



NETAJI AND THE INA

Lok Sabha Secretariat
New Delhi
1994

NETAJI AND THE INA

*A COMMEMORATIVE VOLUME BROUGHT OUT
TO MARK THE GOLDEN JUBILEE OF
THE INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY (AZAD HIND FAUJ)*

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LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT
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Subhas Chandra Bose - The Supreme Commander of the INA

FOREWORD

The role of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in the history of India's struggle for freedom was a legendary one. Intrepid and impetuous, he brought a new militancy and dynamism into the Indian nationalist movement. The organization of the Indian National Army was the crowning achievement of his romantic and tempestuous political career and a decisive milestone in India's march towards independence.

It is befitting that we pay homage to Netaji and the brave men and women of the I.N.A. on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the formation of the I.N.A. The services and sacrifices of these men and women for the liberation of the country continue to inspire the people of India. As Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said, they were "the symbols of India's struggle for freedom."

Mahatma Gandhi in his tribute to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose had emphasized that "the greatest lesson that we can draw from Netaji's life is the way in which he infused the spirit of unity amongst his men so that they could rise above all religious and provincial barriers and shed together their blood for the common cause". What we need most in India today is this spirit of unity and the capacity to rise above religious, provincial, caste and linguistic barriers for a common cause. I hope that the Golden Jubilee of the I.N.A. would inspire us to dedicate ourselves to the noble cause of building up a united, strong, and prosperous India.

NEW DELHI;
30 April, 1994.

K.R. NARAYANAN
*Vice-President of India
and
Chairman, Rajya Sabha*

PREFACE

The Indian National Army under the leadership of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose played very important role in India's struggle for freedom. The struggle by INA soldiers is a saga of supreme dedication and selfless sacrifice in the cause of India's liberation from alien rule. This publication—containing the life-sketch and some photographs of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, extracts from select speeches, broadcasts made by Netaji, important documents pertaining to the activities of Netaji and the INA—has been brought out by the Lok Sabha Secretariat to commemorate the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the INA and to pay our respectful homage to its heroes and heroines who did all that they could, just to enable their succeeding generations to breathe in a free country.

We are deeply indebted to the Hon'ble Vice President of India and Chairman of Rajya Sabha, Shri K.R. Narayanan for his illuminating Foreword.

Our grateful thanks are also due to Prof. Samar Guha for motivating and inspiring us to bring out this volume. His contribution of invaluable material on Netaji from his personal collections and his worthy guidance were of great help.

The Netaji Research Bureau, Calcutta, particularly its Director, Shri Sisir Bose, was kind enough to send us some rare material and photographs of Netaji included in this volume. We thank him for his generous gesture.

Various sources consulted and the works of different authors relied upon in compiling the manuscript of this publication are indicated at the end of the book. We place on record our gratitude to concerned authors/institutions.

In the end, we wish to thank Smt. Manju Sharma and Shri B. Phani Kumar, Research Assistants for their hard work and cooperation in ensuring timely production of this publication.

It is hoped that the present work would provide an insight into an important phase of India's struggle for freedom.

NEW DELHI;
30 April, 1994.

DR. R.C. BHARDWAJ,
Additional Secretary.

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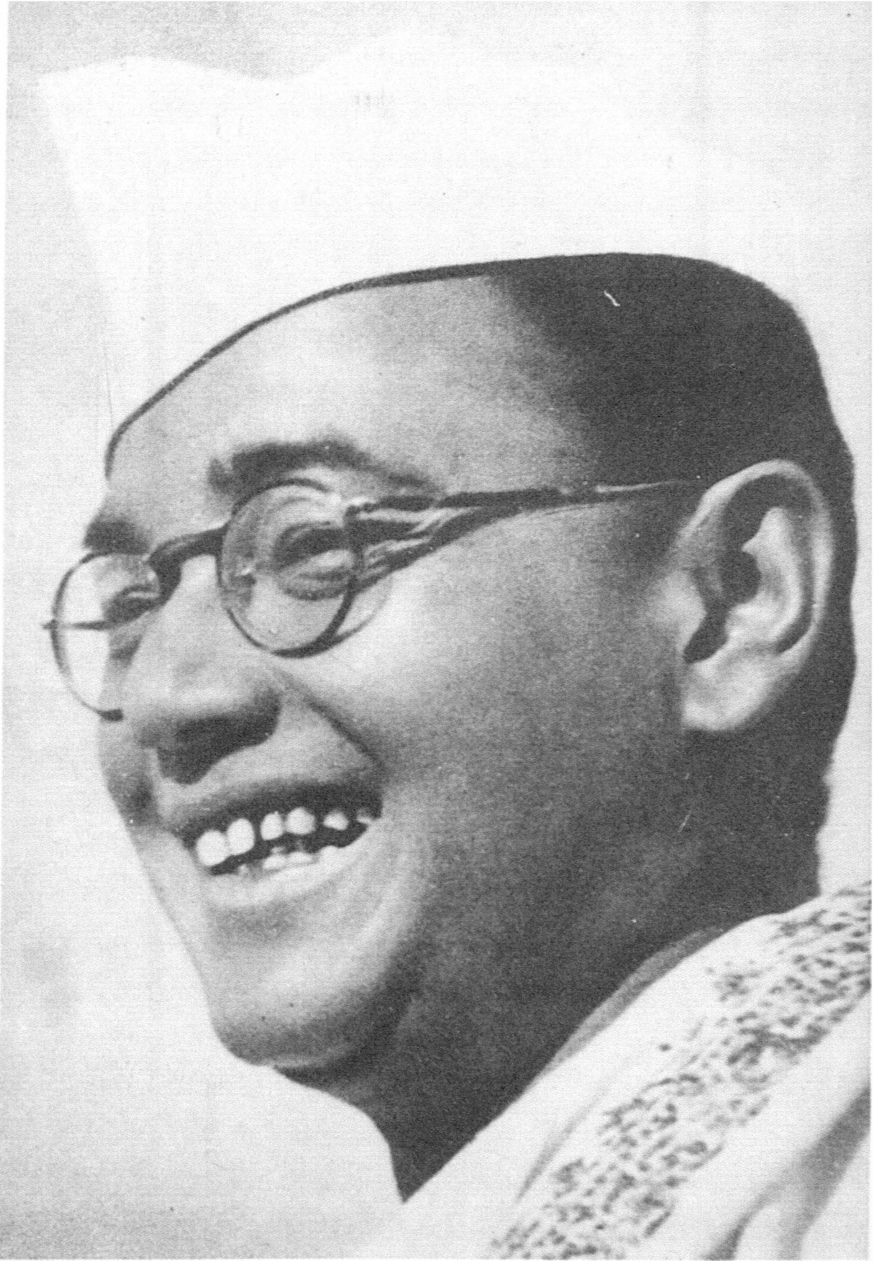
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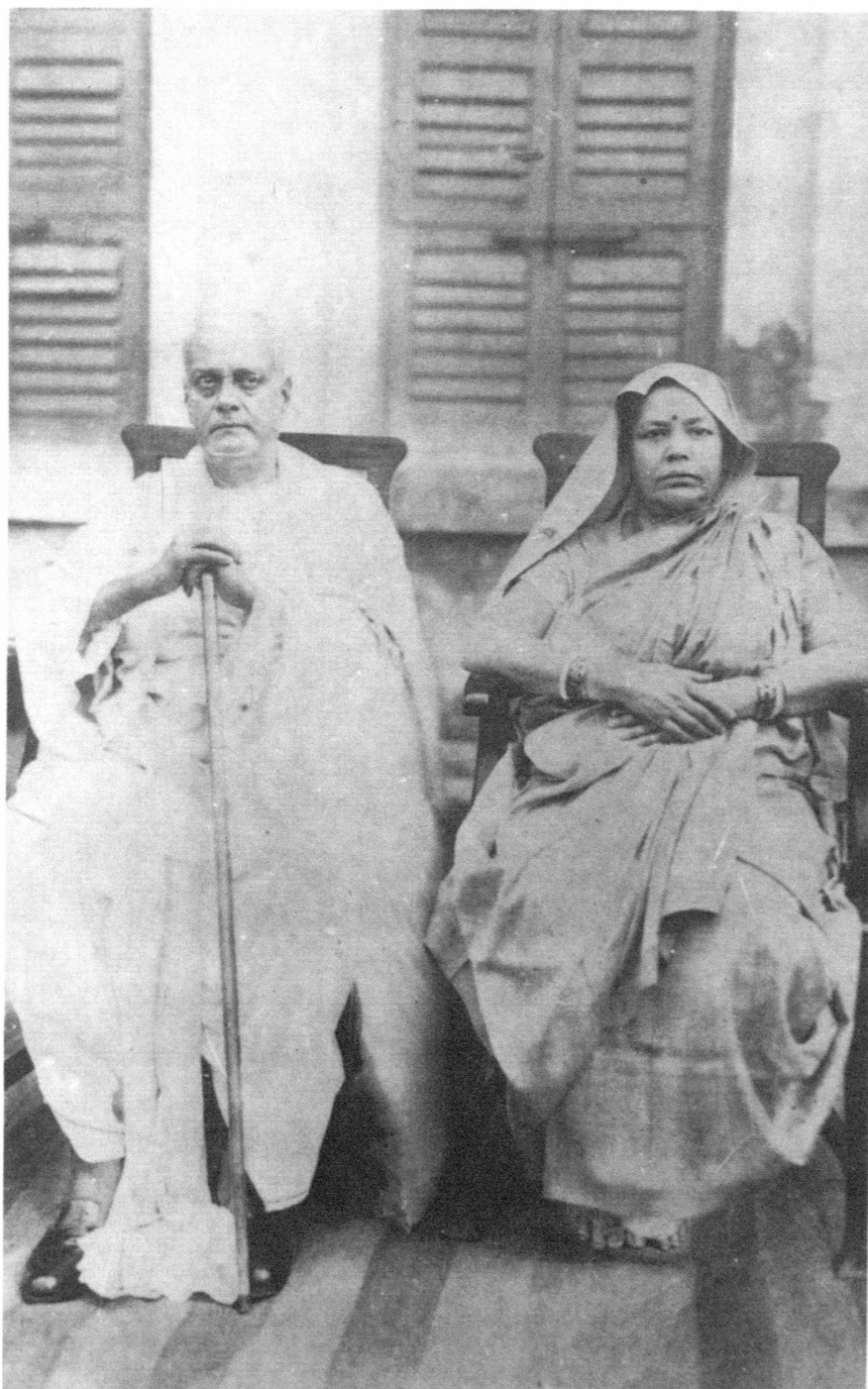
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“The greatest lesson that we can draw from Netaji’s life is the way in which he infused the spirit of unity amongst his men so that they could rise above all religious and provincial barriers and shed together their blood for the common cause.”

– Mahatma Gandhi



Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose



Netaji's parents — Smt. Prabhavati Devi and Shri Janakinath Bose



Netaji's daughter Anita Bose in a Japanese Costume

PART I

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose
— A Profile

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose

– A Profile

The Indian National Movement is replete with selfless sacrifices of many a stalwart. These illustrious sons and daughters fought the mighty British Empire valiantly to win freedom for their people although through different *modus operandi*. If Gandhiji, Pandit Nehru and their like believed in the doctrine of non-violence as the only justifiable means to attain independence, there were others like Subhas Chandra Bose, who firmly believed in revolutionary means for pursuing the goal of *Swaraj*. However, with their zeal, whole hearted pursuit, strong perseverance, and supreme dedication, all these leaders inspired the people a lot. One such illustrious son of Mother India was Subhas Chandra Bose who was endowed with tremendous revolutionary zeal. He effectively took the Indian freedom movement beyond the frontiers of India that shook the mighty British empire to its foundations and left an indelible mark on the nation and its people. What he accomplished was something unique and perhaps a rare feat in our history. By exhibiting his exemplary courage, great organising ability, strong determination and indomitable will, he provided an outstanding lead to the revolutionary movement in India's freedom struggle. It is in this context that Netaji occupies a pride of place among the galaxy of leaders who have put India on the world map. His undaunting courage and almost inexhaustible energy made him one of the front-ranking leaders of modern India. His magnificent and inspiring words 'Jai Hind', which echo in every one's ears and the hearing of which indeed ignites patriotic instincts in every citizen's heart, have truly become the national rallying call.

Early Life and Education

Netaji was born on 23 January 1897 at Cuttack in Orissa. His father Janakinath was an advocate, who later became the first non-official Chairman of Cuttack Municipality in 1901 and a Government Pleader and Public Prosecutor. In 1912, he was nominated as a member of the Bengal Legislative Council and was awarded the title of 'Rai Bahadur'. Following serious differences with the District Magistrate, he resigned

from the post of Government Pleader and Public Prosecutor in 1917 and later gave up the title of Rai Bahadur protesting against the repressive policy of the Government. Subhas's mother Prabhavati belonged to the traditional Dutt family of Hatkhola in North Calcutta. She was a woman of strong will and possessed a keen sense of reality and sound commonsense. Both she and her husband put up with great fortitude all the sufferings and sacrifices their two sons Sarat and Subhas had to undergo in the cause of the country's freedom.

In 1902, child Subhas was enrolled in the Baptist Mission School at Cuttack. When he was in fourth standard, he joined the Ravenshaw Collegiate School, Cuttack and studied there till 1913. He was an intelligent student and had command over English language. He was greatly influenced by his headmaster, Beni Madhav Das. Besides, he was also greatly influenced by the philosophy of Swami Vivekananda. In 1913, he passed the high school examination by standing second and thereafter, joined the Presidency College in Calcutta. He opted for philosophy as his major subject. At this point of time, he began to study works of Aurobindo Ghose and Swami Vivekananda and gained new insight into their philosophy of life.

In 1916, an incident, important in Subhas Bose's life, took place in the Presidency College which led to his suspension from the College. It so happened that Mr. E.F. Oaten, Professor of History was charged with manhandling some of the students, annoyed as he was at the disturbance they had allegedly created in the corridor in front of his classroom. The professor having refused to apologise as demanded by the students, there was a call for general strike in the college. In those days a strike in Presidency College was something unimaginable. As one of the striking leaders, Subhas was warned. He, however, stood firm. Though good sense ultimately dawned on the professor who settled the dispute amicably with the students, the Principal, however, declined to withdraw the penal measure that he had imposed on the students in the shape of a fine. Next month, like a bolt from the blue another incident happened. The same professor again manhandled a student of first year. Sensing that constitutional measures like protests and strikes would be futile, some students took law into their own hands. Professor Oaten was beaten black and blue. The Government immediately closed the college and set up a Committee of Enquiry to go into the continued disturbances in the institution. In the confusion, the Principal fell out with the Government and was placed under suspension. But before giving up his charge the Principal sent for all the students in his black list including Subhas. To the latter, he growled and said:

“Bose, you are the most troublesome man in the college. I suspend you.”

“Thank you” answered Bose and went home. The Governing Body confirmed the Principal’s order and expelled him from the college. Bose appealed to the University for permission to study in some other college but it was refused. He was thus virtually rusticated from the University

With no hope of continuing with his studies in the near future, Bose took to social service with great zeal. He realised that as a schooling for the future, voluntary work had tremendous value. He would not therefore shirk it no matter the danger or risks involved in it. He tried his hand at organisation of youth for their physical, intellectual and moral advancement and also campaigned against untouchability.

In July 1917, with the help of his father he was admitted to the Scottish Church College, Calcutta. Two years later, at the age of 22, he passed the B.A. Examination with first class Honours, securing second rank in the University of Calcutta. Thereafter, he enrolled himself for his M.A. Degree with Experimental Psychology as his major subject. However, he had to discontinue his studies as his father was determined to send him to England to compete for the Indian Civil Service Examination.

Visit to England

On 15 September 1919, he sailed for England. Though he reached slightly late, he was, however, able to join the Cambridge University and ultimately appeared for the ICS Examination in July 1920, with eight subjects — Economics, Geography, Political Science, Philosophy, English, Law, Modern European History and Cartography. When the results were announced, he was placed in the fourth rank. Bose, however, was not very happy, destined as he was to do something ‘great’ in his life. His success at the Civil Service Examination brought him face to face with the greatest dilemma of his life. He realised that he was up against the first real test — whether to stand by the ideals and principles he had made his own or to succumb to the temptations of the ‘heavenborn’ service. He carried on a long correspondence with his second elder brother Sarat Chandra, poured out his heart to him and sought his counsel. Finally he decided to resign from the Service and wrote to Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das offering his services for the national cause.

Subhas knew that most of the members of his family considered him to be an ‘eccentric’ person. He could, therefore, well imagine the hue and cry that would be raised at home on his decision to give up the Service. He was confident in his own mind that his brother Sarat would respond favourably to whatever decision he might take as he had always done at every moment of crisis even though he knew “hardly anyone else among our relatives will approve of my eccentric plans” What caused

him deep concern was that his decision to resign would, in all probability, hurt his ageing and ailing parents. He depended on his brother Sarat to convince his parents that the interest of the country demanded that their son come forward with this little offering of sacrifice at the altar of India's freedom and that the sacrifice had to be made consciously and deliberately. He put it to his brother that the money he had spent for his education abroad might be looked upon also as a gift laid at the feet of the mother without expectation of any return in any shape or form. Writing to his brother in April 1921 — three weeks before formally sending in his resignation, he summed up why the inner struggle in him between principle and expediency could not be reconciled or resolved :

“We, who have grown up under the influence of Swami Vivekananda on one side and Aurobindo Ghose on the other, have fortunately or unfortunately, developed a mentality which does not accept a compromise between points of view so diametrically opposed.”

On the 22 April 1921, Subhas Chandra Bose wrote from Cambridge to the Secretary of State for India, E.S. Montague, withdrawing his name from the list of probationers in the Indian Civil Service selected in an open competitive examination in August 1920.

He felt sorry that he had been instrumental in introducing some kind of unpleasantness into an otherwise harmonious family. The reason was that certain ideas had taken possession of him which were unfortunately unacceptable to others.

Subhas's resignation from the Indian Civil Service created a sensation among the Indian community in England. The news also travelled fast to India and the subject became one of excited discussion throughout the country. Subhas himself wanted to avoid both sensation and public applause — evidently he wanted it to be a quiet act of self-abnegation. Even to his brother Sarat he wrote :

“You have said too many kind words about me in your letters which I know how little I deserve.... all that I say is — I am proud of you.”

However, he added :

“I know how many hearts I have grieved, how many superiors of mine I have disobeyed but on the eve of this hazardous undertaking, my only prayer is — May it be for the good of our dear country.”

He felt greatly comforted when he finally received a letter from his mother in which she said that in spite of what others might think, she prefers the ideals for which Mahatma Gandhi stands.

His return to India and plunge into politics

In 1921, after passing the Mental and Moral Sciences Tripos Examination from Cambridge, Subhas Chandra Bose hurried back to India to plunge into the national struggle. A product of Bengal renaissance who grew up in harmony with India's national resurgence, Netaji obviously was determined, right from his student days, to free the motherland from the clutches of colonialism. He landed in Bombay on 16 July, 1921 and the same afternoon called upon Mahatma Gandhi. The first thing that Subhas did on meeting Gandhiji was to apologise for his foreign costume. The Mahatma, however, put him at ease and an interesting conversation followed. Subhas's desire was to understand the successive stages of the struggle that the leader had planned which would, step by step, lead the country to capture power from the unwilling hands of the British Government. He flooded Gandhiji with questions which the latter answered with his usual patience. The questions related to the campaign of non-payment of taxes, civil disobedience, boycott of foreign cloth, propagation of Khadi, the Mahatma's promise of *Swaraj* within one year, mass marching to prison by disobeying governmental decrees, etc. Some of Mahatmaji's answers satisfied him, particularly those relating to non-payment of taxes, but others did not.

Not very satisfied with his first meeting with the Mahatma, he left for Calcutta with the intention of reporting to Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das as early as possible. Gandhiji also wanted him to do the same. On arrival in Calcutta, Subhas found that Deshbandhu was on tour and he had to wait for a while. The first meeting between these two men was decisive. Subhas immediately felt that here was a man who knew what he was about, who was prepared to sacrifice all that he possessed for the cause and could therefore demand from others all that they could offer. He felt convinced that he had found a leader to follow. Deshbandhu in turn welcomed his new youthful lieutenant with open arms and entrusted him with a number of responsibilities. Subhas offered his personal services to Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das in three fields : first, teaching at National College started by Deshbandhu; second, journalism — particularly for the English edition of his newspaper *Swaraj*; and third, research for the Congress organisation. He apprised Deshbandhu that the Congress must have a determined policy as to the future Constitution of India. He therefore emphasized that they must proceed to frame the new Constitution of India on the basis of *Swaraj*. The country was then convulsing with patriotic fervour and there was unparalleled popular

enthusiasm. Congressmen shunned the legislatures, lawyers left the law courts and students came out of educational institutions, as a response to Gandhiji's call for boycott and non-cooperation. Deshbandhu put Subhas in charge of publicity for the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and the National Volunteer Corps. He also became the Principal of the newly started National College. The competence and dedication with which Subhas discharged his various duties won him the admiration of all.

In the teeth of popular opposition, the British Government sought to prepare the ground for the inauguration of constitutional reforms recommended in 1919 by the Secretary of State for India, Montague and the Viceroy Chelmsford and later embodied them in an Act. A visit to India of the Prince of Wales was announced for November 1921. The Congress called upon the people to observe a total "hartal" on the day the Prince's landing was scheduled to take place in Bombay. Like other Indian cities, Calcutta too rose to the occasion and it looked as if Congress volunteers under Subhas Chandra Bose had taken charge of the city. The organisation was declared illegal by the Government but that added more fuel to the fire. The Congress Committee vested all its powers in its President, Chittaranjan Das who in turn put Subhas Chandra in charge of the movement. The campaign gathered great momentum when Basanti Devi, wife of Deshbandhu, was arrested together with a band of defiant lady volunteers who broke the law. Thousands of young men and women surged forward and jails were filled to overflowing. In the second week of December 1921, Subhas Chandra was taken into custody along with Deshbandhu and other leaders and later was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. This period of imprisonment together with Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das was, for Subhas, one of the most moving and educative experiences of life.

While in prison, Subhas tended and cared for Deshbandhu with all the warmth and devotion of which he was capable. He would not only look after his mentor's comforts to the minutest detail — he would even cook for him. On account of his close association with Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, he had the opportunity of coming into contact with some of the outstanding leaders like Pandit Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai and Maulana Mohammad Ali.

In 1922, following the Chauri Chaura incident, Gandhiji suspended the Civil Disobedience Movement. Subhas at that time was undergoing imprisonment alongwith Deshbandhu. On receipt of the news of termination of the campaign, they were overwhelmed with sorrow and resentment. Congressmen were bewildered at the sudden retreat and the general mood changed from one of bouyant optimism to depression. Lord Reading, the Viceroy, took advantage of the situation and went on

the offensive. Mahatma Gandhi was arrested and sentenced to a long term of imprisonment on charges of sedition. Deshbandhu took the suspension of the mass movement as a *fait accompli* and while in prison, devoted himself to devising a new plan of non-cooperation and struggle inside the legislatures with a view to capturing all points of vantage in a revolutionary struggle. The Congress Working Committee appointed an Enquiry Committee on Civil Disobedience and members were equally divided between those in favour of Deshbandhu's plan and those supporting 'no changers' plan to keep out of legislatures. Subhas obviously stood by his leader.

In September 1922, there were devastating floods in the northern districts of Bengal. The Congress rose to the occasion and rushed to the succour of stricken humanity with Subhas Chandra Bose at the head of the first batch of volunteers. The relief operations directed by Subhas were so successful that they added greatly to the prestige of the Congress while government efforts were niggardly and half-hearted.

In the latter half of 1922 there took place two important political events which were of far-reaching significance for Subhas as the principal lieutenant of Deshbandhu. The first was the session of the All India Trade Union Congress in Lahore at which Deshbandhu presided. It was at this conference Deshbandhu declared, in no uncertain terms, that the *Swaraj* that they were striving to win, was for the masses who constituted ninety-eight per cent of the population. Subhas was thus initiated into the trade union movement of India which resulted in his becoming the President of All India Trade Union Congress in 1931. He also became the President of the Labour Association of the Tata Iron and Steel Company of Jamshedpur. The second event was the holding of the Young Men's Conference in Calcutta which became the precursor of the new youth movement in Bengal of which Subhas Chandra Bose emerged as the undisputed and charismatic leader. Towards the end of the decade, the youth movement in India became a force to contend with Subhas Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru as its two guiding stars.

As an Administrator

The year 1924 opened with a hopeful note for the Swarajists. Elections to the Calcutta Municipal Corporation were held and the party decided to contest. The Swaraj Party won a comfortable majority. Deshbandhu was elected the first Mayor of Calcutta and Shaheed Suhrawardy as the Deputy Mayor. Subhas Chandra was appointed the Chief Executive Officer, — that is, the head of the municipal administration. His appointment to this position caused great annoyance

to the Government and it was after a great deal of hesitation that they finally gave their approval.

The capture of the Calcutta Corporation by the Swarajists, with Deshbandhu as Mayor and Subhas as Chief Executive Officer, marked the beginning of a new era in civic progress in India. Deshbandhu's mayoral address was in the nature of a charter of civic right, civic progress and civic freedom. Subhas Chandra's task was to translate the programme into concrete action. For the first time, *khadi* became the official uniform of civil employees and many streets and parks named after the Britishers were renamed after India's greatest men. Free primary schools both for boys and girls were started, health associations run by the Corporation were formed, free dispensaries opened and children's clinics set up in different parts of Calcutta from where free milk was distributed to needy children. As the Chief Executive Officer, Subhas showed remarkable agility in his work schedule. He was here, there and everywhere at all hours of the day or night to guide, supervise services in conservancy, water supply, lighting, road repairs and so on. Within a few months Subhas was able to give a new orientation and momentum to the administration of the Corporation. The practice of giving civic reception to British dignitaries was given up and instead the same was given to nationalist leaders when they visited the city. To promote civic consciousness among citizens, a weekly journal, the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, was started. A commercial museum was established with the purpose of promoting Indian goods. Subhas Chandra accepted only half of his salary as the Chief Executive and gave the other half to charity.

In the middle of 1924, the influence and prestige of the Swaraj Party and its leader Deshbandhu reached new heights. When the annual conference of the party was held in Calcutta in August, there was a large attendance and great enthusiasm. The British Government could no longer wait and watch as the Swaraj Party went on scoring one success after another. In sheer desperation, they therefore decided to strike at the root of the organisation. On 25 October 1924, Subhas Chandra Bose was arrested and sent to Rangoon.

In a letter to a friend from his prison cell in Burma, Subhas in the words of Rabindra Nath Tagore, described his life thus :

“I still reside in the world of imagination,
The forest (prison) is the seat of my kingdom,
Only silent contemplation is still my refuge,
I am growing up to be a Man nursed by the rocks,
I am building my mind all by myself and growing worthier for the
tasks ahead.

Who knows when shall I be able to declare with all my heart,
I have reached my Realisation,
Come all, follow me,
The Master is calling you all
May my life bring forth new life in you all,
And thus may my country awake!"

Foundation of Congress Volunteer Corps

The Annual Session of Indian National Congress of 1928 was held in Calcutta under the Presidentship of Pandit Motilal Nehru. The attendance at the session was the largest ever since the inception of the Congress and all arrangements had been made on a colossal scale. At this session, Subhas Chandra Bose emerged as the principal spokesman of the younger and leftist forces in the national movement. He was also the General Officer Commanding of the Congress Volunteer Corps which was raised and trained by him on semi-military lines and was held together by military discipline. The corps consisted of various formations including a motorcycle unit, a cavalry unit and Women's Corps. All wore semi-military uniform. He thus, introduced a new element in the national movement, *viz.* military discipline among national workers.

The Lahore Session

At the end of December 1929, the historic session of the Indian National Congress took place under the presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru. Mahatma Gandhi himself came forward to move the resolution on the national demand of complete independence. At the stroke of midnight of the 31 December 1929, Jawaharlal Nehru, the youthful Congress President, unfurled the flag of independence on the banks of the Ravi in the presence of a mammoth gathering. To the masses of India the event was one of great inspiration and brought forth a new message.

Subhas Chandra Bose went a step further from the position he had taken at the Calcutta Congress. He urged that a positive programme of action be adopted to enforce the national demand. He moved a resolution that the Congress should aim at setting up a parallel government in the country and to that end, should undertake the task of organising workers, peasants and youths. In his opinion, merely taking a negative stand by asking Congressmen to resign from the legislatures was not enough.

In the course of his address to the delegates at Lahore Congress, Subhas Chandra Bose said :

"Mine is a programme of all-round boycott.... If you are not prepared to go in for total boycott, it will be no use your boycotting

Councils only... I am an extremist and my principle is — all or none”.

Subhas Bose’s Resolution was however defeated.

At the Lahore Congress Subhas Chandra Bose together with Srinivas Iyengar and others of the leftist camp were excluded from the Congress Working Committee. Mahatma Gandhi wanted the supreme body in the party to be a homogenous one so that he could proceed with his plans unchallenged from inside.

As Mayor of Calcutta

In 1930, Subhas Bose formed a Congress Democratic Party to promote his militant programme. But before he could proceed with his plans, he was placed under arrest as soon as he returned to Calcutta from Lahore and sentenced to a year’s rigorous imprisonment. While in prison Subhas Bose was elected Mayor of Calcutta, but he could assume office only after his release later in that year. In his Mayoral Address, Subhas Bose movingly recalled Deshbandhu’s leadership in the field of civic progress. Subhas Bose announced further plans of progress. On 26 January 1931, Subhas Bose as Calcutta Mayor, accompanied by senior officers and followed by a large procession, advanced from the Municipal headquarters towards the *maidan* in defiance of a police ban. As they crossed Esplanade, a strong contingent of mounted police made a ruthless attack on them. Subhas was severely injured and taken into custody. He was released in March 1931.

Civil Disobedience Movement

Because of the Civil Disobedience Movement, British Government, in January 1932, launched its offensive against the Congress and National Organisations throughout India. Leaders were arrested *en mass*, including Gandhiji, Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose. After his arrest, Subhas was lodged in a small jail in Seoni, an obscure place in Central provinces. He was joined soon after by his elder brother Sarat Chandra, a leading lawyer of Calcutta and a front ranking Congressman.

In the jail in Seoni, the health of Subhas Chandra Bose rapidly deteriorated. He was first shifted to Jabalpur Central Jail. From there, Subhas was shifted from place to place ostensibly for medical diagnosis and treatment — first to Madras, then to Bhowali and then to Lucknow. But as a proper diagnosis was not made of his ailments no treatment was of any avail. In the enforced absence of Sarat Chandra, his wife Bivabati carried on negotiations, on Subhas’s behalf, with the Government in

Delhi to send Subhas to Europe for treatment and cure. On 13 February 1933 Subhas sailed for Europe on board the Italian ship S.S. Gange on another forced exile.

