

REPORT

OF THE

THIRTY-NINTH
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

HELD AT

BELGAUM

(13)

ON THE

26th & 27th December

1924.

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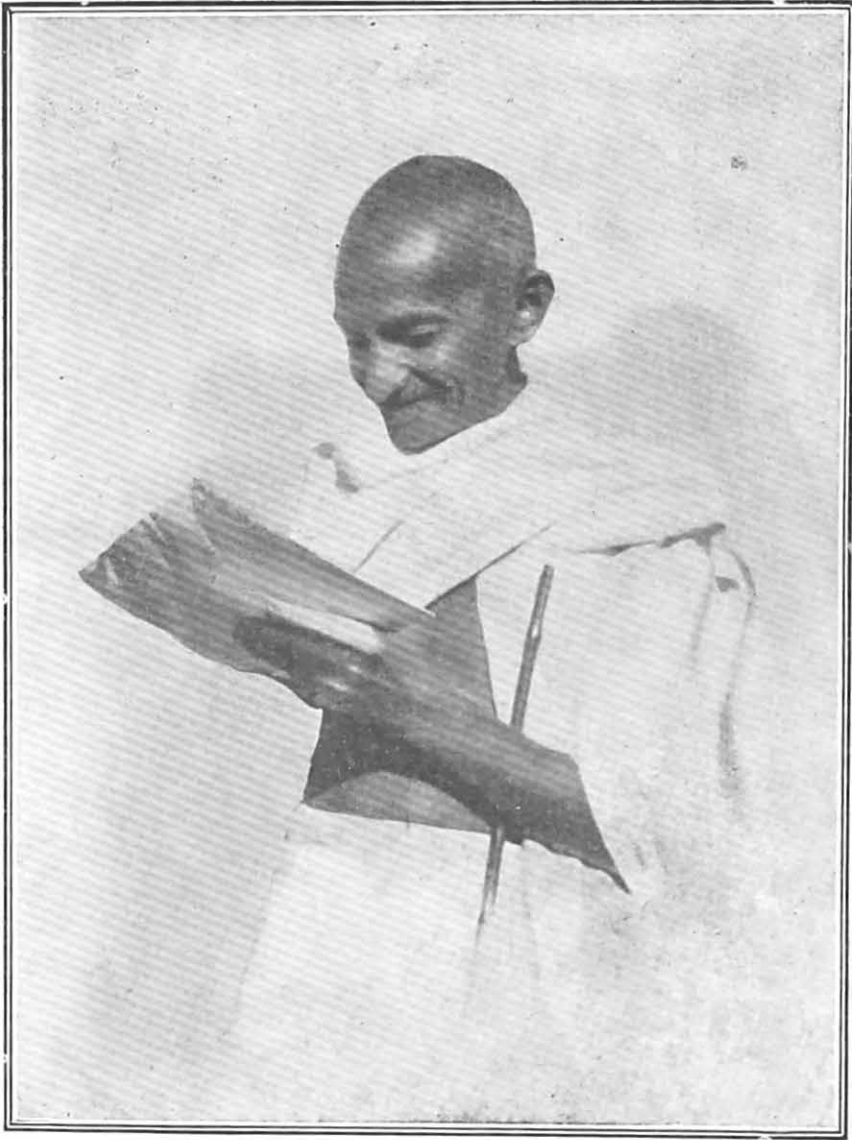


PLATE I

MAHATMAJEE.

President of the 39th Indian National Congress, Belgaum, 1924.

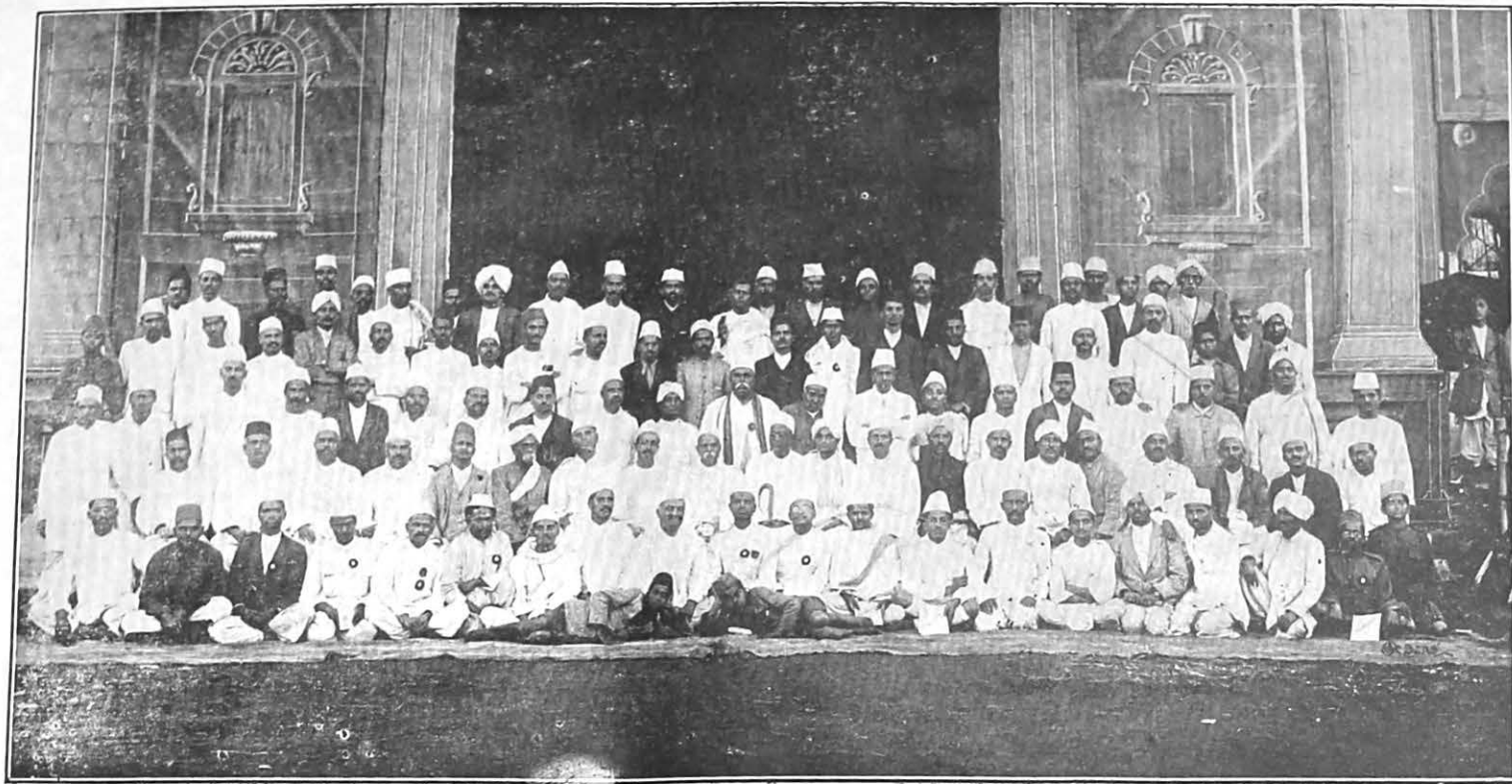


PLATE 2.

WORKERS' GROUP.

39th Indian National Congress, Belgaum.

Introduction.

The province of Karnatak had a distinct entity in the ancient Indian polity. It has played no mean part in its contribution to and preservation of Indian culture. In fact, it may be proudly said that Karnatak for seven hundred years *i. e.* from the Chalukain period to the fall of the glorious and never-to-be-forgotten Empire of Vijayanagar nurtured and defended the precious Aryan culture when it was threatened with extinction. Ultimately in common with the rest of India, Karnatak too, as has been truly observed " had had to pass through a period, brief but very disastrous period of the dwindling of the fire of life, a period of ill-started disintegration, marked politically by the anarchy which gave European adventure its chance; and inwardly by an increasing torpor of the creative spirit in religion and art, science and philosophy. And these evils have been incalculably aggravated by the multiple partition to which the province has come to be subjected ". It was only during the last decade that a movement for the unification of Karnatak was started. Meanwhile under the constitution of the Indian National Congress as adopted at Nagpur all the provinces were reorganised on linguistic basis. Thus, since 1921 Karnatak got its recognition as a distinct province in the national affairs.

General.

The Congress held its session, for the first time, in Karnatak in December 1924. The responsibility on the province in inviting the Congress was no small one, as the province comprises barely seven British districts though large territories under more than a dozen Native States with hardly any scope for political activity are included in it. Still the enthusiasum for the Congress was unique and it must be noted with gratitude that all the districts and States, especially the State of Mysore, heartily responded to the appeal made on behalf of the Reception Committee for funds.

The Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee met in March 1924 to select a suitable place for holding the sessions of the Congress; and after a very keen contest the choice fell upon Belgaum. Belgaum is by no means a very large or populous city; but it afforded a number of facilities suited for making the best possible arrangements with a view to convenience and comfort of all concerned. Belgaum could, moreover, with some pride claim to have contributed its humble mite in the recent political activities of the nation. It was in Belgaum in the year 1916 that the 16th Bombay Provincial Conference held its session

Belgaum :
the Congress
venue.

when the basis was laid for the unity between the two wings of the Congress of those days, namely, the Moderates and the Nationalists with the result that both the parties once again came under the common flag of the next Congress at Lucknow. It was in Belgaum again that Lokmanya founded his Indian Home Rule League in 1916

**Formation of
the Reception
Committee.**

The Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee at its meeting referred to above formed the Reception Committee which met in its turn on the next day to make provisional appointments of the office-bearers. The Reception Committee met again in August when the final appointments of the office-bearers, the formation of the Executive Committee and the various sub-committees took place. There were in all 16 sub-committees to look to the different functions of the Reception Committee, the Chairman and the General Secretaries being ex-officio members of each sub-committee. The names of the office-bearers and the various sub-committees with their members are given in Appendix I.

Arrangements.

The Reception Committee chose a beautiful site situate on the ground of the Belgaum Extension covering an area of about 80 acres—all compact and beautiful-surrounded on one side with the amenities of modern city life and on the other with all the charm of rural life and gave it the historic name of Vijayanagar to remind us of the glorious Karnatak Empire of that name.

The principle arrangements made by the Reception Committee in Vijayanagar were :—

1. **The Pandal**—The Reception Committee had secured on hire for the purposes of the Pandal the huge khaddar Tent which the Reception Committee of Coconada had got specially made for the Congress by Messrs A. N. Mukerji of Calcutta and which had been purchased by the All-India Congress Committee for the annual sessions of the congress. It was tastefully decorated all through. Just near the centre of the platform were seen the life-size portraits of Lokmanya and Mahatma Gandhi while a number of portraits of patriots who have earned name and fame in the cause of the Country were exhibited on all sides. Following the precedent of the last three years, the assembly sat on the floor covered with carpets excepting visitors for whom a gallery of wooden planks was provided running all round the tent.

A beautiful garden with a marble fountain in the centre was artistically laid out just in front of the Pandal, -

2. **The Gopura**—The main gate to the pandal formed quite a unique and remarkably attractive feature. It was designed and executed by the young promising artist of Karnatak now carrying on his business in Bombay under the name of Shrinivas and Co. taking for his model the gate of the temple of Shri Virupax of Hampi, the capital of the Vijayanagar Empire. At night the Gopura was illuminated with electric lights supplied by special installations.
3. **Subjects Committee Hall**—A specious octagonal Hall covering an area of about 14,000 square feet was erected just adjoining the Pandal with a view to minimise the chances of disappointment to visitors eager to witness the proceedings of the Committee. This hall was also intended to serve and it did serve to afford facilities for holding meetings of the various other conferences on the congress grounds.
4. **Central Offices**—By the side of the Subjects Committee Hall, a big quadrangular space was reserved on which the various Reception Committee offices were located including offices for Post, Telegraph and the Bank.
5. **The "Khaddar Palace"**—Close by the Subjects Committee Hall, a small and simple structure was constructed for accommodating the President. Though it was worthy of being called a 'palace' from the point of view of beauty it was certainly a cottage from the point of view of cost.
6. **Hospital and Medical aid**—A little further to the west of the President's camp and in a quiet corner was erected a hospital where qualified medical men were ever ready to render service. Besides this, there was a free dispensary under the supervision of experienced doctors and it was freely resorted to by delegates and visitors.
7. **Spinning Hall**—A hall equipped with spinning wheels and other accessories was specially constructed for the convenience of delegates desiring to spin. Spinning competitions were also held here and prizes awarded. In this connection it should be noted that the thanks of the Reception Committee are due to Sjt. Satish Chandra Das Gupta of the Khadi Pratishtan, Calcutta, for having entertained large masses of people by his Lantern lectures giving a visible representation of the prosperity of India in the pre-British period and also of the meaning of the Khaddar movement so far as it relates to the revival of the glorious past.
8. **The Concert Hall**—Close by the spinning hall was erected another structure with an appearance of a modern theatre for holding musical concerts. Prominence was given to Kannad rāgās and tunes.

Celebrated musicians from Mysore including Sjt. Veené Sheshanna—the veteran and talented Veena player, contributed a great deal in making this part of the programme quite attractive and successful. The Reception Committee is deeply indebted to all these musicians for their honorary services.

9. **Accommodation**—Accommodation for delegates, members of the Reception Committee and visitors from other provinces were provided in Blocks constructed either of khaddar or of bamboo mats, each block containing generally 12 rooms and each room accommodating 6 persons. In all 72 blocks were erected out of which 39 blocks were of pure khaddar. In addition, there were 70 "special cottages" each being separately provided with kitchen, bath and water-supply for the convenience of those requiring such arrangements.
10. **Dinner arrangements**—A central general kitchen providing meals in Karnatak style was arranged and a huge hall measuring about 500x100 was reserved for dining. Arrangements were also made for separate kitchens for provinces desiring to have their own arrangements. Close to the kitchen, a store was maintained to supply all provisions at cost price
11. **Water Works**—The town of Belgaum being without the facility of any water works, special arrangements had to be made for the supply of water. For this purpose a large well measuring 50x50 was dug to a depth of nearly 40 feet for getting perennial and sufficient supply of water. The water was then pumped out by steam pumps specially put up for the purpose into tanks of the capacity of 30,000 gallons and then distributed by means of pipes throughout Vijayanagar.
12. **Conservancy and Sanitation**—Following the precedents of the last few years, trench privies were constructed. The Municipal staff and a noble band of Volunteers under the direct supervision of Sjt D. B. Kalelkar worked in close co-operation in arranging for the disposal of the night-soil. But for the devoted work of the Volunteers, satisfactory management of this department would have been impossible.
13. **Lighting**—Arrangements for lighting had also to be specially made. Exhibition enclosures were lighted by "electricity specially installed" for the purpose. The Pandal, the Subjects Committee Hall, the offices, Volunteers' barracks and the President's camp were lighted by Petromax lights; the kitchen, Dinining Halls, the Roads and other public places by kitson lights and the Delegates' quarters by Dietz lanterns.
14. **Volunteers**—The Volunteer organisation was another unique feature of the Belgaum Congress. Early in April, Dr. Hardikar had prepared

an elaborate scheme for securing "trained" Volunteers for the Congress. Owing to dearth of funds the scheme could only be partly carried out. The strength of volunteers was 1156 consisting of 817 Sahayaks, 141 Sahayikas (Lady volunteers) and 198 Scouts—all recruited solely from Karnatak and Kannada residents of Andhra, Maharashtra and Bombay. Of these, about 275 Sahayaks had received full time training in camps specially opened for the purpose and an equal number were given instructions in classes conducted by some of the regularly trained Volunteers. Taking into consideration the fact that the Volunteers had onerous and heavy duties to perform such as, crowd and traffic control, night patrol, and guard-duty—not to speak of ordinary duties—it must be noted with gratitude that they acquitted themselves quite creditably under the able management of the Captain and other officers of the Volunteer organisation.

15. **National Flag**—A specious quadrangular camp was constructed for housing the Volunteers with the Senapati's tent in the middle. Adjoining the camp, on the open Maidan, a flag staff of majestic height was raised and the national flag of pure khadder with charaka was hoisted on it with due ceremony. Daily in the morning & in the evening the flag was hoisted and lowered. The entire camp, the Sahayaks, and other officers in their khaki and white uniforms and the Sahayikas in their black tri-colour-bordered and edged saris and Kumars (scouts) with their scarfs, saluting it at hoisting and lowering times every day in the horse-shoe formation was attracting a very large mass of on-lookers. This daily hoisting of National Flag was altogether a new function in the history of Congress volunteers.
16. **Swadeshi Exhibition**—The Swadeshi Exhibition was arranged in a special enclosure measuring 350x200. It was divided as in previous years into four sections (a) Museum (b) Demonstration (c) Sale and (d) Ayurvedic.
- (a) In the Museum section, various Indian arts and industries were allowed to be exhibited. The Mysore Government was good enough to exhibit a handsome number of articles relating to agriculture as well as other manufactures and they reflect great credit on the industrial activities and progress of the State.
- (b) In the demonstration section parties from different provinces were allowed to demonstrate all the processes commencing from the ginning of cotton to weaving of hand-spun yarn.
- (c) Sales section provided stalls for sale of articles of Indian manufacture.

- (d) Ayurvedic section exhibited Indian Medical herbs and essences. This section was a new feature this year.

The co-operation of other bodies.

The M. S. and M. Railway company were good enough to accede to the request of the Reception committee for opening a flag station close to the Congress site. Besides this, they showed readiness to meet the needs of the Committee in all possible ways. Last but not least, it is gratifying to note the hearty and enthusiastic co-operation of the Belgaum Municipality and its officials. But for their help and co-operation the Reception Committee would not have been able to achieve all it did. Special thanks of the Reception Committee are, therefore, due to these two bodies and to such other public departments and their heads for having rendered all possible assistance.

It is regretted also that the report could not be seen through the press and published before 28th April 1925 as is required by the Constitution as amended at Belgaum. Various causes beyond our control conspired to cause this regrettable delay

BELGAUM,
20th May 1925.

M. R. KEMBHAVI,
General Secretary.



Sjt. M. R. KEMHAVI,
General
Secretary.



Sjt. B. B. POTDAR,
General Secretary.



Sjt. S. L. SOMAN,
General Secretary.



Sjt. H. S. KOUJALGI,
Swadeshi Exhibition Secretary.

Belgaum Impressions

By Mahatma Gandhi

When there are too many impressions all clamouring for expression, the registrar's task becomes unenviable. Such is my position as I take up the pencil to register my impressions of Belgaum. I can but try.

Gangadhar Rao Deshpande and his band of workers rose to the highest height. His Vijayanagar was a triumph—not yet of Swaraj—but certainly of organisation. Every detail was well thought out. Dr Hardikar's volunteers were smart and attentive. The roads were broad and well kept. They could easily be broader for the convenience of the temporary shops and the easy movement of thousands of sight-seers. The lighting arrangement was perfect. The huge pavilion with a marble fountain in front of it seemed to invite all who would enter it. The capacity of the pavilion could not be less than seventeen thousand. The sanitary arrangements though quite good needed still more scientific treatment than what they had. The method of the disposal of used water was very primitive. I invite the Cawnpore people who are to have the honour of holding the Congress session of 1925 to study the most effective methods of camp sanitation now and not leave this very important part to the eleventh hour.

Whilst I am able to give ungrudging praise for the almost perfect organisation that one could see in the Congress camp, I cannot help remarking that Gangadhar Rao could not escape the temptation of making the outside look lavish and in following the traditional custom of going in for extravagant luxuries for the 'people at the top.' Take the presidential 'hut'. I had bargained for a khaddar hut; but I was insulted with a khaddar palace. The floor space reserved for the President was certainly quite necessary. The fence round the 'palace' was an absolute necessity for my protection from embarrassingly admiring crowds. But I am sure that, had I been contractor, I would have given the same space and the same comfort to the President at half the expense. This however is only one instance of the many I can quote of lavish expenditure. The refreshments supplied to the members of the Subjects Committee and others were unnecessarily lavish. There was no sense of proportion observed as to the quantities served. I am finding fault with nobody. The extravagance came from a generous heart. It was all well meant. Forty years' tradition cannot be undone in a day, especially if no one likely to gain a hearing will repeatedly criticise it. I know, when I suggested to Vallabhbhai in 1921 that he should make a beginning, he retorted by saying that whilst he would

try to attain simplicity and avoid extravagance, he would not allow his pet Gujarath to be considered miserly. I could not persuade him that if he did not have a temporary fountain costing several thousand rupees he would not be considered miserly. I told him too that whatever he did was bound to be copied by his successors. Vallabhbhai would not take the odium of being considered miserly. I advise Cawnpore to lead the way. The miserliness of Cawnpore may be considered the extravagance of tomorrow. There were many things Vallabhbhai did discard. I did not hear any remarks about the disappearance of things that were really not a felt want.

Let us remember the Congress is intended to represent the poorest toilers who are the salt of India. Our scale must be so far as possible adjusted to theirs. We must therefore be progressively economical without being inefficient and stingy.

In my opinion the charges for accommodation and food are much too heavy. We may do worse than take a lesson from the book of Swami Shraddhanandji. I remember the sheds he built for his guests who came for the Gurukul anniversary in 1916. He built grass sheds for them at a cost (I think) of about Rs. 2000. He invited contractors to open restaurants on the ground and made no charge for the accommodation. No one could complain of the arrangement. They knew what they were to expect. Nearly 40,000 people were thus accommodated on the Gurukul ground without the slightest difficulty and with practically no expense. And what is more, each visitor received what he wanted and was at liberty to live cheaply or extravagantly.

I do not say that the Swami's plan should be copied in its entirety. But I do suggest that better and cheaper plans are imperatively necessary. The reduction of the delegate's fees from Rs. 10 to 1 was universally acclaimed. The reduction of lodging and dining charges would be, I am sure, still more appreciated.

The source of income should be a small entrance fee levied from every spectator. The Congress must be an annual fair where visitors may come and get instruction with amusement. The deliberative part should be an item round which the demonstrative programme should turn. It therefore should take place in decent time, as this year, and the appointments must be religiously observed.

I am not sure that the packing of all other conferences into one week serves any national purpose. In my opinion only those conferences should take place during the Congress week that aid and strengthen the Congress. The President and his ' Cabinet ' must not be expected to give their attention to anything but Congress work. I know that, if there had been no other call upon

my time, I could have better attended to the charge entrusted to me. I had not a moment left to me for contemplation. I was unable to frame the necessary recommendations for making the franchise a success. The fact is that the organisers of various conferences do not take their tasks seriously. They hold them because it has become the fashion to do so. I would urge workers in various directions to avoid the annual dissipation of energy.

The exhibition of indigenous arts and industries is an institution that should grow from year to year. The musical concert was a treat that thousands must have enjoyed. The lantern lectures tracing the tragic history of the ruin of the greatest national industry and the possibilities of its revival were apposite, instructive and amusing. I tender my congratulations to Satish Babu upon the thoughtful and thorough manner in which he organised these lectures. The spinning competition must also be a permanent feature. Its popularity is evinced by the number of competitors, the brilliance of results and the number of donors. This spinning movement is bringing out women from their seclusion as nothing else could have done. Of the 11 prize winners, 4 belonged to the gentle sex. It has given them a dignity and self-confidence which no university degree could give them. They are realising that their active assistance is just as indispensable as that of men and, what is more, such assistance can be as easily rendered by them as, if not more easily, than, by men.

One thing I must not omit before I close these impressions. There were nearly seventy five volunteers, mostly Brahmans, who were engaged in conservancy work in the Congress camp. The Municipal *bhangis* were indeed taken, but it was thought necessary to have the volunteers also. Kaka Kalelkar who was in charge of this corps tells me that this part of the work would not have been done as satisfactorily as it was, if the corps had not been formed. He tells me too that the volunteers worked most willingly. Not one of them shirked the work which ordinarily very few would be prepared to undertake. And yet it is the noblest of all from one point of view. Indeed sanitary work must be regarded as the foundation of all volunteer training.

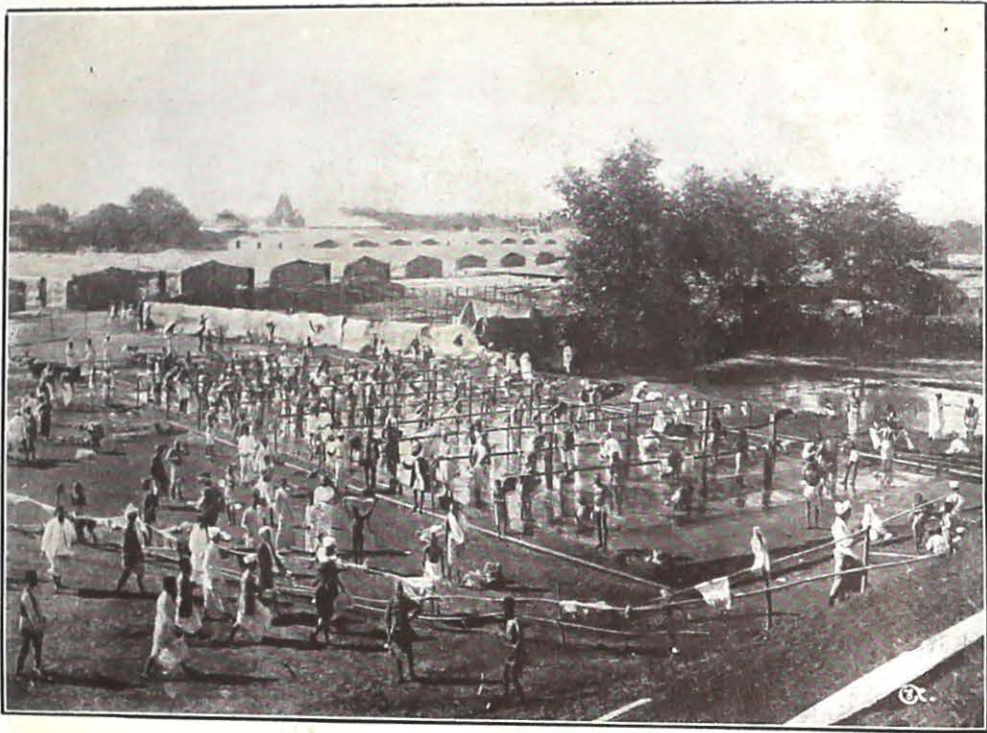


PLATE 7.

THE BATHING GHAT.



PLATE 8.

MAIN JUNCTION OF THEROADS TO THE GOPURAM

Resolutions Passed at the 39th Indian National Congress held at Belgaum, on 26th & 27th December 1924.

FIRST DAY.

I. CONDOLENCE RESOLUTION.

This Congress records with sorrow the deaths of Bi Amman, Sir Ashutosh Chaudhari, Sir Ashutosh Mukerji, Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, Dr. Subrahmanya Iyer, Mr. Dal Bahadur Giri, Mr. Govind Venkatesh Yalgi, Mr. Vaman Rao Moharir, Mr. T. V. Gopaldaswami Mudaliar, Mr. C. V. P. Shivam, and Lala Kanailalji and also of Messrs. Rustomji Jeevanji Ghorkhodu and Mr. P. K. Naidu in South Africa and tenders its respectful sympathy to the bereaved families.

(Moved from the Chair)

II. THE AGREEMENT & THE SPINNING FRANCHISE.

- (a) (i) The Congress hereby endorses the following agreement between Mahatma Gandhi on the one hand and Deshbandu C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru acting on behalf of the Swaraj Party on the other.

THE AGREEMENT.

"Whereas although Swaraj is the goal of the parties in India, the country is divided into different groups seemingly working in opposite direction, and whereas such antagonistic activity retards the progress of the nation towards Swaraj, and whereas it is desirable to bring so far as possible all such parties within the Congress and on a common platform, and whereas the Congress itself is divided into two opposing sections, resulting in harm to the country's cause, and whereas it is desirable to reunite these parties for the purpose of furthering the common cause, and whereas a policy of repression has been commenced in Bengal by the local government with the sanction of the Governor-General, and whereas in the opinion of the undersigned this repression is aimed in reality not at any party of violence, but at the Swaraj Party in Bengal and therefore at constitutional and orderly activity, and whereas therefore it has become a matter of immediate necessity to in-

vite and secure the co-operation of all parties for putting forth the united strength of the nation against the policy of repression, we the undersigned strongly recommend the following for adoption by all parties and eventually by Congress at Belgaum :

" The Congress should suspend the programme of non-co-operation as the national programme except in so far as it relates to use or wear cloth made out of India.

" The Congress should further resolve that different classes of work of the Congress may be done as may be found necessary by different sections within the Congress and should resolve that the spread of hand-spinning and hand-weaving and all the antecedent processes and the spread of hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar, and the promotion of unity between different communities, specially between the Hindus and the Mahomedans, and the removal of untouchability by the Hindus from amongst them, should be carried on by all sections within the Congress, and the work in connection with the Central and Provincial Legislatures should be carried on by the Swaraj Party on behalf of the Congress and as an integral part of the Congress organisation, and for such work the Swaraj Party should make its own rules and administer its own funds.

" Inasmuch as experience has shown that without universal spinning India cannot become self-supporting regarding the clothing requirements and inasmuch as hand-spinning is the best and the most tangible method of establishing a visible and substantial bond between the masses and Congressmen and women and in order to popularise hand-spinning and its products the Congress should repeal Article seven of the Congress Constitution and should substitute the following therefor :—

" No one shall be a member of any Congress Committee or organisation who is not of the age of 18 and who does not wear hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar at political and Congress functions or while engaged in Congress business and does not make a contribution of 2,000 yards of evenly spun yarn per month of his or her own spinning or in case of illness unwillingness or any such cause a like quantity of yarn spun by any other person."

- (ii) The Congress hopes that the agreement will result in true unity between the two wings of the Congress and

will also enable persons belonging to other political organisations to join the Congress. The Congress congratulates the Swarajists and others arrested under the New Ordinance or Regulation III of 1818 and is of opinion that such arrests are inevitable so long as the people of India have not the capacity for vindicating their status and liberty, and is further of opinion that such capacity can in the present circumstances of the country be developed by achieving the long deferred exclusion of foreign cloth; and therefore as a token of the earnestness and determination of the people to achieve this national purpose, welcomes the introduction of handspinning as part of the franchise and appeals to every person to avail himself or herself of it and join the Congress.

(iii) In view of the foregoing, the Congress expects every Indian, man and woman, to discard all foreign cloth and to use and wear hand-spun and hand-woven Khaddar to the exclusion of all other cloth.

With a view to accomplish the said purpose without delay, the Congress expects all Congress members to help the spread of hand-spinning and the antecedent processes and the manufacture and sale of Khaddar.

(iv) The Congress appeals to the Princes and the wealthy classes of India and the members of political and other organisations not represented on the Congress, and municipalities, local boards, panchayats and such other institutions, to extend their help to the spread of hand-spinning by personal use and otherwise and especially by giving liberal patronage to the classes of artists, still surviving and capable of working artistic designs in fine khaddar.

(v) The Congress appeals to the merchants engaged in the foreign cloth and yarn trade to appreciate the interests of the nation, and discontinue their importation of foreign cloth and yarn and help the national cottage industry by dealing in khaddar.

- (vi) It having come to the notice of the Congress that varieties of cloth are manufactured in mills and on other looms out of mill yarn and sold in the Indian market as khaddar, the Congress appeals to the mill-owners and other manufacturers concerned, to discontinue this undesirable practice and further appeals to them to encourage the revival of the ancient cottage industry of India by restricting their operations among those parts of the country that have not yet come under the Congress influence and appeals to them to discontinue the importation of foreign yarn.
- (vii) The Congress appeals to the heads and leaders of all religious denominations whether Hindu, Muslim or any other to preach to their congregations the message of khaddar and advise them to discontinue the use of foreign cloth.
- (b) The present Article VII of the Constitution to be repealed and the following to be substituted therefor :—
- (i) Every person not disqualified under Article IV shall be entitled to become a member of any primary organisation controlled by the Provincial Congress Committee, provided that no one shall be a member of any Congress Committee or organisation who does not wear hand-spun and hand-wove Khaddar at political and Congress functions or while engaged in Congress business and does not make a contribution of 20,000 yards of evenly spun yarn per year of his or her own spinning, or in the case of illness or unwillingness or any such cause, the same quality of yarn spun by any other person; provided also that no person shall be a member of two parallel Congress organisations at one and the same time.
- (ii) The year of the membership shall be reckoned from the 1st January to the 31st December. The said subscription shall be payable in advance and may be paid in instalments of 2,000 yards per month payable in advance. Members joining in the middle of the year shall contribute the full quantity due from the beginning of the year.

Transitory Provision.

During 1925 the subscription shall be 20,000 yards only and shall be payable on or before 1st March or in instalments as aforesaid.

- (iii) No person shall be entitled to vote at the election of representatives or delegates or any committee or sub-committee of any Congress organisation whatsoever, or to be elected as such, or to take part in any meetings of the Congress or any Congress organisation or any committee or sub-committee thereof, if he has not contributed the yarn subscription or the instalments due.

Any member who has made default in the payment of the yarn subscription may have his or her rights restored by paying the subscription in respect of which the default has occurred and the instalment for the month then current.

- (iv) Every Provincial Congress Committee shall send to the General Secretary, All-India Congress Committee, from month to month returns of membership and of the yarn received by it in virtue of this Article. The Provincial Congress Committees shall contribute ten per cent of the yarn subscriptions or their value to the All-India Congress Committee.

- (v) Omit present Article VI (e) and Article IX (b)

Proposed by:—Deshbandhu C. R. Das (in English).

Seconded by:—Sjt. S. V. Kaujalgi (Both in Canarese and English).

„ N. C. Kelkar (in Marathi).

„ M. V. Abhyankar (in English).

Pandit Motilal Nehru (English).

Opposed by:—Maniana Hasrat Mohani, (Urdu).

„ Azad Sobhani („)

Swami Govindananda (English).

SECOND DAY.

III. THE LATE Mr. G. M. BHURGRI.

The Congress records with sorrow the death of Mr. G. M. Bhurgri and tenders its respectful sympathy to the bereaved family.

(Moved from the Chair)

IV. APPRECIATION OF SERVICES.

The Congress places on record its appreciation of the great services rendered to the cause of the Indians overseas by Shrimati Sarojini Naidu who by her energy and devotion endeared herself to the Indian settlers and by her persuasive eloquence gained a sympathetic hearing from the Europeans there.

The Congress also notes with gratitude the services rendered to the cause of the settlers of Kenya by Mr. Vaze of the Servants of India Society and Pandit Banarsidas Chaturvedi.

(From the Chair.)

V. SYMPATHY WITH THE PEOPLE OF BURMA.

The Congress tenders its respectful sympathy to the people of Burma in their troubles and trusts that they will not be awed or cowed down by the repression now going on in their midst.

The Congress notes with regret the tendency among certain Indian settlers in Burma to claim communal representation and strongly advises them not to make any such claim as such separatist tendency is bad in principle.

Proposer:—Sjt. S. A. S. Tyabji. (Hindi).

Secunder:—Sjt. V. Madanjit. (English).

Supporter:—Sjt. S. Shrinivasa Aiyengar. (English).

VI. KOHAT AND GULBARGA.

The Congress deplores the Hindu-Moslem tension and the riots that have taken place in various parts of India. The Congress deplores the riots that recently took place in Kohat, resulting in loss of life and destruction of property including temples and is of opinion that the local authority failed to perform the primary duty of protection of life and property. The Congress further deplores the enforced exodus of the Hindu population from Kohat and strongly urges the Mussalmans of Kohat to assure their Hindu brethren of full protection of their lives and

property and to invite them to return as their honoured friends and neighbours. The Congress advises the refugees not to return to Kohat except upon an honourable invitation from the Kohat Mussalmans and upon the advice of Hindu and Mussalman leaders. The Congress advises the public, whether Hindus or Mussalmans, not to accept the finding of the Government of India, as also of others, in the Kohat tragedy and to suspend judgment till the Board appointed by the Unity Conference or some other equily representative body has inquired into the unfortunate event and come to a decision upon it.

The Congress expresses its heart-felt sympathy for the sufferers in the Gulbarga riots and condemns the desecration committed on the places of worship in that town.

Proposed by:—Pandit Motilal Nehru. (English).

Seconded by:—Maulana Shaukat Ali. (Urdu).

Supported by:—Lala Lajpat Rai. (English).

Maulana Zafar Ali. (Urdu).

Sjt. K. H. Mudwedkar. (Kanarese).

VII. UNTOUCHABILITY.

The Congress notes with satisfaction the progress made in Hindu opinion regarding the removal of untouchability but is of opinion that much yet remains to be done and therefore appeals to the Hindu members of all Congress organisations to make a greater effort in the cause. The Congress hereby urges the Hindu members of Provincial Congress Committees to devote greater attention to the amelioration of the lot of the depressed classes by ascertaining their wants such as wells, places of worship, facilities for Education etc., and making provisions for meeting such wants. The Congress congratulates the Satyagrahis of Vaikom, who are engaged in asserting the right of way of untouchables through a thorough-fare which is open to caste Hindus, on their non-violence, patience, courage, and endurance and hopes that the State of Travancore which is regarded as enlightened will recognise the justice of the Satyagrahis' claim and grant speedy relief.

Proposed by:—Sjt. L. B. Bhopatkar. (in Marathi).

Seconded by:— „ Saileshuath Bisi. („ English).

Supported by—Sarnar Kishan Singh. („ Hindi).

Sjt. E. V. Ramswami Naicker. (in Canarese).

Pandit Kavyakantham Ganpatshastri.

(in Sanskrit),

Vedantam Shambhushastri. (Telgu).

Mahadeoshastri Divekar. (Marathi).

VIII. INDIANS OVERSEAS.

The Congress notes with deep sorrow the increasing disabilities of the settlers overseas and records its opinion that the Indian and Imperial Governments have failed to protect the interest of the settlers which they have repeatedly declared to be their trust. The Congress whilst tendering its sympathy to the settlers in their troubles regret its inability to render effective assistance till Swaraj has been attained.

The Congress notes with profound dissatisfaction the sanction given by the Governor General of the Union of South Africa to the Ordinance of the Natal Provincial Legislature depriving the Indians domiciled there of the municipal franchise which they have long enjoyed with impunity.

The Congress regards the question of the deprivation of franchise as not only manifestly unjust but also as a breach of the agreement of 1914 between the Union Government and the Indian community and the past declarations of the Natal Government.

The Congress is of opinion that the so-called settlement of the Kenya question is nothing short of the deprivation of the natural and just rights of the Indian settlers in Kenya.

Proposer :—Shrimati Sarojini Naidu.

Seconder :—Sjt. R. K. Sanmukham Chetti.

IX. AKALI MOVEMENT.

The Congress congratulates the Akalis on the patient endurance and courage with which they are carrying on their struggle for Gurudwara reform and hopes that these qualities of theirs will withstand and survive the insidious attempts now being made by the Punjab Government to crush the spirit of the brave Akalis.

The Congress views with horror and indignation the report of over one hundred deaths among the Akali prisoners in Nabha jail and expresses the strongest disapproval of the refusal of the Nabha authorities to permit the Akali Repression Enquiry Committee, appointed by the Congress Working Committee, to visit the jail. The Congress is of opinion that the phenomenal mortality among prisoners is proof of the inhuman conduct of the authorities towards the prisoners.

The Congress tenders its respectful sympathy to the bereaved families.

Proposed by :—Sjt. T. Prakasham.

Seconder by :—Sardar Mangal Singh.

X. NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

The Congress is strongly of opinion that the hope of the future of the country lies in its youth and therefore trusts that the Provincial Committees will strive more vigorously than they have done to keep alive all national educational institutions. But whilst the Congress is of opinion that existing national educational institutions should be maintained and new ones opened, the Congress does not regard any such institution to be national which does not employ some Indian language as the medium of instruction, and which does not actively encourage Hindu-Moslem unity, education among untouchables and removal of untouchability, which does not make hand-spinning, carding, and training in physical culture and self-defence obligatory, and in which teachers and students over the age of 12 years do not spin for at least half an hour per working day and in which students and teachers do not habitually wear Khaddar.

(From the Chair.)

XI. PAID NATIONAL SERVICE.

Whereas it has been discovered that many otherwise deserving men are unobtainable for national service because of their reluctance to accept remuneration for service, the Congress places on record its opinion that there is not only nothing derogatory to one's dignity in accepting remuneration for national service, but the Congress hopes that patriotic young men and women will regard it as an honour to accept maintenance for service faithfully rendered and that those needing or willing to do service will prefer national to any other service.

(From the Chair.)

XII. CHANGES IN CONSTITUTION.

Delegation fee:—In Article XI "Rs. 10" to be altered to "Re. 1."

In Article XXIII:—Add after the first sentence ending with word "Congress", "The Treasurers shall be in charge of the funds of the Congress and shall keep proper accounts of them. The General Secretaries shall be in charge of the office of the All India Congress Committee and shall be responsible for the publication of the report of the proceedings of the preceding session of the Congress and of any special session held in the course of the year, in co-operation with the Reception Committee. Such report shall be published as soon as possible and not later than four months after the session, and shall be offered for sale."

Add at the end of Article XXIII "and published along with the next Congress report."

(Moved from the Chair.)

XIII. DRINK AND OPIUM TRAFFIC.

The Congress notes with satisfaction that notwithstanding the setback suffered by the campaign against the use of intoxicating drinks and drugs initiated in 1921, Congress workers in several parts of the country have continued it with vigour and determination. The Congress hopes that the peaceful endeavour of workers to wean those who are addicted to the drink or the opium habit from the curse will receive further and greater strength and encouragement than hitherto.

The Congress is of opinion that the policy of the Government of India in using the drink and drug habit of the people as a source of revenue is detrimental to the moral welfare of the people of India and would therefore welcome its abolition.

The Congress is further of opinion that the regulation by the Government of India of the opium traffic is detrimental not only to the moral welfare of India but of the whole world, and that the cultivation of opium in India, which is out of all proportion to medical and scientific requirements, should be restricted to such requirements.

(From the Chair.)

XIV. OFFICE BEARERS.

Resolved that the following office-bearers be appointed:—

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------|
| (1) Mr. Shuiab Quereshi. | } Secretaries. |
| (2) „ Barjorji Framji Bharucha. | |
| (3) „ Jawabarlal Nehru. | |

TREASURERS.

- (1) Seth Revashankar Jagjivan Javeri.
- (2) „ Jamnalal Bajaj.

(From the Chair.)

XV. NEXT CONGRESS.

Resolved that the venue of the next session of the Congress be fixed by the All-India Congress Committee. (The All-India Congress Committee subsequently met and decided that the next session of the Congress be held in Cawnpore.)

(From the Chair.)

XVI. AUDITOR.

Resolved that the All-India Congress Committee do appoint the Auditor for 1925.

(From the Chair.)



PLATE 15

PRESIDENT & THE LEADERS' PROCESSION
ON THE OPENING DAY—No. 2

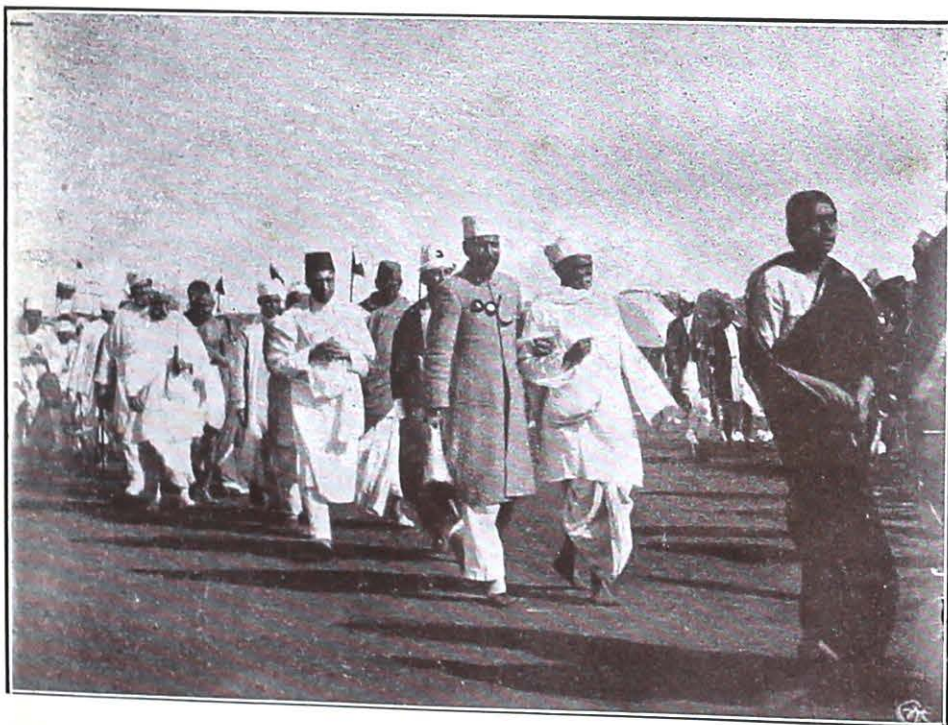


PLATE 16

PRESIDENT & THE LEADERS' PROCESSION
ON THE OPENING DAY—No. 3

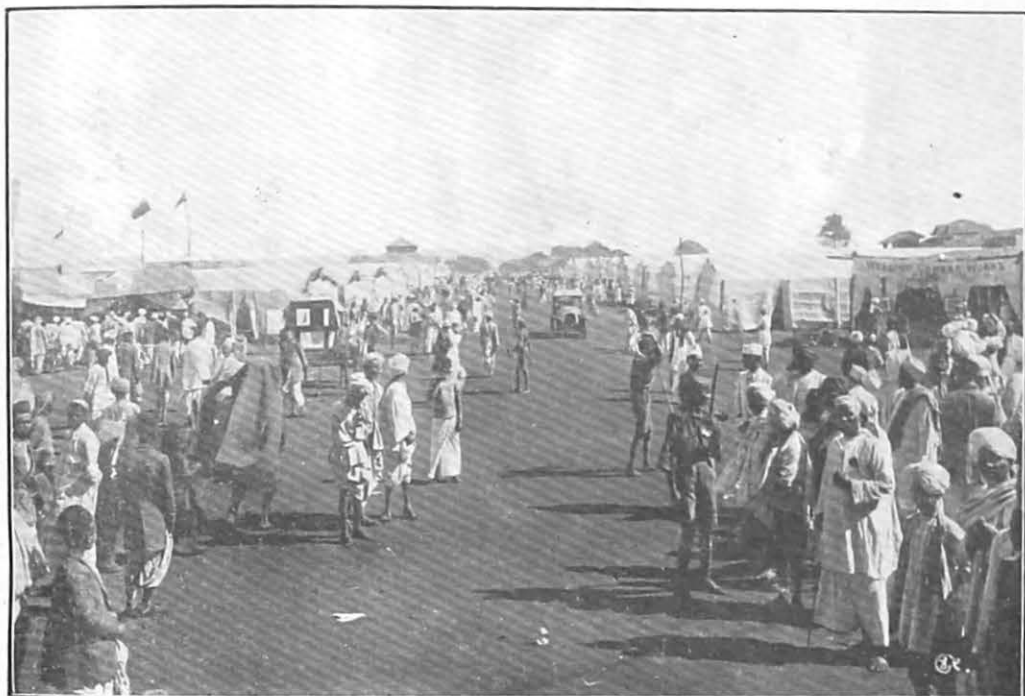


PLATE 9.

VIDYARANYA ROAD TO THE LOKMANYA CIRCLE.



PLATE 10.

THE GOPUR.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

THE 39TH SESSION

HELD AT

BELGAUM

ON

26th & 27th December 1924.

OPENING DAY.

THE thirty-ninth session of the Indian National Congress assembled in Belgaum at 3 P. M. on Friday the 26th December 1924, under the most auspicious circumstances and amidst scenes of great enthusiasm in the spacious and magnificent Congress pavilion made in 1923 for the Cocanada session of the Congress. It was a momentous, eventful, and unique session. It was thoroughly businesslike and the shortest on record in spite of a difficult programme to be gone through. Ever since Mahatma Gandhiji's release all eyes of the country had turned to him for his leadership and for the establishment of unity in and outside the Congress. Having studied the situation, he began to prepare the ground for unity and cement the foundation laid by the Cocanada Congress for unity. By his rare skill and tact, by his great personality and persuasiveness and his heart-to-heart talks, while allowing fearless open discussion in private conferences and Committee meetings, he had facilitated matters for the open session. Thus the session achieved signal success in bringing together the No-changers and the Swarajists and in removing mutual suspicions and antagonisms. Besides, this session has given scope for the return of the Liberals and other seceders into the Congress so far as it is "humanly possible". The substitution of the spinning franchise for the money franchise is unprecedented and unique in the political history of the world. All agreed to work it out for the attainment of the goal.

The Congress pavilion was splendidly decorated with wreaths of greens, flags and festoons inspiring nationalism, and with Sanskrit, Kannada and English mottoes inspiring freedom and liberty. The seating accommodation was almost similar to that made in the previous session of the Congress and all in the usual national style. In the western segment of the pavilion was a long raised platform, in the middle of which was arranged a nice *Mandap* well beautified with Khaddar and floral wreaths. At the back of the President's cushion in the centre was prominently seen the life-size portrait of Lokamanya Tilak, on either side of which life-size portraits of Mahatma Gandhi in his loin-cloth were put up. The pictures of Vidyaranya and his disciples along with those of the deities of Shiva, Vishnu and Lakshmi, symbolic of destruction, construction and evolution of force, adorned the front of the *Mandap*. Below them was hung a picture of the Karnatak Coat-of-Arms with Nandi in the centre and two elephants with their trunks raised on either side and "Karnatak ki jai" was inscribed in Kannada in it. Among other portraits were those of the Maharaja of Mysore and many leaders, past and present. The portrait of Sir P. C. Ray busy with his Charkha was entertaining. On the right of the *Mandap* ladies were seated; and also a big choir of men in Khaki and women in dark Kaladagi Saris. On either side of it were seated distinguished visitors, members of the A. I. C. C. and members of the Reception Committee. The delegates were seated on the floor in the various avenues which projected to the central pulpit circle. The visitors occupied the gallery all round.

Long over three hours before the time fixed for the commencement of the session, people began to pour in at the majestic Gopura, towering over a height of 70 feet, which was built in the Hampi style reminding the Temple of Freedom. Until 2 P. M. when the gates of the Gopura were thrown open, the rush was too heavy and the volunteers and the Congress Officers very remarkably commanded them. By 2-30 P. M. the whole pavilion was fully occupied by the delegates, members of the Reception Committee and visitors.

Just a few minutes before 3 P. M. the President's imposing procession passed through the Gopura amidst thundering cheerings of the immense crowds standing by. Then it marched by the side of the merry fountain playing on the flowers and the greens designed in the words, "Karnatak ki Jai", "Lokamanya ki Jai" and "Mahatma Gandhiki

Jai". The cheerings of the people outside were a signal to the delegates and visitors inside to be on their alert to give a fitting welcome to the President. Hardly had the procession reached the inviting deities and the Dwarpalakas put at the main entrance of the pavilion and hardly had the Swaraj flag been seen passing in, when the vast assembly sprang to their feet and accorded a prolonged and enthusiastic ovation with a tremendous outburst of rejoicing cheerings of "*Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai*", "*Vande Mataram*", "*Alla-ho-akabar*", and so on. Under the able lead of Dr. Hardikar, Commander of the Volunteer Corps, the procession slowly moved on in twos towards the Mandap, to the strains of music. Among the leaders in the procession, who were all moving two by two except the President who was alone by himself in his loin-cloth, there were Deshbandhu C. R. Das Dr. Saif-ud-din Kitchlew, Sjt. Gangadhar rao Deshpande, Pandit Malviya Mohan Malviya, Lala Lajpat Rai, Maulana Mohammad Ali, Srimati Sarojani Devi, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar, Sjt. Vithalbhai Patel, Sjt. T. Prakasham, Babu Rajendra Prasad Sjt. K. Venkatappayya Pantulu, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Dr. Moonje, Sjt. A. Rangaswami Aiyangar, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Among others who also took their seats on the dais were Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta, Sjt. N. C. Kelkar, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Sjt. P. Siva Rao, Janab Yakoob Hasan, Sjt. S. Satyamurti, Sjt. Purushottandas Tandon, Pandit Sundarlal Sjt. Shankarlal Banker, Srimam S. Sreenivasa Aiyangar, Dr. Mahmood, Sjt. Jamnadas Mehta, Dr. U. Rama Rao, Sjt. S. V. Kaujalgi, Sjt. C. R. Reddi, Janab Asaf Ali, Mrs. Mohammad Ali and Miss Mohammad Ali (Gulnar), Swami Shraddhanandji, Sirdar Mangal Singh and Sriman C. V. Venkat Raman Iyengar.

The President, Mahatma Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, was received on the dais by the Chairman of the Reception Committee and was profusely garlanded. Other leaders were also garlanded. On the right of the President, Lala Lajpat Rai and Shrimati Sarojani Devi, on the left Pandit Malviya and Deshbandhu Das, and in front Maulana Mohammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali took their seats.

Punctually at 3 P. M. the proceedings of the Congress commenced with the singing of the national anthem "*Sujalam, suphalam, malayaja sheetalam.....*" by a big choir of volunteers, while all were standing. Then followed the following two welcome songs in Kanarese by the same choir :-

ಸ್ವಾಗತಗೀತೆ.

ಶ್ರೀರಾಗ. ಧ್ವಂಜತಾಳ.

ಸ್ವಾಗತವು ಸ್ವಾಗತವು ಸಕಲಜನಸಂಕುಲಕೆ |

ಸ್ವಾಗತವ ಗೈದು ತಿರಬಾಸುವೆವು ಬುಧಗಣಕೆ || ಪಲ್ಲ ||

ಬೆಳಗು ಬರೆ ಬಿಸಜಿಯು | ಗೆಳೆಯನುದಿಸುವನೆಂದು |

ತಿಳುಹಿಸಲು ನೊದಲುವೆನು | ನಲಿನ ಖಗಕುಲದಂತೆ ||

ಮುಳುಗಿರುವ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯ | ನಳಿನಸಖನುದಯವನು ||

ಇಳಿಗೈಲಿ ತಿಳುಹಿಸಲು | ಕಲಿತು ಉಲಿಯುವ ತಮಗೆ || ಸ್ವಾಗತವು || ೧ ||

ಪಾರತಂತ್ರ್ಯದ ಬಲಿಗೆ | ಸೇರಿ ಮರುಗುತಲಿರುವ |

ಭಾರತಾಂಬೆಯ ಭಯವ | ದೂರಮಾಡುವೆನಿಂತೆ ||

ಜಾರು ಸತ್ಯಾಗ್ರಹದ | ಜೂರಿಯಿಂ ಚರಚರನೆ |

ತೋರ ಬಲಿಯನು ಹರಿವ | ಧೀರ ನರವೀರರಿಗೆ || ಸ್ವಾಗತವು || ೨ ||

ಯೋಗಭೂಮಿಗೆ ಹಿಡಿದ | ರೋಗವನು ಹಿಂಗಿಸಲು |

ಸಾಗಿಸುತೆ ಪುಸಿವೊಲೆಯ | ಬಾಗಿ ನನ್ನಿಗೆ ತಲೆಯ |

ತ್ಯಾಗವ್ರತವನಿ ತಳೆದು | ಭೋಗವೆಲ್ಲವ ಕಳೆದು |

ಯೋಗಿಗಳ ತೆರ ಮೆರೆವ | ತ್ಯಾಗಮೂರುತಿಗಳಿಗೆ || ಸ್ವಾಗತವು || ೩ ||

ತಿಳವಿನಾಗರವೆನಿಸಿ | ತಳೆದು ಸುಖಸಂಪದವ |

ಬೆಳೆದ ಸಾವ್ರಾಜ್ಯದಿಂ | ಹೊಳೆದ ಕನ್ನಡದೇವಿ |

ಕಳೆದ ಸಿರಿಯನು ಮರಳಿ | ಗಳಿಸಲ್ಪೆ ಕಲಿಯಿಸಿರೆ |

ಬೆಳಗಾಂವಿಯೊಳು ಕಲಿತು | ಕುಳಿತ ಬಲವಂತರಿಗೆ || ಸ್ವಾಗತವು || ೪ ||

ಬಡವ ಹಿಡಿಯವಲಕ್ಕಿ | ಕೊಡಲು ಪ್ರೇಮದಲಂದು |

ಗಡನೆ ತೃಪ್ತಿಯ ತಳೆದ ಪೊಡವಿಯೊಡೆಯನ ತೆವದಿ |

ಸಿಡಿವನೆಯೊಲಿರುವ ಈ | ಬಡವರಾತಿಥ್ಯವನು |

ಕಡಲಿನಂದದಿ ಕಂಡು | ಪಡೆಯುವುಮ ತಪೆರನ್ನು || ಸ್ವಾಗತವು || ೫ ||

ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಗೇರಿ ಕೃಷ್ಣ ಕರ್ಮ " ಕವಿಭೂಷಣ "

ಭಾರತ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗೀತೆ.

ಶ್ರೀರಾಗ. ಮುಪಾರಿಃ ಧ್ವಂಜ ತಾಳ.

ನಮ್ಮದ್ದೆ ! ನಮ್ಮದ್ದೀ ಭರತಭೂಮಿ || ಪಲ್ಲ ||

ಹೆರನರಂ ನಂಬದಲೆ ಜಗದೀಶ್ವರಂ ತಾನೆ |

ಧರಿಸಿ ನಾನಾವತಾರಂಗಳನ್ನು ||

ಕಲೆವ ಸರ್ವಸ್ವಮಂ ಭವಿಯು ಸಂರಕ್ಷಿಸುವ |

ತೆರವ ಕಲಿಸಿವ ಪೂರ್ವಪಾಠಶಾಲೆ || ನಮ್ಮದ್ದೆ ! || ೧ ||

ಉಚಿತತ್ವಾರ್ಥಗಳನುಚರಿಸಿ ಲೋಕವನು ,
 ಎಚ್ಚರಿಸಿ ದೇವರಿಚ್ಛಾಜ್ಯೋತಿಯಂ ||
 ಅಚ್ಚಳಿಯದೊಲುಗೈದ ಸುಖುಷಿ ಪದವೀಧರರು |
 ಸ್ವೇಚ್ಛೆಯಿಂ ನೆಲೆಗೈದ ಸುಕ್ಷೇತ್ರವು || ನಮ್ಮದೈ ! || ೨ ||
 ಪದವೀಧರರ್ಪೆಳ್ಳ ವಧ್ಧತಿಗಳನು ಬಿಡದೆ |
 ಸದಭಿಮಾನೈಕ್ಯ-ಶಾರ್ಯೋತ್ಪಾಹದಿಂ ||
 ಉದಿತ ಸುಸ್ಮಾರ್ತಿಯಿದೆಮ್ಮ ಪೂರ್ವಜರಿದರ್
 ಮುದದ ಭಾಗ್ಯದ ನಿಧಿಯು ಮಂದಿರವಿದು || ನಮ್ಮದೈ ! || ೩ ||
 ದೇವಯುಷಿಪೂರ್ವ ಜರುದಾತ್ಸವೈತ್ರಿಪ್ರಭಾ- |
 ಭಾವನಾಮೃತವೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂ ಬೆಳೆಯುವ ||
 ಭಾವಿಸುಖಸಾಮ್ರಾಜ್ಯವೆಂಬ ಸತ್ಪಲಗಳನು |
 ಈವ ಸರ್ವೋತ್ಕೃಷ್ಟ ನಂದನವನಂ || ೪ ||

ಶಾಂತಕವಿ,

Shriyut GANGADHAR RAO BALKRISHNA DESHPANDE, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, then welcomed the delegates in a short speech in Kanarese.

The following is his printed address in English, which was taken as read :—

Sister and Brother Delegates, Ladies & Gentlemen,

While I regard it as the crowning moment of my life to have the privilege of offering to you on behalf of this newly awakened Province of Karnatak, a cordial welcome to this small agricultural town of Belgaum, I cannot at the same time, adequately express to you the feelings that are surging within me on this great occasion, feelings of diffidence at the magnitude of the responsibilities thrown on us by your kindness and courtesy in accepting our invitation. I cannot but be conscious of the fact that our utter lack of experience, extremely inadequate resources, and the difficulties we have had to face on account of the absence of all facilities which large cities offer, have rendered the preparations we have made for your reception imperfect in every way, and that we have been unable to arrange for all those comforts, with which you could be provided in other cities. I must frankly admit, it was more our love and enthusiasm for the Congress cause and a desire to realise our existence as a distinct provincial unit than our resources or capacity that emboldened us at Cocoanada to invite you this year. I have therefore to crave with all humility for your indulgence at our numerous short-comings.

It is for the first time in the history of the Congress that a small town like ours with a population hardly exceeding 36,000 souls most of whom are simple peasants, has ventured to hold its Sessions. If by the grace of Providence, this session is crowned with a measure of success, I am sure other such small rural places, will, in future, be emboldened to invite the Congress and thus serve to demonstrate the proof of the movement being an expression not merely of the wealth and intelligentia but of the mind of the whole nation.

On this occasion, when for the first time Karnatak as a province is coming before the whole of India, however intensely I may desire to acquaint you with its great and glorious past, the pressure of time compels me to rest content with only a brief reference to it in very general terms. Long have we suffered from the multiple partition of fair Karnatak. Some chroniclers may try to find justification for this dismemberment but none can deny that it was without the consent and against the interests of the people themselves.

The Kannadigas are a unit by themselves, speaking the same language and fostering a common tradition, heritage and culture. They had a distinct entity in the ancient Indian polity. Even in the modern historical times, Karnatak has exhibited the richness of its culture and power, when it was one and undivided, under the mighty and glorious and never-to-be forgotten Empire of Vijayanagar. That was the hey-day of our civilisation. Poets and philosophers, administrators and religious reformers, architects and engineers, vied with each other to prove the fecundity of Karnatak. Our philosophical speculation has powerfully influenced the North, through the then national language Sanskrit. I may just observe here in passing, that we have come to recognise that to-day, if we want to influence the North, it can only be through Hindi, *i. e.* Hindustani the national language of to-day.

Karnatak has had, with the rest of India, to pass through a period, brief but very disastrous period of the dwindling of the fire of life, a period of ill-started disintegration, marked politically by the anarchy which gave European adventure its chance; and inwardly by an increasing torpor of the creative spirit in religion and art, science and philosophy. And these evils have been incalculably aggravated by the multiple partition to which the province has come to be subjected. But the partition was not our only woe. Multiplicity of religions, castes, creeds, sects and persuasions, that ought to have lent richness and variety, as in former times, to our outlook and achievements, has only served almost to dismember the province internally. The inherent capacity for growth was there, but the necessary organisation for its development was denied to us. Along with the sign of a general revival in the rest of India, this province too can boast of some engineering skill, legal acumen, and administrative ability; while the patient tiller of the soil is still the pride of the land, alike for

his industry and culture, high idealism combined with an eye for practical results, and a strong regard for discipline and combined action are still the characteristics of this province; and thank God, with the reconstruction of our Province by the Congress, hope has sprung up out of the depths of despair and a bright future seems to be assured to us. Not only has the Congress united us geographically, but the spirit of independence and an appreciation of non-violence are fast cementing various faiths and parties in the Karnatak. The Jain and the Lingayat, the Brahman and the Non-Brahman, the Hindu and the Musalman are now learning to understand each other. We are becoming more and more alive to the duties and responsibilities of brotherhood and we are gradually uniting under the banner of Swaraj.

