CHAPTER - IV

HIS ROLE IN INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT : SECOND PHASE —

IN EUROPE
The highlight of Subhas Bose's role in the Indian national movement is not in his party activities, nor in his historical success over the candidate sponsored by Gandhiji in the presidential election for the Tripuri Congress, but in his fight against the British from abroad. This role raised him, undoubtedly to the level of a legendary figure. He is honoured and remembered for that unique role. From his sensational escape from India up to the tragic air crash at the end of the Second World War, his role in the movement was thrilling and exciting.

Europe, then, was involved in the Second World War (1939-45). The British authority in England and outside was very keen in preserving its World-wide empire. England gave the lead and inspired her allies, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. to fight the fascists to save democracy in the world. She allured even her colonies in Africa and India to help her with men and material, so that they would gain in future their own freedom.

England was successful in seeking the help of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. as the aligned nations. The U.S.A.
jumped in the war to control the fascists, and to strengthen her position as a big power in the world. The U.S.S.R., naturally, aligned herself with England later in her own interest and to protect herself from Hitler's attack, violating a treaty she had signed with Russia.

The fascist nations, Germany under Hitler, and Italy under Mussolini, were more powerful to start with and they even controlled the aligned nations in the first stage. They expected help from the east from Japan and the Indian National army in south East Asia under Radh Behari Bose.

Bose first thought of escaping to Russia and inspire them to fight against the British. As he could not get proper facility to go to Russia, he managed to escape to Germany via Italy.

A sensational Escape:

Though formally Bose was released from the prison, but was actually kept under house arrest. Sixty-two police men were detailed to guard him. But it is denied that such stories were created later just to highten the drama of escape.

The Counsel of Bose pleaded with the magistrate to adjourn the case on the ground of ill health of Bose. The magistrate asked ironically, that why Bose could give interviews to so many people? The counsel argued: "Granting interviews, Sir, is part of my client's treatment. How can he improve if these interviews are refused? They are of the very life-blood of his existence. For a politician there could be no greater punishment than to be deprived of such discussions." The case was adjourned and the trial was fixed for 26th January 1941.

Gandhiji demanded an apology from Bose for his indiscipline, when he (Gandhi) was pressed by the public to withdraw the disciplinary action against Bose. Bose retorted: "At school I once read a poem on William Tell, the greatest hero of Switzerland. It runs thus:

"My knee shall bend, he calmly said
To God and God alone;
My life is in the Austrian's hand
My conscience is my own."

"I am not aware of any wrong", Bose continued, "that I have committed in my political career. Consequently my reply to the Mahatma will be on the above lines with a few

3. Ibid., p. 104.
Bose did not give up his plea for giving ultimatum to the government and starting the fight for freedom. He appealed to Gandhi but in vain. Bose was busy, as usual, after his release, with his political activities and meeting people. He issued a number of statements on the Bengal Congress tangle. He criticised the role of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the then President of the Congress, for his undue interference in the Bengal Congress tangle and described him as "the Grand Moghul of the Bengal Congress."5

By the end of December 1940, he might have thought that it would be of no use remaining in India under the eternal threat of both the government and the dominant Congress party. The logical conclusion was to escape from the country, itself a big prison. He stopped meetings with people except with a few selected ones. Earlier he had confined meetings to the morning hours only on the advice of his doctors, because of his ill-health.

He was under self-imposed seclusion in a room of his house on the Elgin Road. Dr. N.B. Khare, who met Bose early in January 1941, describes his condition under seclusion:

4. Ibid., pp. 103-4.
"I was taken into a room where Subhas Baki was lying in his sick bed. He had grown a beard and moustache, and there were articles of prayer and worship near his bedstead. Nearby was lying a copy of the Gita or some other scriptures, and on his bed was a rosary. Life-size portraits of Ramakrishna Paramahanna, Vivekananda and other saints, adorned the walls. I was surprised when I entered. I thought I had missed my way and entered the ashram of a Sadhu, instead of the room of a politician." 6

"No one was allowed," Dr. Khare continued, "to enter this room unless he enjoyed the absolute confidence of Subhas Chandra Bose. It appeared that even servants and members of the household were not allowed. Food was served in a peculiar way. Plates of food were moved into the room through a window, by means of an aperture made for the purpose. From all this, it could be easily gathered that the atmosphere of this room appeared mysterious."

On the night of 16th January 1941, at 9 O'clock, Bose met his family members at the "ritualistic dinner" 7 including his elder brother Sarat Chandra Bose. "It was well past 1 O'clock when Bose dressed like an upcountry

7. Ibid.
Muslim, came down the rear staircase, sat in the back seat and was driven away." The car was driven by his nephew, Sisir K. Bose, son of Sarat Bose, then a twenty year old boy, now a well known Calcutta paediatrician and Executive Director of Netaji Research Bureau. Sisir K. Bose gives the following account of the escape:

"We actually left on January 17, 1941, in a car myself and Netaji being its only occupants. It was a thrilling drive on a moonlight night. We left when most of the members of the house had gone to sleep. Netaji was dressed as an upcountry Muslim. He had with him a suitcase, bedding and an attache case. From Elgin Road, we had to take the Grand Trunk Road, and after a whole night's drive at top speed, we hid ourselves at a certain place for the day and in the evening, we resumed the journey by car. We reached Gomoh, about 210 miles from Calcutta, from where Netaji got into a train for northern India, in the early hours of January 18. I left him in front of the station and parted there. The last words of Netaji were, 'I am off, you go back.'"

