

# Indian Opinion

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## NOTES AND NEWS

MR. Gandhi writes as follows in *Young India* dated Jan. 5, on Civil Disobedience:—"We have not in our faith solely to civil disobedience. It is like the use of a knife to be used most sparingly if at all. A man who cuts away without ceasing cuts at the very root and finds himself without the substance he was trying to reach by cutting off the superficial hard crust. The use of civil disobedience will be healthy, necessary, and effective only if we otherwise conform to the laws of all growth. We must therefore give its full and therefore greater value to the adjective 'civil' than to 'disobedience.' Disobedience without civility, discipline, discrimination, non-violence is certain destruction. Disobedience combined with love is the living water of life. Civil disobedience is a beautiful variant to signify growth, it is not disturbance which spells death.

From the following message from Reuter (Bombay) dated Feb. 6, it would appear that Mr. Gandhi has sent an ultimatum to the Viceroy:—"Gandhi has written to the Viceroy, (says Reuter), offering to postpone the civil disobedience campaign until the whole situation has been reviewed, if within seven days the Viceroy revises his policy, liberates all political prisoners, and restores the freedom of the Association and the Press. Gandhi's offer refers particularly to the impending commencement of civil disobedience in the Bardoli district of Surat, which area was fixed upon by the recent conference held at Bombay as the starting point of the campaign.

London, Feb. 6.—A communique issued by the India Office states that the commissioner of Gorakhpur, in the North-East United Provinces, telegraphs that two sub-inspectors and 15 constables were killed in an attack by 2,000 volunteers and villagers on the police offices in the village of Chauri-Chaura, on Saturday. The buildings, with the bodies of the defenders, were burned. Two volunteers were believed to have been killed and several wounded. The railway line was cut and traffic has been temporarily suspended. The situation is very serious. The Commissioner of Bareilly, in the United Provinces, telegraphs that a procession of volunteers, numbering about 5,000, who paraded on Saturday in defiance of the prohibition order, were dispersed. Their flags were seized and bands silenced. Subsequently the crowd, reinforced by outsiders, attacked the Town Hall and were charged by the police, who were met with a volley. The police then fired, repelling the attack, but as the crowd remained hostile the military were called in. Everything is now quiet in the district. The Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police were wounded by brickbats, and two people were killed and five wounded.—Reuter.

A Reuter's message from Delhi states:—"The Legislative Assembly by 51 votes to 27 carried the motion of an Indian member urging that the entire coming Budget should be submitted to the vote of the Assembly, and that the distinction between votable and non-votable items should be abolished. European com-

mercial representatives vote with the majority. Many Indian members spoke in strong terms in regard to what they called the huge military expenditure. Several demanded the right to scrutinise the details, but disclaimed any intention of embarrassing the Government regarding necessary expenditure. Sir William Hailey, Finance Member, said the question was one of genuine difficulty in interpreting the Reforms Act, and the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown would be necessary.

### OWNERSHIP OF LAND

NEVER before has the strong feeling of the European element in Durban against Indians been manifest so strongly as it was last Saturday in the Town Hall at the Corporation land sale. Of course it is well-known that there are no restrictions against Indians purchasing and owning landed property in Natal and as usual there were also Indians included among the bidders at last Saturday's sale. According to the *Natal Advertiser* report, in the beginning Market Master Mr. Jones asked for bids for a plot of land fronting Stratford Road, which was offered for Church, educational or residential purposes. The upset price of this land had been fixed at £350 but competition chiefly from the Indian element was such that £680 was the amount noted before it was knocked down to Archdeacon Hodson. The report further states that, "never did a sale promise such magnificent financial results to the Corporation. A house and land in Brand Road fetched £770 against the upset price of £760; a piece of land facing Clark Road realised £400 while the upset price was £210." It is to be noted here that all the above mentioned plots of ground were purchased solely by Europeans and the participation of Indians was profitable to the Corporation in so far as it enabled them to obtain good values for the plots sold. So far everything went on smoothly, and the Congella lots were then put up for sale. According to reports it appears that the Dick King Lodge of the Sons of England were represented at the sale with the purpose of purchasing two plots of ground on Umbilo Road on which to erect a lodge. The sale of this block of plots was commenced with a lot for which Indians bid £400, but which eventually realised £405 the purchaser being a European. The adjacent two lots were sold to Indians at a price between £250 and £300. These were the only two lots purchased by Indians when there was commotion among the European element and a question was raised whether Indians were entitled to bid against Europeans. The auctioneer was asked to refuse their bid. Eventually there was an uproar and for a while there was almost a display of non-gaunism.

