CHAPTER-VII

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The concluding observations obtained from this research work are quite fascinating. Subhas Chandra Bose was primarily a practical politician and not a political theorist – more essentially a fighter, rather than a framer. At present, it is proved that the problems and issues of his political thoughts cannot be based merely upon abstract theoretical formulations. The facts of life also serve as the foundation of modern political thoughts. What he wanted was a blending of Nationalism and Socialism, where Nationalism would not be aggressive and Socialism would not lose the national perspective.

Bose asserted that he had distinct and definite ideas on social, philosophical, economic and political problems. After a careful study and critical analysis of the existing philosophical ideas before mankind - Hegelianism, Marxism, Fascism, Gandhism etc. he concluded that India must have a new philosophy. He wanted to amalgamate all the good elements of the East and of the
West. New India of Bose’s dream will be built upon the foundation of the Indian culture.

True socialism is evident in the revolutionary ideas of Subhas Chandra Bose and may be traced as follows:

**Philosophy:** Love - The essence of the Universe is love and it is the essential principle in human life. By gradually expanding love, man can overcome all narrowness and eventually lose himself in the Infinite.

**Law of Progress:** The reality is Spirit, the core of which is Love, progressively unfurling itself in an eternal play of conflicting forces and their solutions.

**Nationalism:** Each single nation or individual has got a particular feature or ideal of its own and his life is moulded in accordance with that ideal.

**Internationalism:** Internationalism, which is rooted in nationalism and does not ignore it, is true Internationalism. An international society of nations can be created only if the people of India begin
by setting up, what he called ‘regional federations.’ His clarion call was “Asia for Asians.”

Principles of Socialism: It is constituted of Equality, Freedom, Discipline and Love. Justice: All men are to be treated as equal and in order to make them equal, they are to be made free.

Equality: Bondage of every kind – social, economic and political has to be got rid of and men must become fully free.

Freedom: It only means substitution of the law and discipline of the land in a place of an externally imposed law and discipline.

Discipline: Discipline is indispensable as a basis of life, both for the individual or for the society.

Love: Unless men are inspired by a feeling of love for humanity, they cannot be just towards all, can not treat men as equal, do not feel called upon to suffer and sacrifice in the cause of freedom and enforce discipline of the right sort.
Subhas Chandra Bose’s concept of Swaraj (Self-rule) was the concept of total and unconditional independence, a concept of socio-economic dimension and a concept of the nation’s economic development on the basis of indigenous planning and development model. Subhas Chandra Bose is the first Indian political thinker, who sought to build up a left unity and thereby left and democratic unity in our country. At the end of 1930s, he formed Left Consolidation Committee, the first of its kind in Indian subcontinent. Bose was essentially a democrat who believed in equality, fraternity, liberty and justice as the four keystones on which, a political edifice can be erected and his political programme was aimed at upholding the ideas and impulses, which strengthened these keystones.

To the nationalist press in India, during the pre-independence period, the present day corporate culture was unknown, the purpose of journalistic writing was different from classical or general type. Bringing about social revolution and cultural evolution, preserving of tradition, changing of peoples’ mindset and forming public opinion were the functions of
newspapers and journals. To Bose, journalism was not mere a profession, but a mission and he had made significant contributions for further enhancement of his journalistic purpose. Since his college days, Bose had made serious efforts towards this end through his writings in different magazines and journals. After resigning from the Indian Civil Service and coming back to India from Britain, Subhas Chandra Bose started his journalistic activities, along with politics, with his political mentor, Mr. C.R. Das. He joined as the editor of the Bengali newspaper, Banglar Katha. Later Bose had served as the editor or manager of various newspapers and journals in Vernacular and in English. The Bengali weekly, Atmashakti, Nabashakti, English dailies like Forward, New Forward, Liberty, the weekly Forward Bloc etc. are examples with which Bose was hugely involved and his creative mind is reflected in the many experiments and innovations that he had tried with these newspapers and journals. The proper judgement of news and placing the news as per importance, using box items for news flash or applying bold letters for highlighting news were the characteristic features of Bose’s newspapers, either edited or organized by him. These features were newly introduced by
Subhas Chandra Bose and were not found in other contemporary newspapers and journals published from Bengal. The traditional concepts of description of local incidents, display and presentation of national and international events were thoroughly modified by Bose. Though he was involved in the publication of newspapers and journals, Bose had formed a special type and tradition through his analytical articles and editorials, through which he tried to enhance the national and patriotic feeling among his fellow countrymen. Subhas Chandra Bose had recruited many budding scribes and writers for his newspapers, who, in later times, became famous in the field of journalism and in the literary world. In fact, the contemporary mundane limitations of news items published in Bose’s papers and journals were triumphed over by his exceptional editing caliber and managerial skills and which consequently, sometimes, elevated those articles to great literary heights.

