

Monday,  
2nd February, 1948

THE  
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA  
(LEGISLATIVE) DEBATES

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VOLUME I, 1948  
(28th January to 16th February, 1948)

SECOND SESSION  
of the  
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE)  
1948



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# CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE)

Monday, 2nd February, 1948.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at Eleven of the Clock. Mr. Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

## DECLARATION (BY MEMBERS):

The following member made the declaration under Rule 2c:

Shri Resikhlal Umedchand Parikh (Western India States Group).

## DEATH OF MAHATMA GANDHI

**Mr. Speaker:** We are meeting today under the shadow of a double calamity, the sad demise of the tallest man of our age who has led us from slavery to independence and the reappearance of the cult of political violence in our country.

Ever since Mahatmaji came on the Indian political firmament, he opposed violence and we had thought that he had succeeded beyond measure. Though our belief was rudely shaken by the recent communal disturbances and by the exhibition of popular temper in recent months, leading to mass migrations, we had hugged the hope that the idea of cold, calculated murders for achieving political ends had left this country. The unfortunate and dastardly outrage last Friday evening has disillusioned us and has placed before us, for solution, a further problem of rooting out from the soil, the idea of violence for political ends. It seems, we have yet to realize that political violence is the greatest enemy of individual liberty and, therefore, of democracy. We cannot condemn this idea of violence for political ends in too strong terms. Mere condemnation of the misguided and mad perpetrator of the tragedy is not enough. On every thinking citizen rests the responsibility of so acting and shaping his life as to ensure that the cult of terrorism cannot have a favourable soil to germinate and grow in our country. As Gandhiji often used to say "Real democracy is not possible without non-violence".

I had the fortune of coming in close contact with Mahatma Gandhi ever since he set his foot on the Indian soil in 1915 for permanent residence here. Since then, I had, all these years, the privilege of doing my bit of public work under Mahatmaji's inspiration and guidance. Naturally, the history of our country and our struggles for liberty for the last 34 years stand before my eyes. We are reminded of our then ideology, as to the contents, forms and methods of attaining Swaraj, and the evolution these have undergone, under the influence of the Mahatma. Various events crowd to my mind, but this is not the time or occasion when one can go into details. Enough to say that, in presenting to us the alternative of non-violent resistance, better described as Satyagraha, he lifted the wet blanket of frustration and inspired, in us, new hopes of attainment of success in our fight against British Imperialism. He gave us the vision as to the true meaning of Swaraj for the masses and has brought us back to our own, in every walk of our life, from mere imitation of the West. There is no sphere of our life, in which the hand and influence of the Mahatma is not seen and felt. He gave a new orientation to our politics, our economics, our education and strove for spiritualising everything in our public life. He was the greatest man of our age. He always had the love of humanity burning in his heart even amidst the darkest periods of hatred and violent struggles and

[Mr. Speaker]

was never a pessimist, even when he knew that his voice was a solitary one. Such an unshaken faith in his own principles and mission was naturally a source of strength to us.

We lose him at a very critical time, not only in the history of our country but perhaps in the history of the world. He had the outlook of humanity, international brotherhood and "one world". We have no words to express all that we respect, love, feel and mourn about him.

He was never a member of any Legislature. He had never been even a visitor to a Legislature except once. As he says in his autobiography, he attended the proceedings of this House only once in his life and that was on the occasion of the debate on the Rowlatt Bill. After describing the impassioned eloquence of the late Srinivasa Shastri on the Bill, he says:

"The Viceroy seemed to be listening spell-bound. His eyes rivetted on Shastriji..... For the moment it seemed to me as if the Viceroy could not but be deeply moved..... But you can wake a man only if he is really asleep"..... The Government was anxious only to go through the form of legal formality....."

That explains his attitude towards the then Legislatures. The position today is entirely different. Through his inspiring guidance and efforts, India has attained independence and both the Legislature and the Government are our own. I wish he had been with us on these premises some day to bless us all by his presence in the sacred and responsible work we have undertaken through this Legislature.

I am sure the whole House shares my feeling that Mahatmaji had been a parent to all and each of us and we deeply mourn today his absence and the loss of his guidance. I pray his spirit will ever be with us and lead us to our Goal.

**The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru** (Prime Minister and Leader of the House): "Sir, may I associate myself with what you have said. It is customary in this House to pay some tribute to the eminent departed, to say some words of praise and condolence. I am not quite sure in my own mind if it is exactly fitting for me or for any others of this House to say much on this occasion, for I have a sense of utter shame both as an individual and as the head of the Government of India that we should have failed to protect the greatest treasure that we possessed. It is our failure, as it has been our failure in the past many months to give protection to many an innocent man, woman and child; it may be that the burden and the task was too great for us or for any Government, nevertheless it is failure. And today the fact that this mighty person whom we honoured and loved beyond measure has gone because we could not give him adequate protection is shame for all of us. It is shame to me as an Indian that an Indian should have raised his hand against him, it is shame to me as a Hindu that a Hindu should have done this deed and done it to the greatest Indian of the day and the greatest Hindu of the age.

We praise people in well-chosen words and we have some kind of a measure for greatness. How shall we praise him and how shall we measure him, because he was not of the common clay that all of us are made of? He came, lived a fairly long span of life and has passed away. No words of praise of ours in this House are needed, for he has had greater praise in his life than any living man in history. And during these two or three days since his death he has had the homage of the world; what can we add to that? How can we praise him, how can we who have been children of his, and perhaps more intimately his children than the children of his body, for we have all been in some greater or smaller measure the children of his spirit, unworthy as we were?

