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Now, so far as the nature of the statement is concerned, the Minister has consulted the Speaker. The hon. Speaker has permitted him to make the statement. And you, too have. The honourable House, would agree that if the Minister gave a statement to the Press, to the effect that he is making certain concessions, the House would have been naturally annoyed, saying when the House is in session, why did the Minister not tell it first in the House, and why did he tell it to the Press. The Minister wanted to take the House into confidence at the first opportunity. This is what prompted him to come to the House. So he sought the Speaker's clearance to make this statement here with the permission of the House and the House did give him the permission.

I do agree with my hon. friend that his statement was rather long. He took almost 20 to 25 minutes. I have already said that we would extend the time of the House by that period for Private Members' Business. Now, Shri Samar Guha.

RESOLUTION RE. SETTING UP OF
NETAJI NATIONAL ACADEMY—
Contd.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Samar Guha.

SHRI SAUGATA ROY: Madam Chairman, since you have made an exception in the case of the Minister, why not you give me a chance to speak on this Resolution?

MR. CHAIRMAN: All right. Have your say, Mr. Roy.

SHRI SAUGATA ROY: Madam Chairman, thank you very much. I commend this Resolution moved by Shri Samar Guha who is one of the longest crusaders for acquiring for Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, his due place and due recognition and due share in the country's political, educational and economic life.

Shri Samar Guna has moved a very comprehensive Resolution in which he has suggested the setting up of an Academy named after Netaji Subhas

Chandra Bose. If you look at the life and works of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose, two things stand out very clearly (1) his great exploits as the leader and the commander of the Indian National Army and (2) his thinking on economic and political issues that we came to know of through his presidency of the Congress, through his different presidential addresses to the Congress, of his setting up of the Planning Commission under the leadership of the Congress. Madam, both these things, both these aspects are aspects which have not yet been dealt with in full and, in which, proper research has not been done. Professor Guha has, in fact, very aptly pointed out that to-day, to go into the problems of national integration a thorough research, academic research, is necessary because Subhas Chandra Bose's I.N.A. (Indian National Army) was in fact a symbol of national integration as you will find that there were Muslim Generals like Shri Shahnawaz Khan and others and there were South Indian people like Lakshmi Swaminathan and there were other people from North India like Col. Sehgal and other leaders and the Azad Hind Fauj built abroad, set up abroad, was really a picture of the national army through which Shri Subhas Chandra Bose tried to liberate our country.

Another point stands out very clearly. That is that Shri Subhas Chandra Bose had always an eye for the national integration. In that, he gave three slogans to the Azad Hind Fauj. They were:

'Ittafaq, Atimad and Kurban'.

If I may say so, they were not slogans in Hindi; they were not slogans in Bengali, his own mother-tongue but they were the slogans which would attract the minority community to the Azad Hind Fauj and make them integrate together.

I had rather a rare opportunity of speaking after the Minister's reply and his reply appeared absolutely lacklustre like the whole performance of the Education Ministry in the last one year, if you will permit me in saying.

the Minister had dealt without length why Netaji National Academy cannot be built up. Why the Netaji Research Bureau which is a privately run bureau with a meagre capital and minimum grant cannot be a proper substitute for National Academy? I do not find any logic and substance in the Minister's statement. We have here in Delhi, Jawaharlal Nehru University, a university meant to do post-graduate research in various branches of Science and Humanities and social sciences. In Simla, we have an Indian Institute of Defence Studies where also we do research in various branches of history, social sciences and other fields. In Calcutta, in the Indian Council for Social Sciences and Research, we have a Centre for Social Sciences and Research. So, it is not that there are no national institutions in the country which are meant to look after the particular areas, particular areas.

The whole purpose of this, as Shri Guha has very rightly and succinctly pointed out, is to set up a new institution named after Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose which would, in particular, give attention to those problems. Does the Minister really mean to wind up all these institutions on Defence Research Studies, Jawaharlal Lal Nehru University? Does he mean to wind up the ten Indian universities where all the subjects like Defence studies are taught and researches made into? There should be a reason as to why the national institutes should not be set up? I think it was a great crusade for Shri Guha for acquiring for Netaji a due place in national life. He has come forward with this Resolution now. It was through his persistent efforts, I must say, that Netaji's portrait has found a place in the Central Hall. I must also say that there is a feeling in the country that proper recognition has not been given to this great revolutionary and patriot who was a revolutionaire not only in thought but also in action in his own time in his very eyes on his own efforts.

That is why, Madam, at this time when people have got the expectation that a proper honour to Netaji will be given such a reply from the Education Minister is not at all encouraging, is not at all welcome. I can only say this. I know the bureaucrats in the Education Ministry may put impediments. In the name of such bureaucrats in the Defence Ministry has found out a reason for not changing the name of the Indian Military Academy into Netaji Military Academy. But, I say that this is the feeling of the countrymen, if I am permitted to say so, it is the feeling, particularly, of the people of that part of India to which the Education Minister belongs. That now the time has come after so many years of Independence to give proper recognition to Netaji.

Madam Chairman, Jawahar Lal Nehru is one of the persons I admire. I admire his thoughts and progressive ideas but I also feel the whole geniology of Jawahar Lal Nehru has been recognised in India's political life and possibly the whole family has got more than it has given to the country. But what about Netaji! You say in Netaji's own house the research bureau is set-up. You gave a non-recurring grant of Rs. 4 lakhs and you say that will substitute the purpose of national academy. I did not expect such a reply from the Minister. The purpose for setting up this Academy is clear, viz.:

"Netaji National Academy, be set up by the Government within a year for making specialised and advance studies on subjects in which Netaji evinced keen interest, like,—(i) advance Military Science, (ii) modern socio-economic and political ideologies relevant to the objectives of Indian national reconstruction, (iii) concept of Indian national planning, (iv) perspective and problems of Indian national integration, (v) history of revolutionary movements for Indian independence and (vi) mission of Indian culture and civilisation towards

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achieving unity and understanding among the people of the world."

