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THE ROLE OF MAHATMA GANDHI IN INDIAN HISTORY
[from Subhas Chandra Bose, The Indian Struggle, 1920-1942, Netaji Collected Works Volume 2 eds. Sisir Kumar Bose and Sugata Bose, chapter 16]

MAHATMA GANDHI and the BOSE BROTHERS: A Photo Feature

“RANGAKAKABABU’S BIRTHDAY: LIFE AS IT SHOULD BE LIVED”
[Pages from Sisir Kumar Bose's 1943 Diary]

GANDHIJI’S PART IN INDIA’S FIGHT
[Netaji’s Broadcast from Bangkok delivered on October 2, 1943, from Subhas Chandra Bose, Chalo Delhi: Writings and Speeches 1943-1945, Netaji Collected Works Volume 12 eds. Sisir Kumar Bose and Sugata Bose, chapter 21]

FATHER OF OUR NATION
[Netaji’s Message to Mahatma Gandhi, broadcast on July 6, 1944, from Subhas Chandra Bose, Chalo Delhi: Writings and Speeches 1943-1945, Netaji Collected Works Volume 12 eds. Sisir Kumar Bose and Sugata Bose, chapter 43]

“NETAJI ZINDA HOTE TOH HINDUSTAN KI YEH HALAT NA HOTI”
Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's Speech on December 14, 1969, Netaji Bhawan
[transcribed from the audio archives of Netaji Research Bureau]
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Netaji Research Bureau has had another active and productive year.

On January 2, 2018, Netaji Research Bureau organized a symposium on 'India, China and the Indian Ocean' in the Netaji Pavilion featuring Professor Engseng Ho of Duke University and Professor Tansen Sen, New York University, Shanghai. Professor Sugata Bose was in the chair and launched Tansen Sen's book *India, China and the World* on the occasion.

On January 6, 2018, Netaji Research Bureau organized another symposium in the Netaji Pavilion on 'The Sea in Asian History'. Professor Seema Alavi of the University of Delhi was the featured speaker. Professor Sugata Bose was in the chair.
On January 21, 2018, the Sisir Kumar Bose Lecture 2018 on 'Subhas Chandra Bose, World War II and a thrilling saga of espionage' was delivered in the Netaji Pavilion by Mihir Bose, London-based writer and broadcaster. Professor Krishna Bose participated in the discussion. Professor Sumantra Bose was in the chair.

On January 23, 2018, at 10:30 a.m. the Traditional Netaji Birthday Assembly was held at Netaji Bhawan in the stylish, newly constructed Netaji Pavilion built by Netaji Research Bureau with support from the Government of West Bengal at the request of the sister organization Netaji Hall Society. Shri Keshari Nath Tripathi, Governor of West Bengal, presided over the function.
Professor Sugata Bose spoke on 'Between Gujarat and Bengal: A Reassessment of the Gandhi–Subhas Bose Relationship'. He sang an INA qawwali 'Jai Hind ka nara gunj utha' at the end of his speech. Pramita Mallick performed the opening music. Sasha Ghoshal presented a special Netaji Birthday Concert. Meeryung Hall made a guest appearance.
On February 5, 2018, Professor Krishna Bose and Professor Sugata Bose released the first Bengali paperback addition of India's Freedom Struggle and The Great INA by Major General M. Z. Kiani at the Kolkata Book Fair.

Professor Krishna Bose welcomed members and guests at the customary Poila Baisakh gathering featuring music and poetry at Netaji Bhawan.

On May 26, 2018, Hon’ble Mrs. Sheikh Hasina, Prime Minister of Bangladesh, visited Netaji Bhawan accompanied by her sister Sheikh Rehana and a high-level delegation. She was received by Professor Krishna Bose in the first portico. Sheikh Hasina saw the Wanderer car in which Dr. Sisir Kumar Bose drove Netaji during the Great Escape of January 1941. She paid a floral tribute in Netaji's bedroom and visited the Sarat Bose Room and Netaji's study. She was then shown around all the rooms of the Netaji Museum by Professor Sugata Bose. In the Sarat Bose Hall, Professor Sugata Bose played for Sheikh Hasina and the gathering the voice recording of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's message sent to the Netaji Research Bureau on the occasion of Netaji's birth anniversary on January 23, 1972.
Sheikh Hasina and Sheikh Rehana were deeply moved when they heard their father’s voice. Professor Krishna Bose and Professor Sugata Bose then presented to Sheikh Hasina a silk scroll imprint of Tagore’s “Amaar Sonar Bangla” in Subhas Chandra Bose’s own handwriting from his Mandalay Jail prison notebook. They also gave as a gift a historic photograph of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman with Dr. Sisir Kumar Bose in Dhaka on January 17, 1972.
On June 9, 2018, a lecture on 'Ghosts in the Machine: Technology and Imperialism in Maritime Asia' was delivered by Professor Eric Tagliacozzo of Cornell University. Professor Sugata Bose was in the chair.

On July 15, 2018, Netaji Research Bureau and Netaji Institute for Asian Studies jointly organized a symposium on 'China-India Connections In Modern History' in the Sarat Bose Hall, Netaji Bhawan. Introductory remarks were given by Professor Sugata Bose. Professor Tansen Sen, New York University, Shanghai, was in the chair. The speakers were Zhang Ke of Fudan University, P.R. China, Adhira Mangalagiri of Queen Mary University of London, Arunabh Ghosh of Harvard University, USA, and Ka Kin Cheuk of New York University, Shanghai, P.R. China.
On August 12, 2018 a special exhibition was inaugurated on '1943: One Year, One Man and A World at War' on the occasion of the 75th Anniversary of the Azad Hind Movement in the Netaji Pavilion, Netaji Bhawan. Professor Sarvani Gooptu’s book The Music of Nationhood was released in the exhibition space by Professor Krishna Bose in the presence of Professor Gautam Bhadra. Professor Sugata Bose spoke on 'The Drama of Nationhood'. Sounak Chattopadhyay, Sarvani Gooptu and Sugata Bose performed songs of Dwijendra Lal Roy.
On August 25, 2018, the 75th anniversary of Netaji and the Azad Hind movement was celebrated in Singapore. Professor Sugata Bose gave a richly illustrated keynote speech on “1943: One Year, One Man and a World at War”. The function was held at Singapore Management University next to the historic Cathay Theatre where Netaji had accepted the leadership of the movement. Later homage was paid at the INA Memorial near the Padang opposite the Singapore municipal building.
Professor Krishna Bose, Professor Sugata Bose, Professor Sumanta Bose, Ms. Pia Pfaff and Ambassador K. Kesavapany visited the gallery on Netaji and the INA in the Indian Heritage Centre of Singapore. Netaji Research Bureau had helped in setting up the gallery.

