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The Indian ANNUAL REGISTER 1923—Vol. II.

Dealing with——

India in Home Polity 1923
India in International Polity 1923
India in British Parliament 1923
India in the Dominions & Abroad 1923
Proceedings of Indian Councils 1923
An Educational Annual 1923 Etc

Is being delayed as authentic papers regarding some of the affairs of Nov.—Dec. 1923—such as the Kenya White Paper, the Imperial Conference Proceedings, the Royal Commission, etc—became available only lately, and remain still to be incorporated. As the bulk of the book is greatly **increasing**, the present Volume dealing with 'ANNUAL CONGRESS & CONFERENCES 1923' being ready, is issued in advance as a **SUPPLEMENT** to the 1923 REGISTER, Vol. II. This Volume will complete the Register up to Dec. 1923. From April 1924 a **QUARTERLY REGISTER** of Indian Public Affairs will be issued to make the publication more timely.

March 1924

The I.A.R. Office



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ANNUAL REGISTER
1923





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BEING AN ANNUAL CHRONICLE AND DIGEST OF PUBLIC
AFFAIRS OF INDIA IN MATTERS POLITICAL,
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INTRODUCTION.

CONGRESS-WEEK at Cocanada witnessed scenes of unbounded enthusiasm amongst the thousands of nationals of the country who had gone there from all quarters of India to attend the National Congress. An influential Reception Committee formed from the Andhra Province looked to the reception, housing, board and other arrangements for the huge concourse of people who had gathered there. A small town called GANDHI-NAGAR, built of tents and bamboo thatches, was temporarily erected on a stretch of sandy soil some 2 miles away from the town. A huge pandal was set up for the Congress inside an enclosed pavilion—all in Khadi—accommodating some 12 thousands Delegates and visitors. A separate pandal, also in khadi, was erected for the Khilafat and Ulemas' Conference; and there were other big tents for the Khadi Exhibition, the Akalis, and others. Besides the usual political Conferences held along with the Congress every year—namely, the Khilafat Conference, the Students' Conference, the Ladies' Conference and the Ulemas' Conference (held along with the Congress since Gaya in 1922)—there were also inaugurated 2 new political Conferences at Cocanada. Of these the All-India Volunteers' Conference was a direct offshoot of the Ahmedabad National Congress where Mahatma Gandhi had called into being the National Volunteers' Corps. Since the Mahatmas' incarceration this Volunteer movement was almost dying out till it was again revived by Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru and S. J. Hardikar. The All-India Khadi Exhibition was the other offshoot of the Congress where the Khadi workers found full scope and the various khadi-pracharak-samitys of the country were brought together to consolidate and organise the khadi work of the Congress on a more extensive basis. Advantage was also taken of such a vast all-India gathering to hold a number of less important Conferences. The Social Conference opened on the 29th Dec. was presided over by Sir T. Sadasiva Iyer. A Theistic Conference with Prof. B. Madhav Das as the president was held on the 28th Dec. The All-India Libraries Conference was opened by Mr. M. R. Jayakar on the 26th, and a Hindu Sahitya Sammilan to organise propagation of an All-India Hindi Script was held on the 23rd with Seth Jammal Bajaj presiding in the place of Babu Rajendra Prosad of Patna. The Swarajists held their party meeting on the 20th Dec., while the Akalis with Sardar Mangal Singh held their demonstrations and meetings almost every day.

The Congress was announced to be held on Dec. 24th but on the representation made by Mr. C. R. Das and the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee it was postponed to the 28th. This was a concession to the Bengal delegates who could not come in time owing to a serious breach in the East Coast Railway line and the stoppage of trains from Calcutta.



INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS THE ARRIVAL OF THE PRESIDENT

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Maulana Mahomed Ali, the President-elect of the Congress, and Maulana Shaikat Ali, the President-elect of the Khilafat Conference, arrived at Cocanada on the 24th December. The great majority of the provincial leaders with their contingent of delegates had come by this time. Mr. C. R. Das and his Bengal supporters came on the 25th. For the next few days there were meetings and processions EN GALORE. The Municipal Board of Cocanada presented their address of welcome to the Ali Brothers and some of the leaders. With the arrival of the two presidents-elect the national week commenced.

THE NATIONAL FLAG

On the 28th morning the National flag was hoisted and unfurled by Moulana Mahomed Ali in a quadrangle where the Congress offices were erected. The Volunteers and Bhajan parties with small National flags in their hands rallied round the flag-staff. Mr. Sambamurti requested Moulana Mahomed Ali to hoist the Flag of Freedom. In doing so Moulana Mahomed Ali made a short speech as follows:—

"Sisters and Brothers,—As commanded by you I am here to unfurl the Flag of the Nation. This Flag is nothing if it is not the Flag of Freedom. But it cannot be the Flag of our Freedom unless it is also the Flag of our national unity. You have commanded me to unfurl this Flag and hoist it. I ask you, are you prepared to stand by the Indian nationality against all difficulties (cries of yes, yes). Then, you pledge yourself solemnly under God's sky and on God's earth that you will fight, in your own non-violent fashion, everyone who is opposed to India's unity and integrity, whether it be the stranger outside the gate or the enemy inside the gate. It is a very poor thing to fight against the aggressor from outside the gate. Every nation does that. Every nation has been doing it, good nations and bad nations alike. But for those who have not won freedom it is more important to consider the enemy within the gate and that enemy is our own evil nature which wants personal ambitions to be placed above national honour, above national freedom or independence (cheers.)

"Then, you will have to forget to-day that you are separated into Hindus and Mussalmans, for you are all of one faith in defence of the National Flag (hear, hear.) You will also recognise that you are all one, whether you are Moderates, Nationalists or Liberals. Whosoever you are, so long as you are here you will have to sink all party differences and go out as one man because you are one nation. If you solemnly pledge to forget all these differences, then and then only ask me to unfurl this Flag. (Cries of yes, yes, we shall forget). Down with the differences that degrade and demoralise us, down with rancour, down with ill-will,—are you prepared, I ask you? (loud and repeated cries of yes, we are). Then I call God to witness, for you and for me, and in God's name, I unfurl it (loud cheers)."

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INTRODUCTION

This speech was delivered both in English and Urdu. Sjt Harisarvottama Rao translated it sentence by sentence into Telugu. As soon as the Flag was hoisted, Moulana Mahommed Ali saluted it and all the rest followed suit. This Flag has now been erected permanently on a masonry structure at the same place. The Congress opened the same day in the afternoon.

THE OPENING CEREMONY

Amidst usual scenes of enthusiasm the 38th session of the Indian National Congress opened at 3 P.M. on the 28th Dec. 1923, in the spacious pandal which was fully packed by the delegates and distinguished and ordinary visitors. Unlike previous sessions, this year the pandal was constructed in the circus model and served better from the point of convenience and general arrangements. Decorations were simple and were confined to the use of Khaddar and display of leaders' photos, but a particular feature was the exhibition of great many pictures of almost all the ex-Presidents of the Congress, a number of whom are now leading Moderates definitely opposed to the Congress. Mahatma Gandhi's picture was, as usual, given the place of honour and next in prominence were those of the Ali Brothers.

NEW SITTING ARRANGEMENT.

While since Ahmedabad chairs and benches have been discarded and all those attending the Congress have to squat on the floor, the Coconada Reception Committee introduced a change by providing wooden galleries to meet the convenience of the visitors who had back-seats. This arrangement did not, however, prove fully successful as a couple of galleries gave way under the weight resulting in minor hurts to a few visitors.

ARRIVAL OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT.

The President-elect, Moulana Mahomed Ali, arrived at three o'clock and was received at the gate by Mr. Konda Venkatappayya, Chairman, and the members of the Reception Committee. He was conducted, amid shouts of Gandhi-ki-jai, to the dais in a procession which included Moulana Shaikat Ali, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. C. R. Das, Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachari, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mr. Sorojini Naidu, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel and Mr. Vithalbai Patel, Seth Jamnallal Bajaj, Mr. K. Nageswara Rao, Mr. Prakasam, Mr. Harisarvottama Rao, and Mr. Bulusu Sambamurthi. These were followed by fifty Akalis headed by Sardar Mangal Singh, all dressed in black and with kirpans in their hands shouting "Sat Sri Akal." Flowers were showered on Mr. Mahomed Ali on his taking his seat on the dais on which were seated among others a few prominent Liberals and members of Legislatures, Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao M.L.A., Mr. N. Subbarao Pantulu, Hon Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar, Mr. C. Venkatapatti Raju M. L. A., Mr. A. Rangaswami



INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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1929. Mr. M. L. A., Mr. Setthayya, Mr. S. Satyamurthi M. L. C., Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddi M. L. C., Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao M. L. C., Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer, Mr. V. Ramadoos, Sir P. C. Roy, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Babu Brij Kishore Prasad, Babu Sheoprasad Gupta, Pandit Sundar Lal, Mr. Ramaswami Naicker, Dr. Kitchlew, Pandit Santanam, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Mr. Gopala Krishnayya and others.

PROCEEDINGS BEGIN.

Proceedings commenced after three. Another deviation from practice was that while previously proceedings were opened only by national songs like "Bande Mataram", this year they were prefaced by recitation of Vedas by Brahmins followed by a recitation from Koran by an Arab. The latter explained that his recitations dwelt on the subject of unity as a commandment of the Prophet not to waste their energies in quarrels.

Mr. Konda Venkatappaya, Chairman of the Reception Committee, though an Andhra delivered his welcome address in Hindi,—a fact which was taken as indicating the spread of that language in South India with a view to adopting Hindustani as the National language throughout India.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

When Moulana Mahomed Ali rose to deliver his address, speculation was rife as to whether, in view of the record length of the speech, he would read the whole of it or only the important portions. Moulana Mahomed Ali chose the latter course, but even then he took several hours and the Congress sat till 9-30 in the evening.

His speech was heard with close attention and in silence. Moulana Mahomed Ali frequently introduced new observations not included in the written speech, and made humorous observations by the way which sometimes sent the whole house reeling with laughter.

While Moulana Mahomed Ali was still delivering his speech a volunteer came and informed the Chairman of the Reception Committee that there was a great gathering of people outside. So Moulana Shaikat Ali went to keep them in order. He was followed by Messrs C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru and V. J. Patel. The overflow meetings were addressed by Moulana Shaikat Ali, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and S. J. Shyamsundar Chakravarti, Pt. Sunderlal and others. The full text of the two addresses, the Chairman's and the President's, is reproduced in the following pages.



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The Cocanada National Congress 1923. Historical.

The following is a brief outline of Congress Politics during the last year.*

The Gaya Congress of 1922, presided over by Mr. C. R. Das, was broken up into two warring factions. One was the Council-entry party, or Pro-Councillors, also called Pro-changers, headed by Mr. C. R. Das and Pt. Motilal Nehru; and the other was the orthodox N-C-O party, known as the Anti-Council party or the No-changers, headed by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar who succeeded Mahatma Gandhi to the editorship of the Mahatma's organ "YOUNG INDIA."

The history of their origin is this: The Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee appointed by the All-India Congress Committee in June 1922, ostensibly for the purpose of reviving N-C-O activities which had in the previous six months been almost paralysed by an intensive campaign of repression by the Government, toured up and down India collecting evidences of N-C-O workers as regards the feasibility of undertaking mass Civil Disobedience. The enquiry exposed the rotten-ness of the N-C-O organisation. The question of mass civil disobedience was shelved and in its place arose the question as to whether the original boycott of the Councils propounded in the N-C-O programme should be maintained as heretofore. Three members of the Committee, namely, Pt. Motilal Nehru, Mr. V. J. Patel and Hakim Ajmal Khan expressed themselves strongly in favour of Council-entry while the other three members, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Mr. Rajagopalachariar, and Mr. Kasturi-ranga Iyengar were opposed to it. The report of this Committee was presented to the President of the Congress, Mr. C. R. Das, on 30th. October 1922, and its publication was the signal of an acute press controversy which went on till the Gaya Congress was held in December 1922. In his Presidential Address Mr. Das openly threw in his lot with the Pro-councillors. This created a great and unexpected ferment, as Mr. Das was believed to an out and out Gandhite, and the Congress was on the point of breaking up in a fiasco.

* For a fuller account: See I. A. R. 1922 Vol. I. and the forthcoming I. A. R. 1923 vol. II. which deal with the Political History of India of the period.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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The followers of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari were, however, so well-organised and numerically stronger that on almost all points of contention the new party sustained a heavy defeat. Pandit Motilal's proposition, that—"it is resolved with reference to the report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee that non-co-operators should contest the elections on the issue of the redress of the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs and immediate Swaraj in accordance with the principle of non-violent non-co-operation and make every endeavour to be returned in a majority" was rejected by a large majority. But the voting was significant. It disclosed a very deep cleavage in the Congress ranks. About a third of the delegates at Gaya voted for a change in favour of the Pro-Council party, and this group commanded the majority of the most influential of the Provincial leaders. The opposite party, though having a clear two-thirds majority, counted its support mainly on the younger section of Congress-men.

This perpetuated the split. Immediately after the Congress at Gaya Mr. C. R. Das declared that the resolutions discussed in the Subjects Committee and those passed by the Congress had convinced him that there were at least two schools of thought with fundamental differences. He issued a manifesto, forming what was then known as the Congress-Khilafat-Swaraj Party, accepting, however, the creed of the Congress, namely the attainment of Swaraj by all peaceful and legitimate means and also the principle of non-violent non-co-operation. The defeat of Mr. Das' party did not, as some pessimists had expected, lead to a secession from the Congress. Mr. Das expected to convert soon his minority into a majority. Much was the gulf widened between the two parties by an intemperate and irresponsible press. Mutual recrimination became the order of the day and motives concocted in editorial conclaves were gratuitously fathered upon the leaders. Mr. Das toured western India to consolidate his party, while Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and his confederates were preaching to the people the utter futility of the Council method and urging them on to work the constructive programme with a view to prepare for mass civil disobedience. The bitter controversy raised by the two parties gradually filtered down to all sections of the people. The result was that the work of both the wings of the Congress was totally paralysed. Much confusion prevailed. No work was done. The Pro-changers were speaking with a hundred voices: some were for responsive co-operation, or co-operation when possible and non-co-operation when necessary, and others for wholesale, continuous and unfaltering obstruction in the Councils. Even those who were opposed to Council-entry were equally divided, some of them aimed at mass civil disobedience through constructive programme, while others wanted to concentrate on the Khadder and national education programme for its own sake, and so on. The N-C-O resolutions passed at Gaya asked for 50,000 Volunteers and 25 lakhs of Rupees for the Congress fund. But

It was soon found that party quarrels were much better employment for the leaders than active execution of the resolution. Consequently, with the lapse of time, that resolution became a dead-letter, and the country lapsed into inactivity for people were growing disgusted at the very name of the Congress.

THE COMPROMISE

Early in February 1923 Maulana Abul Kalam Azad exerted himself to bring about a compromise between the factious parties. A good section of public opinion supported this new move, because it was recognised on all hands that the integrity of the Congress could not be kept in tact while veterans like Mr. Das, Pandit Nehru and Hakim Ajmal Khan were not in agreement with its policy, and that a way out of the impasse must be devised so that both the wings might work out their respective programmes without hindering each other's work. When Mr. Das was in Bombay in February, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had a long discussion with him and his party and proposed "that both parties should suspend Council propaganda for two months and work whole-heartedly to collect men and money according to the Gaya resolution of the Congress; that, if by that time the country became prepared for Civil Disobedience, the All-India Congress Committee would so declare, in which case both parties should join in such Civil Disobedience; that, if on the contrary the All-India Congress Committee fail to make such declaration, each party would be at liberty to continue the Council propaganda and accept the verdict of a special session of the Congress to be held in the month of June." Mr. Das consulted the members of his party and informed the Maulana Saheb that the terms proposed were not acceptable to them, and proposed another set of terms—"that we should allow each other to work out our separate programmes without interference and unitedly work out the programme in which we all agreed; that in the event of the Working Committee not accepting our proposal, he would agree to suspend Council propaganda for two months to enable the majority party to work out their scheme of Civil Disobedience unhampered in any way." The first proposal was rejected by the Working Committee and the second was never placed before it. The Maulana however did not give up his efforts. At Allahabad and afterwards at Calcutta, he discussed his proposals with the leaders of the Das-Nehru party and, as a result, a compromise was arrived at Allahabad, the terms of which were: "the suspension of the Council propaganda on both sides till the 30th April; both parties to be at liberty to work the remaining items of their respective programmes in the interval without interfering with each other; the majority party will be at liberty to carry on their propaganda in accordance with the Gaya programme about money and volunteers; the minority party will co-operate with the majority party in appealing for and raising such funds and enlisting such workers as may be necessary for the constructive programme



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and also in working the constructive programme and other common matters; each party to adopt such course after the 30th April as it may be advised; and this arrangement is subject to the condition that there is no dissolution of the existing Councils in any province before the expiry of the full term for which they have been constituted."

This compromise satisfied nobody. The extreme non-co-operator and the extreme Pro-Councillor agreed in condemning it as useless. In fact, the terms were not carried out during the period stipulated for the purpose. At the end of the period, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari issued a statement recognising the failure of both the parties to carry out the terms of the compromise and reiterated that the programme before Congressmen was the one adopted at Gaya, though the other party could pursue their own plans. This statement evoked a great deal of angry criticism even amongst Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's supporters. The uneasiness that characterised the first two months after the Gaya Congress again prevailed. There was practically no programme before the country. The old constructive programme of the Congress remained a dead letter.

THE SWARAJ PARTY

Though it was a terrible defeat that Mr. Das and his party sustained at Gaya, he succeeded gradually in consolidating the position of his party more and more, much to the detriment and chagrin of the orthodox party. The new party came to be known as the SWARAJ party. The public were, however, kept in a state of unbearable suspense for about two months about the programme of the new party. The Maharashtra politicians led by Mr. N. C. Kelkar were insisting on "Responsive co-operation" which meant nothing more than opposition in the Council when necessary and co-operation when possible. Mr. Kelkar especially made it clear that the party must enter the Councils with the definite object of helping the constructive programme. On the contrary Mr. Das and Pandit Nehru used different terminology. They were not for small gains and concessions. They said they were out to wreck the constitution by means of wholesale and continuous obstruction within the Councils. They would oppose even good pieces of legislation with a view to realise the ultimate, and certainly the greater, object of bringing the Government down. It was felt that the party must meet at an early date and formulate a programme written in precise language. And so at Allahabad the meeting was held and a programme settled. The detailed programme was that the scheme prepared by Mr. Das be circulated for criticism; the immediate object of the party is the attainment of Swaraj, that is, securing the right to frame a constitution adopting such machinery and system as are most suited to the conditions of the country and to the genius of the people; that the party will, when they are elected, present on behalf of the country its

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Immediate demands as formulated by the party as soon as the elections are over, and ask for their acceptance within a reasonable time by the Government; that if the demands are not granted to the satisfaction of the party, occasion will then arise for the elected members belonging to the party to adopt a policy of uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction within the Councils with a view to make Government through the Councils impossible, but before adopting such a policy the representatives of the party in the Councils, will, if necessary, strengthen themselves by obtaining an express mandate of the electorates on their behalf. This programme removed, to a certain extent, the many misconceptions in the public mind regarding the policy of the Swarajists. It was however, pointed out that the policy of obstruction decided upon by the party could not succeed, the Reform regulations being what they are. There might be effective opposition but no obstruction of business even for effective opposition. And it was feared that the party might not succeed in securing a majority in the Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Councils. The certification of the Princes' Protection Bill and the Salt Tax by the Viceroy gave additional impetus to anti-Swarajist propaganda. Mr. Das then made it perfectly clear that neither he nor his party believed that Swaraj would come through Councils; but it was necessary that the Councils, which being full of pro-government men were powerful instruments of repression in the hands of the authorities, should be smashed and a situation created in the country when Government could no longer pretend to rule through Parliamentary methods, when they would be compelled either to climb down and accept the demands of the people or go back to pure autocracy. It was further argued by the Swarajists that even granting that mass civil disobedience was the only course open to the country, preparation for the same could not be better made than by exposing the farcical character of the Councils, by making co-operation between Liberals and Government impossible.

THE CENTRAL PARTY & THE SPECIAL CONGRESS.

In the meantime the No-change party tried to put their programme into motion. But suddenly several serious riots, due to a tension of feeling between Hindus and Muslims in Northern India, marred their prospect. The Punjab again became the hot-bed of communal feuds which broke out into serious riots at Multan and Amritsar. The Municipal and legislative policy of a Muslim Minister and the Sudhi and Sangathan movement of the Hindus inaugurated by Swami Shriadhanand were said to have snapped the bond of Hindu-Muslim unity for which the Congress had for the last year so strenuously and successfully worked. The No-changers laid the blame at the door of the Swarajists for having raised the Council question at all. The visit of Mr Das and others to the scene of the riots proved futile, and Hindu-Muslim Unity, more specially in the Punjab, remained for the time being only a pious hope.



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The Nagpur flag movement, started in April 1922 was another attempt made by the No-changers to regain their lost reputation and majority of following in the country. But the beauty of this Satyagraha battle was overshadowed by further indecent Hindu-Muslim riots that occurred in Upper India.

At the end of the period of compromise, a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was held in Bombay in May 1922 and a resolution permitting the Swarajists to enter the Councils without using Congress influence was adopted.

This again raked up another bitter controversy and it was at this time that the Compromise party or the CENTRE PARTY came into existence under the leadership of Vallabbhai Patel. The emergence of this party was a great blow to the orthodox party. Great discontent prevailed. Attempts were made to cancel the Bombay resolution of compromise. A requisition letter was sent to the secretaries of the A. I. C. C. and a meeting of the Committee was decided to be held. The leaders of the two parties moved up and down the country saying many unpleasant things that happened in the meantime. Mr. Das was said to have disclaimed all moral responsibility for, and withdrawn support from, the Nagpur Satyagraha fight in spite of his declaration at the Gaya Congress that he would be the first man to lead the people along the thorny path of mass Civil Disobedience if they were ready for it. Even in Swarajist quarters, there lurked a fear that Mr. Das had committed a tactical blunder when he withdrew his support. In the face of the wretched state of affairs in Northern India where Hindu-Muslim riots were going on as if they were the order of the day, the central party at last was able to assert itself at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay and declared for a suspension of the Congress resolution asking the country to boycott the Councils. This was the first open defeat of the No-changers after Gaya, and the first overt triumph of the Dasites inside the Congress.

MR. MAHOMED ALI AT LAST

With the release of Moulana Mahomed Ali, after his 2 years' hard labour in jail, on the 29th August 1923 things began to look more hopeful. His release radiated a new hope in the country. Next to Mahatma Gandhi there was no other popular leader as demonstrative and as transparently a non-co-operator as the great Muslim. To him, the greatest quarreller in India, all the other quarrellers who had managed by their inter-necine quarrels to shake the foundations of the great N-C-O Congress of Ahmedabad, now turned their eyes. The Congress leaders had their quarrels amongst themselves. Mahomed Ali had only one quarrel in his life—his eternal quarrel with the Government. He was looked to for leadership by the No-changers. The Centre Party looked to him for

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absolute support; and the Swarajists were sure of not meeting any opposition from him. A special session of the Congress was decided upon at the Bombay meeting of the Congress Committee. On the 15th September 1923 the Special Congress was held in Delhi. It was presided over by Moulana Abul Kalam Azad but was wholly dominated by the personality of Mahomed Ali. His heroic gesture of having received a wireless message from Yerrowada (the great jail where Mahatma Gandhi was kept in confinement) was a diplomatic stroke of the highest order. At once it silenced the No-changers, and the ratification of the Bombay resolution raising the Congress ban on Councils was then a merry walk-over to the Swarajists. Mr. Mahomed Ali recognised that in the face of such a determined attitude on the part of the Das-Nehru party with gradually swelling ranks, the only statesman-like policy was to permit the Swarajists to go their own way to wreck the Councils as they professed, without any hindrance from the Congress. The Delhi resolution thus permitted those who had neither religious nor conscientious objection to both to vote for and to seek election at the Councils, and thus practically overturned the Gaya decision.

THE ELECTIONS

Then came the elections, and the whole country was kept for the next two months in merry excitement over the election campaigns. The Swarajists gained almost everywhere sweeping victories, and they fought with the name of the Congress on their lips. Great moderates like Sir Surendranath Banerji in Bengal, Mr. Sheshagiri Iyer in Madras, Mr. Paranjpye in Bombay were thoroughly beaten at the polls. In some provinces the Swarajists were in absolute majority; other seats were captured by the Independents, the central party in Indian politics, while the old Moderates as a party suffered so great a defeat as to threaten its existence, moribund though it was, for all time to come.

We give below the main land-marks in the history of the Congress during the year.

- 26 Dec. '22 Gaya Congress. Dashbandhu Das's Presidential Address. Jamait ul-Ulema says Council entry against the Shariat.
- 28 Dec. '22 Congress Subjects Committee accepts Sgt. Rajagopalachari's proposition opposing Council entry. Congress rejects Subjects Committee's resolution RE. Boycott of British Goods
- 31 Dec. '22 In open Congress Sgt. Rajagopalachari's resolution declared carried. Congress repudiated future loans to be raised by Government of India. Civil Disobedience Resolution passed.
- 1 Jan. '23 Mr. Das submits resignation of A. I. C. C. Presidentship. Manifesto of the new Swarajya Party issued.
- 27 Jan. '23 Bombay meeting of Das party. Moulana Azad's efforts at Compromise fails.
- 1 Feb. '23 Congress Working Committee meeting at Bombay. Moulana Azad's terms for Compromise proposed.
- 14 Feb. '23 Swaraj Party meeting at Allahabad. Scheme outlined.

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- 18 Mar. '23 Working Committee and A. I. C. C. meetings at Allahabad. Terms of the Truce.
- 1 April '23 Gandhi Day. All-India Hartal. Beginning of Flag Struggle.
- 16 April '23 Flag Struggle in Nagpur. Riots in Amritsar.
- 1 May '23 Sonderlaji sentenced. Ban on Flag processions in Nagpur. Leaders' meeting at Lahore to restore Hindu-Muslim Unity.
- 23 May '23 Nagpur Satyagraha begins. Sec. 144 order disheved. Arrests of batches of Satyagrahis. Further riots in the Punjab.
- 25 May '23 Working Committee meeting at Bombay. Special Session of Congress proposal accepted.
- 1 June '23 A. I. C. C. meeting at Bombay. Special Session motion rejected. Working Committee resigns. CENTRE PARTY leaders take up office. Extension of time for the fulfilment of Gaya programme till the end of July.
- 8 July '23 Mr. Das's tour in Madras Presidency. Sjt. Rajagopalchari's propaganda against A. I. C. C. decision.
- 9 July '23 Working Committee meeting at Nagpur suggest resolutions deploring the attitude of P. C. C.s opposed to Compromise and supporting Special Session.
- 10 July '23 Special Session resolution carried by the Working Committee.
- 3 Aug. '23 Seth Jammal Bajaj sentenced. Debate on Mahatma's release in the Assembly. Requisition for another A. I. C. C. meeting.
- 15 Aug. '23 A. I. C. C. meeting at Vizaganatam. Nagpur resolution on holding Special Session confirmed. Delhi offers to arrange for Special Congress.
- 25 Aug. '23 Tara Lajpat Rai released. 18 Aug. '23 Arrests cease at Nagpur.
- 29 AUG. '23 Hindu-Muslim Riots at Saharanpur.
- 10 Sept. '23 MOULANA MAHOMED ALI FREE FROM JAIL.
- 11 Sept. '23 Informal Conferences of Leaders at Delhi for Compromise.
- 13 Sept. '23 Question of restoring Hindu-Muslim Unity discussed.
- 16 Sept. '23 Working Committee meeting at Delhi consider situation.
- 17 SEPT. '23 SPECIAL CONGRESS SESSION OPENS. Moulana Abul Kalam Azad's address advocates closing up of the ranks.
- 16 Sept. '23 Compromise resolution lifting the ban on Council entry, moved by Moulana Mahomed Ali, approved by the Congress.
- 17 Sept. '23 Resolutions on boycott of British Goods and on Committee to organise Civil Disobedience passed.
- 22 Sept. '23 Swaraj Party busy with election campaign.
- 16 Oct. '23 Swaraj Party Campaign-Manifesto issued.
- 26 Oct. '23 Moulana Shankat Ali released.
- NOVEMBER—ELECTIONS IN THE PROVINCES.
- 6 Nov. '23 Hindu-Muslim trouble again at Nagpur.
- 13 Nov. '23 Working Committee meeting at Amritsar. Akali situation discussed by Leaders. Swarajist successes in Bombay.
- 25 Nov. '23 Working Committee meeting at Ahmedabad
- 26 Nov. '23 Madras Council first meeting. Swarajists' No-Confidence motion on Ministers defeated.
- 30 Nov. '23 Sir Surendra N. Banerji defeated at the Polls by Mr. Das' party.
- 11 Dec. '23 Lord Lytton's offer to Mr. Das to form Bengal Ministry.
- 16th.—Bengal Pact controversy. Mr. C. R. Das' manifesto on the attitude of the party.
- 16 Dec. '23 Mr. Das refuses Lord Lytton's offer.
- 25 DEC. TO 1 JAN.—CONGRESS WEEK AT COCANADA.



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THIRTY-EIGHTH SESSION OF
The Indian National Congress

COCANADA—28TH DECEMBER 1923.

Welcome Address.

In welcoming the Congress, the Delegates and Visitors, to Cocanada Mr. Konda Venkatapayya Garu, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered the following Address.

MAULANA MAHOMED ALI SAHEB, BROTHERS AND SISTERS.—

The pleasant duty of offering welcome to you on behalf of the Andhra Desha has been entrusted to me and I do so most heartily. This is a day unique in the history of the province, as it gives to its people the opportunity for the first time to offer most cordial welcome to you who are engaged in the great fight for the freedom of our motherland.

A HISTORIC RACE

The Andhras are an historic race who at first ruled over the territory lying between the rivers of Godaveri and Krishna and extending to the seas on either side, with Dhanvakataka as the capital. About 300 B. C. they expanded their kingdom to Northern India and held Imperial throne there for nearly 400 years having Patna (Pataliputra) for their seat of Government. They had also founded on the banks of the Krishna near Dhanvakataka the great University of Amraoti which was equalled only by the universities of Nalanda and Takshasila in Northern India. Their renowned architecture of the Buddhist stupa of the Amaravati attracted the attention of the British Government which has since removed the most valuable relics of that artistic structure for exhibition in the great museum of London. In the days of Moghul Empire the Andhras established the dynasty of Vizianagaram and successfully resisted for several centuries the inroads of the neighbouring powers preserving their ancient civilisation of Southern India intact. After this part of the country came under the British the individuality of the Andhras became obscured by being indiscriminately mixed up with the communities speaking other languages by a Government unmindful of the progress of the people under its rule. But during the days of agitation against the Partition of Bengal the consciousness of the Andhras was roused under the influence of the great National movement and they endeavoured to reassert their individuality by starting the Andhra movement. They advocated



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the redistribution of the provinces in India on linguistic basis as essential for the development of individuality of the races living in different provinces and also for the solidarity of the Indian Nation. They had sought for the recognition of that principle by the Congress praying that the Andhra districts might be constituted into a separate province. The help rendered by Lok. Tilak in this connection will always be remembered with feelings of gratitude.

As the result of those endeavours the Congress at its Session in Calcutta in 1917 constituted the area peopled by the Andhras as a separate unit for Congress purpose but it was only left to Mahatma Gandhi at the very inception of the N-C-O movement to recognise the principle of readjustment of provinces on linguistic basis as an essential requisite for the full development of National consciousness and to effect that readjustment as the first step for the attainment of Swaraj. This measure has helped to strengthen the Provincial units and also promote unity after fostering a strong sentiment of common nationality among them. It is this measure that has vouchsafed to us this opportunity to invite the Congress here and extend our cordial welcome to our brothers and sisters from the various provinces.

THE GREATNESS OF GODAVARI

The district of Godavari is one of the most leading districts in the Andhra province. The river Godavari flows through this district, constituting it one of the most fertile tracts in Southern India. Not far from here is the town of Rajahmundry where Raja Narendra the most reputed of the eastern Chalukya kings was ruling over this part of the country. It was to this king that the Andhra poet Nannya Bhattaraka dedicated the Mahabharata, the most famous work in the Andhra literature. There, after a galaxy of heroes, poets and men learned in Vedas and Shastras have kept up its reputation for culture and influence.

Amongst the writers of Modern times mention must be made of Kandukuri Veerasalingam Pantulu, a citizen of Rajahmundry. He was a great social reformer, renowned author and journalist whose services to the cause of Telugu literature are by no means inconsiderable, and to whose life and writings we owe the beginnings of public life in Andhradesa. Even to-day this district holds its own place in education, wealth and culture. It is but fitting that the Congress should hold its session in this district and in this city which is undoubtedly one of the finest in the whole of Andhra Desa. It is the people of this district and of this city that have had the largest share of responsibility for holding the Congress here. While acknowledging our difficulties in providing for comforts and conveniences, we assure you that we shall not lack behind any other province in according the warmest and most cordial welcome to you all. I hope that in the largeness of your hearts you will not mind the many shortcomings that will be found in the arrangements for your reception.



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MAHATMAJI'S ABSENCE.

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In this vast Assembly every one feels deeply the absence of our great leader Mahatma Gandhi, who for the freedom of our land toiled night and day after starting the movement of Non-violent Non-co-operation. That at this moment he should be in the Yeravada jail is a sad comment on the weakness of the Nation's firmness and integrity on which he had so much relied.

In the year 1921 most of the leaders of the land, placing great faith in the movement, went forward to co-operate with him and worked with single-hearted devotion. But it must be acknowledged that the failure to attain Swaraj within one year, as Mahatmaji with assurance born of his faith in the people had declared, was not to any intrinsic defect in the principle or programme of Non-co-operation but to the want of strength in us to rise equal to the occasion.

With the incarceration of Mahatma Gandhi the movement began to flag and differences and dissensions broke out within the ranks of the Congress. Some were for entering into the Councils and wrecking them by adopting a policy of obstruction, while others opposed the same insisting on carrying on the movement as before and preparing the country for Civil Disobedience. Two years of our precious time were thus wasted till at Delhi a rapprochement was made by allowing those that had no objection to enter the Councils to do so. The Congress at Delhi has further reaffirmed its faith in the principle of non-violent Non-co-operation and called upon the country to concentrate all its energies in carrying out the constructive programme. But the elections have made it impossible to attend to the constructive work. There has been no progress made in that direction. Now that the elections are over in every part of the country, discussion has again been started regarding the future work of the Congress. Some Swarajists, satisfied with even the limited measure of success they have achieved, indicate their desire to seek a mandate from the Congress as to their work in the Councils, while the No-Changers being dissatisfied with the actions of some of the Swarajists which contravene the fundamental principles of Non-co-operation feel it necessary to have the principles as well as the programme of the N-C-O reaffirmed by this Congress. At Delhi the special Congress having merely lifted the ban on Council entry in respect of those who felt no conscientious objection to enter into the Councils, any violation of the principles of the N-C-O is unwarranted and it is regrettable that some people should have taken shelter under that resolution to infringe the same.

NON-CO-OPERATION—THE ONLY POLICY

We had till now accepted the Non-violent N-C-O as the only means of securing Swaraj and acted upon it. I believe that it will be admitted by all that it will be a mistake to abandon the movement for the mere reason that we have failed to achieve that



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measure of success which we had expected. Some think that the amendment of the programme is essential, while others are of opinion that we should rigorously carry on that programme as hitherto adopted. And this conflict of views seriously handicaps the work of the Congress. Now that the question of Council entry has been disposed of and the elections also finished there should be no difficulty for both parties to unite and carry on the constructive programme. Those that have entered the Councils will determine among themselves the programme of work they should adopt inside the Councils. It seems undesirable to reopen the question of Councils in any form as it is likely to lead to recrudescence of dissensions which we had striven to put an end to at Delhi with the result of paralysing the future work of the Congress.

THE TRIPLE BOYCOTT

Again, there is the question of triple boycott which some would like to re-affirm and seek to reinforce. There are others who wish to alter it and some others who advocate its total abandonment. These latter deem it undesirable to continue a programme which has been found unworkable in practice. It is true that it has not evoked universal enthusiasm amongst the people. But the examples of those who have followed the decision of the Congress in this respect, though fewer than expected, are so noble and striking that they are in themselves sufficient to inspire the people with the spirit of sacrifice and keep alive the movement.

Like our illustrious leaders Pandit Motilal and Deshabandhu Das, there were many in humbler positions in different parts of the country who had in 1921 renounced their prospects and professions and dedicated their services to the cause of the country. I believe there are many even now who still have not gone back to their professions but are ready to work as sincerely as before. Even if a few men intensely devoted to the cause, keep the flag flying, they will be a power in the land which will give fresh vigour and life to the movement making it possible for some day to attain Swaraj.

To abandon the triple boycott is to abandon the movement. Nor does the reason for its abandonment, namely, that there has not been adequate response from the people, appear sound. The efforts of some thousands in this vast land of 30 crores of people for a period of but one year shook the foundation of the British Government and it is impossible to forget the results of that fight. Many had given up their colleges which earned for them their living, many left schools, many entered jails suffering hard privations, much money was spent and many losses were incurred under the heat of that struggle. The very idea of abandonment is unthinkable when we remember that Mahatma Gandhi is still in jail. His message has gone round the world. Great men in other lands have proclaimed that the movement of N-C-O started by him has shown a new way for the regeneration of mankind. Even amongst



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The Western races who for the sake of power and dominion do not hesitate to abuse the highest discoveries of science to shed the blood of their fellow beings, this movement has infused the spirit of non-violence and prompted them to some extent to employ the programme of N-C-O.

AKALI SATYAGRAHA

Again, nearer home, the Akali brothers, who though belonging to a warlike race and soldiers by profession, have already demonstrated, I suppose to the satisfaction even of our moderate friends, the practical application of non-violence as a political weapon. They are at this moment engaged in a struggle of similar nature but of a much larger scale with the Government for the purpose of vindicating their rights. With these facts before us, can it be said that the movement of N-C-O is dead as is the habit with our opponents to-day times out of number? In the Government of India report published in the beginning of 1922 Mr. Rushbrook Williams stated that this movement was dead and the time had arrived for writing an epitaph on its grave. It has been the studied attempt of the Government to create an impression on the mind of the people that they were heedless of its strength while at the same time anxiously planning in their secret chambers the ways of suppressing it. There has undoubtedly been a lull in the movement but such stages of depression are temporary and incidental to all movements of such magnitude. If the leaders are prepared to lead, placing real confidence in the movement, there would be no lack of following in the country.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

For successfully carrying out the Constructive Programme it is obviously necessary that both parties should unite and work hand in hand. Such of the Swarajists as have entered the Councils should devote at least some of their time for the Congress without allowing themselves to be wholly absorbed in Council work. Difference of views between the two parties whatever they may be should not be allowed to interfere with the constructive programme. It is the basis of all effective action under the æges of the Congress. Both parties with mutual good will and harmony should co-operate and inuse the people with greater zeal for the cause of the country even as they had done in the year 1921 under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. Though it must be recognised that there is no leader who can approach in his capacity to inspire and influence the hearts of the people, still there are in the country great persons who by virtue of their attainments and personal sacrifice in the cause of freedom can undoubtedly command the confidence of the public. If they but stand firmly united and call upon the country to work the programme, I have no doubt there will be a response worthy of the cause which is so dear to us all.

Some are of opinion that in order to create in the people a



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very interest in the work of the Congress there must be something stimulating in its programme, but really speaking there can be nothing more potent than the desire for Swarajya to stimulate them for action provided that such desire is sufficiently strong and impelling. It must be admitted that desire for Swaraj is now universally cherished in the country. Whatever might have been the attitude of the different political parties in the land till now, at this moment all are united in the demand for immediate Swaraj.

INDIA' STATUS IN THE WORLD

Besides, India has no recognised place amongst the civilised nations of the world. Indians are not allowed to live in foreign countries except as coolies to be exploited for the benefit of the Whitemen ; even the British Government have failed to redress the wrongs done to our brethren in Kenya and other countries directly under their charge. The Kenya decision has branded the Indian as slaves, declaring it impossible for them to attain a status of equality with the Whites. The strenuous endeavours of the leaders of the Moderate party to get the decision revised have proved futile and the speeches of the Dominion Ministers make it absolutely clear that Indians so long as they continue as a subject race must remain inferior to the Whitemen. The bureaucracy in India has now thrown off its mask absolutely unmindful of the people and, in utter disregard of the views and representations both of Moderates and Nationalists, is carrying on its administration in a manner which makes it increasingly oppressive and unbearable. When the Government is openly and fearlessly attacked, they turn round and threaten that they would withdraw the Reform. Such an act on the part of the Government would no doubt be a consummation devoutly to be wished for. It is these reforms which have removed from our ranks men with whom we had worked together ever since the Congress began its activities. Equality is possible only between parties enjoying equal freedom and unless and until we secure freedom neither we nor our brethren abroad can find remedies for the wrongs done to us. Whatever view we may take of the present situation it is manifest that Swaraj and Swaraj alone is the panacea for all evils and that Swaraj can only be attained by vigorous and persistent action on the part of the people born of passionate desire for national self-realisation. Such desire cannot always be fed by an existing programme. A cool and deliberate resolve to achieve Swaraj in spite of all obstacles is a surer guarantee of our success in this struggle for freedom.

HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

The one problem which we have to face at the very outset of our endeavours in carrying out the constructive programme is the question of Hindu-Muslim unity which has of late assumed a very serious aspect, particularly in some of the provinces in Northern

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In the name of religion most atrocious deeds were committed forgetting the truth that the brotherhood of man is the highest of all religions. Hindu-Muslim feuds generally arise out of disregard on the part of the people of one community to the religious sentiments and customs of the other. In some places it appears that economic reasons have also led to misunderstandings which developed into serious disturbance later. It therefore becomes the first duty of the All-India leaders to consult with men of local influence and concert measure to remove those causes and restore harmony amongst the two communities. In this connection grateful mention has to be made of the successful endeavours by Dr. Syed Mahmud and his friends to make up difference and restore friendly relations between Hindus and Mussalmans at Ajmere.

It is no doubt true that we ought to impress upon the people the idea that we are all Indians first before we are Hindus, Mussalmans, Parsis, Christians, Sikhs and so on. To create such an impression the leaders of either community should closely associate themselves with their respective communities taking active part in the institutions belonging to them. Even as the Muslim leaders are taking active interest in the Khilafat and Ulema movements, the Hindu leaders in the Congress should likewise take part in the transaction of the Hindu Maha-Sabha and other organisations pertaining to the Hindu community. The mistake committed by the people should be pointed out by their own leaders insisting upon the duty of respecting the rights (both civic and religious) of their countrymen in other communities. It is hoped that the useful suggestions made by the committee appointed by the Congress for drafting the Indian National Pact will be adopted after due deliberations by this Assembly with such modifications as may be found necessary. Success in this direction will be set as much in the enunciation of the principles of action as in the genuine and vigorous endeavours to enforce these principles. Hence too much of emphasis cannot be laid on the necessity of the leaders concentrating all their energies on this problem even if it should require that every other item in the constructive programme should be set aside for a time. For freedom of India is impossible without the establishment of perfect harmony and goodwill between the various communities that inhabit the same.

VALUE OF A COMMON LANGUAGE.

It has been well-nigh agreed by all people that there should be a common language for promoting easy intercourse between the people living in the various provinces of the country and for strengthening the national unity. It is also recognised that no language other than Hindi is suited for the purpose. Hence it follows that the work of the Congress should be transacted in that language. Hence it becomes obvious that the people in provinces where Hindi is not known should learn that language in order to mix more intimately with the people of other provinces and to under-



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and take part in the deliberations of the Congress. Among other items of the constructive programme, Khaddar and the removal of untouchability demand our closest attention.

KHADDAR PROGRAMME

It will be recognised that the programme of Khaddar is the easiest to achieve and yet it is surprising that we have not made the progress which we ought to have achieved. The slackness is to be accounted for mostly by sheer indifference on the part of the people and also by the dullness in the movement itself. The three things that ought to be noted as essential for the spread of Khaddar in the country are: (i) that every ryot should make it his duty to grow cotton in his land at least to the requirements of his family, (2) that the head of every house-hold should provide in each harvest season the cotton required for it, and (3) that every family should set up one or more charkhas and spin the yarn required for its use. If these conditions are fulfilled, the question of foreign competition can in no way arise and the people will never be affected by the rise or fall of prices in the cloth market. Even for those who like to dress themselves in fine Khaddar, the country will in course of time be able to satisfy their taste if they but persist in spinning yarn systematically. Proceeding on these lines India will ere long be able to completely clothe herself in Khaddar—an achievement which in itself will bring us nearest to Swaraj. If there are people in this country who still lack faith in Khaddar, let them recall to their mind that picture of that Hermit of Sabarmati clad in loin cloth and giving his Message to the country on the eve of his entry into jail.

THE CAUSE OF UNTOUCHABILITY

The problem of untouchability also requires special attention particularly in Southern India where the customs and beliefs of the people are a great obstacle to its progress. It is not easy to make any advance in this direction unless the country realises the injustice of the treatment now accorded to our Panchama brethren. The movement of Non-co-operation is also a spiritual movement and the unjust and unequal treatment of our fellow countrymen prove the hollowness of our professions as Non-co-operators.

The whole programme of the Congress should be worked out by the Congress Committee in different parts of the country, but as most of the committees exist merely in name, their reorganisation should be undertaken forthwith. The Congress work has been seriously handicapped for want of adequate help and encouragement to the workers. As the village committees are the real foundations of Swaraj, no time should be lost in enlisting members to the Congress in the villages and forming Congress committees, if not in every village, at least in all important rural centres. In India more

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People live in villages than in towns and therefore political education must spread in the rural areas and the message of the Congress should be carried to every nook and corner of the country. The progress of the Indian nation depends upon the progress of the people in the villages. Their desires and ambitions will shape the destiny of the nation. Therefore some of our best Congress workers must settle themselves in some village centres to spread the idea of non-co-operation and non-violence and to organise the work of the Congress. No permanent results can be achieved unless the work is systematised through organisations widely spread out throughout the country, as much in the village as in towns. When the village Congress committees became living centres influencing the thoughts of the people, and inspiring them to action, the day will not be far off when the great wave of national movement will sweep into it even the people in the towns and cities, spell-bound as they are by the glamour of Western ideas and civilisation.

STRUGGLE DESTINED TO BE LONG

It has now become plain that the struggle for Swaraj is destined to be long and arduous, and that men and money, on a scale much larger than hitherto, will have to be found for carrying it on. Permanent arrangements have to be made in villages for the collection of Swaraj fund in such a manner that the financial burden may as far as possible be evenly distributed amongst the people.

The work of the Congress must be as regular and systematised as that of the Government, and men competent to carry it on must be appointed by the Congress. Some of them will be all-India workers entrusted with duties pertaining generally to all India, while others will be placed in the provinces to look after the Congress work in them. Such of these as require pecuniary help must be provided with the same as it is unreasonable to expect gratuitous work on a large scale for an indefinite length of time. It will not be difficult I suppose to find really genuine and competent workers who may be trusted with such duties, provided we supply them with the necessary minimum of their requirements. The responsibility of selecting suitable men for those duties and finding the money necessary for them shall lie with the Working Committee of the A. I. C. Committee. As the Congress work in the provinces has gone very much out of joint at the present moment, the first duty of the Working Committee should be to organise this service and finance them. The Working Committee shall also give instructions to the various provincial committees to regulate the work in their districts, finding suitable men and the money required for the purpose. It is also highly desirable that the whole work of the Congress should be divided into various departments and each of them should be placed in charge of one of the members of the Executive Committee. After all, the progress of the work depends upon the spirit and enthusiasm which the leaders can infuse in the people by their strenuous endeavours.



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OUR PRESIDENT.

We are specially fortunate in having Maulana Mohamed Ali Sahib as the president of this session. As it is too well known, he is one of the greatest patriots who, along with his illustrious brother, Maulana Shaukat Ali, has strenuously been labouring for the cause of the motherland. As editor of the 'Comrade' he attacked the Government fearlessly opposing their policy of repression and arbitrary methods of administration and suffered long on that account at its hands. His work in the cause of non-co-operation, as one of the most trusted of the lieutenants of Mahatma Gandhi, and that of his Big brother, gave such impetus to the movement that the Government deemed it necessary to remove them from the field by incarcerating them once more. His release from the jail was hailed with great joy and expectation by the country. He has once more taken on hand the work of the Congress, addressing himself first to the restoration of peace and harmony both in the ranks of the Congress and the country at large. Both himself and his Big brother have been since their release travelling far and wide in the country carrying the message of peace by emphasising the need for absolute good will between the two great communities, the Muslim and the Hindu. It is said that no great problem awaits the consideration of the Congress and hence this session serves no special object. But if under his able guidance a solution for the Hindu-Muslim question, which had made the Congress work impossible in several parts of the country and has been causing great anxiety to all those interested in National advancement, is found, we shall have achieved a great purpose, establishing unity between the two greatest communities in India and ensuring the uninterrupted furtherance of the cause in the future.

We cannot forget the services of that most revered grand old lady known throughout the country as Bi-Amman. In spite of her age she has gone round the country carrying the message of non-violent non-co-operation and inspiring the people by her personality with the true spirit of patriotism and sacrifice. Her extraordinary act of relinquishment of the purdah is an event worthy of recording in the annals of Non-co-operation as illustrative of the highest sentiments of patriotism and self-renunciation. A worthy son of such a worthy mother will now preside over the deliberations of this vast National Assembly. His message will instil new life and vigour into action with a reinforced enthusiasm justifying the expectations raised by us when Mahatma Gandhi was moving and working in our midst.

I do not propose to detain you any further. I once more offer the warmest and the most hearty welcome to you all and request Maulana Mohamed Ali Sahib to take the Chair,



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THIRTY-EIGHTH SESSION OF
The Indian National Congress

COCANADA—28TH DECEMBER 1923.

Presidential Address.

Maulana Mahomed Ali delivered the following Presidential Address.*

Friends and Fellow workers.

It has been the custom for every occupant of the Presidential chair of the Indian National Congress to thank the delegates that have conferred on him the highest honour it is in the power of the Indian nation to confer on an Indian. It has also been customary for him to disclaim that his merits deserved such signal honour and to declare his unworthiness to rank with those that have previously occupied the Presidential chair. I have no doubt that the innate modesty of my predecessors infused into these disclaimers and declarations a sincerity that saved them from the banality of mere conventions. But it is no such modesty that makes me further state them by repetition. When two years ago, just on the eve of my imprisonment, a few of the Provinces had honoured me also with their nominations, I was still in a position to withdraw my name and to give at least partial expression to the shock of surprise I felt on that occasion. This time, however, fate had taken the matter almost entirely out of my hands; for, soon after I was discharged from prison, I received from the Reception Committee here the telegraphic message that in a few days it would meet to put the seal of its agreement on the choice of the Provincial Congress Committees.

Believe me, if the circumstances that had led to the Special Session at Delhi, and, still more, if that session itself had not revealed to me conditions that made the withdrawal of my name something in the nature of desertion, I would have withdrawn it even at that late stage. I consider it a presumption to preside here, and one reason for my reluctance and hesitation must be obvious to all. It must be remembered that my association with the Indian National Congress is of very recent date. It was only in 1919 that for the first time I attended the Congress as a delegate, and then, too, my participation was not in the ordinary course. As some of you may remember, my brother and I had just been released from confinement as State Prisoners in the Betul gaol in which our internment during the last four years of the War had culminated. We had, of course, proceeded straight to the Congress that had already commenced its session in martyred Amritsar, and since we could not have been elected as delegates in the usual way, the good people of Amritsar had forthwith adopted us as their own. The Nagpur Session that was held in the following year was the first, and, as it happened, also the only one previous to this which my brother and I attended as delegates elected in the ordinary course. Those who had hitherto occupied the Presidential chair had been veterans that had grown grey in the service of the Congress. Can it, therefore, be merely conventional if one who is

* Parts of this address which are of a personal nature or less important are printed in smaller type.



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For all among the babes and sucklings of the Congress thanks you for such an unusual mark of your favour?

