

से भी वे लोग मिले थे और उनके आश्वासन पर वे लोग रुक गये हैं।

मेरा इतना ही कहना है कि छोटी बातों को हम समय रहते नजरअन्दाज कर देते हैं तो वह भाग भड़क कर कानपुर बन जाती है इसलिए, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार से और खास कर रेल मंत्रालय से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि समय रहते इसको जल्द से जल्द चालू करायें। यह मामला देखने में क्षेत्रीय लगता होगा, लेकिन इसका सम्बन्ध उत्तर और दक्षिण बिहार से है। शायद आप को मालूम होगा—गंगा नदी पर रेल का पुल—एक वाराणसी में है, दूसरा बक्सर में है, तीसरा पटना में बन रहा है और चौथा पुल फरक्का में है। इस बीच में गंगा नदी पर कोई पुल नहीं है। दक्षिण बिहार के छोटा नागपुर के सभी जिलों और भागलपुर तथा उत्तर बिहार के सहरसा, पूर्णिया और आसाम से सम्बन्ध रखने वाली केवल यही रेलवे लाइन और स्टीमर था। लेकिन इसको बन्द किया जा रहा है। पिछले साल यह छः महीने तक बन्द रही और इस साल अभी चालू भी नहीं हुई है जब कि इसके बारे में आश्वासन मिला था। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय ...

15.00 hrs.

जनता की इस वाजिब मांग को अगर सरकार आश्वासन दे कर भी समय रहते पूरा नहीं करेगी; और नौकरशाही की साजिश में पड़ कर अगर वहां कोई भी ध्वंस लीला होगी, तो इसकी सम्पूर्ण जिम्मेदारी सरकार पर होगी। इसलिए मैं सरकार का ध्यान इस तरफ आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ।

15.01 hrs.

MOTION RE: REPORT (1974) OF COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE DISAPPEARANCE OF NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE—Contd.

SHRI DHIRENDRANATH BASU (Katwa): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the demand to scrap the report of the Khosla Commission is a demand of the people of India and of the people of democratic countries in the world. The Khosla Commission's report should not only be scrapped, but also be burnt to ashes.

It has been proved beyond doubt from facts and figures that that report is not correct. In the Khosla Commission's report it has been stated that the fact that there was an air crash on 18th August 1945 of the plane in which Netaji was travelling, was an evidence that Netaji died in that air crash. But it is not a fact. This was scrutinised by different organizations and by different committees, and it was found baseless.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker Sir, you will remember that the British Government have not accepted any report that Netaji had died. During the time of Lord Wavell—who was the Viceroy of India—he formed three investigation committees and the reports of those committees differed from each other. There were three different opinions found in the reports viz. of the Figgess team, Finney's team and the Combined Services Detailed Intelligence Centre (CSDIC). The reports of these 3 teams stated, and proved that Netaji did not die in the plane crash. They did not accept that position. Whether Netaji is alive or dead, what we want is a proper and true enquiry. We want to have an enquiry committee with the Members of Parliament and experts which should investigate into the matter. You will find very objectionable remarks in Mr. Khosla's report. Those remarks are insulting not only to the Members of this House, but also to the people of India. Netaji was and is the greatest revolutionary in the world, as stated by our late Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, while unveiling his statue in the Calcutta Maidan. In Mr. Khosla's report, you will find it mentioned that people of some countries felt that Netaji was a puppet in the hands of the Japanese. It is a shame. He also said that Netaji was a pawn, he was a quisling, he had no self-respect and that he had no followers at the end of the war. Is it expected of a Commission, appointed by a civilised government of a country, to make such remarks? The Khosla Commission, I should say with all

[Shri Dharendra Nath Basu]

the emphasis at my command, has been not only wrong, has been not only unjustified, but it has told the people of the world that it is Justice Khosla's opinion which will prevail. Justice Khosla, I should say, was rather a puppet, not only a puppet but a pawn in the hands of the then Government.

I must say with all the emphasis at my command that when Justice Khosla went to enquire into the incidents connected with the plane crash at Taipei, he discussed it with several of his friends, but he did not take evidence from local government leaders, from the high government officials and from our Ambassador.

I do not want to make any comment on the fact that he came back with so many presents. I also do not want to make any comment on the fact that he write a biography of the former Prime Minister. I only want to state that he did not give his judgment in the form in which it is desired.

He may be honest according to his judgment, but if we go through the details given in his book, it appears that he is somehow influenced. That is why we request the Speaker to appoint a Committee consisting of Members of Parliament to go into this matter.

I had the privilege of working as a humble assistant with Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose for a long number of years. At that time he was not Netaji, but simply Subhas Chandra Bose. I know he cannot die; he is immortal. Not only the people of India but the people of all democratic countries in the world will cherish his activities for the cause of India's freedom. We also cherish the memory of his activities and ideas in our heart of hearts. All the Members feel like that.

Netaji went out of India to expedite the independence of the country. Although there were some differences of opinion between him and the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, with regard to the mode or procedure to be adopted for gaining the independence of the country, Netaji was very affectionate towards Mahatmaji and all the leaders then living. His passing away from this country should not remain a mystery. The truth must be unearthed. To unearth the truth, to find out the actual facts and give them to the people of this country and the world, it will be fitting for the House to request you to form an enquiry committee with hon. Members of this House and those who were associated with them.

SHRI K.MAYATHEVAR (Dindigul) :
On this occasion it is my duty to think of Netaji and INA. Two commissions were appointed by the Government of India to go into the disappearance of Netaji. In 1954, when Pandit Nehru was the Prime Minister, a commission was appointed by the then Congress Government to go into the death or alleged death of Netaji. An enquiry was held elaborately. Mr. Shah-nawaz Khan, who was one of the three lieutenants of Netaji in INA at the time of the Second World War when INA was fighting for the independence of the country, was the Chairman of the Commission. Shri Sarat Chandra Bose, Netaji's own brother, was one of the members. Unfortunately, he gave a dissenting report in 1955, after the enquiry was over in 1954, but his dissenting report was not released.

A second enquiry commission was appointed by the same Congress Government in 1974. This Commission also did some eyewash business, that is what I think.

I am not going to say whether Netaji is now surviving or not. I leave it to other senior Members.

There cannot be two opinions among Indians now or in the past that while Gandhiji was the Father of the Nation, our beloved leader, Netaji, is the greatest son of India, the tallest statesman not only of India, but of the entire world. He was the greatest patriot produced by the history of the world, not only Indian history. He disappeared. I do not say he left, but he disappeared at the time of the Second World War. He met Hitler. There was a duration of six months' time from his disappearance from India and his arrival in Germany. There he met Hitler, the leader of Germany. During the period the British Government declared to the world that Netaji had died. They said that he died due to shamefulness because Hitler did not come to help him. That was nonsensical on the part of the British Government. That was the first alleged death or announced death of Netaji.

Now, I come to his second so-called death. When he disappeared from West Germany, he travelled via the Atlantic and arrived in Japan. There he met Tojo, the then Prime Minister of Japan within 90 days. Between his second disappearance from Germany and arrival in Japan there was a gap of 90 days. At that time also the same British Government declared to the world that Netaji had died. This time also he came up. Then he formed INA.

Why did he form the INA? He formed the INA within the shortest period to

fight for the independence of our country. I can say with earnestness and honesty in political life and public life that that was the first and foremost powerful, organised armed revolution which was recognised by fourteen countries of the world. He formed the first Provisional Government of independent India of which he was the President. He was the Chief of the Army Staff. Then he declared war on the British Government and its allied powers. Then INA was winning upto Assam and they formed the first Government of free India. It appeared then that Netaji was going to free India. Then Netaji disappeared. According to history, this is his third death. I fear that the Indian history should be redrawn. The history of pre-independence war of India should be completely re-drawn and reshaped because Netaji's independence war has been completely suppressed by the Congress Government. I do not know why they have suppressed it. Now I appeal to the hon. Home Minister, who is sitting here on behalf of the Prime Minister and the Govt. of India, to hang a portrait in the Central Hall of Netaji. Not only Netaji but the portrait of Rajaji should also be opened in the Central Hall. There should not be any discrimination or a biased view or prejudicial view against any leader of India. We respect Nehruji as the light of Asia. We respect Netaji as the lion of Asiatic countries. Even Winston Churchill, the then Prime Minister of England, had said that he had only two enemies in the world, first Hitler and second Netaji. Netaji was the second enemy of the British Government. That is why, he had branded Netaji as his enemy. The INA history was not properly propagated, published and respected by the Indian History and the then Government of India. I request that the entire history of INA should be redrawn.

Then I come to the INA. In the Red Fort trial so many people got acquittals and so many were punished for some offence. According to the British rule, it was an offence. It is our birthright to fight against the foreigners to free our country from the foreign bondage, foreign slavery. But the British people held the Red Fort trial and punished the INA men as they waged a war against the British Government. We waged a war against the British people, to drive them out of our motherland. Many of the ex-INA men and their legal heirs are roaming in the streets without any livelihood or any employment. They are without any-work. I would request the Government and appeal to the hon. Home Minister to treat ex-INA men at least hundred times, if not thousand times, better than our freedom fighters. I am not senior politician; I am a junior politician.

I am a youngman of 40. The senior most politicians are sitting here. So many people who sacrificed and who suffered in jail during the freedom struggle are sitting here. They know better than me about their sacrifice and dedication for the country. I would request the Government to grant pension for all ex-INA men without any discrimination.

There are about 10,000 people in Tamil Nadu who are without any pension. I would appeal to the Government that they should not demand a strict scrutiny of the evidence to show that they were in the INA. I met Mr. Shahnawaz Khan many time during the last session. He was the Chairman of the Pension Committee for grant of pension to INA men. He promised me many times saying, "You just give an iota of evidence. I will grant pension." But his promise was only on the lips. He did not implement it. To ask for some iota of evidence, some oral evidence or documentary evidence, to show that a person was enrolled in the INA is all right. But the Government should not be so very strict about the scrutiny of evidence. They have lost all the property, they have lost all their family members, they have lost everything. On the other hand, our freedom fighters were safe. There was no danger to their lives. Of course, there was danger to life for many leaders. But there was a great danger to INA men who were fighting on the battle-field. They did not expect any military post; they did not expect any MP's post; they did not expect any MLA's post; they did not expect any Ambassador's post. They joined the INA to die for the country, for the motherland. Therefore, they are the greatest sacrificing personalities anywhere in the world. Therefore, I would appeal to the hon. Home Minister to grant pension to all the ex-INA men to whom we recommend or to whom they deem fit and proper to grant pension.

As I said, I would request the hon. Home Minister to unveil Netaji's portrait in the Central Hall. I would also request the Government to have Netaji's statue just opposite the Parliament House at the commencement of the Parliament Street. It is our duty to respect our motherland. If you respect Netaji, it means we are respecting our motherland. It is high time to have a statue of Netaji just in front of the Parliament House. On behalf of the Anna DMK, I would request the Government to do all these things to satisfy not only the people of Tamil Nadu but the people of India for Netaji and the INA men who sacrificed everything for the independence of India, for the liberation of India, for the liberation of the Asian countries and for the liberation of humanity.

[Shri K. Mayathevar]

Finally, I would again request the Government to consider giving jobs and the financial aid to the legal heirs of the INA men. They have died for the cause of the country. If they had not joined the INA, they would have amassed wealth here. They died in battlefield in Burma or Malaysia or Singapore. Their legal heirs are left without anything; they have no safety or security, because those ex-INA men dedicated their lives for the country. I would request Government to consider giving governmental aid for their legal heirs in the various educational institutions. In respect of employment opportunities also, Government should give those legal heirs top-most priority and preference.

With these words, I support the motion brought forward by before this hon. House by Shri Samar Guha. I thank you Mr. Deputy-Speaker, for having given me the time to speak on this subject.

