

Indian Opinion

No. 51—VOL. XX. FRIDAY, DECEMBER 22ND, 1922.

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper
PRICE FOURPENCE

NOTES AND NEWS

THE Durban *Guardian* in its issue of the 15th has the following interesting note:—It seems that the Hon. G. S. Montagu, formerly Secretary of State for India in the late Coalition Government, hoped that an Indian Smuts would arise. Well, we know a lot of anti-Asiatics in South Africa, but hardly one of them would wish his Indian enemies such a rotten time as that. India has a lot of things to put up with already, and with famines, Amritsar, Moplah suffocations, etc., seems to have gone quite far enough. The addition of machine guns at periodic intervals, bomb-dropping aeroplanes and heavy artillery would make things just a little over the limit. Smuts is a great man—when he is away from home. As an Imperial Statesman, governing Britain's affairs, he appears top hole to the people of South Africa, and it's only when he comes back again that all the trouble starts. A brilliant idea occurs to us. If India wants a Smuts, South Africa has one it could well spare. Three or four thousand miles would lend enchantment to the view, and in India, Smuts might regain a reputation in this country, a country that wants nothing more heartily than to be rid of him.

Though the Indian community has had very little satisfaction from General Smuts and it has indeed had very great dissatisfaction from him we will still say this much in justice to the General that if the Union enjoys any peace, and we venture to say that it enjoys it much more than many other countries at present do, it has to be thankful to the Smuts Government and no other.

Much indignation seems to have been felt recently by Europeans in Johannesburg over a Bioscope Company screening a film in the Town Hall exclusively for a non-European assembly. About 3000 Indians, Natives and Coloured people are said to have been present to see the film. This was described as a public scandal and a question was put by one, if "we are to go to the length of dragging infection from the slums to assail us in the very heart of our civil life?" On inquiries being made it transpired that the Johannesburg Town Council was taken unawares by the performance in question and an explanation was made that had the purpose for which the hall was ultimately put been known the premises would not have been let.

From the above affair some thoughts arise in our mind which we would like to state here briefly. Firstly is it not a disgrace to a civilised town like Johannesburg that slum conditions would be allowed to exist? Secondly was the feeling of indignation that was expressed due to sanitary reasons or was it due to colour-prejudice? If it were due to sanitary reasons, then the question of Indians, natives or coloureds would not have risen at all. The question would then be only that of cleanliness. But the actual cry was against colour, and the Town Council has given in to the feeling of some hot-heads and explained that had they known the position they would not have let the premises.

Town Hall is the property of the public and non-Europeans have just as much right to it as Europeans, And if the Council can prevent the use of the Town Hall to non-Europeans how they can have any legal right to restrict the use of it to Europeans exclusively is beyond us.

The statistical statement for the month of November, issued by the Corporation of Durban shows 27 Indian deaths, 55 European and 13 Natives giving death of 21.38, 12.46, 5.2 respectively as compared with 24.5, 10.5 and 7.4 the previous month. These were proportioned as follows:—Indians, 16 males, 11 females, (infants); Europeans, 29 males, 26 females; Natives, 13 males. Births during the month numbered: Asiatics, 28 males, 28 females, 36.9 per cent. birth rate; European, 65 males, 68 females, 27.6; Coloured, 8 males, 4 females, 27.2; Natives, 2 males, 6 females, 2.6. The Indian Market figures showed a total increase of £22 16s.

In a special article to the *Natal Mercury* dated December 19, on the scheme for developing the Durban Town lands and the question of extending the Borough boundaries the following is stated which will interest the Indian community:—

"A more ticklish problem will be the provision of accommodation for the Indians and Natives, who at present live on the outskirts. Those employed or trading in town would have to live well within the greater Borough, and a considerable area would be required for their occupation. The Corporation has recently had in view the tentative proposals for the voluntary segregation of Indians, but for the present the proposals have had to be shelved owing to the Central Housing Board's intimation that no further funds are available. There are interesting possibilities in the scheme for the voluntary segregation of Indians, and the Municipality will have to decide on its policy in this respect even before the Borough is enlarged, as it surely will be when Durban's population and industries grow too big to be confined in their present limits."