His visit to Europe

In March 1933, Subhas reached Vienna. There he found very good physicians and received satisfactory medical treatment. As soon as he felt a little better, he began to take active interest in European politics and establish contacts at every level to further the cause of Indian independence. He found a kind spirit in Vithalbhai Patel who shared his interest in securing international support for Indian nationalist aspirations

During his stay in Europe, Subhas took upon himself the role of the unofficial Ambassador of Indian Nationalism. Though his work started in Austria, he extended his activities to other countries in Europe, namely Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, Germany and France.

Subhas Chandra established and developed contacts in these European countries not only in political circles but also among intellectuals generally — literateurs, economists, sociologists, scientists and men and women of the cultural world. He also corresponded with many European scholars and writers. He lectured at many places on the Indian national movement, Indian history, civilization and culture. He sought the moral support of all classes of people in these countries for India's struggle against British imperialism. In Vienna, he established the Austria-India Society. In Czechoslovakia, on the one hand he received medical treatment and on the other, established important political and cultural contacts. He held important political discussions with Eduardo Benes, the then Czech Foreign Minister. He took particular interest in the organisation of the Czechoslovak Legion during the first world war outside the country to fight and win freedom for Czechoslovakia. He also took leading part in the formation of Czechoslovak Indian Association and addressed its inaugural ceremony in 1934. In Poland, he found, a great deal of sympathy for India's cause and stimulated the interest of Polish friends in India's struggle. He carefully studied the military training of the Polish Legion in Japan during the first world war for liberating Poland from Russian domination.

Towards the end of 1934, Subhas Chandra received news that his father Janakinath was critically ill. The family desired that he should fly to India to be at his father's bedside. He left for India post-haste but arrived late by a day and a half. His father had passed away in the meantime and his last wish was not fulfilled. On the contrary as soon as

he arrived in Calcutta he was interned in his house on Elgin Road because he had returned to India without Government's permission. He lived there for about a month virtually as a prisoner and returned to Europe early in January 1935 to resume his medical treatment and his work for India.

As a Writer

During his exile in Europe, Subhas Chandra wrote the first and major part of his substantive work 'The Indian Struggle'. He wrote it in a little over a year when his health was far from satisfactory. Moreover, while writing what was essentially a historical narrative, he had to draw largely from his memory in the absence of adequate reference material at his disposal. The book was published in London in January 1935. The British Government in India with the approval of the Secretary of State for India in London lost no time in banning its entry into India on the ground that the book "tended to encourage methods of terrorism and direct action" It was particularly well reviewed in the British press and warmly welcomed in European political and literary circles.

Return to India and election as Congress President

In early 1936, Subhas Chandra felt that he had sufficiently recovered his health and planned to return home. He was particularly keen to attend the Congress session to be held a few months later in Lucknow under the Presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru. When the British authorities came to know of his plans, they sent him a written warning through the British Counsel in Vienna to the effect that if he returned to India he could not expect to remain at liberty. Regardless of the warning Subhas sailed for home in March. As soon as he set foot on Indian soil in Bombay he was taken into custody and lodged in prison. Sometime later, he was transferred to Kurseong, near Darjeeling and detained in his brother Sarat's bungalow there. In March 1937, Subhas was released unconditionally for reasons of health. He was given a mammoth reception in Calcutta on his release. Towards the end of 1937, he decided to undertake a short trip to Europe, firstly, as a health measure and secondly to make a quick on-the-spot survey of the European situation.

In January 1938, when he was in London he came to know about his formal election as Congress President. On his arrival at the village of Haripura in February 1938, Subhas Chandra was given a rousing reception. He was taken to the session site in a chariot pulled by 51 pairs of white bullocks to the accompaniment of brass bands while thousands

upon thousands of rural folk greeted him all along the way. At the flag hoisting ceremony he said :

“There is no power on earth that can keep India enslaved any longer”

By the time Subhas Chandra became the Party President, the Congress party was elected to office in seven out of eleven provinces of British India. In his presidential address Subhas said that the first task of our ministers should be to change the composition and character of the bureaucracy in order that our policies and principles might be put into practice. Secondly, the Congress ministers must put in through schemes of reconstruction in education, health, irrigation, land reforms, industry, workers' welfare, prohibition, prison reforms, etc. in accordance with the uniform policy laid down by the Congress Working Committee. In this context he said that in his judgement, the Congress Working Committee was not merely the directing brain of the national army of freedom fighters but also the shadow cabinet of independent India. Subhas Chandra laid great emphasis on a plan to oppose the inauguration of the federal scheme as envisaged in the Act of 1935, because that was really designed to dismember India politically and weaken her economically.

As Congress President, Subhas Chandra toured the country extensively. The main aim of his campaign was that the Congress must finally and irrevocably set its face against any compromise with the British and it must also prepare the Indian people for a national struggle on the widest possible scale which should synchronise with the impending war in Europe. As the President of the party, he presided over the deliberations of the Congress and the Working Committee with scrupulous fairness and cordiality towards all... To find a solution for the vexed Hindu Muslim question Subhas Chandra as Congress President, held a series of meetings with M.A. Jinnah, the Muslim League leader, in the latter half of 1938 and also had extensive correspondence with him. But the negotiations broke down on Jinnah's insistence that the League must be recognised as the only authoritative and representative organisation of Indian Muslims. Interestingly, Subhas Chandra was able through patient persuasion and diplomacy to work out a working alliance with the Muslim League in Bengal in 1939 in the Calcutta Municipal Corporation which came to be known as the Bose-League Pact. Within three months of the Haripura session, he convened a conference of Congress Premiers in Delhi and later another conference of Industries Ministers, where he dwelt on the pressing need of national planning to transform an impoverished country like India into an economically and industrially advanced state. By the middle of 1938, he had decided to set up a National Planning Committee under the aegis of the Congress and held

extensive consultations with leading scientists, economists and others in this regard. He invited Jawaharlal Nehru to be its chairman. The President's proposal was approved by the Congress Working Committee and the formal inauguration of the Planning Committee took place in Bombay in December 1938.

Subhas Chandra had a very clear and definite views regarding national reconstruction and he expressed them in no uncertain terms. He stated categorically that no industrial advancement was possible in India until we passed through the throes of an industrial revolution. He admitted that the Congressmen did not hold similar views on this question. But the rising generation was in favour of industrialisation.

Congress President for the Second Term

In 1939, Subhas was re-elected as Congress President, defeating Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaiyya who had been backed by Mahatmaji and the Congress Working Committee. Soon after the election, the members of the Congress Working Committee resigned, and the Congress met at Tripuri under the shadow of a crisis within the Party. Subhas was a sick man at Tripuri, but with amazing, almost prophetic foresight, he warned that an imperialist war would break out in Europe within six months. He demanded that the Congress should deliver six months' ultimatum to Britain and in the event of its rejection, a country-wide struggle for '*Poorna Swaraj*' should be launched, taking full advantage of Britain's entanglement in the international imbroglio. His warning and advice, however, went unheeded. He, therefore, resigned his Presidentship in April 1939, and for the democratisation, radicalisation and reorientation of the Congress into a sharp instrument of people's will to freedom, he announced, in May 1939, the formation of the Forward Block within the Congress. In August, Subhas was removed from Presidentship of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, and further debarred from holding any elective office in the Congress for a period of three years.

His escape from India and foundation of Indian National Army

In 1939-40, Subhas Bose felt unhappy and dissatisfied with the political ideology of the Indian National Congress. He decided to carve out a separate path for the achievement of *Swaraj* for India. The great hindrance was, of course, the repressive policy of the British Raj which made Bose lodged in jail. Even after his release, which was made conditional, he was not to move out of his home and would not meet anybody. A few dozens of CID personnel were posted round about his home at Elgin Road, Calcutta. Day by day, his anxiety increased and he wished to leave the country so that he could have a broader base for his

political scheme in a foreign land. In this regard, he sought the secret support from the *Kirti Kisan Party* and several other devoted patriots like Comrade Ram Kishan and Achar Singh Cheema.

On 16-17 January 1941, Subhas Bose slipped out of his Elgin Road home in disguise and with an assumed name of Maulvi Ziauddin he reached Delhi in the evening of 18 January 1941 and boarded the Frontier Mail for Peshawar. At Peshawar, he was pursued by the CID but they could not spot out Bose. He moved from place to place in disguise and had to face unbearable problems before he could cross the Afghan border and entered Kabul. Thereafter he was in touch with German leaders and other European leaders in order to seek their support for the cause of *Swaraj*.

Ultimately, Subhas Bose landed in Japan where he was welcomed by the local Government as well as by Rash Behari Bose. The Prime Minister, Hikedji Tojo welcomed him and promised him support in his mission. The main plan was to organise and mobilise the Indian National Army which could generate the true spirit of *Swaraj* and ultimately win complete independence. In the course of his broadcast he said :

“Our countrymen and our sisters and brothers at home have been doing their best in the circumstances in which they are placed. But the enemy is ruthless and desperate and he is armed to the teeth. Against such a brutal foe, no amount of civil disobedience or of sabotage or revolutionary terrorism can be of any avail.... The enemy has already drawn the sword. He must therefore be fought with the sword. But it is not possible for our countrymen at home to organise an armed revolution and to fight the British army of occupation with modern arms. This is a task which must therefore devolve on Indians living abroad and particularly on Indians living in East Asia.... The hour has struck. And every patriotic Indian must advance towards the field of battle. Only when the blood of freedom loving Indians begin to flow will India attain her freedom.”

On 5 July 1943 which he called “the proudest day of his life”, Netaji reviewed as its Supreme Commander, the forces of Azad Hind Fauj drawn up in battle formation on the spacious grounds facing the Town Hall in Singapore. Addressing his army, he said :

“...With the force of arms and at the cost of your blood you will have to win liberty. Then, when India is free, you will have to organise a permanent army of free India whose task it will be to preserve our liberty for all time. We must build up our national defence on such unshakable foundations that never again in our

history shall we lose our freedom....”

“My soldiers! Let your battle-cry be — ‘TO DELHI ! TO DELHI !’ How many of us will survive this war of freedom I do not know. But I do know this that we shall ultimately win and our task will not end until our surviving heroes hold the victory parade on another grave-yard of the British Empire — the *Lal Quila* or Red Fortress of ancient Delhi.”

During the three months that followed, Netaji laboured ceaselessly and toured extensively to arouse the Indian community scattered all over East Asia to a new sense of national identity and patriotism and set up a disciplined organisation with its headquarters in Singapore to take charge of the movement. On 21 October 1943, he proclaimed the Provisional Government of *Azad Hind* at a historic assembly in Singapore. The Provisional Government was recognised by nine states including the then three world powers — Japan, Germany and Italy.

On 22 October 1943, Netaji formally inaugurated the Rani of Jhansi Regiment of the *Azad Hind Fauj*. This fighting unit of India’s women warriors was a concrete expression of Netaji’s belief in the equality of men and women and his determination to give women equal and full opportunities in every department of life and human endeavour.

The INA crossed the Arakan front on 4 February 1944 and reached the soil of India on 18 March 1944 crossing the Burma border. The liberation forces were unfortunately halted within three miles of Imphal and as they lacked air cover, they were unable to go further into the Assamese territory. The British forces, under Lord Mountbatten, reinforced by air, were able successfully to stop their march. Due to torrential rains in Burma, at that time, the INA supply lines were submerged. Netaji ordered the retreat of forces.

In 1945, Germany surrendered to the Allied Forces and signed the armistice. This however, did not deter Japan from continuing with the war because the Japanese decided to fight on. Netaji, after the retreat had many rounds of discussions with his colleagues. At about this time, the news came through in June, 1945 that the British Viceroy of India, Lord Wavell, was trying to convince Mahatma Gandhi and the other Congress leaders that they should cooperate with British in carrying on the war, in return for the inclusion of more Indians in the Viceroy’s Executive Council. On hearing about the offer, Netaji flew from Bangkok to Singapore and spoke on the radio and asked the Congress leaders not to accept the offer made by the Viceroy. He argued that the British offer was meant to divert the attention of the world from the Indian problem and make it

merely a domestic issue of the British Empire. He also said that the conservative Government, behind making such an offer nurtured only a hope to win the next general elections in Britain. On the other hand he believed that by refusing such an offer, the Congress would stand a better chance of getting a more liberal offer, when the British Labour Party would come into power after the elections. He also pointed out that if the Congress continued the struggle, it would improve India's position with the international community and he, therefore, appealed again to them not to accept the British offer until the elections were held in Britain. His appeal had effect and the Congress finally rejected the offer made by Lord Wavell. But, in the meantime, the United States had dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Japan had surrendered in turn on 11 August. Soon after came the declaration of war on Japan by the Soviet Union. The INA had no other alternative but to stop its activities because it could not fight any more under the circumstances created by the Japanese surrender.

His Death

After the suspension of INA activities, Subhas Chandra Bose went back to Singapore and issued instructions to the civilians and army wings of the Government as to what they should do. The Cabinet Ministers agreed to leave Singapore and move further east. In the meantime, the surrender of Japan was officially announced on 15 August and on 17 August 1945 Netaji took a plane from Saigon. Five days later, on 22 August Tokyo Radio announced that Subhas Chandra Bose had died in an air crash in Formosa on 18 August 1945 on his way to Japan.

When some members of the Legislative Assembly questioned the authenticity of announcement by the Tokyo Radio and asked the Government on 12 February 1946 to confirm the news, the following reply was given in the Legislative Assembly on behalf of the Government:

“Government have taken steps to verify the reports of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's death by reference to Admiral Mountbatten's and General McArthur's Headquarters. The information received from the Japanese Government and their agencies through these channels is that the aircraft in which Mr. Bose was travelling to Japan crashed during the take off at Taihoku Airfield on August 18th, 1945 and that he succumbed to injuries sustained during the crash.”

In a message to the book containing collection of excerpts from

Netaji's writings brought out by the AICC, Smt. Indira Gandhi had observed :

"Netaji Subhas Bose is a hero of our freedom movement. His courage and restless energy made him one of the front-rank leaders of young India. His dramatic escape during the war years and the exploits of the Azad Hind Fauj under his leadership are an undying legend. The words "Jai Hind", which we have adopted as our national rallying call, is a constant reminder of how much we owe to Netaji."

In his Foreword to the same volume, President Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma wrote :

"Netaji represented the dedicated restless youth of India. He dedicated his life to the cause of India's freedom. His restlessness and dynamism led him to a path different from the path of Mahatma Gandhi. However, there can be no doubt that the formation and exploits of Azad Hind Fauj brought the goal of independence nearer. He infused his men with a spirit of unity and they rose above all religious, caste or provincial barriers and shed together their blood for the common cause of India's freedom."

Netaji indeed was very right when he himself said :

"In this mortal world everything will perish but the ideas, ideals and dreams do not."



Maj.-Gen. Shah Nawaz Khan



Col. G.S. Dhillon



Col. P.K. Sahgal

PART II

**Anthem of the
Provisional Government of Netaji
The Pillar of Pledge
The Marching Song of INA**

Anthem of the Provisional Government of Netaji

*Subh chain ki barkha barse Bharat bhag hai jaga,
Punjab Sindh Gujrat Maratha Dravid Utkal Banga
Chanchal Sagar Bindh Himala neela Jamna Ganga,*

*Tere nit gun gae,
Tujhse jeewan pae,
Sab tan pae asha;*

*Suraj ban kar jag par chamke Bharat nam Subhaga,
Jai-ya ho, Jai-ya ho, Jai-ya ho,
Jai-ya Jai-ya Jai-ya Jai-ya ho!*

*Sab ke dil men prit basae teri mithi bani,
Har sube ke rahne wale har mazhab ke prani,*

*Sab bhed-o-farak mita ke,
Sab god me teri ake,
Goonthen prem ki mala;*

*Suraj ban kar jag par chamke Bharat nam Subhaga,
Jai-ya ho, Jai-ya ho, Jai-ya ho,
Jai-ya Jai-ya Jai-ya Jai-ya ho !*

*Subah savere pankh pakheru tere hi gun gaen,
Bas bhari bharpoor hawaen jeewan men rut laen,*

*Sab mil kar Hind Pukare,
Jai Azad Hind ke nare,
Piara desh hamara,*

*Suraj ban kar jag par chamke Bharat nam Subhaga,
Jai-ya ho, Jai-ya ho, Jai-ya ho,
Jai-ya Jai-ya Jai-ya Jai-ya ho !
Bharat nam Subhaga !*

The Pillar of Pledge

“JAI HIND” is our National Salutation, as Indian meets Indian;

The TRICOLOUR with the Charkha is our National Flag;

Tagore’s song JAYA-HO has become our National Anthem;

The TIGER, with its association with Tipu Sultan assumes
the position of our Emblem;

“CHALO DELHI” is our War Cry, and “INQUILAB ZINDABAD”
and “AZAD HIND ZINDABAD” are our slogans;

“VISWAS — EKTA — BALIDAN”
Faith — Unity — Sacrifice — is our Motto.

Arzi Hakumate-e-Azad Hind
(Provisional Government of Free India)

The Marching Song of the I.N.A.

*Kadam kadam badhaye ja,
Khushi ka git gaye ja;
Yeh zindagi hai kom ki,
Tu kom pai lutaye ja !
Tu Sher-e-Hind age badh,
Marne se fir bhi tu na dar;
Joshe watan badhaye ja !
Teri himmat badhti rahe,
Khuda teri sunta rahe;
Jo samne tere chade,
To khak men milaye ja !
Chalo Dilli pukarke,
Komi nishan sambhul ke
Lal Kile gadhke
Lahraye ja, lahraye ja !*

PART III

Extracts from Select Articles

Netaji's Unique Achievement*

Mahatma Gandhi

The greatest lesson that we can draw from Netaji's life is the way in which he infused the spirit of unity amongst his men so that they could rise above all religious and provincial barriers and shed together their blood for the common cause. His unique achievement would surely immortalise him in the pages of history. Every one 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. The question of religious and provincial or any such difference had never cropped in their minds at all.

Netaji was a man of great parts and abilities. Vastly erudite and intelligent, he passed the I.C.S. examination, but he did not join that service. On his return to India he came under the influence of Deshbandhu Das and became the Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation. Later he became President of the Congress for two terms but most notable of his achievements were his activities outside India when he escaped from the country and wandering through Kabul, Italy, Germany and other countries, ultimately reached Japan. Whatever outsiders might think I would vouch that there was no one in India today who would think that his escape was an act of crime. As Tulsidas has said that no wrong attaches to the really mighty, so no blame could be ascribed to Netaji's name for his escape. When he first raised his army, he did not think of its insignificant number. He thought that whatever might be the number they must endure their best to free India.

The greatest and the lasting act of Netaji was that he abolished all distinctions of caste and class. He was not a mere Bengali. He never thought himself to be a Caste Hindu. He was Indian first and last. What more, he fired all under him with the same zeal so that they forgot in his presence all distinctions and acted as one man.

*From the personal collections of Prof. Samar Guha, Ex-M.P.

Netaji*

Maj. Gen. Shah Nawaz Khan

It is indeed a very difficult task, nay almost an impossible one for a humble person like myself to attempt to depict a true picture of Netaji who would certainly go down in history as one of the greatest men, India has ever produced.

I have been asked by several friends to give a true picture of Netaji as I saw him. The attempt I am making would probably be unworthy of the glory of my great leader. Nevertheless, I would request my readers to forgive me for this failing, for Netaji was such a great man and I a humble soldier. How then can I describe him adequately?

I must frankly confess that from the moment I came into personal contact with him he exercised a strange influence over me. Even now, I do not know in what proportion the man, the soldier and the statesman in him were blended. At home the man in him seemed to dominate, at the front and in the midst of his troops, the soldier in him shone in splendid glory, and in the councils and conferences and at his desk as Head of the State of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, his brilliant statesmanship made a profound impression on one and all of us.

As I have described elsewhere I was one of those officers who were brought up in military atmosphere and of loyalty to the British Crown. Ever since the start of the first I.N.A., I had been fighting against it, as I felt all along that the Japanese were exploiting us and at heart I was an admirer of the British people. Therefore, when Netaji arrived I watched him very keenly. What impressed me most about him was his absolute devotion to his country and to secure the independence of India, he was prepared to make any sacrifice. He held the independence of his mother country above everything else in the world.

*From the personal collections of Prof. Samar Guha, Ex-M.P.

It is essential to know a man in order to understand his work and I have known Netaji for the entire period he was in East Asia. I was with him in Singapore; then I moved with him to Burma, where we stayed together for nearly a year and a half. It is beyond my power and ability to describe one who was so unique in his qualities. All his qualities are abundantly clear from the respect he received from Indians in East Asia. His was a personality which captivated every one who met him, even foreigners. It was he and he alone who welded all Indians in East Asia into one unit, and it was he who created a feeling of friendship and harmony among the nations of the East and his people. He was greatly loved and esteemed not as a sacred deity but as a man, as a hero, as a friend and as a comrade. What was the secret of this abounding love and profound respect which the masses had for him? Why was he acclaimed as the undisputed leader of Indians in East Asia? It was because he was a man of courage, character and generous impulses.

As a man he was a good friend and kind companion. He was the leader of Indians in East Asia and yet he was unassuming. He lived a very austere life; he worked very hard and shared with his comrades their sufferings. He took great care that everyone of his comrades were cared for. He went into the details of every matter big or small and took pleasure in helping the needy. He despised pomp and grandeur.

At first we were sceptical about Netaji's relations with the Japanese. We had seen how they had behaved with the people of Malaya and Burma and quite frankly we did not trust them. They also behaved in an unbecoming and rather a treacherous manner with Gen. Mohan Singh. We were anxious to see how they would behave towards Netaji and how he would react to their behaviour. Very soon we found out that Netaji was not the person who would ever bow down before any one or sell the honour of his country for any price.

His frankness was another quality which won the hearts of his officers and men alike. One day, some officers asked Netaji to explain to us exactly where we stood with the Japanese. He told us that as far as the Japanese were concerned, they realised that as long as the British held India and could use it as a base of supply and operation against the Japanese, the Japanese Empire could never be safe; and that, in their own interests the Japanese must drive the British out of India, otherwise they themselves would be driven out of East Asia. He said that the Japanese, by assisting us were doing no favour to Indians. We were helping them as much as they were helping us. We had a common aim inasmuch as we both were interested in driving the British out of India, the Japanese for their own safety and we for the independence of our motherland. He said that quite frankly he did not trust the British nor did he trust the

Japanese. He went on to say that where it was the question of the independence of ones' country one could trust no one and as long as we were weak we would always be exploited. Netaji said that the surest guarantee against being betrayed by the Japanese was to build up our own strength. He said that we should ask for no safeguards from the Japanese, our surest safeguard must be our own strength and if on going into India, we found that the Japanese wished to replace the British, we should turn round and fight them too. At several lectures, at mass meetings Netaji repeated this. He warned his soldiers that any one who joined the I.N.A. should come prepared, first to fight the British, and then, if necessary to fight the Japanese too. Although we had a common strategy with the Japanese Army, we had our own independent sectors of the front, where the I.N.A. sectors operated entirely by themselves. There was no Japanese central direction within the I.N.A. Some critics of the I.N.A. used to say over the All India Radio that since it was working in co-operation with the Japanese it was a "puppet" force. Netaji's reply to this was that the British and French Armies were fighting under exactly the same conditions in France under the command of Gen. Eisenhower. If the British could accept the strategy dictated, by the Americans, then how could they criticise the I.N.A.?

Netaji was absolutely selfless and he never appeared to have any personal ambitions. This was very well demonstrated at a Conference of the Greater East Asia Nations. When Premier Gen. Tojo said in a speech that Netaji would be all in all in Free India. Netaji stood up and told Gen. Tojo that he had no right to make such a statement because it was entirely up to the people of India to decide who would be who in India.

He told him that he was only a humble servant of India and it was the people who really deserved to be all in all in India, were Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

For him there were no religious or provincial differences. He refused to recognise these. He looked at everyone — Hindu, Muslim and Sikh — without distinction and his spirit animated his men. In the I.N.A. there was no "communal" feeling of any sort in spite of the fact that every man had full liberty to practise his religion in any way he liked. He made his soldiers realize that they were the sons of the same motherland and, as such there could be no differences between them. We were all completely united and it was realized by us that the communal differences in our country were the creation of an alien power. The success of this can be gauged from the fact that the most ardent supporters and admirers of Netaji were to be found among Muslims. Netaji respected every man for what he was worth and not for his religion or the province he came from.

It is amazing to see that when Netaji selected one officer from Germany to accompany him during his most hazardous journey to Tokyo by submarine, it was Abid Hussain, a Muslim, that his choice fell upon.

Again, when his troops were sent to the fighting line both the Divisional Commanders were Muslims — Major Gen. M.Z. Kiani and myself. When he went on his last trip to Tokyo by plane in August, 1945, it was Col. Habibur Rehman that he selected to accompany him. This feeling was not confined only to the members of the army. Among the civilians, some of the greatest supporters of Netaji were also Muslims. It was one Mr. Habib, a wealthy merchant of Rangoon, who gave all his property amounting to nearly one crore of rupees for one garland belonging to Netaji. It is on account of these facts that we of the *Azad Hind Fauj* refuse to believe that it is not possible for all Indians to unite and live together like brothers and sisters and work for creation of a great, free and united India.

He made us realize that we were an army of the starving millions fighting for a very sacred cause. It was this elevation in the character of his soldiers that enabled them to face hardships and fight against almost impossible odds.

He had no private life as such. He used to work from the early hours of the morning till about 2 a.m. daily. At home, he was a most charming personality and a perfect host. He would invite officers to come and play badminton with him. Then he would take some of them to his room, give them his own clothes if they did not have a change and very often he would hold soap or towel for an officer who was having a wash.

To all the Rani of Jhansi Girls, he was like a father and was always concerned about their welfare and honour. On one occasion one young lady of the Rani of Jhansi on hearing that her husband had been killed fighting on the front, took poison. Luckily it was discovered in time and she was saved. Netaji detailed two elderly ladies to always accompany her everywhere she went. He too used to send for her and talk to her for hours consoling her like a father.

Netaji dearly loved his soldiers and was always most concerned about their welfare. He used to go and inspect their kitchens and used to have frequent meals with them. He had issued strict orders that the food cooked for him should be exactly the same as was given to his soldiers. He was always a frequent visitor to hospitals where he used to send special sweets prepared for them in his own house.

All these qualities and the refusal to bow before the Japanese wishes, his sincerity and devotion to his country, his selflessness and his love of his soldiers greatly endeared him to his followers and every one of them felt that Netaji was his personal friend and leader for whom it was a privilege to lay down his life.

Every day he used to listen eagerly to the news from India; and when he knew of the terrible famine in Bengal which was taking a heavy toll of valuable human lives, Netaji was greatly perturbed. He was always thinking how he could come to the aid of his starving countrymen, especially the people of Bengal for whom his heart bled. Eventually, he made arrangements for purchasing 100,000 tons of rice from the Siamese and Burmese Governments. He then made an offer of sending this rice to Calcutta under his own arrangement and asked the British to give a guarantee for the safe return of boats and ships bringing rice to India. As he had expected, the British did not reply to this offer. Netaji repeated this offer several times but the British who were not interested in the millions that were starving gave no reply.

On another occasion the Japanese Chief of the Gen. Staff came to Netaji and revealed his plan of bombing Calcutta and wanted to know Netaji's opinion on it. Netaji replied that as far as he was concerned he would never like to see his beautiful city with ugly scars of bombing. "Encouragement and hope is what I wish to give to my people and not devastation and sufferings." He advised the Japanese to withhold the bombing of Calcutta. "After Imphal is captured, we will send over Calcutta large formations of Bombers, which will drop not bombs but thousands of Tri-colours to the people of Bengal." "That" Netaji continued, "would destroy the British Imperialism more effectively than bombs."

Netaji was an astute student of International politics. He always played a right card at the right moment, and thus scored over his opponents. Sometimes we were stunned by his masterly discourse on the International situation. In most cases his analysis of the situation turned out just as he had predicted it to us. He was not only the leader of Indians in East Asia but he was acclaimed as the Leader of all people in East Asia. His was the most impressive personality during the Greater East Asia Conference and he was requested by the Japanese Government to speak to the Japanese people at Habiya Park in Tokyo. It was a real honour, an honour which very few foreigners were accorded, especially at the time when the Japanese were at the height of success and glory. I was told by a few high-ranking Japanese officers that Netaji was a master mind. He was far more experienced than any other statesman in East Asia. I accompanied him to several meetings and parties and one could

easily judge his towering personality and vast experience among the other statesmen.

Indian politics was at his finger-tips. He knew men and the Indian leaders and thus he could visualize with ease, the means and ends of all matters which took shape in this country. It was a difficult problem to co-operate with the Japanese militarists and especially at the time when everything was moving in their favour but Netaji handled everything too well and so diplomatically that there was never a time when any serious breach occurred, although the lower ranking Indian Officers and Japanese were always at loggerheads. As a matter of fact, our boat of State was almost always in rough water, but its smooth sailing and success was mainly due to its skipper Netaji. I tried to study him and his methods and found him extraordinarily shrewd. Japanese militarists wanted to help us but at the same time they wanted to influence our actions which were resented all along. After the arrival of Netaji however, the position changed and thereafter the Japanese militarists were influenced by Netaji to such an extent that no new move was made without consulting him and without his advice. The sudden change in the Japanese policy of domination in China to the policy of friendship was entirely due to his influence. Some of the Burmese, Chinese and Japanese statesmen used to approach him for advice on matters of international politics. He was the champion of all dependent people in East Asia. Greatness is inborn. It is seldom created, and thus, to utilise the inborn qualities to achieve more purpose he must nourish many other auxiliary and supplementary qualities to fit in with the course adopted. Netaji went through the whole course of greatness without any difficulty. He advised all the leaders in the Far East and could explain with ease the mischievous propaganda of the British in those days.

Netaji's most extraordinary move was the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. It was a master move in the game of international politics. The original Indian Independence League could not freely declare war on their enemies and could not co-operate on equal terms with the League of East Asiatic Nations. It was Netaji who foresaw the necessity of equality and thus he declared the inauguration of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. The officers and workers remained the same but this switch-over carried us overnight to the status of a free state and since then the Provisional Government of Azad Hind was recognized by nine Sovereign states as an equal partner in the comity of those nations. We were a refugee Government but our privileges and status was no less than that of any of the Sovereign states there.

At one time the Japanese suggested to Netaji that since the Japanese Army was senior army, when I.N.A. and Japanese officers of equal rank meet Indian Officers should salute first. Netaji was furious at this. He said that would mean that the I.N.A. had accepted an inferior status, which he was not prepared to do. He said they both should salute at the same time. This was accepted by Japanese.

In addition to this the I.N.A. was the only army in East Asia which was not under the Military law of the Japanese. Several times the Japanese approached Netaji and told him that the I.N.A. should also be subject to the Japanese Military Law. Netaji refused staunchly. He told them that the I.N.A. was an independent army. This matter had ultimately to go to Tokyo, where Netaji had his way. Whenever the occasion arose Netaji made it absolutely clear that he would fight only for the independence of India and would never allow itself to be exploited by the Japanese. There were two occasions when the Japanese approached the I.N.A. to fight for them, once in August, 1944, against the Siamese in the area of Chimping where a small Japanese force was besieged by the Thais (Siamese), and a second time against the Burmese army in March, 1945, after the Burmese National Army had rebelled against the Japanese. On both these occasions, with the approval of Netaji, the I.N.A. refused to take any action against them.

