

## ASSEMBLY DEBATES

### NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN

Monday, the 9th December, 1963

The National Assembly of Pakistan met in the Provincial Assembly Chamber, Dacca, at nine of the clock, in the morning, Mr. Acting Speaker (Ch. Muhammad Afzal Cheema) in the Chair.

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(Recitation from the Holy Quran)

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#### CONDOLENCE RESOLUTION ON THE DEATH OF MR. HUSSEYN SHAHEED SUHRAWARDY

**Mr. Acting Speaker:** As the honourable Members know, no legislative business shall be transacted today except that the House will hold an obituary reference on the sad demise of the great national hero and leader Mr. Husseyh Shaheed Suhrawardy. The honourable the Leader of the House will move the condolence motion.

**Mr. Abdus Sobur Khan (Leader of the House):** "This Assembly places on record its sense of profound sorrow at the sad demise of Mr. Husseyh Shaheed Suhrawardy, an *ex*-Prime Minister of the country, a veteran Muslim League leader, one of the architects of Pakistan, a valiant freedom fighter, a champion of democracy, a great Parliamentary and an eminent lawyer. His death is a great national loss and the Assembly offers its deepest condolences to the nation and the members of the bereaved family".

Sir, this, sad demise of Mr. Suhrawardy, is not only a great national loss, but it has come as a tunning blow to us—those, who had the opportunity of knowing him and working with him for many years. Sir, it is very difficult to believe that he is no more in our midst. The entire nation is shocked, and is mourning for him. I came in touch with him for the first time in 1935, and, right up to 1947, I was with him. I was out of the University, and when I came in close touch with him, probably, that was a great beginning of my personal career. He was not only a great politician, a born leader, but he was an equally endowed philosopher, and a great humanitarian. His qualities of head and heart are unparalleled, and, at times, we are often, what I should say, overwhelmed by the display of his personality, and his erudite scholarship. Well, Sir, I remember so much of him, and so much of his memory is coming crowding into my own mind, that it is very difficult for me to isolate one thing from the other. At that time, he was the Irrigation Minister of Joint Bengal. There was a conference about *Piali-Bidiadhari* river. On that occasion, I travelled with him up to the junction of *Bidiadhari* river and he was supposed to hold a very high technical

[Mr. Abdus Sobur Khan]

conference to decide about, what I should say, the silting of *Piali-Bibi-adhari* river. Rai Bahadur S. A. Mujumdar was the Chief Engineer of the Irrigation Department. There were more than a dozen technicians, and highly qualified engineers. The conference lasted for about two hours. After that Mr. Suhrawardy had other engagements and I accompanied Rai Bahadur in his own car to Calcutta. In the way, Rai Bahadur told me, Mr. Khan, can you tell me if there is any subject on earth, which he does not know, or of which he is not a master. At times I was forgetting that I have written about six or seven volumes on the river course of Bengal, to me he appeared to be a much greater and higher technician. Well, this was the nature, accomplishment, and characteristic of Mr. Suhrawardy, and I do not know if there was anything which he did not know. One morning, I remember, he was in the bath room. I found the works of *Bhattichali* on his bed. I started to read them, and I was soon absorbed in that book. When he came back he was a little bit surprised to see that I was reading *Bhattichali*? He told me, 'look here Sobur what have you got to do with that'? Then I told him, 'Sir, there was no harm in understanding *Bordo* and *Michan angeo* and to have a peep into the arts of those days.' That was his depth of mind. I remember another occasion—when there was firing in Batanagar. He was Labour Minister also. Three days after that, he sought a report on this accident—nearly three lives were lost and an European Secretary brought the report to Mr. Suhrawardy. He was furious. It was an incomplete report, and he threw that report into the face of the European ICS Secretary. The Secretary left his room and rushed at once to the Chief Secretary's room. Mr. Suhrawardy told me, "Well he must be going to Mr. Fazlul Huq, and in case that old man is going to be nasty with me, Mr. Sobur, I will have to resign and go back." Soon after he was sent for in Mr. Fazlul Huq's room. We were waiting in his room. He left the room very self-composed, as a man who knew what he is going about. After about a couple of minutes he returned smilingly. I asked him, "Sir, what the old man told you"? He replied, "Well, he did not talk anything rough with me, rather he told me; 'Look here everybody cannot attain the same amount of perfection. Well, I will appreciate if you deal with these people in a more kindly manner'." Well, Sir, I have been with him to almost every district of Bengal, and the wonderful organizing capacity, which I have seen remaining with him day and night, I doubt very much, if anybody else is so fortunate. As the Assistant Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, and in subsequent years, as the Joint Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, I had to work with him day and night, and I have seen three Stenographers completely exasperated, receiving dictations on simultaneously three completely different subjects. Well, I can tell, without any fear of contradiction, it was the greatest moments of my life—my association with Mr. Suhrawardy, and the thumping majority achieved in the battle for Pakistan—so far as Bengal was concerned 97% of the seats were captured in favour of Pakistan, and the entire credit for the organization goes to Mr. Suhrawardy. He was a very capable organiser, and a leader of outstanding calibre. Well, you will be able to see his popularity, and he was not at all a vain type of man. He was a great friend of the masses. At night, at about 9 or 10 p.m., when he himself was exhausted, he would ask us, "Khan Sobur let us go to New Market

to have some *khiri kabab*". He was a Minister in those days. He used to go in his own car (and he used to drive his car) to the dingy restaurants of the New Market and he used to sit on the benches there to take this *khiri kabab*. The entire Muslim population of New Market poured in, and they were happy to receive their leader in their midst most informally. This trait of his character, he maintained till his last day. He was brilliant, and at the same time he was humane. I fail to express adequately the grief that overwhelms me today, to remember that he is no more in our midst.

May God give his soul eternal peace.

**Mr. Acting Speaker** : I give the floor to the Leader of the Opposition. But, before he speaks, I would crave the indulgence of the House to allow me to read out the message which has been delivered personally to me by the Speaker himself regretting his inability, for inevitable reason, to be present at the moment.

"Ladies and Gentlemen",

"It grieves my heart that I shall not be in this august House on the solemn day when we shall have assembled to pay our last tribute, and our respectful homage, to the late Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy.

"On this day I recall to myself all that was great, and glorious in the political career of Mr. Suhrawardy and the lasting contribution which he made towards the achievement of Pakistan. He was one of the most outstanding figures in the struggle for freedom—always in the vanguard, courting danger, *despising* all fear. He possessed a spirit which was indomitable and energy which was inexhaustible.

"Mr. Suhrawardy was not only a politician but was an intellectual giant by every standard. As a lawyer, as a scholar, as a Parliamentarian, his effective personality and intellectual brilliance, was felt by his contemporaries. He was, at the same time, an aristocrat and a commoner, an old man and a young man, a conservative and a liberal—a rare combination in human personality. He was, and will always remain, a part of the history of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

"May I join with you, in praying to God, that He may grant his soul eternal peace, and give his relations, friends and admirers, the fortitude to bear this loss. *Ameen.*"

**Mr. Sardar Bahadur Khan** (Leader of the Opposition) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I associate myself with every word that has been said by the Leader of the House on the sad demise of late Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy.

May I, with your permission, Sir, add that his death has removed from the political horizon of this country an outstanding figure, not only outstanding in the field of politics, but also as an intellectual, as a lawyer, as an administrator, as an organiser and as a worker. I maintain, Sir, in him the nation had rightly pinned down very high hopes in this crucial hour of our existence, and I would say, that he was the last flicker of hope for democratic trends in this country, which light has been put off by the cruel hand of death. The nation needs him more today than it ever did before.

[Mr. Sardar Bahadur Khan]

Sir, Mr. Suhrawardy's contributions to the creation of Pakistan will constitute a glorious Chapter in its history, and the rich tribute that his death has elicited from every quarter, even from those, who, until a day before he died, would not persuade themselves to see eye to eye with him politically, shows, that he was a man of great eminence, and indicates the intrinsic strength of his character, that in times of crisis we can rise to the occasion, and appreciate where appreciation is due. This episode can be described by reciting a couplet very admirably, which runs thus :—

بعد مرے کے مری قبر، پہ آیا وہ میر  
یاد آئی میرے عیسیٰ کو دوا میرے بعد

Sir, I do not know, what is going to happen to us without him. I am not being carried away by sentiments when I give expression to my views in this strain, that there is nobody else in this country to look up to, but the fate ordain's this way, and there is nothing that we can do to death's claim. I pray for the departed soul. May God bless him with peace in Heaven, and may God give courage to the bereaved family members to bear his loss with courage and fortitude. *Ameen.*

Thank you.

**Mr. Farid Ahmad (East Pakistan) :** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to associate myself with the resolution of condolence that has been moved in this House.

Sir, Mr. Suhrawardy was the master of this House, as well as the master of all the Assemblies wherein he happened to be a Member. Separated in age by nearly 3 decades, I had the good fortune to become his colleague as a Member of the second Constituent Assembly of Pakistan from 1955, until its dissolution on 7th October, 1958. There was no doubt at any moment during his existence either as the Leader of the Opposition, or as the Prime Minister, or just as the head of the Awami League Parliamentary Party as to who was the real master of this House.

In all the Assemblies of which he was a Member, I do not know on how many occasions he had to speak on obituary references, now leaving on lesser mortals like us, to pay rich tributes, which we are not even competent to pay.

Sir, death is one reality that human beings have to experience. Deaths are all around us, but the death of a person, who was a master, the death of a man who has created history and enabled people to create history, a man who had such a lion's share in the shaping of our separate destiny as Muslims of and for Pakistan, Sir, comes as a bitter realisation, that we shall have, sooner or later, to go from this world and go into the world of eternal reality. If proof was needed about Mr. Suhrawardy's popularity, people have given ample demonstration in his death, what they perhaps could not convince towards him fully, during his life time.

Sir, what death would be more dramatic, more historic, more fulfilling the destiny, the destiny of his origin in Arab land. Originally he came from Arab land. He came to West Pakistan, where he spent active life, and he used to reside. He was brought back to East Pakistan, and before

our eyes we have seen, Sir, hundreds of thousands of people, weeping as if their parents were dead. Do you need more testimony about a man's greatness, about a soul's ability to give the best in him for the service of the people.

A friend of mine, who is a journalist, was telling me before the commencement of the session—"Sir, we lionise our heroes, we lionise our people after death." True, Sir. I agree. We have proceeded, we have embarked on a course of history in such a man that it becomes at times impossible to pay proper tributes to great men, when they are alive. Circumstances, perhaps, are not conducive to the paying of proper tribute in the life time, it is death when the voice is silent, when he calls for no allegiance, when he invites no enmity that people realise all of a sudden the truth, and realise how great he was. What great service he has rendered for us all? Sir, I would say, Mr. Suhrawardy's life can be divided into broad chapters: one, championing the cause of the Muslims, and as I have told, he was the part of that Muslim renaissance of India, which ultimately culminated in the achievement of Pakistan. I would not like to recount the circumstances, which kept Mr. Suhrawardy away temporarily from Pakistan, away from the people for whom he sought to create a separate homeland, but only history and time will pass its verdict on the role of Mr. Suhrawardy as the father and creator of real Opposition in this country. Before Mr. Suhrawardy, Opposition was anti-national, Opposition was subversive. By his dynamic personality, by the eternal, spring of life that he possessed in him, he imbued life in the people, he created in Opposition a name, respect and dignity. Sir, in Pakistan, I would not say so much as construction, but, Sir, the birth of real Opposition is solely and mainly due to the ability of Mr. Suhrawardy, for want of which this State would have long degenerated into a totalitarian State, where freedom and liberty would have been meaningless expressions. Sir, Mr. Suhrawardy's death is the death of a golden era of our national life, and perhaps the birth of a new legend. Mr. Suhrawardy, unlike others, was a man who commanded respect, whether in Opposition or in Government, and his death has amply demonstrated, that all that was the best in him, is still loved and respected by his own people.

