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Subhas Chandra Bose
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Subhas Chandra Bose Special

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It is easy to die for one's country, but it is difficult to live for it.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose

Contributors' Profile

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Pradeep Deswal is an engineer by profession and is posted as Executive Engineer at the prestigious Netaji Subhas Technological University located in the Dwarka suburb of Delhi. He has a keen interest in the history of India's freedom struggle, particularly the revolutionary movement. He also runs a YouTube channel by the name of 'Rashtra Vandana' where he provides authentic information on India's freedom struggle. He has produced hundreds of videos on a host of revolutionaries including Bhagat Singh. Presently, he is running a video series on the illustrious stories of Netaji Subhas. Apart from this, he writes nationalistic poems as well which are well appreciated on various fora.

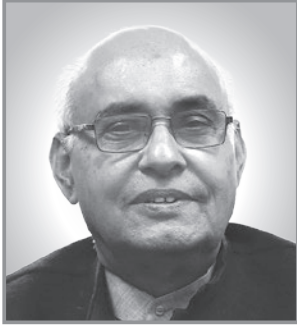
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Editorial



Dr. Mahesh Chandra Sharma

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is an outstanding hero of India's freedom struggle. It was the armed resistance of the freedom movement that became the decisive reason for India's independence. The armed action launched by the Indian National Army (INA) and the new awakening among India's land, naval and air forces manifested itself in the form of rebellion. The people of India too had begun welcoming these self-sacrificing warriors with a lot of hope, enthusiasm and reverence. The British Empire, debilitated in the Second World War, was no longer able to handle these situations. It therefore, but naturally put forth the proposal of Indian independence to the agitators supporting these endeavours in the name of constitutional reforms in India. But even during this period, it did not forget its strategy and divided India, which the then power-hungry leadership in India accepted. The framework that came to the fore because of this independence and partition was certainly not the one that was conceived of by those brave warriors who had taken up arms and were ready to sacrifice everything. The common workers of Congress too were with these endeavours of these valiant men, but the direction their leadership took was entirely different. The saga of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is a hair-raising episode in this comprehensive history. The coming generations ought to know about him properly, which is why this special issue has been compiled.

For this special issue, we have had a distinguished scholar, Pradeep Deswal as our Guest Editor. He is the learned researcher and editor of India's revolutionary movement. His YouTube videos have performed a very important task in this regard. Shri Deswal has had a meaningful participation in the previous special issue as well, which was on Sardar Bhagat Singh. Another guest editor of the previous issue, Dr. Chander Pal Singh too, has been deeply involved with this particular issue, which has been designed under the guidance of these two seniors. I express my heartfelt gratitude to them.

This is the last issue for the year 2023. The next year, there shall be another four-issue edition with a new set of ideas and themes. The next special issue will be centred on Ashfaqulla Khan. With best wishes

mahesh.chandra.sharma@live.com

Guest Editorial



Pradeep Deswal

The Real Architects of Independence

In the year 1997, India celebrated the golden jubilee of its independence as well as the birth centenary of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. A three-day cultural program was organised to mark the occasion at the Red Fort in Delhi, in which hundreds of ex-servicemen of Indian National Army from all over the world participated. Arrangements had been made for their lodging and boarding in the Delhi Cantonment. I had the opportunity to be in the company of those brave freedom fighters. Once, sitting among them late in the evening, I was enjoying listening to their stories. An ex-soldier from Pakistan was lying on the cot next to the one I was sitting on. He was old and not in good health, hence he was not talking much. The rest of the 8-10 companions were huddled together and narrating their stories of the bygone era in all enthusiasm. All of a sudden, the elderly soldier got up and began speaking up while crying his heart out, "Son, the gist of the whole story is — had Netaji been there, Partition would not have happened and we would not have to desert our homeland (India)." How many people had to bear this pain of Partition! I wonder whether Partition would really not have taken place if Netaji were there. Though I don't know the definite answer to this, there is no doubt that Netaji's Indian National Army and Provisional Government of Free India had definitely removed all the obstacles on the path to India's freedom.

Netaji takes Over the Command of Indian Independence League

On February 9, 1943, Netaji left for East Asia by a German submarine with Abid Hasan. On April 28, they disembarked from the submarine amid high waves in the ocean near Madagascar, boarded a Japanese submarine using a rubber dinghy¹ and reached safely at the port of Sabang in northern Indonesia on May 6, 1943. From there, Netaji went to Japan. In the presence of Netaji in the Japanese parliament on June 16, 1943, the Prime Minister of Japan, Hideki Tojo, pledged all possible help for India's independence.

On July 2, 1943, Netaji reached Singapore with Abid Hasan and veteran revolutionary Ras Behari Bose. On July 4, a meeting of the representatives of the Indian Independence League was held at the famous Cathay Theatre

in Singapore. There was a huge crowd present inside and outside the theatre. Rash Behari Bose placed the leadership of the Indian Independence League on the young and strong shoulders of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and told the audience, "I have brought this gift for you."² The entire hall erupted into a thunderous applause.

Speaking in Hindustani, Netaji said, "We will go to the Red Fort in Delhi and have a victory parade there. We have to shed our blood, we have to make sacrifices, and we have to face all obstacles. Hunger, thirst, sufferings and troubles will come our way. No one can say how many of those who will participate in this war will emerge alive. No matter what... it doesn't matter whether we will live or die. What matters is... what is the right thing is... what is the most important thing is —We will emerge victorious in the end and India will be free."³

Every word of Netaji was received with huge applause while the slogans of "Inquilab Zindabad" (long live the revolution) were reverberating all around. Netaji addressed the Indian National Army (INA) on July 5. He stood in military uniform on a high platform erected on the ground in front of the Municipal Building of Singapore where 12,000 soldiers were waiting eagerly to hear him. Invoking the historic slogan of "Delhi Chalo" (Let's march to Delhi), Netaji gave the INA soldiers the clarion call of that "You have to win your freedom at the cost of your strength and your blood."⁴ "In darkness, in light, in sorrow, in joy, in trouble and in victory, I will be with you all the time," he thundered.⁵

While addressing a huge public meeting in Singapore on July 9, 1942, Netaji had said, "If the country could be freed by leading the movement from within the country, then I would not be foolish to take this unnecessary risk."⁶ On that day, he also talked about raising the Rani Jhansi Regiment.⁷ This vision was 50 years ahead of its time and he was out to make it a reality. On August 25, 1943, Netaji took over as the Supreme Commander of the Indian National Army and changed its name to 'Indian National Army'.⁸ Lt. Col. J.K. Bhonsle, who later became Major General, was appointed as its Chief of the Staff.

Netaji abolished the caste-based regiment system of the British Indian Army in the Indian National Army. Many revolutionary changes were made to bind the soldiers belonging to all religions in the thread of unity. The kitchens run earlier separately for Hindus and Muslims were closed and a common kitchen was opened for all, where Hindus, Muslims, Christians etc used to sit and eat together. Everyone started celebrating the festivals of all religions together.⁹

To eliminate the complexity of and controversy over language to be used, Hindustani language, which was a mixed form of Hindi and Urdu, was promoted as it was understood in most areas of India. It was written in Roman script. Two newspapers were brought out exclusively for the soldiers – 'Voice of India' in English and 'Awaz-e-Hind' in Hindustani.¹⁰ As the Supreme Commander, Netaji took great interest in the training of the soldiers and himself inspected the facilities provided to the soldiers by personally visiting the barracks. He himself used to taste the food served to the soldiers.¹¹

Netaji wanted to raise an army of 3 lakh soldiers but the Japanese were ready to give arms to only 30,000 soldiers and rations to only 50,000.¹² On Netaji's call, many Indians settled in the South-Eastern countries left their jobs and joined the Indian National Army. Lakshmi Swaminathan, who was a doctor, abandoned the stethoscope and picked up the gun. The command of the Rani Jhansi Regiment was later handed over to her only.

Formation of Provisional Government

Then came the day of October 21, 1943, which became an unforgettable day in the history of India. On that day, Netaji announced the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, i.e. 'Aarzi Hakumat-e-Azad Hind' or Azad Hind Sarkar, or in simple words, establishment of 'Provisional Government of Free India', at the Cathay Theatre in Singapore. This was an extremely significant event. The hall resounded with thunderous applause again. Netaji took an oath of allegiance to India: "With God as the witness, I, Subhas Chandra Bose, take the oath that I will continue the holy struggle of freedom till my last breath to make India and my 38 crore countrymen free." Netaji got emotional more than once while reading out the oath. He was followed by each member of his Cabinet.

The members of the Cabinet of the Provisional Government of Free India included:

1. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was the President and Prime Minister. Apart from this, he held the charge of the War Minister and the Foreign Minister too.
2. Lt. Col. A.C. Chatterjee, Finance Minister
3. Captain Lakshmi Swaminathan, Minister of Women's Affairs
4. S.A. Iyer, Publicity Minister

Those who were the representatives of the military forces:

5. Lt. Col. N.S. Bhagat
6. Lt. Col. J.K. Bhonsle
7. Lt. Col. Gulzara Singh
8. Col. M.Z. Kiyani
9. Lt. Col. A.D. Loganathan
10. Lt. Col. Ehsan Qadir
11. Lt. Col. Shahnawaz Khan
12. Anand Mohan Sahay, Secretary who had the status of a minister
13. Ras Behari Bose, Principal Adviser
14. A.N. Sarkar, Legal Adviser
15. The other advisors were Karim Ghani, Debnath Das, D.M. Khan, Y. Yellapa, John Thevy, Sardar Ishar Singh.

Soon Provisional Government of Free India was recognized by 9 countries, including Germany, Italy, Japan, Malaya (Maldives), Singapore and Philippines. 'Jai Hind' was accepted as the national greeting and the Hindi version of 'Jana Gana Mana' was accepted as the national anthem, the first stanza of which was as follows:

*Śubh such cain kī barkhā barase, Bhārata bhāga hai jāgā
Punjab, Sindh, Gujarat, Maratha, Dravid, Utkal, Banga*

*Chanchal sagar, Vidhya, Himalaya, Neela Yamuna Ganga
Tere nita guṇa gāen, tujhase jīvana pāen
Saba tana pāen āsā
Sūraj banakara jaga para camake, Bhārata nāma subhāgā,
Jaya ho! jaya ho! jaya ho! Jaya Jaya Jaya ho!*

(May it rain good luck and peace, India's prospects have brightened
Punjab, Sindh, Gujarat, Maratha, Dravid, Utkal, Banga
The exuberant sea, the Vindhya, the Himalayas and the blue Yamuna Ganga
We sing your praises every day, get life from you
May everyone get hope,
Shine on the world like the sun, India's name is blessed,
Be victorious! Be victorious! Be victorious! Be victorious all the time!)

Netaji gave a reward of 10,000 dollars to Hussain, the young man who composed this song.¹³ The Tricolour, sans the spinning wheel, was accepted as the national flag. In its declaration, the Provisional Government of Free India guaranteed religious freedom, equal rights and equal opportunities for every citizen.¹⁴ Indians living in South-East Asia were also invited to take an oath of allegiance to the Provisional Government of Free India. By June 1944, 2.3 lakh Indians had taken this oath in Maldives alone.¹⁵

Salaries of the soldiers and officers of different ranks in the Army were increased. For example, the pay scales were as follows:¹⁶

Rank	Maldives	Myanmar
Soldier	\$26	\$30
Sergeant	\$40	\$50
Captain	\$100	\$120
Colonel	\$280	\$300
Major General	\$380	\$420

The provision of pension was also arranged. The minimum pension for a soldier was Rs 20 per month. It was also decided that pension would be given not only to the heroes of Indian National Army but also to the next of kin of all the martyrs who laid down their lives during the freedom struggle in India.¹⁷

Application of 'tilak' (vermilion) on the foreheads of all and distribution of 'prasad' to all by the priests upon the entry of Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Christian officers of Indian National Army along with Netaji into the sanctum sanctorum of the Chettiar Temple at Tank Road in Singapore was a historic event, which gave a unique message of religious harmony among the Army men as well as the ordinary Indian citizens.¹⁸ Similarly, all the officials, irrespective the religion they belonged to, used to visit places of worship of all the religions together.

Netaji attended the Greater East Asia Conference held in Tokyo in November 1943 as an observer. On this occasion, Prime Minister Tojo said in his speech that Netaji would be all-in-all or the supreme leader in independent India. Netaji immediately stood up and objected to Tojo's statement. He

said that General Tojo has no right to say who would become what in India and only the people of India would decide this. Netaji described himself as only an “ordinary servant” of India.¹⁹ Netaji was trying his tooth and nail to strengthen the Army. He met Japanese Army Chief Sugiyama in Tokyo and requested to provide equipment necessary for formation of Navy and Air Force on the lines of the land force Indian National Army. He was not at all ready to compromise on the matters of India's honour and prestige. Therefore, he was seeking Japanese cooperation not as a ‘favour’ but as a ‘loan’, which was to be returned after India gaining independence.²⁰

Raising Funds for Indian National Army & Government

Crores of rupees were needed to run the Provisional Government of Free India and the Indian National Army. Netaji knew that Japan could give the funds but it was necessary for India's honour and prestige that Indians settled in East Asia should make the maximum contribution. For this, a Board of Management was constituted under the Ministry of Finance. The work of this board was not only to receive donations from the Indians settled in East Asia and manage the donated movable and immovable properties but also to issue savings account deposit certificates, which were payable to the depositors within three years of the end of the war.²¹

Netaji appealed to the Indians to donate generously for the Provisional Government of Free India. Responding to his fervent appeal, poor labourers were coming forward in large numbers to sacrifice everything they had. A poor woman, who did not even have cloth to cover her head, wanted to give three rupees to Netaji. Thick tears started rolling down from Netaji's eyes. He accepted those three rupees. Netaji later said: "I knew that those three rupees were her only property and if I take that too, she would be in a lot of trouble. But when I thought about her sentiment that she wants to give her all for the freedom of India, I felt that if I refuse, her sentiment would be hurt. So, I accepted those rupees. The value of those three rupees was more than the lakhs of rupees that the millionaires have donated."²²

Whenever Netaji came on stage and appealed to the people to donate for India's freedom struggle, he was garlanded with lots of flowers. Those garlands were later auctioned. Each rosary would be auctioned for anywhere between Rs 1 lakh and Rs 5 lakh.²³ Habib, a resident of Rangoon, had donated all his property, which was worth around Rs 1 crore. Netaji honoured him with 'Sevak-e-Hind' title. Habib had asked Netaji for two things in return – a khaki uniform to wear and any work to devote full time to India's independence.²⁴ Responding to Netaji's call, Indians living in Burma (modern-day Myanmar) alone contributed Rs 25 crore.²⁵ However, Netaji was also deeply disappointed by the stinginess of some wealthy Indians.

On October 17, 1943, Netaji said, "I will wait and see for a week or two and take whatever steps are necessary for India."²⁶ Netaji's words on October 25 were quite harsh when he warned, "As a matter of law, when a nation is fighting a war, no property is personal. If you think that your wealth and property are yours, you are mistaken. Your life and your property are not yours, they all belong to India, only India. If you do not want to understand

even this simple truth, then we have prepared another way for you – the way that was chosen for the British. There is only one place for such people here and that is jail. If you want, you can also go to jail and live with the British."²⁷

Netaji's threat had its impact. The money crisis was over. Netaji had said that "karo sab nyochhavar, bano sab fakir" (let us sacrifice everything and all become saints). On Netaji's call, many people had not only donated money, gold, silver, houses, etc but had also put their lives at stake.

Provisional Government Declares War Against UK & US

The Cabinet of the Provisional Government of Free India held a meeting on the night of October 23, 1943, where it decided to go to war against the British and the Americans and announced it the same night. When Lt. Col. A.D. Logan a than questioned the need to involve the US in the war, Netaji explained, "The American forces present on the Indian soil have made our struggle against Britain extremely difficult. The Indian National Army will have to fight both the British and American forces together on the Indian soil."²⁸

On December 29, 1943, Japan handed over the rights of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands to the Provisional Government of Free India. It was a historic moment as it was the first Indian government to have authority over a part of India's land. Netaji unfurled the tricolour at the Gymkhana ground. He rechristened Andaman as 'Shaheed' and Nicobar as 'Swaraj'. Lt. Col. Logan a than, who later became Major General, was appointed as the Chief Commissioner of Andaman and Nicobar. He could not get the full administration of these islands due to the serious state of war. So, he concentrated his attention on education, food production, handloom, publicity, women's affairs and civil justice system.²⁹ Netaji donated Rs 5 lakh to the Burmese government for the welfare of its people, with a view to strengthen the relationship between the Indian and Burmese people.³⁰ As Indian National Army was going to fight with the British Army on the India-Burma border, the headquarters of the Provisional Government of Free India was also moved from Singapore to Rangoon in the last days of December 1943, so that war management could be done properly.

Establishment of Base Hospital in Rangoon

The Medical department of the Indian National Army was set up under the leadership of Lt. Col. A.C. Alagappan, who later became Major General. A large base hospital was built at Mayang near Rangoon. The girls of the Nursing division of the Rani Jhansi Regiment handled the Nursing department of this hospital quite efficiently. All possible facilities were arranged despite all the difficulties, including lack of cooperation expected from the Japanese side.

Formation of Azad Hind Dal

The Imphal campaign began on March 8, 1944. Netaji had made a grand plan to take over the general administration of the Indian territories that were freed from Britain. The civil officers were being imparted training at the Reconstruction College in Singapore. On March 16, Netaji appointed Lt.

Col. A.C. Chatterjee, who was till then the Finance Minister, as the Chief Administrator of the freed territories. To cooperate the new administration in this work, an organisation was formed with the name 'Azad Hind Dal'. Soon, about 70 administrators were sent to the border. The task they had to execute immediately included restoration of essential services in the Indian territories freed from the British, relief to refugees, making provision for food supplies, maintaining law and order and assuring security to the people of India.³¹

On March 24, Netaji had a meeting with Japanese military officers in Rangoon, in which discussions were held over formation of a 'joint labour and distribution board' of Provisional Government of Free India and Japanese military officers for Indian areas. The Japanese wanted one of their nationals to head the board, but Netaji was not ready to accept such a proposal under any circumstances. Not only this, Netaji had told the Japanese that the Japanese banks would not operate on Indian soil, rather the Provisional Government of Free India would establish its own banks.³² On April 5, 1944, Netaji declared in Burma to set up the 'National Bank of Azad Hind' with a capital of Rs 10 lakh. A Board of Directors was constituted to manage the bank and D.N. Bhaduri was appointed as the Managing Secretary of the bank.³³ The announcement had, however, stunned the Japanese.

A Revenue Department was formed and A.N. Sarkar became its first minister. The Provisional Government of Free India began printing its own currency for circulation in independent India. The designs of notes of denominations 2 annas, 4 annas, 8 annas, 1 rupee, 5 rupees and 50 rupees were approved by Netaji.³⁴ Also with the approval of Netaji, postage stamps of denominations two pies and one anna were prepared.³⁵ The image of the Red Fort with the Tricolour flying on its top was printed on these postal stamps. To ensure proper supply of ration, medicines, mosquito nets, etc to the Army, the Distribution department and the Transport department were strengthened. It was such a difficult time when neither the means of transport were quite accessible nor were the ration, medicines, etc available in sufficient amounts.

Campaign of Indian National Army

Field Marshal Count Terauchi Masatake, who was the Commander in Chief of Japanese forces in South East Asia, told Netaji that the role of Indian National Army should be limited only to publicity and propaganda. Netaji, however, told him in clear terms that the campaign on Indian soil would be led by the INA alone. Netaji was of the view that slavery is better than the freedom gained on the basis of the sacrifices made by the Japanese.³⁶ Hence, Netaji told him that the first drop of blood to fall on Indian soil would be that of an Indian. Terauchi was forced to go as per Netaji's wishes.

On January 7, 1944, Netaji had a meeting with General Kwabe, who was the Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Army in Burma. Netaji also forced Kwabe to accept the following conditions:³⁷

1. Only Indian officers can give orders to the soldiers of Indian National Army, not Japanese.
2. Indian National Army will not fight in units smaller than a battalion.
3. The areas freed from the British would be handed over to the Provisional

Government of Free India for setting up civil administration there.

4. The Indian National Army will not be subordinate to the Japanese Army but will be an equal ally.
5. The Indian National Army Act will apply to Azad Hind Fauz and not the Japanese Army Act.
6. If any soldier, even if Japanese, was found guilty of raping a woman, he would be shot immediately.³⁸

When the Japanese Army occupied Malaya or Burma, many cases of rape of local women had come to the fore. That's why Netaji was determined that no Japanese could do such a heinous act after entering the Indian border. Netaji's outlook was very broad. His every step was meant not only for gaining India's independence but was also to ensure India's honour and prestige.

Addressing the soldiers when Indian National Army's 1st Division was leaving for the front, Netaji said, "As far as India's independence is concerned, trust no one — not even the Japanese. The surest guarantee against being cheated is your own strength. If you ever find that the Japanese in any manner are trying to control India, turn back and fight against them with as much vigour as you would fight against the British."³⁹

Fledgling with 10,000 soldiers, the 1st Division of the Indian National Army was ready for battle. Similarly, preparation for raising the second and third divisions was also going on at a fast pace. A Guerrilla Regiment was constituted consisting of the best soldiers from Gandhi Brigade, Nehru Brigade and Azad Brigade of 1st Division and Col. Shahnawaz Khan was made its commander. The soldiers of this regiment themselves christened it as 'Subhas Brigade'. In November 1943, the Subhas Brigade left for Burma. Netaji was so concerned about the discipline in the Army and the honour of the Indian people that he had strictly instructed his soldiers that "if any soldier is found involved in crimes like robbery or rape after reaching the Indian soil, then shoot that soldier immediately whether he is Indian or Japanese."⁴⁰

His brave soldiers were given only one cotton blanket and one warm shirt each to bear the cold of the Kaladan valley and mountains. Mosquito nets were also insufficient. But the enthusiasm of the soldiers was amazing. They requested Netaji, "Allow us go to the front as soon as possible, we will collect the ration from Churchill supply."⁴¹ They actually meant that "after killing the British, their ration will be useful for us only."

During his meeting with General Kwabe, Netaji had also discussed the issue of the soldiers/officers of the Japanese Army and Indian National Army saluting each other. Kwabe demanded that if both the soldiers were of the same rank, the Indian would salute first. Netaji strongly objected to this and flatly refused to bargain with India's self-respect. Then it was agreed that in such a situation, both would salute each other simultaneously.⁴²

There were three battalions in the Subhas Brigade. In February 1944, the 1st Battalion under the leadership of Major P.S. Raturi was advancing along the Kaladan river in Burma where the British had deputed their West African Division. The 2nd and 3rd Battalions were leading the front in China Hill area under the leadership of Major Ran Singh and Major Padam Singh respectively. Before their arrival on the front, the soldiers of Bahadur Group

and the Intelligence Group of 1st Division were carrying out their role very well there in collaboration with the Japanese Army. These soldiers had won Netaji's heart with their bravery in the midst of raining bullets. Major L.S. Mishra and Major Mehar Das, who served in the Arkan sector, were honoured with the Sardar-e-Jung title while Lt. Hari Singh was bestowed with the INA's highest gallantry award, Sher-e-Hind, for single-handedly killing seven British soldiers.⁴³

On April 14, 1944, Major Shaukat Ali Malik's group crossed the India-Burma border and reached Moirang near Imphal. This was the first occasion when the soldiers of Indian National Army hoisted the Tricolour on the Indian soil.⁴⁴ The teams of Major Magghar Singh and Ajmer Singh also created similar history in the Kohima sector.⁴⁵ That apart, the contributions of martyrs K.K. Gurbachan Singh, Lt. SohanLal, K. Mohammad Hussain and Lt. Asif also can't be forgotten.

In April 1944, the 1st Battalion of the Subhas Brigade under the leadership of Major P.S. Raturi inflicted a crushing defeat on the West African Division in the Kaladan valley. At least 250 enemy soldiers were killed.⁴⁶ In May 1944, this battalion also entered Indian soil in Modok via Paletwa and Dalatme. The enemy was completely taken aback by this attack. The British Army had fled away leaving behind arms, ammunition, flour, ghee, sugar, etc.⁴⁷

Unfortunately, the rainy season had begun. The supply of ration from Paletwa base camp had become very difficult for the jawans. Enemy airstrikes had destroyed many boats coming through the Kaladan river route. On the other hand, the British Army was fully prepared and was retaliating again and again. The soldiers of Indian National Army did not even have heavy weapons as they were part of the Guerrilla Regiment. Even in such difficult circumstances, Surajmal's soldiers had displayed unique bravery. Ultimately, after the failure of the Imphal campaign, Netaji ordered the soldiers of Indian National Army to return in September 1944. So, these war veterans too had to return with a heavy heart.

The soldiers of the 2nd and 3rd Battalions of the Subhas Brigade first proved their bravery against 3,000 guerrilla fighters⁴⁸ of the Lushai Brigade on the Haka-Falam front in the China Hill area of Myanmar and later entered India somewhere around Kohima, displaying utmost bravery. When the Subhas Brigade was ordered to march towards Kohima in May, there was no limit to the happiness of the soldiers. Even the ones, who were sick and hospitalised,

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Soon, the tricolour started flying on the high hills around Kohima. The officers of the Azad Hind Dal took over the administration of the liberated areas and started disposing of minor criminal cases and land disputes there.⁵⁰ However, the enemy was present there in large numbers and had arranged its air force, tanks, heavy artillery and mortars in a proper manner whereas the soldiers of Subhas Brigade had only a few machine guns, rifles and hand grenades. Even the monsoon seemed to be bent on breaking all records. The only mountain road, through which ration supplies could have reached, had also been destroyed in the torrential rains. The soldiers were dying of hunger.

Col. Shahnawaz Khan writes: "Our stock of provisions were over. The soldiers survived on the little paddy they had collected from the evacuated Naga villages. They would mix this paddy with wild grass, boil it and eat it. They didn't even have salt to mix with it. The medicines too had run out of stock. To make matters worse, there were crores of big flies in those jungles which would attack if there is even the slightest wound, whether in humans or animals. In half an hour, hundreds of these insects would start running over those wounds. Hence, in most such cases, the only option left for those injured soldiers was to shoot themselves, chanting 'Jai Hind'."⁵¹

The campaign of the Gandhi Brigade and the Azad Brigade on the Imphal front had also remained incomplete with the soldiers fighting on an empty stomach for several days under extremely adverse conditions. By the end of September 1944, the 1st Division had withdrawn from the Kohima and Imphal fronts as 4,000 soldiers had laid down their lives on the battlefield.⁵² The number of people who died of hunger and disease was also not less.

The soldiers marching through the dense jungles also had to deal with deadly malarial mosquitoes, knee-deep mud and poisonous leeches. A wounded soldier, who had fallen on the way, was waiting for death. Hundreds of worms were running over his wounds. While dying, he told his comrades: "Please convey my 'Jai Hind' to Netaji and tell him that I have fulfilled my promise."⁵³

Japan had neither provided the Indian National Army with the necessary weapons, nor the means of transport, nor the means of communication, nor even enough rations. The Indian soldiers felt that they had been betrayed. While dying, an officer told his comrade, "Please ensure that my grave is not there alongside that of a Japanese."⁵⁴

In the year 1944, the 1st Division had created a history of valour and supreme sacrifice, while in 1945, the 2nd Division repeated the same on the banks of the Irrawaddy river and Popa Hills. Col. Shahnawaz Khan, who was the commander of Subhas Brigade, was appointed the Divisional Commander of the 2nd Division while Col. G.R. Nagar was the commander of the 3rd Division.

In February 1945, Netaji reached Mektilla to know the exact condition of the soldiers fighting in Popa Hills. Marching forward, the enemy army had come very close to Mektilla and they could have taken over its possession at any moment. Netaji's colleagues had a tough time to persuade him to come

out from there.

Col. Shahnawaz Khan writes: "I told Netaji that 'Your life is not yours; it is India's priceless heritage, which we have preserved, and I will not let it be in danger. If anything happens to you, what will happen to Indian National Army and India's freedom struggle.' Netaji smiled and said, 'Shahnawaz, you need not worry about me because I know Britain has not yet prepared the bomb that could kill Subhas Chandra Bose.'"⁵⁵

His statement was absolutely correct because on the same day, the enemy planes had dropped many bombs at the place where Netaji was staying. There was devastation all around, but it was hard to imagine that Netaji did not even get a scratch.⁵⁶ Even after this, he had narrowly escaped enemy attacks on several occasions.

In February 1945, under the leadership of Major Gurbaksh Singh Dhillon, 1,200 soldiers of the Nehru Brigade were fighting the entire enemy division on the banks of Irrawaddy river. Lt. Chandrabhan's jawans had very few bullets in their possession and were crossing the river under the cover of British artillery and mortar fire from the East Lancashire Regiment on the other side of the river. Lt. Chandrabhan's order was that not even a bullet should go waste. That night, they sank at least 20 enemy boats.⁵⁷ But the British Army was not only many times larger in numbers but also had modern weapons. It was also getting full support from the Air Force and Artillery Division. Eventually, the Nehru Brigade had to retreat. Even in such critical hour, people like Lt. Hariram proved to be traitors and joined the British. Some other examples of such betrayal also came to the fore. Hence, on March 13, 1945, Netaji issued an order that every officer and soldier of the Azad Hind Fauz would have the right that if any soldier or officer shows cowardice in the battlefield, that coward must be immediately arrested while the one who betrays be shot dead then and there.⁵⁸

Under the leadership of Col. Prem Kumar Sehgal, the 2nd Infantry Regiment too had fought bravely at Popa Hills. On April 20, 1945, Captain Bagdi and his 100 brave soldiers attacked enemy tanks with grenades and petrol bottles in their hands. Captain Bagdi was martyred. Following their commander, the rest of his comrades also attained martyrdom. The Japanese Army had run away from the battle field.

The Indian National Army was now left with no option but to retreat. The British had regained control over Burma. Under compulsion of those circumstances, Netaji also had to leave Burma on April 24, 1945, along with the cadets of the Rani Jhansi Regiment and prominent members of the Provisional Government of Free India.

