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Later References

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IN CONGRESS WEEK.**

WITH A FOREWORD
BY
MARMADUKE PICKTHALL.

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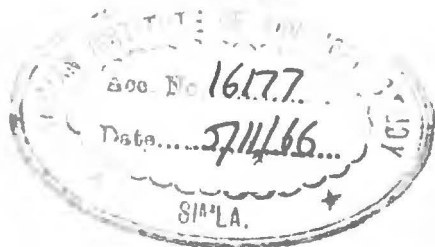
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FOREWORD.

In introducing this collection of the speeches for and against Non-Co-operation which were made by Indian leaders during Congress week, I refer back to my own impressions of the speeches which I heard at Nagpur and I quote the following words from an article which appeared in "The Chronicle" of January 8th:—

"I may be laying undue stress on the desire of words for words' sake, which is not unknown in European countries; but it seems to me the bane of India. That it is useless here as elsewhere I deduce from the fact that every Congress till the last but one has been an empty feast of words from which the delegates went home contented to do nothing. In the three months which elapsed between the Special Congress at Calcutta and the Congress at Nagpur more work has been done than in the whole previous history of the Congress, but that work has not been done by orators; nor were the talkers at the Nagpur Congress the people who contributed to its decisions. Mr. Gandhi is no rhetorician. He does not use a word more than is necessary; and men like Mr. Umar Sobani and Mr. Shankerlal Banker who have done most work for Non-Co-operation never made their voices heard at all: so that I have really good excuse for thinking that in India, as elsewhere, he who says least does most. But if I take exception to the love of making speeches I have nothing but praise for the tone of the speeches themselves. The moral level of discussion both in the Subjects Committee and in open Congress—that is to say, in private and in public—was infinitely higher than is known to members of any European National Assembly; so high indeed that it may be fitly called religious. That is a matter of which India may be justly

proud. That it was which made me proud to stand with Indian Muslims when a mighty shout acclaimed the fact that the Non-Co-operation resolution had been passed unanimously".

Readers of this book will find it difficult to reconcile some sentences in the above with Colonel Wedgwood's expressed horror of the treatment accorded to certain gentlemen in the Subjects Committee. I also was a witness of that treatment, and I can only say that either the honourable and gallant Colonel momentarily forgot the practice known as heckling at all English public meetings, and the scenes of uproar which occasionally grace the House of Commons, or he was setting for Indian politicians a standard infinitely higher than that which he himself, with every English public man, accepts. There was nothing at Nagpur to compare even remotely with the treatment which Mr. Devlin received lately in the English House of Commons; nothing that would be thought extraordinary at any English political meeting in which there happen to be two opinions. To continue my impressions: "The Non-Co-operation movement does not seem to me to be at all what its opponents love to represent it a herd of sheep pursuing an unworldly shepherd. It would surprise me much to learn of any other movement or party in India which is so well and practically organised. Enthusiasm does not preclude practical work; it only makes practical work seem light and pleasant to the worker. Immenso enthusiasm was the keynote of the Congress at Nagpur. Enthusiasm for what? somebody may well ask. Edthusiasm for righteousness, will be my answer; let anybody find a better if he can; that, and veritable passion for self-sacrifice in a cause which every man considered right. That was the spirit which I found among my Muslim brothers, and I am sure that it was no less evident among Hindoos. Few of those with whom I conversed seem to attach much importance to Mahatmaji's

repeated statement that by means of strictly non-violent Non-Co-operation Swaraj is to be attained *within one year*—a statement to which I myself attach immense importance, for, if those words come true, the connection between England and India will not only be preserved, but strengthened—but every one anticipated harsh repressive measures by the Government of India, and was prepared to suffer and to die, within the coming year..... To all who thus foreboded evil from my countrymen, I answered“God forbid!” and got the answer in return: “You do not know your countrymen in India”.....I can see that my countrymen in India are now presented with a golden opportunity, and cannot think them quite so blind as not to see it for themselves. At Nagpur it was perfectly clear to an observer with his wits about him that there was not the least objection in the Congress to the presence of the British in India, save only in so far as they are anti-Indian; and that, however anti-Indian he or she may be, no British man or woman in India has anything to fear from the Non-Co-operation movement. The last and permanent impression of the Congress on my mind is one of goodness. From the first day to the last there has been nothing mean or vulgar—much less evil or dishonest—in its counsels. I wish that the British rulers of India could have been in my place that they might know the truth for once without the comments of some interested intermediary, might know the actual character of men who have been much maligned. I hope the truth will somehow filter through to their intelligence and if that happens soon I feel quite sure that Mr. Gandhi’s prophecy will be fulfilled and all the points of Non-Co-operation will be gained within one year in the most satisfactory and simple manner; that is, by the British joining with the rest of India. ”

From the above it will be seen that I believe in Non-Co-operation thoroughly. I do not view it, as do some of its

opponents, in the light of hari-kari—the Japanese practice of committing suicide as a political protest; nor do I view it, as do some of its supporters, as a desperate and tragical renunciation of all that makes life worth living. To my mind, there is nothing tragical or sad about it. It is the healthiest and happiest impulse that has moved the Indian people for long centuries. It is liberty. It is national resurrection, postulating only the destruction of such things and influences as are positively noxious to the growth of healthy Asiatic life. It began as an indignant protest against certain wrongs committed by the British Government; but already it is far more than a protest, a negative thing; it is an assertion, a positive thing—an assertion of the existence of an Indian nation independent of British education and patronage. India has been promised the status of a Dominion in the British Commonwealth. What is the difference between the status of a Dominion and that which India occupies at present? The government of a Dominion stands for the people of the Dominion, even against the Government of England whereas the Government of India stands for the Government of England even against the people of India. We have had two glaring instances in the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs; which show how far India is at present from Dominion status, and how improbable it is that she could ever obtain such status by cooperating with her present rulers. If those rulers had but stood for India firmly on the question of the Turkish peace terms, threatening non-co-operation with the Government of England in case the wishes of so many million British subjects were disregarded for the sake of foreigners, the position would have been quite different. If even now they would but stand for India firmly to obtain redress, the Non-Co-operation movement in its aspect of a national protest would at once collapse. But not in its aspect of a national revival, part of the great Asiatic revival which is the most hopeful symptom in the world to-day.

Too long have educated Asiatics looked to Europe as the fount of wisdom. There is evil as well as good in European education and ideas of life. Asiatics have become inferior to Europeans. Why? Because they abjectly imitated them, renouncing criticism, because they had no proper pride as Asiatics. On their own ground of Asia they are not inferior; but they are different; and the difference is not to their dishonour. Every thing that is best in the world—religion, romance, chivalry—comes from Asia. Indians, be proud that you are Asiatics; cease to worship blindly every thing good or bad that comes from Europe; accept from Europe only what is good; take up your burden of responsibility as full-grown men forming a full-grown nation; do for yourselves what the British in 150 years have failed to do for you; educate every Indian man and woman in things of use to Indian men and women; raise the poor; organise the resources of the country for the public good; help the nation to develop upon natural lines, not upon lines imposed by foreign doctrinaires. Cease to depend on foreigners, and you have got your Swaraj.

*Bombay, 31st }
January 1921. }*

MARMADUKE PICKTHALL.

PUBLISHERS' NOTE.

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In presenting to the general public this booklet, our first enterprise, we hope, it will be received and encouraged warmly by the people. The book is expected to serve the purpose of placing before the public a complete view of the whole situation in India, at the present juncture of her political life and also of the measure used by Mahatma Gandhi to alleviate the situation.

The booklet contains extracts from the Presidential Address of Mr. C. Vijairaghavachariar, full text of the speeches on the New Creed of the Congress and Non-Co-operation resolution and the closing speech of the President. The change in creed, as Lala Lajpa'rai has remarked in his speech, is the natural development of the policy adopted at Calcutta Congress in passing the Non-Co-operation resolution; and it is therefore, that the debate on the creed has been included in this book. Extracts from the speech of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and a fairly good summary of the speeches of Mrs. Besant and Mr. B. S. Kamat on the resolution passed against Non-Co-operation at the All-India National Liberal Federation will also be found in this publication. In this way we have endeavoured to make this our first publication complete in itself.

We sincerely thank Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall, Editor of the "Bombay Chronicle," for acceding to our request to write a Foreword to this booklet and obliging us.

We leave this book in the hands of the public with a word that the success of our enterprise depends upon the good will of the general reading public.

VANDE MATARAM.

Opp. Portuguese Church,
Girgaum, 1st February 1921. }

NON-CO-OPERATION IN CONGRESS WEEK.

Mr. Achariar on Non-Co-operation.

The following are the extracts from the presidential address delivered by Mr. C. Vijairaghavachariar at the 35th Session of the Indian National Congress held at Nagpur.

The question for us to consider is whether in our own interests, the principle and programme of non-co-operation actually adopted is justifiable and adequate for the purpose we have in view. The exact nature and scope of the principle has not been defined and it is difficult to define it. It is to be hoped that the principle is elastic enough to include passive resistance on concrete occasions and to specific measures whether legislative or administrative, and also to include strikes, sectional, vocational and otherwise. You will remember that His Excellency the Viceroy in Council has pronounced the principle of non-co-operation as unconstitutional, because it is intended to paralyse the existing administration. It is a most astounding pronouncement. His Excellency in Council, who is in the main, responsible for the darkest page in the British history of India, would have done us a great service if, in the same remarkable communique, he had vouchsafed for our benefit what exactly our constitution is and where it is to be found. If, for a moment, it is pretended that the constitution of England is applicable to India, would he be pleased

to tell us what part of it, what principle in it, the principle and plan of non-co-operation offends? On the other hand, the whole British system of administration rests on the basis of non-co-operation, of conqueror against conquered, of Europe against Asia, of white people against coloured people. And several discriminatory laws in India and administrative measures bristle with sinister principles of this kind of non-co-operation and are wholly unconstitutional from the standpoint of the British Constitution. The new diarchial system of provincial autonomy is one entire homage to the chronic doctrine of non-co-operation of the British bureaucracy in India with the children of the soil. It is a mockery therefore on the part of the Government to characterise Mahatma Gandhi's principle of non-co-operation as unconstitutional. On the other hand, the essential principle of this movement being renunciation and self-sacrifice and non-violence, whereas the other doctrine of non-co-operation is aggressive, selfish and sordid, we are entitled justly to claim that this principle of non-co-operation is sacred and directed to secure and preserve our legitimate rights and our honest enjoyment thereof. It is not in support of might *versus* right.