The only consideration which could justify this favour was that, although my association with the Congress was recent, it was coupled with my association with one of the very greatest, if also one of the latest Congress-men, for whom all eyes search in vain in this Pandal to-day. Ever since I first attended a session of the Congress as a delegate in 1919, his had been the one dominating personality. More than ever we need our great chief, Mahatma Gandhi, to-day; and if God that willed that in his place one of his humblest followers, though not the least loving among them, should assist you in your deliberations, I can only feel what the Arab poet felt when he wistfully wrote:

"The death of great ones made us great!"

But although the man who was most responsible for Mahatma Gandhi's incarceration hoped that by 'burying him alive' as he called it, he would kill the spirit that the Mahatma had infused into the nation, I feel certain that it lives just as surely as the Mahatma lives himself. Relying on God's assistance, and on your own kind indulgence, which, I think, I may with confidence bespeak, I invoke that spirit to-day in the hope that with its aid I may prove not altogether unworthy of the high office to which your suffrage has all too generously called me.

Friends, the only one who can lead you is the one who had led you at Amritsar, at Calcutta, at Nagpur and at Ahmedabad, though each session of the Congress had its own elected President. Our generalissimo is to-day a prisoner of war in the hands of the enemy, and none can fill the void that his absence from our midst has caused. As for myself, I am but a comrade whom your loving kindness has called out from the ranks, and I plead for its continuance not only during the discussions of this session, but also throughout the year in which I am required by your constitution to assist you as your President.

THE FUNCTION OF THE PRESIDENT.

On one point, however, you too are entitled to an assurance from me, and I offer it to you without hesitation. I have been a fighter all my life, and, of course, I have been in the habit of throwing all the vehemence of an impulsive and impetuous nature into my fights. But your choice of me as your President has robbed me of my freedom, and to regain that freedom, if for nothing else, I would have willingly foregone the great privilege of presiding on this occasion. However, in the cast you have assigned to me, the unfamiliar role of the peace-maker, and even a fighter like me has to confess that if anything is better than a fight it is peace. I have, therefore, deprived myself of the opportunity to fight in order to help the cause of peace and unity, and I do not regret the surrender. As your President, I am here to serve you to the best of my power, and not in the capacity of a slave-driver, and if, in following the convention of political societies like yours, I have to inaugurate this session with an address, it is essentially in the spirit of a servant of yours that I do so, and not as a dictator. I am here to assist you



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form judgments on the various issues that may come up for your decision, and, so far as it lies in the power of a fellow-worker and Comrade of yours, I hope to help you to form only sound judgments, and to form them without waste of time, temper and energy. But these judgments must be yours, not mine; or, if you will, ours collectively in the truest sense. I have referred to the Mahatma's dominating personality, and we must admit how difficult it was to shake off his spell even for those rare individuals that desired to do so. I feel certain that Mahatma Gandhi neither asked nor wanted anyone to surrender his judgment to him; and I have been told that just before his arrest he regretfully realised that quite a number of his followers and admirers, who had readily, and in all sincerity, signified their agreement with him, had failed to realize that they were offering their allegiance only to the man and were not accepting his measures as well on the strength of their own clear conviction. It will be an impertinence for me even to disclaim any such influence as the Mahatma undoubtedly exercised over the people, and I am anxious that every vote cast on any side should be the result of the voter's own deliberate judgment, carrying with it the fullest individual responsibility. As for myself, if I kept back from you my own view of any matter of vital importance, merely for fear that it might not be acceptable to you, I shall certainly not be serving you truly. For another thing, it would not be consistent with true democracy. But we shall only be making a mockery of democracy if freedom was denied to the delegates of the Congress merely to please its President, or silence was imposed on the many just to secure the good-will of the few.

CONGRESS SESSION NOT DIVISION LOBBY.

Nevertheless, we have to understand that the country did not elect six thousand delegates, and we have not travelled to Cocanada from every corner of it as to division lobbies, merely to cast our votes and to register our individual judgments already formed before we set out on our journey. What good could we do to ourselves and to others if, like Omar, the Tent-Maker Poet of Persia, we "evermore came out by the same door wherein we went"? If we do not wish to turn our journey into utter futility and so much labour lost, the opinions we had formed, individually or in groups, before we started, must be tested here by comparison with the opinion of our fellow-delegates and influenced by them. And it is no shame, but on the contrary very often much to our credit, if we change our views in deference to the judgments of others whom we credit with greater sagacity or experience, or to the cumulative weight of the judgment of a large majority of people, although they be in no way superior to us as individuals, even though at the time itself we are not fully convinced that our own views are wrong. I am second to no man in my respect for deeply cherished convictions. But convictions are not on every occasion to be treated as matters of conscience, and I have the support here of Cromwell, one of the



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Most conscientious statesmen known to history, who used to implore fellow-workers to remember that it was possible they might be mistaken.

PLEA FOR SELF-RESTRAINT AND ACCOMMODATION.

Every delegate has the right to give expression to his views with perfect freedom, and to do so on as many questions as he likes. He has also the right to move as many resolutions as he pleases; to move amendments to as many resolutions proposed by others as he thinks fit; and to divide the house as frequently as he chooses. But no real work is possible if such rights are exercised without proper consideration for the opinion and convenience of others, and particularly without regard for the best interests of a distressed and distracted nation. Our great chief had often to deplore that the enthusiasm of our people in their assemblages lacked self-restraint and discipline, and, in truth, it was their innate peace-loving nature and their good humour that so often proved their saving grace. Self-restraint and discipline can be taught to the masses only by such leaders as the Congress delegates, and the self-restraint and discipline of the delegates themselves is the best guarantee of the self-restraint and discipline of the masses. Above all, I trust that in giving expression to our views, no matter how strong, we shall avoid such partisanship as feeds on malice and revels in violent recriminations. Our great chief is noted throughout the world for his gospel of Non-Violence, and it would be a sad commentary on our allegiance to one who would not tolerate violence in thought or word towards an enemy if we excluded from our boasted Non-Violence our best friends. I would not for the world change popular enthusiasm into quietism or indifference. We need discipline, not death. We must have necessary steam to propel the national machinery; but it must be under control. Closely allied to this is the principle of compromise and accommodation. Ours is nothing if not a war of principles, and we cannot afford to forsake principles even for the sake of peace. But short of that we are being called upon by the state of our nation to-day to make every sacrifice in order to accommodate those who are as staunch nationalists as ourselves, but who do not always see eye to eye with us. It is our particular distinction that our great chief has spiritualized politics and we can no longer be content with a politics that is completely divorced from ethics. But in politics we may not always be able to secure the best. Life is one long second best, and there should be no bar against the second best if, by being content with it for the time being, we can carry large sections of the nation with us on the road to victory. Above all, let us not think of winning party victories when we have still to win the great victory of freedom against slavery, and of justice against a whole nation's wrongs. Forgive me, friends, for this homiletic preface, but I think I owed it to you as well as to myself. And now let us begin.

I have referred to the fact that my association with the Congress is of very recent date; but this admission is not merely personal. It involves the political history of the community to which I belong, and if I give a brief outline of it to you, it is only for the purpose of elucidating a problem which is the most vital of all the problems we have to solve to-day. When, in 1885, some Indian leaders, assisted by their British sympathisers, founded the Indian National Congress, the Musalmans of India did not participate in the movement except in a few individual cases. If their lack of Western education made them unfit to take part in a movement essentially that of the classes educated according to Western notions, their political temper made them an element that was not unlikely to prove dangerous to any political movement. They had already lost the rule of India, but the tradition of that rule had survived. This had increased the aversion they had always felt for the new type of education. The rule of India had finally passed from Muslim into English hands by slow and hardly perceptible degrees in the hundred years that intervened between the battle of Plassey and the Indian Mutiny, but the Musalmans had not ceased to regard the new rulers of India as something very inferior to themselves in civilisation and culture. This storm of ill-will and disdain had been gathering force for a whole century, and was at last precipitated in 1857. The Mutiny began near Calcutta as an affair of the Indian army, but in the storm-centre of Delhi and of my own Province, where it had to be fought out if English rule was to continue in India, it soon attracted to itself many forms of discontent, and religion was inextricably mixed up with politics. Although so many Musalmans had, at enormous risk to themselves, assisted the British at a time when hardly anyone could have predicted their eventual success with any degree of assurance, it was the Muslim aristocracy in those parts that suffered most from the terrible aftermath of the Mutiny. In fact, in its permanent results, even more than in some of its terrors, it could, without any great exaggeration, be compared to the social upheaval that the French Revolution meant to the old nobility of France. The remnants of Muslim aristocracy, deprived of all influence and of many of its possessions, certainly did not expect the return of Muslim rule. Nevertheless, a whole generation of Musalmans kept sullenly aloof from all contact with the culture of the new rulers of India which in their heart of hearts they still despised. They were in no mood to take advantage of the education provided by the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, founded in the very year in which the Mutiny convulsed the regions which formed the political centre of Muslim India. It was a natural consequence of this attitude of Musalmans who sulked in their tents that when, nearly thirty years later, a new generation



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Indians, who owed their education to the English, inaugurated a political movement on Western lines, Indian Mussalmans should be unfit by lack of such education to participate in that movement. Nevertheless, the Congress which called itself "Indian" and "National" felt the need of Muslim participation, for it could not justify its title without it.

SYED AHMAD KHAN OPPOSES MUSLIM PARTICIPATION.

Efforts were therefore made early enough to enlist Musalmans as delegates. But at this juncture Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the great pioneer of Western education among Musalmans, stepped into the political arena, and in two historic speeches, one delivered at Lucknow on the 28th December, 1887, and the other at Meerut on the 16th March, 1888, decisively checked whatever signs the Musalmans had shown of political activity in support of the Congress movement. It is by no means a difficult task to criticise those speeches, for they contained many fallacies to which no politically-minded Musalman could subscribe to-day. But I am not one of those who declare, merely on the strength of some ill-advised expressions characteristic of so militant a controversialist as Syed Ahmad Khan, that he was opposed to the co-operation of Hindus and Musalmans.

THE TRUE NATURE AND MOTIVES OF THE OPPOSITION.

Although his own public career after retirement from Public Service was identified with a movement for the uplift of his own community, he was a good Indian as well as a good Muslim, and many of his speeches prove him to have been an ardent patriot inspired with the love of Indian unity. And those who knew him personally can testify to the staunchness of his friendship with many Hindus, which could not have survived the narrow prejudices of which he has sometimes been accused.

No more true is the charge that he was opposed to Muslim participation in politics for all time. Whatever arguments he may have used in the two political utterances to which I have referred, to convince his Muslim hearers there were two arguments, and two only, that obviously convinced Syed Ahmad Khan himself of the undesirability of Muslim participation in the Congress at the time. He realised to the full that nothing would suit the temper of the Musalmans of his day better than the vocation of critics of their British supplanters in the governance of India; and he also realised that such a pursuit would be as dangerous to the continuance and progress of a peaceful political movement like the Congress as it was easy. This was the first argument that impelled Syed Ahmad Khan to keep his community under restraint in politics. The second argument was no less potent. Musalmans must educate themselves if they desired the uplift of their community, and yet it was no easy task to reconcile Musalmans to Western education even in an insti-



of their own which, unlike Government colleges and schools, would not divorce religious from secular learning. The easy pursuit of a policy in which the Muslims could act as destructive critics of the hated infidel Government was sure to offer superior attractions to the dull and drab constructive programme of the educationist, and he therefore set himself to oppose all diversion of Muslim activities into the more attractive, but for the time being less useful, political channel. Reviewing the actions of a bygone generation to-day, when it is easier to be wise after the event, I must confess I still think the attitude of Syed Ahmad Khan was eminently wise, and much as I wish that some things which he had said should have been left unsaid, I am constrained to admit that no well-wisher of Musalmans, nor of India as a whole, could have followed a very different course in leading the Musalmans.

Be it remembered that the man who enunciated this policy was not at the time a PERSONA GRATA to the major portion of the community which he sought to lead. He was hated as a heretic because of the heterodoxy of his aggressive rationalism in interpreting the Holy Quran, and his militant opposition to popular superstitions believed in by the bulk of the orthodox and to shackling customs consecrated by time, though wholly unauthorised by Islam. He was abused and vilified by hundreds of thousands of his co-religionists, and for long the college that he had founded at Aligarh was the BÊTE NOIRE of the pious Muslim. And yet the entire community followed his political lead without a murmur. Neither fallacious arguments nor even political clap-trap could have possessed such potency, and it is my firm belief that his advocacy succeeded mainly because of the soundness of the policy advocated.

For two decades thereafter the Musalmans had hardly any politics or any political institution worth the name. On important occasions when Syed Ahmad Khan, and, of course, his British supporters, thought that any demand of the Congress if satisfied would not be productive of good for the Musalmans, he would call together a few of his friends, mostly Trustees of the Aligarh College, who used to form a society bearing some such name as the "Muslim Defence Association," and a resolution of this body would be published in the PIONEER and in Syed Ahmad Khan's own local weekly newspaper in due course. That was all that the Musalmans would do in those days in the field of politics.

I am far from denying that Syed Ahmad Khan knew perfectly well that his policy was more than acceptable to his official supporters, who would have in all likelihood put every possible obstruction in the way of his college and his Educational Conference if he had followed another less acceptable to them. But a close study of his character leads me to declare that he was far from possessing the sycophancy with which some of his political critics have credited him. Indeed, even the opportunism of which his policy savoured could not have been palatable to a nature so in-



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dependent as his. In the year 1907, soon after the commencement of a new era in Muslim politics inaugurated by the foundation of the Muslim League, to which I shall presently refer, there occurred a strike of the students of Syed Ahmad Khan's College at Aligarh, owing to the support given against them by their own English Principal and Professors to the Police that had picked up a quarrel with one of them. Just about that time fell the anniversary of Syed Ahmad Khan's death celebrated annually in the College as the "Founder's Day." For that occasion I had written in Urdu an Ode addressed to the late Founder of my college, and referring to this unmistakable indication of the students' self-respect and of their willingness to make the necessary self-sacrifice demanded by the haughty disdain of the foreigner, I had said :

It is you that had taught the community all this "mischief"; if we are its culmination, you are its commencement.

"THE ARCH—REBEL."

That I am not alone in this estimate of Syed Ahmad Khan's character and policy will be proved by an interesting conversation that I shall relate. Once when my brother was still in the Public Service, an old English official asked him who he thought was the greatest rebel in India against British rule. And, correcting my brother's answer, that experienced official had declared that it was no other than Syed Ahmad Khan, loyalist of loyalists! When my brother protested against this astonishing judgment, he said :

"Do you think young Mussalmans who are being taught at Aligarh almost as well as our own boys at Harrow and Winchester, who live their lives and can beat them at their own games, would obsequiously serve them when they come out as Indian Civilians or members of such other superior services? No, Mr. Shaikat Ali, the days of British rule in India are numbered, and it is your loyal Syed Ahmad Khan that is the arch-rebel to-day!"

Like only too many of us, this British official too had failed to realise the paralysing effect of the education given in the colleges and schools established or favoured by this foreign Government, and had only to eseen the dissatisfaction and discontent that it must inevitably produce. With a Muslim University, chartered, aided and controlled by Government still flourishing at Aligarh, so far as the number of the teachers and the taught and a University Chest filled with the contributions of the rich are concerned, though robbed of all generous ideals and national and communal ambitions, and existing side by side with another, poor in everything save its ideals and its dreams, into which my old college had seemed to have transformed itself three years ago, I cannot boast that the "arch-rebel" of Aligarh has altogether succeeded in his "rebellious" endeavour. But it is my firm conviction that he had always aimed and intended to produce staunch Muslims and patriotic Indians even if he could not perhaps contemplate a near enough future for India in which



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"young barbarians all at play" could be other than "loyal British subjects."

ALIGARH AND THE MUSLIM LEAGUE.

Nearly thirty years after the foundation of the Universities in the three Presidency towns of India—a period which corresponds with the growth of a new generation—the Congress had inevitably come into existence. It was no easy task that Syed Ahmad Khan had accomplished in founding an Anglo-Oriental College of his own community within two decades of the Indian Mutiny in the very regions which had formed the storm-centre in 1857. In obedience, as it were, to a law of nature, once more nearly thirty years after the foundation of this College, there came into being a political institution of the Musalmans who had not availed themselves of the educational facilities provided by the State Universities, and could not consequently share in the political awakening which those Universities had indirectly brought about. And it is not without significance that fairly prominent among the founders of the Muslim League at Dacca at the end of 1906 were some alumni of Syed Ahmad Khan's own College.

This inaugurated a new era in the political life of the Indian Musalmans. Some months previously a Muslim Deputation had waited at Simla on the Viceroy, Lord Minto, to place before him and his Government a statement of the Muslim demands in connection with the Minto-Morley Reforms then foreshadowed. To follow the fashion of British journalists during the War, "there is no harm now in saying" that the Deputation was a "command" performance! It was clear that Government could no longer resist the demands of educated Indians, and, as usual, it was about to dole out to them a morsel that would keep them gagged for some years. Hitherto the Musalmans had acted very much like the Irish prisoner in the dock who, in reply to the judge's inquiry whether he had any counsel to represent him in the trial, had frankly replied that he had certainly not engaged counsel, but that he had "friends in the jury"! But now the Muslims' "friends in the jury" had themselves privately urged that the accused should engage duly qualified counsel like all others. From whatever source the inspiration may have come, there is no doubt that the Muslim cause was this time properly advocated. In the common territorial electorates the Musalmans had certainly not succeeded in securing anything like adequate or real representation, and those who denounced and deplored the creation of separate electorates for which the Musalmans had pleaded should have remembered that separate electorates were the consequence, and not the cause, of the separation between Musalmans and their more numerous Hindu bretheren.

SEPARATE ELECTORATES HASTEN INDIAN UNITY.

But little could the official supporters of the Muslim community have suspected at the time that, paradoxical as it may seem, the creation of separate electorates was hastening the advent of Hindu.



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Muslim unity. For the first time a real franchise, however restricted, was being offered to Indians, and if Hindus and Muslims remained just as divided as they had hitherto been since the commencement of British rule, and often hostile to one another, mixed electorates would have provided the best battle-ground for inter-communal strifes, and would have still further widened the gulf separating the two communities. Each candidate for election would have appealed to his own community for votes, and would have based his claims for preference on the intensity of his ill-will towards the rival community, however disguised this may have been under some such formula as "the defence of his community's interests." Bad as this would have been, the results of an election in which the two communities were not equally matched would have been even worse, for the community that failed to get its representative elected would have inevitably borne a yet deeper grudge against its successful rival. Divided as the two communities were, there was no chance for any political principles coming into prominence during the elections. The creation of separate electorates did a great deal to put a stop to this inter-communal warfare, though I am far from oblivious of the fact that when inter-communal jealousies are acute, the men that are more likely to be returned even from communal electorates are just those who are noted for their ill-will towards the rival community.

"UNITED FAITHS OF INDIA."

In the controversy that raged round the representation of Musalmans AS A COMMUNITY I had taken my full share; but no sooner the Muslim claim had been recognised in practice in the elections to the enlarged council of 1910, I decided to launch a weekly journal of my own from the seat of the Government of India in order to assist my community in taking its proper share in the political life of the country. I was particularly anxious to help it to understand that, while endeavouring to satisfy the pressing needs of the present, which would inevitably bring it now and then into conflict with other elements in the body-politic, it should never lose sight of the prospects of the future when ultimately all communal interests had to be adjusted so as to harmonise with the paramount interests of India.

I had long been convinced that here in this country of hundreds of millions of human beings, intensely attached to religion, and yet infinitely split up into communities, sect and denominations, Providence had created for us the mission of solving a unique problem and working out a new synthesis, which was nothing less than a Federation of Faiths! As early as in 1904, when I had been only two years in India after my return from Oxford, I had given to this idea a clear, if still somewhat hesitating expression, in an address delivered at Ahmedabad on the "Proposed Mahomedan University." "Unless some new force,"—this is what I had said on that occasion—"unless some new force, OTHER THAN THE MISLEAD-

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THE UNITY OF OPPOSITION unites this vast continent of India, it will either remain a geographical misnomer, or what I think it will ultimately do, become a Federation of Religions." I had noted the strength of the centrifugal force of Indian communities; and yet hope and faith and the deep yearning for freedom had even then made me realise the latent centripetal force of Indian unity. The lines of cleavage were too deeply marked to permit a unity other than federal; and yet, as I had observed in the address from which I have already quoted, the cleavage was not territorial or racial in character, but religious. For more than twenty years I have dreamed the dream of a federation, grander, nobler and infinitely more spiritual than the United States of America, and to-day when many a political Cassandra prophesies a return to the bad old days of Hindu-Muslim dissensions, I still dream that old dream of "United FAITHS of India." It was in order to translate this dream into reality that I had launched my weekly newspaper, and had significantly called it "THE COMRADE—"comrade of all and partisan of none.

Friends, is it so entirely out of place if I quote a little from the first words that I had contributed to the first issue of the COMRADE? In view of the political controversy that had been raging in India, I naturally shrank from relating my dream when making my DEBUT before a sceptical, matter-of-fact world. And yet the dream was all the time there for those who did not despise dreams.

"We have no faith (I wrote on the 14th January, 1911) in the cry that India is united. If India was united where was the need of dragging the venerable President of this year's Congress from a distant home? The bare imagination of a feast will not dull the edge of hunger. We have less faith still in the sanctimoniousness that transmutes in its subtle alchemy a rapacious monopoly into fervent patriotism.

"Even as poor birds deceiv'd with painted grapes

"Do surfeit by the eye, and pine the maw"

those of us who cannot distinguish true gold from the glitter of spurious coins, will one day surfeit by the ear and pine the heart. But the person we love best, fear the most, and trust the least is the impatient idealist. Goethe said of Byron that he was a prodigious poet, but that when he reflected he was a child. Well, we think no better and no worse of the man who combines great ideals and a greater impatience. So many efforts, well-meaning as well as ill-begotten, have failed in bringing unity to this distracted land, that we cannot spare even cheap and scentless flowers of sentiment for the grave of another ill-judged endeavour. We shall not make the mistake of gumming together pieces of broken glass, and then cry over the unsuccessful result, or blame the refractory material. In other words, we shall endeavour to face the situation boldly, and respect facts, however ugly and ill-favoured. It is poor statesmanship to slur over inconvenient realities, and not the least important success in achieving unity is the honest and frank recognition of deep-seated prejudices that hinder it and the yawning differences that divide.

But while providing for to-day, we must not forget the morrow. It is our firm belief that if the Musalmans or the Hindus attempt to achieve success in opposition to, or even without the co-operation of one another, they will not only fail, but fail ignominiously. But every step has to be taken with caution,



Nothing in history, ancient or modern, provides a useful analogy to the condition of modern India. History never repeats itself. But it is still the best educative force for mankind, and it has its lessons for us also. The problems of India are almost international. But when the statesmen and philanthropists of Europe, with all its wars of interests and national jealousies, do not despair of abolishing war and placing Pax on the throne of Bellona, shall we despair of Indian nationality? We may not create to-day the patriotic fervour and the fine national frenzy of Japan with its forty millions of homogeneous people. But a concordat like that of Canada is not beyond the bounds of practicability. It may not be a love-marriage, born of romance and poetry. But a MARRIAGE DE CONVENANCE, honourably contracted and honourably maintained, is not to be despised. Let us begin with honest prose and the Muses will not forbid the banns. Even this is no easy task. But it is one worthy of the sons and daughters of India, and deserves their toil and self-sacrifice. O! Unity,

"Thou wilt come, join men, knit nation unto nation ;

"But not for us who watch to-day and burn.

"Thou wilt come ; but after what long years of trial,

"Weary watching, patient longing, dull denial !"

Friends, three years ago we were privileged to catch more than a fleeting glimpse of the unity of which I had dreamed, and if to-day we have to admit, as we must, that the dream has not been realised as fully as we wish, we shall have once more to examine the situation carefully and to face inconvenient facts with candour and with courage. I propose to do that presently, but not to break the thread of my narrative I revert to the situation as it existed at the time when I made my journalistic DEBUT.

MUSLIMS AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

As I had foreseen, the separate electorates returned both Hindus and Mussalmans who were not averse to combine in the various legislatures to support the popular cause. Nevertheless, inter-communal hostility did not altogether cease in the country. A new element, was however, unexpectedly added to the situation by the aggression of Western nations against Muslim States and its effect on Muslim sentiment in India, and although there are not wanting to-day staunch non-Muslim nationalists who look askance at Indian Muslim feeling with regard to Muslim affairs abroad, a little reflection would show that the new element to which I have referred, even while undoubtedly diverting the attention of Indian Mussalmans to some extent from affairs at home, hastened Muslim disillusionment with regard to their traditional reliance on their foreign Government and thereby contributed greatly to Indian unity.

THE OUTLOOK IN 1911.

I had intended the COMRADE to be the organ that was to voice the sentiments I entertained regarding the need of an inter-communal federation for India. It was to prepare the Mussalmans to make their proper contribution to territorial patriotism without abating one jot of the fervour of their extra-territorial sympathies, which are as you must know, part of the quintessence of Islam. When I first

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thought of launching on a career of journalism I did not expect that any but a small fraction of my attention and energies would be attracted by Muslim politics outside the confines of my own country. It is true that affairs in Egypt did not present a very re-assuring appearance; nor did the new Constitutions in Turkey and Persia receive, after an initial outburst of welcome, their full measure of sympathy which we in India felt to be due to such heroic and hazardous enterprises from England, the one European Power with which we had all along been exclusively concerned. The only other European Power on our political horizon had been Russia. So long as after the overthrow of France a hundred years previously she was the most considerable of the Powers on the continent of Europe, and had further aggravated that situation by aiming at being a yet greater Power on the continent of Asia, everyone in India had been sedulously taught by the masters of India's destinies to regard her as the enemy of mankind, and to believe that it was the sacred mission of England to thwart and defeat her. But the rapid rise of Japan and its signal success in defeating Russia in the Far East, while it encouraged other oriental nations to hold up their heads and to hope, so radically altered the position of Russia that from being an inveterate enemy she became a friend and in all but name an ally of England, even though it was her victorious adversary that had been, and still remained, the acknowledged and official ally of that nation. This speedily reacted on Eastern politics, not only in Persia, where Russia openly stood up as a high-handed dictator, and where it was soon to cause a hail-storm of ultimatums, but also in Turkey, where the rivalries of the Slav and the Teuton now re-appeared with added vehemence in the form of a struggle between Entente and Alliance. Once more had the Near East become the storm-centre of European politics.

All this was no doubt disquieting enough to Indian Musalmans who had been brought up from their childhood to regard England as the friend and Russia as the enemy of Muslim States. But the political controversies of Hindus and Musalmans appeared none the less to be their immediate concern in India. The passions that these inter-communal differences had unfortunately aroused just a little previously had lent to them the semblance of acute international conflict, while Turkey and Persia still seemed comparatively remote.

But things did not proceed precisely in the way in which I had so optimistically forecasted. The year 1911 proved a fateful year for Muslim States. The new Governments of Turkey, Persia and Morocco all began to meet with squalls in their initial voyage of reform and progress, which soon developed into regular storms.

THE DURBAR ANNOUNCEMENT:

In India, too, the year proved more fateful for Musalmans than anyone could have predicted. Just before the close of the year the King-Emperor made a portentous Announcement at Delhi where



had come ostensibly to announce in person in an "Imperial" Durbar by the event of his coronation that year. It was admittedly an abrupt departure from the tradition of British Government and a complete dislocation of official habits." But this unusual procedure, and the secrecy which had been maintained not only at the expense of India but also of that of the Local Governments, were justified on the ground that the Imperial Announcement was "one of the most weighty decisions ever taken since the establishment of the British rule in India," and that the discussion of measures which were being taken in consequence of an agitation that indicated "bitterness of feeling," and was at the same time "very widespread and unyielding," would have in its turn caused endless agitation. As we all know, the Announcement comprised a re-adjustment of territories upsetting Lord Curzon's vindictive Partition of Bengal and the creation of the new Province of Behar and Orissa after the re-union of Bengal, East and West. It also indirectly penalised Bengal by shifting the capital to Delhi. As I wrote in the COMRADE at the time, I was in favour of both these schemes, "taking each by itself as wholly unconnected schemes", and "irrespective of the time, place and procedure preferred by the Government of India for the Announcement." The Partition in the form then approved was due in 1905, and the transfer of the capital was needed in 1858. Lords Curzon and Midleton had sinned in a hurry, and it would have seemed that Lords Hardinge and Crewe were repenting at leisure. But it was clear from the King-Emperor's Announcement as well as from the despatches of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, that "the key-stone of the whole project" was the "proposal to make Delhi the future capital of India"; that it was only "as a consequence of the transfer" that the Partition was modified; that the Bengalis were expected to be "reconciled to the change" of capital by "other features of the scheme which were specially designed to give satisfaction to Bengal sentiment"; and that the re-union of the two Bengals was no more than "the compensation which will be offered to Bengali sentiment" for "the objections to the transfer which are likely to be entertained in some quarters." There was not a word in the Government of India's Despatch about such things as the financial embarrassment of the administration in Eastern Bengal, the unsatisfactory results of yoking Assam with a part of Bengal, or the difficulties of communication between the Rajshahi Division and Dacca, all of which could have been utilised to justify the unsettlement of a "settled fact." The Partition of 1905 was indeed acknowledged in that Despatch to have fulfilled "two of the chief purposes which its authors had in view," "It relieved," so ran the Despatch, "the over-burdened administration of Bengal, and it gave the Mahomedan population of Eastern Bengal advantages and opportunities of which they had, perhaps, hitherto not had their fair share." But Bengal had to be deprived of the

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distinction of claiming the capital of India as its own capital as well, and of the opportunities it had thus enjoyed of criticising the Govt. of India and subjecting it to constant pressure from such close quarters. We had already been familiarised, to the extent of feeling downright moral contempt for it, with the Doctrine of Compensation in the foreign politics of Europe, according to which Morocco had been given to France for the sake of a free hand for the English in Egypt, and Tripoli had been all but given to Italy while Germany had made her famous panther leap at AGADIR. This fatal doctrine had now peacefully penetrated into the internal administration of India. "Eastern Bengal and Assam," wrote the Government of India:—

"have no doubt benefitted greatly by the Partition, and the Mohamedans of the province, who form a large majority of the population, are loyal and contented; but the resentment among the Bengalis in both the provinces of Bengal, who hold most of the land, fill the professions and exercise a preponderating influence in public affairs, is as strong as ever."

As I wrote on that occasion:—

"what could be easier than to politely disburden the loyal and contented Peter of his few worldly belongings in order to load the discontented, if not disloyal, Paul with rewards and compensation? The Musalmans have no PANTHER to send to Agadir, and it is too well-established a rule of diplomacy that NO PANTHER, NO COMPENSATION !,"

REACTION ON MUSLIM POLITICS.

While I declared in the COMRADE that "in our judgment the Musalmans should accept the decision of the Government," I could not but say that they had deserved a better fate. Before the Partition they had laboured under many difficulties and had endured everything quietly as only the weak can endure. It was not they that had clamoured and agitated for the Partition. Nevertheless, the Partition came to them a well deserved though wholly unexpected blessing. Their condition had begun to improve, and with that their ambitions and hopes. It may even be confessed that, like all NOVEAUX RICHES, these political PARVENUS sometimes held their heads too high and strutted about the peacock manner. But, like the exaltation born of a draught of haschish, it did not last long, and the reaction came with a suddenness and a force that were terrible. The emancipated slaves were, so to speak, once more sold into bondage, and who does not know that revenge is sweet? Their old masters could have been excused if on being placed once more in the position of the slave-driver they had used the lash and the bastinado a little too lavishly. The Musalmans of Eastern Bengal had been made to fight the battle of their rulers against their neighbours, and now that it was no longer convenient for the rulers to continue the fight, they had made their own peace with all convenient speed, and had left the Musalmans to the mercy of those against whom they had been used as auxiliaries. It would be hard to discover in history a

more ignoble instance of betrayal in which "loyalty" has been rewarded with deprivation of recently recovered rights, and "contentment" has been punished as the worst of crimes. Perhaps I may mention without any indiscretion that when immediately after the Announcement I drove over in haste to interview Sir Charles Bayley, the head of the Local Government now thrown on the scrap-heap, I met Lord Sinha and Sir Benode Mitter who asked me what I thought of the Announcement. I told them that in the case of the Hindus of Bengal the Announcement had been a matter of "give and take," that for "sturdy, loyal" Beharis it had been one of "take" only, but that for the Musalmans of Eastern Bengal it had been one of nothing but "give," and as a reward for their loyalty and contentment they had been given a generous helping of humble pie. And then I walked off with the mumbled prayer that they might be spared too acute an attack of indigestion! In the Durbar itself a little earlier I remember that I had been accosted by my old friend Sir Charles Cleveland, Director of the Criminal Intelligence Department, as I was hastily perusing the Announcement. As it happened, I was among the very first in the Press Camp to receive a copy of it from the hands of the official who was distributing them. Sir Charles had humorously asked me if there was anything in the Announcement for me or for him, and I had replied with ill-suppressed bitterness that there was nothing for me, but that there was plenty of work for him. And who can say that my prophecy has not proved true?

Friends, I have gone into this matter at considerable length only because the Announcement has always appeared to me to be a very distinct land-mark in the political progress of the Musalmans. Nothing could have more clearly convinced them that their dependence upon a foreign government for support against sister communities laid them perpetually open to such betrayals. They now realised that they could place no reliance on such support, whether at home or abroad, and it set them thinking that perhaps at a much smaller sacrifice of their interests they could purchase lasting peace and even secure the friendship of their neighbours and fellow-countrymen.

THE MUSLIM LEAGUE'S CREED.

The Muslim League, although never an anti-Hindu or anti-Congress organisation, had at its birth in the very midst of the Partition agitation naturally emphasised in its creed the protection of communal interests and loyalty to Government, even though it had also included therein the promotion of harmony and concord with sister-communities. A year after the Durbar Announcement, the Council of the League recommended a change in the creed, and it emphasised in the new creed that it recommended "Self-government suitable for India" as its ideal. In commenting upon this change, which was eventually accepted by the League in its annual session in the following March, I had stated that for the Musalmans their new political creed was but "the half-way house from which

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their ultimate destination was clearly visible," and I do not think I can do better in helping you to form a just estimate of our position to-day than quote from the COMRADE of that date the following passage which I would ask all Nationalists, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, to consider carefully :—

' But it is not so much on the reform of the administration by the administrators and those to whom they are responsible, nor even on the relationship that comes to exist between the ruler and the ruled, that the attainment of self-government depends. Self-government is the necessary corollary of self-realisation, and India as a whole has not yet realised herself. Once her conflicting interests, warring creeds and rival communities not only conceive that India can be one in her soul as she is in her body, but feel her unity as an individual feels the unity of his individual self in spite of the diversity of the various members and organs of his body, and the varying moods of his intellect and soul, there is no power in the world that can deny her self-government. But we would warn our countrymen against playing the sedulous ape in their methods of nation-making as we have warned them in the matter of their choosing their political goal.....In India political unity can be achieved not so much by annihilating smaller units that may appear to conflict with the ultimate scheme of unity, but by recognising their force and inevitableness. If we could choose a motto for a society of nation-makers in India, we could suggest nothing better than what the United States of America have adopted, India is to be a **PLURIBUS UNUM**.

In foreign affairs the year 1912 had opened with far different prospects from those of 1911. Up to the last, Indian Muslims had entertained the hope that things would right themselves. But this did not happen, and the year ended even worse than it had begun. The sad disillusionment with regard to international morality for which the shameless brigandage of Italy in Tripoli was responsible had greatly affected the Muslims in the autumn of 1911. If any further disillusionment was needed it was supplied by the action of Russia in Persia and Britain's "sanctionious acquiescence." In both cases the utmost brutality characterised European aggression. Who can forget the massacres in the Tripoli Oasis or the celebration in Persia of the New Year, which coincided with the anniversary of the Tragedy of Kerbela, when, among others, the Siqat-ul-Islam, the highest ecclesiastic of Northern Persia—"a man universally respected alike for his learning, his piety and his tolerance"—was hanged by the Russians. If anything could surpass these things in the anguish they caused to Muslim minds, it was the threatened aeroplane attack on the Holy Ka'ba by Italy and the actual bombardment of Holy Meshad by Russia which followed them. Truly did Mr. Shuster declare at a banquet given in his honour by the Persia Committee in London on his visit there after his expulsion from Persia :

"I am not bitter about my own experience, but I should be a hypocrite if I pretended not to sympathise with the bitterness of the Mohamedan people who have so forcibly learned the lesson that the Ten Commandments do not apply to international politics. Let anyone who doubts this review the events of the past year."



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These bitter experiences were destined to be followed by those still more bitter in 1912 in the autumn of which broke out the Balkan War which at one time threatened to expel the Turks from Europe after nearly five hundred years.

REACTION ON MUSLIM FEELING IN INDIA.

The attitude of England towards the enemies of Turkey, Persia and Morocco had begun to alienate the sympathies of Indian Musalmans from England ever since 1911, and this estrangement could not but react on their relations with the British officials here, who, in spite of their detestation of the Radical politicians in power in England, could not help looking askance at Indians daring to criticise an English Government with a candour and a courage unusual in a subject race. The COMRADE case, which for the first time brought home to Indians the power of the now defunct Press Act for evil, was concerned, as many of you may till remember, with the forfeiture of a pamphlet received from the Turks. In this they had only appealed to England for Christian succour against the Balkan Allies whose Macedonian atrocities were therein depicted. While this litigation was going on, the fatal developments following on the demolition of part of a small mosque at Cawnpore embittered Muslim feeling still further. In consequence of all this I had proceeded to England, in company with the then Secretary of the Muslim League, to appeal to the British Government and persuade it to alter a policy, Indian as well as foreign, that seemed to bode no good to any body, and which was sure to drive the Muslims to despair. In this we partly succeeded; but within a year events of far greater magnitude occurred in which the entire world was involved. The War and the events leading to the participation of Turkey not on the same side as England undid all the good that we had expected to follow the friendly Deputation of Indian Musalmans which we had taken to wait on Lord Hardinge earlier in the year, and which had been received by the Viceroy with every show of good-will.

OUTBREAK OF WAR AND MUSLIM FEELING IN INDIA.

When the war with Germany broke out, I think I fairly represented the feeling of educated and responsible Indian Musalmans, who were too self-respecting to play the sycophant, when I wrote in the COMRADE of the 12th August 1914 as follows.—

‘There are still some sane people among Indians themselves, and though they do not advertise the offer of their personal services to the Government, whatever influence they possess with the people would be used to decrease rather than increase the Government's embarrassment. They could offer no better guarantee than this that they regard India's connection with Great Britain as, at the present stage of India's growth, indispensable, and we are sure that the less lofty motive of self-interest would wear better and stand the strain of circumstances longer than the lip-loyalty of Ji-Huzurs.



Whether Great Britain has respected Muslim Indian feeling in her dealings with Turkey, Persia, Morocco or not, whether the utterances of His Majesty's Ministers regarding the Turks in their life and death struggle during the last war have been just and consistent, or unjust and inconsistent; whether their action following two breaches of treaty obligations, by Austria in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and by Italy in the Tripolitanine, have tallied or not with the recent public proclamation of their sense of the sacredness of treaties; whether their conscience has revolted or not at the slaughter of babes and sucklings, unprotected womanhood and bed-ridden age in Tripoli and the Balkans; whether the white Colonials' treatment of their coloured fellow-citizens of the same Empire has been fair or otherwise; whether the Home Government has exerted its full pressure on the Colonials to right the wrong or has only assumed an incredible impotence; whether Indians' claims for an equitable adjustment of rights and duties and for a fair share in guiding the destinies of their own country have been met by the British Bureaucracy in the spirit of friendliness or of jealousy and rancour; whether in the annulment of the Partition of Bengal the Musalmans were treated with due consideration for their loyalty or it was underrated and their contentment taken too much for granted; whether the sanctity of their places of worship and the integrity of their graveyards have been uniformly respected, or sometimes lightly sacrificed to the Moloch of Prestige—we say that, irrespective of any or all these considerations, or rather because we have carefully weighed them all against the one supreme consideration, our need of England and her tutelage at the present stage of our national and communal growth, and found her good exceeding by a great deal her evil, we shall remain loyal to her as only freemen can remain loyal, with a sincere devotion and an unbought submission, and this whether she crushes the naval power of Germany and becomes a dictator to Europe, or the last ship of her mighty Armada sinks in the North Sea and her last soldier falls down and dies round Liege or London... Even if England may not need us, we have need of her. Believing in political purity rather than in political prudery, we have entered the lists with her biggest bureaucrats in India in time of peace. But in time of war the clash of steel in civic battles must cease and the voice of controversy must be hushed, and if we cannot hastily command in others an enthusiasm for this war which we ourselves do not feel, let us once and for all assure the Government that, so far as we and those within the orbit of our influence are concerned, they can sleep in peace. Let alone Provincial Satraps and the still greater despots of their districts, their meanest, if not their humblest, policeman will find us at his beck and call whenever civic excitement has to be allayed. More than this we cannot proclaim. Less than this we shall not confess. This is and has always been our creed and to that we shall adhere.

Friends, I fear I must have exhausted your patience with these long quotations from the COMRADE, but I feel certain of your indulgence if you would only consider the object I have in view. This long narration is intended to show to the world how different were the feelings of Indian Musalmans towards this Government until quite recent times, and what patience we had shown in the face of injustice, indifference and continued callousness.

TURKEY AND INDIAN MUSLIM FEELING.

At the suggestion of Government, and through its own medium, I had even cabled, along with my friend Dr. Ansari, to the late lamented Talaat Pasha urging the Turks to think a thousand times before they participated in the War. And even



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when war was being forced on Turkey by ill-advised threats such as those of the LONDON TIMES, my very long, well-known and in the English Press extensively quoted and highly approved article, in reply to that of the TIMES, on the "Choice of the Turks," had shown to what lengths Indian Musalmans were then prepared to go in assisting their foreign Government.

I shall only quote to you the final conclusion at which after very careful and detailed reasoning I had myself arrived in that article, and which I had recommended to the Musalmans for adoption as the policy of the community :

All truly loyal people (I wrote) have closed the chapter of civil controversy with the officials and into that book they are like to look no more. Whatever our grievances, whatever reforms we desire, everything must wait for a more seasonable occasion. Even if the Government were to concede to us all that we ever desired or dream ; if, for instance the Muslim University were offered to us on our own terms, or the Press Act repeal were to be announced, or even if Self-Government were to be conceded to us, we would humbly tell Government this is no time for it, and we must for the present decline such concessions with thanks. Concessions are asked for and accepted in peace. We are not Russian Poles. We need no bribes.

A conclusion such as this had recommended itself even to the Calcutta correspondent of the MORNING POST. And yet it was for publishing this very article that I forfeited the security of the COMRADE Press and had had in consequence to discontinue that paper. It was then that a distinguished weekly journal of England, THE NEW STATESMAN, severally criticised the Government of India in a leading article sarcastically headed " Encouraging Loyalty in India " ! And when the war with Turkey actually broke out, a representative of the Associated Press and Keuter interviewed me at Delhi and subsequently informed me that the interview was much appreciated by the Viceroy who had seen it before publication. I had predicted in the previous article that even if war broke out with the Turks the anchor of the Indian Musalmans' loyalty would hold, and now that war had broken out I repeated that the anchor still held. I asked them to commend their souls to God and to place their services at the disposal of the Government for the preservation of peace and tranquility in India. I compared their position to that of the children of parents who had quarrelled with one another. " Right may be on one side or the other, but the sorrow and suffering are in any case those of the children."

THE LIMITS OF MUSLIM 'LOYALTY.'

In this interview, as also in the last leading article the COMRADE was permitted to publish before it closed its doors, it was clearly indicated that Musalmans were placing implicit reliance on the solemn pledges given by the British Government and Britain's Allies with regard to their faith and the Holy Places of Islam. I had distinctly pointed out that Arabia must not be attacked nor must the protection of Islam's Holy Places by a really

independent Muslim Power be endangered. This was the least to which Indian Musalmans were entitled unless their religion was required by their non-Muslim Government to be a matter of no consequence to them as compared with their "loyalty" to that Government. I may add that I had concluded my interview with the statement that the Muslims could be trusted to act on the precept of Jesus Christ, to render unto Cæsar what is due to Cæsar. But I was informed by the distinguished Journalist who had recorded the interview that the Censor of Press telegrams, who was no doubt a good Christian, while passing the rest of the message had carefully scored out the exhortation of Jesus Christ. No doubt that astute official, who believed in the supremacy of the State over the Church, thought that if the Muslims were reminded of their duty to render unto Cæsar what was due to Cæsar, they might perchance remember the accompanying exhortation also to render unto God what was due to God!

This was precisely what happened before very long, and the history of our betrayal is too recent to be repeated in any detail. During the War Musalmans were required, in defiance of their religious obligations, to assist Government in waging war against the Khalifa and those engaged in Jihad. The Jazirat-ul-Arab, which includes Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia, and which Musalmans were required by their faith at all times to keep free from non-Muslim occupation and control, was attacked and occupied by Great Britain and her Allies, and is still under their control in defiance of the Prophet's well-known testamentary injunction. The Holy Places of Islam, which are not particular buildings merely, but territories, including the three Sacred Harams of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, have been filched from the successor of the Prophet and Commander of the Faithful, who is their only accredited Servant and Warden, and even today he is not permitted to occupy, defend and serve them. The dismemberment of the Empire of the Khalifa, the appointment of non-Muslim Mandatories to control various portions of it; and the consequent weakening of the temporal power of Islam to the point of danger to its spiritual influence, through the possible pressure of the temporal power of rival creeds openly advocated by the Allies, and none of them insisted upon this course so relentlessly up to the last as Great Britain herself. As we all know, Greece was her own brutal nominee and agent in the execution of this policy even after the armistice in defiance of all laws of peace or war, and howsoever much the other Allies also may have resisted Ismet Pasha at Lausanne, it was Great Britain herself that was the chief obstacle in the path of Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha to the very end of this tragic tale. Discrimination was made against Muslim governments and populations in various other ways also, such as by the denial of self-determination to the Muslim populations of territories forcibly annexed or occupied and controlled by non-Muslim Powers. While all this was going on, Indian Muslim opinion, unrepresented at, the



Peace Conference, and represented before the Allies themselves only unrepresentative Musalmans, was vigorously suppressed in India by means of those well-known engines of tyranny and terrorism, the Press Act, the Defence of India Act, Regulation III of 1818 and, finally, the declaration of Martial Law in parts of India, over and above the abuse of the ordinary penal law of the land.

THE TIME WAS RIPE FOR RE-UNION.

I have already declared it as my view that the bitter experience of ill-will against the Muslim State and populations abroad hastened the conversion of the Musalmans to the view that to rely on this foreign and non-Muslim Government for support and sympathy, even after making every conceivable sacrifice for its sake, was futile, and that if they were in need of support and sympathy they must have a lasting, equitable settlement with the sister communities of India. The same course was clearly indicated by the betrayal of the Musalmans of Eastern Bengal. And the time too was ripe for a Hindu-Muslim re-union. True partnership and association, whether in business, social relationship or in love, requires that there should be no great disparity between those that are to associate together as partners, friends or lovers. The same is true of politics. Union of the rich and the poor, of the old and the young, of the learned and the ignorant, is perhaps possible but far from common; and it was a true instinct that guided Syed Ahmad Khan in opposing, a generation previously, the voking together of the strong and the weak. During the controversy with regard to the Minto-Morley Reforms, however, Musalmans had developed to some extent the quality of self-assertion so necessary in politics. But ever since the outbreak of the Tripolitan war they had had to struggle against the repressive policy of the Government, and it is not with a view to praise my own community that I say it has now to a considerable extent made up the distance between itself and the more advanced communities of India by dint of forced marches which it had to undertake throughout this momentous period.

THE RAPPROACHMENT.

It was at my brother's suggestion and my own during our internment that in 1915 the Muslim League held its annual session at Bombay where the Congress was also to meet. Maulana Mazhar-ul-Haque, the veteran Congressman, who was nevertheless one of the founders of the Muslim League, and who had valiantly stuck to the Congress all these years, in spite of the fact that the bulk of his community was still following the lead of Syed Ahmad Khan given thirty years ago, was now elected President of the Muslim League with great eclat. He was called upon to execute the mandate of his own community and bring about a joint meeting of the political leaders in the camps of the League and the Congress in order to adjust the future political relations of the various communities

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concerned. Mr. Jinnah's persuasive advocacy was added to the vigour of the President, and, last but not least, the audacious courage and vehement perseverance of that intrepid Muslim patriot, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, brought about the rapprochement which was to bear fruit in the following year in the historic Lucknow Compact. So rapid had been the progress of the Musalmaus that a mildewed critic from among their own community observed that Lord Sinha, the Bengali President of the Bombay Session of the Indian National Congress, had travelled thither by the same train as his Behari neighbour and brother-lawyer who presided over the Muslim League, and the two had borrowed one another's Presidential Addresses in order to compare notes. But, said the critic with more wit than wisdom, the two Presidents forgot to take back their own productions and by an irony of fate Maulana Mazhar-ul-Haque had read to his Muslim audience as his own the pungent oration characteristic of the Bengali, and Lord Sinha had done likewise and read to the Congress delegates the cautious and halting address of the "ever-loyal" Muslim.

Government had now come to realise what would be the inevitable result of the Bombay rapprochement, and it is a matter of history how the Muslim Leaguers were compelled to conclude in camera the session begun under such auspices. Thenceforward, the Congress and the Muslim League always met for their annual sessions at the same centre and worked in entire co-operation. The result was inevitable and could well have been foreseen. If the Congress President of the Ahmedabad Session was lodged in the Alipore gaol when he should have been occupying the Presidential chair at Ahmedabad, the President of the Muslim League for the same year was indicted for waging War against the King at Ahmedabad itself on account of his Presidential address, and, even when acquitted by the unanimous verdict of the jury on that charge, was consigned to the Ahmedabad gaol after being convicted of sedition. It is a feather in the Muslim cap that while Sriji Das has brilliantly led the Swarajists to victory in Bengal and elsewhere, his Muslim CONFRERE, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, is now sharing the honours of Yerrawda gaol with Mahatma Gandhi, having in the meantime more than doubled his original sentence, in spite of the restricted opportunities for indulging in criminal practices that a prisoner's life affords, and has thus corrected the error of a blundering jury!

MUSLIM REALIZATION OF LARGER INDIA INTERESTS.

But it was not only a case of safeguarding Muslim communal interests without leaning for support eternally on a foreign Government and harbouring suspicions against sister communities. Musalmans would have been more than human, or less than that, if they had been indifferent to the continued injustice done to India and Indians collectively. Having been taught by their political preceptors in the past that Government could never for long leave a

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unredressed, they had followed the policy of "wait and see". They had waited long, and yet all that they saw was a series of wrongs done to India—wrongs which remained unrepented. Their patience was at last giving way and they were beginning to enlist as Congress members in annually increasing numbers. This was a hopeful indication of their realizing that they had to protect not only their comparatively petty communal interests but also the larger Indian national interests, which were as surely theirs to protect as those of sister communities. They now realized more than ever that by being Muslims they could not cease to be Indians. The Congress sessions of Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi had progressively justified the National appellation of the Congress. But it was reserved for General Dyer to break down entirely the barrier that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had for temporary purposes erected more than thirty years previously, and to summon the Musalmans of India to the Congress held at Amritsar in 1919 as the unsuspecting Herald of India's Nationhood. The bullets of his soldiery made no distinction between Hindu and Muslim, and clearly Providence had so designed things that a community even more loyal than the Musalmans, namely our brave Sikh brothers, should also dye the sacred soil of their religious capital at Amritsar with their own blood along with that of Hindu and Muslim martyrs.

THE COMING OF THE MAHATMA.

Much of the suffering undergone at Jallianwalla Bagh was, however, of a passive character, not invied nor cheerfully borne, and the terror that the proceedings of the administrators of Martial Law had created seemed at one time to have paralysed the people of the Punjab soon after they had discovered their national identity through common suffering. But the Punjab was not left to sorrow alone. More than one patriotic Indian proceeded to the Punjab, but I feel confident they themselves would be the first to admit that I do them no injustice when I declare that the most historic event that then took place during those eventful days was the "Coming of the Mahatma !"

The Mahatma's story is too well-known to you all, and now happily to a good-many well-informed people outside India also, for me to recapitulate it here. His experiences in South Africa had taught him that it was idle to expect justice for Indians overseas unless justice was done to Indians at home and India secured a government of her own. This, of course, did not mean that the British connection must necessarily be broken; and even to-day not only he, whose forbearance is proverbial, but also followers of his like myself who cannot pretend to be equally forbearing believe, in spite of the bitter experiences of the last few years, that the truest Swaraj for India is not incompatible with the British connection if the British nation and British Government only undergo a change of heart and make a PRYASCHIT for the past. It was no doubt to deliver India from her bonds, spiritual no less than political, that

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the Mahatma had returned to the Motherland.

