

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

that besides Hindi being the link language, English would continue as additional link language so long as non-Hindi speaking people want it."

substitute—

"to implement the Constitutional provisions regarding the national language and see that the interests of other national languages of India do not suffer on account of over-lordship of English which is spoken only by 2 or 3 per cent. people."(2)

The motion as negatived.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now the main resolution. Mr. Somasundaram, do you want to withdraw it ?

SHRI S. D. SOMASUNDARAM : I am not withdrawing it.

AN HON. MEMBER : Let the Home Minister give an assurance.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Does the hon. Member want to withdraw it ? He does not seem to be in a mood to withdraw it.

The question is:

"This House do urge upon the Government to amend the Constitution so as to implement Pandit Nehru's solemn assurance to Parliament that, besides Hindi being the link language, English would continue as additional link language so long as non-Hindi speaking people want it."

The motion was negatived.

17.04 hrs

RESOLUTION RE SETTING UP OF NETAJI NATIONAL ACADEMY

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai): I beg to move:

"This House recommends to the Government that, in patriotic recognition of the fundamental contributions made by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, in thought and action, towards achieving independence of undivided India and evolution of ideological concept of our national reconstruction, an Institute of all India importance named as 'Netaji National Academy', be set up by the Government within a year for making specialised and advance studies on subjects, in which

Netaji evinced keen interest, like,—(i) advance Military Science, (ii) modern socio-economic and political ideologies relevant to the objectives of Indian national reconstruction, (iii) concept of Indian national planning, (iv) perspective and problems of Indian national integration, (v) history of revolutionary movements for Indian independence and (vi) mission of Indian culture and civilisation towards achieving amity and understanding among the people of the world."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, it may appear as surprising to some of my friends why, whenever I get an opportunity for either moving a resolution or any kind of an opportunity of introducing something of my own in this House, I always try to take advantage of it, for projecting the image and ideology of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. My answer to this question is, as I have already explained to this House on various occasions—and I want to reiterate it—that in the achievement of Indian independence, fundamental contributions have been made only by two great personalities, viz. Mahatma Gandhi and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

It is not only in regard to the achievement of the objective of Indian independence that they have made fundamental contribution, but even in regard to the evolution of national ideologies of India, Mahatma Gandhi and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose have made fundamental and original contribution. But, very unfortunately, for reasons of parochialism; for reasons of rivalry among the leaders, contemporary leaders of our national struggle, deliberate attempts have been made to shut out the image of Netaji, to black out the contribution of Netaji, and to create an impression, what to speak of having any fundamental contribution to Indian freedom or to the concept of Indian national ideology, as if Netaji was nothing but a leader of second-rate importance.

When I entered in this Parliament, from the very day of my maiden speech, when I spoke exclusively on Netaji and Netaji alone, I was surprised the next day to find the wide publicity the maiden speech of a member received all over the country.

I do not know how many new members of this House have had the experience of their speeches being editorially commented on, not by one paper but by innumerable papers all over the country. Why was it so? Even though it was the maiden speech of a new member, it was so because the country felt, the people of India felt that a conspiracy, deliberate conspiracy was continued to black out the image of one of the great sons, nay, one of the great-

est revolutionaries that India has produced and the world has produced.

Sir, the unveiling ceremony of the portrait of Netaji in the Central Hall was a very natural one. It was unusual that it took us 30 years for holding this ceremony in the Central Hall. What a tremendous response it evoked all over the country, what publicity it received all over the country. Many rickshaw-wallahs do not know me by face, but when some rickshaw-wallahs and taxi-wallahs came to know me by chance, I was simply surprised that they were bestowing blessings on me as if I have done something great, even though I have acted only as a humble instrument of the will of the nation.

Similarly, when I wrote the Book '*Netaji: Dead or Alive*,' I did not expect that the President will agree to release it, nor did I expect that the Speaker will agree to preside over the function. It received wide coverage all over the country. After a week some portions of the book that *Samachar* circulated received wide publicity in many dailies with four-column and five-column banner headlines. It appeared all over the country in innumerable papers. I was thinking and thinking, and trying to analyse the meaning of this — why there was so much publicity.

As I mentioned once in this House, no political party, neither the Prime Minister nor the President of the Janata Party, nor the President of any party, issued any statement on the birthday of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, but in Delhi alone ten types of posters with full size portrait of Netaji were found in thousand of places, in Delhi alone 25 or 30 ceremonies were held, and all over the country, from Kerala to Kohima, from Kashmir to Calcutta, innumerable functions, hundreds and thousands of functions, were held spontaneously. It was not officially sponsored, no political patronage was there not even the Janata Party gave a call for the observance of Netaji's birthday, but it was observed by the people spontaneously out of their deep feeling for Netaji, out of their recognition of the greatness of Netaji. What is the meaning of this?

I was trying to analyse it politically, I should say I was trying to analyse it more philosophically. The answer I received to my own query from within was this—that the powers might have tried to black out the image of Netaji, shut out the image of Netaji, and tried to make the people forget his contributions, but the Indian people who acclaimed Netaji, who acclaimed him as an epic hero of Indian

revolution, who acclaimed him as a legendary hero of Indian national freedom, did not forget him.