It was then decided by Europeans to leave the sale allowing the Indians to have their own way but on a second thought, evidently, it was realised that Indians would get the ground knocked down to them at the upset prices. Ultimately, however, the sale was postponed by the auctioneer for a week.

The Indian purchaser of the two lots on Umbilo Road was no one else but Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee the worthy son of Mr. Pafsee Rustomjee, a resident of this country for over thirty years, and well-known for his munificent charities not only in his own Motherland but even in this country. We understand from Mr. Sorabjee that after his purchase he went to sign at the table but was prevented from doing so on the ground that European buyers had also not signed.

From later reports it appears that the sale has now been postponed indefinitely. The matter appears to have been discussed by the Town Council in committee and this was the decision arrived at. The intention of the Council is, so it would appear, to frame by-laws that would empower them to define what areas of borough lands may be set apart exclusively for European ownership and occupation. That the auctioneer should have been allowed to postpone the sale, and Mr. Sorabjee prevented from signing and the council postponing the sale indefinitely, all these things go to show how autocratic the ways of the Durban Corporation are. Our City fathers are supposed to lead and guide our city but apparently they have not been able to withstand the wave of prejudicial feeling and they have also been infected by the same disease.

It is understood that the protestors at last Saturday's sale have sent a wire to the Prime Minister (General Smuts) requesting him to prevent Asiatics from being permitted to bid at Corporation land sales. We wonder what view the Union Government are going to take in this connection. As a true Statesman will the Prime Minister remember at this moment the promise he gave the Indian community in 1914 that their existing rights will be safeguarded? or will he forget that, and deliberately allow the principle of segregation to be adopted and such restriction as are asked for imposed upon Indians? It is treatment such as this of British Indians in the Colonies that goes not towards quietening the non-co-operation movement in India but aggravating it. It is treatment such as this that goes not towards strengthening the Empire but breaking it. And will one who has earned the reputation and the fame of making the Empire be now the breaker of it? We will wait and see.

## INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

30TH SESSION AT AHMEDABAD

The 30th session of the Indian National Congress was held at Ahmedabad in a completely ancient oriental style. The President-elect Mr. C. R. Das being imprisoned Hakim Ajmal Khan was elected as president to conduct the work of the Congress.

### Mrs. C. R. Das' MESSAGE

In the course of Mr. C. R. Das' address read out by Mrs. Naidu in the Congress it was stated that the only method of warfare open to them was non-co-operation to which doctrine they were devoted. He quoted Mr. Stokes' definition of non-co-operation to show that it was a refusal to submit to a state of affairs which was manifestly inconsistent with dictates of righteousness

and in consequence it was a refusal to work on the grounds of necessity or expediency with those who insisted upon committing or perpetuating wrong. He agreed that the whole doctrine was in the form a doctrine of negation, but maintained that in substance it was one of affirmation. It was a doctrine of hope and confidence and of unbounded faith in its own efficacy. One had only to look at the faces of the sufferers as they were led to prison to realise that victory was already theirs. It was not for nothing that Ali Brothers had lived and suffered. It was not for nothing that Lajpai Rai, the bravest of hearts that ever faced the gun, flung the order of bureaucracy in its face and marched boldly into prison that awaited him. It was not for nothing that Pandit Motilal Nehru, prince amongst men, spurned the wealth that was his and defied the order that would have enslaved him, refusing no pain that malice of power could invent. The students, he said, were at once the hope and glory of the motherland. Theirs was the inspiration behind the movement, theirs was the sacrifice and theirs was the victory.

### Mrs. Das' MESSAGE

Following is the text of Mrs. C. R. Das' message read in the Congress by Mrs. Naidu:—"Let every man and woman in India ask himself or herself to-day this one supreme question and this question only. Do I stand for India in her present struggle? Let us search our heart and directly answer it. "Now or never" we must decide and the responsibility for the decision is ours. Country demands stern and resolute action. If we feel in our hearts of hearts that we stand for India in this struggle then we must act, act and act. We ask for no more and we expect no less. Let therefore every delegate of the Congress volunteer, let every member of the Congress be enrolled as a Congress volunteer, let the whole country be mobilized for Congress work, let all our normal activities be suspended till the struggle in its present form is finished. Men and women of India, act, act and directly act, when time is yet.

### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The following is the full text of the speech delivered in Hindi by Hakim Ajmal Khan as the Acting President of the Congress:—

Brother and sister delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:—For the first time in the history of the Indian National Congress we are assembled under circumstances when, as the result of the latest repressive measures of the British Government in India, our duly elected President is not amongst us. It is a matter of deepest regret to us all that Mr. C. R. Das is not with us to guide our deliberations to-day. It is superfluous for me to enumerate the numerous national services of that great patriot from Bengal or to refer to the prominent place he occupies in the political and social life of our country, when the nation has itself unequivocally said in what esteem it holds him by conferring on him the greatest honour in its giving.

### DID MORE SERVICE BY ARREST

But while we regret his absence on that account, it should be a matter of deepest satisfaction to us all, both because the man whom the nation had chosen as its chief representative has by his undaunted courage, splendid sacrifice and spirit of cheerful suffering proved himself worthy of the great honour conferred on him and because his arrest brings us a stage nearer to our success. Mr. C. R. Das has done greater service to his country by his arrest than he would probably have done by presiding over our deliberations to-day. His arrest has infused greater spirit and determination into the hearts of the national workers and galvanised the entire country to greater activities and sacrifices.

I, however, realise my own inability to fill the place of Mr. C. R. Das and while thanking for the great trust you have reposed in me by electing me to act for him I hope and trust that I will prove myself

worthy of the great honour you have conferred on me, not only in this paudal but when time comes for me to make for my country and my God sacrifice that it has been the good fortune of many of our noble brethren to make.

#### NON-CO OPERATION AN ASIAN MOVEMENT

It will take a long time to enter upon a detailed survey of the progress of the Non-co-operation movement since the last session of the Indian National Congress. I will only briefly touch on the advance the country has made since the inauguration of the non-violent non-co-operation. The spirit of non-co-operation pervades throughout the country and there is no true Indian heart, even in the remotest corner of this great country, which is not filled with the spirit of cheerful suffering and sacrifice to attain Swaraj and see the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs redressed. It has received the highest tribute that a nation could pay to another from our sister nation across the Indian Ocean. Our Egyptian brethren adopted it to fight their own political battle. It should be a matter of pride to all of us that India is showing the way to other sister countries. Non-violent non-co-operation has ceased to be an Indian movement, it is fast becoming an Asiatic movement and the day is not distant when the conscience of the world will adopt non-violent non-co-operation as a world weapon against universal injustice and untruth.

#### REPRESSION PROVES OUR SPIRIT

Who can deny the success of the spirit of the non-co-operation movement in India after witnessing the cheerful spirit with which our workers have made and are making willing sacrifices for the cause of their country and going to gaol in ever increasing numbers with a smile on their lips? What is still more, not even this intense repression has provoked violence. It has only redoubled our national determination. Every success fit of repression on the part of the Government, whether it was in connection with the confiscation of the Fatwa of Jamiat-ul-Ulama, the famous Karachi trial, or the wholesale application of the Seditious Meetings Act, Criminal Law Amendment Act or Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code by means of which the right of association and peaceful activities of volunteer organisation, together with other elementary rights of citizenship were suppressed, have had but one effect, viz., determination on the part of the people to continue their national activities and to persist in their demand. A ceaseless pilgrimage to gaol is kept up, which is the indication of the realisation of the primary rights of citizenship in all northern provinces in India as also in Maharashtra and Andhra Desa. The nation to-day realises the grimness and gravity of the great struggle, it is engaged, and is behaving with cool determination worthy of heroes fighting for a noble cause.