Sir, I am fortunate that in the last case, that he did before the Supreme Court of Pakistan, I acted as his junior, and two days before he was arrested in Karachi, I went to see him in connection with another case. He accepted the brief with great reluctance, saying that by the middle of 1962 he might not be in a position to conduct this case. He told me in a very joking way, "Oh! the weight of the paper book is alarming though the fee is Rs. 10,000". I said, "No, you have to do it, you should lessen the burden and pay me the money; I should be there to do the case." I do not know whether he had premonition about his arrest.

He told me: "Perhaps, you do not consider me to be a religious man." I told him, "I never said that he was not a religious man." After all it is a personal relation with the Creator and for that every person is solely responsible to answer and it is not for others to tell about his religious relationship with the Creator. He said, "I come from a spiritual family of the Muslims, and during the latter part of my life you will see, I shall take to the religious life with *tasbeeh* and *Quran*. Will you be surprised to learn this?" I said: "There is nothing to be surprised."

When writing on the present National Assembly and the political situation in the country to a friend, he said—he does not expect anything

[Mr. Farid Ahmad]

to happen in this session of the National Assembly—and the last letter that he wrote goes to say that, “If we really want a man as he, it is the spirit of rightful Opposition, opposition to the authority when it tends to do wrong”—that must be kept alive in this country, and once that spirit of Mr. Suhrawardy, which found expression in millions of people, is dead, Sir, democracy will die a cruel and sad death in this country.

With this I associate myself with the resolution, with the millions of mourners in this country, and I convey my heartfelt condolences to the members of the bereaved family, with profound sense of personal, national and international loss.

**Mr. Kamizuddin Ahmed (East Pakistan)** : Sir, the sad demise of the national hero, Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy, has given a terrible shock to the people of this country. Sir, I share the national sorrow, and associate myself with the sentiment and expressions that have been made by the previous speakers, within this House and outside this House, covering all shades of opinion in respect to his abilities, achievements, his love for freedom, and democracy, and his determination for the cause of the people. Sir, his passing away, at this critical moment of the life of the nation, has cast a gloom on the entire nation. Sir, he was not only an eminent lawyer, a great political leader, a veteran freedom fighter, and an international figure, but he was also a great champion of democracy, having a dynamic personality. He lost his life in the midst of his struggle for restoring democracy, I mean real democracy, in this country. Sir, you know that the tours, which he made in this country, in organising public opinion for democratisation of the Constitution, told upon his health and resulted in his premature death. He died for democracy. Sir, the nation plunged into sorrow at the demise of the dear Mr. Suhrawardy. This shows how dear he was to the people, and how the people supported him, for the cause for which he fought. Sir, it is a terrible loss for the country, as he played a very important role for the creation of the Pakistan. Sir, I know his abilities as an orator, and an able Parliamentarian from 1937, when I was his colleague in the Legislature of undivided Bengal. I have seen how he faced, and met the eminent Parliamentarians of the then Bengal. Sir, I convey my heartfelt condolence to the bereaved family, and pray to the Almighty and Merciful Allah, to place him in eternal peace.

**Mr. A. T. M. Mustafa (Minister for Education and Information and Broadcasting)** : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg most humbly to associate myself with the obituary reference, made by the Leader of the House. Sir, a great and illustrious Muslim of Pakistan, a noble and gallant soldier of Pakistan, a national leader of international fame, a brilliant great Parliamentarian, a gallant fighter and also a brilliant lawyer is dead.

Sir, Mr. Suhrawardy, a son of a noble family of Calcutta, highly sophisticated, of refined culture, of delicate humour, of great courage, a dynamic man of restless energy—is dead. Sir, as a young barrister, he came into the sweep of the history of Muslims, in the then united Bengal, when Muslims were a mere crowd or mob, without any identity, without any sense of direction, without hope, without faith; he contributed substantially, in a very significant sense in giving those Muslims their identity, in giving their lives a meaning, and a purpose, in giving them a sense of direction, in giving them hope, for future, and faith in themselves, and faith in their destiny. Sir, he was a brave fighter; he was a

gallant fighter. It is my honest opinion, he, of course, along with others—some of them are sitting here in this House today in the galleries—contributed a lot. He was one of the architects of Muslim movement of Muslim renaissance, in the then Bengal, and also in the then India. He took the message of Muslim League, he took the message of Pakistan, to every village in this region—to every hamlet in this region: Sir, history will record, in unmistakable terms, the glorious contribution that Mr. Suhrawardy made for the cause of Pakistan—a brilliant orator, Sir, a brilliant Parliamentarian, a brilliant lawyer, he was a man of vision, a loyal friend, a hero of the multitude, a giant among men, and a leader of the people.

Sir, Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy is dead, but he has left behind an indelible imprint on the pages of history, on the sands of time, and in the hearts of men. May Allah rest his soul in peace.

**Mr. Abdul Bari (West Pakistan) :** \*Mr. Speaker, Sir, I associate myself with every word that has been said on this sad occasion about the late Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy. I am in full agreement with every thing that has been said in his praise. Today I feel that the Almighty propose in His Supreme Wisdom to put to test the political workers and the people of Pakistan.

Sir, during this short period of the last one year we have assembled to condole the death of two great leaders in this House. Our hearts were still sore with the grief of having lost Mr. Mohammed Ali Bogra and later Moulvi Tamizuddin Khan Saheb, when Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy was suddenly snatched away from us. He was a bold advocate of freedom and an undaunted champion of democracy. We were hoping that he would soon return and guide the Opposition. But his death has shattered all our hopes. I believe that such is the Will of God who wants to put to test the political workers and the people of Pakistan. We should therefore prepare ourselves for the coming test.

Sir, lives of nations are all full of ups and downs. I think that his death is all the more unfortunate for us in these critical times, when we have many complicated problems on our hands to solve, when we are making new experiments, when we are discussing the preliminaries of the fundamental rights and franchise and when the international situation is reshaping itself. The loss of a man so great, so courageous and so influential is a clear challenge to us and we have to meet it with all the determination and resourcefulness.

Sir, we have to learn a great lesson after having attended his funeral procession at Dacca yesterday. The lesson is that offices like Premier-ship and Ministership and big palaces and wealth are not the real source of honour to a man. Honour and popularity come to one who has offered real sacrifices for his country and his fellow-countrymen and starts on his last journey with a pure heart.

Sir, yesterday I saw that grief was writ large on every face and heavy sighs escaped from every lip. The funeral procession was attended by three or four lakhs of mourning people who deeply loved and honestly admired the late Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy. Such demonstration of love and esteem is purely spontaneous and is born of nothing but sincere services to the people.

[Mr. Abdul Bari]

این سعادت بزور بازو نیست — تا نہ بخشد خدائے بخشنده

(This honour is not earned by sheer physical strength. It is purely a Blessing of the Gracious God).

Sir, I pray to the Almighty Allah to rest his soul in eternal peace and forgiveness, and give strength to the bereaved family to bear the loss with courage.

**Begum Khudeja G. A. Khan** (West Pakistan) : \*I rise to associate myself with the tributes paid to the late Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy by the learned speakers on the floor of the House. Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy was a man of high intellect and a clear vision. A gallant freedom fighter, a great statesman, a brilliant orator and a renowned lawyer, he took a hearty delight in the innocent joys and hobbies and tear away the tedium of life and make it worth living. Photography was one of his pet hobbies. He had a charming personality and was a good conversationalist. These were the qualities that had endeared him to the people. As a visitor I had an opportunity to listen to his speeches in the late Constituent Assembly. He spoke with a wonderful ease and flow. Similarly I had an occasion to hear him arguing before a Bench of the High Court in a clear and cogent way that carried conviction to the listener and established the innocence of his client in his eyes.

Sir, the story of his life is a story of a long struggle for the betterment of the Muslims. When I was staying at Calcutta and Midnapur with my husband before partition, I had an opportunity to see Mr. Suhrawardy from close quarters. I also learnt much about him from his relatives and close friends. The services he rendered to the Muslims in undivided Bengal played no mean part in keeping the morale of the Muslims high and inspiring them to face the struggle of life with courage and determination. He always succeeded in finding some way or other to help the Muslims out of every trouble and every crisis.

Sir, he was regarded with equal respect in both the Wings of Pakistan. He rose to be the Minister for Law and then the Prime Minister of Pakistan. He played an important role as a great Leader of the Opposition. He was a popular leader and was ever ready to fight for the cause of democracy. The sudden passing away of this great leader has come as a great shock to the people. The services he has rendered to the country and the nation will ever remain memorable in history. I pray to the Almighty Allah to shower His blessings on his soul and give his survivors strength to bear the loss with calm and courage.

جو بادہ کش تھے پرانے وہ اُٹھتے جاتے ہیں  
کہیں سے آب بقائے دوام لا ساقی

**Mr. Acting Speaker** : Syed Abdus Sultan !

**Syed Abdu Sultan** (East Pakistan) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, one of the greatest sons of this soil at any time, a

\*English Translation of speech in Urdu.

lawyer of international reputation, a Parliamentarian of matchless excellence, a leader of dynamic personality, undoubted calibre, and intellectual superiority, a valiant soldier, dedicated to the cause of democracy, a superb man having sparkling parts and power of head and heart, that made him undoubtedly a prince among men, now belongs to the ages.

Sir, as I rise this morning to associate myself with this condolence resolution, on the passing away of this illustrious son of the land, most of all it occurs to my mind, that the dream of his parents, in naming him 'Shaheed', has been realised, because, Sir, his end has been the end of a martyr. Sir, ever since his early youth he devoted himself to the cause of service to his people, in preference to living a life of dignity, ease and comfort. Sir, for the last thirty years of his political career, he devoted himself ceaselessly to the cause of freedom and democracy. Sir, when I met him last in Jinnah Central Hospital in Karachi, he could speak only with difficulty. Yet all that he said to me was, "Go back to East Pakistan and arouse public opinion for the restoration of democracy, and for the democratisation of this Constitution." Sir, as indicated by his last letter to Manik Mian, the Editor of daily 'Ittefaq', it is clear that, till the last moment of his earthly existence, the thought that was inspiring him was, that he preferred to die than living a life which could not be lived actively in the service of his people. Sir, Al-Quran says :

"Those who die in the way of Allah never die.  
They live but you cannot realise."

Sir, the death of Mr. Suhrawardy has thrown to us more than one challenge. Sir, the first challenge is the challenge of Nature. Shall we confine our sorrows to dead formalities, by expressing condolences and shedding bitter tears? Shall our sorrows confine to showing regard to his dead body only, and to the way in which he is given a burial?

Sir, I recall at this hour the words that were spoken by Socrates to his most favourite disciple Crito. In the Athenian prison, when Socrates was awaiting the hour of his death, Crito said to Socrates 'how shall we bury you?' The reply, that came from that great philosopher of any time was 'in any manner you like, for the body is perishable. But all that matters is, shall you forget my ideal or you shall hold fast the ideal that I have given you?' Shall we rest satisfied for the reason, that we have succeeded in giving Mr. Suhrawardy the idol and the ideal of the nation, a popular burial? Shall we not hold fast the ideal that he has given us—the ideal for which he lived—the ideal for which he died—the ideal of fighting for democracy till democracy, in true sense, is restored in this country? Sir, the ideal of creating healthy politics in a healthy democratic state, was dreamt by Mr. Suhrawardy till the end of his last journey.

Sir, the second challenge is the challenge of Time. Sir, we are now living, at a time, when the whole atmosphere is growing intolerant of any non-conformist opinions. Sir, we are living at a time, when Opposition *ipso facto* is being interpreted, as absence of patriotism. Sir, at this hour the need of a leader, and a valiant soldier of democracy, like Mr. Suhrawardy, was very very great. Sir, even if his earthly existence

[Syed Abdus Sultan]

has come to its end, his soul, which is imperishable, should pervade us, and should inspire us every moment, to fight for the cause, for which he was true to his heart and soul.