A Reuter's message from Bombay states:—

The Indian Merchants' Chamber has appointed a sub-committee to consider a resolution for the adoption of retaliatory measures "against the Colonies where Indians are ill-treated."

Figures of the trade of the Union with other countries show that in the first six months of the present year, the Union's purchases from British sources represented 58 per cent. of the total, as against 53 per cent. for the corresponding period of 1921. Germany's share of the Union's trade amounts to 5.7 per cent.; America's share, 11.5 per cent.; India's share, 4.5 per cent.; and Canada's share, only 2 per cent. On the other side of the account, no less than 74 per cent. of South Africa's exports go to the Mother Country, 7 per cent. to Germany, and 3.9 per cent. to America.

According to a message by the *Natal Advertiser* correspondent from Nairobi Mr. Alexander Holm, Director of Agriculture and President of the Agriculture Society in the course of his speech at the Nakuru Agriculture Show stated that the land alienated for European occupation is six million acres, of which nearly four millions are occupied by about 1,500 owners, or an average of 2,500 acres per owner.

THE IMMIGRATION SCANDAL

AMONG the hardships that Indians in this country have to suffer there is none worse than that of the Immigration. One should have thought that now that an absolute stop has been put to the entry of new immigrants, Indians already domiciled in this country would not be put to any further hardships. But even their position seems to be getting worse. Each time an Indian goes to India questions are put to him by the Immigration authorities which are practically impossible for any human-being to reply to. And if he fails but a little in this examination he gets into trouble, and his rights of residence in this country—no matter how long he may have been living here—are jeopardised. In addition to this he has to take his wife and children also to the Immigration Office and give their thumb-prints and even the little baby has also to pass through the ordeal. In recent years the strictness in the administration of the Immigration laws has so considerably increased that it can, without any exaggeration, be described as merciless. Several cases have taken place in which Indians possessing long standing domiciliary rights in this Colony have been found out to have originally entered illicitly, and without any consideration being paid to the fact that the person has spent practically his life time and has a long established home in this country, he is simply thrown over board, as it were, bag and baggage. A case of the same description that has come to our notice is that of Ramjee Gopal, a shoemaker, a resident of Durban for over twenty years. He has been more than once to India and returned with his wife and has three children born in Durban. He has been arrested by the Immigration authorities on a charge of having originally illicitly entered. He is out on bail and the Board is to sit to hear his case. The authorities may have been justified in arresting the man on proof that he had entered the Colony illicitly. We have nothing to say against their action. But what we would say is this, that in considering such cases as these, facts should not be overlooked that the man has during his stay in the country never committed any offence; has not proved a danger to the public in any way, has lived as any other ordinary citizen; his only crime is that he entered illicitly. This crime he was led to commit not with a desire to cause any damage to the country or the people but to earn a livelihood; and who else but God alone could forbid His own creation to possess that right. If any one could be held guilty for this crime on the part of the man it is only the Government who has made such unnecessary harsh laws. It is a greater crime on the part of the Government, we think, to inflict punishment on such offenders, as is being done. In order to make ourselves clearly understood, we would like to state that although we have said the above in defence of the offenders, we, by no means, wish to encourage illicit entry by our brethren, and we would

consider such an offence on the part of any one to be most unfortunate and the consequent punishment would have our full approval. Our argument is only in favour of those old residents who have established their homes here. This is a matter that should receive the attention of the Congress without delay.

