CHAPTER – III

AN ANALYSIS OF

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE’S

POLITICAL APPROACH
Subhas Chandra Bose had explored the contemporary political theories and ideas like Marxism, Leftism, Communism, Socialism, and various other ‘isms’, which were propagated by different political thinkers. Though a born nationalist, Bose was never crazy and dogmatic, but had an open, receptive and resilient mind. He was always keen to learn from the ideas and experiences of other countries and advocated the synthesis of ideas, which would be derived from the incorporation of the knowledge of all countries. Such enrichment was essential for national enhancement, as has been repeatedly pointed out in his speeches and writings.

Leftism and Socialism: Views of Karl Marx and Bose

Karl Heinrich Marx (May 5, 1818 to March 19, 1883) was a German philosopher, political economist, historian, socialist,
humanist, political theorist and revolutionary, credited as the founder of communism. Marx’s approach to history and politics is indicated by the opening line of the first chapter of Communist Manifesto (1848): “The history of all hitherto existing society is history of class struggles.” Marx argued that capitalism, like previous socio-economic systems, will produce internal tension, which will lead to its destruction. Just as capitalism replaced feudalism, capitalism itself will be displaced by communism, a classless society, which emerges after a transitional period – socialism – in which the state would be nothing else, but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

On the one hand, Marx argued for a systemic understanding for socio-economic change. He argued that it is the structural contradictions within capitalism, which necessitates its end, giving way to communism. Marx argued that socio-economic change occurs through organized revolutionary action.

Friedrick Engels (Nov. 28, 1820 to August 5, 1895) : was a socialist philosopher and co-founder (with Karl Marx) of modern
communist theory. Together they published “Communist Manifesto” in 1848 and Engels edited several volumes of “Das Kapital” (Capital: a critic of political economy) after Marx’s death. The basic concept of Karl Marx on Left Socialism may be sketched from the works of Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels (The Communist Manifesto, Chapters 1 and 2):

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.

2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.

3. Abolition of all rights of inheritance.

4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.

5. Centralization of credit in the banks of the state, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly.

6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state.

7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state; the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal obligation of all to work. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.

9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of all the distinction between town and country by a more equable distribution of the populace over the country.

10. Free education for all children in public schools; abolition of child labourers in factories in its present form and combination of education with industrial production etc.

Subhas Chandra Bose also believed in the political idea of Karl Marx for the purpose of consolidation of the state structure in the early years of the post-independent period. This was an example of how, even though he had significant points of disagreement with the Marxist views, some of the basic policies and also strategies outlined in the important Marxist documents were fully accepted and absorbed by Bose in his views on state and power. The fact also could not be ignored that Bose moulded these ideas in his own way so as to fit them within his own political personality and view of the present and future in the Indian scenario. Therefore, the discussion of political philosophy in
respect of the various aspects of the state, with particular reference to the political thoughts of Subhas Chandra Bose on the subject, cannot be complete without a reference to the Marxist-Leninist concept of the State, its nature, goal and functions. The repeated references to the Marxist viewpoint on the State in Bose’s writings and speeches clearly show that the impact was strong and stirring on Bose’s mind.1

Subhas Chandra Bose felt that out of the Left-Wing revolt there will ultimately emerge a new full-fledged party, viz. the Socialist Party, with a clear ideology, programme and plan of action. He declared that India must dedicate itself to the socialist programme with the distinction that it would be socialism saturated with the true Indian spirit— a new and practical socialism, which would go to electrify the entire world. Bose envisaged that India would have its own type of socialism, keeping in mind her ‘own environment’, her ‘own needs’, her ‘geography or history’ - from which the world would also be benefited. The ten-point programme, as formulated by Subhas Chandra Bose is:

41
1. The Party will stand for the interests of the masses, viz. of the peasants, workers etc. and not for the vested interests of the landlords, capitalists and money-lending section.

2. It will stand for the complete political and economic liberation of the Indians.

3. A Federal Government will be its ultimate goal, but will believe in a strong Central Government with dictatorial powers for some years to come, in order to put India on her feet.

4. The Socialist Party will believe in a sound system of state-planning for the re-organization of the agricultural and industrial life of the country.

5. It will aim to construct a new social structure on the basis of village communities of the past and will strive to break down the existing social barriers like caste.

6. The Socialist Party will seek to establish a new monetary and credit system in the light of the theories and the experiments that have been and are current in the modern world.
7. It will seek to abolish landlordism and introduce a uniform land-tenure system for the whole of India.

8. The Socialist Party will believe in Government by a strong party bound together by military discipline.

9. It will not restrict itself to a campaign inside India, but will resort to international propaganda also.

10. It will aim at unifying all the radical organizations under a national executive so that whenever any action is taken, there will be simultaneous activity on many fronts.  

Since joining the freedom movement of the country in 1921, Subhas Chandra Bose had been speaking in clear terms in support of socialism. His ideas on socialism are important and still relevant in the present context of the political situation in India and abroad.

In the years from 1928 on, Bose spoke more openly and strongly for socialism, an Indian socialism. He thought that Indian
socialism had its roots in ancient Indian ideals and in the Indian renaissance of the nineteenth century. In the context of Swami Vivekananda's ideas about socialistic India, Bose delivered a Presidential Address in the Rangpur Political conference, March 30, 1929 - “In the work of man-making, Swami Vivekananda did not confine his attention to any particular sect but embraced the whole of society. His fiery words - “let a new India emerge through the workshop and huts and bazaars” - are still ringing in every Bengali home. This socialism did not derive its birth from the books of Karl Marx. It has its origin in the thought and culture of India. The gospel of democracy that was preached by Swami Vivekananda has manifested itself fully in the writings and achievements of Deshabandhu Das, who said that Narayan lives amongst those who till the land, prepare our bread by the sweat of their brow those who in the midst of grinding poverty have kept the torch of our civilization, culture and religion burning...New ideas of socialism are nowadays traveling to India from the West, and they are revolutionizing the thoughts of many, but the idea of socialism
is not a novelty in this country. We regard it as such, only because we have lost the thread of our own history. It is not proper to take any school of thought as unmistakable and absolute truth. We must not forget that the Russians, the main disciples of Karl Marx, have not blindly followed his ideas; finding it difficult to apply his theories they have adopted a new economic policy consistent with possession of private property and ownership of business factories. We have, therefore, to shape society and politics according to our own ideals and according to our needs."

