

15.05 hrs.

NATIONAL HOLIDAY ON NETAJI
SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE'S BIRTH
DAY BILL BY SHRI SAMAR GUHA
Contd.

MR. SPEAKER: Now we take up further consideration of the motion already moved by Shri Samar Guha.

SHRI PABITRA MOHAN PRADHAN (Deogarh): Sir, I rise to support the non-official Bill to provide for observing the birthday of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose as national holiday.

Sir, whether the politicians agree or not; whether the parties agree or not Netaji is one of the foremost leaders of India

15.05 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

My opinion is that he was the second leader of his time and Mahatma Gandhi was the first leader.....

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi): How can we discuss this now?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It has already been moved and we are discussing it. Last time the entire discussion was stopped.

SHRI PABITRA MOHAN PRADHAN: In my opinion, Netaji was the only leader to organise armed revolution against the British in India. Uptil now, he was the one and the only person to organise a military organisation known as the I.N.A. and it is because of this organisation that the British had to bow down before Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress to part with power and give unconditional freedom to India. Had he not been there, I apprehend the Indian independence would have been conditional and delayed to some extent. Sir, it is the actions of Netaji that wonderfully and quadruply inspired the Indian masses to move vigorously determinedly and stubbornly enkindled the hopes and aspirations of the Indian masses. When launch the said Quit India Agitation. Hence when
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the 'Quit India' mass agitation in 1942 was launched, the entire masses took part in it and the result was marvellous. India achieved independence to which Netaji's Contribution is unmeasurable.

Sir, I knew about Netaji by the time when he was in Burma and then I was an absconder and I tried my best to be in contact with him. From Orissa I absconded and I went to Tatanagar from where I had to go to Calcutta in disguise as a cook-cum-servant on a salary of Rs. 6/- per month, and from Calcutta I contacted the Group known as 'Jugandar' group. I came to know from this Yugantar Group what Netaji was doing by then to achieve independence. He sent his own men from Burma two of his workers through submarine, named Shri Haridas Mitra and Shri Pavitra Kumar Biswas who were arrested. But they gave information that suicide squads with certain information from India are to be sent to Netaji. The I.N.A. desired to know this information from India. By then his group, the Yugantar group, was trying to send some suicide squads from India to Burma and it was a golden opportunity for me to be selected as one of the suicide squads. I had been there and I came to know of the amount of hopes and aspirations which Netaji instilled into the minds of the Indians to get independence. The masses were thinking and hoping that it is Netaji who would living independence to India. The Indian mass was on the upto of readiness and anxiety to welcome Netaji.

Even the military was supporting him. I got the assistance of the military people to go to Burma to give information. When I wanted to cross Barak river at the dead of night at Silchar, it was the military people who helped me to cross it by swimming at the dead of night. It was the military people who schemed to drop me in the advanced military base from where I could slip away easily to the Netaji's occupied area in Burma side. The whole country was filled with hope and aspiration that Netaji's action

[Shri Pabitra Mohan Pradhan]

would contribute immensely for getting independence. I am very much proud of such a hero and freedom fighter. Such a hero and freedom fighter was born in Orissa at Cuttack and he was educated there and he did so much for achieving Independence of India. Had Subhas Babu not organised his I.N.A. Indian independence in this form would not have been so easy and so quick; because of his activities and military organisation the British were demoralised and they filly-nilly to come to terms with the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi and give us complete Independence. Such a benefit was derived by us and it is now being enjoyed by the nation. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things and in gratitude to Netaji that the nation should remember him at least a day in the year and there should be a holiday on his birthday.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH (Hoshangabad): On a point of order. I should like to invite your attention to the fact that my Bill, the Constitution Amendment Bill seeking to amend the emergency provisions of the Constitution had secured third place today, and out of curiosity I referred to the debates of November 18, when unfortunately I was not present, having been absent due to circumstances beyond my control sent by Government to attend the session of the Jagat Sabha, the United Nations General Assembly which I prefer to call the Jagat Sabha. On that day, November, 18, there was a brief debate on that point as to what would happen to my Bill what would be the fate of my Bill. You were good enough to make some observations and I was happy to note your observations; I read them last night. My hon. friend and colleague Shri Samar Guha raised the point; earlier my hon. friend Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta had said: "The Minister is here; if we adjourn that today I am not sure whether the Bill seeking to

amend article 352 would get priority automatically or not." He was referring to my Bill.

Then you said: "It has to be balloted again"; then Prof. Guha said: "If it is balloted, where is the surety"—it is a moot point he made—that it will get the priority. Your enlightening observation was "He is bound to get the priority." You said that, I am reading from the printed record. Unfortunately your prophecy has not come true, and I have not got the priority and I am No. 3. I find from a reference to the Secretariat that today one hour and 23 minutes have been allotted. Out of another two hours that was allotted—time was extended last time by another two hours for Prof. Guha's Bill that is under discussion now—out of those two hours, one hour and twenty three minutes remains. The next Bill, if my information is correct, has been allotted only one hour. Am I right, Sir?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Yes.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH: That means, if the time for both is not extended, if you give an assurance that time for both will not be extended it will be exactly two hours and twenty three minutes, in which case I will just get enough time, one minute or two minutes to my bill. Provided the House gives me a firm assurance.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I think we will close exactly as per the time allotted.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH: I do not wish to detract from the importance of Prof. Guha's Bill. I would like to have a firm assurance that I will have two minutes to resume the discussion on my Bill. A complication has arisen because Mr. Lakkappa who had got a higher place than myself in the ballot, fortunately for me and unfortunately for himself, he failed to give notice of motion today, but he has given notice of motion for the next day, so that under the Rules, he jumps above me in case I do not get a chance to move my Bill today.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We will stick to the time schedule today.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH: Firmly, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Yes.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH: Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: There is no question of extending today at least.

SHRI MANORANJAN BHAKTA (Andaman and Nicobar Islands): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to speak on this Bill because we are very much connected, our territory was very much connected with Netaji. As you know I come from the Union Territory of Andaman and Nicobar Islands, which became free from the British Rule in the year 1942 and as you know, Netaji hoisted the National tricolour first in that part of Indian soil.

It is a proud privilege for me to pay my tribute to Netaji and speak on this Bill. Tears came from my eyes when I found on 23rd January, 1978 in the Central Hall when our hon. President unveiled the portrait of Netaji, at that time in Andaman and Nicobar Islands, the bureaucracy disowned and showed dishonour to Netaji. The Government of India spent a few lakhs of rupees to erect a statue in the Gymkhana ground and that statue was unveiled by Gen. Shahnawaz Khan, who was a Minister in those days and other central leaders along with the close associates of Netaji also participated in the function.

As a citizen of India domiciled in Andaman and Nicobar Islands, I had the privilege to witness that function and feel how those patriots of the country paid their tribute to Netaji's statue. But on 23rd January, not a single garland was placed on that statue by the officers of Andaman and Nicobar. There was no function organised by the Andaman and Nicobar Administration that day when here in the Central Hall of Parliament House

we had that function. This is the sad episode which I had witnessed in Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

Declaring a day as National Holiday is a question of pride for the nation to pay its tribute to the great sons of the country. Netaji is still a burning memory of the millions of our countrymen, whose dedication and sacrifice for the country's independence cannot be minimised. That is why it will be a proud privilege for the Janata Government if it declares 23rd January, the birthday of Netaji, as a national holiday. It will be one of the achievements of the Janata Government at the Centre. As a Congressman, I can say that we fully support this Bill and we expect that all the members of the House will unanimously accept it.

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi): Sir, I do not think any persuasion would be needed to pass a Bill of this kind, but it gives an opportunity to pay our tribute to the great leader and the people who have been inspired by his patriotism and dedication towards the Motherland. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was born in the State of Orissa, but Orissa is too small a State to claim him to be its own. He was not only a national leader, but I would claim, an international leader. I had the privilege of meeting Netaji in Sarat Chandra Bose's house in Woodburn Park in Calcutta. Gandhiji was sitting there and he wanted to witness the chhau dance of Saraikela on the roof of that House. It was a moonlit night and we sat there watching it. That incident is still fresh in my memory.