It is not only a question of the recognition of the greatness of Netaji as a man of destiny like Mahatma Gandhi, but there is something else. India is passing through a crisis today, I should say the country is passing through a great ideological crisis. There is going a political disintegration,—disintegration, reintegration, and disintegration again—of different political forces. The people here and there are not finding, I should say, any national ideology, I should rather say—a national inspiration to live with, particularly for our younger generation. They are feeling as if they are living in a vacuum. They are in quest of certain fundamental values for which they can live, for the fulfilment of which—of a national ideology they can dedicate themselves, for achieving a concept to which they can commit themselves, so that they can pursue their lives for the fulfilment of the objective of that national ideology. India is passing through a serious and, I should say, a critical phase of some kind of vacuum of national ideology.

Gandhiji has been adored, acclaimed and proclaimed as the Father of the Nation. But in India, Buddhism has been banished, but Buddha has been raised to the status of an *avatarhood*. Similarly, Gandhiji, has been raised to the status of the Father of the Nation, but for years there has been some museum, there has been some library, there have been some ceremonial functions, there have been some publications of the literature of Gandhiji, but the Gandhian ideology, the Gandhian philosophy, even trying to understand and implement it and work it out in the national life for the reconstruction of our national life,—has been almost completely banished.

What are we finding? Gandhiji has been banished, and on the question of Netaji? In the last 30 years there has been no place for Netaji in the national life of India, there has been no recognition whatsoever for him in the national life of India. However, every attempt has been made in the last 30 years to project the image and the ideology of only one person, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who played not any fundamental role, who played only a secondary role, a subsidiary role, philosophically who played the role of a satellite in the Gandhian orbit of political gravity.

My observation will be shocking to many. I have nothing to grudge. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was a great man. He was a great national leader but

[Shri Samar Guha]

he was not a man of destiny. He did not make any fundamental contribution either philosophically, ideologically or even historically, either to the Indian National Freedom Movement or even to the concept of Indian National Reconstruction. But every effort has been made to project his image artificially with the political parties that was in power,—deliberately. Is there any doubt about it? After unearthing of the 'Time Capsule', is there any doubt in our minds? For the last many years, I have been making this accusation and it has now been proved factually, you will be surprised to know—that in the 50s even under the independent Government of India, the Nehru Government issued a circular to all the Army barracks that nowhere Netaji's portrait or picture should be displayed. You will be astonished to know that in the 50s till 1964 all the radio stations were given instructions that even for the functions that were held on the birthday of Netaji, only two or three minutes should be given for covering the news of the functions about Netaji's birthday. After much efforts, only one volume of the writings and speeches of Netaji has been published by this Government. But what about others? What I said that there is a political conspiracy to shut out Netaji or to black out his image, has now come out in the text of the 'Time Capsule'. In it there is no mention of the name of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

..... Oh, there was no person like Netaji Subhas Chander Bose for the future to remember. Nowhere has his name been mentioned. And Gandhiji—only one line was enough. And the rest was in the admiration, acclamation and adoration of whom?—the country knows. You know, this House knows and it has been revealed in the text of the Time Capsule. It is only one name, the man of Pandit Nehru. I was trying for several years to factually understand what is the attitude of the Government towards Gandhiji, towards Netaji and towards Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. How many institutions are there in their names? More than 50 institutions are there in India either directly sponsored by the Government, directly built by the Government or aided by the Government in the name of Pandit Nehru. Only in 1972-73 Rs. 7.40 crores had been spent for these institutions. These are the institutions which are under the Education Ministry. Even last year they have spent about Rs. 6.20 crores. Sir, after much effort, what I would get from this Government for Netaji National Museum was Rs. 2.30 lakhs. In the last thirty years, this is the contribution of the

Government of India for recognition of the contribution and acclamation of the historical personality of Netaji. This Rs. 2.30 lakhs was given after much effort and it was contributed to Netaji Museum in Calcutta. When I was raising a lot of demands in this House and creating a lot of noise, then what was done? Suddenly, the signboard of National Sports Institute of Patials was changed. It was changed to rename as "Netaji Subhas Chandra National Institute of Sports" as if Netaji is a great sportsman and therefore, it was in the fitness of things, it was in recognition of his contribution to sports that it was so named.

But not re-naming of the Dehra Dun Military Adademy after Netaji ! Has anyone of them ever thought that it should be named as "Netaji Military Academy"? Not even re-namely National Planning Bhavan. Netaji is the Father of Indian national planning. They have not even an idea that they could say, "Netaji National Planning Bhawan" or recognise Netaji in any other way. They are only just mentioning of an institution as "Netaji Subhas Chandra National Institute of Sports".