Opening day.

Chairman's Address.

The question of Brahman and Non-Brahman estrangement had grown so very delicate that we dared not even refer to it without fear of misunderstanding. But thank Providence, we have passed that stage and under the magic influence of Mahatmaji we have come to understand to an appreciable degree each other's view-points. I am firmly of opinion that the solution of the problem lies to a great extent, in the hands of the Brahmans. The very Brahmanical ideal demands of them the utmost sacrifice. Mahatmaji has set us a noble example of how far we shall surrender for the sake of love and unity. Having once recognised that, it is impossible for this hapless nation to live and breathe freely without Swaraj. No sacrifice should be too great for us for securing the unity so essential for Swaraj.

To my mind, whatever be our formulas for fighting bureaucracy, our programme for securing the strength and unity of India is common to us all. The triple constructive programme laid down by Gandhiji is sufficient to engage all the energy of even the best of us.

In our Province but for stray incidents Hindu-Moselm problem has no place. The relations of the two communities have been as a rule, very cordial.

The sense of untouchability is unfortunately still lingering here, but it is fast dying out under the influence of healthier ideas. The erstwhile untouchables in our Province freely mix with other Hindoos in public meetings, public bodies and national schools. Yet I must admit, much remains to be done in the matter of their education and social amelioration.

Although we cannot claim to have done much in the organisation and use of Khaddar from the point of view of the goal we have to reach, Karnatak can well take pride in being one of the foremost provinces in the production of Khaddar. Our monthly output of Khadi is more than 44,000 lbs. It is estimated that 2,24,000 wheels are regularly plying to keep the movement agoing. About 600 persons have undertaken to pay the *Swaraj-tax* of 2,000 yards per month and had it not been for the Congress preparations, the number would have

Opening day.
Chairman's Address.
 gone much higher. Any-way a large part of the public has come to realise that the Khaddar movement is a positive boon to the toiling masses, and in this lies the best guarantee and insurance of the Khadi movement. A goodly number of earnest workers have also realised that Khadi work is the best unifying factor between the classes and the masses and I can well say that the coarse handspun stuff of our national flag is more representative of our national unity than the colours in which it is painted.

The unfortunate differences in the Congress fold have thrown the whole country into dismay and confusion. But it cannot, ought not, to go on for long. Our forces are disunited and to some extent shattered, but certainly they are not destroyed. If we do not go mad and systematically destroy everything that we achieved during these recent years, I am sure our solid work will survive all disappointments and misgivings. We have simply to pull together the loosened strings to make a united India once again. Our difficulties are not external, they are of the heart. Not negotiations therefore, but purification of the heart is what is needed.

The task is not easy, I admit, but neither is it impossible. The strong family-tie for which and by which India has always stood will stand us in good stead and the spirit of brotherhood, let us hope, will overcome the spirit of hatred or mistrust. The unmitigated tyranny of rulers too, is a great unifying factor.

When I think of the circumstances created by the Bengal Government by its recent issue of a monstrous Ordinance, I am tempted to regard it as a blessing in disguise. Bengal has once again heroically stood against the oppression of an unscrupulous bureaucracy in a way that has commanded the admiration of all, and her sufferings have not been endured in vain since they have helped to draw closer all parts of the country in sympathy.

Friends, our country is passing through a critical stage. Mighty potentialities for good and for evil are before us. Our opportunities are unique but our pitfalls are also deep, numerous and deceptive. To-day with us, it is the best of time, it is the worst of time; it is the age of wisdom, it is the age of folly; it is the epoch of belief; it is the epoch of scepticism.

I do not propose to give my opinion on the great political problems of the day that are clamouring for solution at your hands. I have ever held that it is not the scientific precision of a programme but the will behind it that really counts. I want our masses to rise to the consciousness of the potentiality and thus develop a *will to Swaraj*. Whatever programme secures this, has my support. I have worked in that spirit under the flag of the Lokmanya and am now trying to do the same under Mahatmaji who has been holding aloft that flag since. I can only say that without unity among ourselves and a leader

commanding the confidence and affection of all masses as well as classes. our further progress is impossible. Fortunately for us, we have amongst us to-day Mahatmaji who visibly embodies in himself such unity and such leadership, and with him at the helm of our national affairs, I am confident, we shall not only be able to recover our lost ground but soon again be in sight of our cherished goal. In electing him as President, the Reception Committee have, I am sure, only fulfilled the demand of the time. It is with feelings, which I find lack of words to describe, that I request Mahatmaji to take the chair.

Opening
day.

President's
Opening
Remarks.

The President, MAHATMA GHANDI, walked down from the Dias to the rostrum in loin-cloth and with Khaddar in his hand amidst enthusiastic cheers. He hung up his bag on the rostrum, sat on a sufficiently high stool and kept his watch open in front of him. He was then presented by the Chairman of the Reception Committee a copy of the KARNATAK A HAND-BOOK enclosed in a sandal wood box, saying "for your information, Sir". The President received the present amidst cheers with a living smile. He then proceeded to address in Hindi. For ten minutes he made a speech in Hindi, which is as follows:—

२६ दिसम्बर १९२४ काँग्रेस का आरंभ दिवस था। इस दिन तीन बजे मध्याह्नोत्तर राष्ट्रसभा का महोत्सव बालिकाओं के "बन्देमातरम्" तथा एक 'कर्नाटक' गान से हुआ। मंगलाचरणोत्सवक इन मधुर गीतों के अनन्तर स्वागत समिति के अध्यक्ष महोदय श्री गंगाधरराव देशपाण्डे ने अपना व्याख्यान स्थानीय भाषामें दिया जिसकी ओजस्विता और मनोहारित आशुत्तित करतल ध्वनि से विदित होती थी। तत्पश्चात् महात्मा गांधीजी, काँग्रेस के मनोनीत सभापति महोदय, मञ्चपर आने को उठे-उठते ही भाँति २ की जयजय ध्वनि से महासभा मण्डप गूँज उठा। स्वागत समिति के अध्यक्षजीने कर्नाटक का एक इतिहासे महात्माजी को अर्पित किया और तदनंतर महात्माजीने आपना भाषण आरंभ करते हुए कहा:—

"भाई गंगाधरराव, भाइयो और बहिनो, आपने मुझे यह उत्तम स्थान दिया है इस लिये मैं आप सब भाइयों और बहिनों को कोई बड़ी तकरार सुनाना नहीं चाहता जो कुछ भी मैं इस स्थान से कहना चाहता था वह सब भाई लोग और बहिनो जानती हो। मेरा भाषण, ऐड्रेस, व्याख्यान (जो है) उसका अनुवाद हिंदी में कन्नड में मराठी में और अंग्रेजी में छप गया है। और मैं ने गंगाधररावजी से प्रार्थना की थी कि आप सब डेलिगेट भाइयों को कल शाम को मिल जाय—मुझे उम्मीद है कि आपका मेरा व्याख्यान मिल गया है और आप सब ने उसे अच्छी तरहसे पढ़ लिया है।

मैं आपको सिर्फ इतना कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज हमारे सामने ऐसा मौका आ गया है कि हम जो १९२०-२१ में करना चाहते थे वह न करसके लेकिन उसके

बरले में हमारे बीच में मतभेद, दुश्मनी पैदा हो गयी है हिन्दु-मुसलमान एक दूसरे
 को दुश्मन मानते हैं और एक दूसरे को मारापीटा करते हैं। यह कोई स्वराज्य लेने की
 लड़ाई नहीं है यह बात समझने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। हम हिन्दू जाति हमारे
 अस्पृश्य जाति को घृणा की दृष्टि से देखते हैं हम उसके दुर्ने से पाप समझते हैं, ऐसा
 मानकर हम उसकी अशुद्ध समझते हैं। लेकिन खुदा के सामने, ईश्वर के सामने बड़ा
 भारी गुनाह करते हैं। और हम न गधे बर्ष से ४ वर्ष से आगव मान लिया
 है कि हरएक बड़े को छोट की चरखा चलाना चाहिए। और हम कहते आये हैं
 क्रोध से, और डरेडिया क्रोध से कपटीय कहते आये हैं कि हम चरखे स्वराज्य लेनेकी
 इरादा करना चाहते हैं। जब मैं पुनर्भ गवाया-हम आन्दोलनमें-मैं ने कहाया और
 जिनने लगा उस जलसे मैं थ उन्ही ने कहाया कि मैं ने मानलिया है-मैं ने कहा या
 कि लोकमान्य एक अकार्य दिया है वह यह है कि स्वराज्य मनुष्यका जन्मसिद्ध अधिक-
 कार है मैं इस अंक की पूरा करने के लिये पैदा हुआ हूँ। ऐसा मरा लयाल है। मैं चाह
 अधिक करता हूँ। अगर चाहते हैं स्वराज्य, तो उसका रस्सा चरख है, सूत है,
 खर है। मुझे यह जानते हुए अफसोस होता है कि आप इतने जानते हैं मगर इसपर
 नहीं चलते-मैं इसके सिवा न कुछ जानता हूँ और न सोच सकता हूँ। इस से मैं
 आप माइया और बाहिनो को कहता हूँ कि मरा आपके सामने आना और सुनाना कुछ
 चीज नहीं है इस की मैं निकाम बात समझता हूँ-मरा दिल यह कहता है कि यह
 निकम्मा काम है-यही आपकी सामने आना आपके बक और मरा भी बक जो मैं
 अस्पृश्य समझता हूँ खोल करना है अस्पृश्य इसलिये कि मैं अपने को खुराका गुलाम,
 बन्दी समझता हूँ। मैं चाहता हूँ कि स्वराज्य इस तरह नहीं मिलेगा। मौलाना महम्मद
 अली की आसपास कहतीया कि जब २ मैं कोप्रिस में आती हूँ तो एक सप्ताह के
 लिये माइम होता है कि हम स्वराज्य मिलेगा। इसकी मतलब यह है हम स्वराज्य की
 नाटक करते हैं जैसे कि इतरेअद की भूति देखते हैं इर्जाकत यह है कि उस में कोई
 अर्थ नहीं है। जो इतरेअदका आभनय करता है उस में सत्य है या नहीं वह हम
 नहीं जानते हैं। इसी तरह स्वराज्य का जलसा भी एक नाटक (हो गया) है।

President's
 Opening
 Remarks.

मने कहते हैं कि यह बात झूठी है, यह आप कहें कि मेरी खुश बख्त है और
 दूसरी की बात झूठी है तो इस बातकी, इस आप कहें की भी मिटा देना है यह भी
 एक खतरनाक बात है। जबतक जातमें प्रतिभक अलग हैं तबतक मत भी अलग
 होना। लेकिन हम हर एक की हर एक बातें हैं, सहनशीलता प्रदा करना
 चाहते हैं—यह भी आसिया का एक टुकड़ा है।

कोसिसके बर्तने आयगे।
 फरवादी और फरवादी दोनों की है। किमी एक की है यह बात झूठी है। इसलिये वे
 इसका मानी यह नहीं है कि जो असहयोगी है वह भी उसको मानते हैं। कोसिस ना-
 कानूनी जो कहें कि नहीं। तो यह सुलहनाम है कि अगर जाना चाहते हैं तो जाया
 कि जब वे उसमें जायदा समझते हैं तो वे भक्त जाय। यह भी मुद्रके बर्तने है म
 कुछ मिल सकता है, कुछ न करे तो काउन्सिल में तो जाय। सब है। मैं कहता हूँ
 के भावत कुछ भी नहीं मिल सकता लेकिन बहरे २ नवा है जो मानते हैं कि कुछ न
 चाहते हैं, जो कुछ वे चाहते हैं उसका हक देते हैं। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि काउन्सिल
 के सामने रखा है। और मैं समझता हूँ कि इसमें कोई गज्जती नहीं है जो कुछ हम
 पण्डित भातिलाल नेहरू के साथ एक इकार कर लिये और मैं ने बह सारे भारत वर्ष
 अगर आप स्वयंय चाहते हैं, तो यह बात है। मैं ने देशबन्ध दास और

रोटी नहीं मिलती जबतक स्वयंय नहीं मिल सकता।
 शैला जबतक हिंदुस्तान में कंगालपन नहीं मिटती। जबतक देशके करोड़ों कंगालोंको
 खाली, सूत नहीं निकालते, खरब नहीं बनते, नहीं पहनते। जबतक यह नहीं
 कि स्वयंय दार्शन शासित नहीं हो सकता है जबतक करोड़ों भाई बहिने खरबा नहीं
 खडना नहीं चाहता हूँ, जो समझता है वह मुनाता हूँ समझता हूँ। मुझे विश्वास है
 सजा देगी तो मैं आपकी यही सुनाता हूँ और आपकी बहकाना नहीं चाहता मैं खल
 है, झूठा पसा है, खोटा कपया है। अगर झूठा पैसा लेकर हुकान में गये तो गबनमंड
 की नल हो करान हो उसकी पण्डिय आप समझेंगे कि वह आदमी कोई है, निकम्मा
 करता है? गुलसारास कया कहते हैं? मजे ही बाहविल हो, मजे ही गुकमपसाह
 हिंदुस्तान स्वयंय के काबिल है? जो प्रातिसा जोह देता है उसके लिये जगत कया
 गायकी पण्डलपन मज्जम होतो उसका जग कोजायगा। आप फिर सोचें कि कया
 प्रातिसा करके उसपर न चलें तो मैं आपकी आप पर जोहता हूँ। अगर आपका इसमें
 मैं स्वीकार करना प्रातिसा करना समझता हूँ ईश्वर का नाम लेकर प्रातिसा की, और
 करें अगर आप भाईयो में एसी प्रातिसा की, आपने इस प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार किया,
 मानता है कि यह बात ठीक नहीं है गांधी जीके में खलता है तो अस्वीकार करें, अगर

President's
 Remarks

तो प्रायः एक है वह भी हमारे माइयाँ समझते—हिंदी में जो कहना था समाप्त किया—मैं वह प्रस्ताव आपने समझ लिया है, इस लिये वह आर्थे गे और प्रस्ताव नहीं पढ़ेंगे, जो कुछ कहना है कह देंगे आप उनको मजबूर नहीं करेंगे। प्रतिनिधि यों को सुनाता हो कि वह प्रस्ताव पढ़ें इसलिये मैंने जाहिरनामा और गंगाधररावजी से कहा था कि प्रस्ताव उनके पास पहुँच जाय आपके पास पहुँच गया होगा। (नहीं नहीं) की जगह। (कितने ऐसे हैं) ? (बहुतकी जगह) अच्छा, मैं ने कह दिया है, मैं ने सुना दिया है कि उस प्रस्ताव में क्या लिखा है (इसकी जगह) आप सब वह प्रस्ताव पढ़ें और, अबधारी में निकल जायगा। थोड़ा सी बात है उसमें दोनों स्वराज्यवादी और नाफेवादी, खैर और नाचखैर सब एक होकर रहना चाहते हैं। हमारे मत में फरक है लेकिन हमारे इरादे में फरक नहीं है। अगर आप नाफेवादी हैं तो आपके इरादे में उतना ही स्थान देना चाहिये, पाठिल मौलिक और कैलकर के लिये और दूसरों के लिये होना चाहिये जितना मेरे लिये। अगर आप स्वराज्यवादी हैं तो मेरे लिये उतनाही स्थान देना चाहिये जितना उनमें से किसी के लिये। यह हिन्दू मुसलियम यूनिटी है—हिन्दू मुसलियम यूनिटी का यही अर्थ है कि मैं सनातनी तो जितना स्थान मेरे इरादे में पूज्य माजराय जी के लिये है उतनाही मौलाना मुहम्मद अली के लिये, शौकत अली के लिये और किसी भी मुसलमान के लिये होना चाहिये,

नहीं थी।
 जेता और बागाली में बागाली भाइ यों को सुनाता। लेकिन मेरे सुभाष में वह बात शक्ति देता कि जिस भाषा में रवीन्द्रनाथ ठाकुर उतम काव्य देते हैं उसकी मैं सीख भूल गया। इस मुद्दे में बागाल भी मदद करता है। मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि दूसरे मुझे ऐसा मगर मैं तो जानता हूँ यह नहीं समझते। मैं एक बात भूल गया। मैं देशबन्धु दास को भाव है, कर्नाटक को है मेरी टूटीफूटी हिन्दी समझते हैं, तो मैं अब भी चल जाता, मुझे विश्वास हो जाय कि मैं जो कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ वह जो भाई लामिन्नाथ से है कि जितना प्रयत्न इसके लिये करना चाहिये, हम लोगो ने नहीं किया है। अगर लेकिन हमारे दृष्टि से हमारी शिक्षा में ऐसा दोष हो गया है और आत्मसंपन्न आ गया करता रहा हूँ कि कम से कम कॉलेज में, स्वराज्य के विषय में, हिन्दी में बात करें। 'अंग्रेजी में कही'—यह बड़े दरद की बात है। मैं जब से हिन्दूस्तान में आया तब से हुए मुझे अफसोस होता है कि कितने भाई दक्षिण से कर्नाटक से, आते हैं जो कहते हैं इतना, माइयाँ, मैं ने हिन्दी में टूटीफूटी हिन्दी में समझा दिया। यह कहते

President's Remarks

नहीं मानते कि फेब्रुअरी से नये कॉलेज की शक्ति कम हो जायगी तो इसका त्याग करें।
 खर्रा है अगर आप खर्रा शौख नहीं मानते हैं, खरर नहीं मानते अगर आप यह लिकन मैं ने कहा है कि यह एक छोटी बात है। प्रतिभा में सब से बड़ी बात

Opening day

भक्ते वह हम को दुश्मन मानता हो। यह बड़ी बात मैं ने कह दी। आप कहेंगे कहाँ मालवीय जी कहाँ दुश्मन समझनेवाला मुसलमान!! लेकिन अगर गीताजी, भागवत-जी, रामायणजी, पढ़कर मैं ने कुछ सीखा है तो यही।

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तो अब आप प्रस्ताव पढ़कर उन की बात सुनें और उनको मजबूर न करें कि उसे वह पढ़ें। (इस के पश्चात् महात्माजी ने अंग्रेजी में भाषण किया और तदनन्तर शोकसूचक प्रथम प्रस्ताव उपस्थित करते हुए कहा) :—

President's Opening Remarks.

“इस प्रस्ताव में सिर्फ इतनी बात है कि जिनका, बीअम्मा, और दूसरे भाइयों का नाम इस में है उनकी मृत्यु पर हम अफसोस जाहिर करते हैं और उनके रिश्तेदारों से हम दर्दी जाहिर करते हैं— मैं जानता हूँ कि इस में किसी को शिकायत नहीं हो सकती। इस लिये आप खड़े होकर थोड़े मिनट खड़े रह कर जब मैं बैठ जाऊंगा आप बैठ जाय। यह इस प्रस्ताव का स्वीकार करना है”। सब खड़े हो गये बीच में कहीं से आवाज आनेपर महात्माजी ने कहा :— बीच में जितने हैं सब खड़े होकर; एक भी बैठ न रह जाय, शान्ति से, मैं ने कहा किसी को बात नहीं करनी चाहिये, सब शान्ति से हमारे अन्दर हम बताना चाहते हैं अदब, तो सब शान्ति से थोड़े सेकण्ड के लिये खड़े रहें।

जय २ ध्वनि के बीच दास महोदय मंचारूढ़ हुए। अब बैठ जाये, “देशबन्धु दास।” तत्काल महात्माजी ने कहा :—“मालवीयजी ने मुझे अभी पैगाम भेजा है और मुझे अफसोस है कि मैं भूल गया। लाला कन्हैया लालजी लाहौरी का स्वर्गवास इसी वर्ष में हुआ है। लाला कन्हैया लाल का नाम आपने सुना होगा वह बुजुर्ग थे डायर-शाही के जमाने में देश का बड़ी सेवा की थी”।

श्रायुत दास महोदय के भाषण के अनन्तर मौलाना मुहम्मद अलीने दूसरे प्रस्ताव पर भाषण किया। तत्पश्चात् महात्माजी ने कहा :—“मौलाना हजरत मोहानी, आप भाइयों ने दो व्याख्यान सुनलिया समर्थन में; अब मौलाना हजरत मोहानी आते हैं विरोध करने के लिये”।

Continuing his remarks in English, the President said :—

Friends!

I do not propose to keep you longer than ten minutes. I had given myself no more than half an hour and I have taken more time than I had intended to in Hindustani. As you have all received copies of my address in the several necessary languages for our purpose, I do not propose to read any part of that address. It will tax your patience, it will waste your time and my time, and so I am avoiding to read that address. We want to go through the work that lies before us as quickly as possible. Deshbandhu Das will presently place before you, the central resolution. If you reject that resolution you should go

Opening day. your way and do what you think best for you and for the country and permit me to do that work which I consider best for me, namely, to spin. I urge you, every one of you, to ponder over what is going to be placed before you.

President's Opening Remarks. A revolutionary change is being proposed before the nation, a change, I think, as Lalaji has said, as revolutionary as the change embarked upon by the nation under his Presidency in 1920 at the Special Session at Calcutta. I even admit with him, that the change that I have proposed and placed before the nation is possibly more revolutionary still. And, therefore, I make bold to say that it is calculated to bring you within measurable distance of Swaraj if you will whole heartedly accept that resolution and give effect to it; for the days when we could be satisfied with merely passing resolutions and then forgetting all about them are gone. This resolution is not addressed to the nation in a vague manner but to everybody who has a will to work. This resolution is specifically addressed to every man and every woman of understanding who graces this audience, by his or her presence this afternoon. And, though Deshabandhu Das and Maulana Mohamad Ali will not ask you to pass this resolution, keeping God as witness, I ask you to do that. And when you begin to vote upon that resolution, please remember and understand, you will be passing that resolution with God as witness. It would mean that you are undertaking to do something for the nation, for the poorest of the country, for the attainment of Swaraj; and if you have no conviction about it in you, then I would urge you to reject that resolution.

It should not matter to you that my personality is behind that resolution. I have said repeatedly that I am not an infallible being. I have admitted repeatedly that I am a fallible being. I have repeatedly admitted that I have sometimes in my life committed Himalayan blunders. I have made penance for them. An infallible being is a perfect person. He does not need to perform penance. He does not need to repent, because he is incapable of folly. He need not argue. I am just as good or as bad a mortal as any one of you. And therefore, I want you to dismiss my personality from the equation and find the true answer to the equation.

The resolution is a momentous one. I know, there is a large body of opinion against it. There is one body of opinion which says, "It is not proper to pin our faith entirely on spinning." Another body says that spinning is good but it is a long drawn out agony. And a third says, "Although Khaddi and handspinning are good in themselves, they can have no place in national franchise." I hold views absolutely contrary to them. And my conviction is growing upon me day by day, so much so that if I had all time to myself I would be spinning away every hour and feel that every revolution of the Charkha was bringing Swaraj nearer and nearer to us. Multiply that revolution by 300 millions and you imagine the momentum that is set free for the

attainment of Swaraj. But that momentum you will set free, only if you have the conviction, that fires me, in its efficacy for the attainment of Swaraj.

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day.

There are many things that I have said in my address. Srimati Sarojini Devi has asked me to touch upon one thing; and out of regard for her who has rendered such splendid service in South Africa I do so now. That is Hindu Muslim unity. Maulana Shaukat Ali says "I am tired of the whole business. Let us simply leave alone Hindu-Muslim riots wherever they happen." There is a good deal of wisdom in that big head: it is not all fat, I tell you. (Laughter). Repeatedly he has said, "These Mussalmans of mine have become idiots. They have become demented. Similarly your Hindus also have become idiotic. We are trying to decide their disputes and in trying to do so we are allowing Swaraj to slip through our hands. So let us leave them alone." But how can I do so? Hindu-Muslim unity, like the Charkha, is a madness with me: it is passion with me. I can not possibly leave it and forget all about it. So also, you see, I dote on that little girl, Gulnar. "Why does this man dote upon her" you may ask. "With a reason" say I. This girl when she grows will think of one Gandhi who though a Sanatan Hindu, who would not share meat with her, would not touch beef himself, used to let others eat it if they liked, although he himself worshipped the cow. I might die by the time that girl reaches the year of maturity. When she grows up she will transmit my message. She is to-day pure and innocent. She thinks every thing is right. She knows nothing of hatred. She is all love. I find in her love personified. Therefore, I have been treating her as my very flesh and blood in spite of the sea that divides her from me. I am trying to unite myself with the Musalmans by this means. She thinks that her Koran! makes it lawful for her to kill the cow, while my religion enjoins upon me not to kill the cow. Who am I under the circumstances to prevent her from killing the cow? I would be denying my religion if I did so. But I wish to conquer her by preaching love. I will tell her, "The Koran does not pledge you," I say to her, "to kill the cow or eat beef: my religion not only does not permit it, my Koran compels me to worship the cow. You may eliminate the worship of the cow but you may tolerate my abstention from beef; you may tolerate my worship of the cow. Out of friendly regard for me you can abstain from killing the cow." That is the secret of my love for the little girl, Gulnar. That is why I allow myself to be carried in the pocket of Maulana Shaukat Ali. Why do I not think of Malaviyaji? Simply because my worship of Malaviyaji, is spontaneous. But I am partial to Musalmans. How can I do otherwise? When you are partial to the Musalmans you will reach the proper conclusion, proper answer to this equation. If anybody were to say "Solve this equation, what the Hindus and the Musalmans should do," I would say, it is the duty of every Hindu to be partial to the Musalmans and of every

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Remarks.

Opening day. Musalman to be partial to the Hindus. I find that there is a seer who wants to see God or to meet God in one way and I in another way, and therefore, everything that he does I look askance. Then I say to myself, I must be partial and when I have done that I shall be just. I like to ask the Musalmans to do that—to be partial to the Hindus.

President's Opening Remarks.

One thing more she (Mrs. Naidu) asks me to say. It is about the Liberals. "Are you going to say anything about the liberals?" I can simply say, I worship the Liberals. I want the Liberals to come in the Congress just as much as I want the Swarajists to do so. My heart is laid bare to them. We want to sit and spin at the Charkha. "No" they say, "we don't like to sit at the Charkha and won't spin." I say, "what shall I do?" If they say, "We won't go to Charkha" I simply say to them, "enter the Congress and drive me out of it."

I have finished. With God as witness I want you to say that whatever you decide to do you will fulfil it even though you may have to die. (Applause).

The following is the printed address which was taken as read:—

Presidential Address of Mahatma Gandhi

Friends,

Presidential Address of the Mahatma Gandhi. It was after much misgiving that I accepted the burden of the honour you have done me today. The unique honour for this year should have been bestowed upon Shrimati Sarojini Naidu, who did such wonderful work both in Kenya and South Africa. But it was not to be. The developments both internal and external have necessitated my acceptance of the burden. I know that I shall have your support in my attempt to do justice to the high office to which you have called me

At the outset, let me note with respectful feelings the deaths during the year of Bi Amman, Sir Asutosh Mukerji, Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, Dr. Subramaniam Iyer and Mr. Dal Bahadur Giri at home, and of Messrs. Rustomjee and P. K. Naidu in South Africa. I tender in your name my respectful condolences to the bereaved families.

RETROSPECTIVE

From the September of 1920 the Congress has been principally an institution for developing strength from within. It has ceased to function by means of resolutions addressed to the Government for redress of grievances. It did so because it ceased to believe in the beneficial character of the existing system of government. The breach of faith with the Musalmans of India was the first rude shock to the people's faith in the Government. The Rowlett Act and



PLATE 17

PRESIDENT & THE LEADERS' PROCESSION
ON THE OPENING DAY—No. 4



PLATE 18

PRESIDENT & THE LEADERS' PROCESSION
ON THE OPENING DAY No.—5

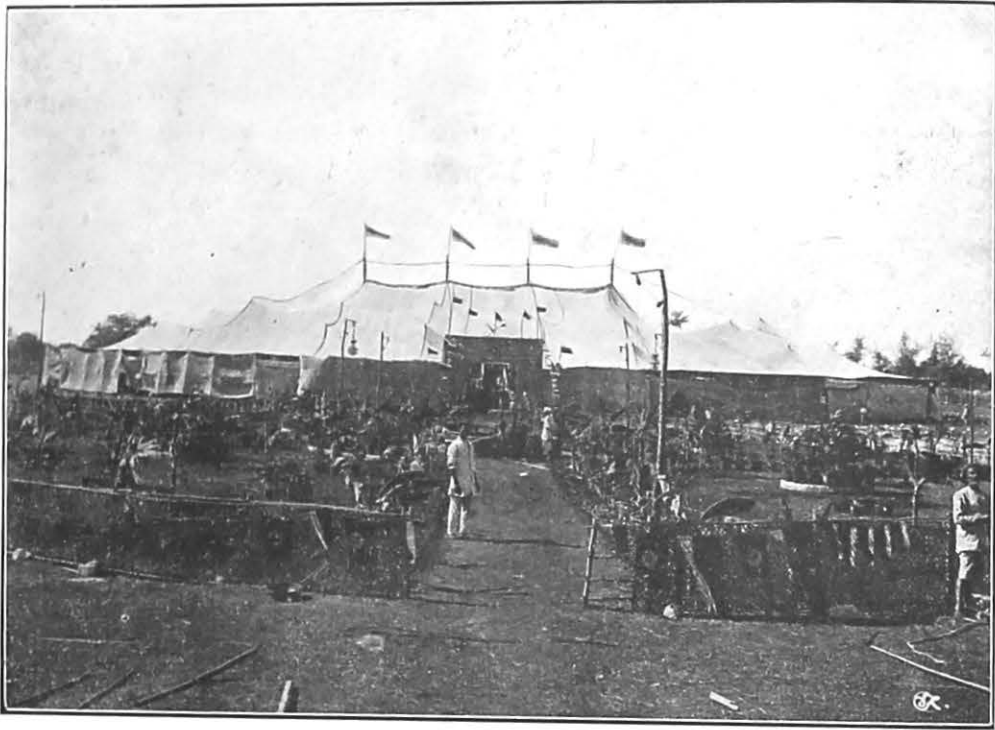


PLATE 19

FRONT VIEW OF THE CONGRESS PENTAL & THE GARDEN



PLATE 20

MAHATMAJEE DELIVERING HIS PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

O'Dwyerism culminating in the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre, opened the eyes of the people to the true nature of the system. At the same time it was realised that the existence of the system depended upon the co-operation whether conscious or unconscious, and whether voluntary or forced, of the people. With the view, therefore, of mending or ending the system it was decided to try to begin withdrawing voluntary co-operation from the top. At the Special Session of the Congress at Calcutta in 1920 the boycott of Government titles, law-courts, educational institutions, legislative bodies, and foreign cloth was resolved upon. All the boycotts were more or less taken up by the parties concerned. Those who could not or would not, retired from the Congress. I do not propose to trace the chequered career of the non-co-operation movement. Though, not a single boycott was anywhere near completion, every one of them had undoubtedly the effect of diminishing the prestige of the particular institution boycotted.

The most important boycott was the boycott of violence. Whilst it appeared at one time to be entirely successful, it was soon discovered that the non-violence was only skin-deep. It was the passive non-violence of helplessness, not the enlightened non-violence of resourcefulness. The result was an eruption of intolerance against those who did not non-cooperate. This was violence of a subtler type. In spite, however, of this grave defect I make bold to say that the propaganda of non-violence checked the outbreak of physical violence which would certainly have broken out, had not non-violent non-cooperation come into being. It is my deliberate conviction that non-violent non-cooperation has given to the people a consciousness of their strength. It has brought to the surface the hidden powers in the people of resistance through suffering. It has caused an awakening among the masses which perhaps no other method could have.

Though, therefore, non-violent non-cooperation has not brought us Swaraj, though it has brought about certain deplorable results and though the institutions that were sought to be boycotted are still flourishing, in my humble opinion, non-violent non-cooperation as a means of attaining political freedom has come to stay and that even its partial success has brought us nearer Swaraj. There is no mistaking the fact that the capacity for suffering for the sake of a cause must advance it.

A HALT

But we are face to face with a situation that compels us to cry halt. For whilst individuals hold firmly to their belief in non-cooperation, the majority of those who are immediately concerned, have practically lost faith in it, with the exception of boycott of foreign cloth. Scores of lawyers have resumed practice.

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Gandhi.

Some even regret having ever given it up. Many who had given up Councils have returned to them and the number of those who believe in Council entry is on the increase. Hundreds of boys and girls who gave up Government schools and colleges have repented of their action and have returned to them. I hear that Government schools and colleges can hardly cope with the demand for admission. In these circumstances these boycotts cannot be worked as part of the National programme, unless the Congress is prepared to do without the classes directly affected. But I hold it to be just as impracticable to keep these classes out of the Congress as it would be now to keep the non-co-operators out. They must both remain in the Congress, without either party interfering with or hostilely criticising the other. What is applicable to Hindu-Muslim unity, is, I feel, applicable to the unity among different political groups. We must tolerate each other and trust to time to convert the one or the other to the opposite belief. We must go further. We must plead with the Liberals and others who have seceded to rejoin the Congress. If non-cooperation is suspended, there is no reason why they should keep out. The advance must be from us; Congressmen. We must cordially invite them and make it easy for them to come in.

You are perhaps now able to see why I entered into the agreement with the Swarajists.

FOREIGN CLOTH BOYCOTT

You will observe that one boycott has been retained. Out of regard for the sentiment of an English friend the word 'Boycott' has been changed in the agreement into 'refusal to use foreign cloth.' There is no doubt a bad odour about the word 'Boycott.' It usually implies hatred. So far as I am concerned, I have not intended the word to bear any such meaning. The boycott has reference not to British but to foreign cloth. That boycott is not merely a right but a duty. It is as much a duty as boycott of foreign waters would be if they were imported to substitute the waters of the Indian rivers. This, however, is a digression.

What I wanted to say was that the agreement saves and emphasises the boycott of foreign cloth. For me it is an effective substitute for violent methods. Just as certain acts such as personal abuse, irritating conduct, lying, causing hurt and murder are symbols of violence, similarly courtesy, inoffensive conduct, truthfulness etc., are symbols of non-violence. And so to me is boycott of foreign cloth a symbol of non-violence. Revolutionary crime is intended to exert pressure. But it is the insane pressure of anger and ill-will. I contend that non-violent acts exert pressure far more effective than violent acts, for that pressure comes from good-will and gentleness. Boycott of foreign cloth exerts such pressure. We import the largest amount of foreign cloth from

Lancashire. It is also by far the largest of all our imports, sugar being next. Britain's chief interest centres round the Lancashire trade with India. It is the one thing more than any other that has ruined the Indian peasant and imposed partial idleness upon him by depriving him of the one supplementary occupation he had. Boycott of foreign cloth is therefore a necessity if he is to live. The plan therefore, is not merely to induce the peasant to refuse to buy the cheap and nice-looking foreign fabric but also by teaching him to utilize his spare hours in carding and spinning cotton and getting it woven by the village weavers to dress himself in khaddar so woven and thus to save him the cost of buying foreign and for that matter even Indian mill-made cloth. Thus boycott of foreign cloth by means of hand-spinning and hand-weaving, i. e. khaddar not only saves the peasant's money but it enables us, workers, to render social service of a first class order. It brings us into direct touch with the villagers. It enables us to give them real political education and teach them to become self-sustained and self-reliant. Organisation of khaddar is thus infinitely better than co-operative societies or any other form of village organisation. It is fraught with the highest political consequence, because it removes the greatest immoral temptation from Britain's way. I call the Lancashire trade immoral, because it was raised and is sustained on the ruin of millions of India's peasants. And as one immorality leads to another, the many proved immoral acts of Britain are traceable to this one immoral traffic. If therefore this one great temptation is removed from Britain's path by India's voluntary effort, it would be good for India, good for Britain, and as Britain is today the predominant world-power, good even for humanity.

I do not endorse the proposition that supply follows demand. On the contrary, demand is often artificially created by unscrupulous vendors. And if a nation is bound, as I hold it is, like individuals to comply with a code of moral conduct, then it must consider the welfare of those whose wants it seeks to supply. It is wrong and immoral for a nation to supply for instance intoxicating liquor to those who are addicted to drink. What is true of intoxicants is true of grain or cloth, if the discontinuance of their cultivation or manufacture in the country to which foreign grain or cloth are exported results in enforced idleness or penury. These latter hurt a man's soul and body just as much as intoxication. Depression is but excitement upside down and hence equally disastrous in its results and often more so because we have not yet learnt to regard as immoral or sinful the depression of idleness or penury.

BRITAIN'S DUTY.

It is then I hold the duty of Great Britain to regulate her exports with due regard to the welfare of India, as it is India's to regulate her imports with due regard to her own welfare. That economics is untrue which ignores or

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disregards moral values. The extension of the law of non-violence in the domain of economics means nothing less than the introduction of moral values as a factor to be considered in regulating international commerce. And I must confess that my ambition is nothing less than to see international relations placed on a moral basis through India's efforts. I do not despair of cultivation of limited mass non-violence. I refuse to believe that the tendency of human nature is always downward.

The fruition of the boycott of foreign cloth through hand-spinning and khaddar is calculated not only to bring about a political result of the first magnitude it is calculated also to make the poorest of India, whether men or women, conscious of their strength and make them partakers in the struggle for India's freedom.

FOREIGN *VERSUS* BRITISH.

It is hardly necessary now to demonstrate the futility, not to say the violent nature, of boycott of British cloth or better still British goods as so many patriots have suggested. I am considering the boycott purely from the point of view of India's good. All British goods do not harm us. Some goods such as English books we need for our intellectual or spiritual benefit. As regards cloth, it is not merely British cloth that harms us, but all foreign cloth and for that matter to a lesser extent even mill-made cloth injures us. Boycott brought about any how of British cloth cannot yield the same results as such boycott brought about by hand-spinning and khaddar. This necessitates exclusion at least of all foreign cloth. The exclusion is not intended as a punishment. It is a necessity of national existence.

OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED

But, say the critics, the spinning wheel has not taken, it is not exciting enough, it is an occupation only for women, it means a return to the middle ages, it is a vain effort against the majestic march of scientific knowledge for which machinery stands. In my humble opinion India's need is not excitement but solid work. For the millions solid work itself is excitement and tonic at the same time. The fact is that we have not given the spinning wheel enough trial; I am sorry to have to say that many of us have not given it a serious thought. Even the members of the All-India Congress Committee have failed to carry out the series of resolutions on hand-spinning which they themselves have passed from time to time. The majority of us have simply not believed in it. In the circumstances, it is hardly just to say that spinning has failed for want of excitement about it. To say that it is merely an old woman's occupation is to ignore facts. Spinning mills are a multiplication of spinning wheels. They are managed by men. It is time that we got out of this superstition that some occupations are beneath the dignity of men. Under normal

conditions no doubt spinning will be the occupation of the gentle sex. But the State of the future will always have to keep some men at the spinning wheel so as to make improvements in it within the limitations which as a cottage industry it must have. I must inform you that the progress, the mechanism of the wheel has made, would have been impossible, if some of us men had not worked at it and had not thought about it day and night.

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MACHINERY

I wish, too, you would dismiss from your minds the views attributed to me about machinery. In the first instance, I am no more trying to present for national acceptance all my views on machinery, than I am presenting the whole of my belief in non-violence. The spinning wheel is itself an exquisite piece of machinery. My head daily bows in reverence to its unknown inventor, What I do resent is the wanton and wicked destruction of the one cottage industry of India that kept the wolf from the doors of thousands of homes scattered over a surface 1900 miles long, 1500 miles broad.

SPINNING FRANCHISE

You will not now wonder at my passion for the spinning wheel, nor will you wonder why I have ventured to present it for introduction in the franchise, and why Pandit Motilal Nehru and Deshbandhu Das have accepted it on behalf of the Swaraj Party. If I had my way, there would be no one on the Congress register who is unwilling to spin or who would not wear khaddar on all occasions. I am however thankful for what the Swaraj Party has accepted. The modification is a concession to weakness or want of faith. But it must serve as a spur to greater effort on the part of those who have full faith in the wheel and khaddar.

NO OTHER MESSAGE

I have thus dilated upon the spinning wheel because I have no better or other message for the nation. I know no other effective method for the attainment of Swaraj if it is to be by 'peaceful and legitimate means'. As I have already remarked it is the only substitute for violence that can be accepted by the whole nation. I swear by Civil Disobedience. But Civil Disobedience for the attainment of Swaraj is an impossibility unless and until we have attained the power of achieving boycott of foreign cloth. You will now easily perceive why I should be a useless guide for the Congress if my views about the spinning wheel are not acceptable to you. Indeed you would be justified in regarding me, as some friends do, as a hindrance to national progress, if you

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consider me to be wrong in my exposition of the doctrine underlying the spinning wheel. If it does not appeal to your heads as well as your hearts, you will be wanting in your duty in not rejecting my lead. Let it no longer be said, as Lord Willingdon very properly once said of us, that we had not the strength and courage to say 'No'. Indeed your rejection of my proposal, if you do not believe in it, will be a step towards Swaraj.

Hindu-Muslim unity is not less important than the spinning wheel. It is the breath of our life. I do not need to occupy much of your time on this question because the necessity of it is almost universally accepted. I say 'almost' because I know some Hindus and some Musalmans who prefer the present condition of dependence on Great Britain if they cannot have either wholly Hindu or wholly Musalman India. Happily their number is small.

I share Maulana Shaukat Ali's robust optimism that the present tension is a mere temporary distemper. The Khilafat agitation in which Hindus made common cause with their Musalman brethren and the non-cooperation that followed it, caused an awakening among the hitherto slumbering masses. It has given a consciousness to the classes as well as the masses. Interested persons who were disappointed during the palmy days of non-cooperation, now that it has lost the charm of novelty, have found their opportunity and are trading upon the religious bigotry or selfishness of both the communities. The result is written in the history of the feuds of the past two years. Religion has been travestied. Trifles have been dignified by the name of religious tenets which the fanatics claim, must be observed at any cost. Economic and political causes have been brought into play for the sake of fomenting trouble. The culminating point was reached in Kohat. The tragedy was aggravated by the callous indifference of the local authority. I must not tarry to examine the causes or to distribute the blame. I have not the material for the task even if I was minded for it. Suffice it to say that the Hindu refugees fled for fear of their lives. There is in Kohat an overwhelming Musalman majority. They have in so far as is possible under a foreign domination effective political control. It is up to them, therefore, to show that the Hindus are as safe in the midst of their majority, as they would be if the whole population of Kohat was Hindu. The Musalmans of Kohat may not rest satisfied till they have brought back to Kohat every one of the refugees. I hope that the Hindus would not fall into the trap laid for them by the Government and would resolutely decline to go back till Musalmans of Kohat have given them full assurances as to their lives and property.

The Hindus can live in the midst of an overwhelming Musalman majority only if the latter are willing to receive and treat them as friends and equals, just as Musalmans, if in a minority, must depend for honourable existence in

the midst of a Hindu majority on the latter's friendliness. A Government can give protection against thieves and robbers, but not even a Swaraj Government will be able to protect people against a wholesale boycott by one community of another. Governments can deal with abnormal situations. When quarrels become a normal thing of life, it is called civil war and parties must fight it out themselves. The Present Government being foreign, in reality a veiled military rule, has resources at its command for its protection against any combination we can make and has, therefore, the power, if it has the will, to deal with our class feuds. But no Swaraj Government with any pretention to being a popular Government can possibly be organised and maintained on a war footing. A Swaraj Government means a Government established by the free joint will of Hindus, Musalmans and others. Hindus and Musalmans, if they desire Swaraj, have perforce to settle their differences amicably.

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The Unity Conference at Delhi has paved the way for a settlement of religious differences. The Committee of the All Parties' Conference is among other things expected to find a workable and just solution of the political differences not only between Hindus and Musalmans but between all classes and all castes, sects or denominations. Our goal must be removal, at the earliest possible moment, of communal or sectional representation. A common electorate must impartially elect its representatives on the sole ground of merit. Our services must be likewise impartially manned by the most qualified men and women. But till that time comes and communal jealousies or preferences become a thing of the past, minorities who suspect the motives of majorities must be allowed their way. The majorities must set the example of self-sacrifice.

UNTOUCHABILITY

Untouchability is another hindrance to Swaraj. Its removal is just as essential for Swaraj as the attainment of Hindu-Muslim unity. This is an essentially Hindu question and Hindus cannot claim or take Swaraj till they have restored the liberty of the suppressed classes. They have sunk with the latter's suppression. Historians tell us that the Aryan invaders treated the original inhabitants of Hindustan precisely as the English invaders treat us, if not much worse. If so, our helotry is a just retribution for our having created an untouchable class. The sooner we remove the blot, the better it is for us, Hindus. But the priests tell us that untouchability is a divine appointment. I am certain that the priests are wrong. It is a blasphemy to say that God set apart any portion of humanity as untouchable. And Hindus who are Congressmen have to see to it that they break down the barrier at the earliest possible moment. The Vaikom satyagrahis are showing us the way. They are carrying on their battle with gentleness and firmness. They have patience,

courage, and faith. Any movement in which these qualities are exhibited comes irresistible.

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I would however warn the Hindu brethren against the tendency which one sees now-a-days of exploiting the suppressed classes for a political end. To remove untouchability is a penance that caste Hindus owe to Hinduism and themselves. The purification required is not of untouchables but of the so-called superior castes. There is no vice that is special to the untouchables, not even dirt and insanitation. It is our arrogance which blinds us, superior Hindus, to our own blemishes and which magnifies those of our down-trodden brethren whom we have suppressed and whom we keep under suppression. Religions like nations are being weighed in the balance. God's grace and revelation are the monopoly of no race or nation. They descend equally upon those who wait upon God. That religion and that nation will be blotted out of the face of the earth which pins its faith to injustice, untruth or violence. God is Light, not darkness. God is Love, not hate. God is Truth, not untruth. God alone is Great. We, His creatures are but dust. Let us be humble and recognise the place of the lowliest of His creatures, Krishna honoured Sudama in his rags as he honoured no one else. Love is the root of religion or sacrifice and this perishable body is the root of self or irreligion, says Tulsidas. Whether we win Swaraj or not, the Hindus have to purify themselves before they can hope to revive the Vedic philosophy and make it a living reality.

SWARAJ SCHEME

But the spinning wheel, Hindu-Muslim unity and removal of untouchability are only means to an end. The end we do not know. For me it is enough to know the means. Means and end are convertible terms in my philosophy of life. But I have long professed my conversion to the view pressed upon the public by Babu Bhagvan Das that the public must know the end, not vaguely but precisely. They must know the full definition of Swaraj, i. e. the scheme of Swaraj which all India wants and must fight for. Happily the Committee appointed by the All Parties' Conference is charged with that mission and we hope that the Committee will be able to produce a scheme that will be acceptable to all parties. May I suggest for its consideration the following points:

1. The qualification for the franchise should be neither property nor position but manual work, such for example as suggested for the Congress Franchise. Literary or property test has proved to be elusive. Manual work gives an opportunity to all who wish, to take part in the government and the well-being of the State.
2. The ruinous military expenditure should be curtailed to the proportion necessary for protection of life and property in normal times.

3. Administration of justice should be cheapened and with that end in view the final court of appeal should be not in London but in Delhi. Parties to civil suits must be compelled in the majority of cases to refer their disputes to arbitration, the decisions of these Panchayats to be final except in cases of corruption or obvious misapplication of law. Multiplicity of intermediate courts should be avoided. Case law should be abolished and the general procedure should be simplified. We have slavishly followed the cumbrous and worn out English procedure. The tendency in the Colonies is to simplify the procedure so as to make it easy for litigants to plead their own cases.

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4. Revenues from intoxicating liquors and drugs should be abolished.

5. Salaries of the Civil and Military Service should be brought down to a level compatible with the general condition of the country.

6. There should be re-distribution of provinces on a linguistic basis with as complete autonomy as possible for every province for its internal administration and growth.

7. Appointment of a commission to examine all the monopolies given to foreigners and, subject to the findings of the commission, full guarantees to be given for all vested right justly acquired.

8. Full guarantee of their status to the Indian Chiefs without any hindrance from the Central Government subject to the right of asylum to subjects of these States who, not being offenders against the Penal Code, may seek it in Self-governing India.

9. Repeal of all arbitrary powers.

10. The highest post be open to all who may be otherwise fit. Examinations for the Civil and Military Services to be in India.

11. Recognition of complete religious freedom to various denominations subject to mutual forbearance.

12. The official language for provincial governments, legislatures and courts, within a definite period, to be the vernacular of the province; of the Privy Council, the final court of appeal, to be Hindustani; the script to be either Devanagari or Persian. The language of the Central Government and of the Central Legislature to be also Hindustani. The language of international diplomacy to be English.

I trust you will not laugh at what may appear to you to be extravagance of thought in the foregoing sketch of some of the requirements of Swaraj as I would have it. We may not have the power today to take or receive or do the things I have mentioned. Have we the will? Let us at least cultivate the desire. Before I leave this highly attractive, because speculative, theme let me assure the Committee in charge of the drafting of a Swaraj scheme, that I

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claim for my suggestion no more attention than it would give to any single individual's. I have incorporated them in my address only to gain greater currency for them than they would perhaps otherwise receive.

INDEPENDENCE

The above sketch presupposes the retention of the British connection on perfectly honourable and absolutely equal terms. But I know that there is a section among Congressmen who want under every conceivable circumstance complete independence of Britain. They will not have even an equal partnership. In my opinion if the British Government mean what they say and honestly help us to equality, it would be a greater triumph than a complete severance of the British connection. I would therefore strive for Swaraj within the Empire but would not hesitate to sever all connection, if severance became a necessity through Britain's own fault. I would thus throw the burden of separation on the British people. The better mind of the world desires today not absolutely independent States warring one against another but a federation of friendly inter-dependent States. The consummation of that event may be far off. I want to make no grand claim for our country. But I see nothing grand or impossible about our expressing our readiness for universal interdependence rather than independence. It should rest with Britain to say that she will have no real alliance with India. I desire the ability to be totally independent without asserting the independence. Any scheme that I would frame, while Britain declares her goal about India to be complete equality within the Empire, would be that of alliance and not of independence without alliance. I would urge every Congressman not to be insistent on independence in each and every case, not because there is anything impossible about it, but because it is wholly unnecessary till it has become perfectly manifest that that Britain really means subjugation in spite of her declaration to the contrary.

THE SWARAJ PARTY

So far, then, I have considered the contents of the agreement and the general questions arising from it. Not much need be said about the status of equality given to the Swaraj Party. I wish I could have avoided it, not because the Party is not worthy, but because I do not share its views about Council-entry. But if I must remain in the Congress, even lead it, I must recognise the facts as they are. It was easy enough for me to go out of the Congress or to decline the honour of presiding. But it was not, so I thought and still think, in the interest of the country for me to take that step. The Swaraj Party represents if not a majority, at least a strong and growing minority in the Congress. If I was not to divide the Congress on the issue of its status, I was

bound to agree to its conditions, so long as they were not in conflict with my conscience. They are not in my opinion, unreasonable. The Swarajists want to use the name of the Congress for their policy. A formula had to be found for their doing so without their pledging or binding the changers to their policy. One of the ways of doing it was to give it the authority and the responsibility financial and executive with regard to the framing and the prosecution of their policy. The Congress as a whole could not guide that policy without sharing the responsibility. And as I could not take the responsibility, and as I apprehend no No-changers can. I could not be party to shaping the policy nor could I shape it without my heart in it. And the heart can only go where the belief is, I know that the sole authority to the Swaraj Party to use the name of Congress in regard to the Council programme makes somewhat awkward the position of the other parties wishing to join the Congress. But I fear it is inevitable. The Swaraj Party can not be expected to surrender the advantage it possesses. After all, it wants the advantage not for itself but for the service of the country. All parties have or can have that ambition or no other. I hope therefore that the others will join the Congress and work within to affect the course of country's policy. Dr. Besant has led the way in that direction. I know that she would have many things done otherwise, but she is content to come hoping to bring round the electorate to her view by working within the Congress. The No-changers can, in my humble opinion, vote for the agreement with a clear conscience. The only national programme jointly to be worked by all the parties is khaddar, Hindu-Muslim unity and, for the Hindus, removal of untouchability. Is not this after all what I want?

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PURELY SOCIAL REFORM?

It has been suggested that this programme turns the Congress into a purely social reform organisation, I beg to differ from that view. Everything that is absolutely essential for Swaraj is more than merely social work and must be taken up by the Congress. It is not suggested that the Congress should confine its activity for all time to this work only. But it is suggested that the Congress should for the coming year concentrate the whole of its energy on the work of construction, or as I have otherwise described it the work of internal growth.

Nor does the agreement exhaust the list of constructive items that the Congress must handle. Those I am about to mention are of the highest importance, but they, being non-contentious and not absolutely essential for Swaraj as the foregoing three items, find no mention in the agreement.

NATIONAL SCHOOLS.

One such is the maintenance of national educational institutions. Probably the public do not know that next to khaddar the running of national

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educational institutions has been the most successful. These can not be given up so long as even a few pupils are left. It must be a point of honour with the respective provinces to keep up their colleges and schools. Suspension of non-cooperation should not have any injurious effect on these institutions. On the contrary, greater effort than ever before should be made to maintain and strengthen them. Most provinces have their national schools and colleges. Gujarat alone has a national university, maintained at an annual cost of Rs. 1,00,000, and having control of 3 Colleges and 70 Schools with 9,000 pupils. It has acquired its own ground at Ahmedabad and has already spent Rs. 2,05,323, in buildings. Throughout the country, finest and silent work has been done by the non-cooperating students. There is a great and noble sacrifice. From a worldly standpoint they have perhaps lost the prospect of brilliant careers. I suggest to them however that from the national standpoint they have gained more than they have lost. They left their schools or colleges, because it was through them that the youth of the nation were insulted and humiliated in the Punjab. The first link in the chain of our bondage is forged in these institutions. The corresponding national institutions however inefficiently managed they may be, are the factories where the first instruments of our freedom are forged. After all, the hope of the future centres round the boys and girls studying in these national institutions. I therefore regard the upkeep of these institutions as a first charge on provincial funds. But these institutions to be truly national must be clubs for promoting real Hindu Muslim unity, they must be also nurseries for training Hindu boys and girls to regard untouchability as a blot upon Hinduism and a crime against humanity. They should be training schools for expert spinners and weavers. If the Congress retains its belief in the potency of the spinning wheel and khaddar, one has a right to expect these institutions to supply the science of the spinning wheel. They should be also factories for khaddar production. This is not to say that the boys and the girls are not to have any literary training. But I do maintain that the training of the hand and the heart must go hand-in-hand with that of the head. The quality and the usefulness of a national school or college will be measured not by the brilliance of the literary attainments of its scholars but by the strength of the national character, and deftness in handling the carding bow, the spinning wheel and the loom. Whilst I am most anxious that no national school or college should be closed, I should not have the slightest hesitation in closing down a school or college, that is indifferent to the admission of non-Hindu boys or that shuts its door against the entry of untouchables or that has not carding and spinning as an indispensable part of the training. Time is past when we can be satisfied with the word 'National' on the sign-board of the school and the knowledge that it is not affiliated to any Government University or is not otherwise controlled by the Government, I must also not omit to point out that the tendency in was

many national institutions still is to neglect the Vernaculars and Hindustani. Many teachers have not realised the necessity of imparting instruction through the vernaculars or Hindustani. I rejoice to observe that Sjt. Gangadhar Rao has arranged a meeting of national educationists to exchange experiences on the several points mentioned by me and to evolve, if possible, a general plan of education and action.

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UNEMPLOYED NON-CO-OPERATORS

This is perhaps the proper place to mention those lawyers who have given up practice, and school masters and other government employees who have given up Government service at the call of the nation. I know that there are many such men who find it hard to make the two ends meet. They deserve national support. The Khadi Board and the national schools and colleges are the two services that can take in almost an unlimited number of honest and industrious men who are willing to learn and labour and are satisfied with a modest allowance. I observe a tendency not to accept any remuneration for national service. The desire to serve without remuneration is praiseworthy, but all can not satisfy it. Every labourer is worthy of his hire. No country can produce thousands of unpaid wholtime workers. We must therefore develop an atmosphere in which a patriot would consider it an honour to serve the country and accept an allowance for such service.

INTOXICANTS

Another item of national importance is the liquor and the opium traffic. Had the wave of enthusiasm that swept across the country in 1921 in the cause of temperance remained non-violent, we would today have witnessed a progressive improvement. But unfortunately our picketing degenerated into violence, veiled when it was not open. Picketing had, therefore, to be abandoned and the liquor-shops and opium-dens began to flourish as before. But you will be pleased to hear that the temperance work has not died out altogether. Many workers are still continuing their quiet and self-less service in the cause of temperance. We must, however, realise that we would not be able to eradicate the evil till we have Swaraj. It is no matter of pride to us that our children are being educated out of the revenue derived from this immoral source. I would almost forgive the Council-entry by Congressmen if they would boldly sweep out this revenue even though education may have to be starved. Nothing of the kind should happen if they will insist on a corresponding reduction in the military expenditure.

BENGAL REPRESSION

You will observe that in the foregoing paragraphs I have confined myself to the internal developments.

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But the external circumstances, and among them chiefly the acts of our rulers, are affecting our destiny no less surely (though it may be adversely) than the internal development. We may turn them to advantage if we will or we may succumb to them to our disadvantage. The latest act of rulers is the repression commenced in Bengal. The All Parties' Conference condemned it in no uncertain terms. The Conference had hesitation in saying that the Blow was aimed at the Bengal Swaraj party. But I have none, I have been to Calcutta and had the opportunity of meeting men representing a variety of opinion and I came to the conclusion that the blow was aimed at the Swaraj Party. The opinion is confirmed by the speeches since delivered by Lord Lytton and Reading. The defence they have offered is wholly unconvincing. Such a defence is possible only in a place like India where public opinion counts for little or nothing. Lord Lytton's conditions of release are an insult to our intelligence. Their Excellencies beg the question when they tell us that the situation warranted the Ordinance and the action under the Regulation of 1818. The national contention is

1. That the situation they describe has not been proved to exist;
2. That assuming that the situation does exist, the remedy is worse than the disease;
3. That the ordinary law contains enough powers for dealing with the situation; and lastly
4. That even if extraordinary powers were necessary they should have been taken from the legislature which is of their own creation.

The speeches of their Excellencies evade these issues altogether. The nation which has had considerable experience of unsupported statements of the Government will not accept them as gospel truth. Their Excellencies know that we cannot and will not believe their statements not because they are wilfully untruthful, but because the sources of their information have often been discovered to be tainted. Their assurances are therefore a mockery of the people. The speeches are almost a challenge to us to do our worst. But we must not be irritated or be impatient. Repression, if it does not cew us down, if it does not deter us from our purpose, can but hasten the advent of Swaraj; for it puts us on our mettle and evokes the spirit of self-sacrifice and courage in the face of danger. Repression does for a true man or a nation what fire does for gold. In 1921 we answered repression with Civil Disobedience and invited the Government to do its worst. But to day we are obliged to eat the humble pie. We are not ready for Civil Disobedience. We can but prepare for it. Preparation for civil disobedience means discipline, self-restraint, a non-violent but resisting spirit, cohesion and above all scrupulous and willing obedience to the know laws of God and such laws of man as are in

furtherance of God's laws. But unfortunately we have neither discipline nor self-restraint enough for our purpose, we are either violent or our non-violence is unresisting, we have not enough cohesion and the laws that we obey, whether of God or man, we obey compulsorily. As between Hindus and Muslims we witness a daily defiant breach of laws both of God and man. This is an atmosphere for Civil Disobedience—the one matchless and invincible weapon at the disposal of the oppressed. The alternative is undoubtedly violence. We seem to have the atmosphere for it. Hindu-Muslim fights are our training for it. And those who believe that India's deliverance lies through violence are entitled to gloat over the free fights that take place between us. But I say to those who believe in the cult of violence, 'You are retarding India's progress. If you have any pity or friendly feeling for the starving millions, know that your violence will do them no service. Those whom you seek to depose are better armed and infinitely better organised than you are. You may not care for your own lives, but you dare not disregard those of your countrymen who have no desire to die a martyr's death. You know that this Government believes in Jallianwala Bagh massacres as a legitimate means of self-defence. Whatever may be true of other countries, there is no chance of the cult of violence flourishing in this country. India is admittedly the best repository and exponent of non-violence. Will you not better devote your lives if you sacrifice them in the cause of non-violence?'

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I know, however, that my appeal to the violent revolutionaries will be just as fruitless as any such appeal to the violent and anarchical Government is likely to be.

We must therefore find the remedy and demonstrate to both, the violent Government and the violent revolutionaries that there is a force that is more effective than their violence.

REPRESSION, A SYMPTOM

I regard this repression as a chronic symptom of a chronic disease. The European dominance and Asiatic subjection is the formula. Sometimes it is stated still more cryptically as White vs. Black. Kipling miscalled the white man's yoke as the 'white man's burden.' In the Malaya peninsula the colour bar that was thought to be temporary has now almost become a permanent institution. The Mauritius planter must get Indian labour without let or hindrance. The Kenya Europeans successfully lord it over Indians who have a prior right to be there. The Union of South Africa would today drive out every Indian if it safely could, in total disregard of past obligations. In all these cases the Government of India and the Imperial Government are not helpless; they are unwilling or not so insistent as they ought to be on the

protection of Indian settlers. The Government of India have not shown even the decency to publish the report of its own Commission on Fiji.

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The attempt to crush the indomitable spirit of the Akalis is a symptom of the same disease. They have poured their blood like water for the sake of a cause they hold as dear as life itself. They may have erred. If they have, it is they who have bled in the process. They have hurt no one else. Nankana Sahib, Guruka-Bagh and Jaito will bear witness to their courage and and their mute sufferings and martyrdom. But the Governor of the Punjab is reported to have vowed that he will crush the Akalis.

One hears that repression is crushing the Burmese spirit.

Egypt fares no better than we do. A mad Egyptian kills a British officer, certainly a detestable crime. The punishment is not only a detestable crime, but it is an outrage upon humanity. Egypt has nearly lost all it got. A whole nation has been mercilessly punished for the crime of one man. It may be that the murder had the sympathy of the Egyptians. Would that justify terrorism by a power well able to protect its interests without it?

The repression in Bengal is therefore not an extraordinary thing. We must treat its periodic eruption in some shape or other in some province or other, as our normal condition till we come to our own.

