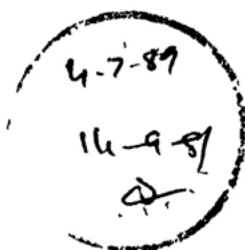


# LOK SABHA DEBATES

**SECOND SERIES**

**VOLUME XII, 1958.**

*(24th February to 10th March, 1958)*



**FOURTH SESSION, 1958**

*(Vol. XII contains Nos. 11 to 20)*

**LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT  
NEW DELHI**

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N. B.—The sign above a name of a Member on Questions, which were orally answered, indicates that the Question was actually asked on the floor of the House by that Member.

LOK SABHA

Monday, 24th February, 1958

The Lok Sabha met at Eleven of the Clock

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

DEATH OF MAULANA AZAD, SHRI B. DAS AND SHRI V. M. OBAIDULLAH

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Finance (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr. Speaker, Sir, it has fallen to my lot often to refer in this House to the death of a colleague or some great man. I have to perform that duty, a sad duty, again today in regard to one who was with us a few days ago and who passed away rather suddenly producing a sense of deep sorrow and grief not only to his colleagues in Parliament, but to innumerable people all over the country.

Now, it has become almost, if I may say so, a commonplace, when a prominent person passes away, to say that he is irreplaceable, that his passing away has created a void which cannot be filled. To some extent that is often true; yet, I believe that it is literally and absolutely true in regard to the passing away of Maulana Azad. I do not mean to say that no great men will be born in India; certainly not. We have had great men and we will have great men; but, I do submit that that peculiar and special type of greatness that Maulana Azad represented is not likely to be reproduced in India or anywhere else.

I need not refer to his many qualities which we all know—his deep

learning, his scholarship and his great oratory. He was a great writer and he was great in many ways. But there are other scholars; there are other writers; there are other orators, but there was this combination in him of the greatness of the past with the greatness of the present. He represented and he always reminded me of what I have read in history about the great men of several hundred years ago, say, if I think of European history, the great men of the Renaissance, or in a later period, of the encyclopædists who preceded the French Revolution, men of intellect, men of action. He reminds me also of what might be called the great qualities of olden days—the graciousness of them. There were many bad qualities, of course, in the old days, but there was a certain graciousness, a certain courtesy, a certain tolerance, a certain patience which is sadly to seek in the world today. There is little of graciousness in the world, even though we may become more and more advance in scientific and technical ways. Even though we may seek to reach the Moon, we do it with a lack of graciousness, with a lack of tolerance, with a lack of some things which have made life worthwhile since life began. So, it was this strange and unique mixture of the good qualities of the past, the graciousness, the deep learning and toleration with the urges of today that made Maulana Azad what he was.

Everyone knows that even in his early teens he was filled with the passion for freeing India and he turned towards ways even of violent revolution. And, then, he realised, of course, soon after that that was not the way which would gain results.

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru.]

He was a peculiar and a very special representative in a high degree of that great composite culture which has gradually grown in India. I do not mean to say that everybody has to be like Maulana Azad to represent that composite culture. There are many representatives of it to various parts of India; but he, in his own venue, here in Delhi or in Bengal or Calcutta, wherever he spent the greater part of his life, represented this synthesis of various cultures which have come one after another to India, rivers that had flowed in and lost themselves in the ocean of India life, India's humanity, affecting them, changing them and being changed themselves by them.

So, he came to represent more specially the culture of India as affected by the culture of the nations of western Asia, the Iranian culture, the Persian culture, the Arabic culture which affected India for thousands of years—especially Iran—as every one knows. So, in that sense, I said that I can hardly conceive of any other person coming who can replace him because there was already a change in the age which produced him and that age is past. A few of us are just relics, who have some faint idea of that age that is past.

I do not know if the generation that is growing up will even have any emotional realisation of that age. We are functioning in a different way; we think in a different way; and a certain gap in mental appreciation and understanding separates us, separates the generations.

It is right we change; I am not complaining. Change is essential lest we become rooted to some past habit which, even if it was good at some time, became bad later. But, I cannot help expressing a certain feeling of regret that with the bad, the good of the past days is also swept away and that good was something that was eminently represented by Maulana Azad.

