

THE BIHAR LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES.

The 25th April, 1946.

Proceedings of the Bihar Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber at Patna, on Thursday, the 25th April, 1946, at 12 noon. Mr. Acting Speaker (The Hon'ble Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Bar-at-Law, M. L. A.) was in the chair.

MEMBERS SWORN.

The Hon'ble the ACTING SPEAKER : Although we started to-day half an hour later than yesterday we are nevertheless late by another quarter of an hour. I shall now tell the House the business before it to-day. The first business is that hon'ble members, who were not present yesterday, and who did not, therefore, take the oath or make the affirmation, will do so now. That is the first thing. The next thing is that yesterday I dispensed with the customary formality of hon'ble members conferring on me the privilege and the honour of making their personal acquaintance, by shaking hands with me. That will be done to-day ; and I shall request the Hon'ble the Prime Minister to set the good example in that way by coming up to me. I also want to notify to you that none should take amiss if I do not keep standing to shake hands with him or her, for the simple reason that I am 75 years old. (*Laughter.*)

Mr. TAJAMUL HUSAIN : You will live long, Sir.

The Hon'ble the ACTING SPEAKER : Thank you. The fourth thing is that I shall take up the question of the election of the permanent Speaker. The fifth thing is that I shall inflict upon you the customary address ; and the sixth and the last thing is that the Speaker shall be inducted into his chair.

The Secretary will now read out the names of members who were absent yesterday and who will now take the oath.

(Names were then called out by Secretary.)

Mr. Ramasis Thakur, M.L.A. [North Sitamarhi General (Rural)].

(Shaking of hands by the hon'ble members with Hon'ble the Acting Speaker.)

The Hon'ble the ACTING SPEAKER : I understand that two hon'ble members not present on the opening day of the session have just arrived. I have no objection if they take their oath of allegiance now.

(MEMBERS SWORN.)

Mr. Mangar Dhoobi, M.L.A. [Giridih cum Chatra General (Rural) Reserved].

Mr. Basudeva Prasad Sinha, M.L.A. [North-West Purnea General (Rural)].

15TH APRIL

ELECTION OF SPEAKER.

The Hon'ble the ACTING SPEAKER : Hon'ble members, the ceremony we have just finished was exceedingly pleasant to me, and I hope it was equally pleasant to you all. We have now to proceed to the next item of business. I stated yesterday that for the election of the Speaker as many as three nominations had been duly received. I am gratified to find that two of the nominees have withdrawn their nominations. The withdrawals were received yesterday afternoon. They are perfectly valid. That leaves only one name for election. Similarly, as I said yesterday there is only one name received for the election of the Deputy Speaker. The Secretary, who is the very embodiment of technicalities and formalities insists that I should read out the names of proposers and seconders as if that mattered at all, when there is one nomination to be made. However, in deference to his suggestion I read out the names.

✓ **Mr. Vindhyeswari Prasada Varma** has been proposed by Mr. Ramghulam Choudhary and seconded by Mr. Prabhat Chandra Bose. He has also been proposed by Mr. Harivans Sahay and seconded by the Hon'ble Mr. Anugrah Narayan Sinha. He has also been proposed by Mr. Jagjivan Ram and seconded by the Hon'ble Mr. Badri Nath Verma. He has also been proposed by Mr. Hiralal Saraf and seconded by Dr. Raghunandan Das. Mr. Vindhyeswari Prasada Varma's being the only name before the House, and no other name having been validly proposed and seconded, I declare Mr. Vindhyeswari Prasada Varma to have been duly elected as the permanent Speaker of this House. (Applause.) Similarly, the formal announcement of the election of the Deputy Speaker will technically be made by the permanent Speaker after he has occupied this seat, but we are gratified that the election of the Deputy Speaker also has been made unanimously.

ADJOURNMENT MOTION.

Before proceeding to any other business I have to announce that Mr. Muhammad Abdul Ghani has handed to the Secretary a little while back a notice saying—

"I hereby give you notice of my intention to move the adjournment of the House in order to discuss an urgent matter of public importance, namely, the conduct of Government officers in charge of last Assembly elections who illegally influenced the results of the election of interested candidates for the Assembly elections."

My ruling is that this preliminary session having been called under the special orders of His Excellency the Governor for the transaction of business prescribed in sections 65 and 67 of the Government of India Act, 1935, no other business can be taken up at to-day's meeting.

(At this stage Mr. Muhammad Abdul Ghani stood to say something.)

The Hon'ble the ACTING SPEAKER : No discussion is permissible on the ruling of the Chair.

Mr. MUHAMMAD ABDUL GHANI : I am simply making a submission and it is that I should have an opportunity in the next meeting to speak on the subject.

The Hon'ble the ACTING SPEAKER: The permanent Speaker will take into consideration the notice that you have given to-day, and that you were not allowed to move the adjournment motion by reason of my decision.

