

# NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

(His Life, Time, Thoughts, Contribution to India's Freedom and Mystery of Declared Death)

**"Future generations will read the amazing story of Netaji's life - his fearless courage, his venerable renunciation, his sufferings and sacrifice- with pride and reverence." But, are we ready to re-write the history of India's freedom? If real story becomes public, many revered leaders of India would be exposed.**

## UNIQUE PERSONALITY AND POLITICAL IDEOLOGY OF NETAJI

**Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is a name that glitters with glory in the history of freedom movements of the world. He emerged as an outstanding leader, not of a nation or two but of the whole Asian continent, who first rose to the topmost political position in India (Congress President); then moved from one corner to other in Europe as well as in Asia during second World War; established a Provisional Government of Free India and built an army to fight British and imperialist powers of the world. There is no parallel leader in the world history who interacted/met and influenced so many top leaders of his period in so many countries; situated in different parts of the world and with diverse ideologies.**

Netaji was an ardent patriot and nationalist but his nationalism was cultural not racialist. From 1921, when he became the first Indian to resign from the Indian Civil Service, until his disappearance mystery in 1945 as leader of an Indian government in exile, Subhas Chandra Bose struggled ceaselessly to achieve freedom and prosperity for his beloved motherland. **Throughout his political career, India's liberation from British rule, remained Bose's foremost political goal; indeed, it was a lifelong obsession.** Along with his abiding love for his country, Bose held an equally passionate hatred of the imperial power that ruled it: Great Britain. In a radio broadcast from Berlin on 1 March 1943, he expressed that Britain's demise was near and predicted that it would be 'India's privilege to end that Satanic Empire'. **The fundamental principle of his foreign policy, Bose declared in May 1945 in Bangkok, was: "Britain's enemy is India's friend".** For Britain also Subhas Bose was **"enemy number one"**. According to British secret records Subhas was **"implacable foe of British rule in India"**.

His radical political ideology was shaped by a consuming frustration with the unsuccessful efforts of others to gain independence for India. His authoritative outlook did not come from a drive for personal power or social elevation. **While he was authoritative and clearly enjoyed the devotion of his followers, his obsession was not adulation or power but rather freedom for his beloved Motherland -- a goal for which he was willing to suffer for any length and sacrifice any thing, even his status in politics and his life.** As he explained in his most important book *'The Indian Struggle'*: "the political party he envisioned will stand for the complete political and economic liberation of the Indian people."

Bose was favourably impressed with the discipline and organizational strength of fascism as early as 1930s when he first expressed his views for a **synthesis of fascism and socialism**. During his stays in Europe in 1930s, he was deeply moved by the dynamism of the two major powers "Fascist Italy" and "Nazi Germany". After observing these regimes first-hand, **he developed a political ideology of his own** that could bring about the liberation of India and the **total reconstruction of Indian society along**

authoritarian-socialist lines as named by him 'Samyavad' -- a synthesis of Justice and Equality (of Socialism) and Efficiency and Discipline (of Fascism).

This explains what Bose meant in '*The Indian Struggle*' when he stressed for the need of "a strong single party government bound together by military discipline and dictatorial powers for some years to come in order to put India on her feet". According to Bose, only a very strong government, strict discipline and dictatorial rule would prevent the anticipated revolution from falling into chaos and anarchy. That is why, Bose advocated, the government would not -- "in the first years after liberation" -- "stand for a democracy in the Mid-Victorian sense of the term". It would use whatever military force was necessary to maintain law and order, and would not relinquish authority or re-establish more regular forms of government until "the work of post-war social reconstruction" had been completed and "a new generation of men and women in India, fully trained and equipped for the battle of life" had emerged.

Bose clearly anticipated that authoritarian rule would not last beyond the period when social reconstruction was completed and law and order were established. As he frequently stated, Bose aimed for nothing less than the formation of "*a new India and a happy India on the basis of the eternal principles of liberty, democracy and socialism*". He rejected Communism (at least as it was practiced in the Soviet Union) principally because of its impracticable internationalism and because he believed that the theoretical ideal found in the writings of Marx could not be applied to India without modification. Still he maintained socialist views throughout and, on very many occasions, expressed his hope for '*an egalitarian (especially classless and casteless) industrialized society in which the state would control the basic means of production*'. He also did not like many Nazi thinkings and methods of political control and openly opposed through letters and newspapers even while living in Germany of Hitler's period.

He believed that greater emphasis should be placed on social goals than on the needs or desires of individuals. Individual wishes must be subordinated to the needs of the state, especially during the struggle for independence and the period of reconstruction immediately following liberation. Nonetheless, **having himself been imprisoned eleven times and sent into exile three times**, he was fully committed to upholding the rights of minority intellectual, religious, cultural and racial groups. He hoped for an "*all-round freedom for the Indian people -- social, economic and political*" and would wage a relentless war against bondage of every kind till the people can become really free.

Some people argue that he was not as committed to the principle of democracy as he was to socialism but it is worth noting that during his many years as head of various councils, committees and offices, and during 15-month tenure as President of the Indian National Congress (February 1938 to April 1939), as a Head of Provisional Government of Free India and as a Supreme Commander of INA, Bose never acted in undemocratic manner neither did he claim powers or responsibilities to which he was not constitutionally or customarily entitled nor did he attempt in any way to foster a cult of his own personality.

## **NETAJI & GANDHIJI**

After the death of great leaders like Lokmanya Tilak and Dr. Annie Beasant and martyrdom of revolutionaries like Shaheed Bhagat Singh there were only two major thoughts which were prevalent in India, one was that of Gandhiji and the other was that of Netaji. It is to be noted that there still were great revolutionaries like Ras Bihari Bose, Swatantryaveer Savarkar etc. but either they all were in exile or were in prison. While Gandhiji advocated non-violence and talks with the British, Netaji was of the opinion that there should be no compromise with the British and that every means should be used to liberate India.

Netaji started his political life by going to Gandhiji, who directed him to work under Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das. He resigned from the post of the Congress president only because of the opposition of Gandhiji. In spite of that Netaji had a great respect for Gandhiji. It was Subhas who, first time, called

Gandhiji as the "Father of the Nation" in Radio Broadcast from Berlin, the much revered title given to Gandhiji. The Great War cry of 'Jai Hind' was given to the nation by Netaji. 'Do or Die' used by Gandhiji during the Quit India Movement of 1942, was given by Netaji first in Jalpaiguri Congress summit.



Before his arrest in 1940, Netaji met Gandhiji and requested him to start a nation wide mass movement. But Gandhiji refused, since he believed it would cause large-scale violence. Subhas said that it will be tragic for me if I succeeded in winning the confidence of other people but failed to win the confidence of India's greatest man (Mahatma Gandhi).

**Gandhiji was always a keen listener of Netaji's broadcasts from Germany and South East Asia.**

Gandhiji was well aware that Netaji had not died in Plane Crash. **Gandhiji wrote in Harijan in early 1946, "Subhas is alive and hiding somewhere" and "Subhas Chandra Bose's patriotism is second to none".** When one of the soldiers of INA asked Gandhiji, what would he have done if Netaji and INA had returned to him victorious. Gandhiji replied "I would have asked him to put away the weapons and stack them before me." Interestingly, this was the very instruction Netaji had given to the fighting INA men. Captain Shah Nawaz Khan told Gandhiji that **Netaji had asked INA soldiers that, in an independent India, they would be expected to serve their country not by means of swords but through non-violence.**

## **SURPRISING TRUTHS**

In South East Asia days, Netaji often used to declare that if and when he succeeded in freeing India from British rule, **he would immediately relinquish mundane pursuits leaving his countrymen to manage their own affairs.** In fact, Netaji has repeatedly and emphatically declared in his public speeches in East Asia that if the INA succeeded in liberating India he would toss over that freedom to the people and retire into spiritual oblivion.

*(Ref: Open letter of Netaji to Mahatma Gandhi dated 3 July 1944 and then a public address from Rangoon dated 2 October 1944 on Birth day of Gandhiji)*

Chief Justice P.B. Chakrabarty of Calcutta High Court, who was Acting Governor of West Bengal in India when **Lord Atlee** made his first (personal) visit to an Independent India and spent two days in the Governor's palace at Calcutta, asked a direct question to Mr. Atlee: **"What was the real cause that had led the British to quit India in spite of winning Second World War?"** In his reply Atlee said: **"The principal reason was the erosion of loyalty among the Indian Army and Navy personnel to the British Crown as a result of the military activities of Netaji Subhas Bose."**

Toward the end of prolonged discussion Mr. Chakrabarty asked Atlee what was the extent of Gandhi's influence upon the British decision to quit India. Hearing this question, Atlee's lips became twisted in a sarcastic smile as he slowly chewed out the word, **"m-i-n-i-m-a-l!"**

**Netaji once said, " Let us create history, and let somebody else write it."**

## **CHILDHOOD & EARLY LIFE OF NETAJI**

23rd Jan. 1897	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <b>Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was born</b> in Cuttack (in present day Orissa) as the sixth son and the ninth child among fourteen of <b>Janakinath Bose and Prabhavati Devi.</b></li><li>• <b>Rai Bahadur Jankinath Bose was a lawyer</b> by profession. He was a government pleader and public prosecutor in Cuttack and later became a member of the <b>Bengal Legislative Council.</b></li></ul>
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1902	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Subhas was admitted to Baptist Mission School at Cuttack at the age of five.</li> <li>• At school, he was always serious, reserved and did not take much interest in sports. <b>The sadhus and pilgrims visiting Puri, the famous shrine near his place, fascinated him.</b></li> </ul>
1909-1913	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In January 1909, Subhas joined Ravenshaw Collegiate School, Cuttack. <b>Head Master of this school, Babu Beni Madhav Das, roused in Subhas values of a true patriot those counted anything else in his life.</b></li> <li>• <b>Teachings of Swami Vivekanand entered his life when he was fifteen years old and highly influenced him. Subhas started his social service with his friends in Cholera affected areas in 1912.</b></li> <li>• He was an intelligent kid and stood second in the High School (Matriculation) examination – March 1913.</li> </ul>
1913-1916	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In July 1913, Subhas at the age of sixteen and half took admission in Presidency college.</li> <li>• <b>In 1914, Subhas visited Hardwar in search of a Spiritual Guru.</b></li> <li>• In 1915, Subhas passed Intermediate examination.</li> <li>• <b>At Presidency college, he was associated when an English professor Mr. E.F. Oaten was beaten on 15 February 1916 because of his racialist attitude towards Indians. As a result, Subhas was rusticated from the college in March 1916.</b></li> </ul>
1917-1919	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Over the course of time, in July 1917, he got readmitted in Scottish Church College in Calcutta University in Philosophy. He passed B.A. (Philosophy) with First Class Honours in 1919.</li> </ul>
1919	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b><u>On 19 April 1919, Jalianwala Bag massacre took place which had disturbed Subhas greatly.</u></b></li> <li>• Recognizing his son's intellect, his father was determined that Subhas should become a high-ranking Indian Civil Servant (ICS). On 15 September 1919, Subhas was sent to England for further studies and reached there on 25 October 1919.</li> </ul>
1920	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Subhas passed the Civil Service examination and stood first in written and fourth in overall but he was not interested in serving the Britishers and he wrote letters to his elder brother Sharat and Desh Bandhu Chitranjan Das expressing his feelings.</b></li> </ul>
1921	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Subhas got the prestigious Tripos degree in Moral philosophy from Cambridge University.</li> <li>• <b><u>Subhas resigned from ICS on 22 April 1921. He was the first to resign from the ICS that time. ICS was the topmost service in India those days.</u></b></li> <li>• On 16 July 1921, Subhas returned to India at Mumbai. He met Gandhiji at Poona and offered himself to work for the Indian National Congress. Gandhiji advised him to work under Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das at Calcutta. <b>Subhas started working with Deshbandhu and from this time he considered Deshbandhu as his Guru. Subhas was put in charge of publicity for Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and National Volunteers Corp and later appointed as Principal of National College Calcutta.</b></li> <li>• <b><u>On 10 December 1921, Bose was imprisoned (1st arrest) for organizing a total strike and boycott of the celebrations to mark the Prince of Wales's visit to India. He was imprisoned along with Deshbandhu and the two lived together in jail where Bose served his leader humbly, even cooking his food.</u></b></li> </ul>
1922-1923	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Subhas was released from jail on 4 August 1922.</li> <li>• There was a split in Congress during Gaya Session in 1922.</li> <li>• C.R. Das resigned from the Congress on 31 December 1922 and formed Swaraj Party. Subhas joined Swaraj Party under the leadership of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das.</li> <li>• <b>Subhas worked as an Editor of the paper 'Forward' founded by Deshbandhu Das. His thought reached to people through this paper.</b></li> </ul>
1924	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Swaraj Party won Calcutta Municipality election. <b>Deshbandhu Das was elected as the Mayor of Calcutta in March 1924 and Subhas Chandra Bose, at the age of 27, became the Chief Executive Officer of the second biggest city of the world. While holding this office Bose gained administrative experience, did many works of public interest, freely mixed with the revolutionaries and developed close ties with them.</b></li> <li>• <b><u>On 24 October 1924, Subhas was arrested (2nd arrest) by the British Government. He was first sent to Alipore jail and then shifted to Mandalay Jail in Burma.</u></b></li> <li>• <b>During this period Bose had ample time to read and think for his future course of action. Subhas had extensively studied Bismark, Mazzini, Garibaldi, George Washington and many other political and social thinkers of the world. He was deeply influenced by Bolshevic Revolution in Russia.</b></li> </ul>

