

15.3½ hrs.

**CONSTITUTION (AMENDMENT)  
BILL\***

(AMENDMENT OF ARTICLES 37,45, ETC.)

श्री भवू लिखड़े : (बांका) : मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ कि भारत के संविधान का और संशोधन करने वाले विधेयक को पुरःस्थापित करने की अनुमति दी जाय ।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Constitution of India."

*The motion was adopted.*

श्री भवू लिखड़े मैं विधेयक को पेश करता हूँ ।

15.04 hrs.

**NETAJI NATIONAL ACADEMY  
BILL—Contd.**

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We take up further consideration of the motion of Shri Samar Guha on the Netaji National Academy Bill. On the last occasion Mr. Guha took 25 minutes. I hope he will finish in another 5 minutes.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contd.): Please give me 15 minutes I do not think I spoke for 25 minutes on the last occasion.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: This is the record. Anyway, please don't repeat the arguments of your last speech.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the image of Netaji before the Indian people is the image of an epical hero. The dazzling effulgence of the heroic personality of Netaji to a large extent over-shadowed his ideological personality. It will not be possible for us to evaluate the real personality of Netaji unless we go deep into the inspirational source of his life.

I hope, my friends who have gone through the autobiography of Netaji have noted one point that, although

Netaji has been described by our nation as a great revolutionary, as a great hero, as a great leftist, as a great socialist, he named his autobiography as the autobiography of "An Indian Pilgrim". Herein lies the real personality of Netaji. He wanted to live in posterity not as Subhas Chandra Bose, not as an Indian revolutionary, not even as a fiery fighter for the freedom, but in a Nameless Name of "An Indian Pilgrim".

He felt from the younger days of his life that India had a mission to fulfil and he was a missionary in fulfilling that mission of India. This is what Netaji said: I quote:

"What is India in reality? No doubt, we have a very ancient civilisation, but unlike other ancient civilisations, such as of Egypt or Babylon, of Phoenicia or even of Greece, the ancient culture and civilisation of India is not dead. It still lives in the present.

In spite of the fact that fundamentally we have the same culture and civilisation as we had several thousands of years ago, we have nevertheless changed and moved with the times. Today, in spite of our ancient background, we are able to live in a modern world and adapt "ourselves to that world. We want to built up a new and modern nation on the basis of our old culture and civilisation."

Netaji further said:

"One may call me a chauvinist yet I will say that India has Mission to Fulfil."

This Mission according to Netaji is essentially the mission of realising the Indian concept of 'Basudhayba Kutumbam' of harmonising, reconciling and bringing about a golden synthesis of the values of different civilisation of the world.

Netaji's political philosophy is nothing but an extension of his fundamental philosophy of life.

Ideologically, Netaji has been described by many as a Fiery Leftist, as an Aggressive Nationalist, as a flexible Pragmatist, as an Idealist socialist, or even as a Neo-Fascist or a Crypto Communist. Such imperfect evaluation of Netaji's political philosophy arose out of lack of understanding of the fundamentals of the perspectives of his Philosophy of Synthesis.

Netaji never believes in any kind of deterministic perspective of any philosophy or accept any totalitarian Jaim of any philosophy as infallible.

In his perspective of evaluation of his own philosophy, Netaji is a Relativist, and believes that the creative role of human genius lies in the appreciation of relative truths of different fundamental values or political philosophies and integrate them into a philosophy of synthesis that agrees with the socio-cultural and scientific discoveries of the age.

Netaji said:

"What our political philosophy is? On this question, I gave my own views in a book I wrote ten years ago called, 'The Indian Struggle'. In that book, I said that it would be our task in India to evolve a system that would be a synthesis of the system in vogue in different parts of the world.

"It will be foolish for anyone to say that anyone system represents the last stage of human progress. Human progress can never stop, and out of the past experience of the world, we have to produce a new system.

Unless we are at the end of all process of evolution or unless we deny evolution, our choice is not restricted to alternatives like Fascism or communism...."

"...No stand-point of theory in socio-political affairs can be the last word of human wisdom. The socio-political theories and institutions of modern nations are the product of

their history, environment and needs—they are liable to change as human life is.

"We should study with critical sympathy all the movements and experiments that are going on in Europe and America and we should be guilty of folly if we ignore any movement or experiment because of any preconceived bias or predilection."

Why have I said in this Bill that higher studies of Comparative Political Philosophy should be one of the subjects that should be taught in such an Academy is that Netaji wanted that we should study all the political philosophies and political institutions of the world with critical sympathy. But we have to evolve our own methods and ideology according to our own culture and own national genius. Netaji never undermined the development of the political philosophies and institutions that gradually evolved in different parts of the world. I quote again. As far back as 1935, Netaji said:

"When India is free, original thought and fresh experiment will be necessary as India will be called upon to play an important role in the world. In the 17th century, England made remarkable contribution to the world civilisation through her ideas of constitutional and democratic Government. Similarly, in the 18th century France made the most wonderful contribution to the culture of the world through her ideas of liberty, fraternity and equality. During the 19th century, Germany made the most remarkable gift through her Marxian philosophy. During the 20th century Russia has enriched the culture and civilisation of the world through her achievement of proletarian revolution, proletarian Government and proletarian culture. The next remarkable contribution to the culture and civilisation of the world, India will be called upon to make."

[Shri Samar Guha]

He reiterated his faith in the mission of India again in his historic Tokyo University Speech in 1944 when he said:

"India will move to the next phase of socio-economic evolution of the world."

In his Ramgarh address Netaji urged that the ideals of free India should be "Freedom, Democracy and Socialism". He further urged that it will be the task of free India to evolve a philosophy of synthesis of the fundamental values of freedom, the value of democracy and the value of socialism into an integral concept of a political philosophy and this will be the message of free India to the world civilisation.

15.19 hrs.

[SHRI N. K. P. SALVE *in the Chair.*]

I have also said that in the field of higher studies, in the proposed Academy, economics of planning should also be undertaken. Why have I said so? The reason is this. It is a known history that Netaji is known in our country as the father of Indian national planning. Ever since he was released from the Mandalay jail in 1927, Netaji played the role of a crusader for preaching the ideals of socialism from one corner of India to the other. He said:

"I have no doubt that salvation of India as of the world depends on socialism, but India will have to evolve her own method and form of socialism."

I want to quote a few words of Netaji's speech which he made in the Navjawan Congress held at Karachi in 1931 where he said:

"I want a socialist republic in India.

"We want political freedom, whereby it is meant the constitution of an independent Indian State, free from the control of British imperialism.

"Secondly, we want complete economic emancipation. Every

human being must have the right to work, and the right to a living wage. There shall be no drones in our society and no unearned incomes. There must be equal opportunities for all. Above all, there should be a fair, just and equitable distribution of wealth...."

"For this purpose it may be necessary for the State to take over the control of the means of production and distribution of wealth. Thirdly we want complete social equality. There shall be no caste, no depressed classes. Every man will have the same rights, the same status in society. Further there shall be no inequality between the sexes either in social status or in law and women will be in every way an equal partner of man."

In his Haripura Congress speech, Netaji outlined the concept of National Planning for India. For that he had to incur the wrath of the Wardha School of Economists, in those days. I quote from his Haripura speech on the Concept of National Planning. He said:

"Though it may be somewhat premature to give a detailed plan of reconstruction, we might as well consider some of the principles according to which our future social reconstruction should take place. I have no doubt in my mind that our chief national problems relating to the eradication of poverty, illiteracy and disease and to scientific production and distribution can be effectively tackled only along socialistic lines. The very first thing which our future national government will have to do, would be to set up a Planning Commission for drawing up a comprehensive plan of reconstruction. This plan will have two parts an immediate programme and a long period programme. In drawing up the first part, the immediate objectives which will have to be kept in view will be threefold—firstly, to prepare the country for self-sacrifice? Secondly, to unify India? and thirdly, to give scope for local

and cultural autonomy... While unifying the country through a strong Central Government, we shall have to put all the minority communities as well as the provinces at their ease, by allowing them a large measure of autonomy in cultural as well as government affairs. Special efforts will be needed to keep our people together when the load of foreign domination is removed, because alien rule has demoralised and disorganised us to a degree. To promote national unity we shall have to develop our lingua franca and a common script.

"...With regard to the long period programme for a free India, the first problem to tackle is that of our increasing population. I simply want to point out that where poverty, starvation and disease are stalking the land, we cannot afford to have our population mounting up by thirty millions during a single decade. If the population goes up by leaps and bounds, as it has done in the recent past, our plans are likely to fall through.

"Regarding reconstruction, our principal problem will be how to eradicate poverty from our country. That will require grading reform of our land-system, including the abolition of land lordism. Agricultural indebtedness will have to be liquidated and provision made for cheap credit for the rural population. An extension of the co-operative movement will be necessary for the benefit of both producers and consumers. Agriculture will have to be put on scientific basis with a view to increasing the yield from the land.

"To solve the economic problem, agricultural improvement will not be enough. A comprehensive scheme of industrial development under state-ownership and state-control will be indispensable. A new industrial system will have to be built up in place of the old one, which has collapsed as a result of mass production abroad and alien rule at home. The Planning Commission will have to carefully consider and decide which of the home industries could be revived

despite the competition of modern factories and in which sphere large-scale production should be encouraged. However much we may dislike modern industrialism and condemn the evils which follow in its train, we cannot go back to the pre-industrial era, even if we desire to do so. It is well, therefore, that we should reconcile ourselves to industrialisation and devise means to minimise its evils and at the same time explore the possibilities of surviving the inevitable competition of factories. In a country like India, there will be plenty of room for cottage industries, especially in the case of industries including hand-spinning and handweaving allied to agriculture.

"Last but not the least, the State on the advice of a Planning Commission, will have to adopt a comprehensive scheme for gradually socialising of our entire agricultural and industrial system in the spheres of both production and appropriation. Extra capital will have to be procured for this, whether through internal or external loans or through inflation."

Sir, even in his Tokyo speech in 1944—in this historic speech—he never forgot the basic question of National Planning for India. He said:

"The moment India is free, the most important problem will be organising our national defence in order to safeguard our freedom in future. For that, we shall have to build modern war industries, so that we may produce the arms that we need for self-defence. This will mean a very big programme of industrialisation.

"After satisfying the needs of our nation in the matter of self-defence, the next problem in the degree of importance will be that of removal of poverty and unemployment. So our most important problem will be how to give employment to the millions of the unemployed in India and how to relieve the appalling poverty which now exists among the masses of the Indian people."

[Shri Samar Guha]

MR. CHAIRMAN: You will please conclude. Others are also anxious to participate.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I shall need ten more minute... Netaji went on to say in this speech:

"The third problem in a Free India will be the problem of education. Our problem will be to give at least elementary education to the Indian masses, as soon as possible, and along with that to give more facilities to the intellectual classes in the matter of higher education.

"We cannot leave it to private initiative to solve the national problems especially the economic problem. If we leave it to private initiative to solve the problem of poverty and unemployment, for instance, it will probably take centuries. Therefore, public opinion in India is in favour of some sort of special system, in which the initiative will not be left to private individuals, but the State will take over the responsibility for solving economic questions. Whether it is question of industrializing the country or modernizing agriculture, we want the State to step in and take over the responsibilities and put through reforms within a short period, so that the Indian people could be put on their legs at a very early date."

But, he reminded by saying:

"But in solving this problem, we want to work in our own way. We will naturally benefit by experiments made in other countries but after all, we have to solve our problems in an Indian way and under Indian conditions. Therefore, the system that we shall ultimately set up will be an Indian system to suit the needs of the Indian people."

Sir, I want to draw your kind attention that this is why I have said that the proposed Academy should include the advance study of the economics of planning. Netaji was the architect of National Planning in India.

Why I say that the study 'Advanced Military Science' should also be included in the Academy? Netaji is the greatest Khatriya of modern India after Shivaji, Netaji is a great military genius modern India produced. We shall ever remember in our freedom history Netaji's Order-of-the days which are immortal piece of literature for the men of arms. I quote what he said in his first Order-of-the-days to his Army of Liberation.