Bose had declared that the present era was that of non-cooperation and socialism. In this phase of his life, ‘freedom’ and ‘socialism’ were the major goals and part of his endeavours was to state, and state, and state again the ideals that Indians should hold for themselves and their society. India was to be free of foreign rule and was to be, in time, a more egalitarian, industrialized and vibrant society.

Delivering the Presidential address at the All India Trade Union Congress in Calcutta on 4th July, 1931, Bose said:
'I have no doubt in my own mind that the salvation of India, as of the world, depends on socialism. India should learn from and profit by the experience of other nations – but India should be able to evolve her own methods in keeping with her own needs and her own environment. In applying any theory to practice, you can never rule out geography or history. If you attempt it, you are bound to fail. India should, therefore, evolve her own form of socialism. When the whole world is engaged in socialistic experiments, why should we not do the same? It may be that the form of socialism which India will evolve, will have something new and original about it, which will be of benefit to the whole world.' In the Presidential address delivered at the 51st session of the Indian National Congress at Haripura on 19th February, 1938, Subhas Chandra Bose announced his views and said – 'Socialist programme is necessary to prepare the country for socialism when political freedom has been won.' In an interview with R. Palme Dutt, published in the Daily Worker, London, on January 24, 1938, Subhas Chandra Bose said- 'We in India wanted our national freedom and having won it, we wanted to move in the direction of Socialism...I am quite satisfied that communism, as it has been
expressed in the writings of Marx and Lenin and in the official statements of policy of the Communist International, gives full support to the struggle for national independence and recognizes this as an integral part of its world outlook." 6

In his famous Kabul thesis, titled, 'Forward Bloc: Its Justification', Subhas Chandra Bose wrote- 'After the attainment of political independence, Leftism will mean Socialism and the task before the people will then be the reconstruction of national life on a socialist basis.' In his address delivered before the students at the Imperial University, Tokyo, in November, 1944, Subhas Chandra Bose, dealing with the methods of solving the Fundamental problems of India, categorically said- '...We cannot leave it to private initiative to solve these national problems, especially the economic problem. If we leave it to private initiative to solve the problem of poverty and unemployment, for instance, it will probably take centuries. Therefore, public opinion in India is in favour of some sort of socialist system, in which the initiative will not be left to private individuals, but the State will take over the responsibility for solving economic questions. Whether it is a
question of industrializing the country or modernizing agriculture, we want the State to step in and take over the responsibility and put through reforms within a short period so that the Indian people could be put on their legs at a very early date. But in solving this problem, we want to work in our own way. We will naturally study experiments made in other countries – but after all, we have to solve our problems in an Indian way and under Indian conditions. Therefore, the system that will ultimately set up will be Indian system to suit the needs of the Indian people.8

To avoid the illusions of manifold explanations of socialism, Subhas Chandra Bose defines his socialism in a very clear language. Firstly, his socialism is Leftist and urges its adherents to unceasing struggle, to go ahead without respite and compromise. He accepted Leftism because it guides the thoughts and actions for the Indian people in their uncompromising struggle for socialism, i.e. an economy without capitalist exploitation and with every opportunity for the toiling masses for the fulfillment of their aspirations. In his socialism, Through analysis there will be scope
for ‘complete all-round undiluted freedom’ and ‘complete economic emancipation’.7

There will be no discrimination among castes and underprivileged classes. In the eyes of social rank, all men and women will hold the same right. In his social construction views, Subhas Chandra Bose admitted freedom of conscience, freedom of state, which means political democracy and Indian socialism, which means economic democracy. Bose said that a synthetic revaluation of values of the past and present would be the bonds of future reconstruction. In his words, ‘We shall have to revalue the existing social and moral values in the light of the ideal of the age and in all probability we shall have to introduce a new scale of values which will govern the society of the future.’8

This theory of society has been named as the ‘Doctrine of Synthesis’ by Subhas Chandra Bose.8(a) The fourth pillar of his Socialism is the ‘Dignity of man’ which Bose gives the highest rank among all aspects of human thought and work. Otherwise,
humanity of man would be crushed under the iron rule of materialism. So, Bose’s ideas stand on four pillars:

1) Freedom of Conscience
2) Political Democracy
3) Economic Democracy or Indian Socialism
4) Dignity of Man.

To establish such a new order in India, Bose says, ‘I want a Socialist Republic in India.’

Brief historical survey by the communist historian, Gautam Chattopadhyay, reveals certain clear features about Bose and the communist movement of India. ‘Both Subhas Chandra Bose and CPI (Communist Party of India) represented militant, anti-imperialist trends in the Indian national movement. Hence, time and again, both Bose and the Communists came together on a common, militant and anti-imperialist platform. Cooperation started from the beginning (1922) and reached its zenith in 1938, during the period of the Left Consolidation Committee. There were strains and stresses also in this entire period, partly due to the
sectarian dogmatic lapses of the communist movement and partly owing to the subtle anti-communism, inherent among most left-nationalists. Conflict between Subhas Chandra Bose and the communists became fundamental and unbridgeable during the World War II, when one chose the Axis powers, while the other opted for the anti-fascist camp. However, after the War and still later, the followers of Bose and the Indian Communists have come together time and again in common militant battles for the final act in India’s struggle for liberation, and after liberation for common socialist aims.10

Subhas Chandra Bose was compelled to resign from the Presidentship of Congress on 29th April 1939. On 3rd May 1939, Subhas Chandra Bose declared the formation of a platform within the Congress, the Forward Bloc, with an aim to consolidate the leftist forces of the country and to march them forward with the action against the British, in order to achieve Indian independence. He took the time-space to cover the whole country with his touring programme so as to convey the people the reasons for which he
had been compelled to resign, what were the actual designs of the rightists and what he intended to do according to the need of the people and the country. On 9th July 1939, Subhas Chandra Bose, being the President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee (BPCC), issued an appeal on behalf of the Left Consolidation Committee to protest against the All India Congress Committee (AICC) resolution, banning individual Satyagraha (fight for truth). The leadership of AICC suspended Subhas Chandra Bose from Congress on 11th August 1939, for a period of three years for observing programmes defying their orders. But it did not matter to him as Subhas Chandra became more sure that the Congress leadership had ditched themselves upon the shoes of the British - begging for Dominion status and trying for resuming ministries in provinces, they had enslaved themselves with all the vices of Constitutionalism. On 19th March 1940, a Congress Session was held at Ramgarh. Subhas Chandra, with his Comrade-in-Arms, Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, convened the Anti-Compromise Conference. It was held on that very day same day in the same compound where the Congress meeting at Ramgarh in the presence of Mr. M.K. Gandhi, and there was a gathering of about
two lakhs of people in the Anti-compromise Conference. In this Anti-compromise Conference Bose said, 'In India, we are now ringing down the curtain on an age that is passing away, while we are at the same time ushering in the dawn of a new era. The age of imperialism is drawing to a close and the era of freedom, democracy and socialism looms ahead of us.'

