

**Shri Humayun Kabir:** My hon. friend has himself complained about unemployment also occasionally. The two cannot go together.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** They go side by side.

**Shri T. B. Vittal Rao:** The hon. Minister says that I have complained about unemployment among engineering graduates. I have not at any time made any such complaint. Might be some of my colleagues. I know the position very well. I am interested in the development of these institutions. The question list would clearly show how many questions on this matter I have tabled.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Both things could co-exist.

**Shri T. B. Vittal Rao:** Supposing there is demand for an engineering graduate. He may perhaps demand a little more than what is offered by the management. That way there may be a little unemployment. But today, wherever we go, whether it is the Indian Telephone Industries or any other industrial undertaking, the usual cry we hear is inadequate supply of technical people. The same is the case with regard to our steel factories. Only yesterday I was reading the proceedings of the All India Council for Technical Education of the Southern Region which clearly shows that there is great shortage of technical hands. To whichever mine you go, you hear complaints of shortage of mine managers.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Is the hon. Member likely to conclude in two or three minutes?

**Shri T. B. Vittal Rao:** I would take some more time.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He will continue on the next day. We shall now take up non-official business.

**Shri Humayun Kabir:** When will this Bill be taken up—tomorrow or on Monday?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Tomorrow.

**Shri T. B. Vittal Rao:** Tomorrow immediately after Question Hour.

14.33 hrs.

#### COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

##### NINTIETH REPORT

**Shri T. B. Vittal Rao (Khammam):** I beg to move that this House agrees with the Nintieth Report of the Committee on Private Members Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on 21st November 1961.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The question is:

"That this House agrees with the Nintieth Report of the Committee on Private Members Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 21st November 1961."

*The motion was adopted.*

14.34 hrs.

#### RESOLUTION RE: ASHES OF NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE AND BIPLABI MAHANAYAK RASA BIHARI BASU—contd.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The House will now resume further discussion of the Resolution moved by Shri Iqbal Singh on the 8th September 1961. Out of one hour allotted for the discussion seven minutes have already been taken up. Sardar Iqbal Singh may continue his speech.

सरदार इकबाल सिंह (फिरोज़पुर) : जनाव दिट्टी स्पीकर साहब, पिछले इजलास में मैं ने जब इस रिजोल्यूशन को मूव किया था तो मैं यह कह रहा था कि नेता जी की ओर रास बिहारी बाबू की प्रस्तियों को यहां लाया-

## [सरदार इकबाल सिंह]

जाए और उनको मुनासिब फौजी ढंग से यहां रखा जाए और उसके बाद उनका एक मैमोरियल बनाया जाय। यह इसलिये जरूरी है कि अगर यह कौम जिन्दा रहना चाहती है तो उसको उन लोगों की जिन्होंने जंग आजादी के लिये कुर्बानियां की हैं, जिन्होंने मुक्त की आजादी के लिये कोशिश की है, इज्जत करे। यह इसलिये भी जरूरी है क्योंकि इससे आने वाली नस्तों में आजादी का जज्बा मजबूत होंगा और वे देखेंगे कि उनके बुजुर्गों ने उस वक्त जब कि कौम पर मुसीबत थीं तो किस तरह वह कुर्बानियां उसको आजाद कराने के लिये दी थीं। इसी वजह से हर कौम अपने कौम के शहीदों की इज्जत में, अपनी कौम के सेवादारों के नाम पर जिन्होंने देश की आजादी के लिये अपनी जिन्दगी लगायी, उनके लिये हमेशा मैमोरियल बनाती रही है।

यह एक खास किस्म का मसला है। पिछले दिनों नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस के लिये एक एन्वायरी कमेटी बनी थी, लेकिन इस वक्त में इन मामले में किसी कंट्रोवरसी को नहीं लाना चाहता। अगर सन् १९४५ के १६—१७ साल बाद नेताजी जिन्दा होते तो हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार उनकी हर तरह से मदद कर सकती थी? आज हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार इतनी मजबूत है कि वह उन लोगों को छुड़ा सकती है जिनको बार किमिल करार दे दिया गया था। अगर आज नेता जी जिन्दा होते तो हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार उनको हर तरह मदद कर सकती थी और उनको कोई नुकसान नहीं होते देती। इसलिये मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि नेताजी एन्वायरी कमेटी की रिपोर्ट के मुताबिक और वैसे भी मर चुके हैं। लेकिन अगर कुछ साल और यह मसला इसी तरह स्टेलमेंट में चलता रहा तो मैं यह तो नहीं कहता कि यह जज्बा खत्म हो जायेगा लेकिन इतना जोश नहीं रहेगा।

अगर यह चीज आज से कुछ साल पहले हो जाती तो और ज्यादा अच्छा रहता।

हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी के नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस एक खास मैमार थे और उन्होंने जंग आजादी में बड़ी कुर्बानियां दीं। और उनका हिन्दुस्तान में एक खास स्थान है और हिन्दुस्तान की कौम का यह फर्ज है और उस पर यह जिम्मेवारी है कि वह उनकी अस्थियों को इज्जत के साथ लाए और उनके लिये यहां पर एक मैमोरियल बनाया जाये और वह मैमोरियल लाल किले के समाने बनाना चाहिये। उनकी यह ख्वाहिश थीं कि लाल किले पर आजाद हिन्दुस्तान का झंडा लहराए। आज उस लाल किले पर हिन्दुस्तान की रिपब्लिक का झंडा लहरा रहा है। वह इस लाल किले से अंग्रेजों के राज्य को खत्म करना चाहते थे और वह चले गए और उनकी बाकी चीजें भी चलीं गयीं और इस तरह नेता जी की ख्वाहिश पूरी हो चुकी है। और आज अब हिन्दुस्तान की जनता पर और उनके जरिए हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार पर यह जिम्मेवारी है कि उनके प्रति, जिन्होंने देश की जंग आजादी लड़ी और उसके लिये हर तरह कोशिशें कीं, अपना फर्ज अदा करे।

इसलिये मैं किसी कंट्रोवरसी में न जाकर चाहता हूँ कि इस रिजोल्यूशन को पास किया जाये और इज्जत के साथ उनकी अस्थियों को लाया जाये और उनको बाकाथदा मिलटरी ढंग से इज्जत देकर रखा जाए और उनका मैमोरियल बनाया जाए।

रास बिहारी बाबू हिन्दुस्तान के बहुत पुराने इनकलाब पसन्दों में से थे और उन्होंने भी देश की आजादी के लिये बड़ी कुर्बानियां की। यह सारी उम्म देश से बाहर रहे लेकिन वहां भी उन्होंने आजादी की लड़ाई को कापम रखा, वह वहां से लड़ते रहे और आजादी की जोत को जिन्दा रखते रहे। उन दिनों हिन्दु-

