CHAPTER - VIII

ROSE'S CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN NATIONALISM -

A FINAL EVALUATION
Bose devoted nearly a quarter century of his life (1921-45) to the cause of national freedom. His whole life was full of sufferings, sacrifices and adventures. He has become a legendary figure. Bose succeeded in organising the historic I.N.A., the I.I.L., in administering the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and even in hoisting the independence flag after freeing the Manipur area of India (on March 18, 1944), but he could not witness the independence of the country itself.

Bose was imprisoned eleven times and spent about 9 years in jail, in exile and in detention. N.G.Jog is right when he says: "on no other top-ranking leader did the wrath of British rulers fall as frequently and relentlessly as on Bose." Bose had gone on hunger strike twice in jail and was subjected once to a severe lathi charge. His jail life took a heavy toll of his health. His ill-health was a problem when he was Congress President in 1939. Actually, doctors attended on the President during the A.I.C.C. meeting (in March 1939) at Tripuri, and Moulana Azad had to preside over the session.

Bose abandoned the luxuries of life and postponed even the most private happiness like marriage up to 1942. His

adventures started with his resignation to the I.C.S. (April 22, 1921), in which he had secured fourth rank. Probably, his destiny was predetermined. Because his goal was not one of getting I.C.S. but realisation of the truth: "Atmanto Mokoherathem Jagadahitsava che". (One's self for freedom and for the help to the world).

The events moved as if everything was pre-determined. He was destined to devote his whole life to the cause of the freedom of the mother country. Therefore, he was averse to joining the civil service though it was the "heaven-born service" to others. Bose was not after worldly life but after the highest ideals of national and spiritual life. Bose was in a dilemma of his life whether to join civil service or to dedicate himself to the cause of the nation. As a great patriot he thought it to be an insult to serve an alien master.

Subhas was the first to accept and answer the challenge. He was the first to resign the I.C.S. That was his great sacrifice in the cause of the nation. Subhas's father wanted to keep his son aloof from Indian politics. That was the main reason for sending him abroad. But the father could not change the pre-determined destiny of his son. This has
a parallel in the life of Sri Aurobindo. Sri Aurobindo's father wanted his son to be the great 'Saheb' (high officer). So he sent him to England at his very early age of seven. But instead of becoming a great "Saheb", Sri Aurobindo became a great "Sanyasi" (saint).

Subhas's father could not realise the patriotic disposition of his son. When his father refused to send money to refund to the Government for not joining the service, he (Subhas) managed it with the help of his friends.

The revolutionary, in short, first revolted against his own father and his family members by not joining the service under the British imperialism and he freed himself from the clutches of the British bureaucracy. His resignation to the I.O.S. (22nd April 1921) was a great sacrifice on his part, in the cause of the Nation. That was an unique example. One of his fellow students in England was inspired on the occasion to write a poem on him:

"Bullets all round him his
But fall his feet to kiss,
This occasion we never can miss.
To thee, O hero, we bow!"

Bose's resignation was so effective that his friends like Mr.D.K.Roy and Mr.Kshitish Prasad Chattopadhyay discontinued their studies for the I.C.S. It was a sort of a resignation movement. His resignation from the highest/service proved three things that he was an extra-ordinary man who did not care for power, position, money and worldly life. Secondly, he was a great patriot, as he did not want to serve an alien master. Thirdly, he was a free and original thinker.

Being a spiritualist, Bose reposed the responsibility for his resignation on the Almighty. Whatever happened later is part of the history of modern India and that of India's freedom movement. He would have been forgotten, if he had continued in the I.C.S. Hence he was successful in overcoming this allurement.

Gandhi and Bose's Mission of Life:

Bose proved again an extra-ordinary man when he was not impressed by Mahatma Gandhi who was the sole and the single voice of the whole Congress organization from 1921 to 1947. Almost everyone who came in contact with Gandhi was not only impressed but was swept completely by his personality. But Bose proved a rare exception in this respect. Not only
that he was not moved but became a critic of Gandhiji.

Subhas returned from England resigning the I.C.S., and landed in Bombay on July 16, 1921. The same afternoon he met Mahatma Gandhi at his residence, Mani Bhavan, Laburnum Road, Bombay. The first impression of Bose of the Mahatma was not the best. The meeting was the beginning of a disagreement in their ideologies. Bose was not convinced of Gandhiji's programme and approach.

Bose was, probably, the first to question the programme of the Mahatma. He maintained the same attitude towards the Mahatma until his last breath. The fundamental reason for this disagreement was the difference in the nature and ideologies of the two. The Mahatma, being of an older generation and a spiritualist, was steadfast about the means interrelation between the means and ends. He wanted to win over the British with love and persuasion and not with force. Hence his approach was one of passivism. On the other hand, Bose, being an young activist, pragmatist, revolutionary and even to some extent a terrorist, was particular about the end more than the means. Hence he developed the philosophy of activism in himself. Then how could two opposite ideologies meet?
Being a revolutionary, Bose, naturally found his political 'guru' (teacher) in 'Deshabandhu' Chitta Ranjan Das, a renowned revolutionary and firebrand of Bengal of the time. Bose admired C.R. Das more than Gandhi.

Probably, no one, until then, had analysed the role of Gandhi as Bose did. Bose's watchword was "now or never!". He had no other alternative. Whereas Gandhi's principle was one of "slow and steady" on the lines of truth and non-violence which was successful ultimately.

Earlier revolutionaries like, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Roy and later Bose, terrorised the British authority in India. But everything was in vain. Along with the means, methods and approaches, the time, the circumstances and the situations also would count towards the success of a programme.

The attitude of Bose towards Gandhi is a controversial one. From the angle of Gandhiites and the like minded people, the approach of Bose might be called emotional, enthusiastic, ambitious, terrorist, fascist etc. Their main complaint was that Bose did not accept Gandhi as his leader instead accepted the Deshabandhu. It was because of the independent, free thinking nature of Bose. He sought a
leader akin to his nature and conscience. Moreover, being young he wanted a quick and continuous action, even using force and foreign aid until the goal was reached. Bose thought Gandhiji was a brake to his engine of thought and action. So he challenged the plan and programme of Gandhiji, in his very first meeting with him (July 16, 1921) during the non-cooperation Movement.

Whenever Gandhiji used to launch a movement Bose would appreciate it, but Bose would not approve it if it was given up. Bose was, in fact, happy over the launching of the non-cooperation Movement (1921). He said: "the year 1921 undoubtedly gave the country a highly organised party-organisation. Before that the Congress was a constitutional party and mainly a talking body. The Mahatma not only gave it a new constitution and a nation-wide basis but what is more important converted it into a revolutionary organisation".4

But when the non-cooperation movement was called off by Gandhiji after the Chouri Choura incident (4th Feb. 1922) in which, it was suspected that 21 policemen were burnt, Bose considered it as an "order of retreat". Most of the Congressites, including Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru agreed with him. They were perhaps correct from their own angle. But the Mahatma thought that the nation was not yet

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ripe for non-violent non-cooperation. For the Mahatma the goal was not important, but the means.

Bose wanted the Civil Dis-obedience Movement to be started two years earlier in 1928, instead of in 1930. In addition to the "Simon Go Back" heat, the time was opportune with labour unrest around.