Nationalism and Internationalism

An important aspect of Subhas Chandra Bose’s political thought was nationalism that was at the root of Indian national movement. To him, it was nationalism, which was the moving force of national liberation and also the basis of post-independence national reconstruction. To quote him, ‘.... if we, as a dependent people adopt any ‘ism’, it is always nationalism. Unless we are independent, we shall never have a chance for social and economic reconstruction of the country.’ Since his boyhood, Subhas Chandra Bose was influenced by the ideal of nationalism. He regarded India as a holy land and not merely a geographical territory. He strongly refuted the popular notion formed by the
British propaganda that for the first time in our history, the political unification of India was brought about by the British rule. In course of his famous address delivered to the students of the Imperial University, Tokyo in November 1944, he said, “It is an entirely wrong notion to think that India was politically unified by the British. The fact is that India was, for the first time, politically unified nearly 2,500 years ago under the Buddhist Emperor, Asoka. In reality, India, at the time of Asoka the Great, was even larger than the India of today. Asoka’s India included not only modern India, but also Afghanistan and a part of Persia.... About 1000 years after Asoka, India again reached the zenith of progress under the Gupta Emperors. Therefore, it is worth remembering that the British notion that we have been unified politically under the British rule, is entirely wrong.” Subhas Chandra Bose was a patriotic personality who had been coining the sense and essence of Indianism in India’s ideological, political and freedom war history.
Subhas Chandra Bose never interpreted nationalism in its narrow, perverted and aggressive form. He viewed Indian nationalism from the standpoint of a humanist. To Bose, ‘Indian nationalism is neither narrow, nor selfish, nor aggressive. It is inspired by the highest ideals of the human race, viz. Satyam (the truth), Shivam (the good) and Sundaram (the beautiful). Nationalism in India has instilled into us truthfulness, honesty, manliness and the spirit of service and sacrifice. What is more, it has roused the creative faculties, which for centuries had been lying dormant in our people and as a result, we are experiencing a renaissance...\(^{17}\) He had the faith that the mission of the Indian nation was to contribute to the all-round enrichment of the world civilization. He said in this connection, “India has a mission to fulfill, and it is because of this that India still lives. There is nothing mystic in this word ‘mission.’ India has something original to contribute to the culture and civilization of the world in almost every department of human life.”\(^{18}\)

Though he shook hands with the Nazi leaders, Subhas Chandra Bose understood that Germany was not a national
socialist state or nation as Hitler sustained earlier. He expressed his frustration as such, in a letter written in March, 1936 to Dr. Franz Thierfelder, the co-founder with Dr. Tarak Nath Das, of the Indian Institute of Munich: “When I first visited Germany in 1933, I had hopes that the new German nation, which has risen to a new consciousness of its national strength and self-respect, would instinctively feel a deep sympathy for other nations struggling in the same direction. Today, I regret that I have to return to India with the conviction that the new nationalism of Germany is not only narrow and selfish, but also arrogant.”

His conception of nationalism was not opposed to internationalism, but was rather complementary to it. He believed that so long as different countries and nations were under foreign domination and exploitation, the talk of peace and internationalism was a misnomer. As he remarked ‘All efforts to establish peace in this world must fail because there are numerous countries which are still in bondage under foreign domination. So long as they are not free, the word ‘Peace’ would continue to mean subordination and servitude.’ Though Subhas Bose was first and foremost a
nationalist, his commitment to internationalism was beyond question. The fanaticism and sectarianism of nationalism did never appeal to his mind. He passionately believed that India had a distinct role and a message for the world. His nationalism had no element of chauvinism.

Bose was a patriot and had an intense love for India. He eagerly wanted to assimilate and derive benefit from all the acceptable ideas and experiments of other nations. He said in course of a Press statement from Geneva, ‘We should have to study with critical sympathy all the movements and experiments that are going on in Europe and America and we would be guilty of folly if we ignore any movement or experiment because of any preconceived bias or predilection.’\textsuperscript{21} He gave his thought over the issue of a common script for the \textit{linguafranca} of free India in a scientific perspective. He made it clear that there was nothing sacrosanct in a script and that the issue should be considered without any parochial feelings or preconceived notion. Bose’s visit to Turkey convinced him that the adoption of Latin script gave a great advantage by offering the same script as in the rest of the
world. In his address at Haripura Congress in 1938, Bose favoured
the adoption of the Latin script, as he was "...inclined to think that
the ultimate solution and the best solution would be the adoption of
a script that would bring us into line with the rest of the world."22

Bose had written in his weekly *Forward Bloc* about the
necessity of international news sense for national movement:
"We are living in an age when frontiers have, in a way,
been obliterated. The world is today one unit. What happens in one
corner has far-reaching repercussions throughout our globe.
Consequently, even if we are in tune with the mass-mind, even if
we have a correct understanding of historical development, we
may still go wrong if we lack the international sense."23 Later on,
while addressing the students of Imperial University, Tokyo in
1944, he reiterated, "since we have to live in a modern world, we
have to be in touch with other countries and whether we like it or
not, we have to learn the Latin script."24 He took concrete steps for
introducing the *Hindustani*—a mixture of Hindi and Urdu
languages spoken in northern India24(a) language in Latin script for
all official purposes in the movement he commanded in Germany

58
and East Asia. The bold experiment was successful under his leadership in the provisional Government of Azad Hind, set up by Subhas Chandra Bose. He was one of the very few Indian leaders who realized the imperative necessity of a well conceived and well thought of foreign policy. He had given much importance to the question of foreign policy. As a political realist, his perception of foreign policy harped on proper appraisal of the world situation and utilizing the same in the best interests of India.