Addressing the soldiers before leaving Burma, he said: "In Imphal and Burma, we have lost the first round of our struggle for freedom. But it was only the first round. We have many more rounds to fight. Since birth, I have been an optimist and will not give up under any circumstance. India will be free, and will be free soon."

Japan surrendered on August 15, 1945, after the US dropped atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Netaji flew from Saigon (known as Ho Chi Minh City now) on August 17, 1945, in a Japanese plane accompanied

by his aide Col. Habibur Rahman and some Japanese military officers, in search of a new alternative to the freedom struggle. But then, Japan announced on August 23 that Netaji died in a plane crash at Taihoku in Taiwan on August 18, 1945.

Though the death of Netaji has since been shrouded in mystery, his unique struggle and sacrifice and that of his brave soldiers had removed all the thorns in the path of the freedom of the country. No one had even imagined what happened when thousands of Netaji's soldiers were brought back to India as prisoners of war by the British. The whole country stood united in support of the heroes of the Indian National Army. When the then British Commander-in-Chief conducted a survey in the British Indian Army, 80% of the Indian soldiers voted in favour of not taking any action against the soldiers of the Indian National Army.⁵⁹

In his famous book "Subhas Chandra Bose: The Springing Tiger", Hugh Toye writes: "The INA may not have won on the battle field, but their roar hastened the end of British rule in India."⁶⁰ When the British started the trial against the officers of the Indian National Army at the Red Fort in November 1945, Nehru, who was criticising Netaji's efforts till the day before, also stood among the defence lawyers, wearing the black gown after years. It is difficult to decide whether his respect and support for the Indian National Army was natural or sheer political opportunism.

On the instructions of the Congress leadership, Asaf Ali toured throughout the country to know the sentiments of the people of India in this regard. As he travelled from South to North, he only found the public opinion getting stronger in favour of taking no action against the soldiers of Indian National Army as well as their release. This burning public sentiments forced the Congress to take a decision accordingly.⁶¹ The British empire in India rested on the foundation of the loyalty of the Indian soldiers of the British Indian Army to Britain. But the trial of the Indian National Army not only forced the Congress to support it but also undermined that foundation. The armed rebellion of 20,000 soldiers of the British Indian Navy in February 1946 was also inspired by the Indian National Army.

Many blows are required to break a huge and strong stone. The final blow that breaks the stone becomes unforgettable. The blows of the past may not have been that strong, but they do weaken the stone and the contribution of all of them has its importance. But sometimes, it also happens that someone breaks the stone and someone else's photo is clicked with it. In order to break the giant stone of India's subjugation, innumerable attacks were made, many hammers were used and various techniques were tried. While breaking the stone, many hammers themselves got broken. Even cracks were visible at some places in the stone and many times, it seemed that the stone was about to break. But decades kept on passing and the disappointment kept increasing whereas the stone was lying as it was.

Then rose a steely hand, stronger than the Himalayas, holding a heavy and infallible hammer that had never been tried before. Its accurate strike broke the stone into pieces. After that, competition started to get photographed with the broken stone. However, the person, the blow of

Sometimes all that matters is...

State of the Heart



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प्रदेश सरकार ने बढ़ाया कदम आत्मनिर्भर होंगी लाड़ली बहना



शिवराज सिंह चौहान, मुख्यमंत्री



सशक्त नारी

सशक्त परिवार

सशक्त समाज

सशक्त प्रदेश

सशक्त देश

लाड़ली बहना योजना मेरे दिल से निकली योजना है। बहनें सशक्त होंगी तो परिवार, समाज, प्रदेश और देश सशक्त होगा। बहनों के जीवन को सरल, सुखद बनाना ही मेरे जीवन का ध्येय है। बहनें अपनी छोटी-मोटी जरूरतों और पैसों की आवश्यकता के लिए परेशान न हों, इसलिए हर महीने बहनों को एक-एक हजार रुपए उपलब्ध कराने की व्यवस्था योजना में की गई है।

- शिवराज सिंह चौहान



उद्देश्य

महिलाओं के स्वावलंबन एवं उनके आश्रित बच्चों के स्वास्थ्य एवं पोषण स्तर में सतत सुधार को बनाये रखना।

महिलाओं को आर्थिक रूप से अधिक स्वावलंबी बनाना।

परिवार के स्तर पर निर्णय लिये जाने में महिलाओं की प्रभावी भूमिका को प्रोत्साहित करना।

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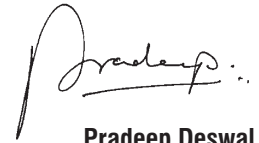
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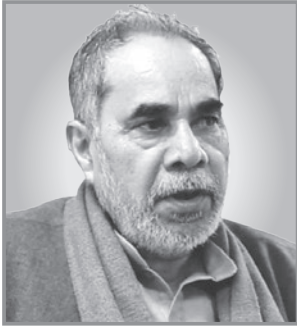
whose steely hand that had broken the stone, had disappeared while some other people stood up to pose for photographs with the broken stone and the public started hailing them. No one came to know the truth and, even after the passage of 75 years, the truth could not be revealed. That steely hand was that of none other than Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and his hammer was Indian National Army.



Pradeep Deswal

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Ram Bahadur Rai

Netaji's Path of Struggle: A Giant Leap to the Unknown

The contribution of Netaji's bravery in uprooting the British from the soil of India cannot be compared to anyone else. The kind of risk he took to set the motherland free from her colonial masters is unmatched in history. Here is a vivid description of his life and times

At the crucial juncture of the freedom struggle, the Congress led by Mahatma Gandhi failed in all respects. It could not make India independent as per its plan. But the country was successful in driving out the British, because they were uprooted in the wave of national consciousness generated by the bravery of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. In the manifesto of the Interim Government of Azad Hind, Netaji wrote: "Only a spark is needed to destroy the last symbol of this unfortunate (British) rule. It is the duty of the Mukti Sena (liberation army) of India to create that spark."¹ That was indeed accomplished. The following incident explains it very well. It was March 1946. Mahatma Gandhi was in Urulikanchan. This village located near Pune is still there, where he had established a Naturopathy centre. There was also a military cantonment at Urulikanchan.² Gandhiji's personal secretary Pyare Lal writes, "Hardly a day would have passed when a group of Indian soldiers would not have come in contact with Gandhiji."³ One day, two groups of soldiers came. They said, "We are soldiers, but soldiers of India's freedom."⁴

The conversation between the

soldiers and Gandhiji was very interesting. History had taken a turn. This is what appears from that conversation. But instead of describing it in great details here, it will be appropriate to focus only on the subject of this research article. In the course of that conversation, a soldier told Gandhiji, "There was a time when we were not allowed to read any newspaper. But today, we go and tell our officers that we are going to meet the tallest leader of our country and no one dares to stop us."⁵ What Gandhiji said in reply was the natural acceptance of the fact that the country had already taken a turn by that time. Gandhiji's words were: "I know that today there is a new enthusiasm and a new awakening in all sections of the Army. A lot of credit for this change goes to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. I do not like his modus operandi, but he has done a wonderful service to India by giving a new vision and a new ideal to the Indian soldiers."⁶

To this, a 'higher ranking soldier'⁷ quipped: "We Army men cannot understand how anyone can think of dividing India into two, three or more pieces. We know only one India, for which we have fought and shed our blood."⁸ It was Gandhiji's turn. He

said, “Brother! There are all kinds of men in this world.”⁹ At this, the soldiers laughed their hearts out. A soldier asked, “Can we chant slogans?”¹⁰ Gandhiji replied, “All right, go on.”¹¹ In his account, Pyare Lal writes that “they all raised slogans such as 'Jai Hind', 'Hail Netaji' etc repeatedly with enthusiasm like little children and it shook the ceiling of Gandhiji's small room.”¹² This is a little known, minor incident but when combined with the myriad incidents that were then taking place in every part of the country, a dazzling collage of turmoil of those stormy days emerges, with Netaji and the Azad Hind Fauj seen at the centre of it. The pervasiveness of the feeling generated from it can be easily estimated. The only condition for this is that one has to fly a little higher in the sky of imagination.

There are many books on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. But there is such a book on his

political biography, where a question has been raised in one of its chapters: Whether Netaji reached Asia too late? There are many questions within this one question. Because on the issue of how to achieve the goal of India's independence amid the very complicated and fast changing global circumstances, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was only concentrating on the bird's eye like Arjuna. From which point of view of the history his great efforts and bravery were seen and shown, is just a small aspect of this question. However, the important aspect of it is: What was Netaji's strategy to make India independent? The pages of 'The Indian Struggle' make it clear. The ideological base of Subhas Chandra Bose emerges out of this book. That side of Netaji, which was hidden so far, comes out to the fore. Rabindra Nath Tagore had rightly called him a national leader. Subhas

Chandra Bose used to believe in and feel about that destiny of the history which was actually destined for him. Such clarity of understanding is rarely found in people. That is why he has been such a hero of Indian history who has been able to maintain his distinct identity and indelible mark.

Subhas Chandra Bose's book has a historical vision. The first principle that emerges out of it is that India has always been a democratic republic, a historical fact that the British neglected intentionally. On the basis of this principle, Netaji made the leaders of the freedom struggle realise that they don't need to look up to the West in search of democratic values. It is enough to look within ourselves. What is necessary for this is a proper understanding of our own history. 'The Indian Struggle' was written around the same time when Jawaharlal Nehru wrote his autobiography. But Nehru never said this. This was the difference between Nehru and Subhas. But that was not all. Today, Netaji is at that place in India's public life which he deserved. At such a juncture, it is necessary to know – under what circumstances, he was compelled to leave the country. It is true that Netaji stayed in Asia only for 27 months. But it cannot be seen in isolation of the two years before he reached Asia. It should be mentioned here that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose reached Sumatra on May 6, 1943. He took over the command of Azad Hind Fauj on July 1, 1943. Also remember here that he had to find



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Modi Government's Initiatives

1. On Netaji's birth anniversary on January 23, 2016, Prime Minister Narendra Modi made public 100 classified files related to Netaji's life in the National Archives, in the presence of his Cabinet colleagues and Netaji's family members. So far, 400 confidential files have been made public. It was being demanded since Independence.
2. The first thing that emerged from these files was that Netaji died in a plane crash on August 18, 1945. Secondly, Netaji's last words were: "Tell the people that I fought till my last breath for the freedom of my country. They have to continue this fight and I have full faith that India will be free soon. Now, no one can keep India enslaved anymore."
3. On October 21, 2018, on the 75th anniversary of the Azad Hind Government, Prime Minister Narendra Modi hoisted the tricolour at the Red Fort in Delhi for the second time in a year. This is the same Red Fort where Netaji had dreamt of the victory parade 75 years ago.
4. Prime Minister Narendra Modi changed the names of three islands of Andaman and Nicobar on December 31, 2018. Ross Island was named Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose Island. Neil Island will henceforth be known as Shaheed Dweep and Havelock Island as Swaraj Dweep.
5. Prime Minister Narendra Modi launched the Subhas Chandra Bose Aapda Prabandhan Puraskar on January 23, 2019. The annual award has been instituted to recognise the contributions at the individual and organisation level in the field of disaster management. The award is announced every year on January 23, the birth anniversary of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. The award consists of Rs 51 lakh in cash and a certificate for an institute and Rs 5 lakh in cash and a certificate for an individual winner.
6. Prime Minister Narendra Modi inaugurated Subhas Chandra Bose Museum at the Red Fort on January 23, 2019. Things related to Subhas Chandra Bose and Azad Hind Fauj have been kept in this museum. Apart from the wooden chair and sword used by Netaji, INA medals, uniforms and other items related to the INA are also there. The hearing of the case that was filed against INA was held in the Red Fort itself. That is why the museum has been built here.
7. On January 21, 2021, Prime Minister Narendra Modi announced to celebrate Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's birth anniversary as 'Parakram Diwas'. January 23, 2021, was the 125th birth anniversary of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Union Ministry of Culture, Government of India, had issued a notification in this regard on January 19, 2021.
8. Prime Minister Narendra Modi unveiled a 28-foot tall statue of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose at India Gate on September 8, 2022. Netaji's hologram statue was unveiled by Prime Minister Narendra Modi on January 23, 2022. The grand statue of Netaji, which has been installed under the canopy, was carved out of a single block of granite weighing 280 metric tonnes. The weight of this statue is 65 metric tonnes. A 140-wheeler and 100-foot long truck was specially designed to transport the granite

monolith from Khammam in Telangana to New Delhi covering a distance of 1,665 km. The Prime Minister arrived at the canopy for the unveiling of Netaji's statue amidst blowing of traditional Manipuri conch shell and playing of traditional Kerala 'Pancha Vadyam' and 'Chanda'. The traditional Azad Hind Fauj (INA) song –“Kadam Kadam Badhaye Ja...” was being played during the unveiling of Netaji's statue. Spread over 101 acres of land from Rashtrapati Bhavan to India Gate in Central Vista Avenue, it wears a new look that includes lawns on both

sides of Rajpath, which has now been rechristened as Kartavya Path.

9. On January 23, 2023, on the occasion of Parakram Diwas, the Prime Minister unveiled the model of the National Memorial dedicated to Netaji to be built on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose Island. During this, 21 unnamed islands in Andaman and Nicobar were named after 21 Param Vir Chakra winners. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was described as the Pole Star that was shining during the Indian freedom struggle.

a way out of India after being disappointed with Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the question of freedom struggle. He left India in 1941. It was not his compulsion. But yes, it was definitely a big leap on an uncertain path.

Netaji's life is an epic. Maharishi Arvind had turned down ICS post. Thirty years after that historic event, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose also did the same after giving it a lot of thought. The matter pertains to 1921. He returned to India and jumped into the freedom struggle. He spent six years in jail and seven years in exile between 1921 and 1945. Thus, he got only eleven years to ignite the flame of freedom. In that short period, he could make a mighty stream of freedom flow. The British government was terrified of him. He was the president of the Congress twice. Had he become an ICS, would India's history have been different? Today, we know about

the zealous manner in which Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose challenged the imperialist forces as the Commander-in-Chief of Azad Hind Fauz. That inspiring reverberations filled a deep sense of freedom in every Indian's mind. He could not have done this as an ICS officer. He had realised it. That's why he chose the path of self-sacrifice.

There is no doubt that Azad Hind Fauj completely changed the way of thinking of every Indian. When Netaji took command of Azad Hind Fauj, there were 12,000 Indian soldiers, who were basically prisoners of war of the Japanese army. We are aware of Gandhiji's statement on the impact of Azad Hind Fauj. Now we also know that the "Indian Army had grown from 450 Indian officers to 12,000 during the period 1939 to 1945."¹³ It happened due to emergency recruitment during the war. "In the same period, the number of soldiers had increased from one

and a half lakh to 22 lakh."¹⁴ In that war, Indian soldiers had amply displayed their bravery on the fronts of Africa and Europe. It was also the time when Japan's military advances in South East Asia had presented an opportunity in India's east for the liberation army of Netaji's dream.

But Jawaharlal Nehru was viewing it as a threat. During an interview to the Press, he even said, "I will fight Subhas Chandra Bose and his liberation army, if they come to the border of India."¹⁵ In a major development, the Bangkok Conference took place a few months later. Revolutionary leader Ras Bihari Bose was presiding over it. Netaji sent his message: "With the departure of Stafford Cripps from India, the last phase of our national struggle has begun. In this historic struggle, all nationalists, whether staying in India or abroad, must fulfill their duty. My experience of the last 18 months has convinced me

that the Tripartite Powers are our best friends and allies outside India in our fight against British imperialism, and of course they will happily give us whatever assistance we may need. But the work of India's freedom will have to be carried out mainly by the Indians themselves."¹⁶

The international circumstances of that time had a great impact on the question of India's independence. A pertinent question, which remains complicated even today, is that – Who had the correct assessment of those international circumstances in the context of India's independence? Was Mahatma Gandhi right? Was Pandit Nehru right? Was Subhas Chandra Bose right? These great men form a triangle. Who was right can be determined only by the point of view it is being seen from. That's why it is necessary to know the efforts of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose too. He succeeded in convincing the German officers in early 1943 that he could play his role better in the Indian freedom struggle “only by waging an armed struggle in Asia with Japanese support.”¹⁷ It was also a coincidence that at the same time, the Japanese officers were also conveying to the German officers that Subhas should be in the battlefield of Asia or the Pacific. This helped him further.”¹⁸

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose conveyed the message to Mahatma Gandhi in a radio broadcast on July 6, 1944. It was quite long and contained a lot of information. After going through that message, one gets the feeling that Netaji was aware

The international circumstances of that time had a great impact on the question of India's independence. A pertinent question, which remains complicated even today, is that – Who had the correct assessment of those international circumstances in the context of India's independence? Was Mahatma Gandhi right? Was Pandit Nehru right? Was Subhas Chandra Bose right? These great men form a triangle. Who was right can be determined only by the point of view it is being seen from. That's why it is necessary to know the efforts of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose too

of the negative propaganda that was being carried out against him in India at that time. He explained why and when he came to Japan. “I did not come to Japan until there was a treaty between England and Japan. I did not come to Japan until the two countries had normal diplomatic relations. When Japan declared war on England and America – which I consider to be the most important step in its history, I decided to go to Japan on my own will.”¹⁹ He also conveyed in the same message that “Indians are being viewed with immense importance and prestige all over the world after Japan, Germany and seven other friendly countries accorded recognition to the Interim Azad Hind Government. The Interim Government has one goal, and that is to liberate India from the slavery of the British by armed struggle. Once our enemies are driven out of the country, and peace and order is restored, the mission of the Interim Government will be complete.”²⁰

Azad Hind Fauj may not have got complete success on the war front, but Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's war

policy was quite fruitful. Pandit Nehru's statements during that period show that he had started considering Netaji as his enemy, not a competitor. The Leftists gave it a dark colour. Netaji was abused by associating him with Japanese Prime Minister Tojo. It was a concocted game of politics. The truth was that “as per Netaji's plan, India's independence was to be autonomous.”²¹ That plan could not be fully realised. But Netaji gave freedom to India by self-sacrifice. His role became that of a catalyst. Even Mahatma Gandhi did not get success the way he wanted. But it can be said that Gandhiji's assessment of the international circumstances was more correct. Pandit Nehru had already depicted himself as a ‘Britisher’ long ago. Here another question arises: Did Mahatma Gandhi give the 'Quit India' call under the pressure of Netaji's international efforts? People can have their own opinion on this. It is a fact that Gandhiji started three movements. The first one was in 1920 and the second one a decade later. The third one too would have happened a decade later if he had listened to Netaji. But Mahatma Gandhi started the

third movement exactly after 12 years. This was called the August Revolution of 1942.

Rajmohan Gandhi observes that Subhas Chandra Bose's disagreement with Gandhiji started in the 1920s itself and Subhas had even expressed his disagreement on the principle of non-violence.²² Netaji's disagreement was based on his sincere commitment. Yet he always addressed Gandhiji as the "Father of the Nation" in his radio broadcasts from the battlefield. Nehru too had disagreements. But he was a shrewd politician and his strategy was to just demonstrate his allegiance to Mahatma Gandhi. His biographers have also written about this. Netaji made a poignant appeal after reaching Japan. He said in his radio message that "India would be able to get its freedom only when the blood of patriotic Indians would flow."²³ And it did happen. Out of 60,000 soldiers of Azad Hind Fauj, 26,000 soldiers laid down their lives fighting the British Indian Army.²⁴

At the end of the World War, Achin Lake, the Commander-in-Chief of British Indian Army, mentioned that the soldiers of the Azad Hind Fauj and the army men recruited during the war, were

roaming around armed with their weapons. The Army headquarters came to a conclusion that the Indian officers and soldiers were no more trustworthy. The truth was that the Britishers in India had already been surrounded by rebel soldiers and hence were apprehensive. Their apprehensions came true when the naval mutiny broke out. In the coastal bases of the country, starting from Karachi to Kolkata, 10,000 marines aboard 66 naval ships rebelled.²⁵ The deadly event began on February 18, 1946. The very next day, British Prime Minister Lord Clement Attlee had to announce that a Cabinet Mission would be sent to India for transfer of power. We know well that Azad Hind Fauj of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was the sole reason behind it.

The decisions of Prime Minister Narendra Modi have made it possible to place Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose on a high pedestal of reverence in the national life of the country. A major blunder of history has been rectified. This has also given rise to curiosity among the people – to know about the stories of the freedom movement period. To know this, we should directly take the help of that story writer, none other than Subhas Chandra

Bose. He had written two books. One is his autobiography (which remained incomplete) and the other one is "The Indian Struggle". These books provide the information what Netaji himself has said. That's why, someone else's testimony is not necessary.

Netaji had met Gandhiji for the last time in 1940. He described it as follows: "A few days before going to jail, in June 1940, I had a last and long conversation with Mahatma Gandhi and his associates. The news of French laying down arms had already reached India by that time. Triumphant German forces had entered Paris with great jubilation. British morale in England and India was low to the extent that a British minister had to reprimand the British public for maintaining dejected and mournful faces all the time. The civil disobedience movement started by the Forward Bloc was going on in India at that time and many leaders of the Bloc had been put in jail. So I made an impassioned appeal to the Mahatma to come forward and launch his Satyagraha movement as it was clear that the British empire would now end and this is India's best chance to play her part in the war."²⁶

Netaji has described in these words what he understood from that conversation, but Mahatmaji was still not ready to promise to do anything. He again came up with his oft-repeated, stereotype story that "in my view, the country is not ready for the struggle and, if a struggle is

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brought about at this time, India will have to suffer more loss than profit.” Well, after a very long and candid conversation, he told Netaji that “if your efforts to free India succeed, I will be the first one to send you a telegram of congratulation.”²⁷

It is not that he only met Gandhiji. Netaji has also mentioned about meeting other leaders: “On this occasion, I also talked to the leaders of other organisations, such as the president of the All India Muslim League Mr. Jinnah, All India Hindu Mahasabha president Vinayak Damodar Savarkar. At that time, Jinnah was thinking of fulfilling his plan of creating Pakistan with the help of the British. My suggestion to launch a national level struggle for India's independence with the help of the Congress, did not make the slightest impression on Jinnah although I suggested that if such a united struggle was fought, he would become the first Prime Minister of free India. Savarkar appeared to be completely ignorant of the international circumstances. He was only thinking about how Hindus could get military training by entering into the British Army in India. After these meetings, I came to the conclusion that nothing can be expected from the Muslim League or Hindu Mahasabha.”²⁸

Netaji reminded that on May 20, 1940, Pandit Nehru made a very surprising statement. He said that at a time when Britain was engaged in a struggle for life and death, starting a Satyagraha or civil disobedience in India

would be fatal for the honour of the country. “Similarly, Mahatmaji also said that we do not want to get our freedom in exchange for the destruction of Britain. This is not the method of non-violence. It became clear that the Gandhians were making every effort to compromise with the British.”²⁹

That's why he came out of India and gave the slogan of 'Delhi Chalo' (march to Delhi). Netaji told this in very poignant words to Gandhiji in his message. “Had I had the slightest hope that we could get our freedom without working abroad, I would never have left India.”³⁰ Realising that the situation was turning to the contrary, Netaji issued a special order to Azad Hind Faujon August 15, 1945: “Comrades, I feel that at this crucial juncture, 38 crore Indians are looking up to us – the members of India's MuktiBahini. So stay true to India and don't lose your faith in India's future even for a moment. Delhi is still our goal and there are many routes to Delhi.”³¹ On the same day, Netaji also gave a message to Indians living in South East Asia countries. The last sentence of that short message was, “No power in the world can keep India a slave. India will be free and it is going to happen very soon.”³²

It is a historical fact that by the end of the Second World War, the freedom struggle in India was completely shattered. At that time, the soldiers of Azad Hind Fauj arrived at Red Fort in Delhi as a boon. Netaji's slogan was ‘Delhi Chalo’. He came true

in his own way. The trial took place in the Red Fort. The heroic story of Azad Hind Fauj and Netaji reached every household. Mahatma Gandhi also believed that “the whole country has woken up. A new political consciousness has agitated even the regular soldiers of the army. They have also started thinking about freedom.”³³ Netaji died in a plane crash – even his family members have started accepting it now. Netaji's great grandson Chandra Kumar Bose accepted this during a conversation the other day. He pointed out that “Ten commissions have been formed to investigate the death of Netaji so far. Only one erroneously reported that Netaji had survived the 1945 crash. That was the Mukherjee Commission.”³⁴

Chandra Kumar's implication was that the illusion created on Netaji has been dispelled. He also acknowledges that “the governments of Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Narendra Modi virtually restored Netaji's place in national life.”³⁵ Why this did not happen earlier? The exact answer is there in Sarat Chandra Bose's letter: “Most of the prominent Congress leaders were political enemies of my brother and were trying their best to show him in poor light.”³⁶ But it is only Prime Minister Narendra Modi who paid attention towards what Netaji wanted from Mahatma Gandhi. Netaji wanted that “there is only one reward we want for our efforts, pains and sacrifices, and that is the freedom of India.”³⁷ Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's example is enough to understand

the difference between Nehru's India and Narendra Modi's India. In Nehruera, more efforts were made to forget Netaji than to remember him.

Many a time, when a great leader becomes a part of history, he gets his due place late. The question arises as to what position he should be placed in the national life. Its determination, however, depends on who is leading the country, what is the direction of his thinking, whether he sees our great men only through the prism of politics, and is he full of confidence. This perception is now confirmed and there is truth in it that Netaji Subhas Chandra

Bose has had to wait a long time to get his rightful place in the national life of India, although he has been in a place of reverence in the hearts of the people of India since the beginning. But successive Central governments neglected him. Of course, those governments have been of Nehruvian ideology. For the first time, he was remembered by the Narendra Modi government with pride and glory. It is not that anyone had demanded for it. The truth is that Prime Minister Narendra Modi has a vision for our national heroes, that of gratitude.

That was the basis when the

Prime Minister gave instructions to the Ministry of Culture on his own initiative as Netaji's 125th birth anniversary approached. It triggered a chain of events. In that sequence, the statue of Netaji was installed at India Gate as a national symbol. 'Rajpath' (the royal road) has now become 'Kartavya Path' (the path of duty), which India got as a new great pilgrimage of nationalism. All these happened during the period of 'Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav' (celebration of the elixir of Indian independence), which is an indicator of the 'Sankalp Yatra' (journey with determination) of 'Amritkaal' (the period of renaissance). ●

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Dr. Harbansh Dixit

The Trial of Indian National Army

The trial of the brave soldiers of Indian National Army, which was carried out at the ramparts of the Red Fort in Delhi in 1945, is very important not only in terms of international law but also in terms of the role of public sentiments. A look at the events that took place just before the trial and Independence

The morning of 5th November 1945 was like any other day. The Red Fort of Delhi also stood as it was for the last 300 years. The difference was that the ramparts of the Red Fort were going to witness a different kind of trial. The trial was about to begin there, which we call the “Trial of the Azad Hind Fauj”. It was different from other cases in many respects. This was not just a court martial proceeding under the Army Act against Captain Shahnawaz Khan, Captain Prem Kumar Sehgal and Lieutenant Gurbaksh Singh Dhillon. It was a symbol of nationalism. In the eyes of the public, the image of the so-called accused was like their supreme heroes. The public considered them a symbol of the freedom struggle. The popularity of the trial proceedings was such that people were eager to know the news of the daily proceedings. Newspapers started giving regular articles and news on him. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, who was one of the defence lawyers, believed that no court proceedings had attracted the attention of the general public as this trial had.

Nehru wrote: “Never in India has a trial, military or civil, aroused so

much public interest as this trial has, nor has ever such an important point of national interest been discussed publicly in this manner. The legal questions were definitely important enough to deal with the vague principles of international law, but behind the technicality of law, there was something much deeper and more important. It was something that shook the unconscious part of the Indian mind. Indian National Army became the symbol of India's freedom struggle. All other legal issues were overshadowed, blurring even the personalities of the three persons who were being tried for a crime that could have even attracted capital punishment. The proceedings of the trial became a live presentation of the traditional dispute between India and England. Although there were many complex legal matters involved in it, the trial became a tug of war between the will power of the Indians and their foreign rulers, rather than mere technical points being debated. And at the end, the will power of the Indians prevailed.”¹

The trial of Azad Hind Fauj was not that of any sect or community, but it had become a case of fight for Indian pride. Azad Hind Fauj

was established under the leadership of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Its purpose was to make India independent. There came a time when victory seemed very close, but after the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, circumstances changed completely. Resistance almost ended and the Azad Hind Fauj had to lay down arms along with the Japanese Army.

Capt. Sehgal, Capt. Khan and Lt. Dhillon were originally officers of the British Indian Army. In 1943, they had joined the Indian National Army after Netaji formed it. When Netaji established the government-in-exile, it was even recognized by some countries including Germany, Italy, Croatia and Thailand. The government-in-exile was also given the authority of Andaman and Nicobar. While serving as officers of the same Indian National Army, the three officers were taken as prisoners of war by the British Indian Army and it was decided to initiate court martial

proceedings against them.

The British government decided to put them on public trial instead of the traditional court martial. Seeing its political and social importance, it was decided to run it in the Red Fort. Keeping in view the legal, social and political importance of the subjects related to this case, arrangements were made to appoint lawyers for prosecution and defence under Rule 82 (a) of the Indian Army Act. The then Attorney General of the Government of India, Sir N.P. Engineer, was deputed to represent the British government.

The Indian National Congress decided to support the Indian National Army. For this, in 1945, the Congress formed an Indian National Army Defence Committee. A team of all the famous people of that time was formed to fight the case from the defence side, in which people like Messrs Nehru, Bhulabhai Desai, Asif Ali, Sarat Chandra Bose, Tej Bahadur Sapru,

Kailash Nath Katju and Horilal Verma were included.

