

दिन हम मनाने हैं, वह हमारे राष्ट्रपिता हैं, उन्होंने नारा लगाया था "करेंगे या मरेंगे" "डू और डई", और नेता जी ने नारा दिया "दिल्ली चलो" और "जय हिन्द"। अगर हम नेता जी और महात्मा गांधी जी को बराबर नहीं बोलेंगे तो नेता जी को कम भी नहीं कहेंगे। अतः नेता जी के जन्म दिन को छुट्टी के दिन के रूप में मनाना जरूरी है। नेता जी कितने बड़े जबरदस्त क्रांतिकारी थे। पहले पहल जा भारत छोड़ो मिगापुर में उन्होंने अपनी सरकार बनायी तो उन्होंने क्या घोषणा की थी। जिस रोज वह प्रेसिडेंट वरें इंडियन इंडिपेंडेंस लीग के तो पहले ही दिन उन्होंने कहा

"Friends, the time has now come for freedom loving Indians to act. Action in a war crisis demands, above all, military discipline as well as unflinching loyalty to the cause. I, therefore, call upon all my countrymen in East Asia to line up in one solid phalanx under one leadership and prepare for the grim fight that is ahead of us."

यह उनका दृष्टिकोण था, उन्होंने आगे तक देखा और तब आजाद हिन्द फौज और आजाद हिन्द सरकार बनायी और वहां में लड़ाई शुरू कर दी थी।

आखिर में उन्होंने जब चलना शुरू कर दिया तो वे बोले

He concluded his speech by enunciating:

"... We have a grim fight ahead of us—for the enemy is powerful, unscrupulous and ruthless. In the final march to freedom—you will have to face hunger, thirst, privation, forced marches and death. Only when you pass this test, will freedom be yours. I am confident that you will do so and thereby bring freedom and prosperity to your enslaved and impoverished land."

इससे यह प्रमाणित हो जाता है कि हिन्दुस्तान और यहां की जनता को वह कितना प्यार करते थे। इतने बड़े पैट्रियट का

जन्म-दिन मनाने के लिये हमको यहां बहस करनी पड़नी है, यह बहुत अफसोस की बात है। 2 साल अपनी सरकार चलाने के बाद जब जहरा समझा तो उन्होंने अपने आदेश दिये वह बहुत महत्वपूर्ण हैं। 15 अगस्त, 1945 को उनका आदेश निकला कि

"Comrades, I feel that in this critical hour, 380 millions of our countrymen at home are looking at us, the members of India's Army of Liberation. Therefore, remain true to India and do not, for a moment, waver in your faith in India's destiny. The roads to Delhi are many and Delhi still remains our goal. The sacrifices of your immortal comrades and of yourselves will certainly achieve their fulfilment. There is no power on earth that can keep India enslaved. India shall be free and before long."

उनकी दूर-दृष्टि थी, वह दूर तक देखते थे और उसके बाद बोलते थे। उसके बाद हमारी आजादी आ गई।

हम यह कहना चाहते हैं कि कांग्रेस सरकार में उनका जन्म-दिवस मनाने के लिये उनके जन्म-दिवस को छुट्टी का दिन घोषित नहीं किया, लेकिन आज कांग्रेस में बहुत आदमी ऐसे हैं जो चाहते हैं कि 23 जनवरी छुट्टी का दिन घोषित हो। इसलिये हम अर्ज कर रहे हैं कि हमारे श्री ममर गुहा जी का जो विन है, इसका यह हाउस समर्थन करे।

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPAN (Cannanore): I support the Bill moved by Mr. Samar Guha and I think I need not make a very long speech because he has explained very effectively his case. But I think a certain other aspect also should be taken into account, whether the question is of giving a holiday or whether it is a question of observing it, as Dr. Ramji said, as a national day. I think that is not the main question. The question is of recognizing the significant role played by Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose in the

[Shri C. K. Chandrapan.]

freedom struggle of our country. I think here we should also understand—I think Mr. Samar Guha explained that point also—that there were various streams of India's freedom struggle. It was not only the one which was led by Mahatma Gandhi. Nobody will deny that the struggle led by Mahatma Gandhi and the role of the Indian National Congress are pre-eminent in the freedom movement of our country. But, at the same time, there were other streams also which played an equally significant and important role in the freedom struggle.

