

→① REPORT ←
OF
THE THIRTY--FIFTH SESSION
OF
THE INDIAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS,

HELD AT
NAGPUR,

On the 26th, 28th, 30th and 31st December,
1920.

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Hon. General Secretary

RECEPTION COMMITTEE, NAGPUR.

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85th Indian National Congress Nagpur, 1933.

PRESIDENT ELECT.



Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachari,

PREFACE.

The Nagpur Congress is over and they all say that it has been a grand success both from the point of view of the attendance of the largest number of delegates that have ever attended or were supposed to attend any Congress and also from the point of view of general management and arrangements made for the Boarding and lodging of the Delegates; but it may not be out of place here to mention how we had to contend against peculiar difficulties that cropped up against all possible anticipations. Holding of the Congress in Nagpur had a long history behind it and from the point of view of the Nagpur Nationalists it was also peculiarly a point of honour with them. The Congress was last invited to hold its sessions in Nagpur in 1907 by the leading Moderates of the place practically against the consent of the young Nationalist party which had then recently arisen in Nagpur on account of the antipartition agitation in Bengal. The bone of contention between the two was, at that time, the Presidentship of the Congress. The Moderates desired to elect the late Sir Rash Bihari Ghosh, and the Nationalists the Late Lokmanya Tilak. A long and bitter controversy raged over it which eventually culminated in the change of the venue of the Congress from Nagpur to Surat against the consent of and to the great humiliation of the Nationalists of Nagpur and in what is now too well-known as the Surat Split. The Nationalists of Nagpur from that moment were looking forward to the time when they would get an opportunity of doing their duty of hospitality towards the Congress as they were so suddenly and unexpectedly deprived of the privilege in 1907. Next year *i. e.* in 1908, after the Surat Split, the Indian National Congress was circumscribed into a Convention Congress and the Late Lokmanya, the accredited leader of the young Nationalist Party was sentenced to six years rigorous imprisonment and carried away to Mandalay. In his absence, the young Nationalist Party of Nagpur, with the consent and encouragement of the Nationalist leaders, all over India organised to hold a regular sessions of the Congress on old lines in Nagpur in 1908, keeping it open as usual to members of all parties so as to keep up its continuity; but just at the eleventh hour when works undertaken in connection with the arrangement for the holding of the sessions were progressing satisfactorily, the Government suddenly issued, about the middle of December 1908, an order under Section 144 C.P.C. prohibiting the holding of the Congress. The Nationalists had thus, in the matter of the holding of Congress in Nagpur, to put with mortification a second time which was felt all the more keenly. Agitation went on swelling and the Government repression followed increasing in geometrical progression; but the Nationalists refused to recognise the Convention Congress and abstained from joining it. This state of things continued for six long years until the release of Mr. Tilak after the expiry of his full term. After his release in 1914, almost the first thing that he did was to make earnest efforts, leaving no stone unturned, towards ending the long continued split in the Congress. Success soon crowned his efforts and the first united Congress after the Surat Split was held at Lucknow in 1916. Nationalists of Nagpur then again began to consider earnestly the feasibility of inviting the Congress to Nagpur. In 1918 Mr. Tilak was away in England and on getting the first favourable opportunity after his return from England in 1919, the Nagpur Nationalists decided, with the full approval of the leading Nationalists of both Hindi and Marathi divisions of the Central Provinces, to invite the Congress then in Sessions at Amritsar to hold its sessions the following year *i. e.* in 1920 in our Province and invoked the blessings of the Great Lokmanya for its success. But soon as if it were to test the stamina and patriotism of the organisers of the invited Congress, impediments after impediments were thrown in

their way, some most disheartening and one absolutely heart-breaking. Soon was raised a controversy as to whether the Congress should be held in Nagpur, the capital town of the Province or at Jabalpur, the chief centre of the Hindi portion of the Province. The controversy soon assumed a racial appearance of Maharashtrians, versus, Non-Maharashtrians and thus a good deal of bitterness was imported into it. The first half of the year was spent in this way in such fruitless and disintegrating discussions and nothing more than framing a paper constitution of the Reception Committee could be so long achieved. The matter however was finally decided by the All India Congress Committee in favour of holding the sessions at Nagpur which naturally resulted in a general atmosphere of some alienation of sympathies between the two portions of the Province, the Hindi and the Marathi. Up to this time, not a single pie could be raised and the treasury of the Reception committee was absolutely empty. A few leading Nationalists of Nagpur, to give a start to the Reception Committee for commencing its work, contributed among themselves as a temporary loan of Rs 1000/- to Rs 500/- each without interest, to be recovered if possible after the Congress was over. Thus a sum of about Rs. 10,000/- was deposited in cash in the treasury of the Reception Committee in the month of July which formed the nucleus of the Nagpur Reception Committee's fund and thence forward the work of the Reception Committee was begun in right earnest, though by this time the monsoon also had set in, in right earnest, impeding all work.

By the time we could get over this difficulty and were about to commence the work in right earnest, another incident happened which was absolutely heart-breaking and practically left us political orphans. The Almighty and all-wise God, in His merciful will, decided to curtail the span of existence in this world, of the Great Lokmanya and he breathed his last on 1st August 1920. The suddenness of the news of his demise absolutely unexpected at the time, fell like a thunder bolt on us and thoroughly dumb-founded us for a time, absolutely unprepared as we were, to anticipate it having been led to suppose to the very moment of receiving the news that the Great patient was showing signs of recovery. To be frank it must be admitted that his death chilled all the warmth of enthusiasm, but the duty once undertaken and the several activities set up for its consummation how ever impelled us to pull on, as though in a cold mechanical way.

In this moment of gloom and despondency, a ray of hope came to us in the decision which Berar, after a good deal of, perhaps justifiable, hesitation for reasons which need not be mentioned here and which deserve to be relegated to the limbo of forgettable history, finally made for casting in its lot with ours and joining hands with us in holding a Joint Session of the Congress for the Combined Province of C. P. and Berar. We are grateful to Berar for this act of timely encouragement, which eventually proved to be of substantial help as well.

As regards C. P. proper it is a matter of pride as surely it is indicative of the public spirit and patriotism of the two portions of the Province, the Hindi and the Marathi, to note here that, after the controversy was laid at rest, the people of both the portions vied with each other in friendly rivalry to do their best in making the sessions a success. Thence forward the working of the Reception committee was smooth all throughout. Shreeman Seth Jamanlal Bajaj, a leading man of public spirit in the Marwari community of the Province was appointed Chairman of the Reception Committee.

The special features of the arrangement for the lodging of the delegates made by the Reception committee may be said to be the conception and planing out of what was afterwards popularly and lovingly

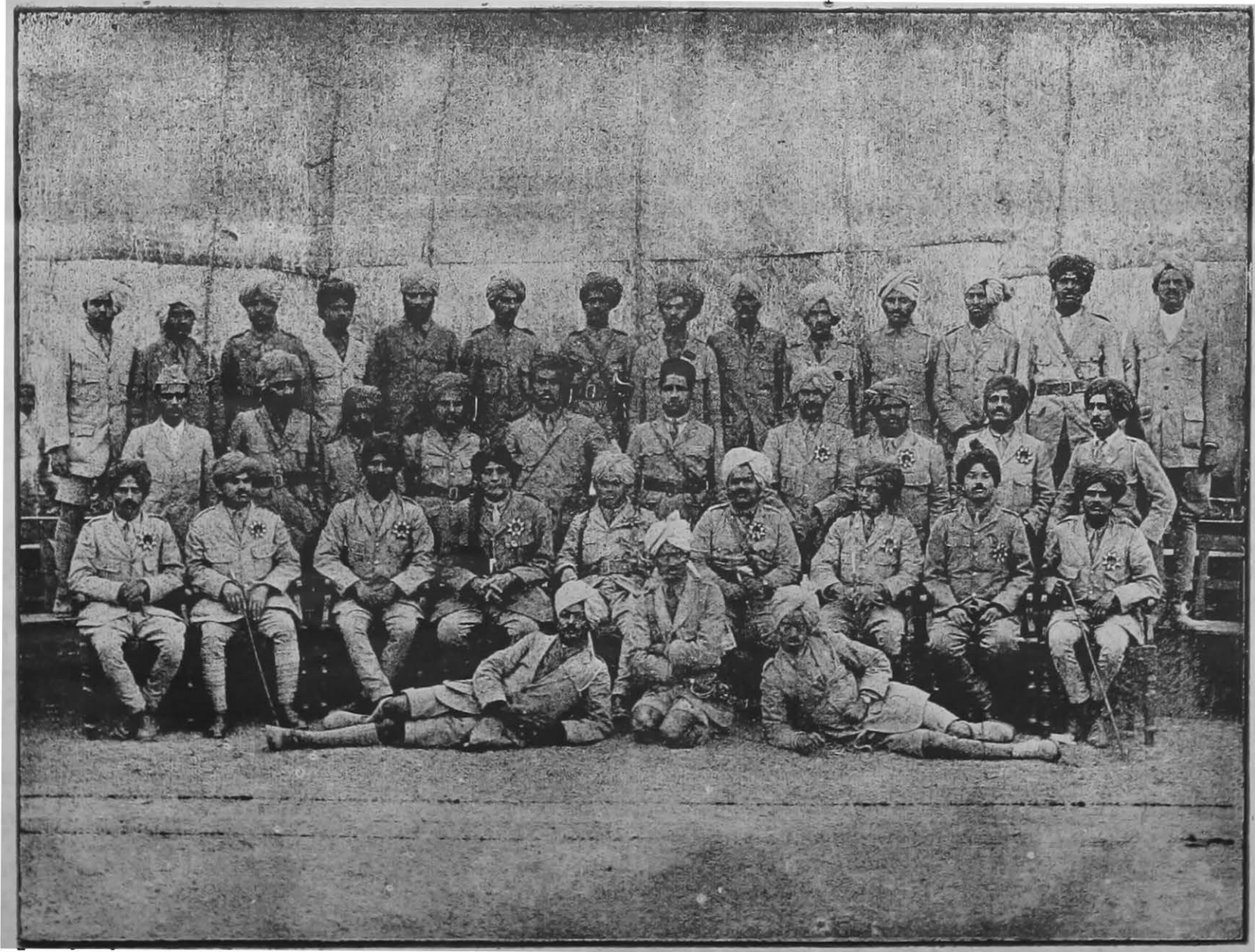
known as Congress Nagar. The idea as it was novel proved also catching in that, Ahemadabad and Gaya also planned their Khadi Nagar and Swarajpuri on similar lines. Special attention was paid to the make of the furniture, the Benches and the chairs, required for the Congress and it is a matter of great satisfaction to note here that the chairs and benches, cheap as they were in their make, also proved to be the best in point of durability and strength. Throughout the whole session of unprecedented and unexpected rush and magnitude hardly a few dozens of the 10000 chairs and 2000 benches made, were broken. As regards the general arrangements made for accomodation, cold and hot water baths and the fooding arrangements I have nothing more to say than that they were generally well appreciated. It will be enough to say that I have heard it remarked in the crowds of delegates assembled both at Ahemadabad and Gaya that the Nagpur Congress arrangements were very good.

I can not conclude the preface without apologizing for the delay in bringing out this report. The whole blame lies upon me and I am alone responsible for it. I could not give to it my personal attention as I should have done.

It is further a matter of regret to note here that the Vernacular Reporter appointed for the Reporting of the vernacular speeches has served us very badly; consequently this part of the reporting has not been as full as it ought to have been.

B. S. MOONJE,

Hon. General Secretary.



Officers of the Volunteer Corps.

The 35th Indian National Congress, HELD AT NAGPUR.

26th December 1920.

The congress commenced its proceedings at 1:30 p. m. with the singing of "Bande Mataram" song by Pandit Bisnu Digambar Paloooskar of the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya Bombay and other patriotic songs by choir of young girls from the Hindu girls school city and Bhide girls school Sitabuldi Nagpur.

Seth Jamanlal Bajaj, Chairman of the Reception Committee then delivered his address in Hindi.

पूज्यवरों, निर्वाचित प्रतिनिधियों, बहनों और भाइयों,

आज के दिन को मैं अपने अब तक के जीवन का सबसे अधिक सौभाग्य का दिन समझता हूँ जब कि लेन देन और व्यापार के मायाजाल में फँसे हुए मुझ जैसे एक भयोग्य व्यक्ति को राष्ट्र के इस पवित्रतम मंदिर में १ कोटि संतति की जन्मदाता अपनी इस मातृभूमि की सेवा, अर्चना के लिए एकत्रित आप सज्जनों का स्वागत करने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ। वास्तव में जो सेवा स्वागतकारिणी समिति ने मेरे सपुर्द की है उसके लिए अपनी व्यक्तिगत अयोग्यता को मैं अच्छी तरह समझता हूँ। प्रान्त में अनेक पूज्यजनों और राजनीति-धुरंधरों के होते हुवे मेरे जैसे एक नौसिखया को इस कार्यका सौंपा जाना मुझे सर्वथा उचित प्रतीत नहीं हुआ। जिन कारणों से विवश होकर मुझे स्वागतकारिणी के सदस्यों की इस आज्ञा को स्वीकार करना पड़ा उन का वर्णन यहां अप्रासंगिक होगा। मैंने देख लिया कि अपने देशबंधुओं और प्रान्त के पूज्यजनों की आज्ञा से मैं पीछे न हट सकता था, विशेष कर जब कि मुझे इस बात का विश्वास दिलाया गया कि अपने इस कर्तव्य के पालन में मैं आप सज्जनों की सहायता और उदारता का पात्र अवश्य बना रहूंगा। अस्तु, मैं अत्यन्त हर्ष और उल्हास भरे हृदय के साथ आप सब देशबंधुओं का स्वागत करता हूँ। और इस से भी कहीं अधिक हर्ष और उल्हास के साथ मैं आप के उस पवित्र देशप्रेम, उस बढ़ते हुए उत्साह और उन नई उमंगों का स्वागत करता हूँ जिन से प्रेरित होकर यात्रा के कष्टों और अन्य अनेक असुविधाओं की परवा न करते हुए आप सब सज्जन इस महाद्वीप के दूर दूर के भागों से चल कर आज इस मण्डप में एकत्रित हुए हैं। निःसंदेह यदि केवल बड़े दिनों की छुट्टियों को कहीं आनन्द से बिताना होता तो उसके लिए यह नगर और यह अवसर आप में से शायद कोई भी न चुनता। इंडियन नेशनल कॉंग्रेस के प्रतिनिधि की जिम्मेवारी भी दिनों दिन अधिकाधिक बढ़ती जाती है। कॉंग्रेस का लक्ष्य जितना जितना पवित्र और महान होता जाता है उस का मार्ग भी उतना उतना ही आपत्तियों और कष्टों से भरता जाता है। ऐसी स्थिति में मैं फिर कहूंगा कि यदि कोई शक्ति आप के हृदयों को प्रेरित कर आप को इस समय इस मण्डप में एकत्रित कर सकती थी तो वह केवल देशप्रेम के पवित्र भाव और देश के दुःखों को दूर करने की प्रबल उत्कंठा ही हो सकती है। भारत-पुत्रों और पुत्रियों का यह बढ़ता हुआ देशप्रेम और उनकी यह पवित्र उत्कंठा ही हमारी आखिर राष्ट्रीय विजय का सबसे बड़ा चिन्ह है। इस लिए मैं फिर एक बार आप के हृदयों को प्रेरणा करनेवाले इन पवित्र तथा अजेय भावों का हृदय से स्वागत करता हूँ।

इस स्थान पर मैं अपने निमंत्रित मित्र करनल जे बेजबुड और श्रीयुत बेनस्पूर का भी स्वागत करता हूँ और उनको धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि वह इतना कष्ट उठाकर यहां तक आए। यद्यपि हमें इस संकट के समय चलना अपनी ही स्वतंत्र राय के अनुसार होगा और स्व-आश्रय बनना होगा तथापि इस में सन्देह नहीं कि इन दोनों मित्रों की नेक सलाह से हम अवश्य लाभ उठावेंगे।

अन्य प्रान्तों तथा अन्य नगरों से आए हुए सज्जनों का स्वागत करते समय मैं इस प्रान्त के रहनेवालों और विशेष कर नागपुर-निवासियों को इस शुभ दिन के लिये बधाई देना भी अपना कर्तव्य समझता हूँ। इस से पूर्व कॉमिंस का केवल एक अधिवेशन इस नगर में और हो चुका है और वह सन १८६१ की सातवीं कॉमिंस थी, जिस के सभापति स्वर्गीय देशभक्त भंड्युव आनन्द चाणू थे। उसके पश्चात् सन १८०६ की कलकत्ता-कॉमिंस में यह निश्चय हुआ कि १८०७ की कॉमिंस नागपुर में हो। किन्तु जिन महानुभावों के हाथों में उस समय कॉमिंस की बाग थी उन्होंने किसी कारण से नागपुर को राष्ट्रीय महासभा के लिये कुशल का स्थान न समझा और कलकत्ता-कॉमिंस के निश्चय के विरुद्ध नागपुर की जगह सूरत को कॉमिंस के लिए अधिक रक्षित और निरापद समझ वहाँ अधिवेशन करना निश्चय किया। मेरे लिए इस समय उक्त महानुभावों के निर्णय की जांच करना या उस दुःखमय कहानी को दोहराना न उचित है और न आवश्यक। परन्तु इस प्रान्त के निवासियों को कॉमिंस के इस प्रान्त से हटाए जाने का बहुत बड़ा और उचित दुःख हुआ और उनकी वह शिकायत अभी तक बली आती थी। इस समय नागपुर निवासियों को मेरे बधाई देने का कारण यह है कि उनकी वह १३ वर्ष की शिकायत आज सर्वथा दूर हो गई।

सन १८८५ अर्थात् कॉमिंस के जन्म दिन से लेकर इस समय तक मुझे दो ही कॉमिंस विशेष महत्त्व की दिखाई देती हैं। एक १९०६ की कलकत्ता-कॉमिंस जिसमें शासन के छोटे मोटे निरर्थक सुधारों से हटकर कॉमिंस ने पहली बार स्वराज्य को अपना लक्ष्य निर्धारित किया और उस तक पहुँचने के लिये पुरानी भिन्ना-प्रणाली को नाकामी समझ स्वावलम्बन के पथ पर पदार्पण करना चाहा। दुसरी गत सितम्बर मास की विशेष कॉमिंस जिस में पिछले १२ वर्ष की शिथिलता से बाहर निकल कर कॉमिंस ने असहयोग के प्रस्ताव द्वारा फिरसे अपने लक्ष्य को स्पष्ट किया और उस की प्रति के लिए एक क्रियत्मक संग्राम के श्रोगणेश का देश को आदेश दिया। कलकत्ते के असाधारण अधिवेशन में जो प्रस्ताव पास हुआ था उसके तीन मास के आशा-जनक अनुभव ने यह स्पष्ट कर दिया कि अब फिर उस प्रस्ताव का विशेष बलके साथ पुनः अनुमोदन उचित और आवश्यक है। विशेष कॉमिंस ने अपना जो लक्ष्य केवल प्रस्ताव द्वारा निर्धारित किया है उसे अधिक स्पष्ट शब्दों में कॉमिंस की व्यवस्था के अंदर स्थान दिया जाना भी आवश्यक है। इस के अतिरिक्त नये राष्ट्रीय कार्यक्रम की सफलता के लिये कॉमिंस की व्यवस्था में समयोचित परिवर्तनों का होना भी अनिवार्य है। यह सब महत्त्व-पूर्ण कार्य इस समय आप लोगों के सन्मुख हैं। इधी लिए मैं इस कॉमिंस को कलकत्ते की विशेष कॉमिंस से भी अधिक महत्त्वकी समझता हूँ और फिर एक बार अपने को, स्वागतकारिणी समिति के अन्य सदस्यों को तथा इस प्रांतक रहनेवालों को इस शुभ अवसर के लिए बधाई देता हूँ और साथ ही ईश्वर से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि हम सब लोग अन्तमें देश की और इस महान जिम्मेवारी को पूरा करने के योग्य और इस विशेष आदर के लिए सुपात्र साबित हों।

मैं इस सम्बन्ध में अपने तथा स्वागतकारिणी समिति को प्रबंध आदि की त्रुटियों से अच्छी तरह परिचित हूँ। हमें खेद है कि आप सज्जनों के आतिथ्य का और आप को आराम पहुँचाने का जैसा प्रबंध हम लोगों को करना चाहिए था या जैसा हम करना चाहते थे वैसा नहीं कर सके। तथापि मैं इन त्रुटियों के लिए क्षमा प्रार्थना करने में आप का अमूल्य समय नष्ट करना नहीं चाहता। मुझे और मेरी समिति को आप समस्त बहनों और भाइयों की उदारता पर पूर्ण भरोसा है। अत्यंत गंभीर प्रश्न इस समय हमारे सन्मुख हैं, समय परिमित है। और इन सामान्य अमुविधाओं से दृष्टी हटा कर हमें और आपको तुरन्त इन प्रश्नों के हल करने और बेश तथा काल की और अपनी जिम्मेवारी को पूरा करने में अग्रसर होना है।

देशवासियों, अब इस से पूर्व कि मैं वर्तमान राजनैतिक परिस्थिति पर अपने संक्षिप्त विचार आप के सन्मुख उपस्थित करूं, मैं इस दुःखित भूमि के सर्वे तेषु रत्न, आदर्श देशभक्त, पुरंधर राजनीतिक, और अपनी मृत्युपर्यंत भारतवासियों के अनन्य नेता प्रातःस्मरणीय लोकमान्य

बालगंगाधर तिलक की स्वर्गीय आत्मा को नमस्कार किये बिना नहीं रह सका, जिन की शोकमय अनुपस्थिति आज हम सब लोग अनुभव कर रहे हैं। मुझे विश्वास है कि उनका निर्भीक, निस्वार्थ और एकलक्ष्य जीवन अनन्त काल तक भारतीय देशभक्तों के लिए आदर्श का काम देगा और इस राष्ट्रीय महासभा की समस्त कार्यवाही में लोकमान्य की अदृष्ट आत्मा हमारे उत्साह को बनाये रखती हुई हमारी नायक और मार्ग-प्रदर्शक होगी।

वर्तमान राजनैतिक परिस्थिति पर दृष्टि डालते हुए मुझे युरोपीय महायुद्ध से पूर्व जाने की कोई आवश्यकता अनुभव नहीं होती। युद्ध से पूर्व की स्थिति, देश का बढ़ता हुआ दारिद्र्य, राष्ट्रीय महासभा की निर्बलता, उस समय राष्ट्रीय कहलाने वाले पक्ष की वित्तर वित्तर अवस्था और व्यापक नैराश्य का चित्र हम में से अधिकांश के नेत्रों के सन्मुख है। महायुद्ध ने भारत के राजनैतिक शरीर में एक नई जान डाली। अनेक तरह से और अनेक अर्थों में अनेक देशभक्त भारतवासियों ने इंग्लैंड की उस आपत्ति को अपने लिए एक अवसर समझा। इंग्लैंड तथा उसके साथियों ने अपनी उस आपत्ति में सहायता प्राप्त करने के लिए उत्तरदायित्व पूर्ण शासन, आत्म-निर्णय और छोटे, निर्बल राष्ट्रों की स्वतंत्रता के प्रलोभन भारत तथा अन्य पीड़ित राष्ट्रों के सन्मुख रखे। भारत के साथ साम्राज्य के अन्दर तुल्याधिकार और उत्तरदायित्व पूर्ण शासन का स्पष्ट वादा किया गया। एक नए राष्ट्रसंघ (लीग ऑफ नेशन्स) की स्थापना की घोषणा की गई जिसमें भारत को भी बराबर का स्थान दिया गया और जो भविष्य के लिए छोटे राष्ट्रों की स्वतंत्र की विशेष संरक्षक बनने वाली थी। टर्की के विरुद्ध सहायता प्राप्त करने अथवा युद्ध के समय में मुसलमानों के चित्तों को बहलाए रखने के लिए उनसे स्पष्ट प्रतिज्ञा की गई कि युद्ध के इंग्लैंड की विजय होने पर तुर्की साम्राज्य को कोई हानि न पहुंचाई जावेगी।

भारतवासियों के भोले हृदय और भी अधिक उत्साह और आशाओं से भर गये। इस दुःखित देशके अनेक रहने वालों को ब्रिटिश छत्रछाया में सुख, समृद्धि और स्वतंत्रता के दिन सामने दिखाई देने लगे। भारतीय अन्न, भारतीय धन और भारतीय रक्त ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य की सहायता के लिए पानीकी तरह बहाया गया। यद्यपि कतिपय दूरदर्शी लोगों के चित्त उस समय भी शंका से खाली न थे, क्योंकि 'भारतरक्षा कानून' का भयंकर दुरुपयोग बराबर जारी था, तथापि समझाया गया कि वह कानून केवल युद्ध के समय के लिए था और ऐसे संकट के समय दोष और निर्दोष में निर्णय करना अधिक सरल नहीं होता।

किन्तु जब जर्मनी और उस के साथियों के परास्त होते ही इंग्लैंड और उसके साथियों के समस्त वादे भूठे साबित होने लगे; जब कि छोटे राष्ट्रों की स्वतंत्रता की रक्षा करने के स्थान पर विजयी शक्तियों ने उन्हें एक एक कर हड़पना शुरू किया, जब कि 'उत्तरदायित्वपूर्ण शासन' के नाम से भारत को वह नए शासन सुधार मिले जिन्हें राष्ट्रीय दलके लगभग समस्त नेताओं ने एक स्वर से 'असंतोष-प्रद और नैराश्य-जनक' बताया, जब कि इन नए सुधारों के रहे सहे गुणों को भी छल्लयुक्त नियमों और उपनियमों के इन्द्रजाल में फंसा कर मटियाभेट कर दिया गया; जब कि भारत-रक्षा कानून के अत्याचार को बढ़ाने और स्थानित कर देने के लिए और इस चिर पीड़ित देश की समस्त राजनैतिक आकांक्षाओं और चेष्टाओं को सदा के लिए कुचल डालने के उद्देश्य से पुलिस और वैयक्तिक शासकों की सत्ता को अनियमित कर देने वाले 'रीलट' कानूनों की तजवीज हुई; जब कि नया राष्ट्रसंघ (लीग ऑफ नेशन्स) छोटे राष्ट्रों की स्वतंत्रता का संरक्षक होने के स्थान पर केवल अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय लुटेरों और हत्यारों का एक समूह साबित हुआ और जब कि इंग्लैंड के प्रधान मंत्री तथा मंत्रिमण्डल की प्रतिज्ञाओं के स्पष्ट विरुद्ध तुर्की साम्राज्य के टुकड़े टुकड़े कर दिए गये और खलीफतुल मुसलमीन सुलतान टर्की को क्रियात्मक दृष्टी से मित्र सेनाओं (किन्तु टर्की या भारत के मित्र नहीं बरन् एक दूसरे के) के हाथ का कैदी बना डाला गया तो भारत के हिंदू, मुसलमानों तथा अन्य धर्मावलम्बियों की आंखें सुल गईं।

ऐसे संकट के समय महात्मा गांधी ने राष्ट्रीय जीवन पर रौलट कानून के भयंकर भारी परिणामों को सामने देखते हुए सत्याग्रह जैसे निर्दोष और निरुपद्रव आन्दोलन को प्रारम्भ किया, किन्तु इस पवित्र आन्दोलन को कलंकित करने और उसे कुचलने का बहाना ढूँढ़ने के लिए जिस प्रकार अनेक स्थानों पर जनता को भड़काया गया और जनता में ब्रिटिश सत्ता का भय और त्रास उत्पन्न करने के लिए पंजाब में जिस प्रकार के अनसुने और अमानुषिक अत्याचार किए गये उन्हें बारबार दोहरा कर मैं आप सज्जनों के हृदयों में सोए हुए दुःख और क्रोध को फिर से जगाना नहीं चाहता। मेरी तुच्छ बुद्धि के अनुसार भारत को सरमाइकल ओडायर, जनरल डायर, कर्नल बॉस्वर्थ स्मिथ इत्यादि पर और उन से भी बढ़कर लॉर्ड चेम्सफोर्ड, मि० मॉटेग्यु और पार्लियामेंट के उन मेम्बरों पर जिन्होंने सर माइकल ओडायर आदिक के कृत्यों का अनुमोदन किया, क्रुद्ध होने के स्थान पर उनका कृतज्ञ होना चाहिये। क्योंकि इन लोगों ने ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य और ब्रिटिश शासकों की ओर से हमारे डेढ़ सौ वर्ष के भ्रमों को सदा के लिए दूर कर दिया। मोह और अज्ञान का पर्दा भारत संतान की आंखों पर से हट गया और उन्हें स्पष्ट दिखाई दे गया कि इस विस्तृत साम्राज्य के अंदर उन की वास्तविक स्थिति क्या है और क्या हो सकती है।

जब कि तुर्की साम्राज्य के अंगभंग ने हम पर यह बात अच्छी तरह रोशन कर दी कि ब्रिटिश नीतिज्ञों या ब्रिटिश शासकों के बचनों, उन के वादों और प्रतिज्ञाओं पर अणुमात्र भी विश्वास नहीं किया जा सकता। पंजाब के अत्याचारों और उन के अनुमोदन ने हमें इस सत्यता का पाठ पढ़ाया कि इन नीतिज्ञों और शासकों के हृदयों में भारतवासियों की जान, उन के माल, उन के रक्त और उन की स्त्रियों के मान तक का कोई भी मूल्य नहीं है। हमारी स्थिती हम पर साफ जाहिर हो गई। इस के बाद देश के कर्मवीर नेताओं के हृदय और भी अधिक कांप उठे, जब उन्होंने ने इस बात पर विचार किया कि भविष्य में इन सब घटनाओं के हो चुकने पर और महायुद्ध के परिणाम रूप इंग्लैंड के गर्व और उस की शक्ति के बढ़ जाने पर भारत के लिए अपने राष्ट्रीय मान अथवा राष्ट्रीय अस्तित्व को बनाए रखना और भी अधिक दुष्कर हो जावेगा। मुझे इस में कुछ भी संदेह नहीं कि ऐसी परिस्थिती में भारत को अपमान युक्त जीवन और अपमान युक्त मृत्यु से बचाने के केवल दो ही उपाय हो सकते थे। सशस्त्र विद्रोह अथवा सार्वभौमिक असहयोग। और पश्चिमी सभ्यता के दोषों को पहचानने वाले तथा पूर्वीय सभ्यता के गुणों को जानने वाले किस भारतवासी को यह देख कर हर्ष न होगा कि इस कठिन समय में भारत ने अपनी प्राचीन सभ्यता के अनुरूप दूसरे उपाय के ही प्रयोग का निश्चय किया। जो लोग धार्मिक दृष्टि से दोनों उपायों में कोई अंतर नहीं देखते वह भी क्रियात्मक राजनीति की दृष्टि से इस दूसरे उपाय को ही सम्भव तथा समयोचित स्वीकार करते हैं।

सज्जनों, इस समय जब कि असहयोग का सूर्य इतना चढ़ चुका है मेरे लिए उसके सिद्धान्त या उस की नीति पर बहस करना केवल धृष्टता करना होगा। इंडियन नेशनल काँग्रेस असहयोग के सिद्धान्त, उस की नीति और उस के प्रथम चरण के कार्यक्रम तीनों को स्वीकार कर चुकी है। मुस्लिम लीग, सिख लीग आदि अन्य जातीय संस्थाएं भी उसे अंगीकार कर चुकी है। भारतीय जनता चारों ओर उसे उत्साह के साथ अपनाती जा रही है। किसी कारणवश मध्यप्रान्त तथा बरार का मत कलकत्ते में असहयोग प्रस्ताव के विरुद्ध रहा। किन्तु जिन लोगों को इस विषय में कोई संदेह हो उन्हें मैं विश्वास दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रांत की जनता भी असहयोग आंदोलन के पूरी तरह और हृदय से साथ है। कौन्सिलों के बहिष्कार में शायद किसी प्रांत ने भी इतना अच्छा नतीजा न दिखाया हो जितना मध्यप्रान्त ने। पहले चुनाव में यहां ६ सीट बिल्कुल खाली पड़ी रहीं और पंदरह अन्य सीटों के लिए केवल एक एक उम्मीदवार था जिस के कारण वोट लेने ही की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं हुई।

शेष सीटों के लिए भी वोट देने वालोंकी संख्या बहुत ही कम रही। इसके अतिरिक्त पछल दिनों जब कॉम्रेस के प्रचार के लिए मुझे प्रान्त के अनेक नगरों और स्थानों में जानेका अवसर भिला तो मैंने अच्छी तरह देख लिया कि प्रान्त की जनता सर्वथा असहयोग के पक्ष में है।

ऐसी दशा में मैं असहयोग के सिद्धांत आदि पर आप का अधिक समय नष्ट करना नहीं चाहता। किन्तु दो शर्तों में यह बता देना चाहता हूँ कि मेरी समझ में असहयोग आन्दोलन भारत के रहनेवालों और वर्तमान शासकों के बीच एक रक्तपात--शून्य और निरुपद्रव किन्तु व्यवस्थित तथा गंभीर युद्ध है जिस में शासकों से हर प्रकार की सहायता तथा सम्बन्ध खींच कर भारत यह देखना चाहता है कि वह बिना इन शासकों की सहायता के अपने राष्ट्रीय जीवन की समस्त आवश्यक क्रियाएं चला सकता है या नहीं और यह शासक भी बिना भारत की सहायता के अपने ब्रिटिश भारतीय शासन को कायम रख सकते हैं या नहीं। अंतिम लक्ष्य, जितने शीघ्र हो सके, भारत में इस प्रकार की स्वावलंबी और स्वतंत्र संस्थाएं स्थापित कर देना है जिनके द्वारा हमारे राष्ट्रीय जीवन के समस्त व्यवहार आसानी से चल सकें और जिन के कारण विदेशियों के देश में होते हुए भी हम स्वतंत्र हो जावें अर्थात् बिना उनके पूछे गिने ही हमें वास्तविक और पूर्ण स्वायत्त प्राप्त हो जावे। यही संक्षेप में असहयोग का वास्तविक अर्थ और उसका अभिप्राय है। असहयोग कार्यक्रम के प्रथम चरण के अंतर्गत पृथक् पृथक् अंगों अर्थात्, खिताबों, अवैतनिक पदवियों, सरकारी दरबार व्यवहार आसानी से चल सकें और जिन के कारण विदेशी-न्यायालयों और नई कौन्सिलों के बहिष्कार, मेसोपोटेमिया में सेना के लिए भरती होने से इनकार, और विदेशीय वस्तुओं के पारित्याग के विषय में भी मुझे आप से अधिक कहने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। हां, इतना मैं अवश्य कहूंगा कि मेरी राय में हमारी गति नए साल के साथ अब अधिक तेज होना चाहिए।

इस कार्यक्रम के विरुद्ध हमारे कुछ देशवासियों की ओर से जो अनेक ऐतराज किए जाते हैं उन के उत्तर भी मेरी राय में काफ़ी दिए जा चुके हैं और यदि और अधिक समाधान की आवश्यकता हो तो यह काम भी मुझे अधिक योग्य व्यक्तियों के लिए ही छोड़ देना चाहिए। तथापि आप सबजनों की इजाजत से मैं एक बड़ा मुख्य ऐतराजों पर एक दो ही शब्द कहना चाहता हूँ।

इस कार्यक्रम पर मुख्य ऐतराज यह किया जाता है कि यह नाशात्मक अर्थात् हिस्ट्रिक्टव अधिक है, रचनात्मक अर्थात् कन्स्ट्रक्टिव नहीं। मैं रचना की आवश्यकता और उस की उपयोगिता से इनकार नहीं करता। किन्तु मैं यह अवश्य कहूंगा कि वास्तव में हमारा मुख्य काम अभी इस समय नाश करना है रचना करना नहीं। हमें इस समय वर्तमान शासकों के मान, देशवासियों के ऊपर उनकी मानसिक तथा नैतिक पकड़, और उन के प्रेस्टीज का नाश करना है क्योंकि वास्तव में यही उन के भारतीय शासन की जड़ें हैं। इस नाश में से ही हमें विश्वास है कि हम अति शीघ्र अपने लिए आवश्यक रचना भी अवश्य कर लेंगे, किन्तु पहले नाश अर्थात् डिस्ट्रक्शन और पीछे रचना अर्थात् कन्स्ट्रक्शन।

इस के अतिरिक्त जो सज्जन रचनाके इतने विश्वासी हैं उन से मैं पूछता हूँ कि हमारे एक काम के करते हुए दूसरे काम को जिस के महत्त्व को वह इतनी अच्छी तरह समझते हैं वह अपने हाथों में क्यों नहीं लेते और यदि अभी तक उन की रचना का, राष्ट्रीय विद्यालयों के स्थापन करने का समय नहीं आया तो वह कब आवेगा। यदि कलकत्ता-कॉम्रेस से अब तक अहमदाबाद और अलिगढ़ में राष्ट्रीय विश्वविद्यालयों की नींव रखी गई तो वह सरकारी शिक्षा के नाश की बिन्ता में लगे हुए महात्मा गांधी और अलीभाई द्वारा ही रखी गई। समय मैदान में आकर काम करने का है, ऐतराज करने का नहीं।

स्कूलों और कॉलेजों के सम्बन्ध में मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ। वह यह कि यदि यह शिक्षा बुरी के स्थान पर अच्छी और विष के स्थान पर अमृत भी होती तो भी उसका परित्याग ही इस समय हमारा राष्ट्रीय धर्म होता। असहयोग के मूल सिद्धान्त और उस के वास्तविक रूप के अनुसार जिस में ऊपर वर्णन कर चुका हूँ हमें शासकों की और से मिलने वाली और बुरी दोनों तरह की वस्तुओं का परित्याग कर देना चाहिए और एक एक कर हर बात में स्वतंत्रता के साथ अपने पैरों पर खड़ा होना चाहिए। इस पवित्र संग्राम में पंजाब के अत्याचारों से रंगे हुए हाथों और टर्कों तथा मुसलमानों के साथ विश्वासघात करने वाले हृदयों से विष और अमृत दोनों ही हमारे लिए एक समान है।

वकीलों से वकालत छुड़वाने पर जो ऐतराज किए जाते हैं उन में से एक यह भी सुना जाता है कि पहले मुकद्दमें वालों से अदालतों का बॉयकॉट कराया जावे। पीछे वकीलों से उनकी रोजी छीननी चाहिए। मुझे इस ऐतराज पर आश्चर्य होता है। कलकत्ते का प्रस्ताव वकील और मवकिल दोनों ही से अदालतों के बॉयकॉट का प्रार्थना करता है। प्रश्न यह नहीं है कि पहले किस की रोजी छीनी जावे या किस को हानि पहुंचाई जावे। प्रश्न यह है कि दुःखित तथा अपमानित देशके नाम पर पहले कौन स्वार्थत्याग की आशा करता हो जिन के हाथों में अभी तक देशके राजनैतिक जीवन की बाग रही है। हमें इस पवित्र संग्राम में विजय प्राप्त करने के लिए उन अनेक एकनिष्ठ सच्चे स्वार्थत्यागी नेताओं की आवश्यकता है जो कॉलेजों और विश्वविद्यालयों से निकलने वाले तथा अन्य सख्तों युवकों की सेनाएं संघटित कर उनके द्वारा देश में चारों ओर स्वतंत्र संस्थाएं कायम कर दें। और इस कार्य में दशभक्त वकीलों के लिए वकालत छोड़ कर सेवा का बहुत बड़ा क्षेत्र है।

इस कं अतिरिक्त कई तरह के ऐतराज असहयोग कार्यक्रम के ऊपर किये जाते हैं, किन्तु सच यह है कि मुझे इनमें से अनेक में अर्जुन का सा मोह, उष की श्लिष्क, और उष का कार्पण्य दोष ही दिखाई देता है। ऐसी सुरत में मेरी ईश्वर से यही प्रार्थना है कि वह हमारे तथा हमारे नेताओं के हृदयों से इस मोह, कार्पण्य इत्यादि को शीघ्र दूर कर हमें इस राष्ट्रीय धर्मयुद्ध के लिए तत्पर करे।

अन्त में मैं उन सब सज्जनों के जो भारतीय जनता के प्रतिनिधी रूप इस राष्ट्रीय मंदिर के पवित्र मंडप में एकत्रित हुए हैं और जो वास्तव में सर्वान भारत के विचारों, उस के आदर्शों और उस की आकांक्षाओं कं रचयित हैं और विशेष कर उन पूज्य नेताओं से जिन का यह देश उन की अनेक अमूल्य सेवाओं के लिए ऋणी है, अत्यंत विनीत किन्तु दुःखित हृदय के साथ अपील करता हूँ कि वह इस कठिन समय में देश की ओर अपनी जिम्मेवारी और उन से देश की आशाओं तथा प्रतीक्षाओं पर गंभीरता के साथ विचार करें। वह विचार कर देखें कि देश के अंदर की तथा बाहर की दोनों परिस्थितियों की दृष्टि से इस प्रकार के अवसर बार बार नहीं आते। बाहर की स्थिति के विस्तृत वर्णन में मैं आप का समय लेना नहीं चाहता। इस आप के अनुमान के लिए छोड़ कर देश की भीतर की केवल दो बातों की ओर मैं आप का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। एक वर्तमान समय की हिंदू-मुस्लिम एकता और दूसरी जनता की असाधारण जागृति।

आपको यह स्वीकार करना होगा कि हिंदू-मुस्लिम एकता इस चिर दलित देश के दुःखों को दूर करने के लिए सब से पहली और आवश्यक शर्त है। यह एकता इस समय दिल्ली के घाटा घर के नीचे और जलियानवाला बाग में हिंदू-मुस्लिम भाइयों के मिले हुए एक से सींची जा चुकी है। टर्कों के अंगभंग और खलफिजुल मुसलमीन की क्रियात्मक कैदने हमारे मुसलमान भाइयों के नेत्रों के समुल्ल मिटिश शासकों की नीयत और अपनी जन्मभूमि भारतवर्ष

की और उन के अपने कर्तव्य का सच्चा चित्र खींच दिया है। ऐसे अपूर्व अवसर पर देश के दुःखों को दूर करने के एक मात्र उपाय असहयोग आन्दोलन में पूरे उत्साह के साथ अप्रसर न होने दिली और जलियानवाला के शहीदों का निरादर करने, सुसलमानों के बढ़ते हुए हृदयों और हाथों का तिरस्कार करने, भविष्य के लिए हिन्दू-मुस्लिम एकता की जड़ों को खोकला कर देने और देश की ओर विश्वासघात के पाप के भागी होने के तुल्य होगा। देशबन्धुओं, आप को अपने हृदयों पर यह बात अच्छी तरह अंकित कर लेनी चाहिए कि पिछड़े हुए राष्ट्रों के जीवन में इस प्रकार के अवसर बार बार नहीं आते। और ऐसे अपूर्व अवसर के सामने होते हुए एक बार चूक जाने का परिणाम फिर सदियों के लिये अथवा सदा के लिए हाथ मलते रह जाना होता है।

दुसरी बात जिस का मैंने ऊपर संकेत किया है, इस समय की जनता की आसधारण जागृति है। मुझे संदेह है कि आप में से अनेक को शायद इस जागृति का अभी पूरा अनुमान नहीं हुआ, किन्तु मैं भारतीय शिक्षित समाज के नेताओं को अत्यंत नम्रता के साथ सावधान कर देना चाहता हूँ कि यदि उन्होंने इस सर्वजनिक जागृति से पूरा पूरा फायदा न उठाया और देश के निस्तार के लिए वर्तमान आन्दोलन में अप्रसर हो अपनो निःस्वार्थता तथा सत्यता का परिचय न दिया तो आन्दोलन के लिए परिणाम चाहे कुछ भी हो या न हो किन्तु जनता का विश्वास सदा के लिए उन के ऊपर से उठ जावेगा। मैं यह बता देना चाहता हूँ कि कलकत्ता-कॉम्रेसद्वारा स्वीकृत कार्य क्रम में किसी प्रकार की ढिलाई कराने या पीछे हटने की चंष्टा मात्र का परिणाम भी उनके नेतृत्व और अपनी जिम्मेवारी का नितोयकर अपनी शक्ति भर उस के पालन में फिर एक बार आप सज्जनों से अपील करता हूँ कि आप इस मंडप में गंभीरता तथा साहस के साथ अपने कर्तव्य और अपनी जिम्मेवारी का नितोयकर अपनी शक्ति भर उस के पालन में अप्रसर हो।

इस के बाद मैं अपने उन व्यापारी भाइयों से जो अभी तक राष्ट्र की आवश्यकताओं और देश के राजनैतिक जीवन की ओर से अधिकतर उदासीन रहे हैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि उन की भी इस भूमि की ओर जिस में वह उत्पन्न हुए हैं, कुछ विशेष जिम्मेवारी है। वह भी इस राष्ट्रीय अंकट के समय अपनी जिम्मेवारी को सोचें और शान्ति-पूर्वक विचार करें कि यदि ब्रिटिश राज्य के नीचे अभी तक उन्होंने धन एकीत्रत किया है तो वह देश को सुखी कर के नहीं बरन् उसे अधिकाधिक निर्धन और दरिद्र बना कर। विदेशीय व्यापार अथवा सट्टे द्वारा अपनी जालों और करों की आमदनी पर गर्व करते समय उन्हें याद कर लेना चाहिए कि देश की बढ़ती हुई दरिद्रता के परिणाम रूप इस समय कम से कम तीन करोड़ मर्दे, औरत और बच्चे इस देश में ऐसे हैं जिन्हें २४ घंटे में एक समय पेट भर अन्न मिलना गनीमत है। मेरे व्यापारी भाइयो, आप के लिए भी परीक्षा का और अपने जीवन का सफल करने का यह सब धे अच्छा समय है। यदि आप सोचें तो आप को मालूम होगा कि आप का और आपके भावी व्यापार का सच्चा हित भी इसी में है कि अपनी वर्षों की उपेक्षा तथा कायरता को त्याग कर इस राष्ट्रीय यज्ञमें आप पूरा पूरा भाग लें। यदि आप इस समय चूक गये तो आप न केवल अपनी भावी संतान के लिए सब्जे व्यापार का द्वार ही सदा के लिए बंद कर देंगे. वरन् देश तथा राष्ट्र की ओर कर्तव्य-हीनता के पाप के भागी हो कर अपनी आत्माओं को भी कलंकित करेंगे। और यदि आप अपने धन की आहुतियां हाथ में लेकर इस राष्ट्रीय यज्ञ की ज्वाला को बढ़ाने के लिए आगे बढ़ेंगे तो इस पवित्र यज्ञकी पूर्ति और उसकी सफलता के कारण बन कर आप अपने तथा अपनी जाति के यश को सदा के लिए उज्वल करेंगे। मुझे विश्वास है कि भारत के व्यापारी इस परीक्षा में अवश्य उत्तीर्ण होंगे।

भारत के युवकों और युवतियों से मैं केवल इतना कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि वह इस राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन की धीर अपनी जिम्मेवारी को समझना चाहते हैं तो वह इस ही प्रकारके

संघर्षों अथवा अन्य राष्ट्रीय संघर्षों के समय के अन्य देशों के इतिहासों को पढ़ लें। अपने इस निरुपद्रव आन्दोलनमें भारत इन से वैसी ही अनन्य और व्यवस्थित सेवा की आशा करता है जैसी रूस, आयरलैंड, मिश्र, चीन इत्यादि की क्रांतियों के समय वहाँ के युवकों और युवतियों ने अपने अपने देशों की की। मैं इस विषय को अधिक विस्तार देना नहीं चाहता। किन्तु यह अवश्य कहना चाहता हूँ कि देश को सबसे अधिक स्वार्थत्याग की आशा युवकों और युवतियों के पवित्र हृदयों से है।

साधारण जन-समाज से कुछ भी कहना मैं अपने लिए केवल घृष्टता समझता हूँ। क्योंकि वर्तमान राष्ट्रीय अधोगति का सब से अधिक भार और हमारे पापोंका फल अधिकतर उन्हींको सहना पड़ रहा है और आज तक किसी भी क्रियात्मक राष्ट्रीय चेष्टा में वह न देश के शिथिल समुदाय से पीछे रहे और न भविष्य में रह सकते हैं।

सच यह है कि इस महान यज्ञ में महान आहुति की आवश्यकता है। बिना स्वार्थत्याग और कुर्बानी के कोई राष्ट्रीय चेष्टा सफल नहीं हो सकती; और एक इतनी बड़ी चेष्टा को सफल करने के लिये, इस प्राचीन देश को दासता और अपमान के बंधनों से मुक्त कराने के लिए, हम में से किसी व्यक्ति को किसी कुर्बानी से भी पीछे नहीं हटना चाहिये। आवश्यकता केवल हमारे हृदयों में सत्यता, श्रद्धा और प्रेम के बल की है। सज्जनों, इस समस्त स्थिति को ध्यान से देखते हुए मेरा अपना हृदय आशासे भरा हुआ है। मुझे इस आन्दोलन की अंतिम विजय में कुछ भी संदेह दिखाई नहीं देता। विशेष कर जब कि मैं इस बात को देखता हूँ कि इस अंदोलन में हमारा मार्ग-प्रदर्शक एक इस प्रकार की व्यक्ति है जिसने अपने बड़े हुए आत्माबल, अपनी दीर्घ तपस्या अपनी अनन्य सत्य निष्ठा, अपने स्पष्ट तथा सरल जीवन, अपनी आश्चर्यजनक निर्भीकता और अपनी अनुपम निःस्वार्थता द्वारा देशके बच्चे बच्चे के हृदय में स्थान पा लिया है जिसे अनेक क्रियात्मक राजनैतिक संघर्षों का अनुभव है और जिस के हाथों में दुःखित भारतीय जनता ने अपने राष्ट्रीय जीवन की बाग सौंप दी है। हमें इस समय अपने छोटे छोटे अथवा संकीर्ण विचारों को छोड़ कर केवल आन्दोलन की सफलता की ओर दृष्टि रखनी चाहिए।

इतने बड़े संगठन के लिए धन की भी आवश्यकता होगी। और मेरी राय है कि ऑल इण्डिया कॉंग्रेस कमिटी के हाथों में इस काम के लिए काफी धन दिया जाना चाहिये। आप सज्जन इसके लिए जो व्यवस्था उचित समझें कर सकते हैं। उदाहरण के लिए (१०००) या इस से अधिक वार्षिक आयके प्रत्येक कॉंग्रेसमेन से उस के इनकमटैक्स के बराबर या उस से कुछ कम राष्ट्रीय टैक्स कॉंग्रेस की ओर से लिया जा सकता है और प्रत्येक वर्ष कॉंग्रेस के अंतिम दिन राष्ट्रीय कंठ के लिए अपील की जा सकती है।

दो शब्द में कॉंग्रेस की व्यवस्था अर्थात् कॉन्स्टिट्यूशन के विषय में और कहना चाहता हूँ। आप इस व्यवस्था में परिवर्तन करने वाले हैं। मेरा जन्म राजपूताने की एक रियासत में हुआ है। मेरी और मेरे भविचार रखने वाले और भी अनेक लोगोंकी यह इच्छा है कि आप देशी राजाओं और उनकी प्रजाको अब अपनी नई व्यवस्थासे बहार न रखिये। देशी रियासतों के रहनेवाले भी भारतीय राष्ट्रका एक प्रधान अंग हैं और मैं आपको विश्वास दिलाता हूँ कि अनेक देशी राजाओं की हादिक सहायुभूति आपके साथ है और यदि किसीकी सहायुभूति आपके साथ न भी हो तो वहाँ की प्रजा की सहायुभूति में तो आप को कोई भी शंका न होनी चाहिए। ऐसी अवस्थामें राजाओं का हित भी इसी में होगा कि वह आपके साथ रहें। इस लिए मेरी और अनेक लोगों की यह उत्कंठा है कि आप देशी राजाओं और उनकी प्रजा दोनों को अपना नई व्यवस्था में स्थान दें।

दूसरी बात इस व्यवस्था के विषय में मुझे आप से यह कहनी है कि क्या सम्भव आप अधिकांश भारतवासियों की मातृभाषा और असस्त भारत की भावी अन्तर्प्रान्तीय भाषा हिंदुस्तानी को भी अपनी व्यवस्था में उचित स्थान दें ताकि शीघ्र इस राष्ट्रीय महासभा की कार्यवाही में हम एक विदेशीय भाषा के प्रयोग को कम कर सकें और अधिकाधिक भारतवासियों को कांग्रेस के काममें भाग लेने या उस से लाभ उठाने का अवसर दे सकें।

मुझे जो कुछ कहना था मैं कह चुका। अन्त में मैं फिर एक बार अपनी तथा स्वागतकारिणी समिति की ओर से आप सब बहनों और भाइयों का स्वागत करता हूँ और अपने प्रबंध की त्रुटियों के लिए क्षमा की आशा करता हूँ। *1

Pandit B. D. Shukul in a speech in Hindi proposed that Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachariar do occupy the Presidential Chair for this session of the Congress. *2

Mahatma Gandhi seconded the motion in Hindi. *3

Lala Lajpat Rai in supporting the motion said :—

Ladies and gentlemen, It is a great pleasure to me to rise to support the proposition that is before you for the election of Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar as the President of this Session. (Cries of Hindi). I am not going to make a speech and you need not cry. I have only to make this one remark that in the whole country you can find no truer, braver and no more devoted servant of the motherland than the President elect of this assembly. He, was, and he has been for the last 30 or 40 years in the forefront of those who fought for the rights and liberties of the people at a time when there was little political awakening in this country and when there was a complete dearth of those who could bravely stand up for the rights of the people. As such we are very fortunate in having him here to-day to preside over the deliberations of this assembly, and I ask you to accept the proposition with acclamation. (Loud cheers)

Mr. C. R. Das :— I have great pleasure in supporting the proposition which has been moved before you.

Moulana Muhammad Ali supported the proposition in a speech in Urdu. *4

Mr. T. V. Venkatarama Aiyar in supporting the proposition said :—

Ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in supporting this proposition. Coming as I do from Madras I feel most proud that Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachariar has been called upon to occupy the Chair on this occasion, and having regard to the fact that Madras has had few chances of supplying Presidents to this National Assembly, I feel thankful to you of Nagpur for the wise discretion you have exercised in getting him elected to fill the Chair on this occasion. Though personally he was opposed to some of the items of non-co-operation programme, the moment the Special Session of the Congress Calcutta passed its resolution he was the first to accept its call to public duty and thus set an example.

The proposal was put to vote and carried by acclamation. Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar was then garlanded amidst cheers and was installed in the Presidential Chair.

The President amidst loud cheers began to deliver his address. But as he could not be heard, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal read a portion of the following address after which the President himself gave a summary of the remaining portion of his address.

FELLOW DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I rise to discharge my duty in obedience to my country's call. And the first part of my duty to-day is to return my warm and sincere thanks to you for the honour you have done me in reposing this great trust in me. It would be mere affectation on my part if I appear to be indifferent to the very genuine pleasure you have enabled me to derive from your confidence. I am one of the oldest congressmen and it would be unnatural if I do not feel in the highest degree grateful for the best of all rewards, the affection and confidence of my countrymen. But believe me, when, in the simplicity of my heart, I say that my pleasure would have been far greater and less mingled with any uneasy feelings if such an honour had been bestowed on me some years ago or reserved for me to be earned in the future. For, anxious, most religiously anxious as I am to perform my allotted task earnestly and with courage, I feel considerably embarrassed owing to the fact that the political situation in which we find ourselves placed now is grave and complicated beyond our expectation and conception. My inspiring consolation lies in the hope that you will extend to me throughout this session a liberal measure of your kindness and indulgence to sustain me in my consciousness of my shortcomings and infirmities disabling me from rising equal to the responsibilities of this great and unique occasion. And on this occasion and in this presence it is impossible for me to resist the very natural temptation to say how deeply I lament the fact that if that great son of India whose manhood was a life of selfless suffering in our country's cause in a spirit of dedication rarely surpassed in the annals of national struggles for freedom, Lokamanya Tilak, had been spared, the confidence you have reposed in me to-day had been of very superior right, his, and would have been, happily, not mine.

2. The business before us is as trying as it is great in every interest. We have to conceive and adopt a message to be sent to our gracious Sovereign and to the great peoples of the world. And that message is that the people of India are now placed by their rulers in an intolerable position and that they are determined forthwith to make their beautiful country "fit and safe" for her sons and daughters to live in, and that any further delay in their achievement of this vital object means ruin to them and peril to the Empire if not to the future peace of the world.

3. The problem for us now is how best to accomplish this great task. At the outset let us know what we are exactly in order that we might clearly know what we are about. We are, of our own free-will and consent, a constituent people of the great British Commonwealth by virtue of an original compact and this national institution of ours was for years in the womb of time and was started into life thirty five years ago in order to persuade and compel the other party to the compact to loyally perform their duties and obligations under it in view to the political regeneration of our country and to reach our destined status of an equal partner in the possession and enjoyment of the blessings of the English constitution with the rest of the nations composing the British Commonwealth. We are satisfied mournfully satisfied, that the time has arrived, if it had not risen years ago, for the immediate establishment of responsible government for British India with an

instrument in writing containing a declaration of the fundamental rights of the people and a constitution similar to the constitution of the United Kingdom and the Self-Governing Dominions. We are here to ask the other party to the original compact that they may not further postpone the performance of their part of the agreement in integrity, in letter and spirit and to let us arm ourselves with law and machinery to prevent them and their agents henceforth from committing breaches thereof, at least not with impunity, as hitherto.

4. I have prepared and annexed to this address a draft statute of the nature of the instrument just described. I do not think I need detain you by reading it through. I think I might better employ the time at my disposal by inviting your attention to the leading principles and provisions of the scheme which I have ventured to submit for your consideration and approval with such modifications, as you might deem fit to adopt in the light of our discussion and deliberation in this session. I might say here that there is hardly any principle or provision in it which is original. They have all been taken from great political works and from the constitutional instruments of some of the most advanced countries, pre-eminently France. I might also add that this scheme was, in the main, placed before the Right Hon'ble The Secretary of State and His Excellency The Viceroy in my interview with them three years ago, when, they were touring in the country in connection with the then coming Reforms.

5. The most important part in the proposed scheme relates to a declaration of our fundamental rights as men and as British citizens. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of a written constitution. Almost all modern countries possessed of a constitutional government have written-constitutions. England seems to be the only exception but only a partial exception, for her constitution is made up as well of charters and statutes as of traditions and usages preserved as common law by the line of great judges who contributed to the national freedom of England no less than her great statesmen and soldiers. I venture to submit that it is too late to think of an unwritten constitution. An unwritten constitution can only grow and cannot be made in a day. The English constitution may be said to begin with the Magna Charta seven centuries ago, and it may be said to have been most perfected after the Reform Act of 1832. Obviously it is unreasonable to expect India to begin the growth of its constitution now and wait for centuries for its full development. Apart from this consideration all authorities are quite the other way as to the superior advantages of a written constitution. Professor Temperley emphasises the danger of an unwritten constitution. Says he as follows:—"In two respects an unwritten constitution in a country constitutes a most serious danger; in the first place custom may be susceptible of two meanings while law is only susceptible of one, and the interpretation of constitutional custom offers great opportunities to reckless or unscrupulous statesmen. This danger is real enough, but there is another that is greater still; the procedure of the English Parliament is the same in the case of ordinary laws and of laws which are amendments to the constitution. In all countries where a written constitution exists the procedure for amending is special, elaborate and cumbrous; in England there is no difference between the procedure which sanctions a law for taxing dogs and that which sanctions a law for abolishing Peers." The greatest political thinker of England, Edmund Burke, is in raptures on the great merits of a written constitution. Says he:—"The rights of *men*, that is to say, the natural rights of mankind, are indeed sacred things: and if any public measure is proved mischievously to affect them, the objection ought to be fatal to that measure, even if no Charter at all could be set up against it. If these natural rights are further affirmed and declared by express covenants, if they are clearly

defined and secured against chicanes, against power, and authority, by written instruments and positive engagements, they are in a still better condition: they partake not only the sanctity of the object so secured, but of that solemn public faith itself, which secures an object of such importance. Indeed this formal recognition, by sovereign power, of an original right in the subject, can never be subverted, but by rooting up the holding, radical principles of government, and even of society itself. The charters, which we call by distinction *great*, are public instruments of this nature; I mean the charters of King John and King Henry the third. The things secured by these instruments may, without any deceitful ambiguity, be very fitly called the *chartered rights of men*.

6. Besides, a written declaration of rights is a great instrument of national education. We all know that the laws of the Twelve Tables in ancient Rome were taught to the children and they had to know them by heart as if they were the Vedas or the Koran. This practice in no small degree contributed to the vitality of the great republic. An early and accurate knowledge of one's fundamental rights is also a measure of one's conception of similar rights of one's fellow-citizens, and consequently of the mutual duties of the citizens of a state.

7. Such a study is a great contributory factor in the creation of those habits of mind which enable individuals to enjoy their full freedom in peace and harmony with their fellow citizens.

8. I desire distinctly to assert and maintain that it is no exaggeration to say that the declaration of the fundamental rights of humanity should be studied and regarded by the youth of a nation as if it were a gospel. The political gospel reached by the efforts of man and not revealed is the hand-maid of the revealed religious gospel, and the bedrock of its principles is human experience of its utility and human wisdom and not faith unaided by reason. Although all civilized countries, ancient and modern, developed great political concepts and built up systems of political philosophy, the glory of discovering and rescuing the primary rights of man from the obscure depths of history and philosophy belongs to France. It was her philosophers who not only so discovered and rescued them but also enunciated them with exactitude and draped them in the freshest and most attractive garb of phraseology. It was the most precious French blood that was shed to enthrone and consecrate them at the altar not only of patriotism but also of humanity. While English patriots claimed and established their political rights in terms of ancient English pedigree and heritage, France thought, spoke, fought and bled for humanity in terms of humanity. The one cardinal divine principal underlying all these rights is that man is not the proprietor but trustee of his life. He is therefore not the proprietor but the trustee, accountable to society and to God, of the essential constituents that make up human life. We can easily understand, therefore, the principle and doctrine that our rights of personal freedom, liberty of thought and speech, and the other vital rights without which the fullest, freest and healthiest life is impossible are inalienable and imprescriptible. We cannot part with them or surrender them, except by way of noble self-sacrifice in the service of humanity; nor may they be invaded upon and appropriated on the ground of prescription, that is to say on the ground that we once and long ago lost them. Hence, this is the source of all human laws and all machinery to enact and execute those laws must be in its nature and functions framed in consonance with the spirit and letter of these fundamental rights. M. Poincaré, the late distinguished President of the French Republic, most aptly calls the Declaration of Rights the "Law of all Laws." And he further adds that every society in which the guarantee of fundamental rights is not assured may be said to have no constitution at all.

9. Nextly, the scheme contains provision as to the nature and functions of the machinery of Government, of what Professor Dicey happily calls the legal agency of the political sovereignty of the people. This is a scheme of responsible government in the outline. I venture to think that few would dispute the fact that responsible government is the best form of government as yet developed for a free country. The expression responsible government involves the idea of a double responsibility, *i. e.*, the responsibility of the executive government to the legislature being representative of the sovereign people, and the responsibility of the entire personal of the executive government for the acts of every one of them as if they constituted but a single person. The one other form of government that may be claimed to be equal to the form of responsible government in efficiency and guarantee of peoples' freedom is the government with a referendum like that of Switzerland, that is to say all measures of government are submitted compulsorily or on demand to the judgement of the people of the country assembled for the purpose. This form is obviously impossible for all large countries. The next best form of Government is a federal democracy like that of the United States of America. There the responsibility of the executive is directly to the people and not to the representative legislature of the people and there is no such thing as collective cabinet responsibility of the officials that compose the executive. They do not stand or fall together like the English cabinet and each one of them can only be got rid of by the people by the clumsy and ancient method of impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanours or only at the next election. Whereas, in a country of parliamentary and cabinet Government, the executive Government can be dismissed and replaced when they lose the confidence of the majority of the members of the representative legislature, owing to conduct on their part or on the part of any of them which that majority does not approve and it is not necessary that such conduct should amount to a crime or misdemeanour, capable of being made into a charge for trial by impeachment, such an executive Government can be and is carried on without commanding the confidence of the legislature, unicameral or bicameral.

10 I venture to think that it is in our lasting interests that we designate the form of Government we seek simply responsible Government like that of the United Kingdom and of the self-Government Dominions. I would not describe it by the Sanskrit word "Swarajya." Although this word means simply self Government or home rule, it is on the one hand capable of being misunderstood abroad, especially by England in its present mentality coloured by the vicissitudes due to the struggle of Ireland and on the other hand it is devoid of historic conventions and usages which make for the healthy growth and development of responsible Government. Besides, responsible Government as such has been accepted as the policy of His Majesty in Parliament.

11. The only other part of the proposed draft Constitution to which I would call your attention relates to the power of altering the constitution from time to time, to be held and exercised by the Indian Legislature. That is to say this legislature is not only to be a law-making body and to have control of the executive but also to be what is known as a constituent body. This provision embodies the principal of national sovereignty and the power to alter the constitution is delegated to the legislature by the sovereign people. Without this power it would be a mere delusion to say that the people of this country have the rights of self-determination and political sovereignty. This constituent power is, according to the same great French authority, "the beginning and the end and the very essence of sovereignty."

12. You will observe that this power on the part of the legislature is to be exercised not in the ordinary way in which ordinary laws are made but by a special procedure. This is in accordance with the principles adopted by all the free countries with a written constitution. The special procedure is that any proposed amendment to the constitution should be passed by a majority of not less than two thirds of the members of either chamber of the legislature and that the measure should be submitted to the judgement of the country by the dissolution of the legislature for the purpose and that the new legislature should adopt and pass it by similar majorities in both the chambers. You will thus see that this procedure ensures not only caution and deliberate discussion but gives to the country the advantages of a referendum before its constitution can be interfered with.

13. There is one section devoted to the subject of the creation of a Court of Impeachment for the trial of ministers on charges brought against them as such.

14. I desire next to invite your attention to the question how this responsible government is to become an accomplished fact technically, if our rulers are prepared, as we expect them to be, to consent to the immediate establishment of it. There are three ways by which this problem can be solved, (1) by a statute of Parliament, (2) by Letters Patent of His Majesty the King Emperor and by instructions by the Secretary of State for India, (3) and by an Act of the Indian Legislature. The first and the last would be most difficult to achieve and when achieved, by no means most satisfactory for all practical purposes. We have seen the mentality of the Parliament, especially of the House of Lords, as displayed in connection with the two recent matters vitally affecting the freedom and well-being of this country, namely, the Reform Act and Rules and the Punjab Tragedy. The key-note of the mind and spirit of Parliament inferable from conduct on these two occasions as on many others, is to be found in their contempt of the vital rights of the people of this country and the upholding by all possible means the power and prestige of the existing Government and bureaucracy of India. We cannot easily forgive, much less forget, the resolution of the Lords on Lord Finlay's motion to defend and even consecrate the wilful murders of the "splendid beast", General Dyer. I am sure that you would be most anxious to avoid the House of Lords if we can get our responsible government without being obliged to have recourse to it. I believe, we can.

15. I would respectfully ask you to dismiss from all consideration the third of the methods mentioned above. Even if it be possible for us to get the elected and non-official members of the new Indian Legislature to act in concert and to originate a measure for the conversion of the existing system into responsible government, which, in my humble opinion, they have the power to do, the bureaucracy would not allow the successful passage and termination of such a measure in anything like the form which we should like to have, or in any form at all. By law and rules they have immense powers of obstruction to enactment of popular measures.

16. Victoria, Cape Colony, and Natal converted their governments with merely representative legislatures into governments with ministerial responsibility to the legislature by acts of their own legislatures which were approved by the Sovereign by Order in Council and without any reference to Parliament.

17. I have now come to the second of the two methods and I should crave your permission to detain you at some length on a consideration of it. In the first place, it must be remembered that the prerogative right of the English King

includes legislative powers and quasi—legislative powers except when restrained by parliamentary statute. On the other hand no parliamentary statute is constitutionally needed to change and elevate a merely representative government into a responsible government. Responsible government is merely a more efficient and a more perfect representative government. The responsible government of England is a development of the previous representative system. It does not owe its origin to any parliamentary statute. We all know that it was in view to get more and more money for carrying on the war on the continent against Louis XIV, that William III hit, under the advice of Sunderland, at the idea of constructing his ministry from that party in Parliament which commanded the confidence of the majority in the Commons, that party being then Whigs. Thenceforward conventions and usages due to several circumstances perfected the system of Cabinet Government and Parliamentary sovereignty. There are precedents in support of the view I ask you to accept, to be found in the history of the introduction of responsible government in the British Colonies. For instance, Transval and Orange Free State were constituted into responsible government by Letters Patent in 1906 and 1907 respectively. In several other instances in the colonies the change from representative to responsible government was effected by private instructions to the Colonial Governor from the Colonial Office without recourse to Imperial Legislation or even to Royal prerogative. Indeed, it would be difficult to imagine a parliamentary statute that can fully embody the conventions and usages governing parliamentary sovereignty and cabinet responsibility.

18. I should not attempt to conceal from ourselves that there are certain provisions in the Government of India Act 1919 which apparently tie the hands of our Gracious Sovereign in the exercise of his prerogative on our behalf in this connection. We have to look for them in the pre-ambule and in section 41 of the enacting part. The pre-ambule says that it is the declared policy of Parliament to allow British India responsible government by stages conditioned by the extent of confidence that can be reposed in the sense of responsibility of persons co-operating with the Government and that Parliament is the sole judge as to the time and manner of each advance. This is a most extraordinary claim by the British Parliament of absolute authority over the country and people of British India. May we ask what is the source of this authority so pompously claimed? Remember we had no voice in the election of the Commons and the House of Lords never pretended to be a hereditary reflection of the opinion of this country ; but can Parliament advance such a claim as against the people of the United Kingdom itself whose creation they are ? If it did make the attempt, that would be the last Parliament of the kind. Wherefrom then does it advance such a preposterous claim over and as against India ? You would in vain search for any hint as to the source of this authority. It is nothing short of pretensions to a divine right to absolute rule over us. Having destroyed, some three centuries ago, the claim of Divine Right of the English Kings and having declared that the relation between the people of England and their kings rests upon an original compact it is a mockery of all political principles and equity for British Parliament to advance such a claim as against poor India. We have protested and must continue to protest against the manifest injustice to the people of this country involved in this claim. Any such claim by the British Parliament can only be made on behalf of the British people. Is it pretended that the people of the United Kingdom ever claimed such a right over the people of his country ? They can only do so if the people of India are the slaves and property of the people of England. The claim is a negation of all principle of sovereignty in a people and of the first principles of self-determination in the maintenance and protection of

which the greatest war on this planet was fought by England and her Allies. This claim is an insult to the nation of India and a fraud and a huge fraud, upon their God-given rights and upon their rights admittedly as British citizens.

19. The Parliament of England does not appear to have a historic memory. We all know that the United States of America protested and fought less against the enacting portion of the Stamp Act and more against the preamble of it. The evil caused by the imposition of the tax was considered as constituting a much lesser actual grievance than the magnitude of expected tyranny involved in the claim set out in the preamble that the British Parliament could tax the colonies without their own consent. Burke declared that that preamble could not be declaratory of a right and could only recite a previously existing one, and he described it as a "phantom," as a "quiddity," "a thing without a substance and without even a name." We might justly say therefore that the declaration made in this preamble of the Divine Right to govern the people of India is a "phantom" "quiddity," "a thing without a substance and even without a name."

20. Assuming for a moment that the preamble of our Act involves sound principles and declarations of parliamentary rights as against us, it is not binding on us or on our Gracious Sovereign, because it is a settled juridical principle that a preamble is no part of the enactment, and is no law.

21. There is also another principle of interpretation of British Parliamentary Statutes to which I would call your attention. It is a canon of interpretation and it is without an exception that the Sovereign of England cannot be affected in his prerogative or property by any parliamentary statute without his own consent thereto and unless he is expressly named in it or included by irresistible implication. And the fact that His Majesty did not exercise his long dormant power of veto cannot be deemed to be consent to this extraordinary provision.

22. This last canon of interpretation applies also to the provisions contained in Section 41 of the Act. That section says that, at the end of ten years from the passing of this Act, the Secretary of State for India shall appoint a Commission with the concurrence of each House of Parliament and with the approval of His Majesty for the purpose of inquiring into the working of this Act and then make recommendations in one of three ways (1) to increase the powers of the legislature presumably the local legislatures (2) or leave them alone (3) or to curtail them. Nothing is said anywhere in the Act as to what is the consequence if any of the four events on the happening of which this Commission should come into existence does not take place, that is to say if the Secretary of State fails to act as directed or if either House of Parliament declines to give its assent to this proposal or if His Majesty disapproves of it. It is very clear that these provisions are of the nature of administrative instructions and are merely directory and not mandatory law. The Right Hon'ble Mr. Fisher admitted that this section would not prevent a revision of the whole new system in less than ten years, and it is only a right conferred upon the people of India that such an inquiry should take place at the end of at least ten years. We can well afford to waive this commission.

23. If then the system of responsible Government can be immediately established for the Government of this country by simple executive process, the very natural question is whether the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India would consent to co-operate with us and induce the Cabinet to concur with him and advise His Majesty to be graciously pleased to issue the necessary ins-

tructions by Letters Patent under the Great Seal. We have seen him occasionally rising to lofty eloquence in defence of our rights. It is true, but too painfully true, that his acts in no way breathe the liberality and wisdom of such occasional eloquent statements. Perhaps, it is open to him and his admirers to think of the same excuse as was the plea of Charles II who when twitted that he never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one, made a splendid repartee that his wise words were his own but that the foolish acts were his ministers and to say that his (Mr. Montagu's) words in eloquent defence of our national rights were exclusively his own but that his hands are greatly tied as to his acts. If such a plea is put forward on behalf of our Secretary of State we cannot say that there is not some real basis for it. But this demand of ours to establish responsible government by his advice to the king Emperor without the legal assistance of Parliament would give him a splendid opportunity when he could act as wisely as ever he spoke for us. No doubt it would be perhaps safer to get the concurrence of the Commons for the proposal as the Cabinet depends for its existence upon the good-will of the Commons. But we all know that the present House of Commons has, in view to win the late war and under the stress of it, been well disciplined into amiability of disposition towards the coalition Cabinet, especially towards the present Prime Minister. May we not hope that they would not grudge poor India a share of this generosity? If this course is impracticable in the opinion of the Secretary of State and the Cabinet, then it is for the Right Hon'ble Mr. Montagu to see whether the grave political situation affecting the vital interests of both India and the British Empire does not call for courage on his part and whether, following the precedents of several distinguished Colonial Secretaries, he should not issue instructions to the Viceroy on his own responsibility in view to change the arbitrary and merely representative Government of India into full responsible Government. He would thereby earn the undying gratitude of the teeming millions of India and achieve a glory such as has scarcely fallen to the lot of any English statesman.

24. The very disquieting programme outlined in the preamble to the Government of India Act 1919 which is meant to raise in us a dim and distant vision of reaching a free Government for our political and economic existence involves no honest and recognized principles of civilized society and is altogether disloyal to our title deed in support of our claim for the immediate establishment of responsible government. You will remember that the declaration of rights secured by the people of England as the fruit of their glorious revolution of 1688 rests upon the doctrine of an original compact between the people of England and their king. And the one great charge against King James II was that he broke and violated this solemn compact between him and his subjects. This doctrine was based on no historic evidence but on the theory of a philosopher, namely Hooker, the author of "Ecclesiastical Polity".

25. Turn we now to the Hindu idea of polity. All ancient authority is agreed as to the origin and development of kingship in India. In the beginning all people were good and peace and harmony and industry among them were maintained by mutual good feeling of the people themselves without a political government. Gradually degeneracy and disorder arose and there was menace of anarchy in the society. Then the people assembled together and framed a code of laws for themselves-which corresponds to the English Declaration of Rights of 1688-and then proceeded to establish a government and elect a king and the first king so elected by the people was "Manu". He was to rule and protect the people according to law and he was to receive as consideration annually a portion of the grains

produced and of the other income of the people. During the palmy days of ancient India the Government of the country was fully equal and more than equal, in guaranteeing and securing the people's freedom and prosperity, to any modern state and a high degree of civilization was the fruit of this polity; art and science were cultivated and flourished to a degree to which the Europeans have not done full justice. Hindus not only produced philosophy, religious and secular, which has been the admiration and even the consolation of the world, but also it was the Hindus who invented the system of decimal fractions, Algebra and the game of chess. The Hindu astronomer, Aryabhatta, discovered the solar system and the precession of equinoxes several centuries before Copernicus. The system of Civil administration was perfected to a degree rarely reached in modern times. Theory of the original compact between king and people was ever kept alive so much so that when the state failed to discover and restore property lost by robbery, the state had to make adequate compensation to the loser. Helpless subjects, viz, minors, idiots, aged, and women in pregnancy were all maintained and protected by the state. The duties and obligation of the king were maintained and enforced by several sanctions, the sanction of public opinion, of religion, and the right of revolution. It was part of ancient Hindu polity that a king who mis-governed could be deposed by the people and replaced by any of his children and even by other relations and strangers. The reign of law in ancient India was supreme and the king was as much bound by it as any of his subjects. It must be remembered that the ancient Hindu king was not the maker of laws. The Hindu Law was evolved from the Sashttras and supplemented by customs and usages and the whole was interpreted by judges. That the law was obeyed by the king was an accepted canon and test for appreciating a particular king's reign. Says the Tamil saint, Tiruvalluvar, "Behold the prince who wieldeth the sceptre in accordance with the law: seasonal rains and rich harvests have their home in his land." The position of ancient India may be summed up in the words of Professor Max Miller, "Take any of the burning questions of the day—popular education, higher education, parliamentary representation, codification of laws, finance, emigration, poor-law and whether you have anything to teach and to try, or anything to observe and to learn, India will supply you with a laboratory such as exists nowhere else." It is clear from all these facts that the ancient Hindu king owed his authority entirely to the people and that he forfeited his right as king for misconduct. The idea of the sovereignty of the people and the fact that the highest power emanated from them cannot be more conclusively proved.