Capt. Khan, Capt. Sehgal and Lt. Dhillon were charged with waging war against His Majesty the King Emperor of India. Apart from this, Lt. Dhillon was also accused of killing Hari Singh, Duli Chand, Duryav Singh and Dharam Singh. A chargesheet was filed against the three accused containing 10 charges in all. The charges were as below.

Charge no. 1: Capt. Khan, Capt. Sehgal and Lt. Dhillon were charged with murders in Malaya and Burma between September 1942 and April 26, 1945, and waging war against His Majesty the King Emperor of India.

Charge No. 2: This charge was only against Lt. Dhillon in which he was charged under Section 41 of the Indian Army Act and Section 302 of the Indian Penal Code on the basis of killing Hari Singh on or about March 6, 1945, in or around the Popa Hills in Burma.

Charge No. 3: This allegation was made only against Capt. Sehgal in which he was charged under Section 41 of the Indian Army Act and Sections 109/302 of the Indian Penal Code for abetting the killing of Hari Singh on or about March 6, 1945, at or near Popa Hills in Burma.

Charge No. 4: This allegation was only against Lt. Dhillon in which he was charged under Section 41 of the Indian Army Act and Section 302 of the Indian Penal Code on the basis of having committed the murder of Duli Chand on or about



March 16, 1945, in or near the Popa Hills in Burma.

Charge No. 5: This allegation was only against Capt. Sehgal in which he was charged under Section 41 of the Indian Army Act and Sections 109/302 of the Indian Penal Code on the ground of instigating Lt. Dhillon to commit the murder of Duli Chand in the Popa Hills of Burma on or around March 6, 1945.

Charge No. 6: This allegation was only against Lt. Dhillon in which he was charged under Section 41 of the Indian Army Act and Section 302 of the Indian Penal Code on the basis of the murder of Daryav Singh on or about March 6, 1945, in or around the Popa Hills of Burma.

Charge No. 7: This allegation was only against Capt. Sehgal in which he was charged under Section 41 of the Indian Army Act and Sections 109/302 of the Indian Penal Code on grounds of instigating Lt. Dhillon to commit the murder of Daryav Singh on or about March 6, 1945, in or around the Popa Hills of Burma.

Charge No. 8: This allegation was only against Lt. Dhillon in which he was charged for an offense punishable under Section 302 of the Indian Penal Code, in addition to Section 41 of the Indian Army Act, for

having killed Dharam Singh on or about March 6, 1945, in or near the Popa hills of Burma.

Charge No. 9: This allegation was only against Capt. Sehgal for the offense punishable under Section 41 of the Indian Army Act and Sections 109/302 of the Indian Penal Code for abetting the murder of Dharam Singh by Lt. Dhillon on or about March 6, 1945, in or around the Popa Hills of Burma.

Charge No. 10: This allegation was only against Capt. Khan in which he was charged under Sections 109/302 of the Indian Penal Code, in addition to Section 41 of the Indian Army Act, on the grounds of abetting Khajin Shah and Aya Singh for the murder of Gunner Muhammad Hussain on or about March 29, 1945, in or around the Popa Hills of Burma.

(Note: There were provisions in Section 41 of the Indian Army Act, 1991, that if a member of the Indian Army commits any crime, he can be court-martialled and tried in the Army court in the same procedure as followed in a civil court.)

Capt. Khan, Capt. Sehgal and Lt. Dhillon refused to plead guilty and decided to go through the trial. The case of Indian National Army was different from the common cases in many

respects. It was not limited to technical interpretation of law and its decision. It had a deep political, social and international sphere of influence. During the period of 1945, a great aura of freedom had been created all over the world. The use of the atomic bomb in World War II had weakened the moral influence of the Allies. British influence was also waning. Groups fighting for independence were being recognized in international law. At such a time, the main argument from the side of Indian National Army was that they were fighting for their government and not under the British ruler. Therefore, they could neither be tried for treason nor under court martial law.

Generally, the procedure of court martial does not adhere to the traditional procedures of civil courts. But in this case, all procedural principles adhered in the civil courts were followed during the proceedings. After the prosecution was given a chance to present its case on behalf of the government, the defence side too got a chance to present its arguments. All the parties got full opportunity to cross-examine the witnesses of each other and then present their arguments like in a civil case.

The prosecution was represented by then Attorney General Sir N.P. Engineer. Giving the sequence-wise description, he tried to prove that despite being in the service as officers of His Majesty's Army, the three accused were involved in the establishment of

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the Indian Independence League and the Indian National Army. That's why the work done by them should be considered as treason, and they should also be tried by the same tribunal in other criminal cases, and they be handed out severe punishment, Engineer pleaded before the court. A total of 30 witnesses were produced by the government to prove its stand. After taking their statements, the defence side cross-examined those witnesses. The statements of all the three accused were also recorded.

Captain Khan gave a detailed description of the circumstances which led to the formation of the Indian National Army and the people who joined it. He said that "there were only two options before me –either I should take the side of the King of Britain or work for my country. I chose my country and kept my word given to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose that I will sacrifice everything for my country." Captain Khan admitted that he participated in the war against the British Army but clarified that he participated as a member of the regular Army of his government and fought for the complete liberation of his country. They also submitted that during the war, they have followed the rules of war and since they fought as part of the regular Army of a country, this court has no jurisdiction to try them.

Capt. Sehgal also challenged the court's jurisdiction saying that the court had no jurisdiction to try him. He clarified that

Captain Khan gave a detailed description of the circumstances which led to the formation of the Indian National Army and the people who joined it. He said that "there were only two options before me –either I should take the side of the King of Britain or work for my country. I chose my country and kept my word given to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose that I will sacrifice everything for my country."

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he had not joined the Indian National Army because of any pressure or greed but to liberate his own motherland. Explaining his point, he said that in the Indian National Army, he got only \$80 per month, while had he been in the Army of the British government, he would have got \$120 per month. He said that he had joined the Indian National Army to give his blood for his motherland in accordance with his lofty feelings of patriotism. Capt. Sehgal made it clear in his statement that he participated in the war as a member of the regular Army of the Provisional Government of his independent country and followed all the rules of war accepted by the civilized world. So he did not commit any crime, and on the contrary, he only served his nation to the best of his ability.

Capt. Khan and Lt. Dhillon also clarified the circumstances in which they joined the Indian National Army, questioning the jurisdiction of the court. They too submitted that whatever they did, they did as the officers of the regular Army of the Provisional Government of an independent

country, and therefore, they neither committed any crime nor this court had any right to try them.

At the time when the trial of Indian National Army was going on in the Red Fort, demonstrations were being held in its favour all over the country. The tricolour of the Congress and the green flag of the Muslim League – both were seen together in front of the Red Fort. Demonstrations were held with banners like "Release the patriots of Indian National Army" and "They are patriots, not traitors". The whole country stood unitedly in support of the Indian National Army. Kolkata was the focal point of such demonstrations but South India was also not untouched by it. In Madurai, the police had to open fire to control the protesters, in which five people lost their lives. In other cities including Kolkata, the police had to open fire on the protesters. By November 23, 1945, as many as 97 protesters had died in police firing across the country.²

After the prosecution had presented its witnesses, it was now up to the defence to present

its evidence. At that time, there were 16 lawyers in the court to represent the Indian National Army led by Bhulabhai J. Desai. At the outset, Desai said that the basic question is whether the accused are traitors under the Indian Army Act or soldiers of the Indian National Army under the Indian National Army Act and are citizens of a free country who are entitled to fight on behalf of their country. In his words, "The fundamental question before the court is whether a citizen of a country has a right to declare war for its independence. I will prove through the authoritative sources of international law that no country or any part of it ever reaches a point when it has the right to wage war for its independence."³

Taking forward his arguments, Bhulabhai Desai said, "The Indian National Army has come into being spontaneously on the lines of the lofty principles of Anglo-American independence. The Indian National Army and its parent organization 'Provisional Government of Azad Hind' come under the definition of

an Independent State and its Army under international law. Under this law, the 'Government of Azad Hind' has the right to maintain its own Army and administration as well as to develop diplomatic relationship with other countries." Taking his arguments further ahead, Desai tried to prove that on the basis of the established principles of international law, the Indian National Army should be recognized as the Army of an independent country. "They deserve to be recognized as an independent body separate from the Japanese dominion, capable of going into war and carrying out administrative and diplomatic activities as an Independent State and military in international law."⁴

Desai outrightly rejected the allegations that the accused officers committed excesses and atrocities against their own people. Even if they commit any crime, they are punishable under the Indian National Army Act, which is equivalent to America's 'Uniform Code of Military Justice' which is a necessary

law for any Army, and not under the Indian Army Act of British government, he argued.

The Indian National Army Act was drafted on the lines of the Indian Army Act of the British government. Desai submitted before the court that "the Azadi Hind Fauj Act and its prestige is at stake." Referring to the anti-colonial American observers, he said that the Indian National Army has the same purpose as George Washington's Continental Army, which opposed British oppression.⁵

The proceedings of the court martial of Capt. Khan, Capt. Sehgal and Lt. Dhillon were completed on January 3, 1946. All three were accused of waging a war against the Emperor. Apart from this, Lt. Dhillon was also accused of murder while Capt. Khan and Capt. Sehgal were accused of abetting the murder. After going through all the facts, evidence and legal arguments, the court found the three accused officers were guilty of the charge of waging war against the Emperor. In addition, Capt. Khan was found guilty of abetment of murder while Lt. Dhillon was acquitted of murder and Capt. Sehgal was acquitted of abetment of murder.⁶ After being convicted for the offenses of waging war against the Emperor, there were two options left – Deport them for the rest of their lives or execute them by shooting. Taking a lenient stand in this matter, the court sentenced the three officers to exile for the rest of their lives, dismissal from service and forfeiture of their salary and

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allowances.

The verdict delivered or punishment pronounced by the court martial is not considered final until and unless it is confirmed by the 'Confirming Officer'. In the case of the Indian National Army case, the authority of the 'Confirming Officer' was with the Commander-in-Chief, Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck. He was familiar with the respect the common Indian had towards the Indian National Army. Apart from this, he was one of the few White officers who had a sense of empathy towards the aspiration of Indians for independence. Based on his experience as an officer in the Indian Army, he believed that every Indian officer is a nationalist, which was also true. Out of his experience and keeping Indian public opinion in mind, Sir Auchinleck felt that it was necessary in the interest of the British Raj that the aspirations of the Indians should not be ignored. Keeping all these factors in mind, he ordered suspension of the sentences awarded to Capt. Khan, Capt. Sehgal and Lt. Dhillon. They were set free but

The trial of Indian National Army made the Indian aspiration for independence stronger than ever. The continuous reporting of the court proceedings created a different kind of awareness in the society. The trial was conducted in a very balanced manner with complete impartiality. The specifics of the law were extensively debated before the court. This increased people's faith in the justice of the British Raj, but there was no decline in the people's desire for independence. Rather it became more intense than ever before

dismissed from the Army. The whole country welcomed this decision.

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Meanwhile, in February

1946, there was a mutiny in the Royal Indian Navy, in which 20,000 naval personnel took part. This came as a big blow to the British Raj. They realised that it was no longer possible to continue to rule over the Indians. There is full scope for debate on the reason due to which the victory in the freedom struggle was achieved, but the statement of Clement Attlee, who was the Prime Minister of Britain at the time of giving independence to India in 1947, is very important. In 1956, he categorically said that "It was not Gandhi's civil disobedience movement, but the Indian National Army which had the biggest role in the British leaving India."⁷ ●

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Dr. Chander Pal Singh

Pilgrimage of a Warrior

Spiritual Journey of Subhas Chandra Bose

As important as Subhas Chandra Bose's struggle is in the outside world, the role of his inner struggle in his making is even more valuable than that. An insightful look at his inner journey

In November 1937, before taking up his duties as Congress President, Subhas Chandra Bose went on a trip to Europe to spend a few weeks at his favourite health resort Badgastein in Austria with Emilie Schenkl. There in the course of ten days in December 1937 he wrote ten chapters of his unfinished autobiography titled *An Indian Pilgrim: Subhas Chandra Bose*.¹ The word 'pilgrim' in the title of his autobiography makes it amply clear that according to him Subhas Chandra Bose saw his life journey as pilgrimage. A 'pilgrim', as he called himself, is in true sense a seeker who deliberately chooses the path of hardships and endures voluntary suffering and sacrifice to reach his goal. It is very common knowledge Indian freedom struggle had a Mahatma in the form Gandhiji. What is rarely known is that Subhas Chandra Bose was not only a warrior who dared to challenge the mighty British empire by Indian National Army but someone who followed a spiritual path and like Vivekananda, eschewed *moksha* for himself and dedicated his life in the service of the motherland. The following paragraphs trace Subhas the warrior's

pilgrimage or spiritual journey mostly in his own words through his unfinished autobiography and letters.

Family Background

Subhas was born in a well-to-do and large family with many siblings, cousins, uncles and servants. Young Subhas sometimes felt lost in crowd but living in a large family also helped him develop sociability and avoid self-centredness. Although Subhas, by his own account, could not shake off his shyness and he remained an introvert. His father was a well known public figure who received the title of Rai Bahadur in 1912 which he gave up in 1930 as a protest against the repressive policy of the Government. From both his father's side and mother's side, Subhas could boast of a number of prominent personalities among his relations who held high public and administrative offices. No wonder Subhas had much to look up to. "I started life with a sense of diffidence- with a feeling that I should live up to the level already attained by those who had preceded me."² It is remarkable that born with a pedigree of worldly attainments, Subhas chose a path of



नरेन्द्र मोदी, प्रधानमंत्री



शिवराज सिंह चौहान, मुख्यमंत्री

सुराज से होंगे जनता के सपने साकार

मध्यप्रदेश में सरकारी जमीन को अतिक्रमण से मुक्त कराने के बाद खाली हुई भूमि पर आवासहीन, आर्थिक रूप से कमजोर वर्ग (ई.डब्ल्यू.एस.) के लिए आवास निर्माण के लिए सुराज नीति-2023 लागू की गई है।

सरकार ने माफिया से मुक्त कराई गई सरकारी जमीन पर सुराज कॉलोनी बनाने का निर्णय लिया है। यहाँ लोगों को सभी जरूरी सुविधाएँ प्रदान की जाएंगी। नीति का उद्देश्य बिना सरकारी बजटीय सहायता के पुनर्धनत्वोत्करण नीति के अनुरूप सुराज कॉलोनी के तहत ई.डब्ल्यू.एस. श्रेणी के आवासहीनों के लिए किफायती आवास प्रदान करना और अतिक्रमण से मुक्त की गई भूमि का शहर के विकास के लिए सर्वोत्तम उपयोग करना है।

सुराज नीति के मुख्य बिंदू...

- 1 अप्रैल 2020 के बाद अतिक्रमण से मुक्त कराई गई शासकीय भूमि पर आवासहीन तथा आर्थिक रूप से कमजोर वर्गों के लिए आवास निर्माण की योजना।
- अतिक्रमण से मुक्त कराई गई भूमि का एक टुकड़ा निजी डेवलपर को सौंपा जाएगा, जिसके बदले शेष भूमि में ईडब्ल्यूएस आवास के लिए सुराज टॉवर बनेगा।
- निजी डेवलपर को दिए जाने वाले भू-खंड के आरक्षित मूल्य की गणना लोक परिसंपत्ति प्रबंधन विभाग की स्थापित नीति के अनुसार खुली निविदाओं के आधार पर की जाएगी।
- छोटे शहरों में मल्टी स्टोरी के स्थान पर 450 वर्ग फीट तक के आवासीय पट्टे भी कॉलोनी विकसित कर दिए जा सकेंगे।
- सुराज कॉलोनी में सड़क, जल-प्रदाय, बिजली, बगीचा आदि की सुविधा होगी।
- निर्माण होने के बाद इकाइयों का आवंटन कमजोर आय वर्ग के आवासहीन को नगरीय निकाय द्वारा किया जायेगा।
- संबंधित भूमि के एक भाग का उपयोग आवासहीन आर्थिक रूप से कमजोर वर्ग के लिए सुराज कॉलोनी के अंतर्गत भवन/ प्रकोष्ठ/ भूखण्ड के निर्माण के लिए किया जायेगा। सुराज कॉलोनी की अनुमानित परियोजना लागत के अनुरूप मूल्य के सीएलपी को निजी विकासकर्ता द्वारा 'भू-स्वामी अधिकार' में उपयोग किया जायेगा।
- योजना के क्रियान्वयन के लिए अन्य सभी प्रक्रियाएँ राज्य में स्थापित रिडेंसीफिकेशन नीति-2022 के अनुसार की जाएगी।

- सुराज टॉवर/कॉलोनी का निर्माण समय-सीमा और गुणवत्ता से करने के प्रावधान किए गए हैं। सुराज टॉवर कॉलोनी निर्माण के बाद अगले पाँच वर्ष तक डिफेक्ट लायबिलिटी पीरियड का दायित्व और 3 वर्ष तक कॉलोनी का रख-रखाव संचालन एवं मरम्मत का दायित्व निजी डेवलपर का रहेगा।



मुख्यमंत्री आवासीय भू-अधिकार योजना के अंतर्गत गाँव में चिह्नित करके हर परिवार को जमीन का टुकड़ा उपलब्ध कराया जाएगा। मध्यप्रदेश में 23000 एकड़ से ज्यादा जमीन माफियाओं से मुक्त कराई गई है। हम उस जमीन पर सुराज कॉलोनी की स्थापना कर गरीबों को उस जमीन पर बसाएंगे।
- शिवराज सिंह चौहान, मुख्यमंत्री, मध्यप्रदेश



35000 लोगों को मिले भूखंड

टीकमगढ़ और सिंगरौली जिले में सरकार ने माफिया से मुक्त कराई जमीन भूमिहीनों को दी है। मुख्यमंत्री भू-अधिकार योजना में दोनों जिले में 35 हजार से अधिक लोगों को योजना का लाभ दिया गया है।

सरकार के प्रयासों से बढ़ता मध्यप्रदेश

MAHARATNA



अवसर दिलाएं, जीवन को ऊर्जामय बनाएं.

भारत पेट्रोलियम के पास इस समय 21,000 से अधिक रिटेल आउटलेट्स का सुदृढ़ नेटवर्क है, जो सतत गति से बढ़ता जा रहा है. 9.1 करोड़ से अधिक परिवार रसोई के लिए भारत गैस का इस्तेमाल करते हैं. जबकि हाई-टेक ल्यूब्रिकेन्ट्स तथा इंडस्ट्रियल प्रोडक्ट्स राष्ट्र को गतिमान रखते हैं, एविएशन फ्युअल्स वायुयानों को आकाश चूमने की ऊर्जा प्रदान करते हैं. समूह की मुंबई, कोच्ची और बीना में स्थित तीन रिफाइनरियां पर्यावरण-शुभचिन्तक फ्युअल्स का उत्पादन करती हैं. पांच महाद्वीपों में एक्सप्लोरेशन ब्लॉक्स में हितों के साथ, बीपीसीएल की सम्पूर्ण मूल्य श्रृंखला में उल्लेखनीय मौजूदगी है.

हमारे विविध कार्य-प्रचालन मौजूदा और संभावित अंशधारकों के लिए अपनी लाभप्रदता व वृद्धि को और बढ़ाने के लिए अनगिनत अवसर प्रदान करते हैं.

हम नए गठबंधन, विविधिकरण और उत्कृष्टता के लक्ष्य के साथ उत्तमता की राह पर बढ़ते रहना चाहते हैं.

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renunciation and suffering as he grew up.

Early Childhood

Like his elder brothers and sisters, Subhas was admitted to a missionary school meant primarily for European and Anglo-Indian children with a limited number of seats for Indians. As Subhas recalled later, this school was chosen for the children of the family so that they would “master the English language better and sooner there than elsewhere, and knowledge of English had a premium in those days.”³ The school was run on English model and run on English lines. Curriculum was so framed to make the students as English in their mental make-up as possible. They were taught much about the history and geography of Great Britain but proportionally little about India. No Indian language was taught at the school and even

the Indian names were to be pronounced as if the students were foreigners. But as Subhas recalled later,

“things went on smoothly for some years and we seemed to have fitted into our milieu splendidly, but gradually there appeared a rift within the lute. Something happened which tended to differentiate us from our environment.... We had been living in two different worlds and as our consciousness developed we began to realise slowly that these two worlds did not always match.”⁴

Babu Beni Madhav Das

In 1909, he was admitted to Ravenshaw Collegiate School, Cuttack in fourth class. This school proved to be more congenial for Subhas where he learned Bangali and Sanskrit and also made lasting friendships. Here he met Babu Beni Madhav Das, the headmaster, his first

ideal who left a permanent impression on his youthful mind. Subhas recalled later that Babu Beni succeeded in arousing “an inchoate feeling that in human life moral values should count more than anything else”. Subhas maintained his contact with Babu Beni for many years through correspondence. He learned from him what may be called as a form of nature-worship, “how to love nature and inspired by her, not merely aesthetically, but ethically as well”.⁵ Subhas admitted that veneration of nature helped him concentrate his mind. “Wordsworth’s poems now had an added significance for me and I would simply revel in the description of natural scenery in Kalidas’s poetry and in the Mahabharata.”

Swami Vivekananda and Ramakrishna Enter Subhas’s Life

It was also the time when Subhas entered ‘one of the the stormiest periods’ in his psychical life lasting for five-six years. “It was a period of acute mental conflict causing untold suffering and agony”, Subhas wrote. Being an introvert, he did not share it with any friend neither it was visible from outside. Young Subhas suffering from it was an abnormal thing for his young age. At the age when he should have been playing football, he was dealing with revolt of his higher self against natural attractions of a worldly life and also, he considered his sex-consciousness as unnatural and immoral hence he struggled to suppress or transcend it.⁶



Manthan

“What I was unconsciously groping after - was a central principle, which I could use as a peg to hang my whole life on, and a firm resolve to have no other distractions in life.”⁷

‘Central principle’ Subhas was searching for was soon provided by Vivekananda. 15 year old Subhas stumbled upon Swami Vivekananda’s works by chance and the young man poured over it for months.

“I was thrilled to the marrow of my bones. My headmaster had roused my aesthetic and moral sense-had given a new impetus to my life-but he had not given me an ideal to which I could give my whole being. That Vivekananda gave me. ‘Atmano Mokshartham Jagaahitaya’⁸- for your own salvation and for the service of humanity - that was to be the life’s goal.”⁹

Subhas was jubilant to realise Vivekananda’s adoration for the motherland. Vivekananda’s modern interpretation of the ancient Indian knowledge system, his high hopes from the down-trodden masses and emphasis on the physical well being of the countrymen before they turned spiritual impacted Subhas deeply.

“when Vivekananda entered my life ... there followed a revolution within and every thing was turned upside down.... Many of the questions which vaguely stirred my mind, and of which I was to become conscious later on, found in him a satisfactory solution. My headmaster’s personality ceased to be big enough to serve as my ideal.... Now I thought of the path which Vivekananda had indicated.”¹⁰

It is obvious to turn to Ramakrishna Paramhansa from Vivekananda and so did Subhas. Ramakrishna, as Subhas realised, was an embodiment of essence of spirituality inherent in Indian civilisational. His emphasis on abandonment of worldly desires and particularly renunciation of lust and gold (*Kamini kanchan*) made a profound impact on Subhas.

Subhas, while still in school, formed a group of friends who were interested in Vivekananda and Ramakrishna. As the size of the group swelled and its activities increased, Subhas was pulled up by his parents for neglecting studies. The more his parents endeavoured to restrain

him, the more rebellious he became. Subhas had changed from a parent worshipper to a boy who could defy his parents for his ideal of affecting his own salvation and to serve humanity by abandoning all worldly desires. In his own words:

“I doubt if I passed through a more trying period of my life than now. Ramakrishna’s example of renunciation and purity entailed a battle royal with all the forces of the lower self. And Vivekananda’s ideal brought me into conflict with the existing family and social order.”¹¹

This was the period when Subhas and his group made all sorts of experiments to realise self control. Without any one to guide, they hunted for books on Brahmacharya or sex control, meditation and Yoga. But when all such experiments failed to produce the desired results, they began to seek the right guru so much so that they became interested in every sadhu who visited their town. Instructions of a seer were also dutifully followed for a few months but Subhas was less than satisfied with the practice and so gave it up. “I went back to the teachings of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda. No realisation without renunciation - I told myself”¹², recalled Subhas. He also realised, probably taking a cue from Vivekananda, that for spiritual development social service was necessary. Vivekananda had enjoined his countrymen to serve the poor. Vivekananda had preached the ideal of *Daridranarayana* i.e. to

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serve the poor is to serve the God. Young Subhas at once turned to helping beggars, fakirs and sadhus in his locality. The ideal of service of humanity inherent in Vivekananda's message stayed with him till his end. Subhas and his group of boys also tried their hand in village reconstruction work in nearby areas. As Subhas approached the end of his school career, his religious impulse became more intense.¹³

Subhas's Letters to His Mother (1912-13)

Subhas's letters to his mother written during 1912-13 provide a deeper peek into a 15-16 year old's mind revealing idealism, devotion to the almighty, love for the motherland and cultural consciousness. In one letter he shares his efforts to turn vegetarian for spiritual reasons.¹⁴ Another letter is drenched in devotion to the God. To express his yearning for the Lord he cites Kunti, "O Lord! Please keep me in adversity, all the time, so that I may be praying to you always with all my heart. ; happiness may lead me to forget you; so let me not be happy."¹⁵

"Without realisation and divine revelation, life is in vain. Worship, meditation, prayer, contemplation, etc. that man engages in, have only one aim-realisation of the Divine. If this purpose is not fulfilled, all this is in vain. One who has tasted this heavenly bliss once, will never turn to the sinful material world. If I cannot reach Him, where shall my life belong - with what shall I occupy myself - with

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whom shall I communicate - where shall I seek happiness."¹⁶

"He can only be attained only through *Sadhna*, deep meditation and intense prayer."¹⁷

Apart from his yearning for self-realisation and divine revelation, in some letters to his mother he vividly extolls India as 'God's beloved land', its great rivers, its great past, its great epics and Vedas. In his letters he creates an imagery from epics but his sensitive mind soon starts lamenting :

"It is a heart-rendering situation. We have lost our religion, and everything else-even our national life. We are a weak, servile, irreligious and cursed nation! O Lord! The same India has fallen on such evil days! Will you not come and resurrect us?"

How deeply young Subhas living within comfortable surroundings felt the fallen state of country, society and religion, can be easily gauged by the following lines he confided to his mother:

"Mother , it is not only the country that is in a pitiable condition! Look at the state of our religion! How holy and

eternal the Hindu religion was and how degraded our religion is now!Look, how atheism, lack of faith and bigotry have become rampant.... Mother, please take a good look at the miserable condition of your children. Sin, all manner of suffering, hunger, lack of love, jealousy, and above all, lack of religion, have made their existence a veritable hell.... Mother, how much longer shall we sleep? How much longer shall we go on playing with non essentials? Shall we continue to turn a deaf ear to the wailings of our nation? Our ancient religion is suffering the pangs of near death - does that not stir our hearts?"

How long can we sit with folded hands and watch this state of our country and religion? One cannot wait more - one cannot sleep any more, - we must now shake off our stupor and lethargy and plunge into action. But, Las! How many selfless sons of the Mother are prepared, in this selfish age, to completely give up their personal interests and take the plunge for the Mother? Mother, is this son of yours yet ready?"¹⁸

Here one cannot fail to see a

Vivekananda and a Bhagat Singh speaking through Subhas.

In another letter to his mother, he wondered whether the education and the money spent on it was worth it. "I detest bookish knowledge with all my heart. I want character - wisdom - work. Character is all inclusive, it includes devotion to God, love of country - the yearning to reach Him."¹⁹

Subhas Decides His Life's Governing Principles

Despite his precocious distractions leading to some loss of studies, in March, 1913 Subhas passed the matriculation exam by standing second in the whole university. While sending him to Presidency College, Calcutta, his parents had hoped that he will be away from his Cuttack group little knowing that bigger distractions and larger group awaited him there.

By the time he settled in Calcutta for college studies, Subhas had made certain decisions about his life ahead. Unlike normal boys, he was not going to follow the beaten track of education and a worldly career, come what may.

"I was going to lead a life conducive to my spiritual welfare and the uplift of humanity; I was going to make a profound study of philosophy so that I could solve the fundamental problems of life; In practical life I was going to emulate Ramakrishna and Vivekananda as far as possible and, in any case, I was not going in for a worldly career."²⁰

Subhas has emphasised that these decisions were not the result of one night's thought or the dictation of any one personality. Simultaneously he had to struggle on two fronts: against being pulled up by his lower self in one direction and by family influence in another. Long and intense inner struggle that he passed through finally bore results. He gained self confidence and he was able to get clarity about his future life. "I felt convinced that life had a meaning and a purpose. To fulfil that purpose a regular schooling of the body and the mind was necessary."²¹

His struggle against sex-instinct intensified. He had adopted Ramakrishna's gospel that gold and sex are two greatest obstacles in the path of spiritual

development. But by mid nineteenth thirties, Subhas had changed his views. "It is now a moot question whether we should spend so much of our time and energy to eradicate or sublimate an instinct which is as inherent in human life as in animal life"²² But he did not regret his Herculean efforts made in this direction during his teen age.

As mentioned earlier, Subhas was part of a large group of students influenced by the teachings of Ramakrishna Paramhansa and Swami Vivekananda. Subhas called his group neo-Vivekananda group. Their main aim was to bring a synthesis between religion and nationalism. The group devoured books on philosophy, history and nationalism. Holidays were meant for visiting holy places with the hope of finding a true guru. Some would visit places of historical importance and study history on the spot. As part of this group Subhas learnt that social service was an integral part of Yoga and it meant national reconstruction on modern lines, not merely helping the poor and needy.