To keep our end, Netaji never asked for any facility from Japan which could be provided by the Indians in the Far East. Netaji was approached on this point but he refused to accept any assistance other than the supply of war material. He told the Indian people that he did not want to approach any one as long as they could help themselves. It was for this sincerity that the Indian people showered everything upon him — man-power, money and material wherever he went. Several Indians in the East had brought into practice the slogan of total mobilization. It is seldom, if ever, that people sacrifice their all for the cause of which the end is uncertain but Indians of all castes and creed threw in their lot with Netaji and were ready to give whatever was asked from them.

Netaji by organizing Indian Independence League all over East Asia was able to instil a spirit of patriotism in the heart of every Indian, rich and poor alike, and from whom voluntary contributions flowed in freely. As I have mentioned already a large number of Indians among whom were included members of almost every community, gave their all to the *Azad Hind Fauj* and became 'Fakirs' for the sake of their country. Whole families joined the I.N.A., father the I.N.A. Fauj, mother Rani of Jhansi Regiment and little children Balsena. *Karo sab nichawar, Bano sab Fakir* was the slogan that Netaji gave them and men like Habib Betai,

Khanna and numerous others willingly gave all their fortunes amounting to several lakhs to the Azad Hind Government and became *fakirs*. A total sum of 20 crores was collected and deposited in the Azad Hind Bank, Rangoon.

Rich and moneyed people were not only ones that contributed. In fact the greater proportion of our funds was donated by comparatively poor people. It was always the poor labourers, Gwalas, and others like them that made the greatest sacrifices.

I should never forget a scene that I witnessed at one of the meetings addressed by Netaji at Singapore.

After Netaji had finished his speech, he made an appeal for funds. Thousands of people came forward to donate. They formed a queue in front of Netaji, each one coming up on his turn, handed over his donation to Netaji and left. Most of the people who formed the queue were donating large amounts. All of a sudden I saw a very poor labourer woman go up to the stage to hand in her donation. She was in tatters and had even no cloth to cover her head. With abated breath all of us watched her. She took out three rupees notes and offered them to Netaji. Netaji hesitated. She said Netaji "Please accept these. This is all I possess." Netaji still hesitated. Then large drop of tears rolled down his cheeks. He extended his hand and accepted the money from her.

After the meeting was over I asked Netaji why he had hesitated to accept the money from that poor woman and why he had cried. Netaji replied "It was a very hard decision for me. When I looked at the condition of that poor woman, I knew that those three rupees were all the wealth that she possessed and if I took it she would probably suffer terribly but on the other hand when I thought of her sentiment, her desire to give her all for Indian freedom, I felt that if I refused she would feel hurt and probably think that I accepted only large sums from the rich. In the end in order not to hurt her feelings I accepted the money and to me those three rupees have greater value than lakhs contributed by a rich man out of their million."

He was absolutely fearless and did not seem to care for his life or comfort. He seemed to lead a charmed life for I have personally seen him miss death by inches several times and it is on account of that belief that I can never believe that Netaji is dead "Netaji Zindabad."

The Indian National Army*

Col. P. K. Sahgal

At the very outset of my address, I would like to offer a word of apology to my comrades of the Indian National Army who served with the Indian League in Europe.

There were a body of well trained and well equipped, dedicated men, who in many ways were a source of inspiration to their brethren in the Far East and whose exploits have found a well deserved place in the annals of Indian struggle for freedom. In my address today, I have omitted to deal with the development and achievements of the Indian National Army in Europe, not because I am not aware of their significance but because unfortunately I lack personal knowledge of the many details of their organisation and actions in which they took part.

It is true that I could have gathered this information from various books and other sources but to me, service with the I.N.A. has been a very personal affair. Emotionally involved as I am in all that pertains to the I.N.A., I feel that I could not possibly have done justice to the achievements of my comrades in Europe, had I chosen to deal with them on the basis of second-hand knowledge acquired from other people's writings.

I, therefore, do hope that my friends will forgive me for this omission and appreciate the reasons which prompted me to do so.

I propose to divide the history of the establishment and development of the I.N.A. in the Far East into four phases.

The *first phase* represents the period when a band of Indian patriots under the leadership of Shri Rash Behari Bose followed in the wake of

* Netaji's Oration delivered at Netaji Bhawan, Calcutta, on 23 January 1966, *The Oracle*, Vol. XV, No. 1, January 1993, Netaji Research Bureau Publication, Calcutta.

the advancing Japanese Imperial Forces and organised the Indian civilians and Indian soldiers in the liberated areas to help in their struggle for Indian Independence.

The *second phase* commences on the 16 February 1942 when Col. Hunt, on behalf of the British High Command in Singapore handed over the Indian prisoners of war to Maj. Fujiwara of the Japanese Army who, in turn, handed them over to Capt. Mohan Singh.

The *third phase* follows the dissolution orders issued by Capt. Mohan Singh in anticipation of his arrest and in the *fourth and final phase* the Indian National Army became an independent army under the control of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

Shri Rash Behari Bose, one of the oldest Indian revolutionaries escaped from India after dropping a bomb on Lord Hardinge in 1911. After facing many vicissitudes and turns of fortune, he finally found refuge with sympathetic friends in Japan. Shri Rash Behari Bose's own sincerity and devotion to the cause of Indian freedom soon brought him many ardent admirers both among the Indians living in the Far East and the Japanese.

By the time the Far Eastern war started on the 8 December 1941, Shri Rash Behari Bose occupied a unique position of influence both among the politicians and the members of the Japanese Government.

Indian revolutionaries and freedom fighters who had been able to escape the wrath of their British rulers from time to time and who had found refuge in various countries all over East Asia looked upon him as their natural leader.

At the commencement of the war, Shri Rash Behari Bose obtained a guarantee from the Japanese Imperial General Staff that the Indians living in the areas being liberated by the Japanese Armed Forces would not be treated as enemy nationals nor would their property be treated as enemy property. Further, an assurance was given to him that the Indians would be free to organise themselves to fight against the British for their freedom and in this they would receive every encouragement from the Japanese Government.

In view of these assurances, Shri Rash Behari Bose arranged to send bands of his trusted lieutenants to all parts of the East Asia in the wake of the advancing Japanese Army. On arrival in the liberated areas they contacted old revolutionary Indian leaders and organised branches of the Indian Independence League.

Coming from Thailand into Malaya, they first came into contact with soldiers of the British Indian Army who on being cut off from their own forces, surrendered to the Japanese Army. One of the first officers to be contacted was Capt. Mohan Singh of the 14th Punjab Regiment.

Capt. Mohan Singh, after very critical discussions with Shri Rash Behari Bose's lieutenants came to the conclusion that his duty demanded that he should take up the burden of organizing the captured Indian soldiers into a national army to wage armed struggle against the British.

As the Japanese Army advanced down the Malaya Peninsula, many thousands of Indian soldiers who were either cut off or were captured became Capt. Mohan Singh's followers. Some of these officers and soldiers also contacted the officers and men of the British Indian Army who were continuing their fight against the Japanese and in some cases succeeded in persuading them to desert the British and go over to Capt. Mohan Singh's forces.

Similar events took place in Hongkong where there were some units of the British Indian Army as part of the garrison of the fortress.

This state of affairs continued till the 15 February 1942 when the fortress of Singapore finally surrendered to the Japanese and all the British, Australian and Indian forces therein became prisoners of war.

On the 16 February 1942 all the Indian prisoners of war were assembled in Farrer Park in the centre of the city of Singapore and at a formal ceremony Col. Hunt on behalf of the British Government handed them over to Major Fujiwara who accepted them on behalf of the Japanese Government.

Major Fujiwara in his turn and on behalf of the Japanese Government handed over all the prisoners of war to Capt. Mohan Singh.

Thus commenced the second phase of the development of the Indian National Army in the Far East.

Now for the first time, those Indian soldiers who had either been captured or had gone over to Capt. Mohan Singh in the heat of the battle joined thousands of others who, unaware of these developments, had fought faithfully and gallantly for their British masters.

In the lull that followed the termination of hostilities in Malaya officers and men began to ponder over the happenings of the previous weeks and worry as to where their duty lay.

Few of them knew of Shri Rash Behari Bose or his background. Still fewer knew Capt. Mohan Singh and many of them came from families with long tradition of loyal service to the British; therefore, it was not easy for them to make a break with the past. Others who were more politically conscious had grave doubts about the sincerity of the Japanese. To them the Japanese activities in China appeared to be very discouraging.

Capt. Mohan Singh very wisely decided not to force the issue of the formation of the Indian National Army, but set up a headquarter for the administration of the Indian prisoners of war.

From 16 February till the end of May 1942, a certain amount of propaganda was carried out by Capt. Mohan Singh's lieutenants in the prisoners of war camps and a number of meetings of officers and men were held to discuss 'pros and cons' of forming an Indian National Army. These discussions finally led to the setting up of a delegation which proceeded to Bangkok to attend a mammoth conference of delegates of Indians from all over East Asia convened to decide in detail the line of action that they should follow while organising themselves. Bangkok was chosen as the venue of the conference, because it was felt that Thailand not being directly under the control of the Japanese, it would be possible for the delegates to deliberate there freely. The choice was a correct one as was confirmed by the fact that the various speeches made during the conference and the resolutions passed at the conference were of an independent nature.

The resolutions dealing with the formation of the I.N.A. were as follows :

1. An army to be called the Indian National Army would be raised from among the volunteers from Indian prisoners of war and Indian civilians.
2. Capt. Mohan Singh was appointed as General Officer Commanding of the newly created army.
3. The Japanese Government was requested to approach the German Government to enable Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose to come to East Asia to take charge of the Indian Independence Movement.
4. The Indian National Army should be recognised by all the axis powers as a free and allied army.
5. The Imperial Nippon Government should ratify these resolutions.

When the delegates of the Indian prisoners of war returned from the Bangkok Conference, further discussions regarding the formation of the I.N.A. were held.

The contents of the resolutions passed at the Bangkok Conference were reassuring and confident that the I.N.A. would be an independent army which would receive full recognition from Japan and her allies and a large number of officers and men decided to volunteer their services. On the 15 July 1942 the Indian National Army was formed as an organised body of troops. Capt. Mohan Singh who had assumed the rank of General, took over its command.

This army consisted of the headquarters of the I.N.A., three Guerilla Regiments, one Hindustan Field Force Group, one Special Services Group and one Reinforcement Group, one Engineering Company, one Mechanical Transport Company, and one Base Hospital. The Field Force Group in its turn consisted of three Infantry battalions, one Artillery battalion, one Armoured Fighting Vehicles battalion, one Signal Company, one Medical Aid Party and one Company of Anti-tank guns. The approximate strength of these I.N.A. units amounted to 15,000 although the number of volunteers available to join the Army was much larger. This fact naturally caused a great deal of discontent among those volunteers who for no fault of their own could not be absorbed into the I.N.A. This also led to the first difference of opinion between the Japanese Liaison Office and I.N.A. Headquarters because the I.N.A. Headquarters were naturally keen that every volunteer should be absorbed in the I.N.A. but the Japanese showed their inability to accept their request.

The Indian National Army was equipped mainly with captured British weapons because it was felt that once it went into battle its expansion and armament must depend entirely on the supplies that they could wrest from the enemy. This was a sound principle.

Although most of the equipment of the I.N.A. was out of date and inadequate, yet young officers of this army threw themselves wholeheartedly into training their men for their forthcoming battles. By the beginning of October 1942 the units of the Indian National Army had achieved a high degree of training and preparedness and when on the occasion of Mahatma Gandhi's birthday on the 2 October 1942, the units of the I.N.A. under their own commanders paraded through the main streets of Singapore, they left a lasting and indelible impression on Indians and others living in Singapore.

It had been generally expected that on the occasion of this historic parade, the Japanese would announce their open recognition of the I.N.A.

as an allied army enjoying equal rights and equal status. This was necessary because some units of the Indian National Army had already proceeded to Burma to join the line of battle and others were getting ready for the move.

When no such announcement was made by the Japanese the dormant suspicions and doubts in the minds of officers and men of the I.N.A. against the Japanese began to come alive again.

The Japanese sincerity was openly doubted and it was felt that no faith could be placed in their pledges. General Mohan Singh was more disappointed than others and very courageously expressed his frank opinion to the Japanese Liaison Officers.

The Japanese officers tried flattery and threat of the use of force alternately but without bending Gen. Mohan Singh's will. By the beginning of December the situation became more critical and Gen. Mohan Singh, realising that his arrest was imminent, issued an order that immediately on his arrest the Indian National Army would stand dissolved and its members would revert to their original position as prisoners of war.

Some of us doubted the wisdom of this decision and openly protested against it. Our view was that the Indian National Army was not the property of an individual but it belonged to the Indian Nation and those who had once voluntarily joined it could not at the command of one individual revert to their previous status as prisoners of war.

General Mohan Singh was arrested on the 20 December 1942 and orders dissolving the I.N.A. were sought to be enforced. All of us who were opposed to the dissolution of the army argued that the strongest argument that the Indians had in their hands for winning their points from Japanese was the presence of an organised armed body and its dissolution would mean the destruction of the very strength on which the Indians could depend. This point of view soon gained ground and a large body of officers and men while sticking to their original demands from the Japanese refused to disband as an army. The Japanese too soon realised that they were not dealing with a group of puppets and that if they really wanted the I.N.A. to fight side by side with them, they would have to treat this army as an honourable allied army enjoying equal status. They also realised that the original demand voiced at the Bangkok Conference that Shri Subhas Chandra Bose should be requested to come to East Asia to lead the Indian Independence Movement was a very wise one. Therefore, they requested Shri Rash Behari Bose to start negotiations with the officers and men of the Indian National Army and at the same time announced that Shri Subhas Chandra Bose would be soon amongst us.

Thus commenced the third phase of the development of the Indian National Army. Shri Rash Behari Bose had a number of meetings with the leaders of the Indian National Army and realising that soon Shri Subhas Chandra Bose would be there to guide them, the officers and men of the Indian National Army decided to re-organise their forces.

The administration of the I.N.A. was placed in the hands of a Directorate of Military Bureau under Maj. Gen. J.K. Bhonsle and the Guerilla regiments and the Hindustan Field Force Group were grouped into a Division under General M.Z. Kiani.

Those who did not wish to join the re-organised I.N.A. were reverted to the position of prisoners of war and sent to different camps. Every volunteer was assured a place in the Indian National Army because the new organisation provided for formation of new divisions, enlistment of civilians and establishment of an Officers' Training School. All this was in preparation of what was to be done when Subhas Chandra Bose came.

Shri Subhas Chandra Bose arrived in Singapore on 2 July 1943 and on the 4 July 1943 at a great conference of Indian delegates from all over East Asia, Shri Rash Behari Bose handed over the direction of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia to him.

On the 25 August, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose assumed Supreme Command of the I.N.A. and the Directorate of Military Bureau became his Headquarters of the Supreme Command. Gen. J.K. Bhonsle became his Chief of Staff and Gen. Kiani continued to command No. 1 Division of the Indian National Army. Planning for future rapid expansion of the Indian National Army was started immediately. Conscious of the fact that throughout the history of India, women had played a valiant role in the defence of freedom and liberty, he formed a women's regiment called The Rani of Jhansi Regiment and when he formed the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, he gave its commander a seat in his Cabinet.

On the 21 October 1943, Netaji formed the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. This Provisional Government was recognised by all the axis powers and received greetings from Mr. De Valera of the Republic of Ireland.

Thus in the final phase of its development, the I.N.A. became an organ of a free Government for the fulfilment of its declared policies.

With regard to what these policies of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind were, I can do no better than to quote from the proclamation made by Netaji when this Government was formed :

“It will be the task of the Provisional Government to launch and to conduct the struggle that will bring about the expulsion of the British and her allies from the soil of India. It will then be the task of the Provisional Government to bring about the establishment of a permanent National Government of Azad Hind constituted in accordance with the will of the Indian people and enjoying their confidence. After the British and their allies are overthrown, and until a permanent National Government of Azad Hind is set up on Indian soil, the Provisional Government will administer the affairs of the country in trust for the Indian people.”

“The Provisional Government is entitled to and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Indian. It guarantees religious liberty, as well as equal opportunities to all its citizens. It declares its firm resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally and transcending all the differences cunningly fostered by an Alien Government in the past.”

“In the name of God, in the name of bygone generations who have welded the Indian people into one nation, and in the name of the dead heroes who have bequeathed to us a tradition of heroism and self-sacrifice, we call upon the Indian people to rally round our banner, and to strike for India’s freedom.”

The contents of his proclamation are of great significance. They prove beyond a shadow of doubt that Netaji considered himself only a servant of the Indian people. He and his Provisional Government were pledged to wage an armed struggle against India’s enemies and while the fighting continued and before the Indians could themselves freely elect their Government, they would act in trust for the Indian people. There was no intention to set up the dictatorship of either an individual or a group.

By the time, the Provisional Government of Azad Hind had been formed and the Indian National Army became its organ, most of the officers who had studied the developments of the war objectively knew that in the final analysis an Axis victory was unlikely. This did not however, in any way influence their determination to proceed, according to plan, with the organization, expansion and training of the Indian National Army, because they had implicit faith in the final victory of

their revolutionary army. They knew that their victory could not, and did not depend upon the victory of Japan or the Axis powers. For their freedom they would have to pay with their own blood. Shedding of their blood would inspire the Indian people and the Indian Army to rise in revolt and drive the British out of India. Being a revolutionary army, it was assured of its final victory. It might meet with setbacks; it might even be overwhelmed but the torch of freedom that it had lighted could never be put out. Netaji often said that no revolutionary army could ever be defeated because revolutionary war once begun passed on from Sire to Son.

On one point Netaji was very clear and he often repeated it in his speeches that the price for Indian freedom had to be paid for in Indian blood and no freedom obtained through the efforts of others could ever be lasting.

He was, therefore, very anxious that units of the Indian National Army should move into action against the British forces without any further delay. For this reason, plans were initiated to form a new regiment called No. 1 Guerilla Regiment with units selected from all the other units of the I.N.A. to be put under command of one of its ablest officers, Gen. Shah Nawaz Khan and sent to the front. Soon after its formation was completed Gen. Shah Nawaz Khan put his regiment through intensive training and took it by the overland route to Burma. On arrival in Burma, one battalion under Raturi proceeded to the Kaladan Valley where it gave a magnificent account of itself in the operations. Other two battalions fought originally in Hakka Falam area and then moved to Ukhurul and finally took part in the assault on Kohima.

By the middle of 1943, reliable information had been received to the effect that the British and their Allies were preparing a massive invasion of Burma. For this purpose they had concentrated in various sectors approximately 20 divisions with massive air support. To counter this threat the Japanese could master only 5 divisions.

Serious discussions ensued as to how this threat of invasion was to be met.

During the previous year, one of the Japanese Staff Officers had prepared a plan for the invasion of the Manipur plain. This had however, been shelved owing to lack of resources. Faced with an imminent attack by the Allies, consideration of this plan was revived. During the discussions on this plan, Netaji emphasised forcefully that if the I.N.A. units advanced along with Japanese Army, it would have a tremendous moral effect. It will not only create unrest among the units of the British

Indian Army facing them but would also fan the embers of revolt in the country. In considering this plan the Japanese only had a limited strategic objective of destroying the capacity of the British Forces based in Imphal to launch an attack against their forces in Burma. The Provisional Government of Azad Hind had a much wider strategic objective which was to force the surrender of a large number of British Indian Army officers and men, to incorporate them into the newly raised units of I.N.A. and spearhead a widespread revolutionary movement in the country.

After a great deal of serious deliberations during September 1943, plans for an advance on Manipur front were finally accepted. It was also agreed that No. 1 Division of the I.N.A. will have a vital role to play in this advance.

Japanese 15th Army under the command of Lt. Gen. Mutaguchi was allotted the task for preparing the attack in Manipur. It was also agreed that prior to the 15th Army's advance in the Imphal plain Lt. Gen. Hanayar with his army in Akyab area would carry out a diversionary attack.

Arrangements were immediately taken in hand for the overland movement of No. 1 Division to Burma.

Advance Headquarters of the I.N.A. and the Provisional Government of Azad Hind headed by Netaji also moved to Rangoon.

On arrival in Rangoon, detailed discussions were held with the Japanese High Command regarding the mode in which units of the I.N.A. would be employed and regarding the setting up of a joint consultative machinery between the Japanese High Command and the Indian National Army.

An agreement was also arrived at that all areas from where British troops were driven out would be handed over to the representatives of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind for administration. Gen. Chatterjee was appointed Governor of liberated areas and units of Azad Hind Dal specially formed for carrying out civil administration were mobilised and made ready to move into liberated areas at short notice.

According to the agreements arrived at, small units of the Bahadur Group, previously known as the Special Service Group, the Intelligence Group and the Reinforcement Group were to be attached with all formations of the Japanese Army for collecting information, sabotaging British war effort, contacting units of the British Indian Forces and making

arrangements for the collection and organization of such personnel who joined our side.

Aside from these, one battalion of No. 1 Guerilla Regiment was to take part in the operations in Akyab area.

Early in 1944, the Japanese troops carried out diversionary attacks in the Akyab area. The British Forces were caught napping and the 5th and 7th Divisions were mauled badly. In these operations units of the I.N.A. acquitted themselves with great credit.

Every effort was made to convince the allies that this was the main attack. Both the Japanese Government and the Provisional Government of Azad Hind issued proclamations to the effect that the March on Delhi had begun.

In the spring of 1944, the Japanese 15th Army with No. 1 Division of the I.N.A. launched its attack in the Manipur Sector. These advancing forces met with brilliant success in all the Sectors. The British retreated along the Tamu Imphal and the Tiddim Imphal roads leaving behind their equipment and transport. In the Ukhurul Sector the Japanese and I.N.A. units arrived at the gates of Kohima.

Frightened out of their wits, the British flew in two divisions from Akyab Sector to reinforce their hardpressed divisions in the Manipur area. They also organised large scale air supplies to keep the beleaguered divisions operational. But for his air supply system, there is no doubt that the British forces would have been defeated and the strategic objective of the Japanese and the Provisional Government of Azad Hind realised.

When the units of the I.N.A. first crossed the Indian frontier and planted the tricolour flag on the soil of free India, there was great rejoicing among all the Indians and the morale of the I.N.A. soldiers went sky high.

Netaji visited the front on several occasions and felt proud of the heroism that his soldiers were displaying in the battle field.

During this period, I had the privilege of staying with Netaji in his house in Maymyo. Many a night, when the day's work had been done, I sat with him for hours listening to him, enthralled, talk on such varied subjects, as Ahimsa, Mahatma Gandhi's role in Indian politics, causes of the German defeat in the First World War, mistakes now being made by Germany in Europe, why Mussolini who should have succeeded in making his nation great had failed, inevitability of the partition of India

if the British were not driven out of India before the Allies finally won the war, Jawaharlal Nehru — his greatness and his weakness, birth control and incompatibility in marriage, etc. etc.

I marvelled at his great intellect and the clarity of his vision. What a great pity that he was born in a slave country. Born in a free country, he would have found his rightful place as the greatest teacher of his times.

The measure of his greatness can be judged from the fact that from ordinary mortals of clay he created many thousands of heroes.

No. 1 Division under Gen. Kiani was attached to the Special Task Force formed under the overall command of Major General Yamamoto.

In accordance with these arrangements Gen. Kiani's Headquarters and 2nd and 3rd Guerilla Regiments moved forward and concentrated in front of Imphal on the Tamu-Imphal road.

The No. 1 Division took part in the brilliant operations carried out by the Yamamoto Task Forces together with other Divisions of the Japanese Army. Their most outstanding operation was the attack on the Palel Aerodrome. At the same time, No. 1 Guerilla Regiment less one battalion was operating in Ukhrul area and advanced towards Kohima.

It is not my purpose here today to go into the causes which led to the failure of the invasion plan. All that I can say is that when finally a withdrawal was ordered, the I.N.A. units fell back fighting inch by inch by the side of their Japanese comrades. The heroism that they exhibited during the retreat was no less great than that shown by them while advancing against the enemy.

As a first stage, all the I.N.A. troops in Manipur area were ordered to fall back and concentrate in Mandalay area. Special reception centres and hospitals were set up to receive the wounded and the sick. Enemy action, disease and mud took a heavy toll of the retreating soldiers and many thousands perished en route.

In July 1944, when the troops of the 15th Japanese Army and the 1st Indian National Army Division had been ordered to withdraw from the Manipur plain, it was appreciated that the Allies would now launch offensives on all fronts and that the troops available in Burma were not adequate to hold the country. Therefore, it was decided to prepare a line of defence along the hills separating Burma from Thailand. The Indian National Army was to hold a sector in the Shan Hills and with this in

view, the Provisional Government of Azad Hind proceeded to prepare a base in Taungyi area.

Later on, in anticipation of the arrival of fresh reinforcements, plans were altered and it was decided to give battle on the Irrawady river. The Indian National Army was to concentrate and oppose enemy crossings of the Irrawady river and prepare a defensive zone in the Mount Popa area.

For this purpose the 4th Guerilla Regiment of No. 1 Division which had not so far taken any part in the Manipur operations but was available in Mandalay area was transferred to No. 2 Division and ordered to concentrate first in Myingyan and then Nyangu-Pagan area.

The balance of the 2nd Division which was arriving in Rangoon was to proceed to Mount Popa area.

Upto this time I had been on the Staff of the Headquarters Supreme Command but now at my own request I was given a command of the 2nd Infantry Regiment in the 2nd Division.

I had accepted this command as a great challenge because we in the I.N.A. were anxious to prove to the Japanese that we were not mere fair weather friends but were prepared to fight side by side with them in their hour of defeat as we had been when they were victorious. From the point of view of our national objectives as well, it was imperative that the fight against the British should be carried on unabated.

After spending years on the staff, it was exhilarating to be with the troops again and I undertook the training of my regiment with great deal of vim and vigour.

During January 1945 final preparations for the move of the Division were made but unfortunately just before the Division moved out, its Divisional Commander, General Aziz Ahmed got concussion of the brain during a severe enemy bombing. I, therefore, assumed temporary command of the Division in addition to my duties as Regimental Commander and in the second week of February proceeded to Mount Popa area with advance elements of the Divisional and the Regimental Headquarters. On the way I met the new Army Commander and after discussing the situation with him proceeded to Magwe to meet Major General Yamamoto under whose command we were to fight. At Magwe, I had disquieting news of the enemy crossing of the Irrawady at Nyangu and Pagan. Therefore, with my advanced headquarters I moved posthaste to Mount Popa arriving there on the 13th February.

On arrival, I discovered that on the previous day Dhillon had arrived in Popa with the elements of his regiment from Nyangu and Pagan.

The situation was very serious. Dhillon's regiment had been mauled rather badly and was not fit to go into battle until re-organised. My own regiment was moving on foot through the desert from Prome to Mount Popa and it would be some weeks before it could be concentrated there. To crown all our difficulties, three officers of the Divisional Headquarters who had arrived in Popa area with me deserted to the enemy. Undoubtedly they would expose to the British all our weaknesses.

In spite of these difficulties we assembled whatever troops were available and prepared to defend Mount Popa from expected British attack and started intensive patrolling to discover their intentions.

At this critical juncture in the history of our army, I decided that only such persons who truly believed in the sanctity of our cause and who had absolute faith in our final victory should participate in this campaign. I made up my mind that I would let go all those who lacked faith in our ultimate victory or who did not have the moral courage to fight under such adverse circumstances. Therefore I made an offer to all those under my command who wished to leave us and go over to the enemy that they could do so openly after leaving their arms behind and giving an assurance that they would not betray our secrets to the enemy. To those who were physically unfit or frightened I promised safe conduct back to Rangoon. Some officers and men took advantage of this offer and returned to Rangoon.

Before the whole of No. 2 Regiment was concentrated in Mount Popa area, the Japanese posted the Khango Regiment of their army to take over a part of the defences. There was excellent co-operation between our troops and the troops of the Khango Regiment and it was a delight to work with their regimental commander. Our troops took part in many battles together and won each other's esteem.

Soon afterwards Shah Nawaz Khan took over command of the Division and left me alone to command my own regiment. In the month of March, Dhillon with his 4th Guerilla Regiment and my 2nd Infantry Regiment went over the offensive. We sought enemy forces everywhere within our reach and attached them on all occasions. The British had made massive crossings of the Irrawady river and launched repeated attacks against our positions but in spite of heavy odds, we were able to hold our own till on account of the strategic position obtaining in the rest of Burma, we were ordered to withdraw Southwards.

The withdrawal started on the 12th April and Gen. Shah Nawaz Khan with his Divisional headquarters and the 4th Guerilla Regiment moved in one column and my Regiment moved in a second column.

Although all communications had broken down completely my column withdrew Southwards in perfect order breaking through enemy lines on a number of occasions.

During the withdrawal in one particular battle against heavy British Tank, Artillery and Infantry attack, Major Bagri and his battalion earned eternal glory.

The heroism of Major Bagri and his men was of such high order that some weeks later when I had been captured by the British Gen. Gracy, Commander of the British Indian 20th Division, said to me, "Your men were mad. They were only an infantry battalion with no supporting arms and they were attacked by infantry supported by heavy tanks and artillery. Instead of surrendering, they fought back like mad men. At times, attacking our tanks with their bare hands. I cannot understand such stupidity." It was futile for me to try and explain to Gen. Gracy, the burning patriotism of these heroes, whose only desire was to sacrifice their all for the sake of their country's freedom.

While the second Infantry Division of the I.N.A. was moving Southwards, the Provisional Government of Azad Hind had decided to evacuate to Bangkok. A small Garrison under Gen. Logonadhan assisted ably by Col. Arshad was left behind to safeguard the life and property of Indians in Rangoon and to assist the Burmese Government in the maintenance of law and order. The I.N.A. Garrison carried out their duties with such efficiency that there was no bloodshed or pillage in Rangoon between the departure of the Japanese and the arrival of the British. This contrasted most favourably with the events of 1942 when nearly 2 lakh Indians perished in Burma during the retreat of the British Forces.

My intention was to attempt to cross Pegu Yomas and take my regiment to Thailand. Unfortunately, when we arrived in a village North of Alammyo, where Irrawady meets the main road, we discovered that the 20th British Indian Division had already occupied Alammyo. While we were preparing our plans to move into the jungle, our position was betrayed by some villagers and we were attacked heavily both on the ground and in the air. I alongwith my companions was captured during this battle. Shah Nawaz was later captured in Prome and the campaign of the I.N.A. in Burma came to an end, but other units were preparing for battle in Thailand and Malaya. The activities of I.N.A. in Burma had a

tremendous impact on the troops of the British Indian Army which is amply illustrated by the following incidents.

After I had been captured in Alammyo, I was separated from my men and was escorted back to Magwe in a truck guarded by two British N.C.O.'s and an escort consisting of a Punjabi Muslim Naik and four sepoys of the 12th Frontier Force Regiment. On the way, the Naik got talking to me. He had already heard something about the I.N.A. and its activities and was particularly impressed when he discovered that one of my battalion commanders Banta Singh had been his instructor, at the training battalion. When we had gone about half way, he told me that he was prepared to shoot the two British N.C.O.'s and he and his men would escape with me to join the I.N.A. Realising that such an action would serve no useful purpose, I advised him against it.

