

50<sup>th</sup>  
Anniversary of  
Independence

Proceedings of  
The Constituent Assembly  
of India

14-15 August 1947



14-15 August 1997

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## FOREWORD

At the stroke of the midnight of 14th August 1947, we blossomed as a free nation. In the Constitution Hall of Parliament House, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru spoke eloquently of our 'tryst with destiny', and redeeming our pledge, 'not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially'. The President of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Rajendra Prasad led the members in taking the pledge 'to the service of India and her people'. The next day, the Constituent Assembly of Independent India met amidst widespread rejoicing all around the country and amidst felicitations from all over the world. Today, as we commemorate the Fiftieth Anniversary of our Independence, let us rededicate ourselves to the historic task undertaken in this very same Hall on 14-15 August 1947 and renew our efforts to confront the challenges ahead.

This publication, carrying the proceedings of the midnight session of 14th August 1947 and also the sitting of the Constituent Assembly of 15th August 1947, commemorates these two eventful days in our history in the year of the Fiftieth Anniversary of our Independence.



*New Delhi,  
14-15 August 1997*

P.A. SANGMA,  
*Speaker,  
Lok Sabha*

## PREFACE

Fifty years ago, on the midnight of 14-15 August 1947, members of the Constituent Assembly of India assembled in the Constitution Hall of Parliament House to partake in the making of history. A nation, for long under subjugation, eventually emerged free, once again demonstrating that human spirit could never be kept in shackles for ever. That freedom came as the culmination of a non-violent movement added to its lustre and enriched its content. When, at the stroke of midnight, freedom dawned on the Indian horizon, it was the triumph of the indomitable will of people who were inheritors of a millennia-old civilization.

Today, fifty years later, we recall with immense pride and utmost reverence the sacrifices made by many known and thousands of unknown compatriots who stood up against an empire's might and perished at the altar of freedom so that others could breathe free. In the decades since, we have occupied our rightful place among the comity of independent nations and have championed the cause of freedom, prosperity and peace everywhere. It is now left to us to address the unfinished tasks facing the nation and fulfil wholly the dreams of all those who made independent India a reality.

This publication incorporates the proceedings of the midnight session of 14-15 August 1947 and also the sitting of 15th August 1947. The texts of the *Jana gana mana*, *Vande Mataram* and *Sare jahan se achcha* have been included as Appendices. A few select photographs capturing some historic moments of 14-15 August 1947 also find place here.



New Delhi,  
14-15 August, 1997

S. GOPALAN,  
Secretary-General,  
Lok Sabha

Let us also pay our tribute of love and reverence to Mahatma Gandhi who has been our beacon light, our guide and philosopher during the last thirty years or more. He represents that undying spirit in our culture and make-up which has kept India alive through vicissitudes of our history. He it is who pulled us out of the slough of despondency and despair and blowed into us a spirit which enabled us to stand up for justice, to claim our birth-right of freedom and placed in our hands the matchless and unfailing weapon of Truth and Non-violence which without arms and armaments has won for us the invaluable prize of Swaraj at a price which, when the history of these times comes to be written, will be regarded as incredible for a vast country of our size and for the teeming millions of our population. We were indifferent instruments that he had to work with but he led us with consummate skill, with unwavering determination, with an undying faith in our future, with faith in his weapon and above all with faith in God. Let us prove true to that faith. Let us hope that India will not, in the hour of her triumph, give up or minimise the value of the weapon which served not only to rouse and inspire her in her moments of depression but has also proved its efficacy. India has a great part to play in the shaping and moulding of the future of a war-distracted world. She can play that part not by mimicking, from a distance, what others are doing, or by joining in the race for armaments and competing with others in the discovery of the latest and most effective instruments of destruction. She has now the opportunity, and, let us hope, she will have the courage and strength to place before the world for its acceptance her infallible substitute for war and bloodshed, death and destruction. The world needs it and will welcome it, unless it is prepared to reel back into barbarism from which it boasts to have emerged.

Let us then assure all countries of the world that we propose to stick to our historic tradition to be on terms of friendship and amity with all, that we have no

designs against any one and hope that none will have any against us. We have only one ambition and desire, that is, to make our contribution to the building up of freedom for all and peace among mankind.

The country, which was made by God and Nature to be one, stands divided today. Separation from near and dear ones, even from strangers after some association, is always painful. I would be untrue to myself if I did not at this moment confess to a sense of sorrow at this separation. But I wish to send on your behalf and my own our greetings and good wishes for success and the best of luck in the high endeavour of government in which the people of Pakistan, which till today has been a part and parcel of ourselves, will be engaged. To those who feel like us but are on the other side of the border we send a word of cheer. They should not give way to panic but should stick to their hearths and homes, their religion and culture, and cultivate the qualities of courage and forbearance. They have no reason to fear that they will not get protection and just and fair treatment and they should not become victims of doubt and suspicion. They must accept the assurances publicly given and win their rightful place in the polity of the State, where they are placed, by their loyalty.

To all the minorities in India we give the assurance that they will receive fair and just treatment and there will be no discrimination in any form against them. Their religion, their culture and their language are safe and they will enjoy all the rights and privileges of citizenship, and will be expected in their turn to render loyalty to the country in which they live and to its constitution. To all we give the assurance that it will be our endeavour to end poverty and squalor and its companions, hunger and disease, to abolish distinction and exploitation and to ensure decent conditions of living.

We are embarking on a great task. We hope that in this we shall have the unstinted service and co-operation of all our people and the sympathy and support

of all the communities. We shall do our best to deserve it.

After this I propose that we all stand in silence to honour the memory of those who have died in the struggle for freedom in India and elsewhere.

*(The Assembly stood in silence for two minutes.)*

#### MOTION RE. PLEDGE BY MEMBERS

**Mr. President :** Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru will now move the motion which stands in his name.

**The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (U.P. General):** \*Mr. President, many years ago we had made a tryst with destiny itself. We had taken a pledge, a vow. Now the time has come to redeem it. But perhaps the pledge has not yet been redeemed fully though stages have been reached in that direction. We have almost attained independence. At such a moment it is only appropriate that we take a new pledge, a new vow to serve India and her people. After a few moments, the Assembly will assume the status of a fully free and independent body, and it will represent an independent and free country. Therefore great responsibilities are to devolve upon it. If we do not realise the importance of our responsibilities, then we shall not be able to discharge our duties fully. Hence it becomes essential for us to take this pledge after fully understanding all its implications. The resolution that I am presenting before you relates to that pledge. We have finished one phase, and for that rejoicings are going on today. Our hearts are full of joy and some pride and satisfaction. But we know that there is no rejoicing in the whole of the country. There is enough of grief in our hearts. Not far from Delhi, big cities are ablaze and its heat is reaching us here. Our happiness cannot be complete. At this hour

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\*English translation of Hindustani speech.

