CHAPTER - VI

POLITICAL IDEAS OF SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

NATIONALISM AND SOCIALISM
Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose had cherished his own high ideas and ideals. His whole life was a saga of heroic fight for the national freedom. He suffered for it and ultimately he sacrificed his life for the cause. His sufferings and sacrifices, undoubtedly, were great in comparison to those of any other freedom fighter in India. He resigned from the I.C.S., postponed his marriage, left the family, home and escaped from the mother country and led a hazardous life until his death only to fulfil the mission of his life, the attainment of national freedom.

He fought throughout his life against British imperialism. He even dared to revolt against the dominating bossism of the great Mahatma in the Congress. He had to fight against some of his contemporary freedom fighters like Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Pattabhi Sitaramaiah and others. His fight was against slavery, injustice, illegality and wrong.

Netaji stood for freedom - individual, national and world freedom. He advocated militant nationalism to attain
national freedom. He did not hesitate to take foreign help and aid, of course, on the basis of self-respect and on equal footing, without being a slave or a puppet.

After the attainment of national freedom, Netaji wanted to build the nation on the basis of democracy and socialism. In this task he can be credited with modern and progressive political ideas, like freedom, democracy and socialism.

In his approach, style and method, Netaji was undoubtedly a militant nationalist, a pragmatist, activist and a great revolutionary. He was even criticised by some as a fascist in certain respects. He stood for a strong central government and for a strong national party. He was an votary of national unity and solidarity. He would have fought against the partition of the country, if he were alive at the time.

At this stage, it is necessary to discuss his political ideas on vital matters and issues such as nationalism, socialism, democracy, form of government, foreign policy, etc.

Nationalism:

Nationalism is looked upon as a living force of a State. Every nation today boasts of its nationalistic spirit or nationalism. Nations have either arisen or fallen because
of this fervour. The terms nationalism and internationalism have now become the complementary forces, which is good within certain limits. Unity in diversity may be the natural and universal phenomenon of life. The world organism may not be an exception to this principle of life. The recent trends like education, science, technology, economics, commerce, trade and cultural activities such as sports, films, dramas, communications etc., are the important forces which are driving a people towards unity, that is, towards internationalism. Whereas "Politics, pugnacity and reaction", as Joad said, "are the nation-states that impede and obstruct it." Internationalism aims at the unity of the whole world with the aspirations for a world state, world parliament and world citizenship. But nationalism stands for separatism, independence and sovereignty. A better solution would be a world federation based on equal, co-ordinated and independent, states combining the twin forces of nationalism and internationalism.

Nationalism is essentially a western concept. It has been in popular usage since the end of the 18th century. Nationalism is derived from the concept "nation" which in turn is based on "nationality", which is derived from the main root "natio", which means birth. So nationality refers to either birth, descent, heritage, culture or tradition.
Nationality generally refers to an ethnic unity in a body of people. Such a united body of people, i.e., a nationality, may naturally, at later stage may aspire to become a nation. J.S. Mill has defined nationality thus:

"A portion of mankind may be said to constitute a nationality if they are united among themselves by common sympathies which do not exist between them and any other which make them co-operate with each other more willingly than with other people, desire to be under the same government, and desire that it should be a government by themselves or a portion of themselves exclusively." \(^1\)

Nationality is a unity among a portion of people who are tied with some common elements, like race, language, literature, history, tradition, culture etc. Lord Boyce has defined nationality as "a population held together by certain ties as for example, language and literature, ideas, customs and traditions in such a way as to feel itself a coherent unity distinct from other populations similarly held together by like ties of their own."

According to Prof. Zimmerm, nationality is a subjective, psychological force. It refers to a spiritual possession.

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In short, it is a matter of feeling, thinking and living.

Earlier, during the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century, both "nationality" and 'nation' were used as synonymous terms. After the first world war nation has been separated from 'nationality'. But, still nation is based on nationality only. Nationality itself, induced, inspired and developed towards nationhood. Nationhood is a developed process of the same nationality. Lord Bryce's definition of a nation bears out this statement: "A nation is a nationality which has organised itself into a political body either independent or desiring to be independent". Nationality refers to an ethnic unity, whereas nation refers to a political unity of the people. Mr. Hayes' definition is more clear in this respect: "A nationality by acquiring unity and sovereign independence becomes a nation."

The recent trend is towards one nationality and one nation. On the same ground Mr. Jinnah pleaded for separate Pakistan with success. Still, no nation can boast of having a single, pure nationality. Mostly, the modern states are poly-national states. J.S. Mill was in favour of mono-national states, whereas Lord Acton was in favour of poly-national states. India for example is still a poly-national state, even after the partition of the country. According to Hano
Kohn, nationalism is "a living and corporate will."\textsuperscript{2} Rupert Emerson has rightly defined it thus:

"The nation is a community of people who feel that they belong together in the double sense that share deeply significant elements of a common heritage and that they have a common destiny for the future."\textsuperscript{3}

Nationalism, in a strict sense, is the spirit of the nation-state. But in the earlier stages, it was even the spirit of the nationality, when both nationality and nation were considered as synonymous terms. The former connotes an emotional national sentiment, whereas, the latter refers to the love of a land. Nationalism is mainly a political concept. But as it is a subjective concept, it refers to all aspects of life, such as political, economic, social and cultural.

\textbf{Origin and Development:}

Nationalism is a 16th century product. The credit of its origin goes to England in the form of the Protestant Reformation. The English people revolted against the central

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{2} Hans Kohn, \textit{The Idea of Nationalism, A Study In Its Origins And Background}, The MacMillan Co., 1943, p. 10.
\item \textsuperscript{3} Rupert Emerson, \textit{From Empire To Nation}, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960, p. 95.
\end{itemize}
authority of the Pope in Rome and separated themselves from the Roman church in the 16th century. Anyhow, nationalism was born "under certain historic and political compulsions," The main forces responsible for the birth of nationalism everywhere were the increasing authority of the central government, dictatorial tendency of the authority, anti-monarchical, anti-colonial, anti-imperial attitudes, foreign rule, racialism, liberalism and aspirations for political independence and economic development.

The American independence (1776) also paved the way for the spread of nationalism. The French Revolution (1789) spread the flames of nationalism across the world. It brought about an alround revolution in the life of man, nation and in the world at large. It was, in short, a new chapter in the history of the world. The democratic principles liberty, equality and fraternity became popular. Democracy and constitutionalism became the watchword of nations throughout the world. The partition of Poland (1795) further kindled nationalism. The spread of education, the rise of Italy and Germany, the two world wars, the gospel of one nationality and one nation etc., contributed their mite towards the growth of nationalism across the world.

Even the Afro-Asian countries were awakened and inspired by the world-wide movement of nationalism.

Nationalism, in the form of patriotism or love of the land, is not new to India. Its earliest manifestation can be seen in the history of India with the advent of Aryans in India. The Dravidians, the natives of India, fought against these Aryans, the first invaders of India. After a lapse of many years, the enmity between the two cultures cooled down paving the way for an harmonious blending of the two towards the growth of Hinduism which served as the basis for nationality and nationalism throughout Indian history.

The Hindu kings fought against the foreign invaders, the Greeks, the Huns, the Scythians and later the Muslims, and Arabs, the Persians, the Afghans, particularly - Babuktagn, Ghazani Mohammad and Ghori Mohammad. Ultimately the Muslims became the rulers and ruled India from the beginning of the 13th century (1206 A.D.) to the 18th century, (1737 A.D.). Percival Griffiths, a distinguished student of Indian history, marked the birth of Indian nationalism in the advent of Muslims in India as the event that caused the birth of

5. The word 'Hindu' has come from the word 'Sindhu', an important river of India.
6. Kutubuddin Albak, a slave of Ghori Mohammad, was the first Muslim king who ruled at Delhi.
Muslim Communalism in India, ever challenging the Hindus.\textsuperscript{7}

Indian nationalism, in a true sense, emerged only during and because of the British rule in India.\textsuperscript{8} The commissions and omissions of the British authority in India was responsible for its growth. The British impact prepared the ground. Political unification of the country, the rule of law, the liberal outlook, democratic ideas such as liberty and equality, English language, social reforms like abolition of Sati system and early marriages, and communications like posts and telegraphs and railways are some of the important contributions of the British rule in India. Indians in fact learnt of nationalism itself through the English language and education.