NEED FOR SANCTION

The Congress, therefore, to be worthy of its trust must devise a sanction to back its demands. Before we can forge the sanction, we, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis etc. must unite and so should Swarajists, Non-changers, Liberals, Home-Rulers, Muslim Leaguers and others. If we can but speak with a united voice and know our own mind it would be well. If we can develop the power to keep foreign cloth from our land, it would be better. We are ready then for the sanction.

MY FAITH

Let me state my faith. As a Congressman wishing to keep the Congress intact, I advise suspension of non-co-operation for I see that the nation is not ready for it. But as an individual, I cannot, will not do so as long as the Government remains what it is. It is not merely a policy with me, it is an article of faith. Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience are but different branches of the same tree called Satyagraha. It is my *Kalpadrūm*—my *Jam-i-Jam*—the Universal Provider. Satyagraha is search for Truth; and God is Truth. Ahimsa or Non-violence is the light that reveals that Truth to me. Swaraj for me is part of that Truth. This Satyagraha did not fail me in South

Africa, Kheda, or Champaran and in a host of other cases I could mention. It excludes all violence or hate. Therefore, I cannot and will not hate Englishmen. Nor will I bear their yoke. I must fight unto death the unholy attempt to impose British methods and British institutions on India. But I combat the attempt with non-violence. I believe in the capacity of India to offer non-violent battle to the English rulers. The experiment has not failed. It has succeeded, but not to the extent we had hoped and desired. I do not despair. On the contrary I believe that India will come to her own in the near future, and that only through Satyagraha. The proposed suspension is part of the experiment. Non-co operation need never be resumed if the programme sketched by me can be fulfilled. Non-violent non-co-operation in some form or other, whether through the Congress or without it, will be resumed if the programme fails. I have repeatedly stated that Satyagraha never fails and that one perfect Satyagrahi is enough to vindicate Truth. Let us all strive to be perfect Satyagrahis. The striving does not require any quality unattainable by the lowliest among us. For satyagraha is an attribute of the spirit within. It is latent in every one of us. Like Swaraj it is our birthright. Let us know it.

Presidential
Address of the
Mahatma
Gandhi.

वन्दे मातरम् ।

THE RESOLUTIONS.

RESOLUTION I.

CONDOLENCE.

It was 4-5 P. M. when the President moved the first resolution. He said, I shall now read the first resolution. After I read the resolution, you will kindly stand. It is incredibly simple; our condolence to those who are no longer with us.

Opening day.

This Congress records with sorrow the deaths of Bi Amman, Str Ashutosh Chowdhari, Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, Dr. Subramania Ayer, Mr. Dal Bahadur Giri, Mr. Govind Venkatesh Yalgi, Mr. Vamana Rao Moharir, Mr. T. V. Gopalaswami Mudaliar, Mr. C. V. P. Shivam, and Lala Kanailaji and also of Messrs. Rustomji Jeevanji Ghorkhodu, and P. K. Naidu in South Africa and tenders its respectful sympathy to the bereaved families.

Then the President explained the resolution in Hindi. The resolution was carried *nem con* while the whole assembly stood in silent prayer for a minute.

The President next called upon Deshabandhu Das to move the second resolution. Before doing so he suggested that another name be added to the above resolution. Accordingly the President included the name of Lala Kanailaji, in the above Condolence resolution, which was carried *nem con*, all standing.

The Compromise & the Spinning Franchise.

RESOLUTION II.

THE COMPROMISE AND THE SPINNING FRANCHISE.

Deshabandhu C. R. Das.

Deshabandhu C. R. Das who was given an enthusiastic ovation on rising, moved the resolution on the "Compromise and the Spinning Franchise" and in doing so he delivered the following speech:—

Mahatmaji, Sisters and Brothers of the Indian National Congress!

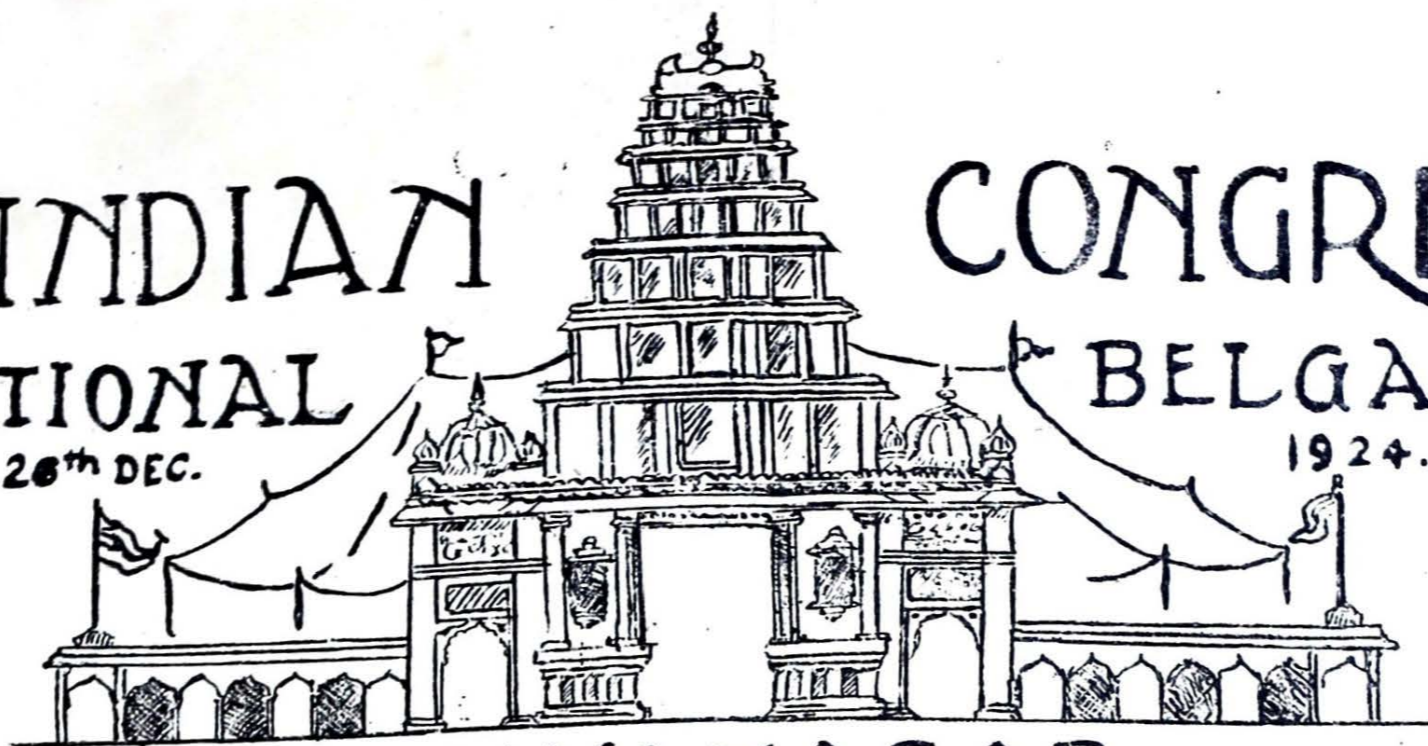
It is a matter of great congratulation to me to be asked by Mahatm to move the second resolution on the agenda. I need not read that resolution but all of you must now be aware of its contents. It is the resolution by which the two sections, the two parties, of the Indian National Congress are to be united. That is the resolution which contains our challenge to the Government—that after all the Indian National Congress knows—that whatever differences of opinion there may remain they know, the Indian National Congress knows how to stand united in moments of trouble. (Hear, hear. Applause). It is a matter of congratulation for me: I feel so happy to-day. For

39th INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

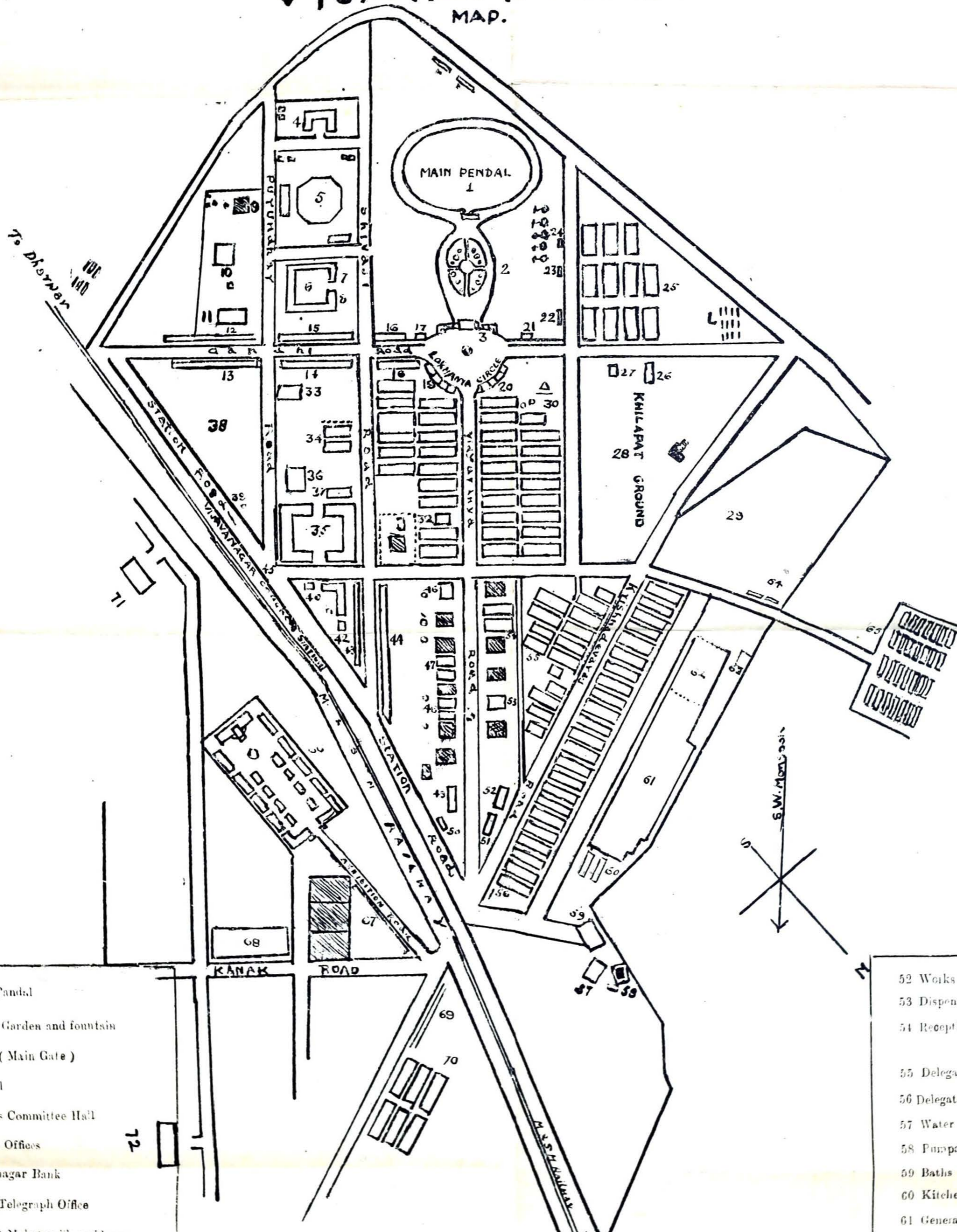
26th DEC.

CONGRESS BELGAUM.

1924.



VIJAYANAGAR MAP.



Scale - 264 feet to an inch.

- 1 Main Pandal
- 2 Central Garden and fountain
- 3 Gopur (Main Gate)
- 4 Hospital
- 5 Subjects Committee Hall
- 6 Central Offices
- 7 Vijayanagar Bank
- 8 Post & Telegraph Office
- 9 & (10) Mahatmaji's residence (President.)
- 11 Leaders' special cottages
- 12 } Stalls
- 21 }
- 25 Special quarters
- 26 Reservoir
- 27 Khilafat President's Residence
- 28 } Khilafat ground.
- 29 }
- 30 Delegates Quarters (19 blocks)
- 31 Delegates Quarters (15 blocks)

- 32 Reading Room
- 33 Spinning Hall
- 34 Lady Volunteer's Blocks (2)
- 35 Volunteers Barracks
- 36 Concert Hall
- 37 Quarters for musicians
- 38 Open air meetings' ground
- 39 Flag Post
- 40 Enquiry Office

- 41 Storage Shed
- 42 Railway Booking Office
- 43 & 44 Refreshment Stalls
- 45 Vijayanagar Station
- 46 Accommodation Office
- 47 Special quarters cottages
- 48 " " "
- 49 Servants' quarters
- 50 Sanitary Inspector's Office
- 51 Light Office & Store

- 52 Works Committee's Store
- 53 Dispensary
- 54 Reception Committee members quarters (2 blocks)
- 55 Delegates Quarters (14 blocks)
- 56 Delegates and R.C. quarters (23 blocks)
- 57 Water Reservoir
- 58 Pampa Pushkarani and Engine house
- 59 Baths
- 60 Kitchen Store-rooms
- 61 General Kitchen Hall
- 62 Provincial kitchen hall
- 63 Washing Ghat
- 64 Latrine for ladies
- 65 Latrines (general)
- 66 Exhibition
- 67 Stalls Exhibition ground
- 68 Conveyance and Motor Stand
- 69 Stalls
- 70 Delegates extra quarters
- 71 All Indian 5th Cow Conference Camp.
- 72 Cattle-Show.

L = Latrines
 Δ = Urinals

Some of the Prominent Speakers on the various resolutions.

POONA.



PLATE 33

DESHABANDHU-CHITTARANJAN DAS.



Maulana Mahamadally.



Shrinivasrao Koujalgi.



Pandit Motilaji Neharu.



Maulana Hajarat Mohani



Sjt. N. C. Kelkar.

the last few years this is what I have been thinking and dreaming of day and night. You know these unfortunate differences of opinion were expressed at the Gaya Congress. Even there I made proposals of unity. Gentlemen, I stand before you today as a man who has vindicated his membership of the Indian National Congress. I, Sir, have never been a rebel. If I have fought against my brothers, it is because I thought it was my duty to turn the direction of the activities of the Indian National Congress. And, after all these years, the history of the Indian National Congress will bear testimony to this, that whatever I have done, I have done to establish the Indian National Congress on a firmer footing. I did not go out of it to form another organisation; and all my efforts were directed at bringing the Indian National Congress round. Today I congratulate myself that I have succeeded to a certain extent.

Opening day

The Compro-
mise & the
Spinning
Franchise.Deshabandhu
C. R. Das.

After the Gaya resolution, you will remember again a proposal was made at Allahabad in the month of February; that was accepted to my great satisfaction. Then again another proposal was made at Lahore, and you will find that is reported in the resolutions of the Working Committee dated 17th of April, 1923, very much to this effect: namely, that we must keep this Indian National Congress; we must agree to sink our differences; we must agree to differ; and yet underlying all those differences there must be the spirit of unity; the two parties must have the charity to feel for each other. We must work as best as we can. If you think that this is the only way which is right, we think another right. You must allow us to work as best as we can. That is the kind of unity which is wanted and which is given by the resolution which I am placing before you.

After this attempt of mine before the Working Committee, which failed in April, 1923, you all know that there was a Social Congress at Delhi which tried to do the same thing. We also succeeded there to a certain extent, but to my disappointment I found greater differences arising thereat. Then again at Cocanada all of us joined. I am not charging here anybody with any insincerity. My friends on the other side who fought me were as sincere in their convictions as I was. We fought at Delhi and we made up our differences; again, we fought at Cocanada and made up our differences. But all the time I knew that before Mahatmaji came to us again, before his release, no lasting unity could be thought of. I waited and waited from day to day till I found the day when Mahatmaji agreed to the settlement that has been arrived at Cocanada.

My friends, you all know what that settlement is. The main thing which stands behind this settlement is this: that no party can say the other party is outside the Congress: I have as much a right to the Congress as many of my friends on the other side. That is the position which the resolution recognises. It

reminds me of a beautiful poem written by an American lady. The poem is a
 Opening day poem written by an American poet. I forgot the writer. I forgot the lines.
 The Compromise and the Spinning Franchise (Laughter). I remember the only two lines. The first two lines were some-
 what to this effect.

He drew a circle and cut me out.
 He called me a rebel and heretic.

Dehabandhu
 C. R. Das.

I forgot the expression.

But love and I joined to win.
 We drew a circle and I took him in.

That is the resolution before you today. Mahatma Gandhi lovingly co-
 operated with Love and has drawn a circle by which he has taken all of us
 inside the Congress. (Hear, hear Loud cheers).

Today No-changers and Pro-changers, they are integral parts of the Con-
 gress. To-day the Government is not in a position to say, 'you divided against
 (amongst) yourselves.' Differences of opinion there are, there must be, as long
 as human beings have a right to think. But there is such a thing as standing
 firm and giving answer to the challenge of bureaucracy. That moment is before
 us. It depends upon us now whether the bureaucracy wins or whether the
 Indian nation wins. The bureaucracy has given you the challenge. They
 have passed an Ordinance, it may be intended to one province to day. Take it
 from me the Ordinance is an insult against the whole country. (Hear, hear).
 The whole of India stands attacked today, What is the answer? What is
 going to be your answer? Are the No-changers to say that these Pro-chan-
 gers are irrational beings and so turn them out of the Congress? Or, are the
 Pro-changers to say that these people, the No-changers, are narrow in their
 vision and so turn them out of Congress? That is the feast to which bureaucracy
 was looking at Belgaum! (Laughter). That is the huge fight they were con-
 templating, a fight between the No-changers and the Pro-changers. Mahatma
 Gandhi has defeated that little plan. (Cheers) Our answer today is, "Do
 what you may, there is no bureaucracy in the world which can stand against
 a united nation" What answer to give! The answer which I want to give
 is to fight them in all directions; if you pass this resolution I have got that
 sanction. I have got the sanction of the Indian National Congress to fight the
 bureaucracy in all directions. Give them no quarter. Take hold of them where-
 ver you find them and uproot their foundations.

What is the idea of Swaraj which haunts me day and night? People talk
 of Dominion status, people talk of Independence. I love none of them. I stand
 by Swaraj. That is my birthright. What is after all Independence? What is

it? Supposing you drive out the English today, do you get Swaraj? No! Swaraj is a higher ideal than that. Swaraj means independence from all obstacles to your national building. In the first place, it means independence from all obstacles, from all that obstructs your path to realise yourself. In the second place, Swaraj means the right of self-realisation, the progressive self-realisation of the Indian nation. That is the meaning of Swaraj. I don't barter that for any phrase which comes from the West. Now, if this is Swaraj, what have you got to do? Today the whole of your national life is covered by the activities of the bureaucracy. You have got to free the field of action from the activities of the bureaucracy. That is independence. But that is only one aspect of the question. You will find out that you cannot remove the influence of the spheres, you cannot remove their activity without at the same time building up your nation. I want you to keep in view both these aspects.

Openins day

The Compro-
mise and the
Spining
FranchiseDeshabandhu
C. R. Das.

I have often been asked, "Will Council give you Swaraj?" I have answered this question several times, but I am afraid I carry no conviction. Because those gentlemen who are against the Council approached me with a great deal of suspicion. I have said over and over again, "Council does not give you Swaraj; Council cannot give you Swaraj; but Council is at the same time an institution which works against you. You must remove that obstruction in order to get Swaraj from it." (Hear, hear. Applause). But you must get Swaraj by your own activity. What is the Swaraj I am asking you to concentrate upon? My idea is, that you should actively work to get ready or that you should get ready to capture all the fields in which the bureaucracy works. Capture the Councils as long as there is anything to capture. When you have destroyed this vicious system, leave the Councils for another work. Council is not going to be the permanent activity with us. Catch hold of all the Municipal administration of the country, District Boards, and all local organisations and try to build up your life.

In the second place, the great answer which I want to give to the bureaucracy to-day is what is contained in the second part of the resolution, *viz*, boycott of foreign cloth. This is the answer which I want you to give to the bureaucracy. It not only demolishes their claim but at the same time it builds up your national life in a manner which nothing else can do. That is another resolution which I want to make to you. Those who do not spin must look to the organisation of spinning. Those who do not weave must look to the organisation of weaving. And if we all work hard and do our little, the least that anybody can do. I feel sure that within a short time you will encompass the boycott of foreign cloth. And that day is the beginning of your freedom. That day will be the foundation of your salvation. That is the gospel which I always preach.

Opening day I have never spoken one single word against the constructive work, I have tried to include other activities. And today the resolution which I have

The Compro- the honour of presenting before you is the resolution which gives you the
mise and the liberty of fighting the bureaucracy from all quarters, which gives you the
Spinning liberty of destroying all what must be destroyed, which gives you the liberty
Franchise liberty of building up all what must be built up.

Deshabandhu
G. R. Das.

In the history of the world great empires are built up and greater empires have fallen. If the bureaucracy thinks in the littleness of their vision that they are destined to oppress India to the end of their chapter they are mistaken. After all this world is God's world. We are being punished for our misdeeds. We must make ourselves worthy of freedom and the moment the Indian nation comes to itself, the Indian National Congress stands united not only on resolutions but in action, that day the bureaucracy must disappear. (Loud and continued applause).

MAULANA MOHAMED ALI having been called upon by the President came up the rostrum amidst loud cheers to second the resolution. He said :—

Maulana
Mohamed Ali. MAHATMAJI AND FRIENDS

With your permission I will begin in English, and afterwards with your permission sir, I will use the national language and address the audience. The resolution that has been moved by Deshabandhu Das, I am asked by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. Shivajirao of Karnatak, to read to you, and I do so even as Aurangzeb will have to obey Shivaji in his own country. (Hear, hear, Laughter and applause). I hope you do not want me to read the agreement, because it has been published broadcast and everybody knows what it is.

The resolution is this :—

- A. (i) The Congress hereby endorses the following agreement entered into between Mahatma Gandhi on the one hand and Deshabandhu Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru acting on behalf of the Swarajya Party on the other :—

The Agreement

Whereas although Swaraj is the goal of all the parties in India the country is divided into different groups seemingly working in opposite directions, and whereas such antagonistic activity retards the progress of the nation towards Swaraj, and whereas it is desirable to bring so far as possible all such parties within the Congress and on a common platform, and whereas the Congress itself is divided into two opposing sections resulting in harm to

the country's cause, and whereas it is desirable to reunite these parties for the purpose of furthering the common cause, and whereas a policy of repression has been commenced in Bengal by the Local Government with the sanction of the Governor-General, and whereas in the opinion of the undersigned this repression is aimed in reality not at any party of violence, but at the Swaraj Party in Bengal and therefore at constitutional and orderly activity, and whereas therefore it has become a matter of immediate necessity to invite and secure the co-operation of all parties for putting forth the united strength of the nation against the policy of repression, we the undersigned strongly recommend the following for adoption by all parties and eventually by the Congress at Belgaum :—

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The Com-
promise & the
Spinning
Franchise.

Maulana
Mahamed Ali

“The Congress should suspend the programme of non-co-operation as the national programme except in so far as it relates to the refusal to use or wear cloth made out of India.

“The Congress should further resolve that different classes of work of the Congress may be done as may be found necessary by different sections within the Congress and should resolve that the spread of hand-spinning and hand-weaving and all the antecedent processes and the spread of hand-spun and hand-woven Khaddar, and the promotion of unity between different communities, specially between the Hindus and the Muhammadans, and the removal of untouchability by the Hindus from amongst them, should be carried on by all sections within the Congress, and the work in connection with the Central and Provincial Legislatures should be carried on by the Swaraj Party on behalf of the Congress and as an integral part of the Congress organisation, and for such work the Swaraj Party should make its own rules and administer its own funds.

“Inasmuch as experience has shown that without universal spinning India cannot become self-supporting regarding her clothing requirements and inasmuch as hand-spinning is the best and the most tangible method of establishing a visible and substantial bond between the masses and the Congressmen and women and in order to popularise hand-spinning and its products the Congress should repeal Article VII of the Congress Constitution and should substitute the following therefor :—

“No one shall be a member of any Congress Committee or organisation who is not of the age of 18 and who does not wear hand-spun and hand-woven Khaddar at political and Congress functions or while engaged in Congress business and does not make a contribution of 2,000 yards of evenly spun yarn per month of his or her own spinning or in case of illness, unwillingness or any such cause a like quantity of yarn spun by any other person.

- (ii) The Congress hopes that the agreement will result in true unity between the two wings of the Congress and will also enable persons belonging to other political organisations to join the Congress. The Congress congratulates the Swarajists and others arrested under the new Ordinance or Regulation III of 1918 and is of opinion that such arrests are inevitable so long as the people

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mise and the
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Franchise

Haulana
Mohamed Ali

of India have not the capacity for vindicating their status and liberty, and is further of opinion that such capacity in the present circumstances of the country be developed by achieving the long deferred exclusion of foreign cloth ; and therefore as a token of the earnestness and determination of the people to achieve this national purpose, welcomes the introduction of hand-spinning as part of the franchise and appeals to every person to avail himself or herself of it and join the Congress.

- (iii) In view of the foregoing the Congress expects every Indian, man and woman, to discard all foreign cloth and to use and wear hand-spun and hand-woven Khaddar to the exclusion of all other cloth.

With a view to accomplish the said purpose without delay the Congress expects all Congress members to help the spread of hand-spinning and the antecedent processes and the manufacture and the sale of Khaddar.

- (iv) The Congress appeals to the Princes and wealthy classes of India and the members of political and other organisations not represented on the Congress, and Municipalities, Local Boards, Panchayats and such other institutions, to extend their help to the spread of hand-spinning by personal use and otherwise and especially by giving liberal patronage to the classes of articles, still surviving and capable of working artistic designs in the fine Khaddar.
- (v) The Congress appeals to the merchants engaged in the foreign cloth and yarn trade to appreciate the interests of the nation, and discontinue their importation of foreign cloth and yarn and help the national cottage industry by dealing in Khaddar.
- (vi) It having come to the notice of the Congress that varieties of cloth are manufactured in mills and on other looms out of mill yarn and sold in the Indian market as Khaddar, the Congress appeals to the mill-owners and other manufactures concerned, to discontinue this undesirable practice and further appeals to them to encourage the revival of the ancient cottage industry of India by restricting their operations among those parts of the country that have not yet come under the Congress influence and appeals to them to discontinue the importation of foreign yarn.
- (vii) The Congress appeals to the heads and leaders of all religious denominations whether Hindu, Muslim or any other to preach to

their congregations the message of Khaddar and advise them to discontinue the use of foreign cloth.

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B. The present Article VII of the Constitution is to be repealed and the following is to be substituted therefor:—

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of Spindling 2
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(i) Every person not disqualified under Article IV shall be entitled to become a member of any primary organisation controlled by the Provincial Congress Committee, provided that no one shall be a member of any Congress Committee or organisation who does not wear hand-spun and hand-woven Khaddar at political and Congress functions or while engaged in Congress business and does not make a contribution of 24,000 yards of evenly spun yarn per year of his or her own spinning, or in the case of illness or unwillingness or any such cause, the same quantity of yarn spun by any other persons;

of Machine M
M...

Provided also that no person shall be a member of two parallel Congress organisations at one and the same time.

(ii) The year of the membership shall be reckoned from the 1st January to the 31st December. The said subscription shall be payable in advance. Members joining in the middle of the year shall contribute the full quantity due from the beginning of the year.

Transitory provision :—During 1925 the subscription shall be 20,000 yards only, and shall be payable on or before 1st March or in instalments as aforesaid.

(iii) No person shall be entitled to vote at the election of representatives or delegates or any committee or sub-committee of any Congress organisation whatsoever, or to be elected as such, or to take part in any meetings of the Congress or any Congress organisation or any committee or any sub-committee thereof, if he has not contributed the yarn subscription or the instalments due.

Any member who has made default in the payment of the yarn subscription may have his or her rights restored by paying the subscription in respect of which the default has occurred and the instalment for the month then current.

(iv) Every Provincial Congress Committee shall send to General Secretary, the All-India Congress Committee, from month to month returns of membership and of the yarn received by it in virtue of this article. The Provincial Congress Committees shall contribute 10 per cent of their subscriptions and each year to the All-India Congress Committee.

The present Article VII (a) and Article IX (b).

Continuing, the MAULANA said :—

Opening day

The Compromise and the Spinning Franchise

Maulana Mahamed Ali

This is the resolution. Deshabandu Das who moved this resolution has told you something of the history of the controversy that went on from time to time, from the time of the Gaya Congress right up to this day. I don't wish to enter into their history. All that I desire to say is that at Delhi I had to face facts as Mahatmaji himself has had to face facts as he came out of prison in the month of February of this year. When Deshabandhu Das tells you what he means by his Council Programme, I feel it to be my duty to say that I do not agree with him. Beyond that I do not wish to enter into that controversy. We want to close that controversy. I wanted to close that even at Delhi and what I proposed at that time was that neither party should be responsible for the other ; when, we wished to agree to differ and yet both to remain together in the Congress. There should be no driving out of the Congress, no rebellion against the Congress. Let the Congress have both parties. One party says that it is for Council-entry and that it is not against non-cooperation ; while another party says that it is against Council-entry. Even over this question of interpretation we should not divide the Congress. We should permit each party to consider that its interpretation is right : we should permit each his right of admission to the Congress and fight the common enemy of the Congress and of the Indian nation. And, for my part I refuse to have any responsibility in the interpretation of the resolution passed. It was said that those who had religious or other conscientious scruples need not take part in the Council elections, that they need not stand as candidates and that they need not vote, but out of deference to our friends who wanted to enter the Councils, we, the No-changers in the interests of unity and brotherhood should suspend our right of propaganda against Council-entry, while we allowed them (the Pro-changers) to carry on propaganda in favour of Council-entry. At Cocanada again the same position was taken up and now the new agreement that is before you accepts that position, that in the body of the Congress there are two sets of people—one set who believes that good will come, but not Swaraj, from going into these Councils and who, amongst them, also believes that Swaraj will come if we go to Councils : there is another body who do not think that any good will come from going to these Councils. No-changers do not come under that head. But they recognise the fact that my friends still believe in the Council-entry and in the work of destruction which they are carrying on in the Councils.

And, what does the Congress do today besides the same thing as the Congress at Delhi and at Cocanada,—and all that in the interests of one thing? Mahatma Gandhi believes, and in his address he has told you that in one respect the greatest revolution has been already made in India. And that I call the coming of Mahatma, I call it the Gandhi Era. The Pre-Gandhi Era was

the era of petitioning. The Gandhi Era is the era of self-development. It is the era of self-realisation, which is true Swaraj as Deshabandhu Das has told you. Mahatma Gandhi wants you and the country to develop power, to develop strength. It is for the sake of developing strength and power that I did not like either at Delhi or at Cocanada any power, any strength to be wasted in quarrelling over that Council-entry. Today, thank God, we are closing our ranks finally. (Hear, hear). Today we are sinking our controversies finally. I say to a large number of those who think,—when Mahatma Gandhi and I met—that there is no good of wasting time in these Councils. I say to you, No-changers, "You are not to think what the Swarajists are doing; you are not to go and search blunders in what the Swarajists are doing. You have got to keep one thing, one end,—the development of your own strength with which you fight the common enemy." (Cheers).

Opening day.

The Compromise & the Spinning Franchise.

Maulana Mahamed Ali.

I do trust and we have been given the most solemn and the most honourable assurances by our friends, the Swarajists, that they are going to carry on the work of construction with great will even though some of them did not believe in the kind of construction, not so much as Mahatma Gandhi has pinned faith. They are giving honourable assurances, they are giving solemn assurances. Nothing is more moving,—and this in a more halting fashion but in a more sincere fashion,—that my friend, Deshabandhu Das said to-day that "I feel this conviction is creeping on me" and that "Mahatma Gandhi will yet succeed with his Charkha". (applause), and those who are mad with the fanaticism of Charkha and he who has been working this way convinced him. This conviction—though their convictions are after all nothing—is now creeping upon my friend, Deshabandhu, Das, that Mahatma Gandhi will yet succeed with this weapon of Charkha.

That is a great thing. It is a very good omen for the future. We ring out the old era of controversy and we ring in the era of construction. But I say again to those of you who are No-changers, "You are not to mind what work the Swarajists ought not to do and what happens to them. You must go together in blinkers and keep your eye on the goal that by the end of the December 1925, nay, earlier than that, by the time the next president of the Congress delivers his address, you should, by your work, and by your work alone, be able to show to the nation that foreign cloth has been excluded, that foreign cloth has been removed because you have constructed your own cloth and made cloth with your own hands."

Then, why this intrusion? Why this twenty-four thousand yards of yarn as franchise? It is an unheard of franchise. It is a noble experiment, and some would say, it is a mad experiment. Well, I say, your slavery too is unique. Show me anywhere in the world, 320 millions of people who are slaves

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The Compromise and the Spinning Franchise.
Maslana Mahamed Ali;

under the greed of a few Europeans. Show me where 320 millions who are slaves of a nation keeping an army of fifty to sixty thousand European soldiers and another fifty or sixty thousand commercial and Civil Service men in India and a quarter of lakh in Great Britain and keeping in control 320 millions of people. Is that not unique? Show one instance in the history of the world 320 millions of people who are in this condition. Nowhere! For unique things unique remedies have to be thought of.

More than that, examine yourselves the process of enslavement. Were you any slave of the sword which had the pitched battle that Great Britain fought? No, India was won through the co-operation of the British and Indian Government. (Here, hear). If India is to be free India again, it is through the non-co-operation of the British and the Indians. (Cheers). All the manhood of India was taken away when India was bled white economically. I do not want to use harsh language. I will not call the British a nation of shopkeepers. They are certainly a nation of commercial people. They did not come with the panoply of war. They did not come to this country as kings and princes. They came, if not as a body of pedlars, but, as Honourable John Company. When they came as the Hon'ble John Co. they went to the Great Moghul and had a petition to him. They did not ask for territories, but they asked only for factories. They were factorers then. You know history. I am not going to repeat history, how they wanted cloth and how out of Indian Cloth made their wealth first. When they wanted the Diwani of Bengal and when they had it, they used Indian weavers so much and paid them so little and got out of them so much in the way of Indian cloth. This is the genius of India to spin and weave. India has not got the attitude of slavery, but India has got the aptitude of freedom. This is national genius. This national genius, spinning and weaving, is still with India. This East India Company found the secret of India's wealth and then would it find peace. Because Indians were an agricultural people and they thought that as by-products of agriculture they got the cottage industry of the Charkha and the loom. And they said of the cottage industry, "Why should Indians be so strong? Let us spin and let us develop our strength at the expense of the weaver." They used the weavers so much that at last the weavers had to cut off their thumbs in order to keep them out of the shuttle. The weaver was made the slave of the loom, of the shuttle, in order to keep him out of it.

Cloth was sent from India, nothing now, when the Egyptian mummies were to be buried in the royal tomb. When the Egyptians wanted to entomb the mummy they had to get cloth from India; and for those living in great Britain cloth was sent from India. Cotton is indigenous to India. That is the secret why Sudan was receiving from Egypt to-day. Yet it was from India that secret had gone to Egypt, and it was Indian cloth that the Egyptian

mummies required. So this time, it is not for the dead but for the living men that Indian cloth costing one rupee was sold for Rs. 7 or Rs. 8 in England. Those were the days of hand-loom. Then came the machinery of Jenny.

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I do not quarrel with the discoverers, I do not quarrel with the mill-owners. My quarrel is with ourselves who do not see what spinning has done for us and who do not do anything ourselves. When a machine began to do with one man the work of ten, the English found the secret of ruining India. Orders went that the Ganges should go backwards, that the Ganges should flow back to Gangothri but not to the Bay of Bengal. (Laughter). Indian cloth was no longer to be sent to England but British cloth was to be imported to India. I ask you, I am suing no rhetoric, no figure of speech,—I want you to think calmly all the implications of this. God is just. He is not unjust to one country and just to another. If He gives the polar bear fine furs and wool to protect him in the cold climate of the polar regions, He also gives the necessary skin and wool to the goats, sheep, buffaloes and the like in this hot climate of India. Indians—what do they want? Not furs, not wool. It is unnatural for him to banker for cloth made in Great Britain but it is natural to go in for the wool of Kashmir. It is far more unnatural that all cotton practically required for this country to which God has given a climate for cotton to grow, should be exported 7,000 miles away and cloth is prepared and imported here. That is an unnatural way. From the chain of ghats, Imagrodes to Eard's End, there is not one acre of soil where cotton is grown in England, not one cotton seed is planted in British soil, and yet most of the cloth has to come from there—almost all the cloth made of our own cotton—has to come from 7,000 miles away. I have spoken, I have talked to villagers. I have asked them, "Tell me, would it be natural that, when you have sown with wheat, pulses, rice, millet or anything that you require, when you throw the seed in your soil, when you cut the harvest, instead of grinding the wheat of your harvest yourselves and make bread for your children you should export it on sea to the wheel of Reading and that Reading biscuits had to come 7,000 miles away for the breakfast of your children?" They say, it is ridiculous. Because wheat grows even in England, but cotton does not grow. Not only Governor-General and Viceroy Reading—Lord Reading—you are also importing Reading biscuits. (Laughter). And yet Indian cotton is a thing with which we clothe our women.

Maulana
Mahamed Ali.

I have used to our Government this simile, the historic simile of Draupadi. Her *vastar*—cloth was in the hands of a relation who wanted to show her utter nakedness, to show her shame, to his own family. To-day the garment, the *vastar* of our women is in the foreign hands, is in hands of Manchester and Liverpool. If you want the whole world to know her neckedness it is not her

nakedness.....I am not going to enter into these matters. It is not rhetoric, it must be calm logic of political economy,

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Maulana Mahamed Ali

What happens to us Indians? This slave mentality of ours having learnt from the West, having been flowing from the West, we should think that light comes from west, from the sinking sun, but not from the rising sun. If a German with a double bared name, a name of seven syllables, hardly to be pronounced, was to come and tell you that for the political salvation of India, her economic salvation is necessary and that the secret for her economic salvation is the Charkha and that the Charkha is the only remedy, you would call him mad. German. All that fine brotherly feeling is applied is used for this Mahatma. For this mad Mullah. This is our slave mentality.

People come for prescription to doctors, Dr. Roy, Dr. Ansari, Dr. Ranade of Bombay. They write long prescriptions, commercial agents as they are to European druggists. They give you everything that you have to get from England, everything that you have to indent from Europe, perhaps some of which may not be available easily, and then you will be satisfied with that long prescription and you say, "What a fine doctor he is!" When doctors of your Ayurveda or Unani tell you to use a thing grown at your door, you are not satisfied with it. God, if He has created diseases He has also created remedies. If these are tropical diseases there are tropical herbs also to cure them. A simple herb that grows at your door is prescribed to you, and you are asked to pick it out, you say, "No, he is mad, I want a remedy, a long prescription, from the West to cure to disease." Such is your slave mentality. Really the secret of success of great physicians is that they have got simple remedies, not compounds, that they prescribe to you. The simple prescription that Mahatma gives you is the Charkha. (A cry,—It is time, more than time for closing the speech).

Mahatma Gandhi tells you that you must not be led by your hearts; he must be led by our hearts,...the lead of our hearts too sometimes. He tells you that if your head is not convinced you may go against this pact or agreement, you may vote against this resolution, and I don't want a single person, a single soldier, in our army, who is not convinced of the value of the Charkha and that this is a flag that will lead you to victory. Very well, my friend, Deshabandhu Das, is just as much convinced as I am that in the last resort India will have to depend for freedom upon the masses. We talk of 320 millions. It is a nice thing to talk of 320 millions but we have no conception of millions. We always think in terms of Councils, Municipalities, District Boards etc., but really more often of the Working Committee, any address and so on. But we are always anxious to think of so many millions, of 320 millions of India. If you want the assistance of so many millions of Indians and feed this rifle strength you have got to provide rations for the nation, for those who have to

lift your rifles, for your soldiers. Napoleon said that "every army is a reptile which marcheth on its belly". How is your army going to march? Is it on your bellies, or on your heads? No, you keep your heads cool. You don't want to walk with the head. You will be trailing on your belly. Like an army we should provide for our rifle men. If you want the nation to fight with the bureaucracy you will have to get these men to go with you. Otherwise they are an impediment, they are an obstruction. They are camp-followers, then you will have to provide rations for them, to give them strength. What right has any of us with three or four square meals, looking at your colour and health, without providing those millions? We are not like Mahatma Gandhi who is going to get on with his milk, and what right has he for a man to make sacrifice without one square meal? Is it not true? Am I saying anything that you don't know? Ask the visitors, the huge crowds of people outside. I spoke this morning to men who had not money to purchase tickets. They are the men to be in our midst. They are the men who are to be enlisted in the army. They cannot be enlisted unless they are in the fighting army. (Mahatmaji, the President, then came up from his Presidential *Mandap* to the rostrum, and took a seat there, obviously to remind the speakers of the time limit and possibly to let any of his remarks be well heard. Laughter prevailed in the audience as Mahatmaji also was smiling. And in the atmosphere of smiles and laughter, the Maulana continuing said) If you want this man (Mahatma Gandhi) to be enlisted, you will have to provide a meal. Now, he earns, he is not a beggar. You are not to demoralise him. He does not want your doles. Who is the great millionaire to dole out 2 millions of rupees? None in this country of agriculture. Mahatma Gandhi has said about the Charkha that Charkha is like rain water; it would not be like canal water. Rain water is pure and how many wheels are to be lubricated; This rain pours down and the poor man uses it and he lives on his own wages. No doubt, his wages gave him hardly enough food. They did not give him enough food. But he supplemented his wages in the slack season of agriculture with the cottage industry of Charkha. Show us a substitute for the Charkha, he said, I will then say "down with your Charkha." There is no other industry which fits him. Willy nilly, he has got to go to Charkha, because he does not want to waste his substance from which he would make his own cloth and a little for you.....not for the rainy day as for you.

But one alternative I have. It is not a proper alternative or a substitute for you if you are a believer in Charkha. If you think that it is not sufficiently exciting, then I will tell you one which is sufficiently exciting; that is the sword, that is the bomb, that is the revolver. I state plainly here today the last people on earth who believe in them, who want to argue and explain to you not to believe in the Charkha but believe in the bomb, in the rifle, in

the revolver, and who have the right to explain, are the British people themselves. We owe no explanation to them. But this will not bring us our salvation. There is no sword left to sheathe or unsheathe. In England we were supported on the Khilafat question by my friend, Colonel Wedgewood: he seconded the resolution: he said, "It is all very good. Fight this way, you will have a bloody revolution." But I have no bloody revolution in India. (The President here reminded the speaker of the time).

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I have no time to speak. To my friend, Sayyed Hussain—I can give an assurance. We want a peaceful revolution but not a bloody revolution. The Charkha is the only remedy to effect it, India has no sword left to unsheathe. There is no sword. You cannot organise forces when you cannot organise this "simple foolish" thing, the "women's Charkha". Let us not talk of impossibilities. Then I say, if there is no sword in India the only alternative implement, of course, that we can use is the Charkha. That is the only thing and without that no development could be made. Help the Swarajists if you believe in the Councils, and go there. For our part we are not going there to waste our time and we don't want to waste our precious time in quarrelling with the Swarajists. We say, when you come back from there, in your spare moments work at the Charkha.

It was the Constructive Programme that was made at the Congress at Delhi and at Cooanada, and it is again the self-same programme (that is before you today.) Now, if we have sold ourselves—we have not sold our conscience,—and if we have paid a price for unity, we have exacted price from them too, even from men who do not believe in the Charkha. They may be unwilling themselves to spin. But they will have to send well-spun and well-twisted yarn prepared by others. (Pointing to the President) But here is the man who will see whether that yarn is well-twisted or not. He has got men who will examine whether it is hand-spun or not, whether it is well-twisted or not. Whosoever is not willing to spin, he will have a deputy to spin yarn for him. I would rather wish that every one of us should be so anxious as to spin for himself or herself. Not even one bit of yarn shall be left for the Swarajists. I want every man to be Charkha-mad. I require yarn for my own department. (Applause). But this is not, I don't want, to thrust out the unwilling persons, I don't want to exclude them. Let them work themselves. All our work is this, that those who are willing to work, let them work: even if those who are unwilling to work will come, let them come, they will be one source of development and strength. When the rich and the educated men and doctors of learning, when these people spin they are made spinners. I have asked my friends to join Freedom Society. I want them to make an organisation of fanatics, Charkha-Mad, Unlimited.

I want at least for this year, if there is madness in the Charkha—for one year at least, not too much after all, we should have *lustra inter space* this year—for one year if the whole country becomes unitedly mad, we shall then have attained the boycott before the end of the year. If at the end of 1925 we cannot show total boycott of foreign cloth we can at least in any case come to the nearest of it. Some friends of mine have said and many may come and tell you that this British nation has inaugurated a national debt of £ 800,000 millions in fighting the last war and for 20 years, 30 years, 100 years it could stare us. I should need that 35 millions pounds of gold which Great Britain flinches away from India. That is not the real point. It is not so much the production but it is the proper distribution of wealth that I want. And more than that, one thing we should have accomplished, one thing attempted, one thing done and failed for the first time, how much prejudice you will have and how much moral strength would there be. To-day you are anæmic, your soul is anæmic; tomorrow you will be full-blooded, your body and soul will be full-blooded. That is why I say, so far as there are many leaders in this country, don't shout "Shaukat Ali ki Jai," "Mohamed Ali ki Jai, and so on. But shout only "Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai," but now no more that "Jai." I want to push him from the stool. No longer shout "Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai," but this year it must be "Khaddar ki Jai," (Loud and continued cheers and cries of "Khaddar ki Jai").

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It was 5-10 P. M. when Maulana Mohamed Ali finished his speech. The President next called upon Maulana Hasrat Mohani, who had to oppose the resolution.

MAULANA HASRAT MOHANI spoke in Urdu as follows opposing the resolution,

जनाब सदर और भाइयो, सबसे पहले मैं यह बात बताना चाहता हूँ कि मुझे अफसोस है कि मैं जो यहाँ आया हूँ तो मैं इसके खिलाफ हूँ। मैंने अफसोसका लफ्ज इसलिये कहा है कि दर असल मुझे खिलाफ बोलने की इत्तिहास न थी क्यों कि इसमें कई बातें ऐसी हैं जो कि मुझे दिलसे पसन्द हैं, जिन्हें तबे दिलसे पसन्द करता हूँ। यानी इसमें जो कदर दानी और ल्याकत की बात है उसे मैं मानता हूँ। लेकिन दो बातें ऐसी हैं जिनका मैं विरोध करता हूँ। पहिली बात यह है कि इससे नानकोआप-रेशनका प्रोग्राम छोड दिया गया इसी लिये कि नानकोआपरेशन एक ऐसी चीज है कि अगर उसे एक मिनट भी मुतबी कर दें तो मर जाता है। जरा सरगमीं न करें तो मर जाता है। नागपुर में स्कूल बायकाट का विरोध नहीं किया गया, जरा उस पर से जोर उठा लिया गया तो वह बिल्कुल ही छोड दिया गया—तो इस प्रस्तावसे नानकोआपरेशन, सिविल डिसओबिडियन्स और नानपेमेण्ट आफ टैक्स भी छोडा दिया गया। इस में चर-खा कातना और खादी पहनना हरेक को जरूरी कर दिया गया। इन्हीं सिर्फ दो चीजों

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Maulana Haqrat Mohani

की मैं मुखालिफत करता हूँ। लेकिन महात्माजीने कहा कि पूरे रिजोल्यूशन की मुखालिफत करो या कुलमानो,—यह एक तर्जें हुकुमत से कहा—एक बात और कहना बजा है कि मैं एक तरह स्वराज पार्टीका भी मेम्बर हुआ था। और यह आप लोगोंको मालूम है कि देशबंधु दास और पण्डित मोतीलाल नेहरूने कहा है कि जो पेंक्ट मंजूर हो चुका है उस पर स्वराज पार्टीका कोई मेम्बर खिलाफ वोट नहीं देगा। चुनावचे उन्होंने कहा है किजो इस को मंजूर न करे वह समझले कि वह स्वराज पार्टी से निकल गया। स्वराज पार्टी से मतलब यह सरी ही तौर पर कह दिया गया है कि वह पार्टी केश्वन है। तो पार्टी केश्वन में बिना पहले किसी किस्म की राय किये ऐसा नहीं हो सकता। कांउसिलों में भी यह कायदा है कि पहले पार्टी केश्वन पर राय करलेते हैं फिर इस पर खिलाफ राय देने से अलग समझा जाता है। तो सरी ही बात है कि जल्दी में, एक बात दिल में रखकर, बिनाराय किये झट एक हुकुम निकाल दिया कि कोई खिलाफ नहीं बोले। इस दिनसे पहले देशबन्धु दास ने कहाथा कि जो चाहे खिलाफ राय दे सकता है, और आपनी राय पेश का सकता है। इसके बाद जो यह बात मालूम हुई है वह एक आफ्टर थाट है इस लिये मैं अपने को मजबूर नहो समझता कि खिलाफ न बोळें। लेकिन अगर यही कहा कि ऐसी हालत में तुम स्वराज पार्टी में नहीं रह सकते तो मैं दिल्ली कूवत को पार्टी की कूवत से अधिक समझता हूँ। यह मैं ने अपने तर्जें अमल मे कहा अब एक और बात निहायत मुफ्तसर तौर पर कह कर फिर राय देने की बात कहूँ गा।

इस मौके पर महात्मा गांधीको याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ अमृतसर कांग्रेस का मौका। इस के बाद दिल्लीकी कांग्रेस हुई। वह तिलक थे जो अमृतसर कांग्रेस में नानको-आपरेशन में थे। गांधीजीने उन का विरोध उस वक्त किया था। जलियांवाले बाग के सवाल पर नानकोआपरेशन शुरू हुआ। फिर दिल्ली की खिलाफत कांफ्रेंस की बात हुई। यह निहायत ताज्जुब की बात है कि खिलाफत के बदले के वास्ते मैं ने व्याय काटका प्रस्ताव पेश कियाथा तो महात्माजीने कहा कि नहीं; अगर हमको कुछ करना है तो नानकोआपरेशन करना चाहिये। मुझे तसकीन हुआ कि महात्मा गांधी जी व्याय-काटको कुछ नहीं मानते और नानकोआपरेशन करना चाहते हैं। आज मुझे ताज्जुब है कि जो व्यायकाट कोई ऐसी चीज नहीं है, हज़रात, मैं आपको महात्माजीका कहा याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि व्यायकाटसे खिलाफत और पंजाबके मसले हल नहीं हो सकते, तो खादी फ्रेञ्चाइज कोई और चीज नहीं सिर्फ व्यायकाट है। तो साफ है कि जिससे खिलाफत और पंजाबके मसले हल नहीं हो सकतेथे उस से किस तरह स्वराज का मसला हल हो सकता है।

मैं इस बिनापर मुखालिफत करना चाहता हूँ कि इससे आइडियलको एकदम गिरादिया गया! अगर हम इसे पा सकते हैं तो हमारा आइडियल स्वराज नहीं रह

जाता क्योंकि अगर हम इससे मसलये पंजाब और खिलाफत भी हल नहीं कर सकते Opening day
तो मैं सगरी ही तौरपर इसकी मुखालिफत करता हूँ कि अगर हम इससे आला तर्ज पर The Compro-
कामकरना चाहते हैं तो इससे भी कोई छोटी चीज हमको अखितयार करना चाहिये, Spinning
ऐसा भी कहाजा सकता है। Franchise

दूसरी बिनाफ्र जो मुखालिफत करता हूँ वह यह है कि यह बात प्रौक्टिकल Moulana
नहीं है। इसमें अब्बल तो कामयाबी न होगी, हरशक़्क़ा चरखा नहीं कात सकता, Hasrat Mohani
अगर यह फ़र्ज करलें कि हरेक शरक़्क़ा कातने लगे, एक गज़ कपडा विलायतसे न
आवेतो क्या स्वराज हो जायगा? लोग कहते हैं हमारे मुल्क में ६० करोड़ रूपयेका
कपडा आता है उसे रोक देंगे। मैं कहता हूँ कि ६० करोड़ रूपयेमें कुछ लगता नहीं
क्या? आधेसे ज्यादा लगता है। तो इसतरह १५-२० करोड़ रूपयेका नुकसान पहुं-
चानेकी बात रहजाती है। क्या आप समझते हैं कि इससे उस कौमके दिलपर जरा भी
बार आर्एज हो सकता है? जरा भी नहीं। जो कौम ४ सालतक १५ करोड़ रूपया रोज
खर्च करके बराबर जर्मनसे लडती रही, जरा साभी बार नहीं आयाथा तो आप ह्याल
कर सकते हैं कि क्या वह इस १५-२० करोड़के सालाना नुकसानसे स्वराज दे देगी?
अगर किसीको ऐसा ह्याल है तो अफ़सोस है। अगर ब्वायकफ़्ट कुछ भी नहीं था तो
इससे कुछ भी नहीं हो सकता।

दूसरी बात जिसपर विरोध करता हूँ और जिसको कबूल करता हूँ वह यह है कि
इसमें नानकोआपरेशन को छोड़दिया गया है क्योंकि इसमें पोलिटिकल प्रोग्राम नहीं रहा।
नो-वेखरने नानचौंजिविलिटी और खादीको रक्खा और कुछ नहीं। स्वराज पार्टीवाले
खैर कह सकते हैं कि काउंसिलका कुछ काम है। लेकिन उन्होंने भी काउंसिल में जो
कुछ करना था करालिया। वह कहतेथे अब्स्ट्रक्शन करेंगे, बजटपेश करेंगे उसको ना-
मज़ूर करेंगे। सब कुछ करालिया अबकुछ न रहा। जब उन्होंने अपना सारा अवजार
खर्च करालिया तो उन्होंने सबकुछ उठाकर रहीं कां टीकरी में डालदिया। अब अगर
मर्द हैं तो आवें और कहें कि सिविल डिसेविडियन्स करेंगे। अगर वह ऐसा नहीं करते
तो उनका प्रोग्राम मुर्दा हो गया है। तो मैं कहूंगा कि उसको छोड़दिया है। कोई प्रो-
ग्राम अब नहीं है। आप लोगोंसे अर्ज करूंगा और महात्मा गांधीसे कहूंगा कि इस
बेचारे नानकोआपरेशन को बेमौत न मारें। इसे आपने एक स्पॉनर क्लास बनाकर मार
डाला।

यहाँ नोटिंग होगी। मैं आप लोगोंसे कहता हूँ कि आप हर्गिज यह ह्याल न करें
कि हम राय न देंगे तो महात्माजी चले जॉयगें काम छोड़कर। स्वराज पार्टी में तो देश
बन्धुने शाही हुकुम पास करदिया कि निकलजाओ (हास्यध्वनि)।

Opening day महात्माजी, यहाँ कुछ ऐसे लोग हैं चेन्नर और नो-चेन्नर हैं जिनको वाज़ बाज़ हिस्सा मंज़ूर है। अगर उनको भी पूरे रिजोल्यूशन पर मौका आया वोटिंग का तो जान लेंगे कि जितने वोट आयेंगे उतने ही नहीं उससे १५-२० गुनावोट हैं। अगर आप पास करेंगे इस रिजोल्यूशन को तो यह न समझें कि खादीकी तरफ़ा होगी यह न होगा। यह तो बात आपकी सेल्फ़ कम्प्यूटिक्टो है। आप एक तरफ़ चाहते हैं कि सब लोग सूतकाते खदर पहने और दूसरा तरफ़ यह चाहते हैं कि काप्रेस यूनिवरसल हो। लेकिन शर्त वह रखते हैं कि जो मुकाम्मिल न होगी।

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Maulana
Haarar Mohani

मैं देखता हूँ कि लोगोंके दिलपर अफसोस छागया है। हमारे पास कराँची के जेलमें यह कहतेथे कि ३१ दिसम्बर तक उनसे हमारा तसफीहा न होगा, मुतालबात न मिलजायगे तो कामिल आजादीका ऐलान करदेंगा। वही मुहम्मद अली आते हैं तो कहते हैं कि चरखाकातो (हास्पधनि) वह भी ज़रे बरतानिया! तो क्या चीज बाकी रहीं? क्या क्या करेंगे?

तो मैं कहूँगा कि अप सोचलें यहाँ, और महात्मा गांधी और दुसरे लोगों का डर न करें। अगर आप नहीं चाहते तो इसके ऊपर राय न दें। “

THE PRESIDENT: I call upon Maulana Azad Sobhani to speak.

MAULANA AZAD SOBHANI then made his speech in Urdu as follows opposing the resolution.

Maulana
Azad Sobhani

विरादराने काप्रेस मुझे सख्त तकलीफ़ है कि मैं आज दौराने नानकोआपरेशन में पहली दफ़ा अपने उस सरदार की मुखालिफ़त करने आया हूँ कि जिसकी तमाम दौरान में मुखालिफ़त काख्याल भी नहीं किया था। मेरे भाइयो, मुखालिफ़त का यह मतलब नहीं है कि पैकटका जो मखसद है, जो गरज़ है उससे मुझे पूरा पूरा शुरूसे आखीर तक एख्तलाफ़ है। मैं यह समझता हूँ कि पैकट अपने मखसद के लेहाजसे उतनी ही मुबारक और जरूरो चीज़ है कि उसे वतनकी बेहतरी का मसला समझा जासकता है—पैकट की सारीबातें तो नहीं मगर इसमें जो शर्तें और बुनियाद रखी गयी हैं उनपर मुझको एतराज है—लेकिन यह कहा गया है कि यातो कुल पैकट मानो या कुलकी मुखालिफ़त करो—जुज़ का मुखालिफ़त नहीं करसकते तो अगर्चे पूरे पैकट की इस शर्तपर मुखालिफ़त करना पडती है तो भी जमीरके लेहाजसे बजा है।

कुल चार चीज़ें हैं जिनको मैं इस मुखालिफ़तकी बुनियाद समझता हूँ। इनमें से तीन तो खुली हुई हैं और एक मेरे ख्यालमें ढकी हुई है। तीन खुली बातों मेंसे एक चीज़ वह है जो मेरे दोस्त हसरत मोहानी नेक ही है कि इससे नानकोआपरेशन को छोड़ दिया गया। मैं यह तो नहीं कह सकता कि नानकोआपरेशन को बिल्कुल छोड़

दिया गया—मुमकिन है इसमें किसी कदर मुबालिगे की तरज हो। महात्मा गांधी के
 लफ्ज लिये जौयतो छोड़ा गया, मुस्तवीकर दिया गया। मुमकिन है और तजरवे से
 साबित है कि नानकोआपरेशन पर जोर न देकर सिर्फ विदेसी पर जोर देनेसे लोग
 फिर नानकोआपरेशन के पास नहीं आते और नतीजा यह होगा कि नानकोआपरेशन
 को इन्तिहा सदमा पहुंचेगा— और जैसा मादूमतसे पता लगता है कि नान-
 कोपरेशन ढीला हो रहा था और कई वजूहात से ढीला होर हा है। अब लोग इसे उठा
 कर फेंक देंगे और दफन कर देंगे। और फिर दुबारा महात्मा गांधीसे भी बड़े साहब
 आकर इसके लिये कहेंगे तो मुतलक हिन्दुस्तान नानकोआपरेशन की तरफ तवज्जह
 नहीं करेगा। इसलिये मैं नानकोआपरेशन के ससपेन्शन और एक्वैडन्मेण्ट से तव्वहुर
 करता हूँ।

Opening day

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अगर महात्माजी खुद कहें कि वह पेट्ट नानकोआपरेशन के ससपेन्शन के बिना नहीं
 हो सकता था तो मैं कहूंगा कि यह ज्यादाती है। महात्माजी के तकदुस का इस्तिलाफ
 कर के मैं कहूंगा और महात्माजी के बैठे हुए सियासी नजर से कहता हूँ कि, तो भी
 खराज पार्टी तैयार हो जाती, अगर उस को कांग्रेस का इण्टग्रल भाग समझलिया जाता।
 तो मैं यह कबूल नहीं सकता कि यह निहायत जरूरी बात थीं। इसलिये साफतौर पर
 महात्मा गांधीजी ने इस में निहायत घबराहटसे काम लिया ॥ उन्होंने नानकोपरेटर्स
 को थोड़ी तादादको ना-चीज समझा। अगर वह उन थोड़े आदमीयोसे इस की हालत
 का मुताला करते और उस खास सिफत को, गुन को जान लेते जो उन में था
 तो वह समझ सकते कि उनको इतना ज्यादा झुकना जरूरी नहीं था कि जितना वह
 झुके। मेरे दोस्तो, यह पहली वजह है।

दूसरी जो खुली हुई बात है वह है स्पिनिंग फ्रेञ्चाइज। इस पर मेरे एस्तलाफ
 से मेरे दोस्त हजरत मोहनी को ज्यादा दिलचस्पी है। मैं तो स्पिनिंग फ्रेञ्चाइज से भी
 कोई छोटी चीज महात्माजी निकालते तो खुशी बलुशी मानलेता। अगर इस से
 भी कोई छोटी चीज महात्माजी कहते। और यह तज्जे अमल मैंने सूबेकी कमेटीमें
 अस्तियार किया था। दोनों तरफ मैंने वोट नहीं दिया। अगर मैं बराबर कहता था
 कि स्पिनिंग फ्रेञ्चाइज मेरी समझमें नहीं आती। जब कमी वोट देना पडा महात्मा गांधी
 की तरफ वोट दी। लोग कहतेथे कि यह क्या बात है। एक तरफ तो तुम स्पिनिंग
 फ्रेञ्चाइज पर कहकहे उडाते हो और दूसरी तरफ वोटदेते हो महात्मा गांधीकी तरफ। मैं
 कहता कि यह कोई बात नहीं। यह ऐसी बात नहीं है कि इसके लिये महात्मा गांधीकी
 तरफ न दें। और मौलाना हसरत मोहानी ने जो कुछ कहा उससे अधिक दलीलें मैं
 इसके खिलाफ रखता हूँ लेकिन फिर भी इसका विरोध नहीं करता।

Opening day तीसरी बात जो लिपी हुई है वह है यह कि इससे इण्डियन स्पिन्निंग का रास्ता बन्द होजाता है। यही सबसे दिल चस्प मसला इस नानकोआपरेशन में मेरे लिये था। आहमदाबाद में जब मौलाना हसरत महात्माजी से इस पर बातकर रहेथे मैं अजमलखॉ साहबसे उलझा हुआ था। दो पहलवान लड़ाई लडरहे थे। मैं ने साफ कहाथा महात्माजी से कि थोड़ी तखसीद देदीजिये कि जहाँ जाऊँ इसपर कुछ कह सकूँ- उसे इसमें एकदम ले-
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Maulana Azad Sobhani लिया। वह इसमें अच्छी तरह जनहकर दिया गया। चितापर रखदिया गया।

मुझे खुशी हुई थी जब मौलाना हसरत मोहानी स्वराज पार्टी से कलकत्ते में मिले और अपने फेडरेशन को पास कराके स्वराज पार्टी में शामिल हुए थे। गो मैं मौलाना हसरत मोहानी की तरह चालक नहीं हूँ और न पॉलिसी जानता हूँ मगर इतना मुझे भी आता है कि जा कर अपना मतलब पास करालेता और स्वराज पार्टी में हो जाता। लेकिन मैं साफ तौर पर अपने एतकादका एलान करना चाहता हूँ कि जब मौलाना हसरत मोहानी जाकर उनके जाल में फँसे, खैर मैं तो बचगया, मैने जान लिया कि उनको इस मुआहिदे का पता बेलगांव में लगेगा जब स्वराज पार्टी महात्मा गांधी के साथ लपटेगी।

आज यह पैक्ट जो आया है वह आइडियल को बदल देता है। इसके अलावे मैं कहता हूँ कि इसके क्या मानी हैं कि महात्मा गांधी स्वराज का लफ्ज़ महफ्ज़ रखना चाहते हैं और उसको रद कर देते है जो कुछ कहा जाता है। मौलाना हसरत मोहानीने जो कुछ कहा रद कर दिया—दो दिन हुये मैं तो आया नहीं था सुना है। एक तरफ सूतके धागेसे उन्होंने ऐसा लपेटा है कि उनको कोई दूसरा ख्याल ही नहीं रहगया है सूत अच्छीचीज है या बुरी यह ख्याल इसवक्त मेरे लिये नहीं है।

मेरे भाइयो, ये तीन चार चीजे हैं जिनपर मैं मुखालिफ़त करता हूँ—इनके अलावे एक चीज़ ऐसी है इसपैक्टमें जिसके लिये मुबारक बाद देता हूँ—वह है बंगाल आर्डिनंसका गवर्नमेंटको चैलेंज। इसमें हम सबको हर तरह मदद करना चाहिये, जैसा कांग्रेसने कहा है ताकि गवर्नमेंट समझलेकि मुल्ककी किसी पार्टीपर जुल्म होगा तो तमाम मुल्क उस में पड़ेगा।

मगर महात्माजीने कहा है कि विरोध करो तो पूरे पैक्टका इस लिये इस तमाम पैन्ककी मुखालिफ़त करता हूँ”। इसके बाद महात्माजीने कहा कि अब मिस्टर कौजलकी कनरीज में सुनायेंगे फिर महात्माजीने कहा कि “मिस्टर एन्. सी. केलकरमी बोलेंगे, दोतीन भाई और हैं उनकोभी बोललेना है—जो कोई बोलता है खिटाफ उसकी बोललेने देता हूँ”।

THE PRESIDENT: I call upon Mr. Kowjalgi.