It is not only the Education Department, but there are so many others who made large annual expenditure on Nehru. There is the Nehru Memorial Museum and the Library. They have been spending in the last two or three years about a crore of rupees. Then, there is the Nehru Yuvak Kendra. There are 85 centres. It did not strike the Government—the last Government did not feel ashamed of it. If there was anybody who can be really called as the glowing emblem of Indian youth, it is Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. He is an emblem of central youth; he is an emblem of flaming youth; he is an emblem of glowing youth. of India. It was he who presided over the largest number of student and youth conferences in 30s. in 40s and even in late 20s. It was he who organised and pioneered student movement, youth movement, in our country. All youth organisations, including the Nawjwan Bharat Sabha, which was Bhagat Singh's organisation, it was under Netaji's inspiration that Bhagat Singh established the Nawjwan Bharat Sabha. I tried to see that they at least name the Yuvak Kendra after the name of Netaji. But that was also not done. Not only Nehru Yuvak Kendra but even Nehru Bal Kendra, Nehru Bal Pustakalya, Nehru Doll Museum, Nehru Park, Chacha Nehru Bal Park and what not have been set up in the name of Pandit Nehru. I do not want to look at it parochially. Certainly, I again say and I reiterate that

Nehru was a great man; he was a great national leader; he made many great contributions towards our Indian freedom and also towards the building up of our country. He introduced many modern ideas into our nation. But to create an impression that it was Nehru and Nehru alone, not even Gandhiji who did it that should not be proper. Gandhiji was side-tracked; Gandhiji was eclipsed. He was raised to the Status of Avtarhood by banishing Gandhism. Buddha was made an Avtar by banishing Buddhism. Gandhi was made the Father of the Nation by vanishing Gandhism. Gandhism was no where in the last 30 years.

It is after the advent of the Janata Party and the friends on this side that the whole national attitude, I should say, national outlook, has changed. In the last few years, there has been some kind of a seismic change in political outlook, in the political psychology and even in the political perspective of our country,—I should not use the word “political”—rather, the national outlook, the national perspective and the national psychology of our country. There has been a revolution any change in the country. I do not mean the political revolution. As to which party has been defeated and which party has been brought to power, that is not the question. There has been a national revolution. The national perspective has undergone a thorough change. The country is in search, in quest, of a new outlook of life, in quest of certain fundamental values, in quest of a new ideology so that our nation, so that our younger generation can be galvanised to a new concept of life. Let me repeat that the concept of our life in which our younger generation can dedicate themselves, for which they can consecrate their whole being in an urge, in a mission of fulfilling something great, is wanting in that perspective, I should say, if you really want India to become great, if you want to rouse our younger generation if you want to make them inspired with the spirit of the revolutionary dynamism, you should do this—accept this motion to set up Netaji National Academy. The value of politics has gone. The politics has become a profession of careerism; politics no longer carries the spirit of national service; it has become a profession of careerism.

It is only Gandhiji, Gandhiji's life of dedication. Gandhiji's life as a missionary, as a totally dedicated man, who can inspire moral values in our country, who can inspire ethical values, who can inspire people to get themselves, I should say, out of bounds of narrow parochial considerations of individual interest. There is only another image, the image of Netaji, his revolutionary urge, his image of dynamism, his image of dedication.

his image of, total sacrifice, his image of, I should say, reckless abandon in search of fulfilling his mission,—only that image can rouse, can create a new life, can create a sense of value among the younger generations of our country.

I have nothing to say against the leaders of other countries. Certainly we should adore Lenin, Marx, Mao Tsetung and other leaders also. They had built up their own army of Liberation in their own countries.

I explained in this House on another occasion that rarely in this era of our human history was such a revolutionary born in any country of the world like Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Is there any instance in the life of any other revolutionary, of a man, who alone broke the drag-net of the most powerful British Imperialism of these days, who left the country and crossed thousands and thousands of miles alone, crossed thousands of miles of air, sea and land and had established his organisation in 20 countries of the world, who had raised an Army of Revolution and challenged the mightiest British power and created a saga of revolutionary exploits? Is there any such instance? Yes, Lenin had created history when he entered Russia with the help of Germany, when in a sealed train he crossed Germany to Helsinki and entered Russia. Yes, Sun Yat-Sen created history when he escaped from China and went to Japan. Yes, de-Valera created history when he escaped from a British Jail in Ireland and went to America. But is there any instance of such a magnitude of revolutionary exploit, of revolutionary activities in the life of any revolutionary as has been achieved by Netaji?

Lenin had his own political organisation in Russia to lead the revolution; Mao Tse-tung had his own organisation in China; Sun Yat-Sen had his own organisation in China. Garibaldi had also built up his Army of Revolution, but it was in Italy. George Washington had built up his own in America but none like Netaji had the glory—a revolutionary glory of building up an army of Liberation alone and out of dust, in areas far away from his own country, but here was a man, alone the Netaji of India almost out of dust, out of nothing, covering two continents, going from one area to another and piercing through two oceans, taking 120 days through the Atlantic and Indian oceans to reach Singapore from Kiel which was inconceivable in those days—raised an army of National liberation of India. When he suggested to Adm. Doenitz that he desired to move to Singapore by a submarine when it was not possible for him to go by plane from Berlin to Tokyo—it was impossible in these days because such a long-range plane was not there—when he suggested that “I have to go by a submarine”, the Chief of Naval Staff of Germany Adm. Doenitz said that this was a suggestion of a mad

[Shri Samar Guha]

man; he had not 10 per cent chance of his survival. Netaji smiled and said: "One per cent chance is enough for me." It never happened earlier that in mid-ocean a man could be transported from one submarine to another. It was an impossibility. Therefore, for the first time, in the Indian Ocean east of Madagascar, from the German submarine to the Japanese submarine, he was transported. It was a rough sea. With the help of a rope he managed to get from one submarine on to another. This is one instance. I can give innumerable instances.

