INTRODUCTION

The present research work deals with an outstanding personality and a popular leader, Subhas Chandra Bose, who challenged the great phenomenon of emergence and consolidation of the British Empire in India and acted as the chief agent of its dissolution. His brilliance lay in understanding that among the people was a profound revolutionary spirit, which only waited to be called upon to ensure victory. In this leader, the genius and character did intersect, which moved Indian history during the last phase of the British rule.

- Subhas Chandra Bose is not only a national hero but also a patriot in its true sense in the entire world. Mr. Bose had sacrificed his whole life to liberate the suffering Indian masses from the shackles of British imperialism. He had refused a coveted white color job and all comforts of life for the cause of Indian independence. He had been twice elected as the President of the Indian National Congress, was put behind the bars for eleven times and had escaped from house-
arrest on the eve of Second World War. To liberate his motherland, Subhas Chandra Bose continued the struggle and had escaped to Afganistanthan and finally to Germany in disguise of Orlando Mazotta (Italian name). There Mr. Bose had established the Indian Legion and through its various radio stations, delivered lectures to mobilize the masses of India and abroad and also make aware the people about the struggle of freedom-loving patriotic Indians inside India. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose had carried out a perilous 90 days long submarine journey and reached Far East, where he formed the Azad Hind Government and its dedicated self-reliant provincial military force, the Indian National Army (I.N.A.). He could mobilize the non-resident Indians and during the 2nd World War, nine independent countries gave recognition to Mr. Bose’s Govt in exile. Subhas Chandra Bose’s charismatic personality had attracted a number of contemporary political personalities in Europe and in East Asia and Bose was revered by them as Netaji (our respected leader, called by the non-resident Indians). Bose’s army had hoisted the tri-colour Indian flag in the Indian territory, but finally had to retreat owing to natural calamities and sudden change in war situation after the atomic
explosion in Hiroshima & Nagasaki. Subhas Chandra Bose had mysteriously disappeared and the Indian Govt. had thrice formed Inquiry Commissions for probing in the mystery, which is a unique measure in so far as any patriotic leader in any country of the world is concerned.

During and after the 2\textsuperscript{nd} World War, Bose's patriotic attitude, academic excellence, authorship and journalistic approach was highly appreciated by the renowned intelligentsia. The first Indian Nobel laureate, Rabindra Nath Tagore had adored Bose as \textit{Deshnayak} i.e. country's national hero. The great philosopher, Romain Rolland had profusely praised Bose's book, 'The Indian Struggle', which was banned in India and was highly acclaimed by the world intellectuals and newspapers. The British and American researchers also had to recognize Bose's patriotic zeal. Even Bose's once political rival, \textit{Mahatma} Gandhi, was attracted by his electrifying personality and called him the 'Patriot of patriots, prince of patriots'. Subhas Chandra Bose, by his daunting spirit and supreme sacrifice, had placed himself in the recorded history of mankind as a patriot of patriots in the hearts of millions of suffering masses of the
countries in bondage. Not only in the Indian subcontinent, Bangladesh and Pakistan, but also the democracy and freedom-loving Indians of South-East Asia, had high reverence for Subhas Chandra Bose for his tremendous sacrifice and patriotic fervor. Subhas Chandra Bose was a motivational force in South Africa for their struggle against tyranny.

Mr. Nelson Mandela had expressed his gratitude in a gathering of thousands of spectators in Kolkata towards Bose’s inspiration in their movement.

Some interesting remarks, as found in contemporary British records, have been explored in the process of this research work. ‘A man of outstanding organizing ability’, the Political Warfare Division Records of the British Government say, ‘is a dangerous politician that cannot be found in the whole gamut of Congress leadership. Haughty and arrogant to the extreme, he knows no compromise.’ Another British authority belonging to Intelligence Branch, Hugh Toye writes, ‘By the example of his magnetic burning zeal, his tenacity and personal force, by the tradition he left of sacrificial patriotism, must
be measured the stature of Subhas Chandra Bose. His place in Indian history cannot be denied.’

The popular perception of Subhas Chandra Bose is that of a warrior hero and revolutionary leader, who led a life of suffering and sacrifice and who during the Second World War, waged a great armed struggle for the freedom of India. What is often forgotten is that the warrior paused between battles to reflect on and write about the fundamental political, economic and social issues facing India and the World during his lifetime.

The present research work is an attempt towards critical evaluation in making a rational, objective and balanced assessment of Subhas Chandra Bose’s political and journalistic ideas. This study attempts to explore the Indian freedom fighter, Subhas Chandra Bose’s political and journalistic ideas through an extensive research from different perspectives.

