Bose reached Germany in the middle of the second year of the War as Orland Mazzota with an Italian passport. His arrival in Germany was kept as a closely guarded secret and only a very small circle of people were informed about his identity. Bose's arrival in Germany did not rouse much enthusiasm among the members of the German Governments.¹

"Subhas Bose was a problematic figure for the Germans who were then in the thick of war. They did not know whether to be glad at his arrival and welcome him or to be cold and reject him. They did not know how to deal with him, particularly under those extraordinary conditions."²

The German Foreign Office had all the information, through its pre-war Consul-General in Calcutta and also from its representative in Kabul that Bose was an active fighter against British imperialism and "could be trusted with any help that the Government thought fit to extend to him."³ The newly established Information Section of the German Foreign Office, which consisted of many specialists in addition to a few career diplomats did not share the political ideology of the Nazi Party and was very friendly and helpful to Bose during his stay in Germany.⁴ Dr.

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² Ganpuley, N. G., Netaji in Germany (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan), 1960, p. 27.
³ Ibid, p. 29.
Adam Von Trott was the Director of this department and Dr. Alexander Werth was the Assistant Director and "they were assigned the task of looking after Subhas Chandra Bose after his arrival in Germany." They saved Bose from falling into the hands of the National Socialist Party and this coincidence proved to be very favourable. When Bose reached Berlin there was a tension within the Ministries, between the members of the Nazi Party and those who did not subscribe to this political ideology. Bose was lucky that immediately after his arrival in Berlin he came in contact with a group of people who were sincere and sympathetic and who "possessed a certain amount of knowledge about the developments in India and the various problems which faced the Indian National Congress at the time."6

The German Ambivalence

Bose was a very difficult person, in the sense that he did not express his plans to anybody if he had no confidence in him. In the beginning, he did not realise that the higher officials of the German Government had a very poor knowledge about India and her problems.

"Amongst the leaders of the Nazi Party there existed, as is well known, a great deal of racial prejudice against Indians, to which Bose would have reacted violently because of his sensitive nature if he had come into contact in the first instance with such members of the Nazi Party."7

For Trott, Werth and their other colleagues of the Information Department in the Foreign office, who were 'in the know' of Bose's flight

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5 Ibid.
6 Ibid, p. 117.
7 Ibid.
to Germany, it was not only a 'top secret matter' but was a top level matter as well. For these people it opened a new front of psychological warfare against Britain. Bose's arrival appealed to them as they had genuine feelings of sympathy for India and her struggle for freedom. But in spite of their sympathies the people in the Information Department of the Foreign Office could not take any decision with regard to Bose and his plans. The matter was, therefore, referred to the Government and the final decision was awaited.

The Foreign Office knew as to what would be the reaction of Hitler. The group of people of the Information Department tried their best to secure a position and status for Bose, befitting his personality and prestige. They tried to keep him away from the Nazi leaders as far as possible, since that would have led to unpleasantness and Bose would have lost all faith in German help. As most of the high officials of the German Government were Nazis, Bose's friends in the Information Department did not allow him to be looked after by them. These people knew Hitler's mind. Hitler himself did not have the least understanding either of India or of the Indians. Even during the War, Hitler looked at the Indian problem through English eyes and, although he hated the British greatly, still this hatred did not efface his racial judgment in any way.

The Indians in Germany had to suffer a lot due to this attitude of Hitler. The German Foreign Office was evasive in supporting any political activity or entertaining any complaint of a political nature

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9 Ganpuley, N. G., Netaji in Germany, op. cit., p. 29.
11 Ibid.
against Britain by the nationalist Indians staying in Germany. Hitler's well known race-theory was one of the important reasons for the distrust of the Indians and their ability. He was suffering from the mania of the superiority of the Nordic race. In his bid for conserving the dominant Nordic race he was prepared to continue cordial relations with Britain. But Britain's anxiety at the rapid increase of German power, forced her to declare war against Germany. The fact that Hitler admired the British even after Germany was involved in a mortal war with her is evidence that he was suffering from an inferiority complex in relation to Britain, like many other Continental politicians.

It was thus very difficult for Bose to change the attitude of Hitler "into a friendly gesture towards India which was engaged in a fight against England for her own freedom. Hitler knew that Bose was prominent among the few Indian leaders fighting for freedom, known in the foreign political circle. But this was the time when the war-front of Germany had been widely extended from Norway to Libya and he was also preparing an extensive plan for an attack against the Soviet Union, whose military might was unknown. Hitler, therefore, was not prepared to be involved any further in making any commitment with implications of military help without ascertaining its benefit to Germany. It was the German feeling that nothing more could be done for a person like Bose, who had come there uninvited and on his own initiative, than granting him some kind of a political asylum.

But Bose was not interested in political asylum, nor did he want to spend his time in merrymaking as an honoured guest of the German

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12 Ganpuley, N. G., Netaji in Germany, op. cit. pp. 33-34.
Government. Every minute was precious for him and though he was not yet fully prepared with his plans and programme, still the delay was heart-breaking. He wanted action—dynamic action that could substantially help India in her battle of freedom against England. The success of Germany on all fronts re-affirmed his faith in German victory and he thought that it was the right time for India to strike to attain her goal of freedom. But the indifference of the German Government made him frustrated and sometimes he wondered whether he had not committed a mistake in coming to Germany. His frustration further increased and he developed very bitter feelings, when for several months he was kept in a hotel, almost under house arrest. Unknown persons searched his belongings and his telephone was constantly tapped and this led him to issue instructions to his colleagues not to speak to him in English over the phone.14

Bose was now very much worried as he was unable to do anything concrete in spite of the fact that he was free. He was convinced from his own experience, that without proper military training and equipment, it was not possible for the Indians outside India to fight Britain, which was a mighty imperialist power. His forced idleness was agonising and he spent sleepless nights, thinking about his future programme of action.

Bose prepared an exhaustive plan for cooperation between the Axis Powers and India and presented it to the German Government on April 9, 1941, in the form of a memorandum.15 He had divided his plan into the following six sections:

1. Work in Europe;
2. Work in Afghanistan;

14 Mookerji, Girija Kumar, This Europe (Calcutta: University Press), 1950, p. 124.
3. Work in Tribal Territory;
4. Work in India;
5. Question of Finance; and

He wanted priority of importance for work in Europe and wanted the establishment of a free Indian Government in Berlin. Secondly, he wanted that a treaty should be signed between the Axis Powers and the Free Indian Government, providing for India's independence in the event of Axis victory in the war. Thirdly, he wanted that broadcasting should be done in the name of Free India Radio Station, calling upon the Indian people to rise in revolt against the British.

In the explanatory note attached to the memorandum, Bose made a correct forecast regarding the developments in the Far East and the role of Japan there as the dominant power. He calculated that Japan's Southward expansion would bring it in conflict with Great Britain which would result in the smashing of the British military base at Singapore and the consequent reduction of British strength and prestige in India. Bose said that "India is, therefore, intensely interested in the developments in the Far East." He predicted that the overthrow of the British power in India, in its last stage could be materially assisted by Japanese foreign policy in the Far East.

As his memorandum of April 9, 1941, remained unanswered, Bose sent a supplementary memorandum to the German Government on May 3, 1941. In this memorandum Bose pointed out that as political unrest was gathering momentum in India, Egypt and the Arab Countries, it was the most opportune time for Germany to act. "At this psychological

\[16\] Ibid, p. 430.
moment, the Axis powers can capture the imagination of the entire Orient by an open declaration of policy with regard to the Orient and in particular, with regard to India and the Arab Countries."\(^{17}\)

Bose's letters did not receive the importance and priority they deserved. There was no clarity in the German attitude towards him or the Indian freedom movement. Bose himself realised the ambivalence of his position in Berlin as a result of which he was very often placed in an embarrassing position.\(^{18}\) He also faced similar difficulties later in Tokyo as regard his activities in connection with the Indian Freedom Movement.

The Free India Centre

Bose was, however, granted all help to carry out his objective.\(^{19}\) According to his plan, he established the free India Centre and its official inauguration took place on November 2, 1942.\(^{20}\) It was intended to be the executive centre to carry out the day-to-day routine work. This was to act as a "guiding and controlling centre for two activities, namely, Radio Propaganda and the organisation of the Indian Legion."\(^{21}\) In the beginning the number of the Indian co-workers in the Free India Centre was 35 and

\(^{17}\) Werth, Alexander and Harbich Walter, Netaji in Germany, op. cit., p. 14.
\(^{18}\) Ibid.
\(^{19}\) Girija Mookerjee writes: "The Germans did not take much interest in the beginning, but developments in East Asia made the Germans aware of the vital importance of India in the final outcome of the war. Then the Germans began to take too much interest in India, which both pleased and frightened Subhas. He wanted to keep his own liberty of action and he did not want to be branded a pro-Nazi. That was why he insisted that the Azad Hind Sangh (Free India Centre) which came into being in April, 1941, should be an entirely Indian organisation, free to discuss and plan things without any interference from German authorities. He succeeded eventually in obtaining a promise to this effect from the Germans."- History of Indian National Congress (1832-1947) (Meerut: Meerut Press), 1974, Appendix, p. 190.
\(^{20}\) Ibid, p. 36.
\(^{21}\) Ibid, Appendix, p. 189.
they were mostly students. The number of members of the centre gradually increased. They were attracted by the personality of Bose rather than his programme.22

"The active centre of all events was Netaji. He was a strong leader and a perfect master. His criticism was constructive, he showed great interest in individual work and was full of fresh ideas. Moreover he was generous and sympathetic in solving the personal problems which beset his staff. He impressed all with his concentration of purpose."23

The Indian Freedom Movement in Germany was a vigorous movement. Though in the beginning, it was unorganised and every one tried to help the Indian cause in his own way, after the arrival of Bose in Germany it received a unity of purpose. The Indian Freedom Movement in Germany, "was governed by the rare qualities of clarity, unity, and purity."24 All those who participated in the movement in spite of their differences in other fields agreed on point, one, that "the entire merit for this goes to the personality of the great Indian patriot, His Excellency Subhas Chandra Bose."25

In his trips to Rome, Paris and Prague for collecting coworkers and sympathizers. Bose was frequently accompanied by Trott and Werth. In one of such trips Bose contacted A.C.N. Nambiar, who had been working as a journalist in Europe for 18 years and was at the time living in the unoccupied zone of France. Nambiar agreed to work for the Azad Hind Government or the Provisional Government of Free India in Europe.