In Rangoon when he was taking the salute of his army, immediately a British plane zoomed, machine gunning and carpet-bombing. Netaji stood like a rock as if nothing had happened. The Japanese Generals and officers the Burmese Generals and other Burmese dignitaries immediately ran away from there. But Netaji stood like a rock as if nothing had happened. He gave the order to disperse and after his army dispersed and took shelter, he came down calmly, quietly and then himself took shelter. It is not my expression, my words: I have heard these words from Gen. Kawabe who was in command of the whole of the Burma front. He said "We have rarely seen a man of such courage, dignity and firmness".

Abid Hasan was one person with Netaji in the submarine. When it was passing by the Cape of Good Hope—Africa—the submarine was sighted by the Allies aircraft. There was immediately an alarm call. The submarine was going down. Netaji was giving dictation to Abid Hasan about his future programme. Abid Hasan got unnerved: he could not take down the dictation. Netaji asked, "Abid, what happened?" He did not even hear Netaji because he was completely upset. The alarm bell was continuing. The submarine was to go down: it was likely depth-charged. Twice he called Abid there was no response. when he called him for the third time then Abid said, "Yes, Sir". He asked him, "What has happened to you? I am giving you dictation: you are not taking down". Here was the man. What a man he was. In how many revolutionaries' life can you have such an example of courage? He did not care for his life. Perhaps one depth-charge would have been enough to finish the submarine. Yet he was giving dictation to Abid Hasan when the submarine was going steadily down.

We have heard about the Long March of Mao-tse-Tung. Have you heard about the Long march of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose, the long march from Moulemin to Bangkok when Rangoon was being evacuated? The Japanese Government offered a

plane to him and said, "The British Army is proceeding fast; at any time you may be captured, we request you, we beseech you, to avail of this plane to go immediately from Rangoon to Bangkok". Rani Jhansi Brigade was there. Netaji said, "If you can give planes for the airlifting of all the soldiers and officers of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment, then only it will be possible for me to avail of the plane: otherwise, no. They could not provide that. Again they came and said, "The British Army is only a few miles away: you may get captured at any time: Dr. Bamo has left with the help of a Japanese plane for Bangkok". Netaji roughly and rudely rebuffed the Japanese General: "Do you consider me as Dr. Bamo of Burma?" He refused. Then he availed of the train facility to go to Moulemin. Then, with the whole Rani Jhansi Brigade and all senior commanders and officers, he started the long march from Moulemin to Bangkok for 21 days—day and night. In the day time there with carpet-bombing and machine-gunning. In the day they could not come out, they had to take shelter in the jungle because they were being followed by the British bombers. In the night they had to cover the distance through the jungle. When after 21 days, Netaji reached Bangkok he had not taken his bath, he had not changed, his boots during the long march—the Rani Jhansi Brigade and other officers were completely shoked to see when his boots were open flat his two legs and feet were completely full of sores and were bleeding. But he did not utter a single word. This courage; this determination of heroism; this challenging of death by a revolutionary—is there any other example—even in modern times, in any country of the world? But I am sorry, we have not projected of the image of such a hero, such an inspiring figure, for the last three decades—before the Indian youth. And that is the reason why I was trying and whenever I get an opportunity, I am trying to project his image, not for recognising the greatness of Netaji but for ourselves, for creating the inspiration in the youth of the country, for filling up the ideological vacuum in the country.

With this perspective I have introduced this Resolution. This is a Resolution but it was discussed in the form of a Bill in 1973. About 25 Members of this House from all sides—from the Congress side, from the CPI side, from the CPIM side, from the DMK, side, from the side of Anna DMK and all other parties, participated and all of them gave unanimous support to this Bill called "Netaji National Academy Bill". At the last moment when the whip was issued from Her Majesty, Her Democratic Majesty, when she issued a whip, those Congress Members and their allied who supported the Bill

finally voted it down. Yes, it was voted down under a threat. But what was the real mind of the members of this House? It was revealed when unanimous support was given to this Bill by all the Members, from all the parties that a National Academy in the name of Netaji should be established by the Government.

I have mentioned about the subjects, I do not want an institution or an academic institution, but my idea is not only to project the great personality of Netaji before the Indian youth but at the same time to project also the national ideology for which he was fighting. The revolutionary image of Netaji dazzled our vision, dazzled the vision of our Indian people. For that reason his ideological contribution remained almost eclipsed—his heroic feature, his legendary image that enchanted the Indian people, their vision remained I should say, overpowered by the glowing of the revolutionary effulgence of Netaji. But let us not forget that Netaji is greatest architect of Indian leftism. He had some fundamental ideology also to contribute. For that reason I want an academy, so that some of the basic and fundamental issues can be discussed along with the contributions that Netaji made in these aspects. Let us take what I have said.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Some amendments are to be moved and some others want to speak.

SHRI PURNANARAYAN SINHA (Tezpur): It has been said that more Members may also be prepared to speak. But what about the members present in the House? You had 25 Members previously to speak. But you do not have that much strength present in the House.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: This is my privilege to the main speech.

