

Rabindra Nath Tagore and Nazi Germany

Saumya Bose

Asstt. Prof., Deptt. of History,

Sri Ram Krishna Sarada VidyaMahapitha,

Kamarpukur, Hooghly

Email Id: saumya123bose@gmail.com

Abstract

RabindraNath Tagore (1861-1941), a great poet of India as well as of the world and India's first noble laureate, had a great philosophical outlook to human civilization. He was also an internationalist like some of his contemporaries such as Romain Rolland, a French noble laureate, Kalidas Nag, a reputed scholar of Bengal and SurendranathDasgupta, a professor of philosophy of Calcutta University. Naturally his views, as a prominent Bengali as well as a great significant personality of the world, during the critical years between the two World Wars are very crucial. Like Rolland he also criticized the First World War as the most abominable incident in the history of human being. Naturally the questions come before the historians are what was his outlook towards Nazi Germany? How far was his outlook different from a section of the Bengali Bhadrakalok of the time? This article will try to find out these answers.

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Introduction

From the late nineteenth century Middle class Hindus in different parts of India were facing variety of pressures. Situation in Bengal was no exception. Oppressive nature of the British rule and the perceived failure of liberal nationalism produced strong critiques against them among a section of the Hindu nationalists thinkers and politicians during this period. Amongst the intellectuals one can marshal even the extremist politicians as well as they had given new connotation to Hinduism and new way of viewing nationalism. Various ideas emerged during this period as alternatives to British parliamentary democracy and liberal nationalism. From the first half of the twentieth century a section of the Hindu nationalists of Bengal found in new right wing movements of Europe particularly in Fascism and Nazism a support for their alternative ventures. Technological progress in transcontinental communication, especially after World War I increased the circulation among different countries of ideas, experiences, images, travel accounts on various aspects of social life, art, history, politics, current affairs, geography, science and technology. Indian, and particularly Bengali periodicals of that time were replete with this new kind of information, which shows that interest in the world outside India was growing at that time.¹ However, it does not mean that venture for internationalism was missing in the previous century. But after the First World War this urge for transcontinental communications was increasing. A section of the Hindu nationalists of Bengal tried to find anti-British allies among the fascist states whether in political realm or cultural intercourse.

RabindraNath Tagore (1861-1941), a great poet of India as well as of the world and India's first noble laureate, had a great philosophical outlook to human civilization. He was also an internationalist like some of his contemporaries such as Romain Rolland, a French noble laureate, Kalidas Nag, a reputed scholar of Bengal and SurendranathDasgupta, a professor of philosophy of Calcutta University. Naturally his views, as a prominent Bengali as well as a great significant personality of the world, during the critical years between the two World Wars are very crucial. Like Rolland he also criticized the First World War as the most abominable incident in the history of human being. Naturally the questions come before the historians are what was his outlook towards Nazi Germany? How far was his outlook different from a section of the Bengali Bhadrak² of the time? This article will try to find out these answers.

Tagore on Universal Unity and Humanism

RabindraNath Tagore preached universalism. The problem of the age was that mankind had to realize unity, and the first step towards the realization was to create opportunities for drawing different people towards one another.³ Tagore lived from 1861 to 1941. He witnessed the two Great World Wars and other territorial

wars. Tagore a lover of man always condemned war and imperialism. Nationalism which taught love for only one's own country and hatred for others, received the poet's condemnation. Tagore also had strong and clear vision on nationalism that nationalism could serve the greater good of humanity if it propagated national self respect, when its motto was live and let live and when it adopted the policy of reciprocal give and take. It would prove a unique blessing to humanity and to the world when it became synonymous with purest patriotism- love for all. He wanted synthesis for he considered it to be the basis of civilization. To him humanity was greater than nationalism and it could prosper and progress by happy synthesis of the East and the West, the spiritual unity of the East and scientific and technological advancement of the West. He wanted that neither should the West exploit the East and thrust its influence on it, nor should the East blindly follow the West at the cost of its culture. For the benefit of the whole humanity the two should meet on the basis of reciprocal give and take.⁴ But whereas India believed in perfect union, the West believed in mechanical union and adjustment. Moreover, the lust for power and the obsession with the magic of progress had made the West forget the central motive force of its being, the priceless realization of the fundamental unity of man. By exploiting the natural resources, by the accumulation of power and wealth, the emphasis from human being had been shifted to power. A prophet of universal humanism, Tagore avoided the ideology of geography but India's cultural heritage, ideas and ideal impressed him greatly and that is why he wanted to be born in India again and again; with all her poverty, misery and wretchedness he loved India best.⁵