The Indian writers, found the germs of nationalism in the Indian mutiny of 1857.\textsuperscript{9} Whereas Mr. Coupland, a western writer, asserts that it was born with the Indian National Congress in 1885.\textsuperscript{10} It is wrong to assert any particular date or an event for the birth of nationalism as it is a continuous process in the life of a nation.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{7} Griffiths, Modern India, p.67.
\item \textsuperscript{8} Dr.A.M.Ejosekharish, op.cit., pp. 7-8.
\item \textsuperscript{10} Coupland, Britain and India.
\end{itemize}
Numerous factors were responsible for the growth of Indian nationalism, like the socio-religious reforms, the English education, Press, Communications, the Indian Civil Service, the economic and political consequences of the British rule, the role of the Congress party and its leaders and the impact of the world events.

The Socio-religious reforms provided a congenial soil for the emergence of nationalism as part of renaissance inaugurated by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the prophet of Indian nationalism and father of modern India. The Brahmo Samaj founded in 1828 by him, waged war against social evils in India such as the worship of innumerable gods and goddesses, the Sati System, the enforced widowhood, the untouchability, girl infanticide, the rigid caste system and early marriage. The Samaj enlightened the nation with its valuable contribution, like the worship of formless God, the religious tolerance, the abolition of the sati system, early marriage and the girl infanticide, the remarriage of widows and the English education. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was a great rationalist like Martin Luther King, Descartes and Bacon. Thus the fire of nationalism was kindled in India.

The Arya Samaj founded (1875 A.D.) by Swami Dayanand Saraswati, awakened the public with its slogan "India for

Indians." The Swami in the words of Max Muller, was a "liberal Orthodox". The Theosophical Society founded in New York (1875) by Madam Blavatsky, a Russian and Colonel Olcott, an American, started its mission from the centre at Adyar (Madras, since 1879). Mrs. Annie Besant, an Irish, who came to India in Nov. 1893, spread the teachings of the Society. Sir Valentine Chirolo writes: "The advent of the Theosophists... gave a fresh impetus to the revival and certainly no Hindu has done so much to organise and consoli­date, the movement as Mrs. Besant...."

The Prarthana Samaj, founded in (1867) Bombay by Justice Ranade, Sri R.G.Bhandarkar and Sir Narayan Chandavarkar made a significant contribution to the development of Indian nationalism. 12

The Ramakrishna Mission, founded by Swami Vivekananda, the patriot saint of India, in the name of his guru Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, put the name and fame of Hinduism on the world map. The Western education through English inspired the Indians towards self-government and the independ­ence of the country. Indians came to know the West and especially, the British liberalism. Rabindranath Tagore observes: "we had come to know England through her glorious

literature which had brought a new inspiration into our young lives." A galaxy of western writers and philosophers impressed immensely the educated mind of India and kindled the fire of nationalism. Dr. Macaulay's Minute on Education (Feb. 1835), gave a new shape entirely to the socio-political aspects of Indian life and history. Raja Rammohan Roy, Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath Bannerjee, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and many others became the first pioneers of Indian nationalism.

The role of Press in the evolution of Indian nationalism was immense. The first paper, The Bengal Gazette, was started by James Hicky, a British, in Calcutta in 1780. Indians were inspired to the freedom of the Press and they used it as a strong instrument to awaken the public. Raja Rammohan Roy, Dadabhai Naoroji (The Voice of India), Tilak (The Kesari), Gandhiji (The Harijan), S.C. Bose (The Swaraj and The Forward Bloc) inspired Indian nationalism. The impact of the newspapers like, The Indian Mirror, The Bombay Samachar, The Hindu Patriot, The Amrit Bazar Patrika and The Kesari, was profound.13 Bengal, particularly, pioneered the role of Press in India. "In 1877 there were in Indian languages alone 62 papers in the Bombay Presidency and about the same

13. Ibid., p. 28.
number in Northern India, some 28 in Bengal and about a score in Southern India, and their total circulation reached the neighbourhood of 1,00,000."\textsuperscript{14}

Besides the papers and the periodicals, the revolutionary literature, particularly, in Bengali, inspired the people to fight for freedom. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's \textit{Anand Math} aroused the feelings of the masses, particularly, a song in it, 'Bande Mataram', became the Bible of modern Bengali patriotism and 'text book of revolutionary nationalism in Bengal.'\textsuperscript{15} Bengal was very active, in short, with the press, the literature, the theatre and the secret revolutionary societies.\textsuperscript{16}

Poets and telegraphs and the railways linked the whole nation and integrated the minds of the masses. The first railway which ran from Thana to Bombay, (1853), dawned the modern development. The telegraph polls, planted first in 1853, pioneered modern technology in India. These were the contributions of the British. The Indian Civil Service was another gift of England, for the steel-framed administration of India. The competition, the discontent, the dismissals

\begin{itemize}
\item[14.] Phillips, \textit{India}, p. 94.
\item[15.] Dr. A. M. Rajasekhariah, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 28-29.
\end{itemize}
on racial ground and the voluntary patriotic resignations from it were the outward manifestations of Indian nationalism.

The economic and political consequences of the British rule, like exploitation, partial trade policy, competition in the market, etc., on the one side and on the other the imperialism, autocracy, police atrocities, division of Bengal, the horrors of Punjab - the Jalianwalabag episode, arrests, fines and confiscations of property etc. - strengthened Indian nationalism.

The impact of world events, like the two world wars, the defeat of Russia by a small island Japan (1904), the October Revolution of Russia (1919), was profound. The public of England, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., Australia and even China were sympathetic to the cause of Indians. The Jippr Mission, the Wavell Plan and the Cabinet Mission Plan played their own roles in India under the pressure of world public opinion. The gallant, heroic, legendary role of Subhas Bose during the world war II in Germany (1941-43), and in South-East Asia (1943-45), aroused the Indian masses. Even the axis powers, Germany, Italy and Japan, hastened, indirectly, the independence of the country.

Mr. Coupland is right, in a sense, when he said that Indian nationalism was born "when the Indian National Congress assembled for the first time in Bombay in 1885." The Congress party proved the most effective instrument in cementing the whole nation and in rousing the masses towards independence. The Indian nationalism, actually, has grown along with the history of the Congress. This party itself was the gift of the British, especially, Mr. Allan Octavian Hume, a retired I.C.S., who inspired and inaugurated it. The party faced many upheavals, the splits, blocs, groupism and police atrocities, which, instead of hindering, developed nationalism. The moderates like, Gokhale, Surendranath Banerjea, Gandhiji; the extremists like Balasaheb Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mrs. Annie Besant; the terrorists, like, Baridra Kumar Ghose, a brother of Aurobindo, Dhupendranath Datta, a brother of Swami Vivekananda, of Bengal, the Chapekar brothers and the Sawarkar brothers of Maharashtra, Madanlal Dhingra of Punjab and the Swarajists like Desabandhu Chittaranjan Das and Motilal Nehru contributed their mite to Indian nationalism.

The role of Subhas Chandra Bose and his contribution to Indian nationalism is unique, heroic, adventurous, and even

18. Coupland, Britain and India.
legendary. From the very beginning, as a freedom fighter, he was a revolutionary, an extremist, an aggressive and a militant one at that. "In short, he was a terror who shook the British empire across the world. He suffered in the British jails inside and outside the country (Mandalay), sacrificed everything in a true sense, fought many a battle and ultimately became a martyr. He worked in many capacities like, a volunteer, member, secretary and president of the Congress, the Municipal Commissioner, the President of the Indian Independence League and the Commander in Chief. He is an ever inspiring spirit of the Indian nationalism.

Bose's Concept of Nationalism:

"In this mortal world everything perishes' maintained Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, "but ideas, ideals and dreams do not." 19 Our thoughts will not die, our ideas will not fade from the nation's memory, and posterity will be heirs of our fondest dreams: this is one faith which will sustain me my tribulation forever and forever." 20

Netaji is no more, but his ideas, ideals and dreams are still inspiring and illuminating us. Every Indian is

proud of Netaji. Netaji has become a legendary figure with his great deeds in Germany and in South-East Asia after his sensational escape from India. Netaji has become, in short, an inspiring and unifying symbol of Indian nationalism.

