



SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

The British Press, Intelligence and Parliament

NANDA MOOKERJEE

**JAYASREE PRAKASHAN
CALCUTTA 700 026**

Published : 1981

Jacket design : Khaled Chowdhury

PROOFS CORRECTED BY SUBIMAL LAHIRI

Published by Bijoy Nag for Jayasree Prakashan, 20A Prince Golam Md. Road, Calcutta 700 026, India. Printed by Surajit Das at General Printers & Publishers Private Limited, 119 Lenin Sarani, Calcutta 700 013 & Mihir Mukherjee at Temple Press, 2 Nayaratna Lane, Calcutta 700 004.

**Dedicated to late Sailen Mukhopadhyay
the eminent Singer and Composer.**

“As long as the last particle of faith exists in the souls of India’s freedom fighters, the sword of India shall continue to penetrate the heart of London.”

— **Bahadur Shah II**

CONTENTS

PREFACE	ix
Cambridge --- A Leader in Making	[1
Young Militant	[8
Rebel Leader	[26
DOCUMENTS	
The British Press	1
Intelligence	27
Parliament	81
Appendices	137
INDEX	191

ILLUSTRATION

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE IN AUSTRIA : 1936 Frontispiece

By Courtesy of Dr. Ashoke Nath Bose

PHOTO-COPY

IOR No. L/PJ/8/639 *see* p. 56.

IOR No. L/PJ/7/792 *see* p. 152.

End Paper : 1-2 : Parliamentary Notice, February 7,
1935 *see* p. 115.

: 3 : "Mr. Subhas Bose in London", *see*
p. 10-12.

: 4 : "Arrest of Subhas Bose". *see* p. 163.

Jacket : 4 : Letter of Subhas Chandra Bose. *see*
p. 151.

PREFACE

Bose firmly believed, "In this wide world India has but one enemy, the enemy who has exploited her for over hundred years, the enemy who sucks the life-blood of Mother India, British Imperialism".

He had the conviction, "There is an inseparable connection between the Capitalist ruling classes in Britain and the colonies abroad. . . . The British aristocracy and bourgeoisie exist primarily because there are colonies and overseas dependencies to exploit. The emancipation of the latter will undoubtedly strike at the very existence of the Capitalist ruling classes in Great Britain and precipitate the establishment of a socialist order in Great Britain. It is impossible of achievement without the liquidation of colonialism. We who are fighting for the political freedom of India and other enslaved countries of the British Empire are incidentally fighting for the economic emancipation of the British people as well". Bose interpreted our movement for achieving freedom "as a struggle not only against British Imperialism but against world imperialism as well, of which the former is the key-stone. We are, therefore, fighting not for the cause of India alone but of humanity as well. India freed means humanity saved".

It is, therefore, no wonder that Bose was viewed "as an implacable foe of British rule in India" and "an advocate of a more militant policy" by the English rulers. He was identified as the leader of the Jugantar Group of Terrorists and a dangerous revolutionary influenced by Bolshevik ideas. Finally when he co-operated with the Axis Powers merely to utilise the international situation of the forties to the advantage of India, Bose was dubbed as a Fascist stooge or a Nazi.

Since 1921, when Bose entered Indian political arena, till 1941, when he left India to supplement our freedom

movement by armed struggle from abroad, the British rulers never for a moment slackened their efforts to break his spirit. During the above period Bose was frequently imprisoned on baseless charges and deported to Burma once. While in Europe for treatment in mid-thirties he was shadowed by the British spies and intelligence staff all over. Various restrictions were imposed on his movement and secret instructions and circulars were issued to the British Legations in European cities as to how Bose should be dealt with. When he intended to come back to his country, Bose was warned that he would be arrested on his arrival in India. Bose defied the warning and in consequence he was arrested as soon as he set his foot on the Indian soil.

Bose's uncompromising attitude on the question of Indian freedom and his relentless fight to destroy British Imperialism have been interpreted as his hatred towards the English race. This is a mischievous propaganda let loose by the Imperialists to undermine Bose's image in India and abroad.

Subhas praised many aspects of English life and openly acknowledged that in the seventeenth century "England made a remarkable contribution to world civilisation through her ideas of constitutional and democratic Government". While delivering Presidential address at the Haripura Congress he said, "..... we have no enmity towards the British people. We are fighting Great Britain and we want the fullest liberty to determine our future relations with her. But once we have real self-determination, there is no reason why we should not enter into the most cordial relations with the British people". On the question of making Indian culture known to the world he remarked: "We should not neglect Great Britain either. We have even in that country a small but influential group of men and women who are genuinely sympathetic towards Indian aspirations. Among the rising generation and students in particular, interest in and sympathy for India is rapidly on the increase. One has only to visit the Universities of Great Britain to realise this".

On the other hand documents at India Office, some of which have been incorporated in the present volume, reveal that although the official attitude to Bose was extremely hos-

tile, the British diplomats and administrators did not fail to take note of his outstanding intelligence and dynamic personality. The Marquess of Zetland, in his capacity as the Secretary of State for India, described Bose as "a man of great ability, a man possibly of genius".

Many eminent British citizens and Members of Parliament were moved by Bose's spirit of sacrifice and bitterly criticised their own Government for the sufferings he was subjected to. Some of the M.P.'s expressed grave concern over his falling health and raised objections to Bose's imprisonment without trial. They condemned their Government for imposing restrictions on his movement on the floor of Parliament.

One of the leading newspapers of England described Bose as the brain behind Gandhi's movement. English people who met Bose for the first time, when he visited London in 1938, were charmed by his "pleasant, quiet manners and decisiveness with which he discussed Indian affairs".

Since his days at Cambridge played a very important role in developing Bose's ideas, outlook and personality, I have selected that period as the starting point of my book. Referring to his days at Cambridge Bose said : "... I studied modern European History and some of its original sources like Bismarck's Autobiography, Metternich's Memoirs, Gavour's letters etc. These original sources, more than anything else, I studied at Cambridge, helped to rouse my understanding of the inner currents of international politics".

It was at Cambridge he learnt, to quote his own words : "... We have got to make a nation and a nation can be made only by the uncompromising idealism of Hampden and Cromwell".

While delivering Presidential address at the Maharashtrian Provincial Conference at Poona, Bose said : "Let us all stand shoulder to shoulder and say with one heart and with one voice that our motto is, as Tennyson said through Ulysses, 'to strive, to seek, to find and not to yield.' Following that spirit he left India in 1941, breaking all shackles and network of British intelligence to liberate his beloved motherland. The present volume covers the first phase of his strug-

gle against British Imperialism which culminates in January 1941.

I have made use of a few valuable and selected documents and papers to support the narrative generally and for the benefit of my readers. I regret that within the small compass of the present Volume, I could not include more.

Incidentally it may be mentioned that I have covered a part of the second phase in my book, 'Netaji Through German Lens' and for the interest of readers I have incorporated a few valuable documents in the book pertaining to the period beyond 1941.

Unpublished Crown-copyright material in the India Office Records reproduced in this book appears by permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

I record my deep sense of gratitude to Mr. B. C. Bloomfield, Director, India Office Library and Records, London, for the help he rendered to me. I have no hesitation to record that this publication would not have been possible but for the ungrudging assistance and co-operation I received from the officials of the India Office Library and Records and the British Library, Newspaper section. I am particularly indebted to Mr. M. J. Pollock, Mr. Andrew Griffin, Mrs. P. Biswas, Mrs. Ward, Mr. D. M. Mitchell, Miss Margaret Meaden and Mr. Martin Moir.

I express my heart-felt thanks to Sri Souren Mukherjee, Mrs. Sieglende Mukherjee (Willberg), Sri Kanai Lal Mukherjee, Dr. Subrata Gupta, Dr. Amar Pal and Sri Sibaji Ganguly for the constant encouragement they have given to me for completion of the project.

I shall consider my labour amply rewarded if this book succeeds in removing the prevalent misconception about Bose for the Final strategy he adopted between 1941 and 1945 to emancipate India from the British rule.

Lastly, this book is dedicated to the memory of my elder brother, late Sailen Mukhopadhyay, the eminent singer and music director, for it was from him I learnt about Bose's ideas and glorious deeds and got the inspiration to undertake research work on Bose, the prince among patriots.

NANDA MOOKERJEE

CAMBRIDGE—A LEADER IN MAKING

As the life of a self-respecting Indian Civil Servant would not be intolerable under the new regime and that home rule would come to India within ten years, Janaki Nath Bose wanted his son, Subhas, to sit for Indian Civil Service examination in 1920.

The offer caused a big surprise to Subhas as his plans about researches in psychology were shattered by the superior force of circumstances. He was not sorry to part company with psychology, but what about joining the Indian Civil Service and accepting a job under the British Government? He had not thought of that even in his dreams. He persuaded himself, however, that he could never pass the I.C.S. examination at such short notice, for by the time he reached England and settled down to study, hardly eight months would be left and he had but one chance left, in view of his age. He decided to accept the offer as his primary desire was, to quote Subhas, "to obtain a University degree in England; otherwise I cannot make headway in the educational line. If I now refuse to study for the Civil Service, the offer to send me to England will be put into cold storage for the time being (and for all time)."¹ Subhas set sail on 15 September 1919.

In October Subhas reached England and settled down to study at Cambridge by the first week of November for Tripos. Acknowledging the valuable assistance he received from Mr. Reddaway, the Censor, in securing admission to Cambridge, Subhas wrote: "Without Mr. Reddaway I do not know what I would have done in England."²

What greatly impressed Subhas was the measures of freedom allowed to the students at Cambridge and the general esteem in which they were held by all. This undoubtedly, he felt, had a very healthy effect on their character. "What a change," he noted, "from a police-ridden city like Calcutta where every student was looked upon as a potential revolutionary and suspect!"³

There was another thing which won Subhas's admiration—the debates at the Union Society's meetings. The whole atmosphere was so exhilarating. There was unrestricted freedom to talk what one liked or attack whomsoever one wished. Prominent members of Parliament and sometimes member of the Cabinet participated in these debates in a spirit of perfect equality and would, of course, come in for scathing criticism.

Although the relations between Indian and British students were generally cordial yet in a few cases did they ripen into real friendship. This was because of a feeling of superiority noticeable in the average Britisher and ultra-sensitiveness on the part of Indians to their self-interest and national honour. A great deal of sympathy for General Dyer, the notorious hero of Amritsar massacre, among the middle-class Englishmen, hurt the sentiment of Indians. Generally speaking the basis for a friendship between Britishers and Indians was found lacking. Subhas observed that among the political parties only Labour expressed sympathy for Indian aspiration and concluded that there was greater possibility of friendship with Labourites or people having pro-Labour views and sentiments.

The unbridled freedom enjoyed by the students at Cambridge inspired Subhas to take up the issue of enlisting Indian students in the University Training Corps with Mr. E. S. Montagu, the then Secretary of State for India and Under-Secretary of State for India, the Earl of Lytton. The British Government could not agree to the demand of the Indian students as Indian students after qualifying in the U.T.C. might demand commission in the British Army which would be difficult to concede. Lord Lytton observed that personally he thought it was inevitable that in future Indian officers should be in charge of mixed regiments, but the prejudice against Indians unfortunately prevailed in certain circles and could not be brushed aside.⁴

At Cambridge Subhas had the opportunity to study Modern European History and some of its original sources like Bismarck's Autobiography, Metternich's Memoirs, Cavour's Letters, etc. "These original sources," he admitted, "more than anything else, I studied at Cambridge, helped to rouse

my political sense and to foster my understanding of the inner current of international politics.”⁵

Early in July, 1920 Civil Service examination began and Subhas sat for the examination with preparation far below his expectation as he had only eight months’ time for study. Furthermore, he threw away 150 sure marks in Sanskrit paper for his own foolishness as he described himself.

The result was announced about the middle of September 1920 and Subhas was placed fourth in order of merit. He was on the threshold of a promising career. In his letter to his brother, Sarat, dated 22 September 1920, he wrote : “I cannot say that I am delighted at the prospect of entering the ranks of the I.C.S. If I have to join this service I shall do so with as much reluctance as I started my study for the I.C.S. examination with. A nice flat income with a good pension in after-life—I shall surely get. Perhaps I may become a commissioner if I stoop to make myself servile enough. Given talents, with a servile spirit one may even aspire to be the Chief Secretary to a provincial Government. But after all is service to be the be-all and end-all of my life? The Civil Service can bring one all kinds of worldly comfort, but are not these acquisitions made at the expense of one’s soul? I think it is hypocrisy to maintain that the highest ideals of one’s life are compatible with subordination to the conditions of service which an I.C.S. man has got to accept.

“... There is much to be said in favour of such a service. It solves once for all what is the paramount problem for each of us—the problem of bread and butter. One has not to go to face life with risk or any uncertainty as to success or failure. But for a man of my temperament who has been feeding on ideas which might be called eccentric—the line of least resistance is not the best line to follow, . . . Moreover, it is not possible to serve one’s country in the best and fullest manner if one is chained to the Civil Service. In short, national and spiritual aspirations are not compatible with obedience to Civil Service conditions.”⁶

Reverting back to the issue, he wrote to his brother again on the 26th of January, 1921 : “On principle I cannot accept the idea of being a part of the machinery which has out-

lived the days of its usefulness, and stands at present for all that is connected with conservatism, selfish power, heartlessness and red tapism." He could not reconcile himself to the servile life of a civilian under the alien rule and was determined not to succumb to the sickening influence of the Civil Service. He refused to owe allegiance to a foreign bureaucracy and sell himself "for a mess of pottage." He felt, "we have got to make a nation and a nation can be made by the uncompromising idealism of Hampden and Cromwell."⁷

The letters which he wrote during the period to his brother and friends clearly demonstrate that the teachings⁸ of Swami Vivekananda and the illustrious example of Aurobindo Ghose⁹ exercised great influence on him.

Rejecting the suggestion that instead of shunning the Service he should enter it and fight with it till the last he said that such a fight had to be carried on single-handed despite censure from above, transfer to unhealthy places, and stoppage of promotion. "The amount of good," he observed, "that one can do while in the service is infinitesimal when compared with what one can do when outside it. Mr. R. C. Dutt¹⁰ no doubt did a lot of work in spite of his service but I am sure he could have done much more work if he had not been a member of the bureaucracy. Besides the question here involved is one of principle.

". . . . I must either chuck this rotten service and dedicate myself whole-heartedly to the country's cause—or I must bid adieu to all my ideals and aspirations and enter the service."¹¹

Finally, Swami Vivekananda's call for supreme sacrifice for the cause of the motherland and Aurobindo's dedication to free India from subjugation propelled Subhas to resign his post in May 1921. Sir William Duke, the then Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India and the lecturers at Cambridge essayed in vain to dissuade him from such hasty action. Mr. Reddaway, the Censor of Fitz William Hall, heartily approved of Subhas's action although he was surprised and shocked initially as no Indian had ever taken such unusual action. Mr. Roberts, the Secretary of the Civil Service Board in Cambridge, was very cordial to Subhas and

tried to convince him that under the new constitution, he should try the service for a couple of years. He felt that under the new Constitution it would be possible for Subhas to serve his country while remaining in the service and if at the end of two years he found that he could not carry on, then he would be perfectly justified in leaving the service. But Subhas remained firm in his decision.

The narrative would remain incomplete without a reference to the confrontation Subhas had with Mr. Roberts before submission of the resignation letter. This was over some printed instruction issued to the Civil Service Probationer by India Office. It contained some derogatory remarks about Indians. The Indian Probationers were indignant and they decided to lodge protest but for fear of incurring displeasure of the authorities they tried to back out. Subhas grew desperate and decided to move on his own.

He met Mr. Roberts and drew his attention to the incorrect statements in the printed instructions. The latter flared up and threatened Subhas with dire consequence unless he would reconcile to the official views. Subhas demanded clarification of the official point of views. Mr. Roberts, having realised that brow-beating would not do, changed his attitude and agreed to draw the attention of the India Office to what Subhas told him.

A fortnight later Mr. Roberts sent for Subhas and read out a letter from the India Office in which they thanked Subhas for drawing their attention to the printed instruction and assured him that when the instructions would be reprinted, the necessary corrections would be made.¹²

Subhas left Britain for India towards the end of June 1921. He stayed in England for about twenty months only but the lessons he derived and experience he gained contributed greatly towards making of his personality and formation of his strategy against British imperialism in the future years.

The British administrators on the other hand had the opportunity to know a bit of his character which helped them adopting appropriate action against this wayward young man in the following two decades.

NOTES

1. *An Indian Pilgrim*, Calcutta, 1965, p. 168.
2. *ibid.*, p. 87.
3. *ibid.*, pp. 87-88.
4. *ibid.*, p. 91.
5. *ibid.*, p. 93.
6. *ibid.*, pp. 95-96.
7. *ibid.*, p. 101.

8. Referring to Vivekananda's influence, Subhas wrote : 'I was barely fifteen when Vivekananda entered my life. Then there followed a revolution within and everything was turned upside down Both from his portraits as well as from his teachings, Vivekananda appeared before me as a full-blown personality.' (*An Indian Pilgrim*, pp. 33-34). Vivekananda's definition of patriotism, which runs as follows, could not but leave an indelible impression on his mind : "Do you feel that millions and millions of descendants of gods and of sages have become next door neighbours to brute ? Do you feel that millions are starving today, and millions have been starving for ages ? Do you feel that ignorance has come over the land as a dark cloud ? Does it make you restless ? Does it make you sleepless ? Has it gone into your blood, coursing through your veins, becoming consonant with your heartbeats ? Has it made you almost mad ? Are you seized with that one idea of the misery of ruin, and have you forgotten all about your name, your fame, your wives, your children, your property, even your own bodies ? Have you done that ? That is the first step to become a patriot, the very first step." (*Vivekananda's Influence on Subhas* by the Author, p. 1).

9. In his letter, dated 16 February, 1921, to his brother Sarat, Subhas wrote : "The path of Aurobindo Ghose is to me more noble more inspiring, more lofty, more unselfish, though more thorny than the path of Ramesh Dutt. . . . The illustrious example of Aurobindo Ghose looms large before my vision. I feel that I am ready to make the sacrifice which that example demands of me." (*An Indian Pilgrim*, pp. 98-99). It may be recalled that Aurobindo Ghose passed the Civil Service open competition with distinction, but did not qualify for the service as he did not pass the riding test. As he said, he "felt no call for the I.C.S. and was seeking some way to escape from that bondage. By certain manoeuvres he managed to get himself disqualified for riding without himself rejecting the service which his family would not have allowed him to do." (*Prophet of Indian Nationalism* by Karan Singh, Bombay, 1967, p. 37). About Aurobindo's reference to himself in the third person, Karan Singh says it is due to the fact that he wrote the lines as notes while reading the manuscript of three biographers submitted to him for correction and approval (*Prophet of Indian Nationalism*, p. 36).

10. A towering personality of resurgent Bengal. He joined the Indian Civil Service in 1871 and was the first Indian Civilian to hold the charge of a district. In view of his independent views and resolve to uphold the right of his countrymen, Dutt could not get the commissionership and he voluntarily retired. As an administrator, patriot, historian and literateur he earned great fame. He became the President of the Indian National Congress also.—Author.

11. *An Indian Pilgrim*, p. 97. .

12. *ibid.*, pp 102-03.

YOUNG MILITANT

Subhas landed in Bombay on 16 July 1921 and in the same afternoon he met Mahatma Gandhi who had become the undisputed leader by his call for Non-cooperation at the Nagpur Congress in December 1920 and promise of Swaraj within a year which stirred the entire country. Bose's aim was to get a clear idea of Gandhi's plan of action and in the light of his study of the methods and tactics employed by revolutionary leaders in other parts of the world. Subhas wanted to understand the Mahatma's mind and purpose. The interview thoroughly disappointed Subhas as he found "a deplorable lack of clarity in the plan which the Mahatma had formulated and that he himself did not have a clear idea of the successive stages of the campaign which would bring India to her cherished goal of freedom."¹

The Mahatma perhaps could read his mind and advised Subhas to report to C. R. Das on reaching Calcutta. While in England he wrote to C. R. Das intimating his desire to join the political movement. Earlier also he once approached Das for advice when the latter was one of the leaders of the Calcutta Bar and the former a student expelled from the University for political reasons.

Subhas met Das and found him not the same man "earning thousands in a day and spending thousands in an hour. Though his house was no longer a palace he was however the same Mr. Das, who had always been a friend of youth, could understand their aspirations and sympathise with their sorrows."² During the course of his conversation, Subhas recalled, "I began to feel that here was a man who knew what he was about—who could give all that he had and who could demand from others all they could give—a man to whom youthfulness was not a short-coming but a virtue. By the time our conversation came to an end my mind was made up. I felt that I had found a leader and I meant to follow him."³

Subhas placed himself at the disposal of C. R. Das who made him the Principal of the Bengal National College. He

became also the captain of the National Volunteer Corps, a job very much after his heart, and Chief Publicity Officer of the Congress in Bengal. "In every capacity", writes Prof. Hiren Mukerjee, the C.P.I. leader, "he showed his mettle."⁴ So efficiently did Subhas organise propaganda activities of the Congress, *The Statesman*, the leading Anglo-Indian daily of Calcutta, observed that while the Congress had secured such an able man, the Government had correspondingly lost a competent officer.⁵ Das introduced Subhas to all the eminent leaders of the Congress who came to Calcutta in a Working Committee Sessions in September 1921. Subhas was also assigned a leading role in working out a settlement between the Mahatma and ex-revolutionaries many of whom did not approve of the doctrine of non-retaliation which, they held, would demoralise the people and weaken their power of resistance. As a matter of fact, a section of them had already initiated propaganda in Bengal opposing the Non-cooperation. It is interesting to note that funds were provided by the British Mercantile Community under the name of Citizens' Protection League and the money was distributed through the medium of an Indian advocate who did not divulge the source of the funds.⁶

The Non-cooperation movement gained momentum with the visit of Prince of Wales to India in November 1921.⁷ The day the Prince landed in Bombay (17 November), the country observed "*Hartal*" (Total suspension of work) and it was decided that *Hartal* would be observed in Calcutta on 24 December when he would reach Calcutta. Subhas worked devotedly to make the programme a success. His volunteer corps was declared illegal but Civil Disobedience started. Basanti Devi and other ladies were arrested but the situation became very tense and to ease the situation Government ordered release of Mrs. Das and her associates before the midnight of the day of arrest. But the public enthusiasm and excitement reached a new peak and to control the situation Government resorted to drastic action. On 10 December 1921 Das and his followers including Subhas were arrested. After the agony of a long trial, Subhas was sentenced to six months' imprisonment along with his mentor, Das, and Sas-

mal, an uncompromising and a highly spirited leader from Midnapur, a politically conscious district of Bengal. "Only six months?" was the amazing reaction of Subhas to the first sentence he received at the hands of the alien ruler since he was prepared to pay much heavier price for winning Swaraj within a year as Gandhi assured. Little did he realise that the British Lion had only shown his teeth and claws. Before arrival of the Prince in Calcutta--the storm centre of the movement, Lord Reading, the Viceroy, disappointed over the cool reception accorded to the Prince of Wales and increasing popularity of Gandhi, sought to bring about a settlement through a discussion where the Congress leaders could discuss issues with the Government and proposed to release some political prisoners. The offer was wasted as Gandhi insisted on the release of Ali Brothers, the leaders of the Khilafat movement.⁸ Das was upset over Gandhi's stance. Gandhiji promised Swaraj within a year. Barely a fortnight was left but Swaraj was nowhere in sight. Das felt that by acceptance of the offer the Congress could save its face as release of a large number of prisoners would be viewed by the people as a great victory and the chance of a renewed movement would also remain bright. Alas! that was not to be.

With the dawn of the year, 1922, the Mahatma made a special effort to rouse public enthusiasm by sending an ultimatum on 1st February 1922 to Lord Reading to the effect that if within a week the Government did not exhibit a change of heart, he would launch no-tax campaign at Bardoli sub-division in Gujarat. Detailed steps were also taken to start the campaign in Bengal. The ultimatum caused great excitement all over the country. But the anti-climax was provided by the Mahatma when he called off the movement hearing the news that the villagers at Chauri-Chaura, a village in Uttar Pradesh, in a fit of excitement set fire to the police-station and killed some policemen. The action of Gandhi caused deep resentment all over and his lieutenants, Das, Motilal Nehru (Jawaharlal's father) and Lala Lajpat Rai, who were in prison, vehemently condemned the Mahatma for his thoughtless and hasty action. Jawaharlal, deeply aggrieved, wrote: ". . . . We were angry when we learnt of this stoppage of our

struggle at a time when we seemed to be consolidating our position and advancing on all fronts... What troubled us more were the reasons given for this suspension and the consequences that seemed to flow from them. Chauri-Chaura may have been and was a deplorable occurrence and wholly opposed to the spirit of the non-violent movement; but were a remote village and a mob of excited peasants in an out-of-the way place going to put an end, for sometime at least, to our national struggle for freedom? If this was the inevitable consequence of a sporadic act of violence, then surely, there was something lacking in the philosophy and technique of a non-violent struggle.”⁹ Subhas, expressing his sense of disappointment, wrote: “To sound the order of retreat just when public enthusiasm was reaching the boiling-point was nothing short of a national calamity.”¹⁰

With the blessing of C. R. Das and by dint of hard work and on his merit Subhas rose into eminence within a very short time. He became the editor of *Banglar Katha* and as a leader of youth he organised All-Bengal Youth League with himself as President in December 1923. On the labour front his achievement was no less as he became President of the labour union at Tata Iron and Steel Co. and once presided over the All-India Trade Union Congress.

At the Gaya Congress in December 1922 Das and Motilal Nehru clashed with the followers of the Mahatma over Das's proposal for “Council Entry” and as the proposal was rejected, Das, finding himself in an embarrassing position as the President of the Congress, resigned and Pandit Motilal Nehru immediately announced about the formation of the Swaraj Party, to the utter surprise of the Mahatma's supporters, to proceed with their idea of contesting election for entering the legislatures as they rightly felt the battle for freedom must be continuous and the enthusiasm and spirit of the people be kept up at any cost and channelised against the rulers by other means. The motive behind the new programme was to carry on the fight for freedom within the legislature by uniform, continuous and consistent opposition against the Government with a view to paralysing the administrative machinery.

Subhas proved his unique ability as a social worker when he was sent by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to the northern districts of Bengal, devastated by flood in September 1922, for carrying out relief work. He organised a group of volunteers who did the job in such a manner that Lord Lytton, the then Governor of Bengal, praised them for their work.

To consolidate and strengthen the Swaraj Party, C. R. Das undertook a long tour of south India, the citadel of Gandhism, in the summer of 1923, and achieved encouraging results. To create sound and strong public opinion in their favour, the Swarajists founded a new daily, *Forward*, with Subhas at the helm. Under his able stewardship the paper occupied a prominent position among the nationalist journals of India.

In most of the provinces, especially in Bengal, feelings between the Congress and Swaraj Party were bitter causing great harm to the national cause. To bring about a compromise between the warring groups a special session of the Congress was held at Delhi in 1923 with Moulana Abul Kalam Azad as the President. He in his speech strongly advocated the Swarajist policy of contesting the elections and carrying on fight within the legislatures. A compromise was reached and the Congressmen were permitted to participate in the elections and play the role of opposition but the Congress as an organisation would have no responsibility in the matter.

In the elections the Swarajists emerged as a strong minority in the Central Legislature and with adequate strength in the Bengal and Central Provinces Legislative Council. The Party had achieved remarkable success in the election to the local bodies in the United Provinces under the able leadership of Motilal Nehru.

In December 1923 Subhas became Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress. His close association with a leader of Das's intelligence and political realism widened his outlook on all issues including communal unity which was largely jeopardised after the failure of Non-cooperation. It was his apprenticeship under Das which enabled him to forge unity

between Hindus and Muslims in the days when he formed the Indian National Army.

Incidentally, it may be mentioned that Subhas rose into such prominence as a fighter for freedom and organiser that he was invited to the fourth Congress of the Communist International at Moscow (1922). The communication was intercepted and confiscated by the Police.¹¹

In early 1924 the Swarajists contested the election to the Calcutta Corporation and registered a great success and a large number of muslims returned on Swarajist ticket although the elections were held on the basis of separate electorate. Das was elected Mayor and Mr. Saheed Suhrawardy the Deputy Mayor. Subhas was appointed the Chief Executive Officer. To the Government it caused great annoyance and with a great deal of hesitation they gave their approval as they were required to do under the statute.

Under the new administration, new measures were taken to benefit the citizens. Apart from welfare measures the Municipality arranged to give civic reception to Nationalist leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Motilal Nehru and V. J. Patel when they visited the city and the previous custom of according reception to Viceroy, Governors and officials was discontinued once for all. This particular step and the attention paid for improving the civic amenities of the entire city against the accepted practice of paying especial attention to the areas inhabited by the Europeans alone annoyed the Government and the English community in the city.

The British Indian bureaucracy was alarmed at Swarajists' success in paralysing the legislature and turning the municipal body into a patriotic forum. This was the time when terrorists intensified their activities.

Obviously the Government could not remain a passive on-looker. Preparation was afoot to strike the Swarajists.

Subhas, however, kept himself thoroughly busy in his duties as the administrative head of the largest Municipal body in India. He had no time to involve deeply in politics as he had to be very prompt in attending to citizens' complaints, implementation of welfare programme and meeting the charges levelled by the official bloc as also the Govern-

ment. "In matters of appointment", Subhas observed, "they were opposed to the Swarajist policy of doing justice to the minorities."¹² The Swarajists' policy of winning support of the minorities to strengthen the national unity obviously angered the Government as their policy was to drive a wedge between the Hindus and Muslims.

While the Swarajists were enjoying the first flush of victory, the Labour Secretary of State for India, Lord Olivier, delivered a remarkable speech in the House of Lords analysing the causes which led to the birth of Swarajism in India. Among the causes he referred to were—firstly, the resolution passed by the House of Lords supporting General Dyer, the author of Jalianwala Bagh massacre, secondly, the "Steel frame speech" of the Premier Mr. Lloyd George, in 1922, praising the Indian Civil Service; thirdly, the doubling of the Salt Tax by the Government of India in 1923 and fourthly, injustice perpetrated on Indians in the Crown colony of Kenya in Africa.¹³

While such sympathies were being expressed at the highest quarters, corresponding follow-up action to redress the grievances was conspicuously absent.

Soon the uneasy calm was broken. In May 1924 the annual conference of Bengal Congressmen was held at Serajgunj where a resolution was passed unanimously appreciating the courage and spirit of sacrifice evinced by Gopinath Saha, a young terrorist, who was hanged. He attempted to assassinate Sir Charles Tegart, the Commissioner of Police of Calcutta, who earned great notoriety among the terrorists for his ruthless action against them, but through mistaken identity he killed an Englishman which he sincerely regretted but expressed happiness for paying with his life and hoped that drop of his blood would sow the seeds of freedom in every Indian home. His action was however condemned as individual terrorism was not considered to be a sensible political weapon for achieving freedom in the modern context.

Apprehending revolutionary upheaval, the Government decided to round up the top leaders among the Swarajists. Though Subhas had sympathy for the terrorists for their spirit of courage and sacrifice, never by words or by deeds he ex-

toll their method. Unfortunately, Subhas was a dangerous young man in the eyes of the Government and the guardians of law and order. While Das was away at Simla, on 25 October 1924, Subhas was arrested under Regulation III of 1818 along with Anil Baran Roy and S. C. Mitra.

To justify his arrest, the *Statesman* and *Englishman*, two leading Anglo-Indian Newspapers brought baseless allegation against Subhas that he was the brain behind the revolutionary plot to overthrow the English rule. His solicitors at once filled legal proceedings against the two newspapers. Though the India Office was inclined to help the Anglo-Indian newspapers in their suit, they failed to find any documentary evidence to prove his complicity in a revolutionary conspiracy. The case was finally withdrawn.

Bose's arrest caused tremendous excitement in the country. In a magnificent speech delivered from the Mayoral chair of the Calcutta Corporation Das said: "All that I want to say is that Subhas is no more revolutionary than I am. Why have they not arrested me? I should like to know why? If love of one's country is a crime, I am a criminal. If Subhas is a criminal, I am a criminal. Not only the Chief Executive Officer of the Corporation but Mayor of this Corporation is equally guilty. . . .

"... No charge was made against him. No explanation was asked from him. No reason was given. . . . Is this law? Is this justice?"

Condemning the arrest Gandhi wrote an editorial in *Young India*. A massive rally was held in Calcutta on 31 October to protest against this unlawful action.

Bose was kept at the Alipore New Central Jail for about two months when he could discharge his municipal duties from the Jail. His Secretary could meet him with documents and files. In all these interviews a police-officer would be present besides a jail officer. He had frequent trouble with some police-officers and as a punishment he was transferred to Berhampore Jail from where again he was sent to Mandalay Prison in Upper Burma in early 1925.

While at Mandalay he had his lessons in Burmese language. He found the Burmese extremely warm-hearted, frank

and jovial in temperament. The Superintendent of the Jail, Major Smith was nice in his dealings with Subhas and others. Mr. Patterson, a Prison Commissioner from England, greeted Subhas and others as 'eight of the most dangerous men in India.' Mr. Brown, the Dy. Commissioner of Mandalay, was a cultured man and Subhas had discussions with him. He was helpful in supplying literature and acted as a mediator whenever the prisoners fell out with the prison officials. Initially, he had trouble with Major Findlay who replaced Mr. Brown. but soon the misunderstanding was cleared up.

In October 1925, the prisoners decided to perform Durga Puja—the greatest national festival of the Bengali Hindus and the Superintendent, Major Findlay, was approached for fund and he agreed as similar facilities were accorded to Christian prisoners in Indian prisons. The Government, however, refused to give necessary sanction and censured Major Findlay. As a mark of protest hunger-strike was resorted to in February 1926. Finally the Government agreed that in future they would provide all facilities and funds for religious requirements. They also agreed to sanction the money already spent by them.

While in the Burmese prison Subhas learnt of the sudden demise of C. R. Das on 16 June 1925. The disappearance of Das from the political life of India had a paralytic effect on the national movement. Dissension raised its head within the party. Communal riot and inner party rivalry weakened the cause of national unity. Bose lost his friend, philosopher and guide. "The death of Deshabandhu on June 16th, 1925", Bose observed while assessing his role many years later, "was for India a national calamity of the first magnitude."¹⁴

As a result of the unfavourable climatic conditions and of the hunger-strike Bose's health began to give way. Matters became serious when during the winter of 1925 he had an attack of broncho-pneumonia resulting in continuance of temperature and loss of weight. He was therefore transferred to Rangoon for examination by a medical board, composed of Lieut. Col. Kelsal and Dr. Sunil Bose, his brother, who recommended that he should not be detained in prison. While awaiting the orders of Government in Rangoon Jail he had a.

quarrel with the Superintendent, Major Flowerdew. Consequently he was transferred to Insein Jail where he found Major Findlay who took pity on him and after observing his conditions for three weeks sent a strong note to the Government. On receiving the note the Government was forced to act but they were opposed to the idea of releasing him. In the meantime they made an offer in the Bengal Legislative Council saying that if he wanted to go to Switzerland at his own expense they would release him and put him on board a ship at Rangoon for sailing to Europe. He rejected the offer as it appeared derogatory to his self-respect. In his letter to Sarat, dated 8 May 1927, Bose passionately wrote : "Ideas will work out their own destiny and we, who are but clods of clay encasing sparks of the divine fire, have only to consecrate ourselves to these ideas." He was not willing to go to Europe directly from Burma for some genuine reasons which he clearly indicated to the Government. Refusing to compromise he said : "I am not a shopkeeper and I do not bargain."

In May 1927 he was removed from Insein Jail to a boat leaving Rangoon with the idea of lodging him in Almora Jail in Uttar Pradesh. On arrival at Diamond Harbour at the mouth of the river Hooghly he found Mr. Lowman, the head of the intelligence Branch of the Police, asking him to alight. He refused thinking that he would be smuggled out of Calcutta. He was, however, informed that he had to appear before a Medical Board composed of Sir Nilratan Sirkar, Dr. B. C. Roy, Lt. Col. Sands and Major Hingston, the Governor's physician. They examined and sent their report by wire to the Governor at Darjeeling. Next morning Mr. Lowman came with a wire intimating that the Governor had ordered his release. It was 16 May 1927 but the order was signed on 11 May 1927. Later on he came to know that the police-officers tried their best to prevent his release but could not succeed as Bose observed : "Fortunately for me, the new Governor, Sir Stanley Jackson, had come with an open mind and he was a strong man. With an unerring instinct of a trained politician he had sensed the grievance of the people. He had realised within a few days of his arrival that what the people demanded was some protection from the tyrannical

Police Department. Under Lord Lytton's regime, the Police Department had ruled and the Commissioner of Police of Calcutta had been the virtual Governor of Bengal. All that was now changed. Within a few weeks of his taking over the reins of office, Sir Stanley Jackson gave everyone to understand that henceforth he was to rule Bengal and not the Commissioner of Police. When any conflict arose between the public and the police he endeavoured to do justice even at the risk of offending the latter."¹⁵

Incidentally, it may be mentioned that while Subhas was languishing in Burmese Jail in late 1926 he was elected to the Bengal Legislative Council by a thumping majority.

By the middle of 1927 the soul of the people began to stir up again. A strike broke out in the biggest railway workshop of the Bengal Nagpur Railway at Kharagpur and the Company had to concede to the demand of the workers. The Unity Conference in Calcutta held in November succeeded in restoring friendly feelings between the Hindu and Muslim communities.

In November 1927 the announcement by Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, about appointment of the Statutory Commission, headed by Sir John Simon, evoked a chorus of condemnation from the Congress as also from the public at large. The Commission was asked to enquire into "the working of the system of government, the growth of education and the development of representative institutions in British India and matters connected therewith and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government or to extend, modify or restrict the degree of responsible government then existing therein, including the question whether the establishment of second chambers of the local legislatures is or is not desirable." The public had become so much used to the idea of self-determination for India that they refused to regard the British Parliament as the arbiter of India's destiny. They also felt that non-inclusion of any Indian in the Commission was a deliberate insult.

Appreciating the sentiment of the people Madras Congress (December 1927) decided to boycott the Simon Commission at every stage and every form. Under the pressure

of the youthful elements, led by Subhas and Nehru, the Madras Congress passed resolution adopting complete independence as the goal of the Indian people. Mahatma Gandhi, however, after the Congress was over, remarked that it had been "hastily conceived and thoughtlessly passed."¹⁶

Subhas in the meantime came to be regarded as a youth leader, like Jawaharlal, of the country as some time after his return from Burma he was chosen President of Bengal Congress and appointed General Secretary of the All-India Congress along with Jawaharlal and Qureshi. In 1928 a small committee was appointed with Motilal Nehru as Chairman to draft a report on the principles of the new constitution that would meet the country's need. Bose was made a member of the Committee. With Jawaharlal he had taken the initiative in establishing the 'Indian Independence League'.

The nationalist movement got a tremendous impetus as a result of great strike by Textile workers in Bombay, Jute workers in Calcutta and workers at TISCO where Subhas played a major role. The death of Lala Lajpat Rai, the great leader of Punjab, following the injury he received as a result of lathi-charge made by the police while he was leading a procession at Lahore denouncing the Simon Commission, caused great sorrow and indignation all over the country.

The Calcutta Congress in December 1928 was a landmark in Subhas's life. He was found in the colourful role of General Officer Commanding of the Congress volunteers. Commenting on Bose's role, Prof. Mukerjee said : "There was no lack of voices ridiculing his stern stance as he stood rigid at attention in a car heading the presidential procession, 'like a hero' a paper wrote, 'who had conquered a people's apathy and timidity'. Not a few critics thought the magnificent procession a theatrical show and a waste of good money, but in retrospect one thinks as if in his mind's eye this imaginative young man, with no thought but that of the country's freedom, was enacting what he did later with his own handiwork, the Indian National Army."¹⁷

To Subhas, "the Calcutta Congress, coming after the

* Motilal Nehru.

Madras Congress, was in the nature of an anti-climax. The President elect* on the day of his arrival was given an ovation which would excite the envy of Kings and dictators, but when he left, there was disappointment writ large on every face. There was tremendous enthusiasm all over the country at the time and every one had expected the Congress to act boldly. But while the country was ready, the leaders were not. The Mahatma, unfortunately for his countrymen, did not see light. Hence the temporising resolution of the Calcutta Congress which only served to kill precious time. Only madness or folly could have led one to hope that the mighty British Government would concede even Dominion Home Rule without a struggle. During the sittings of the Congress a procession of 10,000 workers visited the Congress pandal to demonstrate their solidarity with the struggle for national freedom and to take up the cause of starving workers. But all these upheaval made no impression on the leaders."¹ The Calcutta Congress passed resolution to the effect that Dominion Status would be the country's goal despite Bose's opposition. Gandhi won over the opposition by saying that party unity was precious and if Dominion Status was not conceded within a year the country would go its own way. His lobby created an impression that Gandhi would retire from politics if his view was not accepted. Bose, making a passionate appeal to the delegates, said: "In the main resolution you have given twelve months' time to the British Government. Can you lay your hands on your hearts and say that there is a reasonable chance of getting Dominion Status within the period? Pandit Motilal Nehru has made it clear in his speech that he does not think so. Then why should we lower the flag for these twelve months? Why not say we have lost the last vestige of faith in the British Government, and that we are going to take a bold stand?"¹⁰ Gandhi rebuked Subhas and his followers—"independence is made of sterner stuff, it is not made by juggling with words."