The last challenge is the challenge of History. Sir, Mr. Suhrawardy was not a single man. He was an age. He was an epoch maker. He was a maker of history, as has already been said by my friend, Mr. Farid Ahmad. Sir, he could not take this struggle to its finish, but shall we, who claim to be his followers, who claim to have loved him, who claim to love him yet, who claim to continue as his people, shall we stop fighting at all costs, till we had reached the goal, which he set before us? Sir, in an answer to all those three challenges of Nature, Time and History, lies the best way of our showing respects to this great national leader. Mr. Speaker, I thank you.

**Begum Shamsun Nahar Mahmood (East Pakistan)** : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the sad and sudden death of Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, *Ex-Prime Minister* of Pakistan, at Beirut, is a great shock to us. His demise is an irreparable loss to the entire nation. In him Pakistan has lost a man of courage, determination, and highest talent—both in national and international fields.

While Chief Minister of undivided Bengal, we remember how bravely he tackled the situation at the time of independence. He was a great patriot, a great freedom fighter, and a great fighter for Democracy. May Allah the Almighty bless him and give his family enough fortitude to bear the loss.

With these few words I associate myself with the resolution moved by the honourable Mr. Abdus Sobur Khan.

**Mr. Ebrahim Khan (East Pakistan)** : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I associate myself completely with the resolution moved by the honourable Leader of the House.

Sir, the passing away of Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy has left a gap in our midst, which it will be difficult to fill up in the foreseeable future.

Sir, I shall not repeat the tales of his brilliant achievements, and account of his dazzling qualities of head and heart, as have already been enumerated by a number of friends here. I shall refer only to certain reminiscences of mine, which I still bear in my mind regarding him, when I saw him in action on a number of occasions.

Sir, he was the Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League, and the election to the Provincial Legislature was knocking at the door. I found him at work for three nights and three days continuously, without a wink of sleep and without a square meal—and yet without any sign of exhaustion on his face, and without any sign of embittered spirit. The result was, of course, a thumping success of his party. I again saw him in those days of killink in Calcutta, which followed the partition. There was killing all around, but Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, without any fear and without any shudder, went into the thickest of the fight, and tried to rescue the people, who were in peril. On one occasion he sustained an injury from the attack of the enemy, but still with bandage on his hand, and on his head, he again went out in his car—the well-known and familiar car—to rescue the people in distress.

Sir, when the interests of his country and community came, Suhrawardy did not know what fear was. After independence, most of the leaders of Muslim Bengal came over to East Pakistan, but Suhrawardy remained behind, and spent a fairly long time along with Mahatma Gandhi, in order to safeguard the interests of Mussalmans, who were left behind. A number of attacks were made on his life, but he did not fear. And he came over to Pakistan, only when he thought that his work over there was finished.

Sir, Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy was a born-fighter—a fighter for freedom; and he had justified his name; for Shaheed has really proved a “shaheed” to the cause, for which he stood in his life.

May Allah help us, with his great ideals, so that we may bear the burden, which he has borne all through his life, and for which he had not been given time to accomplish.

**Mr. Mahbul Huq (East Pakistan) :** Mr. Speaker, Sir, Mr. Suhrawardy is no more, and I join my friends in offering my humble and respectful homage to the departed soul.

It is hardly necessary for me, Mr. Speaker, to recount in detail Mr. Suhrawardy's unique qualities of leadership, nor is it necessary to discuss in detail the void, that has been created in our national life, due to his death at this stage. It is a matter of history.

I wish only to rededicate and reiterate our determination to achieve what he fought for. No amount of recitations, or eulogy will honour his soul, as much as the fulfilment of his dreams, and the fulfilment of his ideals, will honour him. We must, therefore, take a vow, that we must translate into action all that he stood for, and fought for. This solemn occasion of sorrow and grief, must also be an occasion for us, to renew our determination to achieve what he stood for, and thus alone we can show our respect to him.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the ranks of old leadership—those who dreamt of and created Pakistan; those of our founding fathers, who fought for a homeland for us—are thinning out. During the last two or three years, we have lost two greatest sons of the country—the Sher-e-Bangal and Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy: both of whom have been given a resting place at the same place. But does it, Mr. Speaker, mean that the renewed fight for democracy and freedom shall also die with them? I shall say; No. Their death must renew, in our mind, a determination, that we must further their dream; we must achieve all that they stood for. Those few of them, who are still alive, have not unfortunately shown a concrete path of guidance to this post-war generation. Mr. Suhrawardy, in spite of his failing health, was trying to show to the nation, a path of salvation. The question, therefore, arises in our mind with re-doubled insistence: those people, who in their humble way are pledged to hold aloft, the standard of democracy, and freedom, still look to them—the survivors—for guidance? Must it go in vain? Must they continue to suffer from the post-war conflicts of ideology? Have we now to write off the living ones as well, and chalk out a path of our own? These are some of the questions that occur to our mind at this crucial moment of history!

The tragedy of our time, Mr. Speaker, is that many of us who learnt the ABC of politics from Mr. Suhrawardy and had known how dear was the value of democracy and freedom to him, have thrown to the winds

[Mr. Mahbubul Huq]

their learning and have sacrificed that at the alter of personal interests. This has made things very difficult. This has made the struggle for the restoration of democracy a long drawn one. Mr. Speaker, at this time, the nation, as a whole, the Government and the people, shall benefit most, and it will be paying real homage to the departed leader, if at this moment, all the people, who value democracy, can sink their personal differences, can unite to march forward to our cherished goal. No amount of eulogy will honour Mr. Suhrawardy, any more, than the realisation of what he fought for. Mr. Speaker, it is an occasion, I believe, and I beg the indulgence of the House, to recall the famous two-minute speech of that great American President Lincoln, exactly one hundred years ago delivered his famous speech at Gettysburg, who in almost similar circumstances, on the 19th of November, 1963, said :

“Four score, and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that, that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that Government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.”

In concluding, Mr. Speaker, may I once again say and assure—although Mr. Suhrawardy's soul needs no assurance from us—that the people in Pakistan shall march and go forward till his dreams, the dreams of restoring real democracy, and freedom in Pakistan, are achieved, and we shall go ahead come what may. Thank you !

**Sardar Khizer Hayat Khan (West Pakistan) :** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to associate myself with the honourable Members, and the entire nation, over the sad demise of the great leader, Mr. Suhrawardy. Mr. Speaker, Pakistan has lost a giant, an intellectual giant, a great leader, a great constitutionalist and one of the greatest son of the soil. Mr. Speaker, Sir, he represented an age, an era, and, with the death of Mr. Suhrawardy, that era has come to an end ; that era has come to a close. His contribution in the achievement of Pakistan is second to none. He fought for independence. He played a great role in the establishment of

democracy, in the organisation of opposition in this country on healthy and sound footing. He was a man who believed in healthy opposition, and in the right things to be done. Mr. Speaker, in paying rich tributes to the departed soul, I think, one thing has been left, and that is that, he was one of the greatest links between the East and West Pakistan. He was a man, who believed that the national integrity was the greatest thing, and that it could not be achieved, unless and until both the wings marched together, and played their part in the progress of this country. I think, his greatest contribution, after the independence, was that he worked for it, he believed in it, and he died for it. With these words, I pray that, may his soul rest in peace!

**Mr. Badrul Haque Khan (East Pakistan) :** Mr. Speaker, Sir, every year has its toll of death, but 1962-63 has been so very unfortunate for Pakistan, that our stars and luminaries, from the political horizon, have started falling one after another; before we have survived the shock of the death of yet another luminary. On Thursday last, when we dispersed from this Assembly Hall, we never dreamt of a news like this, which has stunned us virtually. It is also difficult to say, as to how the nation would bear the calamity that has befallen us.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the fact that there are no two opinions about Mr. Suhrawardy's greatness, his service to the nation, his service to Pakistan, and that is why everyone in the country is unanimous in paying tributes to his memory. This shows that his service has found acceptance with God, which is known as *Maqbuliat*. There is none, at least, in the whole of Pakistan, who is not offering his tributes, more or less, to the memory of this great soul.

Personally speaking, Mr. Speaker, when I was a Public Prosecutor of Chittagong, I had the fortune to appear at a case, which lasted for one full month, from morning till evening. He went there to defend an accused in a case of defalcation against an Engineer and others. I found that he used to disagree with us, without being disagreeable, without being hateful. I had preserved an autograph of his for a long time. When I wanted it, he said, "Are you demanding it for a nefarious purpose or as a public prosecutor?" I said, "No, you are a genius, and therefore, I wanted to preserve it." I had the fortune of seeing his legal talents displayed in cases. Although he had a setback in the original court, in appeal he won the whole case. Apart from his legal acumen, he was a man of outstanding stature. Nobody could venture to say anything against him, when he was in front. That is the quality of an outstanding personality, which is rarely found in a man. The vacuum left by him, I submit, Sir, may not be filled in the near future. A leader is born, never made. So, it is only through God's Grace that such leaders may come on the scene. Islam has its own vicissitudes from the days of *Khulfa-Rashideen*. For example, since the creation of Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah died the moment his mission was fulfilled; Liaquat Ali Khan died the moment his mission was fulfilled, and in this way Mr. Mohammed Ali died and Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq died. So, everybody comes with a mission, and lives for a mission. Likewise, Mr. Suhrawardy's mission had also been finished and from the portals of heaven, he is seeing the eulogies, and the tributes being paid to him by all of us, and he is happy! May Allah grant his soul peace! I hope he is enjoying it because there is no two opinions about it, and that there is the

[Mr. Badrul Haque Khan]

testimony of the God's creatures, *viz.*, ourselves, about his service to the nation. With these words, I associate myself with my friends in support of the resolution, moved by the Leader of the House.

Mr. Tufailali A. Rahman (Attorney-General) : In rising to pay my humble tribute to the memory of Mr. Suhrawardy, I am overwhelmed by the sense of loss, which this nation has had to bear. Inscrutable, Sir, are the ways of Providence, and to each of us on the appointed day, must the hour of death come. But to some it comes before their time, and in the case of Mr. Suhrawardy, although no longer young, it came before his time, in the sense, that it came before the time that this nation could afford to spare him. Indeed one wonders sometimes whether one might say with Tennyson about Nature, "So careful of the race, she seems so careless of the single life!" Upon what principle, upon what calculation, is that single life taken away, is based upon a pattern, upon a logic, upon a system, which is not known, which is not understood by other mortal beings. Perhaps there is a greater system which is beyond our comprehension, and there is wisdom behind it all, although closed from our mortal eyes.

Mr. Suhrawardy's role as a leader, Mr. Suhrawardy's greatness as a politician, Mr. Suhrawardy's outstanding brilliance as an intellect—these are matters known to all. Indeed, which citizen of Pakistan can say that he does not? In his role in the political life, Members of this august House, knew him far more than I, who never took part in politics. But there was one field, in which I have had some occasion to be close to this late deceased gentleman, and that is that, he belonged to the profession, to which I also, Sir, have the honour to belong—the legal profession.

I remember, Sir, the first time, that I was associated with him was, when he was defending a member of the Bar at Karachi, for contempt of court, in what was then the Sind Chief Court. I was among the four or five members of the Bar, who were his juniors in that case. Mr. Suhrawardy arrived in Karachi on the evening previous to the case, and we were asked to see him at half-past ten at night. We went, Sir, armed with loads of books, and met Mr. Suhrawardy, and we came back away from him with, I must confess, a certain sense of disappointment, because while he listened to all that we had to say, there was a sleepy look in his eyes. And the next morning we wondered, whether all the preparation that we had made, whether all the labour that we had put into this case, which for us meant the prestige of the Bar, had at all been digested by this great man. But the next morning, Sir, when we came red-eyed, rubbing our eyes from lack of sleep, Mr. Suhrawardy walked into Court fresh as paint. There was not a case, there was not an argument, there was not a facet of the point, which was not clear in that incisive mind of his. When he listened, how he listened, is a different matter. But his presentation of the matter in Court was superb.