A glory has departed and the sun that warmed and brightened our lives has set and we shiver in the cold and dark. Yet, he would not have us feel this

way. After all, that glory that we saw for all these years, that man with the divine fire, changed us also—and such as we are, we have been moulded by him during these years; and out of that divine fire many of us also took a small spark which strengthened and made us work to some extent on the lines that he fashioned. And so if we praise him, our words seem rather small and if we praise him to some extent we praise ourselves. Great men and eminent men have monuments in bronze and marble set up for them, but this man of divine fire managed in his life time to become enshrined in millions and millions of hearts so that all of us became somewhat of the stuff that he was made of, though to an infinitely lesser degree. He spread out in this way all over India not in palaces only, or in select places or in assemblies but in every hamlet and hut of the lowly and those who suffer. He lives in the hearts of millions and he will live for immemorial ages.

What then can we say about him except to feel humble on this occasion? To praise him we are not worthy—to praise him whom we could not follow adequately and sufficiently. It is almost doing him an injustice just to pass him by with words when he demanded work and labour and sacrifice from us; in a large measure he made this country during the last thirty years or more attain to heights of sacrifice which in that particular domain have never been equalled elsewhere. He succeeded in that. Yet ultimately things happened which no doubt made him suffer tremendously though his tender face never lost the smile and he never spoke a harsh word to anyone. Yet, he must have suffered—suffered for the failing of this generation whom he had trained, suffered because we went away from the path that he had shown us. And ultimately the hand of a child of his—for he after all is as much a child of his as any other Indian—a hand of that child of his struck him down.

Long ages afterwards history will judge of this period that we have passed through. It will judge of the successes and the failures—we are too near it to be proper judges and to understand what has happened and what has not happened. All we know is that there was a glory and that it is no more; all we know is that for the moment there is darkness, not so dark certainly because when we look into our hearts we still find the living flame which he lighted there. And if those living flames exist, there will not be darkness in this land and we shall be able, with our effort, remembering him and following his path, to illumine this land again, small as we are, but still with the fire that he instilled into us. He was perhaps the greatest symbol of the India of the past, and may I say, of the India of the future that we could have had. We stand on this perilous edge of the present between that past and the future to be and we face all manner of perils and the greatest peril is sometimes the lack of faith which comes to us, the sense of frustration that comes to us, the sinking of the heart and of the spirit that comes to us when we see ideals go overboard, when we see the great things that we talked about somehow pass into empty words and life taking a different course. Yet, I do believe that perhaps this period will pass soon enough.

Great as this man of God was in his life, he has been great in his death and I have not a shadow of a doubt that by his death he has served the great cause as he served it throughout his life. We mourn him; we shall always mourn him, because we are human and cannot forget our beloved Master. But I know that he would not like us to mourn him. No tears came to his eyes when his dearest and closest passed away—only a firm resolve to persevere, to serve the great cause that he had chosen. So he would chide us if we merely mourn. That is a poor way of doing homage to him. The only way is to express our determination, to pledge ourselves anew, to conduct ourselves so and to dedicate ourselves to the great task which he undertook and which he accomplished to such a large extent. So we have to work, we have to labour, we have to sacrifice and thus prove, to some extent at least, worthy followers of his.

[Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru]

It is clear, as you said, Sir, that this happening, this tragedy, is not merely the isolated act of a mad man. This comes out of a certain atmosphere of violence and hatred that has prevailed in this country for many months and years and more especially in the past few months. That atmosphere envelopes us and surrounds us and if we are to serve the cause he put before us we have to face this atmosphere, to combat it, to struggle against it and root out the evil of hatred and violence.

So far as this Government is concerned, I trust they will spare no means, spare no effort to tackle it, because if we do not do that, if we, in our weakness or for any other reason that we may consider adequate, do not take effective means to stop this violence, to stop this spreading of hatred by word of mouth or writing or act, then indeed we are not worthy of being in this Government; we are not certainly worthy of being his followers and we are not worthy of even saying words of praise for this great soul who has departed. So that on this occasion or any other when we think of this great Master who has gone, let us always think of him in terms of work and labour and sacrifice, in terms of fighting evil wherever we see it, in terms of holding to the truth as he put it before us, and if we do so, however unworthy we may be, we shall at least have done our duty and paid proper homage to his spirit.

He has gone, and all over India there is a feeling of having been left desolate and forlorn. All of us sense that feeling, and I do not know when we shall be able to get rid of it, and yet together with that feeling there is also a feeling of proud thankfulness that it has been given to us of this generation to be associated with this mighty person. In ages to come, centuries and may be millenia after us, people will think of this generation when this man of God trod the earth and will think of us who, however small, could also follow his path and tread the holy ground where his feet had been. Let us be worthy of him.

**Sayid Mohd. Saadulla** (Assam: Muslim): Mr. Speaker, Sir, on behalf of the Muslims of the Dominion of India, on behalf of my Muslim colleagues on this side of the House and on behalf of myself, I humbly and sincerely associate myself with what has been said of the great personage who guided the destinies of India in an unofficial capacity. It was he who brought us to a very sound and solid basis as a rock of peaceful workers in the international field. We who were flotsam and jetsam in the ocean of internationalism, we who were treated as slaves, were by his foresight and by his political wisdom dragged out from the mire and placed on the throne of freedom. It is a pity that he is no more with us.

I need not speak anything about his great political achievements which India achieved through his efforts for the last thirty years, as have we not proclaimed him as the Father of the Nation only a short while ago? I want to speak, Sir, on the side of which he was an earnest exponent, the side of love, the side of non-violence, the side of toleration. No greater tribute can be given by a Muslim when he says that a non-Muslim preached all the creeds—not merely preached but also practised—all the tenets and injunctions of Islam. I find, Sir, in the great love of truth, in the satyagraha movement, parallels thirteen hundred years ago. Who does not know who has read the life of the Prophet of Arabia that the practice of what is now termed "Satyagraha" which Gandhiji preached, was preached by him while proclaiming the new religion of Islam in the streets of Mecca? I can tell you, Sir, that if Islam which had preached toleration thirteen hundred years ago, for any student of comparative religion must remember that at a time when the world was torn with feuds, when the world was literally intolerable it was the great Prophet Mohamad who proclaimed to the world that a man to be true to his religion must respect the prophets and religious reformers of all religions that

have been sent to this world by an all-mighty Father. The fact that Mahatma Gandhi in his prayer meetings used to have recitations from the Quran clearly demonstrates the breadth of his outlook, the negation of narrowness in his mind and his sincere endeavour to bring into one whole the different religious-minded people of this sub-continent of India. His love of the oppressed is one of the tenets of Islamic religion. We marvel how his frail body could contain such a magnanimous mind as to feel for the oppressed of all religions, the oppressed of all societies, whether political, spiritual or social.