Bose, as the chairman of the Reception Committee of the Youth Congress, at Calcutta in Dec. 1928, strongly advocated activism and optimism as opposed to passivism and pessimism of the two schools of thought of Sabarmati and of Pondicherry. As a pragmatist Bose was critical of the Gandhian views.

Bose was always ahead of times in his thought and programme, as an activist, in contrast to the passivism of Gandhiji and even of Pt. Motilal Nehru. As a member of the Nehru Committee, Bose submitted his own minority Report advocating complete independence immediately, though the majority Report (1928) accepted it as the final goal. Both Pt. Motilal Nehru and Gandhiji were content with Dominion Status. When Gandhiji asked for complete independence in 1929 Bose had gone still further demanding the setting up of an interim government.
After the death of "Deshabandhu" C.R. Das, Bose tried it seems, to find his new leader in Mr. Vitthalbhai Patel but not the Mahatma. Bose had considered the Mahatma as "an old, useless piece of furniture". Bose complained of the dictatorial tendency of Gandhiji in concluding the pact with Lord Irwin in March 1931, to have himself appointed as the sole representative to the Round Table Conference (1931) to have concluded the Poona Pact in September 1932 and such other acts.

Bose was highly critical of the double role of Gandhiji in England - that of a political leader, and of a world teacher. Bose was of the opinion that Gandhiji failed in both. Vitthalbhai Patel agreed with Bose as could be seen in their joint manifesto (issued on 9th May 1933 in Vienna), criticising the suspension of the Civil Disobedience movement. They pleaded for a change of leadership in place of Gandhiji. Both were for a militant policy instead of Gandhiji's passivism.

Bose was even ready to sacrifice the entire population of the country for the liberation of the mother-land. Vithalbhai Patel also supported the stand of Bose. "He (Bose) speaks the mind of young India. It may be a brilliant mind

and may be a foolish one. It may be creative or it may be suicidal. But it is here and if the gods are thirsty, what can we do but offer our blood." 6

Bose, in contrast to Gandhi, was for continuation of the Congress Party even after independence. He expressed this in his Presidential speech at the Haripura Congress (Feb. 1939).

The climax of differences between Bose and Gandhi was reached when Bose declared his candidature for the Presidentship of the Congress, for the second term for the Tripuri Session (1939). Both Bose and Gandhi took the issue as a prestigious one. Both would have arrived at a compromise. Gandhi and the majority of the O.N.C. were for an unanimous choice in favour of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. There was some meaning and point in demanding an unanimous choice; but not in arguing against the 2nd term for Bose, as Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru had enjoyed successively two terms (1936 and 1937), and in addition to the first one in 1929, for the historic Lahore Session.

On the other hand, Bose's stand was more appropriate as that was on the basis of democracy, policy and programmes. Bose's statement (issued on Jan. 21, 1939), made this point

6. Ibid.
clear: "In view of the increasing international tension and the prospective fight over the federation, the new year will be a momentous one in our national history. Owing to this and other reasons, if my services in office are demanded by the majority of the delegates, with what justification can I withdraw from the contest? If however, the majority of the delegates vote against my re-election, I shall loyally abide by their verdict and shall continue to serve the Congress and the country as an ordinary soldier." 7

The argument of Bose, Gandhiji thought, was not democratic, but of "Striff", "indiscipline", "anarchy" "irresponsible" and even "violent speeches". 8 Gandhiji was worried mainly because, his instructions were not carried by Bose and his followers". 9 When there was no scope for compromise, Gandhiji would have accepted the democratic method of election. It shows that either he was dictatorial or he was reluctant to face an election.

Bose’s historic success in the election (with 1590 votes) in favour and 1375 against) was a clear indication of his position, power, popularity and also of his policy and programme. Bose himself analysed the situation thus: "This

9. Ibid.
was the first time since 1923-24 that the Mahatma suffered a public defeat and in his weekly paper, Harijan, he openly acknowledged the defeat. The election had served to show the wide and influential following that the writer (Bose) had throughout the country in open opposition to both Gandhiji and Nehru. 10

Gandhiji also sincerely accepted the defeat: "The defeat is more mine than his (Dr. Siteramaya). I am nothing if I do not represent definite principles and policy. Therefore, it is plain to me that the delegates do not approve of the principles and policy for which I stand. I rejoice in the defeat." 11 He accepted, of course, too late, the fact that "after all, Subhas Babu is not an enemy of the country. He has suffered for it". 12 But he stabbed Bose in the back when he advised the majority to come out of the Congress. "If they (minority) cannot keep pace with it, they must come out of the Congress." 13 That was not in the true spirit of a 'Mahatma'. The 'Mahatma' would not have tried for the split of the party or for the defection of the minority from it.

Like an ideal hero, Bose still tried sincerely to persuade the Mahatma. In a statement issued on Feb. 4, 1939,

12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
Bose said: "It will always be my aim and object to try and win Gandhiji's confidence for the simple reason that it will be a tragic thing for me if I succeed in winning the confidence of other people but fail to win the confidence of India's greatest man." 14

On the other hand, the Mahatma asked for, indirectly, the resignation of Bose from the presidency. He wrote in his letter (24.3.1939) to Bose referring to Mr.Pant's resolution: "I do not know how far you are fit to attend to the national work. If you are not, I think you should adopt the only constitutional course open to you." 15 In another letter (April 2, 1939), the Mahatma directly said: "If on the other hand, your programme is not accepted you should resign—— And you will be free to educate the country along your own lines." 16

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru was right in advising the Mahatma in his letter (17th April, 1939) in which, he has even accused Gandhiji's action as a wrong one: "I think now, as I thought in Delhi, that you should accept Subhas as President. To try to push him out seems to me to be an exceedingly wrong step." 17

16. Ibid.
Any how, the tragedy came in the form of Bose’s resignation to the presidency of the Congress at the A.I.C.C. meeting in Calcutta (on 29th April, 1939). And within next three months, Bose was expelled from the party itself. The reason for all this was that Bose contested against the will of Gandhiji.

Even the rival candidate of Bose, and a true follower of Gandhiji, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, did not justify the attitude of the Mahatma. He wrote, "Why did Gandhiji refuse a second term to Bose? That even after his election, Gandhiji was not reconciled to it.... Bose must have valued his second term only to re-organise the Congress on lines adumbrated by him in Vienna. That alone if nothing else, would be ground enough for Gandhiji to resist such an endeavour. Whether Gandhiji had any further grounds to justify his attitude, he alone must be able one day to say." 18

Michael Brecher rightly observed: "Of all the participants only Gandhiji had a clear and consistent objective to oust Bose." 19 Why Gandhiji was against Bose? Mr. A.K. Majumdar surmised on the basis of the information given by Mr. K.M. Munshi that "Netaji’s secret activities took Gandhiji entirely

by surprise and he (Gandhiji) decided that he (Bose) should not be re-elected President of the Congress. This led to his opposition to Netaji's re-election, and after the latter was re-elected, to withhold co-operation, which forced him to resign." But this might not be the reason. The only reason could be that Bose was not his follower. So Gandhiji took revenge of his candidate's defeat in the Presidential election by forcing Bose to resign and finally expelling him from the Party itself.

In this context the Mahatma's attitude was unfortunately vindictive; whereas, the role of Bose was dignified and generous and it elevated his personality to a great height as a gallant hero, who earned the confidence of the defeated minority.