QUESTION OF SPEAKER—contd.:

I should now like to address a few remarks to the House.

Mr. Prime Minister, Hon'ble Ministers, and Hon'ble Members of the Bihar Legislative Assembly—

I am grateful to His Excellency the Governor for the signal honour he has conferred on me by appointing me the Acting Speaker of the new Bihar Legislative Assembly. Although the duration of term of my office is ~~but~~ two days and no more, and being an *ad interim* Speaker I shall soon cease to work in my present capacity, I am nonetheless thankful to His Excellency for having given me this opportunity of serving you all, in the initial stages of our proceedings. But though His Excellency's offer was tempting, I hesitated before making up my mind to accept it, as I am no longer young in years, having exceeded by over four years, the Biblical span of life, of three score and ten. But you may remember that through the courtesy of His Excellency Sir Maurice Hallett—the then Governor of Bihar—I had the privilege of presiding, as Acting Speaker, over the first session of the first Legislative Assembly, in July, 1937; when the popular Ministry had been installed for the first time. The same reason which impelled me then to accept the Governor's offer has induced me again to do so on the present occasion, so that by associating myself with your preliminary work I may have the satisfaction of feeling like the proverbial fly on the wheel, which thought that it was by reason of its propelling force that the wheel went round and round.

Before the privilege devolves upon me of inducting into the Speaker's chair the newly-elected Speaker, Mr. Vindhyaeswari Prasada Varma, I feel it my duty to recall to the House the great and irreparable loss it had sustained by the premature death of the Hon'ble Mr. Ramdayalu Sinha, the first Speaker of the Assembly. I remember that at the time when he was elected uncontested—a fact which bore conclusive testimony to his work, worth and popularity—I said (when inducting him into the Speaker's chair) that not only the Ministerialists were gratified at his election, but that equally so were the other parties and groups in the House. Before his election to this high office he was for several years a leading figure in the public life of Bihar, and who does not know what tremendous sacrifices as a public worker he had made? As a Speaker he was always zealous in safeguarding the rights and privileges of the House, and commanded, on that account, the respect of all hon'ble members. Judged by the high standard of parliamentary dignity that he maintained, and the constitutional propriety that he observed, he was, in my humble opinion, a highly successful Speaker. I may recall that you, Mr. Prime Minister, while offering congratulations to him on his election, said *inter alia*: "there will be moments when on the floor of the House there will be battles royal, and you will have to hold the balance even between the parties". And to-day, while mourning his grievous loss, we feel that it can be unhesitatingly asserted that the Hon'ble Mr. Ramdayalu Sinha, as the first Speaker of

the Bihar Legislative Assembly, did hold the balance even between the parties. Let us pay our respect to the memory of our first Speaker by standing in our seats in solemn silence.

(All members stood in their seats.)

Mr. Prime Minister, as the speaker of this House to-day, and also as one who had the privilege of being the first Indian President of the Bihar Legislature, so far back as 1921, I desire to tender now on behalf of the Assembly, as a whole, my heartiest felicitations to the newly-elected Speaker and the Deputy Speaker. Both of them have been elected unopposed, which is an absolutely conclusive testimony to their work and worth in the opinion of the party in power in this House. But I desire to assure them that it is not only the Ministerialists who are gratified at the results of their uncontested elections I have just declared. I am sure, the members of the other parties also, as well as the representatives of several groups and interests in this House, are equally satisfied with the result. As for the new Speaker it would be unnecessary on my part to attempt to say anything in commendation of him, since he has been for years a well-known figure in our public life—self-sacrificing, patriotic, and devoted to the discharge of public duties. I have no doubt he will make a successful Speaker, and not only maintain but enhance the justly-acquired reputation of the Bihar Legislative Assembly for parliamentary dignity and constitutional propriety. True, both he and the Deputy Speaker have been hitherto closely identified with the Ministerial party, but I have not the least doubt that now they know that they no longer belong to that party alone but to the whole House, they will act with absolute impartiality towards the members of all parties, and will give equal chance and facility to do their work to all hon'ble members, irrespective of party affiliations, and will mete out even-handed fairness to every hon'ble member of this House. I feel sure that the new Speaker will hear similar sentiment expressed both from you, Mr. Prime Minister, and also from the Leader of the Opposition, and also from the leaders of the other parties in this House, and I am sure he will give, in the course of his reply, an assurance to that effect. I may add that in the discharge of his onerous duties he may count upon the support and assistance from every hon'ble member of this House. (*Hear, hear.*) I may also add that he will have in his Secretary a highly competent and experienced public servant to assist him in the discharge of his duty.

