

TODAY and
TOMORROW

A. Worthy Example

WAR has many surprises. The great surprise of this war was the defeat of Germany. Another surprise, to a lesser degree, is the attempt of the Syrian and Lebanese people to shake off the hold of France over their country. The chaos and confusion created by the war is a wonderful opportunity for subject nations to regain their freedom. Syria and Lebanon realizing this have launched a powerful movement to expel foreign influences from the Levant. The Levant States know that France is powerless to protect her so-called interests in these countries. Having just emerged from the heels of Germany, her economy shattered, her people starving, France cannot, and dare not, undertake a campaign in the Levant. They also know that Britain will go to any length to prevent France regaining her power in the Middle East. And Britain availing herself of this opportunity has adopted a course meant to placate the Levantines.

But the Arabs will not be easily fooled by British mock sympathy. They know that the British are as dangerous as the French, if not more. They cannot forget that the British have robbed them of Palestine, and in order to perpetuate their domination over Palestine they have created the Jewish problem in that country.

They encouraged the Zionist movement and sanctioned the policy of the National Home for the Jews whereby thousands of unwanted Jews of Europe were permitted to emigrate to Palestine, and with their hoarded wealth they bought up the lands of the needy Arabs, who were soon dispossessed of a great part of Palestine. Ever since there has been trouble in Palestine between Arabs and Jews, encouraged of course by the cunning British, who make this an excuse for their stay in Palestine, just as in India they foment Hindu Muslim riots.

However, they have no hesitation in using the pretended sympathy of the British against the French. The people of the Levant have risen equal to the situation and are playing off the British against the French to their own benefit. Thanks to the international situation, Syrian and Lebanese independence has become an assured fact.

It would do well for the people of India to take a leaf from the Levantine example. It is the feeling among Moslems all over the world that Indian Moslems are not pulling their full weight in the cause of Indian freedom. The time has come for Moslem India to march forward side by side with the rest of their compatriots and help achieve their country's complete independence.

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Hindu Mahasabha Denounces Lord Wavell's Scheme

Lisbon, June 24 (Domei)—The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha today passed a resolution condemning Indian Viceroy Lord Wavell's plan as "a deliberate device on the part of the British to perpetuate British rule over India," according to a Reuter dispatch from Poona.

The proposed governmental reorganization plan, it said, was designed to reduce the Hindus, who constitute 75 per cent. of the population, to a minority by the introduction of parity between the Muslims and caste Hindus on the Executive Council.

Ever if the scheme were accepted by the Simla Conference, the Committee declared it would be repudiated by the Hindus and, if enforced, would be resisted by all possible means.

Lisbon, June 24 (Domei)—Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, President of the Indian National Congress, and Mahatma Gandhi have been given plenary powers by the Congress Working Committee for their negotiations with Indian Viceroy Lord Wavell at the Simla Conference which begins tomorrow, according to a Bombay dispatch.

Nippon Forces In Burma Grimly Resisting Enemy

Lisbon, June 24 (Domei)—New Delhi dispatches received here today indicated that Nipponese troops in Burma are offering active opposition to the British forces despite the heavy monsoon rains.

A communique issued by the South-east Asia Command disclosed that Nipponese forces based in the Pegu Yoma are launching attacks against British positions in the Palon area, approximately 26 kilometres south-east of Tharrawaddy.

In the rugged Shan Hill area, the Nipponese, a New Delhi dispatch said, have brought up artillery and are shelling the Toungoo-Mawchi road to check the British advance.

A war correspondent of the Associated Press of India reported that the Nipponese were reorganizing their forces along the east bank of the Sittaung River. "These troops are well-equipped and are using artillery," he said.

Intense Fighting Raging In North Borneo Sector

A Nippon Base in the Southern Region, June 24 (Domei)—Nippon forces are at present engaged in intense fighting with enemy forces which effected a new landing in the vicinity of Lutong, 20 kilometres north of Miri on the western coast of northern Borneo, last Wednesday, June 20.

The enemy employed four transports, ten large craft and 30 landing barges in the landing operation. Before starting the operation the enemy subjected the Miri sector to naval bombardment while enemy minesweepers tried to clear adjacent waters of Nippon mines.