On arrival in Magwe, we were taken to the Jail and I was put into the Condemned Prisoners' Cell. At night I was awakened by about 20 soldiers of the Madras Regiment who were guarding the jail. They were accompanied by the Regimental Clerk who spoke English fluently. These men told me that they had come to meet me on behalf of their Regiment and that their services were entirely at my command. They also brought me large quantities of chocolates and other foodstuff to eat. I advised them to be good to all the I.N.A. personnel who were being brought to the jail and also to tell their comrades the truth about the I.N.A. After a few days stay in Magwe Jail, where I had been joined by my other comrades, some of us were flown out to India; the others came by boat and we were all imprisoned in the Red Fort to await our trial.

The Atom Bomb put an end to the Japanese resistance and before our trial commenced, the Japanese had surrendered unconditionally to the Allies. While we were awaiting our trial, the story of the I.N.A. began to unfold itself to the people of India and the wonderful awakening that it created in the country is a matter of history and needs no repetition. Even in the Red Fort it had a tremendous effect not only on the officers of the Interrogation Centre but also on the troops who were put to guard us.

Our original guards belonged to the Indian General Services who were replaced by British troops. The British troops were mostly young conscripts whose sympathy with the cause of the I.N.A. soon became apparent. They were then replaced by the Gorkhas but the British had not reckoned with the Gorkha members of the I.N.A. who started to work on their guards. The first surprise that the British received was when one of the Gorkha soldiers sought an interview with his Commanding Officer to get a discharge from his regiment because he wanted to join the I.N.A.

The British Officers of the Interrogation Centre and the Judge, Adjutant General's Branch, whose duty it was to prepare the prosecution case against us were also affected deeply. Although they did their duty in preparing the prosecution case, their sympathies were entirely with us.

On the day that our trial started, we were escorted out of the prisoner of war cage by a British Major and a Captain. The British Major was in the lead, followed by Shah Nawaz Khan, myself and Dhillon in that order. The British Captain brought up the rear. As we walked through the narrow barbed wire lane leading out of the cage, the I.N.A. officers and men in the adjoining cages started to shout slogans. Dhillon being very emotional joined them. The British Captain became impatient and pushed him forward telling him not to be a silly idiot. Dhillon turned round and told the British Officer that if he dared to touch him again Dhillon would hit him. The Captain pushed Dhillon once again and told him to stop this bloody nonsense. Dhillon lost his temper and pitched into him and started to beat him up. The Gorkha guards in spite of their Captain's shouts for help looked passively on and it was only after I felt that the Captain had received sufficient punishment that I separated the two and we proceeded to the Court room.

Gen. Sir Claude Auchinlek, the Commander-in-Chief of India in 1945, had been advised by his Adjutant General's Branch that when I.N.A. Officers were put up for trial, whatever may be the judgment of the Court Martial, the I.N.A. would stand condemned by the Indian people generally and the members of the Indian Armed Forces in particular.

However, as witnesses for the prosecution and defence told in the Court the whole story of the I.N.A., it had an electric effect in the country. Millions of Indians who lay crushed and sullen under British oppression found new strength and new pride in themselves. When they realised that their enemies were not invulnerable, a new spirit of rebellion was born in them.

The same spirit permeated the ranks of the Indian Armed Forces. When a special group of officers and men was sent round to all the units of the Indian Army to ascertain their views about the I.N.A. the universal reply given to them was that all ranks of the I.N.A. should be released and sent to their Indian Army units.

The revolts that followed in the Indian Navy and certain units of the Indian Air Force and the Indian Army were the direct result of the new awakening that was taking place in the ranks of the Indian Armed Forces.

Members of the Indian Armed Forces awoke to their nationalism and the British Government realised only too well that they could no longer be expected to sustain and support British tyranny in India. The awakening in the Indian Armed Forces broke the will of the British to continue their rule in the country.

Thus, in the final analysis, the I.N.A. through its armed struggle against the British succeeded in achieving Netaji's strategic objective of creating such conditions in the country that the British rule could continue no longer.

However, it was tragic that the I.N.A. and the Indian people did not succeed in driving the British out of India before the Allies won the war and prevent the partition of the country and the dreadful events that followed in its wake.

He Came, He Fought, He Conquered*

John A. Thivy

Before we had the great good fortune to be associated with Netaji in the Indian Independence Movement — that magnificent effort of Overseas Indians in the cause of freedom, Netaji had been already a national hero, whose picture adorned the walls of most of our houses, associations, clubs, business houses and even restaurants.

We understood that he was a brilliant student, who having passed the coveted I.C.S. Examination, ignored the security that it had promised and instead, plunged into the national movement, which was just then gathering momentum on a unique plan of action — Civil Disobedience.

And so we followed his meteoric rise in the political arena of India, with its demand in sufferings and sacrifices, until the Tripuri Session of the Congress. That he practised what he preached was clearly proved in those stormy days of 1939 when he was almost alone and unbefriended. In a speech ten years earlier, that is in 1929, he had said, "One who desires to swim with the tide of popular approbation on all occasions may become the hero of the hour, but he cannot live in history. Rather, he should be prepared for any amount of misunderstanding and for any degree of persecution. For the most unselfish actions we should be prepared to get abuse and vilification from our closest friends, we should be prepared for unwarranted hostility. We should summon courage to stand out, alone and unfriended in the presence of the Cross as it were and fight the rest of the world."

Accordingly, rather than sacrifice his principles and his convictions, he left India to seek abroad the inspiration and the materials that he needed for the attainment of his life's mission.

*From the personal collections of Prof. Samar Guha, Ex-M.P.

But the manner of his disappearance and the complete silence that followed it were matters of great concern to Indians in Malaya, as he had, by that time, become an idol to all who would have like to see a definite acceleration in the march of freedom.

While Indians in Malaya, before the war, were deeply interested in the Indian struggle and followed every step in it with deep concern, yet we were essentially individualistic and lacking in that urge to club together either for some positive attitude towards India or even towards Malaya.

But, with the advent of the Greater-East Asia War matters changed considerably. The fact that an Asian country was successfully defeating the Western Powers was a thing that gladdened the hearts of Asians. It had till then been taken for granted that the Western Powers were more or less permanently entrenched in these areas and that it would be an idle dream to hope for an Eastern nation to take up the cudgels against them and hope to last even the first round.

Therefore, the first reactions in these areas towards Japan's successes were those of pride of race, awakened consciousness and a desire to act with strength and determination for the attainment of freedom and equality. However, some leadership was needed. As far as Indians were concerned, this was obtained in the Indian Independence League formally inaugurated in Bangkok in March, 1942.

It was during those memorable days of the Conference of East Asian Indians that we were thrilled to hear the voice of Subhas Babu over the Radio, sending his message from Germany, to this historic Conference. He gave the assurance that he would come from the West to the East and help us in the task we had just decided upon to perform for Indian Independence. In giving this assurance he said that as the British Power could not prevent him from leaving India, so also no power would be able to prevent him from coming to us and leading us on to victory.

There had been no news of Netaji before that. There had already been rumours that he was dead. So, when he spoke over the Radio there were not a few who thought that it was all a hoax. In a word, the impression created was that it was all too good to be true.

However, the general level in the heightened feelings of hope and confidence would not permit doubts of Netaji's arrival to persist. On the other hand, the news spread like wild-fire to the far corners of East Asia, and among the masses and his expected appearance in Asia was waited with impatience.

Within a month or two of this conference, the general impatience of the people was so great that in some of the Indian Independence League offices, it took the form of abuse against the top-ranking officials for their incompetence in devising ways and means to bring Netaji from Germany. But as months passed, the old doubts in the authenticity of Netaji's Radio message returned and caused despondency, even to the point of frustration among some of the workers.

For about a year from the date of the Bangkok Conference Rash Behari Bose worked hard to make the working system of the Indian Independence League perfect as also of the organisation of the I.N.A. By May, 1943, he was showing signs of strain caused by the work, and he left for Japan on a 'mysterious' errand. The mystery was suddenly cleared when once again, this time from Tokyo, the voice of Netaji was heard over the Radio. In Malaya, the talk was relayed to all the towns and villages to enable people, congregated in public places, to hear his message.

The outstanding point of Netaji's speech was that when the British with all their cleverness and cunningness could not deceive him, he was confident that no other Power on earth could deceive him. These words were uttered from Tokyo, the capital of Japan, a country that was suspected of ambitious imperialism, and one that would brook no interference from any country or man that opposed her aims. Therefore, this clear-cut statement by Netaji was at once a reassurance to Indians and India and a warning to Japan. It was firm, dignified and unambiguous. Thus even before he was acclaimed leader of the movement, he had won the confidence and admiration of all Overseas Indians. When leaders of other nations in East Asia were indulging in platitudes, here was Netaji calmly challenging in dignity and soberly defiant in purpose.

Accompanied by Rash Behari Bose, Netaji landed in Singapore on the 2 July, 1943. He was received at the airport by representatives of the I.N.A. and of the Indian Independence League from all over East Asia. He came, he saw, he conquered. When I say this, I am not trying to be flamboyant. I am merely stating a fact. It just happened that way. He met us with a calm assurance. Our confidence in him was its reciprocation. Thus he became our Netaji. It was a natural and spontaneous consequence of the hour and of the man.

Netaji showed his energy as well as his organising ability by the vigorous measures he took in stepping up the efficiency of the League and the Army. The League was departmentalised in the Headquarters. The same system was adopted in the Territorial State and local branches of the League. Fulltime workers were placed in charge of the various

Departments, such as Recruitment and Training, Supplies, Finance, *Azad Hind Dal*, Security, Health and Social Welfare, Overseas Women's Establishment etc. Thus the League began to function just like any Government. With its various departments co-ordinating and co-operating in the task of the movement, namely, to furnish the I.N.A. with men, money and materials for the prosecution of the war, the Indian Independence League got into gear under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose.

As soon as Netaji took command of the I.N.A. he reorganised and revitalised it with the creation of the Chief-of-Staff and Divisional Commands and the consequent Army Department, the I.N.A. took the form and effectiveness of any modern regular army. Netaji made it clear that the I.N.A. had a two-fold-task to perform. He said : "With the force of arms and at the cost of your blood you will have to win liberty. Then when India is free, you will have to organise the permanent army of Free India whose task it will be to preserve our liberty for all time. We must build up our national defence on such an unshakable foundation that never again in our history shall we lose our freedom."

The assurances that Netaji received from delegates and representatives from the far-flung territorial branches of the Independence League were that Indians were willing and anxious to make all necessary sacrifices for the cause and were desirous and capable of shouldering the consequent responsibilities. In these circumstances Netaji could have inaugurated the Provisional Government right away. But that was not his way. Although he did not doubt these assurances and the obvious enthusiasm of the masses; he decided upon a personal inspection of all the territories and thus assess the situation for himself.

He returned quite satisfied that the Overseas Indians meant business. In the meantime training camps had been set up in several centres in Malaya, Burma and Siam very soon, they were full. Those thousands that could not secure admittance into training camps, because of want of accommodation, received part-time training in their respective localities, and awaited their turn.

So by 21 October, 1943, the Independence Movement in East Asia had an army, training camps and no end of recruits. It had a system and machinery in the League and it had a leader who was its fountain-head of energy. All that remained to be accomplished was the inauguration of a Government. Without a Government our activities could not receive international recognition. Without a Government, we would not be able to declare the war of Indian Independence and we could not lead the army to battle.

And thus the great day dawned — 21 October 1943. It was a day of high feelings, deep emotions, and withal, firm determination. "In the name of God, in the name of by-gone generations who have welded the Indian people into one nation and in the name of the dead heroes who have bequeathed to us a tradition of heroism and self-sacrifice, we call upon the Indian people to rally round our banner and to strike for India's freedom." Thus did Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the State, Prime Minister, Minister of War and of Foreign Affairs, announce the reason and purpose of the Provisional Government of *Azad Hind*.

When the time came for Netaji to take his oath of allegiance to India, a great hush descended upon the Hall. It was a solemn moment. Netaji started with a firm voice. Then it began to quiver with emotion — it stopped. He breathed hard and tried again — a few more words, but the well of feeling and emotion overpowered him, suddenly he was sobbing, tears rolled down his cheeks. There was dead silence. No one could help him. All were helpless. There was hardly a dry eye in that vast assembly.

What thoughts passed his mind that could so completely overpower him? Did he see in his mind's eye mother India, her draperies torn and her hair dishevelled, the cruel chains of serfdom biting into her hunger-stricken flesh and bones? Did he see the blood of the martyrs and the lamentations of their spirits? Again did he foresee his valiant Army of Liberation with undaunted men, defying overwhelming odds and facing certain death just to keep the cause of India alive?

The tension was terrific. Fortunately some one had a brain wave. He lustily called out "Netaji Ki Jai." The cry was taken up, to echo and re-echo in the lofty Hall of the Cathay Buildings and was carried along in waves by the thousands of hilarious adherents who packed the roads and spaces outside. Thus the tension was broken and Netaji completed his solemn oath in a clear ringing voice.

Netaji throughout his political career showed that he was definitely against any form of intrigues, even against the British Government. He maintained that all methods of struggle for the furtherance of one's cause should be open and above board. So was the declaration of war against Britain and the United States of America, by the Provisional Government of *Azad Hind* on the night of 23 October 1943. The practice and requirements of International Law were fulfilled. There were the people owing allegiance to a Government. The Government was recognised by other Governments. There was a regular army recruited from the adherents of the Government. The Government had a perfectly legitimate cause to fight for. The Government made a declaration of war and then only launched its attack. Thus it is clear that Netaji, as Head of State,

took great care to maintain the honour and dignity of the Government, of the cause and of India. As a matter of fact, every step that was taken, every contact that was made, every statement that was made, were such that they would never offend the best interests of India nor the self-respect of Indians. The Japanese who soon became by-word for ruthlessness and over-bearingness, found that they could not ruffle the calm courage and self-reliance that characterised our well co-ordinated activities in the League, Army and Government. The towering personality of Netaji found a harmonious cord even in the least of our workers and thus did the whole remain strong, firm and unshakable. Therefore, wherever the Indian Independence Movement had its following nationals other than Indians were also saved from many unnecessary indignities, if only for the reason that the Japanese administrators did not want to show too obvious a difference in their treatment between Indians and others. Thus it will be seen that our strength and solidarity had a beneficial effect for other peoples also. It was also this factor that was the main reason for the good relationship that always existed between Indians and the other nationalities in the Japanese occupied areas throughout the war period.

The Provisional Government took independent decisions on all matters. Naturally as allies of the Japanese there had to be understanding on questions that directly affected war planning and execution thereof. These were maintained by proper liaison officers. But on matters of internal administration, policies and even decisions on those who were friends and who were foes, the Provisional Government did not receive any outside directives, nor would it have tolerated any such directives if they had come.

Netaji would never take a decision by himself. He would be in constant consultation with the Cabinet and each and every decision would be arrived at the usual formal manner. Take the instance of the Assembly of Greater East Asia Nations. We decided that the Provisional Government would attend that Conference only as an observer. We came to that conclusion because Netaji and the Cabinet reached the decision that the Provisional Government of *Azad Hind* should not and, therefore, would not commit India to any future political or economic policy. Our Government's job was to liberate India. Thereafter, it would be for the people of India to decide on the relationships India would maintain with other Asian countries.

Then again, before the Provisional Government, the I.N.A. and the Independence League Headquarters moved into Burma, Netaji as Head of State and Foreign Minister contacted the Burmese Government and reached an understanding and agreement with it. By taking these steps,

our Government demonstrated its independent authority and, at the same time, recognised the Burmese Government as the sole authority with which we had to deal in that regard.

Take another instance. The Japanese Government appointed a minister plenipotentiary to the Provisional Government. The Minister in due course reached Rangoon, the Headquarters of the Provisional Government. However, his appointment papers which were sent by a special courier did not reach him due to misadventure. But Netaji refused to see or receive the Japanese Government's representative unless he produced his credentials and unless the formalities attendant on installation were observed.

In matters pertaining to declarations of war or the maintenance of neutrality, our Government acted independently. Under the guidance of Netaji, with a sound knowledge of international affairs and ability to gauge situations and yet utilise them without sacrificing moral principles, our Government was able to decide who were our enemies and who were not. Although Japan was fighting bitterly against the Chungking Regime, our attitude was one of neutrality and we maintained good relationship with the Chinese people. In the latter days of the East Asia War, Japan and Russia were at grips. But our Government decided not to declare war against Russia, because in so far as Indian Independence was concerned, Russia was not an enemy.

Indeed, Netaji was head and shoulders above any statesman, politician or strategist that existed in Great East Asia, during the period of the War. Without his courage, integrity of character, profound knowledge and self-sacrificing spirit, the Indian Independence Movement would not have been able to withstand the innumerable pitfalls and attempts at sabotage by enemy agents. There can be no doubt that those Japanese leaders who came in personal contact with Netaji must have received object-lessons on leadership. The lesser of Indian officials and workers in the Movement rose to the occasion and behaved with credit just because we were so closely associated with the very embodiment of service and sacrifice — Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Even today, the resultant, victimisation has not been able to weaken, much less eradicate the spirit of unity, faith and sacrifice that are the hall-marks of those that had served the cause of freedom under Netaji.

It is said that Netaji is dead. This may be so. After all the only certain thing about life is death. But Netaji's attributes will continue to live in the minds and hearts of those that worked with him and will continue to benefit this troubled world. That is the only feasible and useful manner in which we can pay our daily, silent tribute to Netaji.

Subhas — The Immortal*

Pattabhi Sitaramaiyya

Today's politics is tomorrow's history. That is but a truism. But events happen in life which being the politics of the day, constitute the history of the day as well. Such is the flight of Subhas Babu beyond the borders of India across the fastnesses of Kabul to unknown regions for achieving unsuspected purposes. Whosoever thought that this silent sphinx of the Congress who stood mute and voiceless for a year of his tenure of office, would suddenly develop into a strategist, a warrior, a commander of forces, a rebel, and revolutionary in other than the softer meanings of the terms, and at last a mystery man whose whereabouts are unknown, who nevertheless is today adored as the hero in hiding and was yesterday worshipped as the martyr that was no more.

Greatness never advertises itself until it inevitably comes into the lime-light of its own self-luminosity. Reflected light cannot be independent. They are planetary in character but the innate, self-born brightness of the stars emit their scintillations in their own time and lit the skies and the earth even from those astronomical distances which are not easily conceivable. Even so did Subhas Babu shine from afar like a radiant orb in the blue firmament. Alike from far-off Berlin in the West and from distant Tokyo in the East, Subhas Babu broadcast his thoughts and sentiments and unfolded on the wireless his plans and campaigns week in and week out to an amazed and astounded world that now believed them all and was thrown into raptures of hope and joy, and now disbelieved and was lost in doubt and despair.

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. Japan was in every one's thoughts. And when the Japanese were threatening to invade Balasore and the armies on boundary marched towards Jamshedpur, it was Japan that

*Extracts of the article from the personal collections of Prof. Samar Guha, Ex-M.P.

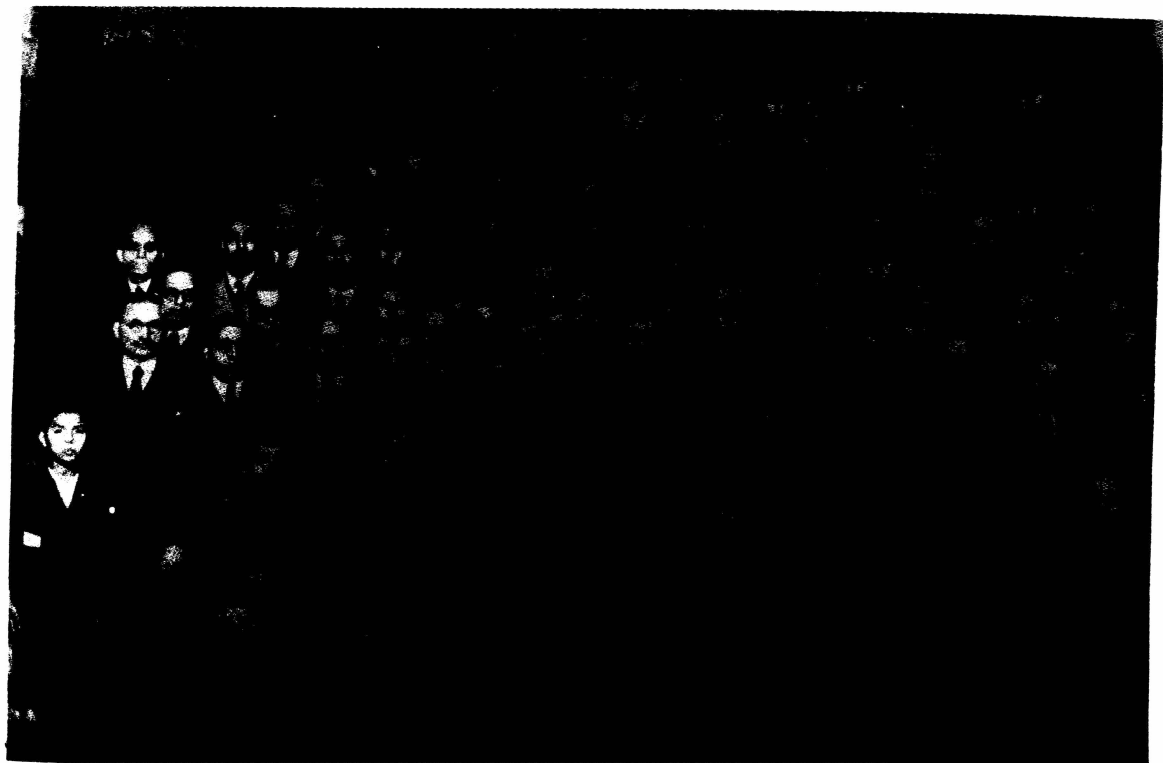
was believed to be the mainspring and fountain-head of the mighty resources which were overwhelming the country.

But time solved all problems and riddles and resolved all doubts and difficulties. The return of the I.N.A., 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 remained 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 of the case or by the facts of its success or failure....

A new faith and fervour, yea a new philosophy has been generated in millions of dried-up and despairing hearts much as the showers of the monsoon would cover a fallow land with patches of green verdure. Subhas has proved to the world that Hindustan is still a land of valour and prowess, that the Indian has still 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, yea for ever in history....



At the Writing Table



At a Welcome from INA soldiers

PART IV

**Ideas of
Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose**

A. Extracts from Select Speeches

To Delhi, To Delhi ! *

Soldiers of India's Army of Liberation! Today is the proudest day of my life. Today it has pleased Providence to give me the unique privilege and honour of announcing to the whole world that India's Army of Liberation has come into being. This army has now been drawn up in military formation on the battlefield of Singapore—which was once the bulwark of the British Empire. This is not only the Army that will emancipate India from the British yoke, it is also the Army that will hereafter create the future national army of Free India. Every Indian must feel proud that this Army—his own army—has been organized entirely under Indian leadership and that when the historic moment arrives, under Indian leadership it will go to battle.

There are people who thought at one time that the Empire on which the sun did not set was an everlasting Empire. No such thought ever troubled me. History had taught me that every Empire has its inevitable decline and collapse. Moreover I had seen, with my own eyes, cities and fortresses that were once the bulwarks but which became the graveyards of bygone empires. Standing today on the graveyard of the British Empire, even a child is convinced that the almighty British Empire is already a thing of the past.

...Comrades! Soldiers! Let your battle-cry be—"To Delhi, To Delhi!" How many of us will individually survive this war of freedom, I do not know. But I do know this, that we shall ultimately win and our task will not end until our surviving heroes hold the victory parade on another graveyard of the British Empire—the Lal Quila or Red Fortress of ancient Delhi.

* Extracts from Speech at a military review of the Indian National Army, 5 July 1943.

Throughout my public career, I have always felt that though India is otherwise ripe for independence in every way, she has lacked one thing, namely an army of liberation. George Washington of America could fight and win freedom, because he had his army. Garibaldi could liberate Italy, because he had his armed volunteers behind him. It is your privilege and honour to be the first to come forward and organize India's national army. By doing so, you have removed the last obstacle in our path to freedom. Be happy and proud that you are the pioneers, the vanguard, in such a noble cause.

Let me remind you that you have a two-fold task to perform. With the force of arms and at the cost of your blood you will have to win liberty. Then, when India is free, you will have to organize the permanent army of free India, whose task it will be to preserve our liberty for all time. We must build up our national defence on such an unshakable foundation that never again in our history shall we lose our freedom.

As soldiers, you will always have to cherish and live up to the three ideals of faithfulness, duty and sacrifice. Soldiers who always remain faithful to their nation, who are always prepared to sacrifice their lives, are invincible. If you, too, want to be invincible, engrave these three ideals in the innermost core of your hearts.

A true soldier needs both military and spiritual training. You must, all of you, so train yourselves and your comrades that every soldier will have unbounded confidence in himself, will be conscious of being immensely superior to the enemy, will be fearless of death and will have sufficient initiative to act on his own in any critical situation should the need arise. During the course of the present war, you have seen with your own eyes what wonders scientific training, coupled with courage, fearlessness and dynamism, can achieve. Learn all that you can from this example and build up for Mother India an absolutely firstclass modern army.

To those of you who are officers, I should like to say that your responsibility is a heavy one. Though the responsibility of an officer in every army in this world is indeed great, it is far greater in your case. Because of our political enslavement, we have no tradition like that of Mukden, Port Arthur or Sedan to inspire us. We have to unlearn some of the things that the British taught us and we have to learn much that they did not teach. Nevertheless, I am confident that you will rise to the occasion and fulfil the task that your countrymen have thrown on your brave shoulders. Remember always that officers can make or unmake an army. Remember too that the British have suffered defeats on so many fronts largely because of worthless officers. And remember also

that out of your ranks will be born the future General Staff of the Army of Free India.

To all of you I should like to say that in the course of this war you will have to acquire the experience and achieve the success which alone can build up a national tradition for our Army. An army that has no tradition of courage, fearlessness and invincibility cannot hold on its own in a struggle with a powerful enemy.

Comrades! You have voluntarily accepted a mission that is the noblest that the human mind can conceive of. For the fulfilment of such a mission no sacrifice is too great, not even the sacrifice of one's life. You are today the custodians of India's national honour and the embodiment of India's hopes and aspirations. So conduct yourself in such a way that your countrymen may bless you and posterity may be proud of you.

I have said that today is the proudest day of my life. For an enslaved people, there can be no greater pride, no higher honour, than to be the first soldier in the army of liberation. But this honour carries with it a corresponding responsibility and I am deeply conscious of it. I assure you that I shall be with you in darkness and in sunshine, in sorrow and in joy, in suffering and in victory. For the present, I can offer you nothing except hunger, thirst, privation, forced marches and death. But if you follow me in life and in death, as I am confident you will, I shall lead you to victory and freedom. It does not matter who among us will live to see India free. It is enough that India shall be free and that we shall give our all to make her free. May God now bless our Army and grant us victory in the coming fight!

Inquilab Zindabad ! Azad Hind Zindabad !

Why I Left India*

Sisters and brothers! Let me first of all thank you for the exceedingly warm and enthusiastic welcome that you have given me today. I am particularly thankful to my sisters who have boldly come forward in such large numbers to give expression to their patriotic feelings. From what I see today, I feel confident that in the coming fight my countrymen in Syonan and in Malaya will play a leading part. What was once a bulwark of British Imperialism has now become a bulwark of Indian Nationalism.

Next, I would like to tell you quite frankly what made me leave home and homeland on a journey that was fraught with danger of every kind.

You know that I have been actively working in the independence movement ever since I left the portals of the university in 1921. I have been through all the civil disobedience campaigns during the last two decades. In addition to this, I have been repeatedly put in prison without trial, on the suspicion of having been connected with a secret revolutionary movement—whether non-violent or violent—with which I have been familiar. I may also assert without the slightest exaggeration that there is no nationalist leader in India who can claim to possess the many-sided experience that I have been able to acquire. In the light of this experience, I came to the conclusion that all the efforts that we could put forward inside India would not suffice to expel the British from our country. If the struggle at home had sufficed to achieve liberty for our people, I would not have been so foolish as to undertake this unnecessary risk and hazard.

To put it briefly, therefore, my object in leaving India was to supplement from outside the struggle going on at home. Without this supplementary help from outside, it is impossible for anybody to liberate India. On the other hand, the supplementary help from outside which

* Speech delivered at a mass meeting in Singapore, 9 July 1943.

the national struggle at home so urgently needs is in reality very small. This is because the defeats inflicted on the British by the Axis Powers have shattered British power and prestige to such an extent that our task has been rendered comparatively easy.

The help that our countrymen at home needed and still need is a two-fold one—moral and material. Firstly, they have to be morally convinced that their victory is assured in the long run. Secondly, they have to be given military help from outside. In order to do the first, one had to study objectively the international war situation and thereby find out what the result of the war was going to be. To do the second, one had to find out what Indians outside India could do to help their countrymen at home and also if it was possible to obtain help from the enemies of British Imperialism, should that need arise. Friends! I am now in a position to tell you that both these objectives have been fulfilled. By travelling abroad, I could see things for myself and could study the respective positions of the belligerent Powers. Thereafter, when I came to the conclusion that the defeat of Anglo-American Imperialism was assured, I conveyed that information to my countrymen at home. Then, I was delighted to find that my countrymen all over the world were wide awake and were anxious to undertake their share of the national struggle. I was also gratified to find that the Axis Powers, and Japan in particular, were really eager to see India free and they were prepared to render any help that was within their power, should the Indian people desire it. Moreover, I can ask you to trust me. Not even my enemies will have the audacity to say that I am capable of doing anything against the interests of my country. And if the British Government could not demoralise me or deceive me or allure me, no other power on earth can do so. Therefore, believe me when I say that if you want any external help in your struggle against British Imperialism the Axis Powers will come to your aid. But whether you do need any help or not is for you to decide, and it goes without saying that if you could do without any help, it would be the best course for India. At the same time, I should add that if the almighty British Government can go round the whole world with the begging-bowl asking for help everywhere—even from the enslaved and impoverished people of India—there is nothing wrong in our taking help from outside, if we are forced to do so.

The time has come when I can openly tell the whole world, including our enemies, how it is proposed to bring about our national liberation. Indians outside India, particularly Indians in East Asia, are going to organize a fighting force which will be powerful enough to attack the British Army in India. When we do so, a revolution will breakout, not only among the civil population at home but also among the Indian Army which is now standing under the British flag. When the

British Government is thus attacked from both sides—from inside India and from outside—it will collapse and the Indian people will then regain their liberty.

According to my plan, therefore, it is not even necessary to bother about the attitude of the Axis Powers towards India. If Indians outside and inside India will only do their duty, it is possible to throw the British out of India and liberate 388 millions of our countrymen.



Inspecting Rani Jhansi Regiment accompanied by
Captain Mrs. Thomas.

