Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose has addressed the following letter to his brother Srijut Sarat Chandra Bose. It contains a detailed discussion as to why he does not think it worth his while to accept the Government offer.

My dear brother,

You must be anxious to know what I think of the offer that has been made by the Hon'ble Mr. Moberly and it is time to unburden myself on the subject. I don't know if I shall see eye to eye with you but I am giving my opinion for what it is worth.

I have read and re-read very carefully the statement of the Hon'ble Member. I have pondered over every sentence and every word in his statement which, by the way, I must say, is a carefully drafted one. I have taken time to weigh the 'pros' and 'cons' of his proposal and have not been in haste to come to a definite decision. What I am going to write to you represents my opinion at this moment, formed after prolonged deliberation, but I am open to correction and if there are any facts or arguments which I have overlooked or which have not been brought to my notice I am prepared to reconsider my decision.

Let me say at the outset that I appreciate the frankness of the Hon'ble Member's statement and I shall be failing in my duty if I do not reciprocate it. I have always believed in frankness and I think that frankness pays in the long run. There are certain points in the Hon'ble Member's statement for which I cannot but feel thankful to him. When he said that he did not want any admission regarding the past or promise about the future—when he stated that he was prepared to release me if I gave my "word of honour etc."—when he remarked towards the end that he did not make the offer to me first, because he did not want me to feel that the offer was being forced on me—he showed commendable
consideration for my feelings as a gentleman and as a man of honour. And though I feel unable to accept the offer owing to reasons into which I shall presently enter—I none the less appreciate the honourable elements in the offer. Further, as a member of the Bengal Legislative Council I cannot fail to welcome the Hon'ble Member's action in taking the House into his confidence in at least one case. But when I have said this I am afraid I have said about all that could he urged in favour of the proposal.

The Medical Report

There is one preliminary point on which I should like to disabuse your mind, viz., that Chotodada's report and recommendation were made without any reference to or prior consultation with me. If he had consulted me I would have objected to a recommendation of that kind and when after submitting it, he acquainted me with the nature of his recommendation, I expressed mis-givings as to its expediency—which I now find have been amply justified. Of course Chotodada was here to examine me as a patient and to give his opinion as a medical man and I think he performed his duty with scientific impartiality and professional dispassionateness. He was not concerned with the political implications of his recommendation nor with the question as to whether Government make political capital out of it—and no one, not even I, can blame him for ruling out all extra-medical questions and for ignoring the political consequences of his recommendation. He advised in my case as he would in the case of any other patient of his and he told me that as several of his patients had been cured by treatment in a Swiss Sanatorium—he strongly advised all tubercular patients who had means, to undergo a course of treatment in Switzerland. In these circumstances, it is clear that I have not in any way committed myself in advance as to what offer I would welcome.

It appears that Government do not accept Chotodada's diagnosis (though they are prepared to make use of his
recommendation), for the Hon’ble Member said, “It will be seen that at the moment Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose is not seriously ill and certainly not incapacitated.” It would be interesting to know at what stage Government would regard me as either incapacitated or seriously ill. Is it when doctors will declare me as past cure and my death as a question of a few months or days? Further, if Government do not accept Chotodada’s diagnosis—why are they so anxious to accept what on the surface—and only on the surface—appears to be his recommendation. Chotodada’s recommendation does not say that I should not be allowed to go home and meet my people before I sail abroad. Nor does it say that the ship by which I must travel should not touch at any port in India. Nor again does it say that even if I am restored to proper health, I should not return home before the expiry of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act. All this leads me to doubt if the real object of the Government is to give me an opportunity to recoup my health.

The Hon’ble Member said in effect that the only 2 alternatives which were open in my case were (1) confinement in jail and (2) treatment in a foreign country for an undefined period. But is there really no ‘via media’ between the two? I am not sure that there is not.

The Bengal Government want me to stay abroad till the expiry of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act i.e., ostensibly till January 1930. But who can be sure that the Act will run out in 1930 and that it will not be given another lease of life? The last conversation I had with Mr. Lowman, D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D., in October, 1926, was anything but reassuring on this point and I shall not be surprised if in 1929, serious attempts are made to put the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925 permanently on the Statute Book. In that case my absence from home will be made permanent and I shall have to thank myself alone for exiling myself from India by a twentieth century “self-denying ordinance.” If the intentions of Government had been quite clear on
this point they would have mentioned a definite date till when I would have to stay abroad.

Again, I have not been given any assurance as to the extent of freedom I shall be allowed in Europe. Will the Government save me from the kind attentions of the numerous spies that swarm in Switzerland? There is no gainsaying the fact that I am a political suspect and shall continue to be one, as long as I do not turn a somersault and become a police informer—and it is possible that my life abroad may be made miserable by spies shadowing me at every step. I understand that in Switzerland there are not only British spies but Swiss, Italian, French, German and Indian spies in the employ of the British Government. And what is there to prevent some of these overzealous agents from sending false reports regarding myself with the object of further blackening me in the eyes of the Government? I honestly think—and I told Mr. Lowman about it last year—that it is possible for the Intelligence Department if they feel so inclined to concoct a plausible case against any citizen concerned with politics which will suffice for the purpose of securing orders for his detention under the Ordinance. This is more true of those political suspects who live in Europe for a time. No one can forget the difficulty that some of those political suspects had to encounter in order to obtain permission to return home with impunity. Even a leader of the position and eminence of Lala Lajpat Rai could return home only with the help of influential M. P. friends, some of whom are ex-ministers of the Cabinet. Unfortunately I am now bete noire to the Government and the difficulty that I shall have to encounter can be easily imagined.

**Over-Zealous Police Agent**

Moreover, I feel so helpless in the face of over-zealous police agents that I am almost sure that however cautious, and even timid, I may be during my stay in Europe—I shall never be able to prevent unfavourable reports regarding myself from reaching the Government of India.
All my caution and even timidity will be put down as shrewdness and cunning and all sorts of sinister activities of which I shall be the author, will be imagined where there are none. And the tragedy of the whole situation will be that I shall have no means of knowing what reports are being sent about me and I shall not be given any opportunity of explaining things and incidents which are really harmless. It is thus possible that by the time 1929 draws near, I shall have been painted as a Bolshevnik Agent (for in Europe there is only one nightmare today viz., the Bolshevik nightmare) of the darkest dye before the India Government and the inevitable consequence will be that I shall either be prevented from returning to India or shall be arrested again on my arrival. I have no desire to become a voluntary exile from the land of my birth and I would therefore like Government to look at this matter for a minute from my point of view.

If I had the remotest intention of becoming a Bolshevnik Agent I would have jumped at the offer made and taken the first available boat to Europe. If I succeeded in recouping my health, I could then have joined the gay band who trot about from Paris to Leningrad talking of world revolution and emitting blood and thunder in their utterances. But I have no such ambition or desire.

"Am I so Dangerous"

When I read that I was required to undertake not to return to India, Burma and Ceylon I rubbed and rubbed my eyes and asked myself—"Am I so dangerous to the existence of the British rule in India that a deportation from Bengal is not regarded as an adequate safeguard or is all this but a hoax?" If the former, then from one point of view it is somewhat flattering to a nationalist to be told that he is so much of a nuisance to the bureaucracy. But when I come to look at facts and analyse my life and activities before I was arrested, I cannot help feeling that my political complexion is not so red as
some interested and malicious people have led Government to think. I have not done political work outside Bengal and I have hardly any desire to do so, at least for some years to come—for Bengal is big enough for me and for my ambitions. I do not think that any other Government (whether the Government of India or any other Provincial Government) besides Bengal has anything to say against me and so far as I remember, I do not think I left Bengal during the last 6 years except to visit members of our family or to attend meetings of the A.I.C.C. or the Congress. Why then this attempt to prejudice me in the eyes of other Governments by holding me up as a dangerous person and prohibiting me from entering India, Burma and Ceylon? Ceylon being a Crown Colony, I doubt if it is within the jurisdiction of the Government of Bengal or even of the Government of India to lay down such a condition.