When we were students, Netaji inspired all of us. He was the youth of India personified. In 1938, I was a student of the Law College and the Tripuri Congress session was being held. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was contesting for presidency of the Indian National Congress. The official candidate was Pattabhi Sitaramayya with the full support of Mahatma

[Shri Manoranjan Bhakta]

Gandhi and Sardar Patel. As youths taking part in student politics, we used to bet 4 to 1 as to who would win. We always betted for Netaji and what joy it was when it was announced that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose had been elected as the Congress President in the Tripuri Congress.

Sir, while fully associating myself with all the sentiments expressed in this House regarding the sacrifice and greatness of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, I would like to point out that to pay a tribute to a leader of this type by observing a national holiday is not the only thing. What do we usually do on a holiday? We spend the time in picnicking or we spend the time leisurely. On that day we should dedicate ourselves to work at least 16 hours instead of 8 hours because Netaji was a Karma yogi and we will be following in the footsteps he has left on the sands of time if we can work double the hours on that day.

Sir, as a matter of fact, when I was looking at the calendar of 1978, I found there are as many as 16 Government holidays and two Restricted Holidays and 53 Sundays. So, we lose 71 days out of 365 days as holidays. I do not know how far we will be justified in enhancing the number of holidays in the year by observance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's birthday as a holiday. The best thing would be to pay tribute to Netaji by doing more work on that day instead of doing less work and spending the time in a leisurely fashion.

Sir, I fully appreciate the sentiments of my distinguished colleague, Prof. Samar Guha, behind this Bill.

SHRI DHIRENDRANATH BASU (Katwa) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Netaji was undoubtedly the greatest revolutionary leader of the world. This was also asserted by the late Prime

Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri while unveiling the statue of Netaji in Calcutta. This was also asserted by late Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir you know that even Gandhiji talked that Netaji's leadership was unrivalled. When for the second time during election as President of the Indian National Congress Mahatma Gandhi set up Pattabhi Sitaramayya, he was defeated by Netaji. This shows how all the Indian people liked him and loved him, Netaji was not only the popular and the greatest leader of this country, but he was and he is also popular in foreign countries. I tell you one instance in Habuken city in USA near New York. This Habuken city in the year 1975 was named after Netaji for three weeks. All the people of Habuken city applied to the USA Government and to their President, to name that city after Netaji and this was sanctioned for three weeks. Netaji's statues have been unveiled in various foreign countries. I have seen his statue in Canada, I have seen his statue in France and I have seen his statue in various places in USA and other countries. So, Netaji is being worshipped by not only the people of India, but also the people of the whole world. It is unfortunate that 23rd January has not been declared a national holiday. I am sure our Home Minister, who was sitting here and who was a close associate of Netaji, will agree to this proposal. And I hope he will gladly declare 23rd January as a national holiday. Netaji showed the people of India how unity should be forged. He founded the Azad Hind Fauj with Muslims, Hindus, Christians, Jains and all other castes, and made them work under one flag. He fought against the British, formed the Azad Hind Fauj and showed how to literate India from outsiders. Here in India, Mahatma Ji piloted the Quit India Movement in 1942. When we were in prison, we found how people went to jails, how

people were tortured by the Britishers; and against these Britishers and their rule, Netaji formed that Fauj to defeat the British Army and drive them out of India. This quickened the independence of India. We got Independence in 1947, not only through negotiations, but by forces fighting from outside, under the leadership of Netaji, and by revolutionary movements sponsored by Mahatma Ji and other leaders like Nehru, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Maulana Azad and others.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Netaji has showed how Indian people should unite for the independence of the country; and he has shown how we should unite for preserving the independence of our country. That is why I request the hon. Home Minister through you Sir, to declare 23rd January as a national holiday. This will be the proud privilege of the Government, all the Parliamentarians and all the Members of both the Houses. So, I wish that all the Members here support this Bill, which has been sponsored by our esteemed friend, Prof. Samar Guha.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we are grateful to you. In the General Purposes Committee, you had also contributed to the decision for installing the portrait of Netaji in the Central Hall. Under the Speaker's leadership, and under the leadership of Prof. Samar Guha, you piloted it. I wish that you also pilot the proposal for 23rd January being declared as a national holiday. That will be a proud day for us all.

*SHRI RAJ KRISHNA DAWN (Burdwan) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am a new Member of Lok Sabha. I tried to make my submissions before this House earlier but I would not do it and I feel it to be a matter of great privilege that I should make a start of my parliamentary career by making references about the most honoured son of India Subhash Chandra Bose in this House. Mr Deputy Speaker,

Sir, we heard the call of Mahatma Gandhi for the freedom of the country and for the last 30 years, we were used and accustomed to look upon Netaji as equal to Gandhiji for attaining the independence of our country. A feeling has grown in the minds of the people of the country that a deliberate conspiracy was being made to efface the memory of Subhash Chandra Bose from the Minds of the people in order to install and perpetuate the interest of one family in the political sphere of our country and to make them the back bone of our political life. But this vile attempt is going to be frustrated because of the permanent position that Netaji has created in the minds of every citizen of our country. Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, you are fully aware of the various stages of development of our freedom struggle and today when we urge upon the Government to declare a national holiday on the birthday of Netaji, we are not asking for a charity from the Government. It is no charity. It is our legitimate demand the demand of 60 crores of people who believe in national leadership. By making this demand we are not asking for any favour, compassion or charity from the Government. We have struggled all along to achieve this objective. So far we had no arrangements to install the portrait of Netaji (in the midst of the portraits of other national leaders) in the Central Hall of Parliament where the Constitution of India was deliberated upon and other democratic laws were made. Today after 30 years if the portrait of Netaji has found its legitimate place in the galaxy of portraits of national leaders I would say that the Government have been forced to do it and I must congratulate the Janata Government for having been able to undo a wrong that was being perpetuated for the last 30 years. We cannot forget the clarion call of Netaji addressed to the youth of our country before independence wherein he had said, "You give me blood and I will give you freedom". The youth of the

*Original speech was delivered in Bengali.

[Shri Raj Krishna Dawn]

country had responded to this clarion call and shed blood for the cause of independence of the country and finally the country got its freedom. Netaji did not betray the youth and he did not ask anything in lieu thereof. Even today we hear political leaders asking for bloody revolution in this country and we have seen in West Bengal, Andhra and other places where in response to the call of the leaders the young men of our country have given and taken blood but what they gained in return? Sir, in West Bengal, from where I have come to this House, this game of giving and taking blood is continuing since 1967 and as a result of this we have virtually lost what was good in our national life. When we compare the present with the past we find that Netaji had given independence to this country in lieu of the blood sacrifices whereas the leaders of the day are asking for blood for feathering their own nests and that is the striking difference between the leadership of Netaji and the leadership of our political leaders today. Therefore, I will appeal through you Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, to the Home Minister that he may concede the demand of declaring national holiday on Netaji's birthday. He must take it as a reflection of the urges and sincere wishes of the masses of our countrymen. Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, many in this House will agree with me

in today's India we really require a leader like Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. today there is a great political turmoil in our country. A great devaluation of our political integrity, honesty and integrity have taken place in the various political parties in our country and as a result of which the younger generation find themselves completely bewildered in this state of chaos and confusion. If we could get back Netaji in our midst it would have been the happiest thing but if we cannot do that, if at least we are able to enthuse the younger generation of the country with ideals of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose towards national patriotism then I feel we

shall be doing a great tribute to him.

Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, through you I would once again urge upon the Government to accept the demand of declaring a national holiday on the birthday of Netaji Subhash which is persistently being made by Prof. Samar Guha. Sir, I would like to associate myself with all the efforts that have been made for a long time by Prof. Guha in getting the portrait installed and in his efforts in urging upon the Government to declare a holiday because it is not his personal struggle but he is only reflecting the urges of the millions of our countrymen. He is a dedicated person and knows how to give proper respect to the right leadership, and a person who has spent a great part of his parliamentary life in achieving this objective. Therefore, Sir, I would once again support the demand to declare the birthday of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose as a national holiday and if this demand is not conceded by the Government I would like to say it very clearly that the youth of the country would continue to make efforts to achieve this objective. I would appeal to the Government that they should be sensitive enough to understand the feelings of the youth of our country because Netaji represents to them as a great source of strength and inspiration. When we talk of decedation, idealism and solidarity we are reminded of Mahatma Gandhi and Netaji and perhaps Netaji gets the first position. When the youth remembered Netaji a thrill runs into their blood. I would, therefore, request the hon. Home Minister to accede to the request of Prof. Guha. It is not a mere request, it is a national demand and it would fulfil the hopes and aspirations of crores of our freedom loving youngmen of our country. With these words, Sir, I conclude.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH (Hoshangabad): I request you to kindly ascertain from my colleague, Shri Samar Guha, as to how much time he will take for his reply, so that the time for the other speakers in the House can be adjusted accordingly.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I am also facing that difficulty now.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH: He may take half an hour.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: This debate has to be finished by 4.25.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH: The time should be tailored properly.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It is already 3.45 and by 4.25 we have to finish this debate. The Minister has also to intervene. There are three more slips here. I do not know how to accommodate them.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai): I want to make a submission. I know that many questions will be raised. I know what is lurking in the mind of the hon. Minister, I can guess it, but I also know that I stand on firm ground. I spoke for one hour and 25 minutes trying to explain why it is necessary. I will take at least half an hour to reply. If the hon. Minister agrees, then I will not take even half a minute.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: But how can I know what the hon. Minister is going to say?

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I know where I stand, what I mean, and the hon. Minister also knows what I mean.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I go by the assumption that he will take half an hour because I do not know what is in the mind of the hon. Minister. If it is finished earlier, well and good.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI CHARAN SINGH): Hardly ten minutes either way.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH: Is it possible under the rules for Shri Samar Guha and myself to exchange places so far as his second Bill is concerned?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: That cannot be done because the House cannot upset the ballot.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: If the rules permit, I have no objection.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH: By mutual consent and your consent too, this can be done.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I think the best way is to stick by the time.

*SHRI SAKTI KUMAR SARKAR (Joynagar): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the proposal of Prof. Samar Guha which has been brought before this House for declaring the birthday of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose as a national holiday. I do not think that there is any need for a prolonged discussion or deliberation on this issue. I also do not think that the members of Parliament will have two opinions or any difference on this issue. Today we are going to pay our tributes to such a great person who is unparalleled and undisputed in his greatness. His contribution to India's life and politics is unequalled. If we declare Mahatma Gandhi as the first front-rank leader of India then the time has come to declare Netaji as the second leader of the front rank of our country. Generally we mention Mahatma Gandhi as the topmost leader of this country but I think that if any leader has achieved international fame and celebrity, he is Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose alone. If it is ever considered who is the one person who has contributed most towards the freedom of our country, that is Netaji and nobody else. The advent of Subhash Bose as Netaji, his I.N.A., is closely linked with the history of national uprising of this country. From what we have witnessed since 1946, we can say that when the Congress was totally demoralised and disillusioned at the beginning of 1942, when its very existence was threatened, at that time the mass awakening and uprising that took place in the name of 'Netaji' is really something unique

*The original speech was delivered in Bengali.

[Shri Sakti Kumar Sarkar]

and unparalleled. The British Imperial power had to leave this country chiefly due to that unparalleled mass movement and agitations. At that time the British had turned India into an ammunition dump and could crush down the agitations of the unarmed people with impunity. But the formation of the Indian National Army, the naval mutiny and the consequent spark triggered off in the Indian Army scared the British Power and they fled this country like a beaten dog with its tail between the legs. But Netaji's contribution and achievements does not end here. It had its repercussion and influence in the international sphere also. He not only enabled us to attain freedom but he also sounded the death-knell of colonialism and imperialism all over the world. We see that the mass awakening and subsequent attainment of freedom of many countries in South East Asia and Africa took place along with the formation of the Indian National Army. So we can say that Netaji's sole efforts brought freedom not only to our country but helped many other countries also all over the world to attain freedom from colonial rule. I do not want to make a long speech. I know time is valuable and we are anxious to listen to Prof. Samar Guha, we are anxious to hear Shri Kamath and we are anxious to hear the Hon. Home Minister, Shri Charan Singh. I only want to say that we must not be found wanting in paying our respects and homage to this unequalled personality of our nation. We have rectified our mistakes and neglect of the past 30 years to some extent by unveiling the portrait of Netaji in the Central Hall of the Parliament House and have thereby glorified ourselves. I think that not only the members of the Janata Party but all members of Parliament of both the Houses have bathed themselves in glory by correcting the past mistake. I think our hon. Home Minister, Shri Charan Singh will similarly glorify and honour himself by declaring the birthday of this great son of India, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose,

as a national holiday and thereby enable us also to feel glorified. I once again, Sir, express my whole-hearted support to this proposal and conclude my speech.

15.46 hrs.

[SHRI TRIDIBE CHAUDHURI in the Chair]

SHRI SYED KAZIM ALI MEERZA (Murshidabad): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I shall be very brief and precise. It is not only a privilege but a great honour for the entire nation irrespective of caste, creed or religion. The minority community also looked upon Netaji as one of the greatest national leader with who there was no communal outlook or anything of that nature.

Past memories dwell in every mind and I should say what the past has taken away. I would further add that memories are built. Today, it would be a great thing in the history of Parliament to pay that tribute and respect to that great patriot and, I should say, the greatest of the greatest patriots. In his fight for freedom, he never felt that he was risking his life or that he was giving his blood for the nation.

I know, when during the British regime—it is an irony of fate that India was partitioned—the communal trend was brought about by the foreign regime, it was my father who organised an association known as the Hindu-Muslim Unity Association. It was a matter of proud privilege that Netaji, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and others were also the members of that Association to bring about absolute unity in India irrespective of caste, creed or religion.

Had Netaji been here during that period, it is my feeling that there would not have been any partition of Bengal at least. We were all against the partition of Bengal. I was one of the organisers of the Hindu-Muslim Unity

Association. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, Mr. Fazul Haque and you Mr. Chairman, will perhaps remember that these great leaders and we never wanted the partition of Bengal. And it was proved that the partition of Bengal was wrong. Today, we find that it is Bengla desh. Had Netaji been with us, during that period, I feel that Bengal would have understood it and it would have been for the better. Netaji was respected by both the communities, not only by his community but he was respected more by the Muslim community for the love and affection that he had shown.

I would like to conclude and resume my seat by congratulating my esteemed friend, Prof. Samar Guha, for bringing forward this Bill. I do know the hon. Home Minister is a just person and a very straight forward person.

He will not take even two minutes to finish his reply and that he would gladly accept it. His name will be written in letters of gold in the future history of Bengal that he has respected the greatest of the great national leaders who had sacrificed his life for India's independence.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH (Hoshangabad): Mr. Chairman, I shall be very very brief because I know the House as well as myself are racing against time. I had the proud privilege and honour of working in close collaboration with this one of the greatest sons of India.

About forty years ago, for nearly three years, soon after I had resigned from the Indian Civil Service, I worked with him and under him. The more I worked with him the more I loved him. As a matter of fact, to know him was to love him. That sums up to me the man and the leader. I do not wish to add anything more. Whatever I have learnt in the art and science of practical politics, I owe in large measure to him. It is a consoling thought, it is a matter for gratification that—in the last year, 1977, the

year of miraculous happenings, of the revolution of Janata—it ousted the long-entrenched Congress Party from power; and in 1977 again, thirty years after the liquidation of British period in India and 30 years after India was liberated from the British yoke, British imperialism, the most intrepid, the most indomitable, the most uncompromising foe of British imperialism was accorded homage by the new Janata Government, thus making amends, an honourable amend for the failure to do so by the Congress Government during their long period of 30 years. In between during the short period of late Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, something had been done some philatelic homage had been paid to him. The All India Radio accepted our proposal after a stormy debate in the House that they would broadcast an annual programme on his birthday, because till then he had been relegated by the Nehru Government as a 'B-Class' leader and not as a 'A-Class' leader. On his birthday, only 3rd or fourth or fifth birthday, there was a national programme on All India Radio. I do not wish to go into details because the time is short. I would support in principle the demand, the proposal made by my hon. colleague Shri Samar Guha. But I have also read with profit and pleasure the speeches made by honourable colleagues, particularly Prof. Mavalankar, Dr. Ramji Singh and just now I heard the speech of Shri P. K. Deo.

