

MR. SPEAKER: At item No. 27 (B), the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Shri Raghu Ramaiah moved the motion that rule 26 of the Rules of Procedure be suspended. Then, points of order were raised that so far it has always been suspended by a consensus which I upheld. So, this will go on. After that, it will be seen what comes.

SHRI K. RAGHU RAMAIAH: Sitting beyond 6 O'Clock also requires a consensus. We will not allow.... (Interruptions).

15.23 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE: REPORT OF COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO DISAPPEARANCE OF 'NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE—Contd.

MR. SPEAKER: The House will now take up Resolution regarding Report of Commission of Inquiry into disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Shri Samar Guha

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contd.): Sir, I am raising on this day a very solemn subject, a very sacred subject, a very delicate subject, a very sensitive subject, which involves the honour of the revolutionary pilgrims of India. The honour of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, is the honour of the whole of the nation and the Indian people are the trustees of that honour.

Before I enter into the main theme of my motion, I ask the Hon'ble Members of this House, including the Prime Minister, whether Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose could have played the role of a puppet of the Axis power, or could have subjected himself to playing the role of a puppet or a quisling of those powers. Do any of you in this House believe

that Netaji's Azad Hind revolution ended in failure? Sir, none in this House and nobody in this country will dare to call Netaji a puppet or a quisling of the Axis powers or of Japan or that our Netaji had acted as a pawn or a tool in the hands of Japan. But one ICS ex-Judge has dared to say so, in the Khosla Commission's report on the pages I have indicated. As a Member of the House. I have given a cyclo-styled note on what Mr. Khosla has written. I think the House has got it, but I only want to read out first a few portions.

Mr. Khosla says on page 7:

"He (Netaji) also realised that despite the outward respect and honour with which the Japanese treated him, he was looked upon as a puppet, a tool which could be discarded and ignored, when deemed no longer useful ..."

On page 37 he says:

"... Japanese had, towards the end of the war, shown scant respect or regard for him. From the beginning they had wanted him as their tool, a pawn in their hands, who could be made to move in compliance with their plans and wishes

On pages 124 & 125 he writes:

"The Japanese, however, looked upon him not as an equal ally, but as a person whom they could use for their own ends".

And again; on the same page he wrote:

"All the evidence points to the fact that the Japanese neither had complete confidence in Bose's ability to lead a large army and secure victories over the Allied Forces, nor

did they fully trust him".

Sir, what were the terms of reference of the Commission? The terms of reference of the Commission were that the "Commission shall enquire into the facts and circumstances relating to the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in 1945 and subsequent developments connected therewith, and to make its report to the Central Government."

Nowhere was Mr. Khosla given power to make an assessment of the role of Netaji, nor was he empowered by the Government to make any derogatory remarks or make any assessment of the role that was played by the Azad Hind Revolution. Going beyond the jurisdiction of the terms of reference, he has made many derogatory remarks about Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. If it goes out to the people—the people have not yet seen this report of the Khosla Commission—I do not know what will happen to this decrepit ICS of the British days.

Netaji visualised that such kind of accusation would be made against him, and when Cripps visited India, he made a broadcast from Berlin in which he said:

"I am not an apologist of the Tripartite Powers and I need no credential when I speak to my own people."

Then again he has said over Azad Hind Radio from Singapore in 1943:

"I am not interested about what is happening in Kamachkatka or Timbaktu. My concern is what is happening inside India and along her borders."

All of you are calling Mahatma Gandhi as the Father of our Nation. It was Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose who first addressed Mahatmaji as the Father of our Nation, and you have all accepted that. In that historic

speech he visualised that many people might try to depict him as a quising or a puppet of Japan. Visualising that in advance this is what he said over Azad Hind Radio to Mahatmaji:

"Mahatmaji, I can assure you that, before I finally decided to set out on this hazardous mission. I spent days, weeks and months in carefully considering the pros and cons of the case. After having served the people so long to the best of my ability, I would have no desire to be a traitor or to give any one justification for calling me a traitor."

15.33 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Then he said:

"There remains but one question for me to answer with regard to the Axis Powers. Can it be possible that I have been deceived by them? I believe it will be universally admitted that the cleverest and the most cunning politicians are to be found amongst Britishers. One who has worked with and fought British politicians all his life, cannot be deceived by any other politicians in the world. If British politicians have failed to coax or coerce me, no other politician can succeed in doing so. And if the British Government, at whose hands I have suffered long imprisonment, persecution and physical assault, has been unable to demoralize me, no other power can hope to do so.

"I have never done anything which could compromise in the least, either the honour or the self-respect or the interests of my country.

"Mahatmaji, you know better than anybody else how deeply suspicious the Indian people are of mere promises. I would be the last man to be influenced by Japan if her declaration of policy had been mere promises.

[Shri Samar Guha]

"Once our enemies are expelled from India, and peace and order is established, the mission of the Provisional Government will be over. The only reward that we desire for our efforts, for our suffering and for our sacrifice is the freedom of our motherland. There are many among us who would like to retire from the political field, once India is free.

"Nobody would be more happy than ourselves, if by chance our countrymen at home should succeed in liberating themselves through their own effort, or if by any chance, the British Government accepts your 'Quit India' Resolution and gives effect to it.

'Troops of the Azad Hind Fauz are now fighting bravely on the soil of India, and in spite of all difficulty and hardship, they are pushing forward slowly but steadily. This armed struggle will go on, until the last Britisher is thrown out of India and until our Tri-Colour National Flag proudly floats over the Viceroy's House in New Delhi.

"Father of our Nation! In this holy war for India's liberation, we ask for your blessings and good wishes."

"What more do you want, Sir? He visualised it and it was Mahatmaji, the Father of the Nation whom he made witness for the future. And Mr Khosla wants to denigrate Netaji as a traitor. But Khosla calls him a traitor. It is the perverted imagination of Khosla that he calls Netaji as puppet and quisling.

Now I want to quote a few remarks that have been made about Netaji by Mahatmaji and other great sons of India. Mahatmaji said

"The hypnotism of INA has cast a spell on us. Netaji's name (?)

His patriotism is second to none. (I use the present tense in-

tionally). His bravery shines through all actions."

Again he says:

"Everyone of Netaji's followers who saw me on their return to India had said to me without exception that Netaji's influence acted like a charm on them and they had acted under him with the single aim of achieving Indian freedom.

And this man, Khosla, doubts that he acted as a puppet or quisling of Japan or Germany.

Now this is what Dr Radhakrishnan says

"His fearless courage, his reckless abandon, his suffering and sacrifice have become a part of the legendary story of India's struggle for freedom. Future generations will read the amazing story of his life with pride and reverence and salute him as one of the great heroes who heralded India's dawn.

Now about Pandit Nehru. Even Pandit Nehru had some doubts. After coming out of Ahmednagar Jail, Pandit Nehru said, some information had trickled to me in jail about Netaji. I had no clear idea then but I have a clear idea now that Netaji and INA were fighting for India's liberation. He said and I quote

"I had no doubt in my mind even then of the truth that men and women under Subhas Babu had done so because of the passionate desire to serve the cause of India's freedom." Again, it is Pandit Nehru who, during the trial of INA said

"That the trial dramatised the contest England versus India, it became a reality and not merely a question of law but a rather trial of strength between the will of the Indian people and will of those who held power in India."

I would not make a speech, but I would quote what Govindballabh Pant said about Netaji:

"Subhas Babu was one of the greatest patriots and revolutionary leaders ever born. He displayed remarkable qualities of leadership and organization and for these he has been appropriately given by the entire nation, the distinguished title of Netaji. His memory will never fade and his name will ever remain enshrined in letters of gold in the history of Indian freedom."

Now look at what Dr Pattabhi Scetaramaya said. He was the man, who was defeated by Netaji at the time of contest at Tripura Congress. What a great soul. Dr Scetaramaya was in what esteem did he hold Netaji and eulogise him. I quote what he said:

"Subhas was still a phantom and his name was still a sound when the Indian armies under his leadership and command invaded Imphal and the eastern boundary of Manipur."

But time solved all problems and riddles and resolved all doubts and difficulties. The return of the INA, the sensational trials that it led to, the wide advertisement that followed in their train, brought to light the hidden facts of this great adventure in modern history and revealed the real man in the mystic, the brave soldier in the civilian, the genuine revolutionary in the administrator. That Subhas's colleagues did not share his principles and policies could not detract for the glory of his adventure.

"No foreigner may be trusted to emancipate one subject country except to enslave it himself in turn. Yet, the fact remains that the attempt unprecedented in character, colossal in magnitude and stupendous in achievement must be assessed

at its innate worth without being discounted either by the rights and wrongs or by the facts of its success or failure."

Then he said:

"Subhas Bose has proved to the world that Hindustan is still a land of valour and prowess, that the Indian has in him that sense of national honour for the preservation and perpetuation of which his forefathers had shed their red blood. Subhas may be alive or dead in body, but his spirit and his name will endure long years for ever in history in common with the names of Alexander, Darius, of Caesar and Haunibal of Crenkhis Khan and Timur Lane of Harold the Last of the Barons and William, the Conqueror of Cromwell and Guy Fawkes, of Kaiser and Hitler."

What did Lal Bahadur Shastri or any other great leader of our day of Subhas? The Prime Minister of India went to Calcutta to unveil the statue of Netaji. I quote:

What tremendous organisation, what organizing ability, or what competence or excellence Netaji had. It will be difficult to find another leader who could single handed and solely on his and on his own strength build up such a gigantic organization. I do not know of any parallel to the sacrifice and self-abnegation that Netaji made, the great risk he was taking in going out of the country. There was no thought of his own self in his being. He did not care about his own life. National revolution his country's freedom were his goal and from whenever he went his message continued to reach us. His broadcasts came through to us. His dedicated life brought forth a new light and a new power to this country. When the INA trials were going on here,

[Shri Samar Guha]

such a revolutionary situation was created in the country that it is impossible to stem its overwhelming tide. The entire country accepted Netaji as its leader, the greatest revolutionary leader of our country. To this day, we accept Netaji as our greatest leader, as a great leader, as a revolutionary he is an example to us, he is a beacon light.

These are the homages and eulogies Sir, there have been many great sons of India. I do not know if there was anybody in the pre-Partition days or even after Partition, who dared to call Netaji a puppet or a quisling or he was subjected to play the role of a tool or a pawn of Japan? I do not know. But this man Mr. Khosla, going beyond the jurisdiction of the terms of reference, made all such kinds of remarks.

Now let me quote what the Germans themselves have said. Now I quote one German author. A German author of Netaji's biography, Alexander Worth, described how the Germans in the higher echelons of the officers knew his faculties. He wrote

"Netaji's German friends came to know very soon that Bose would never submit to the whims and bad manners of the highly placed leaders of the Nazi Party because it was clearly not in his nature to capitulate to people for whom he had no respect."

During the first meeting with Hitler the first point Netaji raised was this. Netaji told Hitler categorically that the derogatory remarks that Hitler had made in his book *Mein Kampf* about India should be expunged in the next edition. Then Hitler tried to inflict a haranguing speech but Netaji got very impatient and told his interpreter—What does he say? I quote

"Please tell His Excellency that I have been in politics all my life and that I do not need advice from anyone."

That gentleman who is living still says that he was trembling like anything. In those days nobody dared to say anything to Hitler in his very face, that he did not want to hear the haranguing speech of the Fuhrer of the Germans. Then I quote another communist author, Reimund Schubel in his book *Tiger and Schakel* who wrote

"Bose did not act out of opportunist. He viewed the Nazi ideology sceptically and was no stooge of Hitler or Mussolini. Bose believed in functioning in accordance with political realism."

But Mr. Khosla has described Netaji a puppet.

I also remind you I have got in mind the Soviet Indologist. In his latest book he has said

"Netaji played the role of a great nationalist revolutionary."

I shall draw attention also to another author. I have not brought the papers. I remember it very well. When Germany declared war against Russia, Netaji told the Foreign Minister Mr. Ribbentrop categorically that the attack on the Russians the Indian people would consider as an imperialist war. Netaji left instruction in Germany that none will fight in the eastern front they will fight against the British and nobody else in the western front. For that reason, hundreds of Azad Hind Fauz were shot at because they refused to fight against the Russians in the Eastern front.

I shall tell you what the Japanese say. When General Tojo, the Supreme Commander and also Prime Minister of wartime Japan was executed, Dr. Radha Binod Pal went to see his wife Mrs. Tojo. She told Dr. Radha Binod Pal. I quote:

"After the first meeting with Bose, my husband told me that he not only met the greatest Indian leader but the greatest revolutionary he had ever known."