"I Moved But Little"

The Bengal Government want to have control over my movements now but I moved but little when I was free. Between October 1923 and October 1924 I do not think I left Calcutta on more than two occasions—on the first occasion to attend the Khulna District Conference and on the second occasion to address some election meeting in Nadia District for a prospective M.L.C. And between February 1924 and October 1924, I do not think I stirred out of Calcutta at all. All attempts made to connect me with the Sirajgunj Conference are futile and malicious for when the Conference met, I had just taken over charge of the C.E.O.ship and was too busy with municipal work and in warding off a threatened sweepers’ strike, to be able to leave Calcutta for a minute. Between May and October 1924 my activities and movements need no enumeration for they are a matter of common knowledge. Government were perfectly aware of my movements before my arrest and if the object of my imprisonment was to control my movements, there was no necessity at all for arresting me.
"Particularly Callous"

There is one aspect of the Hon'ble Member's proposal which struck me as particularly callous. Government know that I have been away from home nearly 2½ years and I have not met most of my relations—including parents—during this period. They nevertheless propose that I shall go abroad for a period which will be at least 2½ or 3 years without having an opportunity of meeting them. This is hard for me—but much more so for those who love me—whose number is I think very large. It is not easy for a Westerner to appreciate the deep attachment which oriental people have for their kith and kin and I hope that it is this ignorance—rather than wilfulness—which is responsible for what I cannot but regard as a heartless feature of the Government offer. It would be typical only of a western mind to presume that because I have not married—therefore I have no family (taking the word in its large sense) and no attachment for any one.

Government seem to have clean forgotten the suffering to which they have subjected me for the last 2½ years. I am the aggrieved party and not they. They have locked me in for such a long period without any justification. I was only told that I was guilty of being a member of a conspiracy for importing arms, manufacturing explosives and murdering public officers and was asked if I had anything to say. I wonder if the late Sir Edward Marshall Hall or Sir John Simon could have put up any other defence beyond saying "not guilty"—and this is exactly what I did. When the "allegations" were presented to me a second time, I raised the question myself as to why I of all persons happened to be victimised by the Police—and I think I was able to give a satisfactory explanation. Since my arrest the Bengal Government have not granted me any allowance for the maintenance of my dependants or the upkeep of my establishment and when, as a last resort, I appealed to H.E. the Viceroy my representation was withheld by the Bengal Government. On the top of this they want me to exile myself for nearly
3 years and to find the money for maintaining myself during my exile in Europe. Is this a fair and reasonable proposition? If Government do not recognise any other normal obligation they should at least feel obliged to set me at liberty in the same state of health in which they found me in 1924—and if my health is impaired owing to my incarceration, they should compensate me—they should at least meet all the expenditure that has to be incurred till I recoup my former health. How long will Government go on ignoring all moral obligations? If Government had allowed me to go home once, before I sailed abroad, had agreed to meet all my expenses in Europe and had permitted me to return without let or hindrance on my recovery, there would have been something human about the offer.

*Mailed Fist in a Velvet Glove*

Lastly the Hon’ble Member has shown me the mailed fist appearing in a velvet glove. He said—“Both Government and Mr. Bose realise that they can retain him until the expiration of the Cr. Law Amendment Act.” I perfectly agree with him and I would go further and say that I realise that Government can detain me as long as they like—for when the Amendment Act expires—they can either prolong its life or serve a fresh order on me under Regulation III of 1818. As a matter of fact I have told many Government officers, including Mr. Lowman, that I feel to my utter despair that there is absolutely nothing to prevent Government from detaining us all our life—though M.L.A.’s and M.L.C.’s may fret and fume and throw out Executive Councillors’ touring expenses. And I have yet to learn that Government do not really intend to keep us here all our life.

I am reminded of what the late Deshbandhu of hallowed memory used to call me (viz., a “young old man”) because of what he regarded as my pessimism. I am pessimistic from one point of view for I always try to picture the worst that may happen. I have on this occasion tried to anticipate the worst that may befall me, if I do not
accept the offer of Government but I have not been able to persuade myself that a permanent exile from the land of my birth would be better than life in a jail leading to the sepulchre. I do not quail before this cheerless prospect for I believe as the poet does, that “the paths of glory lead but to the grave.”

I believe I have said about all that could be said both for and against the Government offer. Let no one grieve that the chances of my release are few and far between. Above all please console our dear parents, for theirs is the hardest lot, and all those who love me. We have got to suffer a lot, both individually and collectively, before the priceless treasure of freedom can be secured. Thank God I am at peace with myself and I can face with perfect equanimity any ordeal that He in His wisdom may choose to visit me with. I regard myself as doing penance in my own humble way for the past sins of our nation and I am and shall be—happy in my atonement. Our thoughts will not die—our ideas will not fade from the nation’s memory and posterity will be heirs of our fondest dreams—this is the faith which shall sustain me in my tribulation for ever.

Please let me have an early reply.

Yours very affly.,

Sd/- Subhas.
To
The Hon’ble the Home Member, Government of India,
Through The Civil Surgeon, Lucknow,
and The U.P. Government.

Regarding permission to go to Europe.

Dear Sir,

My eldest brother, Mr. Satish C. Bose of Patna, has communicated to me the order of the Government of India regarding my case. I am thankful for that order and I appreciate the spirit underlying it. Circumstances permitting, I hope that the offer of Government embodied in the order will be thankfully accepted.

2. In connection with this order there are two points, comparatively unimportant, which have not probably been considered from my point of view. I am stating my difficulties in connection with both these points as clearly as possible—and I solicit a favourable decision as early as possible. In the first place, the order indicates that I shall have to remain in custody till the moment when I sail from the shores of India. Secondly, the passport will be issued only for France and Switzerland.

3. Regarding the first point, I beg to submit that it will be extremely difficult—if not impossible—to make arrangements for a prolonged stay in Europe while I am in custody at a considerable distance from both Patna and Calcutta. At present, I can write only three letters a week and though the rules allow one interview a week, in actual practice, this concession cannot often be availed of, owing to the difficulty in securing the necessary permission from the Bengal C.I.D. It is therefore wellnigh impossible to supervise, or give instructions regarding the necessary arrangements while I am in my present predicament. I am not one of those who travel to Europe every other year and who can therefore sail at a moment’s notice. Nor am I desirous of travelling to Europe in dhoti or loin-cloth. Consequently it will be
a difficult job to get the necessary outfit ready for me. Numerous questions will crop up at every step which will require daily consultation and prompt decision. Questions like route, shipping company, medical attendant, financial arrangements, outfit, procedure to be followed on arrival in Europe, the doctors to be consulted, the sanatoria to be visited, etc. cannot be settled for me in my absence by other people without consulting me. I therefore feel that if I am allowed to go home now, arrangements for leaving for Europe will not only be facilitated but will be considerably expedited. From my point of view the sooner I can reach Europe the better for me—because delay will only mean further deterioration and less chance of recovery. Further, it would be very hard on me if I have to go abroad without saying good-bye to my people. My parents (who are now at Cuttack or Puri) are old and my father in particular suffers from heart trouble. God alone knows whether I shall see them again on my return from Europe. Besides, other near relations of mine are scattered about in places in or near Calcutta. And it would be practically impossible for most of my relations to come either to Lucknow or to Bombay to see me off—quite apart from the question of being allowed to interview me.

4. Regarding the second point, I beg to submit that owing to certain complications in my disease, there is the possibility that a visit to other countries besides France and Switzerland may be necessary. Though I shall try my utmost to avoid surgical treatment, I cannot forget that several eminent doctors have expressed the opinion that Surgical treatment may be necessary. In that event, I may be advised to go to Vienna or Berlin or Denmark—or I may even have to consult some specialist in London. After undertaking the trouble and expenditure of a trip to Europe, I would not like to be deprived of any of the facilities that exist in Europe in the way of treatment. And I would be disappointed if I were to be told after arriving in Europe that I cannot go outside of France and Switzerland for the simple reason that the Govern-
ment of India have said so in their order and in their passport.

5. I therefore request—(1) that I be allowed to proceed home now with a view to making speedy arrangements for going abroad and (2) that the passport be for Europe without being restricted to France and Switzerland.

If Government apprehend that in case I am allowed to go home now, I shall resume my political activities, I may say that my present physical condition rules out that possibility altogether. Further, Government have sufficient powers resulting from statute, Regulation and Ordinance, whereby they can give me the liberty to go home while ensuring from their point of view that I shall not resume my political activities during the period prior to my sailing for Europe. I am saying this in case Government are inclined to think that I am not so ill as to be physically incapable of resuming my public activities now.

6. In conclusion, I have only to say that I hope that you will not mar the generous spirit underlying the order by refusing a favourable consideration of the two points mentioned above.