"There is in the distance—beyond that river, beyond those jungles, beyond these hills, lies the promised land, the soil from which we sprang—the land to which we shall now return.

"Hark! India is calling, India's metropolis Delhi is calling, three hundred and eighty-eight millions of our countrymen are calling. Blood is calling to blood.

"Get up, we have no time to lose. Take up your arms. There, in front of you, is the road that our pioneers have built. We shall March along that road.

"We shall carve our way through the enemy's ranks, or if God wills we shall die a Martyr's death.

"And in our last-sleep we shall kiss the road that will bring our army to Delhi. The road to Delhi is the road to Freedom. Chalo Delhi!"

This was the first part of the Order-of-the day that he issued to his army. I quote a few more lines from his another Order-of-the-days to the INA before they launched the final liberation struggle.

He assured his army of liberation in glowing words.

"I assure you that I shall be with you in darkness and in sunshine, in sorrow and in joy, in suffering and in victory. For the present, I can offer you nothing except hunger, thirst, privation, forced marches and then death. But if you follow me in life and in death, as

I am confident you will, I shall lead you to victory and freedom. It does not matter who among us will live to see India free. It is enough that India shall be free and that we shall give our all to make her free. May God now bless our Army grant us victory in the coming fight."

I do not know of any General anywhere in the world who had promised only death, starvation, hunger and forced marches yet it acted as magnetic spell on them. It was a saga of martyrdom—not of just a hundred or a thousand people who sacrificed their lives in the Azad Hind Revolution but 26,000 Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, who fought shoulder to shoulder, hand in hand, died for the liberation of their common Motherland.

One of the Japanese Generals who led the Japanese Army in the Burma front, General Kawabe, when I met him in Tokyo, said to me:

"As an organiser and inspirer of a revolutionary army, as an acute strategist and as a planner of military operation and manoeuvrability, any nation should feel proud of Chander Bose."

General Kawabe further said:

"Chander Bose was a great revolutionary but the greatness of his leadership is largely due to his brilliance as a military leader.... The unique character of Netaji's military leadership as the supreme commander of INA, his magnetic inspiration in infusing dignity, discipline and dauntless patriotism in his liberation army, his paramount control over his revolutionary army during attack or retreat, his innovation of soul-stirring battle-cries, his electrifying order-of-the-days and all other gallant fighting feats in Germany and South East Asia in organising and leading the Azad Hind Fauz manifestly show that India should pay homage to Netaji not only as the greatest revolutionary of our age but also as

the greatest revolutionary military leader of modern India."

This is the reason why I say that the proposed Netaji National Academy should include higher studies in advanced military science.

I have also said that the problems of national integration should also be taught as one of the subjects in this Academy. The tragedy of the Partition of India followed from the failure to make the concept of emotional integration of the people of India a reality. Netaji was the only leader under whose inspiration a real integration of the Indian people was achieved under the banner of the Azad Hind Revolution.

In the Azad Hind Fauz, the Muslims, the Christians, the Sikhs, and the Hindus lived together in the same barrack, dined the same food in the same kitchens and died together hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder for the sacred cause of the liberation of their Motherland. In this last war of Indian Independence, 26,000 Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and the Hindus created an immortal saga of martyrdom for the liberation of their common Motherland. In paying tribute to Netaji for his unique achievement of national integration under the banner of Azad Hind Revolution, Gandhiji said:

"The greatest lesson that we can draw from Netaji's life is the way in which he infused the spirit of unity among his men so that they could rise above all religious and provincial barriers and shed together their blood for the common cause. His unique achievement would surely immortalise him in the pages of history. Everyone of Netaji's followers who saw me on their return to India had said to me without exception that Netaji's influence acted like a charm on them, and they acted under him with the single aim of achieving Indian freedom. The question of religion and provincial or any such difference had never cropped in their minds at all.

[Shri Samar Guha]

The greatest and the lasting act of Netaji was that he abolished all distinctions of caste and class. He never thought himself to be a caste Hindu. He was Indian first and Indian last. What more, he fired all under him with the same zeal so that they forget in his presence all distinctions and acted as one man."

I want to remind you again that before India was divided, about 80 per cent of the higher officers in the Azad Hind Army were those belonging to the Muslim community. It never occurred to anybody, whether they were Hindu, Christian or Sikh, whether they would fight under such leadership. I also want to draw your attention to the fact that when Netaji planned to go outside, it was a Frontier pathan, Akbar Khan, who helped him. Again during his three-month perilous submarine journey from Kiel to Singapore, from Germany to South-East Asia, only Major Abid Hussain was with him. Again next in command to him when Netaji was leading the liberation expedition to Assam was Maj. Gen. M. Z. Kiani, now a Pakistani. The Subhas Brigade was led by I. K. Kiani. Col. Berhanuddin was in charge of the Bahadur Group, the guerilla wing of the INA. Col. Kiani made daring records in leading the Subhas Brigade. Col. Ehsam Qudir was in charge of Transport of the Liberation Army and Col. Shaukatullah Malik controlled INA Intelligence. It was Col. Shaukatullah who earned the highest honour by raising the first flag of Indian freedom at Moirang. It was again a Pathan, Lt. Nazir Ahmed, who sacrificed his life to save the life of Netaji from British bombing.

The last word about Netaji can be said only by Col. Habibur Rehman. All of them are now Pakistanis.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have allowed you the widest latitude.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I am finishing in two minutes.

को मुक्तकंधा बांध (पंजाबी) : सभापति महोदय, जेस मुक्तकंध है कि हम वह प्रस्ताव पास कर दें कि इस बिना के लिए सारा दोहन न। समर गुहा से लें और हम लोग उदका समर्थन कर दें।

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I want to draw your attention to a speech made by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri as Prime Minister of India while unveiling a statue of Netaji in Calcutta. He said:

"What tremendous organisation, what organising ability, what competence and talent! It is difficult to find another leader who could, single-handed and relying solely on his own strength, build up such a gigantic organisation. And, the people who joined him submitted to all the discipline, sacrifice and regulations and accepted him as the liberator of India. I do not know of any parallel to the sacrifice and self-abnegation that Netaji made, knowing 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 and his country's freedom were his goal. And thus, from wherever he went his message continued to reach us his broadcasts came through to us, his dedicated life brought forth new life and new power to this country. When the INA trials were going on here, such a revolutionary situation was created in the country that it was impossible to stem its overwhelming tide. The entire country accepted Netaji as its leader, the greatest revolutionary leader of the country, and his message of the time that Indian was bound to be free, no power on earth could keep her in bondage any longer. And they became prepared to fight for the cause with all the strength at their command. To this day, we accept Netaji as our greatest leader, as a great leader and revolutionary, he is an example to us, a beacon light."

A year before Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, had said in a public speech that in her younger days when she saw in the eyes of Netaji the effulgent light of a revolutionary, it inspired her. President Giri has said that from a historical prospective, Netaji is the first President of Free India.

I leave it to the patriotic conscience of my brother colleagues in this House whether in this Silver Jubilee year of our national independence, they will accept this Netaji National Academy Bill of mine as a token of homage to the greatest revolutionary of our country, to a missionary pilgrim of India. I leave this question to my brother colleagues to answer.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Motion moved:

"That the Bill to provide for the establishment of the Netaji National Academy to disseminate knowledge on various important subjects and matters connected therewith and incidental thereto may be taken into consideration."

There is notice of an amendment; it is a motion for reference of the Bill to a Joint Committee. Are you moving it, Mr. Daga.

SHRI M. C. DAGA: Yes, Sir. I move:

"That the Bill to provide for the establishment of the Netaji National Academy to disseminate knowledge on various important subjects and matters connected therewith and incidental thereto, be referred to a Joint Committee of the Houses consisting of 22 members, 15 from this House, namely:—

- (1) Shri Madhu Dandavate
- (2) Shri Samar Guha
- (3) Shri Indrajit Gupta
- (4) Shri D. P. Jadeja
- (5) Shri Bhagendra Jha
- (6) Shri Jagannathrao Joshi
- (7) Shri Premnathji Mehta
- (8) Shri Pankaj Hegde
- (9) Shri Partap Singh

- (10) Shri Ram Bhagat Paswan
  - (11) Shri Arjun Sethi
  - (12) Shri Nawal Kishore Sharma
  - (13) Shri Nawal Kishore Sinha
  - (14) Shri D. P. Yadav
  - (15) Shri M. C. Daga
- and 7 from Rajya Sabha;

that in order to constitute a sitting of the Joint Committee the quorum shall be one-third of the total number of members of the Joint Committee;

that the Committee shall make a report to this House by the last day of the first week of the next session;

that in other respects the Rules of Procedure of this House relating to Parliamentary Committees shall apply with such variations and modifications as the Speaker may make; and

that this House do recommend to Rajya Sabha that Rajya Sabha do join the said Joint Committee and communicate to this House the names of 7 members to be appointed by Rajya Sabha to the Joint Committee."

श्री मुल्की राज सैनी (देहरादून) :  
सभापति महोदय, नेताजी का नाम सामने आते ही अपने जीवन के वे पुराने दिन याद आ जाते हैं, जब कि हम लोग स्कूल में पढ़ रहे थे। 1926 में जब गांधी जी ने उत्तरी भारत का दौरा किया, तो मैं छटी कलास में पढ़ रहा था। उस समय गांधी जी, नेता जी, पंडित नेहरू और दूसरे बहुत से नेताओं के नाम हमारे सामने आते थे, लेकिन अगर नौजवानों के दिलों में सब से ज्यादा प्रेरणा, जोश और हिम्मत पैदा होती थी, तो वह नेताजी के नाम से होती थी। वह अपने विद्यार्थी जीवन से ही साहसी और क्रांतिकारी रहे थे। उन्होंने छोटी उम्र में ही अपने कलेज में एक छोटी सी क्लब बना कर के अपने साहस और क्रांतिकारिता का परिचय दिया था।

### [श्री मुल्की राज सैनी]

जब जेनेवा में कांफ्रेंस हो रही थी, तो वह हिन्दुस्तान की राष्ट्रीयता के भाव से भरे हुए बोले थे। भारत के स्वतंत्रता-संग्राम के इतिहास में उन का नाम नौजवानों के हृदय-सम्राट के नाते हमेशा लिया जाता रहा है। 1930-31 के वाद की एक ऐतिहासिक घटना है कि सरदार भगत सिंह और उन के साथियों, राजगुरु और सुखदेव, को फांसी हो चुकी थी और कराची में कांग्रेस का सम्मेलन हो रहा था। उस समय हिन्दुस्तान का वातावरण ऐसा था कि खास तौर से नौजवानों का जोश रोके नहीं रुक रहा था। गांधी जी कराची के सम्मेलन में शरीक होने के लिए जा रहे थे। नौजवानों को गुस्सा था कि सरदार भगत सिंह को फांसी क्यों दी गई। बड़ा प्रदर्शन हो रहा था और गांधी जी की जान के लिए खतरा पैदा हो गया था। उस वक्त उन को बीस मील पहले एक स्टेशन पर उतारा गया। जब इस बात का पता चल गया, तो भीड़ बहुत ज्यादा हो गई। हमला हुआ ही चाहता था कि नेताजी सामने आ गये। उन्होंने कहा कि ए नौजवानो, अगर तुम्हें मारना है, तो पहले मुझे मारो, गांधी जी को वाद में मारना। यह सुन कर नौजवानों का जोश ठंडा हो गया। नेताजी नौजवानों के दिलों के बादशाह थे।

श्री राम रतन शर्मा ( बांदा ) : वे लोग गांधी जी को क्यों मारना चाहते थे ?