We are here today to respect his memory. Mere utterance of words in praise of him will only be lip-service. If we really want to do homage to that great departed soul, we must try to fulfil the mission which he himself thought remained unfulfilled.

I read somewhere that once Mahatmaji had said:

"My mission is not merely brotherhood of Indian humanity. My mission is not merely freedom of India, though today it undoubtedly engrosses practically the whole of my life and the whole of my time. But though realisation of the freedom of India, I hope to realise and carry on the mission of the brotherhood of man. My patriotism is not an exclusive thing. It is all embracing and I should reject that patriotism which sought to mount upon the distress or the exploitation of other nationalities."

If we really want to be true disciples of Mahatmaji, if we want to see his mission fulfilled, we must work and conduct ourselves in such a way that these utterances of his are implemented.

One other great trait of this saintly man was that he placed the utmost reliance on the efficacy, or rather the supremacy of moral values over material ones.

Let us in all humbleness follow in the foot-steps of this great man and that will be the best demonstration of our homage to him.

**Rev. Jerome D'Souza** (Madras: General): Mr. Speaker and "Honourable Members, Mahatma Gandhi's voice, the voice of the dumb millions of our land, has passed into the Great Silence. All of us are aware he was a great lover of silence and in that silence he heard "the still small voice" in irresistible accents and he translated those accents which he heard in the secrecy of his heart, to the waiting multitudes, the waiting millions of our land and the whole world. And for the last twenty, thirty or forty years the whole world has been filled with the echo of that beautiful, that musical, that incomparable voice: and today that voice is still. A great bell was tolling in the night and all of a sudden that bell is silent, the most remarkable, the most consoling, the most ennobling voice we have heard in our generation is silenced. But in the words of our Prime Minister, it is not merely grief that we shall allow to invade our heart, in the silence that is created in us; rather we shall think with proud thankfulness of what he was and what he gave to us.

The whole land will bless him, because the life that surges through this nation is the life given by him. And yet he has worked this strange miracle in this land, in this household, that every member of it thought that he loved him more than he loved others. The great Hindu community will call him the pride and glory of their community, the finest flower of their race and culture. The Muslims will say that he was their champion, that he understood their sentiments, that in this land it was he who raised his voice for them. The Harijans will say that he was their very father and that he loved none else as he loved them. The women will say that he was their friend, that he understood their timidity and that he alone brought them out of their obscurity and their humility into the public to work for our country. Perhaps, the children will finally say that he loved them most for he laughed and played with them like a child: this is what the father of a house does, to each child he gives the impression that he loves him more than others, when, in truth, he loves all equally. This is what our Father, our Bapuji, did for the children of this land.

[Rev. Jerome D'Souza]

My friends, let me say one word for my own people, the Christian people. In the national movement of this land for many reasons into which it is not necessary to enter now, they were sometimes a little hesitant, they were doubting. By his personality, by the magic of his word, he brought all of us into this movement and today we stand with our brethren, we stand with all the rest of the country, in the dignity of our new-found freedom and in the determination to work for its prosperity. If I may say so, his words, his example, his doctrine of non-violence, brought home to all, the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount. Its beautiful words kept on ringing in our ears as in his. He has turned the attention of our countrymen to the sweet figure of Jesus Christ, and by this means he has brought us nearer to the masses of our countrymen, and them nearer to us. And in his last days when some of us were fearing that perhaps the violence which was spreading may spread further, his voice, raised in defence of every minority, filled our hearts with immense comfort. Such a one, the very embodiment of the power of the soul, one for whom the body was nothing and the soul everything, one for whom time was nothing and eternity was all, even, he has fallen, fallen by the mistaken action of a foolish child of his. My friends, he had learnt more than anybody else in the world that more powerful than the sword was the weapon of love. In the midst of so many controversies, our beloved leader did not give back one angry word, one recrimination—for he was the very embodiment of sweetness and patience. And even he has been taken away from us by violence.

We do not know where to turn and what to say in this calamity. We know that cruel as the deed was which took him away, his work cannot suffer, but that it now receives an added strength from martyrdom; out of this martyrdom surely will come a new lustre for those ideals, a new power for those words which he has uttered and which will be repeated lovingly by millions and by generations. The grains of seed falling on the ground and dying will produce fruit a hundredfold. Friends, let us join together in offering the great men upon whose shoulders the burden of the Government of this country has come, the pledge of our love and our sympathy and the assurance of our unswerving fidelity in carrying out their task. Let us make up our minds that neither by word nor by deed we shall weaken their effort. And so when this great light has failed us, let us remember that those ideals have an inner light, their own inherent brilliance and that they have now an added lustre from the aureole of martyrdom, from the supreme sacrifice which has crowned his long and humble life. "Greater love than this, no man hath, than that he lay down his life for his friends". May God rest his gentle soul, and grant him eternal happiness!

**Shri M. R. Masani** (Bombay: General): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am grateful for this opportunity to join in the nation's homage to our beloved leader. Just as the smallest child in a family feels most orphaned by the loss of the father, it is only in the course of things that the smallest of the groups and the minorities that make up this country should feel the most orphaned.