Thanking you,

Balrampur Hospital, I am
Lucknow, Yours truly,
17.1.33. Sd/- Subhas Chandra Bose.
C/o The American Express Company,
Karntnerring 14,
Vienna I.

17.3.33.

My dear Mr. Thurtle,

I was so glad to receive your kind letter of the 15th instant.

When the Government of India made the offer to me in January last, I wrote back asking them to extend my passport to Europe generally—instead of restricting it to France and Switzerland. After a great deal of bargaining they agreed to extend the passport to Italy and Austria. But when they issued the passport to me, they made an entry to the effect that the passport would not be available for Germany and the United Kingdom. I had written to the Government of India that I was particularly anxious that I should be free to visit the important medical centres in Europe, viz. Vienna, Berlin and London—in order to consult specialists—but they extended the passport for Austria only.

The diagnosis made by the doctors here is quite different from the diagnosis made by official and non-official doctors in India, and if I had been free I would have liked to consult some specialists in Berlin and London, but as matters stand that is not possible.

Regarding my brother, you know that he has been in custody since February 1932. During this period he has developed diabetes and after a great deal of experimenting, the prison superintendent, who is a senior medical officer in the I.M.S. has come to the conclusion that my brother's health is not likely to improve as long as he remains in custody. I met him in Jubbulpore Jail in the Central Provinces on my way to Bombay en route to Europe and I found him considerably run down. Jubbulpore is a furnace in summer and is right in the centre of the hot zone and I am afraid he is going to have a very bad time during the next few months. As he had a very large income, his incarceration has hit the whole family
very badly. A few months before his arrest, he had sent his eldest boy to Munich for post-graduate studies and when he was suddenly imprisoned, money had to be borrowed so that his son could continue his studies there. And the monstrosity of the whole affair is that it is an imprisonment without trial and for an indefinite period. Up till now, neither of us knows the evidence of the charges on the basis of which the warrant for arrest had been issued.

If anything could be done for my brother or for extension of my passport I should be very glad indeed. I think it is high time that my brother should be released. A reference from the India Office at this stage might be helpful. I think the best course would be for Mr. Lansbury to take up the matter with Sir Samuel Hoare if he is in a position to do so. And if he has a talk with Sir Samuel, he would be able to find out how the ground lies.

I am at present in a Sanatorium in Vienna City.

Hope this will find you quite well. Kindest regards for Mrs. Thurtle and yourself.

Yours very sincerely,
Sd/- Subhas Bose.

P.S. I hope everybody will realise the absurdity of the position that a British passport has been issued to me which is not available for Great Britain.

Regarding my brother, it would be relevant to inform you that the Advocate-General of Bengal—the highest legal officer of the Government—is of opinion that there is not sufficient ground for arresting him under Regulation III of 1818. The Advocate-General communicated this view to the Governor of Bengal some time ago. I think he also spoke to Sir Samuel about my brother’s case when he was in England last. The Advocate-General is Sir N. N. Sircar who was a member of the third Round Table Conference nominated by the Government to represent Bengal.

S. C. B.
SANATORIUM C/o The American Express Company,
DR. FURTH 14 Kärntnerring,
Wien Vienna.
VIII/1, Schmidgasse 14 Dated, the 3rd March/
Telephon A-29-5-35 Serie April 1933.

To
The Right Hon. The Secretary of State for India,
India Office, Whitehall,
London.

Dear Sir,

Before I left India, I had requested the Government of India to issue a passport which would enable me to visit—if necessary—Vienna, Berlin and London, among other places. The Government of India, however, extended my passport to Italy and Austria only and informed me that if I wanted to visit any other place not covered by the passport, I should apply to you and that my request would be duly considered. I have been in Vienna since the 8th March and have been under treatment for nearly three weeks.

The diagnosis of the Viennese physicians whom I have consulted, differs, from that of the physicians who examined me at Madras, Bhowali, and Lucknow. At these places I was examined by distinguished members of the I.M.S. as well as by distinguished private medical practitioners. The progress I have made so far has not been satisfactory and I desire to consult some distinguished physicians in Germany and in England as to the diagnosis and treatment of the disease from which I have been suffering—and as to whether an operation would be necessary and advisable. I therefore request you to give me the necessary passport facilities for visiting Germany and England.

Thanking you,

I am,

Yours faithfully,

Sd/- Subhas Chandra Bose.
C/o The American Express Co.,
14 Karntnerring
Vienna
28.4.33.

To
The Rt. Hon. The Secretary of State for India
London,

Dear Sir,

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

Yours faithfully,
Sd/- Subhas Chandra Bose.
THE INDIA LEAGUE
(formerly the Commonwealth of India League)

Headquarters: 165 Strand, London, W.C. 2

Telephone: Temple Bar 3689

OBJECT
To support the claim of India for Swaraj (Self-Rule)

Chairman
BERTRAND RUSSELL

Vice-Chairman
D. R. GREENFELL, M.P.

Parliamentary Secretary
WILLIAMS, M.P.

Treasurer
MONICA WHATELY

Secretaries
JAMES MARLEY
V. K. KRISHNA MENON

30th March 1936

To
The Secretary of State for India,
India Office,
Whitehall.

Sir,

I enclose herewith for your information a copy of two resolutions passed at a public meeting held at the Essex Hall, London, on Saturday the 28th under the Chairmanship of Alderman W. T. Kelly M. P.

Yours truly
Sd/- V. K. Krishnamenon
Hon. Joint Secretary
Resolution passed at Public Meeting held on the 28th March at the Essex Hall, under the Chairmanship of Alderman William T. Kelly, M. P.

1. This public meeting protests against the arbitrary action of the Government of India in issuing a warning to Mr. Subash Bose that he would not be allowed to remain at liberty if he returns to his own country and it further requests His Majesty's Government to give Mr. Bose passport facilities to come to this country which he has been hitherto refused and for which no reasons have been stated.

2. This public meeting protests against the enactment by the Viceroy of India of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act in the face of the defeat of that measure by the Indian Legislative Assembly and in defiance of Indian public opinion and calls upon His Majesty's Government to secure the suspension of this obnoxious measure which is contrary to all civilised standards of law, justice and administration. This meeting protests against the use of repressive measures in India, the banning of books, raids and confiscation of presses, arbitrary arrests and imprisonment without trial, the use of troops in villages, the widespread suppression of liberty and the persecution of labour movements and calls upon the Government to secure the release of political prisoners and to order an inquiry into police methods.
Post Restante,
Badgastein, (Austria)

25.11.1937.

Your Lordship,

I have come to Europe on a short visit for a course of treatment at Badgastein and shall be returning home by air in time to reach Calcutta by the middle of January at the very latest. As a matter of fact, I shall attempt an earlier return.

The treatment here will take about a month or five weeks and before I return home again, I should like to pay a flying visit to England to meet friends there and my nephew who is studying in London. Your Lordship is aware that there was a ban on my visit to London when I was in Europe between 1933 and 1936. There is no entry in my passport about the ban, but verbal instructions were given me not to visit England without a special permit and I honoured these instructions. I do not know if the ban still exists. If it does, I would request that the ban be now lifted and I be allowed to visit England.

If I am allowed to visit England, I intend spending about a week or ten days at the most there. It is possible that my stay there will be even shorter, in case my treatment here lasts longer—for in no case can I prolong my stay in Europe beyond the 10th January when I must fly back to India.

I shall feel greatly obliged if Your Lordship will be so good as to pass orders at an early date lifting the ban on my visit to England.

Thanking Your Lordship heartily in anticipation,

The Rt. Hon.
The Marquis of Zetland,
Secretary of State for India,
Whitehall,
LONDON.

I am,
Yours truly,

Sd/- Subhas Chandra Bose.

IOR File No. L/P & J/7/793, p. 27-28
INDIA'S NEW CONSTITUTION

Home Secretary’s Tribute to Sir John Anderson’s Work

“GOODWILL AND COMMON SENSE”

Sir Samuel Hoare, Home Secretary, who was Secretary of State for India when the legislation setting up the new Constitution for India was introduced, said yesterday that the most significant fact in recent Indian history was the manifest desire of Indian Ministers and British Governors to co-operate in a great experiment. He was speaking at a reception given at Grosvenor House, Park Lane, by the East India Association to Sir John Anderson, on his return from the Governorship of Bengal.

