

## Chandra Bose's Birthday Bill

**SHRI O. V. ALAGESAN :** Mr. Chagla goes on further to say:

"Does it mean that the aspirant to the Supreme Court has to pull strings in some quarter or the other?"

This is what Shri M. C. Chagla has said.

**SHRI NARENDRA P. NATHWANI** (Junagadh) : Sir, May I ask my friend, Shri Alagesan whether he has tried to know the reaction of the members of the Bar of the Supreme Court about this matter?

**SHRI O. V. ALAGESAN :** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir....

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** You may continue your speech when we next take up this Bill.

The House will now take up Private Members' Business.

15.00 hrs.

**NATIONAL HOLIDAY ON NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE'S BIRTHDAY BILL BY SHRI SAMAR GUHA**

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** The House will now take up further consideration of the following motion moved by Shri Samar Guha on the 2nd December, 1977:

"That the Bill to provide for observing the birthday of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose as national holiday, be taken into consideration"

Shri Samar Guha to continue his speech.

**SHRI SAMAR GUHA** (Contai) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, while initiating the discussion on the Bill, I say that I have not brought this Bill with a view to introduce some kind of a

hero worship nor do I intend to preach the cult of political idolatory by proposing that the birthday of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose should be observed as a national holiday.

I am conscious of the fact that during the freedom struggle of our country, innumerable greatmen were produced in our country and if a holiday in the case of birthday of each and every greatman of our country is to be observed, perhaps there would be no working day for the Government at all.

15.03 hrs.

[**SHRI N. K. SHEJWALKAR** in the Chair] Chair]

The question naturally arises that there are many greatmen who played their great role in the history of the freedom struggle, and it would not be possible to observe a national holiday on the birthday of each and every greatman. I know, this is the question that will be in the minds of each and every Member of this House. But I want to make a submission that if philosophically, historically and politically, it is justified that the birthday of Netaji should be taken on a different level, I would ask for the support of this House in asking the Government to declare the birthday of Netaji as a national holiday.

As I have said, during the freedom struggle of our country India produced many great men of great eminence who have made great contribution to the freedom struggle of our country and raised the country to a great height of glory.... (Interruptions)

Guptaji, this is not the way.

**SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA :** I am very sorry.

**SHRI SAMAR GUHA :** As I have said, Sir, India produced many great men, but it produced only two men of destiny of our nation during the freedom struggle. Only two men of

destiny,—one is Mahatma Gandhi whom Netaji was the first to address as the Father of the Nation and the other is Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Mahatma Gandhi as an apostle of non-violent mass struggle of Satyagraha has created a fundamental value, a fundamental concept of people's movement and has made a fundamental contribution not only to the history of India but to the history of the world as a whole. In a similar way, however, other great men of our country have made many contributions but the fundamental contribution in our freedom struggle in a way different from Mahatma Gandhi has been made by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose alone. If Mahatma Gandhi is the apostle of non-violence and Satyagraha, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is the glowing emblem of Indian revolution. It is for this reason that the Indian people paid a tribute to Gandhiji calling him the Mahatma of the Indian Nation and for a similar reason the Indian people have hailed Subhas Chandra Bose as Netaji of the Indian people. These two glorifications—you may call it adoration by the Indian people—are not mere expressions of their acknowledgement of the greatness of these two men. Mahatmaji of the Indian nation and the Netaji of the Indian people are the two unique manifestations of the magnificence of the two great personalities. That is the reason why I want to make a humble distinction between great men and men of destiny. It is not the question that quantitatively you can distinguish between a great man and a man of destiny. Nor is it merely a qualitative distinction even. Many great men in our freedom struggle might have made contribution, massive contribution, unique contribution, magnificent contribution but qualitatively they might not have made any fundamental contribution. The distinction lies not in their quantitative contributions but in the qualitative characteristics of their contributions. For that reason I said the distinction between a great man and a man of destiny lies in the qualitative characteristic of their con-

tributions, and for the fundamental nature of that contribution. That is why I said that the Mahatma of the Indian people and Netaji of the Indian people, only these two men, in the freedom struggle of India made fundamental and distinctive contributions which are unique in its own way in each case and completely, and I would say, essentially different—one from the other.

While all the great men of our freedom struggle in latter phase were only followers of Mahatma Gandhi, it was Subhas Chandra Bose who rebelled, and rebelled time and again against Gandhian leadership. It will be seen in the history of our freedom struggle that after the rise of the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi in the freedom struggle, anybody who opposed him had either to yield to him or get wiped out of the political scene of India. That was the case with Jayakar, Sapru, Srinivasa Iyengar and those of the Stalwarts of the Congress like Surendra Nath Banerjee, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lokmanya Tilak and Narainan. None of them agreed to Gandhiji's means and methods and for that they had to quit and they had to go into oblivion. Here was a great man, who, from the very day he had his first meeting with Mahatma Gandhi, differed from the usual Gandhian concept of Indian freedom, and the Gandhian method of attaining it and the strategy of attaining it. He had the greatest respect than any other person for Mahatma Gandhi and yet, it is known to everybody that it was Mahatma Gandhi who drafted the Resolution in the Congress Working Committee to expel Subhas Chandra Bose, twice elected President of the Congress. Nevertheless it was Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose who first addressed Mahatma Gandhi 'The Father of the Nation'. Mahatma Gandhi had his own way of attaining Indian freedom and Netaji had his own way of leading the revolutionary struggle for freedom and his own means of attaining it. So, I said, both of them have made fundamental con-

[Shri Samar Guha]

tributions to our freedom struggle and both of them—Mahatma Gandhi and Netaji are great sons of India.

Philosophically speaking, what is the difference between a man of destiny and a great man? Great men might have contributed to freedom struggle, might have attained glory, might have been remembered in history as activists, but they might not have made any fundamental contribution. A man of destiny is either born or he acquires it through Sadhana, a concept of a mission in life. Netaji was born with that sense of mission in his life. Mahatma Gandhi acquired it through Sadhana. When he was very young, Netaji had written this down in his diary:

'I have been realising day by day that I have got a definite mission in my life and for that I am bearing the body and I am not to drift in the current of popular opinion. People will speak well or ill. That is the way of the world. But my sublime consciousness consists in this that I am not to be moved by it. There is nothing that gives more pleasure than a life of adventure, away from the beaten-track, and in search of unknown.'

He further said 'I am a dreamer'. He said: "Without dream, my life would have been meaningless." and I will continue to be a dreamer." There are the words, not of a great man because a great man does not feel like that,—but of the man of destiny who has a certain mission in his life to fulfil.

A man of destiny that characteristic becomes a consummate manifestation of his mission in life and in that, he has to work as an activist and inseparable from his mission. He lives not for himself; not for his personal gains, not for his individual acquirement, not for his personal glory and not for his personal ambition, not to seek any place as a great man in the

history of this country but for fulfilling his dream, his mission of life.

At whatever cost, at whatever sacrifice or at whatever dedication, facing all hazards or danger of life, his only mission, his only goal is to attain that mission of life. And he becomes a missionary and he goes to any extent to fulfil that mission. Gandhiji was one such missionary and Netaji is the only other exception. Though it is a fact of history—yet it is not that he becomes a historical man but he becomes a man of fundamental value. A man of destiny becomes man who has made certain fundamental contribution and his contribution turns into value which goes beyond time and space. This is the kind of value which has been created by Mahatma Gandhi and also by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. That was the reason why I said that no other great man should be equated with Mahatma Gandhi or Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose although in quantitative sense of their contribution I have great respect for each and every great man of our country.

Sir, keeping these, I should say, the philosophical distinction between a man of destiny and a great man, in our view, let us consider what are the fundamental contributions that had been made by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Let us first take our Indian freedom struggle. Attempts have been made as if Mahatma Gandhi alone has achieved the Indian freedom. I have said that I have the greatest respect for Mahatma Gandhi. It is known to this House that in fifties a Committee for writing a history of Indian freedom struggle was constituted with Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, the greatest living Historian of the country, as its Chairman. In his preliminary remarks Dr. Majumdar said that along with the contributions of Mahatma Gandhi, the contributions made before Mahatma Gandhi by the revolutionaries and the contributions of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose should also be taken into consideration. If only the contribu-

tions of different currents, different goals from Gandhian Satyagraha and also the contributions of the revolutionaries are taken together, then only can we come to the correct analysis why the British were compelled to withdraw from India? It was not accepted conclusion regarding the history of our freedom struggle. But Pandit Nehru and Maulana Azad—at that time he was Education Minister—disagreed with perspective of Dr. Majumdar. The result was that History Committee was dissolved and after a few years, a new History Committee was constituted with a friend of Pandit Nehru, Dr. Tara Chand as its Chairman. If you can go through the history written by them, you will find that it is not a real history; it is a make-believe history, almost a command performance history as if every attempt has been made to show that Gandhiji alone has achieved India's freedom. Sir, I will not take much time in tracing the history of freedom struggle of India. The revolutionaries were in the vanguard of the Indian freedom struggle till first World War. I think it will not be forgotten by us that even during the first World War when Gandhiji was trying to recruit Indians for the British Army and lending his cooperation to the British government the two revolutionaries from Bengal wanted to have a revolutionary upsurge for seizure of power. As a result of that many people were hanged and killed. It started from Peshawar to Singapore. Rashbehari Bose organised the revolution in Northern India and Jatindra Nath Mukherjee in Eastern India. Gandhiji came on the political scene after 1919. Gandhiji made a great contribution in the form of Non-Cooperation Movement, Civil Dis-obedience Movement, Quit India Movement, etc. Till the beginning of 1942 is the period of Gandhian leadership. It was Gandhiji and Gandhiji alone who was the supreme leader of the freedom struggle of our country. But after 1942 till mid-1946 it was an era of the revolu-

tionary leader, Netaji Subhas Chander Bose.

Sir, the hon'ble Members will remember when on the 8th August Quit India Resolution was passed there was no programme as before the programme could be chalked out all the leaders were arrested. From the next day Netaji from Berlin was giving a call everyday over the Azad Hind Radio for seizure of power and for starting guerilla warfare. Gandhiji's concept was that of transference of power whereas Netaji gave the call for seizure of power. On this call of Netaji, people went to burn the police stations and capture the railway stations. It was a struggle of seizure of power which is the strategy of a revolutionary. Gandhiji never used the word "1942 Revolution". He only called it "1942 Movement". Whereas spontaneously 1942 movement was transferred into August revolution. From thereon you know the role of Netaji.