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

With that single aim, namely, national self-preservation and national liberty and attainment of immediate responsible Government as the only means to achieve that end, we shall proceed to examine how

far the programme of non-co-operation adopted by the Special Congress at Calcutta is suitable. As we all know, it consists of several items and a few more items are also intended to be added to them. The item relating to the abandonment of titles may be left alone, response or no response to this demand meaning very little in promoting or affecting the cause we all have at heart. It strikes me that, to the demand that the honorary offices should be abandoned, an exception might be made in favour of judicial offices as, on the whole, greater independence and justice is and can be had from non-official Magistrates and Judges than from official stipendiary ones and that too in a system where there is no separation of the Judicial from the Executive. We may also dispose in a few words of the item relating to the Reformed Councils. The issue as to this is no longer a live issue and may be treated as tried and disposed of. And it is of very little interest for the next few years. If it must be admitted that considerable success has attended this part of the programme of non-co-operation, even those who are altogether against the movement of non-co-operation can well afford not to regret this success. If several nationalists once thought it best to seek election into Reformed Councils, it was for the double reason that the Amritsar Congress and our friends in the Parliament, the Labour Members, recommended that we should enter it if only to constitute a well-organized opposition and to expose its infirmities from within rather than from without. But, on the whole, the country has come to the conclusion that the whole system is bound to be an utter failure both financially and as a temporary platform, by getting on which we are to reach responsible Government by no means

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

The most important item in the programme relates to the withdrawal of students from Government and Aided schools. You have had the experience of the movement in this particular for the past few months. It is for you now to determine and to declare whether this part of the programme should be affirmed and carried out. Let us not, for a moment, forget the one object of the whole movement with which it has been initiated. It is to force the hands of Government to grant our very legitimate request, namely, to establish responsible Government and to redress our Khilafat grievance. Is it possible that emptying Government and aided institutions would anyway paralyze the Government here and in England in its administration and compel it to grant our object? If Government are relieved from maintaining schools and colleges, would not the money be available for other purposes—over eight crores of rupees annually? And is this a national advantage? In order to replace them by our own national institutions should we not have funds which will give us a similar annual income for which a capital of about 200 crores would be necessary? And there is the very large amount needed for buying lands, constructing buildings, and laboratories and educational museums and furnishing them. Is it possible for the country to supply that money in the near future? All this is needed to reach the superior

Benefit expected from purely national institutions. Equipment and teaching staff being equal in extent and quality, there can be no doubt that purely national institutions without any control from the bureaucratic Government would be a distinct advantage both individually and nationally. It is for you to say whether this object, to be reached by an amount of money which we cannot dream of realising in the near future, is anywise related to the initial and only immediate object of the movement, namely, redress of our grievances in less than a year. Lot of collateral and consequential matters have also to be considered by us in the working of the programme. It has hitherto been an accepted maxim of our political life that the students should be left in calm atmosphere to pursue their career and that it is injurious to them and to the rising generation to draw them into the highly excitable vortex of practical politics which is fast changing in our country as well, into party politics. Can the propaganda be carried on without violating this cardinal and very healthy maxim? We seek Swaraj. The bedrock of a healthy nation is the sound family. Will not this propaganda separate students from parents and grand-parents and from elder brothers and sisters oftener than not? How long is this process to continue if England persists, however perversely, in declining to allow us to erect our own responsible Government at once? Will not, at the end of this period—none of us can say how long it will be—the country be so much the poorer and sufferer in every way for our student population being suddenly debarred from pursuing their further career? It would be a totally different thing if students are asked to give up Government and Aided institutions whenever

and wherever national educational institutions have been fully established and are ready to receive them and educate them.

But there is another and a most serious aspect of the problem of national reconstruction, awaiting your consideration. Is it or is it not necessary as the very first step in the process that free and universal primary education for the masses should be at once provided for and started by the people of this country? Of course we are all agreed that the country stands in need of every kind and degree of education—elementary, secondary and collegiate and professional, scientific and technical, all simultaneously. But having regard to the resources of poverty stricken Indians, is it prudent and just to the masses of the people that we should, at this grave crisis, think of replacing University, Collegiate and Secondary Institutions merely because they are in the hands of Government and more or less controlled by Government, by independent national institutions and continue to starve the masses? We must not forget that in our country about 94 per cent. of the population are absolutely illiterate while only less than 4 per cent. receive any kind of instruction in schools and colleges. We have to provide at least primary instruction for this large percentage of from 94 to 96 per cent. of the entire nation. The education of our masses is behind most civilised countries. Taking the test of the percentage of the pupils receiving primary education to the whole population, the proportion in our country is about one tenth of the same in the United States, one-eighth of it in England and Germany and one-seventh of it in France and Japan, while in secondary education

India ranks higher than France and Japan. And what would be the cost of providing for the education of our masses? The Government cost of primary education is about Rs. 11 annually for each pupil, but here, let us note, Government receives some school fees. Our institutions are to be entirely free. In addition we require hostels and scholarships if not provision for lodging and boarding in each institution for the instruction of the extremely poor. Besides, the teaching staff in the primary schools are now very ill-paid and the lower ones earn less than our unskilled labourers. In our national institutions this highly demoralising feature should be removed. We must take the cost to be much higher, therefore, than the present Government cost of Rs. 11, say Rs. 15 per pupil annually. Having regard to the short average life of Indians, let us take the approximate number of both boys and girls fit to receive primary instruction to be about 70 millions, less than a fourth of the whole population as the rule that people from 15 to 50 years of age constitute half the population of a country applies to India as well. The annual cost of providing free education for this population would be approximately 105 crores. Let us add to this the cost of providing school buildings, playgrounds, hostels, and equipping them all and the cost will be enormous. And we must take to finding all this money as rapidly as we can. But let us have some idea of our national resources. The mean annual income of the people of India is between Rs. 20 and Rs. 30, say, roughly Rs. 25 per head whereas the mean annual income of the inhabitants of England is at least twenty times that. The exact figure would depend upon the exchange of course. We must gather our money from our own

people. Let us not forget that an enormous proportion of our population are ill-fed, ill-clad, and ill-sheltered. It is not human to call upon these people to subject themselves to any the least self-sacrifice in money. We must find our money from the strata above these. But our middle classes are not equal to the wage earners of England and America on an average. Only our richest people may be said to be equal to the middle classes of those countries. From these two classes, namely, from the upper and the middle classes, is it possible for us, whatever may be their high ideals of self-sacrifice, to get the required amount now? Clearly it would be impossible. We cannot hope to get much having regard to the low degree of our national savings apart from the income for many a long year to come. The degree of resources in this respect depends upon the aggregate annual savings of British India. Exact figures cannot be obtained. But we can have some idea if we have regard to the fact that the estimated average wealth for India per head is about one twenty-fourth of the same for the United Kingdom and one-fourth of Japan. Besides, there are vast numbers of rich foreigners in India whose savings should be deducted. The figure for the Indians would be found extremely low when compared with figures for the free countries of the world. But we must make a beginning and we must begin at once; and here the choice of two problems, namely, whether we ought to begin starting National High Schools and Colleges and Universities, to replace the existing ones and to continue to neglect the education of the masses and the poor, or, whether we ought to use every available rupee for starting free primary education for the masses, presents itself. Justice to masses and every

national interest determines the choice easily. We *must* begin national primary education immediately. From this one standpoint alone it is for you to say whether this item of the programme should not be given up, at least, should not be suspended, till a more favourable economic opportunity presents itself.

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

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

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

throughout the world the two classes, politicians and lawyers, are often identical. The great French Revolution, the dawn of modern political liberty, owed its success no less to the lawyers than to her statesmen and soldiers. The former two were mostly identical. The majority of the great Constitution Assembly of the glorious French Revolution were lawyers. Do you consider that this item in the programme is in grateful memory of the Constituent Assembly of immortal glory?

This demand for the withdrawal of lawyers is further based on the ground that the movement would thereby facilitate the establishment of Arbitration Courts. Here again it is for you to discuss and determine whether it is possible and desirable at the same time that the regular Courts established by law should be abolished and replaced entirely by arbitration Courts. Private arbitration is of immense value in a society. The more petty offences and plain cases of civil dispute between individuals and individuals are disposed of by private arbitration and reconciliation, the better it would be for the individuals concerned and for the society as well. But private citizens, however enlightened and experienced, would not be able to handle and investigate complex cases of law involving consideration of highly delicate questions of right and wrong, arising from contract, express and implied, and from injuries voluntary, accidental and rash. Often too grave questions both as to the interpretation and validity of law, domestic and foreign and international arise for decision. The handling of such questions requires skilled and technical experience arising from a special and painful study of

the law and jurisprudence and from experience at the bar presided over by skilled and learned judges. What is needed for obtaining true justice is a combination of both the sets of tribunals, that is Judge and Jury. If we abolish Courts and if we abolish the profession of law, and nothing less the item means to be effectual, there would be great a social want which there would be no means of supplying. The result will be immediate increase of offences and criminal cases and gradual decay of national instinct for freedom. Those who have experience of Courts and of the lower strata of society know that the masses are on the one hand unable to analyse their grievances into basis for civil actions and civil remedies and on the other, little accustomed to restrain their passions and feelings of revenge and are in consequence most apt to take the law into their own hands and commit offences, in supposed redress of their grievances but more really in revenge. Let us remember that, as civilization advances, injuries would be multiplied by design, accident, and oversight and great skill and ingenuity are needed to investigate their true nature and to find suitable remedies for the injured in respect of the novel injuries. Let us not forget that freedom means the rule of law. But it is inconcievable that the "reign" and "majesty" of law can be secured and, maintained without courts of law and without the profession of the law.

Taking these two items together I venture to think that I shall be justified in asking you to consider whether any appreciable success of the movement which I humbly deny can ever be reached does not mean an unintentional and even unconscious proposal

to rebarbarise the people of India, by no means a very auspicious preparation to establish and maintain the democratical form of responsible government which we all have so dear at heart.

You would all naturally ask me what then should be our programme if this programme is not adopted by us any longer. I will make an honest endeavour to give you an answer. In one word it is nation-building. We are bent and rightly so on having immediate responsible government for our state. But let us not forget that the state is not quite the nation and the nation is not quite the state. The state is an instrument for the purpose of the development and welfare of the nation. At the same time the healthy growth of both depends upon their interaction. If, therefore, we would have the best form of government and adopt it and develop it so as to suit the genius of the people of this country, we should renovate the people in as great a perfection as it is possible for us to do without the true state to begin with. Great progress has been made since the Congress was started in the way of the unification of the people and the mobilisation and augmentation of the national comradeship of spirit. Thank God, the cumulative effect of all the misfortunes that have recently overtaken the entire country has done more to unite us than centuries of universal national education and mission work for the purpose could have effected and this involuntary process of national unification is greatly expanded and intensified under the auspices of Mahatmaji Gandhi and the stalwart patriots who are co-operating with him; our everlasting gratitude and that of our children unborn is due to him and to them for this great and glorious.

service to our mother-land. But yet we are not fully as great and vital a nation as we may well be and processes of further renovation must be immediately thought of by us and adopted and put into effect. The first and foremost is the education of the masses in as large and fast expanding a scale as we can endeavour to achieve. The Congress must at once appoint one special committee with power to appoint sub-committees charged with this important business and nothing else. They must collect funds and appoint active missionaries for starting vernacular schools by day and by night for the benefit of labourers, for holding lectures, demonstrations and so forth. Then we must deal with problems of our men abroad, especially in the British Colonies. We must attend to the question of their immediate repatriation. This country needs the activities, both mental and bodily, of all her children for the development of our resources to the highest degree in the light of modern science. Then there is the question of labour organization and mission for the elevation of the depressed classes. The country has been hitherto altogether neglecting the vital problem of the amelioration of sections of our countrymen and countrywomen designated as "Criminal tribes" and "Criminal classes." These are all subject to harassing and humiliating special laws. Congress must appoint committees for the purpose of starting and co-operating in movements in connection with all these problems. I think the Social Reformers will take care of themselves but the Congress must extend their right hand of sympathy and good fellowship towards them. All these activities should be on a thoroughly organized basis and on a progressive efficient scale.

I also desire that the scheme for the entire renovation of India includes a negative aspect to which I would call your attention specially. Financial statistics which show loss of income and which threaten progressive loss of income have far greater effect on the mental outlook and on the moral calibre of the average Englishman than any other weapon we can conceive of. I desire that we intentionally and with set purpose make provision for gradually and rapidly affecting the income of the English exploiter in India and even of England in so far as India is her market and supplier of raw produce, in all legitimate ways, immediately by organizing labour, especially unskilled labour, for the economic advancement of India at an accelerated speed and calculated at the same time to starve the foreign exploiter. The Congress must appoint a select committee of experts with power to form branch committees throughout the country for making suitable arrangements for the gradual boycott of foreign goods and for stoppage of exportation of raw produce. I consider this is the most effective method of converting Englishmen into our friends at least into a sense of justice for us. The weakness of the English exploiter not to speak of the whole nation, is money, finance if you like. We must attack him there if we desire to attack him with any success at all. A far greater and more serious authority is also available on the point. Burke says, that the English idea of liberty is not abstract but inherent in some sensible object and that almost every nation has some favourite point which is the criterion of their liberty and that the English sensible object with which their idea of freedom is indissolubly connected is money.