Women's Role in the National Movement*

Sisters! I thank you with all my heart for the warm welcome you have given me this evening. I also thank you with all my heart for your enthusiastic participation in the mammoth meeting which was held opposite the Tokku Petsu-shi Buildings. In spite of the rain you stuck to your seats till the end, and this moved me and my friends who participated in the meeting. I also know that some of you took your children there. Your bravery and enthusiasm thrilled all of us. I have the least doubt in my mind that your mission which has started auspiciously will grow rapidly.

You know well the service which Indian women have been rendering in the national movement during the past twenty years. From the time of India's regeneration, Indian women have been vigorously taking part in public life. This change can be clearly noticed. Since 1921 when the Congress was regenerated under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, our sisters have performed great deeds not only in the Congress movements and the civil disobedience struggle but also in the secret revolutionary movements.

It will not be an exaggeration if I say that there are no public activities or departments of our national effort in which women are not participating. During the past many years of our national movement, women have been equal to men in undergoing suffering with joy and courage. The Indian women never lagged behind anybody in going from village to village, without food and water, addressing meeting after meeting, in carrying the message of freedom from house to house, in conducting election campaigns, in taking out processions in spite of Government's bans and in the face of lathi charge by the merciless British police, and in putting up with the privations of prison-life, torture and humiliations. Last but not the least, our heroic sisters also took an active part in the secret revolutionary activities. Many a times they have demonstrated that they too, if necessary, could use fire-arms as well as their brothers.

* Address to the women's section of the Indian Independence League, Singapore on 12 July 1943.

When I express my confidence that you are today, prepared to fight and suffer for the sake of your motherland, I do not mean only to cajole you with empty words. I know the capabilities of our womanhood well. I can, therefore, say with certainty that there is no task which our women cannot undertake and no sacrifice and suffering which our women cannot undergo.

The time for launching the final campaign to liberate our motherland has now come. Only very rarely such opportunities occur in a nation's life. Surely such an opportunity will not come again in our life-time, nor even in the next hundred years. Only by God's grace have we got such an opportunity. If we seize it and sacrifice our all, we can surely liberate our country.

I know some among us have been thinking that British Imperialism was immortal and had no end. But I know that history wills it otherwise. History has taught us that every empire will fall in the same way as it has arisen. Similarly, the time has now come for the exit of British Imperialism from the world. We have seen with our own eyes the destruction of the British Empire in this part of the world. We are also going to witness its disappearance from India and other parts of the world.

Some years back I read a book on the British Empire by an Englishman named Meredith Conrad. Referring to India he says that once the Indians become united, the British will not be able to rule over them. He has further said that the empire which came into being in a day will die in a night.

I have mentioned in my broadcast that it took just seven days to drive them out of the stronghold of Singapore which they had built in the course of twenty years. Of course, I do not expect that the British can be driven out of India within a week. But you can mathematically calculate how many weeks it will take to drive out the British once we launch our final military action.

Sisters! I think every one of you believes that the time to begin our efforts for our salvation has come now. I also sincerely believe that you all wish this war to end in the defeat of Anglo-American Imperialism, because India can gain her freedom only if it is vanquished. It is for this reason that I have often been saying that the liberation of India is dependent on the victory of the Axis Powers. Today India and the Axis Powers are facing a common enemy. We therefore have a common goal. We have to fight against our common foe; we should be prepared to make any sacrifice and win our freedom by sharing the joys and sorrows equally among ourselves.

If we get freedom without sacrifice and suffering it will be of no avail, because we will not be able to preserve the freedom which is gained so easily. We shall, therefore, get our freedom only through our suffering. I finally believe that we can give adequate support to our motherland by our total mobilization.

Therefore, sisters, you too must take your share in the coming struggle. You can serve in various capacities. Women have special skill in some specific fields. For example, you can serve in the hospitals. When our military campaigns have started, who will take care of our wounded soldiers? Will it not be shameful if our sisters do not come forward to comfort our wounded soldiers? Sisters, this is only a part of your duty. You can also help us in the recruitment of soldiers and collection of funds and supplies. Sometimes you may even have to take up arms.

To those who say that it will not be proper for our women to carry guns, my only request is that they look into the pages of our history. What brave deeds the Rani of Jhansi performed during the First War of Independence in 1857! Similarly, many brave women like the Rani of Jhansi are required in our Last War of Independence also. It is not important how many guns you can carry or how many cartridges you can fire. It is the spiritual force which will be generated by your heroic example that is important. Indians—both common people and members of the British Indian army—who are on the border areas of India, will, on seeing you march with guns on your shoulders, voluntarily come forward to receive the guns from you and carry on the struggle started by you. I do not have the least doubt about this. Therefore, I can say with certainty that the time has come for every Indian—man and woman, boy and girl—to come forward and make great sacrifices for liberating India.

Sisters, your energetic activities will not only inspire our countrymen living in Malaya, East Asia and Shonan but also those living within our country. I have no doubt that the 388 million Indians, on hearing about your efforts and your preparations for the fight, will be greatly inspired. I wish all your efforts are crowned with success. Your task is the same as ours. In this common task, in this struggle, in this suffering and sacrifice, all of us—without any distinction of man or woman, boy or girl, poor or rich, young or old—should stand shoulder to shoulder, should start the final struggle and should hasten the day of India's deliverance.

I once again thank you for the welcome you have given me today and for your enthusiastic participation in the public meeting the other day. I also thank you for the purse you have presented me today. I wish that all your activities for the liberation of our motherland end in victory.

As I told you earlier, the time for preparing ourselves for the final struggle has come. I have already announced to the world the formation of the Azad Hind Army. It is preparing itself for the war of liberation. I hope that the time will come for me to announce to the world that the Jhansi Rani Regiment also is preparing for the struggle. This work should be started immediately. I therefore request all those who want to join the Jhansi Rani Regiment to come forward and give your names.

War Declared*

The provisional Government of India has made a careful survey of the conditions in India and the world and decided in Shonan at midnight that the time is ripe to declare war upon the enemy. I know some Indians will question the validity of the declaration, but you may be convinced of its legality in the light of its having been issued by a Government which has been legally established and which represents the country. This decision of the Provisional Government was broadcast to the world that the Provisional Government of India thinks it her duty to declare war on Britain and her ally, the United States of America.

Friends, let us prepare at once and march on India. We shall unfurl our national flag on Indian soil and advance towards Delhi. We are determined to be in India by the end of the year and to assume control of the land and sea powers of the country. The Indian National Army must be prepared for the coming fight.

* Address to Indian Independence League, Singapore, 24 October 1943.

A Word to the Rich*

Look at those who have volunteered to join the Indian National Army and who are now getting the necessary training. They do not know how many of them will live to see India free. They are getting ready with the one thought of shedding their last drop of blood. They are getting ready to go to a free India or to die on the way. There is no programme of retreat for them.

When the INA is getting trained either to march to victory or to spill its last drop of blood on the way, the rich people are asking me whether total mobilization means 10 per cent or 5 per cent of their riches. I would ask these people who are speaking of percentages whether we can tell our soldiers to fight and spill only 10 per cent of their blood and save the rest.

The poor classes have been coming forward voluntarily and with enthusiastic spirit to offer everything that they have. Poorer class Indians like watchmen, washermen, barbers, petty-shopkeepers and *gowalas* have come forward with all they have. And in addition to that some of them have also offered to become volunteers.

Some of the poor people came to me, and not only did they give all the cash they had in their pockets, but went further and gave me their Saving Bank books which represent their lives' savings. Are there not rich men among the Indians in Malaya who can come forward and say in the same spirit: "Here is my bank book for the cause of Indian Independence."

Indians as a nation believe in the ideal of sacrifice. Among the Hindus we have the ideal of *Sanyasis* and the Muslims have the way of the *Faqirs*. Can there be a greater cause, a nobler cause and a holier cause than the liberation of 38 crores of human souls?

My request to Malaya is for 10 crores of rupees, which would be approximately 10 per cent of the value of Indian possessions in Malaya.

* Address to the countrymen, 26 October 1943.

INA Radio in Rangoon*

Friends, I hope you remember I inaugurated the broadcasting station of the Indian National Army Headquarters on 5 December, 1943. Since then, officers and men of the Indian National Army have been regularly broadcasting to their countrymen in India.

You also know that both the headquarters of the Indian National Army and the Provisional Government of Free India were moved from Shonan to Burma. A section of the broadcasting station of the Indian National Army Headquarters also moved along with them. This section which has now been established as a branch station in Burma will keep in touch with its parent station at Shonan. I consider myself fortunate in being called upon to inaugurate the new broadcasting station of the Indian National Army.

The speeches of Indian officers and men from the Indian National Army broadcasting station have impressed our countrymen in India, especially the members of the British Indian Army. The British military authorities are very much alarmed at the impression these broadcasts have made on the Indian personnel at the front. The advance of the Indian National Army to the very gates of India has increased their alarm considerably.

* Extracts from speech inaugurating INA Radio in Rangoon, 28 February 1944.

Give Me Blood ! Promise You Freedom !! *

Friends! Twelve months ago a new programme of "Total Mobilisation" or "Maximum sacrifice" was placed before Indians in East Asia. Today I shall give you an account of our achievements during the past year and shall place before you our demands for the coming year. But, before I do so, I want you to realise once again what a golden opportunity we have for winning freedom. The British are engaged in a world-wide struggle and in the course of this struggle they have suffered defeat after defeat in so many fronts. The enemy having been thus considerably weakened, our fight for liberty has become very much easier than it was five years ago. Such a rare and God-given opportunity comes once in a century. That is why we have sworn to fully utilise this opportunity for liberating our Motherland from the British yoke.

I am so very hopeful and optimistic about the outcome of our struggle, because I do not rely merely on the efforts of three million Indians in East Asia. There is a gigantic movement going on inside India and millions of our countrymen are prepared for maximum suffering and sacrifice in order to achieve liberty.

Unfortunately, ever since the great fight of 1857, our countrymen are disarmed, whereas the enemy is armed to teeth. Without arms and without a modern army, it is impossible for a disarmed people to win freedom in this modern age. Through the grace of Providence and through the help of generous Nippon, it has become possible for Indians in East Asia to get arms to build up a modern army. Moreover, Indians in East Asia are united to a man in the endeavour to win freedom and all the religious and other differences that the British here tried to engineer inside India, do not simply exist in East Asia. Consequently, we have now an ideal combination of circumstances favouring the success of our struggle—and all that is wanted is that Indians should themselves come forward to pay the price of liberty.

* Speech delivered at a huge mass rally of the Indians in Burma on the first day of Netaji Week on 4 July 1944.

According to the programme of "Total Mobilization", I demanded of you men, money and materials. Regarding men, I am glad to tell you that I have obtained sufficient recruits already. Recruits have come to us from every corner of East Asia—from China, Japan, Indo-China, Philippines, Java, Borneo, Celebes, Sumatra, Malaya, Thailand and Burma.

The only complaint that I have is that considering the population of Indians in Burma, the number of recruits from Burma should have been larger. You will, therefore, have to exert yourselves still more in future in order to furnish more recruits from this part.

With regard to money, you remember that I demanded 30 millions from Indians in East Asia. I have actually got much more in the meantime and, from the arrangements that have been made, I am confident that a steady flow of money will be maintained in future.

From my experience of more than 20 years' work inside India, I can properly assess the worth and value of the work done here. I must, therefore, warmly thank you for the hearty co-operation that you have extended to me. At the same time, I must draw your attention to the work that still lies ahead of us.

You must continue the mobilization of men, money and materials with greater vigour and energy, in particular, the problem of supplies and transport has to be solved satisfactorily.

Secondly, we require more men and women of all categories for administration and reconstruction in liberated areas. We must be prepared for a situation in which the enemy will ruthlessly apply the scorched-earth policy, before withdrawing from a particular area and will also force the civilian population to evacuate as was attempted in Burma.

Last, but most important of all, is the problem of sending reinforcements in men and in supplies to the fighting fronts. If we do not do so, we cannot hope to maintain our success at the fronts. Nor can we hope to penetrate deeper into India.

Those of you who will continue to work on the Home Front should never forget that East Asia—and particularly Burma — form our base for the war of liberation. If this base is not strong, our fighting forces can never be victorious. Remember that this is a "Total War"—and not merely a war between two armies. That is why for full one year I have been laying so much stress on "Total Mobilization" in East.

There is another reason why I want you to look after the Home Front properly. During the coming months I and my colleagues on the War Committee of the Cabinet desire to devote our whole attention to the fighting front—and also to the task of working up the revolution inside India. Consequently, we want to be fully assured that the work at the base will go on smoothly and uninterruptedly even in our absence.

Friends, one year ago, when I made certain demands of you, I told you that if you give me “Total Mobilization”, I would give you a “Second Front”. I have redeemed that pledge. The first phase of our campaign is over. Our victorious troops, fighting side by side with Nipponese troops, have pushed back the enemy and are now fighting bravely on the sacred soil of our dear Motherland.

Gird up your loins for the task that now lies ahead. I had asked you for men, money and materials. I have got them in generous measure. Now I demand more of you. Men, money and materials cannot by themselves bring victory or freedom. We must have the motive-power that will inspire us to brave deeds and heroic exploits.

It will be a fatal mistake for you to wish to live and see India free simply because victory is now within reach. No one here should have the desire to live to enjoy freedom. A long fight is still in front of us.

We should have but one desire today— the desire to die so that India may live—the desire to face a martyr's death, so that the path to freedom may be paved with the martyr's blood.

Friends! My comrades in the War of Liberation! Today I demand of you one thing, above all. I demand of you Blood. It is blood alone that can avenge the blood that the enemy has split. It is blood alone can that pay the price of freedom. Give me blood and I promise you freedom.

Why INA Withdrew*

We started the operations too late. The monsoon was disadvantageous to us. Our roads were submerged. River traffic had to be against the current. Against this the enemy had first-class roads. Our only chance was to take Imphal before the rains started; and we would have succeeded if we had more air support and if the enemy forces in Imphal had not special orders to make a stand to the last man. If we had started in January, we would have succeeded. In all sectors, till the rains began, we either held the enemy or advanced. In the Arakan Sector, the enemy was held. In the Kaladan Sector, we routed the enemy and advanced. In Tiddim, we advanced. In Palel and Kohima also, we advanced. In the Haka Sector, we held them and all this in spite of the numerical superiority that the enemy had, plus equipment and rations.

When the rains came, we had to postpone the general assault on Imphal. The enemy was able to send mechanized divisions and thus was able to retake the Kohima-Imphal Road. The question then arose where we should hold the line. There were two courses open : either to hold on to the Bishenpur-Palel Line and not allow the enemy to advance; or to fall back and hold a more advantageous position.

What are the lessons we have learnt from the campaign? We have received our baptism of fire. A body of ex-civilians who were ordered to withdraw when the ammunition was exhausted preferred not to withdraw, and with fixed bayonets they charged the enemy. They came back victorious.

Our troops have gained much confidence. We have learnt that the Indian troops with the enemy are willing to come over. We must now make arrangements to take them over. We have learnt the tactics of the enemy. We have captured enemy documents. The experience gained by our Commanders has been invaluable. Before the campaign started, the

* Extracts from speech delivered on 13 August 1944.

Japanese had no confidence in our troops and wanted to break them up into batches attached to the Japanese Army. I wanted a front to be given to our men and this was ultimately given.

We have also learnt our defects. Transport and supply were defective owing to the difficult terrain. We had no Front Line Propaganda. Though we had prepared personnel for this, we could not use them owing to lack of transport. Henceforth each Unit of the INA will have a propaganda unit attached to it. We wanted loudspeakers but the Japanese failed to supply them to us. We are now making our own.

Price of Liberty*

Our motherland is seeking liberty. She can no more live without liberty. But liberty demands sacrifice at its altar. Liberty demands the unstinted sacrifice of your strength, your wealth, all that you value, all that you possess. Like the revolutionaries of the past you must sacrifice your ease, your comfort, your pleasures, your cash, your property. You have given your sons as soldiers for the battlefields. But the Goddess of Liberty is not yet appeased. I shall tell you the secret of pleasing her. Today she demands not merely fighters, soldiers, for the Fauj. Today she demands rebels—men rebels and women rebels—who will be prepared to join Suicide Squads—for whom death is a certainty—rebels who will be ready to drown the enemy in the streams of blood that shall flow from their own body.

Tum Muz ko Khun do.
Mai tumko Azadi doonga.

You give me your blood, I shall get you freedom—this is the demand of Liberty.

Listen to me. I do not want your emotional approval. I want rebels to step forward and sign this Suicide Squad oath—this document which is an appointment with death on the altar of the Goddess of Liberty. But you cannot sign an appointment with death in ordinary ink. You shall have to write with your own blood. Step up those who dare, I am here to witness your blood-seal for the liberty for our Motherland.

* Address to the fellow countrymen, Chief INA Soldiers, 22 September 1944.

B. Broadcasts made during INA Operations

Deny All Help to Britain*

At this stage of our struggle for the complete freedom of India, no power on earth can prevent me from arriving in your midst. All Indians should take advantage of the present trend of world events to achieve their objective.

If India follows Britain and takes her side, then she will meet the same doom as will fall upon Britain. I therefore warn my compatriots not to help Britain in any manner whatsoever.

Even a small child can see that the British Empire is going to be smashed to pieces. It has neither air power, nor naval power, nor a big army. Britain is trying to terrorize India into obedience. But just as she could not save herself in Africa, Europe and East Asia, so also, I assure you, she cannot do anything in India.

In such a critical situation it is the duty of every Indian to join hands with the enemies of Britain. Britain's enemies are our allies.

Brothers, we will have to make great sacrifices in this struggle, because British Imperialism will rather be prepared to lose England itself than to give up India. This is the strange logic of British Imperialism.

At this juncture we must discharge our duty adequately. We cannot get freedom as a gift from Britain. We must win our freedom and independence by shedding our own blood at the altar of our motherland.

My compatriots, I will be informing you from time to time about the steps which our allies might take against Britain. My secret agents,

* Broadcast from Azad Hind Radio, Germany, 25 April 1942.



Broadcast to the Fellow countrymen from Singapore in 1943

who are operating throughout India, are regularly getting their orders over the radio in secret codes. Among the officials alone we have more than 50,000 agents. Apart from this there are innumerable fifth-columnists. They will strike at the opportune moment. When the overseas Indians advance, those lakhs and lakhs of Indians who are operating behind the enemy lines will join them. Therefore, my friends, you need not think that you are alone or without support in this struggle.

Muster all your strength and be ready to give the death-blow to Britain.

Inquilab Zindabad! Azad Hind Zindabad !

The Pledge of the INA*

Brave Soldiers ! Today you have taken an oath that you will give fight to the enemy till the last breath of your life, under the national tricolour. From today you are the soldiers of the Indian National Army of free India. You have volunteered to shoulder the responsibility of forty crores of Indians. From today your mind, might and money belong to the Indian nation.

Pioneers of Azad Hind

Friends, you have the honour to be the pioneer soldiers of Azad Hind Fauj. Your names will be written in golden letters in the history of free India. Every soldier who is martyred in this holy war will have a monument in free India. The coming generations will shower flowers on those monuments. You are very fortunate that you have got this valuable opportunity to serve your motherland. Although we are performing this ceremony in a foreign land, our heads and hearts are in our country. You should remember that your military and political responsibilities are increasing day by day and you must be ready to shoulder them competently. The drum of Indian independence has been sounded. We have to prepare for the battle ahead. We should prepare ourselves as early as possible so that we can perform the duties we have shouldered. I assure you that the time is not far off when you will have to put to use the military skill which you possess.

Today we are taking the vow of independence under the National Flag. A time will come when you will salute this flag in the Red Fort. But remember that you will have to pay the price of freedom. Freedom can never be had by begging. It has to be got by force. Its price is blood. We will not beg freedom from any foreign country. We shall achieve freedom by paying its price. It does not matter how much price we have to pay for it. I assure you that I shall lead the army when we march to India

* Broadcast to the Indian National Army in Europe, June 1942.

together. The news of the ceremony that we are performing here has reached India. It will encourage the patriots at home, who are fighting empty-handed against the British. Throughout my life it was my ambition to equip an army that will capture freedom from the enemy. Today I congratulate you because the honour of such an army belongs to you. With this I close my speech. May God be with you and give you strength to fulfil the pledge which you have taken voluntarily today.

Inquilab Zindabad!

This War and Its Significance*

Countrymen and friends ! I want to deal in the first place with the meaning of this war, and the historical facts lying behind it. Well, this war is a clash between the forces that want to maintain the *status quo* in the world and the new forces that are determined to destroy it in order to usher in a new order. The former includes the Anglo-American imperialistic powers that have been masquerading under the cloak of freedom and democracy. Victory to these imperialistic powers would mean the perpetuation of our servitude as well as the continued enslavement of many other unfortunate nations.

In this titanic conflict, our national interest clearly lies in allying ourselves with those young and virile nations who are determined to overthrow the *status quo* and thereby give us a chance of winning our liberty.

It should be fully evident that the Tripartite Powers by fighting our age-long enemy and inflicting terrible defeats on him have been indirectly helping our national struggle to a remarkable degree. If our enemy had not been mortally wounded by these Powers, our task of achieving liberty would have been a hundred times more difficult than it is today. We are grateful for this, but we are even more grateful that the Tripartite Powers are not only content with giving us indirect help, but have been offering active support and assistance in our fight for freedom.

I know that there are some countrymen of mine who, having been brought up in English institutions and having been influenced by English propaganda, doubt the merits of the Tripartite Powers. I would ask those countrymen to put their trust in me, for the powerful British Government that has persecuted me all my life and has imprisoned me eleven times has not been able to demoralize me. No power on earth can hope to do

* Broadcast from Tokyo, 24 June 1943.

so. And if the wily, cunning and resourceful British politicians have failed to cajole and corrupt me, nothing else can do so.

In all the Axis countries I have visited, I have not only studied very closely the public opinion in regard to India, but I have also acquainted myself at first hand with the attitude and policy of the three Governments. The latest declaration of Premier Tojo made at the Imperial Diet on 16 June 1943, which I had the privilege of hearing personally, following my interview with him on 14 June, was absolutely clear and unequivocal. In the course of that statement, which will live in history for all times as an epoch-making declaration, His Excellency said: "Japan is firmly resolved to extend means in order to help to expel and eliminate from India the Anglo-Saxon influences which are the enemy of the Indian people, and enable India to achieve full independence in the true sense of the term."

Friends! I know some anti-Axis people have been making efforts to mislead the Indian people by suggesting that it is unbelievable that the Axis Powers should become so generous as to support India's demand for independence. But to me the attitude of every Axis Power is both natural and easily understandable. Today, the Axis Powers and India have a common enemy, and therefore a common interest and objective.

The Axis Powers must in their own interest and in order to ensure their own freedom and prosperity in the future defeat and overthrow the British Empire. In order to achieve that aim they must expel the Anglo-American Powers and influence from India, and they must do this even if the Indian people preferred to remain under the British yoke. Knowing, however, that the Indian people have been struggling for their freedom, the sympathy of the Axis Powers naturally goes out to them. Moreover, if India could achieve her national emancipation from the British Empire, it will be of advantage to the whole world including the Axis Powers. Reason and commonsense should therefore easily comprehend why the Axis Powers have adopted so friendly an attitude towards the Indian independence movement.

Having been completely foiled in their anti-Axis and anti-Japanese propaganda, the Anglo-American imperialists and their hirelings have fallen back on their last subterfuge. Referring to Premier Tojo's repeated declarations, they have been saying that these declarations are the embodiment of policies intended to bluff gullible and credulous people. There is an old saying in Sanskrit which you all know : *atmawat mantyate jagat*—which means that a man would judge the world according to his own nature. Being hypocrites themselves, these people think that everybody else is a hypocrite.

However, Premier Tojo has given the most effective and crushing reply to such vile propaganda by declaring to the world that before the end of the present year, both Burma and the Philippines, will have independence in reality. I wonder what new arguments our enemies can possibly invent for their anti-Axis propaganda when this year is out.

Countrymen! You are aware that towards the end of 1940, since I saw that Mahatma Gandhi had at long last launched the Civil Disobedience campaign, I felt that the honour and prestige of the Indian people had been vindicated and it was necessary to plan the Indian revolution on a larger scale and in an effective manner in order to bring it to fruition. But, for that, it was necessary to have information on the international situation and to establish contact with the Axis Powers and to secure the active assistance of our countrymen abroad. Today I am in a position to announce to you that all these objectives have been fully achieved.

Firstly, we know the international situation at first hand and we are therefore convinced of our ultimate victory.

Secondly, we know at first hand that the Axis Powers in general, and Japan in particular, are the best friends and allies that the Indian people now have in their struggle for freedom.

Thirdly, all Indians outside India, who are not living in countries directly under the control of our enemies, have now been brought together into one well-knit organization. They are closely following developments inside India and, on the other hand, they are keeping unimpeded contact with international events. They are making all possible preparations to bring at the right time the maximum assistance to you who have been carrying on this struggle at home in spite of internment, persecution and brutality.

Friends! You may remember that I have in the past assured you more than once that, when the hour strikes, I, and many others like myself, will be by your side to share the glory of fighting and suffering side by side and to share with you the joy of victory as well.

The British Broadcasting Corporation has said that I did not have the slightest intention of fulfilling my pledge. I would like to tell them that my pledge which had been given not to the B.B.C. but to my countrymen, will be redeemed in the fullness of time. Now I am not far from the Indian frontier. No power on earth was able to hamper my movements since January 1941; and no power on earth will be able to prevent my crossing the frontier once again in order to participate in the last phase of our national struggle.

Countrymen and Friends! In conclusion, let me convey through you to our comrades in prison and in internment my brotherly greetings. Tell them to be of good cheer. They have upheld the honour and prestige of our country. Through their sufferings, they have declared to the whole world that enslaved India is at war with Britain. I and all those who have been working outside India are proud of them. Not a day passes without our paying humble homage to their noble martyrdom. I assure them once again that their sufferings will not be in vain. India shall be free, and before long and a free India will throw open the prison gates so that her worthy sons may step out of the darkness of the prison cells into the light of freedom, joy and self-fulfilment.

Inquilab Zindabad! Azad Hind Zindabad!

Call for Revolt*

Men of the Indian Army! You are all my brothers. You must realize that Burma is free and that the flag of free Burma flies over the former residence of the British Governor. The British have mobilized you today with the wicked intent of re-enslaving Burma. That is impossible. You, as members of a fighting force, must now be aware of the real nature of the situation in Burma. Your comrades of the 5th and 7th Division are completely encircled. The other British divisions did not come to their help, but fled like cowards. Their only hope of salvation lies in surrender. If they continue to fight for the British, they will have to be wiped out.

The Indian National Army has launched the final struggle for freedom. It will not rest until it has completely driven the British out of India. It will succeed in its mission, for it not only has the support of the three million Indians in East Asia, but of nine major World Powers also. The British look to the Africans, Australians, Canadians and Chinese to help them. There is every justification for our looking to Japan for assistance in our fight against British imperialism. The Indian National Army has begun its march to Delhi.

Friends, the Indian National Army and the Japanese will welcome you with open arms. I appeal to you to desert the British Indian Army and to join us with your arms and equipment.

Azad Hind Zindabad!

* Broadcast from Free India Radio, Saigon, 17 February 1944.

C. Special Messages

Freedom for the Motherland* — Letter to Gandhiji

Mahatmaji,

After the sad demise of Shrimati Kasturba in British custody, it was but natural for your countrymen to be alarmed over the state of your health... For Indian's outside India, differences in method are like domestic differences. Ever since you sponsored the Independence Resolution at the Lahore Congress in December, 1929 all members of the Indian National Congress have had one common goal before them. For Indians outside India, you are the creator of the present awakening in our country... The high esteem in which you are held by patriotic Indians outside India and by foreign friends of India's freedom, was increased a hundred-fold when you bravely sponsored the "Quit India" Resolution in August 1942...

It would be a fatal mistake on our part to make a distinction between the British Government and the British people. No doubt there is a small group of idealists in Britain — as in the U.S.A. — who would like to see India free. These idealists, who are treated by their own people as cranks, form a microscopic minority....

I can assure you, Mahatmaji, 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 my people so long, to the best of my ability, I could have no desire to be a traitor, or to give anyone a justification for calling me a traitor... Thanks to the generosity and to the affection of my countrymen, I had

* Extracts from Netaji's letter to Mahatma Gandhi written on 6 July 1944.

obtained the highest honour which it was possible for any public worker in India to achieve. I had also built up a party consisting of staunch and loyal colleagues who had implicit confidence in me. By going abroad on a perilous quest, I was risking, not only my life and my whole future career, but what was more, the future of my party. If I had the slightest hope that without action from abroad we could win freedom, I would never have left India during a crisis. If I had any hope that within our lifetime we could get another chance — another golden opportunity — for winning freedom, as during the present war, I doubt if I would have set out from home...

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 politician 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...

There was a time when Japan was an ally of our enemy. I did not come to Japan, so long as there was an Anglo-Japanese Alliance. I did not come to Japan, so long as normal diplomatic relations obtained between the two countries. It was not only after Japan took what I considered to be the most momentous step in her history, namely, declaration of war on Britain and America, that I decided to visit Japan of my own free will... Like so many of my countrymen, my sympathies in 1937 and 1938 were with Chungking. You may remember that as President of the Congress, I was responsible for sending out a medical mission to Chungking in December 1938...

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 declarations of policy had been mere promises...

Mahatmaji, I should now like to say something about the Provisional Government that we have set up here. The Provisional Government has, its one objective, the liberation of India from British yoke, through an armed struggle. 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 any chance our countrymen at home should succeed in liberating themselves through their own efforts, or if by any chance, the British Government accepts your 'Quit India' resolution and gives effect to it. We are, however, proceeding on the assumption that neither of the above is possible and that an armed struggle is inevitable... India's last War of Independence has begun. Troops of the Azad Hind Fauj 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.