Sir Samuel Hoare said that it should be remembered to his credit that he was the Secretary of State who recommended Sir John Anderson’s appointment to Calcutta, but it should be remembered even more to Sir John Anderson’s credit that he abandoned one of the highest posts in the Security of Whitehall for the Government of Calcutta at a most critical and even dangerous moment. Terrorism was rife, and an attempt had been made on the life of his predecessor, Sir Stanley Jackson.

SCOTLAND’S “EXPORTS”

He well remembered putting the offer to Sir John Anderson and with what relief he heard Sir John say, “Well, I suppose that I have almost completed my career in Whitehall, and, being a Scot, I am ready to try another.” “And where more suitable for a Scot to try than in India?” Sir Samuel asked, “For was it not truly said a century ago, ‘The two main exports of Scotland are lean cattle to England and able administrators to India’?”

Sir John was faced on the spot with the same double task that confronted Westminster, the restoration of law and order on the one hand and the development of constitutional reform on the other. Sir John’s administration
proved that it was possible to succeed on this double front, but even with all his administrative talents his success could not have been so complete if he had not been supported by a definite and undeviating policy of constitutional reform.

"Let us then draw this first lesson from his record." Sir Samuel continued: "If full scope is to be given to our great administrators, the Government at home must give them a clear and intelligible policy to carry it out. What staggering results might have been achieved by Warren Hastings if he had not been hampered at every turn by spite and vacillation in Westminster!"

A LESSON FROM INDIA

Sir John Anderson restored order. But he also restored the sanity and balance of many misguided terrorists. He showed that while repression could be effectively carried out the more difficult task of reformation could also be made to succeed. "As Home Secretary", Sir Samuel added. "I hope that I have taken to heart this lesson in the field of penal administration.

"A third lesson which Sir John has to teach us is the lesson of goodwill. I am disclosing no State secret when I say that throughout all those years when I was engaged upon the Indian Constitution the question that most worried many of my friends was this—how will the responsible Ministers be able to work with Governors invested with their special responsibilities? Will not each insist upon his statutory powers and will not the result be crisis and deadlock? Over and over again I said to my critics. 'I put my faith in goodwill and common sense. I believe that difficulties will be surmounted by consultation rather than crisis.'

"Is it not on these lines that the new Constitution has started, particularly in the great province of Bengal? Sir John Anderson’s relations with his Ministers in Bengal are the outward and visible sign of the goodwill without which no Government can prosper."
ON THE RIGHT ROAD

While there would be anxieties and disappointments in the new chapter, on the whole he believed that they had started the new chapter on the right road. If that were the case, it was not a little due to men like Sir John Anderson. To his successor, Lord Brabourne, a Governor in the true Anderson tradition, they sent best wishes.

To his Indian friends Sir Samuel Hoare gave this message: “Work the Constitution throughout India as Sir John Anderson has worked it in Bengal on a foundation of goodwill and co-operation, and India will prove to the world at the very moment when in the East and West liberty and democracy are challenged that free institutions are still the best and that the British Empire is the most effective framework in which they can be developed.”

THE SITUATION IN BENGAL

Sir John Anderson said that any success he might have had in Bengal would not have been possible without the effective co-operation of others. Sir Samuel Hoare and Lord Willingdon gave their Governors a clear and consistent policy, and after them Lord Zetland and Lord Linlithgow followed the same course. He could not speak too highly of the response that the services gave to all the calls made upon them.

It was decided that Bengal should start off with responsible government on exactly the same footing as all the other provinces in India. It would have been a disaster to Bengal and India, and to all the hopes that were centred in the new scheme of constitutional reform, if a different decision had had to be taken, and he doubted whether anyone either in India or in this country would assert that that decision was wrong. The new Ministry which took office on April 1 had already been subjected to severe tests. It had shown itself capable of formulating and applying a courageous, firm, and consistent policy. It had thereby established itself in a position of great prestige among the responsible Ministries in India.
TACKLING THE TERRORISTS

There were three things which he regarded as affording some ground for apprehension for some time after he went to Bengal. The first was terrorism, but he personally saw no reason why it should ever again be out of control. Complete eradication of the terrorist mentality must be a long business. This was now a task for Indians to carry out and they were best qualified to undertake it. He was satisfied that a good beginning had been made.

The next ground for apprehension was a possible landslide in the services, but there had been no indication of that. The services were working efficiently and he believed, happily under their new masters. The other ground was that a financial breakdown might occur. There they had had a spot of luck, for the economic depression began to lift just in time. The Niemeyer award did not give them all they wanted, but it provided the new Government with ample resources and a prudent management for the maintenance of a sound and progressive policy.

Sir Firozkhan Noon, High Commissioner for India, in a message paid tribute to the service which Sir John Anderson had rendered to his country.
At the beginning of 1938 he (Nehru) was succeeded by an even more extreme figure, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. Mr. Bose had been arrested in January, 1932, because of his association with the terrorists in Bengal and not because of the support he had been giving to the Civil disobedience movement. He had been allowed to go to Europe for reasons of health about a year later and while he was in that country there were clear indications that he favoured mass revolutionary action. He had, therefore, been warned that, if he returned to India, he would not be allowed to remain at liberty. In 1936 he disregarded the warning, returned and was arrested; and after a short period in Poona Jail he was removed to the house of his brother, Sarat Chandra Bose, at Kurseong.

During the remainder of 1938 it became clear on more than one occasion that Mr. Gandhi and the Congress President did not see eye to eye; but at the beginning of 1939 the re-election of Mr. Subhas Bose as President threw the Congress world into confusion. It had been the accepted practice for some years for the nominee of Mr. Gandhi to become President without a contest. On this occasion three candidates were nominated by the electors, of whom Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was regarded as the official candidate. Some days before the poll he resigned in favour of Mr. Pattabi Sitaramayya and Mr. Subhas Bose, who might not have stood against the Maulana, refused to leave the field to Mr. Sitaramayya, in spite of a personal appeal from Mr. Gandhi. He was eventually elected by a majority of about 200 in a poll of about 3,000, whereupon Mr. Gandhi announced that Mr. Bose’s victory was a defeat for himself and indicated that he and his followers in the Working Committee, the Provincial Ministries and the Congress Party would be willing to leave the party and surrender the field to Mr. Bose and his faction. The latter was thus placed in a dilemma, for he was well aware that he could achieve
little without Mr. Gandhi's support. Mr. Gandhi himself also had to recover the ground temporarily lost by the Congress right wing and it was expected that he would do so by concentrating on the campaign which had been under way for some time against the Indian States, thus diverting attention from domestic difficulties.

But no one foresaw the sensational course which he actually followed. This was the famous Rajkot “fast unto death...” on February 22nd, 1939, the Congress Working Committee had ceased to exist; twelve of the sixteen members announced their resignation in a joint letter which invited the President to choose his own cabinet and follow his own policy, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru issued a long statement attacking Mr. Subhas Bose. In this state of affairs, and with the limelight concentrated on Rajkot, the Congress session at Tripuri began on March 7th—the same day as that on which Mr. Gandhi's fast was broken. Mr. Bose purported to be ill and attended the session on a stretcher. The main resolution, which was carried in the subjects committee by 218 votes to 135 and in the open session without division, affirmed adherence to Mr. Gandhi's policies and programme and expressed confidence in the work of the defunct Working Committee in accordance with the wishes of the Mahatma. Mr. Gandhi and the Congress President were unable to agree on the personnel of the new committee and on April 27th Mr. Subhas Bose resigned his office. Such was the revenge taken by the Congress dictator on one who, exactly three months before, had been duly and democratically elected, but in defiance of his wishes, to the post of a Congress President.*

Independent Labour Party
Merthyr, Aberdare & Dist. Federation.

*Chairman*: E. Osment
*Hony. Treasurer*: D. Mulcahy
*Secretary*: G. Williams

*A copy of Secretary's letter dated 28th March 1936 to the Secretary of State for India*:

Sir,

I am instructed by the above organisation to convey to you an emphatic protest against H. M. Government with regard to the action taken in the case of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose.

I am to suggest that Mr. Bose, as a citizen of the British Empire, has as much right, if not more to visit London, as some of the National representatives of other countries at present visiting England.

He certainly has more right to live in his own country, India, among his own people, than have the persons who have forbidden him to return to India.

Trusting that this matter will receive the immediate attention of the British Government.

I am,
Yours faithfully,

Sd/ G. Williams
ARREST OF SUBHAS BOSE

Fears of his premature release.