The Minister has mentioned about the Indian Council of Historical Research. We know the case of time capsule for revealing the contents of which you have received kudos in the House. You are saying the same Indian Council of Historical Research is alone capable of delivering the goods with regard to the study of devolutionary ideas and movements. I do not think so. Today time has come when the nation has to pause and think whether we shall be trying to find our roots in history and society. In trying to find our roots it is necessary to delve into the riches of thoughts of the political ideologies of different countries and those of our own country.

Madam Chairman, if I may say so, Netaji is a much misunderstood man. He is an incompletely understood man. In this part of the country and the rest of the world people understand him from only one angle—perhaps military angle, political angle or because of his political differences with Mahatma Gandhi. Nobody has tried to think of him as a whole man. He was a complete man—a true revolutionary in thought and action. So, this is the minimum that we can do for him. That will not be paying honour to Netaji. The nation will be honouring itself by giving due homage to Netaji and due recognition to Netaji's role. That is why I commend this Resolution brought forward by Professor Guha. Today he is in the ruling party and we hope his life-long mission will be near to fulfilment. If he does not get the support within his party it will be very sad.

श्री एच० एल० पटवारी : (मंगलदाई)
सभापति महोदय मैं प्रो० समर गुहा के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करते हुए इसकी वैक्याउण्ड बताना चाहता हूँ ।

हिन्दुस्तान की राजनीति को देखते से एक ऐसी परंपरा चलती आई है कि हमारे देश में जब सूर्यवंश का राज्य था तो उज्ज्वल का राज्य भी साथ साथ चलता था । हमारे देश में वैष्णव समाज प्रथा जब भी तो साक्त प्रथा भी साथ साथ चलती थी । इसी प्रकार जब वायोलिगन की बात कहते हैं तो नान-वायोलिगन का भी जिक्र किया जाता है । मीरा के भजन का हम समर्थन करते हैं तो झांसी की रानी को भी मानते हैं । हम सब दोनों को साइड-बाई-साइड मानते चले आये हैं । राजनीतिक और सामाजिक व्यवस्था में जहाँ हम महारमा गांधी के आदर्श को समर्थन देते हैं वहाँ साथ ही साथ नेताजी सुभाषचन्द्र बोस का कंट्रीब्यूशन भी निश्चित है । अगर वे दोनों न होते तो आजादी तो होती लेकिन शायद हिन्दुस्तान की परम्परा दुनिया के सामने झगूरी रह जाती । इस लिए खुद हमारे देश को संसार को यह बताना है कि हमारे स्वाधीनता संग्राम में नेताजी का काष्ठीब्यूशन काफी हद तक सही था ।

मुझे इस बात का दुख है कि इस्टर्न इंडिया के जितने वीर हुए हैं देश के लोग और भारत सरकार उन को हिन्दुस्तान के वीर मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं । अगर आसाम के लाचित बरफुकैन और राजस्थान के राणा प्रताप की तुलना की जाये तो हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास में उन दोनों का स्तर समान होगा । लेकिन चूँकि लाचित बरफुकैन का जन्म आसाम में इस्टर्न इंडिया में हुआ इसलिए भारत सरकार का ध्यान उस ओर नहीं जाता है । ये लोग समझते हैं कि सूरज पश्चिम से उगता है । लेकिन उन को मालूम होना चाहिए कि सूरज पूर्व से उगता है और पश्चिम में अस्त होता है । इसलिए जो प्रकाश पूर्व में उदय होता है वह पश्चिम में विकसित होता है ।

स्वतन्त्रता से पहले हिन्दुस्तान की राजनीति में सुभाष बोस का उदय हुआ। उस के बाद पश्चिम में नान-वायलेंस के सिद्धान्त के रूप में उन के विचारों का विकास हुआ, लेकिन उस की बुनियाद पूर्व में ही पड़ी। श्री समर गुह का प्रस्ताव इस देश की समाज-व्यवस्था से सम्बन्धित है। जिस राज्य से मैं आया हूँ, वहाँ लाचित बुद्धि के और जयमती जैसे बहुत से और और वीरगणों हुई हैं, मगर उन की तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है। इसी तरह अगर हम नेताजी की तरफ भी ध्यान नहीं देंगे, तो हमारे देश का इतिहास और परम्परा भंगूरे रह जायेंगे। पूर्वांचल के लोगों का भी देश की राजनीति में काण्ट्रीब्यूशन है, अगर देश के लोग इस बात को स्वीकार नहीं करेंगे, तो पूर्वांचल के निवासियों पर इसका अच्छा प्रभाव नहीं होगा।

श्री सीतल राय : हम भी लाचित बरफू केन का सम्मान और प्रशंसा करते हैं।

श्री एच० एल० पटवारी : तो फिर माननीय सदस्य मेरे पक्के दोस्त हैं।

मैं भारत सरकार से अपील करता हूँ कि वह देश की राजनीति, देश की समाज-व्यवस्था और यहाँ की परम्परा को समझे। अपने देश में जहाँ हम गाय की पूजा करते हैं, वहाँ साँप की पूजा भी उसके साथ-साथ करते हैं। देश और समाज की बुनियाद को मजबूत करने के लिए हमारे देश के लोग हिंसा और अहिंसा को साथ-साथ आगे बढ़ाते हैं। अगर हम सुभाष बोस के विचार और भावनाओं को अपने देश के जीवन में उचित स्थान नहीं देते हैं, तो फिर इस देश की आजादी की बुनियाद कमजोर रह जायेगी और शोषण करने वाले लोग कभी नहीं डरेंगे। इसलिए यह आवश्यक है कि हम वायलेंस और नान-वायलेंस दोनों का

सम्मान करें और अपने जीवन में उन को उचित स्थान दें।

17 hrs.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contd.):
Madam Chairman, I am extremely thankful to all the Members of this House belonging to both sides for giving unanimous support to the Resolution of mine. Actually, it is not my own resolution it is the manifestation of the will of the people of India, spirit of the people of India, and the urge of our younger generation for building a new India of the future. Therefore, I also congratulate the earlier House, where when I brought this in the form of a Bill, the same unanimous support was given from all sides—unanimous support was given by 25—30 friends in the earlier Lok Sabha. It was a unanimous request to the Government. But again that one person came in the way. There was whip; and under that whip the Bill was thrown out.