MR. C. R. DAS ON CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

NON-GO-OPERATION IN COUNCILS FAVORED

A STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

Mr. C. R. Das has issued the following statement to the press in India regarding his views on the present situation:

In my statement made to the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee on the 22nd of August, 1922, shortly after my release I said, among other things, that in my opinion a change in the details of the Congress programme was necessary, but that I did not think it advisable to express my opinion on the whole situation before the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee had made its report. Now that the Committee has made its report, I am free and I consider it to be my duty to place before the country the programme of work which the Indian National Congress should follow. At the very outset, I desire to make it perfectly clear that there is no reason for entertaining any feelings of doubt or despair. The work which the Congress put in during the last one year and a half is, in spite of its many defects, a marvel in history. It has succeeded in generating an ardent desire for Swaraj throughout the length and breadth of this vast country and it has proved beyond any doubt that the method of non-violent Non-co-operation is the only method which we must follow to secure a system of Government which is in reality the foundation of Swaraj; but whereas the method of non-violent Non-co-operation is sure and certain we have to consider how best to apply that method to the existing circumstances of the country. In my opinion at Gaya the Indian National Congress should commence its work for the year by a clearer declaration of the rights of different communities in India under Swaraj Government. So far as Hindus and Mussalmans are concerned, there should be a clear and emphatic confirmation of what is known as the Lucknow compact. As regards other communities, such as Sikhs, Christians and Parsis, the Hindus and Mahomedans, who constitute the bulk of the people, should be prepared to give them their just and proper share in Swaraj administration. I propose that the Congress should bring about a real agreement between all these communities by which the rights of every minority should be clearly recognised in order to remove all doubts which may arise and all apprehensions which probably exist. I include amongst Christians not only pure Indians, but also Anglo-Indians and other people who have chosen to make India their home.

FOREIGN PROPAGANDA

I further think that the policy of exclusiveness which we have been following during the last two years should now be abandoned. There is in every country a number of people who are selfless followers of liberty and who desire to see every country free. We cannot afford to lose their sympathy and co-operation. There should be established Congress agencies in America and every European country. We must keep ourselves in touch with the world movement and constant communication with lovers of freedom all over the world. Even more important than this is the participation of India in the great Asiatic federation which, I see, is in course of formation. I have hardly any doubt that the pan-Islamic movement, which has started on a somewhat narrow basis, has given way or is about to give way to a great federation of all Asiatic. It is the union of the oppressed Nationalities of Asia. I acknowledge that our freedom must be won by ourselves,

but such bond of friendship and love of sympathy and co-operation between India and the rest of Asia, between India and all liberty-loving people of the world is destined to bring about world peace. World peace in my mind means freedom of every Nationality, and I go further and say that no Nation on the face of the earth can be really free when other Nations are in bondage.

THE PAST POLICY

The policy which we have hitherto pursued was absolutely necessary for concentration of work we took upon ourselves to perform and I agreed with that policy whole-heartedly. To-day that very work demands broader sympathy and wider outlook.

CHANGE IN CONGRESS PROGRAMME

Coming now to the question as to whether there should be any change in the existing programme of the Congress, I desire to emphasise two matters about which there can hardly be any doubt. In the first place, I must point out that the whole controversy of change or no change proceeds on a somewhat erroneous assumption. The question is not so much as to whether there should be a change in the programme of work, but the real question is whether it is not the direction of our activity in certain respects for the success of the very movement which we hold so dear. Let me illustrate what I may mean by a reference to the Bardoli resolution. In the matter of boycott of schools and colleges, the Bardoli resolution alters the direction of our activity, but does not in any way abandon the boycott during the Swaraj year. The idea was to bring the students out of Government schools and colleges, and if National schools were started they were regarded as a concession to the weakness of those students. The idea was, to quote again from the words of Mahatma Gandhi, "political" and "educational". Under the Bardoli resolution, however, it is the establishment of schools and colleges which must be the main activity of National education. The idea is "educational" and if it still be the desire of the Congress to bring students out of Government schools and colleges, it is by offering them educational advantages. Here the boycott of schools and colleges is still upheld, but the direction of our activity is changed. In fact, such changes must occur in every revolution, violent or non-violent, as it is only by such changes that the idea is truly served.