The wartime Foreign Minister of Japan has written a book in which he has admitted that Netaji was the greatest Asiatic hero of his age Shri Khosla quoted the book amply but he has not quoted what they had told about our Netaji or what they had written about Netaji. I just quote from this book, called the books of Hayashida Hayashida wrote that in the course of a meeting in Saigon in 1943 between Gen Tojo, the Prime Minister of Japan and Gen. Terauchi who was the Commander of the whole South east Asia an assessment about Netaji was made by both of them and according to the authors, I quote

"They spared no words in praising Netaji's dynamic capabilities, and described with awe the Indian leader's unimpeachable personal life' It was stated by one Colonel as follows:-

"This Indian leader lives 24 hours of every day only in completely disinterested dedication to the cause of his country's emancipation". He is stoicism itself and has not shown any interest in the common pleasures of life."

Tojo nodded approvingly and commented: "I am glad that my judgment was correct. When I met him for the first time in Tokyo, I felt I was looking at a man of really great judgment. Terauchi brought up the pending issue of provisional government. Personally, I am now inclined to support it. What do you think?"

Tojo replied at once. I am for it now".

Another incident as mentioned by this author Hayashida is this. I quote.

"When Netaji met at Nanking in 1943, Wang Chang Wei, the Head of the Chinese Government recognised by Japan, according to the same authors, Wang expressed wonder at Netaji's living like a saint without ever caring for the common pleasures of life. Netaji only smiled but did not reply. Netaji's puritanic life continued to amaze other national leaders and Japanese military officers. That was one other reason why he was respected without reservation by those who knew him."

Major Takahashi, Japanese spy was appointed by Japanese Government to see how Netaji behaved and what he was doing. This is the report that that man sent to the Japanese Government. I quote:

"The Indian leader appeared to me to be a superman. During three weeks of inspection tour, he had to replace three aides-de-camp. They were all overcome with exhaustion. Netaji worked 24 hours a day without rest, meeting local Indian and inspecting troops and facilities. No normal person could share his workload."

Then Gen. Fuzoyare who was also associated with the imphal offensive has said

"As leader of the Army, Bose became the foundation of spiritual strength and was the pivot of the INA organisation".

[Shri Samar Guha]
He goes on comparing him with Vivekananda. Now, I will quote what Gen. Kawala has said:

"Chandra Bose was a great revolutionary but the greatness of leadership is largely due to his brilliance as a military leader, as an organiser and inspirer of a revolutionary army as an acute 'strategist, as a planner of military operations, as one whose magnetic personality infused dignity, discipline and patriotism both during offensive and retreat, as an innovator of electrifying orders of the day for his Army and for all other gallant traits of his personality, any nation will feel extremely proud of a leader like Chandra Bose.'"

I can quote many Japanese and others. Dr. Ba Maw of Burma, Dr. Josef Laurel, Dr. Sharier of Indonesia, Dr. Hatta of Indonesia and a number of persons, whom I personally met. Now I do not want to quote all of them. I shall tell you what Dr. Hatta told me about Netaji when he met him in the Coprosperity Conference when Netaji refused to be a regular delegate; Netaji said, until India was free, I will not be a delegate to the Conference; I will be only an observer and a visitor. In that Conference Dr. Ba Maw, Dr. Sharier, Dr. Hatta and other leaders, before Chandra Bose spoke, thought that he was under the thumb of Japan, he was nothing but a stooge and puppet. But after they heard the speech of Chandra Bose a new sense of revolutionary spirit developed in them and they felt that they were really fighting for Asiatic Revolution. Netaji said it, mend you, at the face of Tojo, at the face of other Japanese Generals and other top leaders who were sitting in that Conference. He said:

"It is not a case of a few politicians in Japan enunciating an attractive policy in high sounding terms without reference to the wishes or

ideas of the mass of the people. It is the case of an Asiatic nation developing an Asiatic consciousness and acting as the spear-head of an Asiatic revolution."

I will not quote the remarks that were given to me by other leaders like Soekarno but I will only quote one remark of Dr. Josef Laurel who is known as the father of the Philippines. When I went to see him he was so much over-whelmed, he told so many things about him. When I was coming out he said something wonderful. Remember he was known as one of the elder statesmen of the world; he has attended the League of Nations in Geneva. He knew almost all the world leaders of those days. What he says, I quote:

"Of all the leaders I have ever met Chandra Bose was the greatest."

Such a great statesman says that of all the statesmen of the world he ever knew, Chandra Bose was the greatest

But this man, Mr. Khosla, this ICS of the British days, tried to sully the effulgent image of that great revolutionary pilgrim. That too from where? I ask the hon. Minister. I have brought these fourteen volumes, all these fourteen volumes of evidence, 17 volumes all these documents, 17 volumes of the proceedings of the Netaji Enquiry Commission. Could there be anywhere any instance where any witness either Japanese or Indian or Malaysian or Thai or Formosan, any witness state^d anywhere that Netaji acted as a puppet, Netaji acted as a quisling and that he allowed himself to be used as a pawn or a tool in the hands of Japan? Where is it? I challenge the hon. Minister, Find out a single instance, a single witness, who has said a single document? Where is it stated that Netaji was treated as a puppet? Where is it stated that Netaji was not treated as an ally? Where is it stated that they had no trust in him? Mr. Khosla had many mis-statements, I do not

want to go into them because my main motion is still pending about the findings. I am not going into the findings. I am only saying about the dishonour that has been shown to Netaji by Mr. Khosla. This man has also said that his whole Azad-Hind Movement ended in failure. This man, at one place, has said that Netaji raised a three division army. At another place, he has said that he had only 3,000 men. Where did he get it from? Who told him? What is the number of a three division army? At least, 50,000, leaving aside auxiliary, leaving aside Bal Sena, leaving aside Jans, Bahm and leaving aside other volunteers. It has been said by British authors that 60,000 armed forces had been raised by Netaji. But, this man has said that Netaji's army had only 3,000 men. This is only to denigrate the great role of Netaji, just only to belittle him that he had made no contribution to the Indian freedom movement

Su, Netaji, while he was retreating, made his prophetic broadcast that Japan's defeat was not the defeat of our INA, that Japan's defeat was not the defeat of the Azad-Hind Revolution. He refused to accept the defeat of Japan as the defeat of the INA, even when Japan surrendered. When he was retreating, it was the stupidity of one Japanese soldier. Netaji asked him: 'Kohima-Dimapur road, keep it open they will escape'. Now at the time of the INA trial, Bhulabhai Desai said that if Imphal was encircled, for three months, if Imphal fell, the whole of India would have been over-run by the INA. These are not my by words, but, by going through the documents, he has said this.

It was the stupidity of one Japanese General, Mutaguchi, who was in-charge of that front. The understanding was that as soon as Imphal would fall, the whole political and military administration and all responsibility would rest with Netaji and not a single

Japanese soldier would advance after Imphal. General Kawabe has in his book mentioned this categorically because he wanted to get all the 50,000 British soldiers and all arms and ammunition. The premature monsoon and lack of air supply, turned against the fate of INA there. When INA were retreating, Fujiwara and Kawabe said about Netaji: 'We are surprised; what is this man doing? Is he a mad man? He is going against all canons of war. He is sending batches after batches to the forefront when the Japanese soldiers are retreating, he is sending his men to be killed and massacred'. That general did not understand, the professional general did not understand the technique, the strategy and the principle of a revolutionary because Netaji wanted to create a saga of martyrdom for the future. What did he say in this broadcast? I quote:

"The time is not far off when our enemies will realise that though they have succeeded in overthrowing Germany, they have indirectly helped to bring into the arena of European politics another power—Soviet Russia—that may prove to be a greater menace to British and American imperialism than Germany was."

16 hrs.

Then he said:

"We may not travel to Delhi via Imphal, but we shall get there all right".

Then he said

"This is not rhetoric, nor is it propaganda. It is plain and unvarnished truth, and those who doubt the truth of this statement have only to wait and see that the ways of history like the ways of Providence are often mysterious. For the fulfilment of our objective, it was perhaps necessary that the British Indian Army should come to the

[Shri Samar Guha]

border and see the INA. The British Indian Army have seen us with their own eyes. What is the result? There is no longer any talk of a puppet army, a Japanese Indian Force"—

In those days it was called JIF—Japanese Indian Force—

"Even enemy propaganda now talks at least of INA."

In his last broadcast what did Netaji say?

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER According to the normal practice, the Mover should not take more than half an hour. You have exceeded it.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA I am finishing.

What was his last broadcast? He said in his broadcast

'Comrades,

'I shall now close for the day, but before I conclude I remind you that a revolutionary is one who believes in the justice of the cause and who believes that the cause is bound to prevail in the long run. He who gets depressed over failure or setback is not a revolutionary. The motto of a revolutionary is "hope for the best, but be prepared for the worst." I am confident that if we fight on in the international field we shall win our freedom by the end of the war. That does not mean that if by any chance we fail to do so we should be disheartened or depressed. Consequently if the worst happens and India does not emerge an independent State by the end of this war our next plan should be postwar revolution inside India. India's independence is a settled fact."

I would remind you how prophetic this has proved. At the time of the

INA trial, what happened? There was a revolutionary insurrection of royal ratings. What happened in the Royal Indian Air Force? What happened in Jubbulpur, Delhi and other areas? We know what even the British Indian Army was doing. It is known to all of us.

Many people do not know. My friend, a professor of Jadavpur University has got his doctorate by writing this book *Indian National Army*. He got a few rare documents, secret letters of General Auchinleck that were not known before to the world why the British Government decided to quit. I will not take much time. I will only quote a few words from that book. There was a note of Lt Gen Tucker who was in command of the Eastern section of the British Indian Army to Auchinleck. In that note he said

"The INA affair is threatening to tumble down the whole edifice of the Indian Army."

In a secret letter to Attlee the C-in-C Gen Auchinleck said

"I do not think any senior British officer today knows what is the real feeling among the Indian ranks regarding INA."

Then he said

"If the trial would have continued it would have led to chaos in the country at large and probably mutiny and dissension in the army culminating in its dissolution."

You know what happened. As soon as this secret letter reached Attlee within three days a Cabinet Mission was sent consisting of Lord Pethwick-Lawrence, Cripps and Alexander. When the Indian Independence Bill was being discussed in the House of Commons, Churchill got angry and asked Mr Attlee "What happened? Why did you take the precipitous

decision to quit India?" After a pause, Mr. Atlee replied:

"Because we were sitting at the top of a volcano". Who created the volcano? I ask Mr. Khosla, that man—I do not know what to call him—that man of perverse outlook said that the whole revolution ended in failure: It was Netaji who created that volcano and that volcano started erupting, belching out fire and it engulfed the whole country. The Britishers played a trick with our leaders and came with a plan, with a compromise and partition.

I shall now conclude by quoting what Hugh Toy, the British author of 'Spring Tiger'—he had nothing written much about him, but what he had written about him, I would say—said this about Netaji:

"By the magnitude of this conception, by the example of his magnetic and burning zeal, his tenacity and personal force, by the tradition he left of sacrificial patriotism, must be measured the stature of Subhash Chandra Bose. His place in Indian history, cannot be denied. An idol of the masses in Bengal, his youthful daring, his panache, his rockless courage caught the imagination of India. He gave much to his country. Even after the ruin of all he built, something of Subhash Chandra Bose remains. Had he lived to see the Republic of India, he would assuredly have given much more."

I will now finish by making a reference to only one other British author, Michael Edwards, from his book "The Last years of British India" who says about Netaji:

"Only one outstanding personality took a different and violent path and in a sense India owes more to him than to any other man".

He was making a reference to Gandhi, Nehru and Patel and then he made
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the above remark with reference to Subhash Chandra Bose. He says later:

"Only one major Congress leader Subhash Chandra Bose was a Kshatriya..... Subhash took a typically Kshatriya course by attempting to overthrow the British power by violence."

Sir, I have finished my speech. Mahatma Gandhi roused the Indian people to rebel against the British Imperialism in a peaceful way. But something was yet left to be done: the loyalty of the Indian Army. It was Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose; it was the saga of martyrdom of the INA, it was the blood of these martyrs from Peshawar to Chittagong that knocked out the loyalty of the British Indian army to the British Crown. When there was a naval mutiny, when there was the mutiny of the Royal Indian Air Force, when the Army in Jaisalpur and Delhi undertook a strike that was a red letter day for the British rulers. The loyalty of the Indian army was completely knocked out. It was the contribution of both these two great leaders, Gandhiji and Netaji historic leaders, who played a decisive role in the emancipation of our nation.

Sir, I am concluding. This is not a controversial resolution. I have only said that before this report is published and put in circulation, all these derogatory remarks should be expunged. I believe the conscience of the nation is not dead. We are the custodians of the conscience, we are the reflectors of the conscience of the nation. I hope your heart, your mind and your conscience will consider this humble submission that I have made. The honour of Netaji is the honour of the Nation and we are the trustee of that honour.