I did not expect a better speech from the hon. Minister. The hon. Minister appears to me, not now only but on various occasions, as nothing but a victim of mental stagnation. It would have been better if he did not mention the name of his father who was a great associate of the elder brother of Netaji and a great admirer of Netaji. It would have been better if he had not mentioned that he met Netaji during his childhood. When this Resolution was before the House, he visited the Netaji Research Bureau and so I knew what his reply would be. I had a premonition and on the basis of that, I said that the stock reply would be: why should we duplicate this institution? Dr. Chunder should know perhaps a little that I was closely associated with the very beginning with the Netaji Research Bureau. I am its permanent member. Dr. Chunder should also know that it was Samar Guha who during the regime of Shrimati Indira Gandhi fought

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tooth and nail and made that lady agree to this paltry amount of giving help to Netaji Research Bureau. But who is Samar Guha? It is the humble speech, humble dust of the feet of Netaji, just humble speck of the expression of the will of the Indian people, not Samar Guha—I have done nothing.

The INA people—they were denied Rs. 4 crores by way of pension and salaries for three decades. I had it further—it was achieved after persistent effort, the last government had to pay about Rs. 4 crores that was due to INA. When the hon'ble Minister is talking about constitutional difficulties, he jumped from one to other plea for not accepting the resolution. He says what is the necessity of duplicating an institution and have another institution? Why not we give help to the Netaji Research Bureau? That is what he said. He was trying to carry coal to New Castle. I am very closely associated with it; I know its aims and objectives and I had participated in its functions on innumerable occasions and have got them various facilities; and it is this humble self who fought and got it.

I am only sorry; I take pity on him on his concept of the contribution of Netaji. When he is saying that he agrees with the spirit of the Resolution—see in what way he is presenting. What are the constitutional difficulties? He introduces the idea of a constitutional subterfuge to sabotage this resolution—I am using strong words, to sabotage the sacred idea of having an institution in the name of Netaji. I want to make it clear. That some friends, out of some misunderstanding, some current view, say it was in memory of Netaji. No; it is not a memorial to Netaji. Netaji is not a 'was'; but Netaji, 'is'. The country will know in proper time whether he is or not! a time will come. when, I am sorry that men like our Education Minister may not have the opportunity of atoning for their past.

What should I say? Strong words are coming in my mind, but I desist it. I should say he is suffering from an inertia—a mental inertia of not understanding that large behind this resolution. He was saying that the Constitutional Provisions do not permit it. What about Nehru? How many institutions are there in the name of Jawaharlal Nehru? More than fifty one institutions are there in the name of Nehru. What about this Jawaharlal Nehru University? Was there any necessity for changing the Constitution?

DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUNDER: Bring the law.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: What is it for? If you agree to my resolution, you can bring a bill yourself. Have I not the common sense to understand that to establish an institution like that, you require a Bill? I have got an opportunity to bring the resolution and I want to set the idea in the mind of the Government so that the Government can be set in motion to establish an institution by themselves. I have given my idea. Earlier even in that Bill. I had just given a skeleton of my idea and I expected that the spirit of the Bill will be agreed to and then we shall sit together to see how that National Academy Bill can be brought before this House.

I ask the Government, why do you talk about these, I should say, senseless things? Did you change the Constitution for setting up Jawaharlal Nehru University, Jawaharlal Nehru Museum, Jawaharlal Nehru Award and for that matter—Jawaharlal Nehru Yuvak Kendra? Eighty five Nehru Yuvak Kendra centres are there and more than fifty one institutions are there in the name of Nehru and you are spending every year four to five crores of rupees for them. But Dr. Chunder, You have not even the guts or the courage to spend even a few lakhs of rupees, to start with for setting up this National Academy in the name of Netaji.

Why I am anxious for this? As very rightly and nicely spoken, I am not anxious to have a due share, as my friend Mr. Saugata Roy said, not to have a due share of recognition to Netaji in our history of national life. No, not for that. The whole ideological concept of our country is crumbling, the whole national character is crumbling, the whole concept of our politics is crumbling. There is an erosion everywhere of our national value, national concept, political concept, ideological concept. We have tried many ideologies, we have tested many ideologies—many political parties have done it in the country. They tried to advocate many ideologies. What is the condition in the country at present, Where is that national character, where is that national will, where is that national perspective that will galvanise our youth force, our younger generation to dedicate themselves in a spirit of complete abandon, if not complete abandon at least of a large quantum of abandon to dedicate themselves for building the nation, for the present and the future, Where is that spirit today, where is that ideology today, where is that call today?

