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## Rash Behari Bose of Nakamura: From Being Exiled in Japan to Founding the Indian National Army and Promoting a Pan-Asianist Discourse

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### *Anti-Colonial Revolutionary Seeds of India’s Independence*

Rash Behari Bose (1886-1945) was an Indian revolutionary leader and freedom fighter. Born in 1886 in a village in the northeastern part of Bengal, Rash Behari Bose is better known and recognized in Japan, where he lived in exile from 1915 until the time of his death. Despite attracting little attention within the historiography of India’s independence, Rash Behari became the most wanted man in India during World War I and remained an implacable opponent of Britain’s imperial rule till the very end.<sup>1</sup>

History notwithstanding, India’s Foreign Minister Sushma Swaraj, while addressing the Indian community in Japan during her visit in March 2018, referred to the historical linkages that Japan shares with India. Back in those times, when modes of communication with faraway lands were limited and not so accessible, three Indian names featured prominently among those who traveled between India and Japan: Radhabinod Pal, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose<sup>2</sup> and Rash Behari Bose. “To date, people in Japan have immense respect for these three figures of Indian history,” said Swaraj.<sup>3</sup>

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1 For a more comprehensive biographical account of Rash Behari Bose, see Takeshi Nakajima, *Bose of Nakamura: An Indian Revolutionary in Japan* (New Delhi: Promilla, 2009).

2 For a detailed further reading and reference on Netaji Bose, the Indian National Army and Japan, see, Monika Chansoria, *Japan, Hikari Kikan, and Subhash Chandra Bose’s Indian National Army: The Defining, Yet Unfinished 1940s Connect*, Policy Brief, The Japan Institute of International Affairs, Tokyo, February 5, 2021, available at [https://www.jiia-jic.jp/en/policybrief/pdf/PolicyBrief\\_Chansoria\\_210205.pdf](https://www.jiia-jic.jp/en/policybrief/pdf/PolicyBrief_Chansoria_210205.pdf)

3 Remarks by India’s Minister of External Affairs Sushma Swaraj, Embassy of India, Tokyo, March 29, 2018.

Raised in Calcutta and educated at the British-run Morton College, Rash Behari Bose described himself as a politically conscious youth. With a keen interest in matters military, Bose left college to become a revolutionary engaging actively in anti-British and anti-colonial agitations. Bose viewed the history of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century as an account of the rise of global white supremacy. Writing in the *Standard Bearer* that the "... map of the world at the time of the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne of England was, for instance, very widely different from what we see at present..." Charting the sphere of influence and expansion of European imperialism in Africa, Australia, North America, and Asia, Bose concluded that the "... rise of the influence of the whites threatens the weaker of the colored races with extermination."<sup>4</sup>

In his 1938 memoir, written in Japanese and published under the title *Indo no Sakebi (India's Cry)*, Bose wrote, "By the time I was fifteen, I already harbored revolutionary ambitions... greatly moved and inspired by the literature of the 1857 Sepoy Rebellion, I became convinced... that to realize a revolution in India, one needed military might."<sup>5</sup> This perhaps best defined the journey of his youth, wherein he engaged in anti-British and anti-imperialist activities during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. While working as a head clerk at the Forest Research Institute in Dehradun, Rash Behari Bose clandestinely became involved with the revolutionaries of Bengal and came across eminent revolutionary members from the United Provinces and Punjab, which climaxed in the legendary Delhi Conspiracy Case of December 1912.

### *The Delhi Conspiracy Case*

At the age of 26, Rash Behari Bose's anti-colonial ideas propelled him to lead a failed attempt to assassinate the Governor General and Viceroy of India Lord Hardinge. The plot was hatched by Indian revolutionaries underground in Bengal and Punjab, headed by Bose, to avenge the Partition of Bengal in 1905 and the transfer of the capital of British India from Calcutta to Delhi. The conspiracy culminated on 23 December 1912, when a hand grenade was thrown into the Viceroy's ceremonial carriage during his State Entry into Delhi. The assassination attempt failed, although Lord Hardinge ended up injured. Decades later, in his memoirs *My Indian Years* published in 1948, Lord Hardinge described the incident in detail, writing:

On arrival at the railway station at Delhi, I had an unaccountable presentiment of evil and said to my wife, 'I feel quite miserable, I am sure something dreadful is going to happen.' A few moments later the procession entered *Chandni Chowk*, the principal street of Delhi, which was packed with people. I had not proceeded more than about 300 yards before there was a shattering explosion. My elephant stopped. There was dead silence. I saw some yellow powder and remarked, I am afraid that was a bomb. I felt as though somebody had hit me very hard in the back and had poured boding water over me. Wild cheering broke out on all sides. I was badly wounded. I fainted from loss of blood and on recovering consciousness found myself lying on the pavement and receiving first aid. I was taken back to the Viceregal Lodge in a

4 Rash Behari Bose, "The Awakening of Asia," in *Rash Behari Bose Collected Works: Autobiography Writing and Speeches*, ed. Asitabha Das (Kolkata: Kishalay Prakashan, 2006), p. 204, cited in Joseph McQuade, "The New Asia of Rash Behari Bose: India, Japan, and the Limits of the International, 1912–1945," *Journal of World History*, vol. 27, no. 4, December 2016, pp. 641-667.

