

RAJYA SABHA

Friday, the 29th May, 1964/the 8th
Jyaistha, 1886 (Saka)

The House met at eleven of the
clock, Mr. CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

OBITUARY REFERENCES

PASSING AWAY OF SHRI JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, PRIME MINISTER

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI
M. C. CHAGLA): Mr. Chairman, who
are we to pay a tribute to Jawaharlal
Nehru? He bestrode the world like a
colossus and we petty men can only
remember his greatness and give him
our tears wrung from a stricken heart.

It is not given to everyone to give
a name to an age. The 17 years that
he was Prime Minister of India will
always be known as the Nehru Age.
But it is not only in his country's his-
tory that his name will be remember-
ed. In international affairs, in the
evolution of world history, in the long
road that we have travelled to en-
hance human dignity and give free-
dom to the individual, the period of
his Prime Ministership will always be
commemorated as the Nehru epoch.

With the passing away of Nehru not
only has India lost one of her most
illustrious sons, the world has lost
a stout champion in the cause of free-
dom and in the struggle against colo-
nialism and the greatest exponent of
the art of living together both as be-
tween man and man and nation and
nation. He has left a void which can
never be filled. India and the world
will never be the same without Nehru.

He was so much a part of the
nation, he was so deeply interested in
every national activity, his own im-
press upon the nation's thoughts and
actions was so indelible that it is im-
possible to conceive of an India with-
out Nehru. To the commonest man
in the country and to the highest
statesman outside, Nehru was India
and India was Nehru. Gandhiji was

the Father of the Nation. He gave us
independence and a sense of nation-
hood. On that foundation Nehru
built to raise a modern industrial
scientific-minded nation. The history
of 17 years' progress is the history of
Nehru translating into action the
dreams that he dreamt when he
worked and fought for his country's
freedom.

As a man he was essentially a man
of culture—culture in the best sense
of the term which means tolerance,
understanding and belief in human
dignity and a rational outlook on life.
His deep sense of tolerance and un-
derstanding in the domestic sphere
made him the greatest protagonist of
secularism. Every person in India
mourns his death—and no one does
so more than members of the minority
communities. They knew that they
could always look to him for justice
and fairplay. In the international
field, these qualities led him to evolve
the policy of non-alignment which
will always be associated with his
name.

His socialism was the result not so
much of any economic ideology, but
as a belief in human dignity, in his
hatred of poverty and disease and in
his profound faith in the equality of
man. His rational outlook made him
fight the superstitions and inhibitions
which retard our progress and made
him attach the greatest importance to
science not only for the purpose of
expanding knowledge but more in
order to give to his people a scientific
and modern outlook on life.

Life must go on even without Nehru
and we must at least try and be
worthy of his principles and ideals.
We are living in difficult, almost cri-
tical times. The ship of State has lost
its captain but the ship must sail,
however turbulent the seas. Whoever
is the new captain, he can steer the
ship by the light that Nehru's name
and memory will always shed, and his
spirit will always be there to guide
the country he loved so greatly and to

[Shri M. C. Chagla.]

protect the people who gave him a devotion and dedication which few leaders have received in any period of history or in any part of the world.

May I ask the House to convey to the bereaved members of his family our deep and heartfelt sympathies on the great loss they have suffered?

Mr. Chairman, with your permission, I beg to move:

"The Rajya Sabha, meeting in the shadow of the national calamity of the passing away of our beloved leader and Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, expresses its profound anguish and grief and declares its firm resolve to strive for the ideals of world peace and progress, and national unity, solidarity and prosperity, to which he dedicated himself throughout his life."

The question was proposed.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat): Mr. Chairman, Sir, we have gathered together to mourn the death of one of the greatest sons of India, the shock of which is so great and so fresh that it is difficult to express oneself. It has left us dazed; it has caught us unprepared.

The life of Jawaharlal Nehru has been a life of long and dedicated service not only to his country but to the human race. The urge for freedom that grew in India was symbolised, particularly as far as the youth of this country was concerned, in the personality of Jawaharlal Nehru. The country will remember for many generations his sacrifice, the many years that he spent in jail, a better part of his younger age, in the service of the motherland. He was one of the freedom fighters along with his great father, his distinguished sister and his devoted wife, who was a picture, a model, of Indian womanhood and stood shoulder to shoulder with him in the struggle. His great sacrifice won him love of our great

leader whom we call the Father of our Nation. After attainment of independence he devoted himself to building a new India, a society free from exploitation of the weak and the poor and building up industry to provide employment and a fair standard of living to the teeming millions of this country. At the same time he was working to rid the world of colonial domination and exploitation and the evils that follow. He was working to eliminate war and the horrors that war leaves behind. In this he truly carried out the work of his great leader. He worked strenuously for diminishing tensions, tensions between nations, which were the cause of war. He worked for building up better understanding and his contribution to the United Nations in this matter will also remain a great memorial to him.

His death has moved not only the people in this country but the whole world and all those who work for the establishment of peace. The world has lost a great lover of peace, a lover of humanity, a great worker for peace, but the country has lost a leader who had been guiding it since independence. The loss will be irreparable, the void difficult to fill. For those who were associated with him in the struggle for freedom, it will be difficult to conceive of an India without Jawaharlal Nehru. The Government of India, I am sure, and the Cabinet will also find it difficult to function and to adjust themselves to a world without Jawaharlal Nehru.

In this profound sense of shock that we all suffer from, may I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the present session of Parliament be adjourned? Let the Government make up its mind as to what the future set-up is going to be and then only this House and Parliament would be in a mood to consider legislation. I hope, Sir, the Government will take note of my suggestion.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Mr. Chairman, Sir, yesterday

day with the whole nation weeping, we consigned to the flames the mortal remains of the immortal man—our beloved Jawaharlal Nehru. But the name of Jawaharlal Nehru neither flames nor time can consume. That name shall live so long as human race lives on this planet.