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNEJI
(Calcutta-South): Sir, I should like to

[Shri Priya Ranjan Das Munsi]

congratulate Prof Samar Guha for bringing forward this resolution which reflects the will and conscience of the people of this country, and not essentially the political parties. I support this Resolution. In regard to certain essential ideologies I differed with him but in regard to this Resolution, I am supporting it. This Resolution will make our history tomorrow. New generations will take birth decades after decades in our great soil and they will remember the contribution of their forefathers to the freedom movement. Our late Prime Minister Pandit Nehru and our late President Dr. Radhakrishnan said that India had everything except a good history of its own. Unless the history of the nation is made in a befitting manner, the coming generation will mislead the nation and will be misled themselves. The history of this country is based on the national movement and the nation is not yet prepared and ready for this, as a result of which charges and accusations have been made day in and day out against this leader or that leader who fought for the freedom of this country. Sir, I am glad that this resolution has been taken up for discussion today because today is auspicious day. Today is the birth day of Tagore. You are aware that Mahatma Gandhi named Tagore as Guru and Tagore named Gandhi as Mahatma and Tagore named Subhash as Netaji. The great Netaji inspired militancy amongst the people for fighting the freedom movement.

Sir, I do not know on what basis and from what angle, the Government of India was keen to appoint the Enquiry Commission when it was not satisfied. I would like to know why and how Justice Khosla, an I.C.S., who perhaps did not fight for freedom of our country and sided with the British was appointed as the Chairman of the Enquiry Commission. I would request the Minister that in future occasions, if such an Enquiry is to be held in regard to the great leaders

of this country who fought for the freedom, it should not be headed by such persons who were serving the British and not the people.

Sir, in 1938 when the Congress met in Calcutta, it was not only Mahatma Gandhi, not only the Congress people, but Subash Chandra Bose—when he was not called Netaji then—who was asked to lead the Quit India Movement. It was demanded that he must be given full freedom to lead this movement. But he thought that it would be difficult to ask the British to quit India. So a policy resolution was passed in Calcutta in 1938 when Subash Chandra Bose became the Congress President of the Congress Party. Under his leadership Pandit Nehru had agreed to act as the Chairman of the Planning Commission Sir, you would remember that the only desire of Subash Chandra Bose was that in this country people from Kashmir to Cape Comorin should join together in the Quit India Movement. It was after a lapse of one year. Quit India Movement started, that is on 9th August when Subash Chandra Bose already left India in 1941. If he were here, he would have led the Quit India Movement on 9th August 1942. Nowadays I have been seeing in many newspapers that some people have started disputing the character of Subash Chandra Bose from various angles. Somebody says he was a stooge, somebody says he was quailing. Somebody says, he was jealous and ambitious. You know what the newspapers in India did the moment Netaji left India. The owners of those newspapers of those days, who tried to help the British to get Netaji caught red-handed, who conspired with the British to arrest him have now become great sons of this country, heading this nation in various capacities! I do not want to name them. Those police officials who conspired with the British to arrest Netaji and the revolutionaries have been rewarded and their traditions are being

followed in many States in the decoration of IGP and Commissioner of Police. I am prepared to forget them.

This great soul landed at Kabul and wanted a visa to go somewhere. His desire was to go to the Soviet Union. Unfortunately he was not helped at that time. He took a visa from the Italian Embassy and landed in Germany as Orlando Massato. What happened in Germany Prof. Guha has vividly described. Everybody knows what he said about Hitler in his book 'My Country'. Is it not a fact that the people in the area of Malaya, Singapore, etc. were oppressed by the Japanese in some way or other during the time of the war? It was Subash Chandra Bose who said, "Unless the oppression is stopped, I am not going to take any assistance." He was a freedom fighter not for India alone but for all those who were dreaming for freedom. But this great man has been accused in this report, not in straight terms but in an indirect way by saying that he was nothing but a puppet because the Japanese described him as such. We know who as the friend and who is the enemy. But what is the fun of Mr. Khosla presenting the evidence as if a message came to him from God that he was liked by the Japanese in this way or that way? It is not proper. If anybody reads this report, not only Prof. Guha but even illiterate people of this country, who have some feeling for the freedom movement of this country, will not only deny the report but burn the pages of this report into ashes all over the country. We could not give Subhash Chandra Bose that honour which this country should have given him. He led the country's struggle from a different angle, risking his life. But still he has not been accorded that kind of reception which you can consider as a national reception. That is a different matter, but what are the remarks Mr. Khosla has made against this great soul? In page 7, para 2.15 it says:

"He also realised that despite the outward respect and honour with which the Japanese treated him, he was looked upon as a puppet, a tool which could be discarded and ignored, when deemed no longer useful."

Mr. Shahnawaz Khan is a member of the Government. Can he deny that Netaji loved his colleagues like anything. Whether it is Habibur Rehman or Shahnawaz Khan, everybody used to say, "You are my bones; you are my limbs". It is a pity that Mr. Khosla has said in the report that Netaji trusted the Japanese to such an extent that he could not trust his own Cabinet colleagues. Can it be true? Should this be allowed to go on record in the pages of history? These are the utterances of Mr. Khosla who was appointed to enquire into this episode. It is really unfortunate. Whether this resolution has been brought by Prof. Guha or anybody else, the whole House should not only condemn these things, but in the words of Tagore who said in Bengali

"Anaya jo kare,

Aar Anaya jo sahe.

Taba Ghrina Tare zeno,

Trino Sama Dahe"

"One who does injustice, one who tolerates injustice, all the courses, abuses, hatred and contempt should burn him and destroy him into flames."

At that time, Tagore wrote a book—a drama called Tasher Desh—The Land of the Playing Cards—which he dedicated to Netaji and described him as the symbol of the youth of this country, as the symbol of its freedom. Zakir Husain said on the anniversary of the Azad Hind Fauj:

"The Azad Hind Government's action in planting freedom's flag on Indian soil in the Andamans was truly a symbolic precursor of what happened when the Tricolour was

[Shri Priya Ranjan Das Munsii]

hoisted atop Delhi's Red Fort on the 15th of August 1947. All those who joined Netaji in 'Delhi Chalo' movement deserve our homage and gratitude for their part in bringing nearer the freedom to which we are heirs today."

Not only Zakir Hussain, Pandit Nehru said the same thing, so also Indira Gandhi

This report of Justice Khosla, in which specific allegations have been made, is a deliberate attempt to mislead the people, not of the present generation, but of the future generation. So far as the present generation is concerned, so far as Shri Mohsin, Professor Guha or other people are concerned, they would not be misled because they know a bit of the freedom movement. But I am afraid of the future generation, who will read this report from the libraries, who will view Netaji from that angle. So, in the interest of the nation, not in the interest of any particular group, in the interest of the future guidance of the nation, these works should be withdrawn and the controversial portions expunged from the report, and the true position made available to the people and the political parties. Otherwise his honour is at stake. If the Government stuck to the findings on mere formalities and technicalities of this being the report of the former Judge you may do it but the future generation will not accept it the coming generation will not accept it will burn it, will not keep it even in the record of memory

I would not like to give any fresh arguments I believe this Government, specially the Minister who is present here will definitely consider this problem from the point of sentiment—I am sorry, I will not use the term sentiment because Netaji is not a sentiment, is not an emotion, but a reality, the God of Hindus and the Khudda of Muslims, something very

near and dear to the people of this country

With these words, I support the Resolution of Professor Samar Guha.

SHRI S. P. BHATTACHARYYA (Uluberia). Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I support the Resolution moved by Professor Samar Guha. I fully accept the spirit of the Resolution, the national sentiment of it. Our party may have some political differences with Netaji, but it is an undeniable fact that he was an outstanding national figure in the period of our freedom struggle, supported by the mass of our people. So, his name cannot be sullied or darkened by these attempts because it is written in the pages of our history in letters of gold.

The Khosla Commission Report is going totally against the feelings of our country, of our people who fought for freedom. That is the main thing which the Khosla Committee has totally failed to correctly present. He gathered some facts, he took some evidence which is not properly assessed and then come to his doubtful conclusions. He has come to draw some doubtful premises and he has tried to give a definite conclusion, which is totally wrong. For this reason I suggest that the Government should totally reject this Commission Report, withdraw the Report, and arouse and support the national feeling of the people for Netaji to the highest extent possible. That is the task which the Government should do.

With these words, I support the Resolution moved by Professor Samar Guha.

श्री ७० एन० तिबारी (गोपाल गंग) :
उपाध्यक्ष जी, नेताजी के संबंध में कुछ कहना
बैसा ही है बैसा कि सूरज को दीपक दिखाना ।
सूरज के प्रकाश में दीपक का जो महत्व हो
सकता है और उस का मुकाबला हो सकता
है, वही बात नेता जी के बारे में कही जा
सकती है । उस वक्त वे 33 करोड़ भारतीयों
के हृदय के सजाट थे । एक आदमी भी ऐसा
नहीं था हिन्दुस्तान में जो उनको न जानता
हो । कुछ इन्ने गिने भारतवर्ष के लोगों में
उन का स्थान था जैसे कि श्री लोहमान्य तिलक,
गांधी जी और जवाहरलाल नेहरू । इस कोटि
के वे नेता थे और सब की अद्धा उन पर थी
उन में क्या कंपैमिटी थी, इस का पता एक ही
बात से मालूम होगा ।

जब कांग्रेस प्रेसीडेंटशिप के लिए
उन्होंने सभ्य फियर, तो सब नेता एक तरह
थे व दूसरी तरह । गांधी जी में लेकर
जवाहरलाल नेहरू तक उन के खिराफ थे
लेकिन उस समय किसी की नहीं चली और
उस वक्त जितने इंग्लैण्ड थे सब की भाव-
नाएँ उन के साथ थी और उन्होंने उन को
काँग्रेस का सभापति चुना । इस से मान्य
होना है कि वे कितने बड़े थे । आज इन
के लोगों को तरह नहीं बल्कि उन वक्ता के
सुने-सराएँ लोगों । जिन्होंने राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन
में हिस्सा लिया था, की इच्छाओं के विरुद्ध
नेता जी को सभापति चुना गया और आज भी
56 करोड़ भारतीयों के हृदयों में नेता जी
का स्थान है । उन को यह कहना कि देश भक्त
नहीं थे, विषमालिय थे, यह अपने को नीचे

गिराना होगा और आज भारतीय ल
इस को बर्दास्त नहीं कर सकते हैं ।

खोसला कमेटी को क्या करने को दिया
गया था । उन को यह कहा गया था कि नेता जी
अभी जीवित है या नहीं और कैसे उन की
मृत्यु हुई और उन की मृत्यु के बारे में जो
बातें कही जाती हैं वे सत्य हैं या नहीं । उन को
इन बातों पर प्रमाणों को मसूदा बनाना चाहिए
था लेकिन जैसा किसी विधायी को एक जायंट
का काम करने को दे दिया जाए, तो वह कर
नहीं सकता है उसी तरह मैं नेता जी के
मुकाबले में हमारे खोसला माह्य एक विधायी
थे । वे एक जायंट का काम कैसे कर सकते थे ।
दुनने महान् हमारे नेता जी थे और कहां
खोसला माह्य । वे ब्रिटिश जनाने में
जब रहे और मुकदमा चल रहे । उन को
नेता जी के बारे में जाना करना । इस हागा
और वे उन के बारे में क्या जानते होंगे ।
अगर उस सभाने में वे नेता जी का मुकदमा
करने तो उस वक्त वे मुभाप सभ जी को
फामी हूँ दे सकते थे । उस लिए एक ऐसे
आदमी को यह नाम मोगा गया जिसे वे ठीक
काम नशा किया और मुकदमा सभाने अधिवार
करके उन के सभ्य में प्रमाणों बाते रही । यह
गिनाके जो उन्होंने दिशा का मुकदमा उन के टर्म
आफरेकेन्स में जाना है, मैं तो कहना कि भारत
सरकार को स्वम इस को, हटा देना चाहिए
और किसी रेज्यूटेशन की जरूरत नहीं थी ।
जो काम उन को दिया गया था, उस से हट
कर उन्होंने बात कह दी है और उस का
समावेश पुस्तक में नहीं होना चाहिए था । उन

[श्री: डी० ए०१० तिवारी]

बातों को उस रिपोर्ट में से निकाल देना चाहिए क्योंकि यह टर्मस आफ़ रेफ़रेन्स के धारों के बाहर है और अपने धारों के बाहर वे गये। श्री समर गृह ने श्री सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की बहुत तारीफ़ की। सुभाष चन्द्र बोस जी के बारे में कुछ लिखने की जरूरत नहीं है। उन की इज्जत सभी भारतवासियों के दिलों में है। उन्होंने दिखाया दिया कि हिंदुस्तान के बड़े-बड़े नेताओं के विरुद्ध वे मोर्चा ले सकते थे और मैं ने जैसा पहले कहा कि जब कांग्रेस प्रेजीडेंटशिप का कंटेस्ट हुआ, तो उस वक्त बड़े बड़े सभी नेता उनके विरुद्ध थे लेकिन उन्होंने किसी की बात नहीं सुनी और व कांग्रेस के सभापति बने। पीछे क्या तिकडम हुई और क्या हुआ यह दूसरी बात है। लेकिन उस वक्त भी लोग जानते थे कि गांधी जी और जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी श्री मीनारमैया को चाहते थे और दूसरे बड़े बड़े नेता उन को चाहते थे लेकिन उन्होंने किसी की भी परवाह नहीं की। भारतवासियों की उन के ऊपर इतनी श्रद्धा थी, उस वक्त के कांग्रेसमैनों की उन के ऊपर इतनी श्रद्धा थी कि सब की प्रवहेलना करके वे सभापति चुने गये। ऐसे प्रादमों के बारे में कुछ अनगल बातें कहना, अपने काम को कलंकित करना है, अपने दिल को नीचे गिराना है और कोई बजह नहीं हो सकती कि यह बातें लिखी जाएं।