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8. Ibid.
9. On 18th morning he reached Bararee, near Dhanbad. "Bose spent the day in the guise of a guest on insurance business at the bungalow of Dr. Ashok Nath Bose, Sarat Bose's eldest son and a chemical engineer. After nightfall, Bose bid goodbye to his nephews and left the house. A little later he was picked up by Sisir and Ashok from the road and driven to Gomoh." Sisir K. Bose (ed.), A Beacon Across Asia, pp.105-6.
Sheaj Sisir had no idea that his uncle was off permanently from the family and from the country itself. It was an irony of history, that on the January 26th (1941), the Independence day, the escape of the freedom fighter was broadcast. The same day was fixed for his trial, also, for sedition.

Since then the rumours about the movements of Bose began and since then he has become a legendary figure. Some thought that Bose renounced the worldly life and had gone to the Himalayas or Pondicherry, the abode of Sri Aurobindo, a Bengali freedom fighter turned saint. These religious centres were searched by messengers, and even it was reported that he was found at Jharis. Other rumours were that he boarded a Japanese steamer in Calcutta; that the government has secretly done away with him; that he was killed in an air crash near the coast of Japan on March 28, 1942, etc.

Gandhiji sent the following telegram to Sarat to know the reality: "Startling news about Subhas. Please wire truth. Hope all well".

The reply was:

"We as much in dark as public about Subhas's whereabouts and intentions, and even the exact time of leaving."
No news in spite of best efforts for last three days. Circumstances indicate renunciation."

A Hazardous Journey:

Bose, who got into a train at Gomoh, in the early hours of January 18, 1941, alighted from the Frontier Mail as Maulvi Ziauddin, in the guise of an insurance agent, with beard, in fez, astrakhan cap and baggy Pyjamas, at Peshawar cantonment railway station, on January 19.

Bose was held up at Peshawar for a week for want of a proper plan and a reliable guide to escape to Kabul. Arrangements for his stay at Peshawar were made by Mian Akbar Shah, Forward Bloc leader of North West Frontier Province. "Akbar Shah had met Bose in this connection in Calcutta in December and January. He and his relations had even done some shopping together for Bose's disguise." 12

Early in the morning of the 26th January, 1941, Bose, disguised as Ziauddin a sick uncle of disguised Rehmat Khan, Bhagat Ram Talwar, the then member of the Kirti Kishan party and the Forward Bloc of the NWFP, left Peshawar by car accompanied, in addition, by Abedkhan and a guide, enroute

12. Ibid., p.107.
the shrine of Sukhi Sahib at Adda Shariff in Afghanistan. Bose passed off as the dumb and deaf to hide his ignorance of Pushtu, tribal language of Afghanistan. They turned off the main Kabul road before Jamrud, the great fort which guards the entrance to Khyber pass. Abed Khan was sent back to Peshawar from this point. The remaining party continued its journey on foot and crossed the border. By 8 in the night the party entered the tribal area and reached the village, Pishkhan Mains in the midnight. They stayed there and started their journey in the morning on mules for some distance and later by trucks, passing by on the high way. Even the guide was sent back on 28th January, after crossing the border of Afghanistan. The party reached Jalalabad at about 10 p.m. on 28th January. The party stayed at the shrine of Adda Sharif on the 29th and "Performed the customary rituals. The party took special guidance there for the next journey to Kabul from Haji Mohammad Amin, a fellow political prisoner of Bhagat Ram Talwar, in Peshawar jail. There was no system of passport those days between India and Afghanistan.

On 30th January morning, they left Adda Sharif, reached Mima in the late after noon, Bud Khak, the next morning the 31st at 5 a.m. and Kabul at 11 a.m. Journey was hard,

15. Ibid., p.110.
come times on foot, by tonga and by truck. They crossed
the river, Kabul, on a raft made of goatskins. 16

Kabul was the second important halting station, next
to Peshawar, in the adventure of Bose. He had to stay in
Kabul for about forty-six days (from 31st January to 17th
March 1941) for making further arrangements, to escape from
Kabul to Berlin. "For forty-five days," wrote Uttam Chand,
the host of Bose in Kabul, an Indian radio dealer and crockery
shop owner in Kabul, with whom Bhagat Ram had acquaintance,
"Bose Babu was with me,..." 17

Both Bose and Bhagat Ram were strangers to Kabul. They
continued their incognito roles as deaf and dumb Ziauddin
and Rahamatkhan, respectively, to hide their identity from
the Afghan police and the British agents. The day they
arrived in Kabul, they were dead tired. They could not locate
any safe residence except a Sarai near the Lehori Gate, hardly
fit for human habitation. A piece of bread dipped in tea
was the only food for them in the first night.

17. Ibid., p. 197.

According to the account of N.G. Jog, Bose and Bhagat
Ram had to stay in a Sarai from 31st January to 12th
February 1941. On the afternoon of the 13th February
they shifted to the residence of Uttam Chand. (N.G. Jog,
"An Alternative Leadership, 1936-1941," op.cit.,
p. 111). If it was true, then Bose would have stayed,
for 33 days only, at the residence of Uttam Chand.
The next day after their arrival in Kabul, they started their secret contacts with foreign embassies in Kabul for asylum and help to escape to Europe. He preferred, first, to go to Moscow, which was known for providing asylum to the revolutionaries and to socialists. This intention, he had revealed first to Abad Khan at Peshawar and then, repeatedly, to Uttam Chand. By that time Bhagat Ram had located the residence of Uttam Chand. As it became difficult to protect themselves from the suspecting Afghans, they shifted to the residence of Uttam Chand in the afternoon on the 13th February. By that time, they had bribed the police with the gold watch of Bose, which was on the wrist of Bhagat Ram.