There is one matter I should like to mention here a curious error to the expression of which I have myself been guilty about Maulana Azad's life and education. Even this morning, the newspapers contained a Resolution of Government about Maulana Azad. The error is this, that it is stated—as I have stated sometimes—that he went and studied at Al Azhar University. He did not do so. It is an extraordinary persistence of error of wide circles. And, as I said, I myself thought so. Otherwise, I would have taken care to correct it in the Government Resolution which has appeared today. The fact is that he never studied at Al Azhar University. He went, of course, to Cairo; he visited it as a visitor, to see it; but, he never studied there. He studied elsewhere. He studied in fact, chiefly in Calcutta, in the Arabic Schools as well as other schools. But he spent a number of years in Arabia. He was born there and he visited Egypt as he visited other countries of Western Asia. That is a different matter.

So, we mourn today the passing of a great man of course a man of luminous intelligence and a mighty intellect with an amazing capacity to pierce through the problem to its core. I used the word 'luminous'. I think perhaps that is the best word I can use about his mind—a luminous mind. When we miss and when we part with such a companion, friend, colleague, comrade, leader, teacher—call him what you will—there is inevitably a tremendous void created in our life and activities.

It is possible that the initial reaction may not be a full realisation of that void. The initial reaction is one of shock and sorrow. Gradually, as days pass, the void appears deeper and wider and it becomes more and more difficult to fill that place which was filled by a person who has passed away. But that is the

way of the world and we have to face it. We have to face it not negatively but positively by devoting and dedicating ourselves to what he stood for and trying to carry on the good work which he and others who have left us—captains and generals of our peaceful forces who have worked for Independence and progress and advancement of India who have come and who have gone leaving their message behind. And so, I hope though he may go, he will live and his message will live and illumine us as it did in the past.

Shri S. A. Dange (Bombay City—Central): Sir, I associate myself completely with the sentiments expressed by our Prime Minister. In fact, it is very difficult to add to the picture that he has given us of the Maulana Sahib as well as the appreciation. It is no doubt that we who came to the non-co-operation movement in 1920 and had been reared up in the national movement for so many years feel now that with his passing a sort of a whole period is summed up and that summing up has been done by the Prime Minister very well.

As he says, he reminded us of the encyclopaedists of the French Revolution and the Leaders of the Renaissance. When I used to see him sitting either here or in the movement outside, I was reminded more of the great Arab leaders of the 10th century, combining philosophy, mathematics and something of Omar Khayyam's literature—all together. It is a beautiful personality and a beautiful ideology of the new period combined with all the grandness that was in the past.

I sometimes used to feel how Abul Faisal would have looked when he translated the Upanishads in Persian and I think Maulana was the same picture here. It was not a small thing, when 12 or 13 years ago, when the floods of communalism were sweeping away many persons, to stand like a

rock on the ground of nationalism despite adherence to one's religion, one's own community. For the Maulana Sahib to remain with the national movement required tremendous courage. Many people were washed away in the flood. But Maulana Sahib stood there. Therefore, it is quite true to say that, surely, more great men will be borne, but the period that is passed cannot be filled up.

Acharya Kripalani (Sitamarhi): Mr. Speaker, Sir, it becomes difficult for us to pay our affectionate reverence to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in silence; we have to speak and perform our duty to our leaders. I fully and completely associate myself with the words that have been spoken by the Prime Minister. I believe that the demonstration day before yesterday and the public meeting yesterday show how instinctively the common people the great loss that the nation has suffered.

Sir, as the Prime Minister said, Maulana Sahib was the embodiment of a synthetic culture which had existed in India for the last few centuries, which had been enriched by many streams assimilated in India. It is the genius of our people that whenever they take anything from outside they put their own grab upon it, before accepting it, thus enriching themselves.

Maulana Sahib was the culmination of an age, an age which will not come back. He had the old world's courtesies which may not revive. But, even as he was the culmination of an era, he was also the beginning of another era. I remember, in 1912 when he published out his famous journal *Al Hilal* in Urdu, it was a revelation. A young man who did not know any of the modern European languages yet could talk of political and historical matters with a familiarity of the expert.