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22 Werth, Alexander and Harbich Walter, Netaji in Germany, op. cit., pp. 21-22.
23 Ibid, p. 47.
24 Ibid.
Among the Indians of great capability who joined Bose in Germany in his work to emancipate India from British control, N.G. Ganpuley was the first. He contacted Bose immediately after his arrival in Germany and helped him in organising the Free India Centre—the Provisional Government of Free India in Europe. Ganpuley was a former member of the Congress in Bombay and had spent a considerable part of his life in Germany. Both Nambiar and Ganpuley were well acquainted with German life.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 188-89.} Ganpuley was sent frequently by Bose to Indian prisoners of war camps for persuading them to join the Legion and was connected with the formation, administration and the welfare of the members of the Legion.\footnote{Ibid, p. 190.} Besides Nambiar and Ganpuley who received little more money and authority than the others, there were other prominent Indians like Dr. G.K. Mookerjee and M.R. Vyas who became Bose's closest friends and assisted him in all matters concerning broadcasting activities. In 1942, Bose appointed Nambiar as his deputy and successor. He remained incharge of all activities of the Indian Freedom Movement in Germany after Bose left for South East Asia. In this connection the names of Habibur Rahman and N. G. Swamy also deserve to be mentioned. Both of them rendered remarkable service in organising and training the Legionaries.

The Free India Centre organised the activities of all Indians devoted to work for the emancipation of India and Bose was the undisputed supreme leader who decided what kind of work was to be done and assigned work to different persons according to his judgment. There were no regular meetings and discussion nor were there elected office-bearers.

\footnote{Ibid., pp. 188-89.}
\footnote{Ibid, p. 190.}
"Every one was on a footing of equality in regard to money he got for living, irrespective of the kind of work he did. As the risk involved was the same for all of us, Subhas did not want to create a hierarchy ..."  

Bose succeeded in convincing his German as well as Indian co-workers about the great importance of his work and was able to get their willing support and cooperation. Bose's in-domitable personality inspired them all with a "sense of mission, common objectives and mutual cooperation." He was the driving spirit and the symbol of inspiration for all.

"He showed his remarkable capacity of keeping the thread of all the activities of his political, military and technical co-workers in his hands so that the over-all control of the whole organisation remained with him." The Free India Centre established a Planning Commission and took up work of planning for the social and economic reorganisation of India after she became independent. The Centre also participated in social and political functions of international significance and maintained contact with foreign Legations, which were sympathetic to the Indian cause.

The Congress tricolour with the outline of the Springing Tiger embossed on it was accepted as the insignia of the Azad Hind Movement. Rabindranath Tagore's 'Jana Gana Mana' was adopted as the national anthem. "And for the first time in modern Indian History, a common and universal Indian form of greeting, 'Jai Hind', was introduced. It may be mentioned here that when India became free, Jawaharlal Nehru as the

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29 Ibid.
30 Ibid., p. 129.
Prime Minister, adopted ‘Jai Hind’ as the national form of greeting. Bose aimed at bringing unity in diversity and reminding the Indians about his great objective of Free India by introduction of this common national greeting. "It has come to stay as a national greeting irrespective of caste, creed or religion." India needed a symbol of unity, that would forge a sense of oneness amongst the people who had many diversities on the basis of language, religion, culture and ethnic origin. ‘Jai Hind’ (Victory to India) as a national symbol embodied "a feeling of oneness, a feeling of belonging to one national family... All earlier forms of greeting were limited and helped to nurture group feeling which did not bring us any the nearer as nationals of a single country."

The Free India Centre resolved to address Bose as 'Netaji' which combined both a sense of affection and respect for the national hero. Since that day Bose has come to be known as 'Netaji'—the beloved leader. This was in keeping with the Indian tradition of expressing regard for the elders and for the national heroes. The Indian people had given such appellations as 'Mahatma', 'Pandit', 'Sardar' and 'Maulana' to other national leaders. Bose wanted to introduce 'Hindustani written in Roman Script' as the official language of India for making it easy to understand for the people of different provinces and for foreigners. It is a great tribute to Bose and the small group of freedom fighters in Germany that India has adopted 'Jana Gana Mana' as the national anthem of independent India.

31 Ganpuley, N. G., Netaji in Germany, op. cit., p. 42.
32 Mrs. Indira Gandhi said in a message: "The words 'Jai Hind', which we have adopted as our national rallying call, is a constant reminder of how much we owe to Netaji". - Netaji Subhas: Valiant Son of India (Published on behalf of All India Congress Committee, January 1973, New Delhi-1), p. 1.
33 Ganpuley, N. G., Netaji in Germany, op. cit., p. 42
India and Hindustani in the Devanagari script has been accepted as the official language.

The *Azad Hind Radio*

The Free India Centre thus started functioning with the full status of a diplomatic mission. The next important work on which the Free India Centre set its heart, after it straightened out all issues with German authorities, was to develop and expand daily radio broadcasts to India. The Special India Division of the German Foreign Office provided the necessary technical facilities for organisation of the radio-broadcast programmes. With the only exception of the technicians, the broadcasting programme of the Azad Hind Radio, was completely manned by Indians.\(^35\) The political talks were prepared by Indians under the guidance of Bose and were exclusively on Indian subjects. The programme was transmitted on a "special independent wave length and was on no account to be mixed up with any German broadcasting programme."\(^36\)

The Azad Hind Fauz (The Indian Legion)

Bose had no definite plan of organising a national army in Germany to fight the war for India's freedom. But like other national leaders he had always cherished "the patriotic desire of giving Indian young men military training, and wished to have at their command a national militia, in order either to free the country from bondage or to

\(^{35}\) Ganpuley, N. G., *Netaji in Germany*, op. cit., p. 49.

\(^{36}\) Queling said: "Those who spoke thought they were speaking directly to India. They never knew some things were cut out of their talks. Bose's broadcasts were censored on instructions from Kissenger, who was at that time a liaison man between the Foreign Ministry and the Propaganda Ministry", As recorded by K. Nair in the *Blitz* of February 8, 1969 after meeting He Queling, Scientific Assistant in the Indian Section of the Radio Propaganda Department of the Foreign Ministry.
Almost every nationalist Indian was conscious of this anomaly and felt the necessity of a national army devoted to the cause of India. Nobody liked the idea that the Indian Army should either be used against the Indians to suppress their nationalist aspirations or against India's neighbours with whom India had no quarrel. Like these realistic leaders Bose had always nursed a feeling that, "India must have a National Army that should reach the standards of the most successful and modern army of the world, in discipline, training and equipment, in order to be able to fight for freedom and to defend it after it was won." His idea of an Indian National Army got concrete shape in Germany after he came across a group of Indian prisoners of war, who were brought to Berlin, by the Radio Department to listen to and translate the Hindustani programmes. After he had a talk with them his dynamic and realistic mind immediately worked out a scheme for utilising this valuable young Indian material for some better purpose, useful for the country, if not immediately, at least at

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37 Ganpuley, N. G., Netaji in Germany, op. cit., p. 61.
38 Werth, Alexander and Harbich Walter, Netaji in Germany, op. cit. p. 31.
39 Ganpuley, N. G., Netaji in Germany, op. cit., p. 64.
Bose gave his proposal to the German Government to create an Indian Legion from amongst the Indian prisoners of war in Germany. In the beginning, the German authorities did not receive such a proposal favourably and they expressed their scepticism about Bose. This created some obstacles in his way to organise the Legion but subsequently the "Germans ultimately welcomed the idea, as a far-sighted policy."

Bose worked tirelessly and courageously without caring for the difficulties. He contacted the military authorities, initially, through the Foreign Office and then directly. In spite of several difficulties "he never lost courage or patience." As desired by Bose, Walter Harbich met him in the Hotel Esplanade and had detailed discussions with him as the first German Officer of the Commando Unit. In January 1942, Harbich received the Commission to raise a training unit in the Camp at Regenwurm, for the Indian Army of volunteers. In this connection Bose also met Adalbert Seifriz, with whom he very soon developed intimate relations. The role Seifriz played in acting according to the wishes of Bose and in attending to the interests of the Indian Legion, is really noteworthy.

The recruitment for the Indian Legion started in September 1941, among the prisoners of war in Germany and North Africa. Before starting the campaign for recruitment in full swing Bose wanted to visit

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40 Ibid, p. 65.
42 Girija Kumar Mookerjee, Quoted by Ganpuley, N. G., Netaji in Germany, Appendix, p. 191.
personally the prisoners of war camp and study their background and mental attitudes. He wanted to assess personally for himself as to what would be the reaction of the prisoners of war to his appeal to join the Indian National Army to fight the British. He visited the POW camp at Annaberg. He spoke to many of them personally and came to the "conclusion that there was enough enthusiasm amongst the captured soldiers to form out of them a military unit capable of fighting the British later on." The Indian Legion was first started with a group of twelve young men who were given military training by the Germans. The response to Bose's appeal to join the Legion was not satisfactory "in view of the officers and non-commissioned officers' critical attitude." However, without being disappointed, Bose continued his effort to convince the soldiers and in the course of his speeches and discussions in the POW camp. On the second day, he appealed to them to volunteer to fight and sacrifice their lives for the sacred cause of India's freedom. Despite the critical attitude of some of the officers hundreds of prisoners of war volunteered to join the Indian Legion. Bose never agreed to compromise on principles to attract the prisoners of war and "demanded a clear allegiance towards a Free India as well as an absolute readiness to undergo sacrifices for this purpose." Though Bose made emotional speeches and appeals to the Indian prisoners of war to join the Legion, "at

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43 Werth, Alexander and Harbich Walter, Netaji in Germany, op. cit., p. 34.
45 Nambiar's Foreword "Persuasion and emotion brought large numbers into the Legion. With some a bizarre situation too counted. The Indian Legion in Europe did not enrol any of the small group of Commissioned Officers taken as prisoners; this is another proof of absence of force"- Ganpuley, N. G., Netaji in Germany, op. cit., p. ix.
no time was there any pressure exercised. This is borne out by the large number that did not enter the Legion.\textsuperscript{46}

By August 1942, more than 2,000 prisoners of war had joined the Indian Legion. Due to the poor response in the beginning, the Legion could not be brought up to regiment strength. There were two important reasons for this. Firstly, it was the ordinary Indian soldier's distrust that made him sceptical about the Bose-German collaboration. Secondly, Shedai's\textsuperscript{47} disturbing interference with his 'Centro Militare' in Italy, was another important reason for the dearth of recruits as he recruited many volunteers from among the prisoners of war from North Africa in violation of the Italo-German agreement that all prisoners of war were to be transferred to German POW camps.