I have suggested study of advanced Military Science. Why have I said so? Is there any other person that India produced in the freedom struggle like Netaji after Shivaji? I am saying—leader of the Army of Liberation. George Washington is known as a leader of the Army of Liberation. Garibaldi is known as a leader of the Army of Liberation. Trotsky is known as a leader of the Military Committee of Russian Revolution. Mao Tse-tung is also known as a leader of the Army of Liberation. But in India I have already said Netaji's role and distinction is completely different from other national leaders. He raised an Army of Revolution out of dust in a foreign

country in adverse circumstances, where there was no possibility whatsoever of raising such an army of revolution. There were so many armies of revolution which were raised in different countries of the world, but not of the kind that was raised by Netaji.

I remember in my younger days in 1928, when Netaji formed the Bengal Volunteers during the 1928 Congress in Calcutta. Many people ridiculed the idea. He was ridiculed and he was branded as 'Goe', faintly did any of them realise—even the national leaders did not realise at that time—that Netaji's Bengal Volunteers would be the seed of the dream of his future army of liberation.

Go to any nation of the world, go to America, go to Russia, go to China, go to France, or Germany or anywhere, it is not the professional General's image that is placed before the officers and the soldiers. It is the image of a national hero, of a legendary hero, or a man who has created something extraordinary.

But in India is there any military institution named after Netaji, any insignia, any other institution, any award for heroism or anything of that kind? No nothing.

I had a personal talk with Gen. Kawabe and I want to quote what he told me about Netaji, General Kawabe was in charge of the Burmese front and of the courageous men under his command. The British army was defeated by him in the whole of South-East Asia. I quote what Gen. Kawabe told me about Netaji:—

“Chander Bose was a great revolutionary but the greatness of his leadership is largely due to his brilliance as a military leader.

The unique character of Netaji's military leadership as the Supreme Commander of I.N.A., his magnetic inspiration, in infusing dignity, discipline and dauntless patriotism in his liberation army, his paramount control over his revolution army during attack or retreat, his innovation of soul-stirring battlecries, his electrifying order-of-the-days and all other gallant fighting feats in Germany and South East Asia, in organising and leading the Azad Hind Fauj manifestly show that India should pay homage to Netaji not only as the greatest revolutionary of the age but as also the greatest revolutionary military leader of Modern India.”

[Shri Samar Guha]

This is not my word. This is an assessment and evaluation of one of the greatest Generals of Japan.

I do not want to quote more. I can quote many literatures that have come out in East Germany and West Germany. They have also evaluated the role of Netaji as Supreme Commander. But, what have we done? This is the reason why I have suggested that in this National Academy in the name of Netaji, advanced military science should be studied. That should be one of the aspects of this Netaji National Academy.

The second subject is: 'Modern Socio-Economic and Political Ideologies relevant to the objectives of Indian National Reconstruction.'

Netaji was misunderstood and misinterpreted during the days of freedom struggle by many people as a neo-fascist. Some called him a neo-fascist, others called him a crypto-communist, others called him nothing but a leftist, others called him just an aggressive militant nationalist, others described him just a pragmatic freedom-fighter. Some of them even called him just an adventurist and a careerist. Many people called him like that. But if I find the time at the time of reply, I will discuss his political philosophy.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You will have ample time.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Even in the 1930's, when Marxism and Marxist philosophy was talked about, even Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was advocating that, there were three persons in India who made contribution in regard to propagating Socialist thought in India, and they were Manabendra Nath Roy, Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose. Between Roy and Jawaharlal Nehru, there was no difference; philosophically, there was no difference. Both of them were teaching Marxism. In 1934 Pandit Nehru made a statement that "India will have to choose between fascism and communism I believe, that Marxism materialistic interpretation of history is sound. Therefore, I think that India will have to go by Marxist philosophy or Communist philosophy." Netaji immediately issued a rejoinder from Vienna. He said "Unless we reached the end of the evolution and unless we feel that there is an last word in human wisdom—only, in that eventuality, that we feel so, you can say that the choice is between this kind or that kind of philosophy." Netaji

said, always have said, that 'I am a socialist'. I have quotations about it. But, I do not want to bother you. He said: "The salvation of India and, of the whole world depends on socialism. But India will have to evolve her own method and her own outlook of socialism on the basis of Indian culture, philosophy, the heritage and condition. that will be found in a national life".

Netaji, as I said, wanted to go to Russia. He did not want to go to Germany. He wanted to go to Russia but it did not give him asylum. For that reason, he had to go to Germany. Yet Netaji had no affinity with the Communist philosophy. He believed that it is the duty of a dynamic nation or a modern nation, of a creative genius, to study the political philosophy that is prevalent in all parts of the world, to find out the truth in it according to the latest scientific, sociological, historical and philosophical progress of the world and, then it will be the duty of a nation to synthesise the different values, positive values, to evolve a national ideology of a country. I can quote. But I do not want to take much time. Netaji, in brilliantly analysing the evolution of the political philosophy of the modern world said 'British people discovered the concept of constitutional democracy.' In the next phase of the world, he said 'is of the contribution of French Revolution, of the concept of equality fraternity and brotherhood'. Then he said 'the next phase of the revolution is the concept of ideology, it was the gift of Marxism.' Then, he said 'it was the gift of Russian revolution', and, finally, he said 'it is the duty of India, that it must go ahead to evolve a new socio-political ideology for constructing India, for reconstructing India, for fulfilling the mission of India and to make the necessary progress not only for India but for the world as a whole.'