He rendered the greatest service to Islam, when he recognised that Islamic countries could only be saved

[Acharya Kripalani]

from the clutches of Imperialism when India was free. One does not know whether he loved Islam more or he loved India more; it was absolutely a blend where there was no first or second but both were the first. And, he made his Muslim countrymen to realise that in India while working for the freedom of India they were also working for the freedom of the countries that in Europe are called near East—and we call them West Asia.

Sir, he was a man of many brilliant facets. Any one of them would have given him fame. He was a great divine, and if he had just confined himself to the spiritual heritage of his people he would have been the first in the field, and so he remained, in spite of his political activities. He was a great orator; and if he had simply remained an orator, the nation would have remembered him among the country's great orators. He was a great scholar and if he had devoted his life to scholarship, he would have produced valuable and learned books and he would have been the leader in that field. But he took to the political field. Let it be understood that he and some of the old leaders who took to politics were not taking to politics for its sake. They had to leave their professions they had to leave pursuits dearest to their hearts; they had to leave things in which they could shine best. Why? Not for politics. Before Independence, there was no politics in India. There was only one thing and it was the love and service of the country that was lying low and that was in slavery. Many of us did not enter in politics and if we had been left alone, in normal circumstances, we would not have been in politics; but we would have gone on with the work dear to us. We had to interrupt our work because the country demanded it, and it was not politics but it was the love of the country that brought us into the political field. Maulana also, but for the condition in India, would have been

one of our great scholars and one of our great divines. But his merit lay in this, that he thought that all scholarship, all knowledge of divinity and philosophy, all his historical knowledge, would be worth little if the country was not free. Therefore, Sir, he joined the national movement. He joined it when he was almost in his teens, and I had occasion to be in contact with him in those days. There were revolutionaries inside and outside India then and there were to be connections, and I was one of the persons entrusted with this liaison. Many times literature came from outside; letters came from outside and they had to be transmitted. I have very, very vivid memories of him before 1920. In 1920 we all realised that violent revolution was not the way to freedom and that what Gandhiji had shown was the real way of rousing the masses and working for Independence.

Sir, it is very rare that people keep on throughout life in a revolutionary movement. It has been my experience that many, tired, fall by the wayside. A poet said it does not matter whether a spinner spins fine or he spins thick, but let it be that that thread does not break. And here, not only Maulana Sahib spun fine but the thread did not break. He had to suffer difficulties and humiliations. It is very difficult to stand out against the majority of one's community and to feel isolated. But he did not mind. He was insulted many times and he was a sensitive soul, yet he remained faithful to the cause that he had made his own and which he propagated throughout life, the cause of the independence of his country and its unity. Here was the person who has left a void in our nation. It is literally true, it is certain that we cannot fill that void. Maybe, as the Prime Minister said, that many people will rise; great people rise; great people have arisen in our history, but the place of Maulana, I am afraid, cannot be filled. There are many who appear to be

wise when they talk, but in the counsels they are not of much use. But here was a person who was not only wise in his words but wise in his counsels. He analysed the political situation with perfect clarity, and whether one agreed with him or not, one got wiser because of his analysis of the political situation.

Sir, it is said that there is, in our country the old guard. The gems of the old guard, are dropping one by one. I have to say in sorrow that we do not find that their places are being adequately filled. It may be that we may not have the gems again for some time to come, because, in the nation there is a period of creation and there is another period of silent gestation. So, it may not be possible to recreate the old giants, perhaps it may not be possible in a democracy, where the average man must rise. But I hope the gap created by the loss of exceptional people will be filled by the general rise in the average intelligence and average patriotism of the common people.

I pay my respectful homage to the great man who has just passed away

**Mr. Speaker:** Mr Jaipal Singh.

राजा महेन्द्र प्रताप (मयूरा) : जनाब रस्मि मजलिस, मैं भी इजहार अफसोस करना हूँ।

**Mr. Speaker:** I have called Mr. Jaipal Singh.

**Shri Jaipal Singh** (Ranchi West—Reserved-Sch. Tribes): **Mr. Speaker,** Sir, it seems like only the other day when more than forty years ago I met Maulana Saheb at Ranchi, where he was interned. I was only a school boy, very much in my early teens. The one thing that impressed me at that first meeting was the enormous library that he had even while he was in internment. It seemed enormous to me because, as a school boy, of course, I did not know more than about a half a dozen books; I did not possess any more. The impression he created in my mind then has persisted throughout my life.