स्तान में बहुत कम लोग ऐसे थे जो आजादी के लिये लड़ा करते थे । तीस चालीस या इससे भी ज्यादा सालों तक उन्होंने उस जज्बे को जिन्दा रखा, लेकिन वह हिन्दुस्तान में न आ सके क्योंकि जब उनकी वफात हुई तो हिन्दुस्तान आजाद नहीं था और वह आखिरी दम तक हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी के लिये लड़ते लड़ते मरे । उनके बारे में देश में कोई दो राएं नहीं हैं । इसलिये मैं चाहता हूं कि हिन्दुस्तान के इन दो रहनुमाओं की अस्थियां जो कि आज देश के बाहर हैं देश में लायी जायें और उन को पूरी इज्जत देकर यहां रखा जाये । और लोगों की अस्थियां भी लायी जाएं, मुझे उस बारे में कोई कंट्रोवर्सी नहीं है । लेकिन इन लोगों का देश में एक खास स्थान है । एक ने हिन्दुस्तान की द्विकूपत बाहर कायम की और दूसरे ने सिंगापुर में उसको और मजबूत किया और इस तरह हिन्दुस्तान की जंग को तकियत दी इसलिये मैं चाहता हूं कि उनकी अस्थियों को पूरी इज्जत के साथ लाया जाए ताकि हिन्दुस्तान के लोग इन बहादुर लोगों की मुनासिब तरीके से इज्जत कर सकें और यह कहा जा सके कि हिन्दुस्तान की जनता ने और सरकार ने और देश की सियासी जमानतों ने उन लोगों की जिन्होंने देश की आजादी के लिये कुर्जानियां कीं अपना कर्ज अदा किया और उनकी इज्जत बढ़ाने में हर किसी की मदद दी ।

आखिर में मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूं कि जिस वक्त नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस आजाद हिन्द फौज को लेकर हिन्दुस्तान पर हमला करने वाले थे, क्योंकि उनका ख्याल था कि इसी ढंग से देश को आजादी मिल सकती थी, तो उन्होंने एक बात कही थी जिसको कह कर मैं अपनी इस बात को खत्म करना चाहता हूं । उन्होंने एक लेक्चर देते हुए उस वक्त अपनी फौज से कहा था कि इन पहाड़ों के उस तरफ हमारी जन्म भूमि है और उस जन्म भूमि की जंग आजादी में हम

खत्म हो सकते हैं । आज वह जिन्दा हैसियत से तो दिल्ली नहीं आ सके । लेकिन आज हिन्दुस्तान की जनता और सरकार का उनके स्थान को देखते हुए यह कर्ज है कि उनकी अस्थियों को इज्जत के साथ देश में लावें और उनके लिये एक मुनासिब भैमोरिल बनावें । ये दोनों हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी के रहनुमाओं के सरताज थे । इसलिये उनको मुनासिब जगह दी जाये ।

इन इलकाज के साथ मैं इस रेजोल्यूशन को मूव करता हूं ।

**राजा भरेन्द्र प्रताप (मध्यरा):** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा इस से खास ताल्लुक है .....

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** मैं जानता हूं कि आप का इस से ताल्लुक है और आप को इस पर बोलने के लिये जरूर मौका दिया जायेगा लेकिन उसके पहले श्री श्रीनारायण दास का जो एक अमेंडमेंट है वह अपने उस अमेंडमेंट को मूव कर लें ।

मैं यह भी कह दूं कि बहुत से माननीय सदस्य इस रेजोल्यूशन पर बोलना चाहते हैं और चंकि इस रेजोल्यूशन के बास्ते सिर्फ़ एक घंटे का वक्त रक्खा गया है इसलिये वक्त का लिहाज रखना जाय ।

**श्री बालपेयी (बलरामपुर):** इस पर वक्त बढ़ा दिया जाय ।

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** वह तो बाद में देखा जायेगा । अगर माननीय सदस्य पांच, पांच मिनट में खत्म करते जायें तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा । इस पर कोई कंट्रोवर्सी नहीं है सिर्फ़ रेफेस और होमेज पे करना है ।

**श्री बालपेयी :** इस का विरोध भी होने वाला है ।

**Shri Aurobindo Ghosal (Uluberia):** This is a controversial issue.

**Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur):** I propose that two hours be set apart for this resolution.

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : अच्छा देखेंगे । अब श्री श्रीनारायण दास अपना अमेडमेंट मूव करे ।

**Shri Shree Narayan Das (Darbhanga):** I beg to move:

In the resolution,—

for "build suitable memorials in Delhi to enshrine the ashes "substitute—

"constitute a Committee to recommend the nature of suitable memorials and to suggest ways and means to build the same."

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे माननीय मित्र सरदार इकबाल सिंह ने जो प्रस्ताव सदन् के विचारार्थ प्रस्तुत किया है मैं उसका हृदय से समर्थन करता हूँ । हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी के इतिहास में जिन दो महान विभूतियों का इस प्रस्ताव में जिक्र है और जिन के सम्बन्ध में यह प्रस्ताव है उनको कुर्तीनियां और त्याग स्वर्गाकारों में लिखी हुई है या लिखी जायेगी । हिन्दुस्तान जब परतंत्र था उस समय की बात जब याद आती है तो हमारे जो पुराने देश के कांतिकारी नवयुवक ये उन में एक बड़ा स्थान महानायक रास बिहारी बसु का था । उनको देश की आजादी के सिलसिले में यहां से निष्काशित किया गया था और उस के कारण जीवन पर्यन्त उन्हें विदेश में रहना पड़ा । श्री रास बिहारी बसु जब तक जिन्दा रहे देश की आजादी के लिये अपनी तौर पर काम करते रहे और हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी के लिये जितना बन पड़ा प्रयास करते रहे । मैं समझता हूँ कि आज सदन् में यह जो प्रस्ताव उपस्थित हुआ है कि जापान से फौजी इंजिन के साथ और बड़े सम्मान के साथ इन दो महान विभूतियों की अस्थियां यहां पर लाई जायें और उनके लिये उपयुक्त स्मारक बनाया जाय इसका समर्थन इस सदन् के प्रायः सभी सदस्य करेंगे ।

आज हिन्दुस्तान को आजाद हुए काफी समय हो गया है । इस बांच बहुत तरह के सवाल नेता जी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस के जिन्दा होने या भरने के बारे में पैदा हुए । सरकार ने इस बारे में जांच पड़ताल करने के लिये कमेटी बनाई और उसकी रिपोर्ट भी सदन् में विभिन्न रूप में आई और उस पर काफी चर्चाएँ भी दुई लेकिन अभी तक यह विषय विवादास्पद बना हुआ है । फिर भी जैसा कि आम तौर से मालूम होता है और जैसा कि उस कमेटी को बहुमत रिपोर्ट थी, यह पता चला कि अब हमारे नेता श्री सुभाष चन्द्र बोस इस संसार में जीवित नहीं है और कहा यह जाता है कि उनके मृत्यु उस विमान दुर्घटना के फल-स्वरूप हो गई थी । उनका अस्थियां आज जापान में मैजूद हैं और सरकार का यह कर्तव्य है कि वह उस महान विभूति के लिये, उस महान त्यागो के लिये और उस महान नेता के लिये जिसने कि हिन्दुस्तान को आजाद कराने के हेतु सभी तरह के उपाय काम में लाये और हमारे सौभाग्य से आजादी मिल भी गई, उस महान नेता के प्रति सम्मान प्रदर्शित करे ।

मेरे मित्र सरदार इकबाल सिंह ने जो प्रस्ताव उपस्थित किया है उसके दो हिस्से हैं । पहला हिस्सा तो यह है कि सरकार नेता जी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस और महानायक रास बिहारी बसु की पवित्र अस्थियों को जापान से पूरे फौजी सम्मान और समारोह के साथ यहां पर लाये । उनके प्रस्ताव का दूसरा हिस्सा यह मांग करता है कि यहां दिल्ली में उनके लिये उपयुक्त स्मारक बनाये जाये । यहां तक कि उनकी अस्थियों को जापान से लाने का सबाल है मैं समझता हूँ कि इस में कोई दो मत नहीं हो सकते हैं लेकिन जो स्मारक इन दो महान विभूतियों के बारे में बनाने की मांग की जा रही है उस पर जरा विचार करने की जरूरत है । अब वह स्मारक किस तरह के होंगे इस पर विचार करना