26. Then we come to the period of contact of this ancient Hindu civilization with Arab civilization brought into India by the Mussulman invaders. The political theory of the ancient Arabs was that sovereignty belongs to God and that he delegated it to the people and that the Khalif was his executive representative and he should administer the affairs of the people according to the law which was no more of his making than the ancient Hindu law was and he was as much bound by the laws as any of his subjects. Says Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, the distinguished Judge of the Madras High Court, in his valuable work of Principles of Mahommedan Jurisprudence: "In the Mahommedan system sovereignty primarily belongs to God, but as he has delegated to the people powers of legislation and of absolute control over the administration, it must be held that next to God the sovereign power resides in the people. It would also appear that the Mahommedan law does not admit of the sovereign power being dissociated from the people however they might choose to exercise it." He elsewhere in the same treatise says. "The right to administer the laws as well as the affairs generally of the community, belongs to the community itself which may exercise the right through its chosen representatives." Prof. Dicey's elegant

formula that the political sovereignty belongs to the people and that the government is its legal sovereign aptly applies to the Mahommadan concept thus stated by Sir Abdur Rahim.

27. Thus the ancient Hindu idea of polity and the Arab idea of polity were substantially identical, as regards the conception of political sovereignty as essentially residing in the people and the derivation of legal sovereignty from it, at all events. It is worth while to mention that the ancient Hindus paid the highest regard to the theory and practice of government. The science of polity was described in figurative language as the "nectar churned from the ocean" of all sciences put together. It is unnecessary for me to add that the modern Indians, whatever their present religious creed may be, are descendants of ancient Hindus in the main with a very small proportion among Mussalmans who are not such, if we omit the extremely small and negligible communities of the Jews and Parsees, and this small proportion are the inheritors and professors of the Arab idea of polity. So, one is warranted in the statement that the modern Indian idea of polity is that the sovereignty belongs entirely to the people, and that all power to rule over them emanates from them by consent and compact.

28. This idea of an original compact between the people and their king and their right to dismiss and replace him for misconduct or degeneracy is ever present to the mind of the modern Indian. England owes the origin of her political relations with India to this unique Indian character. It is authoritatively admitted that England has succeeded to the status and rights of the Hindu and Mahommedan sovereigns. If it has any meaning, the succession must mean to the rights as well as obligations of the best Hindu and the best Mahommedan kings and not those of the effete and wicked ones whom the people of this country Hindu and Mussulman replaced by inviting the English and co-operating with them in every way. The political entry of the English into India is parallel to the entry of King William III as sovereign of England. The foundations of English sovereignty in India may be truly said to have been laid in the middle of the eighteenth century with the success of Clive at Arcot. In the siege of Arcot he was besieged by a numerous army including French soldiers while his own garrison consisted of 120 English soldiers and 200 Indian sepoys. He was hard pressed and provisions fell short and starvation stared them all in the face. The sepoys displayed a remarkable trait of Indian selflessness and offered all the substantial food available to their English comrades, themselves subsisting on the water in which the food was cooked and strained. Complete success was the fruit of this devotion on the part of the Indians. One important result of this was that the brave Maharatta Chieftain Morary Rao of Gooty, with 6000 brave soldiers of his at once threw in his lot with the English as he saw them helping themselves. He had been wooed by the French and the English. It is thus clear that the people and chieftains of India desired to save their country, distracted by feuds between princes and by anarchy, by making England legal sovereign of India. Malletson in his History of the French in India says that the siege of Arcot "presents one of the most glorious pictures of Anglo-Indian history: it is the turning point in the eastern career of the English and the foundation stone of their present Empire." And subsequent history proves that throughout their career the English almost entirely relied upon Indian co-operation both as to money and men. Sir Alfred Lyall of the Indian bureaucracy and by no means one of the best advocates of Indian national freedom, admits that from the first the people of India welcomed and assisted the English in their acquisition of India. It is thus conclusively clear that the political relation of England to India is one of voluntary compact between her and the people of India.

29. If behind the extraordinary claim involved in the preamble there really lurks, as several assert and many of us suspect, a feeling that is based on the right of conquest, we must distinctly and most emphatically repudiate the sinister doctrine of this English might versus Indian right and we are well warranted in so repudiating it by the conclusive historic proof to the contrary as stated above. Assuming for argument's sake that British India is a conquered dependency of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland—and let us not forget that India has never been formally annexed to England as a conquered country—, yet we are entitled to deny the claim of mere might as against our right. The glorious French Revolution has established the divine principle that every people are one person and are entitled ever to provide for its own salvation. France then established for the benefit of mankind that there is no such thing as war and conquest except as a means for self-defence owing to lack of international sanction for enforcing international justice and that there is no such thing as a mere war of conquest and in the recent Great war it was the proclaimed maxim of England and her Allies that war was only justifiable in self-defence for punishing international misconduct and for the protection of the rights of self-determination of the people, in short, for making the whole world “fit and safe” for its people to live in. But if our claim of an original compact between us and the people of England is repudiated and ignored by the Parliament of England on the ground of right of conquest, may we in our turn ask the question on what ground the English claim of original compact on which the glorious Revolution of 1688 and the immortal Declaration of Rights are founded, rests? Is not England a more conquered country than India? With which king did the people of Britain enter into their original compact? With Julius Caesar, the Roman? With Egbert the German? With Knute, the Dane? With William, the Norman? or with Cromwell? or with which other? There is *no historic proof* of an original compact between the people of England and any of their kings. Hooker started the theory and the great statesmen of the English Revolution of 1688 welcomed the idea and made it their basis of the Declaration of their Rights and the condition of English kingship. The English idea of an original compact between the king and his subjects is theory first and fact next, presumed from the theory. The Indian idea of such a compact is fact first and theory afterwards, inferred from the fact. Ours therefore is a more valid and sounder title-deed for responsible Government than that of the people of England. And the claim of the Parliament that they are the sole judges of our salvation here below is as empty as it is pompous and it is death to us as a free people with God-given rights or self-determination, if we allow this unnatural claim to exist.

30. Her part of the compact India has been throughout maintaining and performing in integrity and in absolute loyalty. We not only replaced the effete princes of India by the English but we also fought our countrymen for the maintenance of the English sovereignty in India at the time of the great mutiny; subsequently when the world war broke out we enthusiastically joined with England and co-operated with them and with the Allies for saving the world's freedom. While England was not yet quite ready and before the Dominion troops could arrive at the scene of strife and before America and Italy thought of joining England and France, our troops, ill-fed and ill-drilled and ill-equipped as they are, went to France and mingling with her brave soldiers made the historic shambles of Flanders and died in erecting and maintaining there the trenches of the world's liberty to arrest the progress of the mightiest foe which human liberty has yet had. We were further buoyed up in our enthusiasm and spirit of self-sacrifice by the new and expanded angle of bright English vision towards Indian rights and Indian aspirations and when in consequence of Turkey's temerity and folly in throwing in her lot with Germany our Mussalman

brethren were subjected to a phenomenal strain, from the necessity caused by this unforeseen event to divide their allegiance and to weigh their political allegiance against their religious, England gave them solemn pledges to preserve the Khalifat and adjured them to stand by their secular sovereign, India was determined to stand by England and she did her very best to enable England and her Allies to win this greatest war on earth. Armistice was reached and peace was within sight. But alas ! the misfortune and the misery of British India began almost simultaneously and tragedy after tragedy overtook her. And here we are in a position without a parallel in the history of civilized mankind.

31. It would require the genius, the poetic imagination and the feelings of noble indignation of a Burke to draw a true picture of our plight now. But we must make an honest endeavour to analyse and interpret the state of universal distress of the country, of masses and classes, in terms of the real causes, as far as we can. Speaking negatively I venture to think that this unique situation is little due to high prices and is by no means connected with the vague awakening of the new consciousness of people's rights in consequence of the great world war. Positively we might think of some five or six well-defined and well marked events that may be rightly deemed to be the constituent factors of our present situation:—

(a) While, by reason of the proclaimed principles and aims of England and the Allies for carrying on this great war and by virtue of the authoritative pledges to us, we were fondly looking forward to the dawn of a new and bright era for us, the nation was taken aback when the Kowlatt Commission was suddenly appointed under the auspices of the Indian bureaucracy and came out with astounding recommendations to subject the people, to more and more repressive administrative processes, the fruit of which was the immediate and the hasty passing of the draconian Rowlatt Law, the Government flouting the best opinion of our best men and the unanimous feeling of the country against those recommendations and against the legislative measure based on them.

(b) Out of this situation, entirely and wantonly created by the bureaucracy a new situation was adroitly manufactured with the result that the great Punjab Tragedy was enacted and a dark page, the darkest in the world's annals as yet known, was added to the history of India. I need not summarise the events that make up these frightful transactions. I shall here content myself by referring you to three classic documents on the subject, the minority report of the Hunter Commission, the report of the sub-committee appointed by the congress and the address of the President of the Special Congress at Calcutta.

(c) The agony of the Punjab and the sympathetic grief of the whole country were both increased by the manner in which this dark episode in the British administration of India was, from start to finish, handled and dealt with by the Government of India and by His Majesty's Coalition Government and the Parliament, especially the House of Lords. The one astounding fact that stands out in bold relief as underlying all these transactions here and in England is an unnatural feeling of contempt of the people of this country amounting to little short of a feeling on the part of the authorities that we, the people of India, hardly belong to humanity, the existence of which feeling was pompously exhibited, as in regard to the claim of sacredness of the person of the Englishman.

(d) Then came the huge Khilafat fraud. The pledges solemnly made to our Mussulman fellow subjects of His Gracious Majesty were edited and quibbled away in the light of success and ancient prejudices of colour and creed and the Sultan of Turkey has been made a mere shadow of what he was, in power, prerogative, and territory and even as to the means of self-defence. Apart from the pledges, so wantonly broken, it is but easy to see that the terms of peace, which the Sultan was compelled to accept, were more severe and crushing and humiliating than those offered to any other people in Europe defeated in the Great War. I desire to call your attention to the adroit attempt made in view to prejudicially affect the state of growing union and the feelings of cordiality between the Mussalmans and the non-Mussalmans of India that the latter have no interest in this question. I must ask you not to allow yourselves to be deluded into a belief that there is any substance in such a statement. We, Indians, are so situated that we all must in every way work in harmony and stand together or fall together. Hence it is but natural that Hindus sympathise with their Mussalman brethren and sisters in their genuine and intense grief in this connection; and, besides, the cause of the national union is sacred *per se*. But there is an additional aspect to which I must call your attention. The reasons expressed and implied, for the terms of Peace offered to Turkey, the character of the agitation that led to the adoption of those severe terms as well as the nature of the terms themselves, all conspire to disclose the ancient and the ineradicably disquieting doctrine of Europe *versus* Asia and we, non-Muslim, Indians, have an equally vital interest with our Muslim fellow subjects in repudiating and fighting this doctrine. Turkey is only good for Asia and Asia is good enough for Turkey. The treaty provides by foreign interference for the protection of European minorities in Turkish territories against tyranny but leaves the Turks themselves severely alone in this connection. If this doctrine is sound, may we ask the pertinent question why Europe and England in particular do not leave Asia and Africa severely alone?

(e) Then there is the treatment accorded to Indians abroad in the British Colonies. Their position is growing more and more intolerable every day as events in Fiji and East Africa conclusively show and more and more degrading as the evidence collected by the Revd. Mr Andrews with the combined spirit of humanity of Howard and Cowper amply proves. For my part it is difficult to imagine that it is at all possible for us Indians to protect and self-guard the interest of our countrymen abroad while we ourselves are semi-slaves of the British Empire. Every interest of ours requires that our countrymen in the British Colonies should be brought back to India as early as possible in as large numbers as possible for their own sake and in view to co-operate with their countrymen in the making of the Indian nation. While England is unwilling or unable to accord and guarantee protection of the Indians within British Colonies, at least to the extent to which it protects the French and the Dutch in them, our substantial grievance and discontent are bound to remain unabated. And any plan which we, as Congress, should think of devising in view to our political and economic amelioration should include the problem of our countrymen abroad especially in the British Colonies.

(f) Lastly, the situation is extremely complicated and our national helplessness is rendered the more disquieting and depressing in consequence of the new Reform Act and the rules and regulations thereunder. I have already alluded to the startling claim made by the Parliament that not only now but at every stage of our national life, it (the Parliament) is to be the sole judge of our fitness for reaching responsible government. You will in vain search throughout

the Colonial history of Britain for a precedent. The claim made to tax the United States of America was far less serious and fraught with far less danger to those colonies than this claim advanced as against us. It is but natural that the country is deeply concerned by this novel announcement. Coming to the provisions of the enactment, we are in possession of the considered view of the entire country on the subject. From the first the Congress repudiated the soundness of the principles underlying the whole scheme, affirmed the total inadequacy and even dangerous nature of the provisions and maintained that the country is quite fit for immediate responsible government. The whole scheme is without the guarantee of historic experience and precedent and the reason persistently assigned for adopting so unparalleled a course is preposterous. It was said and it is still being said that no other scheme could be thought of. But, why make a distinction between India and any other British "dominion beyond the seas?" It must be remembered that not only the five great Dominions (Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Newfoundland) were allowed responsible government, but also several other much smaller colonies, such as Jamaica, were all easily granted this blessing. We are naively told this is a temporary structure on which to build the future grand edifice of responsible government, but what honest reasons can be assigned for adopting so strange and unprecedented a plan? The central Government of India is to continue autocratic and despotic and the subordinate governments alone are to have this experiment. Not only the provinces are to be converted into quasi-states to begin with, but each state is to be dual in sovereignty and the better and the stronger part in financial power and prestige is to belong to the bureaucracy. It is admitted that the whole scheme is in reality federalism though without the name. This is a new and perilous Utopia. History has not furnished any example by way of a successful model for so strange a course. Federalism has ever been an attempt on the part of separate sovereign nations and states whether Colonial or Independent, to unite together by compact and construct a central government for the benefit of all of them by surrendering a portion of their respective sovereign powers. And the progress has always been, in healthy federations, towards the augmentation of the powers and functions of the central government in view to increasing efficiency and prosperity of the whole group. A most remarkable example is that of the Federal Colonies of South Africa who gave up their sovereign powers of their own accord in view that the Central Federal Government might become a unitary Government in the general interests of all and the previous sovereign states became subordinate provinces giving up their legislative organs retaining power only to draft special ordinances for each particular province to be enacted into law by the one legislature of the country. But for India the process proposed and adopted is a contrary course, God alone knows why. India has ever been a unitary country and when it consisted of several states there was no federation or attempt at federation at all. The India of Asoka and of Akbar were great unitary countries and their reigns were the brightest and the people were the freest in the history of India.

Let us next examine the hope held out to us that out of this strange scheme our future responsible government is to be evolved. Here, reason and history are altogether against this course. In Federal countries, the legislature is necessarily bicameral, one chamber representing the people of the whole federal government and the other chamber represent the separate and individual interests of the constituent sovereign states. If the executive government is to be responsible to the legislature in view to both the sets of interests, it must command the confidence of the majority in each chamber at one and the same time. But this is hardly possible in practice and if the two chambers do not concur, it would be impossible to make the executive government

responsible at all. On the other hand it will be obviously unjust to make the executive government depend for its existence and power on the confidence of the majority in one chamber only. For, it would be then abandoning the interests represented by the other chamber. Hence, it is that no true federal government is a responsible government like that of England or France. It is responsible, not to the legislature, but to the people as I have, already, remarked, the responsibility to be enforced by forfeiture of confidence at every new election and by separate impeachment of responsible members constituting the government when guilty of grave crimes. Except in this extremely feeble way there is no day of reckoning for the Federal Executive. The difficulty and inadequacy of the remedy by impeachment was long ago pointed out in the Grand Remonstrance of 1641. President Wilson says that the surrender of peoples rights to Government is greater and their control of it is less in a Federal than in a Responsible Government. In Switzerland, being a very small country, this great federal infirmity is obviated by a provision of a referendum to the people, which course is impossible in so large a country as British India. The one country that is trying the double experiment of both federalism and responsible government is Australia. But the system is yet on its trial and two great authorities Mr. Bernard Wise and Prof. Marriott say that either its federalism would kill its responsibility or its responsibility would kill its federalism. Considering the tendency of the United States which is making a rapid march towards the unitary form, it is most likely that Australian responsibility would kill Australian federalism. If this be the peril in a truly federal system, we must tremble when we are told we can reach a responsible government out of the false and Pseudo system of federalism proposed for us.

This system has been thought of and constructed on purpose to conciliate the ancient bureaucracy, most unwilling to abate a jot of their power and prestige, actual and imaginary. The whole involves a double peril, perpetual friction between the bureaucracy and the peoples' representatives and inter-provincial jealousy and strife to be designedly ripened into international jealousy and strife. Already a bitter inter-provincial strife has begun on account of the highly artificial and inequitable financial arrangements affecting the several constituent provinces. Under the name of "Reforms", perilous principles and provisions have been thus introduced effectually to divide the country into separate peoples to be ever animated by bitter jealousy.

32. This being the grave political situation, the country and the Congress are agreed that the one remedy for its prompt liquidation is the immediate establishment of responsible government for British India leaving it to its people and their representatives to revise and readjust the provincial system of government on sound lines tending to domestic harmony and progress. The divine principle that should characterise the entire fiscal system of the coming responsible government is obviously the principle of equal sacrifice by all the inhabitants of the whole country in proportion to the income of each and subject to uniform exemption for minimum subsistence on the principle of the assessment of the income-tax.

33. The one question everywhere asked is, what is the sanction behind and backing up our demand? What is the weapon, peaceful weapon, short of rebellion, that can compel England to let us have this form of government which has been only promised to us as a dim and delusive goal to be reached by wading through unparalleled and perilous labyrinths of systems of provincial autonomy and enforced unnatural federalism? This is a most embarrassing question and I confess that I have ever felt most nervous and most diffident as often as I thought of a satisfactory reply to what appears to be the most knotty political coundrum. Yet, we must find an honest solution of the problem and on that solution hangs the

fate of our salvation for ever. We must proceed to the work therefore most religiously, and most cautiously and yet with courage. I venture to submit that it would be safest to rely upon history and upon the practical experience and political wisdom which happily the history of free countries supplies to us, if we would only seek that assistance of history earnestly and in humility. To the past and to patterns and systems tested by experience to be sound or otherwise we must look for light and guidance and to nothing else if we would walk on firm and safe ground. In answer to this one vital question, the Special Congress at Calcutta recommended by a majority a programme of non-co-operation. It will be observed that, apart from the programme, the scope and the nature of the principle itself and the necessity for adopting it was not separately discussed and debated. As to the great necessity for the adoption by us of some such weapon as that of organized non-co-operation with the rulers in view to reach our full freedom immediately, there can be no two honest opinions. We have been petitioning and praying and agitating these thirty-five years and over for a real and substantial voice in the government of our own country, but in vain. On the other hand, the authorities here and at home have driven us to the climax of facing the consequences of our national helplessness to protect ourselves and our countrymen in the British Colonies in the possession and enjoyment of elementary rights of person and property. Nay more. While we are in grief, in universal grief, as if the whole country is one house of death, injuries and insults continue to be added and heaped upon us. Look at the compensations awarded in connection with the Punjab disturbances. Whether you consider the principle or the measure of the money compensation awarded to European sufferers as distinguished from that awarded to Indians, there is but one conclusion possible, that our rights are flouted and we are treated as sub-human beings. Look at the Esher Commission and look at the appointment of Sir O. Dwyer on it in mockery of our grief and of our opinion of him. Look at the memorial for General Dyer and the necessity for a Government Order to restrain the bureaucracy from subscribing to it. Look at the proceedings of the European Association at Calcutta justifying the massacres by General Dyer even at this late hour, after eminent counsel in England had declared the massacres to be wilful murders. No, the age of pious annual budgets of resolutions by us is gone for ever. We are bound, if we won't perish as a people, we are bound to think of and adopt a method to force England to let us get into freedom at once. The question for us to consider is whether in our own interests, the principle and programme of non-co-operation actually adopted is justifiable and adequate for the purpose we have in view. The exact nature and scope of the principle has not been defined and it is difficult to define it. It is to be hoped that the principle is elastic enough to include passive resistance on concrete occasions and to specific measures whether legislative or administrative and also to include strikes, sectional, vocational and otherwise. You will remember that His Excellency the Viceroy in Council has pronounced the principle of non-co-operation as unconstitutional because it is intended to paralyse the existing administration. It is a most astounding pronouncement. His Excellency in Council, who is in the main, responsible for the darkest page in the British history of India, would have done us a great service if, in the same remarkable communique, he had vouchsafed for our benefit what exactly our constitution is and where it is to be found. If, for a moment, it is pretended that the constitution of England is applicable to India, would he be pleased to tell us what part of it, what principle in it, the principle and plan of non-co-operation offends? On the other hand, the whole British system of administration rests on the basis of non-co-operation, of conqueror against conquered, of Europe against Asia, of white people against coloured people. And several discriminatory laws in

India and administrative measures bristle with sinister principles of this kind of non-co-operation and are wholly unconstitutional from the standpoint of the British Constitution. The new diarchial system of provincial autonomy is one entire homage to the chronic doctrine of non-co-operation of the British bureaucracy in India with the children of the soil. It is a mockery therefore on the part of the Government to characterize Mahatmaji Gandhi's principle of non-co-operation as unconstitutional. On the other hand, the essential principle of this movement being renunciation and self-sacrifice and non-violence, whereas the other doctrine of non-co-operation is aggressive, selfish, and sordid, we are entitled justly to claim that this principle of non-co-operation is sacred and directed to secure and preserve our legitimate rights and our honest enjoyment thereof. It is not in support of might *versus* right.

33a. We are entitled and bound to adopt such a principle without favour and without fear of consequences and guided solely by a consideration of it as a means to the end of our self-preservation as a people. To that subject we shall now turn.

34. With that single aim, namely, national self-preservation and national liberty and attainment of immediate responsible government as the only means to achieve that end, we shall proceed to examine how far the programme of non-co-operation adopted by the Special Congress at Calcutta is suitable. As we all know, it consists of several items and a few more items are also intended to be added to them. I do not think it is necessary or that it would serve a very material purpose to traverse all of them at length. The item relating to the abandonment of titles may be left alone. response or no response to this demand meaning very little in promoting or affecting the cause we all have at heart. It strikes me that, to the demand that the honorary offices should be abandoned, an exception might be made in favour of judicial offices as, on the whole, greater independence and justice is and can be had from non-official Magistrates and Judges than from official stipendiary ones and that too in a system where there is no separation of the judicial from the Executive. We may also dispose in a few words of the item relating to the Reformed Councils. The issue as to this is no longer a live issue and may be treated as tried and disposed of. And it is of very little interest for the next few years. If it must be admitted that considerable success has attended this part of the programme of non-co-operation, even those who are altogether against the movement of non-co-operation can well afford not to regret this success. The evils of the whole Reform scheme I have already pointed out. We may challenge the authorities here and in England to import the best practical statesmen from England in order to work this system for us as the peoples' ministers with the unenviable and disquieting portion of powers and privileges vouchsafed for them under the new regime. We shall ask them thus to teach us an object lesson and demonstration for training ourselves later on for running such a system and thence wade our way to the goal of responsible government. In fine, I venture to say that we cannot admit the experiment to be a thoroughly honest and disinterested one. If several nationalists once thought it best to seek election into the Reformed Councils, it was for the double reason that the Amritsar Congress and our friends in the Parliament, the Labour Members, recommended that we should enter it if only to constitute a well-organized opposition and to expose its infirmities from within rather than from without. But, on the whole, country has come to the conclusion that the whole system is bound to be an utter failure both financially and as a temporary platform by getting on which we are to reach responsible government by no means clearly looming in the horizon. On the whole, the nationalists

were well advised therefore, in finally declining to seek and occupy a position where it might be said at the end that we were responsible for the failure, and not the fatal inherent infirmities of the novel system.

35. The most important item in the programme relates to the withdrawal of students from Government and Aided schools. You have had the experience of the movement in this particular for the past few months. It is for you now to determine and to declare whether this part of the programme should be affirmed and carried out. Let us not, for a moment, forget the one object of the whole movement with which it has been initiated. It is to force the hands of Government to grant our very legitimate request, namely to establish responsible Government and to redress our Khilafat grievance. Is it possible that emptying Government and aided institutions would anywise paralyze the Government here and in England in its administration and compel it to grant our object? If Government are relieved from maintaining schools and colleges, would not the money be available for other purposes—over eight crores of rupees annually? And is this a national advantage? In order to replace them by our own national institutions should we not have funds which will give us a similar annual income for which a capital of about 200 crores would be necessary? And there is the very large amount needed for buying lands, constructing buildings, and laboratories and educational museums and furnishing them. Is it possible for the country to supply that money in the near future? All this is needed to reach the superior benefit expected from purely national institutions. Equipment and teaching staff being equal in extent and quality, there can be no doubt that purely national institutions without any control from the bureaucratic Government would be a distinct advantage both individually and nationally. It is for you to say whether this object, to be reached by an amount of money which we cannot dream of realising in the near future, is anywise related to the initial and only immediate object of the movement, namely, redress of our grievances in less than a year. Lot of collateral and consequential matters have also to be considered by us in the working of the programme. It has hitherto been an accepted maxim of our political life that the students should be left in calm atmosphere to pursue their career and that it is injurious to them and to the rising generation to draw them into the highly excitable vortex of practical politics which is fast changing in our country as well, into party politics. Can the propoganda be carried on without violating this cardinal and very healthy maxim? We seek Swaraj. The bedrock of a healthy nation is the sound family. Will not this propaganda separate students from parents and grand-parents and from elder brothers and sisters oftener than not? How long is this process to continue if England persists, however perversely, in declining to allow us to erect our own responsible Government at once? Will not, at the end of this period—none of us can say how long it will be—the country be so much the poorer and sufferer in every way for our student population being suddenly debarred from pursuing their further career! It would be a totally different thing if students are asked to give up Government and Aided institutions whenever and wherever national educational institutions have been fully established and are ready to receive them and educate them.

36. But there is another and a most serious aspect of the problem of national reconstruction, awaiting your consideration. Is it or is it not necessary as the very first step in the process that free and universal primary education for the masses should be at once provided for and started by the people of this country? Of course we are all agreed that the country stands in need of every kind and degree of education—elementary, secondary and collegiate and professional, scien-

tific and technical, all simultaneously. But having regard to the resources of poverty stricken Indians, is it prudent and just to the masses of the people that we should, at this grave crisis, think of replacing University, Collegiate and Secondary Institutions merely because they are in the hands of Government and more or less controlled by Government, by independent national institutions and continue to starve the masses? We must not forget that in our country about 94 per cent. of the population are absolutely illiterate while only less than 4 per cent. receive any kind of instruction in schools and colleges. We have to provide at least primary instruction for this large percentage of from 94 to 96 per cent. of the entire nation. The education of our masses is behind most civilised countries. Taking the test of the percentage of the pupils receiving primary education to the whole population, the proportion in our country is about one tenth of the same in the United States, one-eighth of it in England and Germany and one-seventh of it in France and Japan while in secondary education India ranks higher than France and Japan. And what would be the cost of providing for the education of our masses? The Government cost of primary education is about Rs. 11 annually for each pupil but here, let us note, Government receives some school fees. Our institutions are to be entirely free. In addition we require hostels and scholarships if not provision for lodging and boarding in each institution for the instruction of the extremely poor. Besides, the teaching staff in the primary schools are now very ill-paid and the lower ones earn less than our unskilled labourers. In our national institutions this highly demoralising feature should be removed. We must take the cost to be much higher, therefore, than the present Government cost of Rs. 11, say Rs. 15 per pupil annually. Having regard to the short average life of Indians, let us take the approximate number of both boys and girls fit to receive primary instruction to be about 70 millions, less than a fourth of the whole population as the rule that people from 15 to 50 years of age constitute half the population of a country applies to India as well. The annual cost of providing free education for this population would be approximately 105 Crores. Let us add to this the cost of providing school buildings, play-grounds, hostels, and equipping them all and the cost will be enormous. And we must take to finding all this money as rapidly as we can. But let us have some idea of our national resources. The mean annual income of the people of India is between Rs. 20 and Rs. 30 say roughly Rs. 25 per head whereas mean annual income of the inhabitants of England is at least twenty times that. The exact figure would depend upon the exchange of course. We must gather our money from our own people. Let us not forget that an enormous proportion of our population are ill-fed, ill-clad, and ill sheltered. It is not human to call upon these people to subject themselves to any the least self-sacrifice in money. We must find our money from the strata above these. But our middle classes are not equal to the wage earners of England and America on an average. Only our richest people may be said to be equal to the middle classes of those countries. From these two classes, namely, from the upper and the middle classes, is it possible for us, whatever may be their high ideals of self-sacrifice, to get the required amount now? Clearly it would be impossible. We cannot hope to get much, having regard to the low degree of our national savings apart from the income for many a long year to come. The degree of our resources in this respect depends upon the aggregate annual savings of British India. Exact figures cannot be obtained. But we can have some idea if we have regard to the fact that the estimated average wealth for India per head is about one of twenty-fourth of the same for the United Kingdom and one-fourth of Japan. Besides, there are vast numbers of rich foreigners in India whose savings should be deducted. The figure for the Indians would be found extremely low when compared with figures for the free countries of the world. But we must make a beginning and we must

begin at once : and here the choice of two problems, namely, whether we ought to begin starting National High schools and Colleges and Universities, to replace the existing ones and to continue to neglect the education of the masses and the poor, or whether we ought to use every available rupee for starting free primary education for the masses, presents itself. Justice to the masses and every national interest determines the choice easily. We *must* begin national primary education immediately. From this one standpoint alone it is for you to say whether this item of the programme should not be given up, at least, should not be suspended till a more favourable economic opportunity presents itself.

37. I might add here that one essential condition of the success of democratic responsible Government as distinguished from aristocratic is an intelligent and vigilant universal public opinion and this is only possible in the highest perfection in a country of universal education. Besides, a true democracy implies universal suffrage and a universal suffrage where only less than 6 per cent of the population receive any kind of instruction is futile and may be even at times dangerous.

38. Our next step is to secure the country's economic prosperity in the light of advancing modern science as fast as we can and this is only possible if we not only start scientific and technical instruction in our country on a wide basis but also send out capable students to the world abroad to receive specialised scientific and technical training, in the earlier stages of our progress at least, and also to import experts for assisting us in starting model industrial institutions and demonstrations. It is for you, therefore, to take up this problem in all seriousness and judiciously arrive at a conclusion whether or not all the available money should be devoted by us to these objects—primary and technical education and provision of scholarships for technical and scientific education abroad and for technical demonstrations and opening model industries in our own country.

39. Then there is the item relating to the withdrawal of pleaders from the established courts of law. Here also to start with, we must put the test question to ourselves how such a withdrawal of our countrymen would in the least paralyse the Government and accelerate the attainment of our object. The legal profession has not been a great favourite with the bureaucracy. Now and then vague ideas were entertained by several of them of diminishing and regulating the numbers of the bar. Is it at all reasonable and practicable that thousands and thousands of young men, educated and equipped to become members of the bar at an enormous sacrifice in all poor and middle class families, should be suddenly asked to cut short their career and only career for which they are fit? The sudden withdrawal of the pleaders wholesale, especially the younger ones, if practicable and actually effected would plunge their parents and families into immense misery. Are we satisfied, that this course is necessary for securing freedom, our national freedom? Does history furnish us with any similar example? On the other hand does it not furnish lessons to the contrary? The great English Constitution owes its origin and development as well to the line of great English judges as to her statesmen and warriors. There is a close relation between the science and practice of politics and the science and practice of law. In fact, both may be described as one science, the science of distinguishing right from wrong. Says Burke:—"He was bred to the law, which is, in my opinion, one of the first and noblest of human sciences : a science which does more to quicken and invigorate the understanding, than all the other kinds of learning put together." And therefore it is we find that, throughout the world the two classes, politicians and lawyers, are often identical.

The great French Revolution, the dawn of modern political liberty, owed its success no less to the lawyers than to her statesmen and soldiers. The former two were mostly identical. The majority of the great Constituent Assembly of the glorious French Revolution were lawyers. This fact had a ludicrous effect on Burke, the great Liberal Statesman as he was, but who suddenly became a reactionary at the time and in consequence of the French Revolution. As he was well known to be an admirer of the legal profession, when in reply to his most uncharitable attack on the doings of the Constituent Assembly he was told it was all the doing of the Lawyers, he was stunned but he at once recovered his presence of mind and found consolation in his imagination that they all must be very inferior lawyers! Do you consider that this item in the programme is in grateful memory of the Constituent Assembly of immortal glory?

40. This demand for the withdrawal of lawyers is further based on the ground that the movement would thereby facilitate the establishment of arbitration courts. Here again it is for you to discuss and determine whether it is possible and desirable at the same time that the regular courts established by law should be abolished and replaced entirely by arbitration courts. Private arbitration is of immense value in a society. The more petty offences and plain cases of civil dispute between individuals and individuals are disposed of by private arbitration and reconciliation, the better it would be for the individuals concerned and for the society as well. But private citizens, however enlightened and experienced, would not be able to handle and investigate complex cases of law involving consideration of highly delicate questions of right and wrong, arising from contract, express and implied, and from injuries voluntary, accidental and rash. Often too grave questions both as to the interpretation and validity of law, domestic and foreign and international arise for decision. The handling of such questions requires skilled and technical experience arising from a special and painful study of the law and jurisprudence and from experience at the bar presided over by skilled and learned judges. What is needed for obtaining true justice is a combination of both the sets of tribunals, that is judge and jury. If we abolish courts and if we abolish the profession of law, and nothing less the item means to be effectual, there would be a great social want which there would be no means of supplying. The result will be immediate increase of offences and criminal cases and gradual decay of national instinct for freedom. Those who have experience of courts and of the lower strata of society know that the masses are on the one hand unable to analyse their grievances into bases for civil actions and civil remedies and on the other, little accustomed to restrain their passions and feelings of revenge and are in consequence most apt to take the law into their own hands and commit offences, in supposed redress of their grievances but more really in revenge. Let us remember that, as civilization advances, injuries would be multiplied by design, accident, and oversight and great skill and ingenuity are needed to investigate their true nature and to find suitable remedies for the injured in respect of the novel injuries. Let us not forget that freedom means the rule of law. But it is inconceivable that the "reign" and "majesty" of law can be secured and, maintained without courts of law and without the profession of the law.

41. Taking these two items together I venture to think that I shall be justified in asking you to consider whether any appreciable success of the movement which I humbly deny can ever be reached does not mean an unintentional and even unconscious proposal to rebarbarise the people of India, by no means a very auspicious preparation to establish and maintain the democratical form of responsible government which we all have so dear at heart.

42. You would all naturally ask me what then should be our programme if this programme is not adopted by us any longer. I will make an honest endeavour to give you an answer. In one word it is nation-building. We must take to nation-building at once, on a scale and in a manner to make up for lost time and fully equal to meet the situation as well caused by our own torpidity and hibernation of energies for centuries as by the bad faith and misconduct by our rulers. We are bent and rightly so on having immediate responsible government for our state. But let us not forget that the state is not quite the nation and the nation is not quite the state. The state is an instrument for the purpose of the development and welfare of the nation. At the same time the healthy growth of both depends upon their interaction. If, therefore, we would have the best form of government and adapt it and develop it so as to suit the genius of the people of this country, we should renovate the people in as great a perfection as it is possible for us to do without the true state to begin with. Great progress has been made since the Congress was started in the way of the unification of the people and the mobilisation and augmentation of the national comradeship of spirit. Thank God the cumulative effect of all the misfortunes that have recently overtaken the entire country has done more to unite us than centuries of universal national education and mission work for the purpose could have effected and this involuntary process of national unification is greatly expanded and intensified under the auspices of Mahatmaji Gandhi and the stalwart patriots who are cooperating with him: our everlasting gratitude and that of our children unborn is due to him and to them for this great and glorious service to our mother-land. But yet we are not fully as great and vital a nation as we may well be and processes of further renovation must be immediately thought of by us and adopted and put into effect. The first and foremost is the education of the masses in as large and fast expanding a scale as we can endeavour to achieve. The Congress must at once appoint one special committee with power to appoint sub-committees charged with this important business and nothing else. They must collect funds and appoint active missionaries for starting vernacular schools by day and by night for the benefit of labourers for holding lectures, demonstrations and so forth. Then we must deal with problems of our men abroad, especially in the British Colonies. We must attend to the question of their immediate repatriation. This country needs, the activities, both mental and bodily, of all her children for the development of our resources to the highest degree in the light of modern science. Then there is the question of labour organization and missions for the elevation of the depressed classes. The country has been hitherto altogether neglecting the vital problem of the amelioration of sections of our countrymen and countrywomen designated as "Criminal tribes" and "Criminal classes." These are all subject to harassing and humiliating special laws. Congress must appoint committees for the purpose of starting and cooperating in movements in connection with all these problems. I think the Social Reformers will take care of themselves but the Congress must extend their right hand of sympathy and good fellowship towards them. All these activities should be on a thoroughly organized basis and on a progressive efficient scale.

43. I also desire that the scheme for the entire renovation of India includes a negative aspect to which I would call your attention specially. With the people of India thus renovated, if not reborn, into a nation, well knit and vital, we have the means of converting not simply the personnel of the bureaucratic government but what is still more important the non-official English exploiters of our country as well into a new angle of vision. With this scheme, we can starve the English planters, the English merchants, traders and manufacturers in our country with increasing scarcity of labour into gradual exhaustion and into a satisfactory mentality towards us. And this will also give us power in reserve to produce national

strikes of inferior and unskilled workmen in Railways, Posts and Telegraph departments and so forth. Let us remember that the great bible of the Englishmen is the financial code. Financial statistics which show loss of income and which threaten progressive loss of income have far greater effect on the mental outlook and on the moral calibre of the average Englishman than any other weapon we can conceive of. I desire that we intentionally and with set purpose make provision for gradually and rapidly affecting the income of the English exploiter in India and even of England in so far as India is her market and supplier of raw produce, in all legitimate ways, immediately by organizing labour, especially unskilled labour, for the economic advancement of India at an accelerated speed and calculated at the same time to starve the foreign exploiter as stated above. The Congress must appoint a select committee of experts with power to form branch committees throughout the country for making suitable arrangements for the gradual boycott of foreign goods and for stoppage of exportation of raw produce. I consider this is the most effective method of converting Englishmen into our friends at least into a sense of justice for us. Let us not forget that the English exploiters, non-official much more than official, form a sort of moral Ulster in India without a geographical unit. Our first duty therefore is to recognise this fact. We have been too long negligent of this phenomenon in spite of warnings from the days of Lord Ripon. The weakness of the English exploiter not to speak of the whole nation, is money, finance if you like. We must attack him there if we desire to attack him with any success at all. A witty Frenchman once said that the Englishman would rather forgive parricide than the theft of a penny. Let us remember that once upon a time England punished murder with fine while it hanged people for robbery and forgery: Parnell hit the right nail when he, with grim humour, said that in a composite British army of Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen, the Irish broke the line of the enemy, then came the Scots and took the prisoners, last came the English and picked up the booty. A far greater and more serious authority is also available on the point. Burke says that the English idea of liberty is not abstract but inherent in some sensible object and that almost every nation has some favourite point which is the criterion of their liberty and that the English sensible object with which their idea of freedom is indissolubly connected is money.

44. I venture to submit to you for your consideration that the scheme which is at once capable of reconstructing and advancing the economic state of the country and paralysing the production, the manufacture, and the sale of goods of Englishmen here and in England and the Colonies is the best weapon we can think of and absolutely free from any disquieting principle calculated to do us the least harm and no Viceroy would have the courage to describe it as unconstitutional. You will observe that the scheme I place before you relates to the gradual boycott of all foreign goods and not merely British goods, and this for two reasons. In our plan we should make an honest endeavour to exclude the play of any feelings of vendetta. On the other hand the mere exclusion of British goods would only swell the import of other foreign goods and therefore would check the promotion of our economic prosperity as effectually as now.

45. I have also another proposal to submit to you. It has long been the accepted unwritten creed of the Indian National Congress that, in our endeavours to extract from England the full and loyal performance of their duties to India, we should not ally ourselves with any political party in England but should be neutral and apply to all alike. Whatever the wisdom of this course was at the early life of the Congress, I venture to think, that the time has now arrived for us to definitely declare ourselves the ally of one party pure or composite and that we should cooperate with that party in their endeavours to increase their power and

46. You will thus see that the "sanction" behind our demand or the weapon with which we have to carry on our struggle successfully to reach the establishment of responsible Government is three-fold:—the reconstruction of the Indian nation on principles sanctioned by the law of God and of utility tested and approved by the wisdom of man in all free countries, ancient and modern, the reorganization of our economic industry of the country with the negative provision of starving foreign and English exploitation of our country and also affecting the commercial interests of England in so far as it may be possible for India to do, and lastly by entering into a cordial alliance with the Labour party in England. I venture to claim that the programme I have sketched out for your consideration and adoption is at once both end and means and rests on the one hand on durable and progressive principles and is, on the other, charged with no disquieting elements calculated to divide the people of this country into hostile sections and camps with mutual hatred and jealousy and free too from all tendencies to dangerous reaction and to peril to those engaged in the propaganda work of the movement.

47. Let us next endeavour to take a bird's-eye view of the whole situation. Let us consider it in its two general aspects and I can conceive of no third aspect that is as fashioned by our bureaucracy and as is now being made by ourselves. Despite pledges and professions to the contrary, the British administration of India has been from the beginning on principles of aggressive non-co-operation of the dominant white people with the coloured people of India ever on discriminatory laws and discriminatory administrative measures supplemented from time to time by the application of very repressive laws unknown to free and civilized countries. The position has become simply intolerable. The last straw has been added to the burden by the Esher Commission Report and we can stand it no longer. At this hour of our supreme crisis it is the sacred and sworn duty of every one of us to raise the level of his vision so that the ways and means which we are bound to devise and adopt for the purpose of rescuing ourselves from this galling and perilous plight are not only suitable and adequate but are also such as we can be ever proud of and as would appeal to the general conscience and general conviction of the tribunal of the civilized world. England can no longer remain an isolated power. If we desire to accuse her at the bar of the world's tribunal as we do desire in view to our redress and salvation we ought to enter our protest of complaint and demand of justice with "clean hands and clean minds" in the words of Mahatmaji Ghandi. I would ask you seriously to approach the problem from this standpoint.

48. Taking the question of the adequacy of our ways and means first I would impress upon you to consider the prime necessity that we are united, not only in making our demand but also in formulating the specific terms of the demand and in our adoption and pursuit of our methods in view to see the demand is granted. I am satisfied and I believe you are all satisfied that the country is now unanimous in its demand for the immediate establishment of responsible Government. But unless we are also united and unanimous in our programme to attain it, it is my duty to my God and to my country to say that our chance would fly away, and the vision of our salvation would only move like *ignis fatuus* light approaching and receding and ever deceiving. And we shall be deeply chargeable with rash judgment and criminal neglect of the God-given moment for our salvation, alike at the forum of the great world and of our posterity. United we stand and are saved, divided we fall and perish.

49. I have called your attention to the features and aspects of the several items of the programme of non-co-operation adopted by the Special Congress at Calcutta. I desire permission to allude to one or two of its important features of a

general kind. Whatever the form of a democratic Government, its success as capable of producing the highest freedom and greatest happiness of the people depends upon the fact whether it is a Government by discussion or by dictation. Great political writers, Bagehot for example, lay stress on this feature and maintained that no Government, whatever its constitution and however precise and noble its declaration of the fundamental rights of the people, can contribute to the freedom of the people unless it is a Government by discussion. There are two principles necessarily implied in carrying out the programme and propaganda work we are now considering: without regimentation and without a very severe discipline of all those who are actively party to it, the propaganda work cannot be carried on and this regimentation out and out necessarily implies an absolute and universal surrender of private judgment and a gradual emasculation of the capacity for it. And national regimentation and national lack and atrophy of power of private judgment, history, ancient and modern, proves to be inconsistent with national freedom and national happiness and progress; if, indeed, they are not inconsistent with continued national existence. Sparta and even Athens and Germany and several Latin and latinised states of the old and new world are examples and warnings to us in this vital respect. We all know that ancient Athens was not only free from national regimentation, unlike Sparta but also its citizens possessed and enjoyed the right of private judgment in the highest degree so much so that even an egg-seller on his way home from the market could take part in the discussion of the affairs of the republic. And we all know the dizzy height of freedom and glory which she attained and which has not been since reached by any modern state. But Athens fell too. It is a remarkable fact that her decline and fall dates from the most glorious point in her history, namely, the period of Pericles. His brilliant genius and great character was the commencement of the ruin of the state. People adored him and trusted him and declined to judge for themselves and the decay of the faculty of private judgment of individuals began and with it began the national decline and fall. A great historian observes that if Pericles had been less great and less trusted by the people of the republic, Athens had not fallen. And in short period the general demoralisation of the people of Athens was so great that the great orator Demosthenes who endeavoured, with his divine eloquence, to rally the Athenians to resist Philip of Macedon and to save the republic from conquest and subjection was compelled to warn the Athenians that they should take care that after driving away Philip they did not manufacture a new Philip to take his place. We would do well to take this lesson to heart. We must take care not to manufacture, by our ways and means, a new bureaucracy and tyranny in the place of our chronic bureaucracy and old tyranny. The melancholy fall of Germany is also full of lessons and warnings for us. Next to Athens she was the freest people of Europe and England is but transplanted and insular Germany. Germany was justly called the fatherland of modern thought but from the time of Bismarck national regimentation in view to reach the greatest predominance in the world, accompanied by the necessary compelling process of securing a surrender and emasculation of private judgment began. With the development and success of this twin process the ancient German instinct for personal freedom decayed and became at the time of the great war almost extinct. These examples are better than authoritative precepts but I might quote Professor Huxley whom I am sure you will all accept as great and conclusive authority in support of my humble contention, how pernicious in every interest national regimentation or regimentation of any considerable section like that of the Salvation Army, is. It is not enough that we establish responsible Government but we must also maintain it in the highest and most progressive state of efficiency. Instances there are where such forms of Government were voluntarily abandoned. Jamaica threw

away the gift of a responsible Government after a short trial and Jamaica was once a Colony of Spain, the country of Loyalla. Let us not forget that the making of modern Italy was due less, much less to Mazzini, the prophetic patriot than to the genius of more worldly patriots, Garibaldi and Cavour. The horrors of Russian Bolshevism are due to the fact that while she has her Mazzini and a more inspiring prophet in Count Tolstoy, she has no Garibaldi or Cavour.

50. It is worth our while to inquire what our own ancient Indian state was considered from this standpoint. I have already called your attention to the importance universally attached in ancient India to the science of polity as being the highest of sciences. Ancient Hindu state was Government by discussion and the villages and the towns which constituted the country were all quasi republics and self-contained whose affairs were carried on by open discussion and deliberation by all the people. The king is enjoined to seek counsel for all administrative measures from a group of ministers and never to act alone or take counsel from a single minister. It was left to him to consult them individually or collectively but consult all of them he must and the number of ministers recommended varied from 12 to 20. The judgment of a single person even in judicial matters was repugnant to ancient Hindu genius. In the ancient Hindu judicial system a court never meant a single judge. In this connection Indra was praised because he has one thousand counsellors for consultation and assistance. Hence he was called thousand eyed and the high degree of importance the ancient Hindu writers attached to Government by discussion may be gathered from their precept that the King shall despise the opinion of none, for "even a child's sensible utterance might be found wise." Therefore, the genius for Government by discussion is in our inherited blood and it behoves us to see that in seeking responsible Government we seek the best form of it viz Government by discussion as being most suitable to our national genius.

51. Besides the very great evils of regimentation and of surrender of private judgment with the necessary gradual decay of the faculty of private judgment may I have your permission to allude to another very serious evil without producing which the propaganda work of the programme of the Calcutta Congress cannot be carried on. We have had the experience of its working these four months. I ask you to think and to say like sworn jurymen whether the propaganda work has not caused and roused dismay, grief, and fierce passions and animosities all round. I do not ask you to say whether the production and existence of this evil has been fully proved but I ask you to apply your mind both to the fact as known by each of you and also as easily ascertained by you and to the further aspect how the system is viewed subjectively by all those who are conscientiously unwilling to be party to it. We know that bureaucracy in defence of its own pernicious system has been attacking our country as being divided by castes, creeds, and races, and as being in consequence unfit for and even incapable of the exercise of the rights of self-Government. It is for you to say whether it is not our religious duty that while we are grateful to God and proud of the new and growing union between the Mussulims and the Non-Mussulims of this country we do not create two new classes sharply divided on the doctrine of non-cooperation and divided too, in consequence with fierce passions and animosities. The great national advantage we are gaining by the sacred union of the Mussulims and the Hindus would be more than neutralised by this huge new danger arising from new frontiers not erected and fomented by the bureaucracy but by ourselves, however conscientiously. Apart from our experience of the actual working of this movement, historic evidence tells us that a movement of this kind is fraught with domestic danger

though the nature and extent of it may be contrary to the intention of the saintly leader of it. Domestic boycott and that of a very fierce kind is a necessary concomitant of the propaganda work. I would allude to one parallel circumstance of it in Ireland, namely, the treatment accorded to tenants who were bidders for farms from which other tenants had been evicted. At a public meeting several voices cried, as regards one such bidder "Shoot him." Parnell, who was present at it proposed a "more Christian and charitable way" and this "Christian and charitable way" was that this poor wretch must be shunned by everybody on the roadside, in the streets of the town, in the shop, in the market place, and even in the place of worship, in short that he should be isolated from the rest of his country "as if he were the leper of old." It is for you to consider in fear of God and love of justice and of our country whether such things are not also calculated to arise in the carrying out of the particular propaganda before us. Many thinkers even among those who are for abandoning the old method of petitioning Government here and in England for redress of our national grievances and who are for adopting an effectual national weapon to force the hands of our rulers to comply with the national demands at once are afraid, are genuinely afraid, that the success of the working of the particular propaganda would be erecting the whole of India outside the area of non-cooperation into a strange moral Coventry.

52. Ladies and Gentlemen:—I must not indent on your kind indulgence any further and I must bring my observations to a close. There are several other points of considerable importance to which I might like to call your attention, but, I do not think it is so very necessary as to compel me to tax your patience any longer. The programme before us includes the question of the revision of the constitution of the Congress. The most important part of it is what is known as the creed. In dealing with this point I would appeal to you earnestly to consider that the question is not what the form and spirit of the creed should be if we are called upon to adopt one for the first time, but why and how we should change the existing one. I venture to submit that the two questions are not identical. If we desire a change, the reason and the superior advantage of the change should be clear to us before we consent to the change. I would only say one word about it. Throughout my earnest appeal to you to-day I proceeded on the basis that British India is part of the British Empire and that the renovated and free British India is to be part of and partner with England. I desire our freedom and our prosperity and our right place in the family of great nations not less fervently than any in this great presence. But dispassionate reason and inspiring precedent have ever sustained me in my irresistible life long conviction that the independence of India in partnership with England would be in every way and in every interest by far greater than her independence in absolute separation from her and in isolation. I desire to call your attention that Japan saved her threatened freedom and achieved her greatness and glory with England as her treaty ally at her supreme moment. And I believe that the advantages would be far greater if our alliance is full life partnership than qualified term partnership. I will next call your attention to the principles and attitude of the great Irish patriots till recently. Both Henry Grattan and Isaac Butt, the apostles of Irish Home-Rule, desired the home rule without separation from England. Said Isaac Butt:—"Ireland has given up the idea of separation because she has before her the prospect of obtaining another and a far better thing." Some seven decades before him, Henry Grattan had said "She hears the ocean protesting against separation, but she hears the sea likewise protesting against Union; she follows, therefore, her physical destination, and obeys the dispensations of Providence, when' she protests, like that sea, against the two situations, both equally unnatural, Separation and Union."

These words of supreme wisdom are most suitable for our adoption under the dispensations of Providence. If Ireland has now changed her intention and plan it is because the legitimate measure of home rule she so long cried and prayed for was most unwisely refused to her at the right moment as practically confessed by the present Prime Minister. But the circumstances and conditions of the two countries are by no means exactly the same. Her extreme nearness to Great Britain so much so that she is deemed essentially and vitally a part of the Island State seems to be in the way of her getting the full dominion Home-Rule. But while our grievances are far more substantial and much larger in measure than the grievances of Ireland, our great distance from England not to mention the fact that the peoples of the two countries are not the same in blood, religion and colour makes an enormous difference. It may be that the Unionists desire Ireland to be as much part of the British Isles as Abraham Lincoln thought that the Southern States of the United States should remain an integral part of the whole country. On the whole, I confess that I am unable to understand the full scope and the exact nature of the issue between England and Ireland. I would, therefore, deprecate all attempts on our part to model our aims and plans on those of Ireland. At least in our case the question is *chose jugée*. Responsible government has been pledged and promised to us; though we know from past experience what authoritative English pledges and promises to us have been hitherto, yet we need not despair; any further edition and interpretation by England of this pledge and of her part of the original compact with us generally, will be safe-guarded by ourselves soundly organized and ever acting in the right spirit.

53. I would now conclude and in doing so I would make an earnest appeal to you and beg of you to realise that, for the past two years, we have been in an increasingly critical state of our life, political and economical. I believe that the crisis has now reached its worst and the Nagpur session of the Congress may be rightly deemed to be the Thermopylae in the history of India, certainly in the history of the Indian National Congress. I believe that it has been allotted to this great presence so to think, so to aim, and so to act as to reap the glory of the nation-making and history-making of our beloved Motherland. In one aspect the work before us consists of two essential parts one positive and the other negative. I venture to think that our fate just now lies chiefly in the hands of two men, the Right Hon'ble Mr. Montagu and Mahatmaji Ghandi. Two messages have to be presently framed, one to each. You will frame the message to Mr. Montagu and by virtue of the confidence you have reposed in me I shall frame the message to the Mahatmaji. You will tell Mr. Montagu "Pray do" and I will tell the Mahatmaji "Pray do not" and in the welcome response to each message lies the salvation of our country in the main just now. The Congress has to tell the Coalition Ministry that at the end of the War it was a great pity that they did not act towards us like Abraham Lincoln at the end of the great Civil War. At the end of that War he was pressed and cajoled and tempted in every way to return the black warriors, with whose help he gained the war of secession and firmly established the union of the country, to their pre-war masters. But his heart rebelled, yes, the heart of him who was one of the greatest, if not the greatest of the world's emancipators and saviours of man from man and he courageously declined to countenance the ignoble and malignant suggestion. But the Coalition Government fell an easy victim to their own prewar mentality revised by success and to the conspiracies and temptations to the strain of which they were subjected in respect to these three great questions affecting the vital existence of the people of this country, namely, the immediate establishment of responsible Government, the pledges to our Mussulman brethren in the matter of the Khilafat jurisdiction of the Sultan of Turkey and the matter of the treatment

of the Indians in the British Colonies by themselves made and by themselves saved in this great war at least to a far greater extent than by the white subjects of His Gracious Majesty. We have to tell them that the opportunity is not wholly lost and that it is not too late. Some of our warm European friends advocate the demand of a short time limit for the establishment of responsible government. But I venture to think that the proposal cannot recommend itself to us. Without immediate financial independence we cannot live one year longer, without precipitating ourselves deeper and deeper into irretrievable economic exhaustion. On the other hand absolutely no reason and no pretext even can be thought of as justification or excuse for any further delay in rendering this elementary justice to us. Possibly, the suggestion was made under a mistaken view of the obstacles thrown in our way by the preamble and the provision for time limit in the Government of India Act. But I have already placed before you the view which I believe is beyond controversy and is justified by precedents in the Colonial History of England that the establishment of responsible government can be achieved and can be immediately begun by Mr. Montagu, under the auspices of His Gracious Majesty if not even by private instructions from himself alone. We have to tell him and I have to tell the Mahatmaji that in the processes of the state-making and nation-building for India, the great political maxim enunciated by Burke should ever be remembered by them, namely, "Bodies tied together by so unnatural a bond of union as mutual hatred, are only connected to their ruin." On our part I would earnestly appeal to you that it is of no use any further to think and call for punishments on those who have heaped unparalleled disaster and humiliation upon us in connection with what is now historically known as the Punjab Tragedy. Let us forgive all, anywise concerned with it. But pray let us not forget the frightful business in all its horrors. No man and no nation can wisely walk forward in the path of progress if they are not proud of their past glory and if they do not live in vivid memory of their past errors and misfortunes caused by man. We must make our future and hasten it too, to begin with, in the light of our past and our past within these few years and even within these few months. But no feelings of hatred or vendetta, should be permitted to taint our principles or plans. Not only our intense love of our motherland is not inconsistent with our forgiveness of England in spite of the continued provocation but on the other hand it is most productive of culture in combination with international love. What President Poincare says of France is true of us. "Patriotism does not come into conflict with our duties toward humanity; it is on the contrary a necessary condition of those duties" namely duties to ourselves. There is also the great question of justice to the people of England as a whole. We must remember the historic saying of Burke that it is impossible to frame an indictment against a whole nation. And there is the assurance, if assurance is needed, of our warm and distinguished friend, Col. Wedgewood, that nine-tenths of the people of England are innocent of any kind of connection and countenance of the deeds of men responsible for the frightful horrors of the Punjab. If then we ordain the new nation of India without feelings of hatred and without feelings of vendetta, externally and with fraternity and love internally I believe we can compel the Coalition Government and the one-tenth of the people of England at once to confess their sins and to admit the imperious justice of our claim for immediate responsible Government and for full power to collect and appropriate our own taxes and revenue. If unwisely they postpone our lawful and earnest prayers for elementary justice then the millions of this country will soon know the reason why. But to do that effectively on our part we must be united alike in aim and method. Here also examples of historic wisdom should alone guide us rather than any *a priori* view or alluring prophetic vision. Abraham Lincoln during all

the vicissitudes of the Civil War, for which he was responsible in view to emancipation of the negroe slaves, declared that he attached far greater importance to the unity of the country and that if he was put to a choice only between his two aims, American Unity and Negroe Emancipation, he would certainly abandon the problem of emancipation partially or even wholly in view to national integrity and union. If we are united, we can then tell England and only then and not till then that the 300 millions of India organized and united despise Irish methods and Hungarian plans for freedom but that we shall achieve our own salvation in imitation of far greater and far happier nations such as France and Italy and that if ever in our struggle for freedom methods of Sinn Feinnism should enter and poison the processes it would be by England against India and not by India against England. She already began Sinn Feinnism in the Punjab last year and the frightful horrors she committed there were more frightful than the horross, actual and reported, of the Sinn Feinns in Ireland. We would remind them too that revolutionary France "bare-footed, bare-backed, with only bread and steel," was able to crush Europe in defence of the newly discovered rights of man and Frenchman. Because in the words of Carlyle "The nation has that within her which the whole world will not conquer." India re-born and united and speaking as one man with her banner with the new motto not of liberty and equality only but also of fraternity inscribed on it fluttering in every wind of heaven, can tell England, "We also belong to the species homo. We were the first and the foremost of it and we mean to be one of the foremost if not the foremost of it again; no more pin your faith in the political gospel of "the man on the spot" kind. Don't be stupid any more, either now, or, it would be too late; remember that there are some everywhere in India with admiration and love to England, the greater Athens of the modern world, not inferior to the romantic devotion of Lord Byron to ancient Athens and that the fact of the rapid success of the movement of non-cooperation and the universal desire for a sanction other than rebellion to secure our rights shews conclusively the firm loyalty of the people and that it would be unparalleled folly and atrocious and suicidal folly to attempt to keep us by coercion under plausible and captivating camouflage such as goal of responsible Government representation and a voice in the League of Nations and Empire's Conference. In one word be a good boy and be partner with us or get thee gone." And this too without a Cromwell and without shedding a drop of blood.

Vande Mataram.

APPENDIX.

Draft Constitution of the Dominion of British India.

Whereas the people of British India are anxious and have expressed a desire for the establishment forthwith of responsible Government for their country with a constitution similar in principle to the constitutions of the United Kingdom and of the Self-Governing Dominions and containing a declaration of their fundamental rights of man and as British citizens :—

And whereas the immediate establishment of such responsible Government would conduce to the loyal contentment and welfare of the people of British India and also promote the interests of the the British Empire:—

Be it therefore enacted and declared by the King-Emperor's Most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same as follows :—

1. This Act may be cited as the Dominion of British India Act, 1921.
2. The Dominion of British India to which this Act relates shall consist of British India proper and Burmah as well as such other or others of His Majesty's Dominions in Asia as may from time to time be added to it.
3. Executive Government and authority of and over the Dominion of British India so constituted is hereby declared to vest in the King-Emperor.
4. The said power and authority of the King-Emperor shall be exercisable by a Viceroy appointed by him as his representative and he shall ordinarily be a Prince of the blood royal of England.
5. The Viceroy shall exercise the executive power by and with the assistance and advice of a Cabinet of Ministers who shall be chosen and summoned by him and the majority of whom shall be members of the Legislature as herein constituted.
6. The Cabinet shall be responsible for the policy and measures and acts of the Government and the tenure of their office shall be political and rest on the confidence of the majority of the members of the Legislative Assembly. Subject to this provision they shall hold office during the pleasure of the King-Emperor.
7. The legislature of British India shall consist of two chambers to be styled the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly.
8. The Legislative Assembly shall consist of not less than five hundred members elected under the provisions of this Act and the rules and regulations made thereunder.
9. The members of the Council of State shall not be less than one hundred and not less than four-fifths of whom shall under rules and regulations under this Act be elected for units representing as far as possible linguistic areas. The remaining one-fifth may be nominated by the Viceroy.
10. The privileges, immunities and powers to be held, enjoyed and exercised by the two chambers of the Legislature and by the members thereof shall be declared and defined by rules and regulations made by the two chambers respectively on principles similar to those obtaining in the Parliament of the United Kingdom of great Britain and Ireland and in respect to the Cabinet thereof, at the time of the passing of this Act.
11. No member of either chamber shall belong to the Civil or Military service of the country and any such member shall vacate his seat on accepting any appointment in the said services and shall not be eligible for re-election while holding any such appointment. This provision does not apply to the members of the Cabinet, whose offices are held on political grounds and subject to the confidence of the majority in the Legislative Assembly.
12. All Indian subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor of 25 years of age and over, are eligible to membership of the Legislative Assembly and of 35 years of age and over to membership of the Council of State.

13. Rules and Regulations under this Act shall be framed by a joint session of both the chambers of the Legislature for the purpose of declaring qualifications and disqualifications both for membership and for the franchise of voting. Provided that no person shall be deemed disqualified to vote or for membership on the ground of a criminal conviction remaining in force unless the offence of which he has been convicted is a degrading and infamous one.

14. Every subject of his Imperial Majesty born and resident in the dominion or naturalised under law, who is not a minor and who is not an idiot or lunatic or a person convicted of a serious and degrading penal offence shall be entitled to vote for election to the Legislative Chambers of British India, provided he or she pays a tax, rate or cess to the Government or a Municipality, or other public body established by law, or pays rent to any such person, amounting annually to not less than ten rupees, or provided he or she can ordinarily read and write English or any of the vernacular languages of the country.

15. The members of each chamber shall elect its own President and Deputy President who shall hold office for the full term of the Legislature with power to resign.

16. The term of each Legislative Chamber shall be five years unless sooner dissolved when the Cabinet has ceased to command the confidence of the majority in the Legislative Assembly.

17. Subject to this Act and to the Declaration of Rights therein contained, the Legislature shall be competent to enact laws for the peace, order, and good Government of British India in relation to all and any matters.

18. Proposals for Legislative measures may originate in either chamber, but all bills for imposing any tax or impost or for appropriating any part of the Public Revenue shall originate in the Legislative Assembly.

19. The Council of State shall not have power to modify or add to any such money bill but it may recommend amendments for adoption by the Legislative Assembly.

20. The two chambers of the Legislature shall meet in regular session at the same time, at least twice every year, at the seat of Government. The Viceroy may also summon the two chambers to meet in extraordinary session.

21. Each chamber shall decide for itself on the validity of the election of its own members.

22. While the chambers are in session and for 30 days before the commencement and after the termination thereof no member shall be imprisoned for debt or arrested or prosecuted for any penal offence unless he be taken by the authorities in the actual commission of the offence.

23. Each chamber shall make its own rules and regulations concerning its order of business and the maintenance of order therein.

24. The Viceroy shall ordinarily assent to every legislative measure passed by the two Chambers and he shall not exercise the power of vetoing any such except under conditions and conventions which apply to the exercise of the power of veto by His Majesty the King-Emperor in relation to statutes passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Provided that where any enactment presented to him for his consent involves vital questions of imperial importance such as the defence of the whole Empire or international relations, the Viceroy shall have power to reserve the same for the consideration of His Imperial Majesty and pending His Majesty's pleasure the measure shall not have any validity whatever.

25. It shall not be lawful for the legislative Assembly to adopt or pass any vote, resolution, address or bill for the appropriation of any part of the Public Revenue or any tax or impost to any purpose that has not been first recommended to that house by the Message of Viceroy in the session in which such vote, resolution, address, or bill is proposed.

26. Any Bill passed by the Legislative Assembly but not accepted by the Council of State without material modifications which the Legislative Assembly is not willing to adopt shall be of the same force, as if it were concurred in by the Council of State, if it were thrice passed by the Legislative Assembly substantially in the same form during one and the same term.

27. With the concurrence of both the Chambers for the purpose, any vote, resolution or bill may be considered by a joint session of both the Chambers and the decision shall be according to the majority of the members of both the Chambers present and voting.

28. Any member of the Cabinet is entitled to appear in either Chamber of the Legislature and address it but he shall not be entitled to vote therein unless he is member thereof.

29. The Secretary of State for India shall hold, enjoy and exercise powers similar to those of Secretary for the Self-Governing Dominions, and he shall have no council and his salary as well as the salaries of his Undersecretaries and Assistant Secretaries and the Establishment, if any, shall not be paid out of the revenues of India, but shall be provided by the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland.

30. *Declaration of Rights.*

(1) British India is one indivisible and all political power is inherent in the people thereof to the same extent as in any other people or nation of the British Empire.

(2) That all Indian subjects of His Majesty and all the subjects naturalised, or resident in British India are equal before the law, and there shall be no penal or administrative law, in force in this country, whether substantive or procedural of a discriminative nature.

(3) That no Indian subject of His Majesty shall be liable to suffer in personal liberty, life, property, or in respect of his freedom of speech or right of public meetings except under laws made under the provisions of this Act and under a sentence by a Court of Justice as the result of a lawful and open trial.

(4) Every Indian subject of His Majesty shall be entitled to bear arms without any previous permission or licence from any authority and the rights shall not cease temporarily or permanently, except, under a sentence by a Court of Justice convicting him of a criminal offence involving his abuse of such right.

(5) The press shall be free and no licence or security shall be demanded on the registration of a press or a newspaper.

(6) No torture or corporal punishment of any kind and no degrading or unnatural punishment shall be legal in the Dominion of British India, whether as punishment on conviction for a penal offence or by way of discipline in the Army, Navy, or among convicts or for any purpose whatsoever.

(7) Every Indian subject of His Majesty accused of a criminal offence shall be furnished as soon as he is arrested with information disclosing the nature of the accusation and all evidence in support of the accusation shall be taken before him in open court subject to cross-examination by him or his counsel and he shall be entitled to processes to have his evidence produced to rebut the evidence against him.

(8) No such person shall be arrested for an offence except when taken in the act, otherwise than under the authority of a warrant issued by a Magistrate or Justice of the Peace stating on the face of it the nature and particulars of the offence. Every such person accused of an offence not punishable with death shall be entitled to bail and a Superior Court of Justice may allow him bail in cases punishable with death.

(9) Every Indian subject accused of an offence punishable otherwise than with simple imprisonment for three months or with fine only is entitled to demand his trial by Jury.

(10) An appeal both in law and on the facts shall be allowed from every conviction and no appeal shall be allowed from a sentence of acquittal, provided a retrial may be ordered by a decision of the Full Bench of a High Court in cases of grave miscarriage of justice.

(11) In criminal trials no confession shall be evidence against any accused person unless made in the course of the trial freely and voluntarily in the immediate presence of the trying Judge and no conviction shall be based on any such confession withdrawn before the close of the trial.

(12) Confessions of co-accused are not evidence against any person and the evidence of accomplices whatever the number, is insufficient for a conviction unless such evidence is substantially corroborated by the evidence of persons of unimpeachable character relating both to material particulars and the identity of the accused.

(13) No person shall be searched without his previous consent except under a lawful warrant by a Magistrate in executing the provisions of the penal law.

(14) The private domicile of every Indian subject of His Majesty is sacred and inviolable and no search of the same or its premises shall take place without the previous written consent of the occupier thereof except under a lawful warrant describing the particular part to be searched and the purpose of the search, issued by a Magistrate or a Court of Justice.

(15) The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the most precious of men's rights. Every Indian subject of His Majesty may speak, write and print freely, subject for answering for the abuse of this liberty in the cases prescribed by law.

(16) No person shall be prosecuted on account of his opinions, provided their manifestation does not disturb the public order by law established.

(17) The people are entitled freely and peacefully to assemble for purposes of deliberation on any subject, political, social, literary, scientific or other in a

closed hall or open air and the authorities have no right to prohibit or dissolve any such assembly.

(18) Next to the defence of the country and to the maintenance of the supremacy of the law, the most prominent function of the Government is the education of all the classes of people, general, scientific and technical, freely and cheaply.

(19) Every Indian subject of His Majesty and all other resident in India and subject to the law in force in British India are entitled to a WRIT of Habeas Corpus from a Court of Justice not inferior to a District or Session's Court.

(20) The right to the WRIT of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended except by an Act of the Indian Legislature in case of foreign war or internal rebellion.

(21) No bill of attainder, or ex post facto law shall be passed.

(22) No Civilian subject of His Majesty shall be liable to be tried otherwise than in accordance with due process of law by the ordinary tribunals.

(23) No conviction for sedition or state offences shall be lawful except upon the testimony of two witnesses other than accomplices to the same overt act or on confession in open court trying the prisoner.

24) Treason against British India or the United Kingdom shall consist only in levying war against them or in adhering to their enemies giving them aid and comfort during a war.

(25) There shall be no penalty of death or forfeiture of property for political or other offences except for murder or treason during a foreign invasion

(26) In cases of riots, no armed force shall interfere, unless it has been previously attached, until the crowd causing the riot has been three times summoned in the name of the King-Emperor and of the Law to disperse and has declined to do so.

(27) The male inhabitants of the Dominion shall be compulsorily trained and drilled for the purpose of the defence of the country under suitable laws but shall not be subject to compulsory service except in a grave national crisis.

(28) That all laws, ordinances and regulations now or hereafter in existence that are anywise inconsistent with the provisions of this statute shall be void and of no validity whatever.

31. The Legislature shall have power to divide British India into divisions for purposes of administration and these divisions shall, as nearly as may be practicable, be made on a linguistic basis.

32. Any member of the cabinet may be tried for a charge brought against him as such by the Legislative Assembly, before a Court or Impeachment composed of the permanent Judges of a High Court, and of an equal number of members of the Council of State elected by that body. The Viceroy may, with the concurrence of the Legislative Assembly, cause any other person to be tried before the Court of Impeachment for crimes which he considers especially dangerous to the State.

The Court of Impeachment may be constituted generally or specially for any case and it may sit after the dissolution of the legislature, if it takes place in the midst of the trial of a case and until it is disposed of. The Court of Impeachment shall elect its President from among its members. Where the Court is equally divided in opinion, the accused shall be acquitted.

33. Proposals by way of amendments for the alteration of or additions to this constitution may be made in either chamber of the legislature in the form of an ordinary bill. But it must be finally passed in each chamber by a majority of not less than two-thirds of its members. But the constitution shall not be deemed altered in accordance with the act thus passed until it is submitted for the judgment of the country by the dissolution of the Legislature and as an issue before the electors for the next election. And the act shall come into force as an amendment of the constitution only if it be ratified by similar majorities in each chamber of the newly elected Legislature.

After the President's address was over, Mr. V. J. Patel read telegrams received by him from several wellwishers of the Congress.

It was then announced that the delegates of the different provinces were to elect their members to the Subjects Committee which was to be held the next day at 12 noon (27th December 1920)

The Congress was adjourned till 12 noon on the 28th December 1920.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

28th December, 1920.

The proceedings of the Congress commenced at 12-20 P. M. with patriotic song sung by a choir of girls and the recitation of a Marathi verse composed by Mr. Anand Rao Tekade the poet of Nagpur in praise of the Motherland.

राष्ट्र गीत ।

(सवसे राम० या चालीवर)

हे राष्ट्ररूपिणी गंगे ! घेई नमस्कार माझा ॥ १ ॥
स्वैरपणें पोहावें वाटे तुझिया भेम—जली ।
आकुंचितपण बघुनि तुझे हें जीव होई वर खाली ॥ १ ॥

स्वतंत्रतेची मूर्ति त्रिभुवनि ह्युनि तुझी कीर्ति ।
परवशतेच्या कांच कपाटी काय असावी वसती ॥ २ ॥

कठोरतम जो हिमनग जेव्हां तुजसि बंध घाली ।
तदुदर फोडुनि तदां रक्षिलिस स्वतंत्रता तूं अपुली ॥ ३ ॥

त्याच तुवां अजि मुक्त व्हावया परास विनवावें ।
कर्मगती ही अशी आणली कुठें शोधण्या जावें ॥ ४ ॥

स्वातंत्र्याचें दान कुणा कधि मागुनि कुणि दिधलें ।
याचक वृत्ती सोड सोड ही— कुणी तुला हें कथिलें ॥ ५ ॥

ध्यानिं आण सामर्थ्य आपुलें स्वयंप्रकाशी गंगे ! ।
स्वतंत्रता मिळविण्या समर्थी तूझी तूच अभंगे ॥ ६ ॥

The President:—Mahatma Gandhi will now move the first resolution which runs as follows:—

The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

Mahatma Gandhi who was received with loud and continued cheers moved the resolution in a speech in Hindi and then in English. *5.

ON THE CREED.

Mahatma Gandhi.

Mahatma Gandhi in moving the Resolution on Article I of the constitution in English said:—The resolution which I have the honour to move is as follows :—

The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

I do not propose to detain you for any length of time over proposing this Resolution to you in a few English words. I am already absolved from that infliction because Lala Lajpat Rai has already arrived and he has undertaken the task of explaining that Resolution to you in English. I just want to say a few words, personal words, to those who may not have followed my Hindustani. In my humble opinion, the Congress will have done the rightest thing if it unanimously, adopts this Resolution.

There are only two kinds of objection, so far as I understand, that will be advanced from this platform. One is, that we may not today think of dissolving British Connection. What I say is that it is derogatory to national dignity to think of permanence of British Connection at any cost (hear, hear). We are labouring under a grievous wrong which it is the personal duty of every Indian to get redressed. This British Government not only refuses to redress the wrong but it refuses to acknowledge its mistakes, and so long as it retains that attitude it is not possible for us to say, all that we want to be or all that we want to get is by retaining British Connection. No matter what difficulties lie in our path, we must make the clearest possible declaration to the world and to the whole of India that we may not possibly have British, connection if the British people will not do this elementary justice. I do not for one moment suggest that we want to end British Connection at all costs unconditionally. If the British Connection is for the advancement of India we do not want to destroy it. But if it is inconsistent with our national self-respect, then it is our bounden duty to destroy it. (Hear, hear) There is room in this Resolution for both, those who believe that by retaining British connection we can purify ourselves and purify the British people, and those who have no such belief. As for instance, take the extreme case of Mr. Andrews. He says all hope for India is gone for keeping British Connection. He says there must be complete severance, complete independence (hear, hear). There is room enough in this creed for a man like Mr. Andrews also. Take another illustration, a man like myself or my brother Shaukat Ali. There is certainly no room for us if we have eternally to subscribe to the doctrine, whether these wrongs are redressed or not, we shall have to evolve ourselves within the British Empire. There is no room for me in this creed. Therefore, this creed is elastic enough to take in both shades of opinion, and the British people will have to beware that if they do not want to do justice it will be the bounden duty of every Indian to destroy that Empire.