I will say, Sir, that in the great gain that the national life of this country had, when Mr. Suhrawardy chose to make politics his dominant career, our profession suffered a loss. There is no person in Pakistan, there is no member of the profession to which I belong, who was such a master of the atmosphere in court, as this gentleman could possess. There was not a person, whether his opponent or the judge, who could possibly allow an atmosphere to be created, other than the one which

Mr. Suhrawardy desired should be created. So varied was the brilliance of the various facets of his character, that one might say of him, as was said of Brutus, that the elements were so mixed in him, that Nature itself might say, "This : this was a man !"

**Mr. Acting Speaker :** Mr. Husain Mansur !

**Syed Husain Mansur (East Pakistan) :** Sir, with a very heavy heart I rise to associate myself with the resolution, which has been moved by the Leader of the House ; for I have been a humble worker, the humblest disciple, studying at his feet.

Sir, the political philosophy of this age, in actual practice, is very difficult to stand for any assessment of this noble soul. He was a great man of the modern age. He was a maker of the destiny of this vast sub-continent. He was a freedom fighter, a creator of Pakistan along with Quaid-i-Azam, perhaps next to Quaid-i-Azam. The simplest worker, a dedicated soul for the cause of the nation, the cause of the suffering and suppressed humanity, he understood the people from the topmost class to the lowest class—their hopes and aspirations, their sufferings and sorrows, their joys and happiness equally. Here lay his greatness.

Sir, at this stage of our political crisis, at this crossroad of our democracy, when the whole nation—99 per cent of the people of Pakistan—were anxiously waiting to receive him, his guidance, his leadership, we lost him. Sir, he lost his life as a martyr. When he was sent to the jail, when he was branded as a traitor, I heard him say, "Look ! I have been branded as a traitor ! " Sir, he couldn't be peeped into, and that was the real cause of his death. Let us, as humble workers, who believe in the philosophy of service to humanity and love and service to humanity—let all of us, irrespective of our party affiliations, irrespective of our present posts and jobs, if we sincerely believe that he was the greatest man of his age, the greatest freedom fighter and the greatest servant, then let all of us take an oath to-day, that from to-morrow we shall try our best to see, that his dream of democracy is materialized.

With these few words, Sir, I sit down.

**Mr. Acting Speaker :** Mr. Abdullah-al-Mahmood !

**Mr. Abdullah-al-Mahmood (Minister for Industries) :** Sir, I rise to offer my humble tributes to Mr. Suhrawardy, with whom I had the opportunity of working for more than three decades. Since 1931 I had always worked with him, whenever he called me. In 1931, when the whole of North Bengal was visited by devastating flood, he sent for me, and I joined him, and I found him going into the interior of the villages, with a small boat accompanied by me, and a lot of other workers. He toured the entire Ullapara P. S. and Shahjadpur P. S. of the Serajganj sub-division and food, rice and money was distributed amongst the suffering humanity. Then he visited Serajganj. Sir, you will be surprised to know that about 11 lakhs of people, living in the villages, including the children, came to have help from him. He distributed clothes, food, rice and money. I thought that how a man, coming from such a brilliant, highly cultured and eminent family, have such a soft heart for the teeming millions of suffering humanity.

[Mr. Abdullah-al-Mahmood]

Then, Sir, I had again the opportunity of coming in close contact with him, day and night, since 1937 to 1946.

In 1937 he was a leading member of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party, running the election in that name, and Mr. Fazlul Huq was running the Kirshak Saramik Party. After elections both the parties united. Mr. Fazlul Huq became the Chief Minister, and he was the Minister for Commerce, Labour and Industries. Now, Sir, throughout the then joint Bengal, he toured like a 'charan', a worker not a leader and visited almost all the villages. Unfortunately, Sir, in 1941 our Muslim League Ministry broke. First of all, we went to Opposition. He was the Deputy Leader. Khwaja Nazimuddin was the Leader of the Leader of the Opposition. We had only 42 Members; then the number dwindled to 28. Now, Sir, it was really astonishing, how a man out of 123 Muslim Members, with a meagre number of 28, could dare to face such a Ministry, which was called at that time Shyama-Huq Ministry. He had to hold elections in Serajganj in 1942. He said, that he will invite and bring all the Muslim League Leaders of India, and that the conference will be presided over by Quaid-i-Azam. I was honoured by his stay at my humble cottage from 10th of February till the 16th of February, 1942. Day and night he worked, and he came just to supervise as to how far we have been able to arrange for the reception of All India Leaders. Sir, he gave a challenge, or I should say Quaid-i-Azam gave a challenge, and he repeated that challenge that Mr. Fazlul Huq 'did not, at that time, enjoy the confidence of the Musalmans and to get it tested in the Notar by-election, in a sub-division in Rajshahi'. You will be surprised to know, that the entire ministerial machinery was working against this Organization. Mr. Suhrawardy had been to the field along with me, at different places, i.e., Chanchkoir, Nasir Ganj, and other places of the sub-division and Muslim League won the election, and the security deposits of the Ministerial candidate was forfeited. Then the second test was at Balurghat; there also Muslim League won the election. While having a temperature of 103, he went out to the houses of voters. Here also the election result was the same. It was held in 1943, 28th or 29th of March. Immediately, Sir, all the Muslim League Members joined the Muslim League Parliamentary Party, and having commanded the majority, Khwaja Nazimuddin was called to form the Cabinet. Now, Sir, it was a terrible time in 1943. I was attached to his Ministry as his Parliamentary Secretary. We sat at the same table. Starting from 8 a.m., he worked till 9 p.m., incessantly. At that time there was food shortage. Bengal was faced with famine. He told the entire Bengal people, that they should open kitchens for these suffering people. Sir, wherever I found him, I found him strong as well as soft. When it was necessary he appeared with a tough attitude, and when it was necessary he cried for the people. His heart went all out for the relief of the poor humanity. It was due to his efforts that in the elections of 1946, 97 per cent of the Muslim League candidates returned, which, I think, was a clear verdict that Bengal wants the establishment of Pakistan. I have met him, Sir, in different All India Muslim League Sessions at Patna, Delhi, Bombay and Madras. The last session took place in 1946, at Bombay. It was the last session, when the group of the Muslim League Ministers, in the Interim Cabinet, was asked to come out as a protest against the Congress resolution. A resolution was also passed to renounce the titles and the Muslim Leagues—the humble workers like myself—all renounced their titles in that Muslim League session. Sir, at his young

age, he always fought for the Muslim cause. In 1946, there was communal trouble in Calcutta. He defended the cause of Muslims so admirably well, that all the accused Muslims were acquitted. I have seen him working day and night—even on his bed being sunk in the heaps of files. Such a gigantic man, of gigantic intellect he was. He was a valiant fighter for the cause of poor Muslims. He was a Member of Parliament, since 1921 to 1946, and after that up to 1956, without any break. He was often elected from two constituencies at a time. People loved him really from the bottom of their heart. He was an aristocrat, as well as a man of the poor. When I was with him, I really found him inside the streets of Calcutta, just taking, or having something, from an ordinary restaurant, or hotel. There can be hardly any description, or any narration, which can properly define the many-sided facets of his long career. I only pray that his soul may rest in eternal peace, and I convey my heart-felt condolence to Begum Akhtar Sulaiman, Mr. Rashid Suhrawardy, Mr. Sulaiman and other relatives, friends and well-wishers of Mr. Suhrawardy.

**Mr. Acting Speaker :** Mr. Abul Quasem.

**Mr. Abul Quasem (East Pakistan) :** I whole-heartedly associate myself with the sentiments expressed by my friends here. The loss of Mr. Suhrawardy is so great, that no amount of words can express it. His greatness also is so magnificent, that any language will fail to describe it. If I make an attempt to describe his greatness, probably, I will rather minimise his greatness.

What I feel today is that Mr. Suhrawardy was a man of worth, and he sacrificed his whole life for the cause of the nation, and he lost no moment, without thinking, or working for the poor people.

Men are mortal, and Mr. Suhrawardy was also to die. But what pains me most, when I feel, is that this †[\* \*] is responsible for his speedy death. If a man, who is responsible for the creation of Pakistan, probably without his service, possibly we would not have been in an independent country to-day. He was imprisoned here in our country, as a security prisoner, as an enemy of the State, and because of his imprisonment, he was without work for a long time, and that is why his health was impaired, and subsequently that is why, he could not work, and because of this, when he took up the fight for democratisation of the Constitution, he went round the country, and his health was shattered, and that is why we had to lose him so early.

When I saw him last in the Jinnah Hospital, I was at first not willing to talk to him, because it might disturb and aggravate his disease, yet he wanted that I should see him and he wanted that I should exert hard to see, that a few more Members were enlisted to the Opposition, so that there must be speedy democratization of the Constitution.

I only say that we are praying to Allah that *Inshallah*, with His help, it will not be difficult for us to soon get the Constitution democratised, and see that the country is again given democracy, for which we fought for 200 years. It is a fortunate happening that Mr. Suhrawardy died in a country, which is free. If he died here, he would not have been in a position to die as a man, as a fighter of democracy. I consider that, it is fortunate for him, that he did not die on †[\* \*] the earth of this

†Expunged.

[Mr. Abul Quasem]

nation. We have committed a blunder in bringing him here, and burrying him here. If we cannot restore democracy, if we cannot give him shelter in a democratic country, his soul will not find bliss.

I can only say, on this day, that I shall lay my life for democratisation of the Constitution, and I expect that the entire nation will now feel that Mr. Suhrawardy's soul will not find any peace, until and unless we achieve the objective for which he died, and only I pray to Allah that his soul may rest in peace in Heaven.

**Mr. Acting Speaker :** The expression should not find mention in the proceedings of the House. This should be considered as having been expunged.

Mr. Qamarul Ahsan !

**Mr. Qamarul Ahsan (East Pakistan) :** Mr. Speaker, Sir, the death of Mr. Suhrawardy has really removed a picturesque personality from the political scene of Pakistan. He was one of those few luminaries, with whom you might have differences, political or otherwise, but whose greatness you could never deny. His name ranks amongst the greatest fighters for a separate homeland for the Muslims. When the Quaid-i-Azam gave the clarion call for the observance of "Direct Action Day" throughout India, it was Mr. Suhrawardy, who by his concrete action helped the consummation of the plan. He was the Chief Minister of Bengal when the 'Great killing' was enacted in Calcutta. I know something of those dark days. I can say that, but for his energetic action and most courageous tackling of the situation, hundreds of thousands of Muslims would have been butchered. I am of the opinion that, that terrible halocaust of human lives, though tragic, brought Pakistan nearer. The British Government, for the first time, realised that they could no longer ignore the claim of the Muslim League to represent Muslim India, and that Pakistan was no more in the cloud land.

Mr. Suhrawardy was one of the finest political organisers. His tireless energy was a matter of envy to many a youthful soul. One of the three top organisers of victory, in the 1954 elections, in East Pakistan, he was never found to be vocal in his support of the 21 points of the Jugta Front. When for the first and last time I met him on the 23rd January last in the Jinnah Hospital, at Karachi, he was recuperating from a serious heart attack. I casually mentioned to him what I considered to be his realistic attitude towards the 21 points of Jugta Front. His face beamed with a smile and he said with a twinkle in his eye—"I am glad that you appreciated my silence on the 21-point Programme of Jugta Front." Mr. Suhrawardy was a realist, out and out. He abhorred making compromise with impractical propositions. What I admired in him, was his courage of conviction. He was perhaps the one man in the present day Pakistan, who could fight the wave of leftism in the country, and subdue and defeat it.