Having accorded, on your behalf, a welcome to our new Speaker and Deputy Speaker my next agreeable duty is to welcome the new Government, who are not only in office but also in power, with the strength of a tremendously overwhelming majority. As the oldest public man in Bihar, it is a source of immense gratification to find myself in the chair, on this great and memorable occasion, when we can safely visualise, in the near future, the prospect of the establishment, in our country, of the Government of the people, by the people, and for the people. That has been the dream of my life ever since, as a lad of seventeen, I attended in 1888—now fifty-six years back—as a visitor, the fourth session of the Congress, held in December of that year, at Allahabad. In 1890, while

a student in London, I bore my humble part, along with Mr. (afterwards Sir) Ali Imam in the work of the deputation organized by the fifth session of the Congress, held at Bombay in 1889—of which deputation the late lamented Surendranath Banerjee was the distinguished leader. Since my return to India, after being called to the Bar, early in 1893, I was, as many of you know, intimately associated with our public activities for a period of more than forty years. I, therefore, claim the prescriptive right to share, in common with you, unlimited joy at the prospect of the ultimate success of the cause of the people. And it is, therefore, not only as your Speaker, but as an old comrade-in-arms that I extend to you, Mr. Prime Minister, and to your colleagues, a cordial welcome on your having assumed office as His Excellency the Governor's Council of Ministers. The occasion naturally brings before my mind's eye many interesting ~~circumstances~~ episodes and incidents of the earlier days of our public activities and their results, as also of our struggles for constitutional progress. A complete survey of them would be highly instructive. In 1937, speaking as the Acting Speaker of this House, I attempted such a survey. But it is not necessary to make a similar attempt on the present occasion as the recent phases of the struggle are still fresh in our memory. But apart from that, as compared with 1937, the times we are passing through at present are absolutely abnormal being out of joint, so to say. The atmosphere is tense, the political situation acute, and surcharged not only with electricity but with atomism, and our minds are not on a plane when a dispassionate study or survey of contemporary Indian affairs may safely be attempted. Let us earnestly hope that it will not be long before the country will have settled down to normal political activities, under the popular Governments now established in all the provinces of British India.

It remains for me, Mr. Prime Minister, to tender to you and to your hon'ble colleagues in the Council of Ministers, my warmest felicitations, my most cordial greetings, and my best wishes for a highly successful administration in the interest of the people at large. If I may say so, you have acted wisely in expanding your previous Ministry of four into a larger one, composed now of as many as nine Ministers. Your Ministry was described the other day (in one of the local dailies, I need not say which) as a "Ministry of all talents". If so, the number nine fixed by you for the Ministry seems to be singularly appropriate for it, for the country has long been familiar with the glorious traditions of "Nau Ratan" (laughter), or the nine-jewels, of the famous courts of such renowned Indian administrators as Vikramaditya and Akbar. Your Ministry, therefore, of nine flawless diamonds, of the first water, will, I hope, continue to shed its lustre and iridescence even on the darkest corners of the administration, and I pray that its refulgence may never grow dim, or be tarnished, and that it may ever irradiate resplendence and luminousness on the shadows looming large in the life of our people.

Mr. Prime Minister, I have trespassed on the patience of this House, and ventured on these casual observations, as the occasion was tempting, and I make no apology for having yielded to it. Sixty years after our political activities were organised by the most eminent Indians

of the second half of the nineteenth century, the people's movement seems at last likely to come into its own, as evidenced by the facts that Governments composed of popular representatives had already assumed the reins of administration in the eleven provinces of British India, and a British Cabinet Mission was in the country conferring (for the transfer of power into Indian hands) with the leaders of the political parties. It remains now for the popular Governments established in the provinces to so wield the destinies of the people as may conduce to their happiness and prosperity. By their self-sacrifice, suffering and enthusiasm in the cause of the country, the public workers had not only changed the mental horizon of large and important classes but also captured the imagination of the masses, and galvanized them into political consciousness to an extent that had never been done before. (*Hear, hear.*) It now rests with the popular Governments to so temper their activities and enthusiasms, their political prescience and statesmanship, as may not only contribute substantially to the well-being of the people, but also to the stability of their own administration, so that we may hasten that great chapter of events, which we all look forward to, the day of India's independence when she will have attained full economic, administrative, and political control over her own affairs. Meanwhile, let each of us learn to place the interests of the country over those of our caste, community, or party, and to so intensely love this great, ancient, and historic land of our birth that we may be able to address her in the memorable lines of Shakespeare, which he put into the mouth of a famous character of his, but in a sense nobler and far more exalted than that in which it was sought to be used by the poet's imaginary figure. Those lines are:

Death that hath sucked the honey of thy breath ;
 Hath no power yet upon thy beauty :
 Thou art not conquered ; beauty's ensign yet
 Is crimson in thy lips and in thy cheeks,
 And death's pale flag is not advanced there.

(*Long and continued applause.*)

The next thing is to induct the Hon'ble the Speaker into the Speaker's chair. The customary practice, as I know, is that it is done by two members of parties other than the Speaker's own party, bringing him to the chair of the Acting Speaker, who will then vacate the chair to take some other seat. I request Rai Bahadur Syamnandan Sahaya and Lt.-Col. C. P. N. Singh, who represent the enlightened planters' and the land-holders' communities in the province to be kind enough to do so.