But the methods that he himself believed in and inculcated to his fellow-countrymen were not those that would be called "political" in the politics-ridden West. To him, as to all great teachers of mankind, Life was a single synthesis, however much we might analyse it for the convenience of philosophical study, and there was no direct antithesis between the political and the spiritual.

JESUS AND ISRAEL—A PARALLEL SITUATION.

Many have compared the Mahatma's teachings, and latterly his personal sufferings, to those of Jesus (on whom be peace); but the analogy goes farther than many have yet realised. Jesus was a Jew, and those who lovingly followed him acclaimed him as the Messiah of the House of David who had come to restore to the Israelites their long lost independence and power. Just as the "Tragedy of History" had been illustrated by the doom required by long-gathering guilt in the case of the Ten Tribes of the kingdom of Samaria, who were crushed and practically annihilated or dispersed by Assyria more than seven hundred years before the birth of Jesus, so was it illustrated again a century and a quarter later in the case of their no less guilty brothers of Judah when Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian, destroyed the Temple of Solomon, razed Jerusalem to the ground, and, making the Jews his captives, carried them into exile.

Ever since then the Israelites had dreamt dreams of revenge and restoration, and the victory of Cyrus seemed at one time to realise all that had been hoped. The re-building of the Temple had commenced, and after a temporary suspension resumed. Zerubbabel, who was of the line of David, was the hope of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah the son of Iddo, who looked forward to the political regeneration of the Jews, consequent on the overthrow and destruction of "the kingdoms of the nations." The line of David was hoped to be restored in the person of Zerubbabel himself, and the Messianic predictions of earlier prophets thus fulfilled. This prediction was, however, not fulfilled at the time and whatever became of Zerubbabel, who disappears with the coronation scene in Zechariah, he never wore a real crown nor sat upon the throne of his fathers.

Israel was destined never more to taste the sweets of independence; but, whether under the yoke of Greeks or of Romans, it never lost the hope of restoration. "The triumphal and often cruel entry of Greek and Roman civilization into Asia threw it back upon its dreams. More than ever it invoked the Messiah as judge and avenger of the people. A complete renovation, a revolution which would shake the world to its very foundations, was necessary in order to satisfy the enormous thirst for vengeance excited in it by the sense of its superiority and by the sight of its humiliation." (Renan).

Herod the Great who had contrived to secure some semblances of independence from Rome had died about the year in which Jesus

was born, and "his three sons were only lieutenants of Romans, analogous to the Rajas of India under the English dominion" (Renan). When during the childhood of Jesus, Archelaus, its ethnarch, was deposed by Augustus, the last trace of self-government was lost to Jerusalem. Judea was thenceforward part of a dependency of the province of Syria which was governed by an imperial legate. A series of Roman procurators, subordinate in important matters to the imperial legate of Syria, of whom Pontius Pilate is so well-known to Christian history, were constantly occupied in extinguishing the volcano which was seething beneath their feet. Continual sedition, excited by the zealots of Mosaism did not cease, in fact, to agitate Jerusalem during all this time. To cast down the Roman eagle, and destroy the works of arts raised by the Herods, in which the Mosaic regulations were not always respected, were perpetual temptations to fanatics who had reached that degree of exaltation which removed all care for life. The Samaritans were agitated by movements of a similar nature. The "Zelotes" or "Sicarii," pious assassins who imposed on themselves the task of killing whoever in their estimation broke the Law, began to appear. A movement which had much more influence upon Jesus was that of Judas, the Gaulonite or Galilean. The Census which was the basis of taxation by the foreigner was hated as almost an impiety. That ordered in the sixth year of the Christian era had fully re-awakened the theocratic abhorrence of Gentile government and had caused a great fermentation. In fact, an insurrection had broken out in the Northern provinces from which the greatest achievements of the Jewish people had always proceeded. "Men deemed themselves on the eve of the great renovation. The Scriptures, tortured into divers meanings, fostered the most colossal hopes. In each line of the writings of the Old Testament they saw the assurance, and in a manner the programme, of the future reign which was to bring peace to the righteous, and to seal for ever the work of God." (Renan)

THE MORAL REVOLUTION OF JESUS.

When Jesus contemplated the world at the outset of his ministry he was called upon to make his choice of the weapons of reform. The conditions of his people and his times, as I think, rather than any fundamental objection to the use of force in all circumstances, as Christian churchmen profess, made him pin his faith to non-resistance of evil. In other words, he decided to defeat force by his own suffering just as Husain subsequently did at Karbala, although the latter died sword in hand. But whatever view we may take of the choice of Jesus, it is certain that his fundamental idea was different from that of the political reformers of his time such as Judas the Gaulonite, whose example had shown him the futility of the popular seditions of his day. If ever he was the author of the disclaimer: "My kingdom is not of this world," he must have meant that he was not setting out to defeat Satan "the Prince of this world" with the help of Satanic

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He was not "worldly" in his methods; but this does not mean that he was "other-worldly." All that it signifies is that he was "unworldly." Having resisted the temptation to be a political revolutionary on the very threshold of his career as a teacher, he never succumbed to it. The revolution he wished to effect was a moral revolution, and although he did not escape the fate of "rebels", and was placed on the Cross by order of Pilate with the description "King of the Jews", which is, in spite of its intended irony, significant of the Roman Procurator's political suspicions, Liberty for him meant in the first instance Truth and self-purification. Renan was, to my mind, a typical Frenchman of his times for whom the claims of the State were paramount, and he could neither understand nor appreciate the thoroughgoing theocracy of Jesus, the "Servant of the Lord." Nevertheless, I agree with him in the conclusion that "as an austere republican or a zealous patriot he would not have arrested the great current of the affairs of his age; but in declaring that politics are insignificant, he has revealed to the world that one's country is not everything, and that the man is before, and higher than, the citizen." Vengeance which was consuming the Israelites was the Lord's. Jesus counselled the upholders of the *lex talionis* who claimed an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth that he who had been smitten on one cheek should turn the other cheek also to the smiter. So much for the foreign tyrant. As for his own countryman, the Jew, who, falling a victim to his own weakness and a fear of the Gentile masters of Judea, had become a publican or tax-collector on behalf of the foreigner, he too could easily claim a share in the abounding love of Jesus. The idea of being all powerful by suffering and resignation, and of triumphing over force by purity of heart, is as old as the days of Abel and Cain, the first progeny of Man. But since it so eminently suited the conditions of the times of Jesus, and the record of his ministry, however inadequate or defective, has still preserved for us this part of his teachings in some detail, it has come to be regarded by Christians and even by many non-Christians as an idea peculiar to Jesus.

JESUS AND GANDHI

Be that as it may, it was just as peculiar to Mahatma Gandhi also; but it was reserved for a Christian government to treat as a felon the most Christ-like man of our times and to penalise as a disturber of the public peace the one man engaged in public affairs who comes nearest to the Prince of Peace. The political conditions of India just before the advent of the Mahatma resembled those of Judea on the eve of the advent of Jesus, and the prescription that he offered to those in search of a remedy for the ills of India was the same that Jesus had dispensed before in Judea. Self-purification through suffering; a moral preparation for the responsibilities of government; self-discipline as the condition precedent of *Swaraj*—this was the Mahatma's creed and conviction; and those of us who have been privileged to have lived in the glorious year that culminated



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in the Congress session at Ahmedabad have seen what a remarkable and what a rapid change he wrought in the thoughts, feelings and actions of such large masses of mankind.

THE MAHATMA AND SATYAGRAHA.

Mahatma Gandhi had been in direct touch with the Indian Government, had often counselled the Viceroy, and had continued his assistance to the British Govt. in its hour of need in South Africa by working as the unpaid recruiting sergeant of that government in India. This had indeed amazed those who could not associate him whose life itself was a Sermon on the Mount with recruitment of blood-spilling soldiers. Yet even so loyal a subject and so staunch a friend was compelled to oppose a measure of that Government which no one reading British declarations of gratitude for India's loyalty in the early stages of the War could have conceived as the possible culmination of that gratitude at the end of that War. A Reform Scheme was under consideration professedly for enlarging the Indians' share in Indian administration. But while one hand was declared to be about to give a wider franchise to India, the other was already busy robbing her even of her narrowly-restricted liberties. This is what my brother and I wrote to Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, from our internment at Chhindwara on the 24th April, 1919, when we were about to court imprisonment by breaking the Defence of India Regulations which had curtailed our liberties four years previously:—

'The War is now over; but the spirit of tyranny that it generated is still abroad; and while, on the one hand, it is being proclaimed in high-sounding phrases that those who are assembled at Paris to decide the destinies of the world on a more equitable and humane basis than Brute Force are not the masters of the People but their servants, the Government, on the other hand, is denying to the people of India the barest expression on questions that vitally concern them. Not only is the gag not to be removed yet from our own mouths, but a gag of prodigious proportions has been prepared now for silencing more than three hundred millions of God's articulate creatures. The Rowlett Bill just enacted in the most tyrannical manner has ended the reign of law and substituted a reign of terror in its place, and although it affects every section of the people of India, the Mussalmans are certain to be its first and its worst victims. It has been the Muslim Press that has suffered most under the Press Act, and the same has been true of the Defence of India Act, if we only exclude the unfortunate young men of Bengal rotting in solitary cells or swampy islands without trial or hope of release. Even those who profess a pathetic optimism and hope against hope that the bureaucracy armed with the strength of the giant will not use it as tyrannically as the giant, need only have access to our own experience to be cured of this distressing delusion. We, who have already had enough experience of 'executive discretion' and of 'investigating authorities' sitting IN CAMERA, farcically enquiring into undefined charges, and dealing with undisclosed 'evidence' without the help of any code of procedure or law of evidence, submitting reports that cannot bear the light of day, and being finally dismissed as ignorant persons for all their pains, can claim to speak with some authority, and say that the BLACK ACT is nothing more or less than the virtual outlawry of a fifth of mankind.'

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It was our privilege to point out to Mahatma Gandhi the real import and full scope of the Rowlatt Bills, soon after he commenced his famous Satyagraha campaign. This was the first dawn of the era of Non-Co-operation. The occurrences at Delhi, Amritsar and Lahore, and in Ahmedabad and other parts of Gujarat are matters of history, and although the Mahatma's admission of his "Himalayan error" has been proclaimed to the world by the Government, and the official and unofficial scribes who have been enlisted in its support, none seems to have had the honesty to admit that the Mahatma's blunder would have overtopped Everest if he had not then united his nation as he did in defence of its liberties: At the very worst the "Himalayan error" consisted in miscalculating the extent of the people's discipline and self-restraint. But if Mahatma Gandhi had left the Rowlatt Bills unchallenged, he would have been guilty of a sin of which he could hardly have purged himself by any kind of expiation. Place all the violence of the infuriated mobs on one side, and on the other side place the cowardliness of a surrender to the slavery sought to be imposed on the nation by these Bills, and, in spite of my utter abhorrence of such violence I say with all deliberateness that on the Day of Judgment I would rather stand before God's White Throne guilty of all this violence than have to answer for the unspeakable sin of so cowardly a surrender. In saying this I am only applying to the situation four years earlier my chief's own admission in the court of the judge who has ordered that for six years he should "be buried alive." "I knew" admitted the Mahatma, "that I was playing with fire." But he also added: "I ran the risk, and if I was set free I would still do the same"! Christ-like in his methods he has been Christ-like to the end. He had 'steadfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem,' and not even the prospect of the Cross could make him shrink from treading the path of duty.

NON-VIOLENCE.

I would like to re-state here the position of men like myself with regard to non-violence. I am not a Christian believing in the sinfulness of all resistance to evil, and in their practice, even if not in their theory, the vast bulk of Christians and all Christian States are in full agreement with me. The last War presented an excellent opportunity to these States and to Christians at large to demonstrate their belief in the doctrine of non-resistance, but we know that none of the States followed it, and the few Christians whose practice was not divorced from their professions were the "conscientious objectors" contemptuously called "conchies", who were subjected to ridicule and contumely and were punished like felons. But that was not all. Every national Church blessed the national Flag and sent the national warriors as on a Crusade. As a Mussalman and a follower of the Last of the Prophets (on whom be Allah's blessing and peace!), I believe that war is a great evil; but I also believe that there are worse things than war. "There is



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compulsion in faith", says the Quran, because force and religious conviction have no common denominator. They belong to two very different planes. But when war is forced on a Muslim, and the party that does so has no other argument but this, then, as a Mussalman and the follower of the Last of the Prophets, I may not shrink but must give the enemy battle on his own ground and beat him with his own weapons. If he respects no other argument than force and would use it against me, I would defend my Faith against his onslaught and would use against him all the force I could command,—force without stint and without cessation. But when, in the language of the Quran, "War hath dropped her weapons", my sword must also be sheathed. Warfare, according to the Quran, is an evil; but persecution is a worse evil, and may be put down with the weapons of war. When persecution ceases, and every man is free to act with the sole motive of securing divine good-will, warfare must cease. These are the limits of violence in Islam, as I understand it, and I cannot go beyond these limits without infringing the Law of God. But I have agreed to work with Mahatma Gandhi, and our compact is that as long as I am associated with him I shall not resort to the use of force even for purposes of self-defence. And I have willingly entered into this compact because I think we can achieve victory without violence; that the use of violence for a nation of three hundred and twenty millions of people should be a matter of reproach to it; and, finally, that victory achieved with violence must be not the victory of all sections of the nation, but mainly of the fighting classes, which are more sharply divided in India from the rest of the nation than perhaps anywhere else in the world. Our Swaraj must be the Raj of all, and, in order to be that, it must have been won through the willing sacrifice of all. If this is not so, we shall have to depend for its maintenance as well on the prowess of the fighting classes, and this we must not do. Swaraj must be won by the minimum sacrifice of the maximum number, and not by the maximum sacrifice of the minimum number. Since I have full faith in the possibilities of the programme of constructive work of non-violent Non-Cooperation, I have no need to hanker after violence. Even if this programme fails to give us victory, I know that suffering willingly and cheerfully undergone will prove to have been the best preparation even for the effective use of Force. But God willing, the constructive programme will not fail us if we work with a will and accustom the nation to undergo the small sacrifices that it entails.

WHAT SWARAJ DEMANDS FROM THE NATION.

Here I may ask those of my fellow countrymen who shrink even from these small sacrifices whether they have considered what it is that a soldier who goes to battle is prepared to sacrifice. As the Bible tells us, "Greater love hath no man... than he that lay down his life for his friend." Our own compatriots went to war for a cause not their own to the number of a million and a half. Can

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who pride ourselves on the strength of our national feeling shrink even from the small sacrifices that non-violent Non-Co-operation demands? But in reality our present programme is but the beginning of national work, and Swaraj when it is attained would require even greater sacrifices than those of a soldier. To die for a cause is after all not so very difficult. Men at all times and in all countries have done it, and they have often done it for very poor causes. To die for a cause is not very difficult. The harder thing is to live for a cause, and, if need be, suffer for it; and the cause that we must live and suffer for must be the realisation in India of the Kingdom of God.

VIOLENCE OF NON-CO-OPERATORS AND THEIR OPPONENTS

These being my innermost convictions, I cannot help marvelling at the audacity of those that attribute to us a desire to involve the country in violence, carnage and anarchy. They presume to demand from us who stand between them and violence an assurance of non-violence. And yet their own hands are red with the blood of the innocents shed in Jallianwalla Bagh—blood still as unrepented as it is unavenged. Contrast this patent insincerity with the frank acceptance by our chief of his full responsibility for Chauri-Chaura and the Bombay riots and you have the measure of the moral worth of Non-Co-operation and of its relentless opponents. The Mahatma's confession is proclaimed to the world by this Christian Government; but I wonder if this Government is also prepared to attribute to the Sermon on the Mount the slicing off by St. Peter of the ear of Malchus! Who knows how much blood might not have been shed by the disciples of the Prince of Peace if the census of arms taken by the Master had produced a tale of many more than two swords, and had his followers been more steadfast in their support of him than the self-same St. Peter who, according to the Gospels, denied him three times before cock-crow? When the guilt of Chauri-Chaura and similar unfortunate occurrences is being judged, it is necessary to take into consideration not only that which was done but also that which had been resisted. Never before in the annals of India have the people felt as intensely as they have done since the dawn of Non-Co-operation, and the marvel is not that the fury of the mob has resulted in so much bloodshed, but that the manhood of India has been successfully revived with so little of it. I challenge anyone to show another instance in the history of mankind where hundreds of millions of people have been roused to stand up for their liberties and have remained so peaceful as the people of India led by Mahatma Gandhi. There is no country of Europe, with all its cold, frog blood, that would not have experienced a deluge of blood in like circumstances. That India has escaped such a deluge is due to Mahatma Gandhi and his co-workers.

CO-OPERATION.

In dealing with the question of Non-Violence I have digressed

and anticipated a good deal, and I must now revert to my narrative. At the Congress at Amritsar the main resolution was concerned with the Reforms, and although only four years have passed since that session, it would surprise not a few to know that in the discussions over this resolution my friend Deshbandhu Das, the leader of the Council-entry party, and my late chief, Lokmanya Tilak, were entirely opposed to co-operation and the working of the Reformed Councils, while Mahatma Gandhi had himself moved an amendment to that resolution. This was designed to commit the Congress to the principle of the co-operation of the people with the authorities in working the Reforms in response to the sentiments expressed in the Royal Proclamation. Neither side was willing to give way, and, as is usual on such occasions, the protracted discussions in the Subjects Committee were delaying the discussions in the Congress and prolonging the session. This was the first occasion, as I have already told you on which I took part in the Congress and for a novice my own contribution is not altogether undeserving of notice. My brother and I tried to discover a formula which could be acceptable both to Mahatma Gandhi and to Lokmanya Tilak and Deshbandhu Das. We at last succeeded in this effort, and Sriji Bepin Chandra Pal moved, and I seconded, an amendment recommending to the Congress that "the provisions of the Reforms Act be used, as far as possible, with a view to secure full Responsible Government at an early date." This cleared the air, and finally both parties agreed to support a resolution declaring that "the Congress trusts that, so far as may be possible, the people will so work the Reforms as to secure an early establishment of full Responsible Government." It was with this addition that the Congress passed the resolution moved by Deshbandhu Das and seconded by Lokmanya Tilak, which declared India to be fit at the moment for full Responsible Government, characterised the Reforms Act as inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing and urged that Parliament should take early steps to establish full Responsible Government in India in accordance with the principle of self-determination. I have recalled these details only to show that even at Amritsar Mahatma Gandhi and his co-workers were willing to co-operate with Government so far as was possible. And yet otherwise so entirely changed was the atmosphere at this session of the Congress that after my long separation from my people I could not help being greatly impressed by the change. The Hindus and Musalmans were no longer enemies or even rivals, but were comrades and brothers in arms. There was no longer a plethora of set speeches suggestive of mid-night oil, "full of sound and fury signifying nothing." There was a new earnestness which indicated that the resolutions of the Congress were resolutions indeed, in the sense that the nation was resolved to act. And above all, it was clear that fear of fellow-man was no longer to be the compelling motive in India, and that the only fear this land would know in future would be the fear of God. So struck was I by this amaz-

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change that I quoted in my speech at Amritsar the couplet of a fellow townsman of mine who had said :—

(One round of the wine cup was like a century long cycle of Time ; when we left the tavern we found that the whole world had changed.)

FROM CO-OPERATION TO NON-CO-OPERATION.

But so far it was only a change in the character and outlook of the people. Their policy was, however, also destined to undergo an entire sea-change. And it was Mahatma Gandhi who at Amritsar was insisting on the people's co-operation with the authorities that was destined to be the first and, in the beginning, almost the sole advocate of Non-Co-operation. What was it that had wrought this change of policy? I must confess my feelings towards this Government had undergone a complete change during the War, and in particular since the Armistice towards the end of 1918. When now I read in the old files of the Comrade the publicly expressed expectations I had entertained from this Government not only at the commencement of the year 1911, but even as late as the end of 1914, it appears as if I was examining the newly discovered bones of an animal now altogether extinct. It is true that as late as in December, 1919, I had taken, with regard to co-operation with the authorities, a middle position between Mahatma Gandhi on the one side, and Deshbandhu Das and Lokmanya Tilak on the other which eventually became the position of the entire Congress. But I was even then not very hopeful of the possibility of such co-operation. I had seen only too clearly to what the co-operation of the Musalmans with the authorities had led them. And I had like-wise realised that what had happened at Jallianwalla Bagh, in the Crawling Lane, and at the Dak-Bungalow at Manianwalla was not a succession of unconnected incidents in which the thoughtless fury of the officials had suddenly vented itself, but a series of acts symptomatic of the disease from which this foreign bureaucracy was inevitably suffering. I was thoroughly convinced that this disease was congenital with the system, and if the system continued such incidents were bound to recur, and Government would inevitably be a succession of Jallianwalla Baghs unless the British underwent a complete change of heart. The Duke of Connaught, when he came out to India in the beginning of 1921 to open the Reformed Legislatures, appealed to us to forget and forgive. I was, and still am, prepared to forgive; but forget I could not, and would not. To forget only means for the awakened sleeper to go back to sleep and to dream the pleasant dream he had been dreaming before he had awakened to the stern reality. But Mahatma Gandhi was not yet convinced of all this, and his conversion came a little later. For many months after the Amritsar session he continued to live in the hope that England would yet repent, and while restoring the integrity and independence of the Khilafat, and evacuating the Jazirat-ul-Arab, England would redress the great wrong done to the people of



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Punjab. In fact, it was not a mere hope that sustained him but an absolute conviction, and when he too was at last disillusioned, and would indicate in the process of preparing the programme of his constructive work a profound and thoroughgoing want of belief in the good intentions of England so that even we would suggest that perhaps he was going too far, he used to explain this by saying that he was a more recent, and therefore a more zealous, convert. When the last Petition that Muslim India addressed to England through the Indian Khilafat Delegation, in the interview that we had with the Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George, the ex-Premier of England, proved the utter futility of such appeals; and when the Punjab wrong was treated as an "error of judgment" to be rewarded by a pension paid out of India's poverty to the murderer of her innocent sons, and to the cold-blooded approver of this "error" who, enjoying the safety of a Government House surrounded by armed guards, had not even the justification of General Dyer, then Mahatma Gandhi lost all faith in co-operation between the rulers and the ruled.

NON-CO-OPERATION.

Much has been said and written about Non-Co-operation and, if our opponents, or even some of our friends, would not understand its significance even now, I cannot hope to enlighten them in this address. I will, therefore, content myself with saying that briefly it means that if we may not resist evil, at least we will not assist it. It is true we expect that if the Indian nation is prepared to make such sacrifices as Non-Co-operation entails, this foreign Government would be absolutely paralysed. But although we do contemplate such a result, it is little more than incidental. Our movement, even though its name suggests that it is of a negative character, is in reality not so. It is essentially of a much more positive character. It does not directly aim at the paralysis of others; its direct aim is to remove our own paralysis. Every item of the Non-Co-operation programme, with which I shall presently have to deal, has a strong constructive as well as a destructive side, and we shall stand or fall according as we succeed in our construction or not. But if we do not destroy, or, in other words, if we continue to avail ourselves of all that the Government has constructed for the continuance of its own existence, and as a trap for our destruction, we shall neither stand nor even fall, but shall absolutely cease to exist. Even if our direct aim was to paralyse the Government it was entirely compatible with the purest ethics, and even with the doctrine of Love associated with the name of Jesus Christ and now of Mahatma Gandhi. And I maintain that such a paralysis of Government is clearly possible. Friends, very early in my career as a gaol-bird I was struck with the system of co-operation followed in Indian gaols. Every prisoner gets a remission of a few days at the end of every month for "a clean bill of health" during the month; but some of the prisoners who succeeded in winning the



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confidence and favour of the local gaol authorities are made watchmen, convict-overseers or convict-warders, and, besides enjoying other privileges during the rest of their prison life, they earn a more liberal remission of their sentence every month. Every one in this Pandal who has passed through that gateway of freedom called Prison—and, I trust there are a good many present here to-day—is familiar with the work of the convict-overseers and warders who share the duty of keeping watch and ward during the night with the paid warders employed by the gaol administration. As a rule the few paid warders pass the night enjoying tolerably sound sleep, or, at the very worst, doze out their period of sentinel duty. But at the end of every half-hour the gaol resounds with the cries of the prisoners who keep the real watch and ward. "All's well!" is repeated from every corner of the gaol, and so long as this continues the paid warders can sleep the sleep of the just. And this, my friends, is the parable of co-operation. We have lost our liberties and are kept enchained through the services of others who are as much deprived of their liberties as we ourselves, except for a few petty privileges that they seem to enjoy. Meanwhile the few foreigners who keep us in servitude can enjoy sleep and repose because the co-sharers of our servitude repeat from time to time from every corner of India's vast Bastile the reassuring cry, "All is well!" The only difference is that whereas the convict-watchmen, overseers and warders can in this way at least secure their release from prison a little before their fellow-prisoners over whom they keep watch and ward, our co-operating friends, who are our comrades in slavery cannot look forward even to an earlier release. In fact, they have lost even the sense of slavery, and slavishly hug the very chains that keep them enslaved: As I wrote in the prison itself:

(Leave off worrying for me, O, heedless fool; weep over thine own captivity; that which thou deemest to be an ornament is nothing less than a chain.)

A QUESTION FOR MUSALMANS.

Friends, I feel certain, I have exhausted you as well as myself with this somewhat exhaustive historical narrative, commencing with the Indian Mutiny and coming down to our own era of Non-co-operation. But in thus narrating past history I had an end in view. I cannot act the part of a dictator to any of you; and yet I want you to co-operate with me. Possessing no such personality as the Mahatma's, and being as unwilling to bind a spell over you as I am incapable of doing it, I could only lead you to the conclusions which after half a life-time of blindness and much blundering I have at last reached by demonstrating to you that our safest guide, the experience of several generations, inevitably leads us to the same. Experience must be our most cherished trophy made up of weapons that have hurt us. And here I appeal to the experience of my co-religionists in particular who are being diligently diverted from the



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to which their history during the last sixty years and more has guided them. Granted that Non-Co-operation has failed, and that co-operation with our non-Muslim fellow-countrymen is a vain hope, a snare and a delusion—though I am far from granting it except for argument's sake—still we have got to suggest an alternative policy. I ask them not to accept my lead but to be in their turn my guide themselves. Whither could they lead me, that is now the question! If Non-Co-operation with our foreign masters and co-operation with Indian fellow-slaves of other faiths is not possible, what is the alternative that they have to place before us to-day? Are we to “progress backwards” till we begin to walk on all fours? Shall we co-operate with our foreign rulers and fight with our non-Muslim countrymen as we used to fight before? And if we do that, what hope have we of any better results than we achieved for ourselves in the settlements after the Tripoli and the Balkan Wars, or, nearer home, in the unsettlement of a “settled fact” in Bengal? No, friends, that book is closed and into it we shall look no more. You have no alternative better than Non-Co-operation with the foreigner and co-operation with our neighbours, nor have I. And it is futile to waste our time in worrying over the impossible.

MR. MONTAGU'S RESIGNATION AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

It is said that we can have no grievance now after the Treaty of Lausanne. You, friends, are in a better position to know how that Treaty came to be concluded than I who had to undergo for a year and a half solitary confinement in all but a technical sense, and have not been in touch with public affairs. But I have studied in some of the back numbers of the newspapers of those days something of what transpired in connection with the revision of the Treaty of Sevres while I was still in prison. You all know about the historic telegram despatched to the Secretary of State by the Government of India after consulting and receiving the general concurrence of the Local Governments, including their Ministers. You will agree that it fell far short not only of Muslim aspirations and sentiments, but also of the requirements of Islamic Law, since it did not say anything about the evacuation of the Jazirat-ul-Arab, and only recommended the Sultan's suzerainty over the Holy Places. In fact, the Government of India undoubtedly, even if haltingly, admitted all this when they said: “We are conscious that it may be impossible to satisfy India's expectations in their entirety,” though Mr. Chamberlain had the impudence to say that “the terms far exceeded even the demands of the warmest friends of the Turks.” And yet what a storm did the world witness over the publication of even such a telegram. The Secretary of State's resignation was demanded by the Premier, and the King-Emperor “had been pleased to approve of its acceptance.” In other words Mr. Montagu was ignominiously dismissed. As Reuter pointed out, “Mr. Chamberlain's announcement in the House of Commons was received with fierce welcoming



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cheers from the majority of the Unionists; and the 'Die-Hards', specially delighted, could hardly contain their satisfaction." "Never before," said another message of Reuter,—

"Never before has the House of Commons re-echoed with such exultant cheering as greeted the announcement of Mr. Montagu's resignation. It emanated from the Unionist benches, but was so loud and prolonged that it seemed general. Some enthusiasts even waved handkerchief."

The most charitable explanation with regard to the attitude of Mr. Montagu's own party, and the party that is the rising hope of such Indians as still cling to the idea of receiving freedom as the gift of the foreigner, is contained in the earlier message of Reuter that "Liberal and Labour members received the news without an expression of opinion." To-day it may perhaps be urged that the Government of India are as anxious as the Muslim leaders themselves to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the questions still at issue between Musalmans and Great Britain. But of what good is that to us so long as the Government of India is only "a subordinate branch of the British Government six thousand miles away" whose "dictation to the British Government" as to what line it ought to pursue in such matters seems to Lord Curzon "quite intolerable." This is what Lord Curzon wrote to Mr. Montagu before "giving him the sack," even though poor Mr. Montagu thought that he was only being let off with a warning. But evidently he had forgotten that at Denshaw there was flogging as well as hanging and that Lord Curzon's final court could be trusted not to let off such criminals as he with a warning, but to warn and hang him also for the same offence.

Not one of those believing Musalmans who is dissatisfied to day with our policy of Non-Co-operation with Government and co-operation among the Indians could honestly say that Muslim Indian feeling received anything even approaching proper consideration at the hands of Great Britain. And yet hear what this former Viceroy of India, the same who posed as the benefactor of the Musalmans in partitioning Bengal in 1905, has to say about our cry of anguish at the partitioning of the Khilafat fifteen years later. In his letter to Mr. Montagu he writes :

"But the part India has sought to play or been allowed to play in this series of events passes my comprehension.....Is Indian opinion always to be the final court of Muslim appeal?"

In his speech before his Cambridge constituency Mr. Montagu has said :

"The Government of India were parties to the Treaty of Sevres. Had the Treaty produced peace, the Government of India would have accepted it loyally; but when it showed, as I always knew that it would show, that it could not produce peace, the Government of India pleaded for its revision. I ask whether the Governments of Canada, South Africa or Australia would have remained silent when the so-called peace was destroying the internal peace of their country?"



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Poor Mr. Montagu! How easy it is, it seems, to forget that while the Government of Canada, South Africa and Australia are national governments, the Government of India over which Lord Reading still presides after the dismissal of Mr. Montagu is not a national government at all. On the contrary, it is one which was bound to lock up for six long years the greatest leader that the nation had produced for many generations, in defence to pressure from the very Imperial Government that had treated its partial support of his view in this affair with such open contempt. Dr. Sapru, too, had forgotten this patent difference between India and the Dominions, and had to be reminded of it at the Imperial Conference by the representative of a country once as distressful as our own, namely Ireland. We had ourselves urged upon Mr. Montagu the very consideration to which he referred in his Cambridge speech; but it was all in vain, and our advocacy of the same cause which the late Secretary of State advocated with equally little success was punished in various ways by the Government in India. Those who used to tell me on these occasions that Mr. Montagu was sympathetic had to be reminded that his sympathy had proved wholly sterile. I have always held that Mr. Montagu should have resigned on any one of at least half a dozen occasions even before his ultimate dismissal, and now he tells us himself that:

"He had been repeatedly on the verge of resignation, but he had hesitated because he did not wish to say to the Mohamedans of India that the solemn pledges which had been made to them were irretrievably lost."

Nevertheless, his resignation had to come at last, and to-day he is not only not in the Government but not even in the House of Commons. Can we then draw from all this any other conclusion than this, that "the solemn pledges which had been made to us are irretrievably lost"? But, no, they are not irretrievably lost, Friends, with the assistance of God, and your whole-hearted co-operation, we will yet retrieve them, or perish in the attempt.

ENGLAND AT LAUSANNE.

This was in March 1922, and although we were promised that due weight would be given to Indian opinion, I ask you to consider what was the attitude of England when six months later the brave Turks, relying not upon the promises of Great Britain, but upon God's grace and their own self-sacrifice and courage, drove Britain's brutal nominees into the sea? You all know that better than I do, and I do not propose to detain you over that. Beaten on the field of battle, England now sought to deprive the Turks of the fruits of victory on the conference-table of diplomacy. But here, too, God helped those who helped themselves, and the Treaty of Lausanne proved that the Turks were not only warriors but statesmen as well. Let us hear what Lord Curzon has to say himself of the reasons that brought about the Treaty of Lausanne. Did the English who had commissioned Greece after

the Armistice to rob the Turks of Thrace and even of their home-land in Asia Minor ; who were at one time actually considering the question of handing over Constantinople to them ; and who had appealed in vain to the Dominions to fight their battle against the now victorious Turks when India could no longer be trusted to make cannon-fodder of her sons after the Karachi Trial—did the English even now repent or relent ? The difference between the conditions under which other treaties, including that of Sevres were imposed and those in which the Lausanne Settlement was arrived at was pointed out by Lord Curzon at the Imperial Conference in the following words :—

Such (dictation of terms at the point of the bayonet) had been the case with all the previous post-war treaties. These had in each case been drawn up by the victorious Powers sitting, so to speak, on the seat of judgment, in the absence of the culprit, and imposing what penalty or what settlement they chose. Only when the terms had been drawn up was the beaten enemy admitted to be told his sentence and to make the convictional protest of the doomed man. Such, indeed, was the environment in which the original Treaty of Sevres was drawn up and signed, though never ratified by the Turkish representatives. Far otherwise was it at Lausanne. There the Turks sat at the table on a footing of equality with all the other Powers. Every article of the Treaty had to be debated with and explained to them. Agreement had to be achieved not by brandishing the big stick but by discussion and compromise.

Commenting upon Lord Curzon's defence of the Treaty of Lausanne and of his praise of Allied diplomacy, which was, according to him reluctant to break up the Conference on important but not vital points and to revert to a state of war, an Indian newspaper, which is not noted for an excess of sympathy with the Turks, wrote as follows.—

No credit can be given to such pacific and discreet diplomacy when it was based on unwillingness to fight. As Lord Curzon said, the Turks knew very well that the Allies had no stomach for further fighting ; on the contrary, they were very nervous about the bellicose temper of the extremist elements among the Turks. "The allies were never certain," said the Foreign Secretary, "how far genuine desire of the leading terms for peace would control the unruly national and extremist elements." It will thus appear that the Turks obtained what they wanted literally at the point of the sword and the role of the conquerors and the conquered was reversed at Lausanne. It was the Turks who dictated the Terms of the Treaty, and the Allies, who dictated the terms of the other post-war treaties, had to accept them.....As a matter of fact the big stick was brandished by the Turks at Lausanne and the Allies made "the conventional protest of the doomed man." Replying to the severe criticism of the Treaty by those "whose motives in making the attack are not free from criticism", he said that "it was the best treaty that could be obtained in the circumstances."

Thus it is once more clear, the Turks secured what they did at Lausanne not because of any regard on the part of England for justice to the Turks, or for the religious obligations and sentiments of Indian Musalmans with regard to the Khilafat, but in spite of England's open hostility towards the Turks and utter disregard of the requirements of Islam. Lord Curzon would have once more brandished the big stick ; but sad to relate, it had changed hands !



I have purposely dealt exclusively with a matter concerning the special interests of Musalmans and affecting their extra-territorial sympathies, for it is obvious that the Treaty of Lausanne, far from settling our national requirements common to all Indian communities, does not even settle the peculiarly Muslim and religious issue of the Jazirat-ul-Arab. But after all, the issues that are our common national issues far exceed in number those that concern the Musalmans alone. All that the Treaty of Lausanne has done is to declare that the Turks have not lost their Swaraj as we had done more than a century ago, and as they themselves were within an ace of doing. The Khi'afat Committee's demands, and, in particular the religious requirements with regard to the Jazirat-u-Arab still remain unsatisfied. But even if all this had been done, could the Musalmans give up Non-Co-operation with Government and co-operation with other Indian communities? In the first place, that would be an unspeakably shameful breach of faith with their non-Muslim brethren of whose help they have so willingly availed themselves. And in the next place, Indian Musalmans would be proving that, while they were so anxious for the security of the Turks' and the Arabs' Swaraj, they were indifferent to their own! Well could it then be said of them.—

(Hast thou arranged the affairs of the earth so well that thou meddlest in those of heaven as well?)

THE TERRIBLE ALTERNATIVE TO NON-CO-OPERATION.

Friends, once more I have perhaps exhausted your patience; but my excuse for it is that I want the Musalmans who are being asked to-day to discard the policy of Non-Co-operation with England to confront facts before they reverse a decision to which their sad experiences of co-operation with England had driven them. It is as clear as daylight that so long as India is not an equal partner with England and the Dominions in the Empire, and so long as her Government is but "a subordinate branch of the British Government six thousand miles away," we cannot be satisfied with the goodwill of the Government of India even if it is proved to the hilt. Besides loyalty to a foreign Government there are other loyalties as well, and so long as Musalmans in India are liable to be punished for disloyalty to Government because they are loyal to their God and to His Last Prophet, as we ourselves were punished at Karachi, and so long as the Holy Land of Islam is under the control of non-Muslim mandatories when we ourselves had been given God's own mandate for it by His Last Messenger as a deathbed injunction, there is no alternative to non-violent Non-Co-operation but one, and that, friends, is the terrible alternative of War! Since the vast bulk of those who try to discredit our policy do so because they are slaves to the fear of Government, and being unwilling to make ANY sacrifice, could not even dream of adopting that terrible alternative let us hear no more of a change of policy!

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MUSLIM CO-OPERATION WITH NON-MUSLIMS.

And if we may not co-operate with Great Britain, is it expedient, to put it on the lowest plane, to cease to co-operate with our non-Muslim brethren? What is it that has happened since that staunch Hindu, Mahatma Gandhi, went to gaol for advocating the cause of Islam that we must cease to co-operate with his co-religionist? I know that Hindu-Muslim relations to-day are not precisely those that they were two years ago. But is it possible for any honest and truly patriotic Indian to say that either community is wholly blameless, and that the guilt is entirely one community's? Friends, I do not believe in diplomacy, and certainly not in that variety of it which is called secret diplomacy. I do not wish to imitate Sir Roger de Coverly, and put you off with the diplomatic dictum: "Much can be said on both sides of the question" Most regrettable events have unfortunately occurred in Malabar, at Multan, at Agra, at Saharanpur and elsewhere, and I am prepared to support the creation of a National Tribunal to judge the respective guilt of the two communities. For it cannot be gainsaid even by the community that has suffered the most that complaints have been made by members of the other community as well, and obviously it would neither be fair nor productive of any satisfactory result if either community is saddled with all the guilt and denounced without an adequate enquiry. I did not shrink at Delhi from proposing the appointment of a truly representative Committee of Enquiry; but for reasons which it is not necessary to state here no result has yet been achieved of such a committee's appointment. Two things are however patent. The law courts established by Government cannot stop their work while we adjudge the guilt of the two communities. And while it is difficult to arrive at the truth by a national enquiry AFTER witnesses have given their testimony, true or false, on oath before the courts of law of the Government, reconciliation itself, which is even more important than the investigation of the truth, is not made easy by the punishment awarded to those who are found guilty by such courts, not unoften on evidence which is not free from suspicion.

THE SUREST REMEDY.

What then is to be done? I have already told you that to accept the version of one party is neither fair, nor would it help us in creating in the other party whose version was disbelieved without any enquiry a disposition towards reconciliation and reform. The only remedy that I can suggest for instant adoption is also the surest, and it was this which was all but adopted towards the end of our discussions at Delhi in the Committee appointed to consider this question. Even after we had decided that a Committee of Enquiry should visit the places where regrettable incidents had followed Hindu-Muslim dissensions, and after we had even nominated the members of this Committee, we were within an ace of cancelling all



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This is because we noted at a later stage of our deliberations a welcome change in the attitude of the leaders on the two sides. There was now a desire to let bygones be bygones and heartily co-operate for the attainment of Swaraj, as they had been doing two years previously. Obviously, the protagonists on the two sides had once more had a glimpse of that unity of which the Mahatma was at once the chief preacher and the best symbol, and the prospect of gaining party-victories once more appeared mean and contemptible in their eyes. But a difference arose on a petty issue and they parted again. Friends, I pray that God may grant them once more a glimpse of that unity, and that this time it may not be as fleeting as it had been before. Nay, I pray that they may keep ever before them a picture of that unity and the glorious vistas of that freedom which can be seen only through the avenue of national unity, so that all else that is of fair seeming, but which is associated with slavery, may lose its charm for them and be blotted out for all eternity.

THE PETTINESS OF DISTURBING ISSUES.

Believe me, it is not by tawdry, tinselled rhetoric that I hope to settle such vital issues. But, although the issue of Hindu-Muslim unity is vital, and, in fact the most vital that we have to settle, the issues which disturb that unity are contemptibly petty. Nothing makes me more ashamed than the pettiness of these issues, and I confess I find it difficult to refute the calumny of our enemies that we are unfit for Responsible Government when I contemplate their potency for mischief side by side with their pettiness. Far be it from me to sneer at the modes of worship of my fellow-men; but I feel unspeakably depressed when I think that there are fellow-countrymen of mine, including my own co-religionists, who would jeopardise the recovery of our lost liberty, including religious liberty itself, for the sake of the satisfaction they seem to derive out of cutting a branch of Pipal tree overhanging a public thoroughfare and interfering with the passage of a pole of ridiculous length, or out of beating tom-toms and blowing trumpets before a house of worship at prayer-time while moving in a procession. Friends, if we cannot acquire a better sense of proportion let us be honest, at least with ourselves if not with others, and give up all thought of freedom. We must not talk of Swaraj even within the Empire, let alone out of it. What is Kenya to slaves like us or we to Kenya? Why need we hanker after a place in the King Emperor's palace when we are not even fit for a place in his stables? And what is it to us if the Holy Land of Islam should attract many a Casino and CAFE CHANTANT, or the new warden of the Musalmans' Holy of Holies should become one of the long tale of impotent potentates maintained by an Imperial Government only to be pushed off their ancestral thrones whenever they should forget themselves and think that God has made them men and not merely puppets in an Imperial show. If ALAMS and PIPAL trees and noisy processions are our

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horizon's utter sum", then all our Congresses and Khilafat Committees are mere mockery.

"Let us ring down—the farce is nothing worth."

Let us close this chapter of childish make-beliefs, and, taking the first train back home, let us devote ourselves henceforward to the realisation of the ideal of petty self-concern which alone benefits a nation of slaves. Let us at least not take the sacred name of Liberty in vain. Let us add our confession to the claim of our opponents, and admit that God, Whom the great religious teachers of the East in which all the existing religions have had their source, had taught us to regard as just, has yet been so unjust to a fifth of mankind that He has made them totally unfit for self-rule, and has left it to His White creatures hailing from Europe to correct His mistake, and carry on for all time the administration of India. But if we do not want to drag our spiritual ancestors into the mire along with ourselves and to blaspheme a just God, let us elevate ourselves to the height of our ideals and lift the masses instead of sinking down to their low level.

THE ROOT OF EVIL.

But since I have referred to the low level of the masses let me say this much for them that what I wrote in 1904 in criticising the education given in the Indian universities is still true, and even to-day "the greater portion of bigotry agitates not the bosoms of the ignorant and the illiterate but excites to fury and to madness the little-learned of the land." And it is not the love of our own religion that makes us quarrel with our fellow-countrymen of other faiths, but self-love and petty personal ambition. "The coming of the Mahatma" had meant the destruction of "the kingdoms of the nations" and the foundation in their place of the one united Kingdom of the Nation to be whose Chief Servant was his great glory. But these little "kings" who had lost their little "thrones" were not reconciled to the idea of national service under the banner of the Nation's Chief Servant, and were pining for restoration. So long as Mahatma Gandhi and his principal co-workers were free, they had not their courage to raise the standard of revolt, and there was no room for them in the economy of the Indian world except as openly despised slaves of the foreigner or as secretly discontented adherents of the National Federation. And so they chose the latter alternative. But, with the Mahatma immured at Yerrowda they reasserted themselves, and since they could not hope to occupy his position, they have persistently, though not professedly, addressed their appeals to communal passions and jealousies in order to destroy the National Federation and hasten the recovery of their petty principalities. Before the advent of Mahatma Gandhi several streams, some large and some small, were running more or less parallel to each other, and little boats were being rowed on them. Soon after his advent, almost all of them



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were diverted into one channel and became tributaries of a mighty River rapidly moving on to join the sea. On the broad bosom of this Ganges there sailed a powerful ship, manned by lusty sailors, captained by the Mahatma and flying the National flag. What the petty ambitions of petty men have been urging ever since the Mahatma's incarceration is that we should scrap the big ship and take to the little row-boats again. But since these little boats are not safe enough craft for the mighty river hurrying on towards the sea, they propose a revolution in Nature itself, and ask that the great river would flow back into its old tributaries. But Nature cannot be thwarted, and the futility of the desire to make the Ganges flow backwards is a thing known even to our village fools. In the name of this Congress, and of the Indian Nation, nay, even in the name of that Destiny which shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we may, I warn this little breed of men that God willing, they will never succeed, and that the Indian Nation cannot look upon their insidious activities with unconcern.

TOLERATION AND FRATERNAL SELF-SACRIFICE.

Friends, to punish the guilty is not without its advantages even in the domain of politics; but the surest remedy for political disunion is, as I have already suggested, to create on all sides a disposition to forget and forgive. But this is not all, and if we desire to prevent a recurrence of regrettable incidents we must remove the causes of friction. Conformity in all things is only too often desired, and this not only by the bigots, but also by some of the most large-hearted of men. Religious reformers have at all times betrayed a fatal weakness for comprehension, or the preparation of a religious compound formed of many simples gathered from many different sources. They have hoped that by adopting a policy of inclusion they would be able to form a faith embracing doctrines culled from diverse faiths and acceptable to all the followers of all these faiths. That is how they hope to attain Uniformity and secure Conformity. But history has shown that the cause of peace and unity has not been greatly furthered by the formation of such eclectic faiths. Only too often have they added one more to the warring creeds existing before and have only increased the disunion they were creating. Such well-intentioned failures have at last made people tall back upon Toleration. This is not the indifferentism and absence of strong convictions which often pass for toleration, but a far more positive principle in life which co-exists with beliefs passionately held. I could not define it better than by quoting an American who declared to a fellow-countryman of his holding very different views to his own: "I strongly disagree with every word of what you say; but I shall fight, Sir, to the last drop of my blood for maintaining your right to say it." That, friends, is the best definition of Toleration. The Quran which calls upon Musalmans even to fight in defence of their Faith whenever their freedom of faith is assailed or jeopardised, sums up its teaching on



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tolerance in the words: "To you your faith, to me mine." If we all agreed to act upon this principle, and at the same time emphasised the features common to different faiths and the spirituality characteristic of all, there would be no strife in the world but peace and tranquility everywhere.

APPLICATION OF THIS PRINCIPLE TO OUTSTANDING ISSUES.

Let us apply this principle to some of the outstanding issues between the various communities of India. If, for instance, processions can be taken out on public roads and no objection is taken to music being played thereon, a Musalman should not object to a procession with music taken out by Hindus, or by other non-Muslim neighbours of his, unless it interferes with his own exercise of some recognised right such as conducting Divine Service in a fitting manner. If, again, a long pole can be carried in procession through the streets without danger to life and limb, no non-Muslim should object to it if it is so carried "with musical honours." But then the Muslims indulging in such practices which are, to say the least of it, of doubtful religious validity, have no right to demand that a non-Muslim neighbour of theirs should permit the lopping off of the branches of a tree which he holds sacred, whether with reason or without it and which is growing on his land and is his property. If there is no law against smoking in public places, no Parsi should object to a non-Parsi's lighting a cigarette in a street even though he himself holds fire to be too sacred an element to be defiled in this way. Similarly, if it is no offence to slaughter animals, and a man kills a fowl, or a cow, or a pig, or kills any animal to provide food for himself or for others or for sacrificial purposes or in a particular manner not involving cruelty to animals, his neighbour should not object to it on the ground that he holds all life too sacred to be destroyed, or that he looks upon the cow as upon a mother, or that he considers a pig too unclean to be eaten, or that he is required by his own religion to kill animals in a different manner to his neighbour's. In all these cases it is, of course, presumed that the animal slaughtered is the property of the man who slaughters it or causes it to be slaughtered, and not his neighbour's whose property he may not unlawfully seize and use or destroy. But we have not, alas, reached a stage of toleration in India when the free exercise of his right by one of us can escape being resented by some others. In fact, the worst of it is that some of us while they insist upon the exercise of their right, sometimes exercise it with the desire to annoy their neighbours, and in a manner that is sure to annoy them. The jeering at men of other faiths when one is taking out a procession required or sanctioned by our own faith, the beating of tom-toms and playing other instruments, which often produce more noise than music, with special vigour before a house of worship of another community, and particularly when Divine Service or some other religious rite is in progress and is likely to be

thereby disturbed; the needless lopping off of trees held sacred by Hindus which overhang public thoroughfares, or doing it in an exultant manner; the blowing of cigarette smoke in the face of or too close to a Parsi or a Sikh; the wanton destruction of a good deal of animal life in the sight or immediate neighbourhood of Jains; carrying a garlanded cow in procession through a locality inhabited by Hindus as well for purposes of slaughter; or slaughtering it in a place where Hindus cannot help seeing it—these and many other such are things that occur only too frequently whenever there is a tension of feeling between the communities concerned. And provocation and insolent exultation of the nature described above often lead to hot words, and not seldom to blows which sometimes end in loss of human life.

HOW TO DEAL WITH SUCH MATTERS.

There can be no measure sufficiently comprehensive to safeguard public tranquillity and peace in all such cases, and I can think of no National Pact embracing all such situations, even if it is permitted to assume inordinate proportions, and to include details that must make us the laughing-stock of the world. The best remedy I must repeat, is the creation of the correct spirit in which the different communities exercise their rights. But it is possible for a national body such as the Congress to deal with some of the principal causes of friction, and to remove them by bringing about an agreement between leaders of the communities concerned. And this it must do. But, while attempting to influence public opinion, and to regulate public action through the agency of such leaders, with courage and confidence, a body like the Congress must be careful not to demand from any community that it should relinquish any rights which may, in the present circumstances involve a sacrifice, far beyond its capacity. It must be remembered that Swaraj, although it is our destined goal, and is soon likely to be in sight, has yet to be won, and before it is won we have no sanctions of which we can make use like a Government. We must depend exclusively upon persuasion and example. But even if we had a Government of our own, it could not rightly, or even successfully, compel large sections of the people to give up the exercise of any right unless it provided for them corresponding facilities in some other direction.

COW-KILLING.

The question of cow-killing is an instance in point. I know how sacred a cow is in the eyes of my Hindu brothers, and who knows better than my brother and myself how anxious our absent Chief was to secure its preservation? His action in so selflessly leading the Khilafat movement was no doubt characteristically generous and altruistic; but he himself used to say that he was trying to protect the cow of the Mussalmans, which was their Khilafat, so that this grateful community which had learnt from its Scriptures that there

should be no return for kindness save kindness, would be induced to protect his own cow in return. This was, however, only Mahatma Gandhi's way of emphasising his love for the cow. And even before he so picturesquely called the Khilafat our cow my brother and I had decided not to be any party to cow-killing ourselves. No beef is consumed since then in our house even by our servants, and we consider it our duty to ask our co-religionists to act similarly. As for sacrificing cows, my brother and I have never done it, but have always sacrificed goats, since a sacrifice of some such animal is a recognised religious duty. Much can be done in this way, and we have learnt by experience during the three or four years following the Hindu-Muslim ENTENTE and co-operation that it is not difficult to reduce cow-sacrifice, even before Swaraj is won, to insignificant proportions.