	<b><u>Resurrection Movement of Italy, Liberation Activities of Irish Revolutionary De Valera and Insurrection of Modern Turkey under Kamal Pasha. Subhas decided on the path of open revolution.</u></b>
1925	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>On 16 June 1925, Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das passed away while Subhas was still in Mandalay Jail. Bose was deeply struck by the sudden loss of his leader Deshbandhu.</b></li> </ul>
1926	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>In 1926 end, he was nominated as a candidate for the Bengal Legislative Assembly while in Jail.</b></li> </ul>
1927	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Subhas became seriously ill in Mandalay Jail, British Government wanted to release him on the condition that he will stay outside India and nearby countries. Subhas declined this conditional release.</b></li> <li>• On May 16, 1927 he was released from jail due to extreme ill-health. The two years in Mandalay gave him lot of confidence and strength.</li> <li>• <b>On 27 October 1927, Subhas was elected President of Bengal Congress Committee.</b></li> <li>• <b>In December 1927, Subhas along with Pandit Nehru, was elected as the General Secretary of All India Congress Committee.</b></li> </ul>
1928	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>In May 1928, Bose presided over Maharastra Provincial Conference at Poona.</b></li> <li>• Bose formed the Volunteer organization before Calcutta summit of Indian Congress in December 1928 and was elected its General Officer in Command.</li> <li>• Bose organized a guard of honor during the ceremonial functions at the Calcutta session of the Congress party. Such guards of honor were not uncommon, but the one Bose formed and commanded was unlike anything previously seen. More than 2,000 volunteers were given military training and organized into battalions. About half wore uniforms, with specially designed steel-chain epaulettes for the officers. Bose, in full dress uniform (peaked cap, standing collar, ornamental breast cords, and jodhpurs) even carried a Field Marshal's baton when he reviewed his "troops". Photographs taken at the conference show him looking entirely out of place in a sea of khadi (Indian clothing promoted by Gandhi). Gandhi and several other champions of Non-violence (Ahimsa) were uncomfortable with this display.</li> <li>• During the Congress Session at Calcutta, the main agenda presented was to get a <b>Dominion Status</b> for India. But this was rejected by the youth leaders under the leadership of Subhas Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru who wanted <b>Complete Freedom</b> for India at the earliest. To avoid any problems, Gandhiji suggested to give the British government a time period of one year to give a Dominion Status to India, failing which he himself would present a bill of Complete Freedom.</li> <li>• <b><i>After Calcutta Congress, Subhas emerged as the principle spokesman of younger and leftist forces in the National Movement.</i></b></li> </ul>
1929	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Gandhiji tried very hard to get the Dominion Status for India but failed miserably. So at the next meeting the Bill of Complete Freedom (Purna Swaraj) was passed in Lahore Congress.</b></li> <li>• <b>On 11 August 1929, Subhas was arrested. (III arrest)</b></li> <li>• <b>Subhas and other left minded leaders formed Congress Democratic Party within the Congress to promote a militant programme.</b></li> <li>• <b><i>During 1928 to 1931, Subhas Bose presided over several fuctions of Youth Congress, Trade Union Congress, Naujawan Bharat Sabha (established by Bhagat Singh) and Revolutionary groups like Anushilan, Bengal Volunteers Force, Shri Sangh etc. Subhas emerged as the sole leader of revolutionary radical forces during that period, after Bhagat Singh and his companion got arrested in Assembly Bomb case.</i></b></li> </ul>
1930-1933	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>On 23 January 1930, Subhas was again arrested for leading a procession to celebrate 'independence' of India from British rule (IV arrest). Later on he was elected as mayor of Calcutta and was released from prison in September 1930.</b></li> <li>• On 14 March 1931, Subhas met Gandhiji and asked him to break Gandhi-Irwin Pact if the death sentence of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru is not reversed.</li> <li>• <b>On 23 March 1931, Shaheed Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru were hanged. Bhagat Singh's martyrdom and the inability of the Congress leaders to save his life made Bose very angry and in a sense this made him realise that aggression is the best form of defense.</b></li> <li>• <b>Period during 1930 to 1933 was an AGNI-YUG of Bengal when revolutionaries paralyzed British administration in many parts of Bengal.</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ On 18 April 1930, Open Armed Revolution struck at Chatgaon under Master Surya Sen.</li> <li>➤ On 29 August 1930, Vinay Bose finished Police Superintendent Mr. Lomyan.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

- On 8 December 1930, Vinay Bose, Dinesh Gupta and Badal (Sudhir Gupta) entered Writer's Building (Present Bidhan Sabha of West Bengal) and finished Police IG (Mr. Craig), AIG (Mr. Jones) and Col. Simpson and fought "**Varanda Battle**" with Gorakha (British) Regiment and preferred to act as suicidal squad than being arrested.
- On 7 April 1931, District Session Judge (Mr. Garlic) was finished.
- On 29 October 1931, President of European Association (Mr. Williams) was finished by Vimal Das Gupta.
- On 14 December 1931, District Magistrate of Kummilla (Mr. Stevention) was finished by two girls Shanti Ghosh and Suniti Chowdhury.
- On 30 April 1932, District Magistrate of Medinipur (Mr. Peddy) was finished by Praddhyot Bhattacharya and just in subsequence another District Magistrate Mr. Duglous was finished by Prabhanshu Pal.
- On 2 September 1933 District Magistrate of Medinipur (Mr. Burge) was finished.
- **Subhas had personal influence on all these revolutionaries. As per British Report: "Subhas's brain was behind all the terrorist activities in Bengal ... There can be no question of his release."**
- **On 18 January 1931, Bose was arrested for visiting the disturbed parts of Bengal for a period of one week. (V arrest)**
- **While celebrating Independent Day on 26 January 1931, Subhas was rearrested for a period up to 8 March 1931 (VI arrest) for leading a procession.**
- **In October 1931, Subhas was arrested while entering Dacca. (VII arrest)**
- **On 2 January 1932, Subhas was again arrested at Kalyan (VIII arrest). He was kept in detention without a trial. In Jail, Subhas became ill and was released to undergo treatment in Bhowali Sanatorium and then in Vienna (Austria).**
- In March 1933, Subhas reached Vienna and there he was deeply influenced by Vithaldas Patel, another Indian freedom fighter, an elder brother of Sardar Patel. **Both recognized the need for collaboration between Indian nationalists and countries opposed to Britain and in their joint manifesto they proclaimed, "Non-co-operation cannot be given up but the form of non-cooperation will have to be changed into a more militant one and the fight for freedom waged on all fronts."**
- In October 1933, Vithaldas Patel died.

1934-1935

- **Subhas Chandra Bose's aim was to spread India's message abroad. He became the Unofficial Ambassador of Indian Nationalism.** He wrote articles in foreign magazines and newspapers about India's rights and asked people to help him fight against the injustices. He organised Students Associations. He established and developed contacts in political and intellectual circles.
- **During the period, Subhas toured extensively whole Europe: Poland, Geneva, France, Rome, Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Ireland, Italy, England etc.**
- **Subhas met reputed personalities like Mussolini in Italy; Felder, Rosenberg and Ribbontrop in Germany; De Valera in Ireland and Roma Rolland in France. Some reports suggest that he met Hitler also.**
- **In 1934, Bose wrote his book on Indian nationalism called "The Indian Struggle".** In this book, besides background of political situation in India, Bose expressed that Indian National Congress was somewhat 'out of date' and suffered from a lack of unity and strong leadership. Bose professed the need of a party with a clear ideology, program and plan of action with basic outlines:
  1. **The party will stand for the interests of the masses:** peasants, workers etc., and not for the vested interests of landlords, capitalists and money-lending classes.
  2. **It will stand for the complete political and economic liberation of the Indian people.**
  3. **It will stand for Federal Government for India as the ultimate goal, but will believe in a strong Central Government with dictatorial powers for some years to come, in order to put India on her feet.**
  4. **It will believe in a sound system of state planning for the reorganization of the agricultural and industrial life of the country.**
  5. **It will seek to build up a new social structure on the basis of the village communities of the past that were ruled by the village "Panch" and will strive to break down the existing social barriers like caste and religion.**

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6. It will seek to establish a new monetary and credit system in the light of the theories and the experiments that have been and are current in the modern world.</li> <li>7. It will seek to abolish landlordism and introduce a uniform land-tenure system for the whole of India.</li> <li>8. It will not stand for a democracy in the Mid-Victorian sense of the term but will believe in government by a strong party bound together by military discipline, as the only means of holding India together and preventing a chaos, when Indians are free and are thrown entirely on their own resources.</li> <li>9. It will not restrict itself to a campaign inside India but will resort to international propaganda also, in order to strengthen India's case for liberty, and will attempt to utilize the existing international organizations.</li> <li>10. It will endeavor to unite all the radical organizations under a national executive so that whenever any action is taken, there will be simultaneous activity on many fronts.</li> </ol> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Outlining the need of synthesis between Communism and Fascism called "Samyavada" - an Indian word, which means literally "the doctrine of synthesis or equality." Bose expressed:</b>        “ ... In spite of the antithesis between Communism and Fascism, there are certain traits in common. Both Communism and Fascism believe in the <b>supremacy of the State over the individual</b>. Both <b>denounce parliamentary democracy</b>. Both believe in <b>party rule</b>. Both believe in the <b>dictatorship of the party</b>... Both believe in a <b>planned industrial reorganization of the country</b>. These common traits will form the basis of the new synthesis. It will be India's task to work out this synthesis...”</li> <li>• <b><i>British government banned his book in India.</i></b></li> <li>• <b><i>In November 1934, Subhas was house-arrested on his return from Vienna (IX arrest) when he returned to India to visit his ailing father who died before Subhas reached Calcutta.</i></b></li> <li>• Subhas again went to Germany as the period of exile was not over.</li> <li>• In 1935, Subhas had to undergo an operation in gall bladder while in Europe. Doctor asked him to write his last testament as surgery involved risk. The great patriot wrote unforgettable words -- <b><i>"My assets to my countrymen, my debt to my brother Sharat."</i></b></li> </ul>
1936-1937	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In March 1936, Bose announced that he was returning back. On 8 April 1936, <b>when he reached Bombay, he was arrested (X arrest) and was later released on 17 March 1937.</b></li> <li>• <b>By that time Subhas had become very famous and Gandhiji proposed him to become the next President of the Congress.</b></li> <li>• In December 1937 and January 1938, Subhas visited Austria and England. <u>In England, he met members of British cabinet, like: Lord Helifax and Lord Zetland, and members of Labour and Liberal Party, like: Clement Atlee, Arther Greenwood, Herold Laski, Sir Stafford Cripps and Lord Allen etc. to convince them for India's Freedom.</u></li> <li>• <b><i>He was much impressed by the Irish nationalist leader De Valera who gave him state honour in Dublin. Bose later modeled his own activities on the line of Irish Sinn Fein Organization.</i></b></li> </ul>
1938-1939	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>In 1938 Subhas became President of the Indian National Congress and presided over the Haripura session. During his period as Congress President, Subhas was honoured at Shantiniketan by Gurudev Rabindra Nath Tagore as "Desh-Nayak".</b></li> <li>• <b><i>Bose, as Congress President, launched a National Planning Committee, with Jawaharlal Nehru as Chairman, for drawing up a comprehensive plan of industrialization and national development. Gandhiji opposed industrialization.</i></b></li> <li>• Gandhiji opposed Subhas's idea of coalition with Krishak Praja Party and Muslim League to form Government in Bengal. Contemporary politicians, particularly Jawaharlal Nehru, also persuaded Gandhiji against Subhas. This is revealed by Subhas's letters to Nehru. (Ref: "Bunch of Old Letters" got published by Nehru)</li> <li>• Perhaps the most radical component of Bose's policy or program during this period was <b>his advocacy of an early resumption of the national struggle for independence, to be preceded by an ultimatum to the British government.</b> This caused much annoyance to Gandhiji. <b>Gandhiji thought that freedom would be achieved by talking and negotiating. He opposed Subhas when he again stood for the election of the Presidentship of the Congress in 1939.</b></li> <li>• Gandhiji asked Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to stand for elections but both of them declined knowing well that they can not win against Subhas. So Gandhiji made Pattabhi Sitaramaiyya</li> </ul>

stand for the elections, against Subhas, as a scapegoat.

- **Subhas defeated Sitaramaiyya by obtaining 1580 votes against 1371 votes in spite of open opposition from Gandhiji and his courtiers. Gandhiji became very angry that his nominee was defeated and publicly declared that this was his personal defeat. After that Gandhiji went to Rajkot and went on a fast. This made the situation very tensed. Gandhi Wing and Nehru opposed Subhas on every occasion. Almost all Congress Working Committee members resigned to make it difficult for Bose to continue to function. Subhas tried to pacify Gandhiji but later did not cooperated. Ultimately, Subhas resigned from the Presidentship of Congress on 29 April 1939.**
- Later on Bengal Provincial Congress Committee headed by Subhas was suspended and he was banned from any elective office of Congress for three years.
- ***On 3 May 1939, Subhas formed the 'Forward Bloc' representing left forces within the Congress Party. First all-India session of Forward Bloc was held in Bombay on 22 June 1939.***
- ***On 3 September 1939 at Madras, in a mammoth rally, Subhas got the news of war struck between Germany and Britain.***
- World War II started just as predicted already by Bose, when he was Congress President. **India was declared as a warring state by the then British viceroy Lord Linlithgow without consulting anybody in India.**
- ***On 8 September 1939, Subhas attended Congress Working Committee meeting at Wardha as a non-member (invitee) where he opposed Gandhiji's idea of cooperation with British in war. He vehemently advocated: "This the right time when Indians should start their aggressive movement to win their freedom from British."***
- **Between 18-20 October 1939, Subhas called Anti-imperialist Conference of Forward Bloc at Nagpur and declared Forward Bloc a Socialist Party.**
- **On 20 March 1940, Subhas called Anti-compromise Conference at Ramgarh. On the same day and same time, then Congress President Abul Kalam Azad had called an Annual Session of Congress. Judging the consequences, Gandhiji sent request to Subhas on a paper slip to change timings of his conference. Keeping the honour of Gandhiji, Subhas proponed his conference for 19<sup>th</sup> March 1940 although it was too late. In spite of change, there were 80,000 persons (peasants and workers) in his conference while only 5000 persons were present in Congress Session. **Subhas gave Forward Bloc an all-India base as it was very evident from mass rallies of the Forward Bloc (which sometimes attracted crowds numbering as many as 2,00,000). He addressed about 1000 meetings all over India in a short duration of about 10 months.****

1940

- ***In the first half of 1940, Subhas had long talks with Savarkar, Jinnah, Gandhiji and other Congress leaders but nobody was prepared to join hands for a joint fight for India's independence.***
- **It was easiest thing for Subhas to remain in India till the end of war like other compatriots.**
- But Subhas started a mass movement against British rule against using Indian resources and men for the war. He expressed that it made no sense to further bleed poor Indians for the sake of colonial and imperial nations. There was a tremendous response to his call and he was imprisoned on 2 July 1940 (XI arrest).
- Utterly convinced that passive protests and civil disobedience will not lead India to freedom and at the same time considering the opportunity provided by world war, ***Subhas started hunger-strike in jail and after his health deteriorated on the 11<sup>th</sup> day of fasting, he was released on 5 December 1940 and put under house arrest under strict surveillance. The British Government was afraid of mass reactions if something happened to Bose in prison especially during the period of war.***

1941

- **On 17 January 1941 at 1.30 AM, disguised as Insurance Agent Mohd. Ziauddin, Bose slipped out of his house arrest while everyone was asleep including the guards and intelligence people posted by British (Indian) Govt. at his house. He moved away unnoticed along with his nephew Sisir Bose in a car to Barari, near Dhanbad. Next day, Bose took Kalka Mail at Gomoh Railway Station for Delhi. From Delhi, he took Frontier Mail for Peshawar.**
- On 19 January 1941, Subhas reached Peshawar Cantonment Station and was received by Mian Akbar Shah and Bhagat Ram Talwar, members of Forward Bloc in North West Frontier.



- On 26 January 1941, Subhas left for Kabul through the tribal territory. *He reached Kabul after a long, risky and tiresome journey by trucks and on bare foot passing through areas of rugged terrains and difficult mountains. Bose's disappearance became known in Calcutta only on 26 January 1941, the day of his trial. This was really a "Great Escape" meticulously planned as a big slap on British Intelligence.*
- Stay in Kabul, initially in a Sarai, was very risky and uncomfortable. Later, arrangements were made with Shri Uttam Chandra Mehrotra, an Indian businessman.
- *Subhas wanted help from Russia in India's freedom. But due to non-aggression pact with UK, Stalin and Molotov advised Netaji, through Russian Consulate in Kabul, to take help from Germany and Italy.*
- On 16 March 1941, he got his passport made in the pseudo name of an Italian- Signor Orlando Mazzota.
- On 17 March 1941, Subhas under pseudo name 'Orlando Mazzota' left for Samarkand with a German Doctor - Mr. Voelger and two others in a car. From Russian frontier Tarmeez, they boarded a train on 20 March 1941 and reached Moscow on 27 March 1941.
- On 28 March 1941, Bose reached Berlin from Moscow by air.
- *When his compatriots in India stuck to their ideology propagating non-violence, which could only help the British, since such a movement could be easily controlled, Subhas Chandra Bose had the courage to take an active part in the war, risking not only his life but also his reputation, only for the sake of freeing his motherland.*
- On 3 September 1941, Winston Churchill said to the House of Commons, Great Britain "... the **Atlantic Charter, which promised freedom to the occupied countries after War, will not be applied to countries like India ...** I did not become the Prime Minister of England in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire."