*SHRI S. K. SARKAR (Joynagar) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, please allow me to speak in Bengali, my mother-tongue, on this occasion. I congratulate hon. Shri Samar Guhar for enabling me to fulfil the historic task and duty of discussing the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chander Bose, a duty which Shri Samar Guha is relentlessly pursuing for the past ten years or more. As an ardent follower and admirer of Netaji, I consider it my sacred duty to contribute to the discussion. I have to hang my head in shame just to think that a controversy has to be raised on Netaji even after 20 long years of our independence. Netaji is not only a name he is a legend, he is an illustrious character embodiment of unparalleled patriotism, personality and leadership. I do not know whether there is a parallel of such patriotism in today's world history. But I can surely say that this has no other parallel. This great soul escaped from the bastions of the British and went out to fight for the freedom of his country and built up a massive organisation to achieve his ends. His efforts inspite of his being a citizen of a country which was under foreign domination is also unparalleled and his contribution for the cause of his country's freedom can never be forgotten. But it is a matter of great shame that we have to raise discussion in this House to restore the glory and honour that he deserves. The leadership of the country which is responsible for this situation certainly cannot deserve any credit. There should be an unanimous demand from all sides of this House for taking immediate steps to restore all the

honour and glory that Netaji rightly deserves. The history of Netaji is unique, Netaji is a history unto himself, Netaji is a legend. Let us not forget that history and let it pass into oblivion. The history of Netaji should not be allowed to pass in the realm of hearsay and fables. We should not forget that Gandhiji is accepted as father of the nation, and the generator of our national conscience but if anybody has contributed fully and individually to our country's freedom, that contribution is of Netaji's and nobody else's. If we have achieved freedom through the dedicated efforts of any individual that is Netaji. Nobody else can claim any credit for that, this I will myself humbly submit. I will remind the House a little of the events of the period prior to 1947. The British had come out victorious in the second world war and the whole of India was converted into an arsenal of the Britishers. Then what was the cause due to which they had to leave this country? That was not surely due to the fear of the nonviolent agitations. After 1945 the existence of the National Congress was in jeopardy. At that time the Congress took help from Netaji and the INA and thereby consolidated their position and regained the height of popularity in this country. That forced them to recognise Netaji and the Britishers were compelled to leave this country. The English handed over the reins of Government to us on 15th August 1947 and we can confidently say that this action was not for fear of the non-violent agitators. They realised that the dormant volcano in the minds of the Indians was about to erupt. They saw the Castle Barrack mutiny of Bombay and the R.A.F. mutiny. They saw the people's insurgent and uprisings which were concentrated on the trials going on in the Red Fort. The clever British, the shopkeeper British realised at that time that what was more needed was commercial power rather than his political power. That is why they gave up their sovereign political power. But before they left they of course divided our country into two or three pieces. Whatever may be the reason, if we tried to forget the memory of this great patriot of India then there cannot be any other national crime of equal magnitude. I am not well I will only ask that why he will be dragged for discussion every now and then? Why could we not all take a decision that all facts and documents and other information in connection with Netaji's mystery should be placed before the Parliament by the Present Government of its own. Whereby we and all the people of this country can be properly informed and enlightened. Sir, we know that the Shah Nawaz Commission was set up in this connection and we also know that this Commission was a big joke of history. Sir,

*The original speech was delivered in Bengali.

if we go through the report of the Shah Nawaz Commission we will find how cleverly the real issues have been by passed and evaded. May be Shah Nawaz Khan wanted to keep silent on certain issues for some special reasons. I think that being a trusted Lt. of Netaji he thought it was his sacred duty to keep silent on various facts. But another Commission was constituted 20 or 25 years after that, it was called the Khosla Commission. The then Government was forced to appoint the Khosla Commission due to the untiring efforts of Prof. Samar Guha. What did that Commission do? That was only a hoax of history and their report is only a document of hypocrisy and that should be scrapped forthwith. Their report should be torn into pieces and thrown in the sea. Where did he get the courage to insult such a great hero the most illustrious son of India and our revered leader? When he left the seat of justice and tookover as Chairman of this Commission, Shri Khosla forget all about his sacred duties. Therefore it is necessary to institute an impartial inquiry about him. The Members of Parliament should also be associated with that inquiry. Unless the members also are associated it will be an injustice to the cause. I feel that it is the responsibility of the Janata Government to place all the facts before the people of this country. The people of this country believe that the Janata Government has come to fight against all forms of hypocrisy and untruth. Therefore it is necessary for them to fight against this hypocritic report also and to immediately declare this report as scrapped. I do not want to give along speech I will only say that this unparalleled patriot who sacrificed everything for the sake of the country should not go down and should not be allowed to go down in history. We should all say with one voice that Netaji may be given all the honour and glory that is due to him and he immensely deserves. His portrait may be placed in the Central Hall of the Parliament House with due dignity and honour. A fresh inquiry should also be immediately set in to find out whether Netaji is alive or he is really dead. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I visited Taipei and I requested the Government there which is at present headed by the son of Shri Chiang-Kai Shek to unveil the mystery about Netaji. The Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs had promised to extend all possible help and cooperation in this regard. But he said that the Indian Government should also officially request them and cooperate. I regret to say that our Government did not send any request to them. It is also a matter of misfortune for us that we do not have diplomatic relations with that country. I am not going into that but if the mystery of Netaji is to be unveiled then the prime necessity is the full cooperation of that Government. Whether Netaji had really died in air crash at Taipei, there is a considerable doubt

in this respect. From the British Intelligence Report and the letters and statements and speeches of all the then British authorities like Wavell, Mountbatten, Attlee etc. it is clear that none of them were able to prove or were convinced that Netaji had died in that air crash. In this situation it is very necessary to unveil the mystery of Taipei about the plane crash of Netaji. If unfortunately Netaji really died in the air crash at Taipei then Taipei should be considered as a place of our national pilgrimage. The soil of Taipei should be considered as sacred soil of India. I will request the hon. Home Minister to consider that. In the end Sir, I will request our Home Minister, hon. Shri Charan Singh, as he respects and holds Netaji in high esteem and to prove his esteem and regard for Netaji let him announce unequivocally and without any hesitation that he will constitute another Commission to go into the whole affair. The Commission which will go to the farthest corners of the world to gather all the facts and evidence and set at rest all the doubts and suspicions regarding the mysterious disappearance of Netaji once for all. If it is ultimately found that Netaji is no more alive then he will be officially accepted as an unparalleled and undisputed patriot and immortal patriot whose memory can never die and whose contribution to our freedom struggle is also without any parallel. It is unique and only of its kind and steps will be taken to preserve the memory of this great son of India with all the glory and respect that is due to him. With this request I conclude my speech.

श्रीमती चन्द्रावती (भिवानी) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, नेता जी के बारे में बहुत सालों से एक कण्ट्रोवर्सी चल रही है और मैं यह कहूँ कि उस कण्ट्रोवर्सी को चलाने में भारत सरकार का ज्यादा हाथ रहा है, तो यह गलत नहीं होगा। भारत सरकार की तरफ से कभी भी इस बात पर कोई बयान, उस वक्त के जो प्रधान मंत्री थे या जो गृह मंत्री थे, उन की तरफ से नहीं आया कि नेताजी की जो मृत्यु हुई, उस के सर्कमस्टान्सेज़ क्या थे। लोगों को भुलाने के लिए, उन का मुँह बन्द करने के लिए, ऐसे लोगों को कमीशन में नियुक्त किया गया, ऐसे लोगों को चेअरमैन बनाया गया, जिन पर लोगों की आस्था नहीं थी। मैं अगर यह बात कहूँ तो गलत नहीं होगी — नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस ने इस गुलाम देश की जनता में एक जिन्दगी फूँकी थी,

[श्रीमती चन्द्रावती]

परन्तु इतने सालों में इस सरकार की तरफ से कभी भी उन का जन्म-दिवस नहीं मनाया गया, कभी उनके महान काम को रिकगनाइज नहीं किया गया। यहां तक कि सैण्ट्रल हाल में सब बड़े नेताओं की तस्वीरें लगी हुई हैं, लेकिन उनकी तस्वीर आज तक नहीं लगाई गई। उनकी महान पर्सनैलिटी को दृष्टि में रखते हुए मैं तो यह चाहती हूं कि इण्डिया गेट पर, जहां पहले जार्ज 5 का स्टेचू था, वहां उनका स्टेचू लगाया जाय।

उस सरकार ने खोसला कमीशन को नियुक्त किया था, उसके बारे में भी आम लोगों में बड़ा रिजर्वेशन था। लोग ऐसा समझने लग गये थे कि पता नहीं क्यों उस समय की सरकार इसकी पूरी खोज करवाने से बचना चाहती है। मैं तो, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह मान कर चलती हूं कि यदि सरकार चाहती तो इस की पूरी तरह से खोज हो सकती थी। उस समय के ब्रिटिश फौज के जो अफसर थे, जो उस समय जापान या ईस्ट एशिया में थे और जो अभी जिन्दा हैं यदि उनसे पूछा जाता तो जहां तक मैं ब्रिटिश लोगों के करैक्टर को जज कर पाई हूं, वे कभी भी झूठ नहीं बोलेंगे, सारी सच्चाई सामने आ जाती और नेताजी की मृत्यु के बारे में कुछ सही प्रकाश डल सकता था।

आज जब हमारी सरकार केन्द्र में है, मैं यह आशा करती हूं कि उसे इस सम्बन्ध में लोगों को तसल्ली देनी चाहिए और जिस एअर-क्रैश के बारे में लोग बात करते हैं, उस एअर-क्रैश में नेताजी की मृत्यु हुई या नहीं हुई—इसकी पूरी जांच होनी चाहिए। जिस नेता ने इस देश के लिए सब से ज्यादा काम किये, उनके लिए हमें कुछ सोचना चाहिए। मान लीजिए कि

वे पनडुब्बी से छिप कर भाग रहे थे, तो कोई भी मामूली आदमी अगर उनको गोली मार देता, तो क्या उनका नाम इतना बड़ा होता था और क्या उनको इतना सफल होना था, लेकिन उन्होंने अपनी जिन्दगी को बहुत बड़े रिस्क में डाला और हिन्दुस्तान के नौजवान आज भी उन की वीरता, उनकी एडवण्चर की स्पिरिट को मानते हैं और आज भी वह उन नौजवानों में खून खीला देती है। ऐसा नेता जो नौजवानों में उत्साह भरता है, उसको रिकगनाइज करना तो दूर रहा, कभी भी यह नहीं सोचा गया कि लोगों में जो क्यूरियोसिटी है, उसकी उन्हें तसल्ली करवाएं। जब इस बारे में कुछ लोगों ने रोला मचाया तो कमीशन बना दिया और कुछ लोग बाहर सैर कर आए। ऐसा उन्होंने इसलिए किया कि इससे उन लोगों का मुंह बन्द हो जाएगा। मैं समझती हूं कि ऐसा करके इस देश के साथ, इस देश की जनता के साथ, उनके विश्वास के साथ बड़ा भारी धोखा—मैं 'धोखा' शब्द इस्तेमाल करने को तैयार हूं—किया गया। क्यों नहीं कहा गया और क्यों नहीं इस बात का स्टेटमेंट आया कि हमने पूरी तरह से उन लोगों को कमीशन का इनचार्ज बनाया है, जिन पर लोगों को विश्वास है और वे सचमुच में ईमानदारी से इस बात की खोज करेंगे और सिर्फ सैर-सपाटे के लिए ही विदेशों में नहीं जाएंगे।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सदन का ज्यादा समय नहीं लूंगी, लेकिन मैं गृह मंत्रीजी से जो यहां पर बैठे हुए हैं, यह दरख्वास्त करूंगी कि जिन लोगों से इस देश की तसल्ली हो, उस तरह के लोगों को इस बात की जांच करने की जिम्मेदारी देनी चाहिए और वे इस बात को एग्जामिन करें चाहे किसी की भी गवाही लेनी पड़े कि नेताजी की मृत्यु किस वजह से हुई और कहां हुई। ये जो गोलमोल बातें चलती हैं ये नहीं होनी

चाहिएं । लोगों का कहना यह है कि वे मरे नहीं बल्कि उनको मरवाया गया । जो इस तरह की लोगों में कहानियां चलती रही हैं, उससे हमारे नेताजी के बारे में लोग शक करने लगे हैं । मेरा कहना यह है कि नेताजी को रिकगनीशन मिलना चाहिए था, वह हमारी उस समय की सरकार ने नहीं दिया । उसने कभी न्याय नहीं किया, इस देश के सभी लोग इस बात को मानते हैं लेकिन कम से कम इस वक्त इतने अर्से के बाद तो लोगों को तसल्ली हो जाए कि उनकी मृत्यु कैसे हुई, कम से कम यह जो रहस्य इतने अर्से से चला आ रहा है, वह तो खुले और रहस्य ही बन कर न रह जाए । इस बात की तसल्ली लोगों को हो जाए कि उनको मरवाया नहीं गया या किसी और तरह से उनको गायब तो नहीं किया गया । इतने अर्से के बाद भी इसका रहस्य नहीं खुला है जब कि दस साल के बाद एक पीढ़ी बदलती रहती है और सन् 1947 में जिन बच्चों ने जन्म लिया था, वे अब 30 साल के हो गये हैं, इतने युग बदल गये हैं । हमारी माइथोलोजी के अनुसार हर दस साल के बाद युग बदल जाता है । इस तरह से इतने युग बीत जाने के बाद भी यह कण्ट्रोवर्सी बनी हुई है । इसलिए लोगों को तसल्ली देने के लिए सरकार को इस तरह के कदम उठाने चाहिए कि लोगों को यकीन हो जाए कि नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की मृत्यु कैसे हुई थी । इस देश में नेताजी का त्याग किसी से कम नहीं है बल्कि मैं तो यह कहूँगी कि देश की आजादी के लिए जो कुछ और लोगों ने किया है, उसमें उनका नम्बर, सब से ऊपर आता है । उनके लिए हम कम से कम इतना तो कर सकते हैं कि यह जो कण्ट्रोवर्सी है, वह खत्म हो जाए और इस देश के लोग कम से कम उनका जन्म दिवस या शहीद दिवस बिना कोई शक व शुनाह हुए मना सकें ।

बस, मुझे इतना ही निवेदन करना था ।

SHRI SAUGATA ROY (Barrakpore):
 Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to speak on the Motion moved by Prof. Samar Guha, namely :

“That the House do consider the Report (1974) of the Commission of Inquiry into the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose laid on the Table of the House on the 3rd September, 1974.”