In those days, newspaper publication was a hard task. Besides financial constraints, there was the trepidation of the British rulers, organizational hazards and educational limitations. The main problem was the technical know-how. Subhas Chandra
had to depend on traditional machineries and hand-made composition. Though at that time he was profoundly engaged with his political activities like organizational work, conducting meetings etc., Subhas Chandra could still find out time for his passion of working in newspaper publications. He had given extraordinary efforts, working day and night, in the Forward office, determining the policy of the newspaper, method of news presentation, writing of reports etc. Many a night he had spent lying on the tables of the newspaper office. It is a new archival finding that Subhas Chandra Bose had secret foreign connections with Italy during his Forward phase.

Subhas Chandra was able to change the conventional system of Indian journalism by applying the special attributes of the Western newspapers which he had observed there while his stay in Europe. During the 1923 elections, Bose had made news by quoting the significant part of C.R. Das’s lecture and thus set a new trend in news presentation. Publishing important news in a square box and using broad and narrow types for different news
items also provide evidence of his innovative ideas and working pattern.

Bose First Introduced Asia’s premier municipal journal, *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, an organ of the Calcutta Corporation. According to Bose, the purpose of this journal was to give expression to the ‘new civic consciousnesses’ for promoting the welfare of citizens. He paid his attention to even the minutest details of civic welfare activities, particularly in primary education, health and sanitation of the under-privileged classes.

In India, Subhas Chandra Bose was put behind the bars for eleven times. Hence, his journalistic activities did not have a smooth flow and were interrupted frequently. However, Subhas Chandra Bose applied newspaper as a sword for the struggle for Indian Independence, as he could realize its enormous impact in awakening the masses for the national freedom movement. Sometimes, his writing became aggressive, at times it was made to ridicule, mock and criticize the British rulers and now and again it articulated the anguish of foreign domination. Subhas Chandra
expressed his deep respect for the martyrs of the Indian freedom struggle through his different writings.

It can be undoubtedly ascertained that in the 1930s, Bose had proved and established himself as a high-ranking journalist. In the meantime, his vast study, pioneering ideas and enormous experience had given innovativeness to his writing. During this period, many of his well thought-out and informative essays, which were published in newspapers like *Modern Review*, *Liberty*, *Hindustan Standard* etc., had elevated him to the stature of a famous and eminent writer. Bose had also published news for *Forward* through Airmail. Reading few of his articles, like some serial writings, like ‘All About Geneva’, ‘From the Air’ ‘Development of India’ etc. help us to realize that even though Subhas Chandra was not a professional journalist, but his excellence and caliber could well match the talents of the renowned national and international journalists of the contemporary world.
Besides literary flavour, his writing was augmented by deep thoughts, transparent intuitiveness, true historical sense, conscience and idealism. His profound historical sense and political consciousness are apparent in his essay, 'Japan’s Role in the Far East', published in the *Modern Review* newspaper. Bose had written a number of articles on post-independence reconstruction and on analysis it is found that most of his ideas were unique and reflected his clear vision on economic development of future India, rural development, agro-industrial growth, necessity of industrialization, national planning, education, eradication of poverty and castism. Bose’s two famous Bengali books, *Taruner Swapno* and *Nutaner Sandhane* were thought provoking and created new ripples among the youth. The problems and struggle of Congress had been wisely analysed in his, ‘The Pros and Cons of Office Acceptance.’ A wonderful essay had been written by Subhas Chandra on the organizational characteristics and problems of Congress in the ‘National Front’ (October, 1938) newspaper. His essay, ‘The European Crisis’, published in the ‘Congress-Socialist’ newspaper had outshone Bose’s other writings by its farsightedness and intuitive
analysis, which is beyond the capacity of any ordinary person or journalist. The golden phase of Subhas Chandra’s journalistic career ranges from the excesses committed by the Rightists of Tripuri Congress to the editing of Forward Bloc newspaper, i.e. till June 29, 1940. The Rightists had crushed Subhas’s victory by the Panth Proposal, when he was suffering from high fever. They criticized his illness as a “political fever.” A pain-stricken and emotionally hurt Subhas wrote an essay, ‘My Strange Illness’ (April, 1939) in Modern Review newspaper, which is enriched with literary excellence.