On October 21, 2018, a cycle rally was organized by '100 Miles', a Kolkata based Adventure Tourism Company to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the Proclamation of the Azad Hind Government by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Professor Krishna Bose flagged off the cycle rally from Netaji Bhawan to the INA Memorial at Esplanade. Professor Krishna Bose gave an impromptu, moving speech on Netaji's philosophy and moral victory, which added immense value to the programme.

Netaji Museum continued to be a major attraction for visitors from different parts of India and abroad. Many young students from disadvantaged backgrounds were allowed free entry. School students with their teachers visited the Museum with great interest.
Museum visitors came from different parts of India and across the world.

Distinguished visitors who came to Netaji Bhawan during this year included:

Hideki Asari, Minister (Political Affairs), Embassy of Japan in New Delhi on February 2, 2018.

Aftab Seth, Former Ambassador of India to Japan and Vietnam on February 8, 2018.

Yoshida Osamu, Graduate School of Social Sciences, Hiroshima University, Japan on March 3, 2018.

Hon’ble Mrs. Sheikh Hasina, Prime Minister of Bangladesh on May 26, 2018 (details reported earlier in the report).

Mr. Yoshita Ke, Director, South Asia, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan and Mr. Yasuhiko Tanaka, Acting Consul General of Japan, Kolkata, on June 25, 2018.

Mr. Gourav Gogoi, Member of Parliament, on July 4, 2018
Adam Burakowski, Ambassador of Poland, on September 11, 2018.

Shanichi Inoue, Political Counsellor, Embassy of Japan in New Delhi on September 20, 2018.

Patti Hoffman, US Consul General, on October 27, 2018.


Trainee Officers of Foreign Service Academy, Bangladesh, on December 4, 2018.

THE ROLE OF MAHATMA GANDHI IN INDIAN HISTORY

The role which a man plays in history depends partly on his physical and mental equipment, and partly on the environment and the needs of times in which he is born. There is something in Mahatma Gandhi, which appeals to the mass of the Indian people. Born in another country he might have been a complete misfit. What, for instance, would he have done in a country like Russia or Germany or Italy? His doctrine of non-violence would have led him to the cross or to the mental hospital. In India it is different. His simple life, his vegetarian diet, his goat’s milk, his day of silence every week, his habit of squatting on the floor instead of sitting on a chair, his loincloth—in fact everything connected with him—has marked him out as one of the eccentric Mahatmas of old and has brought him nearer to his people. Wherever he may go, even the poorest of the poor feels that he is a product of the Indian soil—bone of his bone, flesh of his flesh. When the Mahatma speaks, he does so in a language that they comprehend, not in the language of Herbert Spencer and Edmund Burke, as for instance Sir Surendra Nath Banerji would have done, but in that of the Bhagavad-Gita and the Ramayana. When he talks to them about Swaraj, he does not dilate on the virtues of provincial autonomy or federation, he reminds them of the glories of Ramarajya (the kingdom of King Rama of old) and they understand. And when he talks of conquering through love and ahimsa (non-violence), they are reminded of Buddha and Mahavira and they accept him.

But the conformity of the Mahatma’s physical and mental equipment to the traditions and temperament of the Indian people is but one factor accounting for the former’s success. If he had been born in another epoch in Indian history, he might not have been able to distinguish himself so well. For instance, what would he have done at the time of the Revolution of 1857 when the people had arms, were able to fight and wanted a leader who could lead them in battle? The success of the Mahatma has been due to the failure of constitutionalism on the one side and armed revolution on the other. Since the eighties of the last century, the best political brains among the Indian people were engaged in a constitutional fight, in which the qualities most essential were skill in debate and eloquence in speech. In such an environment it is unlikely that the Mahatma would have attained much eminence. With the dawn of the present century people began to lose faith in constitutional methods. New weapons like Swadeshi (revival of national industry) and Boycott appeared, and simultaneously the revolutionary movement was born. As the years rolled by, the revolutionary movement began to gain ground (especially in Upper India) and during the Great War there was an attempt at a revolution. The failure of this attempt at a time when Britain had her hands full and the tragic events of 1919 convinced the Indian people that it was no use trying to resort to the method of physical force. The superior equipment of Britain would easily smash any such attempt and in its wake there would come indescribable misery and humiliation.
In 1920 India stood at the cross-roads. Constitutionalism was dead; armed revolution was sheer madness. But silent acquiescence was impossible. The country was groping for a new method and looking for a new leader. Then there sprang up India's man of destiny – Mahatma Gandhi – who had been biding his time all these years and quietly preparing himself for the great task ahead of him. He knew himself – he knew his country's needs and he knew also that during the next phase of India's struggle, the crown of leadership would be on his head. No false sense of modesty troubled him – he spoke with a firm voice and the people obeyed.

The Indian National Congress of today is largely his creation. The Congress Constitution is his handiwork. From a talking body he has converted the Congress into a living and fighting organization. It has its ramification in every town and village in India, and the entire nation has been trained to listen to one voice. Nobility of character and capacity to suffer have been made the essential tests of leadership, and the Congress is today the largest and the most representative political organization in the country.

But how could he achieve so much within this short period? By his single-hearted devotion, his relentless will and his indefatigable labour. Moreover, the time was auspicious and his policy prudent. Though he appeared as a dynamic force, he was not too revolutionary for the majority of his countrymen. If he had been so, he would have frightened them, instead of inspiring them; repelled them, instead of drawing them. His policy was one of unification. He wanted to unite Hindu and Moslem; the high caste and the low caste; the capitalist and labourer; the landlord and the peasant. By this humanitarian outlook and his freedom from hatred, he was able to rouse sympathy even in his enemy's camp.

But Swaraj is still a distant dream. Instead of one, the people have waited for fourteen long years. And they will have to wait many more. With such purity of character and with such an unprecedented following, why has the Mahatma failed to liberate India?