But after these difficulties were over, the Legion reached the strength of four battalions towards December, 1942. On January 28, 1943, the First Official manoeuvre was held with three battalions in honour of Bose. Colonel Yamamoto, Bose's friend and the military Attache of Japan in Berlin also accompanied Bose. The Indian soldiers were sworn in to

\textsuperscript{46} Iqbal Shedai was an Indian Muslim and was the founder of the Centro Militare India, in Italy. This military unit established by Shedai to work for Indian freedom existed only from April to November 1942, when it was disbanded after a mutiny. In 1941, Bose and Shedai met several times but could not agree to cooperate with each other to fight for India's freedom.

\textsuperscript{47} The soldiers had to say in 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" - Toye, op. cit., pp. 79-80. Regarding the double allegiance of the Legionaries Harbich has observed: "The Sworn Indian soldier was jointly and indivisibly bound to both His Excellency Bose as well as to the Head of the German State. This double allegiance of the Indian soldier in unity and indivisibility was his guarantee that he would be put into action only where common Indo-German interests were at stake" - Werth, Alexander and Harbich Walter, Netaji in Germany, op. cit., p. 55.
their flag under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Krappe. They expressed loyalty to Hitler and accepted Bose as their leader under whom they were to fight for India's freedom.\textsuperscript{48} The expansion of the Legion had posed financial difficulties and this necessitated the direct payment of the soldiers of the Legion by German authorities and Bose had to agree perforce to their expression of loyalty to Hitler.

Bose, however, had clear understanding with the German Government that the Legion would not be mixed with any German Army formation and "its exclusive identity was to be maintained with the emblem of the Springing Tiger, which once adorned the flag of Tipu Sultan."\textsuperscript{49} The Legion was to maintain its separate identity and independence and the German Army was only to provide the necessary training staff and other facilities. The Legion was not to be sent to any other front except India. The Legionaries could however, fight in self defence in any other place in the event of being taken by surprise. "To begin with the Legion was to have gone to war only in or near India, the only restriction left when Bose departed for the East was that it must be used against British Indian troops."\textsuperscript{50}

Bose had no previous military training but he proved to be a born commander. Despite the lack of regular military training "he commanded his troops as efficiently as any professional Army Commander. Nobody without the combined qualities of wisdom, benevolence and courage could do such a feat. He was undoubtedly a born commander. Unlike

\textsuperscript{48} Jog, N. G., In Freedom's Quest: Life of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose (Delhi: Orient Longman), 1969, p. 213.
\textsuperscript{50} Tadamoto Negishi, “Interpreter for Bose, attached to the Hikari Kikan, Japan” in Hayashida’s Tatsuo, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose (Bombay: Allied Publishers), 1970, p. 162.
such dictators as Hitler and Mussolini, Netaji was a different type of Hero. He had great intelligence and an excellent educational background.\textsuperscript{51}

Bose continuously addressed the Legionaries to keep their morale high and also appealed to the enthusiastic crowds in the POW camps. His speeches made a deep effect on the minds of the assembled illiterates. He said that opportunities come but once in the life of a nation to improve its lot and if that is lost, it might come after decades. He said that, that opportunity had come and they must seize it to make their country free. "We have to take this chance and make the best of it. It is our sacred duty, for fulfilling which we should not expect any return, but if we do not do our duty when we know that it would help our people, we shall be great defaulters and sinners."\textsuperscript{52} The great impact that his speeches produced has been very ably described by Girija Mukherjee, who was one of the important colleagues of Bose in Germany.

"When I watched Subhas speaking to the Indian soldiers and the effect he produced on them, I felt more and more convinced that he was a leader of the masses par excellence. I shall always remember a rally of Indian soldiers, mostly from peasant families, in Dresden where Subhas spoke for nearly an hour and a half. It was a glorious autumn afternoon and all the men had gathered on the lawn. He spoke in Hindustani. When he finished, the audience of about 400 men had almost acquired a new life."\textsuperscript{53}

Bose was very particular about the military training of the Legionaries. He had very high opinion of German military training and

\textsuperscript{51} Ganpuley, N. G., Netaji in Germany, op. cit., p. 91.
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid, Appendix, p. 193.
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid, p. 191-92.
was curious not only to know the secret of this training but to see whether some Indians could not be imparted the same training. The German Army was reluctant in the beginning to impart such training to the Indians. But he "eventually succeeded in getting artillery training for the Legion which was denied to Indian soldiers in the Indian Army."  

The composition of the Indian Legion was an evidence of Bose's genius and foresight. He wanted that the Indians should work together for the freedom of the Motherland, forgetting their artificial differences of caste and religion. He was of the view that the British Government in India deliberately stirred up the fight among rival parties in India following the dictum of "Divide et impera". With this object in view the formation of army units in the Indian Army was not based on caste, religion or region. Bose dispensed with this practice and army units were organised by taking Indians of all religious faiths, castes and regions together to promote a fraternal spirit, while making provision for the observance of their separate religious rites and practices.

Bose provided the ideal of sacrifice to the Legion. It was inspired by national spirit and freedom of India became its main object. They forgot all their differences and were prepared to make the maximum

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54 Walter Harbich records: "His Excellency Bose thus refused systematically to accept the division of India into a Hindu and Muslim State. The result of this form of recruitment by His Excellency Bose was that in both the training centres the stress and strains as well as the potentialities of Indian nationalities, religions and castes were visible in cross-section and their solution and synthesis became the common interest of all... His Excellency's goal was to paralyse these centuries old antagonisms rooted in the Indian nationalities, religions and castes and to unite the members of both these units in one great common aim, that of liberating and making India an Independent State in the family of nations." - Werth, Alexander and Harbich Walter, Netaji in Germany, op. cit., pp. 50-51.

55 Adalbert Seifriz, Preface to Gampuley, N. G., Netaji in Germany, op. cit., p. xiii.
sacrifice for the cause of India's liberation. "In India we have many gods and religions, but everything is only ‘Jai Hind’ here," that was how a Legionary described the spirit of the Legion. Whatever differences and difficulties were there could be solved by the iron will to work for winning India's independence. "The Legion was inspired by a good spirit of comradeship, the feeling of belonging together and the mutual will to help, each other. A living national will was the distinguishing character of this Legion. The troops made every effort to maintain discipline in all respects, and the co-operation and relations with the German troops caused no serious difficulties. Even in difficult situations, the Legion suffered privation and proved their courage and readiness for battle."56

This fact has been corroborated by Alexander Werth: "The morale and discipline of the troops as well as the personal relationship between officers and soldiers were excellent. Netaji frequently visited the training camps in order to convince himself of the progress his men were making."57 Hugh Toye's observation that "preservation of morale was always difficult, and Indo-German relations never satisfactory"58 could only be accepted with a pinch of salt.

Adalbert Seifriz had paid glowing tribute to Bose's contributions to the making and the success of the Indian 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 of former grade, was recognised and esteemed by the Legionaries. It can be said that the experiment to form Hindus, Sikhs, Moslems, Punjabis, Mahrattas and Bengalees and members of other religious communities

56 Werth, Alexander and Harbich Walter, Netaji in Germany, op. cit., p. 32.
58 Seifriz, Adalbert, Preface to Ganpuley, N. G., Netaji in Germany, op. cit., pp. xiii-xiv.
into a close military unit and to form an efficient fighting force, was crowned with success... The intellectual basis for the growth and success of the Legion was created by Subhas Bose. Repeatedly he explained to his compatriots and the German personnel his ideas about the Legion and their future task in free India. He was very anxious to see preserved in the Legion traditions of the cultural and political past of his country. With a feeling, fine and noble, he did his utmost to banish the danger of losing the cultural roots of his Legionaries... He was the great ideal of the Legion, and it was the ardent desire of each Legionary, up to the day of the German capitulation, to try to emulate him and to help him in the execution of his ideas. A meeting with Subhas Bose was a special event for the German training staff. We spent many evenings with him, discussing the future of India. 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."

Bose had a highly ambitious plan in organising the Indian Legion in Germany. "This Army was the creation of Subhas Bose, a patriot to the core, a fearless and uncompromising fighter for Indian Freedom and therefore an eyesore to the British bureaucracy." Bose wanted to make the Army, "the spearhead for the fight for freedom and the nucleus of the Free India Army of the future." He wanted to take the members of

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59 Ibid, p. xvi.
60 Ibid, p. xviii.
61 Werth writes: "It was planned to fly over the troops that received special training in Meseritz to the northern frontier region of India when conditions for it became propitious, and transport the larger body of Legioners consisting of four battalions of 2,000 to 3,000 receiving regular infantry training in a more leisurely way" – Werth, Alexander and Harbich Walter, Netaji in Germany, op. cit., p. 38.
the Indian Legion to India when the time came. But no serious thought was ever given to the feasibility of such a plan. "It was, however, clear enough that the effective employment of the Legion outside would prove neither very advantageous nor quite feasible. Above all, the members did not have the emotional approach necessary for this purpose. Though Bose's plan to take the Legion of India did not materialise, he rendered great service to the Indian POWs who did not join the Legion. By virtue of the new status acquired by the Legion they were saved from inhuman treatment and torture which otherwise they would have suffered. Thus the POWs were not only saved from arduous physical labour in distant lands but their return to India, after the war was also facilitated.

