to attempt to follow him. But I have come here to-day to do my duty to all the Congressmen who have collaborated to make this year's session a really memorable session. To Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya we are deeply grateful for the Hindu Muslim unity, equally to Mahatma Gandhi who has made it possible for getting over the difficulties which were created by the Calcutta resolution, to which he with deft skill and wonderful insight into human nature was able to find a way out. I have, therefore, come here not so much to speak to you on the resolution itself but to express my thankfulness for him as a Madrasee and as one who feels he not only belongs to this province but to the rest of India. I think it is my duty to say that the work which was begun at Gauhati last year has been consummated by only those who can deliver the goods. Who can deliver the goods to the Muslim community of India except Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya ? Therefore the thanks of the Muslim community are equally due to him as of the Hindus. I consider this session a memorable one in many ways. But this is not the time to expatiate on it. I will say this ; that I have along with many other colleagues set my heart on the reversal of the Lucknow Pact, which means communal representation and separate electorates. The Lucknow Pact would not be reversed without the help of the Muhammadans in the Congress and I am so glad that the Muslim community has been able to come to an agreement with us on that matter, and just as to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya the thanks of the Congress are due to the Muslim leaders. I shall not in this connection omit the name of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Dr. Ansari, the Ali Brothers and Moulana Abul Kalam Azad and also others who have laboured hard—to all of whom our gratitude is due.

But, for what is it that the British Government has been prating ? The stock argument of Hindu Muslim dissension. They are not holding India by their arms or the navy or even the wonderful steel frame mentioned by Mr. Lloyd George, but by our own communal dissensions. The moment these dissensions are put an end to, the steel-frame evaporates ; because it is neither steel nor frame (laughter). And all the bluster, arrogance and impudence of Lord Birkenhead will simply disappear and the Statutory Commission will be nowhere, and we shall be able to throw it into the Arabian Sea (applause). I may assure you that neither the Independence Resolution that we have passed nor the Boycott of the Simon Commission nor any resolution that we may pass hereafter will be comparable at all to this resolution which has been moved by one who has devoted her whole life to bring

about the Hindu-Muslim unity—I mean Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. You will, therefore, understand her life's mission is fulfilled to-day and my two years' mission is also fulfilled to-day. I may tell you the two resolutions—one which you have passed already and the one which I have no doubt you are going to pass just now—have made me five years younger. I was about to retire if you had not come to a decision on these points, and now that these resolutions are acceptable to you, my services can be at the disposal of the country in their battle for freedom for such period as it might be necessary. I urge upon you that without Hindu-Muslim unity nothing is possible. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has told you that we must be satisfied with the two clauses.

All I can tell you is we are now emerging from a period of rank communalism to perfect nationalism through the intermediate territory of imperfect nationalism. This proposition before you is leading you to perfect nationalism. The reservation of seats against which Mr. Gauri Sankar Misra spoke is absolutely necessary for the purpose of removing the last vestige of distrust between Hindus and Muhammadans. The non-Brahmins of Madras have reservation of seats but they are now co-operating with Brahmins. Therefore the reservation of seats, by experience, has shown that it does not stand in the way of nationalism. It is simply a transitory provision. Take this resolution as the beginning of Hindu Muslim unity. It is a very substantial foundation upon which you can rear the magnificent edifice of Swaraj. No talk of Swaraj is possible without this resolution. You must take the resolution as a whole, each clause dependent on the other and not take them separately. I say they are all interdependent. They have been carefully thought out. They have been before the public for a number of months. Take the resolution as a whole, I say it again, without further discussion and without a single dissentient voice, let us pass it. Let us thus shame the bureaucracy and let us shame also the Anglo-Indian papers. The real answer to Lord Birkenhead and to the Statutory Commission is not the Boycott of the Simon Commission, not even the Independence resolution, but your unanimous passing, in this momentous session of the Madras Congress, the Hindu Muslim Unity resolution without altering a word or removing a comma or semicolon. I thank, once more, all those who have contributed to this wonderful regeneration of a real Swaraj. British India ceases to exist from to-day; it is the Commonwealth of India and Federated India that we have to think about, where, everyman and woman can rise to his or her full stature for the betterment of humanity and the mother country. (Vandemataram) (cries of Vandemataram and Allaho-Akbar).

Mr. Mahomed Ali.

Mr. President, Fellow—delegates ladies and gentlemen :— Let us thank God that Lord Birkenhead and Mr. Baldwin were induced to send the Simon Commission to India. That has at last aroused us and now we realise that we cannot trust the British Government, whether it is a Tory Government or Labour Government, and we can only trust each other. Hindus trust Mussalmans and Mussalmans trust Hindus (cheers) and that is contained in this resolution. When I was coming to Madras in 1921 since when I have not come, I was stopped at Waltair and the Collector of Vizagapatam demanded security from me to keep the peace and be of good behaviour (laughter). I told him it was for me to demand security from him (cheers) to be of good behaviour (laughter) and as for keeping the peace, I said : “ Are you not ashamed with your hands dripping in the blood of Jallianwalla Bagh to demand from me, a non-violent man, the pledge, the security to keep peace in India ? ”

Moulana Shaukat Ali called out from the dais that the speaker was not confining himself to the Hindu-Muslim question.

Moulana Mahomed Ali.—My brother has a big bulk, and has very little patience. Let him keep his breath for mounting up Marble Hall steps and let me use my breath for coming to my point.

Before this resolution we were asking Government every day to demand security from Hindus and the Hindus were asking Government to demand security from Mussalmans to keep the peace and be of good behaviour, but now we have stopped that and we begin a new era in which we give security to each other only to be of good behaviour. (hear, hear and cheers). This is the essence of the resolution both on the political and religious side. On the political side we say, this is the golden rule—do unto others what you wish others do unto you, and we give the power to do good to each other or to do evil unto each other. On the religious side too, we do not ask Government now to bring out their Police Commissioners to take out Hindu processions and to prevent music before mosques, nor do we ask Government to send out armoured cars to be allowed to take cows to slaughter-houses. Now our processions will be led by the highest Police Commissioner of the world—by our own conscience, by our own sense of nobility, by our own sense of justice and generosity (cheers).

The last word for which I have specially come here, and not for other things. I have heard to-day a most marvellous speech—I refer to the speech of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. After this speech I am reminded of what happened in Egypt when the British Government had roused communal passions but failed, because the Mussalmans who constituted 95 per cent. of the population treated the

Christian Copts in a manner that when the Milner Commission came and Lord Milner or his colleagues went up to speak to any Christian, he said "I cannot answer you, you ask my name. I do not know my name, go to Syed Zaghlul Pasha, he will tell you my name." In the same way, I say, if Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya acts in the spirit of his wonderful speech of to-day, when Earl Winterton tells that he stands as the champion of minorities, we shall tell him that it is a lie and that the champion of the minorities is Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. That is all that I have to say. I pledge myself to put my confidence in Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. I will not betray him and I feel sure he will not betray me (hear, hear and cheers).

The resolution was put and carried unanimously amidst shouts of Alla-ho-Akbar, Vandemataram and Mahatma Gandhiki-jai. Then the President spoke as follows :—

To-day you have not only laid the foundation of a free India, but you may consider that you are well on the way to win it. (Hear, hear and cheers). A friend has said about giving up cowslaughter by the Moslems. I have given it up long long ago (hear, hear and cheers) and those Moslems who are present here, I know, I can say that they have also all given up cow flesh a long long time ago. It is our earnest desire that the Moslems of India would voluntarily, out of regard for the feelings and sentiments of Hindus, will give up cow-sacrifice and cow-slaughter for ever.

The Congress then adjourned till 4-30 p.m.

INDIAN STATES.

When the Congress re-assembled at 5-30 P.M.

Syt Manilal Kothari (Indian States):—in moving the resolution said :—

"This Congress is emphatically of opinion that in the interests of both the rulers and the people of Indian States they should establish representative institutions and responsible Government in their States at an early date."

"Brother-delegates, this is a very important resolution. For the first time a resolution of this character is brought before this house. More than a week ago we had a conference of the people of Indian States at Bombay under the presidency of Mr. Ramachandra Rao, where we had very important deliberations and decisions and one of the most important resolutions of the conference was the demand for full responsible government in the Indian States through representative institutions under the ægis of the rulers. A similar resolution was adopted at the All-India States Subjects Conference held in this city of Madras yesterday under the presidency of Sriman S. Srinivasa Iyengar, our distinguished leader and patriot. By your passing the

resolution which is now moved before you, you will be extending your sympathy and support to the demand of the seven crores of Indian India for full responsible government, under the ægis of the Rulers.

I do not command the eloquence of my esteemed friend Mr. S. Satyamurthi who will second this proposition; but as I belong to one of the Kathiawad States, I have some intimate knowledge and experience of the state of things obtaining in the Indian States and therefore if I say anything, trust me, I say with some amount of responsibility and authority.

Gentlemen, the state of things in the Indian States is such as cannot be described within the short time at my disposal. Seven crores of Indian-India across your frontiers with some exceptions here and there have suffered and are suffering even to-day untold hardships, humiliations, and in some cases, allow me to say, terrors and tyrannies even. The chiefs of the Indian States have their personal rule in their respective territories. Some of them who go abroad and are privileged to attend the League of Nations, they talk and make an impression outside that in their States they are the kind of Rulers that the people want. But at home they are most of them autocrats. Personal rule is nothing but autocracy in many cases. The personal rule of the chiefs has been the bane not only of the people but also of the Princes. It has made them autocrats and therefore the British Government has taken proper and perfect advantage of that and made them puppets. People suffer and the Government do not care. The British Government allow them to go on with their autocracy. The most elementary and natural rights of citizenship, which are known to you in British India you have, of course, Ordinances and Regulations—but so many abject and wretched things. But all the same you have some advantage of some elementary rights whereas across the British Frontiers in Indian States we know nothing about such rights. We cannot form our associations. We cannot hold public meetings. We have no right of a free press. There is a state somewhere in the Bombay Presidency where we cannot even import even a Typewriter, let alone the talk of a printing press. In some States even the security of person and property is not guaranteed. We cannot control the budget. There are many wholesale items in the budget. Large amounts are allotted to the P.W.D. Most of that amount is spent in many cases in the Palace Works department. Our rulers spend away the revenues of their States, as if the revenues formed part of their private property, over their own budgets and utilise them for objects of their leisure and pleasure and there is absolutely no control, no check from anywhere. The Chief's will is law and that law must pervade and prevail. That is briefly the state of things now obtaining in most of the Indian States.

Then I wish to say something about the Political Department of the Government. Heaven knows for what earthly object that department exists. We have yet to understand the justification for such a huge department. We have not yet understood it. The Political department has made our position very delicate, difficult and awkward. They never intervene even though there may be, clamours, complaints, and what not. Whenever they intervene, they intervene only in the interests of the rulers against the people. We know of cases in which people have asked for their intervention, but the Political department has turned a deaf ear; not only on that, but I know of a case: I have read the documents myself in which the Political Agent, the accredited representative of the Political department sent a telegram to the Minister saying "Handle the situation strongly" with the result that in the evening as many as 15 leading citizens of the town were arrested, hand-cuffed and marched into the jail. This is how the Political department works. And the Chiefs do not realise that in alliance with the Political department they have lost so much of the position, so much of their precious prestige. We want them to realise that. This state of things is due to the utter helplessness of the people. I assure you that even though, I am myself now working in British India with some portion of my time devoted to the Indian States, I tell you that in the States we are utterly helpless. Very few people are articulate and the general situation is such as the one I have described to you.

Fourthly, the system of education that is imparted to the Rajkumars at the Chief's College is also responsible for the way in which they conduct their business. It is ill-conceived and ill-suited and the less of it the better. Our Rajkumars who are sent out to the Chief's Colleges are actually denationalised, cut off from all communication with the people, that when they come to their gadis, when they ascend their thrones, the political department which is represented by some political agent, who comes there, graces the occasion and delivers to the Princes' hands the kharita of the Government of India and makes a pompous speech advising good government and advising the Chief to pay proper attention to the affairs of the State, but a little later the Chief develops a better liking for backgammon or billiards and the political department does not intervene. It does not care to know whether the Chief who was so well advised only, a few months ago has been doing what he ought to do. That is the position and their education is, as I have said, responsible for so many things. Now, here is a sort of awakening in the Indian States, and thanks to your movement in British India, the movement has made itself felt in the Indian States. There is a little awakening though not too much of activity yet. We have been rudely shaken all these years and we refuse to live perpetually under the personal rule

of our Chiefs. We want to have responsible government through representative institutions, pray mark the words "through representative institutions", such as institutions in the sphere of local self government, local boards, etc., for purposes of legislation, taxation and general control of the administration. Then we want popular Assemblies to which budgets as well as the king's privy purse, *i.e.*, the Civil list of the chiefs must be submitted for check and change, if deemed necessary. This is what we want. We want recognition of our natural elementary rights of citizenship. I do not think our demand is a very great demand. It is the national demand of a people awakened and who have so long suffered from slavery and tutelage. I think you will, gentlemen, accord your sympathy and support to this resolution and I can assure some of you who are sceptic about the attitude of the Congress, I assure you that the Congress is not going to unduly interfere in the internal affairs of the States. The Congress simply expresses its emphatic opinion that both in the interests of the Princes and the people this is a very honest and wise resolution. It is both in the interests of the Princes and the people, and from this platform, though I am a small man, from this platform, since I am in charge of this resolution. I want to be able to say in your name that we do not want to harm the princes in any way. We have no designs against them personally. We will allow them to continue provided of-course they are good, god-fearing, truth-loving, and they find themselves into so many humble servants of the people like H. M. the King of Afghanistan. We want our rulers to be so many ideal rulers of the ancient times. Then it will be our swaraj, if they are our real and genuine servants that is what we want. We want to put the rulers at their ease. The time at my disposal is short. This is the first time a resolution of this kind is moved and naturally you would like to know something about the state of things in the Indian States, but I hope you will be content that you have done your duty by the 7 crores of your countrymen. With these words I commend this resolution for your acceptance (cheers).

Mr. Satyamurti.

Mr. Satyamurti in seconding the resolution said :

This session of the Congress has been epoch-making in more senses than one, and the resolution which I have the honour of seconding will also go down in the history of the Congress as an epoch in its onward march in the fight for the freedom of the motherland. Nearly one-third of British India which is known as Indian States is in the grip of the Indian Rulers, and so far the Indian National Congress has not thought it its duty or right to interfere in what are known as the internal affairs of the States. Even this resolution is no direct interference in the internal affairs of these Indian States, but for the first time in the history of the Congress this great and august Assembly speaking on behalf of the Indian Nation appeals to the Indian Rulers

and the Indian people that in their mutual interests they ought to establish representative and responsible Government in the States themselves.

I would like to say a word to the Rulers and, with all humility, whatever their salutes may be, whatever the G.C.B.'s and G.C.I.E.'s and G.C.S.I.'s they get, there is no doubt whatever that so far as slavery is concerned they and we are equally slaves of the British Government. But there is one difference. Our chains are made of iron, their chains are made of gold, but in both cases they are chains. But apart from history, the parting kick administered by Lord Reading to H.E.H. the Nizam as to the relative position of the Nizam and his suzerain power, the treatment meted out to the Maharaja of Nabha and Bharatpur and the mandatory language used by more than one Viceroy to Indian States ought to make these people realise that they are merely puppets, whose strings are being pulled from behind the screens by the British Resident or Political Agent at their Courts. I also want them to remember that, in the modern wave of democracy, personal power ought to go the way autocratic personal power has gone. The Czar of All the Russias is no more. The Kaiser is no more. The King of England is there because he is King only in name and not in fact. (Cheers.) Therefore these Maharajas, Rajas and Nawabs must realise that their only future and their only security rest upon the goodwill and affection of the people. I therefore ask them in all humility to establish Swaraj or full responsible government in their own Indian States in order that they may have an honoured and honourable place for themselves in the future free and self-governing India.

Secondly, I appeal by means of this resolution to the people of the States themselves not, any longer, to be dumb-driven cattle but to take a lesson from the leaves of the Indian National Congress and go forth and fight by all constitutional and legitimate means for their own rights as men in their States. This resolution is a symbol of comradeship and of support in the struggle which they may have to go through in the Indian States. May I, on your behalf and mine, assure our fellow-slaves in these Indian States, the blood of our blood, that we shall no longer watch them carry on an unequal struggle in their own States for Swaraj but that they would find us comrades in arms in their struggle.

The last point I desire to make is that to-day in many Indian States there is not even the rule of Law, let alone representative or responsible Government. There is no clear demarcation between the private purse of the chief and the public revenues of the State. The courts are mere creatures of mere executive laws which are thrown aside by the whims or caprices of the Ruler of his favourites. If time is allowed, I can give many instances of the freaks of the rulers. All

of you must have heard and some of you must have personally known these rulers who, with rare exceptions, are petty tyrants and they ought to be told that they will have a future, if they put a curb voluntarily on their irresponsible power and bring themselves into line with constitutional monarchs wherever they exist in the world. So far as the Indian National Congress is concerned, I am sure the rulers will realise that they will find the leaders of the Indian people at least as friendly to them as the Government of India or the British Government, if not more friendly. The rulers have nothing to fear from us and as the subject of an Indian State myself, I am profoundly thankful to you that you have realised our sad plight and have come to our rescue. In return for that gesture we undertake on our behalf that we shall be no parties to the manouvre which I know the British Government will make in order to fight the Indian Princes on their side against Swaraj for India. We in the Indian States are not going to stand any such nonsense. These are the main arguments which I desire to advance in favour of the proposition that this Congress should demand that Indian States should adopt complete Responsible Government. I appeal to you to pass this resolution unanimously so that hereafter the subjects of the Indian States will find in the Indian National Congress the mother of their high hopes and aspirations even as we in British India find our own high hopes and aspirations. I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution and commending it to your acceptance. (Loud applause.)

The resolution was put to the congress and carried unanimously.

BOYCOTT OF BRITISH GOODS.

Rajkumar Chakravarthi.

Mr. Rajkumar Chakravarthi (Bengal) next moved the following resolution :—

“ This Congress, while re-affirming the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee on the boycott of British goods, resolves that, with a view to make such boycott effective, Provincial Congress Committees be called upon to organise a boycott of selected British goods, having regard to the conditions of each province.”

He said : Ladies and gentlemen, in placing this resolution before you, I am reminded of those striking days of the Swadesi Movement, of the year 1905 and the following years, when a wave of Nationalism swept over the entire country as a result of the ill-fated measure of the partition of Bengal, perpetuated by one of the most autocratic of Viceroys that India has ever had seen. In commending this resolution for your acceptance, it is not necessary for me to tell you the various steps which the Congress has hitherto taken in the matter of the boycott of the Empire or British goods. Neither is it my purpose here to recount before you the various sins of omission and commission that we have so long done in this important matter. But, I wish certainly

to tell you the story of the magnificent success which attended the anti-partition and boycott agitation in Bengal and more or less in other provinces in India in the year 1905 and afterwards. The fact was it unsettled the settled fact of John Morley, the Secretary of State for India. I wish simply to point out that if there is any doubt or diffidence in this matter in any quarter of this House as to the efficacy of this resolution, I hope and trust that the Historic lesson of the historic years of 1905 and afterwards will not be lost upon them and you will take courage in both hands by adopting the programme embodied in this resolution. If you ask me why I move this resolution, my answer is a very simple one. I ask you to boycott the British goods because, I want this to be an answer to the policy of the economic exploitation that the British Government have been systematically following in this country since their conquest 150 years ago. I want this to be an answer to the British Government for the appointment of the Parliamentary Commission which has really been a calculated affront to India and her peoples, and which takes away from us the right of self-determination which is our birthright. I want this to be an answer to the ruthless policy of lawless law which the British bureaucracy has been following in this country for the creation of many repressive and coercive measures like the Ordinance Act of 1925 and Regulation III of 1818. I want this to be an answer to those illegal and unjust detention even now of more than 100 Bengal detenues now rotting in different parts of the country, some behind the ironbars of the prison-houses and others in the far off jungle lands in the deltas of Bengal. I want this to be a corollary of the resolution of Independence that we have adopted. India must be a self-sufficient and self-contained country and must be independent of all foreign or British goods as far as possible. We are all very anxious for the attainment of Independence at an early date. But remember that after all there is the question of vested interests. The British Government will not give up their vested interests to you, who have been hewers of wood and drawers of water, to you who are helots in different parts of this Empire, unless you can bring some sort of pressure to bear upon the Government. A nation of shopkeepers as the British people undoubtedly are, will not part with their vested interests, unless you do something which will touch their purse, unless you can carry on effectively this programme of economic boycott. It has been said that so far as the present time is concerned, we have no definite programme to go upon. Mass civil disobedience is out of question. The non-payment of taxes is impracticable. They ask what are you going to do? Is there anything really before us which can rouse the drooping spirits of the people and mobilise our scattered forces. The boycott of the Commission has been chalked out to you by the leaders for the coming year. Follow up the programme by one step further—by the boycott of the British goods,

In 1928 the one programme will be the programme of the boycott of the Simon Commission and the boycott of the British goods. When the Commission comes, you will have to undergo sacrifices and you will have to bear inconveniences. If there is the fire of liberty burning within you, if you have the fire of patriotism in you, you should be ready for sacrifices. Remember no country, no nation has ever attained self-government without sacrifice of some sort or other. The boycott of British goods is one of those steps which will lead us to our ultimate goal of Swaraj. With these words, I commend this resolution for your acceptance.

Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan.

Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan in seconding the resolution said :—

Mr. President, sister and brother-delegates, I have come before you to second the resolution which was ably placed before you by the mover. The object of the resolution is to boycott British goods which, ever since the British came into this country, have been dumped into our country, and which has been responsible for our economic slavery. Mr. President, yesterday we in this Congress resolved to declare Independence as our goal. We resolved to free our country politically, but in my opinion that freedom will be only a partial freedom unless and until we resolve to free our Motherland economically as well. We shall be able to do so only if we make up our minds to boycott British goods to the extent to which we can do as practical men. We know that there are certain things without which we cannot do, but certainly if we make up our minds to boycott things which are unnecessary, things which are luxurious and things without which we can very well do, we must now make up our minds to be without them and then at the same time resolve to encourage Indian industries and manufactured articles which are necessary for our use in our country, so that gradually the boycott of foreign goods including goods from Britain will be a practical question. We have been passing this resolution of boycott of British goods at every Congress for the last 5 or 6 years but I must express my regret and say that we have not put this resolution into effect because, we who are responsible for working the constitution of the Congress in this country have not given the attention due to this resolution, and especially the Provincial Congress Committees whose object it is to see which are the goods that can be boycotted in their particular province that should be boycotted and strenuous propaganda should be carried out in province after province throughout the length and breadth of our country, so that we should not only instil the spirit of swadeshim in our country, but at the same time we should express our determination from time to time that we shall be not only politically free but economically free as well.

Now it is not only because the British Government in this country has been heaping insult after insult upon our Motherland by

keeping our own countrymen in jails without trial and by sending out the Commission without taking us into confidence, without giving us a chance to have a say in the deliberations of this commission, not only because that the British Government has been heaping insult after insult that we should boycott the British goods, but as self-respecting people, as patriots who love their country and who wish to see that our poverty is removed, and that we in India are independent not only politically but economically as well that we should boycott the British goods, and then, I second this resolution not only because we should boycott the British goods, not only because the commission is coming, but because we have our birthright to see that we encourage our own industries. Do we not see people in other countries encouraging their industries, how by their Tariff wall protection, they keep out goods manufactured in other countries? Do not Britain, Germany; America and Japan do it? Why not India keep out foreign goods especially British goods from being imported into our country? Further, it has been pointed out by the mover that the average Britisher realises the serious situation in our country only when his pocket is touched and only when he feels the pinch of hunger. It is only then that the average labourer, the average Englishman realises that India does not want any longer to be under bondage. Therefore, if we really mean business and if we really want to boycott the commission and show to the average Britisher that we mean business, we should show that by boycotting British goods, and then, and then alone, the Britisher will realise the serious situation in this country. It is not by sending men to Britain; it is not by sending propagandists, able speakers, great speakers who go from one length of the country to the other in great Britain that we can achieve the results. The moment we in this country determine to boycott British goods, we will make the Britisher realise that India does not want any longer to be under foreign bondage. (Cheers.)

శ్రీమతి యామనీ పూర్ణతిలకమ్మగారు

బ్రిటిషు వస్తు బహిష్కారమునుగూర్చిన తీర్మానమును బలపరచుచు నిట్లు ఉపన్యసించిరి.

అధ్యక్షా! మహాజనులారా!

“బ్రిటిషు వస్తువులముక్క వృత్తంతమునుగూర్చి నేను మీయెదుట మాట్లాడబోవుచున్నాను. ఇంగ్లీషువారు మన దేశమును మూత్రముచేత జయించియుండిరను. మీరివిషయమును బాగుగా వినండి. వ్యాపారముగొరకై మన దేశమున కరుచెంచి మును ప్రభువులై వారు. కేలము వస్త్రములకు మూత్రము ఈదేశమునుండి 60 కోట్ల రూప్యములు విదేశములకు బోవుచున్నవి. ఇంకను పిన్నులు. కుతరుణమున కానునభ్యులేవరి కార్యములను వారు కేనుకొనుచుండిననో బహిష్కారోద్యమ మెట్లు

కట్టుబాటుల బయటకు రావలసివచ్చిన దేశములో ప్రాతినిధ్య పనికేయవలసియున్నది. కానివారు తమ విద్యార్థులను రాజీనామామొనరి దేశములో పని కేయగూడదు. రాజీనామా లొంగుటవలన మన విద్యార్థులు రాగలవు. విద్యార్థులు పనిచేయుదు దేశములు నిమగ్నమై యుండినచో బహిష్కారము చక్కగా నెరవేరు. అందుచే మొదలగును బ్రి. టి. ప్రకాశంగారి సవరణను మాత్రమే ఆమోదించ వలయునని కోరుచున్నాను" (హర్ష ధ్వనులు).

"మొదలు, పాఠశాలలు మొదలగువానిపై కోట్లకొలది ప్రభుత్వవిదేశమునండి పోవుచున్నది. బ్రిటిషువారు పౌరుషాచరితముగ ఆర్జునుడు. భీముడు మొదలైనవారు పరాక్రమముచే యర్థములుచేసి రాజ్యమును గడించినట్లు రాజ్యమును సంపాదించి యుండలేదు. స్వతంత్రతీర్మానము తెన్నికేసినను ఏనాడు మారీ విదేశవస్తువులను బహిష్కరింతురో ఆనాడు స్వరాజ్యము సిద్ధించును. స్త్రీలు విదేశ వస్తువుల గరించుట పాపభూయిష్టము. సోదరీమణులారా! మీరుగరించిన విదేశవస్తువుల వలన మనదేశములో నిమగ్నమునకు ఎనిమిదిమంది రిండిలేక చనిపోవుచున్నారు. వాన్నియమునందు గాని, భక్తియందుగాని, జ్ఞానమునందుగాని, మనదేశమును ఇతరుల కప్పరికిని లేనిపోవు నిమగ్న దేశ పరిశ్రమ లభింపజే గాలేదు. ఒక్క భారతదేశవస్తువునను లేదు. సమస్తమునకు వారిపై ఆధారపడి యున్నాము. మనదేశమున తయారగుచున్న వస్తువులను గమనించి, ఏదివిదేశవస్తువులో ఏవికావో కాంగ్రెసుమిత్రులైన పట్టికను తయారుచేసి యున్నారు. వానివెల్లె గమనించి కాంగ్రెసు యావతిని తినిపాపించి బ్రిటిషు వస్తుబహిష్కారమును జయప్రదముగ తినిపాపించునని నమ్ముచున్నాను" అని (హర్ష ధ్వనులు).

Miss Chathopadyaya.

Miss Chathopadyaya of Bengal, in supporting the resolution, said:—

Mr. President, brother and sister delegates of India,—When a nation, proud in her power and might, rules over a subject nation in such a manner as to disregard humanitarian considerations introducing lawlessness in the name of law and order, heaping insult over insult, disgrace after disgrace, what other alternative has the subject-nation but to retaliate with a mighty blow crumbling down the pride of the rulers to dust? The Indian National Congress has decreed that the weapon to be wielded must be a non-violent one, and we the Indians have decided that our war for the sake of right, will be not a devastating, havoc-creating one, but one of peace and law. The time-spirit dictates the weapon in all the ages and this time it says that it is the boycott of British goods. We of Bengal have seen the futility of a bloody revolution, the ineffectiveness of bombs and pistols, but so far back as the year 1906 we had found the boycott to be a most effective one to be wielded to snatch from the mighty empire our simple rights. In those days we found that the only way to lead our rulers to the path of right-thinking was to touch them, in their pockets as we say *i.e.*, to see that none of our good money, so painstakingly earned, goes into their well-lined coffers.

Friends, while appealing to you to accept this motion, I have to ask you to consider the economic side of this weapon—boycott, as well as

its political side; some are afraid that this may kill the Khaddar industry in times to come. Let me assure you, friends, that there is not the least fear for that; that industry will flourish and grow in Andhradesa, Madras, Bengal, Behar, Orissa, Punjab and Guzarat, if not in the other provinces too. Some of these provinces are poor and Khaddar is to them the LAKSHMI to bring them food and happiness, and they will see that Lakshmi's Ashan is stable in their land.

I take this opportunity to remind you of the thousands of our starving millions, of the hundreds that are rotting in jails, but these without even the semblance of a trial, of the homes where the light of happiness is extinguished and laughter is changed to silent tears for those dear and near ones, suffering nerve-racking, and inhuman tortures in those very lands that promise justice and protection to us before the world. To you, my fellow-delegates, from the different provinces, I appeal again and fervently to organise a boycott of selected British goods, a selection having regard to the conditions, needs and requirements of your individual provinces, for when a Christian Government is bent upon out-pilating the Pilate and putting many a son of Mary to the Cross, it is time for Christ to rise again and come. We know, we rightly know that if this our Government was not deaf, it would certainly have heard Peter asking his Saviour again, "Whither goest thou?" and would have heard a reply, "I go to India to be a second time crucified."

To you my friends, I say, lend your ears to the cry of your Motherland, the cry that is ringing through the sky. "India, the fallen and the down-trodden is longing for thee to come, her Lord and Saviour, and free her from the bondage of slavery and lead to Liberty and Life."

Hark, Devakis crying in the still of the night and can you, her Krishnas, keep away from her in her time of need? No, no, a thousand times no; you cannot for the life of you, and so, I firmly believe, you will all come and take up this weapon to rescue her from poverty and exploitation, insults and disgrace and countless humiliations. (Applause.)

Mr. Purushottam Rai.

श्रीयुत पुरुषोत्तमरायने ब्रिटिश वस्तुओं के बहिष्कार के संबन्ध में बोलते हुए कहा:—

सभापति महाशय, और भाइयों, आपके सामने जो प्रस्ताव रखा गया है वह ब्रिटिश माल के बहिष्कार के संबन्ध में है। यह प्रस्ताव आपके सामने उन लोगों ने नहीं रखा है जिनको देखने से उनके नाम पूछने की ज़रूरत नहीं पड़ती। इस प्रस्ताव को जनता के साधारण प्रतिनिधियों ने रखा है। महिलाओं ने आपके सामने यह सबसे अच्छा काम ब्रिटिश वस्तुओं के बायकाट (बहिष्कार) का पेश किया है और जिस तरह युनिट (एकता) के लिये श्री. डा. अन्सारी ब्रिटिश वस्तुओं के बहिष्कार के लिये प्रयत्न करें।

हिन्दुस्तान में ब्रिटिश सामान के आनेसे, गरीबों, मजहूरों को हि तकलीफ है। अमीरों, वकीलों व बारिस्टों को उस से कोई तकलीफ नहीं। मैं यह नहीं चाहता कि हम अपने बड़े बड़े काम सरकार को दिखावें। मैं तो यह चाहता हूँ हनसाफ़ शर्तों में कह दें कि हम क्या चाहते हैं और हृदय से कह कर के दिखा दें जो हम करना चाहते हैं।

यह प्रस्ताव आपसे कहना है कि आप विलायती चीजोंका इस्तेमाल करना छोड़ दें, विलायती कपड़े पहनना भी त्याग दें। मेरा आपसे निवेदन है कि बहिष्कार के लिये तैयार हो जायें, अगर ब्रिटिश सामान का बायकाट करना चाहते हैं तो कमर कसके खड़े हो जाइये। आप सरकार को यह दिखल दें कि अगर तुम हमारी चिन्दा नहीं करते तो मैं भी तुम्हारी चिन्दा नहीं करता। जब सरकार को यह यकीन हो जायगा कि आप किसी तरह न मानेंगे तब वह खुद आप के पास आयगी और आप की बातें सुनेगी। केवल बोलने से कुछ नहीं होगा।

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Friends' Messages.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar then announced that letters and messages of sympathy had been received from Lala Harikishen Lal of Lahore, Maharaja Muhamadabad (Lucknow), Mahomed Jamaatullah (Punjab), Mr. Ghose, Mr. George Lansbury, from Mr. Saklatwala, Mr. Barucha and Mr. Mahomed Yacoob.

At the request of the audience the following message from Mr. Saklatwala was read:—

Mr. Saklatwala's Message.

Dear comrades,—The might of tyrants holds me away from my countrymen. Many have tried this trick before, to save their ill-gotten Empires, but no one yet has really succeeded.

Yes, I can be shunned and held in exile only if you, my countrymen and countrywomen, shut your hearts against me and turn a deaf ear to my pleadings. If you receive me in your hearts, if you incorporate my suggestion in your deliberations at this critical juncture of our struggle for our freedom and in the cause of world peace, I am as much in your midst as any other delegate.

I honestly hold the view that the human being who stands reconciled to an imperialist bondage, who basks in the sunshine of foreign rule is responsible for many more evils in the world at large, than merely for the degradation of his own country and his own people.

British rule in India means our peoples' perpetual starvation, ignorance, physical deterioration and social backwardness. British rule in India means a standing curb on Egypt, Iraq, Prussia, and Afghanistan.

British rule in India means an overpowering militarism by Britain that compels the rest of the world to weigh itself down under the cursed burden of armaments.

British rule in India means the continual menace to the wages, to the work, and the live standard of the British masses, and an actual frustration of their Trade Union Rights and Socialist aims.

British rule in India means a constant unseen war upon the rapid development of the masses in all the nations of Europe and America.

If, by a magic touch, the British Empire were to be Sovietised and the conquered races under her control set free, there would be not only real peace and prosperity for the liberated races, but there would be a sudden jump in the economic, social, political and cultural development of the human race.

As a friend of Great Britain, as an equal brother of the British, as of the Indian worker and peasant, I devote myself and appeal to all of you to devote yourselves to the great task of getting Britain to abandon Imperialism once and for ever.