## Netaji In Germany During World War II

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| 1941 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bose reached Berlin on 28 March 1941. Bose was welcomed in Germany, although the news of his arrival there was kept a secret for some time for political reasons.</li> <li>• The German Foreign Office, which was assigned the primary responsibility of dealing with Bose and taking care of him, had been well informed of the background and political status of the Indian leader through its pre-war Consulate-General at Calcutta and also by its representative in Kabul.</li> <li>• <u><i>On 9 April 1941, Bose submitted a memorandum to the German government that outlined a plan for co-operation between the Axis powers and India. Among other things, it called for the setting up of a "Free India Government" in Europe, preferably in Berlin; establishment of a Free India broadcasting station for calling upon the Indian people to assert their independence and rise up in revolt against the British authorities; underground work in Afghanistan involving independent tribal territories lying between Afghanistan and India and within India itself for fostering and aiding the revolution; provision of finances by Germany in the form of a loan to the Free India government-in-exile; and deployment of German military contingents to smash the British army in India.</i></u></li> <li>• In a supplementary memorandum bearing the same date, Bose requested that <b>an early pronouncement be made regarding the freedom of India and the Arab countries.</b></li> <li>• It is significant to note that the memorandum did not mention the need for formation of an Indian Legion. Evidently the idea of recruiting the Indian prisoners of war for the purpose of establishing a nucleus of an Indian National Army was kept away by this time.</li> <li>• At that time, the <b>German government was in the process of formulating its own plan for dealing with Subhas Chandra Bose in the best possible manner.</b> The Foreign Office felt itself inadequate to discharge this awesome responsibility without referring the whole matter to Hitler. While this issue was being considered at the highest level of the government, it was too complicated to be resolved at an early date.</li> <li>• <u><i>On 22 June 1941, Germany declared war on the USSR. Netaji expressed his unhappiness to Ribbentrop through a letter and newspapers saying that sympathy of Indian people is clearly with</i></u></li> </ul> |
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Russia and Germany was an aggressor. Earlier also, Bose had criticized Hitler's treatment of Jews.

- Germany was busy in making preparations for its future advances and there was a long wait for Bose during which period he often tended to become frustrated. Nevertheless, through several sympathetic officers of the Foreign Office, he continued to press his requests and put forth new ideas.
- Finally, after months of waiting and many moments of disappointment often bordering on despair for Bose, Germany agreed to give him unconditional and all-out help.
- The two immediate results of this decision were the establishment of a Free India Center and inauguration of a Free India Radio in October 1941, both began their operations in November 1941. These two organisations played vital and significant roles in projecting Bose's increasing activities in Germany. The German government put at Bose's disposal adequate funds to run these two organizations and he was allowed complete freedom to run them the way he liked at his own discretion.
- On 2 November 1941, in its first official meeting, the Free India Center adopted some historical resolutions that would serve as guidelines for the entire movement in subsequent months and years in Europe and East Asia.
  - (i) 'Jai Hind' (Victory to India) would be the official form of salutation.
  - (ii) Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore's famous song "Jana Gana Mana" was to be the National Anthem for the free India Bose was fighting for.
  - (iii) In a multilingual state like India, the most widely spoken language, Hindustani, was to be the National Language.
- Subhas was given the immortal title of "Netaji" -- the Indian equivalent of the English "Revered Leader" or the German "Führer".
- In November 1941, Azad Hind Radio (or the Free India Radio) opened its program with an announcing speech by Netaji himself, which, in fact, was a disclosure of his identity that had been kept officially secret for so long. He said "I am Subhas Chandra Bose who is still alive and talking to you". During this broadcast he called Gandhiji as the "Father of the Nation". This message sent shockwave through the British because they did not want to loose India at that crucial stage of the war.
- At this point, Subhas started negotiating with German Foreign Office his plans for training Indian youths from the prisoners' camps for a national militia. Although somewhat skeptical and hesitant at the beginning, the German response to the plans was encouraging. It was a time psychologically well-chosen by Netaji. The allied forces had been defeated in Europe and the Wehrmacht was marching ahead successfully in the Soviet Union. It was also a historical coincidence that a large number of British Indian prisoners-of war captured during Rommel's blitzkrieg in North Africa, laid in German hands.
- Netaji's first idea was to form small parachute parties to spread propaganda in and transmit intelligence from the North-West Frontier in India. The reaction of some selected prisoners who were brought to Berlin from the camp of Lamsdorf in Germany and Cyrenaica was so encouraging that he asked for all Indian prisoners held in North Africa to be brought over to Germany at once. The Germans complied with this request, and the prisoners began to be concentrated at Annaburg camp near Dresden.
- Netaji sought and got agreement from the Germans that the Wehrmacht would train the Indians in the strictest military discipline, and they were to be trained in all branches of infantry in using weapons and motorized units the same way a German formation is trained; the Indian legionaries were not to be mixed up with any of the German formations; that they were not to be sent to any front other than in India for fighting against the British but would be allowed to fight in self-defense at any other place if surprised by any enemy formation; that in all other respects the Legion members would enjoy the same facilities and amenities regarding pay, clothing, food, leave, etc. as a German unit.
- By December 1941 all arrangements were complete and the next important task was to persuade men to come forward and form the nucleus.
- On 25 December 1941, a meeting of Indian residents in Berlin was called in the office of the Free India Center to give a send-off to the first fifteen legionaries, who were to leave the following day for Frankenburg, the first training camp and headquarters for the Legion. The brief ceremony was simple and solemn. Netaji blessed the Legion, the first of its kind in the history of the struggle for

	<p><b>Indian independence. He christened it Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army). The Indian Army of Liberation in the West thus had a humble and modest birth.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Netaji visited the camps from time to time and watched progress of the trainees. Since he himself was inclined toward military training and discipline, he followed the German training methods with great interest. It is believed that while in Germany, Netaji himself underwent the rigor of such training.</u> In India, he was a member of the University Training Corps at school and commanded the volunteers at an annual session of the Indian National Congress, but never had a formal military education prior to his arrival in Germany in 1941. A firm believer in discipline and organization, nothing perhaps could be more satisfying to him than to see his men being trained by the German Command, with officers of the highest caliber.</li> </ul>
1942	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Subhas's presence in Germany was not officially announced in the beginning; he was being referred to as Signor Orlando Mazzota or His Excellency Mazzota, but Netaji began to be known to more and more people in Berlin after the inauguration of the Free India Center, Free India Radio and sending of the first fifteen legionaries to the Frankenburg training camp. Netaji's activities in Germany began in full swing.</u></li> <li>• The fall of Singapore, on 15 February 1942, was a signal for Netaji to broadcast several speeches over the Free India Radio, communicate about world war situation and caution Indians about Cripps Mission repeating his vow to fight British imperialism until the end. This he followed with a declaration of war against England, although at that stage such a pronouncement could only be symbolic.</li> <li>• <u>At this point, both the BBC and Writer, acting like the mouthpieces of the British government, declared that Netaji had died in a plane crash.</u></li> <li>• <u>On 25 March 1942, broad cast was made by Netaji from Berlin Radio to falsify the news of his death in plane crash as announced by BBC, to denounce British Policy and to appeal Indians to reject Cripps Mission which was based on policy of Divide and Rule between Hindus and Muslims.</u></li> <li>• On 1<sup>st</sup> May 1942, Netaji said in a telecast:  <u>"I am not an apologist of the three (Axis) power and it is not my task to defend what they have done or may do in future. That is the task which devolves on these nations themselves. My concern is however with India and if I may say further with India alone"...</u>  <u>"My whole life is one long persistant uncompromising struggle against British. All my life, I have been the servant of India, until the last breath of my life I shall remain one ... No matter in which part of the world I may live."</u> </li> <li>• Meanwhile, Japan announced a declaration "India for Indians" saying that it is the golden opportunity for India to win its freedom.</li> <li>• Encouraged by this, <u>Bose met Mussolini in Rome and persuaded him to obtain such a declaration in favour of Indian independence.</u> Netaji had not yet obtained an Axis declaration in support of the freedom of India that he pressed for in the supplement of his first memorandum to the German government. <u>German government was of the opinion that the time was not ripe yet to make declaration in favour of Indian independence.</u></li> <li>• Mussolini telegraphed the Germans, the proposal of the declaration. To back his new proposal, <u>Mussolini told the Germans that he had urged Bose to set up a "counter-government" and to appear more conspicuously.</u></li> <li>• The German reaction, which still remained guarded, is recorded by <u>Dr. Goebbels in his diary on 11 May 1942; "We don't like this idea very much, since we do not think the time has yet come for such a political maneuver.</u> It does appear though that the Japanese are very eager for some such step."</li> <li>• <u>Netaji apparently was of the opinion that a tripartite declaration on Indian independence, followed up by a government-in-exile, would give some credibility to his declaration of war on England, push over the brink the imminent revolution in India, and legitimize the Indian legion.</u></li> <li>• <u>On 29 May 1942, Bose met Hitler at the Führer's field headquarters Reich Chancellery.</u> During this meeting, Hitler told Netaji that a well-equipped army of a few thousand could control millions of unarmed revolutionaries and there could be no political change in India until an external power knocked at her door. Germany could not yet do this. To convince Netaji, he took him to a wall map, pointed to the German positions in Russia and to India. The immense distances were yet to be bridged before such a declaration could be made. The world would consider it premature at this stage what kind of 'political concept' Bose had in mind. <u>Hitler was perhaps being realistic, but nevertheless it would have come as</u></li> </ul>

a disappointment for Netaji and he replied through interpreter Von Trott - Chief of Special India Office of Germany, **"Tell His Excellency that I had been in politics all my life and I donot need any advice from any side."** This was a remark about and in front of Hitler in the spring of 1942 when he was at the zenith of his success and glory.

- During his meeting, the Führer suggested that in view of the prevalent world situation, Netaji should shift the center of his activities from Germany to the Far East.
- **By December 1942, exactly a year after the recruitment of the Legion was inaugurated, it attained the strength of four battalions.**
- At the beginning of 1943 the Legion was around 2000 strong, well on its way up to the culminating point of 3500 men.

1943

- By January 1943, it was realized that maintenance of the irregulars as a separate entity was not of much practical use and the ninety Indian men (excepting four under N.G. Swamy who were being trained for work within India) were absorbed into the Legion. Since the supply of recruits from the Annaburg camp was fast being depleted, it was decided to hasten the shipment of prisoners of war from Italy.
- However, **the rapid expansion of the Legion also posed the problem of finances. Hitherto, payment to soldiers was being made from the monthly grants to the Free India Center and its office. As the number of Legionaries grew, that source became insufficient.**
- For this problem there could be but one solution; direct payment to the Legion by the Germans. This would mean hereafter that the Legionaries would receive promotions and precedence as soldiers of National Socialist Germany and would become, in fact, a regiment of the German army, while retaining its separate name and distinction. This was agreed upon between Netaji and the German government, necessitating the taking of a formal oath of loyalty to Adolph Hitler on the part of the Legionaries: "I swear by God this holy oath that I will obey the leader of the German State and people, Adolph Hitler, as commander of the German Armed Forces, in the fight for freedom of India, in which fight the leader is Subhas Chandra Bose and that as a brave soldier, I am willing to lay down my life for this oath."
- Netaji presented to the Legion its standard, **a tricolor in the green, white and saffron of the Indian National Congress, superimposed with the figure of a springing tiger in place of the Congress spinning wheel.** Netaji said, "Our names will be written in gold letters in the history of free India; every martyr in this holy war will have a monument there." It was a brave and colourful show, and for Bose, a moment of pride and emotion. Netaji said: **"We shall take freedom by the strength of arms. Freedom is never given, it is taken. Its price is blood ... I shall lead the army, when we march to India together."**
- **Netaji's plan for leading the army to India was:**
  - When the Germans Army will move beyond Stalingrad into Central Asia, the Indian National Army personnel, trained at Messeritz, would accompany their Tajik and Uzbek counterparts along with the German Troops. After Uzbekistan and Afghanistan were reached, **the Indian Company would leap ahead of the German advance to disrupt the British-Indian defenses in northwestern India. Netaji spoke of dropping parachute brigades calling on the Indian peasantry to assist them.**
  - Through radio, he would issue warnings to British Indian soldiers and police to the effect that unless they assisted the liberation forces they would one day have to answer to the free Indian government for their criminal support of the British. The effect of the Indian army of liberation marching into India along with the German forces would be such that the entire British Indian Army morale would collapse coinciding with a revolutionary uprising against the British. The Legion would then be the nucleus of an expanding army of free India.
- **Netaji's plan, largely dependent on German Military successes in the Soviet Union, undoubtedly had a setback when the Wehrmacht was halted at Stalingrad.** After the German retreat from that city, the plan for marching into India from the West had to be abandoned.
- **The tide of war was turning swiftly, calling for devising new strategies on the part of Netaji.** While the German army's second thrust into Russia encountered an unexpected counter-offensive at Stalingrad and thus was forced to turn back, in another part of the world the forces of another Axis partner Japan were forging ahead, nearer and nearer to India.
- **Japan was achieving spectacular successes in the Far East and was ready to welcome Netaji as the leader of millions of Indians who lived in the countries of East and South East Asia. The Japanese**



**attitude was extremely encouraging.**

- Tojo, the Prime Minister, had issued statements in the Diet (the Japanese Parliament) about Indian freedom early in 1942 and by March, there was a Japanese proposal for a tripartite declaration on India. A small band of Indian National Army Legionaries had already been in existence in the South-East under Japanese patronage, although a few of its leaders, including Mohan Singh, had fallen out with the Japanese.
- **Netaji could look back at his two years work in Germany with a sense of pride and accomplishment. Broadcasting, publications and propaganda were all extended. Azad Hind Radio had extended programs in several languages and reports indicated that they were being listened to with interest in target areas. Azad Hind, a bilingual journal, was being published regularly.**
- The Free India Center had attained an acknowledged status in Germany. It was treated as a foreign mission, entitling its members to a higher scale of rations, and exemption from some of the Aliens' regulations.
- **Netaji himself was given a good villa, a car and special rations for entertainment purposes. His personal allowance amounted to about 800 pounds a month. The monthly grant for the Free India Center rose from 1,200 pounds in 1941 to 3,200 pounds in 1944. Netaji stipulated all this as a loan from the German government, to be returned after India gained independence with the Axis assistance.**
- **The mutual understanding and respect between Indians and Germans and the increasing contact between them in the interest of the common task made it possible for the Indian Legion to sustain and keep up discipline right up to the German capitulation in 1945.**
- **After the entry of Japan in World War II in December 1942, Netaji was more eager to go as soon as possible to East Asia and fight beside Japan for India's liberation.** He reportedly urged Oshima, Japanese Ambassador in Germany, to use his good offices to secure his passage to Asia. It was about at this point that both Oshima and Yamamoto encountered a feeling of reluctance in the matter on the part of the German Foreign Office. ***Bose was already a useful ally as an Indian patriot and his propaganda broadcasts were effective in India and both in Indian and British Army wherein Indian people were recruited. The Indian Legion was already having a psychological impact in India and worrying the Allies. For these reasons, "they were guarding Bose like a tiger cub."***
- In the meantime, Ambassador Oshima had also met with Hitler and explained Bose's plan to him. **According to Japanese records, "The Führer readily agreed with Oshima that it was better for Bose to shift his activities to South-East Asia now that his country's (Japan's) armies had overrun the area.** The second problem was whether Bose would get enough support in Tokyo for his activities. On this, Oshima had contacted Tokyo many times but had not received any firm answer. **Finally, Tokyo replied to Oshima that in principle it had no objection to Bose's visit to Japan.** The third problem was to provide Bose with a safe means of transport to Japan. Communication between Germany and Japan was impossible during those days. Passage by boat was ruled out; and it was decided to use a plane belonging to the Lufthansa Company to airlift Bose from Germany to Japan via the Soviet Union.
- **During his meeting with Netaji, Hitler had suggested to him that since it would take at least another one or two years before Germany could gain direct influence in India while Japan's influence, in view of its spectacular successes in South-East Asia could come in a few months. Bose should negotiate with the Japanese. The Führer warned Bose against an air journey, which could compel him to a forced landing in British territory. He thought Bose was too important a personality to let his life be endangered by such an experiment. Hitler suggested that he could place a German submarine at his disposal, which would take him to Bangkok on a journey around the 'Cape of Good Hope'.**
- Netaji consulted with his aides in Berlin. A.C.N. Nambiar, an Indian journalist who had been in Europe for some eighteen years prior to Netaji's arrival in Germany, was his right-hand man. **While preparing for his journey to the Asian theater-of-war, Netaji passed on to Nambiar his policy and instructions:** Hugh Toye writes, "There were plans for new branches of the Free India Center, for broadcasting, for Indians to study German police methods and for the training of Indian seamen and airmen. As for the legion, it must be used actively as soon as possible, the German officers and NCOs must be quickly replaced by Indians, there must be no communalism. Legionaries were to be trained on all the most modern German equipment, including heavy artillery and tanks; Bose would send

further instructions as opportunity offered."