And I, for one, feel very happy to pay homage to a leader not merely of a national stature but of international stature as was Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, the like of whom is perhaps born once in a century. I feel that you should have approached this problem in a different spirit, in a different manner, because, as was rightly said in those speeches, a holiday means all things to all men, and a holiday on a day, on a birthday of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose should be celebrated in a proper spirit.

[Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath]

16.00 hrs.

I wonder how many men and women in our country celebrate Mahatma Gandhi's birthday in the spirit in which it should be done. On Gandhi Jayanti, we have got a holiday; we have already holidays on the birthdays of all the religious pioneers and the founders.

हिन्दू बौद्ध: सिख: जैन: पारसा: मुसलमान
क्रिस्ताना ।

On the jayantis of all these pioneers and founders, we have got holidays. That is alright. A secular State has to respect the leaders of all religions.

I now come to political leaders of international stature or world class like Mahatma Gandhi and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Other leaders like Lokamanya Tilak, Sardar Patel and Shivaji, for instance, have been relegated to, or accorded only, a sort of inferior status like provincial status; I do not know why; I leave that alone. I would now make a humble suggestion, a humble appeal, to my colleague, Prof. Samar Guha, and to the Minister, to the Government.

Last year, almost on the very day, if not on that very day, of Netaji Jayanti, the great Janata Party also was born, because, elections were called on the 18th January by the then Prime Minister, and as far as I remember, the birth of the Janata Party was announced on the 23rd January. I do not know when actually it took birth inside the hall, inside the room, in camera, but it was announced to India and the world on the 23rd January, Netaji's birthday. And thereafter we had a revolution, a non-violent, peaceful revolution, which has been hailed all over the world. Netaji has been rightly described as the Father of the Indian revolution also. It is a strange coincidence, God-given, by God's will and God's grace, that on the birthday of Netaji, we had the birthday of the Janata Party also.

So, let us—the House, the Government and the Parliament—decide unanimously that we will celebrate Netaji Jayanti as the National Revolution Day—National Revolution Day or National Labour day, as my hon. friend has proposed, or National Youth Day but I would prefer 'National Revolution Day' because that will have its own significance to the whole of India. And on that day let not the government officers or any other office be closed. Let us have a working holiday. We have got working lunches, working dinners, and things like that. Let us have working holidays. I think, it is possible. Let us make an innovation—the Janata Government which, by a revolution, has been brought into power....

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI CHARAN SINGH): All holidays are non-working days. You say Let it be a working holiday!

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH: It is a paradox but we can make an innovation. By 'working holiday', I mean, no office will be closed; any absentee from the offices will be taken to task; let us have on that day no routine work but a special programme allotted to officers to celebrate and to promote Netaji's spirit of revolution, so that the Janata Government revolution, which we began last year, can be taken forward, can be brought to fruition in the very near future.

With these words, I would conclude. I do hope that, instead of merely declaring it a holiday, we will import the spirit of Netaji into it—work, labour, suffering, sacrifice, struggle and revolution. And that will also satisfy I am sure, the leader, the founder and the inspirer of the Janata Party, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, who also stood for total revolution.

The Janata Party will pay homage to the memory of Netaji that way and not merely by installing the portrait of Netaji in the Central Hall—although, of course, the Government

has honoured itself and so has Parliament by doing so. But let us try this new concept of a working holiday, a National Revolution Day, on the birthday of Netaji so as to coincide with the birthday of the Janata Party also in 1977, i.e., on the 80th birth anniversary of Netaji.

श्री रामजी लाल सुमन (फिरोजाबाद) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपने मुझे बुलाया था लेकिन मैं बोल नहीं सका । नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस के जन्म दिवस को राष्ट्रीय अवकाश दिन के रूप में मनाने के विधेयक पर जो चर्चा चल रही है अगर उसमें मुझे दो मिनट बोलने के लिए नहीं दिए गए तो यह बहुत बड़ा पाप हो जाएगा । गृह मंत्री जी से मेरी करबद्ध प्रार्थना है कि मेहरबानी कर के मुझे दो मिनट बोल देने दें ।

श्री चरण सिंह : दो क्या मेरी तरफ से आप चार मिनट बोलें ।

श्री रामजी लाल सुमन : माननीय समर गृह जी ने जो प्रस्ताव रखा है नेता जी के जन्म दिवस को राष्ट्रीय अवकाश दिवस के रूप में मनाए जाने का और जो भावनाएँ उन्होंने व्यक्त की हैं उन की इन भावनाओं के साथ मैं अपनी भावनाओं को भी जोड़ता हूँ । भारत की आजादी की लड़ाई 1857 से लेकर नौसैनिक विद्रोह तक चाहे हिंसा की रही हो या अहिंसा की सभी लोगों ने अपने-अपने ढंग से उसमें योगदान किया है । गांधी जी के बाद देश को आजादी दिलाने के काम में अगर किसी का सर्वाधिक योगदान हो सकता है तो वह नेताजी—सुभाष चन्द्र बोस का ही हो सकता है । यह बतलाने की आवश्यकता नहीं है कि कांग्रेस पार्टी का जो शुरू का स्वरूप था वह सुधारवादी था । नेताजी जैसे लोग औपनिवेशिक स्वराज्य के कट्टर विरोधी

थे । वे चाहते थे कि भारत को पूर्ण स्वराज्य मिले । यही कारण है कि उन की जो भी भावनाएँ थीं, उनकी जो मान्यता थी वह 1938 में नीजवानों की भावनाओं के प्रतीक के रूप में तब साकार हुई जब गांधी जी जैसे सर्वमान्य नेता के उम्मीदवार के खिलाफ वह चुनाव जीत गए और जिस को लेकर गांधी जी ने खुद कहा कि डा० पट्टाभीसीतारम्भय्या की हार मेरी व्यक्तिगत हार है । आई० सी० एस० परीक्षा पास कर के और उस पद से त्याग पत्र दे कर देश के प्रति जो ममत्व हो सकता है, प्रेम हो सकता है उसको समझ कर उन्होंने अंग्रेजों को इस देश से भगाए जाने के लिए अथक प्रयास किया और जो योगदान उन्होंने देश की आजादी में दिया उसको कभी भुलाया नहीं जा सकता है । उनका यह कथन पूर्णरूपेण सत्य है कि तानाशाह को हटाने के लिए, विदेशी हुकूमत को हटाने के लिए जिस किसी साधन का भी इस्तेमाल किया जाय वह पवित्र साधन है । चर्चा का यह विषय नहीं है कि उनका आन्दोलन हिंसक था या अहिंसक । महत्वपूर्ण सवाल यह है कि वह जो भारत को आजाद कराना चाहते थे और उसके लिए उन्होंने जो प्रयास किया वह भारतीय इतिहास में क्या अभूतपूर्व प्रयास नहीं था? वह एक अभूतपूर्व प्रयास था ।

उनका यह दृढ़ विश्वास था कि जो कुछ भी सोचा जाए वह हिन्दुस्तान की परिधि में ही सोचा जाए, भारत की मान्यताओं के अनुरूप ही काम किया जाए । उनका कहना था कि पाश्चात्य सभ्यता और संस्कृति के संदर्भ में नहीं बल्कि हिन्दुस्तान के संदर्भ में हम सोचें । ऐसा अगर हम करते हैं तो सब से पहले सर्वहारा वर्ग की बात हमारे सामने आती है । उनका कथन था कि भारत एक कृषि प्रधान देश है । यहाँ पर किसानों की

[श्री रामजी लाल सुमन]

