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

Departmental Minutes

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

1. Bose's character, activities and danger.

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

3. Objections to letting Bose coming to Europe—

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

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

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

In a word if he is allowed to come to England Bose will be let loose in the various hot beds of international revolutionaries— for as the Government of India say it will be quite impossible once the principle of his leaving India is conceded to prevent him going about in Europe ostensibly in quest of medical opinions. Not is it to be expected that having successfully refused in 1927 to give any undertaking he will give now a promise to limit his movement— or even having given one that he would fail to break it.
Excerpts from the letter dated 30.6.33 from Mr. J. W. Taylor, Vice Consul, Prague to Chief Passport Officer, London:

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

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

Mr. Clauson,

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

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

Sd/I. P. I.
5.7.33
True copy of particulars incorporated in the Passport issued to Subhas Chandra Bose at Allahabad on 13 February, 1933:

No of Passport: 7230-C
Name of bearer: Subhas Chandra Bose
National Status: British subject by birth
Profession: Public worker
Place and date of birth: Cuttack, India January 23, 1897
Domicile: India
Height: 5 ft. 8¾ in.
Colour of eyes: Dark
Colour of hair: Dark
Visible distinguishing mark: Small dark mole on centre of fore head
Countries for which this passport is valid: Austria, Italy, France, Switzerland and return to India
Validity: February 13, 1938

Observations
Father's name: Mr. Janaki Nath Bose
District Indian Home: I Woodburn Park, Calcutta
Caste: Bengali Kayastha Hindu
Endorsement in Red Ink: Not valid for entry into Germany or the United Kingdom.
Confidential
US of S
F.O.  14.3.'34

Sir,

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

Sd. R. Peel

(i) US of S, F.O. stands for Under Secretary of State, Foreign Office.
(ii) S of S For I stands For Secretary of State For India.
(iii) S of S For F.A. is the abbreviation of Secretary of State For Foreign Affairs.—Author.
Copy
(W 3733/2634/50)
(369/2/34)

BRITISH EMBASSY,
BERLIN
18th April 1934.

Dear Department,

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

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

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

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

Western Department,
Foreign Office.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY

IOR File No. L/PJ/7/792. pp. 77-79.
My dear Kendrick,

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

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

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

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

(Signed) R. H. Hadow

Captain T. J. Kendrick,
Passport Control,
Vienna.
Enclosure in Budapest Despatch No. 126 of May 12th, 1934.

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

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

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

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

Asked whether the Nationalist Movement considered that all means, even revolutionary means, would be justified in the achievement of its objectives, Mr. Bose replied "Yes, all methods for getting rid of the English are justified, even revolution and violence. Of course a revolutionary uprising would not serve the purpose today. At the moment we believe that we shall achieve a great deal of what we want by parliamentary methods."
As regards "untouchability", Mr. Bose declared that he and his group were in full agreement with Gandhi that all caste differences should be abolished. It was only the reactionaries who continued to uphold untouchability and they felt confident in their power to do so because they knew that they had the English behind them.

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

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

Dealing with the notorious accusation of the Communist which his interlocutor now put to him, that Gandhi and his political friends were no more than fattened capitalists out to oppress the proletariat of India, Mr. Bose replied that the Party to which he belonged was a People's Party. Its leaders, he said, were no capitalists, but like Gandhi himself men without worldly wants and
with no desire to amass riches for themselves. Their desire was that every Indian should feel himself free in a free country. It was naturally to gauge the social political programme of the Indian Nationalists by European standards. They were making a close study, however, of all the political tendencies in the White countries and were, for example, convinced that they must have a comprehensive economic programme already prepared against the day when they should attain to power. They were thus interested in all the attempts, whether European or American, at "planned economy". Communism, however, they did not want because it was unsuited to the character and temperament of the Indian people.