MR. CHAIRMAN: It has been abandoned.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Nowhere it is. It is the spirit, the ideology and image of one great personality, he is not the personality of India only, he is a rare phenomenon in the history of the modern world—Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose—that is behind this resolution. His image is an emblem of a revolutionary idealism that was never known of the kind in the modern world today. You will not find any other emblem of the magnitude, of the majesty and of the brilliance of the kind of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Dr. Lohia had rightly said that if Gandhiji was the dream, Netaji was the symbol of achievement. It is because of the achievement of Lenin,

Marxism become a life philosophy. It is the blood of the martyrs, it is the revolutionary surge of the Russian people, it is the revolution in parts that has made Marxism a living philosophy. Similarly, when I say this, it is not a question of giving recognition to Netaji's national life, but to acknowledge and accept his achievements for building up a new national ideology for India—that Netaji's mission should be evaluated and understood. Can we try to create a new sense of values in our country, in the minds of our younger generation, and can we try to resurrect the lost values in our country, in place of the politics of convenience, politics of opportunism, politics of careerism and politics of professionalism that has wrecked our national life today?

Yes. I have great respect for Gandhiji. The Gandhian moral value has certainly its importance. But I have told many times that during the freedom struggle, India produced only two men of destiny, namely Gandhiji and Netaji. The place of other leaders is only secondary.

In the name of Nehru, there are 51 institutions. I am not talking in the air. I have got a list indicating how much expenditure is incurred on them annually, I have got great respect for Nehru, but his role in the history of India's freedom struggle is nothing but secondary. He has never played a primary role. He was just one of the planets in the Gandhian solar system. Netaji is the only one—a revolutionary comet—I would call him a comet—who broke the field of Gandhian gravity, out-shone it with the effulgence of a unique character—representing in a unique revolutionary idealism that had created a new value for the Indian people, for the present generation and for our future generations. My hon. friend Dr. Chunder claimed to have entered in-

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to the spirit and he supported the spirit of my resolution by I am sorry he does not want to enter the heart of it nor does he understand it. He has not been able even to enter the gate of it.

I have said that I have not an iota of doubt about the background of Gandhian value of morality in politics. Just note the word which I use. It is Gandhiji who has introduced a certain concept of moral values in politics. It will remain abiding, for us and for the future also. In that context, I have not an iota of doubt that the vision of the future of India is the vision of Netaji; the path of Indian revolution is the path of Netaji; the path of our national ideology, of the ideological revival of our country is the path of Netaji. The path of creating a new order, a new call for total dedication in the service of the Indian people, to make India great—not only for herself but for the whole world and for the whole humanity—that path and that new philosophy is the philosophy of Netaji; and that is what we have to accept. And that is the basic reason, the basic compulsion and the basic inspiration why I have brought this resolution. That is why I am trying so much to project the image of Netaji, to project the revolutionary ideals of Netaji and to project the revolutionary concept of Netaji. The Netaji Research Bureau has a limited object. They have done it admirably. I quite admit it. But that is not my whole object. My object is now for India and the world at large, in the search or quest for a new perspective for a new concept of an ideology for humanity and for the younger generation to inspire it.

In his historic speech in 1944 at the Tokyo University, Netaji said this after brilliantly analyzing the evolutionary course of human history in the last few centuries. I repeat it, I

repeat it when I say how the democratic concepts in England had a progressive on the concept of French revolution; thereafter the human history made a progressive advance in course of Russian revolution. And Netaji said that the march to the new horizon of human values had not ended. He said that India would have to move historically and philosophically to the next phase of human progress. I quote what he said:

"India will have to move to the next phase of socio-political events of the world."

That is why I have enumerated all these things in my resolution, keeping this in view that India needs an image of a personality, not in the idea of the personality cult, not in the idea of having worship of an idol, a political idol—no, not that, but an image—as I used the words—of a revolutionary idealism. Netaji is the majestic image of a revolutionary idealism, and with that image also he had an ideological concept of his own idealism. He had built up a heritage of his own. On the basis of that living revolutionary heritage, if you project an idea that has a different value.

An academic institution has an academic value, but I am referring to a new set-up in the name of a great personality, of a historic personality, of a hero, of a great man, with a different perspective. That is why I say that one of the aspects is advanced military science.

Why do I say so? Because in India our freedom struggle produced only one—one and only one, person in the image, in the personality of Subash Chandra Bose as the commander, the Supreme Commander of the Army of Indian Liberation. His name ranks with the name of Garibaldi, with the name of George Washington, with the name of Marat who led the army of the French Revolution. In India, after Shivaji there is no other name that can galvanize the jawans and

the officers of our army, the younger people—only Netaji's name can do it.

When Hitler's army attacked Russia, what was Stalin doing? He had to introduce the highest military award in the name of Gen. Suvrov who defeated Napoleon. He had many chiefs of his own, but Suvrov's was a historic name of a personality. He had to introduce the name of Suvrov for galvanizing, creating a new sense of courage and heroism in the mind of the Russian army.

I am referring to Study of advance military science because it was with a national outlook that the National Army of Netaji was built. It has never happened elsewhere, only in India. How was the Russian army built up? Was it built up on the ashes of the Czarists Army? No, the Russian Army was built up on the nucleus of Military Committee headed by Trotsky. That is how Mao Tse-tung also built up his revolutionary army. Even Napoleon built up his army with cadres developed after the French Revolution. What has happened in no other part of the world is the betrayal of an Army of Revolution, those who dedicated their lives—26,000 soldiers of the I.N.A. who sacrificed their lives in the eastern frontiers of India. What have you done to them? You are talking of national unity, but the army of Netaji—an Army of Liberation, an Army of Revolution that was raised by Netaji, raised almost out of dust—and out of dust he created men of unusual valour, unusual courage, men of unusual dedication—consisted of men from Peshawar to Chittagong, from Kashmir to Kanya Kumari, and from everywhere in India. He was talking about united India and Indian national unity. Most of the important officers of Netaji came from areas what is now called Pakistan. Lt.-Col. M. Z. Kani came from the Peshawar area, Burhanuddin came from the Peshawar area, I. K. Kiani came from

Peshawar area. Most of the top ranking officers came from that area. Many came from Punjab, Kerala, all parts of India.