But, much as I desire that even ordinary cow-killing throughout the year for the purpose of providing food should be altogether discontinued, or, at least reduced to similarly meagre proportions, I am only too conscious of the fact that in looking forward to an early realisation of my wishes I am hoping against hope. Musalmans in India who can afford to purchase the dearer mutton eat beef only on rare occasions. But for the poorer towns-folk among the Musalmans it is the staple food. Coming from the centre of Rohilkhand, or the land of the Rohillas, I know how difficult it is for them to discontinue the use of beef in the present circumstances. The Pathan cannot suppress his surprise when he comes across people in India who "eat corn with corn;" and Rampur wags say: "Let there be meat, even if it be a dog's." When following the fashion of British Indian Municipalities, Rampur also closed many meat shops and opened in their place a central Meat Market, it was found difficult to cope with the demand for beef, and so disastrous proved the results of a keen competition for the reduced supply that the Market, as it used to be called, was now descriptively rechristened MARPEET? In the case of this class of Musalmans the use of beef is at present a more or less acutely felt economic necessity.

The only safe and sure way of stopping cow-killing in this case is to take steps to lower the price of mutton which is prohibitively high, and thus reduce the very large margin that there is at present between the prices of mutton and beef. I am far from desiring that the cost of living should be still further increased for any section of this impoverished land, not excluding my own community which is admittedly one of the poorest; but I cannot help pointing out that by far the most numerous owners of cows are the Hindus, and that if they did not sell cows after they had ceased to give milk, there would be much less cow-killing than there is to-day. Even now we can encourage goat and sheep breeding in order to save the cow, but when we can frame our Budgets for a Swaraj Government it should be a comparatively easy matter to utilise a considerable

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portion of the savings from Military expenditure for the same purpose. Nevertheless I appeal to my co-religionists even to-day to discontinue the use of beef and not to wait until Swaraj is won when their sacrifice would be worth much less. The Joint Family system of India and not the free competition of the Manchester School must be our social and political ideal for India's different communities. But if there is to be competition among the communities that form the Indian Joint Family, let it be a competition in forbearance and self-sacrifice, and I maintain that the community which willingly surrenders more of its cherished rights and strongly-entertained sentiments for the sake of sister communities and the peace and harmony of India will prove the most invincible in the end.

ADJUSTMENT OF COMMUNAL SHARES IN REPRESENTATIVE BODIES AND IN THE ADMINISTRATION.

I have already explained to you what I think about the main cause of communal quarrels and the share of the educated classes in misleading the masses and using them in order to serve their personal ambitions. But matters like cow-killing and processions with music are not the only things that provide sources of friction. The adjustment of communal shares in representative institutions, local, provincial and All-India, and in the administration also, gives rise to bitter communal dissensions, and here it is clearly impossible to shift the blame on the masses. Once more personal ambitions well or ill disguised as communal interests play a great part, and specious phrases, such as greater efficiency and superior educational qualifications, are used to cover the injustice intended. This is all the more surprising because similar pretexts when put forward by the foreign bureaucrats are mercilessly exposed by the selfsame people. Since this fallacy of the higher efficiency of monopolists has not yet received its quietus, I am compelled to say that the intelligence of the few can never be a proper safeguard of the interests of the many. And when people are not actuated by motives of broad-minded patriotism, the superior intelligence of one group or section cannot be regarded by other groups and sections as a rather dangerous possession. It may, however, be that even where the motives are pure they are none the less suspect. That, friends, is our 'karma', the legacy left by the injustice of past generations, and instead of taking undue offence, we must live down such reputations. In politics as in business credit has first to be established, and a good balance-sheet and a moderately good dividend are far more useful in the long run than the most attractive prospectus. We could have gone much further on the road to Liberty and Self-Rule if minorities had been quite sure of the company which they were being invited to join. But the common platform of the Congress has now provided an excellent opportunity to all of us to prove the patriotic character of our motives, and however long it may be before we succeed in establishing our credit, nothing can be done

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without it; and losing our temper over unmerited suspicions, or hustling those who entertain them and trying to jockey them into an expression of confidence that they do not yet feel in us, is poor business.

The Lucknow Compact which forced the hands even of the bureaucracy and compelled it to agree to such poor Reforms as have been doled out to India would in all likelihood suffice for the present for such of us as have decided to enter the Legislatures; and even if it does not, this should spur us on, to quicken the pace and try to reach our national destination of Swaraj all the earlier so that we may re-adjust communal shares in representative bodies. Friends, let me tell you frankly that I do not consider it likely that for some time yet we can afford to dispense with separate electorates. But I can assure you no one would rejoice more than myself on the day that the minorities themselves announced that they needed no such protection. It may perhaps help you to judge of my bonafides in this matter if I tell you that I had strongly urged the adoption of the Indian plan for the protection of the Christian minorities in the Eastern Vilayets of Turkey known as Armenia.

But two intermediate steps may be taken before we abolish separate electorates altogether. The first is that the minorities should be free to elect any Indian as their representative. I shall deem it a great honour the day a non-Muslim minority elects me in preference to its own members to represent it in the national assembly. And I know of no Muslim to whom I could give my vote with greater confidence than to that great Khilafatist, Mahatma Gandhi.

Another step that we could well take would be the progressive creation of mixed electorates, gradually to replace separate electorates. Some of you may perhaps remember that I had opposed the Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali who did not wish to risk any seat by agreeing to the retention of some mixed electorates, and wanted safe, even if fewer, seats for the Musalmans when the Minto-Morley Reforms were being discussed. As inter-communal relations improved the number of seats thrown open for contest in mixed electorates may be increased and those allotted to separate electorates decreased, till all come to be contested in mixed territorial electorates. The same policy should be adopted in throwing administrative posts open from communal to general competition.

All the foregoing considerations have to be kept in view in dealing with the composition of local bodies where, although the issues may often be petty, the passions of the people concerned are more liable to be excited.

A sad enough confirmation of this is furnished by the unfortunate dissensions in the Punjab over the distribution of municipal seats. The conditions in that province sometime make me wonder whether Jallianwallah Bagh and the Crawling Lane are really situated in the Punjab.



THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS [COCANADA] MENTAL MYOPIA.

In the short passage which I quoted in the earlier part of this address from another address of mine, delivered as long ago as in 1904, I had warned my audience against placing any reliance on the "misleading unity of opposition," and I would be the last person to believe that we can remain a united people merely by feeding on the memory of Martial Law terrors. Many a coalition formed in Opposition and adversity has broken down after the first flush of victory at the polls and in the very first days of Government, and if Swaraj is not only to be won, but also to be retained thereafter, our unity must be based on something more lasting than the memories of common suffering. And yet I am compelled to remind both Hindus and Musalmans who complain so bitterly to-day of one another's injustice that I know of nothing more difficult for either to endure from the other than the cold-blooded decision taken by General Dyer to shoot and to shoot strong at Jallianwallah Bagh and the calculated national humiliation of the Crawling Lane. It seems to me that we in the North suffer from a mental myopia, and as we move forward our sufferings are left behind, and gradually recede into obscurity, so that even at a very short distance of time the troubles of to-day blot out all recollection of the terrors of yesterday. And what is worse, each community remembers only that which it has itself suffered, retaining in its memory no record of the sufferings it had itself caused to others.

THE COMMUNITY OF THE BADMASHES.

But in referring thus to communities we are apt to forget that it is not communities that cause suffering to other communities in the course of popular affrays, but rowdy elements of India's population which cause injury to the peace-loving. The BADMASHES belong to no community but form a distinct community of their own, and to it all is grist that comes to the mill. I was greatly impressed by an article contributed by Lala Lajpatrai from his American exile during the War when Hindu monied classes had suffered greatly in some districts of the Punjab from the depredations of Muslim BADMASHES. There was great danger of intercommunal strife, but the Lalaji hastened to point out that the Hindu sufferers had not suffered because they were Hindus but because they belonged to the monied classes. It was a case of the Haves and the Have-Nots and not a case of the Hindus and the Musalmans. This has always to be borne in mind, particularly when there are not only the two contending parties but a third as well, which laughs just as heartily as we fight and abuse one another. Dr. Tagore has spoken a great deal since the outbreak of rowdyism in the North on the subject of inter-communal quarrels; but the reports of his lectures made me doubt a little whether he remembered what he wrote on the same subject when similar rowdyism, but more deliberate and previously planned, had broken out over cow-killing in Behar in 1917. He

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happened to be travelling in a compartment shared with him by a British military officer who sneered at Indian aspirations and asked the Poet how his fellow-countrymen could talk of Swaraj when he a foreigner had to be called in every now and then to take his troops to the disturbed areas and keep the peace between Indians of different faiths. Then, at least, the Poet remembered that there was a third who laughed while we suffered, and reminded the British officer of his existence. The latter asked whether there were no such quarrels before the advent of the British, and the Poet admitted their previous existence as well but he was then prompt to point out that there was one difference. They quarrelled even then, but they did not let many suns go down upon their wrath because the moment they recovered their lost tempers they also recollected that they had to live together for better for worse, and since life would be infinitely dull without more or less friendly intercourse, the sooner they made up their differences and became friends again the better. But ever since the TERTIUS GAUDENS had come on the scene such quarrels had become more frequent and such reconciliations fewer and farther between.

THE HAND OF ESAU AND THE VOICE OF JACOB.

European husbands and Indian wives have a horror of that triangular family life in which the third side is represented by the mother-in-law. Imagine then the blessed state of that union in which the mother-in-law is not only a permanent feature of family life, but in which she alone runs the household. And worse than all, the mother-in-law that makes each of us pine for single blessedness combines two distinct natures in one person, and with ever ready sympathy consoles either party, as the occasion demands, and, better still, condemns the other, in the joint rôle of the mother of both! This would indeed be matter for laughter if we had only sense enough not to be the dupes of this double-dealing mother-in-law. But the moment a cow is killed by a Musalman in a provocative manner, or a noisy procession is taken out by a Hindu in front of a mosque where prayer may be going on, we are ready to rush at one another's throats forgetting that Musalmans have never been known to be wanting when it was their own co-religionists that had to be denounced to the Government as seditionists and rebels, and that Hindus have had no better record of communal cohesion in similar circumstances. Our own sufferings have taught us that there is never a lack of one's co-religionists to do all the dirty work that may be required of them, and when a Musalman is so ready to hurt a brother Muslim, or, for that matter, the entire Muslim community, why need we be surprised if a Hindu is employed to do the same? No, friends, like BADMASHES, traitors belong to no community, but form a tribe of their own. Some of you must have read Labour's denunciation of "International Finance." We have even better reason to denounce "Inter Communal

condemned." A Musalman may throw beef during the night into a temple or break an idol, and yet the Muslim community may be just as innocent of this provoking sacrilege as the Hindu community itself; and in similar circumstances the Hindu community may be wholly blameless even though a Hindu certainly threw pork into a mosque or desecrated the Holy Quran.

But even more clear than this is the case of a Muslim Minister who may have shown favouritism towards Musalman in the matter of patronage, and of a Hindu Minister similarly showing undue favour to Hindus. Obviously they are members of a foreign Government whatever caste-mark they may bear. The hands are the hands of Esau, but the voice is the voice of Jacob. And yet the people of a province that has still to stop the pensions of a Dyer and an O'Dwyer are prepared to co-operate with those who insist on paying for Indian murder out of Indian funds, and to cease to co-operate with their neighbours and fellow-sufferers, only because a Minister who happens to belong to the community of latter dispenses such petty patronage as the Reforms empower him to do in a manner that does not meet with their approval. After this one wonders what Non-Co-operation means. When the Congress publicly is welcoming Indians who resign their posts, even though it thinks it is perhaps too much just yet to call upon them to resign, there are people who call themselves Congressmen but forget all that Mahatma Gandhi had taught them of Non-co-operation only because a Minister in their province is giving a few more petty posts to members of his own community than they think he ought to do. Friends, it is not a little embarrassing to me that this Minister happens to be a co-religionist of mine; but believe me, I would have felt even more ashamed than I now feel embarrassed if the complaint about such petty posts had come from my co-religionists. Hakim Ajmal Khan Sahib for whose speedy and complete recovery we all pray, has related to me what unspeakable shame he felt when co-religionists of his and mine had the hardihood to show some scratches on the walls of the mosques at Multan and some broken pitchers in justification of their counter-claim that if Hindu temples had been destroyed their own mosques did not altogether escape.

THE PARABLE OF THE WISE AND THE FOOLISH MOTHER.

Let me add that I would never have mentioned this had I wanted to complain about the Hindu attitude in the matter. I have done so because I feel certain that the Muslim mentality does not seem to be any better, and neither community is above these petty considerations. But even if the Musalmans had been any better I would not have complained of the Hindus, for experience teaches us that it serves no purpose for a member of one community to rebuke the members of another. That task must be left to its own members. How often have we not seen little children living in the same quarter of a town playing together and then quarrelling over little things? Every

He rushes back to his own mother with a woeful tale of the wickedness of his playmates, and, of course, an equally pathetic description of his own virtues. The wise mother uniformly decides against her own child and rebukes him; and if he still persists in his complaint, he is told not to make such unsociable creatures his playmates any more. The street which is usually the common playground is thenceforward declared beyond the bounds. But solitude soon begins to pall upon our virtuous young friend, and a little separation begins to purge his playmates of all their sins so that by the second or third day they are completely absolved, and he asks for, and secures, his mother's permission to play with them once more, though not before he is told that he is not to come to her again with the tale of his undeserved sufferings. And this is the way that peace is secured. But, alas, I have seen foolish mothers as well as wise ones, and perhaps the former constitute a majority. The moment their young hopeful comes to them for sympathy and, even worse, for effective support, they shed motherly tears of deep anguish over him, and when they have exhausted one emotion they make use of another and, going to the mother of the wicked boy who had been so unjust to their little angel, bitterly complain of him and drop not a few hints that his upbringing has evidently been neglected. This leads to still plainer hints from the other side that the complainant was a devil incarnate, and that with such parents to bring him up it was not altogether the poor creature's fault. And then the fray begins. The big guns of abuse are sent up at a gallop, and long range howitzers which leave none scot-free up to the seventh generation are brought into action. Then appears the male auxiliary, and if he is equally devoid of common-sense and equally jealous of his IZZAT he opens fire instantly with something that shatters the IZZAT of the adversary for ever. Thus when the other male auxiliary rushes up to the scene of action on hearing the noise of this bombardment, he calls a truce to this wordy warfare, and, like the practical creature that he is, he promptly breaks the head of the other male. And it is a lucky quarter of the town if hostilities remain confined to the families directly concerned. The best commentary on all this is furnished by the action of the brace of young barbarians with whom hostilities had commenced walking off arm-in-arm to enjoy another game of 'gilli-danda' or 'kabaddi' just as police may be marching the Big Four off to the lock-up!

It is such experiences as these which have taught us that the best method of settling intercommunal quarrels is neither to advocate the cause of your community, as in my time I have often done, nor even to pose as an arbitrator with an open and a judicious mind, but to earn the abuse of your own community. And since my brother and I have received an earnest of this already, I feel satisfied that not only am I qualifying myself for the office of a genuine patriot, but that I may begin to entertain hopes that the two communities will soon be reconciled. After this, need I say I



Recommend this course of "political exercises" to all my friends of every community ?

SANGHATAN

Having explained my own attitude at such length I do not think I am called upon to say much about the Sanghatan. I have certainly never publicly opposed it, and if anyone thinks so he is mistaken, and must have been misled by some ill-reported speech or interview. This is entirely an affair of my Hindu brethren, and if they think they need a Sanghatan they should be allowed a perfectly free hand in the matter. Every community is entitled to undertake such social reform as it needs, and if the Sanghatan is organised to remove untouchability and to provide for the speedy assimilation of the Antyaj and their complete absorption into Hindu society, I must rejoice at it both as a Musalman and as a Congressman. Ever since the Congress at Nagpur called upon the Hindu delegates "to make a special effort to rid Hinduism of the reproach of untouchability" and "respectfully urged the religious heads to help the growing desire to reform Hinduism in the matter of its treatment of the suppressed classes," this question has enlisted the direct interest and sympathy of the Congress. I remember very well that towards the closing months of the year 1921, Mahatma Gandhi was making the removal of untouchability the test of the Hindus, yearning for Swaraj, and if orthodox Hindu religious bodies have now seriously decided to make the required reform in Hinduism it is bound to rejoice the hearts of that large-hearted Hindu and of all his followers.

But I cannot help recalling that this matter remained in abeyance for a considerable time, and that it was not taken up with any great zeal until after the tragic events in Malabar had caused some months later a wave of indignation and resentment to sweep over the distant Punjab, and Multan Hindus had themselves suffered from the unruly passions of the Muslim mob. It is this combination of circumstances which causes uneasiness to many of those who yearn for the unification of India and know how little weight our recently achieved unity can just yet sustain. A broken limb which has just come out of a steel frame should not be too severely strained. We may not believe every suspicion or rumour, but we must not overlook their potency for mischief if they are not quickly removed or disproved; and there is no doubt that people are busy creating the suspicion that the removal of untouchability is not intended to result in the absorption of the suppressed classes into Hindu society, but merely to use them as auxiliaries on the Hindu side in future affrays. This being so, I ask if there is no ground for the uneasiness of Mahatma Gandhi's followers who have been sedulously taught, in the words of our resolution at Nagpur, "to lay special emphasis on NON-VIOLENCE being an integral part of the Non-Co-operation Resolution," and to invite the attention of the people to the fact that "NON-VIOLENCE in word and deed is

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essential between the people themselves as in respect of the Government," and, finally, that "the spirit of violence is not only contrary to the growth of a true spirit of democracy, but actually retards the enforcement (if necessary) of the other stages of Non-Co-operation." If in removing the reproach of untouchability we give cause to the world to reproach us with adding to pre-existing violence, will it not sadden the heart of the Mahatma? Friends, let us befriend the suppressed classes for their own injured sakes and not for the sake of injuring others or even avenging our own injuries.

Another feature of the Sanghatan movement is the increase of interest in physical culture. This is all to the good, and if flabbiness and cowardice can be removed from any section of the Indian people their is cause only for joy. Here, too, however, there arises the question of the spirit, and I am sincerely glad that the frank discussions at Delhi last September gave an opportunity to Pandit Modan Mohan Malaviya to proclaim to the world that he himself favours the creation of common AKHADAS in which young men of all communities can take their share. As for the protection of life and property and—I regret that I should have to add—the honour of our sisters, he again proclaimed his original intention that common territorial Civic Guards should be formed. It was only because he was told that the Hindu Sabha by which his motion was being discussed could not constitutionally bind other communities that he altered his resolution and agreed to the creation of Hindu Guards.

THE SANGHATAN OF THE CONGRESS CONCILIATION COMMITTEE

But in entire agreement with Hindu leaders the Hindu-Muslim Unity Committee recommended certain resolutions to the Congress for adoption on all these subjects, and since they were immediately passed by the Congress let us now see that we give full effect to them. To prevent the possibility of disunion we have, in the first place, to establish at the headquarters of every district, under the supervision of the District Congress Committees, and in consultation with Khilafat Committees, Hindu Sabhas and other responsible local associations, mixed Committees for the maintenance of peace and security throughout the districts. In case of any incident likely to disturb such peace and security, they would endeavour to minimise its evil consequences and provide for a speedy and satisfactory settlement, and would encourage the people, in case of any provocation, to conduct themselves with restraint, and to refer the matter to such Committees for redress of their grievances, instead of themselves resorting to retaliatory measures. I have since then realised with grief and pain that in some districts the Congress Committees have ceased to function, and that Congress workers have in some cases themselves taken a leading part in exciting inter-communal hostility. This would necessitate for some time at least the formation of supervisory bodies to check the work of the District

Committees and to be a substitute for them in areas in which such Committees have not been formed. A permanent Provincial and a similar National Conciliation Board also seem to me to be called for, and had such Boards been in existence perhaps they could have averted unfortunate collisions in some localities. These Boards could perhaps be utilised also for making enquiries into similar incidents that occur in spite of all our precautions, and, if necessary, to apportion the guilt between the communities concerned. Let us be ready with our machinery, and if the people know that we mean to stamp out such rowdyism and to maintain peace, security and inter-communal friendship, there is little likelihood of our having to sit in judgment upon contending communities.

CIVIC GUARDS.

In the next place the Congress resolved at Delhi that its local Committees be instructed to form and maintain, under their own supervision and control, local Corps of Civic Guards (open to all communities), throughout the country, for the maintenance of peace and order and for the performance of other civic duties. Local Committees of the Congress were also to be instructed to induce and encourage the people to take up physical culture and to provide necessary facilities for this purpose so that our people may be enabled to undertake their self-defence. I have heard of communal DALS and AKHADAS, but I fear the local Committees have not yet had sufficient time to organise Congress Corps of Civic Guards and open Congress akhadas. I, however, know of one School of Physical Culture at Ajmer which sent some of its members to the Delhi Congress, and while pleased with their physical development, I rejoiced still more when I learnt that, in spite of much persuasion to throw in their lot with their community during the unfortunate affray there and indulge in partisan violence, these young men remained wholly non-violent and refused to take sides. Can anyone say after this that the Congress exercises no influence? Wherever we have men like our Arjunlal Sethiji, Maulana Moinuddin and Mirza Abdul Qadir Beg, we may confidently look forward to the maintenance, or, at least, the earliest possible restoration, of peace. Dr. Hardikar has, I am happy to say, interested himself in the creation of Volunteer Corps, and, let me confess, friends, that even to-day when I am presiding over the Congress I feel I would be more in my element if I were working in Dr. Hardikar's place. If only the Government knew how necessary is the formation of volunteer corps of Civic Guards to keep our crowds even more peaceful than they already are and far more orderly and self-restrained, it would not dream of using its Criminal Law amendment Act against them and their organisers, provided, of course, it too desired peace and order to prevail in the land. In this matter I have a personal end to serve also. Travelling as constantly as I do, and attending mass meeting by the dozen, and being unfortunately only too often carried in processions, I feel the need of such Corps more than the stay-at-homes among us, and I am

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often tempted to take in hand the local volunteers attending on such occasions, forgetting for the moment that no man can attend at his own funeral !

SENSE OF HONOUR OF OUR BADMASHES.

But let me say one word on the subject of the protection of the honour of our women before I take leave of the Sanghatan question, and let me preface my last word on the subject with the admission that it is not really mine but my wife's. At Almora, where she was addressing a ladies' meeting composed mainly of her Hindu sisters, she said that if in a place such as Almora, where Musalmans form a very insignificant minority, she found that an anti-Muslim riot had broken out, and her male relations were not available to help her to protect her own or her daughter's honour, she would unhesitatingly appeal to the first Hindu as to a brother even if she knew him to be a badmash, and ask him to take her and her children under his personal protection. She said she had enough confidence in the sense of honour even of India's badmashes and in their "sportsmanship" so to speak, and I doubt if there are many badmashes in India on whom such a personal appeal of a sister in distress will fail to have any effect. Friends, trust disarms even wickedness and succeeds where six-chambered revolvers fail and Shakespeare knew human nature better than some of us seem to do when he wrote :

"There is a soul of goodness in things evil."

I cannot do better than to appeal to my sisters to teach us to trust each other more than we do at present, and by their own courageous confidence develop in the worst of us that God-given "soul of goodness."

SHUDDHI

Another movement that has affected Hindu-Muslim relations is Shuddhi. I myself believe in a missionary religion, and by a missionary relig on should be taken to mean one in which, in the words of Professor Max Muller, the spreading of the truth and the conversion of unbelievers are raised to the rank of a sacred duty. It is the spirit of truth in the hearts of believers which cannot rest unless it manifests itself in thought, word and deed, which is not satisfied till it has carried its message to every human soul, till what it believes to be the truth is accepted as the truth by all the members of the human family. Christianity and Buddhism as well as Islam are known to be missionary religions, but Judaism, Zoroastrianism and Hinduism are generally regarded as non-missionary.

Now, this has been my complaint for a long time against Hinduism, and on one occasion, lecturing at Allahabad in 1907, I had pointed out the contrast between Musalmans and Hindus by saying that the worst that could be said of a Muslim was that he had a tasteless mess which he called a dish fit for kings, and wanted all to

share it with him, thrusting it down the throats of such as did not relish it and would rather not have it, while his Hindu brother who prided himself on his cookery, retired into the privacy of his kitchen and greedily devoured all that he had cooked, without permitting even the shadow of his brother to fall on his food, or sparing even a crumb for him. This was said not altogether in levity; and, in fact, I once asked Mahatma Gandhi to justify this feature of his faith to me. It will be strange, then, if to-day, when there are evidences of a missionary zeal in the activities of my Hindu brethren, I should resent their efforts in spreading their faith. More than that, if the Malkana Rajputs are in reality so unfamiliar with Islam as to be taken for Hindus, Musalmans must thank Hindu missionaries for so forcibly reminding them of their own duty to look to the condition of millions of Musalmans whose knowledge of Islam is as defective as their practice of its rites is slack.

Both communities must be free to preach as well as practice the tenets of their respective faiths. There are competing types of culture in the world, each instinct with the spirit of propagandism, and I hope we live in an age of conscious selection as between ideal systems. We cannot surely wish to practice that wasteful, and, at best, a precarious, elimination of "false doctrine" by actual destruction of those who hold it. I hope the age of the Spanish Inquisition has gone for ever, and no one would think of abolishing heresy by wiping out the heretic. Progress is now possible along the more direct and less painful path of conversion. But it must be the result of the exercise of the power of rational choice, and the man whose conversion we seek must be free to choose his faith. What true Muslim could be satisfied by the kind of "conversion" which some fanatical Moplahs are believed to have effected during the period of the Malabar troubles by forcibly depriving some Nairs of their tufts of hair indicating their Hindu faith? No better in the sight of God is that outward conformity which is forced upon a person by bringing undue worldly pressure to bear upon him.

Allegations of such pressure by zemindars and money-lenders and by a numerical majority of neighbours in the surrounding area have been made and denied, and counter-allegations have been made. This cannot but react unfavourably on national unity; and when over a very small matter the decision to put a stop to all demonstrative and inflammatory methods of mass conversion and reclamation was given up, the Hindu-Muslim Unity Committee at Delhi recommended to the Congress a resolution which was duly adopted, that a Committee be formed to enquire into incidents connected with "Shuddhi" and "Anti-Shuddhi" movements, to visit places wherever coercion, intimidation, exercise of undue pressure or influence, or use of methods of proselytisation inconsistent with such a religious object is alleged or suspected, and to recommend such means as it thinks necessary for the prevention of such practices. Every political party in the West is, or, at least,



retends to be, jealous of its honour, and willingly consents to have a Corrupt Practices Act passed by the Legislature. We who pride ourselves on our greater spirituality must be truly jealous of our reputations, and a national body like the Congress is a proper authority to advise all communities in this matter, if not to enforce a Corrupt Practices Act as part of the unwritten law of the nation. My own belief is that both sides are working with an eye much more on the next decennial Census than on heaven itself, and I frankly confess it is on such occasions that I sigh for the days when our forefathers settled things by cutting heads rather than counting them.

ABSORPTION OR CONVERSION

The quarrels about ALAMS and PIPAL trees and musical processions are truly childish; but there is one question which can easily furnish a ground for complaint of unfriendly action if communal activities are not amicably adjusted. This is the question of the conversion of the Suppressed Classes if Hindu society does not speedily absorb them. The Christian missionary is already busy and no one quarrels with him. But the moment some Muslim Missionary Society is organised for the same purpose there is every likelihood of an outcry in the Hindu Press. It has been suggested to me by an influential and wealthy gentleman who is able to organise a Missionary Society on a large scale for the Conversion of the Suppressed Classes, that it should be possible to reach a settlement with leading Hindu gentlemen and divide the country into separate areas where Hindu and Muslim Missionaries could respectively work, each community preparing for each year, or longer unit of time if necessary an estimate of the numbers it is prepared to absorb or convert. These estimates would of course be based on the number of workers and funds each had to spare, and tested by the actual figures of the previous period. In this way each community would be free to do the work of absorption and conversion, or rather, of reform without chances of collision with one another. I cannot say in what light my Hindu brethren will take it and I place this suggestion tentatively in all frankness and sincerity before them. All that I say for myself is that I have seen the condition of the 'kali paraj' in the Baroda State and of the Gonds in the Central Provinces and I frankly confess it is a reproach to us all. If the Hindus will not absorb them into their own society, others will and must, and then the orthodox Hindu too will cease to treat them as untouchables. Conversion seems to transmute them by a strong alchemy. But does this not place a premium upon conversion?

THE DUTY OF THE PRESS.

Once more the best and surest remedy is a change in the spirit of proselytisation; but that cannot be expected with a Press so unrestrainedly partisan as we have to-day in parts of India. I am

myself a journalist, and you all know that I have undergone some little suffering for the sake of securing the freedom of the Indian Press. At least, I can claim the honour, if honour it be, to have figured in the leading case under the late lamentable Press Act, and it was I who started this fox even if I could not be at the kill. The removal of these external fetters makes it all the more necessary that we should exercise greater restraint than before over ourselves. But what I have seen of the Vernacular Press in the Punjab makes me apprehend that if it is not checked by the combined efforts of all Congressmen it will make us sigh for the resurrection of that dead and damned piece of bureaucratic legislation. Not that the bureaucracy would find much in our Punjab papers to which it would be inclined to apply the provisions of the Press Act even if it were resurrected, for in the estimation of the bureaucrat the offence punishable under section 153-A of the Indian Penal Code is not to be named in the same breath with that punishable under section 124-A of that Code. And even though the Press Act is no more, the Penal Code and the Civil Courts, where damages can be claimed by officials financed by the Government for alleged defamation, serve the Government well enough. But the nation remains wholly unprotected, and it is up to us not to leave it so exposed. It was I who strongly urged the Hindu-Muslim Unity Committee last September to recommend to the Congress a resolution on the subject of the Press. The Congress was asked to instruct its Working Committee to issue a manifesto inviting the attention of the Indian newspapers to the extreme necessity of exercising great restraint when dealing with matters likely to affect inter-communal relations, and also in reporting events and incidents relating to inter-communal dissensions and in commenting upon them. It was asked to appeal to them not to adopt an attitude which might prove detrimental to the best interests of India and which might embitter the relations between different communities. It was also recommended to the Congress that its Working Committee might be instructed to appoint in each province a small Committee which should request such newspapers as publish any matter likely to create inter-communal dissensions that they should desist from following such a course of action, and that if, in spite of this friendly advice, no useful results were achieved, these Committees should proclaim such newspapers. If even after this they did not alter their attitude, a boycott of them by Congressmen was to be declared in the last resort. The Congress adopted this resolution also, but I fear its executive has not yet had time to carry out the instructions issued by the Congress. The most important work that we have to do apart from this, of restoring Hindu-Muslim unity, is to organise an adequate permanent establishment for the Congress and its Provincial and Local Committees, for it is no use passing Resolutions in the Congress which cannot be attended to by the honorary executive for lack of a paid, permanent establishment.



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Friends, you may perhaps say I have taken up too much of your time in describing and detailing what the Congress did at Delhi and have hardly any proposals to place before you to-day. My answer is that you need few fresh proposals if you are determined to carry out those which you have already accepted. At Delhi we were able to proclaim to the world that we were not satisfied with the existing state of affairs and that we were resolved to remain united. That itself cleared the air to a great extent; but this was not all. We had provided remedies essentially sound in principle for our national ills; only we have not so far had time to use them. We spent perhaps too much time in examining, analysing and criticising the resolutions we had passed at Delhi, and a large section of Congressmen has been kept busy by the elections. Unless you adopt other measures to restore the national unity, it will be the duty of your executive to carry out the measures already adopted. But your executive will fail to accomplish anything of lasting value unless it has your ungrudging support and active assistance. In fact, you are your own most effective executive, and as your servant specially nominated by you for the year that is now commencing, I appeal to you to assist me in carrying out your own orders.

To the Indian Press I would address my most earnest appeal urging the Press to rise to the height of the occasion and not to disappoint the high expectations of one who is himself a journalist. When I was recently at Bijapur again and for the first time visited its famous dome, a friend who was as deeply impressed as myself by that wonderful pile, asked me in a whisper right across the dome if Europe with all its boast of superiority had a whispering gallery such as that of the Gol 'Gunbad'. It is no doubt a most astonishing experience to be able to hear distinctly across such a great space everything that is whispered, and the nine echoes heard in that gallery are equally remarkable. My friend was for the moment living the brilliant past of Bijapur over again and felt inordinate pride in the achievements of his Muslim ancestors. It was no doubt a great shock to him when I whispered back that the Whispering Gallery of Europe was even more marvellous. And then I told him that Europe's Whispering Gallery was the Press, its Fourth Estate! Every lie softly whispered in the privacy of the Editor-Proprietor's sanctum was shouted across all the continents, increasing in pitch and volume with every reverberation till it ended in the united shriek of hundreds of millions, leaving no chance for poor tongue-tied Truth to be heard. And yet it is just as easy to make the world resound with the thunderpeals of Truth as with the shrieks of Falsehood, and it is for the Indian Press to choose whether it will serve as the Whispering Gallery of Truth or of Falsehood.

SWARAJ AND FOREIGN AGGRESSION

Before I take final leave of the Hindu-Muslim question I wish to declare that if India wins Swaraj it will satisfy all the religious



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requirements of a Muslim in India. Swaraj, Sarv-Raj, or the Raj of all, implies Swadharma, and must imply that in an Eastern country. It is not therefore necessary that a Musalman should sit on the throne of the Mughals at Delhi, and we have all seen how the greatest Muslim State has ceased to have a Royal Throne and has converted itself into a Republic. Every true Muslim looks back with pride upon the Thirty Years of the Truly Guided Khalifas during which the Successors of the Prophet and the Commanders of the Faithful (with whom Allah was pleased) were the Chief Servants of the Commonwealth. Islam spread over the major portion of the civilised world and its empire extended over all the continents of the known world; but no Muslim holds dear the memory of Islam's later conquests and expansion as that of the first thirty years when it was the pride of the Muslim envoy to tell the envoys of the Byzantine and Iranian empires who had been boasting of the despotic power of their respective rulers that the Muslims had themselves appointed their ruler and would depose him just as readily if he acted against the Law of God. Victory has not been snatched from the jaws of defeat and despair by the valiant and God-fearing Turks to no purpose, and I feel confident that once they are free from the distractions inevitable after the victories both of war and peace they will revive with God's assistance the glories not of the Omayyide or Abbaside Empire, but of the first Thirty Years of the Khilafat before there were any kings or dynasties.

I have my own views of the possible adjustment of the relations of all Muslim States and the Khalifa, but this is not the occasion to state them. It would suffice if I state here that Musalmans can satisfy all their religious requirements no matter who is their secular sovereign so long as they recognise that "there is no governance but God's", and that "Him alone are we commanded to serve". As in every religion, there are in Islam certain things which every Musalman is required to do, and certain things which he is required not to do. Between these duties and prohibitions lies a vast stretch of ground in which he is free to roam about except for certain things which are in the nature of preferences. Now a Musalman can obey no creature of God who commands him to neglect one of these duties or to disregard one of these prohibitions, and it makes no difference whether that person is one of his own parents or his master or ruler, whether he is an enemy or a friend, or whether he is Muslim or a non-Muslim. So long as the temporal power of Islam is adequate and is always at the disposal of the Khalifa, it matters little whether a Muslim is a subject of a Muslim or of a non-Muslim. All he needs is the fullest freedom to obey none but God in the matter of his religious duties and prohibitions. Even if a Muslim sovereign, nay even if the Khalifa himself, commanded him to disobey God, he must refuse; and it is obvious that he could not render unto a non-Muslim Cæsar what he could not render unto a Muslim Cæsar because it was due only to God. This being so, I cannot understand

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There need be any question of a Muslim's unflinching loyalty to a Swaraj and Swadharma government.

As for the bogey of His Majesty the Ameer of Afghanistan attacking India with the assistance of Indian Muslims, it is the creation of fear and cowardice, and can only be laid at rest by courage and self-confidence. I must say it did my heart good to hear my esteemed friend Pandit Jawaharlal say, "Let us win Swaraj and we shall see who comes." We shall certainly be ready to meet all comers, and it will be no easy matter to snatch away Freedom from the hands that have succeeded in winning it back after a century-and-a-half of slavery. As for myself, if India ever needs a humble soldier to resist an aggressor, be he the Muslim or non-Muslim, your comrade whom you have to-day called out of the ranks will gladly fill his place in the ranks. He certainly will be no deserter.

AFGHANISTAN.

I have heard that my Madras speech of 1921, which had been considered in official circles to be highly treasonable, although it embodied nothing more or less than the sentiments my brother and I had expressed in a letter we had addressed from the Betul gaol to the Viceroy, had not found much favour even in Afghanistan. And I do not wonder that our Afghan neighbours feel a little hurt when they are so often described as if they were harbouring designs on India. If only we knew how difficult His Majesty the Ameer must be finding the task of organising his kingdom and developing its resources without the assistance of foreign personnel, we would not talk of the possibility of an Afghan aggression. Afghanistan is enough to keep him and his government fully occupied without the additional worry of the problem of how a Kabul pony can swallow an Indian elephant. If the Afghans are hurt merely because I explained my own position in the event of a hypothetical aggression from Afghanistan, what must be my own feelings in having to explain that position? Because I am a Muslim I have not ceased to be an Indian, and it is surely humiliating to any Indian's national pride to think that his fellow-countrymen regard his country and theirs as an easy prey for any foreign assailant, no matter how weak.

"AND THE FOURTH WOULD KNOCK ME DOWN!"

Friends, you will forgive me if I relate a story here which seems so applicable to our own situation. I have to preface it with a special apology to my Banya friends because, whosoever may have been the author of the story, he had certainly lived in an age much anterior to ours when the most courageous leader that India has known in recent times happens to be no other than a Banya and one of his chief lieutenants and lovers is "my brave Banya" as I call my dear friend Seth Jamnalal Bajaj. The story is that four travellers happened to meet each other on the road and agreed to

together for safety's sake. It happened that after dusk they were met by some highwaymen who demanded the surrender of all their belongings. Then they discovered that their assailants were also only four. One of the travellers who was a Rajput whispered to his companion who was a Pathan that he could successfully tackle the biggest of the highwaymen. Thereupon the Pathan assured the Rajput that, for his part, he too could manage to deal with the next biggest. Thus encouraged the third of the travellers who was a middle-aged Brahmin said: "And I could knock down the third" Then came the turn of the fourth who was a Banya, and equally promptly came his declaration: And the fourth would knock me down!" This led the Brahmin to apprehend that in that case he might be required to tackle not one but two, and he decided to give in. The Pathan too gave it in for fear he might have to deal with three assailants, and, finally the Rajput also surrendered because obviously he was no match for all the four. And all this because one traveller out of the four had felt just as convinced that the fourth highwayman would knock him down as his three companions were convinced that they could knock down one highwayman apiece!

NEED OF COURAGE AND CONFIDENCE.

May I not ask you, friends, if it is not now time when we have a Banya for our brave leader for all of us to give up such conviction of defeat before the battle is joined? Why, only recently a Delhi paper published the remarkable discovery of its secret investigator that a Delegation consisting of two aged Arabs and one young one who have come from Palestine with the permission of the government to raise funds from Indian Musalmans for the repair of the Masjid-ul-Aqsa and the Qubbat-us-Sakhra at Jerusalem is the vanguard of an invading force of Arabs! Not with such fears and suspicions and tremors can Freedom be won. This, friends, is the way to lose even the little we have. It reminds me of the curse of the Lord on Israel which is recorded in Deuteronomy:

The Lord shall send upon thee cursing, vexation and rebuke, in all that thou settest thine hand unto for to do, until thou be destroyed and thou perish quickly.

Thy Lord shall curse thee to be smitten before thine enemies, thou shalt go out one way against them, and flee seven ways before them: and shalt be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth.

And thy carcase shall be meat unto all the fowls of the air, and unto beasts of the earth and no man shall fry them away.

The Lord shall smite thee with madness, and blindness, and astonishment of heart:

And thou shalt grope at noonday as the blind gropeth in darkness, and thou shalt not prosper in thy ways: and thou shalt be only oppressed and spoiled evermore, and no man shall save thee.

Thou shalt build a house, and thou shalt not dwell therein, thou shalt plant a vineyard and thou shalt not gather the grapes thereof,



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Thy sons and thy daughters shall be given unto another people, and thine eyes shall look and fail with longing for them all the day long; and there shall be no might in thine hand.

The fruit of thine land and all thy labours shall a nation which thou knowest not eat up; and thou shalt be only oppressed and crushed always.

So that thou shalt be mad for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see.

And thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a byword among all nations whither the Lord shall lead thee.

The stranger that is within thee shall get up above thee very high; and thou shalt come down very low.

He shall lend to thee and thou shalt not lend to him; he shall be the head and thou shalt be the tail.

Moreover all these curses shall come upon thee, and shall pursue thee and overtake thee, till thou be destroyed.

And they shall be upon thee for a sign and for a wonder and upon thy seat for ever.

THE TURKS' MESSAGE.

The duty of the Musalmans to-day is a double one. They owe a duty to themselves as Indians to secure freedom for themselves and for their posterity. India is no less their country than the Hindus, and even if the Hindus were to shrink from the sacrifices required in Freedom's battle, though they will certainly never do so, it would still be their duty to persevere and to say that they would win Swaraj for all India even if they received no aid from the rest of India. But as Musalmans too they are to secure Swaraj for their country. When I met the Turks in Paris, in Switzerland and in Rome they wondered how the same country that had despatched a large army, which included so considerable a proportion of Musalmans, to fight against them could also send a delegation like ours to plead for better terms for them after their defeat. When I solved this riddle for them by explaining the paradox that many of the Muslim warriors that were not afraid of the Turkish sword or the German gun and could pass months and years in those death-traps called trenches, were yet afraid of the policeman's truncheon and of police lock-ups and prison cells, my Turkish friends told me that in that case I must take the first boat back to India, and, instead of endeavouring to prevent their enslavement, I should go and break the fetters of my own countrymen. "We have beaten, the English", they said, "on the soil of Turkey and in the Straits; but we could not keep at bay for ever your Indian hordes that pressed us hard in Palestine and in Mesopotamia. Once you are free and no Indian Muslim can any longer be driven to fight against the forces of the Khalifa. Both Turkey and Islam will be safe. It is your duty to us as well to yourselves that you first win freedom in your own country." But they added, "let not your Hindu and Sikh fellow-countrymen think that they owe a duty only to themselves and none to us. It is in order to keep them enslaved that Britain has forged such heavy chains for us."



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AN EASTERN FEDERATION.

Friends, I am glad to hear that so many of my Hindu fellow-workers are thinking of establishing a relationship with other Eastern countries. Their political ideas have scaled the ramparts of the Himalayas and crossed the moat of the surrounding seas. They recognise that the freedom of every Asiatic nation helps their own freedom, and they contemplate the organisation of an Eastern Federation. The first step had already been taken by Mahatma Gandhi when at Amritsar he identified himself with the cause of the Khilafat. It would be a strange thing if while the Hindus set about organising an Eastern Federation, Indian Musalmans should cease to co-operate with them all because one newspaper correspondent realised in the suffering of the Musalmans at Saharanpur the tragic scenes enacted at Smyrna. Nothing could be more foolish and more absurd than this, and if the Turks ever came to hear of this comparison they would not feel an excess of gratitude for us.

A FINAL QUESTION TO THE MUSALMANS.

But one question and one only I shall ask those who point to the episode of Saharanpur—where no doubt it is the Hindus that have suffered most—as a sufficient reason to veer round from non-Co-operation to co-operation. And that question is this. Was there no British Government ruling in India when Musalmans had to undergo such unmerited sufferings? Was a Hindu administering the district or even a Non-Co-operating Muslim? Finally, was not the department of justice administered by a Musalman who had broken away from the community of which he used to be a great leader at one time and had co-operated with the foreign Government? These are not three separate questions, but one, viz, if neither the Government nor those Musalmans who co-operate with it were able to save the Musalmans of Saharanpur, what prospect is there of any greater safety for them if these conditions are perpetuated by our co-operation? I pause for an answer, but I fear I shall not get it.

In the meantime the Holy Land of Islam remains in the custody of non-Muslim mandatories. Five times a day every Musalman who offers his daily prayers with regularity turns his face towards the Ka'ba. While I was still in the Bijapur gaol a question occurred to me which I put into verse, and it still remains unanswered:

“His Ka'ba facing which we were daily offering prayers, what shall we say to Him how it was left under the enemy's control?”

THE BLOW RECALLED AFTER THE FIGHT.

Friends, I have said all that I could say on the Hindu-Muslim question and if after all this lengthy dissertation I leave any Hindu or Musalman still unconvinced of the necessity of co-operation

among ourselves and Non-Co-operation with our foreign masters, I can say no more and must acknowledge myself beaten. One thing is certain, and it is this, that neither can the Hindus can exterminate the Musalmans to-day nor can the Musalmans get rid of the Hindus. If the Hindus entertain any such designs they must know that they lost their opportunity when Mohamed bin Qasim landed on the soil of Sindh twelve hundred years ago. Then the Musalmans were few, and to-day they number more than seventy millions. And if the Musalmans entertain similar notions, they too have lost their opportunity. They should have wiped out the whole breed of Hindus when they ruled from Kashmir to Cape Comorin and from Karachi to Chittagong. And as the Persian proverb says, the blow that is recalled after the fight must be struck on one's own jaw. If they cannot get rid of one another, the only thing to do is to settle down to co-operate with one another, and while the Musalmans must remove all doubts from the Hindu mind about their desire for Swaraj for its own sake and their readiness to resist all foreign aggression, the Hindus must similarly remove from the Muslim mind all apprehensions that the Hindu majority is synonymous with Muslim servitude. As for myself, I am willing to exchange my present servitude for another in which my Hindu fellow-countryman would be the slave-driver instead of the foreign master of my destiny, for by this exchange I would at least prevent the enslavement of 250 millions of my co-religionists whose slavery is only another name for the continued existence of European Imperialism. When at Lucknow in 1916 some Hindu complained to my late chief, Bal Gangadhar Tilak Maharaj, that they were giving too much to the Musalmans, he answered back like a true and far-seeing statesman: "You can never give the Musalmans too much." To-day when I hear complaints that we are showing great weakness in harping on Hindu-Muslim unity when the Hindu show no desire to unite, I say, "You can never show too great weakness in your dealings with Hindus." Remember, it is only the weak who fear to appear too weak to others. With this observation I take my last leave of this question without a proper and a lasting settlement of which we can effect nothing.

COUNCIL-ENTRY.

This was the main question to be dealt with at Delhi even though the Special Session was held in order to arrive at a settlement of the Council-entry question. I have devoted so large a portion of my address to it not only because of its importance, but also because happily the other is no longer a live issue. At Delhi at my solicitation the Congress removed the ban and permitted those who had no religious or other conscientious objections against entering the Legislatures or voting at the then forthcoming elections to do so, and suspended the propaganda in favour of the boycott of Councils which had achieved such signal success three years previously. The



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elections have been held, and it can, in my humble judgment, serve no useful purpose to re-open a question which kept us occupied in much sterile activity for more than a year and sorely tried our temper. I hold strong views on the subject of the triple boycott of Councils, law-courts and schools and colleges, and did not shrink from giving expression to them in strong, or, as my Swarajist friends complained, perhaps in too strong language in the course of the discussion in the Subjects Committee at Delhi. I hold the same views to-day, and would gladly give expression to them again in equally strong language if I could be convinced that it was necessary and in the best interest of the Congress and the country. But of this I am as little convinced as of the soundness of the Swaraj Party views and, on the contrary, I am fully convinced that no word should escape me which would estrange from the Indian National Congress a single Indian who has any national feeling. In fact, I desire to take a leaf out of the book of the late Lord Morley, whose recent death has removed from the world one who had shown both courage and resource in asking his fellow-countrymen also to do such justice to India as he himself was capable of doing, "Let us rally the Moderates."

THE MODERATES AND THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

I take no party view of the recent elections, and the franchise is far too restricted to read in them the judgment of the nation. But if one thing is more certain than another it is this, that India refuses to co-operate any longer with its foreign rulers. Many things have helped to disillusion those honest Nationalists who still held the opinions which many of us held as recently as four years ago. The discussions in the Imperial Council with regard to the status of Indians overseas have been so extensively advertised that it must be a very foolish fish that would still be deceived by the poor bait offered. South Africa where the Indian population still numbers 100,000 is adamant. The Imperial Govt. which cannot plead its impotence to interfere in the so-called "internal affairs" of free Dominions when Kenya and other Crown Colonies are concerned, cannot hold out any hopes of reversing its palpably iniquitous decision, and has only consented to hear India's case once more. But the other Dominions are "sympathetic" since sympathy cost so little, and even here they are not quite so optimistic where the Indians in British Columbia, of the "Komagata Maru" fame, still numbering some 1100 are concerned, though the rest of Canada, which has only a bare hundred, is disposed to be generous. I am prepared to give the fullest credit to the impassioned advocacy and highly emotional appeals of Dr. Sapru, and his victory has been complete. But, alas, he had aimed so low from the very outset that his victory leaves such of us as could not like him feel the heat of the encounter uncomfortably cold.

It reminds me of a friend who had left a lucrative enough post

had, making a new departure for an up-country Muslim graduate, had started business as a commission agent in Bombay. One day he met me with every show of exultation and announced that he had closed the day with cent per cent profit in the transaction that had kept him fully so engaged. But when I asked for more details I learnt that my friend had sold a few dozen Japanese paper serviettes, and that the cent per cent profit would hardly pay the day's rent of his office! After long and weary years of strife the Imperial Council passed in 1921 a Resolution recognising the desirability of conceding equal status to Indians overseas, but Hamlet was acted with the part of the Prince of Denmark carefully cut out by General Smuts, the Imperial Dramatic Censor. And yet India was asked to rejoice over her cent-per-cent profits. However, as it happened the profits remained unrealised, and two whole years later the battle had to be fought again over the Imperial counter. There were doubts about the nature of the bargain, such as, whether payment was only desirable or necessary, and here the slim Boer General wanted to rescind the entire transaction. But luck has favoured the travelling agents of India again, even though there was much disagreement among them, and one of the two has made a discovery not less remarkable than that of Columbus inasmuch as he has discovered in the Boer General a skilfully disguised friend of India. We have secured cent-per-cent profits again, and a roving commission will go out to each of the partners in the other party's firm and by direct dealing ascertain what prospect there is of any payment. This, then, is the net gain. Dr. Sapru's travelling agents, no doubt some of the Great Unemployed, will have the great privilege of having direct dealings with the partners of John Bull, Sons & Co. Lest I may be suspected of belittling the results achieved, I quote the conclusion laboriously reached by the TIMES at the fag end of its leading article on "India and the Commonwealth." "The spirit of sympathy", concludes the TIMES, "and of good-will expressed by the representatives of the British Government and of the Dominions Overseas, the sincere appreciation of the share of India in the Commonwealth—these are hardly less important to her than the practical recognition of her right to negotiate for herself with the other partners." Yes, Dr. Sapru and his royal companion have indeed secured "the practical recognition of India's right to negotiate for herself with the other partners"; but when will the bargain be concluded and payment received, and—what will be its amount?

Imperial Conferences will no doubt continue to succeed each other with great regularity, and the success of the Indian dependency at each will be advertised more and more extensively. But it is too much for poor human nature to wait patiently and continue to hope while the Imperial stratification proceeds from the Archean or Pre-Cambrian stratum through all the Paleozoic, Mesozoic, Cainozoic strata or division in their true order of antiquity, and the long list of sub-division, such as the Eocene, Oligocene, Miocene, and Pliocene



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Before we come to the Pleistocene or Glacial and finally to the Post-Glacial or Human period. No honest Moderate would be so moderate as to be satisfied with this crawling pace of our Imperial progress, and no honest Liberal could be so liberal as to give unlimited time to England to do us bare justice, especially when they recognise as they must more and more clearly as each day passes, that a wrong system of education is fast paralysing us and robbing us of our youth and manhood.