Pray, do not get led into merely raising protests against this act and that act and a hundred and one of the day-to-day grievances of a sorely-tried people. What else is Imperialism but a crushing mill? The prince and peasant must fall victims by turns, as you see a Nabha or a Nizam can be sacrificed to it as easily as the poorest of Akalis or Moplahs. Imperial prisons exempt no castes or religions when a spirited person makes a stand; a Subash Bose, a Maulana Mahomed Ali, a Sardar Karak Singh, a Mancherna Awar are all hateful to imperialist arrogance and latterly you must have seen that when at last—thanks to the teaching of the communist movement—British boys like Allison, or Spratt stand up for the rights of a people to be free, the Imperialist ruler forgets the white man's prestige and is ready to wreak vengeance upon his own jat bhai.

Let us rise above wailing over pain endured by individual sufferers.

British Imperialism is a destined factor in the rise and fall of modern capitalism; it was conceived as an economic power and it has grown up to be an economic evil.

We who have led in the van with a purely political concentration have proved too feeble for the task. Awaken our working masses, organise our teeming peasants, take these myriads of India's toiling children right inside our national organisation by direct affiliation, discipline them within their Trade Unions and within an All-India Worker's and Peasant's Party for direct economic passive resistance that can dry up the sources of imperial power and prosperity.

Organise our youths of both sexes from the age of 10 into a large All-India Young Comrades' League, and without scorn for their youthfulness affiliate them also with the Congress.

Now is the time for a genuine nation-wide boycott movement, not of a picturesque political kind, but of an economic character that will everlastingly impress upon the ruling caste that a Royal Commission which goes out to sow fresh power may bring back a harvest of disaster. If the British Labour Party have declined to respect the

declared wishes of India's representatives and the Indian Trade Union Congress and have become partners in the Imperial game of the capitalist rulers of the British Empire the responsibility is theirs of making the workers of Britain share in the penalties of a severe economic boycott. Do let me appeal to you to avoid the mistakes of the past and to take a more courageous and scientific line of action.

In the first place do not try to declare a boycott of all foreign goods, but let us be honest and voluntarily avoid contact with British goods. To keep out of India all foreign goods in the present stage of our development is impracticable in national economics. But it is impossible to demand and obtain foreign goods from other nations to substitute goods of British origin at least as long as the representatives of British labour insist upon sitting on this Royal Commission. Then again do not fail to enlist the assistance of the working class as by mere dependence upon its commercial and educated section no nation carries its ideals to success. Indian dock-workers, transport workers, carters, clerks and all should refuse all contact with goods of British origin. When you have done all this you have taken action only against a part of commercial imperialism. One of the main objects of Imperialism is transplantation of British interests into India, and in the economic and unjust enrichment of British capitalists these transplanted activities play a bigger part than exports of goods from Britain. Any scientific ostracism of the interests of British capitalism is impossible unless effective measures are adopted to refuse contact with the economic interests of British capitalist representatives in India. Let Imperialism take care of itself politically or legislatively, it has no right to demand economic co-operation from the conquered. We are legally and constitutionally entitled to refuse commercial and industrial co-operation and hospitality to those who are only out to abuse both.

Let the present Indian National Congress concentrate itself on large and fundamental issues instead of discussing details of everyday grievances. Appoint your All-India Congress Committee on a specially larger scale so that men and women of talent and power can function unceasingly in towns, taluks, and villages and can carry out your national schemes with the full support and co-operation of our workers and peasants.

Let me pray you in the end not to minimise the difficulty of our task; the problem is not merely an Indian problem not a problem of foreign ministers or official ruling India, it is a world problem, it is the problem of freeing all humanity from a militarist civilisation that it may build a new era of genuine equality, fraternity and liberty. Do not therefore conclude your sittings without adopting adequate measures and without creating necessary machinery for your co-operation with the workers of all nationalities who are struggling to attain the same end,

With my heartiest good wishes and trusting in your efforts to get me back in your midst as soon as possible despite the cunning and stupid attempts to exile me, I remain.

Moulana Mahomed Ali at this stage ascended the rostrum and took leave of the delegates by saying "Goodbye, I am going to Calcutta. Pray for our success."

SWARAJ CONSTITUTION.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta was called upon to move the next resolution. He said :—

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen. The resolution which I have the honour to move runs as follows :—

"Having regard to the general desire of all political parties in the country to unite together in settling a Swaraj Constitution and having considered the various drafts submitted to it and the various suggestions received in reply to the Working Committee's circular, this Congress authorises the Working Committee which shall have power to co-opt, to confer with similar committees to be appointed by other organisations political, labour, commercial and communal in the country and to draft a Swaraj Constitution for India on the basis of a Declaration of Rights and to place the same for consideration and approval before a special convention to be convened in Delhi not later than March next, consisting of the All-India Congress Committee and the leaders and representatives of the other organisations mentioned above and the elected members of the Central and Provincial legislatures."

Ladies and gentlemen, we have done three important things among others during the last two or three days. We have declared Independence to be the goal of the National India. We have resolved to boycott the Simon Commission. We have resolved to boycott the British goods. We have now left one more thing to do, which will complete the whole matter. That is the resolution which I have just now read out to you. We cannot leave the question of drafting the Swaraj constitution to the Simon Commission or to any creation of the British Parliament, because as the Presidential Address states, there is no greater enemy to the progress and peace of the world to-day than England as will be seen from the condition of things to-day. England is the one country above all other countries which remains the most autocratic and most aggressive country in the world. Its statesmen are capitalists and exploiters who have not brought peace but who have carried war into every country and every town they come across. They have exploited innocent people. They profess to be Christians. Some of them pray on their knees on Sundays and prey on their neighbours on other days. It is not from such a group or coterie of politicians that India can expect any draft constitution for her political destiny. The Commission

which is coming to India has been appointed by a Government which is ignorant of the condition of things in India. The Under-Secretary of State for India, Earl Winterton, cannot make a single speech in the House of Commons without committing three mistakes in it. He was brought to book in [the last session of the Legislative Assembly. Only the day before, I received from England a copy of Parliamentary debate held on the 25th November 1927. When in moving the Names of the Commission, Earl Winterton committed four gross palpable blunders. I will only mention them. It is unnecessary to quote them. He says, "It is no use appointing a commission which consists of Indians because, these politically-minded Indians represent only twenty lakhs of voters." If anybody who knows anything of the constitution of India to-day, most imperfect and very inadequate though it be, reads it, he will say that it is not true that there are only twenty lakhs of voters. Earl Winterton ought to have known this and if he does not know it, he ought to vacate his place, because there are to-day admittedly six million voters, although it is wholly inadequate. Yet, Earl Winterton is ignorant of such an elementary thing. What is his next mistake. He asks how can you give the right of drafting the constitution to these people because he says there is nowhere in Ireland such bitterness of feeling between the Catholics and the Protestants as is to be found between the Hindus and the Moham-madans in South India. (Laughter.) If there is any bitterness of feeling between the Hindus and the Mussalmans it is only, in the North of the Vindhya and the Narbada. I am sure Earl Winterton does not know what is Southern India and what is Northern India. You know years ago a countryman of his wrote a Novel in which he said "Bombay is situated in the Bay of Bengal" (Loud laughter.) Certainly, Earl Winterton is an improvement on his countryman.

This congress bears testimony to the fact that there is pleasant amity between the two communities in this Presidency and at its Headquarters, where the Congress is meeting. This Congress has brought peace and harmony all over India by the resolution which has been passed. I could go on multiplying instances to show the ignorance of Earl Winterton, but it is unnecessary. He is a thorough-going ignoramus. He goes on to say "Whoever may boycott the commission, the six crores of untouchables are not going to boycott it." How does he know it? Was he present at the meeting of the untouchables where they decided that they shall not boycott the commission? He is so irresponsible an officer that he goes on making one false statement after another. On the advice of people like him the Parliament has decided not to appoint Indians to the commission. This is a case of the blind leading the blind. (Laughter.) We cannot have anything to do with the British Commission. The resolution clearly states that it is necessary to confer with the other political parties in the country. After all it must be stated that our Independence must be based on

some constitution. There ought to be political education of the masses of India as to how the Swaraj programme is based upon Independence. What does the Swaraj constitution include? How does it differ from the bureaucratic constitution of Government? They should be told that instead of the arrogant civilian ruling the destinies of the millions of people, the Swaraj constitution will be a constitution under which every district officer and every servant of the Government will be a humble servant of the public and not the master. It will provide political education to the masses of India. It will explain how independent India will function as against the bureaucratic Government which is functioning to-day. So many parties Liberals, Moderates, Muslim Leaguers are to meet. The Working Committee will confer with our countrymen who hold different points of view and will prepare a draft constitution, so that there may be ultimately a united constitution, which might possibly differ in some respects although we have now declared independence. If there is still left some element of wisdom in England, she will have the last chance when that occasion comes of incorporating the draft of the United India into her own. Whether that chance is taken up by England or not, our duty is clear. We must take stock of the political views in all parts of India and draft a constitution with the assistance of all political parties and present it to the country for the political education of the masses and classes.

டாக்டர் வரதராஜுலு நாயுடு.

சுயராஜ்ய அமைப்புச் சம்மந்தமான தீர்மானத்தை ஆதரித்து டாக்டர் வரதராஜுலுநாயுடு பேசியதாவது :—

சகோதர சகோதரிகளே.

ஸ்ரீமான் ஜம்னாநாஸ் மேதா பிரேரேபித்த தீர்மானத்தை ஆதரிக்கும் பொருட்டு நான்வந்து இருக்கிறேன். நாம் பிரபுரண தேசிய சக்தாரம் வேண்டுமென்று தீர்மானம் செய்திருக்கிறோம். தலைவர்கள் பல சுயராஜ்ய திட்டங்களை தயார் செய்திருக்கின்றனர். அவைகளைப் பரிசீலனை செய்ய வேண்டியிருக்கிறது ஆகவே காரியக்கமிடியார் என்ன செய்ய வேண்டும் என்று சொல்லுகிறோம். வடஇந்தியாவைப்போல் இவ்வு வறிந்து-முஸ்லீம் வேற்றுமை இல்லாத போதிலும். பிராமணர்—பிராமணரல்லாதார் வேற்றுமை இருந்து வருகிறது. இவ்விதம் வேற்றுமை இருந்துவரும் சந்தர்ப்பம் தான் தகுதியானதென்று பிரிடிஷ் கவர்ன்மெண்டார் நினைத்து அரசியல் கமிஷனை நியமித்திருக்கிறார்கள். சென்ற 2, 3 தினங்களாக நாம் செய்திருக்கும் தீர்மானங்களின் மூலமாக நம் முன் ஒற்றுமையிருந்து வருகிறதென்பதைக் காட்டிப் கொண்டுவிட்டோம். இந்தகாங்கிரஸ் கொடுத்திருக்கும் பதிலானது வெகுநாலம்வரை பிரிடிஷ்மந்திரிகளுடைய ஞாபகத்தில் இருந்துகொண்டு இருக்கும். நான் தென்னிந்தியாவைப் பற்றி மட்டில் நினைக்கிறேன். நாம் எல்லோரும் ஒன்று சேர்ந்து கமிஷனை பகிஷ்கரித்து விட்டால் நம்மிடத்தில் மதிப்பு ஏற்படும்.

Mr. Nimbkar.

Mr. Nimbkar:—Mr. President, brother and sister delegates,—It is only yesterday you passed the resolution defining the goal of the Indian National Congress as complete National Independence. In view of that resolution and because of the principle that we hold, I have come on this platform to oppose the resolution so ably moved by my friend Mr. Jamnadas Mehta. After the passing of the Independence resolution what is the duty of the Indian National Congress? The duty of the Indian National Congress is to give to this august assembly a fighting programme to win Independence for this country and I ask you humbly what does the Congress give you. The Congress gives you the work of Constitution preparation with parliamentary procedure and other provisions. We have decided to boycott the Royal Commission because the principle of self-determination is not accepted by Parliament, who have constituted this Commission. We have also decided to boycott the Commission at every stage. That means we do not offer any compromise to British Imperialism. If this is our attitude, if we are out for Independence, I do not know why the Indian National Congress should prepare Constitutions.

Secondly, what is the Constitution meant for? The Constitution is a form of government and it signifies the form of Government you want. I have no fight with you if you want to be permanently associated with the British Empire. But yesterday this august body passed the resolution declaring the goal as Independence. In the absence of Independence you cannot settle the form of Independence. How do you know that India would like to have a Workers' Government or a Republican Government or the Parliamentary form of Government or any other form of Government? You cannot commit the Indian National Congress to a particular form of constitution while we are fighting for Independence. We have five or six different draft constitutions before us. You all might not have studied them. We also know of Deshabandhu Das's draft of the constitution. We have our distinguished President's draft but as I said no draft can really be settled until we win Independence. Therefore I would urge upon you to go on with the fight for Independence and the boycott of the Simon Commission and to have nothing to do with the British and to refuse to accept the resolution now under discussion and thus stand loyal to the Congress towards the resolutions adopted yesterday.

Mr. Harisarvothama Rao.

Mr. Harisarvothama Rao:—Mr. President, brother and sister delegates, I want to say a few words in English in reply to my friend who has opposed this motion. It is all very well to say that the ideal of the Congress has been declared to be Independence. I should have understood him if he had come forward and said that to-morrow we shall

achieve Independence and then formulate a Constitution immediately. But this question of Independence, this question of boycott of the Simon Commission and this great agitation in this country has become imminent on account of the insult that the British Parliament has hurled against us and in hurling it against us the British Parliament has told us that on account of our differences we shall not be able to come to a proper understanding between ourselves and therefore they have to be the judge. Is it not fit that having talked of making Constitution for India all these years and talked it also in our Congress—that at this moment we shall make a Constitution for ourselves and declare it as our Constitution which we shall ask for, which we shall strive to achieve and which we shall die for. (Applause.)

Mr. Tiruvenkatachari

Mr. V. K. Tiruvenkatachari :—Mr. President, Sir, I wish to oppose this resolution as it is wholly a useless one. This Congress has done such a lot of useful work that I do not wish it to be marred by this impractical resolution. (At this stage the speaker was persistently interrupted by shouts of opposition from all sides and the only closing sentence of his brief speech could be heard).

I appeal to you, brother and sister delegates, to vote against the resolution so that it may not be said that we were not honest to ourselves in passing this resolution which we cannot work in practice.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I do not think I need detain you longer except a minute on the little opposition which has been expressed from the platform. It is said because the Congress had declared Independence to be the goal of this country there should be no constitution for this country. I do not see what connection there is between the declaration of Independence as the goal of this country and the framing of a Constitution. It is true my friends proved too much when they say that an independent country should have no Constitution. It is a ridiculous way of looking at things, and I do not think I need waste your time to tell you the simple fact that now that we have declared Independence we should have a Constitution that should provide a programme of Independence for which our friends are anxious. That Constitution will embody the various stages and the methods by which we have to work up to the goal of Independence. I do not see there is any substantial reason for opposing the resolution. The Working Committee will consider the drafts in conjunction with other bodies. They will give their time and effort to see what best can be done.

The resolution was put to vote and declared carried, two voting against it.

ARTICLES OF THE CONSTITUTION.

(Delegates, Fee)

Mr. A. Rangaswami Ayyangar:—I have to put to you certain changes in the articles of the constitution which has been adopted by the Subjects-Committee. I move 'that Article 12 dealing with delegates' fee for the words " pay a fee of Re. 1," substitute the words, " pay a fee of Rs. 5," (cries of no, no).

Mr. Joglekar:—I stand before you to oppose this proposition. You will find from the conduct of the affairs of the Congress that the Congress is failing in sympathy with the masses. You will remember that there is no programme of the Congress which deals with the life of the masses. Therefore the Congress is falling in the estimation of the masses. Instead of taking up a programme which will go home and create enthusiasm, what we are doing is we are following the tactics of the aristocracy and trying to raise the fees of the delegates making the Congress an institution which will be controlled not by the masses but by the monied men everywhere. At Gauhati they tried this experiment and there also we had to oppose this sort of tactics. Mahatma Gandhi at Cawnpore suggested that the Congress should pass from the hands of the aristocracy down to the hands of the lowest strata of society. The Congress must be a body of the masses. It was therefore with that idea there was a change in the amount of the delegation-fee. Now the Congress leaders are restricting the Congress to those who pay five rupees. The Congress should not lose the support of the masses. The Congress should be accessible to the masses. I appeal to you to be true to the cause and not allow the aristocracy to rule the masses. You must not betray the trust placed in you and allow the fee to be raised.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Ayyangar:—Brother and Sister delegates, When I move this modest resolution, I have not the least idea-(cries of no, no), kindly hear me. When I moved the resolution I did not think that it was necessary for me to state the reasons which compelled me to place it before you. Nothing would have pleased me more than to make the delegation fee purely nominal. I should have been delighted to do it if the financial situation of the Congress allowed it. But friends, as the General Secretary of the Congress during the last two years and as the out-going Secretary who has no interest in piling up money-bags of which Mr. Joglekar is jealous, I am absolutely disinterested in moving this resolution and ask you to save the Congress Organisation and to vitalise the organisation by raising the figure of one Rupee to that of Rs. 5 (cries of no, no.). Friends, you will hear me (continued cries of no, no.) I have to tell you that in this matter Mahatmaji's words cannot be treated as gospel. Mahatmaji's Tilak Swarajya Fund of one crore has been exhausted. The Congress organisation has to work and

without funds we cannot have the Congress. I therefore put it to you to spare the Congress organization and vote for this resolution. (Cries of no, no.) I am bound to place the financial affairs of the Congress before you. If you are prepared to say that the Congress should go without funds, it is your pleasure.

The proposition was put and declared lost.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Ayyangar :—The next resolution is that "Every member of the All-India Congress Committee, *ex-officio* or elected, shall pay an annual subscription of Rs. 10, payable at or before the first meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. Members in default shall not be permitted to take part in any meeting of the All-India Congress Committee or of the Subjects Committee."

I do not know whether it is necessary for me to explain the reason. The reason is the very attenuated condition of Congress funds to-day. Those who are in favour of this proposition will please raise their hands. (All, all). The proposition was declared carried.

The Annual Reports of the General Secretaries with an account of the Tilak Swaraj Fund was presented to the Congress by the General Secretary.

OTHER RESOLUTIONS.

Outgoing Secretaries Thanked.

The President, in concluding the session, spoke as follows :—

Brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—Now I have got to place before you a few formal resolutions. The first one is that relating to the retiring Secretaries. The resolution reads thus :—

"This Congress places on record its great appreciation of the valuable services rendered by Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar and Mr. Vallabhai J. Patel, as its General Secretaries for 1927." I am sure you will all carry this unanimously. I hope there is no opposition to this. (Carried unanimously).

Now the next resolution relates to office-bearers for the year 1928. This Congress appoints the following office-bearers for the coming year: Suaib Qureshi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose, General Secretaries; Jamnalal Bajaj and Reva Shanker Jagjivan Javari, Treasurers; Now I hope you will also carry this resolution unanimously.

The resolution was put to vote and carried amidst acclamation, there being not a single dissident.

Venue of next Session.

The third resolution which I ought to place before you is that which relates to the venue of the next Congress. The resolution on that runs as follows :—

"This Congress resolves that its next session be held in Calcutta."

I hope you will carry this unanimously and this was also carried unanimously amidst loud cheers and applause.

Dr. Ansari's Concluding Speech.

The President, Dr. Ansari, in conclusion, said :—Brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—Before this memorable session of the 42nd Indian National Congress is closed, I wish to say a few words for the great consideration, for the great assistance and for the wonderful warmth of reception which Madras and my brother delegates have given me. Gentlemen, I wish to remind you that in this session you have carried through some very important resolutions. The most important one to my mind related to the Hindu-Muslim relations. I have already told you that you have not only laid the foundation of Swaraj, but you have almost won it. The next important resolution that you have carried, relates to the boycott of the Simon Commission. I am sure if we all work unitedly, we shall not only gain our immediate objective but we shall be very near our goal of attaining Swaraj. The third important resolution that you have carried—just passed—is that which relates to the Constitution. You have not only got to boycott the Simon Commission but you have got to prepare the constitution and you have to place that constitution for your future guidance and for the information of the entire world including the British nation—that is your ideal and that is what you want.

Gentlemen, you would see that in the next year you have got to do very strenuous work, very hard work if you really wish to succeed. It is not sufficient that we should pass resolutions and then forget all about them when we go back home and to our various provinces. I would appeal to you all, gentlemen, that when you leave Madras or rather when you leave this pandal, you will vow that these resolutions which you have carried, you are going not only to carry but you are going to act up to them and going to make a success of them.

Gentlemen, before I close, I wish to say a few words of gratitude to Mr. Muthuranga Mudaliar, the Chairman of the Reception Committee and to the Secretaries and all his co-workers who have worked so hard and who have really made this Congress so very successful, so very comfortable and so wonderfully beautiful. I wish also to thank Mr. Rajaram Pandyan, the Captain of the volunteers. (Cheers.) I wish to thank his assistants, namely, the Vice-Captains, and above all I wish to thank most cordially the rank and file of the volunteer brethren. It is really these young men who are the hopes of the country. It is really they who will bear the brunt and I know that these young men have been working hard day and night. They have really withstood the burden of the work. I owe a very deep debt of gratitude to them for having so loyally, so steadfastly, so generously given their time and labour in the service of their country. (Loud applause and cheers.)

Before I close I will only say one word about your great citizen, I mean Sriji S. Srinivasa Iyengar. I know he is the pivot on which the whole system in this city, at least relating to the political life of this province revolves. But for his wonderful personality I know half the work would not be done. I wish to thank him on your behalf and on my behalf and I pray that many years would be given him to serve his Motherland in the way in which he had been doing.

Before I close, ladies and gentlemen, I wish to appeal to you for the cause which I am sure you would most liberally support and that is the Bengal Detenues Fund. Gentlemen, I have already told you in my address the deplorable condition in which they are rotting away in their exile and internment. I appeal to you as patriots, as Indians, to help those brothers of yours who are suffering to-day only because they love their Motherland too dearly.

And before I close I wish to thank Mrs. Lakshmipathi and Mrs. Kamaladevi Chatopadhaya and also the rank and file of the Lady Volunteers. Gentlemen, it is only when our women take to come out and help us in the cause of the Motherland that India is going to win. Swaraj and India will become absolutely irresistible.

Ladies and gentlemen, I do not wish to delay any longer and I want to thank you cordially for your generous hospitality and for the warmth with which you have always received me. It would be one of the most cherished moments of my life and I shall always remember Madras for its hospitality and its generosity. (Loud and continued applause amidst shouts of "Gandhi Mahatmaki Jai.")

VOTE OF THANKS.

Mr. Muthuranga Mudaliar, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, then proposed a vote of thanks in the following words :

Fellow-Delegates and Friends :—While welcoming you on the opening day of this session I congratulated you on the choice of the President. I am now happy to say that your expectations and aims have been amply justified in the last two or three days. You have seen how tactfully, how ably, in what a business-like manner our President has conducted the deliberations of our assembly. I am sure that this year which has begun well with this momentous session of the Congress under the distinguished leadership of our President will be a memorable year in the history of our struggle for freedom. I shall not be justified in making a long speech in this business-like session. On behalf of the Reception Committee I propose a hearty vote of thanks to our President, to the delegates and the distinguished leaders who have made it convenient to attend the Congress and help us in our deliberations. I am sure that amongst the many important resolutions that we have passed in this session we may congratulate ourselves that we have unanimously passed three most important resolutions, the one on National Independence, the second on the Boycott of the Simon Commission and the third on the

Hindu-Muslim Unity. In arriving at this conclusion I must congratulate our tried leaders Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mahatma Gandhi, Moulana Mahomed Ali and others. Friends it is not enough that we have passed these resolutions. I hope you will carry this message with you when you go back from Madras and broadcast this message to every village in your province. (Hear, hear).

I have to confess that the Reception Committee has not done what all it ought to have done. I know our President in concluding this session has paid a great tribute to the work of the Reception Committee and my humble self. I may say at once that this spectacular part of the arrangement may be all very good. But I am conscious of our own imperfections and I am conscious that we have not done all that we ought to have done for the comforts of our delegates. We have no excuse for such a weakness. But now I appeal to my brother and sister delegates to forgive us for our shortcomings. I would also propose a vote of thanks to all other parties who have responded to our invitation. I hope this would pave the way for the union of all the parties with a view to present a united front to our enemies. With these words I appeal to you, ladies and gentlemen, to carry this resolution of thanks with acclamation.

Before concluding I cannot but refer to the patriotic services rendered to us by the volunteers with their Vice-Captains and Captain I know with what readiness Mr. Raja Ram Pandyan accepted my invitation to serve us as a Captain. I know what hardships our volunteers have endured during their services in this session. Above all I must refer to the willing services rendered by the lady volunteers. On the day of the President's procession they underwent a great sacrifice in working their way from the Central Station to the President's quarters. I once more propose a vote of thanks on behalf of the Reception Committee and on behalf of you all for the President for his invaluable services.

Mr. O. Kandaswami Chetty :—Friends, in Madras we are very proud of this Congress. We are proud of our President Dr. Ansari. It was a gratifying bit of news that he gave us, that he was a student of Madras in his younger days and that he is a Graduate of the Madras University. That has made us feel that he is one of us. He is a soldier of the day. He is a gentleman to the core and a statesman, and we are proud of him. We wish him best success in the coming year.

Lala Shanker Lal :—(Delhi) then rose up and said :—"On behalf of the delegates, I have great pleasure in thanking the Reception Committee of the Congress for their hospitality.

The Congress was then dissolved.

APPENDIX I.

WELCOME ADDRESS
OF
C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar
Chairman. Reception Committee
AND
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS
By Dr. M. A. Ansari

26th December. 1927

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FELLOW DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

On behalf of the Reception Committee, I extend to you a most cordial and warm welcome to this 42nd session of the Indian National Congress. We are meeting to-day under exceptional circumstances. We have reached a definite stage in the fight for Swaraj, and the main work before this Congress is to give a new direction to our activities in order to hasten the achievement of our ideal. I invite you to approach the problems before us with patriotic earnestness and courage, and to formulate a national programme which will not only command widespread acceptance but will take us onward in the march towards Swaraj.

For some years past, the absence of a vitalising programme has disrupted and weakened the political activities of Indian Nationalists. The re-action, as non-co-operation was slowly retracted, menaced our effective public life with almost certain extinction. But, thanks to the intervention of a divine Providence, we have to-day an energising war-cry which has reached, and is reaching ears hitherto closed to the call of nationalism. That war-cry is the Boycott of the Statutory Commission. With rare unanimity and with yet rarer enthusiasm, the whole Indian nation has with one voice determined to boycott the Statutory Commission on Indian Reforms. The British people must realise that all this feeling has not been generated in India merely by the insinuating propaganda of ultra-radical politicians. The great Moderate party, up-to now a severely conservative influence in our politics, has on this matter, made common cause with the Congress.

On this occasion, I desire to draw your attention to a few of the more important reasons why we have thus almost unanimously decided to boycott the Commission. Firstly, under the principles evolved and the pledges given during the great war, we are entitled to decide what the form and extent of our self-government should be. In spite of the most solemn declarations and pledges given by the foremost British statesmen, India was insulted by the inclusion, in the Preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919, of terms which denied her right to self-determination. This was a gross betrayal and treachery which the united voice of India has been

relentlessly condemning. To acquiesce in the re-assertion of that pernicious doctrine, now implied in the appointment of an All-British Commission, would be to abandon our self-respect. Secondly, the circumstances of the appointment of the Commission constitute a contemptuous rejection of the National Demand, passed by the Legislative Assembly in 1924 and reiterated in 1925. No reason has been vouchsafed to us why the Assembly demand has been dealt with in this perfunctory manner. It is an insult to the elected representatives of our people, and consequently to the entire Indian Nation. Thirdly, even the moderate demand made by the Liberals for the inclusion of a substantial proportion of Indians in the Commission has been ignored. I desire it to be distinctly understood that we, the Congressmen, will not be satisfied with anything less than a Constituent Convention for the determination of our future constitution, in which, representatives of Britain may also be permitted to deliberate, but only as equals, to safeguard any vested interests they may have in this country. The inclusion, in the Commission, of Indians chosen at random will not conciliate the Congress which stands for the principle of self-determination, logically worked out. Fourthly, the commission should be ruthlessly boycotted, because it implies the application to India of doctrines which are contrary to the usages governing the relations between England and the Dominions. Shall we permit ourselves to be dealt with as inferiors in the Commonwealth of Nations forming the British Empire? An emphatic negative must be our unequivocal answer. Canada, Australia and South Africa were allowed the right of self-determination; and with one important exception, the Parliament no more tinkered with their drafts than merely dot the i's and cross the t's. Why should India alone be forced to a different course of constitutional development? It implies inferiority, and we must resist every such implication. And further, I desire to assert, on this occasion, that it is essential to the dignity and national self-respect of India, not to permit any extraneous authorities and influences, however potent, to dictate to her, what her government should be. To acquiesce in the unwarranted and dangerous presumption of the British Parliament would be a surrender of our self-respect, and would harm and demoralise our public life, not to mention the degradation in which it would involve us among the civilised

nations of the world. Further, it is amply clear, that our non-participation in this Commission will not anywise jeopardise our political progress. The haughty Conservatives of the British Parliament, whose ranks are re-inforced by the no less jingoist section of labourites under Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, whose political masquerade as friends of India is at an end, have already prejudged our case, and there is nothing to be lost by our stern refusal to regularise their judgment by helping in the so-called inquiry. I have, therefore, no hesitation in adding my humble voice to the chorus of approval which has met the Boycott programme.

I desire, at this stage, to make one or two observations on the misgivings felt by honest friends of India as to our attitude towards certain domestic questions, peculiarly the legacy of British Rule in India. I assure the minorities and the special interests who have been persistently misled by interested persons, that in a free and a democratic India, their interests would be safer than now. India has, through history, been the asylum of the oppressed and the persecuted; and it is part of our national character to treat minorities hospitably and even charitably. Protection to minorities will be the first canon of political conduct in Swaraj India. Nextly, we must repudiate the suggestion that Britain should ever be the peace-maker in India, holding its diverse interests and peoples in justice to each other, but in subjection to herself. We must proclaim our right and our capacity to settle equitably and honourably, all these delicate questions. Thus there is no argument for co-operation with the Statutory Commission except the argument of fear, of toadyism and of atrophied political sense.

The boycott of the Commission is a negative programme which has happily brought together most of the parties in the country. Advantage must be taken of this beneficent atmosphere to develop methods and policies which will be acceptable to the generality of our countrymen. To start with, the need is imperative to educate public opinion on an agreed draft of Swaraj Constitution, embodying the aspirations and the hopes of the Indian nation. Such a programme will clarify the issues before the country and will enable all the parties to concentrate their energies in devising effective sanctions, with which we can enforce our demand for Swaraj, and to organise our forces and carry

on such a propaganda that the urge for Swaraj would be felt in the heart of every Indian so powerfully, that the response of a united and concentrated effort would finally win us our freedom.

Fellow Delegates, I shall now refer to a few features which, I think, should characterise any scheme of Swaraj for India. Firstly, we ought to make it known that if Parliament continues in its present insolent mood, we must definitely start on an intensive propaganda for the severance of India from the Empire. Whenever the time may come for the effective assertion of Indian Nationalism, Indian aspiration will then be towards free nationhood, untrammelled even by the nominal suzerainty of the King of England. It behoves English statesmanship to take careful note of this fact. Let them not drive us to despair. As yet, the substantial opinion in the country favours the ideal of freedom within the Empire. But this persistent step-motherly treatment will only compel us to decide against any further participation in a caste-ridden Empire. Parliament should recognise, and at once, that in India as well as in Ireland, all authority should be derived from the people and not from Whitehall. In the absence of any assurance in this behalf, we must abandon any further thought of framing our constitution as a constituent partner of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Nextly, I desire to emphasise the paramount need of an exhaustive Declaration of Rights which will form part of our constitution. There should be unmistakable guarantees of the Rights of Citizens to equal and just treatment and to freedom from oppression by the limbs of the law. There ought to be the fullest political equality of all classes and without distinction of religion or race. The Indian democracy should afford equal opportunities to all its citizens for self-development and self-expression. Respect for individual acts and opinions, not detrimental to public order or morality, ought to be asserted and guaranteed in the fundamental law. Educational facilities, free and compulsory at least till the elementary standard, and free, up to the secondary, ought to be provided by appropriate clauses, in the constitution. Further, it is essential to the character of religious neutrality of the Indian government that there should be no state religion in this country. In this connection, I desire to allude to the views expressed by a

prominent Indian statesman that there is no need for a Declaration of Rights in India, as we are imbued with British traditions of justice which contain guarantees, in ordinary law, of the Rights of citizens. The Rule of Law may be a fact in England, but in India it is unknown. Ireland, where too the British have created traditions of justice and the Rule of Law, has most judiciously incorporated such a Declaration in her Constitution. I therefore respectfully differ, and maintain that we should rather follow the precedent of Ireland, who suffered equally with us under British Rule.

Nextly, it is my humble opinion that the Government we should organise for India under Swaraj should be on the unitary basis. Federal Government, however suitable to the conditions of other countries, will be peculiarly inappropriate to India with its revived sense of solidarity. It will also disrupt the synthesising forces of nationalism and present the sad picture of a divided India. If there is local sentiment and local aspiration, we can well provide for them by a careful process of decentralisation. Administrative units organised on a linguistic basis, with adequate provisions for the needs of localities, will amply answer the requirements of local patriotism. At the same time, a strong central Government will keep nationalism in-tact and elevate India among the nations of the world.

I would, then, invite your attention to the all-important question of franchise. We have to devise principles of representation which would accord well with the needs of democracy. May I, in this connection, draw your attention to the conclusions of the All India Congress Committee in its recent meeting at Calcutta? These conclusions dispose of the long-standing inter-communal problem, admirably and satisfactorily. I commend the resolutions to your acceptance. Further, although the exclusive representation of any special interests would not be in strict consonance with the democratic theory, considering the peculiar conditions in India, I would advocate that the Depressed classes alone may be given special representation, if only for a time. I do not sympathise with similar demands made on behalf of Anglo-Indians and corporations like the Universities and the Chambers of Commerce. Their interests, if they have any, apart from those of the people, will, I conceive, be sufficiently safeguarded by an

assembly composed of members chosen in general constituencies.

I would also respectfully offer a suggestion as to the method we should adopt to arrive at agreement regarding any such constitution. The Indian National Congress should take early steps to convene a convention of representatives of all parties and interests, which should decide on a constitution for India. Any scheme agreed to by such a convention, if ratified by a special session of the Congress, would be the demand of united India. To enforce the demand for this constitution, we have to devise adequate sanctions.