Netaji was a pragmatist, activist and realist. Attaining national freedom was, to him, a truth. He stood for national freedom first, then for democracy and socialism. "Our cause," he said, "is the cause of freedom and truth". Netaji's political ideas developed in somewhat concrete shape when he wrote his book *The Indian Struggle*, in 1935. In an interview given to R. Palme Dutt which was published in the *Daily Worker*, London, on Jan. 24, 1938, Netaji said: "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."22

"My personal view today" Netaji said, "is that the Indian National Congress should be organised on the broadest anti-imperialist front and should have the two-fold objective of winning political freedom and the establishment of a socialist regime."23

23. Ibid.
Netaji's outlook and philosophy of life can be summed up in his own words: "They call me a dreamer. I confess I am a dreamer. I have always been a dreamer - even when I was a child. The progress of the world has depended on dreamers and their dreams, - not dreams of exploitation and aggrandisement and perpetuating injustice, - but dreams of progress, happiness for the widest masses liberty and independence for all nations." There was an element of utilitarianism in him. He continues: "I have been a dreamer of dreams. But the dream of all my dreams, the dearest dream of my life, has been the dream of freedom for India."

Netaji was not an idle dreamer. He was a great patriot. Sydney C. Smith writes:

"Netaji was more than a great patriot, he represented the very essence of all that was noble in life believing that life was an opportunity not only to soar away on the wings of dream and jostle the stars, but to come back with one's feet on the ground and make a stand on behalf of all one felt was dear to one's heart."25

Subhas Chandra Bose was not only a great patriot, he was "a patriot of Patriots," said Mahatma Gandhiji the

25. Ibid.
architect of Indian nationalism, in a conversation with Louis Fischer, an American journalist, on the eve of launching the Quit India Movement.

For the freedom of his beloved country, Netaji was ready for any kind of suffering and sacrifice. "We have got to suffer," Netaji maintained, "A lot, both individually and collectively before the priceless treasure of freedom can be secured." Fighting for the freedom of the mother country, he thought, was his first and foremost duty as son of the soil. All the suffering and sacrifice was only for the freedom of the country and not for selfish ends. He must have been inspired by the holy saying of The Bhagavadgita: "Karmayevadhikarasthe Ma shaleshu Kadachana" (one has the right to work, but never for fruit). It is clear from Netaji's broadcast address to Mahatma Gandhi over the Rangoon Radio, on 6 July, 1944.

National freedom, according to Netaji, meant complete independence from foreign control and tutelage. He pledged to drive out the last Britisher from the mother land. India, according to Subhas, is God's beloved land.

Subhas was not satisfied with national freedom alone. He was for total freedom - national, individual, personal, including the freedom of the soul. Wherever he was, Subhas used to infuse patriotism in men, material and meetings. Das as the Mayor and Subhas as the Chief Executive Officer, turned the Calcutta Municipal Corporation into a patriotic forum. The spirit of nationalism was flowing in his blood. He said "our cause is the cause of freedom and truth... Our bodies may fall and perish, but with faith undiminished and will unconquerable, triumph will be ours."30

Bose was against passivism. He was against particularly, the two schools of thought the Sabarmati School of Gandhi and the Pondicherry School of Aurobindo. He said: "It is the passivism, not philosophic but actual, inculcated by these schools of thought against which I protest. In this holy land of ours, Ashrams are not new, institutions and ascetics and Yogis are not a novel phenomena. They have held and they will continue to hold an honoured place in society. But it is not their lead that we shall have to follow if we are to create a new India, at once free, happy and great. In India we want today a philosophy of activism. We must be inspired by robust optimism. We have to live in the present and to adapt one ourselves to modern conditions."31

30. Hugh Toye, op.cit., p.35.
Since the 1942 movement, India, had been leaning from passivism to active fighting. Bose said in his speech on Jan. 26, 1943, in Berlin: "The younger generation in India has however, learnt from the last twenty years' experience that while passive resistance can hold up or paralyse a foreign administration - it cannot overthrow or expel it without the use of physical force--- the people today are spontaneously passing on from passive resistance to active fighting." 32

MILITANT NATIONALISM:

Netaji stood for militant nationalism which was completely opposed to that of Gandhiji's passive resistance. It was the main reason for the split in the Congress in 1939, for the conflict between Subhas and Gandhiji and even for Netaji's sensational escape. In his broadcast address to Gandhiji, Netaji said:

"There are Indians outside India, as also at home, who are convinced that Indian Independence will be won only through the historic method of struggle. These men and women honestly feel that the British Government will never surrender to persuasion or moral pressure or non-violent resistance." 33

Hetajl was convinced that shedding blood was inevitable for freedom. He said: "There is no Indian, whether at home or abroad, who would not be happy if India's freedom could be won through the method that you (Gandhiji) have advocated all your life and without shedding human blood. But things being what they are I am convinced that if we do desire freedom we must be prepared to wade through blood." 34

"It is my firm conviction," said Subhas, "that Mother India can only be freed by resisting the British tyranny with armed might, and that the Indians cannot liberate India without shedding their blood. Freedom gained without shedding our blood will not be real freedom. We are determined to fight against Britain our enemy, with all our strength." 35

Subhas did not beg for freedom. He wanted to bargain for it, with its price - the blood. He said: "Freedom can never be had by begging. It has to be got by force. Its price is blood. We will not beg freedom from foreign country. We shall achieve freedom by paying its price." 36 "We shall pay the price of our freedom with our blood," again he said, "but by so doing we shall lay the foundation stone of national unity." 37

34. Ibid., p. 308.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
He gave a clarion call to his Army: "Give your blood! I give you freedom!"

The 1942 movement started by Gandhi in India, according to Netaji, was a transition from passive to active resistance. He continued: "... In the history of India's struggle, August 1942 will remain an unforgettable landmark, indicating the psychological transition from passive to active resistance."

Blood, to Netaji, was the price of liberty and that was the foundation for national unity. He said:

"By shedding our blood in a sacred cause, we shall be paying the price of liberty and at the same time, we shall be laying the only enduring foundation for our national unity. And last but not the least, by winning freedom through our own efforts and sacrifice we shall be acquiring the strength whereby we shall preserve our liberty for all time."

He prophetically concluded his speech, "In the final march to freedom - you will have to face hunger, thirst, privation, forced marches and death. Only when you pass this test, will freedom be yours."

38. Ibid.
39. Ibid., p. 176.
During the Imphal operation, the I.N.A. faced this test and passed ultimately in the famous trials in the Red Fort, Delhi, in 1945 and after only two years, the country attained its freedom, but in the absence of the Commander of the I.N.A., Netaji Bose.

After assuming the command of the I.N.A., (on 5 July, 1943), Netaji advised the soldiers to "live up to the three ideals of faithfulness, duty and sacrifice" for the nation. "We have to unlearn some of the things that the British taught us and we have to learn much that they did not teach." For the fulfillment of a mission to liberate the country, Netaji continued, "no sacrifice is too great - not even the sacrifice of one's life." He assured of his continuous participation in the mission.

Netaji devoted, literally, his entire life to the cause of his country, even at the loss of his personal pleasures of life. A Japanese Colonel said: "This Indian leader lives 24 hours of every day only in completely disinterested dedication to the cause of his country's emancipation. He is stoicism itself and has not shown any interest in the common pleasures of life."  

41. Saito & Hayashida, op. cit., p. 179.  
42. Ibid.  
43. Ibid., p. 180.  
44. Ibid., p. 181.
Netaji realised with his experience that it was impossible to organise armed resistance within the country without foreign help. He said in his broadcast address to Mahatmaji:

"... after twenty years' experience of public service in India, I came to the conclusion that it was impossible to organise an armed resistance in the country without some help from outside - help from our countrymen abroad, as well as from some foreign power or powers." 45

It was his firm belief that no country attained freedom without foreign help. Before fleeing the country, he thought over the matter.