Then we have some argument as to the means. I will have the right of reply, so I do not want to address myself on that question now.

I want just now to wind up my remarks with a personal appeal drawing your attention to an object lesson that was presented in the Bengal Camp yesterday. If you want Swaraj, you have got demonstration of how to get Swaraj. There was a little bit of skirmish, a little bit of squabble and a little bit of difference in the Bengal camp as there will always be differences so long as the world lasts. I have known differences between husband and wife, because I am still a husband. I have noticed differences between parents and children because I am still a father of four sons and they are all strong enough to destroy their father so far as bodily strength is concerned. So I possess that varied experience of husband and parent. I know that we shall always have squabbles, we shall always have differences. But the lesson that I want to draw your attention to is that I had the honour and privilege of addressing both parties. They gave me their undivided attention and, what is more, they showed their attachment, their affection and their fellowship for me by accepting the humble advice that I had the honour of tendering to them and I advised

them. I am not here to distribute justice, the justice that can be awarded is only through our worthy President. But I ask you not to go the President. You need not worry him. If you are strong, if you are brave, if you are intent upon getting Swaraj and if you really want to revise the creed, then you will bottle up your rage, you will bottle up all the feelings of injustice that may rankle in your hearts and forget these things here under this very roof and I told them to forget their differences, to forget the wrongs. I do not want to tell you or go into the history of that incident. Probably most of you know. I simply want to invite your attention to the fact. I do not say they have settled their differences. I hope they have, But I do know that they undertook to forget the differences. They undertook not to worry the President, they undertook not to make any demonstration here or in the Subjects Committee, and all honour to those who listened to that advice. I only want my Bengal friends and all the other friends who have come to this great assembly with a fixed determination, to seek nothing but the betterment of their country, to seek nothing but the advance of their respective rights, to seek nothing but the conservation of the national honour. I appeal to every one of you to copy the example set by those who felt aggrieved and who felt that their heads were broken. I know before we are done with this great battle on which we have embarked at the special session of the Congress we have to go probably, possibly through a sea of blood, but let it not be said of us or any of us that we are guilty of shedding blood, but let it be said by generations yet to be born that we suffered, that we shed not somebody's blood but our own, and so I have no hesitation in saying that I do not want to show much sympathy for those who had their heads broken or who were said to be even in danger of losing their lives. What does it matter? It is much better to die at the hands at least of our own countrymen. What is there to revenge ourselves about or upon? So I ask every one of you if at any time there is blood boiling within you against some fellow countrymen of yours, even though he may be in the employ of the Government, even though he may be in the Secret service, or he may belong to the Detective Department, you will take care not to be offended and not to return blow for blow. Understand that the very moment you return the blow from the detective your cause is lost. That is your non-violent campaign and so I ask every one of you not to retaliate but to bottle up all your rage, to dismiss your rage from you and you will rise braver men. I am here to congratulate those who have restrained themselves from going to the President and bringing the dispute before him. Therefore I appeal to those who feel aggrieved to feel that they will have done the right thing in forgetting it and if they have not forgotten I ask them to try to forget the thing and that is the object lesson to which I wanted to draw your attention.

If you want to carry this Resolution do not carry it only by acclamation though I shall want your acclamation for this Resolution. But I want you to accompany the carrying out of this Resolution with a faith and a resolution which nothing on earth can move, that you are intent upon getting swaraj at the earliest possible moment, and that you are intent upon getting swaraj by means that is legitimate, that is honourable, and by means that is non-violent, that is peaceful. You have resolved upon this thing that so far as we can see today we cannot give battle to this Government by means of steel but we can give battle by exercising what I have so often called soul force and soul force is not the prerogative of one man or a Sanyasi or even of a so-called saint. Soul force is the prerogative of every human being, female or male, and therefore I ask my countrymen, if they want to accept this Resolution, to accept it with that fixed determination and to understand that it is inaugurated under such good and favourable auspices as I have described to

you. I have done. If there is anything which I have got to explain I shall do so in my reply. I thank you very much for giving me this patient hearing. May God grant that you will pass this Resolution unanimously. May God grant that you will also have the courage and the ability to carry out the Resolution and that within one year (loud and continued cheers)

Lala Lajpat Rai on rising to second the Resolution on the change of the Congress Creed was given a tremendous ovation. He said:—

Mr. President, brother and sister delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I have been commissioned to second this Proposition in English and I will carry out that commission. I consider this Resolution to be of the greatest importance not only at the present juncture but also for the future of my country.

The Creed of the Congress has a history of its own which with your permission I intend to relate in a few words. Most of you who have studied the history of the Indian National Congress know how the split at Surat took place in 1907. I took part in the proceedings of that Congress and I was one of the unfortunate causes that were at that time relied upon, at least superficially to be at the bottom of that split and therefore I know somewhat how that split came about. One of the fundamental differences at that time between the two parties, since then called the Moderates and the Extremists, was that a few of the so-called Extremists—not all of them but a few of the so-called Extremists—believed that it would only work for the complete independence of India and was not for its retention within the British Empire. That was one of the fears that underlay the proceeding that led to that split. After the Convention was created at Surat we met at Allahabad sometime early in 1908 to consider the draft of this Creed and to pass the Constitution. I was present at that time and I am prepared to tell you that even at that time I was opposed to the Creed and to the requirement of its being signed before any body could attend a meeting of the Indian National Congress. My reason of that opposition was this; not that I believed at that time that we had either the means or the will to work for complete independence or for taking out India from the British Empire, but I thought that none of us had the right to exclude from the deliberations of this Congress any body who pitched his deal so high as the complete independence of his mother country (hear, hear). And I tell you that one chief point for consideration before me was that no assembly in India could be called National which precluded by virtue of this creed a man of the purity and of the ability and of the absolute disinterestedness and high patriotism of nature of Aurobinda Ghose (loud cheers). That was my reason because I knew there were some friends at that time who were not prepared to sign that creed. However at that time the public opinion of the country was not in favour of going so far and therefore the Creed was passed and adopted. Now about twelve or thirteen years have rolled by, and since many events have happened which practically make it compulsory, almost obligatory, to change the Creed, and I am prepared here to say that it could not be changed in a better way than it has been done. I say it is only a development of the policy which was adopted at the last Special Session in passing the Resolution on Non-Co-operation. After the passing of that Resolution on Non-co-operation, you could not certainly exclude from the deliberations of this Congress those people who were not prepared to sign the old Creed. Even at the present moment I am not prepared to say that the majority of this assembly or the vast majority of thinking people in the country are prepared to say that we will at once go in for complete independence, or that we are going to fight for it at once, or that we shall not remain within the British Commonwealth, if that were possible for us to do. Gentlemen, I want here to take this opportunity of pointing out that we shall be lacking in frankness, we shall be lacking in patriotism, we shall be lacking in honesty and truth, if we are not to announce in the clearest possible terms the change of mentality that has come

over this country. We are here assembled in this Congress not to express our individual views but according to the old traditions of the country to focus public opinion of this country and to place it the form of a Resolution (hear, hear.) What does the change in the Creed aim at? A notice to the British Public and the British Government that although we do not at the present moment aim, directly aim, to go out of this British Empire, or, what we may call the British Commonwealth, but if we remain in the British Commonwealth or the British Empire we shall not remain at the dictation of any body or by fear (hear, hear). We shall remain there by our own free choice and free will, and that free choice and free will we can only exercise and express when we are allowed to do so by legitimate and peaceful means.

There are friends here from the British Isles for whom I have the greatest respect and I want them to convey this message from this assembly to the British people that as a people dealing with another people we are in no way hostile to them. We are not actuated by any motives of enmity or hostility but at the same time we want them to tell their Government that this country has absolutely no faith in the justice-loving instincts of Great Britain. Not only that, but I want it to be said from this platform that we have lost all faith even in the sanity of British statesmanship. I consider British statesmanship, when it sent that despatch on the affairs of the Punjab in which they praised or took upon themselves to pay a tribute of praise to Sir Michael Odwyer (loud cries of shame.) by those sentences practically declared its bankruptcy. We want it to be taken from this platform that not only then but even previously we had lost faith in British statesmanship but that was the chief sealing point which has sealed our opinion of British statesmanship and British Justice.

The other day I read a telegram in which it was stated that in the House of Lords Lord Selbourne expressed his resentment at the conduct of those Indians who were disseminating in this country that the British pledges and British words were not to be relied upon. Of course he wanted the Government of India to carry on a counteracting propaganda to meet those charges and to contradict those people who were making those charges. I, in this open Congress, in this assembly of twenty thousand of my countrymen, containing the cream of this country, want to tell Lord Selbourne that we have absolutely no faith in British pledges or British words (hear, hear).

A voice—Right you are.

I want him to open up the pages of Indian History and he will find that the British rule in India is a continuous record of broken pledges and unfulfilled promises (cries of shame). Does he want us at the present moment to continue to delude ourselves into the good faith of British pledges and British promises? we do not want to go into the past history or to open up the past record of British connection with India. But I challenge any one that not a single decade of British rule in India has gone about without a breach of faith and breach of promises and breach of pledges (hear, hear). Pledges made most solemnly in the name of his Majesty, or Her Majesty, promises made clearly, unambiguously by the responsible Government of Great Britain, have not only remained, most of them, unfulfilled but they have been actually broken (shame, shame). I will not go over past history of how Lord Dalhousie simply swept away those pledges and promises but the recent history is enough to furnish me with instances of those broken pledges. It will be fresh to the memory of my countrymen how Lord Curzon tried to sweep away practically the queen's proclamation by saying that it was a piece of rhetoric (cries of

shame). Lord Curzen was not an irresponsible politician. He was the Viceroy of India and at the present moment Foreign Secretary of the British Empire. Then we come later on to His Most Excellent, to His Greatest Excellency the present Prime Minister of England, Mr. Lloyed George (shame, shame). If Lord Selbourne had been present here, I would have asked him to point out to me a single member of the present British Cabinet whose words carry greater weight than those of a grocer.

A voice--Or of a milkman.

Another voice--not a grocer but a gambler.

Mr. Lloyed George embodies in himself the chivalry, the nobility and the patriotism and power of the British Empire and we know he deceived the Indian Mussalman and how he broke those pledges to the heart still maintaining that he had never broken his pledges. (cries of shame) I can understand an honest man saying that those pledges were made under stress of necessity and that politics knows no law and therefore they can be broken with impunity. But what about the honesty of a man who says that he has stuck to those pledges while the whole world says that he has broken them to the heart. Coming down from His Excellency the Prime Minister we shall examine a little the ethical frame of mind of his Excellency the War Minister. Are we going to place any faith in Mr. Winston Churchill who is spoken of as the future Viceroy of India? (Cries of no, no,) Are we going to place faith in the words of Lord Curzen, Foreign Minister? (Cries of no, no.) Are we going to place faith in the words of Mr. Balfour? (cries of no, no) May I ask somebody to point out to me who among the British Cabinet is entitled to our confidence.

(A voice suggests Lord Milner)

My friend suggests here Lord Milner (laughter).

(Mr. Satyamurti--Mr. Montagu). Mr. Satyamurti suggests Mr. Montague (cries of no, never). (a voice shame) Under the circumstances it is absolutely futile for any British statesman to expect that India can place any more faith or any confidence in the words or pledges of British statesman (hear, hear.) (cries of no, no,) very well, 'No' You are right in saying 'no'. But by this change of Creed we want to give notice to the British public and British Government that it is our deliberate considered opinion (hear, hear). We are not even now averse to remain within the British Commonwealth, if we are allowed to remain on our terms, by our free choice and by our free will and we will decide that question, when the time comes, on its merits in the light of our own interests and not by coercion or fear. Ladies and gentlemen that is a kind of notice, however innocent, however harmless, which we give to the British nation and the British Government and I tell you we should be false to our country, we should be absolutely failing in our duty, if at the present day we fail to give that clear notice.

To the British people and the British Government, I want to say one word about the play on the words Empire "or Commonwealth". May I ask if there is any British Commonwealth? (Cries of No, no).

Mr. Holford Knight.--Not yet.

Mr. Holford Knight says 'not yet'. Very well. Then where is that British Commonwealth in which we can remain on terms of equality?

A voice.--No where.

As to the British Empire, I would rather be a slave than willingly consent to be a part of an empire which enslaves so many millions of human beings. I do not want to share the rights and responsibilities of such an Empire. There are many friends of mine, for whom I have the greatest respect and who are very much revered in this country for their past services, they are not in the Congress now, who are very fond of claiming to be the future partners of this Empire. If they want to be partners in an Empire which is based and founded upon the blood and the loss of liberty and rights of many millions of human beings they may like it but I for one would not like to be in that Empire. It is very flattering, it is very gratifying to some people, it is a high honour to be citizens of such an Empire. First of all, that Empire denies to me the rights and privileges of citizenship. But even if I had that citizenship I would be ashamed of it and never be proud of it. Therefore I need not dilate very much upon this point. I want to tell you that it is absolutely necessary for us, in the present state of affairs in this country, to be absolutely frank.

Some of my friends say that it is a dubious phrase, 'Swaraj'. If they mean by this that the phrase has two meanings, within or without the British Empire, without making it clear, I will say they are right because the word has been deliberately used for the purpose of enabling us to remain within this Commonwealth if we choose when that Commonwealth has been established or go out of it when we like. In that sense that word may be construed to have a double meaning. It has no double meaning but it is a word which leaves the choice of the two conditions to us. That is the first part of the resolution "Attainment of Swaraj by the people of India".

The other part of the Resolution deals with the means. There are some friends here for whom I have great respect, who think that we might have very well omitted any mention of the means. I am afraid I cannot agree with them. The reason is this I am one of those who believe that every nation has, when the occasion arises, the inherent right of armed rebellion against a repressive, autocratic government, but I do not believe that we have either the means or even the will for such an armed rebellion at the present time. I will not discuss the future possibilities (hear, hear) but I want that my countrymen should not have any misconception or misgiving about the fact that the leaders of the National Congress do not want them to resort to violence for the attainment of any of the objects which have been laid before them. It is absolutely necessary in the present state of feeling in the country to lay emphasis on that point because passions have been roused, feelings have been excited and there is a very bitter resentment in the minds of the people against the doings of the British Government, and therefore the more we emphasise this point the greater the need of it and the greater the use of it. It cannot be too frequently and too sufficiently emphasised that we entirely abhor and dislike any kind of violence used against individuals or used rather in a fit of passion or anger or resentment.

I want to congratulate my countrymen, in carrying on the very onerous duty, in performing a very difficult task in connection with the recent elections there have been so few untoward events. Events have happened here and there which we deplore, which we condemn and repudiate but my wonder is that they have been so few and not more. The feeling and excitement, the anger and passion of the country have been so much roused of late that it would be very difficult to control it by any human being. I consider that the country has displayed, on the whole mark my words "on the whole" a sobriety and appre-

ciation of the situation for which we may well congratulate ourselves. I want to express that at least in my provinces with the exception of a few of those untoward events we have within the last six months, within the last one year, in spite of the gravest possible provocation, maintained peace which does great credit to the Punjabees. If ever, therefore, in the future, there is any disturbance in the Punjab, there is any exhibition of violence, there is any recrudescence of disorder it will not be we who shall be responsible for it, but the British Government.

A voice—European Association.

I don't care anything for the European Association. I would not even mention their name. But I want to tell the Bureaucracy that if they continue in their policy of repression—cruel uncalled for repression absolutely unjustified in the face of the circumstances—they shall be responsible for the consequences and not any of us. (hear, hear).

You will pardon me for this brief reference to the Punjab, particularly because I find that although the same kind of speeches are being delivered all over the country, the same kind of feeling being exhibited and the same kind of language being used all over the country, well, it is the Punjab Government that decides to introduce the Seditious Meetings Act. (cries of shame) I believe and I want to say from this platform that without making any reflection upon the personal character of the immediate rulers of the Punjab I think that in the whole of British India there is no administration which is more stupid which is absolutely more unstatesmanlike and lacking in the quality of statesmanship than the Administration of the Punjab. (A voice Delli) Delhi is only a corollary of the Punjab. We, with the help of our friends, of our leaders and countrymen from the other provinces are determined to do our level best to maintain peace in the province, to work on peaceful lines, to go on working as much as we can without giving any reason, any occasion for disturbance or disorders.

A voice—You will not be allowed.

But if the British Bureaucracy goes on making blunders after blunders, stupid and absolutely unreasonable, we do not know what might happen in that province. They say they want repression in that province because it is full of gunpowder. Who has made it into gunpowder? It is they who are responsible for it. We repudiate the charge unequivocally and unreservedly.

I won't detain you, gentlemen, any more but I just want to point out to you that for those very reasons and those very circumstances it is absolutely necessary that we should stick to the language of the resolution that has been proposed before you by Mahatmaji, that is "by peaceful and legitimate means" and having accepted that Resolution as he told you in his concluding address, our duty does not end there. Just I want to tell you oneword. The path may be long and tedious. The goal may be distant though I hope it is not. The task may be difficult. But there is nothing impossible for a nation of three hundred and fifteen millions (hear, hear). If we decide to do our duty manfully and fearlessly in a spirit of selfless devotion to the interest of the country what we are aiming at we shall achieve at no distant time, and if any English men or if any English party or if any English public helps us in attaining that object the glory shall be theirs (loud cries of hear, hear).

We are at perfect liberty and from our hearts we desire to work in co-operation with such people (hear, hear). But I may tell you that while we may place every faith in the words of an English gentleman we can no longer place any faith in the words of British statesmen. (loud and prolonged cheers and cries of *Bande Mataram*)

Mr. M. A. Jinnah in opposing the Resolution spoke as follows :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, the Resolution which has been placed before you by Mr. Gandhi is divided into two parts. The first part of the Resolution aims at the attainment of Swaraj by India. Reading that Resolution by itself, in my opinion, I feel this that there is no doubt that it makes a declaration of complete independence. The word Swaraj I venture to say does not mean in this Resolution that there is any possibility of British Connection. Therefore, in my opinion the first part of the Resolution declares complete independence for India (cries of no, no). Does it mean that we retain British Connection? (cries of no). I venture to say that it does not. (A voice it is left to us). But Mahatma Gandhi and Lala Lajpat Rai explained that it means with or without British Connection. Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I entirely agree with Lala Lajpat Rai in most part of the indictment that he placed before you against the Government. You know I have expressed my opinion over and over again and I do not think that there is any difference of opinion that the Government have done us repeated wrongs-wrongs of an enormous character which have made our blood boil. But that is not the question for the moment before you.

The question before you is this, as Lalji put it, that in 1907 we who adopted the present Creed of the Indian National Congress felt that there was neither the will nor the means of making that declaration. To-day we have accomplished one thing and that is the majority have the will to make this declaration and I entirely agree that the majority have the will to make this declaration. But the second proposition is, have we got the means of making this declaration? (A voice—Yes, decidedly). I say the means which are placed before you by Mr. Gandhi are 'legitimate and peaceful' not 'legitimate or peaceful' but 'legitimate and peaceful'. Therefore Mr. Gandhi thinks (cries of Mahatma Gandhi),—Yes, Mahatma Gandhi thinks that by peaceful methods, having declared complete Independence for India, he will achieve it. With very great respect for Mahatma Gandhi and those who think with him I make bold to say in this Assembly that you will never get your Independence without blood-shed (cries of no, no). If you think that you are going to get your Independence without bloodshed I say that you are making the greatest blunder (cries of, no no—a voice Nonsense) Therefore I say that at this moment you are making a declaration which you have not the means to carry out. On the other hand you are exposing your hand to your enemies.

A voice—Does not matter.

I know you say that. I wish I could think like that. My only reason and I hope you will really believe me when I say that my only reason to-day to stand on this platform and to speak before you against this proposition is that I honestly believe, I am convinced in my mind, that this step that you are taking is not the right step to take at this moment. (cries of no, no).

Lala Lajpat Rai has said that this is intended to give notice to the British Government. With very great respect I really fail to understand that argument. No organization, much less a National organization, adopts for its object

a creed which can be considered a notice. If that is your intention, if that is your object, you should pass a Resolution and not change the creed. By all means pass a Resolution. Say to the world—to the British Government that it is a sine qua non that unless you redress our chief grievances we give you notice that we shall sever from you altogether. That is a very different story. But what we are undertaking to-day is the replacing of this Article I as the creed of the Indian National Congress. But it is said that it is open to you. You can take it any way you like and tell the people that (cries of no, no) I want to keep the British Connection. It is open for us to say that we do not want to keep the British Connection. Gentlemen, I appeal to your reason. What is the good of this camouflage (cries of no, no) It is possible for any man after this Creed is passed to stand on the same platform—one saying that he wants to keep the British Connection and another saying that he does not (A voice: you are saying) I am saying it now because you have not adopted it as yet. When you do adopt it I say it is futile to tell any body that you are at liberty to say that you want to keep British Connection. Therefore do not blind ourselves, do not in our temper, do not in our desperation, take step in haste for which we may have to regret. Mahatma Gandhi says that, if the British Government are willing to give us what we want, then we shall have the Connection; if not, we shall not have the Connection. Therefore it is quite clear according to Mahatma Gandhi's speech that he has not as yet made up his mind notwithstanding what Lala Lajpat Rai described the British Government and the British Statesmen to be namely that, there is no one whose words can be considered any better than that of a grocer, that no British statesman is to be trusted that the British Government is absolutely a wicked Government.

A voice—Quite so, hopeless.

Then may I know whether you still say that you will keep the Connection if possible?

Voice—Give them a chance and when they mend.

Mr. Jinnah continuing said—I say if you want to give notice to the British Government I have no objection at all. I say by all means give a notice, but you are not doing that. You are going to tell your people the moment this resolution is passed that the Indian National Congress has made a bid for Complete Independence, that our Indian National Congress, as Mr. Gandhi (Cries of Mahatma Gandhi)—as Mahatma Gandhi said, that you want to destroy the British Empire. Then you may have that feeling, you may have that wish. But I ask you in the name of reason, have you considered how you are going to destroy the British Empire? If I am right in my opinion that for the moment to day it is a mere dream to say that you will destroy the British Empire notwithstanding the fact that we are thirty crores and more—if I am right then I say you are making a declaration and you are committing the Indian National Congress to a programme which you will not be able to carry out. (A voice—(We will) What is the reasoning? The only reason that I have been able to get beyond mere sentimental feeling and expression of anger and desperation,—and I assure you, I don't feel anything but desperate myself but I may be able to control myself more than others,—(A voice—Slave mentality). But what is the reason that is given to us?—The only reason that I have been able to get from the speakers on the Creed was given to me in the Subjects Committee by Mr. Mahammad Ali (Cries of Maulana). Mr. Mahammad Ali told me—(Loud cries of Maulana Mohammad Ali). If you will not allow me the liberty to address you and speak of a man in the language in which I think it is right, I say you are denying me the liberty which you are asking for. I am entitled to

say Mr. Mahammad Ali (cries of Moulana and cries of 'go on') I say the only reason that Mr. Mahammad Ali gave me was that there are some people who find it impossible to sign the Congress Creed, and therefore the Congress Creed must be changed.

Mr. Mahammad Ali—That was not the only reason I gave you.

Mr. Jinnah—That is the only reason that I gathered; that is the only reason which I understood. I do not say that Mr. Mahammad Ali did not give other reasons, but the only reason that I understood after he had made a long speech was this—that in order to enable certain people who are not willing to sign the present Congress Creed, it is necessary to change the Creed. Do you think that is a sufficient reason? (A voice—No). You will hear from Mr. Mahammad Ali when he comes here what his reasons are beyond mere sentimental talk. I do not say that we should not believe in sentiments nor do I say that sentiment does not play an important part. But remember that you are changing your constitution. Remember this constitution which you change is going to take place in the books of your constitution as a firm, permanent thing which it is not easy to change. You cannot pass a constitution this year and change it next year. The constitution must be sacred to us. The constitution if it is changed, must be changed at least with this object in view that you see at least a quarter of a century ahead of you. You may have to change it after a quarter of a century. Is the constitution of the Indian National Congress to be changed because there are some people who say, "we will not sign the Creed"?

A voice—All, all.

Then I have nothing more to say.

Therefore my objection is this. To summarise it in a few words—first of all, I object to this Creed because as I read it, it means nothing else but a declaration for complete independence. The word 'Swarajya' is not qualified and the word means nothing else but own Complete Independence. It does not at all provide for any kind of Connection which may or may not be retained. You find that only in the speeches. Therefore, that is my first objection. I say if that is your intention why don't you make it clear.

My second objection is that Non-co-operation on peaceful methods, legitimate, but peaceful methods, may be an excellent weapon for the purpose of bringing pressure upon the Government. But let me tell you once more that the weapon will not succeed in destroying the British Empire (A voice.—Will succeed) I therefore object to the methods; because if you want complete independence let us not be limited to methods. Why should you be limited to methods? Who is to decide as we go on, what will be the effective methods to achieve the complete Swarajya which you are asking for? I say therefore, I really feel I am unable to agree with it for this reason that it is neither logical nor is it politically sound or wise, not practically capable of being put in execution. I have given you my opinion, gentlemen. Don't for a single moment believe from what I have been saying—(A voice—It is your weakness) I am told it is weakness. I was told in the Subjects Committee it is want of courage. I don't wish to stoop to say that a particular man is weak or dishonest or wanting in courage. If I wish to retort I can say in return that it is your foolhardiness; but these words do not help us (Cries of shame).

I have said what I have to say. In conclusion, to quote the words of our President who is sitting here, he said at the moment the destinies of the country

are in the hands of two men and among those two he mentioned Mahatma Gandhi. Therefore standing on this platform, knowing as I do know that he commands the majority in this Assembly, I appeal to him to pause, to cry halt before it is too late (Cries of shame and hear hear) and cries of Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jay. (A voice—a political impostor.)

The President :—

A numerously signed requisition signed by many gentlemen has been sent to me to say that they cannot hear a word of what is going on over here either for or against the resolution, and that it is unfair to call upon them to vote either way. They call upon me to think of a course which will obviate this difficulty. I really do not know how to do it, but I have been in consultation with some of my friends here, with the Mahatma and others and we have come to the conclusion that a few speakers will be distributed, to different parts of the pandal. If in spite of that you cannot hear I can only advise you, not as chairman but as your friend, not to vote either way. (No speakers, however, were sent out to different parts of the pandal as Mr. B. C. Pal rose to speak).

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal in supporting the Resolution on Article I of the Congress Creed was received the great ovation. He said :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I rise to give my wholehearted support to the Resolution that is before you at this moment. I will at once tell you that if I could have my own way I should have very much liked to add one word "Democratic" to the word "Swaraj".

A voice—We do not want English words.

But in the Resolution unfortunately every word except the word "Swaraj" is English. I want to say that if I had my own way I would have very much liked to have the adjective 'Democratic' before 'Swaraj' because I think that it is the distinct duty of this Great Assembly to give a lead not only to the present generation but to those that are coming after us in regard to the ideal form of Government that we must have in India in consonance with the spirit and traditions of our people, and in consonance with the spirit of modern thought and culture. But I do not press that point. We lost it in the Subjects Committee and I am not going to move an amendment to that effect (hear, hear). Considerable confusion has been sought to be created by clever people in regard to the meaning of the word 'Swaraj' and its connection with the Empire. I know, my brother delegates and sister delegates, I know there is a small volume yet left of sentiment in the country which wants to keep on to the thing called the British Empire. But what, Pray, is this Empire? The Empire is either an idea or a fact. As an idea this British Empire exists in the brains of British Imperialists like the Round Table politicians of the present moment (hear, hear). As an idea this Empire exists in the brains, or as much of it as may be there, in the heads of Lord Milner and Lord Curzon of the present Coalition Cabinet and the whole brood of capitalist Imperialists of Great Britain. And what is that idea? That idea, to quote the Times, is of dual empire: one a self governing Empire composed of the White races and the other a dependent Empire composed of the Non-white races (cries of shame). The trend of modern present day, even after-war British Imperialism is to consolidate the White Empire with a view of the political and economic exploitation of the Non-white Empire. Are you ever going to keep yourself within the loving embrace of this British Empire (Cries of no, no)? We cannot. What then is the Empire of which we are so much talking?

The Commonwealth! But what is the Commonwealth? The Commonwealth is the British Commonwealth of Nations. And what is the British Commonwealth of Nations? Not India, not Ceylon nor any of the dependencies or Crown Colonies, but the British Commonwealth of Nations is composed of the Mother Country and her Colonial brood. That is the British Commonwealth of Nations. Therefore, I do not see why you should be so anxious to commit this great renunciation of our legitimate birthright to live and work independently of any other nation in the world for our own evolution and for our own salvation. Let us not therefore waste our breath upon this question whether we want to be in or outside the Empire. It has been said that if you say, say it plainly whether you want to be in or outside. When I am asked that question, I shall say it then. But the question has not yet been asked by any body. When somebody asks me "Well, sir, will you be in the Empire?" then it will be my time to make the stipulation. I will say "Do you want me to be in the Empire as a part of the British Commonwealth of Nations, then, know ye all by these presents that these are our terms—not a whit or little less than this." That will be the time. The time has not come as yet and therefore not even to consider that question. The time has come when the word must be told once and for all time to come that India refuses to remain inside an Empire and be treated as a serf by that Empire (Cries of hear, hear) and this Resolution makes that declaration. It does not hurt my Imperialist friends either, because we do not say that we shall not be inside the Empire nor do we say that we shall be inside the Empire. We have left the Resolution open enough to suit every opinion, to suit every conscience and to soften every susceptibility.

I do not see why objection should be taken to it. Then the question comes, why do you do it? I do it for this reason. The old constitution does not represent the public opinion of India at the present time, and you, gentlemen assembled in this Congress are bound to put on record with the seal of your authority upon it, what is the deliberate conviction of the vast mass of your countrymen whom you represent in this hall. And the deliberate conviction of every part and section of the masses and classes alike, the deliberate conviction of the educated and the uneducated alike of this great Indian Continent, is that the time has come now when India must bid for her birthright of complete political freedom. It has been said—Why don't you say you want Independence? yes, I want Independence. If it be a crime to say—I want independence, I am prepared to pay the penalty of that crime. I want Independence. Do you want Independence? (Cries of yes, yes) We all want Independence and we are prepared to make whatever sacrifices may be called forth from us to win this Independence (hear, hear) I may not live to see this day when India will be under her own flag. (A-voice you will) It is in the hand of God but I shall die satisfied with this determination of my people that they refuse to live in the conditions that have prevailed in this country for the last 150 years and I shall die in the consolation that the blasted hopes of the previous and the present generation shall be realised by my son and his son and those that are coming after us. In this hope and in this confidence I give my whole hearted support to this Resolution and ask you to carry the Resolution with acclamation (Prolonged cheers).

After the resolution on Article I of the Congress Creed was moved and supported, Colonel Wedgwood M. P. who was received with a great ovation spoke as follows :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen—In the house of Commons I often ask the other members of that house to try to put themselves in the position of

Indian and to think what they would do if they were Indians and the Indians were Englishmen ruling over them. And now I ask you what you would feel like if you were in my shoes addressing a subject race who have suffered injury at the hands of my countrymen, what for instance would Mr. Shaukat Ali feel if he was asked to face an audience of Armenians and Greeks? I think that he would feel very much as I feel—a sympathy and yet a feeling that he had got to stand up for the sake of his countrymen (Cries of No, No.—A voice for truth) and for truth at the same time. Now, Lala Lajpat Rai for instance charged all British statesmen with being breakers of words and faithless individuals, but let me tell you that that charge has been levied and will be levied and can be levied against all Statesmen of all times (hear, hear) A voice—But not against Mahatma Gandhi.

Mahatma Gandhi is no Statesman. He is as you know, a Saint on this earth (Hear, Hear.) I remember at one meeting saying a word in defence of Mr. Montagu and just because I want to test your self-control, I am going to say a word to you about Mr. Montagu, one of those accursed satanic Secretaries of State. The 'Independent' of Allahabad accused me of being an emissary of Mr. Montagu. The 'Independent' must know aright, but I want you to observe this about Mr. Montagu that he has done more than any previous Secretary of State in history to earn his wages from the people who pay them (hear, hear.) And I ask you to go further that at a time when he is being damned daily by the 'Morning Post' and the Anglo Indian Press in Calcutta, at a time when he has lost the confidence of the Cabinet—when he is shouted down in the House of Commons as being a traitor to his country at that particular moment the Indians had better be quiet. (A voice Non-Co-operate.)

Judge your men from their friends and from their enemies and then exercise a little charity. I remember when I first met Lala Lajpat Rai he spoke to me as he has spoken to you and to me ever since, of the wrongs committed by my countrymen against India, and I need hardly say to you that I am going to spend the rest of my time fighting those wrongs and putting an end to them. But after he had detailed all their crimes he turned to me and said—"Ah! Commander Wedgwood, but England is nothing to America. Here there is no Press and no public man who dares to stand up for an unpopular minority. Here there is no freedom because the popular will dominates and no man may speak against popular will". There is a truth in that. That truth applies to India also. Be care ful that in your Swaraj—your new Creed—you have real Swaraj based upon selfcontrol (hear, hear) as well as upon self government. The most hopeful, the most delightful thing that I have seen in India was the workshops in the Benares Hindu University. There they are making self-reliant, self-respecting Indians who would hold up their heads and do their work well. And the one thing that has created the worst impression upon me—I am only an outsider I know—but the thing that created the worst impression upon me was the treatment meted out to Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Malaviya and Sir Asutosh Choudhari yesterday in the Subjects Committee.

Mr. Shamlal Nehru:—Mr. President I rise to a point of order.

President:—No, the other speakers referred to the Subjects Committee also.

Colonel Wedgwood continuing said:—I want to tell you that you cannot expect to hear the truth from your leaders you cannot expect your leaders to face what they have to face in this country, unless you allow more fairplay and more freedom of speech. It is a perfect scandal that an old lady of eighty years of age was shouted down at Bombay.

A voice :—She calls every body a liar. Call her back again but allow freedom of speech, not in the interests of Mrs. Be-ant or in the interests of Mr. Jinnah, but in the interests of India. (Cries of hear hear.) Free speech is the only basis upon which democracy can survive. I have seen the Irish struggle for independence. I have seen the Bear struggle for independence. Let me tell you that in Ireland the parties were divided far more bitterly than they are in this country. The feeling between the Parnellites and the anti-Parnellites and Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Dillon was far more bitter than between the politicians in this country, but they always behaved to each other like gentlemen and gave a patient hearing. Save India from this awful position that your public men become afraid of public life and retire into private life. I do not know enough about Mr. Jinnah's politics to say whether I agree with him, but I do know that a man who has the courage to come to this audience and tell you what he has told you is a man for my money. The first thing in every political leader is not brains, but courage.

I do beg of you if you are changing your Creed—I deplore that change of creed merely because it may make it more difficult for that union which your president rightly asked for between the Congress, the Nationalist Indians and the Labour Party at home not impossible, but more, difficult. I do beg of you when you effect that change in the constitution you will at the same time see that that Swaraj is a real Swaraj—a democratic Swaraj and not a mobocracy—not the sort of rule that maintained itself in France a hundred and thirty years ago—but real, free, passive movement such as your great leader desires and such as he has followed. Follow him not only in passive Resistance but in allowing every minority however small, to secure justice and fairplay in the India of the future (Applause).

Mr. Radhakrishna Bhargava began to move an amendment that the word "effective" be added after the word "legitimate".

Mr. V. J. Patel :—Mr. President, I rise to a point of order. Notice of about 12 amendments has been given and I invite your attention to Article 30 of the Indian National Congress. That Article says, "No addition, alteration, or amendment shall be made in Article 1 of the Constitution except by a unanimous vote of all the provinces provided that no motion for any addition, alteration or amendment shall be brought before the Congress unless it has been previously accepted by the Subjects Committee of the Congress for the year."

Sir, the proposed amendment introduces, if accepted, a change in Article 1 of the Constitution and no amendment which proposes to introduce any change in Article 1 of the Congress Constitution can be brought before the Congress unless and until it has been approved by the Subjects Committee. All the amendments that have been before you, sir, have never been discussed in the Subjects Committee and adopted by that Committee. Therefore I rise to a point of order not only in connection with this amendment, but all the other amendments that will follow. I want your distinct ruling whether under Article 30 of the Congress Constitution any amendment which proposes to introduce a change in the Congress Constitution can be moved in this House unless and until it has been discussed and adopted by the Subjects Committee. The proposition that is now before the House,—Mahatma Gandhi's proposition—proposes to introduce a change in the Congress Constitution, but that proposition was moved in the Subjects Committee and accepted by it. The amendment now before the House and the other amendments of which notice has been given were never discussed in the Subjects

Committee and the Subjects Committee did not adopt any of them and did not send them for discussion before the Congress. I beg to read the last words of this Article, "provided no motion for any addition, alteration, or amendment shall be brought before the Congress unless it has been previously accepted by the Subjects Committee of the Congress of that year". I now leave the question in your hands.

The President :—My friend Mr. Patel is wrong in having called your attention. It is matter of interpretation and it rests entirely with me as the President and it is not for you to approve or disapprove or do anything. (Hear, hear) Mr. Patel is absolutely wrong in his interpretation, of Article 30. That Article deals with amendments, alterations and additions to the constitution which now exists and not to the motion before you. No motion for amendment, alteration, or addition in the Article which has the force of law for us now can be made. Here Mahatma Gandhi's motion has to be accepted by you here. It is not Article 1. It may be Article 1, but it is not now at the present moment. The amendments being to that motion, and that motion not being Article 1 at the present moment, the amendments will be allowed. I hereby rule that, provided that the amendment is to the motion made before you by Mahatma Gandhi and not the existing Article 1, it will be in order. I rule that this gentleman's amendment is in order and when the other amendments come I shall deal with them separately.

Mr. Radhakrishna Bhargava made a speech in Hindi in moving the amendment that the word "effective" be added after the word "legitimate."

The President :—Does anybody second this amendment ?

Moulana Muhammad Ali :—Mr. President :—I rise to a point of order. Without in the least wanting not to obey your ruling, may I very humbly but emphatically ask you to reconsider your ruling, because, if you say that the amendment to be moved is not an amendment to the existing Constitution, but an amendment to the amendment proposed in this way you will allow the amendments to be discussed, there are 16000 delegates and there may be any number of amendments, perhaps ten amendments to each delegate may be proposed. I contend that when this rule was introduced it was introduced in order to avoid this. If the Subjects Committee could not accept an amendment to be moved to the Constitution it means that there is no sufficient consensus of opinion to change such an important thing as Creed. Therefore I request you to reconsider your ruling.

The President :—I have reconsidered and I will add one more reason to my decision. When there is any doubt, the benefit of the doubt must go towards the enlargement of liberty and not towards the curtailment of it. I have no doubt in my mind, but if you have a doubt, I am going to give the benefit of it to the movers, and not to the opposers of the amendments. I have reconsidered my decision and I adhere to it.

The President :—There is no seconder to the amendment. This amendment falls to the ground.

The President :—The next amendment is Mr. Satyamurty's. His amendment is "The words "full responsible government" to be inserted after the word "Swaraj" in the proposition moved by Mahatma Gandhi".

Mr. Satyamurty (Madras), in moving the amendment that the words "or full responsible Government" be inserted after the word "Swaraj" in the resolution moved by Mahatma Gandhi, said :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I rise to move a very small amendment, what I may almost term a casting amendment. It runs thus:—Add after the word "Swaraj" in Mahatma Gandhi's resolution the words "or full responsible government" and I want to state my reasons very very briefly indeed.

First of all, I want you to decide for yourselves and to decide for the country which we represent here, what we exactly mean by Swaraj, and in order to show that unless you define it in some such definite way we are likely to put different and contradictory interpretations upon it, I want merely to remind you that this distinguished audience at one stage stated, when one speaker asked you, Do you want independence? you said No, and at another stage, when another distinguished speaker asked you, Do you want independence? you said yes. (Cries of No, No,) I do not at all blame you for it, because my own mind is in that state your own mind is in that state, and Mahatma Gandhi was quite frank upon that. He said, "We do not yet want to say that we shall remain in association of some kind or other with Great Britain or not." I whole-heartedly accept every word and every sentiment of what Lala Lajpat Rai said on this platform. But after accepting all that, I still want that we should define what we mean by Swaraj.

This distinguished audience must be familiar that the word Swaraj is a Sanskrit word and has not been till very recently used in a political sense at all. It is used in our ancient scriptures, the Vedas to mean merely self-control, control of the senses and the passions. Is this the Swaraj that you want? Swaraj may further mean merely the government of India by Indians whether it be monarchic, or aristocratic, or oligarchic, or democratic, or soviet. Therefore, I am anxious that this great assembly should determine for such time as we can, that, so far as we can help it, what we want is full responsible government. I agree that the phrase is unfortunate, because it is associated with a document which has not been observed even in letter, much less in spirit the 20th August pronouncement. But let us not transfer our legitimate anger against the authors of that document to an innocent phrase in that document. Full responsible government is not merely an English conception. It is an European conception, and it means that in a State which has responsible government the executive is controlled by the legislature and the legislature by the people of the country. That is the kind of government that I want to see established in this country, and I want you to use those words to Swaraj. It has been said, let our people decide whether it shall be monarchic, oligarchic or democratic. Who are our people? We are the people, and I am anxious that we in this Congress assembled should say that we do not want to revive Dulip Sings or other Sings or rulers in this country, that we do not want oligarchies or monarchies, but that what we want is government of the people by the people for the people, and that is why I want that this great democratic Congress "should say Swaraj or full responsible government."

I also say that in the flexible state of mind in which we find ourselves to day we want to give Great Britain a locus penitenti, that if she redresses our wrongs and extends the right hand of fellowship to us, we shall not spurn the offer. At the same time we are not going to remain one minute longer in this Empire by coercion or fear, one minute longer than we can help it, and I do submit with some confidence that complete responsible government connotes that exact idea.

I want to give only one argument in favour of my statement. Sir Robert Borden, the distinguished Canadian Premier, who attended more than one Imperial Conference, said two years ago, "If Canada to-morrow declares her independence, not one British gun should be fired against her." That is the status which the self-governing dominions have already attained, and I ask you to add the words "or full responsible government" so that you may ask for, and obtain the right to remain within or without the Empire when and as you choose, and not one minute longer or earlier. That is exactly what my term connotes. Apart from that, Brother Delegates, whatever may be the case with regard to Ireland, or Australia, or Canada, so far as India is concerned, the moment Swaraj is conceded including control of the military, naval and the air forces, that moment, thanks to our geographical position, thanks to the strategic reasons, Great Britain will be at our mercy, the British Empire will be at our mercy, and we can dictate terms to them. Therefore, by adding the words full responsible government, you do not abate by one jot or tittle your demand, and at the same time you express what exactly every speaker on this platform has asked you to express, that while you do not at this moment want to go out of the British Empire you have the right to do so when you decide.

The last argument that I want to address to you is this. It has been said that Swaraj is a magic word, a Sanskrit word, and therefore must not be interpreted. I am a great believer in the efficacy of mantrams, but I am not going to make a fetish of them. What is the name of the assembly which is met here? An English name forsooth! The Indian National Congress! Has it not got a magic value? Two, three or four years ago, Home Rule was an English phrase which drew together our people in their thousands and millions. Let us not therefore fight merely for words, but let us have a definite conception in our minds as to what we want our people to get.

Colonel Wedgwood, in the course of his speech to day, said, "If you change the creed as is suggested by Mahatma Gandhi it will make the work of our friends in England more difficult". I am sure the distinguished Colonel will acquit me of any desire to make the work of such a great, such a philanthropic and fearless friend as the Colonel more difficult than it need be. But may I tell him this. If the Colonel could fight on behalf of Russia if the Colonel could fight on behalf of Czecho Slav, on behalf of Ireland in the House of Commons, may I ask him why he may not fight for India whether we declare for this creed or that creed? (Colonel Wedgwood:—We will, I will). I know the Colonel would give only one answer, and he has given it, that he will fight for us whatever creed we decide upon. (Here, here). And I want to say this that the ideal of complete independence which we may declare tomorrow is not immoral, and unless there are some at least amongst us who like the Lalaji and Mahatmaji are prepared to say openly and publicly that we want independence here and now, or as my friend Mr. Shaikat Ali would have it, our political progress would be very much slower than what it is. I therefore quite concede all that. Still, as I understand the majority of my fellow delegates have not made up their minds to claim full independence here and now, I ask you to use a phraseology which will accurately connote the idea which you have in your mind, namely, Swaraj or full responsible government.

The words "legitimate and peaceful means" are there, and I want to suggest, Sir, by legitimate and peaceful means you can attain no more than full responsible government. By all means, if you are going to omit all reference to means, if you are going to contemplate violence,—and I consider violence not

immoral when a nation is struggling for its freedom—revolutionaries are criminals if the revolutions fail, but they are martyrs if the revolutions succeed, and therefore I am not going to rule out violence as immoral—but since you have decided or about to decide that you are going to pursue the end only by legitimate and peaceful means, it is also logical to say that by Swaraj we mean only full responsible government. Gentlemen, after all I am anxious that in our struggle, whether we get the sympathy and support of the British Government, or the American Government or not, we want to secure the sympathy and support of the free peoples of the world and the free peoples of the world want us not to go back to monarchy, aristocracy, or oligarchy, ancient, medieval, or modern, but to become one of the free peoples of the world. Therefore, in the name of truth, in the name of the people of the country who have a right to expect from you a definite guidance as to what it is you ask them to follow, and in the name of the comradery of the free peoples of the world, I beg of you to accept my small amendment which does not take away the substance of Mahatmaji's motion but only makes it more explicit. (Cheers).

Mr. A Rangasami Aiyangwar (Madras) seconded the amendments.

M. K. R. Ventarama Aiyar (Madras) moved the following amendment :—

“ The objects of the Indian National Congress are :—

1. The attainment by the people of British India by all legitimate and honourable means of the system of complete responsible Government similar to that enjoyed by the self governing dominions in the British Empire with all its rights and responsibilities on terms of absolute equality with those dominions.

2. The promotion of an Indian nationality by fostering a patriotic spirit of unity among the different classes and communities of the people, and

3. The advancement of the moral and material progress of the people of British India.”

In moving the amendment he said :—

I admit that the existing creed requires to be revised. The revision however must be confined within the limits of strict necessity. Article 1 of the present constitution was adopted in 1908. It sufficed us well now. The question is what are the words in the existing Article which now are clearly unsuitable. The Minto-Morley Reforms held the field till the 20th August 1917 when a new Declaration of British Policy in India was made. Every word of the existing article well tallied with the scheme and spirit of the Minto-Morley Reforms. The Declaration of the 20th August 1917 definitely assured us a new goal, complete responsible government with the British Empire. After this Declaration and the Government of India Act following it, the words “ by bringing about a steady reforms of the existing system of Administration ” are out of joint and must go. The words “ a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self governing members of the British Empire ” must also be replaced by “ complete responsible government ” or “ responsible government ”, for the word “ complete ” is necessarily involved in “ responsible government ” and has come into vogue only to negative the anomalous Dyarchy that has been inaugurated.

I also attach importance to our sticking to an appropriate word to qualify the means of achieving our object. The existing Article says, “ The objects are

to be achieved by constitutional means." Though, recently in applying the word "constitutional" with reference to the items in the programme of Non-co-operation certain High officials and ex-officials have lightly and erroneously characterised some of the items to be unconstitutional, there is no doubt the programme of non-co-operation from the first to the last item so far evolved by Mahatma Gandhi is perfectly constitutional.

So far as the necessities of the new situation since the Declaration of the 20th August 1917 go, there is no need to disturb the existing words, "by constitutional means." We must delete the words "by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration," and we must say definitely "responsible government" "or complete responsible government. The closing words of the present article relating to national unity, economic and industrial development etc. are yet quite necessary and suitable in some shape or form in the revised Article also. These necessities are satisfied by my amendment which substantially leaves the old Article untouched otherwise. The declaration of the 20th August left the stages by which responsible government was to be reached in full to be determined by the Government of India and the authorities in Great Britain. This is obviously unacceptable. It involves the slur that we, the Indian people, are not now fit for responsible government, and it involves the arbitrary and odious idea that we are not to determine our own constitution, but the Bureaucratic Government of India and the interested Englishmen who have an interest to withhold our natural right from us are to determine what modicum of responsible government we are to get and by what doles. This absurd claim of our present rulers is also got rid of by my amendment. I therefore claim that my amendment rightly meets the necessities of the case. I go further and say that to do more just now by way of amendment of article 1 is a transgression of the bounds of necessity if not also of propriety. The Congress meets certainly once a year and oftener according to necessity. According to changing needs the creed may also be well changed from time to time. The question is, is there need to effect any greater change than my amendment effects? Is there need to use the word "Swaraj" which is not as definite and clear as "responsible government," and to omit the words 'importing equal partnership within the British Empire? Is there need to do all this at this Session? Is it the sense that "absolute independence" is to be or can be achieved before our next Session? If "absolute independence" is capable of achievement so quick as that, what is lost by our proceeding straight effectively and unitedly to do our notional work in the country which will give us what we want in less than a year? What if we do not declare it now as the object? Ex-hypothesi, in less than a year the object is, by dint of our hard and patriotic work, going to be realised. Importance ought therefore to be attached not to the specification of the objects as if we are writing out an immutable law of nature for all time but only to the effective carrying out of the programme that promises such quick and decisive results. I go further and say that if you do not hope to realise the object of absolute Swaraj or independence before the next Congress you must in fairness leave it to the delegates of next year to make a suitable further change and yourself alter the article only according to the present strict necessities of the next twelve months. To declare before hand as our object absolute Swaraj or independence outside the British Empire is one of the most fatal handicaps to its attainment. Such formulation of our objects before hand is necessary and beneficial only as a mode of apprising any external authority to whom we look for a grant of what we ask for. You can never ask for or expect from Great Britain a grant of Swaraj outside the British Empire. Whenever it is attained it is to be attained by an avoidance of asking and by an inevitable taking. You make your chances of taking

"Swaraj" very very difficult by declaring it as your object before you actually succeed in taking it. It amounts to a declaration of war with the Government which is believed and assumed to be an unscrupulous Government and has been indeed rightly characterised as wicked and satanic. Why do you want to rouse the Government by such declaration of war into hostile action against the large number of patriots that you summon to carry out your programme? Why do you begin by placing your adversary in a position of vantage and for the first time, while you are yet in his grip, give him a justification or a plausible pretext for a reign of terror or an era of rule by machine guns? Not only do you weaken your prospect by thus strengthening your adversary into terrorising and scaring away your workers, you also create other embarrassments for yourselves. You make it impossible for our English friends to help us in our struggle for freedom. You make it the interest of even the best of them who are after all human, to range themselves not only, not in our favour, but against us. You also make it impossible for the bulk of the people in the districts and for those like me in immediate touch with them to act in your name and in avowed execution of your command. I say you make it impossible because in the conditions to which we are in fact and in law subject we cannot without danger to the people and the movement, embark upon the carrying out of a programme otherwise legitimate and effective as steps in national reconstruction.

Your object is national unity for its own sake and with a view to securing Swaraj. By declaring absolute Swaraj or independence as the object you arm the authorities with the power to brand your otherwise innocent and laudable programme of work as steps in an avowed campaign to subvert the British connection and wage war against it. Your declaration therefore helps your opponents, the present bureaucratic rulers, exceedingly well and suicidally diminishes your prospects of success. You divide the nation into unfriendly sections, enable your adversaries to keep you divided and make you more extensively divided than ever before, and force your English friends and the better part of the English people at their back into hostility and cohesion with their countrymen with whom they were thus far in disagreement on Indian questions.

The word "Swaraj" may be simple. Its normal and literal meaning is self-rule or self-government. But as a political expression or phrase it has not obtained a definite or indisputable conventional meaning or signification. However, not it may be deemed by mob orators as a word to conjure with for rousing emotion, it is hardly a word to be deemed precise or at all preferable to the words "responsible government" when our purpose is, as practical politicians, to define our political object or status for effectuating our national work during the next 12 months. The ambiguity of the word "Swaraj" which may mean "within or without the British Empire" disappears when you remember that you are also proposing to get rid of the express words now appearing in the Article and emphasising your object to be "equal partnership with the British Empire".

Therefore, I warn you, you will be taking an injurious step, an immediately suicidal step leading to the possible break-up of the Congress altogether and in any case as a National Indian organisation, if you vote for Mahatma Gandhi's proposition. For if you vote for it, whole sections of the Population, and extensive portions of the country will have no longer any breathing space or standing ground within the Congress. The Congress will no longer be a National or an All-India Assembly. It will become a sectional or party organisation. You cannot afford so to kill the Congress before you actually attain full Swaraj. Then and then alone can we afford to break up the All-India National Congress and carry on our government by sectional or party organi-

sations. On the other hand, by voting for my amendment, and voting also for national organisation, notional education, industrial and economic organisation etc. arbitration courts etc. as substantive items of national reconstruction work you will considerably strengthen our near prospect of attaining Swaraj within the British Empire, and when we have attained it if it is found beneficial to our nation we shall keep up the British connection on terms of absolute equality, but with liberty of secession in case of need. On the whole I venture to submit that the Mahatma's declared object of Swaraj is furthered by my amendment, and made the more difficult to achieve if his proposition is carried as it stands.

Now, last but not least, my amendment was, word for word, according to Mr. A. Rengasami Aiyanger of Madras, except for the word "constitutional", the very draft made out by Mahatma Gandhi himself in August 1920. What has happened since August 1920, during the last four months which makes the Mahatma's own draft out of date or unworthy of acceptance? I am after all asking you to pitch your ambition for the next twelve months as high as the Mahatmaji himself wanted four months ago. Let us do honour to his first thought rather than to his more recent second or after thought. (The speaker could not be heard as there was a very loud noise in the pandal during all the time he spoke.)

Mr. Hansraj Thackersey (Bombay) seconded the amendment.

The President:—Do you think that the discussion should be continued further or that it may be closed now? (Cries of Close). I won't allow any more speakers.

Under the rules I cannot put this to the vote of the Congress now. All propositions relating to the constitution will have to be put to each province separately. Arrangements will be made for holding the meetings in several circles here and the exact manner and time will be noted in paper and circulated to you. The Congress is adjourned. It will meet here again day after to-morrow morning at 8 o'clock.

Moulana Mohammad Ali:—Mr. President:—I rise to a point of order. Unless the votes of each province are taken in the presence of all the other provinces we do not expect that justice will be done. When injustice has been done to the people of Bengal I am not going to allow similar injustice to be done to the other people of India. I suggest that the voting should be done in the presence of the whole of India because if one Province votes against the motion it will be lost.

The President:—I have no objection to the voting being done in the presence of all the provinces. I have not made any definite arrangements. It is not a question of delegates at all. It is a question of geography. You must get space. In consultation with the authorities of the Congress, namely, the Reception Committee the best arrangements will be made. The rule is silent on the question whether all the provinces should be present at the same time or the voting need only be done by each province. My friend Mr. Lajpat Rai, took votes in succession in Calcutta. No objection was then raised to the votes being taken in succession. At the same time I will bear what Mr. Muhammad Ali has said, in mind, and if the authorities can arrange for the voting taking place simultaneously I have no objection. Mr. Muhammad Ali must bear in mind that one man has to go to all the places. I shall have to put the resolution to the vote of each province, go to each province, count the votes and so on, and that may occupy one hour, and during that time all the other provinces will have to wait. At any rate I have not announced any definite arrangement.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

30th December, 1920.

The Congress re-assembled at 8-10 A. M. and the proceedings commenced with a patriotic song sung by a choir of girls.

The president in welcoming Mr. Ben Spoor, M. P., the Labour representative from England, spoke as follows :—

Ladies and Gentlemen, I desire on your behalf to accord a cordial welcome to Mr. Ben Spoor, M. P. not as a Delegate of the British Congress Committee alone but more especially as the delegate and representative of the great Labour Party (Loud Cheers). He has been asked by that party officially to come over here and offer us their fraternal greetings, and it is my pleasant duty there-to accord our hearty welcome to him and allow him to convey their fraternal greetings to us. (Cheers and cries of Bandemataram).

Mr. Ben Spoor on rising to speak was given a very hearty ovation and spoke as follows :—

Mr. President and Brother Comrades, I want first of all, to thank you for the very generous welcome that you have accorded to my colleagues and myself who have come from England to attend this Congress. I have listened to a number of strong speeches regarding the British Government. I have heard some very severe things regarding the association of Britain with India during these years. Unhappily there is too wide a basis in historical fact for the accusations that have been made. At the same time I feel bound to say that so far as those of us who are delegates from Britain to this Congress are concerned we have met with nothing but the most extreme kindness. In no country in the world my friends, Col. Wedgwood Mrs. Wedgwood, Mr. Holford Knight and myself have met with a warmer welcome than we have met with at the hands of the people of India. I come here, as the President has indicated, to convey to this great Congress the good wish and the good will of the British Labour Party. However hostile might be the British Government the Labour movement of Britain is whole-heartedly with you in your fight for your liberty (here, here and applause). As a Labour movement we have been committed to the principle of self determination and its application to all parts of the world as long as we have been in existence.

I may be permitted, Mr. President, to read one or two sentences from the Resolution that was carried at the last Annual Conference of the Labour Party held in June of this year. After affirming our belief in the principle of self-determination, the Resolution goes on to say :—

“This Conference therefore demands the full and frank application of this principle in the organisation of the Government of India that is now in progress in such way as to justify all the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people. It asks that corresponding measures may be taken in Burma, Ceylon and other parts of the British Empire in which self-government is demanded. It emphatically protests against the militarist and repressive measures adopted by the present British Government and expresses its sympathy with the peoples now held in subjection. It denies the right of any government to govern a people against the will of the majority.” And whilst expressing the hope, I want you particularly to notice the last clause in this sentence.

"Whilst expressing the hope that all the peoples in the British Empire will prefer to remain as parts of the British empire as soon as their aspirations have been dealt with in a thoroughly conciliatory manner by the granting of adequate measures of autonomy, it declares that the final decision must rest with those peoples themselves."

I submit, Mr. President, that the Resolution is definite and comprehensive. There is no room for doubt as to the real attitude of British Labour. We want to see India really free. I have not come here to tell you how you are to achieve your freedom. You have leaders who are fully competent to do that and who are highly qualified to lead you in the right path. My duty here really is that of an observer, a sympathetic one, and with my colleagues I will go back to England and try to report to the Labour Party what I can see the opinion to be in this country in this time of crisis. I do not want to anticipate that report, but I feel compelled to say that one thing we will be bound to comment upon when we get back to Britain is the most amazing unity, the most extraordinary spirit that we have seen manifested everywhere we have been (loud cheers). May I say also that to us one of the most hopeful features in the present situation in India is that the rise of the Indian Labour movement synchronizes with the extraordinary outburst of Indian nationalism. (Here, here). You are recognising here the need for economic as well as for political freedom. It is in that recognition that we see such a large element of promise and hope. I want to say to you that we people in Britain, those of us who are in the Labour Party and who, as I have already said, are wholeheartedly with you, we want to secure co-operation between the labour movement in Britain and the people of India. We want to maintain a real connection between the democratic peoples everywhere. We do want that connection in order that British-Capitalism may have the opportunity of exploiting Indian Labour. (Here, here). We are out, as you are out, to destroy the evil thing called Capitalism in every country in the world (here, here). We are out to destroy those elements in our National and International life that are condemned in the judgement of all the advanced communities in the world and we believe that Capitalism is one of them. May I say also, Mr. President, in closing that we want co-operation between the peoples of India and the Peoples of Britain, because the West cannot do without the East (Here, here). I have listened to some of the speeches that have been made by Mahatma Gandhi and I wish to God that we had got some man with the same amount of spiritual passion and spiritual insight as he has got. You know, I do not need to tell you, how terribly materialistic the whole of the Western world is. There are those of us who view the outlook in the Western world with feelings of profound pessimism. We know that, unless we can be redeemed from this evil thing, there is comparatively little hope for real progress amongst us. We believe that you the people of India can make an immense contribution to our well being (cries of hear, hear). I am not speaking now of Material contribution, you understand that. The West needs the East as much as the East needs the West. I pray to God that the day is not far distant when you people will secure real freedom, political, economic and spiritual. When you have secured that freedom it may be that we people in the West will also secure our freedom by your help when the time comes. And when that time comes I hope that we will get beyond the little cry of India for the Indians and Britain for the British. I hope that day will reveal a new slogan—a worthier one, a better one—not India for the Indians, nor Britain for the British but the whole world for a free humanity (Loud applause).

Then the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Seth Jamanlal Bajaj, made a speech in Hindi welcoming Mr. Ben Spoor and thanking him for the message he had brought from the Labour Party.

Pandit Motilal Nehru in thanking Mr. Ben Spoor for his fraternal greetings spoke as follows:—

Mr. President, fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen. You have heard the heart felt message which has been delivered to you on behalf of the Labour Party in England by our distinguished Guest Mr. Ben Spoor. The Chairman of the Reception Committee has conveyed the thanks of this Congress to the Labour Party and to Mr. Ben Spoor for delivering that message to you. I stand here simply to endorse what the Chairman of the Reception Committee has already said. Gentlemen, I am one of those who had the very highest regard for British public opinion. As you are all aware that regard was considerably shaken by the recent events. But now, when Mr. Ben Spoor on behalf of the great Labour Party in England assures us of their fellowship and of their fellow-feeling, we have reason to thank ourselves and to feel gratified at the hand of fellowship which has been extended to us. We are told that the British nation is not the same thing as the British Government, and we have been given very cogent reasons for that. However much our faith in the British Nation in the British Government, has been shaken we take the words of hope which have been addressed to us by Mr. Ben Spoor on behalf of the Labour Party in the spirit in which they are offered and we cordially thank him and the Labour Party for their good wishes.

*President:—*The Resolution has been moved by the Chairman of the Reception Committee and seconded by Pandit Motilal Nehru according thanks to the Labour Party in England and Mr. Ben Spoor as their official representative. Is it your pleasure that it should be carried. (Cries of 'yes', 'yes' and 'all', 'all'.)

The Resolution was unanimously carried.

Mr. O. R. Das who on rising to move the Resolution of Non-co-operation was greeted with loud and prolonged cheers spoke as follows:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen. I rise to move the Resolution on Non-co-operation. I shall presently read the Resolution before you. But before I do that I ask you to consider it very carefully word by word and line by line, because I most emphatically deny the charge that the Non-co-operation Resolution which was passed in the Subject Committee is weaker and not stronger than the Resolution which was passed in Calcutta. Let me first read the Resolution. (Reads).

Let me put before you in a few words the scheme of it. We say that our wrongs,—including the Khilafat and the Panjab wrongs—I do not enumerate the wrongs because they are so many, but each wrong so far as I am concerned, is a cause of the attitude that I have taken up. We declare that our wrongs are of such a nature that we must attain Swaraj immediately (hear, hear) and we declare that all other methods which we have employed up to now have failed and that the only method which is left to us is the method of Non-violent Non-co-operation (loud cheer) and we declare so that there must not be any mistake about it that this Congress has resolved definitely, clearly and without any ambiguity that the whole of this scheme of Non-co-operation shall be put in force to secure our aim to attain Swaraj. And we declare further that in the mean time, those things which we resolved upon at Calcutta are to continue; but not only those things we are to direct our activities in other directions as well. Here I pause for a moment to consider the question which, I regret has been raised, namely, that this Resor

lution is weaker than the Calcutta Resolution. May I ask you to consider in what respect it is weaker? I claim it is stronger, it is fuller, it is more complete. In the Calcutta Resolution there was no clear declaration that the National Congress has resolved to put in force the entire scheme of Non-cooperation down to the non-payment of taxes, although I believe with Mahatma Gandhi that may not be necessary. But still if that is necessary, I want it to be clearly stated that the people of India will not shirk from putting that into force. Then we say that in the meantime till that call is sounded, and you must remember, gentlemen, directly the call is sounded that call has to be obeyed by all sections of the community, lawyers, students, tradesmen, merchants, agriculturists everybody and every section in the country must respond to that call (Cries of hear, hear). And do you understand what that means? This means that this tyrannical machinery of the government is regulated—is driven not regulated,—by whom? Not by the Bureaucrats but by the Indians. And it means that the moment that call is sounded every Indian is to take his hands off that machinery (hear, hear) and compel this Government to do what you like. But ours are not the hands which will move that machinery (hear, hear). That is putting into force the entire scheme.

Then let us consider what we have got to do in the mean time. The Calcutta Resolution was confined to the students and lawyers and a general Resolution about the boycott of foreign goods. Here we say we keep the same injunction with regard to students, but we differentiate between students under sixteen and students above sixteen. Then with regard to the lawyers we keep the same, and not only is it that we affirm the Calcutta Resolution, but we say that we are not satisfied with the way in which that Resolution has been responded to by the lawyers; and we say that greater effort must be made to secure them, and also we refer to the scheme of settlement of disputes by private arbitration. Then comes the economic question. We say that the economic drainage is one of the greatest wrongs from which we have suffered and we say that a Committee of experts must be appointed at once to form and organise a plan of boycott of foreign goods. Then we come to the boycott of Councils. We say that it has succeeded, and we say further what naturally follows from that, namely, that the men who are at present occupying these seats are not representatives of the people of India (hear, hear) Not only do we not stop there, but we go further and say that those people who pretend to represent us do not represent us, and therefore we call upon the voter to take political assistance from those people. Then we appeal generally for unity in favour of the depressed classes, in favour of every section of the community which requires protection and development more than we do. This is the scheme of the Resolution.

In what respect is it weaker? Is it weaker in respect of lawyers? (Cries of No, no.) I say, no, because it reaffirms, not only does it re-affirm, but it continues to call upon lawyers to act up to that Resolution. Is it weaker from the point of view of students? (Cries of No.) I say, no. We have guarded against students coming out under a false sentiment. I think that it is only right that the Greatest National Assembly in India should declare that those students who feel the call of duty of conscience should immediately come out regardless of consequences (hear, hear.) Is it weaker in respect of boys under sixteen years? I ask what is weakness and what is strength. We make it stronger by making it more just and more practical. Is it weaker in respect of the economic question? I do not admit that, because in this Resolution we have got a systematic plan of economic boycott, a Practical boycott, a boycott

which will not only be spoken of but acted upon by every India worth the name. I ask again where does the weakness of this Resolution lie. (Cries of no where). It is nothing but the result of undue suspicion. I am making no appeal. I am making no personal appeal in my favour. But I do ask you to remember that when I say anything I mean it, and in my life on public questions I have never said anything which I do not believe in. Some of you may suspect but all I can say, is Brother, ask me any question and I will answer: ask me what I intend to do and I will answer. Beyond that I will not refer to personal questions.

I call upon you in the name of all that is holy to carry this Resolution without one single dissentient voice. I want you to declare to the nation to realise their God-given rights. Rights exist, but they have got to be realised. Rights exist because this is the eternal law of life; but still every man and woman and every nation on the earth has got to realise those rights. Realise the fact that we have got those rights, and the moment you realise that, the Bureaucracy or any Cracy in the world cannot stand against you, and I want to tell the Bureaucracy that we have made up our minds to comperere you to recognize that which we have got. May God grant us the strength not only to pass this resolution but to work upon it and to carry out the great idea of which the Resolution is the expression. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Mahatma Gandhi seconded the Resolution in Hindi.

Babu Bipin Chandra Pal in rising to support the Resolution on Non-co-operation was lustily cheered and delivered the following speech :—

Mr. President, Brother and sister delegates, ladies and gentlemen—I will not take up much of your time. We have to go and attend a funeral procession as you have already heard. That is why the president has kindly allowed to speak a few words at this moment.

I will say a few words and clear my own position in justice to myself and to you all. Somehow or other I had to father an amendment at the last Special Session of the Congress, and if I felt that that amendment so far as it represented my personal views was in opposition to the present Resolution I could not have given it my support. But as I read this Resolution, this Resolution contains the spirit, and the substance of the more important things that I had pressed to the attention of the Special Congress. This Resolution says, mark the words of the last part—"Finally, in order that the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs must be redressed" and then these words which have been italicised "and Swaraj established within one year, this Congress urges upon all political parties to work for it". I say every one, whether in this Assembly or outside it, who will not work to the highest and best of his ability to attain Swaraj as is promised by this Resolution within one year, will be false to himself as an Indian, false to his country, and false to those unborn generations that are coming after him. We are to work for it and each one of us must make the full measure of sacrifice that is called forth from us with a view to help the establishment of Swaraj within this period.

I am not a lawyer, but if I were a lawyer, I do not hesitate to say that I would suspend my practise for one year and try to establish Swaraj by thus devoting myself to the work of this Non-co-operation movement.

I am not a student, but if I am told that Swaraj is likely to be established within one year if we wholeheartedly, conscientiously work for this Non-co-operation movement, then I would give up my study and work for it.

We all want Swaraj and we all know this also that under the existing conditions the only way in which we may attain it is the way of Non-co-operation. I have never been, Sir, let it be clearly understood, against the principle and policy of Non-co-operation. I have preached it from the Press and from the Platform. In the columns of the "Independent" when I had the honour of being in charge of its editorial chair, wrote day after day that Non-co-operation was our only remedy and our last chance. We had our little differences in regard to the details of the programme, but when the country is determined to work along one single line with a view to achieve the object which every one of us has in view these little differences must be merged in the unity of the country.

Therefore I accord my whole-hearted support to this Resolution and call upon students—those who are of age—to suspend their studies for the attainment of Swaraj. I call upon parents to withdraw their children from schools concurrently with the establishment of National Institutions. I call upon lawyers to suspend their practice (cries of hear, hear) with a view to attain Swaraj. I call upon merchants, I call upon importers, I call upon the multi-millionaire merchants and traders of this country to strike at the root of British Capitalism, which is the soul of the Military Imperialism of the British that has succeeded to world domination after the downfall of the military Imperialism of Germany.

I call upon every one and you will see that this Resolution antagonises really no single interest, antagonises neither economic nor any other interest and it is essential that there should be no antagonistic interest in a great national movement like this, and if you all give a pull, a strong pull and a pull together, I have no doubt in my mind, God willing, that we shall achieve the object in view within one year (Continued cheers)

Lala Lajpat Rai who was received with loud cheers in rising to support the resolution on Non-co-operation said:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

(Cries of Hindi, Hindi). I am in a position to congratulate the drafters of this resolution upon its present form. In my judgment it is much more comprehensive, much more effective and much more practical than the language of the old resolution was without in any way taking away from its strength. In its present form it is much more strong, it removes all the objections that the objectors had against it in its old form without in any way weakening it in its essentials. It is much more comprehensive, and you will see from the language of the different parts of it that it is much more practical because it gives a direct lead to the country how to proceed with the business of Non-co-operation. Under the previous resolution you remember the All India Congress Committee had to appoint a Sub Committee to give detailed instructions as to how to carry out that resolution, and in giving those instructions there was unfortunately a slight difference of opinion between people who drafted that report. All that has been removed by the language of the present resolution. There are clear indications, how the nation is to proceed as to the boycott of foreign goods absolutely clear indications, and no one who reads this resolution can bring a charge against us that although we have passed the resolution we are not carrying it out in practice or in our actual life. That charge can no longer be brought against us with the resolution in its present form. As regards schools and colleges the wording has been so very well drafted now that

it leaves absolutely no doubt as to the essential parts of the resolution, and I wish to submit that so far as the intentions of the mover of the resolution and the principal speakers are concerned, those intentions have been made much more clear than weakened in any way. Mahatma Gandhi has from the very first been saying that so far as school children were concerned he did not intend, he did not mean to go over the heads of parents as regards students of under sixteen years of age. He has made it clear in his speeches that he did not want to disturb or undermine the parental authority as regards children under 16 years of age. As regards school or college children over 16 years of age he has been saying that he does not want them to come out simply because he asks them to come out, but he wanted them to consult their own conscience and see if the voice of conscience, the call of duty to the motherland, asked them to come out and that they should come out only in that case, and I am in a position to say that with the working of this resolution I have absolutely no difficulty. Personally, as I told Mahatma Gandhi last evening in order to remove all kinds of possible misapprehension, I might have possibly preferred to leave school children alone, but in the interpretation that he has put and in the light of the new wording of the resolution I have given my consent and support to the present resolution in its present form.

That practically removes all the possible objections, at least so far as I am concerned, which I had to the old resolution, and now I want to recall to you the words which I addressed to you at the special session of the Congress in spite of my difference of opinion with the resolution as it stood then. I told you and I want to repeat to you, that after the resolution has been carried out by this house it becomes our bounden duty to observe it and carry it out in practice so that no one shall say that we pass resolutions and do not give effect to them. It is very unfortunate that some people in the country, very few though, who belonged really to the congress camp have considered it advisable, or have been bold enough to defy the mandate of the Congress or the wish of the Congress with regards to the councils. I am sorry for them. I do not question their motives in any way, but still I am here to affirm and to say that the success which the Congress propaganda has achieved in the matter of Council election must be an eye-opener to the bureaucracy. (Hear, Hear). First of all it is noticeable, and I congratulate my fellow nationalists of all the provinces, that in spite of great differences of opinion, in spite of the fact that a large body of nationalists in Maharashtra, in Bengal, and other provinces were opposed to the item of boycott of Councils, as soon as the Indian National Congress passed that resolution, they manfully and patriotically declared they would abide by the resolution, and did not go to the Councils. I venture to say that no other country in the world can afford to show such an example of absolute obedience to the national constituted authority as the nationalists in India did in obedience to that resolution. I know men, very high in national council, very high in economic positions, who were very keen on going to the Councils and who thought that that was the best way of serving their nation, but within a week, I say deliberately, of the passing of that resolution there was a practical unanimity amongst all nationalists, ranks in every part of India to decide to abide by the resolution whatever their personal opinions might be. I am here to congratulate the nation upon that action and upon that conduct, and I am here to point out to the bureaucracy the finger of God in that conduct and in that behaviour. (Hear, hear). Of course they have been making much, and they have been wishing to make much, of the minor differences between us, but when it comes to a point of principle, when it comes to a point of conduct by which we can show united action they must learn that we have now come to a stage when we can show united front.

Non-co-operation in the matter of Councils has been a perfect success. It has been an absolute success, and I wish that the agitation with regard to the Councils may not stop there, but should be carried to its logical conclusion. The logical conclusion to which it can be carried and it ought to be carried has been embodied in that clause of this resolution which deals with the Council elections. We must continue to ask the voters, those who have been given the franchise, to show by persistent declaration that those men who have gone into the Councils do not represent them. You will be doing a double service to the country by that. You will practically showing to the Government and to the people that those people who have gone to the Councils in defiance of the national will do not represent the nation. Secondly you will be practically registering them and enlisting them in your own electorates make your organisation stronger and much more representative and effective. I beg of you when you go back to put forth your greatest effort, as much effort as you are capable of, in regard to that part of the resolution in registering the votes of the voters against those people who have gone to the Councils and in registering their votes in favour of the new constitution of the Congress and making them a part and parcel of this great assembly so as to make it a really representative and effective national assembly. That is the work to which we have to devote ourselves, and I rejoice in saying that in this resolution the name of Mr. Tilak (Loud Cheers) has been added to give it a more effective support by his life. If the spirit of one after death can look upon their work with greater pleasure and solace and consolation, the spirit of the Late Bal Gangadhar Tilak when he reads this resolution will rejoice that the country has taken this step. (hear, hear).

I do not want to detain you any longer. I will tell you that not only our honour, the honour of those who are present here and the honour of those who have not been able to come here, not only our own honour, but the fate of the country, the fate of the 350 millions of our countrymen depends upon our being true and loyal and faithful to the spirit of the resolution. We shall be stultifying ourselves in the eyes of the world, we shall be setting an example of extreme demoralisation if in any way we fail to achieve the success that we aim at. It may be that our work is very difficult; it is very difficult. It may be that it is uphill. It is uphill. It is fraught with serious consequences, but for serious business we must be prepared to take serious consequences, and as the business of getting our emancipation is Swaraj I again rejoice that in the first part of the resolution the first place has been given to Swaraj. I rejoice at that change also, because in my view that is the point that has to be constantly kept in view, that has to be constantly kept in mind, that Swaraj is the final goal, and whatever may be the redress of the grievances that we particularly press upon the attention of the Government I want you, to continue the struggle unless full Swaraj is obtained and therefore I do not think that too much importance can be attached to that. Subject to these remarks I leave the resolution in your hands confident that you will adopt it without any modifications, without any change or without any alteration.

I wish to add one word. There is a part of that resolution which deals with the police and the soldiery, and I just consulted Mahatma Gandhi, and I am authorised to tell you it does not mean that so long as any of our countrymen is in the employment of the Government, in the Police, or the Army he should be untrue to his Oath, he should be in any way false to the obligations and duties which he has undertaken. If at any time any member of the police or any member of the soldiery feels that any obedience to the orders of his officers involves a violation of his duties to his dharma, his creed, and his country, his duty

becomes to resign his post and come over to the side of the nationalist Service. But so long as there is no reason whatsoever for doing so and he remains in that service, this great assembly of Indians in no way calls upon him to be false to his oath and to fail in the performance of the duties he has undertaken. But this Congress places an obligation upon him which he was in the olden days likely to forget. He should not forget that he is a member of this nation and that he has duties and obligations towards his own people, and therefore what this Congress means by that part of the resolution is to lay emphasis on that part of his duty and to point out to him how he has to perform that duty.

