

DR. AMBEDKAR'S FIRM STAND AGAINST PARTITION OF INDIA

Appeal To Constituent Body To Defer "Objectives" Motion

"LET LEAGUE JOIN US ON ROAD TO FREEDOM & UNITY"

NEW DELHI, December 17.

DR. B. R. Ambedkar, supporting in the Constituent Assembly today Dr. M. R. Jayakar's amendment to the resolution on the "Declaration of Objectives", made a passionate plea for postponement of the consideration of the motion in order to make it possible for the Muslim League to come in, so that they might willingly join the march on the road which must necessarily lead Indians to freedom and unity.

The Scheduled Castes' leader appealed to the majority party to show statesmanship even by making concessions to the prejudices of people who were not prepared to march together.

Mr. M. R. Masani, speaking as "an Indian first and last" and as a "democratic Socialist", supported the resolution.

"No nation," said Mr. Masani, "can tolerate the existence of perpetual or permanent minorities. Either that

or nation absorbs all the minorities or in course of time it breaks up. Therefore, while I welcome the clause in this resolution which promises adequate safeguards for the minorities, I would say that ultimately no legal safeguard can protect small minorities from the overwhelming domination of big masses unless on both sides an effort is made to get closer and become one corporate, homogeneous nation."

The resolution, in his view, clearly rejected the present social structure. There could be no other meaning to Clause Five of the resolution which referred to justice—social, economic and political. As he understood the resolution, it would not tolerate the gross inequalities which existed in our country; it would not tolerate the exploitation of the fruits of a man's labour by somebody else.

MR. ANTHONY'S APPEAL

Mr. Anthony, the Anglo-Indian leader, supported Dr. Jayakar's amendment. He appreciated the solemn character of the main resolution and he was not going to support the amendment arguing in its favour technical or legal reasons. He realised the fact that the first part of the main resolution, affirming solemn resolve to proclaim an independent sovereign republic, was an article of faith with the Congress. It represented the supreme objective for which they had fought so long and so arduously and no one could or should and no one would dare to oppose them. From a constitutional point of view, Mr. Anthony thought that Dr. Jayakar's amendment and the



DR. AMBEDKAR

original resolution in regard to the fundamental objective of the constitution, namely, "It should be a free and democratic sovereign State" was identical.

What Dr. Jayakar's amendment had asked them was to defer a declaration on the remaining parts of the main resolution in regard to Indian States, Provinces and its powers and functions. Dr. Jayakar believed, however, because the resolution might expose them to the charge, however baseless it was, that they prejudged matters on which decisions should be made after they had been fully canvassed and discussed in the Assembly, "I believe," Mr. Anthony said, "that this amendment ought to be adopted because it is dictated by humanity and by considerations of statesmanship and by the desire of everyone of us to get the greatest measure of goodwill between the two major parties to the great country of ours to be strengthened and free."

DR. MOOKERJEE'S VIEWS

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, opposing Dr. Jayakar's amendment, said it was that the Constituent Assembly could not pass Pandit Nehru's resolution until the sections had met. If they ever met at all, and made their recommendations. Dr. Jayakar had maintained that this resolution would not be passed until the States and the Muslim League had been enabled to attend the Assembly. As for the Indian States, Dr. Mookerjee said they could not come even if they wished to come until the sections met and settled the provincial constitution which would take many months. So far as the Muslim League was concerned, no doubt, every one regretted it had not found it possible to attend the preliminary session of the Assembly at Calcutta. The guarantee was there that if this resolution was postponed till January 20, the Muslim League would come. Again, did this resolution raise issues which were inconsistent from the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16?

The passing of the resolution, Dr. Mookerjee argued, would not prejudice the future constitution. When the time actually came for the framing of the constitution, it would be open to any member to bring up any matter before the House as amendment to any particular proposal and such amendments would be considered on their merits.

"If assurances are forthcoming," Dr. Mookerjee added, "the resolution does not go against the main features of the Cabinet Mission and also it does not commit the Constituent Assembly in regard to the details of the constitution that is yet to come. I see no reason why any obstacle should be put to the passing of this resolution. We are sitting here in our individual capacity and our sanction is not the British Government or Parliament but the people of India. If that is so, we have to say something not merely frame rules and regulations as to why we assembled here on December 9, 1946. If what Dr. Jayakar had said was the correct position, then this Constituent Assembly should not have been called at all. In fact, Dr. Jayakar should not have attended the meeting. He should have informed the Governor-General: 'I feel I cannot attend and I feel you are doing wrong in convening the Assembly when the League is not attending.'"