Sir, with this perspective, I suggested that a national academy should be built where this comparative study of the socio political ideology should be made. Also it is known that Netaji, as I said earlier, is the father of Indian National Planning. Not only in his Haripura speech but also in other speeches he propagated his idea of national planning, even during the war in Germany and South-East Asia, he had developed a cell for national planning when he was leading his army. He made a unique speech in Tokyo University on the subject of how the Indian National Planning should be made for building the future of India after attainment of freedom.

That is why such a National Planning should also be a subject for study. About the history of the revolutionary movement, you now know what the capsule says— that the Indian freedom movement was started in 1920. Revolutionary movement was before that. Netaji's Revolutionary

struggle, after 1942 Quit India Movement, has no place there. Therefore, a Balanced study has to be made about the History of Indian freedom also and other respects.

I know what will be the stock answer of the Education Ministry. The stock answer would be: "Well, you have the Netaji Research Institute, Netaji Museum. We have given Rs. 2,30,000 to them. For Netaji Museum probably, we will increase it by rupees one lakh more." I am a Member of the Netaji Research Institute. I am closely associated with it. The purpose of that organisation is very very limited. It is only to collect as much of the materials connected with the life and activities of Netaji which our Government did not try or allowed to get lost those brilliant literature and documents of Azad Hind Revolution. That thing they are doing. They are publishing some of the writings and speeches of Netaji. That is all.

My object is completely different. I would request the Janata Government and the Education Minister. . . . I am not talking now as a Janata Member. I am talking as a patriotic son of India expressing the will of the Indian people and, I hope, that the Government will understand and realise that there is a change of era and a new era is ahead of us. Let us at least amend the wrongs and sin committed towards that greatest revolutionary of ours during the last thirty years. Let us amend it just in a small way by agreeing to establish a National Academy in the name of that great revolutionary to make fundamental study and specialised study of the subjects in which Netaji evinced interest.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Resolution moved :

"This House recommends to the Government that, in patriotic recognition of the fundamental contributions made By Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, in thought and action, towards achieving independence of undivided India and evolution of ideological concept of our national reconstruction, an Institute of all India importance named as 'Netaji National Academy', be set up by the Government within a year for making specialised and advanced studies on subjects, in which Netaji evinced keen interest, like,—(i) advance Military Science (ii) modern socio-economic and political ideologies relevant to the objectives of Indian national reconstruction (iii) concept of Indian national planning.

(iv) perspective and problems of Indian national integration, (v) history of revolutionary movements for Indian independence and (vi) mission of Indian culture and civilisation towards achieving amity and understanding among the people of the world."

There are some amendments. Only Shri B.P. Mandal and Shri Hukamdeo Narain Yadav are present. They may move their amendments.

SHRI B. P. MANDAL (Madhepura) : I beg to move :

That in the resolution,—

for—

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

substitute—

"a full fledged university be opened in his name, which besides other subjects should also teach the ideology of Netaji in respect of patriotism and political ideology and Netaji's concept of socialism."(3)

SHRI HUKMDEO NARAIN YADAV (Madhubani) : I beg to move :

That in the resolution,—

add at the end—

"and (vii) respect towards the national, language and national heritage and culture." (2)

SHRI SHYAMAPRASANNA BHATTACHARYYA (Uluberia) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I fully support the Resolution moved by Shri Samar Guha for setting up of a Netaji National Academy.

श्री उग्रसेन (देवरिया) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय समर गुहा साहब ने जो तजवीज सदन के सामने अपने गैर सरकारी प्रस्ताव के रूप में रखी है उस के समर्थन में एक दो बात कहना चाहता हूँ। मुझे भी इस बात का गर्व हासिल है, जब मैं नौजवान था, 1941 में त्रिपुरी कांग्रेस में मैं गया था। वहाँ जो नेताओं का नंगा नाच मैं ने देखा उस पर मैं ज्यादा नहीं बोलना चाहता हूँ। मैं उस समय कांग्रेस सोशलिस्ट पार्टी का सदस्य था। मेरे दिमाग पर उस का बड़ा बुरा असर पड़ा। वहाँ पर मैं स्पष्ट कहना चाहता हूँ हमारे कांग्रेस सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के जो नेता थे, वे नेता जी से वादा कर के उन से मुकर गए। मैं एन जी रंगा से उस समय बहुत ल। उस के बाद तीन चार महीने मैं उत्तर प्रदेश से बंगाल तक नेता जी का दौरा कराने में लगा रहा। उन के क्या जज़्बात थे, मैं क्या बताऊँ? मैं साउथ ईस्ट एशिया की कन्वेंशन में भी गया, बर्मा गया, उन के लोगों से मिला। इस में कोई शक नहीं कि हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी आयी लेकिन नेता जी की आजाद हिन्द फौज की लड़ाई न होती, उन के हमले न होते, बम्बई का नाविक विद्रोह न होता और जय प्रकाश नारायण और डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया के नेतृत्व में क्रान्तिकारी आन्दोलन न हुए होते तो माफ कीजिएगा, चरखा चलाने से अंग्रेज यहाँ से कदापि न जाते, जिसका बड़ा द्विंदोरा दूसरे लोग यहाँ पीटते हैं।