During his enforced exile in Europe in the thirties, Subhas Chandra Bose took upon himself the role of an unofficial ambassador of India in Europe. He tried to build up Indo-European relations in a number of directions, viz. political, cultural and economic. For the purpose of political propaganda, and also for highlighting the true picture of Indian culture and their fighting spirit of the Indians, Subhas Chandra Bose addressed meetings in different cities of Europe, met important personalities in and outside governments and contributed articles to newspapers and periodicals etc. He sought to promote academic and cultural contacts between India and Central European countries by all
possible means, viz. by founding and supporting friendship societies and introducing Indian academicians and artistes there. Bose explored avenues of opening up trade and commercial relations with the European countries, both on a long-term and short-term basis. He sought to make foreign propaganda an integral part of India's struggle for freedom. In the Haripura Session of the Congress, Subhas Chandra Bose said, 'I insist that we should make India and her culture known to the world. I say this because I am aware that such efforts will be welcomed in every country in Europe and America. If we go ahead with this work, we shall be preparing the basis for our future embassies and delegations in different lands.' Bose raised his voice against any policy of separatism and emphasized the urgency of making international contacts, particularly with those countries, which were sympathetic to India in her struggle for freedom. He also urged to make proper use of the real sympathy in a section of the British public opinion for our national aspirations. He clarified the objectives of international propaganda, which, in his opinion, should have positive and also negative aspects. On the one hand,
he felt the necessity of removing misconceptions deliberately created by the vested interests regarding India and on the other hand, he called for steps so that the cultural values and political grievances of India might draw the attention of the world. As he said in his Presidential Address (The Anti-Imperialist Struggle and Samyavada, delivered in absentia in 10 June, 1933.) at the Third Indian Political Conference in London, '...it is exceedingly important and necessary for our purpose that we should organize international propaganda on behalf of India. This propaganda must be both positive and negative. On the negative side, we must refute the lies that are told about India consciously or unconsciously by the agents of Great Britain throughout the world. On the positive side, we must bring to the notice of the world the rich culture of India in all its aspects, as well as its manifold grievances...It is to be regretted that till quite recently, the Indian National Congress did not realize the value and the necessity of international propaganda. But we now hope that our countrymen, in the days to come, will realize in an increasing degree the value of international propaganda.'
During his sojourn in Europe, Subhas Chandra Bose felt keenly the importance of systematic propaganda abroad for India. Subhas Chandra Bose's primary and principal object was the attainment of India’s liberation and he viewed his foreign policy on that fundamental assumption. In that context he was out and out an anti-British nationalist and as such, in the matter of enlisting World public opinion in favour of India, Bose advocated alliance and friendship with the nations opposed to Great Britain. Hence, during the War years, he aligned with the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis, because only those countries had also been fighting against Britain and her allies during that period; But for that matter he never subscribed to their beliefs, aims and aspirations. His outlook in this regard may be said to be Kautilyan (principle of Kautilya, political theorist of ancient India) rather than Machiavellian.28

Another aspect of Subhas Chandra's internationalism was his Pan-Asiatic feeling. He had particular concern for the Asiatic nations and wanted to build harmony among them through a regional order. In his Tokyo address, he said, 'Indian thought has
been greatly interested in Asiatic revival. During the last forty years, we have been thinking not merely of what was happening in other parts of Asia.\textsuperscript{29} The common struggle against Western imperialism and the common urge for freedom and justice were the bonds of Asiatic solidarity. The Asiatic regional order, to be founded on the principles of equality, mutual cooperation and justice, was regarded as the smaller edition of a world order. Bose presumably inherited this Pan-Asiatic idea from the ideal of a ‘great federation of all Asiatic people’\textsuperscript{30}, advocated by his political mentor, Deshbandhu (friend of the State) Chitranjan Das.

**Secularism and Democracy**

Subhas Chandra Bose introduced the concept of Indianism, which is a concept consisting of secularism, in its truest sense. Bose’s approach of secularism was nationalistic, patriotic and realistic.

A unique instance of Subhas Chandra Bose’s secular ideology is reflected during his Indian National Army (I.N.A.)
phase while dealing with the Chettiar temple trustees. Major General A.C. Chatterjee, Comrade-in-Arms of Bose, was an eyewitness to this historical incident and gives a vivid description of it in his Memoir: Bose had asked the trustees of the Chettiar temple (an orthodox Hindu temple), located at Tank Road, Singapore for contributing to the INA fund for the Independence Movement. The authorities agreed to contribute on the condition that Bose would visit their temple and speak to them. Bose replied that the temple being a place of worship, should not be mixed up with matters of the State and hence he did not like their idea. On their repeated urgent requests and as a special case, he agreed to go there, provided the authorities allowed him to visit the temple along with his officers, irrespective of caste, creed and religion. However, if they refuted his proposal, Bose said that he would not mind if for that reason the trustees withheld their contributions. The trustees in turn wrote to Bose, agreeing to his proposal. As Major General Chatterjee writes in his book, ‘....This was a very remarkable departure in the history of the temple. In due course, Netaji went to the temple, accompanied by his Muslim, Hindu, Sikh and Christian
officers. They went not only into the inner courtyard of the temple, where previously non-Hindus were not allowed to enter, but they even went close to the door of the sanctus sanctorum, where only Brahmins could set their feet. This was an even more remarkable incident in the annals of the temple. Not only this, but the Brahmin priest of the temple put tilakas (marks) over the foreheads of Netaji and the officers, irrespective of caste, creed and religion and gave them prosad (oblations) of the deity. The officers in their turn willingly accepted the tilaka on their foreheads and gladly partook of the prosad offered to them. By such acts, the Hindus did not become less Hindus, nor the Muslims or Christians or Sikhs any the less Muslims, Christians or Sikhs. What did happen, however, was that they all rose to the plane of human relationships to a higher level. Their love and respect for one another increased manifold. Bose there delivered a remarkable speech explaining what the Movement implied and emphasized upon the unity amongst the followers of the different creeds and religions of India and the significance of universal brotherhood. The seed of a profound sense of fellow-feeling was sown between people of all
denominations who had joined the Independence Movement, which enhanced further in later years. Bose was keen on the practical development of mutual love and respect between officers and men of all sections and classes. He particularly stressed upon the idea that officers and men of one religion should participate in the religious festivities of his fellow brothers belonging to other religions. Consequently, Hindu, Muslim and Sikh officers visited, the temples, mosques, gurudwaras etc. during each others festivals and gradually there developed a mutual sense of tolerance, love and respect for each other.