Decision to leave Germany

With the establishment of the Free India Centre, the Azad Hind Radio and the Indian Legion, Bose's preliminary goals were attained. But this could not give satisfaction to him as there was no categorical official declaration by the Axis Powers on the question of Indian Independence after the war. This made him suspect the German motives. "The Nazi Party viewed Bose with mixed emotions, as did he view the Nazi Party. This situation lasted until Hitler attacked the Soviet Union. Then Bose knew their ways would have to part."

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62 Nambiar, A. C. N., Foreword to Ganpuley N. G., Netaji in Germany, op. cit., p. ix.
63 Ibid, pp. ix-x.
64 Dr. G. Wirsing, Quoted in Mookerjee, Nanda, Netaji Through German Lens (Calcutta: Netaji Research Bureau), 1970, p. 59.
Mussolini had earlier refused to see Bose in May 1941, when he went to Rome to persuade him to make a declaration to the effect that India will be free after the war. But after one year on May 5, 1942, Mussolini expressed his willingness to make an official declaration in favour of Indian independence, although he had told Hitler earlier in Salzburg, that he would not support Bose's demand to make an official declaration on India's right to independence. This worsened the relation between Hitler and Mussolini to some extent.66 After Mussolini, Premier Tojo of Japan also expressed his willingness to help Bose in his war of liberation against the British.

"Hitler did not agree to make such a declaration, probably because he did not want the end of British domination in India on racial grounds."67

The meeting between Bose and Hitler took place on May 29, 1942. Bose requested Hitler to explain as to what he exactly meant by the insulting remarks about India made in his book “Mein Kampf”, Hitler point-blank refused to discuss this point. Bose then requested Hitler to make an official declaration on India's right to independence after the war. "Hitler replied by saying that according to him, India would not be able to rule herself for another 150 years."68 Hitler's refusal to make a declaration on India's right to independence on the pretext of great distance between the German war front and India made Bose perplexed and to some extent agitated. At the end of the discussion, Hitler asked Bose as to what practical steps he would take in the interest of the Indian Freedom Movement when the conditions were so unfavourable. Bose lost

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66 Ibid.
67 Ibid, p. 139.
68 Werth, Alexander and Harbich Walter, Netaji in Germany, op. cit., p. 36.
his patience and told Von Trott in English: "Tell His Excellency that I have been in politics all my life and that I don't need advice from any side." In spite of a diplomatic rendering of Bose's statement in German by Von Trott, the Hitler-Bose meeting was a total failure. "The meeting was a disappointment for Subhas," writes Girija Mookerjee, "and he did not like very much to speak about it. Subhas was not very much satisfied with Hitler, with whom, he said, a logical discussion even for a few minutes was impossible. We felt, however, that the reception of an Indian by the head of a foreign Government, as if he was the representative of a sovereign state, was somewhat flattering."70

The War had now taken a different turn. Since the day of Hitler's declaration of war against Soviet Union, Bose was having an uneasy feeling. Recalling his discussions with Bose Dr. Wirsing writes: "I remember well the dramatic days in Berlin's Hotel Excelsior, during which Bose constantly spoke on this decisive error in German war policy until he finally came to the conclusion that he could no longer remain and would have to return to Asia."71

Bose had great admiration for the socialist system of Russia which according to him was anti-imperialist and a friend of the oppressed and exploited people all over the world. It was due to this fact, when Germany expressed the desire to put the Indian Legion against the adversary in the East, Bose vehemently opposed the idea and he "succeeded in bringing about an agreement that the Indian soldiers were to be used only against the adversary in the West."72 Bose did not want

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69 Ganpuley, N. G., Netaji in Germany, op. cit., Appendix, p. 192.
70 Mookerjee, Nanda, Netaji Through German Lens, op. cit., p. 50.
71 Werth, Alexander and Harbich, Walter, Netaji in Germany, op. cit., p. 55.
72 Ibid, pp. 36-37.
that the Legion should fight against Soviet Union with whom India had no quarrel.

Hitler's defective war-policy, his intransigence regarding an official declaration on India's right to freedom after the war and the dramatic turn that the war had taken after the joining of Japan, had all convinced Bose that he must now move out of Germany in order to play a more important and dynamic role in the fight for India's freedom. The idea of proceeding to the Far East had already taken root in his mind since the occupation of Singapore by the Japanese.\textsuperscript{73} He took the final decision, after all his efforts to convince Hitler about the importance of his political mission failed. As Bose was operating from Germany, Hitler's views regarding an official declaration on India's right to freedom, was accepted by both Italy and Japan in spite of their willingness earlier to concede Bose's request for such a declaration.\textsuperscript{74} Moreover, German reverses in the Russian front had shattered all the hopes of Bose in Germany by the end of 1942. Germany was too far away from India and the lukewarm attitude of Hitler posed a further hurdle to Bose's plan of a subsequent drive to the East to take a direct part in India's battle for freedom.

The intensity of the Quit India Movement launched by the Congress in August 1942, convinced Bose that the time was ripe when he should have been nearer India to synchronise the two movements—one fought from abroad by him and the other fought from within India against the British. "The centre of gravity of the War, as far as he was concerned, had already shifted to South East Asia. He, therefore, directed his attention to leave Europe. By an almost ferocious concentration he succeeded

\textsuperscript{73} Ibid, p. 36.
\textsuperscript{74} Nambiar, A.C.N., Foreword to Ganpuley, N. G., Netaji in Germany, op. cit., p. viii.
Bose had already been in contact with Rash Behari Bose and his group through the Japanese Embassy in Berlin and Rome and had received an invitation from them to come to East Asia as soon as possible and assume the leadership of India’s freedom movement. Besides this unofficial invitation the Japanese Government had also extended an official invitation to come to East Asia. Thus Bose was confident of the Japanese support and with that help he thought he would be able to persuade all Indians in East Asia, to unite for fighting India’s battle for freedom. Bose requested Oshima, the Japanese Ambassador in Berlin to use his good offices to enlist the help of the Japanese Government in implementing his plan. In the beginning, Tokyo did not take much interest in such a project, but subsequently it became more enthusiastic about the matter. In January 1943, Hitler approved the Japanese request to send Bose to Japan. Bose told Shun Higuchi, the then Military Attache to the Japanese Embassy in Berlin that he wanted a more vigorous and active development of India’s freedom movement. Bose expected that the journey to East Asia would be safe, but in case anything happened to him, he wanted that Higuchi should see that Nambiar and Rash Behari Bose work in close touch with each other. Bose also expressed that he desired to take with him the Indian soldiers recruited in Germany.

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75 Mukherjee, Uma, Two Great Indian Revolutionaries (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya), 1966, p. 156.
76 Werth, Alexander and Harbich, Walter, Netaji in Germany, op. cit., p. 37.
77 Shun Higuchi, Movement from Outside in Hayashida’s Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, p. 139.
78 Ibid, pp. 139-40.
79 Mookerjee, Nanda, Netaji Through German Lens, op. cit., p. 59.
On February 8, 1943, Bose left Berlin by train for Kiel, accompanied by Abid Hassan. From there he boarded the German Submarine U-190. Bose's journey was kept a top secret and except Werth, Keppler, Nambiar and the military people concerned, nobody else knew about Bose's departure from Germany.

After, Bose's departure from Germany the Free India Centre regularly broadcast his tape-recorded speeches to pose before the world that he was very much in Germany. Bose landed on the West Coast of Sumatra after a long and arduous journey, where he was received by Colonel Yamamoto, who had become the head of the Hikari Kikan (Liaison Bureau). From Sumatra, Bose went to Singapore for talks with Rash Behari Bose, from where he had to fly to Tokyo for his talks with the Japanese Government.

The first dramatic announcement of Bose's arrival in Japan from Berlin filled the hearts of nearly three million Indians in East Asia with extreme happiness and "overnight the atmosphere was electrified." In Germany, Bose had launched his programme of mobilising armed assistance for India's unarmed freedom fighters with the help of Germany. But the transport of the soldiers of the I.N.A. from Germany to the western borders of India to fight the British on the Indian soil, posed a formidable problem. Due to the intransigence of Hitler regarding an official declaration on India's right to freedom and his defective war policy, Bose left Europe "with his trust in Germany's victory substantially shaken." Bose left Germany when he realised that Germany had nothing more to offer him "in the way of an advanced base in any of its theatres of

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80 Nambiar, Foreword to Ganpuley, N. G., Netaji in Germany, op. cit., p. viii.
81 Ibid., Appendix, p. 183.
war for his fight to free India." Bose had expressed his feelings in very clear terms in the autumn of 1942, to Admiral Canaris:

"You know as well as I do that Germany cannot win this war. But this time victorious Britain will lose India. Even the British will not be able to break their promise to give up their dominion over India, a promise made by their own free will in 1940."  

Earlier Rash Behari Bose founded the Indian Independence League in 1924, with Tokyo as its headquarters and branches spread out in other neighbouring states. Through the I.I.L. he explained the political conditions of India to the people of South East Asia and emphasised "the supreme importance of Indian Independence as a factor of Greater Asian freedom and unity." 

Rash Behari's efforts received great impetus as similar movements were started in Singapore, Kuala Lumpur and Bangkok by Indian leaders. An underground organisation, headed by Amar Singh and assisted by Pritam Singh was operating from Bangkok and was known as the Indian Independence League.

Though Pritam Singh sought Japanese assistance to fight against the British, he held very strong views regarding the Independence of action of the I.I.L. and like Subhas Bose he believed that India must fight for her independence free from the control by any foreign country.