बात सब से पहले होनी चाहिये और हिन्दुस्तान के संदर्भ में हम को उन के बारे में सोचना चाहिये। मुझे खुशी है कि हमारे गृह मंत्री जी भी कृषि प्रेमी हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि उनके जन्म दिवस को राष्ट्रीय अवकाश का दिन घोषित किया जाए। हम समस्त सदस्यों की भावनाओं को समझ कर हिन्दुस्तान की क्रांति के अग्रदूत सुभाष चन्द्र बोस जी के जन्म दिवस को राष्ट्रीय अवकाश घोषित करने की कृपा करेंगे।

गृह मंत्री (श्री चरण सिंह) : सभापति महोदय, जो विषय इस वक्त सदन के सामने प्रस्तुत है वह एक नाजुक विषय है जिसका इन्सान की भावना और जज्बे से सम्बन्ध है। कुछ दोस्तों ने नेता जी के प्रति अपनी श्रद्धांजलि पेश की है, उसमें दो रायें हो ही नहीं सकती

श्री समर गुह (कण्टाई) : श्रद्धांजलि नहीं; पुष्पांजलि पेश की है।

श्री चरण सिंह : श्रद्धांजली ज्यादा ऊंचा है।

श्री समर गुह : श्रद्धांजली के और माने भी हो सकते हैं।

श्री चरण सिंह : जिसमें आप खुश हों वह मुझे मन्जूर है। पुष्पांजलि पेश की है और इसमें कोई दो रायें नहीं हैं कि भारत के इतिहास में नेताजी का नाम करीब-करीब अमर रहेगा। अगर मैं माननीय समर गुह से सहमत नहीं हूँ तो यह अर्थ नहीं निकलाना चाहिए कि उनके जज्बात से भिन्न प्रकार सोचता हूँ। ऐसा हरगिज़ नहीं है। उन्होंने जो सेवा की है वह 10 व्याखानों में भी बयान नहीं की जा सकती है। उसको लिखन के लिए कोई महाकाव्य की आवश्यकता होगी। लेकिन प्रश्न केवल यह उठता है

कि उनके जन्म दिन को राष्ट्रीय छुट्टी करार दे देने से क्या फर्क पड़ेगा? और वह कहां तक और बहुत सी बातों को देखते हुए वह गवर्नमेंट के लिए और समस्यायें तो नहीं पैदा कर देगा। मैं उनसे पूर्णतः सहमत होते हुए इस दृष्टिकोण को मैं चाहता हूँ कि वह इस पर विचार करें, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि वह फिर मुझ से महमत होंगे। अभी एक नौजवान सदस्य ने बहुत अच्छा भाषण दिया। हिंसा और अहिंसा का सवाल नहीं है। सवाल यह है कि उन्होंने 1857 के पहले स्वतन्त्रता युद्ध का जिक्र किया। तो उम वक्त जिन लोगों ने कुरवानी की और देश को जगाया तो उनमें भी कई नाम ऐसे हैं जो हमारे इतिहास के पन्नों में हमेशा लिखे जायेंगे। उनके नाम क्यों न हों? अब 1857 के 30 वर्ष बाद फिर जब आवाज़ उठी देश को आजाद करने की तो उनमें अग्रणीय थे सबसे ज्यादा बाल गंगाधर तिलक। उन्होंने वह म्लोगन दिया इस देश को जो सब की जवान पर चढ़ गया था Swarajya is our birth right कोई आर्गुमेंट का सवाल नहीं है, बल्कि हमारा पैदायशी हक है और वहां भी हिंसा और अहिंसा का कोई प्रश्न नहीं था। उनके दृष्टिकोण, भाषणों और कार्यों से प्रेरित हो कर लोगों ने 1898 में सबसे पहले हिन्दुस्तान में पूना में एक अग्रेज़ पर गोली चलायी थी और जिसमें कई नौजवानों को फांसी हुई और कुछ को काले पानी की मजा मिली। फिर यही नहीं, महात्मा गांधी ने जो बहुत से अपने कार्यक्रम अपनाये थे उनका लोकमान्य तिलक ने भी उल्लेख किया है और उनकी तरफ से भी उनका प्रतिपादन होता था। अगर हम उनका जीवन पढ़ेंगे तो ताज्जुब होगा कि जो गांधी जी ने 20, 25 वर्ष बाद कहा वही बात लोकमान्य तिलक उनसे पहले कह गये थे। फिर 7, 8 साल मांडला में भी उनको काटने पड़े। मैं यह नहीं कह रहा हूँ कि सुभाष

चन्द्र ब्रांस की कुरबानी उनसे ज्यादा नहीं थी। लेकिन मैं यह जरूर कहूंगा कि बड़े आदमियों में अगर तौलेंगे कि किम की ज्यादा कुरबानी थी और किस की कम थी, यह एक बहुत डेलीकेट बात है।

इसके अलावा फिर यह सवाल होता है कि हम डा० अम्बेदकर का जन्म दिन भी क्यों न नेशनल होलीडे के रूप में मनायें? आप उनसे सहमत न हों, लेकिन इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि जो हमारे यहां पीड़ित वर्ग था उस वर्ग को उन्होंने प्रेरणा दी, जगाया। सब से ज्यादा जगाने का काम उन्होंने किया। कल को अगर फिर यह प्रश्न गवर्नमेंट के सामने आये कि डा० अम्बेदकर के जन्म-दिन को नेशनल होली-डे क्यों न माना जाये तो हमारे पास क्या जवाब होगा? मैं और ऐसो नाम नहीं लूंगा, लेकिन प० जवाहरलाल नेहरू का नाम है, उनके कामों को देखें। मैं उनसे बहुत से मामलों में सहमत नहीं था, यह सब को मालूम है कि वह प्राइम मिनिस्टर थे और मैं कांग्रेस में था, लेकिन बहुत सी बातों से मैं सहमत नहीं था। इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि देश की सेवा के लिए उनका योगदान किसी से भी कम था।

फिर यह सवाल आता है कि पोलिटिकल लीडर्स के ही जन्म-दिन नेशनल होली-डे क्यों मनाये जायें? मैं तो पोलिटिकल से भी ज्यादा रिलीजस, स्प्रिचुअल और कल्चरल क्षेत्र जो सार्वजनिक जीवन का है, उसे ऊंचा समझता हूँ। पोलिटिकल लीडर्स तो इसन्पायर करते हैं। क्यों है स्वामी दयानन्द और विवेका नन्द का जन्म-दिन होली-डे माना जाये? सारे देश को उन्होंने जगा कर रख दिया था, पोलिटिक्स तो उनके जीवन के काम का एक जरा सा अंश था।

मैं यह अर्ज करूंगा कि इसमें इस दृष्टि से नहीं कि सुभाष बाबू, जिनको नेता जी क

नाम से सारा देश जानता है, ठीक ही जानता है, कि उनकी सेवा बहुत बड़ी थी, इसलिए उनका जन्म-दिन क्यों न नेशनल होली-डे हो, इस दृष्टि से नहीं देखना चाहिए।

हमने महात्मा गांधी, जो कि सारे राष्ट्र के पिता थे, जिन लीडर की बात आप करते हैं, उनके भी लीडर थे, केवल उनके बर्थ-डे को नेशनल होली-डे माना है और वह उचित है। क्योंकि उसके बाद फिर दूसरा किस का नम्बर हो, तीसरा और चौथा किस का नम्बर हो, इसकी कोई सीमा नहीं रहेगी और फिर महात्मा गांधी के जन्म-दिन का भी कोई सिग्निफिकेंस और महत्व नहीं रह जायेगा। उनको भी निकाल दीजिए क्या जरूरत है उसकी भी एक बात और सोचने की है। हमारे उड़ीसा के एक सज्जन थे, और कामत साहब ने भी वही बात कही कि अगर सब देशों की छुट्टियां देखें तो शायद हमारे देश में सबसे ज्यादा छुट्टियां हैं। क्योंकि यहां मुख्तलिफ रिलीजन्स के लोग रहते हैं, उनके फाउण्डर्स के बर्थ-डे को छुट्टी माना है, अब एक और मान लीजिए। वैसे तो अपने देश में अभी हवाई जहाज लेकर घूम जाइये, दिल्ली में भी और गांव में भी चले जाइये। उधर टोकियो, न्यूयार्क में चले जाइये, कोई आदमी सड़क पर खाली नहीं मिलेगा, सब लोग अपने दफ्तर, शाप्स, इंडस्ट्रियल फैंक्टरी, स्कूल-कालेज, अपने स्टाल और गवर्नमेंट आफिसेज में काम करते दीखते हैं, लेकिन हम लोग मेहनत कहां करते हैं? छुट्टी हो जायेगी तो किस की हो जायेगी? 23 छुट्टी किस की है? चन्द 10, 5 परसेंट जो गवर्नमेंट सर्वेण्ट्स हैं वह दफ्तर में काम करना छोड़ देंगे, लेकिन 70 फीसदी आदमी जो हल चला रहे हैं, उनकी छुट्टी तो नहीं होगी। तो छुट्टी का क्या आइडिया है?