Panditji was an apostle of Indian freedom, an architect of modern India, a passionate champion of the cause of world peace. Free India of today would be unthinkable without his great leadership, broad vision and dedicated service. The life and work of that noble son of India encompassed a whole epoch which has seen not only the political emancipation of our nation but also the assertion of our national personality. The genius and greatness of Pandit Jawaharlal's leadership lay in his unbounded love for his country, in his matchless courage to fight for its cause; above all, in his unshakable faith in the destiny of our people. He was a sensitive upholder of the noble heritage of our hoary past but he disdained all that was stultifying and retrograde. Jawaharlal Nehru knew how to move with the changing time and he always looked forward. He understood more than any leader in power and authority the essential impulses of human progress. He gave our nation an orientation so that it could manfully meet the challenge of poverty, backwardness, social injustice, casteism and communalism at home and of the forces of war in the world at large.

It is true we have still a long way to go before we can end social injustice and poverty and achieve our goal. But this is a task which we can fulfil only by carrying forward the fighting traditions of Nehru and not by halting where he has left us today, much less by turning our backs on his positive contributions. Only by moving forward in unfaltering steps can we ever aspire to complete his unfinished tasks. It is always easy,

Mr. Chairman, to pay eloquent tributes in words to the memory of a great man. But it is not so easy to do so in deeds, whether personal or national. And yet the greatest tribute that one can pay to the undying memory of Jawaharlal Nehru is the tribute of such deeds. The coming years will show whether we, especially those on whom his mantle is falling, are capable of paying that only real tribute. For that we need resolve, unity, humility, courage and, above all, deep loyalty to the masses.

We are all touched by the fact that beyond the frontiers of our sorrowful land, progressive mankind in all continents and in all countries are mourning the loss of our great leader. That is because Jawaharlal's leadership transcended national boundaries and embraced all humanity striving for freedom and peace. This leader and statesman was certainly one that sprang from our people, but he became a precious possession of all progressive mankind. By his service to the universal cause—the cause of safeguarding world peace and national emancipation in particular—Jawaharlal raised his stature to Olympian heights and what is of great significance for the future, he raised the stature of this country of ours. Panditji shaped our great nation into a powerful bastion of world peace and that indeed has given our country a place of distinction and honour in the comity of nations. It has fallen to us, Mr. Chairman—now with the architect no more amongst us—to build upon the principles he held so dear to his heart and the foundations he so nobly laid. India's firm adherence and unflinching service to the cause of world peace and of national freedom will henceforth be our token of respect and love for the departed leader.

I have ventured to say these words, fully conscious of the vastness and depth of the character of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Jawaharlal Nehru is a part of our history and I have no

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]
 presumption to assess that history. I would, however, like to have a word or two as we have known him in this House for over a decade. This has been a rare privilege of some of us. As in other fields of our national life, the vacuum he has created in Parliament will also be difficult to fill. For a man of his learning, intellectual accomplishment and experience, it is not difficult to be an able parliamentarian. But what made his part in this House and in the other House unrivalled and unique was his frankness, honesty, capacity to both give and take, his sense of humour and above all his regard for parliamentary democracy and his attitude towards us of the Opposition. We from this side of the House looked upon him as something immensely more than the leader of the ruling party. Indian Parliament has lost its most shining jewel and we can now strive to make up the loss only by our greater collective efforts to defend and enrich democratic principles. It gives me no little pain even to think that here we shall now sit without that loving, fascinating voice—voice of reason, understanding and tolerance.

With these words, Sir, I, on behalf of our Group in this House, associate myself with the sentiments expressed by the Leader of the House and pay our respectful homage to the deathless memory of Jawaharlal Nehru. We solemnly pledge before this House and the nation that we shall spare neither effort nor sacrifice to overcome the present sense of loss in the united endeavours for the good of our nation and for all mankind. A nation can go forward not in sorrow and in a sense of frustration. It can go forward only with faith in its future, with resolve and struggle to fashion it in a manner worthy of our great people.

Once again I would request you, Mr. Chairman, to convey our deep

sense of sorrow and sympathy to the family of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and all others.

Thank you.

श्री गंगाशरण सिंह (बिहार) : आदरणीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, आज जिस महान व्यक्ति की मृत्यु की काली छाया हम सब पर छायी हुई है, जिसका देहांत २७ तारीख को दिन के लगभग २ बजे इसी दिल्ली शहर में हुआ, वह सिर्फ एक व्यक्ति नहीं था—वह अनेक मान्यताओं का, अनेक मूल्यों का, अनेक वस्तुओं का प्रतीक था। वह एक व्यक्ति से बहुत बड़ा था। वह देश का प्रतीक था, वह मानवता के मूल्यों का प्रतीक था, वह हमारी आजादी की लड़ाई का प्रतीक था। वह हमारे देश की आने वाली पीढ़ी का और हमारे भविष्य का भी प्रतीक था। इसके अतिरिक्त और अनेक क्षेत्रों में—कला के क्षेत्र में, साहित्य के क्षेत्र में, और बहुत सारे क्षेत्रों में भी—उन्होंने राजनीति की तरह ही प्रतिनिधि का, सिम्बल का, प्रतीक का, काम किया। आज वह प्रतीक, वह सिम्बल, हमारे बीच से उठ गया है। देश के लोग, इस पार्लियामेंट के लोग और शायद देश के बाहर के लोग भी, जवाहरलाल के बगैर वर्तमान समय में इस देश की कल्पना नहीं कर पाते थे। जब कोई समस्या सामने आती थी तो उस समस्या का जब कोई और समाधान नहीं लगता था तो ऐसा लगता था कि वह व्यक्ति सभी समस्याओं के समाधान का साधन है। आज वह साधन हमारे हाथ से छूट गया है, लुट गया है।

