

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैं आपकी आज्ञा से एक बहुत आवश्यक विषय पर आपका ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर) : मैंने श्री सेन गुप्ता को बुला लिया है ।

श्री राजनारायण : आप एक मिनट के लिये हमारी बात सुन लीजिये । मैं एक वैधानिक बात कह रहा हूँ । श्रीमन्, आप संविधान को जानते हैं । श्री फखरुद्दीन अली अहमद .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर) : आप किस विषय पर बोल रहे हैं ?

श्री राजनारायण : मैं संविधान की बारीकियों पर बोल रहा हूँ ।

(Interruptions)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर) : यह तो कोई विषय यहाँ पर नहीं है ।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, कल राष्ट्रपति जी का चुनाव होने जा रहा है । श्री फखरुद्दीन अली अहमद ने अपनी जायदाद के बारे में जो बयान दिया है, वह बयान प्रधान मंत्री जी को दिये गये बयान से भिन्न है । उन्होंने अपनी सम्पत्ति

(Interruptions)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर) : यह कोई विषय नहीं है । आप कृपा करके अपना स्थान से लें ।

श्री राजनारायण : उन्होंने कल यह बयान दिया है कि उनका जो दिल्ली में मकान है . . . (Interruptions) वह 6 लाख ले लें और दिल्ली का मकान हमें दे दें ।

(Interruptions)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर) : आप जो कुछ कहेंगे, वह अंकित नहीं किया जायेगा ।

श्री राजनारायण : आप अंकित न करें . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर) : आप चेयरमैन की आज्ञा लेकर बोलें और आपकी कोई बात यहाँ पर अंकित नहीं की जायेगी ।

श्री राजनारायण : (बोलते रहे) ।

श्री बनारसी दास : वे कल राष्ट्रपति चुन लिये जायेंगे और उन्होंने अपनी जायदाद के अगैट्स डिक्लेयर किये हैं, इस बारे में फिर नहीं कहा जा सकेगा ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर) : आप इस विषय पर चेयरमैन से पहले परमिशन लीजिये ।

श्री राजनारायण : (बोलते रहे) ।

SHRI M.P. SHUKLA (Uttar Pradesh): What he says should not go into the record.

[At this stage, Shri Rajnarain left the Chamber].

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND IN THE MINISTRY OF WORKS AND HOUSING (SHRI OM MEHTA) : Sir, before anything goes on record, I want to say that whatever Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed has said has been said with full sense of responsibility. Nothing wrong has been done in making that statement.

# THE CONSTITUTION (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1970

(To amend article 240 and the First Schedule)

SHRI DWIJENDRA LAL SEN GUPTA (West Bengal) : Sir, I move.

"That the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India be taken into consideration." Sir, this Bill seeks to rename Andaman and Nicobar Islands as "Shaheed and Swaraj Islands." This is a very simple Constitutional amendment that I am suggesting. Schedule I of the Constitution gives the names of the States and the Union Territories and I am seeking to amend that Schedule where the names of Andaman and Nicobar Islands appear under Union Territories; and incidentally article 240 is required to be amended.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, though the Bill looks like just one of change of name, it has a political significance which I shall place before the House. As you all know, many great patriots of this country, during the British days, had spent many years in Andamans to serve their penal terms for the only offence of being patriots. You know the names of Tilak, Shri Aurobindo, Savarkar and many others. I pay my homage to all those patriots who had been to Andamans in the cause of the country's freedom. It has been stated in the Statement of Objects and Reasons that out of reverence to them, in memory of those patriots, let the Andaman Island be named as "Shaheed Dweep" and Nicobar Island as "Swaraj Dweep." Because of the sufferings of these great patriots, we won *swaraj*. Because of the sacrifice, supreme sacrifice I should say, of these great patriots, we have got *swaraj* to-day. So consistent with our tradition, we should name one island as "Shaheed Dweep" and the other island as "Swaraj Dweep". *Shaheed* and *Swaraj* go together. Without the sacrifice of the *Shaheed*, *Swaraj* could not have been got.

Now, you might ask me, "Why have you chosen these two islands, Andaman and Nicobar?" I have a special reason for that. The special reason is that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose visited Port Blair in October, 1943 as the First President of free Government of India, what we know as "Azad Hind Sarkar" and that Government of free India named Andaman as "Shaheed Dweep" and Nicobar as "Swaraj Dweep" and the first flag of independence was hoisted there.

Now, this is not an event of little significance. If we can be proud of Azad Hind Government, then why should we not honour the declaration of the First President of Independent India, Shri Subhash Chandra Bose and why should we go back to the colonial nomenclature of the Island, Andaman and Nicobar Islands? Andaman and Nicobar Islands do not have any historical significance except shame and slavery. All that I want to tell you is that the Azad Hind Sarkar was not a Government of no significance. In fact, Shri Bhulabhai Desai in the INA trial built the case of defence by raising this question. He said that Azad Hind Government was a legally constituted government which was recognised by several countries. As such, the INA men were not rebels and deserters. This was their defence and they succeeded on this point. If for the purpose of the defence of INA trial, Shri Bhulabhai Desai or Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru accepted that Azad Hind Sarkar was a legally constituted government and that Andaman and Nicobar Islands was a free land in possession of that Government, then why the names 'Shaheed' and 'Swaraj' should be changed? I am not asking for anything new. I am giving historical facts. If you accepted Azad Hind Sarkar and contended that the INA men were not rebels or deserters but war prisoners, then Andaman and Nicobar Islands should be accepted as free India.

Now comes the question: should we try to obliterate History should we face the history? Are we going to ignore that brilliant past or are we going to ignore the supreme sacrifice of Netaji? If not, then how can you say that the name 'Andaman and Nicobar Islands' will not be changed? Do you mean to say that the name 'Andaman and Nicobar Islands' has more historical significance than this historical announcement of Netaji that they were then in the Shaheed and Swaraj Dweep? I place this question before this House and I expect

the Minister to reply to it. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this question was raised several times on the floor of the Parliament. As a matter of fact, I think this question was raised in the Third Lok Sabha in 1965 suggesting the 'Andaman and Nicobar Islands' should be changed to 'Shaheed and Swaraj Dweep.' At that time, the Minister concerned said, "All right, don't press it now. We shall refer it to the Home Minister's Advisory Committee". In fact it was referred to that committee.

The Home Minister's Advisory Committee, as you all know, is a purely nominated committee—nominated by the Government of India. So that Committee is His Master's Voice and has no particular independence which we usually expect from the Government. If the Government of India was earnest about it, then the Committee would have been earnest about it. If the Government of India had agreed to the suggestion, then the Committee would have agreed to it. If the Government of India does not like it, the Committee will not certainly like it either. This Committee sat on 7-12-1965 on the basis of the assurance given by the Minister on 3-12-1965. On the basis of that assurance in the Lok Sabha given to Shri Kamath, he withdrew the Bill. He did not press for it. On 7-12-1965 the Home Minister's Advisory Committee sat and they said: No, it cannot be accepted. Thereafter, in or about 1968 I introduced this Bill. But my term expired in 1970. The Bill did not come up. Then later I reintroduced the Bill. In the mean time my friend Shri B. K. Das Chaudhury, a Congress Member introduced this Bill in the Lok Sabha in 1969. He was not then in the Congress but in the Forward Block. His term expired in 1971. He was elected again as Congress Member. This Bill was introduced by him and discussed there on 17-11-1972 and 1-12-1972. We have got two statements from two Ministers in the Lok Sabha, on that occasion. One was from Shri Mohsin Deputy Home Minister. He said and I am quoting him:

"I will convey the feelings expressed here by all the Members. If the inhabitants of Andaman and Nicobar desire that the name should be changed, we will ourselves bring a Bill to change the name."

Mr. Vice-Chairman, is there any forum through which the inhabitants of Andaman and Nicobar can express themselves? I want to know from the hon. Minister whether the

[Shri Dwijendralal Sen Gupta]  
people of Andaman and Nicobar have any voice ? Should they express through their nominated members ?

Then there was another statement by Shri Raj Bahadur who was then the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs. He said :

"I think the mover of the Bill should be satisfied with the assurance that we will convey all these views to the Advisory Committee again and, in the meantime, the Bill can be kept pending."

He said further :

"The responsibility to persuade them is bilateral. You should also try to persuade them we will also try to persuade, if need be."

Whom to persuade ? Nominated members ? 'Bilateral' means through Government's efforts and our efforts. Where is the opportunity ? All these things only show that the words uttered by the Ministers are only a big hoax. They did not mean either to ascertain the opinion of the people of Andaman and Nicobar islands or to advise the nominated members.

Or, Sir, in other words, they have advised the people of the Advisory Committee not to agree to this. This morning I had a talk over the telephone with Shri Das Choudhury and I learnt from him that the Advisory Committee has turned it down again. But since there was no chance in the ballot for the Bill, it is still pending and if the Bill comes up, he will take it up again.