श्री मुल्की राज सैनी : उन का खयाल था कि अगर गांधी जी चाहते, तो सरदार भगत सिंह को बचाया जा सकता था। उन को इस बात का गुस्सा था कि गांधी जी ने देश में नान-वायलेंस और पीस का नारा दे कर नौजवानों के जोश को दबाये रखा और उन की इस नीति के कारण अंग्रेजों को सरदार भगत सिंह को फांसी देने की हिम्मत हुई।

इसी तरह नेताजी ने आगे भी इतिहास को बनाया। जब तक वह कांग्रेस में रहे, उन्होंने नौजवानों को संगठित कर के अपने क्रान्तिकारी प्रोग्राम को आगे बढ़ाया। कांग्रेस के इतिहास में उन का अपना ही स्थान है। हम उन को ग्रेटेस्ट कहें, महानतम कहें, या जो भी कहें, भारत के इतिहास में उनका नाम हमेशा हमेशा के लिए ऊंचा रहेगा और जीवित रहेगा।

उन के कांग्रेस से बाहर जाने की जो घटना हुई, वह भी इतिहास में अपना स्थान रखती है। उस समय कांग्रेस में दो दल थे: एक प्रगतिशील और दूसरे नरम दल के लोग कहे जाते थे। नेताजी ने दूसरे पक्ष को लिया हुआ था। उस समय जो इलैक्शन हुआ, उस में वह जीत गये। लेकिन उस के बाद उन को मजबूर हो कर कांग्रेस छोड़नी पड़ी, क्योंकि उन के बहुत से प्रगतिशील कहे जाने वाले साथी ऐन वक्त पर उन के साथ नहीं रहे। गांधी जी ने अपना राजनैतिक जीवन दांव पर लगा दिया और कहा कि अगर नेताजी को अपनी वर्किंग कमेटी बनानी है, तो वह बनायें, मैं उसका विरोध तो नहीं करूंगा लेकिन सहयोग भी नहीं दूंगा। तो ऐसी हालत में, उस वक्त भी अपनी राष्ट्रीयता का बड़ा ऊंचा परिचय उन्होंने दिया। गांधी जी में उनकी आस्था थी। उन्होंने कहा कि हो सकता है कि इस वक्त गांधीजी के बिना हिन्दुस्तान की कांग्रेस और हिन्दुस्तान का भविष्य शायद अच्छा न रह सके। उन के अंदर फिर भी कुर्बानी और बलिदान का यह मादा था। लेकिन बाद में जो आग उन के अंदर जल रही थी कि हिन्दुस्तान आजाद होना चाहिए, तेजी से कदम बढ़ने चाहिए, उस को ले कर उन्होंने एक फारवर्ड ब्लाक बनाया और नौजवानों की टोली को ले कर वह आगे चले। अंग्रेज बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सका। लड़ाई आ गई। उन को घर में नजरबन्द कर दिया गया और उन्होंने पुराने

इतिहास को जो शिवाजी के संबंध में था, फिर से दोहरा दिया। शिवाजी जिस तरह से औरंगजेब के यहां से मिठाई की टोकरी में बैठ कर बाहर निकल गए थे और सारे देश को अचम्भे में डाल दिया था उसी तरह से नेताजी ने बड़े हिस्टारिकल तरीके से अपने आप को घर से बाहर निकाला। अपनी जान को खतरे में डालते हुए वह काबुल पहुंचा। काबुल से जर्मनी पहुंचे, जर्मनी से जापान पहुंचे। जैसा समर गुहाजी ने कहा उन को बताया गया कि पचास प्रतिशत चांसेज हैं सही सलामत पहुंचने के तो उन्होंने कहा कि अगर पांच प्रतिशत भी चांसेज होंगे तो वह जरूर जाएंगे। उन के दिल में जो हुबबल-वतनी का जज्वा था, देश को आजाद करने का जोश था, उस के कारण देश का सारा नातावरण आज भी उन के नाम से गूंज जाता है। . . . .

**सभापति सहोदय :** थोड़ा प्रस्ताव पर आ जाइए। उन की जीवनी पर तो आप बोल रहे हैं, लेकिन थोड़ा अब प्रस्ताव पर आ जाइए।

**श्री मुत्की राज सैनी :** मैं प्रस्ताव पर ही आ रहा हूं। इसी की बैकग्राउंड से प्रस्ताव बनता है। मैं उसी पर आ रहा हूं।

सीधी सी बात है कि उन का जीवन देश की आजादी के लिए गया। उन को देश के नौजवानों ने अपना नेता का बादशाह माना। उन के विचार, उन की फिलास्फी, उन की राइटिंग्स, उन की सारी चीजें साबित करती हैं कि उन का नामोनिशां हिन्दुस्तान में रहना चाहिए। उन की टीचिंग से, उन की थिंकिंग से, उन की फिलोस्फी से आज के भारत की इस परिस्थिति के अंदर एक बहुत बड़ा योगदान मिल सकता है। जैसा कि अभी बयान दिया गया उन्होंने एको-नामिक प्लानिंग भी दिया है और देश की और समस्याओं को लेकर भी अपने

विचार दिए हैं। इसीलिए मैं कह रहा था कि देश के जन-जन के दिमाग में चाहे वह किसी भी राजनैतिक पार्टी का हो, नेता जी के नाम से एक नई प्रेरणा पैदा होती है। पिछले दिनों जब यह बात आई कि नेता जी जिन्दा हैं तो लोगों में कितनी उत्सुकता पैदा हुई। भारत की सारी जनता नेता जी को जिन्दा देखना चाहती है। जब भी कहीं जरा सी खबर निकल जाती है किसी अखबार के कोने में तो सारे देश में पढ़ी जाती है और लोग पूछते हैं कि क्या यह सही हो सकता है? मगर उन की आशा फिर निराशा में बदल जाती है। तो नेताजी का नाम हिन्दुस्तान के साथ, हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी के साथ, हिन्दुस्तान की तरक्की के साथ, हिन्दुस्तान की योजनाओं के साथ जुड़ा हुआ है और जुड़ा रहना चाहिए।

अभी कल ही की बात है, हमारे फ्रीडम फाइटर्स के सम्मेलन के अंदर जब माननीय इंदिरा जी ने उद्घाटन किया तो उस समय नेताजी का नाम नहीं आया। उसी समय एक वृद्ध स्त्री ने उस की चर्चा शुरू कर दी कि नेताजी का नाम क्यों नहीं आया। उस के बाद एकदम सब तरफ से मांग हुई कि उन को बोलने का अवसर दिया जायें। इंदिरा जी को दोबारा डायस पर आना पड़ा और उन को कहना पड़ा कि मैं बहुत से नेताओं के नाम ले रही थी, नेता जी का नाम जान कर नहीं छोड़ा गया है। यह तो एक बात ऐसे ही हो गई। तो फ्रीडम फाइटर्स हों या राजनैतिक दलों के आदमी हों, झोंपड़ी में रहने वाले हों या बड़ी बड़ी कोठियों में रहने वाले हों नेता जी का नाम आज सारे देश को प्रेरणा देता है। हिन्दुस्तान की आजाद की लड़ाई से उन को अलग किया नहीं जा सकता। हमारे जैसे आदमी को जिस ने विद्यार्थी जीवन से लेकर आगे तक बराबर नेता जी से और ऐसे ही महान नेताओं

[श्री मुल्की राज सैनी]

से प्रेरणा ली है लोक सभा के सदस्य बनने के बाद जब हम पार्लियामेंट को देखते हैं, दिल्ली शहर को देखते हैं तो न उनकी स्टेच्यू मिलती है, न उन की तस्वीर मिलती है, न सेंट्रल हाल में उन की कोई फोटो है, तो ऐसे बड़े नेता की कोई यादगार अभी तक 25 सालों के अंदर नहीं बन पाई है, यह बहुत बड़े ताज्जुब की बात लगती है ।

समर गुहा जी ने यह बड़ा अच्छा प्रस्ताव रखा है कि उन की यादगार में एक एकाडेमी बने जो चिन्तन करे उन की लिखी हुई किताबों के ऊपर, उन की फिलास्फी के ऊपर और देश की वर्तमान हालत में उन की योग्यता से, उन की मेहनत से, उन के चिन्तन से देश को एक दिशा मिले । यह बहुत छोटी मांग है, कोई बड़ी मांग नहीं है । नेताजी का व्यक्तित्व, नेताजी की महानता, देश से बहुत बड़ी आशा करती है, । मैं आदरणीय मंत्री महोदय से यह निवेदन करूंगा कि यह प्रस्ताव किसी एक व्यक्ति का न मान करके पूरे सदन का यह प्रस्ताव माना जाये और जिस तरह उदारता के साथ में स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों को पेंशन दी गई ... (ध्वजवाहन)

श्री हुकम चन्द कल्लवाय (मुरैला) : माननीय मंत्री जी पाराशर जी से बात कर रहे हैं, वह नोट भी नहीं कर रहे हैं, न सुन रहे हैं ।

श्री मुल्की राज सैनी : मैं निवेदन कर रहा था कि यह कोई बड़ी मांग नहीं है । यह तो नेशनल एकाडेमी बहुत छोटी सी चीज है । देश के अंदर नेता जी के नाम पर बहुत कुछ हो जाना चाहिए था और बहुत कुछ होना चाहिए । जिस तरह से सरकार ने उदारता के साथ में 25 साल के बाद हमारे एक प्राइवेट मेम्बर श्री शिबन

लाल सक्सेना के प्रस्ताव को माना और एक योजना सामने आई जिस में स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के सेनानियों को पेंशन दी गई उसी तरह से श्री समर गुहा जी के प्रस्ताव के अंदर जो स्पिरिट है वह देश के जन-जन के हृदयों से निकली हुई एक पुकार है । उसे वह ऐक्सेप्ट करें और नेताजी की सिर्फ एकाडेमी ही नहीं और भी यादगार देश में कायम की जाये ।

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: On the last occasion also the Minister of Education, Prof. Nurul Hasan was not present. I was told that he was busy in the Rajya Sabha. This is not a political Bill or a Bill of any contemporary political importance or of any party importance. A day will come when Prof. Nurul Hasan may have to answer for it. He does not realise what a disrespectful attitude he has taken by not coming to the House even for a few minutes. I did not expect him to take such a trifling attitude towards such a sacred Bill.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE AND IN THE DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE (SHRI D. P. YADAV): The Minister is in the other House. The moment he is free from there, he will come.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Any matter connected with the life of Netaji, specially a motion which seeks to perpetuate his memory by establishing an Academy is going to revolve round the sentiments of the entire House. As soon as the Minister is free from the other House, he will come. The story of Subhas Babu's life is the story of India's beloved, noble and brave son. It is, however, my duty to point out that we have to confine ourselves to the motion which relates to the establishment of an Academy. I would request hon. members to bear this in mind because there are certain rules of procedure to abide by.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR (Ahmedabad): Sir, I congratulate Professor Samar Guha for having introduced this Bill. You Mr. Chairman, have rightly pointed out that what we need now to discuss with regard to this Bill is not so much the great qualities of Netaji and the heroic contribution which he made to India's national struggle and its freedom, but we shall have to refer in greater detail to the provisions of this Bill. But I hope you will appreciate and permit us if we take a few minutes by way of an introduction to suggest why such an academy with the kind of objectives that Professor Guha has in mind is welcome because of the kind of life that Netaji himself lived. To that limited extent, I think, you will pardon our references to Subhas Chandra Bose.

Netaji's life, as I said a little while ago, has been truly heroic. He is not a mere name in India's history. It is a legend. It is a symbol which stands for eternal youth; it is a symbol which stands for spirits rebellious; it is a symbol which stands for freshness of outlook and bravery in action.

We all remember Subhas Chandra Bose with gratitude because he stood for certain ideals; he had the courage of his convictions; and, whatever he said and whatever he wrote, he had the boldness to carry it out, no matter what obstacles were in his path. Even when it came occasionally to having a confrontation with the tallest of the tall leaders of our country, including Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, Netaji had no hesitation whatsoever in standing to his guns and keeping to his point of view and in trying to persuade even Mahatma Gandhi as to why he, that is, Subhas, thought differently from the thought of the Father of the Nation.