होगा। सरकार केवल अस्थियों को रखने के लिये कोई मकान का निर्माण कर दे तो वह उपयुक्त स्मारक नहीं होगा। किसी महान् व्यक्ति के लिये स्मारक बनाने के पहले इस सम्बन्ध ने पूरा विचार करना चाहिये कि किस तरह का स्मारक उनके योग्य होगा। इसों लिये मैं ने अपने संशोधन के द्वारा इस में चाहा है कि सरकार इस के बास्ते एक कमेटी बिठाये और उसके जिम्मे यह काम सौंपा जाये कि वह इस सम्बन्ध में अपना सुझाव दे कि उन के लिये किस तरह का स्मारक कैसे और कहां बनाया जाय। उस कमेटी द्वारा पूरे तरीके से विचार करने के बाद जो रिपोर्ट सदन् या सरकार के सामने आये उसको व्यान में रख कर स्मारक बनाने का काम किया जाये। मैं अपने इस छोटे से संशोधन को पेश करते हुए इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूं और आशा करता हूं कि सदन् इस का समर्थन करेगा।

**राजा भहेन्द्र प्रताप (मथुरा) :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा इस प्रस्ताव से विशेष सम्बन्ध है। मैं बाबू रास बिहारी बोस के साथ जापान में था। उन्होंने क्या कुछ किया वह यहां बहुत कम लोगों को मालूम है। उनकी किस कदर इज्जत जापान में है। वह मैं ही समझ सकता हूं। बड़े से बड़े जनरल बज़ीर और प्राइमरिनिस्टर भी उनकी बड़ी इज्जत करते थे और उनकी बात को मानते थे। उनको जापानी भाषा बड़े अच्छे तरीके से आती थी। मैं भी वहां बहुत रहा मगर मैं दूरी फूटी जापानी ही बोल सका मगर वह जापानी में बड़ी बड़ी तकरीर कर सकते थे। उन्होंने खास तौर से दूसरी जापान और अमरीका की लड़ाई में बड़ा भारी हिस्सा लिया था। वह जनरल तेजो के बड़े दोस्त थे और उन्होंने जनरल तेजो पर इस बात का बहुत दबाव डाला कि यह लड़ाई की जाये।

एक दूसरी बात मैं यहां पर कह दूं कि जो अफगानिस्तान और अंग्रेजों की लड़ाई हुई थी उस बक्त अफगानिस्तान की

जो द्रुकूमते बक्त थी उस पर मौलाना जो हमारे स्थायी महाराष्ट्र हिंद के बजीर दाखला थे। शोबेदुल्ला ने बड़ा जोर डाला कि अफगानिस्तान लड़े।

मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि हमको रास बिहारी बोस साहब की जो कुछ इज्जत हम कर सकते हैं वह हमें करनी चाहिये और उनकी जो भस्मी वहां मौजूद है वह भी लानी चाहिये।

मैं इसी सिलसिले में एक बात और कह दूं। लोग शायद भूल गये हैं। मौलाना बरकतउल्ला साहब की भस्मी तो नहीं मगर उनका जिस्म कब्र में कैलीकोनिया में मौजूद है और मैं समझता हूं कि मुझे वह अल्काज यहां पर दुहरा देना चाहिये जो कि उनको दफनाते बक्त कहे थे। मौलाना को यह कह कर दफनाया था कि जब हिन्दुस्तान आजाद हो जायेगा तो हम उनकी लाश को हिन्दुस्तान ले जायेंगे। कहने का मतलब यह है कि मौलाना बरकतउल्ला साहब भी एक बड़े क्रांतिकारी थे और उनके बाबत मैं क्या क्या जिकर करूं कि उन्होंने क्या क्या काम किये क्यों कि वह इस प्रस्ताव से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं रखता है।

आखिर मैं मेरा कहना तो केवल यही है कि रास बिहारी वसु साहब की भस्मी को निहायत इज्जत के साथ यहां लाना चाहिये। यह भी मैं बतला दूं कि जो हमने एकजीकूटिव बोर्ड आफ इंडिया बनाया था उसका मैं प्रेसी-इंटर था, रास बिहारी वसु साहब वाइस प्रेसीडेंट थे और श्री आनन्द मोहन जो कि अभी योड़े दिन पहले तक बैंगकाक में एम्बेसेडर थे वह उस मैं जनरल सेक्रेटरी थे। हम लोगों ने कुछ न कुछ खिदमत की। एक बात मैं और अर्जन कर दूं कि श्री सुभाष चन्द्र बोस ने ठीक वही किया जो मैं ने सन् १९१५-१६-१७ और १९१८ में किया था। मैं गया जर्मनी वह गये जर्मनी। मैं आया अफगानिस्तान वह गये जापान। मैंने

## [राजा महेन्द्र प्रताप]

काबुल में १ दिसम्बर, १९१५ को आजाद हिन्द सरकार बनाई और उन्होंने २१ अक्टूबर, १९४३ को सिंगापुर में आजाद हिन्द सरकार बनाई । हम लोगों ने करीब करीब एक ही तरह काम किया, लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि बाबू सुभाषचन्द्र बोस ने मुझ से बहुत ज्यादा बढ़ कर काम किया । अगर मैं बारह हजार की फौज बना सका, और वह भी अफरीदियों की, तो उन्होंने साठ हजार से ज्यादा की फौज बनाई और वह फौज हिन्दुस्तानियों की थी । अगर मैं सिर्फ पचास आदमी कांति कराने के लिये, इन्कलाब कराने के लिये भेज सका, तो उन्होंने पांच सौ आदमी भेजे मैं सरहद में जाकर लड़न सका, लेकिन वह बर्मा के मैदान में जाकर लड़े । मैं उनकी भारी इज्जत करता हूँ और मैं चाहता हूँ कि हम सब लोग मुत्तफिका राय से कहें कि उनकी इज्जत होनी चाहिये और उनका मेमोरियल यहां पर जरूर बनना चाहिये ।

मैं इस बात पर अफसोस जाहिर करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार को क्या हो गया था कि आज पन्द्रह साल हो गये इन बातों को, लेकिन उस तरफ से इस किस्म की कोई तजबीज पेश नहीं की गई । हां, एक कांग्रेसी भाई ने जरूर की, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि यह तजबीज हमारे वजीरे-आजम की तरफ से पेश होनी चाहिये थी । मैं वजीरे आजम के लिये एक एक्सप्रेस खत को डाक में डाल कर आया हूँ ।

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** उस की क्या जरूरत थी ? माननीय सदस्य उनको यहां पर खत दे सकते थे ।

**राजा महेन्द्र प्रताप :** वह हमारी बात सुनते नहीं हैं । मैं खिदमत करना चाहता हूँ, लेकिन वह न जाने क्या स्थाल फरमाते हैं । इस बक्त हमारे सामने जो यह तजबीज है कि हम उन लोगों की इज्जत करें, जिन्होंने हमारे मूल्क की खिदमत की, मैं उसकी ताईद