मैं बहुत अधिक न कह कर गवर्नमेंट से अनुरोध करना कि श्री समर गृह रेज्यून्शन लाते या नहीं लाते, लेकिन गवर्नमेंट को स्वयं टर्मस आफ़ रेफ़रेन्स के विरुद्ध जो बातें कही गई हैं, उनको हटा देना चाहिए। कौसे मुहसिल बाईं कही हैं सुभाष चन्द्र बोस के बारे में जो देख की भाजारी के लिए ब्यप थे और इसमें एक सैकिण्ड का भी बिलम्ब नहीं चाहते थे। उनकी आत्मा को यह कबूल नहीं था कि धीमे धीमे वे इस काम को किया जाए। वह देख

को भाजदार कराने के लिए भारत छोड़ कर बाहर गए। वह समझते थे कि शायद दूसरों से मदद लेकर मैं देश को भाजदार कर सकता हूँ। लेकिन अब उन्होंने देखा कि दूसरों से काफी मदद नहीं मिल रही है तो उन्होंने स्वयं एक भारी तैयार की और उस भारी के जो कारनामे हैं उनसे आप सब वाकिफ़ हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस विषय पर अधिक बहस न करके सरकार को पुस्तत इसको मान लेना चाहिए कि हाँ वे सब बातें जो लिखी गई हैं इनको सरकारी किताब से हटा देंगे, एक्सपोज़ कर देंगे और ऐसा करके वह सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की जो गरिमा है उसको कायम रखेंगी।

श्री झारखंडे राय (घोसी) : पूरी रिपोर्ट के अलग अलग भागों को देखा जाए या उसमें व्यक्त विचारों को अलग अलग करके देखा जाए तो शायद बहुत बुरा मालूम न हो लेकिन ममय रूप से इसमें व्यक्त विचारों को देखा जाए जो नेता जी के विषय में व्यक्त किए गए है तो वे अत्यन्त अपमानजनक हैं और उनकी मैं खोर निन्दा करना हूँ। इस अर्थ में मैं श्री समर गृह जी के प्रस्ताव का हादिक समर्थन करता हूँ।

इसमें सन्देह नहीं है कि नेता जी ने जापानी साम्राज्यवादियों से सहायता ली अग्रेजी साम्राज्यवाद को भारत में समाप्त करने के लिए। इस तरह के उदाहरण दुनिया के इतिहास में और भी बहुत से मिलेंगे। यह ज्ञातव्य है और आपको स्मरण होगा कि सोवियत यूनियन में 1917 में जो क्रान्ति हुई उसके पहले महान् लेकिन ने जर्मन सोल्ड गार्डी में बैठ कर लेनिनशाब् में प्रवेश किया था और तब बहुत से लोगों ने रूस में विशेषकर मोल्दाविक और सोमाव रिपोल्सु-नरियों ने कह था कि रूस में वह जर्मन साम्राज्यवाद के एजेंट हैं उस समय रूस और जर्मन युद्धरत थे। जब पीत के कम्युनिस्टों ने

धमरोकी साम्राज्यवाद से सहायता ली चीन में प्यांग काई शोक के सामन्तवाद और पूंजीवाद को समाप्त करने के लिए अब भी उनको खल डालू कहा जाता था खल तौर पर प्यांग काई शोक के द्वारा । जब मार्शल टोटो ने धमरोकी साम्राज्यवाद और ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद से सहायता ली थी और अपने देश को जर्मन अधिकार से आजाद कराने का प्रयास किया था और आजाद कराया भी था उस समय उनके बारे में भी ऐसी ही बातें ही कही गई थी । सुभाष बास ने जापानी साम्राज्यवाद से सहायता ली अंग्रेजी साम्राज्यवाद को खम करने के लिए और उसको लेकर बहुत सी बातें समय समय पर कही गई हैं विशेष कर यद्यकाल में लेकिन उनमें कोई तथ्य नहीं है ।

मान्यवर इन बात को सभी मानने है कि सुभाष बोस में उत्कृष्ट एव ज्वलन्त देशभक्ति कूट कूट कर भरी हुई थी, ये महान् क्रान्तिकारी थे और क ज्वलन्त उदाहरण उन्नीने देश के सामने उपस्थित किया । जापान जिस तरह से चीन में वागाचिव की कठपुतली सरकार का, इ.वामा की बठपुतली सरकार का वर्मा में तथा फलपाइज में अपने स्ट्रिच का इस्तेमाल कर रहा था उसी तरह वे उनमें सुभाष बोस का भी इस्तेमाल करना चाहता होता यह बिल्कुल स्वाभाविक बात है । इसको साम्राज्यवादी तथा दूसरे लोग सोच सकते हैं । लेकिन सुभाष चन्द्र बोस दूसरी धातु के बने हुए थे । सरदार मोहन सिंह वह नहीं थे । क्रान्तिकारी सेमानी रास बिहारी बोस जो बहुत बूढ़ हो गए थे और वर्षों से जापानी नागरिकता ले नहीं बस गये थे, उस युद्धकाल में अपने जीवन में आखिरी प्रयास कर रहे थे भारत को आजाद कराने के लिए । इन दोनों में भी अन्तर था । सुभाष बोस एक महान्प्रथम सन्नत और महान्तम क्रान्तिकारी तथा देशभक्त नेता थे । हिन्दुस्तान की करोड़ों

करोड़ जनता पर उनका अमित और जाहु सा प्रभाव था । इसलिए जापानी साम्राज्यवादियों और उनके बीच में इस बात को लेकर टग आफ वार रहा शुरू से आखिर तक कि कौन किस का कितना इस्तेमाल कर सकता है यह नितान्त स्वाभाविक है । मक्ति की हमेशा पूजा होती है ।

हिन्दुस्तान से वह किन तरह से भागे इनका अपना इतिहास है और यह एक बहुत लम्बी कहानी है । मार्सलीज बन्दरगाह से बारह हजार मील पनडुब्बी में बैठ कर सियापुर पहुंचना और बीच में दो दो और तीन तीन बार पनडुब्बी का खतरे में पड़ जाना इसकी अपनी एक कहानी है । एक कहानी तो ऐसी है जो सदा अविस्मरणीय रहेगी । साउथ ईस्ट एशिया कोप्रोटेक्टिय कामनवैल्थ के नाम से जापानी साम्राज्यवादियों ने दक्षिण पूव एशिया के सभी देशों को पराधीन करने के बाद, अपना एक संगठन कायम किया था ब्रिटिश कामन वैल्थ आफ नेशनल के टर्न पर । उसकी पहली मीटिंग का जनरल टोजो प्रिजाइड कर रहे थे । सुभाष बोस भी वहा तशरीफ लाए थे और वह भी उस मीटिंग में शामिल थे । उन्होंने सुभाष बोस की चर्चा करते हुए एक बात कही जो ऐतिहासिक तथ्य है । उन्होंने उनके लिए कहा फस्ट मैं आप इडिया । आम तौर पर अपनी प्रशंसा के शब्द सुन कर धादमी फूल जाता है या कम से कम चुप रह जाता है । लेकिन सुभाष बोस ने उसी समय उसका विरोध किया और कहा कि आप इसका फंसला नहीं कर सकते हैं । भारत का प्रथम नागरिक कौन है, इसका फंसला समय आने भारतीय जनता करेगी । और के जबड़े में बैठ कर उसका विरोध करना यह सुभाष बोस का ही कैलिबर था, उनका ही स्टेमिना था ।

इसी तरह से स्वयं सड़ाई के मोर्चों पर चहु गए । वह कोई मिजिटरी मैन नहीं थे, मिजिटरी जनरल नहीं थे, मिजिटरी का

[श्री सारखंडे राय]

अनुभव उनको नहीं था। वह अपनी जान हथेली पर रख कर बर्मा, कोहिमा, इम्फाल के मोर्चों पर गए। यह भी अपने आप में एक बहुत लम्बी चौड़ी कहानी है।

जब जापान हार गया एक्सिस पावरजें हार गई और उनकी आर्मीज को इरावदी डेल्टा के रास्त पीछे हटना पड़ा तो सुभाष बोस की आर्मी को भी स्वभावतः पीछे हटना पड़ा। मोर्चे से लेश्वर रगून और रगून से मनाया होते हुये बैकाक जाना बहुत ही लम्बी तथा दर्दनाक कथा है। उस समय उन्होंने अपनी जान की परवाह नहीं की और रानी खासा रेजीमेंट की लठकियों को इज्जत को बचाने के लिए अपने आपको खतरे में डाला। जापानी साम्राज्यवादि हार चके थे। जापानी भाग रहे थे मिर पैर रख कर, उनको अपनी चिन्ता पडी थी, सुभाष बोस की वे कैसे चिन्ता करते। स्वाभाविक बात थी। रास्ते में हर नदी पर पार करते समय सुभाष बोस ने नडकियों को पहले नाव से उतारा, फिर सिपाहियों को उतारा और आखिरी नाव पर वह पाए गए। इस प्रकार के उदाहरण आगको इतिहास में शायद ही कहीं मिलने हों। मैं सनमान दू कि जिस प्रकार के उदगार खोमला आयोग की रिपोर्ट में उनका विषय में प्रकट किए गए और उनकी जा जनरल टोन है वह बहुत ही डेरगटरी है, बरत ही अपमानजनक है। आपनिवेशक जमाने की दास्ता के एक जज से जिन दिल और दिमाग जिस का रग रग में खून की एक एक बंद में प्रोपनिवेशक साम्राज्यवादियों की एकरी की मनोवृत्ति भरी हुई थी, उससे और आप आशा ही क्या कर सकते थे। श्री तिवारी ने ठीक ही कहा है कि वह अपनी सीमा से बाहर चले गए, यह उनकी टर्ज आफ रेफ्रेस में नहीं था, उनको इन सब चीजों में घुसने की जरूरत नहीं थी। उनको तो यह तय करना था कि वह मरे या नहीं मरे, मरे तो किन परि-

स्थितियों में और आपता हुये तो किन परिस्थितियों में। उनको राजनीति और उनके राजनीतिक दांवपेज में जाने की उनको बिल्कुल जरूरत नहीं थी, यह उनके टर्ज आफ रेफ्रेस में बिल्कुल नहीं था। वह अपनी परि-सीमा से बाहर चले गए।

क्या यह मामूली कहानी है और समार के किस इतिहास में आपको यह मिलेगी कि जापानी साम्राज्यवादियों ने जब कहा कि आप जितना चाहे हथियार और पैसा हम में उधार ले लें लेकिन उन्होंने एक पैसा और एक हथियार भी उधार नहीं लिया। म रतीयों से धन संग्रह कर। द पैसा देकर सब खरीदा। जापानियों ने कहा कि आर्द एन ए को जापानी अफसर ट्रेनिंग दे। लेकिन उन्होंने कहा नहीं। मिविल ही या मिलिट्री क्वी उसको ट्रेनिंग देगे। वह इंडियन परमनेल से ही मैड आफिन्ड और ट्रेन्ड होगी। भारतीय अफसर उन्होंने एक भी जापानी अफसर व ट्रेनिंग में स्थान नहीं दिया। इस तरह की ज्वलन्त और प्रेरणादायक और देश भक्तिपूर्ण कहानिया किमी को मश्वल म ही पढ़ने को मिलेगी।

जब डिस्पूट हुआ कि भारत की सरजमीन पर कौन पहले पर रजे ता इग पर जबरदस्त विवाद हुआ उनमें और तापानिया म। जापानी साम्राज्यवादी स्वभावतः चाहते थे कि ब्रिटिश जब चले जाए ता उनका स्थान हम ले ले और उन्होंने इसको अपनी प्रतिष्ठा के लिये नहीं किया। ता ग सभ प काम अठे हुये थ कि अपनी बात पर कि वे और आजाद हिन्द फौज भारत भूमि पर पहले पाव रखे। अन्त में एक समझौता हुआ। रिपोर्ट में गनत बताया गया समझौता को। शाहनवाज खा ने भी अपनी जो किताब लिखी है आई एन ए एड नेना जी उसमें इसके बारे में लिखा है। समझौता असल में यह हुआ कि दोनों सेनाएं भारतीय और जापानी, आई