Mr. Bose concluded his remarks on a series of analogies between Hungarian and Indian political development. The Indian Nationalists, he said, were keenly interested in Hungary's various struggles for freedom and had made a special study, for example, of the political life of Kossuth. They also had much sympathy for Hungary's post-war situation. India had looked forward to the Peace Conference in the hope that it would realise a new and just order of things. The Treaties, however, had brought no progress to India and in consequence Indians were opposed to an arrangement as a result of which such severe wounds had been inflicted on Hungary.
Copy
(W 4905/2634/50)

BRITISH LEGATION,
PRAGUE
15th May, 1934.

My dear Orme,

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

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

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

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

O. G. Sargent, Esq., C.M.G.,
Foreign Office,
(Sd) Joseph Addison
S.W. 1.

IOR File No. L/PJ/7/792
From Roumania

Telegram (enclair) from Mr. Palairot. (Bucharest).
D. May 15th 1934: (by post).
R. May 17th 1934.

No. 43.
SAVING.

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

I will endeavour to obtain further information regarding his activities here.
No. 114  
(146/3/34)  

BELGRADE,  
9th June, 1934.

Sir,

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

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

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

I have the honour to be with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant.
(for H. M. Minister)  
Sd/-

G.C.S.I.,K.C.V.O., etc. etc., etc.

IOR File No. L/PJ/7/792
No. 145.  
(139/4/54).

SIR,

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(SGD.) C. H. BENTINCK

The Right Honourable
Sir John Simon, G.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.,
etc. etc. etc.
Enclosure in Sofia Despatch No. 145 of June, 10th, 1934.

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

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

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

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

A draft telegram informing the Government of
India that Subhas Bose has left and accepting their proposals for dealing with him is submitted.

Sd/ R. Peel
30/11

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

Sd/
1/12/34
Early in 1922 Subhas Bose served six months imprisonment for managing or assisting in the management of an unlawful Association. Later he became the recognised leader of the Jugantar Group of Terrorists, and was at the back of the campaign of terrorism which was restarted by this Group in 1924. In consequence he was arrested in October 1924 and detained under Bengal Regulation III of 1818. In view of the position he had attained his case was very carefully reviewed before this step was taken, but the conclusion eventually reached was that unless he was detained there was no hope of dealing successfully with the Jugantar campaign. He was released in May 1927 for reasons of health and immediately took part in the campaign against Government, first on the Terrorist and later on the Civil Disobedience side, his activities with the latter Movement earning him three separate sentences of imprisonment in 1930 and 1931. His election during this period as Mayor of Calcutta gave him a position of influence of which he speedily took advantage. He secured positions in the Calcutta Corporation for active Terrorists, particularly in the teaching staff of the Corporation schools, thus facilitating recruitment for the Terrorist Party. In consequence of his continued connection with terrorism his re-arrest under Regulation III was considered on several occasions, and ultimately it was decided to take action in January 1932. Soon afterwards his health began to give trouble and in February 1933 he was permitted to come to Europe for treatment. In 1934 Bose's father fell seriously ill and in response to a telegram from his mother he left for India at the end of November. After the death of his father, Bose returned to Europe in January 1935, and after a visit to Ireland went to Austria early in 1936 for a final course of medical treatment at
Badgastein. Early in 1936 it became known that Bose was proposing to return to India, and, after consultation between the Government of India and Bengal, it was decided that it would be impossible to allow him liberty in India. The Terrorist Movement was under control, but it was agreed that Bose at liberty anywhere in India would very shortly become the focus of revolutionary activity leading to a decided worsening of the situation which had so materially improved. Proof that his attitude to Government had not changed was given in a revolutionary pamphlet, a copy of which posted in Vienna and addressed in Bose's handwriting was intercepted. There is good reason to suspect that the pamphlet was written by Bose. In order that he should be under no misapprehension in regard to the position, H. M.'s Consul at Vienna was instructed to warn him that should he return to India he could not expect to remain at liberty. Despite this warning he sailed for India and was arrested on arrival on 8th April 1936 and detained at the Arthur Road Prisons, Bombay. On 13th April he was transferred to the Yeravda Central Prison, Poona, and on 20th May he was released from jail custody and placed under restraint in his brother's house at Giddapahar near Kurseong. Bose was not willing to give any formal undertaking to abide by the restrictions imposed on him while at Kurseong. The Bengal Government were, however, satisfied that he intended to conform honourably to the rules which they drew up imposing the same conditions as were applied to his brother, Sarat Bose; a copy of these rules is attached. Briefly, under them he is required to remain within a radius of one mile from his brother's house; not to communicate with any one in Kurseong without the approval of the Superintendent of Police, Darjeeling, who is to censor all his letters; and not to take part directly or indirectly in any public activity or political movement, or to contribute to the Press. An allowance of Rs. 250 a month was sanctioned for him by the Government of India on the recommendation of the Bengal Government with effect
from 15th May, 1936, to meet his personal wants while detained in his brother’s house at Giddapahar.