Two further telegrams are submitted for information. The Governor of Bengal found it necessary to pay a hurried visit to Calcutta to nip in the bud any idea of the release of Subhas Bose on instructions of either the Chief Minister or the Home Minister. If, notwithstanding the undertaking secured from the Ministers, Bose is released, he will apparently be re-arrested on a warrant issued by the Central Government.

Sd/- Illegible
22.7.40
17.11.41

INDIAN EXTREMIST LEADER IN GERMANY
"PACT TO SEND ARMY TO FREE INDIA"

NEW DELHI, MONDAY.

AXIS BROADCASTS, IT IS LEARNED HERE, HAVE CONFIRMED
THE STATEMENT MADE BY MR. CONRAN SMITH, HOME SECRE-
TARY, TO THE COUNCIL OF STATE AS TO THE WHERE-
ABOUTS OF SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE, THE INDIAN
EXTREMIST LEADER.

A BROADCAST IN HINDUSTANI FROM AN ITALIAN STATION
ON NOVEMBER 12 SAID: "THE GERMAN RADIO HAS
ANNOUNCED THE PRESENCE OF SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE IN
GERMANY . . . . INDIANS ARE ANXIOUSLY AND EAGERLY AWAIT-
ING BOSE'S SPEECH".

A JAPANESE BROADCAST IN HINDUSTANI THE SAME DAY
SAID: "RASHBEHARI BOSE, PRESIDENT OF THE INDIAN INDE-
PENDING LEAGUE IN JAPAN, HAS SENT A CONGRATULATORY
TELEGRAM TO SUBHAS BOSE ON HIS SAFE ARRIVAL IN GER-
MANY. SUBHAS BOSE DISAPPEARED FROM INDIA IN JANUARY,
1941. IT IS NOW LEARNED THAT HE HAS REACHED GERMANY
AND HAS SIGNED A PACT WITH GERMANY FOR SENDING AN
ARMY TO FREE INDIA." REUTER.

DTIS-17
RIV 2317

IOR File No. PJ/6/699, p. 15
SECRET CIPHER TELEGRAM

WAR STAFF.

W. S. 28299/10

From: Secretary of State for India.

Desp: 17th February, 1944, 1915 hrs.

To: Government of India

IMPORTANT

4087. War Department. For D.M.I.

Governor of Fiji reports that story of "Victorious Advance of Subhas Chandra Bose's Army of Liberation is spreading rapidly among Indians there, and asks for material for counter propaganda.

Colonial Office have arranged for M.O.I. to send suitable material but ask in addition for telegraphic summary giving full facts about Bose's army and activities and whether they constitute a danger to Burma campaign or have only nuisance value. They want this for personal information of Governor and would also like to send it to Aden, Mauritius and East Africa.

Unwilling provide this without consulting you. If you agree request summary of what you wish communicated. M.I.2. consulted and agree.

War Office Distribution by M.I.2.

To:— M.I.2. (for action)

Copies to:— D.M.I.

D.D.M.I. (I) (O) (S) (F) (P/W)
M.I.2. 2a. 2c. 5. 6. 9. 11. 17.
D.M.O.
M.O.I. 12
D.P.W.
D.D.P.W.
P.W.2
D.D.I.P.
I.P.I. 2. 3.
I.P.I. (Col. Vickery)
India Office (Mr. Swinnerton)
" " (Col. Steverson) War Staff.
SECRET

INWARD TELEGRAM

ALLOTTED TO INFORMATION DEPARTMENT
Copies circulated

CYPHER TELEGRAM (O.T.P.)

From Government of India, Department of Information and Broadcasting,

    to Secretary of State for India.

    Dated New Delhi, 04.30 hours, 25th March, 1944.
    Received 05.45 hours, 25th March, 1944.

IMPORTANT.
3359.

JOYEE FROM BOZMAN

We have seen in censorship a message from Teklar reporting that London evening papers prominently featured Tojo broadcast claiming that Indian national army headed by Subhas Bose has crossed Indian frontier. In accordance with our policy of denying publicity to Bose and the Indian National Army in the Indian press this message has been stopped. Correspondents and agencies at your end will naturally be reluctant to ignore the subject in outward messages if it continues to attract attention in London and we suggest therefore that if attempts like Teklar's to make political capital out of the new development are to be avoided the best line of approach would be through the English press. Would it be possible to explain position confidentially to the English press and ask for their co-operation in soft pedalling on the alleged activities of Bose and Indian National Army. Publicity of this subject is playing into the enemy hands as they are obviously angling for recognition of the Indian National Army as a definite fighting force entitled to treatment as such under the laws and usage of war please see also Military Intelligence Directorate telegram 67652/1 of March 24th to War Office of which copy will be passed to India Office.

IOR File No. L/WS/1576, p. 386
THE FORWARD BLOC

1. From the start of the war the Forward Bloc ranged itself on the side of the enemy and made no secret of its plans to take advantage of the situation to overthrow the British Government. The professed object of the organisation, which was formed in May 1939, was to rally within the Congress all left-wing and anti-imperialist elements; and though the intention was said to be to function within the Congress and seek to attain independence by "Legitimate and peaceful means", the resolutions passed at the meeting of the Working Committee of the Forward Bloc in September 1939 expressed violent opposition to the war effort and showed little signs of any intention to pursue peaceful methods. At a meeting of the Congress Working Committee in the same month, Subhas Chandra Bose, who had been elected President of the Forward Bloc in June, expressed the opinion that the moment was opportune for launching a fight against the British Government; and later on, in opposition to the Congress policy, he organised an "Anti-Compromise Conference" at Ramgarh, where a resolution was passed maintaining that the internal and external conditions were ripe for a successful revolution, and that a Council of Action should be appointed to launch and direct a struggle on April the 6th, 1940. This, however, came to nothing. The project received little support from other Parties and the scheme was disorganised without difficulty by the arrest of several leaders.

2. As the war situation deteriorated, Bose's speeches became more and more seditious and left little doubt that he confidently expected Britain to be defeated. He was in prison between July 1940 and December 1940 in connection with the Holwell Monument Agitation and in January 1941 he disappeared in mysterious circumstances, after being released from jail and confined in his own house on parole.

3. With the disappearance of Subhas Bose and the rumours that he was negotiating with enemy powers and ready to give a call for action to his followers, there was
an intensification of Forward Bloc activities. Bose's nephews were reported to be spreading instructions that money was to be collected for starting a mass insurrection when the call came. Both of these nephews (Aurobindo and Dwijendra Nath) were arrested in the middle of 1941 and this, combined with action by the Bengal Police against the Anushilan Samiti, seriously affected these activities in Bengal. A further blow in December 1941 was the detention of Sarat Bose, whose contacts with the Japanese made this act essential on the outbreak of war with Japan. On the other hand, at the meeting of the Working Committee of the Forward Bloc in January 1942 the resolutions reiterated the pro-enemy and anti-British aims of the organisation, and members expressed views indicating that they confidently expected Subhas Bose to lead a Japanese invasion of India.

4. In March 1942 the Government of India decided that the time had come to take effective action to cripple the Forward Bloc. Although since the disappearance of Subhas Bose and the detention of Sarat Bose the organisation had lost much of its effectiveness, credible evidence of the pro-Axis sympathies and revolutionary plottings of the existing leaders of the Bloc had been steadily accumulating and the danger had increased that the organisation might act as the spearhead of a fifth column movement in the event of an Axis invasion of India. After considerable discussion it was decided that it would be better to direct action against a small and dangerous clique working within the Bloc, rather than against the Bloc itself. On the 3rd March, 1942, Provincial Governments were informed of this decision; and as a result of co-ordinated action a number of dangerous leaders, including Sardul Singh Caveeshar, Satya Ranjan Bakshi, Amarendra Nath Bose and H. V. Kamath, were arrested and detained.

5. It was not long, however, before the wisdom of the decision to take no action against the Bloc itself was questioned. In April 1942 reports from Bengal showed that the Government there took an extremely serious view of the dangers of the situation and, after further
discussion in Home Department it was decided that the question of taking action against the Forward Bloc must be considered from the point of view not only of the harm the Bloc itself might cause, but also of the likely effect on public morale of the continued legal existence of an organisation which was openly indulging in traitorous activities. The eventual decision was that the organisation must be banned. Legal advice was that the Criminal Law Amendment Act could not appropriately be used when the main object of the ban was to prevent pro-enemy activities, but this difficulty was overcome by enacting a Defence of India Rule analogous to the United Kingdom Defence Regulation 18AA. This Defence of India Rule (27A) was published on the 22nd June 1942, and along with it was published an order declaring the Forward Bloc to be an organisation to which the Rule applied. This had the effect of banning the Forward Bloc as being an organisation of which “the persons in control have had associations with persons concerned in the government of States at war with His Majesty” and which was likely to be used for purposes prejudicial to the defence of British India, the public safety, the maintenance of public order and the efficient prosecution of the war.