He has failed because the strength of a leader depends not on the largeness- but on the character- of one's following. With a much smaller following, other leaders have been able to liberate their country- while the Mahatma with a much larger following has not. He has failed, because while he has understood the character of his own people -he has not understood the character of his opponents. The logic of the Mahatma is not the logic which appeals to John Bull. He has failed, because his policy of putting all his cards on the table will not do. We have to render unto Caesar what is Caesar's- and in a political fight, the art of diplomacy cannot be dispensed with. He has failed, because he has not made use of the international weapon. If we desire to win our freedom through non-violence, diplomacy and international propaganda are essential. He has failed, because the false unity of interests that are inherently opposed is not a source of strength but a source of weakness in political warfare. The future of India rests exclusively with those radical and militant forces that will be able to undergo the sacrifice and suffering necessary for winning freedom. Last but not least, the Mahatma has failed, because he had to play a dual role in one person- the role of the leader of an enslaved people and that
of a world-teacher, who has a new doctrine to preach. It is this duality which has made him at once the irreconcilable foe of the Englishman, according to Mr. Winston Churchill, and the best policeman of the Englishman according to Miss Ellen Wilkinson.

What of the future? What role will the Mahatma play in the days to come? Will he be able to emancipate his dear country? Several factors have to be considered. So far as his health and vitality are concerned, it is highly probable that he will be spared many years of active and useful public life and his determination to achieve something tangible in the direction of his country’s freedom will keep up his spirits. So far as his popularity and reputation are concerned, they will endure till the end of his life — because unlike other political leaders, the Mahatma’s popularity and reputation do not depend on his political leadership — but largely on his character. The question we have to consider, however, is whether the Mahatma will continue his political activities or whether he will voluntarily withdraw himself from active politics — of which there are indications at the present moment — and devote himself exclusively to social and humanitarian work. A prediction in the case of the Mahatma is a hazardous proposition. Nevertheless, one thing is certain. The Mahatma will not play second fiddle to anyone. As long as it will be possible for him to guide the political movement, he will be there — but if the composition or the mentality of the Congress changes, he may possibly retire from active politics. That retirement may be temporary or permanent. A temporary retirement is like a strategic retreat and is not of much significance because the hero will come back into the picture once again. We have had experience of the Mahatma’s retirement from active politics once before — from 1924 to 1928. Whether there is a possibility of the Mahatma’s permanent retirement depends to some extent at least, on the attitude of the British Government. If he is able to achieve something tangible for his country, then his position will be unassailable among his countrymen. Nothing succeeds like success, and the Mahatma’s success will confirm public faith in his personality and in his weapon of non-violent non-co-operation. But if the British attitude continues to be as uncompromising as it is today, public faith in the Mahatma as a political leader and in the method of non-violent non-co-operation will be considerably shaken. In that event they will naturally turn to a more radical leadership and policy.

In spite of the unparalleled popularity and reputation which the Mahatma has among his countrymen and will continue to have regardless of his future political career, there is no doubt that the unique position of the Mahatma is due to his political leadership. The Mahatma himself distinguishes between his mass-popularity and his political following and he is never content with having merely the former. Whether he will be able to retain that political attitude being as unbending as it is today, will depend on his ability to evolve a more radical policy. Will he be able to give up the attempt to unite all the elements in the country and boldly identify himself with the more radical forces? In that case nobody can possibly supplant him. The hero of the present phase of the Indian struggle will then be the hero of the next phase as well. But what does the balance of probability indicate?
The Patna meeting of the All-India Congress Committee in May 1934 affords an interesting study in this connection. The Mahatma averted the Swarajist revolt by advocating council-entry himself. But the Swarajists of 1934, are not the dynamic Swarajists of 1922-23. Therefore, while he was able to win them over, he could not avoid alienating the Left Wingers, many of whom have now combined to form the Congress Socialist Party. This is the first time that a Socialist Party has been started openly within the Indian National Congress, and it is extremely probable that economic issues will henceforth be brought to the fore. With the clarification of economic issues, parties will be more scientifically organized within the Congress and also among the people in general.

The Congress Socialists appear at the moment to be under the influence of Fabian Socialism and some of their ideas and shibboleths were the fashion several decades ago. Nevertheless, the Congress Socialists do represent a radical force within the Congress and in the country. Many of those who could have helped them actively are not available at present. When their assistance will be forthcoming, the Party will be able to make more headway.

At the present moment another challenge to the Mahatma’s policy has crystallised within the Congress in the Congress Nationalist Party led by Pandit Malaviya. The dispute has arisen over the Communal Award of the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald. The issue is, however, a comparatively minor one, because the official Congress Party and the Congress Nationalist Party are agreed in the total rejection of the White Paper of which the Communal Award is an integral part. Only the official Congress Party is foolishly afraid of openly condemning the Communal Award. Since the Congress Nationalist Party does not represent a more radical force in the country, the ultimate challenge to the Mahatma’s leadership cannot come from that direction.

One definite prediction can be made at this stage – namely, that the future parties within the Congress will be based on economic issues. It is not improbable that in the event of the Left Wingers capturing the Congress machinery, there will be a further secession from the Right Wingers like the Indian Liberal Federation of today. It will of course take some years to clarify the economic issues in the public mind – so that parties may be organized on the basis of a clear programme and ideology. Till the issues are clarified, Mahatma Gandhi’s political supremacy will remain unchallenged, even if there is a temporary retirement as in 1924. But once the clarification takes place, his political following will be greatly affected. As has been already indicated, the Mahatma has endeavoured in the past to hold together all the warring elements – landlord and peasant, capitalist and labour, rich and poor. That has been the secret of his success, as surely as it will be the ultimate cause of his failure. If all the warring elements resolve to carry on the struggle for political freedom, the internal social struggle will be postponed for a long time and men holding the position of the Mahatma will continue to dominate the public life of the country. But that will not be the case. The vested interests, the ‘haves’, will in future fight shy of the ‘have-nots’ in the political fight and will gradually incline towards the British Government. The logic of history will, therefore, follow its inevitable course. The political struggle and the social struggle will have to be conducted simultaneously. The Party that will win political freedom for India will be also the Party that will win social and economic freedom for the masses. Mahatma Gandhi has rendered and will continue to render phenomenal service to his country. But India’s salvation will not be achieved under his leadership.
MAHATMA GANDHI and the BOSE BROTHERS: A Photo Feature

Playing Host to the Mahatma: Bose receiving Gandhi at a suburban station near Calcutta, October 1937

Confabulations: Gandhi and Bose in a train compartment, November 1937
Gandhi and Bose on a railway platform, 1937

Hello Barrister: Sarat Bose with Gandhi and Mahadev Desai at 1, Woodburn Park, 1937
Gandhi and Bose, 1937

Gandhi, Bose and other leaders in Haripura, February 1938
The Saint and the Warrior - Gandhi and Bose at Haripura, February, 1938

Gandhi, Bose and Patel, Haripura, February 1938
Mahatma Gandhi at 1 Woodburn Park in 1937 with (from left) Sarat Bose, Bidhan Roy, Sunil Bose, and Bivabati Bose

The Nationalist Leadership: Subhas Chandra Bose as Congress President at Haripura, Gujarat. Gandhi, Nehru, Patel and Rajendra Prasad are also seen, 1938
Sarat Bose with Gandhi in Noakhali district, November 1946

Sarat Bose with Gandhi walking in Noakhali, November 1946
Conferring with Gandhiji at Noakhali

The Pity of Partition:
Sarat Bose with Mahatma Gandhi,
Sodepur, May 1947
Rangakakababu’s birthday. What an auspicious day for our people! A sacred day for all of us.