Mr. Suhrawardy's life was dedicated to politics. There must have been something in that great man, some magic, which gathered round him a band of votaries, who were ready to lay down their lives at his call. Pakistan is poorer today by his death. A fearless fighter, a dynamic leader, a versatile genius, is gone. The whole country is plunged into deepest mourning.

For all of Awami League apparent unity, Mr. Suhrawardy was the adhesive that held the party together. He knew very well, that the unity of freedom, had never relied on uniformity of opinion. A patriot to the core, Mr. Suhrawardy would never tolerate any bunkum as regards the solidarity and integrity of Pakistan. The greatest monstrosity of the time was his arrest, during the Martial Law Regime, on charges of sedition and conspiracy with enemy agents. How grotesque those charges were? We were happy when the Government called the bluff later and released him, though in failing health.

Sir, I join, in the end, with millions of my countrymen, in offering prayer for the departed soul, and for eternal peace and salvation.

**Mr. A. H. M. Kamruzzaman** (East Pakistan) : \*Mr. Speaker, Sir, my language fails me when I make an attempt to speak about the sad demise of the late leader. The only source of hope and aspiration of the people of Pakistan, Mr. Suhrawardy, falls in the cruel hand of death at a time when Pakistan is in complete chaos and confusion, when the people are anxious to see democracy established in the country, and they are determined to fight for it. Some of us may talk tall, but there is no denying the fact that, at the root of the creation of Pakistan, if there is any one worth mentioning, after the late Quaid-i-Azam, it is no other person than Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy. From 1940 to 1947 he toured every village of Bengal, so extensively, for the organizational work of Muslim League, and fought so bravely for the achievement of Pakistan, that the nation will never forget it. I like to say this, with a deep regret, that the leader who once achieved Pakistan was condemned as an enemy of Pakistan, and thrown behind the prison-walls of Karachi. It was said that he was an enemy of the country. I had the privilege of calling on Mr. Suhrawardy, when he was in jail, and I was with him for a long time. That day I saw tears in his eyes. But it was not because he was in jail and experiencing troubles. He said, "Zaman, today I am being branded as an enemy of Pakistan. You please tell the people that I am not a traitor, I could never be a traitor. I love Pakistan and I love Pakistanis". When he was uttering these words I found tears in his eyes. While in jail he lost his health and his weight was reduced by 20 lbs. Even then he did not rest and with a broken health jumped into the arena for achieving democracy, only because of the fact that the people were groaning under maladministration and that there was chaos and confusion among them.

He was a man of such towering personality that not only every individual of Pakistan, irrespective of age and sex, was awakened by his call, but those leaders, who always would remain divided amongst themselves, also rallied round Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy. I attended many a public meetings in West Pakistan and also in East Pakistan. I saw lakhs of people coming to the meetings, not only to pay him their heart-felt regards, but also to apprise him of their distress, poverty and misery in a country where democracy was being throttled. The man who envisaged in 1940, that Pakistan would be a democratic State, dwelt upon the same dream and engaged himself for its realisation till his death. Sir, it is not possible on my part to cite examples of how dearly he loved every one of his workers, and every citizen of Pakistan. The day on which Nawabzada Khwaja Nasrullah,

\*English translation of uncorrected speech in Bengali.

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now a Member of this House, my humble self and many others accompanied Mr. Suhrawardy to Gujranwala to attend a public meeting, is still fresh in my memory. On that day one of our companions sustained injuries from a gun-shot by an assailant. At that time we looked at the face of Mr. Suhrawardy but could not explore any sign of concern in him. He said, "In the freedom-fight it needs always to be courageous, and you should not be unnerved". When we found that it was not possible to refrain him, we informed Shaikh Mujibur Rahman, one of his ardent followers, of the position. He came and tried to prevent Mr. Suhrawardy from attending the meeting at Gujranwala, where lakhs of people had already assembled. Mr. Suhrawardy replied, "The thousands of people, who are waiting to hear me, are all believers in democracy. If my death means restoration of democracy that also would be preferable. So, please don't obstruct me." Shaikh Mujibur Rahman, Nawabzada Khwaja Nasrullah Khan and Mahmud Ali Qasuri personally told him that, at any cost, Pakistan could not afford to lose him at that crucial moment. Then he asked, "If that is true then why this disturbance is going on?" It was only a few hired *goondas* who tried to create disturbance in the meeting, which was attended by millions of people. When we all returned from the meeting he enquired whether all of us had come back. He ordered that if anybody was left behind he should be brought home. This bespeaks how dearly he loved the workers of his party and how anxious he was for them. Sir, he was a farsighted man. In spite of our alliance with America, the efforts now being made by the present Government to befriend with China and to establish friendly relations with them, are the direct results of the farsightedness of this great leader.

Sir, he always believed in open fight. He was not a politician to capture power through the back-door. He was a champion of democracy, and as such, he came to power through the front-door. He never tried to capture power through the back-door. He had love for Pakistan and for its people. Now the best way of our paying tribute to him is to take determination to translate his ideals into reality.

In conclusion, I would like to say, let us be imbued with the same devotion as he had for democracy, and for integrity of Pakistan, and with the same love as he had for the people. And inspired by this ideal, let us take this vow that we shall continue our fight until democracy is restored and the people become the sovereign of this State of Pakistan.

**Mr. Ghulam Sabir Khan Rana (West Pakistan):** \*Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to pay my tributes to the late lamented Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy on his sad demise. Sir, he was an all-round hero. He always acted heroically in the Opposition and when he switched over to the Treasury Benches, he rose to the same heights. Wherever I saw him, I saw him acting like a hero, wherever he went, he easily became the hero of the occasion, the life and soul of the party. He was a unique leader. When the case under EBD0 was instituted against him, it redounds to his credit, and after him, to the credit of the late Mr. Kayani, to make no secret of anything.

Sir, I have found him as much popular in West Pakistan as in East Pakistan. The other day I had the honour to join his funeral procession. It seemed to me to be the procession of a martyr. The people never

before attended any funeral procession in larger numbers except perhaps that of Ghazi Ilmuddin Shaheed. He was neither a great religious scholar, nor a spiritual leader, nor one who rises at the dead of night to say prayers. Many things were said about him during his lifetime. Today I have seen the people shedding tears for him. I feel that Allah the Almighty had showered His mercy on him because he all along belonged to and was with the common people. Here I am reminded of a couplet :

زاهد تنگ نظر نے مجھے کافر جانا

اور کافر یہ سمجھتا ہے مسلمان ہوں میں

[The narrow-minded Muslim ascetic thinks, I am an infidel

(*Kafir*) ; and the *Kafir* thinks, I am a Muslim.]

He was popular among the people. He was the leader of the peasants and *Kisans*. He was the leader of the Muslims. I have ever since been hearing that before the Partition no leader among the Muslims could surpass the late Mr. Suhrawardy in courage and fortitude. He worked hard in the struggle for the creation of Pakistan and for maintaining its prestige in the world. With these words I conclude.

**Mr. Mosaheb Ali Khan (East Pakistan)** : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I just rise simply to pay my last homage to the departed soul of the eminent leader of Pakistan, Mr. Suhrawardy. His demise is a personal loss to me, and to many others like myself, and also an irreparable loss to Pakistan and an international loss to the world. Sir, I have got many reminiscences of my life with him. Sir, Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy was the nephew of Sir Abdullah Suhrawardy, and I was a student of Sir Abdullah Suhrawardy in Calcutta University. Sir, we used to meet at the residence of his uncle Abdullah Suhrawardy. I remember one thing, it was in the year 1923, some 40 years back. It was a simple thing, Sir. Mr. Suhrawardy was elected President of the Labour Association of Calcutta. He came to the House of his uncle, and I was sitting there, in the parlour. I remember, Sir Abdullah Suhrawardy, his uncle, told him. I just repeat the thing :

\* "Shaheed, what have you done? You are the son of a Judge and you have become the President of the Labour Association."

He heard it and in a polite way replied.

\* "Everybody has his own views. You have your own views and I have mine."

Sir Abdullah kept quiet and said nothing to him.

When he was the Chief Minister he came to know on August 16, 1946, that riot had broken out there. Attempts were made to bring the situation under control. After about three hours when it was 6 o'clock he came and said, "Look, what is to be done. I am unable to stop this rioting. We should either march forward or make a retreat". After a pause, he said, we should march forward. The meeting was

[Mr. Mosaheb Ali Khan]

addressed by him and he said yes we shall march. The riots upset normal life in Calcutta and he faced it bravely. I know how he saved Muslims from Hindu rioters, and he remained there throughout the night. I feel, that, but for him, the Muslim casualties would have been tremendous. I can tell you, Sir, that Calcutta killing was the origin of Pakistan, disillusioning many a politicians, who were unconscious till then. You know what happened later on. It aroused the Muslims in favour of Muslim League. I tell you one thing. I tell you that in Bengal, at that time, Mr. Fazlul Huq and the Krishak Siramik held sway; he was the man, here in Bengal. While afterwards, as my friend Al-Mahmood Sahib told you, riots gave defeat to those who were against Muslim League in 1946 and then later on. That was a turning point of things. Sir, last word I must say. I am very sorry. He was an ardent and great lover of Pakistan. It is an irony of fate, he was in the jail for some time. Now, really, that was the thing that broke his heart. You see, when I had been to Karachi, at the time of Conventionist Muslim League meeting, I saw him. I had a talk with him. He told me and that was his last statement to me. He asked me, what I had done? I told him, I had joined the Government party. He said, "well you should not have, and that we want to do some good work for the people". I told him that, I have joined Government party, as Government was doing something for the people. He told me to work for the people. He made an earnest appeal, and he appealed in an earnest and friendly way. Really we have lost a great beloved personality in him. No question of opposition, he was a great man. He lived as a great leader. You know, what he did for the country. Sir, all that I can say is that, let the work he had undertaken, and his ideas, be achieved. And now I just pray to Allah to kindly grant him eternal peace in heaven.

**Mr. Nasrullah Khan (West Pakistan):** \*Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is only the other day that we have laid the late lamented Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy to rest. It is rather difficult for us, who had the honour to be his close associates and co-workers, to speak of his greatness and versatile genius so soon. Our deep sorrow and profound grief can well be imagined. It was perhaps on an occasion, such as this, that a Hindu Wazir of Sirajud Daula had recited this couplet at his master's death.

غزالاں تم تو واقف ہو کہہو مجنوں کے مرنے کی  
دیوانہ مر گیا آخر تو ویرانے پر کیا گزری

(O, Gazells, you know and so tell me how *Majnoon* breathed his last. How the desert fared when at last the mad man had passed away.)

The flame of life, that was flickering in the West, was, at last, snuffed out by the cruel hand of Death. We are left shelterless. We had been eagerly looking forward to his return. We were expecting that, his return to this unfortunate country, would strengthen our hands, in facing the difficulties, and be the greatest source of encouragement. But alas! the cruel Fate deprived us of that source.

Sir, this great man had started his political career under the guidance of the late Māulana Mohammad Ali and Desh Bundhoo Chitranjan

\*English translation of Incorrected speech in Urdu.

Das. And, what a coincidence, the end of his career also was no different from that of these two leaders. Just, as Maulana Mohammad Ali had said at the Round Table Conference, that he would rather die in a free country, than live in a slave country, so also Shaheed Suhrawardy wrote in his last letter, addressed to one said to have been his colleague in this House, that we had better make our exit from this world if we could not devote our life to the service of the nation and the country. Sir, we have heard that when C. R. Das, a renowned lawyer of this sub-continent passed away, he had nothing, not even a penny. I am grieved to tell this House that, when we were thinking of bringing the dead body of Shaheed Suhrawardy to Dacca, the six members of the bereaved family were very much worried about their air fare to accompany the dead body to Dacca. They had no money to pay for their air fare. It was not until 10 o'clock in the night that they were able to purchase their tickets from the P.I.A. on credit. This was the condition of Shaheed Suhrawardy at the time of his death.