Aurobindo Ghosh

Subhas has written that in the second decade of twentieth century Bengal, Aurobindo Ghosh was the most popular leader especially among the youth though he had voluntarily self exiled himself in 1909. His resignation from civil service to join politics, as fearless advocate of independence, being a brother of Barindra Kumar Ghosh the

Subhas has written that in the second decade of twentieth century Bengal, Aurobindo Ghosh was the most popular leader especially among the youth though he had voluntarily self exiled himself in 1909. His resignation from civil service to join politics, as fearless advocate of independence, being a brother of Barindra Kumar Ghosh the revolutionary and last but not the least, mixture of spirituality and politics had given him a halo of mysticism and made his personality more fascinating to those who were religiously inclined

revolutionary and last but not the least, mixture of spirituality and politics had given him a halo of mysticism and made his personality more fascinating to those who were religiously inclined.²³ It was rumoured at that time that Aurobindo will return as an enlightened man to active life after 12 years of meditation as supernatural force was necessary to contend with the British rulers. Interestingly, Subhas made it clear that it was not the mysticism surrounding Aurobindo which attracted him but his writings in his monthly journal *Arya* and also letters which used to be circulated in closed groups by hand. Subhas writes about Aurobindo:

“I was impressed by his deeper philosophy. Shankara’s doctrine of Maya was like a thorn in my flesh. I could not accommodate my life to it nor could I easily get rid of it. I required another philosophy to take its place. The reconciliation between One and many, between God and creation, which Ramakrishna and Vivekananda had preached, had indeed impressed me but had not till then succeeded in liberating me from the cobwebs of Maya. In this task of emancipation, Arabinda came as an additional help. He worked as reconciliation between Spirit and Matter, between God and creation, on the metaphysical side and suppressed it with a synthesis of Yoga as he called it.... Vivekananda had no doubt spoken of the need of Jnana (Knowledge), Bhakti (devotion and love) and Karma (selfless

In the college for intermediate examination, Subhas found lectures uninteresting. Instead he involved himself in meeting as many religious teachers as possible and involving himself in social service. He and his friends fearlessly helped cholera patients during the epidemic. His desire to find a guru led him to pilgrimage of nearly two months to holy places of north India - Rishikesh, Haridwar, Mathura, Vrindavan, Banaras and Gaya without informing even his parents

action) in developing an all round character, but there was something original and unique in Arabinda’s conception of synthesis of Yoga. He tried to show how by a proper use of the different Yogas one could rise step by step to the highest truth.”²⁴

Doctrine of Maya Makes Way for Pragmatism

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By his own account, Subhas witnessed big changes in himself

during 1914-16. By now he was somewhat disillusioned about Yogis and ascetics. Also, whenever he witnessed racial discrimination and Englishmen humiliating Indians in trams and streets, his faith in Shankara’s doctrine of Maya would be shaken. “It was quite impossible to persuade myself that to be insulted by a foreigner was an illusion that could be ignored.”²⁶

He also realised that Englishmen respected only the physical force and nothing else. They would treat Indians with consideration only when they were hit back. Subhas’s final break with doctrine of Maya came about after a college incident in which an English professor who repeatedly manhandled Indian student was thrashed by the students. A committee of enquiry found Subhas guilty of being a part of the group which was involved in the attack. It’s not clear whether Subhas was actually involved in the incident but he led the college strike and presented students’ case before the committee. Subhas was expelled from the Presidency College without being given a proper hearing. It was for this time when Subhas remarked

that “Shankaracharya’s Maya lay dead as door nail”.²⁷ What he meant was - enough of subtle metaphysical theories; circumstances demanded a more realistic and pragmatic response to the realities of life.

Expulsion from college was a milestone in the making of Subhas. Looking back at the incident after more than two decades, he wrote:

“My Principal had expelled me, but had made my future career. I had established a precedent for myself from which I could not easily depart in future. I had stood up with courage and composure in a crisis and fulfilled my duty. I had developed self-confidence as well as initiative. I had a foretaste of leadership ... and of martyrdom that it involves. Inshore, I had acquired character and could face the future with equanimity.”²⁸

First World War had strengthened Subhas’s new convictions that a nation can ignore physical and military strength at its own peril. The same applied to India.

“If India was to be a modern civilised nation, she would have to pay the price and she

would not by any means shirk the physical, military problem. Those who worked for the country’s emancipation would have to be prepared to take charge of both the civil and military administration. Political freedom was indivisible and meant complete independence of foreign control and tutelage. This war had shown that a nation that did not possess military strength could not hope to preserve its independence.”²⁹

It is interesting to note that Subhas, the future commander-in-chief of Indian National Army, had a fascination for military training since his younger days. While in college he tried to get into regular army but failed in the eye sight test. He got recruited into India Defence Force in the university wing of the territorial army where the physical test were not so stringent and completed training. “I found a positive pleasure in it [soldering]. The training gave me something which I needed or which I lacked. The feeling of strength and of self confidence grew still further.”³⁰

Another factor which helped to make Subhas more rational

was the study of philosophy at degree level. As has been mentioned earlier, Subhas had a desire to study philosophy since his boyhood - he had hoped to solve fundamental questions of life and the world by studying this subject which appeared to him a sort of Yogic exercise. But a study of philosophy at the University level added new dimensions to his mind - “intellectual discipline and critical state of mind. Western philosophy begins with doubt.... A truly emancipated man should accept nothing without evidence and argument.”³¹ Subhas now started considering his group of friends in college as dogmatic.

Rejecting a Career in ICS

Addition of critical viewpoint, rationalism and pragmatism in the personality of Subhas only strengthened his idealism. To respect his father’s wishes, Subhas reluctantly appeared for Indian Civil Service Examination and surprised himself by getting selected for the coveted service with little preparation. ICS and all the perks, fame and comforts which came with it did not for a moment deviate Subhas from his path. “I had resolved early in life not to follow the beaten track, and further, I had certain ideals which I wanted to live up to. It was therefore quite impossible for me to go into Service unless I could make a clean sweep of my past life.”³² in a letter to his elder brother Sarah Chandra Bose, Subhas made it clear that his ‘national and spiritual aspirations are not compatible with Civil

Addition of critical viewpoint, rationalism and pragmatism in the personality of Subhas only strengthened his idealism. To respect his father’s wishes, Subhas reluctantly appeared for Indian Civil Service Examination and surprised himself by getting selected for the coveted service with little preparation. ICS and all the perks, fame and comforts which came with it did not for a moment deviate Subhas from his path. I had resolved early in life not to follow the beaten track, and further, I had certain ideals which I wanted to live up to

Service conditions.”³³

Subash summed up his reasons to decline the offer of Civil Service in a letter to Sarat Chandra Bose.

“A life of plain living and high thinking, whole hearted devotion to the country’s cause- all these are highly enchanting to my imagination and inclination. Further, the very principal of serving under an alien bureaucracy is intensely repugnant to me. The path of Arabinda Ghosh is to me more noble, more inspiring, more unselfish, though more thorny than the path of Ramesh Dutt”³⁴

His Philosophical Views

Subhas wrote a separate chapter in his unfinished biography explaining his philosophical convictions in 1937.

“There was a time when I believed that Absolute Truth was within the reach of human mind

and that the Doctrine of Maya represented the quintessence of knowledge. Today, I would hesitate to subscribe to that position. I have ceased to be an absolutist... and am much more of a pragmatist. What I cannot live upto - what is not workable I feel inclined to discard. Shankara’s Doctrine of Maya intrigued me for a long time, but ultimately I found that I could not accept it because I could not live it.”³⁵

“If the world would be real ... the life becomes interesting and acquires meaning and purpose”³⁶

From 1920s to early 1940s, he was exposed to all variants of rationalist philosophies and socialist thought. Influence of socialist thought on his political thought and India’s post independence development he planned is obvious. Yet these influences did not atrophy his spirituality, to any marked degree.³⁷

In his reply to Rabindranath

Tagore’s address of welcome at Santiniketan on 21 January 1939, Subhas expressed his deep sense of gratitude to the bard for redressing the deeper issue of ‘the poverty of the inner life’. Speaking in this context, he highlighted the indispensability of the larger quest of spiritual actualisation in life while accomplishing individual goals: “We are today no doubt working tirelessly to attain national freedom, but our ideal is greater. We want complete fulfillment in personal and national life. We desire that every man and woman of the country and the entire nation may in every respect realise Truth. In this quest, in this Sadhana, political freedom is only a means.”³⁸ Throughout his life Subhas Chandra Bose remained a seeker of truth, a karmayogin who placed his ideals above self and in this journey drank deep from Indian spiritual traditions. ●

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Dr. Chandan Kumar

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and Armed Revolution

While an objective appraisal of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's revolutionary life is still pending, even information about much of his contribution has not reached the general public. A closer look

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, the great hero of the freedom struggle, is a persona extra ordinaire in Indian politics. According to intelligence records obtained from various archives, the British government made serious allegations against Bose as a 'dangerous revolutionary' and an active accomplice of extremists. During his political career, Netaji maintained close contact with the revolutionaries of India and their organizations like the Jugantar, Anushilan Samiti, Bengal Swayam sevaks and a few others. The heroic story of the armed revolutionaries and their association with Netaji Subhas remains largely untold till date. Barring autobiographical writings and prison memoirs penned by a few revolutionaries, there is hardly anything that can be called a systematic, properly documented history of Netaji's involvement in revolutionary activities. In fact, an objective assessment of Subhas Chandra Bose's contribution has been accomplished only partially.

In all official or semi-official histories of the Indian independence struggle, one sees the Indian political stage as having been dominated by the Indian National Congress. Since

the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi on the national scene in the early 1920s, the narrative around the history of the freedom struggle has consisted of nothing but Congress-led mass movements—Non-Cooperation, satyagraha, Civil Disobedience and the Quit India movement—and all of them organized under the leadership of Gandhi. In fact, there has been a persistent propaganda by some historians aimed at impressing upon the public mind that India achieved an unprecedented kind of independence through only non-violent means under the leadership of Gandhi. Although, in the accounts of these historians, the role played by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose after his departure from India in January 1941 and the organized campaign of armed struggle for India's freedom waged by him from overseas is sometimes recognized, albeit half-heartedly.

The Rise of Extremist Nationalism (1905-1920)

Incidents of violent action by rebel groups against the British regime occurred in many parts of India, but it was undivided Bengal that nurtured a new ideology of revolutionism and systematically established the

concept of armed resistance against British imperialism. The spirit of militant nationalism originated in Bengal in the last decade of the nineteenth century and spread to the rest of India. Leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak were not devotees of non-violence, nor did they believe in the methods of prayer and petition, as a result of which the politics of militant nationalism was clearly manifested in Maharashtra and Punjab as well.

Beginning as a political movement against the partition of Bengal in 1905, Bengal exemplified the revolution long before the Swadeshi movement,

which was initially formed by the educated upper and middle classes and gradually, the spirit of revolution spread throughout the province, propagated through literature, music and culture.¹ The 'Dawn Society' was founded in 1902 by Satish Mukhopadhyay, which gave birth to the National Council of Education with Aurobindo Ghosh as one of its faculty members. The Dawn Society nurtured the spirit of nationalism and spread it throughout Bengal through its seminars and group discussions in which Sister Nivedita and Sakham Ganesh Deoskar participated regularly. Although

Maharashtra and Punjab also had a history of militant nationalism, the characteristics of Bengal's revolutionism were unique without parallel elsewhere because the revolutionaries saw it not as a mere technique or tool to overthrow foreign rule from the country, but assimilated it as a cult.²

Ras Behari Bose, a noted Anushilanist, attempted to organize a revolutionary insurgency during the period of the First World War. The Anushilan Samiti prepared a comprehensive plan of a revolutionary insurgency under the leadership of Ras Behari Bose with the active help of those members of the Ghadar Party who had returned. In January 1915, Ras Behari held discussions with leading Anushilan members in Banaras and it was decided that the rebellion would take place on February 21, 1915. Lala Hardayal, an Indian revolutionary abroad, founded the Ghadar Party in the United States with the help of Indian expatriates there and formed a group called Yugantar Ashram in San Francisco with the aim of organizing an armed rebellion against British imperialism in India. He also regularly published a magazine called *Ghadar* for propagating its ideas among Indians living abroad.

In November 1914, upon the instructions of Lala Hardayal, V.G. Pingle and Satyabhushan Sen came to India from Germany and informed Ras Behari Bose in Banaras about the possibility of obtaining arms



from Germany for the rebellion. Pingle informed Bose that 4,000 Ghadar revolutionaries had already reached Punjab to take part in the armed rebellion, 15,000 trained revolutionaries were waiting in Calcutta and another 20,000 were expected to join once the rebellion broke out. This encouraged Ras Behari Bose to go ahead with his plans, to be implemented in February 1915. Jatindranath Mukherjee tried to establish foreign contacts from 1908 when Kshirod Gopal Mukherjee was sent to Burma, Dhangopal Mukherjee was dispatched to Japan and the USA, while Bhupati Majumdar was sent to Europe for the same purpose. Besides these representatives of various revolutionary groups in Bengal, many others who had gone abroad for higher studies or in search of employment came into contact with the Indian independence movement organized from outside India. Shyamji Krishna Verma, Madam Bhikhaji Rustom and K.R. Cama were prominent figures in the nationalist independence movement set up in Europe. The Anushilan Samiti also sent Kedareshwar Guha, Taraknath Das, Gopen Chakraborty and Abani Mukherjee abroad to explore the possibilities of procuring arms from outside India.

While in Banaras, Ras Behari Bose discussed his plans with Jatin Mukherjee and his associates, including Atul Krishna Ghosh and Narendra Bhattacharya of the Jugantar group, who were informed about the former's

plans and preparations for a widespread armed insurrection in northern India. These young revolutionaries went to Banaras in late 1914 to meet Ras Behari Bose and discuss matters relating to the purchase of arms from Germany for the insurgency in Bengal. The Jugantar leaders relied on the possibility of arms and ammunition coming from Germany and Bose insisted on the fact that if Mukherjee and his associates could actually obtain German arms supplies and start a rebellion in Bengal, then the Anushilan Samiti would be ready to support and help them.³

Alternative Leadership and the Plan for Revolution (1920-1928)

In this phase of India's freedom struggle, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose provided an alternative leadership in national politics, which was dominated by the Gandhians. This alternative leadership showed a different path to the freedom fighters of India and Bengal in particular, who believed that independence could be wrested from foreign rulers only by a revolution and not by prayers and petitions as the mainstream Congress leaders claimed. There were many revolutionaries as members of the Swarajya Party who supported Netaji's candidature as the Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation. A brief note on the Congress alliance with the revolutionaries in Bengal reads as follows: "The revolutionaries depended on the financial

support of the Swarajya Party". Thus, it is clear that the Swarajya Party and the revolutionaries were interdependent and the revolutionaries were the constituent parts of the former's party system. In the elections to the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee of 1925, the revolutionaries had a majority of 26 members."⁴

In 1927, the political prisoners of Midnapore Jail decided to unite all the revolutionary groups and after their release, an attempt was made to do so. They also tried to revive the Workers' League with the aim of creating an open organization to work with the Congress. According to an Intelligence Bureau report, "Subhas Chandra Bose, Bhupen Dutta, Arun Guha, Puma Das and Suren Ghosh, and Rabindra Sen and Pratul Ganguly of the Anushilan Samiti decided that the activities of the Congress did not have the possibility of creating the necessary atmosphere for rebellion in the country. Bhupen Dutta accordingly prepared a plan to make the Workers' League effective for the goal of complete independence. This was discussed in the Madras session of the Indian National Congress as well, which was attended by all the important revolutionaries of Bengal."⁵

The Chronology of the Revolutionaries' Exile (1928-1938)

The revolutionary leaders of Bengal convened a workers' conference in Calcutta in early 1928, which was presided over

by Subhas Chandra Bose. It was decided that Bhupen Dutta's Workers' League would be now known as the 'Independence League of Bengal'. The revolutionaries then decided to capture the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee in Calcutta, an endeavour in which by the end of 1928, they had largely succeeded and formed a 'Voluntary Main Group', the purpose of which was to forge a fighting force in the event of a rebellion breaking out.⁶

In 1928, the Calcutta Congress inaugurated a new chapter in the history of India's independence movement, and the members of the Independence League for India dissolved their organization and accepted the Congress proposal of Dominion Status for India. Nevertheless, the Bengal revolutionaries forced Netaji to introduce a resolution for independence, which was defeated due to strident opposition from Gandhi.⁷

Although the Jugantar revolutionaries supported Netaji as an important factor in the politics of Bengal till 1935, from the mid-thirties they began to align themselves with anti-Netaji camps and eventually abandoned all trace of militant nationalism, merging with the mainstream Congress. Within the Congress, when Netaji called for real and ultimate power to be given to the people, Anushilan and the Bengal Swayamsevak supported him whole heartedly. Before the Tripuri Congress of 1939, the revolutionaries gathered at his residence to discuss the then

ongoing affairs.⁸ It was decided that Netaji should be re-elected Congress President to prevent other Congress leaders from surrendering to the British rulers, by making use of the formula of their secret pact. Noted socialist Acharya Narendra Dev at the request of the Anushilan leaders distributed a memorandum in support of Netaji's candidature. Following Bose's suspension from the Congress, Trailokya Chakravarty travelled across northern India with him to mobilize popular support against British imperialism.

However, after 1940, Bose and Pratul Ganguly of the Anushilan group, while in the Alipore Central Jail, decided that since most of the revolutionaries had been imprisoned, it would not be possible for them to rise from inside prison. Bose would therefore leave the country to go to Russia and Ganguly would meet him there. Earlier in 1938, Netaji received a letter from Ras Behari Bose, an erstwhile Anushilanist, asking him to lead the nation with a revolutionary spirit.⁹

The Only Warrior Who did not Compromise (1938-1945)

Subhas with his extraordinary political foresight felt that the Second World War was about to break out, and hence it was necessary to strengthen the revolutionary forces in the country. He requested Rabi Sen of the Anushilan Samiti to send a reliable person to him for some important work. Tridib

Chowdhary of the Anushilan Samiti was selected by Rabi Sen and introduced to Netaji, who sent him along with his letter to a friend in the North-West Frontier Province to assess the tribal situation there and to gauge the possibility of their traversing through the region to an unknown destination. Tridib Chowdhary accomplished this task eight to nine months before Netaji's departure.¹⁰

Bose left India's shores in 1941 to seek external military help in his fight for independence. He was lent help by all means by the revolutionaries of Bengal while he was preparing to leave India to launch an armed invasion on the British from outside India. He extensively used the services of the members of the Anushilan for on-the-ground preparations before his departure, and the volunteers of Bengal bore the bulk of the burden of the monetary expenses needed to move from India to foreign lands. These volunteers kept in regular contact with him through transmitters even after his departure, to keep him informed of the current political situation at home and to obtain instructions from him regarding the next steps. After numerous struggles, Subhas obtained help first from Germany and then from Japan. When here turned to East Asia with help from Germany and took over the leadership of the Indian National Army from Ras Behari Bose, he found that the situation in Singapore was almost ripe, as some of the revolutionaries from Bengal had already moved

Manthan

to Japan, Singapore, Java and Malaya and were working there. The main concern for him was how to use the war situation for India's independence.

In actuality, the nationalism of these revolutionaries was not based on hatred towards any particular race or community. It was the philosophy of humanism that served as the basis for their ideology of revolutionism. Ras Behari Bose in 1922 and Netaji in 1938 expressed the same view when they said that Indian independence was necessary for the liberation of the enslaved world and for this reason alone, India had to attain independence. Getting rid of colonial subjugation was not only a goal, it was also a means to achieve a great mission, and that was to create a world where mankind, having completely eradicated all forms of imperialism from the face of the world, would live a life of freedom.¹¹

India's revolutionaries had realized that in order to fulfill revolutionary ideals, national liberation was necessary. Millions of people had to be freed in order to eradicate poverty. Sri Aurobindo had said in the first decade of the 20th century that "Our nationalism is a dharma that has come from God Himself". He further said that when the divine message came down, Bengal was ready to accept it internally. It seemed as if the entire community woke up from sleep and called upon the whole country to follow the path of freedom. What Sri Aurobindo said about the preparedness

of Bengal to accept the divine message can be exemplified by the great personalities of 19th century Bengal who appeared even as the British were ruling, among whom Vivekananda, Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay, Vidyasagar and Rabindranath Tagore, etc., are the main ones who crafted the conditions and direction for revolution through various means.

Conclusion

The revolutionaries had well organized groups and dedicated cadres and could draw upon popular support through them. While the Congress was popular in Bengal, it were the revolutionaries who were close to the hearts of the people at the grass roots because of their young age and strength of character. They used to work for the Congress during elections. The younger members of the Congress in Bengal either belonged to or were strongly influenced by some revolutionary groups. Congress leaders often sought help from them either to capture power or to maintain power in the Congress organization at the provincial level.

There are sufficient documents to prove that Netaji used to help the revolutionaries, as his political mentor C.R. Das too did—by providing them with money, arranging secret shelters for fugitives, providing them employment under the Calcutta Municipal Corporation as primary teachers, etc. On several occasions, he had openly paid homage to Gopinath Saha,

Bhagat Singh, Jatin Das and other revolutionaries. But he never whole heartedly accepted the idea that foreign rulers could be driven out of the country by the extreme method of assassinating individuals.¹² He believed that an armed rebellion was necessary, which would be possible only with widespread popular support. Many revolutionaries were Netaji's co-prisoners in various jails and prison camps all over the country and this allowed him to come in close contact with them and discuss his political plans regarding armed resistance.

It should be noted that revolution and rebellion are not the same, especially in the context of the revolutionary movement in Bengal. An insurgent's goal is immediate; the mission undertaken is to be accomplished without delay by any means, and this is the culmination of the insurgency. But a revolution is much more than this. The ideal or goal of a revolutionary is not limited to the immediate attainment of any such thing. It goes on and there is no end to its progress. There is therefore, no scope for complacency in the life of a revolutionary. He must be ready to sacrifice his life for the complete transformation of the social, political and spiritual life of his fellowmen and the revolutionary movement might take his whole life and may even have to be continued by the succeeding generations. The society might face newer problems, and the revolutionary might also have to adopt new strategies, as a result of which he

might have to change his plans and programmes to keep pace with the times. Despite all this, the purpose and the revolutionary ideal remain unchanged. Even if he fails in his mission, he would achieve a moral victory because his endeavour is selfless and full of patriotism.

The revolutionaries believed in India's rejuvenation after independence, but in the process never forsook traditional Indian values and beliefs, and the wisdom of the sages. At the same time, they did not live in the past ignoring the temporal reality of the present. The revolutionaries never accepted any particular Western or Eastern political philosophy, old or new, without assessing their respective merits and that is why they never accepted Marxism as the only infallible ideology, the one absolute truth. In this regard, it may be noted that from 1931 to 1937, many nationalist revolutionaries turned communists in various prisons, especially Baksa, Deoli, Baharampur and Hijli camps as

well as in the Andaman Cellular Jail. The role played by the British rulers in effecting such a change is notable.

Loads of books on Marxism and Communism were dispatched to prisons during this period. Sir John Anderson too, after visiting the Andamans in 1936, sent two huge wooden boxes full of books as a gift to the prisoners in the Andamans, on which it was clearly written "A gift from the Governor of Bengal to the political prisoners of the Cellular Jail". According to the famous Chittagong revolutionary Ganesh Ghosh, most of these books were of Marxist literature, Marxist philosophy and Marxist economy.¹³ Ganesh Ghosh, who later himself became a communist, wrote that during those days, political prisoners were supplied with books on Marxism, probably because the government had accepted the notion that if revolutionaries became Marxists they would abandon their militant nationalism in favour of internationalism.

In 1934, Dr. Parimal Ray, a prisoner at the Deoli camp, described his experience there in his book *Down Memory Lane*. An IB officer had asked him in an interview in the said camp whether he had read any 'communist literature' so far. Although at that time Ray was attending classes on Marxism conducted by his co-prisoner Comrade Kali Sen, his answer was negative as he thought that a candid answer might anger the rulers. He wrote, "I was surprised by his comments on this. The officer quickly replied, 'Oh, that is why your views are so narrow. You should read communist literature'".¹⁴ The British rulers had seen how Indian communists stayed away from Gandhi's salt agitation and began using foreign cloth instead of boycotting it, as they believed that such boycotts would render the workers of Lancashire unemployed. These developments pleased the colonial rulers and thus Marxism was welcomed to the country with open arms. ●

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Deepesh Chaturvedi

Netaji's Idea for Independent India

Netaji had had a clear vision about freeing India from the shackles of foreign slavery, he also had an original and clear thought about how to take India in a leading position on the global horizon. An analysis

The life and journey of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is the journey of a man from believing himself to be a "thoroughly insignificant being"¹ to proclaiming himself as the Head of State of the provisional Azad Hind Government and Fauz. As one of the most acclaimed revolutionary, whom Khurshedben Naoroji considered "more popular than Nehru, and in certain circumstances had a stronger appeal than Gandhi"² was in true sense a visionary leader of Indian independence movement. A statesman and leader of international stature Netaji, was described by contemporary foreign media such as British newspaper as 'India's De Valera'³, Fascist newspaper Popolod' Italia as 'like a Buddha, with superior intelligence and represents Asian nobility'⁴ and historian E.J Hobsbawn considered him very important in understanding nationalism outside Europe and his tactical motto as important recipe for anti-colonial liberation movement. where national interests take precedence over other international "idealistic" objectives.⁵ Studying his books, writing, speeches and letters gives us the refracted image of first half of twentieth century world order, politics and international relations with pragmatic analysis and

constructive suggestions. He had vision for future India, post attaining independence, its form of government, policies, planning, social and economic reconstructions. Netaji's political philosophy and intellectuality stood far more than his prosaic and eloquent speeches. He wasn't merely a magician of words but had a vision for India and ability to transform it into reality He started the planning processes for India's social and economic rebuilding because he was confident in his abilities to lead India to freedom. In his opinion, a free India would be a powerful industrial nation that would be able to contribute both material and spiritual creativity to the globe by escaping the confines of illiteracy and poverty. This was very first observed in his letter to Deshbandhu C.R Das (2nd March 1921) from London when he was planning to quit ICS services, he wrote, "Congress is now engaged in pulling down the existing order, so until this work of demolition has been completed it is not possible to start constructive activity; but I am of the view that right from now when the work of destruction is going on, we must begin to create. To be able to formulate a policy in respect of any problem of our national life will require thinking and research".⁶ He

suggested congress to formulate definite policies regarding education, intelligence, currency-exchange, native states, adult suffrage, depressed class, labor and factory, peasants and constitution for *Swaraj*. Also, he wanted to build a congress think-tank and propaganda committee dedicated to purely research purposes and formulating its future policies by gathering intelligence from all over the country. Later, during his various political detentions including in Mandalay jail, Netaji read tirelessly in evolving his understanding of contemporary world at large and India in particular which includes broad range of subjects on European history, histories of empires and revolutions, social anthropology, political memoirs, comparative religion, psychology, criminology, exercise and dietetics, and the color line in human relations⁷. Also, during his exile in Europe in 1930s and later in 1940s he read and wrote continuously about

India's future growth trajectories, issues and problems and interacted with prominent personalities like his favorite Da-Valera, Atlee, Tojo, Hitler, Mussolini, Lord Halifax, Romain Rolland, Vojtech Tuka and Edward Benes etc. Netaji's idea for future India developed during this course of reading, writing, interactions and also from his personnel experiences during his work in nation-building programs as a Mayor of Calcutta, Congress president and head of Bengal provincial Congress committee. Some of the key areas where he focused explicitly in his works and speeches are in Planning commission, Nature of government, Foreign policy, Industrialization, Defence and Socio-Economic reconstructions.

Planning Commission

One of the biggest contribution Netaji laid for post-independent India was the foundation of planning commission which directs its role for industrial

planning and other functions related to policy making. Its necessity was first highlighted implicitly in his letter to C.R Das where he pondered upon the role of policy making and later explicitly during his presidency of Indian National Congress where he formed the planning commission under the chairmanship of Jawaharlal Nehru. He considered planning commission to be utmost important institution which would formulate policies for industrial and fiscal planning. He highlighted its objective in his presidential speech at 51st session of INC held at Haripura in February 1938 "The very first thing which our future national government will have to do would be to set up a Commission for drawing up a comprehensive plan of reconstruction. This plan will have two parts — an immediate programme and a long-period programme. In drawing up the first part, the immediate objectives which have to be kept in view will be three-fold — first, to prepare the country for self-sacrifice; secondly to unify India; and thirdly to give scope for local and cultural autonomy"⁸. He also incorporated issues like national security, health, local self-government, and the necessity for rapid industrialization into the concept of national planning, all of which had not before been taken seriously into consideration by Congress.

Inspiring from Netaji's role behind its formation, the Planning Commission in 1997 had published a commemorative volume on his birth centenary



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called 'Subhas Chandra Bose Pioneer of Indian Planning' to pay tribute for his visionary step. Here, deputy chairman Madhu Dandavate, considered Netaji's role as path finder and pace-setter which resulted in the 'formation of strong centralized government backed up by meaningful regional autonomy'⁹. Also, he opined about the Panchayati Raj system and idea behind cooperative federalism could be considered as Netaji's proud heritage which was seen in his conception for 'meaningful synthesis between national aspirations and regional needs'¹⁰. As he talked about in length in his address to Bombay corporation in May 10, 1938 for the development of municipal socialism which should draw its inspiration from ancient Indian cities like Patliputra as well as work done in Viennese municipal department in providing houses to 2,00,000 persons without any tax burden and loans. He highlighted there role as "modern municipality has to furnish not merely pure drinking water, roads, lighting, etc., but it has to provide primary education and it has to look after the health of the population and to tackle problems which the municipalities did not think of a few years ago."¹¹

Form of Government

Netaji wanted a federal, democratic, republican form of government based on the uncompromising ideals of nationalism and socialism. His idea of socialism emerged from the synthesis of fascism and communism based on the social and cultural heritage

of India. He termed this as 'samyavada', the ancient Buddhist Indian term for socialism which was suited to Indian conditions¹². In a chapter titled 'A Glimpse of future' Netaji backed this ideal and considered Nehru's 'anti-fascist' stance to be fundamentally wrong as Nehru saw a stark choice before the world between "some form of Communism and some form of Fascism" and declared himself to be "all for" communism¹³. But Netaji was cautious against their demerits and said "Both fascism and communism believe that the state should come before the individual. Both reject democratic government through parliament. They both support party rule. Both support the party's dictatorship and the merciless repression of any minority groups who disagree with it."¹⁴ Due to this he preferred to assimilate only those principles from both which were linked to reconstruction, planning, and education from Soviet Russia and national pride, unity and discipline from fascists. He had no interest in embracing communism. He even criticized the Marxist propaganda for Indian affairs in his Tokyo university speech as "Another point on which we do not fully agree is that according to Marxism, too much importance is given to the economic factor in human. We fully appreciate the importance of the economic factor which was formerly ignored, but it is not necessary to overemphasize it."¹⁵ Netaji didn't believe in politics of binary rather a pragmatic synthesis of best ideas and practices according to Indian needs and condition.