Shriyut KOWJALGI in supporting the resolution said :—

Mr. President and Brother Delegates !

You must be wondering when I am following my friends, Maulana Hasrat Mohani and Maulana Azad Sobhani, you might think that I come to oppose the resolution. Some of you who must have seen me opposing this resolution in the All India Congress Committee will be surprised to see me supporting this resolution, (Cheers) and, think an explanation is due to you from me. In the All India Congress Committee which is considered to be a deliberative body, or rather comparing it to a War Council, I was asked to give my opinion as a member of the Council; and I frankly gave my opinion there. The War Council's decision went against me, and as a member of the war staff I am bound to stick to the resolution. I am a disciplinarian, (Hear, Hear), though not in the sense in which Pandit Motilal Nehru enforces his discipline even in deliberative bodies; but I am a strict disciplinarian in action. (Hear, hear). When it was a matter of deliberation I may give my opinion frankly. But when once a decision is taken we must whole-heartedly carry out that decision and then only we can succeed and not otherwise. Then my request to you all is this, if you are determined to whole-heartedly carry out this resolution, then and then only vote for it. Don't deceive by lip sympathy if you think that you will not carry it out.

That is my first request. With that I support this resolution. Then I am going to speak in Canarese for my Canarese friends.

ಶ್ರೀ. ಶ್ರೀನಿವಾಸರಾವ ಕೌಜಲಗಿಯವರ ಭಾಷಣ.

ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷ ಮಹಾಶಯರಿ ಮತ್ತು ಪ್ರತಿನಿಧಿ ಬಂಧುಗಳೆ,

ನನ್ನ ಮಿತ್ರರಾದ ಮೌಲಾನಾ ಹಜರತ ಮೋಹಾನಿ ಮತ್ತು ಮೌಲಾನಾ ಅಯ್ಯದ ಸೋಬಾನಿ ಇವರ ಹಿಂದಿನಿಂದಲೆ ನಾನು ಮಾತಾಡಲಿಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದದ್ದರಿಂದ ನಾನು ಈ ಗೊತ್ತುವಳಿಯನ್ನು ವಿರೋಧಿಸಲು ಬಂದಿರುತ್ತೇನೆಂದು ತಮ್ಮ ತಿಳುವಳಿಕೆಯಾಗಿರಬಹುದು. ಅಖಿಲ ಭಾರತೀಯ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಸಮಿತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಗೊತ್ತುವಳಿಯನ್ನು ನಾನು ವಿರೋಧಿಸಿದ್ದನ್ನು ನಿವೊಳಗಿನ ಕೆಲವರು ಕಣ್ಣಾರೆ ಕಂಡಿರಬಹುದು. ಆದರೆ ಈಗ ನಾನು ಅದೇ ಗೊತ್ತುವಳಿಯನ್ನು ಸಮರ್ಥಿಸಲಿಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದಿದ್ದನ್ನು ನೋಡಿದರೆ ನಿಮಗೆ ಸೋಜಿಗವಾಗ ಬಹುದು! (ಅನಂದೋದ್ರೇಕ!) ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ಇದರ ಕಾರಣವನ್ನು ಹೇಳುವುದು ನನಗೆ ಅವಶ್ಯವೆಂದು ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ.

ಅಖಿಲ ಭಾರತೀಯ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಸಮಿತಿಯು ವಿಚಾರಮಾಡುವ ಮಂಡಳವಿದ್ದು ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ಯುದ್ಧ ಮಂಡಳವೆಂದರೂ ಸಲ್ಲುವದು. ಅಲ್ಲಿ ನನ್ನ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವನ್ನು ಕೇಳಿದಾಗ್ಗೆ ನಾನು ಯುದ್ಧ ಮಂಡಳದ ಸಭಾಸದನ ರೀತಿಯಿಂದ ನನ್ನ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವನ್ನು ಮರೆಮಾಡದೆ ಹೇಳಿದೆನು. ಯುದ್ಧ ಮಂಡಳದ ನಿರ್ಣಯವು ನನ್ನ ವಿರುದ್ಧವಾಯಿತು. ಆದರೂ ನಾನು ಯುದ್ಧಮಂಡಳದ ಸಭಾಸದನಿದ್ದರಿಂದ ನಾನು ಅನಿರ್ಣಯವನ್ನು ತಿರಸಾ ಮಾನ್ಯ ಮಾಡಲೇಬೇಕೆ.

೪ I, N. C.

Opening day.

The Compro-
mise and the
Spinning
Franchise.

Sjt. Kowjalgi

ನನಗೆ ಶಿಸ್ತು (discipline) ಬೇಕು. (ಕೇಳಿರಿ, ಕೇಳಿರಿ ಎಂದು ಸಭಿಕರ ಉದ್ಘಾಟನೆ)

Opening day ಅದರಿ ವಿಚಾರಮಾಡುವ ಸಭೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಸಹ ಪಂಡಿತ ಮೋತಿಲಾಲ ನೆಹರೂ ಇವರು ಯೋಚಿಸುವ ಶಿಸ್ತು

The Compro- ನನಗೆ ಅವಶ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲ (action) ಕಾರ್ಯವನ್ನು ಮಾಡುವಾಗಷ್ಟೇ ಶಿಸ್ತಿನ ಅವಶ್ಯಕತೆ (ಸಭಿಕರ
mise and the
Spinning- ಆನಂದೋದ್ದೇಶ). ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆಗಳ ಚರ್ಚೆಯನ್ನು ಮಾಡುವ ಮುಂದೆ ನಾನು ನನ್ನ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವನ್ನು
Franchise ಮುಚ್ಚಿ ಮರೆಮಾಡದೆ ಅಸಂದಿಗ್ಧವಾಗಿ ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಅದರಿ ಒಮ್ಮೆ ಇಂಥದೊಂದು ನಿರ್ಣಯವು

Sjt. Kowalgi ಅಯಿತೆಂದ ಮೇಲೆ ನಾವು ಅದನ್ನು ಅಂತಃಕರಣಪೂರ್ವಕವಾಗಿ ಕೊನೆಗಾಣಿಸಲಿಕ್ಕೆ ಬೇಕು. ಅಂದ
ರೇನೇ ನಮಗೆ ಯಶಸ್ಸು ಸಿಗುವದು; ಇಲ್ಲದಿದ್ದರೆ ಎಂದಿಗೂ ಸಿಗಲಾರದು. ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ನಿಮ್ಮಿಲ್ಲ
ರಿಗೆ ನನ್ನ ಪ್ರಾರ್ಥನೆಯಿಷ್ಟೇ: ಈ ಗೊತ್ತುವಳಿಯಂತೆ ಅಂತಃಕರಣಪೂರ್ವಕವಾಗಿ ನಡೆಯಲಿಕ್ಕೆ
ನೀವು ಬದ್ಧಕಂಕಣರಾಗಿದ್ದರೆನೇ ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಅನುಕೂಲವಾದ ಮತವನ್ನು ಕೊಡಿರಿ. ಇದನ್ನು ಅನು
ಸರಿಸಿ ನಡೆಯುವದು ಆಗಲಾರದೆಂದು ನಿಮಗೆ ತೋರಿದರೆ ಮೇಲ್ನೋರಿಕೆಯ ಸಹಾನುಭೂತಿಯಿಂದ
ಮೋಸಗೊಳಿಸಬೇಡಿರಿ

The President next called upon Sjt. N. C. Kelkar to speak on the resolu-
tion.

Shriyut N. C. KELKAR, supported the resolution in Marathi.

Sjt. Abhyankar in supporting the resolution said :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen !

Sjt. Abhyankar. Let me first tell you that it is with the special permission of the President
obtained on my request that I am standing here to address you today. I am
not one of those who, it was decided, would speak on this resolution. And I
assure you that had it not been for Maulana Mohammad Ali's speech on this
resolution, I would never have even dreamt myself of speaking on it. Maulana
Mohammad Ali supported this resolution. Maulana Mohammad Ali further
told you not to open up old controversies and he also assured you that he would
not do so. And yet while he was speaking, I could feel as everybody amongst
you must have felt that he was opening up old controversies in the worst fashion
possible (Hear, hear, No, no). He told you that we were going to unite on
this resolution; and yet he did not fail to remind you that it was today that
Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, the leader of my Swaraj Party, had acknow-
ledged that Mahatma Gandhi was not a mad man—as it was, Deshbandhu Das
never said that he was a mad man—and that Deshbandhu Das realised today
the potency of the Charkha. I challenge anybody, so far as Deshbandhu Das
is concerned, to say if he deprecated Charkha and if he said that it was not a
weapon to win Swaraj. (The speaker who was here interrupted replied that
it was his opinion to which he was entitled and the President remarked, "Let
him finish." The speaker proceeding said,) When Maulana Mohammad Ali
proceeded to support this resolution, he reminded me of a little joke that I

read in one of the English magazines on my way from Poona to Belgaum. After a case in a Law Court was finished and judgement was pronounced the unsuccessful litigant asked the Judge if it would be contempt of Court if he were to call him a son of a dog. The Judge said that it would certainly be so, whereupon the litigant remarked that he would not say it then I would like to know whether it is not in the memory of people who are sitting here in the Congress that it was Maulana Mohammad Ali who once in a public speech in Calcutta declared that it was a wrong policy that entry into the Councils was opposed, but that it was no use crying over the spilt milk; and he himself would stand for election if he himself would get a chance of doing so. (Hear, hear). Having said that, it does not lie in his mouth to condemn the Swaraj Party for its entry into the Councils. Maulana Mohammad Ali then said that it was the Charkha and Charkha alone that would lead them to Swaraj. I should like to know from you, gentlemen, whether we had not our Charkha when we lost our Swaraj? Was it because the British imported cloth into India that we lost our Swaraj? We had not lost the Charkha, but we had it when we lost our Swaraj. (No, no; Yes, yes; Hear, hear). I want you to look to history, which you evidently have forgotten. It was not due to import of British cloth into India that we lost our Swaraj and I assure you it would not be the boycott of British cloth that would give you Swaraj. There were other things, there were other forces, there were other facts that took away Swaraj from us. And unless we come into possession of those things which were wanting in us then you will not get Swaraj. I assure you Charkha cannot give you Swaraj. In fact, pardon me if I say, so far as I am concerned, I do not believe one atom in the utility of Charkha as a political weapon. If Maulana Mohammad Ali does not believe in the entry into the Councils and wants to suffer it as a mere concession to us, allow me also in my turn to tell you that Charkha under no circumstances will bring us an inch nearer to Swaraj. And yet let me tell you as a member of the Swaraj Party, that I have agreed to this compact as a concession to those who believe in Charkha and I publicly declare here that so far as my part of the contract is concerned, I will faithfully abide by it. (Hear, hear; Applause). I ask Mahatma Gandhi, and there can be no better witness than him to say whether I was not his political opponent from the very beginning of the Nagpur Congress: (The President: 'You were, indeed!' Laughter) and whether, although not believing one inch in his programme, not believing one atom in the policy that he propounded, I have not faithfully carried them out in obedience to the Congress. What I promise I would carry out in person. I would ask any person in my Province if I have not done so: I challenge any man in my Province if I have not done so. And it is in that spirit alone that the Swarajists have formed this pact. We want to live and let live and as Mahatmaji has said, to die if possible together. If in course of time, one side will win over the other

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Sgt. Abhyankar.

and time won't be long before we will march together fully believing in one programme and one policy. There must be mistake somewhere. I don't pretend to be the wisest, but at the same time I deny and I refuse to believe any other man to be the wisest in the world and any one to be infallible. All are fallible. All are fallible. We want to come together to tussle against the common enemy. We want to see if we cannot do that under this resolution. I believe we will be able to do it.

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Sjt
abhyankar,

Two words more; two minutes more, and I will have finished. Speaker after speaker has come on this platform until now to support this resolution. And yet it was my friend, Mr. Kelkar alone who pointed out to you that there were two parties, two sides, two promises, two offers and two acceptances in this contract. I should have liked all those speakers who preceded me to have told you this in all seriousness, in all sincerity. It has been said by Maulana Mohammad Ali that if Mr. Das did not believe in Charkha let him not do so; but he for one would advise you to go forward with Charkha alone, with blinkers to your eyes looking neither way, either this way or that. I should like to know from him if we Swarajists were to put on the same blinkers, would it do? Would he like it? And is it on that understanding that we have come together? Let us be faithful to each other. Let there be mutuality; without cohesion and mutuality there cannot be any progress. Maulana Mohammad Ali has said that Swarajists have entered the Councils and yet Swaraj has not been obtained. I promise him, and I use the word promise, and I particularly use it—that India cannot obtain Swaraj, India shall never obtain Swaraj through Councils only. No country in India's circumstances has done it, and the Swaraj party never thought so either. "Council" is one of the modern weapons that has been forged by Government in order to govern you. It was Mahatmaji himself who told us that Government creates and gets its powers through these Councils. Is it not our duty to see that the weapons that have been forged against us should be smashed, should be taken away, should be snatched away from our opponents? Assume that we don't do anything, which makes us stronger, yet if we deprive our opponent of a power which he already possesses, doesn't it make us comparatively stronger than what we were? Why has the Government given us these Councils? These were not there before 50 years. Fifty years before the Government was content without them, because it could rule you only with the power of the sword. Today also it would do so if it could, but it has got to exist in these modern days.

Then, one thing I should like to tell you. Carry whatever programme you will in the country. But would it not be better, would it not be stronger, would it not be more successful with the Councils on your side than it would be with the Councils against you, as they were, when you had chosen to keep

them against you by keeping yourself aloof from them? I may tell you, you may do your constructive programme, you may do the destructive programme ^{Opening day} if you will, you may do anything that you think proper, that the circumstances ^{The Compro-} and times may leave at your command and disposal, and yet I ask you, would ^{mise and the} not all those programmes be more successful, if you had the forces of the ^{Spinning} Councils behind you than if they are against you? It is simple logic and I do ^{Franchise} not think that I need dilate upon it any more.

Sjt.
Abhyaakar.

Mahatmaji has told me that my time is up and I don't want to take your time any longer. One thing I should like to tell you. Remember what the Swaraj Party is. I want you to look at the Swaraj Party if you will and if you have faith in Mahatmaji through his glasses, Mahatmaji's persidential address itself will tell you what the Swaraj Party is. Mahatma Gandhi has decided on behalf of the No-changers to shake hands with the Swaraja Party; and I congratulate them on it and I hope that both sides will be tolerant enough. I know that just as there are members of the Swaraj Party like myself who never believed or do not yet believe one inch in Charkha and I say perhaps are never likely to believe in it—I say perhaps—because I am open to conviction—there are also others amongst you who do not believe in the utility of the Council entry. But, for good or for bad we have joined together. Let us join together. Let us join together in the programme not merely in words, but in actions, marching together leaving our differences keeping to our promises and I tell you it would not be long when one side will gulp the other and both will then march to victory as indivisible one. (Loud and continued cheers).

THE PRESIDENT: Swami Govindananda will oppose the resolution.

SWAMI GOVINDANDA, Sind, said:—

Mahatmaji and friends,

I have, I feel, a painful duty today to perform inasmuch as I rise to ^{Swami} oppose the resolution that has been so ably moved and seconded by ^{Govindananda} Deshbandhu Das and Maulana Mohammad Ali. Indeed it was a sight for the gods to see when the erstwhile opponents, Maulana Mohammad Ali and Deshbandhu Das, came forward on this platform to support a resolution proposing such very drastic and revolutionary change in the constitution of the Congress. I am afraid that the unity that has been purchased, has been purchased at the cost of the vital interests of this nation.

The agreement before you reads thus:—

“The Congress hopes that the agreement will result in the true unity of the two wings of the Congress and will also enable persons belonging to other political organisations to join the Congress.”

I ask you in all seriousness, my friends, whether the passing of this resolution conduces to the unity of the different parties. There have been uptill now in this Congress two parties. The passing of this resolution, as Desh-

bandhu Das himself confessed in the Subjects Committee will result in the
 Opening day, creation of a third party. By this resolution you are creating a party of dis-
 senters like myself who believe that this Assembly, and for the matter of that
 The Compro- senters like myself who believe that this Assembly, and for the matter of that
 mise & the no Assembly, has got any right whatsoever to deny to the poor millions of
 Spinning Franchise. this nation the right to vote in the unofficial parliament of India. I claim that
 no power on earth has got this authority of disenfranchising millions of men,
 Swami and I also further say that no power on earth should have any right to deny
 Govindananda this right of franchise and the right of serving the Indian National Congress
 and through the Indian National Congress the nation itself. If I don't
 believe in your spinning, are you going to deprive me of my right to
 serve this nation, to work for the emancipation of this nation from the thralldom
 imposed upon it by the most tyrannical power on this earth? Do you want
 me to go away and sit dumb without doing anything to serve this my nation?
 This is a very great responsibility that you are taking upon yourselves if you
 pass this resolution. Instead of widening the doors of the Congress to admit
 new-comers are you not rather shutting them against even those who are uptil
 now in the Congress? Are you not driving out many a sincere patriot from
 the Congress organisations? I want universal franchise, so that any one who
 aspires to liberate India may come and offer his Ahuti to the Yajna Kunda of
 Swarajya. I ask Mahatma Gandhi who tells that this resolution proposes a
 revolutionary change but inasmuch as he is going to substitute for the different
 qualifications of franchise uptil now in vogue the most inacceptable one, viz,
 manual labour—I ask him in all seriousness why is it that he has accepted the
 spinning as the only right manual labour? How has he made this the ex-
 change in political franchise? The spinning cannot be the curreney, the
 money in political franchise affairs.

There is another aspect of the question. I also want to impress upon you
 this, that we are today the dissenters in a minority so far as the physical or
 external raising of hands is concerned, but I assure you, Sirs, the inner con-
 science of a majority of delegates is against this resolution (No, no; Yes, yes).
 I know that it is against this decision and I hope the test would soon be known
 and this franchise repealed. We are told that the Swarajists are going to vote
 on this resolution on party lines. I ask Deshbandhu Das and Pandit Motilal
 Nehru, who gave us an excellent harangue on discipline. Discipline, discipline
 is the watch-word of their party. What became of that discipline at the Gaya
 Congress? Why did they enter the Councils in defiance of the declared will of
 this nation? Here are Deshbandhu Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru who
 defied the whole nation. Is loyalty, I ask, to the party greater than to the
 Congress? They were there to defy the Congress. I ask you, when you enter
 this House, do you not cease to be members of the Swarajya Party? Here you
 are only members of the Congress and you must act in the Congress as loyal

to the Congress demands. The Congress is greater than the Swarajya Party. Therefore, whenever there is a conflict of duties, you must choose the greater duty and owe allegiance to the greater duty. Your duty is not to the Swarajya Party. (Deshbandhu Das: Some of the questions put to me, I cannot hear.) I have no louder voice. The Swarajya Party has by such conduct enslaved the conscience, I mean political conscience, the nation's service conscience, and I as the humble son and servant of my mother India, here I protest against these new fetters and I vow that I shall destroy this bondage. I earnestly call upon every one of my country-men to strive to destroy this bondage.

What I want to impress upon you, upon this House is that by adopting this resolution you will be creating a new party in the Congress. We are determined to assert our rights in this Congress of sitting and destroying this bondage of Spinning Franchise. We want to tell you frankly that every Indian who believes that his duty is to terminate the alien or oppressive Government and establish an indigeneous popular Government, has every right to be in this House as a member of the Congress organisation; and we shall try and fight to the bitter end to terminate this year this state of affairs which denies to us this franchise and this right of serving our Mother.

Lastly, I wish to put it to you—my time is over. My friends, consider this boycott. We in 1921 worked this boycott of foreign cloth: we worked at spinning. I ask you in all seriousness to consider whether the boycott of foreign cloth brought you by one inch nearer to your goal of Swarajya. I am not a believer in these external things. I believe that we must get Swarajya by using any method. Spinning is not the only method to get Swarajya. It shall not arrogate to itself the right of monopoly of winning Swarajya to you. I believe that every man should adopt every honourable and righteous means to end this bureaucracy, this oppressive bureaucratic Government in India, every means that will lead to Swarajya. I want you to concentrate your attention upon this particular weapon, civil disobedience: You can be nearer to civil disobedience: you can support civil disobedience: you can prepare for civil disobedience. You can actually offer civil disobedience without sitting at the spinning wheel.

One more word, and I finish. Do you believe that a man who never learns his lessons from his Charkha Guru, do you believe that a man who never sits at his loom and never spins, has not got that fire of patriotism in him, that he shall not face the cannons to give battle to the bureaucracy? Is that that we, the dissenters from spinning, are lacking in, I want to ask you? And why this spinning or manual labour bigotry? I want to destroy this fanaticism. I am a born enemy of all fanaticisms. This fanaticism of manual labour must be exterminated if we want to make the world safe for liberty, equality and democracy—the crying needs of the modern age and whither all

forces are irresistibly leading us on. I assure Mr. Das when he says that we wanted to give a challenge to the bureaucracy under this pact— I assure him that even before this pact, the Bengal—Indian Governments came out with the Ordinance we were prepared not only to stand by the Swarajya Party but also we were and are prepared to die for them and to die for any of the meanest servants of the Indian Nation, whoever he be and to whatever denomination and to whatever political creed he might belong. That is our oath. We shall go and work even in the Andamans and allow our heads chopped, our necks hanged till we are dead in order to stand for our rights in the cause of India's emancipation.

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mise & the
Spinning
Franchise,
Swami
Govindananda

THE PRESIDENT: I shall not try your patience for any length of time. I have got two speakers more. I am endeavouring to give chance, if I can possibly do, to those who oppose this resolution. I may now call upon one more speaker to oppose the resolution and then I shall ask Pundit Motilal Nehru to wind up. I call upon Sirdar Ali Sobri from Cawnpore. Is he here? (A reply: Not here). Then Pundit Motilal Nehru will come to speak.

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU who came by the rostrum amidst enthusiastic cheers to wind up the debate began to address the House, when he was faced with incessant demands to speak in English and Hindi. To those cries the Pandit replied "Alright, alright." Still the cries of "Hindi, Hindi" persisted, when the President requested the assembly to keep silence and said, "You will have both English and Hindi". Then the speaker addressed in Hindustani as follows:—

महात्माजी, और मेरे प्यारे भाइओ और बहिनो, मैं बहुत थोड़ी देर में चन्द बातों का मन्नाब देना चाहता हूँ। कोई बड़ी चीच आपके सामने नहीं किया चाहता मेरे भाइओ, देशबन्धु दास ने सामने यह रिजोल्युशन पेश किया है और महात्माजीने अपने प्रेसिडेन्शल् एडेस में उसका जित्र किया है ! और अब सिर्फ मैं एक रहा जाता था कि जिसकी दस्तखत उस एकरार पर है जो इस में शामिल है इस लिये मैंने भी महात्माजीसे मौका चाहा और महात्माजीने मुझे वह मौका दिया की मैं भी आपके सामने उस के मुताल्लिक आपनी राय रखूँ।

जहाँ तक स्वराज पार्टीका इस से ताल्लुक है वहाँतक मैं आपको पुरे तरीके पर पूरी तरह से इतमिनान दिलाता हूँ कि जिनके दिलमें शक है, और मैं ने सुना है कि स्वराज पार्टी का कोई वह बडा जाल है जिसमें महात्माजी भी फँसगये, आपलोग यकीन मानें कि उन्होंने (स्वराज पार्टी) ने, जो कुछ इकरार किया है—इस का गज़ पर दस्तखत किया है, उसपर वह आदमी कम इतमि नानकरते हैं, इसपर भरोसा करते हैं या नहीं करते और मैं आपके सामने यह इक्कार करनेको तैयार हूँ कि हमारे

स्वराज पार्टी में हरेक ख्याल के आदमी हैं; लेकिन यह कोई स्वराज पार्टी पर मुनहसर नहीं है। मैं ने सुना है कि नो चेञ्जपार्टी में भी मुख्तिलाफराय है। कोई सूत फ्रेंचाइज पर पूरा भरोसा करते हैं कोई कम करते हैं, कोई नहीं करते। जहाँतक स्वराज पार्टी का ताल्लुक है, भरोसा है या नहीं है, कम है या पूरा है, सिवाय उनके कि जिहों ने मुखालिफतकी है, उनकी तरफ से मैं नहीं बोलता, यानी मौलाना-हसरत-मोहानी साहब, इस को जितनी सरगर्मी से महात्माजी करेंगे उतनी ही सरगर्मी से स्वराज पार्टी करेंगी। क्योंकि जब इकारर करलियातो तो अपनी बात को बदलने का ख्याल भी छोटपन है! जो बात हो गयी उस से न हटेंगे चाहे कुछ होजाय! (जयध्वनि)!

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अब एक यह एतराज मौ-हसरत मोहानी ने किया है कि यह फ्रेंचाइज दो आद-मियों की है। एक महात्मा गांधी जिन्हों ने कुल-दबा-रक्वा है। महात्मा गांधी कौन? अभी कहा है कि दिल चाहे वोट दो नहीं तो न दो। मौ-हसरत मोहानी कहतें हैं कि महात्माजी का जो असर दिलपर है उस से लोग वही कहेंगे। इसीतरह यह भी कहा जाता है कि देशबन्धु दास और मैं ने भी मनगढन्त करके वोट करा लिया है। महात्माजी का जो असर है वह आप जानते ही हैं। और मुझे कतई इन्कार है कि नो चेञ्जर ही हैं जो उनका कहा मानते हैं लेकिन नहीं दोनों में हैं जो उनकी इज्जत करते हैं। हां इतना जरूर है कि कुछ लोग दिल से इज्जत करते हैं मगर जब दिमाग नहीं मिलता तो साफ कह देते हैं कि नहीं मानेंगे।

अब रही स्वराज पार्टी-मौलाना-हसरत मोहानी कहते हैं कि कायदे की रूसे हम लोगों को कोई आख्तियार नहीं है कि स्वराजपार्टी से कहें कि जब इस पैक्ट पर वोट होतो माफिकदो-खिलाफ नहीं। हम जानते हैं कि ऐसा एक पार्टी में होसकता है ऐसी हालत में कि पार्टी में शामिल हो और पार्टीकेरचन होतो वाकई बात कायदेस यही है लेकिन उसके साथ यह भी बात है कि अगर कोई बात ऐसी होतो दिमाग और दिलको पार्टी के साथ ही समझे। हमलोग उनको इतमिनास दिला चुके हैं-तकरीर-खतम-होते ही एक चीज़ उनके पास ऐसी पेशकर दिया कि अब उनके पास पूरा जवाब नहीं है। मैं अब आपके सामने पेशकरता हूँ इसके बारे में जो एतराज कि-या गया है हमारी जनरल काउंसिल में यह प्रस्ताव पेश हुआ था "आलदी डेल्गेटस आफ" इसमें स्वराजपार्टी की जनरल मीटिंग में मैं ने वोट लीथी-गुर्ने कि जो कायदे का एतराजथा वह जडमूल से रफा होगया। अब जो यकीदेका एतराज है उसका जवाब मैं दो हफ्तों में देना चाहता हूँ। पार्टीके मुतालिक जो कारवाई होगी वह अलाहिदा होगी-वह इस फर्मान पर कि प्रस्तावके खिलाफरायन दें-यह मानते हैं कि कोई हमें मजबूर न करेगा, जो हमें पसन्द हीगा हम उस पर रायदेगें जो दिल कहे गा वही करेंगे।

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उन्होंने दो बातें और कही हैं- वह कहते हैं कि इससे नानकोअपरेशनको ससपेण्ड कर दिया- यह कहते हैं कि ससपेण्ड करना नानकोअपरेशन को मार डालना है इससे नानकोअपरेशन को बेमंजिल मार डाला और बोलते हैं महात्माजी को सुनाकर कि महात्माजी कांग्रेसकी मौत आपके हाथसे होगी ! जिन लोगों ने महात्माजी की तहरीर देखी है तहरीर सुनी है, स्पीच पढ़ली है कुछ सुना है, समझा है, जिन्होंने महात्माजी की आज की स्पीच, तहरीर सुनी है वह अपने दिल पर हाथ रखकर पूछें कि क्या यह तजवीज जो महात्माजी ने पेश की है वह जबरदस्ती हमारे और, आपके, सारे मुल्कके जो ख्याल नहीं है मनवा रहे हैं। इसके मुतालिक हम लोगों को अभी महात्माजी की रायमाजूम है कि मेरे रग रग में नानकोअपरेशन है, नानकोअपरेशन के बाहर मैं पोलिटिकल या हिन्दुस्तान की हालतको ज्यादा कुछ नहीं कह सकता !

अब यह कहना है कि इसका नतीजा क्या होगा। नतीजे को कौन कह सकता है कि क्या होगा लेकिन महारमार्जा का यकीदा है, उनका मन्शा है कि फ्रेंचाइज से जरूर वह नतीजा हासिल होगा, जो बाहर के कपड़े, परदेशी कपड़े से नुकसान होता है वह मिल जायगा। आज पहली दफा मैं ने मौलाना हसरत मोहानी को यह कहते सुना है कि इस से क्या फायदा होगा। परदेशी कपड़ा छोड़ने से आप कहते हैं कि लोग कहते हैं ६० करोड़का नुकसान होता है, तो वह कहते हैं कि कुछ इसमें से आता भी तो है। मान लिया जाय कि १५-२० करोड़का नुकसान उनको होगा तो क्या वह इसको उठा नहीं सकेंगे मुझे अफसोस है कि मौलाना हसरत मोहानी इस मजमून को उस्टी तरफ से देख रहे हैं यह बहस यहां नहीं है कि अंग्रेजोंको क्या नुकसान होगा बहस यह है कि जिनको यहां खानेको नहीं मिलता उनको क्या फायदा होगा, क्या मिलेगा। अंग्रेजोंकी दौलतमन्दी दुनियाँ में मशहूर है। उनको नुकसान से डर न लगेगा चाहे करोड़ों का हो। आप देखेंगे कि क्या फायदा होगा। मेरी राय में यह रूपये पैसे की बात नहीं है यह तो स्वराजके बास्ते तैयारी करनेके लिये एक काम की बात है। अपने हाथ से नानकोअपरेशनको नहीं पा सकते, यह उसके लिये तैयारी करनेकी बात है। ५० करोड़ या १०० करोड़ कि कुछ बात नहीं है। यह तो सिर्फ नेशनल सेन्स, पोलिटिकल सेन्स, की बात है जो आज दिखाई नहीं देता। इसकी निस्वत मैं महात्माजी से अधिक क्या कह सकता हूँ जो उन्होंने हर मुकाम पर स्पीच में, यंग इण्डिया में कह दिया है, लिख दिया है। सिर्फ इतना ही मौ. हसरत मोहानीने दलोंसे सीधी नहीं दी उस्टी दी।

अब दूसरी बात उन्होंने यह फर्मायी कि इस फ्रेंचाइज को मानने से हमारा आइडियल बदल जाता है। स्वराजका आइडियल छोड़कर अब आइडियल क्या होता है कि परदेशी कपड़ा न आवे। यहाँ फिर मुझे अफसोस है कि मेरे दोस्त मौ. हसरत मोहानी जैसे ब्रह्मदेश (दूरवाँन) आदमी यह नहीं देखते कि यह आइडियल नहीं है वस्तिक एकजौना

। उस आइडियल पर पहुंचने के लिये जो अभी दूर है। उन्होंने यह समझा है कि आपको आइडियल रखते हैं तो हमारा काम बहुत ठहर जाता है। लेकिन बन्द होने से का अच्छा नीतीजा होगा इसपर जरा निगाह न दी।

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फिर उन्होंने यह कहा है कि आप लोग स्वराज पार्टीके लोग काउंसिल के रिजो सुशन के वजह से और नोचेकर होने से जो वोट देंगे वह काबिल एतबार न होगी बल्कि जो लोग खिलाफराय देंगे उनकी तादाद उतनी ही नहीं बल्कि १५। २० गुनी होगी। मगर उन की वोट चाहे १०० गुनी भी वह समझें तो भी १०० वां हिस्सा न होगी आप लोग उन के इतना खिलाफ राय देंगे। (हास्य ध्वनी)

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आजाद सुभानी साहब ने उन की बल्कि तार्किक की है।—जहांतक फ्रेंचाइज का ताल्लुक है वहांतक वह कहते हैं कि इस से भी कोई छोटी चीज, महात्माजी की इतनी ताजीम करते हैं, होती तो उसे वह कबुल कर लेते—गो उन्होंने कहा है कि उन की भी राय मौ. हसरत मोहानी की राय की वजहसे इस के खिलाफ है। मगर वह भी उस को तसलीम करते हैं इफ्तिलाफ नहीं करते। मैं भी आपके सामने यह तसलीम करने को तैयार हूँ कि उतना तबकको उम्मीद मुझे इस पर नहीं है जितनी महात्माजी को है। लेकिन तबकको हो या न हो—ब्याल यह है कि जब एक चीज फायदे की है तो क्यों न उस के लिये कोशिश की जाय—होगा तो जरूर—कुछ न कुछ फायदा तो जरूर ही होगा।

मैं स्वराज पार्टी और हेशबंदु दास की तरफ से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि एक बात था जब इन पर कोई यकीन नहीं करता था लेकिन कोई न कोई ऐसी बात हुई है कि दिनोदिन उन का यकीन बढ़ता जाता है इसी तरह दूसरे केल्कर और और लोग अपने अपने काम से यकीन बढ़ावेंगे—आप जानते है कि जब एक अदमी को कल्ला जाता है कि कसरत करो सैण्डो इकसरसाइज करो तो साफ साफ फायदा मालूम पडेंगे। उस को यकीन नहीं होता कि कैसे इस से हमारे हाथ पाव मजबूत होंगे। लेकिन जब कुछ दिन करने पर फायदा मालूम होता है, बाजू सीना मजबूत होने लगता है तो उस का पूरा यकीन हो जाता है—तो इसी तरह क्या मुमकीन नहीं है कि आज यकीन नहीं है जो कल होगा। बिना यह हुए कैसे कहा जाय कि होगा, एतबार बिना किये कैसे कह सकते हैं कि यह होगा यह नहीं होगा। एक बरस का मौका है जो आपने इस इफरर नामे के मार्फत किया है इस के मुताबीक पूरी तरह से काम करें तो महात्माजी को भी यकीन हो जाय और वह असल नीतीजा भी हासिल हो। लेकिन जो इससे विदेशी कपडे का बहिष्कार हो जायगा उस का फायदा तो ना साफ पता लग जायगा यह आप सब जानते हैं

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तो मौलाना आजाद सुभानी की ज़बानी उनके एतराज में कोई ऐसी दलील नहीं है कि उसको लेकर मुखालिफत की जाय। अब रही नानकोअपरेशन को रोका। तो वह खुद कहते हैं कि ससपेन्शन इज़ नाट इकलट्ट.....ससपेन्शन इस से ज्यादा होता है।

उन्होंने एकबात यह भी फर्मायी है। बहुत से भाइयों ने स्वराज पार्टीपर कोई न कोई छीट जरूर दी।। उन्होंने ने कहा है कि स्वराज पार्टी ने जब मौलाना हसरत मोहानी को फंसालिया तो वह जानतेथे कि यह बात यहां आकर खुलेगी। हसरत मोहानी पूरे भोले नहीं हैं, वह फंसे हैं या नहीं फंसे हैं। वह कोई ऐसी सीधा सादा चि-डिया नहीं हैं कि कोई चीडी भार लासा लेकर उनको फंसा लेगा। (हास्य ध्वनि)। जब स्वराज पार्टी का सारा कांन्स्टिट्यूशन उन्होंने ने कलकत्ते में देखा और कहा कि इस में इन्डिपेन्डेन्स होनी चाहिये। देशबन्धु दास से उनकी-इसपर बहसहई - हम लोगों ने कहा कि ऐसा कौन है जो इसको नहीं चाहता लेकिन लिखनेसे लोग क्या कहेंगे? मैं तो कहता हूँ कि इंग्लैण्डपर हमला करके उसको लेसकते लें मगर यह कहने लगे तो लोग क्या कहेंगे? (हास्य ध्वनि)। हम लोग तो खुद गुलामीमें फंसे हुए हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि-यहां हम जो अप्रस्तावहै अपद देते हैं "फेडरेशन....." उनके इस फेडरेशन की बात को हमने कहा अच्छा यह तो कांग्रेस क्रीडके भी खिलाफ नहीं है। यह तो जरूर होगा, चाहे कुछ और हो या न हो। इस को हम लोगों ने मान लिया, तसलीम करलिया—वह भी इसको मानते हैं हमभी मानते हैं और सब मानते हैं। मगर मौ. आजाद सुभानी ने इस फेडरेशन वाली बात को तरजुमा कराके सुना है ठीक समझते तो ऐसा न कहते।

बहरहाल दूसरा इल्जाम मौलाना आजाद सुभानीने महात्माजी पर यह लगाया है कि उन्होंने जल्दी को इसलिये इसको मुखालिफतको हम खडे हुए नहीं तो न हाते। लेकिन मैं कहूंगा कि मौलाना आजाद सुभानी जुहू में थे मैं भीथा—जुहूसे इसपर गुठुगु हो रही है, ६ महीने होगये, इसमें वहभी शामिल थे- लेकिन यह कहते हैं कि महात्माजी जल्दीसे इसमें शामिल हुए हैं। आप देखते हैं महात्माजीने अपनी स्पाच में कहदिया है कि यह अच्छी तरह देखकर कि इससे बेहतर कोई हाळत नथी इसपर हम आये हं।

अब मैं आपके सामने कहता हूँ कि सिर्फ एक बात जो मुझे पसंद न आयी वह यह है कि दो चार भाई नोचेजर और दो चार स्वराजी आये। उन्होंने आपस में कुछ छीटा छंटी की। मैं आपको अदबके साथ इतनी बातकहूंगा कि इस किस्मकी छीटा छंटी इस कांग्रेस में मौजद नहीं थी- बाल्कि यह कहूंगा कि यह बैड फार्म था! जब एक इकरारनामा कर चुके तो उसके पीछे जानेका क्या काम है कि हमारा यह यकीन है। नोचेजरों का यह कहना कि काउंसिलोंकी तरफ ख्याल न करो या प्रोचेजर का यह कहना कि काउंसिलमें जाना जरूरी बात है, बहुत अच्छी बात है अब बिल्कुल

सूख है। मैं यह कहूँगा कि सब साहब जो अच्छा समझते हैं उसपर उनको पूरा
 प्रतिहार है नोचेञ्जर या प्रोचेञ्जर को सबज्ञाने की कोशिश करें कि इसपर यकांदा
 बना ठीक है। इसको भी महात्माजीने यंगइण्डिया में, दिल्ली की स्पीच में साफकर
 रखा है कि हरेक आदमी अपने यकीदे पर काम करे- उन्होंने कह दिया कि स्वराज
 पार्टी को आख्तियार है कि वह स्वराज पार्टी में लोगों को ले। नोचेञ्जर को यह अ-
 ख्तियार नहीं है कि वह लोगोंसे कहे कि स्वराज पार्टी में शामिल नहीं होना चाहिये।
 यह कहूँगा कि अब हम को यह भूलजाना चाहिये इसकी सपोर्ट में जो महात्माजीने
 कहा है कि गयामें दिल्लीमें कोकोनाडा में क्या हुआ था। अबतो यह ख्याल करना
 चाहिये कि चन्द बरसोंसे बिछेड़े हुए आपस में मिले हैं। एक उनमें से अगर रिसाला है
 जो दूसरा तो परवाना ! (हास्यध्वनि)। अपना अपना काम करें एक दूसरे को
 हयदर्दी के साथ।

Opening day

The Compro-
mise and the
Spinning
FranchiseSwami
Govindananda

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU, next addressing in English, said:—

Pandit Motilal
Nehru.

friends!

I will shortly explain to you what I have said in Urdu. (A voice : Thanks).
 I thank you. I will answer to those objections advanced by Maulana Hazrat
 Mohani and Maulana Azad Sobhani.

I have been saying in Hindustani that those objections do not hold water.
 Maulana Hazrat Mohani has gone to the length of saying that this House was
 a packed House consisting of a vast audience and delegates and that everybody
 is compelled to vote in a certain manner: those who are No-changers, though
 not asked by Mahatmaji, by high esteem and respect and reverence in which
 they hold Mahatmaji, feel compelled to vote in favour of the resolution in spite
 of the fact that Mahatmaji has respectfully told them not to vote against their
 conscience. As to the Swaraj Party, the objection of the Maulana was that
 the action of Deshbandhu Das and myself was wholly arbitrary and that it was
 contrary to rules and constitution, because he was under the impression that no
 meeting of the party was held by which this fact was made a party question.
 That was a mistake of fact. I have sent a notice round which was circulated
 broadcast, and to Maulana Sahab who was shown the resolution that I have
 just now read to this side of the House,—which you might have followed. The
 resolution was lost by a large majority; it was not a meeting of the Executive
 Committee, not even of the leaders of the Swaraj Party Council; it was lost
 by a large majority of the General Council. Then the Maulana proceeded to
 say that although all that might be true, strictly true, his conscience though
 he belonged to the Swaraj Party, did not accept the vote of the majority and
 he would certainly rise above party because he followed his conscience and his
 country more than party. But, for that we have to examine his reasons; and

the reasons that he has given are no reasons at all. He says that Mahatmaj said that he suspended non-co-operation and that his experience of this suspension was that it meant the calling of non-co-operation. The first thing that strikes is that Maulana having joined the Swaraj Party, by the mere fact of joining it he was himself suspending at least one part of the non-co-operation; that is to say, that part which relates to the Swaraj Party; Council-entry. Then it may be borne in mind that the other parts of the programme did not succeed so well as they were expected to. It is but natural that the reason why they did not succeed was because they were not quite prepared. Mahatmaj has therefore suspended the programme, mind you, but not non-co-operation. That is a thing which we cannot conceive—the suspension of non-co-operation itself. But the items of the non-co-operation programme which have been so far considered to be enforced,—they have been suspended; and even if they were not suspended no one practically would be active. Then his other reason was, that this franchise only means that we are pulling down high ideals which we accepted before. The high ideal we accepted before and we have before us is nothing but Swaraj and now we are aiming only at the exclusion of British cloth. So that is a fallacy. It is not a matter of saying,—he says, it is not a matter of causing a loss of 15 crores, 40 or 50 crores, whatever it may be, to British who could afford to suffer. But I say it is a question of saving so much money to the country, it is a saving for our poor people, it is a saving for the feeding of the poor. It is only presenting a wrong point of view before you. That is after all a secondary consideration. The real thing is, which is subjected to, the preparation for the very thing which Maulana Sahab declared, *viz.*, the suspension of non-co-operation. These are the few remarks: this is the substance of what is said about Maulana Hazrat Mohani.

Then so far as Maulana Azad Sobhani is concerned,— he said it was a very weak case before us. He would not have opposed this resolution if the suspension of non-co-operation were not made, because it differed; as he may be for the franchise wanting any path; he would not be considered it must call upon to oppose this resolution, because he was asked, he expressed his readiness to undertake and run through greater risk if he was commanded by Mahatmaj. That is the reason why he opposed; it was the suspension of non-co-operation. He wanted to go ahead beyond non-co-operation for complete independence. He asked Mahatmaj to permit him to carry on a campaign in the country in favour of complete independence. He said that so far from going forward in that direction Mahatmaj had now suspended non-co-operation itself and limited the extent of freedom or liberty which was the real idea. Just now I have answered that as regards non-co-operation. As regards franchise, he himself says though he differed it is a thing which he had to work if commanded by Mahatmaj as if not by the third part of the resolution.

Now as regards the last speaker, Swami Govindanand. He put a question. He said, "You talk so much on discipline. What has become of that discipline when you differed at Gaya to go into the Councils?" Now, I claim that whatever we did, we did, not as rebels but as a thoroughly disciplined body. We differed from the majority. What did it do? We constituted a compact minority. What again did that minority do? They cultivated opinion, educated public opinion and went on like that till, as Deshabandhu Das pointed out to you, "We stand thoroughly vindicated to-day." That was perfectly legitimate, perfectly disciplined and perfectly honest work to do. We went into the Councils. When? When at Delhi the Congress had come to that resolution that those who had not any religious or conscientious scruples to enter into Councils, might do so; and they say that for that they should not be excluded from the Congress. Of course, I am not giving you those very words, but only the substance. Where is the echo of indiscipline? It is very easy to say that it is indiscipline. Those who differ and disagree with this pact, they have a right to vote against it. Not only that. Those who differ from the Swaraj Party may go out of the Party, of course, the constitution of the party will not permit them to be in the party and they have perfect right to form themselves into another party and have public opinion and cultivate educated opinion and come into the Congress and claim a majority of their own views. And so, I say, there is nothing wrong.

Opening day

The Compromise and the Spinning Franchise

Pandit Motilal Nehru,

And the last thing you heard is between the Swarajists and the Non-Swarajists. Please don't attach any importance to them. There are Swarajists and No-changers. I don't say all. But there are some amongst both, to whom, I know, this franchise and agreement is a bitter pill to swallow. Bitter or not, to their credit they have swallowed and if you only give time they will digest it too. So you will not give way to any such and you should not attach any importance to them.

But I am asked by Maulana Mohamed Ali and my friend Deshabandhu Das that they were not correctly understood by Swami Govindanand and my friend My. Abhyankar. They did not for a moment say that Mahatmaji was taken to be a mad man at any time. Neither of them believed in spinning neither of them said that they believed in yarn, in Khaddar. All that they said was,—all that Deshabandhu Das said was that now his faith in the Charkha was growing in him; it was not so about the franchise at the beginning. There is no difference whatever amongst the Swarajists and No-changers over this agreement and also among those who were subsequently consulted about it. The objections that we have heard are very feeble indeed. I would therefore ask you all, Swarajists and No-changers to vote as one man for this resolution and to prove to my friend, Maulana Hazrat Mohani, that he may

Opening day multiply the number of those who voted against as many times as he would like and that the test he may apply as he feels; but he won't have any consideration whatsoever. (Cheers.)

The Compro-
mise and the
Spinning
Franchise

It was 7-25 P. M. when the debate on the resolution was closed. The President then rose amidst loud and continued cries of "Mahatma Gandhi Jai" to put the resolution to vote. He spoke in Hindi announcing the timings of the sittings of the Congress and other Conferences, and with regard to the voting on the resolution he said :—

Pandit Motilal
Nehru.

अब इस रिजोल्यूशन को आपके सामने रखूँ इस के आगे जो मुझे दूसरे भाइयों ने चीठी भेजी है उसे सुनाना चाहता हूँ । और एक दो भाईने यह मुझे पूछा है कि इतने स्वराजवादियों ने सुनाया लेकिन नो चेंजर की तरफ से सिर्फ मौलाना मुहम्मद अली ने कहा है तो राज गोपालाचारी को कहना चाहिये कि कुछ सुना दें । मैं उनके तकलीफ देना नहीं चाहता अगर्चे उनका नाम लिख रहा है । कौंकि जैसा पण्डितजी ने सुनाया, मैं नहीं चाहता कि किसीके मनपर दिलपर ऐसा असर डाला जाय कि लोग अपना वसूल कायमकरे । आप लोग जैसा चाहें वोट दें । इस लिये मैं नहीं चाहता कि भाई राजगोपालाचारी को तकलीफ हूँ जैसा नो चेंजर चाहते हैं कि वह वोटिंग से पहले कुछ बोलें ।

एक आंझुभाईने पूछा है कि मैं डाक्टर एनीबीसेण्ट का अनुयायी हूँ और इसकी ताईद करना चाहता हूँ । वह कि डाक्टर एनीबीसेण्ट आनेवाली वह नहीं आयी इसलिये कुछ कहना चाहते हैं । एक भाईने यह भी पूछा है कि यह सारा रिजोल्यूशन साथ साथ क्यों पेश करते हैं क्यों उसके टुकड़े करके नहीं लिया जाता ? इसका उत्तर मौलाना हसरत मोहानाने कर दिया । क्यों यह तो अकर्मण्यका सवाल है । यह तो कोई आत्मा का नहीं है । अगर आप पसन्द करते हैं तो रायदे नहीं करते तो न दें । अगर चलना चाहते हैं चरखा तो हो सकता है । एक दूसरे नो चेंजर भी हैं जो कुछ कहना चाहते हैं लेकिन मैं उनको तकलीफ नहीं देना चाहता । इतने स्वराजी भाइयों को बोलने को दे दिया और वक्त नहीं रहा । हमारे बहुत से भाईको शकथा । उनका एक खत मेरे पास है । उसको रक़ा करने का यही तरीका भी उनकी मौका दिया जाय कि वह, अपनी बात कह दें ।

जैसी सचचाईसे देशबन्धु दासने और दूसरे लोगोने कहा उस से कहींतक लोप-भ्रच्छाई लेंगे ? भाई अभ्यकरने कहा है कि मेरा उन का एक मत नहीं है--जब उन्हें मे चरखामें वक्त दे दिया--पण्डितजी कहते हैं कि जैसा मैं चरखे में विश्वास करूंगा बैसावह भी । लिख दिया और कहते हैं कि वह लिखनेको मानते है--ऐसा विश्वास देना चाहिये कि उन का शक दूरहै एक बात जरूरी है कि नोचेंजर उन क

और वे नोचेंजरका विश्वास करें-इस लिये दोनों विश्वास करें एक दूसरेका क्यों कि ऐसा
 हां लिखा हुआ है और इस लिये राय ले लेना चाहता हूं। जरूरी है कि एक दूसरे
 ने दोनों भाई समझें ; और जैसा देशबन्धु दास ने सुनाया कि हमारी रायमें यह बात
 मानी है कि हम एक चीजसे देशका भला है ऐसा मानते हैं और दूसरी चीज से भला
 भाग ऐसा मानते हैं—एक बात हम सब घर में रहकर मानते हैं—एक उपमा भाई
 लेकर ने दी थी एक मै दे दूंगा कि एक चक्का नहीं चल सकता—जब एक गाड़ी के
 दो चक्के ठीक हैं, दृढ़ हैं तो आगे गाड़ी चलती है नहीं तो पतित हो जाती है इस
 लिये हमारी राय है कि आप लोगों का चाहिये कि हमारे दिलोंको साफ करें। मौलाना
 शकत अजी आवें तो कहेंगे कि बहादुर बनो, दूसरे और बात कहेंगे। तो दूसरेका शक
 खना डरपोक अदमीका काम है जो मनुष्य डरता नहीं वह आपने दुष्मनका भी
 भरोसा करता है। अगर आप इस को मंजूर करना चाहते हैं तो एक दूसरे में किसी
 तरह का अविश्वास न करें खटका मिटा दें। इतना कहने के बाद मुझे शक है कि
 मेरी ही में सुनाने का जरूरत है—अगर कोई भाई चाहे तो सुना दूँ। मगर मैं सम-
 जाता हूँ कि जरूरत नहीं है (नहीं र ध्वनी)।

अब मैं यह रिजोल्यूशन आप के सामने रखता हूँ और आप की राय लेना चाह
 ता हूँ लेकिन राय लेते हुए यह समझा देना चाहता हूँ कि जो पहले शुरू किया था कि
 आप इस को प्रतिज्ञा समझें--अपने को, मेरे को, खुदा को साक्षी रखेंगे।
 यह बात भंगकर होगी अगर भाई मंथु चाहते हैं कि प्रतिज्ञा कर के काम
 न करें। आप चरखा चलवेंगे--चरखा चलाने में दिक्कत है, चरखा चलना पसंद
 नहीं है तो दूसरेसे लेकर सूत दे दें--अगर यह भी नहीं करते तो बोट न दें। और
 अगर आप चाहते हैं कि साथ साथ काम करें तो इस रिजोल्यूशन को मंजूर करना
 जरूरी है--अगर आपयह नहीं चाहते--चरखे को फ्रेंचइज में नहीं चाहते तो आप
 इंग्लिश बोट न दें। इस में मुझे किसी से रंज न होगा जैसा दूसरी तरह से जब कह कर
 न करेंगे। तो मैं कहूंगा कि अगर आप के दिल मे रहम है मेरे लिये तो आप आपनी
 बात को पूरा करेंगे। जो बोट न देंगे वह भी धोका देंगे, ऐसा नहीं।

मैं इस रिजोल्यूशन को पेश करता हूँ और मेरे भाई लोग एकमत से खुदाको
 साक्षी नहीं देंगे। मैं ने देशबन्धु दासको पण्डित मोतीलाल नेहरू को जानलिया है जो
 वह एक बात कह देते हैं फिर उसको नहीं नहीं करते। आप इस रिजोल्यूशन को
 मंजूर करें या न करें। अगर आप न करेंगेतो मैं मानता हूँ कि अब भी चरखेसे सब
 कुछ मिल जायगा चरखे की बात आप समझें। यह अगर आप करना चाहते हैं तो
 इसको मंजूर करें। अगर नो चेंजर स्वराजवादी से, स्वराजवादी नो चेंजर से मुहन्बत

करना चाहते हैं भाई केल्करन कहा है कि दोनों को रिस्पान्सिब कोआपरेशन करना चाहिये। अगर आप इसको समझते हैं, मानते हैं तो हाथ ऊंचा करें; अगर नहीं मानते तो हाथ ऊंचा न करें। मैं कोई दूसरा उपाय सोचूंगा हिन्दुस्तानको आजाद करनेका। जो प्रस्तावके पक्षमें हैं हाथ ऊंचा करें।

The President. The President said in English before putting the resolution to vote:—

Those who are in favour of this resolution, please raise your hands understanding the warning that I have given you that God be witness between you and India; if you accept the resolution and mean to work to the best of your ability, then alone will you raise your hands.

Syt. Gangadhararao Deshpande said in Canarese what the President had said.

In asking the House to raise hands, the President said: "Only delegates, please. Those only who have understood the resolution." After examining the hands raised in favour and against the resolution, he said, "I declare the resolution carried." (Loud and continued applause.)

The sitting of the Congress was adjourned for the next day at 11 o'clock sharp.





PLATE 21

THE NATIONAL FLAG

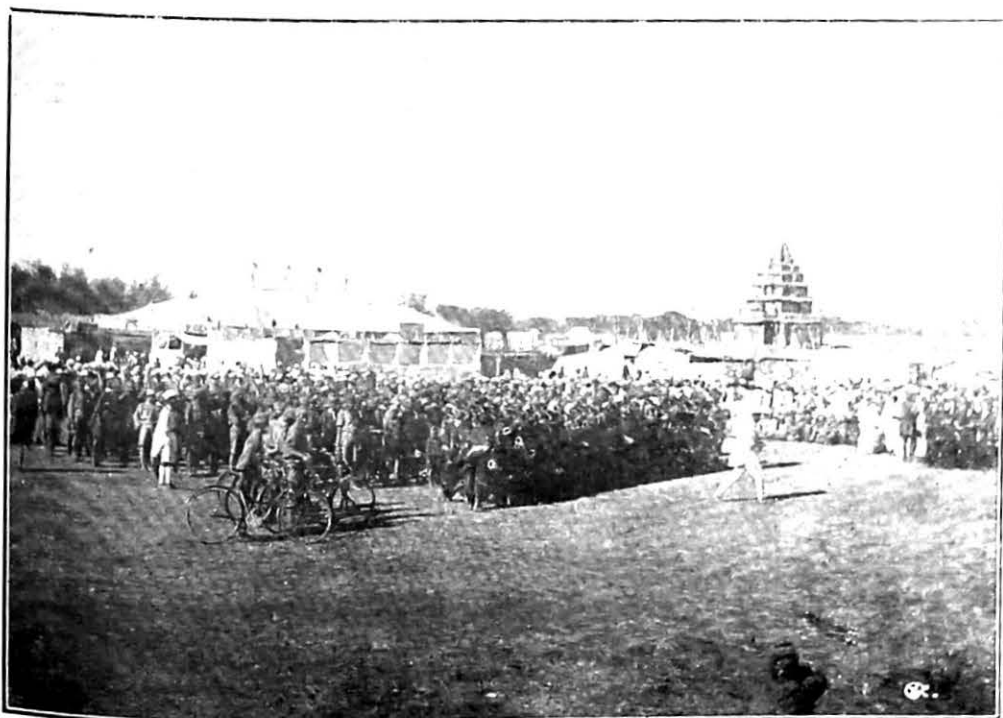


PLATE 22

THE VOLUNTEERS' RALLY



PLATE 23

REVIEW OF THE VOLUNTEERS

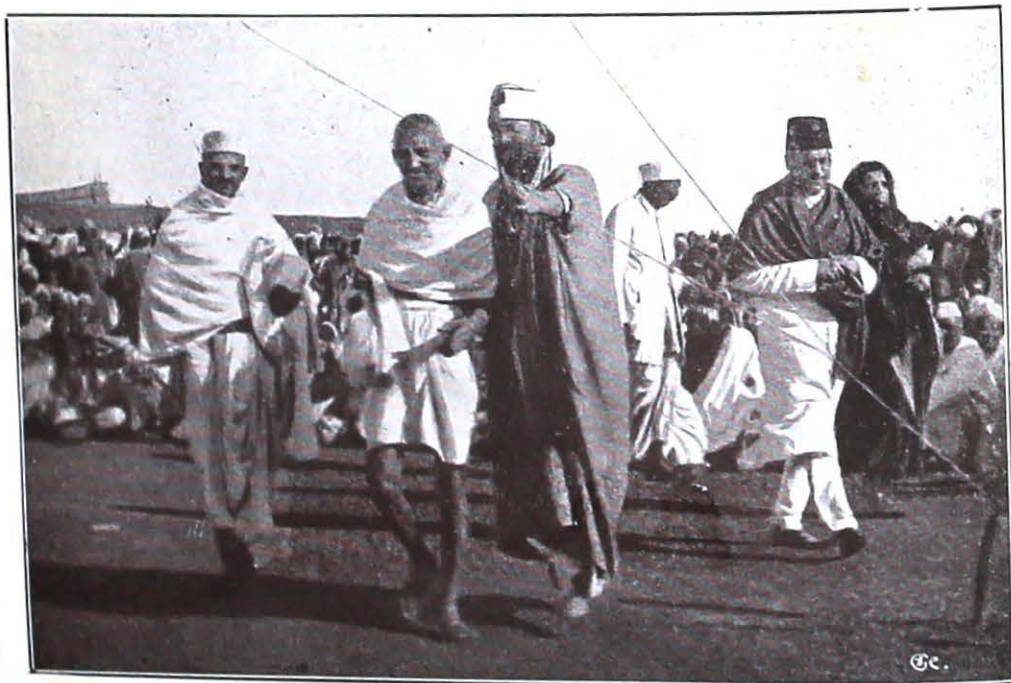


PLATE 24

MAHATMAJEE, MAULANA MAHAMADALLY SAHEB & OTHER LEADERS
IN THE VOLUNTEER CAMP—No. 1

THE 39TH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Saturday, the 29th December, 1924.

Second day,

The Compro-
mise and the
Spinning
Franchise.

Resolution III,
The Late Mr.
G. M. Bhurgri.

THE Congress resumed its sitting punctually at 11 o'clock on the 27th December, 1924. Mahatma M. K. Gandhi presided. The proceedings of the day were characterised with the usual enthusiasm but with greater solemnity. As on the previous day, the volunteers sang in chorus the song of Vande Mataran and the following Canarese song.

ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗೀತೆಗಳು.

೧.

ವೀರನರಗ—ಧ್ಯಾನವರ್ತ.