(July 6, 1944)

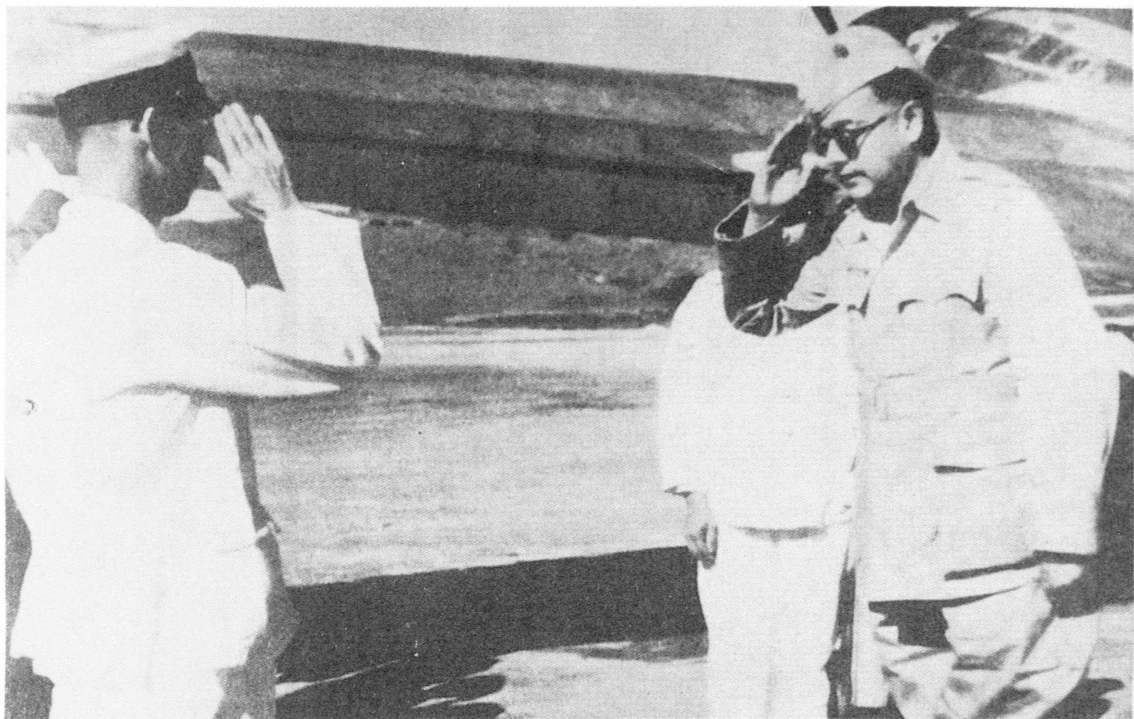
SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

The Call*

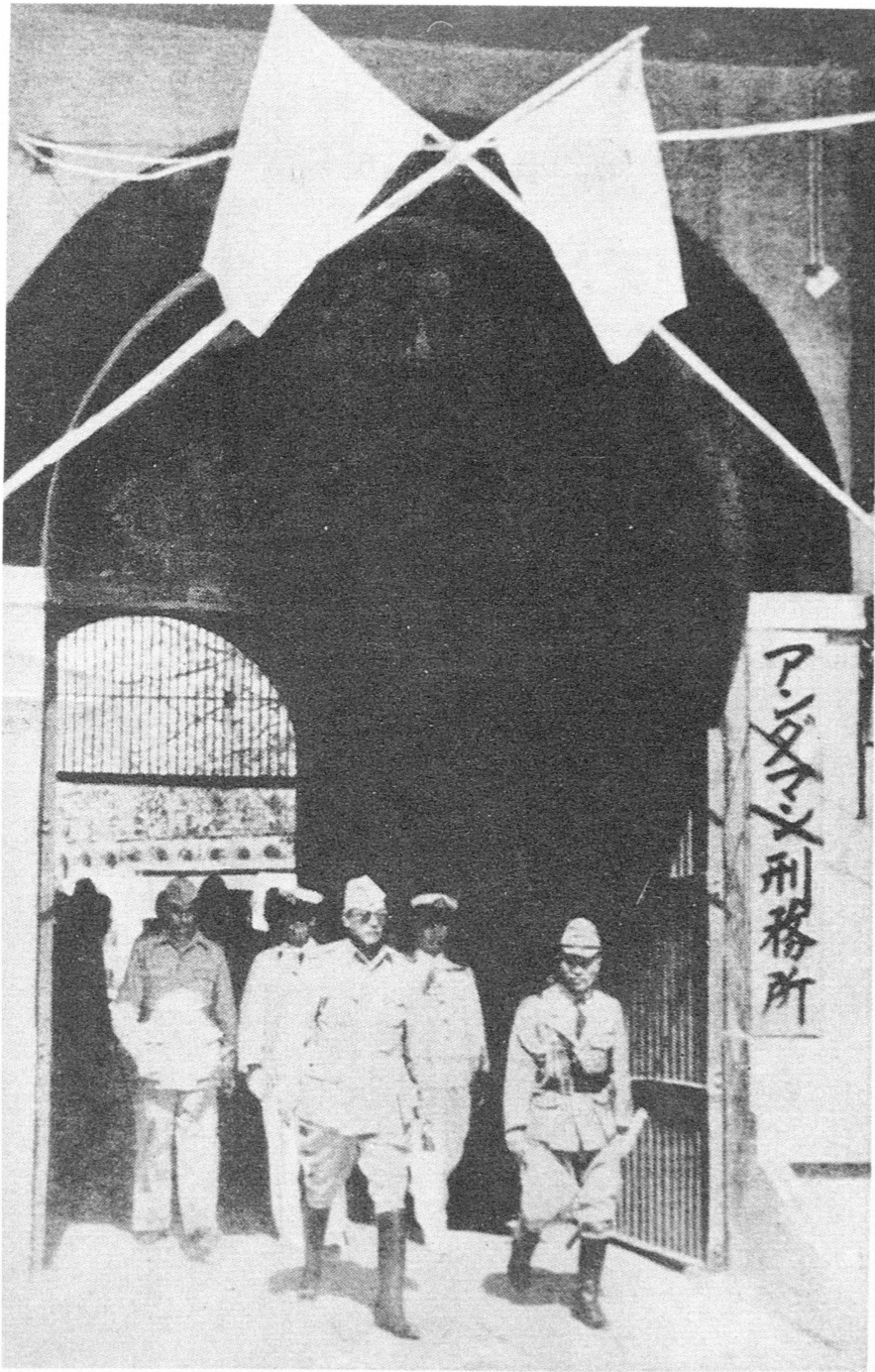
Friends! Countrymen! Today I have the unique privilege of sending you my heartiest greetings from the soil of independent Burma. Let the example of liberated Burma inspire us all to commence our last attack on British Imperialism. The Indian National Army—the Azad Hind Fauj—is ready to commence the last onslaught. Even our sisters in East Asia are now drilling with rifles and bayonets. We shall soon be coming to you. We shall soon be setting up the “second front” which will help you to pull down the British Raj, once for all. The day of their liberation is not far off. Meanwhile, complete all your preparations and wait for the “zero hour”, when we shall appear on the Indian frontier. Then, rise as one man and kick out the accused British from our holy land. And get our countrymen in the British Army of occupation to join you and us in the sacred struggle for India's freedom, when the signal is given. Behold the dawn of India's liberty!

Inquilab Zindabad! Azad Hind Zindabad!

* Letter to Countrymen written from Rangoon, 1 August 1943.



Arriving at Andamans as Head of the Provisional Government of INA



Visiting Cellular Jail, Port Blair (Now a National Memorial)

Return of the Andamans*

For Indians the return of the Andamans represents the first territory to be liberated from British yoke. By the acquisition of this territory, the Provisional Government has now become a national entity in fact as well as in name. The liberation of the Andamans has symbolic significance because the Andamans was always used by the British as a prison for political prisoners. Most of the political prisoners sentenced to penal servitude for conspiracies to overthrow the British Government—and there have been hundreds of them—were locked up in this island. Like the Bastille in Paris, which was liberated first in the French Revolution, setting free political prisoners, the Andamans where our patriots suffered is the first to be liberated in the India's fight for independence. Part by part, Indian territory will be liberated, but it is always the first plot of land that holds the most significance..... We have renamed the Andamans as "*Saheed*", in memory of the martyrs; and the Nicobars as '*Swaraj*'.

* Statement on Japanese Government's decision to transfer the Andaman and Nicobar Islands to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, 8 November 1943.

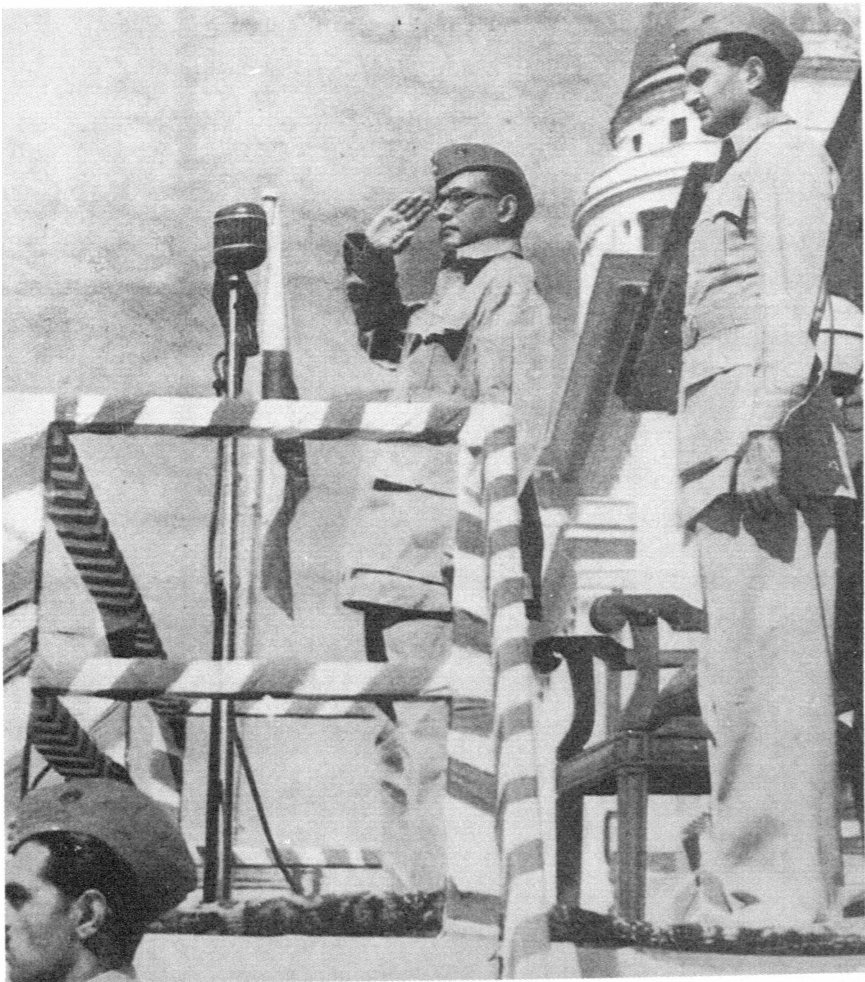
Trachery*

Comrades, as you know, the positive achievements of the officers and men of the Azad Hind Fauj last year on the field of battle and the victories that they scored over the enemy through their patriotism, bravery and self-sacrifice, were marred to some extent by the cowardice and treachery of a few officers and men. We were hoping that with the advent of the New Year all traces of cowardice and treachery would be wiped out, and that in this year's operations, the Azad Hind Fauj would be able to put up an unrullied record of heroism and self-sacrifice. But that was not to be. The recent treachery of five officers of the H.Q. of the 2nd Division has come as an eye-opener to us that all is not well within our ranks and that the seeds of cowardice and treachery have yet to be wiped out. If we now succeed in exterminating cowardice and treachery once for all, this shameful and despicable incident may, through God's grace, ultimately prove to be a blessing in disguise. I am, therefore, determined to take all possible measures necessary for the purification of our Army. I am confident that in this I shall have your full and unstinted support.

* Message from Burma, on 13 March 1945.



Netaji reading First Proclamation of Azad Hind Fauz



Taking Salute

D. Orders and Proclamations

1. Special Order of the Day on the Occasion of Taking Over Direct Command of the Army

In the interests of the Indian Independence Movement and of the Azad Hind Fauj I have taken over the direct command of our army from this day.

This is for me a matter of joy and pride — because for an Indian, there can be no greater honour than to be a Commander of India's Army of Liberation. But I am conscious of the magnitude of the task that I have undertaken and I feel weighed down with a sense of responsibility. I pray that God may give me the necessary strength to fulfil my duty to India under all circumstances, however, difficult or trying they may be.

I regard myself as the servant of thirty-eight crores of my countrymen who profess different religious faiths. I am determined to discharge my duties in such a manner that the interests of these thirty-eight crores may be safe in my hands, and that every single Indian will have reason to put complete trust in me. It is only on the basis of undiluted nationalism and of perfect justice and impartiality that India's Army of Liberation can be built up.

In the coming struggle for the emancipation of our Motherland, for the establishment of a Government of free India, based on the goodwill of thirty-eight crores of Indians and for the creation of a permanent army which will guarantee Indian independence for all time, the Azad Hind Fauj has a vital role to play. To fulfil this role, we must weld ourselves into an army that will have only one goal — namely, the freedom of India — and only one will — namely to do or die in the cause of India's freedom. When we stand, the Azad Hind Fauj has to be like a wall of granite : when we march, the Azad Hind Fauj has to be like a steam-roller.

Our task is not an easy one : the war will be long and hard, but I have complete faith in the justice and the invincibility of our cause. Thirty-eight crores of human beings, who form about one-fifth of the human race, have a right to be free and they are now prepared to pay the price of freedom. There is consequently no power on earth that can deprive us of our birthright of liberty any longer.

Comrades, Officers and men! With your unstinted support and unflinching loyalty, the Azad Hind Fauj will become the instrument of India's liberation. Ultimate victory will certainly be ours, I assure you.

Our work has already begun. With the slogan 'Onward to Delhi' on our lips, let us continue to labour and fight till our National Flag flies over the Viceroy's House in New Delhi, and the Azad Hind Fauj holds its victory parade inside the ancient Red Fortress of India's metropolis.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
Supreme Commander
25 August 1943.

2. Proclamation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind

After their first defeat at the hands of the British in 1757 in Bengal, the Indian people fought an uninterrupted series of hard and bitter battles over a stretch of one hundred years. The history of this period teems with examples of unparalleled heroism and self-sacrifice. And, in the pages of that history, the names of Sirajuddoula and Mohanlal of Bengal, Haider Ali, Tippu Sultan and Velu Tampi of South India, Appa Sahib Bhonsle and Peshwa Baji Rao of Maharashtra, the Begums of Oudh, Sardar Shyam Singh Atariwala of Punjab and last, but not least, Rani Laxmibai of Jhansi, Taty Tope, Maharaja Kunwar Singh of Dumraon and Nana Sahib — among others — the names of all these warriors are for ever engraved in letters of gold. Unfortunately for us our forefathers did not at first realise that the British constituted a grave threat to the whole of India, and they did not, therefore, put up a united front against the enemy. Ultimately, when the Indian people were roused to the reality of the situation, they made a concerted move — and under the flag of Bahadur Shah, in 1857, they fought their last war as free men. In spite of a series of brilliant victories in the early stages of this war, ill luck and faulty leadership gradually brought about their final collapse and subjugation. Nevertheless, such heroes as the Rani of Jhansi, Taty Tope, Kunwar Singh and Nana Sahib live like eternal stars in the nation's memory to inspire us to greater deeds of sacrifice and valour.

Forcibly disarmed by the British after 1857 and subjected to terror and brutality, the Indian people lay prostrate for a while—but with the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885, there came a new awakening. From 1885 until the end of the last World War, the Indian people, in their endeavour to recover their lost liberty, tried all possible methods—namely agitation and propaganda, boycott of British goods, terrorism and sabotage—and finally armed revolution. But all these efforts failed for a time. Ultimately in 1920, when the Indian people, haunted by a sense of failure, were groping for a new method, Mahatma Gandhi came forward with the new weapon of non-co-operation and civil disobedience.

For two decades thereafter, the Indian people went through a phase of intense patriotic activity. The message of freedom was carried to every Indian home. Through personal example, people were taught to suffer, to sacrifice and to die in the cause of freedom. From the centre to the remotest villages, the people were knit together into one political organisation. Thus, the Indian people not only recovered their political consciousness but became a political entity once again. They could now speak with one voice and strive with one will for one common goal. From 1937 to 1939, through the work of the Congress Ministries in eight provinces, they gave proof of their readiness and their capacity to administer their own affairs.

Thus, on the eve of the present World War, the stage was set for the final struggle for India's liberation. During the course of their war Germany, with the help of her allies has dealt shattering blows to our enemy in Europe—while Nippon, with the help of her allies, has inflicted a knockout blow to our enemy in East Asia. Favoured by a most happy combination of circumstances, the Indian people today have a wonderful opportunity for achieving their national emancipation.

For the first time in recent history, Indians abroad have also been politically roused and united in one organisation. They are not only thinking and feeling in tune with their countrymen at home, but are also marching in step with them, along the path to freedom. In East Asia, in particular over two million Indians are now organised as one solid phalanx, inspired by the slogan of 'Total Mobilisation' And in front of them stand the serried ranks of India's Army of Liberation, with the slogan 'Onward to Delhi' on their lips.

Having goaded Indians to desperation by its hypocrisy and having driven them to starvation and death by plunder and loot, British rule in India has forfeited the goodwill of the Indian people altogether and is now living a precarious existence. It needs but a flame to destroy the last

vestige of that unhappy rule. To light that flame is the task of India's Army of Liberation. Assured of the enthusiastic support of the civil population at home and also of a large section of Britain's Indian Army, and backed by gallant and invincible allies abroad—but relying in the first instance on its own strength, India's Army of Liberation is confident of fulfilling its historic role.

Now that the dawn of freedom is at hand it is the duty of the Indian people to set up a Provisional Government of their own, and launch the last struggle under the banner of that Government. But with all the Indian leaders in prison and the people at home totally disarmed—it is not possible to set up a Provisional Government within India or to launch an armed struggle under the aegis of that government. It is, therefore, the duty of the Indian Independence League in East Asia, supported by all patriotic Indians at home and abroad, to undertake this task — the task of setting up a Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India) and of conducting the last fight for freedom, with the help of the Army of Liberation, (that is, the Azad Hind Fauj or the Indian National Army) organised by the League.

Having been constituted as the Provisional Government of Azad Hind by the Indian Independence League in East Asia, we enter upon our duties with a full sense of the responsibility that has devolved on us. We pray that Providence may bless our work and our struggle for the emancipation of our Motherland. And we hereby pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades in arms to the cause of her freedom, of her welfare and her exaltation among the nations of the world.

It will be the task of the Provisional Government to launch and to conduct the struggle that will bring about the expulsion of the British and their allies from the soil of India. It will then be the task of the Provisional Government to bring about the establishment of a permanent National Government of Azad Hind constituted in accordance with the will of the Indian people and enjoying their confidence. After the British and their allies are overthrown and until a permanent National Government of Azad Hind is set up on Indian soil, the Provisional Government will administer the affairs of the country in trust for the Indian people.

The Provisional Government is entitled to, and hereby claims the allegiance of every Indian. It guarantees religious liberty as well as equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens. It declares its firm resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts cherishing all the children of the nation equally and transcending all the differences cunningly fostered by an alien government in the past.

In the name of God, in the name of bygone generations who have welded the Indian people into one nation, and in the name of the dead heroes who have bequeathed to us a tradition of heroism and self-sacrifice—we call upon the Indian people to rally round our banner and strike for India's freedom. We call upon them to launch the final struggle against the British and all their allies in India and to prosecute that struggle with valour and perseverance and full faith in final victory until the enemy is expelled from Indian soil and the Indian people are once again a Free Nation.

Signed on behalf of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
(Head of the State, Prime Minister and
Minister for War and Foreign Affairs)

Captain Mrs. Lakshmi (Women's Organisation)

S.A. Ayer (Publicity and Propaganda)

Lt. Col. A.C. Chatterji (Finance)

Lt. Col. Aziz Ahmed, Lt. Col. N.S. Bhagat, Lt. Col. J.K. Bhonsle,
Lt. Col. Gulzara Singh, Lt. Col. M.Z. Kiani,
Lt. Col. A.D. Loganadhan, Lt. Col. Ehsan Qadir,
Lt. Col. Shah Nawaz (Representatives of the Armed Forces)

A.M. Sahay, Secretary (with Ministerial rank)

Rash Behari Bose (Supreme Adviser)

Karim Ghano, Debnath Dass, D.M. Khan, A. Yellappa,
J. Thivy, Sardar Ishar Singh (Advisers)

A.N. Sarkar (Legal Adviser)

Syonan, 21st October 1943.

3. Special Order of the Day

The eyes of the whole world are focussed on the Arakan Front, where events of far-reaching consequence are taking place today. The glorious and brilliant actions of the brave units of Azad Hind Fauj working in close concert with the forces of the Imperial Nippon Army, have helped to foil all attempts by the Anglo-American forces to start a counter-offensive in this sector.

I am sure that the brave deeds of our comrades on the Arakan Front will be a great inspiration to all officers and men of the Azad Hind Fauj wherever they may be stationed at the present moment. Our long awaited march to Delhi has begun, and with grim determination, we shall continue that march until the tri-colour National Flag that is flying over the Arakan mountains is hoisted over the Viceregal Lodge, and until we hold our victory parade at the ancient Red Fortress of Delhi.

Comrades, Officers and men of India's Army of Liberation. Let there be one solemn resolve in your hearts — 'Either Liberty or Death.' And let there be but one slogan on your lips — 'Onward to Delhi.' The road to Delhi is the road to freedom. That is the road along which we must march, victory will certainly be ours.

Inquilab Zindabad ! Azad Hind Zindabad !

Subhas Chandra Bose
9 February 1944.

4. I.N.A. Proclamation on Entering India

I. The Indian National Army, under the leadership of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, has now massed in force and advanced into a territory of Eastern India as the spearhead for the creation of a Free India.

The Indian National Army with the help and co-operation of the Imperial Nipponese Army has pushed into Eastern India with the object of crushing the Anglo-American forces the common enemy of East Asia; of making India really an India for Indians by liberating her from the shackles of the despotic rule under which she has been groaning for ages; of bringing complete freedom and peace and order to three hundred and eighty million of our brothers and sisters in India; and also of driving away the Anglo-American menace from the borders of our neighbours — the Independent Burmese.

Brothers and Sisters in India!

Be engaged in your daily work without fear; gather wholeheartedly under your Tricolour Flag of Independence hoisted by the Provisional Government of Azad Hind; brace yourselves up for winning complete Independence by retaking our Motherland from the hands of our enemies, the Anglo Americans.

The East Indian Territory into which the Indian National Army has advanced with the powerful aid of the Imperial Nipponese Army, as well as the people thereof, have now been liberated from the bondage of the Anglo Americans. The territory has become the first free Indian territory on the Mainland of India under the Provisional Government and will serve as the base for liberating our Motherland. The Imperial Nipponese Army will not establish a military administration but will co-operate with and wholeheartedly help the Provisional Government of Azad Hind in maintaining perfect peace and order.

II. If any person fails to understand the intentions of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Indian National Army or of our Ally, the Nippon Army, and dares to commit such acts as are itemised hereunder and as would hamper the sacred task of emancipating India, he shall be executed or severely punished in accordance with the Criminal Law of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Indian National Army or the Martial Law of the Nippon Army, the application of which has been agreed upon between the two allied Armies, namely, the Indian National Army and its Ally, the Imperial Nipponese Army.

Punishable Acts

- (1) Rebellious acts against the Provisional Government of Azad Hind or the Indian National Army, or our Ally, the Nipponese Army.
- (2) Acts of spying.
- (3) Acts of stealing and taking by force, damaging and destroying war materials which are in the possession of the Provisional Government or belong to our Ally, the Nippon Army.
- (4) Acts of damaging or destroying of valuable material resources controlled or utilised by the Provisional Government of Azad Hind or by the Nippon Army under previous agreement with the Provisional Government.
- (5) Acts of destroying various installations or equipments for traffic, communication, transportation, broadcasting etc., which are controlled or utilised by the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Indian National Army, or by the Nippon Army under previous agreement with the Provisional Government; or acts of interference with the employment and utilisation thereof.
- (6) Violent acts against, intimidation of, killing or wounding of, or doing other harmful acts to those who belong to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Indian National Army or our Ally, the Nippon Army.
- (7) Acts of spreading enemy propaganda or wild and false rumours, and other acts of disturbing, and misleading the minds of the inhabitants.
- (8) Acts of disturbing the money circulation and economic organisation or of obstructing the production and free interchange of commodities.
- (9) Any act other than those contained in the above items, that benefits the enemy or is harmful to peace and order, and the well-being of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Indian National Army or our Ally, the Nippon Army.
- (10) Acts of attempting, instigating and abetting those acts contained in the above items.

The trial and punishment of such criminals will entirely be at the discretion of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind except when crimes committed are of such a nature as of necessity, owing to war-time emergency, must be dealt with by the Nippon Army as agreed upon between the two Allied Armies.

III. The Nippon Army will maintain strict discipline and protect in the area into which they have advanced the lives and properties of the Indian masses who do not commit any hostile act and due respect will be paid to the religions, customs and manners of the Indian people.

It is guaranteed that any Nippon soldier that may violate these strict injunctions shall be severely punished in accordance with the Martial Law of the Imperial Nipponese Army.

The Indian National Army will maintain strict discipline and protect, in the area into which it has advanced, the lives and properties of the Indian Masses who do not commit any hostile act; and due respect will be paid to the religions, customs and manners of our countrymen.

It is guaranteed that any Indian soldier that may violate these strict injunctions shall be severely punished in accordance with the Martial Law of the Indian National Army.

THE ABOVE IS SOLEMNLY PROCLAIMED IN THE MONTH OF
IN THE YEAR 1944 BY THE SUPREME COMMANDER OF THE
INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY.

5. Second Proclamation

Under the leadership of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind which was formed on the 21 October, 1943, at Syonan (formerly Singapore) by the unanimous will of the three million Indians East Asia, the Indian National Army has crossed the frontier and has penetrated deep into Indian territory.

The Provisional Government of Azad Hind, your own Government has only one mission to fulfil. That mission is to expel the Anglo-American armies from the sacred soil of India by armed force and then to bring about the establishment of a permanent National Government of Azad Hind, in accordance with the will of the Indian people.

The Provisional Government of Azad Hind will continue the armed struggle until the Anglo-American forces are annihilated or expelled from India.

While prosecuting the armed struggle for the complete liberation of India the Provisional Government of free India will push on with the work of reconstruction of the liberated areas.

The Provisional Government of Azad Hind is the only lawful Government of the Indian people. The Provisional Government calls upon the Indian people in the liberated areas to render all assistance and co-operation to the Indian National Army and to the civilian officials appointed by the Provisional Government.

The Provisional Government guarantees the safety of life and property of the Indian population in the liberated areas, but will inflict severe punishment on those who carry on any activities, overt or covert, which might be of help to our Anglo-American enemies or their allies, or might disturb the work of reconstruction to be started by the Provisional Government.

The Provisional Government calls upon the Indian people to co-operate whole-heartedly with our Ally, the Nippon Army, who are giving unstinted and unconditional assistance in defeating our enemies. In the last two years, the British have been strongly reinforcing themselves with troops from America, Australia, Chung-king-china and East and West Africa. The Provisional Government has, therefore, felt compelled to avail itself of the generous offer of all-out aid made by Nippon, whose armed forces have scored unparalleled victories over the Anglo-Americans, since the beginning of the war in East Asia. The Provisional Government of Azad Hind is supremely confident that the Indian

National Army, with the aid of the invincible forces of our Ally, the Nippon Army, will crush the Anglo-Americans and bring about the complete liberation of India.

The Provisional Government is fully convinced of Nippon's sincerity towards India. The Provisional Government is convinced that Nippon has no territorial, political, economic or military ambitions in India. The Provisional Government is convinced that Nippon is interested only in destroying the Anglo-American forces in India which are the enemies not only of India, but of Asia as well. The destruction of Anglo-American Imperialism alone will terminate this war and bring peace to the world.

In accordance with its status as an independent Government, the Provisional Government of Azad Hind is arranging to issue its own currency in Rupee-Notes of different denominations. But owing to the rapid development of the war situation, culminating in our quick advance into India, it has not been possible to bring into India, in time, the currency of the Provisional Government. The circumstances have, therefore, rendered it necessary for the Provisional Government to borrow from the Nipponese Government the currency (*viz.*, military rupee notes) already in its possession and to use that currency as a temporary measure. As soon as the Provisional Government's own currency is available, the currency borrowed from the Nipponese Government will be gradually withdrawn from circulation.

Brothers and Sisters! Now that our enemies are being driven out of Indian soil, you are becoming once again what you were before —namely, free men and women Rally round your own Government—the Provisional Government of Azad Hind —and thereby help in preserving and safeguarding your newly-won liberty.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

Head of the State

4 April 1944.

6. Special Order of the Day on the Withdrawal from Imphal

Comrades of the Azad Hind Fauj,

In the middle of March this year, advanced units of the Azad Hind Fauj, fighting shoulder to shoulder with their valiant allies, the Imperial Nippon Forces, crossed the Indo-Burma border and the fight for India's liberation thereupon commenced on Indian soil.

The British authorities, by ruthlessly exploiting India for over a century and bringing foreign soldiers to fight their battles for them, had managed to put up a mighty force against us. After crossing the Indo-Burma border, inspired by the righteousness of our cause, we encountered these numerically superior and better equipped, but heterogeneous and disunited forces of the enemy and defeated them in every battle. Our units, with their better training and discipline, and unshakable determination to do or die on the path of India's freedom, soon established their superiority over the enemy, whose morale deteriorated with each defeat. Fighting under the most trying conditions, our officers and men displayed such courage and heroism that they have earned the praise of everybody. With their blood and sacrifice, these heroes have established traditions which the future soldiers of free India will have to uphold. All preparations had been completed and the stage had been set for the final assault on Imphal when torrential rains overtook us, and to carry Imphal by assault was rendered a tactical impossibility. Handicapped by the elements, we were forced to postpone our offensive. After the postponement of the offensive it was found disadvantageous for our troops to continue to hold that line that we then had. For securing a more favourable defensive position, it was considered advisable to withdraw our troops. In accordance with this decision, our troops have withdrawn to a more favourable defensive position. We shall now utilise the period of lull in completing our preparations, so that with the advent of better weather, we may be in a position to resume our offensive. Having beaten the enemy once in several sectors of the front, our faith in our final victory and in the destruction of the Anglo-American forces of aggression has increased tenfold. As soon as all our preparations are complete, we shall launch a mighty offensive against our enemies once again. With the superior fighting qualities, dauntless courage and unshakable devotion of duty of our officers and men, victory shall surely be ours.

May the souls of those heroes who have fallen in this campaign inspire us to still nobler deeds of heroism and bravery in the next phase of India's War of Liberation.

Jai Hind !

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
*Supreme Commander,
Azad Hind Fauj
Burma, 14 August 1944.*

7. Special Order of the Day — New Year's Day 1945

Comrades of the Azad Hind Fauj,

On this auspicious New Year's Day, I want you, first of all, to look back on your achievement and on your progress since the formation of the Azad Hind Fauj. There can be no doubt whatsoever that in spite of many difficulties and drawbacks, your achievement and progress may have been truly remarkable. This has been possible because of the passionate desire for freedom which inspires the Indian people today, the many-sided assistance rendered by our countrymen in East Asia, the valuable aid offered by our Allies, and — above all — the hard work and sacrifice that you yourselves have put in.

Before the end of 1943, units of the Azad Hind Fauj began moving in the direction of the Indo-Burma frontier. On the 4th February 1944, India's War of Independence was launched in the Arakan region of Burma. On the 21st March 1944, we were able to proclaim to the whole world that the Azad Hind Fauj had crossed the eastern frontier of India and was fighting on the sacred soil of India. Since then, the fight has been going on and in the course of that campaign, many of our comrades, while fighting heroically, have laid down their lives on the field of battle.