The reason that the poet wanted to come back to India again was reflected in his 'A Vision of India's History' where he emphasized, "I love India not because I cultivate the ideology of geography, not because I have had the chance to be born in her soil, but because she has saved through tumultuous ages the living words that have issued from the illuminated consciousness of her great sons; Satyam, Jnanam, Anantam, Brahma. Brahma is truth, Brahma is wisdom, Brahma infinite; Santam, Sivam, Advaitam, peace in Brahma, goodness is in Brahma, and the unity of all beings..."⁶

The foregoing analysis reveals that the basis of his philosophy was humanism. The basic aspect led him to become national and international, local and universal at the same time which a few could become. He loved all man as the creation of God and wanted to bind them together with the bonds of liberty, equality and fraternity. He wanted unity in diversity. Tagore was more anxious for individual liberty than political liberty, but failed to recognize that in the contemporary complex political setup, civil, economic and social liberty could be enjoyed best if the state enjoyed political liberty, which is synonymous with national liberty. However it was natural that Tagore, a humanist, could not reconcile his conscience to a form of government

which bred narrow nationalism racialism and which glorified war or a form of government where humanity was repeatedly insulted. These are the inherent features of dictatorship and the poet openly disfavoured such a form government.⁷In his view the imperialistic tendency of the western nation would bring death and devastation. Imperialism took its worst form in the outburst of the world War-1 (1914-1918). At the end of the war poet was very much anxious about the obstructions to the path of peace. At that moment a letter came from Romain Rolland, containing a 'Declaration of Independence of Thought' from the intellectuals of all over the world and requesting Tagore to sign it. In this letter there was a strong declaration that-"We honour Truth alone, truth free, without frontiers, without limits, without prejudices of race and caste. We are not, indeed, uninterested in humanity. It is for her that we labour, but for herein all her entirety".

In reply to this letter Tagore wrote-

"When my mind was steeped in the gloom of thought that the lesson of the late war had been lost, and that people were trying to perpetuate their hatred and anger into the same organized menace for the world which threatened themselves with disaster, your letter came and cheered me with the message of hope...It is enough for me to know that the higher conscience of Europe had been able to assert itself in one of her choicest spirits through the ugly clamour of passionate politics; and I gladly hasten to join the ranks of those free souls, who, in Europe, have conceived the project of a Declaration of Independence of Thought."⁸

In the light of this we shall try to examine Tagore's outlook towards Nazism.

Nazism in the eyes of Tagore

If we look at other European countries, where Fascism had emerged in the inter-war period, we find that whenever countries turned fascist or semi-fascist, Rabindranath was subjected to all sorts of indignities; his speeches were censored before hand, his works were suppressed. Dr A. Aronson wrote in his book that he heard that in Bucharest, in 1926, "his (Tagore's) lecture was disappointing, as he really said nothing, but dwelt on reminiscences of his youthful political development. This appears to be accounted for by the fact whispered abroad that his utterances were subjected to censorship by the Rumanian authorities." He also wrote that-Tagore's work were banned in one country, Lithuania (1927), long before Nazi Germany came into existence.⁹In Germany Tagore was introduced to the public through an incident which sounds too facial to be true. After he was honoured with the Nobel Prize for literature for the year 1913, he made a deep impression on German readers. The poet's three visits to Germany in 1921, 1926 and 1930 created immense popular enthusiasm.¹⁰ During his last visit to Germany in July 1930 Tagore probably could not read the political pulse of Germany. Moreover he had not the

temperament to go deeper in assessing the complex politics of Germany. Nevertheless it can be said that he could read the inner nature of German politics in the course of his visit. During this time he could clearly feel that due to the extreme economic crisis Germans were becoming militant nationalists.¹¹