He wanted a strong central government with all the minority communities as well as the provinces at their ease, by allowing them a large measure of autonomy in cultural as well as governmental affairs. He also highlighted the role Congress party in future India in his article 'Free India and Her Problem' which appeared in German periodicals in August 1942, "There will be a strong Central Government. Without such a Government order and public security cannot be safeguarded. Behind this Government will stand a well-organized, disciplined all-India party, which will be the chief instrument for maintaining national unity."¹⁶ And for this congress role became more important as it represents whole India and draws its member from different streams like Hindu Mahasabha, Muslim league, landlords, peasants, workers and communists etc. He advocated the need of single-party system but didn't rule out the importance of others and believed that it will be the future that will decide. Also, he was staunch in his ideals to unlearn many British policies which could make independent India despondent. And the very first thing was change in the composition and attitude of bureaucracy as they were developed by Englishmen to be anti-Indian. So they should be trained accordingly as party come and go but this steel frame bureaucracy would be the real rulers.

He is criticized by his political opponents as to be followers of totalitarianism and wanted complete authoritarianism under



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मध्यप्रदेश पेसा नियम

जनजातीय वर्ग के विकास के लिए अभूतपूर्व फैसला

जल के अधिकार

- तालाबों के प्रबंधन का अधिकार ग्राम सभा को
- ग्राम पंचायत करेगी 100 एकड़ तक की सिंचाई क्षमता के जलाशयों का प्रबंधन
- तालाब/ जलाशयों में मछली पालन, सिंचाई उत्पादन की गतिविधियों का अधिकार, होगी आमदनी में वृद्धि
- जलाशयों को प्रदूषित करने पर कार्रवाई का अधिकार

जनजातीय गौरव के संरक्षण और संवर्धन के अधिकार

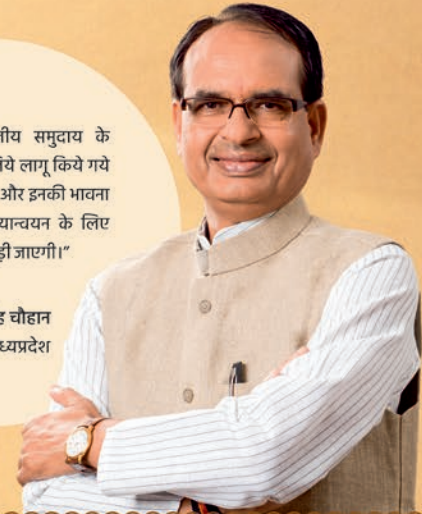
- परंपराओं और सांस्कृतिक पहचान का गौरव बढ़ेगा
- शराब/ भांग की दुकान ग्राम सभा की अनुमति बिना नहीं
- अस्पताल, स्कूल या धार्मिक स्थल के पास शराब/ भांग की दुकान को दूसरी जगह स्थानांतरित करने की अनुशंसा का अधिकार
- सार्वजनिक स्थानों पर शराब के उपयोग को प्रतिबंधित करने एवं अवैध बिक्री को रोकने का अधिकार
- स्कूल, स्वास्थ्य केंद्र, आंगनवाड़ी, आश्रम शाला एवं छात्रावासों में निरीक्षण एवं मॉनीटरिंग का अधिकार ग्राम सभा को
- ग्राम में हाट बाजार और मेलों के प्रबंधन का अधिकार
- एक तिहाई महिला सदस्यों के साथ शांति एवं विवाद निवारण समिति, यह समिति परम्परागत तरीके से विवाद निपटारा करने में होगी सक्षम
- सामाजिक सौहार्द और भाई-चारा कम करने वाली किसी भी गतिविधि का समर्थन नहीं करेगी ग्राम सभा
- धर्मान्तरण से संस्कृति संरक्षण के लिये अधिकार

श्रमिकों के अधिकार

- ग्राम सभा साल भर की कार्ययोजना बनाकर ग्राम के हर पात्र मजदूर को दिलाएगी मांग आधारित रोजगार
- केंद्र और राज्य की रोजगार मूलक योजनाओं में कार्यों का निर्धारण करेगी ग्राम सभा
- रोजगार मूलक कार्यों में मस्टर रोल की गलतियों को ठीक करने का अधिकार
- गांव से पलायन और मजदूरों के शोषण को रोकने का अधिकार ग्राम सभा के पास
- नियत मजदूरी दर को गांव में सार्वजनिक स्थान पर एक बोर्ड पर प्रदर्शित किया जाएगा
- किसी साहूकार द्वारा शोषण पर ग्राम सभा अनुशंसा के साथ उपखण्ड अधिकारी को भेज सकेगी शिकायत
- किसी हितग्राही मूलक योजना में गांव के सबसे ज्यादा आवश्यकता वाले पात्र हितग्राही को मिलेगी प्राथमिकता

“ पेसा नियम जनजातीय समुदाय के सर्वांगीण विकास के लिये लागू किये गये हैं। इनको सफल बनाने और इनकी भावना के अनुरूप प्रभावी क्रियान्वयन के लिए कोई कोर-कसर नहीं छोड़ी जाएगी।”

शिवराज सिंह चौहान
मुख्यमंत्री, मध्यप्रदेश





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the state patronage. But this seems to be political propaganda as Netaji advocated the free India will preserve the rights of citizen and will not interfere in freedom and liberty of individuals as well as federation. He said the need of authoritarian state in post-independent India just to implement the socialistic policy without any hindrance, as deplorable socio-economic conditions of India at that time needed rapid modernization program. He said in a speech delivered at Tokyo university in November 1944, “to carry out that economic programme in the best possible way. You cannot have so-called democratic system, if that system has to put through economic reforms on a socialistic basis. Therefore, we must have a political system— a State—of an authoritarian character.”¹⁷ This state will work as the servant of masses rather clique for few rich individuals. It was the need of the hour to implement welfare scheme for masses which could only be done under the patronage of strong nationalist government which is socialist in character. Also, Sugata Bose have defended Netaji’s approach in his book about holding power that “Yet it is doubtful that he would have been personally enamored of the trappings of state power. His entire life was characterized by a series of renunciations of wealth and weal, worldly comfort and joy. The streak of self-abnegation was stronger in his character than that of self-assertion.”¹⁸ This could also be seen in his letter to Emilie which he wrote after

There were very few leaders of the Indian national movement who have pragmatic idea of international relations and geo-politics as of Netaji’s stature. He studies a lot and draws his inspirations from ancient Indian philosophy to be pragmatic in dealing with foreign affairs. He believed in Gita’s doctrine of, *atmawathmanyathejagath* -which means that man would judge the world according to his own nature

resigning from presidentship of Congress that “India is a strange land, where people are loved not because they have power, but because they give up power.”¹⁹ He was of the opinion that he had gain much popularity by resigning than holding the position in Congress office.

Foreign Policy

There were very few leaders of the Indian national movement who have pragmatic idea of international relations and geo-politics as of Netaji’s stature. He studies a lot and draws his inspirations from ancient Indian philosophy to be pragmatic in dealing with foreign affairs. He believed in Gita’s doctrine of, “*atmawathmanyatejagath*-which means that man would judge the world according to his own nature.” He never sees Indian enemies outside rather in India and took help from fascist as well as communist against British. In the course of freedom struggle his first-hand understanding of international affairs developed and urged that India’s foreign policy should not, he argued, “be influenced by the internal politics of any country or the form of its state.” India needs to widen its support

during the struggle and increase its soft power by propagating its art, culture, heritage, movies, food and literature which would make India popular abroad. He also understood the worth of information warfare through discourses, that’s why insisted “I do not like the word propaganda — there is an air of falsity about it. But I insist that we should make India and her culture known to the world.”²⁰ Also, active foreign trade policy must be needed “in a comprehensive manner so as to co-ordinate India’s economic development with its export trade on the one hand and its external obligation on the other.”²¹

Netaji had demonstrated what sort of consequences such a foreign policy brought with it which is more ‘idealistic’ rather ‘realistic’.²² If the adage “the enemy of my enemy” is true, alliances must also be made with morally repugnant nations. Without a military component, neither friends nor enemies will take foreign policy seriously. Additionally, loyalty arises from shared interests as well as from being useful to one another. Anton Pernika concluded for Bose understanding of foreign affairs as Bose India’s self-presentation in international politics should have nothing to do

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with morals and only to do with India national interests. Over fifty years later, India's behavior in this arena has clearly been neither "Gandhian" nor "Nehruvian"—rather, it has corresponded to Bose's understanding.' Therefore, his politics of strategy based on national interest instead of global visions, this politics that Bose and Mao, Nixon and Kissinger practiced: this strategy has become the hallmark of India's foreign policy and national security policy, albeit late. In this way, India has created the background that will allow it to be recognized by the other players in world politics as an equal partner. The India that does not hold all other nations to its own morals; rather the India that recognizes and respects the interests of others out of self-interest, so that Indian interests are also recognized and respected. This India stands on the threshold of being a global power.²³

Defence

Netaji believed that the post-1857 demilitarisation of India was the most unfortunate incident in the history of India. This led to complete surrender of freedom and liberty which possibly could outset British very much earlier.

He understood the importance of military power, by that only a nation could protect itself from any imperialistic expansion and project itself one among equal in geo-politics and international affairs. He believed that in independent India the large industries will rapidly modernize and innovate military on scientific and technical knowledge. He said that 'India will need help from abroad for her speedy industrialization as well as for the organization of her Army, Navy and Air Force. She will, therefore, require machinery of all kinds, scientific and technical knowledge and equipment, and scientific and technical experts. She will also require military experts and military equipment for Pioneer building up her national defence. In these matters, the Tripartite Powers can render valuable assistance.'²⁴ So, the very first step which independent India should take would be the establishment of modern war industries for self-defence which would definitely need rapid industrialization. For internal defence, he wants a citizen defence corps apart from government institution to promote harmony, internal peace and good will.

Industrialization

Perseverance in adversity has a quality which Netaji possessed. He even in his hectic political life had a full plan for Industrialization and considered this as most important for national reconstruction which will help in eradicating poverty, illiteracy, unemployment for 380 million Indian populations. He wanted the state sponsored industrialization of heavy industries with its symbiotic relationship with small-scale cottage industries. He believed that to make India self-reliant and economically independent agriculture improvement will not be sufficient, so rapid industrial growth under the aegis of planning commission would be necessary. This will be backed by scientific and technological development. He in his interview delivered to Meghnad Shah highlighted the issues regarding industrialization which includes

- 1) Though from the industrial point of view the world is one unit, we should nevertheless aim at national autonomy, especially in the field of our principal needs and requirements.
- 2) We should adopt a policy aiming at the growth and development of the mother industries, viz., power supply, metal production, machine and tools manufacture, manufacture of essential chemical, transport and communication industries, etc.
- 3) Technical education and innovation for

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industrialization should be free from government control and student should be sent to countries like Japan to train modern scientific way.

- 4) There should be a permanent National Research Council.
- 5) Lastly, as a preliminary step towards national planning, there should be an economic survey of the present industrial position with a view to securing the necessary data for the National Planning Commission²⁵

At the same time Netaji was also cautious for not indulging in any imperialistic wars and sustainably exploit the nature for maximum benefit. For this he wanted large scale planning with maximum benefit. He categorized industries “under three heads — heavy, medium and cottage industries. Heavy industries at the present time are no doubt the greatest value for the rapid economic development of the country. They form the backbone of our national economy. We cannot unfortunately make much headway in this direction until we capture power at the Centre and secure full control of our fiscal policy. The medium-scale industries can be started by business leaders with Government co-operation and help. As regards cottage industries, I have already observed that there need not be any conflict between their development and that of large-scale industries.”²⁶

Socio-Economic Reconstruction

Netaji was a staunch nationalistic which he believed imbibed him

with qualities of *satyam* (truth), *shivam* (good), *sunderam* (beauty) and *tyaga* (sacrifice)²⁷. These according to him are highest humanely qualities inspired from Indian culture and civilization as he does believe that ‘India of the past is not dead. India of the past lives in present and will live on in the future.’²⁸ So, he believed in socialistic principals which were inspired from traditional Indian notion of welfare state. He advocated inclusive nationalism where state doesn’t discriminate on the basis of caste, color, sex and religion. His pragmatic understanding of Indian society believed in mutual cooperation which led the idea of secularism not in the sense of a separation between religion and politics, but a politics based on respect for and reconciliation of religious differences. He wanted complete eradication of poverty, illiteracy and unemployment through removing the caste barrier and fundamental rights which would be equal for all.

The sole cause of social differences is British domination, and once Indian attains freedom it will “concentrate her whole attention on the solution of the social problems. The most important social problem is that of poverty and unemployment. India’s poverty under British rule has been due principally to two causes — systematic destruction of Indian industries by the British Government and lack of scientific agriculture. Then, India will concentrate its energy to “to look after the welfare of the laborer, providing him with a living wage, sickness insurance, compensation

for accident etc. Similarly, the peasant will have to be given relief from excessive taxation and also from his appalling indebtedness.”²⁹

He also understood the importance of education in removing all the barriers and said “Under free India, all these men and women could be sent to work at once all over the country in order to erect Schools, Colleges and Universities. Side by side with this work, experiments will have to be made for evolving a national system of education in accordance with the needs of the Indian people. Also, he wanted to popularize Indian philosophy to the world which he believed that has something new to contribute to the world. He has plan for national unity which would include mutual respect, citizen defence corps and common script for Hindustani language in Roman were major themes which he discussed in different platforms. Also, his idea of municipal socialism was appealing which will work directly on ground to provide better living condition, houses, education, health and electricity to all.

Conclusion

Netaji had given the strong critics to self-proclaimed benign British Indian government both in action and in discourses. He saw Swaraj as the only sovereign remedy for all ills. He wanted that independent Indian government should have policies and programs which should be derived from Indian roots, at same time modern, backed by scientific and rational

thinking. His visionary programs included foreign policy, nature of state, reconstruction programs, national planning and much more. His remedy for the issues and programs were 'free Indian state'

which would stand as an anti-thesis to all the caste, communal, linguistic and imperialistic struggles that have persisted. He wanted modern India based of course on the past which will solve

its future problems in her own way by naturally, studying experiments made in other countries— but, after all, to solve our problems in an Indian way and under Indian conditions. ●

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Pradeep Deswal

Netaji Subhas and Mahatma Gandhi

It is true that everything was not good in the relationship between Netaji and Gandhiji, but everything was not bad either. An objective deliberation

Netaji's association with Gandhiji begins in the year 1921 when, after renouncing the prestigious ICS job, he returned to India from London. At the time, he had not become Netaji, was only Subhas Chandra Bose. A young 24 year old Subhas reaches Mumbai on 16 July, 1921 and on the same afternoon reaching Mani Bhawan, he meets Gandhiji. Netaji wrote about that first meeting with the supreme leader of the country in detail in his book, 'The Indian Struggle'. When Subhas entered Gandhiji's room, many of his followers were sitting there. All of them were dressed in khadi but Subhas was in western clothes. He apologized to Gandhiji and soon felt at ease with Gandhiji's hearty smile and warmth.

Subhas puts forth a barrage of questions in front of Gandhiji. He wanted clarity on the next phase of the non-cooperation movement that was being run by the Congress. Gandhiji answers each of his questions with infinite patience. Netaji writes - "*There were three points which needed elucidation. Firstly, how were the different activities conducted by the Congress, going to culminate in the last stage of the campaign, namely the non-*

payment of taxes? Secondly, how could mere non-payment of taxes or civil disobedience force the government to retire from the field and leave us with our freedom? Thirdly, how could the Mahatma promise 'Swaraj' within one year – as he had been doing ever since the Nagpur Congress?"¹

Netaji was satisfied with Gandhiji's answer to the first question, but the answers to the second and third questions disappointed him. Netaji writes - "*I tried to persuade myself at the time that there must have been a lack of understanding on my part, my reason told me clearly, again and again, that there was a deplorable lack of clarity in the plan which the Mahatma had formulated....*"²

Gandhiji advised Subhas to seek guidance from Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das. Subhas was already in contact with Deshbandhu. Subhas soon reached Kolkata. In Chittaranjan Das Subhas found the Guru he was looking for. Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das was against the non-cooperation movement from the very beginning. The Resolution of Non-Cooperation in the special session of the Congress held in Calcutta in September 1920, passed by 1886 votes against 884³, which

was proof that there was a lot of opposition to Gandhiji's proposal.

Subhas was arrested on 10 December 1921 and is imprisoned for eight months. After the Chauri Chaura incident of 4 February, 1922, without consulting the Congress leaders, Gandhiji withdraws the non-cooperation movement, due to which his chief aides Motilal Nehru, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, Lala Lajpat Rai and other prominent leaders of the country felt extremely disappointed.⁴ This was the beginning of ideological differences between Gandhiji and Subhas.

Subhas was elected General Secretary of the Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee in 1923. The same year, leaders like Motilal Nehru and Deshbandhu

Chittaranjan Das formed the Swaraj Party due to differences with Gandhiji. The Swaraj Party participated in the elections to the Central Legislative Assembly and Provincial Legislative Councils and performed very well.

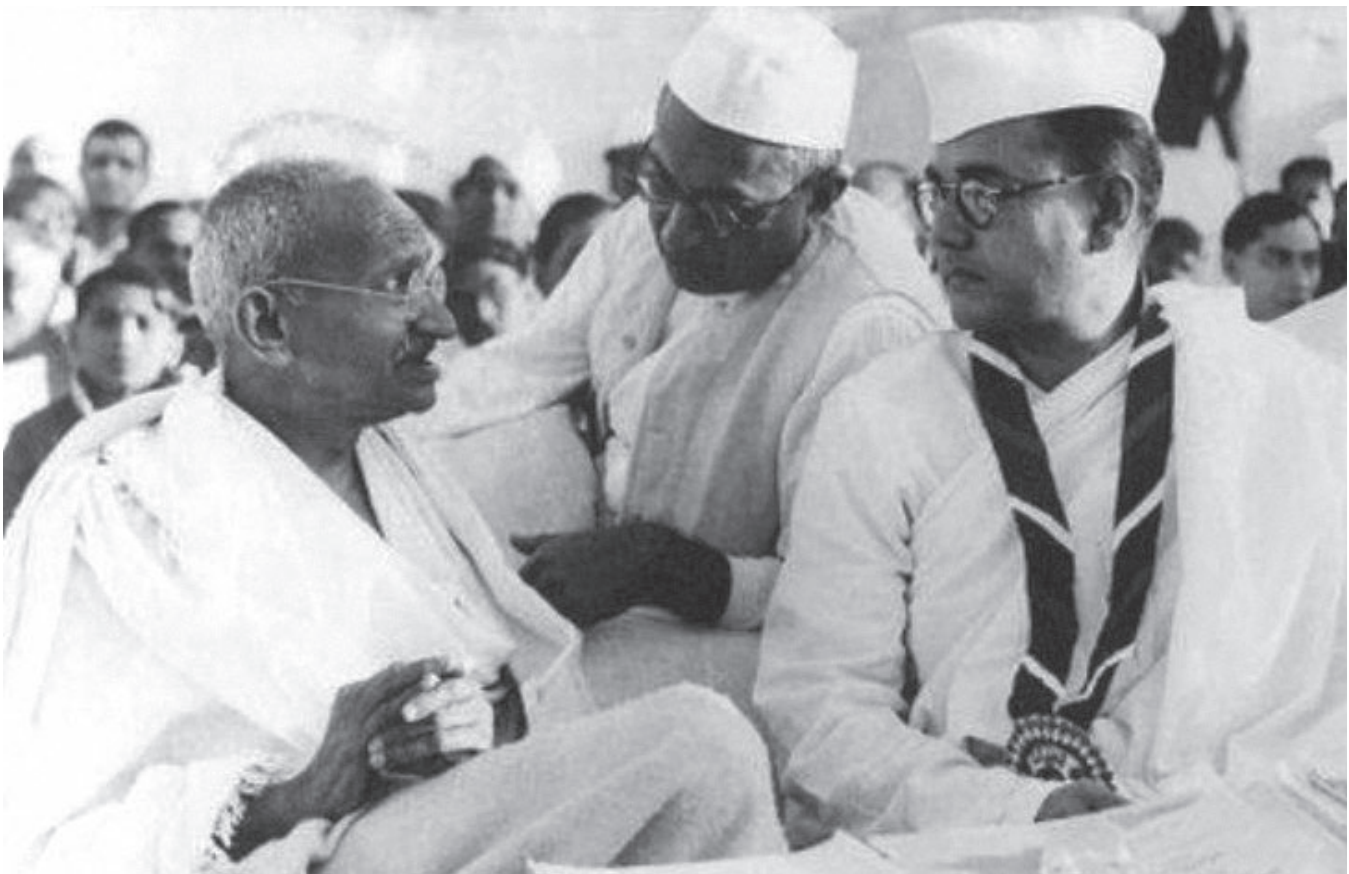
In 1924, Calcutta Municipal Corporation elections were held where Chittaranjan Das was elected Mayor. He appointed Subhas Chandra Bose as the Chief Executive Officer. Subhas did a great job for the development of Calcutta.⁵

In the year 1924 when Gandhiji was released from jail, he retired from politics and took up the task of promoting Khadi. Although the leaders and workers of the Swaraj Party had great respect for the Mahatma as a person, this party was undoubtedly an anti-Gandhi

party and was powerful enough to force the Mahatma into voluntary retirement from politics. This retirement continued until the December 1928 Calcutta session of the Congress.⁶

Subhas was re-arrested and deported to Mandalay Jail in Burma in 25 October 1924. He was elected President of the Bengal Congress and General Secretary of the All India Congress Committee in 1927. He organized the youth across country. Although Subhas was seven years younger, he matched Jawaharlal's appeal, possessing dash, eloquence, industriousness, an arresting appearance and a radical image.⁷

A committee of all parties was formed under the chairmanship of Motilal Nehru in May 1928



to draft the new constitution of India, in which Subhas was also included. On one hand all the members of the committee were unanimous on Dominion Status, however, Subhas was for the goal of complete independence. The Committee Report was to be presented in the December 1928 session of the Congress, which was to be held in Calcutta; for approval. Gandhiji was also returning to politics from this session. The next link in the chain mail of differences between Gandhiji and Subhas was also to be added in Calcutta.

Subhas formed the Congress Volunteers Corps. Gandhiji was not pleased to see Subhas as General Officer Commanding and the volunteers dressed in military uniform. He sarcastically compared the Congress pandal to Bertram Mills Circus.⁸

Gandhiji proposed to accept the report of the Nehru Committee –which advocated for Dominion Status–in the Calcutta Session. When there was a division of votes on this proposal in All India Congress Committee meeting on 28 December 1928, Jawaharlal Nehru remained absent and even Subhas did not oppose. The proposal passed by 45 votes against 118. In a press release, Subhas said that I will not oppose this proposal in the open session of the Congress; but when Gandhiji's proposal came in the open session on 31 December, Subhas proposed amendment.⁹

Since, Subhas himself was a member of the Nehru Committee and had also signed the report, there was opposition to him for

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bringing an amendment against the same report. Presenting the amendment proposal, Subhas explained the situation and said - "*I did not feel prepared to accept the responsibility of the consequences of a division in this house in case our amendment was accepted. Now I feel prepared to accept the consequences*"¹⁰

Subhas Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru had established 'Independence for India League' with the youth by their side. Jawaharlal stood by the amendment proposed by Subhas against the report of his father Motilal Nehru's committee. Subhas had said in his speech regarding Gandhiji and other senior leaders - "*We want our leaders, we love them, we revere them, but at the same time we want them to keep abreast of the times.*"¹¹

Although, Subhas's amendment proposal could not be passed but 1350 votes against 973 votes¹² was evidence that an ideology different from Gandhiji's, was also coming forward in the Congress. Jawaharlal Nehru also supported the amendments brought in by Subhas Chandra Bose¹³ but, later

retracted and said - "*I did so half heartedly.*"¹⁴ Speaking in favour of the Dominion Resolution and against the amendment brought by Subhas in Calcutta Congress session of 31 December, 1928, Gandhiji said - "*If you will help me and follow the programme honestly and intelligently, I promise that Swaraj will come within one year.*"¹⁵

It should also be remembered here that eight years before this, while starting the non-cooperation movement, Gandhiji had promised to get Swaraj in one year, but it could not happen. In a speech given on 31 December 1928, Gandhiji condemned the corruption prevailing in the elections of the Congress, alleging that he had heard a delegate ticket of one rupee sold for Rs.15. The unexpected opposition received from Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas hurt Gandhiji a lot. He said - "*You may take the name of Independence on your lips, but all that muttering will be an utterly empty formula if there is no honour behind it. If you are not prepared to stand by your own words, where will Independence be?*"¹⁶

Jawaharlal Nehru showed full faith in Gandhiji's leadership,

because of which, a year later in the Congress session being held on the banks of the Ravi in Lahore, the presidency of the Congress transferred from father Motilal Nehru to son Jawaharlal Nehru. However, Gandhiji and Subhas clashed again. A few days back, on 23 December 1929, the revolutionaries had blasted a bomb under the special train of Viceroy Lord Irwin in Delhi. Due to thick fog, the distance of the train could not be accurately estimated, due to which the explosion could not take place under the compartment in which Irwin was sitting. In the Lahore session, Gandhiji came up with a resolution congratulating on Viceroy Irwin's safe escape. He wanted the resolution to be passed unanimously, but there was a close fight. There were 935 votes in favour of the motion and 897 votes against it.¹⁷

When it came to the formation of a new working committee, Gandhiji proposed fifteen names of his choice. Although, there was a very strong sentiment in favour of Srinivasa Iyengar and Subhas amongst All India Congress Committee members, but there

names were deliberately struck off. Gandhiji was not ready to listen to anyone.¹⁸ Now Gandhiji could implement his plans without fear of any opposition in the working committee and if there was any opposition from outside the working committee, he would have forced the public by threatening to retire from the Congress or fast unto death.¹⁹

In January 1930 Subhas was arrested again and while in prison was elected the Mayor of Calcutta. When released from jail on 26 January 1931, he was lathi-charged by the police while leading the procession and then put in jail. In the beginning of year 1932, Subhas was again arrested and got seriously ill in jail. The government agreed to release Subhas on the condition of going to Europe for treatment. Subhas was taken to Mumbai port in an ambulance on 13 February, 1933 and put on the ship SS Gange. Subhas reached Vienna in March 1933 and the treatment began. In the sanatorium, where Subhas was admitted, Sardar Patel's elder brother Vitthalbhai Patel was also undergoing treatment. Subhas served Vitthalbhai with complete

dedication. Vitthalbhai was one of the prominent leaders of the Swaraj Party, which was founded by Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, Subhas's political mentor.

Gandhiji suspended the Civil Disobedience Movement at the beginning of May 1933. Both, Vitthalbhai and Subhas, strongly condemned it in Vienna. On 9 May, 1933, they issued a joint statement called the Bose-Patel Manifesto. In this statement, calling Gandhiji a failed leader, there was talk of a change in leadership.²⁰ While discussing the language of the joint statement with Vitthalbhai in the room at the Hotel de France in Vienna, Subhas said - "*Gandhiji is an old piece of furniture. He has done good service in his time but now he is an obstacle now.*"²¹

After the death of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, Lala Lajpat Rai and Motilal Nehru, there was no one left in Congress who could stand firm in front of Gandhiji. Criticizing the decision to withdraw the movement, Netaji writes - "*With the lamented death of Motilal Nehru, the last intellectual stalwart of the Congress had disappeared.*"²² After some time Vitthalbhai went to Geneva. There his health deteriorated further. In September 1933, he was admitted in the clinic La Légrinin Gland near Geneva for treatment, but his health kept deteriorating day by day.

At the end, on 22 October 1933, Vitthalbhai left this world. Subhas Chandra Bose had served him devotedly in his last days. Mahatma Gandhi praised him on

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several occasions in this regard. On 27 October 1933 Gandhi wrote to Sardar Patel – "*Subhas, it seems, was beyond all praise. From all sources I hear reports of his wonderful attention to Vithalbai. I have written to him. You also should write.*"²³

Everything was fine so far but the relations took a turn for the worse when it was learned that Vitthalbhai had made a will in his last days, in which three-quarters of his total wealth was said to be given to Subhas Chandra Bose for the political uplift of India. Vitthalbhai had no children.