Netaji organised the liberation army. He organised INA. I do not want to go into the details. I only want to say a few words about his contribution. You may say that INA failed. 'Chalo Delhi' was their slogan but the INA could not reach Delhi. An attempt was made to reach Delhi via Imphal but it failed. Netaji could not reach his destination, namely the Red Fort. Historically, you may say that Netaji failed. No, Netaji did not fail. Those who do not understand the implications of a revolutionary war to them it will appear mechanically that as if INA failed. But it is absolutely wrong. Those who have an idea of revolutionary struggle, know that a revolutionary struggle never fails. The Azad Hind Revolution created a tremendous impact on the freedom struggle of our country. The legacy and the heritage of martyrdom inherited from the Azad Hind way had historic impact on the freedom struggle of India. When Netaji was going back there was criticism and the British were making propaganda day in day out about JIF, a

[Shri Samar Guha]

term which the Britishers used at that time so that people might not know that Netaji was organising the INA and the Azad Hind Revolution at that time. When JIF went back and many people had a feeling of frustration when INA retreated from Imphal. Netaji said: "We may not travel to Delhi via Imphal but we shall get there all right." Then he said again: "This is not rhetoric nor is it propaganda. It is plain, unvarnished truth and those who doubt the truth of this statement have only to wait and see. The ways of history, like the ways of Providence are often mysterious. For the fulfilment of our objective, it was perhaps necessary that the British Army should go into Burma and see the INA. What was the result? There is no longer any talk of a puppet army or Japanese-Indian Force; the enemy propaganda now talked at least of INA." A few days before, Netaji in his broadcast to Congress leaders, said: "Do not lose heart". When the Congress leaders thought that the British were going to win, when they entered into negotiations with Wavell for the transfer of power and were making compromises, Netaji was making frantic broadcasts from Singapore; asking the Indian leaders: Do not compromise; if you think that INA is defeated, you are mistaken. Freedom will be in our hands like a ripe fruit." He used prophetic words: "There will be postwar revolution inside India after the war" Not only that he went to the extent of saying on July 12, 1944. "Let them wait until February 1946 and then they can start criticising us if our time table goes wrong'."

It is known to everybody what happened after the surrender of Japan and what happened when INA prisoners were brought to India. People of India came to know about the achievements, the glory and martyrdom of INA and of the historic role that was played by Netaji. Those who are elderly in the House know these things. The legendary image of Netaji captivated the Indian people.

Though Netaji did not appear in person, he appeared in the concept of the historic liberation of India and as an epic hero of the freedom struggle. The national scene of India was filled with Netaji and Netaji alone; it was INA and INA alone everywhere in India. Mahatma Gandhi had to say that INA and Netaji had cast a spell on all of us and Netaji's name is one to conjure with. This is what Mahatma Gandhi said at that time about the impact of INA and the revolutionary image of Netaji.

Netaji had given a time table. You remember what happened at the time of the Red Fort trial of INA prisoners. He said: wait till February. What happened in February? On the 19th of February there was an uprising of the naval ratings at Karachi and Bombay and it spread all over India, all ports,—Madras, Calcutta, Singapore, Rangoon, Port Blair, Travancore, everywhere. They were British Indian naval ratings and they rebelled. It was called mutiny by the Britishers. But the RIN rebelled with the slogans 'Netaji Zindabad and Jai Hind'. Then they fought; they rose; they exchanged bullet for bullet, cannon for cannon with the British Army. You will remember at that time what happened. In Delhi, Calcutta, Rawalpindi, Karachi, Bombay and other places, there were street fights barricade fightings; there was bloodshed; there blockade. People were fighting here and there. The revolution had spread all over the country. Not only the naval ratings, but the Indian Royal Air Force in Calcutta, Jabalpur and Delhi undertook a general strike in support of demand of release of the Red Fort prisoners of the INA. What is a general strike in the army or air force? It is nothing but rebellion. If you use the word of the British, it is mutiny. It is on record that at various places the land army also undertook a general strike. Mahatma Gandhi himself said that hundreds of INA people and even officers of the Indian Army every day were

appealing to him, Pandit Nehru and other leaders, "Give us leadership, we will bring you freedom." Netaji said, "Give me blood, I will give you freedom". With those words the whole of India was enchanted, the people and the Army joined hands. people and the Army joined hands, berating in the country. At that time, the Indian army was in a mood to rebel. The whole country was in a militant mood. A new type of militant nationalism had developed all over the country.

I can understand that Mahatma Gandhi did not accept it. But what about the other leaders? What did they do? That was a golden opportunity at that time when they could seize the power and they could dictate terms to the British Government. The situation was such that if the Congress leaders wanted, they could dictate any term. You remember what happened to the Muslim League. Jinnah was washed out—Muslim League was washed out. The Muslim League wanted that all the Muslim officers of the INA should be defended by Muslim lawyers, but all the INA prisoners at that time refused. Jinnah was nowhere. Violating the dictates of Jinnah everywhere Hindus, Muslims and Christians, Sikhs had joined hands. I have no time to quote. The *New York Times*, the *Times of London* and all the British papers wrote, what is happening in India? It is the magic wand of the name of Subash Chandra Bose that had fused Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians to fight for national freedom. Everywhere in India there was a kind of revolutionary fraternity not witnessed hitherto before. In Calcutta, Bombay, Rawalpindi, Karachi and everywhere hundreds of youngmen—Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs were marching shouting, "Netaji Zindabad! Jai Hind!" If our leaders had the courage, they could have seized power. But instead, they said, it is violence, it is anarchy; it is chaos. Instead of leading the revolution and allowing the young men of the armed forces to go with the

revolution, they asked them to lay down their arms. So, the revolution was completely frustrated. The militant mood and revolutionary mood of the Indian people had degenerated into reaction—communal reaction thereafter. It always happens. To quote the words of Trotsky one of the greatest architects of revolution, "The revolutionary mood of the people does not continue for long." It is up to the leadership to understand the point when they have to seize the revolutionary mood of the people. At that time there was a possibility—freedom of a united India was within the grip of Congress leadership, but they failed, masquerading as if they were real followers of non-violence. But that was not the case. They were completely flabbergasted; they were off their their I would not say sense, but off their courage. They were adapted to one kind of leadership; they were not accustomed to revolutionary leadership. So, the Indian revolution failed. However, the British Government did not fail to understand the implications of it. On the 19th morning, there was the rising by the naval ratings in Karachi and Bombay and on the evening of 19th February 1946, in the House of Commons, the British Government announced their decision to quit India. And they announced that a Cabinet Mission was being sent to India for negotiating with Indian leaders for transfer of power. They did not fail to grasp the seriousness of what actually happened at that time? If they delayed they had to face a situation more dangerous than that of 1857.

Why do I say that the period between 1921 and the beginning of 1942 was an era of Gandhian leadership; and that, thereafter upto mid 1946 it was an era of Netaji? During the post war days the revolutionary ideals of Netaji dominated the political scene and the minds of the people of India. I would urge the Home Minister to understand one aspect of it, viz. that in 1921, 1930 and the beginning of

[Shri Samar Guha]

1942, under the leadership of Gandhiji, there had been an unprecedented mass struggle. Nowhere in the world, at no time had there been such a unique struggle by unarmed people. Millions of people participated in that struggle. Lakhs of people courted arrest. But what happened after such a massive and unprecedented historic struggle? Did we achieve freedom as a result? Could we move the British to go out of India? No. It has been admitted by the British historians also. The reason was this: Gandhiji made Indian people defy a foreign rule; but he could not touch the Indian Army or the Indian Police. Army and the Police are the ultimate pivots of the administration, particularly of an imperialist administration. Upto this level Gandhiji made Indian people defy British rule. He roused the patriotism of the Indian people, gave them the concept of nationalism, of suffering and of sacrifice; but upto a limit. But the last and final blow to the British Empire was given by Netaji, and Netaji alone. Apparently Netaji was defeated. But his main object was to see that the traditional loyalty of the Indian Army to the British Crown which remained untouched and unaffected by the Gandhian leadership, was completely knocked down; and this was achieved by the historic contribution of Netaji, and by the martyrdom of Azad Hind Fouz; and that is the reason why British Government finally decided to quit India. These are not my words. I will quote only a few portions of Auchinluck's secret circular to the British Army officers when the Red Fort trial was going on—after the Mutiny, which we call the rebellion, by the RIN, RIAF and the Land Army. This circular came to public knowledge only recently although we knew something of it earlier. Auchinluck the C-in-C of the British Indian Army said in that circular:

"Any attempt to force the sentence would have led to chaos in the country at large and probably to

mutiny and dissension in the Army, culminating in its dissolution."

Then again, Gen. Thacker of the Eastern Command, in his secret circular to Lord Wavell and to the British Government, said:

"The INA affair was threatening to tumble down the whole edifice of the Indian Army."

Just after the Naval rebellion, a British parliamentary team—composed of all the political parties, viz. Conservatives, Labour and Liberal, was sent to India. I do not want to go into details; I want only to quote a little from the report given by that team when they went back to their country. They gave this report to Mr. Attlee; and I quote.

"India is in a state of suspended ferment. If the British fail to find soon a way of handing over power, there may be a mutiny. The circumstances this time have been far less favourable to the British than it was in 1857."

It was from the secret report that was sent to the British Government. Then they decided to quit India.

Why did they decide to quit India? I would say that was the outcome of this confluence between Gandhiji's strategy of non-violent satyagraha and the revolutionary strategy of Netaji, the strategy of satyagraha of Mahatma Gandhi and the revolutionary strategy of the epic hero of Indian freedom, that was a confluence of the mass movement, non-violent mass movement of Gandhiji and the armed struggle or revolutionary movement of Netaji. It was Gandhiji who made the Indian people, taught the Indian people, led them to the struggle, to make them non-violently revolt against the British imperialism. But, yet the army remained untouched, uninfluenced, the loyalty of the Indian army and the Indian police remained unimpaired. It was Netaji, it was his legendary image, it was the martyrdom of the INA, thousands of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs who shouldered to shoulder fought and sacrificed their

lives for the liberation of the motherland; This was Netaji's contribution to change the loyalty of the Indian army. Gandhiji made the Indian people to defy the British power peacefully. Netaji made the Indian army and the police to be roused to a mood of revolt against them. When the people and the army combined, the British Government realised that it would be more terrible if the rebellion starts, it would be more terrible than the revolution of 1857, and therefore they decided to quit India.

I do not want to take the names of other leaders, and great men. They made their contribution, but they followed Gandhiji. They never had their own way, they never had made a fundamental contribution. Gandhiji introduced non-violent mass struggle, or call it satyagraha. It is Netaji, the revolutionary, who made another fundamental contribution means of armed rebellion. The confluence of the two, the union of the two strategies, the non-violent means and the violent means, the satyagraha struggle and the revolutionary struggle, the outcome of the combination of the two, that was the compulsion for the withdrawal of the British power from India.

Here I am using the word "withdrawal." What we have achieved is not independence. After May 1946, there was neither Gandhiji's leadership, nor the leadership of Netaji. It was the leadership of those people who betrayed India, who betrayed the Indian revolution, who betrayed the object of Indian freedom. What has been achieved in 1947, it is not freedom, it is betrayal of Indian freedom. 15th August is not the day of Indian freedom, it is the day of the blakest betrayal ever you can conceive of for the Indian nation. What did the Indian nation fight for? Thousands of Indian people died for what? Millions of people went to the prison for what? Thousands of people sacrificed

their lives for the freedom of united India.