5 As cited in Tomoko Yamazaki, *Ajia Josei Koryu-shi (History of Cooperation among Asian Women)* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1995), p. 144, cited in Eri Hotta, "Rash Behari Bose and his Japanese Supporters: An Insight into Anti-Colonial Nationalism and Pan-Asianism," *Interventions*, vol. 8, no. 2, 2006, p. 118.

motorcar in an unconscious state.<sup>6</sup>

I gave orders that everything was to be carried out as arranged and gave the text of the speech I had prepared to be read at the ceremony by the senior member of my Council. This was done, my wish being that India should realize that nothing could deflect the British Government and the Government of India from their declared intention. A curious fact is that the explosion of the bomb was so loud and crashing that it was heard six miles away, and yet... I heard [no] thing!<sup>7</sup>

The timing of the assassination attempt was significant. The transfer of the capital of British India from Calcutta to Delhi confirmed the fear among revolutionaries and independence fighters that the British were bent on ruling India via its *divide-and-rule* policy, thereby weakening the power base of the Bengal-led revolutionary movement.<sup>8</sup>

Rash Behari Bose's assassination attempt against Hardinge was not an isolated incident. It needs to be read in the context of the broader Indian revolutionary movement that played a significant role in shaping anti-colonial politics during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>9</sup> In his autobiography, Bose shared that his experience taught him that a revolution could not be brought about with native soldiers. Recounting lessons learned from the Hardinge plot, Bose outlined his conclusions for a future attempt in

stating:

As civilians, being ill-equipped with arms and ammunition, we could never effect a successful revolution. We had manpower and a disciplined organization, but no arms. I had a desire to distribute small arms to the people all over the country before my second effort.<sup>10</sup>

### ***The 1915 Escape from Calcutta aboard a Japanese Ship***

After being accused by the British of complicity to assassinate Viceroy Hardinge, Rash Behari was forced to go into hiding. However, British intelligence eventually identified Bose as the mastermind behind the incident and called for an extensive manhunt with a death warrant. Bose successfully escaped British intelligence, evading capture for nearly three years. By May 1915, he realized that his options had run out and decided to make his way to Japan. Bose escaped from Calcutta under the pseudonym P.S. Tagore, pretending to be a relative of world-renowned poet and Nobel laureate Rabindranath Tagore, who had announced his imminent visit to Japan. He managed to get onboard a Japanese ship bound for Tokyo from Calcutta via Singapore and Hong Kong.

At that given point, Japan was a logical choice for its well-known pro-Asian, especially pro-Indian, nationalist sentiments owing to the

6 Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, *My Indian Years 1910-1916* (London: Butler & Tanner Ltd., 1948) Chapter, *Delhi Outrage: Official Duties and Visits, 1913-1914*, pp. 80-81; also read Hardinge's account for a detailed understanding of what he described as 'Bengal and other Problems', 'Calcutta', 'Delhi' – a period during which the burden of his responsibilities was greatly increased by the outbreak of World War I in 1914, and especially by the Mesopotamia campaign.

7 Ibid.

8 Hotta, n. 5, p. 118.

9 Mcquade, n. 4, p. 644.

10 For further details see, Rash Behari Bose, "Autobiography," in *Rash Behari Bose Collected Works: Autobiography, Writing and Speeches*, ed. Asitabha Das (Kolkata: Kishaloy Prakashan, 2006), p. 29.

history of India's Buddhism, as well as to the extensive interactions of Japanese and Indian intellectuals.<sup>11</sup> Japan functioned as one of the epicenters for dissidents in India's independence struggle.<sup>12</sup> Setting out under the alias P.S. Thakore, Bose sought to demonstrate that his survival and success in Japan were a result wholly of the fact that "Japan is grateful to India for the latter's contribution to Japan, and that perhaps Japan will not forget India."<sup>13</sup>

Although he did not realize at the time, the faint glow of Calcutta's electric and gas lights vanishing into the darkness would become his last glimpse of India, as he embarked on a journey to Japan—the country where he was meant to live for the rest of his life until his death in 1945.<sup>14</sup> Although Bose's escape from Indian territory provided him with opportunities for challenging the spatial limits of British imperial sovereignty, "... the idea of leaving my motherland mortally tormented me" recounted Bose in his autobiography. Describing his escape from Calcutta in 1915, Bose recalled, "On the dark deck, I wept alone, bitterly."<sup>15</sup> Upon reaching Japan and landing in Kobe, Bose immediately set out for Tokyo.

Rash Behari Bose's exile in Japan should not be regarded purely from the standpoint of his dislocation from Indian territory but should rather be viewed in the context of his reimagining and remapping of the Indian nation within a broader world historical narrative.<sup>16</sup> The life and thoughts of Rash Behari did demonstrate the malleability of the concept of nation as understood within the context of global anti-imperialism<sup>17</sup> as well as the limits of the international as a conceptual framework for understanding the world history of the interwar period.<sup>18</sup> Further, his life and political thought provided an opportunity for an alternative reading of the relationship between territory and nation, demonstrating ways in which Bose sought to subvert imperial and international geographies of power by imagining layered forms of the Indian nation, which interacted and intersected with broader global communities through the ideas of history, religion, civilization, and race.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, Bose's focus on armed civilians as the foundational basis for anti-colonial insurgency needs to be read within the context of a broader shift in global understandings of violence, wherein acts previously described in the legal categories

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- 11 See T.R. Sareen, "Indian revolutionaries, Japan and British Imperialism," in *Indian Revolutionaries, Japan and British Imperialism, including other Historical Essays* (New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 1993), pp. 1-55; for an account of early Indian revolutionaries' efforts to establish contacts in Japan, also see, Anagarika Dharmapala, the Sri Lankan nationalist and founder of the MahaBodhi Society, who contributed much to Japan's revival of Buddhism, visiting the country many times, and preaching about Japan's role in Asia.
- 12 Milan Hauner, *India in Axis Strategy: Germany, Japan, and Indian Nationalists in the Second World War* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1981), p. 103.
- 13 Bose, "Autobiography," n. 10, pp. 62–63, cited in Mcquade.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 38.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 33, 38.
- 16 Mcquade, n. 4, p. 643.
- 17 For details see, Sumathi Ramaswamy, *The Goddess and the Nation: Mapping Mother India* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2010); also see, Manu Goswami, *Producing India: From Colonial Economy to National Space* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), cited in Mcquade.
- 18 Mcquade, n. 4, p. 644.
- 19 The idea of the nation as an imagined community is derived from Benedict Anderson's extremely influential *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), cited in Mcquade, n. 4, p. 643.

of sedition or mutiny began to assume new meaning.<sup>20</sup>

Fleeing India to live in exile in Japan did nothing to soften Bose's revolutionary aspirations. His ideas further developed within a Japanese context and conditions prevailing in Japan at that time, which were instrumental to understanding the relationship of nationalism, internationalism, and territory in Bose's political imagination. His political thought was important as a vantage point for critiquing the Eurocentrism of the international in 20<sup>th</sup> century global history, and for understanding the alternative world historical narratives available to anti-colonial thinkers at the time.<sup>21</sup> Bose openly criticized European internationalism as parochial and unrepresentative of the interests of humanity, saying:

It is said that the League of Nations is founded to ensure world peace but, in reality, it concerns itself with the interests of Europe and America. It does not think of the interests of the millions of Asia. The Pan Asiatic League will have at heart not only the interests of those millions but also of the world.<sup>22</sup>

These layers within Eurocentric historical narratives, following the peace conference at Versailles and the formation of the League of Nations in 1919, reified the territorially bound nation-state as the legitimate unit of international politics.