आखिर में मैं एक बात और अर्ज कर दूँ । मैं जानता हूँ कि हमारे मूल्क में ऐसी आदत है कि जब तक बाप जिन्दा हो, तो उस को भूता मारा जाये और उसके मरने के बाद उसकी इज्जत की जाये और उसको पानी दिया जाये । खैर, मैं तो अभी जिन्दा हूँ, मुझे आप भूता मार सकते हैं कोई डर नहीं, लेकिन वह बेचारे तो मर गये । उनकी अब इज्जत की जानी चाहिये । उन की भस्मी को यहां लाना चाहिये और उनकी यादगार लाल किले के सामने बननी चाहिये । उन्होंने कहा था, “दिल्ली चलो, दिल्ली चलो” । अब उनकी आत्मा दिल्ली में आ गई है । अब मेहरबानी करके उन के लिये यादगार यहां पर बनाई जाये ।

**जनाब की बहुत मेहरबानी ।**

**Shrimati Renu Chakravarty (Basirhat):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, this Resolution which has come before this House will have, naturally, many controversies raised around it. I would just like to say this. Whatever may be the controversies which may rage now or which might have taken place earlier, this much is true that the place of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose in the national struggle cannot be denied by anybody. His spectacular figure is an outstanding one in our history and everybody, both on this side of the House and on that side, would be one with me in saying that it is time that Government should come forward to bring back his ashes to free India.

There is no doubt that there is a section of our countrymen, and especially in my State, who feel that may be Shri Subhas Chandra Bose is still alive. Since his death has been shrouded in mystery and no direct evidence is there, people in India, a section of them, hope against hope that some day he will return again to lead them. Others, on the other hand, feel that a man like Subhas Chandra Bose, who was always irresistibly drawn to

active struggle would never have remained far from home after India had attained independence. It would, in their opinion, do injustice to his memory. I, personally, would subscribe to this second view.

One of my earliest memories of Subhas Chandra Bose was in 1928 when the Congress was taking place in Calcutta. I remember, as a little girl, I went up to him and asked him for an autograph. On that occasion he wrote in my autograph a Bengali couplet

शारीनता हिनताय के वंचिते चाय है  
which means, what is the use of life if there is no freedom for one's country.

Now, Shri Subhas Chandra Bose is dead and it is, I think, the opinion of Government which they have expressed on the floor of this House. If that is correct, then, we should bring his remains, his ashes to the soil of India which is now free.

No doubt, we have to accept that there is a controversy and that the controversy still rages. But, Government has taken up a position; and I would, therefore, urge that having taken that position, it is up to them to bring back the remains of the son of India to his own country with full honours.

I would just like to tell this House this. Many who have visited Japan have been faced with this dilemma when they go to the Renkoji temple. The priest in charge, whenever he sees an Indian turns to him and asks, 'You say you are an Indian, why don't you take back the ashes of your leader home? You say you respect him.' That, I think, is a rather ignominious question which one has to answer. It does no good to our national dignity to leave these ashes in a foreign land. Therefore, I say that if it is true that the ashes of Netaji remain in a foreign land, we should bring them to our country with full honours so that the man who said, 'what is the use of life if there is no freedom for one's country', comes back to his country, if not

alive, at least his remains come back to the free soil of India.

**Shri Aurobindo Ghosal:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I regret that I do not subscribe to the views expressed by the members who have spoken before me. It is really a tragedy that a living person or a person whose death has not been proved at all has been acclaimed by some of his countrymen to be dead and gone. I do not question the *bona fides* of the priest of the Renkoji temple who is sincerely preserving the so-called ashes of Netaji but I pity him for his ignorance that the ashes are not the remains of Netaji's body.

You will be surprised to know the whole story of the air accident at Taihoku where his death is supposed to have occurred. It is a completely got-up one. There was an enquiry no doubt after about 11 years of his death in this incident but that enquiry was also completely an eye-wash. Both the report of the Government and the dissentient report submitted by his elder brother ought to be read together. It is the duty of any official committee to print the dissentient report. That has not been printed by Government but Netaji's brother has been kind enough to print it at his own cost.

The Prime Minister wanted, I do not know why, in the previous Parliament—I was present then—Netaji to be dead; and this enquiry committee fulfilled his desire without a real probe into the whole incident.

15 hrs.

The so-called air accident at Taihoku in Formosa is said to have taken place on the 18th August, 1945. The first news of this death was flashed by the Demai Agency on the 23rd August, 1945; that is, 5 days after the incident. What was the point in relaying this important news 5 days after the incident? Because this delay was a planned scheme formulated long ago to give an opportunity to Netaji to go

## [Shri Aurobindo Ghosal]

first to Manchuria and therefrom to Russia after the surrender of Japan. After all, the real fact is that when the time came for the Japanese to surrender, Netaji requested the Jap Government to take him to Russia which could not be complied with by the then Japanese Government because they were negotiating the surrender terms through Russia. Then he requested them to take him to Manchuria which was still under their occupation and he told them that he would make arrangements himself for going to Russia from that place. This plan was agreed upon and in pursuance of that Field Marshal Count Terauchi, the Supreme Commander of the Japanese Southern Command arranged a plane for Netaji and allowed Lieut. Gen. Shidei, the Chief of Staff of the Burma Army to accompany him in the same plane as he knew both Japanese and Russian languages very well. The plan was that they would be dropped at Dairen in Manchuria and General Shidei would help Netaji in crossing over to Russia after which it would be announced by the Japanese Government that Netaji had disappeared. The same programme was adopted when he disappeared from Calcutta. This was the original plan and it was acted upon with the only changes that the Japanese announced his death by aircrash as they believed later on that it would be unwise to announce his disappearance only on the eve of their surrender to Anglo-American powers; it would be inconvenient both the escape of Netaji and also to the then Jap Government who were negotiating with the Anglo-American powers for surrender. This fact has been proved by the enquiry committee report by witness No. 6, S. A. Iyer, a Minister of Netaji's cabinet, witness No. 20, T. Negishi, a Japanese interpreter to Netaji, witness No. 35, Lt. Gen. S. Isoda, the head of the Hikui Kiken, a liaison organisation between the INA and the Jap Military command, witness No. 32, T. Hachiya, a Jap Minister to Azad Hind Government and witness No. 61, N.

Kitazawa, Deputy to the then Japanese Ambassador in Burma. General Isoda stated that the plane arranged for Netaji was a brand new bomber and its take-off from Saigon was quite normal. It has been confirmed by all the witnesses present then. Shri H. K. Rai and K. K. De, witness Nos. 14 leadership of Messrs. Davies and Finney to the Far East by the British India Government soon after the surrender of the Jap Government for arresting Netaji against whom a case was started under the Enemy Agents' Ordnance have admitted this air crash as a hoax. Witness No. 11, S. Majumdar who held a high post in the Intelligence Branch of that time was also of the opinion that there was no air crash . . .

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Is it necessary to go into these details?

**Shri Aurobindo Ghosal:** The Resolution presumes that he is dead and that seems to be the opinion of the other hon. Members also.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He can argue that there is evidence to the contrary and so many witnesses have deposed. Why go into each deposition?

**Shri Tangamani (Madurai):** All these things are contained in the published report.

**Shri Aurobindo Ghosal:** I am referring to the published report.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** That is right. He need not read them in full.