82 Ibid, pp. 182-83.
84 Ibid, p. 147.
85 Ibid.
86 Ibid, pp. 11-12.
The I.I.L. was to embrace all the Indian people transcending racial, religious and political differences, who agreed to fight for independence. The Indians who were residing in the areas of military operation including those who surrendered (including POW's) were not to be regarded as enemies by the Japanese Army. They were to be treated as friends and their lives, properties, freedom and honour were to be protected, The Japanese Army was to protect temples and refrain from using temples for military purposes to guarantee freedom of religion. The Japanese Army was to make available whatever material and funds were needed by the I.I.L. for carrying on its activities. It was also to facilitate liaison between the I.I.L. and Subhas Bose.87

Meanwhile the I.N.A. gained more popularity and attracted a large number of Indian prisoners of war to join it. On February 17, 1942 as many as 45,000 Indian prisoners of war assembled for a meeting and after speeches made by Pritam Singh and Mohan Singh respectively, their excitement had reached the climax. They all vowed to cast in their lot with their leaders.88

Bose Takes Over

There was the necessity of a dynamic leader "a man of commanding personality, full of indomitable will and energy, with courageous adherence to conviction and consummate political ability,"89 to lead the Indian Freedom Movement in East Asia. When the arrival of

88 Hugh Toye writes: "Harsh methods of persuasion were used, including severe corporal punishment, and the Bidadari 'concentration camp', hitherto the normal military detention centre, became a place of terror the mere threat of which could often induce a man to 'volunteer'.”- The Springing Tiger: A Study of a Revolutionary, op. cit., p. 10.
89 Hayashida, Tatsuo, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, op, cit., p. 28.
Subash Bose was finalised, the Japanese wanted to know as to what would be the reaction of Rash Behari. It was doubted if Rash Behari would agree to turn the leadership over to Subhas Bose. But when Col. Iwakuro broke this news to Rash Behari he replied saying: "That is a good idea. He is a born leader. I will be glad to turn the leadership over to Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. Our ultimate goal is to win our independence. Since I have done my bit, I would like Mr. Chandra Bose to take over. He is young and bouncy." Bose had heard about Rash Behari from V.D, Savarkar, when on June 22, 1940, he had come to Savarkar to seek his advice on the vexed question of Hindu-Muslim unity. Rash Behari had correspondence with Savarkar and kept him informed about the political developments in Japan and the possibility of Japan joining the World War II, against Anglo-American imperialism. It seems that Savarkar advised Bose to go to Germany and organise an Army from among the Indian Prisoners of War and then come to Japan with German help where he could join hands with Rash Behari Bose.

The single-minded devotion of Bose to the cause of Indian Freedom and his preparedness to sacrifice every thing for that sacred cause had its unavoidable impact on everybody. His personality compelled attention from every body and even made his worst enemies

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90 Mukherjee, Uma, The Two Great Revolutionaries, op. cit., pp. 158-59.
91 Ibid.
92 Hayashida, Tatsuo, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, op. cit., p. 29.
93 Prem Sehgal said: "In the Far East, the local inhabitants had a very poor opinion of Indians. As a matter of fact, they loathed them... But with the arrival of Netaji, they for the first time in their life saw a true specimen of Indian manhood.... a living symbol of Indian culture.... a personification of India's aspirations. Overnight they changed their opinion about Indians and of their own accord started appreciating our activities and lent support to our great work—the Freedom of Mother India".—Quoted by Jag Parvesh Chander, Meet the Heroes, (Lahore: Jai Hind Publisher), 1945, p. 20.
admit his great qualities. His dauntless courage, daring spirit, sacrifice, bold and imaginative leadership and the dignified way in which he conducted himself changed the attitude of the local inhabitants in the Far East about the Indians in General. Bose also knew that the Japanese had a poor opinion of the Indians in general and the I.N.A. in particular. This consciousness made him determined to impress everybody by his flawless manners and the righteousness of the cause to which he was devoted. Bose's impact was so great that even the cynical Tojo could not remain influenced by him.

Bose and Tojo exchanged views regarding the greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, and plans for achieving the independence of India.

In his speech before the Diet, in the presence of Bose, Tojo explained the Japanese policy towards India and his concept of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity sphere:

"We are indignant about the fact that India is still under the relentless suppression of Britain and are in full sympathy with her desperate struggle for independence. We are determined to extend every possible assistance for the cause of India's independence. It is our belief

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94 Shah Nawaz said: "When Netaji came from Germany he told us the Japanese had a very low opinion about Indians. He said that the Japanese thought that the Indian army in the Far East being a defeated army had become demoralised. And he addressed us thus: "Are these things which the Japanese were talking so flippantly, True? Are there no soldiers who would fight with their lives on their palms? Are there no sons of India who would die in the battlefield to defend the honour of their Motherland?"— Ibid, p. 116.

that the day is not far off when India will enjoy freedom and prosperity after winning independence.⁹⁶

After he knew the Japanese mind it was no longer necessary for Bose to remain in disguise. He held a press conference on 19th June and boldly announced his future course of action which also epitomised his political philosophy: "During the last great war our leaders were deceived by the cunning British diplomats. We took a decision some twenty years ago that we would never again be cheated. In the past twenty years of my generation all the Indians have been fighting for freedom and have been waiting for the opportune time, which has come now. We are therefore, determined to utilize it to the fullest extent. Very often it is said that this war is being waged only for saving liberty and democracy. But you can very well appreciate the feeling of my compatriots against the Anglo-Saxons who talk all about liberty and democracy and these they deny to the same people forming one-fifth of the human race, and who through terror and brutal cruelty are massacring unarmed and innocent men, women and children.

"Spiritual degradation, cultural degeneration, dire poverty and political slavery, are the only things which India got from British imperialism. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Indian people have once and for all risen up boldly to smash the British chains and attain freedom.

"By declaring war on our permanent enemy, the Axis Powers have given the greatest help to India in her fight for freedom... We would, however, get our freedom only by shedding our own blood. We will be

able to preserve our freedom only if we get it through our own sacrifice and toil.

"We, therefore, feel that we should take an active part in this war against our common enemy. Since the enemy fights with his sword we too should fight with the sword. The non-violent struggle should transform itself into a violent one. Only if a large number of Indians undergo this baptism of fire can they win the race and get the reward of freedom."97

On July 4, 1943, in a mammoth meeting at Singapore, Bose took over the Presidentship of the Indian Independence League. Making over the charge to him Rash Behari said: "Friends and Comrades in Arms! In your presence today, I resign my office and appoint Deshsevak Subhas Chandra Bose as President of the Indian Independence League... India's best is represented in him."98

Bose in his turn appointed Rash Behari as the Supreme Adviser to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. Bose had the full knowledge of the world situation and he had to come to Japan with invincible

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97 Mukherjee, Uma, Two Great Indian Revolutionaries, op. cit., pp. 161-62.
98 Japanese Gen. Tani who was stationed in India as a Military Attache in 1925-26 makes the following assessment about the freedom movement in India: "Originally, India was colonized by Britain not because it was totally conquered militarily but because the Indian people fought among themselves and gave a handle to the situation, it was too late for them to extricate themselves from British domination. That's why Gandhi launched the non-resistance movement. At a time when Burma is on the threshold of independence after having restored peace and order with the cooperation of Japan Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose came to Japan after spending several years in Germany. I think he visits Japan with the belief that the time has come for Indian independence. Hundreds of thousands of Indians in East Asia are making preparations for independence with our cooperation. Now is the time for them to rise."—Quoted by Hayashida, Tatsau, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, op. cit., pp. 40-41.
determination to take the Indian Independence Movement to the culminating point. Addressing the League Conference, the new President said: "Friends, the time to start an armed struggle for freedom has come. Military service and loyalty to the mother country are the most essential things necessary to achieve our goal of freedom during the war. I appeal to you, my countrymen in the Far East, to assemble under the common flag... The British may offer promises which I must tell you are made to ensnare you. Any compromise with the British will be sheer loss for us, and will prove detrimental to our interests. We must be ready for sacrifice and action... We have now a good opportunity to free ourselves and lay the foundations of a new world order based on truth, justice and freedom. I ask those who have any doubts or suspicions in their minds to rely upon me. I shall always be loyal to India alone. I will never deceive my motherland. I will live and die for India. There is no one who can divert me from the right path.

"The time has come when the Indians at home and those abroad should gather together with arms under one leader and await the orders for the destruction of the British imperialists. I have decided to form a Free India Government in order to bring the different elements together and to collect our strength. The aim of this Provisional Government of India will be to make the Indian revolution a success. It will be the duty of this Government to arm the Indians at home and abroad and to realize our aspirations of freedom with the aid of arms. The task of our Provisional Government will end with the extirpation of British influence from India. The people of India will then be able to set up a National Government. We shall be ready to fight side by side with the Axis soldiers against our enemies when our preparations for armed warfare are

completed. We shall pay the price of our freedom with our blood, but by so doing we shall lay the foundation stone of national unity. We shall be able to maintain our freedom if we attain it through our own sacrifices and blood.”

Next day on the 5th of July, Bose reviewed the Indian Army and for the first time appeared in a military uniform. Addressing the parade he emphasised the need of a National Army for fighting the war of liberation and after the country is independent to preserve the independence against foreign aggression. He gave the examples of George Washington and Garibaldi who won the independence for their respective countries with the help of their armies.

"Every Indian must feel proud that this Army — his own Army — has been organized entirely under Indian leadership and that when the historic moment arrives, under Indian leadership it will go to battle.”

It was in this meeting that Bose gave the I.N.A. its battle-cry: "Comrades! My Soldiers! Let your battle-cry be: "To Delhi! To Delhi!" How many of us will individually survive this war of freedom, I don't know. But I do know this: that we shall ultimately win and our task will not end until our surviving heroes hold the victory parade on another

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100 In the words of Bose: "Let me remind you that you have a twofold task to perform. With the force of arms and at the cost of your blood you will have to win liberty. Then, when India is free you will have to organise the permanent army of Free India, whose task it will be to preserve our liberty for all times. We must build up our national defence on such an unshakable foundation that never again in our history shall we lose our freedom." — Ibid, p. 183.
101 Ibid., p. 182
102 Ibid.
graveyard of the British empire — the Lal Kila or Red Fortress of ancient Delhi. 103

He made the soldiers of the I.N.A. conscious of their duties and responsibilities and the dire consequences that they would have to face in their fight against the British for the liberation of their country: "Comrades! You have voluntarily accepted a mission that is the noblest that the human mind can conceive of. For the fulfilment of such a mission no sacrifice is too great, not even the sacrifice of one's life. You are today the custodians of India's national honour and the embodiment of India's hopes and aspirations. So, conduct yourself that your countrymen may bless you and posterity may be proud of you.