Subhas sent a copy of the will from Geneva to Gordhanbhai Patel who was the executor of the aforementioned will and asked for the property. When Gordhanbhai showed that copy to Sardar Patel who was lodged in Nashik Jail, he was surprised. Sardar doubted the credibility of the will. He wanted to know why all the three witnesses who had signed Vitthalbhai's will were Bengali; whereas Vitthalbhai's friends-Bhulabhai Desai, Walch and Hirachand, Ambalal Sarabhai etc. were present around Geneva in those days.²⁴ On 6 April, 1934, Gandhi wrote to Dahyabhai – Sardar Patel's son – that, "*I am of opinion that we should not do anything in the matter at all and we should let go anything that passes into Subhas Bose's hands. I believe he will use it for only public purposes.*"²⁵

However, Gandhiji's advice was not paid heed and the case dragged on. When Subhas was elected Congress President, Sardar Patel had offered through

Gandhiji that he was ready to give all of Vitthalbhai's property to the Congress Working Committee or any other committee of Congress leaders to be used for the purpose mentioned in the will. Maulana Azad also tried to persuade Subhas to accept this proposal but Subhas was not ready for it. He did not agree on the suggested names of Gandhiji and Azad in the committee.²⁶

The dispute reached the Bombay High Court where Justice Bomanji Wadia heard it. His decision went against Subhas. Subhas filed an appeal against Justice Wadia's decision, which was heard by Chief Justice John Beaumont and Justice Harilal Kaniya. Later, Justice Kania became the first Chief Justice of Supreme Court of India. His elder brother Sarat Chandra Bose represented Subhas in the case who himself was a renowned lawyer. Nevertheless, here also the verdict remained against Subhas.²⁷

Neither Netaji Subhas nor Sardar Patel had any greed for money. Both had given up everything in the service of the nation, but it was unfortunate that both were standing against each other in the court for property. Sardar Patel won the case but neither he nor any member of his family took any of that property. One-lakh rupees were given to the Vithalbhai Patel Memorial Trust.²⁸ The personal feud between the two affected their political decisions as well. At the end of 1937, when Gandhiji nominated Subhas for the post of Congress President for the

next year, Sardar said - "*I have seen that Subhas is unsteady.*"²⁹

Gandhiji also wrote to Sardar Patel on 1 November 1937 – "*I have observed that Subhas is not at all dependable. However, there is nobody but he who can be the President.*"³⁰ In those days, Gandhiji was staying at Netaji Subhas's house in Calcutta.

This was the time when Jawaharlal had been the President of the Congress for the last two years and after him, there was no other name but Subhas, who could take up the work of the Congress forward at the same pace. Probably that is why it was agreed to make Subhas the President. Subhas was standing with Jawaharlal Nehru at the time of Kamala Nehru's death in Lausanne, Switzerland on 28 February 1936. He approached Nehru in those days for political advice because, in the eyes of Subhas, 'no one was more reliable'.³¹

Ignoring the warnings of the British government, on 8 April 1936 Subhas reached Mumbai. As soon as he descended, he was arrested. On 17 March 1937 Subhas was released and in May 1937 he reached Dalhousie for health benefits where he stayed at a friend, Dr. Dharambir's house. In October 1937, in Calcutta, Subhas met with the top leadership of Congress. Both Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi along with their team stayed at the house of Subhas's elder brother Sarat Bose.

In January 1938 when Subhas was on a trip to Europe, he was unanimously elected as the President of the Congress.

Although Sardar Patel was not in favour of this, but Gandhiji's consent had brought everyone together. Then in February 1938, Congress session was held at Haripura in Gujarat. In the home state of the God of non-violence, revolutionary Subhas got a rousing welcome as Congress President. Fifty-one white bullocks pulled his chariot to the venue of the convention. It took two hours to cover a distance of two miles as a huge number of people gathered all along the way to welcome him.³²

Sardar Patel had made grand arrangements for the Congress session at Haripura. Even though Gandhiji had urged that no more than Rs. 5000 should be spent, Sardar Patel however was ready to spend even Rs. five lacs. New roads were constructed, pontoon bridge was built over the river. For arrangement of milk and ghee, five hundred cows had already been taken there a month before. Arrangements were made for hospital, bank, post office, telegraph office, telephone exchange etc. The new President Subhas Chandra Bose's cottage was built on the banks of the river at a place where he could enjoy the water and the trees beyond.³³

In Haripura, Subhas put his policies and plans in front of the country. He talked about the social and economic reconstruction of India. He advocated a national language as Hindustani, which was a mixed form of Hindi and Urdu and was spoken and understood in a large area of India in those days. He also talked about population control.

Subhas further advocated for eradication of poverty, abolition of Zamindari system and low-interest loans for rural people. He also recommended large industries. Although, Subhas stressed on encouraging cottage industry as well, but the support for big industries took him away from Gandhiji's policies. He suggested the formation of a planning commission, talked about internal democracy in the party, and opposed the imposition of leaders from the higher ups.

The next one year was very hectic. Subhas was roaming all over India. He had formed the National Planning Committee and appointed Jawaharlal Nehru as its chairman. He talked about the need for Hindu-Muslim unity with far more seriousness than Jinnah did, but here he did

not get the expected success. Subhas strongly opposed the federal scheme provided in the Government of India Act by the British in 1935. He refused to settle with the British for anything less than complete independence. He soon felt the approaching footsteps of Second World War, which he saw as an excellent opportunity for India.

But all was not well in the Congress. Gandhiji and his followers were not happy with the working style of Subhas. Subhas wanted to give Britain an ultimatum for complete independence and if the government did not accept this demand in a certain time, then a movement was to be launched at the national level, because the pressure on Britain will increase when the war starts in Europe, which will be a golden opportunity for India. However, Gandhiji was not ready for this and refused to lead the movement saying that the atmosphere in the country was not in favour of non-violent movement.

In a letter written on 15 July 1938 to Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Patel wrote, "*We have to deal with a President who does not know his own work.*"³⁴ On 28 October 1938 Maulana Azad sent a report to Sardar Patel stating that Subhas's supporters had come to persuade him to be the President for the next year. It was reported that they said that if Maulana withdrew from the election, Sardar Patel would become the President, which Subhas did not want.³⁵ Upon this revelation, on 2 November 1938, Sardar Patel

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wrote to Rajendra Prasad - "I never dreamt that Subhas will stoop to such dirty mean tactics for re-election"³⁶ Relations had soured to such an extent that the election had now become a clash not only of political ideologies but also of personal prejudices. Subhas writes to his future wife Emilie Schenkl on 6 December 1938, - "It is doubtful if I shall be re-elected President for the coming year. Many people are jealous of me."³⁷

Maulana Azad said that Netaji's supporters wanted him to become the President in order to prevent stop Patel. Subhas in his letter to Emilie Schenkl dated 4 January 1939, wrote that some people are telling Gandhiji that this time a Muslim should become the President.³⁸ There was a severe lack of mutual trust. Subhas Chandra Bose was Jawaharlal Nehru's strongest rival after Mahatma Gandhi to lead India's politics³⁹ and probably that is why all the forces mobilized to block his way.

Although most of the prominent leaders of the Congress stood against Subhas in 1939, but Gandhiji was hell-bent on ousting him from the Congress itself.⁴⁰ Subhas expressed his desire to contest the election of the Congress President. Gandhiji offered Nehru to become the President for the next year but he refused and in turn suggested the name of Maulana Azad. At first Maulana agreed to this proposition, however, when he came to know that the election would not go uncontested rather, he would have to compete with

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Subhas, he refused.⁴¹

In January 1939 in Bardoli, Gandhiji and prominent members of the Congress Working Committee: Sardar Patel, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Acharya Kriplani and Bhulabhai Desai tried to convince Maulana Azad to contest the Presidential election but he was not ready. Then as a last resort, just a week before the election, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya was made the candidate.

At Gandhiji's request, Sardar Patel and seven members of Working Committee including Rajendra Prasad on January 24th, issued a statement calling upon the Congress delegates to vote in favour of Pattabhi Sitaramayya. Sardar Patel also asked Jawaharlal Nehru to sign that joint statement but he refused citing it a matter of principles, although, he had opposed Subhas contesting the election.⁴² On 8 February 1939, Sardar Patel wrote a letter to Jawaharlal Nehru saying – "This statement had been drafted at Gandhi's urging."⁴³ There was no doubt that the rebellion against Subhas had Gandhiji's blessing.

Subhas was hurt when some members of the working committee openly favoured

one of the two candidates. In his words, "If the President is to be elected by the delegates, and would not be nominated by influential members of the working committee; will Sardar Patel and other leaders take back their whips and leave the matter of voting to the delegates?"

Regarding Sardar Patel and other Gandhians – whom he called right wingers – Subhas alleged, "It is widely believed that there is a prospect of a compromise on the federal scheme between the right wing of the Congress and the British Government during the coming year. And consequently, the right wing do not want a leftist president who may be a thorn in the way of a compromise and may put obstacles in the path of the negotiations."⁴⁴ Subhas also claimed that if an agreement is reached to make a true leftist like Acharya Narendra Dev the President, he will withdraw from the election. But the opposition group was not ready for this either. Subhas accused Gandhiji's followers of trying to compromise with the government, going so far as to say that "It is also generally believed that the prospective list of ministers for the federation

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cabinet has been already drawn up."⁴⁵

These were very serious allegations that were going to take the controversy to a new height in the future. Unfortunately, there was no evidence through which Subhas could prove his allegations. The federal scheme given in the Government of India Act 1935 was being opposed across the country, because of which Sardar Patel could not support it. Therefore, this allegation was refuted by Gandhiji's followers like Sardar Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Rajaji, Maulana Azad, JB Kripalani etc. and was called a false allegation. Since, Subhas could not provide concrete evidence in favour of the allegations, the issue of aspersion was not allowed to end even after the elections.⁴⁶

Jawaharlal Nehru also issued a separate statement on January 26 opposing Subhas's contesting the elections. In this way, almost all the big leaders of Congress opposed the election of Subhas. After being elected as the President in 1936, Nehru had expressed his desire to be re-elected in 1937, and even after opposition by Sardar Patel, Gandhiji had removed the thorns from Nehru's path. Nehru had become the President for the second time in a row, but two years later, at the time of Subhas, he too stood against it. In an article in 'Harijan' dated 28 January 1939, just a day before the election Gandhiji wrote, "In the present condition of the Congress, I can only see anarchy and ruin of the country."⁴⁷

Despite open opposition from Gandhiji and his followers, Subhas won the election of Congress President held on 29 January. In the division of votes held, he got 1580 votes against 1375 to Sitaramaiya. Subsequently, on 31 January, Gandhiji gave a statement, "I was decidedly against his re-election. Dr.Pattabhi's defeat is my defeat. It simply means to me that the Congress representatives do not approve of those principles and policies by which I stand." While consoling his followers, Gandhiji had said - "I rejoice in his (Subhas's) victory....after all Subhas Babu is not the enemy of his country. He has suffered for it."⁴⁸

On 4 February 1939 Subhas issued the statement, "It pains me to know that Mahatma Gandhi took the election result as his personal defeat. It would be very unfortunate for me to be successful in earning the confidence of all the other people, but fail to win the confidence of the greatest man of India." Nehru in a letter to Subhas written on 4 February had objected to Subhas's use of words 'rightist' and 'leftist' in his statements.⁴⁹ Mahatma Gandhi, in a letter written to Subhas on 5 February 1939, had also objected to the use of the word 'rightist' for his followers.⁵⁰

On 11 February 1939, Netaji wrote to Emilie Schenkl about his victory in the election - "Mahatma Gandhi and his lieutenants opposed me and Pandit Nehru was indifferent. The result of the election is a great victory for me. The whole

*country is full of excitement.."*⁵¹ To end the differences and form a new working committee he went to Sevagram and met Gandhiji on 15 February, but the conversation ended inconclusively. While returning from there to Calcutta, he became seriously ill. The meeting for Congress Working Committee was to be held in Wardha from 22 February. He sent telegrams to Gandhiji and Sardar Patel asking for postponement of the meeting until the Congress session scheduled to be held in Tripuri in the beginning of March.

However, in response to this, the twelve members of the Working Committee – Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad, Rajendra Prasad, Sarojini Naidu, Bhulabhai Desai, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Shankar Rao Dev, Dr. Harekrishna Mahatab, J B Kriplani, Jairamdas Daulatram, and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan – resigned in protest against Netaji. It is believed that the resignation letter was drafted by Gandhiji.⁵² Jawaharlal Nehru was the thirteenth member who though did not resign but issued a statement which was no less than a resignation. The two remaining members were Subhas himself and his elder brother Sarat Chandra Bose.

Congress session was held in Tripuri in March. Subhas was ill. He was taken in an ambulance to the convention camp. During the Tripuri session, Govind Vallabh Pant moved a resolution according to which, the Congress President could constitute a new working committee only with

the consent of Gandhiji. This resolution was neither drafted by Sardar Patel nor did he spoke in favour of it. In fact, he carefully kept distance from the stage in Tripuri.⁵³

Rajaji had prepared the resolution brought by Pant. It was he who spoke mercilessly on behalf of Patel in support of this resolution – *"There are two boats on the river. One is an old boat, piloted by Mahatma Gandhi. Another man has a new boat, attractively painted and beflagged. Mahatma Gandhi is a tried boatman who can safely transport you. If you get into the boat, which I know is leaky, all will go down, and the river Narmada is indeed deep."*⁵⁴

Gandhiji's followers were not even ready to compromise with Subhas. Rajaji sarcastically said, *"The new boatman says - If you don't get into my boat, at least tie my boat to yours. This is also impossible. We cannot tie a leaky boat to a good boat, exposing ourselves to the peril of going down."*⁵⁵ Pant's motion was passed. Subhas contacted Gandhiji for formation of a new working committee for which there was a lot of correspondence between the two. In a letter written on 25 March, 1939 Subhas suggested that he gives seven names, Sardar Patel should give seven names. He even writes that Gandhiji too would not want him to remain a puppet President.

Subhas again wrote on 29 March 1939 – *"If you really take both the parties into confidence by taking a non-partisan approach, then you could save*

Subhas wrote that Mahatma Gandhi had been giving ultimatums to the British Government for the last twenty years but, you did not like when I gave this suggestion. He further said – *"For some time past I have been urging on everybody concerned, including Mahatma Gandhi and yourself, that we must utilise the international situation to India's advantage and, to that end, present the British government with our National Demand in the form of an ultimatum; but I could make no impression on you or on Mahatmaji*

the Congress and maintain national unity." But Gandhiji did not give any name. In the letter dated 30 March, he asked Subhas to form the working committee of his choice and wrote – *"As far as the Gandhians are concerned, they will not put obstacles in your way."* But this was not true. The resolution brought by Pant in Tripuri belonged to the Gandhians only and after it was passed, the Working Committee could not have been formed without Gandhiji's choice.

In a letter written on 31 March, Subhas again prayed to Gandhiji that he could bring about coordination and unity between the two factions. Subhas even went on to the extent to write – *"I am ready to make any sacrifice for this. If you think the Congress would be able to fight better if another President was in office, I will happily resign. If national gain is achieved by eliminating myself, I assure you that I will completely exonerate myself. I love the motherland so much that I can do all this for her."* However, this letter also proved to be ineffective.

Subhas also corresponded with Jawaharlal during this

period. On 28 March 1939, he wrote a long letter to Nehru titled 'Riding Two Horses'. In this letter, Subhas told Jawaharlal – *"I have been treating you with utmost regard and consideration, in private life and in public. I have looked upon you as politically an elder brother and leader and have often sought your advice."*⁵⁶ Accusing Nehru, Subhas said – *"Since the Presidential election, you have done more to lower me in the estimation of the public than all the twelve ex-members of the Working Committee put together."*⁵⁷

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*“When I am being unfairly attacked from several quarters – being hit below the belt, as they say – you do not utter one word of protest – you do not offer me one word of sympathy. But when I say something in self-defence, your reaction is – ‘Such argumentative statements do not help much.’”*⁶⁰

Subhas was in pain that the election result was not accepted sportingly. Grudges against him continued to be nurtured and the spirit of revenge flourished. On behalf of the other members of the Executive Committee, Nehru took up the charge against him.⁶¹

Responding to Subhas's letter, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote in a letter dated 3 April, 1939 – *“I was against your standing for election for two major reasons: it meant under the circumstances a break with Gandhiji and I did not want this to take place. I thought it probable that you would win the election as against Pattabhi, but I doubted very much whether you could carry the carry the Congress with you in a clear contest with what is Gandhism.”*⁶²

Jawaharlal Nehru's letter was a confirmation of the fact that after becoming the President against Gandhiji's wish, Subhas was not going to get Gandhiji's

support. Because of the Pant's proposal, Subhas could not form the Working Committee without Gandhiji's consent and Gandhiji was telling Subhas to form the Working Committee with the members of his own choice and prepare his programme. If the All India Congress Committee accepted Subhas's programme, then all was fine, otherwise Subhas should to resign and the AICC would elect its new President.⁶³

Gandhiji wrote to Subhas on 10 April 1939 - *“Pandit Pant's resolution I cannot interpret. The more I study it the more I dislike it.”*⁶⁴ Gandhiji disliked Pant's resolution and at the same time his lieutenants were using the it to settle score with Subhas. Subhas had written on 29 March 1939 to Gandhiji that there was a lot of rumor in Tripuri that he had extended full support for the Pant proposal.⁶⁵ Nehru tried to mediate and on 17 April 1939 wrote to Gandhiji - *“You should accept Subhas as President. To try to push him out seems to me to be an exceedingly wrong step.”*⁶⁶

Speaking about his fundamental differences with Subhas, Gandhiji had said on 5 May 1939 - *“It includes giving*

*an ultimatum to the Government. He holds that we possess enough resources for a fight. I am totally opposed to his views. Today we possess no resources for a fight. Today the whole atmosphere is so steeped in violence that I cannot think of fighting.”*⁶⁷

When Gandhiji was asked that he has had differences even with the socialists and Jawaharlal, would he have done the same to them; he said - *“There are certainly differences between Jawaharlal and me. But they are not significant. Without him I feel myself a cripple.”*⁶⁸

Before the meeting of the All India Congress Committee on 29 April 1939 in Calcutta, Gandhiji and Subhas discussed the formation of the Working Committee. Gandhiji while clearly denying his role in the formation, again suggested that Subhas should form a Working Committee of his own choice. Subhas refused, saying that it would be contrary to the decision taken in Tripuri and that the Congress would need a composite leadership in times of crisis.⁶⁹

Both were firm on their respective stand. Subhas resigned from the post of Congress President, when all the efforts of the settlement failed. As a last resort, Nehru urged Subhas to withdraw his resignation and asked to keep the old Working Committee again. As far as new members were concerned, there would be two vacancies soon (Jamna Lal Bajaj and Jairamdas Purushottam Das were about to resign due to health reasons). He asked Subhas to choose

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members of his choice against these vacancies, but he refused. Sarojini Naidu's request also remained ineffective. The All India Congress Committee elected Rajendra Prasad as the new President. Subhas formed the Forward Block within the Congress. Except for the three members of the old Working Committee, all members were same. Those three who left were –Subhas, his brothers Sarat Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru.⁷⁰

Talking about the compulsion of not being able to accept Nehru's proposal, Subhas had said - *"Ordinarily Mahatmaji's word is law to me, but where principles are involved, I sometimes feel unable to accept his advice or suggestion..... My own view definitely is that there should be an inclusion of fresh blood every year. To ensure continuity of policy, majority of the old committee members may remain. But in a vast country like India, the highest executive of the Congress should not be made the close reserve of a group of individuals."*⁷¹

It was such a conflict of principles in which neither Subhas nor Gandhiji backed down. Talking about his resignation, Subhas on 14 May 1939 wrote to Emilie Schenk- *"I had a majority among the 3000 delegates of the Congress – I do not have a majority among the 400 members of the AICC. I have not lost anything by resigning. As a matter of fact, I have become more popular now."*⁷² On 15 June, 1939 he again wrote to Emilie Schenk - *"India*

*is a strange land where people are loved not because they have power, but because they give up power."*⁷³

In a statement on 15 July 1938, Subhas had said – *"No one can ever throw me out of the Congress until my last breath."* But he had to resign due to not being able to win Gandhiji's trust. Then in July 1939, for the next three years he was disqualified from holding any position in Congress.

Gandhiji's role was probably the biggest in making the national movement a mass movement, but he did not accept anyone challenging his leadership and authority. He could lead any movement or party only wherein no one would question his decisions. Since Subhas did not compromise with his principles, his clash with Gandhiji was not resolved. Jawaharlal Nehru's political, economic and social thinking did not match with Gandhiji and whenever there was a situation of conflict between the two, Gandhiji would have forced Nehru to retreat.

On 1 November 1937, Sardar Patel and other Gandhians in the Working Committee were instigated by Gandhiji to resign against the then Congress President Nehru in a protest against the Mysore resolution.⁷⁴ The Mysore Resolution was passed in Calcutta under the chairmanship of Nehru, in which atrocities being committed in the princely state of Mysore on the people were criticised and the people of British India were called upon to give all possible assistance to the people

of Mysore in their struggle. Gandhiji declared it a violation of the Congress policy and called it ultra vires in his article published in the 'Harijan' on 13 November, 1937, told.⁷⁵

When Nehru wrote a letter to Gandhiji and explained his stand, it was conveyed to him, on behalf of Gandhiji, that not Nehru but his colleagues in the Working Committee were guilty about the Mysore Resolution and that they had failed in their duty whereas Nehru was disciplined. If he knew that the Mysore Resolution was ultra vires, he would have stopped it.⁷⁶ It can be seen from the Mysore Resolution incident that Gandhiji was inciting his followers against the President and consoling the President by saying that the followers were guilty. The result was that both sides were dependent on Gandhiji. He would not allow anyone to become so big as to challenge his leadership. On 12 August 1939, Subhas was removed from the post of President of the Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee on charges of indiscipline and for the next three years could not hold any elective office in the Congress.

On 3 September 1939, Viceroy Linlithgow announced India's participation in World War II without consulting Indian leaders. The next day Gandhiji went to Shimla to hold talks with Viceroy Linlithgow. Describing the conversation with the Viceroy, on 5 September, Gandhiji said - *"As I was picturing before him the Houses of Parliament and the Westminster Abbey and their possible destruction, I broke*

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down.”⁷⁷

Gandhiji was distressed by the prospect of Britain's defeat in the war, but Subhas saw in this an excellent opportunity for India's independence. It was an open confrontation between two ideologies. Not only Gandhiji but other top leaders were also saddened by Britain's trouble. They saw this war as an attack on democracy by Fascism and Nazism. Gandhi told the Viceroy about Nehru - *"He is a friend of the English people. Indeed, he is more English than Indian in his thoughts and make-up. He is often more at home with Englishmen than with his own countrymen."*⁷⁸

By May 1940, Britain's condition in the war had worsened. Although, Subhas saw India's opportunity in Britain's trouble, but Gandhiji and Nehru thought the opposite. In a letter to Rajendra Prasad, Nehru had said - *"I think it would be wrong for us at this particular moment, when Britain is in peril, to take advantage of her distress and rush at her throat."*⁷⁹ Gandhi was ready to cooperate with Britain but not military cooperation.

But Nehru, Rajagopalachari, Maulana Azad etc. were ready to cooperate in the war and sacrifice Gandhiji's principle of non-violence, if the British were willing to accept their terms.⁸⁰

In year 1939-40 Netaji repeatedly urged Mahatma Gandhi to take full advantage of the situation arising out of the World War and immediately start a movement to fight for complete independence but Gandhiji was not ready. He was against adding to the difficulties of the troubled Britain. By the time of 1942, Gandhiji started feeling the possibility of victory of the Allies declining and his opinion, which had criticized Subhas's actions till now, started changing. By January 1941 Gandhiji had become an admirer of Subhas's courage and resourcefulness in safely leaving India after hoodwinking the British government.⁸¹ So did Britain's possible defeat in the war and the prospect of Netaji entering India as the Commander-in-Chief of the National Army forced Gandhiji to start 'Quit India Movement'?

In the beginning of 1942, after the Japanese occupied Burma,

there was a possibility that Japan would also attack India. Netaji Subhas was in Germany in those days. There was also news that Subhas could come to East Asia and raise a National Army and fight against Britain on Indian border with the Japanese help. Then, on 24 April, 1942, Jawaharlal Nehru while talking to reporters in Guwahati said - *"I shall also Mr. Subhas Bose and his party along with Japan if he comes to India. Mr. Bose acted very wrongly though in good faith."*⁸²

Not only Jawaharlal Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi was also ready to fight against Subhas. On 15 May 1942 he said - *"Subhas has risked much for us; but if he means to set up a Government in India, under the Japanese, he will be resisted by us."*⁸³ Even after all this, when Netaji formed the Azad Hind Fauj, he named the first three brigades - Gandhi Brigade, Nehru Brigade and Azad Brigade. Maulana Azad was the President of Congress in those days. It should also not be forgotten that in the year 1940 Netaji was very hurt by the actions taken by Maulana Azad against him in the name of discipline after becoming the President of the Congress.

Netaji mentioned his pain in a letter written to Gandhiji on 23 December 1940 - *"Maulana is walking headlong on the path of alleged disciplinary action. If he wants, we will face them in their own way. Since you seem to have tacit approval of Maulana's work, I do not seek your interference in this matter."*⁸⁴ In his reply on 29

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गैल (इंडिया) लिमिटेड



भारत की अग्रणी प्राकृतिक गैस कंपनी

एनर्जाइजिंग पॉसिबिलिटीज

देश में बेची जाने वाली प्राकृतिक गैस में 53% का योगदान

भारत में कुल प्राकृतिक गैस संचरण पाइपलाइनों के 3/4 भाग का संचालन



मुख्यमंत्री लाडली बहना योजना

₹ 3000 तक बढ़ेगी राशि



नरेन्द्र मोदी, प्रधानमंत्री

21 वर्ष से ही मिलेगा लाभ



1 करोड़ 25 लाख बहनों को हर महीने ₹ 1000



राजकुमारी
सकरपुर गांव, मिवाड़ी
"योजना के एक हजार
में अपने परिवार पर खर्च करेगी।
मेरे खाते में पैसा होगा तो जब
ज़रूरत पड़ेगी तब खर्च करेगी।"



मृदुलेश शुक्ला
बड़ा बाजार, पंचा
"मुख्यमंत्री जी इस योजना में जो राशि हमें दे रहे हैं
उससे बच्चों की पढ़ाई और घर में पोषिक खाने के
खर्च में मदद मिलेगी।"



मोनलिसा मिश्रा
कुन्दरा टोला, शहडोल
"हम बहनों के लिए एक सीधी सच्ची योजना
की ज़रूरत थी। सीधे हमारे खाते में पैसे आयेगी।
हमारा मान-सम्मान बढ़ेगा।"



अनीता बिश्वकर्मा
संकटमोचन कॉलोनी, राजगढ़
"मेरे पास आय क्व कोई साधन नहीं है।
ऐसे कठिन समय में मुख्यमंत्री जी की यह योजना
मेरे लिए बरदान से कम नहीं है।"



चाहना
बिरसा मुण्डा वार्ड, कटनी
"मेरे बच्चों के पढ़ाने काहती हूँ।
मुख्यमंत्री जी की इस योजना से
हमारे पूरे घर में खुशी है।"

December 1940, Gandhiji wrote - *"I quite agree with you that either of you (Subhas Bose and Sarat Bose) is more than a match for the Maulana Saheb as far as popularity is concerned. But a man has to put conscience before popularity."*⁸⁵ While Gandhiji was accepting the popularity of Netaji on the one hand, he was also accusing him of behaving against his conscience on the other hand. In the same letter, Netaji had also offered to work in the national movement under the leadership of Gandhiji unconditionally, but Gandhiji rejected that as well in his reply.

Netaji hurt by Maulana Azad's behaviour wrote to his elder brother Sarat Bose on 31 October 1940 - *"When Swaraj is attained, then, what will happen to the Nation if power goes into the hands of vindictive and unscrupulous people? If we don't protest now, then we will not be able to stop power from going into their hands."*⁸⁶ Even after this much of bitterness, Netaji named the regiments of Azad Hind Fauj as Gandhi brigade, Nehru brigade and Azad brigade which shows his foresight and paramount nationalistic spirit.

Netaji Subhas was the first person to address Gandhiji as the 'Father of the Nation'. He addressed Gandhiji from Azad Hind Radio Rangoon on 6 July 1944. In this message he described in detail the circumstances for his leaving India in 1941, going to Germany, the need to come to East Asia and wage war against the British by raising Azad Hind Fauj and Azad Hind Government

In the heart of Netaji, there was no less respect for Gandhiji, Nehru and other national leaders, but when it came to India's independence, there could be no compromise. In June 1945, Viceroy Lord Wavell was trying to negotiate with the Congress leaders. Netaji was restless to see the enthusiasm of the Congress leaders in India over the Wavell's proposal. He constantly put pressure on the Congress through radio messages asking them to not compromise with the British for anything less than complete independence. General elections were about to be held in Britain on 5 July 1945

in 1943. He said - *"It was easiest for me to live in the country and work the way I had been working for so long. It was also an easy task for me to remain in some jail in India till the end of the war. On personal front there was no harm in doing so."*⁸⁷ All the big leaders had chosen the same easy path but Netaji had chosen endless suffering. By doing so, Netaji had put not only his future but also his life at stake. He said - *"If I had even the slightest hope that I would get freedom without struggle from outside, I would never have left India at this time of crisis."*⁸⁸

In those days, the British and the sycophants of the British were doing a lot of bad propaganda against Netaji. He was being called a puppet of Germany and Japan. Answering these allegations Netaji said - *"He who remained dedicated to the self-respect and dignity of the country all his life and who took innumerable pains to protect it, would be the last person to surrender to a foreign power."*⁸⁹

Netaji had made it clear that the mission of the Interim Government would be accomplished once the

enemy was driven out of India and peace and order restored. In return for all his efforts, sufferings and sacrifices, he wanted only one reward - the freedom of the motherland. It was a more honourable for him to become a sweeper in independent India than to get the highest position in the British Raj.⁹⁰ The last sentence of the same address made Mahatma Gandhi the Father of the Nation. Netaji says - *"Father of our nation! We seek your blessings and best wishes in this holy war of India's freedom."*⁹¹

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on 5 July 1945. In those days, the Conservative Party was in power and Prime Minister Winston Churchill was a staunch opponent of India's independence. He wanted to make an agreement with the Congress without giving independence to India, so that he could get an advantage in elections and get large number of soldiers from India to fight against Japan in the war going on in the Far East.