When their disillusionment is just as complete as ours, the question will still have to be answered, "How far are they prepared to go?" Non-Co-operation has from the very outset required only minimum sacrifice from the maximum number, though even the minimum in the Post-Gandhi era far exceeds the maximum in most cases of the Pre-Gandhi period. But Liberty can neither be won nor retained on the principle of Limited Liability. Dr. Sapru's advocacy may have been all that it could be, but what is there to follow it? Only "resolutions", petitions and protests, and at best a silly HARTAL to wind up with? If that is all, let us leave off this crazy pursuit of politics. Those whose ancestors have won freedom on the field of Runnymede or after the "crowning mercy" of Worcester or by razing the Bastille to the ground may play with politics. We have to yet win our Magna Carta and our Bill of Rights, and it is premature for us to treat politics as a Western pastime. For long we thought in terms of the Penal Code, and now we think we have advanced very far on the road of Reform if we think in terms of Dicey and of Erskine May. We forget that we have still to think in terms of History! I am prepared to admit that the Liberal gun is long enough. The length of the barrel, however, counts for little. It is the charge behind that matters. Once every Liberal or Moderate makes up his mind that patriotism must be to him as it was to every patriot in the world's history who won freedom for his country from a foreign yoke—a matter of unlimited liability, then—all is well. The Congress is his proper place even though he may at first proceed at a slow pace from force of habit. And it is just because I know that the leaders of the Swaraj Party are prepared to go to any length that I refused to be a party to driving them out of the Congress.

It is true many of the Swarajists have retained to this day something of their laboriously acquired Western mentality and revel in parliamentary discussions and debates. Many more who have willingly relinquished all thought of the use of force even for purposes of self-defence want the spice of this wordy warfare to make the insipid fare prepared at Bardoli piquant enough for their jaded palates. Many more still have not fully understood the almost unlimited possibilities of the charkha which must revolutionise Indian life while it frees us from economic slavery. Above all, the Swaraj party is the embodiment of the depression experienced by all India when Mahatma Gandhi, after having brought the country to the very door of Swaraj, suddenly had to declare that it

It was unwise to force that door by resorting to mass Civil Disobedience, and that his plan of action must be changed from an offensive bold to the verge of audacity to a defensive which to those who did not know our generalissimo looked almost like a surrender. But, as I told the Mahatma when I was passing through Bardoli on my way from the Karachi gaol to the Bijapur gaol, his change of plan was out of his strength and not out of his weakness, and had he been left free for some weeks longer he would have changed the face of the whole situation. He was, however, arrested and imprisoned before the people had recovered from the first depressing shock of Bardoli, and although there were hundreds and thousands, nay, hundreds of thousands and millions, who loved him and felt the pang of separation, apparently there was none who could put a new life into the Bardoli programme and make full use of the weapon of offence which the Government had placed in Indian hands by treating the Mahatma as a felon. I have not sufficient data at my disposal to enable me to say whether the Mahatma was justified in listening to the despairing counsel of those who hastened to inform him that mass Civil Disobedience free from grave danger of violence was impossible after the Chauri-Chaura affair. But I do think Civil Disobedience free from such danger was possible immediately on the imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi, and I would have deliberately disobeyed my chief and fought the Government with the weapon it had placed in my hand. No physician, as my brother says, is permitted to prescribe anything for himself when he is ailing, and after Mahatma Gandhi was "buried alive" it was enough if we paid due regard to his creed of Non-Violence, without having to carry out his testamentary injunction with regard to the suspension of Civil Disobedience also. Had such a course been followed I doubt if the Swaraj party would have come into being.

FUTURE RELATIONS OF THE CONGRESS AND THE SWARAJ PARTY

Be that as it may, the existence of the Swaraj party cannot be ignored, whatever view we may have formed about its genesis. Its early beginnings were small enough, but the peregrinations of the Civil Disobedience Committee, which occupied the time, attention and energies of some of our best workers, also succeeded in diverting the attention of all from the work of construction, and drove many of the most zealous among our younger men into the group which sought to enter the Councils. It is an idle speculation now, except to the extent that it helps us to formulate a plan for future work, to estimate how the chances of this group would have been affected if the programme of constructive work had been pushed forward and the younger men had been kept busy. On the other hand, some of my Swarajist friends also want me to plunge into speculation and estimate how much greater would have been their success at the polls than it has already been if the Delhi self-denying ordinance

suspending our boycott propaganda had been issued at Gaya. I might answer them by suggesting another line of speculation based on characteristic self-conceit, viz, whether there would have been any Swaraj party in existence at all if I had been permitted to be with them at Gaya to dissuade them from following a course of such doubtful wisdom. But all this is idle talk now. The Swaraj party is there to-day, and even though it may be composed of some very dissimilar elements, it is undoubtedly strong enough in numbers to-day and has always been strong in the quality of its leadership. More than all else, it was permitted at Delhi to go to the polls on its own moral and religious responsibility. It has gone there and has achieved great enough success considering what forces were arrayed against it, how short a time it had in which to organise its own forces, and how greatly it was handicapped by the fact that some of its best members were disqualified from contesting the elections owing to their having undergone longer terms of imprisonment than those which do not affect eligibility. Then, too, electoral rolls were most defective, mainly perhaps because three years ago nobody but the Liberals cared for such things and until very recently even those who ultimately joined the Swaraj party had not finally made up their minds to contest the elections or to go to the polls. It is true a very large number of votes have been given not to the individuals that sought them, but to the Congress, and,—“Tell it not in Gath; whisper it not in the streets of Ascalon”—to Mahatma Gandhi himself! There are friends of mine whose distress at such things is very deep, and who consider it a sacrilege thus to take the name of the Mahatma in vain. I greatly sympathise with them, and certainly cannot say that I approve of such political methods. But it must be remembered that those to whom the people offered such votes were immeasurably nearer to Mahatma Gandhi than those who were opposed to them. Moreover, there were some among them who were inclined to sneer in a superior sort of way at a Mahatma so little versed in the affairs of this world as to pin his faith to the silly CHARKHA, which even our womenfolk had discarded in these advanced days. They thought that he was something of a bungler and a blunderer where finesse was required in dealing with the bureaucrats and with a Viceroy who was supposed to have out-Yanked the Yankees during the War. Their election experiences must have convinced not a few of these men that the Mahatma's name is still one to conjure with, and that whatever skill in finessing they may possess, their strength even in the Councils lies in the backing which the people who loved and revered the Mahatma were prepared to give to them as his followers and associates. This experience is a valuable asset to them, and the good-sense, restraint and dignity which their leaders have in the hour of their victory in full conformity with our expectations from them, make them a valuable element in the Congress. It is true we have no such expectations from their programme as they have themselves; but, while removing, where

ready necessary, any idea that may be lurking in the people's mind that it is not the constructive programme but the Council that bring in Swaraj we must give to the Swarajists a perfectly free hand, and add to that our heartiest good wishes that they may succeed. We suspended at Delhi the exercise of our right to carry on a propaganda of Council-boycott, but we surrendered no principle. Nor are we prepared to do that to-day, as we shall no doubt be doing if we agree to accept any responsibility of guiding the Swarajists in the Councils. This we cannot do. Obviously, the Swarajists will not be able to spare as much time for the constructive work as those of us who have not to attend to Council duties; but I have satisfied myself that their responsible leaders intend to assist us to the best of their power and ability, and in this way strengthen their own hand also in the Councils. If they have to leave the Councils any later stage, the work that will have by then been done outside in their constituencies through our joint efforts will ensure this much, that no bureaucratic Cromwell could say of their exit that not a dog barked when they took their departure. And if, as a result of their labours in the Councils, Swaraj is achieved, I for one would certainly not refuse to accept it. If peace, harmony and good-will were needed at Delhi to preserve the great reputation of the Congress they are still needed to-day to enhance that reputation and to help us to carry out the constructive programme.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME.

It was in the interests of this programme that I interested myself in the settlement at which we arrived at Delhi, for a whole year had been all but wasted by the major portion of the provinces in mutual recriminations, and if Mahatma Gandhi's release was to be obtained not by appeals AD MISERICORDIAM but through our own efforts, it was necessary to resume the work to which the Mahatma had rightly pinned his faith. I did not at the time itself realise the full extent of the havoc wrought since his removal: but the few replies that I have received to my enquiries about the details of the work done are sufficient indication that through one cause or another little work has been done. It is true there are provinces like Gujrat the work of which does credit to my friend Srijut Vallabhai Patel and to the band of devoted workers that Mahatma Gandhi left to work under him. Few provinces could show anything like as good a record of educational work, and but for Gujrat, the Khadi produced in other provinces would have remained unsold too long. The great glory of the Mahatma, however, was not that he changed the face of Gujrat, but that he also changed the face of the whole of India. No province did he leave exactly where he had found it. Gujrat is even now preparing a surprise for those who think that no area could be fit for Civil Disobedience if the Mahatma's characteristically high standard of preparation was to be retained. But the example of Gujrat has not proved infectious enough, and we cannot afford to wrap ourselves up in self-sufficiency. The speed of the fleet



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is the speed of the slowest boat, and there are, alas, too many slow boats in our fleet, though, thank God, all are still sea-worthy. I could not place before my No-Change friends sounder canons of criticism than "A No-Changer" writing in 'Young India' after Delhi has done.

There is a limit (he writes) beyond which reason and argument cannot go. Some conclusions are in the nature of action, and they go beyond the pale of pure rationality. Where reason fails to persuade, experience becomes the hard task-master. We realised that we had arrived at such a crisis. One year of argument and paralysis was tending to harden man in their Pharisaism and self-complacency. The testing time had come not only on the Swarajists, not only on the Centrists, not only on Mohamed Ali, but on us also, the No-Changers. We have to submit ourselves to the discipline of facts. Since the days of the Calcutta Special Congress, Gandhism had won all along the line: and we, Gandhites, have been in continuous peril of loose thinking and dragged effort. It is good for everybody to be beaten. If there is truth in us, the very castigation of defeat will lead us to examine ourselves anew and find strength. If, on the contrary, Gandhism has become in our hands a plea for lethargy and refusal to re-think the implications of fast-developing reality, we are not the true followers of our Chief, we are not worthy to be the custodians of his message to the world. Reality—that is the ultimate touchstone.

Yes, Reality is the ultimate touch-stone, the truest and the surest that ever existed, and Swarajists and No-Changers, and you and I, all of us, friends, shall be tested and measured by Reality. That is why I preach to you the gospel of work. It is not as easy a gospel to practise as it is easy to preach and that is why we have more critics than workers. But work well done furnishes an exhilarating experience which the sterile pleasures of criticism can never equal. As the Sanskrit poet, referring to the creative effort of poetry, says, "Little does the barren woman know of the pain and anguish of a mother's labours and less still of the indescribable joy of mother-hood at the sight and touch of the new-born babe". Through labour alone shall a free India be re-born.

THE BARDOLI PROGRAMME TO BE CARRIED OUT.

You will no doubt ask me what should be our work; and my reply after the most careful consideration is that we cannot better the much-maligned Bardoli programme. If we continue to give up each item of work on finding difficulties and obstacles in our way, we shall never accomplish anything. Many people tell you Non-Co-operation has failed when they only mean that they, or we, or both, have failed to rise to the height of our ideal. And yet, as I have already told you, the steps proposed by the Mahatma are easy. Remember what the commonest of common soldiers is prepared to sacrifice when you feel that you must re-start your practice as a lawyer, or file your law-suit, or send your boy to a better-equipped school.

KHADI WORK AND WOMEN.

As for the man who cannot even wear khadi, it is no use taking

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him into serious consideration. And yet he is not unpatriotic, nor hopelessly selfish, but only lazy and indolent. Well, he has got to be roused out of his indolence, and the best and the most unfailing agency for this is the womanhood of India. Whosoever may change and fall from the high ideal of our great chief, the women of India are true to him, true to the nation, and true to themselves. With a few expert men like Seth Jamn Lal Bajaj and Maganlal Bhai and Chaganlal Bhai Gandhi to assist and advise them and a full complement of book keepers and clerks, etc., our sisters should be able to take the entire charge of the Khadi work in every province and district. Men may go to goal, and men may come back, but the women of India should go on working our Khadi department for ever.

The other departments also be organised and the next in importance to Khadi is the department of National Education. I feel sorry that I did not press sufficiently hard at Bezwada, in 1921, for the creation of a Central Board of Education. But now a Central Educational Board and Provincial Boards must be created, and the education of our boys and girls must be seriously taken in hand. I need not go through the whole list of departments for we cannot afford to neglect any item of the Bardoli programme. But we must follow the plan of 1921, and, while working all simultaneously, we must concentrate on particular departments during particular periods of the next year.

THE PROVISION OF FUNDS.

But all this is idle talk without funds, and the provision of funds is one item which requires concentration all through the year. When the country knows that it is only by carrying out the Mahatma's programme of work that we can manufacture the key of Yarrowda gaol, and that no work is possible without solvency, it will not fail to respond to our call. But apart from large donations to be appealed for at some fixed time, we must tap permanent, though small, sources of revenue, and enable the poor to go on contributing their mites to the National Chest. Fixed monthly contributions must be arranged for and other similar means of securing the poor man's assistance at intervals and in ways suited to his convenience must be thought out in addition to a well-organised national 'drive' for securing at least as many members of the Congress as the number of Indians who have been enfranchised. If, however, we work with a will, a full crore should not prove too many.

PERMANENT SECRETARIATS AND DEPARTMENTAL ESTABLISHMENTS

And yet much as money may be necessary for working the Mahatma's programme, a powerful organisation is just as necessary to secure money. This cannot be in the main an organisation run by unpaid men. It is astonishing how we got on so long with our national work covering the whole area of this sub-continent with



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a paid establishment hardly large enough for a single department in a single district. We are face to face with a strange situation. On the one side we need competent, zealous and thoroughly reliable workers to carry on the national work, and have not got them. On the other hand, we have an army of the unemployed, particularly the lawyers who have been so hard hit by the Non-Co-operation programme, and they are very far from being unemployable. It is time that we accepted the obvious and the only possible solution of this double difficulty. We may pay our workers only a living wages on the reduced scale of the era; but that living wage must be paid to those splendid workers who have made great sacrifices for the sake of the nation. Remember, a system that requires martyrs to work it gets worked in the next generation by cheats. And, in any case, even martyrs have to be fed and clothed before they quit this world. India is witnessing to-day the spectacle of greedy foreign servants clamouring like so many Oliver Twists for more when they have already had much more than even gluttony as a rule demands. The Indian Civil Servant, who is seldom Indian, or civil or a servant, already gets paid more than any class of public servant of similar merit anywhere else in the world. It is he who always sets the pace to members of other services and thus continues to drain the resources of one of the poorest countries in the world. And he is doing this again so soon after the last increase in his emoluments. And yet it is he who accuses Indians engaged in the service of the nation of dishonest practices. I have no doubt that the moment he learns that the Congress is asked to pay the poorest of poor wages to such national workers he and his supporters in the Press will commence their old game of vilifying men who are the truest servants of India. Those who receive their wages in hundreds will be assailed by those who receive them in thousands and yet serve India so poorly. But this is part of the day's work and we must not mind it.

This, to my mind, is the most urgent need of the Congress, and I trust you will take steps to create an efficient organisation which will carry on the work of the Congress year in and year out. A proper National Secretariat, if possible located in some central place like Delhi, similar Provincial Secretariats and District Offices must be organised, and work in these secretariats and offices must be properly differentiated into the various departments which we need to maintain. The Working Committee itself should be composed of men who are able to attend frequent meetings either at a central place, or wherever required by the exigencies of the moment.

Of course, we must see that all organisations are doing practical work which is capable of being checked and estimated, and, that expenditure is not allowed, after the initial month or thereabouts, to exceed revenue. I understand that the Salvation Army in England when it sends out workers to new centres pays them for a week's board and lodging in advance, and during that week they have

earn enough to pay their way in the following week. Later on, they are required to send a definite contribution to the Central Organisation. We shall have to follow some such system with regard to those of our workers who are engaged in enrolling Congress members. Once this machinery is set up, I feel confident the country can be roused again, and we shall be able to beat in 1924 the record of 1921. Remember, there is one great difference between now and 1921: Then the Mahatma was free to organise and control the work, but to-day, although we shall miss him greatly, his very absence from our midst should stimulate us to work with redoubled energy. What would Christianity be without the Cross and Islam without the Tragedy of Kerbala? As I have said before we have not yet made full use of our Cross. Friends, let us do it now if we bear any love towards our absent leader, and calling upon the nation to give us its full backing, free the country and break open the great Bastile which keeps Mahatma Gandhi and thousands of his disciples in chains.

THE SIKHS AND THE MAHARAJA SAHEB OF NABHA

We have before us the example of our Sikh brothers whose courage, fortitude, and above all perfect non-violence excite my envy. The Maharaja Saheb of Nabha has been deposed and the words in which the head of this foreign Government proclaims to us his firm resolve to keep him out of his State are only so much veiled blasphemy.

The Moving Finger writes ; and having writ,
Moves on ; nor all your Piety nor Wit...

... Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line,
Nor all your Tears wash out a Word of it.

We hold no brief for the Maharaja Saheb ; but this much is certain, that even if all that his detractors say of him be true, he was not deposed for any such shortcomings, but for his virtues. I am myself the subject of an Indian Ruler and have had fairly intimate experience of several Indian States. I used to be approached very frequently by those friends who desired to see political reforms carried out in Indian States. But I used to put them off with the observation that the Indian States are our own, even though to-day they may prove far more unsafe for patriotic men than the rest of India. I used to add that once the rest of India had won Swaraj, Indian States would undergo a sea-change with astonishing rapidity. In the meantime it should be our policy not to rouse the suspicions of the rulers of these States, and to avail ourselves of every opportunity to prove to them that we are not unmindful of their difficulties nor indifferent to what they, too, have to suffer from this foreign bureaucracy. I did not know at the time that the Government would provide such an opportunity so soon. But now that it has been provided let us avail ourselves of it, for in doing so we also be

regarding the interests of religion. The Maharaja Sahib of Nabha has suffered at least partly, because he strongly sympathised with his co-religionists in their efforts to free themselves from the foreign bureaucratic incubus, and to reform their sacred Gurudwaras. And the Sikhs in their turn are suffering because they have had the courage to stand up for one of our Indian Rulers whom the bureaucracy desires to keep in perpetual dependence upon itself. But, as I have said before, the recent action of Government in declaring the Siromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and the Akali Dal to be unlawful assemblies is a blow aimed not only at those bodies, or at the entire Sikh community; it is a challenge to the entire nation. Each community that dares to live will be similarly dealt with if we shrink from accepting the challenge to-day, and it will only be a question, of whose turn at the tumbrils will come next?

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

We have already resolved to offer some assistance to our Sikh brethren so that we may not be guilty of indulging in lip-sympathy only. But something more than that is required. A better opportunity for Civil Disobedience at least on a provincial scale never presented itself since the arrest of the Mahatma; but it is no use disguising from ourselves the fact that to organise Civil Disobedience is no easy matter. We must be sure of our capacity to undergo unlimited sufferings, and since constructive work has not been done this year even as well as it was done in 1921, there is little to indicate how much suffering the nation is prepared to endure. If, however, we resume our constructive work with redoubled energy, Civil Disobedience will not remain a mere possibility, and the Civil Disobedience Committee appointed at Delhi will then be able to do much more fruitful work. For it must also be recognised that Civil Disobedience must be resorted to before Swaraj can be won. Let there be no mistake about this. There must be no shrinking from sacrifice, and this observation I would like to address in particular to such of my friends as have already undergone imprisonment for courageously standing up for their rights. If that experience makes them shrink from doing such work as may lead to a second period of imprisonment, then, I say, they are not the men for us. The first imprisonment is obviously wasted upon them, for they should never have undertaken to do any national work, or should, at least, have made apologies to their foreign masters as soon as they were punished. To have undergone all this suffering and then to repent is the height of folly. As I wrote in the Bijapur gaol:

'If there is a sin even greater than sinlessness it is repentance over sin after the award of punishment.'

THE SHORT CUT TO LIBERTY.

Friends, I have given you a long enough programme of work, and I cannot help it if it is a little too "insipid" for your tastes. There is no royal road to Liberty. But there is one short cut, and that is

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the readiness to follow the road to the grave. Death for a great cause provides the most piquant sauce for the most tasteless dish, and I make bold to say that if your Working Committee took it into its head one day to resolve that all its members should prepare themselves to DIE and that the resolution was not only a "resolution" merely according to conventional phraseology, but embodied the members' firm determination, I could guarantee them Swaraj within a year. And if it was the All-India Congress Committee that made such a resolve for itself, Swaraj could be won within a month. But, friends, Swaraj is in YOUR hands and can be won TO-DAY if each of you resolves to be ready to die at the country's call. If, however, we are not prepared to do this and object to the Bardoli programme because it is dull and drab, then it is useless to talk of changing the Congress creed. Let us resolve to work, and, if need be, to die for the sake of our nation's freedom, and if at the end of a year's honest work, this Government does not send for our absent leader to witness its heartiest repentance for the past, and to receive the great Charter of Swaraj for the future let us in God's name unfurl without a moment's hesitation the flag of the Indian Republic, India's independent Federation of Faiths. Then, friends, you will not find your retiring President so unwilling to break the link that joins him to Great Britain as he is in some quarters suspected to be. In 1921 we gave a year to ourselves and the same period to the Government; but our part of the contract was not fulfilled, and we could not demand Swaraj as the price of our unfinished work. Let us go back to Nagpur, and with trust in our Maker and a prayer addressed to Him to give us courage, fortitude, perseverance and wisdom, begin the great work once more that our great leader has outlined for us. If only we do not prove unworthy of him we shall win back our lost liberty and it will not be as a prayer for success, but as the declaration of victory won, that we shall then raise the old, old cry

MAHATMA GANDHI KI JAI!



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REPORT OF Congress Work in 1923.

The General Secretaries of the Indian National Congress issued the following report for 1923.

In compliance with Article XXIII of the Constitution of the Congress, we have much pleasure in presenting to the All-India Congress Committee the Report for the year 1923.

WORKING SECRETARIES

The duties of the Working Secretary were carried on successively by Sjt. Rajendra Prasad and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru during the first half of the year under report, whereafter they have been under the charge of Sjt. D. Gopalakrishnayya. This rapid succession of Working Secretaries resulted in a frequent journeying of the office hither and thither which entailed changes in staff and serious dislocation of office work with added expense.

LOCATION OF STAFF AND OFFICE

In view of the growth in importance and volume of Congress work, it is becoming imperatively necessary that the office should be placed on a soundly organised basis with adequate and competent staff. We accordingly submit the following proposals in connection therewith :

(A) The following staff for the office may be fixed :

	Rs.
Assistant Secretary ..	200-300
(Vide A. I. C. C. Resolution No 8 dated 30 12-1916.)	
Additional Assistant Secretary ..	150-200
(Vide Working Committee Resolution No 23 dated 28-5-1923.)	
Stenotypist with knowledge of Accounts ..	150
Accountant ..	75
Typist ..	75
Clerk ..	50
Three peons ..	45
Total ..	745

(B) A place may be fixed permanently for the Office where a stationary Additional Assistant Secretary with a clerk may be placed in charge of the permanent Records, Library,



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any other property of the Congress, etc., while the chief Assistant Secretary with the other members of the staff may keep temporary office with the Working Secretary wherever he may happen to be.

STATEMENT OF WORK

The work done during the year by the All-India Congress Committee and its Executive, the Working Committee, will appear from the reports of their proceedings which were duly circulated among the members from time to time.

SPECIALISATION

A glance at the statement will show that the nature and extent of development in Congress activities and the enormous output of work requires specialisation through departments to ensure greater attention and quicker disposal. This is being secured by creating departments and placing them in charge of members of the Working Committee. Khaddar department has been so far specialised, and National Education which promises to occupy largely the attention of the Nation in its constructive programme should follow suit. Any special undertakings for which the Congress accepts responsibility also need the undivided services of a member, as is illustrated in the case of Nagpur Satyagraha (report of which is awaited to be appended hereto.)

DEVELOPMENT OF CABINET SYSTEM

This application marks the beginning of the development of the Cabinet System with its sense of collective responsibility which we had occasion to notice in a clear form at Bombay and partially at Nagpur All-India Congress Committee meetings. This demands the recognition that the members of the Working Committee ought to be whole time workers and provision may perhaps have to be found soon to secure their services free of extra-Congress duties.

The increase of earnestness on the part of Congress workers throughout the country has resulted incidentally in a number of election disputes. This is, of course, partly due to the growth of party system in Congress politics.

EXPERIENCE IN THE WORKING OF THE CONSTITUTION

These disputes are due also to certain defects, anomalies and anachronisms which have laid themselves bare in the course of the working of our Constitution, to correct which a committee has been sitting whose report will be available on the table of the Subjects' Committee (see post). We have acquired three years' experience in working the constitution, which can avail us to afford a sound and liberal interpretation thereof for the efficient conduct of our future work.

CONGRESS FINANCE

It is to be regretted that almost every Provincial Congress



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Committee excused itself, for one reason or other, its quota to the All-India organisation. Even the half delegation fees due to us from the Delhi Reception committee were not forthcoming, while the Reception committee of Nagpur has not favoured us as yet with the balance due since 1920. In the case of Delhi, indeed, we were happy to escape the necessity of running ourselves the whole Congress, thanks to the generosity of the Bombay Provincial Congress committee. On the other hand, some, nay almost all, Provincial Congress committees are addressing themselves to us for relief, in some cases for actual self-preservation and in others for meeting particular contingencies. Some provincial organisations, for instance Ajmer and Sind, are threatening to cease existence. This is a state of things which should command the first and immediate attention of the in-coming All India Congress committee. The funds that are available for general purposes before the committee at the present moment amount to no more than Rs. 25 thousand which would hardly suffice for running the office even for a year.

RELEASE OF LEADERS

The year restored to the nation its beloved leaders Lala Lajpat Rai, the Ali Brothers and others whose presence amidst us has given a fresh lease of life to the movement to continue its fearless march on the path of sacrifice kept green by the great campaigns of the Nagpur (Roll of Honour is to be laid on the table) and Akali Satyagraha. It is a matter for sincere congratulation that the former was crowned with success and the latter is certain to repeat its glorious achievements of the Guruka-Bagh days. The Congress has taken up the challenge of the Government to the right of free association of all Indians for non-violent activities. This requires solidarity in Congress ranks, which has been recently threatened by a recrudescence of Hindu-Muslim disunion, with its ugly and ominous manifestations at Multan, Saharanpur, Ajmer, and other places in the North. The presence of leaders and the anxious attention bestowed by them upon the problem has had some soothing effect. But the trouble is still there, and requires to be eradicated by prompt and skilful handling of the situation.

NATIONAL PACT

The Committee on the National Pact is to present its report to the Subjects committee which, it is hoped, will settle the question and restore the original harmony amongst the various communities.

FLOOD AND FAMINE

The Nation, despite the visitations of flood and famine and all the misery that followed in their wake, which particularly hit hard the provinces of Behar, Karantak, Andhra and Burma, has pulled itself up bravely and the Congress also had the honour of contributing its mite to the relief work that has been afoot.



CONGRESS WORK IN 1923 CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

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Of the constructive programme inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi, Khaddar (report of which is to be laid on the table) is the only item that has, to any appreciable extent, been attended to; and the other items have so far remained almost untouched, either owing to want of funds or to the distractions engendered by party dissensions and strife. It is hoped that the new Committee will address itself to providing facilities for inaugurating work in this direction and preparing the country for the great path of Civil Disobedience which alone can lead us to Swaraj.

REPORT OF THE Satyagraha Committee 1923

The following is the Report of the Satyagrah Committee appointed by the Delhi Session of the Congress, 1923.

By resolution No. 4 of the Special Session of the Congress held at Delhi a committee was formed "to organise an effective campaign of civil disobedience and to advise and regulate the action of Provinces organising similar provincial or local campaigns for the speedy attainment of Swaraj which alone can guarantee the restoration of Mahatma Gandhi and other political prisoners to liberty as well as the freedom of the Jazirat-ul Arab and a satisfactory settlement of the Punjab wrongs." This committee consisted of Maulana Mahomed Ali, Deshbandhu Das, Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Mangal Sen, Sjt. Vithalbhai Patel, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. S. D. Kitchlew (convener). I beg to present to you a brief account of the work done by this committee.

Immediately after the Delhi Congress one of the members of the committee, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, accompanied by Principal A. T. Gidwani and Sjt. K. Santanam of Tamil Nadu proceeded to Jaito and Nabha to find out what was happening there and to examine what truth there was in the reports appearing in the press in regard to the treatment accorded to the Akalis by the Nabha authorities. These three gentlemen were arrested on their arrival at Jaito under circumstances well-known to all. A grave situation arose and we were faced by a problem of first rate political importance. It was



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not possible for the Satyagraha committee to meet immediately and so I wired to the members and to others for their opinions on the line of action to be taken to meet the Nabua challenge. Events at Jaito were rousing up the Sikhs to action and large divans were being held by them. I attended a number of these meetings and conferences and assured the Sikhs of the support of the Congress. Our office of the Satyagraha Committee was opened on 23rd September in Amritsar. The Provincial Congress committees were communicated with and asked to report what they could do in the event of a call for men to offer civil disobedience and also of the number of volunteers ready at their disposal, their financial condition and steps taken by them in pursuance of Civil Disobedience resolution. With the exception of one or two all the provinces sent their replies to these inquiries.

It was felt that the Council elections were occupying most of their energies and there was general complaint of lack of men and money. It was however assured by most of the provinces that if an effective campaign of civil disobedience was started, both men and money would be forthcoming. As feeling in Congress circles was being brought to a head and a definite line of action was being decided upon Messrs. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Gidwani and Santanam were discharged. This relieved the tension a little.

THE JULLUNDER EPISODE.

The Akali situation however continued to develop and I kept in close touch with the Sikh leaders and participated in their divans. A meeting of the Satyagraha committee was fixed for Jullunder about the time of the session of the Sikh League. It was hoped that members of the committee would thus be able to study for themselves the situation in the Punjab. As is well known, Government took swift action against the Akalis on the eve of the Sikh League meeting and arrested all the prominent leaders of the movement. The S. G. P. C. and the Akali Dal were declared unlawful associations. Owing unfortunately to illness and other reasons most of the members of the Satyagraha committee could not come to Jullunder. Maulana Mahomed Ali was the only member besides the convener who was present at Jullunder.

Soon after the Jullunder episode I wired to a number of leaders drawing their attention to the Akali situation in the Punjab. About this time the President and Secretary of the A. I. C. C. convened a meeting of leaders at Amritsar to consider the situation. This meeting took place on the 15th November and made two recommendations to the Working Committee of the Congress which were subsequently approved of by the Working Committee. An Akali Sahayak committee was formed and two of its members, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and I, were deputed to represent the Congress in Amritsar to confer with the S. G. P. C. and to help them in every way. Principal Gidwani was put in charge of Publicity. A meeting



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of the Satyagraha committee was held about this time in Amritsar and was attended by Maulana Mahomed Ali, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and myself. The Committee endorsed the recommendations of the Leaders Conference and further suggested that non-Sikh Congressmen should become associates of the Akali Dal which had been declared unlawful by the Government.

By the formation of the Akali Sahayak Committee, the special work in connection with the Akalis became the business of the representatives of that committee and the convener of Satyagrah committee, who was also placed in charge of it, had to devote all his time and energy to the work chalked out for the Sahayak Committee. The recommendations of the Satyagrah committee regarding non-sikhs becoming associates of the Akali Dal was approved of by the Working Committee but owing to lack of clearness of the rules of the Dal no definite steps have been taken yet.

It was the intention of the convener and some other members of the committee to tour round the country with a view to interview principal workers in the provinces and endeavour to rouse the people and thus prepare for a campaign. This intention could not be given effect to as the situation in the Punjab developed rapidly and made it impossible for me to leave Amritsar. I was advised by the President of the A. I. C. Committee and some other members of the Working Committee as well as some members of the Satyagraha committee to remain in Amritsar. The Sikh leaders also desired my presence there.

WIND IT UP IF YOU DON'T MEAN BUSINESS

The Satyagraha Committee has thus not been able to organise "an effective campaign of civil disobedience through out the country." Repeated attempts were made to prepare for some action but the circumstances detailed above prevented any effective steps from being taken. It is now for the Congress to issue directions and to chalk out a line of action. The future of the Satyagraha committee would depend on the decisions of the next sessions of the Congress. The whole point of the committee was that it should be a committee of action and not of mere enquiry as unfortunately misunderstood by some, and if such action is not contemplated in the near future it will be desirable to wind up the committee. Then again even if the Congress contemplates direct action in connection with the Akali struggle, the question to be considered is whether this action should be taken up by the Akali Sahayak committee or by the Satyagraha Committee. Probably it will be more convenient and desirable for the former body to be placed in charge of this. If so, then the Satyagraha committee will remain a paper committee with little work before it.

PRESENT POSITION IN THE PUNJAB

I need not say much in this report about the present situation



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In the Punjab, The Sikhs are at present carrying on a campaign of civil disobedience against Government and at any moment an acute crisis may develop which would demand all the resources not only of the Sikhs but also of the Congress. The Congress should prepare for this and be ready for it when the time comes.

It is clear to every one who has read the situation that the Akalis are putting up a vigorous fight to protect their right of free association and religious reform and as such the challenge to the Akalis is a challenge to the whole nation. The All-India Congress Committee has already recognised this fact. This civil disobedience is already started on the National basis and the Congress has only to associate itself with the movement by giving it a practical effect. If the Akalis fail on account of lack of support from the whole country the Congress will lose its prestige and progress towards Swaraj will be retarded for a long time to come. It is also my conviction that if an effective campaign of civil disobedience is taken up by the Congress all these dissensions and communal frictions which are the result of lack of national activity will at once disappear, focussing public attention on the one important issue before the country.

The Working Committee sanctioned a sum of Rs. 5000 for the Satyagraha committee and the sum was paid over to me. A sum of Rs. 1331-2-1 has so far been spent and Rs. 3668-13-6 remain in hand. The major part of the expenditure was on establishment, propaganda and telegrams etc.

S. KITCHLEW, (CONVENER)



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REPORT OF THE

Indian National Pact Committee

The following is the report of the Committee appointed by the Delhi Session of the Indian National Congress 1923 to enquire and report on the question of the Hindu-Muslim unity. The report was signed by Dr. Ansari and Lala Lajpat Rai, and proposed the following National Pact:—

"Whereas India being a dependency of the British Government has been deprived of all the rights and privileges of a free country and Indians are denied even full citizenship rights in several parts of the British Empire and the present foreign Government does not use, and in the nature of things cannot be expected to use, all its resources to uphold the dignity and protect the elementary rights of Indians:

"Whereas it is essential for the free and full moral and material development of her citizens and the enforcement of due respect for their human rights and their liberties in all parts of the globe that Indians should, before all else, possess in India the rights and privileges that the free nations of the world enjoy in their respective countries:

"Whereas it is necessary that all the peoples of India, of whatever religion, race or colour, should unite together and apply all their resources, moral, mental and material, for the attainment of Swaraj and the only obstacle is the want of co-operation among the different communities due to misunderstandings and mutual suspicion about each other's aims and intentions: and

"Whereas a joint declaration by all communities of the goal which they seek to attain and the rights which they wish to secure for the people which a Swaraj Government will be pledged to guarantee and safeguard will be beneficial to the creating of that confidence and toleration which are absolutely essential for a common endeavour:

"It is hereby resolved that all the communities and committees represented by the signatories to this document shall enter into an agreement in terms of the following resolutions which shall be known as the INDIAN NATIONAL PACT."

Terms of the Indian National Pact

In pursuance thereof it is hereby resolved that—

COMPLETE SWARAJ

(1) It shall be the firm and unalterable object of the communities represented by the signatories to this pact to secure complete



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for India, that is to say, the Swaraj which will secure and guarantee to Indians the same status, rights and privileges in India as every free and independent nation enjoys in its country.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

(2) The form of Government under Swaraj shall be democratic and of the federal type; but the exact nature of this Government shall be fixed and determined hereafter by a national convention consisting of representatives of political opinion.

HINDUSTANI TO BE LINGUA FRANCA

(3) Hindustani shall be the national language of India. It shall be permissible to write it in either script:—Urdu or Deonagar.

FULL RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

(4) Full religious liberty, that is, liberty of belief, worship, propaganda, association and education is hereby guaranteed to all the communities forming the Indian nation and shall form a constitutional right which it shall never be lawful for any Government to annul, modify, suspend or otherwise interfere with.

The afore-mentioned liberties shall however be exercised subject to such disciplinary rules and regulations as may be found necessary to preserve peace and order and to eliminate force or compulsion by any one party in derogation of the rights of others.

NO PREFERENCE TO PARTICULAR RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION

(5) To prevent any particular religious denomination being given undue preference over any other, no Government funds or funds collected by local bodies from public revenues and public taxes including cesses shall be devoted to the promotion and furtherance of any denominational institutions or purposes.

DEFENCE OF SWARAJ

(6) When once Swaraj has been achieved, it shall be the sacred duty of every Indian, be he a Hindu, Mussalman, Sikh, Parsi, Christian or of any other denomination, to defend it against all attack, external or internal.

PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

(7) In view of the present state of feeling prevailing in the different communities and in view of the insufficient development of political sense and responsibility in them, it is necessary for some time to afford adequate protection to the interests of minorities.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

It is therefore hereby agreed that the various communities shall have separate representation in the Legislatures, both State and Federal.



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NATIONAL PACT COMMITTEE

Dissentient Notes

DR. ANSARI'S DISSENT

[Dr. Ansari wishes to extend this principle to municipalities and local boards.

LALA LAJPAT RAI'S DISSENT

Lala Lajpat Rai does not agree to this. As an alternative Lala Lajpat Rai proposes that a time limit may be fixed during which communal representation will be enforced and at the expiry of which it will be abolished altogether. Such representation shall throughout the country be in proportion to the numerical strength of each community in the constituencies.

Lala Lajpat Rai wants that a special provision shall be made for the representation of the Sikhs and some other communities who are in a very small minority, such as Christians and Parsis, etc.

Doctor Ansari suggests that large minorities such as the Sikhs and the Christians may be given special representation in the Federal Legislatures, but only very small minorities such as Parsis should be given a special representation both in the Federal and State Legislatures. But the electorate in all cases will be joint. There shall be no communal or colour or caste distinction in public services and in the educational institutions.]

NO COW-SLAUGHTER EXCEPT AT ID

(8) In order to achieve national unity and out of regard for the religious feelings of their Hindu compatriots the Musalmans of India do hereby, by a solemn self-denying ordinance, bind themselves to give up cow-slaughter except in connection with ID-UZ-ZOHRA when it will be done in such a manner as will not injure the feelings of the Hindus.

NO MUSIC BEFORE PLACES OF WORSHIP

(9) In order to secure and preserve a calm atmosphere for public worship, it is hereby declared that no music shall be allowed in front of places of public worship at such time as may be fixed by Local Mixed Conciliatory Boards.

RELIGIOUS PROCESSIONS

(10) Religious processions of different denominations when falling on one and the same date shall follow such different routes as may be fixed and at such different times as may be determined by Local Mixed Conciliatory Boards.

(11) In order to prevent friction and settle all questions giving rise to differences and conflicts between different religious communities, e. g., on the occasion of Dusehra, Moharrum, Rath Yatra

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cessions, Sikh Divans etc, etc. Provincial and Local Joint Boards will be appointed to act as conciliatory and arbitration boards.

EASTERN FEDERATION.

(12) While cherishing feelings of the most friendly nature towards all the Nations of the world at large, it is further resolved that the people of India should participate in the formation of a Federation of Eastern Countries to be established for the purposes of mutual help in trade and commerce and the emancipation of the East from the economic exploitation and domination by Europe, and with a view to encourage and support Oriental culture and generally to maintain good and friendly relations between the various Nationalities all over the East.

Dr. Ansari's Note

[Doctor Ansari wishes to incorporate in the National Pact a clause which runs as follows.—Further that no bill nor any clause thereof nor a resolution affecting any community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislature concerned, shall be proceeded with if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Legislature, Federal or State, oppose the bill or any clause thereof or resolution.]

REPORT OF THE

Boycott Committee

The following is the report of the Committee appointed by the Delhi Special Congress for the boycott of British goods.

The Committee consisted of (1) Pundit Motilal Nehru, (2) Maulana Mahomed Ali, (3) Vithalbhai Patel, (4) J. N. Mehta (5) Subhas Chandra Bose, (6) Seth Umar Sobhani (convener), (7) Dr. Kitchlew, (8) N. C. Kelker, and (9) D. Gopal Krishnaya. The report, however, bears the signature of 4 members only, viz. Messrs Umar Sobhani, J. N. Mehta, V. J. Patel and Gopal Krishnaya :—

"The Congress has accepted the principle of the boycott of goods made in the British Empire and its feasibility and we are now called upon to determine the method of putting it into operation, developing home manufactures, etc. To those who still doubt the feasibility of the boycott we may point out that when the late war broke out, England did not appoint Committees, nor did France, to consider whether a boycott of German goods was feasible or not. They were in a state of war with Germany and boycott of German goods was the supreme and paramount duty. In a similar way we feel every Indian must consider it his paramount and supreme duty to boycott goods made in the British Empire. The boycott has got to be effected and instead of wasting any further time as to how this is feasible the nation should make up its mind to put the boycott into immediate effect and to make such a boycott successful. At the same time we have to give a warning that such a boycott cannot be put into effect all at once with regard to all the commodities which are coming from the British Empire. It will have to be a 'boycott by graduation.' We shall have to make certain exceptions in case of articles which are necessary for the health and education of the people or are vital for certain important industries.

"We are of opinion that a complete boycott can at once be effected of all the "piecegoods" made in the British Empire. The Khaddar movement has shown how India can be made self-contained with regard to piecegoods. In fact during the War period it was seen how we could curtail our foreign imports and fall back on indigenous resources with economy in consumption. Khaddar goods plus Mill-made goods can suffice for the clothing requirements of the people. The other articles which can be and should be immediately boycotted are : (1) Leather goods, (2) Chemicals, (3) Cycles, Carriages, Cars, Motor Car and Motor Cycles, (4) Clocks and Watches, (5) Drugs and Medicines, (6) Cordage and Rope, (7) Boots and Shoes, (8) Provisions, (9) Sugar, (10) Cutlery, (11) Ordinary glassware, (12) Ja-



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ellery, (13) Polishes, (14) Salt, (15) Soap, (16) Starch and Fatma
(17) Dyeing and tanning substances, (18) Art-ware, including ivory
work, (19) furniture, (20) Musical Instruments, (21) Toys, (22) Basket
work, (23) Stationery, (24) Haberdashery and Millinery, (25) Buttons,
(26) Candles, (27) Jute manufactures.

"With regard to leather goods articles necessary for productive Industries such as, Roller Skins, Picking bands and pickers should be excluded.

"Imports of all injurious articles such as Liquors, Wines, Spirits, Tobacco, being articles of luxury, can also be immediately stopped. The fundamental requirement for making the boycott successful is in our opinion, an organisation on the lines of the Indian Munitions Board. We realise that for economic and other reasons we cannot have that huge organisation started by us, but we suggest that every Congress organisation from the small village Committee upwards to the All-India Congress Committee and the Working Committee should forthwith take steps to establish and organise a virile working Boycott Committee. This should be charged with carrying out the orders of the Congress with regard to the Boycott of goods made in the British Empire. The Boycott is to take effect immediately with regard to the articles specified above and steps should be taken to make either this Sub-Committee or any other Sub-Committee into a sort of a permanent organisation working at Bombay with an efficient staff. The staff may, in the beginning consist of one paid Secretary, one shorthand writer, two clerks and two peons. This staff may be accommodated in the Offices of the Provincial Congress Committee or in a new office specially taken for the purpose. The total expenditure per annum for this staff need not exceed Rs. 12,000. This Committee will have to publish a large amount of literature and even perhaps a weekly Bulletin. The total expenditure for all this printing and publications should not, in the beginning at least, exceed Rs. 1,500 per month, which means that the total expenditure in the beginning may be put down as Rs. 30,000. This will not include printing expenditure for Books like the Directory of Indian goods which should be the first concern of the Committee, nor the initial expenditure of stationery, furniture, etc. in which a fairly substantial investment will have to be made. All this non-recurring expenditure on furniture, the typewriters, duplicating machine, etc., should not cost more than Rs. 5,000, while the printing of the Directory and Special Staff employed for the same will cost about Rs. 10,000. In all, therefore, a Budget for the first year may be put down at Rs. 45,000.

"The Central Organisation should have as its main function issuing of instructions to all the Congress organisations in the country regarding the method and manner in which the boycott is to be put into effect and imparting information regarding indigenous sources from which commodities can be obtained, and the foreign countries which can supply these neces-



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articles which cannot be manufactured in this country etc. The Sub-Committee will have to prepare and keep a Directory of all the Indian artisans and industrialists showing the articles and commodities which are made and manufactured in this country. They should get into touch with foreign manufactures, foreign merchants and, if need be, even with Foreign Government Authorities, for getting information as to foreign sources of certain articles. Every Village Boycott Committee should carry on if possible a house-to-house propaganda with regard to the boycott and while coercion should be avoided, it should take all non-violent means to make the boycott successful in the village. It should apply for information to the Central Organisation whenever required. It may also, if possible, side by side with Khaddar Stores in the Village, have a Store of all the different necessities of life made in India. The same should be the case with the Taluka and District Organisations. All the organisations must try to get the co-operation of all the Chambers of Commerce and Commercial Associations within their jurisdiction and must move the Municipalities, District Boards, Local Boards, and all such semi-public Institutions to pass boycott resolutions and put them into effect. Municipalities can even have a higher control duty against articles made in the British Empire and see that Merchants dealing in goods made in the British Empire are charged higher municipal-taxes. Mandaps at the time of marriage and other ceremonies are constructed in villages and towns and the local Municipalities can see that no permission is given for the construction of such Mandaps unless non-British articles and perfectly Indian articles are used therein. Congress Organisations can again take the co-operation of different caste organisations which should pass resolutions that all the caste members should use Indian articles only and in case of certain articles not being made in India they should go in for foreign articles in preference to articles made in the British Empire. All the Congress organisations should organise Exhibitions within their jurisdiction of such a practical nature that arrangements must be made there for buying and selling of articles and for registering orders with the Stall-keepers. Occasional Bulletins may be issued by the Central Organisation but a preferable thing will be to run a weekly Bulletin called the "Boycott" which will be the Official Bulletin of the Congress keeping in touch with all the Congress Organisations throughout the country solving doubts and difficulties and imparting information with regard to the availability or otherwise of articles either in this country or in foreign lands. Congress Organisations specially in big manufacturing Towns and Cities should get into touch with the manufacturers and Industrialists and persuade them and their representative institutions to purchase stores preferably of Indian origin, and in the absence of such, stores of non-British origin. It will be an up-hill fight, of course, with some of these manufacturers whose factories may have been fitted up with British machinery for which spare parts may



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also be required to be of British origin. With patience and hard and earnest work, however, it is possible to change the mentality even of manufacturers and to induce them to adopt the Boycott of British goods as an economic principle.

It must not be supposed that boycott of goods made in the British Empire is a simple proposition but if people set themselves to it with a set determination of purpose and a will to win, it will not be very difficult in making the boycott successful and thus carrying out the aims and objects of the Congress in the matter of using this as a principal weapon in our fight for "SWARAJ."

THE MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS

"Our main recommendations are thus:—

- (a) Start a Central Organisation.
- (b) Issue instructions to all Congress Organisations to start boycott committees and boycott work.
- (c) Ask all Congress Organisations to keep articles of Indian manufactures besides piecegoods in their Khaddar Stores.
- (d) Develop and push forward Khaddar manufacture as much as possible and for this purpose popularise and develop hand-spinning also throughout the country.
- (e) Publish a Directory of Indian goods and manufactures keeping in touch with Indian Manufacturers and artisans.
- (f) Get into touch with foreign manufacturers with regard to articles which are not available in this country excepting of course piece-goods.
- (g) Adopt boycott immediately with regard to articles specified in the report, and.
- (h) Adopt all sorts of peaceful propaganda like house to house visits, starting of weekly papers, etc., etc.

Statements are attached herewith showing the total value of Imports from the British Empire and Foreign Countries of articles which we have recommended for boycott in this report.



CSL

TILAK SWARAJ FUND.

GENERAL STATEMENT.

The following general statement of the Tilak Swaraj Fund was submitted by Mr. C. H. Sopariwala, Hon. Auditor, A. I. C. C. to the General Secretaries of the All-India Congress Committee :—

Dear Sirs,

1. I have the honour to submit my third inspection report of the accounts of the Provincial Congress Committee's Report of the Tilak Swaraj Fund, 1st October, 1922 to the 30th September, 1923.
2. During the year under report all the Provincial centres were visited by me except Tamil Nadu, Andhra, Kerala and Carnatak owing to stoppage in Railway communications. There was no time for me to visit Assam. Burma was visited by me for the first time.
3. Accounts of the Tilak Swaraj Fund from Kerala and Assam have not been received for incorporation in the present report. Karnatak has only sent a statement of the Tilak Swaraj Fund.
4. As mentioned in my last report, except Bombay, Gujrat, the Punjab, Burma and Tamil Nadu, the balances in the hands of other provinces are very poor and during the year under report it seems that no attempts have been and could be made to collect the promised contributions or raise fresh subscriptions and donations, and Provincial quota to the All-India Congress is consequently a very poor one. Burma has however paid Rs. 51,480-7-6 to the All-India Congress Committee for earmarked purposes.
5. The Tilak Swaraj Fund consists of two different divisions :—
 - (1) THE GENERAL FUND amounting to Rs. 70,88,498-11-5 comprises the amounts subscribed by various donors without earmarking or indicating any specific objects on which it is to be spent. Provincial Congress Committees have full discretion for spending out of this fund as much money as they think proper for general propaganda and other constructive work of the Congress. Much progress seems to have been done in organising, stabilising and systematically carrying out such constructive work.
 - (a) The Khaddar Department is placed under the management of a Central Committee under Seth Jamnalal Bajaj. Substantial sums have been expended on famine and flood relief and work among depressed classes.
 - (b) Annexure I to the present report shows at a glance the collections and disbursements of the Tilak Swaraj Fund from 1921 to 1923. In all Rs. 82,84,845-2-8 were expended for propaganda work, Rs. 27,00,540-15-9 devoted on



TILAK SWARAJ FUND

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Khaddar, and Rs. 5,76,692-13-11 spent for National education. Establishment charges are within reasonable limits.

(c) The other annexures show the financial condition of the Tilak Swaraj Fund in the hands of the various Provincial Congress Committees.

(2) SPECIFIC GRANTS, Rs. 53,88,583-14-6. All contributions and donation made for specific or earmarked object are included under this head. No general information as to their financial condition and progress could be given in the present report. A substantial portion of these grants was given for National education, Khaddar, etc., and I am informed that the management issue reports from time to time.

6. As the Congress is now free from internal inconveniences every hope is entertained that the Provincial Congress Committees will realise the necessity of exerting and devoting their full time in collecting and realising promised contributions and donations for the past years and raising fresh subscriptions and contributions for the better carrying out of the constructive programme of the Congress which makes heavy demands for funds.

TILAK SWARAJ FUND

The general statement showing collections of the Tilak Swaraj Fund and special grants (earmarked) and disbursements made out of general collections by Provincial Congress Committees for propaganda, establishment, volunteers, famine, depressed classes, etc., and for Khaddar and National education inclusive of amounts paid over to districts for the years 1921 to 1923 is given below :—



RECEIPTS.

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Tilak Swaraj Fund.

1921

1922

1923

Total.

	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
1. General collections Annexure No. I ..	64,31,779	15	10	3,92,430	2	6½	2,64,288	9	1	70,88,498	11	5½
2. Specific (ear-marked) donations or grants Annexure No. II ..	37,32,230	2	10½	9,45,552	1	4½	7,10,801	10	3	53,88,583	14	6
	1,01,64,010	2	8½	13,37,982	3	11	9,75,090	3	4	1,24,77,082	9	11½

ADD

3. Miscellaneous receipts, interest, other funds, famine, flood, Provin- cial membership, dele- gation, affiliation, etc. for 1921-23			5,42,332	5	7½
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1,30,19,415 15 7



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DISBURSEMENTS OUT OF GENERAL COLLECTIONS FROM ITEM NOS. I AND III.

Tilak Swaraj Fund.	1921			1922			1923			Total.		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
4. Amounts disbursed for propaganda, establishments, volunteers, famine, floods, picketing etc. paid to Dist. Annexure No. III ..	21,22,255	11	11½	6,47,785	7	10½	5,14,803	14	10	32,84,845	2	8
5. Khaddar Annexure No. IV ..	6,05,667	5	3	4,86,227	13	2	16,08,645	13	4	27,00,540	15	9
6. National Education Annexure No. V ..	1,86,289	4	5	1,42,680	15	1	2,47,722	10	5	5,76,692	13	11
Grand Total Rs. ..	29,14,212	5	7½	12,76,694	4	1½	23,71,172	6	7	65,62,079	0	4

(Sd.) C. H. SOPARIWALLA,

Hon. Auditor, A. I. C. C.