we have to face all these things with a brave heart. We are not to raise a hue and cry and get perturbed. When the reins of Government have come to our hands, we have to do things in the right way. Generally, countries wrest their freedom after great bloodshed, tears and toil. Much blood has been spilt in our land, and in a way which is very painful. Notwithstanding that, we have achieved freedom by peaceful methods. We have set a new example before the world. We are free now but along with freedom, come responsibilities and burdens. We have to face them, and overcome them all. Our dream is now about to be translated into reality. The task of wresting freedom and ousting the foreign government was before us till now and that task is now accomplished. But uprooting the foreign domination is not all. Unless and until each and every Indian breathes the air of freedom and his miseries are banished and his hard lot is improved, our task remains unfinished. Therefore a large portion of our task remains to be done, and we shall try to accomplish it. Big problems confront us and at their sight sometimes our heart quivers, but, then again, the thought that in the past we have faced many a big problem and we shall do so again, gives us courage. Shall we be cowed down by these ? It is not the individual pride and strength that is comforting, rather it is the pride of the country and the nation, and a confidence in people who have suffered terribly for the cause that makes me feel bold to think we shall successfully shoulder the huge burden of hardships, and find a solution of these problems. After all, India is now free. That is well and good. At a time when we are on the threshold of freedom, we should remember that India does not belong to any one party or group of people or caste. It does not belong to the followers of any particular religion. It is the country of all, of every religion and creed. We have repeatedly defined the type of freedom we desire. In the first resolution, which I moved earlier, it has been said that our freedom is to be shared equally by every Indian. All Indians shall have equal rights, and each one of them



is to partake equally in that freedom. We shall proceed like that, and whosoever tries to be aggressive will be checked by us. If anyone is oppressed we shall stand by his side. If we follow this path then we shall be able to solve big problems, but if we become narrowminded we shall not be able to solve them.

I shall read out in English this resolution which I am now putting before you.

Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially. At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance. It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity.

At the dawn of history India started on her unending quest, and trackless centuries are filled with her striving and the grandeur of her successes and her failures. Through good and ill fortune alike she has never lost sight of that quest or forgotten the ideals which gave her strength. We end today a period of ill fortune and India discovers herself again. The achievement we celebrate today is but a step, an opening of opportunity, to the greater triumphs and achievements that await us. Are we brave enough and wise enough to grasp this opportunity and accept the challenge of the future ?

Freedom and power bring responsibility. That responsibility rests upon this Assembly, a sovereign body representing the sovereign people of India. Before the birth of freedom we have endured all the pains of labour and our hearts are heavy with the memory of this sorrow. Some of those pains continue even now. Nevertheless the past is over and it is the future that beckons to us now.

That future is not one of ease or resting but of incessant striving so that we might fulfil the pledges we have so often taken and the one we shall take today. The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity. The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us but as long as there are tears and suffering, so long our work will not be over.

And so we have to labour and to work and work hard to give reality to our dreams. Those dreams are for India, but they are also for the world, for all the nations and peoples are too closely knit together today for any one of them to imagine that it can live apart. Peace has been said to be indivisible; so is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so also is disaster in this One World that can no longer be split into isolated fragments.

To the people of India, whose representatives we are, we make appeal to join us with faith and confidence in this great adventure. This is no time for petty and destructive criticism, no time for ill-will or blaming others. We have to build the noble mansion of free India where all her children may dwell.

I beg to move, Sir,

“That it be resolved that :

(1) After the last stroke of midnight, all members of the Constituent Assembly present on this occasion, do take the following pledge :

‘At this solemn moment when the people of India, through suffering and sacrifice, have secured freedom, I....., a member of the Constituent Assembly of India,

do dedicate myself in all humility to the service of India and her people to the end that this ancient land attain her rightful place in the world and make her full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind;'

(2) Members who are not present on this occasion do take the pledge (with such verbal changes as the President may prescribe) at the time they next attend a session of the Assembly." (*Loud applause*)

**Chaudhari Khaliqzaman** (United Provinces: Muslim) : \* [Mr. President, after midnight today a great revolution is to take place in the history of India; a revolution for which India had been working for the last one hundred years in her fight for freedom, an event for which many Indians have sacrificed their lives to achieve, is now approaching very near. Now that as a result of these sacrifices we have achieved this freedom, a new question confronts us, which is even more vital. That struggle is over but a fresh one of a different type is to begin; this new struggle is not to be fought against any outsider but is to be settled among our own selves. It is evident that when a nation had to fight against another nation we were swayed by different emotions, we had to adopt different tactics and different methods. Now the time has come when we shall have to shoulder great responsibilities when there will be no room for clapping and for high-sounding slogans. After today the task before this House, before the leaders of the country, will not be a spectacular one but one that requires diligence, industry and service to the people. We know that great responsibility rests on this Assembly and that is of framing a Constitution, which would be acceptable not only to the minorities but also to all the people of the country, to the poor and to the common man, and through which we may serve the people of India. This

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\*English translation of Hindustani speech.

is the greatest task. Similarly, this House has to shoulder the responsibility of the administration of the country till such time as fresh elections are held. The administrative responsibility sometimes brings with it scoldings and one has to put up with abuses, etc. and is even subjected to brickbats. But all this has to be endured. A reading of the pledge, which is before us now, shows that it entails heavy responsibility. Ordinarily, I think that all the members, when they came here, had already taken the pledge of serving their country honestly and faithfully and as best as they could. But a pledge formally administered leaves some psychological effect on the mind of every person. Hence, I think that today, before we shoulder the responsibility, this is a most opportune moment for all of us to bind ourselves with this pledge that henceforth all our actions and deeds would primarily be directed towards the good of the State and no communal considerations would be allowed to prevail and we shall do our utmost to give everyone his due. After taking this pledge, when we step out of this Chamber, we shall give a message to the people of the country that we have taken a vow honestly to shoulder the responsibility, and in discharging our duties we shall show no favour to anyone.

With these words, I support the pledge and the motion moved by Pandit Nehru. I think that everyone of the members present here will faithfully and honestly take this pledge that he would devote his life to the service of the State.]

**Dr. S. Radhakrishnan** (United Provinces : General):  
Mr. President, Sir, it is not necessary for me to speak at any great length on this Resolution so impressively moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and seconded by Mr. Khaliquzzaman. History and legend will grow round this day. It marks a milestone in the march of our democracy. A significant date it is in the drama of the Indian people who are trying to rebuild and transform themselves. Through a long night of waiting, a night full

of fateful portents and silent prayers for the dawn of freedom, of haunting spectres of hunger and death, our sentinels kept watch, the lights were burning bright till at last the dawn is breaking and we greet it with the utmost enthusiasm. When we are passing from a state of serfdom, a state of slavery and subjection to one of freedom and liberation, it is an occasion for rejoicing. That it is being effected in such an orderly and dignified way is a matter for gratification.

Mr. Attlee spoke with visible pride in the House of Commons when he said that this is the first great instance of a strong Imperialist power transferring its authority to a subject people whom it ruled with force and firmness for nearly two centuries. For a parallel he cited the British withdrawal from South Africa; but it is nothing comparable in scale and circumstances to the British withdrawal from this country. When we see what the Dutch are doing in Indonesia, when we see how the French are clinging to their possessions, we cannot but admire the political sagacity and courage of the British people. (*Cheers*)

We on our side have also added a chapter to the history of the World. Look at the way in which subject peoples in history won their freedom. Let us also consider the methods by which power was acquired. How did men like Washington, Napoleon, Cromwell, Lenin, Hitler and Mussolini get into power? Look at the methods of blood and steel of terrorism and assassination, of bloodshed and anarchy by which these so called great men of the world came into the possession of power. Here in this land under the leadership of one who will go down in history as perhaps the greatest man of our age (*loud cheers*) we have opposed patience to fury, quietness of spirit to bureaucratic tyranny and are acquiring power through peaceful and civilised methods. What is the result? The transition is being effected with the least bitterness, with utterly no kind of hatred at all. The very fact that

we are appointing Lord Mountbatten as the Governor-General of India, shows the spirit of understanding and friendliness in which this whole transition is being effected. (*Cheers*)