When we took our pledge every year on 26th January, the Independence Day of the earlier period the pledge was to liberate from Peshawar to Chittagong, from Cape Comorin to Kashmir. That pledge, that promise, that objective was completely betrayed. Whatever you may say, I will not hesitate to say till the last breath of my life that I will never observe the 15th August as the day of independence. I never attend the President's reception or any other function on the 15th August. It is the day of the greatest national betrayal to me. The Indian freedom has been betrayed, the Indian nationalism has been betrayed, Indian civilisation has been betrayed and Indian culture has been betrayed. The 15th August 1947 is the day of total betrayal of whatever India stood for. I cannot forget it. I will never forget it, whatever may be the consequences.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI CHARAN SINGH): I would advise him not to become so emotional. What is the need for becoming emotional?

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: To me the 21st of October 1943, when Netaji Subhas Bose became the Provisional President of the Azad Hind Government, when Netaji declared Indian freedom, that is the day of independence. That Government of Netaji was recognised by at least 11 foreign governments. I consider that date, namely, 21st October, as the real independence day of India.

What was the contribution of Netaji? I would like to say a word here.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There are eight other members who want to speak. Kindly cooperate.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I will take 25 minutes more. I know the case that I have to justify, I have to convince the whole House. Immediately, a question



[Shri Samar Guha]

will arise: If you observe the birthday of Netaji as a national holiday, why not the birthdays of other great men? I am answering this question. I have just started.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Kindly cooperate with me because other members also are to speak.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I am fighting a case. I want to make it logical, infallible and irresistible. I have to make it irresistible to the Government. That is why I have to take time. Please don't disturb me. Try to understand what I am speaking about. It is the truth of the history coming out of my mouth, coming out of my heart.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am very proud of your intelligence.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: It is not just a Bill, it is not a legal technicality, it is not a nicety of an argument. I have to prove it historically, philosophically and politically, the justification of my Bill.

When Atlee was asked by Churchill, what created the conditions for the British to quit India, on the day when the Indian Independence Bill was being debated in the House of Commons.—what was the reply of Atlee? Atlee told Churchill, "We were sitting at the top of a volcano." Who created that volcano? It was Netaji. It was Netaji who created a situation born out of the legacy of the martyrdom of the INA, out of the War of Indian liberation under him that created a volcano situation in India. When Atlee, as a civilian, visited India in 1963 he had a discussion with the then Governor of West Bengal. The Governor asked, "What happened to you? You won the War, the Congress was almost in the doldrums at that time. They did not know what will follow. There was no compulsion for the British quitting India. Why did you quit India? Why did you withdraw from India?" All

this appeared in the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* and was recorded by Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar in his book. The reply of Atlee was; "It was for Subhas Chandra Bose. It was for Subhas Chandra Bose that we had to quit." Then, he said, "He completely knocked down the loyalty of the Indian Army to the British Crown." That was the cause of the end of British Rule in India. I should say, of the bases for the British power in India.

This is what one British historian, Mr. Michael Edwards said in his book entitled, "The Last Years of British India". I quote:

"Only one outstanding personality took a different and violent path and in a sense India owes more to him than to any other man.

Only one major Congress leader, Subhas Chandra Bose, was a Kshatriya. Subhas took a typically Kshatriya course by attempting to overthrow the British power by violence."

Here was the final and the ultimate cause for the withdrawal of British power and the traditional loyalty to the British Crown was knocked out. Gandhiji made Indian people to rebel, Netaji made Indian army to rebel. When the people and the army, combined, it was a revolution born out of the militant nationalism, that compelled the British power to quit India. I know, many people in those days used to call Netaji a fascist and a puppet of the Japanese. Netaji is the greatest anti-imperialist leader; not only that, he is the greatest leader of anti-colonial struggle. It is for Netaji's revolutionary contribution that the whole of South-East Asia attained freedom, and the effect of it rolled over India and from India it went to Africa. I have had the fortune of going across the South-East Asian countries and meeting almost all the top leaders there.

I do not know whether you remember this. When, after freedom, Mr. Tunku Abdul Rahman, became the first Prime Minister of Malaysia he came to India and at Dum Dum said:

"Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose raised us from the dust."

I had the opportunity of meeting Dr. Shaharyar, Dr. Soekarno and Dr. Hatta in Indonesia. They spoke in highest terms about Netaji. In 1943, Tojo convened the South East Asia Co-Prosperity Conference. His whole objective was to impose some kind of an imperialist domination over South East Asia. The Japanese historian wrote that Tojo wanted it to make this Assembly a Tojo Conference. "But finally it turned out to be a Chandra Bose Conference". The Japanese used to call Netaji as 'Chandra Bose'. And this is what Netaji said in that Conference:

"We have come in this Conference not to side with any imperialist power, but to rouse Asiatic conscience for an Asiatic revolution and for achievement of an Asiatic objective."

I have met many of those people, and they said that, after the Conference, our whole outlook had changed and we started realising Netaji as the great Asian leader who inspired us to our freedom struggle.

I can give another example, how one incident of Netaji had aroused the spirit of patriotism in Indonesia. But that will take time.

Recently, some of the Indian dignitaries visited Burma. Gen. Ne Win said: 'In Burma, we will not allow any statue of any foreigner to be built. But the case of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is an exception; we shall allow a statue of Netaji to be built in Rangoon!'

Many people do not know that Ho-Chi-Minh had the greatest respect for Netaji and that Netaji had contacted Ho-Chi-Minh. The Vietnam revolution drew inspiration from Azad-Hind strug-

gle; many people do not know this. Therefore, as I have said, the freedom of Burma, Malaya, Indonesia and many other South-East Asian countries had their inspiration from the Azad-Hind Revolution of Netaji.

Many people called Netaji fascist. But he is the greatest anti-imperialist leader, who inspired anti-colonial struggle in Asia. He is a leader who pioneered freedom struggle in the whole of East Asian countries.

When the whole of colonial Asian countries attained freedom, as a catalytic action, the wave of this freedom struggle went to Africa. The African countries also attained freedom. Therefore, in a sense, if you see the genesis, the genesis is the epic Indian revolution; Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose inspired the Asiatic revolution and as a result of that as a catalytic action, the African revolution was also inspired by him. It can be said, therefore, his contribution is not only for India but for the whole of Asia and to a certain extent, as an extending legacy, for Africa also.

We are now today talking a lot about Indian nationalism, and about the concept of Indian nationalism. Could Congress achieve the concept of Indian nationalism, I ask, with all my respect and honour for Mahatma Gandhi. Only once, in 1921, Gandhiji successfully achieved Hindu-Muslim unity. But that was also on a wrong basis—conceding to the communal and religious claim of the *Khilafat*. *Khilafat* and Congress combined. Only on that occasion there was Hindu-Muslim unity, but what communal disaster resulted thereafter we all know. Gandhiji could not make the Indian Muslims feel that he was really a lover of the Indian Muslims and thus genuine friend, and that he really wanted the Indian nationalism to grow out of Hindu-Muslim unity. It was only after his death, his immoral martyrdom, the Indian Muslims realised that Gandhiji was their real friend; their real lover not even Jinnah; much greater than Mr. Jinnah was Mahatma

[Shri Samar Guha]

Gandhi for the Muslims. But what about Netaji? You are talking a lot about 'secularism'. The word 'secularism' is nothing but a confession or a guilty conscience. What is the dictionary meaning of secularism? The real nationalism means that there cannot be any communalism, there cannot be any sectionalism, and there cannot be any regionalism. It is only Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose who can be considered the historic emblem of the true Indian nationalism. Eighty percent of the officers and Chiefs of the Staff and others of the Azad Hind Fauj were Muslims and most of those Muslims now belong to Pakistan. It was Netaji who introduced that there would be no communal, religious or linguistic distinction or difference in the army. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and others lived in the same barracks and shared the same food and had the same dress. Not only that, but in the fields if the Commander was a Muslim, the ranks were Hindus, Sikhs, Christians and others. If a Sikh was the Commander, the ranks consisted of Muslims, Hindus and others. They fought shoulder to shoulder, hand in hand and shed their blood and sacrificed their life together. Was such a heritage of Indian nationalism achieved before? It was achieved only by the Azad Hindu Fauj under the leadership of Netaji.

Even, a unique socio-cultural revolution was achieved by Netaji. I cannot desist from giving one example. Netaji was invited by the Chettiers of South India in Singapore to enter into temple and have *prasad* from the temple and have donations for the Azad Hind Fund. Netaji said: "Yes, I can come, but all my Ministers, the Chiefs of the Army would be with me." What did he mean? The Ministers and the Chief of the Army composed of Hindus, Muslims and Christians. It was a terrible thing for the conservative Chettiers of South India to agree, but ultimately, they had to yield. Netaji entered into the inner-most area of the temple with his Ministers and others, who were

Sikhs, Muslims, Christians and Hindus. Thereafter, all the mosques, churches, temples and Gurdwaras were thrown open to all the communities. There was, thus, some kind of a socio-cultural revolution that was brought about by Netaji. It was one Muslim, Shaukat Malik, who is now in Pakistan, who raised the first banner of freedom on our soil of Manipur. Netaji went away from India under the name of Zia-ud-din. It was one Abbas Khan of the Frontier Province, who helped him to cross over. It was Abid Hussain, who is still at Hyderabad, who for about three and a half months accompanied him during his historic submarine journey from Germany to Singapore. It was one Habib-ul-Rahman, who can say what happened to Netaji. It was one Mohammad Hussain, who the last word about composed the National anthem of INA. This is what nationalism and secularism means and what Netaji realised during Azad Hind Revolution.

It would, thus, be seen that the real image of nationalism, the real idea of nationalism and the real concept of nationalism was achieved only by Netaji and nobody else. Therefore, as I said, he is the glowing emblem of Indian Revolution, he is the glowing emblem of anti-colonialism, he is the glowing emblem of the revolution of the colonial people and the glowing emblem of the Indian nationalism too.

Many people have forgotten that Netaji is the first President of the free India and many people have also forgotten that he is the father of the Indian National Planning. For thirty years, no paper on planning ever published this fact. When he was the President of the Haripura Congress, he defied Gandhiji and introduced the concept of planning. He set up the Planning Commission. It was he who made Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru its President. Everybody wanted that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose should be the President of the First Planning Commission. Read the biography of Dr. Giri. He was also a Member of the

Planning Commission. Dr. Giri told me that he and Dr. Meghnath Saha requested him to become the President of the Planning Commission to which he replied jocularly: 'Fool, you do not understand. If I become President, Gandhiji will scuttle it. If Nehru is made President, he will not.' For setting up Planning Commission, Netaji had to pay the price for that. It was one of the reasons why Gandhiji opposed Netaji during contest for Tripura Presidential contest. Therefore, Netaji Subhas Bose is the father of Indian national planning. You cannot forget that.