Sir, I happen to come from that part of India, to which this great son of India belonged. I do not claim any special privilege for that. I know that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was not a Bengali patriot but an Indian patriot, who dreamt of India as a whole, who dreamt of the Indian Nation as a whole, who dreamt of the vision, of India in which people of all castes, communities and religions will live together.

If we saw the composition of the INA (Indian National Army) which was formed by him, we will find how an ideal example of secularism has really been practised there. As we all know, the close associates of Netaji consisted of Mr. Shahnawaz Khan, a north Indian Muslim, Mrs. Lakshmi Swaminathan, a South Indian lady and Mr. Saigal, a Punjabi gentleman.

Sir, this is not a subject in which I or anybody else can speak without a trace of emotion, in which anybody can hide his personal feelings about the matter.

In my State very often whenever a rumour goes round that Netaji has appeared large number of people gather. I tell you this from my personal experience. Rightly or wrongly large number of people believe that Netaji is still alive. In West Bengal whenever any rumour got round lakhs and lakhs of people gathered to see Netaji. In Kalyani, in our State, a few years ago, such an incident happened, that a certain Sadhu of Shoulmari Ashram was Netaji. Lakhs and lakhs of people went to see him.

Here was a person who saw the vision of India which is free from exploitation and all discrimination between caste, creed, community and religion. This is a very sentimental issue and emotional issue which has special relevance to those of us who come from West Bengal. It does not mean that the national relevance of the whole thing is lessened in any way. The national relevance remains.

Netaji was described as the Springing Tiger by an English author. He is one of

[Shri Saugata Roy]

the foremost patriots in this country. He is the champion of an uncompromising struggle against imperialism in the country.

This question of Inquiry into Netaji had a long background and a long history. It was reported originally that Netaji had died in an air crash. Then India was not free. We were under the yoke of the British. Two years later India became free. It became the people's demand and the people's aspiration that the Government should go into the causes and circumstances leading to the reported death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Accordingly, as we all know, the first Commission was appointed with Mr. Shah Nawaz Khan as Chairman, Netaji's elder brother, Suresh Chandra Bose and one civilian Mr. S.N. Maitra was there as member of this commission. They went into depth about the facts surrounding the mysterious disappearance of Netaji. They came out with a report. The majority report held the view that the report about the Tipeh air-crash was final and conclusive, although, Mr. Suresh Chandra Bose, Netaji's elder brother said, it was not exclusive, the evidence was not strong enough. But the demand in this country did not die down, because, a large number of people felt and felt strongly that the full circumstances of the case had not been looked into. And this demand continued. We must, in this regard, pay our compliments to Prof. Samar Guha, the illustrious freedom fighter from our State. But, for his enduring efforts, the second Commission on the inquiry into Netaji's death would not have come into being.

Even Justice Khosla, about whom Prof. Samar Guha, has a lot of things to say commends Prof. Guha's efforts in this matter. Justice Khosla in his report which was submitted in 1974 says about Prof. Samar Guha as a dedicated, uncompromising follower of Netaji. He has little doubt that he has been actuated by the highest motives in doubting the truth of the story and in unravelling the story of Bose's disappearance. Then, again, in the whole report, Chapter 8 practically refers to Prof. Guha's efforts and commendations to him and arguments about the evidence put forward by Prof. Guha.

So, in 1970 when the Commission was originally initiated under Justice Khosla, it was due to the efforts of Prof. Guha that this Commission came into

being. Obviously, this Commission has not satisfied a large number of people in this country because, still the people do strongly believe that the circumstances in this matter were not fully investigated into the evidences were not complete and many also believed that Justice Khosla's Khosla's recommendations were one-sided. The aspersion about the Judges is not the first; nor will that be the last. The hon. Home Minister here has appointed so many Commissions with judges as their heads; the same allegations against judges are being made with regard to this Commission/ Prof. Samar Guha also has mentioned that Justice Khosla met the former Prime Minister several times. Like that, it is now being mentioned that Justice Shah has met our Home Minister several times and the whole thing cannot be above doubt or above questions.

So, as I said, the recommendation or the findings of one man Commission appointed by the Government of India is not to be considered as conclusive has also been reported in several newspapers. I have one magazine with me. This is the Statesman which was brought out on the Independence Day this year. Here it was commented by a knowledgeable author on Netaji's life that Justice Khosla Commission and his investigation left much to be desired. The main reason why one should doubt Justice Khosla's Report and findings is that Justice Khosla mainly depended on oral evidence which was put forward before him. He had every little documentary evidence to support that theory that Netaji was severely injured due to the air crash and that he suffered from severe burns; he was first treated at the hospital and later on died in the hospital at Taipeh. Uptill now, no conclusive evidence, no documentary evidence, has come out in this regard and those people who were supposed to be with him at the time he was being treated in the hospital have not been properly identified. Two Japanese doctors were, if I may say so, not properly identified whether they were the very same people who actually were supposed to have treated Netaji. So, it is also my conviction that this needs to be investigated first. I agree with Prof. Guha when he says that the whole report of the Khosla Commission which was accepted by the previous Government should be scrapped as there is no sufficient evidence on the basis of which a fresh investigation should be started.

As I was saying the sentiments associated with Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose are also great. Therefore, the bureaucratic way the Government have accepted this Report is not going to satisfy a large number of people living in this country

Therefore, I join Prof. Guha's pleading that our Party from our side and I also personally feel very strongly that there is much to be doubted about Justice Khosla's statement. The report which was accepted should be scrapped. It should be re-opened and in consultation with the Members of Parliament a fresh Committee of Enquiry should be set-up to investigate the actual causes leading to the death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Further, Sir, after the Khosla Commission report had been submitted in 1964 the transfer of power papers have now been opened and several documents and letters supposed to have been written by the then Home Department. Officers of the British Government have come to light. They throw a new and different sort of light on the whole mystery which has not been gone into in depth uptil now. In it is new and changed circumstances there is no reason why this government or for that matter any government should stand on prestige and not agree to open the issue, I think and I strongly feel that this issue should be re-opened immediately.

Sir, let our efforts not end with the circumstances leading to the reported death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Netaji was not only a patriot but a great thinker who was the first exponent of scientific socialism in this country. He had a vision of India which would be free from exploitation. He did not think of any utopian way to achieve this end. He had in his mind positive, scientific and socialist approaches to this end. His uncompromising attitude to Imperialism remains very relevant today and his thinking about the future of India, his thinking about the whole planning process, his thinking about the democratic set-up and his thinking about the course of development that we have to follow remain very valid today Sir, it is very necessary at this stage to go into depth regarding Netaji's writing just as now we have started reviewing Gandhiji's economic thoughts and ideas. In a similar way we should try and re-open the issue of Netaji's thoughts. In this connection I have only to mention that in the house where Netaji lived in Calcutta—it is called Netaji Bhavan—Netaji Reserach Bureau is functioning. I had the occasion to visit that Bureau several times and I was very happy to see that scholars not only from India but also all over the world evince lot of interest not only in Netaji's life but also on his thinking in economic and social matters. So, the Government should come forward with all possible help to this Netaji's Research Bureau that is functioning at the place where this patriot lived.

Sir, I have also received one letter from one Shri Karm Singh Bheria. He is from Kaula Lumpur, Malaysia. He is one of the surviving members of Netaji's Indian National Army and he has reported that in Malaysia among a large number of Indians living there Netaji's thoughts are still discussed and they try to keep alive not only the thought but the spirit under which INA, Rani of Jhansi League and Indian Independence League were born.

16 hrs.

Shri Karam Chand Bheria reported that many of the ex-freedom fighters were living. They are in a very difficult financial condition and they are not getting the pension and other amenities that have been extended to freedom fighters who have been living in this country. I would also request the hon. Home Minister to consider application of these facilities to the Indian National Army soldiers who are now living in Malaysia. In this connection, I may also mention without going into controversies that, to my belief, Mrs. Anita Bose, Netaji's daughter is living in the United States. Recently one of our friends who is a Member of Parliament, Shri Subhash Chandra Bose Alluri, had occasion to go to the United States. There he contacted all the Bengali Associations in order to meet Mrs. Anita Bose, who has since married and is living with her husband in some place in the United States. Efforts must be taken by the Indian Embassy in Washington to locate Netaji's daughter so that the daughter of our great patriot gets some help from the Government, as they used to get from the Trust set up in the memory of I.N.A. soldiers. I again commend what Prof. Guha said in his very detailed analysis that without going into controversies, Netaji's death has not been properly investigated. There should not be any hesitation on the part of the Government to set up a new Commission of Enquiry. Not only that, I also support Prof. Guha's proposal in his Bill which has been brought before the House for declaring Netaji's birthday as a national holiday. I also support Prof. Guha's proposal in renaming the Andaman & Nicobar Islands as Swaraj and Shahid Dwcep as they are the first islands visited by Netaji's soldiers and the INA.

Sir, last year, I had an occasion to go to Kohima where a memorial for the INA soldiers still exists. This memorial was built by our Government, after independence. This memorial should be declared as a national memorial like the one at the place where Gandhiji died. So, this memorial in Kohima should be declared as a national memorial. With this, I again support strongly the contention that the whole issue of

[Shri Saugata Roy]

Netaji's disappearance should be reopened.

श्री मृत्युंजय प्रसाद बर्मा : (सीवान) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस विषय को इस रूप में लेता हूँ कि मेरा कोई सगा सम्बन्धी परदेश में, या कहीं दूर मर जाये, और उसकी खबर मेरे पास पहुंचे, किन्तु उसकी किसी तरह से पुष्टि न हो कि वह कब मरा है, कैसे मरा है। इस स्थिति में मुझे यह चिन्ता लगी रहेगी कि क्या वह वाकई मर गया है या जीवित है। यह निश्चय तो हो जाना चाहिए कि वह मर गया है, और अगर मर गया है, तो मुझे पता लग कि वह कैसे और किस तरह से मरा, और अगर उस के कुछ अन्तिम चिह्न भी मिल सकें, तो मैं उन्हें लाऊँ और उनकी पूजा करूँ।

मेरे मित्रों ने इस सम्बन्ध में पूरी कहानी कह दी है। इस लिए मैं उसमें न जाते हुए सिर्फ चार पांच बातें कहूँगा। पहली बात तो यह है कि नेता जी के सम्बन्ध में यह सोच लेना शू उ से ही भूल की बात है कि वह कभी अपने आप को छिपाने का प्रयत्न नहीं करते होंगे। वह मर गये, यह बात उन्हीं की ओर से नहीं निकाली गई, यह सोचना भूल हो सकती है, क्योंकि उन्होंने बार-बार अपने को छिपाया और दूसरों को धोखा दिया इसलिए कि जिसमें उनका काम आगे चल सके। यहाँ पर यह बहुत संभव है कि उन्होंने जापानियों के साथ मिल कर ऐसी व्यवस्था की हो जिसमें हवाई जहाज के गिरने का समाचार निकाल कर यह समाचार दुनिया में निकाल दिया जाये कि नेता जी मर गए और अंग्रेजों को इसका विश्वास हो जाये ताकि वे उनकी खोज बन्द कर दें। इसका प्रमाण मिलता है कि अंग्रेजों को इस समाचार पर बहुत दिनों तक विश्वास नहीं हुआ। सबसे बड़ा प्रमाण यह है कि लार्ड वावेल ने खुद ही अपने नोट में लिखा है, उनका नोट