(*Mr. Vindhyaeshwari Prasada Varma was then conducted to the Speaker's chair by Rai Bahadur Syamnandan Sahaya and Lt.-Col. C. P. N. Singh.*)

The Hon'ble Mr. SRI KRISHNA SINHA : Sir, I rise to offer you warmest congratulations not only on my own behalf but also on behalf of the great party to which I have the honour to belong. I congratulate you on your election to this august office for reasons more than one. The last 25 years of the political history of India have been years of storm and

stress. During this period of 25 years the great people inhabiting this mighty and ancient land have made strenuous efforts to attain those rights which are the necessary accompaniments of a free and civilised society of to-day and in course of making that effort, a vast number of people of this land have to undergo untold sufferings and privation. I am glad to find to-day one occupying this chair who has been foremost in the public life of this province for the last 25 years and has had own quota of these sufferings and privations. I know, Sir, you had a lucrative practice at the bar, but when in the year 1921 under the leadership of admittedly the greatest man of the world of to-day, the bugle was sounded calling upon the people of this land to rally under the banner of revolt against imperialism from this land, you responded to that call. I know the life which you adopted in response to that call : it has been a life of privation and sufferings. I know how many times you have been to jail, because simply of the life which you have embraced of your own free will. But your life has not only been a life of sufferings. In this long period of 25 years you have discharged functions which have demonstrated that you possess administrative faculties as well. If I remember aright, it was a great Viceroy of India who some time back said that he would prefer to be a Mayor of the Corporation of Bombay to being the Viceroy of India. You, Sir, have been the Chairman of the Muzaffarpur Municipality not only for one term but three terms. I am a man who can claim to be a domicile of the town of Muzaffarpur. (Voices : *hear, hear.*) I go there, live there and spend the best days of my domestic life there. I have come in contact with the people of Muzaffarpur and so I know how your efficient administration of the municipality has endeared you to the people. I congratulate you, Sir, because it gladdens my heart to find you whose life has been a life of sufferings, privation and service to the mother land, occupying this office. I may mention one fact more. I have said in the beginning that I congratulate you for reasons more than one. Certainly it gladdens my heart to find you occupying this chair. But one thing more which you will not take as a note of warning but as a counsel coming from a friend who has been your comrade-in-arms. Sir, I congratulate you because the institution of which you have been elected the Speaker today, occupies a very important place in the Government of to-day. For a Government to be efficient, for a Government to be able to do good to the people, it is necessary, nay unavoidable, that there should be a unity of purpose behind it. That unity of purpose must be based on a common will, evolved out of the conflicting wills of millions of people living under it. It has been one of the most difficult problems facing the people of the world today. The problem is to find how to evolve the unity of purpose of a Government in order to make Government work efficiently. In good old days men were ruled by small tribal states. In those days the people constituting the society, the members of the political society, assembled at the market place or at some common place, discussed things amongst themselves. They were brought face to face in discussions. They appreciated the view points of each other and after discussion lasting for hours they evolved a common purpose and their Government worked on that common purpose. But the days of tribal states were over, and the time of county states came, Because

of the circumstances prevailing then, it was not possible for thousands and hundred of thousands of the people inhabiting on land to assemble at one place to evolve this common will. The result was the birth of absolute state. The will of the ruler was the will of the states and the will of the ruler formed the basis of the common purpose of Government of the time. The best minds of the time began to think of devising a machinery by which force which formed the basis of these States might be eliminated altogether from political societies and the political societies could be based completely on common and general will. It was then, Sir, that the system of parliamentary Government came into existence in this world. I know even at the present day there are thinkers,—thinkers who hold honest views,—think that this parliamentary Government has got some defects in it, but so far as I know mankind has not yet been able after hundreds of centuries of experience, centuries of trials and experiments in the making of Government to evolve an alternative system of Government. There is one alternative system of Government and that is the totalitarian system which is again based on force and on the common will of one man. Now, Sir, parliamentary system prevails throughout the larger part of this world. This country also, at least for the time being, has adopted that system of Government and it is because of that that we find ourselves here. Now, Sir, the parliamentary system of Government means several stages which have been devised to evolve a common will out of conflicting wills of millions. The first state is the stage of elections. The conflicting wills of millions of people inhabiting this province, by the means of elections, have resolved themselves into the conflicting wills of hundreds who have been elected to this House. Now, Sir, it will be the business of this House to evolve out of the conflicting wills of the 152 members of this Assembly that common will on which the unity of purpose necessary to guide the Treasury Benches here will have to be based. So, Sir, you have been to-day called upon to be the President of an important institution which forms the second stage in the evolution of that common will. There are 152 members here. I certainly belong to a party which commands a thumping majority in this House. I will be false to the principles of democracy—democracy to which I swore—if I do not think of those wills which are represented in this House and also those which will be in conflict with our wills. Democracy is based on the belief of the goodness of the human nature, on the belief that one man tries to understand the view points of others and also wants that his view points should be understood by them. Democracy means a Government by discussion. Parliamentary Government means a Government by discussion and that discussion is to be conducted here in this House under your able guidance. I would again repeat what I said in this House when the Hon'ble Mr. Ramdayalu Sinha of revered memory was elected as the Speaker of this House. Circumstances have changed since then and have changed for the worse. If battles royal were expected then, battles bitter may be expected now and as the Speaker of this House, Sir, you will have to hold the balance even. You will have to help in the evolution of a common purpose, and I am glad to find that the suffrage of the House has entrusted this work to a man who is known throughout the province not only for his sacrifice,