"I have said that today is the proudest day of my life. For an enslaved people, there can be no greater pride, no higher honour, than to be the first soldier in the army of liberation. But this honour carries with it a corresponding responsibility and I am deeply conscious of it. I assure you that I shall be with you in darkness and in sunshine, in sorrow and in joy, in suffering and in victory. For the present, I can offer you nothing except hunger, thirst, privation, forced marches and death. But if you follow me in life and in death, as I am confident you will I shall lead you to victory and freedom. It does not matter who among us will live to see India free. It is enough that India shall be free and that we shall give our all to make her free. May God now bless our Army and grant us victory in the coming fight! Inquilab Zindabad! Azad Hind Zindabad!" 104

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103 Ibid., p. 184.
104 Thivy records: "The reception he received in Singapore at the mass rally of Indians on 9th of July was one which any conquering hero in any part of the world would be proud of. The people responded to his rallying call for Total Mobilization with sincerity and spontaneity."—Thivy, John A., The Struggle in East Asia, op. cit., p. 34.
On July 9, 1943 addressing a mass meeting in Singapore Bose said: "I want total Mobilization and nothing less, for we have been told repeatedly even by our enemies, that this is a Total War... Let the slogan of the three million Indians in East Asia be 'Total Mobilization for a Total War!'"

He also gave the call for the formation of a unit of brave Indian women to constitute a "death-defying regiment, who will wield the sword which the brave Rani of Jhansi wielded in India's First War of Independence in 1857." The formation of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment, as a contingent of the I.N.A. was announced by Bose, at a mass rally of Indian women in Singapore on 12th of July.

Immediately after becoming the President of the Indian Independence League, Bose affected a reorganisation of the League by dividing it into twelve departments according to its various activities. The Departments were as follows: The General Secretariat, Propaganda Department, Finance Department, Accounts and Audit Department, Recruitment and Training Department, Supplies Department, Women's Department, Housing and Transport Department, Health and Social Welfare Department, Education and Culture Department, Territorial Branches Department and the Overseas Department.

Similar Departments were also created in State-Branches and sub-branches with adequate staff and with Members in-charge of each department. The vigorous steps taken by Bose to increase the efficiency

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106 Ibid, p. 188.
107 Thivy, John, A., The Struggle in East Asia, op. cit., p. 36.
of the League and the Army proved his energy and his organising ability.\textsuperscript{109} Thus the League functioned like a Government. The various Departments cooperated and co-ordinated with each other to accelerate the march of the Freedom Movement and to provide men, material and money to the I.N.A. for the prosecution of the war.\textsuperscript{110} The Indian independence League was revolutionized in its organization and its fighting spirit under the dynamic leadership of Bose.\textsuperscript{111}

On the 25th of July, Bose issued a Special Order of the Day taking over the Supreme Command of the I.N.A. He was "the greatest revolutionary and freedom-fighter that the Indian subcontinent has produced in the present century."\textsuperscript{112} After he took the Command, he reorganised and revitalised the I.N.A with the creation of the Chief-of-Staff, Divisional Commands and the Army Department of the League. Under the revolutionary leadership of Bose the "I.N.A. took the form and effectiveness of any modern regular army."\textsuperscript{113} When Bose took over Command, the I.N.A. was 13,000 strong. He organised the Army in such a way that, besides fighting guerilla warfare, it could fight on the front as a regular fighting force. The existing strength was found to be inadequate. He wanted to increase the strength to 50,000. But as Japanese Army had no resources to equip and train more than 30,000, Bose decided to

\begin{itemize}
  \item[Ibid.]
  \item Iwaichi Fujiwara, the then Director of Shita Kikan (Army Liaison Organ), Staff Officer, of the Southern Army GHQ has said: "Mr. Bose was one of the greatest revolutionaries of the Country. He was a great patriot who combined in him the qualities of leadership, willpower, passionate devotion to a cause and political intelligence and military insight as well as heartwarming humanity. He was the greatest leader in Asia."— Hayashida, Tatsu, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, op. cit., pp. 153-54.
  \item Habib-ur-Rehman Khan, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and His Last Days (Calcutta: Netaji Research Bureau), 1954, pp. 140-41.
  \item Thivy, John, A., "He Came, He Fought, He Conquered", Sharma, Sri Ram (ed.) Netaji: His Life and Work, op. cit., p. 282.
  \item Hayashida, Tatsu, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, op. cit., p. 52.
\end{itemize}
organize three divisions of 10,000 troops each, plus a 20,000 strong Volunteer Army.\textsuperscript{114} The men and officers of the I.N.A. were recruited from among the P.O.W.'s and young Indians in East Asia.

Bose was particular to expand the I.N.A. "despite the danger of qualitative inadequacy" to give a moral boost to the freedom-fighters in India. This was also necessary to meet the offensive of British propaganda about the invincibility of the mighty British Army.\textsuperscript{115}

Bose's request for Japanese help to expand the I.N.A. was not received favourably. The Hikari Kikan was opposed to the expansion of the I.N.A. Premier Tojo also promised help with a word of caution. Bose suspected the Japanese intentions. "The misunderstanding between the two sides subsequently militated against Indo-Japanese collaboration."\textsuperscript{116}

Bose was not prepared to be dictated to by any body and whenever he decided to do something he insisted till the last and could perform it with an indomitable will and great organisational ability. "His policy was that he would not ask help from the Japanese Government where his own countrymen could afford assistance to the movement. He had great personal charm and inspired millions of soldiers and civilians alike, living in East Asia at the time, so much so that everyone was prepared to sacrifice his all and even his life for the freedom of the country under his leadership."\textsuperscript{117} Ultimately the I. N.A. was expanded and was organised into three divisions according to the plan of Bose, but the "basic mission remained guerilla warfare and none of its divisions was capable of

\begin{footnotes}
\item[114] Ibid.
\item[115] Ibid.
\item[116] Habib-ur-Rehman Khan, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and His Last Days, op. cit., pp. 141-42.
\item[117] Ibid., p. 52.
\end{footnotes}
operating as a strategic division." However, after Bose assumed the leadership of the I.N.A. there was great enthusiasm among its men and officers and they vowed to sacrifice everything for the cause of Indian Independence. Bose said that freedom was won on the battle fields and not on wooden rostrums and in assembly chambers. "He was a born leader, a sincere man, a selfless, worker." He sacrificed every thing to fight for the freedom of India and asked the Indians to march under his banner and people were prepared to sacrifice and die under his command. Bose wanted to liberate India with the help and support of Indians: "If I want the help of Japanese I can have it, but I want to win the freedom of India with the help of Indians alone." His extreme independence, daring action, indomitable courage and strong determination dispelled all fears from the minds of Indians who suspected the Japanese intentions. One of his officers of the I.N.A. said: "Netaji was like a god to us. He was a superman. He was a man of extreme independence. He would never allow himself to be bought by any foreign power. He would rather have seen himself being shot than being dictated to by the Japs."

Bose was satisfied with the response of the Indians to his call to unite for fighting the British. The delegates from different parts of East}

118 Attar Mohammed said: "When the Indian National Army was formed under the aegis of Subhas Chandra Bose, an irresistible wave of enthusiasm swept over the Far East. Formerly we just existed, but with the appearance of Netaji we found life running in our limbs, blood throbbing in our heart and strength creeping into our flesh. I realised that the hour had struck to fight for the freedom of India. I immediately offered my services to Netaji. We were given a thorough training in all the methods of modern warfare. Netaji used to take personal interest in our welfare. He would send us nice chatty letters". – Chander, Jag Parvesh, Meet the Heroes, op. cit., p. 35.
119 Ibid, p. 43.
120 Ibid., p. 40
121 Ibid.
122 Thivy, John, A., The Struggle in East Asia, op cit., p. 35.
Asia assured him that the Indians in their respective states had the same high spirit as was witnessed in Malaya.\textsuperscript{123} But Bose wanted to meet the Indians personally and he made a tour of all the Territorial Branches of the I.I.L. in East Asia to assess the situation. He was very much satisfied after his personal inspection and was convinced that the Overseas Indians meant business.\textsuperscript{124} In the meantime training centres had been established in Malaya, Burma and Siam and these centres were packed to the capacity. Thousands of volunteers who could not be accommodated in these camps, were given part-time training and were in readiness to receive regular training when their turn came. Bose insisted on the independence of the I.N.A.\textsuperscript{125} He always expressed his fervent desire that the I.N.A. should spearhead the Japanese thrust into India.

On August 26, 1943, Bose expressed his desire before Maj. Gen. Todai Kunomura, Chief of Staff of the 15th Army and Maj. Iwaichi Fujiwara, the Intelligence Officer of the 15th Army. Gen. Kunomura told Bose that the 15th Army had received orders to prepare for an invasion of Imphal and it was the desire of Gen. Mutaguchi, Commander of the 15th Army to carry on this operation in full co-operation with the I.N.A.\textsuperscript{126}

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\item Bose said: “Nippon has given us the arms with which to organise an army, which is Indian from top to bottom. This Army, the Azad Hind Fauz, has been trained by Indian instructors, using the Indian language. This Army carries India's National Flag and its slogans are India's National slogans. This Army has its own Indian officers and its own Indian Commanders, some of whom have now reached the rank of General. If one talks of a puppet army, then it is the British Indian Army that should be called a puppet army, because it is fighting Britain's imperialist war under British Officers.”- Ibid., pp. 357-58.
\item Hayashida, Tatsuo, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, op. cit., p. 159.
\item Ibid.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
out his mind, when he "asked Gen. Kunomura to see that the Indian National Army be deployed in such a way as to spearhead the invading forces, so that they should be the first to set foot on the soil of their father land... Netaji was confident that if the Indian National Army advanced to Assam, the Indian people would never fail to rise in response."127 Bose was a very keen observer of national and international politics and people "were stunned by his masterly discourse on the International situations."128 He knew that the Japanese needed the support of the I.N.A. and the Indians in East Asia as much as they needed the Japanese support.129