- **On 26 January 1943**, a great party was hoisted by Netaji in Berlin to celebrate "**Independence Day for India**".
- On 28 January 1943, the day was observed as the "Legion Day" in honour of the Indian Legion. Netaji addressed the Legion. It is believed that his departure was kept secret. The impression Netaji was leaving at the Free India Center was that he was going on a prolonged tour. **Except for a few top-ranking German officers and his closest aides, hardly anybody was aware that within a week-and-a-half he would be embarking upon a perilous journey: a submarine voyage through mine-infested waters to the other side of the world.**
- Japanese Naval Command raised **objections because of an internal Japanese regulation not permitting civilians to travel on a warship in wartime.** When Adam Von Trott received this message by cable from the German Ambassador in Tokyo, he sent the following reply: "**Subhas Chandra Bose is by no means a private person but Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Liberation Army.**" Thus the bureaucratic interference was overcome.
- **On 8 February 1943, accompanied by Keppler, Nambiar and Werth, Netaji left Berlin and arrived at the port of Kiel on 13 February 1943, where a German submarine (U-Boat) under the command of Werner Musenberg was waiting for him.** His would-be sole companion on this perilous voyage, Abid Hasan, had traveled separately to Kiel in a special compartment without knowing his destination. Only after commencement of the journey, he was to be informed of the itinerary. ***This was the only man-to-man transfer in a submarine in the II World War.***
- Netaji was leaving behind his chosen 3,500 soldiers of the Indian Legion, the 950th regiment of the German Army, specially trained and equipped for the task of liberating an India held in bondage by the British.
- After some days of Netaji's departure for East Asia, Hitler addressed the soldiers of the Indian Legion at its headquarter in Dresden. He spoke in German and his speech was translated into Hindustani by an interpreter. Hitler said: "***You are fortunate having been born in a country of glorious cultural traditions and a colossal manpower. I am impressed by the burning passion with which you and your Netaji seek to liberate your country from foreign domination. Your Netaji's status is even greater than mine. While I am the leader of 80 million Germans, he is the leader of 400 million Indians. In all respects, he is a greater leader and a greater general than myself. I salute him and Germany salutes him. It is the duty of all Indians to accept him as their führer and obey him implicitly. I have no doubt that if you do this, his guidance will lead India very soon to freedom.***"

## Netaji with Japan during World War II

1942 to 1943	<b>Background Activities</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• On 7 December 1941, Japan attacked Pearl Harbour and destroyed American Naval base.</li><li>• <b>On 15 February 1942, Singapore fell to the Japanese army advancing southward from the Malayan peninsula.</b></li><li>• On 17 February 1942, British Indian troops were handed over to the Victorious Japanese Army Major Fujiwara as prisoners-of-war by their commanding officer Colonel Hunt in an impressive ceremony held at Farrar Park.</li><li>• <b>Fujiwara in turn handed over POWs to Captain Mohan Singh of the Indian contingents, who should be obeyed by them as their Supreme Commander.</b> He held a preliminary discussion with some prominent Indians in Malaya and Burma in a meeting in Singapore on 9 and 10 March 1942 which was attended by <b>Ras Bihari Bose, a veteran Indian revolutionary living in Japan in exile since 1915 when he left India after organizing a bomb-throw on Viceroy Harding's procession in Dehli in 1912 and then planning an uprising in the British Indian Army during first world war and escaping from the eyes of British Secret Agents.</b></li><li>• <b>During 28-30 March 1942, Ras Bihari Bose called a conference in Tokyo. The delegates,</b></li></ul>
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	<p>representing several East and South-East Asian countries present at the conference, decided to form the Indian Independence League to organize an Indian independence movement in East Asia. Ras Bihari Bose was recognized as head of the organization.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The conference further resolved that "military action against the British in India will be taken only by the INA and under Indian command, together with such military, naval and air cooperation and assistance as may be requested from the Japanese by the Council of Action" and further, "after the liberation of India, the framing of the future constitution of India will be left entirely to the representatives of the people of India."</li> <li>• By May 1942, Japan controlled everything from 'Sea of Japan' to 'Bay of Bengal' and all cities Hongkong, Singapore, Manila, Penag, Rangoon etc.</li> <li>• <b>On 15 June 1942, a conference opened in Bangkok with over a hundred delegates of the Indian Independence League (IIL) attending from all over Asia. The Indian Independence League was proclaimed the organization to work for India's freedom; the Indian National Army (INA) was declared the military arm of the movement with Mohan Singh as the Commander-in-chief, Giani Pritam Singh as Secretary General and Ras Bihari Bose as President of the Council of Action. It was further decided that Singapore would be the headquarters of the IIL.</b></li> <li>• <b><u>Netaji had sent a message to the conference from Germany expressing that his personal experience had convinced him that Japan, Italy and Germany were sworn enemies of British imperialism; yet the independence could come only through the efforts of Indians themselves. India's freedom would mean the rout of British imperialism.</u></b></li> <li>• The Indian National Army was officially inaugurated in September 1942.</li> <li>• <b>Unfortunately distrust began to grow within the Indian group led by Captain Mohan Singh against Ras Bihari Bose's leadership. They thought that having been long associated with Japan, he gave precedence to the Japanese interests over Indian interests. As a consequence, in November 1942, Mohan Singh and his associate Colonel Gill, both were arrested by the Japanese and the Indian Army was disbanded.</b></li> <li>• On 15 February 1943, Indian National Army was reorganized and put under the command of Lt. Col. Bhonsle, who held this post until the final dissolution of the army. The Director of the Military Bureau, Lieutenant-Colonel Bhonsle, was clearly placed under the authority of the IIL to avoid any repetition of IIL-INA rivalry. Under Bhonsle was Lt. Col. Shah Nawaz Khan as Chief of General Staff, Major P.K. Sahgal as Military Secretary, Major Habibur Rahman as commandant of the Officers' Training School and Lt. Col. A.C. Chatterji and A.D. Jahangir as head of enlightenment and culture. Apart from this policy-forming body was the Army itself, under the command of Lt. Col. M.Z. Kiani. This was the organization, which held the INA together until the arrival of Subhas Chandra Bose from Berlin, six months later.</li> <li>• <b><u>In February, the Japanese military officer Iwakuro had called a meeting of about three hundred officers of the INA at Bidadri camp in Singapore and spoke to them 'heart-to-heart'. It emerged that a large number of officers and men would be willing to continue in the INA on the condition that Netaji would be coming to Singapore.</u></b></li> <li>• <i>The story of Netaji's presence in Germany and the history of the Indian Legion were known to Indian revolutionaries of the IIL in East Asia and they awaited his arrival eagerly. The need for Netaji's leadership began to be felt more keenly. Giani Pritam Singh and Mohan Singh had mentioned Netaji's name to General Fujiwara as early as 1941. In all conferences, the need of his guidance had been emphasized by the delegates.</i></li> </ul>
1943	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>On 20 April 1943, a Japanese submarine I-29 left Penang Island for the tip of Africa, under strict orders not to attack on risk detection. The two submarines (German and Japanese) had a rendezvous four hundred miles south-southwest of Madagascar coast on 26 April. After sighting each other and confirming their identity, the submarines waited for a day for the sea to become calm. <u>Then on 28 April 1943, the only known submarine-to-submarine transfer of passengers took place in the annals of World War II, that too in an area dominated by the enemy's air and naval strength. Netaji and Abid Hasan were transshipped into the Japanese submarine via a rubber raft.</u></b></li> <li>• Japanese submarine reached Sabang on 6 May 1943. It was an isolated offshore islet north of Sumatra. There, <b><u>Netaji was welcomed by Colonel Yamamoto who was the head of the Hikari Kikan (the</u></b></li> </ul>



Japanese-Indian liaison group). From Sabang, Netaji and Yamamoto left for Tokyo by plane, stopping en-route at Penang, Manila, Saigon and Taiwan.

- On 16 May 1943, Netaji landed in Tokyo and from 17 May onwards, he met **Japanese Army and Navy Chiefs-of-Staff, Navy Minister and Foreign Minister in rapid succession.** Japanese Prime Minister Tojo granted Netaji an interview on 10 June 1943. But Tojo was so impressed with Netaji's personality that he offered to meet him again after four days.

- On 14 June 1943, Tojo was deeply impressed by **Netaji's intellectual grasp of the war situation and leadership capability.** Two days later, on 16 June 1943, Netaji was invited to visit the Diet where Tojo surprised him with his historic declaration on India:

*"We are indignant about the fact that India is still under the ruthless suppression of Britain and are in full sympathy with her desperate struggle for independence. We are determined to extend every possible assistance to the cause of India's independence. It is our belief that the day is not far off when India will enjoy freedom and prosperity after winning independence".* Tojo further added *"India for Indians"*.

- For about a month after his arrival in Tokyo, Netaji's identity and presence was kept a secret. He was supposed to be a Japanese VIP named Matsuda. On 18 June 1943, Tokyo Radio announced Netaji's arrival. The news was reported in the Tokyo press the following day. At this announcement, the atmosphere was electrified overnight. The Axis press and radio stressed the significance of the event. The INA and the Indian independence movement suddenly assumed far greater importance in the eyes of all.

- On 19 June 1943, Netaji held a press conference. This was followed by two broadcasts to publicize further his presence in East Asia and during the course of these he unfolded his plan of action. Bose's plan stood for the co-ordination of the nationalist forces within India and abroad to make it a gigantic movement powerful enough to overthrow the British rulers of India. The assumption on which Bose seemed to have based his grand scheme was that the internal conditions in India were ripe for a revolt. The non-cooperation movement must turn into an active revolt:

*"It is our duty to pay for our liberty with our own blood. The enemy should be fought with sword. India will get freedom through armed struggle. Civil disobedience must develop into armed struggle. And only when the Indian people have received the baptism of fire on a large scale would they be qualified to achieve freedom."*

- Netaji then embarked upon a series of meetings, press conferences, radio broadcasts and lectures in order to explain his immediate task to the people concerned and the world.

- On 27 June 1943, Netaji accompanied by Ras Bihari Bose arrived at Singapore from Tokyo. He was given a tumultuous welcome by the resident Indians and was profusely 'garlanded' wherever he went. *His speeches kept the listeners spellbound. By now, a legend had grown around him, and its magic infected his audiences. Whole Independence Movement in East Asia was electrified and fascinated by the charm and magnetism of Netaji.*



- On 4 July 1943, addressing representatives of the Indian communities in East Asia Netaji said:

**"Not content with a civil disobedience campaign, Indian people are now morally prepared to employ other means for achieving their liberation. The time has therefore come to pass on to the next stage of our campaign. All organizations, whether inside India or outside, must now transform themselves into a disciplined fighting organization under one leadership. The aim and purpose of this organization should be to take up arms against British imperialism when the time is ripe and signal is given."**

At a public meeting where Netaji spoke these words, Ras Bihari Bose formally handed over to Netaji the leadership of the IIL and command of the INA. The hall was packed to capacity. In his last speech as leader of the movement Ras Bihari Bose said:

**"Friends ! This is one of the happiest moments in my life. I have brought you one of the most outstanding personalities of our great Motherland to participate in our**



campaign. In your presence today, I resign my office as President of the Indian Independence League in East Asia. From now onward, Subhas Chandra Bose is your President, your leader in the fight for India's independence and I am confident that under his leadership you will march on to battle and to victory."

In this meeting Netaji announced his plan to organize Provisional Government of Free India.

*"It will be the task of this provisional government to lead the Indian Revolution to its successful conclusion ... The Provisional Government will have to prepare the Indian people, inside and outside India, for an armed struggle which will be the culmination of all our national efforts since 1883. We have a grim fight ahead of us. In this final march to freedom, you will have to face danger, thirst, privation, forced marches and death. Only when you pass this test freedom will be yours."*

**"I tell those who have any doubts or suspicions in their minds to rely on me... I shall always be loyal to India alone. I will never deceive my motherland. I will live and die for India... The British could not bring me to submission by inflicting hardships on me. British statesmen could neither induce me nor deceive me. There is no one who can divert me from the right path"**

- On 5 July 1943, Netaji took over the command of the Indian National Army, now christened Azad Hind Fauj (Free India Army). Netaji reviewed for the first time the soldiers of the Indian National Army (INA) in South East Asia, which then comprised 13,000 men. Netaji's address to the troops was an excellent example of his oratory, he cited George Washington and Giuseppe Garibaldi as examples of men who led armies that won independence for their respective countries. Addressing the soldiers, Netaji said:

**" Soldiers of India's army of liberation! ... Today is the proudest day of my life.**

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

**"How many of us will individually survive this war of freedom, I do not know. But I do know this, that we shall ultimately win and our task will not end until our surviving heroes hold the victory parade on another graveyard of the British Empire -- Lal Kila or the Red Fortress of ancient Delhi. - Chalo Dilli "**

"Throughout my public career, I have always felt that, though India is otherwise ripe for independence in every way, she has lacked one thing, namely, an army of liberation. George Washington of America could fight and win freedom, because he had his army. Garibaldi could liberate Italy because he had his armed volunteers behind him. **It is your privilege and honor to be the first to come forward and organize India's national army.** By doing so, you have removed the last obstacle in our path to freedom ... When France declared war on Germany in 1939 and the campaign began, there was but one cry, which rose from the lips of German soldiers -- "To Paris! To Paris!" When the brave soldiers of Nippon set out on their march in December 1941, there was but one cry which rose from their lips --"To Singapore! To Singapore!" Comrades! My soldiers! Let your battle cry be -- "To Delhi! To Delhi!"