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

The New Creed of the Congress^e.

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

Mr. Gandhi, in moving the adoption of the new creed said:—There are only two kinds of objections, so far as I understand, that will be advanced from this platform. One is that we may not to-day think of dissolving the British connection. What I say is that it is derogatory to national dignity to think of the permanence of the British connection at any cost. We are labouring under a grievous wrong which it is the personal duty of every Indian to get redressed. The British Government not only refuses to redress the wrong but it refuses to acknowledge its mistake, and so long as it retains that attitude it is not possible for us to say all that we want to be or all that we want to get is to retain the British connection. No matter what difficulties lie in our path, we must make the clearest possible declaration to the world, and to the whole of India, that we may not possibly have the British connection if the British people will not do this elementary justice. I do not for one moment suggest that we want to end the British connection at all costs unconditionally; if the British connection is for the advancement of India we do not want to destroy it, but if it is inconsistent with our national self-respect, then it is our bounden duty to destroy it. There is room in this resolution for both those who believe that by retaining the British connection we can purify ourselves and purify the British people,

and those who have no belief. For instance, take the extreme case of Mr. Andrews. He says all hope for India is gone for keeping the British connection. He says there must be complete severance, complete independence. There is room enough in this creed for a man like Mr. Andrews also. Take another illustration,—a man like myself or Mr. Shaukat Ali. There is certainly no room for us if we have eternally to subscribe to the doctrine, whether these wrongs are redressed or not, we shall have to evolve ourselves within the British Empire; there is no room for me in this creed. Therefore, this creed is elastic enough to take in both shades of opinion, and the British people will have to beware that, if they do not want to do justice, it will be the bounden duty of every Indian to destroy that Empire.

Then we have some argument as to the means. I have the right of reply, so that I do not want to address myself on that question. I want just now to wind up my remarks with a personal appeal, drawing your attention to an object lesson that was presented in the Bengali camp yesterday. If you want Swaraj you have got a demonstration of how to get Swaraj. There was a little bit of a skirmish, a little bit of squabble, and a little bit of difference in the Bengali camp as there will always be differences so long as the world lasts. I have known differences between husband and wife, because I am still a husband; I have noticed differences between children and children because I am still a father of four boys, and they are all strong enough to destroy their father so far as a bodily struggle is concerned. I possess that varied experience of husband and parent; I know that we

shall always have squabbles, we shall always have differences; but the lesson that I want to draw your attention to is that I had the honour and the privilege of addressing both parties. They gave me their undivided attention, and what is more they showed their attachment, their affection and their fellowship for me by accepting the humble advice that I had the honour of tendering to them. If you are strong, if you are brave, if you are intent upon getting Swaraj, and if you really want to revise the creed then you will bottle up your rage, you will bottle up all the feelings of injustice that may rankle in your hearts and forget these things. I want my Bengali friends, and all the others who have come to this great assembly with a fixed determination to seek nothing but the settlement of their country, to seek nothing but the advance of their respective rights, to seek nothing but the conservation of the national honour. I appeal to every one of you to copy the example set by those who felt aggrieved and who felt that their heads were broken. I know before we are done with this great battle on which we have embarked at the special session of the Congress, we have to go probably—possibly—through a sea of blood, but let it not be said of us or any one of us that we are guilty of shedding blood; let it be said by generations yet to be born that we suffered, that we shed not somebody's blood but our own, and so I have no hesitation in saying that I do not want to show much sympathy for those who had their heads broken or who were said to be even in danger of losing their lives. What does it matter? It is much better to die at the hands at least of our own countrymen. What is there to revenge ourselves about or upon?

I ask everyone of you that, if at any time there is blood boiling within you against some fellow-countrymen of yours, even though he may be in the employ of government, even though he may be in the secret service, or he may belong to a detective department, you will take care not to be offended and not to return blow for blow. Understand that the very moment that you return the blow your cause is lost. That is your non-violent campaign. And so I ask everyone of you not to retaliate, but to bottle up all your rage, to dismiss your rage from you and you will rise braver men. I am here to congratulate those who have restrained themselves from going to the President and bringing the dispute before him. Therefore I appeal to those who feel aggrieved to feel that they have done the right thing in forgetting it, and if they have not forgotten I ask them to try to forget. Do not carry this resolution only by acclamation, though I shall want your acclamation for this resolution. I want you to accompany the carrying out of this resolution with a faith and resolution which nothing on earth can move. I know that you are intent upon getting Swaraj at the earliest possible moment and that you are intent upon getting Swaraj by means that are legitimate, that are honourable and by means that are non-violent, that are peaceful. We cannot give battle to this Government by means of steel, but we can give battle by exercising what I have so often called soul force, and soul force is not the prerogative of one man, of a *Sanyasi* or even of a so-called saint. Soul force is the prerogative of every human being, female or male, and therefore I ask my countrymen, if they want to accept this resolution, to accept it with that fixed determination and to understand that it is

inaugurated under such good and favourable auspices as I have described to you. May God grant that you will pass this resolution unanimously; may God grant that you will also have the courage and the ability to carry out the resolution, and that within one year. (Cheers.)

Lala Lajpat Rai.

Lala Lajpat Rai in seconding the resolution said: Many events have happened which practically make it compulsory, almost obligatory, upon us to change the creed, and I am here to say that it could not be changed in a better way than has been done. I say it is a natural development of the policy which you adopted at the last special Congress in passing the resolution of non-co-operation. Even at the present moment I am not prepared to say that the majority of this assembly and the country are prepared to say that we will at once go in for complete independence, or that we are going to fight for it at once, or that we shall not remain within the British Commonwealth if that was possible for us to do. We shall be lacking in frankness, in patriotism, in honesty and truth if we were not to announce in the clearest possible terms the change of mentality that has come over the country. Now what this change of the creed aims at is a notice to the British public and the British Government that although we do not at the present moment directly aim to go out of the British Empire or the British Commonwealth, but if we remain in the British Commonwealth or in the British Empire we shall not remain at the dictation of anybody or by fear. There are friends here from the British Isles for whom I have the greatest respect and I ask them to convey this message

from me in this assembly to the British people: That we as a people dealing with another people are in no way hostile to them, we are not actuated by any motives of enmity or hostility; but at the same time we want to tell you our brothers that this country has absolutely no faith in the love of justice of the British people. Not only that; we have lost all faith even in the candidness of British statesmen. I consider that the moment they issued the despatch on the affairs of the Punjab in which they praised the so called—I should not say so called—Sir Michael O'Dwyer, British statesmanship practically declared its bankruptcy. But even previously we had lost faith in British statesmanship, but that was the chief point which has sealed our opinion of British rule and British statesmanship. The other day I read a telegram in which it was stated that in the House of Lords, Lord Selborne expressed resentment at the conduct of those Indians who were disseminating in this country that British pledges and British words were not to be relied upon. Of course he wanted the Government of India to carry on a counteracting propoganda to meet those charges and contradict those people who are making those charges. I, in this open Congress, in this assembly of 20,000 of my countrymen, containing the cream of this country, want to tell Lord Selbourne that we have absolutely no faith in British pledges and promises. If he runs through the pages of Indian history he will find that the rule of Britain in India is a continuous record of broken pledges and unfulfilled promises. Does he want us at the present moment to speak lies and continue to delude ourselves into the good faith of British pledges, or British promises? We do not want to go into the bad past history or into the past records

of the British connection with India, but I challenge anyone to contradict me when I say that not a single decade of British rule in India has gone by without a breach of faith and breach of promises and breach of pledges. Pledges made most solemnly in the name of His Majesty or Her Majesty—promises made most clearly and unambiguously by the responsible Government of Great Britain—they have not only remained most of them unfulfilled but they have been actually broken. I will not go over the past history of how Lord Dalhousie swept away those pledges and promises but recent history is enough to furnish us instances of broken pledges. It will be fresh in the memory of my countrymen how Lord Curzon tried to sweep away practically the Queen's Proclamation by saying that it was nothing but a piece of rhetoric. Lord Curzon was not a responsible politician then; he was a Viceroy of India, but at the present moment he is the Foreign Secretary of the British Empire. Then we come later on the present Prime Minister of England, (laughter). Mr. Lloyd George. If Lord Selborne had been present here I would have asked him to point out to me a single member of the British Cabinet whose words carry greater weight than those of a grocer (laughter). Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Lloyd George embodies in himself the chivalry, the nobility, the patriotism, and the power of the British Empire and we know how he deceived the Indian Musalmans and how he broke these pledges to the ear, still maintaining that he has never broken his pledges. I can understand an honest man saying that those pledges were made under stress of necessity and that politics knows no law and therefore they can be broken with impunity, but what about the honesty of a man who says that he has kept those

pledges whereas the whole world knows that he has broken them. Coming down from the Prime Minister, we shall examine the frame of mind of His Excellency the War Minister. Are we going to have faith in Mr. Winston Churchill, in the word of Lord Curzon, in Mr. Balfour (cries of 'certainly not.') May I ask somebody of you to point out to me who among the British Cabinet is entitled to our confidence (a voice "No one.") My friend suggests here (on the platform) Lord Milner (ironical Cheers.). Another friend suggests Mr. Montagu (cries of "No.") (a voice General Dyer.-Laughter). It is absolutely futile for any British statesman to expect that India can any more place any faith or any confidence in the words and pledges of British statesmen. But by this change of creed we are not even now averse to remaining within the British Commonwealth if we are allowed to remain on our terms, by our free choice, and by our free will. We will decide that question when the time comes and on the merits of the question in the light of our own interests and not by coercion or pressure.

I want to say one word to you about the play on the words 'Empire and Commonwealth'. May I ask if there is any British Commonwealth (cries of no, no. Mr. Holford Knight, 'not yet') and not yet Mr. Holford Knight says. Very well then, where is that British Commonwealth in which we can remain? (A voice: nowhere, it is all Utopia.) As to the British Empire, I will rather be a slave than willingly consent to be a part of an Empire which enslaves so many millions of human beings.

My friends say that this phrase "Swaraj" is dubious. If they mean by this that the phrase has two

meanings—within or without the British Empire—without making it clear I will say they are right, because the word has been deliberately used for the purpose of enabling us to remain within the Commonwealth if we choose when that Commonwealth is established, or go out of it when we like. That is one part of the resolution, the attainment of "Swaraj" by the people of India. The other part of the resolution is concerned with the means. I am one of those who believe that every nation has when the occasion arises an inherent right of armed rebellion against an oppressive and autocratic Government but I do not believe that we have either the means or even the will for such a large rebellion at the present time. I will not discuss the future possibilities, but I want my countrymen to have no misconception or misgiving. The leaders of this national gathering do not want them to resort to violence for the attainment of any of the objects that has been laid before them. It is absolutely necessary in the present state of feeling in this country to lay emphasis on that point because passions have been roused, feelings have been excited, there is very bitter discontent in this country against the doings of the British Government, and therefore the more we emphasise this point the greater the need of it and the greater the use of it. It cannot be too frequently and too sufficiently emphasised that we entirely abhor any kind of violence exercised against stray individuals or used rather in a fit of passion, anger, or resentment. The feelings and excitement and the anger and the passion of the country have been so much roused of late that it would be very difficult to control them by any human being. I consider that the country has displayed on the whole a sobriety and

appreciation of the situation for which we may well congratulate ourselves. I want to give here an expression that at least in my province with the exception of a few of those untoward events we have for the past year in spite of the gravest possible provocation maintained peace, which does great credit to the Punjab. If ever therefore in the future there is any disturbance in the Punjab, any recrudescence of violence, it is not we but the British people who will be responsible for it. I want to tell the bureaucracy that if they continue in their policy of repression—a cruel and uncalled for repression, absolutely unjustified in the face of circumstances they shall be responsible for the consequence, and not any of us. I think that in the whole of British India there is no administration which is more unstatesmanlike than the present administration of the Punjab (a voice “and Delhi”). Yes, I know, but Delhi is unfortunately in the Punjab. They say they want repression in the province because it is full of gunpowder. Who has made it into gunpowder (a voice General Dyer). It is they who are responsible for it. We repudiate the charge unequivocally and unreservedly. I just want to point out to you that for these very reasons it is absolutely necessary that we should stick to the language of the resolution that has been proposed to you by Mahatma Gandhi “by peaceful and legitimate means,” (cheers).

Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

Mr. Jinnah, in the course of a speech opposing the motion of Mr. Gandhi said:—The first part of the resolution is the attainment of ‘Swaraj’. In my opinion that means a declaration for complete independence.

Does it mean that it retains the British connection? I venture to say it does not. Mahatma Gandhi and Lala Lajpat Rai explained that it is with or without the British connection. I entirely agree with Lala Lajpat Rai in most part of his indictment that he levelled against the Government. I do not think there is any difference of opinion between myself and him on the wrongs of an enormous character which have made our blood boil but that is not the question for the moment before us. Lala Lajpat Rai has told you that in 1907 those who adopted the present creed of the National Congress felt that there was neither the will nor the means of making the proposed declaration. To-day he said the majority have the will. I entirely agree that the majority have the will to make that declaration, but the second point is, have we got the means placed before you to-day by Mr. Gandhi (voices—"Say Mahatma")—Yes, Mahatma Gandhi (laughter)—are legitimate and peaceful. Therefore Mahatma Gandhi thinks that, having declared for complete independence for India, he will achieve it by peaceful means. But I make bold to say that you will never get your independence without bloodshed. If you think that you are going to get it without bloodshed, I say you are making the greatest blunder (cries of "No"). Therefore you are making a declaration which you have not the means to carry out. On the other hand you are exposing your hands to your enemies. I cannot really understand the argument of Lala Lajpat Rai that this resolution is intended to give notice to the British Government. No organisation, much less a national organisation, adopts for its object a creed which can be considered as a notice. If that is your intention and object you must pass a resolution and

not change the creed. By all means pass a resolution and say to the world and to the British Government that it is a "*Sine Qua Non*" that unless you redress our chief grievances we give you notice that we shall sever from you altogether. Now I ask what is the use of this camouflage. Is it possible for us after this creed is passed to stand on the same platform, one saying that he wants to keep the British connection and another that he does not want it. Do not, therefore, blind yourselves. Do not in your temper, in your desperation, take a step in haste which you may have to regret. Lala Lajpat Rai said there was not one British statesman whose word could be taken any better than that of a grocer. Then may I know why you still say you will keep connection with them. If you want to give notice to the British Government, I have no objection at all. The moment you pass this resolution you are going to tell the people that Congress has made a bid for complete independence or, as Mahatma Gandhi said, that you want to destroy the British Empire. But how are you going to destroy the British Empire. In my opinion to-day it is a mere dream. In spite of the fact that we have 30 crores and more the only reason I have been able to get for a change in creed beyond mere sentimental feelings and an expression of anger and desperation from the supporters of this creed was given to me in the Subjects Committee by Mr. Mahomed Ali (cries of—"Say Maulana.") No I will not be dictated to by you. Mr. Mahomed Ali (cries of Shame). If you will not allow me the liberty to speak of a man in the language in which I think it is right, I say you are denying me the liberty which you are asking, for I am entitled to say Mr. Mahomed Ali. I say the only reason that

Mr. Mahomed Ali gave me was that there are some people who find it impossible to sign the Congress Creed and therefore the Congress Creed must be changed. Do you think that is a sufficient reason? The creed you are going to insert is going to take a permanent place in your constitution. You cannot change it next year. The constitution must be sacred to us. The constitution, if it is changed, must be changed at least with this object in view—that you see at least a quarter of a century ahead of you. I am unable to agree that it is politically sound nor wise nor capable of being put into execution. Knowing as I do that Mahatma Gandhi has a vast influence over a majority of the audience, I make a personal appeal to him to cry "Halt".

Mr. B. C. Pal.

Mr. B. C. Pal, supporting Mr. Gandhi said:—If I had my way I would have very much liked to have the adjective "democratic" before the word "Swaraj". Because it is the distinct duty of this great assembly to give a lead not only to the present generation but to those who are coming after us in regard to the ideal form of Government that we must have in India in consonance with the spirit and traditions of our people. But I do not press that point here because we lost it in the Subject Committee. Considerable confusion has been sought to be created by clever people in regard to the meaning of the word "Swaraj" and its connection with the Empire. I know there is a small volume of sentiment in this country which wants to keep on to this which is called the Empire, but what is this Empire. The Empire is either an idea or a fact. As an idea this British Empire exists in the brains of British

Imperialists like the Round Table politicians and in the head of the members of the present Coalition Cabinet. Their idea of Empire is of a dual Empire—one the self-governing Empire consisting of the self-governing Colonies and the other the dependent Empire, consisting of the non-white races. The trend of the present day war-cry of British Imperialism is to consolidate the White Empire with a view to the political and economic exploitation of the non-white Empire. Are you for keeping yourself within the loving embrace of this Empire? (Cries of No, No) Let us therefore not waste our breath upon this question whether we want to be inside or outside the Empire. The question, has not been asked by anybody whether we will be within the Empire. When somebody asks that question, it will be time to make a stipulation but the time has come now when the world must be told once and for all that in time to come India declines to be inside an Empire to be treated as a serf by that Empire and this resolution makes that declaration. We do not say that we shall be inside or outside the Empire. We have left that open enough to suit every opinion, to suit every conscience. The old creed does not represent the public opinion of India at the present time and we assembled in this congress are bound to put on record the seal of our authority upon what is the deliberate conviction of the vast masses of our countrymen whom we represent in this hall that their conviction is that the time has come and now is when India must bid for her birthright of complete political freedom. Yes, I want independence. If it is a crime to say that I want independence I am prepared to pay the penalty of that crime.

Col. Wedgwood.

Colonel Wedgwood, who received an ovation, opposed Mr. Gandhi's resolution. He said:—In the House of Commons I often ask the other members of that House to try to put themselves in the position of Indians and to think what they would do if they were Indians and the Indians were Englishmen ruling them, and now I have to ask you what you would feel like if you were in my shoes addressing a subject race who have suffered injury at the hands of my countrymen. What, for instance, would Mr. Shaukat Ali feel if he was asked to face an audience of Armenians and Greeks? I think that he would feel very much as I feel, a sympathy and yet a feeling that he had got to stand up for the sake of his countrymen—(cries of "No! No!" and a voice "For truth")—and for truth at the same time. Now Lala Lajpat Rai, for instance, charged all British statesmen with being breakers of words and faithless individuals. Let me tell you that charge has been levelled and will be levelled and can be levelled against all statesmen of all times. (A voice: "Not against Mahatma Gandhi") Mr. Gandhi is not a statesman, but as you know, a saint on this earth. I remember at one meeting saying a word in defence of Mr. Montagu, and just because I want to test your self-control I am going to say a word to you about Mr. Montagu—one of those accursed and satanic Secretaries of State. The *Independent* of Allahabad accuses me of being an emissary of Mr. Montagu, but I want you to observe this about Mr. Montagu—that he has done more than any previous Secretary of State in history to earn his wages from the people who pay them. And I ask you to observe further that at a time

when he is being damned daily by the *Morning Post* in England and the Anglo-Indian press in Calcutta, at a time when he has lost the confidence of the Cabinet, when he is shouted down in the House of Commons as being a traitor to his country, at that particular moment Indians had better be quiet. (A voice " Non-co-operate: ") Judge your men, from their friends and from their enemies, and then exercise a little charity.

I remember when I first met Lala Lajpat Rai, he spoke to me, as he has spoken to you and to me ever since, of the wrongs committed by my countrymen against India, and I need hardly say to you that I am going to spend the rest of my time fighting those wrongs and putting an end to them. But after he had retailed all their crimes he turned to me and said, " Ah! Commander Wedgwood ! but England is nothing compared to America. Here there is no press and no public man who dares to stand up for an unpopular minority. Here there is no freedom because the popular will dominate and no man may speak against popular will. " There is truth in that. That truth applies to India also. Be careful that in your Swaraj, your new creed, you have real Swaraj, based upon self-control, as well as upon self-government. The most hopeful, the most delightful thing that I have seen in India was the workshop in the Benares Hindu University. There they were making self-reliant, self-respecting Indians who would hold up their heads and do their work well, and the one thing that has created the worst impression upon me (I am only an outsider, I know, but it was a thing that created the worst impression) was the treatment meted out to Mr.

Jinnha, Mr. Malaviya and Sir Ashutosh Choudhari yesterday in the Subjects Committee.

Mr. Shamlal Nehru rose to a point of order.

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

Colonel Wedgwood continuing, said:—I want to tell you that you cannot expect to hear the truth from your leaders—you cannot expect your leaders to face what they have to face in this country unless you allow more fair play and more freedom of speech. It is a perfect scandal that an old lady of eighty years of age was shouted down at Bombay. (A voice: "She calls everybody a liar.") Call her back again, but allow freedom of speech, not in the interests of Mrs. Besant or in the interests of Mr. Jinnah, but in the interests of India. Free speech is the only basis upon which democracy can survive.

I have seen the Irish struggle for independence, and I have seen the Boer struggle for independence. Let me tell you that in Ireland the parties were divided far more bitterly than they are in this country. The feeling between the Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites and Mr. O' Brien and Mr. Dillon was far more bitter than between the politicians in this country. But they always behaved to each other like gentlemen and gave one another a patient hearing. Save India from this awful position that your public men become afraid of public life and retire into private life. I do not know enough about Mr. Jinnah's politics to say whether I agree with him or not, but I do know that a man who has the courage to come to this audience and tell you what he has told you is a man for my

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

Congress Resolution on Non-Co-operation.

The following is the text of the resolution on Non-Co-operation passed by the Indian National Congress.

Whereas in the opinion of the Congress the existing Government of India has forfeited the confidence of the country and whereas the people of India are now determined to establish Swaraj, and whereas all methods adopted by the people of India prior to the last special sessions of the Indian National Congress have failed to secure due recognition of their rights and liberties and the redress of their many and grievous wrongs, more specially in reference to the Khilafat and the Punjab; now this Congress while reaffirming the resolution on non-violent non-co-operation passed at the special session of the Congress at Calcutta declares that the entire or any part or parts of the scheme of non-violent non-co-operation with the renunciation of voluntary association with the present Government at one end and the refusal to pay taxes at the other should be put in force at a time to be determined by either the Indian National Congress or the All-India Congress Committee and that in the meanwhile to prepare the country for it, effective steps should continue to be taken in that behalf.

(A) By calling upon the parents and guardians of school children (and not the children themselves) under the age of 16 years to make greater efforts for the purpose of withdrawing them from such schools as are owned, aided, or in any way controlled by Government and concurrently to provide for their training

in national Schools or by such other means as may be within their power in the absence of such schools,

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

(C) By calling upon the 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 effort to suspend their practice and to devote their attention to national service including boycott of law courts by litigants and fellow lawyers and the settlement of disputes by private arbitration.

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

(F) And generally inasmuch as self-sacrifice is essential to the success of non-co-operation by calling

upon every section and every man and woman in the country to make the utmost possible contribution of self-sacrifice to the national movement.

