CHAPTER IV
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SUBHAS BOSE'S ACTIVITIES IN EUROPE (1933-36)

Bose arrived in Vienna on 8 March, 1933 and three days after he entered Dr. Fuerth's Sanatorium for treatment. His immediate concern was to improve his health which was shattered during the previous fourteen months. As soon as he felt stronger physically he began to take active interest in his new surroundings and tried to establish contacts with people in Europe who had sympathetic leanings towards nationalist movements in India. During his four years' exile in Europe he was also shadowed by the local police at the request of British authorities,\(^1\) or by the agents of the British Government.\(^2\)

Bose was among the few men in India, who realised the value of propaganda abroad.\(^3\) Bose met a leading Indian politician, former President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, who was also in Europe for medical treatment. Vithalbhai Patel also shared his interest in promoting international goodwill for India's nationalist aspirations.\(^4\)

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1. Government of India, Home Department, Political, File No.27/13/36, National Archives of India, New Delhi.
3. Bose had discussed this issue in his very first letter in 1922 from Cambridge to C.R.Das, who wanted to organise an "Asiatic League" for that purpose.
4. Vithalbhai Patel was so convinced of the need of international contacts that when he died he left his money in a Will, to Bose so that he might carry on anti-British campaign in foreign countries.
SUSPENSION OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

After some months of Bose's arrival in Europe, he received the news of sudden suspension of Civil Disobedience Movement. As many as 120000 persons including several thousand women, were arrested and imprisoned during fifteen months till March 1933. But Gandhi's attention was now focussed on the untouchability campaign. Gandhi announced that he would start a three-week fast, that would have nothing to do with civil disobedience, but would be solely directed against the existence of untouchability in Indian Society.1 The government set him free so that they would not be held responsible in case the worst happened to him during the fast. On 8 May, the same day of his release, Gandhi issued a statement calling upon the Congress President to suspend the civil disobedience campaign for six weeks.2

Bose reacted strongly, he remembered the grave damage caused to the freedom struggle by the abrupt withdrawal of the non-co-operation movement by Gandhi eleven years earlier, and feared similar consequences again. According to him, "If the Delhi Pact ... was

1. Government thought that there may be definite advantages in Gandhi getting involved in untouchability. It would rouse strong feeling on both sides and would divert attention from strictly political issues and civil disobedience; D.A. Low, "Civil Martial Law", the Government of India and the Civil Disobedience Movement", D.A. Low, Ed. Congress and the Raj, p.183.
a blunder, the surrender of May, 1933, is a calamity of the first magnitude. According to the principles of political strategy, at a time when the new constitution for India is under discussion the maximum pressure should have been brought to bear on the government by strengthening of the civil disobedience movement at this critical hour; the work, the suffering and the sacrifice of the nation for the last thirteen years have been virtually undone ... suspension of the civil disobedience campaign for one month means virtually a permanent suspension because mass movements cannot be created overnight.

On 9 May, 1933, Bose issued a public statement from Vienna jointly with Vithalbhai Patel denouncing Gandhi's leadership and calling for a radical organisation of the congress and an alternate militant leadership. Ten years of bitter struggle from 1920 to 1930 against Britain by non-violent non-co-operation had produced very meagre results and both Patel and Bose had come to the conclusion that in order to give a new impulsion to the nationalist movement, new methods had to be evolved. The joint statement said:

"The time has therefore come for a radical reorganisation of the congress on a new principle and with a new method. For bringing about this reorganisation a change of leadership is necessary, for it

would be unfair to Mahatma Gandhi to expect him to evolve or work a programme and method not consistent with his life-long principles. If the Congress as a whole can undergo the transformation, it would be the best course. Failing that, a new party will have to be formed within the Congress composed of all the radical elements.¹

Since at that time Gandhi was on a fast and the public was preoccupied with his health, the manifesto did not produce desired effect.²

Bose's passport was not endorsed for Germany and England, so he wrote to the Secretary of State for India requesting extension of his passport facilities to these two countries. The India Office did not want him to visit London and Berlin:

"The objections to his visiting Berlin or London are well-known; both are centres of Indian youth, inflammable material liable to be led into extremist paths. He is, of course, a very experienced organiser, and his presence among the more or less unorganised or disorganised students in England and Germany would be likely to be very undesirable.


2. Subhas Chandra Bose, The Indian Struggle, p.291. Even Bose's friends thought it as an outrageous act to criticise the Mahatma when his life was in danger, because of the fast.
At the same time, subversive activities are for obvious reasons at so low an ebb in Germany that if Bose has to pay a visit, this may be the least bad moment for the purpose.