With this explanation I leave the resolution in your hands (Loud and continued cheers).

Babu Shyam Sunder Chakravarty on rising to support the resolution on Non-co-operation was received with cheers and he spoke as follows:

Mr. President and fellow delegates, I had no idea to take any part in fact, I decided to take no part in the proceedings of this National Assembly, because I had grounds to believe that though you proclaim democracy from the housetops this body is yet very far from being democratised. Somehow or other impression has got abroad that we Bengalis are not earnest Non-co-operationists. The student delegates who came to attend the Students' Conference here had to complain to me that they were disturbed in giving expression to their sentiments under the misapprehension on the part of the rest of the country that they would speak something against Non-co-operation. Now I wish I could unburden my heart to you to show what Bengal really feels on the matter of Non-co-operation. I wish I could command a brace of tongues to explain to you the imperative necessity of this movement initiated by Mahatma Gandhi (hear, hear). Though I personally strongly disapprove of some portions of the Resolution I am glad that that has been done in the interests of unity. Gentlemen, Mr. Ben Spoor has said that we are a spiritual Nation. Well, the moment for self-glorification is gone. In this movement has any real consequence, its meaning is to renovate our conscience to call back our spirituality. I shall only speak a few words on the Resolution about the withdrawal of our young men from Schools and Colleges. By your Resolution you have excluded all scope for the Dhruvas and Pralhads of India. You find that the appeal to withdraw from the present system of education is only to boys who are above sixteen years of age. If I may benefit you by my actual experience of the working of this spiritual movement, I shall tell you that in Bengal the first young man, Sushil Chandra Sen, who was prosecuted during the first prosecution of Mr. Aurobinda Ghosh, was a young man under sixteen, and if you will excuse a personal reference, my own son a young boy of five has this greatest pride in his life that he belongs to the Non-co-operation school (loud cheers). Well, can any section of our community respond to a spiritual call more effectively, more whole-heartedly than the youths of the country can do? We have all sold our birthright for a mess of pottage. The argument goes that those who have vested rights, who have a stake in the country are not in this movement. I congratulate you upon that fact, because in the words of Rabindranath, the greatest poet of Bengal, those who have got any stake in the country have hidden themselves into the ground by something like a spoke driven into their very hearts. They cannot move, they cannot help us in any way in the prosecution of this movement. The argument again is that all people, be they lawyers, be they students, be they tradesmen, they must all wait for the call. There I say you have got no conscience, you have got no spirituality. If the people's freedom-call it incarnate, call it personified in this frail body of his (pointing to Mahatma Gandhi) touring

round the whole of India without a day's rest-is not a call to you, when is the call to come? If the jallianwalla, if the internments in Bengal, if the thousand wrongs and insults to which we are put every morning and evening do not sound any call in your ears, then you are past praying for.

Gentlemen, you talk of educated India. I say that you can afford to scuttle all your programme into the Ganges; but you must concentrate on that education. I know from personal experience, I have coached thousands of young men for the different examinations of the Calcutta University. This I know that whoever has entered the precincts of that University is a loss to the country. As an illustration of that fact, I put it before you that this call, this request made by our great men has been responded to by the other sections of the community, but in Bengal, at any rate, sixty percent of the educated community registered their votes for the University constituency (cries of shame). Should you still be in doubt where our real duty lies-in what direction we should bestir ourselves? Go from here if you are really sincere you want success to this Non-co-operation movement, then engage night and day in abolishing the present schools and colleges which have produced this artificial mentality that whenever we bring before you something that is good to the country you want to stifle it by prudential considerations. Beware of that education which has spoiled your imagination which is the one great asset of Indian life. Whenever a movement is proposed to you speak as if you ought to arrive at every Railway station at every station that marks your course in the journey-and be weighed in the Railway balance. That is not the way in which Nations have risen.

I am a man of feeling. I have belief in Faith. Reason is a very feeble guide-even the philosophers will tell you that. If you have the faith of a Hindu-of Guru Nanak-the faith of the saints and seers of the world my first advice, my second advice, and my third advice, is-do not pause, do not hesitate, do not be indecisive, as the president of the Reception committee so aptly said in his address. Do not be seized by that fatal indecision which had seized Arjuna on the field of Kurukshetra. Armed with faith, armed with the great mission before you, march on in your course of action and whatever obstacle even from above be thrown in your path everything will be cleared as the noonday sun. (cheers.)

Dr. Kitchlew (Punjab) supported the resolution in Urdu.

His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya of Sarada peetha, in supporting the resolution on Non-co-operation said:—

Sisters and Brothers,

As the humble representative of the Ecclesiastical Heads of Hinduism in this country, I feel the utmost pleasure in being amidst you as one of yourselves and giving my ecclesiastical support, for what it is worth, to the cause that is so dear to every son and daughter of India. There has been for centuries past in India a conception that the spiritual life and the material life have nothing to do with each other. No conception of this question could be more erroneous. We have taken this idea from the West I do not attribute it to christianity I attribute it to the West itself as such, remembering that Christianity like Hinduism and Islamism is also an Eastern religion. In the West a man by spending so many hours a day at Church or so many hours a week is supposed to have paid his debt to his Gods. The Indian conception of Dharma is of very a different kind. From the moment of birth up to the moment of death every department of human activity comes within the purview of Dharma. This is what disting-

wishes our conception of Dharma from the Western conception of religion, and that is why I feel that the word "religion" can not connote what we understand by "Dharma." If we go to the derivative meaning of the word "Dharma" it means that which uplifts us, and if you try to coin a new word to connote the same thing, say, something like uplift, that would carry to the western mind the conception of a steel crane or some such mechanical contrivance. This being so I regard it as my duty, as one who has accepted the position which is now mine, to take my part, my share in the salvation of my country in all the various departments which the country regards it its sacred duty to attain.

With these few observations as to the necessity for the spiritual and the material interests of life being co-ordinated and harmonised, I would go on to consider only a few aspects of the question that has been placed before you, the aspects in which I am specially interested and on which I want the spiritual point of view to be emphasised. First let me take the preamble itself. I personally do not feel the necessity for the three parts in the preamble. Whether or not the existing Government has forfeited the confidence of the country, it remains still a proposition acceptable to all sane minds that the people of India should be determined to establish Swaraj. And then the next part I would have preferred to be "Whereas all methods hitherto adopted by us for establishing Swaraj have failed to achieve their purpose." and I would have been quite satisfied. But that is not a very serious matter. Anyhow, the second part of the Preamble about the determination to establish Swaraj gives me great pleasure. As one who has stood out of the Congress since the time of the Allahabad Convention I feel great pleasure that this Preamble has been put in as an established fact. We do not know as yet from the more technical point of view what may be the vote of the Congress on the change of creed that was placed before you on the other day. But the fact that in the Subjects Committee no objection was taken from a technical point of view as a preliminary objection even by those who opposed the change of creed gives me the conviction that even such people are themselves assured of the nature of the feeling in the country on the point. Evidently this Preamble could not have been accepted if there had been any doubt on the point.

Now, the establishment of Swaraj has not been put in as a mere ideal of our own without regard to the means. Constitutional and peaceful means have been specifically mentioned as the means we propose to employ. This resolution on Non-co-operation which has been placed before you to-day is the natural outcome of that part of the change of creed. If we are going to adopt peaceful means, well, various methods we have tried in the past having failed to achieve our purpose, this is the only remedy left to us, and we mean to give it a trial. A friend who was speaking to me a few days ago here, but who has gone back home now was mentioning that the idea of Non-co-operation was a Buddhist or a Jain idea, and not a Hindu idea. I just mention this in order to correct it. It is a Hindu idea. No doubt the opposing of active hostility to repression is permitted by Hinduism as against the Buddhist and the Jain theory of the matter; but that is only as a last resort. When even Co-operation has failed, Non-co-operation must be tried. If you want to know whether Non-co-operation is justified in our gospels, I would take it from the tenth Chapter of Bhagavad Gita, which says, "Where truth cannot be told and untruth should not be told silence is the path prescribed." When we are forbidden to tell the truth owing to reasons of policy or repression, we cannot hide our feelings by telling a positive untruth, but silence is the path prescribed. Similarly, here when we cannot co-operate with the Government when we should not, at any rate, try the method of active resistance, the only path is "Mounam" that is, Non-co-operation. There is no

doubt about the spiritual principle underlying the Non-co-operation as a principle from the point of view of ecclesiastical Hinduism.

I would just refer to two special aspects of this theme of Non-co-operation. The first is the educational programme. I have condemned our students and boys taking their education from the existing institution controlled or aided by Government. Long before the National Education question became the burning question it has now become, that is to say, during the last 13 or 14 years I have been preaching this gospel of Non-co-operation with regard to education. Therefore, I am glad to see the Congress discussing this question in all earnestness and almost certainly on the way to passing it as its gospel. My own feeling with regard to the system of education that we have long been having in this country is this. There is an Indian Education Department so-called. The Indian education therein imparted is in no sense Indian, whether in spirit or in deed, except in the one unfortunate fact that the boys are Indian and some of the teachers there too are Indian. The money is Indian too, I am reminded. In this state of things, it is quite just and fitting that we should make up our minds to give up that system of education and go in for one which is truly national. Therefore, from this point of view I am immensely glad that the opposition of many persons has been disarmed in this respect by the present wording of the resolution.

There was a feeling in many parts of the country that the programme of Non-co-operation was a merely destructive one and brought forward no constructive scheme. The present resolution is not open to that blame at all. Along with the work of constructing national schools on the right lines we are told to give up existing schools. But I have a feeling that I should not conceal from myself and from you the fact that a certain section of us regards this as a slightly diluted programme. At any rate, there has been a desire to conciliate by over-emphasising points which seemed unnecessary. For example, in clause (a) with regard to education, "by calling upon parents and guardians of school children and not the children themselves," practically that portion is not wrong but it has been specifically inserted although by implication the meaning was already there. "By calling upon the parents and guardians of school children under the age of 16" would have quite sufficed and children themselves would have been excluded by that wording alone, but special emphasis has been put upon it in order, I believe, to conciliate opinion of a different character.

As regards (b), the conscience clause might have been a little more happily worded in a more positive way. I have felt myself that the wording "those students who feel against their conscience to continue in institutions which are dominated by a system of government which the nation has solemnly resolved should come to an end"..... seems to show a somewhat neutral sort of attitude and not a positive one. But that, too, is a minor matter. So as regards the educational point of view, I feel that I must give my hearty and enthusiastic support to the Non-co-operation programme.

I would just deal with the last paragraph of the resolution, that one which appeals for unity among all classes of people in India. Hindu-Muslim unity has been before the country for a long time. I desire to place before you my idea, although I cannot dilate on it at length, that Hindu-Muslim unity is a spiritual even more than a political necessity for India. But when we are speaking of Hindu-Muslim unity I have an appeal to make to Hindus themselves, that is, for Hindu unity not merely as between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, but as between Moderates and Nationalists. We have had great differences of opinion on all sorts of subjects between the Moderates and the Nationalists. I am prepared to accept the view that the Moderates act as a sort of break on the Nationalist engine, but I would wish such

Moderates to see that the break keeps in touch with the engine through the intervening compartments and does not stay elsewhere. The Moderate party, if it is serious about helping the Nationalist party by giving advice from time to time in the direction of slackening the pace wherever necessary, ought not to meet at Madras while we are sitting at Nagpur. I hope and believe that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Jinnah who have done much for the National cause in the past will surely continue to do so in the future. What ever difference of opinion they may have I feel sure that is due to a sincere difference of opinion and not to any unwillingness to help us by their advice and continued co-operation. If the Moderates will not co-operate with the Nationalist party, it simply means that they are adopting a policy of Non-co-operation which they are condemning as against us. If they can co-operate with a Government which does not want them to have a real living voice in the administration of the country, if they can co-operate with such people, much more therefore can they co-operate with us who want them and wish to benefit by their advice and co-operation. If they cannot co-operate with us because of minor differences of detail, still more can they not co-operate with a Government which has still greater differences with them than we have with the Moderates.

Coming now to the last part of this paragraph, the question of depressed classes is of a very knotty character, but I feel that unfortunately it has become such a knotty one because we have forgotten our own religious principles of the past. When a person comes to me and tells me that he is too sacred to mix with, or even work for, those who are below him, I feel sceptical as to the sanctity of both. My conception of sanctity is one that will not be degraded by working for those who are below, but to uplift that which is below. If a person feels that by his work for the elevation of the depressed classes he is likely to come down by association with them then he may take the necessary safeguards to see that the process is not one of levelling down but one of levelling up. If this precaution is taken in that direction, I believe we shall be simply following the path of Dharma in working for the uplift of the depressed classes. In this connection I would like to tell you a personal thing. My own Guruswami has published in Sutra form a book which relates to some of the Upanishads, for the uplift of the depressed classes. It is not a thing which is opposed to the spirit of the Shastras, but in accordance therewith. If we look at it from the stand point of those who are above and whose duty it is to look after the welfare of those who are below, the question need not give us any trouble at all from any technical or other point of view. It is not a question of class and class. In conclusion I appeal for unity all round, Hindu-Muslim unity, Brahmin-Nonbrahmin unity, Moderate-Nationalist unity, and unity of all classes which claim to be educated and spiritual for the uplift for those who are below. (Loud cheers).

Prof. Ramamurty supported the resolution in Hindi.

Hakim Asmal Khan (Delhi) supported the resolution in Urdu

The President:—There is a small amendment to be moved by Hasrat Mahani.

Mr. Hasrat Mahani in a speech in Urdu moved the following amendment to the resolution:— (a) That in clause (a) calling upon parents and guardians etc. the words "and not the children themselves" in brackets be deleted.

(b) That in clause B the words "if they feel.....by a system of government" be deleted.

Mr. Azad Sobhani seconded the amendment with a speech in Urdu.

Moulana Mohammad Ali Supported the resolution with a speech in Urdu.

Mr. S. Kasturiranga Aiyangar (Madras) in supporting the resolution said:—As it is the desire of some of my fellow delegates and friends in Madras to convey to this Congress through me their hearty support of this resolution on Non-co-operation, I rise to say a few words on this occasion. There has been some difference of opinion among Madras Nationalists as to the particular methods of carrying out the principle of Non-co-operation. In the resolution which is now framed it is felt that we have arrived at a satisfactory scheme of Non-co-operation in which all those who believe in the principle of Non-co-operation can take an effective part. The resolution now before the Congress is a comprehensive, practical and truly national scheme of Non-co-operation. It ensures national education which is the basis and foundation of all political effort and political progress. It ensures the fostering of national industries and the prevention of foreign exploitation of all national resources. It provides for the enlistment of young men for doing national service. It consolidates national forces of all kinds for the promotion of national unity and national action. The resolution, in short, is, I consider, a serious businesslike programme expressive of the national conscience in this country so far as that national conscience can be given expression to by this Indian National Congress; and who can say that a National Congress such as this which contains more than 20000 delegates is not competent to express the national will and national sentiment? I give my whole-hearted support to this resolution, and I hope that all those who are interested in the unity of the Indian people and in the attainment of Swaraj will cordially support it and endeavour to carry it out by all means in their power. (cheers)

Babu Jitendra Lal Bannerjee who was received with loud cheers on rising to support the Resolution on Non-co-operation said:—

Mr. President and gentlemen, I feel tempted, in spite of Mr. Mahmud Ali's great vehemence, to support the plain, straight forward and simple amendment of Mr. Hasrat Mohani, but I shall not take upon myself the responsibility of dividing the house, I shall not take myself the responsibility of going against Mahatma Gandhi who is not only the life of the movement but the movement itself. I support the Resolution all the more because I now find that this Resolution has been the means of conciliating such men as our esteemed friend Mr. Kasturiranga Aiyangar. Even he has supported it and when the "Hindu" supports it in Madras what can possibly stand in the on-rushing sweep of the tide of Non-co-operation? Therefore, for the sake of this unity, we are prepared to sacrifice and stifle our little differences such as they may be. Babu Bipin Chandra Pal told us here that this Resolution embodies the spirit and substance of the Calcutta amendment. If that were really the case, then in spite of my deep reverence for the Mahatma, I would have pressed this amendment to a close. But I have been assured that it is not so, that we are not going back upon this Calcutta Resolution, but, if possible, we are going further forward still. Gentlemen, in spite of this assurance there is lurking suspicion in my heart; and it is for the purpose of giving expression to this suspicion that I have specially got up now. Not being a practising lawyer now, I do not understand and do not care to understand subtle legal differences. But to me the Non-co-operation movement and its philosophy is simple and clear. This unjust Government, to quote Mahatma Gandhi's phrase, must go, must disappear and it can only disappear if we withdraw our co-operation from it, But in order that we can withdraw this Co-operation we must get rid of that enslaved and

degraded mentality which now possesses us (hear, hear), and as a lawyer, a University man, I feel that nothing degrades us more, nothing enslaves us more nothing ties us down worse to this present system of administration than the practice of the law and the pernicious education that we receive in our Universities. Therefore I say, aim at these things first and destroy them first and talk about construction afterwards. And it is here that I find some fault with your Resolution and halting, feeble, not strong enough, not large and vigorous enough. It ought to have told the lawyers, give up talking about greater efforts but go forth at once and close that chapter in your life for ever. To students it ought to have said—Close up your books, finish with your college education, come forth and read in the book of Nationalism and Freedom (loud cries of hear, hear). That is the new lesson which you have got to learn, that is the new lesson which you have got to preach and practice. There are some people who say, when our students give up their colleges what will they do! I say they will be recruited as soldiers of the Non-co-operation movement (hear hear). What better mission can they have? Let us suppose that there are a hundred thousand college students in India. Imagine an army of a hundred thousand men inspired with the same purpose, actuated by the same desire, fired with noble enthusiasm for the attainment of Liberty for their country. Imagine such an army. Will they not sweep like a resistless flood-tide over the land, and before their majestic onrush will not the last barriers of despotism and tyranny be swept away into the whirlpool of oblivion? If that is so, how can you go on talking of greater efforts and more efforts? All this talk of gradual and more efforts makes me ashamed of my countrymen (hear, hear). I therefore say, respond to the call of the country, respond to the appeal of Mahatma Gandhi. Do not take shelter behind quibbles and camouflages. Strip off the mask of hypocrisy and double dealing. Go forth, put your shoulder to the wheel and work on towards Liberty. (Loud Cheers).

Mr. N. S. Ramaswami Aiyangar (Madras) in supporting the resolution said :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I rise to support this resolution and shall do so in as few words as possible. I consider that the present proposition answers well the charges that have been levelled against the Calcutta resolution. Two criticisms were levelled against the Calcutta resolution, one, that it was not complete, and the other that it was destructive. In the present resolution you give room to all sorts of workers in this country. We are engaged in the battle of freedom, and no man's help, no man's aid is too small for that purpose. In the present resolution you give room for each and every inhabitant of this vast continent to contribute his mite towards securing triumph in the battle of freedom which you are now to wage. All classes of people, not particular sections, but each and every man, woman and child of this vast country is asked to respond to the Nation's call and secure for it the freedom and the liberty which it is its birthright.

One word more. This resolution contains not merely saintliness, but it contains statesmanship and statesmanship is that which will weld all classes, which will unite all the population, and on the broad platform offered by the present resolution, we have got a platform into which every one in India can still step and fight for the sake of his country. (cheers).

Mahatma Gandhi, in replying to the amendment to the resolution spoke first in Hindi after which he made the following speech in English.

I do not wish to detain you for any length of time, but it is necessary for you to understand, those who do not understand a word of Hindi, what has been going on during the last quarter half an hour. One of the most respected of muslims that I have had the privilege of knowing during my four or five years' residence in India since 1915 has come forward with an amendment as a matter of conscience. His amendment is that he wants to reject the conscience clause and he wants to reject the clause which says that you may not make personal appeals to boys under sixteen. You will have noticed these two phrases—Moulana Hazrat Mohani, supported by another well-known and respected Moulana from Cawnpur, says that those clauses should go because they consider that they are in violation of the obligations of Islam. I have been endeavouring to point out to my muslim brethren that there is absolutely no violation of obligation. It is a misconstruction or misconception of the purport of the resolution. The Congress resolution does not bind a man's conscience. The Congress resolution is never intended to supersede a man's conscience, and I have never made a fetish of the mandate of the Congress. Even now, although I feel that the majority are of the same opinion which I hold, I make bold to say that I shall never be a party to making the Congress itself fetish or its mandate a fetish. I shall always reserve the right, wherever my conscience pricks me and tells me that I should resist the mandate of the Congress. Therefore I have been suggesting to our Muslim brethren that that cannot possibly be a matter of conscience. If a single Mohomedan thinks that it cannot even be a matter of conscience with a boy of sixteen years of age, that he has no right to think for himself but must obey his parents—these are the implications—all well for him. Let him say that, and the Congress will not prevent him, but he may not say those words in the name of the Congress. That is all that the Congress Resolution means. Similarly, with reference to boys of 12 years and under 16. This Congress certainly says, you may not address boys under sixteen because they are of tender age and you do not know whether they have a prick of conscience, and so it calls upon you not to address or make personal appeals to such boys but make the appeal to the parents. That was the practice which we have hitherto adopted, and that must be the practice if we want to stand justified before the bar of public conscience and before civilised opinion. So I say that it is only just and proper that we are doing that, and if there is a boy twelve years old who has visitings of conscience, there is no power on earth that can prevent him from doing so. But I am not to quicken that boy's conscience who has his father, for the father has that special prerogative. That is all that this resolution says. Therefore I have been urging my Mohomedan friends, and in doing so I have already said that we must dare not call all matters that crop up as matters of conscience.

There is a message from Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya. He is lying, I am exceedingly sorry to inform you, on sick bed with fever on. He sent me a message yesterday that he wanted to see the Resolution but it could not be sent. He has now seen the Resolution and has sent me a message saying that he is not all in favour of the Resolution. If he had been here he would have noted a respectful protest before this Congress. He is not in sympathy with the creed either. He thinks that it is his duty to transmit a message to his countrymen and leave them to judge things for themselves.

Lala Lajpat Rai has addressed you with reference to the police. I accept every word of what he has said in interpretation of that part of the Resolution. I think it is right that we should know that we are not tampering with the obligations of service imposed upon employees of Government, whether civil, military or police. But we are asking them not to kill their conscience, and I wan

to make that point a little clear. I would have held it a sin if I had been one of those soldiers to receive the command of General Dyer to shoot those innocent men in Jallianwalla Bagh. I would have considered it my duty to disregard that command and preferred being shot on the spot. I know the discipline of a soldier. I say that if a soldier receives a command from his officer which he considers to be in conflict with his religion or in conflict with his duties to his country, he may certainly disregard it at the peril of his life. He may not come to you afterwards to lodge a complaint. He has made his choice. Military duty requires that a man who does not obey the command on such a critical occasion shall be shot, and if he chooses to be shot he can certainly disregard the command.

With these words, I ask you to carry this Non-co-operation Resolution with acclamation and with a prayer to God from the deepest recesses of your heart that you are resolved to attain Swaraj by the means that have been declared by the Congress in this resolution and you will also go away forgetting all the differences and acrimony that have guided our public life during the last three months and you will show no violence in thought, deed or word whether in connection with the Government or whether in connection with ourselves, and I repeat the promise that I made, that, if we can only do that, we do not require one year, we do not even require nine months to attain our goal. (Loud cheers and cries of Mahatma Gandhiki jai.)

The President :—

Ladies and gentlemen, I have to put the resolution to the vote. Before I do so I have to call your attention to the fact that this consists of nine paragraphs and the fourth paragraph consists, besides, of nine clauses. The amendment proposed relates to two of those clauses (a) and (b). So far as the amendment to clause (a), is concerned, that is all right. Mahatma Gandhi has explained to you that it relates to the portion, namely, that you shall not appeal to the children themselves under sixteen years of age, and the amendment says, drop that. The next thing is to omit "If the students feel that it is against their conscience to continue in institutions". If you omit that there are certain other parts which make the whole of it nonsense, because the next sentence is "which are dominated by a system of Government. If you drop the previous sentence I do not know what to do with it, and there is no rule which enables the President to do anything with it. The next thing is that it else where speaks of "such students" and "such students" should be meaningless if you omit the conscience clause. I do not want to rule it out of order, but you cannot put this amendment easily without adjourning the Congress and reconstructing the whole thing. But I am relieved from the duty because my friend says that he will withdraw it. I take it that you allow this gentleman to withdraw his amendment. (Cries of Yes)

I shall now put the whole resolution to the vote.

Those who are for it will say Aye. (Cries of Aye.) Those that are against it will say No. (Two delegates vote against the resolution). The resolution is carried.

(At this stage the President left and Pandit Motilal Nehru took the chair.)

The votes of the delegates were taken on the resolution about the Creed of the Congress.

Mahatma Gandhi:—You are now to vote on Mr. Venkatrama Aiyar's amendment to the Creed. You know that amendment wants the retention of

connection with the British Empire. That is the purport of it. Those who are in favour of that amendment will say Aye. No cries of Aye. The amendment was lost.

Mr. Satyamurty's amendment was by leave withdrawn.

A delegate:—The vote on change of creed can only be taken by provinces, and will the President give a ruling that it should be taken by provinces?

Pandit Motilal Nehru:—What is being done is that we are taking the votes by provinces. It means that if the whole of India with the exception of a single delegate is in favour of a certain proposition I take it that every province is in favour of it. If there are any dissentient voices, then I will separate them into provinces.

A delegate:—But you know there were speakers against it at the time it was moved? Mr. Jinnah has not withdrawn.

Another delegate: —Mr. Jinnah is not here to vote.

The President:—Mr. Jinnah only opposed. I put the resolution to vote. Those who are for it will say Aye. (Cries of Aye.) Those that are against it will say No. There were two votes against, one from the United Provinces and another from Sindh.

The resolution was then put to vote by provinces. The result was as follows:—Sindh, one against and the rest for; United Provinces, one against and the rest for, and the other provinces were all for the resolution.

Pandit Motilal Nehru:—I allow two minutes for any one except these two gentlemen, one from Sindh and the other from the United Provinces, who is against this proposition to come forward and give his vote against the resolution. (There was none).

Pandit Motilal Nehru:—I declare that the resolution is passed (Loud and prolonged cheers).

The Congress is now adjourned till tomorrow 12 o'clock.

ADDRESS

OF

Seth Jammalal Bajaj,

CHAIRMAN OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

(*Translated from Original Hindi*)

Brother and Sister Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen.

I consider it to be the proudest day in my life, when a person like myself unworthy and enfeathered in his usual avocation of banking and business has been allowed the proud privilege of welcoming such an illustrious gathering assembled here to worship at the highest altar of his Motherland. In fact I well realize my own unworthiness for the service which the Reception Committee has entrusted to me. I deeply feel the impropriety of a novice like me being allowed to fill a place of such grave responsibility especially when there are so many illustrious and experienced politicians in the province to do honour to it. But it will be in vain here to recount the reasons which have compelled me to accept the mandate of the Reception Committee. I found that it was impossible for me to go against the wishes of my leaders and of my provincial brethren, more so because I was assured that in the discharge of my onerous duty I would have their fullest support and co-operation. Therefore I am here with a heart full of the deepest fraternal feelings, to accord you a most cordial welcome to my province. And still more cordially and deeply do I welcome that hallowed patriotism, that surging zeal and those new born hopes and aspirations which have impelled you to flock to this Pandal, from remote and distant corners of this great continent unmindful of the troubles and the dangers of your great pilgrimage. Of a certainty if the idea was of enjoying the X'mas holidays very few of you indeed would have chosen this city and this occasion for your pleasure trip. The responsibility of a delegate of the Indian National Congress is becoming graver and graver everyday. Just as the objective of the congress is gaining in sanctity and greatness the path of its realization is becoming dangerous and more thorny. Under the conditions I repeat that the feelings which could impell you to come to this congress could not but be the sacred feelings of love for your Motherland and the passion to see her free from her present degradation and suffering. This ever-growing patriotism of the sons and the daughters of Bharat and this passion of theirs to see their country happy and free is the surest sign of the victorious ending of our terrible political struggle. Therefore once again I welcome you and those sacred and invincible emotions which fill your heart, with cordial sincerity.

I also welcome our honoured guests Colonel J. Wedgewood and Mr. Ben Spoor who have travelled all the way from England to grace the Congress by their presence. I am sure we shall profit by their advice. Though we have resolved to stand on our own legs and be guided by the advice of our own conscience, the advice of such guests must ever be a source of strength and guidance to us whilst we are in the throes of a new birth.

While welcoming those ladies and gentlemen who have come here from other provinces and other parts I also consider it my duty to congratulate the people of this province and specially the citizens of Nagpur for this auspicious day. Once before in 1891 the Indian National Congress held its sitting in this city, under the presidentship of the late Mr. Anand Charlu. After that in 1906

the Calcutta Congress fixed Nagpur as the venue of the next session. But those who then held the reins of the Congress, for some reason or other, and contrary to the Calcutta congress resolution decided to hold the Congress session at Surat, a place which they considered more safe and less troublesome than Nagpur. It is neither proper nor necessary for me now to analyse the causes of this course of action or to narrate the old painful story. But the people of these provinces were deeply hurt at this unwarranted removal of the Congress session and were nourishing their grievances even uptill now. And my chief reason for congratulating them is that now their thirteen years' old grievance has completely been removed.

From 1885, that is from the year of its birth to the present session I see merely two sessions of the National Congress of preeminent importance, one the session at Calcutta in 1906 which departing from the old policy of praying for partial concession fixed the achievement of swaraj as its immediate objective and discarding the old creed of mendicancy substituted in its place the ideal of self-help for the realization of that objective, the other was the special session held at Calcutta in September last in which the Congress took away its lethargy of the last 12 years, again defined its goal and by passing the Non-co-operation resolution put before the country a practical programme and initiated a political struggle for the realization of that goal. The country has yet only three months experience of the efficacy of the non-co-operation resolution but the results achieved already are encouraging enough to impress upon us the advisability and the necessity of a still more emphatic renewal of that resolution. It is also incumbent upon us to embody in the congress constitution clearly and definitely, the ideal which the special session has incorporated in its Calcutta resolution. Apart from this and for an effective and successful expression of the new political life it is also inevitable that the Congress Constitution be changed according to the needs of the times. All these important matters await your decision now. And it is because of this that I regard this session as of far greater consequence than even the Calcutta session and once again congratulate myself, the members of the Reception Committee and generally the people of this province for this auspicious occasion. Would to God that we may have strength enough faithfully to discharge our great responsibility towards our country and prove worthy of the great trust that has been reposed in us.

Well do I know how much I and my committee have failed to provide for your convenience and comfort. We are sorry we could not make satisfactory arrangements as we should have made or we desired to make for you. But still I do not wish to waste your precious time in apologising for these short comings. I and my committee have full confidence in the magnanimity of our sisters and brothers, and sincerely hope they would forgive us.

My countrymen, before I proceed briefly to lay my thoughts before you on the present political situation I wish to give expression to the profound sorrow which our Motherland has felt on her bereavement from her noblest treasure, ideal patriot, far-sighted statesman, and the revered leader of his sorrowing countrymen, the great Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, whose absence all of us are so deeply feeling to day. I have full faith that his fearless, selfless, single minded life would remain as an undying ideal before his countrymen for all time to come. And his invisible spirit will inspire and enthuse all the proceedings of our great assembly and lead us on to the right path.

In reviewing the present political situation I do not feel the necessity of going any further than the great European war. The condition of our country

before the war, its ever increasing poverty, the listlessness of our great national assembly, the disorganized and demoralized condition of the nationalist party and the depressing atmosphere of ever growing hopelessness is yet too fresh in the minds of most of us to require any recapitulation. The great war instilled a new spirit into the body politic of our country. In various ways and for various reasons numerous patriotic Indians saw in the adversity of England the opportunity of their own country. England and her allies, in order to gain the support of small and weak nationalities put before them cojolingly the ideals of responsible Government, of self determination and promises of liberty and equality. India was distinctly promised the establishment of responsible government on colonial lines. The installamation of a new League of Nations was claimed, of which India was to be an original member, whose sole function was said to be the protection of the liberties of minor nationalities. In order to utilize them against Turkey, and to divert their mind from the real issues involved, the Mussalmans of India were definitely promised that the Turkish Empire will not be dismembered in the event of the Allied victory.

The simpleminded Indians were thus inspired and enthused to a degree. And many of these unhappy dupes began already to dream dreams of prosperity and freedom under the great aegis of the British Empire. Indian grain, Indian treasure, and Indian blood was exploited most wrecklessly in the defence of the British interests. Yet some farsighted people had their doubts even in those days because the Defence of India Act was being freely and openly misused but they were persuaded into a belief that this Act was a war measure and that in times of such peril it was by no means an easy matter to distinguish the really guilty from the guiltless. But when the Germans and their colleagues were defeated and England with her allies began to falsify all her great promises.

When insted of protecting the liberties of the minor nationalities the victorious powers began to absorb then one after another,

When in place of the promised Responsible Government India was given those new reforms which were characterised almost unanimously by the leaders of the nationalist party as unsatisfactory and disappointing.

When even the few paltry concessions involved in these reforms were rendered inefficacious through a series of specious Rules and Regulations,

When in order to intensify and perpetuate the inequitous exeeses of the Defence of India Act and to crush down for ever the hopes and the political movements of this long suffering country, as also to give a freer hand to the already irresponsible police and executive, the Rowlatt Act was devised.

When the new League of Nations insted of protecting the liberties of the weaker nations proved itself to be merely a group of unconscious exploiters and merciless tormentors,

When openly against the definite pledge of the English Premier and the cabinet the Turkish Empire was shattered into pieces and the Khalifatul Muslimin was for all practical purposes reduced to the position of a helpless captive in the hands of the allied forces,

It was when all this happened that the eyes of the Hindus and the Muslims and the other sons of India opened to the dreadful realities of the situation.

At such a critical juncture Mahatma Gandhi realized the terrible effects that the Rowlatt Act was bound to produce on the future political life of the

country and consequently enunciated his Satyagraha movement so absolutely innocent and so wholly non-violent in its conception. But the means that were adopted in various places in order to find an excuse to crush this movement and to discredit and degrade it and the inhuman and unheard of cruelties which were perpetrated in the Punjab to establish the British prestige by terrorising and humiliating the Indian people are yet fresh in our minds. I do not wish to rouse those feelings of pain and indignation with which your hearts are filled by going over the details of these monstrosities. In my humble opinion, instead of being angry, India should be grateful to Sir Michael O'dwyer, General Dyer, Colonel Bosworth Smith and others and still more so to Lord Chelmsford, Mr. Montague and to those members of the British Parliament who supported Sir Michael O'dwyer. Because these good souls have successfully dispelled those great delusions about the British Empire and the British Administration under which we had been labouring for the last hundred and fifty years. The veil of ignorance and deceit has now been lifted up from before the Indian vision and the sons of India distinctly see their real position in the Great British Empire and the sorry plights to which they can be so helplessly reduced.

The dismemberment of the Turkish Empire has fully convinced us that we can no longer put any trust in the promises and pledges of the British statesman and administrator. The Punjab atrocities and the manner in which they have been condoned has further proved that our lives, our property, our blood and even the honour of our women is held by these statesmen and administrators to be of no value whatsoever. All this has sufficiently revealed to us the realities of our present position. After all that has happened it staggers the boldest of our leaders to think how difficult how impossible will become the task of saving the national honour of India, nay even its very life, when as a result of her great victory in the European war England would have become more arrogant and more powerful because of her successful struggle. I have not the least doubt that in the present crisis there are only two ways of saving India from a dishonoured life or a still more dishonoured death. An armed revolt or universal non-co-operation. And no true Indian who knows the defects of the western civilization and who is acquainted with the past culture of his own country would be happy if India at this critical juncture goes against her own ancient culture by resorting to the first alternative. Even those who regard both these alternatives as of the same moral order would also be ready to concede that from the point of view of practical politics the second alternative is alone both feasible and suited to the needs of the time.

Gentlemen, after the success which non-co-operation has already achieved in the country it will be too late in the day for me to launch upon a detailed argument on its policy and principles. The Indian National Congress has already endorsed the policy and principle of Non-co-operation and has given to the country the first instalment of its great programme. The Muslim League, the Sikh League and other sectional institutions have also accepted its lead. On all sides the Indian people are getting permeated by its principles. For some reasons the vote of the Central Provinces and Berar went against the Non-co-operation resolution, at Calcutta. But I wish to assure those who may happen to have some doubts in the matter that the people of the Central Provinces and Berar are also in favour of Non-co-operation. In the Boycott of Councils perhaps no other Province has shown such good results as the Central Provinces. In the first elections 9 seats remained altogether vacant till the last, and for 15 of them there were only one candidate each and so the necessity for an election did not arise at all. And for seats that were contested the percentage of voting remained

miserably low. Apart from this when lately I had to visit different towns and places in connection with the Congress propaganda I fully realized that the people of the province were wholly in favour of Non-co-operation.

Under these circumstances I do not wish to waste much of your time in discussing the policy of Non-co-operation as a non-violent, but regular war between the people of this country and its rulers. In this war India wants to see whether it can successfully carry on all its normal and essential national activities without the co-operation of the foreign bureaucracy and at the same time whether or not the foreign bureaucracy can maintain its power and influence without the co-operation of the Indian people.

Its ultimate ideal is to establish as soon as possible free and self supporting institutions, such as would smoothly discharge all the functions of our national life and would make that life absolutely free in spite of the presence of the foreigner in our midst. It meant the realization of full and effective Swaraj without any external support. This in brief is the real aim and object of the Non-co-operation movement.

I do not want to say much about the first stage of this movement and its different parts, for example the giving up of titles, honorary posts and Government functions etc the boycott of British schools and colleges, courts and the new councils, the refusal to recruitment for Mesopotamia and the boycott of foreign goods. But I would like to say so much only that in my opinion with the dawn of the new year our pace should also be a little accelerated.

I moreover do not propose to meet the objections which some of my countrymen are raising against the Congress programme. I think these objections have sufficiently been answered but if it is yet considered necessary to controvert I think it will be better for me to leave this task in the hands of those who are more competent than myself to do it. But still with your permission, gentlemen, I wish to say a very few words on one or two of the most important of these objections. The chief objection against this programme is that it is wholly destructive and has nothing constructive about it. I do not question the necessity or depreciate the utility of constructive work. But I must say that at present the real work before us is one of destruction and not of construction. We have at this stage first to weaken the respect which our masters command at present, loosen their moral and intellectual hold on the people and destroy their false prestige because really these constitute the roots of the bureaucratic power in India and I doubt not that out of this destruction will emanate the essential constructive aspects of our policy. But destruction has to come first. Construction will surely follow. Apart from this I ask those of my Countrymen who are so greatly obsessed with the idea of constructive work that if they find us engaged in one direction, why do they not apply themselves to the other side especially when they are so keenly apprised of its importance; and if the time for their constructive work, for example the establishment of national schools has not yet come we want to know how long will it yet take in coming? If after the Calcutta Congress the foundations of national universities have been laid at Aligarh and Ahmedabad they have been laid by the same Mahatma Gandhi and the Ali Brothers who are declaimed as the apostles of vindictive destruction. It is time to come into the field and work. It is no time for empty cavilling.

I wish to say one more word about our present schools and colleges. I wish to say that even if the education imparted by these institutions was good

instead of being bad, was Amrita instead of being poison, it would yet have been our national duty to boycott it at this juncture. In accordance with the fundamental principle of Non-co-operation and its real nature, which I have just described above it becomes incumbent upon us to discard all things whether good or evil if they come to us through our rulers. And in one thing after another we have to take our stand on our own legs with freedom and with dignity. In this holy war all that comes to us through hands guilty of the Punjab wrongs and hearts that have proved so traitorous towards the Turks and the Musulmans of India whether it be Amrit or poison cannot but be poison to us.

One of the objections against the giving up of practice by lawyers is that we should first dissuade the litigants from going to Courts and should then ask the lawyers to give up their Profession. I am really surprised at this objection. The Calcutta resolution asks both the litigants and the lawyers to boycott the Courts. The real issue is not as to who is to be first deprived of his living or is made suffer some loss or other. The issue however, is as to who should first set an example of sacrifice at the altar of his sad and suffering Motherland. And there is nothing to be surprised if the country expects those to be the first in sacrifice who have so far been controlling its political activities. In order to succeed in a holy war of this nature, India requires the services of many genuine, selfless and single minded leaders able to organize the youths who are leaving their schools and colleges and thousands of others into effective armies and competent to utilize them for the creation of independent national institutions all over the country. Herein lies the great opportunity for the patriotically minded vakils to give up their practice and enter this field.

Apart from these, various other objections are being raised against Non-co-operation programme; but to confess the truth I see nothing but Arjuna's doubts and Arjuna's weakness of heart in most of this criticism. It is only my earnest prayer that God may soon cure us of this doubtfulness and faintness of spirit and give us courage and strength to fight our holy battle.

In the end I appeal to those gentlemen who are gracing this great assembly as the representatives of the Indian people and who in reality are the creators of New India with all its new thoughts, ideals and aspirations and specially to those revered leaders who by their great services in the past have laid their country under a debt of eternal gratitude. I appeal to them with great humility but also with some pain that in this awful crisis they should realize their great responsibility and in deliberating over the great problems before them should keep in mind the great hopes and expectations with which they have themselves inspired the country. They would do well to weigh the internal and surrounding circumstances of our National life and realize that such opportunities do not come to a nation every day. I do not want to take your time by entering into a detailed discussion of our external problems. I leave them for your own consideration. And even with reference to our internal affairs I would only like to invite your attention to two definite matters. On the present Hindu Muslim unity and the other the extraordinary awakening in the Indian masses. You will have to admit that Hindu Muslim unity is the first and the most indispensable condition for the successful ending of the sorrow of this ever trodden country. This unity has now been cemented under the Clock Tower of Delhi and in the Jalianwala-bagh by the blood of the Hindu and Muslim martyrs. The destruction of the Turkish Empire and the practical captivity of Khalifa-tul muslamin has put before the eyes of our muslim countrymen a true picture of the real motives of the British statesmen and also awakened in them a consciousness of those great duties which they owe to India the land of their birth. On an occasion so unique not to be in the forefront of the Non-co.

operation movement, the only movement which carries within it the possibilities of ending poor India's sorrows, would be in a way to dishonour the martyrs of Dehli and Jalianwala—Bag to disrespect the friendly feelings and reject the extended hand of fellowship of our Mohamedan brethen to shake the very foundations of the Hindu Muslim unity for all time to come and to prove a traitor to the cause of our country. My countrymen, you should well bear in mind that in the life of countries that are politically backward such opportunities are not of frequent occurrence. And the result of allowing such unparalleled opportunities to slip coolly away is for centuries and may be forever to sit and mourn for them.

The other matter to which I just referred is the present extraordinary awakening of the Indian mass mind. I have suspicions that most of us have not yet fully realized the extent of this awakening and therefore with the utmost humility I wish to warn the leaders of the Indian educated community that if they do not fully utilize this great awakening and fail to give proof of their earnestness and self sacrifice by leading the present movement for national uplift whether the movement succeeds or fails, they would for ever lose the confidence of their people. I wish to point out to them that any attempt to weaken or to go back upon the resolution adopted by the Calcutta Congress will be bound to have a most baneful effect on their political life and leadership. And therefore I once again appeal to you gentlemen that you should with courage realize your duty and responsibility and with dignity should take your stand upon it with all the firmness you can command.

After this I wish to address myself to my fellow businessmen who so far have remained rather listless towards the political life and the national needs of their country. I wish to tell them that they too have certain grave responsibilities towards the land of their birth and that they should realize these responsibilities at a time of such a national crisis. Let them reflect with calm sincerity that though they may have successfully amassed wealth under the British rule, it was not done by making the country happy. Their prosperity has been purchased at the cost of the ever growing poverty and impoverishment of their people. In their moments of elation at the thought of their income of lacs and crores drawn from foreign trade and speculation they should remember that as a result of its ever increasing poverty there are, in India, at least thirty millions, men, women and children who bless their stars if in course of the whole day and night they happen to secure one full meal. My fellow countrymen, it is a time of your trial also and it is a most opportune moment for you to make a noble use of your life. If you think, you will find that your own future interest as also the real interests of all future trade lie in your overcoming your old listlessness and timidity and participating freely and fully in this national YAJNA.

If you fail at this moment, you not only will bar for ever the way of real enterprise for your progeny but will also stain your soul by the sin of neglecting an evident duty which you owe to your country and people. But if taking the offerings of your wealth in your hands you will come forward to see the Flames of this sacred national YAJNA you will be contributing to its completion and success and will thus be glorifying for ever yourselves and your people. I have full faith that the businessmen of India will pass through this ordeal most successfully.

To the young people I have merely to say that, if they want to know their responsibility towards this national movement they should study the histories of other countries especially when these countries were agitated by such or

like national movements. India in her present non-violent campaign expect such unparalleled and steady sacrifices from her youths as were made by the youths of Russia, Ireland, Egypt and China, in the revolutionary periods of their history. I do not want to dilate upon this subject, but would surely say this much that the country expects the greatest sacrifices from those of its youthful sons and daughters whose hearts are pure and minds unsophisticated.

It will be arrogant on my part to say anything to the masses of India, because it is they who are the greatest sufferers for our sins and from our present national degeneration. So far they have never lagged behind the educated community in any political sacrifice nor will they ever do so in future.

The fact of the matter is that in this great Yajna, great sacrifices are necessary. Without selflessness and sacrifice no political struggle can ever succeed, and for the success of such a huge undertaking as the liberation of this ancient country from its slavish bondage it is essential that none of us should flinch from any sacrifice whatsoever. And it is also essential that our hearts should have the strength which is born of truthfulness, confidence and devotion. Gentlemen, a close study of the whole situation fills me with optimism. I do not feel the slightest doubt in the ultimate success of this movement. Especially when I see that in this campaign our leader is a person who, by his great soul force, by his prolonged penance, by his unique and constant devotion to truth, by his plain and simple living, by his astounding tearlessness and his unexampled selflessness, has secured a corner in the hearts of all young and old, who has moreover a practical experience of various political struggles and to whose hands the suffering Indian people have entrusted the reins of their political life. We should at this moment throw away our little doubts and fears and narrownesses and should concentrate ourselves on the success of this movement.

For an organisation so tremendous, money will also be needed. And in my opinion we should give a reasonable amount in the hands of the All India Congress Committee for this work. You can make any arrangement you choose for this purpose; for example you can ask in the name of the congressman with an income of Rs. 1000 or upwards to pay a sum equal to or less than the income tax as a national levy. And every year on the last day of the congress an appeal can be made for national funds.

I wish to say a few words about the constitution of the Congress. You are about to introduce new changes in this constitution. I was born in a Native state. I and those who are of my views wish that you should not keep the Native states and their people out side the new congress constitution. The residents of the Native states are also an important limb of the Indian Nation, and I assure you that the cordial sympathy of many of the princes of the Native states is also with you. And even if some of the princes do not sympathise with our cause you should have no doubt about the sympathy of their subjects. And therefore the real interests of the princes will also lie in joining hands with you. It is for these reasons that I and many others strongly feel that in your new constitution a place should be given to the Native princes and their subjects.

The other suggestion that I have to make with reference to the new constitution, is that, as far as possible, you should give a proper place to the mother tongue of the major portion of the people of India, Hindustani, language which in the near future is destined to become the lingua-franca of our various provinces so that we may soon be in a position to discard the use of foreign language from the business of our great assembly, and thus enable an ever increasing number of our people to participate in its proceedings and benefit by them.

I have said all that I had to say. In the end I again welcome my sisters and brothers on behalf of my Committee and hope to be forgiven for the short comings of our arrangements.

FOURTH DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

31st December 1920.

The Congress reassembled at 3 P. M.

The proceedings began with the singing of a patriotic song and the recitation of a patriotic poem.

THE PRESIDENT :—Ladies and Gentlemen, there were some resolutions which were intended to be moved yesterday but which were not put. The first is Resolution No. 2 in the programme printed for yesterday. It reads thus :—

(1) That in the opinion of this Congress, it is necessary in the interests of India to disseminate correct information about India and Indian questions in foreign countries.

(2) This Congress-while authorising the All-India Congress Committee to give effect to the foregoing resolution, resolves :—

(a) That the publication of the newspaper "India" as an organ of the Congress be discontinued forthwith and the contracts of the present staff be terminated.

(b) That subject to the existing liabilities in connection with the British Congress Committee and newspaper "India", no further financial assistance from the Congress fund be supplied for these purposes; and

(c) That a Committee consisting of Mr. Ben Spoor, Mr. Parekh, Mr. Holford Knight, Dr. Vakil, Mr. M. H. Kidwai and Mr. Dube be appointed for winding up the affairs of the British Congress Committee and newspaper "India".

I have been charged to put this resolution from the Chair.

A delegate :—Mr. President, I have given notice of an amendment to that resolution.

The President :—I have simply to tell you that when a resolution is agreed to be put from the Chair in the Subjects Committee, that resolution is presumed to be non-controversial. If you insist on your amendment I shall have to adjourn the Congress, get back into the Subjects Committee, and remove my name and add some other name as the mover and then bring up your amendment and recast the resolution and come here. If that is the pleasure of the Congress I shall certainly do so. (Cries of No, No). At the instance of the President the resolution is translated in Hindi to the audience by Dr. Moonje.

The President :—Those that are for the resolution will say Aye, and those that are against the resolution will say No. (cries of Aye).

The same delegate :—I oppose the resolution. I want your ruling.

The President :—I have given you my ruling.

The resolution is carried.

The President :—There is another small resolution that is also to be put from the Chair, and I do trust that there will be no amendment. It runs thus :—

This congress pays its homage to the sacred memory of the great Irish patriot Mac Sweeney and sends message of sympathy to the Irish people in their struggle for Independence.

Those that are for this resolution will say Aye. (Cries of Aye). Those that are against it will say No. (Cries of No, No.)

The resolution is carried unanimously.

The President :—Mr. S. R. Bomanji will move the first resolution in the agenda to day. It runs as follows.

RESOLUTION NO 6.

Whereas His Majesty's Government and the Government of India by bringing about an unprecedented rise in Indian Sterling Exchange and issuing Reverse Councils in wanton disregard of Indian opinion as expressed in the minority report of the Currency Committee, to the enognous and serious loss to the Indian Export Trade, have pursued a ruinous policy conceived in the interests of British manufactures with the result that Indian Trade and Commerce have been entirely unsettled and dislocated, while the British Treasury has been relieved of a substantial part of it's indebtedness to India and the British capitalists and manufacturers have been given enormous opportunities for dumping into this country goods which could not find their old markets in Germany and other countries, this Congress calls upon the British Treasury to make good this loss and further declares that importers, merchants, and dealers of British goods will be entirely justified in refusing to complete their contracts at the present rates of exchange.

Further, this Congress appoints a committee to be named by the All India Congress Committee to take steps to deal effectively with the situation.

Mr. S. R. Bomanji in moving the resolution on the Currency question spoke as follows :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gontlemen, I have great pleasure in moving the Resolution on the Currency question. The Resolution reads :—

“Whereas His Majesty's Government of India, and the Government of India by bringing about an unprecedented rise in Indian Sterling Exchange and issuing Reverse Councils in wanton disregard of Indian opinion as expressed in the minority report of the Currency Committee, to the enormous and serious loss to the Indian Export Trade, have pursued a rouinous policy conceived in the interests of British Munufactures with the result that Indian Trade and Commerce have been entirely unsettled and dislocated, while the British Treasury has been relieved of a substantial part of its indebtedness to Indian and the British capitalists and manufacturers have been given enoromous opportunities for dumping into this country goods which could not find their old markets in Germany and other countries, this Congress calls upon the British Treasury to make good this loss and further declares that importers, merchants and dealers of British goods will be entirely justified in refusing to complete their contracts at the present rates of exchange.”

I am not going to detain you with any detailed disquisition on the question of currency. At the same time I shall bring to your notice as concisely as possible a few aspects of the question. The resolution here says that the Government have brought about an unprecedented rise in Sterling Exchange. As you know,

at the time of the Currency Commission Report, that is about the beginning of December last year, the Sterling Exchange was in the vicinity of 1-7½ d. It was laid down in the Currency Commission Report that Reverse Councils would only be resorted to in case the balance of trade was against India. The Report of the Currency Commission was issued in December. Before the end of the Year 1919 the Government of India by a communication started selling Reverse Council Bills. The effect of the sale of Reverse Council Bills was that before January 1920 the Sterling came up to 2s. and by successive stages we had the Sterling up to 2-10 27/32, that is almost to 2. 11d. Now, the Resolution says that this was done with a view to liquidate the debt that Great Britain owed to this country and also with a view to afford opportunities to British manufacturers to dump down their manufactured goods in this country. I say that the inauguration of this currency policy was a clever piece of currency manipulation that we have ever known.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we have been talking in this Congress for years past of the political wrongs and the political inequalities under which we suffer. But I ask you to bear in mind that if ever a true history of the economic wrong, the economic injustice that has been going on in this country, is written in a pure spirit of historical fairness, it would be the worst chapter in the annals of British history. Gentlemen this has been going on since the days of the East India Company when you know they imposed a tax of 100 per cent on the importation of Indian goods into England, and then there is the wellknown story of the weavers of Dacca who had to cut off their fingers in order to save themselves from oppression of their foreign masters (Gries of shame, shame.) That is the past history.

The object of this Currency legislation was this. At the end of the War when the armistice was concluded England was faced with this question. India was the biggest importer of manufactured goods from England. Next, Germany was the biggest importer of manufactured goods from England. At the beginning of the armistice they found that Germany was lost to them because Germany had no stable Government that had any financial capacity to pay for British goods. England was then put to the necessity of finding out a market and cast their eyes to the east. China having been dominated by Japan and America, the only market they could turn to was India. What did they do? Their first thought was to clear the debt that Great Britain owed to this country. This debt was the accumulation of reserves in the Gold Standard Reserve that had been accumulated as a policy for the last 25 years. Another way in which the reserves were accumulated was because England could not pay us during the war for the stuffs that they bought from India. They paid America, they paid Canada, they paid Australia, but they did not pay what they owed you, and they found that there was such big accumulating debt they owed to India, and by a stroke of the pen they tried to find out means to wipe out the debt and at the same time find out an outlet for the surplus goods that had been going to Germany. That was the position that they were faced with at the time of the armistice. By a clever manipulation of the currency policy they appointed this Currency Commission. The men on this Commission knew well before hand what they were going to do. It was the same with the Public Services Commission, it was the same with the Industrial Commission and the same will, be the case with the Railway Commission. They only wanted to seek shelter under the report of the Commission to pass this most mischievous, this most autocratic scheme that they had made up to foist upon you, and that was by the successive raising of the Sterling Exchange.

Now, I will explain to you what I mean by paying the debt. The money had been accumulating in England at the rate of Rs. 15 to the sovereign and by reducing the value of sovereign to Rs. 7-8-0 they could by one stroke of the pen pay only Rs. 7½. That is all you get, it does not matter to you what sovereign is worth, for your fifteen rupees sovereign. You were paid a sovereign which only gave you Rs. 7½ or 8. By selling Reverse Council Bills they liquidated 55000000£ of your debt. That practically means that 55000000£ debt that Great Britain owed to you, instead of paying to us at the rate of 15 rupees a Sovereign they paid you at fluctuating rates from Rs. 10 to 7½. That debt which they owed to you has been paid, so far as you are concerned, in rupees, and we have lost something like 25000000£ Sterling on that one transaction. That is not all the loss that you are put to. There was the loss to your trade. We know that up till last May balance of trade was at the rate of 10 or 12 crores of rupees every month. When I denounced this policy as organised loot and legalised plunder of our resources, some of the Anglo Indian economists wrote back to say that the balance of trade had already been against us. At that time we had not got the figures. Up to the time I was writing, the trade figures were only available to us as far as March. But we know by the monthly statements that were given to us from Calcutta that the balance of trade continued in spite of what was said, in our favour. Mr. Dadabhai Dalal who wrote the Minority Report laid down that if this currency policy was followed it was deception and a fraud on the people of India. Of course, the Committee was packed as every other Commission had been packed and Mr. Dadabhai Dalal was crying in the wilderness. That is as far as the debt that England owed to us is concerned.

Now with regard to trade we are face to face with a state of affairs in which we have said that the trade of India would be dislocated, our money market would be disturbed, that bankruptcy was facing us, and that balance of trade would be turned and that this country from being a creditor country would be converted into a debtor country. I say the reason that we have an adverse balance of trade is directly due to the selling of reverse council bills. To day you find in Calcutta and in Bombay all your docks, all your ware-houses are full of goods which the merchants of Bombay and Calcutta cannot take over. What is it due to? The Currency Commission Report distinctly said that all the resources of the Government of India would be utilised towards maintaining the Sterling at 2 shillings to rupee. On this declaration of the Government of India all the merchants of India went and bought goods at the rates of two shillings a rupee. The Government knew jolly well that under the conditions under which the Reverse Councils were selling they would not be able to maintain the rupee at two shillings. Six months afterwards when the goods commenced to arrive in India the Sterling came to 1-5 and 1-6 exactly the rate that we said Sterling must go to. Sterling had to find its natural level and the natural level of Sterling was 1-6. To day have something about 1-5 I say that this loss to our importers to our merchants and our traders was deliberately and distinctly due to the policy that the Government adopted, and it was by a system of deception that our merchants and our importers were made to buy goods in England for which today when they are imported into this country they find that instead of paying 2 shillings a rupee they have got to pay at 1-5 d. a rupee. Therefore the importers merchants and dealers of British stuffs in this country will be entirely justified in refusing to complete their contracts. I am not here today advocating that merchants should break their contracts. But surely in the face of these exceptional circumstances you have got to bear in mind that the merchants were deceived and defrauded by being told first that Sterling would be at 2 shillings a rupee. If that deception had not been practised on the people of India there

would not have ordered those goods thinking that when the goods arrived in India they would have to pay at 2 shillings. The deception was practised by the Government of India and the people of England and we are perfectly justified in doing this and defeating the game that they wished to play. So, there is no deception and dishonesty if our merchants refuse to complete their contracts. We are trying by this Resolution to tell the people of England and the British Government, if you try to deceive us and force a policy which you know to be wrong, we shall take the ultimate course, i. e. to back out of the contract and save our countrymen from the loss which you know you are imposing. I have been asked why we should ask the British Treasury to make good the loss that we have been put to due to these Reverse Councils. I tell you the reason why England owed us, we do not talk of the whole amount of the debt-but I would only refer to the 55000000 Sterling. You were paid at the rate of 7, 8 and 9 rupees according to the fluctuating rate of Exchange. If you take an average and say that you lose in rupees only five rupees to the sovereign, there is a loss nevertheless of something like 55000000 X 5 which is the deliberate loss that you have been put to in carrying out this policy, and this loss I say must be paid by the British Treasury:

Gentlemen, I do not think I have got anything further to say. The question is very big, but I do not want to keep you any further by going into the details of the question. I only point out to you this that we have always been crying about our political wrongs and I am very glad that this Congress has this year given an opportunity of demonstrating to the people of India that the economic and financial wrongs that has been done to us is far more than the political wrongs that we have been suffering from. This is the real reason why our people are starving—why, famine or no famine, our people cannot get a

square meal a day. We have been talking of the loot of the savage and barbarous Moghal marauders who come over the borders. What about this organised loot and legalised plunder that is going on not for one month or one year, but is going on from day to day, week by week, month by month and year by year? Are you surprised that India, one of the richest Countries of the world which did not suffer from the loot of Chengiz Khan and Nadir Shah, is now very poor? That is the reason why 75 per cent of the people of India cannot get a square meal a day and unless you rise yourself to the enormity of the wrong you will never right it.

I ask you to pass this Resolution with acclamation.

Mr. C. R. Dass rose amidst cheers to second the Resolution and spoke as follows:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not think it is necessary at all to make a speech in seconding this Resolution. Mr. Bomanji has placed before you all the reasons for it and all that I need say is that I entirely endorse every word that has fallen from his lips. I am glad that he described this as an organised plunder-plunder in two ways, plunder in wiping off the debt which was due to India from England and plunder in inducing us to contract for goods under false pretences. (cries of shame, shame) and we would be less than men indeed if we do not take immediate steps to deal with the situation. (Loud cheers).

Mr. Naraindas Purushottam Supported the Resolution in a speech in Hindi.

President:—Ladies and Gentlemen, there were two other speakers put down on the paper. One of them is not here and the other our esteemed Chairman is ill. The latter has sent us a letter to say that he regrets his inability and he could not come. I put this Resolution to the vote those that are for the Resolution will say aye. (Cries of aye, aye) Those that are against it will say No. (cries of none) The Resolution is carried.

RESOLUTION No. 7.

Mr. S. R. Bomanji who was received with loud cheers in rising to move the resolution spoke as follows:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen.

I have great pleasure in moving this resolution for your consideration and acceptance. It runs as follows:—

This congress is of opinion that in pursuance of the policy of Non-co-operation the people of India should refrain from taking any part in functions or festivities in honour of H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught during his forthcoming visit to India.

In commending this resolution to your acceptance, it is necessary at the outset that I should draw your attention that it is not part of our function to-day to show any discourtesy, or any disregard to the Royal family or to any member of it. This resolution asks you, only by way protest, to call upon the people who take part in this Congress, to refrain from taking any part in any functions or festivities in honour of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught.

A delegate:—What about your Montagu's statue that you going to erect?

Mr. Bomanji:—When this question comes I will mention it. Because it does not come now I will take another opportunity. (A voice: Those days are gone.)

Continuing Mr. Bomanji said:—You all remember that when H. R. H. the Prince of Wales's visit was contemplated Mahatma Gaudhi very tersely and very appropriately expressed the sense of the people of India by saying that if the visit of the Prince of Wales was meant to be a proclamation to the world that India was prosperous and contented, that the Prince of Wales was making a triumphal visit to India after the War,—if that was the object by which the bureaucracy of this country and the Government of India were trying to deceive and delude the whole country and the world, the Mahatma said that it would be his duty to call upon the people of India to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales. In the proclamation that the Mahatma issued there was feeling of protest, but there was no feeling of disregard or discourtesy to the Royal Family or any member of it.

But, Ladies and gentleman, there is a deeper significance that is attached to the visit of the Duke of Connaught. The ostensible reason for which the Duke of Connaught has undertaken this journey is to inaugurate the Reform Act and open the Councils that are going to work that Act. We, the people of India, do not want the Reform Act. As I have said on a previous occasion, the Reform Act before it has started, is old and antiquated and obsolete. We say it is an anachronism. Therefore, if by the inauguration of the new Councils it is sought to be impressed upon the world that the people of India are going to work this Act, if is an absolute delusion and a snare.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we have gone through our elections. We know what the results of the elections are. The Government of India want to minimise them and to mislead the whole world by saying that the elections are not a failure. In this very Province, the Central Provinces, two seats are still remaining unfilled. The elections, as they were worked were a farce, a solemn farce, and the function of opening the new councils savours very much of Gilbert and Sullivan's opera business. This is more or less a comic opera sought to be enacted in Delhi through the hands of the Duke of Connaught. I am perfectly sure that if the Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught or any member of the Royal Family was put in possession of the real facts of the case, he would, I am sure refuse to come and inaugurate the councils which are nothing else than a snare and a delusion.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not want to detain you any further, but I repeat again that apart from, any feeling of disregard or discourtesy, there is nothing else than a protest of this country that we shall not allow, as Mahatma Gandhi has said, this proclamation to the world that the Reform Scheme this flimsy scheme of self-government that has been given with all the flourish of trumpet to the people of India, is going to be inaugurated by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught and that we by participating in this shall be stultifying ourselves. This resolution asks you not to participate in any festivity or any function that may take place in honour of H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught's visit. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Pandit Rambuj Dutt Chaudhuri seconded the resolution in a speech in Hindustani.

Mr. Asaf Ali supported the resolution in a speech in Urdu.

The President:—Ladies and Gentlemen, it is not necessary to prolong the discussion on this resolution any further. I put it to the vote. Those that are for it will say Aye. (cries of none).

The resolution is carried.

RESOLUTION No. 8

Mr. Chaman Lal (Punjab) in moving the resolution spoke as follows:—
Ladies and Gentlemen. The resolution that has been entrusted to me is as follows:—

That this Congress expresses its fullest sympathy with the Workers of India in their struggle for securing their legitimate rights through the Organisation of Trades Unions and places on record its condemnation of the brutal policy of treating the lives of Indian workers as of no account under the false pretext of preserving law and order.

This resolution is of the greatest importance to us in our present struggle against this Government. Mr. Bomanji has just moved a resolution about the Duke of Connaught's visit to this country. I venture to say that if labour in this country had been properly organised there would have been no need to move that resolution. (Hear, Hear). If labour had been properly organised the Duke of Connaught might have got as far as Bombay, but he would have got no further, unless he had brought his own railway men to take him up to the north, unless he had got his own workers to do what Indian workers will now to day do for him. But the importance of the resolution lies in this that

to day we are witnessing throughout the world the fact that political domination has for its basis the economic exploitation of workers. They talk about the British Empire being built up by brave deeds and heroic actions. I say, ladies and gentlemen, the British Empire in the East at least has been built up with the lives of Indian workers (hear hear), and it is shame to those who have exploited the lives of Indian workers in this fashion to-day the name of Indian nearly almost stinks in the nostrils of all honest men because Indians are being taken out of this country. Indian workers have to fight the cause of British Imperialism throughout the world. I believe that the strength of this nation lies in its workers. If the workers are strong the nation shall be wrong. But to day Indian workers are in the condition of slaves and semislaves. They are being used by British Imperialist by British exploiters and I may add also by Indian exploiters in order to hoard up wealth for those foreigners on the one hand and our own wealth for these foreigners on the one hand and our own capitalists on the other. I want to see the day arriving in this country when such a state of affairs will be put an end to and the only people who can put an end to this state of affairs are the workers themselves, and I ask you in the first place, therefore to make up your minds that everything that you can put forward should be utilised for the cause of the workers, and I will tell you why.

To day you are asking the school children to leave their schools. To day you are asking the lawyers to give up their practice. Is it not worth while your considering for a minute that the time may come when you will be forced to use the workers as a political weapon in your hands in order to bring down this damnable Government—this damnable system of Government. (hear hear). In Great Britain the political weapon has been used by workers. They formed a Council of Action and when war was threatened for the fifth time or the seventh time or the eighth time (I do not know how many times war has not been threatened with Russia) when war was threatened with Russia the British workers gave an ultimatum to the British government that they would go on a general strike if Great Britain went to war against Russia. I want to see the day in India when the workers of India organised through their trade unions will stand up and say. For the sake of Swaraj we shall not touch a single ton of coal that is being used in this country against our interests for the sake of Swaraj we will not run a single railway line because by being worked for the exploiters for this Government, we not only degrade ourselves but we degrade the name of humanity (hear hear). Ladies and Gentlemen I can give you instances to day in which the workers of India, miners in the coalfields, dockmen, tramway men and other workers, have been deliberately used by the exploiters in order to keep the country down. Would you believe that in the coalfields an average man and woman miner gets a wage somewhere about seven annas a day and they work twelve hours a day and would you believe it that most of the coal fields are owned not by Indians but by British companies and their absentee landlords? Are you not going to put an end to this system which is, after all, the main thing which is eating into the very vitals of the nation? Because I believe in the great destiny of this country, that the strength of my country lies in the teeming millions of its workers, therefore I ask you in open session of this congress to pass this resolution by affirming the right of workers to organise themselves in order to fight the tyranny of exploitation. And I also ask you to make a protest against the system of government which takes no account whatsoever of the lot of workers as happened recently in Madras, where workers were fired on at the slightest pretext as in Bombay

during the early part of the year and which has been happening in various parts of the country, and I ask you to protest against that, because it is not the act of a civilised government or a civilised set of men, but an act of what shall I say?—Barbarians, it is the act of men whom we want to reclaim it is the act of a system which we want to abolish soon because we want to stand in the eyes of the world as men and not as bonded slaves. (Loud cheers).

Mr. V. Chakkarai Chetty (Madras) in seconding the resolution spoke as follows:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen.

On behalf of the many thousands of organised labour in Madras I wish to second this resolution. This resolution consists of two parts. In the first place, the Congress expresses its sympathy with the Labour population in this country in its struggle to get decent conditions of existence. Ladies and Gentlemen I believe it is only in the fitness of things that this great assembly gathered here during the last few days should express its sympathy with the aspirations of the sons of toil in our own motherland. It has been made a reproach against the Indian National Congress that we, English educated men, represent only a microscopic minority of our own people. But, ladies and gentlemen, the time has come when we should remove this reproach, the Indian National Congress ought to stand forth and proclaim that within its fold it also includes the toiling millions. Gentlemen, the great national awakening that we witness to-day is not a national awakening that will only elevate the educated and the middle classes in this country. It proposes that in the future democracy of India, the attainment of which has been made the creed of the Indian National Congress, the industrial workers of this country, the factory operatives, miners, business men, farmers, and all the sons of toil, who make life comfortable for us, would also participate in the pleasures that we enjoy. Therefore, Ladies and Gentlemen, we ask the Indian National Congress to express its sympathy in all the various efforts that are being made in our country to organise Trade Unions and Labour Organisations to ameliorate the condition of many millions of our people. Ladies and Gentlemen, I should also invite your attention before I close to a few unfortunate events that took place about a month ago in Madras. Having been connected with organised labour in Madras during the last two or three years ever since labour began to make its voice heard, I have seen various attempts on the part of the capitalists in our own city aided by the Government to bring down the Labour Unions because they know as a matter of fact that the existence of Labour Unions in this country is a formidable menace to the exploitation of the ignorant and miserable working classes in our community. Therefore various attempts have been made to suppress these Labour Union in Madras.

About three months ago in Madras there was a lockout by one of the great mills there, the Buckingham Mills in our own city, and about 5500 men were locked out under circumstances into which I need not enter here. After sixty days of intense struggle what happened was that, on the slightest provocation because a few young boys who were provoked by some of the new men who were being taken in, threw stones at the police and the new men that were being taken in closed motor lorries to the Buckingham mills, shots were fired upon the crowd that had gathered there. Two young boys, one ten years old and another 16 years old, were wounded and they expired next day in the hospital and about ten men and women were also wounded. A woman who was passing by in the street was also wounded. Gentlemen, this was made the subject of intense agitation in our own city. Monster meetings were held. A

vast funeral procession followed by 16000 workers of Madras accompanied the dead body of one of those boys to the cremation ground. After all these things the Government of Madras came out with a communique in which they practically endorsed the version of the Police Commissioner that it was under the gravest and the most dangerous circumstances that the police were called upon to fire upon the unarmed crowd. I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to pass this resolution condemning the action of the Government of Madras, condemning the action of the various Local Govt. in their dealing with these poor workers.

The time has now come when the Indian National Congress in addition to calling upon the educated classes to Non-cooperate with the Government and to take part in the mighty awakening which has been inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi should also require the help and cooperation of the toiling millions of our country, In Madras itself I may tell you that the name of Mahatma Gandhi is a magic name. Wherever he goes among the toiling millions he is loved and respected and during the recent elections that took place in Madras, in spite of disastrous consequences, it was the poor labourers who have been locked out that went through the city and called upon the citizens not to register their votes. Therefore I ask the Indian National Congress to express its sympathy with all that is being done in order to ameliorate the condition of the working classes in this country. (Cheers).

Mr. K. P. S. Sinha of Behar supported the resolution in a speech in Hindi.

Mr. E. L. Aiyar (Madras) in supporting the resolution said:—

Mr. president, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have a very bad voice to-day, and if you are not able to hear my speech it will not be long.

There are only two ways by which the British Government have been running this great country, firstly, administration and secondly, exploitation. Lord, Curzon the great Viceroy, put it down that administration and exploitation must go together wherever find cases of men like General Dyer committing offences, there is the British capitalist raising 28000 to be given to General Dyer. Wherever you find the English Government lending their police and their military to shoot the labourer down (shame) you find the example of the administrator helping the British capitalist in the exploitation of Indian and the English capitalist helping the administrator in administering India. Mr. Chakkarai Chetty was telling you about the recent events in Madras where for the British capitalists two of our young brothers were shot down because the labourers organised themselves into Labour Union for the purpose of demanding a living wage. (Shame) As Mr. Chamanlal has said the only method by which they go on with the Government of this country is by exploiting us. There is government rack-renting. Men are unable to get a full meal and they have to go to Fiji and South Africa to enable them to get livelihood and there also they are ill-treated. This bad government of this country is helping the British capitalists in exploiting the human lives, the lives of natives of India. I have a great pleasure in supporting the resolution (loud cheers.)

The President—Ladies and gentlemen, you have heard the speakers is it your pleasure that this resolution should be carried by you? Those that are for it will say aye, (Cries of aye). Those that are against it will say no. (Cries of none). The resolution is carried.

RESOLUTION NO. (9).

The president:-Mr. C. R. Das will move this resolution.

Mr. C. R. Dass (Bengal) who was received with loud cheers moved the resolution in the following terms:—

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in moving this resolution I donot think that it is necessary to make a speech in commending it to your acceptance. I shall merely read it and ask you to accept it.

THAT this Congress is of opinion that Indian Labour should be organised with a view to improve and promote their well-being and secure to them their just rights and also to prevent the exploitation (1) of Indian Labour (2) of Indian resources by foreign agencies, and that the All India Congress Committee should appoint a Committee to take effective steps in that behalf.

Lala Lajpat Rai (Punjab):—Ladies and Gentlemen, I beg to second the resolution.

Swami Govindanand (Sindh) supported the resolution in a speech in Hindi

Nr. Chunilal Malaviya supported the resolution in the speech in Hindi

The president:- I put the resolution to the vote. Those that are for it will say Aye. (Cries of Aye.) Those that are against it will say no. (Cries of none.) The resolution is carried.

RESOLUTION NO (10)

Mr. N. C. Kelker (Bombay) moved the following resolution in a speech in Marathi.

This congress invites the attention of the public to the policy pursued by the Government in the differnt provinces of India of forcibly acquiring lands on a large scale in the interest of capitalists, and especially foreign capitalists, by the reckless and unjustifiable use of the Land Acquisition Act and thus destroying the hearth and homes and the settled occupations of the poor classes and landholders and is of opinion that it affords further grounds for Non-co-operation against the Government.

This Gongress further appeals to the Indian Capitalists concern e and calls upon them to avert the impending ruin of the poor peasants.

Mr. Gourishankar Bhargav (Ajmer) seconded the resolution in a speech in Hindi.

Mr. Abdul Bari M.L. Saqui (Behar) supported the resolution in a speech in Urdu .

Mr. T. S. Ramabhadra Odayar (Madras) supported the resolution in speech in Tamil.

The president:- I put the resolution to the vote. Those that are for it will say Aye (cries of Aye.) Those that are against it will say No. (Cries of None). The resolution is carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 11

The president:—The next resolution relating to the improper detention of political prisoners in Bengal will be moved by Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal.

Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal (Bengal) who was received with loud cheers said
Mr. president, ladies and Gentleman.

I beg to move the following resolution:—

This congress places on record its sincere sympathy with those political persons who have been arrested and imprisoned with or without regular specification of charge and open trial and who are still detained in prison as State prisoners or whose freedom of movement and association is still restricted by executive order and this Congress expresses the hope that their devotion to their country and the hope of the early attainment of swaraj which will render these acts of injustice impossible, will sustain them in their present trial.

This resolution refers to a class of people to whom we are indebted to a very large extent, I have not the least hesitation to say, for the present political advancement and upheaval in this country. They have made the way clear for the position at which we have arrived to-day. They have laboured, they have suffered for making this Non-co-operation movement possible at this hour, and we remember them in this great hall and we offer them our sincere sympathy. It may be that our voice may not directly reach them, but we beseech their friends and relations we may be permitted to visit them now and then, to communicate personally to these our dear bretheren kept in prison unjustly for having served their country perhaps not always too wisely, but ever too well-- we want their friends and relations to communicate to them that in the solitude of their prison they have the spirit of India, the soul of this great nation, with them and under the blessing of God, when we have Swaraj, these cruelties, these atrocities, these outrages upon human liberty and human justice will be made impossible, and we hope that this will sustain them in their present trial. (Loud cheers) .

Sardar Sardul Singh (Punjab) seconded the resolution in a speech in Hindi.

Mr. Sachindranath Sanyal (Bengal) supported the resolution in a speech in Hindi

The President:—Ladies and Gentlemen, I now put the resolution to the vote. Those that are for it will say Aye . (Cries of Aye) . Those that are against it will say No (cries of none) . The resolution is carried.

The President—Ladies and Gentlemen, there are some resolutions deemed by the Subjects committee to be of a Non-controversial character, and so entrusted to me to be put to you for your acceptance without any discussion. I will read them one by one. Among these is resolution No. 12.

UNANI AND AYURVAIDIC SYSTEMS.