(G) By organising committees in each village or group of villages with a provincial central organisation in the principal cities of each province for the purpose of accelerating the progress of non-co-operation.

(H) By organising a band of national workers for a service to be called the Indian National service by taking effective steps to raise a national fund to be called the All India Tilak Memorial *Swaraja* Fund for the purpose of financing the foregoing national service and the non-co-operation movement in general.

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

This Congress recognises the growing friendliness between the police and the soldiery and the people and hopes that the former will refuse to subordinate their

creed and country to the fulfilment of orders of their officers and by courteous and considerate behaviour towards the people will remove the reproach hitherto levelled against them that they are devoid of any regard for the feelings and sentiments of their own people and this congress appeals to all people in the Government employment pending the call of the nation for resignation of their service to help the national cause by importing greater kindness and stricter honesty in their dealings with their people and fearlessly and openly to attend all popular gatherings whilst refraining from taking any active part therein, and more specially by openly rendering financial assistance to the national movements.

This Congress desires to lay special emphasis on non-violence being the integral part of the non-co-operation resolution and invites the attention of the people to the fact that non-violence in word and deed is as essential between people themselves as in respect of the Government and this Congress is of opinion that the spirit of violence is not only contrary to the growth of a true spirit of democracy but actually retards the enforcement (if necessary) of the other stages of non-co-operation. Finally in order that the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs may be redressed and *Swaraja* established within one year this Congress urges upon all 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 a complete co-operation amongst the people themselves, this Congress calls upon the 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 special efforts 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.

Mr. C. R. Das, in moving the above resolution said:—

I ask you to consider very carefully word by word, line by line, because I most emphatically deny the charge that the non-co-operation resolution, which was passed by the Subjects Committee is weaker and not stronger than the resolution which was passed at Calcutta. Let me put before you in a few words the scheme of it. We say our wrongs, including the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs. I do not want to enumerate the wrongs, because there are so many of them, but each wrong so far as I am concerned, is the cause of the attitude that I have taken up. We declare that our wrongs can be righted by our attaining Swaraj. We declare that our wrongs are of such a nature that we must attain Swaraj immediately. Then we declare that all methods we have employed up to now have failed and that the only method which is left to us is the method of non-violent non-co-operation. We declare, so that there may not be any mistake about it, that this Congress has resolved distinctly and clearly without any ambiguity that the whole of that scheme of non-co-operation shall be put

into force to secure all our rights and Swaraj. We declare further that, in the meantime, those things which we resolved upon at Calcutta are to continue and we are to continue our activities in other directions as well. Here I pause for a moment to consider the question which I regret has been raised, *viz.*, that this resolution is weaker than the Calcutta one. May I ask you to consider in what respect it is weaker? I claim that it is stronger, fuller and more complete. In the Calcutta resolution there was no clear declaration that this nation has resolved to put in force the entire programme of non-co-operation down to the non-payment of taxes. Although I believe Mr. Gandhi thinks that it may not be necessary, still if it is necessary, I want it to be clearly stated that the people of India will not shrink from putting that into force. We say in the meantime till that call is sounded and you must remember that when that call is sounded, that call has to be abided by all lawyers, students, merchants, agriculturists, everybody in every section in the country and must be responded to by all. Do you understand what that means? It means that the tyrannical machinery of the Government, which is not regulated but is driven, not by the beauracracy but by Indians. It means that the moment that call is sounded every Indian has taken his hands off from that machinery and tells the Government "Do what you like but ours are not the hands which will move the machinery that is putting into force the scheme".

Let us consider what we have to do in the meantime. The Calcutta resolution was confined to student and lawyers and was a general resolution about the boycott of foreign goods. Here we say we keep the

same injunction about students, we are differentiating however between the students under 16 and over 16. With regard to the lawyers, we keep the same. Not only do we reaffirm the Calcutta resolution, but we say that we are not satisfied with the way in which that resolution has been responded to by lawyers and we say greater efforts must be made to secure that. We also refer to the settlement of disputes by private arbitration. With regard to the economic questions, we say that the economic wrong is one of the greatest wrongs from which we have suffered. We must say that a committee of experts should be appointed at once to form and organise a formal boycott of foreign goods. As regards the boycott of Councils, that has succeeded. We say further what naturally follows from that, namely, that the men at present occupying the seats are not the representatives of the people of India. Do we stop there? No. We go further and say that these people who pretend to represent do not represent us. Therefore, we call upon the voters not to take any political assistance from these people. We appeal generally for amity in favour of every suppressed class and in favour of every section of the community which requires the protection and development. This is the scheme of the resolution. Is it weaker in respect of lawyers? I say, no, because it reaffirms it, continues to call upon lawyers to act up to that resolution. Is it weaker from the point of view of students? I say no. We have guarded against students coming out of a false sentiment. I think it is only right that the greatest national assembly should declare that those students who feel the call of duty and conscience should immediately, regardless of all consequences, give up their schools. (Loud and continued applause).

Mr. B. C. Pal.

Mr. Pal, in supporting the resolution, said:— I desire to say a few words to clear my own position in justice to myself and to you all. Somehow or other I had fathered the amendment at the Special Congress. If I had felt that that amendment so far as it represented my personal view was in opposition to the present resolution, I could not have given my support. As I read this resolution, it contained the spirit and substance of the more important things that I pressed to the attention of the Special Congress. We all want Swaraj and the only way to attain it under existing conditions is by Non-Co-operation. I have never been against the principle and policy of Non-Co-operation. I have preached it times out of number in the columns of the "Independent" when I had the honour of being its editor. I had said that Non-Co-operation was our only and last chance. No doubt there were differences between Mr. Gandhi's original programme and my own programme, but now that that programme has been modified to contain the spirit and substance of my Calcutta amendment I have no hesitation in saying that I would wholeheartedly give my support to this resolution in the interest of unity, forgetting all minor differences. I will therefore call upon students to suspend their studies, the parent to withdraw their children from schools concurrently with the establishment of national schools, the lawyers to suspend their practice all with a view to attain Swaraj that is likely to be established, within one year and if I wholeheartedly worked for this movement then I would give up my studies and work for it. I would also call upon merchants and traders

to strike at the root of British Capitalism which was the soul of British Imperialism and world domination. The present resolution antagonises no single interest and it is essential that there should be no antagonism of interest in great national movement. If we could pull up strength together, I have no doubt that we would achieve what we have in view within one year.

Lala Lajpat Rai.

Lala Lajpat Rai in supporting the resolution said:— I congratulate the drafters of this resolution upon the form they have given it. In my judgment it is much more comprehensive, much more effective and much more practical than the language of the old resolution weakening it in its essentials. It is much more stronger and removes all objections that objectors had against the form of the old resolution and it gives a distinct lead to the country how to proceed with the business of Non-Co-operation. According to the previous resolution, the All-India Congress Committee had appointed a subcommittee to give detailed instructions and there was unfortunately a slight difference of opinion among the people who drafted that report. There are clear indications in the present resolution as to how the nation is to proceed with boycott of foreign goods and no one reading this resolution can bring any charge against that, although we passed this resolution, we are not carrying it out in practice. As regards boycott of Government schools and colleges, the wording had been so very well put that it leaves absolutely no doubt as to the essential parts of that resolution. Supporters' intentions and resolutions have been much more clear. The Mahatmaji has

explained that so far as school children under sixteen are concerned, he did not intend and never intended that they should go over the heads of parents. In order to remove all possible misapprehension I might have possibly preferred to leave school children from our consideration, but in the interpretation given to it and in light of the new wording I have given my consent and support to the present resolution in its new form. That removes all possible objection that I had against the old resolution.

After the Calcutta resolution was carried, I said in my concluding speech, that once it was passed, it becomes our bounden duty to obey it and carry it into practice so that no one shall say that we passed a resolution, but did not give effect to them. It is unfortunate that some people in the country, very few of them who really belonged to the Congress camp, have considered it advisable and were even bold enough to defy the mandate of the Congress with regard to Councils. I am really sorry for them. I do not question their motives, but still I am here to affirm that the success which Congress propaganda has achieved in the matter of Council elections must be eye-opener to the bureaucracy. No doubt there were great differences of opinion among a large body of Nationalist in Maharastra, in Bengal, and in other provinces about the resolution on boycott of Councils; but as soon as the Indian National Congress passed the resolution, most manfully and patriotically they declined in a body to enter the Councils and abided by the resolution. No other country in the world can afford to show such an example of absolute obedience to National constituted authority as the Nationalists did in obedience to the

National Congress. Men high in National Councils, high in economic position were very keen on going to the Councils as they thought that was the best way of serving the nation, but within a week of passing the resolution at Calcutta, there was practically unanimity amongst all Nationalists ranks in every part of India to abide by that resolution. I congratulate the nation upon that action and this will point out to the bureaucracy the finger of God in that conduct and behaviour. Government has been making much of minor differences among us but when it comes to the point of conduct and action they must learn that we can show a united front.

I wish that the agitation with regard to Councils did not stop here, but should be carried to its logical conclusion which is embodied in the resolution. We must continue to work so as to show by persistent declarations that the men who have gone into the Councils do not represent us. By doing so, you will be registering more men and making your own electorate much stronger. I beg of you to put forth your greater effort in that part of the resolution and register all voters against the people who have gone to Councils. I now rejoice that the name of Tilak had been added in the resolution to give more effective support and Tilak will now rejoice that the country has taken the right step if he reads this resolution. The success not only depends upon our true, loyal and faithful obedience to this resolution. We shall stultify ourselves in the eyes of the world and we will be setting an example of extreme demoralisation if we fail to achieve success that we aim at. It may be our work is difficult as it is uphill work. We must be prepared to take serious

steps and to face every serious consequence. I also rejoice that in the preamble the first place has been given to Swaraj and I again rejoice at that change. In my view that is the point that should be constantly kept in mind, that Swaraj is our final goal.

As regards police and soldiery, in no way does the resolution mean that they should be untrue or false to obligations which they have undertaken, but if it involves violation of their duty to Dharma and their duty to their country, they should resign their post, and come over to the side of national service. This great assembly in no way calls upon them to come away from service, but they should not forget that they are members of this nation and owe a duty and obligation to their own people. I ask you to accept these resolutions without any amendment. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi, in supporting the Non-Co-operation resolution of Mr. C. R. Das, spoke in Hindi for a few minutes, afterwards in English, in the course of which he referred to Moulana Hasarat Mohani's amendment for the deletion of the Conscience Clause, and said there had been absolutely no violation of obligation. It is a misconception and misconstruction of the purport of the resolution. The Congress resolution does not bind a man's conscience, and is never intended to supersede a man's conscience. I have never made a fetish of the mandate of the Congress, and even now although I feel that the majority are of the opinion that I hold, I make bold to say that I shall never be a party to making the Congress itself a fetish or its mandate a fetish, I shall reserve the right of following

my conscience, whenever that conscience pricks me and tells me that it is against the mandate of the Congress. If a single Muhammadan feels that it cannot be a matter of conscience with a boy under sixteen that he has no right to think for himself, he has no right because these are the implications. If he feels he has no right to consult his parents, all is well for him. The Congress will not prevent him, but he will not say this in the name of the Congress. Similarly with reference to boys of twelve or under sixteen. You must leave alone boys under sixteen, because they are of a tender age. That is the practice hitherto adopted, and that must remain the practice if we want to stand justified before the bar of public conscience and before the bar of civilised opinion. If there is a boy of twelve years who finds that it is against his conscience to stay in these schools, there is no power on earth that can prevent him from doing according to his conscience. I am not a man to quicken his conscience. It is his father's special prerogative. Lala Lajpat Rai has told you about the service of the Police. I accept every word of what he has said. I think it is right we should know that we are not tampering with the obligations of the services imposed on employees of the Government, whether Civil, Military or Police. But we are asking them not to kill their conscience. I want to make the point clearer; I would have held it a sin if I had been one of those soldiers to receive the command of Gen. Dyer to shoot those innocent men in Jallianwala Bagh. I would have considered it a duty to disregard that command. I know the discipline of the soldiery, and I say if a soldier received the commands of his officer

which he considers to be in conflict with his religion, or his duty to his country, he may certainly disregard them at the peril of his life. Now I ask you to carry this resolution with acclamation from the deepest recesses of your heart that you are prepared to obtain Swaraj by means that have been declared by the Congress in this resolution. You will also forget all differences and acrimony that have grinded our public life during the last three months. You will eschew violence in thought, deed and word, whether in connection with the Government or with ourselves, and I would repeat the promise that I made. We do not require one year, we do not even require nine months to get Swarajya.