SHRI RABI RAY (Orissa) : Who are all the members who have been advised not to agree ?

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA : All the members.

SHRI RABI RAY : You mean the Committee of the Home Ministry ?

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA : Yes, the Home Ministry Advisory Committee for Andaman-Nicobar Island. Now, Sir, they want to show the Advisory Committee as something different from the Home Ministry and something different from the Government of India and also as if the nominated members of the Advisory Committee are the only true representatives of the people of Andaman and Nicobar and what they will say will be final and what they will say will be decisive. This is the position now.

Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, besides this, you will also appreciate the fact that from 1950 to 1961, that is, in all these eleven years, this question of renaming the Islands came up before the Parliament five times in the form of questions, five times in the form of resolutions or calling attention motions and five times in the form of Bills and, so, this question of renaming came up every time, whether it was in the form of questions or of Bills or of resolutions and the Government has not yet tried to ascertain the opinion of the people of Andaman and Nicobar. Now, Sir, I would like to know whether it is very necessary that the people of Andaman and Nicobar should give their opinion or whether it is very necessary that their opinion should be ascertained ? Was the opinion of the people—when I say 'people', I mean individual citizens—ascertained when Madras was renamed as Tamil Nadu or was the opinion of the people ascertained in the case of Mizoram or Meghalaya or Maharashtra ? In these places, the Assemblies were there and the people's opinions were expressed and the opinions were not expressed by individuals. But there is no Assembly in Andaman and Nicobar. You say : "Ascertain the opinion". How to ascertain the opinion ? This is the difficulty. In such circumstances, keeping in view the historic announcement by Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, we should honour it. Heavens will not fall if a little sincerity is shown. Public opinion, I should say, has been sufficiently expressed in favour of this through the Members of Parliament. The Members of the Lok Sabha, as has been indicated in the statements of Mr. Mohsin and Mr. Raj Bahadur, were unanimous on the question of renaming the Islands. If they were unanimous and if the Minister had also said, "I shall convey your feelings, I shall convey your sentiments," what else is it if not the opinion of the people ? If it was there, then it was sufficient for the Government to say : "Yes, we agree." But, if the Government says that the opinion of the Members of Parliament or, for that matter, of Andaman and Nicobar, where there is no Assembly, is not a sufficient expression of public opinion, I do not know what else is necessary and I do not know how it can be expressed.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I should also mention here Shri N. B. Khare had proposed renaming the Island as veer Savarkar and Bhai Parmanand Dweep. Sir, great revolutionaries like veer Savarkar and Bhai Parmanand have been there in our country and so also there

have been many other revolutionaries. I have profound respect for these revolutionaries and I should also like to say that any country can be proud of their sufferings and of their courage.

Some may say that it may not be possible or proper to name any particular island or a country in the name of an individual. That is true. There are many other revolutionaries also. So it will be more appropriate if you re-name it as "Shaheed and Swaraj Islands".

When Mr. Khare was there, we did not succeed with this Bill. That was not a proof by itself that the people were in favour of "Andaman & Nicobar". No, Sir. It does not mean that the people were not in favour of this change. It might be for different reasons. But I would like to submit before this House that there cannot be any conceivable reason why my Bill should be opposed. In fact, I have a great apprehension that possibly this Government does not like to accept the facts of history, namely, the fact that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose's Government was the first revolutionary, independent government and that the I.N.A. or that Government made a contribution to the independence of today which we enjoy. That's why Netaji has no place in the Central Hall. Netaji's Government is not given that position of pride which it deserves. This Government thinks that re-naming this place will not be to their political interest. For them, political interest is one thing, and national pride is another thing. But we have reason to be proud of the achievements of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, and we have reason to be proud of his supreme sacrifice. He was second to none in patriotism. He was second to none in courage. And by his immense contribution he has added to the glory of our country. Should we not at least honour him by accepting the re-naming as "Shaheed and Swaraj Islands"? Should we not acknowledge the fact that 'Swaraj' came because of the sacrifices of our revolutionaries? If we recognize all these facts, I believe there cannot be any objection from any quarter?

In fact, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, so far as this Bill is concerned, it will look like re-naming. But it has a great political and historical significance. As a matter of fact, if the Government want to ascertain the public opinion of Andaman and Nicobar Islands, we have no objection to it. But I should like to know, how they want to do it? Where

is the machinery? Where is the apparatus? I want a definite answer from the hon. Minister. Let them not say that the Home Minister's Advisory Committee has turned it down. I would like to know who are the members of the Home Minister's Advisory Committee? How many of them are nominated and how many of them are elected? If they are elected, I should like to know in what manner they are elected? Let us recognize facts. Let us honour our patriots. Let us honour martyres. Let us honour the leader of the Azad Hind Government, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

*The question was proposed.*

**श्री रबी राय (उड़ीसा)** उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं सेन गुप्त जी के विन का हार्दिक रूप से समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। 1967 में जब मैं लोक सभा का सदस्य था उस समय, जैसा सेन गुप्त जी ने कर्माया, यह सवाल लोक सभा के सामने आया था और हमका सारा इतिहास है कि किस तरीके से मंत्री लोगो को उस पर राय हुई और किस तरीके से उस को एक मलाहकार समिति की राय कह कर, एक बहाना बना कर, भारत सरकार इस तरह के एक अच्छे बिल को, जो कि राष्ट्रीय हित में है, उसको ठुकरा रही है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं आपको उस इतिहास की तरफ से जाना चाहता हूँ, जब कि नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस हिन्दुस्तान छोड़ कर भाग गये थे। उस समय, जब हिन्दुस्तान छोड़ कर वे गये, हमारे देश में इस तरह के अराजकतावादी तत्व, राष्ट्र हित के खिलाफ लोग थे, जो नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस को गलत ढंग से फासिस्ट कहा करते थे...

**श्री कल्पनाय (उत्तर प्रदेश)** कौन हैं वे लोग?

**श्री रबी राय :** वह आप जानते हैं, इतिहास देख लीजिए।

**श्री प्रकाशचोर शास्त्री (उत्तर प्रदेश)** : जो आजकल आपके मित्र बने हुए हैं।

**श्री सलिल कुमार गांगुली (पश्चिमी बंगाल)** : जवाहरलाल नेहरू भी थे उनमें।

**श्री रबी राय :** मैं समझता हूँ श्री सेन गुप्त बघाई के पात्र है, इसलिए कि हिन्दुस्तान राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन से लेकर अभी तक दो धाराएँ थीं, उन दो धाराओं की तरफ भी मदन का ध्यान मैं खींच रहा हूँ, वे धाराएँ क्या हैं? मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, एक धारा गांधी जी, सुभाष चन्द्र बोस और डा० लोहिया की धारा है, जो धारा ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद के विरुद्ध एक अन्तःक्रमोमाइजिंग स्ट्रगल के पक्ष में थी। और मैं इतिहास की तरफ आपका ध्यान इसलिये खींच रहा हूँ...

[श्री रबी राम]

कि कई प्रकार आज तक इसको लटका रखा है और बहाना लगा कर अदमान निकोबार द्वीपों का नाम बदलने के सिलसिले में क्यों विलंब कर रहे हैं ? इसलिए हमारा संदेह होता है; क्योंकि राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन का नेतृत्व जब गांधी जी कर रहे थे—आप जानते हैं, गांधी जी का रुख, उनका दृष्टिकोण, नेताजी बोस के बारे में यह था कि यह प्रिन्स प्रमंग वेंट्रियट्स है और ऐसी हालत में जो राष्ट्रीय इतिहास जानते हैं उनको मालूम है कि पण्डित जवाहरलाल नेहरू समझते थे यह हमसे बड़ कर नेता है सुभाषचंद्र बोस और देश भर में नेताजी सुभाषचंद्र बोस का जो चेहरा था वह माहसिकता, वीरता और ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद के खिलाफ अनुकम्प्रोमाइजिंग स्ट्रगल करने वाला था, अंग्रेजी राज्य के खिलाफ लगातार सफल करने का था। इसलिए मैं जरा इतिहास की ओर ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूँ कि 1942 की आजादी की क्रांति में जब ए० आई० सी० सी० के प्रस्ताव के बारे में बहस हो रही थी, सब लोगों को मालूम है कि जवाहरलाल नेहरू नहीं चाहते थे जबकि अंग्रेजों या एलायड पावर्स का ऐक्मिस पावर्स के खिलाफ युद्ध चल रहा था, अंग्रेजों को परेशानी में डाला जाये जबकि हम लोग हिन्दुस्तान को आजाद कराना चाहते थे और उस वक्त यह नेहरू जी का दिमाग था और वे नहीं चाहते थे ब्रिटिश के खिलाफ अनुकम्प्रोमाइजिंग स्ट्रगल हो, ब्रिटिश सरकार ने 1942 की क्रांति से डर कर हमको आजाद किया। हमको मालूम है जवाहरलाल नेहरू का रुख था कि ब्रिटिश सरकार को अभी दिककत में नहीं डालना चाहिये, इंगलिस्तान अभी युद्ध में रत है, इसलिये उनके खिलाफ क्रांति नहीं होनी चाहिये ...