The role of Bose in relation with Gandhiji in the freedom struggle was clear. Though Bose did not like the ideology, plans, programmes and passivism of Gandhiji, but he realised the importance of Gandhiji. So he (Bose) tried to convince him (Gandhiji) and persuade him, but in vain. In a sense, Gandhiji, also, failed in not winning over the young, enthusiastic Bose.

Though Gandhiji succeeded in expelling Bose out of the party he was not able to expel him from the politics of India. Bose became still more strong, more popular with his new party and the paper—The Forward Bloc.

Their last meeting at Wardha in June 1940, though they had no idea that it would be their last meeting, was a thrilling one. Gandhiji revealed his mind and spirit as if he was confessing for his previous sins of forcing Bose to resign and expelling him from the party. "Mahatmaji said: 'Subhas, I have always loved you. You are keen on launching some mass movement. You thrive when there is fight. You are terribly emotional.... I am an old man now and must not do anything in haste. I have the greatest admiration for you. Regarding your love for the country and determination to achieve its freedom, you are second to none. Your sincerity is transparent. Your spirit of self-sacrifice and suffering cannot be surpassed by anybody. But I would like these qualities to be used at a more opportune moment." 21 It was almost the final observation of Gandhiji on Bose. Again Mahatmaji continued: "....You have got the qualities of a great leader.... If you came out successful, I shall be the first to congratulate you." 22


22. Ibid.
Gandhiji admired Bose for his youthful role, while replying to a correspondent: "he has youth before him and he must have the dash of a youth. He is not held down by me or anybody else. He is not the man to be so held. It is his own prudence that holds him... he is as much reformist and liberal as I am".\(^{23}\) The gulf between them, according to Gandhiji, was on the means to be adopted: the violent or non-violent. Gandhiji continued, "... in spite of our different outlooks and in spite of the Congress ban on him, when he leads in non-violent battle they will find me following him, as I shall find him following me if I overtake him. But I must live in the hope that we shall gain our common end without another fight."\(^{24}\)

Gandhiji's hope was fulfilled as Bose escaped on 17th Jan. 1941 out of the "big jail", India. The outlook and the attitudes of Gandhiji, Nehru and of other Gandhites, changed as their rival, a competitor and an obstacle, left the opposition camp in India. Gandhiji at once changed his tone and began to admire Bose's activities. It is clear that Gandhiji wanted to oust Bose from presidenship, from the party and other possible positions. In fact Gandhiji was mainly responsible for all the upheavals in Bose's life.

\(^{24}\) Ibid.
The change in the Gandhian attitude towards Bose was clear in the writing of Maulana Azad, a Gandhite who wrote: "I also saw that Subhas Bose's escape to Germany had made a great impression on Gandhiji. He had not formerly approved many of Bose's actions, but I found a change in his outlook... he admired the courage and resourcefulness that Subhas Bose had displayed in making his escape from India. His admiration for Subhas Bose unconsciously coloured his view about the whole war situation."25

Even Sir Stafford Cripps, was perturbed at this admiration of Gandhiji for Bose. "This admiration" Maulana Azad continued, "was also one of the factors which clouded the discussions during the Cripps Mission to India."26 On hearing a false news of Bose's death in air-crash in 1942, Gandhiji had sent his condolence to Bose's mother, "in glowing terms about her son and his services to India."27 "Cripps, however," Maulana wrote", "complained to me that he had not expected a man like Gandhiji to speak in such glowing terms about Subhas Bose, who had openly sided with the Axis powers."28

Gandhiji's admiration for Bose reached its height when he said that Bose was "a patriot of patriots"29 in a

26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid. 29. Louis Fisher, A Week with Gandhi, p.46.
conversation with Louis Fisher, an American journalist.
Not only this. As a real Mahatma he confessed in the
conversation: "Twice I kept him from becoming the President
of the Congress." 30

But, on the other hand, even after his escape from
India, Bose maintained the same personal admiration for
Gandhiji and the same ideology of his activism and militancy.
He always accepted Gandhiji as "India's greatest leader," 31
"the creator of the present awakening in our country," 32, and
admired Kasturba as "the mother of the Indian people." 33
He referred to him, as "the Father of our nation" 34 in his
broadcast address to Mahatma Gandhiji over the Rangoon Radio
(on 6th July 1944).

Gandhiji acted as a shrewd politician, especially, in
relation to Bose. But he was affectionate towards Bose when
he said: "Netaji was like a son to me," 35 while addressing
the I.N.A. prisoners in the detention camps (in 1945).

Gandhiji had no other way, except expressing his personal
admiration to Bose, as by that time (1945) Bose had become
not only a patriot of patriots but had surpassed the stature

30. Ibid.
33. N.G. Jog, op. cit., p. 305.
34. S.K. Bose (Ed.), op. cit., p. 318.
35. Quoted N.G. Jog, op. cit., p. 308.
of Gandhiji himself. Hugh Toye has rightly estimated the comparative roles of Bose, Gandhiji and Nehru in 1938 itself thus: "Bose was now (1938) a man of more than national stature. Abroad he ranked after Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru as an Indian politician. Within India his personality had proved to many the most attractive of the three. In some places his reputation rivalled that of Gandhiji himself."36 The last sentence is significant. After his sensational escape, Bose definitely gained in his stature over all the patriots, freedom fighters of India including Tilak, Sardar Patel and Nehru.

In short, between Bose and Gandhi, ultimately Gandhiji failed in not taking Bose into his confidence. Bose on the other hand, escaped from a narrow, dominating mind and approach of Gandhiji with his escape from India and spread his fame across Eurasia.

If Bose followed Gandhi, like Nehru and Patel, he would have occupied any place of power and position before and after independence. He would not have escaped from India, and there would not have perhaps been that air-crash tragedy. He would have been perhaps in the Nehru's Ministry at least, as a Cabinet level Minister, after independence. As he was

36. Hugh Toye, Subhas Chandra Bose, p.46.
ten years younger to Nehru, he would have succeeded Nehru as the 2nd Prime Minister of India. But after all these are only hypothetical.

Succeeded in His Mission?

Whether Bose's military (the I.H.A.) mission abroad failed or succeeded in achieving his goal of independence of the country? He wanted to launch a vigorous freedom movement in India to the last. Gandhiji, of course, did not agree with his plan of approach. So he escaped from the country to seek foreign military aid in order to wage a war against the British authority in India. He contacted first the Italian authority, then the German, and finally the Japanese. He did it all single-handed without any funds or official credentials. As the leader of his party, the Forward Bloc, in India, and as a representative of India, he joined the Axis Powers during the world war II and pursued his mission viz., the liberation of his mother country.

He organised the Free India Centre in Berlin, under whose auspices he also organised the Indian Legion by mobilising the Indian prisoners of War in Germany. His propaganda on radio from Germany awakened the Indians within India and outside. It was in Germany that he was first called the
Nataji, which speaks amply of his deeds achievements and popularity abroad.

He succeeded Rash Behari Bose as the President of the I.I.L., (4.7.1943), in South-East Asia, after coming over there from Germany on invitation. As the Supreme-Commander, he reorganised the I.N.A. with a separate Jhansi Rani Laxmibhai Regiment of women soldiers under the Captaincy of Laxmi Swaminathan, (Now Mrs. Sahagel), and also a Bala Sena. The I.N.A. was, undoubtedly, his greatest achievement and significant contribution to the cause of his mission.