जवाहरलाल जी एक कड़ी थे, एक ऐसी कड़ी कि जो मालूम होता है कि अचानक टूट गई और आज आगे का दरवाजा बंद हो गया। कड़ियां बीच में बहुत सी टूटीं, उन कड़ियों की भिन्न भिन्न लड़ी थीं और वे सब टूटीं। लेकिन आज जो कड़ी टूटी है उसने एक युग का अंत कर दिया है। यह एक व्यक्ति की मृत्यु नहीं है, यह एक युग का अंत हुआ है।

आगे जो युग आयेगा वह कैसा होगा, क्या होगा, इसकी हम आज कल्पना भी नहीं कर पाते हैं। यह आघात इतना तीव्र, इतना गहरा, इतना भयानक है—यूँ तो वे बीमार पहल से भी थे लेकिन परसों जो आघात हुआ वह इतना आकस्मिक हुआ कि अभी इस आघात का क्या परिणाम होगा हम पर, आप पर, देश पर और दुनिया पर, यह नहीं कहा जा सकता है। न तो किसी की बुद्धि काम कर रही है, न हृदय काम कर रहा है और इस समय जिस बात की सबसे अधिक आवश्यकता है वह यह है कि इस आघात को सहन करने की शक्ति हम अपने में पैदा करें। साथ ही साथ, जो काम अधूरा छूट गया है—जहाँ तक रथ को खींच कर जवाहरलाल जी ले आए थे—उस रथ को आगे हम ले चलें। हमारे सामने, पार्लियामेंट के सामने, देश के सामने जो समस्याएँ हैं—आंतरिक भी हैं, बाहर की भी हैं, हर तरह की समस्याएँ हमारे सामने मुंह बाएँ खड़ी हैं—इस समय सबसे बड़ी आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि हम अधिक से अधिक एकता की भावना से, अधिक से अधिक उच्चता की भावना से, अपनी क्षुद्रताओं को, अपने पेटिनेस को, अपनी छोटी छोटी बातों को दबाकर उस बड़े उद्देश्य के प्रति—जिस उद्देश्य में हम सब एकमत हैं उस बड़े उद्देश्य के प्रति—ध्यान लगाकर, उस बड़े उद्देश्य की तरफ नज़र रख कर और यह समझकर कि हम एक बड़े संकट से गुज़र रहे हैं हमको और आपको सबको और सारे देश को आज एक साथ चलने की आवश्यकता है। जवाहरलाल जी में बड़ी विशेषता यह थी कि जो उनके साथी थे, जिनके विचार उनसे मिलते थे, जो उनकी हर बात में सहमत होते थे उनकी बात को छोड़ दीजिए, उनकी श्रद्धा और उनका आकर्षण तो हर किसी को प्राप्त होता था, लेकिन हम लोगों की तरह के व्यक्ति जो बहुत से मामलों में उनसे सहमत नहीं रहे, उनके प्रति भी उनके दिल में वही श्रद्धा रही, वही आदर रहा। हमने यह समझा, यह एक आदमी है जो जनतंत्र का प्रतीक है, जिससे विरोध

की बातें, मतभेद की बातें भी सफाई के साथ की जा सकती हैं, बहस की जा सकती है। यह आशा रखी जा सकती है कि उसको समझाया जा सकता है। आज लगता है वह आधार भिट गया। भारतवर्ष को प्राइम मिनिस्टर मिलेगा, हमारे देश को प्राइम मिनिस्टर मिलेगा, कांग्रेस पार्टी को नेता भी मिलेगा। लेकिन दुनिया को, देश को, मानवता को, जो चीज मिलनी थी वह मिलेगी कि नहीं मुझे शक है। देश का जो जवाहर खो गया है वैसा मिलेगा या नहीं मुझे शक है। मानवता की जो निधि खो गई है वह मिलेगी कि नहीं, मुझे इसमें शक है। आज हम लोगों के बीच में अगर जवाहरलाल जी नहीं हैं तो हमें यह कोशिश करनी चाहिये कि जवाहरलाल जी के जाने से जो रिक्तता हुई है, शून्यता हुई है, जो वैक्यूम हुआ है, उसको हम सामूहिक रूप से, कलेक्टिव एफर्ट से, सामूहिक शक्ति से, सामूहिक माधन से, सामूहिक जरिये से पूरा करने की कोशिश करें और जो परेशानी आज हमको है वह परेशानी हमको ग़लत रास्ते पर नहीं ले जाए, जिस दुःख से हम पीड़ित हैं वह दुःख हमको विचलित नहीं कर सके और आज की इतनी बड़ी काली छाया के अंतर्गत हम अपने दिल को अधिक से अधिक उज्ज्वल रख सकें, हम दिमाग अधिक से अधिक साफ कर सकें और उस व्यक्ति का उज्ज्वल चरित्र, उसका व्यक्तित्व, इस ग्रंथकार में हमारा पथ प्रदर्शन कर सके, हमारी यही कामना है।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी ओर से, अपने दिल, प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी की ओर से उनके प्रति श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता हूँ और जो बातें हमारे हाउस के लीडर ने कही हैं उनके साथ मैं भी अपना सहयोग जाहिर करता हूँ। यह समय ऐसा नहीं है कि अधिक कहा जाये, न कहने का अवसर है, न शक्ति है। इसलिये मैं पुनः उस दिवंगत व्यक्ति के प्रति अपनी श्रद्धा अर्पित करता हूँ और मैं विश्वास दिलाता हूँ कि जो कुछ मैंने कहा है यह

[श्री गंगा शरणसिंह]

मेरी और मेरे साथियों के दिल की आवाज है और इस पर हम चलने की कोशिश करेंगे और मुझे उम्मीद है, मेरा देश इस पर चलने की चेष्टा करेगा।