"After having come here, for us to raise this issue is practically to walk into the trap of the Muslim League and strengthen the hands of the reactionaries in England," he said. Dr. Jayakar is the last man to do any such thing, but we must also respectfully point out to him the great danger that lies in his innocent-looking amendment."

DINNER PARTY ANALOGY

Dr. Jayakar had mentioned the analogy of a dinner party and asked, if some of the guests did not come, how could we have a dinner party? Dr. Mookerjee asked the counter-question: "What will be the fate of the guests who have already come?" (Laughter).

Dr. Mookerjee went on to refer to Mr. Churchill's description of the Constituent Assembly as a marriage without the bride. Dr. Mookerjee asked how many brides were there in the Constituent Assembly. Were Indian States one bride and the Muslim League another? And if the League was the bride was not Mr. Churchill playing the role of seducer instead of asking Mr. Jinnah to come to the Constituent Assembly? One had said that the League should not come. "In fact, we want the League to come in now so that we can meet face to face to solve difficulties. If there are difficulties and differences of opinion, we do not wish always to carry our decisions by a majority vote. That may have to be done in the last resort, but obviously every attempt must be made to come to an agreement. My had given into Muslim League is not coming because of the British attitude. The Muslim League is being encouraged to feel that if it did not come, it will be able to veto the final decision of the Assembly. The power of veto has in some form or other again passed into the hands of the Muslim League. That is the greatest danger that threatens the future activities of this great Assembly."

GROUPING ISSUE

Considerable Difference Of Opinion

"There has been considerable difference of opinion with regard to one clause of the statement of May 16, that is, with regard to the question of grouping. It is for the Congress to decide, as one of the major parties, what interpretation it is going to accept. If the interpretation given by His Majesty's Government is not accepted and if the Congress considers that the interpretation put by itself is correct, then a crisis may come. "That, however, is a question which has to be decided, apart from a discussion on this resolution. But the greater delay in deciding this question, the greater will be the unreality of the proceedings of this House. After that question is decided, supposing His Majesty's Government interpretation is accepted, whether or not we shall go on with our work. The Muslim League may come or may not come. Even if it does not come we must proceed with the business of the Constituent Assembly."

POSSIBLE CRISIS

Making a further reference to the crisis that he visualised, Dr. Mookerjee said that if India was to be free, it would be not by constitutional means, in view of the developments of the last few weeks. The agency should be the Constituent Assembly. Talking about minorities, it had been suggested that the Muslim League re-

presented the only minority in India. That was not so. The Hindus also constituted a minority in at least four provinces in India. If minority rights had to be protected, such protection should be given to every minority, which might vary from province to province.

Dr. Mookerjee contested Lord Simon's statement yesterday that the Constituent Assembly consisted of caste Hindus. So many false statements had been made that it was difficult to count or counteract them. This was one. Actually in the Assembly were represented at least one Muslim province, one Hindu province, one province supposed to be part and parcel of the Muslim majority area, the Scheduled Castes, including Dr. Ambedkar, Sikhs, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, Parsis and Adibasis. Every element that had been elected to the Constituent Assembly was here barring the Muslim League.

Dr. Mookerjee, concluding, said: "We should tell the British that, in spite of what he has happened in the past, if they really want that we should remain friends in the future, we are prepared to accept their co-operation, but it is not for the British Government to interfere in the domestic problem of this country."

DR. M. R. JAYAKAR'S AMENDMENT

Dr. Ambedkar's Support

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was cheered as he rose to support Dr. Jayakar's amendment. He considered the first part of Pandit Nehru's resolution to be controversial and the latter part, which was out of the scope of the future constitution, to be non-controversial. He, however, considered even the latter part to be pedantic in that it enumerated only rights without prescribing the remedies to be followed by the parties. He would like the constitution to say in the most explicit terms that the State insisted upon nationalisation of industry and nationalisation of land.

As for the first part of the resolution, Dr. Ambedkar said that it seemed to have centred on the use of the word republic. It also arose from the point made by Dr. Jayakar that, in the absence of the League, it would not be proper for this Assembly to proceed with this resolution. He had not the slightest doubt about the future evolution of the social, political and economic structure of this country.

"I know," he said, "today we are divided politically, socially and economically. We are in various camps, and I am probably one of the leaders of a warring camp. But with all this, I am convinced that, given time and circumstances, nothing in the world will prevent this country from coming into a united and with our castes and creeds, I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that we shall in some form be a united people. (Cheers.)"