The first step we have to take is to unite all the parties with a view to offering struggle for Swaraj. A campaign of communal co-operation and harmony must be started methodically and pursued with vigour by the Congress. Our opponents make political capital of the absence of amity among the leading communities and of the state of the Depressed Classes. We must remove the cause, more in our own interests than in answer to the English indictment. The efforts made and the results arrived at so far, have been very encouraging. The Bombay and the Calcutta decisions of the All India Congress Committee, inspired by the great and self-less leader, Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyengar, are already finding sympathetic acceptance all over the country. This ameliorative work ought to be pushed on. Similarly, well-considered attempts should be made to settle the unfortunate Brahmin and Non-Brahmin misunderstandings, the Buddhist agitation in Gaya and the sectional differences among the Sikhs. I have hopes that these problems, which stand in the way of national work will soon be solved in a statesmanly spirit and in view of the larger interests at stake. The just and equitable settlement of these questions will enhance the prestige of the Congress and by common consent, the Congress will attain to the position of a respected arbiter of inter-communal misunderstandings.

Nextly, there is the most urgent need for the propagation of higher economic ideals in the country. The workers of the Congress should carry to the ryots, not only a political but also an economic message. The Cultivator should be familiarised with the modern methods of agriculture and with the immense usefulness of the Co-operative movement. Vast tracts of land may be

cultivated, and the wealth of the country enormously increased if only our ryots will understand and use the modern scientific methods of agriculture. Again principles of sanitation ought to be a prominent subject of propaganda of every Congress worker. In particular, we must make strenuous endeavours to minimise the Drink evil, as its total extinction without state-aid is impossible. Educated and wealthy citizens, who have any patriotism, should forthwith engage their talents and their wealth in the noble work of advancing India's industrial development. Besides augmenting the wealth of the country, it would solve the present menacing evil, that of wide-spread unemployment. The Congress must at appoint Baord for tackling the economic question and for directing the activities of Congress workers in this matter.

While thus the Congress will endeavour to improve the economic life of our country by the promotion of industrial and agricultural activity, there is also a negative aspect to this work. For some years we are familiar with the policy of boycotting British and foreign goods. Under the present circumstances, I have no doubt that the Congress will come to the unanimous decision that as a political sanction behind our demand for Swaraj, we shall strictly and ruthlessly boycott all British goods. But the economic interests of India require that we should proceed a step further. We should boycott all foreign goods, which would anywise compete with Indian manufactures. India gains nothing economically by purchasing continental and American substitutes, sometimes inferior to British goods. The Congress should, as early as possible, appoint an expert Committee which will organise this boycott, and make it thoroughly effective; so that, the emphatic refusal to take any article of British manufacture will serve our political purpose, and the exclusion, as far as possible, of all foreign goods, will serve our economic purpose.

I have reserved Khaddar for special mention. Thanks to the untiring efforts of Mahatmaji and his noble band of workers, the movement is imperceptibly and steadily expanding. Well-wishers of our country would desire most heartily for its further expansion and growth. The faith of the country in Mahatmaji's favourite programme is being every day increased, as is evidenced by the immense and steady strides the move-

ment is taking. I wish to make one suggestion in this connection. The Spinners' Association have built up a splendid organisation. I appeal to them to combine political work, especially propagandist, with the beneficent activities they are now pursuing. Secondly, I suggest that they should not confine themselves only to Khaddar, but should include among their activities, the promotion of the sale of other purely indigenous articles in general demand. This would greatly help the indigenous industries as well as improve the finance of the Spinners' Association. I earnestly appeal to Mahatmaji to consider this suggestion.

The organisation of labour is another vital matter. The Congress must stand fearlessly and whole-heartedly by the labouring population, industrial and agricultural. The Congress should co-operate with the All-India Trade Union Congress and help it to secure human conditions for Indian labour. By enlisting their active assistance, the cause of Swaraj could be tremendously advanced.

Fellow Delegates, I would now invite your attention to the Congress organisation in the country. I must at once confess that we do not have today, that efficient and thorough organisation, which is necessary to carry forward the programme of a great body such as the Congress. We must at once set ourselves to the laborious task of spreading the organisation so as to reach the farthest parts of our country, so that our message may evoke universal response. Paid workers, carefully trained for political and economic propaganda, and capable of commanding respect and prestige, in the localities in which they work should be sent everywhere and the people kept in live contact with the progress of our fight for Swaraj. So high must be the character that our propagandists possess with the people, that they would be always looked upon as earnest servants of the Country, capable of giving intelligent guidance on every matter, and at the same time, sound exponents of politics and economics.

Thus, the Constitution as a political slogan and the boycott of British and foreign goods as an economic war-cry, the Congress should launch forth on a campaign of unparalleled propaganda and agitation for Swaraj. With a country re-awakened to a sense of its

rights, re-united and re-organised, it would be easy to wrest freedom from unwilling hands.

May I now make a passing reference to a question, which I believe, occupies our attention rather disproportionately to its importance? With my short experience as a member of the Madras Legislative Council, I have come to certain conclusions, which I feel it to be my duty to express on this occasion. Without dilating upon the reasons which forced me to those conclusions, I shall proceed to state them. The Gauhati programme has been found to be unworkable. The programme lacked precision, and I am sorry to have to say it, it is definitely tending to demoralise the Congress party in the Councils. I re-affirm my faith in Mahatmaji's original policy of absolute boycott of all these Councils. For one thing we may all concentrate on work outside in the Country which suffers enormously owing to the time taken up in attending to Council work. But, somehow, Mahatmaji's policy is today not in public favour. If we must contest Council Elections, what we should do after entering the councils, is the only question. I entirely agree with Mr. Srinivasa Ayyengar that the elected Members should abstain from attending the Councils except for retaining their seats. Whatever be the shortcomings of this programme, it seems to me to be the least objectionable. But if the opinion in this Congress is against Mahatmaji's suggestion and Mr. Srinivasa Ayyengar's, I must ask for a logical and workable programme. No alternative occurs to me except the removal of the Gauhati ban, so that Congressmen may have freedom to so manage their affairs in the Councils as to obtain the maximum advantage to their cause. Congressmen should think many times before taking this step. It means the adoption of the policy which has been very clumsily described as Responsive Co-operation. It means the final and professed abandonment of the original policy of non-co-operation. It is our duty carefully to consider whether such a serious step is warranted by the necessities of the present situation. Ought we to forswear even this remnant of a great policy; and if so in favour of which alternative? While, on the one hand we are proclaiming a new boycott, that of the Statutory Commission, shall we end by raising another to which we gave loyal adherence for a number of years? I invite the congressmen to ponder over the consequences of this step. I appeal to you to preserve the spirit of 1920; and

not to throw it up merely because your statesmanship cannot devise appropriate media for carrying it out. Remember the detenues of Bengal; remember the tone of Lord Birkenhead's speech before you think of co-operation. For, it is clear to my mind, that the alternative to non-co-operation is co-operation; the hybrid has produced anarchy. With great humility, I venture to suggest that the only policy which will meet the present delicate situation is the one which permits us to enter the councils but forbids us to sit there.

Fellow-Delegates, it is now my pleasant duty to congratulate you on the excellence of your choice of President. No more appropriate selection could have been made. Throughout next year, the country would be engaged in a keen fight for Swaraj, which would require the hearty co-operation of all communities for its successful termination. Dr. Ansari is a symbol of such co-operation. With the unique advantage of a long experience of public affairs in India, and of the unquestioning confidence of every section of Indian people, he will be in a position to lead us to our goal of Swaraj.

VANDE MATHARAM.

Presidential Address

By

Dr. M. A. ANSARI

Fellow-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I find it difficult to put into words my deep sense of gratitude at the confidence you have placed in me by calling upon me to preside over the deliberations of the Indian National Congress, at this critical juncture in the history of our struggle for freedom. This meeting of the Congress, at Madras, takes me back to the day—more than a quarter of a century ago—when as an under-graduate, full of hope and enthusiasm, I had my first glimpse of our great national gathering. Little did I dream then that in that very city it would fall to my lot to occupy the chair which has been filled in the past by some of the greatest sons of India. Our National movement has increased in force and volume since those days. The political awakening of the people has become widespread, the intensity of the struggle has become more severe and, with the march of time, the problems we are called upon to solve have grown more and more complex. The task of your President has, in consequence, become delicate and difficult. It was only the hope that I could count upon your indulgence towards my shortcomings and your generous support in the discharge of my duties that encouraged me to undertake this heavy responsibility.

The inter-dependence of political problems in different countries and the dangers arising out of the economic and political bondage of India to the peaceful progress of

humanity at large, specially to the interests of the workers in Great Britain, are being gradually realised and while Imperialist and Capitalist interests are carrying on an organised campaign of misrepresentation and vilification against India in order to justify and perpetuate its exploitation and subservience, the presence, among us today, of the distinguished fraternal delegates from across the seas, gives hope that fellow-victims of Imperialism and Capitalism in other parts of the world have begun to appreciate the necessity of closer co-operation and joint action to fight the common enemy. I offer these friends a sincere and cordial welcome on behalf of the Indian National Congress and the people of India.

A matter of greater pleasure and satisfaction to me is that my appeal for a reunited Congress has met with such a generous response. I rejoice to find among us once more veterans and tried champions whose names are inseparably associated with India's fight for freedom. I cordially welcome all these comrades and fellow-workers back to the fold of the Congress and hope and pray that, as in the past so in the future, the country will derive the fullest benefit from their services.

India and Imperialism

In the statement I published sometime back I had touched upon the salient features of the existing political situation and briefly expressed my own views regarding the most effective method of dealing with it. I do not, therefore, propose to address you at great length today. But even in a brief survey we must take into account every issue that has a direct bearing on the furtherance of our political programme. All schools of political thought in India are agreed that the goal of our activities is a free and Self-governing India, offering equal opportunities to all and recognising and guaranteeing the just and legitimate rights of all sections and classes, at peace within herself and friendly with the rest of the world. Indians do not claim anything more or less than that they shall occupy the same position and enjoy the same rights in their country as free people do in their own. If this can be achieved within the Empire they have no desire to break away from it but if the Imperial connection stands in the way of our reaching the goal we should not hesitate to sever that connection. Our

motto, in the words of Mahatma Gandhi, should be "within the Empire if possible, without if necessary".

I do not minimise the difficulties in our path. They are many but none so formidable as the one arising out of the aggressiveness of Imperialism and the greed of High Finance, the two most fruitful sources of trouble and misery in the world today. Empires are carved and nations are deprived of their liberties to satisfy the Imperialist ambition and to monopolise resources in raw materials to feed the factories in Europe and to secure exclusive markets for their output.

Politicians and statesmen wax eloquent over the "*mission civilisatrice*" and the "white man's burden" but none has exposed the hollowness of these professions better than Cecil Rhodes, the great pioneer of Imperialism in South Africa, when he said "pure philanthropy is very well in its way but philanthropy plus five per cent is a good deal better." Joseph Chamberlain, that High Priest of Imperialism, was more outspoken. "The Empire" he said, "is commerce", and India, he was frank enough to add, was "by far the greatest and the most valuable of all the customers we have or ever shall have". The history of this philanthropic burglary on the part of Europe is written in blood and suffering from Congo to Canton. The steel-frame theory of government, the arrogant claims to trusteeship of dumb millions and the newly-invented illusion to cloak the pre-war Concert of Europe, known as the League of Nations, are but different manifestations of the same spirit. So long as these dangerous doctrines are pursued the sources of human misery shall endure. India holds in her hands the remedy for this universal misfortune, for, she is the key-stone of the arch of Imperialism. Once India is free the whole edifice will collapse. The best guarantee for the freedom of Asia and the peace of the world, is a free and self-governing India.

Congress Policies.

The problem then is how to free India. For over a generation the leaders of public opinion in the country advocated and practised a policy of complete co-operation with the Government. That policy was doomed to failure from its very inception. Co-operation is possible between groups with common ideals. Where objects pursued are diametrically opposed there can be no co-operation. Co-operation in such circumstances can only mean surrender of the most cherished ideals on the part of the weak to

the wishes and desires of the strong. The difference between the ideals of the two nations is nowhere brought out more vividly or in greater relief than in the report of the late Mr. Montagu, a Liberal Secretary of State for India, noted for his Pro-Indian sympathies. The report, which forms the basis of the Government of India Act of 1919, while promising progressive realisation of responsible government and extending lavish hopes for the future, clearly lays down "it seems to us axiomatic that there cannot be a completely representative and responsible Government of India on an equal footing with the other self-governing units of the British Commonwealth until the component States whose people it represents and to whom it is responsible, or at least the great majority of them, have themselves reached the stage of full responsible Government. *Nor even then can we say that the form or the degree of responsibility which will be reached in India will exactly correspond to that attained by the Dominions.* The final form of India's constitution must be evolved out of the conditions of India, and must be materially affected by the need for securing Imperial responsibilities."

If, however, our rulers forsake their divine mission of civilising "the inferior races" and cease to act the executors of the decrees of providence, if they realise that a friendly and free India will be a better customer than a sullen and hostile dependency kept under political and economic bondage, in short if they recognise that there are civilisations and cultures equally good, it not better than their own, if they cease to think in terms of the ruler and the ruled and are prepared to meet us on terms of equality, it will then be time for us to revise our views on Co-operation.

An alternative policy advocated, on the set-back received by the Non-co-operation Movement, was to capture the Councils and by creating constitutional deadlocks, force the Government to yield to the wishes of the people. The advocates of this policy, however, failed to give its proper weight to the fact that the limitations imposed by the Government of India Act of 1919, rendered all such opposition ineffective and the creation of constitutional deadlocks a practical impossibility. They, no less than the advocates of the policy of Co-operation, should have realised that an ultra-constitutional issue could not be fought on a strictly constitutional plane. In a trial of strength there can be no hope of success if your

opponent is also the referee. Practical experience has demonstrated the futility of such a policy even in provinces, where, the believers in this method commanded a majority. They undoubtedly succeeded in exposing the hollowness of the so-called Reforms and by preventing the Government from packing legislatures with "safe" persons, they made it impossible for the rulers to present their autocratic and high-handed actions as representing the declared will of the people expressed through its chosen representatives. But all this has not materially advanced our cause nor has it brought us any nearer our goal, while the price paid for it is too dear. It has diverted the energies of some of our ablest men from problems of real national importance. The Council Programme, adopted at a time of depression, was professedly in the nature of an experiment. We gave it a trial and if it has not fulfilled our expectations there is no reason to feel discouraged or dissatisfied. Let us revise our policy in the light of our past experience.

There are no two opinions regarding our goal. We all desire to see India free and self-governing. For the achievement of our object we are not wedded to any particular policy nor do we consider any programme *sacrosanct* or binding for ever. We have to judge a policy or a programme by its suitability to our peculiar social and political conditions, by its practicability and by the results which it is likely to give within a measurable period of time. We have now before us the results of the three experiments made by the Congress during the last forty years. We gave an unbroken period of thirty five years to Co-operation, about a year and a half to Non-co-operation and four years to the policy of Obstruction within the Councils and Constitutional Deadlocks. We can, at this stage, appraise the real value of each programme and judge the comparative merits and demerits of each. Co-operation has led us nowhere. Obstruction within the Councils has not given us any better result. Non-co-operation certainly did not achieve all that was expected of it but it was through our own weakness and inability to rise to the high level demanded by it and not through any inherent defect of that policy. Non-co-operation did not fail us, we failed Non-co-operation. We did receive an unquestionable and a serious set-back in the first encounter. I also admit that in the present atmosphere of mutual suspicion and hatred

created by deplorable communal quarrels and with the whole country divided into hostile political camps and factious groups, there is no prospect of an immediate resumption of Non-co-operation. The spirit of Non-co-operation, however, has come to stay as a potent force in Indian politics and as I have said elsewhere "I feel as certain as ever that apart from any very extraordinary and unexpected occurrences we shall win back our freedom only by self-discipline, self-organisation and self-help and through a movement in which we would be obliged to resort to direct action in some shape or form. I firmly believe that India is only recuperating from the moral and material effects of a disastrous war and would soon emerge once more resuscitated and re-juvenated to attain what it is destined to attain."

How best then can we help this process of resuscitation and rejuvenation and prepare ourselves for the next encounter? It is my unshakable belief that this cannot be done unless we have established Unity in the Country, Unity in the Congress and Unity in the Councils, if people must still make use of them. Differences of opinion are inevitable. They have existed and will continue to exist. What we have to learn is the stage at which these differences, if persisted in, become injurious to the general interest of the country. We must learn to differentiate between personal prestige and public weal and to sacrifice individual gain to the collective good.

UNITY IN THE COUNTRY

HINDU-MUSLIM RELATIONS

There is no feature of the Indian political situation more disquieting than the shameful quarrels between Hindus and Mussalmans. No language can be too strong to condemn murderous assaults and callous destruction of life and property in riotings which occur with such painful frequency. Hardly a day passes when we do not hear of some violent outburst of communal fury in one part of the country or the other leaving its legacy of bitterness and hatred threatening to reduce the country to one vast camp of warring communal factions bent on destroying each other. It is due to this that the Congress itself has lost in popularity. It is being relegated in many Provinces to a secondary position and preference is being given to communal organisations specially those which are

militant. This state of affairs must not be allowed to continue any longer. The problem of Hindu Muslim differences must be solved once and for all and there is no organisation more competent and better fitted to put an end to it than the Indian National Congress.

While attempting to solve the Hindu Muslim question we should not, however, mistake the symptom for the disease. The political and religious differences which are straining the relations between the two Communities are but outward manifestations of a deeper conflict, not peculiar to India or unknown to history. It is essentially a problem of two different cultures, each with its own out-look on life, coming in close contact with one another. The best remedy lies in a recognition of the right of each culture to exist, in a development of a spirit of tolerance and respect and in the encouragement and cultivation of cultural affinity by the establishment of national institutions where young people of both the communities will come into touch with each other and get opportunities to study and understand the ideals underlying the civilisations of both. The educated Indian is forced by circumstances to study European culture but knows next to nothing about the culture of his fellow-countryman living next door. It is time this dangerous isolation and colossal ignorance were ended. With greater knowledge of each other's deep-rooted sentiments and sympathy for each other's ideals, questions of separate representation, cow slaughter and music before mosques will become matters of the past, of interest only to research scholars of Indian History.

In the meantime, we cannot afford to minimise or neglect the problem which faces us today. There are certain fundamental facts which it will be well for Hindus and Mussalmans to remember. They should not forget that they are Indians destined to live in India and die in India. Providence has bound their fates together indissolubly. If there be any Hindu brother of mine who imagines that he can get rid of seventy millions of his Muslim fellow-countrymen he is labouring under a great delusion and the sooner he is disillusioned the better for him and the country. Similarly, if any Muslim brother of mine is dreaming of lording it over two hundred and fifty millions of his Hindu countrymen he is living in a fool's paradise and the sooner he opens his eyes the better for the Muslim com-

munity and India. The Swaraj we are striving for will be neither Hindu Raj nor Muslim Raj. It will be a Joint Raj protecting the just and legitimate rights and privileges of all. Perpetual warfare cannot be the normal state of human society. The worker in the communal cause apparently wishes to improve the economic, political and educational position of his community. With this I have no quarrel. But for any solid and lasting good to be done either to a group or to a nation, tranquillity and peace are essential conditions. Violent communal outbursts may benefit any other party, they certainly cannot benefit the country nor do they serve even exclusive communal interests. Instead of resorting to these barbarous methods of settling differences I would appeal to my countrymen to make use of the great national tribunal, the custodian of the rights and privileges of all sections and communities inhabiting this country, the Indian National Congress, for the protection of their rights and the redress of their grievances.

A subject people trying to shake off foreign domination cannot afford to carry on an internecine struggle. We cannot in one breath talk of freedom and such communalism, for, they are the very antithesis of each other. It would be difficult for an outside observer to believe in the genuineness of our demand when he observes the fratricidal war we are waging today. Our very patriotism begins to appear a sham. In our efforts to gain a little advantage here and a little advantage there over our rivals, we are unconsciously playing into the hands of the common adversary whose position is being strengthened everyday. Can we not all with one joint effort and determination get rid of this degrading mentality? Self-respect, even self-interest requires us to enlarge our vision and look beyond momentary and sectional advantage to the lasting national gain.

HINDU-MUSLIM DIFFERENCES

The causes of communal antagonism exercising the minds of the leaders of the two communities as brought out at the various Unity Conferences crystallise themselves into two distinct groups—political and religious.

POLITICAL DIFFERENCES

It will serve no useful purpose to enter into a description of how the Mussalmans, fearing that the sense of

political responsibility of the majority was not sufficiently advanced to trust it with the protection of their rights, demanded separate representation and separate electorates. It is a matter of past history and every one in this assembly is fully aware of it. It is enough for our present purpose to state that, realising the disastrous consequences recent developments were likely to lead to, the Indian National Congress, at its annual session last year at Gauhati, called upon the All-India Congress Committee, to devise measures for a settlement of the trouble in these terms:—

“This Congress calls upon the Working Committee to take immediate steps in consultation with the Hindu and Mussalman leaders to devise measures for the removal of the present deplorable disturbances between Hindus and Mussalmans and submit a report to the All-India Congress Committee, not later than the 31st March, 1927. This Congress authorises the All-India Congress Committee, to issue the necessary instructions in that behalf to all Congressmen in the country and take such other steps as it may deem fit after consideration of the said report.”

The President got into touch with the leaders of public opinion in both the communities. He travelled extensively all over the country to mobilise the good sense and active co-operation of both communities and, finally, arranged a series of conversations at Delhi. It is a great tribute to the sincerity, zeal and indefatigable energy of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, that a formula for settlement of outstanding political differences was at last discovered. I would be lacking in my duty if I did not place on record the appreciation of the Indian National Congress of the spirit of patriotism and statesmanship displayed by the Muslim leaders who rose above prejudice, suspicion and narrow communal outlook and boldly came forward with the proposals which presage a new orientation of Muslim policy in India.

The Working Committee, at its meeting held on the 15th May, “considered the proposals made by representative Muslim leaders who met in Delhi, on the 20th March last, as well as the opinion of the Hindu Maha Sabha and other Hindu organisations and the opinions of other leaders and representatives of both communities” and submitted its report to the All-India Congress Committee on the 16th May, 1927. The resolution, embodying the recommendations of the Working Committee, passed by the All-India Congress Committee,

with the unanimous support of all the members present including some of the foremost leaders of the Hindu Maha Sabha, speaks volumes for the political sagacity of the Committee and was a personal triumph for the President and his great powers of persuasion.

"The A. I. C. C. approves and adopts the report of the Working Committee on the Hindu-Moslem question and the recommendations contained therein and calls upon all Congress organisations to take necessary steps to have the following recommendations carried out:—

(1) JOINT ELECTORATES.

That in any future scheme of constitution, so far as representation in the various legislatures is concerned, joint electorates in all the provinces and in the Central Legislature be constituted.

(2) RESERVATION OF SEATS.

That, with a view to give full assurances to the two great communities that their legitimate interests will be safeguarded in the Legislatures for the present, and if desired, such representation of the communities should be secured by the reservation of seats in joint electorates on the basis of population in every province and in the Central Legislature:

Provided that reciprocal concessions in favour of minorities including the Sikhs in the Punjab may be made by mutual agreement so as to give them representation in excess of the proportion of the number of seats to which they would be entitled on the population basis in any province or provinces, and the proportions so agreed upon for the provinces shall be maintained in the representation of the two communities in the Central Legislature from the provinces.

(3) a. N. W. F. PROVINCE AND BRITISH BALUCHISTAN.

That the proposal made by the Muslim leaders that reforms should be introduced in the N. W. F. Province and British Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces is, in the opinion of the Committee, a fair and reasonable one, and should be given effect to, care being taken that simultaneously with other measures of administrative reform an adequate system of judicial administration shall be introduced in the said provinces.

(3) b. SEPARATION OF SIND FROM BOMBAY.

(i) That with regard to the proposal that Sind should be constituted into a separate province, this Committee is of opinion that the time has come for the redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis—a principle that has been adopted by the constitution of the Congress.

(ii) The Committee is also of opinion that such readjustment of provinces be immediately taken in hand and that any province which demands such reconstitution on linguistic basis be dealt with accordingly.

(iii) The Committee is further of opinion that a beginning may be made by constituting Andhra, Sind and Karnatak into separate provinces.

(4) LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.

That, in the future Constitution, liberty of conscience shall be guaranteed and no legislature, central or provincial, shall have power to make any laws interfering with liberty of conscience.

"Liberty of Conscience" means liberty of belief and worship, freedom of religious observances and association and freedom to carry on religious education and propaganda with due regard to the feelings of others and without interfering with similar rights of others.

(5) INTER-COMMUNAL MATTERS.

That no Bill, Resolution, Motion or Amendment regarding intercommunal matters shall be moved, discussed or passed in any legislature, Central or Provincial if a three-fourths majority of the members of either community affected thereby in that legislature oppose the introduction, discussion or passing of such Bill, Resolution, Motion or Amendment.

"Inter-communal matters," means matters agreed upon as such by a Joint Standing Committee of both communities, of the Hindu and Moslem members of the legislatures concerned, appointed at the commencement of every session of the legislature."

This resolution is a great advance on the Lucknow Pact, of 1916, which has so far regulated Hindu-Muslim relations. Its terms are so clear that there is no need of any further comment from me. I should, however, like to emphasise the importance of the decision regarding joint electorates. The one great cause of friction so far has been separate electorates. If the success of a candidate at elections depends entirely on the votes of his co-religionists the tendency to exaggerate and accentuate points of communal friction and division in order to catch votes is inevitable. The resolution, while making the fullest possible allowance for the fear of minorities regarding adequate protection, by reservation of seats, presents fresh opportunities for the development of a spirit of friendliness and mutual confidence, the best augury for a United India.

The acceptance of the principle of representation on the basis of population puts our electoral system on a just and equitable basis. It puts an end, on the one hand, to the dissatisfaction felt at the preferential treatment accorded to minorities and, on the other, removes the grievance of the majorities in Bengal and the Punjab which were reduced to minorities. At the same time, the special interests of minorities have been safeguarded by the provision that if a threefourths majority of their representatives opposes any measure affecting its interests it shall not be even discussed or moved.

The right of the Indian National Congress to settle communal differences has been challenged in certain quarters. It has been contended that the Congress has no jurisdiction in inter-communal matters, whether political or religious. I hold that no communal organisation or organisations put together can supersede the Congress or enjoy even a parallel jurisdiction. The Indian National Congress is not meant for registering the decrees issued by the different communal organisations. It is primarily and essentially the only organisation that can deal with such matters and hold the balance even between community and community. If leaders of communal groups can come to a just and amicable agreement on any questions agitating the minds of their respective communities the Congress would unhesitatingly welcome it. But if they fail to arrive at an agreement the Congress as the paramount national organisation must step in and perform its obvious duty of adjusting communal relations and preserving communal peace and harmony undeterred by petulant threats and challenges from angry and disgruntled communalists.

RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES

So far as political differences are concerned the Congress adopted a satisfactory formula for their solution at Bombay. But religious and social points of difference still remained to be settled and the President gave the leaders of the two communities an opportunity at Simla, to come to an agreement on them. When the protracted negotiations ended in a fiasco the president took advantage of the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee to be held at Calcutta and issued invitations to prominent Hindu and Muslim leaders to give the Committee the benefit of their advice and help him and the Committee to complete the good work begun at Bombay. The result of these efforts is summed up in the two resolutions passed at the Unity Conference and adopted by the All-India Congress Committee.

1. **CONVERSION.**—"The All-India Congress Committee resolves that every individual or group is at liberty to convert or reconvert another by argument or persuasion but no individual or group shall attempt to do so, or prevent its being done, by force, fraud or other unfair means such as the offering of material inducement. Persons under eighteen years of age should not be converted unless it be along with their parents or guardians. If any person under eighteen years of age is found stranded without his parents or guardian by persons of another faith, he should be promptly

handed over to persons of his own faith. There must be no secrecy as to the person, place, time or manner about any conversion or reconversion, nor should there be any demonstration or jubilation in support of any conversion or reconversion.

"Whenever any complaint is made in respect of any conversion or reconversion, that it was effected in secrecy or by force, fraud or other unfair means, or whenever any person under eighteen years of age is converted, the matter shall be enquired into and decided by arbitrators who shall be appointed by the Working Committee either by name or under general regulations."

2. COW AND MUSIC. "The All-India Congress Committee, while approving of the following resolution on the Cow and Music question as a fair settlement of opposite demands and points-of-view, authorises members of the Congress to carry on propaganda among Hindus and Muslims along the lines indicated in the resolution and calls upon the Working Committee to appoint a Sub-committee for the purpose of carrying on such propaganda :

And further resolves that the resolution do come up for confirmation at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee and the Congress to be held in Madras :—

Whereas no community in India should impose or seek to impose its religious obligations or religious views upon any other community but the free profession and practice of religion should, subject to public order and morality be guaranteed to every community and person.

Hindus are at liberty to take processions and play music before any mosque at any time for religious or other purposes but there should be no stoppage of the processions nor special demonstrations in front of a mosque nor shall the songs or music sung or played in front of a mosque be such as is calculated to cause annoyance or special disturbance to the worshippers in the mosque.

Muslims are at liberty to sacrifice cows or, subject to existing municipal laws regulating the slaughter of animals for purposes of food, to slaughter cows, in any town or village, in any place not being a thoroughfare nor one in the vicinity of a temple or a *sanctuary* nor one exposed to the gaze of Hindus.

Cows should not be led in procession or in demonstration for sacrifice or slaughter.

Having regard to the deep-rooted sentiment of the Hindu community in the matter of cow-killing, the Muslim community is earnestly appealed to, so to conduct the cow sacrifice or slaughter as not to cause annoyance to the Hindus of the town or village concerned.

"Whenever a complaint is made that any of the provisions of this resolution have been contravened, it shall be enquired into and decided by arbitrators appointed by the Working Committee by name or under general regulations and their decision shall be final."

Efforts at composing communal differences in the past have been handicapped by attempts on the part of one

community to impose restrictions on the enjoyment of its rights by the other. The result was that instead of removing mistrust and suspicion and creating a respect for each other's religious sentiments the solution generally led to a further intensification of the strife. The resolutions of the All-India Congress Committee are based on the recognition of complete freedom of each community to enjoy its rights subject to minimum restrictions necessary for peaceful corporate social life. The fear of any curtailment of their rights having been once removed, an appeal to the higher sentiments of the two communities, to their spirit of toleration and forbearance, is bound to have greater chance of success. It is not impossible that each community may even voluntarily forego a portion of the enjoyment of its rights out of regard for the sentiments and feelings of the other.

The Congress has given a definite lead. It has described a potent remedy to eradicate the communal canker which has been eating into the very vitals of our body politic. It is now for us Congressmen to carry on a vigorous propaganda to explain and popularise these resolutions and to bring them home to the Hindu and Muslim public all over the country. I earnestly appeal to every well-wisher of India, irrespective of his political creed, to lend a helping hand to the Congress in this noble cause. Specially do I appeal to the Press of the country to realise its great responsibility in the matter. There is no other agency which plays such an important part in the moulding of public opinion and the regulation of inter-communal relations. It is a powerful instrument for good or for evil and I regret to say that throughout this unhappy communal crisis, our Press, especially the vernacular Press, has not exercised its influence for the good. With very few noble exceptions it has actually fanned the flames of conflict and shown a lamentable lack in the discharge of its duties. I cannot have any complaint against the Anglo-Indian newspapers. They naturally serve the interests that maintain them. But is it too much to expect from our own journals and journalists that they will subordinate their selfish considerations to the supreme interest of common national good and ally themselves with forces working for the restoration of concord and amity? The conduct of News-Agencies in the country has not been altogether satisfac-

tory either. Let us hope that they too will contribute their share to the restoration and maintenance of unity in the country. Let us all realise that it is a matter of life and death for us and on the success of our efforts to achieve unity in the country depends the whole future of India.

If I have discussed at length the question of Hindu-Muslim differences it is because like the ubiquitous microbe it has infected every sphere of our national activity. I am conscious that the question of Hindu-Muslim relations is only a part of the broader problem of the rights of minorities and backward classes. The Sikh in the North and the non-Brahmanas in the South and the so-called Depressed Classes all over India, equally deserve our close attention. I do not propose to deal at length with the Sikhs or on the non-Brahmanas but I cannot resist the temptation of putting in a plea on behalf of the millions of "untouchables". The removal of untouchability, although a problem essentially for our Hindu brothers to solve, must still be a matter of the deepest concern to every Indian inasmuch as the presence of such a large section of our fellow-countrymen suffering under grievous social and political disabilities cannot but retard our efforts for the emancipation of our country.

Unity in the Congress

Next in importance to the re establishment of communal harmony is the question of the reorganisation of the Congress on a wider basis. The setback we received in the Non-co-operation movement told heavily on the Congress. The keen enthusiasm of the palmy days of 1920 and 1921, when every city and every village had a Congress committee of its own, began to cool down and, with the outbreak of communal dissensions gave place to apathy and in cases, fortunately rare, to open hostility to the Congress. The communal question having been settled on the lines of the Bombay and Calcutta resolutions measures must be adopted to make the Congress franchise popular and to induce all communities to join the Congress in large numbers. I am glad our non-Brahmana friends have decided to come back to us and it gives me great pleasure to see them so well represented here today. It is, however, a matter of deep regret that the number of Muslims and Sikhs has dwindled

considerably. The case of the Parsis, who took such a leading part in the early life of the Congress, is worse still. I wish particularly to address the Indian Christians who have so far kept themselves aloof as a body from the Congress. I should like to tell them that if they are under the impression that they can serve the interests of their community by remaining outside the Congress they should take a lesson from the experience of my co-religionists. The Mussalmans of India allied themselves with forces other than national for a number of years and after bitter experience found out that they could advance their interests only by joining the Indian National Congress and making common cause with the rest of their countrymen. The Indian Christians will serve their community better by giving up their policy of isolation and adopting an Indian national outlook. I should like to see every section of our people entering into a healthy rivalry to contribute its share to the conduct of national affairs through the Congress. The doors of the Congress should be thrown wide open to all parties and we should stop at nothing short of a surrender of basic principles to bring back every party to the Congress. Differences of opinion are bound to exist but the best and the only place to fight them out is and should be the common platform of the mother of all political organisations in India, the Indian National Congress. Each party has an unrestricted right and opportunity to convince the Congress of the correctness of its point-of-view and to enlist the support of the majority for the policy it advocates. If the majority rightly or wrongly fails to appreciate the correctness of that policy, until we have found a substitute for the rule of majorities, the only democratic and workable principle is to respect the decision of the majority. This does not mean that the minority loses its right to continue its endeavours to convert itself into the majority. Differences in detail or method should not be made the occasion of secession from the parent organisation and the setting up of a separate party outside. Multiplicity of parties on minor differences is bad enough for countries already free and independent. We, who are fighting for our elemental rights, cannot afford to indulge in the luxury of a cramping and complicated system of parties. A great responsibility rests on the shoulders of the Indian *intelligenza* whose duty it is to educate the masses to a realisation of their rights and privileges. The confusion caused

by the existence of a number of parties leads to distraction and the great work of the uplift of the masses remains neglected. Let us concentrate on the largest common measure of agreement rather than emphasise points of disagreement. After all the points on which we agree are many and those on which we disagree but few.