अब उनके नाम पर हमारे समर गुहा साहब जो उनके कमांडर इन आर्म्स थे एक मामूली सा प्रस्ताव रखे हैं कि एक नेशनल डिफेंस एकेडेमी बनाई जाय जहाँ वही पढ़ाई

रखी जाय जो नेता जी ने इंट्रोड्यूस की थी। मैं कुआला लामपुर, रंगून, बैंकाक वगैरह में उन लोगों से मिला हूँ जो वहाँ दूध बेचते थे अखबार बेचते थे और जिन को उन्होंने एक दिन में कर्नल और जनरल बना दिया। उस के बाद उन्होंने जो लड़ाई लड़ी है और जहाँ तक वह आए थे मणिपुर में कोइरंग तक, जहाँ उनका स्मारक बना है, वहाँ भी मैं गया हूँ। आजादी के आन्दोलन दुनिया में बहुत हुए हैं लेकिन जो बहादुरी उनके जवानों ने दिखाई उस की मिसाल नहीं मिलेगी। जवान जो बीच में ही मर जाते थे वे यह कहते थे नेता जी से कह देना कि हम ने वादा किया था दिल्ली चलने का लेकिन हम दिल्ली नहीं पहुंच पाए, यहीं हम शहीद हो रहे हैं। नेता जी कहते थे—दिल्ली चलो, दिल्ली चलो, दिल्ली चलो दिल्ली चलेंगे, रुके हैं किसी के रुकेंगे न किसी कोई दिल्ली चलेंगे—यह उनका बनाया हुआ गीत है जिसको गाते थे। आजाद हिन्द फौज के सिपाही जब आये, दिल्ली, शाहनवाज, सहगल साहब का ट्रायल हुआ तो उन दिनों मैं बम्बई में था। उस समय की सरकार के जो हमारे मोञ्जिज वजीर आजम थे उन्होंने सोचा कि कहीं फौज को हवा न लग जाए आई एन ए वालों से। नतीजा यह हुआ कि नाविक गड़बड़ा गए। उन्होंने टेकअप कर लिया और सारे जहाजों पर अपने झंडे लगा दिये। अगर आई एन ए न होती तो नाविक विद्रोह नहीं होता। जबलपुर, झांसी, आगरा में बैरक्स में जो रहते थे उनमें जगह-जगह बगावत छिड़ गई। उस समय लोग, मुझे खयाल है, मैं श्री समर गुहा को बताना चाहता हूँ, कहते थे कि हम आजाद हिन्द फौज के साथ हैं। मैं गांधी जी की प्रार्थना—सभाओं में जाता था आजाद हिन्द फौज के जवानों को अपने साथ लेकर, वहाँ पर जयहिन्द और बंदेमातरम् को लेकर बड़ी कांट्रोवर्सी बनी हुई थी। हम जयहिन्द कहते थे तो गांधी जी कहते थे बंदेमातरम् के लिए। आजाद हिन्द फौज के जवान रंगून, कुआ-

लालपुर, सिंगापुर में लड़े उसमें हमारे गोरखपुर जिले के लोग थे। आज भी गांवों में वे लोग मौजूद हैं लेकिन उन्हें सरकार पेंशन नहीं देती। उनको आज भी विश्वास नहीं है कि नेताजी आज नहीं हैं। तो नेताजी ने जो स्पिरिट इंकलकेट की, जो जोश पैदा किया, देश के जवानों में जिस साइंस को स्टैंडलाइज किया उसके लिए हम कह रहे हैं कि आप स्कूल खोल दीजिए तो कौन सी बड़ी मांग कर रहे हैं। मैं कहता हूँ जनता पार्टी की सरकार से हम यह भी नहीं कहला सकते कि हमको कुछ सोचना पड़ेगा। यहां पर चेम्सफोर्ड एकेडमी है, सेंट मैरी एकेडमी है—मैं कहता हूँ इनके चक्कर में आप क्यों पड़े हैं। जब ब्रिटिश पार्लियामेंट में मेकाले को चार्ज दिया गया कि तुम हिन्दुस्तान में क्या करना चाहते हो तो उसने कहा कि अंग्रेजी पढ़ाकर केवल क्लर्कों को भर्ती नहीं करना चाहता, मैं चाहता हूँ उनको इस प्रकार की शिक्षा दी जाये जिससे इंडियन्स अपनी कल्चर को भूल जायें और अपने पास्ट को भूल जायें। कोई भी कौम जब अपने इतिहास को भूल जाती है, अपनी तहजीब तमद्दीन को भूल जाती है तो आगे कुछ नहीं कर सकती। अंग्रेजों की मिलिट्री साइंस आज भी हमारे देश में चली आ रही है जोकि हमारी धरती को सूट नहीं करती है, जो हमारे देश के वातावरण के लिए ठीक नहीं है। हमारे यहां मनीपुर के मैदान में लोग पटिया टांगते थे तो उनको कहा जाता था कि घास की रोटी खा रहे हो, तुम इधर चले आओ और हलुवा पूड़ी खाओ लेकिन वें जवाब देते थे कि तुम्हारी गुलामी की हलुवा पूरी से हमारी घास की रोटी लाख गुनी अच्छी है। तो इस भावना को कहां पढ़ाया जाता है? हमारे देश में चन्द्रगुप्त मौर्य और दूसरे बड़े बड़े राजा हुए खुद अकबर और औरंगजेब की नैवल पालिसी थी लेकिन अकबर की वह पालिसी आज कहां पढ़ाई जाती है? मुगलों के जमाने में मिलिट्री साइन्स बहुत डेवलपड थी।