श्री ए० बी० बाजपेयी (उत्तर प्रदेश):
समापति जी, एक सपना था जो अधूरा रह गया; एक गीत था जो गुँगा हो गया; एक ली थी जो अन्नन में विलीन हो गई। सपना था एक ऐसे संसार का जो भय और भूख से रहित होगा; गीत था एक ऐसे महाकाव्य का जिसमें गीता की गुँज और गुलाब की गंध थी; ली थी एक ऐसे दीपक की जो रात भर जलता रहा, हर अँधेरे से लड़ता रहा और हमें रास्ता दिखाकर एक प्रभात में निर्वाण को प्राप्त हो गया।

मृत्यु ध्रुव है, शरीर नश्वर है। कल कंचन की अिम काया को हम चन्दन की चिना पर चढ़ा कर आए, उनका नाश निश्चित था। लेकिन क्या यह जरूरी था कि मौत इतनी चोरी-छिपे आती। जब संगी साथी मोंए पड़े थे, जब पहुँचदार बे खबर थे, हमारे जीवन की अमूल्य निधि लुट गई। भारत माता आज शोकामरणा है—उनका गवसे लाड़ला राज-हुमार खो गया। मानवता आज खिन्न वदना है—उसका पुतारी मो गया। आति आज अशांत है—उनका रक्षक चला गया। दलितों का सझारा छूट गया। जन जन की आँख का तारा टूट गया। यवनिका पात हो गया, विश्व के रंगमंच का प्रमुख अभिनेता अपना अंतिम अभिनय दिखाकर अन्नध्यान हो गया।

महाविश्वमीकि ने रामायण में भगवान राम के संबंध में कहा है कि वे असंभवों के समन्वय थे। पंडित जी के जीवन में महाकवि के उसी कथन की एक झलक दिखायी देती है। वह शांति के पुजारी, किन्तु क्रांति के अग्रदूत थे; वे अहिंसा के उपासक थे, किन्तु स्वाधीनता और सम्मान की रक्षा के लिये हर हथियार से लड़ने के हिमायती थे। वे व्यक्तिगत

स्वाधीनता के समर्थक थे, किन्तु अधिक समानता लाने के लिये बद्ध परिकर थे। उन्होंने किसी से समझौता करने में भय नहीं खाया, किन्तु किसी से भयभीत होकर समझौता नहीं किया। चीन और पाकिस्तान के प्रति उनकी नीति इसी अद्भुत सम्मिश्रण की प्रतीक थी जिसमें उदारता भी थी, दृढ़ता भी थी। यह दुर्भाग्य है कि इस उदारता को दुर्बलता समझा गया, कुछ लोगों ने उनकी दृढ़ता को हठवादिता समझा।

मुझे याद है, चीनी आक्रमण के दिनों में जब हमारे पश्चिमी मित्र इस बात का प्रयत्न कर रहे थे कि हम काश्मीर के प्रश्न पर पाकिस्तान से कोई समझौता कर लें तब एक दिन मैंने उन्हें बड़ा क्रुद्ध पाया। जब उनसे कहा गया कि काश्मीर के प्रश्न पर समझौता नहीं होगा तो हमें दो मोर्चों पर लड़ना पड़ेगा तो वे बिगड़ गए और कहने लगे : अगर आवश्यकता पड़ेगी तो हम दोनों मोर्चों पर लड़ेंगे। किसी दबाव में आकर वे बातचीत करने के भी खिलाफ थे।

समापति जी, जिस स्वतंत्रता के वे सेनानी और संरक्षक थे, आज वह स्वतंत्रता संकटापन्न है। सम्पूर्ण शक्ति के साथ हमें उसकी रक्षा करनी होगी। जिस राष्ट्रीय एकता और अखंडता के वे उन्नायक थे आज वह भी विपदग्रस्त है। हर मूल्य चुकाकर हमें उसे कायम रखना होगा। जिस भारतीय लोकतंत्र की उन्होंने स्थापना की, उसे सफल बनाया, आज उसके भविष्य के प्रति भी आशाएं प्रकट की जा रही हैं। हमें अपनी एकता से, अनुशासन से, अपने आत्मविश्वास से इस लोकतंत्र को भी सफल करके दिखाना है। नेता चला गया, अनुयायी रह गए। सूर्य अस्त हो गया, तारों की छाया में हमें अपना मार्ग ढूँढ़ना है। यह एक महान परीक्षा का काल है। यदि हम सब अपने को समर्पित कर सकें एक ऐसे महान उद्देश्य के लिये जिसके अन्तर्गत भारत सशक्त हो, समर्थ और समृद्ध हो और

स्वाभिमान के साथ विश्व शांति की चिर स्थापना में अपना योग दे सके तो हम उनके प्रति सच्ची श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करने में सफल होंगे ।

मंसू में उनका अभाव कभी नहीं भरेगा । गायद तीन मूर्ति को उन जैसा व्यक्ति कभी भी अपने अस्तित्व से नहीं सार्थक करेगा । वह व्यक्तित्व, वह जिंदादिली, विरोधी का भी साथ लेकर चलने की वह भावना, वह सज्जनता, वह महानता गायद निकट भविष्य में देखने को नहीं मिलेगी । मतभेद होते द्रुये भी, उनके महान आदर्शों के प्रति, उनकी प्रामाणिकता के प्रति, उनकी देशभक्ति के प्रति, उनके अटूट साहस और दुर्दम्य धैर्य के प्रति हमारे हृदयों में, आदर के अतिरिक्त और कुछ नहीं है ।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी ओर से, अपने दल की ओर से उस महान आत्मा के प्रति विनम्र श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता हूँ और सदन के नेता ने जो कुछ कहा है उसके साथ अपने को सम्बद्ध करता हूँ ।

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, may I seek the privilege of associating myself with the feeling and just tributes that have been paid to the memory of Jawaharlal Nehru, the Father of the Nation, the architect of modern India and one of the greatest men of all times? Sir, it has been said that humanity throws up once in three hundred years some towering personalities and titanic minds. The 16th and 17th centuries saw the efflorescence of Shakespeare, Bacon and Newton. Two of them were men of letters in philosophy and one of them was a man of science. The 20th century has been rightly called the century of action, and the 20th century has seen the emergence of Lenin, Roosevelt, Churchill and Jawaharlal Nehru. It has been our good fortune that we should have been led for the past fifty years by Jawaharlal Nehru whom the tides of time had thrown up to lead us to independence and to

consolidate the gains of independence.