He recollected his knowledge of the history of revolutions. He said in his broadcast speech to Mahatmaji:

"I had previously studied the history of revolutions all over the world, in order to discover the methods which had enabled other nations to obtain freedom. But I had not found a single instance in which an enslaved people had won freedom without foreign help of some sort. In 1940 I read my history once again..." 46

45. S.K. Bose (Ed.), _op. cit._, p. 308.
46. S.K. Bose (Ed.), _op. cit._, p. 309.
In short, Netaji was "convinced of two things: firstly that such a golden opportunity would not come within another century. It was prophetic that until now there had been no third world war to hasten the cause of freedom of the country. And "Secondly, that without action from abroad we would not be able to win freedom, merely through our own efforts at home. That is why I resolved to take the plunge." Netaji toured abroad not as a beggar but as a diplomat. His meetings with the leaders of Italy, Germany, Japan and of South-East Asian countries, were as equals. Nowhere, under any circumstances, he lost his prestige, national self-respect and honour, for which, he stood all his life and had suffered. "Only that men," Netaji said, "can be a puppet who has either no sense of honour and self-respect or desires to build up a position for himself through the influence of others." His plea was that he was not a puppet of any foreigner. He left the country to seek foreign help to fight the British. He said: "Not even my worst enemy can dare to say that I am capable of selling national honour and self-respect. And not even my worst enemy can dare to assert that I was a nobody in my own country and that I needed foreign help to secure a position for myself. In leaving

47. Ibid., p. 310.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid., p. 311.
India, I had to risk everything that I had, including my life. But I had to take that risk because only by doing so could I help the achievement of India's freedom.\textsuperscript{50}

Netaji had full confidence in the policy of Japan to free India. He said:

"I would be the last man to be influenced by Japan if her declarations of policy had been mere promises. But I have seen with my own eyes how in the midst of a World War Japan has put through revolutionary changes in countries like the Philippines, Burma and National China. Japan is true to her word and her actions are in full conformity with her declarations."\textsuperscript{51}

Netaji acknowledged with a sense of fulfilment the points contained in the declaration of Japan, such as the recognition of the Provisional Government of Free India, handing over the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and unconditional help of Japan to the Indians for their independence. The very co-operation, according to Netaji, of the three million Indians of East Asia with Japan was proof for the genuine help of the latter. He appreciated the East Asian Indians for their "maximum efforts to mobilise men, money and materials for the struggle for India's freedom.... their effort is magnificent."\textsuperscript{52}

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., p. 311.  
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., p. 315.  
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., p. 316.
The greatness of Netaji is that he lived and died for a principle.\footnote{S.K. Bose (Ed.), \textit{op.cit.}, p. 279.} He was willing to die for the cause of the Nation. He wrote: "The individual must die, so that the nation may live. Today I must die so that India may live and may win freedom and glory."\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}}

To his countrymen his advice is: "Forget not that the greatest curse for a man is to remain a slave. Forget not that the grossest crime is to compromise with injustice and wrong. Remember the eternal law: you must give life, if you want to get it. And remember that the highest virtue is to battle against iniquity, no matter what the cost may be.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}}"

Throughout his whole life, Netaji fought for national freedom, in the true sense, maintaining his own individuality, method and approach. Even while on the verge of death after the air crash he whispered in the ears of Habib-ur-Rahman, who was lying by his side on the ground, to continue the struggle for freedom:

"I do not think I will survive this accident. When you go back, tell my countrymen that I fought to the last for the freedom of my country and no power could now keep..."\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}}
our country in bondage any longer. They should continue the struggle. India will be free before long."56

In short, "the blaze of freedom left by him", wrote Habib-ur-Rehman in his note to Hayashida in 1966, "is still burning and will continue to inspire the freedom fighters all over the globe for all time to come."57 Nehru wrote: "Netaji Subhas has set an example of courage and passionate devotion to the cause of Indian freedom which will live long in India's history."58

Netaji's whole life is, "to tell in his own words," one long persistent uncompromising struggle against British Imperialism."59 "Spiritual degradation, cultural degeneration, dire poverty and political slavery," said Bose, "are the only things which India got from British Imperialism. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Indian people have once and for all risen up boldly to smash the British chains and attain freedom."60

Bose's concept of Freedom

Netaji stood for freedom. His whole struggle was for it. Even though, he was neither a philosopher, nor a

57. Ibid., p. 230.
58. Freedom's Battle, op.cit.
59. Ibid.
60. Souvenir, op.cit.
theoretician, as a sincere nationalist, a freedom fighter, he realised the real meaning, nature, scope and importance of the concept of freedom.

Freedom is the main ideal of a life, a society and a nation. It is a pivot around which everything revolves. Subhas said: "If we are to bring about a revolution of ideas we have first to hold up before us an ideal which will galvanize our whole life. That ideal is freedom." The concept of freedom is a vague one, which has many connotations. Subhas said: "freedom is a word which has a varied connotation and, even in our country, the conception of freedom has undergone a process of evolution." Subhas's conception of freedom is too wide. It connotes freedom from political bondage, and meting out economic justice, social and religious equality. He said:

"By freedom I mean all-round freedom, i.e., freedom for the individual as well as for society, freedom for the rich as well as for the poor, freedom for all individuals and for all classes. This freedom implies not only emancipation from political bondage but also equal distribution of wealth, abolition of caste barriers and social inequities, and

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61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
destruction of communalism and religious intolerance. This is an ideal which may appear Utopian to hard-headed men and women, but this ideal alone can appease the hunger of the soul. 63

In short, according to Subhas, freedom connotes liberty, equality and justice. He said: "Let us have no compromise with bondage, injustice and inequality." 64

Realization of freedom, says Subhas, is not so easy. He said: "There is no royal road to freedom... a thorny one, but it is a path which also leads to glory and immortality."

Freedom is life, slavery death and pursuit of freedom permanent glory. He said: "Freedom means life, and death in the pursuit of freedom means glory imperishable." 65

Subhas had no faith in the Congress programme to win freedom for India. He said: "I do not believe that the Congress programme can win freedom for India. To me the programme by which I believe freedom can be achieved is:

1. Organisation of peasants and workers on a socialistic programme.

63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.
2. Organization of youth into Volunteer Corps under strict discipline.

3. Abolition of the caste system and the eradication of social and religious superstitions of all kinds.

4. Organization of women's associations.

5. Intensive programme for boycott of British goods.

6. Creation of new literature for propagating the new cult and programme." 66

Being an anti-imperialist, Bose said in his presidential speech at the All India Anti-Compromise Conference, Ramgarh (Bihar), under the joint auspices of the Forward Bloc and the Kisan Sabha (on 19 March 1940): "The age of Imperialism is drawing to a close and the era of freedom, democracy and socialism looms ahead of us..... the present age is the anti-imperialist phase of our movement. Our main task in this age is to end imperialism and win national independence for the Indian people." 67

Subhas was not only for national freedom, but for world freedom. His struggle was against imperialism across the world. He said: "Ours is a struggle not only against British Imperialism but against world imperialism as well... We are, therefore, fighting not for the cause of India alone but of

66. Ibid.
humanity as well. India freed means humanity saved."68
"India is the keystone to the world edifice" said Bose, "and
a free India spells the destruction of imperialism throughout
the world. Let us, therefore, rise to the occasion and
make India free so that humanity may be saved."69 In his
article, "The situation in India," written before August 7,
1942, Bose maintained: "The freedom of India is necessary....
for the whole world."70

In short, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's concept of
nationalism was an ideal. His whole life was a mission for
accomplishing it. He stood for nationalism, a militant
nationalism an activist nationalism, a pragmatist nationalism
and a revolutionary nationalism. His nationalism aimed first
at national freedom. He wanted not only the freedom of his
own country, but the freedom of all the nations in the world.
So he stood for what may be termed as liberal or universal
nationalism. Naturally, true to his nationalistic spirit,
he fought against British imperialism, colonialism, slavery,
injustice, illegality and wrong.

Socialism:

Bose had two missions in his life. The first was for
political freedom of the country, that is to establish a

68. Souvenir, op. cit.
69. Ibid.
70. "The situation in India", (pp.45-54), Azad Hind, Vol.
No.5/6, 1942, p.43.
sovereign India. The second was, after attaining the freedom of the country, the reconstruction of the nation on the lines of liberty, democracy and socialism. Probably, no other Indian freedom fighter was so clear in his life-mission, programme and ideology as Netaji. In his Presidential address at the All India Anti-Compromise Conference, Ramgarh (Bihar), on 19th March, Bose said: "Our main task in this age is to end imperialism and win national independence for the Indian people. When freedom comes, the age of national reconstruction will commence and that will be the socialist phase of our movement."71

Similarly, in his last Presidential speech in India, at the Second Session of the All India Forward Bloc at Nagpur in June 1940, Bose explained the future role of his party: "It will have to preserve liberty after winning it, and it will have to build up a new India and a happy India on the basis of the eternal principles of liberty, Democracy and socialism."72 In an interview given to R. Palme Dutt, in Jan., 1938, Bose said, "...We in India wanted our national freedom, and having won it, we wanted to move in the direction of socialism."73

72. M.G. Jog, In Freedom's Quest, p. 287.
Bose was a born socialist, neither bookish nor borrowed socialism. Of course, he was a voracious reader on Socialism and Communism. He was a pragmatist, realist and activist. His Socialism was the outcome of his own environment, personal feelings and thoughts. His socialism was the outcome of his joint family environment, a cosmopolitan surrounding, his own spiritual bent of mind, the Indian heritage and above all the teachings of Ramkrishna Paramahansa and Sri Vivekananda. He was impressed by Swami Vivekananda's teachings: "Atmano mokaherthem Jagadahitava Cha", (for one's own salvation as well as the welfare of humanity).