Forty-six years of life should be lived.

23 Jan. Sat. ’43
Mus. 15 Muharram
9 মাঘ ১৩৪৯ বিশ্বেশ শনিবার
বদ্রি—২ মাঘ

24 Jan. Sun. ’43
Mus. 16 Muharram
১০ মাঘ ১৩৪৯ কৃষ্ণপূর্ণিমা রবিবার
বদ্রি—৩ মাঘ
25 Jan. Mon. ’43

Mus. 17 Muharram

26 Jan. Tues. ’43

Mus. 18 Muharram

Independence Day
31 Jan. Sun. '43  
Mus. 23 Muharram
17 মাঘ ১৩৪৯ নবমী রবিবার
বদ্রি—১০ মাঘ

Wrote to father,

1 Feb. Mon. '43  
Mus. 24 Muharram
18 মাঘ ১৩৪৯ একাদশী সোমবার
বদ্রি—১১ মাঘ

Went to college.
2 Feb. Tues. ’43

My birthday is today. I am twenty-three today. The twenty-third year has been for me a year of trials and suffering. Shot accidents, police assault, imprisonment without trial, serious illness—all crowded into a period of about eight months. Add to the physical suffering mental unrest and anxiety. Despite of everything, the year has been a year of experiences in various directions. (Have to write about them separately.) Moreover, I have a feeling (do not know whether it is true) that I have come through all this a better man. The sense of frustration that followed me during 1941-42 is not there. The future may not be an easy one but pregnant with
GANDHIJI’S PART IN INDIA’S FIGHT
[Netaji’s Broadcast from Bangkok delivered on October 2, 1943]

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

In order to correctly estimate Mahatma Gandhi’s place in Indian history, it is necessary to take a bird’s-eye-view of the British conquest of India. You all know that when the British first set foot on Indian soil, India was a land flowing with milk and honey, and it was the wealth of India which had attracted poverty-stricken Englishmen from across the seas. Today we find that as a result of political enslavement and economic exploitation the Indian people are dying of hunger and starvation, while the British people who were once so poor and needy have grown fat and rich on the wealth and resources of India. Through sorrow and suffering, humiliation and torture, the Indian people have learnt at long last that the only solution of their manifold problems is the recovery of their lost liberty.

Turning to the methods of the British conquest of India, we see that the British never attempted to fight the entire Indian population in any part of the country, nor did they try to conquer and occupy the whole of India at once. On the contrary, they always tried to win over a section of the people, through bribery and corruption, before they commenced military operations. This was the case in Bengal, where the Commander-in-chief, Mir Jafar, was won over by the British, by offering him the throne of Bengal. At that time, the religious or communal problem was unknown in India. The last independent king of Bengal, Siraj-ud-Dowla, who was a Muslim, was betrayed by his Commander-in-chief, who was also a Muslim, and it was the Hindu commander, Mohanlal, who fought with Siraj-ud-Dowla till the very last. The lesson that we have learnt from this episode in Indian history is that unless timely steps are taken to prevent and to punish treachery, the nation cannot hope to preserve its independence. The developments in Bengal did not unfortunately open the eyes of the Indian people in time. Even if after the fall of Siraj-ud-Dowla in Bengal, the Indian people had made common cause against the British, they would have easily succeeded in throwing the unwanted foreigner out of Indian soil. No one can say that the Indian people did not fight in order to retain their freedom but they did not fight all together. When the British attacked
Bengal, nobody attacked them from behind. When later on, the British fought Tipu Sultan in South India, neither the Marathas in Central India nor the Sikhs in the North came to the rescue of Tipu Sultan. Even after the fall of Bengal, it was still possible for the British to attack one part of India at a time and gradually extend their rule over the whole country. The lesson that we have learnt from this painful chapter of Indian history is that unless the Indian people stand united before the enemy, they will never be able to achieve their independence, nor will they be able to preserve it even if they acquire it.

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

After the defeat in 1857, the British disarmed the Indian people. It was the greatest folly and mistake on their part to submit to disarmament at that time. If the Indian people had not been disarmed and thereby rendered helpless, it would have been possible for them to strike for their liberty once again within a short period of time. Owing to disarmament, however, Indian people lay politically prostrate and despondent for nearly thirty years. Ultimately, in 1885, a political awakening took place through the birth of the Indian National Congress. The Indian National Congress was in the beginning a moderate body. The leaders of the Congress were, at first, afraid of demanding complete independence and the severance of the British connection. Within a brief span of twenty years, however, new life was infused into the Congress. By 1905, we find leaders like Aurobindo Ghosh demanding complete independence for India. Along with this demand for independence, more extreme methods were adopted for achieving liberty. In Bengal, the boycott of British goods was adopted as a resolution against the partition of that province, and this method of boycott was gradually taken up all over India. Not content with economic boycott, Indian youths next took to the cult of the bomb and the revolver. A number of youths were sent abroad to learn revolutionary sabotage in Paris and other European centres, while Indian youths as a whole began to study the revolutionary methods adopted in other parts of the world- notably in Russia and in Ireland.
During the last World War, the Indian leaders were duped by false promises made by unscrupulous British politicians and, as a result, India’s blood and money were poured out in the service of Britain and in order to strengthen the chains of India’s bondage. It must, however, be said to the eternal honour of the Indian revolutionaries that they did not allow themselves to be deceived by Britain, and they did their very best to work up a revolution in the country. But unfortunately for India, they failed.