This congress is of opinion that, having regard to the wide prevalence and generally accepted utility of the Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine in India earnest and definite efforts should be made by the people of this country to further popularize these systems by establishing schools, colleges and hospitals for instruction and treatment in accordance with the indigenous systems.

Those that are for it will say Aye. (Cries of Aye). Those that are against it will say No (cries of none). The resolution is carried.

The next resolution is Resolution No. 14. I will read it.

This congress earnestly requests all the sovereign Princes of India to establish full responsible government in their States.

That is, we are asking them to do what we are trying and struggling to do for ourselves.

Those that are for it will say Aye. (cries of Aye). Those that are against it will say No (cries of None) The resolution is carried.

The president:—The next resolution relates to what I call the recrudescence of feelings in some quarters in our country, that is, the operations of repression have begun in the Punjab, Delhi and some other places. This is to enter our protest and to call upon the unfortunate sufferers to put up with their suffering bravely in accordance with the principle of Non-co-operation which you passed the other day. The resolution runs as following:—

This congress notes the resumption in spite of declaration of the Government of India to the contrary of repression in the Punjab, Delhi and elsewhere and invites those concerned to bear their sufferings with fortitude, and whilst respecting all law-ful orders, to prosecute Non-violent Non-co-operation with redoubled vigour.

Those that are for it will say aye. (Cries of Aye). Those that are against it will say No. (Cries of None). The resolution is carried

The President :—There is one more resolution, and that is about elementary education. The resolution runs as follows :—

As free elementary education is the primary and urgent need of the masses of India, this Congress urges on all Congress organisations to introduce and enforce the same in their respective areas on national lines.

Those that are for the resolution will say Aye. (Cries of Aye). Those that are against it will say No. (Cries of None) The Resolution is carried.

The President:—The next resolution relates to the orders still remaining in force against Mr. Horniman's return to India. It runs thus:—

This Congress places on record its feelings of gratefulness to Mr. B. G. Horniman whose arduous labours and courageous championship of the cause of India have made the Indian case widely known to the people out side India and condemns the Policy of Government which still keeps him removed from the Indian People.

Those that are for the resolution will say Aye. (Cries of Aye). Those that are against it will say No (Cries of None). The resolution is carried.

The President:—There is one more resolution which I am charged to place before you. It relates to the protection of agricultural and milch cattle. Firstly we thank our Mosulman brethren for their endeavours to co-operate with us in protecting them, and secondly we urge upon all the great economic necessity for the protection of cattle. The resolution runs in these terms:—

1. This Congress tenders its thanks to the Muslim Associations for their resolutions against cow slaughter.
2. This Congress recognises the great economic necessity for the protection of cattle and urges upon the people of India to do their best to achieve this object, particularly by refusing to sell cattle or hides for export trade.

Those who are for the resolution will say aye. (Cries of Aye.). Those who are against it will say No. (Cries of None). The resolution is carried.

RESOLUTION No. 13!

The President:—This resolution will be moved by Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhry.

Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhry (Panjab) who was received with loud cheers spoke as follows in moving the resolution—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The resolution which I have the honour to move is as follows:—

This Congress having considered the composition and procedure of the Esher Committee and its report which if carried out, is calculated to increase the subservience and impotence of India, and is of opinion that the report furnishes strong additional ground for Non-co-operation and for showing how dangerous it is to postpone the immediate establishment of Swaraj.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is impossible in the course of three minutes given to me (Cries of Hindi, Hindi) (The speaker then addressed the audience in Hindi).

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta (Bombay) in seconding the resolution said:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, As a result of 40 years' experience of commissions and committees we know that commissions are meant not to solve questions but to shelve them. Gentlemen, they are to hoodwink and provide an eyesore to the people. But this Esher committee had one advantage. It was honest downright fraud, because from the beginning there was no doubt that whatever they wanted to do as a result of this commission would be done without any reference to the wishes and interests of this country. The principles on which the committee was expected to act were settled in England before Sir K. G. Gupta had even reached there and the crowning folly about this Committee was that there was associated with its work Sir Michael O'Dwyer whose name is a by word of reproach in this country. (Shame)

Then what are its recommendations? Even at present the control of the people on the army is nominal, in fact nonexistent. But the Government of India has some control over the army. But now under the Report of this committee even the shadowy control of the Government of India over the army is to be withdrawn and handed over to the General staff in great Britain. What is worst 60 crores of rupees is to be the military expenditure of this country is not to be voided upon by us in the Budget under the so-called Reform act. The Government of India Act of 1919. So you will see that 60 crores of Rupees will be annually spent from your pocket without reference to you of your interests to propagate and encourage aggressive policy in foreign countries. (Shame). Now Indians are known as mercenary hirelings to enslave the peoples of other lands.

What is the remedy ? The remedy is to proceed with the non-co-operation movement throughly and zealously because we are out to fight the Government what shall I call ? Organised brigandage, and who are associated with allies who are all allies in the policy of looting the world and enslaving the world especially the Asiatic world, and Mr. Lloyd George is the head of this tread. He is the Robin hood in modern Europe and if you want to demolish this temple of tryanny the only course left to us is to practise ceaseless non-co-operation until one fine mornig we might know that the Viceroy had signed a proclamation. The king had sent message that India will have self government. (cheers).

The President:—

I put the proposition to the vote. Those that are for it will say Aye (Cries of Aye). Those that are against it will say No. (Cries of No. No.) The resolution is carried

Now, there are a few more resolutions which will be moved by Mahatma Gandhi. They relate to the constitution of the congress. That is, in the place of the present rules some rules have been framed and the whole has been recast and Mahatma Gandhi will move them. I am bound to take the vote of the Congress province by province. I am bound to go to each province and take the votes of the delegates there, but as there is very little time I propose to adopt this method. I shall ask for vote, but if there is any dissentient voice I will try to locate it and go to the block of that province and see whether it forms a minority or a majority. That is the method which I propose to adopt, fristly to take the vote as you are sitting. If there is any dissentient voice you will kindly tell me from what province or what block it comes. I shall then go there and find out whether the dissentient voice forms a minority or a majority. I do not appeal to you to give up your rights, but I hope there will be no necessity for it.

A delegate; There is no copy of the draft rules.

The President:—while we were eating our breakfast we were wording the resolution. I ask you to excuse us for not having printed copies of them. They will read out to you, and try to understand them as much as you can. Mahatma Gandhi in moving the draft rules made a speech in Hindi.

RULES OF CONSTITUTION.

OBJECT

Article 1.—

The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

SESSIONS OF THE CONGRESS.

Article 11.—

- (a) The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily meet once every year during Christmas holidays at such place as may have been decided upon at its previous session or such other place as may have been determined by the All-India Congress Committee hereinafter referred to.
- (b) An extraordinary session of the congress may be summoned by the All-India Congress Committee either of its own motion or on the requisition of a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees,

wherever it may deem it advisable to hold such a session, and the Articles of this Constitution shall apply with such modifications as the All-India Congress Committee may consider necessary in respect of each such session.

COMPONENT PARTS OF THE CONGRESS.

Article III.—

The Indian National Congress organisation shall consist of the following:—

- (a) The Indian National Congress.
- (b) Provincial Congress Committees.
- (c) District Congress Committees.
- (d) Sub-Divisional, Taluqa or Tahsil, Firka or other Local Congress Committees.
- (e) The All-India Congress Committee.
- (f) Such other committees outside India as may from time to time be recognised by the Congress in this behalf.
- (g) Bodies formed or organised periodically by the Provincial, District Taluqa or Tahsil or other local Congress Committees such as the Reception Committee of the Congress and the Provincial, District, Taluqa or Tahsil, or other local conferences.

Article IV.—

No person shall be eligible to be a member of any of the organisations referred to in the foregoing Article, unless he or she has attained the age of 21 and expresses in writing his or her acceptance of the object and the methods as laid down in Article I of this Constitution and of the Rules of the Congress.

PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEES.

Article V.—

The following shall be the Provinces with Head-quarters mentioned against them and where no head-quarters are mentioned and in every case the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall have the power to fix or alter them from time to time.

PROVINCES	HEAD-QUARTERS
(1) Madras (Tamil)	Madras
(2) Andhra (Telgu)	
(3) Karnatic (Canarese)	Gadag
(4) Kerala (Malayees)	Calicut
(5) City of Bombay (Marathi and Gujrati)	Bombay
(6) Maharashtra (Marathi)	Poona

PROVINCES	HEAD-QUARTERS.
(7) Gujrat (Gujrati)	Ahmedabad
(8) Sindha (Sindhi)	
(9) United Provinces (Hindustani)	Allahabad
(10) Punjab (Punjabi)	Lahore -
(11) Frontier Provinces (Hindustani)	Peshawar
(12) Delhi (Hindustani)	Delhi
(13) Ajmar, Merwara and Br. Rajputana (Hindustani)	Ajmer
(14) Central Provinces (Hindustani)	Jubbulpore
(15) Central Provinces (Marathi)	Nagpure
(16) Berar (Marathi)	Amraoti
(17) Bihar (Hindustani)	Patna
(18) Utkal (Orissa) (Oriya)	
(19) Bengal and Surma Valley (Bengali)	Calcutta
(20) Assam (Assamese)	Gohati
(21) Burma (Burmese)	Rangoon

Provided that the All-India Congress Committee may from time to time assign particular Indian States to particular Provinces and a Provincial Congress Committee may in its turn allot particular Indian States assigned to it by the All India Congress Committee to particular Districts within its jurisdiction.

The existing Provincial Congress Committees shall forthwith proceed to reorganise themselves in terms of this constitution and such reorganisation shall be final unless and until it is revised by the All-India Congress Committee.

Article VI—

- (a) There shall be a Provincial Congress Committee in and for each of the Provinces named in the foregoing article.
- (b) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall organise District and other committees referred to in Article III and shall have the power to frame rules for laying down conditions of membership and for the conduct of business not inconsistent with this constitution or any rules made by the All India Congress Committee.
- (c) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall consist of representatives elected annually by the members of the District and other committees in accordance with the rules made by the Provincial Congress Committees.

FRANCHISE.

Article VII.—

Every person not disqualified under article IV and paying a subscription of 4 annas per year shall be entitled to become a member of any organisation controlled by the Provincial Congress Committees.

ELECTORATES AND DELEGATES.

Article VIII.—

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall be responsible for the election of delegates to the Congress.

No one shall be qualified for election who is not of the age of 21 years and who does not subscribe to the Congress creed.

The number of delegates shall be not more than one for every 50 thousand or its fraction of the inhabitants of the Province of its jurisdiction, including the Native States therein, in accordance with the last Census : provided, however, that the inclusion of Native States in the electorate shall not be taken to include any interference by the Congress with the internal affairs of such States.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall frame rules for the election of delegates, due regard being had to the return of women delegates and representation of minorities, special interests or classes needing special protection.

The rules shall provide for the organization of electorates and shall prescribe the procedure to be adopted for securing the proportional representation (by a single transferable vote) of every variety of political opinion.

The rules framed by each Provincial Congress Committee shall be sent to the General Secretaries of the Congress not later than the 30th April 1921, which rules shall be published for general information by the Secretaries as soon as possible after the receipt thereof.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall send to the Reception Committee of the ensuing Session of the Congress, an alphabetical list of the delegates so elected containing the full name, occupation, age, sex, religion and address of each of them to reach the Committee not later than the 15th day of December every year and in the case of an Extraordinary Session not later than ten days before the date advertised for the holding of such Session.

Article IX.—

(a) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall pay annually such subscription to the All-India Congress Committee as may be fixed by the latter from time to time.

(b) No member of the Congress Committee shall vote at the election of representatives or delegates or be elected as such unless and until he has paid the subscription due by him.

Article X.—

DELEGATES.

Each Committee referred to in Article VIII shall issue certificates to the delegates duly elected in accordance with the form hereto attached marked Appendix A and signed by the Secretary of the Committee.

Article XI.—

Every Delegate on presenting such a certificate and paying a fee of Rs. 10 at the Congress office shall receive a ticket entitling him to admission to the Congress Pandal. °

Article XII.—

Delegates shall alone have the power of voting at the Congress sittings or otherwise taking part in its deliberations.

Article XIII.—

RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

The Reception Committee shall be formed by the Provincial Congress Committee at least six months before the meeting of the annual session and may include persons who are not members of the Provincial Congress Committee. The members of the Reception Committee shall pay not less than Rs. 25 each.

Article XIV.—

The Reception Committee shall elect its Chairman and other office-bearers from amongst its own members.

It shall be the duty of the Reception Committee to collect funds for the expenses of the Congress Session, to elect the President of the Congress in the manner set forth in the following article and to make all necessary arrangements for the reception and accommodation of delegates and guests and as far as practicable for visitors and for the printing and publication of the report of the proceedings and to submit statement of receipts and expenditure to the Provincial Congress Committee within 4 months of the Session of the Congress.

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT.

Article XVI.—

The several Provincial Congress Committees shall, as far as possible by the end of June, suggest to the Reception Committee the names of persons who are in their opinion eligible for the presidency of the Congress and the Reception Committee shall as far as possible, in the first week of July submit to all the Provincial Committees the names as suggested for their final recommendations, provided that such final recommendation will be of any one but not more of such names and the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible meet in the month of August to consider such recommendations. If the person recommended by a majority of the Provincial Congress Committee is adopted by a majority of the members of the Reception Committee present at a special meeting called for the purpose that person shall be the President of the next Congress. If however the Reception Committee is unable to accept the President recommended by the Provincial Congress Committees or in the case of emergency by resignation, death or otherwise of the President elected in this manner the matter shall forthwith be referred by it to the All-India Congress Committee whose decision shall be arrived at, as far as possible before the end of September. In either case the election shall be final, provided that in no case shall the person so elected as President belong to the province in which the Congress is to be held.

The President of a special or extra-ordinary Session shall be elected by the All India Congress Committee subject to the same proviso.

CONGRESS FUNDS.

Article XVII.

(a) The Reception Committee shall, through the Provincial Congress Committee of the Province remit to the All-India Congress Committee

not later than two weeks after the termination of the Congress Session, ordinary or extraordinary, half the delegation fees from the Congress Funds.

- (b) If the Reception Committee has a balance after defraying all the expenses of the session it shall hand over the same to the Provincial Congress Committee in the Province in which the session was held to form the Provincial Congress fund of that Province.

AUDIT.

Article XVIII.—

The receipts and expenditure of the Reception Committee shall be audited by an auditor or auditors appointed by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned and the statement of accounts together with the auditor's report shall be sent by the Provincial Congress Committee not later than six months from the termination of the Congress to the All-India Congress Committee.

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Article XIX.

The All-India Congress Committee shall consist of 350 members exclusive of ex-officio members.

The ex-officio members shall be all past Presidents of the Congress and General Secretaries and treasurers of the Congress.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall elect the allotted number of members of the All-India Congress Committee from among the members of the Congress Committee within their jurisdiction.

The allotment shall be on the basis of population according to the linguistic redistribution of Provinces or in such other manner as may appear more equitable to the All-India Congress Committee and shall be published by the All-India Congress Committees before the 31st day of January 1921.

The method of election shall be the same as already prescribed for the election of delegates.

Election to the All-India Congress Committee shall ordinarily take place in the month of November.

The first All India Congress Committee under this Constitution shall be elected on or before the 30th of June 1921. Till then the members of the All India Congress Committee recently elected shall continue in office.

The All-India Congress Committee shall meet as often as may be necessary for the discharge of its obligations and every time upon requisition by 15 members thereof who shall state in their requisition the definite purpose for which they desire a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee.

The All-India Congress Committee shall hold office till the election of the new All-India Congress Committee.

Article XX—

The Secretaries of the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall issue certificates of membership of the All-India Committee to the persons so elected.

Article XXI.—

The All-India Congress Committee shall be the Committee of the Congress to carry out the programme of work laid down by the Congress from year to year and deal with all new matters that may arise during the year and may not be provided for by the Congress itself. For this purpose the All-India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame its own rules not inconsistent with this Constitution.

Article XXII.—

The President of the Congress shall be the Chairman of the All India Congress Committee for the year following.

THE GENERAL SECRETARIES.

Article XXIII.—

The Indian National Congress shall have three General Secretaries who shall be annually elected by the Congress. They shall 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, and copies of such account and report shall then be presented to the Congress and sent to the Congress Committees.

WORKING COMMITTEE.

Article XXIV.—

The All-India Congress Committee shall at its first meeting appoint a working Committee consisting of the President, the General Secretaries, the Treasurers and 9 other members which shall perform such functions as may be delegated to it from time to time by the All-India Congress Committee.

SUBJECTS COMMITTEE.

Article XXV.

The members of the All India Congress Committee shall constitute the Subjects Committee for the ordinary or extra-ordinary session following.

Article XXVI.

The Subjects Committee shall meet at least two days before the meeting of the Congress in open session. At this meeting the President-elect shall preside and the out-going Secretaries shall submit the draft programme of the work for the ensuing sessions of the Congress, including resolutions recommended by the different Provincial Congress Committees, for adoption.

Article XXVII.

The Subjects Committee shall proceed to discuss the said programme and shall frame resolutions to be submitted to the open session.

Article XXVIII.

The Subjects Committee shall also meet from time to time as the occasion may require during the pendency of the Congress Session.

CONTENTIOUS SUBJECTS AND INTERESTS OF MINORITIES.

Article XXIX.

No subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subjects Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the President thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mohomedan Delegates as a body, object by a majority of $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of their number, and if, after the discussion of any subject, which has been admitted for discussion, it shall appear that the Hindu Mahomedan Delegates as a body, are by majority of $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of their number, opposed to the resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such resolution shall be dropped.

Article XXX.

The All-India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame rules in respect of all matters not covered by the Constitution and not inconsistent with its Articles.

Article XXXI.

The Articles and the Creed of the Constitution now in force are hereby repealed without prejudice to all acts done thereunder.

Pandit Motilal Nehru seconded. (The rules were explained article by article in Hindusthani by Maulana Mahammad Ali).

A DELEGATE FROM BOMBAY—Mr. president, as a Delegate I beg to draw your attention to the fact that I refuse to vote on any one of the propositions that you want to place before this meeting. I decline to vote.

The president put all the draft rules, except Article No 8 relating to the election of delegates- the number of delegates etc. to the congress, to vote in favour of the passing of the draft rules which were declared carried. The President then put draft Article No. 8 to vote province by province. The result of the voting was as following:-

	10	against	the rest in favour
Bengal	1	do	do
Andhra	3	do	do
Madras	1	do	do
Sindh	1	do	do
United province	1	do	do
Bombay	1	do	do

PRESIDENT:—It is carried by an overwhelming majority in each province.

PRESIDENT:—There are a few more resolutions deemed to be of a Non-controversial nature, especially as it is very late in the night I am charged to put them and place them before you.

The first resolution is Resolution No.15.

" In view of the fact that misunderstandings exist among the Sikhs as to the positions of their community in the future polity of India, the Congress assures the Sikhs that their interests will receive the same protection in any scheme of Swaraj for India as may be provided for Mohomedan and other minorities in provinces other than the Punjab."

Those that are for the Resolution will say Aye (Cries of Aye). Those that are against it will say no. (Cries of none.). The Resolution is carried.

The next Resolution runs as follows:—

This congress condemns the Government for its callous disregard of the immediate needs of the Indian people in reference to its policy as regards the exportation of food-stuffs in spite of famine conditions prevailing and in order to mitigate the disastrous consequences thereof, this congress advises the traders not to export food stuffs (particularly wheat and rice) and further advises producers and the public not to sell such foodstuffs to exporting traders and agencies or help in any the way the export of these stuffs.

Those that are for the resolution will say Aye (Cries of Aye). Those that are against it will say No. (Cries of None) The resolution is carried.

The President:—The next resolution is No. 18 and relates to the condition of our countrymen in Fiji and other places. It runs as follows:—

BRITISH INDIANS IN AFRICA AND FIJI.

This Congress extends its hearty support to the Indians in East Africa and South Africa in their heroic and noble struggle against the treatment made out to them, a treatment that threatens their social, economic and political ruin by the Governments of East Africa and South Africa.

This Congress approves of the policy of peaceful Non-co-operation initiated by the Indians of East Africa, with a view to securing complete equality of treatment alike in law and in practice.

This Congress is painfully aware of the fact that in the present enslaved condition of the people of this country it cannot give protection to their countrymen in Fiji, who have been so inhumanly treated by their Government and planters as to result in the enforced return of the poor men and women who had made Fiji their home.

This Congress considers that the helplessness of the Nation in the matter of the treatment of Indians in the British Dominions overseas is a clear demonstration of the necessity of non-co-operation for the establishment of Swarajya.

This Congress places on record its grateful appreciation of the valuable and selfless services rendered and being rendered by Mr. C. F. Andrews to the cause of indentured Indians in Fiji and elsewhere and the Indian settlers in East and South Africa. Is it your pleasure that this resolution should be carried? (Cries of Yes.) Any body against? (Cried of No.) The resolution is carried

The President:—The next resolution is a formal one.

This Congress appoints Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. Ansari and Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar as the General Secretaries of the Congress for the year 1921 and resolves that the headquarters of the All India Congress Committee shall be located at Allahabad.

Those that are for the resolution will say Aye. (Cried of Aye). Those that are against it will say No. (Cries of none.) The resolution is carried.

The next resolution runs as follows:—

This Congress places on record its grateful thanks for the valuable Services rendered to our country by our General Secretary Mr. V.

J. Patel (loud cheers) both in India and in England, as also the services of Pandit Gokarnnath Misra and Dr. Ansari, the other General Secretaries of the Congress.

This resolution is put to vote and carried unanimously.

A delegate :—What about the second part of Resolution No. 6, that is the Currency resolution.

The President:—One gentlemen tells me that there was a portion left out of the resolution moved by Mr. Bomanji on the currency question. Mr. Bomanji will in a few seconds tell you what it is about.

Mr. Bomanji:—My attention has been called that I have omitted to mention the last two lines of the Resolution and it is this :—

“ Further this Congress appoints a committee to be named by the All India Congress Committee to take steps to deal affectively with the situation ”.

The particular work that this Committee will have to do I have omitted to mention in the remarks that I have made.

One of the subjects that this Committee will have to deal with is the question of the amalgamation of the Banks of Bombay, Madras and Bengal. As you are aware, ladies and gentlemen an act called the Presidency Banks Amalgamation Act has been passed. The Three Banks of Bombay, Madras and Bengal are represented by shareholders to the extent of five crores of rupees. This amalgamation scheme is in the nature of the formation of a new Bank. At the last meeting of the Bank of Bombay the Government put before us a skeleton scheme giving us no idea as to the draft rules and the articles of association that they were going to frame. Now, I understand that a meeting has been held in Simla of what they call the Managing Governors and Governors. That meeting was held in October last and a confirmatory meeting is going to be held in Delhi on the 27th January. At this meeting they are going to confirm what they call the draft rules, and to tell you how this exploitation of our money goes on I will mention only one incident. At this meeting in Simla, among the work that was done was to allot to the managing governors a salary of Rs 10,000 exclusive of income tax, super tax and furnished bungalow. This is the way in which all your money is carried away. They have done no business for the bank. The bank is not in existence. It will come into existence on the 27th January, and before that they have taken the power out of your hands and allotted to themselves a fat salary of Rs. 10,000, a month equal to the salary of the Governor of Bombay, the Governor of Madras and the Governor of Bengal. I want to bring this incident to your notice to show that unless you rise yourself your money which is represented by five crores of rupees of capital will be dealt with in the way in which it has been done. At the last meeting of the Bank of Bombay I made a tremendous row and challenged the legality of the proceedings of the Bank and I was asked to go to the Select Committee and they distinctly promised me that the shareholders would have certain amount of nomination on the board. They have done nothing of the sort. They have nominated four directors in whom we have no confidence. They have nominated four directors who have nothing to do with us, and these are the men who have voted 10,000 rupees salary. Among these four people, I will exempt Sir Dinshaw Wacha, because he did not attend the meeting, from the blame. I have brought this fact to your notice with a view to tell you, and through you, to tell the Govern-

ment of India that after this it shall be the duty of this Committee mentioned in the Resolution before you to recommend the boycott of the Banks of Bombay Madras and Bengal (hear hear). We shall not negotiate their *hundis* and we shall not go for our bank account to those banks. The power is in your hands, and this Committee which is going to be appointed will tell you exactly how to work that power.

With these few words, Ladies and Gentlemen, I beg to move this Resolution for your hearty acceptance. (cheers).

The President:—As I told you, this should have been put as part of the resolution which Mr. Bomanji originally moved and which you have already passed. I shall formally ask you to treat this as part of that resolution. (Cries of Yes, Yes).

Mr. V. J. Patel:—Brother and sister delegates, I have received lists from the various provinces, of the newly elected members of the All India Congress Committee and I trust you will allow me to take these names as read. For the information of these newly elected members I have to tell you that the Committee will meet to-morrow at 7-30 A. M. in the Subjects Committee Pandal.

Mahatma Gandhi then made a speech in Hindi appealing for subscriptions towards the All India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund.

He then made the following speech in English.

I have been just saying, with the permission of the President, a few things in connection with that portion of the Non-co-operation Resolution which you have all accepted with acclamation. I refer to the All India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund. I hope that all the delegates will do their utmost in order to contribute to this Fund. They will be thereby serving a double purpose. They will be treasuring and perpetuating the memory of one who has commanded the universal reverence of India and who has laid down his life in the service of his country. I have not the slightest doubt that this great memorial which you have decided to erect in memory of the illustrious deceased will be a magnificent success; but if it is to be a magnificent success it cannot be so except by the joint and united effort and every one of us, brothers and sisters. Those of you who want even to make payments here, that is, after withdrawing from the Pandal, can do so, but I hope that when you have gone to your homes you will not forget this thing but consider it a sacred duty to contribute as much as you can, and continue to do so, to this sacred memorial in the hope and full belief that we shall be able to get Swaraj within one year. If we cannot contribute whatever we can to this purpose, I hardly think that we can be considered worth getting Swaraj. But your mantra was that you should get Swaraj, and if you see the letters over the picture, "Swaraj, is my birth right", and if you want to make that hope of his, good within one year, you will all make the utmost attempt in order to make this memorial a success. You may send your contributions to the General Secretary. (Hear Professor Rammurty) offered amidst loud cheers a subscription of Rs. 1001. I have much pleasure in announcing a subscription of Rs. 1001 from our Indian Sandow and two rings from friends whose names I do not know. (Loud Cheers). I have much pleasure to announce to you that Seth Jamanlal, who is lying on sick bed, and who is the Chairman of the Reception Committee, has sent me a message that he proposes to place at my disposal one lakh of rupees (loud and prolonged cheers.) to be treated as part of the public Fund. but to be specially utilised for the maintenance of those lawyers who may suspend their practice and who may be in need of some little assistance

and who do not do any work but devote all their time to the national service (cheers) and he has given me the assurance that he will endeavour to collect more funds also. I know you will consider this a fairly happy augury for the success of this memorial Fund. May God help you to make this Memorial Fund the success that it ought to be. (Loud cheers). (At this stage a number of contributions were received from those present in the Pandal.)

Dr. Moonje then moved a vote of thanks to the president in Hindi.

Mr. Ben spoor, M. P. who on seconding the motion of thanks to the Chair was received with cheers delivered the following address :—

Mr. President and comrades, I regard it as a very big honour that I have been asked to second the Resolution of thanks to the President of what I believe to be every one here will agree the most epoch making Congress that has ever been held in the history of India. nationalism. I have sat in the subjects Committee and have been literally amazed at the extra ordinary skill that your chairman has shown (hear hear). I remember a few months ago presiding at a meeting in London at which there were 200 to 300 Indian students present. They were all anxious to move amendments to the resolutions before the meeting. I remember the difficulty that I had as president on that occasion in keeping those 200 to 300 students in order. The extra ordinary manner in which your chairman has maintained order with a vast audience of thirty thousand as I said a moment or two ago has literally amazed me. In the subjects committee he has kept us all on the straight and narrow path. He has never allowed us to transgress in any single particular and I am sure you are to be congratulated in having in this great movement a man who by his act by his geniality, by his very profound knowledge has been able to guide your proceedings with such extraordinary success (hear hear).

Mr. President, before sitting down I may be allowed to say a word of good by to my comrades who are here as delegates to night. I came to your country just a very short time ago and in about seven days I will be leaving for England. I will carry away from this country some very very happy memories I will carry away from the Congress some very real inspiration I will be able to tell my comrades in the Labour movement in Britain that the Nationalists in India are absolutely united. (hear hear). Attempts are being made in the Anglo Indian press to convey an idea that there has been disunion at this Congress (Cries of shame). I read a statement in an Anglo Indian paper only this morning in which that was suggested and I am very glad that that statement is absolutely wrong. Never in my life have I seen a body of men and woman more united more determined inspired by a loftier idealism than that your people have shown during these last few days. I only want to say one word to you. Dark and difficult days lie ahead of you. There are formidable obstacles that have got to be faced. But for God's sake keep your movement pure. Try every one of you to show the same splendid idealism the same singleness of aim and purpose that inspires the man who leads Mahatma Gandhi (loud cheers). I come from the West and I some times have wondered during recent years whether after all it is going to lead the world back on to the path of sanity. During the last few years when the world was convulsed owing to the War one wondered whether any voice would be raised that would remind the nations of the madness of the old methods of force. I am glad to know that in your country an effort is being made to lead this nation along the difficult path of renunciation the only path that can lead to real human progress. As I said to you the other day we people in the West need you people in the East. For some reason or other you do seem to possess a spiritual insight which we in the West are lacking. I pray that God

may help you in your task, strengthen your spirit to keep as said a moment ago your movement absolutely pure and free from violence (loud cries of hear) That can be done. I have not the slightest doubt of your freeing India and a great deal more than that. You teach other nations in other parts of the world how to make themselves really free. I have very great pleasure in seconding the Resolution of thanks to your president. (Loud and prolonged cheers).

Maulana Mahammad Ali who on rising to support the motion was greeted with a very hearty ovation delivered the following speech :—

Mr. Chairman and friends I hope Mr. Chairman you will permit me to remind you of the days not so very long ago after all but still long ago when I used to be sitting fairly high in the heavens in the press gallery and looked down upon all the Councillers in the Council Hall at Delhi amongst whom you were one. I am sure you will be proud to see today that the entire press gallery is at your feet. In those days I could find out in the council composed as it was of fairly brilliant men I could find out that there was one although much older than the rest had a very warm and young heart and I know that when on account of a single bomb thrown at single Englishman the whole length and breath of India was shackled with a new law, the law of Conspiracy I remember when most of our fellow countrymen although they felt like you had not the courage when a Viceroy had been assailed in that manner to stand up in the Council and fight against that Act, yet I remember a Brahmin as you are and unable to take any food unless and until you have bathed in your orthodox manner how you stuck to your guns from morning up till 10 o'clock in the night opposing at every step the bill that had been moved in the Council and which so many of your fellow councillors had not the courage to oppose (Loud cries of hear hear). During those three years that I know you to be a member of the Council I could find that you possessed a knowledge of technical of law and sound arguments with which to oppose the technicalities introduced into the debate by your opponents And Sir I find that those fighting qualities of the old ancient Brahmin of the South are not lost and deadened during these years. I find that you can still fight and fight as those years I find that you can still fight as persistently and as successfully with your compatriots whom you have got to rule over as chairman as you could fight against those who wanted to rule over you as the rulers of India.

Sir, although I am here to thank you for having conducted so successfully the largest gathering that the Congress has yet known you will permit me to tell you that something is also due from you to this great Congress. I do not know how many years Providence will yet spare you to us. I Hope you will live to be 1-20 years old and more. But whenever Providence may take you away from amongst your countrymen I feel certain that in the ages that are to come, your children and your children's children and their children will remember that on a certain memorable day in the Central Provinces and in the city of Nagpur people had assembled and declared that once for all they had refused to be slaves any longer and that it was given to you to conduct the destinies and the deliberations of that assembled multitude of Indian slaves before but slaves no longer (loud cheers and hear hear). This is no small matter this is no ordinary gathering that people can say. " Oh this is disorderly " and cry shame upon them because they don't treat such person in such a manner or such a person in any other manner. Surely people can see for themselves the great difference in a Congresslike and in the Congress of any European country which has been free for long. In those countries people are already habituated to carry on discussion about matters with which they are concerned in a certain manner. But here it is no ordinary stream and certainly it is no ordinary tank stagnant with out any

energy in its flow. Every body can realise that it is no ordinary stream. This is a stream that had been banded up for over a century and a half and to-day the flood had broken the bund and is spreading and giving fertility to the entire soil of this great Motherland of ours. If at the flood tide you find that people cannot repress themselves that does not go against the people. It goes against the tremendous reaction that used to be prevalent in this country. If we cry shame upon any one who seems to disagree with us and whom we regard as a suspect, surely this is nothing very new in the history of human beings. At times like these we really cannot afford to lose a single worker and when people are so much of one mind, as you all find in this multitude of thirty thousand here, and three hundred millions outside, at such a time of such tremendous unanimity-unanimity that will perhaps be unparalleled in the history of the world surely, if we find some of our workers, some of our old comrades are getting out of this, are not contributing their quota of work, it is no wonder that some people may suspect them occasionally. There is no reason for despising this great enthusiasm, for sneering at us, and saying that we are not a people who deserve freedom. Every man deserves freedom. Only those who have freedom can restrain themselves. After the lessons you have taught us of self-restraint, when we go out of this Assembly we will be a mightier people because we shall be a more self-restraining people. I hope you will permit me to say to my friends and comrades that the Congress has only begun—the Congress has not ended. This will be, I hope, the last Congress that will meet in India. The next Congress will be a Parliament of a Free Nation that would have freed itself from a soul killing slavery not with violence—not with shedding of human blood, but with absolute readiness to undergo the suffering that our enemies may impose. This is our challenge to them the most peaceful challenge, and we hope that by the time when the next Christmas Day comes we shall show that at the nativity of that Prince of Peace India would have got its peace and that by peaceful means. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Pandit Motilal Nehru :—I call upon you to carry this by acclamation.

The motion is carried by acclamation.

Pandit Motilal Nehru :—Moulana Shaukat Ali will move the resolution of thanks to the Volunteers and the Reception Committee.

Mr. Shaukat Ali who was received with loud cries of Allah-o-Akber moved the resolution in a speech in Hindi.

Dr. Kitchlew seconded the resolution in Urdu. The motion is carried by acclamation.

Mr. Vallabhai Patel Ahmedabad:—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, on behalf of the people of Ahmedabad I formally invite the next session of the Congress to Ahmedabad and I invite you all to go there. Whatever I had to say in this behalf has already been said by Mahatma Gandhi and my path is made very smooth and clear and I felt sure that you will accept the invitation. But one thing I want to remind you. Ahmedabad is a place where the idea of obtaining freedom for the people of India within a year was born, and if you have done your duty to your country you will have the right to take account from the originator of that idea, and if after fulfilling your duty you go to Ahmedabad you will have that right. But remember those who will go there will have to account as to what they have done towards the fulfillment of that ideal, and the conditions that have been laid down for the fulfillment of that ideal within one year. But do not be afraid

that I am not going to invite any slacker. I am going to invite all who will do their duty to their country, and those who are timid, every one. But I feel sure that the programme of Non-co-operation having been confirmed here in Nagpur as to which there had been some doubts in the country the call of the nation will be respected by every individual in this country. I hope you will accept my invitation to the next Session of the Congress.

Pandit Motilal Nehru:—I hope the invitation is accepted. (Cried of Yes.)

The President in drawing the proceedings to a close delivered the following speech extempore:—

Ladies and Gentlemen, the proceedings are to be formally closed. My duty today is somewhat different from the duty with which you called upon me to open the proceedings. Then I was bound to lay before you the situation of our country and to lay also before you for acceptance wholly, or in part, or for rejection if you pleased, what I believed to be the views of the country—those views being not only personal but arrived at after a careful survey and scrutiny of the whole situation and arrived at, too, in consultation with friends, Hindus and Mussalmans, and even Europeans—some Europeans who are not merely amidst us but also of us here, such as Reverend Mr. Andrews. I laid before you that day what my views were. It is now my duty not to repeat any of them.

My duty is now different, one is personal and the other is my duty to the country, and the latter I propose to take at once first, and that is to interpret the resolutions and what lies behind them, to our rulers, to the non-official Europeans and to the world. It is not the list of Resolutions that you have passed that will give them any idea of the National Soul that is being roused and that is making rapid march towards the destiny which you are determined to elevate under the law of God and the law to be made by yourselves untempered with by any body outside yourselves. The national passion is roused, and, as Mahatma Gandhi pointed out, that holy fire, your enthusiasm for getting your freedom from which you have been kept out for over 170 years, has now reached a degree which I am sorry, the Bureaucrats have not been here to see. It is this enthusiasm which is behind all the Resolutions which you have passed. Interpreting the Resolutions themselves, the first and foremost is the unanimity with which you have passed all important Resolutions. I am not talking about the Resolutions on the Constitution of the Congress which you have passed to-day, but I am talking of the Resolutions which you have passed especially about Non-co-operation and the First Article of the creed. I may honestly tell you that when our countrymen resolved to ask me to preside over this Congress I was trembling when I thought of the situation. I hesitated for three days, and while I was afraid I was buoyed up with hope and I was also inspired by my sense of duty to stand and face the situation, whatever might be the consequence. My hope was, I knew at bottom our countrymen are both just and kind and generous and humane, I knew, whatever might be the difference of opinion, even if I did not see with you and with your trusted leaders in some matters eye to eye I knew that the reception you would give me would be warm and from the very core of your heart. I have not been disappointed and I may go further and say, I should have been sorry if in my embarrassment I had declined the honour which you bestowed upon me, I should have lived the rest of my life which God may grant me, miserable life.

The important Resolution is about Non-co-operation. After considerable hesitation and consultation we arrived or, as far as possible, the leaders arrived at a workable basis to the dismay of your enemies and I hope to the pleasant disappointment of some of those who were away from us and were away from

us because they thought if they had come they would not be treated, on the one hand, properly, I am sorry to say they thought so-and on the other hand some few feared that there might be a split. I need hardly tell you that they are all very good patriots and they must be very glad that their fears have proved futile and unfounded. Coming to our enemies, I am very sorry that your Reception Committee made a mistake in my view. They ought to have invited some of the prominent Bureaucrats of your country to come and sit here throughout. If they had come and seen here I do not know what they would have done. They would go home and they would have to revise their old Bible. Their old Bible is that they are the Heaven appointed wardens of the illiterate and leading working millions of India and that the people who started the Congress were a few, a microscopic few. If they had been sitting here all these days they would have seen that they were all living hitherto in a fool's paradise.

What is it that has brought about this change of things? We have got now simply as Delegates apart from visitors about fifteen thousand, a vast majority of whom are what we call ordinary people of the country, by no means the educated minority, much less the lawyer minority. As far as I could ascertain, the lawyer element has been extremely small in this Congress, this is the greatest Congress which has been held as yet in India, and I believe the proportion of lawyers is as yet the smallest in this Congress. (A voice) I did not say number. I said proportion and that is my belief. Be that as it may, the Delegates are about fifteen thousand and they are drawn from the whole of the country. Taking the proportion of the house of Commons—the number of members of the House of Commons is under seven hundred of the people of England—and taking the proportion of the Delegates of this Congress to the people of India, it is nearly three times the proportion which the number of the members of the House of Commons bears to the people of England (cries of hear, hear) On the other hand, as regards the idea that the Bureaucracy here are the trustees appointed—I do not know by whom they claim that they are trustees of the dumb millions of India; if they had come here they would have seen that it is not the few microscopic minority that lead the people but it is the people that are now practically leading the leaders and I am not ashamed to say that this is the commencement of democracy, that is the commencement of true democracy. I already said so to you the first day. Democracy means Universal education and universal suffrage and it is very necessary that the thinkers are brought down very often from the flights of imagination and think with the people and act with the people. Under no democracy can few people hope to be the leaders of the whole country. It will then cease to be a democracy. I have already alluded to the down fall of Athens from the time of Pericles because the people of Athens allowed Pericles to think for the whole country and they themselves declined to think and degeneracy began. Happily a contrary process has begun in India, and I am glad to see it exhibited here. The bureaucracy if they would see would probably be reminded of an incident which an English wit has well described. There was a heavy storm, a sublime storm and the ocean began to put forth huge waves. And what do you think the people who were hitherto living in safety on the shore did? They began to fly away with all the things that were available but there was one old lady who did not like to go anywhere. She did not like to run away with her things but she took her broom and went to beat the waves with a curse and with her broomstick she wanted to beat back the raging ocean. This will be the act of the Bureaucracy if they try by repression to put back your spirit. It is impossible for them to put back the spirit that has now risen. They would be in the position of the old lady who not only was beaten back by the waves but in her attempt to beat the waves with a broomstick and with a curse lost what she had in her cottage

She did not know where the cottage was and she was a beggar. Very much like that would be the position of our bureaucracy. It is time that they revised their old ideas about us. It is time that they made a confession of their own sins. It is time that our government, even the Non-officials and the Press here and in England, the Anglo-Indian Press ceased to confess our sins for us. Let them confess their own sins for themselves and for the whole world. If they do that, and not till then, could there be spiritual contentment of the noble cause which President Wilson and Clemeneau and many others said was looming in the horizon of freedom when the war began. When the war is concluded we find that so many statements which allured us to sacrifice men and money have all been re-edited, I do not know where they are, very grand words were substituted for old words. We had before the sovereignty of the people. Now they had rights of self-determination. We had other words. that each people, whatever people they may be, are to solve their own problem. This has been set aside when they dealt with Turkey. This was applied to European minorities in the Turkish territories. So far as the Turks were concerned these maxims were never thought of. In fact a part of the Treaty is that the League of Nations shall interfere with the Turkish administration in those territories on behalf of minorities. The words "European minority" are not there, but it means European minorities.

Today, Ladies and Gentlemen, our duty is very plain. Our duty is to carry on the culture of the spirit, to carry on, to accelerate the evolution of the National ideal as you have been doing hitherto. The mass soul as distinct from the individual soul has begun to move. I want to see that it moves forward and forward and forward, and never goes backward. Whatever may be the methods that we adopt eventually for advancing our freedom, whatever may be the exact form which may be reached by us the culture of the National ideal, the grand movement of the mass-soul ought to be kept up. Unless this is kept up, if any re-action takes place, our doom is certain. Therefore it is our duty as soon as we go home to take to the education of the masses and to see that the mass soul receives more and more fire and impetus that it might have lacked hitherto and is purged of impurities. It is then and not till then that the country is likely to enter into what I may call the dawn of freedom. Nagpur, as I said in my opening speech, is the Thermopylae in the history of the Congress and the country. You all know Thermopylae and the history connected with it. (Here the President recited an epitaph written over the graves of those who had laid their lives for the cause of their country.) "Here we die for our country's sake." All those who may be subjected to repression if you mean to adopt and carry out the principle of renunciation and sacrifice you shall have to act, whether you say so or not, brother and sister mother and father here we shall die for our country's sake. My interpretation therefore of this congress, ladies and gentlemen, is under whatever name the world may call it, whether under Non-co-operation or under a compromise, whatever it is, all that is behind is that the people educated and uneducated, men, women and children are out for freedom, a freedom which has been denied to them these 170 years. And the evils of the absence of that freedom have been accentuated these 2 or 3 years ever since the Punjab tragedy began. Our duty therefore is independent of the particular methods that may be adopted or that may be revised from time to time, to educate ourselves and march onward and onward.

So far as my personal duty is concerned, I am bound to say that I never experienced in all my life greater kindness and greater attention than that has been bestowed here by the gentlemen who had been provided by the Reception Committee. I do not claim that both here and in the Subjects Committee my rulings and my conduct were all accurate, possibly they were skilful (Laughter) but I can not claim that they were accurate, you are taken unawares. There are so many able men among the delegates who are taken unawares.

We must do your work at once and by a rapid judgment you have to give a decision. I did so benevolently but I do not claim that the decisions were all correct. But they extended to me their geniality and kindness, and not one of them, as far as I can see, either by face or by anything else showed that they disapproved the action I had taken. Even if there was one he very soon repented and regretted that he did so. On my part I must say that it was due to the complete confidence not merely confidence but kindness extended to me by every one of you both here and in the Subjects Committee, that I was enabled to do my duty, if at all to your satisfaction.

There is only one word more and I have done. I have to be your President for one year, or rather the President of the All India Congress Committee. I feel the satisfaction that our veteran patriot Pandit Motilal Nehru will extend to me the right hand of fellowship. I am on the other hand, very sorry that I shall lose the assistance, at all events, the official assistance and the services of Mr. Patel who, as you all know, worked for us both here and in England. He has just whispered to me that he would be ready to assist me as often as I liked. I need the assistance of these two very able gentlemen who have been doing so much for our country in the way of selfless work.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I must say good by to you and I am sure that on your going home you will enjoy the memory of having taken part in this Congress. Mr. Mahammed Ali alluded to my old age. I confess to you I am old and that I am not young, but he adds a long life up to 120 years and more. My difficulty would be what to do with it. (A voice-work for Swaraj). It is not true that long life is a blessing. If so God might have made us immortal. During the short time that I may live I tell you, and I tell you from the bottom of my heart old age depends for its life more on memories, much more on memories, and very little on actualities, I shall have to live therefore on my recollections. Among those recollections the foremost, the purest, and the most sustaining will be the treatment that I have received from you, from the Reception Committee, and from the members of the Subjects Committee during these 5 or 6 days. That will be the foremost of my recollections and the most pleasant and the most life-giving.

One other aspect of this Congress is that we have received a message of fraternity from the Labour party in England. While I tell you that we should depend upon ourselves for our salvation it would be unfair, it would be even improper that so selfless an offer of friendship and alliance by the Labour Party should not be availed of by us and it is my wish and prayer to you that you should cultivate the camaraderie of spirit with the Labour in England (hear, hear). Do not forget the Resolution today. My new friend, I hope I shall live long enough to call him, my old friend, Mr. Ben Spoor alluded to the resolution of the Labour Party for our freedom that was passed unanimously. That was a very rare event, and what is more, they have sent Mr. Ben Spoor here to give us their greetings. In your name which I did not do that day, and I believe by your implied authority I would ask Mr. Spoor to convey our message to the Labour Party in England, our fraternal meetings to them, and let us hope that the friendship, that the alliance thus began, will admit of no obstacle but every thing that will promote the cultivation of that spirit between the two peoples.

I wish to specially thank the movers of the Resolution, my friends—Dr. Mccnaje, Mr. Mahammed Ali and Mr. Ben Spoor for the highly flattering terms in which they exaggerated what little merit I had in conducting the proceedings. I tender you, Ladies and Gentlemen, my humble thanks. *Bande Mataram* (Loud prolonged cheers).

After reciting the following poem by Mr. Anand Rao Tekade,
The Congress was declared dissolved.

राष्ट्रगीत.

(कवि-आनंदराव कृष्णाजी टेकाडे, नागपूर.)

[सबसे राम. या चालीवर]

जय हिन्द देविची बोला

हर हर महादेव बोला ॥ धृ० ॥

गेळा गेळा राष्ट्र-धुरंधर बाणुनि सकळ वदती

नश्वर काया केव्हांतरि ती जायाची होती ॥१॥

राष्ट्र-पुरुष तो राष्ट्र संकठी सोडुनियां जाई

इतिहासाचा नियम असे हा पहा मागुती कांहीं ॥२॥

अपूर्ण परि तन्मनोरथार्ते शेवटास न्याया

तोच नियम कधि झटें तयांच्या अनुयायांची काया ॥३॥

प्रताप गेळा चितुरगढासी रिपु-करिं ठेवोनी

शिववा जाई ऐन बहारी राष्ट्र पोरकें करूनी ॥४॥

स्वतंत्रतेचे द्वारिं नेउनी तेंवि ' तिलक ' जाती

तयाभीतरीं प्रवेशणें हें असेलस्यांच्या हातीं ॥५॥

स्वातंत्र्याचा वीप उजळिला परवशता नाशी

पहा तयाला निर्भयतेनें पुसुनि आंसवांसी ॥६॥

त्या दीपानें इतर जगत निज घालवि तिमिराला

मर्दपणें आर्यानी ! हर हर महादेव बोला

बोला, हर हर महादेव बोला ॥७॥

लो. टिळक महाराजकी जय !

मिस्टर सी० विजयराघवाचारियर,

सभापति, भारतीय राष्ट्रीय महासभा नागपुर, का भाषण ।

दिसम्बर १९२०

प्रतिनिधि भाइयों, महिलाओं तथा सजनों,

मातृभूमि के आवाहन की आज्ञानुसार मैं करना कर्तव्य करने के लिये खड़ा होता हूँ । मेरा सब से पहिला कर्तव्य यह है कि मुझे जो यह काम करने का सौभाग्य आप लोगों ने प्राप्त कर दिया है उस के लिये मैं आप को हार्दिक धन्यवाद दूँ । आप लोगों ने जो मुझ पर विश्वास रक्खा है और उस से मुझे जो सच्चा आनन्द मिल रहा है, उस के बारे में उदासीनता प्रगट करना मेरे लिये एक प्रकार से दिखाऊ काम करने के सदृश है । मैं एक पुराना काँग्रेसभक्त हूँ और मेरे बांधवों ने मुझ पर विश्वास और प्रेम प्रगट कर के मुझे जो सब से बढ़कर पारितोषिक दिया है, उस के लिये मैं आप लोगों का अत्यन्त कृतज्ञ हूँ । आप इस बात पर, जब कि मैं उसे शुद्धान्तःकरण से कह डालता हूँ, विश्वास कीजिये कि यदि यह मान मुझे कुछ वर्षों के पेरतर या भविष्य में मिला होता तो मुझे इस से भी बढ़कर आनन्द होता और चित्त की व्यग्रता भी बहुत कुछ कम रहती । धार्मिक भक्ति, धैर्य तथा उत्सुकता के साथ मैं अपना कर्तव्य करने के लिये तैयार हूँ । तौभी मुझे घबराहट मालूम होती है । क्योंकि आज की राजकीय परिस्थिति हमारे अनुमान और विचारों के बाहर गंभीर और उलझी हुई है । मुझे इत्मी आशा से धीरज मालूम होता है कि इस अधिवेशन के महान् तथा अपूर्व प्रसंगानुरूप कार्य न करने से मेरी जो त्रुटियाँ होगी, उन के लिये आप की कृपा तथा सहनशीलता मेरी गलतियों को उदारता पूर्वक क्षमा करके इस महान् कार्य में मेरा साथ देगी । इस अवसर पर इस महा सभा के सन्मुख मुझ से मेरा मानस प्रगट किये बिना नहीं रहा जाता कि भारतभूमि के महान् पुत्र लोकमान्य तिलक आज इह लोक में नहीं हैं जिन के कि देश कल्याण के लिये आत्मबलिदान करते हुए तथा स्वार्थ रहित दुःखों को भेजते हुए जीवन की अपेक्षा संसार के राष्ट्रीय स्वातंत्र्य युद्धों में शायद ही किसी अन्य पुरुष का जीवन अधिक श्रेष्ठ हो । इसका मुझे अत्यन्त शोक है । क्योंकि इस समय यदि वे जीवित रहते तो जो निष्ठा आप लोगों ने मुझ में अधिष्ठित की है, वह उनकी श्रेष्ठता के कारण सौभाग्यतः मेरी अपेक्षा उन्हीं को अर्पण की जाती ।

२. हमारा कार्य जितना महान् है, उतनाही कठिन है । हमें अपने दयालु सम्राट और संसार के श्रेष्ठ राष्ट्रों को अपनी ओर से एक संदेशा भेजने के विषय में विचार कर उसे निश्चित करना है । वह संदेशा यह है कि भारत के शासकों ने उसकी प्रजा की ऐसी अवस्था कर दी है कि जिसे वे अब सहन नहीं कर सकते । और उन्हीं ने अपने सौंदर्यशाली देश को उसकी संतानके रहने योग्य और सुरक्षित बनाने का निश्चय कर लिया है और इस महत्वपूर्ण हेतु को साध्य करने में यदि अब देर की जावेगी तो उससे उनका नाश और संसार की भावी शांति को यदि नहीं तौभी साम्राज्य को धका पड़वेगा ।

३. आज हमारे सन्मुख यही प्रश्न है कि यह महान् कार्य किस प्रकार साध्य किया जावे । हमें क्या करना है यह समझने के पहिले यह देख लेना चाहिये कि वास्तविक रीति से हमारी क्या अवस्था है । हम पहिले सुदृढ़नामा करके स्वाधीनतापूर्वक अपनी इच्छा तथा संमति से ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य में शामिल हुए हैं । पहिले हमारी यह राष्ट्रीय संस्था अस्तित्वमें नहीं

थी। १५ साल से पूर्व यह शुरू की गई है। उसका उद्देश्य यह है कि हमारे देश की राजनीतिक जागृति हो और ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य के अन्य राष्ट्रों के समान हम भी अंग्रेजी राज्यप्रणाली के लाभों को प्राप्त कर सकें इस लिये उस सुलहनामें की दूसरी पार्टी से इमानदारीके साथ उन शर्तों को पालन कराया जावे। इंग्लंड और स्वयंशासित उपनिवेशोंके समान राज्य प्रणाली स्थापन करने का और जनताके नैसर्गिक हकों की घोषणा करने का और ब्रिटिश भारतमें उत्तरदायित्व-पूर्ण शासन शीघ्रही स्थापन करनेका समय कुछ सालों के पहिले कदाचित् न आया हो। किंतु अब हमारा विश्वास हो गया है कि आज वह समय आ चुका है। दूसरे पक्ष से यह कहने के लिये हम यहां पर एकत्रित हुए हैं कि वे लोग अपने दिये हुए वचनों की पूर्ति सचाई के साथ अक्षरशः तथा यथादेश व्यर्थ कालक्षेप न करके शीघ्रही करें। हमें इस प्रकारकी राज्य पद्धति और कानून से सुसाजित होजाना चाहिये कि जिससे अंग्रेजी जनता या उनके मुखत्यार (नौकरशाही) जैसा कि वे आजतक करते चले आये हैं उस प्रकार दंड-भयंरहित हो कर उन वचनों का भविष्य में भंग न कर सकें।

४. उपरोक्त घोषणा और लेख कैसे होना चाहिये इसका एक मसौदा मैंने बनाया है और उसे इस भाषण के साथ लगा दिया है। उसे साधंत पढ़कर मैं आपका समय नहीं लेना चाहता। इस मसौदे की मुख्य शर्तें और तत्वोंकी ओर आपका ध्यान आकर्षण करना जरूर है। इस अधिवेषण में आप लोगों के विचार और वाद विवाद से जो फेर बदल होंगे उनके सहित यह मसौदा आप लोगों को ग्रहण करने के लिये मैंने आपके सम्मुख उपस्थित किया है उसमें मैंने कोई नई बात नहीं लिखी है वे सब राजनैतिक ग्रंथों और उन्नत देशोंसे विशेषकर फ्रांस के शासन संघटन से ली गई हैं। मैं आपको बतलाता हूं कि यही योजना मैंने तीन वर्ष पहिले जब भारत मंत्री माननीय मिस्टर मांटेगू साहब यहां पर सुधार योजना के संबंध में आकर प्रवास कर रहे थे तब उनके तथा वाइसराय के अपने मुलाकात के समय पेश की थी।

५. उस प्रारंभिक योजना में महत्व का अंश हमारे मनुष्यता तथा ब्रिटिश नागरिकत्व के अधिकारों की घोषणा के संबंध में है। इस प्रकार के लेखी अधिकारों के महत्व को अतिशयोक्ति पूर्वक वर्णन करना असंभव है। आज कल के सब अर्वाचीन राष्ट्रों में लेखी संगठन है केवल इंग्लंड में ही लिखित संगठन नहीं है। किन्तु वहां के न्यायाधीशों, राजनीतिज्ञों तथा सिपाहियों के परंपरा व्यवहार तथा प्रथा ही वहां का संगठन माने जाते हैं। मैं यह कहूंगा कि अब लिखित संगठन का काल नहीं है। अलिखित संगठन धीरे २ निर्माण हो सकता है। न कि एक दिनमें। इंग्लंड का संगठन सात सदियोंके पहिले मेगनाचार्टी के समय से प्रारंभ हुआ और १८३२ के सुधार कानून से पूरा हुआ अब भारत में संगठन शुरू करना तथा सदियों तक उसकी पूर्णताकी आशा करतेहुए बैठे रहना यह बात स्पष्टतया विचार के विरुद्ध है। इसके सिवाय यह सभी विद्वानों का मत है कि अलिखित संगठन की अपेक्षा लिखित संगठन अधिक श्रेष्ठ है अलिखित संगठन की हानियों के बारे में प्रो. टेंबरली जोर देकर कहते हैं कि, 'किसी भी देश को अलिखित संगठन दो प्रकार से अत्यन्त हानिकारक हो सकता है। पहिले 'प्रथा' के दो अर्थ ग्रहण किये जा सके हैं। किन्तु कानून का एकही। संगठन की प्रथा का अर्थ करते समय अविचारशील तथा स्वच्छाचारी राजनीतिज्ञों को अच्छा मौका मिलता है। इसके सिवाय इससे बढ़कर भी एक दूसरी हानि है। साधारण तथा संगठन सम्बंधी कानून बनाने में इंग्लंड की पार्लियामेंट की पारिपाटी में बिलकूल फरक नहीं है। दूसरे सब देशोंमें जहां लिखित संगठन है, संगठनको बदलने की एक विशेष कठिनाई की तथा त्रासदायक प्रथा है। इंग्लंड में कुत्तोंपर टेक्स लगाने का कानून जिस प्रकार बनाया है, उसी तरह जमीनदारों के अधिकार छीन लेनेका। "इंग्लंड के सब से बड़े राजनीतिज्ञ एडमंडबर्क का

लिखित संगठन से होनेवाले लाभ के बारे में इस प्रकार कथन है “ मनुष्य का अधिकार याने मनुष्य मात्र के स्वाभाविक अधिकार पवित्र वस्तु है। यद्यपि वह अधिकार लेख बद्ध नहीं है तभी यदि कोई कानून उसमें बाधा डाले तो वह कानून नष्ट करने योग्य है। यदि ये अधिकार लेखों तथा करारोंद्वारा स्पष्ट तथा नियमबद्ध कर दिये गये हैं और शक्तिशालियों तथा शासकोंकी स्वेच्छा से सुरक्षित हैं। तो और भी अच्छा। इससे उनके उद्देशकी पवित्रताही सुरक्षित नहीं होती। किन्तु इससे सार्वजनिक विश्वास जिससे ऐसी महत्व पूर्ण बातें प्राप्त होती है दृढ़ होता है। इस प्रकारकी कबुली देनेका अधिकार सर्व श्रेष्ठ राजकीय शक्ति ही का है। उस शक्तिका नाश होने से या शासन प्रणाली में अत्यंत फेरफार होने से अथवा समाज का ही नाश हो जाने से ये अधिकार नष्ट होजासके हैं। अन्यथा नहीं। सनदें जिन्हें महान् यह संज्ञा प्राप्त है इसी प्रकार के सार्वजनिक दस्तावेजात हैं। जॉन राजा तथा तीसरे हेनरीने दी हुई सनदों के बारे में मैं कह रहा हूँ। अपहार करने की इच्छा से जिन में गूढता नहीं है ऐसे लेखों से जो बातें साध्य की जाती हैं वे वास्तविक में मनुष्यों के सनदक्षपत्ता अधिकार हैं।

६. इसके अलावा अधिकारों की घोषणा राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा का बड़ा भारी साधन है। हमें मालूम है कि पुराने जमाने में रोम के प्रत्येक बच्चे को ‘ ट्रेल्वटेबल्स ’ के कानून वेद और कुगन के समान रटाये तथा समझाये जाते थे। इस प्रथा ने रोम के महान प्रजातंत्र को अनेक अंशों में दृढ़ता पहुंचाई थी। तात्विक अधिकारों को बचपन में ही ठीक २ ढंग से समझने पर हमें देशवासियों के भी समान अधिकारों का ख्याल होने लगता है। अतएव हम एक दुसरे के प्रति अपने अधिकारों को समझने लगते हैं।

७. इस प्रकार के अभ्यास से हमारे अंतःकरण का ऐसा स्वभाव हो जाता है कि जिससे हम अपने देश भाइयों के साथ शांतिपूर्वक मेलमिलाप से पूर्ण स्वाधीनता सहित रह सकें।

८. यह कहने में अतिशयोक्ति न होगी कि मनुष्य मात्र के स्वाभाविक अधिकारों की घोषणा को राष्ट्र के युवकोंने पवित्र शास्त्र के समान मानकर उनका अभ्यास करना चाहिये। राजकीय इंजिल जो मानवी प्रयत्न से परिणत की जाती है। और जिसका आविष्कार नहीं होता अविष्कृत धार्मिक इंजिल (Bible) की सहायक है। इसकी नींव उस के उपयोग के कारण तथा मानवी विवेकपर अनुभव द्वारा ढाली जाती है। यहां एक तर्क संमत धर्म है, यद्यपि समस्त प्राचीन तथा अर्वाचीन सभ्य देशोंने महान् राजकीय तत्व तथा तत्वज्ञान की संगठना की है और उन्नति की है, तो भी इतिहास और तत्वज्ञान के सिद्धान्तों से मनुष्य के स्वाभाविक अधिकारों को रक्षण करने की और दृढ़ निकालने की कीर्ति प्राप्त ने ही प्राप्त की है। फ्रांस के तत्ववेत्ताओं ने न केवल इन तत्वोंका आविष्कार और रक्षा ही की किन्तु ठीक तौर से उनकी व्याख्या करके उन्हें अच्छी और सुन्दर भाषा में प्रथित कर दिया। इन्हें देश-भक्ति के वेदी पर ही नहीं परन्तु सारी मानव जाति की वेदी पर अर्पित करने के लिये फ्रांस ने ही अपना अनमोल खून बहाया है। जिस समय इंग्लैंड के देशभक्त प्राचीन खानदान तथा वंश परम्परा के बलपर अपने राजकीय हकों की मांग कर रहे थे और उन्हें स्थापन कर रहे थे उस समय फ्रांस सारी मानव जाति के हित की दृष्टि से विचार कर रहा था, आवाज उठा रहा था, लड़ रहा था और अपना खून बहा रहा था। मनुष्य अपने आयुष्य का मालीक नहीं है किन्तु उस के पास आयुष्य एक धरोवर के समान है। यह महान तथा वैवीतत्व इन अधिकारों में प्रथित किया गया है इसलिये जिन मुख्य ९ बातों से मानवी जीवन निर्माण तथा व्यतीत होता है उनके लिये वह ईश्वर तथा समाज का उत्तरदायी है। हम इस परसे सहज ही समझ सकते हैं कि हमारे व्यक्ति स्वातंत्र के अधिकार विचार तथा भाषण स्वातंत्र्य

और दूसरे नैसर्गिक अधिकार जिनपर आयुष्य की पूर्णता और स्वतंत्रता निर्भर है इनसे हम वंचित नहीं किये जा सके। और इनकी व्याख्या की जा सकती है। हम इन्हें मानव जाति की सेवा के लिये महान स्वार्थत्याग करने के समय के सिवाय और किसी समय पर भी छोड़ नहीं दे सकते या किसी को दे सकते हैं। दूसरे, इन पर आक्रमण नहीं किया जा सकता इस कारण से कि बहुत दिनों से हम इन्हें खो बैठे हैं वे हम से छुड़ा लिये नहीं जा सकते। समस्त मानवी कानून का यही मूल कारण है और इस लिये इन कानूनों को निर्माण करने तथा अमल में लाने वाली संस्थाओं का जन्मकार्य और अधिकार इन्हों स्वाभाविक अधिकारों के अनुसार होना चाहिये। फ्रान्स के सुप्रसिद्ध तथा भूतपूर्व अध्यक्ष एम. पाकोर ने यह बहुत ठीक कहा है कि मनुष्यों के अधिकारों का घोषणापत्र 'समस्त कानूनों का कानून है' आगे चल कर वे कहते हैं कि जिन समाज में मनुष्य के स्वाभाविक अधिकारों की रक्षा करने की जिम्मेदारी नहीं ली गई है उस समाज का कोई संगठन नहीं है।

६. दूसरे जिसे कि प्रो० डिस्सी जनता के राजकीय अधिकारों का कानूनी जरिया कहते हैं वह शासन संगठन तथा उसकी कार्यवाही किस प्रकार होनी चाहिये इसका दिग्दर्शन मैंने अपनी योजना में किया है। उत्तरदायित्व पूर्ण सरकार किस प्रकार की होनी चाहिये यह मैंने अपनी योजना में बताया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि शायद ही कोई यह न मानता हो कि उत्तरदायित्व पूर्ण शासन स्वतंत्र राष्ट्र के लिये योग्य नहीं है। उत्तरदायित्व पूर्ण शासन यह शब्द दो बातों को सूचित करता है, कार्यकारी मंडल राष्ट्र के प्रतिनिधियों को जवाबदार रहे। और दूसरे कार्यकारी मंडल के किसी भी मंत्री ने किये हुए कार्य के बारे में समस्त मंत्री मंडल जवाबदार रहे और न कि अकेला वही मंत्री। उत्तरदायित्व पूर्ण शासन के समान उपयुक्त तथा जनता की स्वतंत्रता का रक्षण करने के लिये योग्य ऐसी एक और स्विट्जरलैंड के शासन के समान दूसरे प्रकार की शासन पद्धति है। इस संगठन में यह है कि सरकार की सब कार्यवाही जनता के फैसले के लिये उनकी और उनके इच्छानुसार या जरूरी तौरपर भेजी जाती है। बड़े देशों के लिये यह प्रकार अशक्य है और भी दूसरा प्रकार युनाइटेड स्टेट्स अमेरिका के समान संघटनात्मक राज्य पद्धति का है। इस प्रकार के शासन में कार्यकारी मंडल जनता के प्रतिनिधियों को नहीं किन्तु जनता को ही प्रत्यक्ष रूप से जवाबदार रहता है। यहाँ पर समस्त मंत्री मंडल का अस्तित्व या अंत इंग्लैंड के मंत्री मंडल के समान नहीं होता। पुरानी चाल के अनुसार जनता प्रत्येक मंत्रीपर उसके अयोग्य वर्तन के बारे में मामले चलाकर या अगले चुनाव के समय में अलग कर सकती है। पार्लियामेंट तथा मंत्री मंडल के पद्धतिके किसी भी देश में समस्त मंत्री मंडल के या किसी अकेले मंत्री के बहुमत के विरुद्ध आचरण से जब मंत्री मंडल पर व्यवस्थापक सभा के अधिकांश सभासदों का विश्वास नहीं रहता तब मंत्री मंडल बरखास्त कर दिया जाता है। यह आवश्यक नहीं है कि मंत्रियोंका उपरोक्त आचरण जुर्म की तौर पर अभियोग लगा कर मामला चलाने योग्य हो। इस प्रकार की कार्यवाही सरकार के एक या दोनों व्यवस्थापिका सभा के विश्वास के बिना भी चलाई जा सकती है।

१०. मैं समझता हूँ कि इंग्लैंड अथवा स्वयंशासित उपनिवेशों के समान उत्तरदायित्व पूर्ण शासन की स्थापना करने का प्रयत्न करना हम कौमों के लिये चिरकाल तक हितकर होगा। ऐसे शासन की व्याख्या स्वराज्य शब्द से नहीं हो सकती। यद्यपि इस शब्द का अर्थ स्वयं शासित सरकार अथवा होमरूल है। तौभी दूसरे देशों का और विशेषतः इंग्लैंड का इस शब्द से मिथ्या बोध होना संभव है क्योंकि आयरलैंड के झगड़े से इंग्लैंड की मनःस्थिती निरोलही ढंगकी हो रही है। दूसरे इस शब्द की ऐतिहासिक परंपरा नहीं है। जिससे कि उत्तर दायित्व पूर्ण शासन के संगठन में उत्तरोत्तर परिणतावस्था होती जाती है। इसके सिवाय

श्रीमान सम्राटकी नीति उत्तरदायित्व पूर्णशासन स्थापित करने के बारे में है ऐसा पार्लियामेंट में प्रहण किया गया है।

११. मैंने सूचित किये हुए संगठनका दूसरा भाग भारतीय व्यवस्थापिका सभा के संगठन को समय पर बदलनेके लिये सम्बन्ध में है, इस विषयपर मैं आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। यह सभा सिर्फ कानून ही नहीं बनावेगी और न कार्यकारी मंडलपर अपनी निगरानी रखेगी किन्तु वह संगठनात्मक सभा भी होगी। इस तजवीज से अपने प्रतिनिधियों को राष्ट्रीय स्वाधीनता तथा संगठन को बदलने का अधिकार देने का हक जनता को प्राप्त होता है। इस अधिकार के बिना ऐसा कहना यथार्थ न होगा कि जनता को स्वयं निर्णय तथा राजकीय स्वातंत्र्य के अधिकार प्राप्त हुए हैं। इस प्रकार के संगठन सम्बन्धी अधिकार के बारे में उसी फ्रेंच ग्रंथकर्ताका कथन है कि 'यह अधिकार स्वतंत्रता का उदय और अस्त है।

१२. आप देखेंगे कि व्यवस्थापिका सभा इस अधिकार को जिस तरह वह मामूली कानून बनाती है। उस प्रकार से अमल में नहीं लावेगी किन्तु एक विशेष रीतिसे। लिखित संगठनवाले समस्त स्वतंत्र देशों के जाते के अनुसार यह कार्य कम रहेगा कि संगठन बदलनेका प्रश्न उपस्थित होनेपर व्यवस्थापिका सभा के दोतिहाई में से अधिक बहुमत में उस बातको मंजूर करना चाहिये और वर्तमान व्यवस्थापिका सभा का अंत होकर देश की इस बारे में क्या राय है यह जानने के लिये फिर से नया चुनाव होकर इन नये आये हुए प्रतिनिधियों के भी दोतिहाई से अधिक बहुमत में यह बात मंजूर करना चाहिये। इस प्रकार के कार्यवाहीसे आप के मालूम हो जावेगा कि ऐसा करने से सावधानीसे अच्छा वाद विवाद ही नहीं होगा बल्कि संगठन को बदलने के पूर्व देशकी जनता को अपना मत दर्शाने के लिये मौका मिलेगा।

१३. मंत्रियोंपर जो अभियोग लगाया जावेगा उसका विचार करने के लिये एक खास अदालत स्थापित किये जाने के लिये मैंने एक दफा बना दिया है।

१४. जैसा कि हम उनसे आशा करते हैं यदि हमारे राज्यकर्ता चाहें तो इस प्रकारका उत्तरदायित्व पूर्णशासन उनकी संमति से किस तरहपर स्थापित किया जा सक्ता है यह अब मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ। यह प्रश्न तीन प्रकार से हल किया जा सक्ता है। (१) पार्लियामेंट के कानून से (२) भारत मंत्री के शिफारिस करने पर श्रीमान सम्राटकी राजाज्ञा से (३) भारतीय व्यवस्थापिका सभा के बनाये हुए कानून से। पहिला तथा आखरी उपाय साध्य होना बहुत कठिन है। और यदि यह हीं गया तो वह सारी व्यवहारिक बातों के लिये ठीक न होगा। पंजाब हत्याकांड तथा सुधार कानून से इस देश के स्वातंत्र्य तथा सुरिधतिका निकट सम्बन्ध था। इन दोनों प्रसंगोंपर पार्लियामेंट और विशेषतः हाऊस ऑफ लार्ड्स की मनःस्थिति हमें अच्छी तरह मालूम हो गई है। देशकी जनता के स्वाभाविक हकों को तुच्छता पूर्वक देखने की तथा वर्तमान शासन और नौकरशाही के रवाब दबाव को चाहे जिस प्रकार हो बनाये रखने की पार्लियामेंट की इच्छा का अनुमान हमें उपरोक्त दोनों प्रसंगों से अच्छी तरह हो सक्ता है। नर पशु-जनरल डायर ने जान बूझकर की हुई हत्याको समर्थन करने तथा उसकी प्रतिष्ठा करने के लिये हाऊस ऑफ लार्ड्स में लार्ड फिनले ने जो प्रस्ताव उपस्थित किया था उसे हम आसानी से माफ नहीं कर सकते और न भूल भी सकते हैं। लार्ड सभा से कुछ भी संबंध न रखकर यदि हम उत्तरदायित्वपूर्ण शासन प्राप्त कर सकते हैं तो मेरा पूर्ण विश्वास है कि आप न कभी उस ओर ध्यान देंगे और उनकी तरफ जानेकी भी इच्छा न करेंगे। मुझे भरोसा है कि यह हो सकता है।

१५ मैं आपको नम्रता पूर्वक बतलाता हूँ कि मैंने जो तीसरा मार्ग बतलाया वह बिलकुल विचार करने योग्य नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि मौजूदा शासनको उत्तरदायित्वपूर्ण शासन में परिवर्तन करनेका अधिकार वर्तमान व्यवस्थापिका सभा को है परंतु यदि वर्तमान चुने हुए तथा गैर सरकारी सभासदों द्वारा अपनी इच्छानुसार उपरोक्त प्रकारसे कानून बनाने का विज पास

कराना हमें संभव हो तो भी नौकरशाही जैसा हम चाहते हैं या किसी दूसरी तरह इस कानून का विल आसानी से पेश नहीं करने देगी और न इसे सफलता पूर्वक पास होने देगी। लोकप्रयोगी कानून बनाने के मार्ग में विघ्न उपस्थित करनेका कानून तथा कायदोंके द्वारा बहुत कुछ अधिकार हैं।

१६. विक्टोरिया, केप कालोनी, तथा नटाल ने अपने प्रतिनिधियों द्वारा ही अपनी सरकारका मंत्रि मंडल व्यवस्थापिका सभाको उत्तरदायी बना लिया। उन्होंने यह कानून अपनी ही व्यवस्थापिका सभाओं द्वारा पास कर लिया और सम्राटने इसे पार्लियामेंट की ओर न भेजकर अपनी तथा अपनी कौंसिल की संमति से मंजूर कर लिया।

१७. अब मैं दूसरे मार्ग के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। इस विषयपर अच्छी तरह विचार करने के लिये मैं आपसे इजाजत मागता हूँ। जबतक पार्लियामेंट अपना एकट पास करके यह अधिकार निकाल न लेवे तबतक इंग्लैंड के राजाको कानून बनाने का अधिकार है यह प्रथम आप ध्यान रखिये। दूसरे प्रतिनिधिक शासनको उत्तर दायित्व पूर्ण शासन में बदलने के लिये पार्लियामेंट को कानून की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। उत्तर दायित्व पूर्ण शासन अधिक योग्य तथा अधिक परिणत प्रातिनिधिक शासन नहीं है। इंग्लैंड की उत्तरदायित्व पूर्ण सरकार पुराने प्रातिनिधिक पद्धति का उन्नत स्वरूप है। यह पार्लियामेंटके किसी भी कायदेसे नहीं बनाई गई है हमें यह मालूम है कि चौदावे लुई से युद्ध अधिक कालतक चलाने के लिये धनकी आवश्यकता पूर्ण करने को तसिरे विलियमने संडरलैंडकी सलाह से कामन सभामें जिस पक्षके सभासदों का बहुमत तथा उस पक्षका मंत्रिमंडल धनानेकी कल्पना निकाली थी उस समय 'विद्ग' पार्टीका बहुमत था। उस समय से अनेक कारणों द्वारा जो प्रथायें तथा करारनामे हुए उन्हीं द्वारा मंत्री मंडल की पद्धति तथा पार्लियामेंटके अधिकार पूर्णताको पहुंचे। मैं आप लोगोंसे जो मत ग्रहण करने के लिये कहता हूँ उसकी ताईद करने के लिये अमेजी उपनिवेशोंमें उत्तर दायित्व पूर्ण स्वराज्य की स्थापना का आधार है। क्रमशः १६०६ और १६०७ में ट्रान्सवाल तथा ऑरेंज फ्रीस्टेट को उत्तर दायित्व पूर्ण शासन सम्राट के आज्ञापत्र से दिया गया था। अपने दूसरे उपनिवेशोंमें प्रातिनिधिक सरकारी उत्तर दायित्व पूर्ण सरकार पार्लियामेंटके कानून तथा सम्राट की आज्ञा बिना ही गवर्नर को कलोनियल आफिस की सुचनासे स्थापित की गई। जिसके द्वारा पार्लियामेंट का अधिकार भी कायम रहे तथा जवाबदार मंत्रिमंडल भी निर्माण किया जावे ऐसा कानून पार्लियामेंट द्वारा पास होना बहुत कठिन बात है।