The heroism and self-sacrifice of the officers and men of the Azad Hind Fauj in India's War of Independence have already become a priceless heritage for the India of tomorrow — while for the Azad Hind Fauj itself, they have become a glorious and undying tradition which will serve as an inspiration for all time.

Comrades! On this auspicious day, I want you all to pay a silent homage to our immortal heroes and to re-new your solemn pledge to continue the fight until complete victory is achieved. India is calling you. The souls of your comrades are urging you on to still braver deeds. Therefore, gird up your loins for the hard battle that lies ahead. There can be no rest and no pause for us until our tricolour national flag is hoisted over India's metropolis.

Comrades! Our immortal heroes have paid for India's liberty with their own blood. We are proud of them. But we too must be ready for that supreme sacrifice. The Azad Hind Fauj can justify its name and fulfil its task—only if it is ready to fight and die to the last man. We have to give our blood and take the blood of our enemies. Therefore, let your slogan—your battle-cry—for the year 1945 be.... 'Blood, blood and blood'

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
1 January 1945.

8. Special Order of the Day (On the Desertions)

To all officers and men of the Azad Hind Army

Comrades,

As you all know, the positive achievements of the Officers and men of the Azad Hind Fauj last year on the field of battle, and the victories that they scored over the enemy through their patriotism, bravery and self-sacrifice were marred to some extent by the cowardice and treachery of a few officers and men. We were hoping that with the advent of the New Year all traces of cowardice and treachery would be wiped out; and that in this year's operations the Azad Hind Fauj would be able to put up an unsullied record of heroism and self sacrifice. But that was not to be. The recent treachery of five officers of the H.Q. of the 2nd Division has come as an eye-opener to us that all is not well within our ranks and that the seeds of cowardice and treachery have yet to be wiped out. If we now succeed in exterminating cowardice and treachery once for all, this shameful and despicable incident may, through God's grace ultimately prove to be a blessing in disguise. I am, therefore, determined to take all possible measures necessary for the purification of our Army. I am confident that in this I shall have your full and unstinted support. In order to destroy completely the germs of cowardice and treachery, the following measures will have to be adopted :

1. Every member of the Azad Hind Fauj, Officer, N.C.O. or Sepoy will, in future, be entitled to arrest any other member of the Azad Hind Fauj, no matter what his rank may be, if he behaves in a cowardly manner or to shoot him if he acts in a treacherous manner.

2. I am giving an opportunity to all members of the Azad Hind Fauj who may not feel inclined to work dutifully or fight courageously in future to leave the ranks to the Azad Hind Fauj. This offer will be open for one week from the time of its communication.

3. In addition to giving an opportunity to unwilling elements to leave voluntarily the ranks of the Azad Hind Fauj I want to carry out a thorough purge of our Army. During the course of this purge, all those will be removed against whom there is suspicion that they may fail us; or betray us, at the critical moment. In order to carry out this purge successfully I want your fullest co-operation and I want you, therefore, to give me and my trusted officers all available information about any cowardly or treacherous elements that may still exist in our Army.

4. It will not be enough to carry out a thorough purge now. In future, also, vigilance will have to continue. It will, therefore, be the

duty of every member of the Azad Hind Fauj, in future, to keep his eyes and ears open in order to detect in good time any tendency towards cowardice or treachery. In future, if any member of the Azad Hind Fauj detects any tendency towards cowardice or treachery, he should report at once, either orally or in writing, either me or to the officers who may be within reach. In other words, from now onwards and for all time, every member of the Azad Hind Fauj should regard himself as the custodian of the honour and reputation of the Azad Hind Fauj and of the Indian Nation.

5. After the purge has been carried out and unwilling elements have been given an opportunity of leaving our Army, if there is any case of cowardice or treachery, the punishment will be death.

6. In order to create within our Army a moral bulwark against cowardice and treachery, we have to create an intense hatred against cowardice and treachery in any form. A strong feeling has to be created in the mind of every member of this Army that for a member of revolutionary army, there is no crime more heinous and despicable than to be a coward or a traitor. Instructions are being issued separately as to how we can create such an intense hatred against cowardice and treachery so that there will be no more cowards or traitors within our ranks.

7. After the purge has been carried out, every member of the Azad Hind Fauj will be required to renew his oath to fight on bravely and courageously until the emancipation of our dear Motherland is achieved. Instructions regarding the form and manner of this oath will be issued separately.

8. Special rewards will be given to those who give information regarding cowardly and treacherous elements or who arrest or shoot at the front cowardly and treacherous elements.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
*Supreme Commander,
Azad Hind Fauj,
Burma, 13 March 1945.*

9. Special Order of the Day (On the Traitors)

Comrades,

In order to express our indignation, disgust and hatred, against cowardice and treachery, a special observance will be held in every camp of the Azad Hind Fauj on a day to be previously fixed for the purpose. All officers and other ranks must take part in the observance. With regard to the details of the observance, each camp will be free to draw up its own programme with a view to making the observance a complete success. Directions in broad outlines are, however, being given herewith :

- (a) Poems or articles may be written and read, expressing hatred and disgust against cowardice and treachery.
- (b) Dramas may be improvised and acted for expressing abhorrence against cowardice and treachery.
- (c) Effigies of the traitors (Riaz, Madan, Sarwar, Dey, Mohammad Baksh and others) in cardboard or straw or clay or any other suitable material, either in human or in animal form, should be prepared and every member of the camp should give full vent to his disgust and hatred against the traitors.
- (d) Lectures should be delivered praising Indian heroes of the past and lauding the brave deeds of the members of the Azad Hind Fauj in the course of the present War of Liberation.
- (e) The day's observance should end with the singing of the National Anthem and collective shouting of slogans.

Special reward will be given to the camp that can put up the best show.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
*Supreme Commander,
Azad Hind Fauj
Burma, 13 March 1945.*

10. Special Message on Leaving Burma

To my Indian and Burmese Friends in Burma

Brothers and Sisters, I am leaving Burma with a very heavy heart. We have lost the first round of our fight for Independence. But we have lost only the first round. There are many more rounds to fight. In spite of our losing the first round, I see no reason for losing heart.

You, my countrymen in Burma, have done your duty to your Motherland in a way that evoked the admiration of the world. You have given liberally of your men, money and materials. You set the first example of Total Mobilisation. But the odds against us were overwhelming and we have temporarily lost the battle in Burma.

The spirit of selfless sacrifice that you have shown, particularly since I shifted my headquarters to Burma, is something that I shall never forget as long as I live.

I have the fullest confidence that spirit can never be crushed. For the sake of India's Freedom, I beseech you to keep up that spirit, I beseech you to hold your heads erect, and wait for that Blessed Day when once again you will have an opportunity of waging the War for India's Independence.

When the History of India's Last War of Independence come to be written, Indians in Burma will have an honoured place in the History

I do not leave Burma of my own free will. I would have preferred to stay on here and share with you the sorrow of temporary defeat. But on the pressing advice of my Ministers and high-ranking Officers, I have to leave Burma in order to continue the struggle for India's liberation. Being a born optimist, my unshakable faith in India's early emancipation remains unimpaired and I appeal to you to cherish the same optimism.

I have always said that the darkest hour precedes the dawn. We are now passing through the darkest hour : therefore, the dawn is not far off.

I cannot conclude this message without publicly acknowledging once again my heartfelt gratitude to the Government and people of Burma for all the help that I have received at their hands in carrying on this struggle. The day will come when Free India will repay that debt of gratitude in a generous manner.

*Inquilab Zindabad !
Azad Hind Zindabad !
Jai Hind' !*

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
24 March 1945

11. Special Order of the Day on Leaving Burma

Brave Officers and Men of the Azad Hind Fauj,

It is with a very heavy heart that I am leaving Burma — the scene of the many heroic battles that you have fought since February 1944 and are still fighting. In Imphal and Burma, we have suffered a reverse in the first round in our Fight for Independence. But it is only the first round. We have many more rounds to fight. I am a born optimist and I shall not admit defeat under any circumstances. Your brave deeds in the battle against the enemy on the plains of Imphal, the hills and jungles of Arakan and the oil field area and other localities in Burma will live in the history of our struggle for Independence for all time.

Comrades, at this critical hour, I have only one word of command to give you, and that is that if you have to go down temporarily, then go down fighting with the National Tricolor held aloft; go down as heroes; go down upholding the highest code of honour and discipline. The future generations of Indians who will be born, not as slaves but as free men, because of your colossal sacrifice, will bless your name and proudly proclaim to the world that you, their forbearers, fought and suffered reverses in the battle in Manipur, Assam and Burma, but through temporary failure you paved the way to ultimate success and glory

My unshakable faith in India's liberation remains unaltered. I am leaving in your safe hands our National Tricolour, our national honour, and the best traditions of Indian Warriors. I have no doubt whatsoever that you, the vanguard of India's Army of Liberation, will sacrifice everything, even life itself, to uphold India's National Honour, so that your comrades who will continue the fight elsewhere may have before them your shining example to inspire them at all times.

If I had my own way, I would have preferred to stay with you in adversity and share with you the sorrow of temporary defeat. But on the advice of my Ministers and high ranking officers, I have to leave Burma in order to continue the struggle for emancipation. Knowing my countrymen in East Asia and inside India, I can assure you, that they will continue the fight under all circumstances and that all your sufferings and sacrifices will not be in vain. So far as I am concerned, I shall steadfastly adhere to the pledge that I took on the 21st October 1943 to do all in my power to serve the interests of thirty eight crores of my countrymen and fight for their liberation. I appeal to you, in conclusion, to cherish the same optimism as myself and to believe like

myself, that the darkest hour always precedes the dawn. India shall be free — and before long.

May God bless you!
Inquilab Zindabad !
Azad Hind Zindabad !
Jai Hind !

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
Supreme Commander,
Azad Hind Fauj
24 April 1945.

12. Statement on the Treatment of I.N.A. Prisoners

Information that has reached us from reliable sources in Burma go to show that vindictive and brutal treatment is being meted out to officers and men of the Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army) who have been captured by the Anglo-Americans in Burma. As the whole world knows, the Anglo-Americans — and in particular the British — have always been in the habit of condemning Germany and Japan for their supposed ill-treatment of Anglo-American prisoners of war. But I would now like to ask what the Anglo-Americans are themselves doing with the members of the Azad Hind Fauj who happened to fall into their hands in Burma. Though the Allied Forces in Burma belong to several nationalities, the responsibility as regards the ill-treatment of the officers and men of the Azad Hind Fauj devolves solely on the British Authorities. The British Authorities cannot even invent the excuse that we ill-treated their troops who fell into our hands. The only Allied troops who fell into our hands were those who voluntarily came and joined the Azad Hind Fauj. And even Delhi Radio admitted some days ago that all those who joined the Azad Hind Fauj received good treatment.

It may be that the British Authorities think that we are not in a position to retaliate, and that they can, therefore, do what they like with our officers and men. But I would like to warn the British Authorities that this is not the case. If we are forced to do so we can find ways and means for adopting retaliatory measures in case they continue to ill-treat and persecute the officers and men of the Azad Hind Fauj. But before we are forced to think of retaliatory measures, there is one remedy open to us, which is not only efficacious but also easy. If our countrymen at home take up this matter and carry on a raging on and tearing campaign inside India, I am absolutely sure that the British Authorities will be brought to their senses and will see the error of their ways. Public opinion in India may not be strong enough to force the British to concede

independence to India, but it is certainly strong enough to stop the ill-treatment and persecution of members of the Azad Hind Fauj who have become prisoners of war at the hands of the British. Members of the Azad Hind Fauj are honest patriots and revolutionaries fighting for the freedom of their Motherland. They, no doubt, fought bravely and stubbornly against the British, but they fought with clean hands and with a clear conscience. They are, therefore, entitled to decent treatment during captivity, in accordance with international usage and convention. Consequently, I appeal to my countrymen at home to take up the cause of their own prisoner of war, who fought for India's liberation and who are now receiving brutal and vindictive treatment at the hands of the British. I appeal to them also to compel the British Authorities to divulge correct information about the fate of these prisoners of war, so that the world may judge how far the British themselves observe the rules and canons of international warfare, to which they pay so much lip-homage.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
Bangkok, 30 May, 1945.

13. Special Order of the Day on the Rumour of Surrender

Comrades,

All sorts of wild rumours are now afloat in Syonan and other places, one of them being that hostilities have ceased. Most of these rumours are either false or highly exaggerated. Till this moment fighting is going on all fronts, and I say this, not only on the basis of reports from friendly sources, but also of reports given out by the enemy radio. If there is any change in the war situation, I shall be the first to inform you. Therefore I want all of you to remain perfectly calm and unperturbed and carry on your duties in a normal way. Above all, do not yourselves be influenced in any manner by wild bazaar rumours. We have to face any situation that may arise, like brave soldiers fighting for the freedom of their Motherland.

Jai Hind !

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
*Supreme Commander,
Azad Hind Fauj
Syonan, 14 August 1945.*

14. Special Order on the Japanese Surrender

Comrades,

In our struggle for the independence of our Motherland, we have now been overwhelmed by an undreamt-of crisis. You may perhaps feel that you have failed in your mission to liberate India. But let me tell you that this failure is only of a temporary nature. No set-back and no defeat can undo your positive achievements of the past. Many of you have participated in the fight along the Indo-Burma frontier and also inside India and have gone through hardship and suffering of every sort. Many of your comrades have laid down their lives on the battle-field and have become the immortal heroes of Azad Hind. This glorious sacrifice can never go in vain.

Comrades, in this dark hour I call upon you to conduct yourselves with the discipline, dignity and strength befitting a truly Revolutionary Army. You have already given proofs of your valour and self-sacrifice on the field of battle. It is now your duty to demonstrate your undying optimism and unshakable will-power in the hour of temporary defeat. Knowing you as I do, I have not the slightest doubt that even in this dire adversity you will hold your heads erect and face the future with unending hope and confidence.

Comrades, I feel that in this critical hour thirty-eight crores 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.

Jai Hind !

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
15 August 1945

15. Special Message to Indians in East Asia

Sisters and Brothers,

A glorious chapter in the history of India's struggle for freedom has just come to a close and, in that chapter, the sons and daughters of India in East Asia will have an undying place.

You set a shining example of patriotism and self-sacrifice by pouring out men, money and materials into the struggle for India's Independence. I shall never forget the spontaneity and enthusiasm with which you sent an unending stream of your sons and daughters to the camps to be trained as soldiers of the Azad Hind Fauj and of the Rani Jhansi Regiment. Money and materials, you poured lavishly into the War Chest of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. In short, you did your duty as true sons and daughters of India. I more regret than you do, that your sufferings and sacrifices have not borne immediate fruit. But they have not gone in vain, because they have ensured the emancipation of our Motherland and will serve as an undying inspiration to Indians all over the world. Posterity will bless your name, and will talk with pride about your offerings at the altar of India's Freedom and about your positive achievement as well.

In this unprecedented crisis in our history, I have only one word to say. Do not be depressed at our temporary failure, be good cheer and keep up your spirits. Above all, never for a moment falter in your faith in India's destiny. There is no power on earth that can keep India enslaved. India shall be free and before long.

Jai Hind,

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

15 August 1945.

PART V

**National Parliamentary Support to
I.N.A. Revolutionaries**

Resolution Regarding Release of INA Men and Political Prisoners*

On 4 February 1946 the following Resolution calling upon the Governor General-in-Council to give up the trial of INA officers under detention was moved by the Central Legislative Assembly :

That in view of the universal expression of public opinion throughout the country in the matter, this Assembly recommends to the Governor General-in-Council to give up the trials of the officers of the Indian National Army and to release immediately all men and officers of the Indian National Army as well as all other political prisoners under detention of imprisonment.

While moving the Resolution, Pandit Govind Malaviya observed :

Sir, I am not one of those who are unduly unnerved by the mere fact of arrests and detentions of troubles and sacrifices, or of even firings and hangings. We have grown used to all that in this country. We know that is the price we have to pay for freedom. I know that every single one of those brave men who formed the INA, and everyone of those brave patriots who are rotting in the jails of India, would feel unhappy that anyone of their own should stand on their behalf to ask for their release, to ask for any leniency towards them, to ask for any clemency or amnesty for them until their goal had been achieved. Still, I bring forward this Resolution, as a Member of this House who on the first day took the oath of allegiance to the King Emperor, and undertook to discharge his duties faithfully as a member of this House. I feel, Sir that it is the duty of the Members of this House to put before the Government the view point of the country with regard to this matter— I will

* *L.A. Deb.* 4 February 1946, pp. 428-35.

now come, Sir, to the first part, namely, the trials. The trials have been held and are being held and, in case they are still persisted with, will be held in India. They are affecting the people of India and therefore, the view point of India should find the uppermost consideration in this matter. And Sir, in the view of India, these men and officers of the INA have become heroes. Have we had before, at any time, that universal wild expression of joy, of admiration, of love and of esteem which reverberated throughout the length and breadth of this land on the question of the Indian National Army? It has been unprecedented. That is the view point which India has in that matter. How can you blind yourselves to it? With the motive, with the spirit, with the attitude and actually with the course which the INA adopted, there could be nothing which would appear more absurd to the people of this country.

Supporting the Resolution Mr. M. Asaf Ali said*:

The Resolution as it stands before the House, is a simple one. The Resolution contemplates only the release of two classes of persons (1) the INA personnel, and (2) the political prisoners and detenus. The principle underlying the Resolution is exactly the same—it applies to both equally. The very consideration of patriotism for which we are calling upon the Government to release the INA personnel and which has been recognised by both Mr. Mason and Mr. Griffiths applies to the others who were in India. The same sentiment, the same emotion, the same objective, the same purpose and the same outlook characterise both of them. One was acting inside India along certain lines, and the other was acting outside the country. Therefore the principle is exactly the same. It must apply to both. I do not see why one should be differentiated from the other. I am very glad indeed that Mr. Mason in propounding Government's policy today has made it clear that the Government has come to the conclusion that all these INA personnel will be released sooner or later. I want them to be released sooner than later. On that point let us all be agreed. I do not see why they should not be let out. There are many others, now this Government has decided that these men will be released sooner or later, the sooner it is done the better.

Speaking on the same Resolution, Col. Kumar Shri Himmant Sinhji stated**:

Both British and Indians are advocating the dictum of forgive and forget. Very soon India and Britain will be on an equal and let us

* *L.A. Deb.*, 11 February 1946, pp. 799-800.

** *L.A. Deb.*, 1 April 1946, pp. 3292-93.

hope, a permanent friendly footing. Therefore, it is vital that no bitter memories linger on in the future between the people of our two countries. Sir, it is for this reason that I advocate clemency for all the INA personnel and security prisoners. The British Commonwealth and her allies have won this great war. The whole complexion of things have now changed. Let Government employ all the wisdom at its command and release the prisoners. Sir, it would be a contradiction in terms for India to attain political freedom on the one hand while keeping people behind the bars on political grounds on the other hand. I therefore appeal to Government to synchronise along with the prevailing circumstances, by generously announcing amnesty to all INA and other political prisoners, say, on the same day as they announce that India is a free country and can count herself along with other nations of the world which have their destinies in their own hands. Such generous action will be befitting British Statesmanship and will be in line with past British history.

In support of the Resolution moved by Pandit Govind Malaviya, Shri Sazanka Sekhar Sanyal observed*:

Sir, we come to the fundamental question : Why should these people be tried at all. What have they done which even Englishmen in the same circumstances would not have done? The story of the formation of Azad Hind is not a story but it is history. What was the position with regard to these people who joined the INA, whether they were civilians or whether they were in the Army. When the Japanese invaded Malaya, the civilians wanted to be afforded the opportunity of defending themselves, but the British Administration, on the ground of prestige, not only declined to give them arms but they even declined to give them sticks. In these circumstances all those small countries fell to the Japanese. And what did the representatives of the British Crown, who are now claiming sovereignty and who are now claiming the right to try these civilians and the INA men, do. If anybody ought to have been prosecuted, I submit and maintain, that it should be those British Army officers who were responsible for the safety of the people in their care and who abandoned them at the critical moment and retreated only for purpose of their own safety. And if anything could and should have been done in respect of these brave Indians they ought to have been given the highest honour that our country could have given.

* *L.A. Deb.*, 1 April 1946, pp. 3294-95.

Eulogising the role played by the INA personnel during the freedom struggle, Shri Sarat Chandra Bose stated*:

The INA officers and men have shown by their example that they were not prepared to acquiesce in the old aggression any longer. There was a call to the whole country to stand up, to rise and to free the country from the old aggression from which it has been suffering for the last 200 years.

The Honourable War Secretary has spoken of the tradition in military matters. He has appealed to that tradition. But I appeal to tradition, older, wider, nobler far, the tradition that was created by subject peoples in some other lands and in other times and which it was time for us to create in our own land, the tradition which enjoins the laying down of our lives for the freedom of our country. It is because INA officers and men created that tradition in this country that we love them, it is because of that, we adore them, it is because of that, we worship them.

On a motion moved by the Hon. Finance Member and accepted by the House, further consideration of the Resolution was postponed to the subsequent session. Subsequently the Resolution did not secure a place in the ballot and therefore could not be included in the list of Business. However, a similar Resolution of Mr. Khan Abdul Ghani Khan had secured a place in the list of Business for the 18 February 1947 and was admitted.**

* *L.A. Deb.*, 1 April 1946, p. 3312.

** *L.A. Deb.*, 18 February 1947, pp. 773-74 (for full text of the Ruling given by the President see pp. 771-74).

Plea for Release of INA Prisoners*

On 18 February 1947 the following Resolution was moved in the Central Legislature by Shri Khan Abdul Ghani Khan for the release of Indian National Army Prisoners :

“This Assembly recommends to the Governor General-in-Council to release the Indian National Army Prisoners immediately.”

Pleading for the immediate release of the INA prisoners the mover of the Resolution, Shri Khan Abdul Ghani Khan said :

I do not wish to indulge in a long patriotic speech defending the ideals. We have had enough of that sort of thing on the floor of the House when we discussed another Resolution on the same point in the session before last. I only want to direct the attention of Honourable members to one single point. The present Indian National Army men are condemned to prison not because they joined the enemy as Mr. Bhalja put it so poetically the other day, but because they are accused of brutality, of a crime against humanity, like the scapegoats in Europe. The charge was shifted from revolt against the King to revolt against man, a revolt against ordinary human decency, to make the charge popular. The Defence department gave the poor dog a bad name and hanged it. The greatest joke of this country was a court of soldiers trying other soldiers who were accused of brutality. Is not every soldier trained to kill and be an efficient killer? Is not every Commander expected to be a master of organised death and destruction? Tanks, rifles, bombers, rockets and flame throwers are not instruments of peace and prosperity but organised and mechanised instruments of killing, violence, destruction, bloodshed, cruelty and suffering. That is why

* *L.A. Deb.*, 18 February 1947, pp. 798-799.

I said that the INA trial for brutality was the greatest joke of this country. Whatever these boys did they did because they love their country, because they wanted to make it free and prosperous. There is a proverb in Arabic – *Al Aamali Bin-niyat*, i.e. actions can be judged only by intentions. Whatever they did for the sake of India, India must honour and respect and cherish; and those who claim to honour and respect India ought to be able to understand that. And those who cannot understand that, the sooner they leave India the better for them and for India. The point is that every one in India, has asked for their release with a single voice. That is a good enough reason for ending this little imperial show. No other reason is needed to convince Government that they must release these people immediately.

Taking part in the discussion, Shrimati Ammu Swaminadhan observed*:

We very much hoped then, we still hope, that those officers who were tried and imprisoned during the INA trials would be released without any delay and there would no need to bring up this matter again before this House..... In this country it used to be that patriotism was a crime when we had a foreign Government. Surely today patriotism is not a crime and patriotism should be rewarded and not punished and we hope that we will soon see these INA officers, who are today in jail, released. The INA officers and men, who have fought for the independence of this country outside India, should also be treated in the same way and they should be rewarded for their services to this country and not punished.

Participating in the debate on the Resolution moved by Shri Khan Abdul Ghani Khan, Pandit Bal Krishna Sharma stated**:

We know that those at the helm of affairs of the Government of India today are the very people who brought this question to the forefront. It was the Leader of this House Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru who raised this question from that cowardly legal-constitutional level to the high and lofty level of fundamentals. It was he who for the first time in the history of our country, took up the case of the INA men and it was the genius of the late lamented great Bhulabhai Desai who, as the last act of his dedicated life, showed to the whole world how flimsy the ground was on which these INA persons were being prosecuted. Therefore, Sir, to say whether the Government of India thinks that this question of the INA men is regarded by the Government of India in any other light except in

* *Ibid.*, p. 802.

** *L.A. Deb.*, 3 April 1947, pp. 2942-43.

the light in which the individual members of the Government of India consider it, to say the least, is not fair.

All of us want that the INA prisoners should be released. All of us want that those men must be given employment. All of us want that the Government departments should go on helping them, that the Labour Department should come to their aid, that we keep them in mind in connection with the various post-war schemes and things should be so manipulated as these men may find employment, and, at the same time all of us want that the Government should issue instructions to all their officials that the surveillance and vigilance which have been kept so long over them should be done away with. About all that there is no difference of opinion. But there is a question which cannot be easily decided one way or the other is that question threatens to create a crisis and therefore, I request the House to take a sane and moderate view of the whole thing.

Intervening in the debate the Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said *:

Sir, I should like to intervene at the early stage in this debate in order to place the views of Government in regard to this Resolution. This Resolution in some shape or other has been before the House, I believe, for over a year. It may well be asked—why is this matter kept pending so long, not merely as a Resolution, when it was fairly obvious what the views of the House were in this matter and, if I may say so, what the views of the people were. It may be asked—why has this Resolution to be brought up again and again, sometimes postponed and then been given new life. I think the House and the country are entitled to know and I propose to put facts before them with as much frankness as possible.

“The House knows well that many of us have been in the past intimately connected with these INA trials. We organised defence committees. We did all that we could in order to help them in those trials and after. Why did we do so? Because we thought that this matter had something much more than a merely technical military aspect. It had a larger aspect, because we thought that in this matter, as in many others, the average soldier was placed in a very difficult position. Normally speaking every one in this House will agree that in an army the most absolute discipline should prevail. Otherwise, it ceases to be an army. It goes to pieces and if there is lack of discipline, it has to be dealt with.

* *L.A. Deb.*, 3 April 1947, pp. 2943-48.

But in a case like India till recently there have obviously been different pulls. There is the pull of discipline and loyalty to the discipline of the army. There is also a pull of another loyalty and a larger and perhaps a more imperative loyalty to what one imagines to be the good of the country. Now, if those two loyalties come into conflict, as they have done in the past, not only in the army but elsewhere too, the result is an inner conflict in the individual. And it would be foolish thing to judge that inner conflict in technical terms and to say that this man has erred and misbehaved. Well, as it happens, it is the best type of individual who has to suffer that inner conflict. It is the man who does not feel that way who is usually insensitive to the vital thing of life. Therefore, when we have to face these inner conflicts, these rival pulls, we have to decide after taking everything into consideration. Of course, the right way is to avoid this inner conflict and to avoid dual loyalty and to have a single loyalty to the country and the army. Then there is no difficulty in the way except personal or domestic difficulties. The difficulty arises when a country, as India is today, is in a period of transition or even before the transition, when it is not a free country. We have had to face that difficulty and the INA people had to face that difficulty and in a very peculiar state of affairs they took a certain decision. I do not know how any one of us here would have acted if similarly situated. No one can say unless he has to face a difficult situation how he will act at that time. I have little doubt in my mind that those people *en mass* were impelled by feelings of patriotism and the desire to serve their country. It was because of that belief, which, if I may say so, was strengthened in the course of those major trials that took place here, that we helped in the defence of those cases and subsequently."

"Now, I do not wish any one to imagine that we consider every person in the INA as a hero and a patriot. Even in the best of Groups or Organisations everybody is not a hero and a patriot. There are good people and bad people and middling people, who are neither too good nor too bad. But undoubtedly in judging of a situation like this, we had to take the major facts into consideration, and those facts led us to the attitude that we adopted in regard to INA and nothing that has happened since had led one to believe that we were wrong. In fact, I am convinced as ever that we were right in the attitude that we took up then. We have therefore, subsequently also tried to help the INA people in regard to service and means of finding livelihood. May I say because a reference has been made by Pandit Balkrishna Sharma to this matter, that so far as Government is concerned every avenue of service is open to these INA men except the military and the police at present. So that all civil employment is open to them provided of course, they are competent and not merely because they are INA men."