COUNCIL ENTRY AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

In the next place, we must keep in view the fact that according to the unanimous opinion of all the members of the Enquiry Committee, Civil Disobedience, on a large scale, is at present out of question, because the people are not prepared for it. I am of opinion that the question of the boycott of Councils, which is agitating the country so much, must be considered and decided in the light of the circumstances I have just mentioned. I am not against the boycott of Councils. I am firmly of opinion that the system of the Reformed Councils with the "steel frame" of the Indian Civil Service built over by a diarchy of deadlocks and departments is absolutely unsuited to the nature and genius of the Indian Nation. It is an attempt of the British Parliament to force a foreign system upon the Indian people. India has unhesitatingly refused to recognise this foreign system as a real foundation for Swaraj. With me it is not a question of more or less. I am always prepared to sacrifice much for a real basis for Swaraj. Nor do I attach any importance to the question as to whether the attainment of full and complete independence will be a matter of seven years or ten years or twenty years. A few years is nothing in the life history of a Nation. But India cannot accept a system such as this as the foundation of our Swaraj. The country has, therefore, made up its mind either to mend or end these Reformed Councils. Hitherto, we have been boycotting the Councils from outside. We have succeeded in doing much. The prestige of the

Councils is diminished and the country knows that the people who adorn the Council Chambers are not the true representatives of the people, but although we have succeeded in doing much these Councils are still there. It should be the Congress to boycott the Councils more effectively from within, as also from without. The reformed Councils are really a mask which the bureaucracy has put on. I conceive it to be our clear duty to tear this mask from off their face. To end these Councils is the only effective boycott. A question has been asked as to whether it is possible. I think it is possible if the Non-cooperators get the majority and I believe that having regard to the present circumstances of the country, they are likely to get the majority. I am aware of the difficulties of the franchise. I am aware of the rules which prevent many of us from entering the Councils. But making every allowance for all these difficulties, I believe that we shall be in the majority. In any case, we should adopt the recommendation of Hakim Ajmal Khan, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. Patel in postponing the ultimate decision till the Congress of 1923, but in the meantime standing for election. If we stand for election in the beginning of 1923 the results will be declared before the Congress of 1923 and then we can proceed on facts and not on assumptions.

NON-CO-OPERATE WITH BUREAUCRACY

The question is also asked: Supposing we are in a majority, what are we to do? We should begin our operations by a formal demand of the particular way in which we desire to mend the Councils. If our demands are accepted, we have obtained a real foundation of Swaraj. If our demand is not recognised, we must No-co-operate with the bureaucracy by obstructing every work of the Council. We must disallow the entire budget. We must move the adjournment of the House on every possible occasion. In fact, we must we must so proceed that the Council will refuse to do any work unless and until our demands are satisfied. I am aware of the large powers of veto which the Governors can exercise under the Reform Act. Let them govern by veto till the time must come when they must either yield to our demands or withdraw the Reform Act. In either case, it is distinct triumph for the nation and either course must bring us nearer to the realisation of our ideal. It has also been suggested that the bureaucracy will never allow the Non-cooperators to enter the councils. They will alter the rules to prevent such an entry. I cannot conceive of anything better calculated to strengthen the cause of Non-cooperation than this. If any such rule is framed, I should welcome it and again change the direction of our activities. The infant nationality of India requires these tactics and struggles for its growth and development.

PLEA FOR A SCHEME OF SWARAJ

It follows from the course I recommend that it would be the duty of the Indian National Congress to frame a clear scheme of what we mean by a system of Government which is a real foundation of Swaraj. Hitherto, we have not defined any such system of Government. We have not advisedly, as it was on the psychological aspect of Swaraj that we concentrated our attention. The nation today is burning with a desire for the attainment of Swaraj. It is the duty of the Congress, therefore, to place before the country a clear sketch of the system of government which we demand for Swaraj. I know, is indelible and is not to be confused with a particular system of government. Yet the National mind must express itself and although the full and clear expression of Swaraj covers and must necessarily cover the whole life history of a Nation, the formulation of such a demand is necessary to-day.