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA (Orissa) : On a point of order, Sir, These are points of history which are controversial. It was not only Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru but also Mahatma Gandhi who shared the thinking that though we might be anti-imperialist, as democracy was in danger throughout the world by the rise of fascist forces, we should not take any such action that would put democracy in the world in a difficult situation ...

(Interruptions)

श्री रबी राम : क्या श्री ब्रह्मानन्द पंडा जी के लिए मुझे कोई इतिहास का क्लास खोलना पड़ेगा ? इतिहास वह भी पढ़े हैं और हम भी पढ़े हैं और मेरे भाषण के बाद वे इतिहास के बारे में फिर से मालूम कर लें कि क्या तथ्य हैं और क्या तथ्य नहीं हैं। पण्डित जवाहरलाल नेहरू 1942 में क्रांति के खिलाफ थे। क्योंकि गांधी जी को लोग चाहते थे, जनता के ऊपर गांधी जी का अपार प्रभाव था, इसलिये गांधी जी सफल हुए। नेहरू जी से कहा गया कि आपको इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करना चाहिए और इस तरह से 1942 के प्रस्ताव के मूवर पण्डित जवाहरलाल नेहरू बने और एबी जी के बजाय से उनकी अमा का प्रस्ताव रखना पड़ा।

इसलिए मैं कह रहा था कि उस समय ये दो धाराएं थी। पण्डित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ब्रिटिश इम्पीरियलिज्म की धारा के थे और श्री सुभाष चंद्र जी इसके खिलाफ थे, इन दोनों की दृष्टि में बुनियादी अन्तर था। आजादी मिल जाने के बाद भी ये दो धाराएं आर्थिक और सामाजिक मामलों के बारे में चलती रही। इसलिए मैं यह बात कह रहा था कि क्या वजह है कि इतनी अच्छी चीज को आप नहीं मान रहे हैं कि हम अण्डमान निकोबार के मौजूदा नाम बदल कर स्वराज्य द्वीप और शहीद द्वीप का नाम लें और यह चीज मजूर क्यों न हो ? मैं तो यह समझता हूँ कि जो पहिले ब्रिटिश सरकार का दृष्टिकोण था, वही हमारी सरकार का भी है और आज भारत सरकार राष्ट्रीय दृष्टिकोण से हट गई है। वह राष्ट्रीयता की बात नहीं सोचती है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रीय नाम लेने से क्या आप लोगों की कुछ हानि होती है ?

मैं आपको यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हम लोग अंग्रेजी नाम माउन्ट एवरेस्ट कहा करते हैं, लेकिन नेपाल की जनता, माउन्ट एवरेस्ट नहीं कहती है, बल्कि वह "सागरमाथा" कहती है। लेकिन ब्रिटिश सरकार ने जो नाम अंग्रेजी का रख दिया है, उस नाम से हम अभी तक चिपके हुए हैं इसी तरह से "नेफा", जो पहिले नार्थ फ्रंटियर एजेंसी के नाम से कहलाया जाता था और जिस के बारे में चीन के प्रधान मंत्री ने यह कहा था कि यह हमारा क्षेत्र है और इसमें चीन का अधिकार है। डाक्टर राम मनोहर लोहिया जी ने उसका नाम उर्वशीयम कहा था, उत्तर पूर्वी सीमांचल कहा था, यह कितना प्रिय नाम है और हिन्दुस्तानी नाम है।

हम ब्रिटिश लोगों से "कैरो" शब्द कहना सीख गये हैं। हमारे बुद्धिजीवी सरकारी आफिसर भी तथा मंत्री भी "कैरो" शब्द ही बोलते हैं। लेकिन आप मिश्र में चले जाइये, काहिरा शहर में चले जाइये, वहां पर इस "कैरो" शब्द को "काहिरा" वहां की जनता कहती है। इसी तरह से मिडिल ईस्ट को लोग पश्चिमी एशिया कहते हैं जो स्वाधीनता प्रेमी लोग हैं। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि नेताजी श्री सुभाष चंद्र बोस, जब वे आजाद हिन्द फौज के नेता बन चुके थे, जब वे हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी के लिए बाहर लड़ते थे और हम भीतर लड़ते थे गांधी जी के नेतृत्व में, दोनों में सामंजस्य था, तो हम लोगों को सोचना चाहिये कि सरकार को इस तरह के नाम रखने में कोई हिचक नहीं होनी चाहिए। इस बारे में सरकार को कोई दुविधा और संदेह नहीं होना चाहिए। जिससे इन दो द्वीपों का नाम स्वराज्य और शहीद द्वीप रख दिया जाए। सविधान में भी इस तरह की कोई बाधा नहीं है कि हम इस तरह का नाम नहीं रख सकते हैं।

इसलिए उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, श्री सेनगुप्ता जी ने जो नाम रखने के लिए बिल लाये हैं, उसकी सरकार को

स्वीकार कर लेना चाहिये। सरकार शायद यह समझती है कि हम गैर-सरकारी लोग हैं। किन्तु गैर-सरकारी लोग इस तरह से नाम बदलने के लिये सरकार से कहते हैं, तो सरकार को जो अच्छी चीज है, उसको मान लेना चाहिये। लोक सभा में भी इस तरह का बिल आया था जिसमें इन दो द्वीपों का नाम शहीद और स्वराज्य द्वीप रख दिया जाए।

इसलिये मैं कह रहा हूँ कि सरकार यह न समझे कि हम लोग बोल रहे हैं, इसलिये इसको नहीं मानना चाहिए। मैं फिर कहता हूँ मोहसिन साहब से कि वे राष्ट्रीय हित के बारे में भी सोचें, कुछ अन्तर्मुखी बनें, कुछ आत्मचिन्तन करें। एक अच्छी चीज को सेतुगुप्त साहब कह रहे हैं, लगातार चर्चा कर रहे हैं, बिल ला रहे हैं, फिर क्या कारण है कि सरकार इस पर कोई फैसला नहीं कर रही? मैं अन्त में फिर मोहसिन साहब और प्रधान मंत्री जी से—वे अभी यहाँ हैं नहीं—अनुरोध करता चाहता हूँ कि वे खुद भी इस बारे में सोचें और हम तरह की जो सदन की सर्वसम्मति राय है उसको मानें। मेरे दोस्त कल्पनाथ जी बड़ा बैठे हैं, मैं समझता हूँ कि उनकी भी यही राय होगी कि इस तरह का बिल, जिसका लक्ष्य अच्छा है, स्वीकार कर लिया जाय। इन तरह हम स्वाधीनता आन्दोलन के प्रति जो हमारा कर्तव्य है उसे भी निभा रहे हैं। मैं यह मान कर चलता हूँ कि मोहसिन साहब जब जबाब देंगे तो वे कहेंगे मैं सेतुगुप्त जी के सविधान संशोधन बिल को मान लेता हूँ। यही कह कर मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

**SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Tamil Nadu) :** Sir, I whole heartedly welcome this Bill of my good friend, Mr. Sen Gupta. When I begin to speak on this Bill I find before me the latest stamp of late Shrimati Kamla Nehru. I am really very happy to see this stamp because the poor lady has sacrificed for the cause of the country along with her illustrious husband. In her memory we have issued this latest stamp in a beautiful form. I am quite sure that this stamp might even fetch the title of a well-printed stamp in the next exhibition.

Sir, my good friend, Mr. Sen Gupta spoke about the sacrifices of late Netaji. On the 3rd of November, 1939, I had the opportunity of being with Netaji for about two hours. On that historical day he was staying at Madras at a place called Triplicane. It was a huge mansion called Gandhi Peak. We had organised a public meeting at Marina Beach. The late Shri Srinivasa Iyengar, who was a Member of the Central Assembly those days and a leading lawyer, was his host. The meeting was arranged at 6 o'clock. We went there to take Netaji to that meeting. In those days he

was called Subhash Chandra Bose and not Netaji. With great difficulty we procured a car. In those days cars were scarce and people were afraid to give their cars. So, with great difficulty we got a car from one gentleman by name Shri H. D. Raja, who happened to be a Member of this House. Then we went to Marina Beach to address the meeting under the Presidentship of Shri Srinivasa Iyengar. Just then The Hindu paper, which is coming out as a morning paper now, it was an evening paper costing only one anna, carried a front page news that Britain had declared war on India. Then Subhash Chandra Bose said that it was the finest opportunity for India to gain freedom. Then we arranged a number of meetings. He cancelled all those meetings. The very next day he left for Calcutta and afterwards no one knew what had happened to him. For a couple of months nothing was known. Later we learnt that he had gone to Kabul, Germany and Japan and to all those places.