**Shri Aurobindo Ghosal:** It has been further proved to the hilt that Netaji reached Saigon from Bangkok quite safely and the take off, landing and flight en route as well as the take off from Saigon were quite normal and smooth. Still Taihoku was selected to be the venue of aircrash as it was only one hop from Dairen and was very far from Saigon and there was not any Indian national there. Netaji started contacting the Russian Ambassador in

Tokyo as early as 1944 because he was under the impression at that time that the Japanese would lose the war. With gradual lapse of time this took more definite shape. Shri A. M. Sahay, witness No. 30, whose name was mentioned by the previous speaker, and some others have stated that Netaji made attempts at contacting the Chinese Communist through Ho Chi Minh's party and also the Russians through Mr. Shigemitsu, the Foreign Minister of Japan and others. Shri Debnath Das, who is in the employ of West Bengal Government, witness No. 2 in that enquiry also stated that one of Netaji's plans was to go to Yenan, the headquarters of Mao Tse Tung and that Netaji had asked Mr. Iyer, witness No. 6, his Minister for information and broadcasting in May 1948 to write to Mr. Shigemitsu and his behalf and provide other facilities to him and to a few members of his staff for going to Russia. Witness No. 5, Col. Pritam Singh deposed that Netaji had told him that he had contacted the Russians through Mr. Shigemitsu. All these would go a long way to prove that Netaji's plan of going to Russia via Manchuria was not a cursory suggestion but was a carefully thought of plan. As a matter of fact it was the only alternative that was left to him. It is also proved that though the Japanese Government were in utter distress and confusion, due to their surrender to the Anglo-Americans, still they were magnanimous enough in respecting Mr. Chandra Bose's last wishes and were also with all sincerity giving effect to the same plan, by taking him in a plane to Manchuria and had deputed one of their topmost and renowned generals who knew the territory well and who, according to Mr. T. Negishi, witness No. 20, was considered to be a keyman for negotiations with Russians, with instructions to remain with him there and to help him in crossing over into the adjoining Russian territory. The Japanese were keen for the quick execution of their plan and their instructions were that the plane should make a detour

at Dairen in Manchuria and after dropping only Netaji and General Shidei there, the plane would come back to Japan. The main idea underlying it was to remove Netaji to a safe place, so that the Anglo-Americans would not be in a position to get hold of him. Naturally all these incidents regarding the air crash, his seating arrangement in the plane, his hospitalisation, his death and his cremation all these will be found to be full of discrepancies if these reports are gone into fully. They can be discarded without any hesitation.

As regards the opinions of others, I will only give one instance, that is the opinion of the British and American military officials. This is their opinion. I am quoting from the *Disentient, Report, Page 152.*

It says here:

"Extract from Top Secret letter No. SLO/CS/I dated 1-3-46 from C.I.C.B., to A.D. (J).

My dear Wright,

There are major discrepancies regarding the disposal of the body. Isoda and the captured signal state that he died at midnight in Taihoku hospital and that his body was flown to Tokyo by the Formosan Army. Domei, on the other hand, states that he was cremated and buried in Taihoku. The discrepancy here is great and appears suspicious. In addition, if it is a deception plan it is one which has been extremely carefully and ingeniously organised. In conclusion it can be said definitely that Bose left Saigon and probably that there was a plane crash at the take-off at Taihoku. It is possible that Bose escaped from the crash unhurt and either hid in Formosa on his own initiative or was hidden by local authorities who took an *ad hoc* decision . . ."

## [Shri Aurobindo Ghosal]

Another small extract from Intelligence Bureau, New Delhi, dated the 19th February, 1946, is there. Another official is writing.

"My dear Young,

We have at last completed an examination of the information available here relating to the alleged death of Bose, and the result is not entirely satisfactory for it reveals many discrepancies which, until clarified, make any definite conclusion on this incident a little doubtful . . . . The SACSEA Commission No. 1 report dated 6 November 1945 states:— . . . . It is beyond doubt that he (Bose) had plans to go underground together with a number of selected friends of his movement. The earlier report from the Commission dated 18 October, 1945, suggested that the Japanese had undertaken to give Bose the necessary protection (to go underground)."

These were the opinions of the top military men of the Anglo-American bloc.

The opinion of Shri Shahnawaz Khan, who was the chairman of this enquiry committee, is also given at page 157 of the book from which I have quoted. It reads as follows:

"Hindustan Standard (front page), dated 24th January, 1951 . . . . Said Major General Shah Nawaz Khan hoisting the National Flag amidst shouts of 'Netaji Zindabad!', etc.

It goes on to say:

"The General expressed the hope that Netaji would come back in their midst at the time when they would be celebrating his next birthday."

This was what the chairman of the enquiry committee said. After 11 years,

after he was lifted to the Treasury Bench, he came to the rescue of the Government to prove that Netaji was dead and gone.

Let us then see the opinion of a jurist of international fame, Dr. Radha Binod Pal. In a letter written by him on 14th February, 1953 to Shri A. M. Nair of Tokyo, he says:

"As a matter of fact I could not accept as true the story of Netaji's death at Formosa. In any case, I feel that the whole thing demands a thorough investigation. Statements by individuals made here and they will not convince me as to the truth of the whole story given out. I have reasons to doubt its correctness."

This was the position. Even Mahatma Gandhi doubted the death of Netaji. As regards the family of Netaji, his elder brother, Suresh Bose, who was his friend, philosopher and guide, admitted the other day that he was doubtful about Netaji's death. Netaji's daughter came here and stayed with the hon. Prime Minister. We have never seen any statement either from his wife or daughter that Netaji is dead. No member of his family has said that Netaji is dead. Even his nephew who was associated with him, Mr. Bose, a Congress MLC, said that the news of Netaji's death was completely a got up affair.

The only thing that the Government has done with regard to this matter is the setting up of an enquiry committee, and the committee said that Netaji died in an air crash. Here is one of the members of the enquiry committee, Shri Suresh Chandra Bose, the elder brother of Netaji, who represented his family at the committee, and he has submitted a dissenting report, and has not agreed that Netaji is dead and has not agreed with the majority of the enquiry committee's members in their conclusion.

Another member of the committee was one Shri Moitra, ICS. He did not care about it and naturally could not be sincere in having a thorough probe into this matter. The third member was Shri Shahnawaz Khan, who was the chairman of the committee. This gentleman was received—and he was given—with an unprecedented ovation in West Bengal, and thousands of ladies gave him tilak by cutting their fingers. This ex-General Secretary of the All-India Forward Bloc (Marxist) at that time, at meetings where millions were present, at Calcutta, and at party meetings of workers, said that Netaji was alive and that he would be coming back next year. If this gentleman, after basking in the sunshine of haven of the Prime Minister, gave a different opinion at the committee, naturally, who can believe him? Naturally,—

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** How can he come to that conclusion? (Interruption).

**Shri Aurobindo Ghosal:** Let me now mention what respect is shown to Netaji. In the last 12 years of Independence, what respect has been shown to this great revolutionary? Has the Government made any single statue for him anywhere in this country? Has the Government declared 23 January, his birthday, as a holiday? Has the Government published his speeches? Has the Government issued any postal stamp on his birthday? Has the Government named any street in New Delhi in his name? Has the Government proposed to the hon. Speaker the desirability of having his portrait in the Central Hall of Parliament House? On the contrary, thousands of people have been thrown out of employment from the INA. You have not scrapped the names of Andaman and Nicobar Islands and are still adopting and retaining the names given by the British.