The Provisional Government of Azad Hind

By October 21, 1943, the freedom movement of the Indians in East Asia had reached the highest point of enthusiasm. There was a well-organised and disciplined army in the I.N.A. and the League provided a system and a machinery. There was the dynamic leadership of Bose, under whom the three million Indians in East Asia, were united and were ready to undergo any trials in order to liberate their motherland.130 Now there was the necessity of the establishment of a Government without which it was not possible to get international recognition for the activities of the I.N.A. Without a Government, Bose could not have declared the war of Independence, nor could he have led the army to battle as an equal partner of the Japanese Government.131 The unmistakable significance of the Provisional Government of Free India was clear to Bose and the idea of forming such a Government on the lines of the numerous emigre

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128 Ibid, p. x.
129 Ibid, pp. x-xi.
130 Thivy, John, A., The Struggle in East Asia, op. cit. p. 283.
European Governments then functioning from London had already taken deep roots in Bose's mind. He had given expression to this idea in his address to the Indian Independence League conference in Singapore on July 4, 1943. On October 21, 1943 about 1,000 Indian representatives from different parts of East Asia assembled in Singapore to consider the proposal of Bose and "the Provisional Government of Free India was planned and established according to the free will of the Indian people to emancipate themselves from British Rule." In establishing the Provisional Government, besides meeting the exigencies of the Indian situation, Bose followed the course of History. The Irish people had set up a Provisional government in 1916, to fight against the British. During the First World War, the Czechs had followed the same course and after the War the Turks had formed their Provisional Government, under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal in Anatolia. Bose's concept of the Provisional Government of Free India was different from the normal peace time Governments. It was to be a fighting organisation with its main object being to launch and to conduct the war against the British and their allies in India.

"Netaji's most extraordinary move was the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. It was a master move in the game of international politics. The original Indian Independence League could not freely declare war on their enemies and could not cooperate on equal terms with the League of East Asiatic Nations. It was Netaji who foresaw the necessity of equality and thus he declared the inauguration of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. The officers and workers

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133 For the Full Text of Bose's Statement see Appendix VI.
134 See Appendix VI.
135 Sharma, Sri Ram (ed.) Netaji, His Life and Work, op. cit., p. xiv.
remained the same but this switch-over carried us overnight to the status of a free state and since then the Provisional Government of Azad Hind was recognized by nine Sovereign states as an equal partner in the comity of those nations. We were a refugee Government but our privileges and status was no less than that of any of the Sovereign states there."\(^{136}\)

After he read out the Proclamation, the solemn ceremony of Oath-taking followed. Bose was the first to take the Oath: "In the name of God, I take this sacred Oath that to liberate India and 38 crores of countrymen, I, Subhas Chandra Bose, will continue this sacred war of freedom till the last breath of my life..." At this point he became visibly moved. He paused for a while with tears in his eyes and then continued again: "I shall always remain a servant of India and look after the welfare of 38 crores of Indian brothers and sisters. This shall be for me my highest duty. Even after winning freedom, I will always be prepared to shed the last drop of my blood for the preservation of India’s freedom."\(^{137}\)

The Japanese Government’s official recognition to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind was given two days later on 23 October. On the same day, the Cabinet of the Provisional Government decided to declare war on Britain and U.S.A.\(^{138}\) The Declaration was broadcast over the League Headquarters’ radio, by Bose on October 24, 1943. The Provisional Government did not declare war against Soviet Union,

\(^{136}\) Ibid.  
\(^{137}\) Thivy, John, A., The Struggle in East Asia, op. cit., p. 67.  
\(^{138}\) After the surrender of Germany Bose said on May 25, 1945: "The turning point in European affairs came in 1940 when M. Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Minister visited Berlin. That was the hour when German Statesmanship should have risen to its fullest height and reached an understanding with Soviet Russia by any means. But unfortunately for the German Nation, just as faulty statesmanship was responsible for its defeat in the First World War, so also has it been responsible for its defeat in the present war."- Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose, op. cit., p. 230.
although she was allay of Britain. Bose always considered Russia as an anti-imperialist power which was only forced by circumstances to join hands with Britain and America due to the defective foreign policy of Germany. Russian sympathy for India was evident from the speech of Molotov, the Russian Foreign Minister, at the Washington security conference that Russia would like to hear the voice of Free India at the future conferences.

Formal recognition was extended to the provisional Government of Free India, within a few weeks by the Governments of Japan, Germany, Italy, Burma, the Philippines, Nanking, Croatia, Manchukuo and Siam. The Provisional Government thus acquired international legitimacy. The Greater East Asia Conference was held in Tokyo on 5 and 6 November 1943.

An interesting incident took place during the conference when Premier Tojo said that after India is made free by the I.N.A. from the bondage of slavery, Bose would be all-in-all in Free India. After hearing this Bose at once rose to his feet and replied: "General Tojo has no right to appoint me the Chief of the State. When India regains her freedom, it is for the masses of India to declare what form of Government they want and who should be at the head of the State. As far as I am concerned, I will say that Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru and Maulana Azad are the fittest, the ablest and the truest persons to form the Government. I am but a servant of theirs. I am just doing from the Far East what they are doing in India."140

139 Saito and Hayashida, “To Delhi! To Delhi!” in Bose, Sisir, K. and Others (eds.), A Beacon Across Asia, op. cit., p. 191.
140 Hayashida, Tatsuo, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, op. cit., p. 79.
The Japanese decided to launch their long deferred offensive against Arakan and Imphal early in 1944. On the basis of his understanding with the Japanese Chief of Staff earlier in Tokyo, Bose insisted that the I.N.A. should be allowed full participation in the Imphal Operation. But General Kawabe, the Chief of the Regional Army Command in Burma raised objections similar to those raised by Field Marshal Terauchi earlier. He pointed out that the I.N.A. was not in a position to play an independent role and therefore, he suggested that companies of I.N.A. should be attached to Japanese Divisions taking part in the offensive.

Bose had earlier told Count Terauchi that any freedom of India secured through Japanese sacrifices was to him worse than slavery. He had made it clear that he would not cooperate with the Japanese to march into India "unless the Indian National Army formed the spearhead of the advance into India. He insisted that to uphold the honour of India it was imperative that the first drop of blood to be shed on Indian soil should be that of a soldier of the Indian National Army." Bose explained his stand to Gen. Kawabe. In view of the prolonged nature of the war, Bose wanted to increase the quality and quantity of the I.N.A. Bose also impressed on

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141 Chander, Jag Parvesh, Meet the Heroes, op. cit., pp. 104-05.
142 The following was the basis of cooperation between the I.N.A. and the Japanese force: 1. The I.N.A. formation should not be smaller than a battalion. 2. The I.N.A. units should be commanded only by Indian Officers. 3. The I.N.A. and the Japanese forces should follow a common strategy which had been approved by Bose and the Japanese Commander-in-chief. 4. The I.N.A. was to be allotted an independent sector of the front. 5. The liberated Indian territory would be handed over to the Provisional Government of Free India for administration. 6. Only the Indian Tricolour would fly over the Indian territory liberated from British Control – Khan, Shah Nawaz, I.N.A. and its Netaji (Delhi: Raj Kamal Publications), 1946, pp. 108-110.
Gen. Kawabe the need to take immediate and decisive action as the defeat of the Axis Powers on many fronts had led the Indian public to be in two minds as to which side to support. He urged that to prevent the Indian people from entering into a compromise with Britain, the Provisional Government should be established in India, as soon as the I.N.A. moved into India. This would, he thought, increase the morale of the Indian public and there would be ready support from them.

Thus, there was a final agreement to allow the I.N.A. an independent sector to fight and prove its merit.\textsuperscript{143} Bose had shifted the Provisional Government to Rangoon, the Capital of Burma on January 7, 1944. This was a step of great strategic and political significance as India's Army of Liberation had to commence its attack in the wild regions of the Arakan Mountains, near the Indo-Burma border.\textsuperscript{144}

On January 24, 1944, General Katakura, Chief of the Japanese General Staff in Burma met Bose and Shah Nawaz and told them that it was a part of the Japanese plan to launch a heavy air attack on Calcutta, simultaneously with the advance of land-forces. Bose vehemently opposed this. The indiscriminate bombing of Calcutta, he said, would lead to suffering and panic and would shake the confidence of the Indian people in him.\textsuperscript{145} On February 3, 1944, on the eve of the departure of the Indian forces to the front, Bose delivered his farewell speech and asked the soldiers to prove worthy of themselves as India's freedom depended on them. Bose said: "Blood is calling to blood! Arise! We have no time to lose. Take up your arms... The road to Delhi is the road to Freedom. On to Delhi." The soldiers in their turn promised that they would never soil

\textsuperscript{143} Thivy, John, A., The Struggle in East Asia, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{144} Khan, Shah Nawaz, I.N.A. and its Netaji, op. cit., p. III.
\textsuperscript{145} Ibid, p. 113.
the good name of India by turning their backs to the front or retreating before the enemy.146

At last on February 4, 1944, orders were issued to launch the offensive and Taung Bazaar was occupied. Myamiganj was captured after two days. "In all sectors, till the rains began, we either held the enemy or advanced. In the Arakan Sector, the enemy was held. In the Hoka Sector we held them. And all this in spite of the numerical superiority that the enemy had, plus equipment and rations."147

The monsoon was disadvantageous to the Indo-Japanese Burmese operation against Imphal. Great anxiety was also caused due to the "emergence of the enemy's air borne troops which had a tremendous psychological effect on the Indian and Burmese people."148 The supply routes were washed away by torrential rain which was also responsible for serious illness of the soldiers and the disturbance of the strategic plans of the Indo-Japanese troops.

Despite the fact that the I.N.A. was fighting against the heaviest odds149 in the beginning, the enthusiasm was so great and the cause so sacred that the "valiant Indian National Army bravely pressed forward, through difficult terrain, not caring for even bare necessities, but, urged on to deeds of great valour, by the spirit of pure patriotism and self-sacrifice. For the first time in nearly a hundred years, an Indian Army, officered and commanded by Indians, fought under its own banner, the National Flag of Free India."150 At every step the I.N.A. had to face

146 Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose, p. 219.
147 Hayashida, Tatsuo, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, op. cit., p. 89.
149 Thivy, John, A., The Struggle in East Asia, op. cit., p. 83.
150 Hayashida, Tatsuo, The Springing Tiger, op. cit., p. 84.
dangers, discomforts and privations, but they willingly obeyed their officers as they were also sharing the same fate.