but also for his integrity, for his honesty and for his great abilities. With these words I wish you all success and again offer you warmest congratulations on my behalf and on behalf of the party to which I belong. (Applause.)

Mr. MUHAMMAD ABDUL GHANI:

مسٹر اسپیکر - میں مسلم لیگ پارٹی کی طرف سے آپکو کہہ دل سے مددینہ مبارک یاد پیش کرتا ہوں - آپ کی کل خدمات کے متعلق ابھی تذکرہ کیا گیا ہے - اس سے مجھے انکار نہیں ہے - غالباً آپ کو یاد ہوگا - ایک سال نہیں در سال نہیں بلکہ سالہا سال تک ہم یعنی مسلمانوں کے آپ کے ساتھ مل کر ایک ہی پلیٹ فارم پر کام کیا ہے - آج بھی کو ہم الگ ہیں مگر جہالتک مفاد عامہ کا تعلق ہے - ہمارا دل اس پارٹی کے ساتھ ہے جسکے ساتھ ہم پہلے بھی کام کر چکے ہیں - مسٹر اسپیکر اس وقت اسکی ضرورت نہیں کہ ہم متفرق پارٹیوں کے حصول مقاصد کے متعلق کوئی بحث کریں - اس وقت صرف ضرورت اتنی ہے کہ آپ سے عرض کروں کہ آپ باوجودیکہ ایک بڑی اکثریت کی امداد حاصل کرتے ہوئے ایک اعلیٰ عہدہ پر اسپیکر کے منتخب ہوئے ہیں - تمام ممالک کے پارلیامنٹوں نے اب یہ دستور بنا رکھا ہے کہ جب کسی پارٹی کا کوئی رکن عام اڑیں کہ وہ بڑی سے بڑی پارٹی کا کیوں نہ ہو - اگر اسپیکر کے عہدہ پر منتخب ہوتا ہے تو وہ اس وقت اپنے سارے تعلقات اس پارٹی سے ختم کر دیتا ہے - اور وہ پارٹی بھی جسکا وہ رکن رہا ہے خوشی سے اس امر کو قبول کر لیتی ہے - چنانچہ ابھی جہاں تک مجھے جناب وزیر اعظم صاحب کی تقریر کے سمجھنے کا موقع ملا ہے - غالباً انہوں نے اسی امر کی طرف اشارہ کیا ہے -

مگر میں unity of purpose کے مقصد کو نہیں سمجھ سکا ہوں - اس وقت ملک کے اندر متفرق قومیں ہیں اور ہر ایک اپنے حصول مقصد کے لئے کوشاں ہے - اور یہ اسکا پیدائشی حق ہے - مختصراً یہ کہ آپ اس وقت غیر جانبدار حسینی کی حیثیت سے اس ایوان اعلیٰ کی صدارت کر رہے ہیں - اور آئندہ بھی کرتے رہیں گے - اللہ آپ کو مبارک کرے - مگر میں آپ کو یقین دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ اس سانس کے سامنے جو امور زیر بحث ہونگے - اگر اس میں آپکو ضرورت ہوئی تو مسلم لیگ پارٹی اپنے نیک اور صحیح اور سچے مشورہ سے آپ کی امداد کرنے کے لئے کبھی دریغ نہیں کرے گی -