ಉದಯವಾಗಲಿ ನಮ್ಮ ಚೆಲುವ ಕನ್ನಡನಾಡು |
ಬದುಕು ಬಲುಹಿನ ನಿಧಿಯು ಸದಭಿಮಾನದ ಗೂಡು || ಪಲ್ಲ ||
ರಾಜನ್ಯರಿಪು ಪರಶುಧರನ ಜನನಿಯ ನಾಡು |
ಆ ಜಲಧಿಯನೆ ಜಿಗಿದ ಹನುಮನುದಿಸಿದ ನಾಡು ||
ಹುಜಿಯಿಂ ಮೆರೆದರಸುಗಳ ಸಾಹಸದ ಸೂಡು |
ತೇಜವನು ನಮಗೀವ ವೀರವೃಂದದ ಬೀಡು || ೧ ||
ಲೆಕ್ಕಿಗ-ಮಿತಾಕ್ಷರರು ಬೆಳೆದು ಮೆರೆದಿಹ ನಾಡು |
ಜಕ್ಕಣನ ಶಿಲ್ಪಕಲೆಯಚ್ಚರಿಯ ಕರುವಾಡು ||
ಚೊಕ್ಕು ಮತಗಳ ಸಾರಿದವರಿಗದು ನೆಲೆವೀಡು |
ಬೊಕ್ಕುಸದ ಕಣಜ ಜಯಸ್ಥಿಯು ನಲಿಯುವ ನಾಡು || ೨ ||
ಪಾವನೆಯರಾ ಕೃಷ್ಣ-ಭೀಮೆಯರ ತಾಯನಾಡು |
ಕಾವೇರಿಗೋದೆಯರು ಮೈದೊಳಿವ ನಲನಾಡು ||
ಅವಗಂ ಬಗೆಯ ನಗಿಸುವ ಕಬ್ಬಿಗರ ಹಾಡು |
ಕಾವಗದುಗಿನ ವೀರನಾರಾಯಣನ ಬೀಡು || ೩ ||

ಕುಡುಲಗೀತೆ ಸಾರಾಯಣತರ್ಮಾ, ಗಡಗು

They were followed by a beautiful Hindi song sung by Sjt. Babu Harendra Chattopadhyaya, a poet and dramatist. The songs were well received and cheered by the assembly.

The President next came up the rostrum to begin the work of the Congress. He was greatly cheered by the House and the shouts of "Mahatma Gandhi ki

Opening day "Jai" echoed on all sides. It was 11-20 A. M. when the President moved the following resolution.

The Congress records with sorrow the death of Mr. G. M. Bhurgri and tenders its respectful sympathy to the bereaved family.

Before putting the resolution to vote the President remarked:—

G. M. Bhurgri. भाइयो और बहिनो मुझे कहते हुए शर्म आती है, मुझे लजा होती है कि एक बात जब हम लोग पहले बात प्रस्ताव को पास किये उस वक्त मैं भूल गया—आज एक सिन्ध निवासी भाईने याद दिलाया कि जब हम हमारे नेता जिनका स्वर्गवास हो गया उन के लिये अफसोस जाहिर करते थे, एक नाम छूट गया था वह मिस्टर भर्गरी हैं।

आप को यह माखम होगा, आप मेरी बात मानेंगे कि मैं जान बूझ कर छोड़ नहीं सकता था लेकिन मेरा तो बुरा हाल वह है कि कोई बात काम का रहा तो भूल जाता हूँ। बड़ी तखलीफ में मुझे जो नाम लिखना था लिखलिया—वह मेरा ऐदब था उस में लिखाथा—मैं ही लिखता था इस लिये मुझे माखम न हुआ। मैं बड़े अदब से मिस्टर भर्गरी का नाम लिखता। मैं मन में भी उन को बड़े अदब से रखता हूँ। मैं ने भूल की—मैं उनके रिश्तेदारों से माफी मांगता हूँ। हकीकत तो यह है कि उन के लिये मेरे हृदय में बड़ी जगह है। वह एक सिन्धी मुसलमान थे और हिन्दुओं से प्रेम करते थे। जब मैं सिन्ध में जाता हूँ तो लोग कहते हैं कि मिस्टर भर्गरी हिन्दुस्तान के एक सच्चे सपूत थे। हम लोग उन के लिये आफसोस क्यों न जाहिर करें। मैं प्रार्थना करता हूँ, भाइयों और बहिनों से कि खडे हो जायं, अदब से, एक मिनट तक खडे रहें कोई बैठा न रहे, सब खडे हो जायं। अग्रे पुनरपि “अब सब भाई स्वामोश रहें और एक दूसरे के बीच में बात न करें, हमें अपना सारा प्रोग्राम खतम करना है और पू वजे में काम हो सके तो, खतम करना है। इस में मैं आप सब प्रतिनिधि भाइयों की मदद मांगता हूँ कि मदद करें। आज जो प्रस्ताव पहले रखना है उस में बदल करने की बात नहीं है इस लिये कि उस में कुछ समझाना नहीं है इस लिये सिर्फ पढ़देता हूँ और यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज जितने प्रस्ताव हैं उन की नकल आप में बाँटी नहीं गयी है। इस को लिये स्वागत समिति मजबूर हुई है, क्यों कि प्रेस बेलगाव में नहीं है कि जितने प्रस्ताव स्वागत समितिमें जे वह छप जाय। सबजेक्ट्स कमेटी बैठ सकती है दो तांन दिन, तो इस में जितने प्रस्ताव वह करती है वह छपने को दे सके। लेकिन कोई ऐसा प्रस्ताव नहीं है कि जिसकी नकल आप के पास भेजना ऐसा जरूरी है। इस लिये आप क्षमा करेंगे स्वागत-समिति और मुझ को भी। इस लिये जो पढ़ते हैं उस को सुनकर आप स्वीकार करेंगे।

The resolution was carried *nem con* while all standing for a while in silence.

RESOLUTION IV.

APPRECIATION OF SERVICES.

Second day,

Appreciation
of Services

The President next moved the following resolution :—

The Congress places on record its appreciation of the great services rendered to the cause of the Indians overseas by Shrimathi Sarojini Naidu who by her energy and devotion endeared herself to the Indian settlers and by her persuasive eloquence gained a sympathetic hearing from the Europeans there.

The Congress also notes with gratitude the services rendered to the cause of the settlers of Kenya by Mr. Vaze of the Servants of India Society and Pandit Banarasidas Chaturvedi.

The Hindi and Canarese renderings of the above resolution were then read by Pandit Sundar Lal and Syt. K. Mudvedkar respectively.

The resolution was carried unanimously all, standing except Shrimathi Sarojini Devi.

RESOLUTION V.

SYMPATHY WITH THE PEOPLE OF BURMA.

Syt. S. A.
Tyabjee.

Shriyut S. A. S. TYABJEE, Burma, moved the following resolution :—

The Congress tenders its respectful sympathy to the people of Burma in their troubles and trusts that they will not be awed or cowed down by the repression now going on in their midst.

The Congress notes with regret the tendency among certain Indian settlers in Burma to claim communal representation and strongly advises them not to make any such claim as such separatist tendency is bad in principle.

The resolution was translated into Hindi and Canarese by Syts. Sundar Lal and K. Mudvedkar.

Proceeding the speaker said :—

“महात्माजी, मेरी बहिनो और भाइयो, यह रिजोल्यूशन जो आज आपके सामने पेश किया जाता है उस किस्मका है जो कि कांग्रेसके सामने बहुत कम बक्त आताहै। वर्मा गौकि कांग्रेसका एक प्राविन्स है, हिन्दुस्तानके प्राविन्सों में गिना जाता है, और आप लोग जानते होंगे कि इम्पेरियल ब्रिटेन का जैसे हिन्दुस्तान एक दिस्सा है वैसे ही वह एक प्राविन्स है—अर्थात् उसी तरह वर्मा फतह कियागया है जैसे अंग्रजोंने हिन्दुस्तान फतह कियाथा। लेकिन ताहम इसके लिये कांग्रेसके सामनेसे कम रिजोल्यूशन पास किये जाते हैं और वर्माके लिये हिन्दुस्तान में बहुत कम माहमात है।

खासकर इस क्रांति में हम लोगों को बर्माके साथ खास दिल-चस्पी रखनी
 चाहिये क्या कि इस वक्त वह उसी क्रिम की लड़ाई लड़ रहा है जो भी हिन्दुस्तान आब
 स्वायत्तजाके लिये लड़ रहा है। यह रिजोल्यूशन में आप लोगों को अप्रती में पदकर सुनाता
 है (V) — यह क्रांति बर्मा निवासियोंके लिये उनकी तकलीफ में हम दही जाहिर
 करती है और कहती है कि उनके ऊपर हमन होरहा है उसमें वह न करेगा। क्रांति
 का यह देखकर दुख है कि वही के लोग बहुतेसे गुमायान्दे अलग चाहते हैं—क्रांति
 कहती है कि ऐसा न करे ऐसा खराब बसूल है—शसु-दालाल ने यह हिन्दो में
 उसका भाव पता दीपबजा ने आग कहा—हजारों में आप लोगों के सामने मुल्तसर में
 बर्मा की पोलिटिकल हिस्ट्री पेश करना चाहता हूँ—१९१८ में जब मांटगु साहेबने
 प्लान किया था उसवक्त तक बर्मा पोलिटिकस बिचकल नहीं जानतीथा—बर्माके लोग
 की किसी क्रिम का ख्याल न था।
 लेकिन उसवक्त कुछ लोगोंने ख्याल करना शुरू किया। उसवक्त में बर्माजिन
 पर कहा कि जो क्रांति मंगाली है वही हम लोग भी चाहते हैं। लेकिन इसवक्त दो-
 चार लोगोंकी भयनमण्डन अपने हाथ में लिया है। उन्हीं के जरिये यह भी कहलजाया
 कि हम हिन्दुस्तान से अलग होना चाहते हैं। उन लोगोंने, यानी प्राविशाल क्रांति
 और लिजलप मुसलीमलोग दानोन कहा कि हम से बर्मा की अलगहोने में किसी
 क्रिमका उकसान नहीं है। और आगे बर्मा चाहता है कि अलग हो जायतो भी
 टाट में न रहेगा, लेकिन भी सच्ची सजह यह है कि इसवक्त कम से कम वह लोग
 हिन्दुस्तान से अलग होना न चाहें। क्योंकि अगर वह इस वक्त अलग हो जायतो बर्मा
 की गुलम बनकर रखदिगा जायगा। — खैर, जब हिन्दुस्तान में रिफॉर्म आये तो
 बर्मा की यह खलत हुई कि बर्मा में यह चाहतेथ कि नेशनल प्राविशाल रिफॉर्म बर्मा में
 आये जायगा। लेकिन जब हिन्दुस्तान में रिफॉर्म आये तो नानकोआपरेशन शुरू
 होयाया और आहिस्ता आहिस्ता नानकोआपरेशन बर्मा में भी आने होने लगा। लेकिन
 न बर्माजिन इस परटाइपेशन बनादिगा नानकोआपरेशन नहीं रहता। बर्मा के रिफॉर्म
 दो साल बाद आये और उस वक्त से जैसे दोदल यहाँ हुए वही भी दो दल हुए। कि-
 रने काउंसिलों में आ पडुवे और बर्मा काउंसिलों के लिजलप रहे। यह दो पक्ष हुए
 उस वक्त में यह सवाल पैदा हुआ कि हिन्दो की क्या करना चाहिये। क्रांति और
 लिजलप और विनये हिन्दो वहीथ इस में मुताबिक थ कि हम लोगों को अलग नही
 कामुनल रिजोल्यूशन की हिन्दी वही लिफ्ट ९ परसुठ है। अगर १०० में से ९ सीट
 मिल भी जाय तो कोई खास फायदा नहीं और इस से हमारे ख्याल में यह उकसान
 होगा कि बर्माजिन हमारे बाकी सब कुछ हीने हुए हम मुखलिफत की निगाह में
 देखने लगेंगे और हाकिमन में ऐसा ही हुआ। जब से काउंसिल में वही हिन्दी पडुवे
 और कुछ कहने ली बर्माजिन कहते हैं कि इन्डियन इन्स्टीट में जोलने हो, कुछ विचारमें नहीं।

Sympathy
 with the people
 of Burma.
 S. A. S.
 1918
 Second day

तो इस तरह जैसा हिन्दुस्तान में दो पक्ष हुआ वहां भी काम्युनियन और काम्यु-
 नलिस्ट यह दो पक्ष हुए—जब हम ने कहा कि हम अपना रिप्रजेण्टेशन नहीं
 करेंगे तब से वहां काम्युनिल रिप्रजेण्टेशन जारी करा दिया गवर्नमेण्ट ने ॥ गवर्नमेण्ट
 गुस्ता होती है कि तुम हिन्दी ने यह किया। हमारे यह रिजोल्युशन पास कर ने से यह
 यकीन होगा कि काँग्रेस नानकाम्युनल बेसिस पर काम करना जो चाहते हैं उन्हें
 फसद करती है और जो नानकाम्युनल हिन्दी हैं उनकी मदद होगी। हम वर्मा की
 मदद करना चाहते हैं।

Second day

Sympathy
with the People
of Burma;Syt. S A S,
Tyabjee.

जबसे सर हर कोर्ट बटलर वहाँ आये हैं सियासी हाबत वहाँ की बदतर और
 बदतर होती जा रही है और रिप्रेशन ज्यादासे ज्यादा है! एकतरफ तो सर हर कोर्ट
 बटलर की गवर्नमेण्ट ने उत्तमा जो वहाँके बड़े लीडर हैं उनको जेल दिया और दूसरी
 तरफ काँग्रेस पार्टी को एक तरह की जेल दे कर मिनिस्टर बना दिया! (हास्यध्वनि)
 इस तरह वहाँ का सारा काम ठंडा है, लेकिन जो नेशनलिस्ट पार्टी है वह काम करना
 चाहती है। इस लिये मुझे उम्मीद है कि आप लोग यह रिजोल्युशन यूनानिमस
 पास करेंगे तो असर अच्छा होगा”

Syt. V. Madanjit, Burma, in seconding the resolution said:—

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Syt.

Mr. Tyabjee just now told in Hindustani what the exact position of the
 people of Burma has been. There is a party in Burma which is called the
 party of non-co-operation and is represented by the G. C. B. A. consisting of
 7,000 different associations in different parts of the country. That congrega-
 tion of 7,000 associations is causing great anxiety to the Government of Burma
 and Sir Harcourt Butler and his administration are out to crush the G. C.
 B. A. All the persecutions and prosecutions and miseries of Burma are due to
 that policy of Sir Harcourt Butler. At present for the last four or five months
 Sir Harcourt Butler has been declaring associations after associations as illegal
 under the Criminal Law Amendment Act and over 500 associations have been
 declared illegal in all parts of the country. Many of them have been declared
 in such a way that the names of the members are also gazetted; and these
 men cannot join any other associations and form any new associations in any
 part of the country. The property of the associations has been confiscated.
 They are at the mercy of the Executive in different parts of the country.

The only man who could stir Burma from one end to the other and who
 could command universal influence is in Jail. Hundreds of people and Poongys
 and Sadhus have been put into Jail and have been ill-treated; and our sympa-
 thy is due to them because they have been struggling for liberty in that part of
 the country for themselves.

The Indians understand the principles on which our non-co-operation is going on. In Burma, English education has not made so much advance. But in Burma there is this advantage that the Burman people have been homogeneous people and that they are fond of liberty. They lost their Government recently and they feel the loss very keenly when they compare themselves with other people. In their struggle for existence they are pressed down and they are repressed by the administration all over the country.

Second day,
Sympathy
with the People
of Burma.
Syt.
V. Madanjiit.

Ten years ago there was not an association in Burma which could speak of politics as it is today. From 1917 certain people started political propaganda and this propaganda was bribed out in 1922. There were some people who had love of liberty and that party have been prosecuting propaganda and the entire country was converted to political ideas from one end to the other to such an extent that the Government was frightened. Rev. Ottama was first put in Jail in 1921. When he came out he again worked hard and went out into the country from one corner to the other and awakened the latent forces in the country. The result is that all the parts of the country are wide awake as to the vital issues at present.

At present the repression is due especially to the decline in the payment of capitation tax. There is a capitation tax in Burma. Every man and every married woman must pay an annual tax of rupees two and annas eight only to the Government. There is not such a large revenue out of it. But it means the control of the officials over every living soul in Burma and it heightens the suffering of the poor people in the cultivating area. They are in the grip of the headman of the village. And, this headman, as you know, has the power of imprisoning poor people. Small men as they are, they can play much havoc on the unfortunate people living in villages. These villagers are mostly a cultivating class and the Government collect the taxes at the time when they want money for their very existence. They have no spare money to pay the tax and they have to borrow money to pay the tax. And you know what money lenders are. The poor people borrow money by selling paddy in advance and the money lenders will not give the money unless they get their own term. Gentlemen, the cultivator has to agree to give his paddy basket for Re. 1 when he could get in season Rs. 2 for same. The situation is most pathetic. They are suffering a good deal and our sympathy should go to them. In Burma many associations are prohibited: districts after districts are daily being declared. You cannot hold meetings anywhere. And very many good people of the districts are suffering, Members of people are terrorised. You cannot have any idea what they are subjected to. There are not many nationalist papers in Burma which will espouse their cause and expose the miseries of the people. It is why I ask this National Congress to express its heartfelt sympathy and give advice to the people there. I ask the Bengalees and the

Madras in this Assembly to convey to their brethren in Burma to look with heartfelt sympathy towards the struggling people of Burma.

Second day,

I tell you one thing. The Government is out for repression and there is not that inherent strength in them to stand for a long time. With these miseries, unless we help these people, they will succumb. There is a latent force in the people of Burma and that force is limited.

Sympathy
with the People
of Burma

Syt.
V. Madanjit.

Coming to the communal representation I may tell you that vast numbers of Indian people do not want communal representation. There are some few lawyers and a few rich men, not rich men of the merchant class, who wish to enter Legislative Council as Indian representatives. There are 8 seats for the Indian people in the Council. These eight seats nay, even nine are ours if we organise ourselves and remain friendly with the people of the country. I have taken double the time My time is over. My speech is finished. (Cheers.)

Sriman S. SRINIVASA AIYANGAR Avgl., High Court Vakil, Madras, in supporting the resolution said:—

Mr. PRESIDENT and GENTLEMEN !

Sriman
S. Srinivasa
Aiyangar.

Two speakers that preceded me have given you the facts necessary to enable you to form your conclusions upon this resolution. I am not acquainted with the conditions of Burma. But the conditions have been stated in detail with clearness to you by Mr. Tyabjee and Mr. Madanjit. Both of them are Indians and not men of Burma and both of them have settled in Burma. And therefore, it is clear that there is a section of Indian advanced opinion in Burma which is prepared to support this resolution. I am here merely to tell you that the Indian opinion here is also supporting this and that Indians must support this in principle. It is perfectly clear that communal representation can only be justified on the plainest of political necessity; and except on the ground to the extent to which it has been admitted, it would be fraught with difficulties and dangers in places and countries where it has not till now been extended. It is equally clear to you that communal representation means the perpetuation of the bureaucracy. It is not open to the Congress to say that it has the Swarnj Government and able to lay down communal representation so as to deal out justice to all the communities. When the time comes things will improve and all these differences and suspicions will be solved; but till the bureaucracy exists and till the people are governed by the bureaucracy, in this way, it is quite clear that communal representation means only the perpetuation of the bureaucracy. Because, the grant of communal representation, the grant of offices, the grant of power and patronage—they all lie with them. It is theirs and they will reward those that will agree to these things. And therefore, you must set your face against any extension of this communal repre-

Second day, presentation ; nor must you regard it as a principle. You can only regard it as justifiable on grounds of political expediency.

Sympathy
with the People
of Burma.

Sriman
S. Srinivasa
Aiyangar.

Gentlemen, I am perfectly certain that if you want that settlers in India should carry with them our culture they must go to their countries in the spirit in which we are conducting our work here. We are now engaged here in two kinds of work : one is, combating the bureaucracy ; and the other is, at the same time unifying the peoples of the land. The same work must be done also in Burma. Nor must you forget to think of the greater India in the past and still of the greater India of the future which is not visible to see to-day the greater India which certainly is going to help us. India cannot be a nation of self-contained people. It is the greater India that we must look to. For that purpose you go from this country and settle in other lands and they must work there with the highest ideals before them. It will not do for them to deal with things merely on business footing....Therefore on this matter both principle and policy go hand in hand. I don't think it is necessary for me to say more words. I commend this resolution to your acceptance. (Cheers.)

The President :— Those who are in favour of this resolution raise your hands ; those against. The Resolution is carried.

RESOLUTION VI.

KOHAT AND GULBARGA RIOTS.

Pandit
Motilal Nehru

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU who was given a big ovation came up the rostrum to move the resolution on Kohat and Gulbarga. As soon as he began to speak in English with the words, " Mahatmaji and friends ! ", there were heard continuous cries of " Hindi, Hindi " and " English, English " from the assembly. Panditji replied by asking their permission to speak first in English for a few minutes. He then said.

Friends, the resolution that has been entrusted to me runs as follows ; it relates to Kohat and Gulbarga :—

The Congress deplores the Hindu-Moslem tension and the riots that have taken place in various parts of India. The Congress deplores the riots that recently took place in Kohat, resulting in loss of life and destruction of property including temples and gurdwaras, and is of opinion that the local authority failed to perform the primary duty of protection of life and property. The Congress further deplores the enforced exodus of the Hindu population from Kohat and strongly urges the Musalmans of Kohat to ensure their Hindu brethren of full protection of their lives and property and to invite them to return to Kohat except upon an honourable invitation from the Kohat Musalmans and upon the advice of Hindu



PLATE 11.

GANDHI ROAD—MARKET VIEW.

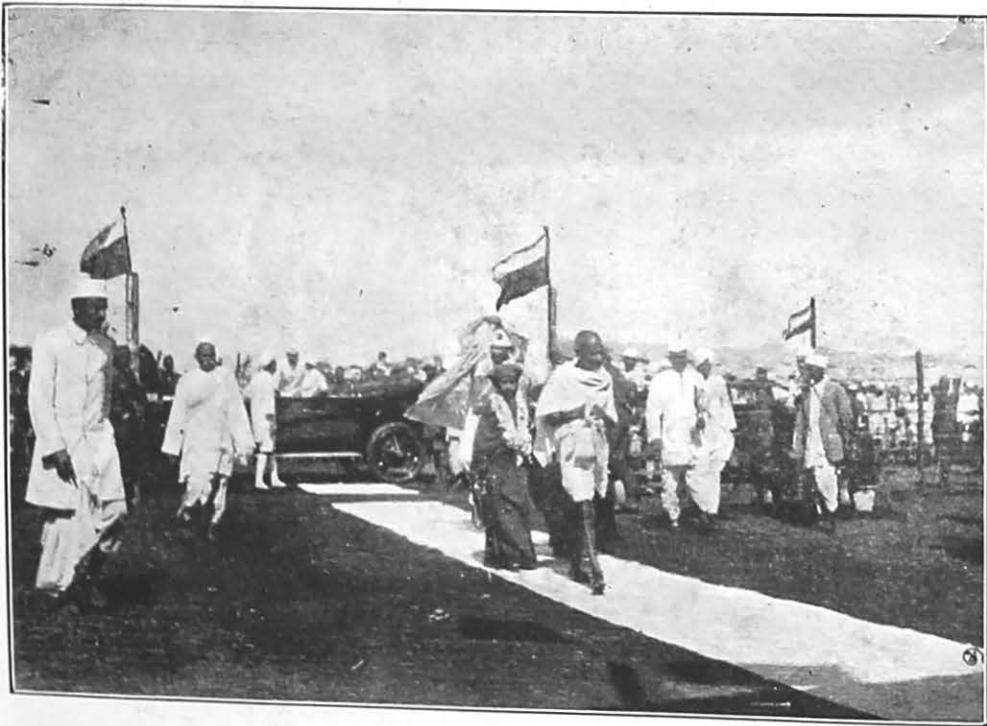


PLATE 12.

PRESIDENT ENTERING HIS ASHRAM.



PLATE 13

'VIDYARANYASHRAM'—THE PRESIDENT'S CAMP

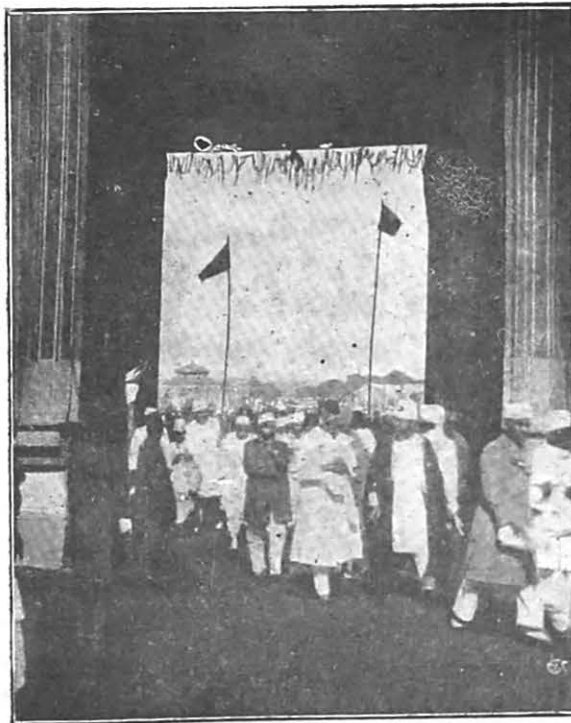


PLATE 14

PRESIDENT & THE LEADERS' PROCESSION
ON THE OPENING DAY—No. 1

and Musalman leaders. The Congress advises the public, whether Hindu or Musalman, not to accept the finding of the Government of India, as also of others, in the Kohat tragedy and to suspend judgement till this Board appointed by the Unity Conference or some other equally representative body has inquired into the unfortunate event and come to a decision upon it.

Second day,

Kohat and
Gulbarga
Riots,

Pandit Motilal
Nehru.

The Congress expresses its heartfelt sympathy for the sufferers in the Gulbarga riots and condemns the desecration committed on the places of worship in that town.

(The Candrese and Hindi renderings of the above resolution were next read by Srijts. Mudvedkar and another gentleman).

Proceeding next, the speaker said :—

Friends, I do not claim any special knowledge of the facts of the tragedy which is referred to in this resolution. But if I am here to move the resolution it is to commend to your acceptance the principle which it involves. It involves a principle and it states two facts which cannot admit of doubt and which are above controversy. But the facts are: first, in Kohat a tragedy has taken place, the like of which has not been known in India for many years, and indeed I do not remember at least in my life-time, which is not a very small period, of anything approaching tragedy in Kohat. There is no doubt that the Hindu population of Kohat which is in a very small minority has suffered very greatly and grievously. There is no doubt also that an enquiry which took place—a hole and corner enquiry by a person designated as Special Magistrate has been thoroughly inadequate and insufficient and based upon material as to which the public have not been taken into the confidence of the authority.

Those are the two facts. The principle involved is that Hindus and Muhammadans, both have to depend upon themselves for their salvation. No amount of protection under—their benign laws, no amount of police force, no amount of military protection which is always held out before you, can save you unless you try to save yourselves. (Hear, hear.)

You know, what has happened. There are two instances before you one from each extreme of India. You have the tragedy in Kohat and you have the tragedy in Bengal. What has taken place under the Ordinance in Bengal can only be described as another tragedy. Now what is the principle which ought to have actuated the Government? The Government have always, undertaken to be the guardian angels, to be the guardians of our lives and property, and, of course, I allow that they are entitled also to guard themselves. That is entirely true. But there is the line clearly drawn. In Bengal where the Government feared the consequences of the activities of anarchical societies,

Second day, what happened there? There is no enquiry, there is no investigation, all and sundry who may or may not have anything to do with anarchical crime are arrested and safely consigned to jail. What happened at the other extreme? Kohat and Gulbarga Riots. A painful and heart-rending tragedy took place. I read in one of the English-edited Journals whose correspondent visited the locality and gave his impression upon what he saw that the town was recently bombarded and that the whole line of houses were burnt down. You know the loss of lives which has taken place; not only that, temples have been desecrated. Now, there is not the slightest doubt and there can be no two opinions in any reasonable being that the desecration of temples and the burning of houses and Hindu property could only have been from the hands of their Muhammadan neighbours and whatever sufferings were entailed on the Muhammadans they could only have been inflicted by the Hindus.

Pandit Motilal Nehru.

I do not propose to go into the question as to who were responsible for the beginning of the trouble and as to who took the initiative, because it is not the time for us to apportion the blame upon the parties concerned. The resolution is a non-controversial one. It commits the Congress to nothing, neither to the Musalman view nor to the Hindu view. It stands upon such facts as are known and asks for an open enquiry either by the Board which has already been appointed by the Unity Conference or by a similarly representative body appointed by the people of India. It asks you to refuse to accept the finding of the Special Magistrate, because on its own face it is a very defective finding and the higher authorities which have received that finding have themselves admitted that the authorities were at fault. What was at the bottom of the exact nature of the delinquency of the authorities? That again I ask you to determine. In accepting this resolution what I ask you is to accept the principle, the principle being that you will not accept anything that emanates from one party or other or from the Government which is the arbiter of our destinies. Whatever you do, you must accept only the decision of a committee which has the confidence of the public and that is what it advises you the Hindus and the Musalmans. It advises the Hindus not to go back to Kohat until they are assured of protection by their Musalman brethren, until the Musulmans request them to go. What does it signify? It signifies that it has been proved that the British bayonets, the British force and the machine guns are not meant to protect the citizens; they are simply meant to perpetuate this Government of force on our people, because it is the people and the people only that suffer. All these resources, the vast military resources of the Government, lie idle. As soon as there is a breath whispered against the Government itself, all the men, honest or dishonest, criminal as well as innocent people—they are all huddled together in jail and there is no possible chance of their being heard by the Government. It is on these broad principles that I ask you to accept this resolution in regard to Kohat as well as Gulbarga. (Cheers).

MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI seconded the resolution in Urdu.

Second day,

धरों भाइयो और बहिनो, मैंने काँग्रेस में आर हिन्दुस्तान में हजारों स्पीचें दी हैं हजारों तकरीरें की हैं और कभी तकरीर करते हुए मैं घबराया नहीं मगर आज मैं आपना फुर्ज समझता हूँ कि आप सब भाइयों के सामने साफ साफ कह दूँ कि मैं शर्म की वजह से आज खड़ा होकर तकरीर करना नहीं चाहता ! मगर मेरे सामने एक फुर्ज है जो पूरा करना चाहता हूँ ।

Kohat and
Gulbarga
Riots,

Maulana
Shaukat Ali.

मैं, दोस्तो, मुहम्बत में, प्रेम में, रहने वाला हूँ मैं लड़ाई झगड़े से दूर रहता हूँ । मेरी शकल सूरत हाथ पाँव बड़े हैं—मेरी सूरत से, डीलसे, गवर्नमेण्ट के आदमी डरते हैं [हास्य ध्वनि]—मगर मैं सब को यकीन दिलाता हूँ, और जो मुझे जानते हैं उन को यकीन दिलाने की जरूरत नहीं समझता कि मैं लड़ाई झगड़ेसे कौसों दूर भागता हूँ—मुझे इस से बड़ा धक्का पहुँच जाता है । मेरा इरादा होता है कि हिन्दू मुसलमानों की लड़ाई होतो चाहे कसूर हिन्दूका हो, चाहे मुसलमानका, चाहे दोनोंका मैं उनकी सूरत न देखूँ । मैं आपके सामने खड़ा हूँ कि कोहाट की मुसीबत पर कुछ अर्ज करूँ ।

इस रिजोल्यूशन पर मैं बोलनेवाला नहीं था (मेरी हिन्दी आप लोग समझते हैं ?) [हास्यध्वनि] । भाइयो और बहिनो, मुझे नहीं मालूम था कि मुझे आपके सामने कोई तकरीर करनी होगी—प्रोग्राम में भी मेरे भाई मुहम्मद अली का नाम ताईद में लिखा था । मगर इस वक्त महात्माजीने मेरा नाम पुकारा । इससे कुछ ही कबल यह कोहाट का सही हाल मेरे हाथ में डाकके जरिये महस्तर हुआ—तमाम नकल जो मुसलमानोंने डिपुटी कमिश्नरको लिखा, काम करनेवालोंने लिखा उसका मौजूद है । वह मैं आपके सामने पेश करूँगा ।

आपको मालूम है कि मैं महात्माजी के साथ कोहाट गया तो मुसलमानों को सुलना चाहा कि सही हालत बयान करें । मेरे एक तारका जो कोहाट गया था पेशावर से जवाब आया कि हम लोग डिपुटी कमिश्नर के पास डेपुटेशन लाये हैं आपके पास नहीं आसकते । मैं ने दूसरा तार पेशावर को दिया कि आप सबलोग नहीं आते तो एक दो साहब आये और बातें करें—पेशावरके तारका जवाब कोहाट से आया कि [हास्य ध्वनि] हम लोग पेशावर से आगये हैं; सुलह करारहे हैं नहीं आसकते ! आज मालूम होता है कि ब्रे तार उनको नहीं मिले ! यह तार उनके हैं कि जो दो चार आदमी गवर्नमेण्ट की तरफ से मुकर्रर हैं और सुलह कराना चाहते हैं । मुझे इस खत को पढ़ कर एकतरह खुशी हुई है क्यों कि मुझे इससे मालूम

होता है कि जिस तरह कोहाट के बाहर सच्चे दोस्त काम करने के लिये बैचैन हैं
 Second day, वैसे वह लोग वहाँ भी हैं ! सुनिये मैं पढ़ता हूँ (आपका खत हम को मिला)—मैंने
 Kohat and
 Gulbarga
 Riots.
 कोहाट से वापस आकर अभी खिलाफत को खत लिखा और कहा कि आप लोग
 क्यों वापस मिलने न आये—आप जवाब दें कि क्यों खिलाफत का सदर आता है तह
 Maulana
 Shaikat Ali.
 की क्रांत करने तो इन्कार करते हैं—इसका जवाब यह है कि (कोहाट के हम मुस-
 लमान कोहाट की वर्किङ्ग कमेटी बना चुके कोहाट की भलाई और बेहबूदी पर गौर
 करने और ऐसा तरीका अख्तियार करने का, विरादराने वतन ऐसी शर्त पर सुलह
 करनेकी कि जो दोनों के लिये मुनासिब एतकाद, मुस्ताकिल देरपा और आइन्दा के
 लिये ऐसी कार्रवाई काबिल अफसोस दोबारा आरीद न हो।—यह कमेटी वहां लोगों
 ने बना दी है। और उन में से कमजोर मुसलमानों को फोडकर एक ऐसे आदमी के
 हाथ में सारा काम छोड़ दिया जो गवर्नमेंट का आदमी था। और वह काम उस
 आदमी के हाथ में दिया बाकी आदमियों ने डेपुटी कमिश्नर से मिलनेको इन्कार कर
 दिया। यह एकट अपने हाथ से लेकर भेजा मगर कोई तबज्जह नहीं हुई—आज जो
 मुसलमानों में खराब लोग छिपे थे उन को काम से खारिज कर दिया।—(आज
 जनीक आप का खत सामने है तो मालूम होता है की आप ने दो तार भेजे—बखुदा
 इस से पहले तो पता भी इस का न था। (हास्य घनी) और न हम को हर्गिज
 आप का हुक्म मानने में उज्र होता और जो कलंक का टीका लगा है वह न लगता
 और दुनिया भर में हमारी हँसी न होती)—फिर आज की हालत लिखते हैं कि
 आज कोहाट को हालत बदली हुई है—आज खुदा को हरेक शफ़ा देखता है;
 जिन्होंने खराब काम किया था आज वह घबरा रहे हैं। जो डेपुटेशन पेशावर गया
 था वह नाकामयाब आया क्यों कि सुलह न हुई। क्यों ऐसा हुआ नहीं कह सकते
 लेकिन कल से हिन्दू सिख मुसलमान सब की गिरिफ्तारी हो रही है—इस वक्त तक
 तकरीबन ८० आदमी गिरिफ्तार होकर जेल जा चुके हैं और बात शहर अफवा है
 कि १५०० गिरिफ्तारियां होने वाली हैं। रावलपिण्डी में भी लोगों को गिरिफ्तार कर
 ने के लिये पुलिस रवाना हुई है—इतना नुकसान जानो माल का होने के बाद यह मर
 ने पर मिथ्री डाल ने की बात है। हम मुसलमान कोहाट के हर जगह हाजिर होने
 को तैयार हैं—जो जगह आप मुक़रर करेंगे वहां हाजिर होंगे लेकिन हमारी राय में राव-
 लपिण्डी में आना अच्छा है। तमाम बात यह है कि हालत खराब है, तबाही है।
 ऐसी हालत में हिन्दुस्थान के हर बड़े आदमी रावलपिण्डी में पहुंच जाँय, यही काम
 सबसे जरूरी है। कोहाट के वाकयात को यहीं छोड़ता हूँ—इस के बारे में कमेटी
 बनेगी और जांच करेगी कि किस का कसूर है। मगर गुलबर्गी के बारे में मुझे
 अजहद शर्मिन्दगी है। इस तमाम कार्रवाई ने मुल्क पर बड़ा भारी धक्का लगा दिया!

ग्राम काम खराब हुआ ! गुल्बर्गा के बारे में कोई बात नहीं मालूम होती मैं क्या लि कहें मेरे भाई कुरेशी गये थे और कह कर आये हैं कि शरारत है—मगर गुल्बर्गा के बारे में, भाइयों और बहिनो जो वाक्यात हुए हैं उनकी निस्वत कुछ ज्यादा कह की जरूरत नहीं है मगर मैं मुख्त सर तरीके पर चन्द लफ्ज़ निहायत अदब के साथ आप लोगों से कह ने को तैयार हूँ ।

Second day,

Kohat and
Gulbarga
Riots.

Maulana
Shaukat Ali

आपको मालूम है कि मैं और मेरा भाई सालभर के थे, कि जब हमारे बाप गए थे मुहामद अली १ वर्ष का था कि हमारे बाप दुनियासे गुजर गये थे। तबसे जतक जो तालीम हमने पायी है माँके कदमों के पास बैठकर पायी है—आप यकीन नें कि माँके—बी अम्मा, आप जानते हैं, बी अम्मा के मरनेके थोड़ी देर पहले उनसे जो यह हुकुम मिला कि (सच्चे इस्लाम के सिपाही और स्वराज के सिपाही बना—हिन्दू और मुसलमानों का आंचल और दामन का संबन्ध है उनमें मुहम्बत का करना। तमाम भाइयों और बहिनों को मैं सलाह करती हूँ और मुझे आप माफ़ करेंगे कि जब मैं कहूँगा कि बी अम्मा को गुसुल देकर कफन पहना कर सहन में लाये। और दफन का जनाजा निकला तो हमारी छोटी बहिन जो उनके बाद घर की सरदार है उसके सामने हमलोगों ने कसम खाई थी कि जबतक जिन्दा हैं जानो माल कुर्बान उनके स्वराज हासिल करेंगे [घन्य घन्य ध्वनि] हिन्दू मुसलमानों को मिलवेंगे। खुदा का शुक्र है, मैं जानता हूँ कि सैकड़ों हज़ारों मुसलमान, हिन्दू मौजूद हैं जो इस काम के लिये जानतक देनेको तैयार हैं ! जो एह काम महात्माजी गांधी देंगे हम लोग अपना फर्ज समझेंगे कि उसे मानें कि हिन्दुस्तान को आगे करें और स्वराज दिलावें ”

In the course of his speech Dr. Annie Besant accompanied by Mr. Jamnadas Dwarakadas and others arrived. Dr. Besant was received by the President with great courtesy and respect while the whole assembly extended its welcome by standing.

The President then called upon Lala Lajpat Rai to speak.

LALA LAJPAT RAI who was received amidst prolonged and enthusiastic cheers began to speak in English. Then there were continued cries of "Hindi, Hindi" and "English" from among the audience. He addressed them thus:—

Lala
Lajpat Rai.

Friends :

You must allow me to speak in English as I do want to be correctly reported. I had no intention of making any speech at this session of the Congress and least of all, on the resolution that is just before you. The subject with which this resolution deals, is so delicate and so difficult as to require the greatest possible care that not a word is uttered which might injure the feelings of either a Hindu or a Mohammadan. The subject is a very contentious one. There are two or rather three stories about the events that took

place at Kohat which are now known by the name of Kohat tragedy. There is
 Second day, the Hindu version, there is the Mussalman version, and there is a third version
 Kohat and which the Government had adopted and which, I may be permitted to call,
 Gujarga the Government version. I am not at present going to deal with any of these
 Riots. versions. I shall only place before you the main facts which will enlighten
 you as to the events that terminated in the Kohat tragedy and which are practi-
 cally admitted by all parties to be true.

The Kohat tragedy, as my friend, Pandit Motilal Nehru, told you, is a
 unique incident of its own kind which is unparalleled in the history of
 British rule in India. Its significance demands, its importance requires that
 all of you should try your best to root out those causes which have brought
 about this tragedy, because I believe in my heart of hearts putting my God as
 witness, that there is no salvation for India unless we can solve the Hindu-
 Moslem problem. (Hear, hear. Applause). There is absolutely no salvation
 for us, no Swaraj and no peace, no emancipation and no prosperity, and if
 I may say with the permission of the President, no Khaddar and no Swadeshi,
 unless you solve this problem (hear, hear) to the satisfaction of both the
 communities. (cheers). Whatever may be the solution, I beg of you to
 postpone every other subject and devote practically the whole of your energy
 to the solution of this problem. Because on the solution of this problem not
 only depends the fate of India, but if I may be permitted to say, also the fate
 of the whole continent of Asia. Mind, friends, unless you can solve the pro-
 blem of Hindus and Muslims in this country you may rest assured that there
 is no salvation, that there is no emancipation for the continent of Asia, absolu-
 tely none. Therefore the issues are so great, they are so comprehensive, they
 are so important to the peace of the world at large, that I beg of you to devote
 all your attention, all your heart and head to the solution of this problem and
 try to solve it as soon as you can, but yet with no undue hurry, because a
 great problem like this cannot be solved in a few days.

Now I am here on this platform not to blame either the Hindus or the
 Mohammadans for the tragedy of Kohat. I just want to give you a few facts
 which are admitted to be true by all parties so that you may be in a position
 to grasp the importance and significance of this question. Take the resolutions
 of the Government, take the statements, issued by the Hindus, take the state-
 ments issued by the Mohammadans. You will find that the following facts,
 which I am going to state, are practically un-disputed. It is admitted by all
 the three parties that long before the introduction of that pamphlet, it is agreed
 beyond all doubt which was alleged to be the immediate cause of this distur-
 bance, the feelings of the Hindus and the Mohammadans were strained. Then
 comes one of the disputes about the tank. When one dispute about the tank
 was settled this trouble on their pamphlet cropped up. What is it? What was
 that pamphlet? I just want to give you the facts.

THE
GERMAN-INDIA
SOCIETY
MUMBAI.



Sjt. LALA LAJAPATRAI



SHRIMATI SAROJINI NAIDU.



MAULANA SHAUKATALLY

PLATE 35.



Maulana Jaferally Khan.



Sit. K. H. Mudavedkar.



Dr. Annie Besant.



Sit. T. Prakasham.



Sit. Jamanlaljee Bajaj.

PLATE 36

On the 22nd of August (the Janmashtami day) 35 or 40 copies of the pamphlet, containing a poem, which was very scurrilous and insulting to the religion of Islam were sold or distributed at Kohat. I am a Hindu, and as a Hindu, I am ashamed to say that any Hindu should have penned that poem. It was rightly objected to by the Mussalmans of Kohat. The defence of the author was that it was written as a reply to an even more scurrilous attack on Hindu religion by a Mohammadan scribe. That is no defence at all. I refuse to accept that defence and I hope the lesson will go home to the heart of every Mussalman, be he a Hindu or a Mohammadan, that anything done in retaliation is a worse offence than the original offence itself, (hear, hear). Whatever may be our steps to safeguard our interests, or to protect our religion in other ways, this is not the way to do it; and any body who does it is not a friend of this country but he is an enemy of this country as well as an enemy of humanity.

Second day,

Kohat and
Gulbarga
Districts.

Lala
Lajpat Rai

Now, on 22nd of August 30 or 40 copies of this pamphlet were sold or distributed. On the 1st or 2nd of September, —I do not exactly remember the date,—a dispute arose about the tank between the Hindus and the Mohammdans and it was disposed of in favour of the Hindus by the Mohammdan Assistant Commissioner. Some Mohammdans, who were present, raised the question of this pamphlet. It was on the 1st of September probably. I do not remember exactly, either the 1st or the 3rd. (A voice: 2nd). On the 2nd perhaps. The attention of the Hindu elders was drawn to it. They said that they have been unawre of it, but they condemned the poem in strong terms.

I will read to you what happened then. On the 2nd September the Hindus held a meeting and passed a resolution expressing their regret regarding the publication of the pamphlet and asking for pardon from their Mohammdan brethren, and sent copies of the resolution to the Khilafat Committee and individual Mohammdan leaders and to the authorities. That took place on the 2nd. On 30th of August, 3 days before that, the Assistant Commissioner Mr. Ahmad Khan had called for a report, if the publication of that poem actually caused an excitement in the city. On the 2nd the above apology was tendered. The Government report says that this was not considered sufficient by the Mohammdans. Whatever may be the Government view as to its sufficiency, I don't see what else the Hindus could do. I will tell you what happened after that. It appears that after this, certain proceedings were taken against the man who was responsible for the publication of that pamphlet in Kohat. His name was Jivan Das. He was arrested and a security of Rs. 10,000 was demanded of him. At the time of his arrest, the Assistant Commissioner called for copies of the pamphlet. I forgot to tell you one thing. On the day when the Hindus tendered their apology and passed a resolution expressing their regret, they also destroyed the pages of the pamphlet containing the offending poem from all the copies. On the 4th the matter came into

Court before the Assistant Commissioner and he called for all the copies
 had come to Kohat. All those copies were handed over to him. He burnt
 then and there in open Court in the presence of every body, in the pres-
 both the Hindus and the Mohammadans. It is said that on the front
 the pamphlet there was a picture photo of Shri Krishna, and it was
 This wounded the feelings of the Hindus. The Hindus went back and o
 a partial hartal as a protest against the burning of Shri Krishna's picture
 authorities, however, succeeded in bringing round the Hindus and
 hartal was stopped. In the meantime the Muslims had translated the
 and distributed it among the border tribes and asked them to come and ac
 the hearing of the case against Jewan Das. But nothing actually happen
 until the 8th. The Mohammadans expressed their dissatisfaction at that spo-
 logy. Jewan Das who had been arrested under Section 107 of the G. P. C.
 and was in custody was released on bail by the Deputy Commissioner on the
 8th. I have nothing to say whether it was right or not. After that release
 the Mohammadan anger increased. They expressed their dissatisfaction at
 the conduct of the officer in releasing him. It is said that they held a meeting
 at one of the Musjids, wherein they took a vow of divorce. I do not take the
 statements of Hindus or Mussalman. But I say it on the strength of the
 resolution of the Government of India including the report of the Chief Com-
 missioner and the Report of the special magistrate. (The reports do not give
 us the exact language of that vow and from that you can judge of the nature
 of the inquiry made. But that is not very relevant). I shall however tell you
 what the divorce vow has been stated by the authorities to mean *i. e.* if their
 demands were not satisfied, if their grievances were not redressed, they would
 take the law into their hands. Unless they satisfied themselves, their wives
 were to be regarded as divorced and they could not associate with them. They
 say the vow was taken on the 8th night.

Early on the morning of the 9th, the quarrel or the dispute in a way began.
 Here comes the most important point, which is, with what indifference, with
 what stupidity, I would say, with what criminal negligence the authorities
 dealt with the situation. The Government of India in its resolution says on page
 445 of the extra-ordinary Gazette that it is impossible to guard against panic
 and it is difficult to say what action the authorities could have taken to avert
 the out-break if the Deputy Commissioner had heard of the divorce-vow on the
 night before. But he says this vow was not reported to him. According to the
 report of the Chief Commissioner the report did reach the Inspector of Police
 at 1 A. M. on the morning of the 9th who instructed the Head Constable to give
 it in writing. This was done at 6 A. M. It was again returned to the Head
 Constable to fill in the names of the leaders. This was not done till 9 A. M.
 By this time the report had reached the Deputy Commissioner through other

Second day,

Kohat and
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Riots.Lala
Lajpat Rai

At 10 A. M. again the Hindus telegraphed to the Deputy Commissioner about the seriousness of the situation. This will show you in what way the situation was handled. On the 9th September the Mahommadans met the Commissioner at the Townhall in a so-called *Jirga*, though the Hindus thought it was a mob and the report of the Special magistrate indirectly supports this. This *Jirga* or mob expostulated with the Deputy Commissioner for having arrested the members of the Sanatana Sabha and for having released Das on bail. The Deputy Commissioner promised to the needful. The authorities thought that the Mohammadans were satisfied and their grievances were redressed by the promise given to them that the proper people would be prosecuted and punished. That is always the way with the authorities. They make a mistake themselves and then throw the blame at the door of the Hindus or the Mohammadans or some body else. Here there was clear danger of a riot and of the Hindus and Mussalmans coming to blows. The Hindus had warned the authorities on the 8th, 9th 10th and sent telegrams to the Deputy Commissioner, the Chief Commissioner and Superintendent of the District, but no action was taken. Afterwards, when the whole tragedy had been acted they came up and said that they had no intimation. That is the plea which is made by a Government which spends millions of money on the Criminal Investigation Department for setting up spies in every house (Cries "shame, shame").

This reminds me, gentlemen, you will pardon me, I am not going to speak of this, but this reminds me of a similar incident at Guruka-Bagh, a few miles from Amritsar and yet when the Governor and his Council came to Amritsar they would not go to see what was happening. People came from the scene of the tragedy to Amritsar and told them what had happened. The Governor-in-Council told them that it was incredible and they could not possibly believe what they were being told. When they were asked, "why not go yourselves and verify?" They said, "We won't do it." "Then, very well, don't go to Guruka-bagh, but why not go to the hospital where the wounded are lying and verify from those people whether the statements are true or not?" No, that would interfere with their prestige! (Laughter). Have you seen how callous, how indifferent, how criminally negligent the authorities are on occasions like this? They would not go and see with their eyes, but they would satisfy themselves by sending their subordinate agents. They always rely on the reports of their own C. I. D. who give them wrong information or do not take information in time, and then they say that they did not get information in time and therefore they could not interfere. Well friends, this is the sort of administration, we are having.

I do not want to tire you out. There are many other things in this resolution which expose the stupidities and the criminal negligence of the C. I. D.

in this affair. The illustration I have given you would suffice. What does
 Second day, show? It shows what kinds of conclusions they arrived at. The Spe
 Kohat and Gulbarga Riots, Magistrate's enquiry, the Chief Commissioner's report and the Govern
 of India's resolution, they are all actuated by one motive, and that is to e
 xculpate the authorities of any negligence or any blame on their part in this m
 Lala Lajpat Rai, With all this, they have admitted certain facts, which show their crimin
 and negligence. It is admitted, my friends, that there was a disturbance w
 was temporarily quelled on the 9th and it again broke out in greater vehem
 on the morning of the 10th. It is admitted by the authorities that no arra
 ments were made, no precautions were taken to prevent the recurrence
 the trouble on the 10th. The Government of India's enquiries, conclusions
 and final opinion are all based on incorrect, unsound and in some cases, untrue
 data. The whole of it is to whitewash the authorities' neglect and to excul
 pate them from any blame. I am firmly convinced in my mind that if the
 authorities had done their duty on the morning of the 9th or the night before,
 there could have been no riot and therefore no tragedy at Kohat in any case,
 not on the scale on which it actually occurred.

So much with regard to that part of the resolution which deals with the
 conduct of the Government. With regard to the other part of the resolution,
 I am firmly convinced in my mind, I have no doubt about it, that the Hindus
 of the Frontier Province cannot live in that Province unless they win the good
 will and friendship of the Mohamadans residing there. The Hindus are a
 mere drop in the sea of a population consisting of 93 per cent of Mohamma
 dans and 7 per cent of Hindus. When you add to it the population of the
 independent tribes in the neighbouring territories you will see the utter help
 lessness of the Hindu population in the sea of Mohammadans and you will
 realise that they cannot live in peace or with any chance of security unless
 with the goodwill and friendship of Mussalmans. I have told you that the
 Kohat tragedy was unparalleled in the history of India and even in the
 Frontier Province where we have heard many times of frontier raids, we have
 heard of looting, dacoities and kidnappings but never in my memory do I re
 member of having heard of any communal troubles between the Hindus and
 Mohammadans in the Frontier Province on the scale on which this tragedy
 has taken place. Never have I heard of such riots in other Provinces, never
 of this magnitude did riots take place in the Punjab or any other Province.
 In fact the Hindus and the Mohammadans on the whole lived quite peacefully
 and on the whole I think they were on very good terms unless something
 special happened to disturb their good relations and made them enemies of
 each other. Now there has come some change and I have not got the autho
 rity or the material to say how the unfortunate change was brought about.
 I would therefore ask for the appointment of an independent Committee to find

Why this change has come about and who is responsible. I can say this. In my humble judgement the Government will not come out entirely cent as they have played an important part in bringing about a change which has resulted in the tragic incident at Kohat.

Second day,

Kohat and
Gulbarga
Distt.

Lala
Lajpat Rai

I want you to remember one thing and that is this. My friends, don't think, you people of the South and you people of the West—don't you think that you are so far away from Kohat that the matter does not affect you. Fortunately or unfortunately, the communal consciousness is growing apace *passu* with the national consciousness. You have to reconcile the two if you want a Free and United India. The communal consciousness must be reconciled or rather must be re-united to the national consciousness so as to remove that hostile part which prevents them from working smoothly and peacefully. But now you must remember that communal consciousness is no longer confined to one Province. I may tell you, one Kohat will affect the peace of India. The Madrasis and my friends from Bombay and other parts of the country cannot say that they have nothing to do with this: and if they do so, they are living, pardon me, in a fool's Paradise. They should not think that questions connected with the *Frontier* Province will not affect their happiness or their prosperity. The repercussion of Kohat will take place in every part of the country and will be full of momentous consequences. Every aspect of national and communal life should be taken into account. So don't rest satisfied, don't console yourselves with the satisfaction that this affects one part of the country, and therefore does not affect you. It affects every one of you, it affects every child, every woman and every man of this continent. And, I therefore want all of you to realise the significance of this problem and feel that if Kohats are repeated in this way in any part of India your problem will be immensely more difficult to solve. For God's sake, for Heaven's sake, for the sake of this Motherland which lies prostrate at your feet, have your mercy on it, give up your feelings of relation, give up all ideas of anger and try to realise that every wound inflicted on a single Hindu or a single Mohammadan within the length and breadth of the land is a wound inflicted in the breast of your mother. Unless you desist from causing that wound and save her from similar injuries you are doomed both in this world and in the world to come. I beg of you, to realise the seriousness of this situation and take steps before it is too late.

There is one part of the resolution which advises the Hindu exiles of Kohat as to what they should do. I don't know, I don't express any opinion against it, but I leave it to our leader, Mahatma Gandhi to give his decision. I endorse the sentiments of the letter just now read to you by Maulana Shaukat Ali, and if the Hindu and Mohammadan leaders of the country want peace, progress,

mutual trust, settlement of this problem and Swaraj, they must at once proceed to Rawalpindi and settle the differences and disputes as early as possible.

(Loud and continued applause.)

Second day MAULANA ZAFAR ALI KHAN supported the resolution in Urdu:—

Kohat and
Gulbarga
Riots,

Maulana
Zafar Ali
Khan

“महात्माजी और विरादाराने हाजिरान, अभी एक साहब ने निहायत दर्द न लफ्जों में महात्माजीसे फर्याद की है और महात्माजीने फर्याद सुनली है। मुझे कहा है कि मैं वजाय अंग्रेजी के उर्दू में तकरीर करूं।

मेरी जिन्दगी में पहली बार आल इंडिया कांग्रेस के इजलास में मैं तकरीर करता हूँ—लेकिन इस की वजह वह शरूह है जो यहाँ बैठा है।

एक साहब ने कहा कि ‘महात्माजी की दोहाई है, हिन्दी में बोलें’ या अंग्रेजी में पहले वोट लें। इस के मानी यह है कि जिनकी वजह से (महात्माजी की ओर इशारा था) गरीब भी अपनी आवाज रखते हैं—जिन्दगी में सादगी आती है। चुना नूचे अभी आपने देखा कि कोट पहनता था—महात्माजी ने बात कट कर कहा सोने की बटन भी) [हास्य-ध्वनी]—और सोने की बटन पहनता था आज आप के सामने सिर्फ कुर्ता पहन कर आया हूँ। इस लिये जब हकूककी बड़ी भारी बात चली है मुसलमान भी हिंदुओं की तरह हकूक सुना रहे हैं और उसी जोरों शोर के साथ अपने ख्याल को पेश करते हैं जैसे हिन्दू करते हैं।

मुझे ख्याल था कि इस पर किसी किसम का ख्याल जाहिर न करना चाहिये क्यों कि जिस वक्त सबजेक्टस् कमिटी में यह रिजोल्यूशन पेश कर दिया गया तो महात्माजीने चाहा था कि तमाम हिंदू मुसलमान एक राय हो कर इस को पास करें। जब यह पेश हुआ और मुहारक पण्डित मोतीलाल नेहरूजी के ख्याल भी हम लोगों ने सुने। नीचे नाम देखा मौलाना मुहम्मद अली का। वह ऐसे ही हैं हमारे नजदीक जैसे महात्मा गांधी—हां, दर्जा दूसरा है—सरदार तो हमारे यही हैं (महात्माजी की ओर इशारा)—इस के बाद मैंने सुना लाला लजपत राय भी अपने ख्यालात फर्मावेंगे—मैंने पूछा पण्डित मोतीलालजी से कि क्या यह सच है? खैर आप अये और तकरीर की मैंने सोचा मुझे भी तकरीर करना लाजिम हो गया।

मुझे मौलाना शौकतअली की तकरीर के कुछ हिस्सेसे एख्तलाफ था। वह सिर्फ एक अर्फक में है कि जब ऐसे झगड़े होते हैं तो मैं वहां जना नहीं चाहता लेकिन मैं कहूंगा कि अगर कहीं ऐसा होता है तो जो दूसरे हिन्दू मुसलमान हैं उनको वहां पहुंचकर देखना है कि अगर ज्यादाती हिन्दू की तरफ है तो अपनी तरफसे नदामत का इजहार करें—और अगर जुलम की इवतदा दूसरी ओरसे हुई है तो वह मुस्लिम है ऐसा अपना ख्याल जाहिर करना चाहिये। और जिसकी ज्यादाती है उसको सजा

मिलनी चाहिये। यह सब हिन्दुओं को मुसलमानों से मुसलमानों को हिन्दुओं से निकलकर करना चाहिये।

Second day,

अब उन्होंने कुछ गुल्बर्गाके बारे में कहा है उसके बारे में उन्होंने ठीक नहीं है। इस लिये कि वहां नवाबुलमुल्कने इतने मुसलमानों को गिरफ्तार किया हर हाल यह है कि अगर साबित हो जाय कि मुसलमानोंने फसाद की शुरुआत की तो निहायत नदामत के साथ कबूल करने को तैयार हैं।

Kohat and
Gulbarga
Riots,

Maulana
Zafar Ali
Khan

अब लालालाजपतराय की तकरीर का पहला हिस्सा तो वह है कि जो एक सुन हरी बात है कि जबतक आज़ाद नहीं हो सकते, स्वराज हासिल नहीं कर सकते जबतक हिन्दु मुसलमान नहीं मिलते। आगे चलकर एक किस्मसे स्वदेशी की मुखा लफ्त करते हुए उन्होंने कहा कि जबतक यह मुतहिदा नहीं होते तबतक यह भी मुमकिन नहीं। अगर हिन्दु मुसलमान नहीं मिलसकते तो आजादी नहीं मिलसकती।

बेहतर होता कि जितना महात्माजी का वाकई मखसद था वही बयान करते—वे खास वाकयात के ऊपर बहस न करते या अगर बहस करते तो इसपर पूरी तरह करते। आपने जो फर्माया है कि २१ अगस्त को रिसाले की बुनियाद हुई—जीवनदासने इसलामके मुतअल्लिक नदामत के अलफाज फैलाये थे—हमतो ख्याल करते हैं कि तहजीब की रफ्तार को मुला दिया था। २२ अगस्त को इसकी ताईद हुई और रिसाले से हिम्मत हुई। वहनेसदूस्त की बात यह है कि निहायत उमदा हुआ। २ सितम्बर को चले वहां पर—यह उन्होंने कहा नहीं मगर नतीजा उनके कहने का निकल सकता है—लोग यहां अहमक नहीं हैं कि नतीजा न निकालें। ४ सितम्बर को जाकर इस की कौल करार किया था—इस पर अमल करने चले ७ सितम्बर को। चूंकि कृष्णजी महाराज की शकल थी उसकी बेइज्जती हुई इसपर हिन्दुओं को गुस्ता आया, उनको तकलीफ हुई। अब दूसरी बात आयी और लालालाजपतरायकी—बात ठीक है रिसाला चला और हरताल हुई।

८ सितम्बर को कशमकस पेश हुई, जीवनराम के बारे में। जलसा हुआ और मुन्नेसलाहमें यह ख्याल है कि कसम खाई थी—यह झूठ बात है। इसको उन्हें लेना नहीं चाहता था कि एक करीक कहता है कि कियाथा और दूसरा एक कहता है कि नहीं। वाकई, हकीकत में ऐसी कसम हुई थी लेकिन जीवनराम की निस्वत नहीं हुई थी यह थी कि गवर्नमेंट इस को अपने हाथ में लेगी। ८ सितम्बर को यह हुआ—मै यह नहीं कहता कि गवर्नमेंट ठीक है या नहीं, लाला लाजपत राय ठीक है या नहीं। ९ सितम्बर को खबर पहुंची या नहीं। बहस यह है कि ९ सितम्बर को खबर पहुंची और रात को जो कौलकरार किया था उस पर अमल करना

Second day,
 Mr. Khat and
 Mr. Gubarga
 Mr. Roita,
 Mr. Mahana
 Mr. Zafar Ali
 Mr. Khan

 फर्ज हुआ कि तो इन्होंने गवर्नमेंट के हाथ में लाने का इरादा कर लिया था।
 जानें लगे कि डंडे लें, आग दे दें। अगर यह हालत ठीक है तो करते क्या
 डिप्युटी कमिश्नर के पास अमनो आमीन के साथ पहुंचते हैं और कहते हैं कि
 विचार कर के जीवन राम को गिरफ्तार करें। तो अब दलील की जाती
 फसाद करने चले आये हैं चले और गोली चल गयी।

अब यह है कि पहले एक मुसलमान लड़का शहीद हुआ। १० सितम्बर
 उन्होंने जो कुछ किया, किया और जो किया उस पर चाहे जो कहा जाय। कुर
 लिखा है (जो तुझ पर ज्यादाती करता है तूमी कर इतनी ही जितनी उस ने, अल्लाह
 पुरा करे काम तेरा) —अगर उन्होंने एक निकाल लिया, एक जानली तो एक
 निकाल लेते, एक जान ले लेते। लेकिन उस पर जो कुछ हुआ बुरा हुआ।—(यहां
 एक साहब ने एतराज करते हुए कहा कि अगर एक साहब ने वाक्यात पर बहस
 की तो दूसरे साहब उस से फायदा उठा कर वही गलती करेंगे)।—जफर अली ने कहा
 कि “ इसी वजह से मुझे कहना पडा है—लाला लजपत राय की तकरीर से जो नती
 जा निकला है मुसलमान उस को मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं है

मैं आपके सामने यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि इस फिसाद की बिना कुछ
 और ही है। हिन्दू मुसलमान आपस में नहीं लड़ते—बड़ी २ पगडीवाले गुण्डे लड़ते
 हैं—तो अगर आपस में लड़ना बन्द होजाय, मिलजाय तो बहुत अच्छा हो”

Mr. K. H. MUDVEDKAR in supporting the resolution, spoke in Canarese.
 The President explained the resolution in Hindi as follows:—

“ भाइयो और बहिनो, आप भाइयोने इस प्रस्तावके बारे में बहुत से बयान
 सुनलिया— मेरे पास एक दो और भी चिन्ता आगयी है कि कुछ और भाई भी बहस
 करना चाहते हैं। लेकिन मैंने उनको कह दिया है कि अब वह मुझे क्षमा दे है।
 मैं नहीं चाहता कि इसपर किसी भाई को कुछ और ज्यादा जानने की जरूरत है।

एक भाईने लिखा है कि इस प्रस्ताव में पंचायतके बारे में लिखा है; उसमें
 नामके बारे में जानना चाहते हैं। इसमें दो बात रक्खी गयी है। जो युनिटी कमेटी
 ने पंचायत कायम की है वह कुछ काम न करे तो और कोई दूसरी पंचायत बनाले।
 “ युनिटी कमेटी की पंचायतमें जितने नाम हैं वह मैं भूलगया हूं आप अखबार में देख
 लेंगे। उसमें मैं भी हूं और शौकत अली और दूसरे मुसलमान भाई हैं। वह भी छोड़
 “ नानहीं चाहता हूं—मेरे खयाल है कि जो पंचायत हो गयी है वह जो करेगी, जो कुछ
 “ कोहाटे में होगया है उसका बयान माद्धम करेगी—सबलपिण्डी में जाकर माद्धम होगा
 “ कि क्या होगा क्या हो सकता है, क्या नहीं। जो कुछ किया जा सकता है किया
 जायगा। आप जो भाई इस प्रस्ताव को पसन्द करते है बदस्तूर हाथ ऊंचा करें।”

The resolution was then put to vote and declared carried.