हमारी फौज के ज्यादातर अफसर सैडहस्ट कालेज के ट्रेन्ड हैं। हमारे मरहूम मोव्जिजज वजीरे आजम के जमाने में इंग्लैंड की पढ़ाई लिखाई वाले लोगों का साबका पड़ा चीन का तो भाग कर किनारे हो गए। एक दिन में तीस मील पहाड़ों में भाग गए। वाह रे हमारी फौज और वाह रे हमारी सरकार।

18:00 Hrs.

ऐसी हालत में मैं समर गुह जी के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ। नेता जी के नाम पर नेशनल डिफेन्स एकेडमी बन जाती है तो आई एन ए गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से और इंडिया इंडेपेंडेंट लीग की तरफ से सारे कागजात छपे हुए हैं। जो तकरीरों की हैं वह हैं। झांसी की रेजिमेन्ट कैसे बनी, यह सारी बातें हैं। एक पैराशूटिकल रेजिमेन्ट बनी थी। हमारे यहां आज भी लोग मौजूद हैं। दो तरह की कार्यवाही होती थी। एक तरफ यह काम था कि फौज में भर्ती हो जाओ। दूसरा काम यह करा कि तुम वहां जा कर उस सरकार को गिराओ, ट्रेन तोड़ो, लाइन उखाड़ो। जिन लोगों को भेजा, वे कौन से द्वेष बेचने वाले थे, भाजी बेचने वाले थे, अखबार बेचने वाले थे। उन में से बहुतों को फांसी हो गई, बहुत से मर गए, लेकिन जो बचे वे आज रोडवेज की कण्डक्टरी करते हैं। नेता जी ने उन से कहा था—तुम हिन्दुस्तान जाओ, हिन्दुस्तान की फौज में तुम्हारा एक रैंक बढ़ जाएगा तुम वहां की फौज में ले लिए जाओगे लेकिन बाद में क्या हुआ। नेता जी के कहने को कहां तक पूरा किया गया? आज हम को शर्म लगती है। आज हम वकालत करते हैं कि उन के नाम पर स्कूल खोल दीजिए, एकाडमी खोल दीजिए, लेकिन समरदादा क्या हुआ? बम्बई में नेताजी लाण्डी खुल गई, नेताजी शू कम्पनी खुल गई। नेता जी के लिए हमारे वजीरे-आजम-हिन्दुस्तान की पिछले 30 सालों में यह कन्ट्री पूशन है। जिस ने देश को आजादी दिलाई, जो हिन्दुस्तान के नौजवानों का सच्चा अलम्परदार

[श्री उग्रसेन]

था, उस के नाम पर शू हाउस खुले, लाण्ट्री खुली—कितने शर्म की बता है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप का बहुत ज्यादा समय नहीं लेना चाहता। मुझे पूरी उम्मीद है कि इस हाउस का हर मेम्बर, प्रधान मंत्री से लेकर नीचे तक इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करेगा। मैं आप को बतलाऊँ। एक माउण्टबेटन क्लब है, और उस के नाम को बदल कर जयप्रकाश रख दिया जाय, तो उस से कोई फायदा नहीं होगा, उस की टेबिल और कुर्सी में भी तो तानाशाही से कीड़े होंगे—हमें उस के ऊसूलों के अनुरूप उस को बनाना होगा। लेनिन ने कहा है—

“Destroy everything in bourgeoisie, in art, culture and what not.”

जहाँ कहीं भी पूँजीवाद की गंध आती है उस को फूँक दो, उस को तोड़ दो, उसको बरबाद

कर दो। इस लिए जब इस तरह की एकाडमी बनेगी और उस से 10 साल के बाद जो बच्चे निकलेगे वे आजाद हिन्दुस्तान के आजाद वातावरण से, खुला हवा से निकल कर आयेंगे और देश के लिए मरने वाले नौजवान होंगे।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपने साथी श्री समर गुह साहब के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ और उस का तहेदिल से शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ। उस बहादुर इन्सान ने, जिस ने इस मुल्क को प्रेरणा दी मुल्क के लिए मर-मिटने की भावना पैदा की, उस के लिए ऐसी यादगार बनाना बहुत जरूरी है, इस तरह की एकाडमी जरूर बनाई जाए।

18-03 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, April, 17, 1978/ Chaitra 27, 1900 (Saka)