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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Subhas Bose intends to stay in Switzerland for about a year.
EXILED LEADER JAILED IF HE GOES HOME

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

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

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

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

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

PRISONER IN HOUSE

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

"I have been in Europe practically for the last three years. Only once I had been to India during this period, in December 1934, when I went to see my dying father and stayed there for six weeks."
“During my brief stay in India I was made a prisoner in my house. I now want to go home and I am served with this official threat.

“My last imprisonment was bad enough, legally and ethically. But the proposed imprisonment in the event of my returning to India now beats all record. May I ask if this is a foretaste of the expanded liberty which the new Constitution will usher in?”
THE TIMES
22 May 1936

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

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

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

It is probable that he will visit London before returning to India.—Reuter.
EVENING NEWS
18 November 1937

INDIAN NATIONALIST FOR LONDON

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

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

It is probable that he will visit London before returning to India.—Reuter.
EVENING CHRONICLE
18 November 1937

INDIAN LEADER MAY VISIT LONDON

Subhas Chandra Bose, who is freely mentioned as next Congress President in place of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, left Bombay by plane for Europe. It is probable that he will visit London.
NEWS CHRONICLE
11 January 1938

CONGRESS LEADER GARLANDED IN LONDON

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

A garland of flowers was placed round his neck.

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

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

POLITICAL PRISONERS

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

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

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

TO FIGHT FEDERATION

With regard to Federation, Mr. Bose declared that it would be opposed tooth and nail by every legitimate means.
'If the worst came to the worst we should prefer things as they are to Federation,' he said.

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

He described his visit as a private one, but added that, if invited to do so, he would welcome an opportunity of exchanging views with officials of the India Office, before he returns to India next week.
THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN  
11 January 1938

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

FROM OUR LONDON STAFF, FLEET STREET, MONDAY.

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

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

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

PROBLEM OF FINANCE

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

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

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

HOSTILITY TO FEDERATION

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

Mr. Bose said he was not here on a political mission: he had come to meet his old friends, many of whom he had not seen for years. When asked whether he was
going to the India Office, he said that if his friends wished him to meet any one he was willing to do so. "From the Congress point of view we do not approach any one."

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

See Bose's article: 'The Problem of India', published in News

FROM OUR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT LONDON, TUESDAY.

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

A Warning

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

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

The exact contrary, he went on, is the case at the federal centre. The most important subjects of Central Government are "reserved", and these reserved depart-
ments of government in the aggregate account for 80 per cent of India's Budget. And on top of this withholding of real power the princes, Mr. Bose finally argues, are there to see that reaction prevails in the unreserved field.

**Constituent Assembly**

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

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

*See Sir Samuel Hoare's comments on the Working of India's New Constitution. in the Appendix.*
THE PROBLEM OF INDIA

By Subhas Chandra Bose

President-Elect of the Indian National Congress Party

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

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

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

After the Second Round Table Conference, the Congress withdrew from further participation in the Conference and the Constitution was then drafted without the participation of that body. Consequently, we Congressmen cannot have any obligation in the matter of working it. From the very beginning the Congress has condemned the Constitution with all the emphasis at its command. The opposition has been the greatest with regard to the Federal part of it.
The Constitution has two parts, the Provincial and the Federal. The Provincial part of the Constitution was launched on April 1, 1935. The Federal part, we were told some time ago, would be brought into operation on April 1, 1938, but of late one has not heard of the intentions of the British Government in this behalf.

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

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

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

Last, but not least, the Congress Ministries have been able to improve the communal situation considerably by demonstrating that the Congress stands for all sections of the population. With the exception of the small province of Orissa, which has a Cabinet of three members, the Congress Cabinets all have Muslim members.
But what about the future? Though on the surface there is smooth working in the Congress-administered provinces, it is no exaggeration to say that there is friction going on between the Ministers on the one side and the Governors and the higher services on the other. The Governors are aware that they enjoy special powers, enabling them to override the Ministers, while the Services are aware that they are quite independent of the Ministers in the matter of their pay and emoluments.

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

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

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

The conclusion therefore is that the Federation will be opposed by the Congress by all the legitimate and peaceful means. There is not the slightest possibility of the Congress party changing its opinion and gradually drifting towards a policy of accepting Federal office as in the case of the Provincial Governments. There is absolutely no analogy between the two.
The Indian problem is today as far from solution as it ever was. And the forcible inauguration of federation will create a first-class crisis. Even without federation, the crisis may come through increasing friction between the Congress Cabinets and the Governors and the higher Services who are behind the Governors.

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

Once the people of India are free, there is no reason why there should not be the most friendly and cordial relations between the two countries. India today dreams not only of her National Freedom but of co-operation with other countries of the world, including Great Britain.
Sir,— May I seek the hospitality of your columns in a matter which I think would interest the public in Great Britain—or at least the fair-minded section of the public?

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

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

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

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

Between 1921 and 1931 I have taken an important part in the activities of the Indian National Congress, but all my activities have been open and above board. During this period I have held important positions as General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, President All-India Trade Union Congress and Mayor of Calcutta. And even to-day I am the President of the Bengal Congress Committee. In the restrictions on my liberty, the only consolation I have is that there are more than 2,500 people in Bengal, including some women, who have also been deprived of their liberty without any trial. (I am taking the figures from the *Times* of August 2nd, 1935).
I believe that there are people in England—however small their number may be—who stand for justice and fair play. I would like to draw their attention to the above matter through the medium of your esteemed journal.

Subhas Chandra Bose

Kurhaus Konigin Alexandra,
Karlsbad.
THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN

1 October 1935

THE INDIAN CONGRESS AND THE CRISIS

To The Editor of the Manchester Guardian

Sir,

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

The bold stand that Britain took against Italy roused a wave of enthusiastic sympathy throughout India at first, and on the crest of this wave Indian troops were sent out to Addis Ababa. But this feeling has been cooling rapidly. Three factors account for this. First, India has now come to know of British participation in intrigues with France and Italy against Abyssinia ever since 1906. Secondly, the speech of Sir Samuel Hoare at the League meeting, where he congratulated himself on the "great and complicated measure of self-government" granted to India, has chilled India's affection for the League for which he stands. (If India had her own delegation at the League, instead of nominees of the British Government, then surely Sir Samuel would not have made that remark.) Thirdly, the recent aerial bombing of the frontier people, which the Indian Legislative Assembly condemned by a resolution the other day, does not create enthusiasm for British methods as against Italian methods.
If India’s support is to be of any value in the present crisis then Britain will have to demonstrate her moral superiority over Italy by giving up bombing the frontier people and by conceding a “great” (but not complicated) measure of self-government to India. Otherwise, if India is forced into a war against her will it should not be regarded as altogether outside the domain of possibility that the Congress may give practical effect to its anti-war resolutions in a spirit of non-violent non-cooperation. —Yours, &c.,

Hofgastein, Austria,  
September 26.

Subhas C. Bose, President  
Congress Committee, Bengal.