INA was disbanded. Not one of them had been taken back in the Indian Army of free India. Some of them had become drivers. Those martyrs, those patriotic freedom fighters who could form the nucleus of our future Indian Army, what had they got in fate? Some of them had become drivers; some of them had become bearers, and some of the officers were taken in an embassy or in some factory here and there to become manager or something else. That was the fate of the Army of the Liberation of India. That is the reason why I say that the last 30 years are not only a betrayal of Netaji but a betrayal of the greatest heritage of Indian revolution. That is the reason why I said let there be an Academy in the name of Netaji. But I am so sorry, as I said, they are suffering from certain inertia of the past. You are stating why the Dehradun Military Academy could not be re-named as Netaji Academy. Perhaps, it reflects the spirit of Auchinluch in the mind of Dr. Chandra or the spirit of some people who in the last 30 years tried to keep the name of Netaji eclipsed completely out of the sight of the India people and out of the minds of the Indian people. It is a historical necessity to re-name Dehra Dun Military Academy after Netaji.

DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUNDER: It is not under my charge. It was the Defence Ministry who said it.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I know it is not your charge but why should you defend it? Why should you do it? I charge you: why did you try to defend the past policy of the Government? You could have kept silent. Why should you try to defend the most bureaucratic and imperialistic Auchinheck's policy? You know that

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under the inspiration of Mountbatten it was Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who disbanded INA. Mountbatten praded it in his 'Nehru oration.' He said: "I advised Nehru not to take back the INA people; I advised Nehru not to play up the spirit of INA". Nehru did it. He disbanded it. He did not take any of them. He did not care in any way to show any respect to the heritage of Azad Hind Revolution, to the heritage of Azad Hind Fauz and the great sacrifices made by the Azad Hind Army.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please do not get deflected. I will request you to follow the path of Netaji; do not get deflected.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: There are so many things in my mind. I am just a dust of his feet what to speak of his way of thinking. (*Interruption*)**

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please do not get deflected. Mr. Sathe, will you please resume your seat? He is not yielding. Mr. Sathe, you are not being recorded because you are not called upon to speak. (*Interruption*)***

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: That is the reason why I want the study of advanced military science in the name of Netaji. That will inspire all our officers, our jawans and our younger generation.

Do you know what happened during the time of Nehru? The display of portrait of Netaji was banned in the army barracks. And our hon. Minister tries to follow the footsteps of that renegade. I should say, of Indian freedom struggle.

THE MINISTER OF STEEL AND MINES (SHRI BIJU PATNAIK): Not all.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Not all, that I too say.

That is why, I say that it will galvanise our future officers and men who will deal with the future Indian Army. That is why, I say, his name should be associated with the study of advanced military science.

The other thing I have said is 'modern socio-economic and political ideologies relevant to the objectives of Indian national reconstruction'. I have said that there is a word called 'capitalist contradiction' in the Marxian phraseology. Now, the world is suffering from another contradiction i.e., communist contradiction. Now the political ideology, that was Marxian one day, for younger generation who aspire to live up to the same revolutionary ideal—even that Marxian tenets have become a subject of anybody's interpretation. The whole world's ideology is crashing.

Netaji, I remember, in 1930's—you were at that time in younger days—was doubled as a neo-fascist; some called him an arch-nationalist; others called him a chauvinist. He even entered into a controversy with Pandit Nehru when the latter was saying certain kind of Marxian ideology is the last word of human history Netaji's perspective was completely different. At that time, Netaji said more than once that he believed in socialism not only for the salvation of India but of the world as a whole. It is not my word; it is his word that "not only the salvation of India but of the world depends on socialism." But Netaji cautioned that no particular totalitarian concept of any philosophy or any kind of interpretation, a monistic interpretation, should guide the concept of any kind of ideology.

That was the main ideological conflict of Nehru with him. Netaji said that we should not develop any antagonism to any kind of ideology that was prevalent in the world. But we have to study them with critical sympathy, trying to understand them and then,

**Not recorded.

according to the necessity of our times, according to our history, according to our culture, according to our national requirement, according to our environment—we have to synthesize new values to build up the concept of our Indian socialism. He always used the word "Indian socialism".

Netaji developed a new perspective of understanding different ideologies and to integrate the essential values of different ideologies into one—the philosophy that he always used, the concept of the philosophy of synthesis, the concept of a new philosophy. If we really want to develop a new philosophy in India, new concept of socialism, a new concept of our national ideology, then the perspective that was given by Netaji should be understood and should be followed too.

In this Institute, a comparative study of different political sociology, of different ideology, of different political theory, should be made and out of what is relevant to our Indian context, whatever is relevant to Indian life, we shall try to build up our own national philosophy and national ideology with those ingredients.

About the concept of national planning, so many literatures are there; so many volumes of literature have been published by the earlier Governments and by our Government also. Is there any mention anywhere that Netaji is the Father of Indian Planning? Is there any mention anywhere that Netaji had to risk the anger of Mahatma Gandhi in formulating his idea about national planning? One of the basic reasons why Mahatma Gandhi opposed Netaji during the Tripuri Congress was that Mahatma Gandhi was opposed to the concept of planning. He changed only afterwards. Many Gandhites felt that everything of the Gandhian concept was undone when Netaji introduced the concept of national plann-

ing. In the Haripura Congress, it was Netaji who first introduced the concept of national planning and set up the first National Planning Commission.

I may tell you that Dr. V. V. Giri, former President of India has written in his biography that he was one of the members of the National Planning Commission and that he suggested to Netaji saying, "You are the President of the Congress and, in the fitness of things, you should be the first Chairman of the National Planning Commission." To that, Netaji said, "You are an absolutely senseless person. You do not understand. If I become the Chairman of the National Planning Commission, Mahatma Gandhi will scuttle it in no time. Make Nehru its Chairman—Gandhiji will tolerate it." Nehru did not know anything about it. Nehru was then in London.

