

Seth Govind Das (C. P. and Berar: General): *[Mr. Chairman, in the Central Assembly and in the Council of State I speak in English as the Rules demand it; but hereafter so many English speeches I would like to speak in the language of my country.

I have come to speak for the Resolution and against the amendments. While speaking in favour of the Resolution I cannot resist the desire to offer my thanks to the Hon'ble Dr. Jayakar for his beautiful speech. I was surprised to hear of Dr. Jayakar's amendment yesterday. Dr. Jayakar and I have been friends since the days of the Swaraj' Party- I can understand his amendment. I can understand his desire to defer voting on the Resolution until the Muslim League joins; but I fail to understand the logic of the arguments advanced by him in support of his contention. I do not want to speak on the legal aspect of his arguments. That is the work of the lawyers. What surprises me is his assertion that if we passed the Resolution now, we will finish our work without achieving what we desire. That puts me in mind of the days prior to 1920; when our Moderates were at a loss to know what to do and saw everywhere nothing but frustration and disappointment. We have not met here simply to sit together, talk a lot and then disperse without achieving any result. It will be our duty to see that we achieve results. Just at present it is not necessary to say what we are going to do and how far we are going to proceed. Suffice it to say that we shall achieve speedy and substantial results. Dr. Jayakar has spoken of war. The Congress people and the people who believe in the principle of Satyagraha always desire peace and no war. They, however, want true peace and not the peace of the graveyard.

The greatest gift that Mahatmaji has, given to the world is Satyagraha. Satyagrahis want peace but when they see that true peace is Impossible without having resort to war they , get ready to give their lives in a war of Ahinsa. I, therefore, say we do not want war. We want peace. We neither want to fight with the Muslims nor with the British Government. If, however, the British Government wishes to fight with us making Muslims their Shikhandi; we will not do what Bhisham Patama did. We will not lay down our arms because Shikhandi is made to stand against us. We do desire our brethren of the Muslim League to come and cooperate with us. If, however, with all our solicitations, with all our patience and with all our desire for peace, they do not come, we are not going to stop our work for them. Dr. Jayakar has not told us whether our Muslim brethren would join us if we postponed the consideration of the Resolution till the 20th January. If we were assured that they would join us, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, I think, would perhaps, be the first person to say that if his Muslim brethren were coming in, he would postpone Resolution. Panditji told us in so many words that the Resolution was an undertaking--a pledge. When one signs a pledge, he signs it with full sense of responsibility of what he was doing. As this Resolution is a pledge when we pass it, we will pass it with a full sense of our responsibility.

The Resolution speaks of a Republic. There may be a difference of opinion whether the Republic should be a democratic republic or a socialist republic. But, to discuss it at this juncture, would be meaningless. Whenever the world is in need of a thing it creates it. Keeping in view the condition of the world and

the plight of India, we can say that our republic will be both democratic and socialist. I desire to tell the people, who feel chary of socialism and tremble at hearing of its tenets, that not only the people who have nothing are miserable but the people who possess everything, are also in sorrow. The former are miserable because they labour under the desire to possess everything and the later are unhappy because they have to resort to hundreds and thousands of knaveries and evasions. They perform acts that are not in the least considered fair in the eyes of Justice. If these people, while ignoring justice, pretend to protect and champion ;It, I tell you, they never get true happiness. I am myself of the people who possess everything; but I feel that if true peace is to be realized. it can only be realized through socialism. No other system can give us true peace. There can be no doubt that our republic will be both democratic and socialist.

As to preventing us doing this work; I desire, to make it known that both' the British Government and the Muslim League cannot stop us from doing what We intend to do. Our country is so vast and its population is so great that even the British Government cannot now put obstacles in the way of its freedom and progress.

To my brethren of the Muslim League, I desire to say some thing; and say it with all the emphasis at my disposal, that if the British, who are foreigners, put obstacles in the path of our freedom, nobody, in history, will held them blameworthy; but, if persons, who are born in this country Who are bred in it, and who consume its produce, try to come in the way of its freedom they will be censured by their own progeny. As for the British, they cannot block our way to freedom; but so far as our Muslim League brethren are concerned, they may take it from me in plain words that if they allied themselves with the British to keep this country in slavish sub fugation, future generations will hold them blameworthy and they will gel' this stigma without stopping us from achieving our freedom.

If the British Government adhering to the Statements issued in the last few days, tried not to enact a new Government of India Act, in the light of the decisions of this Constituent Assembly, I tell them that their efforts in ,his respect are doomed to failure. They have always tried to keep India and other countries under their subjugation by not allowing them to solve their own problems. If, they played the same game will this country now, the time will perhaps never come for the presentation of a Government of India Act in the British Parliament and no Indo-British Treaty will ever be signed. I do not say this on behalf of the Congress. I see the future, when, if the British failed to translate the decisions of this Constituent Assembly into some solid form of action, a parallel government will be set up here and the whole of England will have to fight it. People coming from across the seven seas will not be able to win our war of Ahimsa. I fully believe in it.

I do riot want to take more time; but before the chit comes to me asking me-to stop, I appeal to you that you should pass this Resolution not as, a resolution but as a pledge with full sense of responsibility of what you do and go forward in the manner of a free country.]*