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

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

As regards the reasons justifying Bose’s detention, the whole matter was thrashed out in the Assembly on
23rd March 1936 and the debate is flagged below. Mr. Hallett and Smith Craik both spoke at length. The case against Bose in brief is that he is a terrorist and head of one of the main terrorist parties and that he is an advocate of violent revolution. It would be detrimental to public safety to allow him liberty to preach such items and to organise people to carry them out.

Sd/- R. Peel
24/11
D.O. No. 6-332/39.
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY TO THE
GOVERNOR-GENERAL
(PUBLIC)

New Delhi, the 13th February 1939.

Dear Dibdin,

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

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

A. D. Khan, Esquire,
Secretary,
Public and Judicial Department,
India Office, London.
To The Rt Hon Mr Secretary of State for India
London

28. 4. 33

Dear Sir,

With reference to letter no. 91 J. 1208/33 from your office, I have to state to forward herewith a note from Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Neumann, the well-known tuberculosis specialist of Vienna.

I shall be obliged if early order can issued to have paper sent a passport for Germany.

Yours faithfully

[Signature]

[Name]

Sub. India Office
CONFIDENTIAL

Subhas Chandra Bose

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By 1928 had again plunged into political and terrorist activities, including the organisation of an “Independence League for Bengal” which issued a manifesto on Bolshevik lines. Also renewed his activities in the Indian
National Congress, in which he was a rival of Gandhi and advocate of a more militant policy.

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

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

Early in 1933 again developed serious symptoms of illness; was released on medical advice and allowed to come to Europe for treatment. Has been under doctors in Vienna and Switzerland, but has also indulged in anti-British propaganda and apparently hopes by establishing relations in European capitals to set up some permanent propaganda machinery. As the Statute under which Bose was interned does not operate outside India, it is not possible for His Majesty's Government to control his actions.
No. 9.

BRITISH CONSULATE,

VIENNA

25th April 1936.

Sir,

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

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

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

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

His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State
for Foreign Affairs,
Foreign Office, S.W. 1.
Copy of a letter No. 8095 X, dated the 1st March 1937 from the Addl. Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

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

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

2. The Governor in Council therefore thinks it desirable that Mr. Bose should be released while the local Government is constituted as it is at present; at the same time he considers it important that Mr. Bose should not be free in time to influence the composition of the Ministry, or the grouping of parties, or sections of parties in connection therewith; it is also important that there should be no room for any suggestion that the release of this State prisoner is a condition of the acceptance of office. In view of these considerations, the Governor in Council suggests that the release should take place
before the middle of March, Mr. Bose being detained meantime in the Medical College Hospital, although the medical authorities have advised that he can now be discharged.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Similar instructions have been sent to Rome and Vienna.
SECRET
D. O. No. 6-GG2/39

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

New Delhi, the 31th February 1939.