**Comrades! You have voluntarily accepted a mission that is the noblest that the human mind can conceive of. For the fulfillment of such a mission, no sacrifice is too great, not even the sacrifice of one's life ...**

... Today is the proudest day of my life. For an enslaved people, there can be no greater pride, no higher honour, than to be the first soldier in the army of liberation. But this honour carries with it a corresponding responsibility and I am deeply conscious of it. I assure you that I shall be with you in darkness and in sunshine, in sorrow and in joy, in suffering and in victory. For the present, I can offer you nothing except

**hunger, thirst, privation, forced marches and death. But if you follow me in life and in death, as I am confident you will, I shall lead you to victory and freedom. It does not matter who among us will live to see India free. It is enough that India shall be free and that we shall give our all to make her free."**

**"May God now bless our Army and grant us victory in the coming fight!**

- **On 6 July 1943, Tojo along with Field Marshal Terauchi, Supreme Commander of Southern Army in South East Asia arrived from Manila to review the parade of the troop.**
- On 9 July 1943 at a mass meeting in Singapore, Netaji said: **"Indians outside India, particularly Indians in East Asia, are going to organize a fighting force which will be powerful enough to attack the British Army in India. When we do so, a revolution will break out, not only among the civil population but also among the Indian Army, which is now standing under the British flag. When the British government is thus attacked from both sides -- from inside India and from outside -- it will collapse and the Indian people will then regain their liberty."**
- On 27 July 1943, Netaji left Singapore for a 17-day tour of the East Asian and South East Asian countries. **The prime objective of this tour was to enlist moral and monetary support for his movement from other countries, as well as the resident Indian communities.** He was given a rousing reception in Rangoon where he attended the Burmese independence day on 1 August 1943. From Rangoon, Netaji went to Bangkok and met Thai Prime Minister Pilbulsongram.
- Netaji won the moral support of Thailand and tumultuous ovation from the Indian community. He then flew to Saigon and addressed Indians there. Returning to Singapore for a brief rest, he flew to Penang to address a rally of 15,000 Indians. **Everywhere, he held his audience spellbound for hours with his superb oratory and at the conclusion of his speech the people raced to reach the platform and pile up all they had before him a sizeable amount of money.**
- **This scene was repeated over and over in towns and cities all over South-East Asia, when Netaji stood before thousands of people like a prophet, addressing them for the cause of India's freedom. Merchants, traders, businessmen and women came forward everywhere and donated their wealth and ornaments in abundance to enable their leader to fulfill his mission.**
- In his plan for total mobilization, Netaji had outlined a grandiose scheme for an army of three million men. However, the immediate target was set at 50,000. The major part of this number would be from the Indian POWs and the rest from civilian volunteers. According to Bose's plan there would be three divisions from thirty thousand regulars and another unit of twenty thousand mainly from civilian volunteers.
- **The Japanese authorities informed Netaji that it could provide arms for 30,000 men only. However, by 1945 it is believed that the actual strength of the INA rose to around 45,000 men.**
- ***On 30 September 1943, Netaji toured Andaman as the supreme commander of Azad Hind Fauz and paid his tributes to the memories of freedom fighters imprisoned in the Cellular Jail. He got printed thousands of copies of Savarkar's book "Indian War of Independence of 1857" and distributed them in public.***
- After completing the task of reorganizing the Indian Independence League and launching preparations for revolutionizing the army and after conducting a successful campaign to mobilize the support of the Indian communities throughout South East Asia, a phase which lasted from July to October, Netaji turned toward formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India).
- **On 21 October 1943, Provisional Government of Azad Hind was officially proclaimed in Singapore (Cathay Hall) at a mass rally where Netaji was unanimously elected as the Head of the State and the Supreme Commander of the Indian National Army.** While taking the oath he said:  
**"In the name of God, I take this sacred oath; that to liberate India and the three hundred eighty million of my countrymen; I, Subhas Chandra Bose, will continue the sacred war of freedom till the last breath of my life. I shall remain always a servant**

of India, and to look after the welfare of three hundred eighty million of Indian brothers and sisters shall be for me my highest duty. Even after winning freedom, I will always be prepared to shed even the last drop of my blood for the preservation of India's freedom."

- The Provisional Government of Free India, with Netaji as the Head of the State, Prime Minister and Minister for War and Foreign Affairs, had several Ministers and Advisers. **Recognition of the Provisional Government came quickly from nine countries -- the Axis powers and their allies. They were: Japan, Burma, Croatia, Germany, Philippines, Nanking China, Manchukio, Italy and Siam (Thailand).** The Japanese Army promised all-out support for the provisional government. De Valera President of Irish Free State sent his congratulation to Bose. ***Later on, Russia also recognized the Provisional Government of Free India by allowing its center at Omsk.***(Ref: File No. 265/INA in National Archive of India)
- **On the night of 22-23 October 1943, the Provisional Government of Free India declared war on Britain and the United States, Netaji expressed, "I want to tell my American friends that we are men as much as you are. We want our freedom and we shall have it by any means. You had an opportunity of helping us but you did not do so ... Now Japan is offering help and we have reason to trust her sincerity."**
- Toward the end of October 1943, Netaji flew to Tokyo to meet Tojo and to attend the greater East Asia Conference. Since India technically did not fall within this sphere, he attended the conference as an observer. **Netaji made an impressive speech at the conference stressing the need of creation of a new Asia where all vestiges of colonialism and imperialism would be eliminated.**
- The Japanese navy had captured the Andaman and Nicobar islands in the Bay of Bengal during the early months of war. **On 6 November 1943, Prime Minister Tojo announced at the conference that Japan had decided to place the two islands, Andaman and Nicobar, under the jurisdiction of the Provisional Government of Free India thereby giving it its first sovereignty over a territory. These islands were renamed 'Shaheed' and 'Swaraj' by Netaji.** The ceremonial transfer took place in December 1943. Netaji nominated Lieutenant-Colonel Loganathan, an officer in the Medical Services, as the chief commissioner in charge of the civil administration of the islands.
- Soon thereafter, preparations began for sending the army to the front and moving the provisional government headquarters to Rangoon, in Burma.
- **Netaji announced the formation of a women's brigade within the INA and named it "Rani of Jhansi Regiment"** after the queen of Jhansi, Rani Lakshmi Bai, who had led her soldiers against the British in an uprising during the First War of Independence in 1857. Coincidentally, another Lakshmi, Lieutenant-Colonel Lakshmi, was placed in charge of this regiment by Netaji.
- **In November 1943, it was agreed between Netaji and the Japanese military headquarters that the INA first division and the civil and military headquarters would move to Burma in January 1944.**
- **The Japanese gave an 11-seater aircraft for Netaji to travel. Moreover, whenever he traveled, he was given all the rights and privileges of a head of state. On his road travels in Malaya, he was given a full ceremonial escort; Japanese military jeeps mounted with sub-machine guns, a fleet of cars, and motorcycle outriders.** This use to create a sense of unity; transcending class, caste and origin among the large and diverse population of Indians in South East Asia; to increase their political awareness; to arouse and inspire them and INA troops and **to show the world that Netaji was regarded as a political leader of substance and importance.**

1944

### **The Imphal Campaign**

- The Imphal campaign was indeed first conceived in 1942, right after the conquest of Burma. But 18th division of Japanese Army argued that the jungles of Burma were impassable for large bodies of operational troops, and that any attack on Indian territory would provoke anti-Japanese feelings in India. Japanese forces had not pursued retreating British troops beyond the Chindwin river in Burma in May 1942, allegedly because "an invasion was likely to arouse ill-feelings amongst the Indian masses." So the Japanese remained east of the Chindwin river, leaving British Indian forces to build up their strength in the Imphal plain.
- Since 1943, Netaji had convinced General Mutaguchi, Commander of the Japanese forces in North

Burma that Imphal should be attacked. **The idea would be first to overwhelm the British in Arakan, involving all their reserves in battle for Chittagong and the gateway to eastern Bengal.** Then, by April, Kohima and Imphal could be conquered at leisure without danger of their being reinforced.

- **Imphal, the capital of the state of Manipur, lay on a flat and nearly treeless plateau just inside the Indian border. Its elevation was about 3,000 feet surrounded on all sides by impassable mountains. The mountain range in the east with 2,000-4,000 foot peaks above the plateau stretches some five hundred miles. To the West and South is the Chin hills of the Arakan range, a formidable stretch of inhospitable terrain.**
- The jungle surrounding this basin is hostile to human habitation. The northern access to the plain from India and Assam lay through Dimapur and the steep Kohima Road. From Dimapur, a single-track railway swept through Assam and Bengal and was an important military objective to both armies. For the INA the importance of the Imphal campaign was that it was the only major battle in which it would participate with the object of achieving freedom for India.
- **Execution orders for Operation U became operative on 7 January 1944, coinciding with completion of the shifting of the Provisional Government headquarters in Rangoon. In the evening of the same day, Lt. General Masakazy Kawabe, commanding the overall Burma headquarters, held a welcome party in honor of Netaji and his staff officers. Netaji spoke and concluded his speech with these words: "My only prayer to the Almighty at this moment is that we may be given the earliest opportunity to pay for our freedom with our own blood."** One INA Division, named after Netaji as Subhas Regiment, was readied for action at the front with the Japanese.
- Some of the code of conducts decided in advance were:
  - **Liberated territories would be handed over to INA.**
  - **Only flag to fly over Indian soil would be national tricolour.**
  - **Any Japanese or Indian soldier found looting and raping was to be sought at once.**
- Netaji spent the whole days with the Subhas Regiment, reviewing; watching it at exercises and on parade; talking to its officers and exerting his magic on it in a way that he had not attempted before. These were his comrades, the men by whose means he would uphold the rights and honour of India. *Everything depended on their achievement in battle; they must absorb all his feelings of confidence, feel the whole of his personal force.*
- On 3 February 1944, Netaji bade them farewell: ***"Blood is calling for blood. Arise! We have no time to lose. Take up your arms. There in front of you is the road, our pioneers have built. We shall march along that road. We shall carve our way through enemy's ranks, or, if God wills, we shall die a martyr's death. And in our last sleep we shall kiss the road, which will bring our Army to Delhi. The road to Delhi is the road to Freedom. On to Delhi!"***
- The Arakan offensive, **launched on 4 February 1944**, had cut off the 7th Indian Division of the British Army in Mayu valley.
- **On 15 March 1944, the D-day for the beginning of the Imphal campaign**, the deployment of well over 1,20,000 troops along the Chindwin river, a front of some 200 kilometers, went on smoothly and undetected by British spies planted in the area. On D-day, Mutaguchi assembled the war correspondents at his headquarters in central Burma and declared: "I am firmly convinced that my three divisions will reduce Imphal in one month. In order that they can march fast, they carry the lightest possible equipment and food enough for three weeks. They will get everything from the British supplies and dumps. Boys! See you again in Imphal at the celebration of the Emperor's birthday on 29 April."
- **The Japanese-Indian offensive took the British by complete surprise. The Japanese and INA troops literally galloped through mountains and jungles routing the enemy on the way.** Prior to the Imphal offensive, an INA detachment under Colonel Sehgal had created a breach through the British lines in the Arakan sector. Now the INA's deployment was extended to the Imphal sector. **As the INA under Netaji's command set foot on the Indian soil, the main Japanese force also defeated the obstinate resistance of the enemy on 22 March, broke through the India-Burma border and advanced from the north and west to encircle Imphal.** The initial success of the INA at the Arakan front generated much enthusiasm. In a Special Order of the Day, Netaji referred to the "Glorious and brilliant actions of the brave forces of the Azad Hind Fauj."
- On 8 April 1944, **Japanese Imperial Headquarters issued a communiqué which said: "Japanese**

troops, fighting side by side with the Indian National Army, captured Kohima early on 6 April." A jubilant Netaji at this time started talking with the Japanese about the administration of the liberated and soon-to-be-liberated territories in India. *In response to a call by Netaji, Prime Minister Tojo made an announcement clarifying that all areas of India occupied as a result of Japanese advance would be placed under the jurisdiction of the Provisional Government.*

- This was followed by Netaji's announcement that he was appointing the Finance Minister of his Cabinet, Major-General A.C. Chatterjee, as the governor of the newly liberated areas. Netaji described the march of the INA into India as the event of the century. He had also just declared the Legion in Europe to be part of the INA and had appointed Nambiar to be a Minister in the Provisional Government.
- **Victorious troop of INA drove out British Army from Kaladan, Haka, Tiddim, Bishenpur, Palel and Kohima and Captured 1500 square kilometer land. Colonel Guljara Singh penetrated 250 miles in India. The fall of Imphal seemed very near.**
- *Young men and women of Azad Hind Dal were being trained as future administrators of liberated territories of India.*
- **Suddenly in the middle of April 1944, the military balance began to shift against Japan and the INA. British forces were being supplied by airlift into the besieged Imphal, and reinforcements began to flow in. British forces were being sent to Kohima to the north by both rail and air. Japan had no matching air power to strike back at enemy air operations. Japan's supplies collapsed. By the end of April, the battle strength of Japanese and INA divisions was decreased forty percent. Time for success by surprise attack had already passed and gradually the offensive turned into a defensive battle. The monsoon that followed brought the ultimate disaster. As roads became impassable, all supply routes were cut off. Muddy streams flooded roads and valleys, and rivers swelled to sweep away tanks and ammunition.**
- In the wake of the monsoon, disease became rampant. Cholera, malaria, dysentery, beriberi and jungle sores began to take their toll. **The INA and the Japanese started living on rations consisting of rice mixed with jungle grass. The 33<sup>rd</sup> Division had fought desperately for forty days without being able to penetrate the British lines at Imphal.** And now that vast amounts of military supplies were reaching the beleaguered garrison at Imphal, there was virtually no hope for a renewed offensive.
- **On 4 July 1944, Netaji gave Clarion call to Indian in East Asia at a rally in Burma:**  
**"This is golden opportunity for winning freedom ... The enemy has been considerably weakened ... With your sacrifice and help of generous Nippon, we have build up a modern army. Recruits have come from every corner of East Asia. Friends, one year ago, I made a demand of "Total mobilization" I will give a "second front". I have redeemed that pledge ... Now I demand more of you ... I demand of your blood ... It is blood alone that can pay the price of freedom."**  
**"Give me blood and I promise you freedom!"**
- **On 8 July 1944, on the recommendation of top-ranking Generals including Kawabe and Mutaguchi, Prime Minister Tojo issued the order to halt the operation.**
- When Netaji heard the order to retreat he was stunned. He drew himself up and said to Kawabe in ringing tones: **"Though the Japanese Army has given up the operation, we will continue it. We will not repent even if the advance of our revolutionary army to attain independence of our homeland is completely defeated. Increase in casualties, cessation of supplies and famine are not reasons enough to stop marching. Even if the whole army becomes only spirit we will not stop advancing toward our homeland. This is the spirit of our revolutionary army."**
- **The story of the retreat from Imphal is one of the greatest tragedies of World War II.** It is a story of misery, hunger and death. Japanese and INA troops, bottled up in the Kawab valley between the Chin Hills and the Chindwin river, began their long trek back through jungles and mountains, headed by division commanders and guards in jeeps and horses. Officers, supply, communication and medical units followed. Behind them marched thousands of stragglers: rain-soaked, emaciated with fever and malnutrition. Soon, corpses began accumulating along the trek, and they had to be left unburied. **Of the**

2,20,000 Japanese troops who began the Imphal Campaign, only 1,30,000 survived and of these only 70,000 remained at the front to retreat. INA casualties were over fifty percent. It was a disaster equal in magnitude to Dunkirk and Stalingrad.