16 hrs.

Again, I want to mention about Netaji's concept of revolutionary idealism. When we recount the history of revolution in modern century, is there any revolutionary either in India or anywhere in the world whose life and activity can be compared with the revolutionary activities of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose? From the very beginning he was a revolutionary of unique character.

In 1930 there was firing in the detention camp in Hijli. Subhas Chandra Bose just rushed to the camp. He wanted to see what was happening. As soon as he reached the gate, he pushed aside the sentry, and ran inside the camp to see the detenus. Is there any Congress leader, is there any man of such a daring in those days? Immediately the whole camp was surrounded by the army but they did not dare to touch him because they could touch Netaji only over the dead bodies of the thousand detenus who were there.

In 1930 there was lathi charge in Alipore jail. Subhas Bose was placed in the European cell. He rushed from there and jumped into it. Simpson was the IG, Police. Subhas Bose was mercilessly assaulted. He fell unconscious. But that Simpson had to pay the price. Binay Bose, and Dinesh Das Gupta and others finished him afterwards.

During 1931, on the 26th January, when Netaji was the Mayor of Calcutta,

at that time, the Congress was banned. All the meetings and assemblies were banned. It was decided to defy the ban in the Congress and as Mayor of Calcutta. Bose was to hoist national flag at Calcutta. When the Policemen went to arrest him at his residence they found that Subhas Bose was missing. But the British Government knew that this missing man would reappear again on the morning of 26th. And exactly that happened. Early in the morning, near Calcutta maidan all movement was stopped and the cavalry and armed forces surrounded the area near Monument but Netaji Subhas Bose, with the dawn of the sun, like another sun, ran and shot towards the Monument and pushed aside the armed forces and with a national flag in his hand went straight to the Monument. He was mercilessly beaten and blood was flowing out of his body. He fell unconscious but he raised the flag, the flag of Indian freedom on 26th January. Is there any other example in India's history like this?

In 1926, he undertook a fast unto death in the Mandalay jail. Again you remember that when he went to the jail, he knew his movement would fail as against Gandhiji's reluctance to start Satyagraha at that time. He knew it. Then what did he do? He undertook a fast unto death in the jail. He knew it was impossible for him to get released. I would read that letter, the political testament and the letter of a revolutionary, nay, it is a letter of a missionary, nay, it is a letter of a man of destiny which he worked to the British Government before starting fast. What is that letter? Just I will read a little of that letter. He knew it was impossible to come out of the jail. But he was patriotically so impatient to full that his mission was going to fail. That is why he gambled with his life. Either he wanted freedom to go out of India in search of freedom or die. He was not for himself as I said that he was a man of destiny is a manifestation, a consummate manifestation of

[Shri Samar Guha]

his own mission where his life and mission remained completely identified. His life had no meaning unless his mission was fulfilled. What is the letter that he wrote? Just a few lines I will read. He knew that he would die. He had to go the way of Mac. Swiney and Jatin Das: He wrote:

"Though there may be no immediate tangible gain, no sacrifice is either ever futile. It is through suffering and sacrifice alone that a cause can flourish and prosper and in every age and clime, the eternal law prevails—the blood of the martyr is the seed of the change. In this world, everything perishes. We will perish...."

But ideas, ideals and dreams do not perish. One individual may die for an idea, but that idea will, after his death, incarnate itself in a thousand lives. This is how the wheels of evolution move on and the ideas and dreams of one generation are bequeathed to the next. No idea has ever fulfilled itself in this world except through an ordeal of suffering and sacrifice."

And then he said:

"This is the technique of soul. The individual must die so that the nation may live. Today I must die so that India may live and may win freedom and glory."

Netaji was not a 'revolutionary' only but a man of destiny. Is there any other case of such a revolution idealism? From Germany to Singapore he travelled in a submarine. At that time Germany declared war on Russia. He wanted to come to South-East Asia. There was no way out from Germany. There was no possibility proceeding of by air. He said 'I will go by submarine'. The chief of German Navy, Admiral Decritz said: 'There is only 5 per cent chance for survival!' He said: Well, 'one per cent chance is enough for me'. The British and American aircrafts were there hovering over the Atlantic Ocean, English Channel

and the Indian Ocean. He took 110 days to come from Germany to Singapore. His submarine was exchanged near Madagaskar. It was an impossible but he achieved that impossibility. I can give you many more examples of his during activities. He was taking part at a Ceremonial Salute of the INA at Raiyom. The enemy bombers were zooming over them, there was carpet-bombing. When others ran away, Netaji stood like a rock as if nothing happened, and took the salute. Such incidents had happened many times. We know of the Long March of Mao-Tse-Tung. Here was a long march from Germany to Singapore and had another long March from Rangoon to Bangkok when Netaji and his men, and the Jhansi Regiment was selected to carpet bombing. Is there any other example of such a revolutionary adventure of a man of destiny, who, for achieving the freedom of his country, travelled through two continents, 25 countries, thousands and thousands of miles of the air, sea and the ocean? He was the greatest revolutionary, not of India alone, but of the whole world. He has a distinct heritage which is recorded in history. Sir, I am almost concluding. Here is a man—Netaji—who made tremendous impression on Tojo. Tojo told his wife: after his first meeting with Netaji:

"To-day I have met not only the greatest revolutionary of India but the greatest revolutionary of Asia."

The foreign Minister of Japan, has written a book in which he had described Netaji as 'the greatest hero of our age'. I can quote many authors, innumerable quotations from the views of German and Japanese Generals and others but I do not want to burden you with such quotations. I had the opportunity to meet Dr. Laurel, who was known as the father of the Philippines. I went to his house and I had a long discussion with him. When I came out of the bungalow you know what he said. He said:

"Tell your countrymen when you go back that of all the great men I

have ever met, Chandra Bose was the greatest."

I have already told you what Gandhiji had told about Netaji. I have to quote here what Dr. Radha Krishnan said about Netaji:

"His fearless courage, his reckless abandon, his suffering and sacrifice have become a part of the legendary story of India's struggle for freedom. Future generations will read the amazing story of his life with pride and reverence, and salute him as one of the great heroes who heralded India's dawn".

Gobind Ballabh Pant in Tripura moved a resolution against Netaji. But he too paid highest tribute to Netaji. I will quote what Lal Bahadur Shastri said about Netaji:

"What tremendous organisations, what organising ability or what competence or excellence Netaji had. It will be difficult to find another leader who could single-handed and solely on his and on his own strength, build up such a gigantic organization. I do not know of any parallel to the sacrifice and self-abnegation that Netaji made. The great risk he was taking in going out of the country. There was no thought of his own self in his being. He did not care about his own life. National revolution, his country's freedom were his goal and from whenever he went, his message continued to reach us. His broadcasts came through to us. His dedicated life brought forth a new light and a new power to this country. When the INA trials were going on here, such a revolutionary situation was created in the country that it is impossible to stem its over-whelming tide. The entire country accepted Netaji as the leader, the greatest revolutionary leader of our country. To this day, we accept Netaji as our greatest leader, as a great leader, as a revolutionary he is an example to us, he is a beacon light."

Now, Sir, how tribute was paid to this man of destiny. I will just conclude by quoting what Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaiah had said. He was the man, who was defeated by Netaji at the time of contest for Tripura Congress.

He forgot his part and while appreciating the greatness of Netaji. Dr. Sitaramaiah wrote:

"Subhas Bose has proved to the world that Hindustan is still a land of valour and prowess, that the Indian has in him that sense of national honour for the preservation and perpetuation of which his fore-fathers had shed their red blood. Subhas may be alive or dead in body but his spirit and name will endure long, i.e., for ever in history in common with the names of Alexander, Darius, of Cesar and Hannibal of Czenkhis Khan and Timur Lane of Harold the last of the Barons and William, the Conqueror of Cromwell and Guy Fawker, of Kaiser and Hitler."

Is it a tribute paid not merely to a great man but to a man of destiny whose contributions transcend not only his time and country but to far wider space and time beyond his generation. That is why I was saying Netaji is the majesty of manifestation of what a man of destiny can be. Netaji is the majesty of expression of what revolutionary idealism can be.

I want to ask this House do you want to preserve this heritage; do you want our younger generations today and tomorrow get inspiration from such a heritage—a heritage not of a great man but of a man of destiny who transcends the boundaries of the country and time of his age. You have given me a patient hearing. I appeal to the House that we should preserve this heritage to inspire our generation and future generations to come with the idealism of this man of destiny. Netaji used to say that India has a mission to fulfil and he dedicated his life and made unique achievement to fulfil it

[Shri Samar Guha]

Mr. Chairman, Sir, he was a politician, leftist and a revolutionary but the title of Netaji's autobiography is: "Autobiography of an Indian pilgrim." This man of destiny considered himself to be not an ordinary person but a missionary for fulfilling the mission of India and so he described himself not as an individual but in terms of the eternal concept of a pilgrim of India. He owned nothing for himself. He had attachment with only three things and those were: A Gita, Chandi and a Mala. These three were the source of inspiration of this Indian pilgrim, the great missionary who consummated into a legendary figure by conducting himself for fulfilling the great mission of India. It is upto you whether you cherish and carry forward its heritage to our younger generations.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Motion moved:

"That the Bill to provide for observing the birthday of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose as national holiday, be taken into consideration."