[श्री चरण सिंह]

जो छुट्टी मनाई जाती रही है वह किसी महापुरुष का नाम याद करने के लिए इस उद्देश्य से मनाई जाती है कि हम उनकी नकल करें। लेकिन कहां कर रहे हैं? पुरानी छुट्टी थी, जन्माष्टमी की, रामनवामी की, अब सब उनको भूलते जा रहे हैं।

महात्मा गांधी के जन्म-दिन की हम छुट्टी मनाते हैं। 2 अक्टूबर को हम सब उनकी समाधि पर गये थे। कितने आदमी मौजूद थे वहां? कितनों ने अपने घर पर मनाया, अगर वहां नहीं गये तो?

इसलिए आपको यह एक सेंटिस्फैक्शन हो जायेगा कि मैंने एक बड़ा काम करा दिया कि गवर्नमेंट ने बात मंजूर कर ली, लेकिन इससे देश का कोई लाभ नहीं होगा। उनकी मेमोरी में भी और सेवा में भी कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ेगा।

आपने रैज्यूलूशन पेश करने के वक्त और जो रैज्यूलूशन आपका है, उसमें एक सेंटेंस है कि कुछ ही प्रैज्यूडिस की वजह से यह हौली-डे डिक्लेयर नहीं हो पाई। मैं अनुमान लगा सकता हूँ उस बात का, लेकिन आपको यह नस्लीम करना पड़ेगा कि आपके इधर जितने साथी हैं, आप उन्हीं में हैं, या उधर भी हैं, लेकिन किसी को कोई प्रैज्यूडिस नहीं है। यह ह्यूमन बीकनेस है। लेकिन अगर मैं आपके सर्जेशन का विरोध कर रहा हूँ तो मैं आपको किस तरह समझाऊँ कि मेरे मन में कोई विरोध नहीं है केवल और लार्जर इंटेस्ट की बात है। मान लो मैंने कह दिया कि हां, तो भी मैं उसे कैबिनेट से कॅरी-आउट करा सकूंगा, इसमें मुझे डाउट है। लेकिन मान लो करा लिया, फिर और जो बातें बताई हैं, उनका क्या होगा?

इसलिए मैं आपके जरिये अपने माननीय मित्र से यह दरखवास्त करूंगा कि इन सब बातों को दृष्टि में रख कर गवर्नमेंट की

कठिनाइयों को देख कर आप अगर अपने जज़बात को दबाने की कृपा करें तो बेहतर होगा और इस रैज्यूलूशन को वापस ले लें। मैं ज्यादा से ज्यादा यह कह सकता हूँ कि अगर वह इसे वापस ले लेंगे, तो मैं अपने साथियों को और समझाने की कोशिश करूंगा। लेकिन मैं वचन देने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ।

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is one difficulty. The House has to rise to-day at 17.30 because of the meeting in honour of H. E. Mr. Pham Van Dong, Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH: Please make it 17.45.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Even after that we have to rise.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH: The next Bill is also in the name of Shri Samar Guha. According to that we have got one hour yet.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I have heard with rapt attention the speech made by the hon. Home Minister. But I am sorry to say, as it happened earlier, in the case of the present Government also I would use the word 'they have miserably failed' to appreciate, to realise and to evaluate the essential as also the distinctive characteristic of the personality of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. The hon. Minister was present in this House when I spoke at length earlier. I tried to justify the distinction, not a quantitative distinction, but a qualitative distinction between a man of destiny, and a great-man. The man of destiny is born with a sense of mission and he is not always guided by reasons, but on many occasions by spiritual urges intuitively. He also leave the message in which lie some kind of values and those values not only transcend the age and the boundary of his country but also go far beyond to ages after ages, encompass the ideas of even the mankind as a whole. That is a man of destiny.

When we make reasons for gradation of leaders as No. 1, 2 and 3,—I am very sorry to say—this is the way how for 30 years attempts were made to black out the image, the life, and the contribution of Netaji. Netaji cannot be put in such gradation of leadership.

When we just try to evaluate the characteristic of a personality, the historic characteristic of a revolutionary personality or a man of destiny whose contributions as I have said transcend the present age or even the contours of a particular country, those have not to be analysed quantitatively but qualitatively. Here lies our difficulty. I am also aware that there have been many great men in our country. But let us not forget that all these great men followed certain lineage and there is another great man who followed a different lineage. One is the lineage of the Gandhian leadership. Every leader in India, whoever he may be, can be described mainly as satellites of the Gandhian solar system. Call him Sardar Patel; call him Pandit Nehru; call him Maulana Azad; call him anybody. Whoever they were, they were nothing, but the 'Satellites' in the Solar System—the big solar system—of Gandhian effluence, radiance, values,—whatever you may call it.

But there is only one man who broke out of the solar system of Gandhian Leadership. And he moved out as a Comet—a Revolutionary Comet, I say. 'A Revolutionary Comet', with a 'Revolutionary Idea', and this revolutionary comet was Netaji.

Not only so. It must be remembered that in Indian politics of pre-freedom days, anybody who rebelled against Gandhian leadership, either himself got wiped out, or was wiped out. But, it was here, that you had a Rebel President of the Congress, Subhas Chandra Bose, who rebelled against Gandhian leadership, only in certain aspects, not on all aspects, regarding the tactic of attaining independence. He achieved it.

I do not want to repeat what I said on the earlier occasion when I made a one-hour and twenty-five minute speech on Netaji's role.

There would have been no independence today had there not been the complementary contribution of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. There was contradiction between Gandhiji and Subhas, always but they acted in a complementary way as well. If you say that Gandhiji alone achieved independence, it is a travesty of Indian history. If you say that Subhas Bose only achieved it, then, it is also equally a travesty of the truth of the Indian history. It is Gandhiji and Subhas both contributed in complementary ways to achieve it. Gandhiji might have a Messianic role, the role of a Messiah, of non-violence—that was his different role—as a world teacher. So far as Indian Independence is concerned, there were only two persons, Gandhiji and Netaji, who made fundamental contributions; and nobody else. Maybe, many great men were there. But qualitatively, it was only these two personalities—Gandhiji and Netaji,—one, through his technique of Satyagraha, the other through his way of revolutionary seizure of power made historic contributions. I do not want to deal with that aspect elaborately as I had dealt with it earlier.

I want to remind you that I am thankful to the whole House, as all of them, irrespective of parties, cutting across the barrier of party distinction, everybody in this House,—supported the Bill. This is a triumph for the object for which the Bill has been proposed.

I again want to remind you, hon. Chaudhury saheb: Netaji is more than a great man. His life is a message to India. It was Gandhiji who said: 'My life is my Message'. Similarly, Netaji was, the only other person who can say that in India, nobody else. During the freedom struggle, can you cite anybody else who could say; 'My life is my message'? It was only the

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Mahatma and then the Netaji of the Indian people who could say so. That is the reason why it is an epic,—you can call it historic or you can call it the most significant adoration of the Indian people, when they hailed these two personalities as the Mahatma of the Indian people and Netaji of the Indian people.

That is why I said that it is not merely for the luxury, it is not merely for enjoying or whiling away a day that I want a holiday on Netaji's Birth-day. Did any of your leaders issue a statement to observe Netaji's birthday? I had written to the Janata Party President to issue a statement for observing Netaji's Birth-day. But he did not care for it. Did your Prime Minister issue any statement? Did any Leader of any Party issue a statement? Yet, in thousands and thousands of places of India, thousands and thousands of persons, spontaneously, naturally, out of inner feelings, out of inner urges, observed Netaji's Birth-day all over the country from Kohima to Kerala.