१८. मैं यह बात आप से छिपाकर नहीं रखना चाहता कि सन १९१९ के भारत शासन के कानून में कई ऐसी बातें हैं। कि जिनके हमारे हित करनेके लिये हमारे दयालु सम्राट अपना अधिकार उपयोग में नहीं लासके हैं। इनका जिकर भूमिका तथा इकतालिसेवें दफे में किया गया है। दीवाचा में बतलाया गया है, कि ब्रिटिश भारत को स्वराज्य देना यह पार्लियामेंट की नीति है। जनता सरकार से जैसे सहयोग करेगी उसके अनुसार उसपर विश्वास रखकर क्रम २ से यह स्वराज्य दिया जावेगा और इस मामले में काल तथा किरत का निश्चय करने का पूर्ण अधिकार पार्लियामेंट को ही रहेगा। ब्रिटिश भारत तथा उसकी जनतापर पार्लियामेंटका यह निरंकुश अधिकार एक असामान्य सत्ता का नमूना है। क्या हम यह सवाल नहीं कर सकते कि इस प्रकार बड़ी शासन से जिस अधिकार के बारे में दावा किया जाता है। उसके लिये कौनसा आधार है? ध्यान रहे कि कामन सभा के चुनाव में हमारा बिलकुल दखल नहीं है। लार्ड लोगों की सभाने कभी ऐसा दम नहीं भरा है। कि वह इस राष्ट्र के मतकी दिग्दर्शक बशपरंपरा से है। क्या पार्लियामेंट संयुक्तराज्यकी जनतापर जिसकी यह बनाई हुई है, इसप्रकार अपना हक बतला सकती है। यदि ऐसा करने का उसने प्रयत्न किया तो उस प्रकार की पार्लियामेंट का अंतिम वही चुनाव होगा। फिर वह भारतपर इस प्रकार के अयोग्य अधिकारका का

दावा कैसे करसका है। इस के लिये आपको कहींभी आधार नहीं मिल सका। ईश्वरी फर्माने से निरंकुशतापूर्वक राज्य करने के दिक्खाने के समान यह बात है। तीन सदियोंके पूर्व इंग्लैंड के राजा का दैवी हक नष्ट करके इंग्लैंड की प्रजा तथा राजा के बीच एक प्रकार का सुलहनामा है। ऐसी घोषणा करने के पश्चात् इस प्रकार अब गरीब भारत पर दावा करना याने राजकीय तत्वज्ञान तथा न्याय की मखौलबाजी करना है। इस दावे से हम लोगों के साथ जो साफ अन्याय किया गया है। उसका प्रतिकार हम कर चुके है और आगे भी हमें करना चाहिये। पार्लियामेंट इस प्रकार का हक ब्रिटिश जनता के और से बतला सकती हैं। क्या यह कभी भी बतलाया गया है कि संयुक्त राज्य की जनता ने इस देश की जनता पर ऐसा हक बतलाना चाहा था। वे ऐसा तब ही कर सकेंगे जब भारतवासी इंग्लैंड की जनता के दास हों। जिस के लिये इंग्लैंड तथा मित्र राष्ट्रों ने संसार में सब से बड़ी लड़ाई की है उस स्वयंनिर्णय के आद्य तत्व को और जनता के स्वाभित्व के अधिकार को ऐसा करने से नाकबूल करना है। यह हक भारत की जनता का अपमान है और उन के ईश्वरदत्त तथा ब्रिटिश नागरिकत्व के हकों का अपहार करना है।

१६ इंग्लैंड की पार्लियामेंट इतिहास भूल गई है। अमेरिका की जनता ने स्टांप एक्ट के दफ्ताओं पर इतना विरोध और युद्ध नहीं किया जितना कि उस के दीवाना पर। कर बिठालने से उतनी हानि नहीं समझी गई जितनी कि ब्रिटिश पार्लियामेंट को अमेरिका की जनता पर उन की इच्छा के विरुद्ध कर बिठालने का अधिकार है इस तत्व को दीवाना में प्रतिपादन करने से। बर्क का कथन है कि 'भूमिका के किसी अधिकार की घोषणा नहीं की जा सकती किन्तु वर्तमान अधिकार का पुनरुच्चार किया जा सका है और इस लिये निसत्व तथा बगैर नामका है'। इस पर से हम भी यह न्यायपूर्वक कह सकते हैं कि इस दीवाना में भारतवासियों पर राज्य करने का जो दैवी हक बतलाया गया है वह निसत्व तथा आभास मात्र है।

२० सणभर के लिये यदि यह कबूल कर लिया जावे कि इस कानून की भूमिक में हमारे खिलाफ पार्लियामेंट के अधिकार के अच्छे तत्व तथा घोषणा प्रथित की गई है। तो भी इस से न हम लोग और न हमारे दयालु सम्राट बांधे जा सकते हैं। क्यों कि न्याय का सर्वमान्य तत्व यह है कि दीवाना कानून की दफाएं नहीं है और इस लिये वह कानून नहीं हो सका।

२१ पार्लियामेंट के कानून का एक दूसरे भी तब पर अर्थ किया जा सका है जिसे मैं आप के संमुख रखता हूँ। खुद की संमती के बिनाय या उन के बारे में जबतक साफ तौर से जिकर न किया जावे पार्लियामेंट के किसी भी कानून से सम्राट के अधिकारों का या जायदाद को बाधायी नहीं पहुंच सकती है इस तत्व के नियम अपवाद नहीं है। सम्राट ने अपना 'वेटो' का अधिकार आज तक उपयोग में नहीं लाया है वो भी वह नष्ट नहीं हो सका।

२२ उपरोक्त तत्व दफा ४१ में जो कहा गया है। उसे लागू हो सका है। इस दफा का मंशा यह है कि एक्ट पास होने पर इस साल के बाद भारत मंत्री पार्लियामेंट की दोनों सभाओं की यह तथा सम्राट की मंजूरी से एक कमेटी नियुक्त करेंगे। और कमेटी सुधारों का उपयोग कैसा किया गया है इसका रिपोर्ट करेंगे और इसके बाद भारत मंत्री आगे बतलाये हुए तीन प्रकारों में से किसी भी एक प्रकार से शिफारिस करेंगे। (१) स्थानीय व्यवस्थापिका सभा के अधिकारों को बढ़ाना (२) उन्हें मौजूदा हालत में रहने देना (३) या उस के कुछ अधिकार कम कर देना। यदि भारत मंत्री के कमिशन न बिठालने

पर या पार्लियामेंट की किसी भी सभा ने अथवा सम्राट ने मंजूरी न देने पर अग्रे क्या किया जावेगा इस के बारे में कुछ भी नहीं कहा गया है। ये सब बातें शासन चलाने के बारे में नसीहतों की तौर पर हैं। इन्हें कानून नहीं कह सकते। माननीय मि० फिशरने यह कबूल किया है कि “यह संगठन दस साल के पहिले भी बदला जा सकता है। दस साल के अंत में इस में फेरफार होना चाहिये यह एक भारतवासियों को देने की गरज से १० साल की मियाद रली गई है।” इस पर से हम उपरोक्त कमीशन को भलीभांति दाल सकते हैं।

१३. कार्यकारी मंडल द्वारा यदि इस देश में आसानी से उत्तरदायित्व पूर्ण स्वराज्य स्थापन किया जा सकता है तो सवाल यह उठता है कि माननीय भारत मंत्री हमारे साथ सहयोग करने को तैयार होकर अपने मंत्री मंडल को सहमत बनाने के लिये और सम्राट को अपनी मुहर द्वारा राजज्ञाज्ञा से जरूरी कार्रवाई करने के लिये सलाह देंगे या नहीं? हमारे हकों की रक्षा करने के लिये उन्होंने किसी २ समय जोरदार वक्तृता दी है। इसी के साथ यह भी सच है कि उन के भाषण जिस प्रकार बुद्धिमानी तथा उदारतापूर्वक किये गये हैं वैसी उनकी कृति नहीं है। दूसरा चालिस जिस तरह आत्म समर्थन किया करता या वैसाही बहाना वे और उनकी सराहना करने वाले भी करते हों। आपने कभी एक भी मूर्खता की बात न कही और न कभी अच्छा काम किया ऐसा उलाहला जब लोग इस राजाको दिया करते थे तब वह जवाब देता था कि बुद्धिमानी के शब्द मेरे हैं और मूर्खता के कृत्र मेरे मंत्रियों ने किये हैं। ऐसीही शायद ये भी (मि० मांटिगू) सोचते हों कि हमारे राष्ट्रीय हकों का समर्थन करने के लिए जो शब्द इन्होंने कहे हैं वे इनके हैं और उस प्रकार कार्य करते समय इन के हाथ बांध दिये गये थे हमारे भारत मंत्री यदि इस प्रकार की बहस सामने लावें तो हमें कहना होगा कि यह बिल्कुल ही निराधार नहीं है। पार्लियामेंट की मदत न लेकर सम्राट को सलाह न देकर उत्तरदायित्व पूर्णशासन स्थापन करने के बारे में हम जो दावा करते हैं इस से भारत मंत्री को उन्हीं के कथनानुसार कर दिखाने का एक अच्छा मौका मिला है। इस विचार के लिये साधारण सभा की समति मिलना अधिक योग्य होगा क्योंकि मंत्री मंडल का अस्तित्व साधारण सभा की मर्जी पर रहता है। इस महायुद्ध के बोझ से और उसे जीतने के कारण वर्तमान साधारण सभा मिश्र मंडि मंडल की और विशेषतः प्रधान मंत्री की इच्छा के विरुद्ध नहीं जाती है। क्या इस पर से हम यह आशा नहीं कर सकते हैं कि वे गरीब भारत के प्रति इतनी उदारता नहीं दिखलावेंगे। यदि भारत मंत्री तथा मंत्रि मंडल को इस प्रकार से कार्य करना अव्यवहार्य जान पड़ता हो तो माननीय मि० मांटिगू को चाहिये कि वर्तमान नाजुक राजकीय परिस्थिती भारत तथा ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य के मुख्य संबंध पर असर कर रही है इस लिये अनेक सुप्रसिद्ध ध्वनिवेश मंत्रियों के समान वे भी अपनी खुशकी जिम्मेदारी से वर्तमान अनिर्णयित तथा प्रतिनिधिक सरकार को उत्तरदायित्व पूर्ण सरकार में बदलने की आज्ञा व्हाइसरायको दें। ऐसा करने से भारत की भावी जनता सदा के लिये उनकी कृतज्ञ बनी रहेगी और जैसी कि आजतक किसी भी अमेज राजनीतिज्ञ ने नहीं भिनाई है वैसी कतिंति वे संपादन करेंगे।

१४. सन. १९१६ के भारत शासन संबंधी कानून के भूमिका में जो कार्यकम दिया गया है और जिसके भरोसे हमारे आर्थिक तथा राजकीय स्वतंत्रताकी आशा में जागृत की जाती हैं उसमें साध्य समाज अंमत कोई भी सच्चा तत्व नहीं है और उत्तरदायित्व पूर्ण शासन शीघ्र ही स्थापना करने की मांगके समर्थन करने के हमारे हकों के खिलाफ हैं। सन १९२८ की क्रांति से इंग्लैंड की जनता के प्रति जो घोषण की गई वह इंग्लैंड के राजा और वहांकी प्रजा के बीच के सुलहनामे के आधार पर है। दूसरे जेम्स राजा पर यह

दोषारोपण किया गया था कि उसने प्रजा और अपने दरमियान के इस पवित्र सुलहनों को तोड़ दिया था इस तत्वका कोई भी ऐतिहासिक प्रमाण नहीं है किन्तु यह "मजहबी दस्तुर" नामक पुस्तक के कर्त्ता, हुकर तत्वेत्ताकी कल्पनानुसार है।

२५. हमें अब हिन्दुओंके राज्यशासनकी रीति के बारेमें देखना चाहिये। राज पदकी उत्पत्ति तथा उसके विकास के विषय में सब ग्रंथकार सहमत हैं। पहिले पहिल सब लोग सज्जन हुआ करते थे और उन्हीं के परस्पर के प्रति अच्छे विचारों से उनमें शांति मेल भिलाप और वयोग रहा करता था। इस लिये उन्हें राज शासनकी आवश्यकता न थी। अधःपतन तथा अव्यवस्था क्रमशः शुरू हुए। इससे समाजमें बर्द्धतजामी होने का खौफ मालुम होने लगा तब लोग एक स्थानपर एकत्र हुए और उन्हीं ने एक कानूनका 'कोड' बनाया जो कि सन १६८८ के अंग्रेजों के घोषणापत्र के समान है। इस के उपरान्त उन्हींने शासन की स्थापनाकी और एक राजा चुन लिया। इस प्रकार लोगों ने चुना हुआ पहिला राजा मनु था। उसके काम कानून के अनुसार जनता का शासन तथा रक्षण करना था। इस काम के लिये उसे गज्जे की पैदावार का और दीगर आमदनी का कुछ हिस्सा लोगों की ओर से भिला करता था। प्राचीन भारत के उर्जित काल में इस देशका शासन किसी भी वर्तमान सभ्य देश के शासन से जनताकी स्वतंत्रता तथा समृद्धिके बनाये रखने में किसी कदर कम न था। इसी प्रकार के राज्य शासन का फल भारत की अत्युच्च सभ्यता है। कला तथा विज्ञान की इस प्रकार उन्नति और रक्षाकी गई थी जैसी कि यूरुप के लोगों ने अभी तक नहीं की। सांसारिक तथा धार्मिक तत्वज्ञान (जो कि संसार को आदरास्पद तथा शांतिदायक है) ही नहीं टूट निकाला किन्तु दशमलव की पद्धति, धीजगणित तथा सतरंजका खेल भी हिन्दुओंने दूढ निकाला है। हिन्दु ध्येतिधी आर्य भट्टने कोपर निकस के कई शताब्दियों के पूर्व सौर चक्र तथा ऋतुओंके प्रमाणों को दूढ निकाला है। मुल्की अमल की पद्धति वर्तमान समय से अधिक पूर्णताको पंहुची थी। राजा तथा प्रजा के बीच के सुलहनोंमें की कल्पना इतनी जागृत थी कि यदि सरकार द्वारा किसी चोरीका पता न लगाया जावे तो सरकार को चोरी के मालकी वाजिब किमत देना पडती थी। निराश्रित लोग जैसे कि अज्ञान, पागल, बयोवृद्ध तथा गभैवती स्त्रियोंका सरकार की ओर से संरक्षण तथा पालन किया जाता था। राजाका कर्त्तव्य पालन करने के तीन मार्ग थे लोकमत धर्म तथा क्रांति हिन्दू राज्यनीतिशास्त्र का नियम था कि यदि राजा कुशासन करे तो उसे लोग पदच्युत कर देवे और उसके स्थानपर उसकी संतान सम्बन्धी या किसी तीसरे आदमीको थिठले प्राचीन काल में भारतवर्ष ने कानून को इतना महत्व था कि राजा तथा प्रजा दोनों को एक समान ही उसके अनुसार कार्य करना पडता था। ध्यानमें रखना चाहिये कि प्राचीन हिंदुराजा कानून नहीं बनाते थे। हिंदुओंका कानून शास्त्रोंद्वारा बनाया गया था। रुढी तथा चाले उसमें शामिल की गई थी। इनका अर्थ करना न्यायाधीश की तरफ था। किसीभी राजाका शासन अच्छा हुआ या नहीं यह देखनेको सर्व संमत नियम अथवा कसौटी यह थी कि राजा ने कानून का पालन किया या नहीं। तामील साधू निरूवेल्सवर का कथन है कि जो राजा नियमानुसार राजदंड धारण करता है। उसके राज्यमें योग्य समयपर वृष्टि हुआ करती है। तथा खुब अनाज पकता है। प्राचीन भारतकी स्थिति का प्रो. मेक्समूलरने इस प्रकार सारांशरूप से वर्णन किया है जोक शिक्षा, उच्च शिक्षा, पार्लियामेंट का प्रतिनिधित्व, कानून संग्रह कोष, देशांतर, कंगालो का कानून तथा इन्दी के समान किसीभी विषय को लीजिये या आप को किसीभी बात की शिक्षा ग्रहण करना हो अथवा किसी विषयका निरीक्षण या अध्ययन करना हो तो इन सब के लिये भारत एक अपूर्व प्रयोगशाला है" इन सब बातोंसे यह सिद्ध है कि प्राचीन हिंदुराजाका अधिकार जनतापर पूर्ण तथा निर्भर था और अपने कुशासन के कारण उसे अपने पद से हाथ धो बैठना पडता था। प्रजा के माल की कल्पना तथा उसके सर्व श्रेष्ठ अधिकार उधी द्वारा (प्रजाद्वारा)निर्माण होते थे यह किसी दुसरे प्रकार से अच्छी तरह सिद्ध नहीं किया जासक्ता।

२६. इसके पश्चात् मुसलमान आक्रमणकारियों ने जो अरबी सभ्यता इस देश में लाई उसके तथा प्राचीन हिंदू सभ्यता के समागम होने के फल की ओर हमारी दृष्टि पड़ती है। प्राचीन अरबों की राजकीय कल्पना यह थी कि स्वामित्व ईश्वर का है। ईश्वर ने उसे जनता को दिया है। खलीफ उसका कार्यकारी प्रतिनिधि है। और उसे कानून के मुताबिक शासन करना चाहिये। प्राचीन हिंदुओं के कानून के समान यह कानून उसका बनाया हुआ नहीं है और वह (खलीफ) किसी भी प्रजाजन के समान इस कानून से बंधा हुआ है। मद्रास हाय कोर्ट के सुप्रीम न्यायाधीश सर अबदुर रहीम अपने अमूल्य ग्रंथ 'मुसलमानी स्मृति शास्त्र (Juris prudence) के तत्व' नामक ग्रंथ में लिखते हैं "मुसलमानी पद्धति से स्वामित्व ईश्वर का है परंतु ईश्वर ने कानून बनाने का तथा राज्य शासन पर अनिश्चित हुकूमत चलाने का अधिकार जनता को सौंप दिया है इस लिये यह समझना चाहिये कि ईश्वर के पश्चात् सर्वश्रेष्ठ स्वामित्व जनता का है। जनता ने इन अधिकारों का कैसा भी उपयोग क्यों न किया हो उसके ये अधिकार नष्ट नहीं हो सके। ऐसा मुसलमानी कानून का तत्व है"। उसी ग्रंथ में अन्य स्थल पर उनका कथन है कि "समाज के कार्यका प्रबंध तथा कानून अमल में लानेका अधिकार समाज को है और इस अधिकार को समाज खुद के चुने हुये प्रतिनिधियों द्वारा अमल में ला सकता है"।

राजकीय स्वामित्व जनता का है और उसका अधिपत्य कानून सरकार का है यह प्रो. डिसेिका सुंदर विधान सर अबदुर रहीम ने बतलाये हुये मुसलमानी कल्पना को ठीक तौर पर लागू होता है।

२७. स्वामित्व जनता का है और कानून अधिकार सब तरह पर जनता से ही निर्माण होते हैं इस कल्पनाओं के बारे में हिंदू तथा अरबों का नीतिशास्त्र एकही है। यह बतला देना असंभव आवश्यक है कि प्राचीन हिंदु राजकीय कल्पना तथा कार्य को सब से अधिक महत्व दिया करते थे। राजकीय नीति शास्त्र का ऐसा अलंकारिक वर्णन किया गया है कि वह सब शास्त्रों को एकत्रित करके सागर से मंथन किया हुआ अमृत है। कहेन की आवश्यकता नहीं कि आधुनिक हिंदु वे चाहे किसी भी धर्म ग्रंथ के हों प्राचीन हिंदुओं के वंशज हैं। पारसी तथा ज्यू लोगों की अल्प संख्या को छोड़कर भी बहुतेक से मुसलमान हिंदुओं के ही वंशज हैं और इनकी बाकी भारतवासियों की यह कल्पना है कि स्वामित्व पूर्ण तथा जनता का है और इस प्रकार कहना निराधार नहीं है कि जनता पर शासन करने का अधिकार उसीकी इच्छा तथा करार द्वारा प्राप्त होता है।

२८. अर्वाचिन भारत के मन में यह कल्पना सदा से जागृत है कि राजा और प्रजा के बीच एक प्रकार का सुलहनामा है और राजा को उसके दुर्बर्तन के कारण प्रजा पदच्युत कर सकती है। भारत की इसी पद्धति के अनुसार इंग्लैंड का राजकीय संबंध भारत से बंधा हुआ है। प्रमाण द्वारा यह कटुल किया गया है कि भारत के हिंदू तथा मुसलमान राजा का पदे इंग्लैंड को प्राप्त हुआ है। अगर इसका कुछ अर्थ है तो इस पदाधिकार से अच्छे हिंदू तथा मुसलमान राजाओं के हक तथा उनकी जवाबदारी भी उन के जिम्मे है। उनपर उन दुष्ट तथा कमजोर राजाओं की जवाबदारी नहीं है जिन्हें कि इस देश के हिंदू तथा मुसलमानों ने अप्रैजों को बुलाकर उनके सहयोग से पदच्युत कर दिया। राजकीय दृष्टि से अप्रैजों का भारत में प्रवेश उसी प्रकार से हुआ है जैसा कि तीसरे विलियम राजाका इंग्लैंड में। भारत में अप्रैजों राज की नीव वास्तविक रीतिसे अठारहवीं शताब्दि के मध्य में अर्कोट में लाइव की विजय से डाली गई। एक बड़ी फौज ने जिस में फ्रेंच सिपाही भी थे उसे घेर लिया था। उस समय उस क पास १२० अप्रैज और २०० मुल्की फौज थी। इनकी सहायक हलत हो रही थी रसद

की कमी के कारण उन्हें मरने का प्रसंग था। ऐसे समय देशी सिपाहियों ने भारतीय नि-
स्वार्थता का अच्छा परिचय दिया और जिस पानी में अनाज धोया तथा पनाया जाता था वह खुद
के लिये लेकर अपने अंग्रेज साथियों को अन्न का भोजन दे दिया। हिंदुस्थानियों की इस प्रकार की
भक्ति से विजय पूरी तौर से हुई। इसमें एक महत्व का परिणाम यह हुआ कि अंग्रेज खुर के
पैरों पर खड़े हैं। यह देखकर गूटीका मन्डेठा सरदार मुरारारव अपनी ६०० बहादुर फौज के
सहित अंग्रेजों के पक्ष में हो गया। उससे फ्रेंच तथा अंग्रेज दोनोंने प्रार्थना की थी। इसमें यह
स्पष्ट है कि इंग्लैंड को हिंदुस्थान का जायज राजा बनाकर यहाँ की जनता तथा सरदार
लोग अपने राजाओं के बीच के झगड़ों से तथा अराजकता से अपने देश को बचना चाहते
थे। मेलेसन साहेब ने 'भारत में फरासीसियों का इतिहास' नामक ग्रंथ में लिखा है।
“अंग्रेजों के इतिहास में अर्कोट का घेरा एक बड़ी नामवरी का प्रसंग है और तब से ही
उन के राज्य की नींव प्रारंभ हुई है” इस उपरान्त का इतिहास बतलाता है कि आज तक
अंग्रेजों ने मनुष्य तथा धन के लिये भारतवासियों के ही सहयोग पर भरोसा किया।
भारत की स्वतंत्रता का पुरस्कार न करनेवाले तथा वर्तमान नोकरशाही के पक्ष के सर
आलफ्रेड लायल ने कबूल किया है कि भारत में राज्य जमाने के लिये भारतीय जनता ने
ही पहिले अंग्रेजों का स्वागत किया और उन्हें मदद दी। इसके साफ तौर पर यह
माखूम होता है कि भारत इंग्लैंड का राजकीय सम्बन्ध स्वेच्छापूर्वक तथा सुलहनामों
द्वारा हुआ है।

२९. जैसा कि बहुत से लोग बतलाते हैं और बहुत से शंका करते हैं एकट (भारत
शासन कानून) की भूमिका में वर्णन किये हुए अतोले दावे के साथ ही विजय के हक की
भी ध्वनि चलाई गई है। भारत के न्याय्य हकों के विरुद्ध इस अंग्रेजी शक्ति के कुटिल
तत्व का स्पष्ट तथा ज़ोर देकर हमें प्रतिकार करना चाहिये। और इस प्रकार प्रतिकार
करने के लिये उपरोक्त ऐतिहासिक सबूत हमारे पक्ष में हैं। हमें यह भूल न जाना चाहिये कि
इंग्लैंड ने भारत जित राष्ट्र कहरकर अपने राज्य में शामिल नहीं किया तब पर भी बाद
के लिये यदि कबूल किया जावे भारत इंग्लैंड तथा आयरलैंड के संयुक्त राज्य का जित देश
है तो भी हमारे न्याय्य हकों के विरुद्ध जो शक्ति की दर्जाल की जाती है उन्हे न मानने
का हमें हक है। फ्रान्स की राज्यक्रांति ने मानव जाति के हित के लिये इस दैवी
तत्व की प्राणप्रतिष्ठा कर दी है कि प्रत्येक समाज एक मनुष्य के समान है और अपनी
शुक्ति का उपाय वह किसी भी समय कर सकता है। अंतर्राष्ट्रीय न्याय यदि अमल में न लाया
जा सकता हो तो युद्ध तथा विजय आत्मरक्षा के लिये कर सकते हैं। अन्यत्र युद्ध तथा
विजय कोई वस्तु नहीं है और केवल विजय की इच्छा से किये हुए युद्ध की कोई कीमत
नहीं है। इस के सिवाय वर्तमान महायुद्ध में इंग्लैंड तथा भिन्न राष्ट्रों का योपित किया
हुआ यह सिद्धान्त है कि अंतर्राष्ट्रीय अन्याय का परिमार्जन करने के लिये और
आत्मरक्षा तथा जनता के स्वयं निर्णयके हक की रक्षा करने के लिये ही युद्ध न्याय्य हो
सकता है। सारांश यह ही मानव जाति के लिये यह समस्त संसार योग्य तथा सुरक्षित
बनाया जावे। परंतु यदि इंग्लैंड की पार्लियामेंट विजय का सबब बतलाकर हमारे और
अंग्रेजों के बीच के करारनामे के अनुषार की हुई हमारी मांग से इनकार करे या, टालाटुली
करे तो हम यह सवाल करेंगे कि जिस की रू से सन १६८८ की क्रांति तथा अर्थिकारों का
घोषणा पत्र हुआ है वह अंग्रेजों का करारनामा किस आधार पर है। क्या इंग्लैंड भारत के
अधिक जाता हुआ देश नहीं है? अंग्रेजों ने किस राजा से करारनामा किया था? रोमन
जुलियस सीझर से? जर्मन इल्बर्ट से? डेन कुंठ से? नार्मन विलियम से? या क्रामवल से?
अथवा और किसी अन्य राजा से? अंग्रेज और उन के राजा के बीच करारनामे के बारे में
कोई ऐतिहासिक सबूत नहीं है। यह कल्पना हूकर ने निकाली और सन १६८८ क्रांति के

समय के महान् राजनीतिज्ञों ने उस कल्पना का आदर किया और अपने अधिकारों के घोषणा पत्र का तथा अंग्रेजी राजपद के शर्तों का उसे आधार बनाया। राजा तथा प्रजा के बीच के करारनामों का अंग्रेजों का मत पहिले कल्पना स्वरूप में था और कल्पना से कार्य में उस के पश्चात् परिणत हुआ। इसी प्रकार के करारनामों के बारे में भारतियोंकी राय पहिले कार्य रूप में लाई गई और फिर कार्य से इस की कल्पना निर्माण हुई। इस लिये उत्तरदायित्व पूर्ण स्वराज्य के लिये अंग्रेजों की अपेक्षा हमारा जादा हक है। हमारे युक्ति का फैसला केवल पार्लियामेंट ही करेगा यह हक विलकुल ना जायज और दिखाऊ है यदि हम उन के इस अस्वाभाविक हक को मान लें तो हम देशरक्षित स्वयंभियेय के हक से वंचित होकर कभी स्वतंत्र नहीं हो सकेंगे।

३० भारत ने इस करारनामों की शर्तों का पालन आज तक इमानदारी से तथा राजनिष्ठपूर्वक किया है। न केवल हम ने अपने दुराचरणी राजाओं को पदच्युत कर उन के पद अंग्रेजों को दिये बल्कि अंग्रेजी राज्य कायम रखने के लिये गद्दर के समय हम अपने ही देशवासियों से लड़े। इस के पश्चात् जब महा-युद्ध प्रारंभ हुआ तब भी संसार को स्वतंत्रता की रक्षा के लिये हमने अंग्रेज तथा उन के मित्रों का साथ दिया। उपनिवेशों को सेना युद्ध स्थल पर आ पहुंचने के पूर्व जब इंग्लैंड विलकुल तयार न था और अमेरिका तथा इटली इंग्लैंड तथा फ्रांस के साथ शरीक होने का विचार कर रहे थे उस समय जिसे पेट भर अन्न नहीं मिलता था और जो आशिक्षित तथा साकुन तौर से तयार न थी ऐसी हमारी सेना फ्रांस में जा पहुंची और फ्रांस के शूर वीर सिराहियों के साथ शरीक होकर संसार की आजादी को बचाने के लिये और अपूर्व बलवान शत्रु को अड़ाने के लिये हमारी सेनाओं ने फ्रांस के रणभूमि में अपने प्राणों की आहुती दी। भारतीय हक तथा आकांक्षाओं के प्रति इंग्लैंड के नये बदले हुए दृष्टि से हमारा उत्साह तथा स्वार्थत्याग की उमंग बड़ रही थी और टर्की अपने अविचार से जर्मनी के साथ हो जाने के कारण हमारे मुसलमान भाई अपने राजकीय तथा धार्मिक निष्ठा के बारे में सांशक थे। ऐसे समय इंग्लैंड ने उन्हें खिलाफत की रक्षा करने का पवित्र बचन देकर अपने दुनियाई बादशाह का साथ देने के लिये कश। भारत इंग्लैंड के साथ देने के लिये निश्चय कर चुका था और इस संसार का सब से महान युद्ध जीतने के लिये इंग्लैंड और मित्र राष्ट्रों को उस ने अपनी शक्ति के अनुसार पूरी मदद दी। लड़ाई खतम हुई और भावि शांति तथा सुलह होने के चिन्ह दिखने लगे किन्तु हाय! ब्रिटिश भारत का दुर्दैव तथा विपन्नावस्था इसी के साथ ही प्रारंभ हुई और उस पर एक के बाद एक संकट परम्परा आने लगे और आज हम ऐसी अवस्था में पड़े हुए हैं जैसे कि किसीभी सभ्य देश के इतिहास में नहीं पाई जाती।

३१. बर्क के समान बुद्धिमान कवि कल्पना युक्त तथा अन्याय से चिड़नेवाला मनुष्य ही हमारी वर्तमान अवस्था का चित्र खींच सका है दूसरा नहीं। किन्तु देश, जनता तथा समाज के दुःख क्या है यह जहातक हो सके देखने का प्रयत्न हमें भी करना चाहिये। हमारी यह अवस्था वस्तुओं की बढ़ी हुई कीमत से नहीं है और न महायुद्ध के कारण अपने हकों के बारे में जनता में नई जागृति हुई है। वास्तविक हमारी इस अवस्था का कारण पांच या छः बातों में है।

(अ) इस महायुद्ध को चलाने के लिये इंग्लैंड तथा मित्र राष्ट्रों ने बड़े रूब धिद्धान्तों तथा प्रतिज्ञाओं की घोषणा की थी और हमें बचन भी दिये थे जिस से हम सोचते थे कि युद्ध खतम होतेही उल्लव युग का उदय होगा। किन्तु भारतीय नौकरशाही के छत्र में रीछेट कमीशन के नियुक्त किये जाने पर राष्ट्र बहुत चकित हुआ। इस

कमीशन ने जनता को अधिक दमनकारी पद्धति से दवाने की शिफारिस की और इसका फल यह हुआ कि डेको के कानून के समान रौलेट कानून शीघ्र ही पास कर दिया गया। इस समय इन शिफारिसों तथा कानून के बारे में सरकार ने हमारे देश के अत्युच्च कौटिली के अच्छे र मनुष्यों के तथा जनता के मन की बिलकुल परवाह न की।

(ब) इस अवस्था से नौकरशाही ने एक नयी अवस्था गढ़कर तैयार की। आर इस के परिणाम में आज तक इस पृथ्वी पर नहीं हुये हैं ऐसे अत्याचार पंजाब में कर के भारत के इतिहास को कलंकित किया। जिन दुष्कृत्यों से ये भयानक कार्य हुये हैं उन को मैं बतलाना नहीं चाहता। इस के लिये मैं सिर्फ तीन दस्तावियों का जिक्र करूंगा (१) इंटर कमिटी के अल्प मत का रिपोर्ट (२) कांमिष निर्युक्त कमिटी का रिपोर्ट (३) कलकत्ता कमिष के आधिवेशन के सभापति का भाषण।

(क) भारत सरकार, सम्राट के मिश्र मंत्रि मंडल और पार्लियामेंट विशेषतः इस मामले की आदि से अंत तक जिस प्रकार कारवाई की उस से पंजाब की व्यथा और सारे देश का दुःख अधिक बढ गया। इस मामले के बारे में यश तथा इंग्लैंड में जो कारवाई हुई उस से यह साफ तौर से मालूम हो गया कि अधिकारियों के सम्मुख हम लोग दिक्कारत से देखे जाते हैं तथा पशु के समान है इसका सबूत अंगरेजों का जैवित किस तरह पवित्र माना गया है इस बात से मिलता है।

(ड) इस के बाद खिलाफत का जाल है। वणी तथा धर्म के पुराने पक्षपात से और विजय मिलने के कारण सम्राट की प्रजा हमारे मुखलमान भाइयों को जो वचन दिये गये थे उनकी टालमटोल की जाने लगी। टर्की के सुल्तान के अधिकार, राज्य और आत्मरक्षा के उपाय केवल नाम मात्र कर दिये गये। इस प्रकार जानबूझकर वचन भंग के भिन्न-भिन्न तरीकों के सुल्तान से जो सुलह की शर्तें कबूल कराई गई वे इस महायुद्ध में अन्य जित राष्ट्रों की अपेक्षा अधिक सख्त, नाशकारी तथा अमान्यतापूर्ण हैं। भारत के हिंदु और मुसलमानों में जो ऐनी और मेकडिलिप के भाव उत्पन्न हो रहे तथा बढ रहे हैं उन्हें हिंदुओं का इस प्रश्न से कोई संबंध नहीं है ऐसा बतलाकर चञ्चली से रोकते से जो प्रयत्न किये गये उनकी ओर मैं आप का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। मैं आप लोगों से कहूंगा कि दूबरे के बड़हन पर हमें इस प्रकार विश्वास नहीं कर लेना चाहिये। और अच्छे या बुरे किसी भी समय एक साथ कि हमें मिलजुलकर काम करना चाहिये। और अच्छे या बुरे किसी भी समय एक साथ रहना चाहिये। और यही कारण है कि मुखलमान भाई भगिनियों के इस संबंध के सचेत तथा तीव्र दुःख के समय हिंदुओं की उनके प्रति सहानुभूति है। इस के अलावे राष्ट्रीय एकता का कार्य एक पवित्र वस्तु है। दूसरे इस बात का एक दुसरा पहलू है जिसे मैं आप के सामने पेश करता हूँ। टर्की के सुल्हनामों की शर्तों के बारे में जो कारण बतलाये जाते हैं और जो बातें यथार्थ में वस में प्रथित की गई हैं। और इन शर्तों को मंजूर करने के लिये जो उपाय और उन शर्तों की हालत इन सब से इस सुल्हनामों में एशिया के विषय में यूरुप के पुराने पक्षपात का पत्त स्पष्ट होता है। इस तत्व का विरोध करने के लिये मुखलमानों के समान ही भारतीय हिंदुओं का भी इस विषय में हितसंबंध है वह तत्व यह है कि टर्की का एशिया में ही रहना भला है और एशिया के ब्रिय टर्की मली है सुल्हनामा में यह शर्तें बाली गई है कि टर्की के राज्य में जो यूरोपियन अल्प संख्या में वास करते है उनपर यदि जुलुम किया गया तो दूसरी शक्तियां इस में हस्तक्षेप करसकती है परंतु उनके राज्य की तुर्की प्रजा के बारे में तुर्की को यह अधिकार नहीं है। यदि ऐसा है तो हम यह सवाल करेंगे कि यूरोप के राष्ट्र और विशेषतः इंग्लैंड एशिया और आफ्रिका के क्यों नहीं चले जाते ?

(ई) दूसरा प्रश्न ब्रिटिश उपनिवेशों में भारतीयों के साथ बर्ताव का है। जैसा की फिजी तथा पूर्व आफ्रिका के घृतान्त से मालूम होता है उनका स्थिति दिन ब दिन अधिकधिक असहनीय हो रही है। यही नहीं बल्कि हावर्ड और क्रूर के समान दर्याई अतकरण से रेव्ह. मि. एन्ड्रू ने एकत्र किये हुये प्रमाणों से साफ जाहिर है कि उनका अपमान भी दिन बदिन बढ रहा है। जबकि हम ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य की गुलामी में पडे हुये हैं तो मुझे यह बहुत कठिण मालूम होता है कि हम अपने देशवासियों का बचाव तथा उनके हित संबंधकी रक्षा कैसे कर सकेंगे। उसके स्वतः के हित के लिये तथा भारत को एक राष्ट्र बनाने के लिये हमें मदद देने को जहां तक हो सके उतनी जल्दी तथा सब से अधिक तादाद में हमारे देशवासियों को स्वदेश में वापस बुला लेना चाहिये यही हमारी तथा उनकी दृष्टि से योग्य मालूम होता है। जिस तरह पर फ्रेंच तथा डच लोगों की रक्षा की जबाबदारी का भार लिया गया है यदि कम से कम वैसा भी बरताव भारतवासियों के साथ उपनिवेशों में कराने की जिम्मेदारी जब तक इंग्लैंड नहीं लेता तब तक हमारी बाजिब तक्रार तथा असंतोश नहीं मिट सकता. देश के आर्थिक तथा राजनैतिक उद्धार के जो उपाय कांग्रेस सोचगी उन में बाहर और विशेषतः ब्रिटिश उपनिवेशों में बसनेवाले हमारे देशवासियों के छुटकारे की तत्रबीज स्वरय होनी चाहिये.

(फ) नये सुधार कानून तथा उसके नियम उपनियमोंसे हमारी राष्ट्रीय दुर्बलता अत्यंत कठिन तथा निराशाजनक हो गई है. उत्तरदायित्वपूर्ण शासन प्राप्ति के प्रत्येक सोपान का पूर्ण रीति से निश्चय करने का अधिकार केवल पार्लियामेंट को ही है इसके बारे में मैं पहले ही बतला चुका हूं। अंग्रेजी उपनिवेशों के इतिहास में इस प्रकार का उदाहरण आपको कहीं नहीं मिलेगा हमपर जो हक बतलाया जाता है उससे अभिरिका पर कर लगानेका हक बहुत कम महत्व का तथा अमानक था। इस विचित्र घेषणा से इस देश को चौकन्ना हो जाना अत्यंत स्वाभाविक है इस एकट के मजमून के बारे में हमारे पास खारे देश की राय मौजूद है। इस स्कीम की कम-जोरी तथा अपूर्णता के बारे में कांग्रेस ने पहिले से ही अपना निश्चय दे दिया है। और यह भी जाहिर कर दिया है कि देश शीघ्र ही उत्तरदायित्वपूर्ण स्वराज्य के लिये योग्य है। इतिहास में इस प्रकार की योजना कहीं भी नहीं देखी जाती और इस अनोखी योजना का ग्रहण करने के लिये जो कारण बतलाये गये हैं वो भी अजब हैं। यह बतलाया जाता था और कहा जाता है कि दूसरी कोई योजना विचार करने योग्य नहीं थी। परन्तु ब्रिटिश भारत तथा 'समुद्र पार के उपनिवेशों में भेदभाव क्यों रक्खा जावे? यह ध्यान में रखना चाहिये कि केवल पांच बड़े उपनिवेशों (कनेडा, आस्ट्रेलिया, न्यूझीलैंड, दक्षिण आफ्रिका, और न्यू फौडलैंड) को ही नहीं बरन जमाइका के समान छोटे २ उपनिवेशों को भी उत्तर दायित्वपूर्ण शासन का सुल आसानी से दे दिया गया। हमें बड़े भोलपन से बतलाया जाता है कि यह कायम मुकाम कारवाई है जिस से कि भविष्य में उत्तरदायित्वपूर्ण शासन का उदय होवेवाला है। परन्तु इस प्रकार की विचित्र तथा अद्भुत पूर्ण योजना का ग्रहण करने के लिये कौन से कारण बतलाये गये हैं? भारत की मध्यवर्ति सरकार जुलमी तथा अनियंत्रित हो बनी रहेगी और केवल प्रांतिक सरकार में ही यह तजुर्वा किया जावेगा। इन प्रांतों को भी स्वतंत्र नहीं बनाया है परन्तु उन में भी द्विदल पद्धति रखी गई है और आर्थिक विषय में नौकरशाही की तरफ अच्छा भाग दिया गया है।

इस प्रकार की योजना की सफलता का उदाहरण इतिहास में नहीं पाया जाता। स्वतंत्र या औपनिवेशिक स्वतंत्र राष्ट्रों को अपने हित के लिये आपस में मिलकर अपनी स्वतंत्रता के कुबलों को छोड़ते हुये एक मध्यवर्ती सरकार निर्माण करने की योजना को संघियुक्त सरकार (Federalism) कहते हैं। सब का सुल तथा समृद्धी बढ़ाने के लिये मध्यवर्ती सरकारको अधिकार देकर स्वेच्छा से इस की वृद्धी की जाती है। इसका सब से अच्छा उदाहरण दक्षिण आफ्रिका की संघियुक्त सरकार है। सब के फायदे के लिये मध्यवर्ती

सरकार को एकही सरकार का रूप देने के लिये सब देशों ने अपने स्वामित्व के हक का न्यास कर दिया और पहिले का प्रत्येक स्वतंत्र देश अपने कानून बनाने के हक को छोड़ कर मातहत होगया। किन्तु इन देशों ने अपने लिये जो बातें आवश्यक हों उनका मसौदा बनाने का हक रख छोड़ा। इस मसौदे को कानून का स्वरूप एकही मध्यवर्ती सरकार द्वारा दे दिया जाता है। परंतु भारत के लिये जो मार्ग सूचित तथा स्वीकार किया गया है वह उस के खिलाफ है और ईश्वर जाने इसका क्या कारण है। भारत एक राष्ट्र है और जब इन में अनेक राज्य हुए उस समय दूसरे से मेल करने का कोई प्रयत्न नहीं किया गया। अशोक तथा अकबर के जमान में भारत एकही राष्ट्र था और इन राजाओं का राज्य अत्यंत कीर्तिमान हुआ और जनता भी इन के जमाने में इतनी स्वतंत्र थी जैसी कि कभी नहीं रही।

इस योजना से भविष्य में उत्तरदायित्व पूर्णशासन प्राप्त होगा इस प्रकार हमें जो आशा दी जाती है अब उसका विचार करना है। यह आशा, इतिहास तथा तर्क के विरुद्ध है। फेडरल देशों में दो प्रकार की व्यवस्थापिका सभायें हुआ करती है। एक फेडरल सरकार की सारी प्रजा की प्रतिनिधियों की तथा दूसरी फेडरल सरकार अलग २ देशों के शासन के हितसंबंध का प्रतिपादन करनेवाले प्रतिनिधियों की। यदि कार्यकारी मंडल इन दोनों प्रकार के हित संबंध का उत्तरदायी रहे तो एकही समय दोनों सभाओं के अधिकांश प्रतिनिधियों का उल्लेख विश्वास पात्र होना चाहिये। परंतु ऐसा होना व्यवहारिक दृष्टिसे अत्यंत कठिन बात है। यदि दोनों सभाओं का एकमत नहीं है तो कार्यकारी मंडल को उत्तरदायी रखना अशक्य है। दूसरे कार्यकारी मंडल का अस्तित्व तथा उसके अधिकार एकही सभा के बहुमत के भरोसे रखना अन्याय युक्त होगा। इसलिये कोईभी सच्ची फेडरल सरकार इंग्लैंड या फ्रान्स के समान उत्तरदायित्व पूर्ण सरकार नहीं है। वह व्यवस्थापिका सभा को जवाबदार नहीं है किन्तु जनता को जैसा कि मैंने ऊपर बतलाया है। प्रत्येक नये चुनाव के समय इस जवाबदारी पर अमल किया जाता है और जब कभी कोई मंत्री महान् अपराध का भागी हो ता उसपर अलग मामला चलाया जाता है। फेडरल सरकार के लिये शिफारिश करने का इस प्रकार के विषय कोई दूसरा प्रकार नहीं है कई सालों के पूर्वही सन १६४१ के शिकायत पत्र में मामला चलाने की कठिनाइयां तथा अपूर्णता बतलाई जा चुकी हैं। प्रेसिडेन्ट विलसन का कथन है कि उत्तरदायित्वपूर्ण शासन की अपेक्षा फेडरल पद्धति में सरकार को जनता के अधिक अधिकार दिये जाते हैं और उसपर उनका अधिकार कम रहता है ब्रिटिश भारत में स्विट्झरलैण्ड के समान होना अशक्य है क्योंकि वह बहुत छोटासा देश है और भारत बहुत बड़ा। केवल आस्ट्रेलिया ही एक देश है जहां दोनों प्रकार की शासन पद्धति याने फेडरल और उत्तरदायित्वपूर्ण अस्तित्व में है। इसका अभी तजुर्बा किया जा रहा है और मि० बर्नोड तथा विद्वान प्रो० मेरिपट का कथन है कि वे दोनों प्रकार एक साथ नहीं रह सकते। एक कोई भी दुसरे का नाश कर देगा अमेरिका की प्रवृत्ति का जहां मध्यवर्ती सरकार की शीघ्रतासे प्रगति हो रही है—विचार करने से मालुम हाता है कि आस्ट्रेलिया में उत्तरदायित्वपूर्ण पद्धति के डेलीलियम का नाश करके अस्तित्व में रहेगी। फेडरल सरकार के बारे में यदि इस तरह की आपत्तियां हैं और हमें जब यह बतलाया जाता है कि इस झूठे तथा नामधारी पद्धति से हम उत्तरदायित्वपूर्ण शासन प्राप्त होगा उस समय इस कांप उठते हैं।

प्राचीन नौकरशाही को राजी रखने के लिये यह पद्धति गठी गई है। क्योंकि नौकरशाही अपने वास्तविक तथा कानूनी अधिकार और नीब दीव को जरा भी छोड़ने के लिये तैयार नहीं है। इस से दून मंत्र पत्तन होता है। एक नौकरशाही के साथ जनता के प्रतिनिधियों का सदा के लिये झगडा। दूसरा प्रातो के बीच द्वेष तथा झगडा। जिस के कारण सदा के लिये अंतरराष्ट्रीय द्वेष का माहा बना रहेगा। दिखाने तथा अपूर्ण आर्थिक व्यवस्था के कारण

पाहिले से ही प्रांतों में परस्पर भगडा उत्पन्न हो गया है। 'सुधारों' के नामपर खौफनाक तत्व और अवस्था कर दी गई है। जिस से देश के कई भाग होकर इनकी जनता सदा के लिये एक दूसरे के प्रति द्वेष से प्रेरित रहे।

१२. इस प्रकार की राजनैतिक दुरावस्था को सुधारने के लिये समस्त देश तथा कांग्रेस के मतानुसार यही एक उपाय है कि ब्रिटिश भारत में शीघ्र ही उत्तरदायित्वपूर्ण शासन स्थापन कर दिया जावे और प्रांतिक सरकार की रचना जनता तथा उनकी प्रतिनिधियों की ओर सौंप दी जावे। जिस से उन में शांति रहेगी तथा उनकी तरकीब हुआ करेगी। भावी उत्तरदायित्वपूर्ण शासन की आर्थिक व्यवस्था इस तरह पर की जावे कि सब लोग अपनी-२ आमदनी के अनुसार कर देवें और राजकर माफ होने के लिए सर्वत्र एक ही नियम लागू हो।

१३. हमारी मांग पूरी करने के लिये कौनसा आधार तथा सहारा है। यह सवाल सर्वत्र पूछा जाता है। इस के लिये बलवे को छोड़ अन्य कौनसा शांतिमय उपाय है कि जिसके द्वारा इंग्लैंड विवश होकर हमें इस प्रकार का शासन दे देवे जो कि हमारा ध्येय बतलाया जाता है और जिस के लिये हमें प्रांतिक स्वतंत्रता तथा अस्वाभाविक फेडरलिज़्म के समान भयानक तथा अधिकारमय मार्ग का आक्रमण करने के लिये कहा जाता है। यह बहुत कठिन प्रश्न है और जब कभी इस महान राजनैतिक जटिल समस्या का योग्य रूप से उत्तर ढूँढ निकालने के लिये मैंने विचार किया उस समय मैं घबरा जाता तथा साशंक हो जाता था। तिस पर भी इस प्रश्न का ठीक उत्तर हमें ढूँढना ही चाहिये क्योंकि सदा के लिये हमारा भाग्य उस पर अवलंबित रहेगा। इस लिये शुद्धता, सावधानी तथा धैर्यपूर्वक कार्य करने के लिये हमें प्रवृत्त होना चाहिये। इस के लिये इतिहास तथा स्वतंत्र देशों के व्यवहारिक ज्ञान तथा राजनैतिक अनुभव जो इतिहास में पाये जाते हैं उन पर भरवसा रखना अत्यंत सुरक्षित है। परंतु नम्रतापूर्वक तथा उद्योगशीलता से हमें इतिहास की सहायता लेनी चाहिये। यदि मजबूत तथा सुरक्षित रास्ते से जाना है तो हमें गतकाल तथा अनुभव से जो पद्धतियाँ अच्छी अथवा बुरी सिद्ध की जा चुकी हैं उन्हें अपना मार्गदर्शक और प्रकाश समझना चाहिये। इस महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रश्न के उत्तर में कलकत्ता कांग्रेस ने बहुत से असहयोग का कार्यक्रम बतलाया है। देखा जाता है कि इस कार्यक्रम को छोड़कर इस के तत्व की व्याप्ति तथा स्वरूप के ओर इसे ग्रहण करने की आवश्यकता के विषय में स्वतंत्र विचार नहीं किया गया। स्वतंत्रता शीघ्र ही प्राप्त करने के लिये हमारे शासकों से सुसंघटित असहयोग के समान उपाय को ग्रहण करने की आवश्यकता के बारे में सर्वत्र एकमत होना चाहिये। हमारे देश के शासन में वास्तविक रूप से तथा अच्छी तरह हमारा हाथ चाहिये इस के लिये ३५ सालों से अधिक समय से हम अर्जियाँ दे रहे हैं, प्रार्थना कर रहे हैं, तथा आन्दोलन मचा रहे हैं परंतु यह सब व्यर्थ हुआ है। दूसरी ओर अधिकारियों ने हमें इस अन्तिम अवस्था को पहुंचा दिया है कि हमारी राष्ट्रीय असहाय स्थिति हमें प्रत्यक्ष होता है और हम अपने जान माल की तथा हमारे उपनिवेशवासी बन्धुओं की रक्षा नहीं कर सकते इस के अलावे और भी बातें हैं। जब कि एक कुटुंब के समान समस्त राष्ट्र शोक में मग्न है तब हमारा अपमान किया गया तथा हम सताये गये। पंजाब के उपद्रवों के संबंध में जो हर्जाना दिया गया उसकी ओर देखिये। यूरो-पियन तथा भारतवासियों को जो हर्जाना दिया गया इन दोनों का विचार एक साथ करनेसे क्या आप यही एक हर्जाना नहीं निकाल सकते हैं कि हमारे हकों की परवाह न करते हुये हम मनुष्य से कम दर्जे के गिने जाते हैं। ईशर कमिशन की ओर तथा हमारे दुःख और सर मायकेल के बारे में हमारे मतों की मखौल करने के लिये उन कमिशन में सर मायकेल ओडायर के नियुक्ति की पाइपलाइन रखने की ओर तथा नौकरशाही को इसके लिये चन्दा न देने के लिये सरकारी मनाई हुकम की ओर देखिये। इंग्लैंड के प्रसिद्ध वकीलों ने जनरल डायर को जान

जुझकर कतल करने वाला हत्यारा ठहराने पर भी इतने समय के बाद कलकत्ते के यूरोपियन असेसिएसन ने उसने की हुई हत्याओं को न्याय बतजाया उस कार्रवाई को देखिये। वस। वार्षिक प्रस्ताव पास करने के हमारे दिन अब बीत गये। यदि हम जीवित रहना चाहते हैं तो ऐसे उपाय काम में लावा चाहिये कि जिनसे स्वाधीनता शीघ्र ही देने के लिये इंग्लैंड विवश हो। अब हमें यह विचार करना चाहिये कि हमारे उद्दिष्ट को साध्य करने के लिये जो असहयोग का तत्व तथा कार्यक्रम हमने स्वीकार किया है वह हमारे हित के लिये न्याय तथा माकूम उपाय है क्या! इस तत्व के ठीक स्वरूप तथा मर्यादा की व्याख्या नहीं की गई और ऐसा करना कठिण भी है। किसी विशेष समय पर सत्याग्रह का तथा कानून और शासन की तथा जाति और पेशे के संबंध की हदतालों का समावेश होने लायक यह तत्व है ऐसी आशा की जाती है। आपको ख्याल होगा कि व्हाइसराय ने असहयोग के तत्व को संगठन के विरुद्ध बतलाया है क्यों कि वर्तमान शासन को स्थगित करने के लिये यह काम में लाया जाना बाला है। यह बहुत ही विचित्र घोषणा है। भारत के इतिहास के अग्र्यन्त कलंकित कृत्यों के लिये जो व्हाइसराय तथा उन के कौंसिल जबाबदार हैं उन्हें न यदि वही सरकारी घोषणापत्र में यह भी बतला दिया जाता कि हमारा संगठन किस प्रकार का है और वह कहाँ पर लिखा हुआ है तो हम पर एक उपकार होते और हमारा लाभ भी होता। यदि क्षणभर के लिये यह कहा जावे कि इंग्लैंड का संगठन भारत को भी लागू होता है, तो वे कृपाकर यह बतलावें कि असहयोग का तत्व योजना उस के कौन से तत्व और भाग के विरुद्ध है? हम तो इस के खिलाफ यह देखते हैं कि ब्रिटिश राज्यशासन की समस्त पद्धति असहकारिता पर स्थित है। जैसा विजित के प्रति, यूरोप एशिया के प्रति, और वेरंग रंगतलों के प्रति असहयोग कर रहे हैं। इसी असहकारिता के चिह्नान्त पर यहां के भेदभाव पूर्ण कानून बने हैं। और ब्रिटिश संगठन को दृष्टी से पूर्णतया संगठन के विरुद्ध हैं। प्रांतिक स्वायत्ता में नये प्रकार की छिदल पद्धति भारतीयों के साथ ब्रिटिश नौकरशाही के असहयोग का नमूना है। अतयव व्हाइसराय साहब का महात्मा गांधी के असहयोग के तत्व को संगठन के विरुद्ध बतलाना हास्यास्पद है। दूसरे इस आन्दोलन का मुख्य त्याग, आत्मबलिदान तथा अतत्याचारित्व है, परन्तु दूसरे असहयोग का तत्व, अक्रमण, स्वार्थ तथा लोभ है। इस लिये हम दावे से कह सकते हैं कि हमारे असहयोग के तत्व पवित्र हैं और हमारे जायज हकों को प्राप्त करने तथा रक्षण करने के लिये और उनका अनुभव लेने के लिये हमारा प्रयत्न है। न्याय के विरुद्ध शक्ति का समर्थन करने के लिये हमारा असहयोग नहीं है।

३३. (अ) किसी की कृपा या क्रोध की परवाह न करते हुए हमारे राष्ट्र को जीवित रखने के लिये असहकारिता के चिह्नान्त को साधन रूप से स्वीकार करने पर हम बाध्य होंगे हैं अब हम उस विषय की ओर ध्यान देंगे।

३४. राष्ट्रीय जीवित तथा आजादी को बनाये रखने और शीघ्र ही उत्तरदायित्व पूर्ण स्वराज्य प्राप्त करने के एक ही उद्देश्य से कलकत्ता कांग्रेस ने स्वीकार किया हुआ असहयोग का कार्यक्रम कहाँ तक सकल हो सका है यह हमें देखना है। हम सब को यह मालूम है कि इसके बहुत से अंग हैं और इस में दूसरे भी अंग शामिल किये जाने वाले हैं मैं नहीं समझता कि इन सब बातों का विस्तार विवेचन करना हमारे लिये आवश्यक या किसी तरह उपयोगी होगा। उपाधियों के त्याग के अंग के विषय में जिक्र करने की आवश्यकता नहीं। इसे अमल में लाने से हमारे उद्दिष्ट को हानि या लाभ नहीं पहुँच सकता। अत्रैतनिक न्यायाधियों के पर अपवादात्मक रखे जाकर देागर अत्रैतनिक पदों का त्याग करना मुझे ठीक जान पड़ता है। क्यों कि जहाँ न्याय तथा कार्यकारी विभाग अलग २ नहीं कर दिये गये हैं वहाँ गैर सरकारी मजिस्ट्रेट तथा जन लोगों से तनखाह पानेवालों की अपेक्षा अधिक न्याय तथा स्वतंत्रता की हम आशा कर सकते हैं नये कौंसिलों के बारे में

बहुत थोड़ा कहना होगा। अब इस प्रश्न का कोई महत्व नहीं है और इस के बारे में विचार होकर हम इस का फैसला कर ही चुके हैं। अगले कुछ सालों तक इस का कोई महत्व नहीं है। असहयोग के कार्यक्रम के इस अंग में यदि हमें अच्छी तरह सकलता मिली है तो जो लोग असहयोग के विरुद्ध हैं उन्हें हमारी इस सफलता के बारे में पछताने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। सुधार योजना के दुष्परिणाम में बतला चुका हूँ। हम इंग्लैंड तथा यहाँ के अधिकारियों को आन्वहान कर कहते हैं कि वे नये सुधार युग के नाम मात्र तथा चिंताजनक अधिकारों को लेकर जनता के दिवान बनकर इस पद्धति को चलाकर दिवाने के लिये इंग्लैंड से अच्छे २ राजनितियों को भेजे तब इस पद्धति को भविष्य में चलाने के लिये और उस के द्वारा उत्तरदायित्वपूर्ण शासन प्राप्त करने के लिये हमें सबूत पढ़ाने को तथा इसका प्रयोग कर दिवाने को हम उन्हें कहेंगे। सारांश मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह योजना सबाई तथा निःस्वार्थता पूर्वक हमें नहीं दी गई है। नये कौंसिलों के चुनाव के लिये बहुतेरे राष्ट्रीय पक्ष के लोगों के खड़े रहने के दो कारण थे। एक असूतसर कामचलने और दूसरे पार्लियामेंट के हमारे मित्र मजदूर दलके सभासदोंन हमें यह सलाह दी थी कि हम इन कौंसिलों में जाकर अपना सुसंगठित विरोधदल बनावें और कौंसिल के ब'हरसे नहीं बल्कि कौंसिल में जाकर इनकी पोल खोलें। परंतु इन सब बातों का विचार करके राष्ट्र का यही निश्चय होगया है कि यह समस्त योजना आर्थिक दृष्टिसे कभी कामयाब नहीं हो सकती और कुछ समय तक अपने विचार प्रगट करने का साधन भी न इन से हमारे हाथों आसका है तथा न हमें उत्तरदायित्व पूर्ण स्वराज्य भी प्राप्त हो सक्ती है। तार्क्य इन्हें राष्ट्रीय पक्षोंन त्याग देना बहुत अच्छा हुआ क्यों कि असफलता का दोष उसके सिरपर मढ़ा जाता और न कि इस विभिन्न पद्धति की त्रुटियों पर।

१५. असहयोग कार्यक्रमका एक महत्त्व का अंग सरकार तथा सरकार से सहायता प्राप्तवाले स्कूलों से विद्यार्थियों को निकाल लेना है। इसके विषय में आप लोग को कुछ महिनो के आन्दोलन का अनुभव है ही। कार्यक्रम का यह भाग कायम रखकर हम पान करता या नहीं यह निश्चय करना अब आप पर निर्भर है। जिस एक उपदेश से ये सब आन्दोलन चलाये जा रहे हैं उसे जरा भी भूलना नहीं चाहिये। इसका उद्देश्य यह है कि हमारी जायज मांग याने उत्तरदायित्व पूर्ण शासन स्थापन कराने के लिये सरकार का विवश करना और खिलाफत के सम्बन्ध में न्याय करना है। क्या यह संभव है कि सरकारी तथा सरकार की सहायता जाने वाले स्कूलोंको खाली कर देने से यहाँ तथा इंग्लैंड का राज्य शासन स्थगित होकर हमारी मांग पूरी करने के लिये वे विवश होंगे ? यदि स्कूल तथा कालिजों का खालीना आठ करोड रुपयों के सरकारी खर्च की बबल होगी तो क्या सरकार इसे दूबरे काम में नहीं लगावेगी ? इससे हमारा कौनसा राष्ट्रीय लाभ होगा ! इनके एवज में हमारी राष्ट्रीय संस्थाएं कायम करने के लिये २०० करोड रुपयों की पूंजी की दरकार है त्रिकके व्याज से तनी आमदनी हो सकेगी। जर्मन सरिदने, मकान बनाने, प्रयोगशाला तथा प्रदर्शनियों के लिये बहुत बडी रकम की आवश्यकता है। क्या इतना द्रव्य देश से जर्दरी मिल सक्ता है ? राष्ट्रीय संस्थाओं से लाभ उठाने के लिये इतनी बातें जरूरी हैं। उपकरण तथा शिक्षक वर्ग म'कूल और योग्य होने पर नौकरशाही के अधिकार की कक्षा के बाहर की राष्ट्रीय संस्था निःसन्देह व्यक्ति तथा राष्ट्र की दृष्टि से अधिक लाभकारी होगा। इसका नियेय करना आपकी ओर है कि जिसे स्वप्न में भी जल्दी इकठ्ठा नहीं कर सकते इतना धन एकत्र करके इस कार्य से हमारे दुःखों का परिमार्जन एक साल के अन्दर हम कर सक्ते हैं क्या ! इस कार्यक्रम को असल में लाने से इस के साथहि जो बातें पैदा होगी और इसका जो फल होगा उसका भी विचार करना जरूर है। आजतक हमारे राज नैतिक जीवन का यह स्वीकृत विद्वान्त है कि विद्यार्थियों को शांत वातावरण में विद्याभ्यास करने के लिये अलाहिदा रखना चाहिये। वन्दे वाल् राजकारण में खींचना अहितकारक है। इस विद्वान्त का उल्लंघन किये बिना क्या हम कार्य नहीं कर सके ! हम स्वराज्य चाहते हैं। राष्ट्र कुटुम्ब के आधार पर रहता है। क्या ऐसा करने से विद्यार्थी अपने-भाता पिता तथा भाई

बहिनों से अलग नहीं कर दिये जावेंगे ! यदि स्वराज्य प्राप्त कर देने के हमारे मार्ग में इंग्लैंड दुराग्रह से बाधा डालता हुआ चला जावे तो ऐसा कब तक चलेगा! इस काल के पश्चात् जिसके बारे में कोई यह बतला नहीं सक्ता कि यह कब तक चलेगा विद्यार्थियों का अभ्यास रुक जाने से क्या देश को नुकसान नहीं पहुंचेगा? जिस समय तथा जहांपर हमारी राष्ट्रीय संस्थाएं विद्यार्थियों को शिक्षा देनेके लिये तैयार है वही स्थानपर विद्यार्थियों को सरकारी तथा सरकार से सहायता पाने वाले मदरसों का बहिष्कार करने के लिये कहना यह एक निराली बात है ।

३६ राष्ट्रीय उद्धार के प्रश्न के एक दूसरे पहलू के बारेमें आप लोगों को विचार करना है । इस कार्य के लिये पहिली बात क्या इस देश की समस्त जनता को प्राथमिक शिक्षा मुफ्त देना आवश्यक है या नहीं? इस देश के लोगों को प्राथमिक, दुय्यम, उच्च, पेशे की, वैज्ञानिक तथा शिल्पी इत्यादि प्रकार की शिक्षा एक साथ देना आवश्यक है । इस विषय में हम सब का क्या मत है । जो कालेज, स्कूल, तथा विश्वविद्यालय सरकारी अधिकार में हैं उनकी जगह अपनी संस्थाएं खोलकर दरिद्री भारत को अधिक भूखें मरने देना ठीक होगा क्या? हमारे देश के फी सदी ९४ मनुष्य बिलकुल अपढ़ हैं और सिर्फ फी सदी ४ को मदरसों तथा कालेजों में किसी कदर शिक्षा दी जाती है । समस्त राष्ट्र के इस फी सदी ९४ तथा ९६ मनुष्यों के मद्दान् जन्म समूह को शिक्षित करना चाहिये । हमारे देश की जनता का शिक्षण दूसरे अनेक सभ्य देशों से बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ है । हमारे देश की जनसंस्था में से फी सदी कितने बालक प्राथमिक शिक्षा पारहे हैं इसका प्रमाण दूसरे देशों से देखा जावे तो मालूम होता है कि यह अमेरिका का दसवां, इंग्लैंड तथा जर्मनीका आठवां और फ्रान्स तथा जापान का सातवां हिस्सा है । परन्तु दुय्यम शिक्षा में भारत फ्रान्स तथा जापान की अपेक्षा बड़ा हुआ है । जनता को शिक्षित करने के लिये कितने खर्च की आवश्यकता है ? प्रत्येक बालक को कुछ फीस लेकर प्राथमिक शिक्षा देने का सरकारी खर्च ११ रु. है । हमारी संस्थाएं पूर्ण रूप से स्वतंत्र रहना चाहिये । इसके सिवाय बिलकुल गरीब बालकों को रहने के लिये प्रत्येक संस्था में होटल और छात्रवृत्तियों का इंतजाम करना आवश्यक है । यदि विद्यार्थी तथा भोजनगृह न हों तो हरकत नहीं । शिक्षकों को भी बहुत कम वेतन दिया जाता है और कम दर्जे के शिक्षकों का वेतन साधारण मजदूरों से भी कम है । हमारी राष्ट्रीय संस्थाओं में ऐसा अन्याय होना ठीक नहीं है । इस लिये हमें सरकार के समान प्रत्येक विद्यार्थी के लिये खर्च का हिसाब ११ रु. न लेकर १५ रु. लेना चाहिये । भारतीयों के अल्पायु का विचार करके प्राथमिक शिक्षा पाने योग्य बालक तथा बालिकाओं की संख्या अन्दाजान सात करोड के लेली जावे । यह संख्या सब जन संख्या के चौथे हिस्से से कुछ कम है । १५ से ५० वर्ष आयु वाले मनुष्यों की संख्या देश की जन संख्या से आधी रहती है । ऐसा नियम है जो भारत को भी लागू है इस संख्या को प्राथमिक शिक्षा देने का वार्षिक खर्च १०५ करोड होगा । इस के सिवाय शाळागृह, खेलने के मैदान, होटल तथा अन्य सामान की कामत उपरोक्त रकम में मिलाने से बहुत बड़ी रकम हो जावेगी । इतना सब धन हमें बहुतही जल्दी एकत्र करना होगा । अब हमारे राष्ट्रीय सम्पत्ति की स्थिती की ओर देkhना चाहिये । भारतीय प्रजा की साठाना आमदनी २० रु. से ३० रु. तक है याने लगभग २५ रु. की आदमी । परन्तु इंग्लैंड के प्रजा की आमदनी इस से कम से कम २० गुनी है । इसका ठीक प्रमाण भुगतावन (exchange) पर है । हमें हमारी ही जनता से धन एकत्र करना होगा । हमें यह ख्याल रखना चाहिये कि हमारी जनसंख्या से अधिकांश लोगों को पुरा भोजन, कपडा, तथा रहने के लिये ठीक मकान नहीं होते । ऐसे लोगों को द्रव्य का स्वार्थत्याग करने के लिए कहना अत्यन्त निर्दयता होगी । इन लोगों से अच्छी हेसियतवालों ने हमें पैसा मांगना होगा । परन्तु हमारे देश के मध्यम वर्ग के लोग भी भौसत दर्जे इंग्लैंड तथा अमेरिका के मजदूरों के बराबर नहीं है । भिर्फ हमारे देश के मनुष्य उन देशों के मध्यम श्रेणी वालों की बराबरी करते हैं । मध्यम तथा भीमान इन दोनों वर्गों की स्वार्थत्याग की कल्पना कैसी भी

हो इन वनों से हम आवश्यकतानुसार द्रव्य मिलाने की आशा कर सकते हैं क्या ? यह स्पष्ट तथा अशक्य है । हमारी राष्ट्रीय बचत का विचार करने से कई सलों तक हम इतना ज्यादा द्रव्य मिलाने की आशा नहीं कर सके । यह द्रव्य प्राप्ति ब्रिटिश भारत की बचत पर अवलम्बित नहीं है । इस विषय में ठीक संख्या उपलब्ध नहीं है । ब्रिटिश भारत की फी मनुष्य औसत दर्जे की सम्पत्ति इंग्लैंड का चोर्वासवां और जपान का चौथा हिस्सा है । इस पर से इस के बारे में हम कुछ कल्पना कर सकते हैं । इस के सिवाय भारत में अनेक श्रीमान विदेशी भी हैं जिनकी बचत इसमें से अलग कर देना चाहिये । पृथ्वी के अन्य स्वतंत्र देशों से भारत की तुलना करने पर यहां की संख्या बहुत कम दिखाई देगी । परन्तु हमें आरंभ कर देना चाहिये और वह भी शीघ्र ही । हमारे सन्मुख दो बातें हैं जिनमें से एक गृहण करना है । क्या हमें वर्तमान स्कूलों के ऐजेंट में राष्ट्रीय स्कूल, कालेज, तथा विश्व विद्यालय खोलना चाहिये और गरीबों तथा जनता के शिक्षा के बारे में फिकर नहीं करना चाहिये अथवा जनता की प्राथमिक शिक्षा शुरू कर देने के लिये प्रत्येक रूपों को खर्च करना चाहिये । हमारे लिये यही उचित है कि हम जनता का प्रबन्ध पहिले करें । हमें राष्ट्रीय प्राथमिक शिक्षा का आरम्भ शीघ्र ही कर देना आवश्यक है । इस पर से अब आप विचार कीजिये कि कार्यक्रम के इस अंग को फिलहाल हाथ न लगाना उचित है या नहीं । फिर चाहे अपनी आर्थिक अवस्था ठीक होने पर इसे हाथ में ले सकते हैं ।

३७ प्रजा सत्ताक उत्तरेक्षीयत्वपूर्ण शासनका एक प्रधान अंग बजुर तथा जागृत लोकमत है । यह पूर्णतया उग्र देश में संभव है जहां की समस्त जनता साक्षर हो । सभी प्रजा सत्ताक पद्धति में सर्वजनिक मताधिकार चाहिये और जहां फी सदी छः मनुष्य किसी कदर शिक्षित है वहां पर सब को मताधिकार देना उचित या किसी समय पर हानिकारक भी होगा ।

३८ आधुनिक विज्ञान की जितने जल्दी हो सके उतने जल्दी उन्नती कर के उस के द्वारा देश की अधिक उन्नति करना हमारा दूसरा कर्तव्य है । इसके लिये हमें वैज्ञानिक, तथा कला कौशल्य की शिक्षा हमारे देश में प्रमाणपर बढ़ानी पड़ेगी । इतना ही नहीं बरिफ योग्य विद्यार्थियों को पहिले पहिले विदेश में भेजना चाहिये । और बाहर से जानगारों को लाकर उनकी सलाह से औद्योगिक संस्थाएं तथा प्रयोगशाला यहां खोलनी चाहिये । प्राथमिक तथा वैज्ञानिक शिक्षा और विदेश में वैज्ञानिक तथा कला कौशल्य की शिक्षा के लिये जाने वाले विद्यार्थियों को छात्रवृत्तियां, प्रयोगशाला, तथा औद्योगिक संस्थाएं हमारे देश में खोलना इस उद्देश के लिये हमारा सब धन खर्च करना चाहिये या नहीं ? इस प्रश्नका आपको विचार करके निर्णय करना है ।

३९ दूसरा प्रश्न वकीलों द्वारा अदालतोंका बहिष्कार करने के बारे में है । यहां यह देखना चाहिये कि वकीलों के बकालत छोड़ने से सरकार किस प्रकार स्थगित होकर हम अपना उद्देश सिद्ध कर सकेंगे ? इस पेशेपर नौकरशाही की बड़ी कृपा नहीं रही है । नौकरशाही के बहुत से लोगों की समयरपर यहां तक कल्पना रही है कि वकीलों की संख्या कम की जाकर उनपर और कुछ कवायतें लादी जावें । क्या यह तर्क संमत तथा व्यवहारी है कि गरिब तथा मध्यम श्रेणी के कुटुंबों के हजारों नवयुवक जिन्होंने बहुत कठिनाई, परिश्रम तथा स्वार्थत्याग पूर्णक इस पेशे के लिये शिक्षा पाई है उन्हें बीच में ही अपना एक मात्र पेशा जिस के लिये वे योग्य हैं छोड़ने के लिये कहा जावे । सब वकीलों का और विशेषतः नये वकीलों का बकालत छोड़ना व्यवहार्य हा तथा अमळ में लाया जावे तो उध से उन के माता पिता तथा कुटुंबों को अत्यन्त विपन्नता तथा आभावेगी । क्या हमें भरोसा है कि हमारे राष्ट्र की स्वतंत्रता मिलाने के लिये ऐसा करना लाजमी है ? क्या इतिहास में इस का कोई उदाहरण पाया जाता है ? परन्तु इस के विरुद्ध उदाहरण इतिहास में पाये जाते हैं । इंग्लैंड के राज-

नीतिज्ञों तथा शूर वीरों ने महान् अंग्रेजी संगठन का जन्म तथा विकास करने में जितना भाग लिया है उतनाही महान् अंग्रेजी न्यायाधीशों की परम्परा ने भी। राजनीति शास्त्र तथा व्यवहार से और कानून के शास्त्र तथा व्यवहार से घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध है। गैरवाजिब से वाजिब ढूँढ निकालने के ये दोनों शास्त्र वास्तविक एकही हैं। बर्क का कथन है “ वह वकालत के ही योग्य था। मेरे मतानुसार यह शास्त्र सब शास्त्रों से श्रेष्ठ तथा सभ्य है इस शास्त्र से ग्राहकशक्ति इतनी बढ़ती तथा उत्प्राहित होती है कि जितनी समस्त शास्त्रों के एकीकरण से नहीं ” इसी लिये संसार में सर्वत्र राजनीतिज्ञ और वकील ये लोग एकही हुआ करते हैं। फ्रेंच क्रांति—जिस से आधुनिक स्वतंत्रता का सूर्योदय हो सका है राजनीतिज्ञों तथा वीरों के साथही कानून के ज्ञाताओं से संगठित हुई थी। उस समय के राजनीतिज्ञ तथा वकील एकही व्यक्ति थे। फ्रेंच क्रांति के कांस्टिट्यूट असेंबली के अधिकांश सभासद वकीलही थे। महान् राजनीतिज्ञ बर्क पर इसका हास्यास्पद परिणाम हुआ। इस क्रांति के कारण बर्क ने अपने विचार बदल दिये। वह वकालत पेशे की सराहना करने में प्रसिद्ध था और उस ने जब असेम्बली के कृत्यों की निंदा की तब उस से कहा गया कि वे सब कृत्य वकीलोंही के थे। उस समय वह सन्न हो गया। परन्तु अपनी मनःस्थिति को उसी समय ठीक कर के यह कल्पना कर अपना समाधान कर लिया कि वे सब हरेके दर्जे के वकील थे। क्या आपका यह ख्याल है कि अमर कीर्तिवाली कांस्टिट्यूट असेंबली के यादगार के लिये कार्यक्रम में यह अंग शामिल किया गया है ?