If we want a National Academy in honour of Netaji, then we need to inculcate these habits and characteristics in our youth of modern India and of the Democratic Republic of

India. It is only such type of people who are independent in outlook, who have honesty of purpose, who have character, who have integrity, who have a certain way of looking at national problems in an impersonal manner, who are utterly selfless and dedicated whom we want and it is only such people's independent thought that we need at this critical juncture of our country's development. It is from that larger angle also that I feel that this Bill needs to be supported by all sections of the House.

Sir, I will not take much time of the House except to refer to one book among many that I have with me here and that is entitled "Cross-Roads: being the works of Subhas Chandra Bose, 1938—40." If one reads through some of these short articles and speeches of Netaji, one comes to understand and appreciate the kind of independence of outlook and the critical thought approach that Subhas Chandra Bose had towards various political, economic, social and other problems facing India at that time.

I was only a small boy but I remember vividly, being in Haripura, in Gujarat, in February, 1938, when Subhas Chandra Bose was elected as the President of the 51st Session of the Indian National Congress. He was received by tens of thousands of people. In spite of the fact that the election had a certain background, a certain bitterness created also politically, Subhas Chandra Bose himself had no bitterness whatsoever in his mind. He had the generosity to say in that very speech that Mahatma Gandhi was the leader because he stood for ideals of humanity but that what he, that is, Subhas, thought ought to be done for the country's development and that he shall stick to that. It is this spirit which we need to develop in this country. I would invite the attention of hon. Members here to some beautiful, inspiring and stimulating thoughts and addresses and articles by Subhas Chandra Bose.

[Shri P. G. Mavalankar]

He had also an occasion to speak at the inauguration of the All India National Planning Committee at Bombay. While doing that, he mentioned how it was important not to neglect the smaller village industries while, at the same time, emphasizing the need for developing industrialisation in our country.

So, he had ideas on planning, he had ideas on foreign policy, he had ideas on economics, he had ideas on administration, and he had given not only thought on these matters but he had also to a large extent acted on those ideas. Apart from these angles, Professor Samar Guha's Bill on setting up of Netaji National Academy is also to be welcomed from other points of view.

In our country, since independence, not much thought and study have been given to many of the pressing problems that face our developing democracy. It is a tragedy of the situation that although we have got a number of colleges and universities, and their number is increasing, these colleges and universities, by and large, barring a very few exceptions, are not proving themselves to be either temples of learning or places where truth and research have the highest priority in our educational life. Nor are our colleges and universities able to inculcate in our youth the habits of critical independent thinking on a variety of problems facing the public life of this country and democracy.

Therefore, I feel that an academy of this nature if it is founded, and if it is also founded with the blessings not only of the Government but also of the people at large and support and co-operation of all the peoples, then such academies will act as a very useful supplementary and complementary process to the kind of thinking and activity which really ought to go on every day in our colleges and universities.

The House will pardon me and you, Mr. Chairman would also pardon me if I take the liberty of injecting a small personal note into the debate by referring to one Institute, not named in honour of any Indian, but named in honour of a British professor, the late Harold Laski, a distinguished professor of Political Science in the London School of Economics and Political Science from the years 1920 to 1950 until he died in March 1950. My wife and I have been working at this Institute in Ahmedabad which we had the honour of founding ourselves on 15th August, 1954 and for the last 19 years—this is the 20th year which we have just entered—at this Institute in Ahmedabad what we are doing is precisely what Professor Samar Guha has in mind, viz., promoting an independent critical thought activity in our country on every public issue and developing an objective view of various problems facing the country. We are not taking any Government grant—local, State or federal as a matter of principle and general policy. At the same time, we do not take any foreign foundation money much less from CIA. Then, we have no paid staff. We have only a team of voluntary workers who are dedicated to the work of seminars, lectures and bringing out publications and monthly bulletins. We meet our deficit by getting money by way of donations and life membership fees.

My point also is that you cannot, however, do such activities by associating the names of big honoured men of our country merely on a voluntary basis. The State has to come into the picture. The Government has to give liberal assistance. Fortunately, the Minister is present and I appeal to him that Government should give serious consideration to this proposal and they should come forward themselves and take up this challenge—after all Professor Samar Guha's endeavour has a very laudable object—and see to it that such insti-

tutions and academies do not depend merely on voluntary assistance. When I say this, I want to say one thing with your permission, that the State should not think that because it comes out with a massive assistance in terms of finance, therefore, it has automatically the right to interfere into the autonomy of the academic activities of an academy of this nature. Government must not interfere in its programmes, its publications and as to what kind of talks and lectures it should have on its platform because after all, if you want study and research, it must be objective, it must be impersonal, it must be in tune with the needs and requirements of the country and of the situation.

It is from these angles that I feel that the House should warmly commend this Bill of Professor Samar Guha proposing the setting up of the Netaji National Academy. As I was saying, because of my personal experience of 20 years in this field and being an academic person myself, I feel very happy and elated that Subhas Bose's memory for once is being honoured in this way, by founding, not so much a party political institution, but a national institution, where academic, objective and impersonal thought activities will go on vigorously, independently and for all times so that our governments and our establishments all over the place get guidance, assistance and support in terms of ideas, suggestions and programmes with a view to eradicating poverty from this country and making this ancient land of ours a very good, modern, democratic, scientific and progressive nation.

With these words, I warmly commend the laudable objects of my friend, Professor Samar Guha and I hope the House will unanimously support this Bill.

16.00 hrs.

**PROF. NARAIN CHAND PARASHAR (Meerapur):** It is in the State of things that in this Bill the

Parliament has an opportunity to pay its homage to the memory of one of the outstanding persons of modern India. When we listen to the name of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose our heads bend low with reverence, for the symbol of sacrifice that he was and for the tower of nationalism that he became during the course of his life. Now I am reminded of Sir Walter Scott's famous lines:—

Breathes there the man with soul  
so dead;

Who never to himself hath said

While wandering on a foreign  
strand,

This is my own, my native land!

This concrete, this undying, eternal spirit of nationalism, of patriotism and of sacrifice of self for the sake of the country rose in Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and he became a source of light and learning to millions of Indians. I had no opportunity or the good fortune of having seen him because I was too young at that time but I have had the good luck of studying his works, of browsing through his lines, and I feel that in the Silver Jubilee Year of Indian Independence it is in the fitness of things that Parliament is paying its homage to this great man who was the symbol of our fight for independence. His programme was one of concrete struggle, in terms of radical re-evolution, in terms of starting a planned programme. I refer to a few lines from a book. A Beacon across Asia, regarding the address that he gave to the conference of the All India Naujawan Bharat Sabha on 27th March 1931. His words were full of wisdom, that shows his paramount approach and his concern for the nation and we also find a vision of the shape of India which he had in his mind. When independence was to dawn upon India, he wanted India to work on a concrete six-point programme. This is not a political manifesto, but it is a call for

[Prof. Narain Chand Parasrar]

the regeneration of India, regeneration of Indian society on the strength and will of people, due to which India will live eternally and will live for ever, becoming a symbol of hope for the world as a whole. One of the items of this programme is:

"Organisation of peasants and workers on a socialistic programme."

There is another item of the programme, which says:

"Abolition of the caste system and the eradication of social and religious superstitions of all kinds."

These programmes shows that Netaji wanted the future of India to be built not on sands, not on slogans, but on concrete steps, on the steps that will lead to the temple of glory, to the temple of higher and higher achievements.

Another of his programmes was:

"Creation of new literature for propagating the new cult and programme."

That shows that he believed in cultivating the Indian mind, to dispel the evils of the past, to welcome the new lights of the future and with that kind of vision he wanted the future India to be strong and to be firm.

His sojourn through Asia and his march and his last fight through the INA are marvels unparalleled and we know how people were trained and how people were fighting forgetting their caste, their creed, their districts, their tehsils, their taluks, their languages, their dialects, and even themselves, their sons and daughters and brothers and sisters and forgetting their all for the goal they had before themselves, the liberation of India. I want to quote from a speech which he made on the 15th of August, 1945 as Supreme Commander of the INA. I quote:

"Comrades, I feel that in this critical hour 380 millions of our

countrymen at home are looking at us, the members of Indian 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."

These are words of a prophet, I would say. These are words which symbolise in them great inspiration, great hope, for the future of our country, his abiding faith in independence and freedom. The establishment of an academy as desired by Mr. Samar Guha has this spirit in view, has this objective in view. We have to carry this message to the youth. Because, the old persons may not have much of chance to get inspiration from the academy, but it is the youth, it is the young persons who have to reshape the future and fashion the destiny of India and it is they who must get a spark from the teachings of Netaji Subha; Chandra Bose.

So, Sir, this kind of call by one of the closest associates of Netaji is, to our mind, one of the most important and inspiring things. Even now, when we go to the villages, people, still remember the glow that their faces have whenever they think of Netaji. Even now we can see what is the magic in that name that transforms the people ridden by caste, creed, parochialism, regionalism and all that to go up and march for the country.

So, a programme of education that will inculcate in the entire student community of India, in the youth of India, the basic concepts of Netaji's teachings would be a great tribute and I appreciate the spirit behind this Bill and I would expect and request the Government to see what can be

done in this regard because, if there are some hurdles, it is for the Government to cross the hurdles and if there are some difficulties, it is for the Government to remove them because the objectives are the same. Our National Government, as it is at present, is going to do the same thing—the reconstruction of Indian Society—which Netaji aimed at. So, the spirit of the Bill is highly commendable and I request the Government to consider it fully and try to see that the basic objectives of the Bill are achieved. Even if there are some difficulties in the way, this being the year of Silver Jubilee of Indian Independence, this is the time when we can give some thought to this noble objective and with that, we shall be doing not only a good thing but also giving a good tribute to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE (Calcutta—North-East): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have no doubt that the House will unanimously welcome this Bill introduced by Prof. Samar Guha, and I hope that Government would come forward and accept the principle of the Bill and perhaps, if they are so minded, they can produce a technically better formulated proposition. But, I am sure, in regard to the basic assumptions of this Bill there should be no difference in this House.

Sir, in regard to Shri Subhas Chandra Bose, if I have to speak to you about him with the objectives and superlatives, it is an attempt to gild the gold and paint the lily; it is completely superfluous for us who belong to a country which is so very much in the debt of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose to speak about him with a plethora of adjectives. But at the same time, with the kind of make-up that most of us have, it is difficult for us to desist from being almost lyrical, as Mr. Samar Guha has been in his Statement of Objects and Reasons, in stating our reactions

to the memory of Subhas Chandra Bose.

When he was alive, as far as my party is concerned, we had occasionally many and sometimes serious differences with him, but all that is like dust in the balance in the historical scale, when one comes to think of Subhas Chandra Bose as he emerged on to the stage of history in the glorious role that history itself invested him with.

I personally have the recollection of the Haripura Congress where he gave a magnificent speech as the president, and I had the honour and privilege of having been elected to the AICC on that occasion, but I cannot, of course, claim the kind of nearness to him, even though I knew him all right; I cannot claim anything like the proximity which Prof. Samar Guha enjoyed. But even in the days when we had strident differences with him, we could see the quality of the man, and we could see how he always saw straight and spoke straight like the military personality which deep down he was to a certain extent, because he knew that in this country where the speechification was the principal stock-in-trade of the professional politician, it was necessary to have certain other qualities among which military discipline and all that it connoted was very important. He was like Arjun of old who saw only one thing; when he wanted to hit at a target, he would not look at other things beside, and this kind of single-minded patriotism was something of a phenomenon which we have hardly found in any other case in comparable manner in the history of modern India.

As I came rushing in to take part in this debate, I thought of a poem which got stuck in my memory when I was young, in regard to the kind of national feeling that Subhas Chandra Bose represented, and I had just jotted it down from memory and I think it.

[Shri H. N. Mukherjee]

fits Subhas Chandra Bose to the teeth, and it is as follows:

"I vow to thee, my country, all  
earthly things above,

And entire and whole and perfect,  
the service of my love,

The love that asks no questions,  
the love that stands the test,

That lays upon the altar the  
dearest and the best,

The love that never falters, the  
love that pays the price,

The love that makes untaunted  
the final sacrifice".