"The Russians", said Bose to Uttam Chand, "and the Germans have just concluded a non-aggression pact. Germany is at war with Britain. Russia is an enemy of Britain. This is the time to go to Moscow and do propaganda for Indian freedom". "Today" said Bose, "Russia is the only country which can help to liberate India. No other country will help us. This is why I do not want to go anywhere else but to Moscow."

19. Ibid.
Dose could not get agreement with the Russian embassy in Kabul to go to Moscow, as the latter could not take him into its confidence. Then, Dose contacted the German Legation. In February 1939, he had already met "some top-ranking officers of the ruling National Socialist Party", in Bombay, through Mr. N.C. Ganpuley, who had returned by then from Germany, a native of Hubli, Karnataka State. (He died in August 1977 at the Ghataprabha Hospital, Karnataka State).

On 6th February (1941), Dose went alone to the German Legation and met a Minister, Herr Pilger, who directed the former to try through Herr Thomas, a representative of Siemens in Kabul. On 23rd, Herr Thomas directed Dose to meet the Italian Minister, Alberto Quaroni in Kabul. Bhagat Ram arranged the meeting in March, at the Italian Consulate, between Bose and Quaroni which "lasted a whole night." Dose revealed to him his future programme of freedom struggle, to form the "Government of Free India" to organise the Indian Liberation Army out of the Indian prisoners of war in Germany and Italy and to install a wireless radio station to carry on propaganda for Indian independence. It was all going on secretly. "Mrs. Quaroni would call at Utta Chand's shop..."
regularly for passing messages to and from Bose.  

During his stay in Kabul, Bose wrote his thesis "Forward Bloc- Its justification."  

The three governments of the USSR, Germany and Italy agreed, finally, that Bose would travel across Russia on an Italian diplomatic passport impersonating a clerk at the Italian Legation in Kabul, Orlando Mazetta", on "a courier visa" issued by the Afghan government. Bose's photo was snapped for the original passport and his clothing was ready. Bose's suitcase was collected by the Italian on 16th March. Bose himself shifted to Cuscini's residence (of the Italian Legation) next day. He handed over some documents, including the thesis, "Forward Bloc- Its Justification", and a letter to Sarat Bose to Bhagat Ram, to carry them back to India, and to hand over to Sarat.  

On 16th March early in the morning Bose left Kabul in a car for the Soviet frontier accompanied by a German engineer of the Todt organisation and two others. The party travelled through the passes of the Hindu Kush, the Afghan steppes and crossed the Oxus at the Afghan frontier

27. Ibid, p.113.  
28. Ibid., p.114.
post at Pata Kisar and reached Samarkhand. On 20th, the party left Samarkhand by rail for Moscow. Bose was very eager to go to Moscow. "My absolute preference", he said to Uttam Chand in Kabul, "is for Moscow". At least, he consoled himself, when he failed to convince the Russian Embassy in Kabul that he was passing via Moscow. "Since", he said to Uttam Chand, "there is now only one route to Europe and that lies via Moscow, I shall get down at Moscow, or arrange through the Russian Embassy in Berlin or Rome to go back to Moscow". Uttam Chand contended that Bose preferred Russia more than any Axis country. "For forty-five days", Uttam Chand said, Bose Babu was with me, and not once during this period did I hear one good word for the Axis from his lips. He hated them as much as the British. I am sure when he reached Berlin, he must have made another attempt to get to Russia, through the Russian Embassy. But he must have failed again, and the declaration of the Russo-German war must have finally dashed his hopes of reaching Russia.

The party flew on 28th from Moscow to Berlin and arrived there on 3rd April. Bose's journey from Calcutta to Berlin (two months and eleven days) through a dragnet of British policemen, spies and informers ranks among the most

29. Ibid.
sensational escapes of history.”

On the evening of 31st March, 1941, Bhagat Ram handed over the documents to Sarat Bose in Calcutta, including even the "Message to My countrymen", dated 22 March, 1941.32

"Three months after Bose's departure from Kabul, Uttam Chand received a message from Bose: 'Namaste! I am very grateful to you for what you have done. I shall never forget it all my life. - Ziauddin."33

Bose, as a true freedom fighter, suffered lot during his hazardous journey from India to Kabul. He faced difficulties, insults and disappointments in Kabul in struggling to get help from foreign embassies to escape either to Russia or to any European country.

Many times he thought, in despair, that he would not have attempted an escape from India. Sometimes, he thought that it would have been better for him to attempt an escape to Japan or any other South-East Asian country.

But ultimately, somehow, he managed to get the needed help to proceed to Germany via Moscow and Rome. He showed

31. Ibid., p.114.
32. Ibid., p.114.
33. N.C. Jog, In Freedom's Quest, p.199.
Ms humble mind in extending his gratitude to all the persons, who have helped him on his way to Germany.

Busy in Berlin:

Germany was busy with the Second World War. Berlin, the capital of Germany, was faced with the problem of containing the British Empire on the one hand and Russia on the other.

In the whole of Germany, and especially in Berlin, every foreigner was a suspect. Bose was also, first, suspected by the Germans. He was treated as a spy or an agent of the British.