After Hitler came to power in Germany (March, 1933), the Vice-consul of Germany Dr Herbert Richter delivered a lecture at VisvaBharati, Santiniketan, under the presidency of Rabindranath Tagore (12th August 1933). This lecture was published in *The Calcutta Review* (October, 1933) entitled as “The element of New Germany”.¹² In this lecture, Dr Richter explained of the wrongs done to Germany and Hitler and Nazi party came to the power in Germany as a logical consequence of that. On the basis of this article Saumyendranath Tagore, a well known communist, grandson of Rabindranath Tagore and son of Sudhindra Nath Tagore, wrote a long letter to Tagore (1st November, 1933) where he accused Tagore of delivering a lecture in which he had supported German Nazism.¹³ Unfortunately the reply of Tagore has been misplaced. However some points can be made in Tagore’s defence. First, in his lecture Dr Richter had just expressed his formal obligation to Tagore, as the president of the lecture and after that he had not pronounced Tagore’s name. Secondly, this lecture was also published in the *VisvaBharati News* (September, 1933) titled as “The Situation in Germany”. It made no mention of anyone else apart from Dr Richter having made a speech on this occasion. There is no information about it in *Prabasi* and *Modern Review*.¹⁴ Moreover in the same *Calcutta Review* another interview of Rabindranath was published. This interview had taken place three years ago. In this interview Tagore had condemned militarism, racial conflicts, theory of racial purity, jingoism and expressed his admiration for China’s age old policy of pacifism.¹⁵ This statement of Tagore certainly attacked Nazism, its racial arrogance and militarism. Here another point must be made. According to an Intelligence Bureau report of July 1937 Rabindranath was connected with the ‘Anti Fascist and Anti War League’ which was the same as the ‘League against Fascism and War’. This organization owed its existence to the World Congress of Peace against Fascism and War held in Geneva. In Bengal, Saumyendranath Tagore started a branch in 1934 which subsequently evolved into an All India organisation affiliated to the Paris Committee of ‘Anti War and Anti Fascism League’. This organisation was known as the Indian committee of the “League against Fascism and War” having its branches in Bengal, Bombay, Madras, Orissa and C.P. Rabindranath Tagore was its president of the Indian committee and Saumyendranath Tagore was its General Secretary.¹⁶ If the previous evidence falsify Saumyendranath Tagore’s allegation, this evidence definitely proves that he had misjudged Rabindranath. If he had supported Nazism, he could not have presided over or attached himself with any organisation which was anti Fascist or anti Nazi. Moreover Tagore’s essay entitled “Kalantar” was published in 1933 in “*Parichai*” where not only communist but also non-communist

intellectuals used to write. This essay was written against the background of Nazi brutality in Germany and involved Saumyendranath himself. On April 1933 Saumyendranath was imprisoned in Germany on the accusation that he was trying to kill Hitler. However, he was released after a few days. After coming out of prison he described the story of persecution of the Asians which was a general practice in Nazi Germany. On the basis of these incidents that Tagore wrote his famous historical essay "Kalantar". This fact also nullifies Saumyendranath's view.¹⁷ In this regard it is also important to mention that the Munich Pact (1938) among the four super powers and the transfer of Czech-Sudeten land to Germany as a gift created great mental agony for the poet. Tagore's condemnation of Hitler and Nazism vividly expressed in his letter to Czech writer Dr Capek and Professor Lesny- "I feel so keenly about the suffering of your people as if I was one of them... It turns one cynical to see the democratic peoples, betraying their kind when even the bullets stand by each other. I feel so humiliated and so helpless when I contemplate all this, humiliated to see all the values, which have given whatever worth modern civilization has, betrayed one by one, and helpless that we are powerless to prevent it. Our country is itself a victim of these wrongs...

