

Sri Biswanath Das (Orissa) : Sir, I support the Resolution on behalf of the delegates from Orissa. The Resolution moved by the Hon'ble Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru is divided into four parts. The first part contains the main objective for which we have been fighting. The second part refers to the territorial jurisdiction of a free, independent republic of India including land, air and sea. The third is a declaration that we derive power and authority from the people, while the fourth is a very necessary and essential one, beginning with individual freedom in safeguards for tribal areas and the rest.

Sir, these are the necessary preliminaries to any constitution. It would be therefore unfair and undesirable if we do not face the problem at the start. There is no opposition to this Resolution, as the amendment moved by the Right Hon'ble Dr. M. R. Jayakar only seeks to adjourn its consideration for a month. The Hon'ble Member admits that he fully agrees with the subject matter of the Resolution. I fail to understand how a month's adjournment would make any difference.

Sir, a substantial contribution to the discussion was made by my friend, Dr. Ambedkar. He said he has no objection to the other paragraphs of the Resolution except paragraph 3 which has left out the word 'grouping'. Sir, in this connection I have to make an appeal to him. The objection to the omission of the word 'grouping' need not be taken seriously, because we have stated nothing in the Resolution against grouping. That very fact keeps the matter of grouping open, absolutely wide open. I would at this stage refer my friend, Dr. Ambedkar, to paragraph 19 (5) of the Cabinet Mission's Scheme wherein it has been specially stated that the Sections are to decide whether any group constitution shall be set up. Sir, we all know that the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress gave an alternative proposal regarding this. The Cabinet Mission criticised this proposal of the Working Committee and their comments are in para 14(2). Under, this scheme, if the Provinces wish to take part in any economic and administrative planning on a large scale, they would cede to the Centre optional subjects in addition to the compulsory ones mentioned by them. Having stated the position taken up by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, the Cabinet Mission offers its comments. The Mission say it would be very difficult to work a central executive and legislature in which some ministers who deal with compulsory subjects are responsible to the whole of India, while other ministers who deal with optional subjects would be responsible only to those provinces. Sir, with this objection the Cabinet Mission has ruled out the suggestion offered by the Working Committee. It will be very difficult, if not impossible, for small provinces to rise to their full stature if they do not have the guidance of the Centre. In this connection, I am not referring to Sections 'B' and 'C'. I am referring to Section 'A' where provinces like Orissa, 'Bihar, C.P., Madras and the rest are concerned. Sir, the Congress acceptance- of the division of India into linguistic provinces means the creation of a number of small provinces. A number of small provinces like Orissa, Kerala, Karnataka and the like will be put to the greatest handicap if they have to make their own plans, administrative and economic. Under these circumstances, it may be that these provinces will cede all the connected powers to the Centre. There is thereafter no reason why there should be any objection. These and many other such considerations may come up later on in Sections. If the door is open without being shut it is for such proposals which may be made later on. Under these circumstances, I believe my hon'ble friend. Dr. Ambedkar, will see that it was not with any, ulterior purpose that the word "Group" was omitted. It is done to afford opportunity to those provinces who come under Group 'A' I believe this explanation will satisfy Dr. Ambedkar and he will have no objection to the omission of the word "Group".

In the Resolution that has been moved, the Hon'ble the Mover has very frankly placed all his cards on the table. There is no hide and seek. All the

points are placed so that the States and the Provinces will find it convenient to see at a glance. Sir, I see that, the Secretary of the States' Negotiating Committee has made a statement objecting to this Resolution. Their objections, are based on two points. The first is that they object to the term "independent sovereign republic". Secondly, their objection is centred round the fact that power derives from the people. They would not admit that power is derived from the people in the Indian States. Sir, paragraph 14 of the Cabinet Mission's Statement lays down that after the withdrawal of Britain, paramountcy disappears. In Great Britain, it has been recognised by Statutes that power emanates from the people. Parliament derives its power from the people of Britain and the same Parliament is exercising the power of paramountcy. That being the position, I do not see any reason why the State Rulers and their representatives should object to these expressions. Sir, after the withdrawal of Britain, there is no reason for anyone to think that India would think any other form of State than a republic. A republic does not necessarily mean the wiping off the States. That apprehension is unfounded. The Cabinet mission's Statement lays down that these are left to negotiations. Frankly, there is no reason for any apprehensions. They have appointed their Negotiating Committee and we have to appoint our Committee. The whole thing is thus left to negotiation.

Having said so much about the Resolution, I come to the question of certain statements made in the House of Commons. Sir, you know that a discussion on India has been thrust on the British Parliament by the Conservative Party. The leader of that party and a number of other important members of the party have contributed to the discussion, although both Labour and the Liberals stated that a discussion at this state was unfortunate. Sir, important members of the Conservative Party have stated that this is a Caste Hindu Constituent Assembly. I am very glad that the representatives of the minority communities in India have already given their reply to this unwarranted suggestion, and I hope that other representatives of minorities will by their speeches give a decent burial to this suggestion which has been manufactured for consumption at Home and for foreign consumption and propaganda. Sir, we have in this great Assembly not only the representatives of the Hindu population of the Hindu majority provinces but also the representatives of Hindu minorities in Muslim majority provinces. We have also the representatives of the Scheduled Castes, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis, Anglo-Indians, and of Tribal and partially-excluded areas. We have amongst us also the representatives of the great Muslim community barring the leaders of the Muslim League. Under these circumstances, it is most unfair and unfortunate to call--and more so to utilise the forum of the British Parliament for foreign propaganda--that this great Assembly, the representatives of the Great Indian nation, is a Caste Hindu institution. Much has been made in the speeches in Parliament on the score of minorities. I should like to know a country which has no minorities. Even England has got her own minorities. Are not the Welsh a minority. So also are the Scots. The Welsh people are of a different race and language and are distinctly separate from Britain. In the U.S.A. we have got linguistic and a racial minorities. So also in the U.S.S.R. Under these circumstances, it is unfair for the Conservative leaders in England to carry on propaganda against this country and the Constituent Assembly. It has been clearly seen that Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Churchill have become strange friends. My own surprise is that a statesman like Mr. Jinnah should have fallen into the trap of Conservatives and particularly that of Mr. Churchill. Everyone knows and the history reveals how the Conservative Party have made use of persons and institutions in every dependent country. That being the position, it is easy for Mr. Jinnah to realise how he and the League have been made use of by the British Conservatives. It remains therefore for us to see who utilises whom and to what extent. Let us hope that the Conservatives pay in the long run to find to their surprise that they and they alone pay in the long run and Mr. Jinnah comes out sane and sober.