For about twenty-two months, (From 3rd April 1941 to February 8, 1943), Berlin was the headquarters of Bose, who through his Government of Free India, the Indian Liberation Army and the Indian Radio Station in Germany became a legendary figure, especially to the Indians.

"Being an activist, Bose started his political activities from his temporary head quarters at the Hotel Excelsior."

In the beginning, Bose was treated as an uninvited guest and stranger. Rome and Berlin, the axis capitals, were the nests of foreign spies. Even, Bose was, naturally, suspected as

34. Alexander Worth, "Planning For Revolution, 1941-43", A Beacon Across Asia, (Ed.) Sisir K. Bose, p.120.
a spy and he was, for several months, under house arrest.\textsuperscript{35} Hitler did not give interview to Bose for about more than a year. Their first meeting took place on May 29, 1942.\textsuperscript{36} Bose, on his arrival in Berlin, on 3rd April, 1941, had started his diplomatic contacts and consultations with "the newly established information section of the German Foreign Office..., directed by Dr. Adam Von Trott with the assistance of Dr. Alexander Werth.\textsuperscript{37}

Within a week of his arrival in Berlin, Bose submitted a Memorandum to the German Government on April 9, 1941, which contained the plan for co-operation between the axis powers and India.\textsuperscript{38}

"India is naturally interested", the Memorandum stated, "in seeing Great Britain completely vanquished in this war and the British Empire completely broken up, so that India may attain her national independence. The British Empire constitutes the greatest obstacle not only in the path of India's freedom but also in the path of human progress.\textsuperscript{39}

\begin{itemize}
\item[35.] Girija Mukharjee, \textit{This Europe}, Saraswati Library, Calcutta, 1949, p.124.
\item[36.] H.G. Jag, \textit{In Freedom's Quest}, p.209.
\item[37.] Alexander Werth, \textit{op.cit.}, p.116.
\item[38.] S.C. Bose, \textit{The Indian Struggle}, pp.419-30.
\item[39.] Ibid., p.419.
\end{itemize}
The Plan was proposed under six heads: I. Work in Europe, II. Work in Afghanistan (Kabul), III. Work in the Tribal Territory, IV. Work in India, V. Question of Finances, and VI. Military aid for smashing British power in India. 40

His plan under the first head, work in Europe, included:

"(1) A 'Free Indian Government' should be set up in Europe and preferably in Berlin.

(2) A treaty should be entered into between the Axis powers and the Free Indian Government providing, inter alia, for India's independence in the event of an Axis victory, special facilities for the Axis Powers in India when an independent government is set up there, ...

(3) Legation of the Free Indian Government should be established in friendly countries wherever possible.

(4) Propaganda, particularly through the radio, should then be started, calling upon the Indian people to assert their independence and to rise, in revolt against the British authorities. Broadcasting will be done in the name of the Free Indian Radio Station.

40. Ibid., pp. 420-22.
(5) Arrangements should be made to send necessary help to India through Afghanistan for helping the revolution.\(^41\)

Work in Afghanistan included:

"(1) A centre will have to be established in Kabul for maintaining communications between Europe on the one hand and India on the other hand...

"(2) The centre should have necessary equipment..."\(^42\)

Work in the Tribal Territory (between Afghanistan and India) comprised:

"(1) Our agents are already working in the independent Tribal Territory... Their efforts will have to be co-ordinated and an attack on British military centres will have to be planned on a large scale...

(2) Some military advisers from Europe will have to be sent to the Tribal Territory.

(3) A strong propaganda centre will have to be installed in the Tribal Territory and necessary printing equipment will have to be arranged for.

\(^41\) Ibid., p.420.
\(^42\) Ibid.
(4) A radio transmitting station will have to be set up in the Tribal Territory.

(5) Agents from the Tribal Territory will have to be appointed for procuring military intelligence from the Frontier Province of India..."43

Work in India included:

"(1) Broadcasting for India will have to be done on a large scale. It will have to be done first from stations in Europe, and later on, from stations in the tribal territory as well.

(2) The printing centre in the tribal territory will also be in charge of propaganda in India.

(3) Our agents and members of our party in the different provinces in India will be instructed to give the maximum trouble possible to the British authorities in India.

Their work will consist of:

(a) Intensive propaganda calling upon the Indian people not to give one soldier or one rupee to the British Government.

43. Ibid., p.42f.
(b) Propaganda calling upon the civilian population to defy the civil authorities by refusing to pay taxes, refusing to obey the orders and the laws of the British Government...

(c) Secret work among the Indian section of the Army in order to induce them to rise in revolt.

(d) Organising strikes in factories which work for helping Great Britain in her war efforts.

(e) Carrying out sabotage of strategic railway bridges, factories, etc..

(f) Organising revolts among the civil population in the different parts of the country as a stepping stone to a general mass revolution."44

"Even the "Question of Finances" was also settled:

"Necessary finances for the above work will have to be provided by the Axis Powers. This will be in the form of a loan to the Free India Government established in Europe. At the end of the war, when an independent Government is set up in India, the loan will be repaid in full."45

44. Ibid., pp.421-22.
45. Ibid., p.422.
Lastly, the Memorandum contained regarding "Military Aid for smashing British Power in India";

"... the British Government have a maximum force for 70,000 British troops and auxiliaries... when the Indian troops begin to revolt, the British will find it difficult to hold India with British troops alone. At that juncture, if a small force of 50,000 soldiers with full modern equipment comes to the aid of India, then the British can be wiped out of India completely." 46

The Memorandum was attached with a lengthy "Explanatory Note" at the end. 47 In addition, a "Supplementary Memorandum" 48 was submitted to the German Government on 3rd May 1941.