Dear Dibdin,

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

Your sincerely,
Sd/- illegible

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Subhas Bose</th>
<th>Pattabhi Sitaramayya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Burma</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utkal</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Nad</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujrat</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berar</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bengal        404        79
Kerala        80         18
Andhra        28        181
U.P.          269        185
Delhi         10         5
Bihar         70        197
Maharashtra   77         86
Nagpur        12         17
Bombay City   14         12
Assam         34         22
Ajmere         18          8
Karnatak      106        41
Sind           13         21
N.W.F.P.      18         23
Mahakoshal    67         68

Total        1,580      1,377

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(A) (i) Bose is by far the better-known.
(ii) Bose had the advantage of being in office.
(iii) Bose has kept himself prominently before the country in recent months; he had toured a good deal and made many speeches.
(iv) Sitaramayya had made enemies: in Bengal particularly he was disliked. In the Tamil Nad he was unpopular as being the protagonist of the separation of Andhra from the Madras Province, and of the inclusion of Madras City in the Andhra Province. (This fact, and the discontent with Rajagopalachari mentioned in B (ii) below, counted for more than Socialistic tendencies in the Tamil Nad).

(v) Sitaramayya was handicapped by being the “second string”, pushed to the front at the last moment.

(vi) In Bengal the rift between the Bose faction and the B. C. Roy faction was composed for the occasion, and the province united to secure the election of a Bengali.

(B) (i) Bose’s claim to be whole-heartedly against the Federal scheme, and imputations that his colleagues on the Working Committee were unsound on this cardinal issue created prejudice which could not be dispelled. Bose had suggested that they had actually decided who should be Federal Ministers.

(ii) The “Fascist” methods of the dominant members of the Working Committee and some of the Congress leaders outside had created much feeling against them. Vallabhbhai Patel was specially unpopular, for his hectoring ways in general, and in particular for his treatment of Nariman in Bombay and Khare in the Central Provinces. The attempt of the “old gang” to impose their nominee on the electorate was resented. In Madras Rajagopalachari, regarded as typical of the right-wing, had made himself unpopular by his dictatorial methods, and Bose got a majority even in Rajagopalachari’s own “province” (Tamil Nad). In the Punjab the Working Committee were disliked because no Punjabi has been appointed to that body.
(iii) Growing power of the left-wing. Sitaramayya, much the older man, represented the old-fashioned moderate policy. Bose got all the left-wing votes. Thus in the United Provinces Kidwai (a Minister, and a Socialist) openly worked for Bose. In the Punjab, Kerala and the Karnatak (all of which gave Bose a majority) the Socialists are strong.

(iv) A bogus electorate. It is admitted that the registers of primary members contain many bogus names: the result would be to give the areas where fraud has been extensively practised an undue number of delegates who form the electorate. (Note—This would favour Bose only if fraud was particularly rife where he got most votes. It is alleged that Bengal in particular was rigged in this way).

(v) Effective propaganda for Bose had been carried on by the sponsors of a definite programme, embodied in a document entitled "A Call to Congressman", which has been in circulation since October. This programme claims to represent the full application of Congress policy as decided at the All-India Sessions of 1937 and 1938. Though it, in fact, represents the first stage of a revolutionary plan, it had considerable appeal to many supporters of Congress, who are not Socialists but who think that the present Ministries have been remiss in implementing their pledges or have other reasons for discontent with their measures.

5. The general feeling appears to be that though the election does represent some swing to the left, this is by no means as strong as the figures would suggest. It seems to be now certain that the left will be in a minority in the A.I.C.C. Session. The result is explained as mainly due to Bose's greater personal appeal, his aspersions on his colleagues about Federation, and disgust with the dictatorial methods of the orthodox Congress leaders.
6. Probable effects. It is extremely difficult to estimate these, and it is possible that the situation will not be clarified till the A.I.C.C. meets at Tripuri in March. In the meanwhile both sides may be expected to manœuvre for advantage in that session.