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

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

For twenty years and more Mahatma Gandhi has worked for India’s salvation, and with him, the Indian people too have worked. It is no exaggeration to say that if, in 1920, he had not come forward with his new weapon of struggle, India today would perhaps have been still prostrate. His services to the cause of India’s freedom are unique and unparalleled. No single man could have achieved more in one single lifetime under similar circumstances. The nearest historical parallel to Mahatma Gandhi is perhaps Mustapha Kemal who saved Turkey after her defeat in the last World War and who was then acclaimed by Turks as the ‘Gazi’.

Since 1920 the Indian people have learnt two things from Mahatma Gandhi, which are the indispensable preconditions for the attainment of independence. They have, first of all, learnt national self-respect and self-confidence- as a result of which, revolutionary fervor is now blazing in their hearts. Secondly, they have now got a countrywide organization, which reaches the remotest villages of India. Now that the message of liberty has permeated the hearts of all Indians and they have got a countrywide political organization representing the whole nation- the stage is set for the final struggle for liberty- the last war of independence.
It is not in India alone that a struggle for freedom has been heralded by a spiritual awakening. In the Risorgimento movement in Italy it was Mazzini who first gave the spiritual inspiration to the Italian people. He was then followed by the fighter and the hero- Garibaldi, who began the March to Rome at the head of one thousand armed volunteers. In modern Ireland, too, the Sinn Fein Party, when it was born in 1906, gave the Irish people a programme, which was very much similar to Mahatma Gandhi’s Non-co-operation programme of 1920. Ten years after the birth of the Sinn Fein Party- that is, in 1916- the first armed revolution in Ireland took place.

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

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

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

[Netaji’s Message to Mahatma Gandhi, broadcast on July 6, 1944]

Mahatmaji,

Now that your health has somewhat improved and you are able to attend to public business to some extent, I am taking the liberty of addressing a few words to you with a view to acquainting you with the plans and the activities of patriotic Indians outside India. Before I do so, I would like to inform you of the feelings of deep anxiety which Indians throughout the world had for several days, after your sudden release from custody on ground of ill-health. After the sad demise of Srimati Kasturbaji in British custody, it was but natural for your countrymen to be alarmed over the state of your health. It has, however, pleased Providence to restore you to comparative health, so that 388 million of your countrymen may still have the benefit of your guidance and advice. I should next like to say something about the attitude of your countrymen outside India towards yourself. What I shall say in this connection is the bare truth and nothing but the truth. There are Indians outside India, as also at home, who are convinced that Indian Independence will be won only through the historic method of struggle. These men and women honestly feel that the British Government will never surrender to persuasion or moral pressure or non-violent resistance. Nevertheless, for Indians outside India, differences in method are like domestic differences. Ever since you sponsored the Independence Resolution at the Lahore Congress in December 1929, all members of the Indian National Congress have had one common goal before them. For Indians outside India, you are the creator of the present awakening in our country. In all their propaganda before the world, they give you that position and the respect that is due to the position. For the world public, we Indian nationalists are all one—having but one goal, one desire and one endeavour in life. In all the countries free from British influence that I have visited since I left India in 1941, you are held in the highest esteem, as no other Indian political leader has been, during the last century. Each nation has its own internal politics and its own attitude towards political problems. But that cannot affect a nation’s appreciation of a man who served his people so well and has bravely fought a first-class modern power all his life. In fact, your worth and your achievements are appreciated a thousand times more in those countries that are opposed to the British Empire than in those countries that pretend to be the friends of freedom and democracy. The high esteem in which you are held by patriotic Indians outside India and by foreign friends of India’s Freedom, was increased a hundred-fold when you bravely sponsored the ‘Quit India’ Resolution in August 1942.

From my experience of the British Government while I was inside India— from the secret information that I have gathered about Britain’s policy while outside India – and from what I have seen regarding Britain’s aims and intentions throughout the world, I am honestly convinced that the British Government will never recognize India’s demand for Independence. Britain’s one effort today is to exploit India to the fullest degree, in her
endeavor to win this war. During the course of this war, Britain has lost one part of her territory to her enemies and another part to her friends. Even if the Allies could somehow win the war, it will be the United States of America, and not Britain, that will be the top dog in future and it will mean that Britain will become a protégé of the USA. In such a situation, the British will try to make good their present losses by exploiting India more ruthlessly than ever before. In order to do that, plans have been already hatched in London for crushing the nationalist movement in India, once for all. It is because I know of these plans from secret, but reliable sources, that I feel it my duty to bring it to your notice. It would be a fatal mistake on our part to make a distinction between the British Government and the British people. No doubt there is a small group of idealists in Britain – as in the USA – who would like to see India free. These idealists who are treated by their own people as cranks, form a microscopic minority. So far as India is concerned, for all practical purposes, the British Government and the British people mean one and the same thing. Regarding the war aims of the USA, I may say that the ruling clique at Washington is now dreaming of world domination. This ruling clique and its intellectual exponents talk openly of the ‘American Century’, that is, that in the present century, the USA will dominate the world. In this ruling clique, there are extremists who go so far as to call Britain the 49th State of the USA.

There is no Indian, whether at home or abroad, who would not be happy if India’s freedom could be won through the method that you have advocated all your life and without shedding human blood. But things being what they are, I am convinced that if we do desire freedom we must be prepared to wade through blood.

If circumstances had made it possible for us to organize an armed struggle inside India, through our own efforts and resources, that would have been the best course for us. But Mahatmaji, you know Indian conditions perhaps better than anybody else. So far as I am concerned, after twenty years’ experience of public service in India, I came to the conclusion that it was impossible to organize an armed resistance in the country without some help from outside – help from our countrymen abroad, as well as from some foreign power or powers. Prior to the outbreak of the present war, it was exceedingly difficult to get help from a foreign power, or even from Indians abroad. But the outbreak of the present war threw open the possibility of obtaining aid – both political and military – from the enemies of the British Empire. Before I could expect any help from them, however, I had first to find out what their attitude was towards India’s demand for freedom. British propagandists for a number of years had been telling the world that the Axis Powers were the enemies of freedom and therefore of India’s freedom. Was that a fact? I asked myself. Consequently, I had to leave India in order to find out the truth myself and as to whether the Axis Powers would be prepared to give us help and assistance in our fight for freedom.
Before I finally made up my mind to leave home and homeland, I had to decide whether it was right for me to take help from abroad. I had previously studied the history of revolution all over the world, in order to discover the method which had enabled other nations to obtain freedom. But I had not found a single instance in which an enslaved people had won freedom without foreign help of some sort. In 1940, I read my history once again, and once again I came to the conclusion that history did not furnish a single instance where freedom had been won without help of some sort from abroad. As for the moral question as to whether it was right to take help, I told myself that in public, as in private life, one could always take help as a loan and repay that loan later on. Moreover, if a powerful Empire, like the British Empire, could go round the world with the begging bowl, what objection could there be to an enslaved and disarmed people like ourselves taking help as a loan from abroad. I can assure you, Mahatmaji, that before I finally decided to set out on a hazardous mission, I spent days, weeks and months in carefully considering the pros and cons of the case. After having served my people so long, to the best of my ability, I could have no desire to be a traitor, or to give anyone a justification for calling me a traitor.