Therefore, it might be best to say straightway that Bose can go to Germany and leave it at that.¹

On 8 May the India office authorised the grant of passport facilities to only Germany. Bose was invited to preside over the third Indian Political Conference in London in June 1933. But he was not allowed to visit Britain² and his address was read in absentia in Blackfriars Hall, London. This address was a milestone in his developing Political Philosophy. In it he made an analysis of India's freedom struggle and mooted the establishment of a new party called the "Samyavadi Sangh".³

In his speech Bose said that there could be no compromise between Britain and India because there were no common interests between these two countries. From the economic standpoint, India was a supplier of raw materials and a consumer of British manufactures.

1. P. & J. 1208 (L/P&J/7/792) India Office Records, quoted in Mihir Bose, The Lost Hero, p. 93.
2. Bose to Mrs. Wood, 7-6-1933, Woods collection of letters, private papers of S.C. Bose, N.A.I, New Delhi, also Bose's letter to Ashoke Bose, 28-5-1933 in Asokenath Bose, My Uncle Netaji, p.80. One official noted, "The withholding of an endorsement for the U.K. is nothing but bluff. Any holder of a British Passport is admitted to this country," P&J/1589/33 (L/P&J/7/792), India Office Records.
3. This speech has been reprinted in "Fundamental Questions of Indian Revolution (Calcutta, 1970), pp.1-32.
In India Britain was a well-fortified alien fortress surrounded by the great mass of people. The fortress could not survive if people turned hostile. The Congress had succeeded in winning over the sympathy and support of the population living round the fortress. For the next stage of the campaign these two steps were required: a complete economic blockage and armed assault. The Congress policy had ruled armed assault, but it had not even applied economic blockage.¹

Bose proposed the formation of a new party called the Samyavacri Sangh. This would be a centralised and well-disciplined all India party working amongst every section of the community. This party would have its representatives working in the Indian National Congress, in the All-India Trade Union Congress, in the peasants' organisation, in the women's organisations, in the youth organisations, in the sectarian or communal organisations, if necessary. It would stand for political independence of India. It would first fight the British, then fight to establish a free India on the basis of the principles of justice, equality and freedom.²

The Government of India was at once alarmed

2. ibid. pp.30-32.
at this speech:

"The question for consideration now is whether it might be preferable to take this opportunity of allowing Bose to proclaim himself an advocate of armed revolution, or whether it is better to stamp on him and his new organisation with both feet at this and every other opportunity. Personally I think it will be better not to do what Bose himself would prefer that we should do. I think that if government were to allow a publication of this Presidential address, its action would appear inexplicable to all those who have been made acquainted with Bose's designs and intentions in connection with the formation of the 'Samyavadi Sangh'. In all the above circumstances, I recommend that the Presidential address be banned under the Sea Customs Act."

The speech was banned by the Government of India.

Bose spent some months in Geneva to study the organisation of the League of Nations and to explore the possibility of utilising it for the cause of India's freedom. He also worked with the International Committee on India which had its headquarters in Geneva and also helped in the publication of a monthly bulletin on India.


2. Towards the end of his stay in Geneva, Bose realised that the machinery of the League of Nations was controlled fully by Britain and France and that it was impossible to utilise the League for India's liberty, though India was an original member of that body. Subhas Chandra Bose, the Indian Struggle, p. 365.
He was of the opinion that unless India developed international contacts, Indian nationalist movement would not come out of its then static position and would not become a factor in international affairs. He visited practically every country in Europe. Wherever he went he tried to learn about the political systems, and the social values. All the time by personal contacts, correspondence, newspaper interviews, articles, Bose tried to create in the people of Europe an interest in the Indian National movement and to win their sympathy and moral support for the struggle for freedom carried on by the Congress.

In Vienna, he established an Austrian-Indian Society, there he met diplomatic representatives of many countries at functions organised by Austrian-Indian Society.