You, Mr. President, referred to the sadness in our hearts, to the sorrow which also clouds our rejoicings. May I say that we are in an essential sense responsible for it also though not entirely. From 1600, Englishmen have come to this country—priests and nuns, merchants and adventurers, diplomats and statesmen, missionaries and idealists. They bought and sold, marched and fought, plotted and profited, helped and healed. The greatest among them wished to modernise the country, to raise its intellectual and moral standards, its political status. They wished to regenerate the whole people. But the small among them worked with sinister objectives. They tried to increase the disunion in the country, made the country poorer, weaker and more disunited. They also have had their chance now. The freedom we are attaining is the fulfilment of this dual tendency among British administrators. While India is attaining freedom, she is attaining it in a manner which does not produce joy in the hearts of people or a radiant smile on their faces. Some of those who were charged with the responsibility for the administration of this country, tried to accentuate communal consciousness and bring about the present result which is a logical outcome of the policies adopted by the lesser minds of Britain. But I would never blame them. Were we not victims, ready victims, so to say, of the separatist tendencies foisted on us ? Should we not now correct our national faults of character, our domestic despotism, our intolerance which has assumed the different forms of obscurantism, of narrow-mindedness, of superstitious bigotry ? Others were able to play on our weakness because we had them. I would like therefore to take this opportunity to call for self-examination, for a searching of hearts. We have gained but we have not gained in the manner we wished to gain and if we have not done so, the responsibility is our own. And when

this pledge says that we have to serve our country, we can best serve our country by removing these fundamental defects which have prevented us from gaining the objective of a free and united India. Now that India is divided, it is our duty not to indulge in words of anger. They lead us nowhere. We must avoid passion. Passion and wisdom never go together. The body politic may be divided but the body historic lives on. (*Hear, hear*) Political divisions, physical partitions, are external but the psychological divisions are deeper. The cultural cleavages are the more dangerous. We should not allow them to grow. What we should do is to preserve those cultural ties, those spiritual bonds which knit our peoples together into one organic whole. Patient consideration, slow process of education, adjustment to one another's needs, the discovery of points of view which are common to both the dominions in the matter of Communications, Defence, Foreign Affairs, these are the things which should be allowed to grow in the daily business of life and administration. It is by developing such attitudes that we can once again draw near and gain the lost unity of this country. That is the only way to it.

Our opportunities are great but let me warn you that when power outstrips ability, we will fall on evil days. We should develop competence and ability which would help us to utilise the opportunities which are now open to us. From tomorrow morning—from midnight today—we cannot throw the blame on the Britisher. We have to assume the responsibility ourselves for what we do. A free India will be judged by the way in which it will serve the interests of the common man in the matter of food, clothing, shelter and the social services. Unless we destroy corruption in high places, root out every trace of nepotism, love of power, profiteering and blackmarketing which have spoiled the good name of this great country in recent times, we will not be able to raise the standards of efficiency in administration as well as in the production and distribution of the necessary goods of life.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru referred to the great contribution which this country will make to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind. The *chakra*, the Asokan wheel, which is there in the flag embodies for us a great idea. Asoka, the greatest of our emperors,—look at the words of H.G. Wells regarding him “Highnesses, Magnificences, Excellencies, Serenities, Majesties—among them all, he shines alone, a star—Asoka the greatest of all monarchs.” He cut into rock his message for the healing of discords. If there are differences, the way in which you can solve them is by promoting concord. Concord is the only way by which we can get rid of differences. There is no other method which is open to us.

*Samavaya eva Sadhuh*

We are lucky in having for our leader one who is a world citizen, who is essentially a humanist, who possesses a buoyant optimism and robust good sense in spite of the perversity of things and the hostility of human affairs. We see the way in which his Department interfered actively and in a timely manner in the Indonesian dispute. (*Loud applause.*) It shows that if India gains freedom, that freedom will be used not merely for the well-being of India but for *Vishva Kalyana i.e.*, world peace, the welfare of mankind.

Our pledge tells us that this ancient land shall attain her rightful and honoured place. We take pride in the antiquity of this land for it is a land which has seen nearly four or five millenniums of history. It has passed through many vicissitudes and at the moment it stands, still responding to the thrill of the same great ideal. Civilisation is a thing of the spirit, it is not something external, solid and mechanical. It is the dream in the people's hearts. It is the inward aspiration of the people's souls. It is the imaginative interpretation of the human life and the perception of the mystery of human



existence. That is what civilisation actually stands for. We should bear in mind these great ideals which have been transmitted to us across the ages. In this great time of our history we should bear ourselves humbly before God, brace ourselves to this supreme task which is confronting us and conduct ourselves in a manner that is worthy of the ageless spirit of India. If we do so, I have no doubt that the future of this land will be as great as its once glorious past.

*Sarvabhut disahamatmanam  
Sarvabhutani catmani  
Sampasyam atmayajivai  
Saarwiyam adhigachati*

Swarajya is the development of that kind of tolerant attitude which sees in brother man the face Divine. Intolerance has been the greatest enemy of our progress. Tolerance of one another's views, thoughts and beliefs is the only remedy that we can possibly adopt. Therefore, I support with very great pleasure this Resolution which asks us as the representatives of the people of India to conduct ourselves in all humility in the service of our country and the world 'Humility' here means that we are by ourselves very insignificant. Our efforts by themselves cannot carry us to a long distance. We should make ourselves dependent on that other than ourselves which makes for righteousness. The note of humility means the unimportance of the individual and the supreme importance of the unfolding purpose which we are called upon to serve. So in a mood of humility, in a spirit of dedication, let us take this pledge as soon as the clock strikes 12.

**Mr. President :** I will now put the Resolution to the vote. I shall read it first :—

**"Resolved that—**

- (1) After the last stroke of midnight, all members of the Constituent Assembly present on the

occasion do take the following pledge :—

'At this solemn moment when the people of India through suffering and sacrifice, have secured freedom I,....., a member of the Constituent Assembly of India, do dedicate myself in all humility to the service of India and her people to the end that this ancient land attain her rightful and honoured place in the world and make her full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind;

- (2) Members who are not present on this occasion do take the pledge (with such verbal changes as the President may prescribe) at the time they next attend a session of the Assembly.'

**Shri H.V. Kamath (C.P. & Berar : General) :** Mr. President, there are two amendments standing in my name, but since you have invoked the holy name of God in your address and incorporated the spirit of it in the pledge by modifying it slightly in the form in which it has come before us, and above all, since the zero hour is fast approaching, I do not propose to move my amendments.

**Mr. President :** Thank you. I will put the Resolution to vote. Members will please express their assent by saying 'Aye'.

*The motion was adopted.*

**Mr. President :** We have just resolved that as the clock strikes 12, we shall take the pledge. In taking the pledge, I shall read it out sentence by sentence in our own language first and I shall expect those members who know that language to repeat it sentence by sentence. Then I will read it out also sentence by sentence in English and I shall expect the members to repeat it sentence by sentence. Members will please stand when the pledge is taken, but other visitors will remain seated. It is just half a minute to 12. I am expecting the clock to strike 12.