About the concept of national planning not only in his Taripore speech but, thereafter, in many speeches and in the first meeting of the National Planning Commission, he elaborated his idea of the future concept of Indian planning. Not only that. Even during the War, even in the midst of revolution, he set up a planning cell in Germany. He set up a cell in South-East Asia, about how to build up the concept of Indian national planning in free India. In his 1944 Tokyo speech, he elaborated in details about the future of Indian national planning. Therefore, if I say that planning should be one of the aspects of the National Academy is there anything wrong about it? If should be therefore associated with the person who has been not only the pioneer, not only the architect, but the Father of Indian national planning.

Now, I come to the question of Indian national integration. I have great respect for Gandhiji. But only after his martyrdom, minority communities really understood Gandhiji. But it was Netaji alone who re-

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ally brought together all the Indian people, removing all the barriers of caste, community, religion and region, into the concept of one national unity. Look at his life. He escaped from India in the guise of a Muslim Pathan. He was escorted from the frontier by one Pathan, named Akbar Khan. From Germany to Singapore, in his historic submarine journey, he took with him only one person, a Muslim comrade, Major Abid Hasan. In his army, as I have already said, about 80 per cent of the higher officers were Muslims; there were a number of Christians; there were many Sikhs he did not care to which community they belonged to...

MR. CHAIRMAN: A large number of women were there.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Women belonging to different communities were there; there were women from Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Punjab, Bengal and other parts; there was the Rani Jhansi Brigade constituted by them.

What could not be achieved in the Indian army of the British, Netaji could achieve it—complete unity in the Army. In the Azad Hind Fauj, the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians lived together; dined together in the same dining hall, they ate the same food. During Azad Hind days, the Hindu temples were open for the Muslims, Sikhs and Christians; similarly Mosques, Churches and Gurudwaras were open for other communities also. It was some kind of a socio-cultural revolution which was effected during the days of the Azad Hind Revolution.

When the Azad Hind Fauj crossed to the Indian soil, when they crossed the border river, the Muslims were having *namaz* reciting the *Koran*, the Christians were with the Bible, the Sikhs Chanting the *Guru Granth Saheb* and the Hindus the *Gita*. It was a sacred scene of unique National Unity.

When the first flag of Indian freedom was hoisted at Maunrang in Manipur, it was the pride of a Muslim, Col. Saikatullah Khan to perform his historic patriotic act. Unfortunately, he is a Pakistani now. By whom can the last word about Netaji be said? Only by Col. Habibur Rahman, a Muslim. When Netaji left for an unknown destination, nobody knew where he was going he could trust, and he could beget trust from, nobody else but a Muslim.

Netaji is an absolutely religious man, a spiritual man out and out. Wherever he went, he used to carry in a small bag, a small book of Gita, a small piece of Chandi and a rosary. Whether in the war front or in his home, wherever he was, this was the last resort of his Soul. He was such a religious man, an absolutely spiritual man. He was a follower of Swami Vivekananda. Nonetheless, how he could bring together all the people! Only in the name of such a personality, the concept of national integration can be given a real meaning. And with that 'des of Tzaq Hind Fauj and Azad Hind revolution...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: About the history of revolution, my friend has rightly said...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Saugata Roy has spoken about it.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Dr. Chunder was mentioning about history. What have they produced? The Time Capture...

DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUNDER: That Committee is being changed...

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I know how it is changed. Don't talk about that. You have not had the guts and courage. I know how these people were working, what these people have done. I know what type of people, in the last few years, were

brought into the Education Ministry and Councils and various academies and how these institutions were being utilised for certain political purposes. I know.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I warned you in the very beginning not to get deflected. Remember the teachings of Netaji.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: You know how the Time Capsule starts. It is mentioned that the history of Indian freedom struggle started in 1921 with the Gandhian movement. A friend has already said that the Committee that was constituted for writing the history of Indian freedom under the Chairmanship of Dr. Ramesh Chandra Mazumdar, in its preliminary report, has suggested that the culmination of the Indian freedom is the result of cumulative contributions of the revolutionaries, of the Gandhian movement and finally of the Azad Hind revolution under the leadership of Netaji. That Committee was unabashedly dissolved and a new committee was formed with a friend of Jawaharlal Nehru as Chairman, Dr. Tara Chand, and the history that has been written is there and what it is you know. Therefore, I said history of Indian freedom should be written in the true perspective. The last point is the mission of Indian culture and civilisation towards achieving amity and understanding among the people of the world. It includes what my friend, Prof. Chakravarty has said...

MR. CHAIRMAN: He has already covered that point.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I will finish in a few minutes if you do not intervene, Madam Chairman.

Look at Netaji. Even from his childhood he noted in his diary, "I feel that I have a mission to fulfil and that mission is the mission of India." Swami Vivekananda used to say that India has a mission to fulfil. Netaji always used to say that India has a mission to fulfil not in a paro-

chial sense, not in a chauvinistic sense. He again cited the world history. Look at the history of Babylon. Look at the history of Greece. Look at the history of Rome. Look at the history of Egypt. In Babylon you have the Hanging Gardens. In Greece

the old amphitheatres are there. In Rome certain statues are there. In Egypt the Pyramids are there. The mummies are there but the soul is lost. But look at India. It has passed through so many hazards of life all along his history but from the days of the Vedas to the days of modern India, the main current of life in India is like the current of the Ganga, essentially flowing in the same style, in the same music, in the same unison. That is the basis of Indian culture and life. Netaji said that this is the remarkable feature of human history. What was the reason for this? India has something very vital, very fundamental, very essential, to contribute to the world that is why India of the past is living in the present and will live for the future. For that reason, I said that India wants to, I should say, rediscover itself, not in the concept of that gentleman who wrote *The Discovery of India*, not in that spirit—he failed to discover India; otherwise, he would not have partitioned India—but to really discover the soul of India, it is necessary to understand Indian history and Indian culture and the true fundamentals of it and to create a new vision of Indian life, national life, not only to revitalise, not only to galvanise us to build up our own future but to contribute something to the world as the mission of India.