Listed in the Bolsonario Comptroller



Statistics of Boycottable Commodities

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Statement showing the value of total imports from the British Empire and foreign countries, in Rupees.

Names of Articles				1919-20	1920-21	1921-22
				Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Leather goods Excepting Roller skins, picking hands and pickers—						
British Empire	..	..	..	25,83,240	66,48,080	24,99,764
Foreign Countries	..	..	..	12,36,460	15,66,760	4,07,662
Chemicals—						
British Empire	..	..	..	1,24,47,740	2,04,65,850	1,43,61,259
Foreign Countries	..	..	..	36,57,310	61,48,350	47,26,374
Cycles—						
British Empire	..	..	..	27,75,860	84,91,030	13,55,708
Foreign Countries	..	..	..	4,39,370	6,51,890	3,27,620
Carriages—						
British Empire	..	..	..	19,06,540	51,38,680	32,44,935
Foreign Countries	..	..	..	9,55,960	30,93,590	30,89,006
Motor-cars and Cycles—						
British Empire	..	..	..	76,89,740	4,80,34,160	1,65,57,924
Foreign countries	..	..	..	3,15,94,690	7,53,98,790	1,06,14,731
Drugs and Medicines—						
British Empire	..	..	..	1,00,09,170	1,24,62,100	88,87,988
Foreign countries	..	..	..	82,40,470	86,66,170	69,49,237
Cordage and ropes—						
British Empire	..	..	..	13,56,840	13,34,620	9,56,132
Foreign countries	..	..	..	2,41,400	3,03,170	1,26,457



Names of Articles

			1919-20	1920-21	1921-22
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Boots and Shoes—					
British Empire	..	..	15,56,280	57,91,800	10,40,497
Foreign countries	..	..	22,21,810	47,91,440	5,01,058
Cutlery—					
British Empire	..	..	10,92,790	23,45,420	8,99,418
Foreign countries	..	..	22,97,320	31,74,980	7,82,877
Glass and Glassware—					
British Empire	..	..	35,48,790	69,07,670	46,21,318
Foreign countries	..	..	1,64,32,150	2,68,54,150	1,76,28,114
Jewellery—					
British Empire	..	..	9,46,930	22,66,750	11,49,456
Foreign countries	..	..	2,78,730	3,93,800	1,76,000
Polishes—					
British Empire	..	..	18,50,720	39,08,000	13,57,447
Foreign countries	..	..	2,84,770	3,43,880	1,55,843
Salt—					
British Empire	..	..	1,54,80,880	1,47,87,210	1,05,53,044
Foreign countries	..	..	54,71,520	80,26,240	46,15,013
Soap—					
British Empire	..	..	1,12,22,740	1,32,19,040	87,38,537
Foreign countries	..	..	10,00,390	8,75,590	2,04,059
Starch—					
British Empire	..	..	19,17,740	8,94,840	8,65,276
Foreign Countries	..	..	9,11,920	4,88,970	3,53,885
Farine—					
British Empire	..	..	1,32,920	33,800	65,020
Foreign Countries	..	..	1,04,880	2,49,190	5,27,176
Dyeing and tanning substances—					
British Empire	75,98,270	1,18,06,140	94,63,084
Foreign Countries	1,12,91,160	2,55,80,080	225,88,547

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Liquors, including Methylated and Perfumed

Spirits—						
British Empire	2,17,42,350	3,36,91,540	2 49,93,274
Foreign Countries	..	..	..	1,19,98,810	1,53,10,480	1,26,68,273
Tobacco—						
British Empire	..	..	..	1,41,97,880	1,64,79,770	1,33,62,622
Foreign Countries	..	..	..	59,88,680	1,31,11,460	31,43,141
Clocks and watches—						
British Empire	..	..	..	3,16,690	4,59,130	3,05,649
Foreign Countries	..	..	..	11,45,890	43,32,760	23,93,814
Provisions and Oilmen's Stores—						
British Empire	..	..	..	2,10,03,260	2,52,19,410	1,91,61,723
Foreign Countries	..	..	..	80,87,860	1,08,76,680	78,74,532
Sugar—						
British Empire	..	..	..	3,45,82,190	2,80,34,920	3,09,00,149
Foreign countries	..	..	..	19,53,44,430	15,69,94,820	24,40,58,109
Art, works of—						
British Empire	..	..	..	3,36,370	6,43,840	8,36,747
Foreign countries	..	..	..	1,12,400	2,28,660	4,05,987
Furniture and Cabinetware—						
British Empire	..	..	..	6,55,290	24,28,060	16,68,822
Foreign countries	..	..	..	6,76,500	30,25,640	8,85,079
Musical Instruments—						
British Empire	..	..	..	4,42,590	22,59,630	10,27,794
Foreign countries	..	..	..	6,52,220	14,65,200	7,55,873
Toys—						
British Empire	..	..	..	9,98,850	21,12,400	12,61,470
Foreign countries	..	..	..	42,45,400	37,97,350	21,64,165
Baskets and Basketware—						
British Empire	..	..	..	23,350	61,300	20,896
Foreign countries	..	..	..	13,640	17,580	7,017



Names of Articles

				1919-20	1920-21	1921-22
				Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Stationery—						
British Empire	..	..	..	47,91,850	1,28,85,100	67,82,988
Foreign countries	..	..	..	30,33,560	53,29,450	23,54,352
Haberdashery and Millinery—						
British Empire	..	..	..	45,88,370	1,30,24,030	31,77,123
Foreign countries	..	..	..	50,96,870	1,71,64,720	31,01,861
Buttons—						
British Empire	..	..	..	1,74,720	5,45,000	1,67,883
Foreign countries	..	..	..	16,80,050	28,96,530	25,56,924
Candles—						
British Empire	..	..	..	2,35,620	4,65,380	1,26,900
Foreign countries	..	..	..	1,55,690	2,62,880	3,949
Jute Manufactures—						
British Empire	23,57,140	24,77,220	19,63,804
Foreign countries	3,36,760	1,51,570	20,387

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Second Day's Sitting

COCANADA—DEC. 29TH, 1923

Next day, December 29th, 1923, the Congress met at 4 P. M. After the usual programme of songs proceedings commenced with the reading of messages received from several prominent Liberals and Congressmen regretting their inability to attend and at the same time indicating their views on the present situation.

Hakim Ajmal Khan in his message urged the Congress not to open the question of Council-entry but make united efforts regarding constructive programme. He further suggested that the Congress should come to an agreement regarding the National Pact. Pandit Malaviya in his message said that the discussion of the draft National pact by the Cocanada Congress was premature and likely to increase difficulties. Lala Lajpat Rai urged unity in the Congress ranks. Mr. Bhurgri advised the Congress to show practical patriotism and spirit of unity based on genuine communal toleration. The Hon. Mr. A. P. Patro, Minister for Education in Madras, wrote: "We may not see eye to eye on all problems but all are agreed that we must strive to obtain Swaraj." Among others who had sent messages were Shri Shankaracharya of Sharda Peeth, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Rao Bahadur T. Rangachari, Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer and Babu Bhagwan Das.

THE RESOLUTIONS

The Congress next discussed resolutions so far adopted by the Subjects Committee which had been sitting for the last 3 days. The President moved resolutions placing on record the deep sense of loss at the demise of Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar and S. J. Aswini Kumar Dutta who had rendered valuable services in the cause of the country and also recording with grief the death of Hardeo Narain Singh and of Pandit Bajpai who bravely suffered imprisonment and contracted serious illness during their incarceration and preferred death to release under dishonourable conditions. Mr. Mahomed Ali paid tribute to Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar for his sweet reasonableness and strength of character. His paper, the "Hindu", held a most prominent place among the nationalist journals and its leading articles were noted for dignity and solidity and without that cowardice which was so often associated with sobriety. The President also read out a telegram from Gaya reporting the death on that morning of Mr. Krishna Prashad Sen Singh, Member of All-India Congress Committee. The resolution was passed, the audience standing in silence and praying for the souls of the departed persons.

On Change of Constitution

Then came a series of resolutions moved by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya relating to the constitution of the Congress. These reso-



INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

[COCANADA]

Delegations were arrived at by the Subjects Committee after protracted discussion on the basis of the report (given below) submitted to the All-India Congress Committee by the Constitution Revision Committee. Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru seconded all the resolutions, the most important of which was the amalgamation of the North West Frontier Province with the Punjab under the Congress constitution. Pandit K. Santanam who was the sponsor of the first resolution in the Subjects Committee pointed out the present anomalous position of the Frontier Provinces under the constitution and said that the proposition was intended only to legalise the existing practice. All the resolutions were passed without further discussion.

The following is the full text of the Report submitted by the Constitution Revising Committee appointed by the Special Congress at Delhi to make recommendations for alterations in the Congress constitution:—

This committee was appointed by resolution VII of the Special Session of the Congress held at Delhi. The committee consisted of Messrs. George Joseph, Pattabhi Sitaranava, Purnshotam Das Tandon, Subhas Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru (convener). It was decided that the members of the committee might exchange and circulate notes on the subject of the revision before meeting formally. The Provincial Congress Committees and members of the All-India Congress committee were addressed on the subject and requested to make suggestions. They were specially asked their opinions about the desirability of a change in article VII and the reduction of the Congress delegates. Four Provincial committees and nearly 50 members of the All-India Congress committee have responded to the invitation.

The committee has formally met at Cocanada and considered the suggestions. Unfortunately three members of the committee—Messrs. George Joseph, Purnshotam Das Tandon and Subhas Chandra Bose were unable to be present at the meeting, but we have the advantage of having received some suggestions from them. This report, however, should only be considered as representing the views of the two signatories.

CHANGE IN CREED

The great majority of the members of the A. I. C. C. who have sent in their suggestions are against any change. Of the Provincial Congress committees, Gujerat, Andhra and Karnatak are against any change. The U. P. have however suggested that the object of the Congress should be "Independence." We have carefully considered this question and we are of opinion that no change should be made. Both of us are for independence, and indeed most of those who have written to us against a change in article I. are in favour of the goal of independence. In spite of this personal predilection, however, we are clearly against a change. Any change would narrow the Congress platform and introduce another element of controversy to the detriment of real work. We feel that the case of independence will be injured rather than advanced by an attempt to change article I at this stage. As regards the methods also we are of opinion that no change should be made.

Our colleague Sri Subhas Chandra Bose informs us that he wants the object of the Congress to be the attainment of "complete independence by all legitimate means." Mr. George Joseph favours our view.

REDUCTION IN NUMBER OF CONGRESS DELEGATES

Of the 40 members of the A. I. C. C. who have sent their suggestions on

THE CHANGE IN CONSTITUTION

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At this point, 29 are in favour of a reduction and 11 are opposed to it. Some suggest a very radical reduction to 1,000. Of the Provincial Congress Committees Andhra, Karnatak and the U. P. are opposed to a reduction; Gujerat recommends a reduction to 1,000.

We recommend that the number of delegates be reduced by half, that is, to about 3,000. This would mean that one delegate should represent one hundred thousand persons instead of fifty thousand as heretofore.

We understand that our colleagues Messrs. George Joseph and Subhas Chandra Bose are opposed to a reduction of delegates.

OTHER CHANGES

The other principal changes recommended by us are:—

1. The Congress should be held in the last week of February or the first week of March instead of during the Christmas holidays. This is a concession to delegates from South India many of whom find it very difficult to bear the northern cold during Christmas. At the end of February the climate will be pleasant and arrangements will probably cost less. An argument against this change is the fact that the railway companies offer concessions during Christmas. The great majority of delegates, however, cannot take advantage of this concession as they travel in third class.

2. We have made it clear in article III that the Provincial, District and other Conferences that are held are only meant for education and propagandist purposes and have no other place in the Congress organisation. If they are given any other authority there is a possibility of conflict between the provincial committee and the Provincial conference.

3. We recommend that C. P. (Marathi) and Berar be made into one province. They have everything in common and are small provinces. Both the provinces were asked by us if they had any objections to this change but neither has sent their opinion.

4. We have suggested in Article VIII that the A. I. C. C. shall have power to reduce the number of delegates in any province, which that province gets owing to the inclusion of Indian States in its area. We have done this specially with a view to reduce the representation of Ajmere which, owing to Rajaputana, is ridiculously high. Ajmer is at present entitled to send 400 delegates. We think that this figure can easily be reduced by the A. I. C. C. to 100. Some additional delegates might be allotted to Bombay.

5. We suggest that, except in the case of the A. I. C. C., the word 'Committee' should be replaced by 'Sabha.' Thus we should have 'Provincial Congress Sabha.' It is hardly correct to use 'committee' for all these organisations.

6. We recommend that Congress should appoint an auditor every year and also that the A. I. C. C. should ensure that the accounts of the P. O. C's are properly audited.

7. We have added ten to the number of members of the A. I. C. C. and given the A. I. C. C. power to co-opt these ten.

8. We have fixed the quorum of the A. I. C. C. at 50.

DECISIONS OF THE A. I. C. C.

9. We suggest in article XXI that decisions of the A. I. C. C. should be binding on all Congress organisations until they are revoked. We further say that no decision on any "new matter" shall be revoked within 3 months unless there is a three-fourths majority. We feel that this provision is essential to avoid a repetition of some of the unfortunate occurrences of 1923.

10. We suggest in article XXXI that the A. I. C. C. should nominate a panel of 10 members from whom the President should nominate 3 to decide all election



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[COCANADA]

10. Some permanent tribunal is necessary and it is undesirable to have a fixed tribunal of them for all disputes as one or more of those may not be able to act.

11. We have adopted in articles XXXII and XXXIII with some slight changes the suggestions put forward in regard to Hindustani in the draft constitution framed by the 'Constitution Revision Committee' in 1923. We feel that Hindustani should definitely be given pride of place. At the same time we have not shut out English or the local vernacular. Our colleague, Sjt. P. D. Tandon is as strongly in favour of alteration. We have suggested that the A. I. C. C. members allotted to Ajmer be reduced to 4 and the surplus number be given to Bombay.

RULES OF PROCEDURE

We feel that it is necessary for the Congress to have definite rules of procedure. The rather lack of such rules at present creates confusion and difficulty. It is especially necessary for clear and stringent rules to be made about the collection, retention and expenditure of funds by the All India office as well as the provincial and other Congress offices. Considerable economy can be effected if clear directions are given.

Those rules need not be made a part of the Congress constitution, nor need they be placed before the Congress. The A. I. C. C. can itself frame them and Provincial committees to follow them. We trust that this will be done. We attach herewith detailed suggestions about the changes to be made in the constitution.

Cocanada, Dec. 24th, 1923.

(Sd.) B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya

(Sd.) Jawaharlal Nehru

Detailed Suggestions

Article II (a) Instead of 'during Christmas holidays' have 'in the last week of February or the first week of March'.

(b) This should read as follows:—

'An extraordinary session of the Congress shall be summoned by the All India Congress committee on a requisition of a majority of the Provincial Congress sabhas or of its own motion, provided that in the latter case due notice has been given and the proposal is supported by two thirds of the members present. The All India Congress committee shall determine the place where such session is to be held, and the articles of this constitution shall apply with such modifications as the All India Congress committee may consider necessary in respect of each such session.'

Article III. This should read as follows—

The Indian National Congress organisation shall consist of the following—

- a. The Indian National Congress.
- b. The all India Congress committee.
- c. Provincial Congress Sabhas.
- d. District Congress Sabhas.
- e. Sub-Divisional, Taluka or Tehsil, Fuka or other local Congress Sabhas.
- f. Such other Sabhas outside India as may from time to time be recognised by the Congress in this behalf.
- g. The Reception committee of the Congress.

[NOTE. Provincial, District, Taluk, Tehsil or other conferences may be organised by the above Sabhas for educative and propagandist purposes.]

Article V. Central Provinces (Marathi) and Berar to be made into one Province. The numbers of Provinces to be changed accordingly. Delete the last

DEPT. 23] THE CHANGE IN CONSTITUTION

Paragraph beginning with "the existing Provincial Congress committees" to end of article.

Article VI. (c) should read as follows—

Each Provincial Congress Sabha shall consist of representatives elected annually by the members of the Congress organisations in the Province in accordance with the rules made by the Provincial Congress Sabha.

(i) Each Provincial Congress Sabha shall submit an annual report of the Congress work in that province to the All-India Congress committee before the 31st January.

Article VII. The year of the 4-anna membership shall be from April 1st to March 31st.

Article VIII. In third paragraph instead, of 'fifty' have 'hundred'; and instead of 'last census' have 'census of 1921.' Add after 1921: 'provided that in the matter of such States it shall be open to the all-India Congress committee to reduce the number of delegates in any province, and, if necessary, re-allot that number in whole or in part to another province. Provided further that the inclusion of 'Indian States etc,' to end of paragraph as in present constitution,

7th Paragraph—beginning with 'The rules framed by each Provincial Congress Committee' to 'receipt thereof' to be deleted and instead of it the following to be put in at the end of the preceding paragraph—

'Notice of all changes in the rules framed by the Provincial Congress Sabha shall forthwith be sent to the General Secretaries of the Congress'

8th paragraph—beginning with 'Each Provincial Congress committee'... Instead of the 15th day of December every year.....such sessions' have: 'ten days before the date fixed for the holding of the session. No changes shall be made in the list within ten days of the Congress'

Article XVIII. Make the existing paragraph clause (a) and add—

b. The accounts of the All India Congress committee shall be audited every year by an auditor appointed at the annual session. It shall be competent for this auditor to call for and inspect the accounts of the provincial Congress Sabhas.

c. The All India Congress committee shall take steps to ensure that the accounts of the provincial congress Sabhas are properly audited.

Article XIX Paragraph 1. Instead of 350 have 360. Paragraph 2 Delete 'from among the members' to end of para.

Para 3. Should read as follows—'The allotment shall be according to the linguistic redistribution of provinces according to the list given in appendix B.

Para. 5. Instead of 'November' have 'January.'

Para. 6. Delete whole para—Instead, have as follows,—

'The All-India Congress committee shall at its first meeting co-opt ten members; Provided that it shall be competent for the Committee to transact all its business even though any or all of these 10 members have not been co-opted.

After Para 6 add another para as follows—

'(a) vacancies in the All-India Congress committee caused by resignation, death or absence from India shall be filled by the Provincial Congress Sabha or, in the case of the co-opted members, by the All-India Congress committee.'

In present para 8 change '15' to '30'. Add to this para 'When once such a meeting is requisitioned and convened additional subjects may be brought up for consideration provided due notice has been given to the members of the same.'

Add after above para another para as follows,—



INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

[COCANADA]

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The quorum for the All-India congress Committee shall be fifty.

Article XXI.—add following at the end of the first sentence—

But a decision given by the All-India Congress committee upon any such 'new matter' shall be binding on the various Congress organisations until and unless revoked by itself or at an ensuing session of the Indian National Congress. No decision however of the All-India Congress committee may be revoked within three months unless supported by not less than three fourths of the members present at a meeting of the committee convened for the purpose. Delete 'For this purpose' and start new para with 'The All-India Congress committee.'

Article XXIV, add after 'first meeting' 'every year.'

Add at the end of the article—

'All decisions of the Working committee shall be placed before the next meeting of the All-India Congress committee.'

Article XXXI. Delete and instead have the following—

'The All-India Congress committee shall at its first meeting every year nominate a panel of 12 members from whom the President of the committee shall nominate three to enquire into and decide all election disputes.

Add fresh articles :—

Article XXXII. The addresses of the Chairman of the Reception committee and the President of the Congress shall be printed in English and in Hindustani, both in Devanagari and Urdu scripts.

Article XXXIII. The proceedings of the Congress shall be conducted as far as possible in Hindustani. English or the local vernacular may also be used.

In article IX (b) committee to be altered to 'Sabha'; wherever "Provincial Congress committee" occurs it should be altered to "Provincial Congress Sabha."

All other consequential changes to be made in articles and appendices.

Appendix A ; "committees" to be changed to "Sabha."

Appendix B.

City of Bombay to have 10 instead of 7 members.

Ajmer to have 4 instead of 7 members.

C. P. (Marathi) and Berar to be one Province with 14 members.

"Co-opted by all India Congress committee.....10 ; and
change total to 360.

B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya,
Jawaharlal Nehru,

Cocanada December 24th 1923,

THE CHANGE IN CONSTITUTION

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The Debate in the Subjects Committee

This question of change in the constitution of the Congress had previously been debated thread-bare in the meeting of the Subjects Committee held on the 27th. The question of revision of the Creed arose out of a resolution adopted by the United Provinces Congress Committee. The debate was very lively lasting over three hours. In the end the main proposition for change in the Creed so as to define Swaraj as 'complete independence,' was defeated by an over-whelming majority. The following is an account of this debate.

At the outset Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Chairman of the Committee appointed by the Delhi Special Congress to suggest improvements in the Constitution of the Congress, explained that their recommendation was that there should be no change at present in the Creed. They had stated that although they strongly favoured the idea of independence and would also like the Congress to aim at it, yet they were against any change at present, as it would only hinder the national cause.

Sj Subhas Chandra Bose, member of the Committee had telegraphed that he was for a change of the Creed into "complete independence by all legitimate means."

On this subject Gujrat, Karnatak and Andhra were against any change while the United Provinces Congress Committee suggested a change on the lines moved by Sj. Ram Prasad Misra. Some members of the Central Provinces Committee also opposed any change.

THE U. P. INDEPENDENCE RESOLUTION

Sj. Ram Prashad Misra then moved the resolution of the United Provinces Congress Committee for amendment of the Creed, so that Swaraj, which was the object of the Indian National Congress, be defined as "complete independence by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means." Such a change would, he said provide a stimulus necessary to reawaken the National movement.

Moulana Azad Sobhan (U. P.) seconded the resolution.

Sj. Vallabhai Patel (Ahmedabad) opposed the resolution, not that he disliked the idea of independence, but that it was inopportune at a time when the country was much weaker than it was at Ahmedabad when a similar motion of Moulana Hajrat Mohani was rejected. Referring to the Kenya insult, he said that it was nothing in face of the greater insults that were offered including the locking up of one man whom the whole country revered. Sentiment must give place to the practical side of the question and no resolution should be adopted hastily.

Sj S. Srinivasa Iyengar (ex-Advocate General, Madras) moved an amendment embodying a definition of Swaraj which was contained in the recently published National Pact (see ante). By this definition

Swaraj was described as securing to Indians the same rights, status and privileges in India as every free and independent nation enjoyed in its own country. Mr. Iyengar said that the time had come when they should not be compromising on the question of ideals although they might as regards action. If they felt that consideration of this amendment taken apart from the National Pact would divide them, then he was prepared not to press it.

Sj. Venkatram (Bombay), who had seconded the resolution of Moulana Hasrat Mohani at the Ahmedabad Congress, seconded the amendment of Sj. Srinivasa Iyengar.

Dr. M. A. Ansari (Delhi) supported it.

Sj. N. S. Varadachari (Madras), on the other hand, opposed both the resolution and the amendment as expressions of suppressed anger. Every time a resolution for change in the Creed was moved and lost, Government and some people thought that the Congress was aiming at the Dominion Status. He did not want the idea of Congress to be fixed at the Dominion Status. He wanted independence, but the country was not then even so strong as it was in December, 1921.

Sj. Harisarvothama Rao (Andhra) also opposed both the resolution and the amendment. He said that they must achieve something before they could express in bombastic terms their desire for independence. "We have done nothing. We have almost slept over our programme. I have no faith in camouflage but in real sacrifice."

Deshbandhu C. R. Das also joined in opposition to the resolution as well as the amendment as in his opinion there was no better expression of their ideal than the simple word Swaraj. Independence was a poorer ideal than the ideal of Swaraj, which included the ideal of independence. What they required was the right of Self Determination, and it could not be expressed in any term more eloquently than the word Swaraj. "You cannot have Swaraj with a foreign Power and a foreign control over you. You must get rid of it in order that you may develop Swaraj," he concluded.

The discussion then centred round the amendment of Sj. Brindavanani (Gorakhpur) which was to the effect that the term "Swaraj" included the ideal of "complete independence" as a step towards its attainment.

Deshbandhu Das indicated his approval of this amendment and Sj. Prakasam (Madras) in seconding it spoke vigorously advising the House to take stock of their own conduct. It was no right, he said, to suppose that because a resolution was lost it was interpreted as one aiming at the Dominion Status. Losing a resolution was not so bad as passing a resolution and allowing it to remain a dead letter. He disagreed with Sj. Patel that their position had weakened since 1921, for had they succeeded in the Nagpur fight? That showed that there was national enthusiasm which was allowed to die on account of their own quarrels. By accepting this resolution they would not be transgressing Mahatma Gandhi's instructions.

Sj. S. K. Sarma (Madras) moved for the deletion of the words 'By all legitimate and peaceful means' after the word 'Swaraj' in the existing Creed. There was none to second it and the motion fell through.

Sj. Shamlal (Punjab) supported the motion of Sj. Brindavasani, while Sj. Santanam (Lahore) opposed all motions for a change in the Creed, as thereby, he said, they would be alienating a number of people who were within the Congress. This observation of Sj. Santanam was endorsed by Sj. Vithalbhaj Patel (Bombay) who counselled practical wisdom.

During further discussion Pandit Motilal Nehru opposing a change in the Creed emphasised the view of Mahatma Gandhi that the existing Creed meant Swaraj within the British Empire if possible and without the British Empire if necessary.

Both Dr. Kitchlew and Sardar Mangal Singh, of the Gurudwara Committee, spoke in favour of a change in the Creed, the former stating that every speaker had expressed a desire for complete independence; therefore, said he, there was no reason for opposition to change the Creed.

The amendment of Sj. Brindavasani stating that Swaraj included the idea of complete independence was lost by show of hands, while Sj. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, who had moved the definition of Swaraj contained in the National Pact, withdrew his. The main proposition moved by Sj. Ramprasad Misra was put to vote.

The resolution was put and declared lost by one hundred and one votes to thirty-nine. But in view of the strong feelings of many important members, this independence resolution was again allowed to be moved in the open Congress the next day in spite of its defeat in the Subjects Committee.

THE DEBATE ON THE NATIONAL PACT.

Then came the most important resolution of the day. Pandit Motilal Nehru moved the resolution regarding the National Pact.

The debate on the Indian National Pact and the Bengal Pact was initiated in the Subjects Committee meeting of 29th December by Dr. Ansari, joint author of the National Pact, who moved:—

"That this Congress declares that the attainment of Swaraj is impossible without unity between the different communities in India, and that an INDIAN NATIONAL PACT accepted by these communities dealing with their rights under the Swaraj Government and to secure to each the liberty of faith, worship, propaganda, association and education should be agreed upon.

That in the opinion of this Congress the report of the Committee appointed in this behalf by the Special Session of the Congress



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[continued]

held at Delhi, and the draft Pact submitted by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee be accepted as suggestions to be further considered by the Nation.

And for the purpose of laying down the general principles upon which such a Pact should be based and to help in the formation of an All-India and Provincial Pacts in accordance with it the following Committee, with power to co-opt up to three members when they are working in the Provinces, be formed to submit a full draft of the Indian National Pact by the end of January 1924:—Deshbandhu C. R. Das (President), Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, Moulana Shaukat Ali, Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. S. J. T. Prakasam, and Dr. Ansari (Convener) "

In the debate that followed in the Subjects Committee Pt. Motilal Nehru did not favour Dr. Ansari's proposal for a new committee, and proposed that the matter be referred back to the old committee for consideration, criticism and submission of their report to the All India Congress Committee.

As the general sense of the House was in favour of the suggestions put forward by Pandit Motilal and Janab Yakub Hussain who opposed Dr Ansari, the resolution was passed, moved by Pandit Motilal, declaring that having taken note of the National Pact and the Bengal Pact, the matter be referred back to a sub-committee consisting of those who drafted the Pact (Dr. Ansari and Lala Lajpat Rai, with the addition of Sardar Amar Singh of Jeswa, in place of Sardar Mehtab Singh in jail) with the instruction to call for and examine all the criticisms and submit a report to the All-India Congress Committee by the end of March next.

This resolution was adopted by an overwhelming majority. So in the open Congress Pandit Motilal moved :—

RESOLUTION ON HINDU-MOSLEM PACT

" Resolved that the Committee appointed by the Delhi Session of the Congress do call for further opinions on the draft of criticisms on the Indian National Pact and Bengal National Pact and submit their report by 31st March 1924 to the All India Congress Committee for its consideration, and Sardar Amar Singh of Jeswa be included in place of Sardar Mehtab Singh who is now in jail."

The mover made it clear that the pacts had not been concluded but were mere drafts. He could not therefore understand, in view of the great outburst of alarm in many provinces and people sending in wire after wire in protest, why the telegraph revenue of the Government had been swelled by the heap of protest telegrams sent to them. He must say that his head was for some sort of pact although his heart felt differently because the real solution was not a Pact but

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national goodwill. However, some Pact acceptable to the public might ease Hindu-Muslim tension because without unity they could not attain Swaraj. They must either make up their mind to unite or close the Congress organisation.

Mrs. Naidu seconded the resolution and reserved her remarks for a later occasion.

Mr. Gopalakrishnayya explained the resolution in Telugu.

Mr. Hardayal Nag opposed the inclusion of the Bengal National Pact in the resolution and moved an amendment for its deletion as it was a hurriedly formed and ill-considered document. On this a heated debate ensued, and the general sense of the House, which was not favourably disposed towards Mr. Das, the originator of the Bengal Pact, and had ever since Gaya kept a suspicious eye on him, was against anything that Mr. Das did.

Mr. Chotalal Jainaya Jharriar seconded the motion for deletion.

Mr. Purushotama Ray, Bengal, supported the amendment. Mr. Gauri Sankar Misra in asking the Congress to reject both the resolution and amendment pointed out that in the Hyderabad State Mohamedans were prohibited from Cow slaughter on the occasion of Id-uzzuha (applause) while the proposed Pact permitted it. Would not the people of Hyderabad turn round and declare that the Congress had permitted it? The Pact, he said, must be dropped and unity attained through work.

MR. DAS EXPLAINS

At this stage Mr. C. R. Das rose to speak in order to remove misapprehensions created about the Pact. He reiterated the statement he made in the Subjects Committee that the Bengal Pact was not a concluded agreement. It was only a suggestion of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to the Congress and was on the records of the Congress. Bengal did not press on the Congress to accept the Pact now but to consider it in due course and he therefore could not understand the cry of "Delete Bengal" in the amendment.

He said:—"It is a Pact that the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has sent up as a proposal before you, and the resolution says, 'Read the reports.' And the resolution that has been moved before you is not that you should accept it. The resolution does not say that you should accept it. The resolution says that the opinion of the whole country should be taken upon it, not only upon the Bengal pact but everything that would be placed before the present Committee. Is it a Pact? No. We all know nothing can be a Pact till it is so solemnly assented to and agreed upon. Why is this objection, pray?"

"Many of you may be under the impression, having regard to the few speeches that have already been made, that you are asked to



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accept the Bengal pact, that it is a wicked Pact, that it creates division between the Hindus and the Muhamadans. Therefore, do not accept it. Whatever you do, accept it or not, it is not in your hands. Not now, but after the Committee have gathered opinions from throughout the country and placed their report before you. Then will be the time for you to say "We shall not have this draft, we must have another." But now, why all this anger? Why is this resentment against Bengal? What has Bengal done? Bengal knows that the All India Congress Committee of the Indian National Congress is going to consider the question of a National Pact. The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has made its suggestion. It may be right or it may be utterly wrong. You are not called upon to endorse that view now. All that you are called upon to do now is to say in the resolution that you have read this suggestion. It is a record on the Congress. How can you avoid regarding it? Are you to say this that although Bengal has sent up its suggestion we, the Indian National Congress, refuse to read it? (Laughter). What is asked of you—what is the meaning of this opposition? I have not been able to gather yet. What are you asked to do? Take the opinion of every association in Bengal, take the opinion of every class in Bengal, take the opinion of every community in Bengal, and send them up here. We don't want to shut this out. Because we call it a Pact, it does not become a Pact before it is agreed upon. Suppose you write an agreement on a piece of paper, that piece of does not become an agreement till you sign it (Laughter).

BENGAL'S RIGHT TO BE HEARD

What is this misapprehension about? Is Bengal debarred from making that suggestion. Is any human being in India to be deprived of his undoubted right to press before the Congress his suggestion? Is the Bengal Provincial Committee to be deprived of its right to place its suggestion before the Congress? You may delete 'the Bengal National Pact' from the resolution but I assure you, you cannot delete Bengal from the history of India, from the history of the Indian National Congress. (cheers). Bengal demands the right of having her suggestion considered. You may throw it out after considering it. What right has anybody to say that Bengal is to be deprived of placing her suggestion before the Indian National Congress? That is what you are asking for. People should go into the merits of the draft. We are not concerned about it now. If there are clauses in it which are objectionable, well place before the Committee your views. Then you will have the full right of discussing it when later on the Committee makes its report. It is idle I submit at this stage to cry out, "You must delete Bengal." You cannot delete Bengal. Bengal is where she stands. She is on the map of India. She is an integral part of the constitution of the Indian National Congress. And, she is intimately

associated with the history of all political agitation from the commencement of the Congress down to the present day (Hear, hear). You cannot delete Bengal. Bengal will not be deleted in this unceremonious fashion (Hear, hear, Applause)."

Mr. Shyam Sundar Chakravarti of Bengal advised the Congress not to allow any Pact to be formed. He did not grudge any concession to his Mahomedan friends but feared that it would imperil Hindu-Muslim unity. It was an insult to the patriotism, intelligence, and large-heartedness of Mahomedans if they allowed the impression to gain ground that unless Hindus entered into a sort of bargain with them they would not stand shoulder to shoulder under the banner of freedom. Was the Hindu-Muslim Unity, which Gandhi worked for and achieved, such a fragile thing that could not exist unless some mechanical Pact and compromise came to its rescue?

Mr. T. K. Sherwani sounded a note of warning. He said he was a Congressman for the last 11 years and would accept Swaraj even if it meant Hindu Raj again. He had managed to reduce at Aligarh Cow Slaughter even on occasion of the 'Id' from 500 to two cows and these two were sacrificed by Government servants. He had also taken in front of the Mosques more Hindu processions; even before he had also opposed the idea of a National Pact at Gaya. He quoted all these to show his previous attitude but after hearing the debate in the Subjects Committee and in the open Congress his mind was a little upset to find that some Hindu speakers had urged the deletion of the Bengal Pact. The impression he said which every Muslim would get from it was that they were opposed even to consider a document which proposed to grant a just right to Muhamadans. The proposal before the House asked nothing more than mere consideration of the pacts and if this was denied, Muslims would be disturbed.

Mr. T. Prakasam (Andhra) speaking in Telugu urged the necessity for forming a Pact and preparing an atmosphere for carrying on the constructive programme vigorously.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu speaking on Pandit Motilal Nehru's resolution with great warmth said she failed to understand the fanatical warmth, an almost religious fervour of denunciation, about a resolution which was a merely automatic official procedure asking the leave of the Congress to place before the Nation through the instrumentality of a committee, a pact for all India and a pact suggested by the urgent necessities of the local circumstances in Bengal for their criticisms and suggestions. Bengal had a right just as any other province to consider a Magna Charta of Peoples for peace among themselves.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari also supported the resolution of Pandit Motilal Nehru and advised the Congress not to throw out the National Pact after it had been so long before the public. If it did so it would make people think that they were unable to deal with



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this question and hence they shelved it. He believed that the work of the constructive programme and non-violence were the only safeguards for peace in this country. At the same time the National Pact had great advantages. As regards the Bengal Pact the Congress was only asked for permission to publish it for opinion and criticism. There was no harm in that.

Mr. Yakub Hussain said that the Lucknow Pact already existed and no cause had arisen for drawing up another Pact. The old one had been accepted during the last two sessions; they could not go back upon it but they must proceed with caution. He however strongly urged the deletion of the Bengal Pact. As a selfish Muslim he should have stood by the Bengal Pact, but he would oppose it being sent out in the name of Congress because it contained the question of communal proportions which was big with serious complications in other provinces. If the Bengal Pact was circulated along with the National Pact the result would be that all the Congress committees in the Provinces would like to follow the example of Bengal. The Congress had appointed its committee and should consider its Pact while the Pact of Bengal could be submitted for consideration as the opinion of any other association and organisation.

Dr. Ansari in supporting Pandit Motilal Nehru's resolution emphasised that the All India Pact contained simple abstract principles whereas the Bengal Pact contained figures worked out in concrete so that they might know exactly what the results would be in the various provinces. Unless a Pact was entered into there would not be real harmony and existing suspicions would not be removed.

Pandit Motilal replying to the debate said that the Bengal Pact was already published and even if it was not circulated officially by the Congress, what was there to prevent other Congress committees to emulate it if they wanted to? There was thus no practical advantage gained by deleting Bengal. He made it clear that if there had been any proposal urging a Pact he would not have favoured it, but the proposal for a pact was started early in December and a voice was heard in protest. To drop it now would mean that the Muslims of Bengal would think that because the Pact gave them some rights it was dropped, but the proper course was to take a view of the two communities and arrive at a solution acceptable to both. It was too late to retrace. The majority of telegrams received by him had only urged caution and this they were going to observe.

After a long debate lasting over four hours the discussion was closed and the President put the amendment urging the deletion of Bengal to vote and declared it lost. As votes were fairly balanced a division was challenged. The pandal was then cleared of visitors to enable the votes being properly counted.

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VOTING ON THE PACT

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The amendment for deletion of the Bengal National Pact from the resolution, that is, not to refer it to the committee for consideration, was carried by a majority, the vote being 678 for deletion and 458 against it.

The House again divided on the resolution as amended, that is for consideration of the Draft of the Indian National Pact. This division resulted in the amended resolution being carried by an overwhelming majority. The voting being 775 for and 205 against.

The Congress then adjourned till the next day.

The following is the Text of the Bengal Pact:

A HINDU-MUSLIM PACT

I.

It is resolved that in order to establish real foundation of Self-Government in this province it is necessary to bring about a pact between the Hindus and the Mahomedans of Bengal dealing with the rights of each community when the foundation of Self-Government is secured.

II.

Be it resolved that:

(a) REPRESENTATION IN COUNCIL

Representation in the Bengal Legislative Council on the population basis with separate electorates subject to such adjustment as may be necessary by the All-India Hindu-Muslim Pact and by the Khilafat and the Congress.

(b) REPRESENTATION IN LOCAL BODIES

Representation to local bodies to be in the proportion of 60 to 40 in every district—60 to the community which is in the majority, and 40 to the minority. Thus in a district where the Mahomedans are in majority they will get 60 per cent, and the Hindus 40 per cent. Similarly where the Hindus are in majority they are to get 60 per cent. and the Mahomedans 40 per cent. The question as to whether there should be separate or mixed electorates is postponed for the present to ascertain the views of both communities.

(c) GOVERNMENT POSTS

55 per cent of the Government posts should go to the Mahomedans to be worked out in the following manner:—

Fixing of tests of different classes of appointments. The Mahomedans satisfying the least test should be preferred till the above percentage is attained; and after that according to the proportion of 55 to 45, the former to the Mahomedans and the latter to the



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Mahomedans, subject to this that for the intervening years a small percentage of posts say 20 per cent. should go to the Hindus.

(d) RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

(1). In not allowing any resolution or enactment which affects the religion of any of the different communities without the consent of 75 per cent of the elected members of that community.

(2) In not allowing music in procession before any mosque.

(3) In not interfering with cow-killing for religious sacrifices.

(4) In providing that no legislation or enactment in respect of cow-killing for food will be taken up in the Council. Endeavour should be made by members of both the communities outside the Council to bring about an understanding between the communities.

(5) In providing that cow-killing should be carried on in such a manner as not to wound the religious feeling of Hindus.

(6) In providing for the formation every year of representative committees in every sub-division, of which half the members should be Mahomedans and half Hindus, each committee choosing its president from among themselves with power to prevent or arbitrate upon any dispute between Hindus and Mahomedans in accordance with the provision hereinbefore stated.



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Third Day's Sitting

COCANADA—30TH DECEMBER 1928

On the 3rd day the Congress met at 3 in the afternoon and had a rather short sitting with only 1 resolution of note, namely, that on Volunteer organisation. The major part of the sitting was devoted to the discussion of a resolution for a change in the Creed of the Congress, defining Swaraj as complete independence. This resolution though defeated in the Subjects Committee was allowed by the President to be discussed in the open Congress as there seemed to be a considerable volume of opinion behind it, and the mover wanted the motion to be placed before the Congress.

CONDOLENCE

The President first of all put from the chair the resolution that this Congress resolves to place on record its deep sense of loss sustained by the country by the death of Sir Narayana Chandravarkar, an ex-President of the Congress. The resolution was carried unanimously, all standing. Maulana Mahomed Ali said that the late Sir Narayana Chandravarkar was the ex-President of the Congress held at Lahore. "We cannot forget the work done by the deceased. Even though the time and views have changed, yet his work cannot be forgotten by us."

NEED FOR VOLUNTEER ORGANISATION

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru then moved the resolution that: "This Congress is of opinion that in order to train the people of India and make them effective instruments for the carrying out of national work on the lines laid down by a disciplined body of workers, this Congress therefore welcomes the movement for the formation of an All-India Volunteer Organisation and calls upon the Working Committee to take all necessary steps to form such a body of trained volunteers in co-operation with the organisers of the movement and maintain general control and supervision over it, while giving it freedom of internal management and administration." The mover spoke in Hindi and said that volunteer organisation is quite necessary for the constructive work of the Congress to be carried on in the villages and also every item of Congress programme. Sj. Manilal Kothari of Gujarat seconded the resolution. The resolution was put to vote and carried.

THE INDEPENDENCE RESOLUTION

Then came the question of change of the Creed of the Congress to complete Independence. The resolution was moved by Mr. Ram Prosad Misra of the United Provinces, and seconded by Maulana Azad Sobhani. Among others who supported the change were Mr. Gauri-



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Bankar Misra. The same arguments which have been used year after year and in the Subjects Committee were repeated. One speaker remarked that, although Mr. Das and other leaders had declared in the Subjects Committee that the Ideal of Swaraj was greater than that of independence, the term "Swaraj" had been lowered by the use by the King in his message through the Duke of Connaught. Swaraj must therefore be defined. Those who opposed the change were Mr. Gopala Krishnayya, Maulana Shaikat Ali and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu,

Maulana Shaikat Ali

After some members had spoken, the President in calling upon his "Big Brother" to address the Congress humourously said: "Now I am sending you the biggest coward" Maulana Shaikat Ali, in opposing the Independence resolution, said:—

"I am one of the biggest cowards of India. Whether I am a coward or a brave man, you know how much I honour this Government. I want all those who want independence, I want to ask them the reason why they did not ask for this independence two years ago. Since I have come out of jail I have been touring all over India seeing all these brave people, the cowards, the workers and all the talkers also (laughter). Everyone I have heard saying to me, "Because Mahatmaji was imprisoned therefore this movement became cold." Where were these wonderful people then? Friends, it is painful for me to talk before you like this. All my anger, and all my hatred—everything—is reserved for the enemies of my faith and my country. Even if any one of you were to tear me to pieces I cannot quarrel with you. You will be my brothers and friends always. (Hear, hear and applause). Well, I promise you, if you all—all those who are for independence—within three or four months show to us and the world at large that you are fit for independence, I will, on my own responsibility, call for a special session and we will unfurl the flag of independence. I go to Mussalmans and they tell me this: "Oh Khilafat, no use; the Hindus are treating us badly, it is all the fault of the Hindus." I go to the Hindus and my other friends and ask: "come and work." They say: "The Mussalmans are getting out of hand. They are dreaming to put a Mussalman King on the throne of Delhi. We must kill them first." Before God I am declaring I am speaking God's truth. The Hindu is a sure man i. e. a brave man in front of a Mussalman. When opposed to a mild Hindu, the Mahomedan is one of the bravest of the brave. But when a question of this Government and the Englishman comes, both of them are shaking with fear. I have no time to waste over empty threats. If you are ready to make this country a free country you will not find me on the side of those who want to keep it back. Brothers and sisters, from 4-30 in the morning I have been working. I am also fortunately presiding over the Khilafat Conference this year along with my brother whom you have honoured and given the chair. I told them the time has come for work. Within an hour

THE INDEPENDENCE RESOLUTION

we, in our Subjects Committee, passed 15 resolutions including one of practical rebellion. What has your Subjects Committee done in four days? (Cries of "shame"). Our Mahatmaji is in jail and we are discussing about January, February, March and April! Friends, brothers and sisters, I support the creed which Mahatma Gandhi so wisely devised. That gives me and you all actual permission, if we can, to win independence and Swaraj WITHIN the British Empire. If not, we go OUTSIDE (cheers). I ask you all to stand firm by the creed which Mahatma Gandhi has given us as long as it gives the fullest scope to all our energies. I think we can get independence within it. I oppose all amendments to the creed.

THE PRESIDENT'S APPEAL

Moulana Mahomed Ali, before putting the resolution to vote, ascended the rostrum and spoke thus:—

'I apologise to the House for having delayed the decision on this question so long. My position is a very difficult one. I have to stay the whole day long in the Subjects Committee which the House does not do as a rule. There discussions are interminable and nobody likes a closure but sometime or other votes have to be taken. But even that is not a closure. Those who are defeated there immediately serve a notice upon me, like the Government, and I am bound to obey it (Laughter). They give notice that they will move the same thing here. Now there is no check whatever at all upon this excepting people's goodness. The President cannot give all the good sense he possesses to every speaker and the Congress gets the speakers it deserves. Everything depends on the Congress itself. You give your decision in such a way that it will prove to the world that you are sensible men. You must prove that you are not carried away by personalities. You must also prove that you are not carried away by empty rhetoric, and you must also prove that you are not carried away by the desire for notoriety. This will depend always upon your votes. It is in your power to stop all these things. People may impress you with their personality or with their desire for notoriety or with their rhetoric. One thing I would like to say because I was several times mentioned in the course of this debate. One speaker in seconding the motion said that he was bringing this forward because nobody has greater love of freedom than myself. But when I said that I did not support him, he dropped me like a hot potato. But it is not with reference to that that I ask to bring in one name. There are people who were yesterday shouting over a small matter—when they were victorious in a division—"Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai." I said to them: if Mahatma had been here he would have been grieved over that shouting of that "Jai" for such a petty matter. There were men who mostly called themselves Gandhites and yet to-day they are opposing Gandhi who had opposed this very thing at Ahmedabad, and they are the very people who carry posters saying we believe in principles and not personalities. I don't want you



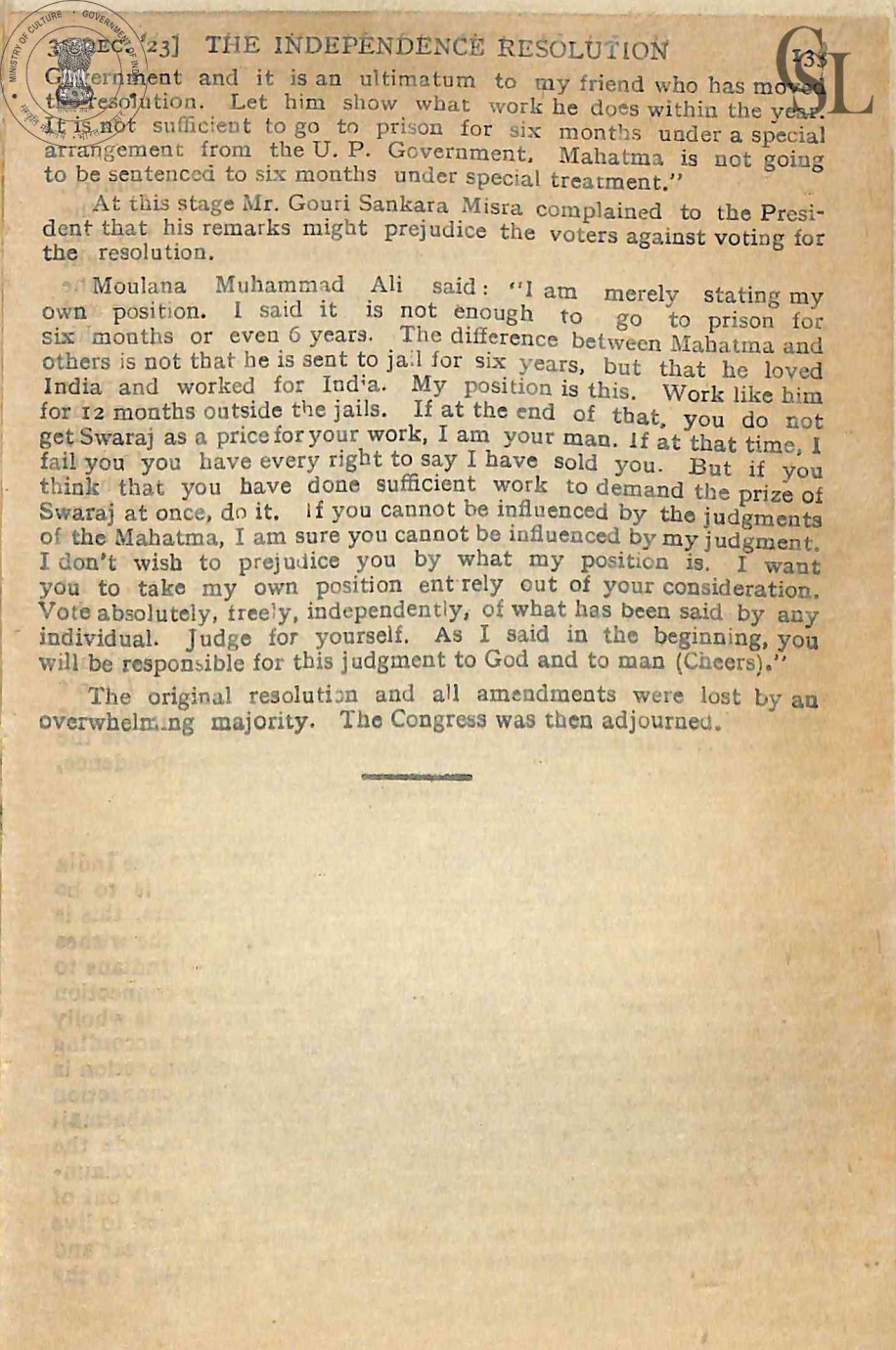
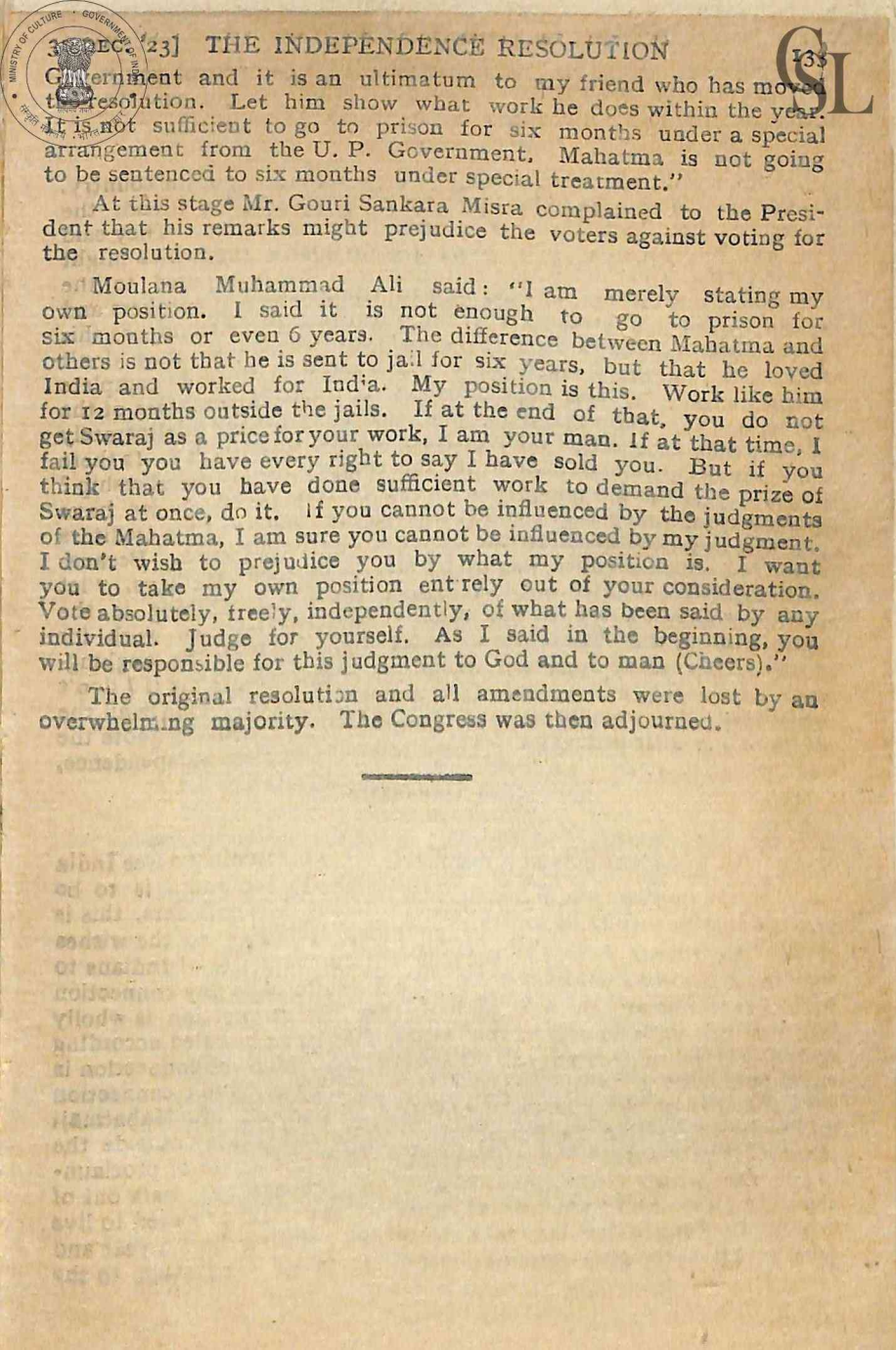
be impressed by the Mahatma's personality. I don't want you to be impressed by my personality. Least of all would I ask you to be afraid of the big bulk of my brother there (Laughter).