एन ए की शोर जापानी एक साथ भारतीय जमीन पर पैर रखेगी शोर तिरंगा झंडा-फहराया जायेगा। दस हजार वर्ग मील जमीन का उद्धार करके पहली बार भारत की स्वतन्त्र भूमि पर तिरंगा झंडा फहराया गया था। इन सारी घटनाओं को भ्रगर देखा जाए तो मालूम होता है कि यह जपानी साम्राज्यवाद से कभी भी दबे नहीं। जपान का दूत उनके यहाँ आजाद हिन्द सरकार के प्रधान से अपना पत्रिका लेकर आया तो वह जपान के मन्त्राट का कौी शेषि ल लेकर नहीं आया था इस कारण सुभाष चद्र ब म ने उत्तम मिलने से इकार कर दिया। जपान दूत वापस गया और जिंडैगियल लेकर आया, तब वह उससे मिले।

जब एलाइट ग्रामी तैजो में ईन्टा के कितार-विनाश रगत त शोर बढ रहे थे शोर सुभाषचद्र बास भी अपनी सैना के साथ साथ पछे हट रहे थे, उस वकल उनक जिन्दगी खतरे में थी, लेकिन फिर भी 3 दिन तक रगून में बैठकर मारि। एन ० ए ० शोर जापानी साम्राज्यवाद के बदले के लैन-दत त। ट. त. त. करवाते रहे। जापानी साम्राज्यवाद का पार्श्व ई हिन्दा त. त. त. बाकी शोर बेच रचा सोना प्रपन गाम श्राय के लिए तैकर, तथा 20 लाख के नाट य जाद हिंद वैक मे छोड नथा अपनी सैना त श्रय श्राय त लडने रगुन में भारतीयों का रक्षा का काम दे, अग्रज सैना के श्राय पर आत्ममर्षण कर देने का श्रुतिम श्रादेश देकर, सुभाषचद्र बोस ने एक भावनापूर्ण बात कही कि मैं नहीं चाहता कि मेरे मरने के बाद हिन्दुस्तान में कोई यह कहे कि सुभाष चद्र बोस ने देश के नाम पर कर्ज छाड दिया है। सार्वजनिक जीवन में इतना ब. त. उदाहरण इतने श्रावश उदाहरण व्यक्तित्व पेश कर सकते हैं

मैं मानता हूँ कि सुभाष चद्र बास श्रय हमारें बीच में नहीं रहे हैं उनको जिन्दा करने का प्रयास करके श्रायद कई श्रपना मतलब साथ रखते हों, लेकिन उनसे कोई फायदा नहीं है। इनने सबे उदा. शोर महान भू शहीद व्यक्तित्व का जिन्दा रखकर एक तरह से उनको श्रप्रत्यक्षता कायम मादित करना किसी के लिए भी उचित नहीं है।

यू ० पी ० पूर्वांचल के एक साधू जय गुरुदेव ने 23 जनवरी को एलान कर दिया कि कानपुर में सुभाष चद्र बास प्रकट होने वाले हैं वह बड़ा खानाक श्रायमी है। कानपुर के 5 लाख श्रायमी इकट्ठे हो गये। ज. श्राय तक सुभाष चद्र बोस पाट नहीं हुए, शोर त उनका प्रकट नला था त. पब्लिक टूट पटी। श्रगर पुलिस ने उमे न बचाया ही। तौ जयगुरुदेव की मृत्यु हो गई होती। उत्तम चन्द्र मलहोत्रा हींगलान दीक्षित या जयगुरुदेव या कोई श्राय व्यक्तित्व सुभाष चद्र बास के नाम का उपयोग करे, श्रय यह बात खत्म होनी चाहिए। उन का जिन्दा करने का प्रयास करना नहीं नहीं है।

1. - ने उनका आखिरी फलाइत कहा जाता है—मैं मानता हूँ कि वह उनकी आखिरी फलाइत थी —उगमे, दुर्भाग्य त ने समाप्त हो गए। मरने से पहले जब आखिरां बार उनको होश आया ता उन्होंने कर्नल त्वीबूरहमान से कहा कि "जाकर हिन्दुस्तान में मेरे देश वानियो से कहना कि सुभाषचद्र बास जीवन के आखिरी लण तक देश की याद करते हुए मरा है।' इम तरह उन्होंने अपने व्यक्तित्व जीवन में कर्म-कदम पर, जापानी साम्राज्यवाद के इलाके में बैठ कर, उनके जबडे में बैठकर अपनी देश भक्ति का उदाहरण पेश किया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि ऐसे व्यक्तित्व के बारे में इस तरह के रिमार्क गिचना, एक बहुत ही निन्दनीय और घृणित कार्य है, जो खोसला

[श्री आर.वें. राय]

साहब ने किया है और वह भी अपनी परि-
सीमाओं से बाहर आकर ।

श्री तिवारी ने इस बात का जिक्र किया है कि सुभाष चंद्र बोस उस समय के बहूत नें गाष्ट्रीय नेताओं के माय मतमें द था । यह वान देश में सर्व विदित है । लेकिन जब उन्होंने आजाद हिन्द फौज बनाई, ता उन्होंने उसने फोजी टुकडियों के नाम गाधी त्रिगेड, नेहरू त्रिगेड पटेल त्रिगेड, त्रिगीन त्रिगेड, चन्द्र खेखर आजाद त्रिगेड, भगत सिंह त्रिगेड और रानी आसी रेजीमेंट जैसे नाम दिए । उनका सारा कार्य एक ज्वलन देश भक्ति का परिभाषाव रहा है । इस व्यक्तिकी उज्वल एव आदर्श देश भक्ति के विषय में न पहले दो गये थी आर न आज है । उसके सम्बन्ध में ऐसे रिमार्क लिखना उचित नहीं है ।

अपनी आखिरी प्साइट मे वे कहा जा रहे थे ? जापानी साम्राज्यवाद हार चुका था । एकिसम पाबर्न, जर्मनी और इटली पाग भूत हो चुकी थी । उस समय उनका लक्ष सावियत यूनियन था । वह समझते थे कि सैकिन्ड राउन्ड आफ रैबैल्यूएशन का तैयारी में, क्रांति के प्रयास के दूसरे चक्र में, अग्रर हिन्दुस्तान को उस समय के शासकों के खिलाफ कहीं से सहायता मिल सकती है, तो वह सा वियन यूनियन से से ही मिल सकती है । इमलिए वह लास चीन के रास्ते, मचूरिया से होकर सावियत यूनियन को जा रहे थे । लेकिन यह दुर्भाग्य पूर्ण घटना हुई और वे खत्म हो गए । मैं इम बात का समर्थन करता हू कि भारत सरकार को उन बातों की रिपोर्टें मे मे निकाल देना चाहिए, क्योंकि वह परिसीमाओं से बाहर है और आपत्तिजनक अपमानजनक व अनुचित है ।

श्री राम सहाय शर्मा (राजबगंवा) मैं भी समर्थन भूहू के इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता

हू जिसमें उन्होंने बड़ भावनात्मक ढंग से कहा है कि खोसला कमीशन की रिपोर्ट से यह शब्दावलि निकाल देनी चाहिए जो नेताजी सुभाष चंद्र बोस के सम्मान और प्रतिष्ठा के विरुद्ध है । सदन इम बात को स्वीकार करेगा कि अग्रर किसी कमीशन की रिपोर्ट के द्वारा नेताजी सुभाष चंद्र बंस के व्यक्तित्व पर लाउन आता हो कि वह जापानियों के पपेट थे, या साम्राज्यवादी शक्तियों के प्रतिनिधि थे तो यह न भारत की गरिमा और प्रतिष्ठा के अनुकूल है और न नेताजी की प्रतिष्ठा के ।

स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति करने की कई दिशाएँ होती हैं । एक दिशा वापू नें की, एक दिशा नेहरू जी ने दी, एा दिशा टीगोर मे दी, और इसी तरह एक दिशा नेताजी सुभाष चंद्र बोस ने दी । अग्रर हम इसकी टोटलिटी में देखें तां हम यह पाते हैं कि जिन परिस्थितियों में उन्होंने अपनी सेना का संगठन किया और जिनकी सहायता मे वह कार्य किया उस वक्त ही अभिष्ट था, और उही उचित था । उनका लक्ष्य यह था कि वू इम देश में देश की आजादी के प्रति जाग्रत और चेतना की भावना पैदा करना चाहते थे । उनका सडा तिरंगा था और उनकी मैना मे त्रिगेड आदि के नाम गाधी, नेहरू और आजाद आदि देश के नौनिहालों के नाम पर थे । इम देश मे जन-जागरण और चेतना लाने के लिए और स्वतंत्रता के आन्दा वन को सहायता देन क लिए उन्होंने मडूर पूर्व मे इम मैना का निर्माण किया था । जिन परिस्थितियों मे वे यहा से गए, उनमे उन्होंने कितने सकट सहन किए होंगे और कितनी जोखिम उठाई होंगी ? राष्ट्रीयता की भावना से प्रेरित होकर श्रेय बदल कर वे यहा से चले और न जाने कितने दिनों के बाद पहाडियों की छाटियों का लाघवे हुए अफगाणिस्तान पहुंचे ।

उसके बाद उन्होंने विदेशों में इंस देश की गरी की समाप्त करने के लिए बिहार,

कल्पना और संगठन का जो सिलसिला प्रारम्भ किया, उससे हमको बहुत लाभ हुआ एक तरफ हम ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद लड़ रहे थे और दूसरी तरफ ब की उसी काम में लग गए थे। दोनों की बिनाएँ भिन्न हो सकती है लेकिन सब दोनों का एक ही था और वह यह कि देश आजाव हो। यह बात नहीं थी कि व इतने देश में दुश्मनों का या आपानियों का से आते।

श्री समर गृह के सामने हम यह नहीं कह सकते हैं कि उनका शरीर नहीं रहा, लेकिन प्रगर मुभाष से ऐसा हो भी ता जो जिस माटी से वह बन उनी माटी के लिए वह जिधे और मने, उस पर कुर्बान हो गए। उन्होंने घेतना जो उद्बोध किया, उसका हमारे नौजवानों पर बहुत असर पडा।

उनकी मृत्यु के बारे में जाच करने के लिए एक कमीशन बैठे और यह कहे की वह पपेट थे, तो यह इतिहास का तोडना-मरोडना है। इतिहास पर यह जो धब्बा है, उसको निकालना चाहिए। अगर रणा और कुर्बानी की तुला पर रख कर मुभाष चन्द्र बोस के नेतृत्व और व्यक्तित्व को देखा जाए तो वह किसी से हलक नहीं पडते है, बल्कि इस देश से आजादी से पहले के जो 6 चौंटी के शौर्यमय नेता थे, वह उनमें से एक थे, जिन्होंने देश को प्रेरणा दी, भावना और तरुणाई दी। उन्होंने जो कुछ किया, गंधी जी की दृष्टि से वह हिंसा हो, लेकिन आजादी प्राप्ति करने के लिए एक मार्ग वह भी था जिस पर बजकर अमृत सिंह और बटुकेश्वर दत्त से इन्कलाब जिन्दाबाद और भारत माता की जय बोलते हुए फाम्बी के फदे को चूमा और अलखिलत खोग गोलिया के शिकार हुए।

कुछ लोगों ने संवैसात्मक आन्दोलन किया और कुछ लांवा ने हिंसा का मार्ग अपनाया अगर उसका लक्ष्य एक ही था—अलग-अलग

रास्ते होत हुए भी उन सबका गंतव्य स्थान एक ही था, और वह था, देश की आजादी प्राप्त करना। मुभाषचन्द्र बोस भी उपाय लक्ष्य के लिए जिए और मरे। नेताजी मुभाष चन्द्र बोस का नाम लेते ही हमारे जवानों को प्रेरणा मिलती है, उनमें तरुणाई आनी है, वह गंधी, मोतीलाल नेहरू, लाजपतराय और जवाहर लाल नेहरू की श्रेणी में आते है।

एक ऐमं व्यक्ति के राष्ट्र-प्रेम के बारे में कोई कमीशन मदेह कने और कहे कि वह किसी पार्सिकुलर पावर के पपेट थे, यह बात बिलकुल ठीक नहीं है। मैं समझता हू कि यह केवल श्री समर गृह की भावना नहीं है, बल्कि यह तथ्य भी है और सत्य भी है। इस लिए यह आवश्यक है कि इन डेरोगेटरी रिमार्कस को निकाल दिया जाए, ताकि लोग नेताजी मुभाष चन्द्र बोस के स्वच्छ और पवित्र इतिहास क दर्शन कर सके, और उन की नमन करते समय कोई लांछन और कोई धब्बा दिखाई न दे।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं श्री समर गृह की भावना का समर्थन करता हू।