THE PRESIDENT :—I call upon Mr Bhopatkar to move the resolution on touchability."

Second day,

Before doing so, let me inform you that some Tamil friends have written asking that the resolutions might also be translated into Tamil. I am very sorry that I cannot possibly do that. There are 21 provinces to deal and if we are to render each resolution into so many languages it would be not possible to get on. Up to now we have been adopting three languages, Hindi which every one is expected to know; the second is English; the third is the vernacular of the province. We have not been able to find that common medium, Hindusthani, through which we can know each other, because we have always the South to obstruct the way. That is why we are using the vernacular of this province as well as English. But I would suggest for such cases that those who know English or Hindusthani in the said province should take the trouble of explaining the resolutions passed here to their friends who do not know any of the languages here spoken.

Untouchability.

The President

RESOLUTION VII.

UNTOUCHABILITY.

Shriyut L. B. BHOPATKAR (Maharashtra) moved the following resolution :—

Syt.
L. B. Bhopatkar.

The Congress notes with satisfaction the progress made in Hindu opinion regarding the removal of untouchability but is of opinion that much yet remains to be done and therefore appeals to the Hindu members of all Congress organisations to make a greater effort in the cause. The Congress hereby urges the Hindu members of Provincial Congress Committees to devote greater attention to the amelioration of the lot of the depressed classes by ascertaining their wants such as wells, places of worship, facilities for education etc., and making provisions for meeting such wants. The Congress congratulates the Satyagrahis of Varikom who are engaged in asserting the right of untouchables through a thoroughfare which is open to caste Hindus, on their non-violence, patience, courage and endurance and hopes that the State of Travancore which is regarded as enlightened will recognise the justice of the Satyagrahis' claim and grant speedy relief.

Proceeding, the speaker explained the same thing in Marathi.

Sjt. BABU SAILES NATH BISI, High Court Vakil, Calcutta, in seconding the resolution, said :—

Sailes Nath Bisi.

When I rise, Sir, to second this resolution I do not want to impress upon you the urgency of the matter. At the outset, I must make myself clear that I address my words only to the Hindus, as it is clear from the resolution.

I do not want to enter into any discussion as to the origin and development of the present form of untouchability, but certainly want to impress upon you the evil which is being done by its prevalence to-day.

Second day, Think of the injustice when you deny a Bhangi to enter a temple! Is not a Hindu? Has he not a right to worship his God and enter his Great Untouchability temple? Is'nt it inhuman? How can we expect to talk of Swaraj when have not given Swaraj to those who are below us, viz., the so-called Untouchability caste?

Sjt. Sailes
Kath Bisi.

If you are not going to relax the rigour now, I tell you they will snare away their rights from us and remember, the sins of your forefathers shall be visited in the next generation. So let us make reparation for our forefathers' guilt to our suffering brothers by way of making necessary allowance for them. This resolution is a sort of compromise between the orthodox and the modern. So my earnest appeal to you who are young (I do not think of the old, because they will die soon) who feel that this is inhuman to do something practicable for them which will touch their hearts. Allow them to enter your temple, allow their children to sit with your children in the same school and above all allow them to draw water from your wells.

I congratulate my Vykam friends on their successful attempts but I appeal to you again, who feel that this inhuman institution should end, try all means to destroy it, knock it incessantly—it will surely break. (Cheers).

SIRDAR KISHAN SINGH in supporting the resolution in Hindustani said:—

पूज्य सभापतिजी और मित्रगण, यह रिज़ोल्यूशन जो अभी पेश किया गया है उसके मुताबिक मैं बहुत थोड़ा सा अर्ज़ करना चाहता हूँ—हमारे हिन्दू धर्म में ४ वर्ण हैं। जब तक हमारे यहां वर्णाश्रम था तब तक हमारा काम ठीक चलता था। हमारे चारों वर्णों में से एक शूद्र कहलाते हैं। जिसका काम सिर्फ सारीजातकी सेवा करना था। जैसे मनुष्य के शरीरके ४ भाग हैं—माथ, हाथ, जंघा और पांव, उसी तरह शूद्र जातिका पांव है। अगर किसी मनुष्य का दिमाग अच्छा हो मगर पांव में जख्म होतो काम नहीं चलसकता। इसी तरह अगर किसी जाति में शूद्र ठीक हालतमें नहीं है तो उसका काम ठीक नहीं चलसकता। अगर कोई पांव खाली करके चलना चाहे तो नहीं चल सकता इसी तरह आप अपने छोटे भाइयों को अलहिदा करके नहीं उन्नति करसकते।

इसवक्त हमारी अवस्था यह है कि हम लोग हिन्दू जाति में छोटे लोगों का—बहुत अवगुण आया है कि हम उनसे काम ले रहे हैं, और हम लोग अपने भाइयों से जो किसी तरह भी हम से कम नहीं हैं बल्कि जो कई गुणों में बड़े हैं, सेवाकरा के आसरा देते हैं—तिरस्कार करते हैं, पशु की तरह समझते हैं, हमलोग उन्हें नीचा समझते हैं।

भला जब हमारे अन्दर इतनी नीचता है तो आप कैसे उम्मीद करते हैं कि अच्छा सबक दूसरे लोग हमारे साथ करेंगे। कल स्वामीजी ने एक बात सुनाई कि

ब्राह्मण स्नान कर के निकले, खैर पंजाब में तो ऐसा नहीं है, तो जब वह
 प्रण निकले तो एक पंचना, शूद्र था वह सामने से निकला, ब्राह्मण देवता का
 लगा—उन की दृष्टि में शूद्र पड़ गया! बस अब तो कोई बात नहीं—अशुद्ध हो
 [हास्य ध्वनि] फिर स्नान किया। चुनानचे इसी तरह ६० दफा स्नान किया
 वह शूद्र भी सत्याग्रह कर के बैठ गया—तो ६० बार स्नान कर ने पर लोगों ने
 कि उठ जा यह ब्राह्मण मर जायगा। लेकिन देखें आब इतनी हालत गिरी
 है—लोग दृष्टि स्नान करते हैं—दृष्टि पड़ गयी तो दृष्टिस्नान करते हैं। जब तक
 बात है आप कैसे उठ सकते हैं? कैसे स्वराज ले सकते हैं? इससे तो
 स्वराज हमारे पास नहीं फटक सकता। जो अपने भाई को नीचा समझते हैं।
 उन को दूसरे लोग नीचा समझेंगे—इस तरह आप अपने को गिराते हैं। रन-
 जीत सिंह क्रिकेट खेलनेवाला महशूर था, बाहर गया था आस्ट्रेलिया में उस को जहा-
 जसे उतरने नहीं दिया कि यह मुलाम है। तुम भां पतित हो, तुमको कोई दृष्टि में
 लाना नहीं चाहते तुमको देख कर उन्हें दृष्टि स्नान करना पड़ता है—इस लिए वह
 भी अपने वन्दर गाहों पर तुमको उतरने नहीं देते।

इस लिए अगर स्वराज चाहते हैं, तो जो अपने भाई को दे नहीं सकते, तो
 वह अंग्रजों से कैसे मांगते हैं? अगर अपने भाइयों से सलूक नहीं करते तो अंग्रेज
 कैसे स्वराज दे देंगे? यह ना मुमकिन है। अगर आप अपने भाई को उन का
 हक नहीं देंगे तो आपको भी स्वराज नहीं मिलेगा। यह तो मोटी बात है। मैं
 तो कहूंगा कि यह यह बात हिन्दू धर्म में किस जगह पर है! तुलसी रामायण आपने
 पढ़ा है, साधु सन्यासी घरों में फिरते हैं कहते हैं—(जाति पाँति पूँछ नाहें कोई, हरका
 भजे सो ह का होई)—यह प्रातःसायं हिन्दू कान में पड़ता है। उसका अर्थ यह है
 कि हम ईश्वर के भजन से ईश्वर के पास होते हैं यानी कर्म से ऊँच होते हैं। तो हम
 देखते हैं कि हमारा धर्म ऐसा है।

तो हमारी अशोभात क्या हुई? इसका कारण यह है कि हम लोगों को अपने
 बुजुर्गों का अनुयायी होना चाहिये था—उसको हमने छोड़ दिया? आपको मालूम
 है कि रामचन्द्र को आप अवतार मानते हैं, हरक हिन्दू मानते हैं।
 जिस दृष्टिसे छोटी जातिको वह देखते थे हम भी अगर उस तरह नहीं मानते
 तो क्या हम हिन्दू हैं? अगर हम उस का उलंघन करते हैं तो कथन मात्र के लिए
 हिन्दू हैं, वास्तव में हिन्दू नहीं हैं। रामचंद्रजी की निरवत आप का मालूम है कि
 राम वन में गये थे—बर जो भिल्लना ने चखचखकर रक्खा था उन्नों ने खाया है। भग-
 वान राम नहीं देखते कि वह कौन है, शूद्र या ब्राह्मण। तां जब रामचंद्रजी रुखाळ
 नहीं करते तो आप का दर्जा क्या उन से कुछ उंचा हो गया है। इस लिए [बस-

Second day,

Untouchability

Sjt Sailes
Nath Bisi.

8000nd day,
 Untouchability
 Sjt. Saifias
 Nath Bisi.

बस धनि] अभी खतम करूंगा—दूसरी बात छोटीसी अर्ज कर देना चाहता हूँ
 महाभारत में लिखा है कि एक चमार था, उस की खिचड़ी श्रीकृष्णजी ने पूजा
 स्वीकार कर ली थी। तो हमारे लिए यह देखना है कि गवर्नमेंट नहीं सिर्फ प्यार
 है—अगर यह भी हम ने नहीं दिया अपने भाइयोंको तो आप को कुछ भ
 मिलेगा।

तो हमें उन भाइयों को उंचा करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये। हरेक
 धर्म को छोटे लोगों को साथ लगाये बिना कुछ काम करने की सङ्कल्पित न मि
 हमारे गुरु गोविन्द सिंह ने भी छोटे आदमियों को साथ लगाया। तो जो यह
 आप करते हैं बड़ा है। अगर नहीं करेंगे तो ठीक नहीं।”

Shriyut E. V. RAMASAWMI NAIKER, Tamil Nadu, supported the resolu-
 tion in Canarese.

Pandit KAVYAKANTAM ARYASOMAYAJLA GANAPATI SASTRI, Tiruvanna-
 malai, supported the resolution in Sanskrit.

Shriyut Vedantam SAMBHU SHASTRI, Bezwada, supported it in Telgu.

Pandit DIVEKAR SHASTRI supported it in Marathi.

The President then called upon Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to speak.
 As he was absent, the President put the resolution to vote speaking in Hindi
 as follows :—

भाइयो, मुझे दर्द होता है कि पाण्डितजी इस समय यहां नहीं हैं। मुझे कहा
 गया था—मैंने प्रार्थना की थी, उन्होंने कहा कि मैं इस समय कुछ बोलना नहीं चाहता।
 लेकिन फिर कहा गया कि पाण्डितजी चन्द शब्द सुनावेंगे। लेकिन इस समय वह
 यहां नहीं हैं।

इस प्रस्ताव पर रायलेने के आगे एक खत मेरे पास आया है उसका उत्तर
 देना जरूरी है। एक भाई पूछते हैं कि अस्पृश्यता निवारणके प्रस्ताव का क्या यह
 मतलब है कि रोटीबेटी व्यवहार करना चाहिये। इस प्रश्न का, अस्पृश्य का इसमें
 कोई बात नहीं कही गयी अगर मुझसे वह पूछना चाहते हैं कि आप क्या कहते हैं तो
 मैं तो नवजावन, यंगइण्डिया में अपना विचार जाहिर कर दिया—जैसे और जातियों के
 लोगों से हमारा व्यवहार हम करते हैं वैसा ही व्यवहार उनके साथ करें जिन का अस्पृश्य
 मानते हैं।

There was one hand raised against the resolution. The President declared
 it carried.

RESOLUTION VIII.
INDIANS OVERSEAS.

Second day

Indians
Overseas

Srimathi SAROJINI DEVI who rose amidst enthusiastic cheers said :—

Srimathi
Sarojini Devi.

I have had to borrow Mahatmaji's glasses to read the resolution. I wish I have stolen a little of his wisdom and moderation as well. In borrow-
-I will first read the resolution in English and after it is translated into languages of India I will say a few words differing slightly from, and main supporting, the resolution.

Then the speaker read the following resolution :—

The Congress notes with deep sorrow the increasing disabilities of the settlers overseas and records its opinion that the Indian and Imperial Governments have fail to protect the interest of the settlers which they have repeatedly declared to be their trust. The Congress whilst tendering its sympathy to the settlers in their troubles regrets its inability to render effective assistance till Swaraj has been attained.

The Congress notes with profound dissatisfaction the sanction given by the Governor-general of the Union of South Africa to the Ordinance of the Natal Provincial Legislature depriving the Indians domiciled there of the Municipal franchise, which they have long enjoyed, with impunity.

The Congress regards the question of the deprivation of franchise as not only manifestly unjust but also a breach of the agreement of 1924 between the Union Government and the Indian community and the past declarations of the Natal Government.

The Congress is of opinion that the so-called settlement of the Kenya question is nothing short of the deprivation of the natural and just rights of the Indian settlers in Kenya.

(The above resolution was next translated into Hindi and Canarese by others).

Friends, I have so recently returned from Africa to which you deputed me to go on your behalf, and that, fresh in the memory of those disabilities and disadvantages, their sufferings and tyrannies, from which our brethren and kindred are suffering, I feel, and Mahatmaji will excuse me for feeling so, that this resolution is too little coloured with the life-blood and with the suffering to which my people abroad are doomed. I feel so strongly on this matter that I would rather have been excused from speaking to-day where speeches must be so brief, where speeches must be so restrained, where speeches must be of that quality that might not divert too poignantly your minds

Second day, from the central activity to which Mahatma Gandhi has made us pledge
 duty were I not to supplement my own remarks to this resolution which
 the honour of moving and while I agree that till Swaraj is obtained in
 we the Congress cannot effectively help or come to the relief of Indian
 Srimathi Sarojini Devi seas I nevertheless believe that the Congress is a sufficiently powerful
 to put such pressure, such moral pressure, upon the Imperial and
 Governments that they should be compelled to do their duty by the
 across the seas. (Hear, hear).

When I went to South Africa, when I was in the threshold of
 Africa, while I was still in Portuguese East Africa, the South African people
 Central Africa had sent their representative to interview me. One man, a little
 man, more frank in his opinion, said to me, "What will you do in South
 Africa? General Smuts is a strong man!" And, I said to him, "I may tell
 you I am a strong woman with the whole weight of Indian opinion. (Hear,
 hear. Laughter and applause). It is with the weight of this opinion of India
 behind me that I took the message of hope to the suffering hearts living abroad,
 from Mombasa to Cape Town; it was the self-same message I carried. The
 wonderful ovations I received were not for myself,—nay, I was the embodied
 message of the nation of India (cheers) who said, thus far and no further
 shall tyranny be over the people who are the blood and the bone and the flesh
 of the people of India. And, it is carrying this message of hope, this message
 of kinship, this message of moral support, this message of suffering with their
 suffering, this message of rejoicing with their victories, that brought comfort,
 that brought encouragement, that brought courage, to the heart of Indians in
 Kenya and Indians in South Africa.

While I condemn the Natal Government for passing this Ordinance so
 unconstitutional, so doubly unconstitutional, because I believe the taking away
 of the political franchise in 1896 from Indians was the first time almost in
 British history when a right that was given voluntarily was arbitrarily taken
 away, and now the taking away of the municipal franchise is a betrayal of the
 agreement arrived at with Mahatma Gandhi. Nay, more than that: it is a
 betrayal of the human inalienable rights of the Indian Colonials who have as
 much right upon the African soil as General Smuts and other white Colonials
 of South Africa. And, I believe it is our duty to so create public opinion in the
 country that the Imperial and Indian Governments will be constrained not
 to be academic in their pity and their compassion but to protect effectively
 the interests of our brethren abroad.

Ever since I have returned I have been pressing for a Round Table Con-
 ference, and when I was in South Africa and when I had the privilege of visit

Ministers and Members of Parliament I put forth this suggestion of a Table Conference; and General Smuts and his party, General Herzog party and Colonel Kressman and his party were willing and anxious to this Round Table Conference, but the people of India failed because not sufficiently prove themselves in earnest in backing up the opinion of their own ambassador to South Africa.

Second day

Indians
OverseasSrimathi
Sarojini Devi

My friends, we in India have a power that we do not realise. One hundred sixty thousand more or less exile children of India are also being disinherited from the land where they have inviolable rights. Are we going to pass this academical resolution expressing helpless lip sympathy? Are we going to be content when the white people deprive them of their natural rights? This Natal Ordinance deprives them of their inalienable rights of citizenship. And are we going to treat it as an academic question saying it is merely a question of race prejudice, or are we going to solve it saying that we go down to its root and help our brethren? I know, I believe, my countrymen will be very angry with me for saying so. It is partly the economic pressure in Natal that gives rise to the acuteness of race feeling. Merely saying that it is a race feeling will not help our brethren. They look to us for more practical help, to stretch out the hand of fellowship which will enable them to stabilise their moral position, to concentrate their moral strength and to preserve the integrity of their ideals which bid them keep alive and undaunted the ideal of Indian heritage which is their own, be they colonial, coloured black or white in Africa.

The Kenya question is a more recent question, a more difficult question. Where there is any economic pressure, there is nothing but the greed of the white settlers who want to grab the whole of that beautiful, fertile and fruitful country and to create a black army of (against?) the peoples of Asia. I feel there too we have neglected our duty, there too we have been content with the agitation on platforms. We were outraged in our feelings because forsooth the Highlands were not given to Indians. We were outraged in our feelings, because they proposed segregation. We were outraged in our feelings, but so impressively that after speeches were made and after resolutions recorded not one of us has had the earnestness and honesty to pursue further with indignation and put it into practical effect. Kenya and South Africa, Mauritius, the Fiji or the Malay States,—the question remains the same, that colour prejudice is always there, that economic problem is always there, the disintegration of the people without a leader in the Colonies is always there. When Mahatma Gandhi left Africa he left fatherless children and leaderless people. For the last ten years these fatherless children have been groping and struggling in the dark, while we have been here. What have we done? We have got the South African mission or the Mass.....(unheard). So little have we concerned

ourselves with the responsibility of our citizenship, of our kinship: almost
 Second day, spectators were we because we could not take the trouble to shoulder so
 Indians their burdens and to give them that practical help which can go from
 Overseas alone. No more than that. Though we are helpless without Swaraj, if
 Srimathi are helpless to a large extent without Swaraj, can we not say no more of
 Sarojini Devi. ion of labour, we shall feed our own people? Now that Mahatma Gandhi
 given us the *mantra* whereby no famine shall lie in these lands, shall we not
 that, we must not send any cooks and clerks bound by an agreement to
 Africa every year? Let us send educated men and women that shall uplift
 status of the peoples who are called coolies from Mahatma Gandhi down to
 labourers who have built up Natal and who built up the wealth of the white
 men, and who, they say, have formed an Asiatic menace and therefore they
 must be repatriated. I said to General Smuts, I said to General Hertzog,
 "When you take your people back, then speak to me that you are taking my
 people back and not till then. (Hear, hear. Applause). Not even then shall
 my people be moved by force or fraud from this land where the bones of their
 fathers are testimony to the wealth of the white man. They have contributed
 to the wealth of the country by the sweat of the brow of the workers in your
 plantations, and still they have built up gold upon gold, victory upon victory,
 power upon power, to tyrannise over the hands that feed you." (Renewed
 applause).

Friends, are you in this Congress going out as messengers and ambas-
 sadors to help the people overseas? Or are you going to stop the emigration
 of labour abroad? Are you so unpatriotic that your brethren must go abroad
 in shame and in sorrow and eat the bread of slavery because you will not solve
 the economic problems of India? I ask you, in supporting this resolution, in
 expressing your indignation, in condemning all these things, to put forth your
 energy in removing the handicap upon our brethren abroad which deprives them
 of citizenship, of equal chances and of equal contribution to the civilisation of
 the Colonies. I ask you also to make it possible so that having won Swaraj
 by the strength of our united action we shall dare to lay down a law to the
 Government of the Colonies and say, "At your own peril shall you touch the
 hair of my brother and only at your own risk shall you dare to challenge the
 manhood of the Indian race." (Hear, hear. Loud and continued applause).

Shriji R. K.
 Shanmukham
 Chettiar.

Shriji R. K. SHANMUKHAM CHETTIAR, Madras, in seconding the reso-
 lution, said:—

Mahatmaji, Brother and Sister Delegates!

I have very great pleasure in seconding the resolution that has been so
 eloquently and ably placed before you, and in so doing, I do not think it neces-
 sary for me to recount to you the history of how and when the slave trade was

abolished. Indians were taken to South Africa in thousands under the more servile system of indenture, and now when that indenture was over the Indian settler there was so restricted, ostracised and ill-treated that life in that country has become one long series of humiliation and degradation to our countrymen. When we speak of Swaraj as our birthright and when we put forward our demand for Self-Government, our so-called critics taunt us with our social disabilities. They point to us the problem of untouchability about which we have passed a resolution to day: and we are asked, 'when you have got millions of human beings who go in the name of untouchables, how dare you ask Swaraj: and how dare you ask for equal treatment to your countrymen abroad'? But is it ever realised that these very people who taunt us with our social disabilities have made the whole Indian Nation untouchables in the British Empire? When we put forward the demand for equality of freedom to the Indian settlers and press their claim for fair treatment, it is pointed out by Colonial statesmen and ratified by the Imperial Government that the problem of the Indian settler is not a racial problem but it is purely an economic problem. Apart from the fact whether the treatment meted out to the Indian settlers can be justified even on economic grounds, let us try to understand whether in the every day life of South Africa the real crux of the whole matter is not racial arrogance and racial prejudice.

Second day,

Indians
Overseas

Shriji R. K.
Shanmukham
Chettiar.

We are told that not long ago when the Robertson Commission was sent out by the Government of India and when Mr. Sen, one of the Indian members of that Commission went to Durban, he had to stay for some time in a boat, because no hotel would give accommodation to Indians there. We were told how after the persuasion of Sir Benjamin Robertson that Mr. Sen was taken into that forbidden hotel: and even then only on condition that he could have his meals in his own room and that he should not be allowed into the common dining hall. When this treatment was meted to a respectable Indian, do we not realise that it is due to racial arrogance and racial pride? It is unnecessary for me to discuss the theoretical right of the citizens of the Empire to go and settle and live on terms of equality in any part of the Empire that they choose. But it must certainly be conceded that the vested interests and the elementary rights of the people who have already settled in those parts must be safeguarded. The Indians in Transwal have enjoyed the franchise from the year 1875. Not long ago a private member brought a Bill in the Provincial Legislative Council of Natal to take away even the Municipal Franchise enjoyed by the Indians in Natal, but the Governor-General withheld his assent. To-day we get the melancholy news that once again the bill has been introduced and passed and that the bill has received the assent of the Governor-General of South Africa. And what has the Imperial Government done? What have they, the custodians of the interests of the Indian settler, done?

Second day, Indians Overseas
 Shrijiit N. K. Shanmukham Chettair.

What have they the trustees of the British Empire done to redress this grievance? Even if the non-interference of the British Government in this matter can be excused on the ground that it is purely a domestic question, how for a moment can we excuse them for the great betrayal that they have shown in the matter of Kenya?

Mr. Andrews in his "Experiences of South Africa" has told you how the Japanese are treated with great respect in South Africa. It is not merely a question of Asiatic *versus* European. A Japanese is respected because he has behind him the support of a great self governing nation. If, therefore, you go to the crux of the question, it comes to this: because the Indian settler overseas cannot count on the support of a self-governing people, his demands are ignored and he is ill-treated. Very rightly therefore this resolution says that until we get Swaraj we are not able to offer effective help to our brethren overseas. You have no doubt read the proceedings of the Imperial Conference and you know the attitude taken up by General Smuts to the demands of our representatives. I ask you to consider whether General Smuts, that superman of the Empire would have dared to treat our demands like that if he were conscious that the demand was backed by the united voice of a self-respecting and self-governing nation.

So long as we have to struggle even to hold our own in our country we cannot effectively help our countrymen abroad in their struggle. After the experience of the last great war the West has been thinking of the moral equivalent of war, of the moral substitute for war. To-day on the Indian soil under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi that great moral fight is being fought out, and we feel confident that with the Almighty's help we will come out successful in that struggle and establish Swaraj in our country; and then we can vindicate, and vindicate successfully the honour of our countrymen overseas. (cheers.)

THE PRESIDENT:—Those who are in favour of this resolution, please raise up your hands; no one against? The resolution is carried.

The President next speaking in Hindi as follows permitted a Panchama to speak for two minutes.

“भाइयो, मैं दूसरा प्रस्ताव आपके आगे रखूँ इसके आगे मुझे एक प्रायश्चित्त करना पड़ेगा। जब यह अस्पृश्यता निवारण का प्रस्ताव रखा गया था उस वक्त मैं जानता था कि मैं एक अस्पृश्य भाई को आपके सामने रखूँगा—मेरे पास एक चींठी आयी थी—उसमें लिखा था कि एक अस्पृश्य भाई जो प्रतिनिधि नहीं है एक दो लफ्ज़ बोलना चाहते हैं। मैं चाहता था कि प्रतिनिधि नहीं है तो भी अछूत भाई के

नाते इजाजत देना अच्छा है। इसलिये मैं चाहता था कि उनको बुला दें—लेकिन मैं मूढ़ गया। इसका प्रायश्चित्त यही है कि माफी माँगता हूँ—लेकिन अच्छा है कि समय पर याद आगया है—

Second day,

Indians
Overseas

Syt V. KOORMAYYA (Andhra) spoke in Telugu to the following purport :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen !

You know that Mahatma Gandhi has repeatedly drawn your attention with regard to the uplift of us the Panchamas and with regard to the removal of untouchability. He has also several times published his articles in "Young India" about this. This untouchability should be removed. Unless it is removed we cannot approach you and join with you and take part in your endeavours. This is an obstruction in our advancement. I pray that you all obey Mahatma Gandhi and act up to what he says.

THE PRESIDENT:— Now, before I proceed to the other resolutions I have to announce to you that Dr. Besant feels that she must make a statement before this House in connection with the resolution we passed yesterday. I do not wish to anticipate what the illustrious lady has got to say. But I think, I voice the feelings of this House when I tender my congratulations to her for gracing this pandal with her presence. Whether she and her devoted followers are able to remain in the Congress or not, I may hope that we will always have her sympathy and moral support with us. I now request Dr Besant to make her statement. The President

Dr ANNIE BESANT, the Ex-President of the Congress who was received by the President with great courtesy and respect, and who was accorded by the assembly an enthusiastic ovation, said :—

Dr. Besant's
Statement.

Friends !

By the courtesy of your President, I am allowed to say to you a few words before you finish your meeting ; and I would ask you, if you think it right, to think them over in your coming year, so that you may open the doors of the Congress to all the political parties in India. We shall have, by the arrangement of the Unity Conference in Bombay, a meeting on January 23rd to consider there the scheme for the establishment of Swaraj. I feel, perhaps as an Ex-President of the Congress, a little jealous for the Congress, that some other Conference of all parties should be called together, while in the Congress there are some political parties, who find themselves, shut out. (No, no !). Now, I do not believe that any one of you desires to shut out any political party from working with you for the freedom of India. India is too mighty to refuse the services of any of her children who desire to make her once more the ruler in her own household, and to crown her with the crown of her freedom in this, her opti-

Second day,
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ment. You may say to me: "You are not an Indian, you don't share our birth." No. It is true that I am not an Indian born, but if you are a free Nation and have the right of giving naturalisation, then I should be a naturalised Indian as I am now one by my own adoption; (hear, hear, applause) and so, because I love the land so truly beyond any other land on earth, because I deem it the privilege of my life to be allowed to work among her children to win freedom for Bharatha Mata, therefore, I would plead to you to allow us, though we do not agree with you in everything, to work with you for the common birthright of freedom for the motherland. I have no right and I am not going to reopen in this Congress the resolution that you have passed; but I would ask you during the coming year to think it over, and at your next Congress, at least, to throw your doors of welcome wide open to every political party in India that is working for Swaraj. And because I hope to see that, let me tell you very shortly why it is that some of us feel that you have not opened the doors wide enough to admit us.

You have the party of liberals here, to which I have never belonged and do not belong, but I know—for I work with them—that they have men among them who love India as truly as any one of you, and would do honour to India in any country in the world. They are shut out by this resolution you have passed. They cannot, or they will not, spin. They want that point. I do not feel it a principle. I promised your President that I would spin half an hour every morning, and I have done it, (Cheers). I have no prejudice against spinning, (hear, hear), and when he said to me it would encourage some of the poor, I gladly said; "I will give half an hour to spinning, but I cannot pledge myself to spin two thousand yards of yarn every month." I cannot work at that rate; and I won't buy a substitute, for I think that is not fair spinning and that is not contributing the work of your own hands. I do not like it; to me it is an evasion though, I am sure, not to many of you. I ask you not to make that an essential, next year, of taking part in your deliberations, and far more I ask you that every political party shall be equal in the Congress of the Nation. (Hear, hear). I do not think that it is an unfair claim. It was the policy of the Congress for all the years before this one. Always every political organisation sent its members to the Congress, and all stood on one equal platform, and they enriched the Congress of their days. They did not weaken it in the face of the world. But as long as Liberals, Moderates, National Home Rulers, are all shut out, because they say; "We do not agree with one party only in the Legislatures", it must weaken it. Men of all parties there are in the legislatures to-day—aren't they? Every party has members in those Councils and why should they be put at a disadvantage by allowing only one party to speak in the name of the Congress? Far better, I submit, to allow them to say what they believe to be best; and let us all meet here, as we

had met so many years, differing intellectually, differing in some of our opinions, but united by one love for the common Motherland; and so, now that you have thought it right to make that door in that way partly open, it may be that before next year all political parties here shall join in equal brotherhood and equal right of opinion.

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To me freedom of speech, freedom of expression, is so vital a part in a country's life, that even for my worst enemy I would claim freedom of speech, for, I believe in the old words that 'Truth only conquers and not falsehood'. Let those who come say what they believe; let every one who discusses come and put his case before you; and then the whole country can speak to Britain and say with one voice: "We demand Swaraj". That has been my dream for years. I have been working for it, I have been striving for it, not only here but in other lands as well. I pray to you to think the matter over. I do not ask more, but I do want that when we go and say that Indians have made their own Constitution and they present it for Imperial sanction next year to Parliament,—when that comes, as come it will, for all the forces of righteousness are fighting for India's freedom to-day, I pray you that it may not lie in the mouth of any nation to say when that bill comes, "you have not got the Congress with you and the Congress is the National institution of India." You cannot be National while you shut out any party. You cannot be national while only one party may speak for you in the Councils of the Nation; and it is because I felt that so strongly that I ventured to ask your President to allow us all who do not agree with the Swaraj Party to come here as members of the Congress, without deserting our own beliefs, and then we shall be like the "bundle of sticks". There are many in the bundle, each weak by itself, but tie them together with the string of the Congress, and no power in Heaven or on earth shall be able to break that bundle of men determined to be free. (Loud Cheers).

The PRESIDENT:—Friends, you have heard the statement that Dr. Besant has made. You will not expect me to make any remarks upon that statement. Dr. Besant has not made the statement, as I know, in order that she may have reply just now. She has made that statement from a sense of duty so that her silence might not be construed into meaning that we had her assent to the resolution that we passed yesterday. But I hope I may give her the assurance of this Congress that all that she has said will command our respectful attention and that no stone will be left unturned by this Congress or Congressmen and Congress women to open the door wide, as wide as is humanly possible, for the entrance of every party that has the interest of India at heart and every party whose goal is Swaraj for India. With these words I close this incident, repeating my request to Dr. Besant that, whether she and other parties are able to join the Congress or not, the Congress will always expect her and every

The President.

Second day, party's sympathy and support in anything and everything that may commend itself to their attention. (Hear, hear).

Congratulations to Akalis

I now call upon Mr. Prakasam to move the Akali resolution.

Sjt T. Prakasam said :—

Shriyut T. PRAKASEHAM (Andhra), Madras, who rose amidst cheers,

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:—

The resolution which I place before you runs as follows :—

"The Congress congratulates the Akalis on their patience, endurance and courage with which they are carrying on their struggle for Gurudwar reform and hopes that these qualities of theirs will withstand and survive the insidious attempts now being made by the Punjab Government to crush the spirit of the brave Akalis."

"The Congress views with horror and indignation the report of over one hundred deaths among the Akali prisoners in Nabha Jail and expresses its strongest disapproval of the refusal of the Nabha authorities to permit the Akali Repression Enquiry Committee appointed by the Congress Working Committee, to visit the jail."

The Congress is of opinion that the phenomenal mortality among the prisoners is proof of the inhuman conduct of the authorities towards the prisoners.

The Congress tenders its respectful sympathy to the bereaved families."

(The above resolution was also translated into Hindi and Canarese.)

Proceeding the speaker said :—

Friends, the Akali brothers are now passing through the fourth phase of repression in the Punjab. You are all aware that during the last four years along with the movement of Non-co-operation and the new awakening in our country the Akali brothers were progressing side by side though not in their political activity but in their activity for securing religious freedom. The first phase of repression was in connection with the keys of the Golden Temple of which you are all familiar. You know how by accepting the message of non-violence and the message of Non-co-operation of Mahatma Gandhi they started civil disobedience with regard to the management of the Golden Temple and the keys of the temple that were in the hands of the manager appointed by the official Deputy Commissioner. They succeeded, after sending about 300 of themselves to prison, in forcing the keys out of the hands of the Government into their own hands.

The second phase of repression was what was called the Spring Repression. And that was connected with the imprisonment of about 200 members of the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee who are also members of the political bodies in the Punjab. Second day,
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The third was in connection with the historic Gurukabagh struggle. The present repression is the fourth one through which they are passing now and that was started on the 13th September 1923—when, after the deposition of the Maharaja of Nabha, the pilgrimage of the Akalis to the Gurudwaras in Jaito was interrupted and the *Akhand Path* itself was interrupted. The challenge was taken up by them. Then they started Civil Disobedience by sending Jathas, each of 24 people. Eight thousand Akalis had been to the jail on that account alone. Those that were arrested were kept in confinement for two or three days in a place and then they were taken away into some distant deserts near Delhi and were left there without food, provisions or clothing. Sjt. T. Praka-
sham.

After sending to jail 8000 they gave a shift to their programme; they stopped the daily jathas of 24 and substituted the Sabidi Jatha of 500. You remember how the first Jatha of 500 had to face the rain of bullets as they entered into the State and how the survivors had marched on the bodies of those who had been killed singing their holy songs until they reached their temple. Thus there had been twelve Jathas making a total of six thousand persons. The thirteenth Jatha started on the 15th December, which will be reaching some day, perhaps it may have reached now. Altogether you will find fourteen thousand arrested in Nabha State.

What is the position of these people who have been arrested? Where have they been imprisoned? What is their food and clothing? What is the treatment accorded to the sick? The food was very bad, the clothing scanty, and almost nothing, and the sick were treated very indifferently. The result was that 110 persons died in jail on account of the criminal negligence of the authorities (shame, shame). That is the result, that is the thing that has been referred to in this resolution.

Now, just follow what happened after this event. This was started on the 13th of September, I told you. Hardly a month had passed when on the 13th of October 1923, they raided the Office of the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee, arrested all the members of the Executive Committee and the whole of the clerical staff. A notification was issued the next day, on the 14th of October 1923, declaring the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee the representative religious institution of the Akalis, an "unlawful association". They declared the Akali Dal also an "unlawful association". Again the Akalis accepted the challenge of the Government at once. A general meeting of the Akalis was held: a new Executive Committee was appointed: they wore badges on their shoulders proclaiming in bold letters that each and every one

Second day, of them was a member of the "unlawful association", and marched through the streets of Amritsar: similar processions were conducted throughout the Province on the largest possible scale defying the Government.

Congratulations to Akalis

Sjt. T. Prakasham.

Friends, it so happened that some of us were present in Amritsar when this was going on. So some of us joined as members of that unlawful association: and marched with the Akalis in a procession to the Golden Temple but nothing would induce the Government to touch any of these who have openly defied. Any reasonable Government with a conscience would have accepted the defeat on their part. But this is a Government which would not move, which would not change. (At this stage the President left his seat in the rostrum asking the speaker to continue until he returned). I am asked to continue till the President comes. Certainly I can engage you because the story is rather a long one. (smiles) What happened after this? They picked about 1,500 important workers of the Akalis on some pretext or other and they were prosecuted under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prof. Gidwani also were arrested. Mr. Gidwani is now rotting in the jail there, and Mrs Gidwani has not been able to go to him and attend to his wants. We have not considered and we are not considering in the least to-day how and in what manner Prof. Gidwani could be brought out of jail.

We have become powerless and we have been writing down here that Non-co-operation is suspended. The boycotts have been suspended, but I tell you, friends, we may suspend these resolutions but Non-co-operation will never be suspended in this country of ours. (Hear, hear). Well, is it not an irony of fate that we are passing these resolutions here to-day while Non-co-operation and civil disobedience on a systematic scale are being carried on by our Akali brethren there? Where is Non-co-operation suspended? The Indian National Congress represents all the people in India. If 14 lakhs of Sikh population are to-day carrying on the Non-violent Non-co-operation,—no doubt, it is with regard to religious freedom it is carried on in a perfect and legitimate manner—what does it matter whether we have passed this resolution or not? You will note that the Mirasidars of Tanjore and Trichonopoly were carrying on non-violent non-co-operation on the largest scale with regard to the non-payment of taxes. (Hear, hear). So I say this non-co-operation, this nonviolent move, has been accepted by the people. Whatever you may be doing here they are carrying it on there: it is going on.

There came again the Bhai Peru struggle. It is the same as that of Gurukabagh. While the Akalis attempted to cut the wood from the trees for the Guru's kitchen they were arrested as at Gurukabagh. This was another challenge thrown into their face, which they accepted and started Jathas of 24 each. Those Jathas went on until 5000 people had been arrested.

Now the chief aim of the Government is to break the back of the Akali movement. The organisations of the Akalis have been so perfect, their village organisations have been so complete, but for that they would not have been able to find the response in the manner in which it has been forthcoming. What has been the result? The result has been that the response came not only from Bengal, from the United Provinces, from the Central Provinces but also from Canada. A special jatha marched from Canada to India. (Hear). And you will remember how this Jatha received the blessings of Mahatma Gandhi at Delhi on their march to the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee. That Jatha is now waiting for orders to march to Jaito. Village organisations of the Akalis should be broken, that is the aim of the Government. What is the attempt, which the Government is making to break up these organisations?

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tions to AkalisSjt. T. Praka-
sham.

The methods adopted in the Punjab against the Akalis are not new. We had gone through all these methods in the Guntur District, and in the Godavari District, during 1921 and 1922. I shall tell you now how the village organisations have been broken up. Notifications are issued that no man should pay any contribution by way of money or by way of articles to those associations. But this is disregarded by the people.

The second method is the posting of punitive police in the villages and compelling them to pay the cost

The third method is by prohibition of the supply of provisions and supply of food to these jathas as they march from the Golden Temple to their destination.

The fourth method adopted by notification is that no pension would be given, that the lands would be forfeited, that the *Jahagirs*, the *Zamindaris* would be taken away and alienated to others, if any support was given to the Akalis. Seven hundred Talukdars and Amaldars have been dismissed from service for sympathising with the Akali movement or rendering any assistance to them.

Well, Sir, side by side with all this, attacks were made on newspapers and the press also. The Akali Publicity Bureau was more prompt than that of the Government. With a view to stop that publicity work, orders were passed prohibiting the publication of the communications issued by the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee in newspapers in the Punjab. Although all other papers refrained from doing it, the Akali papers continued to do it. The papers could not be suppressed under the new laws. But the editors were dealt with: the Akali paper alone contributed 23 editors to jail. Of them five were sent to jail after the notification of October 23. Several other papers were there which sent their quota to the jail.

And lastly, attempt was made by starting Sudhar Committees by way of counter-propaganda in the villages. These Committees correspond to, what are known as, Loyalist Committees which were organised in our parts of the country to combat Non-co-operation. They wanted to create factions and hostilities in the Akali ranks. When a question was put to the Governor of the Punjab, it was admitted that the Officials were permitted to assist these Sudhar Committees. The Akalis are continuing their struggle in a most remarkable manner and that struggle is going on and will go on. You see the object of the Government is to break the back and the spirit of the Akalis so that all of us or any of us would never think of non-co-operation movement once again.

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Sjt T. Prakasham.

In that way we are closely connected with the Akali movement. Although our support will not be wanted by our Akali brethren by way of men, yet they want advice and money from us. Advice would be abundantly forthcoming, because Mahatma Gandhi is always at their disposal. As regards money, Sirdar Mangal Singh has opened a subscription list to-day of Re. 1 fund. Before you go away, if you have any spare money, instead of throwing it away to some shops, I would request you to put something in his hands. I heartily commend this proposition to you (Cheers).

Sirdar Mangal Singh.

SIRDAR MANGAL SINGH who next came to second the resolution, said, "Mahatmaji, fellow-delegates, and sisters and brothers!", Then there were continuous cries of "Hindi" and "English" from among the audience. He then proceeded to speak in Hindi, as follows:—

प्यारे भाइयो, मुझे इस प्रस्ताव का अनुमोदन करने के लिए बहुत खुशी है। आप को याद होगा कि ४ साल से लगातार एक छोटीसी कौम पर उस गवर्नमेंट की तरफसे जुल्म हो रहा है जो दुनिया में सब से जबरदस्त कही जाती है। आपको मालूम है कि किस तरह नानकाना साहब में ३३ साल पहले हम को जिन्दा जलाया गया, काटा गया, और तेल डालकर फुंका गया! [सहानुभूति ध्वनि] १९२१ में साल के अखीर में सिविल डिसेम्बियन्स का झंडा खड़ा किया था—उसी दिन महंत सरदार साहब की चाभी छीनकर गवर्नमेंट ने चैलेंज दिया। जिसका जबाब दिये बिना सिख कौम न रह सकी—फिर ऐसा जबाब हुआ कि फिर गुरुद्वारा प्रबंधक कमेटी के चरणों में चाभी फेंक दी।

आप जानते हैं कि गुरुद्वारा में जत्थे के बाद जत्थे जाते थे और जो चांट होती थी पुलिस की तरफ से उस को सहते थे। मैं उन्हें की डिटेल् में नहीं जाता। मेरे भाई ने कहा है। सिर्फ दो तीन बातें बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि क्या जुल्म हो रहे है। भाइयो, आपको याद होगा कि पिछले साल अक्टोबर १९२३ में शिरोमणि गुरुद्वारा कमेटी और शिरोमणि अकाळी दल यह दोनों नुमायिन्दे हैं, यह दोनों सिख धर्म

मानते हैं। इस को गवर्नमेंट ने फर्मान निकाल कर गैर कानूनी कर दिया। यह चैलेंज था सिखों को, यह चैलेंज था तमाम हिन्दूस्तान को। हरेक लार्ड वार्शिप पर हम ठा था। उस पर जो सिखों ने मंजूर कर दिया था, हमारे भाइयो, वह पेश करना चाहता हूँ। भाइयो, उस वक्तसे लेकर हमारे ऊपर बराबर जुल्म हो रहा है। खास कर खुशी की जगह यह है कि जितनी गवर्नमेंट सख्ती करती रही है उस ने हर तरह के जुल्म किये मगर जगह नहीं छोडा। गवर्नमेंट सब कुछ कर रही है मगर ऐसा नहीं मालूम होने देती कि दुनियामें कहीं अपील की जाय। गाँवमें इतना जुल्म होता है-बच्चों के कपडे निलाम होते हैं, खाना नहीं मिलता-हम इनको नहीं जानते। जो शहरोंमें हम रहते है गाँव में का हाल नहीं जानते। जो बाहर इस को सुनते हैं वहां भी उतना ही जुल्म होता है-- और अगर कोई शिरोमणी गुरुद्वारका हाल छापे तो उस पर भी जुल्म होगा। इसतरह अगर कोई उनकी मदद करता तो जेल भेजा जाता। इसीतरह जो थके हुए भाई को रोटी पानी देता उसकी भी सजा होती है--तो यह है जुल्म।

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lations to AkalisSirdar
Mangal Singh.

भाइयो, इस में भारतभरको मिलनाचाहिये। रंजका मुकाम है कि हम थोडे अकाली हैं-पंजाब की अवादीका कुल आठवां हिस्सा हैं। फिरभी इस छोटी कौमने २२ हजार पहले साल जेल में भेजदिया है। इसकी खास ऐसोक्ट यह है कि जब अकाली कैद से नहीं डरते तो हरेक पर जुर्माना करदिया जाता है कि उसके बच्चे और स्त्री को भूख माराजाय। इसतरह ११ लाख तक जुर्माना पहुँच गया है।

हमारी तमाम आवादी गाँवों में है--गाँववालों को डराने के लिये, डरपोक करनेके लिये, पुलिस जकडे बैठे हुई है और उनलोगों पर आमदनी से ज्यादा रुपया लगया जाता है, टैक्स। इसतरह गवर्नमेण्ट हरतरह से हमको कुचल रही है। श्रीनानकानासाहब में यह कहना है कि सिख पंजाब में अपना राजकायम करते ह--यह इसलिये कहा जाता है कि इनलोगों को अलग करके मारदिया जाय और कोई उनकी फर्याद भी न सुने।

भाइयो, बावजूद इन सख्तियों के सिख जो मदद शिरोमणी गुरुद्वारा की करते हैं मैं खुदा को हाजिरोनाजिर जानकर कहसकता हूँ कि जो मदद शिरोमणी कमेटी की यानी सिखों की ओर से गुरुद्वारका प्रबन्ध खुद करनेके लिये, देते हैं वैसी किसी वारे में वे नहीं दे सकते। इस वक्त तक २२ हजार आदमी जेल में जा चुके हैं, इस वक्त भी आप जानते हैं कि वह जहां जहां भी हैं, अकाली वहां से जाथे बना बनाकर आरहे हैं। अभी अभी की बात है कि कनाडासे एक जत्था आया है--एक जत्था यूनाइटेडस्टेटसे, कलकत्ते से और जहां भी है सब जगहसे अपनी जर जादाद छोडकर कुर्बानीकरने आरहे हैं।

लेकिन भाइयो, एक और बातकी तरफ ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि अकाली
 Second day, इस बातके लिये लड़ते हैं कि गुफद्वारा एक की जादाद न बने वल्कि सबकी है-यह
 Congratulations to Akalis सिर्फ़ सीधीसी बात है मगर इस में दो फ़र्क है, गैर नज़र बात है जिनको नज़र
 Sirdar अन्दाज नहीं करसकता-- अकाली इसी वसूल पर लड़ते हैं कि हरेक पोलिटिकल
 Mangal Singh. कश्चन में लोगों की आवज़ मिलजानी चाहिये - वह भी इसी वसूल पर लड़ते है। वह
 यह दिखलाना चाहता है कि गवर्नमेण्ट लोगों के खिलाफ़ काम धोखेबाजीसे नहीं कर
 सकती। दूसरे अकाली मूवमेण्टका कांग्रेस के साथ कई तालुक है। इसका कारण
 यह है कि अकाली का मुकाबिला जिस ताकत से है उसीसे हमारी कांग्रेसका। जो
 कांग्रेसने सोचा है वही अकालियों ने सोचा है। जो खदर प्रोग्राम काँस्ट्रक्टिव वर्क
 कांग्रेस का है खदर डेलीगेट के बारे में शर्त है वह सब गाँवों में जाकर हमारे देहें
 अमली हो चुकी है।

सारी बात यह है कि स्वराजके मूवमेण्ट को दिखाने में क्या बात है ? सिर्फ़ यह
 है कि लोगों की ताकत को बढ़ाकर गवर्नमेण्ट की ताकत कम करदेना चाहते हैं।
 अकालियोंने इतनी दफ़ा गवर्नमेण्ट के साथ लड़ाई की है--उन्होंने लड़ाई जीतकर गव-
 र्नमेण्ट की प्रेस्टीज को खाक में मिलादिया है--यह गवर्नमेण्ट को हिला देना और लोगों
 की ताकत को बढ़ा देना स्वराज का काम है।

दूसरा हिस्सा यह कहना चाहता हूँ--हजार आदमी बिना वारंट के लियेजा चुके
 हैं ? हजार और भी जानेवाले हैं। इनको ऐसे रखाजाता है कि ११० आदमी स्वर्ग
 वास हो चुके हैं। हमारे पास इसके लिये सबूत मौजूद है हम अखबारों में दे चुके
 हैं कोई एक्स्ट्राफ़ नहीं हुआ। जब इजाज़त मांगी, देखने गये तो हुकुम हुआ
 नहीं आसकते।

एक बात और यह कहूंगा कि आप सिर्फ़ यह प्रस्ताव पास कर के अपना काम
 समाप्त नहीं करेंगे। आपके सामने अकालियों पर जो जुल्म हो रहे हैं उन पर ख्याल
 करेंगे। ”

The President ruled out of order when an amendment was handed over to
 him for being moved. He put the resolution to vote saying "Those who are
 in favour of the resolution, please raise your hands. Those against, The re-
 solution is carried."

The President. The President next moved the following resolutions one by one and put
 each to vote and declared each carried. The resolutions were read by Pandit
 Jawahar Lal Nehru in English, by Svt. Mudvedkar in Canarese, and by Pandit
 Sundar Lal in Hindi.

**RESOLUTION X.
NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.**

Second day,

The Congress is strongly of opinion that the hope of the future of the country lies in its youth and therefore trusts that the Provincial Committees will strive more vigorously than they have done to keep alive all national educational institutions. But whilst the Congress is of opinion that existing national educational institutions should be maintained and new ones opened, the Congress does not regard any such institution to be national which does not employ some Indian language as the medium of instruction, and which does not actively encourage Hindu-Moslem unity, education among untouchables and removal of untouchability, which does not make handspinning, carding, and training in physical culture and self-defence obligatory, and in which teachers and students over the age of 12 years do not spin for at least half an hour per working day and in which students and teachers do not habitually wear Khaddar.

**RESOLUTION XI.
PAID NATIONAL SERVICE.**

Whereas it has been discovered that many otherwise deserving men are unobtainable for national service because of their reluctance to accept remuneration for service, the Congress places on record its opinion that there is not only nothing derogatory to one's dignity in accepting remuneration for national service, but the Congress hopes that patriotic young men and women will regard it as an honour to accept maintenance for service faithfully rendered and that those needing or those willing to do service will prefer national to any other service.

**RESOLUTION XII.
CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION.**

In Article XI "Rs. 10 to be altered to Re. 1".

In Article XXIII, add after the first sentence ending with the word "Congress" :—

The Treasurers shall be in charge of the funds of the Congress and shall keep proper accounts of them. The General Secretaries shall be in charge of the Office of the All India Congress Committee and shall be responsible for the publication of the report of the proceedings of the preceding session of the Congress and of any special session held in the course of the year, in co-operation with the Reception Committee. Such report shall be published as soon as possible and not later than four months after the session, and shall be offered for sale.

Add at the end of Article XXIII, "and published along with the next Congress report".

RESOLUTION XIII.
DRINK & OPIUM TRAFFIC.

Second day

Other Resolutions

The President.

The Congress notes with satisfaction that notwithstanding the setback suffered by the campaign against the use of intoxicating drinks and drugs initiated in 1921, Congress workers in several parts of the country have continued it with vigour and determination. The Congress hopes that the peaceful endeavours of workers to wean those who are addicted to the drink or the opium habit from the curse will receive further and greater strength and encouragement than hitherto.

The Congress is of opinion that the policy of the Government of India in using the drink and drug habit of the people as a source of revenue is detrimental to the moral welfare of the people of India and would therefore welcome its abolition.

The Congress is further of opinion that the regulation by the Government of India of the opium traffic is detrimental not only to the moral welfare of India but of the whole world, and that the cultivation of opium in India which is out of all proportion to medical and scientific requirements should be restricted to such requirements.

RESOLUTIONS XIV.
OFFICE-BEARERS.

The President moved the following resolution regarding the election of office-bearers, making a speech in Hindi as follows :—

अब सिर्फ दो बातें छुटी हैं जो हमेशा करनी पड़ती हैं—एक जनरल सेक्रेटरी और ट्रेज़रर का चुनाव करना रहा है और कांग्रेस आगे कहीं मिलनी चाहिये। इस पर कि कहां मिलनी चाहिये—यह मुनासिब है कि इस को ऑल इण्डिया कांग्रेस कमेटी के सिफ्ट कर दिया जाय, ऐसा ही गतवर्ष हुआ था। खजांची वही है। और जनरल सेक्रेटरी एक पंडित जवाहिरलाल और दूसरे कुरेशी, और तिसरे मिस्टर भख्खा। पहले एक थे डाक्टर किबल्लू दूसरे बाबू राजेंद्र प्रसाद को कहा गया। बाबू राजेंद्र प्रसाद जो हरेक काम करते हैं, वह सारा वक्त नहीं दे सकते—जो सिर्फ हमारा काम करें। ऐसे दो नये सेक्रेटरी की बात जाती है। कल सबजेक्टस कमेटी में इस बारे में बड़ी बहस हुई थी और जितने भाई थे उनसे मेरी बात होती रही थी और आखिर में यह मुकरर हुआ कि इस वर्ष में और आगामी वर्ष में मैं प्रेसिडेंट रहूंगा तो मुझे काम में मदद देने वाले ही मेरे मंत्री नियुक्त किये जायें। और कई भाई स्वराज वादी और नफेरवादी मिल गये हैं इस लिये बर्किङ्ग सेक्रेटरी में शामिल किये जायें तो क्या हो। यह

मुझे भी अच्छा लगा—और मैं इस में एक क्या सभी के सभी लेने को तैयार हूँ—लेकिन इस में एक शर्त होनी चाहिये कि सारे नेशन का प्रोग्राम एक है, आप भी एक है—सारा नेशनल प्रोग्राम एक है, अस्पृश्यता निवारण, चरखा, मदिरा निवारण एक है—इन को देख कर मैंने कहा कि कोई कडर खदर में विश्वास रखने वाला हो जितना मैं हूँ, जैसा मेरा विश्वास है तो ऐसे स्वराज वादी को मैं चाहता हूँ क्यों कि उन के मार्फत जितने स्वराज वादी हैं उन को शुद्ध कर लुंगा, जहां वे मेरा साथ करेंगे हम मिल गये।

Second day,

Other Resolutions

The President.

हम मिल कर चलना चाहते तो—इस तरह यह सब बातें होतीं रहीं। कोई नजर नहीं आया।

यह दो नाम नाफेरवादी हैं यह जरूरी नहीं—कुछ मैं भी जानता हूँ वह कहता हूँ शेष कुरेशी को मैं जानता हूँ वह एक बड़े पके मुसलमान हैं—पर वह मुसलमान हैं इस लिये मैंने उनको नहीं लिया है। मैं चाहता हूँ सेक्रेटरी से सारा वक्त इस काम में लेना। इस लिये मैंने शौकत अली साहब से पूछा लिया अगर शेष साहब पूरा वक्त दे दें तो मैं उन को चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने कबूल कर लिया। वह ऐसे हैं कि एक प्रतिज्ञा कर लेते हैं तो उसे करते हैं। उन को खदर से मुहम्बत है यह भी मैं जानता हूँ।

भरूचा पागल आदमी है मैं। भी पागल आदमी हूँ। मुझे इनसे ठीक बनेगी (हास्य चानि)। भरूचासे मुझे वह काम सीखना पड़ेगा कि कंधे पर खदर लेकर जाना और बेचना। इसमें वह स्पेरिलिस्ट बन गया है। हम तो सारे देश में खदर पहचाना चाहते हैं। उसके बेचने के लिये एक भरूचा नहीं सैकड़ों भरूचा चाहिये। भरूचा लाला हराकिसन लाल के पास गया, दूसरों के पास गया और खदर दिया, लोग गाली दे दें लेकिन बूग नहीं मानता—आज ऐसे ही सेक्रेटरी चाहिये कि जो गाली देने पर भी खदर बेचने के लिये जाय—खदर के लिये हरतरह का अपमान वर्दाश्त करलें। इस लिये मैंने दोनों को पन्सद कर लिया। लेकिन मैंने चुन लिया अब अख्तियार आपको है सबजेक्टस कमेटीने तो मंजूर कर दिया है। लेकिन कांग्रेस कॉन्स्टिट्यूशन के मुताबिक आप की राय चाहिये। जो भाई इसको मंजूर करते हैं वह आपनी राय जाहिर करें—“खजानची के लिये कुछ कहने की जरूरत नहीं है, आप पन्सद करते हैं तो कहें।

He read the following resolution and put it to vote and declared it carried.

Resolved that the following office-bearers be appointed.

General Secretaries.—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Shuib Qureshi and Barjorji Framji Barucha.

Treasurers.—Seth Revashanker Jagjivan Jhaveri and Seth Jambal
Second day, Bajaj.

Other Resolutions

RESOLUTION XV.
NEXT CONGRESS.

The President. Resolved that the venue of the next Congress be fixed by the All India Congress Committee.

RESOLUTION XVI.
AUDITORS.

Resolved that the appointment of auditors be made by the All India Congress Committee.

The President next spoke in Hindi announcing the results of the Spinning Competition and the programme of other meetings and conferences. The Hindi speech was as follows :—

अच्छा एक बात और ज़ाहिर कर देता हूँ—थोड़ी बात सुनाने की आगर्षा है—आप जानते हैं कि स्पिनिंग कम्पाटीशन हो रहा है—कई भाइयों ने स्वर्ण मेडल दिया था, कोई ने चांदी, इस तरह ११ मेडल हैं—११ मेडल किनको मिला है, कौन दिया है यह सुना देना चाहता हूँ। एक तो बिहार में सत्यनारायण सिंह, उनको पहले दर्जे का मिला है—६-मेडल गंगाजी सिडनीवाली ने दिया है। सत्यनारायण सिंहने एक घण्टे में ७६५ गज सूत काता है—बड़े क्रेडिट की बात है (प्रमोद ध्वनि)।

आन्ध्र में दूसरा मेडल चला गया है—कोरू कंडावेकम्बा को मिला—तीसरा भी आन्ध्र में श्रीनिवासचारी को चौथा माधू गुलाबी अम्बा तामील नाड में, विनाकीर सुन्दरम को ६वां मिला है—७वां श्रीमती तारामती अरुनसा ८वां रामकृष्ण शास्त्री, ९वां रामदेव ठाकुर, १०वां सुभान अली और, ११वां भां लक्ष्मी भाई अन्ता अंधरा में गया।

मुझे यह देखकर अफसोस होता है कि एक ही मुसलमान भाई ने लिया है—एक ज़माना था कि बारीक सूत कातनेवाली मुसलमान औरतें थीं लेकिन इसमें हमने यह भी देखा कि ११ में से चार मेडल बहिनों के हाथ में चला गया है बाकी भाइयों के हाथ में “एक भाईने लिखा है कि अस्युश्य भाई जो आगये थे, जिन्होंने ने बात सुनाई थी उनसे हाथ मिलाना चाहते हैं—वह दिल्ली के प्रतिनिधि हैं—जो भेंट करना चाहें करें—८ बजे स्टूडेंट्स क्लब और ऑलइण्डिया कांग्रेस कमेटी कल ११ बजे होगी—अब जिनका स्वर्गवास हो गया है उस में मौलाना सर साहब का भी जिक्र होना चाहिये। अभी मैं मौलाना मुहम्मद अली साहबसे पूछा कि उन का स्वर्गवास इस वक्त में नहीं हुआ—कोकोनाडा जलसा चला गया था तब हुआ—जलसे के पहले दिन हुआ था। जितने भाई आये हैं उनके लिये अफसोस ज़ाहिर करना काम है—अच्छा अब यह सब हो गया—

It was then 5 P. M. when the President closed the proceedings.

THE PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING ADDRESS.

Second day,

In bringing the proceedings of the session to a close the President delivered a most impassioned address first in Hindi and then in English. It was really a "heart-pouring" address and deeply moved the hearts of his hearers. He said in Hindi:—

The President's Concluding Address.