Sir, you have heard that in the struggle for the creation of this country, for the establishment of this country, his efforts were second only to those of the Quaid-i-Azam. When Pakistan came into being, he did not come to Pakistan, unlike a few others, in search of any office or ministerial portfolio. He stayed back in Calcutta to serve the Muslims, who were left behind. He co-operated with Mr. Gandhi and did everything, he could, to serve the cause of his co-religionists. The reward he got from the persons at the helm of affairs, at different times, is a painful reflection.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think the nation would ever remain indebted to him. His efforts, for the establishment and promotion of democracy here in this country, are unprecedented. He started this struggle from the year 1949. For the first time, he laid the foundations of a healthy Opposition in this country. You know, that the people, who were in the forefront of the struggle for the creation of Pakistan, had to recognise his leadership. You are aware, that he had Maulana Bhashani, who won the referendum in Sylhet, and Pir Manki Sharif, who won the referendum in the North-West Frontier Province, among his associates. You know better, Sir, how actively he fought the election of 1951, and what difficulties and hardships he had to face. It has been said here that he rendered unique services for the cause of East Pakistan and Bengal. I object to it. With the torch of freedom and liberty, holding aloft, he went to every nook and corner of West Pakistan. He spoke out the truth. In spite of his material wealth, he spent nights on rough mattings in the mosques. These were the hardships he had to face. But ultimately he succeeded. He came to power for a brief period. I do not want to go into the details of what he did while in power. During the period, he was in power, he had achievements to his credit that could not be challenged by any other Government.

Sir, under the Martial Law regime, when he was arrested, and a number of allegations were levelled against him, we saw that he did not lose heart and faced the situation with courage. When others were confronted with a similar situation of trial and tribulations, we saw that they chose to adopt the course of escapism. But this champion of the truth

[Mr. Nasrullah Khan]

was steadfast in his principles and passed through those trials and tribulations with courage and fortitude. Sir, later when he was released, he launched a campaign for the restoration of democracy, so intensely, that the persons in power got perplexed and some people even hurled stones at him. He was also fired at. But all these troubles could not lead him away from the path he had chosen for himself. Sir, when the people in power could not give him a straight fight on political level, they proceeded to gag him. We still remember the statement he had given from the Jinnah Central Hospital on this Ordinance.

Hardly a month ago, I had the opportunity to see him at Beirut, in connection with my case. He welcomed me with an open mind. You know, Sir, that if there was anybody, who has spared no pains to protect the civil liberties, it was he. Our greatest living Urdu poet, Faiz, was so much impressed by him that he wrote a panegyric the opening lines of which are, as far as I remember, as follows:

حریت آدم کی رہ سخت کے رہ گئی  
خاطر میں نہیں لاتے خیال دم تعزیر

(The hardy plodders on the rugged path of human freedom do not let the idea of future punishment worry themselves in the least.)

Sir, I take his death as a big challenge to Pakistan and the entire nation. We pray to Allah the Almighty to be graciously pleased to give us strength, to accept this challenge, to rise above personal and party prejudices, to unite as one man, and to strive for establishing his principles. With these words I resume my seat.

**Begum Serajunnessa Choudhury** (East Pakistan): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was listening to every word of what has been said in praise of the late lamented Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy. I pray to Allah the Almighty to shower His Blessings on his soul. It is really gratifying to find our people steadfast in their love and respect for their leaders. Still, I may be permitted to say, that we cry our heart out for a man who is dead, but we do not recognise his worth in his life. I, therefore, pray to Allah the Almighty to grant us wisdom and such qualities as courage, strength and truthfulness, together with the realization of our duties and responsibilities, that we owe to our country. May he grant us courage and strength.

**Mr. Acting Speaker:** I would request the honourable Members, who are still awaiting their turn, to get the floor, to try to be brief, because the House has got to adjourn.

**Mr. M. Abdur Rashid** (East Pakistan): Mr. Speaker, Sir, we all bereave the death of Mr. Suhrawardy. It is a fact that he is dead, but he will live in the minds of millions of people, inside and outside the country. Mr. Abraham Lincoln lives in the minds of millions, throughout the world, as the creator of democracy; Mr. Suhrawardy will live as a symbol of democracy, in the minds of millions of people, inside and outside the country.

Sir, some of my friends say that Mr. Suhrawardy was one of the creators of Pakistan. Though, is it a fact, but, still I should say, that Mr. Suhrawardy was the only man, who at least created this party of the country—East Pakistan; and nobody else; and I hope other friends who had worked with him, for the last thirty or forty years, will remember it.

Fortunately or unfortunately, I was the last man, probably, who carried last message to our great leader in London, that it was the desire of the people of this country, that he should come back as soon as possible. In reply he said: *Akhun Nai*: I am not in a position to go back, but will come, as soon as possible; and you go back, and tell your leaders and the country: "Be united and fight for democracy." Sir, I took the opportunity to tell the nation of his last message: "Be united and fight for democracy", and go on fighting until it is achieved.

At the end I pray to God, that He gives courage to the nation, and his family-members, to bear this sorrow, and I request the Government to start construction of a mausolium on his grave, which will be in no way inferior to that of the late Quaid-i-Azam.

Thank you, Sir.

**Begum Mohammed Ali (East Pakistan)**: \*Mr. Speaker, Sir, today the entire nation is overwhelmed with grief at the sad demise of Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy. What more can I add to what has been said about him in this House? It is only to pay my gratitude to him that I will quote a few instances. In 1946, when he became the Chief Minister of Bengal, he took some persons in his Cabinet and my husband was also one of them. Some of them were *ex*-Ministers but Mr. Suhrawardy offered the next position to my husband. He was quite aware of the merit of my husband. When he would go to attend big conferences in Delhi, Simla, etc., he used to entrust the responsibility of his Cabinet to my husband. Mr. Suhrawardy could realise that though young, my husband was a competent man. All of us are aware of the merit of Mr. Suhrawardy. He had a power which could attract men, younger to him, to his own level and had great love for them. You know that he had a Parliamentary Secretary—Nawabzada Khwaja Nasrullah. He used to cut jokes with Mr. Nasrullah. He used to accept joke as such and used to laugh it away. One day Mr. Nasrullah pointed my husband to Mr. Suhrawardy and said, "Sir, this is Mr. Mohammed Ali, our new Finance and Health Minister" and he said to my husband. "This is our Chief Minister Mr. Suhrawardy." My husband jovially replied, "Suhrawardy is Suhrawardy, he needs no introduction." Mr. Suhrawardy caught hold of my husband, embraced him and laughed a hearty laugh. Such was his behaviour towards those, who were younger to him. He would often tell my husband "Mohammed Ali, you have a lot of things to do, and I can foresee, that you will be able to accomplish them." This is not all. When the great killings of Calcutta took place, I was alone in my house with my two little children. At that time my husband was out of Calcutta. Although, there was police guard at our house, Mr. Suhrawardy sent armed guards for our safety. So many examples like these can be cited but, as the time is short, I will try to conclude in brief. A few days after the creation of Pakistan, a tea party was held at Calcutta Government House. Mr. Suhrawardy, my husband and myself

\*English translation of uncorrected speech in Bengali.

[Begum Mohammed Ali].

were sitting at the same table. My husband suddenly went out for an urgent piece of business. Mr. Suhrawardy and I were there. In the meantime ten or twelve butlers and bearers came forward and stood around our table and they asked Mr. Suhrawardy, "Sir, what will happen to us if you go?" I could understand that as all of them were Muslims. Mr. Suhrawardy raised his hand and said, "Don't be afraid. I am not going to Pakistan before I do something for you."

You are all aware that he kept his promise. After the creation of Pakistan he, in the company of Gandhiji, visited every nook and corner of Calcutta, and showed that Muslims and Hindus could live together, and the Muslims would not face any difficulty, even after he leaves Calcutta. There are so many other instances, but it would take a long time to narrate them. Today, on behalf of my family, I extend my heartfelt sympathy towards Mr. Suhrawardy's family and pray to Allah for the salvation of his soul. And in conclusion, I would like to say that though Mr. Suhrawardy is no more in our midst, I cherish the hope, that the country will be producing men like Mr. Suhrawardy, who will hold the banner of Pakistan aloft. Thank you.

**Mr. Abu Hossain Mustafizar Rahman Siddiqi (East Pakistan) :** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise, with a very heavy heart, to associate with the resolution tabled in the House. The sudden demise of Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy has created a vacuum in the political life of Pakistan, which it will be difficult to fill, for a long time to come. Mr. Suhrawardy had been a versatile genius. It was not only in politics, it was not only in his legal profession, but in all the aspects of his life, he has over-shown all others. I had the good fortune to have a little personal glimpse of Mr. Suhrawardy, during my stay in Calcutta. We all remember the great Calcutta killing, of which I am a survivor. I was a survivor because, and without the protection afforded by Mr. Suhrawardy, I would not have been here today; I would have been a dead man. In those days, Calcutta was a Hindu majority city and the Muslims there were in a negligible minority. During the days of riots, the Muslims, specially in the adjoining Hindu areas, were living in a panic-stricken state and counting their days. Had it not been for the prompt action, for the bold action of Mr. Suhrawardy, in importing Muslim police and *Razakars*, and placing them for the protection of these Muslims, half of the people who have now migrated to Pakistan, would have been dead. I had seen him personally, taking the control of Lalbazar Police station, being a Minister himself, to see that the Police are properly directed to safeguard the lives of all the Muslims. I had seen him myself, patrolling the streets of Calcutta, visiting the Muslim areas, giving them hope, and assuring them of their safety. I also remember the days when Bengal was facing shortage of rice. We were students in a hostel. We did not have sufficient rice for ourselves. We were given wheat, which we did not like. One fine morning, we went up to the Minister's house. He was then the Food Minister, and we walked straight into his bed-room. He was dressing for his office. He quickly vanished into the bath-room and the sweets and breakfast was laid on the table, which we all relished. When he came back, we told him our problem. He gave us a slip for the then Food Secretary, Mr. Aziz Ahmad, for the required quantity of rice. But we were not satisfied with that. We said, Sir, we did not have breakfast this morning. We have taken yours, but that was not enough for us. We wanted a little more for the rest of us. He said: "How many are you". We said, "Twenty." He gave us twenty

rupees, and said, go and have your breakfast. We shouted, "Subhrawardy Zindabad", and walked out of his house. But a few minutes later, he was going on in his own car, and caught us on a street. When he passed us, he stopped his car, and looked at us and said, "you have cheated me: you are only five; give me back my fifteen rupees." He was a man, who throughout his life, carried out his duty with a strong sense of humour, and as a man, he was not only a successful politician, but was never an armed chair politician. He had the courage of conviction. He, actually, executed whatever ideal he had, or whatever he believed in. Sir, we remember the election just before partition, where the Muslim League was trying to establish, or were trying to prove that their ideal, Pakistan, was being supported by the people of this country, and, I remember, in one constituency in Barisal, the Muslim League set up a candidate against a very illustrious son of the soil, the most popular man of his time, I refer to late Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq. No worker of the Muslim League, no leader of the Muslim League would dare go in his constituency to canvass against the late Mr. Fazlul Huq. The people of that constituency just would not have it. A small contingent of students, including my humble self was sent there, and later on when, we were looking forward for our leaders to come, and back us up, hold the meeting, and canvass votes in favour of the Muslim League, but no one dared. Only Mr. Suhrawardy came to a place called Nawadip, and held a public meeting. Half an hour after we had started the meeting, we saw a few people in the jungles, approaching us, with few lathis, and in seconds, everybody deserted the place, including ourselves, the workers. It was only Mr. Suhrawardy, who was seen standing on the platform, and he shouted: "why are you fleeing away, if they want to kill me, they can kill me, they can stab me in front, stab me on the back, stab me on the side; we need not be afraid." But, in spite of these assurances, we all disappeared. He was a lone man standing there, with all the hostile forces in front of him. God saved him. Nothing happened to him. Later, slowly we walked into the launch in which we went there, and as soon as we sailed we were chased for one mile, and stoned by the supporters of Mr. Fazlul Huq. But this was the man who had the courage to face it, who had the conviction to carry through the ideal he believed in. I have yet to find any political leader, who could go to that extent, who could dedicate his entire career for a cause. We have seen Mr. Suhrawardy's life as a story of continuous struggle. He fought for the freedom of his people, he fought for the freedom of this country of Pakistan, he along with his leader Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, got us Pakistan. We have got independence for our country; but there is yet another independence, which has to come. That is the independence, that is the liberty, that is the freedom of the people. It may be recalled that long after partition, it is only during the regime of Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, that a Constitution—a democratic Constitution representing the will of the country—was evolved; no other politician could give us that. But, unfortunately for us, it could not be translated into action. We had to face Martial Law. But since then he has been fighting ceaselessly for our liberation, for our freedom—freedom of the individual, freedom of the people—and in that cause, in that fight, Sir, he fell.