But I would rather speak today, Sir, on behalf of the generation to which I belong—a generation of Indians of all kinds and races and religions. It was a generation that entered life as rebels against Gandhiji and his ideas. Imbued with a philosophy that was different from his, moved by impatience, many of us of that generation entered public life as rebels against Gandhiji's thoughts and ideas. We regarded the *Charkha* as the symbol of a primitive life and village industries as antediluvian. We thought that Truth and Non-violence were, only not irrelevant but even obstructive to social progress and social revolution. We thought Gandhiji had already performed whatever progressive role he had to play in history by the time we arrived on the scene! Two decades have passed since then and, as the years have rolled by, more and more of us have become aware that it was not Gandhiji who was out of date but it was we



who had failed to realize the way in which he had sensed the needs of our century, while we were still mouthing the slogans of the 19th century. We have come to realize the tremendous contributions he has made to political, social and economic thought, to appreciate the stress he has laid on the decentralization and distribution of political and economic power so that the lowliest in our country may partake in it. We have come to realize the need for moral values as we have seen Europe that we so admired, devastated by two World Wars and faced with totalitarian tyranny, and we have turned to him more and more as the prophet of social justice. We have realized that he was ages ahead of his time and we bow before him as the greatest socialist of us all, as a better revolutionary than anyone else in our time. We came to scoff but we have remained to pray.

Six months back, when a group of unruly young men broke into Gandhiji's abode at Calcutta, I permitted myself in Poona, when addressing a gathering of young men there, to express my misgiving that we seemed to be qualifying to go down in history execrated along with those who had crucified Christ. To our misfortune, those fears have become a grim fact. It is from that same distant city of Poona that has come the hand that has struck the dastardly blow.

Like Abraham Lincoln, our great leader has left us but only after he has piloted and guided us to that primary goal which we had set before ourselves. His message will live long beyond the intentions of those who have tried to silence him, and the miscreant can only go down in history as a "noteless blot on a remembered name." The Prime Minister has told us how he on his part has felt ashamed at the failure of the Government which he represents. If the rest of us, however, were to feel that we were guiltless, we would be doing less than justice to ourselves or to Gandhiji, because to the measure that we have allowed the poison of hatred and violence and religious bigotry to spread in this country in the last six months, each one of us is guilty also. We all have been guilty of acts of commission or omission. We kept silent when we should have raised our voices in protest. We may not have justified what has happened, but too many of us have made excuses. We have connived at and condoned violence and hatred, and today we have tasted the bitter fruit.

I would like today to dare to hope, Mr. Speaker, that this may prove a turning point, that this may shock the conscience of those who have allowed themselves to be misled by the false prophets of religious bigotry, and that in death we may follow Gandhiji more loyally than we have followed him in the last stages of his life, because that is our only hope. If India is to follow the path of militarism, of racial chauvinism and religious bigotry, then India is lost. If we wish to emerge as a progressive, democratic and peace-loving nation, then more than ever now is the time for the sons and daughters of India to rally to Gandhiji's message. Few can be Gandhi. No one can be Gandhi. But if there is a touch of Gandhi in each one of us, that will add up to enough moral strength to fight all the enemies within and without that face us.

I would end with quoting a suggestion that Gandhiji has often made, so that we can face the tasks that lie before us in the spirit that he would have liked us to possess. Let us remember those words of his and both collectively as a nation and individually do as he has suggested. Those words of Gandhiji's are: "Turn the searchlight inward".

**Shrimati Hansa Mehta** (Bombay: General): Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is with the deepest sorrow that I rise to associate myself with the feelings expressed by previous speakers. Gandhiji has become one with the Eternity. In his case it is Death that has died. But for us mortals it is but human that we should mourn his loss, a loss which is so irreparable. For us the women in

[Shrimati Hansa Mehta]

particular his loss is irreparable, for he was our friend and our champion. Without him we feel so orphaned. India has been fortunate in giving to the world great spiritual leaders. In that galaxy of spiritual leaders Gandhiji was the star of the greatest magnitude. His light penetrated all spheres of life, not merely spiritual but political, social and even economic. His light it was that guided us to our political freedom, but the other freedoms have still to be achieved, especially in the social sphere we have to achieve a great deal. His death has been a warning to the Hindu community to give up their narrow sectarian religion. Hinduism is a vast ocean based on a humanitarian philosophy. It cannot be restricted to a narrow sectarian religion. And if Hinduism is to live it must live as Gandhiji conceived it, a religion of tolerance and of humanity. We are talking of raising monuments to commemorate the memory of our cherished and beloved leader, but the greatest monument that we can ever raise is to complete the work that he has left incomplete and for which he lost his life; and that is the unity of India which is to be the corner-stone of the unity of the world. I appeal to women in particular, in whom he had such great faith, to come forward and work in building up this great monument which will be the greatest homage that we women can pay to his memory.

**Mr. Frank R. Anthony** (C.P. and Berar: General): Sir, the occasion is too solemn and too overwhelmingly tragic to require a long speech. As the Prime Minister has rightly remarked we do Mahatma Gandhi an injustice by trying to pass him by with words. Most of us have neither the hearts nor the ears to listen to mere speeches; but something may be said, however feeble and inadequate it may sound.

Mahatma Gandhi's influence was so unique, the reverence in which he was held so widespread that I know of many persons who perhaps had never met him and who belonged to communities which were not included among his political followers but who nevertheless wept bitterly when they received this tragic news.

Already invested with a recognition and a stature which was immeasurable, his lofty ideals, his unflinching courage, his unshakable faith, particularly during the communal disturbances, made him—if that were possible—even greater than before.

As I said at a condolence meeting on Saturday, in a world torn by strife, ridden by bitterness and suspicion and hatred, the ideals and the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi stood out as a solitary and yet as a shining beacon, beckoning and pointing the way back to world sanity, to love and to brotherhood.