WAR OF INDEPENDENCE WILL CONTINUE UNTIL INDIA IS FREED FROM BRITISH YOKE

Netaji Exhorts East Asia Indians To Redouble Support In Men & Money

Exhorting Indians in Malaya to keep up their spirit and enthusiasm in the fight for India's freedom and to redouble their support in men, money and material to carry on the fight undeterred by the recent reverses in Burma, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and Supreme Commander of Azad Hind Fauj, declared at the mass meeting of Indians here yesterday, that the war of Indian independence would be continued until India attains complete independence even if it entails the total sacrifice of all East Asia Indians.

In spite of the threatening weather conditions the meeting was largely attended by all sections of the Indian community and chairmen of I.I.L. Branches throughout Malaya and prominent Nippon officials. Netaji spoke for nearly three hours in Hindustani discussing the various aspects of the independence struggle in relation to the present world situation and the war in East Asia, and the speech was listened to with rapt attention. The speech was translated into Tamil by Col. S. C. Alagappan.

As usual, the meeting began with the hoisting of the National Flag and the singing of the National Anthem after which Netaji inspected the guard-of-honour presented by detachments of the I.N.A. and the Volunteers of the Ranj of Jhansi Regiment. Netaji was garlanded by Sri M. K. Chidambaram, chairman of the local chapter of the I.I.L. and several others.

Following is the text of Netaji's speech:—

After nearly six months I stand before you again to speak to you on the present situation and our future task. I am sorry that I cannot bring you good news from Burma. After our failure to take Imphal last year the enemy was able to advance into Burma. While the main force of the enemy was held up, by the forces of the Nipponese Army and the Indian National Army, advanced mechanised units (consisting of tanks, armoured cars, etc.) of the enemy were able to breakthrough our defences and threaten our Headquarters. We had to decide whether we should keep our Headquarters there, in spite of the approach of the enemy's mechanised units, or withdraw to a safe place. It was not easy for us to withdraw from the danger-zone in Rangoon leaving our comrades of the Azad Hind Fauj fighting at the front. But after very careful consideration, the Ministers of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind unanimously decided that owing to certain reasons we should withdraw to a safe place.

After we left Rangoon, it was still possible for us to keep our Headquarters in Burma, as the Burma Government, the Government of Adipadi Dr. Ba Maw did, but that was also not considered advisable. In the interests of India. The present position in Burma is that fighting is going on in all parts of the country—in Shan States, in the Toungoo area near Pegu, near Prome and in the Arakans. The main force of the enemy is still being held up and nobody can say how long the fight will go on or when the enemy will succeed in capturing Burma. Though the strength of the

Azad Hind Fauj is small, compared to the Nipponese Army, our comrades of the Azad Hind Fauj are fighting on under very difficult conditions.

Our heart is with our comrades who are now fighting in Burma but we had to withdraw our Headquarters from Burma, leaving our army in charge of the newly organised Burma Command of which Major-General Loganathan is the Commander with Lt.-Col. Arshad as his Chief of Staff. The Provisional Government had to withdraw its Headquarters from Burma in order to organise our forces outside Burma and continue the fight on other fronts. If we had no other force outside Burma, then, in all probability, we would have remained with our comrades in Burma, and fought to the last, facing any situation that would arise thereafter. There was another reason which persuaded us to withdraw our Headquarters from Burma. It was clear to us that after the recent military successes, the enemy would launch a new military and political offensive on other fronts and it was necessary for us to prepare in time for that offensive and meet it when it was launched.

Our misfortune was that the crisis in Burma came almost simultaneously with the crisis in Europe. The enemy took full advantage of it and immediately launched a political offensive directed towards India. That political offensive was Lord Wavell's offer.

The motives behind Lord Wavell's offer were principally two in number—firstly, to extract help from India for the future war in East Asia; and secondly, to reach a compromise

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Indians Urged To Agitate Against Viceroy's Offer

Criticising the action of the Congress leaders as being hasty in agreeing to attend the Simla Conference to consider the offer of Lord Wavell for the solution of the Indian political deadlock, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, and Supreme Commander of the Azad Hind Fauj, broadcast the following speech to his countrymen at home on Saturday last:

Sisters and Brothers in India!