"I have no hesitation in saying that, notwithstanding the agitation of the League for the partition of India, some day enough light will dawn upon the Muslims themselves, and they, too, will begin to think that a united India is better for everybody. (Cheers.)"

So far as the ultimate goal was concerned, Dr. Ambedkar said, none of them need have any apprehensions or doubts. Their difficulty was not about the ultimate aim, but how to make the heterogeneous mass that they were today take a decision in common and march in a co-operative way on that road which was bound to lead them to unity.

"I should have thought, therefore," continued Dr. Ambedkar, "that, in order to make a start and in order to induce every party and every section in this country to co-operate, the greatest of the great statesmanship for the majority party even to make a concession to the prejudices of the people who are not prepared to march together and it is for that that I propose the ultimate aim, but how to make the heterogeneous mass that they were today take a decision in common and march in a co-operative way on that road which was bound to lead them to unity."

"I should have thought, therefore," continued Dr. Ambedkar, "that, in order to make a start and in order to induce every party and every section in this country to co-operate, the greatest of the great statesmanship for the majority party even to make a concession to the prejudices of the people who are not prepared to march together and it is for that that I propose the ultimate aim, but how to make the heterogeneous mass that they were today take a decision in common and march in a co-operative way on that road which was bound to lead them to unity."

"I should have thought, therefore," continued Dr. Ambedkar, "that, in order to make a start and in order to induce every party and every section in this country to co-operate, the greatest of the great statesmanship for the majority party even to make a concession to the prejudices of the people who are not prepared to march together and it is for that that I propose the ultimate aim, but how to make the heterogeneous mass that they were today take a decision in common and march in a co-operative way on that road which was bound to lead them to unity."

NEED FOR STRONG CENTRE

Congress Policy Criticised

"So far as I am personally concerned," Dr. Ambedkar said, "I am not at all in favour of the grouping. (Cheers.) I like a strong unitary centre, much stronger than the centre which was created in the Act of 1935. (Cheers.) But we have no alternative. The situation at all. We have travelled over a long road. The Congress party, for reasons best known to itself, consented to the dismantling of a strong centre which had grown out of this country as a result of 150 years of administration and which to me was a matter of great admiration and respect."

"Having given up that position and having said that we do not want a strong centre and having accepted that there must be, or should be, an intermediary or a sub-federation of provinces, I should like to know why there was no advance in paragraph 2 to the idea of grouping. I quite understand that the Congress, the League and His Majesty's Government are not 'Ad idem' on the interpretation of paragraph 2. I always thought, that the Congress agreed that if the provinces consented to form a sub-federation, the Congress would have no objection to that proposal. How then was the idea of a sub-federation completely effaced from the resolution?"

NEED FOR PRUDENCE

Proceeding, Dr. Ambedkar said he would not ask whether the House had the right to pass such a resolution. He might be asking it, he asserted, "is it prudent for you to do it? Is it wise for you to do it? Power is one thing and wisdom and prudence quite a different thing. We are in a position to decide this matter from the point of view not of the authority as vested in this Constituent Assembly. I want the House to consider whether it would be statesmanship or prudence to pass this. "I am another aspect of the question, made to bring about a reconciliation between the Congress and the League. This subject is so vital and so important that I am sure that it is not enough to decide it on the mere basis of the significance of the subject or other party. In deciding the destinies of a people, the dignity of the leaders or men or parties ought to count for nothing."

There was in only three ways by which the issue would be decided—surrender by one party to the wishes of the other, a negotiated peace and open war. He had been hearing from

certain members of the Constituent Assembly the statement that they were prepared to go to war. "I must confess," said Dr. Ambedkar, "that I am appalled at the idea that anybody in this country should have the idea of solving the political problems of this country by going to war. I do not know how many people support that idea. A good many, perhaps, do. And the reason why I think they do is that most of them believe that the war would be a war on the British."

"If the war that is in the minds of people can be localised and circumscribed, so that it will be no more than a war on the British people, I probably may not have much objection. But will it be a war on the British people? I want to place before this House, in the clearest terms possible, that if any war comes in this country and that it has any relation to the issue with which we are confronted today, it will not be a war on the British. It will be a war on the Muslims or, what is probably worse, a war which has a combination of the British and the Muslims. I do not know what the idea of the war that is being contemplated."