- *The display of Netaji during retreat witnessed his outstanding leadership as well as his supreme human characteristics. He took personal care of his men and particularly women. During those days, whenever somebody persuaded Netaji to take underground shelter when enemy bombers came and did carpet-bombing his reply was -- "the bomb to kill me has not yet made."* He never even for a moment lost his faith in the ultimate victory of his efforts. His self-confidence was of infectious type.
- The Imphal Campaign, including the battle of Kohima -- the first major town to be captured by the INA inside India -- will perhaps go down as one of the most daring and disastrous campaigns in the annals of world military history. The campaign lasted from 15 March to 9 July 1944. The operation has often been compared to the operation Wacht am Rhein or the Battle of the Bulge, which was the final all-out drive launched by Germany towards Ardennes on the Western Front, from December 1944 to January 1945. Both operations almost succeeded and both are termed "gambles" by historians today.
- *Fujiwara perhaps was the most correct in his analysis. According to him, the Imphal disaster could have been avoided had the operation been undertaken a year earlier, at a time when the British power in the region was weak. The delay in launching the Imphal offensive was no doubt due to Netaji's late arrival from Europe to East Asia. The Imphal campaign should have been undertaken at a time when the Axis victories had reached their zenith and the Allied forces were on retreat everywhere.*
- On 22 Sept 1944, addressing to INA soldiers Netaji said, *"Our motherland is seeking liberty... Liberty demands the unstinted sacrifice ... Goddess of Liberty is not yet appeased ... Today, she demands rebels who will be prepared to join suicide squads, who will drown the enemy in the streams of blood."*

#### **"Tum Mujh Ko Khoon Do, Mai Tum Ko Azadi Doonga"**

- On 27 September 1944, Netaji expressed, *"... I confess I am a dreamer... not dreams of exploitation ... but the dream of progress and happiness for the masses ... the dearest dream of my life has been the dream of freedom of India."*
- On 20 November 1944, while in Tokyo, Netaji approached then Soviet Ambassador, Jacob Malik, in writing through a letter - "... close connection with Axis powers in common struggle against British and American, does not stop me from looking for support of Soviet Government in the freedom struggle of India ... my activities were not against Soviet Russia ... gratitude to Soviet Government ... his Excellency Mr. Molotov, Minister of External Affairs for assistance rendered to me in 1941... when all political parties in India condemned, my party 'Forward Bloc' has openly supported Russian foreign policy toward Germany and Finland ... Lenin always supported struggle against colonial rule ..."
- Later Netaji made a secret trip to Russia in December 1944.
- During the last three months of 1944, Japanese forces had withdrawn to the banks of the Irrawaddy in Burma where they intended to make a stand. Netaji enthusiastically offered the reorganised INA 1<sup>st</sup> Division when the Japanese 15<sup>th</sup> division was ordered to oppose the British. Subsequently, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Division was also readied for action.
- In February 1945, the INA held some positions in the region of Mandalay in Burma, giving battle to the advancing enemy. This was the second campaign of Netaji's army and it held out tenaciously at Nyaungu for some time. However, Allied troops later crossed the Irrawaddy at several points and the Japanese and INA units were surrounded.
- On 21 March 1945, Netaji wrote to Col. G. S. Dillon – **"Whatever happens to us individually in the course of this heroic struggle, no power in the world can keep India enslaved for longer whether we live or die fighting, our cause is bound to triumph ... We have to**

do our duty and to pay price of India's liberty."

- On 23 April 1945, Netaji said his people – **"If I had my own way, I would have preferred to stay with you ... but on advice of my ministers and high ranking Japanese officers, I have to leave Burma in order to continue the struggle for freedom."**
- INA successfully maintained law and order at Rangoon during 24<sup>th</sup> April to 4<sup>th</sup> May 1945 without a single crime or loot.
- **On 21 May 1945, while in Bangkok, Netaji forecasted an acute conflict between the Soviet Russia and the Anglo-Americans, after the fall of Germany. He said that the fundamental principle of our foreign policy has been and will be "Britain's enemy is India's friend."**
- By the middle of June 1945, Allied Forces took over Axis Powers completely in Europe. Japan was still fighting.
- **In 2<sup>nd</sup> week of June 1945, Netaji asked Japan to help him to send him to Russia.**
- **On 6<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> August 1945, US dropped atomic bomb on Hirashima & Nagasaki respectively, two cities in Japan.**
- On 10 August 1945, Russia declared war on Japan and on 11 August 1945, Netaji was informed about the intention of Japan to surrender.
- **On 14 August 1945, Netaji told his people – "Japan's surrender is not Indian's surrender. We will keep on fight for our freedom. Roads to India are many." Netaji used to say -- "A true revolutionary is one who never acknowledge 'defeat', who never feels depressed or disheartened. He believes in the justice of his cause." Then he issued series of important orders to civilian and military wings to look after the interest of entire civilian and military personnel. He ordered for three months advance payment to them.**
- **Netaji discussed with his colleagues his option to surrender to Allies Forces after declaration of surrender by Japan or to continue fight. It was discussed that it is not worthwhile being captured by the British in Malaya, Thailand, Indo-China or even Japan. Netaji had asked Mr. A. M. Sahay to work out a plan contacting Vietnamese Revolutionary HO-Chi- Minh to go to India through Indo-China and Tibet or Russia through China. It was decided that surrender will not serve any useful purpose and struggle for India's freedom will be continued.**
- **In 2<sup>nd</sup> week of August 1945, Netaji's plan of shifting base to USSR was approved by Stalin and Molotov (then Russian Foreign Minister) through Jacob Malik (then Soviet Ambassador to Japan) (Ref: Note given to Netaji's interpreter Mr. Sengupta)**
- **On 16 August 1945, Netaji reached Bangkok and discussed his plan with his colleagues and Japanese Officers to shift the base of their activities to USSR. He asked his colleagues to follow him to Saigon.**
- **On 17 August 1945, Netaji flew from Bangkok at 8 AM and reached Saigon around 11 AM with his Colleagues. General Isoda finalized Netaji's escape plan with Field Marshal Terauchi at Dalat. A secret meeting of Netaji, Col. Habibur Rahman and Japanese Generals Isoda and Hachaiya took place behind closed doors in the house of Shri Narain Das, former local chief of IIL, to workout details of the PLAN. The rest of the INA officials were not privy to the content or subject of that meeting. Netaji's further plan, to reach Russia through Manchuria and declaration of plane crash to be announced later, was decided in this meeting.** Netaji and General Shidei were separated from others in the evening. Nobody went to Taihoku, hence there was no Plane Crash. (Taiwan Government has confirmed it)

## NETAJI'S LIFE BEYOND DECLARED DEATH

(Based on authentic information from Internet, Mr. Anuj Dhar's book 'Back from Dead' and Mukherjee Commission's proceedings)

17 Aug. 1945	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Netaji flew from Bangkok at 8 AM and reached Saigon around 11 AM with his Colleagues. General Isoda finalized Netaji's escape plan with Field Marshal Terauchi at Dalat. <b><u>A secret meeting of Netaji, Col. Habibur Rahman and Japanese Generals Isoda and Hachaiya took place behind closed doors in the house of Shri Narain Das, former local chief of IIL, to workout details of the PLAN. The rest of the INA officials were not privy to the content or subject of that meeting. Netaji's further plan, to reach Russia through Manchuria and declaration of plane crash to be announced later, was decided in this meeting. Netaji and General Shidei were separated from others in the evening. Nobody went to Taihoku, hence there was no Plane Crash. (Taiwan Government has confirmed it)</u></b></li> </ul>
18 Aug. 1945	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>"So called death" of Netaji in a plane crash at Taihoku ( as decided, in advance, to be declared after his escape to Russian territory)</li> </ul>
22 Aug. 1945	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b><u>Up to 22 August 1945, Netaji stayed at Dalat, 10 miles away from Saigon, the Headquarter of Japanese Quantung Army in South East Asia, in the house of Field Marshal Terauchi - the Supreme Commander of Japanese Quantung Army. American Intelligence officer and War correspondent, Mr. Alfred Wagg and Bishop of Dalat saw Netaji after declared death. Mr. Wagg had some photographs also.</u></b></li> <li>Japanese Quantung Army surrenderd to Russian Red Army in Manchuria.</li> </ul>
23 Aug. 1945	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b><u>Netaji reached Dairen (Manchuria) at 1.30 p.m. from Saigon in a Japanese Bomber Plane with General Shidei, General Otozo and Lt. General Hikosaburo. They entered Russian territory with General Shidei and others in a jeep. After 3 hours jeep returned to Dairen and informed to the pilot of the plane who then flew back to Tokyo.</u></b></li> <li><b><u>General Isoda informed Shri Sengupta (Bose's aide) "Don't worry, His Excellency Subhas Chandra Bose is in safe custody"</u></b></li> <li>Japanese Broadcasting Agency declared death of Netaji in plane crash. This declaration was made after ensuring Bose's entry to Russian Territory.</li> <li>Netaji was received by Kato Kachu – the Consulate of Provisional Government of Free India at Omsk office in Russia. <b><u>USSR had allowed a center of Provisional Government of Free India at Omsk in spite of being an ally to USA and UK in Second World War.</u></b> (Ref: WO 203/4673HS/SEAC/591 dated 19.10.1945 Public Records Office, London)</li> </ul>
23 Aug. 1945	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Note of Sir R. F. Mudie (Home Member of Wavell Govt.) dated 23.8.45 to Sir E. M. Jenkins (PS to Viceroy Wavell) for consideration of British Cabinet on "Treatment of Bose"</li> </ul> <p>Mudie proposed :</p> <p><b><u>One of the most difficult questions that will confront Home Department in the near future is the treatment of Subhas Chandra Bose... Indian masses have deep admiration and respect for Subhas Bose ...</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bring him back to India and try him either for waging war or under the enemy agents ordinance.</li> <li>Have him tried by a court in Burma or Malaya for waging war against the king in that country.</li> <li>Have him tried by a military court outside India.</li> <li>Intern him in India.</li> <li>Intern him in some other British possession, e.g. Seychelles Islands</li> </ol>



6. Leave him where he is and don't ask for his surrender.
7. **I do not think that there is any chance of Bose being hanged if he is tried in India. The pressure for his release would be too great; and also his trial would result in great publicity for his doings, motives, etc.**
8. It is extremely unlikely that the Government of Burma, which is engaged in appeasing the Burma National Army, would agree to try Bose and even more likely that if they did, they would hang him. The Government of Malaya might possibly have no such scruples and we might get a hanging if His Majesty's Government agreed to ignore agitation in India and Parliament however strong. **But a trial in Singapore would cause almost as much agitation in this country as a trial here, unless it was held in camera and no news released till after his execution.** But in that case we would be accused of judicial murder.
9. In many ways the easiest course would be to leave him where he is and not ask for his release. He might, of course, in certain circumstances, be welcomed by the Russians. This course would raise fewest immediate political difficulties, but the security authorities consider that in certain circumstances his presence in Russia would be so dangerous a to rule it out altogether.
10. The choice seems to be between deporting and interning Bose outside India or trying him in India and commuting the death sentence. The two might be combined and Bose deported (or "transported") after conviction.

Yours sincerely,  
R.F. Mudie

(Ref: Transfer of Power, Vol. VI, Pages 138-139)

- On 25 October 1945, Clement Attlee, Stafford Cripps and Pentthik Lawrence (Secretary of State for India) discussed above issue and decided not to ask Russia for Bose's surrender.

Sept. 1945

- Netaji started his activities in Russian Territory by organizing meetings with Russians and Indians to work for India's freedom.

November 1945 to February 1946

- On 25 Nov. 1945, Indian community in Russia had a meeting with Bose. (Ref: British Intelligent Report- PRO.WO.203/804 from HQ Army to SACSEAI2060.ISUM No. 21)
- On 20 Dec. 1945, a Japanese newspaper reported that Bose has reached Soviet Territory.
- In December 1945, Nehru received a letter from Bose in which he wrote that he was in Russia and he wished to come to India via Chitral. He asked Nehru to make arrangements for his come back. Gandhiji was also aware of this letter.

(Ref: Top Secret File No. 273/INA Document C-4, Part VI, National Archive, New Delhi and File No. 10/Misc/INA/Page 38-39 handed over to Shahanawaj Committee)

- On 27 Dec. 1945, Nehru sent a letter to Clement Attlee to inform him that Shri Bose has been given shelter by Stalin. He should take up the matter with Stalin:

Dear Mr. Attlee,

*I have come to know from a reliable source that Subhas Chandra Bose, your war criminal, has been allowed to enter Russian territory by Stalin. This is a clear treachery and betrayal of faith by the Russians. As Russia has been an ally of the British-Americans, it should not have been done. Please take note of it and do what you consider proper and fit.*

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

- Netaji made three Radio Broadcasts on 26.12.1945, 01.01.1946 & 19.02.1946 from Russian Territory. (Ref: PM Office File No. 870/11/P/16/92-POL)
- On 30 December 1945, Gandhi said "Subhas Bose is alive and hiding somewhere." Sharat Bose also expressed the same view.
- 31 Dec. 1945, The National Herald reported that Bose is in Russia.
- Trial of INA prisoners at Red Fort aroused revolt and unrest all over UNDIVIDED INDIA in Army, in Navy, in Police, in Public and in Government officials. Unrest started even before the INA trial started when people came to know the heroic deeds of INA and Netaji.
- Between 21 and 26 November Calcutta was strike-bound. More than a hundred were killed or injured in police firing.