***Bose's Exiled Life in Japan:  
Opportunity for Creation of an Alternative  
Egalitarian Asianist Order***

Rash Behari Bose's exile in Japan needs to be approached and understood not only from the standpoint of his dislocation from India, but also in terms of the way in which this dislocation provided him with the opportunity for mapping out an alternative vision of the Indian nation and of its place in world history.<sup>23</sup>

Between 1915–1918, he changed residences and identities numerous times, as the British kept pressing the Japanese government for his extradition. By December 1915, the British tracked Bose down to Japan and officially put pressure on Tokyo to issue an extradition order. That notwithstanding, Bose was sheltered by various Pan-Asian groups in Japan. Bose had become a friendly name and face among influential Japanese Pan-Asianists, most notably right-wing politician Tōyama Mitsuru and former Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi. Rash Behari had known Inukai since right after his arrival in Japan, and it was believed that Inukai helped him survive the extradition order. Bose created close relationships with members of political pressure groups and individuals across Japan, which, in turn, had an important impact on the way in which he would come to conceptualize the Indian nation and its place in a broader Asia, contextually with Japan.<sup>24</sup>

The case of Rash Behari Bose and his Japanese supporters constitutes a remarkable chapter in the developmental history of international cooperation among Asian peoples that preceded Japan's wartime Pan-Asianist policy of the 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere'. Such cross-border cooperation in the modern history of Asia, embraced by Bose and his supporters in Japan, sheds light on the

20 Ibid., p. 646.

21 Ibid., p. 662.

22 For details, see the proceedings of the Pan-Asiatic Conference held at Nagasaki, 1926; National Archives of India (hereafter NAI), Foreign and Political Department, File No. 526-X.

23 McQuade, n. 4, p. 667.

24 Ibid., p. 647.

analysis of anti-Western trans-nationalism in its embryonic form and its complexities of Pan-Asianism.<sup>25</sup>

In fact, it was none other than Tōyama who hid and protected Bose from the police and entrusted his safety to the progressive Sōma family of Shinjuku. The Sōma family, consisting of Sōma Aizō and Sōma Kokkō, the owners of the famously successful Western-style Nakamura brasserie in the Shinjuku neighborhood of Tokyo, not only provided Bose with safe haven as he faced extradition, but altered the course of his life. Sōma Aizō and his wife Ryo, popularly known as Kokkō, were celebrated patrons of the arts, and came to be referred to, among Tokyo's intellectuals, as 'the Salon Nakamura'.<sup>26</sup>

Defying all potential risks, the Sōma family provided Bose with a hideout in their garden shed. Meanwhile, Bose's extradition from Japan posed major legal challenges for Britain because of the political nature of his crime.<sup>27</sup> A message to Lord Hardinge from the British Embassy in Tokyo explained, "The position is that the Japanese Government will not arrest persons, Indians or others, accused of merely political crimes such as 'sedition.'" <sup>28</sup> Given that Bose was no longer under the control of the British Government, it could take no action against him under the law.<sup>29</sup> Bose remained at the Nakamura studio until his deportation

order was withdrawn in March 1916, following an incident in which a British naval vessel fired upon the Japanese ship *Tenyō-maru* and forcibly seized seven Indians travelling onboard.<sup>30</sup> To the relief of Bose and his protectors, this resulted in the Japanese government reversing his extradition order.<sup>31</sup>

Protected by the confidence and loyalty of the Sōma family, as well as of the employees of the brasserie, Bose quickly learned the Japanese language under Kokko's tutelage. On his part, Bose introduced Indian-style curry to Japan and was distinctively referred to as the "Bose of Nakamura". Even after his death in January 1945, his legend lives on through the curry that Nakamura continues to serve.<sup>32</sup> Meanwhile, during his stay at the Nakamura studio, Bose met Toshiko, the eldest daughter of the Sōmas whilst he hid at her house. Toshiko filled in as his interpreter initially. In July 1918, Bose married Toshiko, on Tōyama Mitsuru's suggestion, and became a Japanese citizen in 1923—thus becoming a member of one of Tokyo's most influential Pan-Asianist families.

### ***The Pan-Asianist Idea and Japan's Emergence as its Epicenter***

Pan-Asianism, for that matter, was not exactly a new development that sprang to life in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Pan-Asianist ideas

25 Hotta, n. 5.

26 Ibid., p. 119.

27 The NAI, Foreign and Political Department, proposed an extradition treaty between the United Kingdom and Japan, 1926, File no. 476-I. Efforts were renewed by the British government in 1927 and 1937, but with no progress; also see, NAI, External Affairs Department, proposed an Anglo- Japanese extradition treaty, 1937, File no. 321-X; also see Mcquade, n. 4, for further details.

28 British Embassy to Hardinge, October 9, 1915, NAI, Home Political-B, November 1915, File no. 72-83, 17. The right to asylum for political refugees was a well-established principle of international law by this time, which was also reflected in British legislation such as the Extradition Act of 1870, which exempted political criminals from extradition.

29 According to the British Library, India Office Records, L/PJ/12/163, 9-15.

30 For a detailed account, see Nakajima, n. 1, pp. 78-111. For the full diplomatic correspondence, see NAI, Home Political-B, November 1915, File no. 72-83, proposed deportation from Japan of one Thakur (Rash Behari Bose).