Yesterday I told you that in my view it was wrong according to the Congress Constitution and also morally unfair for the Congress Working Committee—which was an executive body—to exceed its powers and make decisions on behalf of the All India Congress Committee or the Congress. I should have added that it was also unwise and impolitic for the Working Committee to do so. To an observer it appeared as if the Working Committee was acting with indecent haste. I feel constrained to say that, as compared with Mahatma Gandhi and the Working Committee, Mr. Jinnah acted wisely and cautiously. He declared, according to the reports before me, that he could not advise the representatives of the Muslim League to attend the Simla Conference until after his interview with Lord Wavell on the 24th. Whatever Mr. Jinnah's inner motives might have been, he did not show any anxiety to jump at the offer made by Lord Wavell.

Good News

Mr. Jinnah took another prudent and politic step in asking Lord Wavell to postpone the Conference. I feel that if the Congress Working Committee had also asked for, and insisted on the postponement of the Simla Conference, then Lord Wavell's hands would have been forced. However, it is good news that the Congress Working Committee has decided to meet after the Simla Conference to make a final decision.

Now that some time has been gained, I hope, that before the final decision is taken on behalf of the Congress, a meeting of the All India Congress Committee will be summoned. There should be no objection on the ground that several members of the All India Congress Committee are in prison. If Mahatma Gandhi and the Working Committee insist on it, then the Viceroy will have to order their release, for he cannot afford to break with the Congress on this point.

I have already said that unless Mahatma Gandhi is exceedingly careful, he might be manoeuvred by the Viceroy and Mr. Jinnah into a position in which the Congress will nominate members of the Executive Council for only those seats which have been reserved by the Viceroy for the Caste Hindus. In other words, there is every danger that Mahatma Gandhi might be manoeuvred into a position in which he will be indirectly admitting that the word Congress is synonymous with the word Caste Hindu. That would be the political death of the Indian National Congress from which it will be impossible for the Congress to retrieve itself. This danger could be avoided if the Congress representatives to the Simla Conference submit a panel of names

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War Of Independence Will Continue Until India Is Completely Freed From British Domination

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with the Indian people and thereby make India a domestic issue of the British Empire.

Several years before the outbreak of this World War, when the League of Nations was in existence, the late Vithalbhai Patel and myself went to Geneva with the object of bringing India's demand for independence before the League of Nations. At that time, we failed because no member of the League of Nations wanted to offend Britain by advocating India's independence before that body. But conditions have changed considerably since then, and now there is a better chance of bringing India's case for independence before the bar of world opinion. The fact that Nippon and other eight friendly powers have recognised India's independence by formally recognising the Provisional Government of Azad Hind has strengthened India's position considerably before the whole world.

Before I deal with Lord Wavell's offer, I want to say something about the world situation. As I predicted six months ago, the collapse of Germany has brought about an acute conflict between the Soviet and the Anglo-Americans. At the present moment, they have patched up their differences in Europe, but that is only superficial and is a preparation for a real showdown in Asia. Moreover, in spite of the differences temporarily patched up, the fundamental differences between the two sides still remain, and they are irreconcilable. The result of the German collapse has been that Soviet Power and influence in Europe has increased very much more than that of the Anglo-American powers.

American Demand

America is now concentrating on the war against Nippon and is demanding adequate support from Britain. In my personal opinion, in a future war in East Asia, two main battles will be fought—one in the mainland of Nippon and the other in China. I cannot say at the present moment, which battle will come up first, but I know this that Nippon is fully prepared for both these main battles.

The Anglo-Americans know fully well that a long and bitter struggle is ahead of them. In this connection, it is interesting to note what a distinguished British Commander, General Slim of the British 14th Army, who fought in Burma recently, said the other day in an interview in England. He remarked that though many nations talk of fighting to the last, there is only one nation that actually does so, and that is Nippon. While Nippon will go on fighting under all circumstances, we also will do the same for the sake of India's independence and the Azad Hind Fauj will fight to the last man and to the last round.