The achievements of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru are many. The pages of history of the last fifty years breathe of his achievements on every page, but his greatest achievement, to my mind, was the fact that he laid the foundations very securely for the emergence of parliamentary democracy in our country. It was Lord Morley, the great philosopher, who said at one time that he did not believe that Western parliamentary institutions could survive in India. Jawaharlal Nehru proved him to be wholly wrong. Whatever may happen to the country in the future, I have no doubt that the gift which Jawaharlal Nehru gave to this country, namely parliamentary democracy, will live as long as his memory lives in the hearts of men, and his memory will live for ever and ever.

Sir, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru realised more than anybody else that the Opposition was as necessary for Government as Government itself and he extended to members of the Opposition many facilities of debate and interpellation which we all valued. He was the greatest living democrat of his time and he tried to understand the opposite point of view on every issue.

Sir, in this hour of grief let us tell the members of his family that it is not only their personal loss but the loss of every person and the passing away of Jawaharlal Nehru is a matter for lamentation in every heart. Let us in this hour of grief pledge our loyalty and our hearts to fulfil the mission for which Jawaharlal Nehru strove all his life, namely, the maintenance of a secular, united India which will act as a force for peace and as the most effective factor of stability in Asia. Let us in this hour of grief carry on his task and be worthy of his memory so that his soul may rest in peace.

श्री गोडे मुराहिर (उत्तर प्रदेश) .

अध्यक्ष महोदय, हिन्दुस्तान के प्रथम प्रधान

[श्री गोडे मुराहरि]

मंत्री आज हमारे बीच में नहीं हैं, इस बात का हमें बहुत दुःख है। वैसे प्रधान मंत्री और आयोग और बहुत सी सरकारें बनेंगी। लेकिन कोई भी हिन्दुस्तानी ऐसा नहीं होगा जो यह कह सके कि आज़ाद हिन्दुस्तान के लिये जो संग्राम चला उसका एक महान सेनानी बन कर हिन्दुस्तान का १७ साल कारोबार जिसने चलाया हो, ऐसा प्रधान मंत्री हमारे बीच में कभी आयेगा।

वैसे मुझे याद है कि हमारे दल की ओर से उनकी बहुत सी नीतियों का विरोध हुआ और बहुत सख्त विरोध हुआ लेकिन कोई भी ऐसा आदमी नहीं होगा जो हिन्दुस्तान की आज़ादी के संग्राम के साथ कोई ताल्लुक रखता हो, वह यह कह सके कि किसी न किसी वक्त श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू से वह प्रेरित न हुआ हो। मुझे याद है कि जब मैं एक विद्यार्थी था और जब पहले पहल मैं हिन्दुस्तान की राजनीति में आया, तो श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू से प्रेरित हो करके ही मैं आया। और कोई भी ऐसा हिन्दुस्तानी नहीं होगा जो यह कह सके कि उसे उनसे प्रेरणा नहीं मिली। वैसे उनकी नीतियों से मतभेद रखने वाला भी कभी उनकी नीयत या उनका यह उद्देश्य कि हिन्दुस्तान का भला हो और हिन्दुस्तान के लिये सारा कामकाज हो, इस पर शंका की हो ऐसा कोई व्यक्ति नहीं है। हो सकता है कि कुछ लोगों ने यह महसूस किया हो कि उनका दृष्टिकोण गलत है और उन्होंने जिस ढंग से कुछ करना चाहा, वह ठीक नहीं है। लेकिन उनका मकसद हमेशा यही रहा है कि हिन्दुस्तान की भलाई हो, हिन्दुस्तान को दुनियां में ऊंचा उठाये और हिन्दुस्तान की उन्नति हो। यह दृष्टिकोण हमेशा उनके मन में रहा है और वे अपने ढंग से काम करते आये हैं। आज मैं उन सारी बातों को दोहराना नहीं चाहता जो इस सदन में कही गई हैं। लेकिन सिर्फ इतना मैं कहूंगा कि आगे चल कर के हिन्दुस्तान में जो जनतंत्र और हिन्दुस्तान की जो सरकार होगी और

हिन्दुस्तान में जो व्यवस्था होगी, उसमें और हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास में हमेशा श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू का नाम रहेगा।

आज हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास का एक अध्याय खत्म हो गया और अब नया शुरू होने वाला है। श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू की उदारता, उनकी जनतंत्र के प्रति श्रद्धा, उनकी मानवता के प्रति श्रद्धा, इन चीजों को याद करके हमें हमेशा इन चीजों का आगे बढ़ाना चाहिये।

मैं अपनी पार्टी की ओर से और अपनी ओर से भी श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी को और उनके सारे परिवार के लोगों को हार्दिक संवेदना का संदेश देते हुये श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू के प्रति श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता हूं।

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM (Nominated): Sir, as I have sat in the House these few minutes, old memories have crowded into my mind, memories which take me back nearly to fifty years ago. It was in 1917 that in the great national organisation it was my privilege to come into association with him. For another long eighteen years, I had the further privilege of functioning with him in the Congress Working Committee, in close association and intimacy at debates, at meals and outside. I had further the honour of being close to him for another two and a half years in the Cabinet, and for six long years in Assam I had practically weekly correspondence with him. And the net effect on my mind of all that lengthy association, that intimate association is that Jawaharlal Nehru was a great internationalist, he was a great freedom fighter, he was a great nation-builder but above all, he was a great man. It was the greatness of the man in him which raised him to a high stature, whether in the international field or in the national field.