Bose visited the neighbouring countries of Austria-Czechoslovakia and Poland, who showed a great deal of sincere understanding of the struggle for national independence by the Indian people. He went to Czechoslovakia to continue his treatment at the spas

1. Bose described his trips in letters to Asokenath Bose, My Uncle Netaji, pp.81-96. Some of his writings during his exile were published in 1947, in Impressions in Life.


of Karlovyvary (Kanskabad). While there he often visited Prague where he held political discussions with Dr. Benea, who was then Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia. Bose studied the famous Czech youth movement "Sokol". He acquainted himself with the history of Czechoslovakia Legion which was created during the first world war outside Czechoslovakia with the support of Great Britain and Russia to fight for the liberation of that country from Austrian domination. Though the efforts of Bose, the Czechoslovak-Indian Association was brought into existence in 1934 with Prof. Lesney, the well-known Indologists and one time Professor at Visvambari, as the President.¹

In Prague, British Vice-Consul raised no objection to Bose's travel to Poland. The Polish Consul General in Prague gave Bose personal letters of introduction to important personalities who informed him about the military training of the Polish Legion in Japan during the First world war to liberate their country then under Russian domination.²

Bose was no doubt impressed by the achievements of the dictators in their countries. He was interested to know how Hitler and Mussolini had succeeded in

¹ Misaoalav Krasa, Subhas Chandra Bose, and Indo-Czech Relations (Calcutta, 1971).
creating such extraordinary consciousness amongst the German and Italian masses.

In July 1933, Bose arrived in Berlin with "hopes that the new German nations which had arisen to a consciousness of its national strength and self-respect, would instinctively feel a deep sympathy for other nations struggling in the same directions". ¹ He was received by Lothar Frank in the name of Indo-German Society. ² Bose wanted to speak Hitler to convince him of his entirely wrong judgment of the Indian people and their fight for freedom. He particularly wanted to persuade him to expurgate derogatory remarks on India in the new edition of his book "Mein Kampf". ³

2. -ibid- p.50.
3. Hitler wrote in his book 'Mein Kampf': "England will never lose India unless she admits racial disruptions in the machinery of her administration or unless she is overcome by the sword of some powerful enemy. But Indian risings will never bring this about. We Germans have had sufficient experience to know how hard it is to coerce England ... and as a German would far rather see India under British domination than under that of any other nation". Adolf Hitler: Mein Kampf, translated by James Murphy, Indian Edition, (New Delhi, 1966), p. 536.
Bose believed that if he succeeded in it he would have won some political advantage. He made untiring efforts through the officials of the German Foreign Office and office of the Chancellor to meet Hitler. But his efforts proved abortive.¹

Cases of maltreatment of Indian students in Germany and Goering’s vociferous attacks on Indian national movement, particularly against Gandhi (an interview of Goering published in Daily Mail of 20 Feb. 1934) shocked Bose profoundly.² He, therefore, requested from the German authorities an official clarification of their attitude towards India in a letter of 5 April, 1934.³ Bose also called at Foreign Ministry to protest against such irresponsible remarks. On 28 March, 1934,⁴ in another letter addressed in December, 1937, to the German Foreign Ministry, he listed seven demands, the first two of which stipulated that “there should be an apology for Hitler’s recent attack on India.”⁵

1. Milan Hauner writes, "None of the Nazi leaders except perhaps Rosenberg would agree to see him. Instead, the Nazi leaders preferred to meet influential British politicians, journalists, or, in exceptional cases, those Indians who appeared to be reliable pillars of the Empire like the Aga Khan. Milan Hauner, India’s Independence and Axis Powers, Sirir K. Bose, Ed., Netaji & India’s Freedom, (Calcutta, 1975), p.273.


5. Hitler, while addressing the German students organisation at Munich in early 1936, glorifying the white races in general and the German race in particular, talked of the destiny of white races to rule the world.
and Goering's previous attack on Mahatma Gandhi and that hostile statements about India in Rosenberg's book the "Mythos of the Twentieth Century" should be withdrawn.¹

Though the well-known daily of the National Socialist Party, the 'Volkischer Beobachter' wrote in an issue of July 1933 that "Germany had no interest whatsoever in the internal affairs of India,"² Bose tried to establish contact with the Foreign Policy Section of the National Socialist Party in order to persuade it to arrange a meeting with Hitler. Through such contacts Bose came to know about the methods of the National Socialist Party organisation.

Bose was also interested to study about the conditions of the Indians in Berlin. There was an "Indian Information Office" which was established in 1929 on Jawaharlal Nehru's advice by A.C.N. Nambiar. When Hitler came to power in 1933 along with other organisations Indian Information Office was also suspended and Nambiar was ordered to leave Germany.³ Bose protested against Nambiar's arrest.⁴ Later during

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². Alfred Rosenberg, Nazi Germany's Philosopher, who was credited with great insight into Indian culture, was convinced that from the 'Nordic as well as German point of view the British rule in India must be supported'.
³. Milan Hauner, India's Independence & the Axis Powers, p.268.
⁴. Dr. Johannes H. Voigt, Relations Between the Indian National Movement & Germany, 1870-1945, pp.8-9.
the world war II Nambiar was chosen by Bose as his first deputy in charge of Indian propaganda and then his successor as the head of the Free India Centre in Berlin.