Bose's socialism, compared to other Indian socialists like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Jay Prakash Narayan, Vinoba Bhave, and Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, is purely Indian in its mould and not western. Bose was inspired by the Indian heritage and culture. He had a spiritual bent of mind. Naturally, he began to love the land and its people. The Bhagavadgita, Buddhism and Jainism which preached the lessons of Justice, liberty, equality, happiness, welfare and in short, socialism had a profound impact on him.

The idea of socialism is not new to India. The fragrance of socialism permeates Indian literature and culture. "Vasudaiva Kutumbakam" (The whole world is a single family),
"Serve Janaka Sukhino Bhavantu" (All people should be happy) as found in the Vedas, "be good and do good," the saying of Sri Buddha, nonviolent movement of Sri Mahavir, "Anandagandanada, Secrevo领导班子, 互相 Malang endrapadde pimaara nimma prathamare and" (a grain in the rice, a string in the saree, I swear on you and on your old ones, if I say for today and tomorrow) as pledged by, Basaveshwara, a 12th century reformer from Karnataka are some of the high ideals that breathe the spirit of socialism.

"New ideas of socialism," said Bose, "are now-a-days travelling to India from the West, and they are revolutionising 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 thread of our own history." 74

The Hindu philosophy and the Hindu way of life start with "Dharma" (just duty) and develop towards 'Artha' (wealth), 'Kama' (Pleasure) and 'Moksha' (salvation). Bose followed the same Indian path with a new outlook of pragmatism and realism. He saw socialism in terms of justice, equality, freedom, discipline and love. 75 Socialism, to Bose, was not only an economic aspect, but also a political, social, and

74. Souvenir, op.cit.,
75. J.S.Bright (2d.): op.cit., p.102.
above all the moral aspect. "Clearly for this beloved political leader of India," writes Sri Appadorai, "Socialism included all the values which he cherished and liked to see established in India." 76

On the other hand, Gandhiji's socialism was utopian and he looked at socialism mainly from the angle of equality. He wrote in the Harijan: "Socialism is a beautiful word... as far as I am aware, in socialism all the members of society are equal none low, none high. In the individual body the head is not high because it is the top of the body nor are the soles of the feet low because they touch the earth. Even as members of the individual body are equal, so are members of society. This is socialism." 77 Gandhiji started the Sarvodaya Movement which was developed later by Vinoba Bhave and Jaya Prakash Narayan. The Sarvodaya Movement is considered as an Indian alternative to Western socialism. Jaya Prakash Narayan called it "people's Socialism." 78 'Sarvodaya' is a Sanskrit phrase consisting of 'Serve' (all) and 'Udaya' (development or emancipation). It refers to the welfare of all.

76. Appadorai, Political Ideas in Modern India, Impact of the West, Academic Books Ltd., Bombay & New Delhi, 1972, p. 49.
Political parties and the state play an important role, according to Bose, in achieving socialism, whereas to Gandhi their roles are totally absent. "Servodaya would", writes Appadorai, "briefly, attempt to achieve the basic goals of socialism without the state coming in as the regulator of the economic and political life of the community." 79

Jawaharlal Nehru's socialism, in contrast to Bose's, was purely western. The term "socialism" was, probably, adopted for the first time in the West in Italy in 1803. 80 Since then it has been used by many in numerous fashions all over the world. Now-a-days, it is a fashion to call oneself a socialist.

Socialism was first developed, in the West, by industrialists like, Robert Owen (1771-1858), Henri de Saint Simon (1760-1825) and Charles Fourier (1772-1837). Their socialism may be termed as "Industrialist socialism." Robert Owen, owner of a factory at Manchester (England), is considered the father of socialism. He had faith in the labour theory of value. He was responsible for the founding of trade unions and consumers co-operatives. Henry de Saint Simon wanted to improve the masses with the help of science and technology. Charles Fourier favoured agrarian reforms

instead of large scale industrialization. Thus socialism started in the West as the Master's Movement and not of the workers'.

Even the Anarchists like William Godwin (1756-1836), Michael Bakunin (1814-1876), Prince Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921) and Count Leo Tolstoy (1828-1919) called themselves socialists. Bakunin, for example, wanted to destroy "all States, all churches, with all their institutions and laws." The communism of Karl Marx and Engels aimed at somewhat the same direction.

The Chartists too, like Lovett and Hetherington called themselves socialists. They were the evolutionary reformists. The revolutionary Chartists, like O'Brien and O'Connor, were also the socialists. O'Brien was for the workers' movement towards the nationalization of public utilities, whereas O'Connor was for the peasants' movement towards agrarian socialism.

Collectivists, Fabianists, Communists, Syndicalists and Guild socialists called themselves socialists. There was a variety of socialism, like "state socialism", "national socialism", "scientific socialism" (i.e. communism), and "democratic socialism", etc. Types and connotations went
on changing from individual to individual, from society to society, from nation to nation and even from time to time. Prof.R.H.Tawney said: "socialism is a word, the connotation of which varies, not only from generation to generation but from decade to decade."

In short, western socialism was too much confused, Sir Alexander Gray said, "one man's socialism is another man's heresy". Max Nordau said, "Though syndicalism may be said to arise out of socialism, syndicalism is the very antithesis of socialism".

Both Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru were aware of this confusion about socialism. "A vague confused socialism was already part of the atmosphere of India when I returned from Europe in December 1927," said Mr.Nehru. "... Mostly they thought along utopian lines." From 1927 (his visit to Russia) to 1929, Nehru developed his views on socialism, mainly inspired by Collectivism and Fabianism of the West. From 1929 until the death of Gandhiji, he was more a Gandhite than a socialist. In his historical and longest letter of 27 typed pages, dated 28.3.1939, from Jealgora to Nehru, Bose criticised Nehru's socialism: "You call yourself a

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socialist, sometimes a full-blooded socialist. How a socialist can be an individualist as you regard yourself, beats me. The one is the antithesis of the other. How socialism can ever come into existence through individualism of your type is also an enigma to me."

Before concluding his letter Bose asks about his precise ideology: "Are you a Socialist or Leftist or Centrist or Rightist or Gandhists or something else." 83

Nehru replied to Bose in his equally lengthy letter of 29 pages in his hand, dated 3-4-1939, from Allahabad: "I suppose I am temperamentally and by training an individualist, and intellectually a socialist, whatever all this might mean. I hope that socialism does not kill or suppress individuality. Indeed I am attracted to it because it will release innumerable individuals from economic and cultural bondage." 84

On the other hand, Lala Lajpat Rai Maintained, "we do not understand socialism. We have never studied it. We do not go by dogmas and doctrines." 85

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia's socialism was considered as original. "The credit for original thinking in the doctrinal

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83. Ibid.
84. Ibid., Sl.No. 695.
foundation of socialism," writes Appadurai, "as applied to underdeveloped economies must go to Ram Manohar Lohia more than to any other". 86 Like Bose, Dr. Lohia also thought of a synthesis, but of different elements. Bose wanted the synthesis of Communism and Fascism, whereas, Dr. Lohia, of Communism and Capitalism. In his Essay on "Doctrinal Foundation of Socialism", (1952), Dr. Lohia wrote: "This grafting of one on the other is full of peril to the future of socialism, for it encourages the disastrous belief that economic democracy prevails under communism and political democracy under capitalism and all that needs to be done is to join them". Dr. Lohia's concept of socialism, in short, stood for "the small unit machine run by electricity or oil, immediacy in operation and output, economic decentralization, ownership of land by small tillers and mass violence at the crucial stage of the transition to socialism." 87 As a last resort, Dr. Lohia was for even violence to achieve socialism. He wrote: "socialism must ever denounce the advocacy and organization of violence, though as a last resort, the people may well choose to exercise their majesty of power so as to end the agony of the old and give birth to the new. This will be spontaneous violence of the people displayed only for a brief moment".