श्री दुर्गा चन्द (कांगड़ा) : महापति महोदय, माननीय सदस्य, श्री समर गुहा ने आज नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की सारी जीवन-कथा इस सदन के सामने रख दी है। उन्होंने यह विधेयक रख कर यह मांग की है कि महात्मा गांधी के जन्म दिन की तरह नेताजी का जन्म दिन भी एक नेशनल हॉलिडे, राष्ट्रीय अवकाश, कराया दिया जाए।

मैं समझता हूँ कि भारत की तारीख में शायद ही ऐसा कोई इन्सान हुआ हो, जिस ने छोटी सी जिन्दगी में इतने करिष्मे कर दिखाये हैं, जिनकी याद आज भी भारत के लोगों के दिलों में मौजूद है। माननीय सदस्य ने उन्हें एक नेत्रेण्ड्री पर्सनेलिटी बताया है, जिन के मुताब्बिक लोग सोचते थे कि वह फरिश्ता हैं, जादूगर हैं, या इन्सान हैं।

मुझे भी नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस को देखने का मौका मिला है। यह 1940-41 की बात है, जबकि मैं लाहौर में कालेज में दाखल हुआ ही था। उन्होंने कांग्रेस को छोड़ दिया था और वह फार्वर्ड ब्लाक के प्रेजिडेंट बन कर लाहौर आये थे। गोल बाग के मैदान में उन्होंने जो झलफाज कहे थे, जिनकी वजह से इस देश में एक बहुत बड़ा इनकलाब आया था, वे हर वक्त मेरे कानों में गूजते हैं। उस वक्त "विक्ट इंडिया" मूवमेंट चल रहा था। मैं समझता हूँ कि लाहौर व इतिहास में इतना बड़ा स्वागत आज तक किसी भी नेता का नहीं हुआ होगा, जो उस वक्त नेताजी का हुआ था।

उन्होंने अंग्रेजों को चैलेंज देते हुए कहा था : हिन्दुस्तान के लोग अंग्रेजों के साथ दोस्ती रखना चाहते हैं, लेकिन इसका बदला अंग्रेज यह देते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तानियों को बन्दुक और तोप की गोलियों में उड़ाया जाता है। इसके मुकाबले में जब उनके दुश्मन उन के घरों पर बम और तोप के गोले बरसाने हैं, तो उनका प्रधान मंत्री उनसे, यानी हिटलर से, मिलने के लिए डाङ्गिज जाता है, उस के साथ मुलाकात करता है और दोस्ती का हाथ बढ़ाना है। मैं अंग्रेजों को कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर वे पुरश्चमन तरीके से भारत को नहीं छोड़ेंगे, तो हम उनके खिलाफ हथियार उठाएंगे और बायलेंस के जरिये उन्हें यहाँ से निकाल देंगे।

उसके बाद अखबार में उनका एक बड़ा भारी आर्टिकल निकला था, जिसमें यही खयालान जाहिर किये गये थे। उसके बाद वह गिरफ्तार कर लिये गये। जब वह जलावतन थे, तो फ्रांस में उन्होंने एक किताब लिखी थी "इंडियन स्ट्रगल बिटवीन 1909 एंड 1934" जोकि बाद में जन्त कर ली गई थी। उस किताब में मुझे उस वक्त के हालात पढ़ने का मौका मिला। उनके क्रांतीभूषण को देख कर मुझे मालूम होता था कि इस शक्से ने भारत

के नौजवानों के दिलों में घर कर लिया है । वह इस देश में इन्कलाब कराने में एक बहुत बड़ी शक्तिमयत साबित होगा । उनकी जवान का कितना अमर था भारत के लोगों पर ? आई एन ए के मुतालिक मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं एक पहाड़ी क्षेत्र से आता हूँ जहाँ में कि डोगरा रेजिमेंट खड़ी की जाती है । उसकी तकरीबन 18 बटालियन्स हैं । वह भारतीय फौज का सब से मशहूर हिस्सा था । सिगापुर में जब अंग्रेजी फौज सरेंडर हुई तो उमर हमारी डोगरा रेजिमेंट के बहुत सारे लोग थे । उनके बाद आई एन ए के लोग जब भारत वापस आए तो उनमें बहुत से कर्नल और जनरल भी आए हैं लेकिन उनकी वान तो छोड़िए, एक माधायण मिश्राही भी जिम्मेन मुभाष चन्द्र वॉम का भाषण मुना है या जो उन सम्पर्क में आया है उसका दिल और दिमाग बदला हुआ है और वह पागल समझा जाता है । वे यह नहीं मानते कि मुभाष चन्द्र वॉम की मृत्यु हो गई है । एक एक आजाद हिन्द फौज का आदमी कहता है कि वह तो मर ही नहीं सकते, क्योंकि वह तो परमात्मा की एक ताकत थे, फिरशना थे । इस किस्म का विश्वास उनका दिल में है ।

तो मैं तो सिर्फ इतना कहना चाहता हूँ कि भारत की तवारीख में उनकी परसना-लिटी का महत्व इतना है और इतनी लोगों के दिलों में उनके लिए श्रद्धा है कि मैं समझना हूँ वह महात्मा गांधी जी से कोई कम नहीं हैं, तो अवश्य उनके जन्म दिन की तिथि 23 जनवरी एक नेशनल हाली डे करार दी जानी चाहिए ताकि भारत के नौजवानों को और वहाँ के लोगों को हमेशा प्रेरणा मिलनी रहे । उनकी जो दिव्य मूर्ति थी, जो परसनालिटी थी वह लोगों को प्रेरणा देती चली जाय ताकि हमारे मुल्क के लोगों के सामने जो उद्देश्य हैं उनको वे पूरा कर सकें ।

**डा० रामजी सिंह (भागलपुर) :** सभापति महोदय, प्रो० समर गुहा के आकर्षक और रोचक

भाषण के बाद और कुछ कहा जाना बेकार है । बापू अगर राष्ट्रपिता थे तो भारत के सच्चे नेता के रूप में वे बल नेताजी ही थे । इसमें अधिक कुछ कहना संभव नहीं है । नेताजी सचमुच भारत के पौरुष, भारत के त्याग और भारत के पराक्रम की सजीव मूर्ति थे ।

लेकिन प्रश्न यह नहीं है कि नेताजी कितने बड़े हैं । प्रश्न यह है संसद के सामने कि नेताजी की स्मृति में कोई एक राष्ट्रीय छुट्टी घोषित होनी चाहिए या नहीं । मैंने अपना एक विनम्र संशोधन इस संबंध में रखा है । जैसा अभी प्रोफेसर गुहा साहब ने कहा कि हमारा देश तो वीरों का देश है, राम, कृष्ण, शिव, और मध्य युग में महाराणा प्रताप, शिवाजी, आदि कितने ही वीर ऐसे हैं कि अगर सब वीरों के नाम पर छुट्टी हो तो शायद 365 दिनों में भी वे पूरे नहीं होंगे और भारतवर्ष छुट्टी ही देता रहेगा ।

मैंने अभी दुनिया भर के सभी देशों की एक तालिका मंगायी है कि वहाँ कितनी छुट्टी होती हैं और मैंने देखा है कि आस्ट्रेलिया से लेकर जाम्बिया तक जो सभी देशों की राष्ट्रीय छुट्टियों की सूची मिली है उसमें व्यक्ति के नाम पर बहुत कम है । यह देश वीरों का है । इसी लिए वीर-पूजा स्वाभाविक है । इसीलिए हमने गांधी जी को भी स्मरण किया । सब से कम छुट्टी चीन में मिलती है जहाँ किमी भी व्यक्ति के नाम पर छुट्टी नहीं है । माओ-त्से-तुंग कितने चमत्कारी व्यक्ति वहाँ के हुए हैं लेकिन वहाँ उस व्यक्ति के नाम पर छुट्टी नहीं है । लेनिन रूस के भाग्य विधाता रहे, गांधी जी से कम महत्व रूस में लेनिन का नहीं है, लेकिन उनके नाम पर वहाँ छुट्टी नहीं है । लगता है कि छुट्टी मना कर हम किसी के महत्व को याद करते हैं । वास्तव में भारत-वर्ष में जितना आलस्य है छुट्टी से उसका निराकरण नहीं हो सकता है । जब मैं छटी क्लास का विद्यार्थी था, तो मुझे उस महावीर के



[डा० रामजी त्रिह]

दर्शन का सौभाग्य मिला था। मैं उनके चमत्कारी व्यक्तित्व को अविस्मरण नहीं कर सकता, लेकिन मैं सोचता हूँ कि जिस नेता को हम राष्ट्रीय भावना से याद करते हैं, उनके स्मरण में हम भी उनके स्वर में स्वर मिला कर कहना चाहेंगे अपने प्रशासन में कि नेताजी के नाम पर छुट्टी न हो। हम यह मानते हैं कि प्रोफेसर समर गुह जैसे भावनाशील लोग उस दिन कुछ काम करेंगे लेकिन अधिकतर दूसरे लोग छुट्टी के दिन कुछ नहीं करते। इसलिए छुट्टी का क्रम समाप्त किया जाए। मैं तो यहां तक कहूंगा कि बापू जी के नाम पर भी जो छुट्टी होती है, उसको समाप्त किया जाए और उस दिन को केवल बापू दिवस के रूप में मनाया जाए, तो कोई हर्ज नहीं है। छुट्टी होने पर हम क्या करते हैं, यह सभी को मालूम है। इसलिए मैं कहना हूँ कि मुभाषचन्द्र बोस जी का भारतवर्ष की राजनीति में, भारतवर्ष की देश भक्ति में, भारतवर्ष की अर्थ नीति में, भारतवर्ष के दर्शन में और भारतवर्ष के अध्ययन में जो महत्त्व है, वह अविस्मरणीय रहेगा और इस कारण मैंने कहा है कि उनके जन्म दिन को नेशनल होलीडे न मना कर नेशनल डे के रूप में मनाया जाए। मैंने यह देखा है कि श्री पी० के० देव ने जो संशोधन दिया है, उसमें भी वही भावना है। आत्मा न जन्मती है और न मरती है। अगर नेता जी जीवित हैं, तो भी और अगर वे मर गये हैं तो भी क्योंकि उनकी आत्मा है ही, हमें उस दिन को छुट्टी के रूप में नहीं मनाना चाहिए बल्कि काम करते रहना चाहिए। इसलिए हम यह समझते हैं कि नेता जी के जन्म दिन के अवसर पर सरकार को उस दिन को राष्ट्रीय दिवस घोषित करना चाहिए और उस रूप में उसे मनाना चाहिए। मैंने देखा है कि आस्ट्रेलिया में केवल महारानी के जन्म दिवस को छोड़ कर और किसी व्यक्ति के नाम पर छुट्टी नहीं होती है। इसी तरह से बंगला देश में भी व्यक्ति के नाम पर छुट्टी नहीं होती यहां तक कि शेख मुजोबूर्रहमान के नाम पर भी कोई

छुट्टी नहीं होती, बाजील के अन्दर किमी भी व्यक्ति के नाम पर छुट्टी नहीं होती, कैनाडा में नहीं है और दूसरी बहुत सी जगहों पर नहीं होती।

मैं सदन का ज्यादा समय नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ। जैसा मैंने पहले निवेदन किया भारत वीरों की भूमि रहा है, इसलिए वीर पूजा स्वाभाविक है। सचमुच में हम उस भावना की कद्र करते हैं और समर बाबू की भावना की भी कद्र करते हैं लेकिन मैं उन्हें बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि भावना में कर्तव्य ऊंचा है। इसलिए मुभाष बाबू के प्रति आदर की भावना का आदर करते हुए, मैं यह कहूंगा कि 23 जनवरी को राष्ट्रीय दिवस के रूप में मनाना चाहिए। कर्तव्य की भावना को याद रखते हुए, हम उन के जन्म-दिन को राष्ट्रीय अवकाश का दिन न मना कर राष्ट्रीय कार्य का दिवस मनावें।

इस संशोधन के साथ मैं, अपने आदरणीय समर गुह जी के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ।

श्री लक्ष्मी नारायण नाथक (खुजुराहो) : माननीय सभापति जी, नेता जी मुभाष चन्द्र बोस के बारे में जो अभी प्रोफेसर समर गुह जी ने कहा है, उस के बाद कुछ कहने की आवश्यकता मैं नहीं समझता, लेकिन फिर भी कुछ शब्द उन के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ।