In Delhi alone, ten different types of life-size posters of Netaji were there all over the place, in Old Delhi and New Delhi. How many celebrations were held? Many and innumerable. Did any one of any party, the Prime Minister, or any Leader of the opposition, ask the people to do it? Why did not the people do it? You were mentioning that on the birth-day of Gandhiji, a few people assembled to pay their respects, at Rajghat. But see, how the people spontaneously observed Netaji's birthday all over the country. Why did they do so?

The regime that was there in the saddle in this country, for thirty years, tried to black out Netaji. For thirty years, they tried to ignore Netaji, for thirty years, they showed as if Netaji was nobody in the national life of this country. The political leaders may have done so, but not the Indian people. Netaji conquered the hearts of

the Indian people. That is why in spite of either you the politicians, we the politicians or they the politicians, whether they wanted or not, it is the people of India all over the country who observed Netaji's Birthday in a splendorous way. What they did on that occasion? There have been many meetings, many seminars, not just by paying pushpanjali, not by paying a tribute only but they discussed the role of Netaji, they discussed the life of Netaji, they discussed what is legacy meant. The people remembered the message of his life. It can inspire and will inspire the people of our country. It is the eternal youth, the emblem of eternal youth, that is the flaming image of Netaji that has inspired and is inspiring and will inspire the youth of India and of their revolutionary aspiration in any part of the world.

When I say that Netaji had a message, he believed that India has a mission to fulfil. In his diary, in his younger days, he wrote: 'I feel, I have a mission to fulfil.' He inherited that concept of mission from Swami Vivekanand, his spiritual Guru. In his autobiography, he has not written that 'I have been inspired by Swami Vivekanand but he wrote Swami Vivekanand entered into my life.' He inherited the mission and the message of Swami Vivekanand. Swami Vivekanand had a mission that India will grow; India will lead the world and India will go ahead with a new message for the whole civilisation of the world.

I suppose it will be startling to some of my Communist friends to know what Swamiji said. In 1890 when neither Marx nor Engels nor Lenin, nobody, could visualise where there would be a proletariat revolution, it was a vedantic sanyasi who prophesied that there will be first a revolution in Russia, then in China. I quote from an account of Sister Christine:

"It was in New York during Swamiji's last visit to America he

told us these things. Swamiji was walking up and down the floor and saying—first comes the rule of the Brahmans, then the rule of the Khatryias. At present the world is being ruled by the Vaishyas. Next comes the rule of the Sudras. I am wondering where the first Sudra State will be established. It must be either in Russia or in China”

By the word Sudra, Swamiji meant the proletarians. Then again in Dacca in 1902, Swamiji said:

“As the astronomers see the movements of the stars through telescope, likewise, the movement of the world falls within the range of my vision. You take it from me, this rising of the Sudras will take place first in Russia, and then in China, India will rise and will play a vital role in shaping the future world”.

Look at 1902. Neither Marx nor Engels could visualise it. I think they prophesied that revolution will be in some of the advanced industrialised countries like Germany, England or France. Even Marx prophesied like that. But the Vedantic Sanyasi said that the revolution will be in Russia and then in China. I do not want to go into more details. But, I will just say and I quote what Swamiji further said about Indian Revolution:

“Now is the time to work. India's spiritual ideas may penetrate into the west. We must go out. We must conquer the world through our spiritualism.”

“The only condition of national life, of awakened and vigorous national life, is the conquest of the world by Indian thought”.

I shall now come to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Even in 1935 Subhas Bose preached the message of Swami Vivekanand that “India has a mission to fulfil.” It was not just a political

revolution, he did not visualise mere political freedom of India only. But he visualised that through Indian freedom, India will achieve something of an ideological attainment that will enlighten the world in a wonderful way.

Why do I say that Netaji should not be bracketed in serials of personalities like with 1, 2, 3 and 4? He had values; the concept of fundamental, he is a missionary; he envisaged for himself the role of a missionary that he inherited from the concept of Swamy Vivekanand. Now, I quote what Netaji said in London-Indian Conference in 1935, after summarising the course of evolution of political systems of the world. He said:

“We all know that, in the seventeenth century, England made a remarkable contribution to world-civilisation through her ideas of constitutional and democratic Government. Similarly, in the eighteenth century, France made the most wonderful contribution to the culture of the world through her ideas of “liberty, equality and fraternity”. During the nineteenth century Germany made the most remarkable gift through her Marxian Philosophy. During the twentieth century Russia has enriched the culture and civilisation of the world through her achievement in proletarian revolution, proletarian Government and proletarian culture....”

Try to understand. Now what he said at the end. He said:

“The next remarkable contribution to the culture and civilisation of the world, India will be called upon to make.”

I have many things to quote but I do not want to take much of the time of the House. I will skip over some of them. Again Netaji said in the same year:

“Our freedom struggle stands for the ultimate fulfilment of India's mission, so that India may be able

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to deliver to the world the message that has been her heritage through the past ages."

It is a meaningless evaluation of personalities calling Mahatmaji No. 1 Netaji No. 2 and others as No. three and four and so on. It is the ideological, historical and philosophical personality of Netaji which represents the value which he cherished. Again in 1944 at the Tokyo University he made a wonderful evaluation of the concept of free India which nobody has cared to read in the earlier regime. Netaji envisaged in October 1944 in the assembly of intellectuals of Japan when he concluded his speech by saying:

"India will, therefore, try to move to the next stage of political and social evolution."

It is not just the cult of hero worship that I want to preach. It is not just that revolutionary image of Netaji that I want to eulogise and project. A revolutionary ideal is an idle exercise in the realm of intellectual errand unless it is christened by a revolutionary idealist in concrete reality. Jefferson of the American Revolution would have been called a mere idealist if there was no George Washington to give effect to the concept of American Revolution. Marx would have been known as a great academician if there were no Lenin or Mao Tse Tung to give effect to his concept of Proletarian Revolution. The concept of Indian mission and Indian revolution of Swami Vivekananda would have remained a mere vision without the birth of a revolutionary pilgrim in Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. What is Netaji! He is not just a great man. He is not a great personality only. He is a manifestation of values,—Netaji is the highest emblem of revolutionary idealism ever conceived in the annals of the world revolution.

When I say this—I ask—is there any example in any part of the world, when a man, a lonely man went out

of his home, crossed countries after countries, continents after continents, swam across three oceans, established organisations in twenty countries, moved like modern Prometheus of 'revolution' and raised an Army of Revolution almost out of dust? Is there any such example anywhere in the world of ours? He swam across a perpetually threat of death but daintlessly. Is there any other example of such reckless courage? That is why one of the great Generals belonging to the land of 'harakiri'—Japan—had said. "Subhas Chandra Bose is the greatest hero of our age." The supreme concept of heroism has been reflected in our time in the life of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Would you agree to accept it? Would you project it to our younger generation, to our future generation? This is my question.

Netaji is a magnificent inspirer of the ideal of Asiatic Revolution leading to Anti-Colonial Liberation of the Asiatic people from the bondage of Western colonialism. It is not my word. When Tunku Abdur Rehman came to India after freedom, he said: "Netaji raised us from dust". In Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, the Pakistani High Commissioner told during the recent ceremony of Netaji's birthday that "Netaji not only liberated India but he liberated Pakistan also. He was the main inspirer for the liberation of most of the Asiatic countries in South-East Asia."

Netaji is the principal architect of Indian Leftism who ushered India into an age of modern Socio-Political Concept. Netaji is the father of other Idea of Indian National Planning for the national reconstruction of free-India.

Netaji is the greatest integrator of the Indian people,—cutting across the barriers of caste, creed, religious community,—into a reality of Indian national community.

Netaji is the Supreme manifestation of the image of a Supreme Commander of the Army of Indian Revolution that will inspire our youths,

and our Jawans for generations to come. Netaji is the living image of the faith to inspire our countrymen to believe that India has a Mission to fulfil.