अब मैं आप भाइयों से इतना कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं आपका जितना अहसान मानूँ उतना कम है। मैं नहीं जानता कि कोई भी सभापति, कोई भी सदर जो मुहब्बत आपने मुझे बताया है उससे ज्यादा उम्मीद करसकता है। जो काम मैं आपके पास से लेना चाहता था वह तुरन्त आपने मुझे दे दिया। जब मैं ने कहा कि आप खामोश रहें आप खामोश रहे—जो व्याख्यान लेना चाहा सुन लिया—आपने लिखा व्याख्यान देना चाहते हैं मैं ने कहा क्षमा करें तो आपने वह व्याख्यान नहीं कहा। जिस तरह यहाँ आपने शान्तिसे, आवाज़ किये बिना काम किया है, राय दिया है उसी तरह सबजेक्टस् कमेट्री में भी कोई भी हरकत नहीं हुई। हकीकत तो यह है कि कोई हरकत की बात शुरू हुई जब चरखा का बम्ब आपके बीचमें फेंक दिया था, आपने कोई एतराज यहाँ नहीं किया, सबजेक्टस् कमेट्री में भी बड़ी अदबसे बर्ताव किया— इसके लिये मैं मानता हूँ कि कोई मेरा पूर्वजन्म का पुण्य होगा कि यह मेरे भाइयों की मेरे ऊपर दया है। मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि जो यह कृपा मेरे पर आपने बताई है भारत वर्ष पर बतावें क्यों कि मैं जिन्दा रहना चाहता हूँ तो भारत वर्ष के लिये, मरना चाहता हूँ तो भारत वर्ष के लिये— खुदा के हुकुम के बिना एक पत्ता भी नहीं हिलता। परंतु आख्तियार दिया है हरएक आदमी को कि खुदासे मांगे इसलिये जैसे एक बालक अपने पिता से मांग लेता है वैसे खुदासे मांगे कि बालक समझकर मांगता हूँ, दे दे। मैं तो यह भी देखता हूँ कि वह मुझ को जब मांगता हूँ दे भी देता है। जितना खुदाने नियत किया है वह मिट नहीं सकता।

इसलिये मेरी आप भाइयों से प्रार्थना है कि आप भारत वर्ष की सेवा के लिये कटिबद्ध हो जायँ और जो प्रतिज्ञा आपने ली है उसका पालन करें। मुझे मादूम है कि मैं ने सभापति का स्थान लिया और आप भाई बहिनों ने जो मुहब्बत बता दी। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सबके मुँह से बड़ाई सुनूँ—लेकिन इससे सिद्धांत नहीं हो सकता। सिद्धांत तब होगा जब आप जो प्रतिज्ञाकरँ उसके अनुसार काम करें। मैं यह नहीं मानता कि यह सब काम हमारी शक्तिसे बाहर है—३ काम जो करना चाहते है या ४, ५ विषय, उन में से कोई भी नहीं।

जब मैं भाई भापटकर का व्याख्यान सुन रहा था तो मुझे सानन्दोर्ध्वय हुआ जब उन्होंने कहा कि क्या आप हिन्दू का नाश करना चाहते हैं कि जो मनुष्य हैं

यह सब बात मैं जानता हूँ कि दो बातें साथ साथ नहीं कर सकते। एक साथ का नाम ले और असल करो। अगर हम सब का नाम ले तो असल न करें, नहीं तो शरीर में जल जाएगा। इससे मेरा दिल जल जाता है। कोई भी सामने झूठी प्रतिष्ठा खड़ा करे कसम साथ ही मैं इस बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकता। मुझे गाड़ी दो, मारी, बूट से मारी, मैं कपूर भूकी, मैं विश्वास दिलाता हूँ कि मुझे गुस्सा कभी नहीं आया। लेकिन प्रतिष्ठाकार के उसका पालन न करो तो गुस्से की आग से शरीर जल जाएगा। एक ही अपवित्र होकर भी सामने पवित्रता का दावा करो तो भी दिल में ही जल कि मैं भी

भरे थे। आज भी मैं सन २१ की बात करूँ। विदेशी कपड़े का नाम लेकर पत्थर के लेंथे लेकिन हमने शानिं छोड़ दी। अगर संपूर्ण शानिं आज भी हम पैदा कर सकें तो कारनामा हूँ, मैं, वही आदमी हूँ कि जिसमें २१ सन के अंजुल मैं परदेशी कपड़े जलवाते बात है; हम विदेशी कपड़े खोलें क्या? आज मैं जलाने की बात नहीं तो, २, ४ चीज क्या नहीं कर सकते? कपड़े में खहर परतें, क्या नहीं अपनी स्त्रियल सेवा में लगे हुए थे। अगर ऐसीही जलामुखी हमारे दिलमें प्राण हो जाए मैं एक बड़ी बात सुना हूँ कि उन की वम पत्नी का स्त्रियवास हुआ तो उस वकल भी वह रहेथे तब मुझे लोकमान्य की याद आया। वह स्त्रिय की प्रतिमा थे। उन के विषय इतना खोजार होना चाहिये, हमारे दिल में उतनी जलन चाहिये। जब माण्डकर जोत स्त्रीकारी के लिये बहुत समय की जलन नहीं है। हम लोगों को इस स्त्रिय के लिये अदोलन में जाओ मगर उहाँ मने। इस लड़के की बात नहीं है। इस लिये तो मैं कर्तुंगा पंचायत में जाय—मैं असहयोगी हूँ मगर मुसलमान कल्लु का गाँव देना है तो मैं कर्तुंगा गाँव न दे। अगर आप इस का कैसल माफ कर के नहीं करना चाहते तो अदोलन में उसको गाँव न दे। मुसलमान रामचन्द्र और कल्लु का गाँव दे तो हिंदू उस को पैगामबर की धर्म में यह बात सहदेव नहीं है। उतनी न कहा कि एक हिन्दू पागल बना तो कोई मुसलमान लालचीने एक सिद्धान्त सुना दिया कि सारा प्रथ मानव जाति का है। किसी

न माने। आपकें दिल में यह होना चाहिये कि हम दुर्इमन की माई बना लेंगे। नहीं समझला—लेकिन यह भी हिन्दूमान के दुर्इमन नहीं है—आप किसी की दुर्इमन पतण न क्या कहा? माई जकर अली खां ने पतराज किया—कोई पतराज की बात और माई समझें? आपन नहीं सुना कि माई शौकन अली ने क्या कहा? जालजब-नहीं। क्या यह बड़ी बात है कि हिन्दू मुसलमान एक दुर्इमन का दुर्इमन न समझें। अभी आप को सुना दिया कि हिन्दू धर्म में बैसा अरपुत्र्य मानते हैं वह कोई बात उनको अरपुत्र्य समझते हैं। तब मुझे बहुत आनन्द हुआ और तीन सालों महाराज ने

The Press-
 dent's Conclu-
 ding Address.

Second day,

जाऊं। एक मनुष्य पवित्रता का दावा करे और अपवित्र हो तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि मैं
 न जाऊँ—उसे न देखूँ। आपने जो मुहन्बत बतलाई है, कृपा करके जिम्मेदारी में रखा
 है उसको लग न करना चाहें तो समझ लें— अगर आप उसमें मुझे रखना चाहते हैं
 तो मुझे रखें—इससे बढ़कर अच्छी बात यह है कि स्वराजवादी और नाफेरवादी
 ऐसे मिलकर जायँ जैसा डाक्टर वीसेण्ट ने कहा, जैसे एक एक लकड़ी अलग रहे तो
 टूट जाती है, एक गठर में मजबूत होती है।

Second day,

The Presi-
dent's Conclu-
ding Address.

हम भूल जायँ कि स्वराजवादी बुरे हैं। पवित्र आत्मा को सब आत्मा पवित्र है।
 आत्मा का गुन क्या बताया है? आत्मा स्फटिक है। शंकराचार्य ने कहा कि दोष
 रूप आत्मा नहीं है। दोष रूप तो माया है। हमारे दिल में शक्ति आगयी तो
 दोष बिना आप दूसरों की बुराई निकाल देंगे ॥ हम जब अविश्वास करते हैं तब दोष
 रूप बनते हैं। अगर एतवार का बदला धोखा है तो एतवार कर
 नेवाले का क्या बुरा होगा? धोका देनेवालेकाही बुरा होगा। भाई जवाहिर
 से मैं कहूँ कि मैं तुमको बेटेसे ज्यादा मानता हूँ और वह तो मैं सिर्फ उन से काम
 लेने के लिये ही कहूँ तो वह धोका है। जवाहरलाल की पूजा मैं क्या करनेवाला हूँ?
 उस की पूजा तो जगत करेगा, उनपर पुष्पवृष्टि करेगा।

इस वक्त मैं एक को नहीं, दूसरे को नहीं, दोनों को कहना चाहता हूँ आप एक
 साल में इतना काम करें कि जिससे हमारी शक्ति बढ़ जाय और स्वराज नजदीक आया
 है ऐसा हम सब मशहूर करें।

Addressing next in English, the President said :—

I have just poured out my heart to you in my Hindi speech. It is impos-
 sible for me to reproduce what I have said in Hindi. One thing however I
 want to say. I do not think that any Chairman, any President, could possibly
 claim greater courtesy, greater attention and greater affection than you the
 delegates have extended to me. I assure you that it has been the greatest
 delight to me to preside over your deliberations here in the Congress and in the
 Subjects Committee. Every one of you have readily responded to every call
 that I have made upon you. I know that I have put a heavy strain upon you.
 I have not walked you. I know I have run you. But what can I do? You
 are impatient and I am impatient. We want to march towards Swaraj and
 our march for Swaraj has got to be, not at a snail's pace, but a double quick
 march; and if we do want to work and march forward, I can not afford to
 waste a single minute of your time and my time. Therefore, I have put on

speed to the best of my ability and it has been a wonder to me—it has
 Second day, given to me the greatest satisfaction that you have so readily responded
 The President's Concluding Address. me, so nobly! And you have not done this thing charily but with a magnificent generosity. No one could have possibly claimed more, asked for more, and got more. You have given me all that I could possibly ask of you.

But what I now want to ask you for, is something more; something better, something richer, and that is this: transfer all this noble affection, all this generosity that you have shown to me to the thing that you and I hold dear, to the thing that alone binds you and me together and that is Swaraj. If we want Swaraj, we must know the conditions of Swaraj. You have endorsed the conditions in the resolutions. Every one of you knows those conditions. Do not leave these conditions here. Take them away with you and fulfil them to the letter and to the spirit and insist upon others to fulfil those conditions, not by force but by love. Exert all the influence and all the pressure which love can exert, upon every one that surrounds you and upon your neighbours. Go throughout your district and spread this message of Khaddar, spread this message of Hindu-Muslim unity and spread this message of Untouchability. Go hand in hand with the youngsters of the country and make them the real soldiers of Swaraj.

But you will not do it if the Swarajists and No-changers still bear malice against each other, if they still have jealousies against one another. It will be possible only if you bury hatred, leave all the jealousies and anger, all those bad influences here. Jaskyon to bury the hatchet. Bury the jealousies underground and cremate them wherever you like. But take away the sacred resolution that you have passed and say "Let the heavens fall; but the bond that binds us to-day, the tie that has bound the Swarajists and the No-changers shall never snap". (Loud cheers). My work is finished (Prolonged cheers).

Scarcely had the President got down the rostrum when he was reminded of the duty of the Congress to thank the Reception Committee, and he re-entered the rostrum and said:—

I would not have forgiven myself if I had not tendered my thanks to the noble volunteers trained by Dr. Hardikar (Cheers) and to the members of the Reception Committee. But in the mad passion for Swaraj I forgot all about the volunteers and the members of the Reception Committee:

I know that they have not served in order to receive thanks. The noble service that they have rendered is its own reward. But it was due from me and I would have been guilty of a breach of duty to you if I had not returned thanks to all of you. May God bless all the volunteers and the members of the Reception Committee. (Applause).

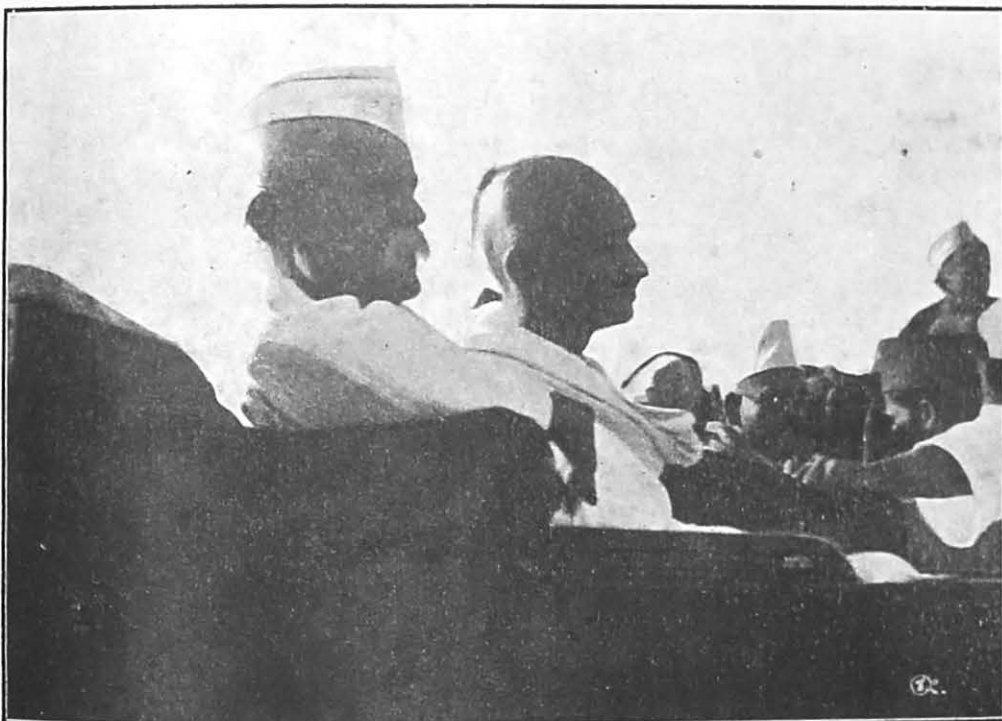


PLATE 29.

THE DEPARTURE
(Mahatmajee & Sjt. Gangadharrao Deshpande.)

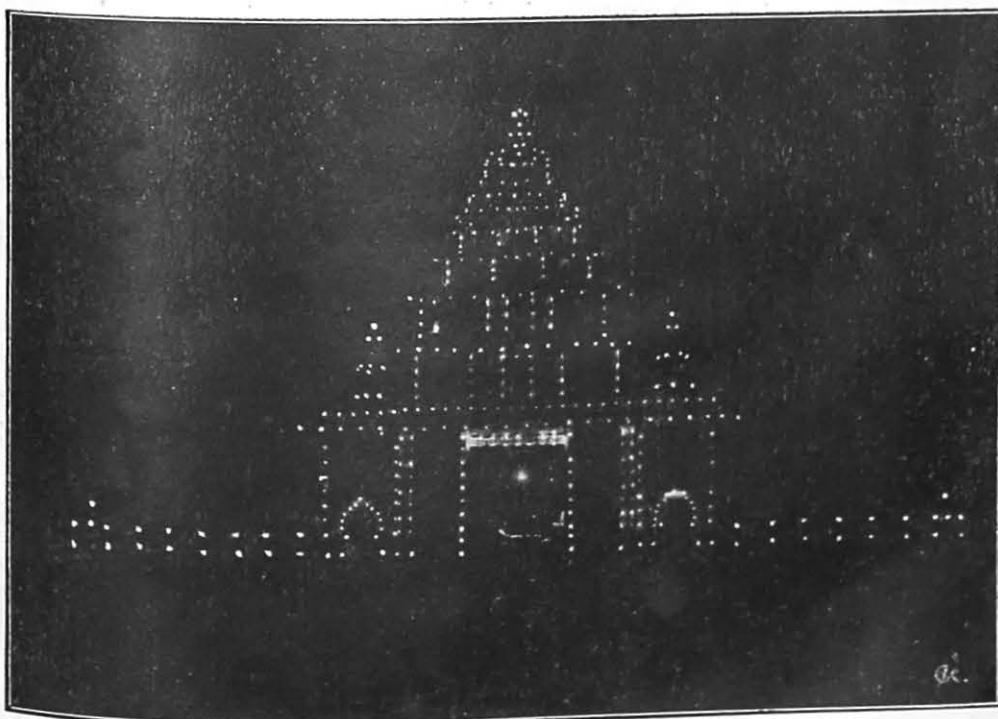


PLATE 30.

THE GOPUR—AT NIGHT.



PLATE 31.

VOLUNTEERS & WORKERS IN THE SANITARY DEPARTMENT.

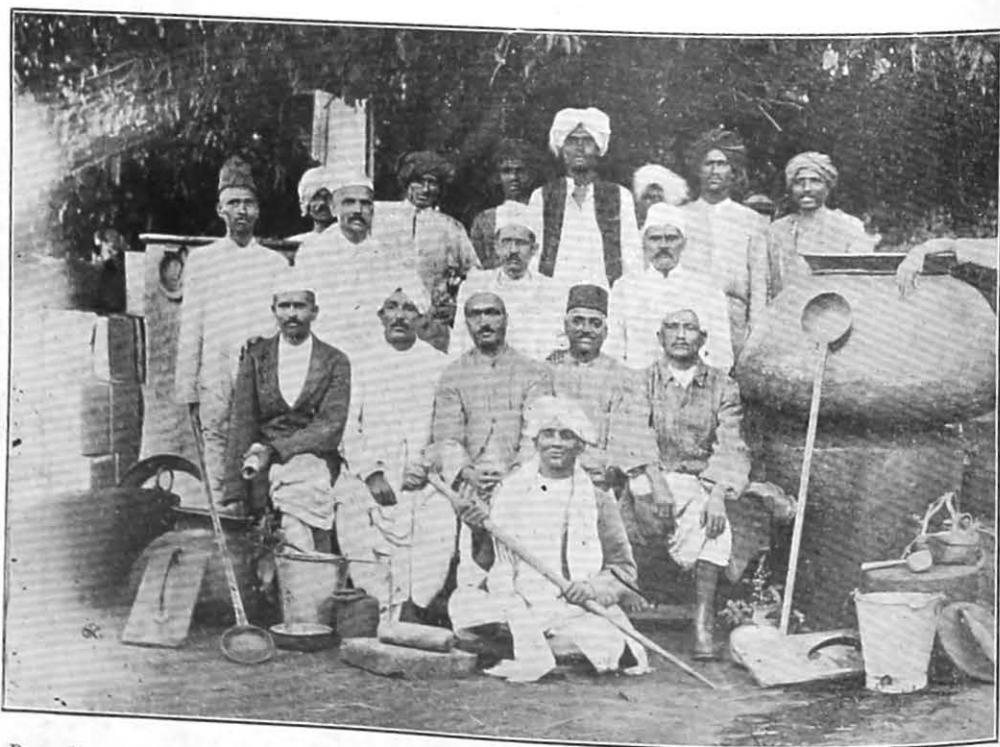


PLATE 32.

DINNER COMMITTEE WORKERS.

VOTE OF THANKS.

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU then proposed a vote of thanks to the President thus :—

Friends !

Second day,
Vote of
Thanks
Motilal Nehru.

I am now going to put a proposition which, I know, must be uppermost in the hearts of one and all of you. That is a proposition which is usual in our Congress to be laid before this House, before the dissolution of this House. But on this particular occasion I am quite confident that it is not a mere ceremony that you are performing. What I am saying is to pass a vote of thanks of this House to Mahatma Gandhi. (Applause),

Gentlemen, you have passed the resolution which he had dear to him. He has thanked you for it. He has pointed out to you the implication under which you have laid yourself by passing that resolution. That is no doubt the greatest gratitude and thanks that you can give him if you can act up to your undertaking. (Hear, hear). And, I am perfectly certain that he does not expect from you or care to have a resolution of thanks. But in passing this resolution which on other occasions is merely a matter of formality, I take it that you are responding to the call which he made upon you in his concluding remarks. That call was to the Swarajists, and to the No-changers, and to all others whom it may concern. That was a call that you have to perform your undertaking to the very letter in spirit as well as in matter. Now when I propose this vote of thanks I expect you to say by passing it that you agree to all that Mahatmaji said and that you willingly and cheerfully undertake the responsibility which he has laid upon you. I need not say anything more. I only ask you to pass this vote of thanks by acclamation. (Loud and continued applause. Vooiferous shouts of "Mahatma Gandhiki jai").

The proceedings of the Congress thus came to a close at 5-45 p. m.



39th Indian National Congress, 1924.

APPENDIX I.

Office Bearers and Members of the Various Sub-committees of the Reception Committee.

Chairman.

Sjt. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande.

Vice-chairmen.

- „ D. V. Belvi,
- „ Raghunathrao Saraph.
- „ Nurundappa Anna Shetti
- „ Vamanrao Kalghatagi,

Maulavi Kutubuddin.

Sjt. Ramrao Mane,

- „ Jyotiba *alias* Bhaui Sahab Pirale,
- „ Vinayakrao B. Joshi,

Sjt. Narpal Vasayya,

„ V. N. Jog,

„ Karnad Sadashivrao

„ Shripadrao Kalyanpur,

Dr. U. Ramrao

Sjt. Hoskoppa Krishna Rao,

„ Ramdas Darbar

„ Divansahab Janvikar,

„ Nilkanthappa Sugaudhi,

„ B. Bhima Rao.

„ J. A. Saldhana,

General Secretaries.

- „ Madhva Rao Kembhavi,
- „ B. B. Potdar,
- „ S. L. Soman,

Auditor.

- „ Siddurao Pujari
- Auditor K. P. C. C.*

Treasurers.

- „ Nageshbrao Herekar.
- „ Lingo Virpaksh Deshpande,

I Finance Committee.

- 1 Sjt. D. V. Belvi, (Secretary)
- 2 „ V. N. Jog,
- 3 „ Vasudevrsro Kolhali,
- 4 „ Ramanna Naik,
- 5 „ B. Bhima Rao,
- 6 „ Hosakoppa Krishna Rao,
- 7 „ Karnad Sadashiva Rao.
- 8 „ B. Nagabhat.
- 9 „ R. A. Jahagirdar,
- 10 „ Dr. U. Ramarao,
- 11 „ Dr. Hulyalkar,

II Pandal and Decoration Committee.

- Sjt. Dadasabeb Nargundkar, (Secretary)
- 1 „ Tatacharya,
- 2 „ K. H. Mudwedkar,
- 3 „ Krishna Rao Yalgi.
- 4 „ H. G. Sabnis,
- 5 „ S. R. Potdar,

III Accomodation Committee:—

- Sjt. N. S. Nargundkar, (Secretary)
- 1 „ A. B. Kankawadi,
- 2 „ H. Narayanarao,
- 3 „ Govindrao Masur,
- 4 „ Rajarampant Kelkar,

- 5 „ G. N. Thanedar,
6 „ Vithalrao Joshi,

IV Water Works:—

- Sjt. Anantrao Kalamadani, (Secretary)
1 „ Vamanrao Phatarphekar,
2 „ Vishwanathrao Natu,
3 „ G. D. Tinsikar,

V Dinner:—

- 1 Sjt. Vamana Rao Kanade, (Secretary)
2 „ K. S. Deshpande,
3 „ Gopalrao Deshpande,
4 „ Hanmantrao Deshpande,
5 „ Anantrao Jalihal,
6 „ Shrinivasrao Mugali,
7 „ Y. V. Dharwadkar,
8 „ Narayanrao Datar,
9 „ Balkrishnarao Hidka,
10 „ Narayan Govind Naik,
11 „ Nurundappa Shetti,
12 „ Tavanappa Avalakki,
13 „ Vaman Kaka Sankeshwar,
14 „ Balvantrao Natu,
15 „ Gangadhar Anant Hukeri,

VI Lighting:—

- Sjt. V. Y. Gavade, (Secretary)
„ Shaukar Rao Parulkar,
„ Ningappa Chavhan,
„ J. V. Yalgi,

VII Station and Conveyance

Committee:—

- 1 Sjt. Dr. Ginde, (Secretary)
2 „ Bapusaheb Chhatre,
3 „ N. D. Marathe,
4 „ B. N. Datar.
5 „ Sahasrabuddhe,

VIII Volunteers' Committee:—

- Dr. N. S. Harolkar, (Secretary)
 Sjt. K. Sadashiva Rao,
 „ Ramrao Shevade,
 „ D. R. Thakur,
 „ S. Koppal,
 „ R. K. Joglekar,

IX Sanitation:—

- Dr. Kelkar, (Secretary)
 „ V. M. Bakre,

X Medical:—

- 1 Dr. Savnur, (Secretary)
 2 „ Bakre,
 3 „ Hulgol,
 4 „ Umachagi,
 5 „ Ranade,
 6 „ Jathar,
 7 „ Shirhatti,

XI Exhibition:—

- 1 Sjt. H. S. Kaujalgi (Secretary)
 2 „ N. R. Kembhavi,
 3 „ Hoskoppa Krishna Rao,
 4 „ V. S. Konnur,
 5 „ Dr. Savanur.
 6 „ N. H. Dambal
 7 „ Vamanrao Phatarphekar
 8 „ Shankarrao Shirgaonkar

XII Tickets:—

- Sjt. Rajarampant Kelkar, (Secretary)
 1 „ Dr. V. N. Thanedar
 2 „ Shrinivas Rao Deshpande
 3 „ K. G. Kurundwadkar
 4 „ V. B. Deshpande

- 5 Sjt, G, G, Guttal
- 6 „ Ullal Sanjivrao,
- 7 „ S, S, Gulwadi,
- 8 „ Venkatrao Savnur,
- 9 „ J, V, Yalgi,
- 10 „ R, S, Naik

XIII Music:—

- Sjt. K, H, Mudwedkar, (Secretary)
- „ T, V, Ramswami Iyengar,
- „ T, Tatacharya,
- „ Sadashiva Rao Garud,

XIV Publicity :—

- Sjt, D, K, Bharadwaj, (Secretary)
- „ K, H, Mudwedkar,
- Sjt P, Sreenivasa Upadhyaya
- „ T, B, Purohit.
- „ Narayanrao Datar,
- „ Krishnaji Hari Dixit
- „ Mangalwedekar,
- „ S. R. Potdar,

XV Stores Sub Committee:—

- Sjt. Vaman Rao Kalghatagi,
- „ Govindppa Kushatagi,
- „ Rama Rao Shevade,
- „ Govindrao Hanamshet,
- „ L, V, Deshpande,
- „ G, V, Patnekar,
- „ Mukund Tukappa Patil,
- „ B, R. Kembhavi,
- „ P, Bhima Rao,
- „ D, C, Kolhapure,
- „ Laxmidas Hirji Shet alias Kaku Shet.
- „ Narsing Sa Shalgar,
- „ Y, N, Kamat,
- „ Ramrao Mane.
- „ V, M, Bakre,
- „ Narsingrao Desai,
- „ Parappa Anna Kittur,

XVI Works Committee :—

- Sjt, G, C, Deshpande (Secretary)
„ Krishnarno Yalgi,
„ Laxmidas Hirji Shet,
„ Gajananrao Shiva Kamat,
„ V, Y, Gavade,
„ Gopalrao Deshpande,
„ S. N. Samant
„ Shankarrao Shashital,
„ Shankar Rao Parulekar
„ Bhikaji Mhadeo Shetye,
„ Khemanna Godse.
„ Baudo Ramchandra Kulkarni
-

APPENDIX II.

List of All-India Congress Committee Members Present at the Subjects Committee.

Ex-Officio Members.

1. Mahatma Gandhi.
2. Sjt. C. B. Das.
3. Pandit Motilal Nahru
4. Lala Lajpat Bai
5. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
6. " Mohammad Ali
7. Seth Rewa Shankar Jagjivan
Javeri
8. " Jamansal Bajaj
9. M. Shuaib Quereshi
10. Sjt. B. F. Bharucha
11. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

Ajmer.

1. Sjt. Janki Prasad Bagarhatta
2. " Arjunlal Sethi

Andhra.

1. Sjt. B. Sundarram Reddi
2. " K. Nageshwar Rao
3. " V. Ramdas
4. " V. Satyanarayana.
5. " D. Gopalakrishnayya.
6. " C. V. Bangamchetti
7. " G. Harisarvottam Rao
8. " K. Venkatappayya
9. " B. Samba Murthy
10. " K. Dharmanna
11. " V. Laxmi Narayana
12. " Syed Mohiuddin Padru
13. " G. Ramchandrarao

15. Sjt. Nasir Ahmmad
16. " K. Venkat Reddi
17. " B. Pattabhisitaramayya
18. " S. Kouda Reddi

Behar.

1. Sjt. Rajendra Prasad
2. " Mathura Prasada
3. " Krishna Vallabha Sahai
4. " Abdul Bari
5. " Jagat Narayan Lal
6. " Deokinandan Prasad
7. " Ram Binode Singh
8. " Shyam Prasad Sinha
9. " Jimut Bahau Sen
10. " Janakdhari Prasad
11. " Rash Behari Lal
12. " Bajrang Sahai
13. " Anugraha Narayan Singh
14. " Punyananda Jha
15. " B. B. Varma
16. " Shri Krishna Sinha
17. " Syed-Mohammed

Bengal.

1. Sjt. Atul Sen
2. " Wahud Hussain
3. " T. C. Goswami
4. " Siris Chandra Chattarjee
5. " Ghyasuddin Ahmmad
6. " A. Rahman
7. " Fazhir Rahman
8. " Sailes Nath Bisi

10. Shrimati Hema B. Muzumdar
11. Sjt. Chirranjan Das
12. „ B. K. Roy Choudhari
13. „ Girja Mohan Sanyal
14. „ Aftabuddin Choudhari
15. „ Kanti Lal Paraba
16. „ N. B. Sircar

Berar.

1. Sjt. M. S. Aney
2. „ R. M. Deshmukh
3. „ M. S. Paranjape
4. „ R. A. Kanitkar
5. „ Y. M. Kale
6. „ N. R. Bamangaonkar
7. „ S. R. Naik
8. „ S. S. Halkar

Burma.

1. Sjt. K. R. Rau
2. „ Namalal Kalidas
3. „ V. Madanjit
4. „ S. A. S. Tyabji
5. „ V. S. S. Many

C. P. Hindustani.

1. Sjt. D. N. Mehta
2. „ Bhagvandin
3. „ Sundarlal
4. „ Vasudeo Rao Subedar
5. „ Durga Shankar Mehta

C. P. Marathi.

1. Sjt. M. V. Abhyankar
2. Dr. B. B. Moonje
3. Sjt. A. R. Tijare
4. „ G. D. Charde
5. „ R. E. Phatak

Bombay.

1. Sjt. Jehangir B. Patol

3. „ B. G. Kher
4. „ Ranchordas H. Gandhi
5. „ K. P. Khadilkar
6. „ B. N. Mehesari
7. Shrimati Sarojani Naidu
8. Dr. M. B. Velkar

Delhi.

1. Sjt. Shankarlal
2. Lala Hanamant Sahai
3. Sjt. H. Brijlal
4. „ M. Asafali
5. „ Raghubir Narayan

Gujrat.

1. „ Shankarlal Banker
2. „ Mahadeo Desai
3. „ Imam A. K. Bavazir
4. „ Vallabhabhai J. Patel
5. „ Fulchand Bapa Shet
6. „ Dayalji Nanabhai Desai
7. „ Gopaldas Ambaidas Desai
8. „ Manilal V. Kothari

Karnatak.

1. „ V. N. Jog
2. „ H. Narayan Rao
3. „ M. R. Kembhavi
4. „ B. Bhima Rao
5. „ S. V. Kalyanpurkar
6. „ H. S. Kanjalgi
7. „ S. V. Kanjalgi
8. „ G. B. Deshpande
9. „ D. B. Majali
10. „ B. K. Shevade
11. „ S. N. M. Bezvi
12. „ M. B. Kabbar
13. Dr. V. S. Ummachagi
14. „ N. S. Hardikar

Kerala.

2. Sjt. K. Nilkantham Mambadal-
pad

3. " T. K. Madhawan

Maharashtra.

1. Sjt. R. V. Mandlik

2. " Gulabchand Doshi

3. " P. G. Joshi

4. " D. V. Gokhale

5. " N. C. Kelkar

6. " V. J. Patel

7. " C. M. Saptarishi

8. " Jamanadas M. Mehta

9. " G. S. Marathey

10. " L. B. Bhopatkari

11. Mrs. Umabai Abhyankar

Punjab.

1. Sjt. Raja Ram Juvekar

2. " M. Zaphar Ali Khan

3. " Khan Chandra Dev.

4. " Dunichand

5. " Pindi Das

6. " Achinta Ram

7. " Kishan Singh

8. " Sardar Mangal Singh

9. Maulana Abdar Bahman Ghati

10. Dr. Gopichand Bhargava

Sind.

1. Sjt. R. K. Shidha

2. " Narayandas Anandaji

3. " Krishnaanda

4. " Jhamatmal Lakhamasingh

5. " Govindananda

Tamil Nadu.

1. Sjt. M. Javavelu

2. " T. Adinarayan Chettiar

3. " B. V. Rameswami Nicker

4. " P. S. Venkateshwar Pillai

5. " A. Rangaswami Iyengar

6. " K. S. Subrahmanyam

7. " V. V. S. Iyer

8. " S. Shrinivasa Iyengar

9. " N. S. Varadachari

10. " P. D. Ashar Sift

11. Sjt. S. Ramanathan

12. " Abdul Hamid Khan

13. " K. Gaupat Sashtirigal

14. " T. S. R. Udayar

15. " W. P. Ignatius

16. " K. Santhanam

17. " V. Chakkara Chetti

18. " M. S. A. Shafi Ahmmad

19. " C. Rajagopalachariar

20. " S. Satya Murthi

21. " P. Varadarajulu Naidu

22. " K. S. Subrahmanyam

23. " V. Chakkari Chettiar

United Provinces.

1. Sjt. Maulana Zabur Ahmad

2. " Ram Prasad Mira

3. " Raghupati Sahai

4. " Sri Prakash

5. " Sampurnanda

6. " Narendra Deo

7. " Raghubar Dayal Mira

8. Maulana Shaikat Ali

9. Sjt. Sitla Sahai

10. " H. Sundafal

11. " Azad Subhani Sahab

12. " Ram Swarupa Gupta

13. " Raghur Sahai

14. " Purushottam Das Tandon

15. " Ram Kumar Tripathi

16. " T. A. K. Sherwani

17. " Shiv Prasad Gupta

18. " Laxminarayan Agnihotri

19. " A. G. Kher

20. " Sambhu Nath

21. " Majit Sing Rathor

22. " Baba Raghava Das

23. Sjt. Jyoti Shankar Dikshit

24. " Krishna Gopal Das

Utkal.

1. " G. C. Misra

2. " Gopabandhu Das

3. Shrimati Bhagirathi Mahapatra

4. Sjt. Rajkrishna Bose

APPENDIX III.

**Election Return of Delegates who
attended the 39th Indian National
Congress held at Belgaum,
on 26th and 27th December 1924,**

**Rajputana-Central
India and Ajmeer-
Mewar.**

- 1 Sjt Pandit Arjunlal Sethi
- 2 „ Anandi Prasad
- 3 „ Ananda Priya
- 4 „ Beniprasad Dalmia
- 5 „ Badri Naryana
- 6 „ Bhagwan
- 7 „ Chiranjilal Badjatiya
- 8 „ Durgaprasada Sampadak
- 9 „ Dwarakanathprasad
- 10 Shreemati Gulabdevi Setti
- 11 Sjt. Gulabchanda Nagori
- 12 „ Govardhan
- 13 „ Gopikishan
- 14 „ Ganpat Lal
- 15 „ Govindalal Piti
- 16 „ Janardan Bhatta
- 17 „ Janakiprasada Bagerhatta
pt. (Jankiprasada
Bagerhatta)
- 18 „ Jethamathaji Mehata
- 19 „ Jivaraaj
- 20 „ Kanhayalal Vaidya
- 21 „ Karpur Chandra Patani
- 22 „ Kesharial Ajmera
- 23 „ Kalu Rama Mahar
- 24 „ Kashi Rami
- 25 „ Kushi
- 26 „ Kesharlal Katariya

- 27 Sjt. Laxminarayanji
- 28 „ Motilal
- 29 „ Mithalal
- 30 „ Motichand Jain
- 31 „ Motichanda Sakharam Jain
- 32 „ Narsinhadass Malpani
- 33 „ N. H. Bhatta
- 34 „ Narayanlal
- 35 „ Sita Ram
- 36 „ Shri Gopal Navatia
- 37 „ Shivalalchand Shah
- 38 „ Ram Krishan
- 39 Kumari Rajubai Jain
- 40 Sjt Rameshwar Navatia
- 41 „ Shivalaji Daga
- 42 „ Surajamal Chhabada
- 43 „ Swami Sacchidanandaji
- 44 „ Vishnu Lilaram

Andhra.

- 1 Sjt. Anjaneyasuryprakash
Garakipathi
- 2 Shrimati Annapurnamma
Vedantam
- 3 Sjt. Andhrarathna D.
Gopalkrishnaiah
- 4 „ Anjaneyalu Kodali
- 5 „ Abdul Khadirshahib
- 6 „ Atmaramappa Velunkuru
- 7 „ Bapanna Namauna
- 8 „ Buccchi Appaishastri
Garakipathi

9	Sjt. Bapaiah Peta	49	Sjt. Gopalachari
10	" Balurao C. P.	50	" Hanmantha Rao Pillatla
11	" Bayappa Reddy P.	51	" Hanmantharao Prabhale
12	" Bhimappa B. P.	52	" Hanmantharao Garalpatti
13	" Balireddi Saukati	53	" Hanmantharao
14	" Babaiih K.		Ammanncharale
15	" Bhogreddo N. V.	54	" Hanmantharao Wadalmauti
16	" Balvant Reddi	55	" Harisarvottamarao G.
17	" Bhaskara Rao	56	" Hanmantharao M,
18	" Chandriah Naidu Gedale	57	" Hanmantharao M,
19	" Chinna Bhimaraju Nalam	58	" Haripant Musalekar
20	" Chinna Niladriraji Datala	59	" Ishwarppa Paramanaddi
21	" Chinna Subbaih Motparti	60	" Jaggaraju Nambhari
22	" Chidambarrao Kota	61	" Jivanlal Motichand
23	" Chinna Piccha Reddi	62	" Jalayya Tellakulla
	Cheparu	63	" Janakiramaih
24	" Chandrashekhar Reddi	64	" Krishnamurthi Chetty
25	" Chimanlal		Tupala
26	" Changalvarai Sharma B.	65	" Kamraju Keshavarappa
27	" Chinna Soma Reddi K.	66	" Kameshwara Rao Y.
28	" Sitambariah G.	67	" Kodanda Ramaih Pusturi
29	" Chinna Narayanrao	68	Shrimati Kamaladevi Vedantam
30	" Chinnavirappa Kolle	69	" Kamamma Manpakka
31	" Chamsalkar S. P.	70	Sjt. Kalyana Rao Katiranemi
32	" Damodarrao Dasu	71	" Krishnaih Chetti I,
33	" Deshbhakta Konda	72	" Krishnarao T,
	Venkatappaih	73	" Konda Reddi Sankatti
34	" Deva Karan	74	" Laxminarasinhani T,
35	Dr. Latif Sayyad	75	" Laxminarasinhari J,
36	" H. Shankara Rao	76	" Laxminarasinha B,
37	Sjt. Iranna Chirang	77	" Latcherao Nardavarapu
38	" Gourraju Kuchmanchi	78	" Laxminarayan Musti
39	" Govindrajalu Surampalli	79	" Laxmiah Chaudhari
40	" Govindacharalu Atmakuri	80	" Laxminarayan Eunnava
41	" Gopalkrishnaih Paladagu	81	Shrimati Laxmamma Eunnava
42	" Gopalkrishnaih Yallepaddi	82	Sjt. Laxminarasinhani K,
43	" Gous Begsahab	83	" Laxminarayan Shestri
44	" Gupta B, N,	84	" Laxmanrao K,
45	" Gundacharalu K,	85	" Laxminarasinhani K:
46	" Guravayya	86	" Laxminarayanrao K.
47	" Govind Rao N,	87	" Laxmiah Chetti Gondi
48	" Gourishankar Nampalli	88	" Laxminarayanrao O,

89	Sjt. Narayana Reddi Y.	128	Sjt. Papiah Nalluri
90	" Laxmanrao	129	" Pattabhi Sitaramaih
91	" Mallapparaju Jamalrud	130	" Prasadrao Dukupipati
92	" Muttsamaaju Uppulavi	131	" Pannaih Andukeri
93	Shrimati Manikemma Bappara	132	" Prakasham T. Pantlu
94	Sjt. Malikrayam Shastri	133	" Peda Venkat Subba Reddi
95	" Mardhwa Mavani Rao G.	134	" Pampanna Malle
96	" Mavali Hassansahab	135	" Fakirappa V.
97	" Malhara Rao	136	" Padmanabhadas Lolluru
98	" Mangshetti Revappa	137	" Pillai M. K.
99	" Mavali Hasanali	138	" Panduranga Rao Joshi
100	" Narsinbaswami Mangu	139	" Padmanabhastri
101	" Narsinha Rao Kodali		Devambhala
102	" Narsinharao M. V. L.	140	" Parvat Reddi
103	" Nageshwara Rao Chavli	141	" Ramlingam Pantalu
104	" Nageshwara Rao		V. V. V.
	Kashimdhuni	142	" Ramamurthi Sreshthi
105	" Narayana Swami Naidu	143	" Ramakrishnarao Takuru
	T. G.	144	" Ramakrishnarao Tanikella
106	" Narasinhacharalu C. S.	145	" Ramaraju Alluri
107	" Nagi Reddi Channaveri	146	" Rangaih Nagadu
108	" Narayana Swami B. H.	147	" Rangacharalu Kodeti
109	" Narasa Raffi Y.	148	" Raghavaya Bangaru
110	" Narayanasrao M.	149	" Ramchandrarao Gajavilli
111	" Narsinga Rao Kallubhavi	150	" Raghavramaih Katragadde
112	" Narayana Rao	151	" Raja Vedanta Krishna Rao
	Sandhyavandanam		K
113	" Narasappa Madiga	152	" Ramajogiah Annayatajeju
114	" Narayana Shastri Tekuri	153	" Badhakrishnaih Maddi
115	" Narasinhalu Pantalu K.	154	" Rama Murthi Macchiraju
116	" Narainga Rao K.	155	" Rama Rao Patri
117	" Narasinh Reddi	156	" Ramakrishnaih Peladagu
118	" Narasinha Rao M.	157	" Ramdas Pantalu
119	" Narayana Rao Degadkar		Vemavarappu
120	" Narasinha Reddi K. R.	158	" Suryanarayana Rao
121	" Narasinha Reddi Toparna		Tengunt
122	" Narayan Gupta Niryal	159	" Ranga Swami Iyengar M.
123	" Narsingaih Ammanmanchi	160	" Raghavachari M.
124	" Narsinga Chittapur	161	" Rajagopalachariar C.
125	" Narayana Rao Reddi K. R.	162	" Rangam Chetti G. V.
126	" Kobaih Shresthi Pabhati	163	" Rajagopalachari K.
127	" Peraju Podwri	164	" Ramaih Chetti S.

165	Sjt. Radhakrishnaiah V.	207	Sjt. Sheshu Reddi Bomma
166	" Rayappa A.	208	" Subramhanyam Reddi
167	" Ranasali M. P.		Labarur
168	" Ramchandraiy Pappalu	209	" Subramhanyam Reddi
169	" Ramchandraih P.		Bezwad
170	" Rangacharalu N.	210	" Suryanarayana Shastri
171	" Rangaswami Iyer		Ganti
172	" Rangachari C.	211	" Sheshgirirao B. S.
173	" Krishnarao Gargal	212	" Sitaram Rao E.
174	" Ranga Rao T.	213	" Somanua G.
175	" Ramchandra Rao	214	" Sreenivasacharalu K.
176	" Ramchandra Rao	215	" Sarvattama Chari K.
177	" Ramakoteswara Rao	216	" Sundararam V.
178	" Rangarao P.	217	" Shriramalu N.
179	" Ramchandra Rao Madapathi	218	" Sudarshana Naidu
180	" Radhakrishnamurthi D.	219	" Shrinivasacharalu V.
181	" Sanyasiraju Inaturi	220	" Sheshashastri B.
182	" Satyanarayanarao Pokla	221	" Shrimati Shivamma Y.
183	" Sundara Rao Digumurthi	222	" Sjt. Shrinivasa Rao K.
184	" Suryanarayana Kampantalu	223	" Shankara Rao Hatti
185	" Satyanarayana Veneti	224	" Subramhanyam Sharma
186	" Satyanarayana Salapaka		Kaipa
187	" Subamma Duvuri	225	" Sheshappa Yaggom
188	" Subba Rao Lakaraju	226	" Shiva Rao Hatti
189	" B. Samba Murthi	227	" Subba Rao Kalluru
190	" Somaih Challyam	228	" Seturao M.
191	" Sheshgirirao Karalavarapu	229	" Subramhanyam O.
192	" Shiva Rao Shivadu	230	" Shankar Reddi D.
193	" Someswar Rao Satyawad	231	" Sayyad Mohoddin
194	" Sitapati Bonnalla		Khadri
195	" Subbarayalu Mullaketla	232	" Sreenivasa Reddi
196	Shrimati Shamlamba Satiraju	233	" Someswara Rao
197	Sjt. Shriramrao Venaturmalli	234	" Sharma P. N.
198	" Shambhashastri Vedantam	235	" Sharma B. N.
199	" Satyanarayan Moturi	236	" Shrikrishna
200	" Subba Rao Rachpudi	237	" Sitaram Shastri
201	" Sitaram Shastri Dollapadi	238	" Sitaram Rao
202	" Sambaih Kumbhampatti	239	" Sharnappa Patel
203	" Subba Reddi	240	" Subramhanyam Bhagya
204	" Subbaramaih Polavarapu	241	" Tirumalrao Masalikanthi
205	" Subramhanyam Indrakanti	242	" Takoji Rao J.
206	" Shivramaih Lehakrala	243	" Venkata Jogaih Pantalu
		244	" Vasanta Rao Polisti

245	Sjt Venkata Subramai Krishna Rao S.	277	Sjt Venkateswarshastri
246	" Venkata Rao Kala	278	" Vishwambhararao
247	" Venkata Rathnam Chaudhari	279	" Venkatachalm Naidu V.
248	" Venkatadri Chintalacha ravu	280	" Venkat Krishnachoru M.
249	" Venkata Rao Munuganti	281	" Vasantarao V.
250	" Veer Raghavaraju Atota	282	" Venkat Subbaih Y.
251	" Venkat Narayan Paidipati	283	" Venkatappa B.
252	" Viyanna Banda	284	" Venkat Reddi K.
253	" Venkateshwara Rao Govindaraju	285	" Veerbhadrapa Maddela
254	" Venkat Ramaih Ayyanki	286	" Venkataramappa G.
255	" Venkatguru Dharmshah shaikh A.	287	" Venkataram Chaudhari S.
256	" Venkat Narshinh Shastri S.	288	" Venkatrao B.
257	" Venkat Pichaya Parimi	289	" Vengiah Chetti M.
258	" Veer Raghavaiya Dittarvi	290	Shrimati Vengamma Chetti M.
259	" Venkateshwarrai Boddapati	291	Sjt. Venkatarao K.
260	" Venkat Laxmiah Maddi	292	" Venkat Reddi K.
261	" Venkatkrishnarao Govindrajalu	293	" Venkat Rathnam Pantalu K.
262	" Venkat Subbaih Sreshthi	294	" Venkatarao A.
263	" Venkatkrishnayya Uppulla	295	" Venkat Ranga Reddi
264	" Venkatachalapati Maiti	296	" Venkat Narayan Reddi
265	" Venkat Hanmantharao K.	297	" Venkat Raghavachari Samudra
266	" Venkat Ramaih Sekhameri	298	" Venkateshwarrao Puna
267	" Varavasi Satyanarayan	299	" Venkatrao Sirsilla
268	" Venkata Subbarao Yallepaddi	Assam.	
269	" Venkatachalapatirao Kavata	1	Sjt. Rohinikanta H. Burna
270	" Venkat Subbaih Dorsi	Burma.	
271	" Venkat Subbaih Guntur	1	Sjt. Amritalal K. Kothari
272	" Venkat Subba Reddi Pattanam	2	" B. Mahapatra
273	" Venkat Subba Narsinh Chaka.ala	3	" Chattarbhai Shankarbhai Patel
274	" Venkat Ramaih Hakkaraju	4	" Giribarlal Becharlal Jasain
275	" Venkatramrao Kaliknevi	5	" Giridharlal Bhavanbhai
76	" Venkat Appayya Pola	6	" K. V. Nagesh
		7	" K. U. R. Rau
		8	" Maganbhai Dayabhai Patel
		9	" Nanlal Kalidas

- 10 Sjt. S. S. Halkar
 11 " Shyamji Gibbsaj
 12 " Tybaji S. A. S.
 13 " Umarshi Velji
 14 " V. S. S. P. Mani
 15 " V. Madanjit
 16 " Ratilal P. Mehta

Behar.

- 1 Sjt. A. C. Ghose
 2 " A. Prasad Singh
 3 " Anugrah Narayan Sinha
 4 " Bajrang Sahai
 5 " Bacchu Narayan Sinha
 6 " Benarasi Prasad
 Jhungunwala
 7 " Bhagvantsingh Thakur
 8 " Babanginh
 9 " Baraka Lakhna Bhagat
 10 " Buddhu Bhagat
 11 " Bhola Bhagat
 12 " Bhukka Bhagat
 13 " Bipin Bihari Varma
 14 " Bhagvandas
 15 " B. Gaurishankar Sharan
 Sinha
 16 " Sadhu Saransingh
 17 " Banwarilal
 18 " Moniram
 19 " Shivgopal
 20 " Sarajuprasad
 21 " Barashiprasad
 22 " Gajadhar Prasad Singh
 23 " Shrikanta Lal
 24 " Ganesh Prasad Sharma
 25 " Charva Bhagat
 26 " Devendra Prasad Gupta
 27 " Dhirnarayan Chanda
 28 " Dharma Narayan Singh
 29 " Dhannu Bhagat

- 30 Sjt. Deokinandan Prasad
 31 " Etwarai Bhagat
 32 " Gupteshwar Pandey
 33 " Harinarayan Lal
 34 " Haribarsingh Sirdar
 35 " Hari Prasad
 36 Sjt. JimutVahan Sen
 37 " Jaleshwar Prasad
 38 " Jagadeshwaranand
 Parivrajak
 39 " Jagatnarayan Lal
 40 " Janakdhari Lal
 41 " Jugal Sinha
 42 " Krishna Vallabh Sahal
 43 " Kamta Prasad
 44 " Krishna Das
 45 " Kalika Prasad Singh
 (Kumar)
 46 " Kura Bhagat
 47 " Lalit Mohan Sen
 48 " Madhavaji Varma
 49 " Janakidas Mabanta
 50 " Mahendra Singh
 51 " Mathura Prasad
 52 " Mahabir Prasad
 53 " Mohanlal Mehara
 54 " Nandkumar Singh
 55 " Panna Lal
 56 " Punyananda Jha
 57 " Panchanan Basu
 58 " Ram Narayan Singh
 59 " Ramaprasad Sharma
 60 " Rameshwar Narayan
 Agravala
 61 " Ramadayal Prasad Sahu
 62 " Rudra Narayan Varma
 63 " Ramcharitra Singh
 64 " Rameshwar Pandey
 65 " Rajendra Prasad
 66 " Subha Narain Lal

67. Sjt. Shri Krishna Singh
 68. " Singeshwar Prasad
 " Singh
 69. " Sambhusharan Varma
 70. " Vishwanathsingh
 71. " Vishuddhanand

Bengal.

- 1 Sjt. Ashutesh Das
 2 " Anilkumar Mukerjee
 3 " Amrenndranath Ray
 4 " Atul Sen
 5 " Abinashchandra Bose
 6 " Anukulchandra
 " Chakrabarti
 7 " Aftauddin Chaudhari
 8 " Benoy Krishna Bose
 9 " Bhupendranath Jha
 10 " Balai Chand Dey
 11 " Bajdyanath Bishwas
 12 " Basantakumar Murackar
 13 " Basantakumar
 " Muzumdar
 14 " Bijaykumar Roy Chou-
 " dhari
 15 " Basanta Kumar
 " Bhattacharji
 16 " Basanta Kumar Das
 17 " Binodbihari Bodra
 18 " Brojendra Bhattarji
 19 " Binayaklal Khatri
 20 " Deshbandhu C. R. Das
 21 Sjt. Chiranjnan Das
 22 " Dhirendranath Das
 23 " Ganapathi Banarjee
 24 " Maulavi Gulam
 " Rahma
 25 Sjt. Girijamohan Sanyal
 26 " Gangaprasada Bhatt

- 27 Sjt. Haribhushan Das
 28 Shrimati Hemaprova
 " Muzumdar
 29 Sjt. Kalibar Datt
 30 " Kangalchand Giri
 31 " Kantilal Parekh
 32 " Kanshinath Seal
 33 " Kshinishchandra
 " Mukerjee
 34 Shrimati Mohini Devi
 35 Sjt. Madhusudandas
 " Burman
 36 " Nagendranath Sen
 37 " Nishithanath Kundu
 38 " Nanigopal Dey
 39 " Pandit Laxman Garde
 40 " Purushottam Roy
 41 " Madanlal Misra
 42 " Pravatchandra
 " Chakravarti
 43 " Puranchandra Shah
 44 " Pulinbihari Pal
 45 " Pannalal Sinha
 46 " Prasanna Kumar Sen
 47 " Pratapchandra
 " Muzumdar
 48 " Puranchandra Das
 49 " Ramsundar Singh
 50 " Radhakumar Pramanik
 51 " Ramanath Roy
 " Chaudhari
 52 " Rabindranath Sanyal
 53 " Rajendrachandra Dev
 54 " Surendranath Maitra
 55 " Satyendranath Maitra
 56 " Sailesnath Bishi
 57 " Sacayuprasad Bihani
 58 " Sreeshchandra
 " Chatterjee

- 18 Sjt. S. K. Papula
19 " S. L. Silam
20 " V. S. Rama Swami

Central Provinces

(Hindi)

- 1 Sjt. Abdul Majid Khan Azad
2 " A. S. V. Puntambekar
3 " Dhundiraj Punthiji
Halve
4 " Dandekarji
5 " Durgshankar Mehta
6 " Dattatraya Hari Gudrey
7 " Damarsingh Nilkantha
8 " E. Raghvendraji
9 " Govindgiraji
10 " Hariprasadaji Mod
11 " Govindadasji
12 " Hemchandra Narsinha
13 " Kanji Mulji
14 " Labu Maharaji
15 " Lala Arjunlalsinghaji
16 " Manulalji Gupta
17 " Masudkhansaheb
18 " Mohd. Abdul Karim
19 " Narayanrao Maghavale
20 " Narayanraoji Bakshi
21 " Pandurang
Dhondaganvakar
22 " Raman Jina
23 " Imamsaheb
24 " Tabiralisaheb
25 " Vishwambhar Prasadaji
26 " Yamunaprasadaji
27 " Sundarlalji
28 " Sundarlalji Sharma
29 " Vastudeoraoji Subheda
30 " Shyamsundar Bhargav

Central Provinces

Marathi.

- 1 Sjt. A. R. Tijare
2 " A. R. Hanfi
3 " B. G. Chor
4 " B. L. Pachkhade
5 " B. R. Ghatkud
6 " B. S. Monje
7 " Chaturbhujbhai
8 " D. A. Patil
9 " Daji Shastri Chandekar
10 " E. S. Patwardhan
11 " G. A. Ogale
12 " G. D. Charde
13 Shrimati Matoshri Kenbai
14 Sjt. L. Kotey
15 " L. Wagh
16 Sadhvi Mayya
17 Sjt. M. A. Ghatwai
18 " M. A. Hote
19 " M. G. Datar
20 " Mahadeo Pandoba
Shimpf
21 " M. V. Abhyankar
22 " N. B. Joshi
23 " N. B. Khare
24 " N. S. Nalge
25 " N. V. Kawenkar
26 " Pandharinath Ambarkar
27 " Poonamchand Marvadi
28 " P. N. Kunokwar
29 " P. V. Soajy
30 " R. A. Mande
31 " Karnvir R Phatak
32 Shrimati Ben Shijbai
33 Shrimati Sitabai Kotey
34 Sjt. S. S. Agarvala
35 " T. P. Deshpande
36 " V. N. Ghorpade

- 37 Sjt. V. S. Dixit
 38 „ Y. G. Shirke
 39 „ Y. G. Udhoji

Delhi.

- 1 Sjt. Ayarelal
 2 „ Asaf Ali M.
 3 Shrimati Begum Mohammad Ali
 4 Sjt. Brijkrishna Lal
 5 „ Brijlal Burman Hakim
 6 „ Bhagvan Das
 7 „ Lala Gopalchand
 8 „ G. N. Sinha
 9 „ Hanmanta Sahai
 10 „ Keertiprasad Taina
 11 „ L. G. Algarilal
 12 „ Lala Premkrishna Khanra
 13 „ Lala Shrichand
 14 „ Lala Gulabchand
 15 Maulana Mohammad Ali
 16 Sjt. Mutsadilal Hakim
 17 „ B. Narayanadas
 18 „ Jayarama Sharma
 19 „ Pannalal Sharma
 20 „ Purushottamlal Bohrey
 21 „ Ramsingh Varma
 22 „ Raghuvir Narayansingh
 23 „ Shankarlal

Gujarat.