I again humbly suggest to my hon. friend, Dr. Pratap Chunder. Let him understand. It is not a question of the share, the contribution, of Netaji towards our freedom struggle but it is for a much greater perspective, for a higher perspective. The vacuum through which we are passing, is an ideological vacuum in India, and India today needs the image of a personality, the majesty of a personality

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having the highest concept of revolutionary idealism...

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN (Badagara): That was what Shri Sathe also said.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Here India needs the ideology of a person whose life and achievement can create a new feeling, and a new thrill of a new life, of a new vision, of a new horizon for building a new India, to fight for it and to abandon everything for India. That ideology, that concept, that inspiration can only be found in the image of personality of Netaji and his concept of ideology and only that can be incorporated in the minds of our younger generation and future generations to inspire them to a higher concept of life.

For that reason, I have brought forward this Resolution. If he accepts the spirit of the Resolution—he said that I had not brought forward any Bill—if he accepts the basic countours of this Resolution and then says that Government would bring forward a full-fledged Bill for implementing the spirit of this Resolution, then I am ready to withdraw it. Otherwise, Dr. Chunder, I feel pity for you. It will not be possible for me to oblige you by withdrawing the Resolution.

SOME HON. MEMBERS rose—

MR. CHAIRMAN: Kindly resume your seats. I have called the Minister.

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola): You said that you would allow us to seek clarification.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I said 'if necessary.' Now please resume your seats.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: You will appreciate when I say it. I want to ask about a fundamental point.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am sorry. Will you resume your seat? When I am on my legs, you will resume your seat. I hope the House will co-operate

with me because there is much work to get through and those who were not here earlier do not understand that quite a lot of extra time has been used. Therefore, I have called the Minister.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Madam....

MR. CHAIRMAN: No. I am calling the Minister. You resume your seat.

DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUNDER: I have already made it clear that we support the spirit of this Resolution. But I try to point out that there might be certain difficulties about the modality which has been suggested by hon. Shri Samar Guha.

MR. CHAIRMAN: May I interrupt you?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I wanted to say something.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Will you resume your seat, Mr. Sathe? I am sorry. I cannot shout louder than you.

You have already participated. I would request you to confine yourself to the point of legislation.

DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUNDER: Unless I have the introduction, I would not be able to come to the conclusion.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am just advising you to confine yourself to legislation.

DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUNDER: The modalities will have to be considered in detail and I will certainly take the hon. member into confidence. I have already talked to him over the telephone and these details will be considered and with this assurance I would request him....

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: This is a straight question. Do you accept the

idea of setting up Netaji National Academy? This is the moot point. If you accept (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VASANT SATHE: How can you? Do you associate the name of a Spring person like this.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Sathe, I have not called you.

(*Interruptions*)

DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUNDER: There is the Giri Institute of Social Sciences—in the name of our ex-President. Anyway....

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Normally, it is not done.

DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUNDER: I will certainly consider this aspect and I can assure the hon. member in spite of the various things he has against me. I am not provoked by that. I am accustomed to all these kinds of attacks. I can certainly assure on behalf of the Government that the exploits and various contributions of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose will receive utmost consideration from the Government. But how it will be done, I will have discussion. On this assurance I would request the hon. member to withdraw this Resolution.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: My Resolution is very clear. If the hon. Minister says that he accepts the idea of setting up Netaji National Academy....

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK: How can it be in the case of Defence Academy?

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I have not said Defence Academy. Academy, where academic studies are made.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Prof. Guha, will you resume your seat.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Only then I can withdraw, otherwise not.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There are two amendments which have been moved. One amendment has been moved by

Shri B. P. Mandal. I put Shri Mandal's amendment to vote.

Amendment No. 3 was put and negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is another amendment by Shri Hukmdeo Narain Yadav.

श्री हुकमदेव नारायण यादव (मधुबनी) :
मैं वापस लता हूँ।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Is it the pleasure of the House to permit the hon. member to withdraw his amendment?

Amendment No. 2 was, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"This House recommends to the Government that, in patriotic recognition of the fundamental contributions made by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, in thought and action, towards achieving independence of undivided India and evolution of ideological concept of our national reconstruction, an Institute of all India, importance named as "Netaji National Academy, be set up by the Government within a year for making specialised and advance studies on subjects, in which Netaji evinced keen interest, like,—(i) advance Military Science, (ii) modern socio-economic and political ideologies relevant to the objectives of Indian national reconstruction, (iii) concept of Indian national planning, (iv) perspective and problems of Indian national integration, (v) history of revolutionary movements for Indian independence and (vi) mission of Indian culture and civilisation towards achieving amity and understanding among the people of the world."

MR. CHAIRMAN: Those in favour may say 'Ayes'.

SOME MON. MEMBERS: Ayes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Those against.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Noes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Ayes have it. . . .

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No. Noes have it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Then we have Division. Now, there will be division. Let the lobbies be cleared.

The question is:

"This House recommends to the Government that, in patriotic recognition of the fundamental contributions made by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, in thought and action, towards achieving independence of undivided India and evolution of ideological concept of our national reconstruction, an Institute of all India importance named as 'Netaji National Academy', be set up by the Government within a year for making specialised and advance studies on subjects, in which Netaji evinced keen interest, like,—(i) advance Military Science, (ii) modern socio-economic and political ideologies relevant to the objective of Indian national reconstruction, (iii) concept of Indian national planning, (iv) perspective and problems of Indian national integration, (v) history of revolutionary movements for Indian independence and (vi) mission of Indian culture and civilisation towards achieving amity and understanding among the people of the world."