उनके तीन बार मैंने दर्शन किये। जब मैं राजनीति में एक छोटा सा आदमी था, तो उत्तर प्रदेश के कोच इलाके में वे पधारे थे। उस के बाद जब वे त्रिपुरी कांग्रेस अधिवेशन के अध्यक्ष बने, तो अध्यक्ष के रूप में 52 हाथियों की उन की सवारी निकली थी। उस वक्त उन को बुखार था और उस वक्त मुझे उन की प्रतिभा देखने को मिली थी। उस के बाद आजादी आई और उस आजादी में महात्मा गांधी जी का बहुत हाथ रहा है।

उन्होंने अपनी और न केवल अपने देश का बल्कि सारी दुनिया का ध्यान खींचा। ऐसी थी नेता जी की शक्ति और प्रतिभा कि उन्होंने अपनी सूझबूझ से हिन्दुस्तान में ही न बल्कि विदेशों में जा कर के एक सेना को संगठित किया, फौज को तैयार किया। उन्होंने दिखा दिया कि हम सेना के द्वारा भी विदेशी हुकुमत से लड़ कर के इस देश को आजाद करायेंगे। एक तरफ पूज्य महात्मा गांधी की अहिंसा की शक्ति थी और दूसरी ओर नेताजी की फौजी शक्ति थी, इन दोनों शक्तियों ने मिल कर के इस देश को आजाद कराया। नेताजी की दिल्ली चलो घोषणा से ब्रिटिश हुकुमत घबरा गयी थी। सभापति महोदय आप जानते हैं कि शक्ति ही सब से बड़ी चीज होती है। इस शक्ति को देख कर ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट के दिल में भय हुआ और वह नहीं चाहती थी कि उनकी सेना यहां आये। ऐसी थी नेता जी की प्रतिभा और शक्ति कि जिमने विदेश में भी जाकर अपनी सेना को संगठित किया और आजाद हिन्द फौज को बनाया। दूसरे देशों से सहायता ले कर के अपनी शक्ति एकत्रित की अपनी इस शक्ति के द्वारा उन्होंने जो स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में अपना योगदान दिया वह किसी से कम नहीं है।

मैं डा० रामजी सिंह जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम एक ही समय में दो काम नहीं कर सकते। छुट्टी का मतलब यह है कि केवल हम वीर की गाथा को ही न पढ़ें बल्कि उसका स्मरण कर के भारत में ऐसे सपूत तैयार करें, उनमें ऐसी भावना जागृत करें जिस से वह देश जिसको उन्होंने आजाद किया, वह परतंत्र न होने पावे इस परतंत्रता को मिटाने में कितने ही देशवासियों ने काम किया। अपने जीवन को हथेली पर रख कर वे इस स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में कूद पड़े। हम सरदार भगत सिंह और चन्द्रशेखर आजाद जैसी विभूतियों को भी नहीं भूल सकते। वे भी इस देश की आजादी के लिए सब कुछ न्योछावर कर गये। मैं स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों की इस लड़ी में यह कड़ी

भी जोड़ते हुए कहता हूँ कि जहां पूज्य महात्मा गांधी ने एक अहिंसा सेना का निर्माण किया वहां दूसरी ओर नेताजी ने एक फौज का गठन किया और इन दोनों की शक्ति ने मिल करके देश को आजाद किया।

यह आवश्यक ही है कि नेताजी के जन्म दिन को एक राष्ट्रीय त्यौहार के रूप में मनाया जाए जिससे कि हम नेताजी के जन्म दिन पर उनके योगदान का स्मरण कर सकें। उन नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस का स्मरण कर सकें जिनके बारे में पता ही नहीं चला कि वे कहां गये। इसलिए ऐसे लोगों के जन्म दिन पर हमें उनकी गाथाओं का ही केवल स्मरण नहीं करना बल्कि ऐसे लोग भी तैयार करने हैं। किस तरह से नेताजी ने देश से बाहर जा कर के और दूसरे देशों से सम्पर्क करके सेना का निर्माण किया ये सब चीजे आज स्मृति मात्र रह गयी हैं।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं प्रोफेसर गुह के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ और कामना करता हूँ कि नेताजी जैसे सपूत देश में और भी बनें और इस देश की आजादी को अक्षुण्ण रखें जिस तरह से नेताजी ने अपना योगदान किया। धन्यवाद।

**श्री सुशील कुमार धारा (तामलुक) :** सभापति जी, प्रोफेसर समर गुह साहब के प्राइवेट बिल पर बोलते हुए मेरे मन में इस बात का अफसोस है कि उनका बिल सरकारी बिल नहीं बना। अगर यह सरकारी बिल होता तो हमें बहुत आनन्द होता। फिर भी इसके समर्थन में बोलते हुए मैं दो-चार बातें बोलना कि नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस के जन्म दिन 23 जनवरी को मनाने के लिए इस दिन को छुट्टी का दिन घोषित किया जाना चाहिए। नेताजी एक बहुत बड़े क्रांतिकारी थे, इसमें कोई शक नहीं है। बहुत से क्रांतिकारी के बीच में एक जबर्दस्त क्रांतिकारी थे। उनके लड़कपन की, उनके कालेज के दिनों की एक

[श्री सुशील कुमार धारा]

घटना में आपको सुनाना चाहता हूँ। जब वह कालेज में पढ़ते थे तब वहाँ एक प्रोफेसर ओटन उनको क्लास को पढ़ाते थे। जब ओटन साहब ने भारत के खिलाफ अपनी क्लास में विद्यार्थियों के सामने कुछ खराब बातें कहीं तो नेता जी ने उनको लकड़ी से बूट समेत इफला जवाब दिया और उनको लाठी तथा बूट के साथ धक्का दे कर नीचे गिरा दिया। यह इस बात का परिचय देता है कि वह कितने क्रान्तिकारी मन के थे। इस के बाद उस समय से महावरा चालू हो गया "आई विल ओटनाइज यू", हम तुम को ओटनाइज करेंगे, अर्थात् लाठी जूनों से मार कर भगा देंगे। ओटन साहब के नाम पर यह चालू हो गया।

इसके बाद जब आई० सी० ए० परीक्षा पास कर के और बहुत अच्छी रिजल्ट बना कर के वापिस आ रहे थे तब जहाज में उनको खबर मिली की हिन्दुस्तान में हमारी आजादी की लड़ाई का विगुल बज गया है, इस पर उन्होंने वहाँ पर अंग्रेजों का दिया हुआ यह सर्टिफिकेट फाड़ कर इसके टुकड़े टुकड़े कर इसको दरिया में फेंक दिया, बहा दिया। यह भी क्रान्तिकारी का परिचय देता है।

मैं बंगाल का रहने वाला हूँ इस मामले में उनको बहुत बार देखा है। जब वह 1940 में कैद में थे तब कैद में ही उन्होंने योजना बनाई महाराज त्रिलोक्य चक्रवर्ती के साथ मिल कर जोकि बहुत बड़े क्रान्तिकारी थे, एक रेवोल्यूशनरी थे, उन से सलाह मशविरा कर के और उस योजना के अनुसार वह विदेश चले जाएं, यह परिकल्पना उन्होंने की। उसी परिकल्पना के मुताबिक वह निकल पड़े और भारत छोड़ कर उन्होंने अपनी यात्रा शुरू कर दी। इसका उन्होंने तनिक भी खयाल नहीं किया कि रास्ता कितना खतरनाक साबित हो सकता है और कितना भारी खतरा वह उठा रहे हैं। और वह बर्लिन चले गए। रास्ते का सारा खतरा उन्होंने अकेले उठाया। इससे भी यही प्रमाणित

हो जाता है कि कितने बड़े रेवोल्यूशनरी वह थे। बर्लिन में जब उनकी उम्र 45-47 साल हो गई थी तब उन्होंने एक साल की मिलिट्री ट्रेनिंग ली और ले कर जापान जाने के लिए तैयार हो गए। अभी माननीय सभार गृह साहब ने बहुत अच्छी तरह से बताया है कि उस समय कितना असम्भव उनके लिए जापान जाना था। यह भी एक रेवोल्यूशनरी मन का ही परिचय देता है। जर्मनी सरकार के सब से बड़े सेनापति ने उनको कहा कि वहाँ जाना असम्भव है, 99 परसेंट इम्पॉसिबल है। तुम्हारे लिए गेटलाटिक ओशन में सबनरीन में जाना असम्भव है। नेता जी ने कहा कुछ असम्भव नहीं है। अगर एक परसेंट भी चांस है तो जाऊंगा और वह चल पड़े, भगवान की कृपा में पहुँच गए। यह क्रान्तिकारी मन का परिचय है। बहाँ जाकर उन्होंने क्या किया, सबको मालूम है। उन्होंने आजाद हिन्द फौज और आजाद हिन्द सरकार बनायी।

नेता जी ने 17 जनवरी, 1942 को कलकत्ता छोड़ा था और हमें निश्चिन्त रूप से याद है कि देश की स्वायत्तता की आखिरी लड़ाई 9 अगस्त, 1942 को शुरू हुई थी। तो 7 महीने पहले उन्होंने अपनी लड़ाई अपने ढंग से शुरू कर दी थी, और उनका अपना बनाया हुआ ढंग था। ऐसे क्रान्तिकारी पुरुष नेता जी मुभाप चन्द्र बोस का जन्म दिन मनाने के लिए इतना बोलने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। इस सदन में कई बार इसके पहले भी इसके बारे में चर्चा हुई, लेकिन आज तक कुछ तय नहीं हुआ। पिछली सरकार ने इसको नहीं माना। उसने जो कुछ खराब काम किये उनको मुधारने का हमारा वायदा है, हमने जनता से वायदा किया है कि कांग्रेस सरकार ने जो कुछ खराब काम किये हैं उनको मुधारेंगे। हमारा कहना है कि इस खराब काम को भी जनता सरकार को मुधारना चाहिये। सरकार को अपना वायदा पूरा करना चाहिए।

नेताजी का जन्म दिन मनाने के लिए हम क्यों कह रहे हैं? महात्मा गांधी का जन्म

दिन हम मनाते हैं, वह हमारे राष्ट्रपिता हैं, उन्होंने नारा लगाया था "करेंगे या मरेंगे" "डू और डार्ड", और नेता जी ने नारा दिया "दिल्ली चलो" और "जय हिन्द"। अगर हम नेता जी और महात्मा गांधी जी को बराबर नहीं बोलेंगे तो नेता जी को कम भी नहीं कहेंगे। अतः नेता जी के जन्म दिन को छुट्टी के दिन के रूप में मनाना जरूरी है। नेता जी कितने बड़े जबरदस्त क्रांतिकारी थे। पहले पहल जा भारत छोड़कर सिंगापुर में उन्होंने अपनी सरकार बनायी तो उन्होंने क्या घोषणा की थी। जिस रोज वह प्रेसिडेंट बनें इंडियन इंडिपेंडेंस लीग के तो पहल ही दिन उन्होंने कहा

"Friends, the time has now come for freedom loving Indians to act. Action in a war crisis demands, above all, military discipline as well as unflinching loyalty to the cause. I, therefore, call upon all my countrymen in East Asia to line up in one solid phalanx under one leadership and prepare for the grim fight that is ahead of us."