Bose's call for no-compromise on the issue of independence, as propounded in the Calcutta Congress, and strong advocacy for activism as opposed to the passivism which, he felt, was being preached by Gandhi and Aurobindo,²⁰ no won-

der made him appear as enemy number one to the continuance of British rule in India.

The Calcutta Congress put the clock back but an astute politician like Gandhi did not fail to read the signs of the times. He took the wind out of the sails of the Extremist by propagating soon after the Calcutta Congress that if by 31 December 1929, the Government did not concede to the demand for Dominion Status he would become an 'Independencewallah' and he succeeded in dividing the ranks of the opposition by winning over some of the Left Wing leaders.

Though the Congress did not give any bold and intelligent lead to the country during the whole of 1929, there was an under-current of revolutionary activity, unrest in the labour world and awakening among the middle-class youths. The martyrdom of Jatin Das²¹ in 1929 caused great excitement over the country. Intensive Press agitation, meetings and demonstrations were held in every part of the country demanding human treatment for political prisoners. The Government decided to act. In connection with a demonstration of this kind in Calcutta, a number of eminent Congressmen, including Subhas, were arrested in September 1929 and sent up for trial for sedition.

It is interesting to note that although Bose never accepted terrorism as a very effective weapon for liberating India, yet he never hesitated to appreciate the valour and spirit of sacrifice exhibited by the terrorists. His open action to champion their causes definitely made him a suspect in the eyes of the guardians of law and order. As the labour movement became more militant and class-conscious, on March 29, 1929 the Government arrested the labour leaders of Bombay and Bengal. They were tried at Meerut and Bose, as a member of the defence committee, visited Meerut to meet the prisoners under trial. When Jatin Das's body was brought from Lahore Jail to Calcutta for cremation, Bose was found at the head of the mammoth procession.

By 1929 Subhas had secured his position as a leader of all-India stature. His dynamic personality and bold views had made him very popular among the youths and his position in the country was second only to that of Jawaharlal among

the younger generation of leaders. Despite Jawaharlal's adherence to the policy advocated by the Mahatma, on his return from Europe in December 1927, he began to profess boldly the concept of socialism which obviously worried Mahatma Gandhi. Paying tribute to Jawaharlal, Bose wrote : "But for his strenuous advocacy, it would not have been possible for the Independence League to attain the importance that it did."

To weaken Left wing opposition and regain his supremacy over the Congress, the Mahatma felt the need of winning Jawaharlal to his side. He therefore decided to back the candidature of Pandit Jawaharlal as the next Congress President at Lahore (December 1929). Both Subhas and the Left Wingers were disappointed as they rightly apprehended that henceforth Jawaharlal would lose his identity as spokesman of radical views and become unfailing supporter of Gandhi.

Meanwhile, a Labour Government headed by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald came into power in England in the middle of 1929. On 31 October 1929, Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, in consultation with Sir John Simon and the Prime Minister Mr. Macdonald, announced that he had been authorised to state clearly that in the judgment of His Majesty's Government it was implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, was the attainment of Dominion Status and to that effect a Round Table Conference would be held in London on the publication of the report of the Simon Commission. A joint manifesto was adopted accepting Viceroy's offer and signed by Gandhi, Messrs. Nehru (father and son), Pandit Malaviya, Dr. Ansari, Dr. Moonjee, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, V. S. Sastri, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mrs. Besant, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and others. Jawaharlal was at first opposed to this and intended issuing contrary manifesto with Bose. But he was persuaded by Gandhi on the ground that he was the President-elect of the Lahore Congress and the manifesto would have no significance unless he signed it. Dr. S. Kitchlew, Mr. Abdul Bari and Bose issued a separate manifesto opposing the acceptance of Dominion Status and the idea of participat-

ing in the so-called Round Table Conference. It was pointed out that Viceroy had laid a trap as the Government of Mr. Lloyd George did a few years ago for framing a constitution for Ireland but the Sinn Fein Party were able to read the real motive and boycott the convention. The leaders' manifesto, however, got a large measure of support from the public. The contrary manifesto was welcomed only by Left Wing Congressmen and by the youth in general.

The Congress met at Lahore under the Presidentship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the resolution on complete independence was passed. There was much resentment over a clause in the resolution moved by Gandhi which congratulated the Viceroy on his providential escape when his train was bombed. On behalf of the Left Wing a resolution was moved by Subhas to the effect that Congress should aim at setting up a parallel government in the country and to that end should take in hand the task of organising the workers, peasants and youths. This resolution was defeated with the result that though the goal of complete independence was set, no plan was worked out for attaining the goal and no programme was drawn for the coming year. Ruefully Bose remarked: "A more ridiculous state of affairs could not be imagined, but in public affairs, we are sometimes inclined to lose not only our sense of reality but our common sense as well." It is apparent that Bose wanted an immediate launching of a strong movement with the support of the Left Wingers and he had a faint hope that Jawaharlal, being a believer in Socialism, might exert a pressure on the Mahatma for starting a strong campaign keeping in mind the prevailing mood of the workers and youths in particular. But his earlier apprehension that the Mahatma by backing the candidature of junior Nehru as President would win him over to his side proved to be correct. His disillusionment was complete when the Mahatma came out with a list of fifteen names as members of the Working Committee dropping Srinivasa Iyenger, Subhas and other Left Wingers. Gandhi openly declared that he wanted a committee of one mind. Although there was resentment, yet this was approved as it became a question of confidence in Gandhi's leadership. Threat of retirement from politics and fast

unto death silenced all criticism. This was a great personal victory for Gandhi as it was possible for him to conclude the pact with Lord Irwin in 1931, to have himself appointed as the sole representative to the Round Table Conference, to conclude the Poona Agreement in September 1932. For the country all these steps ultimately proved catastrophic.

For the people, who are not acquainted with the intricacies of politics, the Lahore Congress provided great inspiration. Despite differences the great Assembly at Lahore dispersed with a new hope and inspiring message.

NOTES

1. *The Indian Struggle, 1920-34*, Calcutta, 1948, p. 82.
2. *ibid.*, p. 83.
3. *ibid.*
4. *Bow of Burning Gold A Study of Subhas Chandra Bose*, Calcutta, 1977, p. 18.
5. N. G. Jog, *In Freedom's Quest*, New Delhi, 1969, p. 42.
6. *The Indian Struggle, 1920-34*, Calcutta, 1948, pp. 89-90.
7. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms (1919) which the Congress under Gandhi's leadership rejected were inaugurated in early 1921 by the Duke of Connaught. The motive behind the Prince's visit was to assuage public feeling and win support for the Government. The Indian people viewed the whole exercise of the Government as an insult added to the injury inflicted at Jalianwalabagh.
8. Early in 1920 the Indian muslims launched a vigorous movement to pressurise Britain to change her policy towards Turkey, an ally of Germany in First World War. This is known as Khilafat Movement.
9. *An Autobiography*, New Delhi, 1962, pp. 81-82.
10. *The Indian Struggle*, p. 108.
11. *Bow of Burning Gold*, pp. 24-25.
12. *The Indian Struggle*, p. 138.
13. *ibid.*, p. 143.
14. *The Indian Struggle, 1920-34*, p. 158. It is interesting to note that Sir Richard Tottenham also observed that Mr. Das's death "was in more ways than one a national calamity." (*Has Congress Failed ?* p. 22).
15. *ibid.*, p. 199.
16. *ibid.*, p. 205.
17. *Bow of Burning Gold*, pp. 30-31.

18. *The Indian Struggle, 1920-34*, p. 222.

19. *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, Publications Division, 1962, pp. 42-43.

20. Presidential speech at Maharashtra Provincial Conference at Poona in May 1928.

21. At Lahore, an Inspector of Police, Mr. Saunders, a Britisher, was assassinated as the revolutionaries held that he was responsible for causing serious injury to Lala Lajpat Rai at the time of the anti-Simon demonstration in Lahore in 1928, which ultimately resulted in his death.

On April 1929, Bhagat Singh and Batukeswar Dutt threw a bomb in the Assembly at Delhi. After these overt acts, a large number of young men were arrested including Bhagat Singh, Batukeswar Dutt and Jatin Das who, at the time of the Calcutta Congress in 1928, took a leading part in organising and training volunteers and in the Bengal Volunteer Corps, he held the rank of a Major while Subhas was the Chief Officer. These young men were charged with the murder of Mr. Saunders and conspiracy for overthrowing the British rule. The prisoners under trial, known as the Lahore Conspiracy Case, went on hunger-strike demanding better treatment in jails. Jatin Das died on the 61st day of his fast--13 September 1929. While the death of Das stirred the heart of the country, Subhas observed painfully, "The pages of *Young India* ordinarily filled with observations on all political events and also on topics like health, diet, etc., had nothing to say about the incident. A follower of the Mahatma who was a close friend of the deceased, wrote to him inquiring as to why he had said nothing about the event. The Mahatma replied to the effect that he had purposely refrained from commenting, because if he had done so, he would have been forced to write something unfavourable." (*The Indian Struggle, 1920-34*, p. 228).

22. *ibid.*, pp. 237-38.

23. *ibid.*, p. 244-45.

REBEL LEADER

With the dawn of the new year there was hope and confidence in every heart. People awaited instructions from the leaders as to what they were required to do for achieving the goal of independence. Gandhi sensed the atmosphere correctly and announced that Civil Disobedience alone could save the country from lawlessness and violence as there was a party of violence believing only in direct action. He, therefore, decided to lead the struggle for freedom in order to keep it within the limits of non-violence. Early in January instruction was issued to observe 26 January as Independence Day and to read from every platform a manifesto, prepared by the Mahatma and approved by the Working Committee of the Congress, all over India.

While engaged in the preparation for celebrating Independence Day (1930), judgment was delivered in the case pending since August 1929 against Subhas. He was sentenced to a year's rigorous imprisonment and taken away to prison on 23 January. However, the Independence Day was celebrated all over the country with great enthusiasm and the Mahatma concluded that he could go ahead with his programme. On 30 January he issued a statement in his paper, *Young India*, saying that he would be satisfied with the 'substance of independence' and he mentioned the following eleven points to explain what he meant by that expression : (1) Total prohibition. (2) Reduction of the ratio (of the rupee to the pound sterling) from 1s 6d to 1s 4d. (3) Reduction of the land revenue to at least 50 per cent and making it subject to legislative control. (4) Abolition of the Salt Tax. (5) Reduction of the Military expenditure to at least 50 per cent to begin with. (6) Reduction of the salaries of the higher grade services to one half or less as to suit the reduced revenue. (7) Protective tariff on foreign cloth. (8) The passage of the Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill. (9) Discharge of all political prisoners save those condemned for murder, or the attempt thereat, by the ordinary judicial tribunal; withdrawal of all

political prosecutions; abrogation of section 124a (Indian Penal Code), the Regulations of 1818 and the like; and permission to all the Indian exiles to return. (10) Abolition of the C.I.D. or its popular control. (11) Issue of licences to use of fire-arms for self-defence, subject to popular control.

In response to the mandate of the Lahore Congress, the members of the different Legislatures of the Congress Party, meanwhile, submitted their resignations. Writing in *Young India* on 27 February 1930, Gandhi said: "This time on my arrest, there is to be no mute passive non-violence, but non-violence of the most active type should be set in motion so that not a single believer in non-violence as an article of faith for the purpose of achieving India's goal, should find himself free or alive at the end of the effort. . . . so far as I am concerned, my intention is to start the movement only through the inmates of the Ashrama"

"Whilst, therefore, every effort imaginable and possible should be made to restrain the forces of violence, civil disobedience once begun this time cannot be stopped and must not be stopped so long there is a single civil resister left free or alive."¹

On the Mahatma's programme Bose made following comments: "While starting the civil-disobedience campaign he wanted to leave the door open for a compromise and he realised that the independence resolution of the Congress might prove to be a stumbling block. He also felt that some of his wealthy supporters --the Indian capitalists were alarmed at the resolution of the Lahore Congress. Some sort of explaining away was therefore necessary, particularly in view of the fact that the word 'independence' implied severance of the British connection."² In appreciation of the further steps envisaged by the Mahatma, Subhas remarked that those "will stand out for all time as some of the most brilliant achievements of his leadership and they reveal the height to which his statesmanship can ascend in times of crises."³

Jawaharlal was, however, critical of Gandhi's 'Eleven Points' as he asked: "What was the point of making a list of some political and social reforms--good in themselves, no doubt when we were talking in terms of independence? Did

Gandhiji mean the same thing when he used this term as we did or did we speak a different language ?”⁴

The Mahatma announced his intention of defying the Salt Law* with the members of his Ashrama at Sabarmati and that would be the signal for the entire country to launch the movement. On 2 March he sent a letter to the Viceroy stating his views and decision. The Viceroy sent a short reply regretting that Gandhi intended to contravene the law.

True to his schedule, the Mahatma commenced his three weeks' march to Dandi, the sea-coast village, to break the Salt Law. The Mahatma received unprecedented welcome all over the way and that made the Government realise that the coming campaign would be a serious affair.

Although Bose was in jail yet he kept his interest alive in the matter and on the basis of the information he received he observed : “. . . The march to Dandi was an event of historical importance which will rank on the same level with Napoleon's march to Paris on his return from Elba or Mussolini's march to Rome when he wanted to seize political power.”⁵

On the 6th of April the Mahatma started civil disobedience by appropriating pieces of salt lying on the beach. Three or four days later permission was given to all Congress organisations to do likewise and start civil disobedience.

It appeared as though a spring had been suddenly released; and all over the country salt manufacture was the topic of the day. The abounding enthusiasm of the people made Jawaharlal observe : “We felt a little abashed and ashamed for having questioned the efficacy of this method when it was first proposed by Gandhiji. And we marvelled at the amazing knack of the man to impress the multitude and make it act in an organised way.”⁶

The Mahatma addressed a special appeal to the women of India for taking part in the non-violent warfare. In response to this appeal even the women of the most orthodox and aristocratic families came out in their thousands. Miss Mary Camp-

* It prohibited the people from utilising the salt which has been given by nature and forced them to import it from abroad.

bell, the Temperance worker who worked for forty years in India, foreign observers like Mr. H. N. Brailsford and Mr. George Slocombe were amazed at the regeneration of Indian women.

The energy and enthusiasm of the women inspired the men to greater sacrifice. Within three weeks of the commencement of the movement, the Government decided to strike. Jawaharlal was arrested on 14 April. Press Ordinance was promulgated bringing the papers under the full control of the Government. As a protest most of the Nationalist papers ceased publication for a long period. Congress organisations were declared unlawful all over the country.

As the movement gained further momentum, the Government became ruthless and brutal in their attempts at suppression.

Indiscriminate and brutal use of force, attack on women and wanton destruction of property were among the measures adopted by the Government to crush the movement and these measures led to the revival of revolutionary activities. April 1930 was a month bristling with daring incidents. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, leader of the Independence Party, and Mr. V. J. Patel resigned from the Legislative Assembly. A number of young men of Bengal led by Mr. Surjya Kumar Sen raided the Chittagong Armoury and kept for days the British administrative machinery at bay. The Afridi tribes on the North-West Frontier grew restless and began to trouble the Government. The Gurhwali soldiers refused to fire on an unarmed crowd.

On 5 May Gandhi was arrested which caused public resentment all over. While processions, frequent *hartals* invited lathi-charges and firings, violent incidents at some places also took place. At Sholapur in Bombay Presidency the people revolted and declared independence. Midnapur, a district in Bengal, remained out of the British rule for days.

In June Motilal Nehru, acting President and Syed Mahmud, the Secretary of the Working Committee, were arrested.

On 29 August Mr. Lowman, the Inspector General of Police in Bengal, was assassinated by Benoy Bose which led to oppression on young men and students in Bengal. To avenge

the ruthless action, Benoy Bose, Badal Gupta and Dinesh Gupta raided the Writers' Building in Calcutta on 8 December and killed Col. Simpson, Inspector General of Prisons.

Behind prison bars Subhas was not sitting idle. In April 1930 an attack was made in the Alipore Central Jail in Calcutta on Subhas, Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, the then Mayor of Calcutta, and others as they were voicing grievances of the prisoners.

According to Subhas towards the end of 1930 and the beginning of 1931, the atmosphere was conducive to a settlement between the Government and the Congress as the Labour Party was in power and Capt. Wedgwood Benn was at the India Office. Further, Lord Irwin was the Viceroy and Governor-General of India and "he" as Subhas opined "was far-sighted enough to realise that if an understanding was to be arrived at between the Government and the Congress, it was desirable to do so while the Mahatma was the leader. . . ." According to him Lord Irwin's vision was broader than that of the average British politician and he had an innate sense of fairness and justice. The situation in Bombay, Gujarat, the United Provinces, Bengal and last but not the least in the North-Western Province were indeed serious which compelled the Government to seek a way out.

To create an atmosphere of cordiality, Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders of the Congress were released on 25 January 1931. Ironically, Subhas, who was just out of Jail, was re-arrested, after being seriously injured owing to lathi-charge, while leading a procession, as Mayor of Calcutta, defying ban on 26 January. He was produced in court on the following day with his arms in a sling and his clothes stained with blood. He was again sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment. This was preceded by another sentence for seven days in early January for defying an order not to enter the district of Malda in North Bengal. Bose was however released on 8 March on account of general amnesty.

While Bose was in Jail, the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed under the pressure from wealthy aristocrats who surrounded the Mahatma and a few politicians who were dying for a settlement. It was expected that Jawaharlal as the

President of the Congress would oppose as he understood and advocated the Left Wing point of view. Unfortunately he succumbed to the wishes of the leader although he came out with the statement that he did not approve of some of the terms of the Pact. Painfully, he observed : "Was it for this our people had behaved so gallantly for a year ? Were all our brave words and deeds to end in this ? The independence resolution of the Congress, the pledge of January 26, so often repeated ? So I lay and pondered on that March night, and in my heart there was a great emptiness as of something precious gone, almost beyond recall."

The die was cast as the Mahatma on behalf of the Congress agreed to (i) suspend the Civil Disobedience Movement, (ii) participate in the deliberation of the forthcoming Round Table Conference in London, and (iii) force the demand for an investigation into the allegations of police atrocities in different parts of India. The Viceroy on behalf of the Government agreed to (i) release simultaneously all political prisoners in connection with the non-violent movement, (ii) restore confiscated property and land to the owners where it had not been already sold or auctioned by the Government, (iii) withdraw the emergency ordinances, (iv) permit people who live within a certain distance of the seashore to collect or manufacture salt free of duty, and (v) permit peaceful picketing of liquor, opium and foreign clothshops not as a discrimination against British goods but as an encouragement to the Swadeshi movement.

On his release Bose found that the Pact was a settled fact and there was no possibility of preventing its ratification at the Karachi Congress. Yet Bose met the Mahatma in Bombay and after criticising the Pact he told Gandhi that as long as the latter stood for independence necessary support would be given. The Mahatma on his part assured that he would ask the Karachi Congress for a mandate to bind the hands of the Congress Deputation to the Round Table Conference and that mandate would be consistent with the status of independence for which the Lahore Congress had declared. He would use all his influence and strain every nerve to secure amnesty for those who had been left out in the Pact.

From Bombay the Mahatma left for Delhi and Bose accompanied him in the same train. As they arrived Delhi they learnt that the Government had decided to execute Sardar Bhagat Singh and two of his comrades in the Lahore Conspiracy case. Since this was against the spirit of the Delhi Pact i.e. the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, Bose suggested that the Mahatma should, if necessary, break with the Viceroy on the question. But the Mahatma did not like to identify himself with the revolutionary prisoners by going so far as this. When Gandhi met Lord Irwin the latter told the Mahatma that he would postpone their execution for the time being and give serious consideration to the matter.

On 23 March, however, Sardar Bhagat Singh and his comrades were executed. This action caused great nervousness among the supporters of the Pact as they apprehended an open split in the Congress at Karachi which met on 26 March. But the inevitable did not happen as Bose and others who were opposed to the Pact felt that by dividing the House nothing tangible could be achieved. Rather a split would simply strengthen the hands of the Government unless a fresh movement could be started possibility of which was not bright as response in men and money would be disappointing.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, presiding over the Congress, in his inaugural speech gave the go-by to the Lahore resolution and advocated Dominion Status for India. Among the resolutions adopted was one appreciating the courage and self-sacrifice of Sardar Bhagat Singh and his comrades. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact was ratified. The other resolutions passed referred to the mandate given to the Congress delegation to the Round Table Conference and the fundamental rights of the Indian people for which the Congress would strive. The last one was meant to appease the Socialist elements in the Congress.

Bose was invited to preside over a session of the All-India Youth Congress held simultaneously with the Congress. The youths from Punjab and Sind wanted to break away from the Indian National Congress but Bose persuaded them not to break away but to capture the official Congress machi-

nery. Subhas vehemently criticised the Pact which met with the general approval at the Youth Congress.

Bose felt that lack of diplomacy was responsible for some of the shortcomings of the Pact. With better bargaining, even in March 1931, one could have extracted more from the Government as they were really anxious for a settlement. Ruefully Bose observed : “. . . Men with fixed ideas are not well-qualified for political bargaining. So far as the Mahatma is concerned, he alternates between obstinacy and leniency and moreover, he is too susceptible to personal appeals—and with such habits of mind, it is difficult to get the better of one’s opponents in political bargaining. The Delhi truce was a great help to the Government. It gave them time to inquire more deeply into the tactics of the Congress and thereafter to perfect their machinery for dealing with that body in future.”

The restricted scope of the amnesty promised under the Pact caused great deal of disappointment among the revolutionaries and trade unionists and alienated the Mahatma, observed Bose. The Government, too, if they had taken courage in both hands and opened wide gates of the prison-house, Bose felt, would have made a noble gesture which could have won the hearts of the people. Since Gandhi became the spokesman of the Satyagrahis, the revolutionaries in prison wrote an open letter to Lord Irwin intimating that a settlement with Mahatma Gandhi would not necessarily be binding on them and that if His Excellency desired a real settlement of the Indian question, the Government should come to a separate understanding with the Revolutionary Party.

The representation did not go unheeded as a few months later, Sir Stanley Jackson, the Governor of Bengal, made an attempt to come to an understanding with the revolutionaries. Negotiations, however, fell through.

On 2 April the Congress Working Committee selected the Mahatma as the sole representative of the Congress at the Round Table Conference and he accepted the decision.

Before his departure the Mahatma began to say both in private and in public that his going to the Conference greatly depended on his ability to solve the Hindu-Muslim question

and if the Muslims made a united demand on the question of representation, electorate etc., in the new Constitution, he would accept the demand. This was a grave blunder as the reactionary Muslims changed their mood for coming to an understanding and hardened their attitude to prevent his going to London for the Conference. The Mahatma's meeting with some reactionary Muslims for settlement ended in a fiasco.

Shortly before his departure Bose warned Gandhi that every effort would be made at the Conference to drag him into minor issues with a view to getting the Indians to fight among themselves so that they would not be able to unite against the British Government. Gandhi assured Bose that his plan was to meet the authorities concerned soon after his arrival in London and to obtain satisfaction from them on the major issues. If he felt satisfied, he would go into the minor issues—otherwise his work would end there.

On 18 April Lord Irwin's tenure ended. Before leaving Delhi he made a conciliatory speech at the Chelmsford Club. According to Bose, Lord Irwin, though a member of the Conservative Party, had proved himself to be a well-wisher of India. After Lord Ripon no Viceroy had adopted such a friendly attitude towards the Indian people. That he could not do more was due to the reactionary elements that were active both in India and in England.

With the arrival of Lord Willingdon the official attitude altered. Effect was not given to the Pact by officials in different provinces. In Gujarat peasantry had great difficulty in getting back their confiscated land. In the United Provinces the peasants expressed their inability to pay the rent. In Bengal imprisonment without trial continued. From time to time terrorist activities took place by way of retaliation against official oppression.

Gandhi personally made over a 'charge sheet' containing allegations of breaches of the Pact to the Home Secretary to the Government of India. In August Gandhi had a long talk with the Viceroy and wanted an arbitrator to look into the complaints about non-fulfilment of the Pact but the Viceroy turned down the demand saying that he would look into the specific cases.

On 12 September 1931, the Mahatma reached London and the first speech he delivered at the plenary session of the Round Table Conference on 30 November proved that he was thoroughly disappointed. At the end of the conference he said that in all probability he had come to the parting of ways but he hoped that if a fight was unavoidable, it would be conducted without malice on either side. Before leaving London, in an interview to the Press, he said that an immediate nation-wide resumption of civil disobedience was out of the question—but he did foresee the possibility of local civil disobedience being launched as a protest against specific acts of injustice and oppression.

On his way back he stayed for a while in Paris but he did not get into touch with politicians. Nor did he make any endeavour to raise the Indian issue as an issue of international importance. He visited Geneva but no serious attempt was made to bring him in contact with people who counted in the organisation of the League of Nations. He however met Roman Rolland, the great friend of India. From Switzerland he went to Italy and met Signor Mussolini who conveyed his good wishes for the success of his efforts. His attitude towards the Fascist authorities and his presence at a demonstration of the Fascist boys were sharply criticised in the anti-Fascist circles.

On his return to India on 28 December, the Congress Working Committee met and authorised him to seek an interview with the Viceroy. Gandhi sent a telegram stating that he was distressed to find the Frontier, Bengal and the U.P. Ordinances, shootings in the Frontier and arrests of his comrades viz. Pandit Jawaharlal, Mr. Sherwani, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the leader of the Red Shirt Volunteers, and his brother. The Viceroy refused to meet him for discussion on any measures adopted by the Government of India with the approbation of His Majesty's Government. The Mahatma sent another telegram to the Viceroy asking him to reconsider his decision and grant an interview. On 2 January 1932, the Viceroy informed Gandhi that an interview under the threat of civil disobedience was out of the question.

Incidentally it may be mentioned that Subhas advised the

Mahatma not to apply for an interview but others differed with him.

On 4 January the Government of India issued instructions to the local authorities throughout India to strike at the Congress Organisation at once. The Ordinances prepared by the Government in 1931 were now put into operation. Sweeping arrests of Congress leaders were made before they could launch the civil disobedience campaign. Congress Organisation was declared illegal, its offices were sealed and funds seized. National Press was gagged and National literature banned.

On 2 January Subhas was arrested. Despite arrests and oppression of all kind the Civil Disobedience continued in full swing. The only difference between 1930 and 1932 was that while in 1930 the Congress took the offensive, in 1932 the position became reverse. No preparations were made by the Congress in 1932 in advance for starting the campaign yet the movement gained strength. Certain weaknesses of course developed here and there.

On 11 March the Mahatma wrote to Sir Samuel Hoare that he would resist with his life any attempt to separate the depressed classes from the main body of the Hindus by the grant of separate electorate. Disregarding Gandhi's threat Mr. Ramsay Macdonald announced 'Communal Award' on 17 August allotting a certain number of seats in legislature to be filled up on the basis of a separate electorate. The following day the Mahatma wrote to the British Premier informing him that he would commence fast unto death at noon on 20 September.

Jawaharlal felt very much perturbed over the Mahatma's decision which he learnt while in prison. He felt annoyed with him "for choosing a side issue for his final sacrifice--just a question of electorate. What would be the result on our freedom movement? Would not the larger issues fade into background, for the time being at least? And if he attained his immediate object and got a joint electorate for the Depressed classes, would not that result in a reaction and a feeling that something has been achieved and nothing more need be done for a while? And was not his action a recognition and in part an acceptance of the Communal Award and the

general scheme of things as sponsored by the Government? Was this consistent with Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience? After so much sacrifice and brave endeavour, was our movement to tail off into something insignificant"?¹⁰ It would be perhaps not out of place to mention that Jawaharlal was equally critical of the outcome of the Round Table Conference when he observed: "... It succeeded in diverting world attention from real issues in India, and in India itself it produced disillusion and depression and a sense of humiliation. It gave a handle to reactionary forces to raise their heads again."¹¹

As announced the Mahatma commenced his fast unto death on 20 September and on the fifth day of the fast a solution was found through an agreement hereafter known as the Poona Agreement¹² which virtually did away with separate electorate, Gandhi's fast ended in rousing the conscience of the Hindu community. Assessing its effect Bose remarked: "While the Mahatma's fast had a remarkable effect on his countrymen, in the international sphere it did not prove to be an unmixed blessing. It served to advertise to a disproportionate degree the issue of the depressed classes. Hitherto the world had known only one issue relating to India, the political issue—India's grievance against England. Now the leader of the Nationalist movement himself announced to the world that there was another issue—internal issue—of such vital importance to India that he was prepared to stake his life for it. And British propagandists were not slow to take advantage of the opportunity

"The fast had another unfortunate effect which posed to be more serious. It served to side-track the political movement at a time when all possible attention should have been devoted to it."¹³

It is perhaps interesting to note how the official circle viewed this fast. Sir Richard Tottenhem, Additional Secretary, Government of India, Home Department, recorded: "It was in conditions of this kind, when the civil disobedience movement was failing and Mr. Gandhi's stock was low that he decided on September 13 to 'fast unto death' in Yeravda Jail unless the method of representation provided for the Depres-

sed classes was altered. Dr. Ambedkar described the fast as a 'sheer political stunt', while other circles saw in it an attempt to retrieve a dwindling prestige The fast began on 20th September and after a few days of feverish discussion a settlement was reached which was known as the 'Poona Pact'. The fast illustrated the manner in which Mr. Gandhi was still able to appeal to the emotions not only of the masses but also of their leaders at the expense of their reason."¹⁴

The concluding remark of Sir Tottenham echoes Bose's comments as he also observed, "As long as the Mahatma was on fast, rational thinking was completely suspended and the one thought of his countrymen was how to save his life."¹⁵

"As to the Congress activities," Sir Tottenham observed, "the decline in the civil disobedience movement continued, and the chief landmarks were Mr. Gandhi's two fasts in May and August 1933, followed by his increasing absorption in the untouchability campaign to the neglect of directly political activities."¹⁶

While Bose was assessing the developments in the country from behind bars, his health, which was never well since his imprisonment in Burmese Jail, began to cause serious anxiety. After 14 months' incarceration when his health was in an alarming state, Lt. Col. Buckley, I.M.S., of Lucknow who had been treating him, recommended his transfer to Europe for treatment. After prolonged deliberation and with great reluctance the Government of India permitted him to leave for Europe. He was released at Bombay when he was away from the shore and arrived Vienna in March 1933.

That Bose appeared to be the most enigmatic and dreaded personality to the Government would be evident from the documents and newspaper reports appended at the end of this narrative.

Although the primary object of his visit to Europe was to recover quickly, it was not surprising that back in Europe Bose should avail himself of the opportunity to uphold the cause of his motherland. It was his intention to elicit moral and active support of all freedom-loving people of the continent. The British Government could not trust Bose and hence the embassies and consulates were warned and advised to keep

watch on his movements. True to the directives the British agents watched his movement and sent report to the authorities which could be seen from the enclosed documents.

While Bose was in Vienna, the Mahatma started another three weeks' fast on 8 May in prison as his followers outside the prison had not made sufficient progress with the untouchability campaign. The fast was given wide publicity in Europe as it helped to advertise the internal differences of the Indian people. Having realised that the civil disobedience movement was fizzling out, the Government decided to release him. After Gandhi was set free, Mr. Aney, the Acting President of the Congress, ordered suspension of the civil disobedience movement on the recommendation of the Mahatma. After suspension of the movement Mahatma Gandhi appealed to the Government of India to withdraw the Ordinances and set free the civil disobedience prisoners. But the Government refused to oblige.

Subhas and V. J. Patel, who was also at Vienna at the time for treatment, issued a manifesto condemning the Mahatma's decision. They felt that it was time to turn to a more radical policy and leadership. Since the Mahatma was in the midst of a fast the manifesto did not produce the desired effect.

In July, a conference of important Congressmen, then out of prison, was held at Poona. Soon after the Poona Conference the Mahatma approached the Viceroy for an interview, but he got a rebuff. He then decided to start civil disobedience individually and by August 1933 the Mahatma and some of his followers were again lodged in jail. While in jail Gandhi found that the facilities which were accorded to him earlier for conducting anti-untouchability campaign were not being given this time. He gave a notice to the Government that he would resort to fasting to get his grievances redressed. Gandhiji was set at liberty as the Government had realised that individual civil disobedience was also going to fizzle out and there was no risk in releasing the Mahatma.

On his release, the Mahatma advised Aney, the Acting President, to dissolve all Congress Organisations in the country

as in his view the Congress Organisations had become corrupt. Thus confusion was worse confounded.

By the early 1934 it was clear that the civil disobedience had fizzled out. Jawaharlal's disillusionment was complete as he recorded : "... I felt very lonely in that cell of Alipore Gaol. Life seemed to be a dreary affair, a very wilderness of desolation. Of the many hard lessons that I had learnt, the hardest and the most painful now faced me : that it is not possible in any vital matter to rely on any one. One must journey through life alone; to rely on others is to invite heart-break."¹⁷ The reason the Mahatma gave for calling off the campaign seemed to him an insult to intelligence and an amazing act for a leader of a national movement.¹⁸ Yet Jawaharlal could not break away from the Mahatma.

Commenting on the weakness of Jawaharlal, Bose recorded : "With a popularity only second to that of the Mahatma, with unbounded prestige among his countrymen, with a clear brain possessing the finest ideas, with an up-to-date knowledge of modern world movements that he should be found wanting in the essential quality of leadership, namely the capacity to make decision and face unpopularity if need be, was a great disappointment."¹⁹

Bose stayed in Europe for about three years (1933-36) with a short break as he came to India in December 1934 on receipt of a cable that his father was seriously ill. He could not see his father alive as his father died on the day previous to his arrival. In Calcutta he was served with an order under Regulation III of 1818 interning him at his house. He stayed with his family for about a month and left for Europe again in early January 1935.

Having lost faith in Gandhian technique and ideology to bring about political and economic regeneration, Bose's mind started working in a different way. Despite fragile health he decided to visit especially those countries in Europe which threatened to challenge the old order.

Since he was viewed as an extremist nationalist, a dangerous revolutionary and a Bolshevik agent by the Government, he was initially allowed to visit Austria, Italy, France and Switzerland on medical grounds. On the 25th of March 1933,

His Majesty's Consul at Vienna endorsed his passport for Hungary and Czechoslovakia and on the 24th of April 1933 for Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Norway and Denmark. His original passport had an endorsement in red ink "Not valid for entry into Germany or the United Kingdom."

As a result of his vigorous persuasion and the pressure exerted by a few British MPs, the Government agreed to allow him to go to Germany for receiving medical advice. Although a British subject he was not permitted to visit England. As his name did not appear in the warning list, the Consul at Vienna granted him an endorsement for Belgium, Holland and Poland. He however refused to endorse Bose's passport for Egypt. It is interesting to note that the liberal attitude of the Consul at Vienna and Vice-Consul at Prague was not liked by the authorities in the India Office. However, under the instruction of the Secretary of State for India, ten copies of a confidential note were forwarded to the department for Foreign Affairs. It was suggested for consideration of Sir John Simon that H. M. Representative in Vienna, Berlin, Rome, Prague, Warsaw, Brussels and Paris, each of which places might be visited by Bose, should be furnished with a copy of the note for their confidential guidance should they be consulted by the Government to which they were credited. The authorities apprehended that as Bose was at one time Mayor of Calcutta naturally it would be easy for him to impose upon those who were unaware of his record.

The British Government felt that Bose's visit to England would be very embarrassing and dangerous for them as the young Indian students would be contaminated by Bose's revolutionary ideas.

As regards Bose's omission of the Soviet Union from the programme, his nephew, Asoke Nath Bose, who was in Europe at the time and remained in close touch with his uncle, records that Bose's original intention was to visit the Soviet Union from Poland but he was not given the necessary visa by the Soviet authorities.²⁰ If one considers the attitude of the Nazi Germany and Great Britain towards the Soviet Union at the time the action of the Soviet authorities, as alleged, would

not appear unusual. Reality of the world situation forced the Soviet leaders to give up their initial zeal to support the cause of the nations under colonial rule and foment revolution. They perhaps thought that Bose's visit to the Soviet Union would provoke Great Britain and Germany to combine against the U.S.S.R. engaged in consolidating the fruits of revolution.

It, however, appears from the India Office records that Bose for valid reasons did not insist on having passport facilities for paying a visit to the U.S.S.R. It may be recalled that he was permitted to visit Europe on medical grounds and on this plea he wanted to visit Germany and England also. While with much reluctance and under pressure from various corners the authorities permitted Bose to visit Germany, they did not agree to allow Bose to visit England. Subhas knew that he was always a suspect in the eyes of the Government and none would accept his argument that his visit to the U.S.S.R. would help him getting better medical advice. Rather his insistence on visiting the Soviet Union would arouse their suspicion further and invite more restriction on his movement. In some quarters it is held that Bose was not willing to seek assistance from Russia. This seems to be incorrect as Romain Rolland records : "For himself, Bose too seems on the verge of communism, but he will hear nothing of it. His anti pathy is probably based on some personal reason concerning the present representatives of the party in India; for he declares that he would certainly see no harm in the U.S.S.R. helping India to liberate herself, and his main reproach against the Soviets is that they seem to have lost interest today in the World Revolution to concentrate on their national politics."²¹

Bose found Russia on her defensive and had little interest in provoking a World Revolution, though the Communist International might still endeavour to keep up appearances. The pacts between Russia and other capitalist countries and the written or unwritten conditions inherent in such pacts, as also her membership of the League of Nations, had seriously compromised the position of Russia as a revolutionary power. He noticed that Russia was too much pre-occupied in her internal industrial re-organisation and in

her preparations for meeting the Japanese menace on her eastern side and was willing to maintain friendly relations with the Great Powers to show any interest in countries like India.²²

Although Bose's primary concern was to regain health, a man of his nature cannot obviously remain indifferent to the cause of his motherland. He therefore decided to take up the following work during his sojourn in Europe : (i) To project India's image with a view to counteracting the malicious propaganda let loose by the British Government against India. (ii) To win moral and material support to liberate India. (iii) To understand the inner current of international politics and how best to use the international situation to the advantage of India. (iv) To study the political and economic systems of those European countries, in particular, which emerged as powerful states and threatened to challenge the colonial powers like France and England.

While in Vienna, Bose made friendship with many eminent persons of Austria. He met the leader of the Communist Party there. The Mayor of Vienna, under the control of the Socialists, invited Bose to visit the Municipality and he could study the working of the municipal administration.

At Czechoslovakia he held discussions with Dr. Benes, the Foreign Minister. He studied the famous Czech Youth Movement and made acquaintance with the history of Czechoslovakia Legion created during the First World War outside Czechoslovakia with the help of England and Russia to fight for liberation against Austrian domination. He came in intimate contact with Prof. Lesney, the eminent Czech Indologist.

With active help of the Polish Minister in Prague, who evinced great sympathy towards the cause of India, he could visit Poland and learn about the training of the Polish Legion in Japan during the First World War for freeing their country from the Russian domination.

Bose picked up acquaintance with Madame E. Horup who set up an institution under the name "International Committee for India" with its office at Geneva.

Subhas visited Germany on the plea of medical examination but he took the opportunity of meeting some of the Nazi leaders and officers of the Foreign Office to seek moral and material support for India as he felt that the new German nation, which had risen to a consciousness of its national strength and self-respect, would instinctively feel a deep sympathy for other nations struggling in the same direction. He was particularly interested to know as to how Hitler in Germany and Mussolini in Italy could succeed to rouse national consciousness to such a height in a short time that they could challenge the supremacy of England and France. But when Bose visited Germany again in 1936, shortly before his departure for India, he painfully recorded : "I regret that I have to return to India with the conviction that the new nationalism of Germany is not only narrow and selfish but arrogant."²³

Since Italy came out in open support of India's struggle for freedom and accorded a grand reception to the Mahatma on his way back to India after the Round Table Conference, Bose decided to visit Italy. He met Mussolini in January 1935 and presented him a copy of his book, *The Indian Struggle*, published in London in December 1934. Despite very favourable review of the book in English newspapers and journals, the book was proscribed by the Government in India. He met Mussolini on several occasions at the latter's request to discuss issues of mutual interest. His meeting with political leaders and addresses he delivered at the Oriental Students' Congress did not escape the attention of the British Government and their agents all over Europe who were instructed to keep special watch on Bose's movement. That Bose's activities in Europe unnerved the conservative section of England would be evident from the question raised in the House of Commons by Sir Walter Smiles on the 13th of November, 1933 and Mr. Thorp on the 7th of February, 1935.