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी (शाजापुर) :
 उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मनेसे पहले से प्रो० समर गृह को हृदय से बघाई देना चाहता हू, क्योंकि उन्होंने खोसला आयोग के प्रतिवेदन का इतनी बारीकी से अध्ययन करके, उस से नेताजी मुभाषचन्द्र बोस के बारे में जो भी अपमानजनक विचार और विवेरण जाने या अनजाने में लिखे है, उन की ओर सवन का ध्यान आकृष्ट किया है। और यह और भी प्रसन्नता की बात है कि अभी तक जो भी सदस्य बोले हैं, उन सब ने इस बारे में अपनी सहमती व्यक्त की है और श्री समर गृह का बघाई भी की है।

जब इतिहास प्रत्यक्ष लिखा जाता है, उस समय तरु-तरु की भावनायें और कल्पनायें दिखाई देती हैं। आज जब मैं श्री भारद्वाज

[श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी]

राय का भाषण सुन रहा था, तो मन ही मन में प्रसन्नता का अनुभव कर रहा था, क्योंकि प्रत्यक्ष जब यह सभाम चालू था, तो कोन सुभाषचंद्र बोस के बारे में क्या भाव रखना था, इतनी बात का इतिहास साक्षा है। किन्तु आज इतिहास समाप्त होने के बाद इस देश की जनता निश्चित रूप में इस नतीजे पर पहुंची है कि अगर स्वाधीनता की लड़ ई में आखिरी शौर करारी चोट किसी ने दी, तो आजाद हिन्द फौज ने दी।

भारत की वह सेना पकड़ी गई, किन्तु हर एक भारतीय के अन्तःस्तर में माई हुई भारत माता—स्वतन्त्रता—के बारे में भावना जगा कर, एक सेना खड़ी करके, उस सेना के सामने एक आदर्श रख कर, उस को "दिल्ली चलो" का नारा देकर, प्रत्यक्ष रूप में हिन्दुस्तान को आजाद करने के प्रयत्न में एक श्रेष्ठ अग्रणी नेता के रूप में सुभाषचंद्र बोस उभरे। इसीलिए उनको नेताज का मायक नाम मिला।

मुझे बहुत दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि खोसला आयोग पर जो जिम्मेदारी मापी गई थी, उस जिम्मेदारी का उन्होंने नहीं निभाया। वह निम्न ग्राफ आरिशन एजेंसिशन दोनों के दोषी हैं। वामन में सुभाष चंद्र बोस की मृत्यु पर किसी को भी विश्वास नहाना था। कम से कम हमें तो यही समझना पड़ता कि वे एंग्ल अंग्रेज के हाथ में न गये, केवल इन एंग्लों काज के रूप में यह सारा नाटक रखा था। किन्तु आज इतने सारे के बाद ऐसा नहीं लगता है। आज इस पर विश्वास रखना यहूत कठिन है कि सुभाषचंद्र बोस अभी तक जीवित होंगे।

बेशक कई किताबें मुझे पढ़ने को मिली हैं, जिन में यह सिद्ध करने की कोशिश की गई है कि सुभाषचंद्र बोस अभी जीवित हैं। एक ऐसा फोटो भी मुझे दिखाया गया,

जिसमें नेहरू जी, की मृत्यु के समय सुभाषचंद्र बोस उनके पास खड़े हैं। तामिनताहू केफ़रेंड ग्राफ के प्रमुख नेता, श्री मुचुरमिनाय थेवर हमें सा अपने भाषण में कहा करते थे कि अभी पिछले हफ्ते मुझे सुभाषचंद्र बोस की खिड्डी मिली है। आखिर तक वह विश्वास करते थे कि सुभाषचंद्र बोस जीवित हैं एक बार में उनसे मिलने के लिए गया था, किन्तु उस समय वह बड़े बामार थे और बोसने की स्थिति में नहीं थे।

ऐसी स्थिति में इन आयोग पर यह दावित्व था कि वह मूल में जा कर, तह में जाकर, अपना निश्चित निष्कर्ष दे कि यदि मृत्यु हुई, तो कहा, किस स्थिति में और किस भूमि पर। आयोग का सारा प्रतिवेदन पढ़ने के बाद भी इस नतीजे पर नहीं पहुंचते हैं। कई लुटियाँ उसमें रह गई हैं। जिनका माहात्कार उन्हें करना था, उन्होंने नहीं रखा। जहां जहां जान चाहिए था, वहां वह नहीं गए।

इसमें सरकार भी कम जिम्मेवार नहीं है। जो चीजें अपने आयोग को उपलब्ध करानी थी, व उस ने नहीं कराई, यह श्री सम गृह की धारणा है। मसौ लगता है कि यह ठीक बात नहीं है। अगर कोई काम जिम्मेदारी के साथ मीपा जाता है, तो उन को पूर्ण करने के लिए जितनी भी आवश्यक चीजें थीं वे सब उपलब्ध कराई जाने चाहिए थी। आयोग का प्रथम काम था निष्पत्ति पर पहुंचना, लेकिन वह किसी निष्कर्ष पर नहीं पहुंचा। यह तो निम्न ग्राफ आरिशन हुआ। लेकिन उस का सिन ग्राफ कमीशन यह है कि जिस की बिल्कुल आवश्यकता नहीं थी, अपेक्षा नहीं थी, अर्थात् जापानियों के मन में सुभाषचंद्र बोस के बारे में क्या भावना थी, उस को लेकर आयोग का लिखना। यह एकदम सजा है। छत्रपति शिवाजी के बारे में ग्राट रज़क क्या लिखता है, यदि इस के आधार पर हम अपना मत बनाना शुरू कर दें, तो इस की उचित

नहीं कहा जा सकता है। इतिहास का झालोडन करते समय हमें ध्यान रखना चाहिए कि सवाल यह नहीं है कि उन के बारे में जर्मनी, जापान या इस उस समय क्या कहने थे। मुभाषचन्द्र बोस का जीवन हमारे सामने है। आई० सी० एस० की परीक्षा पास करने के उपरान्त उस पर लात मार कर, मजिस को छोड़ कर, कुर्बानी का जीता-जागता आदर्श उपस्थित कर के यह देश की आजादी के लिए लड़ने वाले सक्रिय संगठन में सम्मिलित हुए।

नवातार कांग्रेस में होने हुए भी मुभाषचन्द्र बोस हमेशा यह बात जोर देकर कहते थे कि युद्ध शुरू होने वाला है, क्योंकि उन के कहने के पीछे विदेशों में रह कर प्राप्त किया हुआ प्रत्यक्ष अनुभव होता था।

लेकिन कांग्रेस उस को मानने की स्थिति में नहीं थी। इस लिए कांग्रेस में उन का मनबोध हुआ और वह कांग्रेस को छोड़ कर चले गये। लेकिन अन्ततोगत्वा जब प्रत्यक्ष स्थिति पैदा हो गई, तो अनेक होने के बावजूद जग न रहते हुए उस परिस्थिति में लाभ उठाने के लिए मुभाषचन्द्र बोस दण्ड से बाहर गये। बड़ा आजाद हिन्दू सेना को खड़ा कर के उन्होंने स्वाधीनता हासिल करने में बड़ा भाग योगदान दिया।

अभी मेरे मित्र, श्री मुन्शी न बनाया कि इंग्लैंड आमतो में स्वाधीनता देन के लिए तैयार नहीं था। 1945 के अन्त में बाद जब अखिल आषोखीयन में बैठे थे, तो उन्होंने ऐंटेनी में पूछा कि याप हिन्दुस्तान को आजादी क्यों दे रहे हैं। ऐंटेन ने दा वातो न। बिना किया था आज हिन्दुस्तान जैसे बड़े देश को अपने बल-बूते पर रखने की अपने पास ताकत नहीं रही है और जिस के बल बूते पर हम बड़ा राज्य करते थे, उस सेना

की निष्ठा आज उह गई है—इंडियन आर्मी इज नो नायर लायल टू अस।

यह किस ने किया? जैसे एक मामाल्य झीपडी में रहने वाले आदमी के मन में यह बड़ा भारी मदेह महान्मा गांधी ने पैदा किया कि अंग्रेजी राज्य बरदान नहीं है, अकि अंग्रेजों राज्य शैतानी राज्य है, वैने हो आजादी हासिल करने के रास्ते कई होने हैं—देण से अहिंसा से लेकर प्रत्यक्ष रूप में शस्त्राचारी मार्ग तक सभी का उपयोग हुआ है, इस बात को देश के लोगों के ममस लाने का श्रेय मुभाषचन्द्र बोस को है। इसलिए देश-भारत मुभाषचन्द्र बोस जी ने बड़े साहस के साथ, धैर्य के साथ और उस समय जो परिस्थिति थी उस परिस्थिति का योग्यतम उपयोग करते हुए स्वाधीनता को लक्ष्य लाने में जो बड़ा भारी योगदान किया उस के लिए सारी भारतीय जनता हमेशा के लिए ऋणी है। ऐसी स्थिति में नेता जा के बारे में कोई एक अपमानजनक शब्द निकाले यह मामाल्य रूप में हम सहन नहीं कर सकते। उस दिन जब समझ गया कि उस को फाँस कर फेंक दिया तो हम तबना कर सहन हैं समझ गया जो अंग्रेजों नहीं थे। यानी राष्ट्रवादी भावना की जनता के एक प्रतिक के रूप में यह उठाने उस दिन बात, क्या कि यह देश का अन्त नैयत नव मुभाषचन्द्र बोस का अपमान महान्मा, अंग्रेजों को भी नहीं करेगा। यह आशा भी इस बात का ममस ले जिस के अंग्रेज अहिंसाशरी दी थी वह भी भारत की इस भावना का ममस ले, मदन की भावना को ममस ले और आज जैसा में न रहा मुझे बड़ी धुंधली है कि उस तरफ बैठने वालों ने भी इसका समर्थन दिया है। तो मंत्री महोदय से मैं यही प्रार्थना करता हू कि यह बहुत

[श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी]

घण्टा है, आप भी समर गुहा जी को धन्यवाद देकर विशेषकर नेता जी के बारे में जो भी अपमानजनक शब्द इस खोसला आयोग के प्रतिवेदन में हैं उस को निकाल धीरे धीरे एक बार बता दें कि देश के बड़े सुपुत्रों का कोई भी अपमान जाने या अनजाने में यह देश सहन करने के लिए तैयार नहीं है।

17 hrs.

SHRI B. R. SHUKLA (Bahraich): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the resolution is very limited and to this extent that the report of Justice Khosla is deprecatory and it has made slanderous remarks about the great patriot Shri Subhas Chandra Bose and therefore those portions of the Report, particularly, those appearing on pages 7, 30, and 31 should be expunged. Shri Khosla while appreciating the great patriotic role of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, is alleged to have flung certain odious and bitter remarks against him. We have to remember two things—firstly, we should go through the report and find out whether Mr. Khosla himself has made any slanderous remarks or whether he has during the course of enquiry made certain references based on the evidence led before him.

Now, so far as the attitude of Shri G. D. Khosla towards Netaji is concerned, I would like to invite the attention of the Members of this House to page 9, paragraph 2.24 in which he says:

"It will have been observed that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose has, in these pages, been referred to simply as Bose. This has been done not in the interests of brevity or convenience, not to conform to the forensic practice of dispensing with titles and honorific prefixes when speaking of

persons whose names figure in judicial proceedings, but because Netaji occupies such an eminent and incomparable position in India's history that he needs no honorifics to emphasise or enhance his intrinsic greatness. Just as titles and trappings of dignity have, in the course of time, been dissociated from the names of Caesar, Ashoka, Akbar, Nehru and Gandhi, it is enough to say 'Bose', and yet remain completely respectful and conscious of his political greatness and splendour. Nehru in his writings, refers to Mahatma Gandhi as Gandhi. Most writers speak of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as Nehru. These names conjure up a whole complex of ideas, associations and historical events in which the persons so named played their respective roles. The addition of a prefix or a suffix does not add to their importance or augment their glory."

Therefore, my respectful submission before this House is that so far as the expression of opinion about the greatness and the dignity of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose is concerned, Shri Khosla has not in any way yielded in his passion and zeal for the great patriot to anybody else. Therefore, it is mis-reading of the report that Shri Khosla has gone out of his way in making slanderous remarks on certain pages of his report.

Then I invite your attention to page 31. Shri Shah Nawaz Khan was one of the trusted colleagues of Netaji who himself conducted an enquiry before this enquiry was entrusted to Shri Khosla, Shri Shah Nawaz Khan himself appeared as a witness before this Commission of Enquiry presided over by Shri Khosla. I quote from page 31, para 4.56:

"The Imphal campaign was a failure, and this is what Shah Nawaz

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Khan had to say about the cause of the failure:

Lastly, and with a clear conscience, I can say that the Japanese did not give full aid and assistance to the Azad Hind Fauj during their assault on Imphal."

Then he goes on to say:

"They had found out through their liaison officers that the INA would not accept Japanese domination in any way, that they would fight the Japanese in case they attempted to replace the British."