OUR PAST RECORD

"But I want you to take stock of the present state of the country. Several members in the Subjects Committee implored my friend, the mover of this resolution, not to bring it forward again. They said you will be compelling us to give our votes against this which might appear to the Government and to others that we are opposed to the principle itself or to complete independence. Several speakers and several gentlemen in the dais said they would not like to oppose this resolution although they would vote against it because they don't want it to be taken that they are against full and complete independence. But they said, "Look at the present state of the country. At the Ahmedabad Congress Gandhiji deliberately rejected this. Have we gone forward since those days? Is there more temperance in the land? Is there larger Congress membership? Is there less of untouchability? What is it in which we have gained? It is like a man who cannot meet the claims of his creditors and says to himself: "I will be a bankrupt to-morrow. Because I shall be able to pay only 4 annas in the rupee" He says, "let me spend 3 as. or 4 as. more so that I need pay nothing in the rupee. Bankruptcy is all the same." So the less we work for liberty the more we shout for it and we make ourselves the laughing-stock of the world. As your President, please excuse me if I don't want to be made the laughing-stock of the world. This is all the explanation I have to offer to you about my own self. I quote the words of my absent leader: 'They talk of complete independence, but they do not define what complete independence is.'

MEANING OF SWARAJ

"Swaraj is no Swaraj unless it makes more completely a free India in the sense that there shall be no slavery. If India is to be governed according to the will not of Indians but outsiders, this is no Swaraj, but if India has to be governed according to the wishes of Indians, that is Swaraj. But it is within the power of Indians to declare at any time whether they would like to have any connection with Great Britain or not, and whether the connection is wholly incompatible with Swaraj in any sense, that is, to be ruled according to the wishes of foreigners. Therefore that kind of connection is ruled out by the word Swaraj. It is possible to have a connection with the British Empire—a connection of freedom.—So Mahatmaji said:—Swaraj within the Empire if possible and Swaraj outside the Empire, if necessary. I say the same. I am not afraid of proclaiming to the British Government that I am prepared to walk out of their Empire. But I am not ashamed to say I am prepared to live within the Empire but live as a free man. I give them a year and give myself and give you one year. It is an ultimatum to the



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Government and it is an ultimatum to my friend who has moved the resolution. Let him show what work he does within the year. It is not sufficient to go to prison for six months under a special arrangement from the U. P. Government. Mahatma is not going to be sentenced to six months under special treatment."

At this stage Mr. Gouri Sankara Misra complained to the President that his remarks might prejudice the voters against voting for the resolution.

Moulana Muhammad Ali said: "I am merely stating my own position. I said it is not enough to go to prison for six months or even 6 years. The difference between Mahatma and others is not that he is sent to jail for six years, but that he loved India and worked for India. My position is this. Work like him for 12 months outside the jails. If at the end of that, you do not get Swaraj as a price for your work, I am your man. If at that time, I fail you you have every right to say I have sold you. But if you think that you have done sufficient work to demand the prize of Swaraj at once, do it. If you cannot be influenced by the judgments of the Mahatma, I am sure you cannot be influenced by my judgment. I don't wish to prejudice you by what my position is. I want you to take my own position entirely out of your consideration. Vote absolutely, freely, independently, of what has been said by any individual. Judge for yourself. As I said in the beginning, you will be responsible for this judgment to God and to man (Cheers)."

The original resolution and all amendments were lost by an overwhelming majority. The Congress was then adjourned.



CSL

Fourth Day's Sitting

COCANADA, 31ST DECEMBER 1923

The Congress met on this day to consider the most important resolution of this session, viz., the COMPROMISE RESOLUTION. By this resolution the breach between the "No-changers" and the "Swarajists" or the Council-party, which was ever widening since the Gaya Congress a year ago and had but partly been repaired at Delhi, was now fully made up; and once more the Congress emerged at Cocanada as a united body of Nationalists, some to work through the Councils, others outside it, for the country's emancipation. The resolution is now famous as the DAS-ACHARIYAR COMPROMISE, being a compromise between Mr. Das as the leader of the Swarajists and Mr. Rajagopalachariar, the leader of the No-changers. The opposition to the compromise was led by Mr. Shyam Sunder Chakravarty of Bengal who wanted not to recognise the Delhi resolution which, he said, was not a non-co-operation resolution at all, for it allowed permission to the Swarajists to enter the Councils, and there was nothing of non-co-operation at all in that idea. He had a very strong following and was strongly supported by many able non-co-operators who roundly accused their leader, Mr. Rajagopalachariar, of deserting their principles.

CONGRESS DEPARTMENTS.

On the Congress re-assembling, after the usual processions and songs, the President moved a resolution.

On the motion of Moulana Mahomed Ali the Congress passed the resolution calling upon its Working Committee to prepare and submit at as early a date as possible, to the All-India Congress Committee for its consideration, a scheme of organisation of separate Congress Departments for more efficiently, expeditiously and uninterruptedly carrying out the various items of the programme of Constructive Work under its supervision and control. The Working Committee should also submit a scheme of national corps of paid workers who would carry out the work of the various departments and provide adequate and efficient help to the Central and Provincial Secretaries and local office establishments.

The Das—Achariyar Compromise Resolution

Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar, then moved the compromise resolution. In moving his resolution in the open Congress, he said :—

Mr. President, Sisters and Brothers, I place before you a proposition which I want you to carefully consider and accept in case

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meet with your approval. The first thing that we have to settle in this Congress is what is to be our future work. We all know that the Congress as a whole is determined upon non-co-operation. But we have to decide what part of non-co-operation and in what manner we shall work during the ensuing year, in what manner we have to act under the leadership of Maulana Mohammed Ali during the next 12 months. We all know what Maulana Mohammed Ali wants to do so far as he himself is concerned. He has told you already and it is that we must concentrate on the constructive Programme adopted at Bardoli not merely in policy, but day to day work and with strenuous and concentrated effort. I, therefore, want you to accept that programme of work and if you do that, one part of the proposition that I place before you must be approved by you. You must decide upon carrying out the constructive work which is part of the non-co-operation programme.

Another part of the resolution which I place before you is a declaration that we still adhere to the principle and the policy of the triple boycott. I shall be brief and therefore straight and to the point. I want you to adopt the principle and the policy of the Triple Boycott as inaugurated and enforced by Mahatma Gandhi. I do not want you by this resolution to adopt the Triple Boycott by going to platforms and immediately and aggressively enforcing the programme of calling off the lawyers, school boys and the Councillors. We must keep that principle as insisted and enforced by Mahatma Gandhi before us; for we want to carry out the constructive programme without disturbing the atmosphere prevailing in the country and getting the concentrated effort of the people. This formulation of the Constructive Programme is necessary because I feel that the atmosphere in the country has been disturbed by what we have been talking and doing regarding the Councils. That declaration of policy is the re-affirmation of the Congress policy as inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi and forms the second part of the resolution. Another part of the programme is a clear expression of our determination not to undo what we did at Delhi or to disturb those who acted under the Delhi decision. It does not mean that we adopt that policy for the future. It only means that we do not disturb what has already been done. These are the three things that form this resolution.

AVOID THE AFTER-MATH OF WAR.

I have given them to you in the order of importance according to my opinion. Another important consideration I must place before you in adopting this resolution in the form in which I have placed it. The most important consideration why you should adopt this in the form in which I have placed it before you is that this resolution will be supported by Desabandhu Das and his friends from whom we have had the misfortune to differ up till now. (Hear, hear) Why does he give its support? It is because he does not want battle now, but simply wants you to accept the facts as they are and we want

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him to accept the facts as they are. On our part, we should not disturb what has been done at Delhi and on the other part he should not divide this House again over the programme which to him appears right and which the Congress has hitherto failed to accept. But he does not want you again either to adopt his programme here or to reject it. I recognise the fact that the Congress has the same policy to-day which it had before. I do not think I need add anything more to this except that, if an alternative were before you, whether you want a stronger resolution after a battle with all its consequences or whether you have this resolution which contains the substance of what we want, without the evil effects of the battle and a war, I would certainly prefer the latter. I want you, men who agree with me in the policy with which my name has been always mentioned up till now, I want you to rely upon yourselves and not rely upon the services of others except in so far as they are pleased to give it. Every man and woman must depend upon himself or herself. At the same time, he ought not to do anything to prevent other people from assisting him. You might take it from me that even where union is not possible we might at least avoid the aftermath of a bitter war. But if we proceed with work and forget the passions for war, we might get union even. I shall not detain you further, but proceed to read the resolution which is as follows. Mr. Konda Venkatappiah will follow me later on and will read the resolution in Telugu. But you will pardon me therefore if I stop reading only in English and allowing time to other speakers. What my friend said must be enough for all those who do not know English. (This is a reference to the translation of his speech into Telugu made by Mr. D. Gopalakrishniah). Those who know English might like to know every word of the resolution and therefore I read it.

THE RESOLUTION

"This Congress reaffirms the Non-co-operation resolutions adopted at Calcutta, Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Gaya and Delhi.

"Since doubts have been raised by reason of the Non-co-operation resolution adopted at Delhi with regard to Council entry, whether there has been any change in the policy of the Congress regarding the Triple Boycott, this Congress affirms that the principle and policy of that Boycott remain unaltered.

"This Congress further declares that the said principle and policy form the foundation of constructive work, and appeals to the nation to carry out the programme of constructive work as adopted at Bardoli and prepare for the adoption of Civil Disobedience. This Congress calls upon every Provincial Congress Committees to take immediate steps in this behalf with a view to the speedy attainment of our goal."

Continuing, Mr. Rajagopalachariar said : I do not place before you a more complete and detailed programme of constructive work because in the present state of want of homogeneity each Provincial Congress Committee will have to consider what particular items are more urgent and necessary and possible and therefore will have to be considered. That programme will have to be considered by the executive of the Congress in consultation with each particular province.

But one thing is clear: that we gave a mandate to our executive to concentrate on constructive work. Details with reference to the propriety of words and phrases in this resolution have been thoroughly threshed in your Subjects Committee and the Subjects Committee has recommended to you this resolution in the form I proposed it. I want you, therefore, as a National Assembly, of men intent on business, to accept this resolution without further doubt or discussion. We don't want to ask those who have entered councils to come out. The fact that we gave them permission at Delhi continues and we don't alter that permission. What was decided at Delhi remains without being extended by a single inch or fraction of an inch. Know also that it is not reduced by a single inch. That is all that I have to say (cheers).

MR. C. R. DAS

Mr. C. R. Das who was cheered as he ascended the rostrum to speak, contrary to expectations made no speech, and said : Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in seconding this resolution. I do so formally now and reserve my speech if there is any necessity for it later on.

SHYAM SUNDER CHAKRAVARTI'S AMENDMENT

Mr. Shyam Sundar Chakravarti moved his amendment. It reiterated the non-co-operation and triple boycott without making any mention of Delhi compromise. It runs as follows:—

"This Congress re-affirms its adherence to the programme of non-violent non-co operation including the Triple Boycott as inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi as the only means of attaining Swarajya and calls upon the people to take further steps towards the fulfilment of the programme by (1) mobilising the public life of the country through the Congress so as to increase its hold on the people and maintaining an attitude of dissociation from the legislatures, (2) establishing Panchayats for the private settlement of all disputes and by refraining from having recourse to Government courts, (3) by organising national institutions for the education of the youth of the country and dissuading attendance at schools and colleges run under Government auspices, (4) by increasing the production and use of Khaddar, (5) by abolishing the sin of untouchability and, (6) by achieving national solidarity by strict adherence to the principle of non-violence in all matters of intercommunal relationship and pro-



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“fostering the spirit of brotherliness between the Hindu, Musalman, Christian, Parsee, Sikh and other inhabitants of the country.”

Babu Shyam Sunder Chakravarti in moving his amendment said that under the resolution of Sj. Rajagopalachari the non-co-operation movement was greatly affected. He would have no quarrel with the Swaraj party if they would do constructive work. But so long as it was destructive work, this Congress which was intent upon constructive work alone must not allow the Swarajist to identify themselves with the Congress. If they did the Congress would become the butt end of ridicule.

MR. JAGAT NARAIN LAL

Mr. Jagat Narain Lal in submitting another amendment to Sj. Rajagopalachari's resolution urged the deletion of the word 'Delhi'. He said that while he did not suggest that they should rescind the Delhi resolution, they must not re-affirm it. Mr. Haradaya Nag supported him.

Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel said that the Delhi resolution was an accomplished fact and to go back upon it now would be dishonourable. The Swarajists had scored victories with the support and in some cases with the sympathy of the Congress voters. Mr. Rajagopalachari's resolution, therefore, gave them the maximum possible in the circumstances. It pledged the Swarajists to give the non-co-operators facilities for constructive work and would enable them to go to the country and tell them that they must not expect any result from the Councils. He added that constructive work required great political sentiment to make it successful. The psychological moment for them would arise when either the Swarajists failed to get any thing as the result of capturing the Council or when they broke their pledges to the electorate. Then would be the opportunity for the Congress to disown them or their programme. But at present they must leave them alone and in the meantime carry out the constructive programme on the basis of Mr. Rajagopalachari's resolution.

Mr. Azad Sobhani in his characteristic solemn style supported the amendment of Mr. Chakravarti. He said that three years' achievements since 1920 were due out and out to Non-Co-operation programme while since they had begun to entertain compromises their work had come to a stand still.

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiah

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramiah, whose speech was perhaps the best in the Congress, opposing the resolution said in support of the amendment:—

Referring to the amendment, namely that the word 'non-co-operation' should be deleted from the words 'non co-operation resolution of Delhi', he said: Now if you look at the paper you will find altogether a new import and a new significance

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attached to the non-co-operation resolution at Delhi. It says in Mr. Rajagopalachariar's proposition—"since doubts have been raised by reason of the non-co-operation resolution adopted at Delhi with regard to Council Entry". Now this Congress for the first time in the history of the Congress ratifies the idea that the resolution at Delhi is a non-co-operation resolution in respect of Council Entry. (Hear, hear). This is a position to which you are unwittingly and insidiously, I beg your pardon, imperceptibly being committed. I tell you it is a most dangerous and pernicious position to take up in the Congress. (Hear, hear). For the first time you are putting your seal upon the proposition that non-violent Non-co-operation has got two aspects, has got two strings to the bow,—one string which will work from within the Councils and another one which will work from outside the Councils. I challenge any one to deny that the language will bear this interpretation that I have given. That is why Babu Hardyal Nag has asked to delete that expression. But I am not satisfied with it. I want you to go further and examine the position and the conditions in the land; to see whether, after we have been in Delhi, we wish it is not our duty to say definitely and once for all what should be our attitude towards the political problems in this ancient land, whether we should achieve our salvation through the Councils by a process of boycott from within or apart from the Councils and irrespective of the Councils by a process of non co-operation from without, by a process of mobilisation of public life through the Congress institutions, having nothing to do with the Councils. I honestly feel that just as at Nagpur after Calcutta you said that people should come out of the Councils, so having regard to the conditions of the present day to the antecedent circumstances of the present hour, it is your duty, certainly, not to ask for the withdrawal of candidates, but to say that the Congress has, apart from the political questions of the country, nothing to do with these Councils. (Hear, hear). Will you or will you not make that position clear? But I have had one difficulty in the matter.

The language which has been adopted in the resolution has been misinterpreted in certain quarters as meaning that dis-association from legislatures signifies and includes dis association from the Council party. I say, I repudiate such interpretation altogether. This Congress repudiates all association with, and all connection with, and all hope through, the Legislative Councils in so far as its emancipation is concerned and yet reserves a most hospitable, a most respectable, a most well-deserved corner of this Mandap for Desabandhu Das and Pundit Motilalji and all his noble comrades who are striving to the best of their lights for the emancipation of the country also. (Hear, hear). Therefore if anybody comes and tells you this evening that you are dis-associating yourself from the Council Party by this amendment, I ask you not to accept that proposition (Hear, hear). I have described to you the nature of compromise that has been entered into. It is painful to me, it is presumptuous



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my part to stand on this pulpit and say that I have the audacity, the courage, the duty to differ from men like Rajagopalachariar and Vallabhbhai. But, gentlemen, we have to do our duty here. It is not a question of personalities. We feel honestly that we are war-wearied and that the leaders having fought and fought and fought again feel that the time has come to call for a truce. So they have adopted this for an armed neutrality for the present (applause). And, this compromise like the after-math of war in all arbitraments of inter-national fight bears in itself the future dissensions, the seeds of controversy, and contains ample, abundant and exciting material for interpretation, misinterpretation and mal-interpretation of the resolution, each according to his tastes, his abilities and his lights. Is that a compromise? Do you in the name of compromise want to adopt a formula in respect of the interpretation in which already there have been differences. One does not know whether the word 'forthcoming' in the Delhi resolution is an expression which included only those foregone elections or as the forthcoming elections, in the next six months, one year, three years, twenty years, hundred years. (Laughter). Mind, we are not undoing Delhi. No sensible man would address himself to such a fatuous and foolish task. Delhi is there writ large like those Empires of Delhi that lived and vanished in the past. The Delhi resolution also lived through and perished. There is an end of the matter. We cannot undo it. We cannot repeat it. We cannot confirm it. It is as fatuitous to try to repeat it as to reaffirm it. That is our objection to the inclusion of the word 'Delhi,' however simple, however beautiful it may look for the suggestion that the word 'Delhi' should be deleted. This removal is not a simple matter. It goes to the heart of the compromise. It goes to the very root of the adjustments that have been made between the parties. Therefore I do not think that you can readily delete the word unless you delete the whole paragraph. But my contention is not merely to delete this paragraph or to delete that. But that if a vicious scheme or a vicious resolution has been formulated it is your duty to delete through and through and replace it altogether by a different resolution namely, that which has been sponsored by Babu Syam Sunder Chakravarthi. The purpose is compromised. The nature I have explained. At Allahabad we entered into a compromise. Nobody came to our help in making the Gaya collections or even carrying on the Gaya programme. The purpose was compromised. At Bombay the No-vote campaign was abandoned. It was always a policy of 'you give and I take.' Nobody came to our help with regard to the collections of money for the Tilak Swaraj Fund that we advertised so widely, so nobly, as having been promised or collected. They vanished the moment the compromise was settled. Again we had a compromise at Nagpur. Later we had a compromise at Waltair and the greater compromise at Delhi. These compromises have never helped us. It is a compromise between parties who are



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Looking in two different directions without a state of common bond. No doubt our pathways are divergent and one looks at the Council work for the emancipation of the country. And there are as many interpretations in regard to the conduct of the people that have entered the Councils as there are in regard to Non-co-operation itself. This interpretation has differed from 148 Russa Road to Bandra, Bombay (Laughter), and these interpretations will go on multiplying and multiplying. What replies have been given? All in the name of Non-co-operation (Laughter), and of non-violent character.

As regards the recent shump in the constructive movement, the speaker said:—Political tides have always their ebb and flow. The flow of this tide was at Ahmedabad, we are now in the ebb. Are we to be stranded on the beach and say that this tide will recede for ever and will not take us into the bosom of the ocean, or are we to bide only time and catch the Government at its weakest moment and then mobilise the whole country in such a manner as it can respond? (hear hear). Or, are we to adopt two views of non-co-operation, one view formulated by Gandhiji based upon the doctrine of self-purification, based upon the doctrine of suffering, based too upon the vital and noble principle: do not resist evil but overcome it with good. The other based upon the doctrine of retaliation,—a tooth for a tooth, a nail for a nail, a shot for a shot, a blow for a blow. Go to the Councils and wreck them to the best and throw them into the Bay of Bengal. In your ways create quarrels, make life impossible for Governors and Governors-General, dictate terms to them from your palaces and then win Swaraj from your own home. These two views have been explained and formulated in the country. Which view, you gentlemen, who represent the vast masses of India, are you going to take? Are you going to take the compromise in which all the sophistries and all the palpable fallacies and all the tortuous intricacies of the human intellect have been grouped and formulated. (Cries of 'No no'). Or will you ask plain, honest, straightforward questions and expect straight replies?

It was never he said, contemplated in the history of Non-Co-operation, that the Delhi resolution was a non-co-operation resolution in respect of Council entry. I tell you the whole seat of danger lies there. And to-morrow it will be open to our friends, notwithstanding any assurances that may come from this platform, that deadlocks are permitted by this resolution, and I challenge the whole intellectual world of this country to deny that to go into Councils and invoke the authority of the Indian National Congress for the formation of deadlocks is contained in this resolution. (Cheers.)

Sjt. T. PRAKASAM.

Sjt. T. Prakasam in supporting the compromise resolution

B.A.D. —



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I oppose the amendment so ably moved by Babu Shyam Sundar Chakravarti and supported by Dr. Pattabhi Siraramiah. This is an amendment which re-affirms the Triple Boycott in express terms. The object of the amendment is to solidify the nation and to promote national unity amongst ourselves. I will ask you to consider what the first clause of this amendment says, whether the means suggested is not one which would destroy every chance of solidifying the nation (Hear hear.) You consider for one moment, my friends, dispassionately what is it that is proposed now, this amendment—to carry on propoganda from this day forward—when you pass this amendment in the House—to carry on propoganda to the country, to every village and to every home in the country, and that to the effect calling upon the people to dis-associate themselves from the legislatures. What are these legislatures? Does that expression mean the Councils or the persons who go there to represent the voters who sent them there? (hear hear). Dis-association—if it is dis-association from the bricks or from the mud walls of the Legislative Councils, I have no objection. But if it is dis-association from friends who had entered the Council halls just a few weeks ago, I will ask you to consider what you are doing. Three months ago in Delhi, in all seriousness, you passed a resolution stating that those persons and friends who have no religious or conscientious objection had the liberty to enter the Councils, to give their names as candidates. Those who have no such objection are at liberty to give their votes to such candidates.

Now what has happened during the last elections? How many of the no-changers and how many of us voted at the elections. How many of us sent these friends into the Councils, relying upon the permission given under the resolution. I admit there is no mandate. Now, in three months, you turn round and tell your workers to go to the country and tell those very people, that those who have gone to the Councils are undesirable people, dis-associate yourselves from those persons. It is nothing short of treachery and betrayal (shame). Secondly, the resolution says, 'the object is to achieve national solidarity by strict adherence to the principle of non-violence in all matters of inter-communal relationship and promoting a spirit of brotherliness'—Does this propaganda create a spirit of brotherliness at all if you go and preach against those very friends whom you permitted to enter the Councils? Does it not create bitterness, hatred and ill-will which we all noticed in the past—an impasse which made it impossible for us to go forward with our constructive programme?

Sj. Prakasam proceeding continued: Have we not found the position more difficult every month as we went out into the country, on account of wrangling, on account of controversy, and the quarrel amongst the leaders? The country was looking agnast all the time at what has been happening in this world of ours. Mr. Muhammed Ali had the courage at Delhi to take his heart in both his hands and face



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the situation in the same manner in which Mahatma Gandhi faced it when he recorded the Bardoli decision (Hear, hear). When he cried halt at Bardoli, Mahatma Gandhi, the author of the movement, himself was not spared by all of you (Hear, hear). The last words which Mahatma Gandhi gave us when he went to jail were—'Carry on the Constructive Programme I have given you. All the political prisoners will be released and you will be able to establish Swaraj without anything else if you carry on the Constructive Programme'.

Don't commit yourselves, he said, to an untrue position created by the amendment of Shyam Babu. The resolution of S. Rajagopalachariar lays down that the principle and policy of triple boycott is maintained. Accept that and reject the amendment (Applause).

Dr. Kitchlew said that the resolution put it clearly that the Congress policy in respect of Councils remained unaltered and that if any Swarajist, in his election campaign, has given a wrong version, the main resolution before them should clear it.

MR. RAJAGOPALACHARI'S REPLY

After all the numerous speeches Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, replying to the debate, said that he did not at all agree with the view that dissociation from Legislature would mean dissociation from their friends in the Legislatures. They had, under this resolution, every right if they felt necessary to say that they had nothing to do with the Legislatures and that they should not look to them, but it was not right to say that they dissociated from persons in the Legislatures, including Govt. members. Not only did they claim the right of dissociation from Legislatures, but also dissociation from Courts and Schools. But it was quite another thing to decide whether they would take an aggressive propaganda or not in future. He could not accept the amendment of Mr. Shyam Sundar Chakravarti, because it gave the go-bye to the Delhi resolution. They should not ignore what was done at Delhi. If the Delhi resolution was not a Non-Co-operation resolution, then why should some people bother about it. But if it was a Non-Co-operation resolution why should they not say so and declare their policy as before. They could not undo what they had done at Delhi with open eyes, without affecting the prestige and integrity of the Congress. They could do so if the people were prepared for aggressive triple boycott. But what they wanted was foundation for constructive work. In this resolution there was Non-Co-operation in all its force and there was an authority and mandate for constructive work for the next year, 1924.

THE VOTING—AMENDMENT LOST.

After a prolonged debate in which some 20 members, including Mr. Shaikat Ali and others took part the counter-proposal of Mr. Shyam Sundar Chakravarti was put the vote and declared lost. On a poll being demanded, the house divided,

With the result that the proposal was lost, 413 voting for and 703 against it. The original resolution of Mr. Rajagopalachari was then put and carried.

The Wrangle in the Subjects Committee

As this compromise resolution, the only non-co-operation resolution of this Congress, was the most contentions of all matters discussed, below is given an account of what happened behind the Congress, in the Subjects Committee, and the delegates' meetings.

The Ali Brothers were, ever since their release, trying to bring about an union between the two parties into which the Gaya Congress was split. At Delhi a compromise was patched up and at Cocanada this was sought to be confirmed. This gave occasion for all the old party squabbles once more to raise their heads. The Cocanada compromise, according to Sreejut Rajagopalachari, is not equivocal. He admitted the Delhi Compromise resolution as a Non-co-operation resolution on prudential grounds and gave it a touch of ratification on the ground of expediency. He surrendered Non-co-operation orthodoxy a bit for the sake of consistency. It is to be remembered that he did not or could not attend the Delhi special session. He sent a wire, when the compromise resolution was being discussed, asking his colleagues Vallabhbhai Patel, Jamnalal Bajaj, Deshpande and others to abide by the decision of Maulana Mahomed Ali and by doing so, he made himself indirectly, if not directly, responsible for the compromise resolution adopted at Delhi. That being his position he and his colleagues who directly or indirectly supported Maulana Mahomed Ali at Delhi could not consistently throw him overboard at Cocanada. When Sjt. Rajagopalachari spoke at Bijapur he seemed to have struggled once more against the Delhi resolution. But when Maulana Mahomed Ali and he met shortly before the Coconada Congress and the Maulana presented his case before him he had no other alternative than capitulate Maulana Mahomed Ali, however, admits that the compromise resolution adopted at Cocanada is capable of more than one interpretation and that is necessary for the purpose of pleasing both the parties for the sake of peace; he refuses to resile from the position he took at Delhi before a reasonable lapse of time. Those of the orthodox Non-co-operators again, who were directly or indirectly no parties to the Delhi resolution could not accept the compromise. So opposition to the compromise resolution was decided upon. Sjt. Shyam Sundar Chakrabarty gave notice of his resolution which was eventually treated as an amendment. Mr. Hardayal Nag gave notice of an amendment for the deletion of the words "and Delhi" in the first clause and the word "Non-co operation" in the second clause. Negotiations went on to make the compromise resolution acceptable to all and the discussion on the subject was put off from day to day. In the meantime other resolutions were dealt with.

RESOLUTIONS

Negotiations for bringing all the parties to a common understanding failing, Mr Rajagopalachari's compromise resolution with Pandit Syamsundar Chakravarty's counter-resolution as amendment and all other amendments were duly placed before the Subjects Committee. In Rajagopalachari's resolution Mr. Das's name was put down as seconder, but he did not turn up in the Subjects Committee after his defeat in the open Congress on the Bengal Pact. Speculation was rife that he will leave the Congress the very day. Mr. Motilal acted as his substitute in a later stage of the proceedings. Pandit Syamsundar Chakravarty made a splendid speech. Mr. Vijayraghavachari also made an excellent speech in support of his amendment in which he bitterly criticised the language of the compromise resolution. Pandit Motilal Nehru made a strong personal attack upon Mr. Vijayraghavachari directly, and severely criticised his reversion to legal practice. Mr. Vijayraghavachari retaliated and the matter became an incident of mutual personal recrimination between two ex-Presidents of the Congress, much to the shame of all. When all the amendments were lost and Rajagopalachari's resolution was carried, the President made an appeal not to carry the amendment to the open House. But Syam Babu immediately gave notice that he would move his amendment in the open House. Sriji Jagat Narain of Behar placed a written notice of moving Mr. Nag's amendment in the open House. A rumour spread in the Congress that the Ali Brothers would leave the Congress if Rajagopalachari's compromise resolution was defeated. A very strong feeling was created in favour of the two Moulanas who strongly declared themselves in favour of the Triple Boycott, but at the same time they were unwilling to be a party to the wholesale rejection of the Delhi compromise. Sriji Rajagopalachari spared no literary skill to make the draft of the compromise resolution acceptable to the orthodox No-changers and the Swarajists. That the Swarajists were not fully satisfied with the draft appeared from the speech of Pandit Motilal Nehru in support of the resolution. Mr. Das also took the same attitude when he rose to second the resolution in the open Congress. His seconding without any speech meant nothing but want of whole-hearted support. In answer to a straight question whether the Swarajists would interpret the Cocanada compromise as extending the Delhi permission to coming bye-elections, the Pandit said that S. Rajagopalachari's resolution was a compromise resolution and that it meant perpetuation of the Delhi permission. He said, "we say, we are Congress, you say, you are Congress"—this was a serious position and it appeared as if small parties were again to devote themselves only to capture the Congress. Maulana Mahomed Ali's skilful handling however averted this and he was especially glad that after the final settlement each party could interpret the resolution in its own way.



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Fifth Day's Sitting

COCANADA,—1ST JANUARY 1924.

The Congress met for the last time on 1st January to dispose of all business transacted in the Subjects Committee. The House was weary and there was a general desire for the speedy disposal of the agenda. Some of the resolutions adopted in the Subjects Committee were therefore put from the chair and passed without discussion,

ON KENYA.

Mr. Muhammad Ali, in putting to vote the resolution of greetings and sympathy of the Indian Nation to the Indian community in Kenya, said that the question of Kenya could not be solved without the big question of Kenya in India (Swaraj) being solved. The speaker was once told that when Lord Sinha went to the Imperial Conference as a representative not of India but of India's foreign Government the Prime Minister of Canada discovered that Lord Sinha did not represent the Nation of India but of an unnational Government and asked Lord Sinha to go back to India and return as the representative of a National Government, and now Dr. Sapru, his successor, was reminded of the same fact by the representative of the Free State of Ireland. Though slaves could not free slaves, even slaves could express sympathy with slaves in their slavery. Hence the message of the Indian nation through their delegates, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mr. George Joseph, that the slaves of India meant no longer to be slaves. Yesterday's decision, he said, had settled all the errors of the past Congresses, Delhi, Gaya, Nagpur or Calcutta, and now the decks were cleared for action. Now, this Congress must decide to win freedom in one year and thereby win the freedom of Kenya.

The resolution was then passed.

TWO RESOLUTIONS

Two other resolutions were also put from the chair and carried. One appointed a Committee of four residents of Ceylon to report on the conditions of life to which the South Indian labourers in Ceylon are subjected, and the other authorised the Working Committee to perform the duties of the Civil Disobedience Committee appointed at the Delhi Congress.

THE AKALI SIKHS

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu then moved: "This Congress declares that the attack made by the Government on the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabhandak Committee and the Akali Dal is a direct challenge to the right of free association of all Indians for non-violent activities,

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and being convinced that the blow is aimed at all movements for freedom, resolves to stand by the Sikhs and calls upon Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians, Parsis and all people of India to render all possible help to the struggle, including assistance with men and money. The Congress authorises the All-India Congress Committee to take all necessary steps in this behalf.

Dr. Kitchlew, convener of the Satyagraha Committee, emphasised his view that the Akali struggle was now a National struggle and any defeat of the Akalis for want of help from the Congress would affect the prestige of this National Assembly. They must all emulate the example of the non-violent Sikhs and be prepared for Civil Disobedience at any moment.

ON AN ALL INDIA KHADI BOARD.

The most important resolution authorised the appointment of an All-India Khaddar Board to organise and carry on Khaddar work. Moulana Shaukat Ali who moved it described his own position on the Board.

The Board consists of Sjts. Jamnalal Bajaj (Chairman), Vallabhbhai Patel, Maganlal Gandhi, Kewa Shankar Jagjivan, Velji Nappu Belgaumwale, Moulana Shaukat Ali and Shankarlal Banker (Secretary)

The Board shall hold office for three years and vacancies are to be filled in by the rest of the members. A report and statement of accounts shall be presented to the A. I. C. C. at its annual meeting and whenever called for, the Board will act as the central authority on behalf of the A. I. C. C. With regard to Khaddar work, and in co-operation with the Provincial Congress Committees it will supervise and control the Khaddar Boards established by Provincial Congress Committees and organise new ones in co-operation with the P. C. Cs. where they do not exist.

The mover said that his position on this Khaddar Board was that of a big drum (laughter.)

Mr. Mahomed Ali :—Then we will continue to beat the big drum (loud laughter.)

“Look at this ungrateful brother,” retorted Mr. Shaukat A. amid roars of laughter, and continuing made a strong appeal to the assembly to spin yarn and wear khaddar even if they could not shake off this Government. By the time Mr. Gandhi came back from gaol they could, at least, present before their chief an India clad completely in khaddar.

Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel in seconding the resolution said that this Board might have to raise loans in order to carry on the khaddar programme. If this Board would establish a reputation for raising loans in the open market in a more convenient manner than the Government, which has power to tax the people and to



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govern the people by force, then this Congress would have replaced the Government of force. They might ask, what was there in khaddar? They must remember that the votes at the last general elections went to khaddar caps. A letter had been received by the Satyagrahis of Borsad that they would not molest people dressed in khaddar and with white caps on. That was the magic of khaddar. There were great potentialities for khaddar work in India and he, the referee, asked the Congress to give their moral support to it.

Mr. J. M. Ghose alone struck a different note. He thought that khaddar was not a workable programme. A man working at the charka for the whole day could not earn more than two annas. Unless there was protection, it was impossible to carry their programme to a success. As he proceeded to explain his views, the President's bell rang and the speaker withdrew. Later from his seat he withdrew his opposition, and the resolution was carried amidst applause.

INDIAN EMIGRATION

Another resolution put from the chair advised the people of India to consider the question of stopping all kinds of emigration from India for labour purposes and called upon the Working Committee to examine the matter and report to the All-India Congress Committee.

NEXT CONGRESS

Mr. Kowgalji of Karnataka next invited the next Congress to his Province and promised not to change the resolution passed yesterday on Non-Co-operation. The devotion of Karnataka to Mahatma Gandhi was, he assured, so great that they would see Mahatma Gandhi as the President of the Congress. The Congress accepted the invitation of Karnataka.

The Congress next expressed its thanks to the retiring Secretaries and elected in their places Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Kitchlew and Mr. Deshpande.

RECEPTION COMMITTEE'S THANKS

Mr. Konda Venkatappayya, on behalf of the Reception Committee, thanked those who made the Cocanada session of the Congress the great success it had been. The Reception Committee had on it four thousand persons belonging to villages, as well as towns, making this Congress pre-eminently a people's gathering. He thanked the Municipality for their help in various directions and the Railway authorities for their liberal arrangements to suit the convenience of delegates and visitors. The army of Volunteers, several of whom including the Captain had been to gaol, were also thanked for the admirable manner in which they acquitted themselves during the long session. Mr. Venkatappayya, concluding, said that the Congress was more united to-day than in the Delhi session. This unity was greatly brought about by Mr. Mahomed Ali through his tact and ability.

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Mr. L. Subbarao proposed a vote of thanks to the President which was supported by Mr. Vaidya and Mr. Prakasam. All paid eloquent tributes to the masterful personality of Mr. Mahomed Ali, who believed that Indians knew how to unite against a common enemy. The last speaker (Mr. Prakasam) referred to the change that had taken place in Mr. Peter Zavitsky, who was an American journalist visitor to the Congress, who before coming to this assembly was clad in his usual costume was now dressed in khaddar, wearing a white cap.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, on behalf of the assemblage, thanked the Andhras for their hospitality and specially mentioned the name of Mr. Sambamurthi. Pandit Motilal Nehru endorsed Mrs. Naidu's observations.

Sardar Mangal Singh of the Gurudwara Committee joined in paying his own tribute to the Congress on behalf of the Sikhs.

The President's Concluding Speech

Moulana Mahommed Ali in bringing the Session to a close said :—

We are to-day in a new year : let us ring out the old and ring in the new. Let us with the new year start a new era. What right has Mr. Kowjalgi greater than myself to invite the Congress to Bijapur ? My name is Mahomed Ali Bijapurkar, and as such, I formally deny the right of Mr. Kowjalgi to take my place. The Reception Committee has already been thanked by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, by Pandit Motilal Nehru and others. I should also like to thank them not only on behalf of the delegates, but on my own behalf. The Chairman of the Reception Committee has thanked the owners of this plot of land, the municipality, the merchants and practising lawyers. That shows that there is use even for co-operating with the lawyers. May I also express our thanks to those leaders of the Liberal and the Justice Parties in this province who have responded most cordially to our invitation ? One of the leading lights of liberalism and journalism thanks that I am changed beyond recognition. I am afraid my friend had never recognised me before (laughter). However, it is not my fault ; I am a No-changer. I hope this man is wrong in saying that there is nothing in common between these non-co-operators and the liberals, for I hope one thing is common between us and that is the love of this land (cheers). I have already stated in my opening address, and I repeat it, that we will not have to wait very long for a united Congress not only of the No-changers and Swarajists but also of Liberals and Moderates in this land. We shall always be a combined and united Congress. But, then, I am not quite sure we are going to have another Congress in Bijapur ; I do not want that the record of the Congress over which I preside should be beaten by the Bijapur Congress over which my friend Mr. Kowjalgi wants Mahatma to preside.

Work of the Session.

Friends, let this be the last Congress and let us at Bijapur open THE PARLIAMENT OF INDIA (Loud and Prolonged applause). I thank the Volunteers, in spite of the fact that they are not such disciplined people as I and my friend Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who is one of our new Secretaries. I feel certain that there was plenty of love and willingness in them and a deep desire to serve the country and those who were working for the country. I have never in all my life seen crowds more enthusiastic, more alive, more intensely national than the crowds that I have been privileged to see both at Bezwada in 1921 and at Cocanada now. I feel certain that, if we resolve to start a campaign of Civil Disobedience, Andhradesa will be able to give us some men who shall match our Akali brothers in bravery and courage, something like 50,000 to carry on the campaign of Civil Disobedience in the same peaceful manner as our Akali brothers are doing. And last of all, I would like to thank our Subjects Committee. They lost time and I lost temper. But while you think that we were wasting our time, I would like to remind you that the dish that we have prepared for you is not a European dish which could be cooked in five minutes by an electric stove. Ours has been the curry which is slowly cooked up for several hours in order to be a tasteful dish. If we have spent much time in bringing resolutions before you, I assure you that time has been spent in doing our best. Needless speeches have been made, needless amendments have been put forward and needless divisions called for, but yet I felt that the greatest desire on the part of the Subjects Committee was to see that their work was well done and that they should not bring anything here of which they should feel ashamed. However, every Congress gets the President that it deserves, and if I have failed in being always courteous to my friends, I hope they will remember that this is their own Karma (laughter). And this reminds me of another Karma to which allusion was made by my big brother. He said he should have been made the President and not I (laughter). Even without being made the President, he has been worshipped far more than I myself. (Renewed laughter). There is a saying which means that the fat man is always a respected man. No matter how I could rise to the height of the occasion, I could never equal that man who is 7 ft. by 5 ft. In order to remove this inequality between us, God evidently chose me to be the President of the Congress and him to be the peace-maker. (Moulana Shaukat Ali rang the Presidential bell at this stage, as if to remind Moulana Mahomed Ali that his time was up, and evoked a loud burst of laughter from the House). He also told you that he was the big drum, and naturally, I said, as the President of the Congress, that it would be my bounden duty to beat the big drum (loud laughter). Then he told you of some childish tales, how he used to clothe himself in fine English flannels and beautiful French silks. And this is Karma again that he is in charge

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of the Khaddar Board. He told you how he beat you black and blue, and again, it is Karma that I am going to beat him now (laughter).

The future Indian Republic.

I retire now, I hope, as the last President of the last Congress. The first PRESIDENT of the FIRST INDIAN REPUBLIC or, at any rate of the first National Government should preside at Bijapur over our National Parliament (Cheers). Friends, forget not when you go from this place that there is one man still in prison who does not ask you to free him but who certainly asks you to free yourselves, for in your freedom is his freedom as well (Hear, hear). And in your hands, I once more remind you, is the key of the Yerrawada jail. I think we have found the metal of which that key is made in Andhradesa (Cheers). Let us use the key and open the gates of the Yerrawada jail. Swaraj will have no ambiguity about it when once you have won it under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership. I ask you, friends, once again, to remember him now and to stand up, every one of you, and raise three times the cry "Mahatma Gandhi-Ki-Jai." (Loud and and prolonged shouts of "Jai").

The proceedings of the Congress thus terminated.

A Cosmopolitan Dinner

The same evening the members of the Reception Committee gave a cosmopolitan dinner to all the delegates and visitors of the Congress. Men and women of all castes and creeds, Hindus and Mussalmans alike and a few untouchables as well, three or four thousands all put together, sat together in the Reception Committee's dinner hall and had a very sumptuous dinner. Moulana Mohamed Ali was given a seat in the midst of orthodox Hindus, while his wife and mother were cordially received by the Hindu ladies. The dinner was strictly vegetarian and contained very rich dishes. After dinner was over, a few speeches were made and the Moulana was loudly cheered by all as he drove back to his hut.

THUS ENDED THE COCANADA CONGRESS



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Resolutions of the Cocanada Congress 1923

The following is the full text of the resolutions adopted by the 38th Indian National Congress held at Cocanada.

[The Resolution amending the Congress Constitution is not included here—see p. 114]

This Congress places on record its deep sense of loss at the demise of S. S. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar and Babu Aswini Kumar Dutta, who had rendered invaluable services in the cause of the country.

This Congress also records with grief the death of Sjt. Hardeo Narayan Singh and of Pandit Pratap Naryan Bajpeyi who bravely suffered imprisonment imposed upon them and contracted serious illness during their incarceration and preferred death to release under dishonourable condition.

THE NATIONAL PACT

Resolved that the Committee appointed by the Delhi session of the Congress do call for further opinion on the draft of and criticism on the Indian National Pact and submit for further report by the 31st March, 1924, to the A. I. C. C. for its consideration and S. Amarsingh of Jhabbal be included in the place of S. Mehtab Singh who is now in jail.

VOLUNTEER ORGANISATION.

This Congress is of opinion that in order to train the people of India and make them effective instruments for the carrying out of National Work on the lines laid down by the Congress, it is necessary to have a trained and disciplined body of workers under the control and supervision of the A. I. C. C. except as regards its internal management. This Congress, therefore, welcomes the the formation of the All-India Volunteer Organisation and accords it its full support.

SEPARATE CONGRESS DEPARTMENTS.

Resolved that this Congress hereby calls upon the Working Committee to prepare and submit at as early a date as possible to the A. I. C. C. for its consideration, a scheme of organisation of separate Congress Departments for more sufficiently, expeditiously and uninterruptedly carrying out the various items of the programme of constructive work under its supervision and control.

That the Working Committee should also submit a scheme of National Service of paid workers who would carry out the work of the various departments and provide adequate and sufficient Central and Provincial Secretariats and local office establishments.

That this Congress authorises the A. I. C. C. to adopt these

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schemes with such modifications as it may deem necessary and to put them into force at the earliest possible date.

THE COMPROMISE RESOLUTION—THE TRIPLE BOYCOTT.

This Congress reaffirms the Non-co-operation resolutions adopted at Calcutta, Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Gaya and Delhi.

Since doubts have been raised by reason of the Non-co-operation resolution adopted at Delhi with regard to Council entry whether there has been any change in the policy of the Congress regarding the triple boycott, this Congress affirms that the principle and policy of that boycott remain unaltered.

This Congress further declares that the said principle and policy form the foundation of constructive work and appeals to the nation to carry out the programme of constructive work as adopted at Bardoli and prepare for the adoption of Civil Disobedience. This Congress calls upon every Provincial Congress Committee to take immediate steps in this behalf with a view to the speedy attainment of our goal.

ON KENYA INDIANS.

This Congress sends the greetings and sympathy of the Nation to the Indian community in Kenya and, while adhering to the opinion that unless Swarajya is won for India the sufferings and grievances of Indians abroad cannot be properly remedied, authorises Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mr. George Joseph to attend the forthcoming Indian Congress in Kenya and study the situation and advise the Indian Community there as to what steps they should take in carrying on their struggle against the insults and injustices imposed upon them.

ON INDIANS ABROAD.

In view of the humiliating treatment accorded to Indian labourers in various parts of the British Empire, this Congress advises the people of India to consider the question of stopping all kinds of emigration from India for labour purposes, and calls upon the Working Committee to appoint a small Committee to examine the matter in all aspects and report to the All-India Congress Committee.

ON THE AKALIS.

This Congress declares that the attack made by the Government on the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabhandak Committee and the Akali Dal is a direct challenge to the right of free association of all Indians for non-violent activities, and being convinced that the blow is aimed at all movements for freedom, resolves to stand by the Sikhs and calls upon Hindus, Musalmans, Christians, Parsees and all people of India to render all possible assistance to the Sikhs in the present struggle, including assistance with men and money.

The Congress authorise the All-India Congress Committee to take all necessary steps in this behalf.



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[COCANADA]

SATYAGRAHA COMMITTEE.

Resolved that this Congress authorises the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee to perform the duties of the Civil Disobedience Committee appointed at the Delhi Session of the Congress and further resolves that the Satyagraha Committee do hence-forward cease to exist as a separate Committee.

SJT. VINAYAK DAMODAR SAVARKAR.

This Congress condemns the continued incarceration of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, and expresses its sympathy with Dr. N. D. Savarkar and other members of his family.

ALL-INDIA KHADDAR BOARD

It is resolved that an All-India Khaddar Board be formed consisting of Sjts. Jamnalal Bajaj (Chairman), Vallabhbhai Patel, Maganlal Gandhi, Reva Shanker Jagjivan Jhaveri, Velji Nappu Belgaum Walla, Shaukat Ali and Shankerlal Banker as Secretary, with full power to organise and carry on Khaddar work throughout India under the general supervision of the All India Congress Committee, and to raise funds (including loans) therefor in addition to allotments that may be made from the Central Funds. The Board shall hold office for three years, any vacancies to be filled in by the rest of the members. A report and statement of accounts shall be presented to the A. I. C. C. at its annual meeting and whenever else called for. The Board will act as Central Authority on behalf of the A. I. C. C. with regard to Khaddar work and in co-operation with Provincial Congress Committees it will supervise and control the Khaddar Board established by Provincial Congress Committees and organise new ones in co-operation with the P. C. Cs. where they do not exist.

OUT-GOING SECRETARIES.

This Congress places on record its grateful thanks for the valuable services rendered by the out-going General Secretaries.

OFFICE BEARERS.

Resolved that the following office-bearers be appointed.

GENERAL SECRETARIES.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru. Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew.

Sjt. Gangadharrao Deshpande.

TREASURERS.

Sjt. Velji Lakhamshi Nappu. Sjt. Reva Shankar Jagjivan Jahveri.

AUDITORS.

Resolved that Messrs. C. H. Sopariwalla and Co. be appointed auditors for the year.

NEXT CONGRESS.

This Congress resolves that its next sessions will be held in Karnatak.



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N. C. O. Resolutions

Calcutta—Nagpur—Ahmedabad—Gaya—Delhi—Coconada

We give below the full texts of resolutions passed at the various sessions of the Indian National Congress commencing from the Calcutta Special Session under the Presidency of Lala Lajpat Rai.

CALCUTTA SPECIAL SESSION, SEPT. 1920

"In view of the fact that on the Khilafat question both the Indian and Imperial Governments have signally failed in their duty towards the Mussalmans of India, and the Prime Minister has deliberately broken his pledged word given to them and that it is the duty of every non-Moslem Indian in every legitimate manner to assist his Mussalman brother in his attempt to remove the religious calamity that has overtaken him :

"And in view of the fact that in the matter of the events of April 1919 both the Governments have grossly neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Punjab and punish officers guilty of unsoldierly and barbarous behaviour towards them and exonerated Sir Michael O'Dwyer who proved himself directly or indirectly responsible for most of the official crimes and callous to the sufferings of the people placed under his administration, and that the debate in the House of Commons and especially in the House of Lords betrayed a woeful lack of sympathy with the people of India and showed virtual support of the systematic terrorism and frightfulness adopted in the Punjab, and that the latest Vice-regal pronouncement is proof of an entire absence of repentance in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab :

This Congress is of opinion that there can be no contentment in India without the redress of the two afore-mentioned wrongs and that the only effectual means to vindicate national honour and to prevent a repetition of similar wrongs in future is the establishment of Swarajya. This Congress is further of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of, and adopt the policy of, progressive Non-violent Non-Co-operation inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi until the said wrongs are righted and Swarajya is established.

"And in as much as a beginning should be made by the classes who have hitherto moulded and represented public opinion ; and inasmuch as Government consolidates its power through titles and honours bestowed on the people, through schools controlled by it, its Law courts and its Legislative Councils, and inasmuch as it is desirable in the prosecution of the movement to take the minimum risk and to call for the least sacrifice compatible with the attainment of the desired object, the Congress earnestly advises the

- (a) surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in local bodies ;
- (b) refusal to attend Government levees, durbars and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials in their honour ;
- (c) gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by the Government and, in place of such schools and colleges, establishment of National Schools and Colleges in the various provinces .



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(d) gradual boycott of British courts by Lawyers and litigants and establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid for the settlement of private disputes ;

(e) refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia :

(f) Withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the Reformed Councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may, despite the Congress advice, offer himself for election :

(g) boycott of foreign goods.

"And inasmuch as Non-co-operation has been conceived as a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice without which no nation can make real progress, and in as much as an opportunity should be given in the very first stage of Non-Co-operation to every man, woman and child, for such discipline and self-sacrifice, this Congress advises adoption of Swadeshi in piece-goods on a vast scale, and in as much as the existing mills of India with indigenous capital and control do not manufacture sufficient yarn and sufficient cloth for the requirements of the nation, and are not likely to do so for a long time to come, this Congress advises immediate stimulation of further manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving hand-spinning in every home and handweaving on the part of the millions of weavers who have abandoned their ancient and honourable calling for want of encouragement."