Bose was in Munich towards the end of 1935, where he met Dr. Frank Thierfelder, Director of the German Academy in Munich, and both became very good friends. Thierfelder's efforts to make arrangements for the interviews of important German leaders could not succeed.

Bose tried his best to modify the German Government's policy towards India. But he was deeply pained at the racial discrimination practised by the Nazis, he left Germany in disgust and expressed this feeling in a letter to Dr. Thierfelder: "Today I regret that I have to return to India with the conviction that the new nationalism of Germany is not only narrow and selfish but arrogant... The new racial philosophy which has a very weak scientific foundation, stands for the glorification of the white races in general and the German race in particular.

1. Girija Mookerjee, Subhas Chandra Bose, p. 70.
2. It is true that since the National Socialists came to power there was a certain amount of sympathy shown for India in the German Press because of the anti-British stance of the Nazis. But it did not result in any positive action because of their strong racialist policy. Bose, Werth & Ayer, A Beacon Across Asia, p. 51.
Herr Hitler has talked of the destiny of the white races to rule over the rest of the world. But the historical fact is that up till now the Asiatics have dominated Europe more than have the Europeans dominated Asia ... I am saying this not because I stand for the domination of one people by another, but simply because I want to point out that it is historically false to say that Europe and Asia should not be at peace with one another ... But I am still prepared to work for an understanding between Germany and India. This understanding must be consistent with our national self-respect. When we are fighting the greatest empire in the world for our freedom and for our rights and when we are confident of our ultimate success, we cannot brook any insult from any other nation or any attack on our race or culture.¹

Lothar Frank is correct in his observation that "even such policy of Nazis and ambivalence of Hitler's towards Britain did not deter Bose from trying to persuade the German government to adopt an anti-British attitude and to help the Indian freedom movement shows how mistaken he was in the beginning as to the true nature of the Nazis. And it can be said that in this lay a part of the tragedy of Subhas Bose in so far as his relations with the Germans were concerned."²

¹ Bose to Dr. Theirfelder, 25-3-1936, Bose, Werth & Ayer, A Beacon Across Asia, Appendix, pp. 258-260.
² -ibid- p.55
Bose was specially attracted by founder of Modern Turkey, Kamal Ataturk's success in swiftly modernizing a backward oriental country. He thought India and Turkey had many problems common and he wanted to apply in India some of the cultural, social and administrative solutions which Turkey had found necessary for modernising the country. 1

Bose also visited Italy sometimes for short and sometimes for longer period. 2 He made an extensive study of Italian freedom movement. In his conversations with his friends in Europe, he often referred to the writings of Mazzini. Bose was interested to know about the underground organisation known as 'Carbonieri' which came into existence in South Italy at the time of the Vienna Congress. He was also interested in Italians method of propaganda for national freedom.

Bose addressed a meeting of the Asiatic students Conference in Rome in 1933. He also attended the opening of Italian Oriental Institute in Rome which was inaugurated by Mussolini. 3 Unlike the

1. Bose, Werth & Ayer, A Beacon Across Asia, P.66, Loother Frank observes that the experiences of Kamal Ataturk strengthened Bose's belief that the new nation could only be built by a political party when it embodied the unity and determination of the entire people.

2. In Italy Bose also asked people to boycott English merchandise and to make purchases from other States of the world, in the connection of his anti-British propaganda. Government of India, Home Department, Political, File No.27/6/35, N.A.I., New Delhi.

Germans, Italians were eager to welcome Bose. Much of this was due to the efforts of Dr. Gino Scarpa, who, as Italian Consul-General in Calcutta, had developed close contacts with Bose and other Congress leaders. Dr. Scarpa was now connected with the Foreign Office and with his help Bose had no problems in meeting Mussolini.¹

In 1937 when Bose met Mussolini, he asked Bose if he wanted to liberate India by reforms or revolution. When Bose made it clear that he preferred revolutionary methods, Mussolini asked if he had a plan. Bose replied it was too early for a detailed plan and Mussolini disagreed at once, and said that India's revolutionary fight for its liberation would take place in the coming war, which might break out in a matter of months. It was essential for Bose to have a plan.²

In 1938, Bose undertook another journey to Europe and when he met Mussolini again, the latter asked if he had finalised any plan. Bose met Mussolini twice in the same year and later exhorted him to organise resistance against the British movement on the break of World War and assured him full support.

in such an eventuality. Bose took this advice to heart and repeated it to frinds later.