Bose's activities were in sharp contrast to Jawaharlal's attitude towards international politics. Although Jawaharlal liked to meet Signor Mussolini to find out for himself what a person who was playing such an important role in the world's affair was like, the continuance of Abyssinian campaign and

the possibility that an interview with Mussolini would be used for Fascist propaganda restrained him from meeting the leader of Italy in 1936. Jawaharlal's attitude appears to be unrealistic especially when in his Autobiography he recorded : "The Great War brutalised humanity terribly, and we saw the aftermath of this in that awful hunger blockade of Germany even after the Armistice—'One of the most senseless, brutal and hideous atrocities ever committed by any nation' as an English writer has described it. The years 1857 and 1858 have not been forgotten in India" (p. 400). Following this logic one may well say Jawaharlal should not have visited England and praised the Soviet Union for her achievement, as the first Socialist country in the world, i.e. the U.S.S.R., entered into a pact with Italy, a country preaching Fascism which Nehru condemned in no uncertain terms.

Pointing to this sort of unrealistic approach to international politics by the Indian leaders, in a statement in March 1934 from Geneva, Bose said : "In the domain of our external policy, our own socio-political views or predilections should not prejudice us against people or nations holding different views, whose sympathy we may nevertheless be able to acquire. This is a universal cardinal principle in external policy and it is because of this principle today in Europe a pact between Soviet Russia and Fascist Italy is not only a possibility but an accomplished fact. Therefore, in our external policy, we should heartily respond to any sympathy for India which we may find in any part of the world."²⁴

Since the beginning of conflict between Italy and Abyssinia Bose warned Indians about the possibility of sending Indian Army by the Great Britain to Abyssinia. In his letter published in the Manchester Guardian on 1 October 1935 he expressed this apprehension despite the Indian Commander-in-Chief's assurance that Indian public opinion would be considered before deploying Indian troops in Abyssinia. In reality however the Indian soldiers were sent disregarding Indian public opinion. Explaining the diplomatic significance of this measure Bose said : "The reason is clear. Indian troops were sent with the idea of committing Indian support to British policy in Abyssinia and on the other hand, to remind Italy

that the vast resources of India are behind Great Britain.”²⁵

By meeting Mussolini, Bose did not play into his hands. His intention was to divide the Imperialist world by setting one against the other on the colonial question as he believed : “There are two ways in which Imperialism may come to an end—either through an overthrow by an anti-imperialist agency or through an internecine struggle among imperialist themselves. If the second course is furthered by the growth of Italian Imperialism, then Abyssinia will not have suffered in vain.”²⁶

On 3 April 1935 Bose met the great western savant and friend of India, Romain Rolland at Geneva. He felt very happy when, during the interview, Rolland stated that if *Satyagraha* failed he would like to see the movement conducted on other lines as Subhas was fully convinced that although the Mahatma had rendered phenomenal service to his country and would continue to do so, India’s salvation would not be achieved under his leadership.

During his stay in Europe Bose also visited Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, France, Turkey and Ireland. He was very much impressed by the achievements of Kemal Ataturk of Turkey and the Sinn Fein Movement under the leadership of de Valera of Ireland. It may be mentioned that the poet Tagore was also very much impressed by their success.

Bose met Madame Gonne McBride, the legendary figure of Irish revolution and met de Valera who had sympathy for India’s struggle for freedom.

Subhas visited the Head Quarters of the League of Nations with a view to utilising that international forum for gaining support for India’s just cause. He was thoroughly disappointed as he found the League under the control of big powers.

Bose’s presence in Europe in the mid-thirties enabled him to understand the inner-current of international politics. He realised that pious platitudes and frothy sentiments had no place in international politics. Foreign policy of a nation is a realistic affair and it is framed in keeping with a nation’s own interest. There is nothing as permanent friendship in the domain of international relations.

Subhas was wedded to Socialism and he was greatly enamoured by the concept of economic planning adopted by the Soviet Union to bring about economic regeneration. On the question of economic ideology he, however, differed with Jawaharlal who held: "That is no middle road between Fascism and Communism. One has to choose between the two." Nehru chose the Communist ideal although he could not agree with everything that the Orthodox Communists had done. He thought that the basic ideology of Communism and its scientific interpretation of history was sound.²⁷

Bose, on the other hand, held: "Unless we are at the end of the process of evolution altogether, there is no reason to hold that our choice is restricted to two alternatives." He was inclined to hold that the next phase in world history would produce a synthesis between Communism and Fascism. We need not be surprised if an experiment of importance to the whole world, he felt, "is made in India—especially when we have seen with our own eyes that another experiment (that of Mahatma Gandhi) made in India has roused profound interest all over the world."²⁸

While many of the economic ideas of Communism, Subhas observed, would make a strong appeal to Indians, there were other ideas which would have contrary effect. Owing to close association between the Church and the State in Russian history and to the existence of an organised Church, Communism in Russia had grown to be anti-religious and atheistic. In India on the contrary, there being no organised Church among the Indians and there being no association between the Church and the State, Bose felt, there was no feeling against religion in India as such. Further, in India, Subhas held, "a national awakening is in most cases heralded by a religious reformation and a cultural renaissance."²⁹ In regard to the materialistic interpretation of history Bose opined that this would not find unqualified acceptance in India, even among those who would be eager to accept the economic contents of Communism.³¹

Subhas concluded: "While, therefore, it would be safe to predict that India will not become a new edition of Soviet Russia, one may say with equal strength that all the modern

socio-political movements and experiments in Europe and in America will have considerable influence on India's development."³²

That ideology has no place in international politics was demonstrated to the world in the most naked manner when the U.S.A., Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. combined to crush Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany during the Second World War. The present rift between the Communist China and Russia clearly demonstrates that ideological fraternity also cannot bind nations together.

On the question of seeking international support for a national cause Mao Tse-Tung said : "Ever since the monster of imperialism came into being, the affairs of the world have become so closely inter-woven that it is impossible to separate them. We Chinese have the spirit to fight the enemy to the last drop of our blood, the determination to recover our lost territory by our own efforts, and the ability to stand on our feet in the family of nations. But this does not mean that we can dispense with international support; no, today international support is necessary, for the revolutionary struggle of any nation or country. Our war against Japan needs the support of the people of the whole world . . ." ("On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism," Report given by Comrade Mao Tse-Tung at the conference of Party activists held at Wayaopao, northern Shensi, after the Wayaopao meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee in December 1935 - *Selected Writings of Mao Tse-Tung*, Calcutta, 1967, p. 165).

During the Second World War, Mao vigorously campaigned for "mobilizing and unifying all the anti-Japanese forces in the country to fight in effective co-ordination with allied countries for the defeat of the Japanese aggressors". (The political report made by Comrade Mao to the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China—*Selected Writings of Mao Tse-Tung*, p. 240).

As regards acceptance and application of Communism Mao observed in his report to the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Party in October 1938 : "Being Marxists, Communists are internationalists, but we can put Marxism into practice only when it is integrated with

specific characteristics of our country, and acquires a definite national form.”

We may further recall that de Valera of Ireland took help from America and Sun-Yat-Sen got help from Japan. Lenin did not hesitate to seek help from the reactionary monarch of Germany to overthrow the Czar.

Bose had no illusion either about Germany or about Japan. There is no denying the fact that Bose was fascinated by some aspects of German life but he did not blindly approve of their actions. Commenting on the Nazi tactics he said: “Germany may be a Fascist or an Imperialist, ruthless or cruel, but one cannot help admiring these qualities of hers—how she plans in advance, prepares accordingly, works according to a time-table and strikes with lightning speed. Could not these qualities be utilised for promoting a nobler cause?”³³

Commenting on Japan’s role in the Far East, Bose said: “. . . Japan has shattered the white man’s prestige in the Far East, and has put all the Western imperialist powers on the defensive—not only in the military but also in the economic spheres. She is extremely sensitive—and rightly so—about her self-respect as an Asiatic power. She is determined to drive out the Western powers from the Far East.

“But could not all this have been achieved without imperialism, without humiliating another proud, cultured and ancient race? No, with all our admiration for Japan, where such admiration is due, our whole heart goes to China in her hour of trial. China must still live for her own sake and for humanity. Out of the ashes of the conflict she will once again rise phoenix-like as she has often done in the past.”³⁴

Like Mao he believed that political freedom must precede economic emancipation and political freedom, Bose observed, “is primarily an economic necessity. The problem of giving bread to our starving millions—the problem of clothing and educating them—the problem of improving the health and physique of the nation—all these problems cannot be solved so long as India remains in bondage. To think of economic improvement and industrial development before India is free politically, is to put the cart before the horse.”³⁵

After achieving independence the task before the Indian

people would be to reconstruct national life on Socialist basis as, Bose felt, "we cannot leave it to private initiative to solve these national problems, especially the economic problem . . . the State will take over the responsibility for solving economic questions. Whether it is a question of industrializing the country or modernising agriculture, we want the State to step in and take over the responsibility and put through reforms within a short period."³⁶

In regard to the method to be adopted, Bose further said : ". . . . In Soviet Russia a new scheme of national (or political) economy has been evolved in keeping with the facts and conditions of the land. The same thing will happen in India . . . We will, naturally study experiments made in other countries—but after all, we have to solve our problems in an Indian way and under Indian conditions. Therefore, the system that we shall ultimately set up will be an Indian system to suit the Indian people."³⁷

On the political system or the Government Bose observed : "If we are to have an economic structure of a socialistic character, then it follows that the political system must be such as to be able to carry out that economic programme in the best possible way. You cannot have a so-called democratic system, if that system has to put through economic reforms on a socialistic basis. Therefore, we must have a political system—a State—of an authoritarian character."³⁸ The State, however, would work as an organ, or as the servant of the masses, and not of a few rich individuals.

Bose's ideas—political as well as economic—were perfectly in tune with the thought-current of his time and these would continue to hold good till the nations of the world learn to live as good neighbours and all kinds of exploitation become things of the past.

While in Europe, Subhas learnt about Jawaharlal's election as President of the Congress in April 1936. He felt that his presence in India would strengthen the hands of the Radicals. As he expressed his intention to return home, he received a warning from the British Consul in Vienna that he would be arrested if he set foot on the Indian soil. Flouting the warning Bose left for India and arrived Bombay on

8 April 1936. He was immediately arrested and detained at the Arthur Road prison, Bombay.

A fortnight earlier, an adjournment motion was moved in the Central Legislative Assembly and adopted by 62 against 59 votes to protest against the Government's refusal to allow Bose to return to India. Defending the Government on the issue Home Secretary Hallet remarked : "After Bose's arrest in 1924, his record was examined with great care by two judges who held that there was reasonable ground for the belief that Bose was a member of revolutionary conspiracy, and if allowed freedom he could be a danger to the State, more particularly because of his public position and outstanding organising capacity . . . Bose was personally in touch with the terrorist party and was cognisant of its plots for the assassination of the government servants. He preached the message of communism and urged a parallel government at the Lahore Congress. Bose was the head of the Jugantar Party responsible for the Chittagong armoury raid, the Pahartali outrage and other crimes."³⁹ To support the attitude of the Government towards Bose, Sir Henry Craik, Home Member of the Government of India added : "The Samyavadi Sangha movement, founded by Bose in 1932, later on converted its name into the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army. A pamphlet in Bose's own hand, intercepted from Vienna, regretted that no attempt had been made to win over the Indian Army and the police and noted that the national movement would succeed only if the revenue collection was prevented, and help from other quarters of a financial or military kind did not reach the Government in times of distress."⁴⁰

"This man," Sir Henry concluded, "had a definite terrorist connection and had, to the best of our belief, a definite idea of violent revolution. The Government of India would be acting in criminal folly if they allowed a man of Bose's intellect and organising capacity to have liberty to put these ideas into execution."⁴¹

From Bombay Bose was sent to Yeravda Central Prison, Poona, on 13 April 1936. On 10 May a countrywide *hartal* was observed to protest against his unjustified continued detention. Under pressure of public opinion and due to ill

health, Bose was released from jail custody on 20 May and placed under restraint in his brother's house at Giddapahar near Kurseong. He was not willing to give any formal undertaking to abide by the restrictions imposed on him while at Kurseong.

It will be perhaps unfair not to mention about the efforts made by a few British MPs like Mr. John, Mr. Thurtle, Mr. Williams, Mr. Maxton, Miss Wilkinson, Mr. Jagger, Mr. Grenfell, Mr. Sorensen and the Earl of Kinnoull in seeking justice for Bose. They echoed the sentiment of the Indian people in the House of Commons and the House of Lords between 1932 and 1937 by raising questions on Bose's health, imprisonment without trial, passport facilities and on the Government's refusal to allow Bose to visit England and to return to India.

In his letter dated 28 March 1936 to the Secretary of State for India, Mr. G. Williams, the Secretary of Independent Labour Party, conveyed an emphatic protest to the Government's refusal to permit Bose to visit England and imposition of ban on his return to India.

In a public meeting held on the 28th March at the Essex Hall, under the Chairmanship of Alderman Mr. William T. Kelly, MP, a resolution was passed against the arbitrary action of the Government of India in issuing a warning to Bose that he would not be allowed to remain at liberty on his return to India and requested His Majesty's Government to accord passport facilities to enable him to visit England.

The attitude of the Government towards Bose continued to remain rigid as Sir Henry stated in reply to an Assembly question on 31 August 1936 : "Bose would be detained as long as it is necessary in the public interest, and that in the opinion of the Government the public interest does not yet justify his release."

The note prepared by Mr. R. S. Peel, on 24 November, on Bose's detention expressed the fear that Bose at liberty anywhere in India would very shortly become the focus of revolutionary activity leading to a decided worsening of the situation.

On 1 December 1936, the Secretary of State for India, The Marquess of Zetland, in reply to the question raised in

the House of Lords by the Earl of Kinnoull on Bose's continued incarceration without trial and health, stated, *inter alia* : "... Mr. Bose, a man of great ability, a man possibly of genius, is a man who, whether by his own fault or by misfortune, has directed all his ability to destructive rather than constructive purposes." Such remarks are indeed real tributes for any patriot striving to destroy foreign rule.

As Bose was not allowed to participate in political activities, his dream of working together with Nehru remained unfulfilled. Pandit Nehru's Presidentship, Bose observed, "was marked by energy and initiative at the top and gave a fillip to the radical forces in the Congress." But he felt Jawaharlal "could have achieved much more. The years 1936-37 represented the high-water mark of his popularity and in a certain sense, his position was then stronger than that of Mahatma Gandhi, because he had the support of the entire Left, which Gandhi had not. But the Mahatma's position was organisationally very strong, for he had built up a party of his own, the Gandhi Wing, within the Congress Party, and with the help of the former he could dominate the latter. Nehru, on the other hand, in spite of his tremendous popularity, did not have a party of his own. There were two courses open to him, if he wanted to live in history—either to accept the tenets of Gandhism and join the Gandhi Wing within the Congress Party, or to build up his own party in opposition to the Gandhi Wing. He could not do the former, because though he was personally loyal to the Mahatma, he did not accept all the tenets of Gandhism. On the other hand, he did not build up his own party, because that would have given offence to the Gandhi Wing, and he has never in his own life had the courage to do anything in opposition to the Mahatma."⁴² Bose regretted that Nehru became a lone figure in the Congress Party as he could not tear himself away from the magnetic charm of the Mahatma.

Bose was released from internment from a Calcutta hospital, where he was removed from Kurseong for treatment, in March 1937, after the parliamentary elections were over under the New Constitution for India which was passed by the British Parliament in 1935 separating Burma from India

and giving the Indian people a certain measure of autonomy in the Provinces. It may be mentioned that in the elections the Congress Party emerged victorious with a practical majority in seven out of eleven provinces in British India.

In December 1937, Bose went to Austria again and from there to England as the ban on his entry was removed. While in England, in January 1938, he learnt that he had been un-animously elected President of the Congress. The British Press gave wide coverage of his activities in England. During the course of his visit, Bose met members of the British Cabinet, like Lord Halifax and Lord Zetland, as well as eminent members of the Labour and Liberal Parties who then evinced sympathy for India, e.g. Mr. Attlee, Mr. Greenwood, Mr. Bevin, Sir Stafford Cripps; Mr. Harold J. Laski, Lord Allen etc.

During his stay in London, Bose was interviewed by Rajani Palme Dutt, and the report was published in the *Daily Worker*, London, on January 24, 1938. When asked to comment on his views on Fascism and Communism as expressed in Bose's book, *The Indian Struggle*, Subhas said : "What I really meant was that we in India wanted our national freedom, and having won it, we wanted to move in the direction of Socialism. This is what I meant when I referred to 'a synthesis between Communism and Fascism'. Perhaps the expression I used was not a happy one. But I should like to point out that when I was writing the book, Fascism had not started on its imperialist expedition, and it appeared to me merely an aggressive form of nationalism.

"I should point out also that communism as it appeared to be demonstrated by many of those who were supposed to stand for it in India seemed to me anti-national, and this impression was further strengthened in view of the hostile attitude which several among them exhibited towards the Indian National Congress. It is clear, however, that the position to-day has fundamentally altered.

"I should add that I have always understood and am quite satisfied that communism, as it has been expressed in the writings of Marx and Lenin and in the official statements of policy of the Communist International, gives full support

to the struggle for national independence and recognises this as an integral part of its world outlook.

“My personal view to-day is that the Indian National Congress should be organised on the broadest anti-imperialist front, and should have the two-fold objective of winning political freedom and the establishment of a socialist regime.”

Bose returned to India towards the last week of January 1938. The 51st Session of the Congress at Haripura in Gujarat commenced on 19 February. In his illuminating speech Bose referred to both external and internal problems and clearly enunciated the policy which the Party should adopt. He said : “The British Empire is a hybrid phenomenon in politics. It is a peculiar combination of self-governing countries, partially self-governing dependencies and autocratically-governed colonies. Constitutional device and human ingenuity may bolster up this combination for a while, but not for ever. If the internal incongruities are not removed in good time, then quite apart from external pressure, the Empire is sure to break down under its own strain. But can the British Empire transform itself into a federation of free nations with one bold sweep?... This transformation will be possible only if the British people become free in their own homes—only if Great Britain becomes a socialist state. There is an inseparable connection between the capitalist ruling classes in Great Britain and the colonies abroad. As Lenin pointed out long ago, ‘reaction in Great Britain is strengthened and fed, by the enslavement of a number of nations’... It should, therefore, be clear that a socialist order in Great Britain is impossible of achievement without the liquidation of colonialism and that we who are fighting for the political freedom of India and other enslaved countries of the British Empire are incidentally fighting for the economic emancipation of the British people as well.”

Sounding a note of warning to the people of India Bose said : “It is a well-known truism that every empire is based on the policy of divide and rule. But I doubt if any empire in the world has practised this policy so skillfully, systematically and ruthlessly as Great Britain... I have no doubt that British ingenuity will seek some other constitutional device for

partitioning India and thereby neutralising the transference of power to the Indian people." The partition of India proves how Bose correctly read the minds of the rulers.

Referring to the weakness inherent in the policy of divide and rule, he said : "The policy of divide and rule, though it has its obvious advantages, is by no means an unmixed blessing for the ruling power. As a matter of fact, it creates new problems and new embarrassments. Great Britain seems to be caught in the meshes of her own political dualism resulting from her policy of divide and rule."

On the problems faced by the Empire, Bose added : "The British Empire at the present moment is suffering from strain at a number of points. Within the Empire, in the extreme West, there is Ireland and in the extreme East, India. In the middle lies Palestine with the adjoining countries of Egypt and Iraq. Outside the Empire, there is the pressure exerted by Italy in the Mediterranean and Japan in the Far East, both of these countries being militant, aggressive and imperialist. Against this background of unrest stands Soviet Russia, whose very existence strikes terror into the heart of the ruling classes in every Imperialist State. How long can the British Empire withstand the cumulative effect of this pressure and strain ?"

On the problem of the minorities he declared that a policy of live and let live should be our objective. He correctly anticipated that the Congress Party would not wither away after freedom was won. Rather the Party would take over power, assume responsibility for administration and implement the programme of reconstruction. He had no doubt in his mind that our chief problems relating to the eradication of poverty, illiteracy and disease and to scientific production and distribution could be effectively tackled only along socialistic lines. For the purpose he wanted our national Government to set up a commission for drawing up a comprehensive plan of reconstruction. In fact as Congress President he set up a *National Planning Committee* with Jawaharlal Nehru as the Chairman.

Talking of Indian unity he wanted a strong Central Government with Provinces having a large measure of autonomy

in cultural as well as governmental affairs. So far as our lingua franca is concerned he recommended a mixture of Hindi and Urdu with Roman script.

To fight poverty, starvation and disease Bose wanted to control increase in population.

On the question of foreign policy Subhas said : "I attach great importance to this work because I believe that in the years to come, international developments will favour our struggle in India. But we must have a correct appreciation of the world situation at every stage and should know how to take advantage of it.

"In connection with our foreign policy, the first suggestion that I have to make is that we should not be influenced by the internal politics of any country or the form of its state In this matter we should take a leaf out of Soviet diplomacy. Though Soviet Russia is a communist state, her diplomats have not hesitated to make alliances with non-socialist states and have not declined sympathy or support coming from any quarter."

Bose urged that we should make India and her culture known to the world through the foreign press, through Indian-made films and through art exhibitions. He said this because he was "aware that such efforts will be welcomed in every country in Europe and America. If we go ahead with this work, we shall be preparing the basis for our future embassies and legations in different lands. We should not neglect Great Britain either. We have even in that country a small but influential group of men and women who are genuinely sympathetic towards Indian aspirations. Among the rising generation and students, in particular, interest in and sympathy for India is rapidly on the increase. One has only to visit the Universities of Great Britain to realise that."

Bose never viewed the English people as our enemy. He wanted England to free herself from contradictions and inconsistencies by transforming the Empire into a federation of free nations. "If she could do that", Bose felt, "she would be performing a miracle in history." He emphatically said : "We have no enmity towards the British people. We

are fighting Great Britain and we want the fullest liberty to determine our future relations with her. But once we have real self-determination, there is no reason why we should not enter into the most cordial relations with the British people."

"Our is a struggle", Bose concluded, "not only against British Imperialism but against world Imperialism as well, of which the former is the keystone. We are, therefore, fighting not for the cause of India alone but of humanity as well. India freed means humanity saved."

Eulogising the Haripura address Prof. Hiren Mukherjee said: "Taken all in all, this Haripura address marks the highest point, no doubt, of Subhas Chandra Bose's career in India—a peak which, however, he himself out-topped when he went on his last tremendous odyssey whence he never returned."⁴³

As Congress President Bose was absolutely democratic in his approach and action. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, then a member of the Working Committee and an official historian of the Congress, recorded that Bose "did not choose to parade" his own ideas and "appeared to be singularly free from a desire to take sides."

Apart from setting up the National Planning Committee in October 1938, he took the initiative in sending a Medical Mission to China in July 1938 and in response to his appeal China Day was observed as a token of sympathy and goodwill to the Chinese people engaged in fighting Japanese aggression. In his article in the Congress Socialist in October 1938 he condemned France and Britain for signing the Munich Pact and for lending "deliberate support to Fascist politicians' plan to eliminate Soviet Russia from European politics."

It is widely believed that the Mahatma nominated Bose as Congress President to tame him and to weaken the Left Wing. But to Gandhi's surprise Subhas held his ground firmly by opposing any move on the part of the Congress to compromise with Britain as Bose felt that the international crisis would help our cause. The setting up of the National Planning Committee to draw up a comprehensive plan of industrialisation and the open propaganda, which Bose started

after the Munich Pact in September 1938, to prepare the Indian people for a national struggle were resented by Mahatma Gandhi and his followers. The bitter memory of civil disobedience movement, pleasure of holding ministerial post and romance of parliamentary work made them allergic towards launching of any national movement.

As Subhas felt that a bare year as President was inadequate in implementing his plan of all round action, he sought re-election to the post. Being disillusioned Gandhiji and his followers decided to oppose by all means Bose's re-election to the chair. Subhas refused to bend to the pressure as this was not unprecedented and he anticipated a move on behalf of the Gandhi Wing not to start any movement and to compromise on the question of federation.

It is interesting to note that the poet Tagore requested the Mahatma to allow Subhas a second term but the latter declined. Bose won the election defeating Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya who was set up against Subhas by Gandhi and his followers. In a statement from Bardoli on 31 January 1939 Mahatma Gandhi openly declared : "Since I was instrumental in inducing Dr. Pattabhi not to withdraw his name as a candidate when Maulana Saheb withdrew, the defeat is more mine than his It is plain to me that the delegates do not approve of the principles and policy for which I stand. I rejoice in this defeat." Commenting on Bose's victory he added : "Subhas Babu instead of being President on the sufferance of those whom he calls Rightists is now President, elected in a contested election. This enables him to choose homogeneous Cabinet and enforce his programme.

"After all Subhas Babu is not an enemy of his country. He has suffered for it. In his opinion his is the most forward and boldest policy and programme. The minority can only wish it all success. If they cannot keep pace with it, they must come out of the Congress. If they can, they will add strength to the majority. The minority may not obstruct on any account. They must abstain, when they cannot co-operate. I must remind all Congressmen that those, who being Congress-minded remain outside it by design, represent it most. Those, therefore, who feel uncomfortable in:

being in the Congress, may come out, not in a spirit of ill will, but with the deliberate purpose of rendering more effective service.”⁴⁴

This was an open call for revolt against Bose which only helped weakening the cause of unity at a time when united struggle was required to pressurise Britain battered by adverse circumstances in the sphere of international politics. Gandhiji's attitude towards Bose gave an advantage to the alien rulers.

Bose was pained to find that the Mahatma had taken it as a personal defeat. He earnestly hoped that there would be no occasion “now or in the near future for the so-called minority party to non-cooperate with the so-called majority party.” Assuring Gandhiji he said : “I need hardly add that I shall try till the last to avert a split whenever such likelihood appears before us . . . There will be no violent break with the past in the Parliamentary or in the extra-Parliamentary sphere. So far as the Parliamentary programme is concerned, we shall only try to implement our election pledges and our Parliamentary programme with greater speed than in the past. In the extra-Parliamentary sphere, we shall endeavour to rally all our strength and resources for combating federation and for pushing on towards ‘Purna Swaraj’ and we shall, of course, act in accordance with the principles and policy of the Indian National Congress.” Referring to his differences with the Mahatma, Subhas said : “. . . I have on some occasions felt constrained to differ from Mahatma Gandhi on public questions, but I yield to none in my respect for his personality. If I have understood him correctly, he too would like to see people think for themselves even though they may not always agree with him. I do not know what sort of opinion Mahatmaji has of myself. But whatever his view may be, it will always be my aim and object to try and win his confidence for the simple reason that it will be a tragic thing for me if I succeed in winning the confidence of other people but fail to win the confidence of India's greatest man.” This statement should have been considered seriously by the Gandhites, since Bose pulled on very well with his colleagues in the Working Committee throughout 1938.

He had kept himself very much in the background, even long after the death of C. R. Das, allowing the elders to dominate the political scene. His never-failing politeness to his colleagues and self-effacing nature should have convinced, at least the Mahatma, of Bose's sincerity in serving the cause of the country.

Commenting on Gandhiji's statement, Jog, Bose's biographer, writes : "It was sporting of Gandhi to admit that the defeat was really his, but one cannot help saying that the advice he gave to his followers was neither sporting nor democratic . . . Obviously he was out to deny Bose the fruits of his victory and to turn the tables against him at the earliest opportunity."⁴⁶

Gandhiji was not satisfied with the statement he delivered as would be evident from the following events. To discuss the agenda for the Tripuri Session it was decided to hold a meeting of the Working Committee at Wardha on 23 February 1939. As Bose fell ill he sent a telegram requesting its postponement. His colleagues interpreted this as an expression of the President's lack of confidence and used this opportunity to deny co-operation to Bose. Twelve of them promptly resigned from the Committee with the knowledge and concurrence of Gandhi. Jawaharlal did not resign but he lined up with the followers of the Mahatma.

Soon after this incident Gandhiji left for Rajkot and thus precluded all chances of settlement before or during the Congress Session at Tripuri. The critics of Gandhi feel that he undertook the Rajkot mission to display to the nation that he was not with Subhas and thus he sabotaged Bose's move to find a way out of the stalemate created by Gandhi and his followers.

In his Presidential address at Tripuri on 10 March 1939, he observed : ". . . . The time has come for us to raise the issue of Swaraj and submit our national demand to the British Government in the form of an ultimatum There is no doubt that once there is stable peace in Europe, whether through a Four-power Pact or through some other means, Great Britain will adopt a strong-Empire policy. She is now showing some signs of trying to conciliate the Arabs as

against the Jews in Palestine, because she is feeling insecure in the international sphere. In my opinion, therefore, we should submit our national demand to the British Government in the form of an ultimatum and give a certain time-limit; if no reply is received within this period or if an unsatisfactory reply is received, we should resort to such sanctions as we possess in order to enforce our national demand." As a cold-blooded realist he said : "... All the facts of the present day situation are so much to our advantage that one should entertain the highest degree of optimism. If only we sink our differences and pool our resources and pull our full weight in the national struggle, we make the most of our present favourable position; or we shall miss this opportunity which is a rare opportunity in the life-time of a nation."

But Bose's proposal was opposed by the Gandhi Wing and Nehru and was thrown out. This was the first set back for Bose. The unkindest cut was inflicted by Pandit Pant who moved a resolution expressing confidence in Gandhiji and the former Working Committee. The resolution adopted the following directive regarding the formation of the new Working Committee : "... In view of the critical situation that may develop during the coming year and in view of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi alone can lead the Congress and the country to victory during such a crisis the Congress regards it as imperative that the Congress executive should command his explicit confidence, and requests the President to nominate the Working Committee in accordance with the wishes of Mahatma Gandhi."

The resolution was passed and with this Bose's plan to gear up the Congress for the final struggle was smashed.

The negotiation between Mahatma Gandhi and Bose revealed that on the one side the Gandhi Wing would not follow the lead of Bose and that, on the other, Bose would not agree to be a puppet President. Consequently, Bose resigned in April 1939 and decided to form a radical and progressive party within the Congress with a view to rallying the entire left wing under one banner. This Party was called the Forward Bloc.

Commenting on the role of Gandhi and his followers, Prof. Mukherjee says : "It was one of the rare occasions when the great man, so cool and collected in his dignity, seemed small and peevish. At the Tripuri Session itself, where Bose presided in spite of high fever, incidents happened, at the instance no doubt of the pious votaries of 'non-violence', over which it is better that a veil is drawn."⁴⁶

On the role of the Mahatma, the British author, Michael Edwardes observes : "Gandhi now turned the technique of non-cooperation, not against the British, but against Congress's own President. Bose was forced to resign"

"Gandhi, whom so many both in India and abroad believed to be compounded only of sweetness and light, had, by the use of his overwhelming prestige and the sort of intrigue one would expect from Tammany Hall, succeeded in disposing of the only real opposition to his leadership."⁴⁷

Poet Tagore was highly impressed by the dignified role of Subhas at Tripuri and sent the following message to Bose on his resignation :

"The dignity and forbearance which you have shown in the midst of a most aggravating situation has won my admiration and confidence in your leadership."

On 3 September 1939 war broke out in Europe as anticipated by Bose and he welcomed it not because he loved bloodshed and war, but it provided India with a golden opportunity. He held that a blow to Britain in Europe would undoubtedly weaken her grip on India. Bose went on endeavouring to induce the Congress leaders for immediate launching of movement to win Swaraj. But his was a cry in the wilderness. Gandhi and his followers were in no mood to launch any campaign. The Mahatma regarded a struggle with Britain in the near future as outside the domain of possibility. On 6 September Mahatma Gandhi, after meeting the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, issued a press statement that despite differences between India and Britain, India should co-operate with Britain in her hour of peril. This was in gross violation of the policy pursued by the Congress. On 20 May 1940, Pandit Nehru made a surprising statement in which he said : "Launching a civil disobedience campaign at a time when

Britain is engaged in a life and death struggle would be an act derogatory to India's honour."⁴⁸ Similarly Mahatma Gandhi said : "We do not seek our independence out of Britain's ruin. This is not the way of non-violence."⁴⁹

Commenting on the role of Bose, Gandhi and Nehru during that crucial time, Michael Edwardes adds : "Bose himself welcomed the possibility of conflict because a blow to Britain in Europe would undoubtedly weaken her grasp on India. Other Congress leaders had no such clear-cut vision of the future. Gandhi and Nehru apparently had no desire to take advantage of Britain's troubles. Gandhi's sympathies—'from a purely humanitarian stand-point' he said—were with Britain and France. Nehru, with his touching faith in democracy as not practised by the British in India, was an opponent of fascism"

"Gandhi, characteristically, appealed for unconditional support for Britain. The whole of his political philosophy was conceived, not in terms of defeating the conquerors of India, but of converting them; without the British everything that stood for was bereft of meaning"

"Gandhi wanted Britain to win the war so that the British could leave India as a clear consequence of his campaign to convert them. Above all, he needed the reassurance of their conversion to prove that he had been right all along Jawaharlal, too, hoped that Britain would win he was no more a revolutionary in fact than the bourgeois leaders of the British Labour Party."⁵⁰

Bose's meeting with Mahatma Gandhi in June 1940 and his subsequent meeting with Mr. Jinnah, the President of the Muslim League, proved abortive and Subhas was soon thrown into prison.

While in prison Bose realised that his plan for a united struggle had little chance of success. Therefore, to strengthen the forces of liberation, he felt it necessary to enter the domain of international politics actively and if it was to be achieved it would be a grave blunder for him to remain in prison. To secure his release from the prison he started a fast unto death. Before commencement of the fast he sent a letter to the Governor of Bengal on 26 November 1940 re-

ferring to all the injustices and illegalities perpetrated on him. He wrote : "Life under existing conditions is intolerable for me. To purchase one's continued existence by compromising with illegality and injustice goes against my very grain. I would throw up my life itself, rather than pay this price. . . .

"Though there may be no immediate, tangible gain—no suffering, no sacrifice is ever futile. It is through suffering and sacrifice alone that a cause can flourish and prosper and in every age and clime, the eternal law prevails—the blood of the martyr is the seed of the church'. In this mortal world, everything perishes and will perish but ideas, ideals and dreams do not. One individual may die for an idea but that idea will, after his death, incarnate itself in a thousand lives." Addressing his countrymen, in the said letter, he added : "Forget not that the greatest curse for a man is to remain a slave. Forget not that the greatest crime is to compromise with injustice and wrong. Remember the eternal law : You must give life, if you want to get it. And remember that the highest virtue is to battle against iniquity, no matter what the cost may be." On 5 December Bose was released. He returned home with shattered health. He was however under house arrest.

After his release Bose remained at home and did not leave his bed-room. During this period of seclusion he reviewed the whole war situation and thought of the possibility of opening a second front from outside India with the help of Indians living abroad and with the assistance of foreign powers, without sacrificing national honour. He considered the question of seeking external support dispassionately and came to the conclusion that if the almighty British Government could go round the whole world with the begging-bowl asking for help everywhere—even from the enslaved and impoverished people of India—there was nothing wrong on the part of India to ask for help from outside. A careful study of the struggle for freedom conducted during the last two hundred years revealed to Bose not a single instance where freedom was won anywhere without some sort of help from outside. He felt that it would be the height of folly not to accept any assistance that might be offered to India and it

would be a grievous mistake to be carried away by ideological considerations.

Thus firm in his conviction and with robust optimism and confidence as his working capital Bose left his residence in Calcutta on 17 January 1941 on way to Europe to create a history which will shine brightly for ever and continue to inspire patriots of all age and all climes in their struggle against slavery of all kind.

NOTES

1. S. C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle, 1920-34*, p. 252.
2. *ibid.*, p. 250.
3. *ibid.*, p. 252.
4. *An Autobiography*, p. 210.
5. *The Indian Struggle, 1920-34*, p. 255.
6. *An Autobiography*, p. 213.
7. *The Indian Struggle, 1920-34*, p. 277. Miss Ellen Wilkinson, Ex MP, after her visit to India in 1922 as a member of the India League deputation observed : "Gandhi was the best policeman the Britisher had in India." (*The Indian Struggle*, p. 271).
8. *An Autobiography*, p. 258-59.
9. *The Indian Struggle, 1920-34*, p. 294.
10. *An Autobiography*, p. 370.
11. *ibid.*, p. 295.
12. The Poona Agreement, arrived at between Hindu leaders on 24 September at Poona, provided for a certain number of reserved seats for members of the depressed classes in the Legislature on the basis of a common electorate for all classes of Hindus.
13. *The Indian Struggle, 1920-34*, pp. 346-47.
14. *Has Congress Failed ? A Historical Survey of the years 1918-1938*. New Delhi, 1943, p. 38.
15. *The Indian Struggle, 1920-34*, p. 345.
16. *Has Congress Failed ?* p. 39.
17. *An Autobiography*, p. 507.
18. *ibid.*, p. 506.
19. *The Indian Struggle, 1920-34*, p. 366.
20. *My Uncle Netaji*, Calcutta, 1977, p. 81. Those interested in knowing a little more details about Bose's work in Europe may read this book with profit.
21. *Romain Rolland And Gandhi Correspondence*, New Delhi, 1976, pp. 323-24.

22. *The Indian Struggle, 1920-34*, pp. 431-32.
23. Letter to Dr. Thierfelder, the founder and Director of the German Academy For Foreign Relations at Stuttgart, dated 24 March 1936. See *Neraji Through German Lens* by the author, Calcutta 1977, third edition, p. 35.
24. Quoted by Prabhat Kumar Mukhopadhyaya in his biography of Rabindranath, p. 622.
25. The Secret of Abyssinia And Its Lessons in *The Modern Review*, November, 1935, p. 576.
26. *The Modern Review*, November 1935, p. 577.
27. *The Indian Struggle, 1920-34*, p. 430.
28. *ibid.*, p. 430.
29. *ibid.*, p. 431.
30. *ibid.*, p. 432.
31. *ibid.*
32. *ibid.*, pp. 432-33.
33. *Crossroads*, Calcutta, 1962, p. 268.
34. Quoted from Bose's article in *The Modern Review* by N. G. Jog in his book, *In Freedom's Quest*, pp. 128-29.
35. *The Indian Struggle, 1935-42*, Calcutta, pp. 67-68.
36. *ibid.*, p. 115.
37. *ibid.*, p. 72 and p. 115.
38. *ibid.*, p. 116.
39. N. G. Jog, *In Freedom's Quest*, pp. 127-28.
40. *ibid.*, p. 128.
41. *ibid.*
42. *The Indian Struggle, 1935-42*, pp. 17-18.
43. *Bow of Burning Gold*, pp. 49-50.
44. *Crossroads*, pp. 105-06.
45. *In Freedom's Quest*, pp. 146-47.
46. *Bow of Burning Gold*, p. 53.
47. *The Last Years of British India*, London, 1963, p. 67.
48. *The Indian Struggle 1935-42*, p. 34.
49. *ibid.*
50. *The Last Years of British India*, pp. 67-69.

The British Press

DAILY HERALD

24 February 1933

GANDHI LIEUTENANT LEAVES COUNTRY
ON STRETCHER
POLICE ESCORT HIM OUT TO SEA
FORMER MAYOR OF CALCUTTA FOR EUROPE

The man who is regarded by the Indian authorities as the brain behind Mr. Gandhi's Congress movement left India to-day in an Italian steamer for Europe.

He was carried on a stretcher from the train to the steamer and was escorted by Police until the ship was well away from the shore. His escort returned by special tender.

This man of whom the authorities are so afraid is Subhas Bose, the Bengal Congress leader and former Mayor of Calcutta.

TALK WITH BROTHER

Subhas Bose, who was detained last February, has been released to go to Switzerland for tuberculous treatment. He is very weak, having lost 64 lb. in weight during recent months. Yet the Government feels his influence in Calcutta is still so great that he was refused to visit his dying mother before sailing for Europe.

One brother, however, was allowed to see him on his way from the train to the steamer, but Police were with them all the time. Other interviews were strictly refused.

Police officers went on the ship with him, but they did not serve the release order until they were well away from the coast.

Subhas Bose intends to stay in Switzerland for about a year.

DAILY HERALD

21 March 1936

EXILED LEADER JAILED IF HE GOES HOME

Mr Subhas Bose, the exiled Indian Nationalist leader, who was forbidden to land in Britain and is now in Austria, has been warned that he will be arrested again if he returns to India.

Mr. Bose writes to the "Daily Herald" that he has received a letter from the British Consul in Vienna which says :

"I have to-day received instructions from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to communicate to you a warning that the Government of India have seen in the Press statements that you propose to return to India this month and the Government of India desire to make it clear to you that should you do so you cannot expect to remain at liberty."

Mr. Bose points out that he was arrested on January 2, 1932, in India and detained in prison till February 22, 1933, without any trial.

"Though I repeatedly asked for it," he writes, "I was never informed of the charge or complaint which the Government of India had against me.

PRISONER IN HOUSE

"When I fell seriously ill and several Medical Boards appointed by the Government to examine me recommended that I should be either released or allowed to proceed to Europe for treatment, the Government of India permitted me to sail for Europe and withdrew the order of detention.

"I have been in Europe practically for the last three years. Only once I had been to India during this period, in December 1934, when I went to see my dying father and stayed there for six weeks.