यह उनका दृष्टिकोण था, उन्होंने आगे तक देखा और तब आजाद हिन्द फौज और आजाद हिन्द सरकार बनायी और वहां में लड़ाई शुरू कर दी थी।

आखिर में उन्होंने जब चलना शुरू कर दिया तो वे बोने

He concluded his speech by enunciating:

"....We have a grim fight ahead of us—for the enemy is powerful, unscrupulous and ruthless. In the final march to freedom—you will have to face hunger, thirst, privation, forced marches and death. Only when you pass this test, will freedom be yours. I am confident that you will do so and thereby bring freedom and prosperity to your enslaved and impoverished land."

इससे यह प्रमाणित हो जाता है कि हिन्दुस्तान और यहां की जनता को वह कितना प्यार करने थे। इतने बड़े पैट्रियट का

जन्म-दिन मनाने के लिये हमको यहां बहस करनी पड़ती है, यह बहुत अफसोस की बात है। 2 साल अपनी सरकार चलाने के बाद जब जरूरत समझा तो उन्होंने अपने आदेश दिये वह बहुत महत्वपूर्ण हैं। 15 अगस्त, 1945 को उनका आदेश निकला कि

"Comrades, I feel that in this critical hour, 380 millions of our countrymen at home are looking at us, the members of India's Army of Liberation. Therefore, remain true to India and do not, for a moment, waver in your faith in India's destiny. The roads to Delhi are many and Delhi still remains our goal. The sacrifices of your immortal comrades and of yourselves will certainly achieve their fulfilment. There is no power on earth that can keep India enslaved. India shall be free and before long."

उनकी दूर-दृष्टि थी, वह दूर तक देखते थे और उसके बाद बोलते थे। उसके बाद हमारी आजादी आ गई।

हम यह कहना चाहते हैं कि कांग्रेस सरकार में उनका जन्म-दिवस मनाने के लिये उनके जन्म-दिवस को छुट्टी का दिन घोषित नहीं किया, लेकिन आज कांग्रेस में बहुत आदमी ऐसे हैं जो चाहते हैं कि 23 जनवरी छुट्टी का दिन घोषित हो। इसलिये हम अर्ज कर रहे हैं कि हमारे श्री ममर गुहा जी का जो विन है, इसका यह हाउस समर्थन करे।

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN (Cannanore): I support the Bill moved by Mr. Samar Guha and I think I need not make a very long speech because he has explained very effectively his case. But I think a certain other aspect also should be taken into account, whether the question is of giving a holiday or whether it is a question of observing it, as Dr. Ramji said, as a national day. I think that is not the main question. The question is of recognizing the significant role played by Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose in the

[Shri C. K. Chandrappan.]

freedom struggle of our country. I think here we should also understand—I think Mr. Samar Guha explained that point also—that there were various streams of India's freedom struggle. It was not only the one which was led by Mahatma Gandhi. Nobody will deny that the struggle led by Mahatma Gandhi and the role of the Indian National Congress are pre-eminent in the freedom movement of our country. But, at the same time, there were other streams also which played an equally significant and important role in the freedom struggle.

The role played by Bhagat Singh is memorable; his was a terrorist movement and the memory of Bhagat Singh will inspire the younger generation of today and tomorrow. The role played by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose will inspire the young people of this country for generations to come.

Sir, in respect of certain struggles which took place in the former Princely States, the hon. Home Minister refused to consider them as part of freedom struggle. The argument that was advanced was that the Indian National Congress was not leading that. In Travancore, during that period after the second World War, a new wave the movement for independence took place. The Britishers were keen to create a point from where they can start disrupting the unity of the country. They found a Diwan to the erstwhile King of Travancore to play this game. Against that the people rose and agitated and this is called the Punnapura Vayalar struggle in the former Travancore State. Several hundreds of people were shot dead. They were fighting for keeping Travancore as a part of the Indian Union. While leaving this country, the Britishers wanted to create certain points from where they thought they will be able to operate.

One was Kashmir State, next, former Hyderabad State and the third, Travancore State

At that time Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar was the Diwan of Travancore and he gave the slogan for a free independent Travancore outside the Republic of India. Against that the working class rose and fought. It was led by the Communists. What is wrong with it? The part played by them for the freedom and unity of the country has to be recognised. In the former Hyderabad State, under the Nizam, a conspiracy was hatched by the Britishers with the connivance of the former Nizam of Hyderabad. At that time the famous Telengana armed insurgency took place. You can see in that Telengana portion of Andhra Pradesh even today the graveyard of martyrs who fought for the freedom struggle. They fought against the Razakars for the preservation of the unity of the country. It stands to reason that this should be considered as part of the freedom struggle. There should not be any sort of communal approach. We say that the Mopla Rebellion in former Malabar State of Kerala should be considered as a part of the freedom struggle.

The approach is that it has nothing to do with freedom struggle. It was part of a great movement, Khilafat movement, in this country in which Mahatma Gandhi himself took part. And that was inspired by the people who, in that part of the country were Muslims. That does not mean that that is not the part of the freedom struggle of this country.

17 hrs.

[SHRI TRIDIB CHAUDHURI in the Chair]

Sir, many years ago, when we were discussing about the post-war of Independence, it was condemned by the British Historians as a rebellion—a new thing—and they did not consi-

der it as part of the struggle for freedom of this country.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Chandrappan, just a minute. The time allotted for discussion of this Bill was two hours. And at 5 P.M. the two hours will be over. But I find there is a long list of speakers.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND LABOUR (SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA): I do not mind extending the time of the discussion on this Bill if there are many Members who want to speak.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have got your list also. So, is it the pleasure of the House that the time should be extended?

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Yes, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I think Mr. Chandrappan, you must cut down your time.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: I am going to end my speech.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Anyway, the time is extended by two hours for this Bill. The House will of course rise at the usual time. The spillover will be carried to the next session.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: My point was this

MR. CHAIRMAN: At 17.30 hours, there is half-an-hour discussion also.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: My point was this that the freedom struggle in this country was something in which various forces were involved. Government may have a little broader approach towards the freedom struggle and the role played by different forces in this country.

Sir, I talked about those three struggles specifically. I must say that the former rulers and the present rulers are not much depressed in assessing the role of various parties

and movements in the freedom struggle. There was a partisan approach, a very narrow approach which sometimes is very painful. That is why I said that in the Mopla Rebellion in Kerala—it was not a question of few but tens and thousands of people were involved in that—many took part and their descendants are still there and nobody can say that they were Muslims and so their role in the freedom struggle was something second to others. Similarly, it was backed by the Communists and the Tamilians against the Razakars and the Nizam and the Punnapara Vayalar in Trivandrum against the former Diwan and the princes of Trivandrum. How can they say that this is not a part of the freedom struggle? It is that approach, that narrow approach which prevents them from accepting the role played by Subhas Chandra Bose in the freedom struggle. I may not agree with the philosophy and I may not agree with all the tactics that were employed. That is not the point. None in this country will say that he did not play a significant role in the freedom struggle? He did play and it will be remembered by this country for ages to come and that recognition should be given to the role played by Subhas Chandra Bose. Whether it is in the form of national holiday or whether it is in the form of national day is a question of detail. We can find agreement. But the question before us is whether the Government is going to accept this view that the national freedom movement of this country was the mainstream in which several streams joined together—some led by communists, some led by socialists and some led by people like Netaji Subhas Bose. The main thing was led by Mahatma Gandhi himself and there is the role of the Indian National Congress. If you ignore any part of it, then I am afraid, we are making a mistake.

I thank Shri Guha for bringing forward this Bill so that we can get the

[Shri C. K. Chandrappan.]

opportunity to discuss the role played by various movements in the freedom struggle. With these words, I support the Bill moved by Shri Samar Guha and, I hope, Government will have a new look into the whole problem.

**SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat):** Sir, I rise to support the Bill moved by Shri Samar Guha. It has been rightly pointed out by some Members in this House—who have just preceded me—that the issue before the House and which has been raised by the Bill is limited in the sense that the mover of the Bill wants that 23rd January—the birthday of Netaji Subhas Bose—should be declared as national holiday.

Mr Chairman, Sir, Shri Samar Guha in his rare eloquence has narrated the background of the freedom movement of our country. He has also assessed the role of the Father of the Nation, namely Mahatma Gandhi. He has also *inter alia* ought to assess the role played by Netaji Subhas Bose and he has also highlighted certain aspects of Netaji Subhas Bose's life, his epic struggle and the fundamental contribution made by him to the freedom struggle of this country. He has also hinted that Netaji worked for not only the freedom of this country but wanted to build up a new future of India based on socialism. Not only that he also fought for the creation of a new mankind.

Therefore, I do not want to dilate on that. In all humility, I should say that the greatness of Netaji cannot be weighed, assessed or quantified. That being the case, I do not propose to do that. I do not also propose to compare him with anybody because it is incomparable; it is not fair to compare the greatness of a leader of stature and standing of Netaji. I refrain from entering into any discussion on that because no rhetoric is expressive enough to really describe the role he played in our history and no word is

adequate to convey the feelings of myself and a large number of people outside. Therefore I refrain from entering into that aspect of the discussion.

Coming to the merits of the Bill—I am glad that the Mover of the Bill is now here—he has suggested that 23rd January be declared a national holiday in our country. The concept of national holiday in our country is not new. Today there are three national holidays: Republic Day, Independence Day and Mahatma Gandhi's birthday. In this connection, I should like to draw the attention of the House to the broad principle governing the declaration of national holidays which are contained in government papers and documents. It has been mentioned in the Third Pay Commission report while explaining the principle of declaration of a particular day as a national holiday:

"The principles governing the declaration of a public holiday were reviewed in 1947 when it was decided that only festivals of general significance and birthdays of world figures of importance to India should be included in the list of public holidays."

Two criteria have been laid down. One: it must be festivals of general significance and it must be the birthday of a world figure of importance to India. I do not want to make Government uncomfortable. The principle is very much there. In pursuance of that principle the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi, father of the nation has been declared a national holiday. This principle does not prevent anybody outside India, a great man outside the borders of India, his birth day being declared as one of the national holidays in our country.