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

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

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

It may be surmised that the draft resolutions will include one giving the British Government an ultimatum that it must agree to entering into a treaty with Congress for a new constitution within six months: this was advocated by the Bengal Provincial Congress, meeting a few days earlier.
7. Mention of the "States programme" is important in view of Gandhi's recent calls to action, and his hints to the Bombay and Orissa Ministries that they must make a stand with regard to Rajkot and the Orissa States, respectively. It would suit all sections of Congress to push this question into the forefront. Referring to it, Jawaharlal Nehru, in a vehement statement issued on February 7th, said "Everything else is secondary to this major struggle, for in its sweep it will comprise Federation, provincial autonomy and other impediments to our freedom ... The call is coming to us again. India calls, grows louder and more insistent. On your feet, men and women of India, on your feet! The time for marching approaches. On your feet now!"

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

It is not likely that any more precise estimate will be possible till the right-wing has decided its policy and till it is known what changes will be made in the Working Committee.
Enclosure to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy's letter No. 382 dated 19.4.40 to the Private Secretary to the Secretary of State.

13th April 1940.

Dear Linlithgow,

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

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

Yours sincerely,

Sd/    J. A. HERBERT.

His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.
Allotted to J. & J. Department.
Copies Circulated and Copy to Sir V. Dawson.

Decypher of Telegram
Recd. 18.00 hrs 4th July, 1940.

From: Governor of Bengal to Secretary of State for India.
Dated, Dacca, 17.20 hrs. 4th July, 1940.
Recd., 18.00 hrs. 4th July, 1940.

IMPORTANT

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

2. A meeting was called at town hall for five p.m. It began quietly but swelled after close of football on the Maiden. Resolutions paying homage to Serajuddelwah's memory, condemning falsity of foreign historians and urging deletion from school text books of matter derogatory to Serajuddelwah were passed without commotion at instance of Government's Moslem supporters. Heat developed regarding resolution regretting indefiniteness of Chief Minister's statement and wanting early decision. Some Moslems demanded decision by July 15th, while extremer Moslems threatened "Satyagraha" by Council of action on July 16th and known Hindu revolutionaries delivered exciting speeches welcoming Hindu-Moslem unity and demanding immediate action. General impression was that saner Moslems were inclined to be quiet but Hindu followers of Subhas and some extremer Moslems
were anxious to foment trouble. Notices for *hartal* on July 5th have issued and further developments are awaited. Well-known ex-terrorists and Forward Block Hindu agitators were prominent.

3. I consider it fortunate that Subhas's arrest prevented him leading disturbance personally.
From: Governor General, to S. of S. for India.
Dated, Simla, 17.30 hours, 20th July, 1940.
Received, 17.30 hours, 20th July, 1940.

1453 s.

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

Decypher of Telegram

From: Viceroy to Secy. of State for India.
Dated, Viceroy’s Camp, Guindy, 23.30 hrs. 27.7.40.
Received, 23.45 hrs. 27th July, 1940.

Important.

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

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

3. Bengal Government on July 18th, wrote to my Department of Education, Health and Lands, asking whether if that Government decided to remove monument Government of India would withdraw notification of protection. On 23rd, Premier made statement in Assembly that Bengal Government had decided to take immediate steps for the removal of the monument. Central Government have throughout taken view that
monument is not of archaeological interest and from that point of view there is no objection to withdrawal of the notification in order to enable it to be removed. I should mention that actual site of Black Hole is preserved and is not subject of agitation.

4. It is unfortunate that decision has to be made under pressure of agitation, which however, is reported to be suspended. But neither on archaeological nor on political grounds do I feel that we can oppose removal of the monument to place where it can be preserved. European Group appear to have acquiesced in Premier’s statement of 23rd. I therefore request your agreement to my Government replying to official letter that they have no objection to withdrawal of notification of 1923; and to my informing Herbert that we consent to removal provided first that Satyagraha is definitely given up, second, that European Group have definitely agreed, and third, that future treatment of Subhas is entirely outside these arrangements and is for separate decision. Matter is urgent and I should be grateful for early reply by telegraph. Ends.
Enclosure to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy’s letter No. 1152 dated 16.12.40 to the Private Secretary to the Secretary of State.