“During my brief stay in India I was made a prisoner in my house. I now want to go home and I am served with this official threat.

“My last imprisonment was bad enough, legally and ethically. But the proposed imprisonment in the event of my returning to India now beats all record. May I ask if this is a foretaste of the expanded liberty which the new Constitution will usher in?”

THE TIMES

22 May 1936

...Mr. Bose, a former Mayor of Calcutta, has long been notorious as an extremist. He was detained in India as State prisoner, but was released in order to come to Europe for medical treatment. Permission for him to land in England was refused and he was arrested again when he returned to India, the Government having previously intimated to him that he could not expect to remain at liberty if he returned.

EVENING STANDARD

18 November 1937

CONGRESS LEADER 'COMING

Subhas Chandra 'Bose, who is freely mentioned as next Congress President in place of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru left to-day by Dutch airplane for Europe.

He is landing at Naples, whence he is proceeding via Rome to Bad Gastein, Austria.

It is probable that he will visit London before returning to India.—*Reuter*.

EVENING NEWS

18 November 1937

INDIAN NATIONALIST FOR LONDON

Subhas Chandra Bose, who is freely mentioned as next President of the Indian Nationalist Congress in place of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru left to-day by Dutch Plane for Europe.

He is landing at Naples, and going via Rome to Bad Gastein, Austria.

It is probable that he will visit London before returning to India.—*Reuter*.

EVENING CHRONICLE

18 November 1937

INDIAN LEADER MAY VISIT LONDON

Subhas Chandra Bose, who is freely mentioned as next Congress President in place of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nchru, left Bombay by plane for Europe. It is probable that he will visit London.

*NEWS CHRONICLE**11 January 1938***CONGRESS LEADER GARLANDED IN LONDON**

Hundreds of Indians gave a welcome at Victoria station last night to Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, leader of the Congress Party in India, who is paying a short visit to England.

A garland of flowers was placed round his neck.

Mr. Bose, who is almost certain to be the next president of Congress, has on several occasions been a political prisoner in India.

He was elected Mayor of Calcutta in 1930 while he was in gaol. He has visited Europe in recent years but has not been allowed to enter England. This ban has now been removed.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

He said to the News Chronicle after his arrival: 'Congress has always demanded the release of political prisoners and naturally it was the first thing we tried to carry out. It is an open secret that in this matter Congress Prime Ministers and Cabinets have been hindered by the attitude of the Governors.

'In Bengal, for instance, there are still 500 prisoners. They are the cause of a constant tug-of-war between Governor and Cabinet.

'I cannot agree with the official claim that law and order will be prejudiced if these men are released, for under Congress there has been no deterioration in the preservation of order.'

TO FIGHT FEDERATION

With regard to Federation, Mr. Bose declared that it would be opposed tooth and nail by every legitimate means.

'If the worst came to the worst we should prefer things as they are to Federation,' he said.

'Rightly or wrongly, we feel that under Federation the Princes of Native States would become a definitely reactionary force.'

He described his visit as a private one, but added that, if invited to do so, he would welcome an opportunity of exchanging views with officials of the India Office, before he returns to India next week.

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN •

11 January 1938

**MR. SUBHAS BOSE IN LONDON
DEFENCE OF THE CONGRESS MINISTERS :
'WE HAVE IMPROVED COMMUNAL SITUATION'**

FROM OUR LONDON STAFF, FLEET STREET, MONDAY.

When Mr. Subhas Bose, the prohibition on his entry into England lifted, arrived at Victoria station to-night he was greeted by hundreds of Indians, and by many English friends. This youngish man, who is likely to be the next President of Congress, had come to Europe for medical treatment, but he now looks in excellent health and fit for the burdens of office.

English people who met him for the first time were impressed alike by his pleasant, quiet manner and the decisiveness with which he discussed Indian affairs. That was at a reception held an hour later at the Dorchester Hotel, which was attended by a large number of Indians, as well as English journalists.

When asked about the situation in the provinces under Congress Ministers, Mr. Bose said that the Ministers had to function under various drawbacks. They had no control over the Central Government, which possessed special responsibilities and discretionary powers, while even in their own domain they could not have everything their own way, as, for instance, in regard to their wish that all political prisoners should be released. People who had been interned in villages or in their own homes in Bengal had been released, but there were still 500 men in Bengal prisons on political charges.

PROBLEM OF FINANCE

The biggest question the Provincial Governments had to face was finance. It was difficult for them to do much

till they had control over the Central Government. Next to that was the difficulty that the permanent civil servants who had to carry out the Ministers' instructions were financially independent of them. "In spite of their handicaps", Mr. Bose said, "I believe that in the short time they have been in office the Congress Ministers have done much to justify their existence."

In answer to a suggestion that conditions had worsened since these Ministers came into power, and that the communal difficulty had been by no means alleviated, Mr. Bose said: "It is absolutely false. We have improved the communal situation. With the exception of, I think, one province which is too small to have more than three Ministers, and which could not find a suitable Moslem to appoint, practically all the provinces have appointed a Moslem Minister. They have gone out of their way to do it. We are hopeful of better relations with the Moslem League.

"In every Congress-governed province we have done something tangible for the peasantry. Ameliorative measures have been adopted such as preventing the raising of rents, and stopping the collection of arrears of rent. We have a sort of moratorium, and we are examining the whole question how far permanent relief can be given.

HOSTILITY TO FEDERATION

"We are opposed to federation: we will fight it tooth and nail," Mr. Bose declared. "We are going to use every legislative means to oppose its introduction. Federation as it is now drawn up would be a set back. We think the Princes of the native States would be a definitely reactionary force. In the last resort we would rather have the status quo than Federation."

Mr. Bose said he was not here on a political mission: he had come to meet his old friends, many of whom he had not seen for years. When asked whether he was

going to the India Office, he said that if his friends wished him to meet any one he was willing to do so. "From the Congress point of view we do not approach any one."

The Manchester Guardian published a photograph of Subhas Chandra Bose, captioned INDIAN LEADER in its issue dated 14 January, 1938.

See Bose's article: 'The Problem of India', published in *News Chronicle* on 11.1.38.

Also See Sir Samuel Hoare's 'Tribute to Sir John Anderson's Work' published in *The Manchester Guardian* on 11.1.38 —Author.

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN

*12 January 1938*INDIA AND FEDERATION
NO ACCEPTANCE
MR. BOSE ON CONGRESS ATTITUDE

FROM OUR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT LONDON, TUESDAY.

In an interview published in your columns to-day Mr. Subhas Bose, the prospective President of the Indian Congress, said Congress would oppose Federation tooth and nail. Talking further on the matter with me to-day he said Congress was undecided whether to boycott the Federal elections or to contest them and then refuse to work Federation. They would take, Mr. Bose said, whichever of the two courses promised to be more effective against Federation. He admitted, however, that at present the weight of opinion seemed to be in favour of contesting the elections.

A WARNING

But the most notable thing Mr. Bose said was to warn people in Great Britain against thinking that Congress may drift into working Federation as it has drifted into working the provincial Governments. The two things are entirely different, he insisted.

All parties, he pointed out, oppose Federation, especially the Moslems. On the other hand, all parties approached provincial Government with something of an open mind. They felt that in spite of the provincial Governors' special powers, provincial Governments were left to carry out the important tasks of provincial Government.

The exact contrary, he went on, is the case at the federal centre. The most important subjects of Central Government are "reserved", and these reserved depart-

ments of government in the aggregate account for 80 per cent of India's Budget. And on top of this withholding of real power the princes, Mr. Bose finally argues, are there to see that reaction prevails in the unreserved field.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

These may be the old Congress criticisms of the federal scheme, but they continue to explain, in Mr. Bose's opinion, why there is universal opposition to federation ; and the strength of that opposition, he says, will become only too apparent as the federal elections approach. The emergence of the federal issue will create again the tension that the working of the provincial Governments has relaxed, so Mr. Bose believes.

The way out of the coming dead-lock, Mr. Bose urges, is the way Congress has always advocated a constituent Assembly to devise a new constitution nearer to India's own desire.

NEWS CHRONICLE

17 January 1938

THE PROBLEM OF INDIA

By Subhas Chandra Bose

President-Elect of the Indian National Congress Party

Born 1897, graduate of Cambridge University, imprisoned in 1921 in connection with Civil Disobedience Movement. Joined Swaraj Party 1922. Arrested 1924, held without trial till 1927. With Pandit Nehru organised the Independence League, 1928. President of the Trade Union Congress 1929-31. While in prison, 1930, was elected Mayor of Calcutta. In prison without trial 1932-33. When his health broke down was allowed to leave for Europe. Back in India 1936, was imprisoned again, released 1937. Now recuperating in Europe.

ABYSSINIA, Spain and China have successively forced themselves on the attention of the civilised world. India has receded into the background, and the British public appear to heave a sigh of relief that, whatever else happens, the knotty Indian question has been finally solved.

But is that a fact? The people of India, and particularly the Indian National Congress, think otherwise.

After the Second Round Table Conference, the Congress withdrew from further participation in the Conference and the Constitution was then drafted without the participation of that body. Consequently, we Congressmen cannot have any obligation in the matter of working it. From the very beginning the Congress has condemned the Constitution with all the emphasis at its command. The opposition has been the greatest with regard to the Federal part of it.

The Constitution has two parts, the Provincial and the Federal. The Provincial part of the Constitution was launched on April 1, 1935. The Federal part, we were told some time ago, would be brought into operation on April 1, 1938, but of late one has not heard of the intentions of the British Government in this behalf.

The Indian National Congress hesitated for some months to accept office. The Governors in the provinces being vested with wide powers, it was apprehended that they might interfere in the work of the Ministers. There was, accordingly, a demand for an assurance that these special powers would not be used. The British Government refused to give such an assurance in a direct and formal manner, but nevertheless announced indirectly that these powers would not, as a rule, be exercised. Thereafter the Congress decided to take office in July, 1937.

Within the short period that they have been in office, the Congress Ministries have been able to create a very good impression, as compared with the non-Congress Ministries. They have released a large number of political prisoners and have afforded substantial, though temporary, relief in the way of remission of arrears of rent to the distressed and much-harassed peasantry.

A modified form of prohibition has been applied and an educational policy has been adopted at the instance of Mahatma Gandhi. A uniform Labour programme has been drafted by the Labour Ministers in the Congress-administered provinces. Other schemes, particularly in connection with public health and unemployment, are also under contemplation.

Last, but not least, the Congress Ministries have been able to improve the communal situation considerably by demonstrating that the Congress stands for all sections of the population. With the exception of the small province of Orissa, which has a Cabinet of three members, the Congress Cabinets all have Muslim members.

But what about the future? Though on the surface there is smooth working in the Congress-administered provinces, it is no exaggeration to say that there is friction going on between the Ministers on the one side and the Governors and the higher services on the other. The Governors are aware that they enjoy special powers, enabling them to override the Ministers, while the Services are aware that they are quite independent of the Ministers in the matter of their pay and emoluments.

Then there is the all-important question of finance. Will the Congress Ministers find adequate funds for carrying out their policy and putting into operation their programme? We have serious misgivings which it is no use concealing—specially when there is an Autocratic Government at the Centre.

The other part of the Constitution, viz., the Federal, is so reactionary that not only the Congress but all other political parties, including the Muslim League, have been opposing it from the very beginning. The composition of the Federal Legislature, which is to contain the nominees of the reactionary Princes, and the existence of several reserved departments in the Federal Government, are some of the worst features of the Federal Constitution.

The Federal Ministers will handle only the less important departments, covering about twenty per cent. of the Federal Budget, while the important departments, including the army, covering about eighty per cent. of the Budget, will be administered by the Governor-General, through his own Agents.

The conclusion therefore is that the Federation will be opposed by the Congress by all the legitimate and peaceful means. There is not the slightest possibility of the Congress party changing its opinion and gradually drifting towards a policy of accepting Federal office as in the case of the Provincial Governments. There is absolutely no analogy between the two.

The Indian problem is today as far from solution as it ever was. And the forcible inauguration of federation will create a first-class crisis. Even without federation, the crisis may come through increasing friction between the Congress Cabinets and the Governors and the higher Services who are behind the Governors.

To solve the knotty Indian problem the Congress has a constructive suggestion to offer—a Constituent Assembly for the people of India. Until the people have a Constitution which they have themselves drafted no solution can be a lasting or a final one. And, of course, that solution can be only on the basis of full independence for the people of India.

Once the people of India are free, there is no reason why there should not be the most friendly and cordial relations between the two countries. India today dreams not only of her National Freedom but of co-operation with other countries of the world, including Great Britain.

THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION

31 August 1935

NO ADMITTANCE

Sir,— May I seek the hospitality of your columns in a matter which I think would interest the public in Great Britain—or at least the fair-minded section of the public?

I was imprisoned in India in January, 1932, without any trial under the provisions of the “rusty” Regulation No. III of 1818, and I was in custody till February 23, 1933. During this period I was never informed by the Government as to why I had been incarcerated, though I repeatedly asked for that information. When my health was thoroughly ruined and when Medical Officers of the Government and Medical Boards appointed by the Government had repeatedly recommended that I should be permitted to go to Europe for treatment, I was allowed to do so. But up till now I have no idea as to why I was imprisoned.

A few days ago I was visited by some friends from England who informed me that there had been a propaganda against me there to the effect that I was connected with the terrorist movement in India. The powers enjoyed by the Bengal Government for dealing with terrorists and their sympathisers are so wide and far-reaching that if there had been the slightest basis for such an accusation, I am sure that the Bengal Government would have dealt with me in a court of law long ago, particularly because I had repeatedly asked that I should be sent up for trial or set at liberty. My own attitude to the problem of terrorism has been clearly explained in my book, *The Indian Struggle* (Wishart). I now ask you, Sir, if it is fair to give a man a bad name, when you refuse to prosecute him in spite of your having the widest powers imaginable for securing a conviction and

when you refuse to inform him even privately as to why he has been deprived of his liberty. •

The injustice and the unfairness of the whole affair is accentuated by the fact that I am not permitted to come to England to vindicate myself. On the eve of my departure for Europe in February, 1933, when I was given my passport I was surprised to find that an entry had been made to the effect that I would not be allowed to enter the United Kingdom and Germany. Simultaneously I was informed by the Government of India that if I desired an extension of passport facilities, I should apply to the Secretary of State for India when I was in Europe. After I came to Europe, in 1933, I applied to the Secretary of State for India for permission to visit the United Kingdom and Germany, but I was given permission to visit Germany only. The position, therefore, is that though I am a British subject and a graduate of Cambridge—I can visit other countries in Europe but not Great Britain.

A similar injustice is involved in the banning of my book, *The Indian Struggle*, in India, though it has been published by a British publisher and is allowed to circulate in Great Britain. Is English law to have one interpretation in Great Britain and another in India?

Between 1921 and 1931 I have taken an important part in the activities of the Indian National Congress, but all my activities have been open and above board. During this period I have held important positions as General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, President All-India Trade Union Congress and Mayor of Calcutta. And even to-day I am the President of the Bengal Congress Committee. In the restrictions on my liberty, the only consolation I have is that there are more than 2,500 people in Bengal, including some women, who have also been deprived of their liberty without any trial. (I am taking the figures from the *Times* of August 2nd, 1935).

I believe that there are people in England—however small their number may be—who stand for justice and fair play. I would like to draw their attention to the above matter through the medium of your esteemed journal.

Subhas Chandra Bose

Kurshaus Konigin Alexandra,
Karlsbad.

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN •

1 October 1935

THE INDIAN CONGRESS AND THE CRISIS

To The Editor of the Manchester Guardian

Sir,

The Commander-in-Chief of the Army in India, during a debate in the Council of State on September 17 on the dispatch of Indian troops to Addis Ababa, said: "If we go to war we wish to go with India behind us." The question that has to be answered is: What will bring India behind Great Britain on this occasion? It is quite certain that in the event of a war Indian leaders will not easily offer themselves as recruiting sergeants, as they did during the Great War. Since 1927 the Indian National Congress at its annual session has been adopting anti-war resolutions.

The bold stand that Britain took against Italy roused a wave of enthusiastic sympathy throughout India at first, and on the crest of this wave Indian troops were sent out to Addis Ababa. But this feeling has been cooling rapidly. Three factors account for this. First, India has now come to know of British participation in intrigues with France and Italy against Abyssinia ever since 1906. Secondly, the speech of Sir Samuel Hoare at the League meeting, where he congratulated himself on the "great and complicated measure of self-government" granted to India, has chilled India's affection for the League for which he stands. (If India had her own delegation at the League, instead of nominees of the British Government, then surely Sir Samuel would not have made that remark.) Thirdly, the recent aerial bombing of the frontier people, which the Indian Legislative Assembly condemned by a resolution the other day, does not create enthusiasm for British methods as against Italian methods.

If India's support is to be of any value in the present crisis then Britain will have to demonstrate her moral superiority over Italy by giving up bombing the frontier people and by conceding a "great" (but not complicated) measure of self-government to India. Otherwise, if India is forced into a war against her will it should not be regarded as altogether outside the domain of possibility that the Congress may give practical effect to its anti-war resolutions in a spirit of non-violent non-cooperation. —Yours, &c.,

Hofgastein, Austria,
September 26.

Subhas C. Bose, President
Congress Committee, Bengal.

Intelligence

*Excerpts from a note prepared on Subhas Chandra Bose
by M. J. Clauson on 15 December 1932.*

Departmental Minutes

This is only a preliminary 'warning' telegram from the Government of India requiring no answer. But it provides an opportunity to get a close mind on the problem of which the following are the elements.

1. Bose's character, activities and danger.

S. C. Bose is a long-standing extreme nationalist. He has been associated with terrorism mainly on account of the fact that the Bengali terrorists are of great use as municipal election agents, and he has been responsible for the grant of local official appointment under the Calcutta corporation appointments to terrorists as a price for political support. There is also at least a suspicion that he has been at the back of certain plans to smuggle arms into India. There is apparently no idea of his having been associated with *communism* or with revolutionary intrigue outside India. He may perhaps be described as a bitterly and irremediably anti-British politician of strong ambition centred mainly on Bengali Politics, only secondarily interested in all-India politics who has no scruples and will work with anybody who can serve his personal purposes.

3. Objections to letting Bose coming to Europe—

If Bose comes to Europe and regain his vigour, he may, if he goes to Switjerland and Germany, get in touch with dangerous international revolutionaries and weave plots to be put into operation on his return to India.

If he goes to Denmark or Scandinavia the danger is less, no doubt, but is perhaps not utterly in significant (tho' a far-fetched idea) that the only two foreign lines so far as I heard which regularly ply between continental ports on the North Sea and Indian ports and so are easy to use for arms smuggling on the Hansa Line (whose lascars and seamen are notoriously bad) and a line called I think Williamstans (?) which runs from Scandinavia has

definitely been mentioned by Dr. Sunil Bose (the brother) as suitable for Bose to go to. •

If he goes to England, Bose will be able to make valuable contacts in connection with the young Bengalees studying over here, so many of whom get infected with communistic views and connected with active communists doing their studies here.

In a word if he is allowed to come to England Bose will be let loose in the various hot beds of international revolutionaries— for as the Government of India say it will be quite impossible once the principle of his leaving India is conceded to prevent him going about in Europe ostensibly in quest of medical opinions. Not is it to be expected that having successfully refused in 1927 to give any undertaking he will give now a promise to limit his movement— or even having given one that he would fail to break it.

Excerpts from the letter dated 30.6.33 from Mr. J. W. Taylor, Vice Consul, Prague to Chief Passport Officer, London :

Para-3 "On the 25th March, 1933, His Majesty's consul at Vienna endorsed his passport for Hungary and Czechoslovakia and on the 24th April 1933 for Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Norway and Denmark. On the 13th May a further endorsement appears reading 'Also valid for Germany. Authority, P.O. S/F dt. 9th May 1933.

Para-4 "The name of Mr. Subhas Chandra does not appear in the Warning list ; so I granted him an endorsement for Belgium, Holland and Poland and informed him that I could not endorse his passport for Egypt without authority."

Mr. Clauson,

I think the Consul at Vienna and the Vice Consul at Prague acted very stupidly in this matter ; surely the red ink endorsement on this passport should have constituted quite sufficient warning to refer any future applications to London ? Apparently it did not and I suggest that a P.O. circular should now be issued, asking for such reference to be made.

There is no reason why he should be allowed to go to the U. S. A. or to Egypt for political work.

Sd/I. P. I.
5.7.33

True copy of particulars incorporated in the Passport issued to Subhas Chandra Bose at Allahabad on 13 February, 1933 :

No of Passport : 7230-C

Name of bearer : Subhas Chandra Bose

National Status : British subject by birth

Profession : Public worker

Place and date of birth : Cuttack, India January 23, 1897

Domicile: India

Height : 5 ft. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Colour of eyes : Dark

Colour of hair : Dark

Visible distinguishing mark : Small dark mole on centre of fore head

Countries for which this passport is valid : Austria, Italy, France, Switzerland and return to India

Validity : February 13, 1938

Observations

Father's name : Mr. Janaki Nath Bose

District Indian Home : 1 Woodburn Park, Calcutta

Caste : Bengali Kayastha Hindu

Endorsement in Red Ink : Not valid for entry into Germany or the United Kingdom.

Confidential
US of S
F.O.

14.3.'34

Sir,

I am directed by the S of S for I to forward for the information of S of S for F. A. ten copies of confidential note regarding Subhas Chandra Bose of Calcutta, regarding whose passport facilities this office was in communication with the Chief Passport Officer last summer. Bose attended the Asiatic Congress held during December in Rome and received hospitality from the Italian Government on that occasion. There are reasons for supposing that he may endeavour to be entertained by other Governments and I am to suggest for the consideration of Sir John Simon that H. M. Representative in Vienna, Berlin, Rome, Prague, Warsaw, Brussels and Paris, each of which places may be visited, should be furnished with a copy of the note for their confidential guidance should they be consulted by the Government to which they are credited. The fact that Bose was at one time Mayor of Calcutta naturally makes it easy for him to impose upon those who are ignorant of his record.

Sd. R. Peel

- (i) US of S, F.O. stands for Under Secretary of State, Foreign Office.
- (ii) S of S For I stands For Secretary of State For India.
- (iii) S of S For F.A. is the abbreviation of Secretary of State For Foreign Affairs.—Author.

Copy
(W 3733/2634/50)
(369/2/34)

BRITISH EMBASSY,
BERLIN
18th April 1934.

Dear Department,

With reference to your despatch No. 337 (W 2634/2634/50) of the 23rd March, you may be interested to know that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose recently paid a visit to Dresden, where he was interviewed by a correspondent of the "Dresdener Anzeiger".

Although Mr. Bose, in the course of this interview, said some very unfriendly things about England, the paper gives chief prominence to his remark "Dresden is a nice town", and to a lengthy account of his elegant appearance. After paying a suitable tribute to the improvement which had taken place in Germany since he was there a year ago, Mr. Bose said that the first condition of progress in India was the removal of the English from their position of political domination. There were many differences among the Indian population, but they were solid behind the slogan of "England must go!" Victory was only a question of time and money. Apart from this the Indian movement had much in common with Hitlerism; for example, the Fuhrerprinzip had been introduced, in so far as every province had a "Fuhrer" (sic).

Mr. Bose had had a talk with the Minister of Economics in Berlin about the advantages for German exporters which might arise from the Indian boycott of British goods. Apparently he had also made a tour of inspection of the local representatives of the movement, who exist in all the principal towns of Germany. He is also said to be interested in modern hygienic methods.

Mr. Bose, it is said, is due to leave for Prague on Friday. From there he plans to go to Vienna, Geneva, and the Balkans, where he proposes to stay some time.

Western Department,
Foreign Office.

Yours ever,
CHANCERY

Copy
(W 4364/2634/50)

BRITISH LEGATION,
VIENNA
April 20th, 1934

My dear Kendrick,

The yearly report of the Oesterreichisch-Auslandischer Studenten Klub in Vienna, issued in March 1934, contains, as you will see, on page 32, a contribution from Mr. K. N. Gairola (whose nationality is not clear to me), which indicates efforts to establish a connection between the Hindusthan Academical Association of Vienna and the Students' Club mentioned above, whose members include British students and whom the Legation has endeavoured to assist.

The Gairola letter further shows that the Hindusthan Academical Association of Vienna is in the hands of Subhas Chandra Bose, former Mayor of Calcutta and as you must know—one of the most anti-British Indians living to-day. Bose was, you will remember, in Vienna last year or the year before, apparently for the purpose of transferring the headquarters of the Federation of Indian Students abroad from London to Vienna. The object of this transfer is obvious, and it is particularly desirable that his activities should be checked as far as possible.

Could you draw the attention of the Police to the Association and perhaps get them to issue a warning to the Oesterreichisch-Auslandischer Studenten Klub of the danger of associating themselves with the H. A. A. V.? If any police report you may be able to obtain warrants such action, I propose to tell the Secretary of the Students' Club that they can expect no further assistance or interest from the Legation unless they cut themselves loose from the H. A. A. V. But in the first place we should like as much substantiated information, as it may be possible to get concerning the H. A. A. V., Mr. H. M. Gairola, and the activities of Mr. Bose in this connection. Also whether our friend Mr. Agni Hotri is in any way

connected with the organisation.

Please return me the copy of the magazine I am sending with this letter.

(Signed) R. II. Hadow

Captian T. J. Kendrick,
Passport Control,
Vienna.

*Enclosure in Budapest Despatch No. 126 of
May 12th, 1934.*

MR. SUBHIAS CHANDRA BOSE'S INTERVIEW IN THE PESTER
LLOYD OF MAY 9TH, 1934

Mr. Bose began by sketching the history of the Swaraj Party since the war and explaining the circumstances leading up to the Party's decision to participate once again in the elections to Congress.

To an enquiry as to the political leanings of Dr. Ansari, the newly elected President of the Swaraj Party, Mr. Bose said that he was a Mohammedan and was a Moderate in the same way as Gandhi. The Moderate wing of the Party were of course also opposed to acceptance of the constitutional proposals contained in the English White Paper. Even the Moderates aimed at complete independence of India, "but", added Mr. Bose, "we the younger generation stand for more energetic methods."

As to the part played by Gandhi within the National Movement Mr. Bose explained that Gandhi's influence was made up of two separate components; on the one hand his living example and his character and on the other his political orientation. His pure and lofty character would always afford an example to the Indian masses. As regards his politics, however, many members of the Nationalist Movement felt that a more radical and uncompromising attitude was necessary. Gandhi's unswerving belief in non-violence, his noble character and his uprightness were merely being exploited by the English for their own purposes.

Asked whether the Nationalist Movement considered that all means, even revolutionary means, would be justified in the achievement of its objectives, Mr. Bose replied "Yes, all methods for getting rid of the English are justified, even revolution and violence. Of course a revolutionary uprising would not serve the purpose today. At the moment we believe that we shall achieve a great deal of what we want by parliamentary methods."

As regards "untouchability", Mr. Bose declared that he and his group were in full agreement with Gandhi that all caste differences should be abolished. It was only the reactionaries who continued to uphold untouchability and they felt confident in their power to do so because they knew that they had the English behind them.

To the objection that the English claimed to wish to abolish untouchability and that they were even extending the franchise to the caste-less, Mr. Bose rejoined that the Government's measures were especially designed to delay a solution. For a year and a half already a Bill for removing the temple-ban on untouchables had been lying before the Central Parliament, and was still awaiting enactment. If the English were genuinely opposed to pariah-dom the Bill would long since have been passed. But any means were good enough for the English to keep the people of India divided.

Asked whether an independent India would not lead to difficulties owing to the religious differences separating Hindus and Mohammedans, Mr. Bose asserted that an independent India would be capable of settling the problem. Religious differences were being artificially fostered by the English in order to sow seeds of hatred and discord among the people of India. It was a proven fact, for example, that disputes between Mohammedans and Hindus having their origins in the pollution of mosques by the carcasses of pigs were frequently due to the initiative of the governing authorities. In the Nationalist Movement Hindus and Mohammedans were fighting side by side just as they did in the last great struggle of the Indians for their independence in 1857.

Dealing with the notorious accusation of the Communist which his interlocutor now put to him, that Gandhi and his political friends were no more than fattened capitalists out to oppress the proletariat of India, Mr. Bose replied that the Party to which he belonged was a People's Party. Its leaders, he said, were no capitalists, but like Gandhi himself men without worldly wants and

with no desire to amass riches for themselves. Their desire was that every Indian should feel himself free in a free country. It was naturally to gauge the social political programme of the Indian Nationalists by European standards. They were making a close study, however, of all the political tendencies in the White countries and were, for example, convinced that they must have a comprehensive economic programme already prepared against the day when they should attain to power. They were thus interested in all the attempts, whether European or American, at "planned economy". Communism, however, they did not want because it was unsuited to the character and temperament of the Indian people.

Mr. Bose concluded his remarks on a series of analogies between Hungarian and Indian political development. The Indian Nationalists, he said, were keenly interested in Hungary's various struggles for freedom and had made a special study, for example, of the political life of Kossuth. They also had much sympathy for Hungary's post-war situation. India had looked forward to the Peace Conference in the hope that it would realise a new and just order of things. The Treaties, however, had brought no progress to India and in consequence Indians were opposed to an arrangement as a result of which such severe wounds had been inflicted on Hungary.

Copy
(W 4905/2634/50)

BRITISH LEGATION,
• PRAGUE
15th May, 1934.

My dear Orme,

In your despatch No. 56 (W 2634/2634/50) Confidential of the 23rd of March last, you enclosed particulars about Subhas Chandra Bose, distributed to missions "for their confidential guidance should they be consulted by the Government to which they are accredited."

Bose was in Prague on 4th May (and may be still for all I know). On that date he attended a ceremony of inauguration of a Club "for the promotion of cultural and commercial relations between Czechoslovakia and British India" and, on behalf of India, replied to the inaugural speech delivered by Dr. Lesny of the Oriental Institute, the said Lesny being violently anti-British (and an ass— but perhaps the two always go together).

Francis, the Vice Consul, was there by accident and informs me that, although Bose was careful to say nothing directly inimical, the whole of his speech was on the "leitmotive" that British India, in her struggle for freedom, was in the same position as Czechoslovakia had formerly been under "her Austrian oppressors".

It would, of course, be beneath our dignity to take any notice of such nonsense, on an occasion which is in itself ridiculous— so I just give you this information for what it is worth.

O. G. Sargent, Esq., C.M.G.,
Foreign Office,
S.W. 1.

Your ever,
(Sd) Joseph Addison

From Roumania

Telegram (enclair) from Mr. Palairet. (Bucharest).

D. May 15th 1934 : (by post).

R. May 17th 1934.

No. 43.

SAVING.

This morning's "Dimineatsa" reports arrival in Bucharest on a week's visit of Subhas Chandra Bose, accompanied by a "military doctor" and a "hypnotizing artist" named King. Subhas Chandra Bose, in an interview published in same paper, states that he was at one time Mayor of Calcutta. He is described as being thirty-six years of age and states that he belongs to the extremist section of Indian nationalists who pursue the most energetic methods in their efforts to achieve complete independence of India. He explained differences between Swaraj party and Gandhi's adherents as to tactics: when asked whether his party advocated violent action he replied that every method was good, even force, which led to freeing India from English rule; though for the moment he thought that improvements would be obtained by parliamentary action. He stated that the incidents provoked between Hindus and Moslems by attacks on mosques and by the throwing of corpses into them were arranged by the British authorities in order to incense the Moslems against the Hindus. Religious differences in India were, he said, deliberately encouraged by British.

I will endeavour to obtain further information regarding his activities here.

No. 114
(146/3/34)

BELGRADE,
9th June, 1934.

Sir,

With reference to your despatch no. 110 of the 25th April (W 3733/2634/50) I have the honour to inform you that Subhas Chandra Bose of Calcutta visited Belgrade from the 28th May to the 3rd June.

2. So far as I have been able to ascertain the greater part of Bose's time here was spent in studying the various institutions and organisations connected with workmen's welfare. In public conversation he appears to have been very cautious in his criticisms of His Majesty's Government, and to have limited his observations on the Indian situation to expressions of personal admiration for Mr. Gandhi and to statements that the Gandhi movement was rapidly gaining ground.

3. On hearing that Bose had arrived I took an opportunity of mentioning his history to the Political Director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with the result that the press were instructed to confine their reports to the mere fact of his presence in Belgrade. I understand that Bose left Yugoslavia bitterly disappointed at the lack of publicity given to his visit.

I have the honour to be with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant.

(for H. M. Minister)

Sd/-

The Rt. Hon. Sir John Simon.
G.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., etc. etc., etc.

No. 145.
(139/4/54).

BRITISH LEGATION
SOFIA
June 10th 1934.

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 126 of the 26th May regarding the movements of Subhas Chandra Bose, I have the honour to report that some ten days ago I received from the Greek Legation here a request for information regarding this individual, who had applied to them for letters of introduction to the Greek authorities in Athens.

2. The confidential information contained in your despatch no. 92 (W 3733/2634/50) of the 25th April last was accordingly communicated confidentially to the Greek-Legation, who informed Mr. Bose that he must address himself to His Majesty's Legation here or in Athens. This he declined to do, adding that he preferred to omit Athens from his itinerary.

3. I understand that he left Sofia for Vienna on the 29th May.

4. Last night a member of my staff spent the evening with the Chief of the Mounted Police. Amongst other things this officer spoke of the doings of Subhas Chandra Bose in Sofia. I enclose a note of what he said.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives at Athens and Vienna.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,
(SGD.) C. H. BENTINCK

The Right Honourable
Sir John Simon, G.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.,
etc. etc. etc.

Enclosure in Sofia Despatch No. 145 of June, 10th, 1934.

NOTE

Mr. Bose was beginning to cause some anxiety to the local authorities. Because he was "a British Subject" they did not want to hustle him away. However he visited all the tombs, monuments etc. erected in memory of fallen revolutionaries. At two of them in Sofia he spoke for 20 minutes to half an hour. He has endeavoured to recruit 5000 reserve officers who have fought in wars, and who are prepared to follow revolutionary tactics. He took away with him boxes full of communist literature in Bulgarian, French and German. He stated publicly that Gandhi will die soon, and that he is the one who will take his place . . . India is ready for a revolution but perhaps a year or two must elapse . . . India has 400 million souls of whom 15 million can be slaughtered during the struggle for the liberation of India from the yoke of British Rule.

Minute Paper

PUBLIC & JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

Sir F. Stewart,
S. of S., (after issue)
U. S. of S.
Sd/- 1/12/34.

This telegram indicates that the Government of India are not proposing to act quite as rigidly towards Subhas Bose as it appeared from their previous telegram. They are prepared to let him see his father and, in the event of his death, attend the funeral ceremonies, provided that he is specially released on parole for the purpose, after having been arrested under Regulation 3. (It is clear as Bose has a valid passport that there can be no question of his being arrested under the Passport Act.) The Government of India have proposed to the Government of Bengal the same treatment for Subhas Bose as has been accorded to his brother Sarat Bose. They are doubtful whether it will be possible to allow Subhas Bose full liberty on his first arrival, but are consulting the Government of Bengal and are asking them to give a further brief appreciation of the terrorist situation in justification of the action proposed. They see no objection to allowing Subhas Bose to return to Europe as an alternative to detention. The Government of India's proposals seem a satisfactory solution of the problem, and it may be taken practically for certain that the Government of Bengal will not agree to his being allowed any liberty. In view of the fact that Sarat Bose's detention is still considered necessary, it would seem hardly reasonable to give his far more dangerous brother full liberty on his arrival, even for short space of time.

We have now received information that Subhas Bose actually left Rome on the Dutch air liner and all the indications are that he proposes to make only a brief stay in India and to return to Vienna as soon as may be possible.

A draft telegram informing the Government of

India that Subhas Bose has left and accepting their proposals for dealing with him is submitted.

Sd/ R. Peei
30/11

We can take it for granted that the G. of I. will tell us what the Bengal Government say about it.

Sd/
1/12/34

Subhas Chandra Bose

A DEPARTMENTAL NOTE ON THE CASE AGAINST SUBHAS BOSE
PREPARED IN MARCH 1936 IS ATTACHED.

Early in 1922 Subhas Bose served six months imprisonment for managing or assisting in the management of an unlawful Association. Later he became the recognised leader of the Jugantar Group of Terrorists, and was at the back of the campaign of terrorism which was restarted by this Group in 1924. In consequence he was arrested in October 1924 and detained under Bengal Regulation III of 1818. In view of the position he had attained his case was very carefully reviewed before this step was taken, but the conclusion eventually reached was that unless he was detained there was no hope of dealing successfully with the Jugantar campaign. He was released in May 1927 for reasons of health and immediately took part in the campaign against Government, first on the Terrorist and later on the Civil Disobedience side, his activities with the latter Movement earning him three separate sentences of imprisonment in 1930 and 1931. His election during this period as Mayor of Calcutta gave him a position of influence of which he speedily took advantage. He secured positions in the Calcutta Corporation for active Terrorists, particularly in the teaching staff of the Corporation schools, thus facilitating recruitment for the Terrorist Party. In consequence of his continued connection with terrorism his re-arrest under Regulation III was considered on several occasions, and ultimately it was decided to take action in January 1932. Soon afterwards his health began to give trouble and in February 1933 he was permitted to come to Europe for treatment. In 1934 Bose's father fell seriously ill and in response to a telegram from his mother he left for India at the end of November. After the death of his father, Bose returned to Europe in January 1935, and after a visit to Ireland went to Austria early in 1936 for a final course of medical treatment at

Badgastein. Early in 1936 it became known that Bose was proposing to return to India, and, after consultation between the Government of India and Bengal, it was decided that it would be impossible to allow him liberty in India. The Terrorist Movement was under control, but it was agreed that Bose at liberty anywhere in India would very shortly become the focus of revolutionary activity leading to a decided worsening of the situation which had so materially improved. Proof that his attitude to Government had not changed was given in a revolutionary pamphlet, a copy of which posted in Vienna and addressed in Bose's handwriting was intercepted. There is good reason to suspect that the pamphlet was written by Bose. In order that he should be under no misapprehension in regard to the position, H. M.'s Consul at Vienna was instructed to warn him that should he return to India he could not expect to remain at liberty. Despite this warning he sailed for India and was arrested on arrival on 8th April 1936 and detained at the Authur Road Prisons, Bombay. On 13th April he was transferred to the Yeravda Central Prison, Poona, and on 20th May he was released from jail custody and placed under restraint in his brother's house at Giddapahar near Kurseong. Bose was not willing to give any formal undertaking to abide by the restrictions imposed on him while at Kurseong. The Bengal Government were, however, satisfied that he intended to conform honourably to the rules which they drew up imposing the same conditions as were applied to his brother, Sarat Bose; a copy of these rules is attached. Briefly, under them he is required to remain within a radius of one mile from his brother's house; not to communicate with any one in Kurseong without the approval of the Superintendent of Police, Darjeeling, who is to censor all his letters; and not to take part directly or indirectly in any public activity or political movement, or to contribute to the Press. An allowance of Rs. 250 a month was sanctioned for him by the Government of India on the recommendation of the Bengal Government with effect

from 15th May, 1936, to meet his personal wants while detained in his brother's house at Giddapahar.

In a letter dated 30th October, 1936, the Government of India forwarded copy of a joint report on Bose's health dated 9th September, 1936, by Sir Nilratan Sircar and Major states that he was examined on 9th September, 1936, and found to have lost 7-lbs in weight since his arrival at Kurseong, that he had a rise of temperature in the afternoon, various internal pains, friction sounds in one lung (which is not apparently diagnosed as Tuberculosis), and that his tonsils were in a bad state. A further pathological, bacteriological and X-Ray examination was recommended in the Report. In reply to a question in the Legislative Assembly on 5th October, 1936, Sir Henry Craik stated that Government "Were awaiting a further report, and that if the doctors say that he should be sent to Calcutta it will be done."

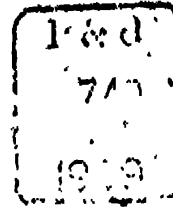
As regards the first point raised in Lord Hay's motion Sir H. Craik stated in reply to an Assembly question on 31st August, 1936, that Bose would be detained as long as it is necessary in the public interest, and that in the opinion of Government the public interest does not yet justify his release. As regards the second point— whether he will be allowed to take part in the forthcoming Elections the answer seems to be that under the rules imposed on him while a State prisoner in his brother's house at Kurseong he is precluded from engaging directly or indirectly in any public activity or political movement. But this does not necessarily mean that Government would wish to debar him from all part in the Elections— if, for instance, he wished to stand himself for Election, I think he would almost certainly be allowed to do so, though he would almost certainly be allowed to do so, though he would not be allowed to conduct his own campaign. As the point is of some importance, it might be as well to telegraph to the G. of I. and ask for their news as to this answer. I put up a draft telegram.

As regards the reasons justifying Bose's detention, the whole matter was thrashed out in the Assembly on

23rd March 1936 and the debate is flaged below. Mr. Hallett and Smith Craik both spoke at length. The case against Bose in brief is that he is a terrorist and head of one of the main terrorist parties and that he is an advocate of violent revolution. It would be detrimental to public safety to allow him liberty to preach such items and to organise people to carry them out.