As for our own country, I can only hope that though abandoned and robbed, it will maintain its native integrity and falling back upon its inalienable resources will recreate a richer national life than before..."¹⁸

Along with this letter Tagore sent the English rendering of his Bengali poem 'prayaschitta' (Atonement) to professor Vincene Lesny which reflects the poet's reaction to the Munich pact and condemnation of the imperialistic expansion of the Fascist and Nazis, particularly Nazis- 'But let us hope for the sake of the dignity of moral justice in this world that God will never suffer to be cheated of His due by the miserly manipulation of a diplomatic piety carefully avoiding all cost itself, that a terrible penance may have to be passed through to its ultimate end, leaving no remnant of poison in a treacherously healing scar.'¹⁹

The advancement of the Fascist powers was still unabated. Within a few months of the Munich pact Hitler conquered the whole of Czechoslovakia (March, 1939). On the other hand Italy conquered Albania, a state formed after the First World War and situated on the eastern side of the Adriatic (8th April, 1939). Tagore was very upset at these international events. Moreover the internal conflict within the Congress between Subhas and the followers of Gandhi and the comments made by the Congress by linking Gandhi's name with Hitler's and Mussolini's infuriated Tagore even more. In an open letter of 17th March 1939 to Amiya Chakraborty Tagore wrote that- finally even from the platform of Congress there was a declaration of the victory of the policies of Hitler. Tagore also alleged that the platform which was devoted for the utterance of the gospel of freedom, were supporting the

Fascists.²⁰ On 1st September 1939 Hitler attacked Poland. With this heralded the Second World War. The Second World War came as a great shock to the poet. In this moment of crisis Tagore along with Acharyu P. C. Ray, Sir Mnnmathanath Mukherjee, Sir NilratanSircar, Sj. RamanandaChatterjee, Sj. B. C. Chatterjee, Dr. SyamaprosadMookerjee, Sj. S. N. Banerjee, Sj. N. K. Basu and Sj. A. C. Chatterjee issued the following statement-

‘At this supreme crisis which threatens not individual countries alone but the entire fabric of civilization, the duty of India is clear. Her sympathies are with Poland. She must stand by Britain and resist the disastrous policy of domination by force. No Indian would desire even in his own country’s interest that England should lose the battle for freedom she is fighting today. In that contingency the realisation of Indian independence will be retarded. India will then start a new chapter of slavery under fresh alien domination.’²¹

They had also reminded Indians that before fighting for others India should make arrangements for her defence. Indian youths should take effective military training and India and Bengal should have its own militia. They had at the same time made the British Government aware of its duty to India-

‘If India’s duty to Britain at this crisis is clear, no, less clear is England’s duty to India. The Bengalee Hindu, specially have been reduced to a state of serfdom in the land of their birth mainly on account of the Communal Decision and from every corner of the country they ask today in one united voice for fairplay and justice. A new outlook is required of Britain towards India. We are ourselves without freedom and it is not in human nature for a people in bondage to feel any real enthusiasm for fighting for the liberty of any foreign country unless they know this will lead to their own emancipation. We say this not in a spirit of base bargain or for raising controversies at a time when unity is essential. But we consider it of supreme importance that England and India should know each other’s mind without reservation, When we speak of justice for India or refer specially to Bengal, we stand pledged to the same righteous cause for which England, France and Poland are fighting today. For the sake of the peace of the world England should not miss this great opportunity for establishing ever-lasting friendship with India by restoring self-rule to her in order that a free India may freely render all possible help for the preservation of democracy.’²²