To my way of looking at the whole picture, he was the one embodiment of cultural symbiosis in this country which should be an example to all of us if this country has to settle down; it has to go ahead. He was not altogether what we call a contra-acculturationist. His symbiotic attitude to life is one which is the crying need of our country today, and throughout his political career he held up the banner unswerving, unnerved and unspent.

May I, on behalf of the Independent Parliamentary Group, say one thing more? And it is that today our thoughts very much go to the Leader of the House. It is difficult for most of us to imagine how he must be missing the prop that he found in Maulana Saheb. I can assure him personally that we should rally round him in the difficult task he has ahead of him, if ever he should feel lonely.

May I say one more word? And here I speak with authority, and certainly without fear of contradiction. Maulana Saheb was held in the highest esteem in Tribal India. May his soul rest in peace.

राजा महेन्द्र प्रताप : जनाब रस्मि मजलिस, मैं भी इजहार अफसोस करते हुए कुछ बातें बतलाना चाहता हूँ जो कि अक्सर यहां पर मालूम नहीं हैं।

मेरा मौलाना साहब से बड़ा पुराना ताल्लुक है। जब कि हमने काबुल में हुकूमते मुवक्तः (Provisional) हिंद बना ली थी और जब कि मैं उसका रईस था तो यहां से मौलाना साहब, जनाब मोहम्मद अली और शौकत अली साहब हमको पैगाम भेजा करते थे। उस वक्त मौलाना साहब इन्कलाबी थे और यकीन करते थे फौजी तैयारी में। यहां पर एक और शाहिद बैठे हुए हैं, जनाब कृपालानी साहब। उनके भाई साहब भी हमें पैगाम भेजा करते थे और उनकी मार्फत

[राजा महेंद्र प्रताप]

हम यहां हिन्दुस्तान में पैगाम भेजा करते थे। खुद कृपालानी साहब ने मुझे यह बतलाया था कि उस वक्त वह भी बम और तुफंगों में यकीन करते थे। बाद को वह भी महात्मा गांधी जी की नानवापोलेन्स के एक हमी बन गये और हमारे मौलाना साहब भी हमी बन गये। मगर हमारा और मौलाना साहब का ताल्लुक बराबर कायम रहा। दूसरी लड़ाई के जमाने में जब कि मैंने एग्जिक्यूटिव बोर्ड आफ इंडिया टू मी इंडिया बाई थ्राल पासिबल मीन्स विद फारेन हेल्प बनाई हुई थी, जिसका मैं रईस था, प्रेजिडेंट था। उस वक्त मैंने एक मि० सेन की मार्फत एक पैगाम भेजा था। उस वक्त मौलाना रईसे मजलिसे हिन्दू थे यानी कांग्रेस के प्रेजिडेंट थे। वह हम को पैगाम ले कर गये और उन्होंने बतलाया कि मौलाना साहब हमारे कारे खिदमत के मददगार हैं। इस तरह मौलाना साहब से हमारा बड़ा गहरा ताल्लुक था, रिश्ता था और बराबर वह कायम रहा।

जब मैं लौट कर आया सन् १९४६ में, हमारे वजीर आजम जनाब पंडित नेहरू साहब मुझ से गले मिले और मुझे वकिंग कमेटी में ले गये। यह सन् १९४६ में प्रगस्त की बात है। उस वक्त मौलाना साहब से मैंने वकिंग कमेटी में सबसे पहला यही सवाल पूछा था कि मौलाना साहब क्या वह बात ठीक थी जो कि सेन साहब ने बतलाया कि आप हमी हैं: हमारे तर्जें भ्रमल के? उस वक्त उन्होंने कहा "जी हाँ"। यह भी एक बड़ा ताल्लुक था। उसके बाद में सन् १९४८ में, जब कि मौलाना साहब ने मुझे और शेरगिल साहब को शिमले में लंच पर बुलाया, मेरी बड़ी लम्बी बातें हुई और मैंने कहा कि मौलाना साहब, अगर यह पाकिस्तान रह जायेगा तो बड़ा नुकसान होगा और यह बहुत सतरनाक साबित होगा। एक पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू हैं जो कि मुश्किलफ्त कर रहे हैं। तो मौलाना साहब