I tell you honestly, Sir, if at all the people of India were able to get *swarajya* and if at all we give any credit to any individual, of course, the credit must go to Mahatma Gandhi. Next, if at all, there is any leader who can be put on a par with Mahatma Gandhi or number two or next to Mahatma Gandhi, it is Netaji and no one else. Rest of the leaders can come only as 3rd, 4th or 5th. His contribution as such is unique. In the Indian history we do not come across another personality like that of Netaji. Sir, I hope that he would have read the 'War of Independence' of Ireland. It was in 1936 or 1937. I am speaking 4 P.M. from memory because I have not come prepared to speak on this Bill. Roger Casement was a great hero. He also got himself educated in England. He was a Bar-at-Law. Soon after his return to Ireland he joined hands with Eamon de Valera and took active part in the freedom struggle of Ireland. Like Netaji, he also escaped from a British prison—of course, Netaji was not in prison when he escaped from India. Roger Casement was in a British prison and from there he escaped and went to Germany. The British police could not trace him. He went to Germany and had discussions with Kaiser, got some arms and brought them to the shores of Ireland. Somebody in his camp betrayed the secret. It was discovered and Casement was

[Shri S. S. Mariswamy]

put on trial and later on he was hanged. Sir, when I visited Dublin in 1953 I saw a huge statue of Roger Casement. The moment one lands in Dublin, the capital of Ireland, one sees a huge statue and it is that of Roger Casement. Even today, on their independence day, people there go to the statue, place a wreath on it and pay their homage. But we have not done anything of that sort to that great martyr, Netaji Shbhash Chandra Bose. Also the present generation has completely forgotten Lokmanya Tilak. We have a grandson of Tilak here and he is now raising a memorial for him in Poona, I think. He issued a circular calling for help from various State Governments and others. Now we are reminded of Lokmanyaaji. Otherwise we would have forgotten him. He was the first man to give the clarion call. Swaraj is my birth right and I want it. Then, Lala Lajpat Rai. When we think of him, what comes to our mind is the days of boycott of the Simon Commission, how he was beaten and how he was trampled upon. It is those days which come to our mind. Then, V. D. Savarkar, who can forget his first book about Indian Independence - 1857? In those days that book was prohibited. We used to get it somehow and that gave us real inspiration to join the freedom struggle.

Gradually we are forgetting one after another and some day we may see some celluloid stars, cinema actors and actresses on the forefront of the national arena. Therefore, my friend has done a right thing in bringing forth this Bill to rename the Andaman and Nicobar Islands as Shaheed and Swaraj Islands. They are very appropriate names and I welcome the suggestion. Shaheed means martyr. It is a very appropriate name. We should amend our Constitution in such a manner as to rename these islands by these names. So far as amending the Constitution is concerned, my friend, Mr. Mohsin would agree with me that the Constitution has become just like a railway time-table. A railway time-table of 1972 becomes absolutely obsolete in 1974. The Constitution was amended so many times to suit the convenience of the ruling party, as they required. So, it has become another piece of paper.

America has got a Constitution which is 185 years old and they have amended it only 30 times whereas in the last 26 years we have amended our Constitution more than 30 times. You need not be surprised, if anything happens

tomorrow or the day after or a little later, the Constitution would also undergo a change. Who knows what is around the corner? Anything may happen... (Interruption) My friend from Orissa also may be a party in doing away with the Constitution.

My point is, so far as amending the Constitution is concerned it is not a very big affair. It is only a scrap of paper to be printed at the Government of India Press, to be moved by the law Minister or his Deputy or the Home Minister or my friend, Mr. Mohsin, and then there are people there to say Aye and press the button and in half an hour the amendment would be passed and put on the Statute Book. So it is not a very big affair. In the same spirit kindly do some good things also. For bad things you have amended the Constitution so many times. Let there be a change this time. You amend it once to do a good thing.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI F. H. MOHSIN) : Your party has also supported many times in amending the Constitution.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : We have supported it when you deserved support and we have condemned it when you did not deserve support. You have amended the Constitution so many times that the sanctity of the Constitution is gone. It is not a very big affair now. Having done it for bad purposes we can do it now for some good purpose also and amend the Constitution in such a manner as to include the suggestion of my good friend here. That is all what I wanted to say. I once again repeat my support to my friend's Bill.

श्री प्रकाशबोर शास्त्री : उपसभापति जी, महापुरुषों की परस्पर तुलना कोई उपयुक्त नहीं होती, लेकिन फिर भी कुछ ऐसे प्रश्न होते हैं जब विशेष किसी एक विशेष महापुरुष की चर्चा होती है, तो इतिहास के पृष्ठों को आँखों से झोझल भी नहीं किया जा सकता। सौभाग्य से आज हम जब इस बिधेयक पर चर्चा कर रहे हैं, तब यहाँ अब से ठीक एक दिन पहले हम 15 अगस्त का अपना स्वाधीनता पर्व मना भी चुके हैं, यह वही पवित्र दिन है जिसका स्वप्न सबसे पहले नेता जी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस ने देखा था और जिसके लिए उन्होंने नारा लगाया था कि स्वाधीन भारत की घोषणा दिल्ली के लाल किले पर खड़े होकर की जायेगी, वही स्वाधीन भारत का ध्वज फहराया जाएगा, इतना तो सौभाग्य अवश्य है कि जब हमारा देश स्वतंत्र हुआ तो प्रारंभ के एक दो वर्षों में लाल किले में 15 अगस्त को राष्ट्र के नाम जो मंदेश प्रमाणित किया जाना था उसमें नेता जी

सुभाषचन्द्र बोस का भी स्मरण किया गया। लेकिन फिर धीरे-धीरे नेता जी सुभाषचन्द्र बोस को उस सुअवसर पर स्मरण नहीं किया गया। लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जब इस देश के प्रधान मंत्री बने और एक बार उन्होंने 15 अगस्त को राष्ट्र के नाम संदेश प्रसारित किया तो उन्होंने भी नेता जी सुभाषचन्द्र बोस को स्मरण किया और बड़े भरे हुए शब्दों में उनको श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित की। अच्छा हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जब राष्ट्र के नाम 15 अगस्त को संदेश प्रसारित करती हैं दिल्ली के लाल किले की प्राचीन से अग्र वह एक पंक्ति में नेता जी सुभाषचन्द्र बोस को भी श्रद्धांजलि दे दिया करें। जिसने सबसे पहले स्वप्न देखा था और जिसने लाल किले पर स्वतंत्र भारत का ध्वज फहराने की कल्पना की थी। उस व्यक्ति को आज हम भूल जायें 27 वर्ष के बाद तो ऐसी कृतघ्नता उनके बलिदान या उनकी शहादत के ऊपर कोई दूसरी नहीं हो सकती।

कुछ दिन पहले मैं स्वयं दक्षिण पूर्व एशिया के देशों में भ्रमण करने के लिये गया यही जानने के लिये कि नेता जी सुभाषचन्द्र बोस कहाँ-कहाँ गये थे और वहाँ जाकर उनसे संबंधित स्मृतियाँ क्या-क्या हैं। मैं ताइवान भी गया जहाँ उनकी विमान दुर्घटना हुई और उसमें उनकी दुःखद मृत्यु की चर्चा भी की जाती है। इन सभी देशों का भ्रमण करते हुए सिंगापुर, बैंकाक, मलाया, बर्मा और ताइवान में जो कुछ विशेष रूप से देखा और जिसको मैंने वहाँ जानने का प्रयास किया, वही से मैंने अपनी चर्चा को भी प्रारंभ किया कि दो महापुरुषों में कभी तुलना नहीं करनी चाहिये, लेकिन इतिहास के पृष्ठों को आँखों से ओझल भी नहीं किया जा सकता। मैंने जानने का प्रयत्न किया कि आज़ाद हिन्द फौज के लिए रास बिहारी बोस का भी बलिदान और रास बिहारी बोस का त्याग दोनों किसी प्रकार की कोई न्यूनता नहीं थी। पर इन देशों में बसे हुए भारतीयों और इन देशों के मूल निवासियों ने नेता जी सुभाषचन्द्र बोस को इतना अधिक प्यार क्यों दिया? रास बिहारी बोस को इतना अधिक प्यार क्यों नहीं दिया। उन्होंने बताया, यह मेरी अपनी जानकारी नहीं है जो मैं आपको बता रहा हूँ। उनका कहना था कि नेता जी सुभाषचन्द्र बोस में और रास बिहारी बोस में एक मौलिक अन्तर था। रास बिहारी बोस का कहना था कि अंग्रेज हिन्दुस्तान से अवश्य जाना चाहिये भले ही एक बार कुछ दिन के लिये भारत का शासनसूत्र जापान के हाथों में आ जाए लेकिन नेता जी सुभाषचन्द्र बोस का कहना था कि अंग्रेज के जाने के बाद देश किसी दूसरे के हाथ में नहीं जाना चाहिये। हमारे हाथ में ही भारत का शासनसूत्र रहना चाहिए। इसलिये भारतवासी जो इन देशों में बसे हुए थे या उन देशों के मूल निवासी थे वह उनको आज़ाद हिन्द फौज की कमान भी सौंपना चाहते थे और नेता जी सुभाषचन्द्र बोस को आज़ादी का सर्वोच्च नेता भी मानते थे