- 1 Sjt. Abdul Latif Ebrahim
 Saravi
 2 „ Amartlal Dalpatbhai Seth
 3 Dr. Ambalal Chhaganlal Sastri
 4 Sjt. Ambalal Mohanlal Patel
 5 „ Ambalal Shankarbhai
 6 Ben Ananya Sarabhai
 7 Sjt. Balvantrao Parmodrai
 Thakor
 8 „ Bavaji Muljibhai
 9 „ Bhailal C. Patel
 10 Mrs. Bhakti Laxmi Devi Desai

- 11 Sjt. Bhimajibhai Mansingh
 Parekh
 12 „ Chandulal R. Mehta
 13 Shrimati Chanchal Laxmi
 Raojibhai Patel
 14 Sjt. Chatrabhuj Chimanlal
 Parikh
 15 „ Chhaganlal Khushalchand
 Gandhi
 16 „ Chhotalal Anupram Vyas
 17 „ Chhotalal Gholabhai
 Gandhi
 18 „ Chhaganlal Nathubhai
 Joshi
 19 „ Dayalbhai Kasibhai Patel
 20 Sjt. Dayalbhai Manordas Patel
 21 „ Damaji Vachharaj Shah
 22 „ Dayalaji Nanubhai Desai
 23 „ Davaji Makandas Shah
 24 Dharmanand Kansambi
 25 „ Fakirchand Ishwardas
 26 „ Foolchand Bapuji Shah
 27 „ Gokuldas Dwarkadas
 Talati
 28 „ Goculdas Khimji
 29 „ Gopaldas Ambaidas Desai
 30 „ Gopaldas Purushottamdas
 31 „ Gordhanbhai V. Patel
 32 „ Harilal Kalyan Rai Maru
 33 „ Hariprasad M. Mehta
 34 „ Hariprasad Varajrai Desai
 35 „ Imam Abdul Kadir
 Bawazir
 36 „ Jaisukhlal Gandhi
 37 „ Jannulal Tricanddas Gandhi
 38 „ Jayramdas Jethabhai
 Gandhi
 39 „ Jethabhai Bhailalbhai
 40 „ Jethalal Meghaji Chavata
 41 „ Jivanlal Hariprasad Divan
 42 „ Jivram Kalyanji Kothari
 43 „ Jivvijayaji Muni

- | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|-----|-------------------------------|
| 44 | Sjt. Jivram Kalyanji | 79 | Sjt. Pranshankar B. Master |
| 45 | " Jivraj J. Metha | 80 | " Pranlal Sakarchaud Mehta |
| 46 | " Kalidas Jaskaran Javeri | 81 | " Purushottam Pathak |
| 47 | Mrs. Kamalabeheh Ambalal | 82 | " Rana Raojibhai |
| 48 | Sjt. Kantiprasad | | Chhotabhai |
| | Chandrashankar Anantani | 83 | " Ramlal Ghelabhai Shah |
| 49 | Dr. Khandawala | 84 | " Ramanlal Hammatlal |
| 50 | Sjt. Khimji Lalji Mohsin | | Gandhi |
| 51 | " Kuberdas Hargovandas | 85 | " Ramji Hapuraj Shah |
| 52 | " Krishnalal Narasilal Desai | 86 | " Raviprasad Hariprasad |
| 53 | " Krishnarao Ramchandra | | Desai |
| | Kulkarni | 87 | " Revjibhai Ishwarbhai Patel |
| 54 | " Lalchand N. Seth | 88 | " Ranchhodhbhai Valavji |
| 55 | " Maganbhai Sankarbhai M. | 89 | " Ratilal Jatashankar Trivedi |
| 56 | " Mahadeo Haribhai Desai | 90 | " Ravishankar Shivram Vyas |
| 57 | " Manilal Chhatubhai Desai | 91 | " Ratanlal Vitthaladas |
| 58 | " Manilal H. Mehta | | Khandwalla |
| 59 | " Manilal Valabhaji Kothari | 92 | " Shankarlal Ghelabhai |
| 60 | " Manilal Parmandas Mehta | | Banker |
| 61 | " Mohanlal Dalichand | 93 | " Shivbhai Asabhai Patel |
| 62 | " Mohanlal Kameshwar | 94 | " Sivji Devsi |
| | Pandya | 95 | " Shyamji Shavji Viani |
| 63 | Mahatma Mohandas | 96 | " Shripati W. Patwardhan |
| | Karamchand Gandhi | 97 | " Surendra B. Modhi |
| 64 | Sjt. Morarji Khatan | 98 | " Tricamlal Mansukhlal Shah |
| 65 | " Motichand R. Shah | 99 | " Uttamchand Deepchand |
| 66 | " Mulaji Sikka | | Shah |
| 67 | " Naranbhai Chhaganbhai | 100 | Shrimati Vasumati Behen |
| | Patel | 101 | Sjt. Vanechand Dodrlabhai |
| 68 | " Vadilal Dalsukhram | 102 | " Vallabhbhai J. Patel |
| 69 | " Narottamdas Karandas | 103 | " Vasalmia Nuruddin Syed |
| | Batia | 104 | " Shrimati Yesoda Kashibhai |
| 70 | " Najinbhai Varajbhai Patel | | Amin |
| 71 | " Nanabhai D. Upadhia | | |
| 72 | " Nanddas Haridas Parikh | | |
| 73 | Sjt. Narharilal Kalidas Parekh | | |
| 74 | " Nathubhai Gulabbhai | | |
| | Desai | | |
| 75 | " Hanaji Premji Shah | | |
| 76 | " Pursottam Govindji | | |
| 77 | " Popatlal Lavjibhai Mehta | | |
| 78 | " Pranshankar B. Master | | |

Karnatak

- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| 1 | Sjt. A. J. Khalil |
| 2 | " A. N. Subba Rao |
| 3 | " A. J. Hanmantha Rao |
| 4 | " A. M. T. Acharya |
| 5 | " A. R. Rangiah |
| 6 | " A. Shrikanthiah |
| 7 | " A. Sitaramaish |

- 8 Sjt. Anna Rao Tikotekar
 9 Anant Venktesh Kusugal
 10 „ Ambadas Rao Wakil
 11 „ Basavanappa Adveppa
 Matu
 12 „ Babasa Bakale
 13 „ B. Bhimarao
 14 „ Bandachari Chakkot
 15 „ B. Makhanlal Haveri
 16 „ B. K. Laxmi Narayan
 17 „ B. Nagabhat
 18 „ Bindu R. Mannur
 19 „ B. Ranga Swamiah
 20 „ B. Subrao
 21 „ B. Sinappa Hebbar
 22 „ B. Subba Narsinha Shastri
 23 „ B. V. Basutkar
 24 „ Bhima Rao Tulsigeri
 25 „ C. R. Narayan Swami
 Iyengar
 26 „ C. S. Rama Rao
 27 „ C. Varada Venkata Iyengar
 28 „ D. Bhima Rao
 29 „ Dattatraya Dixit Baba
 Dixit
 30 „ D. H. Banga Rao
 31 „ D. Namayan Iyer
 32 „ D. N. Joshi
 33 „ D. K. Kulkarni
 34 „ D. E. Majali
 35 „ D. B. Huliyalkar
 36 „ D. S. Hanmantha Rao
 37 „ G. B. Deshpande
 38 „ Govind Babaji Mhaisal
 39 „ Gururao B. Dharwarkar
 40 „ Gurunath Balaji Beknalkar
 41 „ Gopalrao Bergaonkar
 42 „ G. F. Duguppa
 43 „ G. Ganapathi
 44 „ Gurunathbhat Havnur
 45 „ Gulam Hydersabib
 46 „ Govinda Rao Jainapur

- 47 Sjt. G. K. Gurusangiah
 48 „ Govind Ladshet Bandekar
 49 „ Gunderao M. Savnur
 50 „ Gurulingappa Malleyya
 51 „ G. N. Kalmadi
 52 „ GundeRao
 53 „ Ganpat Sadashiva
 Nadkarni
 54 „ G. S. Rudrappa
 55 „ Govind Venktesh Kulkarni
 56 „ G. V. Narsinha Iyengar
 57 „ Gopala Rao Ummachagi
 58 „ H. C. Ganesha Rao
 59 „ H. G. Naik
 60 „ H. Hanmantha Rao
 61 „ Hanmantha Rao Jalihal
 62 „ Hanmantha Rao Sawakar
 63 „ H. Shrinivasa Joshi
 64 „ H. S. Kanjalgi
 65 „ Hanmant Shrinivas Naik
 66 „ H. Ramchandra Bhate
 67 „ Hatti Ramchandra
 68 „ H. S. Deshpande
 69 „ Honnayya Shetti
 70 „ H. S. Kshirsagar
 71 „ Hafir Sayad Sha Gulam
 Dastagir
 72 „ H. Narayana Rao
 73 Sjt. H. V. Subramanyam
 74 „ H. Venkatrajappa
 75 „ I. H. Shiddik
 76 „ Jamaluddinsahab
 77 „ Jivappa Anigundi
 78 „ L. K. Deshpande
 79 „ Janameda Madappa
 80 „ Jawan Mohammad Hayat
 81 „ Jwali Raghupatirao
 82 „ Jagmohan Surajmal
 83 „ K. A. Shrinivas Shetty
 84 „ Kashirao Anawatti
 85 „ K. G. Naik
 86 „ K. Guraji Rao

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------|
| 87 | Sjt. Kumarya Hegade | 126 | Sjt. M. Rama Rao |
| 88 | " K. Krishna Iyengar | 126 A | " Mundegudde Ramrao |
| 89 | " K. Krishna Swami | 127 | " M. S. Narayan Iyengar |
| 90 | Shrimati Kanakabai Manglore | 128 | " M. Sarvabhata |
| 91 | Sjt. K. M. Da prabha | 129 | " M. S. Ramachar |
| 92 | " K. Marbanderiti | 130 | " M. Subrao |
| 93 | " K. Narayan Iyengar | 131 | " M. T. Wenkatsubbiah |
| 94 | " K. N. Sadaki | 132 | " M. Surinarayan |
| 95 | " K. Narayana Rao | 133 | " M. Venkatiah |
| 96 | " K. Putta Rao | 134 | " M. S. Tamanna Hegade |
| 97 | " K. Ranga Iyengar | 135 | " N. L. Katti |
| 98 | " Krishnappa Ramanganda | 136 | " Narsingrao Muttgi |
| | Patil | 137 | " Nanjayva Shetti |
| 99 | " K. Raghavendra Rao | 138 | " N. Sanjivarao |
| 100 | " K. Sadashiva Rao | 139 | " N. S. Rajapurohit |
| 101 | " K. S. Vaidyaji | 140 | " N. S. Hardikar |
| 102 | " K. S. Shankarasabhupati | 141 | " Narayanacharya Terdalkar |
| | Iyer | 142 | " P. G. Jog |
| 103 | " K. Shamanna | 143 | " Parmanna Hosamani |
| 104 | " K. Shantappa | 144 | " Pandit Purth Narayan |
| 105 | " K. Sampathagiri Rao | 145 | " P. Ramchandra Rao |
| 109 | " Kashi Shrinivasanna | 146 | " P. B. Ramiah |
| 107 | " Laxman Bapuji | 147 | Sjt. P. Shama Rao |
| 108 | " Laxmappa Konappanwar | 148 | " Putta Timappa |
| 109 | " Lalji Megiji | 149 | " D. Rama Rao |
| 110 | Sjt. Laxmi Narayan Puniketa | 150 | Sjt. Ramachari |
| 111 | " Laxman Das Shidde | 151 | " R. B. Kulkarni |
| 112 | " L. V. Tikotekar | 152 | " R. G. Joshi |
| 113 | " Mahadevabhata | 153 | " Rangacharya Gadag |
| 114 | " M. A. Gopaldaswami | 154 | " Rango Govind Deshpande |
| | Iyengar | 155 | " Ramkrishna Gopalkrishna
Hegade |
| 115 | " Madhav Bhikmarao Kabbur | 156 | " Raghavottamacharya
Jahagirdar |
| 116 | " M. Basappa | 157 | " Raghavendrarao Ji
Kathwate |
| 117 | " M. G. Shankarappa Gouda | 158 | " R. K. Shevade |
| 118 | " Mohammad Havit | 159 | " Ramchandra Narayan |
| 119 | " Motisahab Hansi | 160 | " B. N. Desai |
| 120 | " Mallppa Kudaupur | 161 | " R. Narayanshetti |
| 121 | " M. L. Narsinha Iyer | 162 | " Ramchandra N. Hegade |
| 122 | " Mahabalesharappa Mather | 163 | " B. S. Naik |
| 123 | " Madhavrao Nadgir | 164 | " Shrimati R. S. Seflur |
| 124 | " M. N. Bhima Bharadwaj | | |
| 125 | " M. E. Kembhavi | | |

165	Sjt. R. Shrinivasa Rao
166	" R. S. Gopalacharya
167	" Raghavendra Shrinivasa Deshpande
168	" R. S. K. Rangachar
169	" Ramlal Tiwari
170	" R. Venkatram
171	" Shrimati Ramabai Yalgi
172	" Sayad A dam Rezvi
173	" Sidram Adveppa Gunaki
174	" Satyamitra Bangeri
172	" S. B. Sharma
176	" Shivaji Chidambar Kulkarni
177	" Shankarappa Dhanshetti
178	" Shrinivasa Rao Deshpande
179	" S. G. Kulkarni
180	" S. G. Kulkarni
181	" S. G. Pujari
182	" Shrinivasa Hegade
183	" Sangappa Herkal
184	" Shenkarbhat Joshi
185	" S. K. Setlur
186	" S. Manjappa
187	" S. Narsinha
188	" S. Narsoji Rao
189	" S. N. M. Razavi
190	" S. P. Limaya
191	" S. Ramiah Reddi
192	" S. R. S. Raghavan
193	" S. R. Potdar
194	" Shivbasappa Rachappa Manoli
195	" Shidram Shetti
196	" Shidramaya Shivbasaya Heremath
197	" S. S. Kulkarni
198	" Satvajirao Suryavanshi
199	" Subrayya Tolapadittaya
200	" S. T. Katti
201	" Subbayabhat Urkeri
202	" S. V. Kaulalaci

204	Sjt. S. V. Kalyanpurkar
205	" S. Venkateshaya
206	" S. Venkatachal Iyengar
207	" T. B. Purohit
208	" T. C. Subrahmanyam
209	" T. S. Krishna
210	" T. Sundur Ram Iyer
211	" Trimal Shripat Kaujalgi
212	" T. Shankar Lingam Pille
213	" T. S. Venkappa
214	" V. H. Dambal
215	" Trimal Shrinivasacharya
216	" T. Subrahmanyam
217	" Vishwanatharao Jog
218	" Venkatrao Joshi
219	" Vinayakrao Koralkar
220	" V. Krishnaiah
221	" Virbhadrappa Kurle
222	" Vithoba Nikam
223	" Vithalrao V. Joshi
224	" V. N. Joshi
225	" V. S. Umachigi
226	" Wasudeo Y. Walve
227	" Y. Krishna Rao
228	" Y. Manjunathayya
229	" Y. Rama Rao
230	" Y. Vasappa

Tamil Nadu.

1	Sjt. Abdul Majid K. A.
2	" Abdul Makim Khau
3	" Adikesavala Nairaker P. M.
4	" Adimul Mudliar
5	" Ayamuthu Gonder
6	" Alagappa Chettier
7	" Alagiri Swami Naidu
8	" Anamalai Pillai
9	" Appu Rao
10	" Ashar P. D.
11	" Arunachalam
12	" Iyengar V. V.
13	" Ayer V. V. S.

15	Sjt. Balaji Rao	57	Sjt. Hanmanthappa
16	" Balkrishna Rao C. S.	58	" Haribhai A. Metha
17	" Bhaktavatsala M.	59	" Ignatious W. P.
18	" Bhaktavatsalu Naidu P.	60	" Irulandi Sarvai
19	" Bankaru Swami Reddier	61	" Janaki Ram Reddier
20	" Bashyam Iyengar K.	62	" Janaki Ram Mulliar
21	" Bugarha Muruthi Achariar	63	" Jairam Iyer S.
22	" Chakkarai Chettier V.	64	" Jagannath Iyengar S.
23	" Chidambar Bharati	65	" Jagannath Mudliar P. R.
24	" Chinnaswami Naiduji	66	" Jayavelu Mailai
25	" Chiunaswami Iyengar R.	67	" Kannadswami Naidu
26	" Chikkan Chettier M. N.	68	" Kannadswami Gonder S.
27	" Choklingam Chettier	69	" Kannadswami Reddier A.
28	" Dabyabhai Prabhubhai	70	" Kannadswami Pillai R. S.
	Pattel	71	" Kannadswami Gonder S. K.
29	" Deorailu Naidu	72	" Kannadaswami Chettier
30	" Dharmlingam S. R.	73	" Kannappa Chettier
31	" Dhanpal Chettier P.	74	" Kothishwar Iyer
32	" Dhori Kannu Mudliar C.	75	" Krishnamurthi Iyer
33	" Dhcrswami R.	76	" Krishnachariar M.
34	" Dhorswami Chettier S.	77	" Krishnam Achariar
35	" Dhorswami Mudliar	78	" Krishna Iyengar S. D.
36	" Doraswami Soliar	79	" Krishnaswami Naidu R.
37	" Dharmraj Iyer N.	80	" Krishna Chettier A.
38	" Ekambar Chettier	81	" Krishna Iyer P. R.
39	" Ekambar Mudliar	82	" Krishna Rao K. V.
40	" Ekambar Mudliar	83	" Krishnaswami Iyer N. V.
41	" Egoppa Chettier Y. P.	84	" Krishnaswami Iyengar
42	" Eshwarmurthi K. R.	85	" Krishnaswami T.
43	" Eshwarmurthi Gonder R. V.	86	" Krishnaih Chettier N. V.
44	" Ethirajolu Naidu T. B.	87	" Krishnaswami Mudliar B.
45	" Ganapathi Shastri	88	" Krittivas
46	" Gangadhreshwar Mudliar	89	" Kinjappa
47	" Gangadhara Shastri A. V.	90	" Koppa Raju
48	" Gurunatham Sarvai K.	91	" Koppusami Mulliar
49	" Gopal Iyer	92	" Kuppusami Naidu
50	" Gopal Rathnam Iyer C. N.	93	" Kuppu Sami A.
51	" Gopal Chettier M. V.	94	" Kuppu Raju P. V.
52	" Govind Swami Pillai	95	" Karpanna Chettier
53	" Guruswami Chettier D. A.	96	" Kodandam Iyengar M. B.
54	" Curuswami Chettier Sala	97	" Krishnasami P. S.
55	" Hazi Mohammad Mailana	98	" Laxmi Varaha Iyengar

99	Sjt. Laxman Reddier Bedu	141	Sjt. Panjamor
100	" Laxmi Narayan Iyer S.	142	" Perisami Gonder S. M.
101	" Laxman Chettier	143	" Pacchippa Chettier
102	" Livanset Jain	144	" Pashupati K.
103	" Mahalinga Iyer S.	145	" Ponalagarsami Chettier
104	" Manik Mudliar M.	146	" Raghava Iyer V.
105	" Mareppa Asariar	147	" C. Rajagopalachariar
106	" Manilal M. Metha	148	" Raghavendra Rao K. V.
107	" Minakshi Sundram T. P.	149	" Rajagopala Iyengar V.
108	Maulana N.	150	" Rajarathnam Mudliar N.S.
109	Sjt. Mohammad Shukur	151	" Ramalingam Pillai
110	" Mallanna	152	" Ramabhadra Udayar
111	" Munirathna Mudliar	153	" Ramachandram Chettier T. A.
112	" Muttu Raman T. K.	154	" Ramachandrarariar S.
113	" Muttu Swami Chettier	155	" Ramachandra Chettier C. M.
114	" Munisannayya Gonder D.	156	" Ramadhasan N.
115	" Muttu Nadar S. A.	157	" Ramaiah Naidu U. N.
116	" Muthialsami Naidu N.	158	" Ramaih Pillai M. D.
117	" Muthu Ranga Mudliar	159	" Ramakrishna M. V.
118	" Narasinhachariar A.	160	" Ramakrishna Naidu N.
119	" Narsu Pillai T. V.	161	" Ramakrishna Iyer S. V.
120	" Narsinha Iyer M.	162	" Ramalingam Pillai
121	" Narsinha Iyer K.	163	" Raman Chettier K. V. M.
122	" Narayan Swami Iyer C. S.	164	" Ramanathan S. R. M.
123	" Narayan Swami Naidu T.	165	" Ramanujalu Naidu
124	" Narayan Iyer K.	166	" Rama Rao A. N.
125	" Narayan Chettier	167	" Ramaih Desikar C. B.
126	" Nagrathan Iyer A. S.	168	" Ramashesha Iyer A. C.
127	" Naidu C. V.	169	" Rathnasabhapati Gonder P. K.
128	" Nayannappa Pillai	170	" Ramasami Iyer T. E.
129	" Narsinhan Pillai P.	171	" Ramasami Iyengar K.
130	" Nanjappa D. N.	172	" Ramasami Reddier P.
131	" Natesan M.	173	" Ramaswami Iyer G. M.
132	" Natraj Iyer K.	174	" Ramaswami Iyengar
133	" Natesh Chettier M. G.	175	" Ramaswami Iyer O. V. S.
134	" Navanithan Chettier N. S.	176	" Ramaswami Iyer K.
135	" Nilkanthappa D. N.	177	" Ramaswami Iyengar K. V.
136	" Nurmohammad	178	" Ramasami Naicker
137	" Padmanabha Rao J.	179	" Ramasami Gonder K. S.
138	" Padmanabha Rao C. K.		
139	" Padmasami Ammal		
140	" Ballanivelu Mudliar A.		

180	Sjt. Ramasami Iyengar	220	Sjt. Shrinivasa Iyengar T.
181	" Ramasami Mudliar T. S.	221	" Shrinivasa Iyengar S.
182	" Ramachandra Naidu G.	222	" Shrinivasa Iyengar N. S.
183	" Ramasami Naicker E. V.	223	" Shrinivasacharya C.
184	" Ramanathan S.	224	" Shrinivasa Varada Iyengar
185	" Ranganathan S.	225	" Shrinivasa Raghvan N. K.
186	" Ranganathan Iyengar S. R.	226	" Shrinivasa Rao J.
187	" Rangasami Iyengar A.	227	" Shrinivasa C.
188	" Rangasami Iyengar U.	228	" Shrinivasa T. N.
189	" Rangasami Naidu	229	" Shrinivasa Iyengar
190	" Raju Iyer T. S.	230	" Santhanam K.
191	" Rama T. K.	231	" Subramhanyam K. S.
192	" Sadashiva Chettier A. M.	232	" T. Sadashivam
193	" Saranadhan D.	233	" Shafi Mohammad
194	" Sadagopan K.	234	" Subba Rao K. V.
195	" Sambananda Murthi	235	" Svbbba Rao Chettier
196	" Sambashivam Pillai	236	" Subbaih C. P.
197	" Sangameshwar Chettier	237	Mrs. Subbamal
198	" Shankar Narayan K. R.	238	Sjt. Subramhaniam N.
199	" Satyamurthi S.	239	" Subramhanyam Chettier
200	" Selachami Pillai		T. A.
201	" Senakrishna Chettier D. P.	240	" Subramhanyam Gunder
202	" Seagallalyaroya Mudliar	241	" Subamhanyam Iyer R.
203	" Shesha Iyengar M. S.	242	" Subramhaniayar
204	" Sheshadri Achariar B. T.	243	" Subramhanya Pillai B.
205	" Shasthri T. V. S.		M. S.
206	" Shanmukham Chettier	244	" Subramhanya Pillai S.
	B. K.	245	" Subramhanyam Mudliar M.
207	" Shek Surviar Saheb	246	" Sundaramam
208	" Shankarlal Parekh	247	" Suramaniswami Chetty
209	" Shivagurunathan	248	" Sundara Rajan S. P.
210	" Shivaram K. M.	249	" Sundranath Arya S. P. Y.
211	" Shivgurunath Pillai	250	" Suralayandi Sarvai
212	" Shivilingappa H.	251	" Aminatha S.
213	" Shivsubramhaniam Chettier	252	" Swaminathan N.
	T. M.	253	" Sayyad Murthujasaheb
214	" Seetapathi		(M. L. A.)
215	" Shivasubramhanya	254	" Subaray P. S.
216	" Solaisalai Thevar	244	" Subramnam N. M. P.
217	" Somasundaram Iyer N.	256	" Subraih P. K.
218	" Somasundaram Pillai K.	257	" Tatachariar D. P.
219	" Sranambal Mudliar	258	" K. Subramaniam
		259	" Thigarajan A. V.

- 260 Sjt. Thigaraya Iyer K. N.
 261 „ Trupatti Chettier
 262 „ Tiravengadatha Iyengar
 263 „ Vaidyanath Iyer M. K.
 264 „ Varada Reddier
 265 „ Varada Rajalu Naidu P.
 266 „ Vedantachariar K. P.
 267 „ Virraghava Iyengar
 268 „ Virappa P. M.
 269 „ Virabhadra Nayavar
 270 „ Venkatram Iyer Y.
 271 „ Venkatachalam Pillai K. Y.
 272 „ Venkatachalam R. K.
 273 „ Venkataramoni K. S.
 274 „ Venkataram Iyer
 275 „ Venkatachalam Iyer V.
 276 „ Venkatathini Naidu G.
 277 „ Venkatakrishna Sharma
 278 „ Venkata Rangam Naidu
 279 „ Venkatachalam Pillai
 280 „ Venkateswami Naidu R. V.
 281 „ Venkateswar Iyer R.
 282 „ Venkatesh Iyer
 283 „ Venkatesh Iyer A. B.
 284 „ Velayudham Pillai S.
 285 „ Velumrangam Chettier
 286 „ Veluswami Ganvader P. S.
 287 „ Velingayar Gounder V. C.
 288 „ Vellumile Mudliar
 289 „ Venkatram-Iyengar C. V.
 290 „ Venkatkrishna Pillai P. S.
 291 „ Varadachari N. S.
 292 „ Venkatraman S.
 293 „ Vedantachari P. S.
 294 „ Vasudevan T. V.
 295 „ Yadneshwar Sharma K. P.
 296 „ Venkata Gonder
 297 „ R. Sengodan
 298 „ T. A. Ramalingam Chettier

Kerala.

- 1 Sjt. Bhutlingam T. Parrukar
 2 „ Govinddas A. K.

- 3 Sjt. Govind M. M.
 4 „ Govinda Mansha
 5 „ Keshavan Karatha E.
 6 „ Kumar K.
 7 „ Kuntikrishna Pillai K. G.
 8 „ Kurra Achari
 9 „ Madhay Nadiar V.
 10 „ Madhavan T. K.
 11 „ Menon G. N.
 12 „ V. D. Muni
 13 „ Nair K. G.
 14 „ Nilkanthan Nambudiripad
 15 „ Nagaji Sarsersi Shet
 16 „ Naidu M. E.
 17 „ Ponnai Amal
 18 „ Ramkrishna Nair
 19 „ Ramanunni Nair M.
 20 „ Sarma R. V.
 21 „ Madha Shitta
 22 „ Shripad Narsinha Pandit
 23 „ Sui Does Set
 24 „ Subrambanya Iyer P. R.
 25 „ Subrambanya Iyer K. V.
 26 „ Velayudhan Menon K.

Maharashtra.

- 1 Sjt. A. V. Phadnis
 2 „ A. P. Deshmukh
 3 „ Abbasbhai Abdulbhai
 4 „ Abdül Azizshaha
 „ Mohamamad
 5 „ A. G. Abhyankar
 6 „ Ahmmedbhai Tamboli
 7 „ A. G. Damale.
 8 Shrimati Anandibai Jogtekar
 9 Sjt. A. D. Rege
 10 „ A. S. Kapshikar
 11 „ R. C. Lagu
 12 „ Bhogilal Balubhai
 13 „ Dabulal Nanchand
 14 „ Bhogilal Maganlal
 15 „ B. K. Moholkar
 16 „ B. G. Bapat

7	Sjt. B. J. Marathey	58	Sjt. G. A. Bhatta
8	" B. H. Phansalkar	59	" G. A. Marulkar
19	" B. M. Phanse	60	" G. K. Phadke
20	" B. V. Parachure	61	" G. K. Mangrulkar
21	" B. G. Gujar	62	" Ganeshrao Kale
22	" B. S. Degaonkar	63	" G. R. Wadgaonkar
23	" B. G. Nijasure	64	" G. S. Altekarkar
24	" B. N. Gandhi	65	" G. V. Kaujalagi
25	" B. T. Deshpande	66	" G. A. Deshpande
26	" Chhotalal Shivachand	67	" G. B. Mehendale
27	" C. M. Saptarishi	68	" M. K. Lele
28	" C. R. Joshi	69	" G. A. Desai
29	" Chunilal Rupchand	70	" G. S. Mahadane
30	" Chunilal Rojran Marwadi	71	" Gopalsingh Govindsingh
31	" D. G. Abhyankar	72	" G. B. Shrotri
32	" Dulichand Gulabchand	73	" G. D. Tamboli
33	" D. K. Gosavi	74	" Govindji Khimji
34	" D. D. Khande	75	" G. M. Karandikar
35	" D. E. Satarakar	76	" Govindrao Patwadhan
36	" D. V. Gokhale	77	" G. S. Bhonsle
37	" D. B. Potnis	78	" Gulabchand Doshi
38	" D. K. Shaha	79	" G. K. Godbole
39	" D. G. Dhabbu	80	" H. D. Gandhi
40	" D. J. Phatak	81	" H. G. Phatak
41	" D. K. Barve	82	" H. M. Vaghire
42	" Dharmchand	83	" H. V. Tulpule
	Khushalchand	84	" I. K. Tambatkar
43	" D. B. Khadilkar	85	" J. K. Metha
44	" D. G. Lubari	86	" Jagjivan Khushalchand
45	" D. S. Walimbe	87	" J. D. Gandhi
46	" D. P. Deshmukh	88	" J. N. Mohrir
47	" Deokinandan Narayan	89	" J. N. Metha
48	" D. J. Agrawala	90	Mrs. Jannabai Surajmal
49	" D. S. Mote		Govindchand
50	" E. T. Wani	91	Sjt. J. P. Abhyankar
51	" Eknath Gyanba	92	" J. J. Metha
52	" G. G. Pasankar	93	" J. V. Vaidya
53	" G. N. Joshi	94	" M. V. Shaha
54	" G. S. Marathey	95	" K. T. Jadhav
55	" G. E. Mule	96	" K. B. Joshi
56	" G. S. Bidkar	97	" K. R. Chapkhane
57	" G. V. Patwardhan	98	" K. W. Manohar

99	Sjt. K. S. Marvadi	140	Sjt. M, G, Barve
100	" Kacharadas Shaha	141	" Motilal Javanmal
101	" K. G. Gadgil	142	" M, T, Walavalkar
102	" K. G. Joshi	143	" M, B, Ambapkar
103	" K. P. Mani	144	" N, G, Behere
104	" K. W. Kulkarni	145	" N, G, Akhande
105	" Kundanmal Subhachand	146	" N, C, Kelkar
	Parodhia	147	" N, D, Devadhikar
106	" L, M, Deshpande	148	" N, J, Padhye
107	" Ladlesahab Hassansahab	149	" N, D, Savarkar
108	" L. G, Talathi	150	" M, K, Deshpande
109	" L, B, Bhopathkar	151	" N, G, Joshi
110	" L, M, Mahajan	152	" N, M, Gokhale
111	" L, R, Patil	153	" N, S, Marathey
112	" M, B, Metha	154	" N, T, Tarkunde
113	" M, M, Patel	155	" N, V, Ranade
114	" M, B, Gandhi	156	Mrs, Narmadabai Godbole
115	" M, G, Gadgil	157	Sjt, Nathu Jagannath
116	" M, G, Karlekar	158	" Otturkar
117	" Magan T, Shet	159	" P, G, Joshi
118	" M, G, Shinde	160	" P, V, Kane
119	" M, G, Karandikar	161	" P, M, Kasakar
120	" M, B, Godbole	162	" P, B, Bhate
121	" M, N, Saharabudhe	163	" P, D, Borekar
122	" M, S, Shere	164	" P, G, Dharmkar
123	" Mahadeo Shastri Divekar	165	" P, K, Shiralkar
124	" M, V, Khare	166	" P, M, Bhagwat
125	" M, V, Gore	167	" P, M, Sathe
126	Shrimati Malatibai Thatte	168	" P, B, Marwadi
127	Sjt, M, K, Devare	169	" P, G, Metha
128	" M, M, Hirve	170	" Popatlal Ramchand Shaha
129	" M, N, Hindulkar	171	" P, H, Marwadi
130	" M, N, Sathe	172	" P, M, Metha
131	" M, R, Dhadge	173	" P, G, Jog
132	" M, R, Gosavi	174	" P, M, Saptarishi
133	" Mir Shukralla	175	" P, R, Vaishampayan
134	" M, R, Korhalkar	176	" P, S, Naik
135	" M, K, Javeri	177	" R, G, Bhide
136	" M, N, Agashe	178	" R, B, Gatve
137	" M, K, Athavale	179	" R, G, Soman
138	" M, N, Jape	180	" R. M. Bhoir
139	" M, B, Welkar	181	" R. N. Mandlik

182	Sjt. R, V. Maharkar	224	Sjt. S, G. Walavjin
183	" Raghvendra Sharma	225	" S, H. Thatte
184	" R. H. Gadre	226	" S, G. Jahagirdar
185	" R. K. Karmarkar	227	" Shrinivasarao Kadgaonkar
186	" R. G. Davada	228	" S, R. Chugardhare
187	Shrimati Ramabai V, Kulkarni	229	" S, K. Phatak
188	Sjt R, G. Chavan	230	" S, R. Joshi
189	" R, N. Deshmukh	231	" Shripadrao Palnitkar
190	" R, N. Marwadi	232	" S, S. Mahajan
191	" B, R. Shetye	233	" S, S. Ratange
192	" R, S. Bapat	234	" S, C. Langa
193	" R, S. Rajwade	235	" S, G. Shet
194	" R, T. Pande	236	" T, B. Kautik
195	" Ramkrishanadas Maharaj	237	" T, D. Patwardhan
196	" R, B. Shet	238	" T, D. Joshi
197	" Ranchoddas Jannadas	239	" T, R. Chitale
198	" R, B. Badve	240	" T, B. Mirali
199	" R, G. Gavankar	241	" M, B. Udgaonkar
200	" R, G. Shaha	242	" U, S. Rao
201	" Rikhabdas Pratapmal	243	" V, D. Phatak
202	" S, E. Shaha	244	Mrs. Umabai Abhyankar
203	" S, G. Phadke	245	Sjt. V, G. Joshi
204	" S, S. Naik	246	" V, P. Patankar
205	" Shankarlal Chimanlal	247	" V, G. Ketkar
206	" S, D. Agarkar	248	" V, G. Kulkarni
207	" S, K. Altekar	249	" V, N. Dhage
208	" S, L. Kadulkar	250	" V, N. More
209	" S, D. Javadekar	251	" V, J. Patel
210	Shrimati Saraswatibai Kaujalagi	252	" V, P. Limaye
211	" Saraswatibai Phadke	253	" V, R. Mokashi
212	Sjt. S, G. Gadgil	254	" V, V. Dandekar
213	" Shankarlal Agarawala	255	" Vallabhdas Chunilal
214	" S, M. Sinkar	256	" V, D. Shaha
215	" S, N. Joshi	257	" W, G. Patwardhan
216	" S, M. Divekar	258	" Walchand Khemchand
217	" S, R. Chaudatre	259	" W, L. Nulkar
218	" S, V. Thakur	260	" Waman Naik Jahagirdar
219	" Sitaramdas Shastri	261	" W, B. Sathe
220	Shrimati Sitabai Vaidya	262	Mrs. Waman Naik Jahagirdar
221	Sjt. S, R. Kulkarni	263	Sjt. W, D. Mundle
222	" S, D. Gandhi	264	" W, G. Chirmule
223	" Shivanath Nagraj Marvadi	265	" W, V. Kirtane
		266	" W, V. Dastane

- 267 Sjt, V, B, Chaukar
 268 " V, C, Kelkar
 269 " V, M, Bhuskute
 270 " V, N, Apto
 271 " V, N, Upadhye
 272 " V, P, Athale
 273 " V, S, Jakatdar
 274 " V, W, Muley
 275 " V, G, Apto
 276 " V, G, Ketkar
 277 " V, K, Damale
 278 " V, G, Javadekar
 279 " V, N, Parnik
 280 " V, V, Bochare
 281 " V, K, Joshi
 282 " V, S, Kanitkar
 283 " V, W, Rajwade
 284 " Y, S, Vinchurkar
 285 " Y, A, Surve
 286 " Y, G, Joshi

Panjab

- 1 Sjt, Lala Achint Ram
 2 " Sardar Arjan Singh
 3 " Khawaja Abdul Rahman
 Ghazi
 4 " Khawaja Allauddin
 5 " Swami Bai Swaroop
 6 " Sardar Bhagwan Singh
 Goind
 7 " Lala Bulagi Ram
 8 " Lala Duni chand
 9 " Baba Dhanpat Rai
 10 " Bakshii Darshan Singh
 11 " Lala Feroze Chand
 12 " Dr, Gopichand Bhargava
 13 " Pandit Gajanand Sharma
 14 " Pandit Ganesh Das
 15 " Lala Hans Raj Katar
 16 " Lala Jagan Nath
 17 " Sardar Jagat Singh
 18 " Sardar Kishen Singh
 19 " Lala Kishen Das Kohli

- 20 Sjt, Lala Latha Ram Hiteshi
 21 " Lala Lajapat Rai
 22 " Sant Mangal Singh
 23 " Sardar Mangal Singh
 24 " Lala Mangal Sen
 25 " Lala Mehar Chand
 26 " Doctor Nihal Chand Sikri
 27 " Lala Nand Lal
 28 " Bhai Nidhan Singh Alam
 29 " Sardar Nihal Sing
 30 " Doctor Parashu Ram
 Sharma
 31 " Lala Pindi Das
 32 " Lala Raja Ram Javanri
 33 " Dr, Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew
 34 " Sardar Sundar Singh
 35 " Lala Sandal Lal
 37 " Sayid Talab Ali Shah
 37 " Maulana Zafar Ali Khan
 38 " Latha Ram
 39 " Dr, Khan Chandra Deva
 40 " Pandit Monidra Nand
 41 " Sardar Gian Singh Bedi

Sindh.

- 1 Sjt, Chandiram Gehimal
 2 " Durgadas B, Advani
 3 " Gopaldas Jhamatmal
 4 " Hundomal Kishichand
 5 " Jamiatrai Lalachand
 6 " Jethalal Parasharam
 7 " Jhatmal Lakheingh
 8 " Krishnananda swami
 9 " Kishinchand Menghraj
 10 " Lalehand Panachand
 11 " Manbai
 12 " Manikbai Laxmichand
 13 " Manibai
 14 " Manubai Monji
 15 " Metharam Hemanda
 16 " Morar Jetha
 17 " Narayandas Anandji
 18 Shrimati Poona Mamaya

- 19 Sjt. Poorbai
 20 „ R, K, Shidhwa
 21 „ Rochaldas Gidumal
 22 „ Sundordas Vallabbadas
 23 „ Sobharaj Valecha
 24 „ Swami Govindananda
 25 „ Tirathadas Verhomal
 26 „ Tahiram Nevandram
 27 „ Vishnu Sharma
 28 „ Vithalji Madhavaji
 29 „ Vasuamal Murijmal

United Provinces.

- 1 Sjt. Atmaram Govind Khair
 2 „ Arunachalam Chetti
 3 „ B. G. Marashe
 4 „ Bishnukaran Shet
 5 „ Bhaskar Ramchandra
 Vakil
 6 „ Babu Ram Gupta
 7 „ Benimadhavprasad
 Pandey
 8 „ Baijnathsingh Thakore
 9 „ B. N. Sharma
 10 „ Chiranjilal
 11 „ Chidambarnath
 12 „ Chidambar Nadan
 13 „ Chintamanarao Athvale
 14 „ Dattopant Karandikar
 15 „ Dhondo Krishna Sathe
 16 „ D. A. Mohite
 17 „ D. R. Gupte
 18 „ Doraswami Sharma
 19 „ Devalprasad
 20 „ G. M. Joshi
 21 „ Ganesh Shankar Vidya-
 rthi
 22 „ Gourishankar Mishra
 23 „ G. V. Gokhale
 24 „ G. S. Palsule

- 25 Sjt. Ganga Dinaji Chawani-
 wala
 26 „ Gangadhar Ganesh Jog
 27 „ Gangaprasad Shukja
 28 „ Govindarao Biniwala
 29 „ Govindarao Patwardhan
 30 „ G. M. Rande
 31 „ G. H. Palnitkar
 32 „ Gopalrao Biniwale
 33 „ Gangadhareshwar
 Mudliar
 34 „ Gopal Menon
 35 „ Hasarat Mohani Saheb
 36 „ Harnamsundarlal
 37 Begum Hasarat Mohani
 38 Sjt. Hari Moreswar Joshi
 39 „ H. V. Tulpule
 40 „ Sardar Indarasingh
 41 „ Jyotishohandra Chattarji
 42 „ Javaharlal Nehru
 43 „ Jyotishankar Dixit
 44 „ J. S. Karandikar
 45 „ Krishna Gopal Sharma
 46 „ Kalluram jivaji
 47 „ K. N. Kavade
 48 „ K. V. Kanitkar
 49 „ K. Rajagopalan
 50 „ Kamalapati Tiwari
 51 „ Khanmanji
 52 „ Krishna Iyer
 53 „ Krishna Achari
 54 „ Lalumal Dayal
 55 „ Laxminarayan
 Agnihotri
 56 „ Mobanlal Saxena
 57 „ Mohandas Bhikandas
 58 „ M. K. Kulkarni
 59 Shrimati Maharani Devi
 Avasti

60	Shrimati Mahalaxmibai	96	Sjt. P. S. Joshi
61	Sjt. Mahesh Narayansingh	97	" Purnyashastry
62	" Manpal Gupta	98	" Radhakrishna
63	" Manjitsingh Rathor	99	" Ramlal
64	Pandit Motilal Nehru	100	" Ramchandran Kanchan
65	Sjt. Mukhyalal Bhagat	101	" Ramasarup Gupta
66	" Manjhar Ali Sokhta	102	" Ramkumar Tripathi
67	" Murlidhar Bhilekar	103	" Ramprasad Mishra
68	" Mahavirsingh	104	" Raghupati Sahai
69	" Mohammad Akbar	105	" Raghubar Dayal Mishra
70	" Manilal Avasti	106	" Raghubar Dayal Mishra Visharad
71	" M. C. Shedbal	107	" Raghur Sahaj
72	" Narendradeo Varma	108	" Ramalal Shahaji
73	" Narayan Pandurang Kolhapure	109	" Ramdhar Bajpati
74	" N. V. Kulkarni	110	" Rafi Ahmad Kidwai
75	" Narayanprasad Arora	111	" Rameshwar Rao
76	" Nageshwar Upadhya	112	" Ramkrishna
77	" Narayan Vishpu Godbole	113	" Rama Iyengar
78	" N. R. Gunjal	114	" Ramdas Iyer
79	" N. S. Jog	115	" Ramlinga Chettier
80	" N. N. Deshpande	116	Shrimati Rani Dulari Devi
81	" N. S. Doraswami Iyer	117	Sjt. Ramchandra Chettier
82	" Narayanarao Deshpande	118	" Ramdas Rao
83	" Narayan Vinayak Bhonde	119	" Raghavendrachari
84	" N. V. Bhaway	120	" Sarabhai Dayabhai
85	" Narayan Sahai	121	" Sitsitla Sahai
86	" Niranjantlal Podar	122	" Shriprakash
87	" Narayana Rao	123	Maulana Shoukat Ali
88	" Purushottamdas Tandon	124	Sjt. Sambhounath
89	" Pyarilal Agravala	125	" Shivaprasad Gupta
90	" Phulchand Jain	126	" Sampurnananda
91	" P. D. Thatte	127	" S. A. Kulkarni
92	" P. M. Shaha	128	" Sadashiv Ramchandra Khare
93	" P. N. Ainapure	129	" Sarayuprasad
94	" Prabhuttasingh Banarjee	130	" Swami Sahajananda Saraswati
95	" Parameswardutt Sharwa	131	" Shriram Ganesh Fakir
		132	" Sardar Ali Sawari

- 133 Sjt. Saidur Rahiman Kiduai
 134 " Surajbali Pandey
 135 " Shivram Agnihotri
 136 " Shrinivas Raghava
 chariar
 137 Dr. Subramhanyam
 138 Sjt. Shankarananda
 Bramhachari
 139 " Sheshappa
 140 " Subba Rao
 141 " Subba Iyer
 142 " Shivshankaran
 143 " Shivarao H.
 144 " Sheshappa Rangarao
 145 " S. V. Ranade
 146 " Shrinivasa Iyengar
 147 " Sangamlal
 148 " Sreenivasachari
 149 " Todarsingaji
 150 Shrimati Taiji Dixit
 151 Sjt. Ahmadkhan Sherwani
 152 " Umashankar Dixit
 153 " V. D. Shiralkar
 154 " V. N. Kelkar
 155 " V. M. Potdar

- 156 Sjt. Vinayakrao Paranjape
 157 " Veerbhadra Mishra
 158 " Vaman Ganesh Phadke
 159 " Venkateshwaralu
 160 " V. B. Deshpande
 161 " V. M. Deshmukh
 162 " Vadrapati
 163 " Yusfi
 164 " Jahu Ahmmad Saheb

Utkal.

- 1 Sjt. Babaji Ramdas
 2 Shrimati Bhagirathi
 Mahapatra
 3 " Bhagirathi
 Pattanaik
 4 Sjt. Chinnam Subaddhi Patra
 5 " Fakircharan Pandey
 6 " Gopabandhu Das
 7 " Govindrachandra Mishra
 8 " Katakata Balkrishna
 Patra
 9 " Narsingacharan
 Chyanupattanaik
 10 " Frankrishna Prarihari

APPENDIX IV.

Statement showing the number of delegates by provinces.

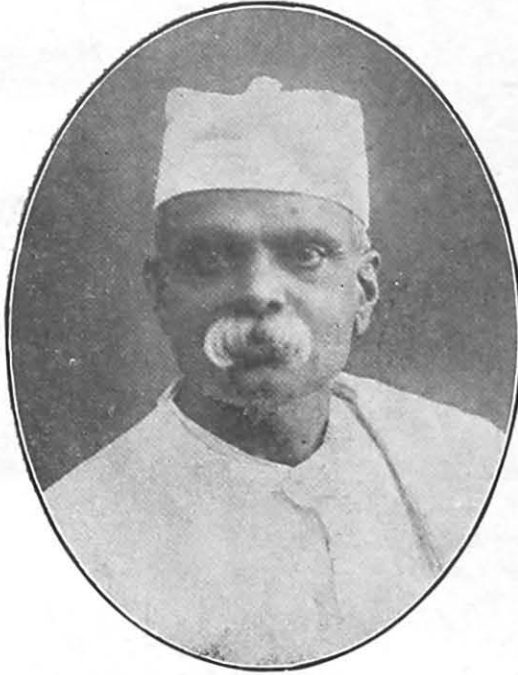
	No. attended	No. entitled
1 Ajmere Mewar	44	400
2 Andhra	299	420
3 Assam	1	63
4 Behar	71	588
5 Bengal	71	986
6 Berar	42	61
7 Bombay	20	19
8 Burma	16	100
9 C. P. Hindi	30	209
10 C. P. Marathi	39	50
11 Delhi	23	100
12 Gujarath	104	195
13 Karnatic	230	320
14 Kerala	26	160
15 Tamil Nadu	298	410
16 Maharastra	286	292
17 Penjab	41	540
18 Sindh	29	71
19 U. P.	164	900
20 Utkal	10	300
Total	1844	6234

APPENDIX V
THIRTY NINTH
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
RECEPTION COMMITTEE,
BELGAUM
STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

Appendix V.

Statement of Receipts and expenditure of the Reception Committee of the 39th Indian National Congress, Belgaum, up to the 31st May 1925.

CR.	Rs.	As.	Ps.	DR.	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Reception Committee membership fees, Rs	1,19,440	1	0	Works Committee (Vide Schedule A.)	44,183	2	0
Donations	2,908	18	0	Water Committee " B.	18,645	0	0
Donations to Karnatak Industrial Exhibition	6,328	8	0	Stores & Diaper Committee " C.	28,317	7	8
Visitors' ticket fees	21,390	0	"	Furniture & Decoration Committee " D.	2,480	15	8
Delegates' fees	12,280	0	0	Exhibition Committee " E.	6,860	2	2
Sale of Exhibition tickets	11,091	0	0	Lights Committee " F.	4,474	2	0
Sale of dinner tickets	8,810	7	0	Volunteer Committee " G.	2,778	8	6
Sale of music tickets	383	8	0	Accommodation Committee " H.	7,314	0	6
Sale of Books, (Congress Guide and Congress Presidential address.)	952	2	0	Publicity Committee " I.	538	10	0
Rent for family quarters	4,346	9	0	Music Committee " J.	1,077	11	0
Rent for stalls in Vijayanagar	5,233	0	0	Medical Committee " K.	545	4	6
Rent for stalls in the Exhibition Enclosure	1,835	0	0	Sanitation & Conservancy Committee " L.	610	13	0
Rent for lodging in Vijayanagar	7,854	0	0	Station and Conveyance Committee	25	0	0
Fee for exhibits in the Museum	208	9	0	Travelling expenses	2,807	8	3
Commission obtained for exhibits sold	128	0	8	Establishment	2,918	4	0
Miscellaneous collections	481	14	8	Telegraph	450	7	9
Amounts due to				Postage	311	0	8
(1) All-India Congress Committee	168	0	0	Stationary and Contingency	880	11	3
(2) Navajivan Press	875	2	6	Printing	2,701	13	3
	838	2	6	Printing charges for the Presidential address in English Hindi, Canarese &c. &c.	2,314	10	6
Suspense amount sanctioned :				Conveyance	4,275	5	6
To be paid to Belgaum Municipality for the construction of Pampa Sarowar	5,000	0	0	Badges for R. C. members, Delegates and A. I. C. O. members.	204	6	0
Balance due out of honorariums	678	10	0	Dead stock articles	1,219	0	0
Amount set apart for medals	1,000	0	0	Cash remitted to (Karnatak Provincial) Congress Committee	14,032	0	0
				Expenses incurred on account of President and his Party	354	0	0
				Chief of delegates fees paid to the A. I. C. O.	9,140	0	0
	2,20,629	5	0	Congress official reporters	980	12	0
				Honorariums and grants	1,75	0	0
				Miscellaneous	1,876	12	0
				Bad debts	27	11	0
				Congress memorial :- for the construction of Pampa Sarowar	5,000	0	0
				Medals for the Exhibition Committee	1,000	0	0
				Amounts recoverable out of :-			
				(1) Collections	1,114	7	9
				(2) Advances and loans	2,793	13	4
				(3) Sale proceeds of articles	11,845	8	0
					21,752	18	1
					21,752	18	1



Sjt GANGADHARRAO DESHPANDE,
Chairman
RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

39th, Indian National Congress, Belgaum 1924.

PLATE 3

Brought forward	2,20,829	5	0
	2,20,829	5	0

Balance in :-
 (1) Belgium P. U. C. C. Bank
 (2) With Secretary, S. L. Somani
 (3) With treasurer, N. V. Herekar

745	8	0
28	0	0
1	8	0

	779	1	0
Total	2,20,829	5	0

Examined and found correct.

31st MAY 1935,
 BELGAUM.

S. S. Pujari,

K. Pandurangarao,

Auditors, K. P. E. C.

Udipi Govinda Rao,

Accountant.

N. V. Herekar,

L. V. Deshpande,

Treasurers,

B. B. Potadar,

General Secretary.

SCHEDULE A. Works Committee.

		Rs.	As.	Pk.
(1) Cost of hutting materials.				
	Bamboos	Rs. 7,092	1 0	
	Tattis	" 9,818	2 0	
	Slates	" 1,376	8 6	
	Hessian Cloth	" 6,493	2 9	
	Other materials	" 5,958	7 9	
				30,847 6 5
(2) Khaddar				17,000 9 6
(3) Railway Freight				3,905 13 0
(4) Cartage				1,603 13 0
(5) Ooal				3,938 11 0
(6) Tolls and Government permit charges				2,210 8 0
(7) Establishment				1,186 0 0
(8) Stationary				31 1 6
(9) Telegrams				23 9 6
(10) Postage				10 9 0
(11) Publicity				12 4 0
(12) Travelling expenses				314 14 6
(13) Interest				19 13 6
(14) Miscellaneous (including cost of sample cots)				19 4 3
				66,749 5 0
Less by re-sale of articles—				
	Khaddar	Rs. 7,438	14 6	
	Other material's	" 14,817	3 9	
				22,256 2 3
				44,493 2 9
	TOTAL			

SCHEDULE B. Water Committee.

Pipes and other articles of dead stock		0,293	0	3
Charges for sinking the well		4,376	8	0
Petty articles		453	10	9
Railway freight		87	8	0
Rent and hire		577	1	0
Cartage and conveyance		276	6	6
Establishment charges		996	1	0
Travelling expenses		442	0	0
Stationary		21	8	0
Postage and Telegrams (0 7 0)	(15 4 0)	15	11	0
Labour charges		2,032	1	2
Tiffin		35	14	1
Miscellaneous		237	6	6
		18,020	8	3
Less : By re-sales of articles		384	8	3
		18,545	0	0
N. D. Estimated value of un-sold pipes &c.		3,000	0	0

SCHEDULE C. Stores and Dinner Committee.

Rice		2,548	0	6
Wheat		1,291	0	0
Glree		5,596	14	0
Tur Dal		791	5	0
Gram Dal		169	13	8
Sugar		1,157	8	6
Jaggery		710	3	0
Vegetables, leaves etc.		4,403	6	9
Oil		203	8	3
Milk and curds		3,936	11	11
Salt		60	0	3
Establishment charges		1,113	15	3
Cooks' charges		2,352	5	0
Labour charges		375	0	0
Loss due to re-sale of articles		2,557	0	0
		28,317	7	6
	TOTAL			

SCHEDULE D. Pandal Decoration and Garden Committee.

	Rs.	As.	Ps.	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Tent and Pandal.						
Travelling expenses	160	0	0			
Upkeep and Rent of Tent	1,566	0	0			
Railway Freight	3,018	0	0			
Charges of pitching Tent	2,801	0	0			
Labour Charges	1,464	8	6			
Materials	1,513	12	0			
Hire of Gudara	1,350	0	0			
Hire of Tent due to A. I. C. O.	5,000	0	0			
Fire Insurance	172	7	0			
Conveyance charges	1	9	0			
Telegram						
				17,482	4	6
Gopura : Gateway.						
Cooly wages	1,935	10	6			
Electrical Charges	1,500	0	0			
Materials	980	10	0			
Music, (Chowgada)	100	0	0			
Cart hire	7	0	0			
Travelling	52	0	0			
				4,575	5	2
Decoration.						
Photo Framing Mahatma's photo	280	0	0			
Materials	147	10	6			
Garlands	130	12	0			
Railway Freight	58	4	2			
Printing charges	61	2	0			
Cooly	1	12	0			
				650	14	2
Subjects Committee.						
Materials	226	0	0			
Conveyance	4	0	0			
Sign Boards	6	4	0			
Hire of tables and chairs	297	14	0			
				533	2	0
Garden.						
Labour and Establishment	637	4	0			
Seeds, manure and materials	195	11	6			
Pots	205	0	0			
Charges for bringing fountain	45	4	6			
				1,083	4	0
				24,332	14	6
Leas.						
Re-sale of pots	70	4	0			
Re-sale of other articles	6	10	0			
Re-sale of materials	776	0	0			
				852	15	0
				23,480	15	6

SCHEDULE E. Exhibition Committee.

(1) Demonstrative Section	1,000	4	6
(2) Show Section	2,102	0	0
(3) Agricultural Section	43	0	0
(4) Ayurvedic Section	212	10	2
(5) Spinning Section	317	10	2
(6) Travelling expenses	17	0	0
(7) Postage and Telegrams	64	0	0
(8) Lights	1,200	0	0
(9) Damage due to loss of property	20	10	0
(10) Bad debts	67	6	0
(11) Printing	135	9	0
(12) Miscellaneous	226	7	0
TOTAL	5,500	3	2

SCHEDULE F. The Light Committee.

	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Cost lamps, lanterns and their accessories	10,028	11	9
Kerosine Oil	1,388	14	6
Hire of Kiteon lamps	544	12	0
Labour charges	355	0	0
Railway Freight	305	2	0
Cartage	14	3	0
Establishment	150	0	0
Travelling allowance	77	1	0
Telegrams	4	1	0
	1,866	6	3
Less. By re-sale of lamps and lanterns	8,302	8	3
	4,174	3	0

SCHEDULE G. Volunteers Committee.

Uniforms	1,580	13	3
Travelling allowance	3,578	4	6
Pay of Establishment	1,059	8	0
Charges of training	272	0	9
Conveyance (Cycle & Tonga)	179	5	0
Dead Stock	826	4	0
Railway Freight	42	14	3
Postage	173	15	0
Printing	328	1	4
Timu and Diet	133	12	6
Telegrams	79	7	0
Contingency	9	4	8
Stationary	140	5	3
Books and publication	66	9	3
Medicine charges	23	8	5
Miscellaneous charges	18	12	0
Flags	93	8	6
Loss on re-sale of notices	12	1	0
	8,270	8	6

SCHEDULE H. Accommodation Committee.

Hire of cots	6,250	0	0
Petty Articles	472	6	0
Dead stock	297	4	0
Rent and hire for comedes	104	0	0
Miscellaneous charges	88	3	9
Bungalow Rent	67	0	0
Travelling expenses	25	0	0
Cooly	19	3	0
Cartage	11	0	0
Printing	12	0	0
	7,314	0	6

SCHEDULE I. Publicity Committee.

Blocks	65	0	0
Rubber stamps	5	0	0
Postage and Telegrams	31	0	0
Sign-Board	6	0	0
Printing charges; Bulletins &c.	63	0	0
" " Maps	246	4	0
" " Congress Guide	325	0	0
Less :- Advertisement charges recd	712	4	0
Sale of Congress Guide	408	10	0
	353	10	0

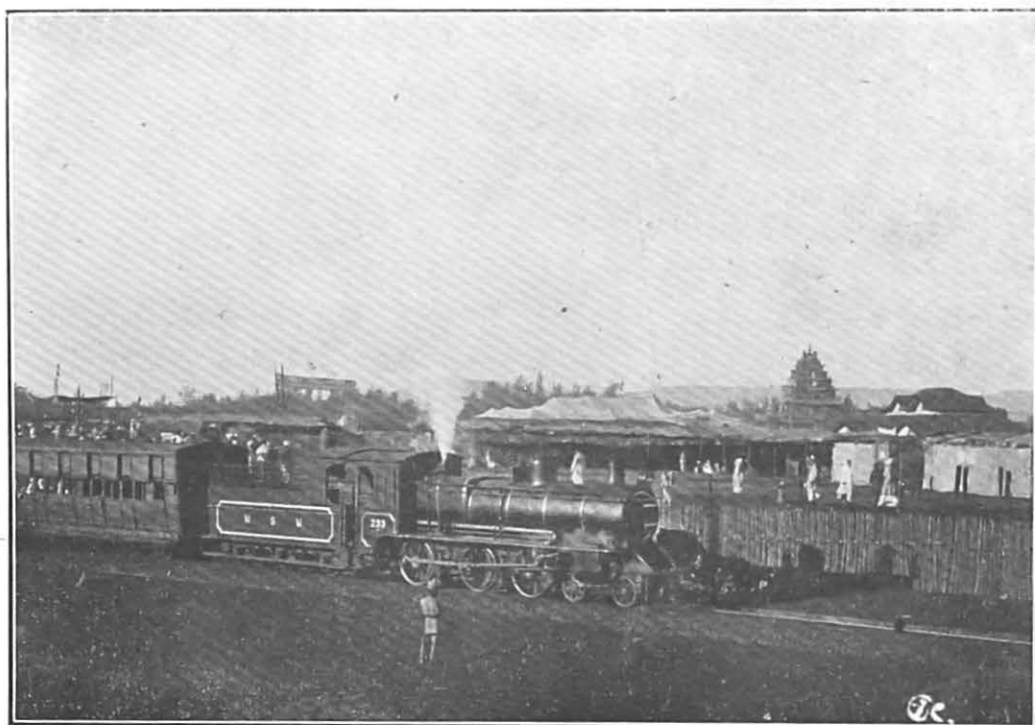


PLATE 5.

VIJAYANAGAR RAILWAY STATION.



PLATE 6.

THE WATER RESERVOIR

SCHEDULE J.
Music Committee.

	Rs.	As.	P's.
Travelling expenses : Musicians	Rs. 742 3 6		
Do. Workers	" 20 10 0		
Refreshment to musicians	782	13	0
Printing charges	114	13	0
Conveyance	110	8	0
Telegram charges	64	0	0
Postage	12	9	0
Miscellaneous charges	10	8	0
	28	14	6
	1,107	8	0
Less: By sale of books	39	13	0
	1,077	11	0

SCHEDULE K.
Medical Committee.

Medicines :—Ayurvedic	Rs. 146 14 0			
Homeopathic	" 30 8 0			
Allopathic	" 304 13 0	482	1	0
Petty articles		10	3	6
Cartage and conveyance		76	0	0
Establishment charges		80	0	0
Rent for beds and pillows		31	0	0
Travelling expenses		10	0	0
Printing charges		17	0	0
		691	4	6
Less :—Re-sale of : Ayurvedic	54 9 0			
Medicines : Homeopathic	10 0 0			
Allopathic	66 5 0			
Petty articles	5 2 0			
		136	0	0
		545	4	6

SCHEDULE L.
Sanitation and Conservancy.

Disinfecting powders etc.	408	8	0
Dead Stock	128	2	0
Railway Freight	32	0	0
Miscellaneous charges	31	0	0
Cooly and Wages	27	0	0
Cartage	1	4	0
	619	13	0



PLATE 13

'VIDYARANYASHRAM'—THE PRESIDENT'S CAMP

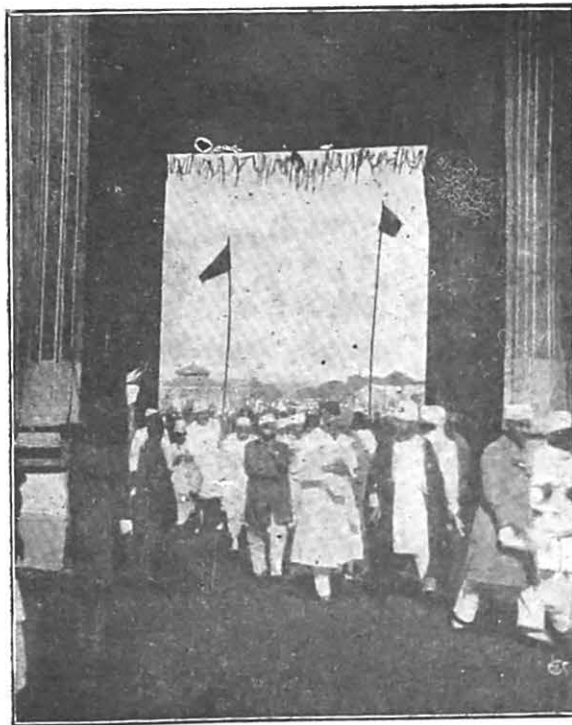


PLATE 14

PRESIDENT & THE LEADERS' PROCESSION
ON THE OPENING DAY—No. 1

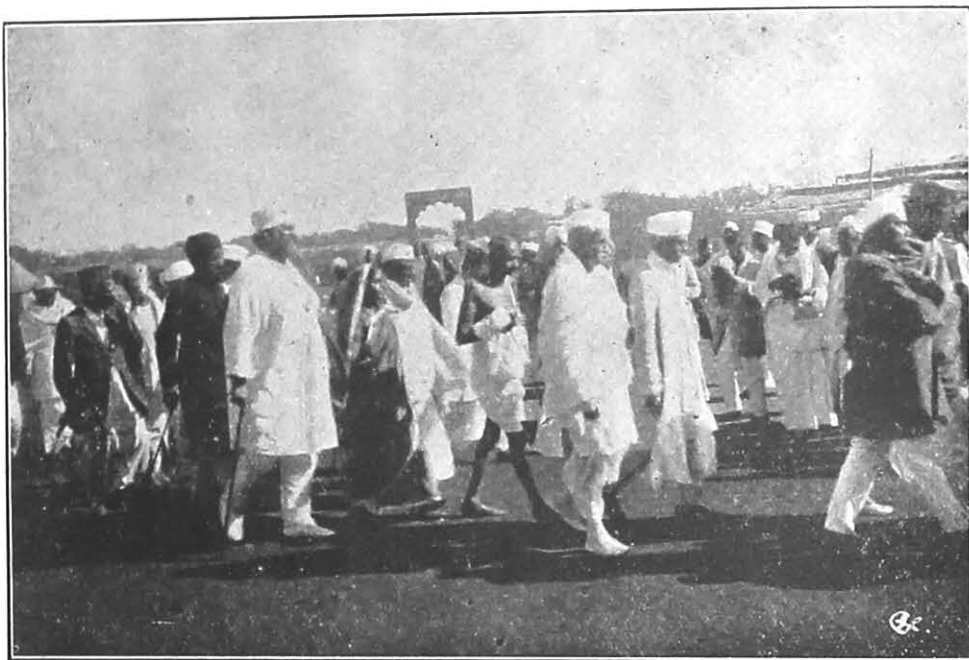


PLATE 15

PRESIDENT & THE LEDERS' PROCESSION
ON THE OPENING DAY—No. 2

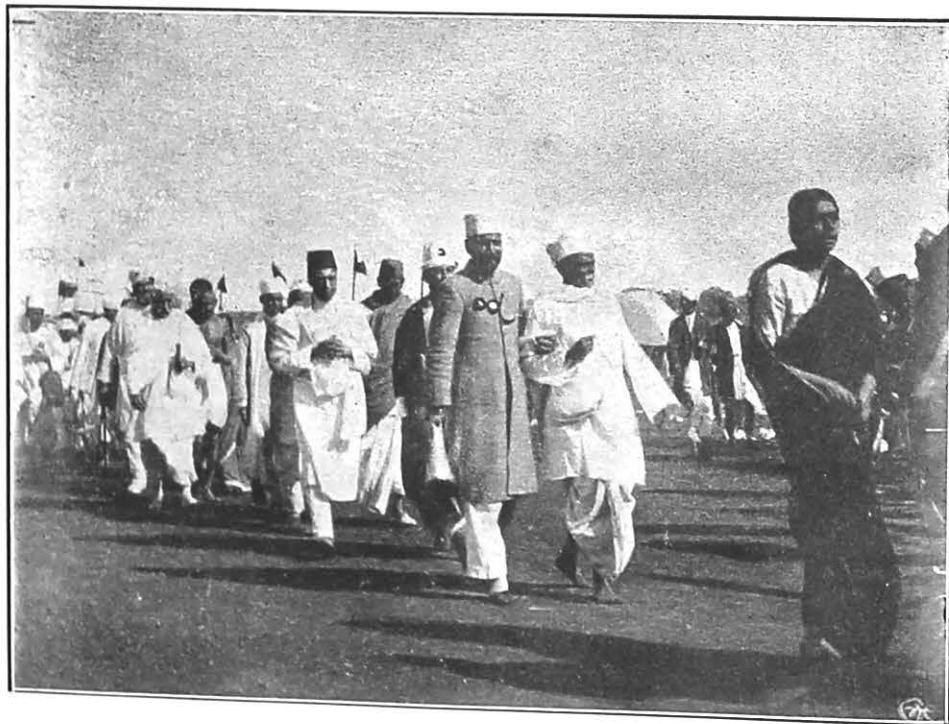


PLATE 16

PRESIDENT & THE LEADERS' PROCESSION
ON THE OPENING DAY—No. 3