In my personal opinion, the coming conference between Marshal Stalin, President Truman and Prime Minister Churchill will deal with the problem of East Asia and primarily with the problem of China. In view of the present unfriendly relations between Chungking and Yen-an and in view of America's ambitions in China, I do not see how these three powers can come to an

agreement about China. I am of the opinion that it is much easier for the Yen-an Government to come to an agreement with Nanking than with Chungking. So long as Chungking is dominated by America, I do not see how the unification of China will be possible. So far as Nippon is concerned, her new policy in China and her promise to withdraw troops from China on the termination of hostilities, have made it clear that Nippon will welcome the unification of China, and her only interest is to see that Anglo-American power and influence are kept out of China.

Every Indian has only goodwill towards China and wants to see a strong and unified China progressing along the lines laid down by China's great leader, Dr. Sun Yat Sen. A Free Asia is not possible without a Free China and a Free India. In spite of our recent reverses in Burma, our optimism and our confidence in our final victory remain unimpaired.

Important Problem

The most important problem for us is to continue the armed struggle against the British in East Asia. This will have a twofold effect. Firstly, it will influence India and it will help to purge our countrymen at home of the defeatist mentality which is the result of successful enemy propaganda.

Secondly, it will keep the Indian issue alive before the world and enable us to secure the support of friendly powers. To continue the armed struggle, we must keep up our confidence in our final victory.

Though we lost the first round in the battle of Burma, I find that we have been able to influence even the enemy. After entering Burma, the enemy was able to see and hear something of the work of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and of the Azad Hind Fauj. Previously, the enemy always used to refer to us as the "Nipponese Puppet Army." After entering Burma, they began to call us the "Nipponese-inspired Indian National Army." But now they refer to us as the "Indian National Army."

When the British took Mandalay they issued an order that no Indian was to use the greeting "JAI HIND" which, as you know, means "VICTORY TO INDIA". The result of this order was that boys and girls of our "Bal Sena" in Mandalay came out in the streets and greeted British officers with "Jai Hind." My point is that if we go on fighting bravely and shedding our blood we shall not only be able to influence our countrymen who are indifferent and lukewarm, but we shall also be able to impress the enemy.

I shall now come back to Lord Wavell's offer. That offer contains three principal points—firstly, a promise of self-government within the British Empire, secondly, more seats on the Viceroy's Executive Council and thirdly, restoration of the Ministries in the provinces. There is nothing in this offer and, under normal circumstances, not a single Congressman would have even looked at that offer. Firstly, the British have been always promising self-government.

Secondly, since the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council are responsible to the Viceroy and nobody else, "more

seats" on that Council do not mean any advance towards independence. Moreover, the Viceroy may be able to make the Indian people quarrel over the formation and composition of the Executive Council. Furthermore, the Viceroy will have the power of veto and he will be able to turn down any decision of the Executive Council even if it is unanimous, in short, the Viceroy's Council is not a cabinet but an advisory body, the power remaining at the hands of the Viceroy.

Thirdly, the restoration of ministries in the province has no importance, because the Congress Ministries in eight provinces voluntarily resigned in 1939, since they were opposed to participation in Britain's war.

Unfortunately for us, the Indian leaders who are now outside prison have been overawed by the recent military successes of the Anglo-Americans and they have developed a defeatist mentality. That is why Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress Working Committee have decided to attend the Viceroy's Conference at Simla on the 25th, when Lord Wavell's offer will be discussed. We are now doing what is possible to persuade our countrymen at home not to accept Lord Wavell's offer and thereby make the Simla Conference a failure. If we fail in this, and if the Congress accepts the offer and enters the Viceroy's Executive Council, we shall then try to create a situation inside India, whereby the Congress will be forced to resign from the Executive Council. We are determined to prevent a compromise between India and Britain, so that India may remain an international issue and we may be able to work for the complete independence of India.

Our task in East Asia is a twofold one. Firstly, to continue the armed struggle which we launched on the 4th February, 1944. Secondly to agitate for India's independence in the international field and to utilise every conflict within the camp of the so-called the United Nations, and in particular, the conflict between the Soviet and the Anglo-Americans.

Base of Operation

For our fight in East Asia, Malai is our base. So long as the British are kept out of Malai, our work for India's independence will continue uninterrupted. Therefore, if at any time the British try to land in Malai, we shall fight with all the strength that we have.