The Lok Sabha divided.

Division No. 1] [17.51 hrs.

AYES

Barman, Shri Palas
 Bhagat Ram, Shri
 Bhattacharyya, Shri Shyamaprasanna
 Bonde, Shri Nanasaheb
 Chakravarty, Prof. Dilip
 Das, Shri S. S.
 Dhondge, Shri Keshavrao
 Dhurve, Shri Shyamlal
 Doley, Shri L. K.
 Gotkhinde, Shri Annasaheb

Guha, Shri Samar
 Hazari, Shri Ram Sewak
 Jain, Shri Kachrulal Hemraj
 Joarder, Shri Dinesh
 Krishnan, Shri G. Y.
 Lakshminarayanan, Shri M. R.
 Pradhan, Shri Amar Roy
 Ramjiwan Singh, Shri
 Rao, Shrimati B. Radhabai Ananda
 Rao, Shri G. Mallikarjuna
 Roy, Shri Saugata
 Shankar Dev, Shri
 Suman, Shri Ramji Lal
 Unnikrishnan, Shri K. P.
 Yuvraj, Shri

NOES

Balak Ram, Shri
 Baldev Prakash, Dr.
 Barakataki, Shrimati Renuka Devi
 Borole, Shri Yashwant
 Chandan Singh, Shri
 Chandra Pal Singh, Shri
 Chaudhary, Shri Motibhai R.
 Chavda, Shri K. S.
 Chowhan, Shri Bharat Singh
 Chunder, Dr. Pratap Chandra
 Dave, Shri Anant
 Dhillon, Shri Iqbal Singh
 Gulshan, Shri Dhanna Singh
 Harikesh Bahadur, Shri
 Kailash Prakash, Shri
 Kureel, Shri Jwala Prasad
 Machhand, Shri Raghubir Singh
 Miri, Shri Govind Ram
 Mishra, Shri Shyamnandan
 Mritunjay Prasad, Shri
 Munda, Shri Govinda
 Paraste, Shri Dalpat Singh
 Paswan, Shri Ram Vilas
 Patnaik, Shri Biju
 Patwary, Shri H. L.
 Rajda, Shri Ratansinh
 Ranjit Singh, Shri

Sai, Shri Larang
 Sarangi, Shri R. P.
 Shah, Shri Surath Bahadur
 Ugrasen, Shri
 Varma, Shri Ravindra
 Verma, Shri R. L. P.
 Yadav, Shri Hukmdeo Narain

AN HON. MEMBER: The total is less than quorum.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is quorum. But votes have not been recorded.

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK: You said there is no quorum.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I think, you, Mr. Minister, did not hear what I said. I said, there is quorum, but many votes have not been recorded. Something is wrong with the machine. They are being added. So, when the final tally comes, you will find that there is quorum. The final result of the division is:

Ayes: 25. Noes: 34.

The noes have it. So it is rejected.

The motion was negatived.

17.55 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE. ABOLITION OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, we take up the next Resolution that of Shri Ramji Lal Suman,

श्री राजजी लाल सुमन (किरोवावाद):
 सभापति महोदया, मैं निम्नलिखित संकल्प पेश करता हूँ :

“इस सभा की राय है कि राज्यों में ऊपरी सदन (विधान परिषदों) ने कोई सार्थक भूमिका भेदा नहीं की है तथा कानून बनाने की प्रक्रिया में ये भारस्वरूप तथा अनावश्यक खर्चालि साबित हो रहे हैं तथा इसलिए, इनको शीघ्रातिशीघ्र समाप्त करने

के लिए संविधान में उपयुक्त संशोधन किया जाये।”

सभापति महोदय, 1931 में गोल मेड कानफरेंस में ही गांधी जी ने हिन्दुस्तान में जिस सरकार की कल्पना की थी वह एक सदनीय सरकार थी। राष्ट्र के पैमाने पर भी वह एक सदन की कल्पना करते हैं। जहाँ तक द्वितीय सदन का विचार है वह एक विटिद्य विचार है, पाश्चात्य विचार है तथा देश के पुराण, साहित्य में कहीं भी इस तरह की कोई बात देखने को नहीं मिलती है। संविधान सभा में भी, श्री के टी शाह और माननीय श्री कामत ने इसका विरोध किया था। जब इन दोनों सज्जनों ने इसका विरोध किया तो उस समय डा० भम्बेदकर ने कहा था :

“It will be only an experiemental measure that Legislative Councils are to be introduced in the States.”

उन्होंने कहा यह एक एक्सपेरिमेंट है और हिन्दुस्तान के हालात को देखते हुए अगर विधान परिषदों की सार्थक भूमिका होगी उसका, इन्होंने निर्वाह किया तब तो इनको जित्ना रखा जाएगा अन्यथा इनको समाप्त करने के लिए भी प्रयास किया जा सकता है क्रान्तिकारी रोल जो इनका है अगर इन्होंने उसको भेदा किया तब तो इनको जित्ना रखा जाएगा अन्यथा इनको समाप्त करने का प्रयास भी किया जा सकता है। 26 जनवरी, 1950 को जब संविधान बना तो उसके आर्टिकल 168 में छः विधान परिषदों की व्यवस्था की गई, बिहार, बम्बई, मद्रास, पंजाब, उत्तर प्रदेश और वैस्ट बंगाल। इसके बाद कुछ प्रान्तों में विधान परिषदों को खत्म कर दिया गया और कुछ में इनकी स्थापना कर दी गई। कर्नाटक में 14 जनवरी 1969 को विधान परिषद् बना दी गई, बम्बई राज्य जब दो भागों में विभक्त हो गया तो महाराष्ट्र में विधान परिषद् बनी और वैस्ट बंगाल