MR. CHANDRESHWAR PRASAD NARAIN SINHA : Sir, I rise to associate myself fully with what has been said by the Hon'ble the Prime Minister and by my friend Mr. Muhammad Abdul Ghani who incidentally, I may remark, is again amongst us after a number of years. I am sure that the observations made by Dr. Sinha and the Hon'ble the Prime Minister will weigh very greatly with you in your conducting the affairs of this House. You have before you traditions and conventions built up by your illustrious predecessor whose very untimely death is mourned by every one of us, not only in this House but in this province. We know it is sometimes very difficult to fill up gaps caused by untimely deaths like the one we had to face in the passing away of the Hon'ble Mr. Ramdayalu Sinha, but I have no doubt in my mind that this House would not have done better than by electing a very close friend, colleague, and a ~~colleague~~ ^{successor} of the late Mr. Ramdayalu Sinha to fill the gap caused by his death. Those of us who had the privilege of knowing him and also knowing you, Sir, know it very well how intimate both of you were, how shoulder to shoulder you have worked and therefore I am perfectly certain, as I was saying before, that you will not only maintain the traditions built up by your predecessors but will substantially contribute to enhance the prestige of the House. There were, as everybody knows many occasions while the House was functioning last time when difficult situations arose but your predecessor managed them tactfully and with great efficiency. Knowing as I do about your ability, coming as I do from the same town to which you belong, I have not the least doubt in my mind that the high office of a Speaker of a House, a dignified House like this, will always be maintained at the highest level by you. I know, Sir, it is not very easy always to find men who can fulfil the obligations attached to your office or who can discharge functions that you have been called upon to do. But I am also certain that the province of Bihar can always look up to you with confidence when the interests of parties come to conflict. I am proud, Sir, that you belong to the same town which I have the privilege to belong. I have known you there and I will have now the satisfaction of doing my little bit in making successful the discharge of duties which have devolved on you as the Speaker of this House. So far this small party is concerned, as opposed to the party of crushing majority sitting opposite, I may assure you that you will not find us lacking in doing all we can to make your term successful. I do not think, Sir, that you need any personal assurances from me as I may claim that we have known each other very intimately : but here on the floor of the House publicly it was perhaps necessary that I should tell you that we shall be very jealous about the dignity of the House, about what you have got to do and how we have to stand by you. I am reminded of a phrase used by Balzac Wilson. He said at one place that "popular revolutions have no more implacable enemies than the men they raised to power". We are going through very big revolutions and during this period of struggle and strife you are the one custodian of the privileges and the rights of those who may have chances to be oppressed or neglected. I have no grievance against the majority party. In fact, if you permit me, Sir, I will, in one word say that I wish them well and a great success, and in fact, I look upon them with great hopes for rebuilding the society that needs the

effort and a great deal of it too. But, Sir, if even there arose an occasion for our fears to come true we could with confidence, look up to you for holding the balance even and in that important task of yours whatever assistance you may require of us, the same will be available in ample measure.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: In saying what I have to say I propose to follow the precedent laid down by my illustrious predecessor, the late Babu Ramdayalu Sinha of blessed memory. In order to make his speech intelligible to each and every hon'ble member of this Assembly, he delivered his first address in the first session of the first Legislative Assembly in Hindustani. Following his footsteps I shall proceed now to address the hon'ble members in Hindustani.

मेखर बहनों, और भाइयों, आप लोगों ने एक राय से मुझे अपना स्पीकर चुना है। इसके लिए मैं आप लोगों का दिल से शुक्रगुजार हूँ। जिस काम के प्रयोजन के लिए हम और आप एक-गिरीहों से चुने जा कर यहाँ एकट्ठे हुए हैं, उसके सिलसिले में आज हम लोगों ने एक दिल होकर जो पहला कदम बढ़ाया है, वह एक बहुत अच्छा नमूना है। इससे मेरे ऊपर बहुत बड़ा भरोसा पड़ा है और इस वीज की याद से मुझे बराबर अपनी स्पीकरी के जमाने में दाढ़स और जिम्मत मिलती रहेगी। जब तक चादमी की किसी ओढ़रे की चाद रहती है, तब तक वह उसको बाहरी लकड़क के स्थान में भूला रहता है और जब वह ओढ़दा उसको मिल जाता है, तब उसकी मवाबदेही उसको परेशान करने लगती है। ठीक वही हालत मेरी हो रही है। मुझे ऐसा मानस पड़ता है कि मैं छुरे की धार पर चल रहा हूँ।

गत २५—२६ वर्षों से मैं कांग्रेस का काम करता आ रहा हूँ। अभी हमारे चानरेबुल प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने कहा है यहाँ कांग्रेस पार्टी अत्यधिक बहुमत (thumping majority) में है और हमारे माननीय बाबू चन्द्रशेखर प्रसाद नारायण सिंह जी ने यह कहा है कि यहाँ क्रशिंग मेजोरिटी (crushing majority) में है। उन्होंने crushing शब्द का व्यवहार शायद इस अर्थ में किया है मानो कांग्रेस पार्टी की तरफ से बहुत अवरदस्ती का व्यवहार होने वाला है। लेकिन मैं अपनी ओर से उनसे कह देना चाहता हूँ और उन्हें इसका आश्वासन देना चाहता हूँ कि वह इस पार्टी को क्रशिंग (crushing) के बदले सहायक (helpful) पावेंगे। मैं बराबर कांग्रेस का काम करता रहा हूँ, जहाँ तक मुझसे हो सका है उसकी सेवा करना रहा हूँ। कांग्रेस और कांग्रेस के काम करने वालों से मुझे सुन्यत रही है और इनके साथ मैंने कांग्रेस के तत्त्वों के लिए रुक-रुक उठाया है।