Quoting Burke's famous passage in favour of reconciliation with America, Dr. Ambedkar said, "If anybody has it in his mind that this problem can be solved by war or that the Muslims may be subjugated and made to surrender to a constitution that might be prepared without their knowledge and consent, this country will be involved in perpetually conquering them. An Burke said, 'It is easy to give power but difficult to give wisdom.' Let us prove by our conduct that we have not only the power but also the wisdom to carry with us a constitution of the country and to make them march on that road which is bound to lead us to unity."

SIKH ATTITUDE DEFINED

Support To Resolution

Sardar Ujjal Singh, supporting Pandit Nehru's resolution, described it as "an expression of the pent-up emotions of the millions of this country. Opinions might differ with regard to the exact wording of the resolution, but taken as a whole, it was an expression of the will of the people of this country."

Sardar Ujjal Singh said that he was one of those who regretted very much the absence of the League from the House and he was also one of those who valued and sought the co-operation of the League. But it was not the fault of the House that those friends were absent today, and it was not fair that its business should be postponed indefinitely without knowing when the other party was coming.

Referring to the League's objection that the resolution did not mention grouping, Sardar Ujjal Singh said: "Grouping is an optional matter, and almost all of us, if I may say so, are against grouping. Even the State Paper leaves it to the option of the sections or, as we interpret it, to the option of the provinces." It was, therefore, not proper to mention grouping in a resolution of this kind when the sections or provinces might decide otherwise."

DEMAND FOR SAFEGUARDS

Sardar Ujjal Singh dwelt at length on the Sikh attitude towards the Cabinet Mission's plan, their original decision to boycott the Constituent Assembly and reversal of that decision following certain assurances given to the Sikhs by the Congress Working Committee. It was undoubtedly the height of injustice on the part of the Cabinet Mission not to have provided safeguards for the Sikhs in section B similar to those provided for the Muslims in the Union.

The Sikhs, he contended, had a stronger case for safeguards in section B than the Muslims had for safeguards in the Union. He also felt that any safeguards given to the Sikhs in section B would be a guarantee of protection to the other minorities in that area.

Proceeding, he said: "Let us make it clear that the safeguards that the Sikhs demand in the Punjab and the north-west are within the Indian Empire and not outside. They are safeguards that all communities should live together in harmony and peace. They are prepared to live with their Muslim brothers in the Punjab and the north-west even though the latter are adversaries, but not as a superior or separate race or nation. The Sikhs, therefore, cannot tolerate the partition of this great and ancient land." (Cheers.)

Sardar Govind Das, supporting the resolution, said that he was in complete agreement with Dr. Ambedkar on his speech, but expressed astonishment at Dr. Jayakar's speech. Seth Govind Das declared that the Congress and other freedom-loving elements in the country wanted peace and not strife. Passive resistance and non-violence, he said, were two great contributions that Mahatma Gandhi had made towards the attainment of peace.

"We do not want to fight either the British Government or the Muslim League," he said, "but if the former were to employ the latter as tools for putting obstacles in the way of the country's freedom, we shall certainly oppose them. We want the League to participate in the Constituent Assembly, but if they choose to stay out, we must go ahead."

If we are assured that the postponement until January of the resolution will guarantee the League's co-operation in the task of constitution-making, I am sure Pandit Nehru will not hesitate to withdraw it."

Further debate was adjourned till tomorrow.

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit took her seat in the Constituent Assembly today amid cheers. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President, said he was happy to welcome her after her long absence from India at the United Nations meeting.—A.P.I.

Assam's Firm Stand

GAUHATI, December 18: Objection to the grouping provisions in the new constitutional plan has been telegraphed to the Congress leaders at New Delhi by the Assam Women's Conference.

The Speaker of the Assam Assembly has also telegraphed to Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, Premier and leader of the Assam representatives on the Constituent Assembly, requesting him not to sit in sections, after what the British Government had said in the December 6 statement on the grouping implications.—A.P.I.

INDIA AND CIVIL WAR

U Saw's View

CALCUTTA, December 17: "Whether there should be a civil war or not in order to solve the Indian problem is a question that should be decided by the Indians themselves to decide," observed U Saw, former Premier of Burma and now a member of the Burmese Interim Government, today.

U Saw, who is here for eye treatment, told the Press that, "America, I am confident that, once India is allowed to settle her own domestic disputes, she will be able to do so without resorting to civil war. Such problems are for the Indians to decide, not for aliens, however long they might have been connected with the country."