Sd/- R. Peel
24/11

SECRET



D.O.No.6-CG2/39.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY TO THE
GOVERNOR-GENERAL
(PUBLIC)

New Delhi, the 13th February 1939.

Dear Dabdin,

In continuation of the Governor General's telegram No.428-G of date, I am desired to enclose for the information of the Secretary of State a note on the election of Subhas Bose as President of the Indian National Congress, 1939.

Yours sincerely,

A. Dabdin, Esquire,
Secretary,
Public and Judicial Department,
India Office, LONDON.

to The American Express Co.

14 Kärntnerring

Vienna.

28. 4. 33

To The Rt Hon The Secretary of State for India
London

Dear Sir;
with reference to letter no. P. & J. 1208/33
from your office, I have the honour to forward
herewith a note from Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Neumann
the well-known tuberculosis specialist of Vienna.
I shall be obliged if early orders are issued to
that I may get a passport for Germany.

Yours faithfully

Sudhas Chandra Bose

CONFIDENTIAL

Subhas Chandra Bose

An implacable foe of British Rule in India. Born in India 1897, son of an Indian lawyer. Was educated in India and came to England in 1919, when he successfully competed for the Indian Civil Service, but soon gave up his appointment in pursuance of Mr. Gandhi's Non-Cooperation Campaign.

Became an Indian National Congress organiser and a follower of Mr. C. R. Das, the well-known Bengal nationalist leader. (On the subsequent election of the latter as Mayor of Calcutta, was appointed Chief Executive Officer of the Corporation.) Has been a prominent figure in local politics, and has often used his influence as an official, and later as Mayor, to secure the employment in municipal posts of his revolutionary followers.

In 1921 took prominent part in arranging a hartal on the Prince of Wales's arrival in Calcutta.

Helped to organise a revolutionary party designed to supersede the non-cooperation campaign by a campaign of violence, and in 1921-2 was imprisoned for six months for managing an unlawful association.

In 1922 was in touch with Communist agents abroad, particularly the prominent Indian Communist, M. N. Roy, and from this time has showed some tendency to communist ideology.

From 1922 onwards gradually obtained virtual control of one of the two main terrorist parties in Bengal.

In 1924 he was arrested and interned as a State Prisoner for participation in a general conspiracy for the commission of revolutionary crimes.

In 1927 shows disquieting symptoms of tuberculosis and was released from detention on grounds of health.

By 1928 had again plunged into political and terrorist activities, including the organisation of an "Independence League for Bengal" which issued a manifesto on Bolshevik lines. Also renewed his activities in the Indian

National Congress, in which he was a rival of Gandhi and advocate of a more militant policy.

Was imprisoned for 12 months early in 1930 for leading an unlawful demonstration, and while in jail was elected Mayor of Calcutta.

On his release resumed his activities and finally was again interned as a State Prisoner early in 1932.

Early in 1933 again developed serious symptoms of illness ; was released on medical advice and allowed to come to Europe for treatment. Has been under doctors in Vienna and Switzerland, but has also indulged in anti-British propaganda and apparently hopes by establishing relations in European capitals to set up some permanent propaganda machinery. As the Statute under which Bose was interned does not operate outside India, it is not possible for His Majesty's Government to control his actions.

No. 9.

BRITISH CONSULATE,
VIENNA
25th April 1936.

Sir,

With reference to your despatch No. 8 (W 1579/140/50) dated 25th February 1936 on the subject of Subhas Chandra Bose, I have the honour to report that the President of Police in Vienna has received a letter from Mr. Bose written on board the SS "Conte Varde" but posted in Vienna, in which Mr. Bose complains of the surveillance to which he was subjected in Bad Gastein during his recent sojourn there. He states that in such a small place it was obvious to everyone that his movements were being watched on instructions from Vienna. He also recalls his previous protest at being kept under constant supervision during the visits to Austria last year of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. He remarks that he does not know that Austria is as yet a British Colony, and that if he does not receive a satisfactory explanation of the police action he will give publicity to his experiences in Austria in order to warn his compatriots against visiting a country where all their movements are so closely supervised. He asks for a reply to be sent to him c/o the American Express Company in Vienna.

2. So far as I am aware Mr. Bose was not inconvenienced in any way by the police surveillance on the two occasions which he mentions. During the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to Vienna Mr. Bose suspected he was being followed and to confirm his suspicions went to Grinzing* on the outskirts of Vienna, and walked over snow-covered fields over which the two police agents, who had instructions not to let him

*Taking suitable refreshment.

get out of sight, had to follow. The President of Police does not intend to send any reply to Mr. Bose.

I have the honour to be,
With the highest respect,
Sir,
Your most obedient,
humble Servant,
(Signed) J. W. TAYLOR.

His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State
for Foreign Affairs,
Foreign Office, S.W. 1.

Copy of a letter No. 8095 X, dated the 1st March 1937 from the Addl. Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

I am directed to refer to the correspondence resting with Mr. Stephenson's letter No. F. 44/26/36—Political dated the 10th February 1937 regarding the detention of Mr. Subhas Bose under Regulation III of 1818.

For various reasons, action on the warrant received with that letter was postponed; and the Governor in Council is now of opinion that Mr. Bose need not be transferred to Jalpaiguri as he has come to the conclusion that the State Prisoner should be released at an early date. While His Excellency in Council thinks it almost certain that Mr. Bose will endeavour to pursue a policy designed to bring about the elimination of the political and administrative influence of the British element in India, he is at the same time convinced that in the situation created by the constitutional changes which are about to take place, Mr. Bose and others of like mentality will find themselves in circumstances in which time will be required to organise their forces, a task presenting difficulties which they will not easily overcome. It will also tend to lighten the burden of the new Government if the case of Mr. Bose be disposed of before they assume office—a consideration of obvious political importance to the new Ministers and to which His Excellency in Council attaches much weight.

2. The Governor in Council therefore thinks it desirable that Mr. Bose should be released while the local Government is constituted as it is at present; at the same time he considers it important that Mr. Bose should not be free in time to influence the composition of the Ministry, or the grouping of parties, or sections of parties in connection therewith; it is also important that there should be no room for any suggestion that the release of this State prisoner is a condition of the acceptance of office. In view of these considerations, the Governor in Council suggests that the release should take place

before the middle of March, Mr. Bose being detained meantime in the Medical College Hospital, although the medical authorities have advised that he can now be discharged.

If the Government of India are prepared to accept the recommendation that Mr. Bose should be released early in March, the local Government will intimate by telegram the exact date which they suggest, and will ask the Government of India to order release on that date.

(W 21758/21662/50)

NO DISTRIBUTION

Code telegram to H. M's Consul (Innsbruck).

FOREIGN OFFICE
6th December, 1937
No. 1. 5.20 p.m.

Passport Office Circular Indians No. 2 of July 21, 1933.

Subhas Chandra Bose now holds passport No. C.9287 issued at Vienna, October 18, 1935, endorsed for all countries in Europe, but is unaware that it is valid for the United Kingdom.

You should, if application is made by Bose, give endorsement for the United Kingdom but not general British Empire endorsement, and carefully avoid intimating that passport as it stands is valid for this country.

Above-mentioned circular remains in force and any applications for endorsements other than for the United Kingdom should be referred to this Department.

Similar instructions have been sent to Rome and Vienna.

SECRET

D. O. No. 6-GG2/39

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY TO THE
GOVERNOR-GENERAL

(PUBLIC)

New Delhi, the 31th February 1939.

Dear Dibdin,

In continuation of the Governor General's telegram No. 428-G of date, I am desired to enclose for the information of the Secretary of State a note on the election of Subhas Bose as President of the Indian National Congress, 1939.

Your sincerely,
Sd/- illegible

A. Dibdin, Esquire,
Secretary,
Public and Judicial Department,
India Office, LONDON.

Note on the election of the President of the Indian National Congress, January 29th, 1939.

The Result. Somewhat strangely, the Congress has issued no authoritative statement. Newspaper versions vary as to Subhas Bose's majority, putting it at 199, 203, or 207. The details for the middle figure are as follows :

	SUBHAS BOSE	PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA
Burma	8	6
Utkal	44	99
Tamil Nad	110	102
Gujrat	5	100
Punjab	182	86
Berar	11	* 21

Bengal	404	79
Kerala	80	18
Andhra	28	181
U.P.	269	185
Delhi	10	5
Bihar	70	197
Maharashtra	77	86
Nagpur	12	17
Bombay City	14	12
Assam	34	22
Ajmere	18	8
Karnatak	106	41
Sind	13	21
N.W.F.P.	18	23
Mahakoshal	67	68
TOTAL	1,580	1,377

These may be taken as correct, or approximately so. The total number of voters is said to be 3,300 : thus, with allowance made for a few invalid votes, about 90% of the votes were cast.

2. Noticeable features of the "provincial" figures are :

(i) Of the important "provinces" Pattabhi Sitaramayya obtained a large majority in Bihar, Andhra (his own "province"), Gujarat, and Utkal (Orissa) ; and a smaller majority in Maharashtra and Mahakoshal. Subhas Bose's majority was large in Bengal (his own province), Punjab, United Provinces, Kerala, and Karnatak ; and small in Tamil Nad.

(ii) Bose's majority in Bengal was alone enough to win him the election.

(iii) Of the four "provinces" that comprise the Madras Presidency only one (Andhra) gave Sitaramayya a majority.

3. *Before the Election.* The three candidates nominated were Subhas Bose, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, and Abdul Kalam Azad. The last-named was regarded as the offi-

cial nominee : if he had stood, Sitaramayya would have withdrawn, and so probably would Bose, since he was hardly likely to stand against a Bengali Muslim. Abdul Kalam Azad, after some vacillation declined the honour. His withdrawal a few days before the poll left Sitaramayya as the "official" candidate. Pressure was then put on Bose to stand down. Gandhi himself tried to procure this : it was revealed after the Election that he had made a personal appeal to Bose to withdraw his candidature. On January 24th a statement was issued by seven members of the Working Committee—Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, J. Daulatram, Acharya Kripalani, Shankar Rao Deo, Bhulabhai Desai, and Jannalal Bajaj—which deprecated a contested election, commended Sitaramayya to the delegates, and called on Bose to withdraw. The only reason given for rejecting Bose was that sound policy was against re-election, save in very exceptional circumstances. Bose's claim to be an opponent of Federation, and his mention of "ideologies, policies and programmes", were described as irrelevant, since opposition to Federation was shared by all the Working Committee, and policy and programme are determined by the Congress or the Working Committee—not by the President, whose position is merely that of a chairman. This statement was regarded as expressing the view of practically the whole of the Working Committee. On January 27th Jawaharlal Nehru issued a statement (appended) : in this he said that there were reasons (unspecified) which required that Bose should not stand : he refrained (It must be assumed deliberately) from any mention of Sitaramayya.

4. *Meaning of the Result.* The causes of Bose's success may be roughly classified as (A) personal to the two candidates and (B) other.

- (A) (i) Bose is by far the better-known.
- (ii) Bose had the advantage of being in office.
- (iii) Bose has kept himself prominently before the country in recent months ; he had toured a good deal and made many speeches.

- (iv) Sitaramayya had made enemies : in Bengal particularly he was disliked. In the Tamil Nad he was unpopular as being the protagonist of the separation of Andhra from the Madras Province, and of the inclusion of Madras City in the Andhra Province. (This fact, and the discontent with Rajagopalachari mentioned in *B (ii)* below, counted for more than Socialistic tendencies in the Tamil Nad).
 - (v) Sitaramayya was handicapped by being the "second string", pushed to the front at the last moment.
 - (vi) In Bengal the rift between the Bose faction and the B. C. Roy faction was composed for the occasion, and the province united to secure the election of a Bengali.
- (B) (i) Bose's claim to be whole-heartedly against the Federal scheme, and imputations that his colleagues on the Working Committee were unsound on this cardinal issue created prejudice which could not be dispelled. Bose had suggested that they had actually decided who should be Federal Ministers.
- (ii) The "Fascist" methods of the dominant members of the Working Committee and some of the Congress leaders outside had created much feeling against them. Vallabhbai Patel was specially unpopular, for his hectoring ways in general, and in particular for his treatment of Nariman in Bombay and Khare in the Central Provinces. The attempt of the "old gang" to impose their nominee on the electorate was resented. In Madras Rajagopalachari, regarded as typical of the right-wing, had made himself unpopular by his dictatorial methods, and Bose got a majority even in Rajagopalachari's own "province" (Tamil Nad). In the Punjab the Working Committee were disliked because no Punjabi has been appointed to that body.

- (iii) Growing power of the left-wing. Sitaramayya, much the older man, represented the old-fashioned moderate policy. Bose got all the left-wing votes. Thus in the United Provinces Kidwai (a Minister, and a Socialist) openly worked for Bose. In the Punjab, Kerala and the Karnatak (all of which gave Bose a majority) the Socialists are strong.
- (iv) A bogus electorate. It is admitted that the registers of primary members contain many bogus names: the result would be to give the areas where fraud has been extensively practised an undue number of delegates who form the electorate. (*Note*—This would favour Bose only if fraud was particularly rife where he got most votes. It is alleged that Bengal in particular was rigged in this way).
- (v) Effective propaganda for Bose had been carried on by the sponsors of a definite programme, embodied in a document entitled "A Call to Congressman", which has been in circulation since October. This programme claims to represent the full application of Congress policy as decided at the All-India Sessions of 1937 and 1938. Though it, in fact, represents the first stage of a revolutionary plan, it had considerable appeal to many supporters of Congress, who are not Socialists but who think that the present Ministries have been remiss in implementing their pledges or have other reasons for discontent with their measures.

5. The general feeling appears to be that though the election does represent some swing to the left, this is by no means as strong as the figures would suggest. It seems to be now certain that the left will be in a minority in the A.I.C.C. Session. The result is explained as mainly due to Bose's greater personal appeal, his aspersions on his colleagues about Federation, and disgust with the dictatorial methods of the orthodox Congress leaders.

6. *Probable effects.* It is extremely difficult to estimate these, and it is possible that the situation will not be clarified till the A.I.C.C. meets at Tripuri in March. In the meanwhile both sides may be expected to manoeuvre for advantage in that session.

Gandhi instantly described the election as a defeat for himself. (His statement of January 31st is appended.) In unambiguous terms he invited Bose to choose a "Cabinet" of the Bose kind and to enforce the Bose programme: by allusion he indicated that the Gandhian section should come out of Congress and pursue unperturbed the Gandhian programme: and indicated also that the present Congress Ministries would have to come out, apparently to make way for Ministries of Bose's choosing.

This invitation to a split has not been welcomed by any responsible Congress opinion. Criticism of Gandhi's statement in the Congress Press has been general and sometimes outspoken. Right-wing comment is that Gandhi is exaggerating the swing to the left, and that even if his followers are a minority in Congress (which is not admitted), they should remain in the organisation. Bose's followers met in Calcutta on February 7th. Their conclusions are announced to be that everything possible should be done to avoid a split: and that the position should be used only to prosecute a policy of stiffer hostility to the Federal scheme, to push on towards independence, and to concentrate also on "the States programme" and release of political prisoners. Emphasis was laid on "continuity of parliamentary work"—a vague term which may mean that no attempt will be made to interfere with the existing Congress Ministries.

Resolutions are to be drafted for public criticism, and in the light of it final resolutions would be produced on the eve of the Tripuri session.

It may be surmised that the draft resolutions will include one giving the British Government an ultimatum that it must agree to entering into a treaty with Congress for a new constitution within six months: this was advocated by the Bengal Provincial Congress, meeting a few days earlier.

7. Mention of the "States programme" is important in view of Gandhi's recent calls to action, and his hints to the Bombay and Orissa Ministries that they must make a stand with regard to Rajkot and the Orissa States, respectively. It would suit all sections of Congress to push this question into the forefront. Referring to it, Jawaharlal Nehru, in a vehement statement issued on February 7th, said "Everything else is secondary to this major struggle, for in its sweep it will comprise Federation, provincial autonomy and other impediments to our freedom . . . The call is coming to us again. India calls, grows louder and more insistent. On your feet, men and women of India, on your feet ! The time for marching approaches. On your feet now !"

Thus Gandhi's leadership would be preserved ; the States issue would be made the most prominent one ; and militant action on that issue would perhaps be accepted (at any rate for the time being) as a substitute for, or as throwing into the background, the Bose programme of an ultimatum on Federation to the British Government, and civil disobedience in default of a satisfactory reply.

It is not likely that any more precise estimate will be possible till the right-wing has decided its policy and till it is known what changes will be made in the Working Committee.

Enclosure to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy's letter No. 382 dated 19.4.40 to the Private Secretary to the Secretary of State.

13th April 1940.

Dear Linlithgow,

In view of a recent particularly bad speech of Subhas Bose in which, among other things, he expressed the hope that the British Empire would be defeated in the war, it may be wondered why the Bengal Government have not prosecuted him. I write therefore to let you know the position.

You will recall that from time to time in my reports I mentioned what seemed to be his anxiety to obtain a comfortable martyrdom and the reluctance of the Home Minister to grant it to him too cheaply. These considerations still apply. Moreover, so long as he is at liberty, he is in many ways a greater nuisance to Congress than he is to Government, and it is doubtful whether he is enhancing his own prestige. It is of course recognised that the moment may come when he will have to be prosecuted and Nazimuddin is fully alive to the matter; but the considerations for and against this are still somewhat delicately balanced, and at present I can see no strong reason for urging Nazimuddin to take action against his own judgment.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/ J. A. HERBERT.

His Excellency the Viceroy and
Governor-General of India.

Allotted to J. & J. Department.

Copies Circulated and Copy to Sir V. Dawson.

DECYPHER OF TELEGRAM

Recd. 18.00 hrs 4th July, 1940.

From : Governor of Bengal to Secretary of State for India.

Dated, Dacca, 17.20 hrs. 4th July, 1940.

Recd., 18.00 hrs. 4th July, 1940.

IMPORTANT

79. *Secret.* addressed to Viceroy repeated to Secretary of State. Subhas Bose arrest and (sic). Holwell monument. Strong police forces were posted at monument July 3rd afternoon and large crowds of sightseers were moved on. Four Hindu youths who advanced with hammers to attack monument were arrested. Arrest is also reported of Hemanta Bose, leader of Subhas's national volunteers, Pannalal Mitra, an old Jugantar revolutionary, and Krishna Chatterjee a Howrah man who had intended to lead an attack.

2. A meeting was called at town hall for five p.m. It began quietly but swelled after close of football on the Maiden. Resolutions paying homage to Serajuddewlah's memory, condemning falsity of foreign historians and urging deletion from school text books of matter derogatory to Serajuddewlah were passed without commotion at instance of Government's Moslem supporters. Heat developed regarding resolution regretting indefiniteness of Chief Minister's statement and wanting early decision. Some Moslems demanded decision by July 15th, while extremer Moslems threatened "Satyagraha" by Council of action on July 16th and known Hindu revolutionaries delivered exciting speeches welcoming Hindu-Moslem unity and demanding immediate action. General impression was that saner Moslems were inclined to be quiet but Hindu followers of Subhas and some extremer Moslems

were anxious to foment trouble. Notices for *hartal* on July 5th have issued and further developments are awaited. Well-known ex-terrorists and Forward Block Hindu agitators were prominent.

3. I consider it fortunate that Subhas's arrest prevented him leading disturbance personally.

From : Governor General, to S. of S. for India.

Dated, Simla, 17.30 hours, 20th July, 1940.

Received, 17.30 hours, 20th July, 1940.

1453 s.

Following telegram from the Governor of Bengal 90 dated July 19th is reported for information. *Begins*: Secret. As (? explained) by telephone today to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy, I flew to Calcutta on Tuesday to make sure Ministry would not release Subhas without warning me. Home Minister Nazimuddin who wants to keep the League together and the Chief Minister who wants to break are both angling for Subhas's support in case of split and I feared that between them they would release him in spite of warnings from the police and officials. Have obtained definite undertaking that he will be prosecuted and not released without my specific permission. Ministers may however create situation by which they can advise that peace will be endangered by Moslem students unless Subhas is released whereas I consider his detention essential if peace is to be maintained. Commissioner of Police asked the Central Intelligence Officer to obtain the Government of India's warrant the moment he suspected that the above might happen, because he felt he must make certain that Subhas could not be let out to please any individual Minister. *Ends*.

Allotted to P& J. Dept.

Copies Circulated and copy to Sir V. Dawson.

DECYPHER OF TELEGRAM

From : Viceroy to Secy. of State for India.

Dated, Viceroy's Camp, Guindy, 23.30 hrs. 27.7.40.

Received, 23.45 hrs. 27th July, 1940.

IMPORTANT.

358-S.C. As Herbert reported in his telegrams of July 3rd and 4th, repeated to you, and letter dated July 4th, of which copy was sent to you, Subhas Bose was arrested because he was proposing to lead agitation against Holwell monument. Agitation has continued and more than 300 persons have been arrested. Herbert, in letter dated July 4th, expressed opinion that monument, which stands in the street at busy spot, might well be removed to the cemetery or other suitable place. To this proposal he thought European group in the Legislature would agree.

2. Monument was erected by Curzon in 1902 on the site of the old monument which had been erected by Holwell, one of the "Black Hole" survivors and later Governor, but which collapsed in 1821. Curzon apparently bore cost of construction and presented the monument to Calcutta, all other costs then and since being borne by Bengal Government. In 1923, monument was declared protected under Section 3 of Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, because attempts were being made even at that time to deface it.

3. Bengal Government on July 18th, wrote to my Department of Education, Health and Lands, asking whether if that Government decided to remove monument Government of India would withdraw notification of protection. On 23rd, Premier made statement in Assembly that Bengal Government had decided to take immediate steps for the removal of the monument. Central Government have throughout taken view that

monument is not of archaeological interest and from that point of view there is no objection to withdrawal of the notification in order to enable it to be removed. I should mention that actual site of Black Hole is preserved and is not subject of agitation.

4. It is unfortunate that decision has to be made under pressure of agitation, which however, is reported to be suspended. But neither on archaeological nor on political grounds do I feel that we can oppose removal of the monument to place where it can be preserved. European Group appear to have acquiesced in Premier's statement of 23rd. I therefore request your agreement to my Government replying to official letter that they have no objection to withdrawal of notification of 1923 ; and to my informing Herbert that we consent to removal provided first that Satyagraha is definitely given up, second, that European Group have definitely agreed, and third, that future treatment of Subhas is entirely outside these arrangements and is for separate decision. Matter is urgent and I should be grateful for early reply by telegraph. *Ends.*

Enclosure to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy's letter No. 1152 dated 16.12.40 to the Private Secretary to the Secretary of State.

11th December 1940.

Dear Linlithgow,

I enclose a copy of a letter addressed by Subhas Bose to the Chief Minister on the 9th December last after his release. This letter was discussed in Cabinet this morning, and it was agreed that the Home Minister should state in reply that Government did not intend to withdraw either the order under section 26 of the Defence of India Rules, or the two cases at present pending. The Home Department have obtained legal opinion to the effect that there is no essential anomaly arising from the fact that Subhas is neither in custody nor on bail. It was agreed in Cabinet that as soon as he recovers his health, he should be rearrested, and that his trial should continue. If he resorts to hunger strike again, the present 'cat and mouse' policy will likewise be continued, and it is expected that its employment will serve both to render him innocuous and to make him realise that nothing is to be gained from a series of fasts.

I shall, of course, discuss the position further with you when you arrive in Calcutta, and for the moment I merely wish to keep you informed of the position, and to make it clear that it was never my intention to disregard the understanding arrived at last July. No order for the permanent release of Subhas Bose has yet been issued. All that has been done is to suspend temporarily the order for his detention.

His Excellency the Viceroy &
Governor-General of India.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/ J. A. HERBERT.

NOTE ON THE FILE

U.S. of S

This letter confirms that there is no intention of releasing Subhas Bose permanently. The understanding referred to in para 2 is that mentioned in Viceroys telegram of 20 July 1940.

The Reuter message of 27 January says that Bose has disappeared.

Sd/ illegible

30/1/41

MOST SECRET

Not to be Reproduced or Quoted

RECENT ACTIVITIES OF SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

1. Subhas Chandra Bose, who arrived in East Asia from Germany in May, appears to have gone to Tokio in mid-June. His arrival in Asia, at first kept secret, is now being widely publicised.

2. On his arrival in Tokio, Bose granted a number of interviews to Axis journalists at his headquarters at the Imperial Hotel. The gist of these interviews was reiteration of his belief in an Axis victory, in the imminent liberation of India with Axis help, and in the need for an armed revolt in India to coincide with invasion from the East. He also answered questions on such subjects as the character of Chiang-kai-Shek and the appointment of the new Viceroy.

3. Bose has also spoken on the wireless . . . to India in English, Hindi and Bengali, and to Germany and Indians in Germany in German. In these broadcasts he again paid tribute to Axis benevolence, and urged all Indians to get into touch with him and help him to organise a "gigantic force to sweep the British from India". This first veiled reference to the "Indian National Army" was later amplified by an official announcement from I.I.L. Headquarters in Singapore declaring that this "new Indian Army" is now under training. On July 8 a formation of the I.N.A. paraded before Bose and the Japanese Prime Minister, Tojo, during the latter's visit to Singapore.

4. On July 4, at a meeting of the Indian Independence League at Singapore ("Shonan") the interim President of the League, Rash Behari Bose, presented Subhas Bose to the League as its new President. S. C. Bose, who has adopted the title of "Mehtarji" or Leader, made a lengthy presidential address, chief points of which were :

- (a) Immediate formation under his aegis of a Provisional Government for India. When the revolution has succeeded this will be replaced by a permanent, popularly elected government.
- (b) The hour of India's fight for Freedom has now struck.
- (c) His sincere belief in Japan's good intentions.
- (d) India's hope of freedom lies only in an Axis Victory.
- (e) Wavell's appointment means increased ruthlessness.
- (f) Existence of many agents inside India with whom, in spite of the British Secret Service, he has kept in close touch.
- (g) Great difficulties ahead.

5. In general, Bose's arrival in Asia may be said to have greatly increased the tempo of subversive propaganda, and appears to have galvanised the I.I.L. into greater political activity. It is also noticeable (and to be expected) that while praising and thanking Japan, Bose never forgets to refer to Germany and to Axis sympathy for India. Before his coming the I.I.L. was only publicised in connection with Japan: S. C. Bose clearly intends to raise the movement into a national campaign for freedom supported by all three Axis powers.

6. Bose's great drive and political acumen, his prestige in Indian revolutionary circles, his understanding of both Indian and English character, will be of real value to the Japanese whose propaganda against India has hitherto lacked imagination. Although we have good reason to believe that his statement at 4 (f) is exaggerated there is no doubt that under Bose's direction subversive activities and espionage in India will be greatly intensified.

7. Bose has now finally burned his boats with us by virtue of his association with Germany and Japan, his political future being entirely dependent upon the continued military success of the Japanese and the paralysis of British rule in India by internal revolt. Fortunately public moral and internal security in India are now fairly

steady and the Japanese widely feared. Bose will undoubtedly be able to make some capital out of the economic distress and the political deadlock but unless he can win over Congress en bloc his chances of stirring up a major revolt would appear to be small. Had he arrived in East Asia last August or even during Gandhi's fast his prospects would have been much better.

8. A biographical note on Bose is attached.

M. I. 2 (a)
14 July 43
Ext. 173.

Distribution :

D.D.M.I. (I)
M.I.2b, 2c.
M.O.12.
India Office (Brig. Thompson)
I.P.I. (Col. Vickery).
Air Ministry
Admiralty (Commander Leggatt).

No. 10005/3/GSI (b)

Copy No. 547

**SOUTH EAST ASIA COMMAND AND INDIA
COMMAND*****FORTNIGHTLY SECURITY INTELLIGENCE
SUMMARY NO. 3 Dt. 14 Sept 45.*****IMPORTANT.**

Items sidelined in this Summary are for the personal information of the recipient and his senior staff officers and commanders only. Other items, except those marked "NOT to be reproduced", may be reproduced for distribution in formation Intelligence Summaries at the discretion of recipients.

SECURITY INTELLIGENCE***The I. N. A. Ceases Fire.***

1. The following Order of the Day dated 26 Aug 45 was issued by the Supreme Command of the I.N.A. :

"To all Units and Commands, Malaya and Shonan (Singapore) .

- (i) In view of the present situation, when all nations have decided on peace, the Cabinet of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind has decided to cease fighting with effect from Saturday, 18 August 45.
- (ii) You are hereby ordered to cease fighting forthwith. Convey this order to all units and troops under your command at once. Also, keep yourself and your troops, arms, ammunition and other military stores ready to be handed over to the British on demand. Further instructions in due course. Strict discipline will be maintained. Commanders will remain responsible for the welfare and health of troops under their charge.

Until the British take over, or issue other instructions, normal administration and training will be continued. Troops will be confined to camp areas except to move on urgent administration duties in which case they will move in suitable groups under a responsible officer.

Sd/- M. Z. KIANI, Maj. Gen.
Officer Commanding, Rear H. Q.
Supreme Command, A.H.F.''

2. In Siam immediate steps were taken by the Government to curtail all Jif activities and even before consulting the Allied Supreme Command orders were issued restricting the movements of all I.N.A. troops and I.I.L. functionaries and forbidding the entry into Siam of any member of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

3. Since then the Jif situation has been brought under control by representatives of India Command in Bangkok and the I. N. A. in Siam have been disarmed and concentrated. Capt. (Col). J. K. Bhonsle is stated to have represented the I. N. A. in the surrender at Bangkok.

Reactions to Bose's death and the I.N.A. problem.

4. Since the Japanese surrender, and perhaps influenced by the lifting of Press Censorship, the Indian Press of all shades of opinion has engaged in much speculation regarding the future of recovered I.N.A. personnel. The Government of India's communique regarding the policy to be adopted has been received with mixed feelings, and the Nationalist Press, although for the most part soberly, has risen in defence of the I.N.A. who are reckoned sincere, if misguided, patriots.

5. Legal experts are now being approached by various political parties to examine the question of providing defence counsel at the I.N.A. courts martial.

6. The Japanese report of Bose's death is also a matter of considerable importance not only in the political arena

but also to those concerned with security ; the continued existence of "Netaji", possibly underground, would undoubtedly maintain the fervour of the many Jifs, military and civilian, who came under what was almost a spell, while the confirmed end of their leader would probably have something of an opposite effect.

7. The report of Bose's death was received in most quarters in India with sympathy and regret expressed by meetings and hartals, but scepticism widely persists. Reactions in Bengal particularly are of interest. It is generally believed there that the news has been faked with Japanese connivance and that Bose has gone underground to re-appear at the correct psychological moment, which may be provided by the installation of a National Government or by a decision by the existing Government to take a very lenient view of the treachery of Bose and the I.N.A. Political circles in the province have been greatly interested in the recent news item which alleged that Bose had been seen alive in Saigon after the aircraft accident.

8. Where the report has been generally accepted there is a feeling of disappointment that Bose will now be unable to return to his homeland to take his "rightful place" ; what he would have been forgiven by Government is taken almost for granted, particularly in view of the delicate political situation. Bose's case is of course inextricably bound up with the future of captured members of the I.N.A. Press comments in relation to both betray readiness to minimize their offence and to emphasize the patriotic though misguided motives and, in respect of the I.N.A., the extremity and violence of enemy pressure, from which these offences are alleged to have sprung. There is, further, in some papers and undercurrent of malicious satisfaction that Bose and his men found opportunity for this misguided activity. Jawaharlal Nehru, as was to be expected, has aired his views freely on the subject, in mischievous terms. While recognizing the "English approach" to this question he stresses the importance of the "Indian approach". *

9. Bose's established death would solve the difficult problem of dealing with him but his patriotism and activities, even though from the wrong side of the fence, are likely to hold an important place in the nationalist mind, particularly that of the young Bengali ; one politician even declared that his "legend will continue to inspire the people and steel them in their determination to free India and Asia from Imperialism".

SERVICES SECURITY AND MORALE

The Problems of peace.

10. As stated in the previous Summary, the collapse of the Japanese had an excellent effect on morale, though there was little wild exuberance. As opinion slowly crystallizes after the initial surprise, the extent to which factors affecting morale have been reorientated is becoming apparent.

British troops.

11. British troops, as has been previously stated in these Summaries, almost without exception disliked service in the East and spent their time calculating how long it would be before they could expect to return to the U.K. and their families, either on Release or Repatriation. This attitude cause considerable apprehension to officers who felt that it was likely to sap the BOR's will to beat the Japanese. There are now no Japanese to beat and it is clear that generally the British soldier is giving a sigh.

Parliament

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Question No. 11 dated 7th March 1927.

MR. PETHICK-LAWRENCE : To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether his attention has been drawn to the Report of the chief medical officer of the Burmah government and a medical colleague, with regard to Mr. Subhas Bose, that they do not regard conditions during confinement in gaol as conducive to restoration of his health ; and what action the Government propose to take in the matter.

*Answer to Mr. Pethick-Lawrence's Question No. 11
Dated 7th March 1927.*

I have not seen this report but my Noble Friend will make enquiry.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Non-oral Question No. 5 dated 14th March 1927.

MR. LANSBURY : To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether he can state how long Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, chief executive officer of the corporation of Calcutta, has been interned ; whether any specific charge has ever been made against him ; whether any written reply was made by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose to such charge ; and whether he can state the terms of the charge made against him.

Answer

Mr. Bose was arrested in October 1924. The substance of the allegations against him was communicated to him and he was invited to answer. He refused to do so in writing or otherwise. I must decline to state the precise nature of the activities alleged against Mr. Bose, beyond saying that they amount to participation in a conspiracy for the commission of revolutionary crime.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Question No. 15 dated 14th March 1927.

MR. LANSBURY : To ask Under Secretary of State for India, whether he is aware that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was appointed chief executive officer of the corporation of Calcutta in April 1924, and that his appointment received the sanction of the governor of Bengal ; and, whether, seeing that Mr. Bose was interned by order of the government of Bengal within six months of his appointment and that he has been re-elected to that post, he will say whether his re-election has received the sanction of the governor of Bengal, in spite of his internment.

*Answer to Mr. Lansbury's Question No. 15
Dated 14th March 1927.*

I am aware that Mr. Bose was appointed to hold the post in question, that this appointment like several others made by the Corporation is subject to the approval of the local Government and that this approval was given : I understand that the Corporation have regarded Mr. Bose since his internment as being technically on leave with a substitute acting for him and that no question of his re-appointment or of re-approval by the local Government has arisen.

MR. LANSBURY : Is it not possible to expedite the release of this man, who apparently has the confidence of the Council still ?

EARL WINTERTON : No, Sir. That does not arise out of this question, and I must point out to the hon. Member that if a person in prison has the confidence of this or that organisation it is not a reason for a remission of his sentence or for dealing with him in a different way from any other person.

MR. LANSBURY : Will the Noble Lord not agree that perhaps the municipal authorities know as much about this man and his actions as the people who put him in prison and kept him there without trial ?

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Question No. 16 dated 21st March 1927.

MR. THURTLÉ : To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, if he has any further information regarding the state of health of Mr. Subhas Bose, who has been detained in India without trial for more than two and a half years.

*Answer to Mr. Thurtle's Question No. 16
Dated 21st March 1927.*

I understand that while special medical examination has not disclosed actual disease, the health of this *detenu* is not satisfactory, and the question of moving him to a better environment is being considered.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Question No. 4 dated 28th March 1927.

MR. PETHICK-LAWRENCE : To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether the offer made by government of Bengal to allow Mr. Subhas Bose to go to Switzerland is subject to any and, if so, to what conditions; and whether such conditions have been accepted by Mr. Bose.

*Answer to Mr. Pethick-Lawrence's Question No. 4
Dated 28th March 1927.*

The offer of releasing Mr. Bose made by the Government of Bengal is subject to the conditions that he will give his word of honour to proceed from Rangoon to Europe by a ship which does not touch at any port in India, and that he will there after not attempt to enter India, Burma or Ceylon until the Bengal Criminal Law (Amendment) Act has expired. My Noble Friend who is in communication with the Government of India on the subject has not yet heard whether the offer has been accepted by Mr. Bose. This offer has been made consequent on medical advice that Mr. Bose should take a sea voyage and made a prolonged stay in a sanatorium in Switzerland.

MR. PETHICK-LAWRENCE : By the phrase "until the Bengal Criminal Law (Amendment) Act has expired," does the Government of India mean until the date when it would normally expire, or until the time when it will be brought to an end if it should be extended?

EARL WINTERTON : I do not quite know what the hon. Member means by his Supplementary Question. My answer was quite plain. This undertaking is not to enter India until the Bengal Criminal Law (Amendment) Act has expired, that is, has come to an end.

MR. PETHICK-LAWRENCE : Does that mean until the present law comes to an end, or until it finally comes to an end if it should be extended?

EARL WINTERTON : Obviously, it means when it comes to an end.

U.S.S.

Mr. Pethick-Lawrence apparently intends to repeat his question weekly until this matter is settled. It had been my intention on receipt of this last question two days ago to wait until Monday morning before submitting the papers with the proposed answer according to such information as we might, or might not, by then have received. It has, however, been represented to me that Lord Winterton might think that, having had long notice of the question, the Office should have taken steps once more to ascertain by telegram what answer can be given to it next Monday. The reason I thought, and still think, that there is no need to take this step is that, on the 24th March, we telegraphed asking for a telegraphic reply to this very same question. That telegram crossed the one from the Government of India dated 23rd March repeating the text of the Bengal Government's statement, and it directly produced two further telegrams from the Government of India dated March 27 & 28, one of which makes it almost certain that, as soon as anything definite is heard from Bose, neither the Bengal Government nor the Government of India will again omit to inform this office without delay. We obviously cannot direct the Bengal Government to make their offer in writing to Bose and all we could do would be to wire and say that this same question has been repeated for Monday, and what are we to say? I submit that it is unnecessary to do this. (Mr. Bose . . . has the Bengal Government in a . . . stick and he knows : he is not likely to come forward himself on the basis of the published statement ; and if the offer is made to him direct he will probably return it ; knowing that in either case he cannot be kept much longer in Jail).

Sd/- Dawson
31.3.27

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Question No. 4 dated 4th April 1927.

MR. PETHICK-LAWRENCE : To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether Mr. Subhas Bose has yet given his reply to the offer by the government of Bengal of his conditional release.

*Answer to Mr. Pethick-Lawrence's Question No. 4.
Dated 4th April 1927.*

No, Sir.

Supplementary Question

MR. PETHICK-LAWRENCE : Will the Government of India consider the possibility of making some proposal that does not involve the indefinite disfranchisement of Mr. Bose at the pleasure of the Government of India ?

EARL WINTERTON : No, Sir, The position is that an offer was made and it is for Mr. Bose either to accept or reject it. My Noble Friend has asked the Government of India to telegraph if and when Mr. Bose accepts or rejects the offer. There the matter stands.

I entirely agree

• A.H.*

2.5.

URGENT

Note by Lord Winterton.

U.S. of S.

P.S.

I prefer Sir M. Seton's alternative but I should like the instructions of the Secretary of State or, if they cannot be obtained in time, some advice from the Department as to what I am to say if asked in a supplementary "What are you going to do about it?"

The matter is, as Mr. Dawson points out in the file below, very urgent, and I am inclined to think that, if Mr. Bose gets worse, Mr. Thurtle will try to move the Adjournment of the House one day. It would then be very difficult to defend a refusal of unconditional release. Mr. Lansbury has already accused the Government of India in a supplementary question (which the Speaker disallowed) of "trying to murder this man". My own view is that in reply to the possible supplementary to which I have referred I should say. "My Noble Friend is in communication with the Government of India and I have no further statement to make at this moment."

W.

l.v.27.

* Sir A. Hertzl.

IOR File No. L/P & J/7/792 p. 253.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Question No. 6 dated 2nd May 1927.

MR. THURTLÉ : To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, if he is yet in a position to state whether or not Mr. Subhas Bose has accepted the offer of the government to allow him to take up residence in Switzerland.

*Answer to Mr. Thurtle's Question No. 6
Dated 2nd May 1927.*

I understand that he has not accepted.

Supplementary Questions

MR. THURTLÉ : Can the Noble Lord say whether the Government of India propose to make any other offer to Mr. Bose ?

EARL WINTERTON : My Noble Friend is in communication with the Government of India, and I have no further statement to make at this moment.

MR. THURTLÉ : Is the Noble Lord aware that the Indian correspondent of the "Times" said the other day that Mr. Bose was in a most dangerous state of health ?

EARL WINTERTON : I have already said that my Noble Friend is in communication with the Government of India and I have no further statement to make on the matter.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Question No. 4 dated 9th May 1927.

MR. LANSBURY : To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether he will give the House the latest information as to the condition of health of Mr. Bose, one of the prisoners detained under the Bombay Ordinance ; what steps the Government is taking to preserve the health of Mr. Bose ; and will he state whether it is proposed to take any further steps to arrange for his liberation and for that of other prisoners who have been so long detained without trial.