Bose’s Presidential Address at the Maharastra Provincial Conference, Pune, May 3, 1928 is relevant in this context: “There is much more common between a Hindu peasant and a Muslim peasant than between a Muslim peasant and a Muslim Zamindar (Landlord). The masses have only got to be educated wherein their economic interests be, and once they understand it, they will no longer consent to be pawns in communal feuds. By working from the cultural, educational and economic side, we can gradually
undermine fanaticism and thereby render possible the growth of healthy nationalism in this country.\textsuperscript{31(f)}

As a Democrat, Subhas Chandra Bose had unshakable faith in the values and ideals of democracy. Though he could not get the opportunity to develop his thoughts on this issue, one can still find some of his ideas bearing on democracy. Subhas Chandra's ideology is democratic socialism, which is rich in India's heritage, in modern ideas and in material prosperity and scientific achievements of the West. In respect of national independence, Subhas Chandra Bose believed in an ideal democracy that includes-

a) Freedom of opinion

b) Freedom of self-expression

c) Freedom of every citizen, irrespective of caste, religion, men and women.

The greatest advantage of democracy is to mould a viewpoint by dint of another superior viewpoint established by reasoning rather than confrontation.\textsuperscript{32}
Subhas Chandra Bose did not hold that democracy was an import from the West. As he observed, 'Democracy is by no means a Western institution; it is a human institution.' Making a historical survey, he cited the examples of Republics in ancient India and referred to the principle of democracy, as applied in India in the governments of villages and towns. He highlighted the fact that the doctrine of democracy was not unknown to India in the past. "...from the above historical narrative it will be evident that democratic republican forms of government existed in India in the ancient times. They were usually based on a homogenous tribe or caste. In the Mahabharata, these tribal democracies are known as 'Ganas'. Besides, in these full-fledged republics, in monarchical states also, the people enjoyed a large measure of liberty, as the King was virtually a constitutional monarch. This fact, which has been consistently ignored by the British historians, has now been fully established through the researches of Indian historians. Besides political matters, in other matters also, the people enjoyed a large measure of liberty..."
Subhas Chandra Bose interpreted the idea of democracy in all its aspects. He regarded the realization of a truly democratic society as the solution to national and international problems too. As he said, 'If we succeed in building a democratic society based on freedom, equality and universal brotherhood, we would solve not merely our own national problem, but the immensely wider problem of the world at large.' He wanted to establish in India a fully democratic society - 'a reign of perfect equality - social, economic and political.' As the foundation of the new state of free India, he enunciated three 'eternal principles of justice, equality and freedom.'

Subhas Chandra Bose made no secret of his conviction that with the Western brand of parliamentary democracy, India would not be able to put through socio-economic reconstruction on socialistic basis in the post-independence phase. He was in favour of some sort of an authoritarian political system as a transitional arrangement for rapid and radical socio-economic change in free India. As he said in his Tokyo address, 'If we are to have an economic structure of a socialistic character, then it follows that
the political system must be such, so as to be able to carry out that economic programme in the best possible way. You cannot have a so-called democratic system, if that system has to put through economic reforms on a socialistic basis. Therefore, we must have a political system - a State of an authoritarian character. In his book, *The Indian Struggle*, Subhas Chandra Bose pronounced the outlines of his programme for free India as follows: 'It will stand for a Federal Government for India as the ultimate goal, but will believe in a strong Central Government with dictatorial powers for some years to come, in order to put India on her feet.' He was of the view that 'democracy, not in the mid-Victorian sense of the term, but government by a strong party bound together by military discipline, is the only means of holding India together and preventing a chaos, 'when Indians are free and are thrown entirely on their own resources.'

**Comparative Study with Gandhism, Fascism and Communism**

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and Subhas Chandra Bose gave two distinctive dimensions to the Congress Party and both
these dimensions were the historical necessity for the Congress and India's struggle for Independence. The pre-1920 Congress was a party of the elite. Gandhi began to give it a mass character. Bose could realize that Gandhi was the person and personality to bridge the gap between the masses and the elites of India. The Indian elite of that time was the product of the British educational system as well as the result of the urbanization process. Some of them exploited the illiterate masses on the one hand and became an instrument of the British administrative system on the other, for exploitation of the vast majority of the illiterate poor of India. Gandhi succeeded in making the unity of the opposites that could be regarded as a dialectical process of political nature. The Gandhian and Subhasist dimensions to the Congress and India's Independence struggle can be traced as below: ⁴²

**Gandhian Dimension Consisted of**

- Unification of the (i) elite and the (ii) poor masses
- Combination of the (i) non-violent struggle and (ii) non-violent non-cooperation.
Bose's Dimension Consisted of

- Educating the masses with the revolutionary spirits
- Combination of
  (i) the armed struggle with
  (ii) total non-cooperation for united and complete freedom

The inter and counter-distinctive differences between Subhas Chandra Bose and Gandhi can be traced as follows:

Subhas's dimension of united freedom was the aspect of freedom for India which excludes (a) territorial partition or fragmentation of India, (b) religious fragmentation of India, (c) caste-based and tribal fragmentation of India, (d) language-based population fragmentation of India, etc. His concept of complete freedom excluded (a) partial freedom with dominion status and (b) loose federation with might generate inter-provincial rivalry, quarrels, misunderstandings and finally sabotages.

Gandhian dimension was that of mild-functionality, time-consuming and 'slow and steady' type of win-over in the end.
Bose's perception was that of immediate action, shock-therapy and 'do or die', as consequence. Bose introduced the real radicalism in the Congress, which meant the departure from the Gandhian monopolicism to the leftist revolutionism. 43

A comparison between the ideological perspectives of two great Indian leaders may be tabulated as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subhas Chandra Bose</th>
<th>Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Was an efficient organizer and visionary</td>
<td>(a) Was an idea spreader and missionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) His dynamism consisted of unifying all sections of people -ability to fight -winning over at the end</td>
<td>(b) His dynamism consisted of -convincing the common illiterate masses -belief in moral strength of non-violence -belief in the diplomacy of peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Was above all 'isms' and religions</td>
<td>(c) Was not above 'isms' but was for cosmo-religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) His international knowledge was rooted on his vast experiences of the entire Europe and Asia including systems like British Democracy, German Nazism, Italian Fascism, Russian Communism, Chinese</td>
<td>(d) His international experience owed mainly to his knowledge of Britain, South Africa and basically of the Anglo-Saxon nature.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

73
struggle for emancipation, Japanese Expansionism etc.