UNITY IN THE COUNCILS

I do not believe in the Councils. At the same time I am aware that the Congress has permitted its members, if they so desire, to enter the Councils and a considerable number of my fellow-workers believe that they can render useful service to the country from inside them. To all these I humbly suggest that if they must go to the Councils the least that the country expects of them is that instead of allowing their opponents to take advantage of the division in their ranks they will join forces with other nationalist groups to form a people's Party of Opposition and present a united front. As it is, on a majority of problems the various nationalist groups have been invariably found in the same lobby. The instructions issued by the Congress for work inside the Councils can form a good basis for unity of action. Should any alterations in these instructions be found necessary to facilitate joint action it is always open to any group to come to the Congress and press its viewpoint. And whatever decision the Congress gives should be loyally obeyed by all.

THE STATUTORY COMMISSION

"In the good old days" we always looked forward with eagerness to the conferring of "boons" by our rulers. Well, Providence in its "merciful dispensation" has conferred upon us a real boon in the shape of the Statutory Commission. The manner in which the declared wishes and sentiments of the Indian people have been contemptuously disregarded should serve as an eye-opener even to the most confirmed optimist among us. It is the strongest and the most convincing plea for the sinking of our differences and closing up of our ranks. Much has been said and written on the Commission but little, as it seems to me, which touches the heart of the matter. Keen disappointment and surprise have been expressed at the exclusion of Indians from its personnel. I must confess I do not share any of these feelings. I am neither disappointed nor surprised. This was exactly

what I had anticipated. It is not a question of the appointment of a Hindu peer or a Muslim knight nor is it a question whether Indians should participate in its work as members, assessors or advisors. The principle involved is totally different. It is basic and fundamental. No sane or self-respecting Indian can ever admit the claim of Great Britain to be the sole judge of the measure and time of India's political advance. We alone know our needs and requirements best, and ours must be the decisive voice in the determination of our future. It is our inherent and inalienable right. Taking its stand on these principles the Congress has all along advocated the convening of a Round Table Conference of the representatives of India and Great Britain, with plenipotentiary powers to decide the bases of the future constitution of India, to be incorporated into an Act of Parliament. It is only on these conditions that Indians can consistently with national honour and dignity agree to co-operate. Until Great Britain accepts these terms the Indian National Congress has no other alternative but to ask the people of India to treat the Statutory Commission as our Egyptian brothers treated the Milner mission, and leave it severely alone. We can have no part or lot in a Commission which has been appointed in direct defiance of the declared will of the people of India.

NEED FOR A CONSTITUTION

The advent of the Statutory Commission should not divert our attention from the work of framing a constitution for India. The need for it had been felt for a long time and at the Bombay meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, the Working Committee was called upon to draw up, in consultation with leaders of political thought in the country, a suitable constitution for India. A constitution of this nature would remove suspense and doubt from the minds of the different communities regarding their position and status in the final political arrangement of the country. It would rally the different political parties round the Congress and prove of incalculable value in the education of the people in their political rights and privileges, telling them in exact language what they are called upon to fight for. Nor can we under-rate its value in strengthening our hands generally in our struggle for the achievement of Swaraj.

To frame a constitution for a people consisting of

320 million souls, professing different religions and speaking different languages, will be the most unique and gigantic experiment in democracy ever attempted. The task of the framers will be further complicated by the presence of Indian States exercising sovereign rights in their territories. Whatever be the final form of the constitution one thing may be said with some degree of certainty, that it will have to be on federal lines providing for a United States of India with existing Indian States as autonomous units of the Federation taking their proper share in the defence of the country, in the regulation of the nation's foreign affairs and other joint and common interests.

As soon as the Draft Constitution is ready the Congress should take steps to call a National Convention consisting of representatives of all interests, communities and political parties to consider it and give it a final shape.

THE DETENUES

The greatest misfortune that can befall a people is to lose its independence. Patriotism, universally accepted as one of the highest forms of virtue in a free people, is condemned as a vile crime in a subject race. There are very few in the ranks of our public workers who have not, at one time or another, paid the penalty of patriotic sentiments by being consigned to prison as ordinary felons. It is not possible to give the exact number of the victims of lawlessness perpetrated in the name of peace and order, but taking into account only those sentenced in the Komagata Maru Case, the Martial Law prisoners in the Punjab where boys of 10 and 11 years were condemned to transportation for life for "waging war" against the King, those incarcerated during the days of Non-co-operation, the Sikhs imprisoned in connection with the Akali Movement, and the large number of Moplahs punished and deported in 1922, the total swells to the staggering figure of 60,000. These 60,000, however, had the semblance of a trial in Ordinary Courts, Special Tribunals or the Martial Law Courts. The most tragic case is that of the hundreds of unfortunate young men who, for no other crime than the love they bore their country, have been condemned to a lingering death in the prime of their life, without even the mockery of a trial or the framing of a charge, under the

provisions of that relic of legal antiquity, Regulation III of 1818, or that cruel weapon of coercion and repression forged in 1924, the Bengal Ordinance, subsequently put on the Statute Book under the dignified appellation of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1926. The story of the detenues of Bengal reads like a page from the history of the Middle Ages, with this difference that while in the Middle Ages the moral consciousness of the world was not so well developed and the standard of civilisation was not so high, the tragedy of Bengal is being enacted in the twentieth century when the sense of justice and moral standards of right and wrong are several centuries in advance of medievalism and by people who claim to be the torch-bearers of civilisation. It is the most damning confession of moral bankruptcy when the Government have not got the courage to bring these young men before their own law courts to be tried by their own judges and in accordance with the laws promulgated by themselves. I warn the Government against the consequences of the bitter conclusions such cruel persecution is burning into the very soul of the nation. Other governments have tried repression to crush the spirit of freedom, and for the result one has only to point to Russia and Ireland. Even the most credulous among us would find it difficult to have any faith in the genuineness of the professed intentions of the Government with regard to the future of India and the high-sounding principles enunciated in that connection, when elementary rights of citizenship and liberty of person are so flagrantly violated every day. Restoration to liberty of these young men would be some indication of the advent of a better spirit in the regulation of the relations between India and Great Britain. Our efforts should not be confined merely to the release of these unhappy detenues but a repetition of a similar outrage on the inviolable rights of citizenship in the future should be made impossible by incorporating in the fundamental laws of the country a Declaration of Rights guaranteeing to every citizen liberty of person, liberty of speech, liberty of association, and liberty of conscience.

Closely associated with the question of the detenues is the question of Indian nationalists compelled to live in exile in foreign lands. We may disagree with their methods of work in the past but the abnormal conditions

which impelled them to adopt that course of action, have disappeared and there is no longer any reason why they should be denied the right to return to the country of their birth and to serve it peacefully.

It is not detenues and exiles alone who suffer. Ordinary citizens are being deprived of their freedom of movement and their right of ingress and egress is being tampered with through an ingenious administration of the regulations relating to the grant of passports. Passports have become one more weapon in the hands of the bureaucracy to be used against us. India has been turned into a vast internment camp and a number of Indians abroad have been successfully locked out. Respectable citizens have been prevented from leaving India even for purposes of health, business or travel. It will, perhaps, be difficult to find a more glaring example of the abuse of these regulations than in the cancellation of the passport of Mr. Shapurji Saklatwalla, M.P. Considered worthy of the highest honour and position of trust in England by the suffrage of English citizens, he has been declared unfit to enter the land of his birth. These disabilities must go and the fetters of the prison removed altogether.

INDIA AND ASIA

The task before us, as I have already pointed out, is to put India on her feet. It goes without saying that we must primarily and mainly depend on our own resources and organisation to solve our problem but it will greatly facilitate our task if we cease to view our problems as purely local. We have long committed the blunder of looking at them in an exclusively Indian setting. It is time we studied them in their international aspect and took note of every factor in world politics which has a bearing on them. The chief defaulters in this respect have been our Hindu brethren. Perhaps their peculiar social system and the self-sufficiency of the country fostered an outlook of isolation. When the British appeared on the scene they were not slow to take advantage of this spirit of isolation and turn it into a segregation so full and complete as effectively to cut us off from the rest of the world. So thorough was the blockade that we were kept in utter ignorance of the condition even of our immediate neighbours. The only contact vouchsafed to us was through London and only to the extent that suited

the convenience of Great Britain. We saw the world through British glasses.

The Mussalman, no doubt, did, now and then, disturb the placid surface of Indian indifference to developments outside. But his interest in world politics being mainly religious the current of national thought flowed as before. Isolation and segregation are no longer possible. Science has annihilated distances and removed barriers. The world has come closer. Events in one part of the world have their immediate repercussion in the other. The interdependence of problems in the different countries of the world has changed the entire conception of national politics. We stand to lose considerably if, without diverting our attention from problems at home, we do not take a practical interest in happenings and developments outside. In the conflict between Europe and Asia, Asia has been worsted because Europe could take concerted action against her piecemeal and defeat her in detail. The only hope of success in our efforts to check the forces of European Imperialism and Capitalism lies in Eastern nations coming closer and taking a more intimate interest in the problems facing them. Fortunately we are so placed that a part of our population has cultural affinity with countries in the west of Asia while another has similar relationship with the countries lying in the East of the continent. Our economic problems are also more or less similar. Common culture and common interest should, therefore facilitate the consummation of the scheme of an Asiatic Federation adumbrated by that great patriot Deshbandu Chittaranjan Das, whom nature had endowed with an imagination to which geographical barriers were no obstacles and a vision which encompassed all the races inhabiting Asia.

A happy beginning was made by the Congress in this direction by participating officially in the 'Congress Against Imperialism' held at Brussels, and by becoming associated with the 'League Against Imperialism'. A more important and practical step taken by the Congress was the proposal of sending a mission to give medical relief and assistance to the people of China in their present struggle. The mission could not go as the Government of India refused to grant passports. The fact that the Government had to shift their ground twice in search of an excuse for the refusal clearly shews that the underlying motive of their decision was other than

what was officially expressed. The plea that it would be a departure from an attitude of strict impartiality to allow a medical mission to go to the assistance of one or the other of the belligerents, is certainly novel. It would, perhaps, have been nearer the truth had it been stated that it would be a departure from an attitude of strict partiality. As a matter of fact it is neutrals alone who can send medical aid to belligerents without let or hindrance. Indeed this principle is the *raison d'être* of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies which have rendered help and assistance in the past. When advancing the plea the Government forgot that fifteen years ago they themselves had given passports to a similar mission sent to Turkey while Great Britain was neutral. It is futile to lodge protests but such set-backs should not deter us from persevering in our efforts.

NATIONAL HEALTH

I have taxed your patience by dwelling at such length on the problems of communal harmony and the unity of political parties for they are of the utmost importance for our national well-being at the present moment. There is, however, another subject which deserves the most serious attention of all those who have the love of India at heart. It might be urged that the problem of National Health, strictly speaking, does not fall within the purview of a political organisation and it is probably for this reason that it has, so far, not received that attention at the hands of the Indian National Congress which it deserves. It has such an important bearing on some of the most vital questions connected with the future of our people as a self-governing nation that I think it is high time the Congress realised its importance in our national economy and directed its attention towards it.

It does not require any great powers of observation to notice that there is a general deterioration in our health which has become specially noticeable during the last fifty years. Without going into any elaborate details a mere comparison between the physique of a young man of the present generation and that of the young men of the past two generations will clearly establish the fact that there has been a steady decline. The men of the past two generations, perhaps less brainy, were comparatively more active, possessed greater powers of endurance, were more courageous and less susceptible

to disease. The contrast becomes more marked when we compare our level of general health with that of any other country in the West. If we examine the causes of this deficiency they would resolve themselves into climatic, social, economic, educational and hygienic.

In a tropical climate, where the heat during the greater part of the year is intense, there is greater general relaxation and quicker exhaustion of the system; hence, for the same number of hours of work a man is more fatigued in the tropics than in temperate and colder regions and yet the working day is longer in India than in the West. There being not enough rest or recreation the Indian worker has not much chance of recoupment while the drain on the system is kept up from day to day. This has a disastrous effect on the period of average life and on the standard of efficiency.

The evils of our peculiar social system are so well-known that it is not necessary for me to dilate upon them. Every worker in the social cause knows the havoc played by seclusion and segregation of our female population, early marriages and rules confining the choice of marriage to a limited circle. The rigidity of the social rules affecting our domestic life is so cramping that it dwarfs the physical and mental growth of the family and has a particularly harmful influence on children. Nature is relentless in its revenge. If we defy the accepted laws of Eugenics our common stock is bound to suffer.

The general economic condition of the workers in the fields and factories, who between themselves constitute more than three-fourths of the total population of the country, is such that it is with difficulty that they can keep body and soul together. They are over-worked and under-paid, ill-fed, ill-clothed and badly-housed. Their power of resistance to disease is so low that they fall easy victims to the ravages of epidemics. Cholera, plague, influenza, small-pox and malaria claim their heavy toll of millions year after year.

The growing evil of drink threatens further to undermine not only the public health of the country but our entire social structure. Forbidden by his religion to the Mussalman and held pernicious by the Hindu, the evil of drink would not have spread so rapidly and extensively had the Government taken a sympathetic attitude towards those who were endeavouring to stop it. On the contrary obstacles were placed in the way of national

workers who wished to eradicate the evil and hundreds of young men who peacefully picketed liquor shops were sent to jail to pay the penalty of their reforming zeal. The arm of law was used to "protect" the liberty of the citizen to intoxicate others and to get intoxicated himself, in order to compensate him for the denial of liberty in the political sphere. Well might India complain, "Some are born drunkards, others contract the habit, and some have drunkenness thrust upon them". The health of the nation may suffer, crime may increase, efficiency of the peasant and the labourer may decrease, their children may starve, but Prohibition cannot be introduced as the deficiency in the budget must be balanced. Is it too much to expect the Government to meet the wishes of the people, at least in this matter, by finding other means to satisfy the requirements of a balanced budget?

The conditions obtaining among the middle and the lower middle classes cause no less anxiety. With limited incomes and forced to maintain a higher standard of life in cities, where living is comparatively dearer, they suffer great hardship indeed. Their hand-to-mouth existence and consequent malnutrition, together with residence in congested, unhealthy areas, makes them particularly susceptible to tuberculosis. The appalling figures of infant mortality and deaths during child-birth, both in rural and urban areas, are matters of great concern and deserve our immediate attention.

These evils are aggravated by a lack of proper provision for health and hygiene. There is much room for improvement in our general standard of cleanliness both in relation to the person and the household. Houses should be built with better provisions for ventilation and light, and with satisfactory sanitary arrangements. Villages and towns should be planned with due regard to water supply, sanitation and conservancy arrangements. Stricter supervision of foodstuffs and better control of markets in every town and village, however small, is another crying need of the country. Medical relief should be organised on a wider scale. By these methods alone can we bring under control all preventable diseases and eradicate them finally.

The question of public health and hygiene is intimately correlated with that of mass education. Unless the mass-mind is prepared by a process of suitable education,

APPENDIX II.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES

List of Members of The Executive Committee of the Reception Committee with their addresses.

Chairman.

Sriman C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar,
13, Sannadhi Street, Mylapore.

Vice-Chairmen

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>.. S. Satyamurti,
2-19, Singarachari Street,
Triplicane.</p> <p>.. C. Arunachalla Mudaliar,
Zamindar of Chunampet.
" Barbican ", Kilpauk.</p> <p>.. A. Rangaswami Iyengar,
Editor, " Hindu "
Mowbray's Road,
Royapettah.</p> <p>.. C. Marudavanam Pillai,
Menangudi Post.</p> <p>Janab M. Jammal Mohamed Sahib,
16, Thambu Chetty St.,
G. T., Madras.</p> <p>.. Syed Murtuza Sahib,
Samsabiram Street,
Trichinopoly.</p> <p>.. Yakoob Hassan Sait,
San Thome, Mylapore.</p> <p>Sriman K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar,
Mirasdar, Srirangam.</p> <p>.. G. V. Venkataramana Iyengar,
Dharma Vilas, Coimbatore.</p> <p>.. Sami Venkatachallam Chettiar,
43, Strotten Muthia
Mudali Street,
George Town, Madras.</p> <p>.. T. V. Venkatarama Iyer,
H. C. Vakil, Everest,
Mylapore.</p> <p>.. T. Adinarayana Chettiar,
Bar-at-law, Extension, Salem.</p> | <p>14. Sriman V. Ramadoss Pantulu,
H. C. Vakil, Farhat Bagh,
Cutchery Road, Mylapore.</p> <p>15. .. Dr. U. Rama Row,
323, Thambu Chetty Street,
George Town, Madras.</p> <p>16. .. C. Gopal Menon,
20, Gangu Reddy Road,
Egmore.</p> <p>17. .. V. Masilamani Pillai,
H. C. Vakil, Vellala Street,
Purasawalkam.</p> <p>18. .. O. Kandaswami Chettiar,
264, Thambu Chetty Street,
George Town, Madras.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Secretaries.</i></p> <p>19. .. George Joseph, Bar-at-law,
Madura.</p> <p>20. .. K. Bashyam Iyengar,
Champaka Vilas,
Luz, Mylapore.</p> <p>21. .. T. V. Muthukrishna Iyer,
H. C. Vakil,
Pammal House, Vepery.</p> <p>22. Janab Abdul Hameed Khan,
103, Thayar Sahib Street,
Mount Road, Madras.</p> <p>23. Sriman C. S. Govindaraja Mudaliar,
2, Gangadeeswarar Koil Street,
Purasawalkam, Madras.</p> <p>24. .. R. Rathnam Pillai,
Merchant, Panrutti.</p> <p>25. .. Burra Satyanarayana,
35, Peters Road, Rayapetah</p> <p>26. .. C. Vengatarangam Naidu,
7, Rama Pillai Street,
Periamet</p> <p>27. .. M. Baktavastala Mudaliar,
13, Sannadhi Street, Mylapore.</p> <p>28. Janab S. A. Shaffee Mahomed Sahib,
57, Prianna Maistry Street,
Periamet</p> |
|---|--|

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Treasurers.

29. Sriman K. Balasubramania Iyer,
H. C. Vakil,
Ashrama, Luz, Mylapore.
30. „ V. Venkateswarulu Sastrulu,
323, Thiruvathiur High Road,
Washermanpet, Madras.

Members of the Executive Committee.

31. Sriman M. Narayanaswami Redd-
yar, Zamindar, Pavinjur.
Anicut Post, Chingleput.
32. „ M. Ratnasabapathi Mudaliar,
18, Salai Street, Mylapore.
33. „ V. C. Gurunatha Mudaliar,
Timber merchant,
Vellala Street, Purasawalkam.
34. „ S. Rajagopala Chariar,
H. C. Vakil,
Pichu Pillai Street, Mylapore.
35. „ P. Panini Row,
H. C. Vakil, The Grove,
Teynampet, Mylapore.
36. „ M. S. Subramania Iyer,
32, Iyappa Chetty Street,
Mannadi, Madras.
37. „ J. R. Rengaraju,
"Jagannadha Bagh" Guindy,
Saidapet.
38. „ C. Ranganayaculu Chettiyar,
20, Govindappa Naick Street,
George Town, Madras.
39. Janab C. Basheer Ahmed Sayid,
60, Angappa Naick Street,
Madras.
40. Sriman M. Kannapa Mudaliar,
Municipal Councilor,
Conjeevaram.
41. „ V. T. Ramasami Iyer,
High Court Vakil, Cuddalore.
42. „ M. Jayavelu,
Thiruvallur Kalvi. Kazhagam,
Tiruvallurpettai, Mylapore.
43. „ Kumarasami Naicker,
32, Melapathi Muthu Naicken
Street, Nungambakam,
Madras.
44. M. Panchaktcharam Achari,
President,
M. & S. M. Ry. Union, Perambur.
45. Sriman T. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar,
3, Car Street, Triplicane.
46. „ S. Rajamannar Chettiyar,
Manager, The Madras Pencil
Factory, Korrukkupet, Madras.
47. „ T. S. Anantarama Iyer,
H. C. Vakil, Big Street,
Triplicane, Madras.
48. „ C. V. Naidu, Vakil,
Tiruvallore.
49. „ A. Ramaswami Iyer,
High Court Vakil,
Adam St., Mylapore.
50. „ S. C. Nagi Chettiyar,
Hanumantharayan Koil St.,
Park Town, Madras.
51. „ R. Chinnaswami Iyengar,
1, Car Street, Triplicane.
52. „ P. Baktavatsalu Naidu,
36, Poosala Gangu Reddy
Road, Egmore.
53. Sriman K. Sriramulu Naidu,
Municipal Councilor,
Kandappa Chetty St.,
G. T., Madras.
54. „ A. R. Duraisami Iyengar,
Sunkuwar Agraharam,
Chintadripet.
55. „ T. P. Meenakshisundaram
Pillai, Tamilagam,
Ulagappa Maistry St.,
Chintadripet.
56. „ D. Kulandui, H. C. Vakil,
Mundakanni Amman Koil St.,
Mylapore.
57. „ R. Ramachandra Row,
Chandra Vilas, Luz, Mylapore.
58. „ K. Y. Adiga, H. C. Vakil,
Chitrakulam Tank Square,
Mylapore.
59. „ N. Kunjidapadam,
H. C. Vakil, Bridavanam St.,
Mylapore.
60. „ M. K. Acharya,
46, Linga Chetty St., G. T.
61. „ S. Srinivasa Iyengar,
Amjad Bagh, Luz, Mylapore.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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62. Sriman V. C. Rangaswami,
Madras Central Urban
Bank Ltd., Luz Church Road,
Mylapore.
63. „ Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer,
Ekambara Niwas,
Luz, Mylapore.
64. „ R. Krishnamachari,
Reporter, "Swadesamitran"
Royapettah, Madras.
65. „ M. Rajamanickam,
19, Avadanam Pappier
2nd lane, Choolai.
66. „ O. A. O. K. Lakshmanan,
Chettiar, Banker,
Luz, Mylapore.
67. „ Dr. Lakshmiopathi,
19, Harris Road, Egmore.
68. Srimathi Rukmani Lakshmiopathi
19, Harris Road, Egmore.
69. Janab D. K. Syed Ibrahim Sahib
57, Angappa Naick St., G. T.
70. Sriman P. S. Duraisami Mudaliar,
23, Palayappan Street,
Mint Post, Madras.
71. „ C. R. Srinivasa Iyengar,
Manager, "Swadesamitran"
Royapettah.
72. „ Perumalsami Reddiar,
Tank Square,
Nungambakkam.
73. „ P. J. Kuppanna Row,
22, East Mada St., Mylapore.
74. „ E. Krishna Iyer,
40, Bells' Road,
Triplicane.
75. „ K. Narasimha Iyengar,
H. C. Vakil, Madala
Narayana St., Mylapore.
76. „ V. L. Sastri,
15, Thanikachalla Pillai St.,
Triplicane.
77. „ Ramantha Goenka,
c/o The Bombay Co.,
G. T., Madras.
78. „ R. Narayana Sarma,
Engineer, 69, Bells Road,
Triplicane.

79. Janab O. P. Abdul Kareem Sahib,
11, Sydenhams Road,
Periamet.
80. Sriman N. S. Srinivasa Iyer,
13, Mundakanni Amman
Koil St., Mylapore.

Chairman and Ten Secretaries.

Chairman.

1. Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar,
13, Sannadhi Street, Mylapore.

Secretaries.

1. Mr. George Joseph,
Bar-at-law, Madura.
2. „ K. Bashyam Iyengar,
Champaka Vilas, Luz, Mylapore.
3. „ T. V. Muthukrishna Iyer,
Pammal House, Vepery,
4. „ Abdul Hamced Khan,
103, Thayar Sahib Street,
Mount Road.
5. „ C. S. Govindaraja Mudaliar,
2, Gangadeeswarar Koil Street,
Purasawalkam.
6. „ R. Ratnam Pillai,
Merchant, Panrutti.
7. „ Burra Satyanarayana,
35, Peters Road, Royapettah
8. „ C. Venkatarangam Naidu,
7, Rama Pillai St., Periamet.
9. „ M. Baktavatsala Mudaliar,
13, Sannadhi Street, Mylapore.
10. „ S. A. Shaffee Mohamed Sahib,
57, Periyanna Maistry St., Periamet.

Volunteers Selection Board.

Members of the Board.

1. Mr. O. Kandasawmy Chettiar,
(Convenor)
264, Thambu Chetty St.,
George Town, Madras
2. „ T. P. Meenakshisundaram
Pillai, Tamilagam.
Ulagappa Maistry Street.
Chintadripet
3. „ M. S. Subramania Iyer,
32, Iyappa Chetty Street,
Mannadi, Madras

SUB-COMMITTEES

4. Mr. R. Chinnaswami Iyengar,
1, Car Street, Triplicane.
 5. „ C. S. Govindaraja Mudaliar,
2, Gangadeeswarar Koil Street,
Purasawalkum, Madras.
 6. „ Abdul Hameed Khan,
103, Thayar Sahib Street,
Mount Road, Madras.
 7. „ E. Krishna Iyer,
40, Bells' Road, Triplicane.
 8. „ K. Sanjiva Kamath,
High Court Vakil, Madras.
- Ex-Officio Members.*
Chairman & Ten Secretaries.

Furniture Committee.

1. Mr. T. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar,
(Sec.) 3, Car St., Triplicane, Madras.
 2. „ K. Sriramulu Naidu,
Municipal Councillor,
Kandappa Chetty St., G. T.
 3. „ Panchakshra Achari,
President, M. S. M. Ry Union,
Perambur.
 4. „ C. Basheer Ahmed Sayid,
60, Angappa Naick St., Madras.
 5. „ K. Narasimha Iyengar,
H. C. Vakil, Madalanarayan St.,
Mylapore.
- Ex-Officio Members.*
Chairman and Ten Secretaries.

Water Supply Committee.

1. Mr. T. P. Meenakshisundram
Pillai (Secretary) Tamilagam,
Ulagappa Maistry St., Chintadripet.
 2. Mr. P. Baktavatsalu Naidu,
Sembiam, Perambur.
 3. „ C. Basheer Ahmed Sayid,
60, Angappa Naick St., Madras.
 4. „ Sami Venkatachallam Chettiyar,
43, Strotten Muthu Mudali St.,
George Town, Madras.
- Ex-Officio Members.*
Chairman and Ten Secretaries

Sanitation and Medical Aid Committee.

1. Mr. K. Sriramulu Naidu
Municipal Councillor,
Kandappa Chetty Street, Madras.

2. Mr. G. Rangiah Naidu,
40/41, Pidariyar Koil Street
Mannadi, Madras.
3. „ V. L. Sastri
15, Thanikachalla Pillai Street
Triplican
4. „ Venunadhan, Manager,
Messrs. T. A. Ponnu & Co., Kilpau
5. „ N. Kumarasami Naicker,
32, Mellapathi Muthu Naicker, St
Nungambakkan
6. Dr. U. Rama Row,
323, Thambu Chetty Street
G. T. Madras

7. Mr. V. Ramakamath
47, High Road, Purasawalkan
 8. „ B. S. Mallaya, Sundara Vilas,
Male Asylum Road, Egmore
 8. „ U. L. Narayana Row,
Mint Street, Madras
 10. „ A. Lakshmipathi (Sec.),
19, Harris Road, Egmore
- Ex-Officio Members*
Chairman and Ten Secretaries.

Enquiry and Publicity Committee.

1. Mr. S. Satyamurti,
2 19, Singarachari Street,
Triplicane, Madras.
 3. „ O. Kandaswami Chettiyar (Sec
264, Thambu Chetty Street,
G. T., Madras
 3. „ M. Ratnasabapathi Mudaliar
18, Salai Street, Mylapore
 4. „ R. Krishnamachari,
Swadesamitran Office, Royapettah,
Madras
 5. „ S. A. Shaffee Mohamed,
57, Periyanna Maistry Street,
Periamet, Madras
- Ex-Officio Members.*
Chairman and Ten Secretaries.

Tickets and Invitation Committee.

1. Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar,
Mowbray's Road, Royapettah.
2. „ K. Balasubramania Iyer,
The Ashrama, Luz, Mylapore.

SUB-COMMITTEES

v

3. Mr. S. Satyamurthi,
2-19, Singarachari Street,
Triplicane.
4. Sami Venkatachallam Chettiyar,
43, Strotten Muthiah Mudali St.,
G. T., Madras.

5. Dr. A. Lakshmiopathi,
19, Harris Road, Egmore.
6. Mrs. Rukmani Lakshmiopathi ..
7. Mr. M. Baktavatsalam,
13, Sanadhi Street, Mylapore.
8. „ Abdul Hameed Khan,
103, Thayar Sahib Street,
Mount Road, Madras.

Ex-Officio Members.

Chairman and Ten Secretaries.

Bank and Finance Committee.

1. Mr. C. Ranganayakulu Chetty (Sec)
20, Govindappa Naick Street,
G. T., Madras.
2. „ Sami Venkatachellam Chettiyar,
43, Strotten Muthia Mudali Street,
Madras.

3. M. Jammal Mohamed Sahib,
16, Thambu Chetty Street,
G. T., Madras.
4. „ V. Venkateshwaralu Sastrulu,
323, Thiruvathiur High Road,
Washermanpet.
5. „ K. Balasubramania Iyer,
The Ashrama, Luz, Mylapore.

Ex-Officio Members.

Chairman and Ten Secretaries.

Railway and Postal Conveniences Committee.

1. Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar,
Mowbray's Road, Royapettah
2. „ V. Venkateswaralu Sastrulu,
323, Thiruvathiur High Road,
Washermanpet.
3. „ C. Gopal Menon,
20, Gangu Reddy Road, Egmore.
4. „ V. Ramadoss Pantulu,
Farhat Bagh, Cutcherri Road,
Mylapore,

5. Mr. M. K. Acharaya,
46, Linga Chetty Street,
G. T., Madras.
6. „ Sami Venkatachellam Chettiyar,
43, Strotten Muthiya Mudali Street,
Madras.

Ex-Officio Members.

Chairman and Ten Secretaries.

Music Committee.

1. Mr. V. C. Gopalaratnam,
H. C. Vakil, 'Lakshmi Vilas,'
Luz Mylapore,
2. „ E. Krisna Iyer, (Sec.)
H. C. Vakil, Bell's Road,
Triplicane.
3. „ S. Satayamurti, 2-19, Singarahcari
Street, Triplicane.
4. „ A. Rangaswami Iyengar,
Mowbray's Road, Royapettah.
5. „ E.R. Raju Mudaliar,
Choolai.

Ex-Officio Members.

Chairman and Ten Secretaries.

Advertisement Committee.

1. Mr. P. Balasubramania Mudaliar,
4, Ellappa Naick Street,
Komaleswaranpet, Pudupet.
2. „ V.C. Rangaswami Iyengar,
Madras Central Urban Bank
Officer, Mylapore, Madras.
3. „ O. Kandaswami Chettiar,
264, Thambu Chetty Street,
G. T., Madras.
4. „ S. Rajamannar Chettiar,
Madras Pencil Factory,
Washermanpet, Madras.
5. „ A. R. Duraisami Iyengar,
Sunkuwar Agraharam,
Chintadripet.
6. „ V. Venkateswaralu Sastrulu,
323, Tiruvatiur High Road,
Washermanpet, Madras.
7. „ M. S. Subramania Iyer,
32, Iyappa Chetty St., Mannadi.
8. „ Mr. K. Bashyam, 'Champaka
Vilas,' Mylapore, Convenor.

SUB-COMMITTEES

Accommodation Sub-Committee.

1. Mr. V. Masilamony Pillai,
Puraswalkam.
2. „ P. K. Janakirama Aiyar,
3. „ C. S. Govindaraja Mudaliar,
Puraswalkam.
4. „ Sami Venkatachalam Chettiar,
G. T., Madras.
5. „ T. V. Muthukrishna Aiyar,
Vakil, Vepery.
6. „ Burra Satyanarayana,
Royapetta.
7. „ V. C. Rangaswami,
Mylapore.

Ex-Officio Members.

Chairman and Ten Secretaries.

Pandal and Camp Committee:

1. Mr. V. Masilamony Pillai,
Puraswalkam.
2. „ C. Venkatarangam Naidu (Sec.)
Periamet.
3. „ N. Narayanaswami Reddier,
4. „ T. V. Venkatarama Aiyar,
Mylapore.
5. „ V. C. Gurunatha Mudaliar,
Puraswalkam.
6. „ S. Rajagopalachariar,
Mylapore.
7. „ M. S. Subramanya Aiyar,
Mannady.
8. „ M. Rajamanikkam,
Choolai.
9. „ T. S. Tyagaraja Pillai,
Mylapore.
10. „ P. Srinivasan,
Conjeevaram.
11. „ Panchakshara Achariar,
Perambur.

Ex-Officio Members.

Chairman and Ten Secretaries.

Lighting Committee.

1. Mr. Burra Satyanarayana,
Royapetta.
2. „ P. Baktavatsalu Naidu (Sec.)
Perambur.

3. „ Shaffee Mahomed,
Periamet.
4. „ M. V. Velu Mudaliar,
Periamet.

Ex-Officio Members.

Chairman and Ten Secretaries.

Conveyance Committee.

1. Mr. C. S. Govindaraja Mudaliar,
Puraswalkam.
2. „ V. Ramachandra Rao, (Sec.)
Tiruvateeswaranpet.
3. Janab Sherrifudin Khan,
Walajah Road, Mount Road.
4. Mr. K. N. Vembu Iyer,
Walajah Road, Mount Road.
5. „ K. Sriramulu Naidu,
Kandappa Mudaly Street,
G. T., Madras.
6. „ Perumalsami Reddier,
Nungambaukam.
7. Janab Abdul Hamid Khan,
Mount Road.

Ex-Officio Members.

Chairman and Ten Secretaries.

Food Committee.

1. Mr. T. V. Muthukrishna Aiyar,
Vepery.
2. „ N. Kunjithapatham Aiyar (Sec.)
Mylapore.
3. „ N. Ratnasabapathy Mudaliar,
Mylapore.
4. „ O. Kandaswami Chettiar,
Thambu Chetty Street, Madras.
5. „ M. Kannapa Mudaliar,
Conjeevaram.
6. „ M. S. Subramanya Aiyar,
Mannady.
7. „ M. Parthasarathy Aiyangar,
Triplicane.
8. „ N. Kumaraswami Naicker,
9. „ P. J. Kuppanna Rao,
Mylapore.
10. Janab Kasim Alli Jeddi.

Ex-Officio Members.

Chairman and Ten Secretaries.

SUB-COMMITTEES

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Decoration Committee.