In India, especially during the past few months his powerful voice has been a source of strength and of comfort, particularly to the minority communities. Bitter communal tension, imminent and fratricidal strife dissolved and relaxed almost miraculously at the touch of his towering moral influence.

The first inevitable reaction to the news was one of stunned and inarticulate horror. Forebodings for India's future were on the lips and in the minds of many. But I feel, Sir, that the amazing example and influence of this truly unique man who will undoubtedly be compared with those prophets and saints who have been martyred and crucified for their ideals and their faith that his example and his influence will endure.

Little intolerant men who by their recent actions and utterances have sought to destroy the Gandhian ideals of brotherhood, equality and democracy and who are indirectly—if not directly—responsible for this ghastly tragedy should now at least learn and realise the evil consequences of preaching narrow communalism and of inciting the young men of India to hatred and to violence.

The workings of Providence are inscrutable; who knows but perhaps by and through his death the living ideals of Gandhism may achieve their greatest consummation. His immortal spirit and influence may perhaps, more than ever before, become an unerring and irresistible guide to the goal of real democracy that he wanted so much for India. If that happens, if the leaders and the people of India make that possible, then perhaps Mahatma Gandhi may not have willed things otherwise. May God bless him and rest his soul in peace.

گیاتی گورمکھ سنگھ مسافر : سہاپتی جی ! میں آپ کا ازحد مشکور ہوں کہ آپ نے مجھے اس چھوٹی سی زبان سے دنیا بھر کے ایک بڑے انسان کے متعلق کچھ کہنے کا موقع دیا ہے۔ مہاتما جی کی زندگی ہندوستان کی آزادی کی مختلف Stages کا ایک مجموعہ ہے۔ جو کہ ہمارے دیس میں موقعہ یا موقع رونما ہوتی رہی ہیں۔ دراصل مہاتما جی ایک شہید تھے اور وہ شہید ہی ہوئے۔ شہید میں انہیں اُس حالت میں بھی سمجھتا ہے کہ وہ اپنی قدرتی موت مرتے۔ کیونکہ اُنکے جیون میں کوئی انیتنی تھی ہی نہیں۔ اُنہوں نے اپنا جیون دیس کے لئے اور پرانی ماتر کے لئے بتایا۔ وہ پرانی ماتر کے لئے پیدا ہوئے تھے۔ پرانی ماتر کے لئے وہ پڑھے۔ پرانی ماتر کے لئے وہ جیئے اور پرانی ماتر کے لئے ہی وہ آخر میں چل بسے۔ اسوقت مجھے پنجابی زبان کی ایک پرانی کہتیا جو میں نے خود ہی لکھی تھی یاد آتی ہے۔

جگ جگ جیوے گاندھی پیارا۔ بھارت دا (کا) انمول دولرا

دیس لئی (کئے) سارے دا سارا

یعنی اُنکا تن دھن من سب دیس کھلئے ہی تھا۔

اس وقت تمام کے تمام لوگ اور سارا دیس ان کے چلے جانے پر غمزدہ ہے۔ اُنہوں نے اپنا جیون دیس کے لئے ختم کیا۔ اور اس غمگینی کی حالت میں ہم یہ سمجھتے ہیں کہ اگرچہ گاندھی جی جستانی طور پر اب ہمارے درمیان نہیں ہیں مگر روحانی طور پر وہ اب بھی ہمارے ساتھ ہیں۔ اسلئے زیادہ غمگین ہونے کی ضرورت نہیں گورو بانی میں لکھا ہے۔

دہ سنت موئے کیا روئے جو ایے گروہ جائے

دو رو ساکت باپوے جو ہاتو ہات بکھے

(یعنی سنت کے مرنے پر رونے کی ضرورت نہیں کیونکہ وہ مکت ہوتا ہے ساکت

(درجن) کو رونا چاہئے جو جنوں میں بھٹکتا پھرتا ہے۔)

مہاتما جی نے اپنے مشن کو اسوقت پورا کیا جب وہ شہید ہوئے ہیں انہیں شہید کس لئے ہونا پڑا۔ اس لئے کہ انسان کو ایک انسان سمجھا جائے۔ انسانیت کا معیار قائم ہو اور کمیونل ہارمونی (Communal harmony) ہو۔ ہم بھائی بھائی ہیں اور ہمیں آپس میں جھگڑے نہیں کرنے چاہئیں اور آپس میں لونا نہیں چاہئے پرانی ماتر کے ساتھ جو اُنکو پھار تھا۔ اُس پیار کی وجہ سے ہم نے اُنکو باپو کہا ہے۔ وہ قادر آف دی نیشن (Father of the Nation) تھے ہم یہ آج ہی نہیں کہتے ہوں۔ بلکہ مجھے یقین ہے کہ اُس پیار کی وجہ سے اُنکا نام یاد ہے۔ جو کہ اُنہوں نے عرصہ

[ گیتائی گور مکھ سنگھ مسافر ]

ہوا آزاد ہند ریڈیو رنگون سے آزاد ہند فوج کے advance کے وقت کہے تھے +  
 انہوں نے اپنی تقریر کے آخر میں مہاتما جی کو مخاطب کرتے ہوئے کہا تھا :-  
**Father of our Nation I ask for your blessings in this holy war**  
 نہتا جی نے مہاتما جی کو بہت پہلے باپو کہا ہے - اور سچ سچ وہ باپو تھے -