BOYCOTT OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

With regard to the question of the boycott of schools and colleges, I am still of opinion that such boycott should be carried on as effectively and in the same way as before. I, however, agree with the recommendations

of the Enquiry Committee that proper schools and colleges should also be started.

BOYCOTT OF LAW COURTS

With regard to the question of boycott of lawyers and legal institutions I accept the main recommendations of the Committee.

RIGHT OF DEFENCE

Many questions have been raised whether the right of defence should be allowed or not and in what cases and for what purposes, I have never been in love with the formal rules and I think it is impossible to frame rules which will cover all the circumstances which rise in particular cases. All that I desire to insist is the keeping in view of the principle of the boycott of Courts.

HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY ETC.

With regard to the questions of Hindu-Muslim unity, untouchability and such matters, I agree with the recommendations of the Enquiry Committee. I desire to point out, however, that the true unity of all sections of the Indian Nation can only be based on proper co-operation and the recognition by each section of the rights of the others. We will do little good to the section known as untouchables if we approach them in a spirit of superiority. We must engage them in the work before us and we must work with them side and shoulder to shoulder.

KHADDAR

I now come to the question of Khaddar which I regard as one of the most important questions before us. On this point I quote from my statement made to the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee on the 22nd of August. "I am opposed to the manufacture of khadi on a commercial basis. The ideal is to make the people of this country self-reliant and self-contained. This work is difficult but essential and should be carried on with all our strength. I would much rather that few families became self-contained than factories started on a large scale. Such factories represent a short-sighted policy and though no doubt they would satisfy the present need they must inevitably create an evil which it would be difficult to eradicate. It is often stated that khaddar alone will bring us Swaraj. I ask my countrymen to consider in what way it is possible for khaddar to lead us to Swaraj. It is in one sense only that the statement may be said to be true, We must regard khaddar as the symbol of our Swaraj; but what would that symbol signify. To my mind such symbol worship requires the spreading out of all Non-co-operation activities in every possible direction. It is only thus that the speedy attainment of Swaraj is possible. I am further of opinion that the Congress should take up the work of the organisation of the labours and peasants more effectively than it had hitherto done.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I ask all sections of our countrymen to follow the ideal of Swaraj and the method of non-violent Non-co-operation, to stop all ranting and fruitless disputes and discussions, to approach the circumstances with a broad mind and without indulging in doctrinaire theories and, to make an united effort to reach the goal. I repeat the message of hope with which we started. Despair is not for us. Petulance and pride, anger and annoyance are not for those who must sacrifice themselves for Swaraj. The life of the Nation manifests itself in many ways and in many directions. We must embrace each and every one of these and march on with the banner of Swaraj and non-violent Non-co-operation in our hands,

JOHANNESBURG TOWN HALL

BIOSCOPE FOR NON-EUROPEANS

CAUSES INDIGNATION AMONG EUROPEANS

Last Friday (the 15th inst.) the Johannesburg Town Hall was used for the purpose of screening a bioscope film to a non-European assembly. Close on 3000 Indians, natives and coloured people are said to have seen the film, which depicted the adventures of Tarzan.

Some indignation has been expressed, (says the *Rand Daily Mail*), that the hall should have been used for the purpose of a bioscope show entirely and exclusively designed for the amusement of coloured people.

"It is a public scandal," declared one citizen yesterday, "that we should allow our Town Hall to be transformed into a coloured bioscope. It is not a sanitary measure, to say the least of it. The utmost danger exists in allowing natives and coloured people to congregate in the Town Hall, which perhaps may be used on the following night by Europeans."

Several other complaints were voiced in connection with the matter, and on all sides the supposed action of the Town Council was received with criticism. "Are we to go to the length of dragging infection from the slums to assail us in the very heart of our civil life," demanded one particularly irate ratepayer who visited this office yesterday.

COUNCIL NOT TO BLAME

On inquiry, it appears that the Council was taken somewhat unawares by the performance of Friday evening.

In the first place, the proprietors of the show rented the hall for the purpose of showing the film to Europeans. The first performance was given last Monday week.