*As the clock struck twelve (mid-night), Mr. President and all the Members stood up and took the pledge as below. Mr. President reading it out sentence by sentence and the Members repeating it after him in Hindustani and in English.*

*"At this solemn moment when the people of India, through suffering and sacrifice, have secured freedom, I, ....., a member of the Constituent Assembly of India, do dedicate myself in all humility to the service of India and her people to the end that this ancient land attain her rightful and honoured place in the world and make her full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind."*

INTIMATION TO THE VICEROY ABOUT THE ASSUMPTION OF POWER BY THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AND THE ASSEMBLY'S ENDORSEMENT OF LORD MOUNTBATTEN'S APPOINTMENT AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA

**Mr. President :** I propose that it should be intimated to the Viceroy that—

- (1) the Constituent Assembly of India has assumed power for the governance of India, and
- (2) the Constituent Assembly of India has endorsed the recommendation that Lord Mountbatten be Governor-General of India from the 15th August 1947

and that this message be conveyed forthwith to Lord Mountbatten by the President and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. (*Cheers*) I take it the House approves it.

*The motion was adopted.*

PRESENTATION OF THE NATIONAL FLAG

**Mr. President :** Shrimati Hansa Mehta will now present the National Flag on behalf of the women of India. (*Cheers*)

**Mrs. Hansa Mehta** (Bombay : General) :  
Mr. President, Sir, in the absence of Shrimati Sarojini Naidu, it is my proud privilege, on behalf of the women of India, to present this flag to the Nation through you.

I have a list\* here of nearly a hundred prominent women of all communities who have expressed a desire to associate themselves with this ceremonial. There are hundreds and hundreds of other women who would equally like to participate in this function. It is in the fitness of things that this first flag that will fly over this august House should be a gift from the women of India. (*Cheers*) We have donned the saffron colour, we have fought, suffered and sacrificed in the cause of our country's freedom. We have today attained our goal. In presenting this symbol of our freedom, we once more offer our services to the nation. We pledge ourselves to work for a great India, for building up a nation that will be a nation among nations. We pledge ourselves for working for a greater cause, to maintain the freedom that we have attained. We have great traditions to maintain, traditions that made India so great in the past. It is the duty of every man and woman to preserve these traditions so that India may hold her spiritual supremacy over the world. May this flag be the symbol of that great India and may it ever fly high and serve as a light in the gloom that threatens the world today. May it bring happiness to those who live under its protecting care. (*Cheers*).

#### MEMBERS OF THE FLAG PRESENTATION COMMITTEE

1. Sarojini Naidu
2. Amrit Kaur
3. Vijayalakshmi Pandit
4. Hansa Mehta
5. Ammu Swaminathan
6. Sucheta Kripalani
7. Kudsia Aizaz Rasool

8. Durga Bai
9. Renuka Ray
10. Dakshayini Velayudan
11. Purnima Banerji
12. Kamala Chaudhri
13. Malati Chaudhary
14. Abala Bose
15. Lakshmi Bai Rajwade
16. Maitreyi Bose
17. Rameshwari Nehru
18. Sherifa Hamid Ali
19. Goshi Ben Captain
20. Dhanavanti Rama Rao
21. Anasuya Bai Kale
22. Premleela Thakersy
23. Mani Ben Patel
24. Sarla Devi Sarabhai
25. Avantikabai Gokhaley
26. Sakine Lukmani
27. Jankiben Bajaj
28. Muthulakshmi Reddi
29. Charulata Mukerji
30. Rukmani Lakshmani Lakshmipathi
31. Mithan Tata Lam
32. Hannah Sen
33. Aswah Hussain
34. Radhabai Subbroyan
35. Tarabhai Premchand
36. Jethi Sipahimlani
37. Ambuja Amma
38. Janaki Amma
39. Leelavathi Munshi

40. Lavanya Prabha Dutt
41. Sophia Wadia
42. Mrinalini Chattopadhyay
43. Sarada Ben Mehta
44. Zarina Currimbhoy
45. Prem Captain
46. Hemaprabha Das Gupta
47. Premavati Thappar
48. Zora Ansari
49. Jaishri Rajji
50. Kitty Shiva Rao
51. Shanoodevi
52. Violet Alva
53. Susheela Ilukusing
54. Bina Das
55. Uma Nehru
56. Iravati Karve
57. Raiban Tyabji
58. Asha Aryanayakam
59. Mridula Sarabhai
60. Raksha Saran
61. Margaret Cousins
62. Kamaladevi
63. Lakshmi Menon
64. Lavanya Chanda
65. Ayasha Ahmed
66. Krishna Hutheesingh
67. Rajan Nehru
68. Indira Gandhi
69. Suraya Tyabji
70. Memubai
71. Padmaja Naidu
72. Kiran Bose
73. Kusum Sayani
74. Lajjavati Devi

**Mr. President :** I have, in anticipation of the consent of the House, accepted with thanks a poem composed by His Excellency Dr. Chia Luen Lo, the Chinese Ambassador in India, on this occasion.

### SINGING OF NATIONAL SONGS

**Mr. President :** The next item is the singing of the first few lines of *Sare Jahan se Achchha Hindustan Hamara\** and the first verse of *Jana gana mana Adhinayaka Jaya He.\*\**

*(Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani sang the first few lines of Sare Jahan Se Achchha Hindustan Hamara and the first verse of Jana gana mana Adhinayaka Jaya He.)*

**Mr. President :** The House will now adjourn for a few hours, till Ten of the Clock.

*The Assembly then adjourned till Ten of the Clock on Friday, the 15th August 1947.*

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\*For text, see Annexure II.

\*\*For text, see Annexure III.

# CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA

*Friday, the 15th August, 1947*

The Constituent Assembly of India met in the Constitution Hall, New Delhi, at Ten of the Clock. Mr. President (The Honourable Dr. Rajendra Prasad) entered the Hall along with their Excellencies Lord Mountbatten, Governor-General of India, and Lady Mountbatten.

## MESSAGES

**Mr. President :** I shall read out certain messages which have been received.

### **1. Message from the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom**

My colleagues in the United Kingdom Government join with me in sending on this historic day greetings and good wishes to the Government and the people of India. It is our earnest wish that India may go forward in tranquillity and prosperity and in so doing contribute to the peace and prosperity of the world.

### **2. Message from His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury**

At this time when India and Pakistan become independent Dominions and take upon themselves the full responsibilities of Self-Government, on behalf of the Christian people of this country, I send you my greetings and good wishes. In God's providence apparently insuperable difficulties have so far been overcome and all the travail of past ages has led up to this moment of fulfilment and hope. I



pray that the two Dominions may go forward to a noble future ever growing in justice and peace, in brotherhood and prosperity.

**3. Message from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, President of the Republic of China**

On this auspicious occasion when the people of India celebrate the Dawn of a new era of freedom, I wish to convey to you and the people of India my warm congratulations on the glorious and monumental achievement in which you and Mahatma Gandhi have played such an eminent and noble part, and which, I am confident, will be a source of inspiration to all peoples striving for independence, equality and progress. Please accept my best wishes for India's bright and promising future of success and greatness.

**4. Message from the Prime Minister of Canada**

It affords me much pleasure to extend to you, and through you to the Government and people of India, the most cordial wishes of the Government and people of Canada on the occasion of the establishment of India as a completely self-governing nation.

**5. Message from the Prime Minister of Australia**

I desire to convey the greetings and good wishes of the Government and people of Australia to the Government and people of India on the historic occasion which is being celebrated on the 15th August.

The Australian people rejoice in your new status as a free and sovereign nation and warmly welcome your fellow membership in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

It is confidently anticipated that your traditions, your ancient culture and the spirit which is

animating you in making smooth this period of transition, will ensure the future welfare and greatness of the people of India.