He organised the Provisional Government of Free India (on 21 Oct., 1943) and at its inaugural ceremony he swore: "I swear by God that I will do my best to emancipate India and its 380 million people. I will abide by this oath until my death. I will make every possible effort to bring freedom to the Indian people. I also swear to devote myself to the good of India even after its emancipation."37 He stood upto his words until his death.

He was successful in organising the national government and the national army (I.N.A.). In his address (on 6th Nov. 1943) at the Greater East Asia Conference, held in Tokyo on 5th & 6th Nov. 1943, Bose said emotionally with tears in his

37. Quoted, N.G. Jog, op.cit., p.239.
eyes: "It does not matter who among us will live to see India free. It is enough that India should be free that the Anglo-American Imperialism is wiped out of India." In a sense, Bose was the first Premier of India before independence (in 1943), as the Premier of the Provisional Government of India. (Nehru was the Premier of the Interim Government of India in 1946). As the Premier of the Provisional Government, Bose toured the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, the part of India to be liberated first (on 30th Dec. 1943) and appointed Lt. Col. A.D. Lohanathan, the Chief Commissioner of the Islands.

Bose's eyes were set on Delhi. He wanted his I.N.A., to march to Delhi via Imphal, the present capital of Manipur. He shifted (7.1.1944) his Provisional Government to Rangoon to speed up the march to Delhi. He informed his intention to General Kawabe, the Japanese Commander-in-Chief in Burma: "The Indian National Army should be the spearhead of the whole advance into India. The first drop of blood to be shed on Indian soil be that of a member of the Indian National Army." "Any liberation of India secured through Japanese sacrifice" thought Bose, "is worse than slavery." A

38. Tatsuo Hayashida, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, His Great Struggle And Martyrdom, p.68.
39. Ibid., p. 80.
Bose wanted to shift further the Provisional Government inside India as soon as the Indian National Army moves into India. 41

The Imphal operation (from 15th March to 9th July 1944) was the decisive stage of the freedom struggle of Bose and his I.N.A. It was a crucial period of the second world war in Europe and Asia. The fate of Bose and his I.N.A., was depending on the Japanese military strength. Japan deployed her three Divisions (15th, 31st and 33rd). One I.N.A. Division under Col. Kiani was attached to a Japanese Division (15th). While bidding farewell to the Subhas Brigade, which was passing through Rangoon to the front (on Feb. 3, 1944), Bose said: "Blood is calling to blood... There in front of you is the road our pioneers have built. We shall march along that road. We shall carve our way through the enemy's ranks or, if God wills, we shall die a martyr's death. And in our last sleep we shall kiss the road which will bring our Army to Delhi. The road to Delhi is the road to freedom. On to Delhi!" 42

Being an eye-witness to the courage of Bose, Hayashida remarked that Bose "proved himself a worthy leader of the independence movement." 43

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41. Hayashida, op.cit.
42. Quoted, N.G.Jog, op.cit., p. 251.
43. Hayashida, op.cit., p. 84.
As spearhead, an I.N.A. Regiment, commanded by Col. Sahgal, crossed the Burma-India border and set its foot on Indian soil (18th March 1944). Then followed the Japanese Army, (on 22nd March 1944). The same day Bose persuaded from Rangoon the Indian army and officials to defect from the British authority and to co-operate with the Indo-Japanese Army. The same day, Gen. Tojo, the Japanese Premier, issued a statement from Tokyo, assuring the Indians of handing over liberated India to the Provisional Government of India.

Kohima (present capital of Nagaland) fell to the Indo-Japanese Army (6.4.1944). Imphal, the decisive position was the next target. Netaji told the Indians in liberated areas on 4th April 1944: "The Provisional Government of Free India is the only lawful government of the Indian people... Rally round your own Government and thereby help to preserve and safeguard your own liberty." Bose, as the Premier of the Provisional Government, appointed Lt. Col. A.C. Chatterji as the Governor of the liberated areas of India.

To the bad luck of the Indo-Japanese army and of Bose, Imphel did not fall due to failure of human plans and nature's

44. Ibid., p. 86.
45. Ibid., pp. 87-88.
fury in the form of torrential rains in that area. Lt. Gen. Mutaguchi, the Japanese Commander of the 15th Army, blocked the Imphal-Kohima road, and sealed the final fate of the Indo-Japanese Army and of Bose. He considered Imphal as a lake with a big fish. But the British army there in Imphal proved to be a crocodile, which dragged the Indo-Japanese army to its doom.

Had Imphal fallen, Netaji would have been successful and the history of modern India would have been different. "Had he (Bose) only been able to take Imphal", said Bhulabhai Desai the Chief Counsel, who defended the I.N.A. officers during the trial at the Red Fort, "the bulk of the Indian Army in India would have deserted the British and flocked to swell the ranks of the Indian National Army." 46

Bose's plan failed mainly because of the failure of the Japanese army in Imphal operation. Generally, it was considered that Mutaguchi's plan of blocking Imphal-Kohima road was the main reason for the failure. Otherwise, the British army in Imphal would have retreated by the same road.

But, Gen. Mutaguchi complained of the inferior quality of the Japanese army then. "I still believe", Gen. Mutaguchi

said, "that Imphal could have been taken, had the three Divisions (15th, 31st & 33rd) been as good as my 18th Division" (which he commanded in 1941-42). This perhaps is the reason for the failure of Japanese army in the Imphal operation. Even Churchill, the British Prime Minister, was afraid of the Japanese naval action in 1941-42. On April 15, 1942, Churchill wrote to Roosevelt: "The consequences of this Japanese naval action may easily be (1) the loss of Ceylon, (2) invasion of eastern India (Assam and Bengal), with incalculable internal consequences to our whole war plan, including the loss of Calcutta." 

The torrential rains which destroyed the communication and supply lines, were the other reasons for the failure of Indo-Japanese army in the Imphal operation. Without arms, ammunition, air cover, food and medical facilities, the I.N.A. on which there was a greater responsibility suffered a lot. A Japanese newspaper wrote on Nov. 1st, 1944: "The fact that the Indian National Army fought side by side with the Japanese Army on the Indo-Burma border under the handicap of shortages of all kinds of supplies should go down as a glorious chapter in the history of the Indian independence movement." 