گاندھی جی ایک سمندر تھے - جلوں نے اپنی کہری تہ سے کچھ سچے موتی  
 نکل کر باہر رکھ دیئے ہیں - اور یہی موتی اب ہمارے دیش کا دھن ہیں - اور یہ دھن  
 باپو نے ہمارے ورثہ میں چھوڑا ہے - ان ہی موتیوں کی مالا کے شرومنی ملنے جواہر اور  
 پتیل ہیں جب تک یہ سچے موتی ایک ہی مالا میں پروئے رہینگے یہ مالا ایک  
 خوبصورت کہنا بن کر دیش کے حسن کو چمکتی رہیگی اس مالا کے موتی ضرور چمکیں گے  
 انکی چمک کا راز صرف ایک بات میں ہے کہ اس مالا کو بنانے والے نے جس باریک مگر  
 مضبوط دھاگے سے اسکو پرویا ہے سچے اصولوں کا وہ دھاگہ مضبوطی سے قائم رہے - گاندھی  
 جی کی آتما شامل حال ہے - اسلئے مجھے کوئی وجہ نظر نہیں آتی کہ دیش اُنتی کیوں نہ  
 کرے - یہ تھیک ہے کہ اسوقت گاندھی جی ہمارے درمیان جسمانی طور پر موجود نہیں  
 ہیں اور آج ہمارے دیش کا ہر ایک بچہ بھی بلا لکاظا مذہب و ملت گاندھی جی  
 کے لئے غمزدہ ہے - لیکن گاندھی جی کی آتما دھلنا ہو کر ہمیں سیدھا راستہ دکھاتی رہیگی -  
 میں اپنی کمیونیتی کی طرف سے بھی کچھ کہنا چاہتا ہوں - کیونکہ گاندھی جی  
 مائینورٹیٹی کمیونٹی (Minority Communities) کے سچے ہمدرد اور نیک خواہاں تھے -  
 ان کمیونٹی (Communities) کو ان پر پورا پورا بھروسہ تھا - اور ہر ایک انکا ادب کرتا تھا -  
 مہاتما جی جتنا پیار Minorities سے کرتے تھے اتنا شاید اور کوئی نہیں کر سکتا ہے -  
 پچھلے دنوں اپنی پرلتھنا سبھا میں Speech کرتے ہوئے وہ اسکروں کا ذکر اکثر کرتے تھے -  
 وہ جو بات کہتے تھے اُسکی سمجھ ذرا دیر سے آتی تھی - لیکن جب ان کے بچوں پر غور  
 کیا جائے تو صاف نظر آتا ہے کہ اگر انکے بچن کڑے تھے - لیکن دراصل وہ بہت فائدہ دینے  
 والے ہونے تھے ان کے بچن اس طرح سے کڑے تھے جس طرح کہ ڈاکٹر کی دوائی ایک مریض  
 کے لئے ہوتی ہے - دوائی کڑی ہوتی ہے - لیکن وہ ڈاکٹر کڑی دوائی اس نیت سے دیتا  
 ہے کہ وہ دوائی پیکو اُسکا مریض جلد راضی ہو - اور پھر اچھی طرح سے گھومنے پھرنے لگے -  
 جب مہاتما جی کے مرنے کی دردناک خبر امرتسر میں پہنچی - تو امرتسر سے سکو  
 اہتدہر یہاں آگئے - اور یہاں آکر انہوں نے اپنی جاتی کی طرف سے مہاتما جی پر اپنی شردھا  
 بھول چھوٹائے اور اس دردناک واقعہ پر افسوس کیا - اور اس ماتم میں شامل ہوئے -  
 گوردولوں میں پاتھ رکھوا کر مہاتما جی کی آتما کی شانتی کیلئے دعائیں کی گئیں -  
 مہری ایشور سے پررتھنا ہے - کہ ایشور پر ماتما مہاتما جی کو اپنے چرنوں میں نواس  
 بیٹھے اور ہم لوگوں کو ان کے نقش و قدم پر چلنے کی طاقت بیٹھے -

(English translation of the above speech)

**Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafar** (East Punjab: Sikh): Mr. Speaker, I am very much obliged to you for your affording me the opportunity to speak with my tiny tongue something about the Greatest Man of the World.

The life of Mahatmaji is the sum total of the various stages of India's struggle for Independence, which men witnessed from time to time in our country. As a matter of fact Mahatmaji was a martyr, and he died a martyr's death. I would have considered him a martyr had he died a natural death, because he lived a spotless life. He lived his life for his country and humanity. He was born for humanity; was brought up for humanity; lived for humanity; and at last gave up his life for humanity. This reminds me of a couplet of Punjabi poetry that I had composed myself: It is as follows:

*"Jug Jug jiwe Gandhi Pyara*

*Bharat da anmol dulara*

*Desh lei sare da sara."*

(May dear Gandhi live for centuries and centuries. He is a priceless gem who devoted his body and soul to the country.)

This day, all the people, and the whole of the country is grief-stricken on his death. He sacrificed his life for the country. In our sorrowful plight we understand that though Gandhiji is now physically no more in our midst, yet he is with us in spirit and we need not, therefore, be sorrowful. Our Guru has said:

*"Sant moe, kya royee jo apni gareh jae*

*Rovosakat baprejo hato hat Bikai."*

(Sinners need laments, for their souls wander about after death. Saints need no tears, for death brings them salvation.)

Mahatmaji's martyrdom marks the fulfilment of his mission. Why had he to court martyrdom, it was for this that a human being should respect a human being as such; that the principle of humanity be established and that communal harmony should prevail. We are all brethren; we should not quarrel or fight among ourselves. Due to his love for humanity, we have called him *Bapu*. He was 'Father of the Nation'. We do not call him by this title only today, because I recollect the words of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose broadcast by him from the Azad Hind Radio, Rangoon, at the time of the advance of the Indian National Army. While addressing Mahatmaji in the concluding portion of his speech he referred to him as 'Father of our Nation' and asked for his blessings in the 'Holy War'. Netaji had addressed Mahatmaji as 'Bapu', on previous occasions also and he was a 'Bapu' in the real sense.