As opposed to this, on 19 June, 1945, from Azad Hind Radio Singapore, Netaji said - "*If Congress leaders lead Indian troops to fight Britain's imperialist war in the Far East, we will have no option but to fight against our own countrymen.*"⁹² Where in 1942 Gandhiji and Nehru used to talk about fighting against Netaji, in 1945 Netaji was forced to say this. Netaji asked Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Azad, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel and other Congress leaders whether they would take

responsibility for sacrificing the lives of five lakhs Indians to fight Britain's imperialist war."⁹³

In his address on 21 June 1945, Netaji called upon the people of India against Lord Wavell's proposal and said - "*The responsibility of the fate of India rests with the people of India and not with the Congress Working Committee. Therefore, launch a vigorous agitation against this ominous proposal and ensure that it is thrown in the trash before 5 July 1945 is over.*"⁹⁴

On 26 June 1945 Netaji said on the radio - "*I know that some leaders in the country are extremely indignant that I have opposed their plan to enter into an agreement with the British Government. They are also angry with me for drawing attention to the glaring blunders of the Congress Working Committee.*"⁹⁵

Netaji had to fight on many fronts simultaneously. On one side there was the huge army of the British equipped with modern

weapons and their propaganda system and on the other hand were those who were doing malicious propaganda against Netaji in India. Netaji's brave soldiers had taken a pledge of victory parade at the Red Fort in Delhi. Unfortunately, on 18 August 1945, Netaji left and his brave soldiers reached the Red Fort not as a winner but as prisoners of war. However, his historical struggle generated such a tsunami of patriotism that the whole country echoed with the slogans of 'Netaji Zindabad' and 'Azad Hind Fauj Zindabad'. Such was the magic that even Jawaharlal Nehru was forced to defend the officers of the Azad Hind Fauj, during famous Red Fort trials, adorning the black gown of a lawyer. Netaji and his army inspired the unprecedented Naval Mutiny in February 1946. Netaji gave the gift of freedom to India by forming the Azad Hind Fauj, not by staying within the Congress. ●

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Gandhi's Contribution into the Freedom Struggle

Subhas Chandra Bose

Broadcast from Bangkok on October 2, 1943

A lot has been said and heard about the relationship between Subhas Chandra Bose and Mahatma Gandhi. Instead of listening to everyone, it would be interesting to know what Subhas Babu himself thought about Gandhiji. This speech of Subhas Babu is from the time when he had left the Congress and established the Indian National Army and had declared war against Britain and America. Readers can feel how much respect he had for Mahatma Gandhi even at that time despite the much publicised differences. This speech broadcast from Bangkok on Gandhiji's birthday is being quoted here from this point of view

This day, Indians all over the world are celebrating the 75th birth anniversary of their greatest leader, Mahatma Gandhi. It is customary on such an occasion to relate the life- experiences of the man whom we honour and to whom we pay our homage of love and respect. But the Indian people are so well acquainted with the life and work of Mahatma Gandhi that it would be an insult to their intelligence if I were to begin narrating the facts of his life. I shall, instead, devote myself to an estimation of the place of Mahatmaji in the history of India's struggle for independence. The service which Mahatma Gandhi has rendered to India and to the cause of India's freedom is so unique and unparalleled that his name will be written in letters of gold in our national history for all time.

In order to estimate correctly Mahatma

Gandhi's place in Indian history it is necessary to take a bird's eye-view of the British conquest of India. You all know that when the British first set foot on Indian soil, India was a land flowing with milk and honey and it was the wealth of India which had attracted poverty-stricken Englishmen from across the seas. Today we find that as a result of political



enslavement and economic exploitation the Indian people are dying of hunger and starvation, while the British people who were once so poor and needy have grown fat and rich on the wealth and resources of India. Through sorrow and suffering, humiliation and torture, the Indian people have learnt at long last that the only solution of their manifold problems is the recovery of their lost liberty. Turning to the methods of the British conquest of India, we see that the British never attempted to fight the entire.

Indian population in any part of the country, nor did they try to conquer and occupy the whole of India at once. On the contrary they always tried to win over a section of the people, through bribery and corruption, before they commenced military operations. This was the case in Bengal, where the Commander in-Chief, Mir Jaffar, was won over by the British by offering him the throne of Bengal. At that time the religious or communal problem was unknown in India. The last independent king of Bengal, Siraj-ud-dowla, who was a Muslim, was betrayed by his Commander-in-Chief, who was also a Muslim, and it was the Hindu Commander, Mohanlal, who fought for Siraj-ud-dowla till the very last. The lesson that we have learnt from this episode in Indian history is that unless timely steps are taken to prevent and to punish treachery, no nation can hope to preserve its independence.

The developments in Bengal did not unfortunately open the eyes of the Indian people in time. If, even after the fall of Siraj-ud-dowla in Bengal, the Indian people had made common cause against the British, they would have easily succeeded in throwing the unwanted foreigner out of Indian soil. No one can say that the Indian people did not fight in order to retain their freedom, but they did not fight all together. When the British attacked

Bengal, nobody attacked them from behind. When, later on, the British fought Tippu Sultan in South India, neither the Marathas in Central India nor the Sikhs in the North came to the rescue of Tippu Sultan. Even after the fall of Bengal, it was still possible to overthrow the British, through the combination of Tippu Sultan with the North. Unfortunately for us, this was not done. It was, therefore, possible for the British to attack one part of India at a time and gradually extend their rule over the whole country. The lesson that we have learnt from this painful chapter of Indian history is that unless the Indian people stand united before the enemy, they will never be able to achieve their independence, nor will they be able to preserve it even if they acquire it.

It took a long time for the eyes of the Indian people to be opened. Ultimately, in 1857, they woke up and made a concerted attack on the British, in different parts of the country. When the fight began, the fight that the British historians call the Sepoy Mutiny and we call the First War of Independence, the British were easily defeated at first. But two factors accounted for our ultimate failure. All parts of India did not join in the fight; and, what is more significant, the technical skill of our army commanders was inferior to that of the commanders of the enemy forces. It is a fact that Europe had made considerable progress in the art of modern warfare in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the Indian people had not kept abreast of the times. Consequently, when the final clash with the British forces took place our army leaders were found wanting. The lesson that we have learnt from our failure in 1857 is that, in future, the Indian people must keep up intimate contact with the progress made by other nations in every walk of life, especially in the art of warfare.

After the defeat in 1857, the Indian

people were disarmed by the British. It was the greatest folly and mistake on their part to submit to disarmament at that time. If the Indian people had not been disarmed and thereby rendered helpless, it would have been possible for them to strike for their liberty once again, within a short period of time. Owing to disarmament, however the Indian people lay politically prostrate and despondent for nearly thirty years. Ultimately, in 1885, a political awakening took place through the birth of the Indian National Congress. The Indian National Congress was in the beginning a moderate body. The leaders of the Congress were at first afraid of demanding complete independence and the severance of the British connection.

Within a brief span of twenty years, however, new life was infused into the Congress. By 1905, we find leaders like Aurobindo Ghosh demanding complete independence for India. Along with this demand for independence, more extreme methods were adopted for achieving liberty. In Bengal the boycott of British goods was adopted as a retaliation against the partition of that Province, and this method of boycott was gradually taken up all over India. Not content with economic boycott, Indian youths next took to the cult of the bomb and the revolver. A number of youths were sent abroad to learn revolutionary sabotage in Paris and other European centres, while Indian youths as a whole began to study the revolutionary methods adopted in other parts of the world, notably in Russia and Ireland.

During the last World War, the Indian leaders were duped by false promises made by unscrupulous British politicians and, as a result, Indian blood and money were poured out in the service of Britain and in order to strengthen the chains of India's bondage. It must, however, be said to the eternal honour

of the Indian revolutionaries that they did not allow themselves to be deceived by Britain and they did their very best to work up a revolution in the country. But, unfortunately for India, they failed.

When the last World War was over and the Indian leaders began to demand the liberty that had been promised to them, they discovered, for the first time, that they had been betrayed by perfidious Albion. The reply to their demand came in the form of the Rowlatt Act—or the Black Act—in 1919, which deprived them of what little liberty they still possessed. And when they protested against that Black Act, the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre followed. For all the sacrifices made by the Indian people during the last World War, the two rewards were the Rowlatt Act and the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre.

After these tragic events of 1919 the Indian people were stunned and paralyzed for the time being. All the attempts for achieving liberty had been ruthlessly crushed by the British and their armed forces. Constitutional agitation, boycott of British goods, armed revolution—all had alike failed to bring freedom. There was not a ray of hope left and the Indian people, though their hearts were burning with indignation, were groping in the dark for a new method and a new weapon of struggle. Just at this psychological moment Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the scene with his novel method of Non-cooperation and Satyagraha or Civil Disobedience. It appeared as if he had been sent by providence to show the path to liberty. Immediately and spontaneously, the entire nation rallied round his banner. Every Indian's face was now lit up with hope and confidence. Ultimate victory was once again assured.

For twenty years and more Mahatma Gandhi has worked for India's salvation,

and with him the Indian people too have worked. It is no exaggeration to say that if in 1920 he had not come forward with his weapon of struggle, India would today perhaps have been still prostrate. His services to the cause of India's freedom are unique and unparalleled. No single man could have achieved more in one single life-time under similar circumstances. The nearest historical parallel to Mahatma Gandhi is perhaps Mustapha Kemal Pasha who saved Turkey after her defeat in the last World War and who was acclaimed by the Turks as the "Gazi". Since 1920 the Indian people have learnt two things from Mahatma Gandhi which are the indispensable preconditions for the attainment of independence. They have, first of all, learnt national self-respect and self-confidence as a result of which revolutionary fervour is now blazing in their hearts. Secondly, they have now got a countrywide organization which reaches the remotest village of India. Now that the message of liberty has permeated the hearts of all Indians and they have got countrywide political organization representing the whole nation, the stage is set for the final struggle for liberty, the last war of independence.

It is not in India alone that a struggle for freedom has been heralded by a spiritual awakening. In the Risorgimento movement in Italy, it was Mazzini who first gave the spiritual inspiration to the Italian people. He was then followed by the fighter and the hero Garibaldi, who began the March to Rome as the head of one thousand armed volunteers. In modern Ireland, too, the Sinn Fein Party, when it was born in 1906, gave the Irish people a programme which was very much similar to Mahatma Gandhi's non-cooperation programme of 1920. Ten years after the birth of the Sinn Fein Party, that is, in 1916, the first armed revolution in Ireland took place. Appendices 137

Mahatma Gandhi has firmly planted our feet on the straight road to liberty. He and other leaders are now rotting behind the prison bars. The task Mahatma Gandhi began has, therefore, to be accomplished by his countrymen, at home and abroad.

Indians at home have everything that they need for the final struggle, but they lack one thing—an army of liberation. That army of liberation has to be supplied from without and it can be supplied only from without.

I would like to remind you that when Mahatma Gandhi commended his non-cooperation programme to the Indian nation at the annual session of the Congress at Nagpur in December 1920, he said, "If India had the sword today, she would have drawn the sword". And proceeding further with his argument, Mahatmaji then said that since armed revolution was out of the question, the only other alternative before the country was that of non-cooperation or Satyagraha. Since then times have changed and it is now possible for the Indian people to draw the sword. We are happy and proud that India's Army of Liberation has already come into existence and is steadily increasing in numbers. We have, on the one hand, to complete the training of this Army and send it to the field of battle as soon as possible. We have, simultaneously, to build up a new army that can go on reinforcing the Army in the field. The final struggle for liberty will be long and hard and we must go on fighting, till the last Britisher in India is either cast in prison or thrown out of the country. I would like to warn you that after our Army of Liberation sets foot on Indian soil, it will take at least twelve months, and perhaps more, to liberate the whole of India from the British yoke. Let us, therefore, gird up our loins and prepare for a long and hard struggle.



Ambarish Pundalik

Netaji and Savarkar

“The chief of Indian national army proceeded alone to the frontline and talked to Indian officers in the British Army not to be false to their love of India and the independence of India in strong, heart-stirring words. A miracle was accomplished. The shooting was stopped. Savarkar’s militarization policy in World War II had begun to shape up. The speech was finished. Waves of cheer rose from the Indian soldiers who jumped into the INA.”

The reference to the above episode is described in Japanese writer Ohsawa’s *Two Great Indians in Japan*, written after Japan’s victory over Britain at Singapore of on 15 February 1942.

While the rest of Ohsawa’s description is easier to understand, namely, how the Indian soldiers employed in the British Army were attracted towards the Indian National Army without fighting; how Capt. Mohan Singh encouraged them to fight for the freedom of the country by making them swear allegiance to the motherland, it is the following sentence that makes the reader stop for a moment and forces her to think: how had Savarkar’s advocacy for a policy of militarization begun to take

shape in World War II?

What was all this? In what way was the army set up by Ras Behari Bose and later led by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose connected to Veer Savarkar? Netaji and Pandit Nehru along with Gandhi had worked together in the Congress. Despite their differences, one must admit that they did function together. Netaji and Savarkar, however, never worked together on a common platform for the freedom of the country. Once, when he was the President of the Congress, Netaji had proposed that Savarkar join the Congress, but the latter had rejected this. Both were patriots. The inspiration of sacrificing everything for the country was present the lives of both.

A young Vinayak Savarkar, who had made a bonfire of foreign cloth had been rusticated from the hostel of Poona’s renowned Fergusson College; similarly, Subhas too was expelled from the Presidency College of Calcutta in his youth on the allegation of him having beaten up the college’s Professor Oten. Because of refusing to swear the oath of allegiance to the British, Savarkar had to lose his barrister’s degree; here too, Subhas did likewise, returned to India considering this form loyalty

Netaji and Savarkar were complementary to each other even though they did not work together. How, an analytical study

to be a matter of life and death. He forsook his ICS degree in London itself. Both of them considered it necessary to follow the footsteps of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj for the sake of India's independence of. In the absence of Savarkar brothers Tatyrao and Babarao, who were serving life imprisonment in Andaman's cellular Jail, their sister-in-law Yesu took care of her household with great care; in the absence of these Bose brothers, Subhas and Sarat, who were undergoing imprisonment in Seoni, Madhya Pradesh, Saratbabu's wife; Subhasbabu's sister-in-law Bibhabati played an important role in maintaining the Bose family during this difficult period. When Savarkar went to Britain for higher education, he received the news of the death of his son Prabhakar. His grief at that time found expression in the form of these lines written as a poem: "Prabhakar! After you were born, your mother once brought you before me and following the dignity of respecting the elders of the house, both of us husband and wife were able to spend only a few moments with each other. I

could hardly see your face at that time. I never saw you after that day and today, the news of your death has come to me".

On the other hand, Netaji, who was undertaking a dangerous voyage from Germany to Japan, got to see his daughter Anita (Pfaff), who was born two months before his departure from Germany, only once. He then left for Japan, and could never come back to see his wife and daughter. Anita remembers Netaji only as a tale, not as a father. Savarkar's jump into the ocean from the ship in which he was captive, off the coast of Marseilles (France) shows his unique heroism. So too is the case with Subhas; while traversing the ocean in a submarine, the incident of transferring to the Japanese submarine by tying a rope from the German submarine in the middle of the ocean is remarkable as the only incident of its kind during the entire Second World War.

The allegation that "Savarkar apologized" has not left the Veer Savarkar till date, just like some people ridiculed Subhas who took help from Japan, by calling him "Tojo's dog".

All the above-mentioned incidents do show similarity in the lives of both these two great men. However, no student of history, researcher or reader would dare to say that the ideology of Netaji and Savarkar is the same. Savarkar was an ideologue of Hindutva, while Netaji Subhas sometimes seems to be approaching the threshold of communism. But the complementarity of two historical individuals progressing towards a common goal in different ways can also be an aspect in this kind of debate. And the occasion to experience this was the Second World War.

On September 1, 1939, Hitler's mighty army attacked Poland. Poland's resistance collapsed in a matter of weeks and it suffered a comprehensive military defeat. After Poland, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Holland and France were overrun by Nazi Germany. Next, German warplanes began raining bombs on Britain. World War Two had broken out. Britain and France stood on one side with Germany and Italy arraigned on the other.

Voicing his thoughts on these international developments, Mahatma Gandhi said, "When the adversary is beset by difficult circumstances, it would be immoral to make any move against him". Jawaharlal Nehru in fact, went further to say, "At such an hour, our sympathies ought to be on the side of Britain". It was Netaji Subhas who alone said, "This is the time. Forgetting all differences, patriots should start a mighty movement because of



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which the British will be forced to leave India”.

Veer Savarkar, who was elected president of the Marathi Sahitya Sammelan in 1939, foreseeing the coming world war, said “Leave the pen and take up the gun!” After the open declaration of war, he said, “Pick up the gun at this opportunity of mobilization the government is doing to prepare for this world war. Later, it can be decided which way to turn those guns.” Owing to this statement supporting militarization and particularly, military preparedness, Savarkar has had to endure criticism till date.

On the one hand, Subhas Chandra Bose was looking for a way to get out of India, firmly believing that something would have to be done while Britain was caught up in the war. On the other hand, meeting Gandhi, he strived to convince the latter to exert a strong push against the British Raj from within the country. The Forward Bloc announced an agitation against the Hall well Memorial in Calcutta and in the meantime, on June 22, 1940, Subhas met Savarkar. This is said to be a confidential meeting and parley. Two different accounts regarding this meeting have come from both the camps. Subhas wrote in his book *The Indian Struggle*, “Savarkar seemed oblivious to the international situation and was only thinking how Hindus could get military training by entering the British army”. Savarkar’s personal secretary Balarao Savarkar wrote in detail about this meeting in the four-volume biography of Savarkar.

Balarao writes: “Savarkar asked Subhasbabu to avoid going to jail by getting involved in agitations like the Halwell Memorial. If possible, he was also encouraged to seek help from the enemies of Britain by going out of India”.

So, was it Savarkar who suggested to Subhasbabu that he should get out of India? Was Subhas completely unaware of this alternative before meeting Savarkar? The fact is that Subhas had already prepared to leave India’s shores before his meeting with Veer Savarkar. Some evidences of this are found in his character and activity. However, of all the options that were conflicting in Netaji’s mind while thinking about all that could be done on the occasion of the Second World War, the firm conviction that Subhasbabu ought to choose the option of going out of India discarding all other activities was definitely underlined as a result of this meeting. In the course of this meeting, Savarkar showed Subhas a few letters of Ras Behari Bose sent from Japan. We know that Ras Behari Bose had caught the attention of the British when he had thrown a bomb at Lord Hardinge at Chandni Chowk in Delhi in 1915. Further in that year, he escaped to Japan dodging the British and also became a citizen of Japan by marrying a Japanese lady. This was not to avoid being hanged at the hands of the British, but to keep striving for India’s independence while living in Japan.

Ras Behari Bose and Savarkar maintained a regular correspondence. These letters were exchanged through the monks of a Buddhist Vihara

located in Worli, Bombay (now Mumbai). Savarkar also declared Ras Babu the President of the Hindu Mahasabha in Japan. The failure of the Khilafat movement meant that that the Hindu-Muslim unity would be a mere dream; however, could Hindu-Buddhist unity be realized? Savarkar was trying to probe this possibility with the help of Ras Behari Bose, who lived in Japan.

Japanese War Minister General Hajime Sugiyama summoned Ras Behari Bose to his office prior Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor and asked latter his expectations from Japan in the event of war breaking out. And it was Ras Babu who strongly advocated that Japan to extend its battlefront to India, despite Japan initially not having any intent to move ahead of Burma (now Myanmar). Major Fujiwara of the Japanese army along with Ras Babu became acquainted with Mohan Singh in the battle of Alor Star. Ras Babu handed over 45,000 Indian soldiers who had taken part in the battle of Singapore to Mohan Singh. This was going to take the shape of the Indian National Army later. Netaji, meanwhile, had reached Germany in a most dramatic escape from India. There, with the help of Indian soldiers captured by Germany, he began planning to attack India from Peshawar. But in the meantime, Germany invaded the Soviet Union, because of which Subhas’s intended route of marching to India through Moscow was now closed.

On December 7, 1941, Japan entered the war on the German side by attacking the American

naval base of Pearl Harbor. Winning victory after victory, Japan soon captured Singapore from the British.

Viewing all this, Subhas Chandra Bose became eager to proceed to Japan. At that time, the Indian Independence League, founded by Ras Behari Bose, too from its platform called on the Japanese government to bring Subhasbabu to Japan. Bose finally set foot on Japanese soil through the coordination of the German and Japanese military establishments. He took command of the Indian National Army and extended the scope of the army to fighting forces, a separate currency, bank and its own government.

Making 50,000 war prisoners join the Indian National Army was not an easy thing. These Indian soldiers held in Japanese war prison camps were still drawing their salaries from their British rulers on the fixed dates. As such, their family members living in India remained assured. Their livelihoods were being taken care of, and due to some distance from the theatre of actual combat, there was lesser danger of death. Joining the Indian National Army meant that the pay being obtained from the British would cease immediately. Subhas Chandra Bose would not be able to pay their salaries. On top of that, they would almost immediately confront the danger of death. Getting the opportunity to give their lives for the freedom of the country would be the pay of these soldiers! And this was also clarified by Subhas in his famous

Making 50,000 war prisoners join the Indian National Army was not an easy thing. These Indian soldiers held in Japanese war prison camps were still drawing their salaries from their British rulers on the fixed dates. As such, their family members living in India remained assured. Their livelihoods were being taken care of, and due to some distance from the theatre of actual combat, there was lesser danger of death

call – “Give me blood and I shall give you freedom”. Doesn’t it astonish us to see 50,000 soldiers enlisted to join a military force where they had to plunge into a life of uncertainty, maybe never see their near and dear ones again, endure hunger and dangers and perhaps certain death? Do we not have the slightest idea that this happened because of Savarkar’s call to Indians to join the army?

Actually, there is little need for any conjecture here. In his speech from Singapore Radio on June 25, 1944, Netaji himself says, “When due to misguided political whims and lack of foresight, almost all the leaders of the Congress party condemned those joining the Indian National Army, using derogatory words for them like ‘mercenary soldiers’, at the same time it is heartening to know that Savarkar is fearlessly calling upon the youth of India to join the armed forces. These enlisted youths will prove to be trained men and soldiers for our INA!”

However, this speech mentioned in Savarkar’s biography penned by Dhananjay Keer does not find mention in the collection of Subhas Chandra Bose’s speeches. But this can be reestablished from a letter written by an INA soldier to

Sardar Patel. A soldier named K.N. Rao Sarai writes, “...there are Indian soldiers who have the Indian National Army in their hearts, and who consider Netaji as God. They are those who entered the INA in 1942 heeding the words of Savarkar. The lamp still bears the same light...”

This entire letter is stored in the Indian National Army Indictment and Military Intelligence Reports. With the help of Japan, the bravery shown by the INA in the battle of Imphal-Kohima will be written in golden letters in history. But due to the torrential rains in the forests of Arakan as well as the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan and the Indian National Army lost war. However, we should not commit the folly of believing that Bose’s and Savarkar’s plan failed. The real war of this army began when charges of treason were levelled against the INA soldiers in a trial that commenced at Delhi’s Red Fort. It was because of this indictment that the Indian public came to know for the first time that such a war had been waged for our freedom; that 50,000 soldiers who knew they could obtain only martyrdom as reward of their valour had come forth to fight for the country’s freedom,

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of which that 25,000 soldiers had been martyred of those who had stood up to wage war. A wave of affection, respect and emotion surged for these soldiers of the Indian National Army. Movements in favour of INA soldiers arose in large numbers in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and elsewhere. It was growing exceedingly difficult for the British regime to hang the soldiers. Finally, by the end of December 1945, the government was forced to release all INA soldiers. When these soldiers began returning to their respective villages, huge crowds stood ready to welcome them. Seeing the pride of the soldiers who rebelled against the British Army and joined Subhas Chandra Bose, and also that the people regarded them as patriots, those soldiers who were still in the British Indian Army were now a confused lot. If these rebels were patriots, who were they (i.e., those still loyal to the British Raj)? An environment of mutiny started forming within the British army. Its Indian soldiers were gradually beginning to understand in which direction they had to turn the very guns they had been given to fight the Second World War. The government too began gleaning an idea of what was going on in the minds of the Indian army's soldiers. It gradually began disbanding the military.

The strength of the entire armed forces of Britain during the World War was three and a half million personnel; of this, Indian armed personnel numbered two and a half million. These were gradually reduced to three to three and a half lakhs. But the outcome of the

initiative that the Indian National Army had set in motion was bound to materialize. The naval mutiny in 1946 and the one in the army at Jabalpur are testimony to this. The British had by now come to realize that they could no longer stay put in India for long. General Sinha, the first Indian officer to serve in the Directorate of Military Operations, received some letters through which one gets to learn that the British officials were taking stock of how they could leave India overnight and get away to England trusting only their white soldiers.

But then the weighty leaders of the Congress intervened to pacify the naval mutineers. The British obtained sufficient time of carry out Partition and we all know what happened next.

The Quit India movement which was announced in 1942 ended in failure by 1944 (this is now accepted by most Congress politicians). How did we supposedly get Independence in 1947? If freedom was to be attained as a result of this movement, it should have been attained as soon as the movement had reached a culmination. Why did it take three years for it to happen? If one does want to associate the attainment of Independence, then its association with the indictment of the INA in 1945, the naval mutiny of 1946, and Independence in 1947 seems appropriate.

It was for this reason that in 1952, when Veer Savarkar disbanded Abhinav Bharat, the organization he had established for the attainment of freedom, as president of its culmination

ceremony, he installed Netaji's picture and accorded him the appropriate honour.

Savarkar had foreseen the outbreak of World War II and conceived of the idea of joining the army and rebelling and raising arms against the British rulers at the right time to gain independence, before the outbreak of the War and during the time it was raging. He had also conceived of the Indian National Army, an idea that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose implemented. This Netaji-Savarkar formula alone deserves the actual credit for achieving Independence. This duo of Netaji and Savarkar not work in unison, but rather complemented each other, as we can see from author Ohsawa's accounts, written from a distance. When we perceive this, it is not difficult for us to realize the reality of the events of that period. All it requires is for us to cast aside the blind fold of a prejudiced mentality that has been imposed on our eyes. The occasion of the 75th anniversary of Independence is the appropriate occasion for this. ●

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Dr Anirban Ganguly

Subhas and Syama Prasad

A Reflection

To write in detail about the relationship of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee would be to delve deep into a very complex period of Bengal's and of India's history. Both Dr. Mookerjee and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, the latter perhaps in a greater degree, continue to evoke strong emotions, especially in their beloved province Bengal, which was also the principal base of their political action.

While Dr. Mookerjee's legacy and contributions are still percolating the mass mind of India, Netaji's contributions for India's regeneration have percolated it much more deeply and widely. Since 2014, Netaji's legacy has seen, for the first time since India's independence, a respectful reinstatement in our national life under Prime Minister Narendra Modi's leadership. The most recent, among a plethora of national tributes to Netaji, was the installing of a grand statue of his at the head of Kartavya Path in New Delhi and instituting of a national award, for the first time, in his name. This was an aspiration and demand that was made by countless Netaji admirers over decades. In its fulfillment the deeper and

fundamental significance of his contribution to India's freedom struggle has been publicly acknowledged by a grateful nation.

The deactivation of Article 370 in Jammu & Kashmir and the state's increased pace towards a comprehensive development, the successful conclusion of the G20 meet in Srinagar and a vastly improved law and order situation is perhaps the greatest tribute to Syama Prasad on his 70th death anniversary. The essence and truth of his final struggle has been vindicated. Prime Minister Narendra Modi's sturdy and steady political will, the Jana Sangh's and the BJP's relentless championing of the demand for abrogation of Article 370, the persistence of generations of political activists and leaders, led to the Article's deactivation. It was a demand for which Dr Mookerjee had laid down his life in 1953 at the age of 52.

Netaji's sacrifice was for India's independence; Syama Prasad's sacrifice was for preserving India's unity, integrity, for her freedom and her future. His prognosis of India's security scenario and challenges, if integration was not cemented and final and if the separatist mindset was allowed a free reign came true

Both Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee were from the same background, they also shared a lot on ideological ground. An insight

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in Kashmir in the decades that followed his death.

The legacy of both these iconic stalwarts underwent a period of marginalization. Their political and ideological opponents made a strong and motivated effort over decades, especially after independence, to erase their contributions, to dilute the memory of their public action and of their many-sided contribution to our national life. They did this because both Syama Prasad and Subhas were fiercely independent and articulated determined positions which these political forces did not agree with. The Congress and the communist parties were at the forefront of trying to erase their legacies.

The communists heaped insult on Subhas and Syama Prasad during their lifetime as well. While the communists equated Syama Prasad to the notorious Lord Curzon, for his advocacy of Bengal's partition in 1947 and the need for the creation of a Hindu majority province of West Bengal as an integral part of the Indian union, Subhas was castigated and labeled as a 'Quisling' and the 'henchman' of Japanese

Imperialism. To the communist's motivated campaign likening his demand to that of Curzon's plan to partition Bengal four decades earlier, Syama Prasad responded by saying that, 'that Lord Curzon's partition and our demand for a new province are like poles asunder. The Curzon partition was aimed at giving a deathblow to the "secessionist" Bengali Hindus...Our present proposal for Hindu Bengal on the other hand is aimed at saving Bengali Hindus and also the cause of nationalism which is their life-blood.' The newly proposed province, argued Syama Prasad, 'will have one language and 70 per cent of its population will be Bengali Hindus. After all, the mere mention of the word partition need not throw us into a fainting fit. Let us examine the object with which Lord Curzon tried to advance his imperialistic designs, or the motives that inspired the Communal Award thirty years later, and ask ourselves if our present proposal is not intended to frustrate those very designs and save from political death that element in Indian life which has been

responsible more than anyone else for the dismemberment of British Empire in India.'

The Communist Party of India's mouthpiece 'People's War', for instance, continuously churned out insulting pieces on Netaji, where it termed the INA as a mercenary army of 'rapine' and 'plunder' and that the INA would 'feel the wrath and indignation of our people if it dare set foot on Indian soil to enact acts of pillage and robbery.' Heaping abuse on Netaji 'became the favourite pastime of the Communists.' Naturally, People's War received generous patronage from the British colonial administration. Sales of the mouthpiece, shot up by 124 per cent, 'it came in five languages in addition to six regional language newspapers. The total circulation reached 65,000 copies,' which was a huge number for war time standards.