है सितम्बर का और यह घटना है अगस्त की, उसमें उन्होंने लिखा है कि जब तक कि पूरा निश्चय न हो जाये मैं नहीं मानता कि वह मर गए। दूसरी तरफ अक्टूबर में उन्होंने अपने गुप्तचरों को भेजा है इसका पता लगाने के लिए और साथ ही साथ अगर वे जीवित हों और सम्भव हो तो उन्हें पकड़ लाने के लिए। दूसरी तरफ वह कहानी भी कही जाती है कि नेता जी ने जब देख लिया और उन्होंने बहुत पहले ही इस बात को भांप लिया था कि मित्र राष्ट्र जीतेंगे और जर्मनी और जापान की हार निश्चित है, लेकिन वैसी हालत में दोनों इतने कमजोर हो जाएंगे कि हिन्दुस्तान की स्वतंत्रता का प्रश्न बहुत हल्का आगे चल कर हो जायगा। किन्तु अपनी ओर से ढिलाई न हो इसलिए अपना प्रयास जारी रखना चाहिए और वह प्रयास अब जापान के इलाके से नहीं हो सकता बल्कि वहीं से हो सकता है जहाँ अंग्रेजों की पहुंच न हो और हो भी तो वहाँ वह बहुत जोर न लगा सकें। कहा जाता है और उसके प्रमाण भी मिलते हैं कि पहले तो वह अपने मन की बात बहुतां को बताते नहीं थे और यह कुछ ऐसी गुप्त बात थी जो वह कह भी नहीं सकते थे क्योंकि उन्हें इसकी शंका थी कि उन के आइ० एन० ए० के आफिसरों में भी एकाध विश्वसनीय नहीं रह गए थे और आइ० एन० ए० की गुप्त बातों का भी पता दुश्मनों को लग जाता था। वैसी हालत में वे बराबर इस प्रयास में रहते थे कि जो करें उस का पता दो एक आदमियों के सिवाय जो विश्वसनीय हो और किसी को न हो। कहा जाता है कि वे प्रयास कर रहे थे डेरियन के रास्ते रुस जाने का। इस के समर्थन में हमारे संसद् के पुराने सदस्य जो अभी दिल्ली आए हुए हैं डा० सत्य नारायण सिंह से मेरी कल ही कुछ बातें हो रही थीं। उन्होंने कहा मुझे कि वे कुछ दिनों तक भारत सरकार के विदेश विभाग के अफसर यूरोप में रहे और वहाँ कुछ कागजात उन्हें

मिले थे रूस के जिन से यह स्पष्ट होता था कि वह शायद रूस में हैं। उस के बाद फिर दोबारा भी उन्हें कुछ पता चला किन्तु यहां उन कागजों पर कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की गई बल्कि उन्हें बेकार समझा गया और इस के लिए डा० सत्यनारायण की शिकायत है कि उन्हें काफी कष्ट उठाना पड़ा। फिर डा० सत्यनारायण का यह भी कहना है कि मैं सब जगह गया, सब जगह घूमकर आया, सब देख सुन कर के मैंने मिस्ट्री आफ नेता जी वाली पुस्तक लिखी थी मगर इस का मैं क्या करूं अगर खोसला साहब मेरी बात का विश्वास ही नहीं करते हैं। अब खोसला साहब क्यों विश्वास नहीं करते हैं यह मैं कैसे कहूं ? किन्तु अगर गवाही की दरकार है तो मैं कह सकता हूं कि डा० सत्यनारायण को मैं आज से नहीं पचास वर्षों से भी ज्यादा से जानता हूं और मैं उन की बातों का विश्वास करता हूं।

इस के बाद यह भी जाहिर होता है कि ताईपेई में अंग्रेजी सेना अगस्त में ही पहुंच गई थी तथाकथित प्लेन दुर्घटना के बहुत थोड़े दिनों के भीतर, यानी कहा तो यहां तक जाता है मगर उसका प्रमाण मेरे पास नहीं है कि जिस तारीख को नेता जी का जहाज गिरा था उसी तारीख को चन्द घंटों के बाद ही अंग्रेजी सेना या मित्र सेना वहां पहुंच गई थी। अब सवाल यह है कि अगर उस दिन नहीं तो दो चार दिन के भीतर, और यह निश्चित है कि दो चार दिन के भीतर पहुंची। तब उस हालत में जिस तरह से जहाज गिरा था कौन उसको हटाने वाले और एयरपोर्ट को साफ करने वाले कौन थे ? अगर साफ करने वाले नहीं थे तो पहली बात यह है कि दूसरे सैनिक जहाजों का वहां पर उतरना कठिन था क्योंकि उस में वह गिरा हुआ जहाज एक बाधा थी। कहा यह जाता है कि वह रनवे के किनारे पर ही था। दूसरी बात यह है कि क्या अंग्रेज सैनिकों ने

उस को देखा और उस के बारे में पूछ-ताछ नहीं की और अगर चार दिन के भीतर ही पहुंचे तो क्या उन को पता नहीं चल गया ? अगर उन को पता न चला और जापानियों ने कोई ऐसी वैसी बात नहीं कही कि कोई दूसरा मरा है, नेताजी नहीं मरे हैं तो क्या अगस्त की घटना का, सितम्बर तक लार्ड ववल को पता नहीं होता। यह बातें कुछ एक दूसरे को काटती हुई नजर आती हैं जिनसे संतोष नहीं होता है। मालूम नहीं होता है कि क्या हुआ, क्या कहा जाये कि क्या हुआ ?

दूसरी बात जो समर बाबू ने खुद कही है मैं उसको थोड़ा सा दोहराना चाहता हूं। उस दिन की जो कहानी कही जाती है उस की जांच तो तभी होगी जब उसकी रिपोर्ट देखी जाये और वहां के अफसरों ने बताया कि हम अभी लाते हैं आफिशियल रिपोर्ट। समर बाबू ने कहा:

When I asked the Meteorological Officer he wanted to give the official Reports. But Mr. Khosla immediately said, "No, I can't take it. I have my instructions not to take any notes from the Government."

अब मेरी शंका यह होती है कि इंस्ट्रक्शन्स के क्या मानी हैं ? क्या दूसरा कोई आदमी जज को इंस्ट्रक्शन देता है कि आप अमुक तरह की गवाही लीजिए, अमुक तरह की गवाही छोड़ दीजिए ? यह तो खुद जज के ऊपर है कि किस गवाही को ले और किस को छोड़े, किस पर विश्वास करे और किस पर विश्वास न करे। न कि कोई दूसरा उससे कुछ कहे। तो दो ही विकल्प हमारे सामने हैं, कोई तीसरा है नहीं। या तो समर बाबू सरासर झूठ बोल रहे हैं जो कि हमारे सामने बैठे हैं या उन्होंने ऐसा कहा तो उस के पीछे कुछ गुप्त भेद है। (व्यवधान) समर बाबू को मैं

[श्री मृत्युंजय प्रसाद वर्मा]

नहीं कह सकता, उन को भी मैं आज से से नहीं, बहुत दिनों से जानता हूँ और सारा सदन उन को जानता है ।

इसके बाद आगे चल करके यह बात आई कि और भी बहुत से रिकार्ड्स हैं, सरकारी आर्काइव्स हैं उन को भी देखा जाये । उस के बारे में भी खोसला साहब की यही वृत्ति रही कि वह सब मैं नहीं देखता । अन्त में एक और विचित्र बात आई । कुछ विद्यार्थी आये, उनमें से एक की गवाही हुई और उसने बताया कि जी हाँ, हवाई जहाज गिरा था, जो कुछ आप कहते हैं सब कुछ हुआ था लेकिन वह 1945 में नहीं, 1944 में इसलिए उसमें नेताजी के मरने का कोई सवाल नहीं उठता है । तो हवाई जहाज गिरना कोई नई बात नहीं है, जरूर गिरा होगा । इन हालात में उन्होंने कहा कि कैसे तुम्हारी बात का विश्वास करें । तब उन्होंने कहा—ठीक है, हम अकेले नहीं हैं, हम लोग दस-बारह आदमी थे, हमें टाइम दे दीजिये, कल मैं सभी साक्षियों को ले आता हूँ, उन की गवाही सुन लीजिये । लेकिन उन्होंने कहा कि नहीं, कोई जरूरत नहीं है, हमारा काम आज खत्म हो गया है । दूसरे दिन भी खोसला साहब वहां रहे लेकिन इन लड़कों की गवाही नहीं ली । इस तरह का जो बर्ताव उन्होंने किया, उस से मन में यह चोर घुसा रह जाता है । कि वे सही तथ्य को जानने के लिये उतना उत्सुक नहीं थे, जितना वे किसी खास किस्म की रिपोर्ट देने को उत्सुक थे । ऐसा क्यों और कैसे था—इस समय उस में नहीं जाऊंगा, क्योंकि उस से कुछ कड़वाहट आयेगी । इस लिये इस बात को यहीं छोड़ देता हूँ, लेकिन यह सत्य है कि इस तरह की बात वहां हुई थी । लेकिन ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट का

रुख बराबर यह रहा कि वे पता लगाते रहें

खोसला साहब के पक्ष में भी मैंने कुछ प्रमाण कुछ पुस्तक में पाये हैं । एक जापानी पुस्तक थी—“टाटाना-हायाशिड” की लिखी हुई । यह पुस्तक खोसला साहब की कथा का पूरा समर्थन करती है, लेकिन उन से भी नहीं पूछा गया । इसी तरह से एक सज्जन थे—हरीन शाह, उन्होंने एक किताब लिखी थी—“बडिक्ट फ्राम फारमूसा— गेलेंट एण्ड आफ्र नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस” । ये सज्जन फारमूसा गये थे और उन्होंने अपने आधार पर जहां-तहां से कुछ प्रमाण इकट्ठे किये थे । लेकिन इस की जांच किसने की ?

श्री समर गुह : उस किताब में जो लिखा है, वह ठीक नहीं है ।

श्री मृत्युंजय प्रसाद वर्मा : ठीक है, मैं तो दोनों ओर की बात रख रहा हूँ । इस लिये कि जब शंका होती है तो हम चाहते हैं कि जो सच्ची बात है, वह सामने आये । हमें खोसला साहब से कोई झगड़ा नहीं है, शाह नवाज खां साहब से कोई झगड़ा नहीं है, हम यह भी आशा नहीं कर सकते कि नेताजी अभी जीवित हैं, लौट आयेंगे । यदि जीवित हैं तो लौट क्यों नहीं आते ? इन सब का जवाब एक ही हो सकता है कि वे कहीं कैदी थे, बन्द थे, इस लिये निकल नहीं सकते थे । इस के पक्ष में एक बात यह आती है कि उन का विचार रूस जाने का था और रूस ने शुरू में उन को चाहे जिस रूप में रखा हो, लेकिन बाद में उसने उनका छोड़ना ठीक नहीं समझा ।

उस समय अंग्रेजों की क्या नीति थी— इस का पता उस समय के जो होम मिनिस्टर थे—श्री मुडी—उन के नोट से चलता है ।

उन्होंने अपने नोट में लिखा था—यदि नेता जी हम को मिल जाय तो हम क्या करें—यदि हम उन को हिन्दुस्तान के आये तो हमें उन पर मुकदमा चलाना होगा और फांसी की सजा देनी होगी। लेकिन फांसी की सजा देने से हिन्दुस्तान में बहुत बावेल फैलेगा, शोरगुल मचेगा और आखिर में हम उन को फांसी नहीं दे सकेंगे, उन्हें जेल में रखना होगा और जेल में भी कितने दिन बन्द रहेंगे। अगर दूसरे देश में पकड़े जाय और वहां से न लाय वही मिलिट्री के द्वारा मुकदमा कर के उन को वहीं खत्म कर दें तो दुनिया कहेगी कि यह गलत तरीके से किया गया। इस अन्याय के दोषारोपण से हम को बचना चाहिये। अगर दूसरे देश में ही रहने दें, छाड़ दें, तो सब से अच्छा यह रहेगा कि जहां हैं, वहीं रहें। कम से कम हमारे खिलाफ क्रियाशील तो नहीं रहेंगे। तो जो बात मुडी साहब ने सोची थी, उस का मेल मिल जाता है, उस हिमाब से तो रूस में उन को बन्द होना चाहिये। इन सब बातों को देखते हुए मैं तो यही कहूंगा कि सब कुछ झमेला है, कुछ भी साफ नहीं होता है। कुछ उधर की बातें, कुछ उधर की बातें, सभी सामने आती हैं, तो इस के सिवाय कोई चारा नहीं है कि एक बार फिर इस की जांच की जाय। यद्यपि हम इस बात को मानते हैं कि जितने दिन बीत जाते हैं, उतना ही जांच का करना कठिन हो जाता है। लेकिन जो जो बातें खोसला साहब ने छोड़ी हैं और डा० सत्यनारायण जिस का जिम्मा लेते हैं कि हम ने कहा, लेकिन खोसला साहब ने नहीं माना, आज भी हम उस को साबित करने को तैयार हैं, वे बातें उन से भी पूछी जाएं और इस तरह से कुछ पक्का हो जाए और देश के लोगों के दिलों में कोई शंका न रहे और उन को भरोसा हो जाए कि क्या हुआ। आखिर नेताजी गये तो गये लेकिन क्या उन के फूल भी, उन की राख भी हम को

नहीं मिल सकती है। इस में भावना की बात है। वे जिन्दा हों, तो हमारा सौभाग्य, बहुत बड़ी बात है लेकिन अगर वे न हों, तो कुछ तो उन की निशानी हमें मिल जाए।

इसलिए मैं इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to take part in the debate with a great sense of responsibility and I would also urge upon this august House to treat this subject with utmost sense of reverence and solemnity. If mystery shrouds the disappearance of Netaji from India, the mystery has not yet been unravelled even though two probe bodies have already made the probe. I refer to Shahnawaz Khan Committee Report and also the Khosla Commission's Report of 1974. Both the probes have corroborated the same thing. What they corroborated? They corroborated the official statement that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose died on the 18th of August, 1945 in air crash near Taiphei. It was the official report and official information of the Government of India. My endeavour is to stress on the point that both these probe committees have merely ratified and merely corroborated the stand taken by the then Government regarding the alleged death of Netaji. At this stage, I only want to give expression to my feeling regarding the probe bodies in one or two sentences. As regards the Shahnawaz Khan Committee Report, I, with your permission, beg to say that it was made to order report to support the statement of the Prime Minister of the country in 1952 and further, it was tailored to suit the political exigencies of the then powers that be. It was again made to embody in it an apriori conclusion supposed to have been drawn up in South Block.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY : You are going into party politics.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : This is not the occasion for it. I shall join issue with you on other occasions.