(e) His vision consisted of his conviction that non-violent non-cooperation was a weak point for India. The 1932 arrest of most of the Congress leaders practicing non-violent non-cooperation proved the validity of his vision, as the Britishers understood that the Indian nationalists were unarmed and could be silenced by arrest and imprisonment. His vision was of offensive nature.

(e) The logic behind Gandhi’s vision began from his understanding that the Indians without arms could not fight the British army and the police and there would take place human massacres in direct fights. Hence, his conviction and concept centered around the non-cooperative resistance type of struggle. His vision was of defensive nature.

It is interesting to note that the Servant, a Gandhian paper, presented the inner, moral development of Indians as the goal of the movement. Bose’s paper, the Liberty, picked out the objective of political mobilization, focusing on a process rather than a clear-cut goal. None of these objectives were incompatible with each other or with Gandhi’s most frequently stated specific aims or with his vaguer notion of swaraj.  

Subhas Chandra Bose had high regards towards Mahatma Gandhi and on 6th July, 1944, from Rangoon Radio Station, he
addressed to Mahatma Gandhi as follows: “Father of our nation! In this holy war for India’s liberation we ask for your blessings and good wishes.”

Bose had analysed Gandhi’s personality objectively on the following lines:

“...In Gandhi, there are two aspects – Gandhi as a political leader and Gandhi as a philosopher. We have been following him in his capacity as a political leader, but we have not accepted his philosophy. ...Though Gandhi has his own philosophy of life, he is a practical politician and therefore, he does not force his own philosophy on the people. Consequently though we are following him in our political struggle, we are free to follow our own philosophy.”

In his famous ‘Tokyo Thesis’ (The Fundamental Problems of India, addressed by Subhas Chandra Bose to the faculty and students of Tokyo University, on November, 1944 is known as “Tokyo Thesis”). The exact date and time of the Tokyo lecture of Bose was probably not disclosed in order to dupe the British intelligence. Bose had advocated his views and political
philosophy on National Socialism and Communism and said, ‘...I gave my own views in a book I wrote about 10 years ago called The Indian Struggle. In that book I said that it would be our task in India to evolve a system that would be a synthesis of the systems in vogue in different parts of the world. For instance, if you take the conflict between Fascism (or what you might called National Socialism) on the one side and Communism on the other, I see no reason why we cannot work out a synthesis of the two systems that will embody the good points of both. It would be foolish for anyone to say that any one system represents the last stage in human progress. ....human progress can never stop and out of the past experience of the world, we have to produce a new system. Therefore, we in India, will try to work out a synthesis of the rival systems and try to embody the good points of both.’

Bose had compared some of the good points of National Socialism and Communism. He had said, “You will find some things. common to both. Both are called anti-democratic or totalitarian. Both are anti-capitalistic. Nevertheless, in spite of these common points, they differ on other points. When we see
National Socialism in Europe today, what do we find? National Socialism has been able to create national unity and solidarity and to improve the condition of the masses. But it has not been able to radically reform the prevailing economic system, which was built up on a capitalistic basis.

"There are a few points in which India does not follow Soviet Russia. Firstly, class conflict is something that is quite unnecessary in India. If the Government of Free India begins to work as the organ of the masses, then there is no need for class conflict. We can solve our problems by making the State the servant of the masses.

"There is another point, which has been overemphasized by Soviet Russia and that is the problem of the working classes. India being predominantly a country of peasants, the problem of the peasants will be more important than the problem of the working classes."
"Another point on which we do not fully agree is that, according to Marxism, too much importance is given to the economic factor in human life. We fully appreciate the importance of the economic factor, which was formerly ignored, but it is not necessary to overemphasize it.

"To repeat once again, our political philosophy should be a synthesis between National Socialism and Communism. The conflict between thesis and anti-thesis has to be resolved in a higher synthesis. This is what the law of Dialectic demands. If this is not done, then human progress will come to an end. India, will, therefore, try to move to the next stage of political and social evolution."**46**

It is clear from the above Tokyo speech that Bose did not judge social progress in terms of class struggle and he believed that in a favourable situation social progress might be ensured without class struggle.
On his return from a trip to Europe in 1933, where he was able to meet Mussolini, de Valera and Eduard Benesch, the general impression was that Subhas Chandra Bose had become a follower of Fascism and National Socialism. He denied this emphatically in an article in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (National English Daily of India) 11th January 1935: “There is much in his (Hitler’s) organization worth studying. But as far as his principles are concerned, I do not see how they can appeal to India. On the economic side he is more or less in the hands of big capitalists and politically he is pro-British. My general attitude towards European politics is that we should study closely all the latest developments, but at the same time I firmly believe that India should evolve her own system in the light of her tradition and national requirements. I earnestly deplore the tendency to reproduce in India the fascist and communist systems blindly.”

Bose was not in favour of Fascism and all along expressed his anti-colonial feelings. He criticized in the strongest possible terms a war leading to the domination of one state by another. He did not spare Japan for her policy of imperialist expansion vis-à-vis
China. He was particularly attracted to Japan for the rapid progress she made in the spheres of education, industry, science, and technology and for competing on equal terms with any developed western nation. But despite all his admiration for Japan, Bose expressed his sympathy and solidarity for the cause of China in her days of crisis. In his own words, “Japan has done great things for herself and for Asia. Her reawakening at the dawn of the present century sent thrill throughout our continent. Japan has shattered the white man’s prestige in the Far East and has put all the Western imperialist powers on the defensive - not only in the military but also in the economic sphere.... But could not all these have been achieved without imperialism, without dismembering the Chinese Republic, without humiliating another proud, cultured and ancient race?....With all our admiration for Japan, where such admiration is due, our whole heart goes to China in her hour of trial. China must still live - for her own sake and for humanity; out of the ashes of conflict, she will once again rise phoenix-like as she has so often done in the past.”