1. Mr. A. Ratna,
Mount Road.
2. „ V. C. Gopalaratnam,
Mylapore.
3. „ B. Satyanarayana,
Royapetta.
4. „ O. Kandaswami Chettiar,
Thambu Chetty Street,
G. T., Madras.
5. „ S. Parthasarathy,
Amjad Bagh, Mylapore.
6. „ P. S. Shastri,
Mount Road.
7. „ Nagappa
8. Mrs. Lakshmipathi,
Harris Road, Mount Road.

Ex-Officio Members.
Chairman and Ten Secretaries.

Officers of the Volunteer Corps.

Captain.

Mr. Raja Ram Pandya

Vice Captain (Music.)

Mr. E. Krishna Iyer

Vice Captain Headquarters.

Mr. K. Sanjeeva Kamath

Aid-de-camp to president.

Mr. R. Chinnaswamy

Other Vice Captains.

Mr. T. S. Anantha Rama Iyer

„ T. P. Meenakshi Sundaram

„ D. Kulandai

S. A. Shaffee Mohammed.

Lady Volunteers.

Captain.

Mrs. Kamala Devi Chatopadyaya

Secretary.

Mrs. Rukmani Lakshmipathi

Commander.

Miss. U. L. Krishna Bai

S. Venkataraman.

Hon. Manager.

APPENDIX III.

AUDITED STATEMENT
OF
ACCOUNTS

OF THE
RECEPTION COMMITTEE
OF

The 42nd Indian National Congress.

RECEPTION COMMITTEE OF THE 42nd INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, MADRAS 1927.

Dr.

Income and Expenditure Account upto 30th September 1928.

Cr.

EXPENDITURE.				INCOME.			
		Rs.	A. P.			Rs.	A. P.
To Pandal Expenses ... ..	...	40,932	2 6	By Visitors' Tickets ... ..	...	85,805	6 10
„ Moss Expenses... ..	...	15,315	13 0	„ Reception Committee Fees ... ..	...	56,225	0 0
„ Contribution to Exhibition Committee ... ..	...	11,586	1 10	„ Donations ... ..	...	50,691	8 8
„ Furniture hire etc. ... ..	...	8,720	0 5	„ Stall rents ... ..	...	7,170	0 0
„ Contribution to Congress Khaddar tent ... ..	...	6,000	0 0	„ Mess tickets ... ..	...	5,415	0 0
„ Lighting charges ... ..	...	8,188	0 9	„ Accommodation fees ... ..	...	2,864	4 0
„ Volunteer Expenses ... ..	...	4,793	10 0	„ Volunteer dress ... ..	...	2,680	0 0
„ Travelling Charges and conveyance ... ..	...	4,369	3 3	„ Interest ... ..	...	602	8 2
„ Printing and Stationery ... ..	...	3,733	2 0	„ Ground rent recovered... ..	...	420	10 6
„ Water Supply ... ..	...	3,532	10 9	„ Sale of tender forms ... ..	...	77	0 0
„ Bonus to workers ... ..	...	2,721	8 0	„ Miscellaneous receipts ... ..	...	28	11 0
„ Decorations ... ..	...	1,723	14 2				
„ Rents ... ..	...	1,606	13 0				
„ Miscellaneous Expenses ... ..	...	1,555	0 6				
„ Establishment ... ..	...	1,447	13 3				
„ Sanitary arrangements... ..	...	1,185	1 5				
„ Expenses paid towards Mr. Brockway's illness ... ..	...	1,149	1 3				
„ Reporting charges ... ..	...	800	0 0				
„ Postages ... ..	...	569	3 0				
„ Medals (contractors) ... ..	...	429	2 0				
„ Fire Insurance... ..	...	273	5 4				
„ Badges... ..	...	264	4 0				
„ Excess of Income over Expenditure (carried to Balance Sheet) ... ..	...	91,081	1 11				
Total ...	...	2,11,980	0 4	Total ...	...	2,11,980	0 4

Salem, }
6-12-28. }

Examined and found correct.
M. S. KRISHNASWAMI and JAGANATHAN,
Government Diplomates in Accountancy, Public Accountants and Auditors.

RECEPTION COMMITTEE OF THE 42ND INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, MADRAS 1927.

Balance Sheet as on 30th September 1928.

LIABILITIES.				ASSETS.			
		RS.	A. P.			RS.	A. P.
All India Music Conference ...	...	5	0 0	Furniture ...	...	500	0 0
Excess Cash ...	...	25	0 0	Sundry Debtors—			
Suspense ...	...	1,810	11 0	Suspense ...	...	3,754	4 5
Excess of Income over Expenditure	...	91,081	1 11	Refunds ...	...	388	4 0
				Music Conference ...	...	200	0 0
				Advances ...	...	638	8 0
				Tamil Nadu Congress Committee			
				(surplus partly transferred) ...		84,200	0 0
				Cash and other balances :			
				Cash on hand...	...	33	10 1
				In current a/c with the Indian			
				Bank Ltd. ...	...	3,207	2 5
						3,240	12 6
Total Rs. ...		92,921	12 11	Total Rs. ...		92,921	12 11

We have examined the above Balance Sheet with books and Vouchers maintained by the Treasurer and the Manager of the Committee. We have obtained all the information and explanations we required. The advance, suspense and other pending accounts must be adjusted before the final balance of Income over Expenditure can be finally arrived at. Otherwise the above Balance Sheet shows the correct position of the Committee as on the 30th September 1928.

Salem, }
6-12-28 }

M. S. KRISHNASWAMI and JAGANNATHAN,
Government Diplomates in Accountancy, Public Accountants and Auditors.

S. VENKATARAMAN,
Hon. Manager,

S. T. KALLAPIRAN,
Accountant.

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AIYAR,
Treasurer.

APPENDIX IV.

LIST OF DELEGATES THAT ATTENDED The 42nd Indian National Congress HELD AT *Madras—December, 1927.*

Ajmere.		29	Sjt. N. S. Krishnamoorthy
1	Sjt. Abdul Qadir Beg (Mirza)	30	.. Premji Bhai
2	.. Abdushukur Abdur Rahim	31	.. Mahadeo Lal
3	.. Abdur Raooif	32	.. Purushothamdoss
4	.. Subramanya Sastri	33	.. Bankitroa
5	.. Abdur Karim Khan	34	.. Ramkrishna
6	.. Nalam Bhimaraj	35	.. R. Tiruvengadam Pillai
7	.. Abbas Ali (Sayed)	36	.. Ramchandra Shastri
8	.. K. Ramanathan	37	.. Rangan, K.
9	.. Bittal Dasji (Kumar)	38	.. Madanlal
10	.. N. Venkata Roy	39	.. Sohanlalji
11	.. Chandulalji Bhargawa	40	.. S. T. P. V. Raghavachari
12	.. Durga Prasadji (Pandit)	41	.. Shiva Narayanji
13	.. Firasat Husain	42	.. K. Krishna Rao
14	.. K. Sundaresa Iyer	43	.. Surajmalji Jain
15	.. Gulab Devi Sethi	44	.. S. Venkatraman
16	.. Jagan Prasadji Rawat	45	.. D. Venkiah
17	.. Janki Prasadji Bagarhotta	46	.. Sankaran
18	.. Jamnalalji Diwan	47	.. Shaukat Usmani
19	.. Ramchoddas Nagandass	48	.. Ramdos Morarji
20	.. K. M. Narayan Swami	49	.. T. Ranganadam
	Ayyar.	50	.. T. S. Venunandan
21	.. Laxmi Niwas Gamdiwala	51	.. Vijay Singh Mohata
	(Raja)	52	.. V. K. Venugopal Mudaliar
22	.. Laxman Ayya (Pandit)		
23	.. P. K. Menon		
24	.. Muhiuddin (Maulvi)		
25	.. Muhammad Hanif		
26	.. Muhammad Ahmad		
27	.. Moti Lal		
28	.. N. Rajagopalan		
		Andhra.	
		1	Sjt. Appalanaidu, G.
		2	.. Anandaraya Sastry, N.
		3	.. Appalanasayya, D.
		4	.. Appalaswamy, P.
		5	.. Achayyaraao, R.

6	Sjt.	Achutaramaraju, K.	54	Sjt.	Ganapati Sarma
7	"	Anantarao, P.	55	"	Gundacharyulu, K. .
8	"	Annaswami. B.	56	Janab	Guldankhan
9	"	Audinarayanareddi, S.	57	Sjt.	Govind Doss
10	"	Anantacharlu	58	"	Gawri Shanker, N.
11	"	Anjayya, Y.	59	"	Ghanshyamdoss
12	"	Anjayya, P.	60	"	Goverdhandoss Gopaldoss
13	"	Appayya, D.	61	"	Gundurao, G.
14	Janab	Azizullah Saheb, V. M.	62	"	Hanumantharao, Y.
15	Sjt.	Anantarao, Ch.	63	"	Hanumantharao, P.
16	"	Balaramadoss, G.	64	"	Hanumantharao, R.
17	"	Bharatarao, W.	65	"	Hanumantharao, G.
18	"	Buchiramadoss Pantulu, W.	66	"	Hanumanthareddi, M.
19	"	Buchisitaramachandraraju,	67	"	Hanumantharao, M.
20	"	Buchiraju, K.	68	"	Hafid Sajid Ali
21	"	Somasundaram, K.	69	Mrs.	Jaggamma, G.
22	"	Bapineedu, M.	70	Sjt.	Jagannadhaswamy, T.
23	"	Brahmayya, G.	71	"	Jagannadha Gupta
24	"	Bapayya, P.	72	"	Venkatappa Row, K.
25	"	Bhavayya, Ch.	73	"	Jagannadham, Ch.
26	"	Balakrishnareddi Y,	74	"	Vasantacharlu,
27	"	Balvantrao, T.	75	"	Jayarama Iyer, C. G.
28	"	Bheemsen Rao	76	"	Krishnamurty Pantulu, M.
29	"	Bhole	77	"	Kristados, P.
30	Mrs.	Chudirudutamma, G.	78	"	Krishnamurty, T.
31	Sjt.	Chendrayya Naidu, G.	79	Mrs.	Kameswaramamma, M.
32	"	Chelupatirao, K.	80	Sjt.	Kodandaramaswamy, M.
33	"	Chennamallikharjanudu, I.	81	"	Kesavarao, S.
34	"	Chidambara Rao, K.	82	"	Kodandaramayya, P.
35	"	Chidanibaram, K.	83	"	Kotayya, P.
36	"	Chenchayya Choudri, K.	84	"	Kutumbarao, B.
37	"	Chendramowli, R.	85	"	Kalyanarao, K.
38	"	Chendrasekharareddi, B.	86	"	Narasimhayya, C.
39	"	Chendraroddi, D.	87	"	Krishnamurty, M.
40	"	Ramaiah	88	"	Krishnamacharlu, S.
41	"	Dakshinamurty Sastri, Ch.	89	"	Krishnamacharlu, P. T.
42	"	Dandupantayya	90	"	Krishnarao, T.
43	"	Deo Karan	91	"	Krishnarao, P.
44	"	Digamberdoss, Ch.	92	"	Kashiker, B. V.
45	"	Devarajulu Naidu, S.	93	"	Kashinath Rao Vaidyar.
46	"	Desikachariar, V.	94	"	Krishnarao, J.
47	"	Eswarappa, P.	95	"	Krishnamacharlu. K. V. G
48	"	Gurumurty, M.	96	"	Kamaraju, N.
49	"	Gurumurty, P.	97	"	Kasiraju, Ch
50	"	Gangaraju, K.	98	"	Krishnamurty, K.
51	"	Gopalasarma, A.	99	"	Lakshmanrao, W.
52	"	Ganapatirao, Bh.	100	Mrs.	Lalitamba, M.
53	"	Govindareddi, P.	101	Sjt.	Lakshminarayana, C.

102	Sjt	Lakshmipati, T.	150	Sjt	Narasayya, J.
103	"	Lakshmipati Sastry, P.	151	"	Narasappa, R.
104	"	Lakshmayyachoudari, K.	152	"	Narayanarao, S.
105	"	Lakshminarayana, U.	153	"	Nanjundarao, H.
106	Mrs.	Lakshmiibayamma, U.	154	"	Narasingarao, K.
107	Sjt.	Lakshmayya, K.	155	"	Narayanamurti, Bh.
108	"	Lakshminarayana Sastry, C.	156	"	Narasimhayya, K.
109	"	Lakshminarasimham, K.	157	"	Narasimhacharlu, N.
110	"	Lakshminarayana, K.	158	"	Narasingarao, K.
111	"	Lakshmanaswami, O.	159	"	Narayanarao, M.
112	"	Lakshmanacharlu, V.	160	"	Naik, K. G.
113	"	Lakshminarasimham, M.	161	"	Naik, V. K.
114	"	Moorthy, T. N.	162	"	Narayanrao, M.
115	"	Mukalingam Naidu, S.	163	"	Narasimharao, D.
116	"	Mallayya, R.	164	"	Narasingarao, M.
117	"	Mandeswara Sarma, R.	165	"	Narayan Gupta.
118	Mrs.	Mahalakshmanamma, A.	166	"	Narayana Rao, M.
119	Sjt.	Madhusudanarao, K.	167	"	Narasimhacharlu, T. K.
120	"	Mukteswara Prasadarao, V.	168	"	Narayana Iyengar, N.
121	"	Mattupalli, N.	169	"	Narayanarao, V. S.
122	"	Mallareddi, T.	170	"	Obireddi, C.
123	"	Munni, A. K.	171	"	Peda Venkataramana, V.
124	"	Mruthanjaya Rao,	172	"	Peda Suryanarayana, B.
125	"	Manikyam	173	"	Perraju, G.
126	"	Mukundas, M.	174	Mrs.	Pharidujjama
127	"	Maganlal	175	Sjt.	Perraju, P.
128	"	Manikrao, A.	176	"	Purushottama Sarma, M.
129	Janab Md.	Mustakasan	177	"	Papayya, N.
130	Sjt.	Mudiraju, K. K. S.	178	"	Pattabhiramulu Gupta S.
131	"	Martandrao, G.	179	"	Pattabhiramireddi, P.
132	"	Muniswami, Naidu, M.	180	"	Pitchireddi, M.
133	Mrs.	Mahalakshmanamma, B. L.	181	"	Parthasarathy Iyengar, K.
134	Sjt.	Naryanaraju, D.	182	"	Pattabhiramireddi, P.
135	"	Naraganamurti, G.	183	"	Pratapareddi, S.
136	"	Narayanamurti, N.	184	"	Pitamberdoss,
137	"	Narayana, A.	185	"	Purnachendrayya, V.
138	"	Narayanamurti, B.	186	"	Ramakrishnarao, N.
139	"	Narsimhamurti, T.	187	"	Ramamurty, I.
140	"	Nilakantasundhi, G.	188	"	Ramalingam, W. V. V. B.
141	"	Narasimharaju, P. L.	189	"	Rajannareddi, D.
142	"	Nageswararao, A.	190	"	Ramaswami, L.
143	"	Narasimharao, K.	191	"	Ramakrishnacharlu, N. V.
144	"	Narasimharao, N. V. L.	192	"	Ramarao, G.
145	"	Narasimham, B.	193	"	Ramasomayajulu, Ch.
146	"	Nageswararao, D.	194	"	Rangayya, M.
147	"	Narayanawami, B.	195	"	Rangacharlu, K.
148	"	Narisireddi, E.	196	"	Rangayya, M.
149	"	Narasimhayya C. V.	197	"	Ramamurty, S.

198	Sjt	Ramarao, H.	246	Sjt.	Suryanarayana, Ch.
199	"	Ramajogayya, A.	247	"	Sanyasayya, T.
200	"	Ramayya, V.	248	"	Sriramamurty, M.
201	"	Ramanayudu, S.	249	"	Sanjeevarao, L.
202	"	Ramakrishnayya, P.	250	"	Suryanarayana, K.
203	"	Ramakotayya, D.	251	"	Sitaramachendraraju, P.
204	"	Rangayya, D.	252	"	Suryanarayana Gupta, K
205	"	Ramachendrareddi, K.	253	"	Sitaramayya, P.
206	"	Rughavacharlu, K. V.	254	"	Subbarao, V.
207	"	Rajagopalarao, V.	255	"	Sanyasayya, K.
208	"	Raghavayya, V.	256	"	Satyanarayanacharlu, G
209	"	Ramasubbayya, R.	257	"	Subbarao, L.
210	"	Ramakrishnarao, M.	258	"	Satyanarayana Reddi, M.
211	"	Ramados Pantulu, V.	259	"	Satyanarayana, N.
212	"	Rangareddi, N.	260	"	Srimannarayanacharlu, A.
213	"	Ramasubbareddi, D.	261	"	Satyanarayana, G.
214	"	Ramakrishnamacharlu, R.	262	"	Sriramulu, P.
215	"	Ramachandrarao, V.	263	"	Satyanarayana, S.
216	"	Ramanadharao, Y.	264	"	Somayajulu, M.
217	"	Ramayya, E.	265	"	Subbaraju, N.
218	"	Ramanadhan, K.	266	"	Suryanarayana, G.
219	"	LokaRamarao, R.	267	"	Sriramamurti, T.
220	"	Ramappareddi, M.	268	"	Suryanarayanamurty, D
221	"	Raja Ram.	269	"	Somayya, Ch.
222	"	Ramachendrarao, A.	270	Mrs.	Somidevamma, Ch.
223	Janab	Rahim Beg Mirza.	271	Sjt	Subbarao, S.
224	Sjt.	Ramachandrarao, M.	272	"	Sitaramamurty, S.
225	"	Ramarao, A.	273	Mrs.	Syamalamba, S.
226	"	Raghunathrao, G.	274	Sjt.	Sivarao, S.
227	"	Ramachari.	275	"	Sundararamayya, Ch.
228	"	Ramakrishnurao, B.	276	"	Sitarama Sastry, G.
229	"	Raja Rangarao.	277	"	Sivayya Anche
230	"	Ramappa Reddi.	278	"	Sanjeevarayanam, S.
231	"	Rangamchetty, C, V.	279	"	Subbaramireddi, L.
232	"	Rangiah Reddi, G.	280	"	Subbaramireddi, P.
233	"	Raghavareddi, B.	281	"	Seshureddi, B
234	"	Krishnaswamy Aiyangar.	282	"	Seshureddi, D.
235	"	Ramakrishnaraju, R. B.	283	"	Sastry, V. L.
236	"	Rangaswami Aiyangar.	284	"	Seshagiri Rao, Ch.
237	"	Ramadoss.	285	"	Subrahmanyamchetty, G
238	"	Ramalakshamma, D			
239	"	Sriramamurti, Y.			
240	Mrs.	Simhachelamma, G.	286	"	Satyanarayana, B.
241	Sjt.	Swami Babu, P.	287	"	Seetharamayya, K.
242	"	Syamasundararao, P.	288	"	Sankararao, H.
243	"	Suryaprakasarao, P.	289	"	Srinivasacharlu, K.
244	"	Subrahmanyam	290	"	Subbannacharlu, K.
245	"	Suryanarayanacharyulu, P. B. M.	291	"	Seshappa, Y.

292	Sjt.	Subbamyudu, K.	339	Sjt.	Venkayya, S.
293	"	Sankara Sarma, V.	340	"	Virabhadrisarma, A.
294	"	Srinivasarao, V.	341	"	Venkataadri, Ch.
295	"	Seth Hariram Gomani Rao	342	"	Venkatanarayana, P.
296	"	Sriram	343	"	Venkatanarasimharaju, K.
297	Janab.	Syed Azazar Ali.	344	"	Venkataramayya Choudri K.
298	Sjt.	Sharma, P. N.	345	"	Venkatario, N.
299	"	Sharma, B. N.	346	"	Venkatanarasimharao, Ch.
300	"	Shanker Rao, T.	347	"	Venkatapitchayya, P.
301	"	Satyanarayan	348	"	Venkataramanayya, A.
302	"	Sharma, S. B.	349	"	Venkataramarao, K.
303	"	Sitaramayya, V.	350	"	Vasudeva Prasadramayya B.
304	"	Sarma, G. S.	351	"	Venkatasubbayya, P.
305	"	Subbannacharl, K.	352	"	Venkatasubbayya, K.
306	"	Sriramuluchetty, N.	353	"	Venkatakrishnayya, S.
307	"	Sudarsanam Naidu	354	"	Venkatakrishnayya, G.
308	"	Sarweswara Sastry, K.	355	"	Sivaramakrishniah.
309	"	Virabhadrasami.	356	"	Venkatachalapati, N.
310	"	Tirumalarao, M.	357	"	Venkatasubbarao, V.
311	Mrs.	Tippamma, P.	358	"	Venkatrayudu, M.
312	Sjt.	Umamaheswara Sarma, A.	359	"	Venkata Hanumantharao, K.
313	"	Venkatamurahari Rao, K.	360	"	Venkatarama Dikshatulu, O.
314	"	Narayan, G. V.	361	"	Venkatappayya Choudry
315	"	Venkataratnamraju, V.	362	"	Venkatachelapati, K.
316	Mrs.	Vijjalakshmihayamma	363	"	Venkatrao, M.
317	Sjt.	Venkatakrishnarao, M.	364	"	Venkatappayya, P.
318	"	Venkataramayya, M.	365	"	Venkatasubbayya, O.
319	"	Venkataramamurty, G.	366	"	Venkayya K.
320	"	Venkataraaju, T.	367	"	Venkatasubbayya, G.
321	"	Venkatareddi, A.	368	"	Venkataramareddi, T.
322	"	Venkataswami, D.	369	"	Vengal Reddi, M.
323	"	Subbarao, C.	370	"	Venkatareddi, K.
324	"	Vasudevarao, T.	371	"	Venkatasubhaya, Y.
325	"	Venkatarangacharl, S.	372	"	Virabhadrayya, G.
326	"	Venkatapatiraju, P. C.	373	"	Vasudeva Chetty, K.
327	Mrs.	Venkataramanamma, P. B. M.	374	"	Venkataramana Sastry, P.
328	Sjt.	Venkataramanayya, T.	375	"	Venkataramanappa, G.
329	"	Venkataramanayya, G.	376	"	Venkataramana Charl, K.
330	"	Venkatanarasimharao, D.	377	"	Venkataswami Reddi, M.
331	"	Venkataramaswamy, D.	378	"	Venkatanarasimham, Pantulu, A.
332	Mrs.	Venkatalakshminarasanna, G.	379	"	Venkayya Chetti, M.
333	Sjt.	Venkayya, D.	380	"	Venkatareddi, K.
334	"	Venkataratnam, B.	381	"	Venkatappayya, A.
335	"	Venkatasubbarao, P.	382	"	Vasudev Mudaliar
336	"	Venkataramarao, S.	383	"	Varadaras Nain
337	"	Venkataramanayya, D.			
338	"	Venkataraao, K.			

384	Sjt.	Viswanath Rao, Bh.
385	"	Venkataramarao, A.
386	"	Viswanath Naik.
387	"	Venkatkrishnayya,
388	"	Venkat Ahajirao,
389	"	Varada Rao, N.
390	"	Venkatakrishnamachari.
391	"	Viswanadhayya, A. R.
392	"	Vedantacharlu, V. V.
393	"	Srinivasacharya
394	"	Viraraghanacharlu, M.
365	"	Venkatakrishnamacharlu, P.
396	"	Venkataswamy, N.
397	"	Venkateswarlu, M.
398	"	Vijiaramayya, S.
399	"	Venkatramayya, D.
400	"	Venkatabalaramados, G.
401	Mrs.	Yaminipurna Tilakamma
402	Sjt.	Yegnanarayana Sarma, P. R.
403	"	Yellayya Chetty, Y.
404	"	Yanadi Chetty, O.
405	"	Anjanoyulu, P.
406	"	Balasubramanya Gupta.
407	"	Chitambarayya, G.
408	"	Durgasadasiveswara Prasad, Bahadur Zamindar.
409	"	Doraisami Iyengar.
410	"	Govindacharlu, A.
411	"	Jagannatha Swami, J.
412	"	Krishnarao, A. S.
413	"	Kumaraswami Chetti, P.T.
414	"	Kotireddi, K.
415	"	Narayanarao, M.
416	"	Narasimham, Ch.
417	"	Narasimhachari, M.
418	"	Parthasaradhi, V.
419	"	Parasuram arao, A.
420	"	Paramanandam, T.
421	"	Rangiah Naidu, K.
422	"	Ramachandrarao, G.
423	"	Ramamurty, M.
424	"	Ramayya, A. V.
425	Mrs.	Ramabayi, G.
426	Sjt.	Rangiah Naidu, G.
427	"	Sanyasiraju, I.
428	"	Subrahmanyamchetti, P.

429	Mrs.	Subbamma, D.
430	Sjt.	Swami Naidu, K. V. R.
431	"	Satyanarayana, V.
432	"	G. Kamoji Row.
433	"	Sreeramulu Naidu, K.
434	"	Subrahmanya Sarma, K.
435	"	Venkateseshayya B.
436	"	Venkatarangayya M.
437	"	Venkateswara Sastry, V.
438	"	Venkatarangacharlu, C.

Assam.

1	Sjt.	Arunachandra Sen.
2	"	Satyanarayana.
3	"	Gongadhar Das
4	"	Hira Nath Sarma
5	"	Haripada Datta
6	"	Jogendra Chandra Nath
7	"	Jogendra Nath Barna
8	"	Jyotish Chandra Das
9	"	K. Sankunni Nair.
10	"	Kumudram Bora
11	Janab.	Md. Yayeabulla
12	Sjt.	Kuni Koyanna.
13	"	Srinivasaraghavan
14	"	Kesavan Nair.
15	"	V. S. Narayana Rao.
16	"	B. V. Kunni Koyanna.
17	Janab	Wazed Ali

Behar.

1	Janab.	O. M. Sibghatalla Sahib.
2	"	Abib Sahib.
3	"	Akbar Sahib.
4	"	Rahamutulla Sahib.
5	"	Alli Ahmed Sahib.
6	Sjt.	Palanivelu.
7	"	M. S. Srinivasan.
8	"	Paramahansa Jagdisvara- nand Pariprajak
9	"	Achutan Nair
10	"	Bageshwari Prasad Sinha
11	"	Bendehwari Prasad Sinha
12	"	Basudeo Thakur
13	"	Bhukha Bhagut
14	"	Dhamo Bhagut
15	"	Gupteshwar Pandey
16	"	Gyanada Prosuma Jaha
17	"	Harihar Sinha
18	"	Uvethala Gopala Row
19	"	Raghavar Das.

- 20 Sjt. Punyadeva Sharma
 21 „ Phudar Tewady
 22 „ Ramji Sinha
 23 „ Prithivis Chandra Nag
 24 „ Sheesul Sinha

Bengal.

- 1 Sjt. Amulya Chandra Dutta
 2 „ Amar Nath Mukharjee
 3 „ Amarendra Nath Laha
 4 „ Amarendra Nath Bose
 5 „ Ananta Prasad Sen
 6 Janab. Munshi Abdul Rahman
 7 Sjt. Ananga Mohan Dam
 8 „ Amaresh Kanjilal
 9 Janab. Aftabally
 10 Sjt. Asim Krishna Roy
 11 „ Aghor Chandra Das
 12 „ Ajit Kumar Dutta
 13 „ Anath Bandhu Majumdar
 14 „ Abhoy Charan Koya
 15 Moulvi Sayed Asaduddalla Siraji
 16 Sjt. Ashutosh Chatterjee
 17 „ Anath Nath Lahire
 18 „ Bipin Behari Das
 19 „ Bijoy Lal Roy Choudhury
 20 „ Bhut Nath Mukerjee
 21 „ Brojendra Kumar Banerjee
 22 „ Bhagabati Charan Shome
 23 „ Bama Charan Chakrabarty
 24 „ Basanta Lai Murarka
 25 „ Binay Krishna Bose
 26 „ Balai Chand De
 27 „ Birendra Kumar Sen
 28 „ Bibhuti Bhusan Majumdar
 29 „ Bijay Krishna Roy
 30 „ Basanta Kumar Das
 31 „ Bejay Kumar Roy
 Choudhury
 32 „ Basanta Kumar Sarkar
 33 „ Bankim Chandra
 Mukherjee
 34 „ Bagala Shome
 35 „ Basanta Kumar Das
 36 „ Benay Kumar Sarkar
 37 „ Baroda Parasanna
 Bhowmik
 38 „ Bal Krishna Sarma
 39 „ Charu Chandra Chatterjee
 40 „ Chatrapati Roy
 41 „ Charu Chandra Dutta

- 42 Sjt. Chandra Kanta Roy
 43 „ Charu Chandra Roy
 44 „ Dwijendra Nath Dutta
 45 „ Deb Kumar Gupta
 46 „ Dinesh Chandra Sen
 47 „ Dinabandhu Sarkar
 48 „ Dharendra Chandra Dutt
 49 „ Dharani Nath Goswami
 50 „ Dwijendra Mohan Kundu
 51 „ Debi Prasad Das Gupta
 52 „ Gouri Sankar Chatterjee
 53 „ Gour Hari Soma
 54 „ Gostha Behari Paul
 55 „ Girijya Mohan Sanyal
 56 Moulvi Ghyasuddin Ahmed
 57 Sjt. Hemanta Kumar Bose
 58 „ Harendra Kumar Singh
 59 „ Himangsu Kumar Ain
 60 „ Hem Chandra
 Bhattacharjee
 61 „ Haran Chandra Banerjee
 62 „ Jnanendra Nath
 Mukharjee
 63 „ Jamini Kanta Goswami
 64 „ Jnanendra Nath Ghosh
 65 „ Johar Lal Ganguly
 66 „ Jagadish Majumdar
 67 „ Jogesh Chandra Das Gupta
 68 „ Jogendra Nath Dey
 69 „ Jogendra Chandra Das
 Gupta
 70 „ Jnanendra Mohan Sarker
 71 „ Jitendra Nath Sen
 72 „ Jatish Chandra Ghosh
 73 „ Jogesh Chandra Banerjee
 74 „ J. M. Sen Gupta
 75 „ Jotirmoyee Ganguly
 76 „ Kali Kinkor Karmoker
 77 „ Kshitish Chandra
 Mukharjee
 78 „ Kshetra Nath Mitra
 79 „ Kanti Chandra Roy
 Choudhury
 80 „ K. Banerjee
 81 „ Kedar Nath Somsedar
 82 „ Khagendra Chandra Das
 83 Janab. Shekh Karimulla
 84 Sjt. Krishna Charan Sarker
 85 „ Kali Ranjan Labiri

86	Sjt. Khagendra Nath Das	129	Sjt. Provat Chandra Ganguly
	Gupta	130	.. Purusottam Rai
87	.. Kshitish Chandra Sarker	131	.. Payari Lall Roy
88	.. Kedar Singh	132	.. Pulin Behari Sen
89	.. Kailash Chandra Shama	133	.. Promotha Nath Misra
90	.. Kiran Chandra Bose	134	.. Priya Nath Dey
91	.. Kshitish Chandra	135	.. Prabal Chandra
	Chakrabarti		Chattopadhyay
92	Mrs. Kamini Kumar Neogi	136	.. Priya Nath Roy
93	Sjt. Krishna Gopal	137	.. Pramoda Ranjan Talukdar
	Bhattacharjee	138	.. Pramotha Nath Banerjee
94	.. Kailash Nath Set	139	.. Rash Nehari Chakrabarty
95	Janab. Moulvi Kafiluddin Ahmad	140	.. Rama Kanta Samajder
96	Sjt. Lal Mohan Ghose	141	.. Romesh Chandra Dutt
97	.. Monindra Deb Roy	142	.. Rama Nath Rai Choudhury
98	.. Mukhada Charan	143	.. Ranga Lal Jagadia
	Samadhyni	144	.. Ram Dhain Ojah
99	.. Makhan Lal Maitra	145	.. Rajendra Prasad
100	.. Makham Lal Sen	146	.. Romendra Mohan Bose
101	.. Monmotha Nath De	147	.. Radhika Prosad Bose
102	Maulvi. Moksodal Hossain	148	.. Romesh Chandra Bagchi
103	Sjt. Monoranjan Sen	149	.. Raj Kumar Chakrabarty
104	.. Mohendra Chandra Das	150	.. Ram Gopal Choudhury
105	.. Moni Krishna Sen	151	.. Ram Sundar Singh
106	.. Mohini Mohan Singha Roy	152	.. Radha Ballav Pal
107	.. Madan Mohan Bhowmik	153	.. Ramani Mohan Saha
108	.. Manindra Nath Das Gupta	154	.. Rakhal Chandra Bose
109	.. Mati Lal Purkayastha	155	.. Sisir Kumar Choudhury
110	.. Mahoranjana Gupta	156	.. Surendra Chandra Bagchi
111	.. Narendra Nath Sen	157	.. Suresh Chandra Majumder
112	.. Nagendra Nath Mukharjee	158	.. Sailendra Nath Ghosh
113	.. Nishitha Nath Kundu	159	.. Sushil Kumar Ghosh
114	.. Nagendra Nath Sen	160	.. Satindra Nath Sen
115	.. Nagendra Nath Adhya	161	.. Shaileswar Chakrabarty
116	.. Nishi Kanta Mukharjee	162	.. Sudhindra Narayan Bagchi
117	.. Nalini Mohan Roy	163	.. Surendra Nath Adhya
	Choudhury	164	.. Sarjoo Persad Biswas Behan
118	.. Nalini Kanta Ghose	165	.. Sudhindra Chandra Roy
119	.. Nobaran Chandra Roy	166	.. Sasanka Mohan Das Gupta
	Choudhury	167	.. Satendra Nath Das Gupta
120	.. Nishi Kanta Das Gupta	168	.. Surendra Nath Choudhury
121	.. Nirendra Chandra Dutt	169	.. Surendra Mohan Maitra
122	.. Nalini Kanta Adhikari	170	.. Sriish Chandra Majumder
123	Moulvi Md. Nurul Hoque	171	.. Surama Bale Majumder
124	Sjt. Nagendra Chandra Sinha	172	.. Surabala Guha Roy
125	.. Pachu Das Banerjee	173	.. Shaudamini Ghosh
126	.. Pratap Chandra Mazumder	174	.. Surendra Kumar Ghose
127	.. Purna Chandra Das Dutta	175	.. Surendra Chandra Sen
128	.. Promotha Nath Chatterjee		

Sgt.	Suresh Chandra Roy
„	Sushil Kumar Ghosh
„	Sambhu Nath Baral
„	Santosh Kumar Dutt
„	Tarak Nath Mukharjee
„	Tara Pada Ghose
„	Tarangani Biswas
„	Tarak Nath Maiti
„	Tara Pada Sanyal
„	Taranath Roy
„	Tincowri Majumdar
„	Tulshi Charan Mukharjee
„	Upendra Chandra Sarkar
„	W. M. Roy
„	Kedereswara Sen Gupta
„	Bhabatosh Sanyal
„	Nalini Ranjan Ghose
„	Himanshu Mohan Bose
„	Upendra Kumar Mukerjee

Berar.