So far as the Khosla Commission's Report is concerned, I, with your permission, beg to state that it is nothing but a deliberate falsehood in print under the cover of a judicial pronouncement. I again repeat that it is a deliberate falsehood in print under the cover of a judicial pronouncement. Had it not been a judicial body, I think it would not have carried the weight as it does today.

[Shri Chitta Basu]

I am not to say anything now regarding Shahnawaz Khan Committee Report.

So far as the Khosla Commission's report is concerned, the whole trouble is that Government did accept it in the House in the year 1976, on 16th January, in a captive Parliament—while Parliament enjoyed an extended life and was being treated as a captive and pliant one. On that occasion—and for that reason alone—was that report adopted by the Government. I would urge upon the present Ministry to take note of that fact also. I say with all sense of responsibility that the Khosla Commission's report should be rejected, and rejected with all the contempt that it deserves, I say this because I have got certain arguments—although I do not have the time to explain them. For the benefit of the House, I will merely mention the points on the basis of which that report has to be rejected lock, stock and barrel.

One : the Khosla Commission's report was not based on any document produced either before the Shahnawaz Commission or before the Khosla Commission itself, to show that at least one plane flew in the skies of Taihoku on 18th August 1945. Two : All the Japanese evidence, including that of the alleged Co-passengers and military personnel, is hear-say evidence on death, or alleged death of Netaji. Three: No documentary evidence has been produced to show that the so-called passengers actually boarded the alleged ill-fated plane. Four: Even their identity has not been established by applying ordinary legal procedures. Five: None of them knew Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from an earlier period. Six: The evidence of the Taiwanese on the plane crash and on the alleged death of Netaji was merely hear-say evidence. However, such an evidence is non-sense. Only the doctors claimed to have seen Netaji dying, but their evidence is at such a variance on material particulars and fundamentals, that the same has no evidentiary value. Therefore, nothing remains to come to a finding that Netaji's plane did really crash.

That being the case, my proposition is that no plane crash, as alleged, did take place ; and there is no question of the so-called death of Netaji as a result of that plane crash ; as alleged. My second point in this connection is in regard to the developments which followed after the 18th August 1945. For Mr. Shahnawaz or Mr. Khosla, history stopped at a particular point of time, on the 18th August 1945; and, therefore, they ended the whole episode by giving the death certificate on Netaji Subhash Bose; but

the dialectics of history set history in the right perspective and in the right motion as well. Those people did stop at the bidding of somebody ; but history did not stop; and history did not accept the bidding of anybody, however big or powerful he or she may be. Therefore, history continued, and history was made by Netaji. It is well-known, and it is also evidentially true, that Netaji had a well-considered plan to shift his area of operation at a particular point of time. This is of very crucial importance, and unless we take note of this crucial fact, we shall miss the entire link.

In this connection, I would only like to mention certain points, namely, the statements made by Nello, Shri Shahnawaz Khan himself, Shri S. A. Iyer, the Minister of Publicity and Propaganda, Shri E. Bhaskaran, confidential secretary to Netaji, Shri Sahay, Terachu and Tada. I have not enough time to discuss all their evidence and all the facts given in the statements, but the statements made by these persons before the Khosla Commission prove that Netaji had a well-considered plan to shift his area of operation. Here my allegation against the Khosla Commission is that they were not willing to pursue the history in that particular direction to know why certain things happened, what happened, what did take place after the so-called 18th August 1945 plane crash.

Shri Shahnawaz Khan said that even as early as 1944 Netaji was trying to contact the Russians so that the war of liberation could continue from there. Shri S. A. Iyer said that it was decided by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose that the base of the liberation struggle should be shifted to Russia. According to Shri A. N. Sahai, it was decided to have a territorial committee with headquarters at Sama and branch in Tiro, another town in Manchuria. He claims that an office at Hanoi was set up with a view to talk with the Chinese and Russian communists and to meet Ho-Chi-Minh in this connection. Therefore, the story does not end there. He had a well-considered plan to shift his area of operation, to deal the final blow to imperialism to free the South East Asian people from the bondage of imperialism. Here the Khosla Commission conveniently forgets to pursue this direction.

16.34 hrs.

[SHRI M. SATYANARAYANA RAO in
the Chair]

There is another point of vital importance. What did the British Government really think about it ? What was the intention of the British Government

at that time? I would only mention a particular letter, written by Mr. R. Mudie, Home Member, dated 23-8-45—the date is to be particularly noted—which was five days after the plane crash.

Netaji is supposed to have died on 8th August, 1945, but on 23rd August, 1945, the Home Member writes to Mr. Jenkins. If you like, I can lay it on the Table of the house, as I do not have the time to read the whole of it. He says :

“I have examined your suggestion that Bose be treated as a ‘war criminal’. He clearly is not one in the ordinary sense of that word. Nor does he appear to come within the extended definition which has now been adopted by the United Nations. In this connection I would refer you to the air mail edition of the Times of August 9th.”

And he encloses a note. In this note he has given a five-point suggestion with regard to the treatment to be meted out to Netaji. I am not interested in the suggestion made by the British officials for the treatment to be meted out to Netaji. I am only mentioning the particular date, which is five days after the so-called death of Netaji. If you go through the paper, you will see that he has said :

“leave him where he is and don’t ask for his surrender”. What does it mean? It clearly means that the British Government at that time did not believe that Netaji had died on 18th August, 1945.

Lord Wavell also in a note or in his autobiography says that the so-called plane crash was nothing but a convenient plea to go underground. This is all on record in the Cabinet Papers.

Lastly I wish to refer to what the British Cabinet decided on 25th October, 1945, i.e. more than two months after the alleged death of Netaji. It reads as follows :

“India and Burma Committee. I.B. (45) 6th Meeting. Those present at this Meeting held at 10 Downing Street, S.W.I., on 25th October 1945 at 12 noon were : Mr. Atlee (in the Chair), Sir Stafford Cripps, Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, the Earl of Listowel.

‘Also present were : Mr. G.M. Hall, Mr. A. Henderson Mr. E.A. Armstrong and M.J.P. Gibson (Secretariat).

The Committee turned to a consideration of the principles which should govern the trial and punishment of Indian civilian

offenders. The following were the principal points raised in discussion :—

(1) It was generally agreed that the only civilian renegade of importance was Subhas Chandra Bose.”

This was the Cabinet decision of the U.K. held on the 25th October, 1945, five months after the date of the so called plane crash.

(2) On the question whether Indian renegades rounded up outside India should be brought to India for trial.

I do not want to read further because my point has been met. What I want to drive at home is that the British Government, Lord Wavell and the Cabinet of the United Kingdom had no evidence as late as 25th October, 1945 that Netaji had died on a particular date in a particular accident. On the other hand, Wavell’s suggestion was that this plane crash episode might have been used as a camouflage to go underground.

As I have earlier mentioned that Netaji had a well-conceived, well-thought out plan to shift his area of operation for the liberation not only of the people of India but for the liberation of the people of South East Asia so that the mankind might be free from imperialism, capitalism and totalitarianism all over the world.

In this contest, let us discuss and scrutinise Khosla Commission’s Report. I am not at all interested what the Khosla Commission has mentioned about Netaji and what he has used about him because Subhas Chandra Bose is much bigger and cannot be up graded or condemned by any kind of epithets by a judge, sitting or retired. Therefore, I am not bothered about the epithets. I fear he was working at the instance of somebody.

Now, there is a changed political situation. International situation has also undergone vast changes. There have been alignments and re-alignments ; there has been friendship and enmity but the truth must come out. There has been vast political change in our country also. In this changed political situation both within the country and on the international plane, it would be the duty of this august House to demand of the Government at present to scrap the Khosla Commission’s report, to reopen the chapter and continue to pursue the clues which have been given at various points of time by people at various levels with regard to what happened after 18th August, 1945 because, I think, the House and the countrymen are convinced that Netaji’s death did not take place on the 18th

[Shri Chitta Basu]

August, 1945. The duty and responsibility lies with the House to continue to make an enquiry on the basis of these clues which have been found all over the world after 18th August, 1945.

I extended my support to the motion moved by Shri Samar Guha.

Dr. KARAN SINGH (Udhampur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the great movement for national regeneration and freedom that took place in India lasted only about 90 years from 1857 to 1947. But in those 90 years, it threw up a galaxy of great men and women, probably unique in the history of any regeneration movement, freedom movement, in the world.

It is interesting for all students of the Indian national movement to see the very special role that Bengal played in the Indian renaissance. There were several reasons. One is, of course, the fact that Bengal was the first province to feel the impact of the British, therefore, it was able to react earlier, and also because of the very special qualities of head and heart of the people who inhabited Bengal.

Even before the freedom movement as such started, the so-called Indian renaissance began with the social reform movements. Raja Ram Mohan Roy founded the Brahma Samaj. Devan dranath Thakur founded the Adi-Brahmo Samaj and Keshab Chandra Sen founded the Brahma Samaj of India. The great movement for social reform began in the heart of Hinduism. Subsequently, in Bengal also those two great luminaries of our spiritual history, Shri Ramakishna and Swami Vivekananda began their remarkable partnership which resulted in a virtual revival and re-interpretation of religion to meet the challenge of the times in which they lived.

After the political movement started with the founding of the Indian National Congress in 1885 by Mr. A.O. Hume, the people of Bengal were in the vanguard of the movement and they produced a number of very remarkable figures like Bipin Chandra Pal.

Shri Aurbindo Ghosh, the great prophet of Indian nationalism, a man whose vision is still unfolding as history moves onwards ; C.R. Das, the great jurist and lawyer. And one of the most remarkable of these personalities was Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. There was Rabindranath Tagore in the field of letters ; Acharya Profulla Ray, a scientist ; S.C. Bose and many others.

I can also mention a number of great people outside the field of social reform and religion. In every sphere of activity, Bengal has produced great people.

I belong to the post-Independence generation of Indians, a generation which did not have the fortune of participating in the freedom struggle because we were too young and we were at school when the freedom struggle finally reached its great culmination in 1947. Even as a school boy, I recall there were two figures on the Indian political scene who very specially caught and fired our youthful imagination, Jawaharlal Nehru and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. As far back as I can remember, these were the two figures who were associated in our minds with the dynamism, the patriotism, the glowing power and the vigour behind the struggle of the freedom movement. Although we did not have the opportunity to participate in that great event, none-the-less, we were able at second-hand to get some feel of the situation that developed at that time.

I must say that Netaji's life has been a remarkable epic in patriotism. His glowing commitment to the freedom struggle of the country, his magnificent obsession with the fight against all discrimination and all colonial rule, his courage in the face of tremendous odds, is something which marks Netaji out as a very remarkable and extra-ordinary personality. There are many people in this House who have greater knowledge about his life. But from what I have seen and read, his life is replete with a number of dramatic episodes. It is not a normal life ; it is not a life of a normal person who starts and who carries on in a single way. There are sudden developments. There are dramatic disappearances. There are astounding hair-breadth escapades. His whole life reads like some kind of an extra-ordinary combination of the Scarlet Pimpernel and James Bond, a person who was disappearing and appearing again. If we try to enter the mind of the person, he was overwhelmed by one single emotion, one single desire, one single commitment, and that was to make India free, and whatever means were at his disposal, he was prepared to use them, and he did use them in order to further the cause of Indian freedom to which he was totally absolutely, committed. Specially the last chapter of his life, from his dramatic disappearance from Calcutta in December 1941 to the reported or presumed or supposed plane-crash in 1945. Now, what happened after the plane-crash has been a subject of intense and highly emotional controversy.