Gandhiji was like an ocean which has thrown out some precious real pearls out of its deep bottom and these pearls constitute the country's wealth. This wealth has been bequeathed by 'Bapu' to us. Jawahar and Patel are the shining gems of this necklace. So long as these real pearls will remain strung together in one necklace they will continue to enhance the beauty of the country. The pearls of this necklace must shine. The secret of their brightness lies in the fact that its maker has strung them tightly on a fine and strong thread of true principles. I don't find any reason why the country should not make progress when Gandhiji's spirit is present. It is true that now Gandhiji is not physically present amongst us and today even a child of our country, without the distinction of caste and creed, is overwhelmed with grief. But Gandhiji, as a Guide, will continue to lead us on the right path. I would also desire to say something on behalf of my community, since Gandhiji was a true sympathiser and well wisher of the minority communities. These communities had implicit trust in him and every body revered him. No body had

[Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafar]

greater love for minorities than Mahatmaji. Recently in his speeches delivered at his prayer meetings he often made mention of Sikhs. It took some time to understand what he said. But his words on careful consideration, though seemed to be bitter yet they were very useful. His words were bitter as the Doctor's medicine is for the sick. No doubt medicine is bitter but the Doctor gives the bitter medicine to cure his patient and restore him to health.

As soon as the woeful news of Mahatmaji's death reached Amritsar, a few of the Sikh leaders came here and on behalf of their community paid homage to Mahatmaji, expressed their grief on this tragic event and participated in the mourning. Prayers were organised in Gurdwaras for peace to Mahatmaji's soul.

I pray to God that may He grant him peace in Heavens, and Bless us all with the strength to follow his teachings.

**Shri K. Hanumanthaiya** (Mysore State): According to ordinary standards, today is supposed to be a mourning day. But we cannot judge Gandhiji by ordinary standards. Today we ought to make up our minds to accord homage to the great man that has passed away not by shedding tears, but by making up our minds to follow the ideals he put forward and practised.

I might say he is the greatest harmonizer humanity has produced. He saw clearly that too often religion was the cause of conflict in the world and the foremost task he took up was to see that people rightly understood each other's religion. While he founded no religion himself, the great work he did was to show to mankind that all religions had the same end and there was no reason to hate each other in the name of religion. He is truly what is said in Sanskrit, "*sarvamathasamanvayacharya*".

It happened that in the first great movement he launched in India after he returned from South Africa, he championed the cause of *Khilafat*, and the last act he did was to lay down his life in order to bring about love and friendship between the Muhammadans and the Hindus. If the significance of this, beginning and end is realized by our Muslim brothers, I hope, they will pave the way for that harmony for which he stood. It is up to the Muslims in Pakistan in particular, and Hindusthan in general, to see that Mahatma Gandhi was their greatest friend that India could produce and to follow his noble way of harmony. That is the real way of paying tributes to Gandhiji and not to say merely that we feel sorry for Gandhiji's demise or we have lost our way. We have not really lost our way. Gandhiji has written and spoken and practised all that is possible for a great man to say, do and practise. There is nothing else to learn from any other man or book. Therefore, if you want really light, there is plenty of it Gandhi has left, as our heritage. It is for us to be his true followers and worthy countrymen of his by practising his noble ideals.

I thought, when I wanted to speak, that I should speak on behalf of the States' people who are one-fifth of the people of India. But now I think that if I should speak from any particular angle in paying tributes to this great man, it would be an act of discourtesy. I will not therefore speak on behalf of any particular section of India or any community. Great as Gandhiji was over and above every community, every class and every country, I would lift up my hand, as every Hindu does when he prays to the great God Surya, and pay my homage to him. I pray that his soul may rest in peace. According to the Hindu belief if God bestows what is called *mukti* on anybody I am sure it would be on this great man who is fittest to receive it. We all pray to God that Mahatma Gandhi may yet guide us from above. Let us also pray that in this world surcharged with violence and hatred, his departed great soul, which has become one with God may show us the way to establish peace on earth. That is the task, the greatest task, that is left to his immediate

followers as well as to us in general to fulfil. To establish peace and harmony, working ceaselessly towards that end with all determination, is the truest way of respecting and revering the memory of this greatest man humanity has produced.

श्री० एच० जे० खान्देकर : महापति जी, बापु के चले जाने के बाद दुनिया में शान्ति और अहिंसा का पैगाम देने वाला महमूनि हमेशा के लिये चला गया। इस देश को स्वराज्य दिलाने के बाद बापु ने उसको टिकाने के जितने भी मार्ग बताये और आगे का मार्ग बताने वाला बापु हमारे पास अब नहीं हैं। मैं अगर हरिजनों की ओर से कहूँ तो जितने दुःख और दर्द हरिजनों को होते थे उनकी आखिरी अपील सुप्रीम कोर्ट के पास जाती थी मगर अब वह सुप्रीम कोर्ट "महात्मा जी" स्वयं हो गई है। अब हरिजनों का कोई पिता नहीं रहा जिसके पास अब हरिजन अपने दुःखों को जाकर कहें। महात्मा गांधी जी में ही एक ऐसी शक्ति थी जिन्होंने २८ साल तक इस समाज के लिए काम किया और इस समाज को ऊंचा करने की कोशिश वह करते ही रहे। इस काम के लिए महात्मा जी को कितने अत्याचार और दुःखों को सहन करना पड़ा यह सब आप जानते हैं। फिर भी उनको इस बात की परवाह नहीं थी। बापु जी ने हरिजनों को अपने बच्चे के ही समान समझकर दूसरे बच्चों सबर्ण हिन्दु के समान लाने की कोशिश की और उनके लिए दुनिया में एक ऊंचा स्थान प्राप्त करने की हमेशा उन्होंने प्रयत्न किया। मैं इस समय में ज्यादा नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ। मगर दुनिया को शान्ति और अहिंसा का पैगाम देने वाला महापुरुष अब चला गया है। मैं तो यह कहूँगा कि मानव शरीर से भगवान की ज्योत चली गयी है। महात्मा जी को भगवान अपने चरणों के पास रखे और उनको सुख और शान्ति दे। हम लोगों का यह फर्ज हो जाता है कि महात्मा जी ने जितनी बातें हमारे लिए छोड़ी हैं उन सब बातों को हम अमल करें इस देश में हिन्दु-मुसलमानों की जो (unity) युनिटी मरते दम तक वह करते रहे उसको हम पूरा करें। एक जातिय वाला दूसरी जाति वाले को अपना भाई समझे और हरिजनों का उद्धार करे। ये सारी चीजें महात्मा जी ने हमारे सामने रखी हैं उनको हम अमल में लायें। यह बोझ जनता के ही ऊपर नहीं पड़ता है बल्कि हमारी सरकार के ऊपर भी यह बोझ आता है। महात्मा जी का देश के हरिजनों की ओर से श्रद्धांजली अर्पण करता हूँ। मैं इतना ही कहते हुए एक बार फिर परमात्मा से प्रार्थना करूँगा कि वह महात्मा गांधी जी की आत्मा को शान्ति दे।