.. Bhole Wasudeo Waman
.. Dan, Mahadeo Narayan
.. Deshpande Nilkant
Narayan
.. Dehenkar Sadashive
Pandurang
.. Deshpande Gangadhar
Vithal
.. Joshi Dattatraya Vinayak
.. Joshi Durgabai
.. Kanade Dinkar Shastri
Laxman
.. Khare Trimbak Bhaskar
.. Kale Bakaram Sakhamam
.. Kondawar Nilkant
.. Nandedkar Govind
Narayan
.. Paranjpe Narhar Sheoram

Burma.

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 „ A.C. Chocka Lingam Pillay
 „ M. G. Ranga Saway Pillay
 „ M. Swaminatha Pillay
 „ K. Krishna Pillay
 „ B. H. Subbaramayya
 „ A. R. Sankaran

8	Sjt.	Mansookhlal Amerchand
9	..	Moolji Bhagwanji
10	..	Sankerjee Vagjee Bhai
11	..	Beni Ram Madhav Roy
12	..	Padmanabha Nair
13	..	Purushotham
14	Mrs.	Valbai Veljee
15	Sjt.	Ajarajan Arun
16	..	B. K. Basu
17	..	D. N. Bhowal
18	..	P. L. P. K. Kumarappa
		Chettyar
19	..	P. S. Rangasawmy Naidu
20	..	P. S. S. Alagasawmy Naidu
21	..	S. Devaraju Naidu
22	..	K. Subbiah Naidu
23	..	S. P. S. Ponnusawmy
		Pillay
24	..	N. C. Somasundaram
		Pillay
25	..	P. N. Thiruvengada
		Ramanjulu Naidu
26	..	P. Raghavan
27	Sjt.	S. C. Bhattacharjee
28	Janab	A. K. Ebrahim
29	Sjt.	R. H. Gandhi
30	Mrs.	Tapibai Gandhi
31	Sjt.	C. Srinivasan
32	..	S. S. Halkar
33	..	Hargovind Vallabhdass
34	..	Mathuradass Omersee
35	..	M. S. Shastri
36	..	Mohanlal Kalidas
37	..	P. Ekambara Mudaliar
38	..	M. A. Veerappa Mudaliar
39	..	M. K. S. S. Moorthy
40	..	V. Subbia Pathar
41	..	P. M. Rudra
42	..	Soniram Poddar
43	..	K. Sundaram
44	..	K. Sriramulu
45	..	A. P. Sangavi
46	..	K. Surya Narain
47	..	C. K. Tambi
48	Mrs.	Tambi
49	Sjt.	Trikamjee Triloknath
50	..	S. Venkannah
51	..	Yenkannah

Sjt. Tilak Vijaya
 „ M. Audi Moorthy
 „ Nagar Konar
 „ Veeraperumal Pillay
 „ Gobind Ram

C. P. Hindustani.

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 „ T. Rajagopalan
 „ N. Kandasami
 „ Vembu Iyer
 „ Swaminathan
 „ P. K. Ramaswamy
 „ Soundara Rajan
 „ Periasastry
 „ T. R. Rajagopalan
 „ V. S. Ramaswamy
 „ K. Veera Raghavan
 „ Sesha Raghavan,
 „ Ganesan
 „ T. Seshadri Iyengar
 „ Srinivasa Rao
 „ G. R. Sundaram
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 „ V. S. Subbaraman
 „ T. S. Sundaresa Iyer

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 „ Sesha Rajagopalan
 „ P. S. Venkatesan

Mrs. S. Venkatraman

Sjt. Vedaratnam Pillai
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 „ T. P. Muthukumaraswamy
 „ K. S. Rangaswamy
 „ K. P. Muthusami Pillai
 „ N. Suriyanarasu
 „ Baboo Totaram

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 „ G. R. Sambhaya
 „ T. D. Pustake
 „ Shankerji Choudhari

Mrs. Lakmibai

Sjt. C. R. Joshi
 „ P. Kapardi Dutta

41 Sjt. Beohar Rajendra Singh
 42 „ S. D. Dravid
 43 „ Sohanlall
 44 „ Gopi Krishna Puranik
 45 „ Dwbarilall ashttama
 46 „ Gangadhar Rao Brahma
 Rakshas

47 „ V. N. Narsihma
 48 „ D. J. Kesheo Rao
 49 „ D. N. Hanumant Rao
 50 „ R. Parthasarathi
 51 „ Bhairolall Seth
 52 „ Balkrishna Patel
 53 „ Deepchandjee
 54 „ Govind Rao Subhedar
 55 „ Dattoopanth Gadre

56 Mrs. Subadra Devi

57 Sjt. Govind Rao Dhondgaokar
 58 „ Gopal Govind Dhondgaokar
 59 „ V. Vencoba Rao
 60 „ Ramprasad Deshmukh
 61 „ Vashudeo Shreedhar
 Kirolikar

62 „ Badriprashad Dube
 63 „ Bholaprashad Girode
 64 „ B. N. Benerjee
 65 „ Domur Singh
 66 „ Gayacharen
 67 „ Jatanlall Muni
 68 „ Jamanalall
 69 „ Lalooprashad
 70 „ Nathoo Jee Jagatap
 71 „ Nandkumar Dani
 72 „ Narayan Rao Baxi
 73 „ Ravishanker Shukla
 74 „ Raghunandanlall
 75 „ Sunderlall Sharma
 76 „ Shivadas Daga

77 „ Yaskaran Jhabak
 78 „ Ratanchand Surana
 79 „ Rama Rao
 80 „ Durga Rao
 81 „ Ramados Pillai
 82 „ Ghanti Swarup

83 Mrs. Bidyavati Devi

84 Sjt. A. N. Shivarama Aiyar
 85 „ N. Tirumalacharya
 86 „ Gomalo Shanker Dikshit
 87 Mrs. Sita Devi

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90	"	Jivanandam
91	"	Kumbalingam Pillai
92	"	Kasamuthu Sivalingam
93	"	T. T. Krishnamachary
94	"	P. Kandaswamy Pillai
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103	"	Muthiah Nayudu
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105	"	Madhavaraj
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108	Janab	M. K. Md. Ibrahim
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114	"	Ponnuswamy Mudaliyar
115	"	Panchapakasa Iyer
116	"	Palaniappa Mudaliyar
117	"	Rathnasabapathy Pillai
118	"	P. Ramachandra Rao
119	"	V. S. Ramaswamy
120	"	M. Ramaswamy Pillai
121	"	S. Ramachandran
122	"	S. Raja Ram
123	"	Ramachandra Iyer
124	"	Raghavachary, K. S.
125	"	Rajagopala Aiyer
126	"	Rajamanickam
127	"	Rangaswamy Iyer
128	"	E. Subramanyam
129	"	Sundaram
130	"	P. Srinivasa Rao
131	"	P. Srinivasa Iyengar
132	"	K. S. Subramanya Iyer

133 Sjt. A. V. Srinivasan

134 " T. K. Pavalar

C. P. Marathi.

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3	Dr.	N. B. Khare
4	Sjt.	Mansukhlalbhair
5	"	Nilkanth Murar Ghatwai
6	"	Nilkanth Sadasheo Deshmukh
7	"	Punamchand Ranka
8	"	Pyarelal Gupta
9	"	Ramdhin RamkaranNagarwala
10	"	Vishwanathrao Umberkar
11	"	C. Raghavendra Rao

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3	"	C. K. Subramaniam
4	"	Dhirajlal C. Modi
5	"	G. S. V. Shastri
6	"	J. P. Joshi
7	"	Lalji Pendse
8	"	Madhusudan G. Bhandare
9	"	Manibhai Gopalji Desai
10	"	Munshi Mirza Mohamedali
11	"	M. N. Padweker
12	"	Sayaji L. Silam
13	"	Shanker K. Pupala
14	"	Shantaram C. Lamge
15	"	S. V. Ghate
16	"	S. S. Mirajker
17	"	Virchand Panachand Shah
18	"	A. B. Juveker

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4	"	Chidambara Bharathi
5	"	Doraikan C.
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7	"	Doraisami Iyer, N. S.
8	"	Evalappa Mudaliar, C. N.
9	"	Ganapathi, Iyer A.

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- 11 „ Ganesa Iyer, S. V.
- 12 „ Gopala Iyer, T. V.
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- 15 „ Krishnamachari, C.
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- 18 „ Krishnaswami Iyengar, V.
- 19 „ Krishna Iyer, E.
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- 21 „ Krishnaswami Iyer, V.
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- 32 „ Rajam Naig, R.
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- 36 „ Sadagopan K.
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- 51 „ Venkateswaran, B.
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- 53 „ Ramakrishnan P. S.
- 54 „ G. Seshachari
- 55 „ Venkatachala Naidu, U.
- 56 „ V. Venganna Chetti
- 57 „ Gulab Shankar Vaidya

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- 60 „ B. S. Sheshagiri
- 61 „ Jugal Kishore
- 62 „ K. D. Shastri
- 63 „ V. Krishnamachari
- 64 „ Rajagopalachari
- 65 „ G. V. Doraisamy
- 66 „ Kunj Beharilal Sharma
- 67 „ K. N. Rangasami Iyengar
- 68 „ C. S. Srinivasalu Chetti
- 69 „ K. Ramanujachari
- 70 „ Basant Lal
- 71 „ Sankar Lal
- 72 „ Utma Devi
- 73 „ Vasudeva Iyengar

Gujarat

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- 2 „ Manoharlal M. Pandya
- 3 „ Nagindas Amulakhray
- 4 „ Ramnik Prasad M. Vora
- 5 „ Sankalchand G. Shah
- 6 „ Vadilal Dalsukhram

Karnatak

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- 3 „ Anant Susarma
- 4 „ B. S. Sambasiva Iyer
- 5 „ B. Subba Rao
- 6 „ B. N. Rudrappa
- 7 „ B. Nrasimhaiah
- 8 „ B. K. Lakshminarayanayya
- 9 „ B. Ravannabasappa
- 10 „ D. Venkatarao
- 11 „ D. H. Doddaya
- 12 „ D. M. Subbaramiah
- 13 „ G. L. Narayana Swami
- 14 „ H. S. Pattabhiramaiah
- 15 „ H. T. Subba Rao
- 16 „ H. Srinivasarao
- 17 „ H. Ramarao
- 18 „ H. K. Rangsetty
- 19 „ J. Srinivasa Rao
- 20 „ K. T. Bhashyam Iyengar
- 21 „ K. Subbarao
- 22 „ K. Rangasami Iyengar

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28	„ K. Krishnamachar	75	„ Ramachandra Govind
29	„ K. P. Muniappa		Kagwad
30	Sri Lakshmikanthamamba	76	„ Rajaramapant Kelkar.
31	Janab Mahamad Haneef	77	„ Raghavendra Annaji
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	Bharadwaj	78	„ Shivabasappa Rachappa
33	„ M. Radhakrishnaiah		Manol
34	„ M. K. Chakravarti	79	„ Sanno Ramachandra Nail
35	„ M. V. Narasimhachar	80	„ Sheshagiri Tirumalrao Date
36	„ M. S. Ramachar	81	„ Shamrao Appanna
37	„ Nittor Srinivasarao		Garagatt
38	„ O. Sitapathi Rao	82	Sri. S. Venkubai Dabade.
39	„ P. Shamarao	83	Sjt. Shankar Sotwappa
40	„ P. Sitapathi Naidu		Kalghatg
41	„ Puttattimmaiah	84	„ Tawanappa Lengade.
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49	„ S. Setwajirao	91	„ B. Ramabhatta.
50	„ S. Visweswariah	92	„ B. B. Poovayya.
51	„ S. Viswanath Sastry	93	„ Chinnappa Narasepalli.
52	„ S. Narasojirao	94	„ Dandin Ramarao.
53	„ S. B. Savand setty	95	„ D. S. Hanumantharao.
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56	„ V. K. Vaidyanathan, B.A.	98	„ Govind Ladsaheb Bandre
57	„ V. Venkatadri,		ka
58	„ V. S. Narayana Rao.	99	„ G. N. Kanamadi.
59	„ Anant Srinivasa Dabade.	100	Sri. Indirabai Beldoni.
60	„ Bhimaji Balaji Potdar.	101	Sjt. J. Madappa.
61	„ B. S. Kulhalli.	102	„ K. T. Srinivasachar.
62	„ Damodar Mallappa Lengade	103	„ K. Gururaj Rao.
63	„ Damodar Anant Halsiker.	104	„ K. N. Gosavi.
64	„ Dattatrya Ramchandra Mjli.	105	„ K. P. Chinnappa.
65	„ Datto Dhondo Hanamasagar	106	„ M. Venkobarao
66	„ G. N. Thanedar.	107	„ M. M. Shanbag
67	„ Gurunath Gopal Jore.	108	„ P. Venkobacharya
68	„ Hanamant Naik	109	„ P. Sivarao
69	„ Keshava Govinda Gokhale.	110	„ P. Raghavendracharya

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117	"	T. S. Kishnarao	164	"	S. R. Mangalvedhekar
118	"	Tokur Subramhanyam	165	"	S. B. Savanur
119	"	V. R. Haldipurkar	166	"	Sangappa Horkal
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121	"	A. V. Masarguppi	168	"	Siddappa Apparaya
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124	"	B. R. Kembhavi	171	Sjt.	Sayed Abdulla Vakil
125	"	Baburao Patwardhan	172	"	T. G. Huli
126	"	Bhimarao Tulsigeri	173	"	Tammannanaik Savanur
127	"	G. T. Doddihal	174	"	T. B. Purohit
128	"	Govindarao Belgal	175	"	V. P. Parwatikar
129	"	G. L. Kanabur	176	"	V. P. Katti
130	"	Govindarao Jainapur	177	"	V. V. Albal
131	"	G. V. Jorapur	178	"	V. S. Kowjalgi
132	"	H. R. Managoli	179	"	Dr. V. P. Anklikar
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134	"	Janardanarao Vakil	181	"	Vaman Naik
135	"	K. Ramakrishnarao	182	"	Venkatrao Jamindar
136	"	K. S. Deshapande	183	"	Y. S. Tilgul
137	"	K. G. Kurandwadkar	184	"	Y. V. Dharwadkar
138	"	K. S. Kowjalgi	185	"	Yelgurdrao Patki
139	"	K. B. Bomarji	186	"	Ananta Rao N. Jalihal
140	"	Kashirao Anwatti	187	"	Ashvatharao Mahishi
141	"	K. H. Kulkarni	188	"	Baburao Patwardhan
142	"	Krishnarao Jamindar	189	"	Bhimappa Hanamappa
143	"	L. V. Tikotkar			Tirkapur
144	"	L. H. Kagal	190	"	Chikko Ramachandra Joshi
145	"	M. G. Jalwadi	191	"	Dharmanand Saraswati
146	"	Madhvarao Mangal			Sanyasi
147	"	N. V. Jorapur	192	"	Govindacharya Guttal
148	Sri	Patmavatibai	193	"	Gururao Walvekar
		Kowjalgi	194	Sri	Gangutai Shevade
149	Sjt.	Parwat Reddy Vakil	195	Sjt.	Gururaj, Udipti
150	Sri	Ramabai Kowjalgi	196	"	Hanumantacharya Pandu-
151	"	Rukminibai Kowjalgi			rangi
152	Sjt.	R. N. Desai	197	"	Krishnarao L. Muilgol
153	"	Ramanna Naik	198	"	Lingappa Venkappa Yerasi
154	"	R. N. Diwanji	199	"	Mahadev Nilkanth Joshi
155	"	Ramappa Miraji	200	"	Mallappa Naik Tatti
156	"	Ramappa Machapnavar	201	"	M. S. Kesari
157	"	R. A. Jahagirdar	202	"	Narasimha Murtachary

203	Sjt.	Narasingarao Nadgir	248	Sjt.	Bommaiah
204	"	Narasingarao Desai	249	"	Devatha Lakshminish Sastry
205	"	Narasingarao Dambal	250	"	G. Krishnappa
206	"	Rangarao Diwakar	251	"	K. R. Maridevo Gowda
207	"	Ramarao Hukkerikar	252	"	Irasavadi Puttaiah
208	"	Ramarao Shevate	253	"	K. Ponna Chetty
209	"	Raghavendra Narayan Kulkarni	254	"	K. Alasingiachar
210	"	R. N. Walvekar	255	"	K. Venkataramiah
211	"	Shivaji Gangadhar Kul- karni	256	"	K. Subbanna
212	"	Shankarbhatt Joshi	257	"	K. Markandarao
213	"	R. R. Talchukar	258	"	K. Venkatasami Iyer
214	"	Srinivasa I. Sarwade	259	"	M. A. Doraswami Iyengar
215	"	Shrinivas Ramachandra Savakar	260	"	M. A. Parthasarathy
216	Sri.	Umabai Kundapur	261	"	M. H. R. Sarma
217	Sjt.	V. N. Jog	262	"	M. A. Sreenivasa Iyengar
218	"	Venkatarao, B. Alur	263	"	N. G. Gujje Gowda
219	"	Venkatrao Mudvedkar	264	"	P. R. Ramiah
220	"	Vithalrao Joshi	265	"	R. Visvanatha Sastry
221	"	Vishvanatharao Joshi	266	"	Tagadur Ramachandrarao
222	"	Venkatdas, G. Dambal	267	"	Tirumarayana Iyengar
223	"	V. R. Huilgal	268	"	Y. Parthnarayanarao Pandit
224	"	Veerabhadrappe Shivappa Math	269	"	A. Bojarao
225	"	B. Keshavayya	270	Janab	Abdul Kadar Asadi
226	"	C. Vasudevarao	271	Sjt.	Anant Padmanabha Bhatta
227	"	C. N. Garud Iyengar	272	"	B. Narayana Somayaji
228	"	G. Shama Joshi	273	"	B. Narasingarao
229	"	Hosakoppa Krish rao	274	"	Dharmadev Vaidyavachas- pati
230	"	H. Ramabhatta	275	"	H. Ramaraya Malliya
231	"	H. S. Das Rao	276	"	Karnad Sadashivarao
232	"	Kalas Krishnarao	277	Sri.	Kamala Devi Chattopadhyia
233	"	K. Satyanarayan Settru	278	Sjt.	K. R. Acharya
234	"	K. Manjappa	279	"	K. Raghavacharya
235	"	M. L. Nagappa Settru	280	"	Kudpi Bhojarao
236	"	S. Seetharamayya	281	"	K. Pandurang Pai
237	"	Sundaram Iyer	282	"	K. L. Kudawa
238	"	S. Krishna Swamirao	283	"	M. K. Vaidya
239	"	T. L. Narayanarao	284	"	M. Madhavarao
240	"	Venkappayya	285	"	Sheshabhatt Bhide
241	"	Vastaro Honnappayy	286	"	Ullal Sanjeevarao
242	"	V. S. Sanjeevarao	287	"	U. Santaramarao
243	"	Agaram Rangiah	288	Sri.	Vidyavati Devi
244	"	A. Seetharamiah	289	Sjt.	A. J. Hanumantharao
245	"	A. Venkatesiah	290	"	B. A. Gavakar
246	"	Balachandriah	291	"	G. A. Bhatkalkar
247	"	D. Bamunaiah	292	"	H. V. Janardanayya
			293	"	H. Panduranga Bhatt

294	Sjt.	K. Venkataswamy
295	"	M. V. Rajagopalan
296	"	M. Ramarao
297	"	M. P. Nadakarni
298	"	N. Narayanasetty
299	"	Baddacharya Gudi
300	"	S. Venkatuchala Iyengar
301	"	S. R. S. Raghavan
302	"	S. S. Gulwadi
303	"	Srinivasa Kolappachar
304	"	Ukkalgeri Ramchar
305	"	V. Krishnavya
306	"	V. V. Kollali
307	"	Bindacharya Kurli
308	"	R. K. Advani

Kerala.

1	"	Achen, N. K.
2	"	Anna Ornshott
3	"	Ashta Moorthy Nambu dripad Kumar
4	"	Alipi Keyi, P. C.
5	"	Actutha Menon, V.
6	"	Appunni Menon, V.
7	"	Anantanarayana Iyer, T.R.
8	"	Ananta Shenoi
9	"	Bandarkar, M. S.
10	"	Chakko, K. V.
11	"	Chandu Nambiar, K. T.
12	"	Chandu Kutty Nambiar, M.
13	"	Chidambara Iyer, L. A.
14	"	David Marapillai.
15	"	Devanayakam Pillai.
16	"	Damodaram Nayanar, V.
17	"	Das, P. K.
18	"	Dharmaraja Iyer, M.
19	"	Ganpathi Iyer, T. A.
20	"	Gopalan Nair, V. A.
21	"	Gopala Naik, S.
22	"	Gopala, P.
23	"	Gopalakrishnan, K. G.
24	"	Govindan Nair, V. U.
25	"	Govinda Kurup, M. M.
26	"	Gopalan Nair, K.
27	Mrs.	Gopala Menon.
28	Sjt.	Gopala Paniker, K. P.
29	"	Govindan Nair, K.
30	"	Govindan Nambiar Ch.
31	"	Gopalakrishna Kurup, T.C.

32	Sjt.	Ikkanda Warriar, E.
33	Mrs.	Janaki Ammal, E.
34	Sjt.	Karunakaran Nair, P.
35	"	Kamath, M. D.
36	"	Kannan Nair, A. C.
37	"	Kesava Menon, T. C.
38	"	Kesvan Nair, P. K.
39	"	Kochu Madhava Najr, K.
40	"	Kesayan Kartha, C.
41	"	Ramaswamy Iyer, T. S.
42	Mrs.	Kochammani Ammal.
43	Sjt.	Kombrabail, S. K.
44	"	Kolappa Piliyai, N.
45	"	Kesavan Nambudri, P. S.
46	"	Krishna Iyer, R.
47	"	Krishnan Nambudripad, V. K.
48	"	Krishna Battar, N.
49	"	Krishnaswamy Iyer, T. K.
50	"	Krishnan Nair, K.
51	Mrs.	Krishna Nair, K. S.
52	Sjt.	Krishnan Nair, M. C.
53	"	Krishna Menon, V.
54	"	Krishna Koundan, M. K.
55	"	Krishnan Unni, V. K.
56	"	Krishna Pillay, P. N.
57	"	Krishna Pillay Tharjil
58	"	Krishna Pillay, P.
59	"	Kumar, K.
60	"	Kunjen Pillay Changarath
61	"	Kutten Nair, C.
62	"	Kunhappa Nambiar, K.
63	"	Kunhikanna Nambiar, E.C.
64	"	Kunhiraman Nambiar, K.T
65	"	Kunhikrishna Pillay, K. G.
66	"	Kunhikrishna Pillay, K.
67	"	Kunhisankara Menon, P. K
68	"	Kutti Krishna Menon, P.
69	"	Kutty, K. C.
70	"	Mathavanar, K.
71	Mrs.	Mathavi Ammal, K.
72	Sjt.	Mathavan Pillay, C. S.
73	"	Manunny Vellody, K. C.
74	"	Mathew, P. K.
75	"	Mathunny, M.
76	Janab	Muhammad, K. M.
77	Sjt.	Mukunda Raja
78	Janab	Muhammad Sathi
79	"	Naidu, M.E.

80	Mrs. Nair. E.K.	126	Mrs. Ramunni Menon. P.
81	Sjt. Nambiar, A.K.	127	Sjt. Ramunni. P. C.
82	" Narayanan, K.	128	" Ryr Kurup, P.
83	" Narayana, Nair, S. K.	129	" Rama Menon Pathedeth
84	" Narayana Nair, C. R.	130	Mrs. Said Mahammad
85	" Narayana Nambudripad,	131	Sjt. Sankunni. P.
	V. V.	132	" Sankara Iyer, S.
86	" Narayana Pillay, K.	133	" Sankaran Nambiar, M.
87	" Narayanan Nair, K.	134	" Sanker, K. G.
88	" Narayana Pillay, A.	135	" Scaria, C. M.
89	" Narayana Iyer, S. P.	136	" Sanku Pillay Kumblath
90	" Narayana Pillay, T. K.	137	" Sankunni Nair, K.
91	" Narayana Pillay, R.	138	" Sankurny Nair, K.
92	" Narayana Pillay, P.	139	" Sankara Narayana Menon,
93	" Narayanan Nair, P.K.		V.
94	" Neelakanda Pillai, C.N.	140	" Sankarananda
95	" Neelakanda Pillay, V. N.	141	" Seshan, C. P.
96	" Neelakanda Paniker, P.K.	142	" Sekaran Nair, C.
97	" Neelakandan, V. P.	143	" Shanji Sunderdas
98	" Narayana Menon Vallathol	144	" Sivathanu Pillay, M.
99	" Narayana Marar, K. W.	145	Mrs. Sivakami, K.
100	" Ouseph, C. A.	146	Sjt. Sreedharan Nair, G.
101	" Patthu Pillay, A. K.	147	" Subramania Pillay, P.
102	" Padmanabha Menon, K.	148	" Subramaniam, V.
103	" Paramu Pillay, P. K.	149	" Subramaniam Nambudripad
104	Mrs. Paramu Pillay, P. K.	150	" Subramania Iyer, P. R.
	(K. Janaki Ammal.)	151	" Subramania Iyer, K. V.
105	Sjt. Parameswaran Pillay, C.	152	" Subbaya Kounden, T. V.
106	" Peremal Paniker	153	" Subramania Iyer, K. S.
107	" Phillipos, A.	154	" Thamu Pillay, C. P.
108	" Pillay, A. K.	155	Mrs. Thirumala Amma,
109	" Pranji Govardhanadas	156	Sjt. Thamban, M. R.
110	" Raghavan, K.	157	" Unni Krishnan Nair, K. M.
111	" Rama Menon, V. K.	158	" Unny, M.
112	" Rama Menon, K.	159	" Vasu Menon, P.
113	" Raghava Menon, R.	160	" Vallabadas Purushotam
114	" Rama Nair, M. K.	161	" Velayudhan Pillay, K. P.
115	" Raman Pillay, G. P.	162	" Velu Pillay, P. G.
116	" Rama Iyer, Manjeri	163	" Warriar, C. S.
117	Mrs. M. S. Rama Iyer		
118	Sjt. Ramakrishna Nair, P.		Maharashtra.
119	" Rama Iyer, T. R.	1	Sjt. Abhyankar Dhondo Govind
120	Mrs. Rahailumma, M.	2	" Abhyankar Umabai
121	Sjt. Ramakrishnapillay, M.	3	" Ambadasrao, Vakil
122	" Raman Pillay, K. G.	4	" Antoo Ramachandra
123	" Raghavan Pillay, K.		Venkatesh.
124	" Ravumi Menon, P.	5	" Apte Wasudeo Govind
125	" Ramakrishna Iyer, K. S.	6	" Athavale Chintaman
			Ramkrishna

7	Sjt. Athavale Rajaram	39	Sjt. Gadre Raghunath Hari
	Dattatraya	40	„ Gandhi Bhiku Narayan Shet
8	„ Baheti Anandram Badri	41	„ Godbole Ganesh Kondo
9	„ Bal Hari Sadashiv	42	„ Gogate Gohal Raoji
10	„ Bal Pandurang Gopal	43	„ Gokhale Laxman Narayan
11	„ Barve, S. S.	44	„ Gokhale Narayan Mahadeo
12	„ Bhagwat Pandurang	45	Janab Hakim Ismail Nur-
	Mahadeo		mahomed
13	„ Bhat Vishnu Mahadeo	46	Sjt. Jaini Bhogilal
14	„ Bhawe Luxman Keshav	47	„ Jaju Ramakrishna
15	„ Bhawe Narhar Vithal		Ganeshram
16	„ Bhide Vinayak Govind	48	„ Jakatdar Vinayak
17	„ Bhuskute Vinayak		Sadashiv
	Mahadeo	49	„ Jasani Harilal, D.
18	„ Borgaonkar Gopal	50	„ Jog Narayan Sadashiv
	Ramchandra	51	„ Jog Purushottam Govind
19	„ Borgaonkar Shankar Rao	52	„ Joshi Ganesh Trimbak
	Appa Rao	53	„ Joshi Keshav Balkrishna
20	„ Brahme Dattatraya Wasu-	54	„ Joshi Pandurang Wasudeo
	deo	55	„ Joshi Viswanath Bapuji
21	„ Brahme Govind Hanmant	56	„ Joshi Wasudeo Ganesh
22	„ Chandiwal Bhavolal	57	„ Kadi Sundar, P.
	Kishanlal	58	„ Kanale Viswanath
23	„ Chhapkhane Keshav		Chanappa
	Ramchandra	59	„ Kamitkar Laxman
24	„ Chirmule Wasudeo Ganesh		Janardan
25	„ Dabke Shivnarayan	60	„ Kapadia Parmanand
	Narayan		Kuvarji
26	„ Dandekar Raghunath	61	„ Keshav Rao, Vakil
	Gangadhar	62	„ Khatri Ramachandra
27	„ Dandekar Ramachandra		Martand
	Mahadeo	63	„ Kora Chhotubhai Balabhai
28	„ Dange S. A.	64	„ Koratkar Vinayak Rao
29	„ Deshmukh Abaji	65	„ Kotwal Purushottam
	Purshottam		Keshav
30	„ Deshmukh Shivalingappa	66	„ Kulkarni Shankar Sadashiv
	Annarao	67	„ Kulkarni Sitaram Raoji
31	„ Deshpande Annaji Gopal	68	„ Lalit Sitaram Vishnu
32	„ Deshpande Bhimrao	69	„ Laturkar Raghavendra Rao
	Trimbak	70	„ Limaye Kasinath Bhaskar
33	„ Deshpande Vithal	71	„ Mahajan Bhagwant
	Ranganath Rao		Vinayak
34	„ Devakinandan Narayan	72	„ Mahajan Parashuram
35	„ Divekar Dinkar Wasudeo		Vithal
36	„ Diwan Govindrao	73	„ Manikechand Virchand
37	„ Ektare Raghunath	74	„ Maoji Govindji Shet
	Balkrishna	75	„ Marathe Damodar
38	„ Gadgil Narhar Vishnu		Sadashiv

76	Sjt.	Marathey Ganesh		112	Sjt.	Shroff Chhototalal Ramdas
		Sadashiv		113	"	Soman Ramchandra
77	"	Mehta Joyasukhlal				Ganesh
		Krishnlal		114	"	Thakur Narsimha Bhau
78	"	Mehta Ramnikrai, N.		115	"	Trilokekar Balaji Ramrao
79	"	Mokashi Purushottam		116	"	Tulpule Hari Vithal
		Narhar		117	"	Vaidya Jairam Vishnu
80	"	Mone Krishnaraj		118	Mrs.	Vaidya Mrs. Sitabai
		Parashuram				Jairam
81	"	Motilal Virchand		119	Sjt.	Vinayakrao, Bar-at-law
82	"	Mula Appaji Pandurang		120	"	Waluskar Balji Bhavanrao
83	Mrs.	Naik Mrs. Mukta Khai		121	"	Welkar Chandrakant Bal-
84	Sjt.	Naik Sakharam Sitaram				mukund
85	"	Naik Waman Ramchandra				
86	"	Padhye Bhagwant Appaji				
87	"	Palnitkar Ganesh Hari				
88	"	Parchure Balwant Vishnu				
89	"	Patankar Narayan Ganesh				
90	"	Pataskar Hari Vinayak				
91	"	Patel Haribhai, M.				
92	"	Pendse Narayan Vinayak				
93	"	Phadke Sakharam Ganesh				
94	"	Phadnis Anant Wasudeo				
95	"	Phansalkar Balkrishna				
		Hari				
96	"	Phatak Dattatraya				
		Atmaram				
97	"	Phatak Laxman Balwant				
98	"	A. Potdar Waman More-				
		shwar				
99	"	Purvant Bhikoo Raoji				
100	Mrs.	Rajkuwarbai Rishabdas				
101	Sjt.	Ranade Gopal Mahadeo				
102	"	Ranade Govind Mahadeo				
103	"	Ranade Narayan Vithal				
104	"	Rishabdas Pratapmal				
105	"	Sahgal Naraindas H.				
106	"	S a s t r i Swaminathan				
		Krishna				
107	Janab	Sayeed Mahammad Abdul				
		Latheef				
108	Sjt.	Shaha Manikchand				
		Virchand				
109	"	Shaha Popatlal Ram-				
		chandra				
110	"	Sharma Raghavendra				
		Bhimrao				
111	"	Shendurnikar Sakharam				
		Gopal				

34	Sjt.	A. Subrayalu	81	Sjt.	Subramania Pillai, S.
35	"	T. R. Ramaswami Iyengar	82	"	Sellamuthu Pillai
36	"	A. Kuppaswami Iyengar	83	Mrs.	Soundira Ammal
37	"	M. S. Sesha Iyengar	84	Sjt.	Shanmugam
38	"	R. Meenakshisundaram Iyer	85	"	Satayanayakar, S.
39	"	A. Satyamurthi	86	"	Sellamuthu
40	"	A. Ranganna	87	"	Sitaraman, A. V.
41	"	Sundaravaradan	88	"	Subbaih, C. T.
42	"	Balasubramaniam, V.	89	"	Sundaram Iyer, C. S.
43	"	Chithambara Ambalam n	90	"	Subramaniam, S. S.
44	"	Chinnasami Pillai	91	"	Tulasiram, L. K.
45	"	Durai Ragavan, P. C.	92	Mrs.	Sundarammal
46	"	Gapalasastri, T. S.	93	"	Sivakami Ammal
47	"	Govindasami Naidu, R.	94	Sjt.	Velaismipillai
48	"	Govindasami	95	"	S. R. Krishnamachari
49	"	Gubli Sundaresan, L.	96	"	S. S. Rajagopalan
50	"	Harihara Iyer	97	"	K. S. Narayanan
51	Mrs.	Janakiyammal	98	"	R. Madhava Rao
52	Sjt.	Krishnasami Iyengar, E.R.	99	"	Kuppasami Thathachari
53	"	Kalyanam, T. S.	100	"	T. S. Doraswami
54	"	Krishnamoorthy, K. S.	101	Janab	T. Abdulla
55	"	M. M. Krishnamoorthy	102	Sjt.	Mannar Naidu
56	"	Krishnasamy Iyengar, M.R.	103	"	C. Krishnamoorthy
57	"	Muniyandi Pillai, K. P.	104	"	Dowlat Ram
58	Janab	Muhamad Ali	105	"	Rajagopaul
59	Sjt.	Mariappan, S.	106	"	Subramania Iyer
60	"	Mukka Nayakar	107	"	Venkatrama Iyer
61	"	Muthiah	108	"	T. Subbarow
62	"	Narayanasami, S.	109	"	N. Ch. Bhima Raju
63	"	Narasimhan, T. N.	110	"	J. Mallapa Raju
64	"	Nagasami Iyer, T.	111	"	M. Narasanna
65	"	Nallakannu	112	"	K. Venkata Siva Raju
66	"	Narayanan, S.	113	"	D. Subrahmanyam
67	"	Pancharathinam	114	Mrs.	D. Subrahmanyam
68	"	Palani Gounder	115	Sjt.	K. L. N. Somayajulu
69	"	Parameswaran, P.	116	"	D. V. Narasimha Rao
70	"	Ponnusamy Iyer, S.	117	"	M. Lakshmipathi
71	"	Purushothaman	118	"	K. Hingasayi
72	"	Rajamani Naidu	119	Mrs.	K. Venkata Subbamma
73	"	Ramasamy, N. S.	120	Sjt.	D. Lakshminarayana
74	"	Ragava Iyengar, T. S.	121	"	R. V. Narasimha Rao
75	"	Radakrishna Iyer, R.	122	"	V. Raghava Rao,
76	"	Ranga Rao, V. M. K.	123	"	R. M. V. Narsimha Rao
77	"	Raman, S.	124	"	K. Jagunathan
78	"	Rangasamy Iyengar, R.	125	"	C. Jogiah
79	"	Seshadri	126	"	D. Santiah
80	"	Sadasivan S. S.	127	"	V. Narasimham

128	Sjt. K. Siva Ramakrishna-	
	murthi	
129	" A. Subbarayan	
130	" P. Rayappa	
131	" P. Ramachari	
132	" N. Somayajulu	
133	" B. V. Subbarao	
134	" J. Venkateswarlu Rao	
135	" B. Ramalingam	
136	" R. Satyanarayana	
137	" D. Krishna Rao	
138	" G. Somaraju	
139	" K. Kamaraju	
140	" K. Lakshminarasimlu	
141	" G. Satyanaryana	
142	" J. Veerna	
143	" M. Nagaraju	
144	" Y. Timpayya	
145	" P. Zakherai	
146	Mrs. Zakharai	
147	Sjt. D. V. S. Ross	
148	Mrs. Ross	
149	Sjt. K. Janardhana Rao	
150	" M. Hanumantha Rao	
151	" P. Vithal Rao	
152	" M. Somasekhara Sarma	
153	" Vangala Satyanarayana	
154	" A. Audinarayana	
155	" Muduganti Satyanarayana	
156	" Arumilli Subbaras	
157	" A. Venkataratnam	
158	" N. Vasanta Rao	
159	" J. Sathiraju	
160	" S. Rangachari	
161	" P. Venkiah	
162	Mrs. P. Beema Iyah.	
163	Sjt. Malapaty Venkata	
	Kristnaiah	
164	" Gaoram Basawaraju	
165	" D. Sitaram	
166	" Boddapaty Venkateswar	
	Rao	
167	" Katur Sankarao	
168	" Yellanebili Subbaiah	
169	" Ruichristala Suryamoorthy	
170	" Daliparty Venkatarao	
171	" Chenuru Venkata Subbarao	
172	" M. A. Amlanandaa	

173	Sjt. Govindasami Oodayar	
174	" T. S. Krishna Iyer	
175	" Annasami	
176	" Lalla Balbir Parshad	
177	" Lalla Duni Chand	
178	" K. Viswanathan	
179	" Lalla Raja Ram	
180	" Lalla Shiv Dayal Bhatia	
181	" Lalla Sham Lal	

Sind.