The role played by Bhagat Singh is memorable; his was a terrorist movement and the memory of Bhagat Singh will inspire the younger generation of today and tomorrow. The role played by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose will inspire the young people of this country for generations to come.

Sir, in respect of certain struggles which took place in the former Princely States, the hon. Home Minister refused to consider them as part of freedom struggle. The argument that was advanced was that the Indian National Congress was not leading that. In Travancore, during that period after the second World War, a new wave the movement for independence took place. The Britishers were keen to create a point from where they can start disrupting the unity of the country. They found a Diwan to the erstwhile King of Travancore to play this game. Against that the people rose and agitated and this is called the Punnapura Vayalar struggle in the former Travancore State. Several hundreds of people were shot dead. They were fighting for keeping Travancore as a part of the Indian Union. While leaving this country, the Britishers wanted to create certain points from where they thought they will be able to operate.

One was Kashmir State, next, former Hyderabad State and the third, Travancore State

At that time Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar was the Diwan of Travancore and he gave the slogan for a free independent Travancore outside the Republic of India. Against that the working class rose and fought. It was led by the Communists. What is wrong with it? The part played by them for the freedom and unity of the country has to be recognised. In the former Hyderabad State, under the Nizam, a conspiracy was hatched by the Britishers with the connivance of the former Nizam of Hyderabad. At that time the famous Telengana armed insurgency took place. You can see in that Telengana portion of Andhra Pradesh even today the graveyard of martyrs who fought for the freedom struggle. They fought against the Razakars for the preservation of the unity of the country. It stands to reason that this should be considered as part of the freedom struggle. There should not be any sort of communal approach. We say that the Mopla Rebellion in former Malabar State of Kerala should be considered as a part of the freedom struggle.

The approach is that it has nothing to do with freedom struggle. It was part of a great movement, Khilafat movement, in this country in which Mahatma Gandhi himself took part. And that was inspired by the people who, in that part of the country were Muslims. That does not mean that that is not the part of the freedom struggle of this country.

17 hrs.

[SHRI TRIDIB CHAUDHURI in the Chair]

Sir, many years ago, when we were discussing about the post-war of Independence, it was condemned by the British Historians as a rebellion—a new thing—and they did not consi-

der it as part of the struggle for freedom of this country.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Chandrappan, just a minute. The time allotted for discussion of this Bill was two hours. And at 5 P.M. the two hours will be over. But I find there is a long list of speakers.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND LABOUR (SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA): I do not mind extending the time of the discussion on this Bill if there are many Members who want to speak.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have got your list also. So, is it the pleasure of the House that the time should be extended?

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Yes, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I think Mr Chandrappan, you must cut down your time.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: I am going to end my speech.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Anyway, the time is extended by two hours for this Bill. The House will of course rise at the usual time. The spillover will be carried to the next session.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: My point was this

MR. CHAIRMAN: At 17.30 hours, there is half-an-hour discussion also.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: My point was this that the freedom struggle in this country was something in which various forces were involved. Government may have a little broader approach towards the freedom struggle and the role played by different forces in this country.