31 Hotta, n. 5, p. 120.

32 Pallavi Aiyar, "Bose of Nakamura," *The Hindu*, February 6, 2018.

on the essential and inherent unity in Asia's culture and identity have a much-elongated history in Asia, and Japan in particular. Essentially, Pan-Asianist thinking posited Asian unity based on geographic propinquity and the conceptualization of Asia as a distinct geographical unit. The recognition of a common Buddhist heritage was perhaps the most important factor unifying Asia's identity.<sup>33</sup> The transmission of Buddhist ideas and written texts provided a significant intellectual and spiritual link between the Asian countries, transmitting related cultural and political elements and influences. By the late 19th century, Pan-Asianism began to develop a 'common cause against Western imperialist' encroachment.<sup>34</sup>

Mary L. Hanneman has argued that, in the heady atmosphere following World War I, Japan's Pan-Asianism discourse appeared as a potentially valid alternative to the apparent moral failure of Western civilization.<sup>35</sup> It was against this backdrop that, in the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Japan provided safe haven to many exiled revolutionary fighters for India's independence movement, including the Bengalis Rash Behari Bose and Taraknath Das. By 1941, nearly 1,000 Indian nationalist fighters were living in exile in Japan, prominent among whom were Ananda Mohan Sahay and Raja Mahendra Pratap.<sup>36</sup>

As Japan became an emerging center of Asianist thought, owing to its rapid industrialization and victory against Russia

in 1905, it was able to cement its reputation and position as a leader among Asian nations holding the potential to challenge the hegemony of the West. Following the onset of the Great Depression in 1929, the price of Japanese silk in American markets fell by 25 percent, hitting the Japanese economy and fueling rightwing nationalist and imperialist ideologies.<sup>37</sup>

### ***Japan's Pan-Asianist Intellectuals, Writers, Historians, and Artists***

The story of Rash Behari Bose, his Japanese supporters, and a conceptual analysis of the ideology of Pan-Asianism remains a vital episode in Indo-Japanese relations and history. Bose's revolutionary ambitions for India's independence embodied trans-nationalist concerns. Pan-Asianism was a compelling political force at the time when Bose and his colleagues came into political consciousness during the initial decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. United by the ideology of Pan-Asianism, Bose and his Japanese supporters, to varying degrees, attempted to articulate the cultures, knowledge, and experiences of non-Western peoples, and interpret their hopes of Indian independence in the larger context of Pan-Asianist struggles.<sup>38</sup> For that matter, the two key concepts provided an early instance of a trans-continental ideology of political solidarity and cooperation across Asia.<sup>39</sup>

Bose, like some other influential thinkers of his time in Japan, including Ōkawa Shūmei, saw

33 Buddhism emerged out of the Hindu context of the Indian sub-continent in the 6th century BC spreading throughout Southeast and East Asia; for details see, Mary L. Hanneman, "Pan-Asianism: Rabindranath Tagore, Subhas Chandra Bose and Japan's Imperial Quest," *North Bengal University Journal of History* [Karatoya], vol. 11, March 2018, pp. 81-83.

34 Ibid., p. 83.

35 Ibid., p. 87.

36 Hotta, n. 5, p. 122.

37 For details see, Cemal Aydin, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007); also see Pankaj Mishra, *From the Ruins of Empire: The Intellectuals Who Remade Asia* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2012).

38 Hotta, n. 5, p. 117.

39 Ibid., pp. 117-118.

Pan-Asianism as providing a more egalitarian alternative to the existing international order of the Versailles-Washington system. In 1926, Bose began organizing Asian, especially Indian, revolutionaries in Japan. He was helped by Japanese friends, including Ōkawa Shūmei in organizing the first all-Asia meeting of Asian peoples in August 1926 at Nagasaki. This was Japan's first Pan-Asian meeting with representatives from India, Afghanistan, Indochina, the Philippines, China, and Japan to promote the Pan-Asianist discourse. At the conference, Bose spoke against Western exploitation of Asian peoples and of the great Eastern traditions,<sup>40</sup> further criticizing the European great power-led internationalism embodied in the League of Nations:<sup>41</sup>

We know some criticize today's meeting saying there is no need to establish another international union because we have one. But the two internationals are completely different in their nature. The one is for the benefit of five hundred million of the whites and the other is for one hundred and a half millions of Asian peoples.<sup>42</sup>

### ***Tōyama Mitsuru***

Upon arrival in Japan in 1915, Bose received the protection and patronage of Tōyama Mitsuru (1855–1944), an influential Japanese right-wing

political figure with strong ties to Gen'yōsha, an ultranationalist society that Tōyama had co-founded. Bose's life, survival, and activities in Japan spanning 30 years would not have been possible without active financial and moral support from Japan's prominent Pan-Asianists, including Tōyama, all of whom saw Bose's goal as part of their larger aspiration of an 'Asia for Asians'.<sup>43</sup> The Gen'yōsha (literally, *Dark Ocean Society*) was founded in 1881 and named after Genkai Nada, a channel that separates the island of Kyūshū from the continent of Asia. Tōyama's material and physical support for the cause of Asian nationalists, including Bose and, most famously, Sun Yat-sen in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, remains well-recorded.<sup>44</sup> The language of Asian solidarity, in defiance of the West, acquired a realistic and convincing edge, interpreted by many in terms of an Asian versus European racial struggle. Moreover, Japan's own perception of its Asian leadership began to assume a crusading tone of assisting its lesser empowered neighbors. Accordingly, Japan's Pan-Asianist adherents welcomed anti-colonial nationalists, namely Vietnam's Phan Boi Chau, Prince Cuong De, India's Rash Behari Bose, Subhas Chandra Bose, China's Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Sun Yat-sen.<sup>45</sup>

### ***Okakura Tenshin***

Okakura Tenshin (Kakuzō) (1863-1913) was

40 Joyce Chapman Lebra, *The Indian National Army and Japan* (Singapore: Asia Pacific Press Pte. Ltd., 1971), Chapter Four: *Tokyo Conference*, pp. 49-50.