- Hindus and Muslims - their trucks flying both Congress and Muslim League flags—jointly took over the city, attacking American and British military establishments and shouting the slogans of freedom and nationalism coined by Netaji. Some 49 military vehicles were destroyed and 97 damaged, and about 200 military personnel injured: thirty-two Indians lost their lives and 200 were wounded. The violence soon spread along the Gangetic plain to Patna, Allahabad and Benaras and eventually places as far apart as Karachi and Bombay were affected.
- In January 1946, 5200 Royal Indian Air Force personnel had gone on strike to express sympathy with INA prisoners.
- Between 11 and 14 February 1946, the streets of Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi witnessed unique political demonstrations in which Hindus and Muslims forgot their differences and came together to fight the I.N.A.'s battles.
- **On 18 February 1946, a revolt began on HMS Talwar, a training ship of the Royal Indian Navy in Bombay.**
- By nightfall on the 20 Feb.' 1946, virtually the whole of the Royal Indian Navy was in open rebellion. 78 warships in the various ports of India: Bombay, Karachi, Madras, Vizagapatnam, Calcutta, Cochin, and Andamans and nearly all the shore establishments had hauled down the Union Jack. Only 10 ships and two shore establishments still remained with the British.
- Between 22 and 25 February 1946, the Royal Indian Armed Forces in Bombay and Madras went on strike and on the 27 February 1946, Indian soldiers in Jabalpur followed.
- In Bombay there had been, what even the British owned 'Times of India' was forced to call, a 'Mass Uprising'. About 6,00,000 workers from the textile mills of Bombay had gone on strike to fight with British troops in the streets and lanes of Bombay.
- The British had tanks and machine-guns, the workers had improvised weapons and even at times stones from dug-up roads. In the end, 270 had died and 1,300 had been injured. **Undoubtedly, a revolutionary situation had been created without any existing political leader. The Congress had nothing to do with the entire upsurge.**
- Jinnah advised the men to go back. The Congress leaders were plainly frightened by the prospect of leading a revolution. Nehru came to Bombay and deplored the revolt. What might have happened if there had been a leader prepared to lead them - Netaji Bose perhaps?
- **Nehru had to associate with INA Trial to gain sympathy of public and INA men and to have complete information on the issue.**
- Such a situation existed in 1945-46 owed to Netaji Subhas Bose and his INA. True, his army did not parade as victors in the Red Fort; but their trial had aroused the revolutionary feelings throughout the country. This had proved that his belief in a revolutionary consciousness was grounded in a deeper understanding of the Indian people than his contemporary politicians.
- Sir Stafford Cripps made the position crystal clear in British Parliament:  
**"...The Indian Army in India is not obeying the British officers. In these conditions if we have to rule India for a long time, we have to keep a permanent British army for a long time in a vast country of four hundred millions. We have no such army..."**
- Attlee quickly understood implications and started negotiating Independence of India with Indian leaders. The British government announced in February 1946 that a Cabinet mission of three ministers would visit India that was later rejected by Gandhiji but agreed by Nehru, Patel, Jinnah etc.
- **On 20 February 1946, Attlee pledged the British government to transfer power to Indian hands, if necessary, as two separate nations, 'not later than June 1948'.**
- *On the night of the 23 February 1946, four days after the naval revolt started, the British Cabinet held an emergency meeting and decided to transfer political power to the Congress and League leaders.*
- **Nehru wrote Mountbatten that Subhas Bose should not be allowed to return.**

until India is partitioned. (Ref: Ex-Colonel of INA- Lakshami Sehgal's interview to Mr.V. P. Saini dated 13.07.1992)

March 1946	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <i>In March 1946, Nehru visited Singapore. Lord Mountbatten cautioned Nehru not to help INA and raise issues related to Bose otherwise he (Nehru) would loose power to Bose on his return.</i></li><li>• <u>On 23 March 1946, R. F. Mudie wrote to Sir E. Jenkins "Bose does not come under the definition of War Criminal adopted by United Nations."</u></li></ul>
April 1946	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <u>Russian Vice Consul General in Tehran Mr. Maradoff disclosed that Bose is in Russia where his is secretly organizing a group of Russians and Indians to work for India's freedom.</u> (Ref: Report C-4, Part IV dated 8 April 1946, National Archive Delhi)</li><li>• <i>Norman Smith, Director of IB, had information about Netaji's presence in Russian Territory. British Intelligence had a vigil on Indo-Burmese and other borders for years.</i></li></ul>
July 1946	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Sharat Bose briefed United Press in Bombay "Subhas Bose is alive. The story of plane crash is a myth."</li><li>• In July 1946, riots were engineered between Hindus and Sikhs on the one hand and Hindus and Muslims on the other. <b>British instructed secret agencies to work out a "POST QUIT PLAN" to disintegrate India in more than 100 parts.</b></li><li>• On 22 July 1946, Khurshed (Ben) Naoroji, a secretary of Mahatma Gandhi wrote a Letter to Prof. Louis Fischer, an American journalist to prevail upon the US president for exerting pressure on UK to immediately concede freedom to India mentioning "<b>At heart, Indian (British) Army is Sympathic with the Indian National Army (INA). If Bose comes to India with the help of Russia, neither Gandhi nor the Congress will be able to reason with the country (India)...</b>" ... If Russia declares itself an Asian country there will be no hope for European alliance with India" ...</li></ul>

<p>Aug. 1946 To Dec. 1946</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>In August 1946, Stalin and his Politbureau members (Voroshilov, Vyshinski, Mikoyan and Foreign Minister- Molotov, discussed “Should Bose be kept in Russia?”</u></li> <li>• <u>On 28 August 1946, V. G. Sayadyants, a Soviet secret agent operating in Bombay was called by Nehru and handed over a secret letter for Stalin to be handed over personally to him seeking Stalin's support.</u></li> <li>• On 1 September 1946, V. G. Sayadyants submitted his report on the Political situation of India.</li> <li>• <u>In September 1946, on instruction of Nehru, Krishna Menon met Molotov (then Soviet Foreign Minister) in Paris for 2 hours to bargain over the issue of Bose and assured him to push Russian interest in India. (Ref: Communication between Viceroy Wavell and India Office, London)</u></li> <li>• British Communist Leader Mr. Gallacher gave a statement that De Valera, President of Irish Revolutionary Army welcomed Bose at Dublin in Ireland.</li> <li>• A. Kolesnikov (the former Major General of Warsa Pact) told Sri Chitta Basu (Forward Bloc leader) that documents reveals the presence of Netaji in Russia up to October 1946.</li> <li>• Netaji was present in USSR in pseudo name of ‘Khilsai Malang’ as per Mr. Ram Rahul’s statement.</li> <li>• <u>During this period, many documents referred that British High officials and UK Cabinet headed by Clement Attlee were discussing how Bose to be eliminated without taking recourse to judicious killing. Finally, both New Delhi and London agreed that best course of action will be to leave Bose in Russia itself and not bring him back to India.</u></li> <li>• <u>It is understood that after a lot of pressure from UK and a secret arrangement between USSR, UK and contemporary politicians of India, towards the end of 1946, Stalin ordered Netaji’s detention in a VIP Camp- in Cell No. 45 of Irkutsk Gulag near Baikul Lake and Ural Mountains. Indian Revolutionary Abani Mukherjee was kept in Cell No. 53 in the same camp.</u>  Ref: (i) Confirmation by Shri Goga (son of Shri Abani Mukherjee) to Dr. Satyanarayan Sinha (former Indian Ambassador to Russia) (ii) Confirmation to Press at Delhi by Ms. Svetlana (daughter of Stalin)</li> </ul>
<p>15 Aug. 1947</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>INDIA WON FREEDOM</b></li> </ul>
<p>Jan. 1948</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dr. Radhakrishnan went to Russia in a delegation to participate in philosophical conference. <u>Dr. Radhakrishnan met Netaji. Netaji had asked him to make arrangements for his return to India. Mr. Radhakrishnan told this to higher-ups (Nehru) on his return. Dr. Radhakrishnan was warned, not to disclose the matter and was promised the post of President after Dr. Rajendra Prasad.</u></li> </ul>
<p>1948</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Netaji was seen in Siberia VIP camps (Irkutsk) by Zerovin, a German who knew Bose from Germany days. Zerovin told Mr. Arden du Sarkar that Bose was looked after well and was given a car and personal attendant at that time.</u>  <u>Zerovin asked Bose, “What is your programme, Sir. Are you going back to India?”</u>  <u>Bose replied, “I expect it very soon.”</u></li> </ul>
<p>1949</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ms. Vijaya Laxmi Pandit, first Ambassador of free India to Russia came to know about Netaji’s presence in Russia and wanted to declare back home in 1949, but Nehru did not allow.</li> <li>• Dr. Radha Krinishnan was deputed Ambassador to USSR from 1949 to 1953.</li> <li>• Most of the past associates of Netaji and his nears &amp; dears were posted ton high offices in India and abroad by Nehru Govt.</li> <li>• <u>International News Agency of Germany “Interpress” published an article in which it claimed to have proof of Bose’s presence in Russia.</u></li> <li>• German journalist Raimund Schnabel told Emilie Schenkl (Wife of Netaji) that Netaji was in Soviet Union after August’1945</li> <li>• Netaji was released from Irkutsk Gulag (Cell No: 45) in Sept’1949; as by then War Criminal trial was over, People’s War in China was towards its end, and cold war started between USA and USSR. ( Bhagwanji later said that Stalin did not treat me like an enemy)</li> <li>• Deven Sen ( then MP) saw Netaji at Marshal Airport of France</li> </ul>

Oct, 1949 [1 <sup>st</sup> week]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Netaji was sent to Red China of Mao-Tse-Tung.</u></li> <li>• <u>On 7<sup>th</sup> October 1949, lead story in daily 'The Nations' was that Govt. of India has definite information that Netaji is in Red China of Mao-Tse-Tung.</u></li> </ul>
28 Nov' 1949	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>German News Agency "Interpress" declared Netaji's presence in Peking.</u></li> </ul>
1949-1954	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>It is said that Netaji visited many places in several countries (China, Vietnam, Burma etc.) during 1949 to 1954 in pseudo names and disguises.</u></li> <li>• <u>There is a Photograph of Bose with Mao-Tse-Tung and Zhou-En-Lai at Nanking near Red River witnessing his presence in China.</u></li> <li>• <u>It is said that Netaji was present in China as an advisor to Mao-Tse-Tung in assumed identity (in discrete manner) of 'Marshal Liu-Po-Chen' (same as one of Mao's Generals) and as an Indian representative to Asian Liberation Army headquartered at Xizang Autonomous Region of China (Tibet) on China-Assam border. This Army was formed by involving Asian countries with assistance of Russia and China etc. It is also said that Mao structured progress of China in Netaji's way.</u></li> <li>• <u>Muthuramalingam Thevar, a Forward Bloc leader and close associate of Netaji stayed with him in China from January to October 1950 on advice of Shri Sarat Chandra Bose and Government of India was aware of his "illegal" trip to China without passport.</u></li> <li>• <u>On 22 April 1950, Col. Laxmi Sehgal told Leonard Gordon (the writer of "Brothers Against The Raj") that Bose is now in China rather than being in Russia.</u></li> <li>• <u>In 1951, Col. Tada told Mr. SA Ayer that Netaji planned to shift his area of operation to Soviet Russia (USSR) and plane crash story was a part of his strategy to confuse the Anglo-American forces as Britain had ordered "to deal with Subhas at spot" as a "War Criminal".</u></li> <li>• <u>Photographs in a book written by Shri Syamal Basu indicate Netaji's presence in Peking in 1952. Netaji was also seen in conference of Mongolian Trade Union Congress at Peking in 1952.</u></li> <li>• <u>In 1953, Stalin died. It is understood that Netaji passed some of his time (from 1<sup>st</sup> week of October 1949 till death of Stalin in 1953) in China/Tibet as a personal commitment given to Stalin. This arrangement was made in consultation with Stalin and Mao.</u></li> <li>• <u>Netaji took SANYAS in Tibet and after sometime went to Nepal passing through Kailash-Mansarovar.</u></li> <li>• <u>Mr. Mubarak Majdoor claimed in an affidavit to Mukherjee commission that he had met Netaji in January 1954 in Myamar. Netaji was there as a Buddhist Monk named 'Mong'. He claimed to meet him in Rangoon near the tomb of Bahadur Shah Zafar.</u></li> </ul>
1954-1957	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>On 29 April 1954, Nehru signed Panchsheel on 'Trade and Intercourse' between India and the Tibet Region of China, where Netaji's Headquarter was situated as an Indian Representative of Asian Liberation Army.</u></li> <li>• <u>In 3<sup>rd</sup> week of October 1954, Jawaharlal Nehru visited China and had secret talks with Mao-Tse-Tung and Zhou-En-Lai.</u></li> <li>• <u>Towards the end of 1954, Netaji as a 'SANYASI' entered India from Nepal through Nepalganj with the help of Mahadev Prasad Mishra a Sanskrit teacher working in Nepal.</u></li> <li>• <u>Stayed, initially, in a rented house at Shringer Nagar in Alam Bagh area of Lucknow</u></li> <li>• <u>Surendra Mohan Chaudhary, former King of Itawah, became his first disciple.</u></li> <li>• <u>Run into trouble with house owner over rent default and shifted to Khadia village near Lucknow in a ruined Shiv temple on the bank of River Gomati for next 6/7 months.</u></li> <li>• <u>On 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1955, Mr. Muthuramalingam Thever told in a press conference "I will furnish conclusive proof that Netaji is alive, if Government of India declares publicly that Netaji's name is not in the list of War Criminals".</u></li> <li>• <u>On 3<sup>rd</sup> Feb. 1956, Mr. Suresh Bose asked Mr. Nehru in a letter "...whether Netaji's name is still in the list of "War Criminals" and whether Indian Government will handover him as a "War Criminal" if he is found on Indian soil". Nehru Government never gave a satisfactory reply to this question. (Later Bhagwanji expressed, "A sanyasi is dead to his past life ... A sanyasi want a natural death under Holy order of Hindu Religion and not as a War Criminal."</u></li> <li>• <u>In 1956, Govindballabh Pant, the then Home Minister, officially agreed to handover.</u></li> </ul>

	<p><b><u>Subhas Bose to the British Government as “War Criminal” if he returns back to India in next 10 years. In 1966, the pact was renewed by Smt. Indira Gandhi.</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Dr. Sampurnanand, then Chief Minister of UP was in touch with Parda Baba (Netaji in disguise) from Dec. 1954 to April 1957 and paid for his expenses.</b></li> <li>• <b>In 1957, some people saw Netaji at Hardwar, where he met religious saints including Anandmayee Maa, and met some people at Jadugar- ka- bag in Meerut on 7<sup>th</sup> October 1957 and then he left for Varanasi in a car with Rajani Ranjan Das (who was later Secretary to Shoulimari Baba)</b></li> <li>• <b>Choudhary Charan Singh often visited Parda Baba. ( Bhagwanji used to praise this Jat leader)</b></li> </ul>
1957 end	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Shifted to Neemsar(-anaya) - a religious place in Sitapur District, with the help sought from Mr. Surendra Mohan Chaudhary, first in a Dharamshala for 2/3 months, and then in a old temple campus of Shiv Mandir under Shivnarayan Panda.</b></li> </ul>
1962	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b><u>In April 1962, Professor Atul Sen an Ex-MLA and a former associate of Netaji, met Parda Baba (Bhagwanji as known at Neemsar), and on his return to Kolkata, told historian Dr. RC Majumdar and Ex-INA secret service man, Dr. Prabitra Mohan Roy, about his meeting with Netaji.</u></b></li> <li>• <b><u>On 28 August 1962, Atul Sen wrote Nehru – “... <i>Mine is not only belief but actual knowledge that Netaji is alive and is engaged in spiritual practice somewhere in India ... He is regarded 'enemy number one' of Allied Powers ... If you ensure that Government of India shall resist any action against him as 'War Criminal'... I may try to persuade him to return to open life.</i>”</u></b></li> <li>• <b>On 20 Oct.'1962 Chinese Army invaded India on instigation from Indian side and declared unilateral cease-fire after giving Indian forces a blow. (Surprising truth!)</b></li> <li>• <b>In December 1962, Dr. Prabitra Mohan Roy came to Neemsar and on his return informed Leela Roy (a friend and political associate of Netaji and Didi to revolutionaries of Bengal) on 7 January 1963 for help in buying some items for Bhagwanji.</b></li> </ul>
Jan.1963	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Leela Roy established contacts with Bhagwanji and sent him the items required by him.</b></li> </ul>
March 1963	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>The Godly Woman Anandmayee Maa ( revered by all Gandhi, Nehru and Bose) visited Bhawaganji at Neemsar.</b></li> </ul>
23-30 Mar 63	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>On 23 March 1963, Leela Roy, Dr. Prabitra Mohan Roy, Samar Guha, Anil Das and Shailo Sen arrived Neemsar to meet Bhagwanji.</b></li> <li>• <b>On 25 March 1963, Bhagwanji told Srikant Sharma (a trusted man of Bhagwanji) to convey Leela Roy <u>“My coming out is not in country's interest. It would not do anyone any good if I emerged now.”</u> He refused to meet the group.</b></li> <li>• <b>On 26 March 1963, Bhagwanji agreed to meet Leela Roy and handed over her a list of 13 items to be procured for him including cigars, a telescope and a Fowler/Oxford dictionary.</b></li> <li>• <b>On 30 March 1963, Lela Roy and others went back to Calcutta.</b></li> </ul>
June 1963	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Dr. Prabitra Mohan Roy again visited Neemsar with revolutionary Amal Roy and stayed there for 2 months.</b></li> </ul>
27 July1963	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b><u>Leela Roy wrote to Netaji's dearest friend Dilip Roy “Your friend is alive and he is in India”</u></b></li> <li>• <b><u>In 1963 end, Suresh Bose sent Sunil Krishna Gupta (brother of Valliant Martyr Dinesh Gupta) to Neemsar.</u></b></li> </ul>
27 Feb. 1964	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b><u>CIA Report originated from Bombay : “There is strong possibility that BOSE is leading the religious groups undermining the current Nehru Government ... Alert those concerned...”</u></b></li> </ul>
1962 – 1964	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>On 13 February 1962, Satya Gupta, a revolutionary of Bengal identified Shoulimari Saint Shardanand as Netaji Bose.</b></li> <li>• <b>On 30 July 1962, Uttam Chand Mehrotra claimed that Swami Shardanand of Shoulimari Ashram is Netaji Bose indeed.</b></li> <li>• <b>In September 1962, Shri Surendra Mohan Ghosh an MP visited Shoulimari Ashram on the instruction of Pandit Nehru. It was understood <i>that if Netaji appeared before public he will be</i></b></li> </ul>