ने कहा कि जवाहरलाल का कुछ नहीं, उसको तो हम मना लेते हैं। मालूम नहीं मनाया या नहीं, मगर यह एक हकीकत है कि मैंने बतलाया था कि किस तरह से पाकिस्तान को मिटाया जा सकता है, मगर उसके बारे में यकीनन वह वकिंग कमेटी को तैयार न कर सके।

उन्होंने कहा था कि मैं आ कर दिल्ली में मिलूँ, मैं मिला मगर बाद को उन्होंने बतलाया कि वकिंग कमेटी मेरे तर्जें भ्रमल को सुनने के लिये भी तैयार नहीं। बहरकई मैंने कहने का मतलब यह है कि मौलाना साहब एक शक्त्त थे वकिंग कमेटी में जो कि मेरे तर्जें भ्रमल को अच्छी तरह समझते थे और अगर खुदा की मेहरबानी से वह और जिन्दा रहते, और अभी मैं जैसे पाकिस्तान हो कर भी आया हूँ, मुमकिन है कि उसी तर्जें भ्रमल को काम में लाते।

बस और कुछ मैं नहीं कहता। दुआ करता हूँ उनके लिये। जनाब वजीर आजम साहब की खिदमत में एक बात भ्रजें कर दूँ। उनको बहुत रंज हुआ कि कोई उनका सलाहकार नहीं रहा। मैं उनको सलाहकार देता हूँ। जनाब अब्दुल मजीद ख्वाजा साहब। उनको बुला लीजिये, उनकी सलाह से काम कीजिये। मेरी समझ में वह मौलाना साहब से कम मुफीद साबित नहीं होंगे।

Shri V. Raju (Visakhapatnam): I rise to pay my tribute to the memory of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. What exactly does the Maulana Saheb's life mean to my generation, is something which I have been asking myself since the last two days. I am of the younger generation which the Prime Minister mentioned. To me the Maulana Saheb was a political leader whom I worshipped from afar—not only him, but all the other leaders of the national movement. The Prime Minister was one of them, Acharya Kripalani was another, and of course, there was always Mahatma Gandhi.

Today, to my generation, and to those who are younger than me, a very difficult question always poses itself. To the generation of the past and for those who are also living and who are colleagues of Maulana Saheb, there was very little problem. Personal problems there are always in life, but from an ideological and political standpoint, there was little or no problem. Nationalism was there, the love of the country was there, the fight for freedom was there, and towards that light we could all travel. In a sense I could term the struggle for national freedom as the ideal an objective of synthesis which always exists in our nation. There was no difficulty, but today in the world of sectarianism, and in a world where there are party differences and emphasis on policies and programme which vary, the problem of finding the true path is much more difficult, and it is, therefore, that the life of Maulana Saheb is such a great example for my generation. Because, as I have already mentioned, personal problems exist; in addition to that, there are also problems of emphasis, and the Maulana Saheb in his life had a problem of emphasis.

As we know, he was a Mussalman and had the problem of adjustment towards his community when there was the great problem of communal riots in the country. He was also a great nationalist. In a similar manner, there is to my generation the problem of emphasis, and we try to arrive at the beaconpoint of emphasis and work towards it, and the life of this great leader is an example of working towards this particular emphasis.

It is said that a person could well desire to live for a hundred years if he works without attachment, if his work is done with earnestness, but without desire. It is said that he and he alone can live for a hundred years, and that is the message of synthesis and one-pointedness which the synthesised culture of India has given to all of us. I feel today that this lesson can well be learnt through

the life of Maulana Azad. One can and should live a long life without attachment to the fruit of endeavour, and especially for us politicians and also only be arrived generation, truth can only be arrived at through one-pointed service without attachment.