**Raja Mahendra Pratap:** Sir, I rise to a point of order. We want to respect those ashes, supposed to be the ashes of Netaji. Where is the harm if

they are brought here and a memorial is made here? Supposing he is alive, he will be welcomed by all of us. But let those ashes be brought here, which are in his name, in Japan, and we respect these ashes.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. The question is one of bringing the ashes here. If the hon. Member comes to the conclusion that Netaji is alive, he can argue that. He can argue that he is still alive, and Shri Aurobindo Ghosal has done it extensively. Let him conclude now.

**Shri Aurobindo Ghosal:** Therefore, it is better that the hon. Member should not show him more dishonour by asking to bring the ashes of a living man! As has already been said Chakravarty, a large section of our people in my State wants to believe, rightly or wrongly, that Netaji is alive. Therefore, I would request the hon. Member and the hon. Ministers not to wound the feelings and sentiments of a large section of the people of one of the States.

Lastly, with full responsibility, I can say that it has not been proved that Netaji is dead. The enquiry committee has failed to discharge its duty. Naturally, I can say that Netaji is not dead, but I am not in a position to say with authority anything more than that at the present moment.

I would request the hon. Mover to delete that portion regarding Netaji's ashes. As regards the other portion, I cordially support the proposal that the ashes of Rasa Bihari Basu be brought here and a proper memorial be set up.

**चौं राजबीर सिंह (रोहतक) :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरी समझ में यह बात नहीं आई कि मुझ से पूर्व के वक्ता बजाय इस के कि इस प्रस्ताव के हक में या विरोध में कुछ कहते, एक ही बात कहते रहे जिस से यह मालूम होता था कि हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार

## [बौ० रणजीर तिहू]

नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोड के लिंगाक है, और वह चाहती है कि नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस जिन्दा रहते हुए भी मरे समझ लिये जायें। मेरे लायक दोस्त को अगर यह विश्वास भी हो, या अगर उनकी यह मंशा ही हो, तो यह स्थाल उन को मुबारक रहें। इस बात में किसी को कोई विरोध नहीं है, लेकिन सवाल यह है कि नेता जी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस किसी एक स्टेट के नहीं हैं, नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस एक कुटुम्ब के नहीं हैं। नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस सारे हिन्दुस्तान की मिल्कियत हैं, सारे सूबों की मिल्कियत हैं, और जिस तरह से किसी एक स्टेट के आदियों के दिल में, या उनके कुटुम्ब के भाइयों के दिल में उन के लिये आदर है, उसी तरह से सरों के दिल में भी उनके लिये आदर है। जिस बात की वे दूसरों से अपील करते हैं, हम भी उन से उसी तरह से अपील करना चाहते हैं कि वे यह मान लें कि हिन्दिया में ईमानदारी भी कोई चीं हो सकती है। अगर मैं आपकी ईमानदारी में यकीन करता हूं ग्रीष्म मानता हूं कि आप ईमानदारी से ऐसा समझते हैं, तो आप भी मेरी ईमानदारी में यकीं कीजिये। अगर मैं ईमानदारी से यह समझूँ कि वे अस्थियां नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोड की हैं तो भले ही आप मन में इह बात को नहीं समझते या एक स्टेट के कुछ भाई इह बात को नहीं समझते, लेकिन उनको मेरी भावना को कुचलने का क्या अधिकार है?

मैं और डा० राम सुभग दोनों जापान गये थे। हम रंकोजी मंदिर के अन्दर भी गये थे वहां हमने श्रद्धा से उनकी अस्त्वियों को देखा और फूल भेट किये आज भी उसी श्रद्धा से आप से इन्वेदन करना चाहता हूं कि हम सब चाहते हैं कि नेताजी की उम्र लाख ताल की होती वे देश आते और १०० साल या हजार साल, या जितने भी साल जिन्दा रह सकते हों, जिन्दा रहें, फिर भी आज मैं अपने मित्र से पूछता हूं कि उनकी

कहानी पर आज दुनिया में कौन दकीर कर सकता है?

मुझे राद है, जब मैं कारेज में पड़ता था तब ने गा जी रोहतक के अन्दर आये थे। उस बक्त वे हिन्दुस्तान की कांग्रेस के सदर थे। और उस बक्त उन्होंने कहा था कि हिन्दिया के अन्दर लड़ाई होने वाली है, और मुझे पता नहीं कि उस बक्त मैं कहां हूंगा, लेकिन एक बात मैं कहे जाता हूं कि जब अंग्रेज की लड़ाई किसी विदेशी शक्ति से हो हो तो हिन्दुस्तानियों को उसका फ़त्यदा उठाकर यहां से अंग्रेजों की शक्ति को खत्म कर देना चाहिये। वह नेता जी सुभाष चन्द्र बोड जो कि उस बक्त हौसले से अनने विवार हमारे सामने रख सकते थे, आज उनके रास्ते में कौन सी छापट है। उनके दिन में हिन्दुस्तान के लिये उतना ही प्यार था जितना कि हमारे अंसी थीं कि दिल में हो सकता है। उन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान के लिये कुर्जानी दी और अपनी जान की बाजी लगादी जो कि मैं या मेरे राथी नहीं लगा सके। मझ से पूर्व बक्ता या मैं उनकी तरह अपनी जान की बाजी नहीं लगा सके। तो जिस के दिल में देश के लिये इतना प्यार हो और जिस के दिल में इतनी बड़ी स्वाहित्य हो कि हिन्दुस्तान आजाद हो, और जब हिन्दुस्तान आजाद हो जाये और लाल किले पर हिन्दुस्तान का झंडा फहराता हो तो क्या कोई आदमी यह विवरण कर सकता है, जिसको नेता जी के स्थालात का कुछ भी जान होगा, कि अगर वह जिन्दा होते तो उस बक्त हिन्दुस्तान न आते। मैं तो कहता हूं कि अगर वह जिन्दा होते तो अम्बर को भी फाड़ कर उस बक्त दिल्ली के अन्दर आते अगर वह हिन्दुस्तान के सब से बड़े आमी की हैं, यह से न आते तो हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर की लड़ाई के एक बांटियर की तरह आते क्यों कि उनको प्रोहृदों से प्यार नहीं था, उनके दिल में तो देश का प्यार था। उनके दिल में देश की आजादी का प्यार था।

तो मैं अपने साथी के विचारों का विरोध करके उनके सेटीमेंट को चोट नहीं लगाना चाहता । मैं इस बात की कोई कोशिश नहीं करना चाहता कि उनको समझ सकूँ कि नेता जी सुभाषचन्द्र बोस जिन्दा नहीं हैं वे दोनों कि ऐसा करने से उनके सेटीमेंट को, उन के दिल को चोट लगती है । तो मैं उस तरफ नहीं जाना चाहता । मैं तो उनसे और उनके ख्यालात रखने वाले उनके साथियों से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार ने उनके विचारों का बहुत दिन तक रुपाल रखा । लेकिन आज हिन्दुस्तान की जनता की एक बहुत बड़ी तादाद यह चाहती है कि नेता जी सुभाषचन्द्र बोस और रास बिहारी जी की अस्थियों को हिन्दुस्तान में लाया जाये और उनकी यादगार बनायी जाए ।

उन्होंने ने दो बार बात कहीं । मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि यद्य प्रश्न मंत्री जी जगव दें तो उस बहुत सार्वतः वा ऐं को कबूल कर लें । इस में किसी को कहा इन्कार हो सकता है । कोई ऐसी बात नहीं है जिस में किसी को विरोध हो । वह आज एक बात कह कर उलाहना देते हैं । लेकिन वह इस सभा के पिछ्ने पांच साल से सदस्य हैं । अगर वह इस अरसे में कोई इस प्रकार का रिजोल्यूशन लाते और यह सदन इस बात को कबूल न करता तब तः प्रश्न मंत्री को और सदन को दोष दिया जा सकता था । लेकिन आज, जबकि हम उन को अपनी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करना चाहते हैं वह इस सवाल को उठाते हैं ।

मैं प्रस्ताव का समर्यंत करता हूँ और सरकार से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि उन के ख्यालात का ध्यान रखते हुए, हिन्दुस्तान की जनता के बहुत बड़े हिस्से के दिल में जो श्रद्धा है उस का भी ध्यान रखें और इस प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार कर ले ।

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, to begin with, let us all be clear that there is no one in this House, I take it, who does not honour and respect the memory of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose. So, there is no question of doing anything not in conformity with our high respect for his memory.