The shows continued until Thursday, and then, it is said, the proprietors decided to utilise the last night of their lease by giving an entirely non-European show.

They took the Council, it is said, by surprise by this move, which was designed to attract more patronage. The officials, in fact, were completely in the dark as to the decision regarding the colour of the audience for Friday night.

Handbills were distributed throughout the town and also throughout the length and breadth of Vrededorp.

"Good news," one of these proclaimed, "for non-Europeans only, Town Hall, Johannesburg, one night only—Elmo Lincoln (the original Tarzan) in 'The Adventures of Tarzan'—14 Thrilling Reels, which takes the whole evening to show. If you miss this picture you miss a chance of a lifetime."

The prices charged for admission were: Gallery, 2s.; all seats downstairs, 1s. 6d.

The officials responsible for the letting of the hall to the exhibitors of the film are emphatic in declaring that had they known the purpose for which the hall was ultimately put the premises would not have been let.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE COMMITTEE

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

I. CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

The following is a summary of the recommendations of the Civil Disobedience Committee that was recently appointed to tour India to ascertain whether the country was ready to carry on mass Civil Disobedience:—

(a) The country is not prepared at present to embark upon general Mass Civil Disobedience but in view of the fact that a situation may arise in any part of the country demanding an immediate resort to Mass Civil Disobedience of a limited character, e.g. the breaking of a particular law or the non-payment of a particular tax for which the people are ready, we re-

commend that Provincial Committees be authorised to sanction such limited Mass Civil Disobedience on their own responsibility if the conditions laid down by the All-India Congress Committee in that behalf are fulfilled.

Unanimous.

(b) We recommend the restoration of the resolution No. 2 passed by the All India Congress Committee at Delhi on the 4th-5th November—which gives Provincial Committees all the powers necessary to determine upon a resort to Civil Disobedience of any kind whatever, by cancelling Resolution, clause I, passed on the 24th-25th February to the extent it conflicts with that resolution; provided that general Mass Civil Disobedience is not permissible.

Unanimous.

• THE BOYCOTT OF COUNCILS

(a) There should be no change of the Congress programme in respect of the boycott of Councils.

Recommended by

*Dr. M. A. Ansari,
Syt. C. Rajagopalachari,
Syt. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar.*

(b) The Congress and the Khilafat Conferences at their sessions should declare that in view of the fact that the working of the Legislative Councils during their first term has, besides proving a great obstacle to the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and the speedy attainment of Swarajya, caused great misery and hardship to the people, it is desirable that the following steps should be taken in strict accordance with the principles of non-violent non-co-operation to avoid the recurrence of the evil:—

1. Non-co-operators should contest the election on the issue of the redress of the Punjab and Khilafat and immediate Swarajya, and make every endeavour to be returned in a majority.

2. If the Non-co-operators are returned in a majority large enough to prevent a quorum, they should after taking their seats leave the Council Chamber in a body and take no part in the proceedings for the rest of the term. They should attend the Council occasionally only for the purpose of preventing vacancies.

3. If Non-co-operators are in a minority which is not large enough to prevent a quorum, they should oppose every measure of the Government including the budget and only move resolutions for the redress of the aforesaid wrongs and the immediate attainment of Swarajya.

4. If the Non-co-operators are returned in a minority they should act as pointed out in No. 2, and thus materially reduce the strength of the Councils.

As the new Councils will not assemble till January 1924, we further propose that the Congress session of 1923 be held during the first instead of the last week of December and the matter be again brought up for the issue of a final mandate by the Congress in view of the election.