1	Sjt. Jamshed, N. R. Mehta	
2	" S. A. Lula	
3	" Mulraj Doongersi	
4	" Gopaldas Topandas	
5	" Chamandas Isardas	
6	Mrs. Parbati Bai	
7	" Poor Bai	
8	Sjt. Moolchand Gidumal	
9	" Persumal Wadhmal	
10	" Motiram Teckchand	
11	" Khubchand Mendaram	
12	" Detaram Shamdas	
13	" Ramchand Lilaram	
14	" Rochaldas Gidumal	
15	" Gulabhai Shewaram	
16	" P. L. Narasimham	
17	" D. Apparao	
18	" S. Venkataraman	
19	" P. Balaji Rao	
20	" Rughoomal Soomamal	
21	" Tulsidas Mohandae	
22	" S. T. Kallapiran	
23	" L. Loga Natha Naicker	
24	" M. R. Kodandram	
25	" K. K. Vasudevan	
26	" Sreedharan Unni Nair	
27	" N. Sundara Iyer	
28	" S. Neelakanta Iyer	
29	" S. Narayana Iyer	
30	" Dwarakadas Morarji	
31	" Naromdas Ranchordas	
32	" Sundradas Rathanasay	
33	" Pramji Kallianji	
34	" Bhai Khanchand Nanam	

Tamil Nadu.

- 1 Sjt. Alagaswamy Iyer, S.K.
- 2 Janab Adem Sahib, M.
- 3 Mrs. Asalmbikai Ammal Pandi-
thai
- 4 Janab Alla Baksh
- 5 „ Abdul Maji Sahib, K.A.
- 6 „ Abdul Jafar Sahib
- 7 „ Abdul Hamed Sahib
- 8 „ Abdul Kareem Sahib, T.A.
- 9 „ Abdul Khaddar Sahib, S.
- 10 Sjt. Adikesavalu Naicker, P.M.
- 11 „ Adikesavalu Mudaliar, S.
- 12 Janab (Hafis) Ahmed Moeran
Sahib
- 13 Mrs. Alamelu Ammal
- 14 Sjt. Alagiriswamy Naidu Garu
- 15 „ Alagiriswamy Naidu, K.
- 16 „ Anantaraman, T. S.
- 17 „ Anantaraja Mudaliar, A.J.
- 18 „ Ramdoss Pillay, S.R.
- 19 „ Annamalai Pillay, N.
- 20 „ Aravamuthu Ayyangar,
G. S.
- 21 „ Armugam Pillay, K.
- 22 „ Arthanari Iyer, B.N.
- 23 „ Arivananda Swami
- 24 „ Arunachalla Iyer, A. V.
- 25 „ Arunachallam, D. V.
- 26 „ Arunagiri Chettiar, S.
- 27 „ Asher Sait, D. O.
- 28 Janab Abbas Ali Sahib, M.
- 29 Sjt. Arunachala Maniagar, A. V.
- 30 „ Bhaktavatsalam Mudaliar,
M.
- 31 „ Bangaru Achari, M.
- 32 „ Balamuniappa Chetty, A.K.
- 33 „ Balakrishna Mudaliar, K.
- 34 „ Badruswamy Chettiar, K.C.
- 35 „ Baksha Badu Naickar
- 36 Janab Babajahn Sahib, T. M.
- 37 Sjt. Brahmanikam Pillay, R.K.
- 38 „ Chellappa Iyer, C. A.
- 39 „ Chokkalinga Konar, M. P.
R. M.
- 40 „ Chokkalingam Pillai
- 41 „ Chokkalingam Chettia r, S.
- 42 Sjt. Chokkalingam Chettiar, K.
- 43 „ Chinnaswamy Raju, C. R.
- 44 „ Chidambaram Chettiar, U.
- 45 „ Chidambaram Pillay, V. O.
- 46 „ Daiaanayaka Desikar R.
- 47 „ Devanatha Chettiar S. G.
- 48 „ Dhinakara Naidu, P. S.
- 49 „ Doraiswamy Iyer, N.
- 50 „ Doraiswamy Mudaliar, P.S.
- 51 „ Doraiswamy Reddiar, N.
- 52 „ Doraiswamy Odayar
- 53 „ Doraiswamy Soliar, M.
- 54 „ Doraiswamy, M. N.
- 55 „ Elumalai Mudaliar
- 56 „ Eswera Murthy Gounder,
K. R.
- 57 „ Ethirajulu Naidu, K.
- 58 „ Ekambaram Chettiar
- 59 „ Ekambaram Chettiar, V.
- 60 „ Ganapathy Mudaliar, T.
- 61 „ Ganapathy Chetty, K. M.
- 62 „ Ganapathy Iyer, S.
- 63 „ Ganesa Iyer, S. G.
- 64 „ Gnanasambandam, S. V.
- 65 „ Gnanadesikam Pillai, J. P.
- 66 „ Gopala Mudaliar, B.
- 67 „ Gopala Iyer, M.
- 68 „ Gopala Chettiar, G. B. V.
- 69 „ Gopala Iyengar, S. V.
- 70 „ Gopala Rao, T. R.
- 71 „ Gopala Iyengar, S.
- 72 „ Gopala Iyengar, K.
- 73 „ Gopalaratnam Iyer, C. N.
- 74 „ Gopalswamy Iyer, L. N.
- 75 „ Govindan, M.
- 76 „ Govinda Chetty, T.
- 77 „ Govindasamy Mudaliar, M.
- 78 „ Govindaswamy Pillai, S.
- 79 „ Govindaraju Mudaliar, C.S.
- 80 „ Govindarajulu Pathar
- 81 Janab Gulam Dastagir Sahib, K.E.
- 82 Sjt. Gurunatha Mudaliar, V. C.
- 83 „ Halasyam, N.
- 84 Janab Haji Muhammad Moulana
Sahil
- 85 Sjt. Hiralal Sait
- 86 „ Iyyamperumal Pillai
- 87 Mrs. Jayalakshmi Ammal

- 88 Sjt. Janakirama Mudaliar
89 Janab Jaffer Hussein Kalami
90 Sjt. Letchmanan Chettiar, R.
91 Mrs. Visalakshmi Ammal, T. R.
92 Sit. Latchmikanthan
93 Mrs. Latchmipathi Ammal.
94 Sjt. Lakshminaraya Iyengar
C. R.
95 .. Lakshminarayana Iyer, S.
96 .. Kanakasabapathi Pillai
97 .. Kandaswamy Pillai, P.
98 .. Kuppaswamy Mudaliar, A.
99 .. Kuppaswamy Mudaliar, V.
100 .. Kuppaswamy Iyer, A.
101 .. Kuppaswamy Iyer, M. V.
102 .. Kuppuraju, A. V.
103 .. Kulandai, D.
104 .. Kumarasamy Raju, P. S.
105 .. Kavyakanta Ganapathi
Shastrigal
106 .. Kalyanarama Iyer, K.
107 .. Kalyanasundaram Iyer,
L. S.
108 .. Kathappathuraiyundar
109 Janab Kothar Baksha Sahib
110 Sjt. Kamaraj Nadar
111 .. Kanniah Mudaliar, P.
112 .. Kandasamy Chettiar, A. P.
113 .. Kesava Pillai A.
114 .. Krishna Rao, K.
115 .. Krishna Iyer, U.
116 .. Krishnan, P. V.
117 .. Krishnamachariar T. N.
118 .. Krishnamachariar, D.
119 .. Krishna Iyer, S. V.
120 .. Krishnamachariar, T. R.
121 .. Krishnaswamy Naidu,
Garu, A.
122 .. Krishnaswamy Rao, O. V.
123 .. Krishnaswamy Iyer, V. N.
124 .. Krishnaswamy Iyengar, K.
125 .. Krishnaswamy Iyer, P. S.
126 .. Krishnaswamy Iyengar,
V. S.
127 .. Krishnaswamy Naidu, R.
128 .. Krishnaswamy Iyer, K. V.
129 .. Krishnaswamy Iyengar,
T. S.
130 Sjt. Krishnaswamy Iyengar, S.
131 .. Krishnaswamy Chettiar,
S. I.
132 .. Krishnamurthy Rao, P.
133 .. Krishnamachariar, M. O.
134 Janab Mohamed Sicandar
Ambalan
135 Sjt. Madaswamy Chettiar
136 Mrs. Mathavi Ammal
137 Sjt. Mahadeva Iyer, D. R.
138 .. Mahadeva Iyer, T. R.
139 .. Musilamany Pillai, A.
140 .. Menakshisundaram Iyer, S.
141 .. Mahadeva Reddiar, M.
142 Janab Mohamed Ibrahim Rowthe
143 .. Mohideen Rowther
144 Sjt. Mohanlal Sait, A.
145 .. Maniam Arthanari
Chettia
146 .. Mariappa Pillai, M.
147 .. Masilamani Pillai, R.
148 Janab Muhamad Sahib
149 .. Mohamed Moheedin Sahib
A. K.
150 Sjt. Munuswamy Naidu, K. G.
151 .. Muthuswamy Chettiar, A. S.
152 Janab Mohamed Meera Sahib
153 .. Mohamed Badha Sahib
154 Sjt. Murugappa Chettiar
155 .. Munusamy Chettiar
156 .. Munuswamy Chettiar, P.
157 .. Muthu Mudaliar, S.
158 .. Muthuswamy Udayar, P.
159 .. Murugesu Mudaliar, K.
160 .. Muthukrishna Pillai
161 .. Muthurama Iyer, K. S.
162 .. Muthukumaraswamy
Pillai
163 .. Muthuvelu Chettiar
164 .. Muthukumaraswamy
Pillai
165 Janab Mohamed Ismail Sahib, T. A.
166 Sjt. Muthu Chettiar, T. K.
167 .. Muthuswamy Naidu, V.
168 .. Murugesam Pillai
169 .. Muthurama Velar, N. E.
170 .. Muthuswamy, K. S.
171 .. Muthia Das, V. S.

172	Sjt.	Muthia Pillai, S.	219	Sjt.	Purushothaman, G. N.
173	"	Muthuswamy Iyer, T. R.	220	"	Purushothama Mudaliar, S.
174	"	Munuswamy Iyer, V.	221	"	Ramaswamy Naidu Garu V. A.
175	"	Natesan, A.	222	"	Ramaswamy Sastrigal
176	"	Natesa Iyer	223	"	Ramaswamy Iyer, A.
177	"	Natesam Pillai, S.	224	"	Ramaswamy Iyer, S.
178	"	Natesa Mudaliar	225	"	Ramaswamy Mudaliar, T.S
179	"	Nataraja Pillai, V.	226	"	Ramaswamy Iyengar
180	"	Nataraja Iyer, G. S.	227	"	Ramaswamy Chettiar, O.K,
181	Mrs.	Navaneethammal	228	"	Ramaswamy Naicker. N.
182	Sjt.	Nagaratnam Iyer, A.S.	229	"	Ramudu Iyah. <i>alias</i> Rama- swamy Iyah.
183	"	Nagiah Chettiar, C. R	230	"	Ramakrishna Mudliar
184	"	Nangundiah, S.	231	"	Ramakrishnan, T. S.
185	"	Nambi Iyer, M.	232	"	Rama Arunachalam, R.
186	"	Narayana Iyer, M. K.	233	"	Ramachandra Iyer, T.
187	"	Narayanaswami Iyer, C. V.	234	"	Ramachandra Sastri, S.
188	"	Narayana Iyer, N.	235	"	Ramachandra Iyer, C. S.
189	"	Narayana Swamy Pillai, P.	236	"	Ramachandra Rao, K. B.
190	"	Narayanaswamy Vanniar	237	"	Ramasesha Iyer, D.
191	"	Narayana Iyer, K. V.	238	"	Ramasesha Iyer, T.
192	"	Nattu Narayana Rao	239	"	Ramalinga Bhagavathar
193	"	Narasimha Iyer, V. E.	240	"	Ramalinga Chettiar, T.
194	"	Narasimhulu Naidu	241	"	Ramalinga Iyer, S. V.
195	"	Narasimha Chettiar, M. P.	242	"	Ramalingam Pillai
196	"	Narasimhachariar, T. M.	243	"	Ramanujachari, M. N.
197	"	Narasupillai, T. V.	244	"	Ramanuja Iyengar, V.
198	"	Ondimuthu Gounder	245	"	Ramanatha Iyer, G.
199	"	Padmanabha Chettiar	246	"	Ramiah Pillai, M. D.
200	"	Pasupathy Iyer,	247	"	Rama Mudaliar, A.
201	"	Pasupathy Pillai, N.	248	"	Ramiah Chettiar
202	"	Palayani swami	249	"	Rama Iyer, K.
203	"	Palaniswamy Pandaram	250	"	Rama, T. K.
204	"	Palanikumarapillai, P.	251	"	Ramia, N. P.
205	"	Palanivelu Pillai, T. S.	252	"	Sethuramana Iyengar, L.
206	"	Pattabirama Iyer, Y.	253	"	Raghavundra Rao, K. V.
207	"	Pattabirama Iyer, N. K.	254	"	Ratnamudaliar, V.
208	"	Pathinettampadi Asari, S.	255	"	Ratnasawmy Kalingarayor, P. K.
209	"	Pachiamuthu Pillai	256	"	Ratnasabapathy Mudaliar, M.
210	"	Parthasarathy Mudaliar, E.	257	"	Rathakrishna Chettiar
211	"	Panchapakosa Iyer, T. M.	258	"	Rajmanikkam Chettiar, F.
212	"	Panchapakosa Iyer, R.	259	"	Rajagopalachari, S.
213	"	Padmanabha Rao, J.	260	"	Rajagopaul Naidu, C.
214	"	Paramasivam Pillai, S. R.	261	"	Rajagopaul Naicker
215	"	Perumal Chettiar, P. L. K.	262	"	Rajaram Reddiar, N.
216	"	Perumal Reddiar, S.	263	Mrs.	Rajambadevi Ammal
217	"	Ponnuswamy Chettiar, N. V.			
218	"	Ponnambalachari, A.			

264	Sjt. Rajaratnam Pillai	310	Sjt. Srinivasa Rao, W.
265	Mrs. Rukmani Ammal	311	" Srinivasan, C. R.
266	Sjt. Rangiah Pattar	312	" Srinivasa Iyer, L. S.
267	Mrs. Ranganaiiki Ammal	313	" Srinivasa Iyer, V.
268	Sjt. Rangaswami Reddiar	314	" Srinivasa Iyengar A.
269	" Rangaswamy Mudaliar	315	" Srinivasa Iyengar, A. P.
270	" Rangaswamy Pillai, S.	316	" Srinivasa Iyengar, S. P.
271	" Ranganaikulu Chettiar, K.	317	" Srinivasa Iyer, K.
272	Mrs. Sampurnambal	318	" Sundararaja Iyengar, P. S.
273	Sjt. Samiappa Mudaliar, N. R.	319	" Sundaram Iyer
274	" Soundappa Chettiar, M.S.T.	320	" Sukkaraj Dubar
275	" Sastriar, P. K.		Sowcar, P. C.
276	" Sabapathi Chettiar	321	" Subbiah Thevar P. M.
277	" Sankaran Pillai, R.	322	" Subramania Pillai, N.
278	" Sangilia Pillai, P.	323	" Subramania Mudaliar, C.
279	" Sangilia Pillai, S.	324	" Suryanarayana Iyer, E.
280	" Samiappa Chettiar	325	" Subbiah Chettiar, S. V.P.
281	" Sesha Iyer, K.	326	" Subramania Iyer, S. V.
282	" Seshagiri Iyer, K.	327	" Subramaniam, R. V.
283	" Seshachala Iyer, M. S.	328	" Subramania Iyer, V. A.
284	" Shanmugam Chettiar, V.S.	329	" Sundaram, P.
285	" Swami Shanmuganandam	330	" Sudaliyandi Chettiar
286	Janab Shake Ahmed Sahib	331	" Sundaram Pillai, N.
287	Sjt. Shanmugam Murthiar	332	" Subramania Iyer, R. V.
288	" Shanmugam Sundara Nainar	333	" Subramania Iyer, R.
289	" Shanmugam Pillai	334	" Subbiah Mudaliar, C. P.
290	" Shanmugavelu chettiar	335	" Subramaniam, K.
291	" A. V. Seetharam	336	" Sundaram Pillai, P.
292	" B. Seetharama Iyer.	337	" Subbaiyer, P. V.
293	" B. Seetharama Iyah	338	" Subbiah, P. S.
294	" Swami Singaravelu	339	" Subramania Iyer, V.
295	" Singaram Padayachi	340	" Subbarama Sastrigal, T. S.
296	" Sivasamba Iyer	341	" Subbiah Pillai
297	" M. Sivaprakasam Pillai	342	" Sundaram Pillai, A.
298	" Sirangi Chettiar	343	" Subbaraya Iyer, N.
299	" Sivaramakrishna Iyer, A.	344	" Subramania Iyer, A. V.
300	" Sivaramakrishna Iyer, N.	345	" Swaminatha Iyer, P. S.
301	" Somasundara Mudaliar, D.	346	" Swaminatha Iyer, A.
302	" Somasundara Nadar	347	" Swaminatha Chettiar, C. S.
303	" Soundararaja Iyengar	348	" Swaminatha Iyer, L. S.
304	" Somasundaram Pillai, K.	349	" Swaminatha Chettiar, S.
305	" Srinivasa Rao, C. K.	350	Janab Syed Ebrahim, D. K.
306	" Srinivasachariar, S.	351	" Syed Yussof Sahib
307	" Srinivasa Chari, N.	352	" Thangamiran Sahib, V. K.
308	" Srinivasanthatachari, S. R.	353	Mrs. Thyamal
309	" Srinivasachariar, S.	354	Sjt. Thyagaraja Iyer, T. S.
		355	" Thyagaraja Sivam

356	Sjt.	Thirthagiri Chettiar
357	"	Thirukkudasundaram Pillai
358	"	Thirunaryana Iyengar, R.
359	"	Thiruvengkatachariar, V.K.
360	"	Udayappan, K.U.S.P.
361	"	Varadappa Chettiar
362	"	Varadarajulu Chettiar
363	"	Varadachariar, N. D.
364	"	Varadarajulu Naidu, O. D.
365	"	Varadaraja Mudaliar
366	"	Vasudeva Rao, E. R.
367	"	Vaidynathaswami Iyer, G.
368	"	Vaidynatha-Iyer, M.K.
369	"	Vydiaalinga Nadar, B. T. P.
370	"	Vydiaalinga Mudaliar
371	"	Viyyapuripandaram
372	"	Venkatachalam, E.P.
373	"	Venkatachalam Iyer, V.
374	"	Venkatachala Mudaliar
375	"	Venkatachala Sastriar, M.
376	"	Venkatachalam Iyer, S. S.
377	"	Venkataramam Reddiar
378	"	Venkadasubba Naidu, K.
379	"	Venkatasubba Naidu, K.
380	"	Venkatrama Shastriar, L.
381	"	Venkatrama Iyer, M.
382	"	Venkatramana Iyer, S. R.
383	"	Venkatrama Iyer, Y.
384	"	Venkatrama Iyer, G. V.
385	"	Venkatram, T. R.
386	"	Venkatarama Shastriar, S.
387	"	Venkatappa Goundar, K.
388	"	Venkata Aryan, P. S.
389	"	Venkatathri Naidu, G.
390	"	Venkatramanaswamy, S.
391	Mrs.	Vedanayaka Ammal
392	Sjt.	Velayudam Chettiar,
		K. K. N. V.
393	"	Velayudam Pillai
394	"	Velmurugappa Chettiar
395	"	Veerappan, P. M.
396	"	Veeraraghava Iyer, C. R.
397	"	Venugopaul Pillai
398	"	Viswanatha Chettiar, S.
399	"	Viswanatha Iyer, U. V.
400	"	Viswanatha Iyer, R. C.
401	"	Viswanathan, T. K.
402	"	Veerasamy Nainar

United Provinces.

1	Janab Ahmad Jama Khan
2	Sjt. Amode Kumar
3	" Annapurna Nanda
4	Janab Abdul Aziz Ansari
5	" Abdur Rahman Sidiqui
6	Sjt. Babu Ran Ji
7	" Bansidhar Gupta
8	" Baijnath Singh
9	" Bishwambhar Singh
10	" Biswanath Singh
11	" Balakrishna Biswanath
	Keskar
12	" Balbhadra Prasad Shukla
13	" Bulikaran Mishra
14	" Ful Chand Jee
15	" Gauri Shankar Jee
16	" Ganga Deen Jee
17	" Goberdhan Prasad Jee
18	" Gajananda Jee
19	" Chandika Prasad
20	" Chundra Bhanu Gupta
21	" Chiranji Lal Paliwal
22	" Chiranji Lall
23	" Chandra Bhan Jawahri
24	" Chundra Dutt Pande
25	" C. Rakunni Nedungadi
26	" Dharma Narayan
27	" G. G. Jog
28	" Hars Deo Vali
29	" Harigovind Pant
30	" Har Prasad Singh
31	" Hari Dass Harjiwan
32	" Hemnath Veerji
33	" Hari Dass Hargovind Jee
34	" Indradeva Tripathi
35	" Jaideo Singh Sharma
36	" J. Paraya Sastry
37	" Khalikujjaman Choudhry
38	" Khanmanjee
39	" Kamla Pati Sastry
40	" Kasipati Tripathi
41	Srimati Krishna Kumari Nehru
42	Sjt. Krishna Chundra Sharma
43	" K. V. Nateshan
44	" K. Shankaran
45	" Kizhedeth Vasudewan
46	" K. P. Gopala Menan

47	Sjt. Lallu Mal Jee	93	Sjt. Vishnu Karan Set
48	" Lakshmi Dutt Bhatt	94	" V. S. Ramaswami Iyer.
49	Srimati Maharani Devi Awasti	95	" Bithal Dass Krishna Dass
50	Sjt. Chandika Prasad	96	" Asman Singh
51	" Manjit Singh Rathaur	97	" A. R. Srinivasan
52	Janab M. Shuaib Qureshi	98	" A. Narasimha Iyer
53	Sjt. Mahabir Singh	99	" Arthi Panchapagesa Iyer
54	Mrs. Jawahar Lal Nehru	100	" A. Rangaswami Iyer
55	Srimati Maha Laxmi Bai	101	" Brijpal Singh
56	Sjt. Madhusudan Dass	102	" Baijnath Kepur
57	" M. Raman Karup	103	" C. R. Srinivasa Iyengar
58	" M. S. Rangaswami	104	" C. A. C. Kasinathan Chetty
59	Mrs. M. S. Rangaswami	105	" C. R. Srinivasa Iyengar
60	Sjt. M. S. Krishnaswami	106	" C. Subramania Mudaliar
	Iyengar	107	" C. Rama Swami Iyengar
61	Mrs. M. S. Krishnaswami	108	" Danlat Rai Asthana
	Iyengar	109	" D. S. Aruvamutha Iyengar
62	Sjt. Nardeo Sastri	110	" G. M. Rama Swami Iyer
63	" Pyare Lal Jee	111	" G. Seshadri Iyengar
64	" Parasuram Rai	112	" G. Desiga Iyengar
65	" Parmeswar Dutt Jee	113	" Harnarainlal Varma
66	" P. S. Nellaiyappa Pillai	114	" Kameshwarprasad Pande
67	" P. M. Swami Natha Iyer	115	" K. Gopala Krishna Iyer
68	" Prayag Jee Moongi	116	" Kuppuswami Iyer
69	" Ram Narayan	117	" Kuppiah Mudaliar
70	" Ramgati Pande	118	" K. S. Sivasubramania Aiyar
71	" Ramchandra Sinha	119	" K. Rama Iyer
72	" Raghunath Singh	120	" K. Viswanatha Iyer
73	" Ram Kumar Singh	121	Mrs. Kalyani Ammal
74	" Raghubir Sahay	122	Sjt. K. S. Rama Iyer
75	" R. Ramaswami Iyengar	123	" K. V. K. Charlu
76	" R. Narayanan	124	" Krishnamachari
77	" R. Raghunthachari	125	" Lachminarain Tandon
78	" Sri Bhagwat Misra	126	" M. R. Sambasiva Iyer
79	" Srinath Tiwari	127	" M. S. Venkatarama Iyer
80	" Seo Prasad Lal	128	" M. S. Veeraraghava Iyengar
81	" Sawa Din Tripathi	129	" S. Subramania Iyer
82	" Sahdeo Singh	130	" M. N. Sankara Iyer
83	" Seoram Agnihotri	131	" M. Ramier
84	" Sheo Prasad Gupta	132	Janab Mohammed Hasan Mulni
85	" Shivaji Dhosa Bai	133	Sjt. Nawalkishoreji
86	" S. Krishna Moorthi	134	" N. M. Natesan Nadar
87	" S. Ganesan	135	" N. S. Sarangapani Iyengar
88	Srimati Tai Jee Dikshit	136	" N. Mahalinga Iyer
89	" Tara Pado Bhattacharjee	137	" N. Raghvachari
90	" T. S. Subramaniam	138	" N. S. Mani
91	" T. P. C. Kidabo	139	" O. Sun laravaradan
92	Janab Usman Sahib	140	" P. Gopala Iyer

141	Sjt. Ganesa Iyer	189	Sit. S. Ramachandra Iyer
142	" P. S. Anantarama Iyer	190	" N. Balakrishna Iyer
143	" P. S. Iyer	191	" C. R. Mudaliar
144	" P. C. Chakravarthi	192	" A. Govindaraja Iyengar
145	" Radha Krishna	193	" G. Mahadevan
146	" Sundarier	194	" A. M. S. Krishnamachari
147	" R. Krishnaswami Iyengar	195	Mrs. Krishnamachari
148	" R. R. Bhashyam Iyengar	196	Mrs. Ranganayaki
149	" Ragunatha Mudaliar	197	Sjt. K. Seshadri Iyengar
150	" R. Sadagopan	198	" S. Seshadri Iyengar
151	" Souriraja Iyengar	199	" A. Sarangapani
152	" Raghunathaswami Iyengar	200	" M. S. Krishnaswami Iyer
153	" R. Vaithianathaswami Iyer	201	" T. N. C. Srinivasa Varada char
154	" Rauf Jaffry	202	" C. N. Krishnaswami
155	" S. Sallshnu Narasimha	203	" K. S. Sundaram
156	" S. Natesa Iyer	204	" N. Narayanaswami
157	" Subrahmaniam Iyer	205	Mrs. K. Vedavalli Ammal
158	" S. Rangaswami Iyengar	206	Sjt. C. V. Jayarama Iyer
159	" Srinivash Rao	207	" K. Rangaswami Iyengar
160	" S. P. Subramanaiyer	208	" Narayana Iyengar
161	" S. L. Kashi Chettiar	209	" Achyuta Mouli
162	" S. Subbiah Pillai	210	" S. P. Rama Iyer
163	" Tirvankatachari	211	" K. Swaminatha Iyer
164	" Saminatha Josiar	212	" K. Seshadri
165	" S. Rangaswami Iyengar	213	" N. P. Krishnamurti
166	" S. Chakrapani Iyengar	214	" S. Venkatachariar
167	" S. Rangaswami Iyengar	215	" Ranganatha Iyengar
168	" S. Krishnaswami Iyengar	216	" Veeraraghava Iyengar
169	" S. Kuppuswami Iyengar	217	" S. S. Venkatrama Iyenga
170	" S. R. Subramania Iyer	218	" Deenadayalu
171	" S. Seshadri Iyengar	219	" Govindaswami
172	" S. Kuppuswami Iyengar	220	" R. Venkatesa Iyengar
173	" S. Krishnamachari	221	" C. A. Vijiaraghavan
174	" Suryabali Singh	222	" Lakshmi
175	" T. R. Sundaram Iyer	223	" V. A. Krishnamurti
176	" T. R. Anantarama Iyer	224	" N. Subrahmanyam
177	" T. T. Krishnamachariar	225	" C. R. Ramaswami Iyengar
178	" T. M. Rangachariar	226	" C. S. Kasturi Iyengar
179	" T. S. Visvanatha Iyer	227	" Pandit Lakshminidhi Chaturved
180	" T. M. Rangachariar	228	" N. M. Padmanabhan
181	" Veeraraghava Iyengar	229	" V. Satyanarayana
182	" V. Srinivasa Iyengar	230	" P. B. Prakasa Rao
183	" V. Mahadeva Iyer	231	" K. Sastri
184	" V. Ramachandra Iyer	232	" S. S. Somayajulu
185	" W. Veeraraghava Iyengar	233	" K. V. R. Swami,
186	" A. Rajagopala Iyengar	234	" P. V. Chalapathi Rao
187	" A. Krishnamurti Iyer		
188	" C. S. Rama Iyer		

235	Sjt.	Dr. B. Subrahmanyam	283	Sjt.	J. Sambasiva Rau
236	"	D. Seshagiri Rau	284	"	G. Sriramulu
237	"	R. Venkatappa	285	Mrs.	Sambasiva Rau
238	"	K. Sambayya	286	Sjt.	Deonarain Pande
239	"	K. Radhakrishnamurti	287	"	K. Rangaswami Iyengar
240	Srimati	Anusuyamma	288	"	K. Tiruvallur Iyengar
241	Sjt.	K. Sivaramakrishnaiah	289	"	D. A. Satakopan
242	"	A. Nagabhushanam	290	"	D. V. Srinivasachari
243	"	Narayanaswami	291	"	A. Seshachari
244	"	Thanicachalam	292	"	V. Ethirajulu Naidu
245	"	Sambandam	293	"	M. Padmanabha Naidu
246	"	Meenakshisundaram	294	"	C. Krishnamoorty
247	"	Madanagopal	295	"	C. Chitti Babu
248	"	S. Tiruvenkatachariar	296	"	A. Prabhappa
249	"	Raghavendra Rao	297	"	M. Vijia Raghavan
250	Mrs.	Rangaswami	298	"	T. Ramakrishna Rao
251	Sjt.	N. V. Sivarau	299	"	M. Subramanyam
252	"	Appalanarasayya	300	"	K. S. Rao
253	"	V. Subharau	301	"	Kaaleswarasastry
254	"	Brahmajirau	302	"	Kittajee
255	"	G. Narasimhamurti	303	"	M. K. Viswanathan
256	"	M. Ramachandramurti	304	"	K. Ramamurthi
257	"	Ch. Satyanarayana	305	"	Ramanathan
258	"	T. Satyanarayana	306	"	Bhaskaran
259	"	N. Satyanarayana	307	"	N. P. Govindaswamy
260	Sreemati	Annapurna	308	"	R. K. Guruswami
261	"	Venkataramanamma	309	"	K. Ramanathan
262	Sjt.	K. Jagannadha Row	310	"	Krishnamoorti
263	"	A. Narasimha Iyengar	311	"	S. Nagaswami Iyer
264	Mrs.	R. Krishnamachari	312	"	Narayanan
265	Sjt.	S. Ramaswami Iyer	313	"	A. R. Subbiah
266	"	T. S. Rangachari	314	"	Shanmugam
267	"	K. S. Rajagopala Iyengar	315	Mrs.	Rajagopalan
268	Mrs.	Alamelu Ammal	316	Sjt.	K. G. Subrahmania Sastri
269	Sjt.	R. Natesa Iyer	317	"	Mahadeva Aiyar
270	"	N. S. Koneri Rao	318	"	Suryanarayana
271	"	K. Seshagiri Rao	319	"	Tiruvencatatha Iyengar
272	"	Y. Kameswara Rao	320	"	Kumaraswamy
273	"	N. Gangaraju	321	"	E. L. Iyer
274	"	G. Subbarau	322	"	T. P. R. Raghavan
275	Mrs.	G. Durgabai	323	"	Raghavaachary
276	"	V. Kamaladevi	324	"	Narayanan V. R.
277	"	V. Papayamma	325	"	Subrahmania Ayyar
278	Sjt.	P. Satyanarayana	326	"	V. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyar
279	"	D. S. Veerabadhra Rao	327	"	K. Ranganatha Aiyar
280	Mrs.	Veerabadhra Rao	328	"	U. Subrahmanyam
281	Sjt.	K. Mutyam	329	"	O. Subbiah
282	"	A. V. Subbarau	330	"	A. Subramnia Iyer

331	Sjt.	S. Neelakanta Iyer
332	"	Pattabirama Iyer
333	"	S. V. Muthuswami Iyer
334	"	V. R. Panchapakasa Iyer
335	"	M. S. Sundaresa Iyer
336	"	Parameswara Iyer
337	"	Krishna Iyer
338	"	C.S. Ranga Iyer
339	"	M. K. Acharya
340	"	Galetu
341	"	V. R. Subramania Iyer
342	"	Doulal Ram
343	"	Venkatrama Iyer

Utkal.