लेकिन जब इस बात का निर्णय होने लगा टोकियो में और प्रवासी भारतीयों का शिष्ट मंडल टोकियो जाने लगा तो जिस स्थान पर नेता जी सुभाषचन्द्र बोस का विमान दुर्घटनाग्रस्त हुआ, उसमें कुछ वर्ष पूर्व उसी स्थान पर इसी शिष्ट मंडल का विमान भी दुर्घटनाग्रस्त हुआ था जबकि वह यह बात कहने के लिये टोकियो जा रहा था कि नेता जी सुभाषचन्द्र बोस को आज़ाद हिन्द फौज का सेनापति बनाया जाये। इस इतिहास की पृष्ठ भूमि पर मैं संक्षेप से इसलिये प्रकाश डाल रहा हूँ ताकि इन तथ्यों को हम अपनी आँख से कभी ओझल न करें।

हमने नेता जी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस को इस तथ्याकथित मृत्यु के संबंध में दो जांच कमिशन बैठायें। एक शाहनवाज आयोग और दूसरा खोसला आयोग। शाहनवाज आयोग तो ताईवान गया ही नहीं। लेकिन खोसला आयोग वहाँ गया जरूर, परन्तु उमका जाना न जाना एक जैसा ही रहा। अगर इसको ताईवान जाने की अनुमति भारत सरकार ने दे दी होती तो इसमें कौन सी नाक पर मक्खी बैठ रही होती जो ताईवान सरकार को भी एक पत्र लिख दिया जाता कि आप हमारे जांच आयोग के कार्यों में अपेक्षित सहयोग प्रदान करें। उनका यह कहना था कि हमें कोई कठिनाई नहीं होगी, अगर भारत सरकार हमें लिखे। भले ही हमारे किसी देश से राजनीतिक संबंध नहीं हैं। लेकिन हम अपने देश को स्वतंत्र कराने वाले उस वीर सेनानी की गाथा से अपने देश की नई पीढ़ी को परिचित कराना चाहते हैं तो उस देश को दो पंक्तियाँ पत्र में इस प्रकार की लिखने में क्या आपत्ति थी। परिणाम यह हुआ कि लाखों रुपया जिस जांच आयोग पर व्यय किया गया वह जांच आयोग किसी प्रकार परिणाम पर पहुँच पायेगा, मुझे इसके अंदर संदेह दिखाई देता है।

वह नेता सुभाष चन्द्र बोस, जिन्होंने अपने इस आज़ादी के आन्दोलन के जमाने में मणिपुर, त्रिपुरा, अंडमान और निकोबार आदि छोटे-छोटे स्थानों का भ्रमण किया और भ्रमण करके यहाँ भी इन्होंने स्वतंत्रता की अलख जगाई। कभी आपको अगर अंडमान जाने का सीमाग्य प्राप्त हो तो आप पायेंगे कि सुभाष बाबू का वहाँ के एयर पोर्ट के ऊपर ही वह बड़ा चित्र टंगा हुआ है। अंडमान के लोगों ने कितने उत्साह के साथ उनके अंडमान पहुँचने पर स्वागत किया था और उनसे जानना चाहा था कि भारतवर्ष के इस स्वतंत्रता आन्दोलन में, हम जो इन छोटे-छोटे द्वीपों के निवासी हैं, किस प्रकार योगदान कर सकते हैं। सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की यहाँ के भारतवर्ष के संबंध में अपनी कुछ कल्पनायें थी लेकिन यह जो अंडमान का द्वीप है, जहाँ पर हमारे शहीदों के खून से स्वतंत्रता का एक नया इतिहास, एक नया अध्याय लिखा गया, इसके संबंध में भी उनकी विशेष रूप से कुछ कल्पनायें थी। सुभाष बाबू चाहते थे कि अंडमान-निकोबार के जो द्वीप हैं वे भारतीय स्वतंत्रता के इतिहास में स्वर्णिम पृष्ठों में लिखे हों। उनके नाम, उनकी संस्कृति,



[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

उनकी भाषा और वहां के निवासियों की आर्थिक स्थिति, सब पर गम्भीरता से आज विचार किया जाये।

मैं जो इन द्वीपों को देखने के लिए गया तो इसके बारे में मैं आपसे अपने दिल का दुःख भी प्रकट करना चाहता हूं। सौभाग्य से यहां पर हमारे उप गृह मंत्री उपस्थित हैं और हमारे विधि राज्य मंत्री भी यहां पर उपस्थित हैं। दोनों के सामने इस बात को प्रकट करना चाहता हूं कि कुल साढ़े पांच सौ द्वीप यहां हैं और इन साढ़े पांच सौ द्वीपों में से जिन पर जनता रहती है या जहां पर मनुष्य रहते हैं वे लगभग 27 द्वीप हैं। लेकिन ये द्वीप ऐसे हैं जहां पर हमारा अपना अधिकार है, वहां पर पीछे कुछ इस प्रकार की घटनायें घटीं, समाचार पत्रों में भी इस प्रकार के समाचार आये कि इंडोनेशिया की ओर से कुछ नावें आईं जिन्होंने हमारी समुद्री सीमा का अतिक्रमण किया और उस समय देश के अंदर चिन्ता फैल गई। लेकिन अब सौभाग्य की बात है कि हमारे विदेश मंत्री इंडोनेशिया होकर आये हैं और उन्होंने समुद्री सीमा समझौता किया है। आशा की जानी चाहिये कि इंडोनेशिया की ओर से कम से कम इस समुद्री क्षेत्र में आगे चल कर अतिक्रमण की ऐसी कोई घटना नहीं होगी जो भारत को भड़काने वाली या भारतीयों के भविष्य में किसी प्रकार का रोष उत्पन्न करने वाली हो। एक बात जो मैं विशेष रूप से कह रहा था वह यह कि साढ़े पांच सौ द्वीपों में से 27 द्वीप इस प्रकार के हैं, जहां मनुष्य निवास कर रहे हैं, कहीं सैकड़ों की संख्या में हैं और कहीं हजारों की संख्या में हैं, परन्तु लाखों की संख्या कहीं है ही नहीं। सबसे बड़ा नगर पोर्ट बलेयर है जहां पर लोग निवास करते हैं वहां के लोगों की आर्थिक स्थिति के माध्यम दो ही हैं, मछली और लकड़ी, वहां पर जहां वन समूह हैं वे लकड़ी काटते हैं और उन लकड़ियों को एकत्रित करके, चीर-फाड़ कर बाहर निर्यात करते हैं और उनसे कमाई करते हैं अथवा मछली पकड़ कर बेचते हैं। इन छोटे-छोटे आभागे द्वीपों का दुर्भाग्य यह भी है बाहर से कुछ पैसे वाले वहां पहुंच गये हैं और उनसे बड़े-बड़े अपने कारखाने डाल कर उन लोगों का पैसा हड़प कर अपने पेट में डाल रहे हैं। मेरा कहना है कि भारत सरकार इन द्वीपों के आर्थिक विकास की दृष्टि से इस बात को अवश्य ध्यान में रखे कि इन द्वीपों के अंदर जो भी चीज मछली के रूप में हो या लकड़ी के रूप में हो, जो भी वहां की वन संपदा हो या समुद्र संपदा, उसका आर्थिक लाभ वहां के मूल निवासी को पहुंचे। बाहर के लोग जाकर उनको ठगी न कर सकें, इस बात का विशेष रूप से हमको ध्यान रखना चाहिए।

मैं समझता हूं कि गृह उप मंत्री श्री मोहसिन इस बात पर विचार करते समय निश्चित रूप से इसके ऊपर ध्यान रखेंगे।