86. Appadurai: op. cit., p. 50.  
87. Appadurai: Ibid., pp. 52-55.
Jaya Prakash Narayan and others criticised this last resort of violence as a wrong means. Jaya Prakash Narayan's concept of socialism is non-violent and which subordinates the individual interest to the social interest. He defines a socialist society as "one in which the individual is prepared voluntarily to subordinate his own interest to the larger interest of society".

Amidst all these variety of connotations and confusion about socialism of the West and India, Bose formed and developed his own socialism, which may be termed as "pragmatist, realist, Indian socialism".

Right from his early days the source of inspiration towards socialism was his father with a big family - which taught him love, generosity, kindness, patience, co-operation, etc., the heritage and culture of the sacred land, the teachings of Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Swami Vivekananda and above all his spiritual bent of mind. The racial arrogance of the British indirectly inspired the young mind of Bose towards justice, equality and welfare, etc. throughout his student life. The cosmopolitan environment of his residence in Cuttack (Orissa), surrounded by Muslims and other communities, prepared him towards a spirit of secularism.

88. Bimla Prasad (Ed.): op.cit., p. 132.
solidarity, unity, tolerance and compromise. His I.N.A. represented all communities, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and all sorts of Hindus like Brahmins, Ayyangars and others. At his deathbed side, in the last scene of his life, in Tashka hospital, the only Indian companion was, a Muslim, Habib-ur-Rahman.

Personal feelings and experiences shaped his concept of socialism, which was naturally universal, based on justice, love, sympathy, equality and such other values.

The teachings of Swami RamaKrishna and Swami Vivekananda were the seed-beds of revolutionary ideas in Bose since his boyhood. "I was barely fifteen," he wrote, "when Vivekananda entered my life. Then there followed a revolution within and everything was turned upside down. It was of course, a long time before I could appreciate the full significance of his teachings, or the greatness of his personality, but certain impressions were stamped indelibly on my mind from the outset... Many of the questions which stirred my mind found in him a satisfactory solution." 89 "And Vivekanand's ideal," he continued, "brought me into conflict with the existing family and social order." 90 Again he wrote: "I was going to lead a life conducive to my spiritual welfare and

89. S.C.Bose, An Indian Pilgrim, pp. 33-34.
90. Ibid., p. 35.
the uplift of humanity. I was going to make a profound study of philosophy so that I could solve the fundamental problems of life. In practical life I was going to emulate Ramkrishna and Vivekananda as far as possible, and in any case, I was not going in for a worldly career."91

Even during his student life, Bose was dreaming of constructive work like adult education and social service. In his letter dated March 2, 1922, from England to C.R. Das, he wrote: "But I am of the view that right from now... we must begin to create."92 Later, as the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All Bengal Young Men's Conference held at Calcutta in September 1922, he stressed on constructive activities, social uplift and mass education.

His imprisonments too for eleven times, during the freedom movement, might have turned him towards socialism. In his letter dated 2.5.1925, from Mandalay Central Jail, to Dilip Kumar Roy, Bose wrote: "Usually a kind of philosophic mood instills strength into our hearts in prison surroundings. In any event, I have taken my station there and what little I have read of philosophy super-added to my conception of life in general has stood me rather in good stead here."93 Again he wrote, ..."the endorsed solitude in which a detenu

91. Ibid., p. 45.
92. Ibid., p. 185.
passes his days gives him an opportunity to think down into the ultimate problems of life. In any event, I can claim this for myself that many of the most tangled questions which whirled like eddies in our individual and collective life are edging gradually to the estuary of a solution. 94

Bose believed, in a way, in the utilitarianism of Bentham. In his letter, dated, 9-10-1925, from the Central Jail, Mondalay, to D.K.Roy, Bose wrote: "Never think that my vision is narrow or parochial. I do, indeed, believe in the greatest good of the greatest number. But that good I do not equate to the purely material. Economists say that all work is either productive or unproductive." 95

Until the death of O.R. Bas, (June 16, 1925), Bose was more spiritualist, but he became an activist and pragmatist later as opposed to the passivism of Gandhiji and Sri Aurobindo. As the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India Youth Congress, Bose criticised the passivism of the two Schools of thought of Gandhiji and Sri Aurobindo in Dec. 1925:

"I am not considering the fundamental philosophy underlying these two schools of thought. This is not the time for metaphysical speculation. I shall talk to you as a pragmatist,

94. Ibid., p. 176.
95. Ibid., Appendix VIII, p. 184.
as one who will judge the intrinsic value of a school of thought, not from a metaphysical point of view, but from experience of its actual effects and consequences."

He criticised the old views of Gandhiji: "The actual effect of the propaganda carried on by the Sabarmati School of thought is to create a feeling and impression that modernism is bad, large scale production is an evil, wants should not be increased and the standard of living should not be raised, that we must endeavour, to the best of our ability to go back to the days of the bullock-cart, and that the soul is so important that physical culture and military training can well be ignored."

He was for modernity, large scale production, high standard of living and culture and defence. He was for the increase of the national wealth and improvement in every respect on modern lines. His conception of socialism was for the increase of national wealth and industrialisation and modernity in science, technology and commerce. It was not confined to mere equal distribution of wealth.

He concluded his speech: "It is the passivism, not philosophic but actual, inculcated by these schools of thought

96. J.S.Bright (Ed.): op.cit., pp. 81-2.
97. Ibid., pp. 81-2.
against which I protest". He wanted "to create a new India at once free, happy and great". He wanted activism, optimism and modernity. He said: "In India we want today a philosophy of activism. We must be inspired to robust optimism. We have to live in the present and to adapt ourselves to modern conditions."

Bose, as a guild socialist, earlier, advocated guilds of labour, youths and students, in his Presidential address to the Maharashtra Provincial Conference, at Poona, in May, 1928. "In my speech", Bose wrote, "I advocated some new lines of activity for congressmen which I had decided on during my prolonged incarceration in Burma. For instance, I urged that the Congress should directly take up the task of organising labour and that youths and students should start organisation of their own for looking after their own interests and also for serving their country." 

The year 1928 was known for labour unrest and strikes as part of the Trade Union movement. Bose took the leadership of one of these strikes, in the Tata Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur, in which 18000 workers were involved. It served for him "as an initiation into the workers' movement, with which he has been intimately connected ever since."

98. Ibid.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid.
102. Ibid., p. 154.
103. Ibid., footnote No. 4.
Bose urged a boycott of the Royal Commission on Labour (called the Whitley Commission), which was appointed by the Labour Government of England, as the labour counterpart of the Simon Commission, to report on labour conditions in India, in which Mr. H.M. Joshi (Bombay) and Mr. Chamanlal (Lahore) were given the seats.  

Bose, in his Presidential speech to the Berar Students' Conference, at Amravati, in 1929, observed: "There is no inherent difference between 'evolution' and 'revolution'. Revolution is evolution compressed into a shorter period; evolution is revolution spread over a longer period. Both evolution and revolution imply change and progress, and in nature there is room for both. In fact, nature cannot do without either." 105 His vision of a free India was "a perfect synthesis of all that is good in the East and in the West."

Bose on behalf of the Left Wing pleaded again for the organisations of workers, peasants and youths, in his resolution, in the historic Lahore Session, Dec., 1929: "The Congress should aim at setting up a parallel Government in the country and to that end, should take in hand the task of organising the workers, peasants and youths." 106

104. Ibid., p. 166.
105. J.S. Bright (Ed.), op.cit., p. 95.
The resolution was defeated. "I submit that" he said, "civil disobedience will never come until we can organise the workers and peasants and depressed classes on their specific grievances. If my programme is not adopted, it will be sufficiently effective for us to march on the road to independence." 107 He declared himself an extremist and his principle was: "All, or nothing!"

In Dec., 1930, Bose started the Bengal Swadeshi League for co-ordinating the activities of industrialists, businessmen and social workers. This shows that he was not definitely, a communist, nor even a capitalist.