उन्होंने मीके २ पर मुझे खोटे २ मोहदे दिये और आज मैं उन्हीं की वजह से इस बड़े मोहदे पर भी बैठाया गया हूँ। पर आज बही मेरे काँग्रेस के भाई, प्रधान मंत्री और नेता मुझसे कह रहे हैं और उन्मीद रखते हैं कि मैं अपने दिमाग की बदसदं। मुझे यह एक बहुत माशकस दिमाग का कसरत मालूम पड़ रही है। पर मुझे एक बड़ा भरोसा है। इन्साफ क्या [खोज है] यह काँग्रेस ने मुझे बतलाया है। उसने मुझे इन्साफ करना तथा इन्साफ के लिए लड़ना और मर मिटना सिखाया है। मुझे फज़ है कि मैं काँग्रेस का एक छोटा खादिम हूँ। मैंने ~~काँग्रेस~~ के भगड़े के नीचे रह कर इन्साफ का सच्चा माने सोचा है। मैं बराबर इन्साफ से बरतने की कोशिश करूंगा और इन्साफ के सीधे रास्ते पर बिना दायें बायें झुके चलूंगा। आप सभी भाइयों ने मुझे इस कठिन काम में मदद देने का वादा किया है। मुझे पूरी उन्मीद है कि आपकी मदद से मैं हर काम में और हर फैसले में इन्साफ से बरतूंगा।

आज हमारे देश में स्वाधीनता का एक बहुत बड़ा आन्दोलन चल रहा है। यह देश बड़ी तेजी से आगे बढ़ रहा है। ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि वर्षों का काम घण्टों में तय हो रहा है या होने वाला है। अब बिलायत के लोग भी समझने लग गये हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान पर अब किसी दूसरे का शासन नहीं रह सकता है। वहां से जो तीन वज़ीर आये हैं वे हमारे नेताओं से बातचीत कर रहे हैं और सोच रहे हैं कि क्या किया जाय। मालूम पड़ता है कि हम लोग आजादी के दरवाजे पर खड़े हैं लेकिन इसमें कठिनाई भी नज़र आती है और सचुखियत से तय नहीं होने पर मुश्किल को फिर आखिरी बार पूरी कोशिश करनी पड़ेगी। पर जो कुछ भी हो मेरा अकीदा है कि जिस मालिक ने हम सबको पैदा किया है वह हम लोगों पर बराबर नज़र रखता है और हमारी हिकाज़त करता है। वह बराबर हमारी भलाई करता है और भगड़ा और तकलीफ के बाद शान्ति और सुख का जमाना दिखलाता है। मुझे विश्वास है कि हम हिन्दू और मुसलमान बराबर भगड़ते नहीं रह सकते। जल्द से जल्द इस मुल्लू के रहने वाले हम सब लोग हिन्दू, मुसलमान, सिख और ईसाई गले से गले मिलेंगे और मिलजुल कर एक दूसरे की गलतियों को खरदाशत करते हुए अपनी तरफ़ी करगे और अपने को एक ही समझ कर

उनिया के दूसरे कौमों के सामने अपना सिर उठायेगे। मुझे इस बात की बड़ी खुशी है कि हम लोगों की खुशकिस्मती से राज भी असेम्बली की बैठक शुरू करने का काम डाक्टर सच्चिदानन्द तिनहा को ही मिला। मुझे याद है कि उन्होंने इसके पहले भी इस काम को किया है। राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में उन्होंने बड़े २ काम किये हैं, बहुत बड़े २ ओझदी पर कामयाबी के साथ अपना फर्ज अदा कर चुके हैं। मैं तो उनका एक कोटा भाई हूँ। मैं आपके सामने उनके गुणों का वर्णन कहाँ तक करूँ। आप सभी उन्हें पूरी तरह जानते हैं। मैं तो उनके आशीर्वाद का इन्तजु हूँ, ख्वाहां हूँ और आज उनसे आशीर्वाद पाकर मैं अपने को धन्य तथा कृत्यकृत्य समझता हूँ। मैं अपने को किस्मतवर मानता हूँ। देश और खास कर बिहार के इतिहास में उनका नाम हमेशा के लिए अमर रहेगा। मैं भगवान से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वे चिरायु हों और बराबर समय २ पर अपने कीमती उपदेश तथा तजुबे से हमलोगों की रहनुमाई करते रहें।