6. After its proscription little or nothing was heard of the Forward Bloc as an all-India organisation or of the part that its members, as such, took in the 1942 Congress Rebellion. But there was clear evidence of important underground activities, in which they undoubtedly shared. In May 1943 certain intercepted correspondence in code revealed that plans had been made by a secret organisation of the All-India Forward Bloc to hold an important meeting in Bombay on the evening of May the 29th for the stated purpose of taking “decisive action”. According to the intercepted messages the intention was that the Forward Bloc should seize power on behalf of the Indian National Congress by taking advantage of the situation in Assam and Bengal, establishing contact with the Japanese, sabotaging the war effort and organising simultaneous uprisings in different parts of the country.
The Bombay police taking action on this information arrested in Bombay on May the 30th and 31st, nine Forward Bloc workers including Mukand Lal* Sarkar, the absconding ex-General Secretary of the Bloc. A large quantity of prejudicial literature was recovered and a number of other arrests effected as a result of the investigation. It became clear that the nucleus of an organisation had been set up to plot an armed revolt with the avowed object of assisting the enemy to invade India and of extending to the invading enemy every possible aid. These plans were nipped in the bud by the Bombay arrests and the organisation was disrupted in its infancy. Owing to the early stage at which this dangerous attempt was suppressed, insufficient evidence was forthcoming to launch a conspiracy case against the arrested persons but an individual prosecution was instituted and the remaining members of the conspiracy detained. After these arrests had been effected the All-India Forward Bloc virtually ceased to exist as an important organisation; although as explained elsewhere, Subhas Bose continued, under Japanese auspices, to send his agents into India and endeavoured to keep touch with them and his supporters, particularly in Bengal.

7. With the end of the war with Japan it was considered that there was no justification for continuing the ban, which was based on the activities of the Block as a supporter of the Japanese enemy. Provincial Governments were informed that the Central Government considered that the activities of the Bloc constituted a threat to public order or safety, then that Province could itself impose a ban under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. (Files 16/1/42, 94/23/41, 94/26/41, 44/26/45-Poll. (I) and IV/2/42-M.S.)

Home Department War Histories Part I [Political (Internal) Police and Jails, Public] Papers of Sir Richard Tottenham as Addl. Secretary, Govt. of India (Home Deptt.) 1940-45.
IOR Mss Eur F 161/29 (g)
From: C. in C., India.
To:— The War Office. Recd. 1210.29 Apr.44.
IMPORTANT: 75964/CSI (B) cipher 29 Apr.
SECRET

From D.M.I.

Continuation my 72920/GSI (B) dated 15 April 1944. Following summary internal India.

One, some increase in nervousness particularly in Eastern Areas on account of Japanese infiltration into Manipur but generally public morale has not been so greatly affected as might have been expected. Production Big Boi Oilfields unaffected. Circulation of rumours and listening to Japanese broadcasts still prevalent. Reactions to Bose's propaganda show more constructive tone and Government is criticised by moderate elements in Bihar for lack of serious attempts to counter false rumours and defeatist pro-Jap talk. So far however our policy of maintaining ban on reference to Bose and I.N.A. and refraining from any counter propaganda has been successful in denying Bose publicity he desires and has restrained interest in I.N.A. No indication yet of necessity of counter propaganda beyond that of GSI (Q) broadcasts and information given to troops. Only success of Japanese propaganda seems to lie in basis it provides for rumours and in maintenance where it already exists of anti-British sentiment and mistrust in British American ability to defeat Jap. Explosion in Bombay caused temporary local apprehension but immediate measures taken and public now fully reassured.

Two. Recent sporadic assaults by armed mobs North Bihar probably Congress inspired. Result of invitation to Master Tara Singh to resume leadership of Shiramani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee now awaited. Jinnah returned to Punjab to renew his efforts to liquidate Unionists Ministry. Premier's firm stand now resulted in breakdown in negotiations.

Three. Little change in food situation in Bengal. Governor's recent broadcast believed to have had good
effect in restoring confidence. Lack of confidence and apprehension as to possibility of famine recurring later in the year temporarily reinforced by withdrawal of famine relief troops. Damage to crops in North India by recent abnormal rains loss serious than originally thought.

Four. Coal shortage necessitated closure of blast furnace at Jamshedpur and some mills Bombay Province. Ahmedabad mill owners have warned authorities that production will suffer if coal not forthcoming.

Five. Dib agreed.

Six. Army morale unchanged. Troops in Imphal in very good heart despite withdrawls. AG agreed.

Too. 1050. FG.

C.6. (Telegrams).
HISTORY OF THE "I.N.A."

A brief Outline of Chapters 13-19.

These notes represent only a suggested rough outline of Chapters 13-19. These chapters in their final form may differ considerably from this outline.

Chapter 13
(Pencil draft enclosed)

"THE CRISIS AND THE DISSOLUTION OF THE 1ST I. N. A."
BEING WRITTEN NOW AND 90% COMPLETE

This Chapter is intended to cover the events leading up to the 'Crisis' and the final dissolution of the 1st I.N.A. main events are as under period September-December 42.

1st Sept. 42
Arrival of Mr. R. B. Bose in Singapore from Bangkok.

2-5 Sept. 42
First Council of Action meeting in Singapore. Captain Mohan Singh comes under strong criticism for creating a personal army of his own. Question of ratification of Bangkok Conference Resolutions also comes up. Col Iwakuru's letter—proves unsatisfactory—consequently on 5 Sept. another letter is written asking for an official reply from Japanese Government regarding acceptance of Bangkok Conference Resolutions. Subsequently the letter is withdrawn on Col Iwakuru's demand.

12th Oct. 42
Unpleasant interview between President I.I.L. Burma and head of Burma Branch Iwakuru Kikan.
Capt Mohan Singh agrees to and tentatively makes arrangements for the move of I.N.A. to Burma.

Nov.
Advance party leaves for Burma.

19th Nov. 42

26th Nov. 42
Japanese put forward Major Ogawa’s scheme for the training of civil volunteers. Scheme disliked by Capt Mohan Singh.

27th Nov. 42
Another letter drafted to Col. Iwakuru asking him to forward it to Imperial Japanese Govt.—subject—acceptance of Bangkok Resolutions and a formal declaration reg Japanese policy towards India.

28th Nov. 42
Letter sent to Col. Iwakuru who disapproved it strongly and asked the Council of Action to meet him on 1st Dec.

30th Nov.—1st Dec. 42
C of Action meets Iwakuru who refused to forward the letter.

1st Dec. 42
C of A refuses to send I.N.A. troops to Burma—serious situation—complete deadlock.

2-3-4th Dec. 42
Meetings between Capt Mohan Singh and Lt. Kuzika,
Major Ogawa, Col Iwakuru and Major Fujiwara regarding move of I.N.A. to Burma.
Deadlock remains
Raghvan resigns.

8 Dec. 42
Gill’s arrest—Mohan Singh, Gilani and Mennon resign.

10-21 Dec. 42
Correspondence between Captain Mohan Singh and Mr. Rash Behari Bose regarding I.N.A. officers meeting with Bose, Mohan Singh refuses to arrange this meeting, serious differences between the two.

21st Dec. 42
Mohan Singh issues a warning order about the dissolution of the I.N.A. Also sends a secret letter to all units and formations to be opened and acted upon in case he (Mohan Singh) is arrested, shot or deported and thus separated from the Army.

29th Dec. 42
Capt Mohan Singh dismissed from his post of G.O.C. I.N.A. under orders of Mr. Bose and arrested and removed to Pulao Ubirn a small island near Singapore—Mohan Singh’s secret orders opened, and obeyed in that all I.N.A. records, files, badges etc. were destroyed.
Thus the first I.N.A. came to its end exactly a year after Capt Mohan Singh’s final decision to raise an Army with the help of Japanese.