NAGPUR SESSION, DEC. 1920

"Whereas in the opinion of the Congress the existing Government of India has forfeited the confidence of the country, and

"Whereas people of India are now determined to establish Swaraj, and whereas all methods adopted by the people of India prior to the last Special Session of the Indian National Congress have failed to secure due recognition of their rights and liberties and the redress of their many and grievous wrongs, more specially in reference to Khilafat and the Punjab :

"Now this Congress, while re-affirming the resolution on Non-violent Non-Co-operation passed at the Special Session of the Congress at Calcutta, declares that the entire or any part or parts of the scheme of Non-violent Non-co-operation with the renunciation of voluntary association with the present Government at one end and the refusal to pay taxes at the other, should be put in force at a time to be determined by either the Indian National Congress or the All-India Congress Committee, and that in the meanwhile, to prepare the country for it, effective steps should continue to be taken in that behalf—

"(a) by calling upon the parents and guardians of school children, and not the children themselves, under the age of 16 years to make greater efforts for the purpose of withdrawing them from such schools as are owned, aided, or in any way controlled by the Government and concurrently to provide for their training in national schools or by such other means as may be within their power in the absence of such schools ;

"(b) by calling upon students of the age of 16 and over to withdraw without delay, irrespective of consequences, from institutions owned, aided or in any way controlled by Government, if they feel that it is against their conscience to continue in institutions which are dominated by a system of government which the nation has solemnly resolved to bring to an end and advising such students either to devote themselves to some special service in connection with the Non-co-operation movement or to continue their education in National institutions ;

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"(c) by calling upon trustees, managers and teachers of Government-affiliated or aided schools and Municipalities and Local Boards to help to nationalise them;

"(d) by calling upon lawyers to make greater efforts to suspend their practice and to devote their attention to national service including boycott of law courts by litigants and fellow lawyers and the settlement of disputes by private arbitration;

"(e) in order to make India economically independent and self-contained, by calling upon merchants and traders to carry out a gradual boycott of foreign trade relations, to encourage hand-spinning and hand-weaving and in that behalf by having a scheme of economic boycott planned and formulated by a committee of experts to be nominated by the All-India Congress Committee;

"(f) and generally, in as much as self-sacrifice is essential to the success of non-co-operation, by calling upon every section and every man and woman in the country to make the utmost possible contribution of self-sacrifice to the national movement;

"(g) by organising a Committee in each village or group of villages with a provincial central organisation in the principal cities of each province for the purpose of accelerating the progress of Non-co-operation;

"(h) by organising a band of national workers for a service to be called the Indian National Service; and

"(i) by taking effective steps to raise a national fund to be called the All-India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund for the purpose of financing the foregoing National Service and Non-co-operation in general.

"This Congress congratulates the nation upon the progress made so far in working the programme of Non-co-operation, especially with regard to the boycott of councils by the voters, and claims in the circumstances in which they have been brought into existence, that the new Councils do not represent the country and trusts that those, who have allowed themselves to be elected in spite of the deliberate abstention from the polls of an overwhelming majority of their constituents, will see their way to resign their seats in the Council and that if they retain their seats in spite of the declared wish of their respective constituencies in direct negation of the principle of democracy, the electors will studiously refrain from asking for any political service from such Councillors.

"The Congress recognises the growing friendliness between the police and the soldiery and the people, and hopes that the former will refuse to subordinate their creed and country to the fulfilment of orders of their officers, and, by courteous and considerate behaviour towards the people, will remove the reproach hitherto levelled against them that they are devoid of any regard for the feelings and sentiments of their own people.

"And the Congress appeals to all people in Government employment, pending the call of the nation for resignation of their service, to help the national cause by importing greater kindness and stricter honesty in their dealings with their people and fearlessly and openly to attend all popular gatherings whilst refraining from any active part therein and more specially by openly rendering financial assistance to the national movement.

"This Congress desires to lay special emphasis on Non-violence being the integral part of the Non-co-operation resolution and invites the attention of the people to the fact that 'non-violence' in word and deed is as essential between peoples themselves as in respect of the Government, and this Congress is of opinion that the spirit of violence is not only contrary to the growth of a spirit



THE AHMEDABAD CONGRESS

[AHMEDABAD]

democracy but actually retards the enforcement, if necessary, of the other stages of Non-co-operation.

"Finally, in order that the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs may be redressed and Swarajya established within one year, this Congress urges upon all public bodies whether affiliated to the Congress or otherwise to devote their exclusive attention to the promotion of Non-Violence and Non-Co-operation with the Government, and inasmuch as the movement of Non-Co-operation can only succeed by complete co-operation amongst the people themselves, this Congress calls upon public associations to advance Hindu-Muslim unity, and the Hindu delegates of this Congress call upon the leading Hindus to settle all disputes between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, wherever they may be existing, and to make a special effort to rid Hinduism of the reproach of untouchability, and respectfully urges the religious heads to help the growing desire to reform Hinduism in the matter of its treatment of the suppressed classes."

AHMEDABAD SESSION, DEC. 1921

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

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

THE VOLUNTEERS' PLEDGE.

"With GOD as witness I solemnly declare that :—

1. I wish to be a member of the National Volunteer Corps.
2. So long as I remain a member of the Corps I shall remain Non-violent in word and deed and shall earnestly endeavour to be Non-violent in intent since I believe that as India is circumstanced, Non-violence alone can help the Khilafat and the Punjab and result in the attainment of Swaraj and consolidation of unity among all the races and communities of India whether Hindu, Mussalman, Sikh, Parsi, Christian or Jew.
3. I believe in and shall endeavour always to promote such unity.



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4. I believe in Swadeshi as essential for India's economical and moral salvation, and shall use hand-spun hand-woven Khaddar to the exclusion of every other cloth.

5. As a Hindu I believe in the justice and necessity of removing the evil of untouchability and shall on all possible occasions seek personal contact with and endeavour to render service to the submerged classes.

6. I shall carry out the instructions of my superior officers, and all the regulations not inconsistent with the spirit of this pledge prescribed by the Volunteer Board or the Working Committee or any other agency established by the Congress.

7. I am prepared to suffer imprisonment, assault, or even DEATH for the sake of my religion and my country without resentment.

8. In the event of my imprisonment I shall not claim from the Congress any support for my family or dependents.

"This Congress trusts that every person of the age of 18 and over will immediately join the Volunteer Organisations.

"Notwithstanding the proclamations prohibiting public meetings and in as much as Committee meetings have been attempted to be construed as public meetings, this Congress advises the holding of Committee meetings and of public meetings, the latter in enclosed places and by tickets and by previous announcements at which as far as possible only speakers previously announced shall deliver written speeches, care being taken in every case to avoid risk of provocation and possible violence by the public in consequence.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

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

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

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

"In view of the impending arrest of a large number of Congress workers, this congress whilst requiring the ordinary machinery to remain intact and to be utilized in the ordinary manner whenever feasible, hereby appoints until further instructions Mahatma Gandhi as the sole executive authority of the congress and invests him with the full powers of the All-India congress committee including the powers to convene a special session of the Congress or of the All-India Congress Committee or the Working Committee, such powers to be



THE GAYA-COCANADA CONGRESS

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organised between any two sessions of the All-India Congress Committee, and also with the power to appoint a successor in emergency.

"This Congress hereby confers upon the said successor and all subsequent successors appointed in turn by their predecessors all his aforesaid powers.

"Provided that nothing in this resolution shall be deemed to authorise Mahatma Gandhi or any of the aforesaid successors to conclude any terms of peace with the Government of India or the British Government without the previous sanction of the All-India Congress committee to be finally ratified by congress specially convened for the purpose, and provided also that the present creed of the congress shall in no case be altered by Mahatma Gandhi or his successors except with the leave of the Congress first obtained.

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

GAYA CONGRESS, DEC. 1923

"Whereas, the boycott of councils carried out during the elections held in 1920 has destroyed the moral strength of the institutions through which the Government thought to consolidate its power and carry on its irresponsible rule, and

"Whereas, it is necessary again for the people of India to withhold participation in the elections of the next year, as an essential part of the programme of Non-violent Non-co-operation.

"This Congress resolves to advise that all voters do abstain from standing as candidates for any of the councils and from voting for any candidate offering himself as such in disregard of this advice and signify the abstention in such manner as the All-India Congress committee may instruct in that behalf."

DELHI SPECIAL CONGRESS, SEPT. 1923.

"While reaffirming its adherence to the principle of Non-Co-operation, this Congress declares that such Congressmen as have no religious or other conscientious objections against entering the legislatures are at liberty to stand as candidates and to exercise the right of voting at the forthcoming elections, and this Congress therefore suspends all propaganda against entering Councils. The Congress at the same time calls upon all Congressmen to double their efforts to carry out the constructive programme of their great Leader, Mahatma Gandhi, and by united endeavour to achieve Swaraj at the earliest possible moment."

COCANADA CONGRESS, DEC. 1923.

(See the Compromise Resolution P. 153.)



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TENTH SESSION OF THE All-India Khilafat Conference

COCANADA—27TH DECEMBER 1923.

The tenth All-India Khilafat Conference met at 8 a.m. in a special and spacious pandal erected for the occasion.

As soon as the Conference assembled a flag, said to have been presented to the Indian Muslims by Khilafat-ul-Musalmin, was brought in procession and the whole audience rose to pay homage to it amidst cries of "Allah-o-Akbar."

The proceedings began with prayers from 'Al-Koran.' Then the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. Anwar ul zaman, read his address. He wished prosperity to the Turkish Republic and urged redoubling of efforts to secure freedom of Khilafat. He deprecated *Shuddi* and *Sangathan* movements and urged their abandonment.

Dr. Ansari then proposed Moulana Shaukat Ali to the chair in a felicitous speech seconded by Messrs. Jawahirlal Nehru, Yakub Hassan and others. The President was then garlanded amidst cheers.

The Presidential Address.

The following is the translation of Moulana Shaukat Ali's Presidential address which was delivered in Urdu at the All India Khilafat Conference, Cocanada.

"Allah-o-Akbar ! Brothers,—It is a matter of great happiness to me that, with your permission, in my capacity as President of this year's All-India Khilafat Conference held at Cocanada, I am in a position to express my views about the stupendous work we have before us. You may be knowing that when released from the Betul jail, we, Mahomed Ali and myself, both went straight to Amritsar which had become an important battlefield after the Jallianwalla tragedy. You had done me the great honour of electing me as President of the Khilafat Conference in my absence this time. When I was in jail, I very much wanted that you should once more confer upon me this great honour this year also. We could not get any news from outside the jail. Nevertheless, accounts of the relaxation of efforts, and unpleasant communal disturbances did reach us



ALL INDIA KHILAFAT CONFERENCE [COCANADA]

time to time. But I assure you, in spite of the iron gates of the jail and its four walls, never was I dismayed nor did I lose heart for a minute. On the contrary, I always felt that the real time of work had at last arrived. It was for this reason that I looked forward to your conferring upon me the honour of electing me your President a second time so that I might be enabled to relate before you and the world at large the feelings that surged in my heart in the hope that these feelings of mine might perhaps touch the proper chord in your hearts.

"Having heard my story, they are pleased :

"I hear now that they have sent for a story-teller."

I am grateful to my dear brother and friend, Dr. Kitchlew, and also to my revered brother and companion of the Karachi jail, Pir Ghulam Majadid Saheb, who, through some mysterious telepathic influences, divined my innermost feelings and withdrew their candidature for the Presidentship of this Conference.

I hope I can rely on your indulgence if by way of digression I avail myself of this opportunity to tell you that, after a continued experience and close companionship of almost four years I have found in my brother Saifuddin Kitchlew a sincere, honest, selfless, and undaunted and intrepid worker. Along with others he and I were co-Secretaries of the Central Khilafat Committee. We lived in the same room and were thrown together all the twenty four hours of the day. In each other's constant company I had full control over all the activities and, instead of being an impediment in the way his services were at all times ungrudgingly placed at my disposal. I doubt if my own brother Mahomed Ali would have assisted me so loyally. God be thanked that even in these days of adversity, we have got amongst us men of such stamp and calibre who command the confidence and respect not only of the Punjab but of the whole of India. This is a meagre but sincere acknowledgment of his services that I am making before you from this platform to-day. As to my revered brother Pir Ghulam Mujadid, is there any one amongst us here in this assembly to-day who, having met him once, has not carried away with him an indelible impression on his heart, of his undoubted sincerity, profound devotion, self-sacrifice and true Islamic fervour? All these noble qualities were fully demonstrated in the jail at Karachi, and on coming out of the jail it gave me great pleasure to learn that the first man who gave whole-hearted support to the resumption of Civil Disobedience was our brave Pir Saheb. Here is the man who, along with his hundreds of thousands of followers, will be the first to take the field and revive the old traditions of the simple and sincere Muslims of the decayed and pristine glories of Islam!

NO LEARNED SERMON

Brothers, you are fully aware that I am neither a learned theologian nor can I claim to possess complete mastery of the



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...ical situation of the day. I have also no hesitation in confessing that in matters connected with the Khilafat and the Islamic world, any of my colleagues and co-workers possess greater knowledge than myself. There is however one thing which impelled me to entertain the ambition of presiding over the deliberation to-day and it is that, in the matter of understanding the feelings and mentality of the generality of the Mussalmans, there is not one amongst my co-religionists who can claim greater knowledge than myself. I enjoy this privilege not only because I constantly came in contact with them, but also as I belong to their own class and having full knowledge in matters religious and secular, I unhesitatingly draw upon the learning of the Ulemas on the one hand and the experience and sagacity of the political leaders on the other, and both have always ungrudgingly placed their help and advice entirely at my disposal. Do not, gentlemen, therefore, expect to hear to-day a learned address replete with political wisdom and sagacity or full of minute intricacies respecting the legal and constitutional position of the Khilafat. What I will say will be the story of the sufferings of the heart of a simple-minded Mussalman who profits from experience and relies on his zeal and love for Islam and trusting God jumps into the fray regardless of consequences and renders whatever service he can.

'Oh Bulbul, keep on crying and bewailing.'

'Oh guest of the Cage, keep on entertaining the Fowler'

'Be it wailing, crying or heart-burning sigh',

'Oh thou unhappy heart, keep on doing what thou can'st.'

HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS

Brothers, before I open to you the volumes of my hopes and aspirations regarding the work before us, I should like, with your permission, to reiterate plainly and in unequivocal terms, the views of my co-religionists to the British Government. These views are not the views of the learned and the educated section only, but they are the views of the man in the street. Also these ideas agitate the minds of every Muslim, man or woman, howsoever occupied he or she may be, at least once in 24 hours. Great Britain should clearly understand that sufferings and disasters have at last roused the Muslim world. Every fresh difficulty, hardship and calamity, every fresh plunder of a Muslim country, every fresh attempt at dissension among the faithful, no matter howsoever successful it may appear, shall have but one and only one result,—it will rouse the Muslim to a greater consciousness of their responsibilities and prepare them still better to discharge their duties as Muslim. I take back your minds to 1910 and 1911 and compare the then state of affairs with the conditions obtaining in 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923 and what you see to-day is only the beginning of what is to follow. Greater difficulties are still ahead. Every Muslim now understands Great Britain. Ask any Muslim in any part of the globe—Who is the greatest enemy of Islam? You



will get only one reply—"GREAT BRITAIN AND THE ENGLISH NATION. I honestly and truly declare that this answer is a correct one. We are not foolish children and cannot permit any one to pull wool over our eyes. We cannot be deceived by sweet words. Thank God, we have able men amongst us who are capable of shouldering the responsibilities of the most important of the chancelleries of Europe. We are fully aware that it is due to the wrong Muslim policy of British ministers that her Empire is showing visible signs of disintegration and if our warning is not listened to the result will be nothing but wreck and ruin. It is only the beginning.

ATTEMPTING THE IMPOSSIBLE

To the British Government the President said :—You may hang Maulana Abul Kalam, impale Maulana Abdul Bari Sahib, crucify Maulana Abdul Majid, blow Dr. Kitchlew from the mouth of the gun, hack Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari to pieces, grind Mahomed Ali, Shaikat Ali and their friends to dust and scatter it to the winds so that no trace of it may be found anywhere and along with these destroy that true and religious Hindu who fought shoulder to shoulder with the Muslim in their fight for religion because he believed and believes that in the war of right and wrong it is the duty of truly religious-minded persons to side with the righteous. Nay, "bury alive" that brave Sirdar of Hindustan, Yerrawada or light the fire and burn him alive as a martyr on the funeral pile—do all this but you cannot kill this genuine movement. All such attempts will lead to the disruption of the Empire. I request you with all respect, and if it be necessary with folded hands, not to ignore or treat us with indifference after our loud and repeated protests. This attitude will not benefit you in the long run. The time will come when you will be forced to accede to our demands and your belated acceptance of them will be of no avail nor will it then help you to say that you did not know. We have told you many a time before and we repeat it once more that not all the Empires of the world, not all the wealth and treasure this earth holds, not all the kingdoms of the world, not even the choicest things this universe can boast of, can hold against an inch, nay not even an atom of the holy land of Jazirat-ul-Arab and the holy places. You have therefore to revise your foreign policy and change its orientation or else under the present circumstances there can be but one course left to God-fearing Muslim, man or woman. So long as one inch of the Jazirat-ul-Arab is under non-Muslim influence, a Muslim cannot have peace of mind. To-day looking to our disorganised condition and weakness you may laugh at my assertions. You may treat our warning with contempt, set up against us any number of our weak-hearted Muslim brethren, including some of the so-called Ulemas, strangle us with the brute force at your command. But just as the Divine existence cannot be obliterated by these puny efforts, so also this movement set on foot by His humble devotees cannot be destroyed. The Holy Quoran very clearly lays down for us:

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My entertain the intention of puffing the Light of God, while He has determined to make it perfect, no matter how much the infidels take it ill."

My prayer, my virtue, my life, my death, my standing, my sitting, and my every work is for my real Master, my real King and for that Master who is the owner of both the worlds, and is the Creator."

We had forgotton this teaching and hence had sided with you, elped you in the war and formed two-third of the army which rested Jerusalem from the hands of the soldiers of Islam, the brave urks and the Khalifat, our Rasul, and handed it over to you. These unfortunate Mussalmans had, for the paltry sum of ten or fifteen rupees, owing to their ignorance, disregarded the divine word and struck at the very root of Islam.

NEVER AN ENEMY

Although I was not your enemy before, now I am your enemy as well as of your Government. Believe me and don't listen to the advice of your councillors and flatterers. I pledge you that even in the heart of such flatterers comes the thought of a Prophet and of God now and then, though not daily, and would also feel sorry like me. I feel sorry for these men and my heart grieves for them. I pray to God that just as He is kind on me and on you, so also would He brighten their hearts with a light-ray that they may also join us, throwing their caps in the air and shouting mad like 'Anahaq.' It is of course possible. To be hopeless of this fervour is a sin.

'We have never abstained from the commission of sin.'

'But God has never aggrieved our heart.'

'We tried our level best (to go to) the hell.'

'But Thine Kindness did not like it.'

My word may seem harsh to you but if you hear them with patience you would come to know that this is no bitter poison. On the other hand it contains the keynote of your Government and of your nationality. Mahomedans are now wide awake and the drowsiness has vanished away. Every day would see them taking long strides towards progress. Retrogression is now impossible. All the efforts of the enemies would surely prove fruitless. My God and His Koran never speaks false :—

"Among the weakest houses the weakest is of a spider. All the efforts of the infidels and the heretics for deceiving the Mahomedans would be destroyed like the spider's web."

It is why my brother and my aged mother and like us many of our co-workers, are determining to enter the field in the name of God without caring a bit for life and do not take rest so long as we do not attain our aim.



ALL INDIA KHILAFAT CONFERENCE [COCHIN]

O! Curiosity be happy for some good news is coming.

To-day the morning breeze is coming.

I can say that in my childhood the first man who has produced any effect upon my heart was an Englishman whose name I am not ashamed to mention viz. Theodore Book who has taught me and other young Mahomedans to dream the prosperity of Islam. And with it he had also taught me that there should always exist friendship between the English and the Mahomedans. Since then I and my sect lived with the English people in the play ground, clubs, meetings, and in every other thing. We have seen that after the Crimean War, either owing to the fear of Russia or for our sake Britain was considered as the friend of the Khalifat and of the Mahomedans. In 1911-12, I, with his Highness the Aga Khan, made a tour round India in the capacity of the Secretary of the Muslim University to gather a fund of thirty lakhs in order to fulfil the daily increasing conditions of the Government. I had then a great desire that the Emperor of India may press such an electric button at Delhi that the Royal Muslim University may spring up at Aligarh. For 17 years I have served in the Excise Department of the Government in the capacity of a high official. My notorious younger brother Mahomed Ali besides Aligarh, has also passed four years in their Oxford University and I know that he had great love for them. Thousands of the Mahomedans of India by becoming faithful to this Government have lost many of their own rights and of their country, and having forgotten the teachings of the Koran, enlisted themselves in the army for the sake of 15 rupees and gave proof of their fidelity in cutting the throats of their own brethren in Afghanistan, Persia, Arabia, Syria, Egypt, Soudan, Somaliland, and in every country.

After all, would it not be proper for the Government to see why this great change has come up among Mahomedans instead of sending us to jails and putting us to torture?

JAZIRAT-UL-ARAB.

Was it really the fault of the Mahomedans or that having taken advantage of our ignorance, they have made us to destroy our religion with our own hands? Just think over your Islamic policy. Call to-day high responsible officials—Mian Mahommed Shafi, Sir Abdur Rahim, Mian Fazli-Husain, Nawab Sahib Chahtari, Nawab Ali Choudhri, Mr. Ghulam Husain Hedayet Ullah, Sir Habib Ullah of Madras, Ibrahim Rhamat Ullah of Bombay, and Delhari Sahib—and ask them to tell you whether the claims of the Central Khilafat Committee are in accordance with religion true or false. It is my belief that the only answer which would be given is this that the claims about the Khilafat, the Jazirat-ul-Arab, and Holy places are word by word true. The safety of the Government lies in this that as soon as it is possible it would retrace its steps and repent for its mistakes with a sincere heart. Even if the inhabitants of the Jazira ul-Arab ask you to live there, you should then leave them.



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back to your own country, and never think of that barren desert land. Here lies your safety. In 1912 when Khuddam-i-Kaba was founded and when I was working under Moulana Abdul Bari as a secretary, I saw the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi in that connection. At the very outset in order to influence my heart he expressed his anger with me and said "When there is already Sahib Ahmar, then what is the use of Hilal Ahmar and what is this Khuddam-i-Kaba?" When in response to this question my tongue began to utter words swiftly he said, "I can't follow you as you speak so swiftly. Speak slowly."

I laughed within myself and in reply showed my tongue to him and said "This is too thick. I cannot speak slowly. It is our misfortune that you have got a bad ear and I a bad tongue." Such talk from a man dressed like myself had a very sobering effect on him. He thought it better to change his tone. After this I spoke to him plainly and said: "That land is all sand and rock lent to the Mussalmans, it is dearer than the paradise itself and it was sure to prove a veritable hell to the Non-Muslims casting covetous glances on it." At this he laughed heartily and said "You need not be so very anxious. We have got Australia, Canada and a number of other colonies. We are inhabitants of a cold country, what shall we do with a hot country? Why should we go there?" I said: "You are welcome to your colonies, Australia, Canada and all. We have no designs against them." But no number of such conversations and writings can have any effect. The developments which took place after this interview are known to everyone. I should hence more like to inform Great Britain in plain words that if they want to be at peace with the four hundred million Mussalmans of the world she should leave Jerusalem, Mesopotamia, Hedjaz, Yemen, Hejaz, Syria, Palestine, in short the whole of the Jazirah-ul-Arab to the inhabitants of that land and the Mussalmans at large.

Now I want to say a few words more. In 1913 I went to Deoband for the first time in order to seek the help of the Ulemas of that place for re-establishing Khuddam-i-Kaba. At the time there was peace in the country. The Ulemas had kept themselves away from those movements which had the slightest tinge of politics and we were not receiving from them that assistance which we deserved. The fear of the Government was very great and no one had the courage to oppose them. That was the time for work when enemies were more and friends less. It was the time for walking in the way of God.

Dear friends, continued the President, can't you recall that time when our movement was started in the beginning of 1920? Then there was no understanding, not a pie in our coffers; and no place for doing office-work. For the support of the Khilafat there were only a few men like Mian Mohammed Hajeer Jan Mahomed Chhotani and some of his friends. The mass of our people were aware of this but there was no special arrangement. Thanks to God



ALL INDIA KHILAFAT CONFERENCE [COCHINADA]

that after the Conference of Amritsar, arrangements for pecuniary help had been made. The first contribution that came to the Khilafat Fund was by an anonymous Zamindar of the Punjab whose name they would be astonished to hear. By the grace of God our movement grew stronger and stronger day by day till the Mahomedans of all the countries began to take part in it. Moreover, two great Hindu leaders, Lokamanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi, who were respected by the whole country, promised to help the movement. After February Mahatma Gandhi began to take an active part so much so that he called himself a worker of the Khilafat. He used to tour round India in furtherance of Khilafat work and at last was arrested for writing an article on the Khilafat problem. I want to tell you that the Non-Co-operation movement which is now so successful and powerful, was embraced by the Mahomedans with full reliance upon God and with the advice of Mahatma Gandhi in the Hindu-Muslim Conference of Allahabad. The Government was asked to consider our claims and accept them by the last of August. At Allahabad we had not much hope of the help of the Hindus but at three o'clock in the night of the holy month of Ramzan, we had resolved to sacrifice our everything for fulfilling that religious duty. And we determined we would not take rest till the great God made us successful.

KHILAFAT DEPUTATION

Our deputation was doing its work and stating our claims before the Ministers of England, Italy, and France. The movement spread day by day, thanks to the efforts of the Mahatma and his friends, and you would be glad to hear that as the Congress had no Fund at the time, the Khilafat Fund contributed to the expenses of Madras, Gujrat and the United Provinces Congress Committees. Finally in September the Special Congress of Calcutta made the Khilafat problem a National problem. It was again approved at the Nagpur Congress. Thousands of Mahomedans and Hindus came out to work. We were under the impression that the Government would use their discretion and not make matters worse. On the other hand, the Government spent all their efforts to check the movement. The first attack was upon the Mahomedans which resulted in the famous case of Karachi. The coming of the Prince of Wales, the boycotting, the filling of the jails, and the imprisonment of Desabandhu Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, Pandit Jawahar Lal, and Mahatma Gandhi were all known to the public. The work was spoiled in the absence of the workers. No worker remained. Weak-minded Mahomedans and Hindus came out in great numbers to destroy the soul-invigorating movement of liberty. No movement of the world and specially that of freedom and liberty was without its ups and downs. If they had victory to-day, to-morrow they would get defeat, but the courageous, patient and persevering nations always got victory in the long run. America fought for her freedom for 6 years. In the seventh year of that war,



America had for her army neither clothes nor money. No one was willing to take the national notes. The soldiers were flying to their respective houses in distress. Even the Commander-in-Chief took a bribe of thirty-three-thousand pounds from England and left the country in distress. In spite of all these, in the eighth year, small groups of brave men were formed and with great courage, patience, and perseverance began to fight the English. At the end of the eighth year they turned out the English from America. The pride of the Englishmen which found expression in the Tea Party at Boston vanished away. The English are up to this time repenting for it and admit their mistake. The British committed the same mistake in the case of Ireland and were repeating it on a large scale in the case of India. If that would not be rectified, the result would be similar i. e., those who fight for truth and liberty always succeed. Let them remember the events of Karbala and see what the Abbides had done. Now there was no trace of the Bani Umvades and their tombs. What happened in America, in the French Revolution, and in Ireland, and what was happening to-day in Egypt. If they were faithful and persevering in their efforts—which they were—they were bound to receive from God that help, which led to victory. They could now see the glimpses of it.

The Afghan Situation

In this connection, I want to tell the Government the views of the Afghans regarding the Mahomedans. The Mahomedans of Afghanistan are our brethren. It is our desire that they pass their lives as a free, God-fearing nation. We remain happy in our house and they in theirs. Being our neighbours we are ready to help them in every way. They may do us service which they can. The former frontier policy has been proved barren. They are spoiled by giving them thousands of rupees as bribe. They are made greedy and avaracious and instead of helping them their morals are spoiled. But its last result is now known to all of us. Now the treatment of the Government with them is very cruel. For trifling things and lame excuses airships are sent there, their houses are bombarded, and their little children are killed. This brave nation bears all this and when they get opportunity they kill an Englishman, a Hindu, or a Mahomedan whosoever happened to come before them and in this way they avenge themselves. Most often the Hindu and the Mahomedan soldiers are sent against them which breeds a sort of enmity with us.

In the Nagpur Khilafat Conference Mahatma Gandhi had moved a resolution which was seconded by me that His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan should not make a treaty with that Government with which we have non-co-operated; on the other hand he should make a treaty with the Hindus and the Mahomedans of India so



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That we may pass our days in peace in one another's neighbourhood. We are not allowed to know the events of the Frontier and neither any Hindu or Mahomedan leader is allowed to go there. To-day the western sky appears dirty which cannot be cleared by the threatenings and the ultimatums. These things have been done thousands times and thousands of rupees have been wasted and the lives of thousands of the Hindus and the Mahomedans are destroyed for nothing.

Now another method should be adopted. I am quite sure that if a commission would be appointed, if Mahatma Gandhi, Deshbandhu Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai, Moulana Abdul Bari Sahib, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Ansari, and Mahomed Ali and such other leaders go there, they would settle the matter very nicely. I am quite sure that His Majesty Amir Amanullah Khan and his subjects would try to establish friendly relations with their neighbour. Even to-day every little child of Afghanistan knows the name of and respects the great leader of India, to meet Mahatma Gandhi. Would that the Government take advantage of this. We Mahomedans have explicit religious laws as well as the Fatwa of Ulemas. We Mahomedans never care for life in the preservation of Islam and in the exception of its duties. I inform the Government in plain words that if they fight with our neighbour quite contrary to our wish, then they alone would be responsible for it. India would never help them in this tyrannical act. England should spend her money if she is going to fight with Afghanistan.

Time for Work.

The present was the time for work. God, His angels, and the prophets were looking at them. Their beloved Prophet, seeing the sacrilege of the Holy Places and their helpless but brave attitude, was praying that the great God might give us the victory—such victory as would preserve the prestige of Sultan Abdul Majid Khan—may God perpetuate his country and his greatness—and having united the whole Islamic world at one common centre of the Khilafat, Muslims might keep the Holy Places and the Religion safe and free from all impure and heretic influences.

Since he came out of the jail, he had been touring, inspecting very minutely the work of the Khilafat Committees. He found the bonds loosened but the links yet remained. He would tell the able workers of India that it was not the time for thinking, but in the words of the poet:

- 'To part with the beloved or to part with the heart,
- 'I am now thinking what to do.
- 'Stand up and make a brave dash for the last effort.
- 'How the intoxicated one is going towards the place of killing.
- 'Just see the attitude of the lover who has trifled with his life.'

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He had every hope that in a few weeks the resolution and the schemes of the work which would be presented to them, would change the situation. An army of workers in the name of God would be formed. Hearing the voice of a weak, humble brother, the heart of every true Mahomedan would be affected and he would shout out:

'Anyone should see whether it is the same wretched Dagh.
'The bewailing of someone is making me restless'.

Allowance to Workers.

Proceeding, the President said, he considered it his duty to inform them of his ideas regarding a certain matter. Before his eyes there were many workers who had denied themselves all the pleasures of the life and had spent all that they had for the cause. Now they were in great distress and wanted to retire. These men having given their whole time to the Khilafat movement did not want to accept low reward wherewith they might support their family. They had given thousands of rupees but did not want to take any back. He was sorry to say that the very thing on account of which they wanted to retire and which they hesitated to take from the Khilafat Fund was attributed to them by some of the workers, the result of that was that those able workers were leaving the Khilafat movement. In the words of Ghalib,

'See, he is also saying that I am shameless and notorious.

'Had I been aware of this I would not have given away the effects of my house'

He would not approve of that attitude but would ask them to remedy that defect. It was quite true that whenever any great movement was started many men of bad principles and weak ideas had joined it. Sometimes loss of money had also been incurred, but those inevitable things had had to be faced, without stopping the work. Should they then close the shop of Islam simply because of some difficulties, or of some mistakes which had been exaggerated by their enemies for the detriment of their work. Should they compel the true soldiers of Islam to withdraw from the battlefield by annoying them. In his opinion the time had come when their leaders should come forward and set an example for others so that an army of soldiers might spring up.

He hoped they would excuse him if he said with pride that from the very first day to the time of his going to jail he had not spent more than rupees two thousand five hundred, which he could gather in one day's tour or in a few minutes in Bombay without any effort. He hoped that the Conference would think over it and would make some suitable arrangement for the maintenance of



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workers in distress. Then the President paid a tribute to Maulana Hasrat Mohani and said that whenever he saw the condition of Khilafat Committees, his memory came crowding upon him. He was the bravest among us and ten years ahead of us. To-day he was happy in Yeravada Jail and might be saying to himself :—

‘They are killing me for the crime of your love and so there is a great noise.

‘You should also come to your roof to see this pleasant sight’.

The torture to which the Government had put Hasrat Mohani and his other friends could produce no effect upon them. His poetry was a lesson for them :—

‘How can we create a taste like ours in others.

‘We are more tired of the disinterestedness of our companions.

‘Our goal is not very far away.

‘But not when we left behind our caravan.’

And for them he says :—

‘The highest degree of despair is also the beginning of love.

‘We came again to the place whence we started.’

The Central Khilafat Committee should take in its hand the management of all those committees which had become weak and supply the workers where needed. Some of his friends had given word to take an active part in the movement. May God crown their efforts with success.

Khilafat Deputation

As regards the Khilafat, they had asked the Government for passports for the Deputations which they were sending to Constantinople, Angora, Hedzaz, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria, and other Islamic countries. The Government of India had enquired the names of members of the Deputations and the routes of their journey which should be sent shortly. They could arrive at a true knowledge of conditions regarding the Khalifa only when the Deputations returned. He did not want to attack the personality of His Highness the Aga Khan or Mr. Syed Amir Ali. Those two men had great love for Islam and were serving it in their own ways. Service to Islam was not reserved for any sect. Nevertheless they should keep in mind that one thing which His Highness had told Syed Wazir Hussain, late Secretary of the Muslim League, and Mahomed Ali. Its purport was :—“I cannot serve the religion, the country, and the nation so much as you, or your brother, or Mr. Gokhale is doing. These men have no other work save this. You should expect only so much help from me as the Englishmen give to their country.”

That was His Highness’ frank statement. Taking it into consideration he would tell His Highness that he being far away from

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India and not knowing thoroughly the feelings of Indian Muslims it was not proper to give opinion on any intricate problem, even though that opinion might be a right opinion.

The Khilafat Deputation, in the capacity of the representative of the whole of India, would wait upon Khalifat-ul-Musalmin, servant of Harmain Sharifain—may God perpetuate his Kingdom and increase his prestige—and also upon Saiful Islam Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha, as well as upon the brave Turks whose courage, perseverance, bravery, and ability saved Islam from a great danger.

I have every hope that one day we would be able to strengthen the Turkish Empire, the Holy Places and Islam and so I request you not to make haste in this matter. Follow your own way in India with patience and courage and form an opinion only when you have the true knowledge of the affairs.

Fortunately, at this time, God has created some notable personages in the Islamic world. Among these the names of the Khilafat-ul-Muslamin, servant of the Harmain, Sharifain Sultan Abdul Majid Khan, Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha, and His Majesty Amanullah Khan are very remarkable. From the words which the Khilafat-ul-Muslamin has uttered it follows that even in this hard time, God has created a man in the Usmania family who would not only face all these obstacles, but also would surmount them and thereby not only save the prestige of the Khilafat but also enhance it.

God willing, our deputations would wait upon Aziz of Hejaz, Sharifa of Mecca, and Amir Faisul and would make some satisfactory settlement with them. I, as the representative of the whole of India, say that the love which the Mohammedans of the world have for the Arabs and Arabia cannot be cherished for any other nation of the world. The land where God has built His House, the land where our beloved Prophet began his Mission, the holy Land where his sacred body is interred must be naturally loved by the Mohammedans. Our love for the Turks is due to the fact that when the Arabs and other races became weak they erected an iron wall of their blood and flesh between Islam and infidelity and checked the fast approaching waves of the shoals of infidelity with the wall of their breasts and saved the religion. Still our love for the Turks is far less than that for the Arabs. We now assure our Arab brothers that we cannot see them in the position of slaves even for a moment. The Holy Places, Jazirat-ul-Arab, and the Hedjaz are not their property but of all the Mohammedans of the world. We assure the Arabs that once the defects and groundless rumours are removed we would render them such a good service that the ray of Islam coming out of its fountain-head of guidance would illuminate the whole world. We hear that our Arab brothers are quite ignorant of religion and the worldly affairs, and that their moral condition is hopelessly bad. Quarrelling is a common thing among



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them. They have become greedy of money, power, good clothes and luscious food. Hearing all this we cannot but weep for them that the race which had taught to the world the lesson of self-sacrifice, which had given the life and wealth for Islam has now so much degenerated.

We hope that our Arab brothers would not misinterpret our efforts for the establishment of the peace; but, on the other hand, making full use of the self-sacrifice of Siddiq, courage and magnanimity of Faruq, contentment of Usman, and self-satisfiedness and valour of Haider would try to make our efforts successful. They should also not remain behind any Mohammedan race of the world in the preservation of the prestige of the Khilafat and in assisting the Khilafat-ul-Rasool. May God crown our efforts with success so that we may see again the whole world illuminated with the Ray of Islam.

Hindu-Muslim Unity.

I consider it my duty to give you my views about the Hindu-Muslim unity. To-day we see that efforts are being made to disunite them, to destroy the Indian atmosphere in which we catch the glimpses of Swaraj and liberty. No doubt those men are first class fools who for the prejudice of the few blame all and give this trifling thing undue importance. It is quite true that the untimely movement of Shuddhi and Sanghatan has created such doubts and difficulties as may break the bonds of union between the Hindus and the Mahomedans. The enemies of the country and liberty took advantage of this and fanned this fire to such an extent that the weak-minded people of both the communities aggravated the malady still more. There was also another cause, viz. that even the Khilafat and the Congress worker began to fight and quarrel of trivial matters. The selfish entities in order to reclaim their past honour came out by the instigation of the Anglo-Indian papers and tried to smother the genuine movement. Many Hindu and Mohammedan candidates for the membership of the Council began the sing songs of the social services they had rendered in order to defeat their rivals. All these things have besmirched the Indian political atmosphere. But, thank God, we now perceive signs of the victory of Truth and their tactics do not seem to be successful.

"The Truth has come and the Untruth is vanished away, and the Untruth is a thing that always declines."

Even in this difficult time, our Mohammedan community is comparatively courageous. It is why I have a complaint to make against the Mohammedans—why they have lost their temper at the untimely movement of Shuddhi. Our Arya brothers are defending their religion for a long time, and the Shuddhi is also going on. It is the duty of every man to preserve and preach his faith and



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giving momentum to this movement. It is the time for uniting together in order to face our common enemy with full force and put off our private affairs for settling at some other time. Nevertheless, even if it happened, the Mohammedans should not make so much noise and agitation. The Jamiat-ul-Ulema which comprises Ulema of every school of thought was existing. They would have called a meeting and would have sent a sufficient number of workers to check all this. It is quite true that just like other Anjumans it has also become weak. However, it was not becoming of the Mohammedans to quarrel in the way they have done. Preaching of Islam is the duty of every Mohammedan. It is our ardent desire to roam in jungles, barren places, and deserts of the world and among the savages whose hearts we may illuminate with the light of Islam. But this would be done when we are not confronted with anxiety and care. I shall very politely ask all the preaching Jamiats that they should not continue with this noble work their individual aims and, having removed all the differences of opinion, they should prepare such a scheme that the work may be carried on nicely. They should also not make use of vituperation while discussing any religious question with the non-Mohammedans. Some of our brothers are so much terrified with this Shuddhi that they even go so far as to advise the giving up of the work of the Khilafat which is all the more important. I have neither fear nor anxiety about this Shuddhi movement that I should ask the Mohammedans to leave the sacred movement of the Khilafat and the Holy Places. Thank God, we have sufficient number of workers and contributors. All these movements may be carried on simultaneously and the aim of all is the Truth. The giving up of this movement will prove our cowardice, fickle-mindedness and stupidity. Our enemies would laugh at us. We should give proof of valour, patience and perseverance, and should remain calm and quiet even in the face of the greatest obstacle. We should again gather together and each worker should search out his field of action where he should work without censuring his other co-workers.

Need of Patience and Self-Sacrifice

I still advise you to spend all your power in the formation of a group of Mohammedans. We should strengthen our position to such an extent that we may be able to face and surmount the greatest obstacle with patience. I always ask my Mohammedan brothers to set up an example of patience, courage, and self-sacrifice. Had Mahatmaji been out of the jail, he would have taught the lesson of magnanimity to the Hindus. All that I see to-day would never have come into existence. All this is due to our being the slaves of a foreign nation. Mahatma Gandhi had taken a leading part in establishing a remarkable union between the Hindus and



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The Mohammedans and all these unpleasant events which have happened in the country are due to his absence. Many selfish men came out and tried to wipe off the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi and to regain their lost honour. I fervently hope that the clouds of dirt and dust would be dissipated when the Sun of Truth and Courage will shine brightly. Mahatma Gandhi has repeatedly told you that the Hindu-Muslim unity is very essential for the freedom of India. In this connection, he never used ambiguous and equivocal words. I think it very necessary to tell you about certain events which may give you an insight into the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi. We all put up at a Bungalow of a Hindu Gujrati brother at Calicut in Malabar. There his family was also residing. In the night we delivered lectures before a huge crowd, which were translated to them in the Malabari language. After the meeting was over I was to go to my waiting place. Mahatma Gandhi asked me to wait. I went with him into a very big house where our Gujrati brothers and sisters were present—and I was the only Mohammedan among them. The Gujrati Hindus entertained us with great hospitality wherever we went. I have heard many lectures and speeches of Mahatma Gandhi but the one made by him that night produced a peculiar effect upon my heart. It was perhaps the answer of the objection made by the Hindu Press. He said: "Many Hindus say 'What has become of Gandhi': he not only takes part in their (Mahomedans') religious work, becomes their guest, but also takes the Mohammedans with him and waits in the houses of the Hindus? Is he not aware that the Mohammedans pull down the temples and kill the cows? Hence it is really a folly to give place to the Mohammedans in the house of the Hindus." Mahatmaji then said in a painful tone: "Yes, I like to go to their houses and wait there and I take the Mohammedans with me and wait in the houses of other Hindus." It may be possible that in the days gone-by the Hindu women might have been disgraced and the temples were destroyed by the Mohammedans. I assure the people of this type that Gandhi has not turned mad. Gandhi is a true Hindu. To-day he makes friendship with the Mohammedans and thereby protects his religion. Mohammedans are brave people, ready to sacrifice their life and wealth for the sake of religion. As compared with them the Hindus are weak. By living amidst them the Hindus also become brave. To help them myself and ask other Hindus to help them in their pure religious work is a social service. If the Mohammedans would succeed in having a satisfactory solution of the Khilafat problem, they would never forget the services we have rendered to them. They would have a great regard for us. The danger which the Hindus are anticipating from the Mohammedans would be averted by this help. The Hindu would no more be dishonoured, the temples would not be pulled down, and the cow-slaughter would be stopped for ever. The Mohammedans respect the Hindu women like their own. There

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There is no deceit or trick in it. Sincere love will bring forth true reward. The two communities will live together in peace and comfort."

The speech of Mahatmaji impressed all Hindu brethren and sisters. The effect it produced in my mind was very great. In my speech I said to my Hindu brethren that Mahatmaji had shown them his sincere heart and that it would be my duty to relate this event, word by word, to every Mohammedan gathering. I shall ask them that as brave and God-fearing people they should render double service in return for this one, and that they should never forget the brave Hindus, who as our comrades jointly faced the tyrannies and torture of the Government, gave their lives, filled the jails, and who even in spite of the recent unpleasant occurrences are ready to follow the order of their brave Mahatma.

Hindu Sacrifice for Mahomedan Cause

Now-a-days the sulphurous gases of the "German" War are blowing in the air, and a propaganda of envy and malignance is carried on, day and night. We see every day the fights between weak Hindus and the Mahomedans. It is my duty to inform the Mahomedans of the ardent desires of their true companion, sympathiser and co-worker. Mahomedans are not ungrateful, and are not cowards. To-day the intrigues have succeeded in setting the Hindus against the Mahomedans; but we are not likely to forget those brilliant services the Hindus have rendered to us. I have before my mind's eyes the faces of thousands of the Hindu men and women, which can never go out of my mind. It would be our moral weakness if we did not thank them for their services. A very short event will serve here as a good example. In 1921, I had to take the advice of Mahatmaji regarding a certain moot point. I went to his waiting place, but he was in the bazar, busy in the collection of funds for the Gujrat Vidyapitha. I began a search for him and when I reached the Juhani Bazar through the cloth market I saw there a huge crowd of men who noticing my Khilafat car began to shout and gave me way. At last I reached near Mahatmaji with great difficulty. He was sitting in the shop of a Hindu brother who gave him, for national education a cheque for Rs. 1501 and put a garland round Mahatma's neck. Having seen me, that Hindu brother became very happy, threw a garland of flowers round my neck and gave a cheque for Rs. 1501 for the Khilafat. I said to him that I had not come for the collection of funds; but he said that he would contribute for the Khilafat also. The same thing happened in the second and the third shop i.e. the amount which was given to Mahatmaji was also given to me: We got each seven hundred rupees from the second shop and Rs. 151 from the third. Besides I got for the Khilafat Fund three thousand rupees more. Hence while we hear the petty complaints against the Hindus we should not forget such encouraging events. It is within my know-



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that the Mahomedans have also helped the Hindus in similar ways on different occasions. Both these communities should never let these events go into the limbo of oblivion. On account of the death of Lokamanya Tilak the 9th of August 1918 was a Hartal day. All shops and the mills of Bombay were closed. Hundreds of groups of men were singing and going at Chopati near the sea. The heads of all these men were bare. A Pathan was also going with them with his cap on. Some workmen of the mill said to him in a harsh tone, "Put off your cap. It is the day of mourning." He said, "I am also mourning for Tilak Maharaj, but on these occasions we do not put off our caps." Whereupon one of the workmen hit him with a stick and he got a long, deep wound in his head. He began to laugh and smile. The police men said to him: "Make a report in the Police station so that this man may be arrested." But he said, "He is my brother and to-day has turned mad. I will never make a report of him in your Police station." The next day he came to me by the Khilafat motor, and showed me his wound and related the whole story. I took him in my motor to Mahatmaji and said to him with a smile. "See my Mahomedan has got victory over your Hindus," and related to him the whole story. Mahatmaji became very happy to see such a sincere regard and true self-sacrifice and began to say, "It is quite true that you Mahomedans have won."

Refrain from Undue Criticism

Both these communities of India should have to make hundreds of similar sacrifices and have to refrain from censure and undue criticism. At last we have to mention the good things along with the bad ones.

We have now before us many stupendous affairs to be settled. Unfortunately, we cannot settle them so long as we do not attain Swaraj, so long as the halter of slavery is round our necks. The Hindus and the Mahomedans fight for trivial things and thereby strengthen all the more the chains of slavery so that they may never get freedom from it. The most important of all these is the problem of cow-slaughter. We know full well the feelings of the Hindus, but the truth is that we are quite helpless in fully solving the problem. When the revenue of the land will be in our hands, we would stop the cow-slaughter and increase the number of goats by spending one or two crores of rupees so that the goat flesh may become cheap and common. In this connection, I shall ask my Hindu brethren that just as they remained patient for a long time so also may they remain a little time more. God will make a better arrangement. It cannot be decided by disputes and fights.

For the information of my Mahomedan brethren I have told

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Then about the speech of Mahatma Gandhi at Calicut. Now with your permission I want to tell my Hindu brethren for their information about my own speech at Randir. Mahatma Gandhi was with me and both of us had given speeches. The zealous youths of Randir had given us welcome in their cricket pavilion. The President of the meeting had lived with Mahatmajī in Africa. At the close of the meeting he said in a joke: "I know that Mahatma is a believer in God, and it is our wish that God may make him a perfect Mahomedan." I and several other Mahomedans did not like this. Mahatma remained quiet, but I stood up and expressed before them the sincere feelings of a true Mahomedan. I said to him: "The best thing among the Mahomedans is to present the gift of Islam to our every non-Muslim guest. Islam is for every man but before we ask any non-Mahomedan to embrace Islam we should give proofs of our being true followers of Islam from the concrete instances of life. I now ask the President and all of you whether we Mohammedans have proved ourselves to be true followers of Islam to this Christian English Government, our Hindu brethren, or to the men of other religions. Have we not cut away the very root of Islam for the paltry gain? Are there not thousands of Mohammedans who are proud of their service to the enemies of Islam and give proof of their meanness? How many Mohammedans are there who have sacrificed everything for the Khilafat? Before we invite any non-Muslim to embrace Islam, we should first of all make ourselves true Mohammedans and give proof of our religious fervour and strength of faith. And then thousands of men would embrace Islam without our giving any invitation to them."

A Story

I related a story which was told to me by a flatterer of the Government and the servant of the Political Department. He was sent to Japan as a Government spy in order to get the trace of Maulavi Barkat Ullah and his companions and to find out their activities. He went also to Count Okuma, a Japanese Minister who treated him very kindly and heard patiently all his words. This man was a fluent speaker. He said: "We, the Mohammedans of India, have an ardent desire that the whole of Japan would become Mohammedans." The Minister asked him: "What is the state of Islam in India?" He replied, "The condition of the Indian Mohammedans is hopelessly bad. They have no education, follow no trade, their morals are depraved, and everything is defective and bad. May God do good to the British Government which has given us comfort, saved us from bloodshed and made every arrangement for our safety and comfort. She has prepared for us many means of progress and prosperity, e. g., bridges, telegraphs, etc." When he asked him about the Arabs he said: "They are almost savages. They have no education, no art and have all the defects of the world

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them. They are very greedy persons and as compared with the Mohammedans of India they are no men at all." He then asked him about the state of the Turks and got this answer from him : "Their condition is hopelessly bad. They have no management. Bribery is rife, and the Turks are full of defects." When he began to speak against Persia and Afghanistan, he did not leave even a single rag on their body wherewith they may cover their naked bodies. After all this, he said, that it was his great wish that God would bring all these countries under the sway of the British rule so that the inhabitants of these countries might pass their lives in peace and comfort, and forty crores of Mohammedans would live in peace and happiness." Count Okuma heard all this very patiently. When his shameless story was over he said to him in an angry tone : "Are you not ashamed of asking me to embrace a religion which is full of germs of slavery? No matter whether the Mohammedans are forty crores in number still, of whatever country they may be, whether of Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan or India, they are shameless and degraded. Though we are less in number, yet we have saved our freedom by fighting with those who are four times as powerful. Do you want me to give place in my country to such a religion, the teaching of which makes men slaves and nothing else? All the nations of India, Persia, Afghanistan etc., cannot be weak and cowardly; hence it appears that it is the religion which teaches slavery. It is also due to Islam that the whole country is in a bad condition. Please go away. I do not want to hear such nonsense."

An Infamy

It is merely to make the Islam infamous that we may now ask Mahatma Gandhi, Hindu brethren, and other communities to embrace it; because we have deviated from the right path of the Islam and so are not presenting the truly beautiful picture of Islam before the world.

Dear friends ! Do you know the aim of all this utterance of mine ? May God give us courage, perseverance and His help so that we may sacrifice our lives for religion and be reduced to nothingness, and thereby, having given the proof of self-sacrifice, we may attain a new life. May we become true Muhammadans, and then everything is easy. All the obstacles and difficulties would vanish.

Couplet :—

'A thousand days of grief and difficulty we have passed,
'Once the fortune belt in our favour, we then have everything.'

We cannot attain our aim by chattering, boasting, and bragging. The world would not listen to us so long as we do not sacrifice ourselves for the attainment of our much-desired goal.

It is on account of the Great War and these calamities that our lives become pleasant, and that with all our sins we begin to love