11th December 1940.

Dear Linlithgow,

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

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

His Excellency the Viceroy &
Governor-General of India.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/ J. A. HERBERT.
NOTE ON THE FILE

U.S. of S

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

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

Sd/ illegible

30/1/41
MOST SECRET

Not to be Reproduced or Quoted

RECENT ACTIVITIES OF SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

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

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

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

4. On July 4, at a meeting of the Indian Independence League at Singapore ("Shonan") the interim President of the League, Rash Behari Bose, presented Subhas Bose to the League as its new President. S. C. Bose, who has adopted the title of "Mehtarji" or Leader, made a lengthy presidential address, chief points of which were:
(a) Immediate formation under his aegis of a Provisional Government for India. When the revolution has succeeded this will be replaced by a permanent, popularly elected government.

(b) The hour of India's fight for Freedom has now struck.

(c) His sincere belief in Japan's good intentions.

(d) India's hope of freedom lies only in an Axis Victory.

(e) Wavell's appointment means increased ruthlessness.

(f) Existence of many agents inside India with whom, in spite of the British Secret Service, he has kept in close touch.

(g) Great difficulties ahead.

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

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

7. Bose has now finally burned his boats with us by virtue of his association with Germany and Japan, his political future being entirely dependent upon the continued military success of the Japanese and the paralysis of British rule in India by internal revolt. Fortunately public moral and internal security in India are now fairly
steady and the Japanese widely feared. Bose will undoubtedly be able to make some capital out of the economic distress and the political deadlock but unless he can win over Congress en bloc his chances of stirring up a major revolt would appear to be small. Had he arrived in East Asia last August or even during Gandhi's fast his prospects would have been much better.

8. A biographical note on Bose is attached.

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

Distribution :

D.D.M.I. (I)
M.I. 2b, 2c.
M.O.12.
India Office (Brig. Thompson)
I.P.I. (Col. Vickery).
Air Ministry
Admiralty (Commander Leggatt).
No. 10005/3/GSI (b)  

SOUTH EAST ASIA COMMAND AND INDIA COMMAND

FORTNIGHTLY SECURITY INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY NO. 3 Dt. 14 Sept 45.

IMPORTANT.

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SECURITY INTELLIGENCE

The I. N. A. Ceases Fire.

1. The following Order of the Day dated 26 Aug 45 was issued by the Supreme Command of the I.N.A.:
   "To all Units and Commands, Malaya and Shonan (Singapore).
   (i) In view of the present situation, when all nations have decided on peace, the Cabinet of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind has decided to cease fighting with effect from Saturday, 18 August 45.
   (ii) You are hereby ordered to cease fighting forthwith. Convey this order to all units and troops under your command at once. Also, keep yourself and your troops, arms, ammunition and other military stores ready to be handed over to the British on demand. Further instructions in due course. Strict discipline will be maintained. Commanders will remain responsible for the welfare and health of troops under their charge."
Until the British take over, or issue other instructions, normal administration and training will be continued. Troops will be confined to camp areas except to move on urgent administration duties in which case they will move in suitable groups under a responsible officer.

Officer Commanding, Rear H. Q.
Supreme Command, A.H.F.

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

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

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

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

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

6. The Japanese report of Bose's death is also a matter of considerable importance not only in the political arena
but also to those concerned with security; the continued existence of “Netaji”, possibly underground, would undoubtedly maintain the fervour of the many Jiffs, military and civilian, who came under what was almost a spell, while the confirmed end of their leader would probably have something of an opposite effect.

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

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

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

SERVICES SECURITY AND MORALE

The Problems of peace.

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

British troops.

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

SECRET