Of Bengal's fate, many lamented when Syama Prasad passed away, that in an interval of about eight years, between 1945 and 1953, the province and its people lost two of her greatest and most dynamic sons, Subhas Bose and Syama Prasad Mookerjee. The former disappeared in August 1945 after an alleged plane crash in Taipei, while the latter met his end in Sheikh Abdullah's sub jail in Srinagar in June 1953, beyond the reach of India's Supreme Court, lured into captivity, in a joint operation, planned and executed by the Sheikh and Jawaharlal Nehru.

The emotion or the mind-space that both Syama Prasad

The emotion or the mind-space that both Syama Prasad and Subhas Bose evoked and occupied in the Bengali psyche is perhaps best illustrated by a letter of gratitude that one of Bengal's most iconic poets, Kazi Nazrul Islam, wrote to Syama Prasad in July 1942. Poet Nazrul was ailing and despite his family members seeking help from a number of leading Muslim figures of the era such as Fazlul Huq, then Premier of Bengal, Kwaja Nazimuddin and Hussein Suhrawardy, they had to return with empty platitudes

and Subhas Bose evoked and occupied in the Bengali psyche is perhaps best illustrated by a letter of gratitude that one of Bengal's most iconic poets, Kazi Nazrul Islam, wrote to Syama Prasad in July 1942. Poet Nazrul was ailing and despite his family members seeking help from a number of leading Muslim figures of the era such as Fazlul Huq, then Premier of Bengal, Kwaja Nazimuddin and Hussein Suhrawardy, they had to return with empty platitudes. Syama Prasad, then Bengal's Finance Minister in the Syama-Huq coalition Ministry, on hearing Nazrul's acute distress, rushed to his rescue. Not only did Syama Prasad support his treatment but also arranged for Nazrul and his family to spend months convalescing at the Mookerjee's country retreat in Madhupur in Bihar, now in Jharkhand. A grateful Nazrul wrote to Syama Prasad, on how he respected him most among the members of the coalition ministry. But the poet's most moving lines were reserved for both Syama Prasad and Subhas Bose, when he wrote, "I know that it is we who shall completely free India, and on that day, [when India will be completely independent], Bengalis will remember you and Subhas Babu, before everyone else, you will be the true leaders of this nation." Nazrul voiced the emotions of millions of Subhas's and Syama Prasad's compatriots.

In those difficult years, when Subhas Bose had undertaken a daring journey to continue the struggle to free India from foreign

shores, Syama Prasad held fort, especially in Bengal. The late Rabindra Kumar Dasgupta, well-known littérateur, cultural commentator and author, noted, that in those dark and difficult days, when the entire national leadership of the freedom movement was imprisoned, following the Quit India demand on 9th August 1942, Syama Prasad's was the only voice of the struggle of Indian nationalism.

It was Syama Prasad who upheld the ideals of the August Movement before the whole of India and the world. Within just about three months from August 1942, Syama Prasad would resign from the Bengal cabinet having exposed the British administration's and the bureaucracy's perfidy in trying to crush the nationalist sentiment. Syama Prasad's huge effort in support of the Midnapore revolutionary groups, his gigantic effort in organizing the largest non-official relief for victims of the Bengal Famine in 1943, propelled him as the most decisive voice in the political firmament of not only Bengal but the whole of India. In his hard-hitting resignation letter of 23rd November 1942 spoke of how 'The constitution that functions under the so-called system of Provincial Autonomy is a colossal mockery...for the sake of elementary justice and humanitarian reasons, Bengal must rise to a man, demand the end of arbitrary rule forced on the province by a thoughtless and reactionary administrators.' Of the obstructionist British

bureaucracy, Syama Prasad described it as 'an unsympathetic bureaucracy headed by a cheaply clever and third-rate Governor.' In those extremely trying times Syama Prasad, was 'faced with two major problems that affected life, liberty and happiness of the people of his province.' The first was the 'policy of the "Scorched Earth" which was adopted early in 1942, and was applicable only to areas on the eastern border and eastern coastal regions of the country'; this led to a great hardship and to the 'terrible famine of Bengal in 1943.' The other 'was the highly oppressive measures adopted in the district of Midnapore to suppress the popular rising of the "August Movement."' 'During this dark and trying period,' writes, R.K.Dasgupta, 'Syama Prasad's staunch and undaunted voice was our only solace...' In a sense, Syama Prasad, filled the void that Subhas's physical absence had generated in the mind and heart of young Bengal.

Swami Vivekananda's and Sri Aurobindo's deep influence on Subhas clearly emerges from his letters. In his spiritual quest and in his early political quest both Vivekananda and Sri Aurobindo played a major formative role in Subhas's life. In one of his letters, he writes, 'Swami Vivekananda died in 1902 and the religio-philosophical movement was continued through the personality of Arabindo Ghose. Arabindo did not keep aloof from politics. On the contrary, he plunged into the thick of it, and by 1908 became one of the foremost political

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leaders. In him spirituality was wedded to politics...’ In another letter, young Subhas, about to take the plunge in public life and dedicate himself to the cause of India’s freedom, writes, ‘Arabindo Ghose is to me my spiritual guru. To him and to his mission I have dedicated my life and soul. My decision is final and unchangeable.’

Sri Aurobindo’s influence on Syama Prasad was no less. During the most trying times in Bengal when Syama Prasad struggled to ward off the communal politics of the Muslim League, Syama Prasad found support from a number of Sri Aurobindo’s disciples and adherents who sided with him under indication from their spiritual Master. The first commemorative plaque naming the Cell in which Sri Aurobindo was imprisoned in the Alipore Jail between 1908 and 1909, was installed by Syama Prasad Mookerjee after independence. When it was decided to form a university as a memorial to Sri Aurobindo in 1951, Syama Prasad was invited by The Mother of Sri Aurobindo Ashram, to preside over the

Sri Aurobindo Memorial Convention which convened in Pondicherry to deliberate on the idea of an education centre dedicated to Sri Aurobindo’s vision. In one of his finest articulations on education and Sri Aurobindo’s philosophy, Syama Prasad observed, ‘It [Sri Aurobindo’s life] began in an urge for the political liberation of India. It paved the path for a miracle, the great revelation that came to him in 1909 in his prison. The window that had been closed flew open and the Divine stood revealed before him. With the same abandon with which he had struggled for India’s political freedom, he began his long patient quest for the freedom of the spirit. The two Aurobindo’s merged with each other, the political fighter and the yogi. Even then his earlier patriotism was tinged with a spiritual penumbra. He was thus a true Indian. When we read his books, he seems to appear out of the pages of our ancient sacred lore, the representative of all their wisdom made dynamic by an awareness of the present spiritual crisis.’

As Swami Vivekananda’s

influence on a youthful Subhas was profound, so was the influence of the founder of Bharat Sevashram Sangh, Acharya Pranavananda’s on Syama Prasad. The youthful Acharya looked upon Syama Prasad as the savior of the Hindus of Bengal and of India. Swami Pranavananda’s interactions with Syama Prasad, his public endorsement of Syama Prasad’s struggle for the security and future of Bengal’s Hindus then oppressed by Muslim League rule, his indication of Syama Prasad as the one who will stand for the Bengali Hindus, was a very interesting and inspiring public partnership between a widely revered young Hindu Saint and one of the most popular young Hindu leaders of regional and national influence. Swami Pranavananda’s open endorsement of the Hindu Mahasabha’s political goal of safeguarding the interests of the Hindus of Bengal and Syama Prasad’s leadership of it had an impact on Hindus across India.

Of Syama Prasad’s relation with the Bose brothers, historian Leonard Gordon writes:

The Hindu Mahasabha was never a strong as an organization in Bengal, but its leader, Shyama Prasad Mookerjee [sic], became a prominent and articulate spokesman for this point of view during these years. In 1929 he took over Sarat Bose’s Calcutta University seat in the Bengal Legislative Council and remained in the Council for many years. He was also a family friend of the Boses, though he differed from them on many political issues.

During the most trying times in Bengal when Syama Prasad struggled to ward off the communal politics of the Muslim League, Syama Prasad found support from a number of Sri Aurobindo’s disciples and adherents who sided with him under indication from their spiritual Master. The first commemorative plaque naming the Cell in which Sri Aurobindo was imprisoned in the Alipore Jail between 1908 and 1909, was installed by Syama Prasad Mookerjee after independence

He would fight to get them out of prison and press the government with questions about their health when they were in prison...

When Subhas led the historic movement demanding the removal of the Holwell Monument in July 1940, terming it as a symbol of India's humiliation and slavery that stood at the heart of Calcutta for 150 years, the colonial police launched a severe and violent crackdown. Subhas was arrested along with a number of others. While Subhas led the movement outside, Syama Prasad, in the Assembly 'vehemently protested against' the police's atrocities on students' issuing a 'very strong and emphatic' condemnation.

Though Syama Prasad and Subhas's politics differed on a number of occasions, especially on the communal question in Bengal, the Boses and Syama Prasad came together in Bengal's interest whenever the need arose. For instance when the Muslim League government sought to introduce the Secondary Education Bill which would completely push Bengal's education system and apparatus under the control of the League nominated Muslims, Syama Prasad opposed the move. The popular and influential Modern Review, in its December 1937 issue criticized the Bill for 'trying to impose' a 'stranglehold on the secondary education in Bengal directly and a stranglehold on collegiate and University education indirectly.' Hindus were also apprehensive that their schools would stop receiving adequate grant and not as much

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as those received by Muslims schools. Syama Prasad received support from the Congress members and Sarat Bose, then leader of the Congress Party in the Legislative Assembly, while supporting him cautioned the government against tampering with secondary education. The Bill was eventually rejected having been discussed in the Assembly for four years. This was a major victory for Syama Prasad.

An entry dated 2 February 1939, in Syama Prasad's diary describes his strong disappointment with Mahatma Gandhi's opposition to Subhas's re-election as Congress president for a second term.

In train. Read Gandhi's statement on Subhas Bose's election carefully. I cannot conceal my disappointment at its tone and content. Why should he be so upset at Subhas's victory? After all it was he who made him President last year. And if he honestly feels that Subhas has failed, he should let the public know why he so thinks – at any rate he must open his mind to Subhas at least...what right had they to state that behind Subhas's

back they (including Gandhi) had decided that it was unnecessary to re-elect him and what is more, that S's election would be harmful to the interest of India. After all Subhas was still the President and if a large section of Congress people wanted him to seek re-election, there was nothing very serious about it. And Subhas's manifesto was a reply to the unjustified statement issued by Patel and Co. – against which Gandhi has not a word to utter. This is not Democracy but a low type of Fascism!

In 'early November' 1945, for instance, under Syama Prasad's leadership the Hindu Mahasabha, successfully observed INA Day all over the country in support of the patriot-soldiers of the INA, and 'their strongly worded appeals proved effective.' A 'popular upheaval in Calcutta' took place 'on 21-23 November when a student procession demanded release of INA prisoners and a violent clash between them and the police appeared to be inevitable.' The situation was salvaged by Syama Prasad through his 'timely and fearless intervention.' He was held in 'high esteem by the students

as their friend, philosopher and guide.’

21st October 1951 selected for the launch of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh was a conscious decision to coincide the historic occasion with the founding day of the Azad Hind Government by Subhas in 1943. Addressing a large public meeting in Delhi on the evening of 21st October, Syama Prasad ‘recalled that Subhas Bose’ had declared the Azad Hind government ‘on that very day’ and that he hoped that ‘Bharatiya Jana Sangh would carry on the fighting tradition of the INA in the service of the country.’

Both Subhas and Syama Prasad were unique in their ways, each representing a strand and dimension of politics and of philosophy of national service and liberation that had their space and necessity in the decades and

years that preceded and followed India’s independence. Both were fiercely and staunchly concerned and connected with the fate and destiny of Bengal and Bengalis and yet had a clear vision of India’s greatness, a vision that was national and pan-Indian. They could situate Bengal in the larger vision of India and of her future. While Subhas shook the British Empire to its roots and hastened the day of India’s freedom through his world-wide actions, Syama Prasad ensured that a portion of Bengal, Punjab and Assam was forever integrated in free India. Later in a larger sphere his struggle for India’s complete integration cemented India’s unity and freedom.

Each were recognized as Bengal’s tallest leaders in their age and times, each had a profound acceptance among

Bengal’s leading minds and thought-leaders, especially those who contributed, in no small measure, to the creation of the Bengali imagination and cultural aspirations. Each left behind a lasting impression on India’s national life. It is not fortuitous or by chance that ultimately the political stream that Syama Prasad Mookerjee founded, Bharatiya Jana Sangh, and which grew into a mighty flow as Bharatiya Janata Party, over the decades, is the same political stream that has reinstated Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose’s legacy forever in India’s national life and ethos. Even in their legacies each has paid tribute to the other. It is this convergence, this synergy and assimilation that must inspire us and be recorded and narrated for posterity. ●

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Netaji's Military Campaign

Vinayak Damodar Savarkar

Abhinav Bharat had organised a *Paripurti Samaroh* in Pune on May 10-11, 1952. Revolutionaries from across the country, who were alive at that time, got together there. Swatantrya Veer Vinayak Damodar Savarkar delivered three wonderful speeches in this accomplishment ceremony, which gave a proper understanding of the history of India's freedom struggle. In the third speech he delivered on May 11, Veer Savarkar deliberated upon the incidents related to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. The part of this speech, which is relevant to this issue of *Manthan*, is being reproduced here

Coincidentally, on this occasion, the then nation's pride, and now too, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose all of a sudden met me in 'Savarkar Sadan' on June 22, 1940. The story of this meeting was known to some of my close friends. However, I am narrating it in a public gathering for the first time today – that too purposefully, in brief and keeping it confined to the context of this lecture only. Subhas Babu had come to Mumbai mainly to solve the question of Hindu-Muslim unity for once and all. If I have to say in the language used in the newspapers that I had read at that time, he was going to outbid Gandhiji.

Laughing out loudly at the language of these newspapers, he himself told me, “Well, I have just come to meet Jinnah. How can I describe it, brother – it is interesting that Jinnah asked me, ‘Mr. Subhas Babu, on whose behalf have you come to negotiate for this agreement?’ I said, ‘On behalf of the Congress.’ To this, Jinnah said, ‘But you have been ostracised by the Congress.’ I said, ‘But I am the authorised leader of the Forward Bloc. Am I not? I can speak for them.’ To this, Jinnah said, ‘But if you want



to meet me as the leader of the Muslims for a Hindu-Muslim settlement, then it would be reasonable for me to talk to a person only who has the right to represent the Hindus. Does your Forward Bloc call itself a Hindu organization?’ I said, ‘No. Then, as a Hindu, I want to speak about the Hindu-Muslim pact.’ To that, Jinnah said, ‘Then you go and meet Savarkar first. Only he can represent the Hindus. Brother, what is the use of discussing it with each and every person? If Savarkar comes, we will discuss something (significant).’ Then I left Jinnah's house and came straight to you.” Saying this, Subhas Babu burst out laughing. Then he said, “Otherwise also, I was supposed to come to you only, this time.”

Achieving Independence was Impossible without Courageous Efforts

I discussed with Subhas Babu about the main question of this Hindu-Muslim unity raised by him. However, I am not going into the details of it due to paucity of time as well as because it is not related to the topic of this lecture. Avoiding all other discussions, I asked him the main question, “Leave it all. Tell me this much that: While staying in India, is there any point for you to rot in British prisons for a relatively trivial movement like the one to uproot Halwell's effigy from the Calcutta road amid the ongoing crisis of the World War?” Then Subhas Babu said in a somewhat pessimistic tone, “We have to do something or other to keep the agitation against the British burning among the public. Otherwise what to do?” I said, “I can understand your commitment. But I ask you again: ‘Is it not meaningless that the public outrage is spent in shifting the stone statue of a dead British oppressor like Halwell at a time when thousands of British tyrants are ruling over India along with the Governor-General?’ And for this reason, it is not right for a leader like you to rot in prison. Even the enemy wants that to happen. Real politics is that which imprisons the enemy, not put you in the prison. Look, Subhas Babu, now I am telling you clearly. You might not be active in armed revolutionary activities, but you are very much in touch with them. You can maintain secrecy. Even before this, you and I had a secret meeting once when you were the president of the Congress. With the same confidence and following the same formula, I would like to inform you that the campaign I have launched these days under the aegis of the Hindu Mahasabha to militarise India by recruiting more and more Hindus in the British Indian Army, which is

now almost successful now, that campaign is basically a revolutionary movement. I know that you are against it thinking that like other soft line leaders in the Congress, I am only helping the British with manpower through this campaign. But I told you about the reality.” Here, I informed him about the episode of how a revolutionary army could be raised through the 'Tulyari Friendship Treaty' that was reached between the armed revolutionaries of India and the Germans for the handover of the Indian soldiers of the British Indian Army those who had fallen into the hands of the Germans during the First World War, etc. I have talked about this and other such episodes in brief in my today's and yesterday's lectures here also. I continued, “See that latest letter from Rasbihari Bose. It is quite visible from this that Japan will declare war within this year. If this happens, then the golden opportunity, which was never available to us till now, will come to launch an attack for the freedom of our country with the modern weapons of Germany and Japan and with thousands of Indian soldiers who have become their prisoners of war. At such a time, it will be very harmful for a leader like you to get yourself unnecessarily imprisoned, to keep rotting in the jail over a very petty and quarrelsome movement in the country. Try to understand why the British administration is looking to arrest us first instead of any leader of the Congress or any unarmed resistance organization like it. At such a time, the way many armed revolutionary leaders like Rasbihari escaped to Japan and Germany by giving the British a slip, you and I should also similarly slip away from India immediately by dodging them. Moreover, we should lead the thousands of Indian soldiers taken prisoners of war by Italy and Germany, declare complete independence of India and, as soon as Japan

jumps into the war, launch an attack on the British rulers in India from outside through whatever route possible, either from the Bay of Bengal or from Brahmadesh (Myanmar) side. Without resorting to some such armed and courageous act of valour, we cannot set India free. You are one of the two or three people whom today I see capable of showing such bravery and courage. That's why, I have set my eyes on you only.”

After saying all this, I stopped speaking. Subhas Babu lowered his head and looked down quietly like someone who gazes down lost in thought. In order to imply that it was not my intention to immediately get a 'yes' or 'no' response from him to my suggestions, I diverted the topic and broke a discussion on his article titled 'My Strange Illness'. But he himself started telling me, “Now, I will first go to Calcutta and see what happens there, then I will decide my next programme. If I come here, I will definitely see you.” I didn't ask for more clarifications from him on this subject, nor did he.

After a few days, Subhas Babu went to Calcutta and as soon as he reached there, he was arrested and imprisoned in the effigy scandal. This development was expected. It has now been revealed in all the famous and well-known writings that after getting rid of the issues like Hindu-Muslim unity, Halwell's effigy, etc that were flourishing in his mind, which were relatively trivial and futile questions at that juncture, he later concentrated all his efforts towards staging a daring escape from the jail and move towards Germany and Japan. He gave up food in the prison. He got himself freed after accepting the offensive conditions of the British administration, and before returning to the prison again, he slipped away from India showing great courage and grit by skillfully dozing the British.

Treaty with Hitler & Mussolini

As soon as he reached Germany, Subhas Babu struck the Tulyari Friendship Treaty with Hitler and Mussolinias well as openly declared war against the British to set India free from their clutches. He raised the Indian Revolutionary Army consisting of thousands of British Indian soldiers, who had fallen into the hands of German and Italian armies, and equipped them with the modern weapons of Germany. He then used a German submarine to reach Singapore, which was won over by Japan by then. The British Army had ran away from Singapore after their defeat but had left behind a huge cache of arms and ammunitions there. Some 40,000 to 50,000 Indian soldiers of the British Indian Army were also there. With the support of Japan, Rasbihari Bose had under his leadership raised the Revolutionary Army to liberate India. As soon as Subhas Babu arrived there, he took over the command of the same army. As the Commander-in-chief of the armed forces, he made a global announcement declaring India as an independent country and even established a Provisional Government of independent India. He then gave the clarion call of 'Chalo Delhi' (march forward to Delhi) from Singapore. His revolutionary army crossed Brahmadeshroaring with the slogan and kept fighting the British Army in the battlefield adjacent to the entrance of Assam. Now, we all have come to know this whole story or at least in parts.

The Independent Army got Soldiers due to Militarisation

Meanwhile, the army of 50-60 thousand Indian soldiers equipped with modern weapons that Subhas Babu had raised was possible only because of our militarisation movement recruiting thousands of Hindu soldiers in the British Indian Army earlier.

Subhas Babu himself had said this openly. In a speech broadcast on 'Azad Hind' radio or All India Radio from Singapore on June 25, 1944, Subhas Babu said, "When due to misguided political whims and lack of vision, almost all the leaders of Congress party have been decrying all the soldiers in Indian Army as mercenaries, it is heartening to know that Veer Savarkar is fearlessly exhorting the youths of India to enlist themselves in the armed forces. These enlisted youths themselves provide us with trained men and soldiers for our Indian National Army. The same Indian soldiers, who had thus entered the British Indian Army and were well trained in battle skills, form our Indian National Army or Azad Hind Fauj today."

Revolutionaries Coming from Abroad

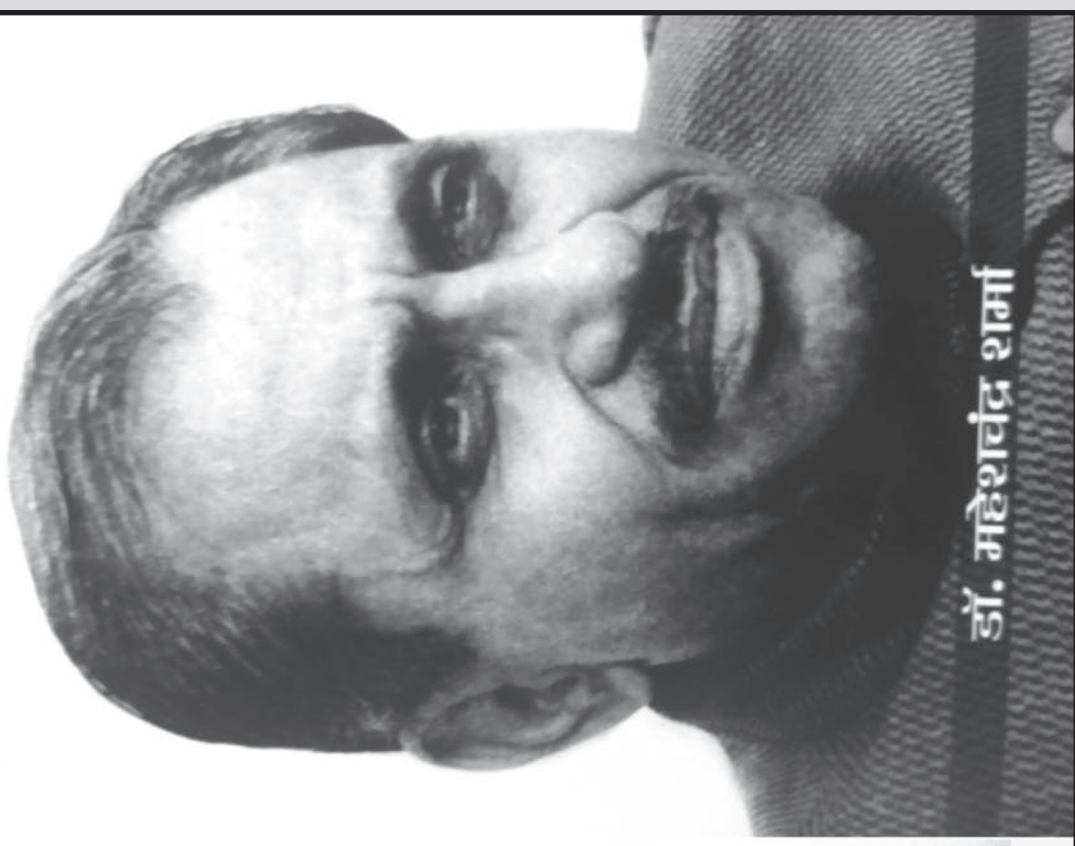
As soon as the soldiers of the Azad Hind Fauj decorated with modern arms attacked the British, people even from within India, especially the Congress which calls itself pacifist and non-violent, criticised the armed resistance. They publicly asked the British people to "quit India but keep your Army here." Although this kind of public statement of Congress was a good example of treachery, fortunately enough, the public heard and understood only the first half of it, "Quit India", and could not hear, let alone understand, the foolish and impotent latter part of it, "Keep your Army here." The Congress movement of 'Quit India' also created a lot of turmoil across the country. Hundreds of patriotic Congress leaders were thrown behind the bars. We do have due gratitude for their work and sufferings related to that movement, and you all are aware of that story. So, without repeating it in this lecture, I will speak in concrete words about

As soon as the soldiers of the Azad Hind Fauj decorated with modern arms attacked the British, people even from within India, especially the Congress which calls itself pacifist and non-violent, criticised the armed resistance. They publicly asked the British people to "quit India but keep your Army here." Although this kind of public statement of Congress was a good example of treachery, fortunately enough, the public heard and understood only the first half of it, "Quit India", and could not hear, let alone understand, the foolish and impotent latter part of it, "Keep your Army here

the things related to this Quit India movement which were deliberately not told by the Congress writers, who call themselves non-violent. The point is that it was impossible to confront the British authorities in India or put up an effective resistance against them that could have dealt a body blow to them while they were indiscriminately perpetrating armed atrocities on the people in order to suppress a movement that was carried out through self-destructively non-violent means such as courting arrests, going on strike etc. Realising this after experiencing hundreds of Congress leaders suffering like this, Subhas Babu and his followers finally accepted the path of armed revolution. They immediately went underground and secretly started the armed resistance to the British government and created a bloody uproar. At the end, the pacifist Congress itself became the monastery of the revolutionaries for some time.

Courtesy: Savarkar Samagra, Volume - VIII, Speech No. 3, Abhinav Bharat Paripurti Samaroh, Page No. 717-721.

पं. दीनदयाल उपाध्याय कर्तृत्व एवं विचार



डॉ. महेशचंद्र शर्मा

पं. दीनदयाल उपाध्याय कर्तृत्व एवं विचार

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“पंडित दीनदयाल उपाध्याय के विषय में जानकारियाँ बहुत ही सीमित हैं। डॉ. महेशचंद्र शर्मा ने इस विषय पर गवेषणात्मक अध्ययन किया है। इस शोध-ग्रंथ का प्रकाशन न केवल जनसंघ की राजनीति व विचारधारा के प्रति लोगों को लाभदायक जानकारियाँ देगा वरन् राजनीति शास्त्र की वैचारिक बहस को भी आगे बढ़ाएगा। दीनदयाल उपाध्याय व भारतीय जनसंघ को समझने के लिए यह शोध-ग्रंथ प्रामाणिक आधारभूमि प्रदान करता है।”

—डॉ. इकबाल नारायण

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—डॉ. श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी

पं. दीनदयाल उपाध्याय द्वारा लिखित पुस्तकें



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नरेन्द्र मोदी, प्रधानमंत्री

शिवराज सिंह चौहान, मुख्यमंत्री

सीएम राइज स्कूल :- भविष्य के लिए एक दूरदर्शी सोच - स्कूली शिक्षा में आधुनिकीकरण, नवीन संसाधनों का समावेश, बच्चों का सर्वांगीण विकास, स्कूलों की संरचना में व्यापक सुधार, बच्चों की शिक्षा एवं अन्य गतिविधियों में जागरुकता बढ़ाने के उद्देश्य से मध्यप्रदेश सरकार सर्वसुविधायुक्त सीएम राइज स्कूलों की स्थापना कर रही है।

“ राज्य में उच्च गुणवत्ता के साथ परिणामोन्मुखी शिक्षा प्रदान करने के उद्देश्य से सीएम राइज स्कूलों की स्थापना की जा रही है। इन स्कूलों का लक्ष्य विश्वस्तरीय शिक्षण विधियों द्वारा बच्चों के ज्ञान और कौशलवर्धन के साथ ही भारतीय परंपरागत मूल्यों, संस्कृति एवं नवाचारों को समावेशित कर बच्चों का सर्वांगीण विकास करना है। ”

- शिवराज सिंह चौहान, मुख्यमंत्री



मुख्य विशेषताएं

 विश्वस्तरीय बुनियादी संरचना	 नर्सरी / केजी से 12वीं तक	 व्यावसायिक शिक्षायुक्त पाठ्यक्रम	 अभिभावकों की सहभागिता	 स्टाफ का क्षमता संवर्धन
 संसाधनयुक्त प्रयोगशालाएं, पुस्तकालय और पाठ्येतर गतिविधियां	 शत-प्रतिशत शिक्षक एवं अन्य स्टाफ	 परिवहन सुविधा	 स्मार्ट कक्षाएं और डिजिटल लर्निंग	 21वीं सदी के कौशल कार्यक्रम

सीएम राइज स्कूल होंगे 4 स्तरीय

52	जिला स्तरीय स्कूल
261	विकासखंड स्तरीय स्कूल
3,200	संकुल स्तरीय स्कूल
5,687	ग्राम समूह स्तरीय स्कूल

अन्य महत्वपूर्ण शैक्षणिक पहल

सुपर 100: मेधावी छात्रों को उनके भविष्य के सपनों को साकार करने में सहायता प्रदान करने में सहयोग प्रदान करने के लिए निःशुल्क और उच्च गुणवत्तापूर्ण कोचिंग।

स्थानीय भाषाओं पर आधारित प्राथमिक पाठ्यक्रम: स्थानीय भाषा में सहज-सरल और निर्बाध शिक्षण प्रणाली।

कक्षा 5वीं और 8वीं के छात्रों में सीखने की गुणवत्ता में सुधार: वैज्ञानिक सर्वेक्षणों और छात्रों के लर्निंग डेटा के विस्तृत विश्लेषण द्वारा।

सर्वांगीण विकास के लिए अतिरिक्त प्रयास