	<p><u>first declared Imposter and if that does not work, he will be handed over to Britain as War Criminal.</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>It is not clear whether some secret agency of India or other country tried to confuse people fielding a protege or Netaji stayed at Shoulimari Ashram time to time (intermittently) during 1956 to 1964 as claimed by Mr. Pandhye and others before commissions.</i></li> <li>• <u>In 1964, Bhagwanji wrote over the margin of a letter written to him by a revolutionary: “Bose is alive and he is a stubborn fellow.”</u></li> <li>• <b>On 27 May 1964, Nehru died. On 28 May 1964, Netaji (clad in Tibetan attire) was very clearly seen in a photograph near the bier of Nehru after his death paying him last tribute. This was published in a number of newspapers that time.</b></li> </ul>
8 July 1964	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Bhagwanji with his three companions left Neemsar and shifted to Shankar Niwas, Darshan Nagar, Faizabad (an abandoned palace of Maharaja Ayodhya)</b></li> </ul>
1965 to 1967	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Shifted to Lalkothi at Ayodhya (belonging to Sri Vishnu Narayan, a banker and multi-millionaire)</li> <li>• Mahant Ram Saroop Das of Ayodhya and Swami Dr. Shankaranand Giri (a Bengali Sanyasi) were frequent visitors at this place.</li> <li>• <b>Mahant Ram Saroop Das disclosed that Bhagwanji used to move in nights in a heavily curtained green Ambassador car. This car (Regn. No: UTC-3817) belonging to Raja of Etawah, Shri Surendra Mohan Chaudhary, used to come this place regularly at nights.</b></li> <li>• <b>In 1967, Mr. Jeetendra Bahadur Singh, Inspector of Aydhoya Kotwali wanted to make a search of the Baba and the place, Bhagwanji came to know about his intention and he moved to a new place before the search.</b></li> </ul>
1967 to 1974	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Bhagwanji moved to Shrestha Kothi, Raja Maidan, Purani Basti, in the house of Basti King Onkar Singh.</b></li> <li>• Durga Prasad Pandey was the person in touch during this period. He was the person who had seen Netaji from close quarters in 1939 also, and confirmed that Bhagwanji was in fact Netaji.</li> <li>• <b>Samar Guha (a freedom fighter and then MP) and Sunil Krishna Gupta (the great Lawyer) stayed with him for several months at this place.</b></li> <li>• <b>On 3 April 1967, Shri Guha raised the issue on the floor of the Parliament vehemently.</b></li> <li>• <u>In 1970, Bhagwanji paid homage to Lela Roy through a letter. Handwriting of this letter exactly match with that of Netaji Bose. Leela Roy was in constant touch with Bhagwanji during 1963 to 1970 till her death.</u></li> <li>• During Aug – Sep’ 1972 Bhagwanji and Guruji Golevalkar of RSS had mutual correspondence that is found in Ram Bhawan. Guruji started his letter with Shat-Shat Naman to Swami Vijoya (a name of Bhagwanji was Swami Vijoyanand )</li> <li>• <b><u>In 1971, Indira Gandhi ratified International War Criminal Treaty with retrospective effect for 30 years (1945-75) to preclude any possible appearance of Netaji in Public Life.</u></b></li> </ul>
Nov.’ 1974 to 15 Jan.’ 1975	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Moved to Prahlad Dharamshala on Dhanteras of November 1974 to the house of Panda Ram Kishore in Ayodhya.</b></li> </ul>
15 Jan. 1975 to 15 May’ 1978	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Moved to Gurudwara Brahmkund, Ayodhya ( owned by Sardar Guru Bux Singh).</li> <li>• <b>Dr. T Banerjee, Dr. R P Mishra and Dr. Roy were in constant touch with Bhagwanji during this period.</b></li> <li>• <u>In 1975, Bhagwanji told Dr. Priyabrat Banerjee (son of Dr. T. Banerjee): “<b>Despite having a nation I have none, despite having a house I am homeless, and despite having a people I have none.</b>”</u></li> </ul>
15 May’ 1978 to 1979	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bhagwanji shifted to abandoned Lucknow Kothi at Ayodhya after strange happenings at Brahma Kund Niwas.</li> <li>• <b><u>On 28 August 1978, Shri Morarji Desai, then Prime Minister of India, rejected the conclusion of Shahanawaz Committee and Khosala Commission about Netaji’s death in</u></b></li> </ul>

	<p><u>Plane Crash (in August 1945) in the house of Parliament based on “Further Contemporary Documentary Evidence” received by Government.</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>In 1978, Mr. N.G. Gorey, then Indian High Commissioner in UK, asked Mountbatten “Why did you prefer to observe silence when it was known to you, to Nehru and the Soviet Government that Bose took asylum in the USSR.”</u></li> </ul> <p><u>Mountbatten replied “... because British did not want to pick up a quarrel with USSR and Nehru did not want to have a rival.”</u></p>
1979 to 1983	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>On 22 January 1979 Janata Party MP Sri Samar Guha released a photograph at a press conference saying “I swear by God, Netaji is alive, healthy and free” and sent the photograph to many MPs (Ref: leading newspapers of India dated 23 Jan.’1979). Bhagwani did not like it, became very angry with Samar Guha, never allowed him to meet again, severed links with all his followers in Bengal, and decided to leave the place he was hiding in.</u></li> <li>• <b>Samar Guha said “If he does not want to come out, what can I do”</b></li> <li>• In 1979, Bhagwanji moved to Chhotti Deokali (Lucknow temple) in Ayodhya.</li> </ul>
1983 to 18 Sept 85	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In 1983, Bhagwanji moved to Ram Bhawan, Civil Lines, Faizabad in a house of Sardar Gurubasant Singh Sodhi.</li> <li>• <u>On 6<sup>th</sup> July, 1983, Morarji Desai told in a gathering “Bose is ALIVE and has taken SANYAS”. As an Ex-Prime Minister, he was able to go through all secret records about Netaji available with Indian Government, hence his views can not be ignored.</u></li> <li>• On 15 Sept.85, Bhagwanji alias Parda Baba managed to send away everyone who knew him.</li> <li>• <u>On 16/17 September 1985 night, Bhagwanji was shifted to a SAFE PLACE with limited belongings as he was above 88 years and having frequent health problems.</u> (Most probably to an Ashram/Place near Chennai)</li> <li>• <u>On 17 September 1985, it was declared that Bhagwanji has died out of Cardio vascular failure at 9. 45 PM on 16 September 1985.</u></li> <li>• <u>On 18 September 1985, the doctor certified that Baba is dead.</u></li> <li>• <u>On 19 September 1985, a bier like structure (saying that dead body has swollen) was cremated at Guptar Ghat on the bank of river Saryu, Faizabad at 4 p.m. Nobody was allowed to have a look of the face.</u> Dr. Banerjee, later on, disclosed that it was not the Baba whose body was cremated.</li> <li>• During this period, Dr. Mishra &amp; Dr. Banerjee was in close touch with Bhagwanji (Netaji in disguise as confirmed by them).</li> </ul>
1985-86  23.03.1986 to 23.4.1986	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>In 1985-86, many local newspapers published sequential story that Bhagwanji is, in fact, Netaji in disguise; giving the reference of various persons those were in his touch.</u></li> <li>• <u>Belongings of Bhagwanji (dozens of steel boxes containing documents and other articles) were going to be declared unattended (Lawaris). Lalita Bose, niece of Netaji (daughter of Suresh Bose) moved to court on 18 February 1986 for safe keeping of the belongings of Bhagwanji.</u></li> <li>• <u>Series of secret meetings took place among senior officers of local civil administration, central intelligence agency and senior state officials.</u></li> <li>• <u>Listing of Bhagwanji’s belongings was done. 2673 items, in two dozen boxes, were indexed, preserved and moved to Faizabad Treasury . Lalita Bose, niece of Netaji (daughter of Suresh Bose) identified handwritings on many items/papers as her uncle’s (Subhas Bose). Besides Empire Corona typewriter; news papers and their cuttings; collections on Netaji’s Mystery; books on wide-ranging topics such as classical of Charles Dickens, Shakespeare, Sharat Chandra, Ravindranath Tagore, Omar Khayyam, Homer, Lewis Carroll, P G Wodehouse; books on India’s Partition, Russian Gulags, China War, Religion, Philosophy etc. in English, Bangala and Hindi; a magnifying glass used to read maps and 16x56</u></li> </ul>



**German Binocular of Netaji, AND original summons served to Shri Suresh Bose by Khosla Commission was also found there. Shri Suresh Bose used to visit Eastern UP very frequently in his lifetime.**

- Some of the items held by Bhagwanji were not found in the left over belongings in Ram Bhawan (Faizabad) such as a **Powerful Transmitter** and a **Gun** seen with Bhagwanji by many.
- **Hopefully, Bhagwanji must have also taken away any Autobiography written by him on his post 1945 life.**

**AND more**

- **Bhagwanji possessed same look, height and age, as Netaji would have.**
- **Bhagwanji used to talk of Gandhiji, Nehru, Jinnah, Patel, Azad, Hitler, Mussolini, Tojo, Stalin, Mountbatten and many other world leaders as his contemporaries.**
- **Bhagwanji used to describe memoirs of Second World War and places like Calcutta, Kabul, Berlin, Stuttgart, London, Saigon, Singapore, Tokyo, Moscow, Siberia etc. just as everything was well known to him in a very natural way.**
- Bhagwanji's sermons were mostly about National/International politics. He used to quote Indian and Western thinkers; and used to speak in Hindi, Urdu, English, Bangala (with visitors from Bengal )and had good knowledge of Sanskrit and German.
- **Bhagwanji use to praise German and Japanese soldiers and used to blame Nehru-Gandhi dynasty for his ordeal.**
- **B Lal Kapoor, a handwriting expert of repute, confirmed Mukherjee Commission that handwritings of Bhagwanji completely match with that of Netaji. These are from the same author.**
- **Director of powerful Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow, Babajan Gouffrav, a close friend and private aide of Stalin, admitted to Shri Rai Singh, an Indian diplomat, that Stalin had kept Netaji in Labour Camp of Siberia as a bargaining chip for future dealings with Britain and India. Stalin depended on Gouffrav for any issue related with South East and Central Asia especially China, India and Tibet.**
- In Sept. 1993, Former Soviet General A. Rackov wrote in Russian magazine "Asia and Africa" that Subhas Bose was held as prisoner in Russia.
- **Sri SS Pandhye told Mukherjee Commission that he was in touch with Netaji during 1964 -1971 and helped hide him in Malighat forest for months when Intelligence Officers were trailing him badly.**
- **Sri Bijoy Kumar Nag (adopted son of Mrs. Leela Roy) met "Bhagwanji" during 1970-75 at Raja Maidan, Purani Basti and during 1976-77 at Brahmakund, Ayodhya and sent various articles during 1963 to 1985 that were found in belongings of Gumnam Baba at Ram Bhawan, Faizabad.**
- **Some people from Bengal and other places used to come to meet him at above places specially to celebrate 23 January and Durga Puja every year.**
- **Parda Baba/Bhagwanji/Gumnam Baba had distinguished visitors such as then U.P. Chief Minister Dr. Sampooranand, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri when he held high offices in U.P. as well as in Delhi, Choudhary Charan Singh Ex. Prime Minister of India, Senior government and Army Officers and many others at nights, as told by eye witnesses to Mukherjee Commission and reveled by documents/books/diaries.**
- **Some very crucial files (about 30 files) on INA & Netaji, originated in Nehru's period, had been destroyed violating rules. File No. 12 (226)/56 PM "Investigations into the circumstances leading the death of Subhas Chandra Bose" was the most sensitive file out of about 30 files under personal possession of Nehru kept with the help of Md. Yunus and destroyed by him.**
- **Top Secret PMO Files 2/64/78-PM, 2(64)/56-68-PM, 2(67)/56-62-PM Vol. I & II, 2(64)/56-70-**

PM Vol. V etc. and other files present in Intelligence Bureau can provide the details of whole mystery. These files are not provided to Mukherjee Commission by Government in spite of numerous reminders.

- **The PMO sent some “Top Secret/Secret” files to Mukherjee Commission on 24 July 2000 with a request not to publish their content.**
- There are two files in Ministry of Home Affairs containing inputs from RAW, COS, MEA, MHA and PMO; one file containing the report prepared by RAW dated 25 March 1994 (No. 11/1/94-IC-2829) based on “Classified KGB Records”.
- **Ex-Home Secretary, Mr. Kamal Pandey refused to share some files related to Subhas Chandra Bose with Mukherjee Commission, a commission set by his own Government, mentioning in writing that disclosure of these files will-**
  - harm public interest**
  - hurt sentiments of the people and may evoke widespread reaction**
  - lower the image of Bose and**
  - adversely affect diplomatic ties with friendly countries**
- **Bhagwanji had confided in many, who came in his close contact, that he was not afraid of punishment he could get under the international law, but he hated the low level of politics prevailing in India and the turn India has taken after independence. He also felt that the new world order would have sought action against him, which Indians would have never allowed. Thus his appearance would create havoc to his country and sufferings to the people.**

Mystery will continue further till a conclusive proof is made public by the Government of India OR Fourth Column that the Greatest Revolutionary Freedom Fighter of his time, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose died on (date) ... .. at (place) ... .. because of ... ..

Please visit our website for more information

[www.missionnetaji.org](http://www.missionnetaji.org)