It was the easiest thing for me to remain at home and go on working as I had worked so long. It was also an easy thing for me to remain in an Indian prison while the war lasted. Personally, I had nothing to lose by doing so. Thanks to the generosity and to the affection of my countrymen, I had obtained the highest honour which it was possible for any public worker in India to achieve. I had also built up a party consisting of staunch and loyal colleagues who had implicit confidence in me. By going abroad on a perilous quest, I was risking not only my life and my whole future career, but also what was more, the future of my party. If I had the slightest hope that without action from abroad we could win freedom, I would never have left India during a crisis. If I had any hope that within our lifetime we would get another chance – another golden opportunity for winning freedom, I would never have left India during a crisis. If I had any hope that within our lifetime we would get another chance – another golden opportunity for winning freedom, as during the present war, I doubt if I would have set out from home. But I was convinced of two things: firstly, that such a golden opportunity would not come within another century, and secondly, that without action from abroad, we would not be able to win freedom, merely through our own efforts at home. That is why I resolved to take the plunge.

Providence has been kind to me, in spite of manifold difficulties; all my plans have succeeded so far. After I got out of India, my first endeavour was to organize my countrymen, wherever I happened to meet them. I am glad to say that everywhere I found them to be wide-awake and anxious to do everything possible for winning freedom for India. I, then, approached the governments that were at war with our enemy in order to find out what their attitude was towards India. I found out that contrary to what British propagandists had been telling us for a number of years – the Axis powers were now, openly, the friends of India’s freedom. I also discovered that they were prepared to give such help as we desired and as was within their own power.
I know the propaganda that our enemy has been carrying on against me. But I am sure that my countrymen, who know me so well, will be never be taken in. One who has stood for national self-respect and honour all his life and has suffered considerably in vindicating it, would be the last person in this world to give in to any other foreign power. Moreover, I have nothing to gain personally at the hands of a foreign power. Having received the highest honour possible for an Indian at the hands of my own countrymen, what is there for me to receive from a foreign power? Only that man can be a puppet who has either no sense of honour and self-respect or desire to build up a position for himself, through the influence of others.

Not even my worst enemy can ever dare to say that I am capable of selling national honour and self-respect. And not even my worst enemy can dare to assert that I was nobody in my own country and that I needed foreign help to secure a position for myself. In leaving India, I had to risk everything that I had, including my life. But I had to take that risk, because only by doing so could I help the achievement of India’s freedom.

There remains but one question to answer with regard to the Axis Powers. Can it be possible that I have been deceived by them? I believe it will be universally admitted that the cleverest and the most cunning politicians are to be found among Britishers. One who has worked with and fought British politicians all his life, cannot be deceived by any other politicians in the world. If British politicians have failed to coax or coerce me, no other politician can succeed in doing so. And if the British Government, at whose hands I have suffered long imprisonment, persecution and physical assault, has been unable to demoralize me, no other power can hope to do so. Moreover, as you personally are aware, I have been a close student of international affairs. I have had personal contacts with international figures before the outbreak of this war. I am, therefore, no novice, who could be duped by a shrewd and cunning politician. Last but not least, before forming an opinion about the attitude of the Axis Powers, I established close personal contact with important leaders and personalities in Axis countries who are responsible for their national affairs. Consequently, I make bold to say that my countrymen can have the fullest confidence in my judgment of international affairs. My countrymen abroad will testify to the fact that since I left India, I have never done anything which could compromise in the least, either the honour or the self-respect or the interests of my country. On the contrary, whatever I have done has been for the benefit of my nation, for enhancing India’s prestige before the world and for advancing the cause of India’s freedom.