४०. वकालत छोड़ने के प्रश्न के बारे में यह कहा जाता है कि इस से पंचायती अदालतों के स्थापन करने में सहूलियत होगी। आप को विचार कर यह निश्चय करना है कि कानून से स्थापित की हुई अदालतों को एकदम तोड़कर उन के स्थान पर पंचायती अदालतों का स्थापन करना मुमकिन और मसलहत होगा या नहीं। खासगी पंचायत समाज के लिये अत्यन्त लाभदायक हैं। अदना जुर्म तथा दीवानी के साधे मामले पंचायती अदालतों से या समझोते से तय किये जा सकते हैं। ऐसा करना समाज तथा व्यक्ति के लिये ठीकही होगा परन्तु करारों के स्पष्ट या अनुमान करने योग्य तथा जानबूझकर, धोके से या उतावलेपन से जखम हो जान के सम्बन्ध के न्यायान्याय के जिन में जटिल प्रश्न हैं ऐसे मुकदमों की तहकीकात तथा फैसला कितने ही उच्च कोटी के या अनुभविक गैर सरकारी नागरिक क्यों न हों वे नहीं कर सकते। स्वदेश विदेश तथा अंतर्राष्ट्रीय कानून के अर्थ और उस के योग्यायोग्यता के गंभीर प्रश्न निर्णय करने के लिये अकसर उपस्थित हुआ करते हैं। कानून के शास्त्र का अभ्यास करने पर उस के अच्छे अनुभव से तथा विद्वान न्यायाधीशों के समागम से ऐसे प्रश्न हल किये जा सकते हैं। यथार्थ न्याय प्राप्त करने के लिये न्यायाधीश तथा ज्यूरी इन दोनों का आवश्यक है। यदि हम अदालतों का तथा वकालत पेशे का अंत कर देंगे तो समाज की इस आवश्यकता की पूर्ति करने के लिये हमारे पास कोई दूसरा साधन नहीं है। इसका फल यही होगा कि अपराधों की तथा फौजदारी मुकदमों की तुरन्तही भरमार होजावेगी। जिन्हें अदालतों का तथा समाज के कनिष्ठ प्रति क लोगों का अनुभव है वे इस बात को अच्छी तरह जानते हैं। कि जनता अपने दुःखों की जांच पड़ताल सभ्यता के रीति से नहीं कर सकती और न वह उन के उपाय जान सकती है। दूसरे वह अपने क्रोध तथा बदला लेनेके मनोबिकार को नहीं दबा सकती है। इसका परिणाम यह होता है कि वह कानून को अपने हाथ में लेकर अपने दुःखों को दूर करने के कल्पनिक उपाय के लिये-परन्तु यथार्थ में बदला लेने के लिये-जुर्म कर बैठती है। हमें ध्यान में रखना चाहिये कि सभ्यता जैसी २ बढ़ते जाती है उसीके साथही जानबूझकर अज्ञानक या धोके से किये हुए अपराध भी बढ़ते जाते हैं। इनके यथार्थ स्वरूप की तहकीकात करने के लिये तथा विचित्र अपराध के बारेमें मुस्तगीब को दाररसा देनेके लिये बहुत होशियारी की जरूरत है। स्वतंत्रता का याने कानून का राज्य है अंधेर नगरी नहीं

वह हमें भूल नहीं जाना चाहिये। अदालतों के तथा वकालत पेशे के बिना कानून का राज्य तथा राजत कैसी रक्खी जा सकती है यह समझ में नहीं आता।

४१. इन सब बातों का विचार करते हुए अब आप लोगों से मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि इस रीती से हम लोग किस प्रकार सफलता पा सकते हैं? इस का विचार करना आप के तरफ है। इससे भारतवासी फिर से उनकी इच्छा न रहते हुए भी अज्ञानता पूर्वक असभ्य हो जावेंगे। और जिस उत्तरदायित्व पूर्ण शासन को हम अन्तःकरण से चाहते हैं वह स्थापन करने के लिये तथा बनाये रखने के लिये यह शुभारंभ नहीं होगा।

४२ इस पर आप स्वभावतः मुझ से यह सवाल करेंगे कि यदि यह कार्यक्रम छोड़ दिया जावे तो कौनसा कार्यक्रम हमें स्वीकार करना चाहिये? इस प्रश्न का मेरा प्रामाणिक उत्तर सारांश में यह है कि हमें राष्ट्र निर्माण करना चाहिये। यह कार्य इस प्रमाण तथा प्रकार से किया जावे कि हमने आज तक जो समय खो दिया है उसकी करार हम निकाल सकें और हमारे शासकों दुर्वर्तन से तथा अविश्वास से और हमारे आत्मस्य तथा दीर्घ सूत्रता से जो अवस्था प्राप्त हुई है उसका अच्छी तरह सामना कर सकें। अपनी जनता के लिये उत्तरदायित्व पूर्ण शासन प्राप्त करने पर हम तुले हुये हैं और यह योग्य भी है। याद रहे कि जनता राष्ट्र नहीं है और न राष्ट्र जनता। जनता राष्ट्र की उन्नति तथा समृद्धि का एक साधन है। इन दोनों की उन्नति परस्परके व्यवहार पर अवलंबित है। इस लिये यदि हमारी सरकार सब से अच्छे ढंग की हो और इस देश के लोगों का योग्यतानुसार हम उसकी उन्नति करें तो जहां तक हो सके पूर्णतया इस देश की जनता का पुनरुज्जीवन होगा। कांग्रेस के शुरु होने से राष्ट्रीय भाव के संगठन के लिये लोगों में एकता करने के कार्य में बहुत कुछ तरकीबी की गई है। इस्वर को हमें इस लिये धन्यवाद देना चाहिये कि राष्ट्र का ऐक्य बढ़ाने के लिये हमारी हाल की आपत्तियों से जो समुच्चयरूप परिणाम हुआ है वह सैंकड़ों सालों के राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा से भी नहीं होता। और यह स्वाभाविक राष्ट्रीय एकता महात्मा गांधीजी तथा उनके अन्यसाथी नेताओं द्वारा बढ़ाई तथा घनिष्ट की जा रही है। मातृभूमि की महान तथा अमूल्य सेवा के लिये हमें तथा भावी प्रजा को उनका सदा के लिये कृतज्ञ रहना चाहिये। परन्तु हमारा राष्ट्र उतना महान तथा जीवित नहीं है जितना कि यथार्थ में उसे होना चाहिये और इस लिये हमारी उन्नति का मार्ग हमें सोचकर उसे अमल में लाना चाहिये। जितना हम से होसके उतने जल्दी तथा विशाल प्रमाण से जनता को शिक्षित करना यह पहिली बात है। कांग्रेस इस के लिये तुरन्त ही एक विशेष कमेटी नियुक्त करे। इस कमेटी को यही महत्वका कार्य करने के लिये अनेक सब कमेटीयां नियुक्त करने का अधिकार रहना चाहिये। मजदूरों के हितके लिये रात्रि तथा दिन को देशी भाषा के मदरसे खोलने के लिये लेक्चर देने के लिये तथा प्रदर्शनी भ्रमण के लिये इन कमेटीयों को द्रव्य एकत्र करना चाहिये तथा मनुष्य नियुक्त करना चाहिये। इसके पश्चात् विदेश में और विशेषतः ब्रिटिश उपनिवेशों में रहने वाले हमारे देश वासियों के प्रश्नों और देखना चाहिये उन्हें विदेश से शीघ्र ही वापिस बुला लेना चाहिये। आधुनिक विज्ञान के अनुसार हमारे साधनों की पूर्ण रूपसे वृद्धि करने के लिये देश को उसकी समस्त संतानों की शारीरिक तथा मानसिक सहायता की आवश्यकता है। इस के बाद मजदूर दल निर्माण करने का तथा अछूत जातियों को ऊपर उठाने का प्रश्न है। हमारे देशवासी पुरुष तथा स्त्रियां जो जुर्म करने वाली तथा कौम तथा 'गुन्हेगार जाते' कहाई जाती हैं उनके उद्धार के महत्व के प्रश्न के बारे में आज तक हमने लापरवाही की है। इन सबका कारण त्रासदायक तथा अपमानजनक खास तौर के कानून हैं। इन सब प्रश्नों का आन्दोलन शुरु करने के लिये कांग्रेस को कमेटीयां नियुक्त करना चाहिये। समाज सुधारक अपना कार्य करेंगे ऐसा मैं समझता हूँ परन्तु उन्हें मदद करना तथा उनके प्रति सहानुभूति दर्शाना कांग्रेस का कर्तव्य है। पूर्ण रूप से संघटना के आधार पर बढ़ते हुये प्रमाण से वे समस्त कार्य करना चाहिये।

४३ भारत के पुनर्जीवन की योजना का एक नारित पक्ष भी है। उसकी ओर मैं आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करता हूँ। पुनर्जीवित भारतवासियों का इस प्रकार जीवित तथा परस्पर संबन्ध से बंधा हुआ राष्ट्र हो जाने पर हम न केवल नोकरशाही के सरकार को ही बदल सकेंगे परन्तु जो गैर सरकारी अंग्रेज लोग हमारे देशका धन बटोर रहे हैं उनकी दृष्टि को भी नया रूप दे सकेंगे। इस योजना से इस देश के अंग्रेज किसानों, व्यापारियों तथा कारखाने वालों को मजदूर न मिलने देकर क्रमशः हम उन्हें भुखों मार सकते हैं और इस प्रकार से उनकी सहानुभूति अपनी ओर खींच सकते हैं। इससे रेलवे, डाग, तथा तार इत्यादि विभागों में कम दर्जे के और हल्के काम करने वालों की राष्ट्रीय हड़तालें कराने की शक्ति भी हममें आ सकती है। अंग्रेजों का सर्वस्व द्रव्यही है। वर्तमान तथा भावी आर्थिक नुकसान से अंग्रेजों के मन तथा नीतिपर जितना परिणाम होता है उतना और किंश उपाय से नहीं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि विदेशी कोठीवालों को इस प्रकार भुखों मारकर तथा शिघ्र गति से भारत की आर्थिक उन्नति करने के लिये शीघ्र ही सामान्य मजदूरों का संघ बनाकर भारतवासी अंग्रेज कोठीवालों का तथा भारत से कच्चा माल बाहर ले जानेवाले इंग्लैंड के व्यापारियों की आमदानी गिराने के उद्देश, तथा इच्छा से हमें तजवीज करनी चाहिये। विदेशी माल का बहिष्कार करने तथा इस देशका कच्चा माल बाहर न जाने देनेकी योग्य व्यवस्था करने के लिये कांग्रेस को चाहिये कि वह जानकारों की एक कमेटी जिसे सारे देश में कमेटियां बनाने का अधिकार रहेगा नियुक्त करे। मैं समझता हूँ कि अंग्रेजों को हमारे साथ न्याय पूर्वक व्यवहार कराने का यह एक परिणामकारी उपाय है। हमें यह भूलना नहीं चाहिये कि सरकारी कर्मचारियों की अपेक्षा अधिकारी रीति से गैर सरकारी अंग्रेज पूंजीवालों ने भारत में एक नैतिक अलस्टर कायम कर लिया है जिसकी भूगोलिक मर्यादा नहीं है। इस बातको समझना हमारा पहिला कर्तव्य है। लार्डरिपन के जमाने से हमें इसके बारे में चेतावनियां दी जा रही हैं मगर उनका हमने कोई ख्याल नहीं किया। द्रव्य के विषय में आप इसे चाहे आमदनी कहें—अंग्रेज कोठीवालों की दुर्बलता है। यदि हम सफलता चाहते हैं तो हमें उस स्थानपर उसका आक्रमण करना चाहिये। एक मसखरे फरासीसी का कहना है कि अंग्रेज धनके इतने लोभी हैं कि उनके मातापिता को आप मार डालें तो उसके लिये वे उतना न बिगड़ेंगे जितना उनकी एक दमड़ी लुडालेन से। हमें ख्याल रखना चाहिये कि एक समय इंग्लैंड में खूनियों पर जुर्माना किया जाता था और चोरी तथा जालसाजी करने वाले फ्रांसी पर लटकाये जाते थे। पार्नेल ने दिङ्गी में यह बिलकूल यथार्थ कहा है कि आयरिश, स्कॉट तथा अंग्रेज लोगोंकी संयुक्त सेना में आयरिशने शत्रुको मार गिराया। इसके बाद स्कॉट आये उन्होंने कैदियोंको गिरफ्तार किया। अन्त में अंग्रेजोंने आकर उनका धन बटोरा। इस विषय का अधिक महान तथा गंभीर प्रमाण भी उपलब्ध है। बर्क का कथन है कि अंग्रेजोंकी आजादीकी कल्पना भाव वाचक नहीं है परन्तु इन्द्रियों द्वारा अनुभव की जाने वाली एक वस्तुमें अन्तर्भूत है। इस प्रकार प्रत्येक राष्ट्रका एक प्रिय विषय रहता है जिसे कि वे अपनी आजादीका स्वरूप देते हैं। इस दृष्टिसे अंग्रेजोंका प्रिय विषय द्रव्य है जिसमें उनकी आजादीकी कल्पना मथितकी गई है।

४४. मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि जिस योजना द्वारा देशकी आर्थिक उन्नति हो सकती है और यहां के, इंग्लैंड के तथा उपनिवेशों के अंग्रेजोंके मालका बनना तथा बिक्री बन्द हो सकती है यही अच्छी योजना है और इसमें कोई तत्व नहीं है जिससे हमें किसी प्रकार नुकसान पहुंचा सके और न इसे अवैध कहनेकी किसी वहाइसरायकी हिम्मत है। आप समझ गये होंगे कि जो योजना में उपस्थित करना चाहता हूँ वह विदेशी मालका क्रमशः बहिष्कार करने के बारेमें है। ब्रिटिश मालका बहिष्कार नहीं। इसके दो कारण हैं। हमें अपनी योजना में बदला लेने की भावना को स्थान नहीं देना चाहिये। दूसरे वित्तायती चीजों का बहिष्कार करने से भारत में अन्य देशका माल आकर भर जावेगा और इससे अभी के समान हमारी आर्थिक उन्नति रुक जावेगी।

४५. मैं आपको एक दूखी सूचना करना चाहता हूँ। भारत की कांग्रेस का बहुत काल से यह अलिखित सिद्धान्त रहा है कि भारत के प्रति अपना पूर्ण तथा योग्य कर्तव्य करने के लिये इंग्लैंड को विवश करने के हमारे प्रयत्नों में हम किसी भी इंग्लैंड को एक राजनैतिक दल से भिन्नता न करे परन्तु तदर्थ रहकर सबसे एक ही ही मदत मांगते रहे। कांग्रेसकी बाव्यावस्था में इस प्रकार के वृत्ति का कुछ भी उपयोग हुआ हो परन्तु अब समय ऐसा आगया है कि हम किसी भी एक पक्ष से अपनी भिन्नता कर लें और पार्लियामेंट में तथा वतने बारे में सबका अधिकार तथा वर्चस्व बढ़ाने के लिये उसे मदत करें। पुराण मतवादियों की भिन्नता सम्पादन करने के बारे में विचारन करना व्यर्थ है। अब हमें उदार मतवादी या मतदूर दल में से ही एक पक्ष को निरिचत करना होगा। वैयक्तिक अपवादों को छोड़कर उदार मतवादी पक्ष ने हमारे अधिकारों को कभी भी समर्थन नहीं किया है और इसके सिवाय अब वह सुगुंठित तथा प्रागतिक भी नहीं है। अन्त में केवल मजदूर दल ही रह जाता है। हमारी आकांक्षाओं को प्राप्त करने के लिये अर्धतु पूर्वक मर्त करने के बारे में यह देश उसके पहिले ही से कृतज्ञ है। और कर्नल बेजुब मिस्टर बेन्स-पूरु इत्यादि उन के सहयोगियों को हार्थिक धन्यवाद देता है। मुझे विश्वास है कि यह पक्ष हमारी तजबीज को अवश्य पसन्द करेगा। इतना विलम्ब हो जाने पर भी हमारे राष्ट्रहितपर हमारा जितना प्रेम है वतने ही प्रेम तथा कृतज्ञतासे हम उस पक्ष के साथ भिन्नता करने के लिये अपना हाथ आगे बढ़ाते हैं।

४६. जिन उपायों द्वारा उत्तरदायित्वपूर्ण स्वराज्य की स्थापना करने के लिये सफरका पूर्वक अपना आन्दोलन चलाना चाहते हैं उन उपायों का तथा हमारी मांग का मनि प्रकार से समर्थन होता है यह आप मेरे उपर्युक्त कथन से समझ गये होंगे। (१) समस्त प्राचीन तथा अर्वाचीन स्वतंत्र देशों की बुद्धिने जिसे मंजूर किया है तथा जिसका अनुभव लिया है तथा उस उपयोगिता नियमानुसार और ईश्वर निर्मित कानून के तत्वानुसार भारतीय राष्ट्र की पुनर्रचना करना (२) भारत की शक्त्यानुसार इंग्लैंड के व्यापारी हितको धक्का पट्टुवाकर और हमारे देश में आकर बसने वाले विदेशी तथा अंप्रज पुंजी वालों को भूलों मार कर हमारे देशके अर्थिक उपायों का पुनरुद्धार करना (३) इंग्लैंड के मजदूर दल से सच्ची भिन्नता करना। मैं दविसे कहता हूँ कि जो कार्य-क्रम मैंने आप लोगों के सामने विचार तथा स्वीकार करने के लिये पेश किया है वह साध्य तथा साधन दोनों है वह टिकाऊ तथा प्रागतिक तत्वों के आधार पर है। और दूसरे देश तथा ईर्ष्यासे इस से देश की जनता में फूट पाहकर परस्पर विरुद्ध फिर के तथा पक्ष निर्माण करने वाली त्रासदायक बातों से अलिप्त है। इसके सिवाय इसका प्रसार करने के आन्दोलन में जो कार्य कर्त्ता होंगे उन्हें खतरे में डालने वाला नहीं है और न सबकी प्रतिक्रिया भी भीतिशयक हो सकती है।

४७. अब हमें हमारी स्थिति का सिंहावलोकन करना चाहिये। इसका विचार हमें दो सामान्य पहलू की दृष्टि से करना है। मेरी समझ में इसका कोई भी तीसरा पहलू नहीं है जिसे कि हमारी नौकरशाही बतलाती है और जिससे हम भी भूत हैं। जो कबूल किया गया है उनके खिलाफ पक्षपात युक्त कानून तथा शासन सम्बन्धी नियम बनाकर और स्वतंत्रता तथा सभ्य देशों में जैसा कि कभी नहीं हुआ है इस तरह से समय २ पर जुल्मी कार्यों को अमल में लाकर शासक नेता गौरवर्णीय लोग भारत के रंगबालों के साथ आक्रमणकारी असहयोग के तत्वपर भारत का राष्य शासन आदि से ही करते चले आये हैं यह स्थिति असह्य होगई है। इसकी आखिरी पूर्ती ईशर कमेटी रिपोर्ट ने कर दी है जिस कि अब हम सहन नहीं कर सके इस महान् संकट के समय हममेंसे प्रत्येक का पवित्र तथा जहरी कर्तव्य है कि वह अपनी दृष्टि मर्यादा को उन्नत करे जिससे कि इस पराभङ्गी भीतिदायक शक्ति अवस्था में छुटकारा पाने के लिये जो उपाय हम सौचेंगे तथा अमल में लावेंगे वे केवल योग्य तथा समर्थक ही न हो। बल्कि ऐसे हो कि जिनके बारे में हमें अभिमान बना रहे और जो सभ्य संसार के न्यायासन के फंसले तथा सद्व्यद्विक बुद्धि को जागृत करने वाले हों।

इंद्रलंब अब पृथक् शक्ति नहीं रह सक्ता । यदि हमें जैसा कि हम अपनी सुक्ति के लिये चाहते हैं । उसपर संसार के न्यायासन के सम्मुख जुर्म लगाना हो तो हम अपनी शिकायतें तथा दावे महात्मा गांधीजी के कथनानुसार सरल हृदय से तथा स्पष्ट रूप से पेश कर सकेंगे । मैं आप से कहता हूँ कि इस दृष्टि से इस प्रश्नका गंभीरतापूर्वक विचार कीजिये ।

४८. हमारे साधन तथा मार्गों की उपयुक्तताका विचार करने के पश्चात् सबसे पहिले मैं आपसे जोर देकर यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि न केवल मांग पेश करने के लिये ही बल्कि मांगकी विशेष शर्त तैयार करने के लिये तथा मांग पूरी कराने के लिये मार्ग निश्चित करने तथा उसके अनुसार चलने के लिये भी सबसे पहिले हमें ऐक्य की आवश्यकता है मुझे संतोष है तथा मैं समझता हूँ कि आपको भी इसपर संतोष होगा कि देश में शीघ्र ही उत्तर दायित्वपूर्ण स्वराज्य स्थापन करने की मांगके बारेमें हम सबका एक मत है । परन्तु उसे प्राप्त करने के हमारे कार्यक्रम में जबतक हमारा एक मत तथा ऐक्य न हो जावे, तब तक ईश्वर के प्रति और अपने देश के प्रति यह बातला देना मैं कर्तव्य समझता हूँ कि हमारा मौका हमारे हाथोंसे निकल जावेगा. और हमारे सुक्तिप्रकाशशुगल (Iguis Fatuus) के समान हमारे करीब आकर हमसे दूर भाग जाया करेगा और सदाके लिये हम ऐवाही घोड़ा खारा करेंगे । समस्त संसार तथा हमारी भावी संतान हमारे उतावले निम्नत्रय के उग्र तथा हमारे स्वतंत्र होनेके ईश्वरदत्त अवसर को खो बैठने के लिये हमें सदाके लिये दोषी बनाये रखेंगे । हम ऐक्य से जीवित रहकर बच सकेंगे तथा फूट से गिरकर नाश हो जावेंगे ।

४९. कलकत्ता कांग्रेस ने जो असहयोग का कार्यक्रम स्वीकृत किया है उसके अनेक अंगों के पहलू तथा स्वरूप बतलाकर मैंने आपका ध्यान आकर्षित किया है । उस कार्यक्रम के सामान्य प्रकार के एक या दो महत्व के स्वरूपों के बारे में बतलाने के लिये मैं आपकी हजाजत मांगता हूँ । लोक सत्ताक शासन का स्वरूप कैसाही क्यों न हो लोगों को सब से अधिक स्वातंत्र्य और सुख देने के बारे में उसकी सफलता केवल इधी बातपर अवलंबित रहती है कि उसका कार्य वादविवाद द्वारा या मन मुल्क्यारी से चला करता है । जबतक वादविवाद द्वारा शासन कार्य न चलाया जावे तबतक कोई शासन जनता को स्वतंत्रता नहीं प्रदान कर सक्ता । फिर उसका संज्ञान कैसाभी क्यों न हो और जनताके स्वाभाविक हकोंका घोषणा पत्र कितनाही ठीक तथा सभ्य क्यों न हो । बगेरहाट के समान महान राजनीतिज्ञोंने इस बात पर जोर देते हुए यह प्रतिपादन किया है कि उसका संज्ञान कैसा भी क्यों न हो और जनता के स्वाभाविक हकों का घोषणा पत्र कितनाही ठीक तथा सभ्य क्यों न हो तबतक कोई शासन जनता को स्वतंत्रता प्रदान नहीं कर सक्ता जबतक वह शासन वादविवाद द्वारा चलाया जाने वाला नहीं है । इस कार्यक्रम के चलाने में दो तर्कों का अंतर्भाव होता है । जो लोग प्रसारका कार्य करेंगे वे उसे कानून तथा कवायतों के बिना नहीं कर सके । और इस कानून से बंध जानेसे वे लोग अपने स्वतंत्र विचारों का उपयोग नहीं कर सके और ऐसा करने से स्वतंत्रता पूर्वक विचार करने की उनकी योग्यता जाती रहेगी । प्राचीन तथा अर्वाचीन इतिहास यह सिद्ध करता है कि राष्ट्रीय कवायतें और स्वतंत्र विचार करने की राष्ट्रीय उदासीनता राष्ट्रीय स्वतंत्रता सुख तथा उन्नति के विरुद्ध है । यद्यपि वे राष्ट्र के चालू अस्तित्व के विरुद्ध नहीं । इसके बारे में स्पष्टी, एथेन्स, जर्मनी तथा पुराने और नये जमाने के अनेक त्यागिन राज्योंसे हमें सिखावत लेना चाहिये । जैसा कि स्पष्टी तथा प्राचीन एथेन्स न केवल राष्ट्रीय कवायतों से स्वतंत्र ही था परन्तु उस राज्य के नागरिकों को अपना स्वतंत्र विचार करनेका यहाँ तक अधिकार था कि एक मामूली अंग्रे बचेनेवालाभी बाजार से अपने मकान को लौटते समय शासन कार्य के वादविवाद में भाग ले सका था । वह स्वातंत्र्य तथा कीर्ति के इतने उन्नत शिखर पर चढ़ाहुआ था जैसा इस जमाने में कोई भी राज्य नहीं है । परन्तु एथेन्स भी पदच्युत हुआ । यह बहुत मार्केकी बात है कि एथेन्स की अवनति तथा नाश उस देश के इतिहास के अत्यंत उज्वल काल से याने पेरिक्लिजके जमाने से

शुरू हुआ। पेरीज़ीज के महान आचरण तथा कुशाग्र बुद्धि से ही उस देशका नाश होना शुरू होगया। लोग उसे पूजते थे तथा उसपर विश्वास करते थे। वे स्वतंत्र विचार करने से इन्कार करते थे और इसी कारण व्यक्तियों की स्वतंत्र विचार करने की शक्ति जाती रही जिससे राष्ट्रीय अवनति तथा नाश का प्रारम्भ हुआ। एक महान इतिहासज्ञका कथन है कि यदि पेरीज़ीज कम बुद्धिमान होता और लोग उसपर कम विश्वास रखते तो एथेन्सका नाश नहीं होता। थोड़े ही समय में एथेन्स के लोगों की इतनी अवनति हो गई कि मेसोडान के फिलिप को रोकने के लिये तथा लोक सत्ताक राज्य को विजय तथा पारतंत्र्य से बचाने के लिये अपनी दिव्य वाणीसे महान वक्ता डिमासथेनीज जनता को एक्य के लिये उपदेश कर रहा था उस समय उसे यह चेतावनी देनी पड़ी कि लोग फिलिप को मार भगाने के पश्चात् उसके स्थानपर दुसरा फिलिप न बनाने की सावधानी रखें। इस उपदेश को हमें अंतःकरण मे अच्छी तरह गृहण करना चाहिये बहुत समय से चले आते हुए हमारे नौकरशाहि तथा अत्याचारों के स्थानपर नई नौकरशाही तथा नये अत्याचार हमारे मार्गों तथा उपायों द्वारा न स्थापन करने की हमें सावधानी रखना चाहिये। जर्मनी के दुःखदायी चेतनासे हमें अनेक उपदेश तथा चेतावनियां मिल सकती है। एथेन्स के पश्चात् यूरोपमें जर्मनी ही अत्यंत स्वतंत्र राष्ट्र था इंग्लैंड जर्मनी का ही स्वरूप है। आधुनिक विचारों का जनक यह संज्ञा जर्मनी को यथार्थ रूप से दी जाती थी परंतु विस्मार्क के जमाने से संसार में सबसे अधिक महत्व प्राप्त करने के लिये राष्ट्रीय कवायत तथा खासगी विचारों को छोड़ बैठने की पृथा जारी हुई। इन दो मार्गों की उन्नति तथा सफलता से व्यक्ति स्वातंत्र्य की पुरानी जर्मन कल्पना लोप होने लगी और महा-युद्ध के समय उसका अंत हो गया। ये उदाहरण अधिकारयुक्त उपदेशों से बढकर हैं। परंतु राष्ट्रीय कवायत या साल-व्हेशन सेना के समान राष्ट्र के किसी एक बड़े समाजका कवायतों द्वारा बांधा जाना सर्व प्रकार से कितना हानि कारक है इसके बारे में मैं प्रोफेसर इक्वलेका मत आपके सामने पेश करता हूँ जिसे आप मेरे कथन का समर्थन करने के लिये माकूल तथा एक बड़ा प्रमाण समझेंगे ऐसा मेरा विश्वास है। केवल उत्तर दायित्वपूर्ण शासन की स्थापना ही हमारे लिये काफी नहीं है परंतु हमें उसे अत्यंत उच्च तथा उन्नत शील उपयुक्तता से कायम रखना चाहिये। इस प्रकार के शासन का खुशीसे त्याग करने के भी उदाहरण मौजूद हैं जैमेका को उत्तरदायित्वपूर्ण शासन प्रदान किया गया परंतु कुछ समय के बादही फिरसे जैमेका लोयाला के स्पेन देशका उपनिवेश हो गया। हमें यह नहीं भूलना चाहिये कि आर्वाचीन इटली जितना कि व्यवहारज्ञ देश भक्त ग्यारिबाल्डी और काहूर की बुद्धिसे निर्माण किया गया तत्त्ववेत्ता देशभक्त मेक्षिनी से नहीं। रशियन बोल्शेविक्क के अत्याचारों का कारण यही है कि उस देशको मेक्षिनी के स्थानपर सबसे अधिक सलाह दिलाने वाला तत्ववेत्ता टालस्टाय है परंतु ग्यारी बाल्डी और काहूर का वहां अभाव है।

५० इस दृष्टिसे हमारे पुराने हिंदू राज्य कैथे थे इसका विचार करना जरूरी है। मैं आपको पहिले ही बतला चुका हूँ कि भारत में राजनीतीशास्त्र को इतना महत्व था कि वह सबसे उच्च शास्त्र गिना जाता था हिंदुओंके प्राचीन राज्यों का शासन वादविवाद द्वारा चलाया जाता था देश के समस्त खेड तथा शहर अर्धलोकसत्ताक राज्यों के समान तथा स्वयंपूरित थे यहां का कारोबार आमतौरपर सब लोगों के वादविवाद तथा विचारों द्वारा किया जाता था। स्वराज्य संबंधी कार्य राजा अकेला नहीं कर सकता था परंतु उसे इसके लिये मंत्रिमंडल से न कि एकही मंत्रिसे सलाह लेनी पडती थी मंत्रियों की सलाह उन्हें एक समय पर एकत्र करके लेना या प्रत्येक मंत्रिसे अलग अलग लेना यह उसकी इच्छा पर था परंतु उसे सबकी सलाह लेना आवश्यक था। मंत्रियों की संख्या १२ से २० तक रहती थी। न्याय संबंधी कार्य में भी एक मनुष्य का फैसला प्राचीन हिंदुओं की कल्पना के विरुद्ध था। प्राचीन हिंदुओंके न्याय विभागकी पद्धतिके अनुसार अदालत एक न्यायाधीश की नहीं रहती थी। इंद्र के पास सलाह लेने के लिये तथा उसकी मदद के लिये एक हजार मंत्री रहा करते

ये इस लिये इस विषय में उसकी प्रशंसा की जाती है और सहसा यह संज्ञा वी गई है। राजा को चाहिये कि वह किसी के भी मत की अवहेलना न करे क्योंकि कि 'एक बालक के दोष युक्त वाक्य बुद्धिमानी के हो सकते हैं' इस आज्ञा से प्राचीन हिंदु लेखक वादविवाद द्वारा चलाये जानेवाले शासन को कितना उच्च प्रति का महत्व देते थे यह मालूम होता है। इस लिये वाद-विवाद के शासन के मनोविकार हमारी परंपरा से चले आये हैं और उत्तर दायित्व पूर्ण शासन को हस्तगत करने के समय यह देखना उचित होगा कि हम सबसे अच्छे वर्गों का याने वाद-विवाद की पद्धति का शासन जो कि हमारी राष्ट्रीय भावनाओंको अत्यंत उपयुक्त है प्राप्त कर रहे हैं।

५१ इसके अलावे कृपायतों से तथा वैयक्तिक स्वातंत्र्य विचारों को छोड़ देने से क्रमशः स्वतंत्र विचार करने की शक्ति का ही नाश नहीं होता परंतु इसे एक दूसरा भी बड़ा भारी नुकसान होता है जिसके हुए बिना कलकत्ता कांग्रेस के कार्यक्रम का प्रसार नहीं हो सकता। यह कौनसा नुकसान है इसे बतलाने के लिये मैं आपसे इजाजत चाहता हूँ। इस कार्यक्रम का प्रयोग हम इन चार महिनों में देख चुके हैं मैं आप से कहता हूँ कि इस का विचार कर ज्यूरी के समान शपथ पर बतलाइये कि इस के प्रसार कार्य ने सब तरफ लोगों में आंतिक ईर्ष्या, द्वेष तथा उत्तेजना नहीं फैलाई है ? मैं आप से यह कहलाना नहीं चाहता हूँ कि उपरोक्त मुसीबतों की उत्पत्ती तथा अस्तित्व सिद्ध होगया है परंतु आप से मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस के बारे में जिन बातों का आप को ज्ञान है तथा जो बातें आपने दूसरों से मालूम की है इन दोनों का विचार कर यह देखिये कि जो लाग समझ बूझकर इस के पक्ष में नहीं है वे इस की ओर किस नजर से देखते हैं। हम जानते हैं कि नौकरशाही अपनी आंतिक पद्धति का बचाव करने के लिये हम पर यह इलजाम लगाया करती है कि हमारे देश में जाति धर्म तथा वर्णभेद से फूट पड़ी हुई है और इस लिये स्वयंशासन के अधिकारों को अमल में लाने के लिये हम अयोग्य हैं। जब कि हम ईश्वर के कृतज्ञ हैं और देश के हिंदू तथा मुसलमानों के बढ़ते हुए ऐक्य का हमें अभिमान है तो क्या हमारा यह धार्मिक कर्तव्य नहीं है कि असहयोग के विद्वान्त से द्वेष तथा उत्तेजन फैलाकर फूट पैदा होने दें ? हिंदू और मुसलमानों की पवित्र एकी से जो राष्ट्रीय हित हो रहा है उस का इस नई तथा महान् आपत्ति से जिसे कि नौकरशाही बढ़ाने का प्रयत्न कर रही है कोई परिणाम नहीं होगा। इस आन्दोलन के कार्य के बारे में हमारे अनुभव के सिवाय इतिहास भी यह सात्त दे रहा है कि ऐसे आन्दोलन में घराऊ भगड़े ही रहा करते हैं। इस में मन्दह नहीं है कि उस के साधु प्रवर्तक की ऐसी इच्छा कभी नहीं रही हो। इस आन्दोलन के प्रचार कार्य के साथ अत्यंत भीतिदायक घराऊ बहिष्कार रहा करता है। आयलैंड में जिन खेतों से किसान बेदखल कर दिये गये थे उन्हें लेने के लिये नालाम में बोली बोलनेवाले दूसरे किसानों के साथ जो बर्ताव किया गया वह इस का एक उदाहरण है। एक ग्राम सभा में ऐसी ही बोली बोलनेवाले एक किसान के बारे में बहुत से लोग चिल्ला उठे 'उसे गोली से दाग दो'। इस समय पार्नेल वहां मौजूद थे। उन्होने इस के लिये एक 'ईसाइयों के योग्य तथा दयार्द्र' मार्ग सूचित किया। सड़कों पर, शहर के रास्ते में, दुकानों पर बाजार में तथा गिरजा घर में सब लोग उस आदमी की निर्भत्सना करें और इस प्रकार 'एक पुराने जमाने के कोटि के समान' सब देशवासी उस का त्याग करें यह पार्नेल साहब का 'ईसाइयों के योग्य तथा दयार्द्र' मार्ग था। ईश्वर को साक्षी रख कर न्याय तथा देश प्रेम से आप यह बतलाइये कि हमारे सन्मुख के कार्यक्रम को चालू करने से क्या ऐसी बातें पैदा नहीं होंगी ? अनेक विचारी पुरुष जो हमारे राष्ट्रीय दुःखों के लिये सरकार को यहांपर तथा इंग्लैंड में अर्जियां पेश करने के हमारे पुराने मार्ग को छोड़ना चाहते हैं और हमारी राष्ट्रीय मांग पूरी करने के लिये नये परिणामकारी उपायों द्वारा सरकार को विवश करना चाहते हैं उन्हें यह भीति है कि असहयोग के इस कार्यक्रम की सफलता से जो लोग इस के बाहर रहेंगे उन की अत्यंत शोचनीय अवस्थायें हो जावगी।

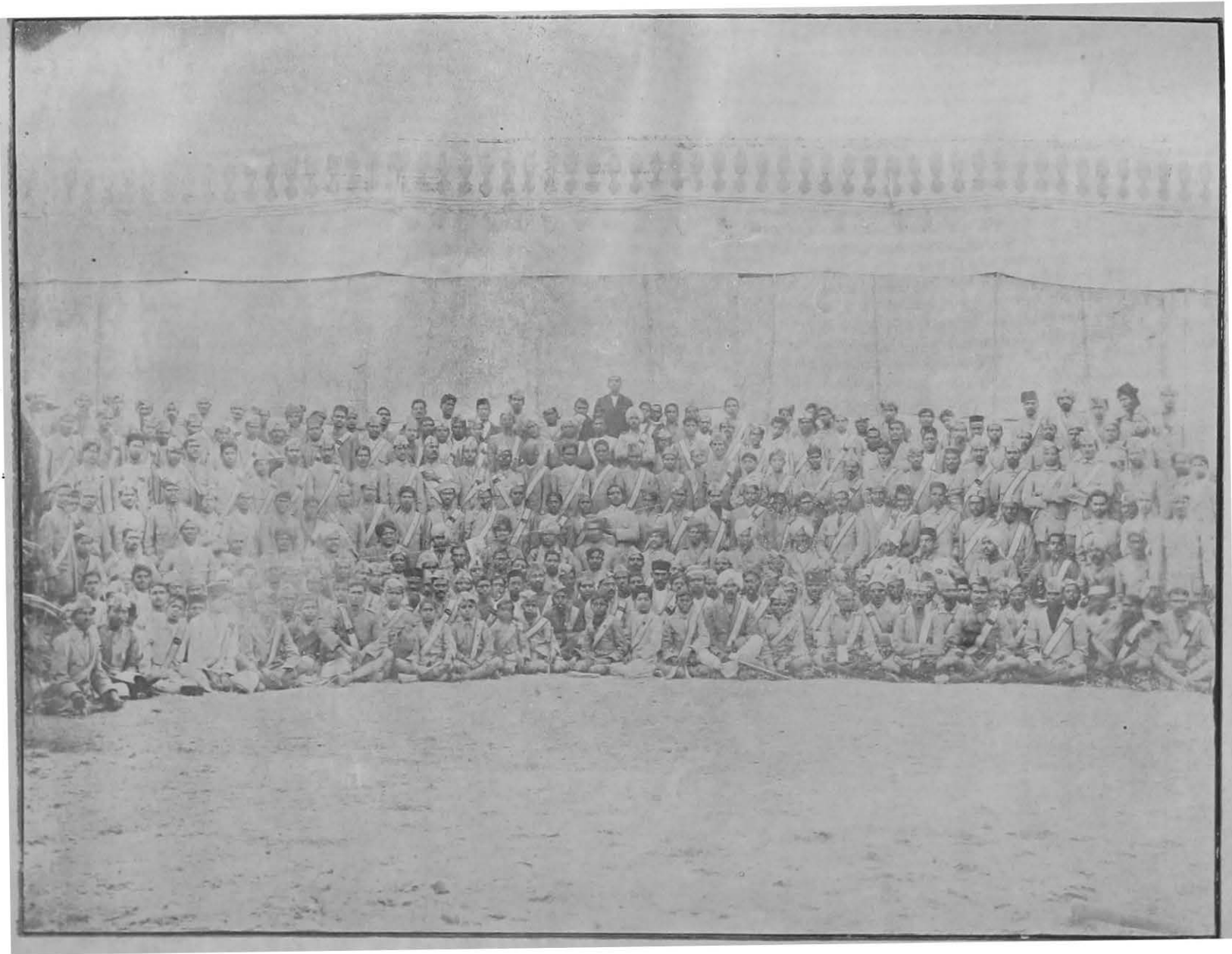
५२. महिलाओं तथा सज्जनों—अब मुझे आप लोगों को ज्यादा तकलीफ न देकर अपने कथन की समाप्ति करना चाहिये। ऐसी अनेक महत्व की बातें हैं जिन के बारे में यदि मैं चाहता तो आप का ध्यान आकर्षित कर सका था मगर उन के बारे में आप लोगों का समय लेना बहुत जरूरी नहीं समझता। हमारे सामने जो कार्यक्रम है उद्यम में कॅम्प्रेस के संगठन में परिवर्तन करने का भी प्रश्न है। इस विषय में उद्देश्य का प्रश्न बहुत महत्व का है। इस प्रश्न का विचार करते समय हमें यह अच्छी तरह देखना चाहिये कि हम जिस उद्देश्य का स्वीकार पहिली बार करना चाहते हैं उस का स्वरूप तथा मनशा क्या है यह महत्व का विषय नहीं है; परंतु हमारे पुराने उद्देश्य को हम क्यों और किस प्रकार से बदलना चाहिये यह है। मैं कहूंगा कि ये दोनों सवाल एकही समान नहीं है। यदि हमें परिवर्तन करना है तो उस का कारण और फायदे क्या है यह हमें पहिले मालूम होना चाहिये मैं इस के बारे में एकही बात कहना चाहता हूँ। ब्रिटिश भारत ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य का भाग है। और नूतन तथा स्वतंत्र ब्रिटिश भारत इंग्लैंड का हिस्सेदार होगा इसी आधार पर अभी तक मैं अपना कथन आप के सन्मुख पेश किया है। देश के स्वातंत्र्य सशुद्ध तथा राष्ट्रों के बीच योग्य दूजे के बारे में मेरी इच्छा इस महासभा में बैठे हुए किसी भी सज्जन से कम नहीं है। पक्षपातरहित दृष्टि से तथा आजतक के उसाही उदाहरणों से मेरा आजन्म यह विश्वास रहा है कि इंग्लैंड से संबंध छोड़कर बिलकुल स्वतंत्र हो जाने में भारत का इतना हित नहीं है उस से कई गुना हित इंग्लैंड के साथ समानता से रहकर स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त करने से है। मैं आप का ध्यान इस बात पर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ कि जपान ने अपने भूतिदायक प्रसंग के समय इंग्लैंड के साथ भिन्नता कर के अपने स्वातंत्र्य की रक्षा की तथा बड़प्पन और कौर्तिसंपादन की। कुछ समय के लिये कुछ शर्तें कायम कर के इंग्लैंड के हिस्सेदार होने के अपेक्षा सदा के लिये इंग्लैंड के साथ हिस्सेदारी कायम करने से हमारा अधिकतर लाभ होगा। अभीतक महान आयरिश देशभक्तों के तत्व तथा वृत्ति इस विषय में कैसी रही है यह मैं आप को बतलाना चाहता हूँ। आयरिश होमरूल के दोनों प्रतिपादक हेनरी ग्राटन और ऐम्सक न्यूटन इंग्लैंड के साथ रहकर ही होमरूल चाहते थे। कैम्सक बट ने कहा है “आयर्लैंड ने पृथक होने की कल्पना छोड़ दी है” इस से करीब ७ पीढ़ियों के पहिले हेनरी ग्राटन ने कहा है “उस भिलेन की उम्मीद है” इस से लिये और साथही समुद्र एकत्र न करने के लिये बतला रहे हैं महासागर पृथक न होने के लिये और साथही समुद्र एकत्र न करने के लिये बतला रहे हैं (ये दोनों प्रकार एकत्रता तथा पृथक हों तो उसे अस्वाभाविक मालूम होते हैं तथा इन के बारे में जब वह विरोध करता है तब वह अपनी नैसर्गिक स्थिति के अनुसार वह अपने देवपर भरोसा रखता है’ यही बुद्धिमानी का कथन है वास्तुसार अपना निर्णय करने के बारे में हमें भी अच्छी तरह लागू होता है। आयर्लैंड ने हालही में अपना मनोगत तथा उपाय बदल दिये हैं। इस का कारण यह है कि जिस न्याय होमरूल के लिये वह देश इतने दिनों से प्रार्थना कर रहा था तथा चिला रहा था वह योग्य समय पर देने के लिये नासमझी से इन्कार किया गया यह भूल वर्तमान प्रधान मंत्रोंने भी मानलीसी है परन्तु इन दो देशों का परिस्थिति तथा हालत एकसी नहीं है वह देश ग्रेटब्रिटन के टापू के राज्य का भाग होना उसके नसीब में अवश्यही बसा है और इसलिये यह बात डेमिनियन होमरूल को पूर्ण रीती से प्राप्त करने के मार्ग में आती है। परन्तु हमारे दुःख आयर्लैंड के दुखों की अपेक्षा अधिक महत्व के तथा अधिक बारतविक हैं तथा इन दोनों देशों के लोग रक्त, धर्म तथा वर्ण में अलग रहे और हमारा अन्तर भी बहुत है इससे हमारी तथा उनकी स्थिति में बहुत फरक हो जाता है। जैसा कि अत्राहमलिनकन चाहते थे कि अमेरिका के दक्षिणोत्तर राज्य सम्पूर्ण देशके अवश्य भागों के समान रहे उसी प्रकार युनियनिस्ट पक्ष शायद आयर्लैंड का भी ब्रिटिश द्वीपों का एक हिस्सा बताना चाहते हों। मैं यह कबूल करता हूँ कि आयर्लैंड और इंग्लैंड के झगड़े का यथार्थ स्वरूप नहीं जान सकता। इंग्लैंड के नमूने पर हमारे उद्देश्य तथा उपाय तथा उपाय करने से

हमें बचे रहना चाहिये। इंग्लैंडने हमें उत्तरदायित्वपूर्ण शासन देने की प्रतिज्ञा की है तथा वचन दिया है। अंग्रेजों की प्रतिज्ञा तथा वचन किस प्रकार के होते हैं यह हमें अपने पुराने अनुभवसे मालुम हो चुका है तथापि हमें निराशा नहीं होना चाहिये। भविष्यत् में इंग्लैंड यदि हमारे साथ किये हुए करारनामों में तथा इस वचन के बारे में किसी प्रकार गडबड़ करे तो हम अपने दृढ़ संगठनसे तथा योग्य वर्तन से हमारे हकों की रक्षा करेंगे।

५३. मैं अपना कथन समाप्त करते हुए आपसे यह उत्कट प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि दोसाल से हमारी राजकीय तथा आर्थिक स्थिति दिन बदिन शोचनीय हो रही है इसे आपके समझना चाहिये मेरा विश्वास है यह आपत्ति अब सीमाको पंधुचगई है और नागपुर कांग्रेस भारतके तथा कांग्रेसके इतिहासमें थर्मापलीके समान यथार्थ रूपसे समझा जाना चाहिये इस महासभाको ऐसा विचार करना चाहिये, उद्देश रखना चाहिये. तथा कार्य करना चाहिये कि जिसे हमारी प्यारी मातृ भूमि का राष्ट्र तथा इतिहास निर्माण करनेकी कांति प्राप्त हो ऐसा विचार करना तथा उद्देश रखना और कार्यकरना इसी महासभाको नसीब हुआ हमारे सन्मुख अस्ती तथा नास्ति इन दोनों प्रकार के कार्य है। इस समय हमारा भाग्य दोही पुरुषों के हाथ में है—भारत सचिव माननिय मिस्टर मांटगू तथा महात्मा गांधी के हाथ। इन दोनों को एक २ इस प्रकार दो संदेश अभी तैयार करना चाहिये मांटगू साहेबका संदेश आप तैयार करेंगे परन्तु आपने जो मुझपर विश्वास किया है उसके आधारपर महात्माजी का संदेश तैयार करूंगा। आप भि. मांटगूसे कहिये कि 'आप कीजिये' और मैं महात्माजीसे कहूंगा कि "आपमतकीजिये" और इन्ही संदेशोंके स्वागतार्थ प्रत्युत्तरपर इस समय आधिकारिक में हमारे देशकी मुक्ति अवलंबित है। कांग्रेसको इंग्लैंडके मित्र मंत्रीमंडलसे कहना है कि महासभर समाप्तहोनेपर आपने वह काम नहीं किया जोसिविल वारके अंत होनेपर आब्राहमलिंकनने किया था। जनकाले योद्धाओं की सहायतासे उसने विजय प्राप्त कीथी देशका ऐक्य दृढ किया था उन्हें उनके युद्ध के मालिकोंके पास गुलामी करनेके लिये उस युद्धके समाप्तहोनेपर उसपर दबाव डाला गया. उसे आशा दी गई तथा लोभभी बताया गया परन्तु यद्यपि वह संसारका सबसे बड़ा मुक्ति दाता तथा मनुष्योंसे मनुष्योंका रक्षण कर्ता नहीं था तिसपरभी इसी प्रकारके महापुरुषों में ऐसा होनेके कारण उसका अन्तःकरण भड़क उठा और उसने इसतरहकी असभ्य तथा दुष्टताकी सूचना अमलमें लानेके लिये धैर्यसे इन्कार कर दिया। जिन तीन महान प्रभोंपर इस देशके लोगोंका जीवित अवलंबित है उनके बारेमें संयुक्त मंत्रीमंडल षडयंत्र तथा प्रलोभनका तथा विजय से पुनरागत युद्धके पूर्वकालिन मनः स्थितिका शिकार आसानी से बन बैठा। वे तीन बातें ये हैं (१) उत्तरदायित्वपूर्ण स्वराज्य की स्थापना (२) सुलतान टर्कीके खिडाफतके अधिकारके बारेमें मुसलमान भाइयोंके दिगेहुये वचन (३) ब्रिटिश उपनिवेशोंमें भारतवासियोंके साथ होनेवाला वर्तमान इन उपनिवेशोंको भारत वासियों नेही बनाया था और इनकी महायुद्धके समय सम्राटकी गोरी प्रजाकी अपेक्षा कई गुणा अधिक रक्षा कीथी। उन्हें यह बतलाया जावे कि अभी भी मौका चला नहीं गया है और न बहुत विलम्बही हुआ है हमारे कई अग्रज मित्रोंका कहना है कि उत्तर दायित्वपूर्ण स्वराज्यकी स्थापना की मागके लिये थोडासा कालावीध नियुक्त किया जावे। परन्तु मैं समझता हूँ कि यह सूचना हमें पसन्द नहीं आसکتी। तुरन्त आर्थिक स्वातंत्रता मिले बिना हम एक वर्षभी जी नहीं सके क्योंकि हमारे अधिकाधिक और कभीपूरी नहोगी ऐसी आर्थिक कम जोरी हो रही है। दूसरे हमारे साथ इस प्रकारका प्राथमिक न्याय करने के बारे में अब विशेष देरीकी गई तो उसका समर्थन करने या बहाना बनाने के लिये कोई कारण या निमित्त नहीं मिलसکتा। गव्हर्नमेंट ऑफ इंडिया एक्ट के भूमिका और मजमून द्वारा काल मर्यादा के विषय में हमारे मार्ग में बाधा डाली गई है इस तरह की सूचना की गई है परन्तु यह ख्याल गलत है। मेरा विश्वास है कि मैंने जो विचार आपके सन्मुख पेश किया है वह वादविवाद के परे है इंग्लैंड के उपनिवेशोंके इतिहास के उदाहरणों से इसका इस तरहसे समर्थन होता है कि अकेले मि० मांटगूके खासगी हुकूम से न भी हो सकता हो तिसपर भी वे श्रीमान सम्राट की आज्ञा

मे तुरंतही उत्तर दायित्व पूर्ण स्वराज्य देकर उसका आरंभ कर दे सकते हैं। आप उन्हें बतलाइये तथा मैं महात्माजी से कहूंगा कि "भारत का शासन तथा राष्ट्र निर्माण करने का कार्य करते समय परस्पर द्वेष के अस्वाभाविक रज्जु से जो लोग एकसाथ रले जाते हैं उनका एकत्र होना नाश का ही कारण होता है"। इस बर्के के महान राजनैतिक सिद्धांत को सदा याद रखिये। जिन्हें पंजाब के अत्याचार यह ऐतिहासिक संह्ला प्राप्त हुई है उनके संबंधमें हमारे साथ अभूत पूर्व अनेक अनर्थ तथा अपमान करने वाले अपराधियों का अब विचार करना या उन्हें सजा दिलवाना हमारे लिये किसीभी प्रकार से लाभकारी नहीं है। उनसे जिनका किसीभी प्रकार से संबंध हो उन सबको हमें क्षमा कर देना चाहिये। मैं प्रार्थना करता हूं कि आप उन बदनामोंके अत्याचारों को न भूलिये। कोई भी मनुष्य या राष्ट्र अपनी चरित्र के मार्ग पर बुद्धिमानी से नहीं चल सकता जबतक कि उसे अपनी प्राचीन कीर्ति का अभिमान न हो। और उसे अपनी प्राचीन गलतियोंका तथा दूसरोंने उसपर लाई हुई आपत्तियों की उसे अच्छी तरह स्मृति न हो। हमें अपना भविष्य शीघ्रता पूर्वक निर्माण करना चाहिये और गत थोड़ेसे सालोंके बालिक महिनों के भूतकाल परसे उसका आरंभ कर देना चाहिये हमारे तत्वों को या उपायों को किसी प्रकार के द्वेष या बर्खलासे लेने के विचारों से दूषित करना योग्य नहीं है। इंग्लैंड ने हमें सताने रहने पर भी उसे क्षमा करना ही हमारे लिये उचित है ऐसा करना हमारे मातृभूमि के उत्कट प्रेम के अनुसार ही नहीं है बल्कि उस से दूसरा लाभ यह है कि हमें अंतरराष्ट्रीय प्रेम के साथ २ सुव्यंक्ति उत्पन्न होगी। प्रोसिडेंट पॉइंकोर ने जो बात फ्रांस के बारे में कही वह हमारे लिये भी सत्य है। 'मनुष्य जाति के प्रति हमारे जो कर्तव्य है उन में देशभक्ति से बाधा नहीं आती परंतु इस के विरुद्ध इन कर्तव्यों को करने के लिये इस की आवश्यकता है' बर्के का ऐतिहासिक कथन हमें स्मरण रखना चाहिये कि किसी समय राष्ट्र पर दोष नहीं लगाया जा सकता। इस के सिवाय यदि तसली की आवश्यकता है तो हमारे परम मित्र कर्नल वेजुड विश्वास दिला रहे है कि पंजाब के भीतिदायक अत्याचारों के लिये जो मनुष्य जबाबदार हैं उन कें कृत्यों से इंग्लैंड फ्री सेकड़ा ६० आदिभियों का कोई संबंध नहीं है। फिर यदि हम नूतन भारतीय राष्ट्र को द्वेष तथा बदले के विकारों से रहित और भावभाव तथा प्रेम के विकारों सहित निर्माण करें तो मैं विश्वास करता हूं कि मिश्र मंत्रिमंडल तथा इंग्लैंड के एक दशांश मनुष्यों को तुरंत ही उन के पाप कटूल करने के लिये और तथा राजस्व एकत्रित करने के पूर्ण अधिकार सहित तुरंत उत्तरदायित्व पूर्ण शासन के हमारे दवे को कबूल करने के लिये हम विवश कर सकते हैं। यदि नासमझी से वे हमारे न्याय्य तथा उत्कट प्रार्थना को स्वीकार करने में देरी करेंगे तो इस देश के करोड़ों मनुष्य इस का क्या कारण है वह शीघ्रही जान लेंगे। परंतु यह कार्य सफलता पूर्वक करने के लिये अपने चक्षुर्य तथा साधनों में हम सब को एकत्रित हो जाना चाहिये। इस के लिये भी ऐतिहासिक सदाहरणों को ही हमें अपना मार्ग दर्शक बनाना चाहिये और न कि अब्राहाम-लिनकन ने भिन्दिहल वार का जिस के लिये नीम्रो गुलामों की मुक्ति के कारख वह जबाबदार था—आपत्तियों के समय यह घोषित किया था कि उस देश में एकी हो जाना अत्यंत महत्व का जान पड़ता है और यदि ऐक्य तथा नीम्रो गुलामों की मुक्ति इन दो स्वतः के उद्देशों में चुनाव करने दिया जावे तो राष्ट्रीय संपूर्णता तथा एका के लिये वह कुछ या पूर्ण रीति से नीम्रो लोगोंकी मुक्ति के प्रभ वह छोड़ देवेगा। यदि हम लोग एकत्रित हो जावें तो इंग्लैंड से उस समय कह सकते हैं कि ३० कोट सुसंगठित तथा एकत्रित भारतवासी स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त करने के लिये आयरिश तथा हंगेरियन उपायों का तिरस्कार करते हैं परंतु फ्रांस तथा इटली के समान अरंत महान् तथा सुखी राष्ट्रों की पद्धति से हम अपनी मुक्ति संपादन करेंगे और यदि किसी समय हमारे स्वातंत्र्य के भंगड़े में किनफिन लोगों के मार्ग आजाने और उन से हमारा कार्यक्रम दूषित हो जावे तो ऐसा इंग्लैंड कि भारत के विरुद्ध करेगा और न भारत इंग्लैंड के विरुद्ध। इंग्लैंड ने ही गतवर्ष पंजाब में सिनफिन उपायों का प्रारंभ किया और आयरलैंड के

सिनिफिन अरथाचार जिन प्रकार यथार्थ में होते हैं या बतलाये जाते हैं उनमें अधिक अत्यांश है इंग्लैंड ने वहां किये । हम उन्हें याद दिलाते हैं कि ' खुले पैरों वाला', खुले पीठका आर जिसके पास केवल खानेकी रोटी और तलवार है, ऐना क्रान्तिकरक फ़रस मनुष्य के तथा फ़िच लोगों के नवीन आविष्कृत हकों की रक्षा के लिये यूरोप को कुचल डालने के लिये समर्थ था । कालोइल का कथन है कि ' राष्ट्र में वह बात रहती है जिसे सारा संसार जित नहीं सकता पुनर्जीवित तथा संयुक्त भारत अपनी आज ही तथा समानता की ही नहीं बल्कि जिसपर संयुक्त अभित है ऐसी नूतन सांकेतिक ध्वजको सब तरफ फ़हराते हुए इंग्लैंड से बह सकता है कि ' हम भी अपने राष्ट्र के प्रेमी हैं । हमें हम सबने पड़िले थे और बड़े हुए भी । यद्यपि सबके बंध हुए नहीं तो बड़े हुआ की श्रेणी में से एक फिर भी होना चाहते हैं । 'मौकेपर मैजुदा आदर्श' इस प्रकार की राजनैतिक इंजलि में भरोसा करना अब छोड़दो । अब या आगे के लिये बंबकुफ़ न बने रहीं नहीं तो देर बहुत हो जावेगी । आधुनिक संसार के बड़े एथेंस, इंग्लैंड का कौतुक करने वाले तथा उसपर प्रेम करने वाले कुछ लोग भारत में भी हैं । उनका लाने वायसन का प्रेम जिस प्रकार अद्भुत वृत्तिका था वैसा नहीं है । असहयोग अन्दोलन की सफ़लता तथा क्रान्ति के सिवाय हमारे हकों को भिन्न ने के लिये दूसरा मार्ग ग्रहण करने की लालसा में उत्तरदायित्वपूर्ण शासन न देकर कुट नीति से उसके लक्ष्य राष्ट्र संघ तथा सभ्रज्य परिषद में सदस्यता का प्रलोभन दिखाकर हमें पद शालित बनाये रखनेमें तुम्हारी अत्यंत आत्म घानकी मूर्खता है । एक शब्दमें सार यह है कि अच्छे लड़केके समान आचरण करो और हमारेसाथ हिस्सेदार बनजाओ या यहां से निकलो, यह भी किसी क्रामवेलेके बिना तथा खून का एक बूंद भी न बदाकार।



Volunteer Corps.

परिशिष्ट.

ब्रिटिश भारतके शासन संगठनका मसौदा.

भारतवासी लिखित अधिकारके साथ उत्तरदायित्वपूर्ण शासन स्थापन करनेके लिये उत्सुक हैं तथा उन्होंने अपनी यह मनशा जाहिर की है। ऐसा शासन इंग्लैंडके तथा स्ववंशासित उपनिवेशोंके ढङ्गपर हो और उसके लिये ब्रिटिश नागरिक तथा मनुष्यकी हैसियतसे उनके स्वाभाविक हकोंकी घोषणा की जावे:-

तथा इस प्रकारका उत्तरदायित्वपूर्ण शासन स्थापन करनेसे ब्रिटिश भारतकी प्रजा संतुष्ट होकर मुखी होगी और ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यकाभी हित होगा।

इसलिये श्रीमान सम्राट महोदय धार्मिक तथा ऐहिक लार्डस् और कांसन्स जो इस पार्लियामेंटमें हाजिर हैं उनकी सलाह तथा अनुमतीसे घोषित करते हैं और उसी अधिकार द्वारा इस प्रकार कानून बनाते हैं:-

१. यह कानून १९२१ का ब्रिटिश भारतीय राज्य कानून कहलाये।
२. ब्रिटिश भारतको यह कानून लागू किया जावेगा। ब्रिटिश भारत, और ब्रम्हा और इन देशोंको सम्राट महोदयके एशियाके अन्य राज्य जो समय २ पर इन देशमें शामिल किये जावेंगे उन सबका ब्रिटिश भारतमें अंतर्भाव होगा।
३. इस ब्रिटिश भारतके कार्यकारी सहकारका नियंत्रण श्रीमान सम्राटके करकमलमें रहे।
४. इस राज्यके सम्बन्धमें सम्राटके अधिकारका उपयोग उन्हीं द्वारा नियुक्त तथा उनके प्रतिनिधि ऐसे व्हॉइसराय करेंगे जो इंग्लैंडके राजकीय परिवारके हों।
५. व्हॉइसराय एक मंत्री मंडलकी सहायत तथा सलाहसे काम करेंगे। यह मंत्री मंडल उन्हीं द्वारा चुनाहुआ तथा नियुक्त कियाहुआ रहेगा और इसके अधिकांश मंत्री व्यवस्थापिका सभाके सदस्य हों।
६. राज्यके शासन नीति तथा व्यवस्थाके लिये उक्त मंत्री मंडल उत्तरदाता होगा। व्यवस्थापिका सभाके अधिकांश सभासदोंका जबतक उनपर विश्वास है तभीतक वे अपने पदपर आरूढ रह सकेंगे। इसके सिवाय सम्राट महोदयकी मर्जीके अनुसार वे अपने पदपर रहेंगे।
७. ब्रिटिश भारतकी व्यवस्थाके लिये दो सभाएं होंगी। एक राजसभा और दुसरी व्यवस्थापिका सभा।
८. इस एक्टके मुताबिक तथा इसके आधारसे आगे जो नियम तथा कवायतें बनाई जावेंगी उनके अनुसार व्यवस्थापिका सभामें ५०० से कम मेम्बर नहीं रहेंगे।

१. राजसभामें कमसेकम १०० भेम्बर रहेंगे। और इनमेंसे कमसे चार पंचमांश सभासद इस एक्टके नियमानुसार चुनेहुए रहेंगे। जहांतक मुमकिन होसके चुनाव भाषाकी दृष्टिसे किया जावेगा बाकी एक पंचमांश सभासद ब्रॉइसराय द्वारा मनोनीत किये जावेंगे।
१०. इन दोनों सभाओं तथा उनके सभासदोंके अधिकार इत्यादिके नियम ग्रेट ब्रिटन तथा आयरलैंडकी पार्लियामेंटके तथा एक्ट पास होते वक्त मौजूदा मंत्री मंडलके नियमानुसार दोनों सभाओं द्वारा बनाये जावेंगे।
११. राज या व्यवस्थापिका सभाका कोईभी भेम्बर असैनिक या सैनिक नौकरी नहीं कर सकेगा। यदि वह इस प्रकारकी नौकरी स्वीकार करे तो उसे अपने पदका त्याग करना होगा और जबतक वह नौकरी कर रहा है तबतक वह फिरसे चुनावके लिये खडा नहीं होसकता। मंत्री मंडलके अधिकार राजनैतिक तत्वोंके अनुसार तथा व्यवस्थापिका सभाके अधिकांश सभासदोंके विश्वासपर रहते हैं इसलिये मंत्रियोंको यह नियम लागू नहीं होसकता।
१२. श्रीमान संभ्राटका कोईभी भारतीय प्रजाजन जिसकी उमर २५ वर्षसे कम नहीं है व्यवस्थापिका सभाका सभासद होनेके लायक है और जिसकी उमर ३५ सालसे कम न हो राजसभाका सभासद होनेके लायक है।
१३. दोनों व्यवस्थापिका सभाओंके संयुक्त अधिवेशनमें भेम्बर बननेकी योग्ययोग्यताके विषयके तथा मतदानके नियम और उपनियम बनाये जावेंगे। कोईभी सजा भुगतनेवाला मनुष्य नीच या कलंक लगानेवाले अपराधोंके बारेमें सजायापतां न हो तो मत देनेके लिये या भेम्बर बननेके लिये योग्य है।
१४. ब्रिटिश रियासतमें जन्म पायाहुआ, रहनेवाला या कानून न जिसे अधिकार प्राप्त हुआ है और जो नाबालिक तथा पागल नहीं है या किसी हीन प्रतिके फौजदारी जुल्ममें सजा पायाहुआ नहीं है और वह सरकारको या किसी म्युनिसिपैलिटीके या कानूनकी रूसे स्थापित अन्य किसी संस्थाको कर देनेवाला या अन्य किसी मनुष्यको किराया देनेवाला है—किराया या कर दस रुययसे कम नहीं है—या अंग्रेजी अथवा कोईभी देशी भाषा साधारण रीतिसे लिख पढ सकता है ऐसा संभ्राटका कोईभी प्रजाजन इन दोनों व्यवस्थापिका सभाके चुनावमें मत दे सकता है।
१५. प्रत्येक सभाके सभासद अपने अध्यक्ष और उपाध्यक्ष चुन चुनेंगे। और अगले चुनावतक ये लोग अपनेपदपर रहेंगे परन्तु ये चाहेंतो बीचमें राजीनामा दे सकते हैं।
१६. प्रत्येक व्यवस्थापिका सभाका कार्यकाल पांच वर्षतक रहेगा परन्तु यदि मंत्री मंडल व्यवस्थापिका सभाके अधिकांश सभासदोंका विश्वास पात्र न रहे तो बीचमेंही फिरसे चुनाव करना होगा।
१७. इस एक्ट तथा अधिकारोंकी घोषणा जो इसमें शामिल है इनके रूसे ब्रिटिश भारतके शांति, सुव्यवस्था, तथा अच्छे शासनसे सम्बन्ध रखनेवाली सब बातोंके लिये उक्त दोनों सभाएं कानून बनावेगीं।

१८. कानून बनानेके विल किसीभी सभासे निकल सक्ते हैं पस्तु टेक्स, कर, राजरष आदिके विल व्यवस्थापिका सभा द्वारा निकालेंगे ।
१९. इसे आर्थिक विलोंमें राजसभाको संशोधन या जोड़नेका कोई अधिकार नहीं रहेगा; व्यवस्थापिका सभासे वह केवल शिफारस कर सकती है ।
२०. साधारणतः दोनों सभाओंकी बैठकें एकही समय दो बार होगी । आवश्यकता पड़नेपर व्हाइसराय किसी समय भी उनकी बैठक करा सकेंगे ।
२१. अपने मंत्रोंके चुनावकी प्रशस्तताका निर्णय प्रत्येक सभा आप कर सकेगी ।
२२. दोनों सभाओंकी बैठककी अवस्थामें या तीस दिन पहिले कोई मंत्र कर्जेके बारेमें कैद नहीं किया जावेगा और न किसी फौजदारी जुर्मके लिये गिरफ्तार किया जावेगा तथा उसपर मुकदमा चलाया जावेगा जबतक की अधिकारियें द्वारा वह जुर्म करते हुये मौकेपर पकड़ा न गया हो ।
२३. कार्रवाईके लिये प्रत्येक सभा अपने नियम उपनियम स्वयं बनावेगी ।
२४. साधारण रीतिसे व्हाइसराय दोनों सभाओंके पास किये हुये किसी कानूनको अस्वीकार नहीं करेंगे इसके लिये व्हाइसरायकोभी वही कानून और कवायते लागू होंगी जो ग्रेटब्रिटन और आयरलैंडके संयुक्त राज्यकी पार्लियामेंटने पास किये हुये कानूनके बारेमें श्रीमान् सम्राट को है । यदि कोई बिकट प्रश्न आजाय जैसे समस्त साम्राज्यकी रक्षाके सम्बन्धके विषयमें तो व्हाइसराय ऐसे प्रश्नके बारेमें श्रीमान् सम्राटकी सम्मति लेंगे । और तबतक इस विषयमें कोई कानून नहीं बन सकेगा ।
२५. व्हाइसरायने उस बैठकमें जबतक उस सभाको अपने संदेश द्वारा शिफारीस न की हो तबतक व्यवस्थापिका सभा सरकारी आमदनी कर या महसूल खर्च करनेके बारेमें कोई व्होट, विल, या प्रस्ताव इत्यादि पास न करेगी ।
२६. कोई विल जो व्यवस्थापिका सभा द्वारा पास होकर विशेष परिवर्तनके बिना राजसभा उसे स्वीकार न करे तोभी तीन बार व्यवस्थापिका सभामें पास होनेसे वह दोनों सभाओं द्वारा पासही समझा जावेगा ।
२७. दोनों सभाओंकी सम्मतिसे दोनों सभाकी संयुक्त बैठकमें जिस विल या व्होटपर विचार किया जावे तो उसका फैसला दोनों सभाओंके मौजूदा तथा व्होट देनेवाले सभासदोंके बहुमतपर होगा ।
२८. मंत्री मंडलका कोईभी मेम्बर किसी सभामें भाषण कर सकता है पर वह जयतक उसका सदस्य नहीं होगा तबतक व्होट नहीं दे सकता ।
२९. भारत सचिवके वही अधिकार आदि होंगे जो स्वराज्य प्राप्त उपनिवेशोंके सचिवके होते हैं । भारत सचिवकी कौंसिल नहीं रहेगी और उसका तथा उसके उप-सचिवोंका वेतन भारतकी ओरसे नहीं बल्कि ग्रेटब्रिटन और आयरलैंडके पार्लियामेंटके ओरसे दिलाया जावेगा ।

३०. अधिकारोंकी घोषणा:—

- (१) ब्रिटिश भारत ऋक और अविभक्त है और समस्त राजनैतिक शक्ति उसके निवासियोंमें उसी प्रकार विद्यमान है जिस प्रकार ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यके किसी अन्य राष्ट्रकी जनतामें ।
- (२) श्रीमान् संस्रटके समस्त भारतीय प्रजाजन और ब्रिटिश भारतमें रहने-वाले समस्त प्रजाजन कानूनके सामने समान हैं इसलिये कोई ऐसा कानून इस देशमें न असलमें लाया जावेगा और न बनाया जावेगा जिससे इनके साथ असमानताका बर्ताव हो
- (३) भकाश रूपसे खुली अदालतमें मामला चलाकर अपराध प्रमाणित न होगा और उसे सजा न दी जावेगी तबतक श्रीमान् संस्रटका कोई भी भारतीय प्रजाजन अपने व्यक्ति, जीवित, सम्पत्ति भक्षण अथवा सभाकी स्वतंत्रताके कारण दंडित न होगा और न उसकी स्वाधीनतामें किसी प्रकारकी बाधा पहुंचेगी ।
- (४) श्रीमान् संस्रटका प्रत्येक भारतीय प्रजाजन बिना लैसन्स या पूर्व आह्वाके शस्त्रार रख सकेगा और जबतक न्यायालय उसे इसके दुरुपयोगका अपराधी न साबित करेगा तबतक उससे यह अधिकार न छीना जावेगा ।
- (५) समाचारपत्र या छापखाने स्वतंत्र होंगे । रजिष्ट्रेशनके समय उन्हें कोई जमानत या लैसन्सकी आवश्यकता न होगी ।
- (६) ब्रिटिश भारतीय राज्यमें किसी प्रजाजनको भयंकर शारिरिक प्रकृति विरुद्ध या अति अपमानजनक दंड न दिया जावेगा । किसी फौजदारी जुर्मके बारेमें या स्थल या जलसेना आदिमें शिस्तके लिये अथवा अन्य किसीभी बारेमें ऐसा दंड न दिया जावेगा ।
- (७) श्रीमान् संस्रटका कोई भारतीय प्रजाजन गिरफ्तार किया जावेगा तो उसी समय वह कागजभी उसे मिलेगा जिसमें उसके अपराधका वर्णन रहेगा खुले कोर्टमें उसके सामने उसपर मुकदमा चलाया जावेगा और अभियुक्त या उसके वकीलको बचावके लिये जवाब देने या जिरह करनेकी तथा अपना सबूतपेश करनेकी पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता रहेगी ।
- (८) मेजेस्ट्रेट या जजके वारंट बिना कोई आदमी गिरफ्तार नहीं किया जावेगा । वारंट पर अभियोग लिखा रहेगा । प्राणदंडशून्य अभियोग में साधारण रूपसे अभियुक्त जमानतपर छोड़ दिया जावेगा । प्राण दंड के अभियोग में भी उच्च न्यायालय अभियुक्त को जमानत पर छोड़ सकेगा ।

(१९) तीन महीने की सज़ा कैद या जुर्माने की सज़ासे कोई अधिक सज़ा होगी तो प्रत्येक भारतीय प्रजाजन को ज़ूरी बैठाने का अधिकार होगा ।

(१०) सज़ा होने पर किसी कानूनी बहस के या शाहादत के बारे में अपील होसकेगी परन्तु छूटने पर नहीं । हाँ, न्याय दुरुपयोग होने पर हाइकोर्ट के सब-जर्जों की अदालत से मामले की सानी तहकीकात किये जाने के लिये ड्रकूम दिया जा सकेगा ।

(११) जब तक अभियुक्त स्वेच्छा से खुली अदालत में जजके सामने अपना अपराध स्वीकार न करेगा तब तक उसके पूर्वे की अपराध स्वीकृति की बुनियाद पर उसे कोई सज़ा न दी जावेगी । यदि मामला समाप्त होने के पहिले कोई अभियुक्त अपनी अपराध स्वीकृति वापिस ले लेगा तो उसे दंड न दिया जावेगा ।

(१२) केवल सहअभियुक्तों की अपराध स्वीकृति से ही किसी अभियुक्तों को दंड न दिया जावेगा । यदि कोई उच्च चरित्रवाला मनुष्य गवाही देकर गुन्हें की बातों तथा अभियुक्त की पहिचान के बारे में सह अभियुक्तों के बयान की तहिट करे तभी वह दंडित हो सकेगा ।

(१३) फौजदारी कानून के नियमानुसार मजिस्ट्रेट की वैध आज्ञा तथा वारंट बिना किसी मनुष्य की उसके मर्जी के खिलाफ़ तलाशी न लीजासकेगी ।

(१४) जबतक मजिस्ट्रेट या न्यायालय वैध वारंट न निकाले और उस में तलाशी का कारण तथा तलाशी ली जाने वाले स्थानका वर्णन न करे तबतक किसी तरह भी किसी भारतीय प्रजाजन के घरकी तलाशी न ली जासकेगी क्योंकि वह पवित्र समझा जाता है ।

(१५) श्रीमान संघाटका प्रत्येक भारतीय प्रजाजन स्वतंत्रतापूर्वक कोई बात, बोल, लिख या प्रकाशित कर सकगा क्योंकि यह मनुष्य का एक अहमूय हक है । इसके दुरुपयोग की अवस्था में खुली अदालत में उस से कौफियत तलबकी जासक्ती है ।

(१६) जबतक सम्मति प्रगट करने से जनताकी शांति में बाधा न पहुँचेगी तबतक किसी मनुष्य पर ऐसी सम्मति के लिये मामला न चलाया जायगा ।

(१७) राजनैतिक, सामाजिक, माहिलिक, वैज्ञानिक या किसी अन्य विषयपर विचार करने के लिये लोग स्वतंत्रता और शांति पूर्वक

APPENDIX.

A

LAND ACQUISITION ACT.

Resolution No. 10th

Proposed by:—

Mr. N. C. Kelkar

(in Marathi)

या ठरावावर बोलतांना रा. केळकर आपल्या मराठी भाषणांत म्हणाले मला हिंदीत भाषण करता येत नाही; मराठीत बोलतां येते. या काँग्रेसमध्ये बहुतेक भाषांतून भाषणें झालीं, परंतु मराठी भाषेतील एकही भाषण झालेलें नाही; तरी मराठीतच हा ठराव २।३ मिनिटांत आपल्यापुढें मांडून मी रजा घेणार आहे. गरीब लोकांसंबंधानें या सभेत जे काहीं ठराव आलेले आहेत, त्यांत महत्त्वाचा असा हा ठराव आहे. अशा प्रकारचे ठराव पास करून राष्ट्रीय सभा हा गोरगरीबांचा मामला आहे हें आपण दाखविणार आहोंत.

श्रीमंत लोकांकरितां सरकार गरीबांच्या जमिनी सक्तीनें घेत असतें. अशा रीतीनें सरकार गरीबांनां नाहक बुडवीत आहे. 'बुडविणे' हा शब्द कदाचित् कानांस कसाचाच लागत असेल; परंतु पुणें जिल्ह्यांतील शेतकरी खरोखरीच बुडविलें जाणार आहेत; त्यापेक्षां श्रीमंतानांच बुडविलें तर काय होईल? (हास्य)

या नंतर ठराव वाचून रा. केळकर म्हणाले, सरकारशीं असहकारिता करण्यास आपल्या जवळ शेंकडों कारणें आहेत, त्यांतलेंच हें एक आहे, असें ह्यादल्यास चालेल. हिंदुस्थानांतील निरनिराळ्या प्रांतांतून जमिनी घेऊन सरकार त्या लोकांनां देत असतें. जमिनी बळकविण्याची ही पद्धति फार विचित्र असल्यामुळे त्या पद्धतीचा निषेध करावयाचा आहे. आतांच सांगितल्याप्रमाणें जमिनी सक्तीनें घेण्याचा हा प्रकार एकाच प्रांतांत चाललेला नसून मद्रास, आसाम, बंगरे प्रांतांतूनही हा प्रकार बेबडकपणें चाललेला आहे. याचा अर्थ काय? बरं, सरकार त्याबद्दल 'मोषदला' म्हणून देत असतें तो तरी किती अल्प असतो? समजा शाळेसाठीं जरूर लागल्यास थोडीशीं जमीन घेतली तर हरकत होणार नाही परंतु तुमची शेंकडों मैल जमीन तुम्हांस अगदींच अनुपयुक्त कामा करितां घेण्यांत आली, तर या प्रकाराला काय म्हणाल? बरं, जमीन घेतली ती घेतली आणि ती दिली कोणाला? कालवे काढणाऱ्या कंपनीला! गरीबांच्या जमिनी घेतल्या व मुंबईचा धूर कमी केला! हा प्रकार कोणाला तरी आवडणें शक्य आहे काय? गोरगरीबांच्या जमिनी घेऊन फायदा कोणाचा? श्रीमंत लोकांचा! श्रीमंतांनां अधिक श्रीमंत करावयाचें! आपल्या देशातीलच धनिक लोकांचा फायदा झाल तर ते जातात कोठें? त्यांनीं आम्हांला लुबाडिलें तरी ते आपलेच आहेत; परंतु आपल्या गरीब लोकांच्या जमिनी परकीय भांडवलवाल्यांच्या घशांत घालण्यांत येत असतात! त्यांच्यापासून आम्हांला काय मिळणार आहे? आमच्या जिवावर फायदा मिळवून ते आपल्या देशीं घेऊन जाणार; तेव्हां कोणत्याही बाजूनें पाहिलें तरी सरकारच्या ह्या अन्यायी कृतीचा निषेध करावा तितका थोडाच होणार आहे.