Bose’s philosophy of political doctrine was influenced by the Eastern and Western concepts. It is revealed from the theses and
lectures of Bose that his political thrust was against imperialism, oppression and exploitation of mankind. Bose's political approach towards Socialism, Nationalism, Internationalism and a comparative study of his ideas with Gandhism, Fascism and Communism have been analyzed in this work.

Making of Bose as a journalist and his tryst with journalism are appraised through the history of Indian press. Archival researches expose that Bose applied modern journalistic techniques, while himself managing and editing both Vernacular and English newspapers like *Banglar Katha* (voice of Bengal), *Atmashakti* (self-actualization), *Nabashakti* (new spirit), *Forward, Liberty, Forward Bloc* etc. Asia's Premier Municipal Journal, *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette* was also introduced by him. He had rendered a new fervor to the Indian nationalist press.

While exploring the literary and journalistic qualities of Bose, it is studied that as a mass communicator, he authored a number of books and penned many thought-provoking articles. It is observed that
Subhas Chandra 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 journalistic achievements of Bose have been divulged in this study through his activities in Europe and in South-East Asia during World War II. He had established a number of Broadcasting Centres (like the Congress Radio, Azad Muslim Radio and Azad Hind Radio) in his Government in exile and brought out publications, namely Voice of India, The Azad Hind, Swatantra Bharat etc. in different languages for mobilizing the masses of India and Indians living in South-East Asia by forming an international opinion towards the Indian freedom struggle.

It may be inferred humbly, that Bose’s activities were not properly assessed by the historians in the freedom history of India and in the history of Indian journalism. If all the Bose related secret
documents, which are scattered in the archives of India and other countries, are declassified, it will probably unfold an untold story of a mass leader of all times.

In the new millennium, when almost the entire world has become a global community and is crying for democracy, humanitarianism and peace, setting aside the narrow sectarian views and forgetting the enmity of the past, it seems to be highly pertinent to ponder over the messianic role of this great leader, which, may lead all partisan nations to rededicate themselves towards the advancement, peace and prosperity of their motherland.
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This is a descriptive research, which includes fact-findings and enquiries of different kinds. The main characteristic of this method is that it described what has happened during the lifetime of Subhas Chandra Bose. On the other hand, it is also an analytical research work, where the researcher had to use fact or information, which are already available on this particular topic and analyzed this to make a critical evaluation of the material. This is also a fundamental research work, which has proved that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was not only a political hero, but he was a journalist. Proving it, this research, concerning some natural phenomenon, is related to a fundamental research work to identify social, political, and journalistic communication of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. The applied research work methodology is also used to gather the scientific knowledge of different aspects of Subhas Chandra Bose. This research work inculcates scientific and inductive thinking and it promotes the development of logical thinking.
The scientific method is the pursuit of truth, as determined by logical consideration. The ideal of science is to achieve the systematic inter-relation of facts. For this research work, the scientific method attempts to achieve by experimentation, observation, logical argument from accepted publication and speeches and other available materials and a combination of all these in varying proportions. This research work, were logical aids, are formulating proposition and accurately said that Subhas Chandra Bose was an eminent journalist.

For this study, the Historical Research Methodology depends on documents and records. The Primary Sources of data in historical method are the first-hand accounts by an actual observer or participant in the event. These may take several forms viz. official records, autobiographies, letters, diaries, newspapers, magazines, pictures and so on. In the absence of Primary Sources, historical method often resorts to the use of secondary sources. This research work had followed the same methodology to trace the political and journalistic ideas of Subhas Chandra Bose. The interpretation and inference had been drawn on the basis of extensive research work. The empirical
evidence, relevant concepts, ethical neutrality and the other methodology are taken to concern for all critical scrutiny of available publications.

As this scientific method implies the objectives, logical and systematic method, therefore, this method is free from personal bias or prejudice and this method ascertains demonstrable qualities of a phenomenon, capable of being verified. In this research method, the rules of logical reasoning - a method, where the investigation processed in an orderly manner and a method that implies internal consistency.
PREVIOUS RESEARCH WORK

A number of Indian and foreign scholars and biographers had thrown light on the political contribution and patriotic involvements of Subhas Chandra Bose. Most of their work centers around Bose's political and social philosophy, his comparison with other national leaders like Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mohammad Ali Jinnah etc., activities and achievements of his Provisional Government of Azad Hind and its Indian National Army (I.N.A.).

The following doctoral dissertations had been carried out from different Universities of India on the political aspects of Subhas Chandra Bose:

(i) ‘Social and Political ideas of Subhas Chandra Bose – a Critical Study.’ by Manjula Singh

(ii) ‘Subhas Bose – A study of his political ideas and contribution to Indian Nationalism’ by V. Shivraj Patil

(iii) ‘Political ideas of Subhas Chandra Bose’ by Jasabanta Kar
(iv) 'Social and Political ideas of Subhas Chandra Bose' by Subhas Chattopadhyay

(v) 'The Political Thought and Principles of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose (1921-41)' by Sumit Mukerji

Besides a number of Indian scholars and historians, Bose’s political ideologies had been sketched by some foreign biographers like Hugh Toye (1957), Marshall J. Getz (2002), Leonard A. Gordon (1990), Peter Ward Fay (1994), Rudolf Hartog (2001), Kitty Kurti (1965), Akiko Seki (2003), Geral H Corr (1975), A.B. Raikov (1999), etc.