"Now, this has been the general position. We took up that position in regard to the trials on the political issue because we felt that it would be exceedingly wrong for people placed in that difficult position to be charged with what is technically called waging war against the King. And, if I may say so, we succeeded in establishing that contention for various reasons, among them being the very brilliant defence offered by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai. And may I say also that in this matter the Commander-in-Chief, who was most intimately concerned with the army, with the discipline in the army and with all that happened in regard to the INA and who naturally in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief must have resented all these happenings which went against the discipline of the army and against his whole outlook as a soldier, did take up an attitude which was a wise attitude and a far-seeing attitude. I am for the moment referring to things in general; I am not obviously thinking of individual cases for the moment. I am talking of the general attitude which the Commander-in-Chief took up in regard to this matter. I think it was from every point of view a very statesman like attitude and even at that time I ventured to congratulate him and I would repeat that word of congratulation now. The House will appreciate that however much we may try to agree on many matters, there is a fundamental difference yet in the Indian outlook and the British outlook on many problems. It may be that in future when India is a completely free and independent country that difference will vanish. But what I am trying to point out is this, anything that we may take up and whether we agree about it or not, the approach and the honest approach on both sides is often different. One starts with the different data, a different view of life, different environments, call it what you like, and it is because of these that it was an easy matter for me or for any Member of this House to have taken up a certain attitude in regard to the INA a year or a little more than a year ago. But it was not an easy matter for the Commander-in-Chief, with his military background and with his British background, if I may say so, to take up the general attitude that he did in this matter. But he did so, I have no doubt, because he appreciated to a certain extent at least what was in the Indian mind; what was not only in the Indian civilian mind but what was in the Indian military mind also. We looked upon this question then and subsequently as a political matter which had impinged itself on military discipline. Nevertheless, it was a political matter and we were only opposed to any punishment being given on political grounds, even though that had involved a breach of discipline. Now that was so and, if I may say so, that was admitted then by the Commander-in-Chief and the Government of India all the time. There was punishment of course, in the sense that these INA people were dismissed from the army and they did not get various allowances, arrears etc. which, as discharged soldiers, they might have got. That is true. But apart from that, punishment in the sense of imprisonment etc. was ruled out. That

was the general policy adopted. But then a distinction was made in regard to other matters which strictly had nothing political about them, which had in fact nothing special about them, which if they had taken place not in the INA but in the regular army itself would be liable for punishment. Now, I am not for the moment entering into the merits of any individual case or trying to place before the House a certain distinction that was made then in regard to the actual breach of army discipline by so called waging war against the King and acts which are considered inhuman or brutal being indulged in, quite apart from the question of discipline. Obviously that is a matter which takes this out of the scope of pure politics or of pure INA. There are cases happening in the regular army from time to time when officers or men are punished for some such inhuman act which degrades the traditions of the army. There are at the present moment people being punished not INA. I am referring to other people in the regular army who have been court martialled for such acts and who are undergoing punishment therefore. So that, the way I am trying to put before the House the position is as it was placed to me and before me by the Army authorities that this matter was considered, not on a political plane, but purely on the plane on which they might have considered any matter connected with the regular army. They said that if we are going to treat our regular army men for certain acts in a particular way, are we debarred from treating INA men for identical acts because they happen to be INA and therefore they are not liable for even a common offence of the army or common offence against humanity. The House will remember that I am not dealing with individual cases, I am putting before the House the argument advanced by the Army authorities before me. Apart from that, on any such matters, any Government must very largely rely upon the advice of those who are put in charge of the army. Obviously the Government of India in such matters and in many other matters, more especially in non-political matters, must inevitably take the advice of the Commander-in-Chief. If there is any radical difference between the view point of the Government and the Commander-in-Chief, well then, the Commander-in-Chief may be changed. But obviously the man in charge that has been placed there has been made responsible and must shoulder that responsibility by giving advice to Government on these matters. Inevitably therefore when this matter came up, we asked for the advice of the Commander-in-Chief. My own reaction, as well as the reaction of most or, if I may say so, all my colleagues was that this is not a debatable matter, this is not a matter which need take up any time of the House. We had been engaged in these INA trials and we felt that the sooner these whole INA business of trial and punishment ended the better from the large point of view because it was obvious that the general public did not like these punishments to continue. So, we thought that the matter was not one for much argument. Nevertheless, of course we had to refer to the Commander-in-Chief and

the Defence Member. Then we had long talks and discussed this matter in a friendly way, all aspects of it, and some of the arguments that I have put forward before the House were placed before us by the Commander-in-Chief and others and every aspect of this question was explored. We found that the Commander-in-Chief did not think that it was such a simple matter as we thought it to be. He felt that there were all manner of other issues involved, that there would be repercussions and that he himself was not personally convinced in regard to taking any steps to release them. That put us in a difficulty, because obviously we did not want to proceed in such a matter which fell within the special purview of the Commander-in-Chief without his full approval and consent. It is because of this that there has been considerable delay in dealing with this question. Honourable members have from time to time asked questions in this House and I am afraid that the answers that have been given to them have seldom been satisfactory. Because they were not complete, it was not possible to discuss the matter in answer to a question and because we ourselves were considering it and discussing it, we could not say very much about it. I must ask the forgiveness of the House for those incomplete and unsatisfactory answers to questions during the past few months. The matter came up again and again in various forms and the House occasionally, expressed a feeling of resentment at this delay in dealing with this question. I can well understand that with the background which the House has. But may I say that few questions during the last few weeks or months have troubled my mind and taken up my time more than this question. We did not forget it at any time. We considered it, we discussed it amongst ourselves, we weighed the pros and cons of everything and because of this difficulty that we could not get over, we could not come to any decision about it. Otherwise, we need not have waited for a Resolution of this House. So, this was the position. Now, at the present moment if I may give some facts to the House, there are, I believe, seven persons involved. There are others, of course, they belong to other categories. There are more or less seven persons involved in this Resolution. Two of them have been sentenced to 14 years rigorous imprisonment, two to seven years and one to three years, and one to two years. All these persons though charged with waging war have also committed offences against humanity and were generally sentenced. But we are given to understand that the charge in regard to waging war had nothing to do with the sentence except in so far as those persons were dismissed from the army. Now, Sir, they have all been sentenced for acts which may be considered which were considered by court martial as brutal and inhuman and totally unbecoming of a member of the armed forces, something for which any person in the army, I would remind the House would have been punished. Now, the Honourable Mover of the Resolution, I remember, mentioned something to the effect that it is idle to talk of brutality and inhumanity

because all war is brutality and inhumanity. If you train a man in brutal methods what is the good of punishing him if he indulges in them later. While agreeing with him completely in the view that war is an extreme brutality, and it is becoming more and more brutal and inhuman, I still differ from him completely in the conclusion that he has arrived at; and the idea that because war is brutal we should condone every kind of brutality which would reduce the level of human existence to that of the brute. The question then becomes one of fact and not of theory, what exactly has happened; not merely the fact that it has happened but the surrounding circumstances and the context of it and how it happened, because the same act may be judged in a particular way if you know the context of it. Even murder is considered justifiable sometimes, if it is in self-defence, for example. Therefore it is a question of facts and the circumstances surrounding that particular thing, not of mere theory that so and so was in the INA and therefore he is innocent. That of course has no meaning; or that so and so belongs to this and that group and therefore he should be punished or should not be punished. When we come to the facts we find that the court-martial have dealt with these cases; I have no reason to do except one that when we see that these things took place at a moment when certain passions were aroused among the people on either side it was not perhaps a very suitable moment for a dispassionate consideration of this problem. However the point is that regularly appointed courts considered these matters and were wrong or that their judgment on the evidence was wrong or that their conclusions were entirely baseless. Therefore what exactly can we do about it? As I informed the House, when originally we considered this matter we thought there was no difficulty about it. But the difficulty arose when we found that the Commander-in-Chief did not view it in the same light. He was reluctant to give effect to any such Resolution as has been moved in this matter which were formed after considerable study and consideration of what he thought would be the repercussions in the army. Now it is obvious that those of us who from the Government here only confirm the Government till the House so pleases. We are not a Government as our predecessors in these benches were who could go their way whether the House liked them or disliked them."

"I am going to place the views of Government before the House and if the House agrees with them, well and good; if it does not the House will tell us what to do. A government functions according to its own lights; if those lights do not commend themselves to an Assembly the government gives place to another government. No government functions blindly without her people's lights. Therefore it is for the House to decide and we shall abide by their decision. If we agree with the decision to decide we shall abide by their decision. If we agree with the

decision of the House we shall gladly submit; if we disagree, we shall also submit but others will carry out that decision.”

“Now, in view of this present position that I have stated before the House the question arises as to what is the best way of dealing with this. I think the last speaker Mr. Sharma said something to the effect that we do not know what the facts are. Now it is an odd thing that we should come to a final decision without going into the facts because, as I said, it is a question of facts as apart from the political aspect. So it reduced itself to a question of facts. Will some impartial authority consider the facts? That becomes the question. Quite apart from that question, however, there is the other question which it is not perhaps easy for some of us to judge namely, matters concerning the army and repercussions on the army and its discipline etc. In this present case therefore the conclusion that we arrived at was that it would be a desirable course for these matters to be referred to the Federal Court for their consideration and for their report to the proper authority. This has nothing to do with our confidence in the Commander-in-Chief. I think he acted a year ago with considerable foresight and statesmanship. We believe that quite apart from the INA matter he has acted in ways which show that he wants the good of India to prevail. He has served India faithfully and of course normally we are bound to accept his advice in all such matters. But in view of other circumstances this course has been proposed by Government for the consideration of the House. I would like to read out what steps precisely we would like to take if the House so agrees. Although Government do not question that in this matter the Commander-in-Chief has acted throughout in good faith and according to his lights for the good of India and the armed forces, they are, in view of the special circumstances of the case, prepared to request that the available judges of the Federal Court should be called in as advisers in this matter only and without creating any precedent whatever. What we have in mind is that before any further consideration is given to the matter by the Commander-in-Chief, these advisers should examine the proceedings of the various court-martial give their opinion as to the desirability of reviewing the findings and sentences in each case and report whether in their opinion the findings and sentences should be altered or modified in any manner. That is the position of Government. I have tried to place before the House the various factors that have been considered by us during these weeks and months. I have tried also to make the House realise that this matter in its present aspect can hardly be considered as a political matter but as a matter infringing the domain of humanity. I do not, and I cannot, express an opinion on individual cases even if I could as it would not be proper for me to do so. But since it is a matter of fact and a non-political matter of fact in regard to certain acts, committed by certain individuals, it is right and proper that, it should be inquired into

by a proper authority as I have suggested on behalf of Government. Obviously, there are other considerations which the House will no doubt bear in mind. We are passing through a somewhat difficult period in India, and we have to bear all these other aspects in mind before we take a step light-heartedly. It is because of all these matters that we have given the most careful consideration to it, and placed this suggestion for the approval of the House. If the House approves this kind of reference to the Judges of the Federal Court, then I would request the Mover of this Resolution not to press his Resolution in the form in which he has moved it, because it does not fit in, but for the moment accept the reference as has been suggested by Government."

Endorsing the course of action suggested by the Leader of the House, Pandit Nehru, another member Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar said* :

All of us are interested in these honourable men and the sooner they are released and come back to our midst the better. As a matter of fact, some of our friends in their enthusiasm to get them released attributed laudable motives to them when they defended them. Really speaking, these persons underwent lot of sacrifices for the cause of the country. The Honourable, the Leader of the Congress Party, the late revered Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, threw his heart and soul to get these prisoners released and it was that strain which hastened his end. It was mainly on account of his efforts that most of these persons were released. It is only these 7 prisoners who were not released. May I ask against whom are we fighting now? The Commander-in-Chief is not here. In fact, I do not see a single white man on the Government Benches. I therefore, see no harm in following the course suggested by the Leader of the House. After all, our Judges of the Federal Court will go into this matter. Let us not therefore make this occasion for mutual recrimination. Our own people are now in the Government and they have arrived at the compromise to refer this matter to the Federal Court. Let us abide by their decision. So, let this Resolution be withdrawn or leave be given for withdrawing it. Let us not divide on this small issue.

After the discussion, the Resolution was withdrawn with the leave of the House on 3 April 1947.

* *L.A. Deb.*, 3 April 1947, pp. 2954-55.

Ex-INA Personnel

On 29 March 1948 while making a statement of policy regarding Ex-Indian National Army Personnel, the then Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru observed :*

“Sir, I pray for leave of the House to make a statement of Government’s policy in regard to the ex-Indian National Army Personnel. I regret the delay that has taken place in this matter because both this House and the country are interested in this question. Indeed, that interest has been evinced on many occasions in this House. Many of us in our personal and individual capacities have in the course of the last two years and more, been associated with an attempt to give some relief and occupation to some of this personnel. But the House will remember what has happened during these last one and a half years. It was originally viewed from the particular point of view before this Government came into existence. Then there was a kind of mixed Government and there were other difficulties. We might have viewed it and we should have viewed it after the 15 August, from an entirely different viewpoint and come to such decisions as we thought fit and proper. But from the 15 August or thereabout and onwards all manner of upheavels have taken place in the country which delayed the consideration of the most vital problems. Hence this delay. Among the other things that have happened since the 15 August, is the fact that the Indian National Army itself—the ex-Indian National Army personnel—has been split up into those that might be considered to belong to India and those that might be considered to belong to Pakistan. Now, obviously, any statement of Government policy that I might make applies only to those who belong to India and not to those who now belong to Pakistan.”

* Statement of Policy by Prime Minister *re.* ex-Indian National Army Personnel, *C.A. (Leg.) Deb.*, 20 March 1948, pp. 2673-74.

I shall now read the statement of policy.

“Government have given earnest consideration to the cases of ex-INA personnel, both officers and other ranks. These cases were considered by the previous Government over two years ago. It was then decided that INA personnel should be divided into three categories: White, Grey and Black, and that certain steps should be taken in regard to the three categories. ‘Whites’ were permitted to remain in service. ‘Greys’ were discharged and the ‘Blacks’ dismissed and/or convicted.”

“The new Government brought a fresh view point to bear on the whole question so that no stigma should attach to anyone by the virtue of the fact that he was a member of the INA. Immediately on the Government assuming office in August last, officers and men who had been convicted and imprisoned were released. Government have now considered other aspects of the matter. They have come to the conclusion that orders of dismissal passed on INA personnel should be set aside and replaced by orders of discharge from the Army, so that no stigma should attach to the members of the INA. The result will be that the previous classification will not hold good any longer and will not be a bar for service of the State in any capacity. Whether any person should be employed *de novo* would be judged on individual merit and suitability.”

“The question of reinstatement in the Army of the INA personnel is full of difficulty. In the normal course, a large number of these members of the INA would have been out of the army for many years and there has been a long break in service. They have thus got out of touch with the Army and any attempt to reinstate them would lead to many complications, both practical and psychological. At a time when the Army has been exposed to considerable stress and strain, consequent on its reorganisation after partition, the unity of the Army, which is so essential, might be affected. Government have therefore come to the conclusion that ex-INA officers and men should not be reinstated in the Army”

“Government are however anxious to afford ex-INA personnel opportunities of service. It will be open to them to join the Home Guards, the State Forces, the Armed Constabulary, the Police and like Services as well as the Civil Services, subject always to merit and suitability. The Central Government and the Provincial Governments will give every help to them to find such employment”

“The financial loss which the ex-INA personnel have suffered is not easy of assessment. While serving overseas, our Armed Forces were a charge on the Government of the United Kingdom. Family allotments

continued to be paid in India. A large measure of support was also obtained from public funds.”

“Government however realise the hardships which the INA personnel have suffered. They have decided to arrange for payment of pension wherever due. They have further decided to set aside a sum of rupees thirty lakhs for distribution among the ex-INA personnel on an equitable basis. Widows and dependents of those who died and disabled persons will also be entitled to help from this sum.”

“May I just point out one or two matters contained in this statement. First of all, I wish to repeat that this statement applies to the INA personnel in India and obviously not to Pakistan. Secondly it removes from the political point of view, so far as we are concerned, any question of a stigma or bar attaching to them and it is open to them to serve the State in any capacity. ‘In any capacity’ includes military capacity also, so far as that is concerned. But so far as re-instatement of this personnel in the Army is concerned, numerous other factors arise. In the Army, many of these people were engaged temporarily—by way of Emergency Commissions and the like. Normally speaking, they would have gone out of the Army long ago. A number of permanent commissions would have remained. The main fact, as stated in the statement is, that there has been such a big gap, and meanwhile all manner of changes have taken place in the Army—promotions, etc.—that it will be exceedingly difficult, not only practically but psychologically to fit them in. But that has nothing to do with any political reason because they belong to the INA but entirely to other reasons. Then again, we want them to serve the State because we think there is very valuable material among them. We want them to serve the State in many other capacities, including not only the Home Guards etc. but the military forces of the States and the Civil Services, and may be, if they are suited for it, for such very highly important services like Consular or Foreign Services, so that no avenue is closed to them.”

“Then so far as compensation for non-payment of various allowances, etc., is due, first of all we have decided to give them pensions wherever due. Secondly, it involves a difficult calculation of how to give them compensation. For the present, we have decided to set aside a sum of Rs. 30 lakhs, that is apart from the pensions—that is a separate item to be given to them. How exactly it will be given to them will be worked out according to some form which will be fair and equitable.”

On 22 December 1967 a Half-an-Hour Discussion on "Ex-INA Personnel" was initiated in the Lok Sabha. While initiating the discussion on the subject, Shri Samar Guha said*:

"I would begin this discussion on the ex-INA personnel by paying my homage to those great fighters and also to the great heritage of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and those who have given their best, nay all-to those 26,000 men who have given their lives in the battle fields of Kohima, Imphal and Chittagong."

"What is the INA? Is the INA a mere band of rebels or a mere group of military offenders? If we look at the contribution of the INA from the historical perspective, everybody will recognise, and at least the future historians in India will recognise that the INA will rank in the same position as the army of liberation led by George Washington, or the army of Kamal Ata Turk or the Red Army of the Russian Revolution, the contribution of INA must be recognised."

Participating in the discussion, Shri Samarendra Kundu stated**:

Netaji was a saint, philosopher and a rebel. It reminds me today of a line from the great poet, Qazi Nazrul Islam. He said, (in a summary form I say it) 'people who are singing the song of death while sitting on the platform of freedom ask you behind what return you are going to give to these Martyrs.' Will this Government form a national committee, pass a Resolution in the House unanimously, and that national committee will decide what national honour should be given to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. This is the only specific question that I ask.

Replying to the Discussion, the Minister of Defence, Shri Swaran Singh stated***

It was the National Government after independence which altered the decision taken by the British Government and gave the ex-INA people all the retirement benefits. It is true that at that time they did not decide to give them all the arrears of pay and allowances that had been forfeited. This had been discussed and explained on a number of occasions on the floor of this House. It is true that there was a very strong opinion in this House and

* *L.S. Deb.*, 22 December 1967, cc. 9432-33.

** *Ibid.*, c. 9440.

*** *Ibid.* c. 9443-45.

outside, and it was in response to that that we took a decision, which I have already indicated at the commencement of my reply; we have taken a decision to give them all the pay.

I would like to clarify the position so far as our great leader, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, is concerned. There is no doubt that all of us have got the highest respect, highest honour, highest appreciation for the way in which he sacrificed all his life and the way in which he made such a significant and outstanding contribution for the liberation of India, for the freedom of India. A number of suggestions were made — I have made a careful note of them. It should be our endeavour to do everything that is possible for a variety of reasons, the most outstanding reason being our desire to honour all those great patriots, all those great leaders who have served India and who have led the freedom movement, and we will certainly do everything that is possible to perpetuate their name and to derive inspiration from the great sacrifices that they made.

The discussion was concluded with member after member paying glowing tributes and placing on record the great sacrifices rendered by Netaji and the INA personnel to free the mother land from the colonial rule.

PART VI

**Tributes from
Eminent Personalities**

Homages Paid in the Lok Sabha

Tributes From Eminent Personalities

Patriotism Second to None

The hypnotism of the INA has cast its spell upon us. Netaji's name is one to cojure with. His patriotism is second to none. (I use the present tense intentionally.) His bravery shines through all his actions. He aimed high but failed. But who has not failed? Ours is to aim high and to aim well. It is not given to everyone to command success....

Netaji was like a son to me. I came to know him as a lieutenant full of promise under the late Deshbandhu Das. His last message to the INA was that, whilst on foreign soil they had fought with arms, on their return to India they would have to serve the country as soldiers of non-violence under the guidance and the leadership of the Congress. The message which the INA has for India is not adoption of the method of appeal to arms for settling disputes—it has been tried and found wanting—but of cultivating non-violence, unity, cohesion and organization.

Though the INA failed in their immediate objective, they have a lot to their credit of which they might well be proud. Greatest among these was to gather together, under one banner, men from all religions and races of India, and to infuse into them the spirit of solidarity and oneness to the exclusion of all communal or parochial sentiment. It is an example which we should all emulate.

—*Mahatma Gandhi*

Desh-Nayak Subhas Chandra

Poets in the East have ever voiced their peoples' tribute to the national heroes, and as Bengal's poet, I today acknowledge you as the honoured leader of the people of Bengal....

Subhas Chandra, I have watched the dawn that witnessed the beginning of your political *sadhana*. In that uncertain twilight there had been misgivings in my heart and I had hesitated to accept you for what you are now. Now and again I have felt hurt by stray signs of your weakness and irresolute hesitancy. Today you are revealed in the pure light of mid-day sun which does not admit of apprehensions.

You have come to absorb varied experiences during these years. Today you bring your matured mind and irrepressible vitality to bear upon the work at hand. Your strength has sorely been taxed by imprisonment, banishment and disease, but rather than impairing these have helped to broaden your sympathies — enlarging your vision so as to embrace the vast perspectives of history beyond any narrow limits of territory. You did not regard apparent defeat as final; therefore, you have turned your trials into your allies. More than anything else, Bengal need today to emulate the powerful force of your determination and your self-reliant courage....

Long ago, at a meeting I addressed my message to the Leader of Bengal who was yet to seek. After a lapse of many years I am addressing at this meeting one who has come into the full light of recognition. My days have come to their end. I may not join him in the fight that is to come. I can only bless him and take my leave, knowing that he has made his country's burden of sorrow his own, that his final reward is fast coming as his country's freedom.

—Rabindranath Tagore

Brave and Vital Sons and Daughters of India

When we were in Ahmednagar prison, we had heard vaguely about the formation of an Indian National Army in Malaya. We knew very little about it. Indeed very few people in India knew much about it at that time. Soon after our release from prison in June 1945, I had some further news and particulars about the formation of this Army. I was naturally interested, but the Japanese war was going on then and I did not think it proper to say anything in public about what I had heard. Soon after the Japanese war ended and I thought the time had come to make public reference to this Army.

My knowledge even then was limited and I was not quite sure in my mind as to how far the formation and activities of this Army had been justified, keeping in view the wider scheme of things and the implications of the world war. But I had no doubt in my mind even then of two facts—that the men and women under Shri Subhas Chandra Bose's guidance, had done so because of their passionate desire to serve the cause of India's freedom; also and if, owing to some technical interpretation of military law, large numbers of them received severe sentences it would be tragedy for India. It would be a tragedy not only because that might involve the death or long incarceration of brave and vital sons and daughters of India, but also because that would leave a deep wound in the body of India which would take very long to heal....

So, quite apart from the political background, I was convinced that everything should be done to save these young men and women. I had judged rightly, for immediately there was an amazing reaction in the whole of India and even the remote villages suddenly knew about the INA and wanted to do something which might help in effecting the release of the men being tried or imprisoned. Those men, whatever they were as individuals, became symbols of India's struggle for freedom and because of this the people of India, with an amazing unanimity, stood by those symbols and sought to protect them....

—*Jawaharlal Nehru*

His Patriotism was Intense

I first met Subhas Chandra Bose in 1921 at Calcutta. Thereafter we used to meet off and on. I last saw him a week before he left India in January 1941.

He used his administrative gifts as the Chief Executive of the Calcutta Corporation. As the head of the volunteers for the Calcutta Congress his inspiring leadership became manifest.

The quest for liberty is endless. One has to be vigilant all the time. The patriotism of Subhas Bose, whether we agree with his methods or not, was intense, and the purity of his motives beyond question. What Subhas Bose attempted to achieve in his great adventure, crossing the seas and the continents, his anxiety to serve the country and win freedom for her, his love of adventure and romance, his daring and great courage in facing risks for the sake of his motherland—these are all part of India's history.

—*S. Radhakrishnan*

The Greatest Revolutionary Leader

What tremendous organisation, what organising ability, what competence and talent! It is difficult to find another leader who could, single-handed and relying solely on his own strength, build up such a gigantic organisation. And, the people who joined him submitted to all the discipline, sacrifice and regulations and accepted him as the liberator of India. I do not know of any parallel to the sacrifice and self-abnegation that Netaji made, knowing 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 and his country's freedom were his goal. And thus, from wherever he went his message continued to reach us, his broadcasts came through to us, his dedicated life brought forth new life and new power to this country. When the INA trials were going on here, such a revolutionary situation was created in the country that it was impossible to stem its overwhelming tide. The entire country accepted Netaji as its leader—the greatest revolutionary leader of the country—and his message of the time that India was bound to be free, no power on earth could keep her in bondage any longer. And, they became prepared to fight for the cause with all the strength at their command. To this day, we accept Netaji as our greatest leader; as a great leader and revolutionary—he is an example to us—a beacon light.

—*Lal Bahadur*

A Deeply Moving Epic

The heart and imagination of India have been captured by the legend of the INA. Now the legend is being gradually corroborated by knowledge. Is there a single man or woman who is not deeply moved by the epic of the quality of courage and endurance, discipline and organised unity of purpose and unconquerable desire and endeavour to deliver our country from bondage.

We are justly proud of their (INA) heroic patriotism and inspired by their magnificent devotion that made them so willing to sacrifice their lives so that India might keep her liberty.

— *Sarojini Naidu*

Symbol of Patriotism

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is a symbol of flaming patriotism and dynamism. His life and his message will remain an inspiration for generations to come. He founded and led the Azad Hind Government. This is a notable event in our history.

—*Indira Gandhi*

In the Eyes of a Personal Friend

No one who has seriously pondered over all that Netaji stood for (and tried impartially to appraise his achievement against his aspiration) can help but be impressed by the legacy of life-giving inspiration he has left for all times, nor dare deny that he brought nearer the day of Indian Swaraj by a decade at the very least. Men with missions are not born in shoals in any age or clime, and the high-born ones who can live for a high ideal, staking everything men cherish at one throw of the dice, are still rarer phenomena in this our world of dust and din, self and self. Netaji belonged to just such a Pleiad of flame-intoxicated souls who are born to show us how to answer the call of the flame with the flame of our fire-pledged hearts.

—*Dilip Kumar Roy*

Homages Paid in the Lok Sabha*

On 18 March, 1994, Lok Sabha paid homages to the martyrs of the Indian National Army (INA) coinciding with the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the INA. We reproduce below the texts of the tributes paid on the floor of the House.

— *Editor*

Shri Saifuddin Choudhury : Today is a very historic day. The Indian National Army under the Supreme Command of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose crossed the Burma-India Border and planted the tricolor on Indian soil. This was announced by him on 21st March in Burma. In remembrance to this courageous and patriotic act which led to the independence of this country, I wish the whole House refer to that event and we may have some reference from the Chair; all the hon. members can join, in silence, to the memory of the martyrs who laid down their lives.

Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee (Leader of the Opposition) :** I would like to thank my friend, Shri Saifuddin Choudhury for the reference he has made in the House on the 50th anniversary of INA. As such, it has an importance of its own. We did not treat the soldiers of INA as rebels. A discussion was held earlier also as to how they should be treated under the strict discipline of the army. As they fought for the freedom of our country under the leadership of Netaji, the entire nation held them in high esteem and therefore it is but natural for us to remember them for completing their fifty years.

* L. S. Deb., 18 March, 1994, pp. 8374-78.

** Original in Hindi.

Shri Sharad Yadav* : I not only support Shri Saifuddin's proposal from the bottom of my heart but also like to say that Netaji was the symbol of our freedom struggle. He had identified himself fully with the total consciousness of the youth. His memory even today moves our hearts. He became the Commander of our freedom struggle. He was not merely a Commander but prior to it he was also associated with the Congress which was fighting for the freedom of India. He was a great leader like Jawaharlal Nehru and Gandhiji. This day not only reminds us of his entry into India by INA but also of his historic role upto Tripura Congress in the struggle of Congress party. If that had continued, things would have been quite different for India today.

Thus, this day is important not only for Netaji but also for those who alongwith him witnessed the glorious period of India's freedom struggle under the banner of INA. I feel that if a proposal to this effect had been brought forward by you and you too had expressed your views thereon, it would have been very significant for those martyrs.

Shri Chitta Basu : I wholeheartedly support the proposal raised by Shri Saifuddin Choudhury. It is a sacred day in the sense that the Indian personnel under the Indian National Army, under the leadership of great leader Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose touched the Indian soil of our motherland. From there, they marched on to Imphal, Manipur and hoisted the flag of Azad Hind Government. That is an important chapter in the freedom movement of our country.

On behalf of the House, I think you as the Speaker, should make a reference to this so that it may get further importance and significance. I had been to Imphal. I had seen many graveyards there in the memory of the Japanese soldiers who were fighting at that point of time. But it is a matter of great regret that there is no memorial for those INA soldiers who laid down their lives on the soil of Manipur during the historic fight at that point of time.

There is a proposal from the Japanese government to have another memorial of their soldiers who laid down their lives during the Second World War. It is for the Government to decide whether they will allow the Japanese government to raise their memorial. But unfortunately there has been no such proposal from the side of our Government to raise any memorial in the memory of those who laid down their lives during the fight.

* Original in Hindi

I appeal to the Government, through you, to make certain concrete proposals to raise memorials in the memory of the soldiers of the Indian National Army who laid down their lives during the bitterest struggle in our independence movement.

Shri Loknath Choudhury : In our struggle for freedom, there were many events and many contributions which are matters of history and which helped our country to achieve freedom. The struggle that was launched by the INA under the supreme commander, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is another memorial event. So, I join with others and I think it will be in the fitness of things for you also to join us and silence is observed in the House to pay respect to those who have sacrificed their lives in the event under the leadership of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Shri Yaima Singh Yumnam : It will be proper for us, particularly this House, to show our gratefulness to those who laid down their lives for us. It is a fact that Netaji Subhas incited people of Manipur to rise against the British and the soldiers of the Indian National Army in Manipur also joined him. Now, I would like to refer that Azad Hind flag was hoisted in Manipur and there is a memorial for that. The office of Shah Nawaz Khan is still preserved there. So, I join in requesting you to refer it as a memorial day and it will be a mark of gratefulness shown to those who have dedicated their lives for the independence of our country.

Shri Vidyacharan Shukla (Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Water Resources) : I join the House in paying my tribute to the heroes of the Indian National Army and the supreme leader, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

As Mr. Saifuddin has perfectly said, he had a long and distinguished career in the freedom struggle of our country even before he founded the Indian National Army. His followers have made the supreme sacrifice for the cause of Indian freedom. So, it is in the fitness of things that a reference is being made in this House on the 50th anniversary of their crossing the Indian soil. We have a memorial and some functions are held there annually. But the suggestion made by Mr. Chitta Basu will definitely be considered and we will see as to what more can be done in this respect. I, on behalf of the Government of India, would like to pay my highest and most respectful tributes to the

martyrs of Indian freedom and the Supreme Commander, Netaji Bose and I would like this occasion to be remembered throughout the country in an appropriate manner. Sir, if you think it fit, you might like to echo the sentiments of the House by your observations.

Hon'ble Speaker, Shri Shivraj V. Patil : On the 50th anniversary of the historic event, the House would like to pay homage to the memory of the martyrs of the Indian National Army. The people of India recall and shall continue to recall in future their sacrifices with pride and great gratitude. Let us please stand for a few moments in the memory of the martyrs.



With Shri A.C.N. Nambiar - a Minister in Azad Hind Government and his personal emissary to Europe — at Badgastain in 1938.

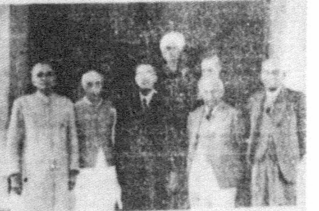
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A. TRIAL OPENS IN RED FORT

WOMEN WARRIORS SHAH NAWAZ DHILLON SAHGAL DEFENCE COUNSEL



Women warriors of the State of Jhansi Regiment of the I.N.A. with their rifles.



Defence counsel in the I.N.A. trial. From left to right Dr K. K. Katju, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sir Tej Chand, Mr. Khushal Das and Mr P. K. Sen. At the back is East Bahadur Baderi.

IF GUN BATTLES IN BATAVIA

WARN ANNAMITES OF REPRISALS
 GENERAL CHRISTIANSON'S WARNING THAT GERMANS WOULD BE USED IF THOSE HERE WERE REPEATED TODAY FOLLOWING A BOMB IN THE STREETS OF BATAVIA, SAID

CHARGES OF MURDER AND WAGING WAR AGAINST KING

DEFENCE ASKS FOR THREE WEEKS' ADJOURNMENT
 (By Our Special Representative)

Syria A Potential Trouble Spot In Mid-East

LONDON, Nov. 4. — With the Middle East spotlight on Palestine, the fate of Syria is spotlighted and the threat of further trouble is regarded as a realistic possibility, diplomats within the scope of the world conference in the Middle East in a dispatch from Damascus in the paper today.
 Curfew On Road Traffic Tightened In Palestine

Netaji's Troika — Maj. Gen. Shah Nawaj Khan, Col. G.S. Dhillon and Col. O.P. Sahgal



With Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das at Calcutta Congress.

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