Bose, in his Presidential speech to the Session of the All India Naujawan Bharat Sabha (All India Youth Congress) 108 held at Karachi, simultaneously with the Congress, on 29.3.1931, urged for the foundation of the 'Socialist Republic' in India. 109 He was, probably, the first, to use the phrase, 'Socialist Republic', which was later introduced in the Preamble of the Indian Constitution (1950), with the 42nd amendment to the constitution, during the emergency (1975-77). He was, therefore, for democratic socialism.

107. S.A. Ayer (ed.), Selected Speeches of Subhas, Publication Division, Govt. of India, Delhi, 1955, p. 67.
109. N.G. Jog, In Freedom's Quest, p. 94.
In his Presidential address to the All India Trade Union Congress at Calcutta (July 1931), Bose welcomed the recommendations of the Whitley Commission, though he boycotted it earlier. He welcomed the Fundamental Rights Resolution, passed by the Karachi Congress (29 March, 1931) as "a definite move in the direction of socialism."

Though, socialism, to him, was a universal system, he wanted to have a special Indian type of socialism to suit her genius and benefit of the whole world. "India should learn from and profit by the experience of other nations," Bose maintained in his said address, "but she 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? 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."¹¹⁰

He was definite in his mind that the salvation of India and of the world lay in socialism.

¹¹⁰ S.A. Ayer (ed.), op.cit., p. 69.
It is clear that he did not want to follow blindly any 'ism' like communism of Karl Marx and Engels, fabianism of England, Syndicalism of France, liberalism of Europe, etc. He wanted, in short, his own Indian type of Socialism suited to her own means and methods. It does not mean that he was opposed to any other 'ism'. Rather, he wanted a synthesis of all good elements of the West and the East.

The British agents misrepresented Bose during his exile, (Feb., 1933- April, 1936), in Europe, as a communist in fascist or pro-fascist countries, as a fascist in democratic or socialist countries. But, Bose had his own socio-economic view, since his jail period in Madras, July 17, 1932. The same views were incorporated later in the joint manifesto of Bose and Vithalbhai Patel from Vienna on May 9, 1933. Bose mooted the views under the auspices of the Hindustan Swayamvali Sangha, a new party of the future.

"The new party," said Bose, "will have to play the role of the fighters... and also the role of the architects of new India, who will be called upon to undertake the work of

112. S.O. Bose, The Indian Struggle, p. 357.
113. Ibid., pp. 358-379.
post-war social reconstruction." He was for perfect equality. He said: "all privileges, distinctions and vested interests will have to be abolished, so that a reign of perfect equality (social, economic and political) may be established in our country." He realised the necessity of political freedom for the achievement of economic freedom. "The problem of giving bread to our starving millions," said Bose, "the problem of clothing and educating them— the problem of improving the health and physique of the nation— all these problems cannot be solved so long as India remains in bondage. To think of economic improvement and industrial development before India is free politically, is to put the cart before the horse." Bose pleaded, again for original thinking and fresh experiment, instead of relying upon the old ones. "I have no doubt in my own mind," he said, "that in solving the problems of our national life, when India is free, original thought and fresh experiment will be necessary, if we are to achieve success. The experience of the older generation and of the teachers of the past will not be of much avail. The socio-economic conditions of free India will be altogether different from what prevails now. In industry, agriculture,

114. Ibid., p. 371.
115. Ibid., p. 372.
116. Ibid., p. 373.
land tenure, money, exchange, currency, education, prison administration, public health, etc., new theories and novel experiments will have to be devised... In solving our economic problem, Pigon and Marshall will not be of much help. 117

He was, in short, for both social and political democracy. "Free India", he said, "will not be a land of capitalists, landlords and castes. Free India will be a social and political democracy. "118 "The Saavavadi Sangha," he said again in conclusion, "will stand for all-round freedom for the Indian people- that is, for social, economic and political freedom. "119

Regarding the composition of the party, Bose said: "This party will have its representatives working in the Indian National Congress, in the All India Trade Union Congress, in the peasants organisation, in the women's organisations, in the youth organisations, in the student organisations, in the depressed classes' organisations, and if necessary in the interests of the great cause in the sectarian or communal organisations as well."120

He wanted to create a new state "on the basis of the eternal principles of justice, equality and freedom. "121

117. Ibid., p. 376.
118. Ibid., p. 377.
119. Ibid., p. 378.
120. Ibid., p. 378.
121. Ibid., pp. 378-79.
His new party stood "for the ultimate fulfilment of India's mission, so that India may be able to deliver to the world the message that has been her heritage through the past ages."\textsuperscript{122}

The \textit{Forward Bloc}, founded in 1940, by him, was nearer to his ideal new party.

Bose welcomed the formation of the \textit{Congress Socialist Party} in 1934 by Left-wingers headed by Jayaprakash Narayan. "From an objective point of view", Bose wrote in a letter\textsuperscript{123} to the United Press of India from Vienna and published in Indian papers on the 15th March, 1935, "the formation of the Congress Socialist Party is a legitimate and natural reaction against the move towards the Right which Congress Policy adopted last year."\textsuperscript{124} But he was unhappy of its name. "While the instinct that has urged the formation of the Congress Socialist Party is correct, I am afraid that there is some lack of clarity in the ideas of the party. In the first place, the choice of the name of the party has been an unhappy one."\textsuperscript{125}

Bose was right in his observation on the vagueness of the term socialism. "Socialism today," he continued," has

\textsuperscript{122} Ibid., p. 379.
\textsuperscript{123} Ibid., pp. 383-86.
\textsuperscript{124} Ibid., p. 383.
\textsuperscript{125} Ibid.
different complexions and therefore different connotations when used by different people. And there seem to be hardly anything in common between the socialism of Ramsay MacDonald and the militant policy and method of the Socialists of Spain. To some people, again socialism is synonymous with communism. Why then use a terminology which is used by different people in different senses.\textsuperscript{126}

He rightly observed the impact of Fabianism of England on the Indian Socialists. He continued: \textquotedblleft... the Congress Socialist Party seems to be under the influence of Fabian Socialism which was the fashion in England 50 years ago. Since then, much water has flown down the Thames and also down the Ganges\textsuperscript{127}.

He hoped for a great future for the Congress-Socialist Party. "I am inclined to think," he wrote, "that the Congress Socialist Party contains within itself the promise of a great future."\textsuperscript{128} His slogan was "Dictatorship of the party both before and after swaraj is won."\textsuperscript{129} His plea was that the party itself should frame the constitution but not a Constituent Assembly. He wrote: "... the Congress Socialist Party, if it has confidence in its own principles, methods

\textsuperscript{126} Ibid., pp. 383-4.
\textsuperscript{127} Ibid., p. 384.
\textsuperscript{128} Ibid., p. 385.
\textsuperscript{129} Ibid., p. 386.
and programme and if it does not suffer from an inferiority complex, should claim the exclusive right to draft a constitution for India. The party that is going to fight for freedom is the party that is entitled to draw up the constitution."130

By the end of the year, 1934, Bose was doubtful about the Socialist Party and he visualised the emergence of the new party (The Samyaved) out of it. "Out of this Left-wing revolt", he wrote, there will ultimately emerge a new full-fledged party with a clear ideology, programme and plan of action."131 He gave the following "bare outlines" of the party.

"1. "The Party will stand for the interests of the masses, that is, of the peasants, workers, etc., and not for the vested interests, that is, the landlords, capitalists and money-lending classes.

"2. It will stand for the complete political and economic liberation of the Indian people.

"3. It will stand for a Federal Government... believe in a strong Central Government...

"4. ... State-planning for the reorganisation of the agricultural and industrial life of the country.

130. Ibid., p. 384.
131. Ibid., p. 312.
"5. It will seek to build up a new social structure on the basis of the village communities of the past, that were ruled by the village 'Panch' and will strive to break down the existing social barriers like caste.

"6. It will seek to establish a new monetary and credit system...

"7. It will seek to abolish landlordism and introduce a uniform land-tenure system.

"8. It will not stand for a democracy in the Mid-Victorian sense of the term, but will believe in government by a strong party bound together by military discipline, as the only means of holding India together and preventing a chaos...

"9. It will not restrict itself to a campaign inside India but will resort to international propaganda also, in order to strengthen India's case for liberty, and will attempt to utilise the existing international organizations.