**6. Message from the President of the Executive Yuan, Nanking**

On this historic occasion of India's attainment of her long cherished aspirations, I take especial pleasure in extending to you and the Indian people my sincere felicitations. The Chinese people are deeply gratified by the rebirth of another great nation on the Asian continent. India and China with a common frontier of 2,000 miles have enjoyed the closest and most friendly relations in the course of many centuries. Our two nations having stood together through the late World War will undoubtedly continue to march forward together toward the common goal of world peace. I send you my warmest wishes for your continued success and for the happiness and prosperity of the Indian people.

**7. Message from Dr. Soedarsono on behalf of the Republic of Indonesia**

On the eve of the establishment of the Dominion of India it is a great pleasure to the Republic of Indonesia to express her feelings of heartfelt joy, sympathy and friendship.

The Republic of Indonesia looks upon India as her Comrade who in time of danger and distress has helped her and will always help her. She may—as both their nationalism is based upon humanity—hope that in the very near future still tighter bonds will be welded, bonds of comradeship in the struggle for Justice and Peace and for the Freedom and Prosperity of millions who for so long a time have lived in squalor amidst luxury and wealth.

The people of India since years led by its eminent leaders undoubtedly is approaching a better and happier future. India will not only become a land of Justice and Prosperity but at the same time a bulwark of and a guard for peace in Asia.

The Government and the People of the Republic of Indonesia send your People, your Government and your Excellency at this great historical moment their deeply felt wishes for Happiness and Prosperity.

#### **8. Message from His Majesty's Minister in Nepal**

My staff join me in offering warmest congratulations on establishment of Dominion of India and send all good wishes for future happiness and prosperity of State and its people.

#### **9. Message from the Prime Minister and Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, Oslo**

On this Great Day of National Rejoicing for the Peoples of India I have the honour to transmit to you my very best wishes for the prosperity of your country.

#### **ADDRESS OF H.E. THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL**

**Mr. President** : May I invite Your Excellency to address the House ?

**H.E. the Governor-General** : Mr. President and members of the Constituent Assembly,

I have a message from His Majesty the King to deliver to you today. This is His Majesty's message :—

“On this historic day when India takes her place as a free and Independent Dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations, I send you all my greetings and heartfelt wishes.

Freedom loving people everywhere will wish to share in your celebrations, for with this transfer of power by consent comes the fulfilment of a great democratic ideal to which the British and Indian peoples alike are firmly dedicated. It is inspiring to think that all this has been achieved by means of peaceful change.

Heavy responsibilities lie ahead of you, but when I consider the statesmanship you have already shown and the great sacrifices you have already made, I am confident that you will be worthy of your destiny.

I pray that the blessings of the Almighty may rest upon you and that your leaders may continue to be guided with wisdom in the tasks before them. May the blessings of friendship, tolerance and peace inspire you in your relations with the nations of the world. Be assured always of my sympathy in all your efforts to promote the prosperity of your people and the general welfare of mankind."

It is barely six months ago that Mr. Attlee invited me to accept the appointment of last Viceroy. He made it clear that this would be no easy task—since His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom had decided to transfer power to Indian hands by June 1948. At that time it seemed to many that His Majesty's Government had set a date far too early. How could this tremendous operation be completed in 15 months ?

However, I had not been more than a week in India before I realised that this date of June 1948 for the transfer of power was too late rather than too early; communal tension and rioting had assumed proportions of which I had had no conception when I left England. It seemed to me that a decision had to be taken at the earliest possible moment unless there was to be risk of a general conflagration throughout the whole sub-continent.

I entered into discussions with the leaders of all the parties at once—and the result was the plan of June 3rd. Its acceptance has been hailed as an example of fine statesmanship throughout the world. The plan was evolved at every stage by a process of open diplomacy with the leaders. Its success is chiefly attributable to them.

I believe that this system of open diplomacy was the only one suited to the situation in which the problems were so complex and the tension so high. I would here pay tribute to the wisdom, tolerance and friendly help of the leaders which have enabled the transfer of power to take place ten and a half months earlier than originally intended.

At the very meeting at which the plan of June 3rd was accepted, the Leaders agreed to discuss a paper which I had laid before them on the administrative consequences of partition; and then and there we set up the machinery which was to carry out one of the greatest administrative operations in history—the partition of a sub-continent of 400 million inhabitants and the transfer of power to two independent governments in less than two and a half months. My reason for hastening these processes was that, once the principle of division had been accepted, it was in the interest of all parties that it should be carried out with the utmost speed. We set a pace faster in fact than many at the time thought possible. To the Ministers and officials who have laboured day and night to produce this astonishing result, the greatest credit is due.

I know well that the rejoicing which the advent of freedom brings is tempered in your hearts by the sadness that it could not come to a united India; and that the pain of division has shorn today's events of some of its joy. In supporting your leaders in the difficult decision which they had to take, you have displayed as much magnanimity and realism as have those patriotic statesmen themselves.

These statesmen have placed me in their debt for ever by their sympathetic understanding of my position. They did not, for example, press their original request that I should be the Chairman of the Arbitral Tribunal. Again they agreed from the outset to release me from any responsibility whatsoever for the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. It was they who selected the personnel of the Boundary Commissions, including the Chairman; it was they who drew up the terms of reference, it is they who shoulder the responsibility for implementing the award. You will appreciate that had they not done this, I would have been placed in an impossible position.

Let me now pass to the Indian States. The plan of June 3rd dealt almost exclusively with the problem of the transfer of power in British India; and the only reference to the States was a paragraph which recognised that on the transfer of power, all the Indian States—565 of them—would become independent. Here then was another gigantic problem and there was apprehension on all sides. But after the formation of the States Department it was possible for me, as Crown Representative to tackle this great question. Thanks to that farsighted statesman, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Member in charge of States Department, a scheme was produced which appeared to me to be equally in the interests of the States as of the Dominion of India. The overwhelming majority of States are geographically linked with India, and therefore this Dominion had by far the bigger stake in the solution of this problem. It is a great triumph for the realism and sense of responsibility of the Rulers and the Governments of the States, as well as for the Government of India, that it was possible to produce an Instrument of Accession which was equally acceptable to both sides; and one, moreover, so simple and so straightforward that within less than three weeks practically all the States concerned had signed the Instrument of Accession and the Standstill Agreement. There is thus established a unified political structure

covering over 300 million people and the major part of this great sub-continent.

The only State of the first importance that has not yet acceded is the premier State, Hyderabad.

Hyderabad occupies a unique position in view of its size, population and resources, and it has its special problems. The Nizam, while he does not propose to accede to the Dominion of Pakistan, has not up to the present felt able to accede to the Dominion of India. His Exalted Highness has, however, assured me of his wish to co-operate in the three essential subjects of External Affairs, Defence and Communications with that Dominion whose territories surround his State. With the assent of the Government, negotiations will be continued with the Nizam and I am hopeful that we shall reach a solution satisfactory to all.

From today I am your constitutional Governor-General and I would ask you to regard me as one of yourselves, devoted wholly to the furtherance of India's interests. I am honoured that you have endorsed the invitation originally made to me by your leaders to remain as your Governor-General. The only consideration I had in mind in accepting was that I might continue to be of some help to you in difficult days which lie immediately ahead. When discussing the Draft of the India Independence Act your leaders selected the 31st March, 1948 as the end of what may be called the interim period. I propose to ask to be released in April. It is not that I fail to appreciate the honour of being invited to stay on in your service, but I feel that as soon as possible India should be at liberty, if you so wish, to have one of her own people as her Governor-General. Until then my wife and I will consider it a privilege to continue to work with and amongst you. No words can express our gratitude for the understanding and co-operation as well as the true sympathy and generosity of spirit which have been shown to us at all times.