Messrs. Jitendralal Banerjee, Shyam Sunder Chukrabutty, Hakim Ajmalkhan of Delhi, Dr. Kitchlew, Mr. Kasturiranga Aiyanger and His Holiness the Shankaracharya of Sharada Peeth further supported the resolution.

Pandit Malaviya's Message.

Mr. Gandhi announced in the Congress to-day that he had received a message from Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya that on account of his illness he could not attend the Congress. This morning the Pandit had seen a copy of the Non-Co-operation resolution, but he was not all in favour of it and that if he had been in the Congress he would have noted his respectful protest. He was not in sympathy with the Creed either, and thought it his duty to transmit his message to his countrymen and leave it to them to judge.

President's Closing Address.

The President rose amid roaring cheers and, in concluding the proceedings, said:—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—My duty to-day is somewhat different from the duty with which you called upon me to open the proceedings. Then I was bound to lay before you the situation of our country and to lay also for acceptance wholly, or in parts for rejection, what I believe to be the views of the country arrived at by a careful survey and scrutiny of the whole situation and in consultation with friends, Hindu, Mussalmans and even some Europeans, who are not merely amidst us, but also of us, as of Rev. Mr. Andrews. My duties now are different. One is personal, the other to the country. My duty to the country is to interpret the resolutions arrived at, and what lies behind those resolutions to our rulers, to the non-official Europeans and to the world. It is not the list of resolutions that you have passed that will give them any idea of the National Soul that is being roused and that is making a rapid march towards the destiny which you are determined to elevate and under the law of God and processes untampered by anybody, moulded solely by ourselves. National passion of freedom is roused and the Mahatmaji fired your enthusiasm for getting into that freedom from which you have been long kept for over one hundred and seventy years. Your enthusiasm has now reached a degree which, I am sorry to say, the bureaucrats have not been here to see. It is this enthusiasm which is behind all the resolutions which you have passed.

The first and foremost thing about the resolutions is the unanimity with which you have passed two important resolutions about Non-Co-operation and the first Article of the Creed. I may honestly tell you that when our countrymen resolved to invite me to preside over this congress I was trembling when I thought of the situation. My hope was that I knew that at bottom our countrymen are both just, kind and generous and humane, that whatever might be the differences in opinions, even though I do not see with you and with your trusted leaders in some matters eye to eye, I knew that the reception to me would be given very warmly and from the very core of the heart; I have not been disappointed. I should have been sorry in my embarrassment if I had declined the honour which you bestowed on me. I should have lived the rest of my life a miserable life if I had not accepted and responded to the call of my country.

After considerable hesitation and consultation, the leaders arrived as far as possible at a workable basis to the dismay of our enemies and I hope to the very grateful and pleasant disappointment of some of those who were away from us, because they thought that if they had come, this would not have been created. On the one hand properly, I am sorry to think they thought so and on the other hand some few feared that there might be a split. They are very good patriots and we are very glad that their fears proved futile and unfounded.

The Reception Committee, I am sorry to say, made a mistake. They ought to have invited some of the prominent bureaucrats of this country to come and

stay here throughout. If they had come I do not know what they would have done. They would go home and they would have to revise their old Bible that was often pointed out, namely, that they were the wardens of the illiterate and teeming millions of India and that the people who started the Congress were a few microscopic minority. If they had been sitting here, they would have seen that they were all living hitherto in a fool's paradise.

What is it that has brought this change of things? We have got about fifteen thousand delegates, a vast majority of whom are what we call the ordinary people of the country, by no means the well-educated minority much less the lawyer minority. The lawyer element has been extremely small in this Congress. This is the greatest Congress which has been held, as yet in India and the proportion of lawyers is as yet the smallest in this Congress. (A voice: 'I question that statement'.) I only say from what I see. The proportion, as I said, is the smallest. That is my belief. The delegates numbering about fifteen thousand are drawn from the whole country. Taking the proportion of the House of Commons who number about seven hundred to the people of England, the proportion here, of the delegates of this Congress to the people of India, is nearly three times the proportion which the number of members of the House of Commons bear to England. On the other hand, the bureaucracy here who are said to be trustees, appointed by whom I do not know, of the teeming millions of India—if they had come they would have found that it is not the few microscopic minority that lead the people, but it is the people that are practically leading the leaders.

I am not ashamed to say that. That is the commencement of the true democracy. Democracy means universal education and universal suffrage. It is very necessary that thinkers are brought down very often from the heights of imagination and they think with the people and act with the people. In no democracy can a few people hope to be leaders of the whole country. It would then cease to be a democracy. I already alluded to the general fall of Athens from Pericles because they allowed Pericles to think for the whole country and they declined to think for themselves. On that day degeneracy began. But a contrary process has begun here and I am glad to see that it is exhibited here.

The bureaucracy would probably be reminded of the incident which in an English story is well described. There was a heavy storm, a sublime storm and the ocean began to put forth huge waves. People who were hitherto living in safety began to fly inward with all the things available. There was one old lady and she did not like to go inward and carry the things with her. She took her broom, went to beat back the waves with curses. This will be the act of our bureaucracy if they try by repression to put back your spirit. It is impossible for them to put back our spirit. They would be in the position of the old lady who not only was beaten by the waves, but in her attempt to beat the waves with the broomstick, she lost what she had in her cottage, did not know where the cottage was and she became a beggar. Very much like that would be the position of our bureaucracy. It is time that they revise their old ideas about us. It is time that they no longer confess our sins, but their own sins.

It is time that the bureaucracy and non-officials and the Anglo-Indian Press cease to confess our sins for us. Let them confess their own sins.

When the war began, President Wilson, M. Clemenceau and many others said that they would fight for the noble cause and that freedom is coming on the horizon. When the war is concluded, we find that so many statements which referred to sacrifice, men, money and material have all been re-edited. I do not know whether any very really grand words were substituted, for, the old term sovereignty of the people now reads as self-determination; the statement that each people is to solve its own problems has been set aside when they dealt with Turkey. This was applied to the European minorities. It was said that the League of Nations shall interfere with the Turkish administration in these territories on behalf of minorities. The word European minorities is not there, but it means European minorities. Wherever their minorities are Turks, no provision is made in the Treaty. Our duty now is to carry on the culture of the spirit to accelerate the revolution of the national ideal as you have been doing. Hitherto the mass soul as distinct from the individual soul has begun to move forward and never comes backward.

Whatever be the method which we adopt eventually for achieving our freedom and whatever be the exact form which may be reached by us, the culture of the national ideal, the grand movement of the mass soul, ought to be kept up. Unless it is kept up, if any re-action takes place, our doom is sealed. We must stake to the education of the masses and see that the

mass soul receives more and more of fire and impetus and purges itself of impurities that may have lurked hitherto. Then, and not till then, you are likely to enter the dawn of freedom.

Nagpur, as I told you in my address, is the Thermopylae alike in the history of the Congress and of our country. Thermopylae is a figurative expression, although originally it was not. There people wanted to arrest the progress of Xerxes and were slaughtered almost to a man. The persons were there only for a short time, while the epitaphs written by a poet over the graves of those who died at Thermopylae is: "Here we died for our country's sake," All those who would be subject to repression, if you mean to adopt and carry out the principle of renunciation and sacrifice, you shall have to act whether you shall wish or not, brothers and children, mother and father. "Here we suffered and here we shall die for our country's sake". My interpretation of this Congress is that in whatever name the world may call it, whether Non-Co-operation or compromise or whatever it is, all that is behind is the people, ill-educated men, women and children who are up for freedom, a freedom lost to us for the last hundred and seventy years. The evils of the absence of that freedom have been accentuated in two or three years. Ever since the Punjab tragedy began our duty is independent of the particular methods that might be adopted and which may be revised from time to time. Our duty is to educate ourselves and march onwards and onwards.

The other aspect of this Congress is that we have received a message of fraternity, a greeting from the

English Labour party. While I ask you that we should depend upon ourselves for our salvation, it would be unfair, it would even be improper that so selfless an offer of friendship and alliance as by the Labour party should not be availed of by us and it is important that we should cultivate the camaraderie of spirit with the English Labour party. Do not forget the resolution to which my new friend, Mr. Spoor alluded to, for our freedom which was passed by the Labour party unanimously. That is a rare event and what is more, they sent through Mr. Spoor a message to give us their greetings in your name and by your implied authority, I would ask Mr. Spoor to convey our message to the Labour Party in England, our fraternal greetings to them. Let us hope that the friendship and alliance thus begun will admit of no obstacle and that everything will promote comraderic of spirit between the two peoples.

Mr. Chintamani on Non-Co-operation.

Presiding over the third Session of the All-India National Liberal Federation held at Madras, the Hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani after referring to the events of the year said :—

This summary of the principal political events of the year is illustrative and not exhaustive. There are other and similar acts and omissions which could be pointed to as evidence of a spirit in the Government which is far from being conducive to the creation of opinion in its favour, to the strengthening of the belief which all advocates of ordered progress and constitutional action are naturally desirous of fostering, that there is a genuine and earnest desire on the part of the Government to act in the spirit of the reforms and the Royal Proclamation that heralded them, to accelerate our political progress and economic development. Certainly I do not imply that nothing has been done by the Government worthy of our commendation. Even one such outstanding event as the appointment of Lord Sinha to the exalted office of Governor stands to the credit of British statesmanship and is calculated to keep bright our hope for the future of India as a free nation in the British Commonwealth. Yet it stands to reason that in the face of a succession of disappointments anger is apt to overcome reason in the not highly instructed popular mind, and any political method that looks heroic and promises quick results naturally finds ready acceptance, particularly when preached by a political Sanyasi widely revered for the rare moral grandeur of his character and among

a people to whom anything even seemingly spiritual makes an irresistible appeal.

In promulgating their resolution on non-co-operation the Government of India evidently looked at its cause and cure from a different view-point. There was no perception that their own mistakes and those of their masters chiefly accounted for the amount of public support that the movement had succeeded in obtaining, or that the remedy lay in their own hands. No exception can be taken to their appeal to the sober elements of society to make a bold stand against the disruptive propaganda, and I am grateful for the wisdom that resisted the temptation to embark on a fresh campaign of repression. Coercive action by the state would only have added to the number of heroes and martyrs and the movement stood to gain everything from an excess of zeal on the part of the guardians of law and order. If it has been a failure, as fortunately it has been, the result is due to its own inherent unsoundness and to the commonsense of the people of India. But the good sense of the Government has also contributed to the result and it is to be hoped that the lesson of the different policies of last year and this will not be lost upon Simla and Delhi. There are two points which should be emphasized in this connection. One is that the Government of India should not imagine that all trouble is over with the failure of the non-co-operation movement. They ought to realize that there is acute discontent in the land and that immediate remedial measures are imperatively needed. They owe it to themselves to regain the lost confidence of the people. Without the support of opinion their position will become increasingly un-

tenable, but they cannot hope to have it on their side notwithstanding the introduction of the reforms, until their acts speak for them and convince the people that though partly alien in personnel the interests and the honour of India are safe in the keeping of the Government of India as in that of a national government. The narrative of events that I have placed before you is proof positive that at present it is impossible for Indians to cherish such a feeling for the British Government. On behalf of the party whose watchword, in the language of Sir Pherozshah Mehta, is loyal patriotism, none of whom seeks a destiny for the Motherland outside the British Empire, I would send forth from this platform of the National Liberal Federation an earnest appeal to the Government of India to change their policy, not to do anything that may justify the suspicion that they are less regardful of Indian interests, Indian life and Indian honour than of British, to be vigilant in the removal of wrongs, to substitute Justice for Prestige as their rule of conduct, to initiate and carry forward measures to secure economic development, social efficiency and political equality. Without positive action along these lines, no appeals to the people and no costly publicity bureaus will avail them. Once they regain their credit, they can defy fomentors of trouble to do their worst.