During the period of his exile in Europe Bose also spoke on Indian Culture and civilization. He also visited municipal institutions in Berlin, Dublin and Vienna to seek knowledge of the municipal affairs.

Ireland, of all the European countries, was probably the one most vitally interested in Indian independence. Ireland had, like India, suffered under British domination and asserted its independence by an open revolt. Bose had been planning to go to Ireland for a long time. The Irish Free State Legation at Berlin had granted him a visa in 1934. But he had then still been hoping to visit England, and he was convinced that a visit to Ireland would spoil his chances. When this hope had vanished, he applied for a visa. After some initial difficulty, Bose arrived in Ireland on 1 February 1936. His visit

5. The Irish Justice Department consulted the India Office, then disregarded its advice not to allow Bose into Ireland. *Govt. of India, Home Deptt., Political, File No.44/66/ 343, N.A.I., New Delhi.*
to Ireland was welcomed whole-heartedly by all political parties regardless of their differences in internal matters. It provides a lot of encouragement to the activities of India-Irish Independence League, which had been doing very good work in to common Indo-Irish cause.

Its President was the legendary first lady of Irish revolution Madam Maud Gonne MacBride. Bose was accorded a reception by the India-Irish Independence League in Dublin. He had discussions with the Ministers, he visited the offices of the Irish Press, exchanged views with the leaders of the Sinn Fein. He highly valued de Velera's experience in the fight against the British. He had three meetings with de Velera. Bose expressed his admiration for the national heroes of Ireland and de Velera sent his good wishes through Bose to the freedom fighters of India. Bose wrote a number of letters and articles to the Irish papers on the oppressive measures of the British imperialists in India. He also planned to

3. Details of Bose's visit to Ireland are found in the Wood's collection, Vol.II, N.A.I.
publish a monthly bulletin in Ireland on India in English, French and German languages.\(^1\) He was disappointed to know that the leaders of the Congress had rejected his plan for methodical propaganda in foreign countries on behalf of the Congress.

It is not known as yet why Bose did not go to U.S.S.R. during his sojourn in Europe. Hugh Toye is of the opinion that he had been invited to Russia and was anxious to make a visit to that country. He was also willing to accept any help she could offer against the British. But he did not visit Russia because of dissuasion by Vithalbhai Patel, who thought that any link with that Communist country would hamper Bose's utility to India.\(^2\)

But there is no clear evidence of Russia's invitation to Bose. In one record of Bose's meeting to French Philosopher Romain Rolland in April 1935, there is no mention of any invitation by Russia previously. Bose regarded the Soviet Union as an anti-imperialist power and he felt that her leaders would be eager to help liberation movement in India which would be keeping with their professed ideology. He was ever prepared to accept any help. Rather he

was sad at the indifferences shown by the Soviet leaders towards world revolution.

This has been recorded by Romain Rolland in his diary. "Bose declares that he would certainly not see any harm in the U.S.S.R. helping India to gain her independence, and his complaint against the U.S.S.R. is, that they seem to have lost interest today in the world revolution to concentrate on their national politics". ¹

Actually, Bose was intended to go to Moscow from Warsaw in July, 1933, but the Soviet Government for reasons best known to them did not grant him the necessary Visa. ² Bose was not able to visit Soviet Union during his sojourn in Europe and had no opportunity of making personal contact with leading men in the Kremlin have left a big question mark in the history.

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² Asokenath Bose, My Uncle Netaji, p. 81. According to the C.P.I. leader Hiren Mukerjee, "the Soviet leaders did not like to create a feeling of animosity among the French and the British imperialists by encouraging revolutions in India as in that event the Nazi Germany and Imperialist Britain and France might have combined against the young Socialist State. The foreign politics of the Soviet Union during the thirties clearly show that in the sphere of international politics she acted like other nation state using foreign policy as an instrument to serve her own end". Hiren Mukerjee, Bow of Burning Gold, (New Delhi, 1977, p.
While in Europe, Bose did a good deal of writing. He wrote two books "The Indian Struggle" and his unfinished autobiography, "An Indian Pilgrim". He also wrote a number of essays that are collected in "Through Congress Eyes". "The Indian Struggle" is Bose's effort to give his version of the recent political history of India and his assessment of the nationalist movement both to outsiders and to Indians.\(^1\) The book was originally published in Europe and was banned in India for some years.\(^2\)

When Bose was writing "The Indian Struggle" he was greatly assisted by Miss Emilie Schenkl whom he had come to know shortly after his arrival in Europe and who was made by him his permanent Secretary abroad. Miss Schenkl had taken a lively interest in all the works of Bose in Europe. And when during the II World War he organised the Free India Centre in Germany between 1941 and 1943, she joined him. Mutual trust and close comradeship brought them nearer to each other and in February 1942 Bose married her.