After the formation of INA under that great patriot there was collaboration between Japanese and the INA and the end objective of these two forces was to drive out the Britishers from India but there arose suspicion between the two forces, The Japanese after driving out the Britishers wanted to occupy the Indian soil and establish their own regime in India Netaji wanted to drive out the Britishers, liberate the motherland and establish full-fledged Indian Government on Indian soil. Therefore, the Japanese became suspicious of the intentions and objectives of the INA and therefore when Netaji wanted that the first drop of blood to fall on the Indian soil should be that of the soldiers of INA, the Japanese forces did not want that the credit should go for driving out Britishers and liberating India from the Britishers to INA personnel but to the Japanese Army, In that context on page 7 Shri Khosla has made these observations to which an exception has been taken by the mover of the Resolution.

I quote:

"He insisted that the I.N.A. should form the advance guard, and the first drop of blood to be shed on Indian soil should be that of a member of the I.N.A.' This was, however, the proposal of a visionary, of a zealous but impractical patriot."

One may agree or disagree. But, they are not inherently slanderous. Then, he goes on to say:

"He had only 3,000 trained soldiers ready, and the strength of the Japanese forces in Burma was 2,30,000—The Japanese who were anxious to secure a decisive victory by deploying their most competent men, did not relish the prospect of a small band of I.N.A. men, drawn from the inglorious rout of a defeated army...."

Now, the task of a historian is not necessarily the task or the duty of a partisan patriot. He has to take things on an objective basis. When he is saying that the Japanese did not want that the men should be drawn from an army which had some inglorious past that does not mean that the remarks or the observations are that of Mr. G. D. Khosla. He has put forth how the Japanese looked upon the INA men and in that context, he has said: "Sir, I am concluding. On page 30, Khosla has quoted certain portion of evidence. He said:

It is on record that when the Indians in South-East Asia spoke of the absentee property of the Indians they were told 'absentee property according to international law is enemy property'. What property do you have here? You are all puppets. You must acknowledge the generosity of the Japanese in entrusting you with the management of absentee property at all... As for Indian prestige, that is secondary to the execution of the Commander-in-Chief's Orders. Puppets? What is the harm in being puppets? You should be proud to be puppets of the Japanese".

These are not the remarks, these are not the observations of Mr. Khosla. They are based on the evidence led before him and if some odious allegations are incorporated in the report based on evidence, then, they do not become...

SHRI SAMAR GUHA. My dear friend

SHRI B. R. SHUKLA I will come to you also. The question is, whether these are the remarks of Mr. Khosla based on his own personal assessment or they are drawn from sources of evidence, which he was pleased to quote. Now, as regards Mr.

SHRI D. N. TIWARY Now, I ask one thing whether Khosla was given the task of writing the history of Netaji or he was given a certain assignment to inquire whether Netaji is alive or not? Why should he write these things, which was the term of reference?

SHRI B. R. SHUKLA The question is, everybody has got his own style of writing and functioning. Now, the Resolution before the House is whether certain remarks are slanderous. Now, the Members, whether on this side or on that side, are indulging in many things which are not relevant to the Resolution, that Netaji was a great patriot, that he was a great revolutionary and that he organised an army. Nobody denies all these things. If Khosla was entrusted with the task of enquiring into the cause of his disappearance if certain evidence was led before him and in a certain context, he had to give his findings and then he quotes here and there, that does not mean that he has gone out of his way and that he has some intention to disparage or minimize the greatness of the great patriot.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE Do you deny one thing? When he was assigned a particular job why did he go out of that?

SHRI B. R. SHUKLA He has not gone out of that.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): He is a stooge of British imperialism. He has the cheek to say this.

SHRI B. R. SHUKLA With due respect to the hon. members, I may say that except Mr. Guha, most of them have not gone through the entire report. What was the point at issue? Whether Netaji got the plane, whether the plane could be provided, whether the plane could not be provided for his flight?

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE (Banka): He is accusing us of not having the entire rubbish!

श्री समर गृह : मैं आप से विनती करता हूँ— आप न ता इस इत एक ही काटेकस्ट से बड़ा है। यहा पूरी रिपोर्ट आप के सामने है, पूरी प्रोसीजर आप के सामने है, आप एक पत्र से भा, कोई ऐसा इस्टेस दिखाइ। जहा किसी भी विटनेस न कोई ऐसी सवाही दी हो या कोई ऐसी दलील दी हो, जिस के मुताबिक वे ऐसा कह सकते हो। अगर आप कोई भी ऐसा इस्टे। बता दे तो मैं आप की बात मान लूगा।

SHRI B. R. SHUKLA He has his own reasons for being dissatisfied.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER I think all of us are going off the line because the Resolution is whether certain expressions should remain part of the Report or not. That is what we are discussing. I think we should not go to the extent of discussing whether Mr. Khosla has done the right thing or the wrong thing. Otherwise, it becomes a much bigger discussion.

SHRI B. R. SHUKLA In brief, I have attempted to place before you that these remarks which are said to be slanderous and are sought to be expunged from the Report are not per se slanderous. While conducting the inquiry evidence was led before him and on that basis he has come to certain conclusions.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA Just cite a single evidence or document which was brought before the Commission to that effect.

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MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You will have the right of reply.

SHRI B. R. SHUKLA: I admire the sentiment, emotion and feeling of the hon. Mover.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: It is the nation's question.

SHRI B. R. SHUKLA: But he should not monopolise it and think that he alone has respect for Netaji. I yield to none in my veneration for that great patriot. But the only relevant point here is that these remarks should be understood in the context in which they were made.

SHRI SHIVAJI RAO S. DESHMUKH (Parabhani): Whenever an evidence is quoted, should it not be put within inverted commas?

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR (Ahmedabad): I shall be very brief. I fully appreciate the sentiments and thoughts of my good and dear friend, Shri Samar Guha, who while moving the Resolution has naturally in very emotional terms expressed his great anguish and even anger at the manner in which Justice Khosla went about writing so many things in his Report which had nothing to do with the main terms of reference of the Commission. He was given certain terms of reference, to inquire about the death or otherwise of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. But while going into that question, going into various evidences, whatever he had collected, he seems to have gone much beyond the scope of those terms of reference into passing remarks about one of the country's greatest revolutionaries, which nobody could tolerate.

You will recall that you have more than once said in this very House in

recent weeks that we a democratic society, we are an open society and we must take everything in its stride; if people criticise us, we should not be very sensitive or too emotional. We must accept it in good spirit. But it is one thing to accept criticism in good spirit and another to allow somebody who was given a certain specific official assignment to say many things which have nothing to do with the scope of the inquiry. I think this is the real issue as I see it. Therefore, I feel that Netaji's fair name and good name has been unnecessarily and unjustifiably tarnished by this report. Having said that, I also wish to say that even if there are 100 such reports or 1000 such reports which say whatever they like about a man like Netaji, I do not think his memory and his glorious place in the history of modern India would be tarnished by an iota. But that is not the point. Here is something which the Government of India officially asks some individual to go into and then the report comes in a way which is objectionable. We object to this kind of thing. I should be the last man to say: expunge certain things from a certain document because they are not acceptable to some of us. But these are remarks of an extraordinary kind. Therefore, I should conclude by saying that Netaji was a rebel per excellence. I admire his courage. During the hectic days of independence struggle the youthful revolutionary that he was, he had the courage to express his dissent in relation to persons like Pandit Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi. His was a revolutionary spirit. We cannot tolerate somebody sitting in judgement, somebody writing in his official position, something derogatory. That is why I say that while in a democratic society everybody will welcome criticism, nobody can allow licence in the name of freedom; no scandal can be allowed in the name of freedom. From that angle, I support the resolution of Shri Samar Guha.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: There is an intriguing point that arises here. This report has been laid on the Table of the House, I understand so. I wish to draw the attention of the Minister to the point that has been made by the Members here that this particular gentleman Khosla has exceeded his terms of reference and has incorporated in the report certain things which are not called for by his terms of reference. Now, if that is the correct position, why did you make it public by putting it on the Table of the House?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI F. H. MOHSIN): We have accepted the findings as regards the death of Netaji Subhash Bose. We have not commented on the contents of the report.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Have you accepted only one section of the report...

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: Only the conclusions, I said.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have accepted the conclusions of the report. From what you say it appears that you are yourself satisfied that there are certain things which are not within the terms of the enquiry report. When those things are of a slanderous nature, why could not you edit the report? Why did you make it public? That is the question.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: I shall reply to that at the time when I reply to the debate.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The point is that when it is of such serious nature, when it touches the sentiments of the people of the country, we should be more careful before we make the report public. Now the whole thing is being talked about. We are taking about it. The whole country talks

about it. Normally when the Government is not satisfied, it treats it as a confidential thing. Is it not so? Until the report is laid on the Table of the House, it is supposed to be confidential.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Gwalior): There was a public demand that the report be made public.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: When they are convinced that there are certain things which exceeded the brief, certain things which are of a slanderous nature, the Government should have taken note of those things.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: I will clarify the position. Many times demand was made in the House by many Members that the report should be made public and laid on the Table of the House. An assurance was given to the House that it would be placed on the Table of the House and accordingly we placed it on the Table of the House.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: Of course, he placed the report on the Table of the House. I know Mr. Uma Shankar Dikshit was there at that time and he was asked to place it on the Table of the House. But supposing they had placed it on the Table of the House, should they not have taken care to see that the remarks like 'puppet of Japanese' are removed? Are we not ashamed of this?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The Ministry should have read it.
(Interruptions)

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: They really wanted to ridicule Netaji and malign Netaji. (Interruptions)

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: The ruling party and the Prime Minister...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: All the time connecting everything with the Prime Minister. It is not good. It might be a lapse on the part of the

Ministry, it might be a lapse on the part of the Department and it might be a lapse on the part of the bureaucracy. But why connect everything with one particular person?

(Interruptions).

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Before we proceed further, I want to mention that we had allotted two hours for this resolution and now we have reached the two hour time limit. We have now discussed this resolution for two hours. I would like to have the pleasure of the House as to what should we do now. That is all.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: My humble suggestion is that the time should be extended by one hour.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: What I am concerned now is that we have allotted two and half hours for the Private Members Business. We started the Private Members Business at 3.30 and therefore we go upto 6 O'clock. I am concerned only with this particular resolution because we have allotted only two hours and therefore I would like to take the pleasure of the House what do we do with reference to this particular resolution.

AN HON MEMBER: One more hour.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Very well, we will take up.

(Interruptions).

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: Sir, on a point of order.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now, about the Private Members Business, I find here that Mr. Guha began his speech at 3.04 P.M. although the time when Mr. Chandrappan moved his motion for adoption by the House was the time when the Private Members Business began. If you add two-and-half hours from then at 5.34 this business should be completed. You are all in a hurry and in the hurry certain things are said and there is

confusion and confrontation. Allow me to understand what you want. When we reach 5.34 we complete 2½ hours of Private Members Business. The question that arises now is we are going to give 1 hour more....

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI (Chirayukil): No.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: If you say 'no' I will take the pleasure of the House again. We have completed 2 hours' discussion on Mr. Samar Guha's resolution. What do you do about it now?

SHRI K. RAGHU RAMAIAH: I do not want to stand in the way of anybody's resolution. But would like to make one thing clear. I think the leaders of the opposition as well as ourselves are anxious to take up the no confidence motion at 6 O'clock. If the half-hour discussion can be postponed, this can be adjusted.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Provided it is not dropped.

SHRI K. RAGHU RAMAIAH: I would not stand in the way of its being revived if the rules provide for it.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The least I can do is not to be confused. I would request the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs not to bring in extraneous matters at the moment. We shall come to that when we come to that. At the moment, what do you want to do with Mr. Samar Guha's resolution?

SHRI K. RAGHU RAMAIAH: I would like to know the pleasure of the Chair. Does the Chair mean that the time may be extended and the extended time will go to the next session or it will be completed today?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I want to know whether you want to extend

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

the time for Mr. Samar Guha's resolution. Every other thing follows from it. If it cannot be completed today, obviously it will go to the next session. Why do you want to anticipate things? What do you want to do with Mr. Samar Guha's resolution?

HON. MEMBERS: 1 hour more.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: So, this resolution of Mr. Samar Guha will continue to be discussed in the next session, because we have exhausted the two hours and a half allotted for Private Members Business.

SHRI R. S. PANDEY: Where do I stand?

AN HON. MEMBER: You stand completely demolished.

SHRI R. S. PANDEY: Allow me to move the resolution.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I cannot do any irregular thing. I would like all Members to help me to run the House.

The rule says:

"The last 2½ hours of the sitting on Friday shall be allotted for the transaction of Private Members Business."

The intention of this rule as far as I see is 2½ hours on Friday means the end of the day.