कित्येक लोक म्हणतील कीं सरकारशीं या बाबतींत असहकारिता कां करावयाची? अर्ज करून पहावे परंतु अर्ज केले तर सरकार सांगते कीं, जमीन लँड अँक्विझिशन ॲक्टप्रमाणें घेण्यांत आली आहे, अथवा सार्वजनिक कार्याकरितां घेण्यांत आली आहे. या पुढें अपील नसतें! यामुळेच या बाबतींत सरकारकडे आतां अर्ज विनंत्या करण्यांत फायदा नाही. फक्त आहे ती परिस्थिति पूर्णपणें ओळखून योग्य तें उपाय लौकर योजण्यांतच शहाणपणा आहे शेवटीं, जास्त बोलून मी माझ्या घशाम व आपल्या कानांस त्रास देऊं इच्छित नाहीं.

Supporter:—Mr. Gourishankar Bhargava (Ajmir)

Mr. Gourishankar in support of the above resolution said, :—

सभापति महोदय, प्यारे, बेहनों और भाईयों, अभी जो रेज़ोल्यूशन आपके सामने पेश हुआ, है उसको समर्थन करनेकी कुछ जरूरत नहीं है। कारण सरकारसे नॉनकोऑपरेशन करने का निश्चय करनेवाले लोगों के बारे में यह बात फजूल है। लेकिन हमारे जो कुछ दुःख हैं वे जाहिरभी होना चाहिये। इसवास्ते इस रेज़ोल्यूशनको ऐसा फॉर्म दिया गया है। Land Acquisition यह बड़ी तकलीफ देनेवाली बात है। इसवास्ते इस रेज़ोल्यूशनको आप लोग जोरके साथ थाईत करें। Land Acquisition Act को इस रूपमें कायम रखना यह बड़ी शरम की बात है। ऐसा कायदा रखकर सरकार, गरीबोंको सताती है और धनिक लोगोंका फायदा करना चाहती है। जो बेपारी लोग बाहरसे आते हैं, उनको जमीन हांसील कर देनेके वास्ते इस कानूनका उपयोग किया जा रहा है। जबरदस्ती करके जमीन लेनेका यह एक हथियार हो रहा है। अबतक यह अन्याय हम लोगोंने बरदास्त किया। अभी तो जमाना बदल रहा है। नॉनकोऑपरेशनका हथियार हमारे हाथमें है। उस हथियारसे जो कुछ करना हो वह करना जरूर है।

Supported by:—Mr. Abdul Bari Md. Saqui (Behar).

Mr. Abdul Bari, while supporting the resolution said, :—

इस प्रस्तावका आपको बयान हो चुका है। उसका मतलब यह है के हिंदुस्थानीओंको खुद अपने घरमेंभी रहनेकी स्वतंत्रता नहीं भिश्ती। बिलायतसे इधर वहीत बेपारी लोग आते हैं, और सरकार Land Acquisition Act की मदत ले कर हमारी जमीन उन लोगोंको दे रही है। यह कोई इन्साफकी बात नहीं। यूरोप आजकल आजादीकेवास्ते लडरहा है, और हमारी मावाप सरकार, गरीबोंकी आजादी तथा उनके घर, जमीन सब छीन ले जाती है। इतनाही कह कर यह प्रस्ताव आपके सामने पेश करता हूं।

Mr. T. S. Ramabhadrā Ayar of Madras supported the resolution in Tamil, whose speech was received with laughter and the resolution was passed with acclamation.

SYMPATHY WITH THE POLITICAL PRISONERS.

RESOLUTION NO. 11.

Proposed by:—Mr. Bipinchandra Pal (in English).

Secoded by:—Mr. Sardar Sardul Singh.

आपके सामने जो प्रस्ताव पेश किया है, उसका मतलब, आप लोगोंके हृदयमें पोलिटिकल कैदीओंके प्रति अत्यंत सहानुभूति है ऐसा बतलाना है। असलमें उन लोगोंने आजादीका मंत्र पठन किया, और इसवास्ते वे लोग जुल्मके सामने खड़े हैं। आपके वास्ते वे लोग जेलखानेमें गये। पंजावमें तो ऐसे वहीत कैदी जेलखानेका दुःख शांतिसे सहन कर रहे हैं। महात्मा गांधीजीका हुकूम आप लोगोंका मालूम है। हरतन्हेका दुःख शांतिसे झेलना यह हमारा धर्म हुआ है। हमारे वहीतसे भाई पिंजरांमें बंद

किये गये हैं। इस दुःख को भी शांतिसे सहना जरूर है। हम लोग हमारे मुल्कमें शांतीका सांप्राज्य फलाना चाहते हैं, और हमारे विरोधी अशांति पैदा करनेकी कोशिश कर रहे हैं। लॉर्ड चेम्सफर्ड डायर, ओड्वायर अशांती फैलानेके जिम्मेदार हैं। नकी महात्माजी। हमारे भाईबंद, जो, अबतक जेलखानेकी हवा खा रहे हैं, उनका गुनाह तो यह था के, वे लोग हिंदुस्थानकेवास्ते आजादी चाहते थे। आप तो आराममें हैं, लेकिन, अपने भाईओंकी क्या हालत हो रही है, इसपर ध्यान देना आपका पवित्र कर्तव्य है।

इस लिये कैदखाने में पड़े हुए देशभक्तों को स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त होते तक हमने विश्रांति न लेन चाहिये।

Mr. Srischandra Chatterjee supported the resolution in Bengali.

Mr. Sachindranath Sanyal, in support of the resolution said:—

मैं एक बंगाली हूँ। भेरी तूटी फूटी हिंदीमें यह प्रस्ताव आपके सामने पेश करना चाहता हूँ। अपना सब व्यवसाय छोड़कर १८ हजार डेलिगेट इधर आये हैं। आपके बहोतसे भाई लोग जेलखाने में हैं। उन लोगोंका ख्याल करना यह आपका कर्तव्य है। आप लोगों के उपर बड़ी भारी जिम्मेदारी है। आप लोग जिसको टालियां देने हैं, वह प्रस्ताव खली न जाना चाहिये। आप लोग बे फायदा टालियां नहीं देंगे ऐसा दुनियाको मालूम होना चाहिये। ऐसे जलसे में आकर जब आप लोग घर जाने हैं, तब सब बातको भूल जाते हैं। क्या आपको मालूम नहीं है, तुम्हारे भाईओंको किस तन्हेसे तकलीफ हो रही है। जेलखाने में बहोतसे कमजोर अदमीओं के प्राण काम करते करते निकल जाते हैं। बहोत से आदमी काम करते करते बीमार पड़ जाते हैं।

हमारे भाई बिनायक दामोदर सावरकरकी क्या हालत हो रही है, आपको मालूम नहीं? उनके एक भाईने कुछ कवितायें लिखी थीं। वे seditious निकलीं। इसवास्ते कितने बरस से ये दोनों भाई जेलखाने में पड़े हैं। एक भाई तो मरने के मार्ग में है। आपलोग हिंदुस्थान के Representatives हैं। अभी कुछ कार्य करने का मौका आया है। आपका परिचय बातोंसे नहीं, लेकिन कर्तव्य पालनमें होना चाहिये।

Mahatma Gandhiji's speech

regarding

“ TILAK SWARAJ FUND ”

—:❀:—

मुझे कुछ कहनेकी आज्ञा हुई है। स्वर्गमथ लोकमान्य तिलक के स्मरण में चंदा इकट्ठा करनेका हमारा इरादा बम्बई से जाहिर हुआ है। उसका उद्देश स्वराज्य लेना और वह कायम करना यह है। स्वराज्य उनका (लोकमान्य) पठणमंत्र था। इस बारे में उन्होंने कहा है, “ स्वराज्य हमारा जन्ममंत्र है। ” वह मंत्र पढते हुये उनका भागजन्म उपनीत हुआ। इसवास्ते लोकमान्य का नाम लेकर आप जितना चंदा देंगे, वह उनके कामके वास्ते देंगे। स्वराज्य लेने की कोशिश करना यह लोकमान्य का स्मरण चारंजीवित करना है। स्वराज्य के वास्ते सब भाईोंने और बहिनो ने स्वयंभ्याग करना आवश्यक है।

जिनकी सेवा करने में चिन्त प्रसन्न रहता था, उनके स्मरणके वास्ते, जो लोग स्वार्थत्याग करना नहीं चाहते, वे स्वराज्यके लायक नहीं हैं ऐसा समझना चाहिये । हमारे कार्य में वहीतसे चंदेकी जरूरत है, और वह देना आपका फर्ज है । इस कर्तव्य का आप यदि पाठन कर सकते हो, तो हम जरूर स्वराज्य ले सकते हैं । इसवास्ते मैं प्रार्थना करता हूँ, जितना बन सके उतना चंदा आप देंगे । आप मेरे नामसे पैसा भेज देंगे तोभी मैं खजानची के पास भेज दूंगा । स्वराज्य के वास्ते चंदा जमा करने में जग भी कुमूर न करना चाहिये । चंदा इकट्ठा करने का काम इमानदारी से नहीं होता । मेरे नामपर कितनेही लोग पैसा जमा कर रहे हैं, इसका पत्ता नहीं ।

एक लडकी है; यह कहती है, मैं गांधीकी लडकी हूँ । ऐसा कहकर मारवाड में यह लडकी पैसा इकट्ठा कर रही है । आपके पास पैसा लेने के वास्ते कौन आता है, यह देखना चाहिये । आपको जो कुछ चंदा देना हो, तो मेरे पास भेज देना । नहीं तो पंडित मोतीलाल के पास भेज देना । जिसको आप नहीं पहचानते उसके पास पैसा विलकूल नहीं देना ।

मेरा एक काम तो हुआ; और दुसरा काम आगामी काँग्रेसको गुजराथ तरफसे अहमदाबाद में आमंत्रण देनेका है । उसका आप स्वीकार करें । आंत्रनिवासी और हमारे सिंध के भाई भी काँग्रेस लेजाना चाहते हैं । परन्तु उन्होंने अहमदाबादको आमंत्रण करने की हमारी वितंति मान्य की है । मेरे भाई ब्रह्मभाई पटेल इस प्रस्ताव को आपके सामने रखेंगे ।

हमारे अहमदाबाद में कुरमियोंकी बहोत कमतरता है । न आप ऐसा भारी मंडप भी देखेंगे मधीन नियम के अनुसार अहमदाबाद में छ हजार डेलिगेट आवेंगे । और प्रेश्चक गणभी बहोत आवेंगे उन सबकी मुख्यवस्था करने के लिये मैं यथा शक्ति प्रयत्न करूँगा ।

After Mahatma Gandhi's speech, money was collected, when ornaments were showered upon him.

Mr. Benspoor, Mohomad Alli, and Motilal Neharu supported the resolution in English.

THANKS GIVING

Dr. Munje, while thanking the audience on behalf of the Reception Committee said, मुझे खेद है कि आज हमारे स्वागत करिणी सभापति सेठ जमनलालजी चिभार है क्यों कि जो कार्य अभी करना मेरे पर सौंपा है वह उनका पूज्य कर्तव्य था, आश्चर्य नहीं कि वे विमल हैं. क्योंकि न भूतो न भविष्यति काँग्रेसकी व्यवस्था करने में उन्होने अपने शरीर स्वास्थ्यकी विलकुल पर्वाह न की. इनकी ओरसे उनके जनरल सेक्रेटरी की हैसियत में मैं आप भाई बहनों को हृदयसे धन्यवाद देताहूँ.

आपको बहुतसी तकलीफे सहना पडी हैं यह मैं अच्छीतरहसे जानताहूँ लेकिन काँग्रेसके प्रेमसे प्रेरित होकर आप आये हुये सज्जन हमारी श्रुतियों की क्षमाकरें, हमारा शहर बंबई कलकत्ते के माफक बड़ा नही है जहां सब प्रकारकी आरामकी साधने विपुल मिलती हैं और हमें सपनेमें भी कभी ख्याल नहीथा इतनाबडा भारी अकल्पित समाज यहां उत्सुकतासे जमेगा. हमारी गलतियां हुंई और अनेक हुई लेकिन जैसा आपका बैसाही हमारा भी हृदय काँग्रेसप्रेमसे भरगया है. और जब हृदय इस स्थितिमे रहता है तब वहां गलतियां न होना यही आश्चर्य है. हमारे वालटियरोंने और हमारे कमेटीके मेंबरोंने अपनी कर्तव्य दक्षतामें कभी किमीको कोई कठोर शब्द बोलेहों तो उनके हृदयके भावोको पहिचान कर आप उन्हें क्षमाकरे मैं उन सबकी औरसे साष्टांगप्रणाम कर अपने सब गलतियोंकी क्षमा मांगताहूँ.

APPENDIX

B

Members of the All India Congress Committee for 1921.

SALEM SOUTH INDIA.

President:—C. Vijiaraghavachariar Salem (South India)

General Secretaries:—

1. Pandit Motilal Neharu Allahabad
2. Dr. M. A. Ansari Delhi
5. Raja Gopalachariar. Madras.

Ex-President:—

1. Babu S. N. Bannerji Calcutta
2. „ A. C. Muzumdar. Faridpur.
3. Mr. N. G. Chandawarkar Bombay.
4. Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya Allahabad.
5. Mr. Lala Lajpat Rai Lahore
6. Sayad Hasan Imam. Patna.

UNITED PROVINCES.

Member elected:—

1. Babu Bhagwandas Sahib Sewashram Benaras.
2. Pandit Jawahirlal Neharu Anand Bhuwan Allahabad.
3. „ Shamlal Neharu Prayag Street Allahabad.
4. Mr. Sayad Haider Mehadi Shaha Ganj Allahabad.
5. Babu Purushottam Das Tondon Allahabad.
6. Dr. Murari Lal Cawnpore
7. Babu Shree Prakash Sewas Shram Banares.
8. Maulana Hasarat Mohani Cawnpore.
9. Babu Ramchandra Advocate, Lucknow.
10. Mr. C S Rangayer Katra Road, Allahabad.
11. „ Shaukat Alli Aligarh
12. „ Mohamad Alli „
13. „ Kamal Uddin Ahamad Jafri, John Ston Ganj Allahabad
14. „ Gauri Shanker Mishra 3 City Road.
15. Swami Shradhanand Guru-Kul Hardwar.
16. Mr. Babu Ram, Etah.
17. Pandit Piari Lal Sharma.
18. Babu Mala Ram
19. Mr. George Joseph Bank Road Allahabad.
20. „ Azat Subhani
21. „ Mukundi Lal Bar-at-Law Hans Town Allahabad.
22. Pandit Kailas Neth Katju, Albert Road „
23. Mr. Khaliequz Zaman, Lucknow.
24. Kumar Har Prasad Singh, Banda.
25. Mr. Sundar Lal, Hewett Road, Allahabad.

B E N G A L

1. Mr. B. Chakrawarti 237. Lower circular Road Calcutta
2. „ C R. Das 148, Russa Road South Bhawanipore Calcutta.
3. „ Akhil Chandra Datta comilla. Calcutta.
4. „ J. B. Sen 57, Harris Mukarji Road Bhawanipore Calcutta.
5. „ B. K Lahari 9, Eljin Road Calcutta.
6. „ Bijoy Krishna Bose, Hazra Lane Kalighat Calcutta.
7. „ Binod chandra pal 55/3 Shankaripara Road Bhawanipore Calcutta
8. „ Mujibur Rahaman 11/5, Karja Bazar Road Calcutta

- ✓ 9. Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda Silchar, Assam.
10. „ Gundacharan Sen. 15, Chaul pathi Lane Bhawanipore Calcutta.
11. „ Basant Kumar Bose 32/2, Kanabasari Pura Road Calcutta.
12. „ Man Mohan Niyogi Pleader Mymensingh.
13. „ Nirmal Chandra 2/3 Wellington Street Calcutta.
14. „ Premotha Neth Bannerji 284, Upper circular Road Calcutta.
15. „ B. N. Sasmal 73, Harris Mukarji Road Calcutta Bhawanipore.
16. „ N. C. Sen. 98 Beltala Road Kalighat Calcutta.
17. „ Akram Khan, 29, Uppur Circular Road Calcutta.
18. „ Sirish Chandra Chatterji, Pleader Dacca.
- ✓ 19. „ N. C. Bardoloi, Gauhati, Assam.
20. „ Satyendra Chandra Mittra 9/3 Patuatola Lane Calcutta.
21. „ Lalit Mohandas, 82 1 Harrison Road Calcutta.
22. „ J. M. Sen. Gupta, 1 Wellesly Mansions, Calcutta.
23. „ Jitendralal Banerji, 84, Sitarām Ghosh Street Calcutta.
24. „ An̄bika Parasād Bajpai, 159/1 Machuabazar Street Calcutta.
25. „ H. D. Bose, 54, Garhata Road, Ballygunj Calcutta.

DELHI AJMER MERWARA BRITISH RAJPUTANA.

1. Mr H. M. Ajmal Khan Saheb, Delhi
2. „ Shankerlal Delhi
3. „ K. A. Desai.
4. „ Asaf Ali Delhi.
5. „ Pandit Gaurishanker Bhargava Civil Lines Ajmer.
6. „ Kumar Chand Karan Sarada, B. A., LL. B. Ajmer.

B O M B A Y .

1. Mr. M. A. Jinnah Eldon Road, Fort Bombay.
2. „ Jannadas M. Mehta.
3. „ Mahatma M. K. Gandhi Ahmedabad.
4. „ M. R. Jaiker Thakurdwar Bombay.
5. „ N. C. Kelker Poona.
6. „ S. R. Bomanji Cuffe Parade Kolaba Bombay.
7. „ S. G. Banker Belleone Choupaty Bombay.
8. „ Abbas S. Tyabji, Baroda Camp. Bombay.
9. „ Joseph Baptista Bombay.
10. „ K. M. Munshi Bombay.
11. „ D. D. Sathaye Girgaon Road Bombay.
12. „ D. V. Belvi Bombay.
13. „ Elman Sobani Cuffe Parade Kolaba, Bombay.
14. „ M. B. Kelker, Dadysett Agiore Land Bombay.
15. „ R. P. Karandiker Satara.
16. „ C. V. Vaidya Kalyan.
17. Dr T. M. Kajiji, Dilkoorh Grant Road Bombay
18. Mr. G. B. Deshpande, Belgaum.
19. „ Wallabhai J. Patel Ahmedabad.
20. „ K. P. Khadilkar Poona.

A N D H R A .

1. Mr. Ramnurti B. A. Pleader Berhampur, Ganjam.
2. „ K. V. R. Swami Barrister Rajmahendri.

- 3 Mr. K Venkatappaiah B. A., B. L. Guntur
- 4 „ B Pattabhisitaranya, Masulipattam.
- 5 „ S Anjanayulee B. A , LL. B. Pleader Ananthapur.
6. „ D. Subharao B. A. Pleader Nandyal, Kurnool.
7. „ V. Ramdas B. A., LL. B. Pleader Mylapur.
8. „ P. Ramakrishnam Raju B. A. LL. B. Chitore
9. „ Nageshwar Rao Madras.
- 10 Mr. A Kaleshwar Rao, B. A., LL. B. Bezwada
- 11 „ Umera Alisha Sahob. Pithapuram Godavari District

MADRAS.

- 1 Mr S. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar Madras
- 2 „ T. V. Venkatrama Iayer, Madras
- 3 „ Rangaswami Iyengar
- 4 Dr. Subbarayan, Tyenampet, Madras
- 5 Mr. S. Satyamurti
- 6 „ J. V. Gopalaswami Modaliar Madras
- 7 „ Shrinivas Aiyengar Madras
- 8 „ S. Anantharama Iyer. B. A., LL. B. Madras
- 9 „ N. S. Ramaswami Iyengar
- 10 „ T. Prakasham, Madras
- 11 „ V. P. Madhava Rao Tanjore
- 12 „ K. V. Ranga Swami Iyengar Shrirangam
- 13 „ C. Rajgopalachariar, Madras
- 14 „ Yakub Hasan Sait Madras

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

- 1 Mr M. L. Kochar B A., LL. B. Narsinghpure
- 2 „ Damodar Rao Shrikhande Pleader Damoh
- 3 „ Ravishanker Shukla Pleader Raipur
- 4 „ E. Raghvendra Rao Barrister Bilaspore
- 5 „ V. R. Dhoke Pleader Chhindwara
- 6 Dr. B. S. Munje Nagpur
- 7 Mr. N. R. Alekar Pleader Nagpur
- 8 „ N. K. Vaidya Pleader Nagpur
- 9 „ G. R. Deo Pleader Nagpur
- 10 „ B. R. Deshmukh Pleader Chanda
- 11 „ Seth Jamanlal Bajaj Wardha

PUNJAB-

- 1 Mr. Lala Harikishienlal Lahore
- 2 „ Lala Duni Chand Lahore
- 3 Pandit Rambhuj Dutta Choudhari Lahore
- 4 Bakshi Tek Chand Wakil Lahore
- 5 Mr. Labh Singh Bar-at-Law Lahore
- 6 Dr. Ghokal Chand Nawrang Bar-at-Law
- 7 Lala Ruchi Ram Sahni, Lahore
- 8 Mr. K. Santanum Bar-at-Law Lahore
- 9 „ S. Sardul Singh Lahore
- 10 „ S. Premsingh Sodhbans MacLagan Road Lahore
- 11 „ M. Gulam Mohiuddin Khan Pleader Lahore

- 12 „ Syad M. Habib, Editor Siasat Lahore
- 13 „ Aga Mohammad Safdar, Sialkote,
- 14 Dr. Saifuddin Kishore Amritsar
- 15 „ Satyapal Amritsar
- 16 Mr. Lala Girdarilal Amritsar
- 17 Diwan Mangal Sain Gujranwala
- 18 Raizada Bhagat Ram Jullandhar
- 19 Shrimati Sarla Devi Choudhary Lahore
- 20 Lala Gowardhan Das Lahore

BERAR.

- 1 Mr. Waman Rao Gopal Joshi Amraoti
- 2 „ N. M. Bedarkar Amraoti
- 3 „ S. V. Kelkar Akola
- 4 „ Abdul Ranshaha Yeotmal
- 5 „ M. K. Chande
- 6 „ P. C. Joglekar

BEHAR AND ORISSA.

- 1 Mr. Hasan Imam, Fraser Road Patna Ex--Officio

ELECTED.

- 1 Mr. Mazharul Haque. Patna
- 2 „ Moulvi Syed Nooral Hasan, Wakil Chohatta
- 3 „ Babu Rajendra Prasad M. A., M. L. Patna
- 4 „ Chandra Banshi Saheya Bar-at-Law Patna
- 5 Babu Anughah Narayan Sinha Pleader Patna
- 6 Moulvi Abdul Bari Mohammad Squin Patna
- 7 Moulvi Mohammad Share Patna
- 8 Quzi Abdul Wadood Patna
- 9 Moulvi Khalilur Rahman Natual Patna
- 10 Moulvi Mir Mahboob Alum Patna
- 11 Moulvi Zamiruddin Ahmad Patna
- 12 Moulvi Mohamunad Shafi Muzaffarpore
- 13 Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad Calcutta
- 14 Mr. S. M. Zubair Fort Mohghir
- 15 Babu Shrikrishna Singh Pleader Mongher
- 16 Mr. Deep Narayan Singh Bar-at-Law Bhagalpore
- 17 Babu Krishna Prakas Sen Sinha Gaya
- 18 Babu Brij Kishore Prasad Pleader Laheria Sarai
- 19 Pandit Gopa Bandhu Das Puri
- 20 Babu Dharni Dhar Wakil Sarai

SINDH.

- 1 Mr. Durgadas B. Adwani
- 2 „ Choitram P. Gidwani
- 3 „ Sant Das, Mangharam
- 4 „ Jairam das Doulatram, Marvel Road Hyderabad
- 5 „ Mohamad Khan

BURMA.

- 1 Dr. P. J. Melita Mogal Street Rangoon
- 2 Mr. J. R. Das Barrister Rangoon
- 3 „ S. S. S. Tyabji Rangoon
- 4 „ J. N. Basu
- 5 „ V. Madanjit 50 Merchant Street Rangoon

APPENDIX-C.

MEMBERS OF THE SUBJECTS COMMITTEE.

BOMBAY

- 1 Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, B. A. LL. B. Pedder Coad Bombay
- 2 Mr. L. G. Khare, Bombay
- 3 " Abbas. S. Tyabji, Bar-at-Law Bombay
- 4 " M. A. Jinha, Barrister, Bombay
- 5 " N. C. Kelker, B. A. LL. B. Poona City
- 6 " Joseph Baptista B. A. LL. B. L. C. R. Barrister, Bombay
- 7 " Indulal Yagnik, Bombay
- 8 M. K. Gandhi, Ahmedabad
- 9 Dr. D. D Sathaya, Girgaom Road Bambaay
- 10 Mr. S. R. Bomanji. Colaba, Bombay
- 11 " Umer Sobhani, Umer Manzil, Bambaay
- 12 " Lakhmidas Rawaji Tarsi, Fort, Bombay
- 13 " P. K. Telang M. A. LL. B. Nathew Road Bombay
- 14 Dr. T. M. Lalaji, Bombay
- 15 Mr. G. B. Deshpande, Belgaum
- 16 " C. V. Vaidya M. A. LL. B Kalyan
- 17 " K. P. Khadiker, B. A. Poona City
- 18 " S. G. Banker, Bombay
- 19 Dr. M. B. Velker, Agarti Line, Bombay
- 20 Mr. Krishnalal N. Desai, High court, Pleader Ahmedabad
- 21 " J. M. Mehta, Bombay
- 22 " S. K. Damle
- 23 " N. B. Ashtaputre
- 24 " Shankerrao D. Deo, Poona City
- 25 Sant of Nagar
- 26 Mr. Kotwanker, of Nasik
- 27 " Pickthall
- 28 " Khalan
- 29 " Chottani
- 30 " Narayandas Purushottamdas
- 31 " V. A. Desai
- 32 " Gidwani
- 33 " Mr. Annusaha Ben
- 34 " V. J. Patel
- 35 " Kalyandas V. Patel
- 36 " Candulal M. Desai
- 37 Dr. J. M. Deshpande
- 38 Mr. R. S. Puttidri
- 39 " R. N. Mandlik
- 40 " Samant of Ratnagiri
- 41 Honapur Math

DELHI AJMER MERWADA, AND BRITISH RAJPUTANA

- Mr. Hakim M. Ajmal Khan, Delhi
 " Chand Karan Sarada B. A. LL. B. Madargate Ajmer

3. Rai Sahib Piyrelal, Pleader, Delhi.
4. Rai Bahadur Sultan Singh, Kashmiti Gate, Delhi.
5. Rai Sahib P. T. Chandrika Prasad, Ajmer.
6. Mr. Asaf Alli
7. " Shankarlal.
8. " Nanak Singh.
9. " A. C. Khosla.
10. " Gaurishanker Bhargava, Ajmer.
11. " B. S. Pathik.

BIHAR AND ORISSA.

- 1 Mr. Syad Hasan Imam, Fraser Road Patna
- 2 The Hon'ble Mr. Sachidananda Sinha, Bar-at-Law
- 3 Khan Bahadur Sarafraj Housein Khan, Patna City
- 4 The Hon'ble Mr. Gopabhandu Das, Satyabadi District
- 5 The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Dwarkanath, B. A. LL. B.
- 6 Babu Rajendra prasad, M. A. L. Patna.
- 7 Mr. Dip Narayan Singh, Patna.
- 8 Mr. Babu Vrij Kishore Prasad, M. A. B. L. Vakil Darbhanga
- 9 Babu Srikishen Prasad, B. A. B. L. pleader Moughyr
- 10 The Hon'ble Mr. S. K. Sahey, Ranchi
- 11 Mr. P. K. Sen M. A. LL. M. Barrister, Patna
- 12 Babu Ganesh Dutta Singh, B. A. B. L. Patna
- 13 Mr. Mazharrul Haqqe, Barrister Patna
- 14 Pandit Bhubaneshwar Misra, B. A. B. L. Darbhanga
- 15 Mr. Hatendralal Nand Keolyar, M. A. Barrister Patna
- 16 Babu Shanni Dhar, Vakil, Durbhanga
- 17 Babu Chandra Deva Narein, Vakil, Chapra
- 18 Mr. Chandra Bansi Sahey, Bar-at-Law Patna
- 19 Rai Brij Rai Krishna, B. A. B. L. Patna
- 20 Babu Madho Singh, Vakil Chapra
- 21 Babu Jagodhar Prasad, Vakil Bhagalpore
- 22 Mr. Babu Mukund Prasad Das.
- 23 Mr. Niranjan Patnaik
- 24 Mr. Dasrathi Misra
- 25 Mr. Jagad Bandu Sinha
- 26 " Moulvi Mohemed Saffi
- 27 " Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad
- 28 " Moulvi Mohamed Zaban
- 29 " Babu Rabinod Singh
- 30 " Bipin Behari Verma
- 31 " Manoranjan Prasad Sinha
- 32 " Krishna Prakash Sen Sinha
- 33 Prof. Kripalani.
- 34 Mr. R. K. L. Nandkeolyar
- 35 " L. Singh
- 36 " P. Nandkeolyar
- 37 Moulana Sajjad Sahab
- 38 Babu Dwarka Prasad
- 39 Babu Shri Krishna Sinha
- 40 Moulvi Abdul Bari Mohamed Sqpin
- 41 Thakur Ram Nandan Sinha

PUNJAB.

- 1 Mr. Lala Lajpatrai
- 2 Lala Harkisanlal, Barrister Lahore

- 3 Mr. Duni Chand, Barister, Lahore
- 4 Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, Barrister Amritsar
- 5 Mr. Labh Singh, Barrister Gujranwala
- 6 Pandit Rambhuj Dutta Choudhari, Vakil Lahore
- 7 Sardar Sant Singh, Vakil Layllpur
- 8 The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Main Fazal-ihusain, Lahore
- 9 Mr. S. Habibulla Khan, Barrister Lahore
- 10 Lala Dharam Chanda, Vakil Lahore
- 11 Pir Tajuddin, Barrister Lahore
- 12 Mr. Nanak Chand, Barrister Lahore
- 13 Lala Danpat Rai, Vakil, Lahore
- 14 Lala Fakir Chand, Vakil Lahore
- 15 Mr. Bakshi Tek Chand, Vakil Lahore
- 16 Dr. Gopal Chand Narang, Barrister Lahore
- 17 Lala Girdharilal, Chattiwind Gate, Lahore
- 18 Sardar Prem Singh Sedhabans, Machgan Road, Lahore
- 19 Mr. Todar Mal Bhandari, Barrister Amritsar
- 20 Lala Raghunath Sahi, Vakil, Lahore
- 21 Lala Katan Chand, Chamberlain Road,
- 22 Lala Dhuni Chand
- 23 Mr. Desai
- 24 Lala Govindram
- 25 Master Gurudattamal
- 26 Dr. Kishanchand
- 27 Lala Kevil Kishen
- 28 Lala Shamalal
- 29 Sardar Jaswant Singh
- 30 Mr. Malaiklal Khan
- 31 Lala Asuram
- 32 Sardar Laxman singh
- 33 Mrs. Chowdhary
- 34 Rana Pheerozedin
- 35 Haji Jan Mohamed
- 36 Aga Mohamed Safdar
- 37 Mr. Santanam
- 38 Lala Gowardhandas
- 39 Diwan Chamanlal
- 40 Syed Habib

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- 2 Mrs. J. C. Wedgwood
- 3 Mr. Helford Knight
- 4 Mr. Dobe
- 5 Mr. B. C. Spoor

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- 7 " I. B. Sen, 57 Horish Mukerji Road Calcutta
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- 9 Mr. Bijoy Krishna Bose, 28 Kalighat Calcutta
- 10 " B. K. Lahiri, 234 Lower circular Road Calcutta
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- 17 " Jitendralal Banerji, 84 Sitaram Street, Calcutta
- 18 " Mr. Lalit Mohan Dass, 81 Harrison Road, Calcutta
- 19 " Ray Yatindra Nath Chowdhari, Kalighat Calcutta
- 20 " S Sasmal, 73 Harish Mukurji Road, Calcutta
- 21 The Hon'ble Mr. Abdul Kasam, Parkar Road, Calcutta
- 22 Mr. Padmaraj Jain, Calcutta
- 23 Babu Hardayal Nag
- 24 " Surya Kumar Some
- 25 " Polin Behari Dass
- 26 " Manoranjan Benerji
- 27 " Prabodh Kumar Dass
- 28 " Ambika Prasad Bajpai
- 29 Mr. Abdul Rashid
- 30 Babu Niranjan Shukla
- 31 " Girija Mohan Saniyal
- 32 " Narayan Chandra Gangoly
- 33 " Bepin Behari Sen
- 34 " Bepin Behari Ghose
- 35 " Bhudra Haldar

- 36 Babu Satyapriya Benerjee
- 37 " Nobin Chandra Bardoli
- 38 " Mohendra Chandra Dass
- 39 Dr. K. S. Roy
- 40 Babu Chira Ranjan Dass
- 41 Babu J. Chowdhari
- 42 Dr. Satish Chandra Sen Gupta
- 43 Moulvi Majid Baksh
- 44 Babu J. N. Roy
- 45 " Muhesh Chandra Das
- 46 " Kanakeshwar Serma
- 47 " Sachindra Nath Saniyal

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- 1 Dr. P. J. Mehta, Barrister, Mogul Street Rangoon
- 2 Mr. J. R. Das, Barrister, Merchant Street, Rangoon
- 3 " Haji Ahmed Moola Daood, Tanwa Road, Rangoon
- 4 " V. Padanjit
- 5 " S. A. A. S. Tyabji, Rangoon
- 6 " Nanakal Kalidas Janani
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- 8 " Maung Thin Mau
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- 2 The Hon'ble Mr. Marchandrai Visoindas, C. I. E. Karachi
- 3 Mr. Jamehad, K. R. Mehta, Karachi
- 4 Dr. Chowthram P. Gidwani, Hyderabad
- 5 Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram, B. A. LL. B., Hyderabad
- 6 Mr. Mohamadkhan
- 7 Mr. T. K. Jaswani
- 8 " Swami Govindanand
- 9 " Durgadas. B. Gidwani
- 10 " Ganesham Das Rajpal

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- 2 Mr. C. Vijai-raghavachariar, Salem
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- 4 Mr. C. Rajgopalachariar, Madras
- 5 The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Nareimva Iyer, Madras
- 6 The Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hasan, Madras
- 7 Mr. T. V. Venkatarama Iyer, Madras
- 8 " T. V. Gopalswami Mudliar, Pleader, Madras
- 9 " Rangaswami Iyengar, Madras
- 10 " R. S. Ramaswami Iyengar, Madras

- 11 Mr. Satyamurti, Pleader Madras
- 12 „ George Joseph Barrister Nandure
- 13 „ C. Vankatrangam Naidu
- 14 „ Subrayan
- 15 Dr. S. S. Rajan
- 16 Moulvi Abdul Majid
- 17 Mr. U. Challrai
- 18 „ V. Pantulu Aiyer
- 19 „ Abdul Hamid
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- 21 „ V. V. S. Aiyer
- 22 „ Mahalinga Aiyer
- 23 „ K. Sadashiva Rao
- 24 „ Nowlaon
- 25 „ K. Madhavan Nair
- 26 „ C. Subramanya Nayier
- 27 „ Ramchandra Odayer
- 28 „ M. Daman Said
- 29 Mrs. Anne Besant, Madras .

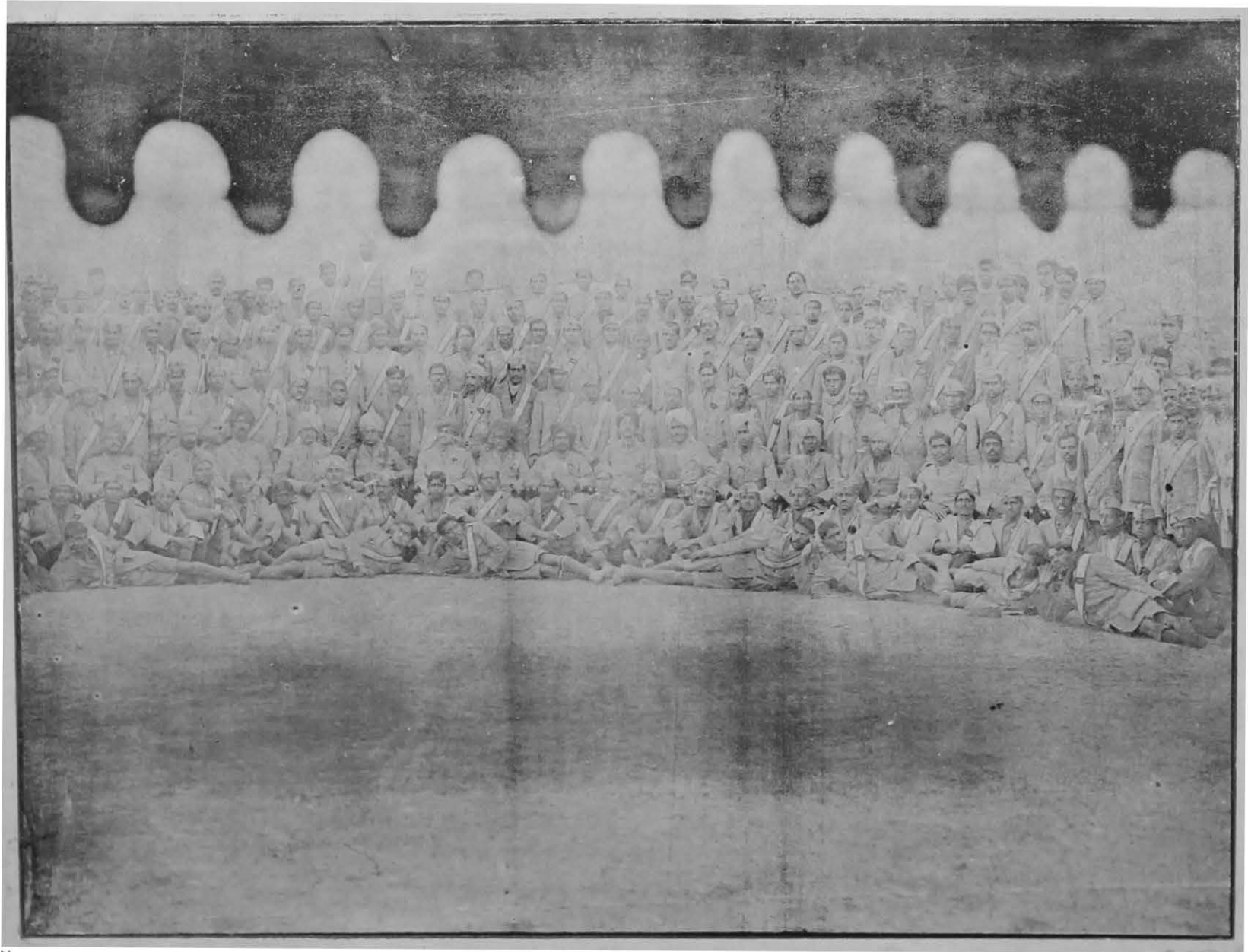
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- 1 The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, Allahabad
- 2 Moulana Shaukatali
- 3 Babu Bhagwandas, Benaras
- 4 Babu Ramchandra, Lucknow
- 5 The Hon'ble Raja Sir Mohamedali Mohamadkhan
- 6 Moulana Mohani, Aligarh
- 7 Pandit Harkarannath Misra, Barrister Lucknow
- 8 Babu Ganpat Sahoy, Sultanpur
- 9 Babu Narendra Deva Verma, Pleader Fyzabad
- 10 Pandit Javahirlal Nehru, Anand Bhavan Allahabad
- 11 Mr. Sayed Haider Mehdi, Wakil Allahabad.
- 12 „ Sunderlal, Prayag Street, Allahabad
- 13 „ Shamlal Nehru, Allahabad
- 14 „ G. S. Ranga Iyer, Allahabad
- 15 Dr. Kailas Nath Katju, Wakil Allahabad
- 16 Dr. Jaikaran Nath Misra, Allahabad
- 17 Mr. Purushottamdas Tanden, Wakil, Allahabad
- 18 Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, Benaras
- 19 Srijiut Shiva Prasad Gupta, Benaras
- 20 Mr. Sri Prakash, Barrister, Benaras
- 21 Dr. Murarilal, M. D. Cawnpore
- 22 Mr. B. R. Bomanji, Barrister Saharanpur
- 23 Mr. Manjharali Sokhata, Wakil Allahabad
- 24 Pandit Krishna Kant Malviya, Allahabad
- 25 Maulana Mohamedali
- 26 Moulvi Kamaluddin Ahmed Jaffri
- 27 Pandit Gauri Shanker Misra
- 28 Shreeyut Babu Ram
- 29 Maulvi Khaliquzzana
- 30 Sri Swami Shankaracharya of Sarda Pith
- 31 Swami Bhasker Tirth

- 32 Swami Satyadeva
- 33 Shreeyut Dwarka Prasad
- 34 Moulvi Laharahmed
- 35 Shreeyut Kuar Bihari Mathur
- 34 Mr. Noor Mohamed Ismail Khan
- 35 Shreeyut Kuar Bihari Mathur
- 36 Mr. Noor Mohamed Ismail Khan
- 37 Shrimati Uma Nehru
- 38 Moulana Abdul Majid
- 39 Mr. Mugganali
- 40 Moulana Azad Sobhani
- 41 Dr. Lachi Dutta
- 42 Babu Raghupathi Sahaya
- 43 Bagum Hasrat Mohamed
- 44 Mr. Hayat
- 45 Pandit Ramprasad Misra
- 46 Shreeyut Narayan Prasad Arora
- 47 Mr. Tasaddur A. Sherwani
- 48 Shreeyut Babu Rao Paradkar
- 49 Mahatma Bhagwandin

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- 2 Dr. H. S. Gour, Barrister, Nagpur
- 3 Dr. B. S. Moonje Nagpur
- 4 Mr. R. V. Abhyanker, Malguzar, Dhanodi
- 5 „ B. R. Deshmukh, Pleader, Chanda
- 6 „ V. M. Jakatdar Pleader, Bhandara
- 7 „ Manekchand Kachar, Pleader, Narsingpur
- 8 „ Umakant Balwant Ghate, Pleader Chhindwara
- 9 „ Haridas Chatterjee, Pleader Khandwa
- 10 „ E. Raghawendra Rao, Barrister Bilaspur
- 11 „ B. D. Shukul, Sehora
- 12 „ C. M. Thakker, Barrister, Raipur
- 13 „ Gopalchand
- 14 „ Nathuram
- 15 „ Abdul Jabbar khan
- 16 „ Kesharao Khandekar
- 17 Kaji Mohamad khan
- 18 Mr. Abdul Kaddar Siddique
- 19 „ Ramchandra Naik
- 20 „ Fazal Ahmad khan
- 21 „ Tarachand
- 22 „ Dhoke, Pleader Chhindwara
- 23 „ Sundarlal
- 24 „ Cheddilal
- 25 „ Narayanrao Meghe
- 26 „ M. Subhan
- 27 „ Arjunlal Sethi
- 28 „ P. D. Harkare
- 29 Dr. Hedgewar
- 30 Mr. Anisuddin Ahemed
- 31 Mr. Pathak Bhandara



Appendix D.

Members of the Executive Committee of the Reception Committee

1. Seth Jammalal Bajaj, Chairman
2. Mr. M. R. Dixit, Bar-at-law, Vice-President
3. Dr. B. S. Moonje, L. M. S. General Secretary
4. „ M. R. Cholkar, L. M. S. Joint Secretary
5. Mr. M. Bhawani Shankar, M. A. L. L. M. Joint Secretary
6. „ N. R. Aleker, B. A. L. L. B.
7. „ A. N. Chorghade, Secretary
8. „ G. V. Deshmukh, „
9. Dr. H. S. Gour, M. A. D. C. L. L. L. D. Bar-at-Law
10. Mr. M. K. Padhye, B. A. B. L.
11. „ V. M. Jakatdar, B. A. L. L. B.
12. „ M. R. Bobade, B. A. L. L. B.
13. „ Nilkanth Rao Udhoji, Pleader
14. „ Dhundiraj Thengdi
15. „ W. H. Dhabe, B. A. L. L. B.
16. „ N. K. Vaidya, B. A. L. L. B.
17. Dr. L. V. Paranjpe, L. M. S.
18. Mr. W. R. Puranik, B. A. L. L. B.
19. „ M. V. Abyanker, Bar-at-Law
20. „ Bhasker Rao Pandit, B. A. L. L. B.
21. „ G. A. Ogale,
22. „ V. S. Patwardhan, Pleader
23. „ K. P. Vaidya, B. A. L. L. B.
24. Dr. N. B. Khare, B. A. M. D.
25. Mr. G. R. Deo, B. A. L. L. B.
26. „ Heeralal Tinguria, B. A. L. L. B.
27. „ Pandit Sheonarayan Bajpai

THE NAMES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE VARIOUS SUB-COMMITTEES.

Housing Sub-committee.

PRESIDENT.

MR. W. H. DHABE.

MEMBERS.

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Mr. K. A. Pote | 3. Mr. Zinzarde |
| 2. „ Hiralal | 4. „ D. R. Thengdi |

Volunteer Sub-committee

PRESIDENT.

DR. L. V. PARANJPE.

MEMBERS.

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Mr. Harkare | 3. Mr. D. V. Deshmukh |
| 2. Dr. Hedgewar | 4. „ Tamhankar |

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|
| 3. Mr. M. R. Bobde | 9. Mr. S. J. Khoat |
| 4. „ N. V. Gadgil | 10. „ D. V. Paranjpe |
| 5. „ S. G. Gadgil | 11. „ P. N. Godbole |
| 6. Dr. Soman | 12. Dr. N. K. Bakre |

Collection of funds.

PRESIDENT.

MR. M. V. ABHYANKAR

MEMBERS.

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Mr. Brahmarakshas | 11. Mr. Jagoba Parkhi |
| 2. „ N. K. Vaidya | 12. „ Mandlekar |
| 3. „ Hiralal | 13. „ Harkare |
| 4. Dr. Moonje | 14. „ G. V. Deshmukh |
| 5. „ Paranjpe | 15. „ Bobde |
| 6. „ Cholkar | 16. „ Gujar |
| 7. „ Khare | 17. „ D. V. Paranjpe |
| 8. Mr. Ogale | 18. „ Ganpatrao Master |
| 9. „ Dhabe | 19. Dr. Deshmukh |
| 10. „ Gopikrishna | |

Publicity.

PRESIDENT

MR. G. A. OGALÉ

MEMBERS.

- | | |
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| 2. „ S. J. Khoat | 5. „ Alekar |
| 3. „ Ghadge | 6. „ Bhawalkar |

Purchase Sub-committee.

PRESIDENT

V. S. PATWARDHAN

MEMBERS.

- | | |
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| 2. „ Rangamatham | 5. „ Kale |
| 3. „ R. B. Patwardhan | 6. „ Ganpatrao Tikekar |

Stores Sub-committee.

PRESIDENT.

MR. K. P. VAIDYA.

MEMBERS

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
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| 2. „ W. G. Pande | 7. Dr. Bhuche |
| 3. „ D. M. Deo | 8. Mr. S. J. Khoat |
| 4. „ Hadap | 9. „ Kale |
| 5. „ S. R. Mangrulkar | |

Sanitation Sub committee.

PRESIDENT.

DR. KHARE.

MEMBERS.

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| 2. „ Deo | 4. Mr. Phansikar |

Conveyance Sub-committee.

PRESIDENT.

MR. HIRALAL TINGURIA

MEMBERS.

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| 2. „ K. A. Potey | 6. „ Chimote |
| 3. „ Sudam Mistri | 7. „ Yado Rao Lad |
| 4. „ A. B. Jamdar | 8. „ G. P. Songade |

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PRESIDENT.

MR. G. R. DEO.

MEMBERS.

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Pressing Sub-committee.

PRESIDENT.

MR. N. K. VAIDYA.

MEMBERS.

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| 2. „ G. R. Deo | 4. „ B. G. Pandit |

Booking Sub-committee.

PRESIDENT.

MR. B. G. PANDIT.

MEMBERS.

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| 2. „ Narayanrao Deopujari | 11. „ Wamanrao Joshi |
| 3. „ M. R. Indurkar | 12. „ D. M. Deo |
| 4. „ K. L. Daftary | 13. „ R. G. Paranjpe |
| 5. „ S. A. Ghadge | 14. „ Kalikar |
| 6. „ A. V. Wazalwar | 15. „ Bansidhar Dashottar |
| 7. „ K. P. Vaidya | 16. „ Chande Pleader |
| 8. „ Shambhuraog Gadgil | 17. „ N. B. Bhawalkar |
| 9. Dr. Buche | |

Finance Sub-committee

PRESIDENT.

MR. W. R. PURANIK.

MEMBERS.

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| 2. Mr. G. R. Deo | 4. Dr. Cholkar |

Reception Sub committee to the President elect.

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
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| 2. M. G. Chitnavis | Secretary |
| 3. D. V. Deshmukh | Joint Secretary |
| 4. Dr. Paranjpe | Captain of Valunteers |
| 5. W. H. Dhabe | |
| 6. Hiralal Tinguria | |
| 7. G. R. Deo | |
| 8. N. B. Bhawalkar | |

Appendix E.

No.	Provinces.	Hindoos,	Mohds.	Males.	Females	Total.
1	Bengal	698	166	861	3	864
2	Bombay	2908	120	3016	12	3028
3	Sindh	160	34	191	3	194
4	Madras	271	57	327	1	328
5	Andhra	273	13	285	1	286
6	U. P.	610	119	719	10	729
7	Punjab	211	57	267	1	268
8	C. P.	5302	324	5503	123	5626
9	Delhi	131	8	139		139
10	Bihar	160	10	170	...	170
11	Berar	2792	139	2916	15	2931
12	Burma	16	3	19	...	19
Total		13532.	1050.	14413.	169	14582

APPENDIX F.
RESOLUTIONS PASSED.
BY THE
35th INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
NAGPUR SESSION, 1920.

RESOLUTION No. 1

CREED.

The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

(Note:—This forms Article I of the Congress Constitution.)

RESOLUTION No. 2

NON-CO-OPERATION.

Whereas in the opinion of the Congress the existing Government of India has forfeited the confidence of the country; and

Whereas the people of India are now determined to establish Swaraj; and

Whereas all methods adopted by the people of India prior to the last Special Session of the Indian National Congress have failed to secure due recognition of their rights and liberties and the redress of their many and grievous wrongs, more specially in reference to the Khilafat and the Punjab;

Now this Congress while reaffirming the resolution on Non-violent Non-co-operation passed at the Special Session of the Congress at Calcutta declares that the entire or any part or parts of the 'scheme of Non-violent Non-co-operation, with the renunciation of voluntary association with the present Government at one end and the refusal to pay taxes at the other, should be put in force at a time to be determined by either the Indian National Congress or the All-India Congress Committee and that in the meanwhile, to prepare the country for it, effective steps should continue to be taken in that behalf:—

- (a) by calling upon the parents and guardians of school children (and not the children themselves) under the age of 16 years to make greater efforts for the purpose of withdrawing them from such schools as are owned, aided or in any way controlled by Government and concurrently to provide for their training in national schools or by such other means as may be within their power in the absence of such schools;
- (b) by calling upon students of the age of 16 and over to withdraw without delay, irrespective of consequences, from institutions owned, aided or in any way controlled by Government, if they feel that it is against their conscience to continue in institutions which are dominated by a system of government which the nation has solemnly resolved to bring to an end, and advising such students either to devote themselves to some special service in connection with the non-co-operation movement or to continue their education in national institutions;

- (c) by calling upon trustees, managers and teachers of Government affiliated or aided schools and Municipalities and Local Boards to help to nationalise them ;
- (d) by calling upon lawyers to make greater efforts to suspend their practice and to devote their attention to national service including boycott of law courts by litigants and fellow lawyers and the settlement of disputes by private arbitration;
- (e) in order to make India economically independent and self contained by calling upon merchants and traders to carry out a gradual boycott of foreign trade relations, to encourage hand-spinning and hand-weaving and in that behalf by having a scheme of economic boycott planned and formulated by a committee of experts to be nominated by the All-India Congress Committee;
- (f) and generally, inasmuch as self-sacrifice is essential to the success of non-co-operation, by calling upon every section and every man and woman in the country to make the utmost possible contribution of self-sacrifice to the national movement;
- (g) by organising Committees in each village or group of villages with a provincial central organisation in the principal cities of each Province for the purpose of accelerating the progress of non-co-operation ;
- (h) by organising a band of national workers for a service to be called the Indian National Service ; and
- (i) by taking effective steps to raise a national fund to be called the ALL-INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND for the purpose of financing the foregoing National Service and the non-co-operation movement in general.

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

This Congress recognises the growing friendliness between the Police and the Soldiery and the people, and hopes that the former will refuse to subordinate their creed and country to the fulfilment of orders of their officers, and, by courteous and considerate behaviour towards the people, will remove the reproach hitherto levelled against them that they are devoid of any regard for the feelings and sentiments of their own people.

And this Congress appeals to all people in Government employment pending the call of the nation for resignation of their service, to help the national cause by importing greater kindness and stricter honesty in their dealings with their people and fearlessly and openly to attend all popular

gatherings whilst refraining from taking any active part therein and, more specially, by openly rendering financial assistance to the national movement.

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

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

Resolution No. 3.

(1) That, in the opinion of this Congress, it is necessary in the interests of India to disseminate correct information about India and Indian questions in foreign countries.

(2) That this Congress, while authorising the All-India Congress Committee to give effect to the foregoing resolution, resolves :—

- (a) That the publication of newspaper "India" as an organ of the Congress be discontinued forthwith and the contracts of the present staff be terminated.
- (b) That subject to the existing liabilities in connection with the British Congress Committee and newspaper "India", no further financial assistance from the Congress fund be supplied for these purposes; and
- (c) That a Committee consisting of Mr. Ben Spoor, Mr. Parikh, Mr. Helford Knight, Vakil, Mr. M. H. Kidwai and Mr. Dibe be appointed for winding up the affairs of the British Congress Committee and newspaper "India".

Resolution No. 4.

LATE MAC-SWINEY.

This Congress pays its homage to the sacred memory of the great Irish patriot Macswiney and sends its message of sympathy to the Irish people in their struggle for Independence.

RESOLUTION NO. 5.

Whereas His Majesty's Government and the Government of India, by bringing about an unprecedented rise in Indian Sterling Exchange and issuing Reverse Councils in wanton disregard of Indian opinion as expressed in the Minority Report of the Currency Committee, to the enormous and serious loss to the Indian Export Trade, have pursued a ruinous policy conceived in the interests of British manufacturers with the result that Indian Trade and commerce have been entirely unsettled and dislocated, while the British Treasury has been relieved of a substantial part of its indebtedness to India, and the British capitalists and manufacturers have been given enormous opportunities for dumping into this country goods which could not find their old markets in Germany and other countries; this Congress calls upon the British Treasury to make good this loss and further declares that importers, merchants and dealers of British goods will be entirely justified in refusing to complete their contracts at the present rates of exchange.

Further, this Congress appoints a Committee to be named by All-India Congress Committee to take steps to deal effectively with the situation.

RESOLUTION NO. 6.

This Congress is of opinion that, in pursuance of the policy of non-cooperation, the people of India should refrain from taking any part in functions or festivities in honour of H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught during his forthcoming visit to India.

RESOLUTION NO. 7.

That this Congress expresses its fullest sympathy with the workers of India in their struggle for securing their legitimate rights through the organisation of Trades Unions and places on record its condemnation of the brutal policy of treating the lives of Indian workers as of no account under the false pretext of preserving law and order.

RESOLUTION NO. 8.

That this Congress is of opinion that Indian Labour should be organized with a view to improve and promote their well-being and secure to them their just rights and also to prevent the exploitation (1) of Indian Labour (2) of Indian resources by foreign agencies, and that the All-India Congress Committee should appoint a Committee to take effective steps in that behalf.

RESOLUTION NO. 9.

LAND ACQUISITION ACT.

This Congress invites the attention of the public to the policy pursued by the Government in the different Provinces of India of forcibly acquiring lands on a large scale in the interest of capitalists and especially foreign capitalists by the reckless and unjustifiable use of the Land Acquisition Act, thus destroying the hearths

and homes and the settled occupations of the poor classes and landholders and is of opinion that it affords further grounds for non-co-operation against the Government.

This Congress further appeals to the Indian capitalists concerned and calls upon them to avert the impending ruin of the poor peasants.

Resolution No. 10.

This Congress places on record its sincere sympathy with those political workers who have been arrested and imprisoned with or without regular specification of charge and open trial and who are still detained in prison or whose freedom of movement and association are still restricted by executive order and this Congress expresses the hope that their devotion to their country and the hope of the early attainment of Swaraj, which will render these acts of injustice impossible, will sustain them in their present trial.

Resolution No. 11.

UNANI AND AYURVAIDIC SYSTEMS.

This Congress is of opinion that, having regard to the wide prevalence and generally accepted utility of the Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine in India, earnest and definite efforts should be made by the people of this country to further popularise these systems by establishing schools, colleges and hospital for instruction and treatment in accordance with the indigenous systems.

Resolution No. 12.

INDIAN STATES.

This Congress earnestly requests all the Sovereign Princes of India to take immediate steps to establish full responsible Government in their States.

Resolution No. 13.

This Congress notes the resumption, in spite of declarations of the Government of India to the contrary, of repression in the Punjab, Delhi and elsewhere and invites those concerned to bear their sufferings with fortitude and, whilst respecting all lawful orders, to prosecute Non-violent Non-Co-operation with redoubled vigour.

Resolution No. 14.

FREE EDUCATION.

As free elementary education is the primary and urgent need of the masses of India, this Congress urges on all Congress organizations to introduce and enforce the same in their respective areas on national lines.

Resolution No. 15.

MR. B. G. HORNIMAN.

This Congress puts on record its feelings of gratefulness to Mr. B. G. Horniman whose arduous labours and courageous championship of the cause of India have made the Indian case widely known to the people outside India and condemns the policy of Government which still keeps him removed from the Indian people.

Resolution No. 16.

SLAUGHTER OF COWS AND EXPORT OF CATTLE AND HIDES.

1. This Congress tenders its thanks to the Muslim Associations for their resolutions against cow-slaughter.

2. This Congress recognises the great economic necessity for the protection of cattle and urges upon the people of India to do their best to achieve this object, particularly by refusing to sell cattle or hides for export trade.

Resolution No. 17.

ESHER COMMITTEE.

This Congress having considered the composition and procedure of the Esher Committee and its report which, if carried out, is calculated to increase the subservience and impotence of India, and is of opinion that the report furnishes strong additional ground for Non-co-operation and for showing how dangerous it is to postpone the immediate establishment of Swaraj.

Resolution No. 18.

CONSTITUTION.

Article I.

The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

(Note:—This was passed as Resolution No. 1.)

SESSIONS OF THE CONGRESS.

Article II.

- (a) The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily meet once every year during Christmas holidays at such place as may have been decided upon at its previous session or such other place as may have been determined by the All-India Congress Committee hereinafter referred to.
- (b) An extraordinary session of the Congress may be summoned by the All-India Congress Committee either of its own motion or on the requisition of a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees, wherever it may deem it advisable to hold such a session; and the Articles of this Constitution shall apply with such modifications as the All-India Congress Committee may consider necessary in respect of each such session.

COMPONENT PARTS OF THE CONGRESS.

Article III.—

The Indian National Congress organisation shall consist of the following:—

- (a) The Indian National Congress.
- (b) Provincial Congress Committees.
- (c) District Congress Committees.
- (d) Sub-Divisional, Taluqa or Tahsil, Firka or other Local Congress Committees.
- (e) The All-India Congress Committee.
- (f) Such other Committees outside India as may from time to time be recognised by the Congress in this behalf.
- (g) Bodies formed or organised periodically by the Provincial, District, Taluqa or Tahsil, or other Local Congress Committees such as the Reception Committee of the Congress and the Provincial, District, Taluqa or Tahsil, or other local Conferences.

Article IV.—

No person shall be eligible to be a member of any of the organisations referred to in the foregoing Article, unless he or she has attained the age of 21 and expresses in writing his or her acceptance of the object and the methods as laid down in Article 1 of this Constitution and of the Rules of the Congress.

PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Article V.—

The following shall be the Provinces with head-quarters mentioned against them and where no head-quarters are mentioned and in every case the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall have the power to fix or alter them from time to time.

(1)	Madras	(Tamil)	Headquarters	Madras
(2)	Andhra	(Telugu)	"	
(3)	Karnatic	(Cannada)		Gadag
(4)	Kerala	(Malayalam)		Calicut
(5)	City of Bombay	(Marathi and Gujarati)		Bombay
(6)	Maharashtra	(Marathi)		Poona
(7)	Gujarat	(Gujarati)		Ahmedabad
(8)	Sindh	(Sindhi)		
(9)	United Provinces	(Hindustani)		Allahabad
(10)	Punjab	(Punjabi)		Lahore

(11)	N. W. Frontier Province (Hindustani)	Peshawar
(12)	Delhi (Hindustani)	Delhi
(13)	Ajmer, Merwara and Rajputana (Hindustani)	Ajmer
(14)	Central Provinces (Hindustani)	Jabulpore
(15)	Central Provinces (Marathi)	Nagpur
(16)	Berar (Marathi)	Amraoti
(17)	Bihar (Hindustani)	Patna
(18)	Utkla (Orissa)	Oriya
(19)	Bengal and Surma valley (Bengali)	Calcutta
(20)	Assam (Assamese)	Gauhati
(21)	Burma (Burmese)	Rangoon

Provided that the All-India Congress Committee may from time to time assign particular Indian States to particular Provinces and a Provincial Congress Committee may in its turn allot particular Indian States assigned to it by the All India Congress Committee to particular Districts within its jurisdiction.

The existing Provincial Congress Committees shall forthwith proceed to reorganise themselves in terms of this Constitution and such reorganisation shall be final unless and until it is revised by the All India Congress Committee.

Article VI—

- (a) There shall be a Provincial Congress Committee in and for each of the Provinces named in the foregoing Article.
- (b) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall organise District and other Committees referred to in Article III and shall have the power to frame rules laying down conditions of membership and for the conduct of business not inconsistent with this constitution or any rules made by the All-India Congress Committee.
- (c) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall consist of representatives elected annually by the members of the District and other Committees in accordance with the rules made by the Provincial Congress Committees.

FRANCHISE

Article VII.—

Every person not disqualified under article IV and paying a subscription of 4 annas per year shall be entitled to become a member of any organisation controlled by the Provincial Congress Committees.

ELECTORATES AND DELEGATES.

Article VIII.—

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall be responsible for the election of delegates to the Congress.

No one shall be qualified for election who is not of the age of 21 years and who does not subscribe to the Congress creed.

The number of delegates shall be not more than one for every 50 thousand or its fraction of the inhabitants of the Province of its jurisdiction, including the Indian States therein, in accordance with the last Census: provided however, that the inclusion of Indian States in the electorate shall not be taken to include any interference by the Congress with the internal affairs of such States.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall frame rules for the election of delegates, due regard being had to the return of woman delegates and representation of minorities, special interests or classes needing special protection.

The rules shall provide for the organization of electorates and shall prescribe the procedure to be adopted for securing the proportional representation (by a single transferable vote) of every variety of political opinion.

The rules framed by each Provincial Congress Committee shall be sent to the General Secretaries of the Congress not later than the 30th April 1921, which rules shall be published for general information by the Secretaries as soon as possible after the receipt thereof.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall send to the Reception Committee of the ensuing Session of the Congress an alphabetical list of the delegates so elected containing the full name, occupation, age, sex, religion and address of each of them to reach the Committee not later than the 15th day of December every year, and in the case of an Extraordinary Session not later than ten days before the date advertised for the holding of such Session.

Article IX.—

- (a) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall pay annually such subscription to the All-India Congress Committee as may be fixed by the latter from time to time.
- (b) No member of a Congress Committee shall vote at the election of representatives or delegates or be elected as such unless and until he has paid the subscription due by him.

Article X.—

DELEGATES.

Each Committee referred to in Article VIII shall issue certificates to the delegates duly elected in accordance with the form hereto attached marked Appendix A and signed by a Secretary of the Committee.

Article XI.—

Every delegates on presenting such a certificate and paying a fee of Rs. 10 at the Congress office shall receive ticket entitling him to admission to the Congress.

Article XII.—

Delegates shall alone have the power of voting at the Congress sittings or otherwise taking part in its deliberations.

Article XIII.—

RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

The Reception Committee shall be formed by the Provincial Congress Committee at least six months before the meeting of the annual session and may include persons who are not members of the Provincial Congress Committee. The members of the Reception Committee shall pay not less than Rs. 25 each.

Article XIV.—

The Reception Committee shall elect its Chairman and other office-bearers from amongst its own members.

Article XV.—

It shall be duty of the Reception Committee to collect funds for the expenses of the Congress Session, to elect the president of the Congress in the manner set forth in the following article and to make all necessary arrangements for the reception and accommodation of delegates and guests and, as far as practicable, of visitors and for the printing and publication of the report of the proceedings and to submit statements of receipts and expenditure to the Provincial Congress Committee within 4 months of the Session of the Congress.

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT.

Article XVI.—

The several Provincial Congress Committees shall, as far as possible by the end of June, suggest to the Reception Committee the names of persons who are in their opinion eligible for the Presidentship of the Congress and the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible, in the first week of July submit to all the Provincial Committees the names as suggested for their final recommendations provided that such final recommendation will be of any one but not more of such names and the Reception Committee shall as far as possible, meet in the month of August to consider such recommendations. If the person recommended by a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees is adopted by a majority of the members of the Reception Committee present at a special meeting called for the purpose, that person shall be the President of the next Congress. If, however, the Reception Committee is unable to accept the President recommended by the Provincial Congress Committees or in case of emergency by resignation, death or otherwise of the President elected in this manner, the matter shall forthwith be referred by it to the All-India Congress Committee whose decision shall be arrived at, as far as possible, before the end of September. In either case the election shall be final, provided that in no case shall the person so elected as President belong to the province in which the Congress is to be held.

The President of a special or extraordinary session shall be elected by the All-India Congress Committee subject to the same proviso.

CONGRESS FUNDS.

Article XVII.—

- (a) The Reception Committee shall, through the Provincial Congress Committee of the Province, remit to the All-India Congress Committee, not later than two weeks after the termination of the Congress, Session, ordinary or extraordinary, half the delegation fee

- (b) If the Reception Committee has a balance after defraying all the expenses of the session it shall hand over the same to the Provincial Congress Committee in the Province in which the session was held towards the Provincial Congress fund of that Province.

AUDIT.

Article XVIII.—

The receipts and expenditure of the Reception Committee shall be audited by an auditor or auditors appointed by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned and the statement of accounts together with the auditor's report shall be sent by the Provincial Congress Committee not later than six months from the termination of the Congress to the All India Congress Committee.

ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Article XIX.—

The All-India Congress Committee shall consist of 350 members exclusive of ex-officio members.

The ex-officio members shall be past Presidents of the Congress and General Secretaries and Treasurers of the Congress.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall elect the allotted number of members of the All-India Congress Committee from among the members of the Congress Committees within its Jurisdiction.

The allotment shall be on the basis of population according to the linguistic redistribution of Provinces or in such other manner or may appear more equitable to the All-India Congress Committee and shall be published by the All India Congress Committees before the 31st day, January 1921.

The method of election shall be the same as already prescribed for the election of delegates.

Election to the All-India Congress Committee shall ordinarily take place in the month of November.

The first All-India Congress Committee under this Constitution shall be elected on or before the 30th of June 1921. Till then, the members of the All India Congress Committee recently elected shall continue in office.

The All-India Congress Committee shall meet as often as may be necessary for the discharge of its obligation and every time upon requisition by 15 members thereof who shall state in their requisition the definite purpose for which they desire a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee.

The All-India Congress Committee shall hold office till the election of the new All-India Congress Committee.

Article XX.—

The Secretaries of the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall issue certificates of membership of the All-India Committee to the persons so elected.

Article XXI.—

The All-India Congress Committee shall be the Committee of the Congress to carry out the programme of work laid down by the

Congress from year to year and deal with all new matters that may arise during the year and may not be provided for by the Congress itself. For this purpose the All-India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame its own rules with this Constitution.

Article XXII.—

The President of the Congress shall be the Chairman of the All-India Congress Committee for the year following.

GENERAL SECRETARIES

Article XXIII.—

The Indian National Congress shall have three General Secretaries, who shall be annually elected by the Congress. They shall 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, and copies of such account and report shall then be presented to the Congress and sent to the Congress Committees.

WORKING COMMITTEE.

Article XXIV.—

The All-India Congress Committee shall at its first meeting appoint a Working Committee consisting of the President, the General Secretaries, the Treasurers and 9 other members, which shall perform such functions as may be delegated to it from time to time by the All-India Congress Committee.

SUBJECTS COMMITTEE.

Article XXV.

The members of the All-India Congress Committee shall constitute the Subjects Committee for the ordinary or extraordinary session following.

Article XXVI

The Subject Committee shall meet at least two days before the meeting of the Congress in open session. At this meeting, the President-elect shall preside and the outgoing Secretaries shall submit the draft programme of the work for the ensuing sessions of the Congress, including resolutions recommended by the different Provincial Congress Committees for adoption.

Article XXVII.—

The Subjects Committee shall proceed to discuss the said programme and shall frame resolutions to be submitted to the open session.

Article XXVIII.

The Subjects Committee shall also meet from time to time as the occasion may require during the pendency of the Congress Session.

CONTENTIOUS SUBJECTS AND INTERESTS OF MINORITIES.

Article XXIX.

No subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subjects Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the President thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mahomedan Delegates, as a body, object by a majority of $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of their number, and if, after the discussion of any subject which has been admitted for discussion, it shall appear that the Hindu or Mahomedan Delegates, as a body, are, by a majority of $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of their number, opposed to the resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon such resolution shall be dropped.

Article XXX.

The All-India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame rule in respect of all matters not covered by the Constitution and not inconsistent with its Articles.

Article XXXI.

The Articles and the Creed of the Constitution now in force are hereby repealed without prejudice to all acts done thereunder.

RESOLUTION No. 19.

In view of the fact that misunderstanding exist among the Sikhs as to the position of their community in the future polity of India, this Congress assures the Sikhs that their interests will receive the same protection in any scheme of Swaraj for India as is provided for Mahomedan and other minorities in Provinces other than the Punjab.

RESOLUTION No. 20.

EXPORT OF FOOD-STUFFS.

This Congress condemns the Government for its callous disregard of the immediate needs of the Indian people in reference to its policy as regards the exportation of food-stuffs in spite of famine conditions prevailing and in order to mitigate the disastrous consequences thereof, this Congress advises the traders not to export food-stuffs (particularly wheat and rice) and further advises producers and the public not to sell such food-stuffs to exporting traders and agencies or help in any way the export of these stuffs.

RESOLUTION No. 21.

BRITISH INDIANS IN AFRICA AND FIGI.

This Congress extends its hearty support to the Indians in East Africa and South Africa in their heroic and noble struggle against the treatment meted out to them, a treatment that threatens their social, economic and political ruin, by the Governments of East Africa and South Africa.

This Congress approves of the policy of peaceful non-co-operation initiated by the Indians of East Africa with a view to securing complete equality of treatment alike in law and in practice.

This congress is painfully aware of the fact that in the present enslaved condition of the people of this country it can not give protection to their countrymen in Fiji, who have been so inhumanly treated by their Government and planters as to result in the enforced return of the poor men and women who had made Fiji their home.

This Congress considers that the helplessness of the nation in the matter of the treatment of Indians in the British Dominions overseas is a clear demonstration of the necessity of non-cooperation for the establishment of Swarajya.

This Congress places on record its grateful appreciation of the valuable and selfless services rendered and bring rendered by Mr. C. F. Andrews to the cause of Indentured Indians in Fiji and elsewhere and the Indian settlers in East and South Africa.

RESOLUTION NO. 22.

GENERAL SECRETARIES FOR 1921.

This Congress appoints Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. Ansari and Mr. C. Raja gopalachariar General Secretaries of the Congress for the year 1921 and resolved that the head-quarters of the All-India Congress Committee shall be located at Allahabad.

RESOLUTION NO. 23

This Congress places record its grateful thanks for the valuable services rendered by its General Secretary Mr. V. J. Patal in India and England as also by Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra and Dr. Ansari, General Secretaries of the Congress for the year 1920.

RESOLUTION No. 22.

The next Congress shall meet at Ahmedabad.

APPENDIX A.

(VIDE Art. X OF THE CONSTITUTION).

I hereby certify that

Full name.....
 Occupation.....
 Age.....
 Sex.....
 Religion.....
 Address.....
 is a member of the.....Congress Committee and has been duly elected
 by.....Congress Committee as delegate to the Indian National
 Congress to be held at.....in the month of.....

Secretary......*Congress Committee.*

APPENDIX B.

THE ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Number of members allotted by the All-India Congress Committee in accordance with Art. XIX).

Province.	No. of members.
Madras	25
Andhra	20
Karnatak	16
Kerala	8
City of Bombay	7
Maharashtra	16
Gujarat	12
Sindh	9
United Provinces	52
Punjab	33
N. W. Frontier Province	2
Delhi	5
Ajmer	7
C. P. (Hindustani)	13
C. P. (Marathi)	7
Berar	6
Bihar	36
Utkal	7
Bengal and Surma Valley	52
Assam	5
Burma	12

350

MOTILAL NEHRU,
 General Secretary.

Appendix G.

*Statement of Receipts and Disbursements upto 21-1-1922 as audited
By Messrs. C. H. Soparivala and Co, Public Accountants and Auditors Bombay.
Appointed by the All India Congress Committee.*

RECEIPTS.	Rs. AS. P.	DISBURSEMENTS.	Rs. AS. P.
1 Donation	3655-12-0	By Pandal	33255- 2-3
2 Fees of the Members of the Reception Committee	105464- 3-0	„ Accomodation	36205-14-9
3 Delegates Fees	146303- 0-6	„ Messing	70681-11-9
4 Visitors Fees	16803- 0-0	„ Furniture specially made for the Congress	71621- 1-0
5 Stall Rent unrefunded	35- 0-0	„ Office Furniture	1658-1-6
6 Sale of old stores including furniture	13208-10-2	„ Miscellaneous Stores	1948- 9-2
7 Suspense	1252-15-4	„ Water works	5814- 7-4
8 Sundry Creditors	76-13-9	„ Lighting	11256-12-9
9 Accomodation Fees	4166- 0-0	„ Sanitation	617- 9-0
10 Messing	20899- 7 6	„ Volunteers	2353- 2-0
11 Conveyance	437- 5-0	„ Boards and Badges	972- 1-0
		„ Municipal Rent	684- 4-5
		„ Establishment	8022-13-0
		„ Printing	8747- 9-0
		„ Advertisements	723- 8-0
		„ Stationary	1857- 6-0
		„ Telegrams	936-12-0
		„ Postage	214- 7-5
		„ Conveyance	5704- 1-0
		„ Travelling	3290- 1-6
		„ Coolie hire	3064- 6-0
		„ Miscellaneous	1030-10-0
		„ Removal charges of Furniture	1138- 3-6
		„ All India Congress Committee ...	25000- 0-0
		Add expenses of the working committee held in Nagpur being conveyance charges...	787- 8-0
		Cash & Deposits	12449- 0-0
		Cash with secretaries	501-13-6
		Cash in hand with the Treasurer including Amount of Rs. 219-9-4 being surplus.	1714- 9-4
			14665-6-10
		Total Rs.	312302- 3-3