41 Hotta, n. 5, pp. 120-121.

42 J.G. Ohsawa, *The Two Great Indians in Japan: Sri Rash Behari Bose and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose* (Calcutta: Kusa Publications, 1954), pp. 27–38, cited in Eri Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War 1931–1945* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

43 For details see, Frank Jacob, *Japanism, Pan-Asianism and Terrorism: A Short History of the Amur Society (The Black Dragons), 1901–1945* (Palo Alto: Academica Press, 2014); and see, John Wayne Sabey, "The Gen'yōsha, the Kokuryukai, and Japanese Expansionism," University of Michigan, 1973; and research and documents at the National Diet Library, Tokyo. For a more detailed account of the rise of nationalism in Japan, see Richard Storry, *The Double Patriots: A Study of Japanese Nationalism* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957); and see, Ben-Ami Shillony, *Revolt in Japan: The Young Officers and the February 26, 1936 Incident* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973); all as cited in Mcquade, n. 4.

44 For more on this see, Hotta, n. 5, p. 45.

45 *Ibid.*, p. 59.



an early key figure in the modern development of Japanese Pan-Asianist thought. He remains one of Japan's more renowned art historians and critics, and he advanced the view that the spiritualism and ancient wisdom of Asia could provide a corrective to the materialism of the West. In 1901, after having lost a factional battle within his academy in Japan, Okakura left for India, where he spent a year traveling and living in the household of Indian Nobel laureate and litterateur Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941). Tagore opened his Calcutta home to many Japanese and Asian poets, writers, artists, and those interested in the diversity of Asian culture, including Okakura. The latter's most famous work, *The Book of Tea*, was published in 1902 following his visit to India.<sup>46</sup> The book examined the spiritual and philosophical underpinnings of Japan's tea culture, thereby providing a foundation for the later development and crystallization of Japan's Pan-Asianist ideas.

Tagore and Okakura saw themselves as brothers-in-arms, as they both celebrated Asian spirituality as a heritage which was distinctively Asian.<sup>47</sup> This was among the moments in history where the fundamental seeds of Japan developing a Pan-Asianist narrative to support its nationalist ambitions of creating an 'Asia for the Asiatics' was sown. In fact, it was on Tagore's suggestion that Okakura wrote *The Ideals of the East* (1903) based on numerous conversations he had with Tagore and his disciples. Okakura summed up his Pan-Asianist vision in the preamble of *The Ideals of the East*:

Asia is one... the Himalayas divide ... but

not even the snowy barriers can interrupt the common thought-inheritance of every Asiatic race, distinguishing them from those maritime peoples of the Mediterranean and the Baltic, who love to dwell on the Particular, and to search out the means, not the end, of life.<sup>48</sup>

It was argued that not entirely independent of concerns outside of Japan's state-centric interests, Pan-Asianism had come to enjoy the legitimacy of a viable political construct within Japan well before the 1930s. However, increasing Japanese confidence and conviction came at the risk of losing what Okakura described as the "Asian aspects" of Pan-Asianism.<sup>49</sup> Strongly echoing the philosophical outlook of Tagore along with that of Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902), a Bengali spiritual leader whom Okakura much admired and traveled many miles to meet, Okakura's India visit marked the beginning of his role as a principal spokesperson for Asian civilization.<sup>50</sup> Further, the later phase of Okakura's career flourished in the development of his Pan-Asianist discourse owing to his exchange with Indian intellectuals and elites. The writings and thoughts of Okakura Tenshin inspired many, including Subash Chandra Bose.

### *Ôkawa Shûmei*

Pan-Asianist thinker Ôkawa Shûmei (1886-1957) was one of the Asianist 'double patriots' who influenced the young military leadership, thus playing a vital role in the transition to the expansionist 1930s, more than two decades after his initial commitment

46 For more details see, Okakura Kakuzô, *The Book of Tea*, (New York, 1902), p. 126.

47 For details see, Lebra, n. 40, *Retrospect*, p. 212.

48 Kakuzô Okakura, *The Ideals of the East: With Special Reference to the Art of Japan* (Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle, 1970), p. 1; and also see, Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War 1931-1945*, n. 42, p. 31.

49 Okakura, *ibid.*, Hotta, *ibid.*, p. 62; and also see, Kakuzô Okakura, *The Awakening of Japan* (London: John Murray, 1905).

50 *The Awakening of Japan*, *ibid.*,

of the cause of Asianism.<sup>51</sup> Described by a few as a ‘peculiarly unconventional scholar’ of Asian religions and Sanskrit, with revolutionary aspirations for an Asian renaissance led by Japan<sup>52</sup>, Ôkawa remained critical of the League of Nations, considering it an instrument of Western colonial powers.

In an editorial published just a month before the German invasion of Poland, Ôkawa predicted that the outbreak of war in Europe would usher in a new era in which nationalist and anti-colonial movements in Asia would find their chance to achieve independence. Ôkawa expressed hope that the Japanese public would become better informed about the conditions and peoples of Asia in general.<sup>53</sup> As the Japanese government began to use the slogan ‘New Order in East Asia’ to describe its foreign policy, Ôkawa became increasingly concerned about the Japanese public’s lack of preparedness, in terms of their knowledge about Asian societies and cultures, for outlining a serious pan-Asianist policy. In order to educate Japanese youth about the culture and politics of Asia, Ôkawa’s launched his Asianist vision by means of a two-year professional school established in May 1938. The teaching institute, *Shôwa Gogaku Kenkyûjo* (Shôwa Language Research Institute, widely known as the *Ôkawa Juku*), was affiliated with the East Asian Economic Research Bureau in Tokyo, and received funding from the Manchurian Railway Company, the Army, and the Foreign Ministry.<sup>54</sup> Each year, the school recruited 20 students around the age of 17. In their first year, students had to learn either

English or French as their primary foreign language, along with an additional language to be selected from among Hindu, Urdu, Thai, and Malay.<sup>55</sup> The *Ôkawa Juku* represented a practical implementation of Ôkawa’s long-held pan-Asianist vision of merging a colonial cultural policy with anti-colonial ideology.

### ***Bose’s Writings, and Literary Contributions for the Pan-Asianist Cause***

Describing Bose and his deep involvement with Japanese society, which spanned more than three decades, H.P. Ghose labeled him “... not as an individual but an institution from which emanated inspiration and instruction.”<sup>56</sup> Bose’s writings were an attempt to understand the relationship of India, Asia, and the international within his political thoughts and construct. Following the end of World War I, he began assuming a more public profile in Japan with an enduring mission of enlightening his Japanese audience about India’s struggle for independence. He did so by means of writing opinion pieces, books, and pamphlets, as well as public speaking.<sup>57</sup> Bose was among the part-time language and history instructors at Ôkawa’s Shûmei’s teaching institute *Shôwa Gogaku Kenkyûjo* (Shôwa Language Research Institute), where he provided students with a first-hand encounter with the anti-colonial nationalist thinking of Asian exiles living in Japan.