Some of the earlier research works on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose may be mentioned here briefly:

R.K. Pruthi in his book, “Subhas Chandra Bose – His Dream of free India”, January, 2005; Rajat Publications (New Delhi). In this research work he wanted to analyse the character, works and sacrifices of Bose, along with his ideas and ideals for an independent India. This work also explains how far and in what
way we have fulfilled his dream or betrayed his vision for a free and vibrant India. The researcher used his speeches, writings and contemporary documents pertaining to the proclamation of Azad Hind, along with the I.N.A.

Netaji Research Bureau of Calcutta had also published and had preserved many valuable and important documents on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

In Japan, Ban Takezumi has done two research works in Japanese and in English in the books, ‘Netaji and the Japan’ and ‘Columns from Yorozubampo’, where he had analyzed Subhas Chandra Bose and his famous speeches:

v) “Delhi to Delhi” – July 5, 1943

ii) “Order of the Day” – August 26, 1943


iv) “Why INA withdrew” – August 13, 1944.

v) “India will be free to Indians in East Asia” – August 17, 1945
“The Last Hero of India” – a research work done by Frankgrauschae (on 8.8.2003.) has written a documentary research work in Germany, where the Berlin based Media Production Company (Werywiywas – Maden Produkpan) and the author Mainboy & Marckal. Weingartner made a movie in Germany to produce a T.V. feature for the German television network, 3-sat. It was broadcasted around the world by the German internal news channel D.W. T.V. and some other German channels.

British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) had also produced (1995) a documentary film on Bose titled, “Enemy of the Empire” broadcasted around the world through their network. This documentary contained the rare interviews of eminent contemporary comrade-in-arms of Bose and also some important historical footages.

In 2005, Mrs. Miller had written a book, “One Life, One Nation, One Chance….Never to be Forgotten” – by Mrs. Miller (2005), where she described different aspects of Subhas Chandra
Bose, Mahatma Gandhi etc. In it, she had also mentioned about her grandparents’ good relation with Netaji and she got so many ideas from her grandparents, who had visited India during the period of Subhas Chandra Bose.

Anton Pelinka, a Prof. of Political Science in the University of Innsbruck, in his book, “Democracy Indian Style - Subhas Chandra Bose and the Creation of India’s political culture”, published by New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, in July, 2003, where she had described the determination of Subhas Chandra Bose for the Indian nationalist movement and Bose’s criticism to contemporary Indian political culture.

Prem Chand Sahajwala in his research work, “Remembering Subhas Chandra Bose”, where he compared Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose.

Reba Som wrote a research analysis (Gandhi, Bose, Nehru and the Making of the Modern Indian Mind ,Viking,2004) of Gandhi, Bose and Nehru.
A research work done by Ranjit Sen, titled “The Twin in the Twist” (1997), where he had analysed the philosophical thoughts of Bose and Gandhi.

Mihir Bose, in his research work, “The Lost Hero” (2004) had described different aspects of Bose’s life.

The World Association of International Studies, Stanford University had carried out a research work on Bose on Hugh Toye’s The Springing Tiger, where a first-hand experience of a British General during World War II in South-East Asia has been revealed.

Ranjan Borra had done an extensive research work on Subhas Chandra Bose, where he had described the activities of Subhas Chandra Bose during his I.N.A. phase.

Cemporen Swyer had written a book on Subhas Chandra Bose, where he had mentioned that Bose was the founder of various Indian rebel armies including the Indian Legion, attached to the Wassen S.S. in Germany and the ‘National Army’, which
fought with the Japanese army forces against the British on the Indo-Burmese border. Bose was an authoritarian socialist, a kind of left fascist. He did not share the racial theories of the Nazis, but was much attracted to the other aspects of the national socialism and Italian Fascism.

Any detailed authentic doctoral research work on the journalistic ideas of Subhas Chandra Bose has not yet been done, but a part study of the literary activities of Bose had been made by Chittaranjan Chakraborty in his Ph.D. work, ‘Sahitya Sadhanay Deshbandhu – Deshpran-Netaji: Rajnitibid Troyee’ (Literary contribution of three political leaders, Deshbandhu – Deshpran-Netaji) carried out from the Bengali Department, University of Calcutta.
CHAPTER - I

A BRIEF PROFILE OF

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE –

THE INDIAN NATIONAL HERO