As the war progressed Tagore grew more and bitterer at the perfidy of the imperialists which ended in this fiasco. While staying at Kalimpong in June 1940, in the shadow of the Himalayas, Tagore had an amazing experience. On the night before Paris fell to the Germans on 14th June, he heard French radio broadcast from Paris, his play ‘The Post Office’ in Andre` Gide’s translation. A French friend staying

with him who was the superintendent of the girls' hostel at Shantiniketan wrote, 'we could listen clearly to its recital on the radio and marvel at this heroic display of the spiritual resistance to despondency by Parisians at the most fateful moment of their destiny.'²³ Perhaps this event, at least in part, was what triggered Tagore to send a telegram to President Roosevelt of U.S.A on 15th June, urging the United States to enter the war against Nazis-

"Today we stand in awe before the fearfully destructive force that has so suddenly swept the world. Every moment I deplore the smallness of our means and feebleness of our voice in India so utterly inadequate to stem in the least the tide of evil that has menaced the performance of civilisation. All our individual problems of politics today have merged into one supreme world politics which I believe is seeking the help of the United States of America as the last refuge of the spiritual man and these few lines of mine merely convey my hope even if unnecessary that she will not fail in her mission to stand against the universal disaster that appears so imminent".²⁴

In 1941, 22nd June Hitler's Nazi troops attacked Soviet Russia. With this attack the very character of the war was transformed very rapidly. The Communist party of India was quick to feel the heat of this new situation and the communist leaders like Hirendranath Mukherjee, Snehangshu Acharya, Jyoti Basu, Radharaman Mitra, etc by forming the 'Soviet Suhrhid Samity' (Friends of Soviet Union) played a historical role. This Samity tried to create mass opinions in favour of Soviet Russia. Rabindranath was then seriously ill. But as Surendranath Goswami prayed his blessing, he wished to become its patron.²⁵ But unfortunately on August 1941 Tagore died. He could not able to see the defeat of the Fascist powers.

Difference between Tagore and a section of the Bengali Bhadrals

Tagore's antipathy towards Hitler's Nazism did not share by a section of the contemporary Hindu Bhadrals. They believed that Britain's enemy was India's friend. Among these Bhadrals mention may be made of Benoy Kumar Sarkar (1887-1949), a professor of economics of the Calcutta University. Hitler, according to Dr. Sarkar, was a demolisher of Communism but preserver of the interests of the ordinary people i.e. peasants, workers, etc.²⁶ One of tasks set before Hitler was the total annihilation of the political ideology of Marxism.²⁷ So Dr Sarkar emphasized the point that it was impossible to establish any compromise between Hitler with his spirituality, race fellowship and patriotism and the system of Karl Marx which was through and through materialistic and which spelled nothing but 'internationalism of the unpatriotic type.'²⁸ In his own words- "The 'patriots' of every people on the surface of the earth will always find inspiration not in Karl Marx but in his antipode, Adolf Hitler."²⁹ Rashbehari Bose (18886-1945), a great revolutionary of Bengal who fled to Japan in 1915 due to the failure of a plan of revolution against the British Raj

during the First World War, considered the Second World War as a 'holy war' and a 'war of Justice'. In his opinion Japan in Asia and Germany in Europe were fighting against 'the aggressor nations' for the purpose of creating 'a new world order' based on 'the right of every nation' to exist as an independent unit and to participate in the world's wealth on a basis of 'justice and fairness'.³⁰ Subhas Chandra Bose (1897-?), a great Indian patriot, however, varied with them to some extent. It is true that he sought the help of the Axis powers during the Second World War. But it should be remembered that his primary concern was the independence of India. His selection of Germany or Japan as his place of activity was not by choice, but by compulsion.³¹ N. G. Ganpuly, who was drawn into the Free India centre set up by Bose during his stay in Germany, wrote in his book entitled "Netaji in Germany: A Little Known Chapter" that- "Bose was in no way a collaborator, in the evil sense which the world has acquired in recent years; rather he was a true Indian patriot with one idea; who was not prepared to do anything simply for Germany's sake, but anything and everything, includes the harnessing of German interest of India."³² In fact he hated the Axis as much as he hated the British.³³