I am glad to announce that "my" Government (as I am now constitutionally entitled and most proud to call them) have decided to mark this historic occasion by a generous programme of amnesty. The categories are as wide as could be consistent with the over-riding consideration of public morality and safety, and special account has been taken of political motives. This policy will also govern the release of military prisoners undergoing sentences as a result of trial by court-martial.

The tasks before you are heavy. The War ended two years ago. In fact, it was on this very day two years ago that I was with that great friend of India, Mr. Attlee in his Cabinet Room when the news came through that Japan had surrendered. That was a moment for thankfulness and rejoicing, for it marked the end of six bitter years of destruction and slaughter. But in India we have achieved something greater—what has been well described as "A treaty of Peace without a War". Nevertheless, the ravages of the War are still apparent all over the world. India, which played such a valiant part, as I can personally testify from my experience in South-East Asia, has also had to pay her price in the dislocation of her economy and the casualties to her gallant fighting men with whom I was so proud to be associated. Pre-occupations with the political problem retarded recovery. It is for you to ensure the happiness and ever-increasing prosperity of the people, to provide against future scarcities of food, cloth and essential commodities and to build up a balanced economy. The solution of these problems requires immediate and whole-hearted effort and far-sighted planning, but I feel confident that with your resources in men, material and leadership, you will prove equal to the task.

What is happening in India is of far more than purely national interest. The emergence of a stable and prosperous State will be a factor of the greatest international importance for the peace of the world. Its



social and economic development, as well as its strategic situation and its wealth of resources, invest with great significance the events that take place here. It is for this reason that not only Great Britain and the sister Dominions but all the great nations of the world will watch with sympathetic expectancy the fortunes of this country and will wish to it all prosperity and success.

At this historic moment, let us not forget all that India owes to Mahatma Gandhi—the architect of her freedom through non-violence. We miss his presence here today, and would have him know how much he is in our thoughts.

Mr. President, I would like you and our other colleagues of the late Interim Government to know how deeply I have appreciated your unfailing support and co-operation.

In your first Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, you have a world-renowned leader of courage and vision. (*Cheers*). His trust and friendship have helped me beyond measure in my task. Under his able guidance, assisted by the colleagues whom he has selected, and with the loyal co-operation of the people, India will now attain a position of strength and influence and take her rightful place in the comity of nations. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*)

**Mr. President:** \*[Your Excellency and members of the Assembly. I request you to communicate to His Majesty the gratitude of this Assembly for the message he has very kindly sent to us today. With the knowledge that we will have his sympathy and kindness in the task that we are going to take in our hands today, we are confident that we will be able to accomplish it in a proper way.]

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\*English translation of Hindustani speech.

## ADDITIONAL MESSAGES

**Mr. President\***: I have to announce that a message of greetings and goodwill has also been received from the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, on behalf of the Government of France and on his own behalf. It is regretted that I do not have the text of the message with me, but it will be inscribed in the records of the Assembly along with the other messages which I have read today.

Your Excellency, may I request you to convey to His Majesty a message of loyal greetings from his House and of thanks for the gracious message which he has been good enough to send us? That message will serve as an inspiration in the great work on which we launch today and I have no doubt that we anticipate with great pleasure association with Great Britain of a different kind. I hope and trust that the interest and the sympathy and the kindness which have always inspired His Majesty will continue in favour of India and we shall be worthy of them.

### **10. Message from the French Minister of Foreign Affairs**

From: Mons. Georges Bidault,  
Minister for Foreign Affairs,  
Paris.

To Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,

In the name of my Government and in my own I salute the historic date which marks the final accession of India to the ranks of the World's great free nations devoted to the cause of peace and earnestly desirous of the prosperity of all the peoples of the world, I request Your Excellency to accept, on this occasion, the renewed assurances of my very high consideration and of my entire devotion to the cause of friendship between our two countries.

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\*English translation of Hindustani speech.

## 11. Message from the President of the United States of America

American Embassy,  
New Delhi, India  
August 15, 1947

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to transmit to you the following message from the President of the United States:

On this memorable occasion, I extend to you, to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and to the people of the Dominion of India the sincere best wishes of the Government and the people of the United States of America. We welcome India's new and enhanced status in the world community of sovereign independent nations, assure the new Dominion of our continued friendship and good will, and reaffirm our confidence that India, dedicated to the cause of peace and to the advancement of all peoples, will take its place at the forefront of the nations of the world in the struggle to fashion a world society founded in mutual trust and respect. India faces many grave problems, but its resources are vast, and I am confident that its people and leadership are equal to the tasks ahead. In the years to come the people of this great new nation will find the United States a constant friend. I earnestly hope that our friendship will in the future, as in the past, continue to be expressed in close and fruitful co-operation in international undertakings and in cordiality in our relations, one with the other.

I wish to avail myself of this opportunity of extending my personal congratulations to Your Excellency on your assumption of the post of Governor-General of the Dominion of India and at the same time to convey assurance of my highest considerations.

HENRY T. GRADY.

His Excellency,  
Governor-General of the Dominion of India.

**Mr. President:** Let us in this momentous hour of our history, when we are assuming power for the governance of our country, recall in grateful remembrance the services and sacrifices of all those who laboured and suffered for the achievement of the independence we are attaining today. Let us on this historic occasion pay our homage to the maker of our modern history, Mahatma Gandhi, who has inspired and guided us through all these years of trial and travail and who in spite of the weight of years is still working in his own way to complete what is left yet unaccomplished.

Let us gratefully acknowledge that while our achievement is in no small measure due to our own sufferings and sacrifices, it is also the result of world forces and events and last though not least it is the consummation and fulfilment of the historic traditions and democratic ideals of the British race whose farsighted leaders and statesmen saw the vision and gave the pledges which are being redeemed today. We are happy to have in our midst as a representative of that race, Viscount Mountbatten of Burma and his consort who have worked hard and played such an important part in bringing this about during the closing scenes of this drama. The period of domination by Britain over India ends today and our relationship with Britain is henceforward going to rest on a basis of equality, of mutual goodwill and mutual profit.

It is undoubtedly a day of rejoicing. But there is only one thought which mars and detracts from the fullness of this happy event. India, which was made by God and Nature to be one, which culture and tradition and history of millenniums have made one, is divided today and many there are on the other side of the boundary who would much rather be on this side. To them we send a word of cheer and assurance and ask them not to give way to panic or despair but to live with faith and courage in peace with their neighbours and fulfil the duties of loyal citizenship and thus win their

rightful place. We send our greetings to the new Dominion which is being established today there and wish it the best luck in its great work of governing that region and making all its citizens happy and prosperous. We feel assured that they all will be treated fairly and justly, without any distinction or discrimination. Let us hope and pray that the day will come when even those who have insisted upon and brought about this division will realise India's essential oneness and we shall be united once again. We must realise however that this can be brought about not by force but by large heartedness and co-operation and by so managing our affairs on this side as to attract those who have parted. It may appear to be a dream but it is no more fantastic a dream than that of those who wanted a division and may well be realised even sooner than we dare hope for today.