47. Dilip Kumar Roy, op.cit., p. 200.  
49. Hayashiida, op.cit., p. 96.
In addition to the Gen. Mutaguchi's wrong strategy of blocking the Imphal-Kohima road, the torrential rains and other short-comings, Bose's main plan and programme was set aside by the Japanese military authority. Bose had the right plan in so far as the Indian troops in the British army would desert and join the I.N.A. Bose said in a press interview (on Jan. 17, 1944): "The situation in Burma is not favourable for the British because a great majority of the Indian troops in the British Army are unwilling to fight for them. Indian troops of the British Army will not fight against the Indian National Army because they know that it is fighting to liberate the motherland. They will, I feel strongly, join the I.N.A. when they come in contact with it." 50

Bose's strong will was disturbed by the Japanese military authority by leaving behind the I.N.A. propaganda and espionage units, attached to each Japanese Division in the operation for lack of transport and other facilities. Bose wanted the I.N.A. to be the spearhead in the operation. But the Japanese did not rely upon the I.N.A. Maj. Gen. Shaha Nawaz Khan, the Commander of the Subhas Brigade of the I.N.A. Division in the operation himself revealed: "With a clear conscience I can say that the Japanese did not give full aid.

and assistance to the Azad Hind Fauj during their assault
on Imphal. In fact, I am right in saying that they let us
down badly, and had it not been for their betrayal of the
I.N.A., the history of the Imphal campaign might have been
a different one. My own impression is that the Japanese
did not trust the I.N.A. They had found out through their
their liaison officers that the I.N.A. would not accept
Japanese domination in any way, and that they would fight
the Japanese in case they attempted to replace the British.
The Japanese were frightened of making the I.N.A. too power-
ful."51

But some, like Hugh Toye, expressed doubts as to the
quality of the I.N.A. itself: "the I.N.A. was slack, idle
and ill-disciplined. Desertion and pilfering were rife,
there was disloyal talk."52 Any how, Bose's mission, plan
and method failed in achieving the immediate objective of
marching to Delhi via Imphal. But Bose was so indomitable
that he did not worry about his failure. In his broadcast
address on July 12, 1944, he said: "The only other alternative
plan to mine is that of Mahatma Gandhi embodied in the Quit
India resolution. If that plan succeeds, our plan and our
activities will be set at naught. On the other hand, if
Mahatma Gandhi's plan fails as it has failed - then all

52. Hugh Toye, op.cit., p. 95.
hopes of Indian independence rest entirely on the fulfilment of our plan."53

Again, in his message to the new Premier Koiso of Japan, Bose said, "I hereby declare that we will fight side by side with Japanese and other friendly powers until we win independence by crushing our common enemy."54

Bose was for achieving his mission of independence. He was not for title, honour or power. He returned it graciously when he was honoured by the Government of Japan (in Oct. 1944) with the highest decoration, "the first order of the Rising Sun." Bose replied: "I would like to accept it together with my men when we have won independence."55

The Indomitable Netaji did not surrender to his enemies throughout his life. The second world war came to an end with the surrender of all the axis powers. Italy fell first, then Germany surrendered (on 7th May 1945) and finally Japan (on 15th August, 1945). Bose's I.N.A. was the only force which did not surrender at all! S.A. Ayer, Bose's Minister for Propaganda described the effect of Japan's surrender, on Bose: "Netaji heard the news and after one characteristic silence he was deep in thought for a fleeting second. The next second

he was absolutely his normal self. He first broke into a
smile and almost his first words were 'So that is that. Now
what next? '... He was already thinking of the next move.
He was not going to be beaten. Japan's surrender was not
India's surrender... He would not admit defeat... he said:
'well, don't you see we are the only people who have not
surrendered?"56

Bose did not agree that his mission had failed. In
his Special Order of the Day (Aug. 15th, 1945) Bose addressed
the I.N.A.: "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."57 Bose surveyed
the past achievements of the I.N.A.: "No setback and no
defeat can undo your positive achievements of the past. Many
of you have participated in the fight along the Inde-Burman
frontier and also inside India and have gone through hardship
and sufferings 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."58

Bose had firm faith in India's destiny. He said: "The
roads to Delhi are many and Delhi still remains our goal.

56. S.A. Ayer, unto Him a witness, pp. 51-52.
58. Ibid.
The sacrifice 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."59

Even on the verge of his death after the air-crash
Bose, the patriot of patriots, was thinking of the destiny
of the country. He whispered in the ears of Habib-ur Rahman,
his co-passenger, who was lying wounded by his side: "When
you go back, tell my countrymen that I fought to the last
for the freedom of my country. And no power could now keep
our country in bondage any longer. They should continue
the struggle. India will be free before long."60

Bose's mission therefore did not fail. His heroic deeds
with his I.N.A., adorn the pages of Indian history. The
I.N.A. trials in the Red Fort, Delhi (5th Nov. 1945 to 31st
Dec. 1945) reveal the great sacrifice and sufferings of Bose
and his men. The I.N.A. trials marked another heric chapter
of India's history, as Nehru remarked."61 The trials roused
the political consciousness of the whole country and brought
independence sooner. Even Ghandiji admitted that "the whole
country has been roused and even the regular forces have
been stirred into a new political consciousness and have
begun to think in terms of independence."62

60. Saito Hayashida, "To Delhi-To Delhi! 1943-1945,"
62. Ibid.
On another occasion, Gandhiji admired the deeds of Bose: "I know there is a new ferment and a new awakening among all the ranks today. Not a little of this credit for this change is due to Netaji Bose. I disapprove of his method, but he had rendered a signal service to India by giving the Indian soldiers a new vision and a new ideal." 63

Bhulabhai Desai, the Chief-Counsel for the I.N.A. at the trials admired the "many-sided achievements" 64 of Bose, in a conversation with D.K. Roy in Bombay. On the basis of the deeds, documents and records Mr. Desai rightly estimated Bose: "He was revealed to me in that awed moment of discovery as a far-sighted statesman, a born realist, a strategist to his finger-tips and an idealist-cum-seer who could not halt or rest on the way because he was haunted by an irresistible, almost a mystic, call he had to answer with the last drop of his freedom-hungry blood." 65

Bose had, as Desai said, "the Warrior's master urge." 66 He was "both the architect and the builder of his dream edifice" 67. He inspired his fellows to fight for the freedom. Mr. Desai said, "It was the seed of colossal aspiration he had to sow in every recruit and then to make it shoot up

65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
overnight into a gigantic tree." Whatever he achieved, he achieved it single-handed. Mr. Desai continued, "he had no comrade of his calibre to help him! He had to achieve everything with the sole power of his magic personality." "Doesn't it read like a real saga" asked Mr. Desai, "or, shall I say, a fairy-tale all but translated into reality?" "Hetaji shall live," Mr. Desai went on emotionally, "for all times as singing lighthouse of inspiration to posterity in this our drab age where all the rest is dumb ash." 

Even Mr. Attlee, the then British Prime Minister, admired the service of the I.B.A. He said, (on 15-3-46), "to the spread of the national idea, not least perhaps among some of those soldiers, who have done such wonderful service in the war." Bose's military mission was not futile. Though it did not achieve the goal, it brought the goal nearer to be achieved. He died about two years earlier, after performing his duty for the freedom of the country.

A Dynamic Personality:

Bose was a dynamic freedom fighter and politician.

"There is no nationalist in India", Bose rightly estimated

68. Ibid.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid., p. 201.
himself on July 9th, 1943, "who can claim to possess the many-sided experience that I have been able to acquire." There was not even an iota of exaggeration or boast in it.

He was an ever inspiring and illuminating figure. He stood for fighting, suffering and sacrifice for the mother land. He was a statesman, diplomat, organiser, administrator, orator, visionary, writer, journalist and a feminist. He stood for freedom, equality, unity, democracy and socialism. He was a pragmatist, activist, a militant nationalist and a revolutionary. He was for a Constituent Assembly after attaining national independence. "The party," said Bose, "that is going to fight for freedom is the party that is entitled to draw up the constitution." He wanted a strong central government and a strong political party. He was for freedom of speech, press, expression and religion. He was secular in outlook. He wanted to give scope to students and the youth in every sphere of life—including politics. He was a man of action and destiny.