We with our own hands have burnt the body of Jawaharlal Nehru; we

have burnt it to ashes but his spirit wedded to the nation, wedded to this Parliament, still hovers over the people and the Parliament and it should not be that while nature killed his body, we, the nation and its workers, kill his spirit. He stood for certain principles. He stood for tolerance. Above all, he had a big heart—a big heart for the opponent, a big heart for the enemy, a big heart for the man from whom he differed. He was not a man of small prejudices. He forgot the conduct of a man or a party the moment it was over. It is this bigness of heart which is going to be our test from tomorrow, the test whether the nation has those workers, those guides—whether on this side or that side of the House—who can imitate him even to the smallest degree and bring to the solution of our problems that composite mind which distinguished him. A Telugu never felt that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was somebody different from him; so the Tamilian, so the Bihari, so the Punjabi, so the Bengalee, so the Assamese, and so also the rest of the country. He brought to the problems of each part of the country that composite make-up which made him feel Indian, which made him feel that every part of the country was part of him. It was that composite make-up which made him feel that the followers of all religions were his compatriots. He never identified himself with any particular province, with any particular caste, with any particular religion. He represented them all. And I may say with all respect to those who had at times differed from him that he tried even to represent the opposite parties. He tried to go as far as he could to win their support in the various measures which had to be adopted.

Politics in our democratic structure is not a politics of the majority; it is that politics where the majority has to take into consideration the views and the propositions and the senti-

ments of the opposition, the minorities. Also, democracy implies that the minorities and the various groups and parties have also to function predominantly under a strong national impulse. And it is these things which are under test today—whether this nation bereft of the leadership which was at the helm for these seventeen years after independence and for many, many years before independence, can produce that type of composite-minded leadership imbued with that spirit of tolerance, adjustment, accommodation, understanding and above all, dominated by the spirit of national sentiment. It is this test through which each one of us is passing. I do not wish that we should start the new phase of our national life with any feeling of diffidence. Time there was for grief, but the time for grief must end. He ended the period of grief, when Gandhiji died, within a day and he started on his new responsibilities. The nation's workers, the nation's representatives, one and all of us, have to restart the new phase with assurance and confidence, with a feeling that though bereft of a leadership so unique in character, the Indian nation yet has got this composite-minded leadership available within it—in the majority and the minority, whether religious or otherwise—which can hold together and take this country forward. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru will have lived in vain, he will have died in vain, if we are not able to follow him in this basic principle of his life—to hold the country together, to have a dominant national feeling, not to feel as a partyman always and every time but to try to see that the entire nation in spite of the internal differences, in spite of the internal feuds and other divergences, is able to stand together. It was this composite make-up of his mind which enabled him to raise India's stature before the world through his personality. Let us in a humble way, in a small way, yet try to see that we, with our own hands, do not kill and burn his spirit as we have burnt his body with our own hands.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN (Nominated): Sir, the nation is still in tears, and waves of sorrow keep on coming. But I suggest that we must now wipe our tears, we must put back our sorrow and we must gird up our loins. When Mahatma Gandhi passed away and Pandit Nehru was left behind, he did not weep and he did not sorrow beyond the measure that was worthy of a hero. Even in his preliminary address to the nation he said that it is not for us to sorrow and sob and sigh but we must get up and confront the tasks that were before us, and who did it better than this man who was more widowed than any other of that generation when Mahatma Gandhi passed away? Let us take a leaf out of that heroism of this great man. We consigned his mortal remains to the flames yesterday. Kings and emperors have lived and ruled in this great City of Delhi but no king, no emperor, called forth from so many millions of people that tremendous outflow of affection, loyalty and honour that this great hero of our history called forth even on his last journey as millions walked with him yesterday in the summer sun. It is now for us to look at the facts that hold us in this country. There never was a greater crisis, after Gandhiji died, than the crisis that we are facing today. We have lost our great captain, we have to function without the great captain, and we can do so only by unity, by discipline, by facing up to the problems truthfully and by not evading any issue. I remember, Sir, Mahatma Gandhi saying once that no Guru is worth the name if he has not produced at least one Disciple greater than himself. Looking at the tradition of human history, you see how the Buddha gave us Asoka, how Jesus gave us St. Paul and how Gandhi gave us Nehru just as again Ramakrishna earlier gave us Vivekananda. Nehru was the Asoka of our time.

He was not functioning at a simple national level as a national leader or

a leader of a party. No greater injustice can be done to Pandit Nehru's memory than to remember him as a mere leader of the Congress Party. He brought into the leadership of that party the whole of this nation and he was dear to every man and woman in this country. It was a great privilege to agree with him but it was a greater privilege to disagree with him. In Parliament and on the floor of the House his Party would support him naturally. But the Opposition attached him vigorously, as they should, for that is the function of Parliamentary Opposition. But he was worth the steel of the Opposition. I wonder who can now take his place. We look back with profound gratitude that this man lived with us, worked with us, led us during the last sixteen or seventeen years in which we have laid the foundations of our nationhood and our Republic. But we will not be true to his memory by indulging merely in words of praise for him because death plays this trick upon the human mind, to make everybody shower praise on one who is dead. Probably it is right that we do so. But it is even more right that our praise must be founded upon our own truthfulness and sincerity.