अगली बात जो मैं विशेष रूप से कहना चाहता वह यह है कि यह जो अन्धमान-निकोबार के द्वीप हैं, वे हमारे देश में पर्यटन के लिये बहुत अच्छे केन्द्र हो सकते हैं। प्राकृतिक दृष्टि से जितने सुन्दर स्थान अन्धमान-निकोबार के छोटे-छोटे द्वीप हैं, भारतवर्ष में बहुत कम स्थान हैं जहां समुद्री किनारा इतना सुन्दर हो। लेकिन वहां जाने के लिये पैसा बहुत व्यय करना पड़ता है। अगर भारत सरकार इन द्वीपों का विकास करना चाहती है तो मेरा कहना यह है कि चाहे समुद्री जहाज से हो, चाहे विमान से हो, ये दो ही साधन वहां पहुंचने के हैं उसमें सस्ते दामों पर यात्राएं करावें, जिससे अधिक से अधिक लोग उन द्वीपों के अन्दर जायें और वहां द्वीपों के निवासियों के साथ आत्मीयता का संपर्क स्थापित हो, वे भी यह अनुभव करें कि हम भी इसी देश के नागरिक हैं। ऐसा न हो कि हमेशा नुमायशी टुकड़े की तरह वह अलग रखा रहे और उनका भारतवर्ष से किसी प्रकार से कोई संपर्क ही न हो सके। बल्कि मैं तो एक विशेष बात यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारी जो नई पीढ़ी है वह हमारे स्वाधीनता आन्दोलन के पुराने इतिहास से कुछ अपरिचित सी है। सन् 1947 के बाद स्वाधीन भारत के अन्दर एक नई पीढ़ी ने आँखें खोली हैं। अन्धमान में जो जेल बनी हुई है, इनमें हमारे देश के स्वाधीनता सेनानियों ने यातनायें सह्य, कष्ट सह्य, कुछ लोगों को फांसी के तख्ते पर लटकाया गया, किस प्रकार से उनके कंधों पर जुआ रख कर कोल्हू चलाया गया। मेरा कहना है कि कम से कम और कुछ न हो तो नई पीढ़ी के बालकों को यह जेल अवश्य दिखाई जाये, जिससे उनको पता चले कि हमारी जो स्वाधीनता आई है, इस स्वाधीनता के पीछे कितने बड़े बलिदानों की पृष्ठभूमि है और इतनी दूर हजारों-हजार मील आकर इस काले पानी में रहे और अपना जीवन दिया। इस प्रकार से इनके बलिदानों की पृष्ठभूमि में हमारे देश में स्वाधीन भारत का झण्डा लहराया। मैं चाहता हूं कि इस प्रकार की योजना अवश्य आनी चाहिये

मैं अपने मित्र श्री द्विजेन्द्र लाल सेनगुप्ता के विधेयक से सहमत अवश्य हूं, लेकिन मैं उसमें थोड़ा सा संशोधन चाहता हूं। मेरा संशोधन यह है कि पोर्ट ब्लेयर नगर का नाम "शहीद नगर" रख दिया जाए। मैं तो हैरान हूं कि यह दिल्ली जो भारतवर्ष की राजधानी है, आज भी यहां पर विलिंगटन होस्पिटल और इविन होस्पिटल और कर्जन के नाम गुलामी के दिनों की यादगार बन कर गवर्नमेंट की नाक के नीचे मौजूद है। हम चर्चा कर रहे हैं पोर्ट ब्लेयर की कि वहां जाकर उसके नाम में परिवर्तन किया जाए। ऐसा लगता है कि हमारे अन्दर स्वाधीनता की जो लहर आनी चाहिये थी, जो उमंग उभरनी चाहिये थी वह 23 वर्ष में भी उभर नहीं पाई, अन्यथा गुलामी की यादगार के इन चिह्नों को बदल कर इनके नाम भारतीय नेताओं के नाम पर रखे जा सकते थे। मैं यहां पर दिल्ली की चर्चा करने लग गया, लेकिन हम अन्धमान-निकोबार की विशेष रूप से चर्चा

कर रहे हैं। मेरी निजी राय यह है कि पोर्ट ब्लेयर नगर का नाम "शहीद नगर" रखा जाए, लेकिन द्वीप-समूहों का नाम "स्वराज्य द्वीप" रखा जाए। मैं अपने शब्दों से अलग नहीं रह रहा हूँ। मैं केवल यह चाहता हूँ कि पोर्ट ब्लेयर जिसके अन्दर स्वाधीनता का इतिहास लिखा गया है, जहाँ वीर सावरकर ने काल-कोठरी में जीवन व्यतीत किया, जहाँ लाला लाजपत राय गये, जहाँ और दूसरे लोग गये, जहाँ जाकर हमारे स्वाधीनता आन्दोलन के सेनानियों ने वर्षों जेलों में जीवन व्यतीत किया, उस नगर का नाम "शहीद नगर" रखा जाए। पोर्ट ब्लेयर में हमारे देश का स्वाधीनता का स्वर्णिम इतिहास लिखा हुआ है। नई पीढ़ी यह पढ़ना चाहती है कि इस शहीद नगर में हमारे देश के शहीदों ने कैसे इतिहास की रचना की। मैं यह भी चाहता हूँ कि भारत सरकार अगर यह व्यवस्था कर सके कि नई पीढ़ी इस नगर की जेलों को जाकर देख सके तो बहुत अच्छा होगा ताकि उनको यह पता लग सके कि इस देश के स्वाधीनता के संघर्ष में लोगों ने कितनी यातनायें, कितनी कठिनाइयाँ और कष्ट सहे हैं। मैं अपनी ही बात कहता हूँ, छोटे-छोटे बच्चों की बात क्या कहूँ, जिस समय पोर्ट ब्लेयर के अन्दर मैं उस जेल को देखने के लिए गया, विशेष रूप से मैंने उस काल कोठरी को जाकर पूछा जिस कोठरी में स्वातंत्र्य वीर सावरकर को रखा गया था। वहाँ जाकर मैंने देखा कि एक रोगनदान है। जहाँ से सिवाय नीले आकाश के कुछ नहीं देखा जा सकता था। दूसरी कुछ चीज नहीं दिखाई देती थी। इसी के अन्दर उस व्यक्ति ने अपने जीवन का चौथाई भाग व्यतीत किया था। उसको देख कर मेरे अन्दर श्रद्धा पैदा हुई और इच्छा हुई कि इस कोठरी के एक-एक चप्पे को झुक कर प्रणाम करूँ। मैं उस स्थान को भी देखने गया जहाँ शहीदों को फांसी के फंदों पर लटकाया जाता था। आज तक वहाँ पर वह रस्सी ज्यों की त्यों लटकी हुई है, जहाँ पर इन लोगों ने देश के लिये बलिदान किए। मैंने वह कोल्लू भी देखा अन्धमान की जेल के अन्दर जहाँ स्वातंत्र्य वीरों के कंधों पर जुआ रख कर तेल निकाला जाता था। इन सबको देख कर हमारे देश की आजादी का इतिहास हमारे सामने सजीव होकर खड़ा हो जाता है। मैं तो यह भी कहता हूँ कि मेरे जैसे व्यक्ति के अन्दर जब श्रद्धा पैदा हो गई थी तो नई पीढ़ी जब इसको देखेगी तो उसमें भी निश्चित रूप से श्रद्धा पैदा होगी और इच्छा होगी कि इस प्रकार के बलिदानों, जिस पृष्ठभूमि में यह देश स्वाधीन हुआ है, इनको श्रद्धा के साथ नमन करूँ।

तो मैं इस प्रस्ताव से इतना परिवर्तन चाहता हूँ कि पोर्ट ब्लेयर नगर का नाम शहीद नगर रख दिया जाए और जितने द्वीप-समूह हैं उनका नाम स्वराज्य द्वीप रख दिया जाए, वहाँ एक अंतिम बात और कह कर बैठ जाऊँगा। मैंने भारत सरकार से भी, जब मैं सिगापुर से लौट कर आया, तब इस बात को कहा और आज भी विशेष रूप से कहना चाहता हूँ। नेता जी सुभाष बोस का सबसे बड़ा स्मारक कहीं था

तो सिगापुर के समुद्र के किनारे था। जहाँ सिगापुर का सेक्रेटिरिएट आज बनाया हुआ है। उसके सामने आजाद हिन्द फौज की कवायद बह करती थे और मार्च पास्ट करते थे। खड़े होकर नेता जी आजाद हिन्द फौज के सैनिकों को आदेश दिया करते थे। स्वतंत्रता के बाद भी वह स्थान और वह स्मारक ज्यों का त्यों बना रहा, लेकिन लार्ड माउन्टबैटन ने उस को गिरा दिया और मिस्मर कर दिया और आज तक उसको फिर से खड़ा नहीं किया जा सका मैं वहाँ से दोनों चित्र भी लाया था जिस समय वह स्मारक बनाया हुआ था उसका चित्र भी लाया और गिराने के बाद स्मारक की जो स्थिति हुई उसका भी चित्र लाया था। दोनों को लाकर मैंने भारत सरकार को दे दिये। सिगापुर में जो इस समय विदेश मंत्री हैं, सौभाग्य से वे भारत-मूलक हैं उनका नाम है राज रत्नम; मैंने उनसे भी प्रश्न किया कि क्या नेता जी सुभाष बोस के स्मारक को फिर खड़ा करवा में कोई दिक्कत है। इससे सिगापुर और भारत में तादात्म्य स्थापित होने में बल मिलेगा। श्री राज रत्नम ने कहा कि भारत सरकार की ओर से हमें इस संबंध में कोई अनुरोध प्राप्त नहीं हुआ। यह सुन कर मुझे आघात लगा। मैं अपने गृह मंत्रालय से कहना चाहता हूँ, श्री नीतिराज सिंह जी भी यहाँ बैठे हुए हैं उनसे भी कहना चाहता हूँ। जहाँ स्वाधीनता का हमारा इतिहास लिखा हुआ है, जहाँ खड़े होकर नेता जी सुभाषचन्द्र बोस आजाद हिन्द फौज के सैनिकों को आदेश दिया करते थे, वहाँ उस स्मारक को खड़ी करने में सिगापुर सरकार को आपत्ति नहीं होगी अगर भारत सरकार फिर से इस प्रश्न को उठाये। मैं समझता हूँ इससे भारत और सिगापुर के बीच एक बहुत मजबूत कड़ी स्थापित हो सकेगी। इस प्रश्न को सिगापुर सरकार के साथ निश्चित रूप से उठाये। इन शब्दों के साथ हमारे मित्र श्री द्विजेन्द्र लाल सेनगुप्त ने जो प्रस्ताव उपस्थित किया है, उसमें थोड़े संशोधन के साथ मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA  
Please give your amendments. I shall accept them.

SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULI  
Sir, you have heard how stubbornly the Government has been resisting the change in the name. The Government is very anxious to preserve the names which are symbolic of British imperialism and reminds everybody every time of the existence of the gallows and the Cellular Jail in the Andamans. They want to preserve all these things to the utter disregard of preserving the original inhabitants who are not less than a couple of hundreds, who are deprived of all kinds of benefits of modern civilization and who are getting gradually extinct. They are very, very conscious and respectful about the so-called public opinion of the res

[ SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULI ]  
dents of Andaman. The present original residents of these islands were sent to the jails there at some time and they now inhabit the jungles and are yet to see the light of civilisation. Their number is dwindling.

The question of public opinion and the question of amendment of the Constitution have been raised as if because of this amendment the Government will be in great difficulty. Sir, under article 368 we find there is a provision for amendment of the Constitution. But so far as the change in name is concerned, the Constitution provides in clause 3 :—

“Parliament may by law—

(a) form a new State by separation of territory from any State or by uniting two or more States or parts of States or by uniting any territory to a part of any State;

(b) increase the area of any State;

(c) diminish the area of any State;

(d) alter the boundaries of any State,

(e) alter the name of any State;

Provided that no Bill for the purpose shall be introduced in either House of Parliament except on the recommendation of the President and unless, where the proposal contained in the Bill affects the area, boundaries or name of any of the States the Bill has been referred by the President to the Legislature of that State for expressing its views thereon within such period as may be specified in the reference, or within such further period as the President may allow and the period so specified or allow has expired.”

This makes it clear that the President, even if he wants to change the name of a State, has only to elicit the opinion of the concerned Legislature. But he is not bound to accept that advice or opinion. Now Sir, I will read the Explanation which is very interesting.

“Explanation I : In this article, in clauses (a) to (e), “State” includes a Union territory, but in the proviso, “State” does not include a Union territory.”

So, in the case of change of name of a Union territory, no provision is there for even ascertaining the views of the Legislature. The Central Government or the Parliament by its own motion can do it, subject to the recommendation of the President, which is, of course, in the hands of the Union Cabinet. Then Explanation II says :

“The power conferred on Parliament by clause (a) includes the power to form a new State or Union territory by uniting a part of any State or Union territory to any other State or Union territory.”

Article 4 reads :

“Any law referred to in article 2 or article 3 shall contain such provisions for the amendment of the First Schedule and the Fourth Schedule as may be necessary to give effect to the provisions of the law and may also contain such supplemental, incidental and consequential provisions (including provisions as to representation in Parliament and in the Legislature or Legislatures of the State or States affected by such law) as Parliament may deem necessary.

2. No such law as aforesaid shall be deemed to be an amendment of this Constitution for the purposes of article 368.”

The present Bill moved by Mr. Sen Gupta will not be treated or deemed as an amendment of the Constitution for the purposes of article 368. A bare majority of each of the Houses is sufficient. Parliament has been given the right to change the name of a Union territory by law and no provision has been made for even consultation with the Legislature concerned. Now there is no legislature in the Andamans. The public opinion on which the Government very strongly relies is the public opinion of the immigrants who are of recent origin there. The real public opinion of the original inhabitants of Andamans who hide in jungles can never be elicited. Perhaps they do not know even to-day what these islands are called by the outsiders.

Sir, it is a great pity that while they want to preserve the names reminiscent of British imperialism, they do not want to preserve the trade union rights of the workers. They do not want to preserve the cultural heritage of the tribes; they do not want even to preserve the very existence of these tribes, about whom the Government is very callous. The only thing they want is to stick to their obstinate effort to preserve these names perhaps because of a malicious desire to undermine, as some hon. Members have suggested, the very memory of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and other martyrs. Perhaps they think it is they and their predecessors who obtained independence by signing on the dotted line as suggested by Lord Mountbatten, in their anxiety to climb to the throne

of Delhi. Sir, to-day if this House by a bare majority, even with this small attendance, passes this Bill, it can go to the other House and by a bare majority it can be passed there; and subject to the assent of the President, it might become law. For that purpose, no elaborate arrangement or procedure for amendment of the Constitution as envisaged in article 368 would be necessary.

Sir, I support this Bill and I ask my hon. friends on the other side to forget about party lines and rise above.

**SHRI N.R. CHOUDHURY (Assam):**  
Where is party-line here ?

**SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULI:**  
If there is no party-line, I hope hon. Members from both sides would support the Bill and help to make it law.

**SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN (Kerala) :** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, from an emotional aspect, from the aspect of perpetrating the country's struggle for freedom, the amendment that has been suggested is indeed a welcome one.

I have heard with attention and with great education to myself, the speech delivered by the mover of this motion detailing particularly the history of what has transpired in this regard earlier. Reading in between the lines one cannot help feeling that the Government is not opposed to a legislation of this nature. But Government had been playing hide and seek. Ours is a nation predominantly ruled by sentimental and philosophical conditions and probably more than anybody else the Government knows that, and without any intention of insinuating Government, I cannot help but state the fact that the idea of Government is to purposefully exploit these sentimental aspects for itself at points of time to be decided by Government themselves. Legislations of this type are often brought by Government at times when they want to cover up their failures and their weaknesses. It has often been stated that this country has won political freedom 27 years ago but the country is yet to gain its economic freedom to solve the economic ills that the country is suffering on a nation-wide basis. Therefore, at various points of time various things are resorted to by Government. We find in a particular year celebrations in connection with Shivaji going on. Not that any one of us opposes that, but we have

got to state that these are timed by Government with a view to covering up the particular ills of the season. Today the country is in a low economic ebb. For the first time after the present Prime Minister has taken charge, I think her Independence Day speech was rather in a very low and subdued tone so that I have got to tell the honourable Shri Sen Gupta that it is likely that in this year a legislation of this nature may be brought by Government themselves, because the country is suffering all round. A look at the picture that the Hindustan Times has given yesterday would show the reality of the situation that poverty and hunger are moving at a fast rate rather than solving themselves. Therefore, this may be the year in which some sort of legislations which would infuse into the mind of the common man in the country the sense of patriotism being projected by Government as they may call, would be brought.

Therefore, the opposition that the Government may register to this Bill when being moved by hon. Shri Sengupta, a Member now sitting in the opposition benches, might not be there in a few weeks or a few months when, for the purposes of covering up the economic ills and disadvantages that the country is suffering, they themselves may bring a legislation of this nature.

Sir, the Cellular jail in these islands has become a part of history of this nation. The words "transportation for life" and being sent over to the Cellular jail in these islands have become a byword for actions of patriotism that persons, who were engaged at the top of the freedom struggle in this country, had resorted to. Therefore we require these things to be known to the children of the land. The generations that are rising and the generations that are still to rise should know these things. As the hon. Shri Mariswamy put it, the statue that we saw in Dublin or David Roger Casement is part of the Irish history. The Irish student is being told of that. But what sort of history is being taught in this country ? Some Capsule has been made and the land has been dug up and placed deep. But we do not know what is contained in that Capsule. But certainly when we look into the various nationalised text books that we have in the various institutions and various States, we do not get a reflection of the history as we should see it. Take, for instance, after 27 years of freedom, has the attitude towards Hyder Ali

[ SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN ]

and Tipu changed? Is the student being told today that Hyder Ali and Tipu are acceptable? Is the student being taught that their deeds constitute remarkable instances of what this nation stood for and ought to stand for? It was necessary for the Britisher to teach Indian students and particularly South Indian students that Hyder Ali and Tipu were communal stalwarts. But today we have to see them as national stalwarts and as persons who have built a place for themselves in the history of South India which is a part of India that is Bharat. What is happening still with regard to the Mopla struggle in Malabar in the twenties? The Mopla struggle in Malabar was a part of the freedom fight. It was part of the fight for generations of economic freedom in a feudalistic area. It might be there were instances of communal hatred and communal war. It might have been that later developments might not have been as good as they ought to be. But today the Government of Kerala in which the Congress Party is associated has recognised that the persons who were involved in the Mopla riots in Malabar should be treated as freedom fighters and should be given political pension.