He advised his own countrymen not to follow in the footsteps of aggressive and expansionist nationalism. Subhas Chandra Bose said, “Let us learn the lessons from this Far
Eastern conflict. Standing at the threshold of new era, let India resolve to aspire after national self-fulfillment in every direction - but not at the expense of other nations and not through the blood path of self-aggrandisement and imperialism...”48 His object in view was not only the emancipation of India and the end of the British imperialist rule from the Indian soil, but the liquidation of colonialism everywhere in the world. From a survey of the course of history, he came to the conclusion that the striking feature of history in the East and in the West was the rise and fall of empires. Every empire, however, mighty it might be, he believed, was bound to face its ultimate decay and death in course of time.

According to Bose, the concept of authoritarianism was a transitional arrangement to stay for a very limited period. It was not a question of basic ideology or principle with him. It was his advice for only a limited period in view of the special circumstances of the country, particularly for the necessity of effecting socialist economic reconstruction and tackling the centrifugal and chaotic forces. He “saw a strong Central Government settling down to the accomplishment of a great social
and economic revolution in India and then handing over after perhaps twenty years to the process of democracy.”49 Owing to his diplomatic association with Hitler for the cause of Azad Hind in Berlin, there was a prevailing misconception about Bose’s inclination to fascism; but “Bose was not a fascist because of his authoritarian leaning or belief in party dictatorship. In that he was more a socialist than a fascist - as the dictatorship was temporarily needed for post-freedom reconstruction.”50 In an interview with the British Communist, Rajni Palme Dutt, which was published in the Daily Worker, London, January 24, 1938, Subhas Chandra Bose had clarified his views on fascism, which he had mentioned earlier in his book, The Indian Struggle (1920-1942). A part of the said report published in the Daily Worker is as follows:

“Question: Many questions have been asked about the reference to Fascism in the closing part of your book The Indian Struggle. Would you care to make any comment on your view of Fascism?

Many questions have also been asked about your criticism of communism in the same section. Would you care to make any comment on this?
Answer: My political ideas have developed further since I wrote my book three years ago. What I really meant was that we, in India, wanted our national freedom, and having won it, we wanted to move in the direction of Socialism. This is what I meant when I referred to 'a synthesis between Communism and Fascism.' Perhaps the expression I used was not a happy one but I should like to point out that when I was writing the book, Fascism had not started on its imperialist expedition and it appeared to me merely an aggressive form of nationalism.

I should point out also that communism, as it appeared to be demonstrated by many of those who were supposed to stand for it in India, seemed to me anti-national and this impression was further strengthened in view of the hostile attitude, which several among them exhibited towards the Indian National Congress. It is clear, however, that the position today has fundamentally altered.

I should add that I have always understood and am quite satisfied that communism, as it has been expressed in the writings of Marx and Lenin and in the official statements of the policy of
the Communist International, gives full support to the struggle for national independence and recognize this as an integral part of its world outlook.

My personal view today is that the Indian National Congress should be organized on the broadest anti-imperialist front and should have the two-fold objective of winning political freedom and the establishment of a socialist regime."^51 On this occasion and on many others, Bose advocated some kind of socialist system for free India.^52

On January, 17, 1938, Bose met Lord Zetland, the former Governor of Bengal and present Secretary of State for India. Zetland, too, wanted to know Bose's view of communism. Suggesting that some Congressmen wanted a social revolution and a communist form of Govt., Zetland pressed Bose for his opinion. Zetland reported that, "...he brushed the suggestion aside and said that the actual number of genuine communists was small. He was himself a socialist, but that was a very different thing from being a communist."^53
The chapter titled, 'A Glimpse of the Future' in Bose’s book *The Indian Struggle*, reflects his outlook towards communism. To him, “There are several reasons why communism will not be adopted in India. Firstly, communism today has no sympathy with nationalism in any form and the Indian movement is a nationalist movement - a movement for the national liberation of the Indian people. (Lenin’s thesis on the relation between Communism and Nationalism seems to have been given the go-by since the failure of the last Chinese Revolution). Secondly, Russia is now on her defensive and has little interest in provoking a world revolution, though the communist international may still endeavour to keep up appearances. The recent pacts between Russia and Capitalist countries and the written or unwritten conditions inherent in such pacts, as also her membership of the League of Nations, have seriously compromised the position of Russia as a revolutionary power. Moreover, Russia is too preoccupied in her internal industrial reorganization and in her preparations for meeting the Japanese menace on her eastern flank and is too anxious to maintain friendly relations with the great powers, to show any
active interest in countries like India. Thirdly, while many of the
economic ideas of Communism would make a strong appeal to
Indians, there are other ideas, which will have a contrary effect.
Owing to the close association between the Church and the State in
Russian history and to the existence of an organized church,
communism in Russia has grown to be anti-religious and atheistic.
In India, on the contrary, there being no organized church among
the Indians and there being no association between the Church and
the State, there is no feeling against religion as such. (Further, in
India, a national awakening is in most cases heralded by a religious
reformation and a cultural renaissance). Fourthly, the materialistic
interpretation of history, which seems to be a cardinal point in
communist theory, will not find unqualified acceptance in India,
even among those, who would be disposed to accept the economic
contents of communism. Fifthly, while communist theory has
made certain remarkable contributions in the domain of economics
(for instance, the idea of state-planning), it is weak in other
aspects. For instance, so far as the monetary problem is concerned,
Communism has made no new contribution, but has merely
followed traditional economics. Recent experiences, however, indicate that the monetary problem of the world is still far from being satisfactorily solved. While, therefore, it would be safe to predict that India will not become a new edition of Soviet Russia, one may say with equal strength that all the modern socio-political movements and experiments in Europe and in America will have considerable influence on India’s development.”

In his book, *The Indian Struggle*, Subhas Chandra Bose had written that there are some major limitations in Communism, as well as in Gandhism. He said, “.... it has been urged sometimes that Gandhism is an alternative to Communism. This idea is, in the opinion of the writer, erroneous. Mahatma Gandhi has given the country (and may be, the world) a new method - the method of passive resistance or *Satyagraha* or non-violent non-cooperation. He has not given his country or humanity a new programme of social reconstruction, as Communism has and the alternative to Communism can be only another theory of social reconstruction. No doubt, the Mahatma has condemned the ‘machine civilization’
of the modern world and has eulogized the good old days, when men were content with their cottage industries and their wants were few. But that is a personal belief of idiosyncrasy….”