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

#### THE PRINCE'S VISIT

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

#### SUCCESS OF THE PROGRAMME

Our critics say that the non-co-operation movement has failed and in support of their statement point out to Government Educational Institutions, ranks of title holders, members of the new Legislative Councils and bars of various High Courts. My answer to that, if answer be still needed after what I have just said, is that so far as Government Educational Institutions are concerned I would invite the attention of our critics to what the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University had to say on the effect of the Non-co-operation movement. That result was achieved in spite of the fact that we have not made provisions for a sufficient number of National Colleges and National schools for the students who left their institutions. As to the title holders and members of the new Legislative Council classes which would naturally not be the first to respond to such appeal—what is their position, what is their prestige to-day? It has fallen lower than the Czarists. Titles the Government may still manufacture and place them in the market but it is public opinion that gives them value and currency. As to lawyers, it is true that with some noble exceptions they have not as a class responded to our appeal as they ought to have done. But as we develop our Panchayat system, a work to which we have not been able to devote much of our time and energy, legal practitioners would soon fall in with public opinion. The question of Government servants is slightly different and comparing the number of resignations, offered last month with the average for previous months, we have no reason to feel dissatisfied with the progress that non-co-operation is making in that direction, specially as the increased number of resignations is unquestionably the result of policy of intensive repression adopted by the Government. True there are some of our moderate brothers with genuine love for our common country in their hearts who, for want of true appreciation of the real nature of the struggle we are engaged in and the issues that it involves, have not yet taken their proper place in the national ranks. But I feel sure that if the fire of patriotism is still alive in their hearts, and I feel confident that it will not die, they will soon realise their mistake and will be found taking the places of their brothers whose names figure on the national roll of honour.

#### MALABAR AGONY

I cannot close without referring to the tragic events that are daily taking place in Malabar and the prolonged agonies of our unfortunate Moplah brethren and here I must make it quite clear that this question has two aspects, one with reference to the Government in the country and the other with reference to the treatment by Moplahs of their Hindu brethren. As to the first, judging from the evidence before the public one cannot help coming to the conclusion that the responsibility of provoking these disturbances rests entirely on the shoulders of the Government, while as to the method adopted in suppressing these there will be no thinking person in the country who will not condemn them. All of us who had experience of Amritsar know the horrible nature of this pacification. It was only accidentally that the terrible raid tragedy was revealed to the public the other day. But how many other tragedies there are that have not come to light. As to our Hindu brethren who have been forcibly converted or have otherwise suffered at the hands of some of the Moplahs, I fully sympathise with them and there will be no Muslim worthy of the name who will not condemn this entirely un-Islamic act in the strongest possible terms. I feel sure that these very incidents are the acts of a few misguided individuals and that the rest of the Moplahs are as ready and strong in condemning them as any of us here. Still I should not like the fair name of Islam be tarnished in the slightest degree and I sincerely regret these deplorable incidents.

Ladies and Gentlemen, our country is experiencing

terrible conclusions, but it requires no prophet to foretell that these are the birth pangs of the young India that will revive the glorious traditions of our ancient country and take its proud place by the nations of the world.

### MRS. MOTILAL NEHRU'S MESSAGE

The following is a translation from Hindi of the message sent by Mrs. Motilal Nehru after the arrest of her husband:—

Dear Brothers and Sisters,—I rejoice in the privilege that has been vouchsafed to me of sending my dear husband and my only son to jail. I will not pretend that my heart is entirely free from the wrench of separation from my dear ones. My heart is full of it because love is a trying thing after all. The knowledge that there is not a life which can stand the hardships of jail makes my heart weep. And yet my Atma whispers to me that I should rejoice with my husband and my son over their arrests. I will not disgrace them by sorrowing over the very happenings they had set their hearts upon.

#### JOY OF SUFFERING

I have seen it in my life, that those who sleep on feather beds hardly ever know true happiness. Suffering and penance have a joy and happiness all their own. My heart trembles to think of the life of hardships that Jawaharlal has been leading, but my soul rejoices in the fact that that great capacity to lead a life of suffering is a fortune which rarely falls to the lot of the greatest of men.

#### THE ANCIENT WAY

That is the ancient way. Ramchandraji, Nalraja and others found happiness by treading that path of suffering, and made the world also happy. Was Sita ever out of Rama's heart? And yet apparently for her, but for the good of mankind, God chose to enforce a life of penance on Rama. These reflections bring me joy and peace. Let them bring the same to you.

#### MY HOPE

And how may I sorrow over the imprisonment of my only son? Mahatma Gandhi told me once that others in the world would have also their only sons. And a time is coming when whole families will have to march to jail. I have just heard of the arrest of the whole family of Deshbandhu C. R. Das. I hope the same good fortune may come to me and my daughter-in-law.

#### MY HUSBAND'S MESSAGE

What message can I have to give you but the one my husband has given "Go and do likewise"? Enlist yourselves in your hundreds of thousands as members of the Provincial Volunteer Corps and go to jail. Let those that remain behind turn their spinning-wheels and work for peace. If we could answer the present repressive policy with firm and determined Satyagraha for just a short while, I have no doubt that Swaraj would be at our doors before the month is out.