Above all, Bose was a thorough gentleman. In one of his letters to Mahatma Gandhi in 1939, Bose wrote: "If there is anything in life on which I pride myself it is that I am the son of a gentleman, and as such, I am a gentleman...

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I shall not remain in the political field a single day if by doing so I shall fall from the standards of gentlemanliness, which are so deeply ingrained in my mind from infancy, and which I feel are in my blood."75 He took to his heart his political teacher, "Deshebendhu" Chitta Ranjan Das's teaching "life is larger than politics."

His family background and the influence of the teachings of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Swami Vivekananda made him religious and mystic. He used to carry with him a rosary of beads, a miniature copy of the Gita and made it a point to visit the Ramakrishna Mission in Singapore in a simple dress of Shirt and dhoti.76

Bose was a lover of music. "He who has no music" wrote Bose in one of his letters (9.10.1925) to D.K.Roy from Mandalay jail, "in his composition, or whose heart is dead to music, is unlikely to achieve anything big or great in life."77

He was fair, handsome with impressive round face and personality. He was cool, kind, and generous, though he seemed an authoritarian, dictatorial or fascist in his military uniform. "The first thing that struck me most at that moment

75. Quoted, N.G.Jog, In Freedom's Quest, p. 324.
76. S.A.Ayer, op.cit., p. 269. and Hugh Toye, op.cit., p.98.
"(in Syonan on July 2, 1943)" wrote Gen. J. K. Bhonsle, "was his arresting personality, his face radiating cheer and optimism." During the I.N.A. trials in the Red Fort (1945) Gen. Shaha Nawaz Khan spoke of his impression of Bose: "When Netaji arrived in Singapore, I watched him very keenly.... I heard a number of public speeches, which had a profound effect on me. It will not be wrong to say that I was hypnotized by his personality and his speeches. He placed the true picture of India through the eyes of an Indian."79

When Bose Visited England in Jan. 1938; The Manchester Guardian wrote: "English people who met him for the first time were impressed alike by his pleasant, quiet manner and the decisiveness with which he discussed Indian affairs."80

He had a defect, of course, of being unpunctual in replying letters, in keeping appointments, in catching trains. He was too social. He had a good number of friends. He was a chain smoker, and drinker of tea, 20 to 30 cups a day and usually a late-comer to his bed in the night. He used to munch betel-nuts from morning till night. As his personal physician Col. Raju used to exclaim: he was "always excess!" But he did not touch wine and women as he had pledged. "He

78. Quoted, N.G. Jog, op.cit., p. 334.
79. Ibid., pp. 334-5.
was still unconcerned", writes Hugh Toye, "with women—except to enrol them in the political struggle... he had forsworn marriage until India was free. This, and his abstinence from alcohol, became a definite part of his public reputation". 81 "Matrimony?" Bose said to a questioner on 23rd Jan. 1938, after his return from England, "I have no time to think of that". 82

He was intelligent, brilliant and a voracious reader. His fourth rank at the I.C.S. was the best proof of his intelligence. His intellectual hunger was evident in his reading of the books by Bert and Russell, J.B.S. Haldane, Huxley and others. He utilised his exile and jail periods for reading and writing. D.K. Roy, J. Nehru and others used to send books to him.

A Writer:

Bose was a writer of eminence. The Indian Struggle (1920-34), was his first book, written during his exile in Europe and was first published in London on the 17th Jan. 1935. Its reprint was issued in India in 1948 (Compiled by the Netaji Research Bureau). Earlier, in 1942 its Italian edition was published. 83

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82. Ibid., p.46.
Romain Rolland, in his letter (Feb. 22, 1935) to Bose appreciated the book: "so interesting seemed the book to us that I ordered another copy so that my wife and sister should have one each. It is an indispensable book for the history of Indian Movement. In it you show the best qualities of the historian; lucidity and high equity of mind. Rarely it happens that a man of action as you are is apt to judge without party spirit."84

An Indian Pilgrim (An unfinished autobiography), written in ten days in Dec. 1937 at Badgastein, Austria, was his second contribution.

He had also written a number of articles to the press in India (notably to The Modern Review) and Europe.

A Journalist:

Bose was also a Journalist. He edited The Banglar Katha, a journal started by C.R. Das to propagate the Swarajist party and The Forward Bloc, a Weekly, started (Aug. 1939) by himself, as the mouth-piece of his party, the Forward Bloc.

Bose was a man of few words. He had a sense of humour. He used to enjoy giving nicknames while chatting with his close friends like Dilip Kumar Roy. He nicknamed the B.B.C.

as the Bluff and Bluster Corporation, A.I.R. as Anti Indian Radio.

A Nationalist:

Bose was a nationalist, pure and simple. He was neither communal nor parochial in his outlook. Cosmopolitan environment, in which he had grown up, might have helped him in that direction. He was for Hindu-Muslim unity. He relied to a great extent on the Muslims. "On two of the most crucial occasions in his life, first, when he travelled by submarine from Germany to Japan, and next when he flew from Singapore on that fatal journey, his companions were Muslims, Abid Hasan and Habibur Rahaman respectively."85

Most of his devoted Generals were Muslims, e.g. Shah Nawaz Khan and the Kiani brothers. Muslims were ready willingly to serve, suffer and sacrifice for Bose. Habid a Muslim merchant of Rangoon, bought in auction sale Bose's garland by donating all his property worth a crore of rupees. 86

The national anthem of the Provisional Government of Netaji ("Subh Sukh chain ki barkha barse Bharat Bhag hai jage")87 was composed by a Muslim by name Hussain. Bose helped directly and indirectly to open the Hindu temples

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86. Ibid.
87. For full text - Harin Shah, Gallant end of Netaji, Atma Ram and Sons, Delhi, 1956.

Bose was for national unity. In an interview with Dr.Meghnad Saha, the famous scientist, Bose said, "To my mind the problem of unity is largely a psychological problem. People must be educated and drilled to feel that they are a nation. Other factors like language, dress, food, etc., may help unity but cannot create it." 88

Bose wanted unity not only in ideas, but also unity in action. "A real unity" he said, "is a source of infinite strength; superficial unity is only a source of weakness." 89

In his lengthy historic letter (dated 28th March 1939) Bose wrote to Nehru, informing him of the real role of unity. "The unity we strive for or maintain must be the unity of action and not the unity of inaction...Unity is a revolutionary movement; is not an end in itself, but only a means. It is desirable only so long as it furthers progress. The moment it tends to hamper progress it becomes an evil." 90

Bose wanted unity in a real sense but not as just a slogan. He said in his Remgarh Address (1940, March 19): "Unity'.