Sir, I talked about those three struggles specifically. I must say that the former rulers and the present rulers are not much depressed in assessing the role of various parties

and movements in the freedom struggle. There was a partisan approach, a very narrow approach which sometimes is very painful. That is why I said that in the Mopla Rebellion in Kerala—it was not a question of few but tens and thousands of people were involved in that—many took part and their descendants are still there and nobody can say that they were Muslims and so their role in the freedom struggle was something second to others. Similarly, it was backed by the Communists and the Tamilians against the Razakars and the Nizam and the Punnapara Vayalar in Trivandrum against the former Diwan and the princes of Trivandrum. How can they say that this is not a part of the freedom struggle? It is that approach, that narrow approach which prevents them from accepting the role played by Subhas Chandra Bose in the freedom struggle. I may not agree with the philosophy and I may not agree with all the tactics that were employed. That is not the point. None in this country will say that he did not play a significant role in the freedom struggle? He did play and it will be remembered by this country for ages to come and that recognition should be given to the role played by Subhas Chandra Bose. Whether it is in the form of national holiday or whether it is in the form of national day is a question of detail. We can find agreement. But the question before us is whether the Government is going to accept this view that the national freedom movement of this country was the mainstream in which several streams joined together—some led by communists, some led by socialists and some led by people like Netaji Subhas Bose. The main thing was led by Mahatma Gandhi himself and there is the role of the Indian National Congress. If you ignore any part of it, then I am afraid, we are making a mistake.

I thank Shri Guha for bringing forward this Bill so that we can get the

## Chandra Bose's Birthday Bill

[Shri C. K. Chandrappan.]

opportunity to discuss the role played by various movements in the freedom struggle. With these words, I support the Bill moved by Shri Samar Guha and, I hope, Government will have a new look into the whole problem.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat): Sir, I rise to support the Bill moved by Shri Samar Guha. It has been rightly pointed out by some Members in this House—who have just preceded me—that the issue before the House and which has been raised by the Bill is limited in the sense that the mover of the Bill wants that 23rd January—the birthday of Netaji Subhas Bose—should be declared as national holiday.

Mr Chairman, Sir, Shri Samar Guha in his rare eloquence has narrated the background of the freedom movement of our country. He has also assessed the role of the Father of the Nation, namely Mahatma Gandhi. He has also *inter alia* ought to assess the role played by Netaji Subhas Bose and he has also highlighted certain aspects of Netaji Subhas Bose's life, his epic struggle and the fundamental contribution made by him to the freedom struggle of this country. He has also hinted that Netaji worked for not only the freedom of this country but wanted to build up a new future of India based on socialism. Not only that he also fought for the creation of a new mankind.

Therefore, I do not want to dilate on that. In all humility, I should say that the greatness of Netaji cannot be weighed, assessed or quantified. That being the case, I do not propose to do that. I do not also propose to compare him with anybody because it is incomparable; it is not fair to compare the greatness of a leader of stature and standing of Netaji. I refrain from entering into any discussion on that because no rhetoric is expressive enough to really describe the role he played in our history and no word is

adequate to convey the feelings of myself and a large number of people outside. Therefore I refrain from entering into that aspect of the discussion.

Coming to the merits of the Bill—I am glad that the Mover of the Bill is now here—he has suggested that 23rd January be declared a national holiday in our country. The concept of national holiday in our country is not new. Today there are three national holidays: Republic Day, Independence Day and Mahatma Gandhi's birthday. In this connection, I should like to draw the attention of the House to the broad principle governing the declaration of national holidays which are contained in government papers and documents. It has been mentioned in the Third Pay Commission report while explaining the principle of declaration of a particular day as a national holiday:

“The principles governing the declaration of a public holiday were reviewed in 1947 when it was decided that only festivals of general significance and birthdays of world figures of importance to India should be included in the list of public holidays.”

Two criteria have been laid down. One: it must be festivals of general significance and it must be the birthday of a world figure of importance to India. I do not want to make Government uncomfortable. The principle is very much there. In pursuance of that principle the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi, father of the nation has been declared a national holiday. This principle does not prevent anybody outside India, a great man outside the borders of India, his birth day being declared as one of the national holidays in our country.

The crux of the question is whether instead of three national holidays we can declare four. If we want Netaji's birthday to be a national holiday, instead of three there will be four. I quite appreciate the eloquence of Dr. Ramji Singh and others who took part