Bose’s anti-British Pan-Asianist stance gained increasing prominence within Japan’s political circles. In subsequent years, Bose continued

51 As cited in Storry, n. 42; also see, Cemil Aydin, “Japan’s Pan-Asianism and the Legitimacy of Imperial World Order, 1931-1945,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal* (Japan Focus), vol. 6, no. 3, March 3, 2008, p. 5.

52 For details see, Yukiko Sumi Barnett, “India in Asia: Ôkawa Shûmei’s Pan-Asian Thought and his Idea of India in Early 20th Century Japan,” *Journal of the Oxford University History Society*, no. 1, 2004, pp. 7-8.

53 Ôkawa Shûmei, Editorial in *Shin Ajia* vol. 1, no.1, August 1939, pp. 2-3; and see, Aydin, n. 51, pp. 8-9.

54 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

55 *Ibid.*

56 The description of Rash Behari Bose in the words of H.P. Ghose, “Introduction,” in J.G. Ohsawa, *The Two Great Indians in Japan: Sri Rash Behari Bose and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose*, (Calcutta: Kusa Publications, 1954), p. vi.

57 Hotta, n. 5, p. 120.

to lobby for support for the Indian national movement in Japan via his writings and literary contributions. Bose was a prolific writer, and editor of anti-British journals, including *The New Asia* and *The Asian Review*. He also authored a considerable number of books in Japanese on India.<sup>58</sup> Interestingly, his cultural, educational, and lobbying activities were tightly interlocked in a power dynamic of cross-institutional networks underpinning the institutional structures of the Japanese government, including political parties and bureaucracy.<sup>59</sup> On January 16, 1923, Bose published in the *Standard Bearer* the translation of an article appearing in the Japanese daily *Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun* (東京日日新聞):

At the beginning of World War, I wrote to Mr Inukai (Mr Inukai is the President of the Nationalist Party of Japan and a great friend of India, having on many occasions helped your correspondent in various ways and always taking keen interest in the Indian movement for *Swarajya*), urging Japan to assist the Teutonic powers, thereby impairing the relative strength of the Anglo-Saxons and balancing the power of the world. The result of such a situation would have been the promotion of the position of Japan to the real leadership of the Asiatics. But Japan did not accept my advice, thus letting slip heaven-sent opportunity of making herself the leader of the Orient... There is not the slightest doubt but that the Indians would have revolted against Great Britain...<sup>60</sup>

Notwithstanding that Bose's choices were clearly problematic to quite a few, his style and proclivity for revolutionary methods to resolve international and domestic grievances saw him sitting on the boards of many cultural and political organizations supporting the Pan-Asianist cause.<sup>61</sup> The reinvention of the Pan-Asianist ideology could best be seen in the sudden increase of Asianist journals and organizations receiving support. By the summer of 1933, Rash Behari Bose began receiving funding for publishing a monthly leaflet, *The New Asia–Shin Ajia*, a monthly periodical in dual English- and Japanese-language format.<sup>62</sup> Soon enough, an order was issued on 1 July under the Sea Customs Act, which prohibited and banned the entry and sale of *The New Asia* within the territories controlled by the British government of India.<sup>63</sup>

Almost half the journal was devoted to coverage of news about the Indian independence movement, undertaking a sympathetic tone to the radical wing led by Subhas Chandra Bose.<sup>64</sup> Regarding the clash of civilizations and races, articles in *The New Asia* emphasized that what Asians wanted was national liberation, with the possibility of a racial conflict depending entirely on the attitude that the Western powers chose to assume toward those ongoing independence movements.<sup>65</sup> In *The New Asia's* editorials, editor Rash Behari put forth that Britain was the root cause of all problems in the region, including Japan's isolation in the international community. As early as 1934, Bose warned that

58 For further reading see, Hotta, n. 42, p. 33.

59 For detail see, Hyung Gu Lynn, "A Comparative Study of the Toyo Kyokai and the Nan'yo Kyokai," in Harald Fuess, ed., *The Japanese Empire in East Asia and its Postwar Legacy*, (Munich: Indicum, 1998), pp. 65–95.

60 Radhanath Rath, Sabitri Prasanna Chatterjee, Biplabi Mahanayak, eds., *Rash Behari Bose: His Struggle for India's Independence*, (Rash Behari Basu Smarak Samiti), pp. 367–368, cited in <https://www.dailyo.in/politics/rashbehari-bose-indian-freedom-struggle-india-japan-ties-british-raj-mahatma-gandhi-toshiko-soma-netaji-subhas-chandra-bose-the-standard-bearer/story/1/10259.html>

61 Hotta, n. 42, p. 61.

62 For details see, Rash Behari Bose, ed., *The New Asia* (Tokyo) 1933–1937.

63 For related details see, Mcquade, n. 4, p. 652.

64 For details see, *The New Asia*, nos. 17–18, September–October 1934.

65 Ibid.

Japan needed to maintain good relations with the United States, as only Britain would benefit from a conflict between America and Japan:

Britain is not able to fight Japan singly and therefore waiting for her opportunity, when Japan may be involved in a war with America... An American-Japanese War will weaken these two great powers who are serious rivals of Great Britain. Those Americans and Japanese who are real patriots should do their best to promote American-Japanese friendship.<sup>66</sup>

In many respects, 1933 became a critical year, in that it was then that several high-level military and civilian leaders established the Greater Asia Association (Dai Ajia Kyōkai).<sup>67</sup> The Greater Asia Association not only promoted regional unity in East Asia but also advocated solidarity among West and Southeast Asian societies. The Greater Asia Association published a monthly journal titled *Dai Ajia Shugi* (Greater Asianism), which became the most important Pan-Asianist journal during that period, offering a wide range of news and opinion articles covering all of Asia.<sup>68</sup> Bose and many Asianist figures in the military frequently wrote for this journal, and soon the content and discourse of *Dai Ajia Shugi* became an influential source in shaping Japan's official language and discourse of Pan-Asianism during the late 1930s, especially influencing the "New Order in East Asia" proclamation.<sup>69</sup>

### ***The Indian Independence League and Japan***

In 1931, Rash Behari Bose organized the first Indian Independence League meeting in Japan, which announced "attainment of independence of India by all possible means" as its objective. More than a decade later, Bose convened a conference in Tokyo in March 1942, which decided to establish the Indian Independence League (IIL), an army that would fight for India's freedom from British rule. It was in this conference that Bose introduced a motion to raise this army along with A.M. Nair. They were also instrumental in persuading the Japanese authorities to stand by Indian patriots and revolutionaries in support of the Indian independence struggle abroad, officially and actively.