It was on the 18th August, 1945, I think, that he disappeared from the wordly stage, and his people love him so much and Prof. Samar Guha in a shining example, that they still cannot reconcile themselves to the idea of his death. I have no manner of doubt that he is no longer in the land of the living, because if he were, he would not be so spiriting himself away somewhere, but he would have come out to serve his anguished country. But he is not in the land of the living, but our people like Samar Guha for example can never reconcile themselves to the fact of his being dead. This is some symptom of the kind of place he has secured in the affections of our people. He had a single-minded patriotism as a result of which on occasions, he would be very impatient of ideology and he would be very critical of even a perspective analysis of the international situation. His aim was the freedom of this country, and he would say that 'All my labours and all the labours of my countrymen would be fulfilled, if only we get rid of the British yoke, every other thing can take care of itself later on'.

That kind of single minded patriotism and dynamic ceaseless activity in order to fulfil the cause of freedom is something which is almost without

parallel in the history of our freedom struggle. And that is why it is more than time that Government comes forward with some proposition. And Prof. Guha has given the lead. Here is an idea of an Academy where the things which he tried to fight for can be studied in some detail. He has referred to economics and planning, because after all, Subhas Chandra Bose was the Congress President who appointed the National Planning Committee before independence, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was the Chairman of that Committee as an appointee of the Congress President. Then he talks of a study of comparative political philosophies because Subhas Chandra Bose in his life-time was torn between different ideologies from time to time, but he always wanted, first of all, to achieve Indian freedom and then link it in his own way with his idea of socialism. Then advanced military science and problems of Indian national integration. It is very appropriate because Subhas Chandra Bose's name is linked up with such things as the *Azad Hind Fauj*, with the formation of the Indian National Army, with the slogan of *Itifaq, aetkad, kurbani*, unity of faith and sacrifice. The Indian National Army brought together people of every denomination, the Indian National Army which overcame every kind of difference that plagues the people of our own country. Subhas Chandra Bose was responsible for coining that slogan which has become part of the Indian consciousness, *Jai Hind*. Subhas Chandra Bose was responsible for coining that other slogan which is redolent of our history. When he was in Rangoon suffering imprisonment under British rule, he went to the grave of Bahadur Shah, the last Mughal emperor of Delhi and shed tears at the grave because Bahadur Shah was, after all, an Indian he was not a bird of prey and of passage like the British rulers who came after him and he was the last Indian ruler of this country. *Dil chalo, Chalo Dil*—that was the slo-

gan which he put before his countrymen. It is a picturesque slogan, a profound slogan, a politically meaningful slogan of a kind which appealed to people in a manner which was referred to a little while ago by my hon. friend, Shri Parashar.

In regard to the Azad Hind Movement, I think I should tell the House something which might be very well known to most of them, that while at one point of time there were some misapprehensions about Subhas Chandra Bose having got some affiliation with the Fascists of those days, this misapprehensions have now been entirely removed. In Germany itself, in the German Democratic Republic, which is the first socialist country on German soil, her researchers have discovered records from the German archives which show that Subhas Chandra Bose never truckled down to Hitler, and when he discovered that in Europe he could not do his primary job which was the freedom of his country, he undertook a hazardous journey in a submarine to the Far East. And there again he tried to work in a manner which would keep him absolutely independent of the fascist machinations of that period.

I have heard Soviet academicians like Academician Deakov, for example, who at one time was highly critical of Subhas Chandra Bose's role during the second world war. He has told me that he has discovered new material which shows how Subhas was absolutely untouched by any kind of affiliation with fascist ideology. But he had a one-way mind. Why not? Our minds are diverted. Even some of our greatest leaders, I would not name them, their minds were diverted by a miscellany of interests in regard to world problems, and—we could not concentrate on what we wanted to do inside our own country.

This was the man, therefore, whom it is our duty to honour. It is a pious obligation on this country.

I am sure, my young friend, the Deputy Minister of Education, would agree that this is a pious obligation on the part of our country. I think Prof. Guha spoke about it. I am sorry I did not hear him. But there is no idea of competitiveness in this. There is the Gandhi Peace Foundation, there is the Jawaharlal University and Museum and heaven knows what else, so many other things. Therefore, there should be a Netaji Academy. It is not merely that.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose has become Netaji not because you and I like it. Personally I am rather allergic to this kind of appellation being given to anybody, whether it is Duche or Fuhrer or Netaji. I do not like it. But here is a title which history itself has conferred upon him. Here is a man whose lifework can be studied in a different fashion, and that is why I feel that this academy should be set up as soon as ever it is possible.

There are now some efforts being made in a disparate way, in a footling little way, in one place or the other, but those activities can be co-ordinated into a dynamic institution because Subhas Chandra Bose, if anything, was a dynamic sort of person and he had no other dream than the dream for his own country's future. He had no other fixation except the freedom of his own country and he had known at the same time, that the fulfilment of a people's freedom can only come by way of socialism. Even though, as I have said, he was not ideologically oriented to the extent of trying to go into all the factors which make for a socialist society—but that apart,—here was a historical figure, here was a patriotic figure of the first magnitude, here was something like the ideal political man whom India has produced in the last hundred years or so. Here is a person to whom the country owes its tribute. Here is a person about whom, sometimes it is felt, that the Government is rather niggardly in its approach towards his memory. That is why it is all the

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more incumbent that the Government comes forward, accept the principle of the Bill, perhaps improve upon it to the extent that is possible and then, I am sure the House would be happy and the people would be happy.

I give my entire support to the Bill which has been moved by Prof. Guha and I venture to hope that the Government will respond accordingly.

**SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI** (Calcutta South): Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is really a pleasure and rather an opportunity in the parliamentary democracy, as a Member of Parliament, to participate in such a discussion where there is scope for paying a tribute, scope for assessing the whole heroic traditions of great national leaders, and particularly, a leader like Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

I would like to confine my speech to this Bill and suggest a few points absolutely on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. The idea which has been depicted in the Bill moved by Prof. Guha is no doubt an honest one, and I should say it is a sincere attempt.

16.23 hrs.

[SHRI S. A. KADER *in the Chair*]

But I would like to speak very frankly, and I think the whole House will not misunderstand me if I say that the attempts taken for the last few years to pay our regards to Jawaharlalji, to pay our regards to Sri Aurobindo, to pay our regards to Mahatmaji and also to pay our regards to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, in some way or the other, either by forming the university, or establishing training institutions of making research arrangements,—I consider the entire thing as useless, when I consider the basic objectives and values of the Indian educational system. I can tell you that even if you support the Bill and a sort of Netaji Academy is formed, I have no doubt that due to the unscientific,

unhygienic and the most back-dated colonial system of Indian education prevailing in the country, no purpose of national character can be revealed in the Indian soil. I have no doubt about that. (*Interruptions*).

I can tell you very elaborately, for the last few years, if the nation wants to accuse anybody else, and if they accuse so one day, the Government of India who is ruling this country for the last few years, whether in this form or that form, I would agree with them that the Government would be responsible to the nation for not having a concrete, scientific, national, educational policy for the past years.

A few days before, I had been in Germany for the youth festival. I found there, in Europe, and particularly in the socialist countries, especially in the Soviet Union, where some boys of India go to study, the first compulsory subject of study is the revolution of Soviet Russia and they are supposed to study particularly the Marxist economy. But in this poor country, India, there is no compulsion either to know the history of the freedom movement or there is any necessity to study or evaluate the character of the great national heroes who sacrificed their lives for the freedom of our soil. I consider that in spite of our approach to take over this mine or that factory, in spite of the sound democratic system, in spite of our parliamentary history and we being a great nation in the world, the whole educational approach of our country is so poor, that in spite of forming such an academy, such an institute, the actual purpose for which Prof. Guha, our senior colleague and personally, a teacher to me, is trying his best, it would be baseless and useless unless and until the basic educational objective is reoriented.

With the progressive outlook of the hon. Education Minister I can claim that it may be possible within this Government, under his ministership to create an atmosphere in our country where people can feel that they are

studying in India, and not outside; that they are receiving education based on the national philosophy and traditions. Appointment of committees or passing Bills like this may only serve a certain purpose; it cannot serve the purpose for which the Indian students are waiting. Prof. Mukerjee was saying that Netaji had been accused in many corners and appreciated in many corners. I also cannot reconcile myself to the notion that he is dead. It is not because of emotion. Because great men like Netaji cannot die in such way. Even if it has happened in Japan it cannot be a matter of emotion. People who cannot reconcile to the notion that he is dead, I do not consider them mad; I do not consider that they are emotionally and sentimentally fools. After his disappearance from India, he was claimed as dead. It is baseless.

Shri Samar Guha has mentioned the purpose for which he has brought forward this Bill: economic planning, advance military science, political philosophy, national integration, etc. As for national integration, the Government of India is doing the best it can within the character of our society. Real integration cannot come only by certain things like this; it can come by the participation of people in national affairs and acceptance of the basic objectives of the Constitution and its secular approach.

Our country after independence has deliberately neglected the important sacrifice of Netaji. I do not want to accuse any individual; we are all responsible for it. May be he was not in Congress; may be he left Congress or he was removed from Congress Presidentship. But his character was not as a Congressman or as a forward bloc man; his character was that of an Indian, a patriot, a permanent patriot, in every liberation movement in the country and outside. Netaji's memory, his ideas and services to the nation were not properly assessed by the free India. I can swear in the name of God that frankly the Indian students politically have not been

taught by the political leaders who actually can be treated politically as the first president of India. If I consider Ho Chi Minh, if I consider the then President of Bangla Desh before its independence, I can certainly say that Dr. Rajendra Prasad was constitutionally the first President but Netaji was the first political President of India who tried to free India from British occupation by his sacrifices. The students should know the whole history. Unfortunately the history of modern India is being translated in a different manner. It is not fair judgment. Congress leadership claimed Gandhiji as Congressman. Gandhiji was the father of the nation. There are many persons who were not in the Congress but who thought Gandhiji symbolised the nation. Similarly the Forward Bloc tried to project Netaji as its own. That is not so; Netaji is for the nation. These are wrong conceptions.

I consider that this sort of a Bill is not actually going to serve the object, though I appreciate the spirit of the hon. Mover. Our Government in our country are trying their best for social reconstruction. But national character has to be moulded properly, by mobilising people properly. As far as the social reconstruction programme is concerned, the privy purse abolition measure or the nationalisation of banks was a farce; it cannot serve the purpose which the nation wants.

Prof. Mukherjee said that Netaji was great because he was appreciated by the socialist countries. I object to these remarks; it is not fair. It is not correct. The socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, are not quite clear about the heroic contribution of Netaji. I have no illfeeling for them, but that is not the point. The point is whether Netaji has been properly assessed in our country or not. It has not been done. If anybody wants to speak for Netaji, either he is blamed as an antagonist of Gandhiji or he is accused of being an antagonist of democratic rights. This is absolu-

[Shri Priya Ranjya Das Munsi]

tely wrong. Even the Vice-Chancellor of a University or Governor of a State on some occasion have bypassed the issue trying to create an impression as if Netaji cannot be projected as a leader of the nation. It is unfair to Indian history and to Indian education. I hope our minister with his progressive and dynamic approach will definitely try to create a new impact on our society through educational means, so that the students can feel there is a national stream flowing through their education and they can feel that they are properly educated through Indian national stream.

So, I think this Bill is not the only way in which the purpose can be served. I think the purpose can be better served by a progressive and dynamic approach towards education so that Netaji will get a permanent, noble and respectable place in the minds of the millions of the people of this country.

**SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra):** Sir, after having heard my friend, Shri Priya Ranjan Das Munsi, I was inspired by not only what he said but by the manner in which he said it, because it gives me hope that there may be some small ray of light, that there are some youth in this country who can pull this country out of the enormous heap of morass which has clouded our thinking and led us into an atmosphere where one does not see anything too clearly.