Immediately after freedom, stories began circulating that Netaji was still alive. I remember, my mother was living in Kangra in Himachal Pradesh and this was some where in the mid-fifties and I got a letter from her to say that there was something very important that she wanted to tell me. When I went next, she said that some message had reached her that Netaji Subash Chandra Bose was still alive and was somewhere in that area. I am not saying that that was an authenticated thing. I am simply saying that these reports with regard to Netaji's survival, with regard to the fact that he was somewhere, for some reason, in the hiding, began to circulate almost immediately after independence, and subsequently they have, with passage of time, not shown any sign of diminishing. In fact, these stories are still continuing to circulate.

Both the Commissions that have been set up in 1956 the three-man Committee headed by Shri Shashnawaz Khan, and in 1970 the G.D. Khosla Commission—concluded, the first one by a majority, that Netaji had been killed in the plane-crash. But, evidently, a large number of people are not convinced. I was here in the last Session—the hon. Home Minister was also present—when my good friend Prof. Samar Guha, with all the ability, emotion and dedication of which he is capable, built up before us a very interesting hypothesis to disprove the G.D. Khosla Commission's report. I do not intend to go into all the various details that he mentioned—the contradictions, the strange events, the fact that his body was not identified, the fact that no photograph was taken, the fact that those doctors who were there were never examined, and so on. But he built up a very interesting hypothesis. I remember having listened to him, and if one had an open mind, I must say, one could not fail to be impressed by Prof. Samar Guha's arguments; one may or may not be convinced because this is an issue upon which conviction really is virtually impossible. The best way, of course, to disprove the Khosla Commission's report would be that happy day when Netaji in fact appears because if Netaji appears, the report automatically stands scrapped, stands discarded. But until that welcome day comes, it will remain a matter of speculation. A lot of people ask: 'Where is Netaji? Why has he not put an appearance if he is alive?' It is a good question. Certainly he must be growing older, although, I understand even today he would be one year younger than our hon. Prime Minister. So we really cannot write off the matter simply by saying that he would be too old. If the Prime Minister is carrying on his work with great vigour

and ability, there is no reason why Netaji, who is one year younger than him, should not be in full possession of his faculties and should not be able, still, if he is alive, to make some major contribution. Of course, the question will be asked: 'If he is alive, why has he not put in his appearance?' It is a question to which no satisfactory answer has been given. But I would appeal to the hon. Home Minister and say that, as a result of some earlier documents and as a result of some new documents which Prof. Sarma Guha brought to our notice, particularly the Transfer of Power documents which he quoted, there is a large section of our countrymen who are still not convinced that Netaji has passed away. Therefore, if there is a demand that there should be yet another enquiry, I for one, would welcome it. But I will not say 'scrap this' or 'scrap that'. It is not a question of scrapping any report. Khosla's report is there and, whether you accept it or not, any new Enquiry Commission appointed will have to take into account what Khosla has said. It is not a question of scrapping a report: it is a question of making a further enquiry in the light of such documents as may be produced and such inconsistencies and contradictions in Khosla's report as may be proved to the satisfaction of whoever is making the enquiry.

So, both in keeping with the sentiments of a large section of our people and also in keeping with the fact that a case has been made out for a new enquiry. We from this side of the House, would welcome it. If the Hon. Home Minister would set up another Commission it would be welcome, I am sure, to all sections of the House. Let us see if any further information comes to light. But I am afraid this will have to be the last Commission because we cannot go on *ad infinitum* appointing Commission after Commission. As Chaudhuri is well versed in setting up Commissions, if he sets up another Commission on this, we will welcome it.

But whether Netaji is alive physically or not is a matter, quite frankly, which is open to doubt. We cannot conclude that he is alive and we cannot conclude that he is dead. In the absence of any definitive finding, we cannot conclude either way. Therefore, for a man who has spent his entire life in the service of our nation and whose whole days and nights were filled with only one dream, we as a nation can do this much for his memory and appoint a third Commission. It is also said that if something is done three times, it puts the seal of authority to it, as it were; so let us have a third Commission. But whether he is alive or

[Dr. Karan Singh]

not, he will always live in the hearts of this grateful country. As long as India survives and as long as the call 'Jai Hind' survives, so long will Netaji's memory survive in this country. Ultimately, physical mortality is not the question. All human-beings have to go one day. As the Isho-Upanishad says : भस्मान्तम् शरीरम् Ultimately, the body has] to vanish into dust. How-soever long we survive we have to move, one day or the other, towards spiritual rest. So, it is not a question of physical mortality : it is a question of immortality of the spirit and the ideals for which this nation stood and stands today—and Netaji embodied them in an extraordinary manner. I would therefore strongly urge upon the Home Minister to appoint yet another Enquiry Commission.

SHRI TRI DIB CHAUDHURI

Behrampur Sir, I don't think that, after the unanimous demand from all sides of the House in support of Prof. Samar Guha's motion for the appointment of a new Commission to go into the question of disappearance of Netaji, I am called upon to make a very long speech. I merely rise to lend my support (for what it is worth) to the powerful plea already made with a wealth of documents and materials by Prof. Guha in the last session in this House. And that has been more or less repeated and reiterated, as I have just said, by all sections of the House. The demand is nearly unanimous that a new Commission to go into the question should be appointed.

17 hrs.

Now, there is also not only the demand of this House, I might inform the House that in the West Bengal Assembly after the new left front Government came to power there also was a unanimous demand made and a non-official resolution passed for the scrapping of the Khosla Commission report and for the appointment of a new commission of inquiry.

Apart from the criticisms that have been made of the way that Mr. Justice Khosla went about with this inquiry, new facts and documents have come out as just mentioned by Dr. Karan Singh and also referred to extensively by Prof. Samar Guha in the course of the publication of the Transfer of Power papers. Now, the coverage of Mr. Justice Khosla's investigation was extremely limited. Apart from whatever bias or prejudice he might have had, it was clear that he could not have

taken into account the facts revealed by these documents and I think no commission, either the Shah Nawas Committee or the Khosla Commission, had ever made any inquiry with the consent of the British Government in the British War Archives of those times some of which have just come out in the course of the publication of the Transfer of Power papers.

Secondly, the facts and materials in possession of the Taiwan Government have never been examined on the plea that we do not have any diplomatic relations with the Taiwan Government but the fact is that there is a government, *de facto* and the Commission had been there, Prof. Samar Guha and other investigators had been there and even before that, a team of 5 MPs had been there but the documents and facts in possession of the Taiwan Government with regard to the so-called air crash of 23rd August 1945 and their findings have never been taken into consideration. So, I see no reason why there could not be another investigation by a Commission, not one man Commission but at least three man Commission may be a Member of Parliament may be associated with that and the whole question of the alleged death of Netaji in the plane crash of 23rd August should be investigated and this question should be set at rest once for all. This we owe as a nation to ourselves and to the memory of the great patriot and great revolutionary as a result of whose efforts we enjoy the freedom that we have to-day. So, I think, in view of the unanimous demand from all sides of the House there should be no objection on the part of the Government to appoint a fresh investigation commission and I hope the Government would accept the demand.

PROF. DILIP CHAKRAVARTY Calcutta (South) : I thank you for offering me an opportunity to participate in this debate.

I join my colleagues on different sides of this House in demanding a fresh enquiry on the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. I have just now listened with rapt attention to the wonderful speech delivered by Dr. Karan Singh relating to the background of the freedom movement and the role of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in that struggle.

Sir, it was Prof. Samar Guha's self-determination and self-dedication to the cause which made it possible for him to deliver his long speech for 1 hr. and 45 minutes on the last occasion intimating the incongruities in the Khosla Commission and also pointing out before this

House that the Khosla Commission, though it was pressed upon at Formosa to collect certain documents from the Formosa Government refused to do that. Just an hour before another hon. member pointed out that Justice Khosla said that he was already under instructions from the then Government of India not to have any documents, not to have any evidence from the Government of Formosa. As has just now been pointed out by our respected colleague Shri Tridip Chaudhuri there is a *de facto* Government continuing in Formosa. If Mr. Justice Khosla decided not to have documents which may have some importance, why was it necessary for him to go there to undertake shopping free as was told by Prof. Samar Guha last time.

I was reading with a little bit of renewed curiosity the Report of the Khosla Commission. I would draw the attention of this House to the Notification of 11th July, 1970. The relevant portion is—

“The Commission shall enquire into all the facts and circumstances relating to the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose in 1945 and the subsequent developments connected therewith and make its report to the Central Government.”

This is the most relevant part which you may describe as ‘Terms of Reference’ for the Khosla Commission.

If you compare this with the Findings, you would reach the inevitable conclusion that Mr. Justice Khosla had a one-track mind and had the intention to prove something which was clearly beyond the scope of the Commission itself.

I would like to draw the attention of you, Sir, and the attention of the House to one point. Here we have got Findings Nos. 19 to 25. I consider them to be completely irrelevant. These were not at all related to the case regarding disappearance of Netaji and the so-called plane crash story and all that Mr. Justice Khosla said :

“The Japanese ~~acted~~ ^{acted} upon him”
 —meaning, Netaji Subhas
 Chandra Bose—

“not as an equal at all, but, as a person, whom they could use for their own ends.”

Was it very relevant ? Were we very much concerned about it ? Do we not know what were the relations ? Do we need to have something from Mr. Justice

Khosla to know all these things ? I question, Sir.

Then, I come to Finding No. 22. It says :

“All documents called for have been supplied and the delay in making some files and documents available cannot be construed as placing obstacle in the progress of the inquiry.”

Interestingly, Sir, in page 113, Mr. Justice Khosla himself admits that at least one file could not be supplied by the Government of India. Who can deny that that one file might have contained the most relevant information pertaining to the issue ?

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : More than 35 special files which were specially maintained by the Confidential Secretary of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru were reported by the Government to the Khosla Commission to have either been “destroyed or missing” and all those files contained information about the enquiry regarding Netaji. Those files could not be supplied to the Commission. What more do you want of that ? I have got a whole list and the numbers of those files.

PROF DJLIP CHAKRAVARTY : This is a statement of a dedicated and venerable Member of the House. He continued to chase the Commission but unsuccessfully. Mr. Justice Khosla could not get all the possible evidence, all the records and files needed. It is now the responsibility of all sections of the House to call for a fresh inquiry into the matter. I am one of those who do not believe in the plane-crash story. I now recall my meeting with Justice Radha Binod Pal, a Member of the War-Crimes Tribunal at Tokyo. I had three sittings with him as early as 1950. Justice Pal had an inquiring mind. He enquired into these incidents. He was of the definite conclusion that ‘there was no plane crash, — atleast, not on that day.’

At least it was not on that date as already mentioned by Prof. Guha. But, what has been referred just now by my young friend and colleague, Shri Saugata Roy is one sentence which he read out from Chapter VIII. Khosla Commission Report has something in praise for Prof. Guha but, the subsequent lines should not be quoted because Justice Khosla was not writing these lines out of regard for Prof. Guha but that is a sense of disgust. He wanted to say that Prof. Guha, by using good phrase in his favour, was a person not to be taken seriously.

[Prof. Dilip Chakravarty]

Now, in his findings, he exceeds the notification of the terms of reference and volunteers a statement about the first Committee in para 21—the personnel of the Committee appointed by Nehru Government to inquire into Bose's disappearance as an ample evidence of his *bona fides*. What sort of *bona fides* is it? I am not one of those who would, in season and out of season, show respect to anybody of the Nehru family. Yes, the relationship between Nehru and Bose was very endearing. This, I am prepared to accept. And Nehruji was so anxious to find out the truth. But, he could not find time to set up the first Commission, Shahnawaz Khan Commission before 1956. And it required Justice Khosla to offer a certificate of good conduct and honesty and of good faith to Nehru and also to Indiraji. All these paragraphs from 19 to 25 bear testimony to all these things. There is a Bengali saying :

"Thakur Ghare Ke—

Ami kala Khai na"

Who is there inside the room of the Diety.

Promptly came the answer—I am not consuming plantains. This is the literal translation of the saying. Naturally, it is something in the nature of Mr. Justice Khosla to volunteer certain things in the course of the findings in the Commission Report which is not required or which is not at all necessary.

This is the reason why it creates an additional suspicion in the minds of the readers of this Commission Report and that makes me to demand and to join with other Members to demand a fresh inquiry and a fresh looking into the problem.

With these words, I conclude.