Subsequently, Bose was also a primary figure at the 1942 Conference of Asian Nations held in Osaka, following which he participated in the Indian Independence Conference held in Bangkok and became IIL President. On 15 June 1942, over 100 delegates of the Indian Independence League spread across Asia assembled in Bangkok, as had been agreed to at the Sanno Conference in Tokyo. Rash Behari was elected presiding chairman by the delegates. Mohan Singh, who nominated Bose for the chairmanship, felt Bose would be most influential with the Japanese. The former's judgment was shared by most Indian delegates since there was unanimous recognition of

66 For details and related references see, *The New Asia*, nos. 13–14 (May–June 1934), also see, nos. 17–18 (September–October 1934).

67 Storry, n. 42, p. 149.

68 Nakatani Takeyō was a forefront writer in many Asianist publications of the 1930s; he was influenced by Ōkawa Shūmei since his student years at Tokyo Imperial University and later became a member of several organizations led by Ōkawa. He took a leading position in both Dai Ajia Kyōkai and its journals. For his memoirs, see Nakatani Takeyō, *Shōwa Dōranki no Kaisō*—Nakatani Takeyō Kaikoroku, vol. I and II (Tokyo: Tairyūsha, 1989).

69 For details see, J. Victor Koschmann, "Asianism's Ambivalent Legacy," in Peter J. Katzenstein and Takashi Shiraiishi, eds., *Network Power: Japan and Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), pp. 89–90, cited in Aydin, n. 51.

Bose's long record as a revolutionary and his close working relationship with Japan's leadership.<sup>70</sup> In his presidential address, Bose presented Japan at the forefront of liberating Asia from Western imperialism and standing by the oppressed Asiatics. He proclaimed:

We were anxiously awaiting the day when Japan would fully realize the great significance of creating a free and united Asia and would feel convinced that it was in the interest of Japan itself, as also for the rest of Asia if not for the world as a whole, that the octopus grip of the Anglo-Saxon imperialism in the East must be destroyed root and branch. We all were fully convinced that Japan alone was in the position to take the honor.<sup>71</sup>

Following the first conference, Bose convened the second IIL conference at Bangkok on 22 June 1942. It was during the Bangkok Conference that the Indian National Army (INA) was formally launched. By November 1942, Japan claimed that the force strength of the INA was 16,000 troops.<sup>72</sup> Incidentally, it was also at this conference that a resolution was adopted to invite Subhas Chandra Bose to join the League. The Indian prisoners of war captured by Japan in the Malaya and Burma fronts were encouraged to join the Indian Independence League and become frontline soldiers of the INA, formed on 1 September 1942 as the military wing of Rash Behari Bose's League. Pan-Asianism as an ideology with intellectual underpinnings was producing palpable political consequences, as

the trajectory of Rash Behari Bose's story aptly demonstrates.<sup>73</sup>

Bose was a revolutionary, both by nature and the life he chose. His deeds resonated with the change in Japan's political climate during the 1930s. Bose sat on the boards of many cultural and political organizations of Pan-Asianist orientation and continued to educate and enlighten the Japanese audience about India's cause and its desire for independence.<sup>74</sup> In fact, Bose was one of the first Indian exiles to come to Tokyo during the entire inter-war period and was acknowledged as the leader of the Indian community living in Japan during that time. By 1941, having lived for 25 years in Japan, Bose realized that it would not be possible to attain Indian independence without the help of the Japanese military. Bose advanced the view that Japan's war in Asia was "... a righteous war for Asia's liberation led by Japan against the Anglo-American status quo powers."<sup>75</sup> His principal contact in Japan to connect to its military or civilian leadership remained Tōyama Mitsuru. Accordingly, Bose asked Tōyama for his assistance, after which Bose had several discussions at the General Staff Headquarters, including its Military Affairs Bureau, and explained his views on the struggle for India's independence. It was during these conversations that Bose requested the aid of the Japanese Army.<sup>76</sup>

With the outbreak of hostilities between the Japanese and British empires on 8 December 1941, Rash Behari Bose aligned himself firmly

<sup>70</sup> Lebra, n. 40, Chapter Six: *The Crisis of the First INA*, p. 75.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76; also see, Kesar Singh Giani, *Indian Independence Movement in East Asia: The Most Authentic Account of the INA and the Azad Hind Government*, Lahore, 1947, p. 67.

<sup>72</sup> *Declassified Current Intelligence Study* No. 24, Office of Strategic Services (Research and Analysis Branch) June 8, 1945, approved for release, January 2002, pp. 2-3.

<sup>73</sup> For details and further reference see, Hotta, n. 5, p. 123.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

<sup>75</sup> For details see, Brij Tankha, "The Greater India Society: Indian Culture and Asian Federation," in Szpilman and Kaaler, eds., *Pan-Asianism*, p. 94.

<sup>76</sup> Lebra, n. 40, Chapter Four: *Tokyo Conference*, p. 50.

with Japan's war pitch. He was jubilant at the conditions being created that would likely provide a prospect for India's liberation, and dove headlong into the war effort, urging Japanese military officials to include India within what was being termed the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. As Japanese forces swept away British resistance in Malaya and Singapore, thousands of Indian prisoners of war were formed to constitute a new military force, called the Indian National Army, which fought alongside the Japanese army against the British.<sup>77</sup>

### ***Rash Behari Bose, Japan, and the Indian National Army***

The creation of the Indian National Army in 1942 became the most striking and noteworthy embodiment of Pan-Asianism. Rash Behari Bose was the first head of the Indian National Army, established in Singapore by General Mohan Singh under the auspices of Japan's occupation forces, with its ranks composed of Indian soldiers from the surrendered British troops in Singapore. In early 1942, the Japanese conducted a campaign to persuade the Indian prisoners of war in Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Singapore that they should fight alongside Japan for the liberation of India against Britain's colonial rule.