But in so far as this resolution is concerned, there are certain aspects of it, one particular aspect was brought out in a rather peculiar manner by one of the recent speakers who tried to prove by some reference to some documents or evidence that in his opinion Netaji was still alive. That opinion, I believe, is not an opinion which is shared widely by many people, but there it is. Even if a Member of the Lok Sabha thinks that the fact of the death of Netaji is not established, it does create difficulties.

I would not have perhaps minded that very much and I might have thought that it was an erratic opinion of a few individuals, but when, as it happened, a few years back the very brother of Netaji himself associated himself with that opinion, it created further difficulties. Soon after India became independent, we were naturally interested in finding out definitely whether it was a fact or not that Netaji died in an accident. We enquired about this in various ways from other Governments, who had also been concerned for a variety of reasons. Some Governments were hostile to Netaji and inimical to him; they also wanted to know at that time soon after the war whether Netaji was alive or not.

Our conclusion then was, from the evidence we received from the various Governments as well as our own records of British time—intelligence records and other things—that he had died. It may be, of course, that the detailed account of the accident, etc. is not accurate; it may very well be that something is being added to it

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

or something taken out of it, but broadly speaking, we came to the conclusion that the story of his death was correct one. Subsequently, we took further steps to enquire and as has been referred to by the hon. Member opposite, ultimately we set up a small committee to enquire into this matter. It was a good committee. I might say frankly that speaking personally I was convinced by our previous enquiries that the story of his death was basically correct, though there might have been some discrepancies here and there. Nevertheless, because many people were not quite sure of this, we set up this committee consisting of my colleague, Shri Shahnawaz Khan and two others—one a brother of Netaji and another person, whom the hon. Member derided, because he was a civil servant. Why that should be a disqualification to enquire into the matter is not clear to me; he is a competent and able man. That committee presented a report, which was placed on the Table of the House.

From that report—it is a majority report—it is perfectly clear that they saw and examined many people in Japan connected with this matter and came to the conclusion that there was no doubt that Netaji died in this accident. But his brother, who was also a member of the committee, did not accept that opinion. I must say that the brother's note of dissent seemed to us rather not satisfactory; in the way he had proceeded about this matter, many things occurred which seemed to us not in keeping with the rational approach to this problem. However, so far as we were concerned and so far as the House was concerned, we were convinced that he had suffered death through this accident. I need not go into that; that matter is not before the House really.

But I do mention that although we were quite clear about this and ever since then we were thinking of bringing the ashes of Netaji here in a

proper manner with due respect the difficulty that faced us then and that faces us now to some extent is that there is a public aspect, a very important public aspect. There is also a personal aspect and a family aspect. In a matter of this kind, the initiative should normally be taken by the family. Government, of course, would give aid, help and everything, but it is a little difficult for Government to take action. When some members of the family may object, it embarrasses us. That is why we did not take that step. Although we were on the point of taking it on several occasions during the past few years, the position remains much the same.

So far as the story of his death goes how correct it is in detail it is difficult to say, but as time passes it becomes more and more strange to me that any person should imagine that Netaji is living in hiding somewhere 16 years after the alleged incident. It is very odd, very extra-ordinary and totally not in keeping with a man like Netaji. You must remember that. It is not a very complimentary thing for him to say that after 15 or 16 years after his alleged death he is living in hiding. Hiding from whom? Hiding from what? If he comes here he would be welcomed with great acclaim. At any time he would be welcomed by everybody, by the Government, by the people and everybody. There is nothing to fear here.

As a matter of fact, it was suggested that he wanted to go to some part of the Soviet Union. He may have expressed that wish—I cannot say but it must be remembered that the Soviet Union was also in that group of powers which did not like him at all absolutely. In fact, they disliked him very much—I know because I have sometimes discussed this matter—simply because he was associated with their enemy, Japan. It was for that reason, not personal. There are no personal

reasons to dislike him. But because of his association with Germany and Japan they disliked him, they dislike his activities in the war. So it is hardly a place for him to go, to seek refuge. Anyhow, I would not go into that question.

The only real difficulty is this. We cannot take the initiative in this matter unless we have the goodwill of the family specially. Outside the family if few other persons do not accept his death, well, it does not so much matter. But it is important that the members of his family should associate themselves in any action that we may take.

I may add that this same argument does not wholly apply to the ashes of Shri Rasa Bihari Basu. With all respect to Shri Rasa Bihari Basu, I would say that we do not put him on the level of Netaji. I mean no disrespect to Shri Rasa Bihari Basu. But he went to Japan and became a citizen and national of Japan. He married there, had children there and cut himself off practically from India. His family lives in Japan as Japanese citizens. And, however much we may honour him, for us to treat him on the same level in regard to this matter as Netaji does not seem to me to be quite correct. There are very eminent persons who sacrificed their lives in India's struggle for freedom, who died abroad and whose memory we cherish. We have not thought at any time of searching for their ashes or whatever remains of them and to bring them here. Therefore, we treat that case somewhat differently and separately. It is not that we have any objection to his ashes coming here. But they honour it in Japan, because in Japan we know that one of the old worships of Japan is 'shintoworship' or worship of ancestors. I understand that the ashes of Shri Rasa Bihari Basu are honoured in his family and worshipped in his family.

As for memorials, three or four years ago when we were celebrating in 1957

the centenary of the big war of independence we decided then that instead of putting up separate memorials for our martyrs and heroes of independence—they may, of course, be put up here and there—in Delhi we should put up one major memorial for all those who gave their lives during the struggle for freedom for the last 100 years from 1857 up to the time when independence came. It has been decided after much thought that this major memorial should be put up in front of the Red Fort leading up to Chandni Chowk. A most eminent sculptor, Roy Choudhuri has been commissioned to put this group, it is a big group which will contain a number of figures. He has been at it for some years now and probably it will take another one year or two years for him to complete it—I do not know.