This is the lesson that the Maulana gives to the younger generation, and I am sure that they will learn it and in the years to come from my generation and from the generations that will come, many great men will arise from this country and carry on the beacon-light shown to us by Maulana Azad.

Mr. Speaker: I associate myself with all the sentiments that have been expressed by the Leader of the House and the leaders of the various Groups here.

Maulana Saheb was a great national hero and a great patriot. He entered public life nearly fifty years ago, and his life has been one of dedication to the service of the motherland. His service and sacrifice were immense. He fought relentlessly and was a good fighter. In the winning of freedom, he was next to none. He was the right-hand person of Mahatma Gandhi. After the winning of freedom, he was a great architect of our new State.

He was a Member of the Constituent Assembly, the Provisional Parliament and the Lok Sabha, and he was the Minister of Education, when his body was laid at rest.

I pray to the Almighty that his soul may rest in peace.

He was a great theologian and divine. He was devoted to religion, but he never allowed his religion to interfere with his politics. These are the lessons that we have to draw from the life of the great soul that has departed.

[Mr. Speaker.]

I trust that the House joins me in conveying to the members of the bereaved family our deep sense of sorrow. His loss is irreparable to the Motherland.

I have to report to the House the unfortunate passing away of two other friends. Shri B. Das died yesterday at his residence in New Delhi. He was, and he can be, rightly called the 'Father of this House'. He joined the Central Legislative Assembly long before 1947, in 1923, and continued to be a Member for a number of years. He started during Motilalji's time as the Chief Whip of the Congress Party. He was an ardent worker. In the end, he was the chairman of the Public Accounts Committee, in which capacity he did a lot of good service to our country.

We deeply mourn his loss. I trust the House will join me in conveying our deep sense of sorrow at his passing away to the members of his bereaved family.

I have also to inform the House of the sad demise of Shri V. M. Obaidullah, who passed away in Vellore on the 21st February, 1958, at the age of 53. Shri Obaidullah was a Member of the Provisional Parliament in 1951-52, and was a sitting Member of the Rajya Sabha when he passed away.

He was a good Tamil orator. Though he started his political career while he was quite young, he did a lot of propaganda for the country's cause, and he suffered immensely though he was poor. Irrespective of his poverty

and his incapacity to suffer, he did suffer, and went to jail as often as it was necessary, and fought bravely.

We deeply mourn his loss also and shall convey to the members of his bereaved family our deep sense of sorrow.

I request the House to stand in silence for a minute to express its sorrow.

[The Members then stood in silence for a minute.]

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: May I make a submission for your consideration and the consideration of the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, that a portrait of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad painted by an eminent artist be placed in the Central Hall of Parliament?

Mr. Speaker: I most heartily welcome it. I am sure the House agrees with me that it is quite proper and appropriate that we should have Maulana Saheb's portrait. I am ready to receive the portrait when given. Even otherwise, independently, I am willing myself, on behalf of Parliament, to put up a portrait there.

As a mark of respect to the memory of the departed soul, the House will now stand adjourned and meet again at 11 A.M. tomorrow

11.45 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, the 25th February, 1958.

## DAILY DIGEST

[Monday, 24th February, 1958.]

*Subject**Column,**Subject*

## OBITUARY REFERENCES

2091—2106

and of Shri V.M. Obaidullah who was a member of the Provisional Parliament .

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri S.A. Dange, Acharya Kripalani, Shri Jaipal Singh, Raja Mahendra Pratap, Shri Raju and the Speaker made references to the passing away of Maulana Azad, Minister of Education and Scientific Research . . .

Thereafter Members stood in silence for a minute as a mark of respect and the Lok Sabha adjourned for the day .

AGENDA FOR TUESDAY,  
25TH FEBRUARY, 1958—

The Speaker also made references to the passing away of Shri B. Das, who was a member of the Central Legislative Assembly, Constituent Assembly, Provisional Parliament and First Lok Sabha

Consideration and passing of the Central Sales Tax (Amendment) Bill and consideration of the motion to refer the Merchant Shipping Bill to a Joint Committee .