May his soul rest in peace!

**Mr. Acting Speaker :** Mr. Mashiur Rahman!

**Mr. Mashiur Rahman (East Pakistan) :** Sir, the great leader is no more with us. We do not know how long it will take for this nation to survive from the shocks it has received. Sir, from the very student life, I had the opportunity of coming close to Mr. Suhrawardy, and I remember one particular day, when he was Secretary of the Muslim League. He got the information that his first son had died in London. I and one of my friends, Mr. Khairat Hussain, went to him. He was full of morose. When we went there and said, that we were extremely sorry that he had lost his son, he said, "No I am not sorry. One of my sons has died, but the rest of the Muslim sons of Bengal are my sons!"

To-day, Sir, we have lost not only a leader—affectionate leader—a politician, but practically, we have lost our father. Quaid-i-Azam died, but we did not feel to that extent as we feel to-day, because Quaid-i-Azam got Pakistan, and it was our responsibility to build it. But we feel Mr. Suhrawardy's absence, when we needed him to fight a long battle, which I am sure, is very hard, to say as to who will take up this fight: whether this fight will go by default still that is the suspicion in the minds of the people.

Sir, you know, Bengal would have never been in Pakistan—Bengal would have been always under the thumb of the Hindu feudals—if there had been no Shaheed Suhrawardy. It was Shaheed Suhrawardy alone, who has given an independent Pakistan, not Pakistan by name. It was no other leader, Sir. To-day the responsibility of keeping Pakistan together, was mainly the responsibility of a personality, like Shaheed Suhrawardy. God knows what will happen to-morrow?

Sir, I agree with Begum Serajunnesa Choudhury, that it is an unfortunate †[\* \* \*] nation, who never knew to respect a leader, so long as he was alive. Now, everybody thinks, that we have been parentless, we have been fatherless; but when he was alive, nobody showed the slightest respect to him. He had to go to Beirut. May I ask the National Assembly Members, why he had been to Beirut? We have sent him there. The Ordinance, we have approved in this National Assembly, has sent him to Beirut. We can change our leaders. I am sorry, Sir, that I could not check my emotions, because I know, how he has died, I know why he has died, I know who has killed him—everybody knows?

Sir, as a person, I can tell you, that out of the Members of this National Assembly, whether sitting with the Government, or with the Opposition, nobody can say, that he has not been benefited by Mr. Suhrawardy. This is not a question of jealousy for anybody. Mr. Suhrawardy had no meanness for anybody. His affection was universal. His service was in all directions. I remember a Maulana from a Mosque in a remote village in pre-Partition days, when Mr. Suhrawardy was the Chief Minister. The police did not allow him to enter the building. Mr. Suhrawardy was entering and he saw Mr. Suhrawardy. That poor Maulana told him that, "I have got an application for two hundred bags of cement and the police is not allowing me to get in, because I want to construct a mosque." Mr. Suhrawardy, at once, took the application. He was the Chief Minister, Sir, but just on the steps, he wrote that two hundred bags of cement be given, and I personally enquired from that Maulana, and he confirmed that, he had got the cement. So, Sir, can

†Expunged.

you dream of a man, the Executive Head of the Government, who without knowing a man, can help, when he found that the man needed help? He was a friend of the needy, was a great leader of great fight. I should say, Sir, Pakistan has become helpless today. I may be emotional, Sir. So, along with the resolution, tabled by the Leader of the House, with your permission, Sir, I want to move a resolution under Rule 170—

“Resolved that the National Assembly is of opinion that a mausoleum be constructed immediately by the Central Government on the grave of the late Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy...”

**Mr. Acting Speaker :** No ; I am afraid. . .

**Mr. Mashiur Rahman :** “ . . . , great national leader and a . . .

**Mr. Speaker :** Order please, order. I am afraid, I cannot allow you to move an amendment to this resolution.

**Mr. Mashiur Rahman :** Under Rule 170, I will do it, Sir.

**Mr. Abul Quasem :** There should be a separate resolution for it.

**Mr. Acting Speaker :** Leaving technicalities apart, I will request you to let the House exclusively dispose of this motion. After that, there will be no bar to passing a fresh resolution, if the House is so inclined.

**Mr. Mashiur Rahman :** In that case, I withdraw it, Sir.

**Mr. Acting Speaker :** Mr. Fakhuruddin : Now I would conclude discussion on this obituary reference at 12-30, and would request the honourable Members to try to be as brief as possible.

**Mr. Fakhuruddin Ahmed (East Pakistan) :** Mr. Speaker, Sir ! Before we could recover from the shock of the deaths of Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan, Mr. Mohammed Ali and Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the nation has received another staggering blow in the death of Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy. Sir, this is very unfortunate for the nation that, during the course of one year, we have had to lose so many luminaries of Pakistan. Sir, in Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy, we had an incorruptible leader of outstanding personality, and leadership, and of international repute. In the struggle for our independence, Sir, his contribution was second to none. The nation—the Pakistani nation—really owes a deep debt of gratitude to him. Sir, I feel proud to mention, that many of us, present here this morning, had been some time or the other, associated with him in the political struggle, though in later years, some of us might have differed with him in minute details. Nevertheless, Sir, our respect, our love, for him was not less than anybody else's. Sir, on this solemn occasion, I would appeal to everybody, without making any political capital out of it, that we should try to imbibe that spirit of dedication, that spirit of sacrifice, that ideal that has been set up by the late Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy. Sir, with these words, I associate myself with this proposal for condolence, and I pray to the Almighty that his soul may rest in eternal peace :

**Mr. Acting Speaker :** Mr. Aftab Ali.

**Mr. Aftab Ali (East Pakistan) :** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I join in paying tributes to the memory of Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy.

**Mr. Acting Speaker :** Kindly try to be as brief as possible.

**Mr. Aftab Ali :** Yes, Sir. Actually I had not worked with him politically, but I was associated with him in the working of the Trade Unions. Sir, in the year 1929, he joined us in organizing the Labour and Trade Unions, and till he became a Minister in 1937, he was actively engaged in the formation of Trade Unions.

Sir, a great lawyer, necessarily, does not make a great man. Neither a great parliamentarian, necessarily, makes a great man. But apart from these qualities, Mr. Suhrawardy was really a great man, in the truest sense of the term. He endeared himself more to the people, more to the workers' class, and peasants, than anybody, within my knowledge, could do. Sir, in 1957, people said that he was pro-American. I will just give one example. My wife and I were invited to visit Russia by the Central Trade Union of Russia, and the Pakistan High Commission in London refused to grant us visas. Mr. Suhrawardy then happened to be the Prime Minister of Pakistan. When I approached him, not only he said that the visas should be granted, he also added, "We are very glad to know that you and your wife are going to visit that country, and I am sure, we will know more things about Russia when you come back". So, Sir, this is the proof, that the propaganda, that was carried against him by his opponents, that he was pro-American, was not correct in the sense that he was against Russia, or any other country. I saw him very much interested in the people of Russia than anybody else. There was another propaganda against him, that he was very rich, and that he had buildings in U.K. and Switzerland. This also was incorrect. When he was lying dangerously ill in Zurich, my wife and I went to see him. He told me, that if he lived he will go to U.K., and he also said, that very little foreign exchange has been given to him. I brought this matter to the notice of the workers there, and within about three hours' time a good amount of money was raised, and given to him. So, all the things, that have been said against him, by his political opponents, are not true, and Mr. Suhrawardy, apart from being the late Prime Minister of Pakistan, to us, has always, been a great democrat, and he was one of the fighters for the Trade Union Movement. The organized labour in Pakistan, I am sure, will adopt correct means to perpetuate his memory, amongst the poor. As the time is very short, I resume my seat, by adding to what has been said by my honourable friends. Mr. Suhrawardy will not live only in parliaments and courts, but certainly, he will also live in the hearts of the people, at least in this country, if not anywhere else.

**Mr. Muhammad Abdul Haque :** \*Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wholeheartedly associate myself with the resolution of condolence that has been moved in this House. Today, each and every region of Pakistan, starting from Khyber up to Cox's Bazar, is groaning under the repression of a dictatorial and autocratic Government. . .

**Mr. Abdus Sobur Khan :** On point of order, Sir. Unfortunately the wordings, used by my esteemed friend, are not befitting to any condolence meeting. If you have got the English translation, I suppose, Sir, you will request the honourable Member to withdraw those words, and I, from my side, would appreciate, if the honourable Members sitting there, do not introduce any controversy, specially while paying tributes to our great leader.

\*English translation of uncorrected speech in Bengali.

**Mr. Acting Speaker :** Actually I failed to pick up the Urdu translation. I would request the honourable Member not to enter into any controversy.

**Mr. Muhammad Abdul Haque :** I do not like to enter into controversy. If it has hurt the Leader of the House then I withdraw the words.

**Mr. Acting Speaker :** The remarks withdrawn shall be considered to have been expunged.

**Mr. Mohammad Abdul Haque :** \*Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am not going to give a detailed account of the manifold and laudable qualities of Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy. Those have been stated by other Members of this House. I do not also intend to discuss the vacuum that has been created in the field of politics by his sudden demise. It is true, that I had not the fortune of knowing him very intimately or coming in close contact with him, yet I don't want to narrate whatsoever I know of him.

Now I want only to point out that it was with a heap of disgrace that he had to die, and had to die in a place far away from the country of his own. Though it is late, the Government perhaps still can lift this burden of disgrace from him. It is about EBDO that I am speaking here.

**Mr. Acting Speaker :** I would request the members of the Press to kindly assemble in my Chamber immediately after the adjournment of the House. I may have to order expungement of some observations made by other honourable Members.

**Mr. Muhammad Abdul Haque :** \*It is time for us, nay, the Members of this National Assembly, to consider the impact of the piece of legislation, which we passed during the first Budget Session. Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy in no more in our midst. Today, the entire nation is plunged in grief. Each and every person, irrespective of party affiliation, is now overwhelmed with grief. Sir, I had the fortune of participating in his *Janaza* yesterday. We saw, that lakhs of people could not restrain their tears. We saw, all classes of people, irrespective of age, weeping there like anything. I am not a psychologist and as such it is not possible on my part to point out the delicate string, which, when struck at, brings tears in our eyes. I have also marked that, when the Leader of the House was making obituary references, he also could not restrain his tears. The death of Mr. Suhrawardy makes one thing at least crystal clear, and that is how unreal was the EBDO, which was promulgated during the Martial Law Regime, and into which we, sitting in this House, infused new life. This should not have been applied to a popular leader of the nation, like Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy. I would, therefore, urge upon the Government to withdraw EBDO restriction from him. I would like to mention here one thing more, which we have not yet forgotten. We cannot always forget the spot which is tender. It is time for us to think of those who have been detained without any trial and of the effect upon their mind and body due to such imprisonment...