Recommended by

*Hakim Ajmal Khan,
Pandit Motilal Nehru,
Syt. V. J. Patel.*

[The following remarks in the body of the report by members recommending entry into the Councils are important:—]

It is obvious that no election campaign can be effectively carried on without a clear definition of programme being laid before the country. The circumstances, under which we are called upon to make our recommendations, are however peculiar and it is not possible to settle the lines of action with any approach to finality at the present stage. Much depends on the attitude of the Government towards the Congress candidates and the movement generally. The result of the elections will in no small measure affect the course of future action. The circumstance in which we are now placed may alter considerably for better or worse during the next 15 months. Our action whether or out of the Councils will have to be shaped

according to developments. While however the actual programme cannot at the present be finally laid down, it is essential that the broad outlines of policy should be sufficiently defined to put the attitude of the Congress towards the Councils clearly before the various constituencies so that both the voters and the candidates who may be advised to contest the elections may know what is expected of them. This outline of policy can only be determined with reference to existing circumstances with due regard to such developments as it is possible to anticipate. For these reasons it is too early yet to lay down a detailed programme. All that need be said at present is that if conditions do not alter in the meantime we shall enter the Councils to end them as they cannot be mended as we would wish them to be.

All that the Gaya Congress is called upon to sanction is the running of elections on the lines indicated above. The rest of the programme is merely provisional subject to the confirmation of the Congress session of December 1923.

The following is the note appended by Hakimji with regard to this question:—

"The constructive programme, being the basis of all our actions, we should have recommended nothing else but the working of it. As I cannot, however, shut my eyes to the obvious fact that with the exception of a few provinces, we are not only not making any progress in this direction, but are actually going backwards.

"I, therefore, recommend firstly that the Non-co-operators should contest the Council elections, as in my opinion the electioneering campaign by itself will supply the necessary impetus and enthusiasm and provide facilities for the working of the constructive programme, and secondly that the Non-co-operators should enter the Councils if elected in a majority for obstruction, pure and simple, with a view to bring pressure to bear on the Government to concede our triple demands. If the whole of our Congress organisation, from top to bottom, were to take up the constructive programme in right earnest and push it through with a firm determination, which I very much doubt it would, I believe we should not feel the necessity of having to call to our aid any other stimulant such as entry into the Councils.

Ajmal Khan.

THE BOYCOTT OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

We are of opinion that the boycott of Government educational institutions is sound in principle and must be maintained as an ideal to be always kept in view and followed but we recommend a strict adherence to the Bardoli resolution in regard to these, by suspending for the present all active propaganda calling upon boys to come out of schools and colleges. As required by that resolution reliance should be placed upon the superiority of national schools for drawing scholars from Government Institutions and not upon picketing or other aggressive propaganda.

Unanimous.

THE BOYCOTT OF LAW COURTS

This boycott is also sound in principle and must be maintained as an ideal but litigants cannot be expected to avoid the Law Courts without being provided with an effective substitute therefor. Effort should therefore be concentrated on the establishment of Panchayats and the cultivation of a strong public opinion in their favour. It is also necessary that provinces which have gone beyond the Congress resolutions in imposing disabilities upon practising lawyers as such should withdraw those disabilities and put these lawyers on the same footing as others who have signed the Congress creed and possess the requisite qualification for holding office under Congress organisations. The right of electors to elect whom they please should not be restricted by rule.

The principle of no defence and no bail should be

followed by Non-co-operators accused of offences of a political nature but need not be extended to other cases, civil or criminal, in which parties should be left to their own discretion.

Unanimous.

LOCAL BODIES

We recommend that in order to clear the position it should be declared that it is desirable for Non-co-operators to seek election to Municipalities and District or Local Boards with a view to facilitate the working of the constructive programme, but that no hard and fast rules be at present laid down to regulate or restrict the activities of Non-co-operating members, beyond advising them to act in harmony with local or provincial Congress organisations.

Unanimous.

ORGANISATION OF LABOUR

Resolution No. 8 passed by the Nagpur Congress should be carried out without further delay.

Unanimous.

RIGHT OF PRIVATE DEFENCE

(a) We recommend that individuals should be given full freedom to exercise the right within the limits defined by law except when carrying on Congress work or on occasions directly arising therefrom, subject always to the condition that it is not likely to lead to a general outburst of violence.

Using force in private defence in gross cases, such as insults to religion, outrages on modesty of women or incident assaults on boys and men, is not prohibited under any circumstances.