Though both the Memorandums were effective on the German Government, still the latter was reserved for Bose. But Bose had no patience to wait and waste his time. So he left for Rome in June 1941 and met the Foreign Minister of Italy, Mr. Count Ciano. "Bose Would like the Axis", Ciano wrote in his Diary on June 6, 1941, "to make a declaration on the independence of India; but in Berlin his proposals have been received with a great deal of reserve. Nor must we be compromised because the value of this upstart is not clear.

46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., pp.422-30.
48. Ibid., pp.431-33.
Past experience has given rather modest results." 49

Hitler invaded Russia on June 22, 1941. Then Bose was in Rome. Russia, after her defeat became an ally of Britain. Bose was lucky because instead of going to Russia he had smuggled into Germany. Otherwise, he would have been in danger. From Rome, Bose travelled to Vienna and returned to Berlin on 14 July, 1941. In the meantime, the German Government paved the way for the political activities of Bose in Berlin. The information Department of the German Foreign Office under Dr. Adam Von Trott as Director, with Dr. Alexander Werth as Assistant Director, established the "Working Group, India," which later developed into the "Special Department for India." Mr. P. J. Furtwängler, a German Trade Union leader and Indian specialist, A. P. Richter and H. T. Leipoldt joined the Department. 50 The Department was under the direct control of the Secretary of State, Mr. Wilhelm Kopler. Scholars like Prof. (Dr.) Alsdorf, Mrs. Kruse and Miss (Dr.) Kretschmar (Later Mrs. Mookerjee) joined the Department. 51 Baron von Zitzewitz, Baron von Lewinschi, Mr. Assmann, Mr. Trump and Dr. Gieselher Wirsing, well-known writer, were the other recruits to the Department.

49. Ciano, Diary, pp. 354-55.
51. Ibid., p. 124.
Bose met first and discussed in detail with the Secretary of State at the German Foreign Office, Herr Joernann, on 17th July 1941,22 the German Secretary of State, Mr. Keppler, in August 1941, and later with the German Foreign Minister, Herr von Ribbentrop, on 29 November 1941, in connection with the organization of the Free India centre in Berlin. Bose denied the view of Hitler in the latter's book, Mein Kampf: "All efforts of the Indians to rebel against the British Yoke will most likely never succeed", and pleaded through the Foreign Minister, to strike out the passage.53

"The Provisional Government of Free India, which was originally known in Europe as the Free India Centre"54, began to function unofficially from October, 1941. On 2nd November 1941, officially the Centre was inaugurated with a ceremonial function amidst all its workers. Bose told the workers "of the risks involved, and the responsibilities they had to shoulder in undertaking the work which would bring its reward only if successful; but he added if, by any chance, everything failed, they should have only the satisfaction of having played their modest part in the great struggle of their nation. He emphasized the necessity

of team work, obedience, strict discipline and secrecy, for which they had already taken a pledge."  

The office of the Centre was in Lichtensteiner Allee, No. 2A, Opposite the Spanish Embassy in the Tiergarten Quarter, Berlin. "Bose, after staying in Hotels Excelsior, Esplanade and Kaiserhof" moved to a house in Sophienstrasse in Charlottenburg area of Berlin, in which, earlier, "the American Military Attache used to live until the outbreak of war between Germany and the United States." He lived in the same residence until he left for Japan, on February 3, 1943.

The Centre started with only a few Indian workers, like, Mr. M.G. Ganpuley, who was the first to join Bose in Berlin, and who had arranged meetings in India, in 1939, between Bose and German diplomats in Bombay. Mr. Habibur Rahman, Mr. N.G. Swamy and Mr. M.R. Vyas, were among the others, who joined Bose. Mr. A.C.H. Hembrier, Indian journalist, who was working in Central Europe for some eighteen years, joined Bose in January, 1942 and since then he worked as the Deputy Leader of the Centre. He succeeded Bose, as the head of the Centre, when the latter left for Japan (February 3, 1943).

57. Ibid.
58. Hugh Toye, Subhas Chandra Bose, pp. 81-82.
Girija K. Mukherji, who came from Paris to Berlin, was entrusted with the English broadcasts. By "the late summer of 1942, the number of active workers of the Free India Centre had increased to 55, the majority amongst them being Indian students.59

The Congress tricolour, with the outline of the springing tiger embossed on it, was the flag of the Centre. The emblem, the springing tiger, was also found in the flag of Tippu Sultan of Srirangapattana of present Karnataka, India, who corresponded first with the foreign authority, Napoleon Bonaparte, the then dictator of France, to root out the English from India.

Rabindranath Tagore's "Jana Gana Mana" was the national anthem of the Centre. "Jai Hind" - was an Indian form of greeting. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, also adopted it.60 Hindustani in Roman script was the national language of India, at the Centre. In short, the Centre had all the formalities of an independent government.

Bose was called affectionately by the workers of the Centre as 'Netaji' which became a permanent appellation and honour since then.