As tensions broke out between members of the INA's leadership and Japanese military authorities, Rash Behari Bose tried to smooth out their disagreements, in the course of which Indian nationalists discussed their relationship with Japanese imperialism. Frictions became immediately apparent between the faction that came from Southeast Asia and the faction that represented residents from Tokyo. INA commander Mohan Singh and N.S. Gill felt that Rash Behari Bose was manipulating the conference.<sup>78</sup> Mohan Singh in particular grew increasingly impatient with Bose's role as a go-between and representative of Indian aims and the INA vis-à-vis the Iwakuro Kikan (whose name was later changed to the Hikari Kikan). This animosity kept on festering until it ultimately caused a rupture.<sup>79</sup> Mohan Singh and other Indians began objecting to the appointment of Rash Behari Bose to the top position in the newly created army.<sup>80</sup>

The crisis of the INA at the close of 1942 coincided with Tokyo finally becoming convinced of the need for a stronger leader than Rash Behari Bose. This was precisely what the Indians in Southeast Asia had been urging all along.<sup>81</sup> Rash Behari managed to hold the INA together (including when it was temporarily disbanded) until Subhas Chandra Bose took over its leadership in June 1943. Theretofore,

77 For a more comprehensive account of the history of the Indian National Army, see Christopher Bayly and Tim Harper, *Forgotten Armies: The Fall of British Asia, 1941–1945* (London: Allen Lane, 2004); and see, Sugata Bose, *His Majesty's Opponent: Subhas Chandra Bose and India's Struggle against Empire* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011); also see, Peter Ward Fay, *The Forgotten Army: India's Armed Struggle for Independence, 1942–1945* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993); and see, Kalyan Kumar Ghosh, *The Indian National Army; Second Front of the Indian Independence Movement* (Meerut: Meenakshi Prakashan, 1969); for more on the role of Rash Behari Bose in the INA, see Nakajima, n. 1, pp. 241–296.

78 Lebra, n. 40, Chapter Four: *Tokyo Conference*, p. 46.

79 Ibid., Chapter Five: *Japanese Policy toward India*, p. 70.

80 Objection to the leadership of Rash Behari Bose is another indication of the ineffectiveness of Japanese pan-Asianists' political networks. Although Japan's Asianist circles had always presented Rash Behari Bose as the representative voice of Indian nationalism, it became apparent that he did not have a reputation sufficient to play a role in the project of the Indian National Army. For related reading and references see, Tilak Raj Sareen, *Japan and the Indian National Army* (New Delhi: Mouno, 1996), pp. 35–82 and pp. 228–236; also see, Fujiwara Iwaichi, *Japanese Army Intelligence Operations in Southeast Asia During World War II* (Singapore: Select, 1983), p. 102.

81 Lebra, n. 40, Chapter Seven: *Subhas Chandra Bose, Hitler, and Tōjō*, p. 112.

Rash Behari had been spreading the idea of winning India's freedom with Japan's active aid and assistance. Until Subhas Chandra Bose arrived in Japan from Germany, the elder Bose was the recognized leader of the network of Indian Independence Leagues spread throughout Southeast Asia.<sup>82</sup>

Rash Behari had also selected the flag for the movement and handed it over to Subhas Chandra Bose, who travelled by submarine from Germany to reach Japan and take charge. Although Rash Behari handed over the power of the INA, his organizational structure and spadework remained. Significantly, an aspect on which both Rash Behari Bose and Subhas Chandra Bose agreed upon was allying with Japan in a final bid to attain India's independence from British rule. While in Tokyo, Subhas Bose visited his older compatriot Rash Behari. Interestingly, even though the two had communicated previously, they had never met each other, and this was to become their first interaction face to face. The older Bose told Subhas Chandra that the IIL had already voted to make the latter the Commanding General of the INA. Subsequently, the two paid a visit to Rash Behari Bose's first and most trusted Japanese patron Tōyama Mitsuru, who extended a very warm welcome to Subhas Bose.<sup>83</sup>

### **Conclusion**

During the last phase of his life, Bose somewhere found himself isolated both physically and ideologically from the mainstream of Indian nationalism and the ongoing independence movement in India. This has been attributed by many authors and historians to Bose's thoughts and decisions of candidly attaching the goal of India's independence directly to Japan's war. His political stance in favor of Japan's wartime role

alienated him further from the mainstream of India's nationalist movement, as well as from fellow Indians living in exile in Japan.

In the year 1943, the Japanese government conferred on Rash Behari Bose the second-highest civilian honor ever given to a foreigner: the Order of the Rising Sun (2<sup>nd</sup> Class). Following his arrival from India in 1915, the second half of his life and journey was spent in Japan, dedicated to the dual cause of India's independence and Japan's Pan-Asianist policy. The fundamental basis of this Pan-Asianist thinking and unity posited the conceptualization of Asia as a distinct geographical unit. The first half of the 20th century saw a significant engagement of intellectuals and nationalists from India (especially from Bengal) with Japan.

After being diagnosed with tuberculosis, Rash Behari Bose died in January 1945 at the age of 60. In December 1967, the Posts and Telegraphs Department of India issued a special postage stamp in honor of his life and its contribution. Even though Rash Behari Bose died more than seven decades ago, the stories of his life and its legend continue to live on in Tokyo's Shinjuku neighborhood, especially as it houses the Nakamura café and its trademark 'Indian-style curry' that contributes substantially to the six billion servings of curry enjoyed every year by Japanese diners.

82 *Declassified Current Intelligence Study*, n. 72, p. 2.

83 Lebra, n. 40, Chapter Seven: *Subhas Chandra Bose, Hitler, and Tōjō*, p. 117; also see, *Gaimushō, Subasu Chandora Bosu to Nihon*, p. 108-109.