More than a day of rejoicing it is a day of dedication for all of us to build the India of our dreams. Let us turn our eyes away from the past and fix our gaze on the future. We have no quarrel with other nations and countries and let us hope no one will pick a quarrel with us. By history and tradition we are a peaceful people and India wants to be at peace with the world. India's Empire outside her own borders has been of a different kind from all other Empires. India's conquests have been the conquests of spirit which did not impose heavy chains of slavery, whether of iron or of gold, on others but tied other lands and other peoples to her with the more enduring ties of golden silk-of culture and civilisation, of religion and knowledge (*gyan*). We shall follow that same tradition and shall have no ambition save that of contributing our little mite to the building of peace and freedom in a war-distracted world by holding aloft the banner under which we have marched to victory and placing in a practical manner in the hands of the world the great weapon of Non-violence which has achieved this unique result. India has a great part to play. There is something in her life and culture which

has enabled her to survive the onslaughts of time and today we witness a new birth full of promise, if only we prove ourselves true to our ideals.

Let us resolve to create conditions in this country when every individual will be free and provided with the wherewithal to develop and rise to his fullest stature, when poverty and squalor and ignorance and ill-health will have vanished, when the distinction between high and low, between rich and poor, will have disappeared, when religion will not only be professed and preached and practised freely but will have become a cementing force for binding man to man and not serve as a disturbing and disrupting force dividing and separating, when untouchability will have been forgotten like an unpleasant night dream, when exploitation of man by man will have ceased, when facilities and special arrangements will have been provided for the *adimjatis* of India and for all others who are backward, to enable them to catch up to others and when this land will have not only enough food to feed its teeming millions but will once again have become a land flowing with rivers of milk, when men and women will be laughing and working for all they are worth in fields and factories, when every cottage and hamlet will be humming with the sweet music of village handicrafts and maids will be busy with them and singing to their tune—when the sun and the moon will be shining on happy homes and loving faces.

To bring all this about we need all the idealism and sacrifice, all the intelligence and diligence, all the determination and the power of organisation that we can muster. We have many parties and groups with differing ideals and ideologies. They are all trying to convert the country to their own ideologies and to mould the constitution and the administration to suit their own view point. While they have the right to do so, the country and the nation have the right to demand loyalty from them. All must realise that what is needed most today is a great constructive effort—not strife, hard solid work—

not argumentation, and let us hope that all will be prepared to make their contribution. We want the peasants to grow more food, we want the workers to produce more goods, we want our industrialists to use their intelligence, tact and resourcefulness for the common good. To all we must assure conditions of decent and healthy life and opportunities for self-improvement and self-realisation.

Not only have the people to dedicate themselves to this great task that lies ahead but those who have so far been playing the role of rulers and regulators of the lives of our men and women have to assume the role of servants. Our army has won undying glory in distant lands for its bravery and great fighting qualities. Our soldiers, sailors and airmen have to realise that they now form a national army on whom devolves the duty not only of defending the freedom which we have won but also to help in a constructive way in building up a new life. There is no place in the armed forces of our country which is not open to our people, and what is more they are required to take the highest places as soon as they can so that they may take full charge of our defences. Our public servants in various departments of Government have to shed their role as rulers and have to become true servants of the people that their compeers are in all free countries. The people and the Government on their side have to give them their trust and assure them conditions of service in keeping with the lives of the people in whose midst they have to live and serve.

We welcome the Indian States which have acceded to India and to their people we offer our hands of comradeship. To the princes and the rulers of the States we say that we have no designs against them. We trust they will follow the example of the King of England and become constitutional rulers. They would do well to take as their model the British monarchical system which has stood the shock of two successive World Wars when so many other monarchies in Europe have toppled down.

To Indians settled abroad in British Colonies and elsewhere we send our good wishes and assurance of our abiding interest in their welfare. To our minorities we give the assurance that they will receive fair and just treatment and their rights will be respected and protected.

One of the great tasks which we have in hand is to complete the constitution under which not only will freedom and liberty be assured to each and all but which will enable us to achieve and attain and enjoy its fulfilment and its fruits. We must accomplish this task as soon as possible so that we may begin to live and work under a constitution of our own making, of which we may all be proud, and which it may become our pride and privilege to defend and to preserve to the lasting good of our people and for the service of mankind. In framing that constitution we shall naturally draw upon the experience and knowledge of other countries and nations no less than on our own traditions and surroundings and may have at times to disregard the lines drawn by recent history and lay down new boundary lines not only of Provinces but also of distribution of powers and functions. Our ideal is to have a constitution that will enable the people's will to be expressed and enforced and that will not only secure liberty to the individual but also reconcile and make that liberty subservient to the common good.

We have up to now been taking a pledge to achieve freedom and to undergo all sufferings and sacrifices for it. Time has come when we have to take a pledge of another kind. Let no one imagine that the time for work and sacrifice is gone and the time for enjoying the fruits thereof has come. Let us realise that the demand on our enthusiasm and capacity for unselfish work in the future will be as great as, if not greater than, what it has ever been before. We have, therefore, to dedicate ourselves once again to the great cause that beckons us. The task is great, the times are propitious. Let us



pray that we may have the strength, the wisdom and the courage to fulfil it.

### HOISTING OF THE NATIONAL FLAG

**Mr. President:** His Excellency will now give the signal for hoisting the Flag.

*(The sound of a gun being fired was heard.)*

**H.E. The Governor-General:** That is the signal for hoisting the flag over this roof.

**Mr. President:** The House now stands adjourned till 10 of the clock on the 20th.

**Honourable Members:** *Mahatma Gandhi ki jai.*

*Mahatma Gandhi ki jai.*

*Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru ki jai.*

*Lord Mountbatten ki jai.*

*The Assembly then adjourned till 10 of the Clock on Wednesday, the 20th August 1947.*

## VANDE MATARAM

Vandé Mataram!

Sujalam, suphalam, malayaja shitalam,  
Shasyashyamalam, Mataram!

Shubhrajyotsna pulakitayaminim,  
Phullakusumita drumadala shobhinim,  
Suhasinim, sumadhura bhashinim,  
Sukhadam, varadam, Mataram!

Trimshakotikantha kalakala ninada karalé  
Dvi trimshakoti bhujair dhrita-khara karavalé

Abala kena ma eta balé!

Bahubala dharinim, namami tarinim,  
Ripudalavarinim Mataram!

Tumi vidya, tumi dharma,

Tumi hridi, tumi marma,

Tvam hi pranah shariré!

Bahuté tumi ma shakti,

Hridayé tumi ma bhakti,

Tomari pratima gari mandiré mandiré!

Tvam hi Durga dashapraharana dharini,

Kamala, kamaladalavihararini,

Vani, vidyadayini, namami tvam,

Namami, Kamalam, amalam, atulam,

Sujalam, suphalam, Mataram,

Vandé Mataram!

Shyamalam, saralam, susmitam, bhushitam,

Dharanim, bharanim, Mataram!

**SARE JAHAN SE ACHCHHA****Tarana-I-Hindi**

Sare jahan se achchha Hindustan hamara,  
 Ham bulbulen hain iski yeh gulsitan hamara!  
 Ghurbat men hon agar ham rehta hai dil watan men,  
 Samajho wahin hamen bhi dil ho jahan hamara!  
 Parbat woh sab se uncha hamsaya asman ka,  
 Woh santari hamara, woh pasban hamara!  
 Godi men khelti hain iski hazaron nadiyan,  
 Gulshan hai jinke dam se rashke jinan hamara!  
 Aiy ab-e-rood-i-Ganga! woh din hain yad tujhko,  
 Utra tere kinare jab karavan hamara!  
 Majhab nahin sikhata apas men bair rakhna,  
 Hindi hain ham watan hai Hindustan hamara!  
 Yunan-o-Misr-o-Roma sab mit gaye jahan se,  
 Ab tak magar hai baqi nam-o-nishan hamara!  
 Kuchh bat hai ki hasti mitthi nahin hamari,  
 Sadiyon raha hai dushman daur-i-zaman hamara!  
 Iqbal koi mehram apna nahin jahan men,  
 Maloom kya kisi ko dard-i-nihan hamara!