60. Ibid., p. 129.
The Centre started its work on the following lines:

"(1) Editing of all the broadcasts of 'Azad Hind Radio', the 'National Congress Radio' and the 'Asad Muslim Radio';

(2) Assessment of German news material for radio broadcasts;

(3) Editing the periodical, *Azad Hind*, which appeared regularly and had a circulation of 5,000 copies;

(4) Looking after the entire Indian community in Germany;

(5) Co-ordination of activities of all the branches of the Free India Centre outside Germany, i.e. in France and Italy; and, above all,

(6) Creating a centre of co-ordination with the massive organisation of overseas Indians in South East Asia." 61

Propaganda was the main programme of the Centre. The Azad Hind Radio, which was started by a team of ten well-qualified workers of the Centre in collaboration with German technical aid, in November 1941, was the main media for propaganda. The location of the station was kept a secret. The listeners felt that it was coming somewhere from within

61. Ibid., pp.128-9.
India. The broadcasts were, actually, projected through the powerful radio centre of Huizen in Holland. The broadcast programme was, in the beginning, for only 45 minutes, but eventually, it was extended to three hours and fifty minutes. "Programmes were broadcast daily in seven languages, viz., English, Hindustani, Bengali, Pushto, Telugu, Tamil and in Gujarati or Marathi. These broadcasts were sent out on short-wave-microlength 1820. In the beginning broadcasts were only in three languages, English, Hindustani, and Bengali. Two more independent transmissions, Congress Radio and Azad Muslim Radio, were installed later, in addition to the original, Azad Hind Radio.

"There was to be no censorship of any kind from the German side and there was to be no dictation about the subjects to be selected for political talks. This arrangement was strictly adhered to till the end of the war." 65

"This is Subhas Chandra Bose", said Bose in his first broadcast to the World over the Azad Hind Radio on February 19, 1942, after the fall of Singapore to Japan (on 15th February, 1942), "speaking to you over the Azad Hind Radio.

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62. Ibid., p.130.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid., p.131.
65. N.G. Ganpuley, op.cit., p.49.
"For about a year I have waited in silence and patience for the March of events and now that the hour has struck, I come forward to speak."

"The fall of Singapore means the collapse of the British Empire, the end of the iniquitous regime which it has symbolised and the dawn of a new era in Indian history. The Indian people... must now offer their humble thanks to the Almighty for the auspicious event which bears for India the promise of life and freedom."66

"Standing at one of the cross-roads of world history," said Bose, "I solemnly declare on behalf of all freedom-loving Indians in India and abroad that we shall continue to fight British Imperialism till India is once again the mistress of her own destiny. During this struggle and in the reconstruction that will follow, we shall heartily co-operate with all those who will help us in overthrowing the common enemy."67

"The hour of India's salvation is at hand," concluded Bose, "India will now rise and break the chains of servitude that have bound her so long. Through India's liberation will Asia and the world move forward towards the larger goal of human emancipation."68

67. Ibid., 442.
68. Ibid.
On March 31, 1942, Bose broadcast an "Open Letter" to Sir Stafford Cripps, whose mission had come to India (on 22nd March 1942) vainly after the failure of his proposals. Bose commended over the radio General Tjio's declaration on "India for Indians". He ridiculed, in his another radio speech of calling him (Bose) by the British as an agent of enemy, (on May 1, 1942). "Friends," said Bose, "I laugh whenever I hear British propagandists calling me an enemy agent. I need no credentials when I speak to my own people. My whole life, which has been one long, consistent and continuous record of uncompromising struggle against British imperialism, is the best guarantee of my bonafides. Perhaps I know foreign politics better than many other Indians today, and I have known Britishers from my childhood. All my life I have been a servant of India, and in the last hours of my life I shall remain so. My allegiance and loyalty has ever been and will be, to India and India alone".

"As at home, so also abroad," Bose broadcast, after the A.I.C.O. Resolution was passed in Bombay on August 8, 1942, for the Quit India Movement," We Stand always for independence and we shall never permit vital encroachments on our national sovereignty by any foreign power. Don't be carried by ideological considerations; don't bother about the internal
politics of other countries, which is no concern of ours.
Believe me when I say that the enemies of British imperialism
are our friends and allies; it is to their interest to see
that the British empire is broken up and that India is once
again free."

Bose warned the Indian Police and the army that, unless
they decided for the independence Movement, they would one
day have to answer to the Government of Free India for
their criminal support of the British. 69

The impact of these broadcasts might be seen in the
words of Goebbels, who wrote (on 26 March, 1942) in his
diary:

"It is being heard more widely than I at first thought
possible. All the better that we have not yet revealed
where he is. This makes his propaganda all the more
effective."

"Bose's propaganda", Goebbels wrote (on April 6, 1942,
in his diary) "conducted and guided from here, is gradually
getting on the nerves of the British. In their broadcasts
they blame me, especially, for Bose's activity".

In the meantime, Bose was busy in contacting the authorities of Italy and Germany, towards the declaration of Indian independence after the war. He conferred with Mussolini in Italy, (on 5 May, 1942), which Count Ciano, Son-in-law of Mussolini and the Foreign Minister of Italy, described in his *Diary*: "A long conference without any new developments, except the fact that Mussolini allowed himself to be persuaded by the arguments produced by Bose, to obtain a tripartite declaration in favour of Indian independence. He has telegraphed the Germans proposing—contrary to the Salzburge decision— that they proceed at once with the declaration. I feel Hitler will not agree to it very willingly."70 "Mussolini told the Germans that he had urged Bose to set up a 'counter Government'"71. But the Germans did not like this. "We don't like this idea very much," wrote Goebbels, "Since we do not think the time has yet come for such a political manoeuvre. It does appear though that the Japanese are very eager for some such step. However emigre governments must not live too long in a vacuum. Unless they have some actuality to support them, they only exist in the realm of theory".72

But on the other hand, the East was for such an organization. "It is now time to link up Indian nationalists all over the world in one all-embracing organization." This came true. Bose Hitler meeting (on May 29, 1942) was not fruitful. Adam von Trott acted as the interpreter for Bose, in the meeting.