Conclusion

In conclusion it can be said that Tagore believed in universal peace and humanism. For him peace was not a non-war situation. He firmly believed peace could only be achieved when diverse races and nations were free to evolve into their distinct characteristics, whilst all would be attached to the stem of humanity through the bondage of love. So whenever humanity was humiliated by Fascist or Nazi brutality, whether it was in Asia, Africa or Europe, Tagore actively protested against it. Not only so. In October, 1937, Tagore presided over the All India Civil Liberties Union. In the course of his message to the London Conference on Civil Liberty in India he not only warned Britain about the danger of Fascism, but also condemned Britain for their policy of appeasement –

'Perhaps my English friends won't agree with me these but when rivalry for colonial exploitation would become still more acute, the British citizens will find necessary to arm their Government at home with extraordinary powers to defend their possessions abroad. Then they will suddenly wake up to find that they have forfeited their own liberty and drifted into Fascist grip and then they will realise that liberty has a true foundation only in moral worth of individuals who compose the State'.³⁴

During the late 1930s the atrocities and brutalities of Fascist and Nazi states of Europe created a stir in the mental world of the poet. So an anti-war and a humanist poet in the last day of his life supported the war effort of Britain and France against the Axis powers in order to get redemption from the sin that he made by visiting Italy. He also prayed for their victory. In a letter to Amiya Chakravorty,

dated 20th September, 1939 Tagore wrote – ‘...In this war, I earnestly hope England and France will win: the disgrace of civilization by Fascism and Nazism has become intolerable...’³⁵But it has been already mentioned that a section of the Bengali Bhadrakok did not share his viewpoints. They considered Britain’s enemy was India’s friend.

Footnotes

- ¹ Mario Prayer, “Self, Other and alter Idem: Bengali internationalism and Fascist Italy in the 1920s and 1930s,” *The Calcutta Historical Journal*, Vol-26, No-1, January-June 2006, p-3.
- ² The Bhadrakok or the elites of Bengali Society emerged as a renter class who enjoyed intermediary tenurial rights which excluded the vast majority of Bengali Muslims and lower caste Hindus from the benefits of land ownership and the particular privileges it provided. They acquired western education. This ‘modern’ intelligentsia was drawn mainly from the middle and lower strata of ‘rent receiving hierarchy’. They considered Western education as an avenue for advancement under the British government. Some were recruited into the Bureaucracy through whom the British ruled Bengal. It is true however that only the lower levels of administrative posts were assign to the Indians. Although they established themselves in Calcutta and district towns, the Western educated Bhadrakok retained strong ties with the countryside. Joya Chatterji, *Bengal Divided: Hindu Communalism and Partition, 1932-1947*, Cambridge University Press, Published in India by Foundation Books, New Delhi, First Indian Edition-1995, p-4-8.
- ³ Kedar Nath Mukherjee, *Political Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore*, S.Chand and company LTD, New Delhi, 1982, p-26.
- ⁴ *Ibid*, pp-26-27, 274-275.
- ⁵ *Ibid*, p-28.
- ⁶ Rabindranath Tagore, ‘A Vision of India’s History’, taken from KedarNath Mukherjee, *Ibid*, p-28.
- ⁷ Rabindranath Tagore,, “*RussiarChithi*” (*letter of Russia*), *Rabindra Rachanaboli* (Collected works of RabindraNath Tagore), vol-5, KaminiPrakasalaya, Kolkata, January, 2002, 962-963.
- ⁸ “*Declaration of Independence of Thought*”, *The Modern Review*, July, 1919, Vol-45, No-1, p-81.
- ⁹ Dr Alex Aronson, *Rabindranath Through Western Eyes*, Kitabistan, Allahabad, 1943, p-58.