Sir, this is the reason why I am saying: don't try to equate him with other great men of India. If you try to equate him with other great men, then I am sorry to say that many of the message of his life, many of the contributions of his life will be lost. That is why I asked 'can you cite any other example of the quintessence of the values of Netaji? I tried in a nutshell to project the values which Netaji represented and represents. Would you allow this value to be lost? Are these treasures not the treasures of our national value, not only the treasure of national value but the treasure that is to be handed over from generation to generation to inspire the concept of revolutionary idealism, the idealism that will try to build a new India. Not only India alone, but like Swami Vivekananda, his disciple,—Netaji said: "India has a Mission to fulfil" and I say in this world of today when whole world saw the American Revolution, the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution and the China's Revolution, there will be another revolution in India, and that revolution would be different. Whereas the whole Western world is based on the materialistic conception of life, Netaji said that the Indian revolution would not only be based on the concept of equality, justice and fraternity but essentially on the basis of concept of spiritual values as well. That would be the latest revolution of the world today. I say that what Swami Vivekananda preached Netaji also preached that India has a message to deliver to the world. I have many other materials but I have no time to quote them. But I will quote here a German Biographer of Netaji who was with Netaji in the Hitler days. He wrote about Netaji:

"Even as a human being and a thinker, Bose was seeking a new philosophy—a new ethical con-

ception—in human affairs. A rare personality in contemporary world history, he was at once deeply involved in the great spiritual heritage of India and actively concerned with the most modern social and technological advances anywhere in the world. His sense of mission did not admit of any compromises or any reservations. He sought to inspire, by his own example, his countrymen and his followers with the same spirit of total dedication to the cause. In this he also succeeded in a great measure and thus remains an example in leadership. Thus, even though Bose left us much before his time, his legacy in thought and deed for the present and coming generations remains. Who knows India may in time re-discover Subhas Chandra Bose and in his own words 'deliver to the world the message that has been her heritage through the past ages'."

What a foreigner understood the significance of the life of the revolutionary pilgrim of India—I do not say merely of revolutionary leader of India—very miserably I should say, we have failed, many of our leaders have failed to appreciate and understand.

I think Chaudhuri Saheb knows; those who are older men here know the name of Sadhu T. L. Vaswani, a great philosopher and savant of Sind, of Karachi. He was respected by Mahatma Gandhi and by everybody in India in those days. I quote what he said about Netaji:

"Ye children of the sages of the East, India is rising with a radiant light and a flame of freedom to give her message to the nations. In this new day that is dawning, Subhas will I believe, be greeted by millions of women and men of India as a prophet of resistance and revolution."

Sir, this prophet of resistance and revolution, this prophet who cherished the dream of fulfilling the mission of India, this prophet of revolution, the

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pilgrim of Indian revolution effected himself and transformed himself not into personality but into values. It is known to everybody what he named his autobiography. Have you heard a politician, a statesman, a general, a great leader, a socialist, a leftist—ever named his autobiography as the 'Autobiography of an Indian pilgrim'. He wanted to be remembered by the Indian people, not as a patriot, not as a hero, not as a revolutionary, but as 'An Indian Pilgrim' in quest of fulfilling the mission of Mother India. You will be astonished to know that he owned nothing—he did not want any glory, no power, no position,—nothing in this world. But he would never part with a small bag containing a small piece of Gita a mala, and a tiny book of tantra—Chandi! They were constant companions of Netaji whether he had been in the war front or in the office or in administration. Wherever he had been, a Chandi, a Gita and a Mala were the last resort of the eternal soul of an Indian pilgrim that lived in him.

I know today you are opposing my Bill, but the hon. Minister—God willing—with tears in eyes, you will have to change; this Janata Government will have to change their mind to declare 23 January, the birth day of not Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, but the birthday of the prophet of Revolution the birthday of the Indian pilgrim, the birthday of the Messiah of a new concept of Indian revolution and of a person who dreamt of a new India, of an India that will fulfil her mission that has been handed over to us by our ancient civilization and ancient culture.

Sir, this is not a political question with me,—this is not a party question with me. This is a very fundamental question, this is a spiritual question. Therefore, it is very difficult for me to withdraw the Bill. Even if I be alone to vote for my Bill, whatever may happen—there may be earthquake anywhere—but this humble dust of the

feet of Netaji is not going to accept any other suggestion because I consider that it is not paying homage to any great man, not worshipping a great man, but preserving the message, the mission, the value that has been given to us by the Prophet of Indian Revolution and I hope it may so happen that we may have again the radiance of his guidance in leading the destiny of our country in near future!

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR (Gandhinagar): With great respect to Samar Babu, I want to say...

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I am sorry, I am not going to hear anybody.

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR: I want to say that since the Home Minister has told us in so many words that if Shri Samar Guha were not to say 'no' but withdraw the Bill for the time being until the Minister gets more time to persuade his colleagues further without treating it as a promise—he said that, if I have understood correctly,—and yet therefore to keep the matter open, and to enable the Home Minister and his colleagues to have further time to think about it, why not I request Mr. Guha to withdraw the Bill? This is because there is no opposition, and the Government has not opposed the whole thing. Otherwise we are in a very difficult situation; having spoken on the Bill we do not want the Bill to be rejected. This is my request to Mr. Samar Guha. I hope I am expressing the views of my colleagues on this issue.

श्री श्रीम प्रकाश त्यागी (बहराइच) :

समर गुहा जी, हम सब सदन की ओर से आप से प्रार्थना करते हैं कि आप गृह मंत्री जी की प्रार्थना पर, उनके विचारों पर ध्यान करते हुए, अपना प्रस्ताव वापस ले लें, सरकार इस पर विचार कर रही है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : यह ज्यादा आनरेबल होगा, सभापति जी।

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR: It seems that many of my colleagues are supporting my contention and I hope Shri Samar Guha is listening to what

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I am telling. Let us keep the matter open and let there be more deliberations.

SHRI SYED KAZIM ALI MEERZA: May I request the hon. Home Minister to at least give us an assurance that he will discuss it with his Cabinet colleagues and consider the resolution that Shri Samar Guha has moved?

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR: That he has said.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Mr. Chairman Sir, I have received a note from my respected Chaudhry Saheb. He knows my mind and I know his mind as well and I also know in what great respect he holds Netaji and in what esteem he holds Netaji. I do not want to read out what he has written to me for obvious reasons. But from the assurance that has been given in this note, it appears to me that it would perhaps be possible in view of the unanimous opinion expressed by the House that a certain particular machinery will be evolved through which this matter will be discussed, and the final decision in favour of the object of the Bill will be taken.

I will again say only, I withdraw the Bill, but the Home Minister will understand that while I withdraw it, I am not withdrawing what I wanted to put. If unfortunately it happens otherwise—that is also perhaps understood—what will be the effect on me and how I will react, I do not know. I have said, this is a spiritual question with me. I believe, I trust....

SHRI CHARAN SINGH: The House deals with mundane questions, not spiritual matters.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: There are some fools like me who feel that even mundane matters are spiritual matters. I do not know what is the definition of matter. Even the humblest of the humble, highest of the high scientists do not know how to define matter.

SHRI CHARAN SINGH: I give him my sincere commitment that I will do my best to reason it out with my colleagues.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That leave be granted to withdraw the Bill to provide for observing the birthday of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose as national holiday."

The motion was adopted.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Sir, I withdraw the Bill.

The Bill was by leave withdrawn.

16.57 hrs.

ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLAND
(ALTERATION OF NAME) BILL

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contd): I do not know whether it is the indication of something else. Again I am feeling that it is the indication of something else that I am getting preference in ballot for everything about Netaji. I never used to get any preference in ballot for any kind of Bill or Resolution earlier.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH: It is destiny.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I do not know whether it is destiny. For the last few months, in everything about Netaji, I am getting priority in the ballot.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI CHARAN SINGH): The Bill is about changing the name of Andaman and Nicobar Islands as Shahid and Swaraj Dweep. This question had been debated once before the House and it was decided that it was not for the House to change the name of any place, town, State or island and it would be for the representatives of that place, town, State or island to say what name they want for their place, town, State or Island. I will