Briefly
Events after Capt Mohan Singh’s arrest—till surrender to the British authorities after Japanese surrender.
Chapter 14

Jan.-June 1943

This chapter will cover the period Jan.-June 43 i.e. between the dissolution of the 1st I.N.A. under Capt Mohan Singh and the arrival of Mr. S. C. Bose. Very briefly the main events to be incorporated are as under:

Feb. 1943

The I.N.A. in Singapore languished after Mohan Singh’s arrest and for all practical purposes all training and administrative activities of the former set-up of the I.N.A. came to a standstill. Mr. R. B. Bose, however, went on with his plans for the re-organisation of the I.N.A. and in this he got lot of help from Major J. K. Bhonsle, the immediate step was to set up an Administrative Committee in order to carry on the day to day administration of the I.N.A. This later led to the organisation of the

(i) Directorate of Military Bureau with Maj. Bhonsle as the Director and

(ii) H. Q. I. N. A. under W. Z. Kiani as the Army Commander with the rank of ‘Maj. Genl.’

Mr. R. B. Bose addressed various meetings of officers and men of the I.N.A. and made it clear that he did not want anybody in the I.N.A. who was not a genuine volunteer and gave everybody a choice to remain or resign from the I.N.A. This resulted in 4000 men breaking away from the I.N.A. thus leaving approximately 12000 men out of 16000 under Capt Mohan Singh.

In the next 4 months i.e. March-June 43 the efforts of Mr. R. B. Bose and others connected with the “I.N.A.” were directed towards the re-organisation and “political education” of the new volunteers. The latter generally took the form of holding meetings to commemorate various political events in India and holding of ceremonial parades, inspection and flag marches by the I.N.A. troops.
March 8 & 9 1943
On the 8th and 9th March the Army Commander inspected Guerrilla Regiments' S. S. Group, Field Force Group and Intelligence Group Units.

15 March 1943
The Director of Military Bureau similarly inspected the Units on the 15th of March and five days later the President of the Indian Independence League’s inspection followed.
The Army Commander gave a party on the occasion of Holi at which senior Japanese officers were also invited.

23 March 1943
On the 23rd a mass meeting to commemorate Bhagat Singh day was held where speeches were made by prominent personalities.

6 April–13 April 1943
Indian National week was observed when the Tricolour National flag of India was hoisted and prayers for the freedom of India were offered, patients in hospitals were visited. On the 13 April Jallian Wala Bagh day observed when one minute’s silence was observed for those who had lost their lives in this incident at Amritsar.

26 April 1943
Senior Japanese General Staff officers from Southern Region Japanese Army inspected the I.N.A. troops. Salute being taken by Mr. R. B. Bose who greatly appreciated the parade and the spirit of the troops.

10 May 1943
A rally was held on 10th May 43 to commemorate the Indian Mutiny of 1857 which was largely attended by I.N.A. troops and public.
9 June 1943
A club for officers of the I.N.A. was opened and on the 29 June another Mass meeting was held to express gratitude and appreciation to Japan for Japanese Premier General Tojo's declaration concerning complete Independence for India.

2 July 1943
Mr. S. C. Bose arrives in Singapore from Japan and is received by leaders of the I. I. League.

4 July
Mass meeting of Indians in Singapore held at which Mr. R. B. Bose offered the leadership of the Indian Independence League and Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose accepted it—(interesting proceedings of the ceremony).
Meetings between Mr. S. C. Bose and Capt Mohan Singh.

Chapter 15
July-Dec. 43
Reorganisation of INA
This Chapter introduces briefly Mr. S. C. Bose. His past political activities, escape to Germany and Italy—His activities in Germany and raising of the 950 Regt—trip to Japan by submarine—in detail the formation of "Provisional Government of India". Declaration of War against Britain and America—Training of INA during this period and despatch of some Units to Burma.

Briefly
1. Mr. S. C. Bose his Political career to provide an introduction.
2. His escape to Germany through Afghanistan—so far as facts are known.
3. Activities in Germany and the formation of 950 Regt (Details in an appendix form as this formed the counterpart of INA in the West).
4. Journey to Penang and Japan.
5. Arrival in Singapore.

5/6 July 1943
9 July 1943

Mr. Bose reviewed the INA troop at a mass rally held on 5th July and addressed the troops and took the salute. (Interesting details available). This in fact was a prereview for the more impressive review held next day i.e. on 6th July when the Japanese Premier General Tojo and various other high ranking officers also were present. General Tojo took the salute and later addressed the troops. In other to contact the civilians a mass rally probably the biggest rally held by Indians in Singapore was held on the 9th July—this was addressed by Mr. S. C. Bose wherein he asked for total mobilisation of men, money and material from Indians in East Asia. There was very good response from the Public.

22 July 1943

Mr. Bose addressed the INA officers and men at Bidadari on 22nd July and outlined his idea on the future INA and as to what he wanted of it and its men. The same day in the evening he addressed troops in Neesoon.

15 Aug 1943

Another mass rally was held on the 15 August to commemorate “Quit India” day. The rally was attended by a Burmese Mission and Thailand representative who also addressed those present.

24 Aug 1943

Mr. S. C. Bose again addressed INA officers and men and stressed that he wanted only patriotic volunteers in the INA. Anybody who wished to leave was told to do so but those who remained with INA were expected to make great sacrifices.
25 Aug 1943
And on 25th August Mr. S. C. Bose took over direct command of the INA and issued his Special Order of that day.
The Directorate of the Military Bureau was now named “Headquarters Supreme Command INA” and the Headquarters Indian National Army was redesignated Headquarters No. 1 Division INA.

2nd Oct 1943
A mass meeting attended by INA troops was held to celebrate Mahatma Gandhi’s birthday anniversary on 2nd Oct. 1943.

21st Oct 1943
At a largely attended Indian Independence League Conference held at Cathey Buildings on 21 Oct—Mr. S. C. Bose declared the formation of the Provisional Govt. of India and issued its first Proclamation. Named the personnel of the Government and took the oath of allegiance to the Provisional Govt in the name of God. This was followed by oath of allegiance by ministers (Details available). The first meeting of the Cabinet took place at 2100 hrs. same day.
Mr. S. C. Bose opened a training camp for the Rani of Jhansi Regt (Women’s Regt) available details about Rani of Jhansi Regt).

23rd Oct 1943
PGI was formally recognised by the Imperial Govt. of Japan. Islands of Andamans and Nicobar also ceded to it, as its territory.
PGI declares war on Britain and USA.

24th Oct 1943
Another review of the INA, and troops addressed by Mr. S. C. Bose.

Training
During the year 1943 the Japanese assisted training of
the INA troops and took special interest in the training of Special Service and Intelligence Group men. Mr. S. C. Bose on his arrival reorganised the INA—secured an unlimited ceiling for recruitment and initiated a large programme of training schools and Centres. Civilian volunteers flocked to join the INA—1943 was thus a year of training for the INA whose strength was then about

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Towards the end of the year 1943 the INA Units began to move to Burma. In Burma throughout 1943 there was nothing but frontier patrolling and skirmishing. Small groups of trained INA men took part in recce parties and sent out small propaganda parties. Took no part in real fighting.

Chapter 16

1944-45

I.N.A. IN ACTIVE OPERATIONS 1944

This Chapter is intended to cover the part played by the 2nd I.N.A. in the active operations in 1944, and also to briefly cover the activities of the P.G.I. during the year—1944. This will also include ‘finances’, ‘Azad Hind Dal’—‘relations with the Japanese during this period’, ‘Q’ arrangements” and such other allied subjects.

1944 was the year planned for Japanese all-out offensive. Unfortunately for them owing to the earlier I.N.A. crises and the consequent discontinuation in the training in 1944 the I.N.A. was still an embryonic organisation only. By early 1944 only the 1st Division was fully trained. It was commanded by M. Z. Kiani and was composed of approximately 12600 men and consisted of
H. Q. 1 Div
4 Guerrilla Regts
M. T. Coy
'SS' Group
'I' Group
Rft Group
Rear details.

Early 1944
March 1944
Japanese offensive opens with unsuccessful drive in Arakan and is followed by advances on Kohima, Imphal and Tiddim. Activities of ‘Maghar’, ‘Ajmer’ and ‘Malik’ “Butais”.

April-May 1944
I.N.A. Guerrilla Regts arrive in Tamu Area and allotted role as independent Regts.

May 44
2/3 May fighting for Palel landing strip between I.N.A. troops and Gurkhas. This is the first recorded and concerted action in which I.N.A. troops took part.