"That there would be a civil war," he continued, "is no argument for postponing Indian independence. But if, as Mr. Churchill and other Imperialist debarthards think, there would be a civil war once India is free, I would only say that India is simply following the examples of America, Spain, Russia and such other countries for solving her ills in the way her genius deems best. It is not for anyone else to sit in judgment."

"The Burmese and the Indians," he added, "are alive to the question that the two should remain in the friendship of terms and should move forward as if they were two eyes looking at one object in all international activities.—A.P.A.

I S C O-STANTON SPUN IRON PIPES

Manufactured at our Kulti Works in agreement with the Stanton Ironworks Company Limited, conform strictly to BSS 1211/1945.

The Isco-Stanton Spun Iron Pipes possess greater discharge capacity, and are stronger and lighter than the vertically cast iron pipe.

Also, as they are made in longer lengths of 12'-0 and 18'-0, they offer the advantages of fewer joints, saving of time in laying and reduction in conveyance and handling charges.

We manufacture at present 3" to 12" diameters and can offer prompt deliveries.

ENQUIRIES SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO—

THE INDIAN IRON & STEEL CO., LTD.

MANAGING AGENTS:

BURN & CO.

12, MISSION ROW, CALCUTTA.

BRANCHES: LAHORE, NEW DELHI

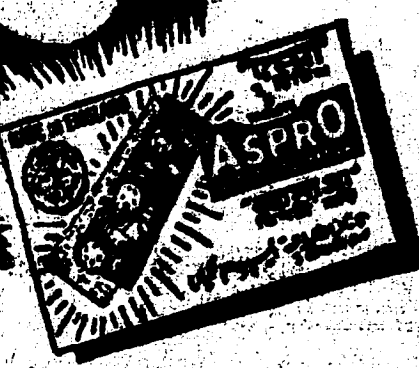
I.S.S-19

Local Agents: Messrs. ORMERODS (INDIA) LTD., Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

'ASPRO' is here!

REFUSE CLEVER IMITATIONS. SEE THAT THE WORD ASPRO IS ON EVERY TABLET.

'ASPRO' STOPS PAIN & FEVER IN 10 MINUTES. IT DOES NOT HARM THE HEART OR STOMACH.



'ASPRO' CONTROLLED PRICES AS. 1 PER PACKET OF 3 TABLETS. AS. 10 PER PACKET OF 30 TABLETS.

Distributors: L. MORISON, SON & JONES (India) LTD., P.O. BOX 25, KOLKATA (Phone 2075) and Branches.

'ASPRO' IS SOLD EVERYWHERE

AMSTEL BEER

NOW

AVAILABLE EVERYWHERE

DON'T FORGET HER XMAS PRESENT!



WE WILL SEND IT FOR YOU

Here is a Christmas present that every girl will adore: a wonderful Julie Claire lipstick in a gold plated container engraved with her initials, in a beautiful scarlet and gold leather case.

And to make things easy for you, we will pack your present in a gift wrapping and send it with a message from you, to reach her at Christmas.

Unless you know the particular shade she uses, send "Stolen Cherries" (bright red). Other shades are "Red Pepper" (pillar box red) "Red Velvet" (deep red) "Gypsy" (raspberry) "Ribbles" (violet) "Confetti" (Cyclamen).

Julie Claire

Lakshmi Building, 51, Pherosha Mehta Road, Bombay.

THIS IS WHAT YOU DO Write at once telling us: (a) Her name and address (b) Her initials to be engraved on the container (c) Any message to be enclosed Send a P.O. MO., or cheque for Rs. 25/- with your letter to cover all costs.

THIS IS WHAT WE DO (a) We shall engrave her initials on the gold plated container (b) We shall write your message on a card and enclose it (c) We shall send the gift by registered post so reach her by Christmas.

NOTE: Unless otherwise instructed we shall send "Stolen Cherries" (bright red).

EMDAS

FOR

WATCHES & SILKS

105/107, ESPLANADE ROAD, FORT — BOMBAY

Christmas and New Year GIFTS

★ ENGAGEMENT RINGS

★ PLAIN GOLD SIGNET RINGS

★ MODERN EAR CLIPS & BRACELETS, NECKLACES & PENDANTS

★ HANDMADE (Bangalore) SILVER TEA SETS, COFFEE SETS, TUMBLERS & LEMON SETS

★ E.P.N.S. PRESENTATION ARTICLES

FINEST WORKMANSHIP

SHEWAKRAM & SONS,

Jewellers,

Prospect Chambers, - 315-17, Hornby Road, Fort, Opp. Thomas Cook.

Telephone No. 23517.

Telegrams: "CLUSTER".