Sir, there were some values for which this great son of India stood which if we forget, we shall betray his memory. Looking back on the death of Mahatma Gandhi, I am sometimes stricken with sorrow that we have betrayed him in regard to some of his basic teachings in this country. Maybe, we shall pull out of that and become more truthfully loyal to the great values that Mahatma Gandhi himself built up in this country. But at the moment I am thinking of the priceless legacy which Pandit Nehru has handed down to us, and among them secularism stands as the most outstanding.

Now, we have explained again and again in this country that secularism is not anti-religion. Secularism in a State is giving to every man in every

religion and in every community equal and complete honour and justice. Nehru stood for this. It is not enough to say that we too are secularists. There are many people who say that they are secularists but they betray secularism as soon as a challenge comes, as soon as there is a crisis. We must stand every test in the coming years that our State remains secular against every storm that might blow against it. It is not going to be easy because there is still caste in this country, there is communalism in this country, there is every kind of attitude seeking to break up our secular unity and so we have to take the greatest care that we do not betray this secularism of the State.

Secondly, Sir—and I am glad Minister Chagla mentioned it—Nehru was the symbol of assurance to the minorities of this country. I have many friends among Muslims and I count you, Sir, as one of the greatest among them. I worked with you in the Jamia Millia. I have many friends among Harijans. I have worked among them for the last thirty years. I know that the Harijans trusted nobody as they trusted Pandit Nehru, that the Muslims trusted nobody in this country as they trusted Pandit Nehru and all the other minorities looked upon Nehru as the pledge of this nation, for the fairest and the fullest justice to every member of every minority community. If Nehru had not been that then this Nation would not have been built even to the extent it has been built today.

Seventeen years is a very short time in the life of a nation. But within these seventeen years this titan accomplished the tasks of national unity and therefore we must remain true to this pledge of security and justice to every member of every minority community.

He laid the foundations, as was already said, of our parliamentary democracy. He was a great Parliamentarian and the Opposition will miss him very sadly in the coming years. His supporters will miss him too, but I think the Opposition will miss him even more because he stood broad-shouldered against every attack of the Opposition, took from the Opposition what was good in the attack and reacted in the most democratic and generous manner to the Opposition. We shall, therefore, miss him in this Parliament just as we shall long miss him in the country.

Then, Sir, he has left behind for us a national policy, which now and then comes in for attack—and I say rightly because the Opposition's business is to attack—and that is the policy of non-alignment. I do not know if that is the best word for the policy which he formulated, which he defended again and again with courage and determination in every crisis that came up. It was simply a policy of friendship with the whole world. If you want to stand for friendship with the whole world, non-alignment becomes inescapable. In fact, Mahatma Gandhi's whole philosophy leads to non-alignment. It is tragic that some of those, who take the name of Gandhi, attack non-alignment. It is not realised that non-alignment comes out of the Gandhian teaching irresistibly.

So, Sir, these are some of the legacies that this great man has left behind—secularism, fair treatment to every man and woman in this country, parliamentary democracy at its best and also a devotion to the common man, unsurpassed in India's history. We love Mahatma Gandhi but our love for him was and is more of reverence than love. But we love this man with human love, earthly love, love which bind man and man together. He was the most loved man of all time in this country, and he became the most loved man because he loved this country more pas-

[Shri G. Ramachandran.]
sionately and more devotedly than any other man we can remember today. So let us cherish his memory not by merely praising him but by keeping alive the ideals he has left behind.

I am afraid India is sometimes given to betraying the great who pass away and we have in some ways betrayed Gandhi himself. I wonder now what will happen in this country. Let this not happen now. We are a new Republic, a free and proud people, constantly advancing towards a greater and greater measure of freedom. We must remake ourselves and in so remaking cherish in spirit and in action the memory of this great man. Pandit Nehru is dead; long live Pandit Nehru.

SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD (Maharashtra): Mr. Chairman, Sir, on behalf of the Republican Party, I support the Resolution which has been moved by the Leader of the House, honourable Mr. Chagla. Sir, many speeches I have heard and so I want to be very brief. I will speak a few sentences on the life of late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

All his life and strength were given to the cause of the liberation of mankind. For over thirty years he was in the forefront of the national movement, and after independence for nearly seventeen years he was the Prime Minister of the country and died as Prime Minister. The Spanish

Civil War awakened him to 12 NOON the impending danger of fascism. When Hiroshima made the prospect of the annihilation of mankind a distinct possibility, Mr. Nehru thought only of peace, to which cause he was dedicated to the last of his days. In the country's history of the last half a century the name of Jawaharlal Nehru is written all over. The idea of a secular, democratic and industrial India fully associated with a free and warless world is not something that springs naturally from the Indian tradition. Yet that is the ideal he set

before the country. He was a revolutionary one. He was an architect of modern India. He was sincere and true friend of the working class and down-trodden people. He had to face several problems in the country, which he faced very boldly. Therefore we wish to place on record our very high appreciation of the devoted services he has rendered to our country and to humanity at large.

SHRI A. K. A. ABDUL SAMAD (Madras): Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was living in the hearts of the people of the country for one whole generation and will indeed continue to live very long in their loving hearts. That was a brilliant, though exacting, era in the history of our Motherland. In that era the country saw many wonderful changes in her own life and in the world. The late Prime Minister played a vital role in those changes. His tender affection for the people of the country and his undaunted championship of their rights and privileges, and his stout defence of the honour of the country on every necessary occasion and, on the whole, his unrivalled leadership made him the beloved hero of the country.

The people cannot easily reconcile themselves to the departure of this great lover and leader of the country. It is indeed a shocking blow and a heavy loss to our Motherland. I join in the heartfelt homage paid to the memory of this great and unique leader.