When the history of the Indian independence is finally written Indians in Malai will have a glorious place in that history. The contribution of Indians in Malai for India's struggle for freedom in men, money and materials, has been great and India will always remain grateful for the same. In particular, Malai has been the birth-place of the Azad Hind Fauj and of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. Malai has contributed a large number of young men who have fought bravely and died for India's freedom. And Malai has made the largest contribution to the ranks of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment.

Indians in Malai must maintain the brilliant record that they have already set up. It is from Malai that the call for Total Mobilisation first went out. Today, I want to appeal to you

Indians At Home Urged To Agitate Against Wavell's Infamous Offer

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covering all the seats, barring that of the Commander-in-Chief. Will the Congress representatives do so? I am glad to find that the Working Committee has been thinking along these lines. But it is not enough to think. The Congress representatives will have to insist that the Viceroy gives up altogether the religious and communal basis for the composition of the Executive Council and adopts a political and national basis instead. I anticipate that besides the Viceroy, Mr. Jinnah, too, may not agree to this. But let us not forget what the credentials of Mr. Jinnah are. I have always been of the view that as in a peace conference so also in a political Round-table conference, it is only the belligerent parties who are entitled to participate. That the British have now agreed to the partial Indianisation of the Executive Council as a stepping stone to other far-reaching changes is not because of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League, but because of the Congress which has fought the British Government with all the means at its disposal. At the time of Round-table Conference in 1931, I pointed out that it was only the Congress and all those who fought with the Congress who were entitled to represent India at the Round-table Conference in London.

Irish Example

I reminded my countrymen on that occasion that in Ireland when the British Prime Minister Mr. Lloyd George wanted to out-manoeuvre the Sinn Fein Party by summoning a National Convention representing all Irish parties, the Sinn Fein Party refused to attend that Convention because that Convention did not represent Ireland. The Sinn Fein Party continued its fight and the day ultimately arrived when the British were forced to hold a Round-table Conference with only the representatives of the Sinn Fein Party. In our case, we should never forget that it is only those who have fought the British Government who are entitled to speak for India and represent India at a Round-table Conference with the representatives of Britain. After all the importance of the Muslim League is due largely to the fact that it has the backing of the British Government.

From reports coming from India it appears that opposition to Lord Wavell's offer has been voiced from several platforms. Unfortunately this opposition is not being pooled together. In 1940 when there was a

for more men, more money and more materials. After our recent reverses in Burma, your responsibility has become greater. Knowing what you have done in the past, I have no doubt that you will do even more in the future. I only want you to keep up your faith in the justice of our cause. So long as you keep up this faith, you will also keep up your optimism and your confidence in final victory.

In concluding, Netaji said that he had intended to speak on the trend of present world situation but he could not do so for want of time. He however proposed to address them on the subject in the course of next week when he hoped to see a much larger gathering of local Indians.

danger that the Congress was drifting towards a compromise with the British Imperialism, we held an All-India anti-Compromise Conference at Ramgash in order to rally all the radical elements in India's public life. A similar conference should be held now and without delay. It would be highly beneficial if an All-India anti-Wavell Conference could be held now to voice organised and combined opposition to Lord Wavell's offer.


East Asia To Celebrate

Here in East Asia we are going to have a celebration on the 4th of July next. The 4th of July is known in the world as the Day of American Independence. In East Asia it is the day on which the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia was infused with new life and commenced a new phase in its career. The celebration on the 4th of July all over East Asia wherever there are Indians will be in the nature of a referendum. We shall call upon Indians in East Asia on that day to give their verdict on Lord Wavell's offer and if that verdict be one of condemnation, to renew their pledge to continue the armed struggle for India's freedom under all circumstances, even if the Congress Working Committee were to accept Lord Wavell's offer.

Sisters and Brothers at home! I shall now close for the day. On Monday the 25th I shall address a special talk for the revolutionaries in India giving my suggestions to what they should do in the event of the Congress Working Committee accepting Lord Wavell's offer. Viceroy's may come and Viceroy's may go but India will live and India's fight for freedom will succeed.

Random Notes

The feature Random Notes by Chanakya is not appearing in today's issue, owing to pressure of space.



RETURN SCREENING
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(WAN TZI TSIEN HOONG)
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Drawing at Syonan Kokaido

July 5th, 2 p.m.

Konan Saiken (25th)