There have been many assessments of Netaji. In the battle of independence, he was perhaps the most controversial figure. But the correct assessment, if it is to be made, was made by Prof. Hiren Mukherjee, in the early part of his speech. In the latter part of his speech, having to reconcile his speech with the earlier part, he went into a kind of gymnastics and calisthenics to justify his praise of Netaji in the concept of his outdated, antediluvian socialist philosophy. That apart, several people here have tried to make out that Netaji was great because he was a

socialist. If that is all you can say about him, I am sorry I would have to downgrade Netaji completely in the history of the world. But it is not so. The only thing that was pertinent about him was his single minded patriotism which did not countenance any other form of activity or influence or toleration. It was merely patriotism. If you are, therefore, erecting a monument to Netaji, it can only be a monument which can teach patriotism to future generations of India, where patriotism, I think, has, all but died. Patriotism is not the monopoly of any individual or any group of people.

Patriotism is a way of life, a way of thinking and a way of feeling. When I see the sanctimonious humbug that I hear in this House on numerous occasions about people trying to show their patriotism without feeling, without actually living the sentiments of patriotism, I think, we have moved very very far away not only from the days of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose but also from the thinking of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Therefore, I will appeal to my hon. friend, Shri Samar Guha and the Government, if they have the wisdom to accept this Bill, that is, if an Academy like this is to be set up, it should deal with nothing except how patriotism can be spread, taught and, particularly, infused in the generations to come. I have very little hope of this generation that I see here but at least in the generations to come.

My hon. friend Shri Samar Guha, says that this Academy will deal with things, like, the economies of planning, comparative political philosophies, advance military science and problems of Indian national integration. I would appeal to him, "Don't try to make Netaji anything more than what he was." He was a patriot. And that is where it ended. From the beginning to end, he was a patriot. He was no genius in economic planning even though he might have presided over some Planning Committee. For that matter,

Jawaharlal Nehru was the Chairman of the Planning Commission but that did not make him a genius on planning. Today, our dear leader, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, I believe, is also the Chairman of the Planning Commission and we know what the condition of planning is in this country. So, let us not try and make people, particularly, after their death into something which they never were. Otherwise, they will turn in their graves. In the case of Netaji, I cannot say even that.

Let us not fiddle around subjects, like, economics and planning, or, for that matter, comparative political philosophies; for Netaji. I think, was rather woolly on matters of political philosophies and things like that. All his many opinions on such subjects have been expressed in the past. Coming to "advance military science" don't degrade the man by saying he was a military genius either. He was a patriot. And what we lack in this country is patriotism. We do not need advance military science; we do not need comparative political philosophies of which you see every conceivable shade right here, in this House, nor do we need economics and planning because it is this economics and planning that is responsible for our present miserable disastrous condition.

Let us leave all these subjects aside. If Netaji had anything to do with them, it was only incidental. The main theme is patriotism. This country needs patriotism. This country needs an Indian who is proud of the fact that he is an Indian; he walks on a cushion of air six feet high and he holds his head high. And he goes to the free nations of the world and says, "I am an Indian". He gets the respect that is due to him. This is what we should infuse in our people.

My hon. friend, Shri Priya Ranjan Das Munsi, said something about the present educational system. Even if you build this Academy, even if you give crores of rupees, and make it on the lines that I have suggested, rather

than what has been put in the Bill, even then, I have my doubts whether it will do the simple task of infusing patriotism into Indian polity, into the Indian people, I entirely agree with what he has said about our educational system I would have liked to add much more. But this is not the occasion. We will catch the Education Minister on some other occasion when we can castigate his Government on its educational policy. Let us not fiddle around the history which we have done for so long, fiddle around with the philosophy of a man like Netaji, for he was nothing if he was not but a patriot.

MR. CHAIRMAN. Before I call the next speaker, I want to inform the House that the time allotted for this Bill will be completed by 4.40 and I have got the names of five more Members who want to speak. So, is it the pleasure of the House that the time be extended?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes

MR CHAIRMAN: So, the time is extended by about half an hour. Then the Minister will reply and Prof. Samar Guha has the right of reply.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I will make a submission to you. There are many speakers here. So, I would say that if need be, the time be extended so that it can be taken up the next day also. This is the type of Bill, if I may quote Shri Parashar, which is a very important and a patriotic one. So, you should give due weight to this Bill.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE (Basirhat): As a matter of fact, we also would like to pay homage on this occasion to Netaji.

MR. CHAIRMAN: This is not a Bill to pay homage. This is a Bill on a certain matter for which the time is extended. Then, it should be a limited time. I hope half an hour will do.

Mr. Swaminathan.

**SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN** (Madurai): This Bill of Prof. Samar Guha gives us an opportunity to remember the greatest revolutionary of our times, Netaji Subhas Bose, who has done the greatest sacrifice and service to our country. We people who were doing service to the country under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Netaji Subhas Bose, vividly remember those days when Netaji was the symbol of sacrifice. When he returned to India after passing the ICS examination, everybody thought that he was going to become a Collector of some District or going to become a District Judge or a High Court Judge or occupy some high position in the government but he sacrificed all that for the cause of the nation. Everyone knows about Subhash Babu's service and sacrifice rendered to the country. When he presided over the Congress session at Haripura, it was a landmark in the history of the Congress and afterwards, when he was elected President of the Tripura Congress, there was difference of opinion among the top leaders of the Congress. He differed from Mahatmaji and Mahatmaji also differed from him though he was elected Congress President. Anyhow Mahatmaji called him that he was like his son while the other is Jawaharlal Nehru. Such a leader like Netaji we have to remember by creating some thing.

I do not know whether the Government will agree with this Bill or not, but the Government cannot disagree with the spirit of the Bill because we must revere our Netaji. Netaji organized the people in the far east, in Burma, in Malaysia and Singapore and other places. When we go to far east and meet some people, who served under Netaji, we hear stories after stories about his sacrifices and ordeal he has undergone. Because of the time limit, I may not be able to narrate all of them but I like to mention here one instance. After the surrender of the Japanese army, Netaji's position became difficult and they were wonder-

ing what to do whether to surrender or withdraw. Then it was decided that they should withdraw to Bangkok. Netaji left Rangoon with his soldiers. Among them, there were about 200 girls of Jhansi Rani Regiment in trucks reached the Moulmein river. This river is just about 100 miles away from Rangoon. They could not cross the river as there was no bridge or even small boats or any facility to cross the river. In fact, I know Moulmein river as I was in Burma. It is a very big river and dangerous to cross since the river was full of crocodiles. Then what did they do? The Japanese soldiers swam from one bank to the other and they formed a chain of floating soldiers holding a rope all through the river of 2 furlongs width. After reaching other side of the river, Netaji was confronted with new and odd problems as there were no trucks or country carts except one or two military trucks which were also loaded with some big Japanese military officials. They offered Netaji a seat, but Netaji refused. He wanted all the 200 girls to be carried. Since these trucks cannot hold all the 200 girls it was decided to walk all the distance to Bangkok. So, Netaji said, I will also walk the whole distance along with others. From Burma border to Bangkok he walked for all the six hundred miles. On the way, due to continuous walking, his legs were swollen. Some of the INA personnel offered to carry him. But he refused. He said, he will rest for a day and then he will commence the walking. So, Sir, like that, for 600 miles, without proper and adequate food and water, Netaji walked all the distance. He has undergone all the ordeal for the sake of our country, for the sake of our countrymen. Netaji was a symbol of the sacrifices in our freedom struggle.

I do not know whether Government will accept this Bill or not. But, I am sure that no true Indian, no patriot in this country, can oppose the spirit behind this Bill. The Government may say, it was prepared by individuals. But, may I appeal to the Government

and to the hon. Minister to come out with some other Bill or some concrete proposal for creating such a monument? This country cannot forget our three great leaders, the Father of our Nation, Gandhiji, Pandit Nehru and Netaji Subash Chandra Bose. The previous speaker mentioned that in communist countries in their schools and colleges they are teaching about revolutionary movements of their countries. What about our country? We must also do something in the schools and colleges for teaching about our freedom struggle. We should also teach our youth and tell them about the patriotic role played by our Indian leaders. We must build up some institution, some type of academy, to perpetuate the memory of hundreds and thousands of our brethren who have sacrificed so much for our country.

So, I appeal to the Government to come forward to do something in line with the spirit behind this Bill. I support the spirit behind this Bill.

\*SHRI J. MATHA GOWDER (Nilgiris): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am happy to participate in the discussion on the Bill moved by Prof. Samar Guha relating to the establishment of Netaji Memorial Academy to commemorate the memory of the great national hero Netaji Subash Chandra Bose. I extend my whole hearted support to this Bill.

Sir, I wonder whether a leader of the stature of Netaji will ever be born in future; Netaji's life has found a proud place in the history of our country. It was Netaji and none else who affectionately called Mahatma Gandhi as the father of the Nation for the first time. This shows the kind of affection and high regard that he had for Gandhiji. It is true that at the time of election to the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress Mahatma Gandhi and Netaji developed differences of opinion. But we should remember that even at that time Netaji never spoke a word of complaint against Gandhiji nor he attempted to

belittle the leadership of the father of the Nation. What all Netaji said was that ahimsa methods in the struggle for freedom would mean delay in the achievement of independence and the struggle for independence should be intensified greatly. It is all part of history—travels abroad in the quest of support for freedom of India and trials and tribulations that he underwent.

It was in Rangoon that he gave the clarion call "Challo Delhi", which stirred the nation. Netaji's single minded devotion to the cause of freedom made the Britisher sit up. They became aware that the Lion of Bengal was roaring and their days in India were numbered. We all are aware of the fright that gripped the British empire as a result of the activities of Netaji. The Britishers started feeling that thousands of Netaji's were born in the country and it would be impossible to hold on to India. If there was one single factor that contributed to the handing over of the nation by the British to us, it would not be an exaggeration to say that it was the sense of patriotism that was aroused in the hearts of millions of Indians by their beloved leader Netaji.

Today, we are discussing the Bill of Shri Samar Guha to create Netaji Memorial Academy. I am asking this Government and the ruling party as to how such an idea did not find favour with them in all these 25 years since we achieved independence. I have an uneasy feeling that the future youth of our country would not even remember the name of Netaji. If this attitude of the Government persists it will not be a remote day when the people of our country would not even be knowing Netaji and his courageous struggle for freedom. I think it is imperative today to make knowledge of Netaji and his great deeds a part of our compulsory education in the schools and colleges.

Sir, when I went into the Central Hall for the first time after my election as a Member of Parliament I saw many portraits of our leaders adorning

\*The original speech was delivered in Tamil.

[Shri J. M. Gowder]

ning the panels of the Hall. To my great dismay and utter disbelief I found Netaji's portrait conspicuous by its absence. The present Congress Party might have had differences of opinion with Netaji in the past but it would not be proper for that reason to exclude the portrait of Netaji from the Central Hall. It would have been praiseworthy if along with other great leaders Netaji also found a place. But unfortunately, this is not so. If great leader like Netaji are not even remembered and their memory not commemorated approximately, I am afraid this will not do good to our country in the long run.

Just as Shivaji succeeded in destroying the mighty Mughal empire by his brave deeds Netaji too kindled the spirit of patriotism among his countrymen. There is no doubt that this led the entire nation to campaign against the British under the Quit India Movement which shook the confidence of the British empire.

We have at Dehra Dun the Indian Military Academy. It would be in the fitness of things that in the Silver Jubilee Year of our Independence that we name this Military Academy after Netaji. It was Netaji who took up arms against a regime which believed in subjugation of the people of our country by military force. I therefore appeal to the Government to seriously consider this proposal for renaming the academy after Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

I would also suggest in conclusion that the ruling party and the Government should not hesitate in accepting the principle behind the Bill and should not feel differently merely because the Bill has been presented to the House from the Opposition. It is the duty of the entire nation to commemorate the memory of a great leader.

Extending once again my full support to the Bill I conclude.