Answer to Mr. Lansbury's Question No. 4.

Dated 9th May 1927.

I have no very recent detailed information, except that, since his examination in February by two doctors disclosed the possibility of early tubercle, Mr. Bose's health has unfortunately not improved. In consequence it has been decided to transfer him from Burma to Almora—the best climate in India for tubercular patients—and he was to leave Rangoon last Saturday. The Governor of Bengal is arranging for a special medical examination by his own Surgeon and a physician of the Medical College when Mr. Bose passes through Calcutta.

I can make no statement about the possibility of releasing Mr. Bose or of any other of the persons detained in Bengal beyond saying that as was made clear by the announcement made by the Government of India on 21st March last, the text of which I circulated with the Official Report on 28th March, the question of each man's detention is continually being examined and re-examined.

MR. LANSBURY : In view of that answer, Mr. Speaker, I propose, with your leave, to raise this question tomorrow on the Adjournment.

MR. T. WILLIAMS : Can the Noble Lord say whether the prisoners in Bengal have been charged with any definite specific crime ?

EARL WINTERTON : That does not arise out of the question.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

16 May 1927.

ARRESTED PERSONS (HEALTH)

MR. T. WILLIAMS : Asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he will give the names of the prisoners detained under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1925, who have, or are suspected to be suffering from, tuberculosis ; and whether the Government have under consideration removing these prisoners to surroundings more conducive to the restoration of their health ?

EARL WINTERTON : The two persons in question are Jiban Lal Chatterjee and Subhas Chandra Bose. The former was removed to a sanatorium a month ago. I hope to be in a position to make an announcement about Mr. Bose in the course of the next two days.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Question No. 67 dated 19th May 1927.

MR. LANSBURY : To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, if he will state what conditions, if any, were attached to the release of Mr. Bose ; what was the actual tenure of his imprisonment without trial ; will he lay upon the Table of the House a copy of the Report prepared by the four doctors which led the governor-general to order his release ; is it intended to release the remainder of the persons in prison or detained under the Bengal Ordinance ; and has the Government considered the question of withdrawing the Ordinance.

*Answer to Mr. Lansbury's Question No. 67.
Dated 19th May 1927.*

No conditions have been attached to Mr. Bose's release, who has been under detention since October 25th, 1924. I do not know whether the last medical examination resulted in any formal report. The answer to the last two parts of the question is in the negative.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Question No. 9 dated 23rd May 1927.

MR. LANSBURY : To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, if he will make an inquiry as to whether the medical examination by four doctors which led to the decision of the governor-general to order Mr. Bose's release resulted in a formal Report ; and, if so, whether he will lay the Report upon the Table of the House.

*Answer to Mr. Lansbury's Question No. 9
Dated 23rd May 1927.*

As I informed the honourable Member on Thursday last, I have not as yet any information on the first point. And even if a formal report has been made, it is obviously a confidential document, and I am not prepared to lay it on the Table of this House.

MR. LANSBURY : Does the Noble Lord not think that it would be in the interests of public order in India that the people of India should be officially acquainted with the condition of Mr. Bose's health at the time of his release ?

MR. HANNON : May I ask whether it would not be in the interests of public order if a great many of these questions were kept off the Order Paper.

EARL WINTERTON : I am afraid I do not follow the hon. Member for Bow and Bromley (Mr. Lansbury). As far as I know there is no precedent for publishing the report of a medical examination, the result of which has been to allow a person to be released. I do not think the public interest would be served in any way by publishing what is obviously a confidential report.

MR. LANSBURY : Is it not the fact that this man has been in prison for 13 months, and that very circumstantial reports have been published as to the dangerous condition of his health ; and is not the public in India and in this country entitled to ask what this man's health was

when the Government of India ordered his release?

EARL WINTERTON: No, Sir. I do not think they are entitled to inquire in the least. The Government of India, in the exercise of their judicial duty, decided that the state of his health was such that he should be released. There, I think, the matter should rest.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Question No. 12 dated 23rd May 1927.

MR. THURTLÉ : To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, if he will state the reasons which induced the government to change its policy in regard to the detention of Mr. Subhas Bose, one of the Bengal political prisoners recently released.

*Answer to Mr. Thurtle's Question No. 12
Dated 23rd May 1927.*

Mr. Bose was released on grounds of health.

MR. THURTLÉ : Is the Noble Lord aware that some time ago he said it would be inexpedient in the interests of public safety to release Mr. Bose, and can he say what change of circumstances has resulted in it being expedient now ?

EARL WINTERTON : His health.

MR. THURTLÉ : Has his health been the only circumstance that has entered into the consideration of the matter ?

EARL WINTERTON : Yes, Sir. The sole circumstance that caused the Government of India and my Noble Friend the Secretary of State to take the action they did was the state of Mr. Bose's health.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Thursday 2 June 1927.

MR. LANSBURY: * * * * what is the position. He gave an answer on the 9th May last that according to information given in reports on the 30th January and 21st February last there were 16 men in prison under one Regulation. Five had been removed and placed under restraint in villages under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. Of the 61 detenus 42 were in prison under the Bengal Ordinance. Four men had since been arrested and placed in prison. So this business of imprisoning people without trial or before a magistrate or a Judge and jury or anyone is still going on.

EARL WINTERTON: The hon. Member must not say that. Mr. Bose was tried.

MR. LANSBURY: That is a very good way of getting out of it. He was tried in secret. Two Judges went into the prison and the man was taken before them without any counsel or any one knowing what he said or what anybody said to him. That is a pretty fine thing to call a trial. That used to be called an inquisition in the old days. The Noble Lord knows perfectly well that when I say these men are in prison without trial, I mean the sort of trial which the ordinary people outside call a trial.

EARL WINTERTON: That is not what I said. I was only correcting what was unintentionally, a terminological inexactitude on the part of the hon. Member. He said the cases had not been considered. There is a distinction.

MR. LANSBURY: I do not think there is a distinction. I do not consider that two Judges going into a prison and having a man brought before them, as Mr. Bose himself said he was brought, can be considered a trial. He says that they charged him with helping in the manufacture of explosives and taking part in conspiracies to murder officials and so on, but no evidence was called

in the prison. No evidence was put to Mr. Bose. He was not allowed to call any evidence and for exactly the same reason that he is not put on trial. If Mr. Bose could be told who were the informants against him— [Interruption] That is the sort of argument which the Czars used to put up. It was the argument of Lord Balfour. I have heard Lord Balfour a score of times at the Treasury Box make the same statement about the Irish prisoners who were detained under the Coercion Act. The Noble Lord agrees with me that the prisoners I am speaking about have had no ordinary trial such as ordinary prisoners ought to receive. ·

* * * * *

MINUTE PAPER

This question is presumably put in further pursuit of the issue which was raised between Lord Winterton and Mr. Lansbury in the course of the Debate on the Adjournment on June 2nd—see extract from Hansard attached.

I feel some doubt as to the best form of answer to give, since—as Mr. Lansbury probably knows—neither of the two events postulated in the question ever took place, and consequently no date can be assigned to either.

Mr. Bose was arrested under Regulation III of 1818 on 25th October 1924—the date on which the Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance was enacted. On 19th January 1925 he was “transferred” to the Ordinance, and orders of detention were issued under that enactment to replace the warrant for his detention under the Regulation.

Some time—presumably—in November or December 1924 or January 1925 the cases of 19 persons (including S. C. Bose) arrested under Regulation III in October 1925 were referred to two Sessions judges for examination. This was evidently done because the law required it to be done in the case of the persons arrested under the Ordinance for precisely similar reasons, and there was no justification for differentiating in this respect between the Regulation prisoners and the Ordinance prisoners. The judges divided their report into two batches, that on three persons—including Subhas—being dated 9th January 1925, and that on the remainder 6 days later.

So far as we are aware these judges never saw the persons they were reporting on. Their report was based on the C.I.D. dossier containing the allegations and the grounds given for them. The report on the batch including S. C. Bose contains the following:

“S. C. Bose declined to make a detailed statement on the grounds that he was unaware of the evidence forthcoming and that the mind of the Government was already made up against him. He simply stated verbally that he was innocent.”

The 'statements' referred to are evidently statements made (or not made) to some person at the time of or shortly after his arrest. The Ordinance—which as already stated was not strictly applicable, but the procedure of which was followed—required the local Government within one month to lay before two judges "the material facts and circumstances in its possession . . . and a statement of the allegations against the person . . . and his answers to them if furnished by him." There is no question under the Ordinance or the present Act of the judges interviewing or giving a personal hearing to the prisoners or even to their representatives, nor as Mr. Lansbury evidently thinks, do the enquiring judges go into the prison.

So far as we know, the case which Bose and others like him were invited to answer, on or shortly after arrest, was simply the general allegation of membership of a revolutionary conspiracy. Of the nature and details of the 'evidence' against him he was not informed. This assumption tallies with the statement in the judges' report that "the charges against the three persons with whom we are now dealing (of whom S. C. Bose was one) . . . are charges of conspiracy to murder and to contravene the provisions of the Indian Arms Act and Explosive Substances Act." It also tallies with the statement made in the long letter by Bose written with reference to the Bengal Government's first offer of release, published in the Press and quoted by Mr. Lansbury that "I was only told that I was guilty "of being a member of a conspiracy for importing arms, "manufacturing explosives and murdering public officers" and I was asked if I had anything to say. I wonder "if the late Sir E. Marshall Hall or Sir J. Simon "could have put up any other defence beyond saying" not "guilty"—and that is exactly what I did."

The only available answer to the question appears to be something to the following effect :

"So far as I am aware Mr. Bose was not produced "in person before the judges who examined his case", nor

was the evidence against him submitted "to him in detail for examination, and I regret "if anything I may have said should have misled the "Hon. member on these points."

Sd/- DAWSON
14.6.27

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Question No. 51 dated 15th June 1927.

MR. LANSBURY : To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether he will state on what date Mr. Subhas Bose was brought before a magistrate or judge for examination as to the charges alleged against him and for which he was imprisoned, and also the date on which the nature of the evidence against Mr. Bose was submitted to him for examination or contradiction.

*Answer to Mr. Lansbury's Question No. 51
dated 15th June 1927.*

So far as I am aware Mr. Bose was not produced in person before the judges who examined his case, nor was the evidence against him submitted to him in detail for examination, and I regret if anything I may have said should have misled the honourable Member on these points.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Question No. 31 dated 21st November 1927.

MR. LANSBURY : To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether his attention has been drawn to the statement made by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the town clerk of Calcutta, that agents provocateurs have been employed by the police for artificially creating a revolutionary movement ; and whether he will cause a full inquiry to be made into these allegations.

*Answer to Mr. Lansbury's Question No. 31
dated 21st November 1927.*

I have not seen any statement to this effect by Mr. Bose, but the allegation is not infrequently made. My Noble Friend sees no necessity to make inquiries as to the existence of a state of affairs which could not possibly, had it existed, have escaped the knowledge of the Bengal Government and the Government of India.

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS

MR. LANSBURY : In view of the position held by Mr. Bose, does not the Noble Lord think that so serious a statement as this made by so responsible a person should be investigated ?

EARL WINTERTON : No, Sir. As I have said before to the hon. Gentleman, I cannot have regard to the position held by any person who has been in prison. People who have been in prison are in the habit of making all sorts of accusations. Whatever their previous position has been has no bearing on the subject.

MR. LANSBURY : Is the Noble Lord aware that this gentleman is the mayor-elect of his city, and therefore is considered a responsible person, and that the statements he makes are very categorical ? Under these circumstances, ought they not to be investigated ? ~ May I also

ask the Noble Lord since when it has been detrimental to any man's character that he should be a political offender and thrown into prison by a Government that happens to disagree with him?

MR. SPEAKER: That question is very argumentative.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Question No. 10 dated 24th October, 1932.

MR. JOHN : To ask the Secretary of State for India, whether he has any Report on the health of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose ; and whether this Indian leader is receiving special medical attention in prison.

*Answer to Mr. John's Question No. 10
dated 24th October, 1932.*

Yes, Sir. Mr. Bose has recently been transferred to the King Edward VII sanatorium at Bhowali in the United Provinces.

I have this morning received by telegram a report from the sanatorium that the illness is considered to be mainly of a dyspeptic nature and no active lung trouble can be detected. Mr. Bose is expected to become a walking patient in a few days.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Question No. 7 dated 3rd April, 1933.

MR. THOMAS WILLIAMS: To ask the Secretary of State for India, whether he can state the reason why Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's passport forbids his entrance into the United Kingdom and Germany; whether the Government of India have received any communication from the German government on the matter; and for what reasons this exclusion has been made.

Answer to Mr. Thomas Williams' Question No. 7 dated 3rd April, 1933.

Mr. Subhas Bose was detained as a State Prisoner in India under Regulation III of 1818 and has been permitted to come to Europe solely on grounds of health. He has been given facilities to visit such European countries as were considered necessary for the purposes of treatment and for consulting specialists, but in view of his previous activities it was decided that he could not be granted unrestricted freedom of travel. There is no question of any communication from a foreign Government.

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS

MR. WILLIAMS: Does the right honourable Gentleman agree that a regulation made in 1818 ought to cover this case when, as the right honourable Gentleman suggests, the visit would be one based upon Mr. Bose's desire to improve his health?

SIR S. HOARE: I think on the whole the Government of India have treated this man in a very fair manner. They gave him every facility for his treatment in Europe, but, in view of his past record, we cannot give him unrestricted facilities to travel wherever he wishes to go.

MR. WILLIAMS : If the right honourable Gentleman is satisfied that the only desire of Mr. Bose is to improve his health, does he not think permission might be granted for him to visit either Germany or this country?

SIR S. HOARE : No. The honourable Member will see that we have given permission for him to have treatment in those centres in Europe where he can get that treatment. As far as we know, the treatment that he requires he will get in the cities to which he is going.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Question No. 6 dated 13th November, 1933.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR WALTER SMILES: To ask the Secretary of State for India, if he will represent to the government of India that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, ex-mayor of Calcutta, should be re-arrested on his return to India on the ground of his disloyal and hostile conduct during the period of his release from detention in Bengal in order to proceed to Switzerland for medical treatment.

Answer to Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Walter Smiles'

Question No. 6 dated 13th November 1933.

SIR S. HOARE :

In releasing Mr. Bose the Government of India retained complete freedom of action in the event of his return to India.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Question No. 65 dated 7th February, 1935.

MR. THORP : To ask the Secretary of State for India, upon what date Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, president of the Bengal Congress, was released from detention as a dangerous political subject ; whether, since his release, he has been made any and, if so, what allowance by the British Government ; whether any terms were imposed to prevent his engaging in any anti-British propāganda ; whether his attention has been drawn to the recent utterances in Italy of this gentleman to the effect that English merchandise should be boycotted and purchases made from other states of the world ; and whether he proposes to take any steps to curtail such and similar subversive activities.

*Answer to Mr. Thorp's Question No. 65
dated 7th February, 1935.*

SIR S. HOARE : Mr. Bose was released on the 23rd February, 1934, in order that he might proceed to Europe for medical treatment. Except for his recent brief visit to India on the death of his father, he has been in Europe ever since. No allowances are paid to him while out of India. My attention has been drawn to certain statements made by Mr. Bose in Italy of the kind indicated in the question. I do not understand what kind of action my honourable Friend thinks it would be possible for me to take in the circumstances.

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTION

MR. THURTLÉ : Does the hon. Member think that any harm will come from Mr. Bose's visit to Ireland?

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ALFRED KNOX : Can the Under-Secretary say whether he obtained medical treatment in Dublin?

MR. BUTLER : I am not aware of what he did in Dublin?

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Questions No. 5 dated 9th December, 1935.

MR. THURTLÉ : To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, if he can say why Mr. Subhas C. Bose is not permitted to pay a visit to this Country.

*Answer to Mr. Thurtle's Question No. 5
dated 9th December, 1935.*

MR. BUTLER :

The honourable Member is presumably aware of Mr. Subhas Bose's connection with the Bengal Revolutionary Movement which made it necessary to order his detention in India under the Bengal State Prisoners Regulation. The sole reason for his release from this detention in February, 1933, was to enable him to visit particular countries on the Continent where specialist medical treatment could be obtained. My Noble Friend considers that his presence in this country would be undesirable, and in view of the circumstances of his release is not prepared to authorise passport facilities for a visit to this country unless it can be shown that it is essential for the medical reasons for which the passport was originally granted.

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS

MR. THURTLÉ : Will the hon. Gentleman consider a revision of this ban if Mr. Bose will give an undertaking not to indulge in any political propaganda in this country?

MR. BUTLER : I am afraid I can only undertake to reconsider the matter on a medical basis.

COLONEL WEDGWOOD : Is it the fact that Mr. Sarvat Bose, the brother, who was interned in Bengal, has been set at liberty and is free to carry on his normal occupation.

Departmental notes on question No. 5 dated 9.12.35

(i) Minute prepared by Mr. Johnston on 6.12.35 for reply to Mr. Thurtle's question for 9th December 1935 offers an interesting reading :

“It will be remembered that in October Bose applied to the Consul in Vienna for a new passport. The Consul was authorised to give him one bearing the same endorsements as that then in his possession but did not follow his instruction and gave one valid for all countries in Europe. When this came to notice the consul was instructed to take any opportunity that offered to rectify his mistake but at the same time to be careful not to reveal to Bose that the passport in his possession was perfectly good for this country. The Foreign Office have been unable to obtain from the Consul information as to the exact terms of the correspondence which took place between him and Bose or as to how he may hope to correct his error. In the circumstances it seems desirable to be careful in replying to this question not to imply that Bose needs permission or an additional endorsement on his passport to enable him to come to this country . . .” *

(ii) Note addressed to Mr. Peel.

“I should prefer to say outright in the last sentence of the draft reply “It is considered undesirable that he should *be given facilities for coming* to this country.” Our position as we know is weak. Bose himself has not realised this so far ; but we cannot and should not try to make the issue if, as is likely, it is raised in Parliament on Monday. We are, in fact, coming to the point at which we may have to admit to the public—including

Bose—that we cannot stop him from coming here. I think it would be dangerous to gamble, even in a small degree, on the chance that we may not be asked what steps we have taken or can take to prevent his coming to England; and I would therefore make the draft reply scrupulously accurate, so that there should be no hedging if we should afterwards have to say that we cannot stop Bose from coming here.”*

Sd./- Brown
6.12.35

(iii) Note to Mr. Morley by R. Peel on 7.12.35 :

Mr. Brown's wording is of course more strictly accurate and my only objection to it is that I feel it is more likely to provoke an awkward supplementary than the original draft. Mr. Brown suggests that it is important that the draft reply should be scrupulously accurate so that there should be no appearance of hedging if we should afterwards have to say that we cannot stop Bose from coming here. That is of course true, but from the departmental point of view I would point out that the less said about our use of the passport system to control the movements of undesirable the better, for it must always be remembered that we have no Immigration Act in India and therefore are entirely dependent on control by means of the passport. We should therefore regard it as unfortunate if the admission has to be made that Bose can get here whatever we do.

2. As regards your other point, the answer is that there are a number of Indian students in this country upon whom Bose might exercise an undesirable influence and also his presence here would make it easier for him to improve contacts with the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Sd/- R. Peel
7.12.35.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Question No. 1 dated 24th February, 1936.

SIR REGINALD CRADDOCK : To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, under what conditions was Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, a detenu in Bengal, permitted to leave India; and how has he been permitted to visit Ireland.

*Answer to Sir Reginald Craddock's Question No. 1
dated 24th February, 1936.*

MR. BUTLER : As my honourable Friend will be aware, Mr. Bose was permitted to leave India in order to receive particular medical treatment. The territorial validity of his passport was framed accordingly. The question of his admission to the Irish Free State is one for the Free State authorities.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Questions No. 14 dated 23rd March, 1936.

MR. THURTLÉ : To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, if he is aware that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has been notified by His Majesty's British consul at Vienna that if he returns to India he will not retain his liberty ; and if this notification was on the instructions of his department.

*Answer to Mr. Thurtle's Question No. 14
dated 23rd March, 1936.*

MR. BUTLER : Yes, Sir, this notification was given at my noble Friend's request.

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS

MR. THURTLÉ : May I ask whether this Gentleman is not to be allowed to return to his native country without being arrested and, seeing that he was first arrested four years ago, do the Government intend to keep him under control indefinitely without trying him for any given offence ?

MR. BUTLER : With regard to the first part of the question, I have already said that notification has been made to him that he cannot expect to remain at liberty if he returns to India. The second part of the question goes beyond the original question, and I should require notice of it.

MR. MAXTON : Will there be any limit to the continued persecution of this eminent citizen of India ?

MR. BUTLER : I have already said that that is wider than the original question and had better be put on the Paper.

MISS WILKINSON : Will the hon. Gentleman tell the House what objections the Government have to Mr. Bose, and what is the charge against him ? Has it yet been formulated ?

MR. BUTLER: I think Mr. Bose is aware of the reasons which led to his incarceration in India in the first instance. He was allowed to go away for medical reasons.

MISS WILKINSON: Is it not a fact that no charge has been preferred against him? Why do you not try him and sentence him if he has done anything?

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Question No. 5 dated 6th April, 1936.

MR. THURTLÉ : To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, if, in view of the government's declared intention to deprive Mr. Subhas C. Bose of his liberty in the event of his return to India, he will state whether or not it is the intention of the government to formulate a definite charge against Mr. Bose and bring him to trial on this charge.

*Answer to Mr. Thurtle's Question No. 5
dated 6th April, 1936.*

MR. BUTLER : As regards the action to be taken against Mr. Subhas Bose my Noble Friend must be guided by the views of the authorities in India. Mr. Bose was previously detained under Regulation III of 1818, a procedure which does not involve trial upon definite charges.

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS

MR. THURTLÉ : Will the hon. Gentleman ascertain the views of the Government of India as to any future course of action against Mr. Bose ?

MR. BUTLER : Certainly.

MR. MAXTON : Will the hon. Gentleman not use his influence to stop the persecution of this gentleman who has a distinguished record of public work in India ?

MR. BUTLER : The same reasons which led to Mr. Bose's detention in 1932 still hold good, but he has been allowed to visit Europe for medical reasons.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Question No. 28 dated 21st April, 1936.

MR. THURTLÉ : To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, if he can say when Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was first arrested in respect of the charge for which he is at present under detention.

Question No. 29 dated 21st April, 1936.

MR. THURTLÉ : To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, if he can now say whether or not the government of India intends to bring Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose to trial.

Answer to Mr. Thurtle's Questions Nos. 28 and 29 dated 21st April, 1936.

MR. BUTLER : Mr. Bose is detained, as he was in January 1932, under Regulation III of 1818, a procedure which, as I stated in reply to the honourable Member on the 6th April, does not involve trial on a definite charge or the formulation of such a charge.

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS

MR. BUTLER : Mr. Bose is detained, as he was in January, 1932, under Regulation III of 1818, a procedure which, as I stated in reply to the hon. Member on 6th April, does not involve trial on a definite charge or the formulation of such a charge.

MR. THURTLÉ : Is not the hon. Gentleman aware that this prolonged detention without trial is quite contrary to British standards of justice, and will he make strong representations to the Government of India to bring it to an end?

MR. BUTLER : Mr. Bose's activities, connected as they are and were with the Terrorist movement, are reasons

which involve special methods such as are prescribed by this special Regulation.

MR. THURTLÉ : Does not the hon. Gentleman realise that if this man has committed a crime, it should be possible to prove it ; and why is action not taken to prove the crime ?

MR. BUTLER : The reason why this person was originally detained was referred to the scrutiny of two judges, who thoroughly investigated the case against him.

MR. MAXTON : Is Mr. Bose actually accused of terrorist activities ?

MR. BUTLER : Mr. Bose was associated closely with one of the main terrorist parties, and this is the reason why he was detained.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Question No. 81 dated 30th April, 1936.

MR. SORENSEN: To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether intercepted letters concerning Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose will be published; and whether informers have been employed in order to discover evidence against him.

*Answer to Mr. Sorensen's Question No. 81
dated 30th April, 1936.*

MR. BUTLER: Certain passages from intercepted letters were read out by the Government speakers in the debate in regard to Mr. Bose's case in the Legislative Assembly on the 23rd March, the report of which I am sending to the Honourable Member. It is not proposed to publish anything further. The answer to the second part of the Question is in the negative.

SUPPLEMENTARIES

MR. SORENSEN: Would it not be better for those who are taking an interest in the future of India to be acquainted with the nature of the charge made against this particular man, and would it not be better that we should be acquainted with the actual text of the letters?

MR. BUTLER: I am sending to the hon. Gentleman a copy of the report of the debate of the Legislative Assembly, which contains a great deal of material on this subject, and the same information will be placed in the Library of the House.

MR. SORENSEN: Is the hon. Gentleman aware that by some 62 votes to 59 the arrest of Mr. Bose was censured in the Assembly as recently as three weeks ago?

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Question No. 82 dated 30th April, 1936.

MR. SORENSEN : To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, how many terms of imprisonment have been served by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose since 1921.

*Answer to Mr. Sorensen's Question No. 82
dated 30th April, 1936.*

MR. BUTLER : Mr. Bose has been convicted and sentenced to imprisonment on four occasions. He has also been detained on three occasions under Regulation III of 1818.

SUPPLEMENTARIES

MR. SORENSEN : May I ask the hon. Gentleman whether he is aware that in Bengal there is considerable perturbation regarding the arrest of Mr. Bose, and that it is considered by many prominent officials in Bengal that, in view of the punishment which has been delivered and experienced by him, no further punishment is necessary?

MR. BUTLER : The information of my Noble Friend is that when Mr. Bose regained his liberty he became the centre and focus of revolutionary activity.

MR. SORENSEN : May I ask precisely what is the charge against him and when the Government of India will bring him to trial?

MR. BUTLER : I would ask the hon. Gentleman to read the debates of the Legislative Assembly, which will give him a great deal of information as to the reason for the detention of Mr. Bose.

MR. GALLACHER : In view of the fact that I am a centre of revolutionary activity, will the hon. Gentleman arrest me?

Departmental Note

Bose's jail history as prepared by Mr. Johnston on 29.4.36 for submission to the Secretary of State for India.

1. Arrested 10th December, 1921, and subsequently sentenced to six months simple imprisonment under section 17(2) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, (managing or assisting in the management of an unlawful association).

2. Detained October, 1924, under Regulation III of 1818, released May 1927 for reasons of health.

3. Sentenced the 23rd January, 1930, to one year's rigorous imprisonment, reduced to nine months on appeal, under section 124A, Indian Penal Code (sedition).

4. Sentenced January 1931 to seven days simple imprisonment for disobeying an Order under section 144, Code of Criminal Procedure, i.e. an Order to abstain from a certain act likely to disturb the public tranquility, etc.

5. Sentenced 27th January, 1931, to six months rigorous imprisonment under section 147, Indian Penal Code, (rioting). Released March 1931 following the Irwin-Gandhi Pact.

6. Arrested January, 1932, under Regulation III, released February 1933, to come to Europe for treatment.

7. Arrested 8th April, 1936, on return to India.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Question No. 83 dated 30th April, 1936.

MR. SORENSEN : To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, why Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose had his passport seized at Port Said ; why a policeman was detailed to mount guard over him whilst on board at that port ; why the Austrian police, at the request of the British authorities, closely watched him at Badgastein ; and why this personal interference was employed in this case.

*Answer to Mr. Sorensen's Question No. 83
dated 30th April, 1936.*

MR. BUTLER : I have no information as to the first two parts of the question, which relate to action stated to have been taken by the Egyptian authorities. With regard to the third part it was important that the British Authorities should be informed of Mr. Bose's whereabouts, but I have no reason for thinking that the measures taken were more than was necessary for the purpose or that they amounted to personal interference.

Minute prepared by Mr. Johnston on 29.4.'36 :

This question is no doubt put at the instance of Krishna Menon of the India League, and is based on complaints made by Bose in letters to his friends.

As regards the first two parts of the question, the Egyptian authorities knew that Bose was on his way East in consequence of an enquiry as to whether he had passed through by air. Such action as they took was entirely on their own initiative.

The third part is more awkward. The Consul at Vienna had a long standing arrangement with the Austrian Police, that they should keep him informed of Bose's movements. When he was instructed to warn Bose he very probably asked the Police, if they could

supply the name of the sanatorium in Badgastein at which Bose was staying, and almost certainly asked them to let him know if Bose left and for what destination. It is very unlikely that the Consul went further than this ; and the Foreign Office to whom I have spoken are quite agreeable to a stout denial being given to the suggestion of a request that Bose should be closely watched. It would, however, perhaps be undesirable to go as far as that.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Question No. 95 dated 28th May, 1936

MR. GRENFELL : To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether Subhas Bose has yet been released from detention ; and whether it has been decided whether full personal freedom is to be restored to him.

*Answer to Mr. Grenfell's Question No. 95
dated 28th May, 1936.*

MR. BUTLER : I understand that Mr. Bose has been released from jail custody and has been placed under restraint in his brother's house at Kurseong.

HOUSE OF LORDS

1st December 1936.

MR. SUBHAS BOSE

The Earl of Kinnoull rose to ask His Majesty's Government how long it is intended to keep Mr. Subhas Bose under house detention without trial, and whether he will be allowed to take part in the forthcoming Elections; and to move for Papers. The noble Earl said: My Lords, at this late hour it is useless to try and deal with this Question at any length, but I feel I owe it to your Lordships and to the noble Marquess who will reply for the Government that at least I should say who this Gentleman is and give a very brief summary of his history as it affects my Question. First of all Mr. Subhas Bose is President of the Bengal Congress. He is also a member of the Working Committee of the All India Congress. He has also been Mayor of Calcutta. His history as it affects my Question is as follows: In 1924 he was first arrested. He was then chief executive officer of the Calcutta Corporation. He was interned either in prison or in house detention until 1927. He was again arrested in 1930, at a time when he was Mayor of Calcutta. He was released in the same year when Gandhi came over to England. In 1932 he was again arrested, but later in the year, owing to ill-health, he was allowed to visit Europe. What is a rather curious thing is that, although he is a British subject bearing a British passport, he was not allowed to visit this country. He was allowed to visit Europe, and he went to Austria to undergo treatment for his illness. In 1934 he went back to India in order to see his father who was dying. He was then interned for three months, and afterwards allowed to leave again for Europe. He returned to India in April of the present year, when he was put in prison, and since then he has been in house detention in his brother's house near Darjeeling.

It may be necessary—I do not say it is—from the Governmental point of view that in times of crisis certain political figures should be held in detention without charge and without being brought to trial. But there cannot always be a state of crisis. I maintain that this gentleman has been in prison continually, except when he came to Europe, since 1932. I picked up a cutting the other day from an Indian newspaper which quoted some questions which had been asked in the Bengal Legislative Council. The first question asked for the number of *detenus* at present in gaols or detention camps. I will not bother your Lordships by going through the whole five questions, but the fourth question was as to state that number of *detenus* who committed suicide during the last two years. The answer given was five. Incidentally, there were 2,000 *detenus* altogether. When I read such items they suggest the concentration camps of Germany. This habit of keeping political enemies in detention camps smells very much of Fascism and savours very strongly of the Nazi concentration camps.

I want to ask the Government whether they are going to keep Mr. Bose in prison for ever without trial. He is the leader of what I understand to be the most powerful Party in Bengal, and it may be that after the Election, after the change-over on April 1 next, the Congress Party may desire to take office. Is he going to be released to take part in the Elections? I would ask His Majesty's Government one final question, and it is whether they have any further report as to the state of this gentleman's health. I beg to move for Papers.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND): My Lords, I do not for a moment complain of the observations which the noble Earl has made with regard to the detention of Mr. Subhas Bose, for indeed there is nothing more distasteful to any administrator than to have to resort to measures of this kind. Nevertheless I am satisfied, from bitter personal experience, that in the circumstances in India it is unavoidable. I should like to disabuse your Lordships' minds

of any idea that the greatest care is not taken in examining the evidence against persons like Mr. Bose before these powers of detention are used against them.

By way of illustration of the extra-ordinary care which is taken, I would like to give the noble Earl an example that came within my own experience. I was in Bengal at a time of great unrest when the terrorist movement was a very serious menace, and it became necessary to intern a considerable number of persons. I examined personally the evidence against a large number of them, and the evidence seemed to me to prove conclusively their guilt. Nevertheless, partly to satisfy myself and partly to satisfy public opinion, I invited two learned Judges of different High Courts in India, one of them an Englishman and one of them an Indian—Mr. Justice Beechcroft and Mr. Justice Chandravarka—to examine the dossiers of all those persons against whom we had proceeded and to give them an opportunity of defending themselves. They did so, and the conclusion to which they came was that out of 806 cases—the number of men against whom we had to proceed—in six only was there any doubt at all in their minds as to the guilt of the persons proceeded against. If I may say so that seemed to me to be a very remarkable result. In six cases only out of 806 was there any doubt in the minds of those two learned Judges as to the justification which the Government had had in proceeding against them. That is by the way.

I now come to the case of Mr. Subhas Bose himself, and Mr. Subhas Bose's career has not been quite accurately given by the noble Lord who asked this Question. Unhappily, Mr. Bose, a man of great ability, a man possibly of genius, is a man who, whether by his own fault or by misfortune, has directed almost all his ability to destructive rather than constructive purposes. As a young man he became a member of the Indian Civil Service, but while a probationer in that Service he came to the conclusion that he could not serve what he described as two masters—namely, the Government of the country

and the public of the country, and he therefore resigned. He came out to Bengal, and in the year 1921-22, when His Majesty, then His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, was visiting India, Mr. Bose took a very prominent part in organising what were illegal volunteer corps which were intended to deprive the police of their proper functions and take over their functions from them on behalf of the Indian National Congress. As your Lordships are aware, even in this country we are having trouble, to a great extent at any rate, with subversive movements, and it has quite recently been considered desirable to introduce legislation to deal with the wearing of unlicensed uniforms, the organisation of processions and so on. In India we had those powers, and it became necessary for me to proceed against Mr. Bose under the Act which conferred those powers upon the Executive.

Mr. Bose was convicted in the Courts. It was not a case of internment without trial; he was convicted and served his sentence. At this late hour I will not venture to trouble your Lordships with a full history of Mr. Bose's subsequent activities. They have, unhappily, been of a subversive nature, and on various occasions he has been restrained either as a result of sentences in the Courts or, on occasions, as the noble Lord pointed out, under the special powers conferred upon the Executive for dealing with persons engaged in activities of that sort. Let me come down to the present year. It is quite true, as the noble Lord said, that Mr. Subhas Bose was permitted to come to Europe for treatment, and he spent a considerable time, I think, in Vienna. Unhappily, it came to the notice of the Government that while he was in Vienna he was still carrying on his subversive activities. He was warned, therefore, that if he returned to India he could not be permitted to retain his liberty. He ignored that warning and returned to India this spring and was arrested on his arrival. After a short period of arrest he was permitted to take up his abode with his brother in his brother's house at Kurseong, not far from Darjeeling. There he is living with certain restraints

imposed upon his liberty. One of those restraints is that he shall not take part so long as he is under restraint in any form of political activity.

The noble Lord asked me two questions. He asked, first: How long do the Government propose to keep Mr. Bose under this modified form of restraint? And secondly: Will he be allowed to take part in the forthcoming Elections? In view of what I have said with regard to Mr. Bose, I think your Lordships will hardly be surprised if I say that it is not at this moment possible to say precisely how long it will be considered necessary to impose these restraints upon Mr. Bose's liberty, and in view of the conditions under which he is at present living in his brother's house it will not be possible for him to take an active part in the forthcoming Elections. I presume that what would be possible for him would be to do, as indeed his brother did at the time of the last Elections to the Legislative Assembly in India. At that time Mr. Bose's brother, named Mr. Sarat Bose, was, unhappily, also under restraint if not actually in prison—I do not remember now which—but he did stand for election as an absentee candidate and he was elected. He was not, of course, permitted to take his seat while the orders of restraint were in operation against him, but those orders have recently been cancelled, and it would, therefore, be possible I presume for Mr. Subhas Bose to follow his brother's example. I am afraid this reply will not be wholly satisfactory to the noble Earl who asked these questions, but if time had permitted, which really at this late hour it does not, I should have been prepared from my own personal knowledge to have given the noble Lord very good reason why Mr. Subhas Bose should not at the present time be allowed his complete liberty.

THE EARL OF KINNOULL: My Lords, in thanking the noble Marquess for his reply I should like to say how very much I appreciate at any rate his perfect frankness in saying that Mr. Subhas Bose will not be allowed to take part at the next Elections except in so far as he may

do so as an absentee candidate. The noble Lord's reply has not, however, relieved my mind of the charges of Fascism or Neo-Fascism that I made. I myself would very much like to see in India no one arrested and kept in prison without being brought to trial, but I understand, the noble Marquess's point of view and I thank him for his frank reply. I beg leave to withdraw the Motion.

Motion for Papers, by leave, withdrawn.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Question No. 6 dated 8th February, 1937.

MR. JAGGER : To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that Mr. Subhas Bose is running a temperature and has recently lost 20 lbs. in weight ; and whether, in view of the reported seriousness of Mr. Bose's condition and public anxiety in India in this matter, he will give instruction that Mr. Bose be set at liberty and allowed the opportunity for proper medical attention either in India or abroad.

*Answer to Mr. Jagger's Question No. 6
dated 8th February, 1937.*

MR. BUTLER : In view of his state of health Mr. Bose was transferred in December from Kurseong to the Medical College Hospital, Calcutta, in order that he might receive medical treatment, and I am confident that he has every facility there for obtaining proper attention.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Question No. 5 dated 22nd November, 1937.

MR. THURTLÉ : To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, if he can give an assurance that the Government of India will place no obstacle in the way of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose visiting this Country on his forthcoming visit to Europe.

*Answer to Mr. Thurtle's Question No. 5
dated 22nd November, 1937.*

LORD STANLEY : I understand that Mr. Bose has already left India and I am not aware that the Government of India have raised any difficulties about his coming to this country.

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTION

MR. THURTLÉ : Is the hon. Gentleman aware that difficulties were raised by the Government of this country to his visiting this country when he was last in Europe, and will he give assurances that no such difficulties will be raised on this occasion ?

LORD STANLEY : It will be better to meet those difficulties if and when they arise.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Answered on 27th November, 1941. .

Question No. 42.

For 3rd Sitting Day after 23rd November, 1941.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ALFRED KNOX : To ask the Secretary of State for India, if he has any information of the present whereabouts of Subhas Chandra Bose, late leader of the Congress Party.

Answer to Major-General Sir Alfred Knox's

Question No. 42.

MR. AMERY : According to a recent statement by the Government of India, leaflets have made their appearance in India which leave no doubt that Subhas Bose has gone over to the enemy. It is reported that he is either in Rome or Berlin, but I have no definite information.

SIR A. KNOX : Is it true that Mr. Bose is ex-President of the Congress Party of India ?

MR. AMERY : I do not think it would be fair to saddle Congress as a whole with the responsibility. I am not sure whether he was or not.

SIR A. KNOX : Was he not President of Congress ?

MR. AMERY : I am not sure that he was ever actually nominated.

MR. SORENSEN : Is it not a fact that Mr. Bose was forcibly expelled from Congress by his colleagues ?

MR. MCKINLAY : Is he a Socialist ?

MR. MAXTON : Is not the information upon which the Secretary of State relies that he is in Berlin or Italy just a little bit vague ?

There is some distance between the two ; is it that he just does not know ?

MR. MANDER : Is not the Mufti there with him too ?

Appendices

Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose has addressed the following letter to his brother Srijut Sarat Chandra Bose. It contains a detailed discussion as to why he does not think it worth his while to accept the Government offer.

My dear brother,

You must be anxious to know what I think of the offer that has been made by the Hon'ble Mr. Moberly and it is time to unburden myself on the subject. I don't know if I shall see eye to eye with you but I am giving my opinion for what it is worth.

I have read and re-read very carefully the statement of the Hon'ble Member. I have pondered over every sentence and every word in his statement which, by the way, I must say, is a carefully drafted one. I have taken time to weigh the 'pros' and 'cons' of his proposal and have not been in haste to come to a definite decision. What I am going to write to you represents my opinion at this moment, formed after prolonged deliberation, but I am open to correction and if there are any facts or arguments which I have overlooked or which have not been brought to my notice I am prepared to reconsider my decision.

Let me say at the outset that I appreciate the frankness of the Hon'ble Member's statement and I shall be failing in my duty if I do not reciprocate it. I have always believed in frankness and I think that frankness pays in the long run. There are certain points in the Hon'ble Member's statement for which I cannot but feel thankful to him. When he said that he did not want any admission regarding the past or promise about the future—when he stated that he was prepared to release *me if I gave my "word of honour etc."*—when he *remarked towards the end that he did not make the offer to me first, because he did not want me to feel that the offer was being forced on me—he showed commendable*

consideration for my feelings as a gentleman and as a man of honour. And though I feel unable to accept the offer owing to reasons into which I shall presently enter—I none the less appreciate the honourable elements in the offer. Further, as a member of the Bengal Legislative Council I cannot fail to welcome the Hon'ble Member's action in taking the House into his confidence in at least one case. But when I have said this I am afraid I have said about all that could be urged in favour of the proposal.