May-June 44
Bose Regts activities in Kaladan against the West Africans. 2 and 3 Bn Bose Regt under Capt Shah Nawaz—activities in the Falam Area in Chin hills.

July 44
Withdrawal starts—Campaign Mar-July 44 generally a failure.
Bose represents to the Japanese Govt. and is able to secure greater independence and autonomy for the I.N.A. Supreme Command. Result being that in 1945 Campaign I.N.A. Regt took independent command of Sectors and not as sub Units of Japanese Units.
'Azad Hind Dal' under Capt. Ehsan Qadir its formation and training as a civil administration organisation.
Administration of Andaman and Nicobar Islands and complications there.

Chapter 17
To cover the outstanding events of 1945 and partly 44, Formation and training of 2nd Division INA and its move to Burma. Pause between the two campaigns and reorganisation of No. 1 Div after its withdrawal. Campaign of 1945—and final surrender.

Jul 44—Feb 45
Withdrawal and reorganisation of 1st Division INA—Move of Units of 2nd Division INA to Burma—These Units were:

- 5 Guerrilla Regt (later 2nd Inf Regt) 2,000
- Hind Field Force Group 2,000
- HQ 2 Div 400
- Misc Units 2,000
- I.N.A. A.A. Coys 1,000

7,400

Thus in early February 45 the INA set up on the front line was:

- 4 Guerrilla Regts
- 2 Infantry Regts
- 1 Infantry Regt
- Remnants 1st Division.

15 Feb 45
First action fought Pakokku area. 2 Inf Regt reach Mount Popa Area to where the INA Units withdrew.

End Feb 45
2nd Inf Regt set up Headquarters at Mount Popa. Desertion of 5 Staff Officers of 2nd Div. Bose inaugurate "Hate Week" against deserters.
15 March 45
Action fought at village Kunywa. INA troops stand their ground well against Gurkhas and British tanks. The “charge of the immortals”.

15-16 March
Night attack on village Pyinbyin.

16 March
Hand to hand action at village Sade. I.N.A. troops fought well.

25 March 45
Another attack on Pyinbyin by 2 Inf Regt.

26-31 March 45
Skirmishes at Mount Popa and Seiktein.

30 March 45
The biggest pitched battle of the I.N.A. Campaign. Three Battalions took part and stood allied shelling and mortar shelling very well.

4 April
Desertions—and subsequent withdrawal to Magwe via Yenangyaung—No more pitched battles. I.N.A. in Burma had shot its bolt.

X Regt.—formation in action. Bulk of its 2/3 Bn reach Bangkok.
Surrender—in Rangoon
Surrender—in Singapore.
With the above will be incorporated the details of the story of evacuation of Rangoon and departure of Mr. Bose and Rani of Jhansi Regt girls.

Chapter 18
To cover the last movements of Mr. Bose and Steps taken to interrogate and repatriate the surrendered INA men to India—Last days of INA in Singapore. Details to be put in after research.
Chapter 19
Policy regarding disposal of INA—Court Martial—Charges and sentences etc. and general disposal of I.N.A. men.
Details to be put in after research.
SIR R. TOTTENHEM'S COMMENT ON BOSE'S RE-ELECTION AS CONGRESS PRESIDENT AND GANDHI'S ROLE.

At the beginning of 1938 he (Nehru) was succeeded by an even more extreme figure, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. Mr. Bose had been arrested in January, 1932, because of his association with the terrorists in Bengal and not because of the support he had been giving to the civil disobedience movement. He had been allowed to go to Europe for reasons of health about a year later and while he was in that country there were clear indications that he favoured mass revolutionary action. He had, therefore, been warned that, if he returned to India, he would not be allowed to remain at liberty. In 1936 he disregarded the warning, returned and was arrested, and after a short period in Poona Jail he was removed to the house of his brother, Sarat Chandra Bose, at Kurseong.

During the remainder of 1938 it became clear on more than one occasion that Mr. Gandhi and the Congress President did not see eye to eye; but at the beginning of 1939 the re-election of Mr. Subhas Bose as President threw the Congress world into confusion. It had been the accepted practice for some years for the nominee of Mr. Gandhi to become President without a contest. On this occasion three candidates were nominated by the electors, of whom Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was regarded as the "Official" candidate. Some days before the poll he resigned in favour of Mr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Mr. Subhas Bose, who might not have stood against the Maulana, refused to leave the field to Mr. Sitaramayya, in spite of a personal appeal from Mr. Gandhi. He was eventually elected by a majority of about 200 in a poll of about 3,000, whereupon Mr. Gandhi announced that Mr. Bose's victory was a defeat for himself and indicated that he and his followers in the Working Committee, the Provincial Ministries and the Congress Party would be willing to leave the party and surrender the field to Mr. Bose and his faction. The latter was thus placed in a
dilemma, for he was well aware that he could achieve little without Mr. Gandhi's support. Mr. Gandhi himself also had to recover the ground temporarily lost by the Congress right wing and it was expected that he would do so by concentrating on the campaign which had been under way for some time against the Indian States thus diverting attention from domestic difficulties. But no one foresaw the sensational course which he actually followed. This was the famous Rajkot fast unto death . . ." On February 22nd, 1939, the Congress Working Committee had ceased to exist; twelve of the sixteen members announced their resignation in a joint letter which invited the President to choose his own cabinet and follow his own policy, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru issued a long statement attacking Mr. Subhas Bose. In this state of affairs, and with the limelight concentrated on Rajkot, the Congress session at Tripuri began on March 7th—the same day as that on which Mr. Gandhi's fast was broken. Mr. Bose purported to be ill and attended the session on a stretcher. The main resolution, which was carried in the subjects committee by 218 votes to 135 and in the open session without division, affirmed adherence to Mr. Gandhi's policies and programme and expressed confidence in the work of the defunct Working Committee in accordance with the wishes of the Mahatma. Mr. Gandhi and the Congress President were unable to agree on the personnel of the new committee and on April 29th Mr. Subhas Bose resigned his Office. Such was the revenge taken by the Congress dictator on one who, exactly three months before, had been duly and democratically elected, but in defiance of his wishes, to the post of a Congress President.

Is it, or is it not, a fact that none of the efforts of Mr. Gandhi and his followers has ever been successful or led to any tangible results except turmoil, disorder, violence and suffering? . . .

Quite apart from politics and even in fields in which
Mr. Gandhi has enjoyed full liberty of action without any official opposition—the fields, for instance, of communal unity, untouchability, prohibition and even spinning—has Mr. Gandhi ever carried to completion any task to which he has set his hand? Has he not taken everyone of these projects to a certain point and then left them unfinished?

It has been said that Mr. Gandhi is a hundred years ahead of his time. That may be so. Only the passage of century can tell. If it is so, it is equally true that a man so far in advance of the times is likely to be of no greater use as a practical leader of affairs in the work a day world in which we live than one who is no less behind them. What is wanted in India to-day is a young man, or a set of young men, possessed of vision without being visionaries; young men who can take a realistic view of things as they are, who can combine constancy with the courage to compromise when compromise is necessary....


Readers may like to read S. C. Bose’s writing, “The Role of Mahatma Gandhi in Indian History”, published in *The Indian Struggle, 1920-34*. 
Men at India Office

Miles John Clauson: Acting Principal, Public & Judicial Department, India Office. (Also author of the Minute on Bose dated 15 December, 1932 at IOR file p. 191).

Sir Samuel Hoare: Secretary of State for India from August 1931 to June 1935.

Marquess of Zetland: Secretary of State for India after Samuel Hoare till May 1940.

Sir Samuel Findlater Stewart: Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India from 1930-1942.

Roland Tennyson Peel: Acting Assistant Secretary (i.e. acting head) of the Public & Judicial Department Between 1931-1937.

Earl Winterton: Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India from March 1922 to January 1924 and November 1924 to June 1929.

Sir Arthur Hirtzel: Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India appointed on 12 June 1924.

Sir Vernon Dawson: Resigned from the I.C.S. in 1921. Principal, India Office from April 1921 till appointed Asst. Secretary, Public & Judicial Department April 1930, Joint secretary of British delegation to Indian round-table conference 1930 to 1932, retired from services March 1941.

Wilfred Johnston: Principal, India Office, from June 1929 till appointed Acting Asst. Secretary, Burma office February 1939.

Sir Stewart Kelson Brown: Assistant Under-Secretary of State December 1934, retired from services January 1942.


I.P.I.: Indian Political Intelligence, India Office.