Mahatma Gandhi, since the beginning of the War in East Asia, our enemies have been carrying on a raging and tearing campaign against Japan. I shall, therefore, say something about Japan particularly because at the present moment, I am working in the closest co-operation with the government, army and people of Japan. There was a time when Japan had an alliance with our enemy. I did not come to Japan so long as there was an Anglo-Japanese alliance. I did not come to Japan so long as normal diplomatic relations obtained between the two countries. It was after Japan took what I consider to be the most momentous step in her
history – namely, declaration of war on Britain and America – that I decided to visit Japan of my own free will. Like so many of my countrymen, I had read anti-Japanese propaganda material for a number of years. Like so many of my countrymen, I did not understand why Japan went to war with China in 1937? And like so many of my countrymen, my sympathies in 1937 and 1938 were with Chungking. You may remember that as President of the Congress, I was responsible for sending out a medical mission to Chungking in September 1938. But what I realized after my visit to Japan and what many people at home do not realize, is that since the outbreak of the War in East Asia, Japan’s attitude towards the world in general, and towards Asiatic nations in particular, has been completely revolutionized. It is a change that has overtaken not merely the government, but also the people of Japan. A new consciousness - what I may best describe as an Asiatic consciousness - has seized the soul of the people of Japan. The change explains Japan’s present attitude towards the Philippines, Burma and India. That is what explains Japan’s new policy in China. After my visit to Japan and after establishing close contact with the present-day leaders of that country, I was fully satisfied that Japan’s present policy towards Asia was no bluff, but was rooted in sincerity. This is not the first instance in history when an entire nation has been seized with a new consciousness. We have seen instances of it before in France during the French revolution and in Russia during the Bolshevik revolution. After my second visit to Japan in November 1943, I visited the Philippines, met Filipino leaders there and saw things for myself. I have also been in Burma for a fairly long time, and I have been able to see things with my own eyes, after the declaration of independence. And I have been to China to find out if Japan’s new policy was real, or it was a fake. The latest agreement between Japan and the National Government of China has given the Chinese people practically all that she had been demanding. Japan under that agreement has agreed to withdraw her troops from China on the termination of hostilities. What then is Chungking-China fighting for? Could one believe that Britain and America are helping Chungking-China out of purely altruistic motives? Will not Britain and America demand their pound of flesh in return for the help that they are now giving to Chungking to make her continue the fight against Japan? I clearly see that Chungking is being mortgaged to Britain and America, because of past hatred and antagonism towards Japan. So long as Japan did not initiate her present policy towards China, there might have been some justification or excuse for Chinese to seek British and American aid for fighting Japan. But now that an entirely new chapter in Sino-Japanese relations has begun, there is not the slightest excuse for Chungking to continue her meaningless struggle against Japan. That is not good for Chinese people; it is certainly not good for Asia. In April 1942, you said that if you were free to do so, you would work for an understanding between China and Japan. That was an utterance of rare statesmanship. It is India’s slavery that is at the bottom responsible for the chaos in China. It is because of the British hold over India that the Anglo-American could bluff Chungking into hoping that sufficient help could be brought to Chungking to enable Chungking to continue the war against Japan. You are absolutely right in thinking, Mahatmaji, that a free India would work
for peace between Japan and China. I go so far as to say that the freedom of India will automatically bring about an honourable understanding between Chungking and Japan, by opening the eyes of Chungking to the folly that she is now committing. Since I came to East Asia and visited China, I have been able to study the Chinese question more deeply. I find that there is a dictatorship ruling in Chungking. I have no objection personally to dictatorship, if it is for a righteous cause. But the dictatorship that rules at Chungking is clearly under foreign American influence. Unfortunately, the Anglo-American have been able to deceive the ruling clique at Chungking into thinking that if Japan could be somehow defeated, then China would become the dominant power in Asia. The fact, however, is that if Japan were defeated by any chance, then China would certainly pass under American influence and control. That would be a tragedy for China and for the whole of Asia. It is through this false hope of becoming the dominant power in Asia, if Japan could be somehow defeated, that the ruling clique at Chungking has entered into an unholy alliance with the ruling clique at the White House and at Whitehall. I know something of the propagandist activities of the Chungking Government in India and of its efforts to play upon the emotions of the Indian people and win their sympathy. But I can honestly say that Chungking, which has been mortgaged to Wall Street and Lombard Street, does not deserve the sympathy of the Indian people any longer, especially after Japan has initiated her new policy towards China.

Mahatmaji, you know better than anybody else how deeply suspicious the Indian people are of mere promises. I would be the last man to be influenced by Japan, if her declarations of policy had been mere promises. But I have seen with my own eyes how, in the midst of world war, Japan has put through revolutionary changes in countries like the Philippines, Burma and National China. In General Tojo, Japan has a leader and a Prime Minister who is true to his word and whose actions are in full conformity with his declarations, and a leader, who in moral stature, towers head and shoulders above contemporary statesmen.

Coming to India, I must say that Japan has proved her sincerity by her deeds. There was a time when people used to say that Japan had selfish intentions regarding India. If she had them, why should she recognize the Provisional Government of Free India? Why should she decide to hand over the Andaman and Nicobar Islands to the Provisional Government of Free India? Why should there, now be an Indian Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands stationed in Port Blair? Last but not least, why should Japan unconditionally help the Indian people in East Asia in their struggle for their independence? There are Indians all over East Asia and they have every opportunity of seeing Japan at close quarters. Why should three million Indians distributed all over East Asia, adopt a policy of the closest cooperation with Japan, if they had not been convinced of her bonafides and of her sincerity? You can coerce one man or coax him into doing what you want him to do. But no one can coerce three million Indians distributed all over East Asia.
If Indians in East Asia had taken help from Japan without putting forward their own efforts and without making the maximum sacrifice, they would have been guilty of wrongdoing. But as an Indian, I am happy and proud to be able to say that my countrymen in East Asia are putting forward the maximum efforts to mobilize men, money and materials for the struggle for India’s freedom. I have had experience at home in collecting funds and materials and in recruiting men for national service for a period of twenty years. In the light of this experience, I can properly assess the worth and value of the sacrifice that our countrymen in East Asia are now making. Their effort is magnificent. It is because they are putting forward a magnificent effort themselves and are prepared to make the maximum sacrifice that I see no objection to taking help from Japan for such necessary articles as arms, ammunition, etc. that we ourselves cannot produce.

Mahatmaji, I should now like to say something about the Provisional Government that we have set up here. The Provisional Government of Azad Hind (or Free India) has been recognized by Japan, Germany and seven other friendly powers and this has given Indians a new status and new prestige in the eyes of the whole world. The Provisional Government has its one object, the liberation of India from the British yoke through an armed struggle. Once our enemies are expelled from India and peace and order is established, the mission of the Provisional Government will be over. It will then be for the Indian people themselves to determine the form of government that they choose and also to decide as to who should take charge of that government. I can assure you, Mahatmaji, that I and all those who are working with me regard themselves as the servants of the Indian people. The only reward that we desire for our efforts, for our suffering and for our sacrifice is the freedom of our motherland. There are many among us who would like to retire from the political field, once India is free. The remainder will be content to take up any position in Free India, however humble it may be. The spirit that animates all of us today is that it is more honourable to be even a sweeper in Free India, than to have the highest position under British rule. We all know that there are hundreds of thousands of able men and women at home to whom India’s destiny could be entrusted, once freedom is achieved.

How much help we shall need from Japan till the last Britisher is expelled from the soil of India, will depend on the amount of co-operation that we shall receive from inside India. Japan herself does not desire to thrust her assistance upon us. Japan would be happy if the Indian people could liberate themselves through their own exertions. It is we who have asked for assistance from Japan after declaring war on Britain and America, because our enemy has been seeking help from other powers. However, I have every hope that the help we shall receive from our countrymen at home will be so great that we shall need the minimum help from Japan. Nobody would be more happy than ourselves, if, by any chance, our countrymen at home should succeed in liberating themselves through their own efforts or if, by any chance, the British Government accepts your ‘Quit India’ Resolution and gives effect to it. We are, however, proceeding on the assumption that neither of the above is possible and that an armed struggle is inevitable.
Mahatmaji, there is one other matter to which I shall refer before I close and that is about the ultimate outcome of this war. I know very well the kind of propaganda that our enemies have been carrying on in order to create the impression that they are confident of victory. But I hope that my countrymen will not be duped thereby and will not think of compromising with Britain on the issue of independence under the mistaken notion that the Anglo-Americans will win this war. Having travelled round the world under war-time conditions with my eyes open, having seen the internal weakness of the enemy on the Indo-Burma frontier and inside India, and having taken stock of our own strength and resources, I am absolutely confident of our final victory. I am not so foolish as to minimize, in the least, the strength of the enemy. I know that we have a long and hard struggle in front of us. I am aware that on the soil of India, Britain will fight bravely and fight hard in a desperate attempt to save her Empire. But I know also that however long and hard the struggle may be, it can have but one outcome—namely, our victory. India's last war of independence has begun. Troops of the Azad Hind Fauj are now fighting bravely on the soil of India and in spite of all difficulty and hardship they are pushing forward slowly but steadily. This armed struggle will go on, until the last Britisher is thrown out of India and until our Tri-colour National Flag proudly floats over the Viceroy's House in New Delhi.