Bose's renowned book, The Indian Struggle, which had presented an objective overview of the nationalist movement, was highly appreciated by the International Press and European intelligentsia, though it was banned in India. Another book, An Indian Pilgrim, was generously written and helped to explain Bose’s views. Despite being immersed in the tumult of the anti-colonial struggle, Bose, in his writings, delved back into India’s long and complex history and looked forward to the socio-economic reconstruction of India, once political freedom was
achieved. The ideas he put forward were products of a philosophical mind applied to careful analyses of specific historical situations and informed by direct and continuous revolutionary experiences in different parts of the world - a kind, unknown to any other leader of contemporary India. Bose, the warrior, paused between battles to tell the world of the historical and cultural continuity of India and the new political and social system that would be India's contribution to the world civilization.

The two Radio Stations, namely the *National Congress Radio* and the *Azad Muslim Radio Centre*, were set up by Bose, besides the *Azad Hind Radio* in Germany for global propaganda and for making the Indians aware about the reasons of his escape from India and the purpose of his struggle against the British imperialism. It is evident from the various radio broadcasts of Bose that the three principal factors which he had emphasized for the liberation of India are – (a) armed struggle of the Azad Hind Provisional Government in East Asia, (b) diplomacy in the international field and (c) resistance inside India.
The periodical *Bhaiband* in Urdu and Devnagari scripts and the monthly *Azad Hind*, published by Bose, were highly informative and popular among the freedom loving Indians in Germany. This was one of his greatest achievements and Bose’s journalistic mind was behind the introduction of such types of propaganda machineries outside Asia.

The Department of Publicity, Press and Broadcasting of the provisional Government of Azad Hind was well organized, particularly at Rangoon, Singapore, Bangkok, Saigon and Tokyo. Mass Communication of Subhas Chandra Bose through radio broadcasts, Azad Hind publications in different Vernacular languages as well as in English and other channels like public relation activities etc. deeply inspired the masses in South East Asia and the Indians living abroad in the freedom movement of India. Propaganda machinery of Bose was so strong that posters like ‘*OUR LIBERATOR SUBHAS BABU*’ were found in Bombay on April 1942. Propaganda literature and posters were distributed all over South East Asia during wartime. Even *CHALO DELHI* like literature, was also published from Sanhai-China.
These activities, under the leadership of Bose, succeeded in achieving the support and sympathy of some independent nations, like Germany, Japan, Burma, Italy, Thailand, Philippines, and Manchuria etc. The details of Bose's journalistic and mass-communicating activities, like radio broadcasting and publications in different countries of Europe and Asia during World War II, are yet to be explored.

History reveals that the INA movement of Subhas Chandra Bose helped in motivating some politically suppressed Nations of Asia to achieve their freedom in later times:

In the Indian freedom history, Subhas Chandra Bose is described as the rebel Congress President and Supreme Commander of the Indian National Army (INA); but it is not a complete and actual evaluation of Bose. His political ideology and journalistic activities were not properly sketched and assessed by the historians in the freedom history of India and in the history of Indian journalism.