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 restric-
tions 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 in-
tended 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 In-
dian freedom and his relentless fight to destroy British Impe-
rialism have been interpreted as his hatred towards the Eng-
lish 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 in-
fluential group of men and women who are genuinely symp-
thetic towards Indian aspirations. Among the rising ge-
neration 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.

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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.

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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).” 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.”

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!”
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-sensitivity 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.

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."

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."

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.”

The letters which he wrote during the period to his brother and friends clearly demonstrate that the teachings of Swami Vivekananda and the illustrious example of Aurobindo Ghose 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 view. 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

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.”

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.” 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.”

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." 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. 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.

The Non-cooperation movement gained momentum with the visit of Prince of Wales to India in November 1921. 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."

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."

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's, 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." 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.

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-
told 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.”

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."

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.”

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.”

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. 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?" 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, no won-
order made him appear as enemy number one to the continu-
ance 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 de-
mand for Dominion Status he would become an ‘Indepen-
dencewallah’ 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 intel-
gent 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 Das in 1929 caused great excitement
over the country. Intensive Press agitation, meetings and de-
monstrations were held in every part of the country demand-
ing 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, includ-
ing Subhas, were arrested in September 1929 and sent up for
trial for sedition.

It is interesting to note that although Bose never accept-
ed 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 chal-
lenge 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 Vallabhai 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 Srinivasas Iyengar, 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.
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 Jalianwala Bagh.
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.
10. The Indian Struggle, p. 108.
13. ibid., p. 143.
14. The Indian Struggle, 1920-34, p. 158. It is interesting to note that Sir Richard Tottenhem 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.
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).
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.”

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.” 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.”

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?"*

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."*

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."*

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 Mahtab, 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 farsighted 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 Willingdom 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 it 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 Romain 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? 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."  

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 Agreement 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."  

It is perhaps interesting to note how the official circle viewed this fast. Sir Richard Tottenheni, 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-
seded 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.”

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.”

”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 un- touchability campaign to the neglect of directly political activities.”

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. Gandhi 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 heartbreak." 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. 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."

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. 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
provok 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 facili-
ties 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 corne-
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 Roll-
land 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 de-
clares that he would certainly see no harm in the U.S.S.R.
helping India to libe rate herself, and his main reproach
against the Soviets is that they seem to have lost interest to-
day in the World Revolution to concentrate on their national
politics.”

Bose found Russia on her defensive and had little in-
terest in provoking a World Revolution, though the Com-
munist International might still endeavou r to keep up ap-
ppearances. 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 re-
volutionary 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.”

Since Italy came out in open support of India’s struggle for freedom and acceded 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.”

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.”

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."29

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."30 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.”

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 socialist 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 socialist 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.”

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.”

“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.”

From Bombay Bose was sent to Yeravda Central Prison, Poona, on 13 April 1936. On 10 May a countrywide hortal 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 Presidency, 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.”

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 unanimously 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 transfer 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 socialist 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 appreci-
ation of the world situation at every stage and should know
how to take advantage of it.

“In connection with our foreign policy, the first sug-
gestion that I have to make is that we should not be influ-
enced 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 In-
dian-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 Sitarayya 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.”

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."

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 cooperation 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."

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."

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.” Similarly Mahatma Gandhi said: “We do not seek our independence out of Britain’s ruin. This is not the way of non-violence.”

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.”

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 ideologi-
cal 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

2. ibid., p. 250.
3. ibid., p. 252.
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).
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.
14. *Has Congress Failed? A Historical Survey of the years
18. ibid., p. 506.
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,
23. Letter to Dr. Thierfelder, the founder and Director of the German Academy For Foreign Relations at Stuttgart, dated 24 March 1936. See *Netaji 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.
28. ibid., p. 430.
29. ibid., p. 431.
30. ibid., p. 432.
31. ibid.
32. ibid., pp. 432-33.
36. ibid., p. 115.
37. ibid., p. 72 and p. 115.
38. ibid., p. 116.
40. ibid., p. 128.
41. ibid.
44. *Crossroads*, pp. 105-06.
45. *In Freedom's Quest*, pp. 146 47.
46. *Bow of Burning Gold*, p. 53.
49. ibid.
50. *The Last Years of British India*, pp. 67-69.