1	"	Narayanamoorthy
2	"	Pattabhi Ramayya
3	"	Dasaratharamareddi
4	"	Vasudeva Rao
5	"	Venkata Ramadas
6	"	Venkata Ramiah
7	"	B. Ananda Rao
8	"	S. Narayana
9	"	S. Bhimayya
10	"	S. Ramadoss
11	"	T. Abbayi
12		Srimath Swarnalatha Devi
13	Sjt.	Lalit Mohan Ghoshal
14	"	Annamalai Mudaliar
15	Mrs.	Annamalai Mudaliar
16	Sjt.	Silla Kasi
17	"	Raghothamacharya
18	"	Venkatasubhya, V.
19	"	S. Venkatasubhayer
20	"	G. Sashi Bushan Rath
21	"	Madhusudhana Panigrahi
22	"	Kishinchandra Mahapatra
23	"	B. Shiva Rao
24	"	Shyam Sundar Padhu
25	"	Appanna Paritcha
26	"	K. Rajachar
27	"	V. Nagoba Rao
28	"	K. Rangaswami
29	"	Venkatavaradan
30	"	Sundara Raju
31	"	Thandavaraya Mudaliar
32	"	Achal Raghavachari
33	"	C. Rangasami Ayyangar

34	Sjt.	M.K. Vijayaraghavacharia
35	"	Palanivelu Chettiar
36	"	M. Rangachari
37	"	C. Sanjeevi
38	"	Muthukrishna Pillai
39	"	Masilamony Pillai
40	"	Kadirvelu
41	"	G. Kameswaran
42	"	D. S. Sastry
43	"	Srinivasa Moorthy
44	"	Venkatesa Mudaliar
45	"	Subramanian
46	"	K. Seetharamayyar
47	"	T. Radhakrishnan
48	"	V. Sreeramulu
49	"	V. Pichayya
50	"	Sugabhushna Rao,
51	Mrs.	Subbamma
52	Sjt.	Narayanabahu Duraisami
53	"	Srinivasalu
54	"	Raghavachari
55	"	Dr. D. V. Appa Rao
56	"	Aluparty Gangadhar Patra
57	"	Bachu Gopinath Prasty
58	"	Chinun Narsa Patra
59	"	Chinun Subudhi Patra
60	"	Chinun Rammurti Patra
61	"	Karunakar Patnaik
62	"	Madhusudan Das
63	"	Patamu Gangaya Patra
64	"	Patamu Seru Patra
65	"	Sudarson Pande
66	"	U. Pattabhi Ramayya
67	"	M. Ananthaswamy
68	"	T. S. Narsimhachari
69	"	P. C. H. Virabhadraswami
70	"	D. Sitharamayya
71	"	M. Gopalachari
72	"	D. Srinivasachari
73	"	P. Krishnamachari
74	"	Rangachari
75	"	V. Gurumoorthi
76	"	B. ChittiPantulu
77	"	Dr. M. Narasinga Rao
78	"	T. Vedantam
79	"	N. Jaganatharao Pantulu
80	"	K. Venkatarreddi
81	"	K. L. Narasimhachari

82	Sjt.	P. S. Bhaashyam	103	Sjt.	Saranathan
83	..	P. Sastry	104	..	Guravayya Naidu
84	..	S. V. Krishnamachari	105	..	Venkataswami Naidu
85	..	K. Krishnamoorthi	106	..	T. Waradayya
86	..	R. Krishna Rao	107	..	T.K. Subba Rao
87	..	P. Sitharama Raju	108	..	P. Venkatachari
88	..	K. Brahmananda Rao	109	..	M. Purushottam
89	..	K. Subramanyam	110	..	D. V. Appa Rao
90	..	K. Varadachari	111	..	K. Kalidas
91	..	T. Srinivasaraghvachari	112	..	G. Ramamoorthi
92	..	P. Viswanath Sastri	113	..	P. Narasimha Ram
93	..	Ramakrishnan	114	..	Duraiswami
94	..	Vedachalam	115	..	E. Narasimbachari
95	..	T. Subramanyam	116	..	Murugesan
96	Mrs.	C. Lalithamba	117	..	Pithambara
97	Sjt.	C. Nagaswara Rao	118	..	Ayagreeva Pandu
98	Mrs.	C. Sivakami Puthri	119	..	Lakshmana Bera
99	..	C. Venkata Lakshmi	120	..	Govindhan
100	..	O. Adilakshmiamma	121	..	Mathusudan Das
101	Sjt.	C. Rama Krishnayya	122	..	K. L. Patro
102	..	E. Sitayya	123	..	Damoar Das

THE ACCOUNTS
OF THE
ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

From 1st October 1926 to 30th September, 1927.

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Election Publicity and Propaganda Account from 1st October 1926 to 30th September 1927

RECEIPTS		DISBURSEMENTS	
	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.
I. To Opening Balance (Cash at Bank)		VII. By travelling Expenses :—	
II. To advances recovered and accounted for :—		Sjt. S. Satyamurti	519 0 0
Sjt. A. Rangaswami Iyengar	100 0 0	Sjt. A. Rangaswami Iyengar	786 6 6
Sjt. B. Raja Rau	70 0 0	Sjt. B. Raja Rau	211 0 0
	170 0 0	Sjt. M. K. Acharya	506 10 0
III. To unspent balance of the grant made to Sjt. Vasudeorao Joshi, Poona		Sjt. Mahalinga Sarma	29 8 6
IV. To amount received on account of subscriptions from candidates			2,052 9 0
V. To amount received on account of subscriptions from Provinces		VIII. By Grants :—	
VI. To interest received		Sjt. T. C. Goswami for election work in Bengal	1,500 0 0
		M. Abdul Hameed Khan	700 0 0
		Sjt. B. J. Marathey	1,000 0 0
		Kerala P. C. C.	500 0 0
		Bombay P. C. C.	500 0 0
		Sjt. M. K. Acharya	250 0 0
		Babu Rajendra Prasad	800 0 0
		Sjt. T. R. Phookun (Assam P.C.C.)	500 0 0
		Utkal P. C. C.	1,500 0 0
		Sjt. K. R. Karant	500 0 0
		U. P., P. C. C.	1,991 0 0
		IX. By telegrams	266 0 0
		X. By miscellaneous	10 13 0
		XI. By printing charges of election manifesto	823 13 0
		XII. By bonus to Sjt. Shoo Balak Singh (Head Clerk)	25 0 0
		XIII. Advances :—	
		Sjt. T. Prakasam	500 0 0
		Tamil Nadu Grant account	165 1 6
		XIV. By Balance (Central Bank of India, Ltd.)	155 3 9
			13,738 8 3
	13,738 8 3		

Examined and found correct.

ALL INDIA CON

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from 1st October 1926 to

RECEIPTS

	RS. A. P.	Amount RS. A. P.
I. To Opening Balance :—		
(a) Cash in hand	96 15 3	
(b) In bank at Allahabad	21 8 9	
(c) In bank at Madras	1,539 11 4	1,658 3 4
II. Sale proceeds of Congress publications excluding postage on V. Ps. :—		
Belgaum Congress reports (given credit to Secretary, Karnatak P.C.C.)		5 8 0
III. Received from or on behalf of Treasurer :—		
(a) In repayment of the amounts advanced by this office on his behalf		
In the previous year 857 12 0		
In the current year 3,443 1 9	4,300 13 9	
(b) Towards Budget grant	19,287 5 9	
(c) By sale of Congress publications	441 11 6	24,029 15 0
IV. To advances recovered or accounted for :—		
Sjt. Raghupati Sahai	300 0 0	
Sjt. Raja Rau (including amount advanced to Syt. Pranes Kumar Mazumdar through him)	385 6 9	
Sjt. K. B. Ramakrishnaiah	50 0 0	
Sjt. Sheo Balak Singh	50 0 0	
Sjt. V. D. Sharma	45 0 0	
Sjt. A. S. Ramulu	5 0 0	835 6 9
V. Interest received		70 0 0
		26,599 1 1

GRESS COMMITTEE

30th September 1927 in the Office of the General Secretary, Madras,

DISBURSEMENTS

	Rs. A A.	Amount Rs. A. P.
VI. By travelling expenses :—		
(a) to Gauhati Congress	1,511 12 3	
(a) on other occasions	1,483 10 9	
VII. Salaries :—		2,995 7 0
At Madras	8,163 2 4	
At Allahabad	1,995 0 0	
Gratuities :—		
To Sjt. Raghupati Sahai	750 0 0	
To Abdul Waheed Saheb	220 0 0	
		11,128 2 4
VIII. Postage and Telegrams		1,406 7 0
IX. Printing and Stationery		1,520 2 2
X. Rents and Taxes (including Rs. 218 at Delhi during Assembly sessions)		1,648 9 8
XI. Library (purchase of books)		5 8 0
XII. Furniture purchased		384 8 0
XIII. Miscellaneous payments :—		
Tram and Bus passes	85 4 0	
Typewriter, repairing, cleaning, ribbon etc	47 0 0	
Miscellaneous expenses of General Secretary at the Delhi sessions, 21-1-27 to 28-3-27.	156 3 0	
A. I. C. C. meeting at Bombay, 12-5-27 to 18-5-27; Boarding and other charges of staff	114 5 0	
Expenses at Allahabad for packing old records	34 2 0	
Railway freight	40 6 0	
Other items	345 15 9	
XIV. Payments to		823 3 9
(i) Treasurer :		
Amounts advanced by this office on his behalf during the year		3,443 1 4
(ii) Secretary, Assam P. C. C towards grant (Amount received last year from No. 3 account for the purpose)		1,000 0 0
XV. By advances :—		
Secretary, Bombay P. C. C.	39 3 0	
Secretary, Congress Party (Swaraj Party)	72 4 0	
Peon Subbayya Pillai	16 9 0	
XVI. Closing Balances :—		128 0 0
(a) Cash in hand	89 14 6	
(b) In banks at Madras :—		
Central Bank of India in the name of General Secretary	430 2 6	
Central Bank of India in the name of Under Secretary	50 11 8	
Imperial Bank of India in the name of General Secretary	1,531 2 0	
(c) In Bank at Allahabad	14 0 9	
		2,115 15
		26,599 1

A. RANGASWAMI IYENGAR
General Secretary.

Examined and found correct
M. K. DANDEKER
Auditor.

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Propaganda and Publicity account in Foreign Countries from 30th March 1926 to 30th September 1927

RECEIPTS		DISBURSEMENTS	
	RS. A.P.		RS. A.P.
To Treasurer, A. I. C. C.	5,000 0 0	By Cablegrams to Bias (Johannesburg) and Nicely (Durban)	102 14 0
„ Interest	81 4 0	By Cablegrams to Capetown, Mombassa and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru	227 6 0
„ Price of unused cheques	1 2 0	By amount spent by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu for Overseas work	777 0 0
		By amount spent by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the time of the Congress of Oppressed Nations and in connection therewith	667 14 0
		By Cheque Book	1 9 0
		By advance to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu	120 2 0
		By Balance (Central Bank of India Ltd.)	3,185 9 0
	5,082 6 0		5,082 6 0

*An amount of Rs. 1,375-1-9 has since been sent to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, £ 100 being contribution by the A. I. C. C. to the League against Imperialism and the balance being the amount still due to Pt. J. Nehru as per his bill.

Madras, }
22-11-27. }

K. B. RAMAKRISHNAIAH
Accountant,

B. RAJA RAU
Under Secretary,

A. RANGASWAMI IYENGAR
General Secretary

Examined and found correct.

M. K. DANDEKER

THE ACCOUNTS
OF THE
ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND

From 1st October 1926 to 30th September, 1927.

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Propaganda and Publicity account in Foreign Countries from 30th March 1926 to 30th September 1927

RECEIPTS		DISBURSEMENTS	
	RS. A.P.		RS. A.P.
To Treasurer, A. I. C. C.	5,000 0 0	By Cablegrams to Bias (Johannesburg) and Nicely (Durban)	102 14 0
„ Interest	81 4 0	By Cablegrams to Capetown, Mombassa and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru	227 6 0
„ Price of unused cheques	1 2 0	By amount spent by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu for Overseas work	777 0 0
		By amount spent by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the time of the Congress of Oppressed Nations and in connection therewith	667 14 0
		By Cheque Book	1 9 0
		By advance to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu	120 2 0
		By Balance (Central Bank of India Ltd.)	3,185 9 0
	5,082 6 0		5,082 6 0

*An amount of Rs. 1,375-1-9 has since been sent to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, £ 100 being contribution by the A. I. C. C. to the League against Imperialism and the balance being the amount still due to Pt. J. Nehru as per his bill.

Madras, }
22-11-27. }

K. B. RAMAKRISHNAIAH
Accountant.

B. RAJA RAU
Under Secretary.

A. RANGASWAMI IYENGAR
General Secretary.

Examined and found correct.
M. K. DANDEKER
Auditor.

THE ACCOUNTS
OF THE
ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND

From 1st October 1926 to 30th September, 1927.

Statements of Receipts and Disbursement

RECEIPTS.						RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.
Cash and investment as on 1-10-26...	...	...	...	...	...		1,44,803 11 10
Tilak Swarajya Fund, General	...	...	...	...	...		80 7 0
" " Earmarked Political Sufferers' Fund	...	...	...	...	...	3,270 0 0	
Help to Akalis	...	...	...	...	...	694 6 1	
Miscellaneous Receipts :—							3,964 6 1
Karnatak P. C. C. Quota	...	...	...	...	...	5 8 0	
Sind " "	...	...	...	...	...	4 5 9	
Interest	...	...	...	...	...	6,111 2 5	
Brokerage	...	...	...	...	...	46 1 0	
Sale-proceeds of Congress publications	...	...	...	...	...	441 11 6	
Share of delegate fees, Coenada Congress	...	...	...	...	...	229 12 0	
" " " Belgaum "	...	...	...	...	...	209 14 9	
Advances Recovered :—							7,048 7 5
President (Shreemati Naidu)	...	...	...	...	...	300 0 0	
Delhi Unity Conference	...	...	...	...	...	73 8 0	
Grants paid, refunded and adjusted							373 8 0
							2,004 4 1
Total							1,58,274 12 5

Examined and found correct.
70, MEADOWS STREET,
FORT, BOMBAY.

DALAL & SHAH,
Incorporated Accountants (London).
Hon. Auditors, A. I. C. C.

MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND.

From 1st October 1926 to 30th September 1927.

Disbursements.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
Grants made to :—				
Reception Committee, Gauhati Congress	10,000	0 0		
Assam Provincial Congress Committee	1,000	0 0		
Andhra " " "	1,000	0 0		
Tamil Nadu, " " "	1,000	0 0		
U. P. " " "	968	6 0		
Hindustani Seva Dal	2,000	0 0		
Transferred from Political Sufferers' Fund	250	0 0		
			16,218	6 0
Paid out of Political Sufferers' Fund			592	0 0
Interest on old B.P.C.C. Fund distributed in equal shares among Gujarat, Bombay, Maharashtra and Karnatak P.C.Cs.			526	15 0
Expenses of Election Sub-Committee			304	1 0
President's expenses (Shrimatee Naidu)			657	12 0
Amounts written off (Unity Conference, Delhi)			73	8 0
Expenses of the General Secretary's Office :—				
Moving of Records	264	13 6		
Expenses as per his annual statement	18,829	12 0		
			19,094	9 6
Treasurer's Office expenses :—				
Salary, Postage, Hindavan, Miscellaneous Rs. 450, Rs. 15-11-0, Rs. 13-14-9, Rs. 11-13-0, Printing and Stationery including Gauhati and Cawnpore Congress reports Rs. 21,526-4-0			3,017	10 3
Rent for storing Congress Pavilion			443	14 3
and :—				
Punjab Provincial Congress Committee			1,500	0 0
Advance paid to :—				
Political Sufferers' Sub-committee	2,500	0 0		
General Secretary, Madras	201	1 4		
			2,701	1 4
Closing Balance :—				
In fixed deposit	79,055	0 0		
" current account	34,083	10 4		
" hand	0	4 3		
			1,13,138	14 7
Total			1,58,274	12 5

M. N. PADWEKAR,
Accountant.

REVASHANKAR JAGJIVAN,
Hon. Working Treasurer.

The Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September 1927.

Examined and Found Correct.

70, MEADOWS STREET,

Font Romley

DALAL & SHAH,

Incorporated Accountants (London).

How Auditors 4 ICC

M. N. PADWEKAR.

Accountant.

REVASHANKER JAGJIVAN,

Hon. Working Treasurer, A.I.C.C.

THE ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND.

Balance Sheet as at 30th September 1927.

FUNDS AND LIABILITIES.				PROPERTY AND ASSETS.			
		RS.	A. P.			RS.	A. P.
General Fund :-							
Balance as per last year	...	1,62,120	1 0	Cash and Investments :-			
Less Amounts transferred to A.I.S.A.	...	50,000	0 0	In fixed deposits	...	79,055	0 0
Deficit this year	...	31,209	10 0	In current account	...	34,083	10 4
				On hand	...	0	4 3
		81,209	10 0				1,13,138 14 7
Earmarked Funds :-				Loans :-			
Last year's Bal.	...	15,928	8 0	C.P.P.C.C.	...	35,000	0 0
Recd. during the year...	...	3,964	6 1	Transferred to A.I.S.A.			
		19,892	9 1	A.I.S.A. (Tamil Nadu P.C.C. transfer).	...	15,000	0 0
Less paid and adjusted during the				Assam P.C.C. Opium...	...	500	0 0
year	...	593	0 0	Kerala P.C.C. ...	...	1,500	0 0
						52,000	0 0
Civil Disobedience Fund	...	14,220	0 0	Paid during the year to Punjab P.C.C.	...	1,500	0 0
Transferred to Permanent Publicity						53,500	0 0
Bureau	...	14,220	0 0	Less A.I.S.A. transfer	...	50,000	0 0
							3,500 0 0
Permanent Publicity Bureau	...	14,220	0 0	Advances to G. S. Madras	...	553	2 9
Old Bombay P. C. C. Fund	...	9,581	0 0	Emigrants' E. C.	...	37	0 9
				Poll. Suf. S. C.	...	2,500	0 0
				Congress Pavilion	...		4,000 0 0
				Dead Stock	...		282 14 0
		1,24,012	0 1				1,24,012 0 1

We have examined the above balance sheet with the books and vouchers of the All India Treasurer's Office and find same to be correct. We have also verified the investments.

70, MEADOWS STREET,
FORT, BOMBAY.

DALAL & SHAH,
Incorporated Accounts (London),
Hon. Auditors, A.I.C.C.

M. N. PADWEKAR,
Accountant.

REVASHANKER JAGJIVAN,
Hon. Working Treasurer, A.I.C.C.

Earmarked Funds as on 30th September 1927.

					Rs. A.
Khaddar Propaganda	...	...	...	...	1,001 0
Help to Akalis	...	...	...	...	745 6
Untouchability	...	...	...	...	10 0
Bengal National Workers	...	...	...	...	10 7
Swarajya Party Fund	...	...	...	...	14 12
South African Fund	...	...	...	...	200 0
Political Sufferers' Fund	...	...	...	...	3,828 0
Civil Resisters' Family Relief Fund	...	...	...	...	13,491 0
					<hr/>
Total Rs. ...					19,300 9
					<hr/>

In Fixed Deposits with Banks as on 30th Sept. 1927 :—

Central Bank of India Ltd., Bombay	...	...	...	9,581	0	..
Bank of Baroda Ltd., Bombay	...	...	...	30,000	0	..
Bank of India Ltd., Bombay	...	...	...	20,000	0	..
Punjab National Bank Ltd.,Lahore	...	...	...	19,474	0	..
				<hr/>		
Total Rs. ...				79,055	0	..

In Current accounts with Banks as on 30th Sept. 1927 :—

Central Bank of India Ltd., Bombay	...	...	...	2,466	3	0
Bank of India Ltd., Bombay	...	...	...	1,036	1	9
Bank of Baroda Ltd., Bombay	...	...	...	2,110	7	8
Shilohtri Bank Ltd., Bombay	...	...	...	9	11	4
Allahabad Bank Ltd., Bombay	...	...	...	2	11	1
Punjab National Bank Ltd., Bombay.	...	...	...	28,458	7	6
				<hr/>		
Total Rs. ...				34,083	10	4

APPENDIX V.

All India Congress Committee

SECRETARIES' REPORT OF THE WORK DONE DURING THE YEAR 1927

Submitted to the Committee on the 24th December at Madras.

Article XXIII of the Congress Constitution requires the Secretaries to 'prepare the report of the work of the All India Congress Committee during the year and submit it, with a full account of the funds which may come into their hands, to the All India Congress Committee at a meeting to be held at the place and about the time of the session of the Congress for the year'. We have pleasure to submit this report accordingly.

Since the last session of the Congress, there have been three meetings of the All India Congress Committee including the one which was held at Gauhati immediately after the Congress had concluded its proceedings. At this meeting the Committee, in compliance with the statutory provisions, elected members to the Working Committee and to the Election Disputes Panel.

The next meeting was an important one and had a prolonged session at Bombay. The decisions made at this session covered a wide range of subjects—from the International Congress against imperialism and Colonial Oppression and for National Independence to domestic matters like the Congress Party's conduct in the Councils—and included the despatch of a Medical Mission to China, the framing of a Swaraj Constitution and the solution of the vexed question of Hindu-Muslim differences. The Committee also placed on record its high appreciation of the meritorious services rendered by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who represented the Indian National Congress at the International Congress which was organised by the League against Imperialism, and who by his ardent patriotism and untiring energy secured for this country an elevated place in the Councils of the League.

At the instance of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Committee resolved at the Bombay meeting to recommend to the Congress to give support to the League against Imperialism as an associate organisation.

As regards the Swaraj Constitution, the Committee called upon the Working Committee to prepare a draft, based on a declaration of rights, in consultation with the elected members of the Central and

Provincial Legislatures and other leaders of political parties. Accordingly, the office placed itself in communication with present and past members of Legislatures and other prominent persons, a few of whom have sent in some suggestions. Drafts are in course of preparation and will in due course, come up for discussion.

The Hindu-Muslim differences and the means that have to be devised to establish unity have continued to be the most absorbing subjects before the country and the Congress. Since the last Congress which met under the shadow of a national calamity owing to the brutal assassination of the great Swami Shradhdhananda of revered memory, the tension between the two great communities in the land has grown from bad to worse. Murders and murderous assaults had blackened the fair name of the motherland and the need for a prompt solution of the problem was imperative. The Committee, therefore, addressed itself to the question in a spirit of justice, humanity and true patriotism. The political issues involved were dealt with at the Bombay meeting on the lines of the proposals contained in the report and resolutions of the Working Committee, and the All India Congress Committee re-enunciated the principle of the redistribution of Provinces on a linguistic basis and recommended, as an initial step, the application of the principle to Andhra, Sind and Karnatak. The system of communal representation was definitely discarded and instead, joint electorates were substituted, due provision being made for the protection of minorities by way of reservation of seats.

At this meeting, as has been mentioned above, the conduct of the Congress Party in the Madras Legislative Council was also discussed and was referred to the Working Committee which was authorized to call for an explanation from the Party and submit the same for consideration at the next meeting of the All India Congress Committee. The resolutions adopted by the Working Committee which met in Bombay immediately after the All India Congress Committee, on this particular matter and on the general policy to be pursued by Congress Parties in the Legislative Councils, led to a difference of opinion among Congressmen as a result of which a requisition signed by over 30 members of the All India Congress Committee calling for a special meeting of the Committee at Calcutta not later than the 15th of July was addressed to the President. For various reasons, including the inconvenience felt by Congressmen engaged in municipal elections in Madras, the sitting of the Madras Legislative Council and the illness of the President, the meeting had to be postponed from time to time and could only be held at Calcutta on the 28th of October.

At this meeting, the other points of dispute involved in the Hindu-Muslim tension, namely, social and religious, were taken up for consideration. And a working compromise was reached, owing to the

co-operation of leaders of both the communities from different parts of the country. Prior to the meeting of the All India Congress Committee, a Unity Conference had been convened by the President at Calcutta on the 26th of October. The Conference sat for long hours on the 26th and on the following day and after full and frank discussion, was able to arrive at compromise formulae which were subsequently adopted with suitable alterations by the All India Congress Committee. It must be mentioned here that some of the leaders were obliged to be absent from the Conference and from the All India Congress Committee. It should also be admitted that the compromise resolutions passed at Calcutta have met with adverse criticism in some quarters. Nevertheless, it may be hoped that the terms of agreement will provide the basis on which a *vía media* between conflicting points of view can be laid down which will help to restore that peace and goodwill between the two great communities of this ancient land, which is so essential for the early establishment of Swaraj.

Thus the solution of the outstanding political, social and religious problems connected with the Hindu-Muslim differences was sought to be arrived at at the Bombay and Calcutta meetings in a spirit of give and take. Some of the decisions might not be final and may require fuller examination and final decision by the Congress : in fact the All India Congress Committee itself which arrived at these decisions resolved to bring up some of them before this meeting of the All India Congress Committee and the Congress and we have no doubt that any alterations that will be found necessary to improve upon the terms of compromise and render them more acceptable to all parties concerned will be made at the coming session.

The Bombay meeting of the All India Congress Committee, as has been stated above resolved to show its sympathy in a practical way with the people of China who were struggling for freedom and called upon the All India Board of the Hindustani Seva Dal to take all necessary steps in connection with the despatch of an Ambulance Corps to that country. But the British bureaucracy in India would not permit even this humanitarian work to be undertaken by or on behalf of the Congress and it employed all manner of dilatory tactics in dealing with the Dal President Mr. Goswami's communications on the subject. The Congress and the Dal have thus been prevented from doing their little service to a sister nation who, like ours, is fighting for her freedom.

Another subject of importance which was dealt with by the All India Congress Committee at Bombay was the boycott of British goods intended as a measure of practical protest against the continued incarceration of Bengal Detenus. We are sorry to say that not much headway has been made in this direction. It will be remembered that in pursuance of the resolution of the Special Session of the Congress held in Delhi in 1923, a report was submitted by the Sub-Committee to

the Congress at Cocanada giving a list of the articles that could easily be boycotted immediately.

There has been also another movement set on foot to compel the Government to deal justly with the hundreds of patriots whose liberties have been trampled under foot under the lawless law of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1925, and under Regulation III of 1818 namely, the Nagpur Satyagraha. It is worthy of note that this movement as well as other movements like the Madura Arms Act and the Madras Neill Statue Satyagraha have been singularly marked by perfect non-violence.

The All India Congress Committee while in session at Bombay received the glad tidings of the release of Syt. Subhas Chandra Bose and rejoiced at his restoration to liberty, to take his place again in the fight for the nation's freedom. But there are still a great many more patriots rotting behind the prison walls and otherwise deprived of their liberties. The Committee, therefore, appointed a Sub-Committee at Calcutta to devise means for expediting the release of the detenus with Sjt. Satyendra Chandra Mitra, another patriot who had suffered imprisonment, as convenor of the Sub-Committee. The report of the Sub-Committee will come up before this meeting and it is hoped that the Committee will address itself to this all important question and resolve upon such a plan of action as will wrest the freedom of the flower of Bengal from an obstinate bureaucracy.

The Working Committee, as usual, has been meeting from time to time. Besides the meeting at Gauhati which was held immediately after the Congress, the Committee informally met at Calcutta soon after i. e., on the 1st January. Meetings of the Committee were frequently held during the pendency of the Assembly session at Delhi in January, February and March when the Committee discussed mainly the Hindu-Muslim question, the Currency Bill and the Chinese situation. It subsequently met in May last at Bombay and, as has been stated above, went thoroughly into the questions outstanding between Hindus and Mussalmans and submitted its report and draft resolutions to the All India Congress Committee under Resolution IX of the Gauhati Congress. The report could not be ready by the 31st March as required under the Gauhati resolution, in view of the fact that the President had to carry on prolonged consultations with leading Hindu and Mohammedan members of the Assembly and the Council of State in Delhi as well as other leaders.

The last meeting of the Working Committee was held in Calcutta on the 28th October, on the eve of the All India Congress Committee. At this meeting the Committee, besides framing draft resolutions for adoption by the All India Congress Committee on the basis of the Hindu-Muslim Unity Conference discussions, resolved to sanction

Rs. 500 as a token of its sympathy with the people of Orissa in their distress caused by the recent floods in that unhappy land.

The Working Committee, in accordance with the resolution on Hindu-Muslim unity adopted by the All India Congress Committee at Calcutta, passed by circulation a resolution appointing a committee representative of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs for the purpose of carrying on propaganda along the lines indicated in the said resolution of the All India Congress Committee.

The Working Committee also considered the situation created by the announcement of the appointment of the Parliamentary Commission and adopted the following resolution by circulation:—

"As the British Government has constituted the Statutory Commission in defiance of the national will and rejected the national demand for a Round Table Conference to settle a Swaraj Constitution for India, the Working Committee of the Congress calls upon the people of India and appeals to all political parties to abstain from co-operating with the said Commission either by giving evidence or by voting for or serving on any Select Committee connected therewith."

The Commission has been universally condemned as a negation of the fundamental right of self-determination which is inherent in every nation. The Congress will, no doubt, devise, in consultation with other organisations in the country, a concerted plan of action with a view to bend the British Government to the nation's will unanimously expressed through the National Congress.

Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the All India Spinners' Association has, during 1936-37 which is the second year of its existence, made "general progress" which, as the Association's report says, "is marked not so much in the increased figures of khadi production and sale although such progress is to be found in some of the provinces, but rather in the improvement in the quality of yarn and cloth towards which the efforts of many of the organisations in the several provinces were in the main directed during a large part of the year as also in the evolving of disciplined organisations in some of the less organised provinces and the bringing of all their centres under a proper system of business efficiency." The returns received at the Central Office of the Association show that Khaddar of the value of Rs. 23,59,067 has been produced and the sale-proceeds amount to Rs. 32,52,854 during the year under report. Mahatmaji has undertaken, in spite of serious illness, tours in Karnatak, Tamil Nadu and Ceylon. It is a matter for especial gratification to note that his tour throughout these provinces including the States of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin has been marked by signal success. The warm and spontaneous reception that greeted him everywhere, the generous response which was made to his appeal for Khadi funds and the unbounded enthusiasm that has been aroused in the hearts of the public for the cause of *Dardra Narayan*, the God in the lowly and distressed, give the lie direct to the self-complacent allegation of the

enemies of this country that Mahatmaji's influence over the masses has diminished. In far off Ceylon, all the communities, including the Burghers, vied with one another in according him royal reception and giving of their best to the cause of the down-trodden and the depressed, of which he is the living embodiment. In a poor country like ours, only Mahatma Gandhi could collect spontaneous contributions amounting to Rs. 3½ lakhs during a few months' tour.

The Karnatak Board of the Hindustani Seva Dal has gone up to its credit during the year under report having enlisted 6,658 Congress members and 91 Dal members.

Reports of work done in all the provinces have not yet been received but so far only Maharashtra, Karnatak, Behar, Gujarat, C.P. Marathi and Bombay have forwarded them. The Maharashtra P.C.C. states that the total number of Congress members in the province is about 2,400. In the Kolaba and Bombay suburban districts of this province, vigorous efforts have been made to carry on a campaign against the payment of increased land assessment. It should be noted here that the President, during his extensive tour in Maharashtra in May last, personally studied the movement in Alibag for refusing to pay the enhanced land assessment and after convincing himself of the justice of the movement, gave it every encouragement. Active propaganda work against the drink evil has also been done in these districts. In Karnatak 6,658 Congress members were enrolled during the year by the exertions of the Seva Dal mentioned above. The report received from four districts in Behar shows that 2,220 Congress members were registered in those districts. In Gujarat only 270 were enlisted during the current year as against 651 last year. But this was due to the fact that Gujarat experienced a terrible calamity in the deluge that swept over the province. It is gratifying to note, however, that the Provincial Congress Committee rose to the occasion and put forth almost superhuman effort to bring relief to the food-stricken and starving millions. The people made a splendid response to the appeal for funds and a sum of Rs. 6,22,982 was collected for flood relief. Relief operations are still being carried on. Rs. 82,440 were collected and earmarked for the depressed classes in Gujarat. C. P. Marathi reports only 1,564 members for this year as against 3,610 of last year.

The Bombay province has on its rolls 4,248 members including 14 who have enlisted themselves in the A.I.S.A.

We have this year again to advert to the unsatisfactory financial position of the All India Congress Committee, which will be evident from a perusal of the audited statement of T. S. F. accounts annexed hereto. We must also reiterate the urgent need for collecting funds for efficient organization of Congress work and for the upkeep of the Central Office. As we said last year, the amount required for this

no means be large, and we earnestly invite the support of the All India Congress Committee to this vital Congress Secretariat. We suggest, in this connection, that it should be collected and earmarked for the purpose and the public enlisted in this behalf.

MADRAS,
14 December, 1927.

{ M. A. Ansari
Vallabhbhai J. Patel
A. Rangaswami Iyengar.

(Note: As Working General Secretary of the Congress during the last two years who will be vacating his office this year, I may be permitted to say one word as to the need for placing the Congress Secretariat on a permanent footing. The frequent changes in the headquarters of the A. I. C. C. Office, which the present system imposes involves an amount of expenditure and dislocation of business which may well be avoided. I would suggest that the Office may be put in charge of a permanent-paid Secretary and be located at some central place where he should carry on the ordinary routine work of the Congress organisation throughout the year, while the General Secretaries annually elected would be placed in a position to guide and control the office and carry out the policy and programme laid down by the Congress at its annual session, as also in accordance with the resolutions and directions of the All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee.

I would also once again urge the restoration of the amount of the delegation fee of each delegate to Rs. 10. Its reduction to the nominal figure of Re. 1 has rendered and will render the task of Reception Committees of the less prosperous provinces difficult and hazardous, and accentuate the position of dependence of the A. I. C. C. on the fastly thinning balances of the Tilak Swaraj Fund. It is also necessary, I think, to restore the membership fee of A. I. C. C. members and to give effect to the statutory provision contained in Art. IX of the Congress Constitution and to ask each Provincial Congress Committee to make an annual contribution to the central funds.

A. Rangaswami Iyengar.]