Fellow-Liberals, the Government resolution on non-co-operation was, as you are aware, utilized in certain quarters to teach us our duty at this juncture. It was said that we were lethargic, it was assumed that it was in our power to stop the movement if we but exerted ourselves, we wanted courage to face

unpopularity, we timidly followed the extremists at a distance, our weakness would be responsible for repression by Government to end a pernicious campaign if it could be suppressed by no other means. I have pleaded 'not guilty' to these and other accusations as often as they were uttered, and I do so again in your name and on your behalf. Our critics forget that extremism is the direct product of the policy of the Government and our unpopularity is in reality the expression of the public distrust of its motives and measures. When English friends refer to our party's lack of influence I invariably tell them that it is a tribute to the character of their administration and the reputation they enjoy, rightly or wrongly, after a hundred and fifty years of rule. Is it not remarkable that every Indian who is suspected of a kindly feeling for Englishmen and their Government should lose caste with his own people? I would ask them to reflect upon the meaning of this phenomenon. We have a straight policy. We are neither apologists nor enemies of the British Government. Our supreme concern is the well-being and advancement of our Motherland and we approach every problem from this single point of view. And we speak our mind freely in disregard of consequences to ourselves—it is immaterial whether we offend extremists on the one side or the other—but with a deep solicitude for the public interests. And all who judge our acts and utterances by any other standard must necessarily be disappointed time and again.

I have stated that our opposition to non-co-operation springs from our conviction of its inutility, the harm it would do to our cause and our countrymen.

Your time need not be taken up by an attempt at a detailed consideration of the several items of the programme. So much has been said upon them that there is little need to adduce arguments again to demonstrate their unwisdom. At first it was put forward as a protest against the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs; it has since developed into a political method to obtain Swaraj in twelve months—nearly four of which have expired. If electors did not vote and politicians declined to go into the councils; if lawyers gave up the practice of their profession and students left colleges and schools, and if imported goods were boycotted, we should be within sight of "*nirvana*." Mr. Gandhi's explanations on the platform and in the press leave me for one in some doubt as to his idea of the Swaraj we are to enjoy: the government of the country or of our individual selves. Frantic efforts were made, at various places and in as many ways, although there was a family resemblance between the tactics employed at all places,—some of them not so 'non-violent' after all, and at some places, e. g., Agra and Cawnpore, positively disgraceful,—to restrain voters and defeat obnoxious candidates. But the electors recorded votes and the councils have been filled. No client is inconvenienced to-day by a dearth of practising lawyers. Nor has any school or college had to be closed for want of teachers or students, in spite of the reprehensible advice given to them to disregard parental authority and give up their studies, for sooth, because we are 'in a state of war.' I may be blamed for employing strong language, but I confess I cannot condemn too strongly this sinister ingredient in the non-co-operator's specific

for obtaining immediate Swaraj. I am not aware that an impression has been made upon Lancashire's business with India. Unfortunately, too, 'the race for honours, not honour' is in full swing as ever, while I verily believe that the number of candidates for honorary as well as stipendiary offices is still largely in excess of the numbers required. It has all along been my conviction that the negative creed of non-co-operation is opposed to the nature of things, and no raging, tearing propaganda, no whirl-wind campaign, no shock tactics, no, not even such social tyranny as was practised the other day in Delhi, can bring it success.

Neither can Swaraj, immediate or remote, within or outside the Empire, be attained by such means. We can and shall reach our political goal of complete self-government such as the dominions enjoy, by constitutional action inside the councils and outside, by demonstrating our fitness in office and in council, and by building up the strength of the nation. Unceasing work in the various spheres of national life so as to make of Indians a more efficient as well as a more united nation, and organized and sustained efforts in the political field to secure much needed reforms in administration, military not less than civil, are the only means by which we can hope to achieve success. They may be commonplace and unheroic, there may be nothing about them to catch the fancy, they are certainly old fashioned and not novel or sensational. But originality in politics is not always a merit and not everything that is new is good. To those, however, who are impatient for immediate Swaraj, I must frankly admit that our well-tried

method offers no hope. Let there be no make-believe or self-deception; let us call things by their proper names. Immediate Swaraj is an euphemism for revolution. And revolution cannot be accomplished by appeals to constituted authorities. But non-cooperation cannot achieve it either. To those into whose soul the iron has entered and who have worked themselves into the conviction that any state of existence would be better than life under this Government, the only path that is open is armed revolt. If they think they can, if they feel they must, let them go forward and risk it. I will deplore their folly but will respect their courage and straightforwardness. But to desist from such a course of action and at the same time to denounce constitutional agitation as another name for mendicancy, while you go on stirring up feeling and undermining respect for law and authority among the masses who have not developed an intelligent understanding, is, I confess, beyond my poor comprehension on any assumption that does not savour of uncharitableness. Whether such persons adopt Mr. Gandhi's programme or more modestly content themselves with the acceptance of the 'principle of non-co-operation,' then while releasing their surcharged feeling by the denunciation of us Liberals, so dear to the heart of a species of extremist publicists, they equally mislead themselves and their hearers and followers and only act as clogs in the wheel of progress. In this view of the matter, I deplore the attempt that is being made to alter the creed of the Congress. We shall lament the blunder if it should be perpetrated, and as an old, if humble Congressman I cannot but wish that in that event

they may also decide to call that institution the Swarajya Sabha or anything else—anything, in fact, but the Indian National Congress.

One word more on this subject. It is desirable that people should understand whither it is that Mr. Gandhi would lead them. For this purpose they cannot do better than to acquaint themselves with the contents of his book, "Indian Home Rule." It will be an eye-opener. In fact, fellow-Liberals, it strikes me that it will not be a bad investment for our Liberal leagues to arrange for the wide distribution of copies of that publication, in English and in the languages of the country. I rather think that the glimpse it will afford into Mr. Gandhi's Swarajya will disillusion the people and we shall have won back at least a respectable number of our temporarily misguided countrymen to the path of political sanity.

EDUCATION.

It may be temerity on my part to plead for extended facilities for the education of the people in days when adored popular leaders are enlarging upon the patriotic necessity of destroying schools and colleges. But fortunately the country has given an unmistakeable reply to the unholy war upon educational institutions, while we of the Liberal party never have had and never can have a doubt about the paramount necessity of more and better education for the people if the country is to have a future. Establish by every means in your power as many institutions as you possibly can, independent of state aid or recognition, and impart the kind of education in which you

believe. Every sensible well-wisher of the country will pray for your success. But do not speak or act as if existing schools and colleges were a curse, as if the products of the present system were the worse for the education they have received. Mahadeo Govind Ranade and Guru Das Banerjee, Krishnaswami Iyer and Bishan Narayan Dhar, among those, alas ! now no more ; Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar and Sir Jagadish Bose, Sir Sivaswami Aiyer and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya among our living worthies, were and are the ornaments of their race and the pride of their country not in spite but on account of English education. Mr. Gandhi himself has borrowed his ideas of non-co-operation from western sources. We do want, gentlemen, and want before and more than anything else, 'education in widest 'commonalty spread.' And we trust that one of the certain fruits of the reformed governments constituted in provinces will be the expansion and reform of education, of all grades and in all its branches. They ought not to shrink even from the unpleasant necessity of new taxation if it be a *sine qua non* of progress in this direction. The education of women and of the backward classes, and agricultural and industrial education should receive special attention.

AN APPEAL TO GOVERNMENT.

I would make an appeal to the Government and put forward a few suggestions for your consideration regarding work in the immediate future.

To the Government I would say:—"Make an honest and earnest attempt, by the aid of sympathetic

imagination, to understand correctly the present temper of the country. Be candid to yourselves and own that yours is the responsibility for the political distemper of India. The authors of revolution in the ultimate resort are the reactionaries and obscurantists who oppose reasonable reform. The tragedy of Russia is certainly a warning to our extremists against 'catastrophic changes.' But still more is it a warning to the Government. For Bolsheviek Russia is the child of Tzarist Russia. It is not yet too late. Act on the principle that trust is wisdom, that generosity is wisdom. Lord Rosebery has defined statesmanship as the foresight of commonsense, and patriotism as the self-respect of a people. Let your statesmanship assert itself and prevent the latter from being irretrievably hurt. For then will be bad days both for you and us. A brilliant pro-consul, who however was a failure and went away discredited, boasted that there was no problem that could not be solved by statesmanship.

It was Lord Morley's view that British statesmanship had never broken down anywhere. But it has, in Ireland. Profit by the examples of Canada and South Africa, as well as by the warning of Ireland. Win the confidence of the people of India. Avail yourselves of the developments in Greece and revise the treaty with Turkey. Then will the Musalmans of India be your friends again. Soothe the heart of the Punjab. Treat our countrymen in other parts of the Empire as human beings and British citizens. Do let the people derive the fullest advantage from the reforms; give no cause for suspicion that you are the unwilling instrument of a power you are compelled

to obey. Do justice to my countrymen in all the public services. Let me say again that your military policy will be the test of your sincerity. Repeal whatever laws act as a restraint on the freedom of expression, for parliamentary government, of which we are about to witness the first small beginnings, is government by discussion. In all financial transactions, never forget that your country is incomparably richer than ours, that you have laid upon you the honourable obligation of trustees until we shall have become masters in our own household, that you ought not to perpetrate what Fawcett would have stigmatized as acts of 'melancholy meanness.' Some one in your own land has summed up the English character in the phrase, 'always the purse, often the brain, seldom the heart.' As one who feels a genuine admiration for many qualities of your race and for much of your great work in and for my country, I beseech you for your sake as much as ours, so to act in the future as to enable us to forget whatever of the part and the present is not to your credit.

Liberals on Non-Co-operation.

"The Federation expresses its emphatic disapproval of the policy of Non-Co-operation as calculated to destroy individual liberty of speech and action, to incite social discord and retard the progress of the country towards Responsible Government, but the Federation feels that the best way of successfully combating the Non-Co-operation is for the Government to redress the wrongs that have led to its adoption."

Mrs. Besant.