Father of Our Nation: In this holy war for India's liberation, we ask for your blessings and good wishes.

JAI HIND!
“NETAJI ZINDA HOTE TOH HINDUSTAN KI YEH HALAT NA HOTI”

[Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan’s Speech on December 14, 1969, Netaji Bhawan]

Mujhe aaj Netaji ke ghar me akar khushi bhi hui aur mujhe ranj bhi hua. Khushi to isliye hui ke unke rishtedaro ko dekha unke ghar ko dekha unke museum ko dekha. Aur ranj isliye hui ke aaj agar Netaji zinda hote toh Hindustan ki yeh halat na hoti. Bhaiyo aur beheno humlog jo congress me the aur is mulk ko jo hum azad karana chahte the toh hum hukumat ke liye is mulk ko is desh ko azad nehi karana chahte the ke hum yaha baith kar hukumat kareenge, nehi. Hamare log jo the woh humlog the toh hum kehte the ke agar angrez is mulk se jayega toh is mulk ki garibi jo hai woh garibi jo is mulk ki hai, woh khatam ho jayegi aur garib ki halat jo hai woh behtar ho jayegi aur jo logo ki musibatey aur taqleefey hai, jhagre hai aur jo nafrat hai, Hindu, Musalman ke darmiyan yeh khatam ho jay. Is garaj ke liye is matlab ke liye hum is mulk ko angrez aur angrez ki hukumat se azad karana chahte. Abhi mai teis saal ke baad Hindustan ayah hun, isliye ayah hun ke ek to Gandhi ji ke janam sadi me shariq ho jau, aur dusri Hindustan ki janta ko dekhu. Hindustan ko janta hai isko dekhu ke is desh ko jo hum angrej se azad karana chahte the jiske liye hum logo ne barey barey kurbani ki, toh hum
dekhey ke woh hamari matlab jo hai woh hamari garaj jo hai woh hamare maksad jo tha woh pura ho gaya? Ya pura nehi hua? Woh garibi hai, ya woh garibi nehi rahi, woh musibbatey, taqleefey hai, Kya woh khatam ho gayi? Aur woh jhagre aur fasad aur Hindu Musalman jo hai usme woh nafrat hai ya nehi, woh khatam ho gaya. Toh tisra mero mahina hai mai Hindustan me firta hun, han jab jata hun shaharo ko dekhta hun, shaharo me kuch taraqqi hui hai aur khususan? Delhi mein to badi taraqqi hui hai. Bade bade mahal aur badi badi makanat aur bade khubsurat bangley aur khubsurat sadake aur school aur tez gadiya? hai. Lekin apko malum hona chahiye ke qaum jo hoti hai woh shahar me nehi rehtii woh to dehaat me rehtii hai aur qaum ki abadi, taraqqi, khushialii woh to dehat se malum ho sakti hai. Toh jab dehat me jata hu, wohi purana chakkar hai, wohi jhopra hai, wohi garibi hai, wohi jo halat hai, wohi jhagre, wohi nafrat hai, wohi musibat hai aur wohi taqleefey. Toh mujhe afsos hai ke jis garaj ke liye yeh mulk hum azad karana chahte the woh garaj aj bais saal ho gaye hai is mulk me Hindustan ke apni hukumat lekin bais saal me hum dekhte hai ke log jo hai usey log kunjtey? hai ke yeh garib jo the inki halat angrez ke waqt me behatar thiy aaj behatar hai, mai kehta hun ke Hindustan me dekhta hun, Pakistan me dekhta hun garib , garib ho gaya, amir, amir ho gaya. Garib ki to wohi musibbat ey, wohi taqleefey wohi garibi hai. Toh isliye mai aayah hun ke aplog jo hai aap ke sath baith kar aap ke sath salah mashwara karu aur apki tabujju jo hai wohi apka adesh hai is ki tareef kar dun aur apko kahu ke tum dekho apne desh ko dekho ke tumhara desh kis taraf ja raha hai, abadi kis taraf ja raha hai, barbad ki taraf ja raha hai. Tum logo ko jab ye qaum khudgarz ho jati hai, koi andha ho jati hai, usko apni garaj jo hai wohi garaj usko wohi lagti hai dusri mulk na desh, na nation, na janta, na koi cheeze uski fiqar me nehi ati. Uski nazr mein nehi ati woh kehta hai ke mulk bhi Jahanann mein jay. Abhi nation bhi sath jahanann me jay aur yeh janta bhi jay, lekin meri garaj puri ho jay. Dekhtra hun Hindustan ke logo me khudgarzzaa gayi janta, paise ki mohoddbe aa gayi. Toh jis qaum ke dilo me khudgarz aur paise ki mohobbat paida hoti hai toh woh qaum jo hai woh tabahi aur barbadi ki taraf jata hai.

Ab mera kaam khatam hua. Maine apko bataya ab apka kaam hai, aap karengay apko faida hoga. Ke nai na hi tumhe chela nehi banana chahta hu. Toh yeh sambad hi thi jo maine aap logo ke khidmat me arz ki, aap is par gaur karen, fiqr karen, agar yeh apki faidey ki ho, aap ki desh ki faidey ki ho, aap ki hukumat ki faidey ki ho, toh is par amal karen. Beheno aur bhaiyo, mai aap logon ki is prem aur mohobbat pyar mere liye jama hue, mere baatey prem aur mohobbat aur khamoshi se suney, mai aap logon ka shukriya adaa karta hun.

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Rev. Jesse Jackson's entry in NRB's Visitors' Book
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The Saint and the Warrior - Gandhi and Bose at Haripura, February, 1938

Back Cover Photograph:
Confabulations, Gandhi and Bose in a train compartment, November 1937

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