- ¹⁰ Martin Kampchen, Rabindranath Tagore and Germany: A documentation, translated in English by S.V.Raman and Martin Kampchen, Max Muller Bhavan, Goethe- Institute, Kolkata, 1991, p-**12**.
- ¹¹ KedarNath Mukherjee, Political Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore, op cit, p-**116**.
- ¹² Dr. Herbert Richter, "*Elements of New Germany*," The Calcutta Review, October- 1933, Vol-49, No-1, pp-**21-32**.
- ¹³ Nepal Majumdar, RabindraNath: kaektiRajnitik Prasanga (Rabindranath Tagore in connection with certain political perspectives), ChirayatPrakashani. PvtLtd,Kolkata, First Published- December, 1987, pp-**97-100**.
- ¹⁴ Ibid, p-101.
- ¹⁵ "*An interview at Geneva*" by Rabindranath Tagore, The Calcutta Review, October- 1933, Vol-49, No-1, pp-**1-4**.
- ¹⁶ West Bengal I.B SL No-121, File No-539/37, year-1937, Subject-League Against Fascism and War or Anti Fascist and Anti War League.
- ¹⁷ Nepal Majumdar, RabindraNath: kaektiRajnitikPrasanga, op cit, pp-**103-104**.
- ¹⁸ Selected Letters of Rabindranath Tagore, edited by Krishna Dutta and Andrew Robinson, published in South Asia by Foundation Books Pvt.Ltd,Cambridge house, New Delhi,2005, p-**501**.
- ¹⁹ The English translation of the poem taken from KedarNath Mukherjee, Political Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore, op cit, p-**121**.
- ²⁰ Nepal Majumdar,RabindraNath: kaektiRajnitikPrasanga, op cit, pp-**120-121**.
- ²¹ "Rabindranath Tagore and Some other Bengal Leaders on the War and India's Duty,"The Modern Review, October, 1939, Vol-66, No-4, Notes, p-376.
- ²² Ibid, pp-**376-377**.
- ²³ Selected Letters of Rabindranath Tagore, edited by Krishna Dutta and Andrew Robinson, op cit, pp-**521-522**
- ²⁴ Ibid, pp-**522**.
- ²⁵ MarxbadiSahityaBitarka (Marxist literary debate), Four Volumes Combined in one, edited by Dhananjoy Das, KarunaPrakashani, Kolkata, 2003, p-**15**.
- ²⁶ Sri Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Parajito Germany (Defeated Germany), Oriental Book Agency, Calcutta, 1935, pp-**607-608**.
- ²⁷ DrBenoy Kumar Sarkar, The Political Philosophies Since 1905, Vol-II, MotilalBanarasiDass, Lahore, 1942, p-**125**.
- ²⁸ Ibid, pp-**125-126**.

- ²⁹ Ibid, p-**216**.
- ³⁰ Rashbehari Bose, *Collected Works: Autobiography, Writings and Speeches*, edited by Asitabha Das, KishaloyPrakashan, Kolkata, 2005, p-**248**
- ³¹ Alexander Werth and Walter Harbich, *Netaji in Germany: An Eye Witness Account of Indian Freedom Struggle in Europe During World War-II*, edited by Sisir Kumar Bose, Netaji Research Bureau, Calcutta, First Published in 23rd January, 1970, p-**18**.
- ³² N.G. Ganpuley, *Netaji in Germany: A Little-Known Chapter*, edited by K. M. Munshi and R.R. Diwakar, Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, First Edition, November, 1959, p-**182**.
- ³³ Dilipkumar Roy, *Netaji-The Man: Reminiscences*, edited by K. M. Munshi and R. R. Diwakar, Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1966, p-**150**.
- ³⁴ “The danger of Fascism: Poet Tagore’s Dire Warning To Britain”, *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, October -17, 1937.
- ³⁵ Dr. Panchanan Saha, *Rabindranath and Germany*, Indo-GDR Friendship Society, Calcutta, 1986, PP-**101-102**.