88. S.C.Bose, Crossroads, p.54.
90. Private Papers, Jawaharlal Nehru, op.cit., no.689.
'National Front,' 'Discipline'—these have become cheap slogans which have no relation to reality.'\(^91\)

Bose's ideal was, as he said in his Radio address to Mahatma Gandhi (on 6th July 1944) "in the world-public, we Indian nationalists are all one—having but one goal, one desire and one endeavour in life."\(^92\)

Bose was opposed to communal electorates, communal representations and communal reservations. He wanted that, as Hugh Toye writes, "barriers of wealth, class and caste must go; women must have equality of status with men, and there must be no distinction between Hindu and Muslim at election times. He regarded communal representation in the legislatures as a device for dividing India and supporting foreign rule. He (Bose) was sure that if the communal question were ignored it would vanish, and this view he held to the close of his life."\(^93\)

"As a temporary arrangement" Bose said, "there may be reservation of seats if that is found necessary... nationalism and separate electorates are self contradictory. Separate electorates are wrong in principle..."\(^94\)

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91. S.K. Bose (Ed.), A Beacon Across Asia, Appendix IV, p.270.
92. Ibid., Appendix IX, p.307.
93. Hugh Toye, op.cit., p.34.
For the Hindu Muslim disunity and riots, according to Bose, the British end their divide and rule policy were responsible. "I have no doubt in my mind", said Bose in his presidential speech read out in his absentia, at the Third Indian Political Conference held in London on June 10, 1933, "that real unity among the Indian people can never be achieved as long as British Rule exists in India." 95

Bose anticipated the partition of India, about nine years earlier, in his presidential address to the Haripura Congress (19-2-1933) on the lines of British policy of divide and rule. "It is a well-known truism", Bose said, "that every empire is based in the policy of divide and rule. But I doubt if any empire in the world has practised this policy so skilfully, systematically and ruthlessly as Great Britain." 96

He cited examples of separation of Ulster from Ireland and anticipated rightly in advance, the separation of the Jews from the Palestinians. "If the new constitution (of 1935)", Bose said, "is finally rejected, I have no doubt that British ingenuity will seek some other constitutional device for partitioning India." 97

95. S.C.Bose, The Indian Struggle, p.373.
96. Quoted, N.G.Jog, op.cit., p.133.
97. Ibid.
"He was a man of vision and foresight", wrote Mr. M.G. Ganpuley. "He saw in the creation of Pakistan a deathknell to India's integrity and staunchly opposed it... He said that I shall either win over Jinnah or fight him."  

"In my view", wrote Prof. Humayun Kabir, "Netaji's greatest contribution was to forge national unity in spite of diversities in language, religion, customs, and traditions."  

"Jai Hind", a great slogan through which Bose strengthened nationalism and national unity, became a popular form of greeting among the I.N.A. men. "In India" said one sepoy, "we have many religions and many gods. But here everything is Jai Hind." Bose suggested Hindustani in Roman script as the national language. He was for secular and scientific education.

A Leader:

Bose lived up to his title, Netaji. He was known for his organizational ability and capacity. Gen. J.K. Bhonsale, (one of his Generals), described in his article the leadership quality of Bose: "(Netaji) captured the hearts of soldiers with his deep personal interest in their welfare. He took

100. Hugh Toye, op.cit., p.81.
great interest to understand the various military problems that came up before him. His grasp of detail was unique. If any one of us placed before him a plan or a scheme, he would not be satisfied until he discussed it in all its varied aspects. It was not an easy task to convince him of the soundness of a scheme, but once he was satisfied, he would tell us to go full steam ahead. We were given the fullest liberty to use our discretion and judgement in working out details.... If we succeeded, we were given full credit in public. If we failed, a word of blame was uttered in private."101

Bose's impression and impact on his colleagues and followers was great. He inspired his I.N.A. people to suffer and sacrifice for the liberation of the country. A bleeding young Javan, by the road side after the Imphal operation, refused the application of bandage and said, "No, no let it bleed, for Netaji has said that if we give him our blood, he will give us freedom."102

Fujihera, Japanese military Commander, on the other hand, questioned the tactics and strategy of Bose: "As leader of the Army, Bose became foundation of spiritual strength, and was the pivot of the I.N.A. organization. However, the

102. Ibid., p. 337.
A Diplomat:

Bose was a great diplomat. As an individual, without credentials, he contacted the Italian fascist authority, the German Nazi authority and the Japanese Nipponian authority. He never thought that he was a single individual but considered himself as a representative of his country and his countrymen. He did not narrow down his mind to Indian problems only, but he thought of humanity as a whole. He said in England in Jan. 1938, after his election as the President of the Congress: "India's problems, after all, are world problems. On our close contacts with the progressive movements abroad will depend not only the salvation of Indian but also of the suffering humanity as well." 105

Bose wanted to chalk out the future lines of our progress in comfort with our past history and our present and future requirements. He wanted a sympathetic but critical attitude towards other lands and nations. He tried to distinguish clearly between internal and external policy. "In the domain of our external policy", Bose wrote, "our own socio-political views or predilections should not prejudice us against people or nations holding different views, whose sympathy we may nevertheless be able to acquire. This is a universal cardinal principle in external policy.... Therefore, in our external policy, we should heartily respond to any sympathy for Indian which we may find in any part of the world."

Bose's main contention was that India's foreign policy should be based on sympathy shown towards India but not on the basis of any ideology. With this premise he wanted to contact even the fascist and Nazi authorities which the Congress did not approve.

The same view, he expressed in his presidential address at the Haripura Congress (Feb. 1938), while referring to the foreign policy of India. The first suggestion I have

107. Ibid.
108. Ibid.
to make is that we should not be influenced by the internal politics of any country, or the form of its state. We shall find in every country men and workers who will sympathise with Indian freedom, no matter what their own political views may be." 109 He cited the example of the policy of Russia in this respect. "In this matter", Bose continued, "we should take a leaf out of Soviet diplomacy. Though Soviet Russia is a communist state, her diplomats have not hesitated to make alliances with non-socialist states, and have not declined sympathy or support coming from any quarter." 110

Bose did not like the attitude of the Congress and of J. Nehru of condemning the fascist nations like Germany and Italy and not condemning the imperialist countries like England and France. In his lengthy historic letter (28.3.1939), Bose attacked Nehru's policy on international affairs: "Puffy sentiments and pious platitudes do not make a foreign policy. It is no use condemning countries like Germany and Italy all the time on the one hand and, on the other, giving a certificate of good conduct to British and French imperialism." 111

While formulating internal policy for our country, Bose wanted to study all the past movements, present situations

110. Ibid., p. 136.
and even the possible future developments within and outside the country. After a careful study of all these, he wanted to work out a synthesis of all that was useful and good.

Bose had his own plans and programmes for future India. Firstly, he wanted India to be consolidated under a strong central government. Secondly, he wanted a strong and disciplined party to be organised, and the entire nation should be brought under the influence and control of this party. Thirdly, he wanted that this party should stand for justice for all sections of the people and for freedom from bondage of every kind—whether political, economic or social. It should stand for the principle of equality and work for the destruction of all artificial barriers whether of religion, creed, caste, sex or wealth. Thus it should aim at a really democratic state.

This programme, also makes it clear that he was a democrat and not a fascist. He wanted to organise the youth, the workers and the peasants and to give them adequate representation.

Bose was well-versed in international affairs. "Moreover as you personally are aware" said Bose in his radio address
to Mahatma Gandhi (on Rangoon Radio on the 6th July, 1944),
"I have been a close student of international affairs. I have had personal contacts with international figures before the outbreak of this war." He had personal contacts with the European, Asian and south-east Asian countries, before and during the 2nd world war.

"Consequently", Bose continued, "I make bold to say that my countrymen can have the fullest confidence in my judgement of the international affairs". He observed correctly the international situation, then, during the 2nd world war and even he anticipated the correct changes in the international affairs. "During the course of this war, Britain has lost one part of her territory to her enemies and another part to her friends. Even if the Allies could somehow win the war, it will be United States of America, and not Britain that will be top dog in future and it will mean that Britain will become a protege of the U.S.A."