#### A RELIGIOUS STRUGGLE

I may say again that my heart prays that my son's and husband's life in jail may be a bed of roses. I have faith that this is a religious struggle, and suffering religiously endured must bear its fruit. God has shown us an easy way of winning our goal—Swaraj. If we but follow it cheerfully, we may never have to be confronted with the far more difficult task of laying down our lives therefor. I trust you will not fail to seize this golden opportunity. For as Tulsidas has well said, 'what boots repentance, once a great opportunity has been frittered away?'

SKRUP RANI NEHRU.

*The Independent.*

### TO LORD READING

#### RETURN LOVE FOR LOVE

Your Excellency,—The hour is at hand, and so this third appeal of mine is the final one and I pray to God that, instead of sending the purest and noblest son of India to the dungeons, you should be given the wisdom of inviting him and his comrades to a Round Table Conference of peace and goodwill. I have said, "to the dungeons": perhaps it is too strong an expression but, at present, my thoughts carry me to the early days of Christianity when my co-religionists, with a smiling face, with serene calmness and with an intense inner happiness in the belief that the word of Christ would spread by their sufferings, imprisonment and tortures to death, welcomed the lions in the dungeons rather than give up their faith in Christ. And it is only in these early days of Christianity that we find a parallel the Indian Non-co-operation movement. Yes; for at that time the pagan Rulers of Rome whilst admitting that the Christians were good, true and loyal citizens of the Empire failed to understand why these Christians declined to give up their faith and worship the false gods, so "death unto them." Likewise, you, whilst admitting that the non-co-operators may be actuated by good and sincere motives, get puzzled at the fact that they court imprisonment and death in the earnest belief that their country will be liberated, and hence "imprison them." It was said of the early Christians "see how they love one another" "see how they love their enemies," and cannot the same be said of the true non-co-operators? Was not Mr Gandhi returned love for hatred? and is the reply to be increased hatred and vengeance? *Can not it be love for love?* Yes it certainly can be, if there is a desire, and the hour is at hand, for what better opportunity was there than, in response to the King's desire for peace, to act like your Chief, Mr. Lloyd George, and in honour of the visit of the Charming Prince, to offer India a Christmas gift of a Round Table Conference. History's verdict shall then be that the Viceroy, though he began an era of repression, did not make a fetish of prestige, but, like a noble statesman with a motherly heart saved the humble and peaceful citizens from untold calamities and woes by winning over, by sweet methods, those, who to his mind, were spreading chaos and lawlessness in the country.

Another thought strikes me. Can any English gentleman with his hand on his conscience say that the leaders of the non-co-operation party deserve worse treatment than the rebel leaders of Ireland? And yet, whilst the rebel leaders of Ireland were invited to the parlour for a Peace Conference, the non-co-operators are being clapped into the prison. Truly the hour is at hand, for if this last though golden opportunity of reviving the glimmering faith in British justice and British promises is lost then as sure as night falls day so certain shall India have a De Valera. I certainly admire the non-co-operation movement; I have a deep respect for the prominent leaders; I do believe that there must be at least a hundred thousand sincere though humble followers of Mr. Gandhi; but at the same time, just as there are anti-non-co-operators who decline to follow the Mahatma so there are active resisters who, in the garb of non-co-operators as well as that of co-operators, seeing the brilliant success of the Sinn Feiners and the utter failure of the gospel of Mr. Gandhi will rage their warfare as violently and as relentlessly as the Moplahs. Oh! then what a time are the humble and peaceful citizens going to have? Shall we join the true non-co-operators in the prison or shall we join the active resisters? Do tell us what to do? "Remain aloof" is not possible: we have to pursue our daily onward task. Perhaps, Mr. Gandhi's gospel has reached the active resisters, then it means a bloodless revolution. Perhaps with extraordinary stern repressive measures you will quell the outbreak

in a very short time; but the peace that will follow will likewise last for a very long time. What Press Acts, what Arms Acts, what machine guns, what bombs from aeroplanes will keep the roaring ocean of freedom from surging on and on till the gates that bar it are shattered to pieces by the same methods as they are kept closed. Will it be only then that English statesmen will think of having a Round Table Conference as in South Africa and in Ireland. Must it be necessary for humble and peaceful homes to go through the same ordeals as these two Colonies have experienced? Or will a kind-hearted Viceroy seeing the hour is at hand help those who like the disciples of Christ in the tempest at sea cry out "Lord help us lest we perish."