Finally on March 21, 1944, the I.N.A. crossed the western Indo-Burma border and set foot on Indian soil fighting against the enemy in spite of geographical and climatic handicaps. With the help of the Japanese troops who crossed the Indo-Burma border the next day, the I.N.A. started the campaign to besiege Imphal.\(^{151}\)

"The entry of the I.N.A. on Indian territory was a most touching scene. Soldiers laid themselves flat on the ground and passionately kissed the sacred soil of their motherland which they had set out to liberate. A regular flag-hoisting ceremony was held amidst great rejoicing and singing of the Azad Hind Fauz National Anthem."\(^{152}\) The Indian National Army crossed the Indo-Burma border into India from the South on May 7, 1944. On the 21st of March, Bose issued a historic proclamation, particularly directed to the Indians. It informed the people of India that the Army of India's liberation was now fighting on Indian soil, and it called upon the Indians to render full cooperation and assistance to the I.N.A. in its sacred mission to drive out the British. He urged that the civilians in India could help the cause of freedom by insurrection and sabotage and the British Indian Army could serve the cause by mutiny and desertion.\(^{153}\)

In response to this appeal Premier Tojo of Japan made the following declaration, when he addressed the Diet on the 22nd of March: "It is natural that all areas over which the Indian National Army marches within India, must be placed completely under the administration of the

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\(^{152}\) Hayashida, Tatsuo, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, op. cit., pp. 84-86.
\(^{153}\) Thivy, John, A., The Struggle in East Asia, op. cit., p. 80.
Provisional Government.\textsuperscript{154} Imphal was the main target of the Indo-Japanese operation. The British Army had immense superiority over the air. "We had of course no strength in the air of our own and the Japanese Air Force had to be deployed increasingly in the Pacific. Then, after some time, there was no challenge to the enemy in the air in our area and high above us he reigned supreme."\textsuperscript{155} The Imphal Operation "was a story written with our blood and more so with our sweat."\textsuperscript{156}

On July 5, 1944, the Regional Army issued orders cancelling the Imphal Operations entirely. The Japanese 15th Army and the I.N.A. began to pull out of the area "after four months of their advance to the front with flying colours."\textsuperscript{157} Even after the cancellation of the Imphal Operation, Bose wanted to stay close to the Indian border and refused to retreat to any place south of Mandalay under any circumstances. But he could not have his way due to the general war situation which had become too disadvantageous to the Axis Powers in general and Japan in particular.

On July 6, 1944, he addressed a message to Gandhi and spoke out his heart. "The only reward that we desire for our efforts, for our suffering and for our sacrifice is the freedom of our motherland. There are many among us who would like to retire from the political field, once India is free."\textsuperscript{158} He ended his message with the following words: "Father of our nation! In this holy war of India's liberation, we ask for your blessings and good wishes."\textsuperscript{159} The revolutionary spirit of Bose was never

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{155} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{156} Hayashida, Tatsuo, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, op. cit., p. 90.
\textsuperscript{157} Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose, p. 217.
\textsuperscript{158} Ibid, p. 218.
\textsuperscript{159} Ayer, S. A., Unto Him A Witness, op. cit., p. 52.
\end{footnotesize}
dampened even after the surrender of Japan. After hearing the stunning news he first broke into a smile and said: "So, that is that. Now, what next?"\textsuperscript{160} "Japan's surrender was not India's surrender. Japan's surrender was not the surrender of the Liberation Forces fighting for India's freedom. He would not admit defeat."\textsuperscript{161}

Bose had himself said about the invincible spirit of a true revolutionary: "A true revolutionary is one who never acknowledges defeat, who never feels depressed or disheartened. A true revolutionary believes in the justice of his cause and is confident that his cause is bound to prevail in the long run."\textsuperscript{162} Bose knew that a war of liberation demanded great sacrifice, Courage and patience. Even after a decisive Anglo-American victory in Europe and the surrender of Japan, the bitter-struggle against the British in East Asia had to be continued. "This will have a two-fold effect in that it will influence the cause of India and it will also help to purge our countrymen at home of the defeatist mentality which is the result of successful enemy propaganda. Secondly, it would tend to reveal our rightful claim before the world, and enable us to secure the support of friendly powers. To continue the armed struggle we must keep our confidence in our final Victory."\textsuperscript{163} It was with his invincible spirit that Bose opposed Wavell's offer and criticised those Congress

\textsuperscript{160} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{161} Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose, op. cit., p. 238.
\textsuperscript{162} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{163} Hugh Toye observes: "If there was a compromise settlement, he could never again pose as the liberator of India.... But we may believe that this was to Bose a secondary consideration. He was following an independent and coherent line of his own. He resisted compromise now for the old reasons—mistrust of the British, mistrust of the Congress leadership, his belief that independence could not be won that way. The possibility of an accord between Gandhi and Jinnah which might permit a compromise, threw him into a panic." — Toye Hugh, The Springing Tiger: The Study of a Revolutionary, op. cit., p. 174.
leaders who were considering it because of their pessimism and defeatism.\textsuperscript{164}

"I have no doubt in my mind that under normal circumstances nobody belonging to the Congress would have even looked at Lord Wavell's offer... The Congress stands for complete independence. Lord Wavell's offer as has been rightly pointed out by Mahatma Gandhi, does not even mention the word 'independence'... Nevertheless, the fact that some Congressmen and leaders are actually considering the British offer is because a wave of defeatism has swept over India since the Anglo-American success in Europe and in Burma. In a fit of pessimism and defeatism some Congressmen are forgetting their life-long principles and are now reconsidering the offer which they rejected in 1942."\textsuperscript{165} Bose's protest against negotiation and compromise at this time was equally vigorous as it had been against the Cripps Mission.\textsuperscript{166} Bose warned that the real motive of the Wavell offer was to get half-a-million Indian troops with the connivance of the Congress and the Indian Nationalists to fight its imperialist war in East Asia. These repeated attacks of Bose helped in no small measure in bringing about the failure of the Simla Conference.\textsuperscript{167} The war was coming to a close with decisive Allied victory in almost all fronts. Bose was forced to leave Burma with a heavy heart, his faith in the destiny of India remaining as ever before: "I am leaving Burma with a very heavy heart. We have lost the first round of our fight for independence. But we have lost only the first round. There are many more rounds to fight. In spite of our losing the first round, I see no reason for

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\item\textsuperscript{164} Ibid, p. 234.
\item\textsuperscript{165} Thivy, John, A., The Struggle in East Asia, op. cit., pp. 92-95.
\item\textsuperscript{166} Toye, Hugh, The Springing Tiger: The Study of a Revolutionary, op. cit., pp. 172-177.
\item\textsuperscript{167} Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose, op. cit., p. 227.
\end{itemize}
losing heart." Bose asked his soldiers not to be disheartened. He was conscious that 38 crores of people living in India were looking to him and the I.N.A. as to what would be their next step: "Be, therefore, true to India, let not your faith in India's destiny be shaken. There are many roads to Delhi. And Delhi is still our goal. The sacrifices of your immortal comrades and yourselves will certainly bring us victory. There is no power on earth which can keep India in bondage. India will certainly be free and, that too, soon, 'Jai Hind'."

This was the Special Order of the Day on August 17, 1945, seven days after the surrender of Japan. The same day in the same invincible spirit in a message he asked the Indians in East Asia not to be disheartened in their temporary defeat. He asked them not to lose faith in the destiny of India. Bose could no longer remain in East Asia. Gen. Isoda sent for him on August 10, 1945. Bose went to Saigon from Singapore. He had made up his mind to go to Russia to seek Russian help. He thought that a conflict between the Soviet people and the Anglo-Americans was inevitable. He was sure that Soviet Russia would prove to be a greater menace to Anglo-American Imperialism than Germany was: "The Provisional Government of Azad Hind will continue to follow international developments with the closest interest and endeavour to take the fullest advantage of them. The fundamental principles of our foreign policy has been and will be: 'Britain's enemy is India's friend'." He told the Japanese: "I wish to go to Russia with some of my Cabinet

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171 Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose, op. cit., p. 328.
172 Hayashida, Tatsuo, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, op. cit., p. 106.
members. I will go alone, if I have to. I would like the Japanese Government to see that my Cabinet members can follow me later."\(^{173}\)

The Imperial General Headquarters rejected this proposal of Bose. But Field-Marshal Terauchi fully appreciated Bose's point of view and decided to help him on his own responsibility. He arranged for Bose to fly by a special aeroplane to Shinkyo, Manchuria and was waiting for transportation in Saigon. Bose's plan was to surrender to the Russian Army after reaching Manchuria and then to try to seek Soviet help to fight the British.\(^{174}\) He was to fly to Dairen first via Taipei. This ill-fated plane in which Bose travelled, crashed in Taipei on August 18, 1945, on its way to Dairen, resulting in his death.\(^{175}\) Bose had insisted upon taking with him all the members of his Cabinet but this could not be possible due to lack of accommodation in the aeroplane. He had asked Colonel Habibur Rahman alone to accompany him. Even at the time of his death, the idea of the liberation of his motherland was foremost in his mind. His death occurred at 9.00 p.m. on August 19, 1945 and the following were his last words: "Habib, my end is coming very soon. I have fought all my life for my country's freedom. I am dying for my country's freedom. Go and tell my countrymen to continue the fight for India's freedom. India will be free, and before long."\(^{176}\)


\(^{174}\) Hugh Toye writes: "Everywhere Indians mourned, for a time half-believing that some miracle would cause him to reappear when least expected, that this was some new stratagem of disappearance; and even now, as the years pass, some still look for him, or see him momentarily, disguised as a Sanyasi, roaming through the hills and villages of Free India. But it is humanly certain that he died on August 18th, 1945, in the Nammon Ward of the Japanese Military Hospital at Taihoku."

\(^{175}\) Ibid.

\(^{176}\) Jag, N. G., In Freedom's Quest, op. cit., p. 272.