The noted French historian and philosopher, Romain Rolland has recorded in his correspondence with Gandhi that though ideologically Bose was very close to Marxism, his antipathy was because of the attitude of the Indian communists to the national movement and lack of interest of Soviet Russia in the world revolution from concentration on her national politics. He wrote, “For himself, Bose too seems on the verge of communism, but he will hear nothing of it. His antipathy is probably based on some personal reason concerning the present representatives of the party in India; for he declares that he would certainly see no harm in the U.S.S.R. helping India to liberate herself and his main reproach against the Soviets is that they seem to have lost interest today in the World Revolution to concentrate on their national politics.” Of course, subsequently, in his interview with R. Palme Dutt, Bose admitted that the official policy of the Communist
International gave support to the struggle for national liberation movements, like that of India.

Though a believer in the economic planning of communism, Subhas Chandra Bose did not accept some of the fundamentals of the communist economy like, the theory of surplus value etc. Another point of contrast between his conceptions of Socialism and Marxism draws attention. Bose wanted Socialism to have its roots in the soil of India - her genius culture and tradition. The faith in the national ideal of Socialism could not conform to the Marxian brand of Socialism. To quote him, "This Socialism did not derive its birth from the books of Karl Marx. It has its origin in the thought and culture of India." In course of an interview in Budapest in 1934 he observed, "Communism, however, they did not want because it was unsuited to the character and temperament of the Indian people."58

Bose believed that considering the world situation, the next phase of political history will produce a synthesis between
Communism and Fascism and it will not be a matter of surprise if that synthesis is produced in India. He also felt that both Communism and Fascism believe in - (i) the supremacy of the State over the individual, (ii) party rule, (iii) denouncement of parliamentary democracy, (iv) dictatorship of the party and in the ruthless suppression of all dissenting minorities and (v) planned industrial reorganization of the country. These common traits, according to Bose, will lay the foundation of the new synthesis, which is called ‘Samyavada’ (doctrine of synthesis or equality).

Bose did not support Marxism or communism in full measure for the following reasons. In November 1944, in his Tokyo University lecture, he said: “On the other side, let us examine the Soviet experiment based on Communism. You will find one great achievement and that is planned economy. Where Communism is deficient is that it does not appreciate the value of national sentiment. What we in India would like to have is a progressive system, which will fulfil the social needs of the whole people and will be based on national sentiment. In other words, it will be a synthesis of Nationalism and socialism. This is
something, which has not been achieved by the Nationalism socialists in Germany today.”

During the World War II, the USSR was on the defensive and had little interest in encouraging or provoking world revolution. The role of religion, as propagated by the communists, had contrary effect upon the Indian mind. The materialistic interpretation of history, which was the fundamental point in communist theory, would never find unqualified acceptance in India. Besides, Bose was critical of Marx’s all-powerful state, which, according to him, could lead to the extinction of the individual’s raison d'etre.

Bose could never be called a full-fledged Marxist, though the Marxist system of organization and struggle did not escape his notice. He appreciated the Marxist strategy of armed revolution through organization of the people’s army and wanted to mobilize professional freedom fighters on the model of professional revolutionaries, as propounded by Lenin.
NOTES & REFERENCES

1. Ghosh Dr. Amita, Netaji, A Realist and a Visionary. Vijayashree Enterprises, Varanasi; p. 150


6(b) A Short History of All India Forward Bloc; edited by Ashok Ghosh and Dr. Rathindranath Chakraborty, All India Forward Bloc, New Delhi, 2005. pp 30-33


8(a) Bose S.K.- Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose , National Book Trust, India. 2004, pp. 75

10. Scottish Church College: Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose Commemoration Vol.: pp 151-152.


12. Ibid. p. 5


15. Subhas Chandra Bose Patrabali – pp. 14-16

16. Bose Subhas Chandra. Fundamental Questions of Indian Revolution, p. 67

17. Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose - Publication Division, Govt. of India, p. 30

18. Ibid, pp. 57-58


20. Bose Subhas Chandra. The mission of life - Edited by G. Sanyal, p. 149


23. Editorial article 'Heart Searching'; Forward Bloc; 28th October, 1939.

24. Ibid P.33

24(a) Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary; 1996 New Edition

25. Subhas Chandra Bose - Fundamental Questions of Indian Revolution - p.24

26. Selected speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose. Publication Division, Govt. of India, p.85


29. Bose Subhas Chandra - Fundamental Questions of Indian Revolution - p.73

30. Chatterjee Dilip Kr. - C.R. Das & Indian National Movement, foreward. p.XIII


31(a) Ibid. p.148

31(b) The Essential Writings of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. S.K. Bose & S. Bose edited. Netaji Research Bureau, Oxford University Press, 1997; p. 87
32. Bharat Pathik - Netaji's vision of India's destiny -Article-
Relevance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Basu's Ideas for a new World-
peace order by Mrs. Samita Mukhapadhyay. 95th Birth
Anniversary Number 1992, New Delhi

33. Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose, publication
division, Govt. of India, 1962. S. P. 30

34. The Oracle - millennium number. Vol. XXII, Oct. 2000, NRB p. 15

35. Bose Subhas Chandra - The Mission of Life - Edited by Gopallal
Sanyal - P. 191

36. Important speeches and writings of Subhas Chandra Bose - Edited
by J.S. Bright, p. 59


University Lecture, Nov. 1944

39. Bose Subhas Chandra - The Indian Struggle - p. 312

40. Ibid p. 312

41. Ibid p. 312

42. Guha Amalendu, Netaji Subhas - Ideology and Doctrine; Institute for
Alternative Development Research, Norway, 1998; pp 29

43. Ibid pp 30-31

44. Gordon A. Leonard. Brothers Against the Raj - A Biography of
Indian Nationalists - Sarat and Subhas Chandra Bose. Rupa & Co.,
1990. p. 93

95

46. Tokyo Thesis: The Fundamental Problems of India [An address to faculty and students of Tokyo University, November 1944]

46(a) Bose S.K.- Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose National Book Trust, India.2004,pp.68-76

47. Bose Subhas Chandra - Fundamental Questions of Indian Revolution - p.79

48. Bose Subhas Chandra - Through Congress Eyes pp. 212-213


50. Sengupta B.K.; India's Man of Destiny p.139


52. Ibid pp 353 – 354


55. Ibid. pp 353-354

56. Rolland Romain & Gandhi correspondences pp. 323-324
57. Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose - p.50. Govt. of India Publications.1962


59(a) The essential writings of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose; Oxford University Press; p.322; 1997

97