All members except *Syl. V. J. Patel.*

(b) Full freedom to exercise the right within the limits defined by law should be reserved to Non-co-operators subject only to the condition that it is not likely to lead to a general outburst of violence, and to no further conditions.

Syl. V. J. Patel.

BOYCOTT OF BRITISH GOODS

(a) We accept the principle and recommend that the whole question be referred to a committee of experts for a full report to be submitted before the Congress meets.

All members except *Syl. C. Rajagopalachari.*

(b) There is no objection to the collection and examination of facts by experts but the acceptance of the principle by the All India Congress Committee would mislead the nation and injure the movement.

Syl. C. Rajagopalachari.

SOME FACTS ABOUT THE UNION

The latest monthly Bulletin of Union Statistics issued by the Department of Census supplies the following interesting figures relating to the Union:

- Area of the Union of South Africa, 473,089 square miles.
- Area of farms (1921), 261,755,000 acres.
- Area cultivated (1921), 13,013,708 acres.
- Area irrigated (1921), 817,862 acres.
- Population (3rd May, 1921), white 1,519,488, total 6,928,380.
- Net public debt (31st March, 1922), £180,209,434.
- Revenue (1921-22), £28,884,275.
- Expenditure (1921-22), £30,325,276.
- Railway and Harbour revenue (1921-22), £21,896,445.
- Railway and Harbour expenditure (1921-22), £17,902,591.
- Railway, Harbour and steamships' loss (1921-22), 1,590,490.
- Government Railways, 10,890 miles.
- Number of cattle (30th April, 1921), 8,557,080.
- Number of sheep (30th April, 1921), 31,729,512.
- Wheat produced (1920-21 season), 1,334,724 tons.

- Wheat produced (1920-21 season), 228,401 tons.
- Sugar produced (1920-21 season), 143,680 tons.
- Wool exported (1920-21 season), 247,714,974 lbs.
- Butter made (1920-21 season), 88,963,073 lbs.
- Cheese made (1920-21 season), 4,618,714 lbs.
- Gold produced (1921), 8,128,710 cts.
- Diamonds produced (1921), 806,643 carats.
- Coal sold (1921), 11,396,905 tons.
- Total mineral production (1921), £43,286,126.
- Agricultural production: At farm prices, £55,715,500; at market prices, £73,832,000.
- Factory output (1920-21), gross value, £98,307,910.
- Factory output, value added in process of manufacture, £40,342,539.

श्रीदीश धन्वी स्टीम नेवीगेशन कंपनी

स्टीमरोंनीं भण्डर

स्टी. "काराजोला" डिसेम्बर ता. २५ मीना अरसाभा
 डिपारी.
 स्टी. "कारापारा" नवम्बारी ता. ६ मीना अरसाभा
 डिपारी.
 वधु पुलासे
 शे.म.ल. श्री.सि. ३७० पाकिंग स्ट्रीट, २२ मिन,
 वे स्थाने मजवाही कायदा कायदाची मज्जा कराये.

अठवाडीक पंचांग

वार	श्रीरती	दोड	सुक्रवमान	पारती	सुनेदय	सुपारि
	१९२२	१९२६	१९४१	१९६२	क. मी.	क. मी.
	दिसे	पोष	जमादी			
	वार		लावल			
शुक्र	२२	४	२	१४	४-५६	७-०
शनी	२३	५	३	१५	४-५६	७-१
रवी	२४	६	४	१६	४-५७	७-१
सोम	२५	७	५	१७	४-५७	७-२
मंगल	२६	८	६	१८	४-५८	७-२
बुध	२७	९	७	१९	४-५८	७-३
गुरु	२८	१०	८	२०	४-५९	७-३

वेचवांनी पुस्तके

	मी.	पे.
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" " " भाग २ जे	०	१
" " " भाग ३ जे	०	१
आरोग्य विषे सामान्य ज्ञान भाग. १ दो	०	१
" " " भाग. २ जे	०	१
जेलना काव्य	१	१