श्री द्वारिका नाथ तिवारी : (गोपालगंज) : सभासक्ति जी, सवाल बहुत साधारण है। नेता जी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की मृत्यु दुर्घटना से हुई उसकी ठीक तरह से जांच हुई कि नहीं। दो, दो इनक्वायरी हुई, एक श्री शाहनवाज खां ने की जिसको तत्कालीन सरकार ने ठीक नहीं समझा, और एक दूसरी इनक्वायरी जब हुई जिसके अध्यक्ष खोसला साहब थे। खोसला साहब की रिपोर्ट विश्वसनीय है कि नहीं? यदि हैं हैं तो क्यों? और यदि नहीं तो

देखना होगा कि किन मुद्दों पर वह विश्वास के योग्य नहीं हैं। मुश्किल यह हो जाती है कि जैसे हाउस के हम सदस्य हैं किसी को भी गाली दे दो, झूठी तोहमत भी लगा दें, और जैसा हमारे गृह मंत्री जी कहते हैं कि हमको अपने फैक्ट्स रखने का हक है चाहे गलत ही क्यों न हों, लेकिन सब को सुनना होगा। एक प्रिवलेज्ड पोलीशन है हमारी और एक प्रिवलेज्ड पोलीशन जजेज की भी होती है। अपने जजमेंट में रेसजुडिकेटा क तौर कुछ भी लिख दें, उन पर कोई कार्यवाही नहीं होती है, गाली दे दें या तारीफ़ कर दें। लेकिन ट्रेन्ड आफ माइन्ड उस से देखा जाता है। खोसला साहब को इनक्वायरी करने को मिली कि जो एयर एक्सीडेंट हुआ उस में सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की मृत्यु हुई कि नहीं। अपनी रिपोर्ट में क्या कहा उन्होंने? अनेकों जगह डिसपैरेजिंगली नेता जी के सम्बन्ध में उन्होंने लिखा। कहीं क्यूर्सलिंग लिख दिया, कहीं "पौन इन दी हैड्स आफ जापानीज" लिख दिया। मालूम होता है कि उनका मिमाग किस तरफ़ जा रहा था और वह क्या करना चाहता थे। खोसला साहब जब नौकरी के वास्ते मारे मारे फिरते होंगे उस समय नेता जी हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी के लिये जीवन मरण की लड़ाई लड़ रहे थे। पता नहीं, उन्हें कभी नेताजी सुभाषचन्द्र बोस के दर्शन हुए होंगे या नहीं। मुझे तो हुए। 1920 में हम लोग कालेज छोड़कर गांधीजी के सत्याग्रह मूवमेंट में सम्मिलित हुए। उस के बाद चोरी चोरा कांड के बाद सत्याग्रह हटा लिया गया, और हम लोगों को जेल भेज दिया गया। दिसम्बर, 1928 में कलकत्ता कांग्रेस हुई थी और वहां पर नेताजी वालन्टीयर कोर के जनरलज्मो थे। उस वक्त मुझे उन के सम्पर्क में आने का मौका मिला था।

क्या प्राग थी उन के दिल में हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी के लिए ? यह सब वर्णन कर के मैं समय नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ। वास्तव में नेता जी की तारीफ़ करना दिन में सूर्य को दीपक दिखाने के समान होगा। वह इतने महान् थे कि उन्हें हमारी तारीफ़ की जरूरत नहीं है। उन की असलियत जापानी तथा रशियन लोगों ने भी जानी और उस समय की गवर्नमेंट आफ़ इंडिया ने भी जानी।

श्री द्वारिका नाथ तिवारी : उन का बायस इस बात से भी साबित होता है कि जब उन की रिपोर्ट संसद् के टेबल पर रखी जाने वाली थी, तो उस से पहले ही उन्होंने एक किताब लिखी, और उस में अपनी रिपोर्ट की बातों का जिक्र किया, जिससे वह किताब ज्यादा बिक सके। यह कितनी इमप्रोप्रायटी है। ऐसा कर उन्होंने पार्लियामेंट के साथ अन्याय किया और अपना बायस दिखाया।

यह बात दूसरी है कि उन्हें कभी कांग्रेस से अलग होना पड़ा था। वह कांग्रेस के अध्यक्ष थे, और अपने सिद्धान्तों की वजह से जब उन का मत नहीं मिला, तो वह कांग्रेस से अलग हो गये। लेकिन यह तो एक साधारण बात है। हम सब को—क्या प्रधान मंत्री, क्या गृह मंत्री, क्या मैं और क्या अन्य लोग, सब को—अपने सिद्धान्तों के लिए अपने दल से अलग होना पड़ा है। इसलिए यह नहीं कहा जा सकता है कि किसी दल से अलग होने से किसी व्यक्ति की कर्तव्य शक्ति या महत्व कम हो जायेंगे।

इसलिए गृह मंत्री को देखना चाहिए कि क्या उन की रिपोर्ट विश्वसनीय है या नहीं; अगर नहीं है, तो किन मुद्दों में। हमारे साथियों ने जिन बातों का उल्लेख किया है, और जिन बातों की तरफ़ मैंने उन का ध्यान आकर्षित किया है, उन्हें देखते हुए यदि वह समझते हैं कि खोसला साहब ने अपने काम के साथ जस्टिस नहीं किया है, और उन की रिपोर्ट में त्रुटियाँ हैं, तो मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि इस बारे में एक एनक्वायरी में कोई बाधा होनी चाहिए। जो नया एनक्वायरी कमीशन बैठे, उस में उन की भी रिपोर्ट रहे। शाहनवाज साहब की भी रिपोर्ट रहे और जो और डाकू-मेंट्स हैं जैसे ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट की कुछ फाइल्स हैं, कुछ वावेल की फाइल्स हैं, उन को भी इस में इन्क्लूड किया जाय और जो तथ्य और दिये जा सकते हों या कोई और डाकूमेंट दिए जा सकते हों उन को भी देखें। लेकिन ऐसा आदमी होना चाहिये जो किसी तरफ़ बायस्ड न हो। अगर वह हमारे समर गुह जी, की तरह के भी हुए जो यह समझते हैं कि नेताजी जिन्दे हैं तो भी नहीं काम चलेगा क्योंकि फिर उनका दिमाग उसी तरफ़ जायेगा और वे सभी चीजों को उसी तरह लेंगे। इसलिए जो निष्पक्ष हो जिसे इस से मतलब नहीं हो कि जिन्दे हैं या नहीं, या वह क्रैश से मरे या नहीं, जो वास्तविक तथ्य का पता लगा सके वैसे आदमी इस के लिए नियुक्त होना चाहिए।

जब खोसला साहब एक स्पैसिफ़िक बात की एनक्वायरी करने के लिए नियुक्त किये गये थे, तो उन्हें नेता जी के बारे में अपना जजमेंट देने की क्या जरूरत थी कि वह क्या हैं और कैसे हैं? अगर वह कमीशन के जज न होते, तो ऐसी बातों के आधार पर शायद उन के खिलाफ़ डीफ़ेमेन्शन का केस चलाया जा सकता था।

श्री समर गुह : नेताजी की फ़ैमिली ने उस के खिलाफ़ केस किया हुआ है, लेकिन वह एक साल से इस को एवायड कर रहे हैं और कोर्ट में नहीं आ रहे हैं। उन्होंने एक किताब लिखी है "लास्ट डेज़ आफ़ नेताजी" ...

[श्री शारिका नाथ तिवारी]

यह तो अभी मैं ने जाना कि वे ताइवान गए एन्क्वायरी करने और वहां ताइवान में जो लोग गवाही देने आए कि यह एयर क्राश 1945 में नहीं हुआ, 1944 में हुआ था उन की गवाही नहीं ली। जो फैक्ट्स वहां के लोग दे सकते थे वह नहीं लिए। तो गए क्यों थे? इतना पैसा खर्च कर के जाने की और सब को बुला कर वहां ले जाने की जरूरत क्या थी? यहीं बैठ कर लिख देते। रिक्वेस्ट करने के बावजूद भी ऐसे विटनेसेज और ऐसे डाक्यूमेंट्स को उन्होंने नहीं लिया जिस से जाहिर होता कि कम से कम उस क्राश में नेताजी की मृत्यु नहीं हुई, भले ही उस के बाद हुई हो। हम लोग सुनते थे एयर क्राश के बाद कि आज यहां नेता जी अपियर हुए, कल दूसरी जगह, लेकिन वह तो सुनी सुनायी बात थी, कह नहीं सकते थे कि फैक्ट क्या था? यह भी इंटीगिंग बात जरूर है कि नेता जी अगर जिन्दा होते तो आज हिन्दुस्तान क्यों नहीं आते? लेकिन यह भी हो सकता है कि माइंड बदल गया हो या हो सकता है कि अघ्यात्म की तरफ चले गए हों जैसे अरविंद घोष। श्री घोष बड़े भारी रेवोल्यूशनरी थे, बड़े भारी आजादी की लड़ाई के सेनानी थे लेकिन उन का दिमाग अघ्यात्म की तरफ चला गया और वह पांडिचेरी में जा कर बैठ गए। तो हो सकता है नेता जी का भी दिमाग उन्हीं की की तरह बदल गया हो, वह भी अघ्यात्म की तरफ चले गए हों और लोगों को जनाना नहीं चाहते हों कि वह कहां है जिस में कि लोग जा कर उन से यह न कहें कि चलो और यह करो, वह करो। और यह भी हो सकता है कि उन की मृत्यु हो गई हो। इसलिए मैं गृह मंत्री से यह कहूंगा कि इन सब बातों को देख सुन कर और समर गुहा जी ने तो सबूतों का एक

भण्डार दिया है सब को देख कर सदन के सामने यह कहें कि वे कन्विस्ट हैं या नहीं और नहीं कन्विस्ट हैं तो एक दूसरी कमेटी जरूर इस के लिए नियुक्त करें।

SHRI NARENDRA P. NATHWANI (Junagadh) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the hon. Members from both sides of the House who have demanded a fresh enquiry, a further investigation into the circumstances leading to the disappearance of Netaji. As an ex-judge, I do not easily persuade myself to comment or to criticise, and that too rather severely the actions, doings or reports of another ex-judge, but I am constrained to do so in this case.

Professor Guha referred to several facts and circumstances in his elaborate wellargued speech. He assailed the main finding mainly on two grounds. He pointed out various drawbacks, particularly various sources of information which were at the disposal of the learned judge and the failure of Justice Khosla to tap those sources of information. That is one aspect. I shall refer to one or two illustrations, one or two instances by way of illustration to show how the report could not carry any conviction and we cannot be asked to accept its finding. But before I take up these pieces of evidence referred to by Prof Guha. I may say that there is this handicap that Justice Khosla is not available here to refute the allegations made by Prof Guha. But this House is seized of the matter. Since 3rd of August it is discussing this report and he is, reasonably speaking, bound to come to know of the serious charges levelled against him by Prof Guha in this august House, against the manner in which he conducted the enquiry. And certainly he knows that it is open to him to refute those allegations either by going to the Press or by writing to the Speaker or by drawing the attention of the Home Minister saying that the various allegations made there were untrue. I do not know till now whether he did any of these things (*Interrptions*). It seems he has done nothing of that sort.

Let us take this information about 45 documents. Those documents are missing; these files were kept by Pandit ji himself. Panditji himself was in doubt and that is amply demonstrated by Prof. Guha's reference to the letter which he wrote just a month prior to his death. In that letter he has emphasised the desirability of finalising the question of Netaji's death. It shows the importance or weight to be attached to the matter of files. Justice Khosla was told that those files were either missing or lost and he accepted it

In spite of that Prof. Guha goaded him to examine who was in charge of those files,

Now if they were missing why he did not try to find them out; why they could not be traced? He did nothing. If some papers were lost or destroyed, why did he not enquire and find out whether copies could be available or not.

Again there is reference to urther files containing some secret report of the British and American services. Look at his volume of evidence and how Mr. Justice Khosla dealt with it. I do not know whether it was deliberate but it was a failure and it appears to be deliberate. Because an ex-judge of his eminence could have easily seen the impact and weight which those documents could have carried; he ignored them; he discarded them.

He goes to that place, no doubt, to the scenc where it—aircrash—is alleged to have taken place; he goes to a foreign country. What does he do there? He says: my instructions do not permit me to contact either the government or any non-official organisation. What did he do? It has been pointed out that there was exchange of correspondence between the then Prime Minister and Chiang Kei Shek and there was investigation instituted by the Taiwan government. Even when Mr. Guha tried to drw his attention to the weather reports and other material which were available with the meteorological officers, he said: "my instructions do not permit me to do so".

In fairness, he should have at least written in his report that he was given such instructions. What I am trying to point out is this, it is not a question of scrapping the report, but scrapping the finding which has been made. In fact, whether such a thing—accident—happened there or not is not material for evaluating the report, but whether having regard to the way and the manner in which he conducted the enquiry, whether his finding could be accepted—that is material. It is worthless and rubbish. I submit this to you with respect.