श्री मूल चन्द्र डाणा (पाली): सभापति जी, राणा प्रताप का नाम इतिहास में लिया

जायगा और उनका नाम देश भक्ति से भरा हुआ है। मैं समझता हूँ कि राणा प्रताप के नाम से कई लोगों में जवानी आ जाती है, जिन बूढ़ों में हरियाई नहीं है उन में भी आ सकती है। सुभाष का जो नाम है . . . . (व्यवधान) आप हल्दी घाटी का युद्ध याद करें। राणा प्रताप ने अपनी जिन्दगी में कितनी मुसीबतें देखी हैं लेकिन उन्होंने अपनी गर्दन नीची नहीं की। आज दुनिया के लोग उस इतिहास को पढ़ते हैं। नेता जी का नाम एकेडमी बनाने से कोई झमर रहेगा? उन्होंने जो देश की सेवा की है वह जो ऋण है उस से हम उच्छ्वस नहीं हो सकते। उन्होंने अपनी जिन्दगी के जो दिन निकाले हैं, मैंने उन के दो तीन पत्र पढ़े हैं, वह बताते हैं कि वह देशकीमती जिन्दगी है जिसने भारत को मालामाल कर दिया, देश उस से ऊँचा हुआ, इस धरती पर पैदा हुए। लोग कहेंगे कि हिन्दुस्तान की धरती में ऐसे लोग पैदा हुए। कैसे ऐसे लोग पैदा हो जाते हैं। किसी को नेता कहने का मन ही नहीं करता। नेता कौन हैं? सुभाष चन्द्र बोस।

सभापति जी, जनसब के सकीर्ण दायरे से तो भगवान ही बचाये। नेता जी ने एक दफ़ा कहा था :

I should like to see some of you becoming great, not for your own sake to make India great, so that she may stand with head erect among the free nations of the world.

नो देश भक्ति का सवाल यह नहीं था कि कहीं कुर्सी पर झपटने की इच्छा थी। जब वह विद्यार्थी और जवानों को सम्बोधित करते थे तो कहते थे कि जवानों तुम इसलिए बड़ो कि देश तुम्हें पुकार रहा है। और जैसे राणा प्रताप ने भीलों की फ़ौज तैयार की थी वैसे ही नेताजी सुभाष ने आजाद हिन्द फ़ौज बना दी। भूखे मरते मरते और तड़पते तड़पते उस ने अपनी गर्दन नहीं झुकाई। नेता जी ने क्या किया? दिल्ली चलो का नारा

दिया और उस ने वह स्वप्न पूरा किया। जब वह बीमार थे तो उन से लोग कहते थे, तो उन्होंने अपने दादा को पत्र लिखा था कि बीमारी हाड और मांस की है, इस से कोई असर नहीं पड़ता मेरे शरीर पर। शरीर में एक नई ताकत है जो आघातों की रोकथाम देती है, बीमारी से और पीडा से मैं नहीं घबराता, मेरी जिन्दगी में एक ही लगे लगी हुई है और उम्र लगन के आगे मुझे कुछ नहीं मूझता। सुभाष का नाम एक ऐकेडमी के अन्दर लाना चाहते हैं। मैं शिक्षा मंत्री जी से कहूंगा कि समर गुह और जो उन के भगत हैं बड़े बड़े, उन से एक किताब आप लिखाओ उम्र का हाई स्कूल और इंटर की परीक्षा में कम्पलसरी पेपर होना चाहिये पैट्र्याटिज्म का। मारा सुभाष का जितना लिटरेचर है उम्र को बच्चों को पढ़ाना चाहिये। इन्सान बनता है अच्छे विचारों से। अच्छे विचारों से इन्सान कितना अच्छा बन जाता है। सुभाष का नाम लेन म लोगो में जिन्दगी आ जाती है। आने वाले जमाने में सुभाष की किताबों और शिक्षा को अमर रखने के लिये मैंने एक दफा कहा था कि सरकार को कुछ करना चाहिये, लेकिन साथ में यह डर था कि वही शिक्षा मंत्री यह न कहे कि यह तो स्टेट मन्जेक्ट है और वह मवाल पैदा हो जायगा।

173r hrs

मंत्री महोदय कानून की बारीकियों में जाएंगे। कहेंगे कि हम आपके साथ महमति प्रगट करते हैं। लेकिन सब कुछ कहने के आखिर में कहेंगे कि यह स्टेट मन्जेक्ट है, इस में पूरी गहराई में जाना होगा। बारीकी में जाना होगा। अब तो उनको एक और समस्या श्री पीलू मोदी ने दिशा है। उस पर भी वह थोड़ी रोकथाम डालेंगे। मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि इस तरह से बारीकियों में जाने की जरूरत है। सुभाष बॉस की जिन्दगी को आप देखें। उन्होंने देश की जिन्दगी को बनाया। अपनी जिन्दगी को

नहीं बनाया बल्कि देश की जिन्दगी को बनाया है। उनका एक एक सांस देश के वास्ते समर्पित था। उन्होंने जो कुछ दादा को अपनी चिट्ठी में लिखा वह अविस्मरणीय रहेगा। मैं एक अंश उसका आपको पढ़ कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ। वह लिखते हैं :

“मनुष्य विचारों में ही संचालित होता है। ये सभी विचार निष्क्रिय नहीं बल्कि क्रियाशील और द्रव्यात्मक हैं। हेगेल का एन्सोल्म्युट आइडिया, हिपमैन और शापनहायर का ब्लाड्ड विल तथा हेनरी वॉर्सा के एला वाइनेल की तरह ही यह विचार क्रियाशील है। यह अपनी राह स्वयं बनाना है। हम तो मात्र मिट्टी के गिरीने हैं, भगवान की तेजोराशि के कुछ स्फुलिंग मात्र मृदा में निवृद्ध हैं। हम लोगों को इसी धारणा के आगे आत्मोत्सर्ग करना होगा।

आगे चल कर वह कहते हैं

“जिज्ञासु एवं नष्टकर शरीर की हारी बीमारी के ऊपर जो तब तक उसने जोनन में सकलता अवश्यम्भावी है। मेरा आदर्श एक न एक दिन विजयी होगा यह मेरा दृढ़ विश्वास है। अब अपने स्वास्थ्यवा और भविष्य के बारे में मैं तनिक भी चिन्तित नहीं हूँ।”

कितने उच्च विचार हैं। अपनी चिन्ता नहीं देश की चिन्ता है। उन्होंने अपना सब कुछ देश के वास्ते न्याछावर किया।

अब यह जो नैशनल ऐकेडमी का प्रश्न है इस पर आपका गम्भीरता से विचार करना चाहिये। उनकी स्मृति में जो

[श्री मूल चन्द डागा]

चीजें उनको प्रिय थी उनकी व्यवस्था यहां होनी चाहिये । उन्होंने अपनी जिन्दगी का एक ही मिशन रखा और वह था देश भक्ति का, देश को आजाद कराने का, देश को आगे ले जाने का । सुभाष बोस की जिन्दगी देशभक्ति की जिन्दगी थी । देशभक्ति के विचारों को सामने रख कर ही उन्होंने सब काम किया है । यही उनकी लाइफ का मिशन था । मैं नहीं समझता हू कि इस मामले में आपको बहुत ज्यादा सोच विचार करने की आवश्यकता है । आप एक दम से कदम उठा ले ।

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Burdwan): We support this measure very strongly for it seeks to perpetuate the memory of one of the greatest sons of our country which this country will ever have. We should have thought that Government itself should have come forward with a measure like this with some concrete proposals to perpetuate the memory of one of the greatest sons of this country. But it is very regrettable that except paying lipservice no occasions, specially at the end of the five year term, they have hardly thought of Netaji or of doing something to propagate the teachings and ideals of Netaji among the people of this country. There is no history or proper research of Netaji's achievements or his ideas or his principles. Government have not taken any step in that respect. We should congratulate Prof. Guha on bringing forward this Bill for the consideration of Parliament.

So far as Netaji's contribution to our freedom struggle is concerned, it cannot be highlighted; it has been unique and his great efforts, no doubt, accelerated the pace of the achievement of independence by this country. Many of the pitfalls which were faced by the country in achieving Independence, I am sure, would have been avoided if Netaji's efforts had been wholly successful.

There are many facets of his genius. He was a great patriot; a revolutionary; he was the idol of the Indian youth; he was a champion of civil liberties; a dynamic personality who made the greatest sacrifice for the country. He is truly treated as the father of Indian planning; he was a pragmatic socialist, who believed in secularism and in national integration. Therefore, we no doubt welcome any move towards setting up an academy as is envisaged in this Bill for the perpetuation of the memory of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

So far as this Bill is concerned, it may be that there is much room for improvement, and I am sure the Government will accept the spirit behind the Bill and come out at an early date with a properly drafted Bill which will make the academy a true academy in the sense that a proper educational atmosphere is created, wherein, I should think not only higher studies -or -advanced studies should be conducted but many important branches of our education should be dealt with in that academy itself.

I find one of the objects of this Bill is only for research work and for holding seminars. Probably that may not wholly serve the purpose because there are in this country very little research facilities, and unless at the earliest stages a proper approach is made, proper educational facilities are given and a proper emphasis is paid in accepting or adopting an adequate educational policy or system, merely providing for research work may not serve the purpose for which this Bill has been brought.

One of the important things will be the control over this institution which is proposed. It should not be left only to bureaucratic control. It should be broad-based, and I would request the Government and the Minister to consider the inclusion of subjects like social sciences, and,

Netaji being a great champion of civil liberties, a course on civil liberties which are very much at stake in this country, should be one of the necessary curricula of this academy or whatever the institute that we ultimately have.

We think that the Government should take up this matter in right earnest, and we expect the Minister will declare what is the policy and decision of the Government while replying to this debate, and we strongly support this measure.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The time allotted for discussion of this Bill is up to 5.10. So, is it the pleasure of the House to extend the time for a further period?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is only one speaker left. Then the Minister will reply, and then Prof. Samar Guha will reply. It may not be concluded by 5.30. At 5.30 we have to take up the half-an-hour discussion.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: It may not be possible to finish this before 5.30, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We will try.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: It may be that the debate on this Bill will have to be continued on the next occasion.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Extend the time?

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: It will have to be extended and the debate taken up on the next occasion.

श्री राम रतन शर्मा : इस बिल में नेताजी नेशनल एकाडेमी की स्थापना के बारे में जो सुझाव दिया गया है, उस में कुछ कमी हो सकती है, उस को सुधारा जा सकता है और इस सम्बन्ध में दो राये हो सकती हैं। लेकिन नेताजी की देशभक्ति और उनकी अपने को देश पर बलिदान कर देने की भावना

के बारे में सम्पूर्ण राष्ट्र एक मत है।

जिस भावना से माननीय सदस्य, श्री समर गुहा, इस बिल को लाये हैं, वह उन्होंने अपने बिल के स्टेटमेंट आफ़ आबजेक्ट्स एण्ड रीज़न्स में व्यक्त की है। मैं उसका न्वोट करता हूँ :

"It will be the most befitting homage that our nation can pay to him by constituting a National Academy in his name to conduct advanced studies in comparative political philosophies, in economics of planning, in higher military science and in search of new avenues of our national integration."

इस भाषना का आदर करते हुए, मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि आज देश के सम्मुख चरित्र-निर्माण और राष्ट्रीयता की समस्याएँ मुख्य रूप से हैं और मैं श्री समर गुहा से निवेदन करूंगा कि वह अपने विधेयक में इन दो बातों को भी जोड़ दे। अगर हर विद्यार्थी को शिक्षा के आरम्भ से ही चरित्र-निर्माण और राष्ट्रीयता की भावना की शिक्षा दी जानी लगेगी, तो आज तोड़-फोड़ आदि की जो समस्याएँ सामने आ रही हैं, वे बहुत हद तक अपने आप हल हो जायेंगी।

मुझे दुःख है कि स्वतन्त्रता संग्राम का जो इतिहास लिखा जा रहा है, वह शासन से चिपके हुए, कुछ चाटुकार इतिहासकार लिख रहे हैं और वह स्वतन्त्रता संग्राम का इतिहास न होकर काग्रेस का इतिहास है। 1920 से पहले का जो इतिहास है, वह स्वतन्त्रता के लिए देश की बलिबेदी पर मर मिटने वालों का इतिहास है। (व्यवधान)

श्री मूल खन्ड डागा : सभापति महोदय माननीय सदस्य जो कुछ कह रहे हैं, वह इर्रिलिवेंट है। उधका इस बिल के मागी कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है। (व्यवधान)

श्री राम रतन शर्मा : माननीय सदस्य इतने परेशान क्यों हो जाते हैं? अगर कोई

[श्री राम रतन शर्मा]

सही बात सामने आती है तो इनको बड़ी परेशानी हो जाती है। सब जानते हैं कि इतिहास को जिस तरह अंग्रेज ने तोड़ा-मरोड़ा था, उसी तरह कांग्रेस शासन भी तोड़ मरोड़ रहा है। माननीय सदस्य तथ्य को स्वीकारते क्यों नहीं हैं ?

मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि शिक्षा प्रणाली में आमूल परिवर्तन होना चाहिए और उसके लिए यह आवश्यक है कि इतिहास को सही ढंग से लिखा जाना चाहिए। कोई भी पार्टी शासन में हो, लेकिन उसका यह धर्म नहीं है कि वह इतिहास को बदल कर, तोड़-मरोड़ कर, अपनी भूमिका को बड़ा चड़ा कर दिखाए या अपने स्वरूप को उज्ज्वल करे।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह सद्बुद्धि आये और नेता जी नेशनल एकेडमी के माध्यम से चरित्र-निर्माण और राष्ट्रीयता को भावना की शिक्षा दी जाये। माननीय सदस्य ने जो बिल पेश किया है, शासन का उसका खुले रूप से स्वीकार कर लेना चाहिए—अगर कुछ फेर-बदल की आवश्यकता है, तो उसके साथ नेताजी के प्रति सच्ची श्रद्धांजली यही होगी कि हम अपने देश की शिक्षा प्रणाली और व्यवस्था में ऐसा परिवर्तन करें, जिस से नेताजी की तरह के लोग इस देश में पैदा होते रहें। इस बात को ध्यान में रखते हुए शासन को नेताजी के नाम पर कुछ करना चाहिए।

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE AND IN THE DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE (SHRI D. P. YADAV): Sir, during this illuminating debate, which has been carried on for two days, we have been reminded in eloquent terms of the exploits, discipline of mind and body and burning sense of patriotism of one of the greatest sons of our nation. Many of us had known Netaji personally; others were not so fortunate. All of us, however, are familiar with the Netaji legend. Through many moving tributes paid

by so many of us during this absorbing debate, we have once again been made aware of this dominant personality and his singular contribution to the freedom struggle.

SHRI HAMENDRA SINGH BANERA (Bhilwara): Don't read the speech. Speak extempore. It is not a statement.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He can read it.

SHRI D. P. YADAV: Doubts, apprehensions or anxieties which might have arisen, however, fleetingly, that the memories of this great leader were receding in the background have, I hope, been dispelled once and for all. Rarely has the House spoken with such unison and with so much fervour.

No one, I am sure will quarrel with the motives behind Shri Samar Guha's Bill, that the name of this great revolutionary should be kept alive so that future generations will continue to draw inspiration from his deeds. I think we are all a little touched by this effort but—and here comes the dreaded 'but'—will the establishment of such an institution serve this purpose? And would this be feasible from the legal and practical points of view? Are there institutions already existing which cater to some of the objects mentioned in this Bill? These and other questions arise in my mind in considering this Bill.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Can you name one institution? You are a \*\* Don't talk \*\* We know that this \*\* has been going on for 25 years. But a time will come when the nation will not tolerate it. The whole Congress, your Government, will be answerable to the country, not to the future generation but to the near future generation. I know your mind.

SHRI D. P. YADAV: I am not against the purpose indicated in the Bill, but there are practical hurdles which may be difficult to surmount.

\*\*Expunged as ordered By the Chair,

the Chair.

First of all, there is a constitutional hurdle to overcome. Entry 11 of List II of the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution....

**SHRI SAMAR GUHA:** This is the way he treats it! The senior Minister is sitting and his junior is replying. This is the way they are treating it. I refuse to hear... (*Interruptions*) Prof. Nurul Hasan, when he was a student of the Aligarh Muslim University, he used to escape from the University to see Netaji at the Aligarh station. Now, this gentleman is sitting smiling and he is giving the task to his junior Minister.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Let him reply. You will get your chance.

**SHRI D. P. YADAV:** Entry 11 of List II of the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution—better known as the "State List"—deals with "education, including universities" subject to the provisions of entries 63, 64, 65 and 66 of List I and entry 25 of the List III to this Schedule. Entry 25 of the List III is not relevant to the objects of the Netaji National Academy, as it deals with vocational and technical training for labour. In any case, we gather that any matter relating to education, including establishment of a university or other institution for spreading or dissemination of knowledge falls in the sphere of State Jurisdiction unless covered by any of the aforesaid entries of List I. The subject matter of the proposed Bill, however, is relatable only to Entry 11 of the List II, i.e. the State List and so the Central Government could establish such an Academy only in a Union Territory in respect of which it may assume the role of a State Government. Unless the jurisdiction of the Bill is envisaged as extending to the whole of India, the proposed legislation falls out of the legislative competence of the Union of India and is constitutionally not feasible.

On the other hand, it is felt that the existing universities in India already have adequate facilities for imparting instruction in the various

subjects and fields proposed to be covered by the Academy envisaged in Shri Samar Guha's Bill. There are at present six Central Universities (including two in Delhi) in different parts of the country. In terms of article 252 (1) of the Constitution, a Bill has been enacted by Parliament for establishment of another Central University, namely, the North Eastern Hill University at Shillong. The University has been established recently. This being the case, the establishment of an Academy, as contemplated in the Bill, may only lead to a duplication of effort.

At the same time, I would like to say emphatically that the Government are aware of the need to remind the young of the place of Netaji in the history of our nation. The Government considers it of great importance that the younger generation should draw inspiration from Netaji's life and works. No study of the national movement will be meaningful without a study of Netaji's life.

**SHRI SAMAR GUHA:** This is called hypocrisy galore.

**SHRI D. P. YADAV:** The Government is making efforts to keep alive the name of Netaji on a national plane—I repeat, a national plane. Above all, he was an Indian and he subordinated everything to his great love for India. He is remembered with equal reverence all over the country. As such, it is the view of the Government that the measures taken by them should be such as would be available to the entire country.

The Indian Council of Historical Research recently organised in April this year an exhibition of revolutionaries abroad. A conspicuous part of this exhibition was a pictorial essay of the achievements of Netaji and his colleagues in the INA.

THE ICHR is also bringing out two volumes of source books on the role of revolutionaries abroad.

[Shri D. P. Yadav]

Amongst others, the contribution of Netaji as also the part played by INA, will figure in these books.

Besides the above, the Indian Council of Historical Research has undertaken a project to record oral evidence of revolutionaries who participated in the freedom movement. This would obviously involve those who were in the INA and would form an authentic and live record of the movement organised by Netaji.

The emphasis that Netaji placed on discipline of the body has not been forgotten either. The National Institute of Sports, Patiala has been now named as the Netaji Subhas National Institute of Sports....

**SHRI SAMAR GUHA:** You should have sense. Is this the way you should revere the memory of a great military genius?

**SHRI D. P. YADAV:** Simultaneously, its functions have also become engaged primarily in training and preparing coaches for a small group or urban based youngmen interested in sports, the focus of the Institute is now being directed towards promotion of physical education, games and sports and search for talent right from the grass-root level. For this purpose, five Netaji Subhas National Centres are proposed to be located in five regions, to be selected in the country

All this will give the House an idea that the Government is aware as anyone else in this House, about this contribution of Netaji towards achieving freedom and is equally concerned about keeping his name and deeds alive.

I am sure I have been able to convince Shri Samar Guha...

**SHRI SAMAR GUHA:** Have you convinced yourself, not to speak of Samar Guha? Just have your hand here (upon your heart) and say.

**SHRI D. P. YADAV:**.....and I would request him not to press his Bill.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Prof. Samar Guha, before you begin your speech, I want to inform the House that the word used by you during the Minister's speech, is unparliamentary as per this list of unparliamentary expressions, and it will be expunged.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** But what would you do with all the \*\*

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** It will be expunged.

Shri Samar Guha.

**SHRI SAMAR GUHA:** It is in the record of the House that even in the moment of great anger and anguish, provocation or expression of emotion, I had desisted from using any word or words that are derogatory to the accepted concept of the dignity of this House or against parliamentary convention. But, today I have done it consciously, I have done it deliberately. I have done it purposely, because I thought that if I kept silent and silence masquerading under a sense of decency and decorum, I would only be betraying the sentiments of the Indian people, the millions of people outside, to whom Netaji is not only their beloved hero but also an immortal idol of patriotism and to whom Netaji is the inspiration for all and the best emblem of the concept of Indian nationalism. I have done it deliberately although it is against the test of my sense of dignity. (Interruptions)

**AN HON. MEMBER:** Let him finish.

**SHRI SAMAR GUHA:** I will have the satisfaction, at least for once, of using a strong word, just expressing the feelings of the masses of the people of India outside this House.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Samar Guha, it is already 5-30. We should take up the Half-an-hour discussion...

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Let him finish the sentence; you cannot stop him in the middle.

\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

**SHRI SAMAR GUHA:** I wanted to say that what had been said by the honourable Junior Minister when senior colleague is sitting by him in an attitude of stoic silence and indifference, is nothing but hypocrisy galore.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** The discussion will continue on the next day.

17.32 hrs.

# HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION NARMADA RIVER WATERS ISSUE

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** We will now take up the Half-an-hour discussion on Narmada River Waters issue. Shri P. M. Mehta.

**SHRI P. M. MEHTA (Bhavnagar):** Narmada project is a national project. The country should know what is the loss which it suffers in terms of power generation and in terms of food production, which this river causes to the country. The country is losing Rs. 1500 crores every year. I will not deal with all the technical and economic aspects of the projects simply because the scope of the discussion is limited. But I will say that the demand of the people of Gujarat and the Government of Gujarat that 530 feet should be the height of the dam is based on sound techno-economic grounds, considerations and principles. Their demand is that there should be a 530 feet dam; this is based on pure merits. I have raised this discussion to seek some clarification from the hon. Minister. What I want to say is this. I would like to bring to the notice of the honourable House certain major decisions which were taken by the concerned State Governments and the Central Government.

Sir, in regard to the water dispute in the year 1954, the Government of India appointed an expert Committee known as the Khosla Committee in consultation with the Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Maharashtra Governments. In the year 1955, the Khosla Committee submitted its report and

the Government of Gujarat accepted the recommendations of the Report.

In the year 1958, the Government of Gujarat asked the Central Government to appoint a Tribunal under the Inter-State Water Disputes Act and referred the long pending issue to the Tribunal. In the year 1959, this demand of the Government of Gujarat was accepted by the Central Government and the issue was referred to the Tribunal.

While adjudication proceedings were in progress, all the Four Chief Ministers of the concerned States, that is, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan came to settle their dispute and arrived at an agreement after the Assembly elections of 1972. Because the same ruling party came into power, they came to an understanding an agreement that this dispute should be referred to or should be handed over to the Prime Minister of India. Therefore the dispute is handed over to the Tribunal. At that time hopes were raised that the Prime Minister was performing the stone-laying ceremony on 15th August, 1972.

The settlement of dispute was referred by the Deputy Minister for Irrigation and Power in written answer to Q. No. 316 dated 14th November, 1972. I would like to quote it:

Q. No. 316: to be answered on 14-11-72.

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power, in reply, stated as follows:

"The Chief Ministers/Ministers of Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan had discussions on the Narmada dispute from 18th to 22nd July, 1972. They pointed out that, though Narmada is one of the best rivers of the country with a great potential, it has not been developed so far and requested the Government of India to give priority to its development in this decade. The Chief Ministers felt that development of Narmada should no longer be delayed in the best regional and national interests and therefore agreed to the settlement of