But the Central Government has not been able to accept that position. Sir, there are contradictions. These contradictions have got to be resolved and it is not good for the Central Government to take time to see that politically motivated decisions are taken at politically-needed times. I would, therefore, request the Central Government to take an objective view so far as legislations of this are concerned. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI SANAT KUMAR RAHA (West Bengal) : Sir, this is not a very novel Bill and this is not the type of Bill which is coming up here for the first time in this fashion. I think we have had already several renaming Bills such as the Lakshadweep Bill, the Karnataka Bill, the Arunachal Pradesh Bill, the Meghalaya Bill and so on. So, Sir, I think this Bill has nothing to do with politics and nothing to do with constitutional matters as such. I think this Bill is a very simple Bill, a very harmless Bill, harmless so far as any party is concerned. I think, Sir, this Bill, on the other hand, recalls to our mind the days of patriotic struggle which was unleashed in India against the British. I think, Sir, in future, if any such Bills come up before us for renaming any part of the country,

for naming any part of the country after the martyrs and fighters for freedom, we should be prepared to do so.

Sir, some of my colleagues said today that our Constitution is like the railway time-table. I think this is wrong and this is a wrong conception about our Constitution. Sir, to me, the Constitution is not a Gita, is not a Koran or is not a book of dogmas, religious dogmas. The Constitution is meant for the people and for the administration of the country and for making the people have their own rights fulfilled. So, I think that the Constitution can be changed and the sanctity of the Constitution can be maintained even after changes to it consistent with the desires and aspirations of the people and the transformations that take place in the society. Therefore, we have to view the Constitution in this light and should not describe it as a railway time-table. Sir, the name of Subhas Chandra Bose is very much well-linked with our freedom struggle, well linked with our struggle for freedom. Sir, for some time we had to work with Netaji in West Bengal. Ideologically there were differences. Some of the colleagues may criticise any party or individual ideologically. But here I would not like any ideological differentiations to be made. I want to recall those days of Subhas Bose when he was a burning flame, flame of patriotism and he was the leader of the freedom struggle. He was having unbridled and unquenched patriotic fire within himself. Therefore, this name should be written in the golden history of India's freedom struggle.

Sir, along with Subhas Chandra Bose we had to fight, keeping him in the leadership at the time of freedom struggle launched in West Bengal in the name of the Left Consolidation Committee. When Subhas Bose was not liked by the so-called Congress leaders at the top, he was not allowed to become the President of the Congress. At that time, we all left parties had to fight in the name of the Left Consolidation Committee and all the parties had to come together to fight for the national liberation. Such was the period then and Subhas Bose thought that Indian freedom struggle can be finished and Indian freedom could be achieved with some foreign aid. That was his vision and that was his burning desire and sometimes he also expressed the view that he would have had to take help from the Soviet Russia.

So he had some idea that Soviet Russia in this world is the only country which can help really and sincerely the freedom struggles of India. These are the old memories regarding Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, with whom we had to work in West Bengal in various spheres of political life.

Sir, though we had many differences ideologically, our common aim was freedom, and freedom struggle was our only asset to achieve that goal. Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was the highest asset and the inspiration to freedom struggle, for the Indian youth, the students and the toiling Indian people.

Sir, this amendment requires some amendment of the Constitution. My colleague, Mr. Ganguli, said that if the Government wants that the Bill be accepted, if the Government thinks that this is a harmless Bill, why doesn't the Government assure this House that they will consider bringing forth a Bill to rename Andaman as 'Shaheed Dweep' and Nicobar as 'Swaraj Dweep'. What is the harm in that? I think in the minds of our leaders who have got this freedom out of the hands of the British—not through any uncompromising battle but through some negotiations, though this battle expedited negotiation—there is the legacy of negotiations left by the British. In many spheres of our national life, practically in all spheres of our national life, we find that the legacies of colonialism persists, in our national economy, in our educational life, in our cultural life, in our political life, and in fact in all spheres of our life. In fact, we are all feeling that we need some relief from colonial legacy. So these are the bottle-necks. If there had been a revolutionary government, this legacy would have been broken within a day. So I think the Government should think over this Bill in all seriousness, over the contents of this Bill, but not, so seriously regarding amending the Constitution. I hope that the Government will assure in this House that this can be taken up for consideration in future so that the Government may come up with a Bill to amend it accordingly.

Sir, with these words, I hope our Minister, on behalf of the Government, will assure this House. And we are thankful to Mr. Sen Gupta that he has brought forward this Bill and has given some scope or an opportunity to us to recollect the days of Netaji Subhash

Chandra Bose, to recollect the days of the liberation struggle and to recollect the days of 'Burning Flame' of patriotism of Subhash Chandra Bose.

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY : Sir, it is very difficult for any Indian to oppose the contents of this Bill. Also, the way in which the mover has placed it before this House is very much impressive. He has argued that to commemorate the memory of all the martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the country, these islands of Andaman and Nicobar should be renamed as 'Shaheed and Swaraj Dweeps'. He also put forward a very nice argument that the late nationalist leaders, Shri Bhoolal Bhai Desai and Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, while defending the I.N.A. trial, put forward some arguments that these Islands were the homeland of Azad Hind Government. By that he wants to associate these two Islands with the famous Azad Hind Fauj and also their leader, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

Sir, by arguing that way, he has attached a certain amount of national sentiment to this Bill. So, I do not think we should hesitate to rename these islands as Saheed and Swaraj Dweep. By doing that, we can also pay homage to the valiant fighters of Indian freedom movement who have made the greatest amount of sacrifice by forming a national army abroad and who attempted to march into India in order to hoist the national flag of India at Lal Qila. Sir, after 27 years of Independence, if the Government renames these two Islands as they were named by Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, then not only will they pay respect to the valiant fighters, but they will also honour the sentiments of the youth of the country. Sir, I quite agree with Shri Ruha on the point that Netaji is still a source of inspiration to the Indian youth. So, Sir, I hope that the Government will try to accept the spirit of the Bill. It may not be possible on the part of the Government to accept it at the moment because they also have certain difficulties. Mr. Sen Gupta, while moving this Bill also referred to the argument of the Government that the people of Andamans and Nicobar Islands should be taken into confidence while renaming these islands. Then the question arises as to how we should take the opinion of the people.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA : The Minister is not listening. He has to give a reply.

**SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY :** I feel that the Home Ministry has not given due consideration to this particular issue which has been agitating the minds of the Members of this House as well as Lok Sabha for quite a long time. Sir, only referring this question to the Advisory Committee which is a nominated body by the Home Ministry would not do. The opinion can be taken and also the opinion can be mobilised if we, the Members of Parliament, feel it sincerely and think that this renaming is absolutely necessary in the interest of national pride and prestige. Sir, I would like to give a concrete suggestion and if the Minister agrees, he may give consideration to it.

Sir, there may not be any elected Legislature there in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. But there must be political organizations, social and cultural organizations who really hold public opinion. Sir, my humble suggestion is that if a team of Members of Parliament from both the sides is permitted to visit these Islands, they can talk to the people there and mobilize public opinion. Sir, it is quite correct to say that this issue is agitating the minds of the people. Several times, Bills have been moved in the Lok Sabha and twice in this House also about this issue. And some times in the Question Hour also, it was raised. So, from this, the mind of the Members of the Parliament and the nation itself is clear. So, it is a serious matter to which the Government should give serious consideration. And I propose that a parliamentary team should go there and talk to the people and mobilize the opinion. And I don't think there will be any opposition from the local people. The Home Ministry also can talk to the people's representatives there and come to a decision. Instead of referring it to that committee, if you take up the matter

seriously, if you take some concrete steps, I believe, the people of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands would not stand in the way of renaming the Islands. Thank you, Sir.

**SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD (Kerala) :** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am very glad that Shri Sen Gupta has moved a very important and sentimental Bill today to rename the Andaman and Nicobar Islands as the "Shaheed and Swaraj Islands".

Sir, yesterday we celebrated our Independence Day. Many of our freedom fighters are no more with us. And we have forgotten many of our great, great leaders who fought and sacrificed everything of theirs for the cause of freedom of India. The name of Subhas Chandra Bose is not at all remembered today by our leaders, who are at the helm of affairs of our country. And if we rename these islands, we would be paying the greatest tributes to these great leaders. Sir, there are many, many leaders who fought for the freedom of our land. Their names are not at all even known to our students and they are not taught who these leaders are. I would just remind this House of our great leader who fought for our land. Maulana Mohammed Ali. He was one of those who fought for the independence of India. He was the President of the Indian National Congress when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was its General Secretary.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR) :** Mr. Schamnad, you continue your speech next time.

The House stands adjourned till eleven AM of the clock on Monday the 19th August, 1974.

The House then adjourned at five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Monday, the 19th August, 1974.