There are cogent circumstances, facts which have been brought out by Prof. Guha, which show that this finding is vitiated. Apart from that, his demand is reinforced by further consideration viz. afterwards important documents have come to light. Reference has been made to the volume 6 of "Transfer of Power," to the note prepared by the then Home Minister and how the mighty British Government also at the material time felt with the help of reports, intelligence reports—secret reports of at least three teams of workers—of officers—that it was doubtful whether this version that is now sought out was correct or not. Therefore, there is no doubt whatsoever that this report has no value. One can easily ignore it and one can treat it as rubbish so far as the finding is

concerned. With these words, I support the demand made by Members for a fresh enquiry.

SHRI S. K. SARKAR : On a point of information, I went to Taiwan in the year 1975 during the month of December. I was a guest of the Government there. I asked the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs about this and he in his reply told 'if your Government requests, we will officially deal with the matter and supply necessary information'.

SHRI BEDABRATA BARUA (Kaliabor) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is good that this House has set apart a few hours of its time to discuss the matter concerning a great figure of India during this century. Netaji had been not only a political leader, but he was a leader both in the field of action as well as in the field of thought. He was revolutionary, who was the type who would not confine his revolution to a table-talk but one who was prepared to go to any extreme at the risk of everything, including his life to fulfil his ideals. This great son was branded by his enemies, mainly the imperialists and others, ideology was questioned. But he has survived very much in the minds of the people of India. He was branded a facist, puppet and so many other things. But the people knew and had never in the conviction that Netaji was one of the fundamental revolutionists so far as freedom struggle is concerned and what he wanted to do. History will ultimately give its verdict as to whether it would have been better for us to go to a revolution of the type he professed, which unfortunately he couldnot carry out. History will certainly remember the great contribution that he made to the freedom struggle and in the final surrender of power by the British to India. Now, this matter about fresh enquiry has been raised before the House several times and it is almost the unanimous opinion of the House that a fresh enquiry should be ordered. There are certain loose ends in the Report, even if we give credit to Mr Justice Khosla for what he said, which I personally would not like to give. But this matter has to be reviewed and gone into again in the interest of finding out the facts, the truth about one of the greatest sons of India. When Prof. Guha raised this matter on the floor of this House, Mr. Chavan was Home Minister. Ultimately, we sat upstairs in a committee room and we discussed this matter. Irrespective of party affiliation, we all agreed that there should be an enquiry into this. That is how in 1970 this Khosla Commission was appointed. The report came in 1974. This report has obviously not satisfied many members.

[Shri Bedabrata Barua]

I would not like to go into details, which many members have given. Prof. Guha has collected an enormous amount of evidence on his own and I think there is a good case for going into this evidence and finding out if this could lead to certain discoveries. Netaji being dead or alive is very important for us because he was a great national leader. If he is dead, we should be in a position to say finally that he is no more and do something in a great way to keep his memory, which we have not been able to do. In fact, the very argument that we do not know whether he is dead or alive could be a very good alibi for not erecting a suitable memorial for this great son of India. So, it has to be finally settled. Even if the plane crash theory proves to be misleading, even then there could be a proposition that he may not be any longer alive. It is a bit difficult to believe that any body would be keeping him in prison for 32 years and not doing away with him and not letting the world know about it. I do not think such a proposition could be substantiated. If any body was interested in keeping him in prison for 32 years, he should have had a vested interest in doing away with him. Therefore, all of us from all sides of the House are interested in finding out the real facts about his disappearance. This has to be found out and the whole nation must agree to abide by the finding. We must put him on a high pedestal as one of the national leaders along with Gandhiji and Nehru. If there has to be a fresh enquiry, it should be held as early as possible. Already so many years have passed. People who would be able to give evidence most of them at least—would have passed away and it is no longer possible to depend on any sort of personal evidence. Even if the Japanese doctor or others who treated him were alive, they might not know whom they were treating. Therefore, this has to be decided entirely on documentary evidence. These documents should be traceable, and I think the Government of India should be in a position to request those governments to help in this. India's relations are not had with any of those Governments. At least the present government's relation is certainly not bad; it is much better than the previous government's relations with those governments. So, the present Government should be able to approach these governments through diplomatic channels and ask them specific questions apart from the enquiry about these things and

get confirmed from them as to whether those documents are available and if they are available, whether they are prepared to give them to have an inquiry conducted by the Government of India. I hope the Home Minister will look into all these matters and declare here and now that a fresh Commission of Inquiry will be instituted to go into all the facts and all the points and all the documents that have been referred to. The Government should be able to get all those points verified and placed before the country the actual facts about the disappearance of Netaji whose memory if he is dead, or about reverence for whom no one could differ in spite of the differences that were raised at that point of time is cherished, he being one of the greatest leaders in our national life. The least that the Government could do is to accept the unanimous opinion of the House for a fresh inquiry into the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR (Gandhinagar) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I must be honest at the outset and say that this discussion which my friend, Prof. Samar Guha, has sought to raise may perhaps sound in more than one sense somewhat odd and peculiar, but more than that I think this discussion is poignant and also perturbing—poignant because of the fact that a great son of India, his life and record of his bravery, and his mission have been dealt with in such a clumsy and strange manner by the Government of India of the past, and perturbing because we are dealing with a sacred individual and a sacred living institution, I would say, in a manner which does not do any good to either those who were before us and those who are now in charge of the Government.

The discussion began on August 3, and is now continuing today. The main achievement, if I put it that way, of my good friend, Shri Samar Guha, and his dedicated and unending endeavours are indeed commendable. The question is : Why all this discussion and why all this demand for a fresh inquiry ? I agree with many of my friends—perhaps my dear friend, Prof. Samar Guha may not agree with this particular point, but I agree with many friends that the important thing is not to find out whether Netaji Bose as a human person in body is alive or not, although it is important.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : I have never said it. ¶

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR : But the important thing is that the person of Netaji's eminence ought not to be

treated in the way the Government through so-called fact finding missions and the so-called judicial inquiry commissions is going about. That is the point of issue and equally or perhaps more important is yet another aspect. I mention it because some people may argue and some people have argued outside this august House, as to why should the Parliament of India discuss again and again this matter; is it not a kind of a dead issue? Some argue. But it can never be a dead issue. Finding out the truth can never be a dead issue, especially if the Government has chosen the motto: *Satyameva Jayate*. Therefore, it is never too late to inquire afresh and find out the truth. I may go one step further. I am glad the hon. Home Minister has come back to the House to listen to this particular aspect which I want to emphasise. The more important thing is not whether Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is alive or not, but it is to tell the world that Justice Khosla and his judicial exercises have been far from judicial and satisfactory. Those exercises have not been in conformity with the highest principles of justice involved. And, therefore, the least that this Janata Government can do in this changed atmosphere is to let the world know that whatever else may be there, this air tragedy story of August 18, 1945 is a complete non-sense, is a total lie and is a fiction which nobody in his common-sense will ever believe, unless he wanted it to or was told to believe it. Let us end this business of make-believes. Who is Mr. Justice Khosla who is making us believe certain things which are contrary to any aspect of law, judiciary or common-sense or truth-finding? That is my point.

One hon. Member said that we should scrap Mr. Khosla's report. The very fact that Parliament is discussing it at such a length is ample evidence to show with what attention and treatment this House looks at Mr. Khosla's report, or enquiries. We don't want this make-believe business; and the tragedy is that if the mystery of Netaji's disappearance was great, the mystery of the Khosla report is greater. I do not know how and in what manner he came to the conclusion to which he came; *viz.* that Subhas Bose died in that mysterious accident on 18th August, 1945.

Mr. Chitta Basu referred to Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India during those days. I bought that book last year. The title of that book is "A Viceroy's Journal", edited by Penderel Moon. I was reading that book for a variety of reasons, including this reason: I was watching the proceedings of this House in 1945-46 until the time when Lord

Mountbatten came into the scene, and studied how Lord Wavell as Viceroy behaved, what he did and did not do. On page 164 of that book, Wavell's entry of August 24, 1945, couple of days after the supposed tragedy of August 18, 1945. In that entry, Wavell writes—and I quote:

"I wonder if the Japanese announcement of Subhas Chandra Bose's death an air-crash is true. I suspect it very much, it is just what would be given out if he meant to go underground."

Wavell, we knew very well, was an astute politician, and one of the last imperialists who governed here as a Viceroy; and he was not prepared to believe that story. How could the later government and Mr. Justice Khosla believe it, without proper and complete evidence? Therefore, I feel that the Khosla report ought to be given the place it deserves. I will not use more words, and describe where it should go.

Now, Sir, although I was very young,—as my friend from the DMK and also Dr. Karan Singh said—at that time, *i.e.* young enough not to go to jail, I was not young enough not to see those days. Way back in 1938, in the Haripura Congress, much against the wishes of Mahatma Gandhi, Netaji was elected Congress President; and ultimately Gandhiji paid him a compliment and said that he was a prince among patriots. I remember, as a young boy going in 1938 to the Haripura Congress held in Gujarat and seeing Subhas Bose at close quarters repeatedly and hearing him deliver the historic address as the President of the Indian National Congress. I also saw him being taken in procession with several bullock-carts, which was the tradition and order of the day for the Congress President's popular reception in those days. How very dearly, how very respectfully, almost with reverence in Gandhiji's and Sardar Patel's Gujarat, Subhas Bose was worshipped in those days, I remember on this occasion very well. I still remember his beaming face, that radiant voice, his radical ideas; they are almost vivid before my mental eye when I think of those days. He was a jewel of a man, noble, brave patriotic, eternally youthful with revolutionary qualities, a citizen of the world.

Can such a man ever do things which would make people believe that he would rather run away, or escape, or do something which is not becoming of a selfless, noble patriot, a world citizen? When he went to Germany through North West Frontier Province, he took up the name of Ziauddin. He was given to this

[Prof P.G. Mavalankar]

kind of adventurous life, he was given to this kind of certain risk-taking, though not complete or fool-hardy risk! He was a true revolutionary in his daily life all the time. That was Subhas Bose. Therefore, I believe that it is no use disrespecting his great name, a living name in the history. Even when Subhas Bose was alive, before independence came, he had become a legend and a hero in the history for the people of India. Much more so now, when years have passed he is a legend in the eyes of so many people.

Therefore, without repeating the points made by Professor Samar Guha, I would agree with him that this is not a matter of emotion or sentiment. Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose is an epic hero and let us deal with him like that.

So far as the Khosla Commission Report is concerned, I am sure the Home Minister knows it—it is suspected—how Justice Khosla wrote it, how many files he did not see—somebody pointed out that 35 files were missing—so, we also know Justice Khosla. I am not given to personal abuse, but I am sorry to find how Justice Khosla came from Taiwan with a present to the Prime Minister, the then Prime Minister. Can a Judge ever think of a present to a Prime Minister? Can a Judge ever think of entering the compound of a Minister? It is bad. A judge must be above all such considerations. He should not do it. But he met the former Prime Minister, former officials, many number of times and then wrote out the report almost, as I said earlier, to make us all believe, which it never can do.

I want to say in conclusion that the Janata Government must unearth all the records, the new files which have come to light and find out what truth and facts are there. So, I support the demand for having a fresh and final enquiry. As Dr. Karan Singh, Shri Barua and Professor Guha have stated, let us have a fresh final enquiry, at least an enquiry, which will say that the air tragedy was a fiction.

If we cannot find out the truth, let us at least not manufacture falsehoods!

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA :
How can you commit to it that it will be the final enquiry?

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR : At least for the time being let us put it that way. If we cannot find out the truth, let us not waste our time and energy and spend our resources manufacturing wrong things, manufacturing fictions. That much we can avoid by being honest and true to the great name of Subhas Chandra Bose. Therefore, wedded as we are to truth, democracy and decency, let all of us in this House, whether belonging to this party or that party or no party, support this demand for a fresh enquiry. I am glad my friends from the Congress Party have supported this demand, unlike last time when they did not support it. This is important.

18 hrs.

Finally, I want to pay my homage to Subhas Bose, whom we call Netaji. His famous slogan, apart from Jai Hind, was *Chalo Delhi*. Of course, in a very different context, *Delhi chalo* has become the pet phrase of many politicians. They go to Delhi for different kinds of things. But Subhash Chandra Bose was going to Delhi in pre-independent India not to have anything, but to be in the vanguard of a revolution. He never pushed himself to any position in the establishment; rather he was rushing to Delhi because he had the rare courage to be in the vanguard to do things unparalleled, true only of a revolutionary. Therefore, we owe it to ourselves, history and posterity to have a fresh enquiry and pay our respectful tribute to the living name that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose is. Let us also resolve to prove ourselves worthy sons and daughters of this great and noble son of India.

18.01 hrs.

The Lok Sabha adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday the 9th December, 1977/ Aaravhana 18, 1899 (Saka).