The Medical Report

There is one preliminary point on which I should like to disabuse your mind, viz., that Chotodada's report and recommendation were made without any reference to or prior consultation with me. If he had consulted me I would have objected to a recommendation of that kind and when after submitting it, he acquainted me with the nature of his recommendation, I expressed mis-givings as to its expediency—which I now find have been amply justified. Of course Chotodada was here to examine me as a patient and to give his opinion as a medical man and I think he performed his duty with scientific impartiality and professional dispassionateness. He was not concerned with the political implications of his recommendation nor with the question as to whether Government make political capital out of it—and no one, not even I, can blame him for ruling out all extra-medical questions and for ignoring the political consequences of his recommendation. He advised in my case as he would in the case of any other patient of his and he told me that as several of his patients had been cured by treatment in a Swiss Sanatorium—he strongly advised all tubercular patients who had means, to undergo a course of treatment in Switzerland. In these circumstances, it is clear that I have not in any way committed myself in advance as to what offer I would welcome.

It appears that Government do not accept Chotodada's diagnosis (though they are prepared to make use of his

recommendation), for the Hon'ble Member said, "It will be seen that at the moment Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose is not seriously ill and certainly not incapacitated." It would be interesting to know at what stage Government would regard me as either incapacitated or seriously ill. Is it when doctors will declare me as past cure and my death as a question of a few months or days? Further, if Government do not accept Chotodada's diagnosis—why are they so anxious to accept what on the surface—and only on the surface—appears to be his recommendation. Chotodada's recommendation does not say that I should not be allowed to go home and meet my people before I sail abroad. Nor does it say that the ship by which I must travel should not touch at any port in India. Nor again does it say that even if I am restored to proper health, I should not return home before the expiry of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act. All this leads me to doubt if the real object of the Government is to give me an opportunity to recoup my health.

The Hon'ble Member said in effect that the only 2 alternatives which were open in my case were (1) confinement in jail and (2) treatment in a foreign country for an undefined period. But is there really no 'via media' between the two? I am not sure that there is not.

The Bengal Government want me to stay abroad till the expiry of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act i.e., ostensibly till January 1930. But who can be sure that the Act will run out in 1930 and that it will not be given another lease of life? The last conversation I had with Mr. Lowman, D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D., in October, 1926, was anything but reassuring on this point and I shall not be surprised if in 1929, serious attempts are made to put the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925 permanently on the Statute Book. In that case my absence from home will be made permanent and I shall have to thank myself alone for exiling myself from India by a twentieth century "self-denying ordinance." If the intentions of Government had been quite clear on

this point they would have mentioned a definite date till when I would have to stay abroad.

Again, I have not been given any assurance as to the extent of freedom I shall be allowed in Europe. Will the Government save me from the kind attentions of the numerous spies that swarm in Switzerland? There is no gainsaying the fact that I am a political suspect and shall continue to be one, as long as I do not turn a somersault and become a police informer—and it is possible that my life abroad may be made miserable by spies shadowing me at every step. I understand that in Switzerland there are not only British spies but Swiss, Italian, French, German and Indian spies in the employ of the British Government. And what is there to prevent some of these overzealous agents from sending false reports regarding myself with the object of further blackening me in the eyes of the Government? I honestly think—and I told Mr. Lowman about it last year—that it is possible for the Intelligence Department if they feel so inclined to concoct a plausible case against any citizen concerned with politics which will suffice for the purpose of securing orders for his detention under the Ordinance. This is more true of those political suspects who live in Europe for a time. No one can forget the difficulty that some of those political suspects had to encounter in order to obtain permission to return home with impunity. Even a leader of the position and eminence of Lala Lajpat Rai could return home only with the help of influential M. P. friends, some of whom are ex-ministers of the Cabinet. Unfortunately I am now *bete noire* to the Government and the difficulty that I shall have to encounter can be easily imagined.

Over-Zealous Police Agent

Moreover, I feel so helpless in the face of over-zealous police agents that I am almost sure that however cautious, and even timid, I may be during my stay in Europe—I shall never be able to prevent unfavourable reports regarding myself from reaching the Government of India.

All my caution and even timidity will be put down as shrewdness and cunning and all sorts of sinister activities of which I shall be the author, will be imagined where there are none. And the tragedy of the whole situation will be that I shall have no means of knowing what reports are being sent about me and I shall not be given any opportunity of explaining things and incidents which are really harmless. It is thus possible that by the time 1929 draws near, I shall have been painted as a Bolshevik Agent (for in Europe there is only one nightmare to-day viz., the Bolshevik nightmare) of the darkest dye before the India Government and the inevitable consequence will be that I shall either be prevented from returning to India or shall be arrested again on my arrival. I have no desire to become a voluntary exile from the land of my birth and I would therefore like Government to look at this matter for a minute from my point of view.

If I had the remotest intention of becoming a Bolshevik Agent I would have jumped at the offer made and taken the first available boat to Europe. If I succeeded in recouping my health, I could then have joined the gay band who trot about from Paris to Leningrad talking of world revolution and emitting blood and thunder in their utterances. But I have no such ambition or desire.

"Am I so Dangerous"

When I read that I was required to undertake not to return to India, Burma and Ceylon I rubbed and rubbed my eyes and asked myself—"Am I so dangerous to the existence of the British rule in India that a deportation from Bengal is not regarded as an adequate safeguard or is all this but a hoax?" If the former, then from one point of view it is somewhat flattering to a nationalist to be told that he is so much of a nuisance to the bureaucracy. But when I come to look at facts and analyse my life and activities before I was arrested, I cannot help feeling that my political complexion is not so red as

some interested and malicious people have led Government to think. I have not done political work outside Bengal and I have hardly any desire to do so, at least for some years to come—for Bengal is big enough for me and for my ambitions. I do not think that any other Government (whether the Government of India or any other Provincial Government) besides Bengal has anything to say against me and so far as I remember, I do not think I left Bengal during the last 6 years except to visit members of our family or to attend meetings of the A.I.C.C. or the Congress. Why then this attempt to prejudice me in the eyes of other Governments by holding me up as a dangerous person and prohibiting me from entering India, Burma and Ceylon? Ceylon being a Crown Colony, I doubt if it is within the jurisdiction of the Government of Bengal or even of the Government of India to lay down such a condition.

“I Moved But Little”

The Bengal Government want to have control over my movements now but I moved but little when I was free. Between October 1923 and October 1924 I do not think I left Calcutta on more than two occasions—on the first occasion to attend the Khulna District Conference and on the second occasion to address some election meeting in Nadia District for a prospective M.L.C. And between February 1924 and October 1924, I do not think I stirred out of Calcutta at all. All attempts made to connect me with the Sirajgunj Conference are futile and malicious for when the Conference met, I had just taken over charge of the C.E.O.ship and was too busy with municipal work and in warding off a threatened sweepers' strike, to be able to leave Calcutta for a minute. Between May and October 1924 my activities and movements need no enumeration for they are a matter of common knowledge. Government were perfectly aware of my movements before my arrest and if the object of my imprisonment was to control my movements, there was no necessity at all for arresting me.

“Particularly Callous”

There is one aspect of the Hon'ble Member's proposal which struck me as particularly callous. Government know that I have been away from home nearly 2½ years and I have not met most of my relations—including parents—during this period. They nevertheless propose that I shall go abroad for a period which will be at least 2½ or 3 years without having an opportunity of meeting them. This is hard for me—but much more so for those who love me—whose number is I think very large. It is not easy for a Westerner to appreciate the deep attachment which oriental people have for their kith and kin and I hope that it is this ignorance—rather than wilfulness—which is responsible for what I cannot but regard as a heartless feature of the Government offer. It would be typical only of a western mind to presume that because I have not married—therefore I have no family (taking the word in its large sense) and no attachment for any one.

Government seem to have clean forgotten the suffering to which they have subjected me for the last 2½ years. I am the aggrieved party and not they. They have locked me in for such a long period without any justification. I was only told that I was guilty of being a member of a conspiracy for importing arms, manufacturing explosives and murdering public officers and was asked if I had anything to say. I wonder if the late Sir Edward Marshall Hall or Sir John Simon could have put up any other defence beyond saying “not guilty”—and this is exactly what I did. When the “allegations” were presented to me a second time, I raised the question myself as to why I of all persons happened to be victimised by the Police—and I think I was able to give a satisfactory explanation. Since my arrest the Bengal Government have not granted me any allowance for the maintenance of my dependants or the upkeep of my establishment and when, as a last resort, I appealed to H.E. the Viceroy my representation was withheld by the Bengal Government. On the top of this they want me to exile myself for nearly

3 years and to find the money for maintaining myself during my exile in Europe. Is this a fair and reasonable proposition? If Government do not recognise any other normal obligation they should at least feel obliged to set me at liberty in the same state of health in which they found me in 1924—and if my health is impaired owing to my incarceration, they should compensate me—they should at least meet all the expenditure that has to be incurred till I recoup my former health. How long will Government go on ignoring all moral obligations? If Government had allowed me to go home once, before I sailed abroad, had agreed to meet all my expenses in Europe and had permitted me to return without let or hindrance on my recovery, there would have been something human about the offer.

Mailed Fist in a Velvet Glove

Lastly the Hon'ble Member has shown me the mailed fist appearing in a velvet glove. He said—"Both Government and Mr. Bose realise that they can detain him until the expiration of the Cr. Law Amendment Act." I perfectly agree with him and I would go further and say that I realise that Government can detain me as long as they like—for when the Amendment Act expires—they can either prolong its life or serve a fresh order on me under Regulation III of 1818. As a matter of fact I have told many Government officers, including Mr. Lowman, that I feel to my utter despair that there is absolutely nothing to prevent Government from detaining us all our life—though M.L.A.'s and M.L.C.'s may fret and fume and throw out Executive Councillors' touring expenses. And I have yet to learn that Government do not really intend to keep us here all our life.

I am reminded of what the late Deshbandhu of hallowed memory used to call me (viz., a "young old man") because of what he regarded as my pessimism. I am pessimistic from one point of view for I always try to picture the worst that may happen. I have on this occasion tried to anticipate the worst that may befall me, if I do not

accept the offer of Government but I have not been able to persuade myself that a permanent exile from the land of my birth would be better than life in a jail leading to the sepulchre. I do not quail before this cheerless prospect for I believe as the poet does, that "the paths of glory lead but to the grave."

I believe I have said about all that could be said both for and against the Government offer. Let no one grieve that the chances of my release are few and far between. Above all please console our dear parents, for theirs is the hardest lot, and all those who love me. We have got to suffer a lot, both individually and collectively, before the priceless treasure of freedom can be secured. Thank God I am at peace with myself and I can face with perfect equanimity any ordeal that He in His wisdom may choose to visit me with. I regard myself as doing penance in my own humble way for the past sins of our nation and I am and shall be—happy in my atonement. Our thoughts will not die—our ideas will not fade from the nation's memory and posterity will be heirs of our fondest dreams—this is the faith which shall sustain me in my tribulation for ever.

Please let me have an early reply.

Yours very affly.,
Sd/- Subhas.

To
The Hon'ble the Home Member, Government of India,
Through The Civil Surgeon, Lucknow,
and The U.P. Government.

Regarding permission to go to Europe.

Dear Sir,

My eldest brother, Mr. Satish C. Bose of Patna, has communicated to me the order of the Government of India regarding my case. I am thankful for that order and I appreciate the spirit underlying it. Circumstances permitting, I hope that the offer of Government embodied in the order will be thankfully accepted.

2. In connection with this order there are two points, comparatively unimportant, which have not probably been considered from my point of view. I am stating my difficulties in connection with both these points as clearly as possible—and I solicit a favourable decision as early as possible. In the first place, the order indicates that I shall have to remain in custody till the moment when I sail from the shores of India. Secondly, the passport will be issued only for France and Switzerland.

3. Regarding the first point, I beg to submit that it will be extremely difficult—if not impossible—to make arrangements for a prolonged stay in Europe while I am in custody at a considerable distance from both Patna and Calcutta. At present, I can write only three letters a week and though the rules allow one interview a week, in actual practice, this concession cannot often be availed of, owing to the difficulty in securing the necessary permission from the Bengal C.I.D. It is therefore wellnigh impossible to supervise, or give instructions regarding the necessary arrangements while I am in my present predicament. I am not one of those who travel to Europe every other year and who can therefore sail at a moment's notice. Nor am I desirous of travelling to Europe in dhoti or loin-cloth. Consequently it will be

a difficult job to get the necessary outfit ready for me. Numerous questions will crop up at every step which will require daily consultation and prompt decision. Questions like route, shipping company, medical attendant, financial arrangements, outfit, procedure to be followed on arrival in Europe, the doctors to be consulted, the sanatoria to be visited, etc. cannot be settled for me in my absence by other people without consulting me. I therefore feel that if I am allowed to go home now, arrangements for leaving for Europe will not only be facilitated but will be considerably expedited. From my point of view the sooner I can reach Europe the better for me—because delay will only mean further deterioration and less chance of recovery. Further, it would be very hard on me if I have to go abroad without saying good-bye to my people. My parents (who are now at Cuttack or Puri) are old and my father in particular suffers from heart trouble. God alone knows whether I shall see them again on my return from Europe. Besides, other near relations of mine are scattered about in places in or near Calcutta. And it would be practically impossible for most of my relations to come either to Lucknow or to Bombay to see me off—quite apart from the question of being allowed to interview me.

4. Regarding the second point, I beg to submit that owing to certain complications in my disease, there is the possibility that a visit to other countries besides France and Switzerland may be necessary. Though I shall try my utmost to avoid surgical treatment, I cannot forget that several eminent doctors have expressed the opinion that Surgical treatment may be necessary. In that event, I may be advised to go to Vienna or Berlin or Denmark—or I may even have to consult some specialist in London. After undertaking the trouble and expenditure of a trip to Europe, I would not like to be deprived of any of the facilities that exist in Europe in the way of treatment. And I would be disappointed if I were to be told after arriving in Europe that I cannot go outside of France and Switzerland for the simple reason that the Govern-

ment of India have said so in their order and in their passport.

5. I therefore request—(1) that I be allowed to proceed home now with a view to making speedy arrangements for going abroad and (2) that the passport be for Europe without being restricted to France and Switzerland.

If Government apprehend that in case I am allowed to go home now, I shall resume my political activities, I may say that my present physical condition rules out that possibility altogether. Further, Government have sufficient powers resulting from statute, Regulation and Ordinance, whereby they can give me the liberty to go home while ensuring from their point of view that I shall not resume my political activities during the period prior to my sailing for Europe. I am saying this in case Government are inclined to think that I am not so ill as to be physically incapable of resuming my public activities now.

6. In conclusion, I have only to say that I hope that you will not mar the generous spirit underlying the order by refusing a favourable consideration of the two points mentioned above.

Thanking you,

Balrampur Hospital,
Lucknow,
17.1.33.

I am
Yours truly,
Sd/- Subhas Chandra Bose.

C/o The American Express Company,
Karntnerring 14,
Vienna I.

17.3.33.

My dear Mr. Thurtle,

I was so glad to receive your kind letter of the 15th instant.

When the Government of India made the offer to me in January last, I wrote back asking them to extend my passport to Europe generally—instead of restricting it to France and Switzerland. After a great deal of bargaining they agreed to extend the passport to Italy and Austria. But when they issued the passport to me, they made an entry to the effect that the passport would not be available for Germany and the United Kingdom. I had written to the Government of India that I was particularly anxious that I should be free to visit the important medical centres in Europe, viz. Vienna, Berlin and London—in order to consult specialists—but they extended the passport for Austria only.

The diagnosis made by the doctors here is quite different from the diagnosis made by official and non-official doctors in India, and if I had been free I would have liked to consult some specialists in Berlin and London, but as matters stand that is not possible.

Regarding my brother, you know that he has been in custody since February 1932. During this period he has developed diabetes and after a great deal of experimenting, the prison superintendent, who is a senior medical officer in the I.M.S. has come to the conclusion that my brother's health is not likely to improve as long as he remains in custody. I met him in Jubbulpore Jail in the Central Provinces on my way to Bombay en route to Europe and I found him considerably run down. Jubbulpore is a furnace in summer and is right in the centre of the hot zone and I am afraid he is going to have a very bad time during the next few months. As he had a very large income, his incarceration has hit the whole family

very badly. A few months before his arrest, he had sent his eldest boy to Munich for post-graduate studies and when he was suddenly imprisoned, money had to be borrowed so that his son could continue his studies there. And the monstrosity of the whole affair is that it is an imprisonment without trial and for an indefinite period. Up till now, neither of us knows the evidence of the charges on the basis of which the warrant for arrest had been issued.

If anything could be done for my brother or for extension of my passport I should be very glad indeed. I think it is high time that my brother should be released. A reference from the India Office at this stage might be helpful. I think the best course would be for Mr. Lansbury to take up the matter with Sir Samuel Hoare if he is in a position to do so. And if he has a talk with Sir Samuel, he would be able to find out how the ground lies.

I am at present in a Sanatorium in Vienna City.

Hope this will find you quite well. Kindest regards for Mrs. Thurtle and yourself.

Yours very sincerely,
Sd/- Subhas Bose.

P.S. I hope everybody will realise the absurdity of the position that a British passport has been issued to me which is not available for Great Britain.

Regarding my brother, it would be relevant to inform you that the Advocate-General of Bengal—the highest legal officer of the Government—is of opinion that there is not sufficient ground for arresting him under Regulation III of 1818. The Advocate-General communicated this view to the Governor of Bengal some time ago. I think he also spoke to Sir Samuel about my brother's case when he was in England last. The Advocate-General is Sir N. N. Sircar who was a member of the third Round Table Conference nominated by the Government to represent Bengal.

S. C. B.

SANATORIUM C/o The American Express Company,
DR. FURTH 14 Karntnerring,
Wien Vienna.
VIII/1, Schmidgasse 14 Dated, the 3rd March/
Telephon A-29-5-35 Serie April 1933.

To
The Right Hon. The Secretary of State for India,
India Office, Whitehall,
London.

Dear Sir,

Before I left India, I had requested the Government of India to issue a passport which would enable me to visit— if necessary—Vienna, Berlin and London, among other places. The Government of India, however, extended my passport to Italy and Austria only and informed me that if I wanted to visit any other place not covered by the passport, I should apply to you and that my request would be duly considered. I have been in Vienna since the 8th March and have been under treatment for nearly three weeks.

The diagnosis of the Viennese physicians whom I have consulted, differs, from that of the physicians who examined me at Madras, Bhowali, and Lucknow. At these places I was examined by distinguished members of the I.M.S. as well as by distinguished private medical practitioners. The progress I have made so far has not been satisfactory and I desire to consult some distinguished physicians in Germany and in England as to the diagnosis and treatment of the disease from which I have been suffering—and as to whether an operation would be necessary and advisable. I therefore request you to give me the necessary passport facilities for visiting Germany and England.

Thanking you,
I am,
Yours faithfully,
Sd/- Subhas Chandra Bose.

C/o The American Express Co.,
14 Karntnerring
Vienna
28.4.33.

To
The Rt. Hon. The Secretary of State for India
London.,

Dear Sir,

With reference to letters no. P. & J. 1208/33 from your office, I have the honour to forward herewith a note from Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Neumann the well-known tuberculosis specialist of Vienna. I shall be obliged if early orders are issued so that I may get a passport for Germany.

Yours faithfully,
Sd/- Subhas Chandra Bose.

THE INDIA LEAGUE

(formerly the Commonwealth of India League)

Headquarters : 165 Strand, London, W.C. 2

Telephone : Temple Bar 3689

OBJECT

To support the claim of India for Swaraj (Self-Rule)

Chairman

BERTRAND RUSSELL

Vice-Chairman

D. R. GREENFELL, M.P.

Parliamentary Secretary

WILLIAMS, M.P.

Treasurer

MONICA WHATELY

Secretaries

JAMES MARLEY

V. K. KRISHNA MENON

30th March 1936

To
The Secretary of State for India,
India Office,
Whitehall.

Sir,

I enclose herewith for your information a copy of two resolutions passed at a public meeting held at the Essex Hall, London, on Saturday the 28th under the Chairmanship of Alderman W. T. Kelly M. P.

Yours truly
Sd/- V. K. Krishnamenon
Hon. Joint Secretary

165, Strand.
London, W.C. 2
Temple Bar 3689

Resolution passed at Public Meeting held on the 28th March at the Essex Hall, under the Chairmanship of Alderman William T. Kelly, M. P.

1. This public meeting protests against the arbitrary action of the Government of India in issuing a warning to Mr. Subash Bose that he would not be allowed to remain at liberty if he returns to his own country and it further requests His Majesty's Government to give Mr. Bose passport facilities to come to this country which he has been hitherto refused and for which no reasons have been stated.

2. This public meeting protests against the enactment by the Viceroy of India of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act in the face of the defeat of that measure by the Indian Legislative Assembly and in defiance of Indian public opinion and calls upon His Majesty's Government to secure the suspension of this obnoxious measure which is contrary to all civilised standards of law, justice and administration. This meeting protests against the use of repressive measures in India, the banning of books, raids and confiscation of presses, arbitrary arrests and imprisonments without trial, the use of troops in villages, the widespread suppression of liberty and the persecution of labour movements and calls upon the Government to secure the release of political prisoners and to order an inquiry into police methods.

Post Restante,
Badgastein, (Austria)

25.11.1937.

Your Lordship,

I have come to Europe on a short visit for a course of treatment at Badgastein and shall be returning home by air in time to reach Calcutta by the middle of January at the very latest. As a matter of fact, I shall attempt an earlier return.

The treatment here will take about a month or five weeks and before I return home again, I should like to pay a flying visit to England to meet friends there and my nephew who is studying in London. Your Lordship is aware that there was a ban on my visit to London when I was in Europe between 1933 and 1936. There is no entry in my passport about the ban, but verbal instructions were given me not to visit England without a special permit and I honoured these instructions. I do not know if the ban still exists. If it does, I would request that the ban be now lifted and I be allowed to visit England.

If I am allowed to visit England, I intend spending about a week or ten days at the most there. It is possible that my stay there will be even shorter, in case my treatment here lasts longer—for in no case can I prolong my stay in Europe beyond the 10th January when I must fly back to India.

I shall feel greatly obliged if Your Lordship will be so good as to pass orders at an early date lifting the ban on my visit to England.

Thanking Your Lordship heartily in anticipation,

The Rt. Hon.
The Marquis of Zetland,
Secretary of State for India,
Whitehall,
LONDON.

I am,
Yours truly,
Sd/- Subhas Chandra Bose.

INDIA'S NEW CONSTITUTION

Home Secretary's Tribute to Sir John Anderson's Work

"GOODWILL AND COMMON SENSE"

Sir Samuel Hoare, Home Secretary, who was Secretary of State for India when the legislation setting up the new Constitution for India was introduced, said yesterday that the most significant fact in recent Indian history was the manifest desire of Indian Ministers and British Governors to co-operate in a great experiment. He was speaking at a reception given at Grosvenor House, Park Lane, by the East India Association to Sir John Anderson, on his return from the Governorship of Bengal.

Sir Samuel Hoare said that it should be remembered to his credit that he was the Secretary of State who recommended Sir John Anderson's appointment to Calcutta, but it should be remembered even more to Sir John Anderson's credit that he abandoned one of the highest posts in the Security of Whitehall for the Government of Calcutta at a most critical and even dangerous moment. Terrorism was rife, and an attempt had been made on the life of his predecessor, Sir Stanley Jackson.

SCOTLAND'S "EXPORTS"

He well remembered putting the offer to Sir John Anderson and with what relief he heard Sir John say, "Well, I suppose that I have almost completed my career in Whitehall, and, being a Scot, I am ready to try another." "And where more suitable for a Scot to try than in India?" Sir Samuel asked, "For was it not truly said a century ago, 'The two main exports of Scotland are lean cattle to England and able administrators to India'?"

Sir John was faced on the spot with the same double task that confronted Westminster, the restoration of law and order on the one hand and the development of constitutional reform on the other. Sir John's administration

proved that it was possible to succeed on this double front, but even with all his administrative talents his success could not have been so complete if he had not been supported by a definite and undeviating policy of constitutional reform.

“Let us then draw this first lesson from his record.” Sir Samuel continued: “If full scope is to be given to our great administrators, the Government at home must give them a clear and intelligible policy to carry it out. What staggering results might have been achieved by Warren Hastings if he had not been hampered at every turn by spite and vacillation in Westminster!”

A LESSON FROM INDIA

Sir John Anderson restored order. But he also restored the sanity and balance of many misguided terrorists. He showed that while repression could be effectively carried out the more difficult task of reformation could also be made to succeed. “As Home Secretary”, Sir Samuel added. “I hope that I have taken to heart this lesson in the field of penal administration.

“A third lesson which Sir John has to teach us is the lesson of goodwill. I am disclosing no State secret when I say that throughout all those years when I was engaged upon the Indian Constitution the question that most worried many of my friends was this—how will the responsible Ministers be able to work with Governors invested with their special responsibilities? Will not each insist upon his statutory powers and will not the result be crisis and deadlock? Over and over again I said to my critics. ‘I put my faith in goodwill and common sense. I believe that difficulties will be surmounted by consultation rather than crisis.’

“Is it not on these lines that the new Constitution has started, particularly in the great province of Bengal? Sir John Anderson’s relations with his Ministers in Bengal are the outward and visible sign of the goodwill without which no Government can prosper.”

ON THE RIGHT ROAD

While there would be anxieties and disappointments in the new chapter, on the whole he believed that they had started the new chapter on the right road. If that were the case, it was not a little due to men like Sir John Anderson. To his successor, Lord Brabourne, a Governor in the true Anderson tradition, they sent best wishes.

To his Indian friends Sir Samuel Hoare gave this message: "Work the Constitution throughout India as Sir John Anderson has worked it in Bengal on a foundation of goodwill and co-operation, and India will prove to the world at the very moment when in the East and West liberty and democracy are challenged that free institutions are still the best and that the British Empire is the most effective framework in which they can be developed."

THE SITUATION IN BENGAL

Sir John Anderson said that any success he might have had in Bengal would not have been possible without the effective co-operation of others. Sir Samuel Hoare and Lord Willingdon gave their Governors a clear and consistent policy, and after them Lord Zetland and Lord Linlithgow followed the same course. He could not speak too highly of the response that the services gave to all the calls made upon them.

It was decided that Bengal should start off with responsible government on exactly the same footing as all the other provinces in India. It would have been a disaster to Bengal and India, and to all the hopes that were centred in the new scheme of constitutional reform, if a different decision had had to be taken, and he doubted whether anyone either in India or in this country would assert that that decision was wrong. The new Ministry which took office on April 1 had already been subjected to severe tests. It had shown itself capable of formulating and applying a courageous, firm, and consistent policy. It had thereby established itself in a position of great prestige among the responsible Ministries in India.

TACKLING THE TERRORISTS

There were three things which he regarded as affording some ground for apprehension for some time after he went to Bengal. The first was terrorism, but he personally saw no reason why it should ever again be out of control. Complete eradication of the terrorist mentality must be a long business. This was now a task for Indians to carry out and they were best qualified to undertake it. He was satisfied that a good beginning had been made.

The next ground for apprehension was a possible landslide in the services, but there had been no indication of that. The services were working efficiently and he believed, happily under their new masters. The other ground was that a financial breakdown might occur. There they had had a spot of luck, for the economic depression began to lift just in time. The Niemeyer award did not give them all they wanted, but it provided the new Government with ample resources and a prudent management for the maintenance of a sound and progressive policy.

Sir Firozkhan Noon, High Commissioner for India, in a message paid tribute to the service which Sir John Anderson had rendered to his country.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

At the beginning of 1938 he (Nehru) was succeeded by an even more extreme figure, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Mr. Bose had been arrested in January, 1932, because of his association with the terrorists in Bengal and not because of the support he had been giving to the Civil disobedience movement. He had been allowed to go to Europe for reasons of health about a year later and while he was in that country there were clear indications that he favoured mass revolutionary action. He had, therefore, been warned that, if he returned to India, he would not be allowed to remain at liberty. In 1936 he disregarded the warning, returned and was arrested; and after a short period in Poona Jail he was removed to the house of his brother, Sarat Chandra Bose, at Kurseong. . . .

During the remainder of 1938 it became clear on more than one occasion that Mr. Gandhi and the Congress President did not see eye to eye; but at the beginning of 1939 the re-election of Mr. Subhas Bose as President threw the Congress world into confusion. It had been the accepted practice for some years for the nominee of Mr. Gandhi to become President without a contest. On this occasion three candidates were nominated by the electors, of whom Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was regarded as the official candidate. Some days before the poll he resigned in favour of Mr. Pattabi Sitaramayya and Mr. Subhas Bose, who might not have stood against the the Maulana, refused to leave the field to Mr. Sitaramayya, in spite of a personal appeal from Mr. Gandhi. He was eventually elected by a majority of about 200 in a poll of about 3,000, whereupon Mr. Gandhi announced that Mr. Bose's victory was a defeat for himself and indicated that he and his followers in the Working Committee, the Provincial Ministries and the Congress Party would be willing to leave the party and surrender the field to Mr. Bose and his faction. The latter was thus placed in a dilemma, for he was well aware that he could achieve

little without Mr. Gandhi's support. Mr. Gandhi himself also had to recover the ground temporarily lost by the Congress right wing and it was expected that he would do so by concentrating on the campaign which had been under way for some time against the Indian States, thus diverting attention from domestic difficulties.

But no one foresaw the sensational course which he actually followed. This was the famous Rajkot "fast unto death..." on February 22nd, 1939, the Congress Working Committee had ceased to exist; twelve of the sixteen members announced their resignation in a joint letter which invited the President to choose his own cabinet and follow his own policy, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru issued a long statement attacking Mr. Subhas Bose. In this state of affairs, and with the limelight concentrated on Rajkot, the Congress session at Tripuri began on March 7th—the same day as that on which Mr. Gandhi's fast was broken. Mr. Bose purported to be ill and attended the session on a stretcher. The main resolution, which was carried in the subjects committee by 218 votes to 135 and in the open session without division, affirmed adherence to Mr. Gandhi's policies and programme and expressed confidence in the work of the defunct Working Committee in accordance with the wishes of the Mahatma. Mr. Gandhi and the Congress President were unable to agree on the personnel of the new committee and on April 27th Mr. Subhas Bose resigned his office. Such was the revenge taken by the Congress dictator on one who, exactly three months before, had been duly and democratically elected, but in defiance of his wishes, to the post of a Congress President.*

* *Has Congress Failed? A Historical Survey of the year 1918-1938*, pp. 50-51, by A Student of Public Affairs—Sir Richard Tottenhem, Addl. Secretary, Govt. of India (Home Deptt.), New Delhi, 1943. IOR Ref. Mss Eur F 161/29b.

Independent Labour Party
Merthyr, Aberdare & Dist. Federation.

Chairman : E. Osment
Hony. Treasurer : D. Mulcahy
Secretary : G. Williams

*A copy of Secretary's letter dated 28th March 1936 to
the Secretary of State for India :*

Sir,

I am instructed by the above organisation to convey to you an emphatic protest against H. M. Government with regard to the action taken in the case of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose.

I am to suggest that Mr. Bose, as a citizen of the British Empire, has as much right, if not more to visit London, as some of the National representatives of other countries at present visiting England.

He certainly has more right to live in his own country, India, among his own people, than have the persons who have forbidden him to return to India.

Trusting that this matter will receive the immediate attention of the British Government.

I am,
Yours faithfully,
Sd/- G. Williams

ARREST OF SUBHAS BOSE

Fears of his premature release.

Two further telegrams are submitted for information.

The Governor of Bengal found it necessary to pay a hurried visit to Calcutta to nip in the bud any idea of the release of Subhas Bose on instructions of either the Chief Minister or the Home Minister. If, notwithstanding the undertaking secured from the Ministers, Bose is released, he will apparently be re-arrested on a warrant issued by the Central Government.

Sd/- Illegible
22.7.40

17.11.41

**INDIAN EXTREMIST LEADER IN GERMANY
"PACT TO SEND ARMY TO FREE INDIA"**

NEW DELHI, MONDAY.

AXIS BROADCASTS, IT IS LEARNED HERE, HAVE CONFIRMED THE STATEMENT MADE BY MR. CONRAN SMITH, HOME SECRETARY, TO THE COUNCIL OF STATE AS TO THE WHEREABOUTS OF SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE, THE INDIAN EXTREMIST LEADER.

A BROADCAST IN HINDUSTANI FROM AN ITALIAN STATION ON NOVEMBER 12 SAID: "THE GERMAN RADIO HAS ANNOUNCED THE PRESENCE OF SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE IN GERMANY INDIANS ARE ANXIOUSLY AND EAGERLY AWAITING BOSE'S SPEECH".

A JAPANESE BROADCAST IN HINDUSTANI THE SAME DAY SAID: "RASHBEHARI BOSE, PRESIDENT OF THE INDIAN INDEPENDENT LEAGUE IN JAPAN, HAS SENT A CONGRATULATORY TELEGRAM TO SUBHAS BOSE ON HIS SAFE ARRIVAL IN GERMANY. SUBHAS BOSE DISAPPEARED FROM INDIA IN JANUARY, 1941. IT IS NOW LEARNED THAT HE HAS REACHED GERMANY AND HAS SIGNED A PACT WITH GERMANY FOR SENDING AN ARMY TO FREE INDIA." REUTER.

DTIS-17
RIV 2317

SECRET CIPHER TELEGRAM

WAR STAFF.

w. s. 28299/10

From : Secretary of State for India.

Desp : 17th February, 1944, 1915 hrs.

To : Government of India

IMPORTANT

4087. War Department. For D.M.I.

Governor of Fiji reports that story of "Victorious Advance of Subhas Chandra Bose's Army of Liberation is spreading rapidly among Indians there, and asks for material for counter propaganda.

Colonial Office have arranged for M.O.I. to send suitable material but ask in addition for telegraphic summary giving full facts about Bose's army and activities and whether they constitute a danger to Burma campaign or have only nuisance value. They want this for personal information of Governor and would also like to send it to Aden, Mauritius and East Africa.

Unwilling provide this without consulting you. If you agree request summary of what you wish communicated. M.I.2. consulted and agree.

War Office Distribution by M.I.2.

To :— M.I.2. (for action)

Copies to :—

D.M.I.						
D.D.M.I.	(1)	(0)	(S)	(F)	(P/W)	
M.I.2.	2a.	2c.	5.	6.	9.	11. 17.
D.M.O.						
M.O.I.	12					
D.P.W.						
D.D.P.W.						
P.W.2						
D.D.I.P.						
I.P.I.	2.		3			
I.P.I.	(Col. Vickery)					
India Office	(Mr. Swinnerton)					
" "	(Col. Steverson)					War Staff.

SECRET
10415

INWARD TELEGRAM

ALLOTTED TO INFORMATION DEPARTMENT
Copies circulated

CYPHER TELEGRAM (O.T.P.)

From Government of India, Department of Informa-
tion and Broadcasting,
to Secretary of State for India.

Dated New Delhi, 04.30 hours, 25th March, 1944.

Received 05.45 hours, 25th March, 1944.

IMPORTANT.

3359.

JOYEE FROM BOZMAN

We have seen in censorship a message from Teklar reporting that London evening papers prominently featured Tojo broadcast claiming that Indian national army headed by Subhas Bose has crossed Indian frontier. In accordance with our policy of denying publicity to Bose and the Indian National Army in the Indian press this message has been stopped. Correspondents and agencies at your end will naturally be reluctant to ignore the subject in outward messages if it continues to attract attention in London and we suggest therefore that if attempts like Teklar's to make political capital out of the new development are to be avoided the best line of approach would be through the English press. Would it be possible to explain position confidentially to the English press and ask for their co-operation in soft pedalling on the alleged activities of Bose and Indian National Army. Publicity of this subject is playing into the enemy hands as they are obviously angling for recognition of the Indian National Army as a definite fighting force entitled to treatment as such under the laws and usage of war please see also Military Intelligence Directorate telegram 67652/1 of March 24th to War Office of which copy will be passed to India Office.

THE FORWARD BLOC

1. From the start of the war the Forward Bloc ranged itself on the side of the enemy and made no secret of its plans to take advantage of the situation to overthrow the British Government. The professed object of the organisation, which was formed in May 1939, was to rally within the Congress all left-wing and anti-imperialist elements; and though the intention was said to be to function within the Congress and seek to attain independence by "Legitimate and peaceful means", the resolutions passed at the meeting of the Working Committee of the Forward Bloc in September 1939 expressed violent opposition to the war effort and showed little signs of any intention to pursue peaceful methods. At a meeting of the Congress Working Committee in the same month, Subhas Chandra Bose, who had been elected President of the Forward Bloc in June, expressed the opinion that the moment was opportune for launching a fight against the British Government; and later on, in opposition to the Congress policy, he organised an "Anti-Compromise Conference" at Ramgarh, where a resolution was passed maintaining that the internal and external conditions were ripe for a successful revolution, and that a Council of Action should be appointed to launch and direct a struggle on April the 6th, 1940. This, however, came to nothing. The project received little support from other Parties and the scheme was disorganised without difficulty by the arrest of several leaders.

2. As the war situation deteriorated, Bose's speeches became more and more seditious and left little doubt that he confidently expected Britain to be defeated. He was in prison between July 1940 and December 1940 in connection with the Holwell Monument Agitation and in January 1941 he disappeared in mysterious circumstances, after being released from jail and confined in his own house on parole.

3. With the disappearance of Subhas Bose and the rumours that he was negotiating with enemy powers and ready to give a call for action to his followers, there was

an intensification of Forward Bloc activities. Bose's nephews were reported to be spreading instructions that money was to be collected for starting a mass insurrection when the call came. Both of these nephews (Aurobindo and Dwijendra Nath) were arrested in the middle of 1941 and this, combined with action by the Bengal Police against the Anushilan Samiti, seriously affected these activities in Bengal. A further blow in December 1941 was the detention of Sarat Bose, whose contacts with the Japanese made this act essential on the outbreak of war with Japan. On the other hand, at the meeting of the Working Committee of the Forward Bloc in January 1942 the resolutions reiterated the pro-enemy and anti-British aims of the organisation, and members expressed views indicating that they confidently expected Subhas Bose to lead a Japanese invasion of India.

4. In March 1942 the Government of India decided that the time had come to take effective action to cripple the Forward Bloc. Although since the disappearance of Subhas Bose and the detention of Sarat Bose the organisation had lost much of its effectiveness, credible evidence of the pro-Axis sympathies and revolutionary plottings of the existing leaders of the Bloc had been steadily accumulating and the danger had increased that the organisation might act as the spearhead of a fifth column movement in the event of an Axis invasion of India. After considerable discussion it was decided that it would be better to direct action against a small and dangerous clique working within the Bloc, rather than against the Bloc itself. On the 3rd March, 1942, Provincial Governments were informed of this decision; and as a result of co-ordinated action a number of dangerous leaders, including Sardul Singh Caveeshar, Satya Ranjan Bakshi, Amarendra Nath Bose and H. V. Kamath, were arrested and detained.

5. It was not long, however, before the wisdom of the decision to take no action against the Bloc itself was questioned. In April 1942 reports from Bengal showed that the Government there took an extremely serious view of the dangers of the situation and, after further

discussion in Home Department it was decided that the question of taking action against the Forward Bloc must be considered from the point of view not only of the harm the Bloc itself might cause, but also of the likely effect on public morale of the continued legal existence of an organisation which was openly indulging in traitorous activities. The eventual decision was that the organisation must be banned. Legal advice was that the Criminal Law Amendment Act could not appropriately be used when the main object of the ban was to prevent pro-enemy activities, but this difficulty was overcome by enacting a Defence of India Rule analogous to the United Kingdom Defence Regulation 18AA. This Defence of India Rule (27A) was published on the 22nd June 1942, and along with it was published an order declaring the Forward Bloc to be an organisation to which the Rule applied. This had the effect of banning the Forward Bloc as being an organisation of which "the persons in control have had associations with persons concerned in the government of States at war with His Majesty" and which was likely to be used for purposes prejudicial to the defence of British India, the public safety, the maintenance of public order and the efficient prosecution of the war.

6. After its proscription little or nothing was heard of the Forward Bloc as an all-India organisation or of the part that its members, as such, took in the 1942 Congress Rebellion. But there was clear evidence of important underground activities, in which they undoubtedly shared. In May 1943 certain intercepted correspondence in code revealed that plans had been made by a secret organisation of the All-India Forward Bloc to hold an important meeting in Bombay on the evening of May the 29th for the stated purpose of taking "decisive action". According to the intercepted messages the intention was that the Forward Bloc should seize power on behalf of the Indian National Congress by taking advantage of the situation in Assam and Bengal, establishing contact with the Japanese, sabotaging the war effort and organising simultaneous uprisings in different parts of the country.