✓ MR. CHAIRMAN: Fellow-mourners, I know words can only inadequately convey what I feel, and yet I wish to associate myself with the sentiments that have been so feelingly expressed by all sections of the House. We are paying our homage today to one of the most remarkable men of our times, who was for seventeen years the guiding genius of our Democratic Republic. Pandit Nehru is gone leaving a whole people utterly disconsolate. The shock is indeed so great that we shall take time to fully realise what has happened, for

Pandit Nehru was not only the Prime Minister of India; in association with his *guru*, Mahatma Gandhi, he had led us to victory in our struggle for freedom and had given to that freedom a meaning and a content. He was a rock on which we built our faith in ourselves. He is no more with us. Let his image be indelibly impressed on our minds so that we may not be dismayed by the feeling of emptiness.

An aristocrat by birth and temperament, Pandit Nehru had committed himself totally and unequivocally to democratic ideals, democratic institutions and democratic procedures. The aristocrat in him sought to make his whole life and activity an expression of all that is gracious and noble. The democrat in him made him the courageous fighter for people's rights. Over thirty-four years ago he committed us to the achievement of complete independence, and independence, even in those early days was, to him, not a formal negative state of absence of foreign domination, but had a positive content of social justice and economic development. It was never enough for him that the Constitution should ensure the creation of a welfare State. He incessantly laboured to educate the people to realise this assurance. One of the great educators of our time, he made the common people aware of their rights and their duties, and provided them with the means of making State policy serve the general interest. He believed in a democracy that would bring tangible and continuously increasing benefits to the masses of the people, and years before India became independent, he committed the country to planned economic growth. His discernment, his foresight, his grasp of essentials, his astonishing intellectual capacity, raised him to a height from which he could have possibly looked down with impatience at small, inhibited, narrow minds. But he schooled himself assiduously in the observance of democratic procedures, in the exercise of patience and restraint. He as-

pired to make all his fellow-citizens share his vision of a new society and to dedicate themselves to its realisation, because they themselves should believe, with the same fervour as he, in the happiness and the glory that would come with its realisation.

He firmly believed that this was possible only in a peaceful country and a peaceful world. To bring about mutual understanding and mutual accommodation among the various elements that constitute the variegated pattern of Indian life into a harmoniously integrated national existence was a passion with him. No one could assure as effectively and as convincingly as he did that the road to this mutual understanding, appreciation and integration, long though it may seem, and beset with many a difficult turn, will be traversed with a firm and unfaltering step. Hand in hand with this passion for internal accord and unity in the country was the one for peace in the world. This great fighter for national independence never saw India outside the context of the life of the world. He had inherited from the whole healthy genius of his people this passion for peace. It was strengthened by the example of his *guru*, Mahatma Gandhi, and by the experience of the destruction of values and the horrible sufferings of two World Wars. He worked for peace with such conviction, such deep sincerity, that he became one of the pioneer architects of an emerging peaceful world community. He gave to our foreign policy a direction which, let us hope, will contribute significantly to the full realisation of this emerging life of peace on our planet.

As Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru did not only guide and control administration and policy. The people looked to him for everything, for immediate attention, for the redress of small and big grievances, for the appreciation of ideas and enterprise in the many fields of science, literature, art, education. He was never too busy or too important

[Mr. Chairman.]
for even the most obscure man who wanted to be heard and understood, and the obscure man sought him out feeling assured that he would get both appreciation and encouragement. The appreciation was not an expression of politeness. It arose out of an amazing knowledge and versatility. And the encouragement was not just goodwill. It was an ardent desire to make his country rich by helping every variety of talent to find expression and fulfilment. His well-wishers often thought, and sometimes with good reason, that he was exerting himself too much spending valuable time on things that did not seem quite relevant to his position and his office. But nature had gifted him with so much energy that he could be cheerfully extravagant, and not only carry the burden of Government on his shoulders, but also accomplish, with grace and charm, the stupendous task of generating and supporting every type of enthusiasm throughout the country.

And besides what he did for the people, besides the values he gave to them, he was, if I may so put it, himself a value. Having committed his seamless strong character to not a few absolute objective values, he had grown into a personality of such effortless graciousness, such sensibility, elegance and refinement that it seemed to partake the qualities associated with great works of art. Association with him was a moral and an aesthetic experience. Masterpieces of art are not known to repeat themselves. They are unique. [We shall ever miss his personality and be the poorer—very much the poorer—for the loss. But the values to which that personality was committed will live and will demand commitment from us.] As an English poet has said:—

“To us he is no more a person now,
but a whole climate of opinion.”

The tasks—many and difficult—of a growing national life do not stop with

the passing away of its leader. They press for completion, they demand fresh commitment, they call for renewed dedication. [The leader is gone to have his well-earned rest. Let us take over his tasks and hope, through mutual understanding and united selfless effort, to bring them nearer to fulfilment. He is gone, but his memory shall ever remain a source of strength and inspiration to us. He will live in our hearts, in our lives and may God, in His grace, make our hearts and our lives worthy of his memory.]

I shall convey to Shrimati Indira Gandhi, to the bereaved family, the feelings of sorrow expressed in this House at the passing away of the leader and our heartfelt sympathy in their bereavement.

The Leader of the House, as you will remember, moved a Resolution:

“The Rajya Sabha, meeting in the shadow of the national calamity of the passing away of our beloved leader and Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, expresses its profound anguish and grief and declares its firm resolve to strive for the ideals of world peace and progress and national unity, solidarity and prosperity, to which he dedicated himself throughout his life.”

I would request hon. Members to rise in their seats in order to show that they approve of this Resolution, and to observe two minutes' silence as a mark of respect to the memory of the departed leader.

Hon. Members then stood in silence for two minutes.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The Resolution is adopted.

The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. on Monday, the 1st June, 1964.

The House then adjourned at thirteen minutes past twelve of the clock till eleven of the clock on Monday, the 1st June, 1964.