In moving the above resolution Mrs. Besant said:-
In placing this resolution before you, there are two points of view from which we are asking you to record it: the movement itself regarded in its effect upon the country and then the duty of the Government and the responsibility which lies on the Government for the present condition of the Government. We also feel that the whole of the blame for it, if you regard it as mischievous, should not be thrown on those who are taking part in it, but that the Government has a large share in the responsibility for the movement, that it has done nothing to help us who have been working against the movement and that the Government is in some ways playing into the hands of those who look upon Co-operation as useless. One very favourite way of treating the subject by a very considerable portion of politicians in the country has been to separate principle and practice and say that they approve of the principle of Non-Co-operation, but where practice comes in, then a very large difference arises. I submit that to begin with it is not desirable to formulate an opinion on a patriotic principle

without knowing how the people who are asserting it are going to carry that principle out. None of us, probably, who are well acquainted with modern history, none of us who have watched the struggles of western nations to reach freedom need say that, in principle removed from all circumstances of practice, we disapprove of revolution. I am using the word *revolution* deliberately in order that you may see why some of us decline to say that we approve of the principle of Non-Co-operation. Non-Co-operation, as it is now admitted by its advocates is a direct attack on the Government. But there must be in case of revolution the power to carry it out. Mr. Gandhi acknowledged that there was no power to carry out revolution. Non-Co-operation is, I think, another way of revolt, in principle the same as revolution, opposed to reform which is the gradual improvement of the condition of things, by catastrophe, an upset of the power and starting again on a new line. I cannot deny that inherent right of people. You cannot separate principle and practice when you are dealing with political affairs. Your principle is empty and in the air unless you suggest some practical means of carrying it out. We have taken up the line that we object to this practice and we will not emptily say that we approve of or admit the principle, We come then to look at the practice. I will remind you of the remarkable changes through which this so-called programme has passed. When it began about last April in an indefinite form, Mr. Gandhi published his four steps of progressive Non-Co-operation. Those were put frankly, straightly and very precisely, so that every one could understand them. Non-Co-operation was only to remedy the Khilafat wrong as a protest against the breaking of the promise that

the Turkish Holy Lands would be left to Turkey. That was the special cause of complaint together with a general attack on the Turkish rule in Europe. Only the other day I was indignantly told by a Musalman that they never asked for restoration to Turkey of the *status quo ante bellum*. On that Mr. Gandhi spoke very very strongly. In the Conference held in Allahabad it was said that it would not be possible for the country as a whole to move merely on the Khilafat question, and it was suggested that the Punjab tragedy should be part of the cause for Non-Co-operation. Also at that meeting the Reform Act was discussed and the Hunter Report was also brought in, so that we went out then with three things against which Non-Co-operation was to be used, a weapon, *viz.*, the Khilafat, the Punjab tragedy and the Hunter Report. Those were intended to bring in all the Congress people who by themselves might not be sufficiently moved by the wrongs to the Musalmans.

A large number of things are placed and many of those people who said that the mandate of the Congress must be obeyed took the principle of picking and choosing as to which part of the mandate they would themselves obey. No one apparently was prepared to obey the whole of it. Unkind people outside said that every member wanted other people to sacrifice what they had and encouraged them to do it while he himself was not prepared to sacrifice any thing. No one should go into the Council; that was Mr. Gandhi's plan which was carried. Mr. Das's plan was that people should go into the Council and obstruct everything. On the whole Mr. Das's plan would have been more effective, but that is now out of court. The Councils are filled and members are getting ready for

their work. It has led to one bad result; it has made out electorates smaller than they ought to be, especially where Musalmans are concerned. Some people who would have been very useful have been shut out; Mr. Gandhi rebukes violence wherever it appears. Because I did not quite understand the whole of his position in certain of the expressions that he used in attacking Government—he has called it satanic—those words sound ugly when they are levelled against one Government. It is only fair when I attack his programme that I should point out that in his book *The Indian Home rule* we find that this is not a special attack launched on this particular Government and his is the theory of anarchism which attacks Government as an evil *per se*. He looks on every Government as bad in itself and that that he ought to get rid of it altogether. We have to deal with society as it is. Mr. Gandhi has said that until the Punjab troubles he did not realise the amount of evil that there was in human nature. I only wish that he had come to realise the mistake that he has made. Looking at the points he suggests, let us remember that the whole of them in the early form were simply intended to paralyse the Government, nothing else. The main point was to paralyse the Government and make it impossible. Is the programme that is being carried out in any way adequate for the paralysis of the Government? Is there one point in it which has any effect on the Government except to make it stronger on the wrong side? I submit that the whole of this programme as put into detail by the Calcutta Congress, paralyses the people and does not paralyse the Government. On the contrary it helps the Government if it wants to do wrong. The Government can get on without a single person in the Council; it had done it before.

Now we have some responsibility making us stronger in the Council, but if you diminish it and stay out of the council and do not exercise the power given you, you are merely throwing away the power of helping your own people and placing in the hands of Government autocratic power to do exactly what it chooses to do, and there is nothing more mad than we can imagine in the present condition of affairs. Then we are asked to withdraw children from schools. Is it fair to go to young men and taking advantage of their immaturity in thought, stimulate their patriotism and all that is noblest in the emotions of boys and to use that by telling them that they are at war against Government for winning liberty for the Motherland? Why was it that Aligarh and Benares were chosen with the Sikh College as institutions to be destroyed at all costs? Those are under the control of Indians, managed by Indians and administered by Indian guardians. They have their own curricula of studies. They stimulate patriotism as much as they can. Why should they be chosen to be ruined before the Government Schools are attacked? Is it unfair to say that no Government has ever asked anybody to go to war without making some provision for their training, their maintenance, their housing and clothing? Those gentlemen have used a simile that the students of the Universities and public schools in England threw themselves out of their education at the call of their country. They were taken to camps, they were drilled, clothed and fed and they gave their lives when their country gave them everything else and taught them how to fight. The only way in which boys can prepare themselves is for the real war against ignorance, war against tyranny, and war against all the evils, and that preparation is education. It is education that is their

drill, their training in the real war against the evils of the country. Certainly, taking boys away from schools will do nothing to paralyse Government; it will help it because the ignorant people are the people that are most easily tyrannised. It is educated men who have had satanic education who helped you to love and win liberty. It is you who are winning liberty for India and not the uneducated over whom the Government can tyrannise. Only by education will they learn to maintain, preserve and guard liberty that your fathers and guardins have got. To say that schools spring forward is all the talk of a dreamer and not of one who understands real facts of education. Government is spending eight crores on education. If you are going to have an entirely non-Government system, you have to pay the education taxes out of the poverty of the people. Then we come to boycott of foreign goods. It is not only foolish but impossible. Have you thought of the implication of giving up all foreign goods? One-third of your manufactured piece goods are made in this country and two thirds come from abroad. You are asked not to import machinery from abroad, and it will take a long time to supply 41 millions out of hand looms. I know that the doctor is to give up his profession and come and work at a hand loom. Women are to spin and men are to weave and it is a slow process. Then you cannot have any printing presses, you cannot have any books or newspapers and you will be isolated from the rest of the world. Is that India that we have dreamt of as a great and mighty leader in the world, with no communications with any other country, with no power to educate, no books, no newspapers, no cables, no letters and telegrams? Is this the kind of reform which would make India redeem herself and make her a Nation in the

eyes of the world whose destiny it is to lead the world to greater heights of civilisation? At any rate it is not Indian. It is not what your ancestors made for India. A spiritual Nation may be mighty in intellect, great in art, splendid in culture, and at the same time may know that the spirit must dominate and permeate every power in the body, mind and soul. That is India's lesson to the world, and this is destruction of all that we hope for. You are asked to give up Law Courts. You may give up Civil Courts—you will not do it I know. Are you going to give up Criminal Courts? Why is this movement so popular? I think the reason is suggested in the latter part of the resolution. The Government began the whole of the mischief with the Rowlatt Act which every member in the old Imperial Council protested against, warned the Government of what would happen if they struck the liberties of the people and pointed out that there is no freedom where liberty is at the mercy of executive order instead of His Majesty's Courts of Justice. That fundamental wrong of the Rowlatt Act was committed. Then came the horrors of the Punjab, those wicked acts which have not been redressed. There are the wrongs there, and they ought to be redressed.

Some expression of sympathy or sorrow should at least have come from the Government, and far more should have been done. All I want to say as the explanation of the popularity of the movement of Non-Co-operation is that people felt helpless and desperate. They felt that they had been insulted, humiliated and wronged in their manhood and injured in every sense of self-respect. That anger was a fair and righteous anger, and you cannot blame any man who felt insults of that horrible kind and resented

them the more bitterly, because he felt that he could not redress it. The result was great anger against the Government, against the British Nation, and Mr. Gandhi has given a channel for that anger. That is why the movement is strong. The movement says to the Government, to the English: 'I am disgusted with you, I hate you, I do not want to have anything to do with you, get away from me.' It is the expression of unnatural anger and unnatural helplessness for a disarmed nation whose voice cannot make itself heard and whose right hand is empty of weapon. In that feeling of helplessness, with a sense of wrong which they could not redress, Non-Co-operation is before the people, and people are rushing through it because it is the expression of the anger that they feel and the desire to defend their Motherland against such wrong in the future; and so this resolution blames the Government as we have a right to blame it, and we have a right to ask it to do something in order to make our task more possible before the masses of the people and we say to the Government: 'Do your share, we are doing ours. We are doing it at the risk of obloquy of every kind. Will you help us and not hinder us by continuing the wrong?' (Cheers.)

Mr. B. S. Kamat.

In seconding the resolution, Mr. B. S. Kamat said: I have been grappling with the Anti-Non-Co-operation movement, moving from village to village and explaining to the masses the evils of Mr. Gandhi's Non-Co-operation movement. It seems to me that the country at the present time is in the midst of two great evils and is suffering at the hands of two great

persons and the two figures are Mr. Gandhi and his Non-Co-operation movement and Lord Chelmsford. Our resolution, which consists of two parts, first speaks of the evils of the Non-Co-operation movement and then appeals to Lord Chelmsford's Government to redress his wrongs. In my campaign I have often spoken regarding the evils of Non-Co-operation movement and the fourfold programme of Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi's programme regarding the boycott of Councils has wrecked the reform scheme and has brought incalculable mischief upon political reform in India. So far as the boycott of Schools and Colleges is concerned, Mr. Gandhi has done there indescribable mischief. In fact he has shaken the very foundation of society, has divided family from family, father against son and brother against brother. He has tried to demolish old educational institutions without bringing into existence new ones. As regards lawyers and Law Courts, he is simply talking in a most romantic manner about Arbitration Courts in India. He throws the country a century or two behind the times as regards the tendency and procedure of the people. As regards boycott of foreign goods, he is treading upon the most chimerical and impracticable ground. Mr. Gandhi is running amock. If Mr. Gandhi is responsible for all this mischief to the country, we cannot absolve the Government of India with Lord Chelmsford at its head. Lord Chelmsford is responsible for the peace and good administration of this country, and we cannot absolve him from responsibility. He has been silently looking on this movement of Non-Co-operation without giving a moment's thought. As the representative in this country of the King is it his duty or not to interpose? Probably he believes that the Punjab atrocities and

the whole of that affair is a settled fact. Indians, whether Moderates or Extremists, do not believe that the last word has been said as regards the Punjab tragedy and if at all Lord Chelmsford has the welfare of this country at heart, I do think that it is still in his power to make amends. So far as we Moderates are concerned, he has given us adequate insult and added wrong to the Moderates in as much as he has shut out the motion which the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, a sober, thinking and wise man among the Moderates, wanted to bring in the Council. Recently you had from the Government of India a communique in which a reference has been made to the sobering influence of the Moderates. Here an attempt was made by Mr. Sastri to intervene to the best of his lights and so well known a Moderate with all his good intentions was brushed aside by the Government of India under the name of prestige. I say that it is just conceivable that in the new regime, either in the Council of State or in the Imperial Assembly a fresh opportunity may possibly be given either to the Hon. Mr. Sastri or any of the Moderates if the Government of India care to have a fresh occasion to re-consider the position. Is Lord Chelmsford in the name of harmony and peace of this country, prepared to reconsider the position if a notice of a similar resolution is given by Mr. Sastri or any other member? If he is in a mood of repentance the whole question can be re-considered and an attempt made to make amends. It is still open to Lord Chelmsford, if he has the peace of this country at heart, to allow the question through the new channel and say that he is repentant for all that he has done.

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