Yours, etc.,  
JOE.

Bandra, Dec. 13.

—*Bombay Chronicle.*

### THE CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

The following is the full text of the resolutions as finally passed by the All-India Congress Committee:—

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

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

"With God as witness, I solemnly declare that (1) I wish to be a member of the National Volunteer Corps, (2) So long as I shall remain a member of the corps, I shall remain non-violent in word and deed, and shall earnestly endeavour to be non-violent in intent, since, I believe, that as India is circumstanced non-violence alone can help the Khilafat and the Punjab and result in the attainment of Swaraj and the consolidation of unity among all the races and communities of India, whether Hindu, Mussalman, Sikh, Parsi, Christian or Jew. (3) I believe in and shall endeavour always to promote such unity. (4) I believe in Swadeshi as essential for India's economic, political and moral salvation and shall use handspun and handwoven khaddar to the exclusion of every other cloth. (5) As

a Hindu, I believe the justice and necessity of removing the veil of untouchability and shall on all possible occasions seek personal contact with and endeavour to render service to the submerged, classes. (6) I shall carry out the instructions of my superior officers and all the regulations, not inconsistent with the spirit of this pledge, prescribed by the volunteer boards or the working committee or any other agency established by the Congress. (7) I am prepared to suffer imprisonment, assault or even death, for the sake of my religion and my country without resentment. (8) In the event of my imprisonment, I shall not claim from the Congress any support for my family or dependants."

This Congress trusts that every person of the age of 18 and over will immediately join the volunteer organisations, notwithstanding the proclamation prohibiting public meetings, and inasmuch as even committee meetings have been attempted to be conducted as public meetings, this Congress advises the holding of committee meetings and of public meetings, the latter in closed places and by tickets and by previous announcements, at which, as far as possible, only a speaker previously announced shall deliver written speeches, care being taken in every case to avoid the risk of provocation and possible violence by the public in consequence.

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

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

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

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

This Congress hereby confers upon the said successor and all subsequent successors appointed in turn by their predecessors all his aforesaid powers, provided that nothing in this resolution shall be deemed to authorise Mahatma Gandhi or any of the aforesaid successors to conclude any terms of peace with the Government of India or the British Government without the previous sanction of the All-India Congress to be finally ratified by the Congress, specially convened for the purpose, (and provided also that the present creed of the Congress shall in no case be altered by Mahatma Gandhi or his successors, except with the

leave of the Congress first obtained.)

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

—Indian Social Reformers.

**MRS. C. R. DAS' MOVING APPEAL**

Mrs. C. R. Das issued the following appeal after the arrest of her brave husband requesting people to attend the Indian National Congress in large numbers. She says:—The National Congress sits on 26th of December. Many of its trusted leaders and workers, young and old, will be absent from its deliberations for reasons which are known to you. These high-souled and selfless patriots though absent will be present there in spirit. Would you not be there to be cheered and inspired by their presence? The President's chair will remain vacant. His message to the Congress he has left with me and on the eve of his arrest he charged me, his wife, with a sacred duty of delivering it to you. Poor and unworthy as I am, I shall try to discharge that sacred duty. That is my husband's wish. That is Mahatma Gandhi's wish. Will you not come and stand by me in this my solemn hour of trial?

Remember the Congress has been the only National Institution and its pandal, a chosen field of our action. Here it is that our fathers decided to give battle to the powers, that be. Here it is that the Swaraj Flag was hoisted and kept flying by those who have gone before us. Shall we abandon the flag at this critical moment and allow it to be captured by our opponents to be trampled on to our eternal shame?

I know you will not suffer it. Forget your differences. Come in in your thousands. Rally round the Congress and keep the Swaraj Flag flying. Sacrifice yourselves, if need be, to its sacred ramparts. The Last Call sounds "Hark, "Arise, Awake."

Men and women of Bengal, I am proud of what you have achieved during the course of a week. Glory in your sacrifices unstintingly and ungrudgingly made for the cause. Who can read the long toll of arrests and imprisonments but with a thrill of joy and hope? Who can witness the cheerful march of pilgrims to Swaraj Ashram but with tears of admiration in his eyes? The fight has just begun. Fight will be long and arduous. If Soul-Force counts for anything in the world, Victory is ours. See you not the powers that be already quake and tremble.

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