Indian Legion in Germany:

Along with the propaganda programme, Bose organised the Indian revolutionary army, the Indian Legion in Berlin to utilise it in his freedom struggle. The Government of Germany planned and decided, earlier, in 1940, to organise an Indian Legion "with the idea of employing it in the disturbed regions of North-West Frontier Province of India." This special army group was attached to the Brandenburg Regiment, under the High Command of the Wehrmacht and under the personal command of Cavalry Officer, Walter Herbich. This "Indo-German Special Unit of about 100 men was lodged in the barracks of Meseritz known as Rigenwurm, in the area of Frankfurt-on-Order.

On the invitation of Bose, Herbich, the first German Officer of the Indo-German Commando Group, met him (Bose)

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73. *The Bangkok Times*, June 1942.
in the Hotel Excelsior and discussed in detail about the recruitment and training of the unit. Bose visited Meseritz often and was inspired by the Indo-German Commando Group, towards the organization of a bigger independent Indian Legion in Germany.

Bose met Dr. Adalbert Seifriz and discussed in this connection. Very soon they became friends. "After the war, Dr. Seifriz founded the Indo-German Society which in certain ways resumed the work of the Indian Information Bureau established in 1929 in Berlin by the Indian National Congress at the initiative of Jawaharlal Nehru."  

There were about 10,000 of Indian prisoners of war in the camps of Germany and North Africa. Bose visited in December 1941, the Annaberg Camp, in Germany, very often, where the Indian prisoners of war were piled up. He met the Indian prisoners of war individually, heard patiently their hardships and consoled them and later, after taking them into his confidence, invited them to the Indian Legion to fight for the Indian freedom. Within four months 500 Indian prisoners of war joined the Legion, despite the non-commissioned officer's dissuasion, as Bose announced promotions, purely

on merit and not on previous ranks. The number doubled in another six months.

The first batch of the Legion completed its training at the Frankenberg camp (on December 26, 1941). The POWs underwent the further higher training at Koenigstrasseck, the permanent training camp of German Army, near Dresden.

A military honour was conferred on Netaji, in the autumn of 1942, by the Indian Legion of about 3000 men. On the occasion, Col. Satoshi Yamamoto, the Military Attache of the Japanese Embassy in Berlin, and a friend of Bose, was present. All the members of the Indian Legion, at the end of the occasion took an oath as soldiers of Free India, led by Lt. General Krappe, in the presence of Bose and Yamamoto, under the Indian banner of tricolour with the springing tiger embossed on it.\(^78\) The soldiers touching their officer's sword as they spoke the German words: "I swear by God this holy oath, that I will obey the leader of the German state and people, Adolf Hitler, as Commander of the German Armed Forces, in the fight for the freedom of India, in which fight the leader is Subhas Chandra Bose, and that as a brave soldier, I am willing to lay down my life for this oath."\(^79\)

\(^{78}\) Ibid., p. 136.

\(^{79}\) Hugh Toye, op.cit., pp. 79-80.
"Your names", Bose addressed the soldiers, "will be written in golden letters in the history of Free India; every martyr in this holy war will have a monument there."

Similar twin programme of broadcasts and military organisation (called the Centro Militare India) were managed by Iqbal Shedai, an Indian, in Rome. The military unit, after its life of eight months, was disbanded, in November 1942, due to mutiny. Bose got the POWs transferred from Italy to Germany and recruited them to the Legion on merit. By December 1942 the Indian Legion grew up to the size of a regiment with four battalions of about 4000 men.

Seifriz referred, in his Preface to the book, Metaji in Germany, by N.G. Ganpuley, to the contribution made by Netaji to the Legion:

"It must be emphasised that Bose's principle that preferment and advancement within the Legion should only depend on ability and proof of aptitude, independent of birth or former grade, was recognised and esteemed by the Legionaries. ... The intellectual basis for the growth and success of the Legion was created by Subhas Bose... He was very anxious to see preserved in the Legion traditions

80. Ibid., p.80.
of the cultural and political post of his country... He was never too tired to inspire trust and confidence in various discussions. He was the great idol of the Legion... A meeting with Subhas was a special event for the German training staff... He lives in the minds of the training staff members as an idealistic and fighting personality, never sparing himself in the service of his people and his country..."

After the end of the war the Legionaries faced the same danger as the I.N.A. faced the Red Fort trials in India later. Though the Indian Legion was not directly employed in the fight for freedom, it inspired indirectly the freedom fighters in India. Through the Indian Legion, Bose infused militant nationalism among the Legionaries and protected the interests of other POWs and Indians in Germany, Italy, France and other places. If the Legion was not established, it would have been difficult to get transferred the POWs and Indians to India after the war.

Bose was able to maintain unity out of diversity of gods, religions and customs of India. "In India we have many gods and religions, but everything is only Sri Hind here" - the legionaries used to say.
Bose's speeches were more effective on the legionaries. Girija Mukharji wrote:

"I saw how the whole audience was coming under his spell. When he had finished they had acquired new life, new animation, new excitement."

"... in his long dark robe," wrote N.G. Ganapuley, "looked more like a priest preaching his sermon than a military leader addressing soldiers."