**JANA GANA MANA**

Jana-gana mana-adhinayaka, jaya he  
Bharata-bhagya-vidhata.

Punjab-Sindhu-Gujarata-Maratha  
Dravida-Utkala-Banga

Vindhya-Himachala-Yamuna-Ganga  
Uchchala-Jaladhi-taranga.

Tava shubha name jage,  
Tava shubha asisa mage,

Gahe tava jaya gatha,

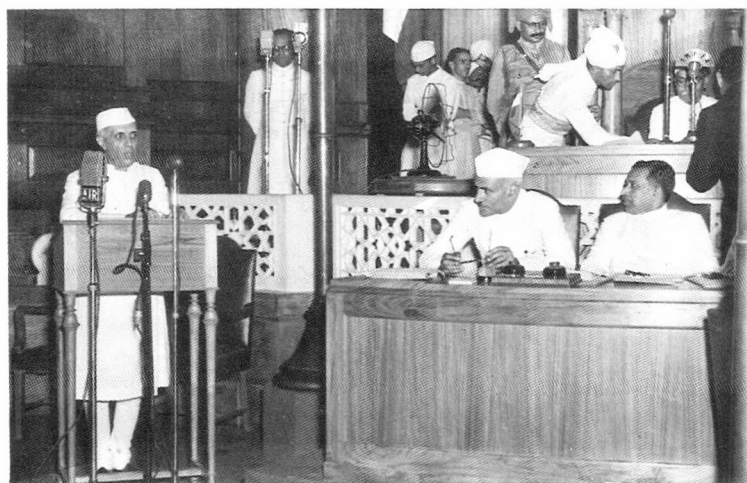
Jana-gana-mangala-dayaka jaya he  
Bharata-bhagya-vidhata.

Jaya he, jaya he, jaya he,

Jaya jaya jaya, jaya he !



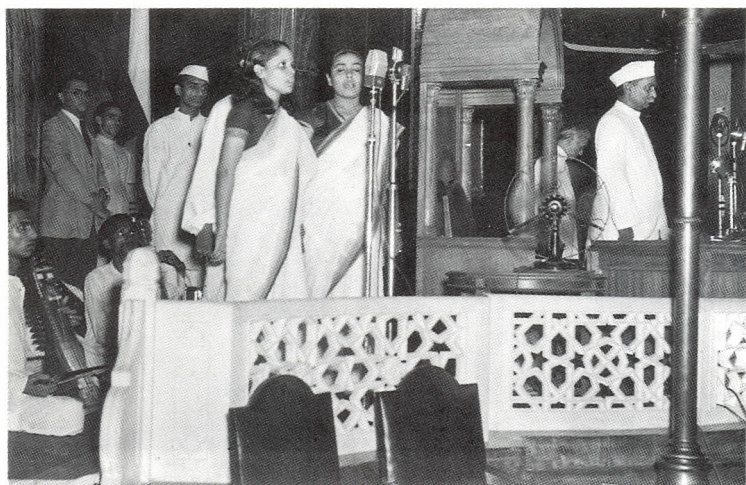
Address by the President, Constituent Assembly, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, at the Midnight Session, 14-15 August, 1947



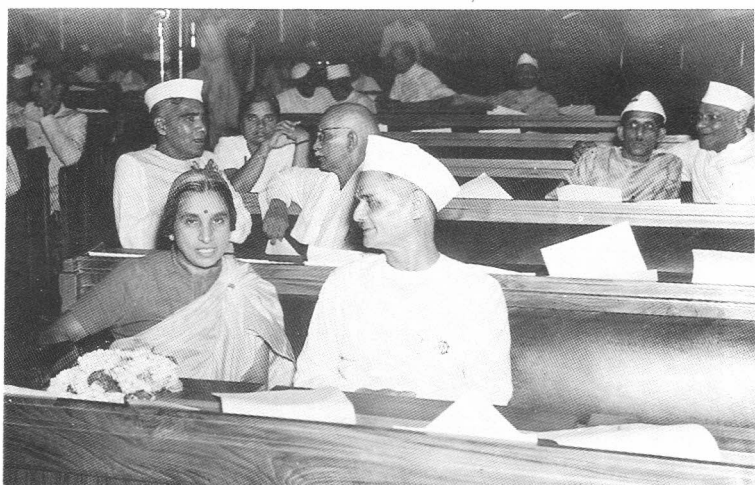
Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru addressing the Midnight Session



Address by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan at the Midnight Session



Singing of the National Anthem (*Jana, Gana Mana...*) at the Midnight Session of the Constituent Assembly



Smt. Ammu Swaminathan and Shri G.V. Mavalankar seated in front row at the Midnight Session of the Constituent Assembly



A view of the distinguished gathering witnessing the Midnight Session of the Constituent Assembly

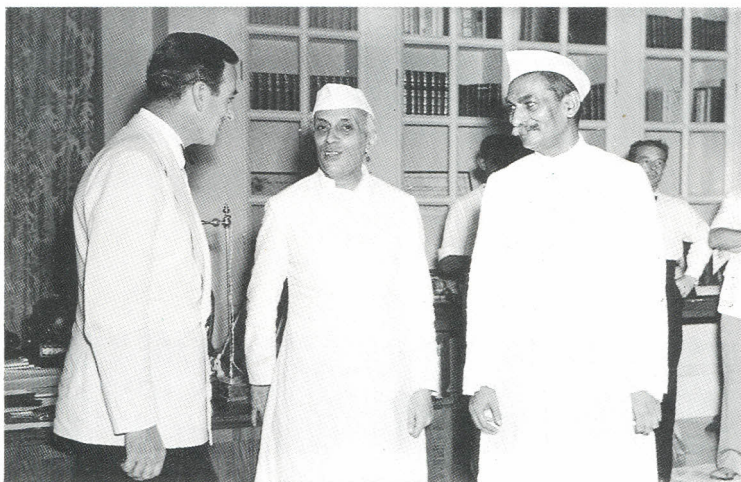


Another view of the dignitaries at the Midnight Session

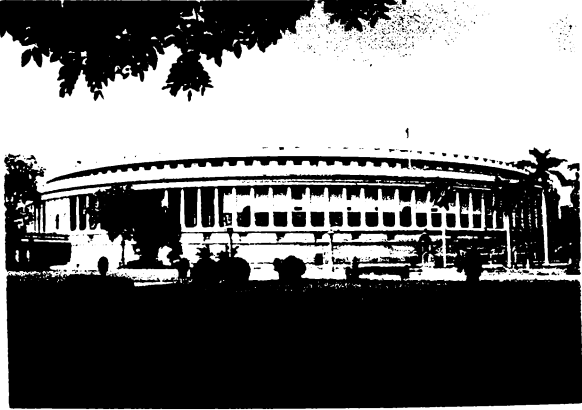


Address by the Governor-General of India, Lord Mountbatten at the Independence Day Session of the Constituent Assembly, 15 August, 1947





Lord Mountbatten, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Rajendra Prasad  
in a pleasant interlude at the Independence Day Session  
of the Constituent Assembly, 15 August, 1947



Lok Sabha Secretariat  
New Delhi