Bose's personal experience in Europe convinced him of the need for systematic propaganda abroad for Indian freedom, "there is a colossal ignorance about

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\(^1\) This book was published by a London Publisher in January 1935 and was banned in India until 1937.

\(^2\) Government of India proscribed "The Indian Struggle" on the ground that it tended generally to encourage methods of terrorism or direct action". Govt. of India, Home Department, (Political), File No. 22/29/35, N.A.I., New Delhi.
India - but at the same time there is a general feeling of sympathy for, and interest in India. This sympathy can easily be enlarged and developed, if necessary steps are taken from our side.¹ He further observed "History teaches us that for enslaved and suppressed nations especially for those that eschew the path of violence - the sympathy of the civilized world is absolutely necessary, and in order to win that sympathy, propaganda has to be undertaken".²

Bose outlined the three-fold objective of Indian propaganda abroad: (1) to counteract false propaganda about India; (2) to enlighten the world about the true conditions obtaining in India; and (3) to acquaint the world with the positive achievements of the Indian people in every sphere of human activity. To accomplish this purpose, Bose suggested a large number of concrete steps to be taken by the Indians.³

During his stay in Europe, Bose studied the history and nature of popular revolutionary movements. He had been developing his views on World politics at first hand and the finally decided that the internal politics of other states should be of no

². -ibid, p.150.
³. -ibid, pp.159-161.
concern to India.¹

In a statement on "Our Internal and External Policy" from Geneva in February 1935, Bose observed that "in the domain of our external policy, our own socio-political views or predilections should not prejudice us against people or nations holding different views, whose sympathies we may nevertheless be able to acquire".²

Bose was also interested to know the experiments in socio-economic field in the countries of Europe. The idea of national planning which he brought into action in 1938 as the Congress president, came in his mind during his exile in Europe.³

In Europe, Bose had set his mind to use more radical methods to fight British imperialism.⁴

The first main task for him was a direct confrontation with British imperialism with a militant organised mass movement. From this viewpoint he interested himself in all the national movements in foreign countries and especially in Europe.

1. Subhas Chandra Bose, Through Congress Eyes, p.44
He was definite that there would be another World War within five years and the Indians must use that unique opportunity to liberate their country.¹

Bose's visit to Ireland marked the end of his stay in Europe. He had never liked the life of an exile. Actually he came back to India in December 1934 to see his father on death bed in Calcutta. During his short stay in Calcutta, he was kept in detention in his own house. Now in February 1936, he wanted to return to India.

Jawaharlal Nehru's election as President for the Congress session in April 1936 was welcomed by the Leftists. Bose wanted that Nehru should not miss the chance of turning the Congress definitely leftwards. In his letters Bose urged him to lead the Left.² He felt that his presence in India at this juncture would strengthen the hands of Leftists. He was, therefore, anxious to attend the Lucknow Congress session. He had been warned by the British Government through the British Consul in Vienna that he would be

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   Also Alfred Tyrnauer writing in the Saturday Evening Post, 11 March, 1944;

2. Bose to Nehru, 4-3-1936, Jawaharlal Nehru, A Bunch of old letters, p.172-173.
arrested if he returned to India. But Bose rejected his warning and on 27, March 1936 he sailed on S.S. Coast Verde for Bombay.

1. The warning was issued by J.W. Taylor, British Consul in Vienna on 12-3-36. Bose's letter to Mrs. Wood, 17-3-36, Woods Collection of letters, N.A.I., New Delhi; Also in a bunch of old letters, pp.174-175.

2. Bose wrote to Nehru: "My inclination at the moment — as you can very well imagine from your own reactions is to defy the warning and go home. The only point that one has to consider is which course would be in public interest. The personal factor does not count at all with me ... Going to prison also has its public utility and there is much to be said in favour of defying an official order like this and deliberately courting imprisonment." Jawaharlal Nehru, A bunch of old letters, pp.175-176.