The crux of the question is whether instead of three national holidays we can declare four. If we want Netaji's birthday to be a national holiday, instead of three there will be four. I quite appreciate the eloquence of Dr. Ramji Singh and others who took part

in the debate. I appreciate their feeling and devotion to the cause of Netaji. But the ground they have given for not declaring 23rd January as national holiday has got no force; it does not stand to reason. Therefore, without entering much into the subject, I would only urge upon the Minister of State for Home Affairs one thing. The mover of the Bill does not speak of a revolutionary step to be taken. It is just an adjustment. If you are prepared to recognise the role of Netaji in the freedom movement of our country what is asked for is just that little amount of generosity not bestowed upon a person or a political group but it is in the nature of a duty that the nation owes to the great Netaji. Therefore, I do not think there should be any debate or controversy on that point. Since I do not myself like to enter into a debate, I also do not want to prolong my speech. Before concluding I make this submission in all humility, if you throw away this Bill in your wisdom, if the minister opposes this Bill I will be forced to find a political motivation behind it and nothing else. Because I do not want to enter into a debate on this occasion, I do not want to explain that thing. If need be, I would.

PROF P. G. MAVALANKAR (Gandhinagar): Sir, I rise to support the Bill in the same manner and almost in the same tone in which many of my esteemed colleagues have done. It is a simple Bill and apparently a non-controversial Bill. I will start by paying my tribute to my dear old friend, Samar Babu for his tireless and unending endeavours to awaken us, to teach us, to enable us to pay a little homage and tribute to the memory of great Netaji. Only last week we had the opportunity in this House, while discussing the Khosla Commission report on Netaji, of saluting and paying our tribute to Netaji. I was privileged to salute him then and I do so today also. We all share the great sentiments, the emotions, the warmth and the feelings that Samar Babu displayed in his speech. His main

point seems to be that Mahatma Gandhi and Netaji, among all the leaders of the 20th century, not to speak of leaders of other centuries, especially during the latter part of the freedom struggle of India, they are two men of destiny. There are many great men who are not necessarily good men. There are many more good men who do not become great men. But there are very rare individuals who are great, good, noble—and what is more important—men of destiny.

Prof. Samar Guha's point, which I share, is that Netaji was such a man of destiny, along with Gandhiji. Therefore, these two tallest of men that India has produced during the latter part of India's freedom struggle, have an important place in the annals of India, and in the history of freedom struggles of the world.

Mr. Samar Guha's main point seems to be—and I quote him:

“Observance of birthday of a Man of Destiny has a greater meaning in renewing our national pledge to attain an ever-growing higher perfection of our national personality than mere glorification of a great man of history. Netaji is the legendary emblem of the dream of the Indian youth and yet supremely achieved in tangible reality. His glowing image is an enchanting beacon for the Indian youth. It is our sacred duty to keep it ever flaming before the youth of our country from one generation to another.”

I share with him these points. If I may put it that way, Netaji though in terms of the teeming millions not only of India, but also of the teeming millions of the exploited people all over the world—exploited economically, socially, politically and culturally, i.e. millions of down-trodden peoples of the world of this century. Therefore, in that sense, he has a background of an internationalist as well.



[Prof. P. G. Mavalankar.]

Our ancient land abounds in many leaders. Whom shall we remember; whom shall we honour, respect—and most important of all—follow? I suppose the main argument of Mr. Samar Guha is not to have merely one more holiday. I don't think that that was the reason. It cannot be so, because we want more production in factories, farms and workshops etc. But can you single out certain individuals and symbolize them for a certain living national message which is true for all times to come? That is the point which, as I understood it, Mr. Samar Guha was making.

Gandhiji's Birthday, viz. 2nd October is of course there. And we are celebrating it. Mr. Chairman, Sir, you also come from West Bengal; so does Mr. Samar Guha. I also come from West Bengal because West Bengal is very much a part of the country. I hope people will not misunderstand me when I make a point—which I do with some nervousness. I am sorry to find it mentioned at the end of the Statement of Aims and Objects in Mr. Guha's bill, that West Bengal observes Netaji's Birthday as a holiday for that State. Likewise, I am sorry to find Sardar Patel's Birthday being observed as a holiday in my State, viz. Gujarat. But Sardar Patel as also Netaji belong to all of us.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: In my initial speech, I said that what the West Bengal Government has done, is wrong.

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR: I am glad to hear it, because Sardar Patel is remembered in India as a national leader, but remembered in Gujarat on his birthday. Lokmanya Tilak and the great Shivaji are again holidays only in Maharashtra. Are we, in Independent India, to reduce the national leaders to regional and State levels? Leaders like Sardar Patel, Shivaji and Tilak as also Netaji were all-India leaders. If you reduce them to parti-

cular localities, I don't think it will be an honourable way of paying tribute to them. We should honour those leaders as all-India leaders. They were all-India leaders in pre-Independence India; how can we make them regional leaders in post-Independence India? That is the question which I want to ask. Therefore, I feel it will not be right for us to cut these eminent men, illustrious national and even international leaders to some extent, to smaller and narrower fields.

In conclusion, I would only say this. Whether we declare it as a holiday or not is not the point. That is not the move. Dr. Ramji Singh would be right there. Instead of calling it a holiday, let us treat it as a sacred day to remember him, to implement his ideas in practice with greater and greater vigour. If we do that, I am quite sure we have done our duty to him and to the nation. Otherwise, if we go by national holidays for the birth day of all our national leaders, we will find that even 365 days would be less. That is not the point. The idea is that we should at least that day remember his ideas, respect them and try to implement them.

In conclusion, I would say let us follow his very inspiring, ennobling, uplifting ideals and completely dedicate ourselves to the task of national reconstruction and international reconciliation and understanding, to which we are all committed in this House and outside.

Here I have with me "Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose". I will read only two small paragraphs from this book, published by the Publications Division. I am reading these two paragraphs, his own words, because they are so much better than my own words. This is what the great Netaji said in his speech entitled "Vision of a Free India" I believe in Poona, his address at the Maharashtra Provincial Congress, on 3rd May 1928, a little before I was

struggling to be born. This is what Subhas Bose said:

"While striving to attain liberty, we have to note all its implications. You cannot free one half of your soul and keep the other half in bondage. You cannot introduce a light into a room and expect at the same time that some portion of it will remain dark. You cannot establish political democracy and endeavour at the same time to resist the democratisation of the society. No, my friends, let us not become a queer mixture of political democrats and social conservatives. Political institutions grow out of the social life of the people and are shaped by their social ideas and ideals. If we want to make India really great, we must build up a political democracy on the pedestal of a democratic society. Privileges based on birth, caste or creed should go, and equal opportunities should be thrown open to all irrespective of caste, creed or religion. The status of women should also be raised and women should be trained to take a larger and a more intelligent interest in public affairs."

Lastly, at page 55 of the same book, this is what Netaji said, while talking about "Students and Politics":

"There is no royal road to freedom. The path to freedom is no doubt a thorny one, but it is a path which also leads to glory and immortality. Let us break with the past, destroy all the shackles which have bound us for ages, and like true pilgrims let us march shoulder to shoulder towards our destined goal of freedom. Freedom means life, and death in the pursuit of freedom means glory imperishable. Let us therefore resolve to be free, at least die in the pursuit of freedom. Let us show by our conduct and character that we are worthy of being the countrymen of the great martyr Jatindra-nath Das."

My only regret is that we have extended the time by two more hours. Because of that, we will not be able to get January 23, 1978 as a national holiday. Of course, Government can do it, if they want it. Anyway, even if it is late, it is better late than never. I hope the Government will understand and appreciate the spirit of this discussion which some of us have raised in this House.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Sir, before you go to the next item, I want to make a submission. I was not here when the time on this Bill was extended. If I were here, I would have opposed the extension of time. The 23rd January is the birthday of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. I thought that this Bill would be over today and we would have the Government's reply. Of course, I took a long time—I plead guilty; it was unavoidable—and I was pleading a case and answering a question that if the birthday of Netaji is observed as a national holiday and if it is observed in the case of every great man, then there will be no day left for working. I had to explain that. I wanted that the debate could have been concluded today so that we could observe a national holiday on the birthday of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Replying to Dr. Ramji Singh's point, I say, Netaji is the emblem of the Indian youth. That day, the birthday of Netaji, is to create an impression on the minds of the Indian people, specially the younger generation, about the immortality of the revolutionary idealism that he preached and to fulfil his ideals and his mission. Let the Government do something positive to observe Netaji's birthday which has not been done in the last 30 years by the earlier Government for parochial political reasons. I make an appeal to the Government. It is not a Janata member appealing to the Janata Government. When I am speaking, it is a patriotic soul of India speaking. The millions of people of India want that the Government of

[Shri Samar Guha.]

India should do something in honour of Netaji. The earlier Government proved ungrateful; they did not even acknowledge the greatness of Netaji; they did not acknowledge even the contribution of Netaji. I would request the present Government that they should do at least something on the 23rd January, the birthday of Netaji, to acknowledge Netaji's contribution and honour our debt which is the national debt to Netaji.

MR. CHAIRMAN: This Bill will continue on the next day.

#### HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION

##### NATIONALISATION OF SUGAR INDUSTRY

MR. CHAIRMAN: We now take up the Half-An-Hour Discussion. Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour): Mr. Chairman, Sir, in reply to my Starred Question No. 164 dated 28th November, 1977, the Prime Minister had said:

"This particular problem is a complicated one so far as U.P. and Bihar are concerned and more complicated because of low production of sugarcane. They have taken no steps to increase the production. They go on asking for more and more prices. That goes on bedeviling the whole issue. So, it has to be gone into more deeply. We are trying to do that."

But this is what Shri Bhanu Pratap Singh said. It is a good thing that he does not really hide his political philosophy and his political thoughts. He should be outspoken. Here, Shri Bhanu Pratap Singh, in his wisdom has spelt out:

"Seven public sector factories are under the control of the UP State Sugar Corporation over the last four years and their performance is miserable."

I want to ask a question. If he cannot govern and run sugar mills, how does he want us to believe and accept that he will be able to govern the country. He says that the State management has rendered the condition of sugar mills in a miserable condition. I cannot understand this.

In this country, sugar really tastes bitter because in the sugar industry, there have been most generous financial patrons, politicians and champions of free and private enterprise. They have been champions of free enterprise; they have been champions of private sector and they have been working for only profit. They have found most willing patrons in the sugar industry, the sugar magnates, the sugar tycoons, to work in that direction. They purchased partial de-control sugar in 1968. I still remember that the transaction had taken place in Kanpur. He must be knowing it because he comes from Uttar Pradesh. They had paid Rs. 40 lakhs for purchasing the partial de-control sugar from the then Government headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi. That brought them very rich dividends. The whole trouble is that Government control and sugar cannot live together because the producers of sugar move and act solely from profit motive. If sugar was properly handled, if there was a properly formulated sugar policy, it could have been used as a vehicle for rural upliftment. But instead in traditional areas like U.P. and Bihar, it had become a vehicle of impoverishment. Cane growers, mill workers and the weaker sections of the consumers, all, have been equally exploited, and the industrial adventurers have flourished. The sugar tycoons have minted money. Of course, they have parted with a big share—the hon. Minister is in the know of things—but they got enormous return for the same.

I will give an example, how they exploit. Mr. M. A. Chidambaram, Chairman of Maruti Limited, controls the South India Steel and Sugar Mills. He is not even willing to pay the mini-