Bose had a strong belief that India had a mission to lead the world in every respect. "I would say to my countrymen that India has a mission to fulfill, and it is because of this that India still lives. There is nothing mystic in this world mission."

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112. S.K. Bose (Ed.), A Beacon Across Asia, Appendix IX, pp. 311-12.
113. Ibid., p.312.
114. Ibid., p. 307.
115. Souvenir, op.cit.
"India is the keystone to the world edifice" again Bose said, "and a free India spells the destruction of imperialism throughout the world. Let us, therefore, rise to the occasion and make India free so that humanity may be saved."

Bose had realised the value of propaganda abroad. He discussed it in his letter (in 1922) from Cambridge to C.B. Das, who wanted to organise an Asiatic league for that purpose.

In his article in 1935, Bose pleaded for the propaganda activities. "History teaches us", Bose wrote, "that for enslaved and suppressed nations - especially for those that eschew the path of violence - the sympathy of the civilised world is absolutely necessary and in order to win that sympathy, propaganda has to be undertaken."

Bose suggested the following programme, which is like a Blue-print for foreign publicity.

1. Indians should attend every international congress.
2. Articles and books should be published in the different languages of Europe and America.
3. Well-equipped libraries should be established in important centres in foreign countries.

116. Ibid.
118. Quoted, Ibid., pp. 125-6.
4. Prominent Indian scholars, representing different aspects of Indian culture, should travel and lecture abroad. Foreign scholars should be invited to India.

5. In every country mixed societies of Indians and the nationals of that country should be organised for developing close cultural relations with India. Corresponding societies should be established in India.

6. Mixed chambers should be organised in every foreign capital, with corresponding bodies in India.

7. Regular assistance should be given to organisations which are already active in this field, such as the International Committee for India in Geneva. 119

C.R. Des, Lala Lajpat Rai and Vithalbhai Patel were the pioneers of the propaganda activities abroad for India. The latter had started the Indo-Irish League in Dublin for the purpose. He wanted to start another centre in Geneva, but he died before he could achieve it, bequeathing the residue worth Rs. One lakh, of his estate with a will to Bose for this purpose.

Bose wanted to establish a centre in London for propaganda. He wrote: "It is exceedingly important and necessary for our purpose that we should organise international propaganda on behalf of India." 120

"This propaganda must be", he continued, "both positive and negative. On the negative side we must refute the lies

119. Ibid., p.126.
120. S.G. Bose, The Indian Struggle, p.373.
that are told about India consciously or unconsciously by the agents of Great Britain throughout the world. On the positive side we must bring to the notice of the world the rich culture of India in all its aspects as well as India’s manifold grievances."

He regretted the failure of the Congress in not realizing the value of international propaganda." In this respect he admired the British first and the Russians, next. "A British is a born propagandist", he wrote, "and to him propaganda is more powerful than howitzers. There is one other country... and that is Russia." "Now England dislikes", Bose continued, "Russia and even afraid of her, for having discovered the secret of propaganda." "

A Man Of Destiny:

Bose was a man of destiny. He was born with a mission for his life. He worked for it, he awakened the nation to it and died for it. "Martyrs never die in defeat"; wrote Mr. N.G. Jog, "their death itself is their greatest triumph, their crown and consummation." Many have given, and continue to give, rich tributes to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, for his great contributions to

121. Ibid., p.373.
122. Ibid.
123. Ibid., p.374.
124. Ibid.
125. # N.G. Jog, op.cit., p.341.
our country, countrymen and to the humanity at large.

Mahatma Gandhiji paid rich tributes to Bose when he admired him as "the patriot of patriots", "the greatest leader" and "second to none".\(^{126}\) in a conversation with Louis Fischer, in 1942, while inaugurating the Quit India Movement. By that time, Bose was honoured as "Netaji" in Germany.

Sri Rabindranath Tagore, Nobel Laureate, wrote his glowing eulogy to "Desh-Nayak Subhas Chandra" in May 1939, but which came to light on May 8, 1946, on the birth anniversary of the poet. By then both Tagore and Bose had passed away. Tagore was the first to admire Bose as "Desh-Nayak" (leader of the country) in 1939 itself, before Bose was honoured with the title "Netaji" in Germany after 1941.

Referring to the situation of conflicts between the Gandhiites and Bose during 1939, Tagore wrote to Bose: "The dignity and forbearance which you have shown in the midst of a most aggravating situation has won my admiration and confidence."\(^ {127}\) "Today you bring" Tagore wrote, "your mature mind and irrepressible vitality to bear upon the work at hand. Your strength has sorely been taxed by imprisonment,\(^ {126}\) Louis Fischer, *A Week With Gandhi*, p. 46.

banishment and disease, but rather than impairing, these
have helped to broaden your sympathies—enlarging your vision
so as to embrace the vast perspective 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.¹²⁸

Tagore saw in Bose "a new light of hope" for the mother-
land."¹²⁹ "My days have come to the end." Tagore concluded emotionally, "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 in his country's freedom."¹³⁰

Jawaharlal Nehru, himself an illustrious son of India,
paid a rich tribute to Bose: "Netaji Subhas has set an
example of courage and passionate devotion to the cause of
Indian freedom which will live long in India's history.
Equally important is the way in which he has demonstrated
how to wield the different communities in a common unity."¹³¹

Dilip Kumar Roy, class-fellow of Bose in India and in
England (a great musician, turned a mystic who lived in his
own 'ashram' in Maharashtra, formerly an associate of Sri
Aurobindo in Pondicherry), has serialised the qualities of

¹²⁸ Ibid., pp. 167-8.
¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 168.
¹³¹ Freedom's Battle, I.N.A. in Action, 1942-45,
illustrated, compiled and published by Vithalbhai K.
Bose thus: "Subhas - a great scholar" wrote Roy;" - Number one. A pure character - number two. No girl dare darken with her shadow even the shadow of his shadow - number three. A devotee of Vivekananda - number four. And last, though not least, so he goes away from home as a sannyasi in search of a Guru!"¹³² Even during the college days, Bose was to Roy," a Superhuman Colossus."¹³³

"Anyhow", Mr. Roy wrote, "to us Subhas was always a citadel of strength, a lighthouse of purity."¹³⁴ Bose had, according to Roy a will power, a self-discipline. Mr. Roy saw in Bose" the man, the idealist, the dreamer."¹³⁵ "There was something in his face", wrote Roy, "pensive and resolute, something in his steadfast gaze, wistful and far-away that compelled respect."¹³⁶ "It is unforgettable" Roy wrote, "his open laughter-so strong yet childlike, self-oblivious yet never cheap."¹³⁷

Mr. D.K. Roy's precise estimate of Bose was that Bose "was a mystic par excellence"¹³⁸. He wrote, "only he had... put his Motherland on his dream-throne of Divinity."¹³⁹

¹³³ Ibid.
¹³⁴ Ibid., pp. 39-40.
¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 43.
¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 44.
¹³⁷ Ibid., pp. 61-2.
¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 134.
¹³⁹ Ibid.
Bose proved a worthy son of the soil. His contribution to her liberation was great and significant. He has become now a legendary figure ever inspiring the nationalistic spirit, idealism, activism and optimism. He has become an ideal hero to the Indian youth, generation after generation, as long as India and the Indians will remain.