The legionaries used to sing patriotic songs, e.g.,

"Hame Sukhake ab bhool jana pedega
Watankeliye dukh utha pedega
Aiy! Azad Hindiyo utho, kamar bandho
Watan loot reche hai bachana pedega."

"(Now we shall have to forget all pleasures and face sorrows for the sake of our country. Oh, free Indians, arise and gird up your lions. We shall have to save our land which is being looted by foreigners)."

The Free India Centre received regular advances in the form of loans from the German Government, to be repaid.

81. N.G. Ganapuley, op.cit., p.89.
82. N.G. Jog, In Freedom's Quest, p. 216.
The meeting of Bose with Hitler on 29 May, 1942, was a turning point in Bose's sojourn in Germany. Bose could not move Hitler in favour of the declaration of independence for India, after the war. Instead, he was rather insulted, as the British imperialists like Churchill, Lord Dufferin, Lord Crewe insulted the Congress leaders that, "India would not be able to rule herself for another 150 years." Bose's reply to this through Adam von Trott was, "Please tell His Excellency that I have been in politics all my life and that I do not need advice from anyone."  

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84. Hugh Toye, op.cit., p.82.
86. Ibid., p.139.
87. Ibid.
This was Bose's second failure in his political career, first being in India in the Congress against the Mahatma. Probably, this was the time, Bose thought of escaping from Germany, as he did from India. He might have thought then, that all his activities in the Free India Centre, three radio transmitters and the Indian Legion in Germany were simply meaningless. It was simply a waste of time and energy. Instead, he would have gone earlier to South-East Asia.

A week earlier of his meeting with Hitler, he was optimistic of his activities in Europe. Still, he was anxious to go to the East. "Looking back," Bose wrote in a letter to His Excellency, on 22 May, 1942, "upon my stay here for little more than a year, I think that I have done some useful and enduring work for my country. But now the time has come when the final effort should be made for achieving India's political emancipation. For this purpose, it is absolutely essential that I should be in the East.... at a place, as near to India as possible.... I, therefore, confidently trust that your Excellency will be good enough to provide me with the facilities necessary for travelling

88. Ibid., p. 140.
89. S.C. Bose, The Indian Struggle, pp. 460-1.
to the East, so that I may perform my duty towards my country, as a leader of the national revolution." 90

In another letter, 91 written on 5th December, 1942, Bose pleaded again for his travel to the Far East.

A few months earlier, in June 1942, the Bangkok Conference of the Indian Independence League, had invited Bose, "with the concurrence of the Japanese Government, to come over to East Asia and assume the leadership of the freedom movement." 92

"After long and complicated discussions with the respective Military Attachés at the Italian and Japanese Embassies in Berlin and Rome," 93 Bose's travel programme to East Asia was agreed upon and which was kept under top secret.

On 26 January, 1943, on the Indian Independence Day, Netaji addressed the meeting of about six hundred people, in Berlin. His address to the Indian Legion, on 28th January, 1943, was the last one in Germany.

On 8 February, 1943, early in the night Bose left Berlin, after giving complete instructions and handing over

90. Ibid.
91. Ibid., pp. 461-3.
93. Ibid., p. 143.
the charge of the Free India Centre and the Indian Legion to A.C.N. Nambiar. He was accompanied by Keppler, Alexander Werth and A.C.N. Nambiar, by train from Berlin to Kiel (in north Germany). Where Abid Hassan, a former engineering student and one of the first civilians to join the Indian Legion, travelled by the same train in special compartment and joined them.

At dawn on 6 February, 1943, Bose left the port, Kiel, accompanied with only Abid Hassan, as planned earlier, by the German "Submarine (U-190) of type IX with a speed of 18 Knots on the surface and 7.5 Knots under water", and of which Werner Munenberg was the Commander. The submarine sailed through "the English channel, Bay of Biscay, then down the Atlantic Ocean along West Africa to the Indian Ocean below South Africa and finally to the south of Madagascar where", on 28 April 1943, Netaji and Hassan were transhipped in a rubber boat to a Japanese submarine (I-29), which had left Penang (Malaya) on 20 April, 1943, of which Torsaka was the Captain and Izu, the Commander.

This was the end of the second phase of freedom struggle of Subhas Chandra Bose, first being in India (from 1921 to January 16, 1941).

34. Ibid., p. 144.
35. Ibid., p. 143.
After the departure of Subhas Bose from Germany, the Free India Centre, three radio transmitters and the Indian Legion continued to function until the collapse of Germany (April 9, 1945). The radio team had to shift its transmitters, during the Allied raids, from Germany to Hilversum in Holland, in the summer of 1943, to Helmstedt in August 1944 and to Leisnitz in Saxony in 1945.96

Bose put a condition to the German Government to employ the Indian Legion only in or near India against the British empire. This shows the extent of his aversion to the British imperialism. Secondly, his plea for utilising the Legion only against the British proves that he was not a slave to the German government, instead he maintained his dignity as an equal to the German authority. He submitted the Memorandum to the German government as an equal. Whatever financial help he took by the German authority, was on, purely, a loan basis.

The unique role of Subhas Bose, as a freedom fighter, is characterised by his sensational escape from India and his maximum suffering in the cause of the nations. His tremendous organising capacity and activism can be seen in his arrangement of broadcasts from the three Centres in

96. Ibid., p.132.
Germany to India in order to rouse the Indians against the British. His militant nationalism is apparent in his organising the Indian Legion in Germany.

But, Bose was unlucky in that he could not get the help of the German authority to his expectation. So he decided to leave Germany for South East Asia.