\*English translation of uncorrected speech in Bengali.

**Mr. Acting Speaker:** I request the honourable Member not to digress. These matters will not be strictly relevant to the obituary reference which is before the House.

**Mr. Muhammad Abdul Haque:** \*Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is relevant, because of the fact, that Mr. Suhrawardy died of heart-attack, and though I am not a physician, yet I cannot forget that had he not undergone six long months' imprisonment, I have grave doubts if he would have this attack. If the Government becomes careful, we can still save the political prisoners who are now behind the bars.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to tell the workers and leaders, inside and outside this House, who want to fight for the restoration of democracy that today we have laid the lifeless body of Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy in the grave. It is time for us to take this vow that we shall forget all our differences and try hard to keep aloft the banner of democracy. Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy was our great leader; he led us in our fight for the restoration of democracy in the country. In his absence his unfinished work...

**Mr. Acting Speaker:** Kindly try to conclude.

**Mr. Muhammad Abdul Haque:** I have almost finished.

\*With a view to completing the task, he has left incomplete, we shall have to forget all our differences and take this vow that we shall not rest till sovereignty of the people is established and democracy is restored to the country. A fullfledged democratic system will be the greatest memorial for him.

**Mr. Acting Speaker:** I still find that many Members want to have the floor. As I said I would like to conclude, as early as possible, because, actually the House has to adjourn, without transacting any business, and if the House continues till 1 o'clock, which is the normal time for adjournment, then it will not be any adjournment whatsoever as a mark of respect. So, I request the Members to be as brief as possible.

**Mr. S. Zaman:** This is a rare occasion and everybody should be allowed...

**Mr. Acting Speaker:** Order, order.

Mr. Sarfraz Khan!

**Mr. Sarfraz Khan (West Pakistan):** †Mr. Speaker, the late Mr. Suhrawardy lived for his friends and died for his friends. The Muslims of this sub-continent can never forget the valuable services he has rendered for the achievement of Pakistan. I had the good fortune to work with him in 1951 when he laid the foundation of the Opposition Party in this country. As a statesman he was a brilliant leader and as a man he had a strong character. I had an opportunity to see him from close quarters as lawyer when he appeared in the court for Nawab of Mamdot. I then realized that Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy occupied a

\*English translation of uncorrected speech in Bengali.

†English translation of speech in Urdu.

distinguished position as an advocate. When I looked yesterday at his funeral procession I felt that he was as much honoured in death as in life. The funeral procession was, it looked, a surging mass of humanity. May God vouchsafe an honourable death to every man! He was honoured by the people both while in power and out of power. I conclude with the prayer to Allah the Almighty to rest the departed soul in peace.

**Mr. S. Zaman (East Pakistan) :** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise with a heavy heart to associate myself with the motion of condolence, which is before the House.

Sir, we are at the fag end of this sitting; so, Sir, I will be very short. When the nation is faced with a great number of crises, we are plunged into a new crisis. That crisis is the loss of national leadership.

Sir, at this critical juncture, we have lost Mr. Suhrawardy, for whom we have been waiting for the last one year to come, and join forces with us, for the fight in the National struggle, to recover our freedom, our fundamental rights, and our franchise. He has come, but he has come a dead man.

Sir, there is a great despondency in the country. Everybody is thinking that probably the cause and the battle is lost. I would like to re-assure the nation, that the flag, which has fallen from the hands of our leader, will be picked up, by us and we will hold it aloft, and carry on this struggle, and continue it till we recover our freedom, our fundamental rights, and our franchise. Sir, I do not want to take any more time. I will only add, that Mr. Suhrawardy has left behind a mark in every field of our national life—wherever you look, you will find, he has left a mark, an indelible mark. Sir, it has become a fashion for lesser man to claim, that they are one of the founders of Pakistan. Sir, I will only say, next to Quaid-i-Azam, probably, Mr. Suhrawardy's contribution is the greatest. At the time of partition, Mr. Suhrawardy was the Chief Minister of United Bengal, he was at the helm of affairs there, and as such he was also controlling the Muslim League organisation, which fought for Pakistan. But for his contribution, everybody knows, Pakistan would not have come. If Bengal had not joined, there would not have been Pakistan. If he had played the part of Sir Khizer Hayat Khan Tiwana, there would not have been Pakistan. Let the history tell us, who has made the greatest contributions for the creation of Pakistan. You can drown our voice, but you cannot drown the voice of history. History will tell the truth. Thank you, Sir.

**Begum Zari Sarfaraz (West Pakistan) :** Mr. Speaker, Sir, it would be rather out of place for me to rise and add anything to what has already been said by the learned Members about the life and the sterling qualities of the late Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, on this obituary reference in this House. But, Sir, as you have kindly given me an opportunity to say a few words on this sad occasion, I would give expression to my feelings and conclude with a prayer for this forgiveness.

Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy was one of the top-ranking leaders of Pakistan. I regret to say that it looks as though we have come to realize and admit the great qualities he possessed only now. In all fairness, we should have done so in his life time. However, it is a positive proof of

[Begum Zari Sarfaraz]

the sparkling powers of a man's head and heart, and the greatness of his personality, if the people join to acknowledge his qualities and greatness when he dies. Death is as sure and natural as life. But if a man leaves a great name, grieved hearts and weeping eyes behind him, I think it is his greatest success, because the nation ever holds his memory dear, and he lives on the pages of history for all times. We are proud of the political achievements of the late Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy and his name will live in all its glory till Pakistan lives. The posterity would honour his memory when it reads on the pages of history the achievements of this great leader of its great past.

Now, Sir, I take this opportunity to express my sympathy with the bereaved family and conclude with the prayer that may the Almighty grant courage to his survivors to bear this loss and shower His blessings on his soul. *Ameen!*

**Mr. Hassan Ali (East Pakistan) :** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to associate myself with all the sentiments expressed by my friends, in honour of the great departed soul of Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy. Mr. Suhrawardy was a great man, and I think, that no language or words, would be adequate to describe his character. Sir, he was great in almost all aspects of the life of a man. He was a great lawyer, he was a great intellectual, he was a great orator, and a great political organiser. I had the great good fortune to work with him from the Khilafat Movement downwards. I was a co-worker with him in the Bengal Legislative Council, for certain years. Sir, I have not seen as yet in my life such a wonderful man, and such a man with such a wonderfully sharp intellect. He was a great political organiser, in fact, I have not yet seen such great political qualities in any other person in my life. He was a great statesman, above all a great patriot. One of the striking qualifications in the great leader I observed—which is very rarely seen in any other leader—was this: His devotion towards his followers was of a unique character, perhaps more than the devotion of the followers themselves to him. He took every care of his followers and workers. This is, as I said before, a rare qualification in a leader.

**Mr. Acting Speaker :** After this speech, I would give the floor to Mr. Mizanur Rahman, requesting him that he should not take more than two minutes. He should be the last figure.

**Mr. Hassan Ali :** In the matter of achievement of Pakistan, he is one of the great makers of Pakistan, and Pakistan lost a great national leader, and a great patriot, and may Allah grant him peace.

**Mr. Mizanur Rahman Choudhury (East Pakistan) :** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I associate my views with what has been expressed by my esteemed friends hitherto. Sir, whatever we say, or with whatever amount of sorrow, we express our feelings, the fact remains that the great man is no more with us; and we are left with no other alternative than to pay our last homage to him. Sir, to make my speech brief, I would simply say that Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy's life was most illustrious. The long record of his, a stounding success, against the stiffest opposition of Congress and the British imperialists, bears unmistakable testimony to his wonderful quality of leadership. Sir, he, by dint of his love and

great organizing capacity, proved to be a stuff of which only few exalts are made in this world. He was a great patriot, a great statesman, and one of the greatest leaders, the world has ever produced. His contribution to the achievement of Pakistan is beyond anybody's estimation. I am not going into the depth of it. Sir, only one sentence I can say, that he was the only man, who could be just like Hazrat Umar, after the great Prophet, and here in Pakistan he would have been the second man after the late Quaid-i-Azam. Instead of that, Sir, he had to breath his last in a hotel of a foreign country. He was branded with EBDO. The nation will definitely engrave in the proposed mausoleum : of this greatman.

Here lies a piece of crust,  
A Star in dust ;  
A china dish that must ;  
Be used when God ;  
Shall feed the just.

**Mr. Acting Speaker :** It was the will of God Almighty, that the year 1963 should take such a heavy toll of our leadership, at the most crucial and critical times. The entire nation is mourning the death of the great national leader. Here this Assembly has mourned throughout this morning, and as the honourable Members could see, while rising to pay homage to the departed soul, the honourable Members could hardly stop their sobs and tears. Glowing tributes have been paid to him, which he so richly deserved, and I sincerely and whole-heartedly associate myself with each and every word that has been expressed, and the tributes that have paid to him. It is very difficult to recount all the achievements and all the qualities of head and heart, that the late Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy possessed. He was undoubtedly, as has been described, by most of the honourable Members, a veteran leader, one of the architects of Pakistan, and a valiant and gallant freedom fighter, and a champion of democracy. Democracy is inconceivable without Opposition, and if I remember correctly, it was in the year 1951, that a first serious effort was made to organize an Opposition party in this country, at the initiation and under the leadership of the late Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy. Before the elections in the year 1951, in the previous Punjab Province, I had the privilege of being associated, along with Mian Abdul Bari, with the late leader. We both belonged to the Jinnah Muslim League Party, headed by Nawab of Mamdot. The late Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy was the leader of Awami League, and there was a merger of the two parties, under the common name of Jinnah-Awami Mus'im League. During his whirlwind tour of some parts of the Punjab, and during his flying visit, he would get such a quick grasp of the situation, such a thorough knowledge of the people, the parties, their problems, and the personalities, that while deciding, and choosing the candidates, for the next elections, invariably, almost I should say, it was his arguments, which carried conviction in taking the final decision, and proved to be decisive, in the matter of giving tickets to the various candidates—not because he was the leader ; but because his arguments would be so strong, and equipped with such facts and figures, that nobody could refute them.

[Mr. Acting Speaker]

Last year, when I happened to visit the United States of Congress, at the instance of the late Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan, I had the occasion to meet individually some of the Members of the American Senate, and of the House of Representatives. It was several years after he had addressed the American Congress, but he had made, by means of a rather unorthodox unprepared speech, such an indelible and tremendous impression, that almost each one of those politicians—Members of the Senate or the House of Representatives—would mention to me, having had a clear recollecting of that memorable occasion, when he had addressed the American Congress. I have seen him faultlessly, fashionably dressed, in an aristocratic manner. I have also seen him in a Kurta and Pyjama walking in the streets of Lahore and Lyallpur, rubbing his shoulder with the man in the street, without the least distinction, much less with any fanfare. There are very few leaders of such national stature today, and with his death, a very strong link between East and West, has snapped and I should say between the past and the present. Differences apart, howsoever, one may differ with the policies and programmes of the late Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, the fact remains that he was undoubtedly a versatile genius, an intellectual giant, a great vigorous, and dynamic personality. I would not like to take any more time, as the House has got to adjourn. I fully endorse, and associate myself with the glowing tributes, that have been paid to the late Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy. May his soul rest in peace.

I would now request the Honourable Members—assuming that the resolution is unanimously adopted—to rise in their seats in order to pray, and offer *Fateha* for the departed soul.

*(Then Members rose in their seats and offered Fateha led by the Acting Speaker)*

**Mr. Acting Speaker :** I hope there is no necessity to formally put the motion before the House. I take it as unanimously adopted.

The House stands adjourned to re-assemble at 9 a.m. tomorrow.

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The Assembly adjourned till nine of the clock, in the morning, on Tuesday, the 10th December, 1963.

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