The Bombay police taking action on this information arrested in Bombay on May the 30th and 31st, nine Forward Bloc workers including Mukand Lal Sarkar, the absconding ex-General Secretary of the Bloc. A large quantity of prejudicial literature was recovered and a number of other arrests effected as a result of the investigation. It became clear that the nucleus of an organisation had been set up to plot an armed revolt with the avowed object of assisting the enemy to invade India and of extending to the invading enemy every possible aid. These plans were nipped in the bud by the Bombay arrests and the organisation was disrupted in its infancy. Owing to the early stage at which this dangerous attempt was suppressed, insufficient evidence was forthcoming to launch a conspiracy case against the arrested persons but an individual prosecution was instituted and the remaining members of the conspiracy detained. After these arrests had been effected the All-India Forward Bloc virtually ceased to exist as an important organisation; although as explained elsewhere, Subhas Bose continued, under Japanese auspices, to send his agents into India and endeavoured to keep touch with them and his supporters, particularly in Bengal.

7. With the end of the war with Japan it was considered that there was no justification for continuing the ban, which was based on the activities of the Bloc as a supporter of the Japanese enemy. Provincial Governments were informed that the Central Government considered that the activities of the Bloc constituted a threat to public order or safety, then that Province could itself impose a ban under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. (Files 16/1/42, 94/23/41, 94/26/41, 44/26/45-Poll. (I) and IV/2/42-M.S.)

Home Department War Histories Part I [Political (Internal) Police and Jails, Public] Papers of Sir Richard Tottenhem as Addl. Secretary, Govt. of India (Home Deptt.) 1940-45.

IOR Mss Eur F 161/29 (g)

From : C. in C., India.

To :— The War Office.

Recd. 1210.29 Apr.44.

IMPORTANT :

75964/CSI (B) cipher 29 Apr.

SECRET

From D.M.I.

Continuation my 72920/GSI (B) dated 15 April 1944.
Following summary internal India.

One, some increase in nervousness particularly in Eastern Areas on account of Japanese infiltration into Manipur but generally public morale has not been so greatly affected as might have been expected. Production Dig Boi Oilfields unaffected. Circulation of rumours and listening to Japanese broadcasts still prevalent. Reactions to Bose's propaganda show more constructive tone and Government is criticised by moderate elements in Bihar for lack of serious attempts to counter false rumours and defeatist pro-Jap talk. So far however our policy of maintaining ban on reference to Bose and I.N.A. and refraining from any counter propaganda has been successful in denying Bose publicity he desires and has restrained interest in I.N.A. No indication yet of necessity of counter propaganda beyond that of GSI (Q) broadcasts and information given to troops. Only success of Japanese propaganda seems to lie in basis it provides for rumours and in maintenance where it already exists of anti-British sentiment and mistrust in British American ability to defeat Jap. Explosion in Bombay caused temporary local apprehension but immediate measures taken and public now fully reassured.

Two. Recent sporadic assaults by armed mobs North Bihar probably Congress inspired. Result of invitation to Master Tara Singh to resume leadership of Shiramani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee now awaited. Jinnah returned to Punjab to renew his efforts to liquidate Unionists Ministry. Premier's firm stand now resulted in breakdown in negotiations.

Three. Little change in food situation in Bengal. Governor's recent broadcast believed to have had good

effect in restoring confidence. Lack of confidence and apprehension as to possibility of famine recurring later in the year temporarily reinforced by withdrawal of famine relief troops. Damage to crops in North India by recent abnormal rains loss serious than originally thought.

Four. Coal shortage necessitated closure of blast furnace at Jamshedpur and some mills Bombay Province. Ahmedabad mill owners have warned authorities that production will suffer if coal not forthcoming.

Five. Dib agreed.

Six. Army morale unchanged. Troops in Imphal in very good heart despite withdrawals. AG agreed.

Too. 1050. FG.

C.6. (Telegrams).

HISTORY OF THE "I.N.A."

A brief Outline of Chapters 13-19.

These notes represent only a suggested rough outline of Chapters 13-19. These chapters in their final form may differ considerably from this outline.

Chapter 13
(Pencil draft enclosed)

"THE CRISIS AND THE DISSOLUTION OF THE 1ST I. N. A."

BEING WRITTEN NOW AND 90% COMPLETE

This Chapter is intended to cover the events leading up to the 'Crisis' and the final dissolution of the 1st I.N.A. main events are as under period September-December 42.

1st Sept. 42

Arrival of Mr. R. B. Bose in Singapore from Bangkok.

2-5 Sept. 42

First Council of Action meeting in Singapore. Captain Mohan Singh comes under strong criticism for creating a personal army of his own. Question of ratification of Bangkok Conference Resolutions also comes up. Col IWAKURU's letter—proves unsatisfactory—consequently on 5 Sept. another letter is written asking for an official reply from Japanese Government regarding acceptance of Bangkok Conference Resolutions. Subsequently the letter is withdrawn on Col IWAKURU's demand.

12th Oct. 42

Unpleasant interview between President I.I.L. Burma and head of Burma Branch IWAKURU Kikan.

Capt Mohan Singh agrees to and tentatively makes arrangements for the move of I.N.A. to Burma.

Nov.

Advance party leaves for Burma.

19th Nov. 42

Series of Council of Action meetings start—with-
drawal of letter dated 5 Sept resented by some members.
Question of the move of I.N.A. to Burma comes up—
C.A. decides to withhold movement of troops pending
ratification of Bangkok Resolution by Imperial Japanese
Government.

26th Nov. 42

Japanese put forward Major OGAWA's scheme for
the training of civil volunteers. Scheme disliked by
Capt Mohan Singh.

27th Nov. 42

Another letter drafted to Col. IWAKURU asking him
to forward it to Imperial Japanese Govt.—subject—
acceptance of Bangkok Resolutions and a formal decla-
ration reg Japanese policy towards India.

28th Nov. 42

Letter sent to Col. IWAKURU who disapproved it
strongly and asked the Council of Action to meet him
on 1st Dec.

30th Nov.—1st Dec. 42

C of Action meets IWAKURU who refused to forward
the letter.

1st Dec. 42

C of A refuses to send I.N.A. troops to Burma—serious
situation—complete deadlock.

2-3-4th Dec. 42

Meetings between Capt Mohan Singh and Lt. Kuzika,

Major OGAWA, Col IWAKURU and Major FUJIWARA regarding move of I.N.A. to Burma.

Deadlock remains

Raghvan resigns.

8 Dec. 42

Gill's arrest—Mohan Singh, Gilani and Menon resign.

10-21 Dec. 42

Correspondence between Captain Mohan Singh and Mr. Rash Behari Bose regarding I.N.A. officers meeting with Bose, Mohan Singh refuses to arrange this meeting, serious differences between the two.

21st Dec. 42

Mohan Singh issues a warning order about the dissolution of the I.N.A. Also sends a secret letter to all units and formations to be opened and acted upon in case he (Mohan Singh) is arrested, shot or deported and thus separated from the Army.

29th Dec. 42

Capt Mohan Singh dismissed from his post of G.O.C. I.N.A. under orders of Mr. Bose and arrested and removed to PULAO UBIN a small island near Singapore—Mohan Singh's secret orders opened, and obeyed in that all I.N.A. records, files, badges etc. were destroyed.

Thus the first I.N.A. came to its end exactly a year after Capt Mohan Singh's final decision to raise an Army with the help of Japanese.

Briefly

Events after Capt Mohan Singh's arrest—till surrender to the British authorities after Japanese surrender.

Chapter 14

Jan-June 1943

This chapter will cover the period Jan-June 43 i.e. between the dissolution of the 1st I.N.A. under Capt Mohan Singh and the arrival of Mr. S. C. Bose. Very briefly the main events to be incorporated are as under :

Feb. 1943

The I.N.A. in Singapore languished after Mohan Singh's arrest and for all practical purposes all training and administrative activities of the former set-up of the I.N.A. came to a standstill. Mr. R. B. Bose, however, went on with his plans for the re-organisation of the I.N.A. and in this he got lot of help from Major J. K. Bhonsle, the immediate step was to set up an Administrative Committee in order to carry on the day to day administration of the I.N.A. This later led to the organisation of the

- (i) Directorate of Military Bureau with Maj. Bhonsle as the Director and
- (ii) H. Q. I. N. A. under W. Z. Kiani as the Army Commander with the rank of 'Maj. Genl.'

Mr. R. B. Bose addressed various meetings of officers and men of the I.N.A. and made it clear that he did not want anybody in the I.N.A. who was not a genuine volunteer and gave everybody a choice to remain or resign from the I.N.A. This resulted in 4000 men breaking away from the I.N.A. thus leaving approximately 12000 men out of 16000 under Capt Mohan Singh.

In the next 4 months i.e. March-June 43 the efforts of Mr. R. B. Bose and others connected with the "I.N.A." were directed towards the re-organisation and "political education" of the new volunteers. The latter generally took the form of holding meetings to commemorate various political events in India and holding of ceremonial parades, inspection and flag marches by the I.N.A. troops.

March 8 & 9 1943

On the 8th and 9th March the Army Commander inspected Guerrilla Regiments' S. S. Group, Field Force Group and Intelligence Group Units.

15 March 1943

The Director of Military Bureau similarly inspected the Units on the 15th of March and five days later the President of the Indian Independence League's inspection followed.

The Army Commander gave a party on the occasion of Holi at which senior Japanese officers were also invited.

23 March 1943

On the 23rd a mass meeting to commemorate Bhagat Singh day was held where speeches were made by prominent personalities.

6 April—13 April 1943

Indian National week was observed when the Tricolour National flag of India was hoisted and prayers for the freedom of India were offered, patients in hospitals were visited. On the 13 April Jallian Wala Bagh day observed when one minute's silence was observed for those who had lost their lives in this incident at Amritsar.

26 April 1943

Senior Japanese General Staff officers from Southern Region Japanese Army inspected the I.N.A. troops. Salute being taken by Mr. R. B. Bose who greatly appreciated the parade and the spirit of the troops.

10 May 1943

A rally was held on 10th May 43 to commemorate the Indian Mutiny of 1857 which was largely attended by I.N.A. troops and public.

9 June 1943

A club for officers of the I.N.A. was opened and on the 29 June another Mass meeting was held to express gratitude and appreciation to Japan for Japanese Premier General Tojo's declaration concerning complete Independence for India.

2 July 1943

Mr. S. C. Bose arrives in Singapore from Japan and is received by leaders of the I. I. League.

1 July

Mass meeting of Indians in Singapore held at which Mr. R. B. Bose offered the leadership of the Indian Independence League and Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose accepted it—(interesting proceedings of the ceremony).

Meetings between Mr. S. C. Bose and Capt Mohan Singh.

Chapter 15

July-Dec. 43

Reorganisation of INA

This Chapter introduces *briefly* Mr. S. C. Bose. His past political activities, escape to Germany and Italy—His activities in Germany and raising of the 950 Regt—trip to Japan by submarine—*in detail* the formation of "Provisional Government of India". Declaration of War against Britain and America—Training of INA during this period and despatch of some Units to Burma.

Briefly

1. Mr. S. C. Bose his Political career to provide an introduction.
2. His escape to Germany through Afghanistan—so far as facts are known.
3. Activities in Germany and the formation of 950 Regt (Details in an appendix form as this formed the counterpart of INA in the West).

4. Journey to Penang and Japan.
5. Arrival in Singapore.

5/6 July 1943

9 July 1943

Mr. Bose reviewed the INA troop at a mass rally held on 5th July and addressed the troops and took the salute. (Interesting details available). This in fact was a prereview for the more impressive review held next day i.e. on 6th July when the Japanese Premier General Tojo and various other high ranking officers also were present. General Tojo took the salute and later addressed the troops. In other to contact the civilians a mass rally probably the biggest rally held by Indians in Singapore was held on the 9th July—this was addressed by Mr. S. C. Bose whercin he asked for total mobilisation of men, money and material from Indians in East Asia. There was very good response from the Public.

22 July 1943

Mr. Bose addressed the INA officers and men at Bidadari on 22nd July and outlined his idea on the future INA and as to what he wanted of it and its men. The same day in the evening he addressed troops in Neesoon.

15 Aug 1943

Another mass rally was held on the 15 August to commemorate "Quit India" day. The rally was attended by a Burmese Mission and Thailand representative who also addressed those present.

24 Aug 1943

Mr. S. C. Bose again addressed INA officers and men and stressed that he wanted only patriotic volunteers in the INA. Anybody who wished to leave was told to do so but those who remained with INA were expected to make great sacrifices.

25 Aug 1943

And on 25th August Mr. S. C. Bose took over direct command of the INA and issued his Special Order of that day.

The Directorate of the Military Bureau was now named "Headquarters Supreme Command INA" and the Headquarters Indian National Army was redesignated Headquarters No. 1 Division INA.

2nd Oct 1943

A mass meeting attended by INA troops was held to celebrate Mahatma Gandhi's birthday anniversary on 2nd Oct. 1943.

21st Oct 1943

At a largely attended Indian Independence League Conference held at Cathey Buildings on 21 Oct—Mr. S. C. Bose declared the formation of the Provisional Govt. of India and issued its first Proclamation. Named the personnel of the Government and took the oath of allegiance to the Provisional Govt in the name of God. This was followed by oath of allegiance by ministers (Details available). The first meeting of the Cabinet took place at 2100 hrs. same day.

Mr. S. C. Bose opened a training camp for the *Rani of Jhansi Regt* (Women's Regt) available details about Rani of Jhansi Regt).

23rd Oct 1943

PGI was formally recognised by the Imperial Govt. of Japan. Islands of Andamans and Nicobar also ceded to it, as its territory.

PGI declares war on Britain and USA.

24th Oct 1943

Another review of the INA, and troops addressed by Mr. S. C. Bose.

Training

During the year 1943 the Japanese assisted training of

the INA troops and took special interest in the training of Special Service and Intelligence Group men. Mr. S. C. Bose on his arrival reorganised the INA—secured an unlimited ceiling for recruitment and initiated a large programme of training schools and Centres. Civilian volunteers flocked to join the INA—1943 was thus a year of training for the INA whose strength was then about

Military	15,000
Civilian	5,000
	20,000

Towards the end of the year 1943 the INA Units began to move to Burma. In Burma throughout 1943 there was nothing but frontier patrolling and skirmishing. Small groups of trained INA men took part in recce parties and sent out small propaganda parties. Took no part in real fighting.

Chapter 16 1944-45

I.N.A. IN ACTIVE OPERATIONS 1944

This Chapter is intended to cover the part played by the 2nd I.N.A. in the active operations in 1944, and also to briefly cover the activities of the P.G.I. during the year—1944. This will also include ‘finances’. ‘Azad Hind Dal’—‘relations with the Japanese during this period’, ‘Q’ arrangements” and such other allied subjects.

1944 was the year planned for Japanese all-out offensive. Unfortunately for them owing to the earlier I.N.A. crises and the consequent discontinuation in the training in 1944 the I.N.A. was still an embryonic organisation only. By early 1944 only the 1st Division was fully trained. It was commanded by M. Z. Kiani and was composed of approximately 12600 men and consisted of

H. Q. 1 Div
 4 Guerrilla Regts
 M. T. Coy
 'SS' Group
 'I' Group
 Rft Group
 Rear details.

Early 1944

March 1944

Japanese offensive opens with unsuccessful drive in Arakan and is followed by advances on Kohima, Imphal and Tiddim. Activities of 'Maghar', 'Ajmer' and 'Malik' "Butais".

April-May 1944

I.N.A. Guerrilla Regts arrive in Tamu Area and allotted role as independent Regts.

May 44

2/3 May fighting for Palel landing strip between I.N.A. troops and Gurkhas. This is the first recorded and concerted action in which I.N.A. troops took part.

May-June 44

Bose Regts activities in Kaladan against the West Africans. 2 and 3 Bn Bose Regt under Capt Shah Nawaz—activities in the Falam Area in Chin hills.

July 44

Withdrawal starts—Campaign Mar-July 44 generally a failure.

Bose represents to the Japanese Govt. and is able to secure greater independence and autonomy for the I.N.A. Supreme Command. Result being that in 1945 Campaign I.N.A. Regt took independent command of Sectors and not as sub Units of Japanese Units.

'Finances'—Formation of the Azad Hind Bank. Collection of money and thus making I.N.A. independent of financial obligation to Japanese.

'Azad Hind Dal' under Capt. Ehsan Qadir its formation and training as a civil administration organisation.

Administration of Andaman and Nicobar Islands and complications there.

Chapter 17

To cover the outstanding events of 1945 and partly 44, Formation and training of 2nd Division INA and its move to Burma. Pause between the two campaigns and reorganisation of No. 1 Div after its withdrawal. Campaign of 1945—and final surrender.

Jul 44—Feb 45

Withdrawal and reorganisation of 1st Division INA—Move of Units of 2nd Division INA to Burma—These Units were :—

5 Guerrilla Regt (later 2nd Inf Regt)	2,000
Hind Field Force Group	2,000
HQ 2 Div	400
Misc Units	2,000
I.N.A. A.A. Coys	1,000
	7,400

Thus in early February 45 the INA set up on the front line was—

4 Guerrilla Regts
2 Infantry Regts
1 Infantry Regt
Remnants 1st Division.

15 Feb 45

First action fought Pakokku area. 2 Inf Regt reach Mount Popa Area to where the INA Units withdrew.

End Feb 45

2nd Inf Regt set up Headquarters at Mount Popa. Desertion of 5 Staff Officers of 2nd Div. Bose inaugurate "Hate Week" against deserters.

15 March 45

Action fought at village Kuniya. INA troops stand their ground well against Gurkhas and British tanks. The "charge of the immortals".

15-16 March

Night attack on village Pyinbyin.

16 March

Hand to hand action at village Sade. I.N.A. troops fought well.

25 March 45

Another attack on Pyinbyin by 2 Inf Regt.

26-31 March 45

Skirmishes at Mount Popa and Seiktein.

30 March 45

The biggest pitched battle of the I.N.A. Campaign. Three Battalions took part and stood allied shelling and mortar shelling very well.

4 April

Desertions—and subsequent withdrawal to Magwe via Yenangyaung—No more pitched battles. I.N.A. in Burma had shot its bolt.

X Regt.—formation in action. Bulk of its 2/3 Bn reach Bangkok.

Surrender—in Rangoon

Surrender—in Singapore.

With the above will be incorporated the details of the story of evacuation of Rangoon and departure of Mr. Bose and Rani of Jhansi Regt girls.

Chapter 18

To cover the last movements of Mr. Bose and Steps taken to interrogate and repatriate the surrendered INA men to India—Last days of INA in Singapore. Details to be put in after research.

Chapter 19

Policy regarding disposal of INA—Court Martial—
Charges and sentences etc. and general disposal of
I.N.A. men.

Details to be put in after research.

SIR R. TOTTENHEM'S COMMENT ON BOSE'S RE-ELECTION AS CONGRESS PRESIDENT AND GANDHI'S ROLE.

At the beginning of 1938 he (Nehru) was succeeded by an even more extreme figure, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. Mr. Bose had been arrested in January, 1932, because of his association with the terrorists in Bengal and not because of the support he had been giving to the civil disobedience movement. He had been allowed to go to Europe for reasons of health about a year later and while he was in that country there were clear indications that he favoured mass revolutionary action. He had, therefore, been warned that, if he returned to India, he would not be allowed to remain at liberty. In 1936 he disregarded the warning, returned and was arrested, and after a short period in Poona Jail he was removed to the house of his brother, Sarat Chandra Bose, at Kurseong.

During the remainder of 1938 it became clear on more than one occasion that Mr. Gandhi and the Congress President did not see eye to eye ; but at the beginning of 1939 the re-election of Mr. Subhas Bose as President threw the Congress world into confusion. It had been the accepted practice for some years for the nominee of Mr. Gandhi to become President without a contest. On this occasion three candidates were nominated by the electors, of whom Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was regarded as the "Official" candidate. Some days before the poll he resigned in favour of Mr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Mr. Subhas Bose, who might not have stood against the Maulana, refused to leave the field to Mr. Sitaramayya, in spite of a personal appeal from Mr. Gandhi. He was eventually elected by a majority of about 200 in a poll of about 3,000, whereupon Mr. Gandhi announced that Mr. Bose's victory was a defeat for himself and indicated that he and his followers in the Working Committee, the Provincial Ministries and the Congress Party would be willing to leave the party and surrender the field to Mr. Bose and his faction. The latter was thus placed in a

dilemma, for he was well aware that he could achieve little without Mr. Gandhi's support. Mr. Gandhi himself also had to recover the ground temporarily lost by the Congress right wing and it was expected that he would do so by concentrating on the campaign which had been under way for some time against the Indian States thus diverting attention from domestic difficulties, But no one foresaw the sensational course which he actually followed. This was the famous Rajkot fast unto death . . ." On February 22nd, 1939, the Congress Working Committee had ceased to exist ; twelve of the sixteen members announced their resignation in a joint letter which invited the President to choose his own cabinet and follow his own policy, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru issued a long statement attacking Mr. Subhas Bose. In this state of affairs, and with the limelight concentrated on Rajkot, the Congress session at Tripuri began on March 7th—the same day as that on which Mr. Gandhi's fast was broken. Mr. Bose purported to be ill and attended the session on a stretcher. The main resolution, which was carried in the subjects committee by 218 votes to 135 and in the open session without division, affirmed adherence to Mr. Gandhi's policies and programme and expressed confidence in the work of the defunct Working Committee in accordance with the wishes of the Mahatma. Mr. Gandhi and the Congress President were unable to agree on the personnel of the new committee and on April 29th Mr. Subhas Bose resigned his Office. Such was the revenge taken by the Congress dictator on one who, exactly three months before, had been duly and democratically elected, but in defiance of his wishes, to the post of a Congress President.

Is it, or is it not, a fact that none of the efforts of Mr. Gandhi and his followers has ever been successful or led to any tangible results except turmoil, disorder, violence and suffering?

Quite apart from politics and even in fields in which

Mr. Gandhi has enjoyed full liberty of action without any official opposition—the fields, for instance, of communal unity, untouchability, prohibition and even spinning—has Mr. Gandhi ever carried to completion any task to which he has set his hand? Has he not taken every one of these projects to a certain point and then left them unfinished?

It has been said that Mr. Gandhi is a hundred years ahead of his time. That may be so. Only the passage of century can tell. If it is so, it is equally true that a man so far in advance of the times is likely to be of no greater use as a practical leader of affairs in the work a day world in which we live than one who is no less behind them. What is wanted in India to-day is a young man, or a set of young men, possessed of vision without being visionaries; young men who can take a realistic view of things as they are, who can combine constancy with the courage to compromise when compromise is necessary. . . .

Excerpts from *Has Congress Failed? A Historical Survey of the Years 1918-1938*, By a Student of Public Affairs. Sir Richard Tottenham, New Delhi, 1943 (India Office Library And Records—Ref. Mss Eur F 161/29b), pp. 50-51, 55.

Readers may like to read S. C. Bose's writing, "The Role of Mahatma Gandhi in Indian History", published in *The Indian Struggle, 1920-34*.

Men at India Office

- Miles John Clauson : Acting Principal, Public & Judicial Department, India Office. (Also author of the Minute on Bose dated 15 December, 1932 at IOR file p. 191).
- Sir Samuel Hoare : Secretary of State for India from August 1931 to June 1935.
- Marquess of Zetland : Secretary of State for India after Samuel Hoare till May 1940.
- Sir Samuel Findlater Stewart : Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India from 1930-1942.
- Roland Tennyson Peel : Acting Assistant Secretary (i.e. acting head) of the Public & Judicial Department Between 1931-1937.
- Earl Winterton : Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India from March 1922 to January 1924 and November 1924 to June 1929.
- Sir Arthur Hirtzel : Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India appointed on 12 June 1924.
- Sir Vernon Dawson : Resigned from the I.C.S. in 1921. Principal, India Office from April 1921 till appointed Asst. Secretary, Public & Judicial Department April 1930, Joint secretary of British delegation to Indian round-table conference 1930 to 1932, retired from services March 1941.
- Wilfred Johnston : Principal, India Office, from June 1929 till appointed Acting Asst. Secretary, Burma office February 1939.
- Sir Stewart Kelson Brown : Assistant Under-Secretary of State December 1934, retired from services January 1942.
- Alexander Francis Morley : Adviser and Secretary to Indian Government delegation to 21st & 22nd International Labour Conference, 1936.

I.P.I. : Indian Political Intelligence, India Office.

INDEX

A.I.C.C.	60, 61, 142	Bengal Criminal Law (Amendment)	
Addison, Joseph	38	Act	85, 96, 98-99, 139
Agnihotri, Mr.	33	Bengal Legislative Council	17, 18], 138 ,
All Bengal Youth League	11]	Bengal National College	8]
All India Congress Committee	19]	Bengal Ordinance	96
All India Congress Sessions of 1937-38	60	Bengal Provincial Congress Committee	12, 19], 20, 23, 61, 108, 126
All India Trade Union Congress	11], 15, 20	Bengal Volunteer Corps	25
All India Youth Congress	32]	Bentinck, C.H.	41
Allen, Lord	54]	Besant, Mrs.	22]
Ambedkar, Dr.	38]	Bevin, Mr.	54]
American Express Company	51, 149, 151, 152 ,	Bhonsle, J.K.	75, 176
Amery, Mr.	134	Biography of Rabindranath	67]
Amritsar Massacre	2, 14]	Bismark	2]
Anderson John	156-59	"Black Hole"	67-68
Aney, Mr.	39]	Bombay Ordinance	90
Ancient Monument Preservation Act	67	Bose, Amarendranath ,	168
Ansari, Dr.	22], 35	Bose, Asoke Nath	41]
Anti-Compromise Conference, Ramgarh	167	Bose, Aurobindo	168
Anushilan Samiti	168	Bose, Benoy	29-30]
Asiatic Congress	31	Bose, Dwijendranath	168
Ataturk, Kemal	46]	Bose, Hemanta	64
Atlee, Mr.	54]	Bose, Janaki Nath (Father)	1] 30, 43, 45
<i>Autobiography, An</i>	24, 66]	Bose, Rash Behari	71, 164, 173, 175, 176, 177
Azad, Abul Kalam	12, 59], 57, 58, 160, 186	Bose, Sarat Chandra (Brother)	6, 17, 43, 52], 46-47, 110, 125, 126, 129, 149-56, 160, 186
Azad Hind Bank	182	Bose, Satish ch.	146
"Azad Hind Dal"	183	Bose, Dr. Sunil (Chotadada)	16], 28, 138-39 ,
Azad Hind Force	74, 75	<i>Bow of Burning Gold</i>	24, 67]
Bajaj, Jamnalal	58	Brailsford, H.N.	29]
Bakshi, Satya Ranjan	168	British Labour Party	64]
Balfour, Lord	97	Brown, Mr.	16], 112, 189
Bangkok Conference Resolution	173, 174	Buckley, Lt. Col.	38]
<i>Banglar Katha</i>	11]	Budapest Despatch	35
Bari, Afdul	22]	Butler, Mr.	109, 110, 114, 115, 117, 118-19, 120, 121, 123, 125, 132
Basanti Devi	9]	Calcutta Bar	8]
Ben, Wedgwood	30]		
Benes, Dr.	43]		

Calcutta Congress	19-21, 25]	Dibdin, A.	56
Calcutta Corporation	13, 15], 27, 45, 49, 82, 83, 126	"Dimineatsa"	39
"Call to Congressman, A"	60	Dominion Status	20-23, 32]
Cambridge	1-7], 15, 20	"Dresdener Anzeiger"	32
Campbell, Miss Mary	28-29]	Duke of Connaught	24]
Cavceshar, Sardul Singh	168	Duke, Sir William	4]
Cavour	2]	Dutt, Batukeswar	25]
Chancery	32	Dutt, R.C.	4, 6, 7]
Chandavarka[1], Mr. Justice	128	Dutt, Rajani Palme	54]
Chatterjee, Jiban Lal	91	Dycr, General	2, 14]
Chatterjee, Krishna	64	Earl of Kinnoull	52, 53], 126, 130-31
Chiang-Kai-Shek	71	East India Association	156
Chittagong armoury raid	51]	Edwardes, Michael	63, 64]
Citizens' Protection League	9]	<i>Englishman</i>	15]
Civil Disobedience	26, 27, 31, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 63-64], 15, 45, 62, 160	<i>Evening Chronicle</i>	7
Civil Service Board of Cambridge	4]	<i>Evening News</i>	6
Clauson, M.J.	27, 189	<i>Evening Standard</i>	5
Code of Criminal Procedure:		Federation	59], 8-9, 11-12, 13-14, 18, 58, 60
Section 144	122	Federation of Indian Students	33
Coercion Act	97	Findlay, Major	16, 17]
'Communal Award'	36]	Fitz William Hall	4]
Communist International	13, 42, 54]	Flowerdew, Major	17]
Communist Party of Great Britain	113	<i>Forward</i>	12]
Constituent Assembly	14, 18	Forward Bloc	62], 65, 167-70
Craddock, Sir Reginald	114	Francis, Mr.	38
Craik, Sir Henry	51], 47, 48	Fujiwara, Major	175
Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1925	91, 122, 144, 154, 169, 170	Gairola, H.M.	33
Cripps, Sir Stafford	54]	—, K.N.	33
Cromwell	4]	Gallacher, Mr.	121
<i>Crossroads</i>	67]	Gandhi, Mahatma	8-9, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37-40, 45, 47, 53, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 66], 16, 35, 39, 40, 42, 49, 50, 58, 61, 62, 73, 160-61, 180, 186-88
Curzon, Lord	67	Gandhi-Irwin Pact	30-31, 32, 33], 122
<i>Daily Herald</i>	1-3	Gaya Congress	11
<i>Daily Worker</i>	54]	George, Lloyd	14, 23]
Das, C.R.	8, 9, 11, 12, 15, 16, 24, 61], 49, 144	German Academy of Foreign Relations	67]
Das, Jatin	21, 25]	Ghose, Aurobindo	4, 6, 20]
Daulatram, J.	58	Gilani	175
Dawson, Sir V.	64, 67, 88, 100, 189	Gonne McBride, Madame	46]
Desai, Bhulabhai	58		
de Valera	46, 49]		
Defence of India Rules	69, 169		
Deo, Shankar Rao	58		

- Greenwood, Mr. 54] "Indian Congress and the
Crisis, The" 22-23
Grenfell, Mr. 52], 125, 153
Gupta, Badal 30]
—, Dinesh 30] "Indian Extremist Leader in
Germany" 164
Indian Independence League 19,
22], 15, 71, 72, 75, 164, 173, 177,
178, 180
Indian Legislative Assembly 22, 154
Indian Mutiny 1857 177
Indian National Army (I.N.A.) 71,
74-77, 166, 171, 173-85
—, History and active operations:
1942-45 173-85
Indian National Congress 7, 32, 54,
55], 15, 16, 20, 22, 49-50, 56-62,
129, 169
—Election of President: 1939 56-57
Indian National Week 177
"Indian Pilgrim, An" 6, 7
Indian Struggle, The 24, 25, 44,
54, 66, 67], 19, 20, 188
India's New Constitution 156-59
Indian Penal Code 122
"International Committee for
India" 43
Irwin, Lord 18, 22, 24, 30, 32, 34
Iwakuru, Col. 173, 174, 175
Iyenger, Srinivasa 23]
Jackson, Sir Stanley 17, 18, 33], 133
Jagger, Mr. 52], 132
Jalianwala Bagh Massacre 14; 24]
Jalianwala Bagh Day 177
Jinnah, Mr. 64], 171
Jog, N.G. 24, 61, 67]
John, Mr. 52], 104
Johnston, Mr. 111, 122, 123, 189
"Joyee from Bozman" 166
Jugantar Party 51], 45
Kamath, H.V. 168
Karachi Congress 31, 32]
Kelly, W.T. 52], 153, 154
Kelsal, Lt. Col. 16]
Kendrick, T.J. 33
Khan, Abdul Gaffar 35]
Khare 59
Khilafat Movement 10, 24]
- Hadow, R.H. 34
Halifax, Lord 54]
Hall, Marshall Sir E. 99, 143
Hampden 4]
Hannon, Mr. 93
Haripura Congress 55]
Has Congress Failed 24, 66], 161, 188
Hastings, Warren 157
Hay, Lord 47
Herbert, J.A. 63, 67, 68, 69
Hertzal, Sir A. 88, 189
Hindu-Muslim Question 33-34]
Hindusthan Academical Association
of Vienna 33
Hingston, Major 17]
History of the "I.N.A." 173-85
Hitler 44
Hoare, Sir Samuel 12, 14, 22, 105-
06, 107, 108, 156, 158, 189
Holwell Monument Agitation 64,
67-68, 167
Home Deptt. War Histories
Part-I 170
Home Rule 20]
Horup, Madame, E. 43]
House of Commons 44, 52], 81-125,
132-34
House of Lords 14, 52, 53], 126-31
Immigration Act 112
In Freedom's Quest 24, 67]
Independence Day Celebration 26]
Independence League for Bengal 49
Independence Party 29
Independence Labour Party 162
India League 123, 153
Indian Arms Act and Explosive
Substances Act 99
Indian boycott of British goods 32
Indian Civil Service 1, 3, 5, 6, 7,
14], 49, 128

Khulna District Conference	142	Montagu, E.S.	2]
Kiani, M.Z.	75, 176, 181	Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms	24]
Kitchlew, Dr. S.	22]	Moonje, Dr.	22]
Knox, Sir Alfred	109, 134	Morley, Mr.	112, 189
Kossuth	37	Mulcahy, D.	162
Kripalani, Acharya	58	Mukerjee, Hiren	9, 19, 58, 63]
Krishna Menon, V.K.	123, 153	Mukhopadhyaya, Probhat Kumar	67]
Kuzika, Lt.	174	Munich Pact	59]
Lahore Congress	22, 24, 27, 31, 51]	Muslim League	64], 17, 66
Lahore Conspiracy Case	25, 32]	Mussolini	28, 35, 44-45, 46]
Lansbury	82, 83, 88, 90, 92, 93, 96, 98, 99, 101, 102-03	<i>My Uncle Netaji</i>	66]
Lasky, Harold J.	54]	Nagpur Congress	8]
<i>Last Years of British India</i>	67]	Naidu, Sarojini	22]
League of Nations	35, 42, 46]	Napoleon	28]
Leggart, Commander	73	Nariman, T.	59
Legislative Assembly	29], 47, 120, 121, 130	National Planning Committee	56, 58]
Lenin	49, 54]	National Volunteer Corps	9]
Icsney, Prof.	43], 38	Nazimuddin	63, 66
Linlithgow, Lord	63], 69, 158	Nehru, Jawaharlal	10, 19, 21, 22, 23, 27, 28, 29, 30-31, 35, 36, 40, 44-47, 50, 53, 56, 61, 63, 64], 5, 6, 7, 15, 58, 76, 161, 186, 187
Lowman, Mr.	17, 29], 139, 140, 144	—, Motilal	10, 11, 12, 13, 20, 29]
Lytton, Lord	2, 12, 18]	<i>Netaji Through German Lens</i>	67]
Macdonald, Ramsay	22, 36]	Neumann, Wilhelm	152
Madras Congress	18-19]	<i>New Statesman and Nation</i>	19-21
Maharashtra Provincial Conference	25]	News Chronicle	8-9, 12, 15-18
Malaviya, Madan Mohan	22, 29]	Niemeyer Award	159
<i>Manchester Guardian, The</i>	45], 10-14, 22-23, 159	Non-Cooperation	12, 37, 63], 49
Mander, Mr.	134	Noon, Sir Ferozkhan	159
Mao Tse-Tung	48, 49]	Ogawa, Major	174
Marley, James	153	Olivier, Lord	14]
Marquess of Zetland	52, 54], 127, 130-31, 155, 158, 189	"On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism."	48]
Marx	54]	Oriental Institute, Prague	38
Maxton, Mr.	52], 115, 117, 119, 134	Osment, E.	162
Mckinlay, Mr.	134	Palairt, Mr.	39
Medical College Hospital	54, 90, 132	Pant, Govinda Ballav	62]
Medical Mission to China	58]	Partition of India	56]
Mennon	175	Passport Act	43
Metternick	2	Patel, V.J.	13, 29, 39]
Mitra, Pannalal	64	—, Vallabhbbhai	22, 32], 58, 59
—, S. C.	15	Patterson, Mr.	16]
Moberly, Mr.	137		
<i>Modern Review, The</i>	67]		

- Peace Conference 37
 Pecl, R.S. 52], 31, 44, 48, 111, 112, 113, 189
 Pestu Lloyd 35
 Pethick-Lawrence, Mr. 51, 85, 86, 87
 Poona Agreement/Pact 24, 37, 38, 66]
 Press Ordinance 29]
 Prince of Wales 9, 10], 49, 51, 129
 "Problem of India, The" 12, 15-18
Prophet of Indian Nationalism 6
 "Provincial Government of India" 178, 180
 Qadir, Capt Ehsan 183
 "Quit India" Day 179
 Qureshi 19]
 Rai, Lala Lajpat 10, 19, 25] 140
 Rajagopalachari, C. 59
 Rajendra Prasad 58
 Reading, Lord 10]
 Reddaway 1, 4]
 Regulation III of 1818 15, 40], 19, 43, 45, 53, 98, 105, 118-19, 122, 144, 150
 Ripon, Lord 34]
 Roberts, Mr. 4-5]
 "Role of Mahatma Gandhi in Indian History, The" 188
 Rolland, Romain 35, 46]
Romain Rolland and Gandhi Correspondence 66]
 Round Table Conference 23, 25, 31, 32, 33, 35, 37, 44]
 Roy, Dr. B.C. 17], 59
 Roy, Anil Baran 15]
 Roy, M.N. 49
 Russell, Bertrand 153
 Saha, Gopinath 14]
 Sands, Lt. Col. 17]
 Sapru, Sir Tej Bahadur 22]
 Sargent, O.G. 38
 Sastri, V.S. 22]
 Sarkar, Mukand Lal 170
 Saunders, Mr. 25]
 Second Round Table Conference 15
 "Secret of Abyssinia, and its Lessons, The" 67]
Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose 25]
Selected Writings of Mao Tse-tung 48]
 Sen, Surjya Kumar 29]
 Sen Gupta, J.M. 30]
 Serajuddewlah 64
 Seton, Sir M. 88
 Sherwani, Mr. 35]
 Shiramani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee 171
 Simon, Sir John 18, 19, 22, 25, 41], 31, 40, 41, 99, 143
 Simon Commission 18-19, 22]
 Simpson, Col. 30
 Singh, Bhagat 25, 32], 177
 Singh, Karan 6]
 Singh, Master Tara 171
 Singh, Mohan, Capt. 173, 174, 175, 176, 178
 Sinn Fein Party 23, 46]
 Sircar, Sir N.N. 130
 Sirkar, Sir Nilratan 17], 47
 Sitaramayya, Pattabhi 58, 59], 56-60, 160, 186
 Smiles, Sir Walter 44], 107
 Smith, Major 16]
Sofia 42
 Sorensen, Mr. 52], 120, 121, 123, 134
Statesman, The 9, 15]
 Stephenson 53
 Steverson, Col. 165
 Stewart, Sir F. 43, 189
 Struggle of Independence in 1857 36
 "Subhas Chandra Bose" 45-48, 49-50, 71-73
 —Letter to Sarat Chandra Bose 137-45
 —Home Member, Govt. of India 146-48
 —Mr. Thurtle 149-50
 —Secy of State for India 151, 152
 —Marquess of Zetland 155
 Suhrawardy, Saheed 13]
 Sun-Yat-Sen 49]

- Swaraj 8, 10, 63], 153
 Swaraj Party 11, 12], 15, 35, 39
 Swinnerton, Mr. 165
- Tagore (Rabindranath) 46, 59, 63]
 Tata Iron and Steel Co. 11, 19]
 Taylor, J.W. 29, 52
 Tegart, Sir Charles 14]
 Teklar 166
 Therfelder, Dr. 67]
 Third Round Table Conference 150
 Thompson, Brig. 73
 Thorp, Mr. 44], 108
 Thurtle, Mr. 52], 84, 88, 89, 95,
 109, 110, 111, 114, 117, 118-19, 133,
 149, 150
Times, The 4, 20, 89
 Tojo, General 71, 166, 178, 179
 Tottenham, Sir Richard 24, 37, 38],
 161, 170, 188
 —'s Comment on Bose's Re-election
 as Congress President and Gandhi's
 Role 186-89
 Transfer of Power 56]
 "Tribute to Sir John Anderson's
 Work" 12
- Tripuri Congress 61-62, 63], 61, 161,
 187
- United Kingdom Defence Regula-
 tion 169
 University of Calcutta 8]
 University Training Corps 2]
 Vickery, Col. 73, 165
 Vivekananda, Swami 4, 6]
Vivekananda's Influence on Subhas
 6]
- Wavell 72
 Wedgwood, Colonel 110
 Whatley, Monica 153
 Wilkinson, Miss 52], 115, 116
 Williams, G. 162
 Williams, T. 52], 90, 91, 105-06, 153
 Willingdon, Lord 34], 158
 Winterton, Earl 83, 85, 86, 87, 88,
 89, 90, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 102, 189
- Young India* 15, 25, 26, 27]