So, in these circumstances, I regret, we cannot accept this resolution as it is. If people are agreeable to bring those ashes, of course, we would welcome them and make such provisions as we can. Government normally does not come in for putting up memorials even for our great men. If other organisations do it Government may help them somewhat. But, not in the case of Netaji but in other cases, some objection has sometimes been taken if Government picks and chooses persons for whom it may put up memorials. It may, in the case of Tagore or Gandhiji do something in the matter. We have done something in the matter. But even there we have left it to private subscriptions largely to put up memorials. But in this case, as in some others, Government would gladly do it, take every step to honour the memory of Netaji; but for reasons already stated it cannot accept this resolution.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** May I put one question? This resolution was taken up during the last session. I would like to know whether his family members were consulted; if so, what is their opinion about it.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Not about this particular resolution—I cannot remember—but two or three times they have been consulted. The normal way of consultation is for us to enquire from the Chief Minister of West Bengal and request him to find out from Netaji's family members. So far as I remember his advice was—it must be about two years ago or may be less—that at that time he would not advise us to take any such steps because there was some conflict of opinion there.

**Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, nobody can of course better the regard the Prime Minister feels for the memory of Netaji. But I am afraid there must be many people in the land who may feel a little disappointed if we are to allow our regard and affection evinced in his memory to be equated with those others who are to be included in the group which Roy Choudhuri will be erecting. So normally there is a feeling that there should be a national monument.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I did not mean to say that there should be a separate monument for him. Because the resolution said that in Delhi it should be put up, I said this was a decision made not in regard to Netaji but a general decision which would be given effect to. But Netaji's statue, I believe,—I am not quite sure, has been put up in Calcutta and in other places.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** It is coming up. Some lakhs of rupees have been sanctioned for it.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** They can certainly be put up.

**Shri Nath Pai:** I am very glad. Then, about Government's taking up the work, I am afraid when leaders of the stature of Netaji expired in the circumstances in which Napoleon did, it was the French Government which, as the Prime Minister knows, has built

Invalides, Invalides has not been built by private contributions but by the French Government and the French people as a whole.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The Prime Minister only stated what we have been doing in other cases.

**Shri Nath Pai:** I am saying about the Government taking up the work; not about the ashes but the work of erecting a national monument.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I distinguished myself, between Netaji and Shri Rasa Bihari Basu. In connection with Rasa Bihari Basu I said that there are a number of people, as eminent revolutionaries, who died elsewhere.

**सरदार इकबाल निहूः** जनाब डिप्टी स्पीकर, हमारे माननीय प्रधान मंत्री ने अभी हाउस में जो फरमाया है उस से मेरी जी इस रेजूलेशन के लाने की मंशा थीं वह पूरी हो गयी है। मेरा इस रेजूलेशन को लाने का मुद्दा सिर्फ यह था कि एक तो जो यह मुल्क में कंट्रोवर्सी चल रही है कि सरकार नेता जी को जो हमें और औनर इंग्रजी है वह नहीं देना चाहती है, वह जरा साफ हो जाये और वह मुद्दा इस से पूरा हो गया है और अब यह चीज साफ तौर से जाहिर हो गई है कि सरकार उन को इज्जत देना चाहती है। मेरे रेजूलेशन के रखने से इस हाउस की स्वाधिशात मुल्क के सामने पा गयी हैं और यही मेरा मकसद था। मैं समझता हूँ कि मेरा जो यह रेजूलेशन लाने का मुद्दा था वह पूरा हो गया है।

जहां तक उन का मेमोरियल बनाने का सवाल है यह चीज कह दी गई है कि नेता जी का मेमोरियल शहीदों के साथ बनेगा और अलहदा भी बनेगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि मेरा मकसद इस रेजूलेशन के लाने का पूरा हो गया है और मैं हाउस की इजाजत से अपने प्रस्ताव को वापिस लेता हूँ।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I take it that the hon. Member has the leave of the House to withdraw his Resolution.

*The Resolution was, by leave, withdrawn.*

**Raja Mahendra Pratap:** I object to the withdrawal of the Resolution.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** It is to late now. We will take up the next Resolution by Shri S. M. Banerjee.

—  
15.41 hrs.

**RESOLUTION RE: PORTUGUESE WITHDRAWAL FROM GOA, DAMAN AND DIU**

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** I beg to move:

"This House is of opinion that Government of India should give a final ultimatum to the Portuguese Government to withdraw from Goa, Daman and Diu."

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज जब मैं यह प्रस्ताव सदन के सामने प्रस्तुत कर रहा हूँ, तो मेरे सामने १५ अगस्त, १८५५ का वह नजारा है, जब कि हमारे देश के नौजवान, हमारे भाई और बहनें, शहीदों की टोलियां सालाजार के जुल्मों-तशहूद के खिलाफ गोआ में हमारे देश का तिरंगा झंडा लहराने के लिये आगे बढ़ रहे थे। मैं उस वक्त किरकी में था और मुझे याद है कि जब मैं उन शहीदों की टोलियों को देखता था, तो मेरे दिल में यह रुपाल आ जाता था कि अगर हमारी सरकार कुछ थोड़ा बहुत मदद कर देती, तो शायद हमारा वह अनमोल झंडा, जिस को लाखों माताओं-बहनों के सुहाग लुटवाने के बाद हम ने हासिल किया, वहां पर लहराने लग जाता। १५ अगस्त, १८५५ के दिन हमारे जो भाई वहां पर शहीद हुए थे, मैं चाहता हूँ कि आज के दिवस मैं उन अमर शहीदों के प्रति अपनी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करूँ,

जिन की लाशें हम लागे ला सों थे। वे भाई ये महाराष्ट्र से हिंद्वे गुरुर्बा, रंजब से सरदार करनैलसिंह, मध्यभारत से राज भाऊ महाकाल, मध्य प्रदेश से मुकुर चौपरां, उत्तर प्रदेश से रामगिरि साथु, सूरत से व्यास अमृत नाथुराम, आनंद से एस० एस० रामराव, मध्यभारत से बापूलाल होल्लाला ग्रीः नारुर्पः कामले।

हमारे ऐसे भी सार्थी थे, जिन की लाशों को लाया नहीं जा सका और जिन को वहीं पर सालाजार की जबरदस्त हुक्मत ने जन्मया तथा लोगों को उनके दर्शन करने का सीमांय भी प्राप्त नहीं हुआ। उन के नाम थे: हनुमत्तैना, तेरुडे कनटिक से, अनन्दनया गजेन्द्र-गढ़ कनटिक से, राजन्यान से पश्चलाल यादव, आनंद से जगत् मोहन राव और सुब्बाराव गुह, यूर्पी० से वृजनोहन शर्मा, मध्यभारत से जे० श्यामबर मारे और कल्याण शर्मा और महाराष्ट्र से शेषनाथ वाडेकर।

इतना ही नहीं, उस के बाद २४ जून को अमीरकचन्द गुप्ता, ४ अगस्त को नित्यानन्द साहा और ३ अगस्त को बी० के० थोराट भी वहां पर शहीद हुए थे। आज इस प्रस्ताव को पेश करते हुए हम उन शहीदों को श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करें और जो प्रण उन्होंने किया था, उस को हम भी याद करें।

इस सदन के तीन माननीय सदस्यों ने भी गोआ की आजादी के संघर्ष में भाग लिया। हमारी बहदुर बहन श्रीमती सहोदरा बाई ने वहां पर गोलियों का मुकाबला किया। हमारे बहदुर और माननीय दोस्त श्री एन० जी० गोरे ने इक्कास महीने और श्री त्रिदिव चौबरी ने उन्नीस महीने तक सालाजार के कारावास में अपना जीवन व्यतीत किया।

आज हमारे सामने केवल गोआ का ही सवाल नहीं है, बल्कि पुर्तगाली साम्राज्यवाद, (पार्टुगीज कालोनियलिज्म) को खत्म करने