(English translation of the above speech)

**Shri H. J. Khandekar** (C.P. and Berar: General): Mr. Speaker, the death of our beloved *Bapu* has for ever removed an apostle of non-violence and peace from this world. He brought us Independence; he taught us how to retain it; but today our guide our beloved *Bapu*, is no more. If I may speak on

[Shri H. J. Khandekar]

behalf of the *Harijans* I would say that Mahatmaji was like a Supreme Court for them where they made all their final appeals against their sorrows, and sufferings but today that Supreme Court—Mahatmaji, ceases to exist. In him the *Harijans* have lost their father, they will now no more be able to place their grievances before him. It was Mahatma Gandhi alone who had supernatural powers in him that he worked for the society for 28 years and was always engaged in the task of uplifting this society. You know all the hardships and sufferings that Mahatmaji had to endure for this cause: but he did not mind them. *Bapuji* treated and endeared the *Harijans* like his own sons and he wanted to place them as equals of caste Hindus. He was striving to find a higher place for *Harijans* in the world. I do not want to say anything more at this juncture but I must say that a great personality, a great sage, the messenger of peace and non-violence has passed away. I would say that the Divine Flame in man has gone out. May the Almighty give eternal peace to that noble soul. Today it becomes our duty to act upon those teachings which Mahatma Gandhi has given us. His efforts for the Hindu-Muslim unity in this country which he was making till the day he died should be crowned with success by us. The Members of one community should treat the Members of the other community like their brethren. The work for the uplift of the *Harijans* must be carried on. These are the teachings and we must follow them. It is now not the responsibility of the people only, it is the responsibility of the Government as well. On behalf of the *Harijans* I pay our homage to Mahatmaji and once again pray to the Almighty to give rest and peace to his departed soul.

**Acharya J. B. Kripalani** (U. P. General): Sir, the tragedy for us has been too great and too sudden to make coherent thought or logical expression possible. Do we mourn for *Bapu* we ask for ourselves. And the reply is we mourn for those who come and go in this world of sorrow, suffering and sin: we do not mourn for those who go to their eternal abode and whose spirit freed from their body pervades the universe. And yet we mourn, because the light that guided our footsteps no more guides us. We mourn because all the merit that we possessed was his and the little greatness that we have achieved was on his account and not on our account.

Long ago when I was a student and I read in history that great prophets were never recognised in their time, that some of them were done to death by those whom they wanted to serve, I asked myself if such a one arises in India where would be my place. My answer then was that my place shall be in his ranks and when this Sun rose on our firmament in 1914, at Christmas time, when he returned from South Africa and I had the good fortune and the privilege of meeting him, my mind was made up and I have not swerved since then. I also thought how foolish was it of those people who lived in the times of the prophets not to recognise what was absolutely plain. I had to live and see that millions of people who are our contemporaries did not realise what they had in their midst. I had thought with pride that in the history of Hindu religion there never had been an occasion when we had prevented the man of God to live the fullest span of his life but today it is our shame and degradation that for the first time in our history a Hindu's hand has been raised against a man of the Spirit. We know that he has achieved immortality and that there was nothing that he could add to what he had done. We know his doctrines: We know his views: we know his philosophy; but more than his philosophy, more than his doctrines, more than his views was the man himself. He had transcended everyone of his doctrines in his life. He lived as he thought and thought as he lived. It is not possible, as the Prime Minister said, to measure him because we have no measure with which to measure him. Words are spoken for things that are of common currency, but for extraordinary things there are no words and speech becomes silent. So in that silence let us do reverence to his spirit and make our obeisance.



Only this—let us all today make a resolve that though we have not followed him faithfully in life we shall follow him faithfully in death and shall complete the task that he kept before us. He merely laid the foundations of our Swaraj, the Ram raj of which he had a true conception, in which the moral law and not the law of violence and crooked diplomacy shall guide our path and all our actions as in individual and social life so in political life shall be guided by the moral law. And he gave us an example how the moral law is to be followed. In the darkest hours of his life his faith was greatly tried, but he stood the test. He always said that the rigour of the moral law can only be satisfied when we magnify our own fault and the fault of our own community, when we minimize the fault of others and of other communities; and he did that. It did not matter what the other community did; it mattered what his own community, the Hindus and the Sikhs, did. It did not matter whether Pakistan behaved properly or improperly, but India must behave properly. Bapu believed that the man who works for *dharma* can never come to grief. He also believed that the nation that works for *dharma* and righteousness can never come to grief. Let us work in that faith and in the light of the moral law that he kept before us and all shall yet be well with us.

**Mr. Speaker:** As a mark of respect of Mahatma Gandhi Honourable Members will stand in silence for a minute.

(The Assembly then stood up for a minute).

*The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, the 3rd February, 1948.*