मेम्बरों ने मेरे बारे में बहुत सी बातें कही हैं। सबसे पहली कांग्रेस पार्टी के लीडर और प्रधान मन्त्री साहब ने मेरे बारे में बहुत कुछ कहा। मैं उनके सम्पर्क में तथा उनके नजदीक बहुत बार रह चुका हूँ। उनका हृदय प्रेम से भरा हुआ है और उन्होंने प्रेम से ही मेरे बारे में बहुत कुछ कहा है और मुझे नसीहत भी दी है। मैं यह भी जानता हूँ कि और और भाइयों ने भी जिन्होंने मेरे बारे में कहा है, प्रेम से ही कहा है। सब बात तो यह है कि मुझ में जो कमजोरियाँ हैं वे ज्यादातर दूसरों से छिपी हुई हैं और बहुत सी कमजोरियाँ तो मुझसे भी छिपी हुई हैं। आप लोग जो कुछ भी मेरे बारे में कह चुके हैं, वह आप लोगों ने अपने बड़े दिल और दिमाग की वजह से ही कहा है। आप लोग अपने स्वभाव की वजह से दूसरों के ऐस को नहीं देख सकते और इसी लिए मुझे उन्मोद होती है कि आप लोगों की दुआ से, आशीर्वाद से, मदद से, और सहानुभूति से मैं अपने ऐस को दवा कर आप लोगों का एक लायक खादिम, और सेवक बन सकूँगा।

मौलवी अब्दुल गनी साहब से मेरी बहुत दिनों से मुलाकात है। वह भी मुझे जानते हैं और मैं भी उन्हें जानता हूँ। उन्होंने ग़ालिबन कहा है कि कांग्रेस में काम करने की वजह से जो कुछ कमजोरी मुझमें आ गई है वह भी साफ हो जानी चाहिये। मैं उनसे वादा करता हूँ और सारे असेम्बली को आश्वासन देता हूँ कि इस असेम्बली में किसी पार्टी या दल से मेरा कोई

सम्बन्ध नहीं रहेगा। (करतल ध्वनि तथा हीयर २ की आवाजें) मैं अपने दिमाग को साफ करके इस असेम्बली का काम करूँगा और किसी तात्सुब या संकीर्णता से काम नहीं लूँगा।

श्रीमान बाबू चन्द्रेश्वर प्रसाद नारायण सिंह ने भी मेरे काम के बारे में कहा है। एक शहर की हौते हुए भी मैं उन्हें पहले अच्छी तरह नहीं समझता था। पिछली असेम्बली में मेरा और उनका अच्छी तरह साथ हुआ था और अब तो हम लोगों का पारस्पर्य पूरा हो चुका है। मुझे मालूम है कि उनका हृदय जैसा उदार है। उन्होंने मुझे जो नसीहत दी है मैं उस पर गम्भिर करने की कोशिश करूँगा और उनसे मदद तथा सहायुभूति का जो वादा आज मुझे मिला है वह मेरे लिए बड़ी कौमत् की बात है।

मेरे पहले इस जगह पर इस रूबे के बड़े बड़े महाशयों का रह चुका है। डाक्टर सच्चिदानन्द सिन्हा, सर ख्वाजा मुहम्मदनूर, बाबू निरसु नारायण सिंह, बाबू रत्नधारी सिंह और मेरे मित्र बाबू रामदयालु सिंह पहले इस पद का सुशोभित कर चुके हैं। सभी ने सभापति का काम बड़ी खूबी के साथ निभाया है और वे मेरे लिए रास्ता बतला गये हैं। इस रूपाल से मेरा काम तो आसान है। मेरा फर्ज, मेरा कर्तव्य भी यही है कि लोगों की बतायी हुई तक़रीरों पर मैं ईमानदारी के साथ चलूँ। और लोगों का काम तो मैं खुद नहीं देख सका लेकिन बाबू रामदयालु सिंह की स्पीकरों के समय में मैं भी इस असेम्बली का एक मेम्बर था। मैं ने जो उनके काम करने का ढंग तथा दिक्कत और दिमाग का बड़प्पन देखा वह हमेशा के लिए मेरा पथप्रदर्शक रहेगा, बराबर मुझे रास्ता बतलाता रहेगा। बाबू रामदयालु सिंह से मेरा बहुत संपर्क था। इस जिन्दगी का बहुत समय उनके साथ बीता है। हम लोग एक साथ बकालत करते थे। हमने कांग्रेस में भी साथ ही काम किया है। आज भगवान की ऐसी मरजी हो गई कि उनके पीछे मैं भी आपका स्पीकर बन गया। अब भगवान मुझे ऐसा बल दे कि जिस आदर्श को उन्होंने अपने सामने रखा था, उसको जहाँ तक हो सके मैं और आगे बढ़ाऊँ और आप लोगों को सन्तोष दे सकूँ। अन्त में मैं आप सभी मेम्बरों को धन्यवाद देता हूँ और भगवान से ताकत माँगता हूँ कि वह मुझे ऐसा बल दे कि मैं बिना किसी तात्सुब, कशिश और संकीर्णता के अपने दिक्कत और दिमाग को साफ कर आपकी छिटमत्त बहूँ और इसके जरिये अपने सूबे, देश तथा भगवान की सेवा करूँ।