Now we ourselves by practice, by convention, have violated this rule. If you go strictly by this rule even Half-an-hour Discussion put after this is irregular.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY AND CIVIL SUPPLIES (SHRI A. P. SHARMA): This was agreed to.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I do not know, I will come to that again.

I will come to six O'clock because everybody talks about six O'clock. There is a great deal of irregularity about six O'clock, I will regularise with the pleasure of this House. Now what do you want to do between now and six O'clock?

श्री मधु लिनये : इस में तीन विकल्प हो सकते हैं। एक तो यह है कि नत्ता जी वाले बिल पर बहस चालू रखी जाए।

श्री एस० एम० बनर्जी : वह तो प्रागे चला गया।

श्री मधुलिनये : प्रश्न यह चला गया। दूसरा यह है कि इस अवधि में हम अपटवेविलिटी वाले बिल को पास कर दे और तीसरा यह है मावलंकर जी वाला ड्राइटम लिया जाए लेकिन सबसे बढ़िया बात यह होगी अगर अपटवेविलिटी प्राफेन्सेज बिल को पास कर दिया जाए।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Since Mavalankar's motion—Half-an-hour Discussion is listed, it is fair that we give him a chance.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: May I make a submission. Although you have been gracious enough to support my Half-an-hour Discussion, will you kindly consider a suggestion of mine?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: There is another complication that has arisen. Half-an-hour Discussion should be completed the same day. You cannot partly discuss, now and then take it up the next day. We are left with 20 minutes to six. Can you finish it before six?

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: That is why I was submitting, although you have been gracious enough to support my Half-an-hour Discussion, I am left with 20 minutes. I would, therefore, make a suggestion and if this House accepts it, if you permit, this Half-an-hour Discussion of mine can be postponed and included in the

next session. I am willing. 20 minutes that we get now can be used effectively and purposefully to pass the Untouchability Bill.

I want an assurance that this Half-an-hour Discussion of mine does not lapse altogether. I would be very happy to have it postponed to the next session.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: You just now said that things are regular upto six O'Clock only. If there is no procedural difficulty, we can discuss it for 20 minutes.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I am very sorry. I really do not understand this. It is here where the Government should help me.

SHRI MADHU LEMAYE: Put it to the House.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: If you all do irregular things, I will have to take a strong decision, which would be unpleasant. In view of the fact that we may not be able to conclude the Half-an-Hour Discussion within the time we have now—we have lost more time and it is only 16 minutes to 6 O'Clock—Shri Mavalankar has made a request that the Half-an-Hour discussion may be postponed, may be taken up at the earliest opportunity next session. The question is what do we do with these 15 minutes now?

SOME HON MEMBERS: Take up the Untouchability Bill.

[MR SPEAKER in the Chair]

17.24 hrs.

श्री एस० एम० बनर्जी : मैं आपको बना दूँ कि क्या चल रहा था। हाफ एन अवर डिसकशन को अगले सेशन में धगर ले लिया जाए तो बाबलकर जी ने कहा है कि उनको कोई आपत्ति

नहीं है। डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब ने कहा कि इस बीच में क्या होगा। हमने प्रार्थना की है कि अनाटोमिबिलिटी बिल को जैसे उसको ज्यायंट कमेटी ने भेजा है पास कर दिया जाए बिना डिसकशन के। अब आपको इसके बारे में निर्णय करना है।

SHRI K. RAGHU RAMAIAH: Mr. Speaker, let us be realistic. Many of our members are anxious to speak on it. It is an important matter. You cannot dispose of it summarily in ten minutes. So, you can start with the no confidence motion now. There is no time fixed for it... (interruptions) We have no objection to the postponement of the Half-an-hour discussion, if the member is willing. But there is no deadline that the no confidence motion must start only at 6 O'Clock. There is nothing like that. One suggestion is that we take up the Untouchability Offences Bill and pass it in ten minutes. That is not possible. It is an important matter and many of our members want to participate in that discussion. It cannot be done in such a short time. So, my humble submission is that you start the no-confidence motion now itself.

श्री मधु लिये : कल जब हरिजनों और प्रादिवसियों के ऊपर भ्रष्टाचार वाला काम रोको प्रस्ताव मैंने रखा था तब आपने कहा था कि इस पर बहस करने का मौका मिल रहा है, अनाटोमिबिलिटी बिल धा रहा है। अब हम लोग बहस के अधिकार को छोड़ कर हम बिल को पास करने के लिए तैयार हैं और उसी रूप में पास करने को तैयार हैं जिस रूप में इसको ज्यायंट कमेटी ने भेजा है। हम बहस करना नहीं चाहते हैं। इसको आप एक मिनट में पाम कर दीजिये। मैं चाहता हूँ कि मेरे इस मुझाब पर आप रुलिंग दीजिये।

SHRI SHANKAR DEV (Bidar): It is not the monopoly of the opposition members.... (Interruptions) We have

[Shri Shankar Dev]

also got to say so many things....
(Interruptions)

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: We are concerned about the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and their lot and we want the Bill to be passed immediately.

MR. SPEAKER: The Untouchability Bill was to be taken up during the official time. Private Business started and we cannot go back now to official business.

PROF. MADHU DANAVATE: Will you please tell us whether the half an hour discussion is private or official business?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : ऐसी बात आप क्यों ला रहे हैं जो नामुम्किन है । गवर्नमेन्ट विजिनेस खत्म हुआ । अब आप फिर पीछे जाना चाहते हैं । नई बातें आप न करें । आपका एटोर्ट्यूड हैल्पफुल होना चाहिये । यह कौसी बात आप करते हैं । प्राइवेट मैम्बर्ज विजिनेस को खत्म करके दूसरी चीज पर हम आ रहे हैं । अब उसको बीच में क्यों ला रहे हैं ? अनटचेबिलिटी बिल अभी कौने पास हो सकता है । आप बहस नहीं चाहते होंगे वे चाहते होंगे ।

श्री भोला राजत (वगहा) : यह जो बिल है हम नहीं जानते हैं इस में क्या है । हम इस पर बोलना चाहते हैं । हरिजनो पर अत्याचार हो रहे हैं । हम इन अत्याचारो पर बोलना चाहते हैं ।

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Patan): It was postponed last session also. It should be passed today. It is important.

MR. SPEAKER: After official business, we pass on to Private Business. There was no understanding given that this Bill would be taken up after Private Business, nor was there any agreement.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: No. It is not correct. I raised that point, Shri Banerjee also raised that point, Shri Jyotirmoy Bose also raised that point.

MR. SPEAKER: I cannot as a Presiding Officer start this thing and then go back. It is for the House to decide, not for me. I cannot take up any item at any time unless the House agrees.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: We are ready to pass the Bill without speaking on it.

श्री जन्म शैलानी (झापरम) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस विधेयक पर मेम्बरों को अपनी भावनाएं प्रकट करने का मौका मिलना चाहिये और उसके बाद ही यह पास होना चाहिये । हमको मालूम है कि इसमें बहुत सी बातें हैं । हम इस कमेटी के मेम्बर थे ।

(अवधान)

श्री साकर देव : मैं उपायन्त सर्वेक्ट कमेटी का मेम्बर रहा हू, इसमें बहुत मारी चीजे हैं । नको डिस्कस करने का मौका मिलना चाहिये । यह किसी की मोनोपनी नहीं है कि बिना डिस्कशन के पास कर लिया जाये । मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि सब को अपनी ओपीनियन देने का अधिकार होना चाहिये ।

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: The Opposition is unanimous, without any discussion, in passing this Bill.

(Interruptions)

You, Mr. Natwarlal Patel, are not in the opposition...

(Interruptions)

SHRI NATWARLAL PATEL (Mehsana): You never bother about it.

(Interruptions)

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: The atrocities that are committed on the Harijans are on the increase. The Home Minister has given assurances many times that this Bill should be passed... They are going to postpone it.

जी बन्ध झेलानी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, पहले उस बिल पर विचार होगा, उस के बाद यह फैसला होगा कि बिल पास होना चाहिये या नहीं। मेरा विचार है कि जल्दी में, भावनावेध में, धाकर ऐसा नहीं करना चाहिये। यह सही है कि भाये दिन शङ्क्यूड कास्टस के लोगो पर अत्याचार होते हैं लेकिन इस तरह में फायदे की जगह उनका नुकसान न हो जाये। इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि इस पर 6 घंटे की पूरी बहस होनी चाहिये, नसाज-बाई-क्लाब डिस्कशन होना चाहिये, अर्मेडमेंट्स पर विचार होना चाहिये और उसके बाद ज्वायन्ट कमेटी ने जो मशा प्रकट की है इन बिल में इसे रखा गया है, उनको मदेनजर रखते हुए इसको पास करना चाहिये। जल्दी और भावनावेध में इसको पास नहीं करना चाहिये।

(Interruptions)

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE On this side, we wanted to say that we should pass this Bill without discussion. I still maintain that. Sir, if they really want to speak, let them speak. The hon. Minister came and went away. In the morning, the Congress Members were worried that the Bill should be passed.

(Interruptions)

Mr. Patel, who is... (Interruptions)

SHRI NATWARLAL PATEL: Mr. Chavda, nothing is going on in this House, according to our wish. Everything is going on... (Interruptions).

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA. Atrocities were committed in his home town... (Interruptions).

SHRI NATWARWAL PATEL: You cannot deprive me of my right of speaking on the Bill. You cannot deprive us of a discussion on the Bill. (Interruptions)

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: Sir, my submission is only this. I appeal to the ruling party and to the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs to really consider even at this stage whether this Bill should be passed. If they do not want to pass it, that is a different thing. We want that it should be passed without any discussion... (Interruptions)

SHRI NATWARLAL PATEL: We want a discussion on the Bill. You cannot deprive me of a discussion on the Bill.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: We are interested in passing the Bill. .. (Interruptions)

SHRI NATWARLAL PATEL: You spent two days on the issue of MISA. You never bothered about the Bill. You are only shedding crocodile tears. You never wanted to pass the Bill

अध्यक्ष महोदय आप देखिये कि स्पीकर को कोई अपीरिटी नहीं है कि वह जिस आइटम को मर्जी चाहे रख ले और जिस को मर्जी चाहे कर ले। जो आइटम चला गया, उसको दोबारा करना है तो हाउस के फैसले में ही वह हो सकती है।

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: In the morning I raised the matter. I asked: What about the Untouchability Offences Bill?

अगर प्राइवेट मेम्बर्स बिजनस शुरू हो गया तो वह कैसे धा सकता है ?

MR. SPEAKER: I cannot go back to any item unless the House decides it. (Interruptions)

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: In protest, I walk out.

[Shri K. S. Chavda then left the House.]

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: As a protest against the Government's attitude towards Harijans, we walk out. (Interruptions)

[Shri S. M. Banerjee and some other hon. Members then left the House.]

10 hrs.

श्री मधु लिमये (बांका) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, हरिजनों और आदिवासियों पर जो अत्याचार हो रहे हैं, उस के बारे में मैंने एक काम-रोको प्रस्ताव दिया था, लेकिन आप ने उस को यह कह कर स्वीकार नहीं किया कि अनटचेबिलिटी सम्बन्धी बिल धाने वाला है। सरकार ने भीला को प्रेसिडेंट दे कर इस बिल को नहीं लिया, मैं इस के विरोध में सभा-स्थान करता हूँ।

[Shri Madhu Limaye then left the House.]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF PERSONNEL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS AND DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI OM MEHTA): To put the records straight, this Bill was on the Order Paper for three days. I was here on all the three days but nobody came forward to discuss the Bill. I had moved it also. Now they have walked out, but this has been on the Order Paper for the last three days.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF RAILWAYS (SHRI BUTA SINGH): It is nothing but cheap tactics of the Opposition.

अध्यक्ष महोदय : क्या दस्तावेज के टारन अपरह के बारे में कोई फैसला हो गया है ? यह 12 बजे से पहले बल्य करना होगा।

SHRI K. RAGHU RAMAIAH: You suggested in the morning that it should end at 12.00 p.m., and that should be observed. The Prime Minister may be called at about 10.30 or 10.45 so that by 12.00 o'clock the debate is over. We accept that suggestion of yours.

MR. SPEAKER: Now, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu.

18.00 hrs.

MOTION OF NO-CONFIDENCE
IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
—Contd.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour). Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House expresses its want of confidence in the Council of Ministers"

We have to bring in a No Confidence Motion which my friends opposite have been calling 'habitual'. But a friend of mine also from that end—told me that a No-Confidence Motion was almost like a hand-pipe added to a man-hole,—possibly belonging to the Government. This is done to serve as a warning to this Government because vices, failures, corruption and improprieties are mounting at very great speed. Perhaps never before was there a Government so corrupt, so unscrupulous, so unprincipled, so deceitful and so apt in robbing the exchequer and compensating it by levying more and more taxes every year. Our utterances are not meant merely for Mrs. Gandhi or her Congressmen, but for the people. Surely a time will come, sooner or later, when they will throw out this Government lock-stock and barrel.