"10. It will endeavour to unite all the radical organizations." 132

132. Ibid., pp. 312-13.
He was, in short, heading towards a synthesis between Communism and Fascism. On the contrary, J. Nehru was only for Communism and against Fascism. In a press statement issued on Dec. 18, 1935, Nehru said: "I do believe that fundamentally the choice before the world today is one between some form of communism and some form of Fascism, and I am all for the former, that is Communism. I dislike Fascism intensely and indeed I do not think it is anything more than a crude and brutal effort of the present capitalist order to preserve itself at any cost. There is no middle road between Fascism and communism... But I do think that the basic ideology of communism and its scientific interpretation of history is sound." 133

Bose considered it wrong and he argued: "Unless we are at the end of the process of evolution or unless we deny evolution altogether, there is no reason to hold that our choice is restricted to two alternatives. Whether one believes in the Hegelian or in the Bergsonian or any other theory of evolution—no case need we think that creation is at an end... the next phase in world history will produce a synthesis between communism and Fascism. And will it be a surprise if that synthesis is produced in India?" 134

He rightly identified the common traits between Communism and Fascism: "Both... believe in the supremacy of the state over the individual. Both denounce parliamentary democracy. Both believe in party rule. Both believe in the dictatorship of the party and in the ruthless suppression of all dissenting minorities. Both believe in a planned industrial organisation of the country."135 He wanted to exploit these common traits as the basis of his synthesis, 'Samaveda', which meant, literally, "the doctrine of synthesis or equality".136

Bose was against Communism for India. The reasons given by him were: "Firstly, Communism today has no sympathy with Nationalism... Secondly, Russia is now on her defensive and has little interest in provoking a world revolution.... Thirdly, while many of the economic ideas of Communism would make a strong appeal to the Indian, there are other ideas which will have a contrary effect." For example, the anti-religious and atheistic view of communism. "Fourthly, the materialistic interpretation of history which seems to be a cardinal point in communist theory will not find unqualified acceptance in India... Fifthly, while Communist theory has made certain remarkable contributions in the domain of

135. Ibid., p. 314.
136. Ibid.
economics (for instance the idea of state planning), it is weak in other aspects," for instance, in case of monetary problem.

Bose was not ready to accept Gandhism as an alternative to Communism. He called the idea "erroneous." Instead, he aimed at "a party (Samyavada) with a clear ideology, programme and plan of action..."

Bose complained against the British and the Indian Press for misunderstanding his socio-political views, in a statement issued from Geneva in Feb., 1935. "I maintain more strongly than ever", he wrote, "that while it is imperatively necessary that we should study all the modern movements abroad, it is equally necessary for us in India, to chalk out the future lines of our progress in conformity with our past history and our present and future requirements. The standpoint or socio-political theories and institutions of the modern nations are the product of their history, environment and needs." "My own view is", he pleaded, "to work out a synthesis of all that is useful and good in the different movements that we see today."

He visualised the Indian policy of tomorrow as follows: "Firstly, India must be consolidated under a strong central..."
Secondly, a strong and disciplined party must be organised. Thirdly, this party must stand for the masses as distinct from the vested interests. It must stand for justice for all sections of the people and for freedom from bondage of every kind whether political, economic or social. In order to ensure justice and freedom for all, the party must stand for the principle of equality and work for the destruction of all artificial barriers whether of religion, creed, castes, sex or wealth. Thus it should aim at a really democratic state in which we shall all be equal and in which there will be no problem of minorities. I would call this party the "Samyavedi-Sangha" of India. 143

He wanted to give adequate representation to "the three radical groups in the country - youth, the workers and the peasants.‖ 144

Bose was strongly in support of the workers' cause. So he was naturally, "delighted and amazed" when M. Romain Rolland, the French Philosopher expressed: "for ever will I side with the oppressed workers - for ever will I participate in their efforts and in their combats because on their side is justice and the law of the real and necessary development of human society,‖ 145 when he (Bose) called on him at Villa Olga, Rolland's residence, morning, April, 5, 1935.

143. Ibid.
144. Ibid.
145. Quoted, Ibid., p. 389.
He pleaded for the right to work and the right to a living wage for the workers. "Labour today wants," he said, "the right to work. It is the duty of the state to provide employment to the citizens and where the state fails to perform this duty it should accept the responsibility of maintaining them." 146

Bose's political ideas are enunciated in his work "The Indian Struggle," first published in London on the 17th Jan., 1935. But since then they developed further. "My political Ideas" said Bose to the Interviewer, R.Palme Butt, "have developed further since I wrote my book three years ago." 147

Referring to his idea of synthesis, Bose said: "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".

Bose criticised the Indian communists as anti-national. 148

"... this impression," he said, "was further strengthened in view of the hostile attitude which several among them exhibited towards the Indian National Congress." 149

146. The Souvenir, op.cit.
148. Ibid.
149. Ibid.
The communism of Marx and Lenin, Bose rightly observed, was not against the struggle for national independence, which was an integral part of its world outlook. 

The British authority in India branded Bose as a terrorist, revolutionary and Communist. When an adjournment motion was moved in the Indian Legislative Assembly, by Nilkanta Das, on March 23, 1936, to allow Bose to return to India from exile in Europe, Home Secretary, Hallett defended the Government's action thus: "After Mr. Bose's arrest in 1924, his record was examined with great care by two judges who held that there was reasonable ground for the belief that Bose was a member of a revolutionary conspiracy, and if allowed freedom he could be a danger to the state. Bose published in 1923 an article in Atmashakti, a revolutionary paper of Bengal, asking the youth to sacrifice their lives. Bose was personally in touch with the terrorist party and was cognisant of its plots for the assassination of government servants. He preached the message of communism and urged a parallel government at the Lahore Congress. Bose was head of the Jugantar Party responsible for the Chittagong armoury raid, the Pahartali outrage and other crimes." 151 "The Sanyavadi Sanch movement", said Sir Henry Craik, Home Member

150. Ibid.
of the Government of India," founded by Bose in 1932, later
on converted its name into the Hindustan Socialist Republican
Army. A pamphlet in Bose's own hand, intercepted from Vienna,
regretted that no attempt has been made to win over the
Indian army and the police.... This man had a definite terrorist
connection, and had, to the best of our belief, a definite
idea of violent revolution."\textsuperscript{152}

Bose was neither a terrorist, nor a communist nor a
fascist. He was a militant freedom fighter, socialist and
humanitarian. His socialist ideas were developed fully in
his Presidential address at the 51st session of the Congress
at Haripura, Feb. 19, 1933. He gave a call to solve the
national problems on socialist lines. "I have no doubt in
my mind that our chief national problems relating to the
eradication of poverty, illiteracy and disease and to scientific
production and distribution can be effectively tackled only
along socialist lines."\textsuperscript{153}

He gave a comprehensive plan to eradicate poverty from
India. "Our principal problem," He said, "will be how to
eradicate poverty from our country. That will require a
radical reform of our land system, including the abolition
of the landlordism. Agricultural indebtedness will have to

\textsuperscript{152} Ibid., p. 128.
\textsuperscript{153} Ibid., p. 135.
be liquidated, and provision made for cheap credit for the rural population. An extension of the co-operative movement will be necessary for the benefit of both producers and consumers. Agriculture will have to be put on a scientific basis with a view to increasing the yield from the land."\textsuperscript{154}

These ideas, anticipated in 1933 by Bose, were adopted in the Indian Constitution (1950) under the Directive Principles of State Policy and in the various Land Reforms Acts, etc. He anticipated in 1938 itself, the Planning Commission which was established on 15th March, 1950. "The very first thing," he said, "which our future national government will have to do would be to set up a commission for drawing up a comprehensive plan for reconstruction."\textsuperscript{155}

Bose was for industrial development. "A comprehensive scheme of industrial development," he said, "under state ownership and state control will be indispensable. The state, on the advice of a planning commission, will have to adopt a comprehensive scheme for gradually socializing our entire agricultural and industrial system, in the spheres of both production and appropriation."\textsuperscript{156}

He said that these plans should be financed by a resort to deficit finance or inflation. "Extra capital will have
to be procured for this," he said, "whether through internal 
or external loans, or through inflation." 157

Bose, probably, was the first leader, who was thinking 
in terms of population control through family planning in 
1938 itself, when the population of India was only 33 crores. 
"With regard to the long term programme for a free India", 
he said, "the first problem to tackle is that of our increas-
ing population." 158 He was definite that national plans 
without family planning would be an utter failure. "If the 
population goes up by leaps and bounds, as it has done in the 
recent past, our plans are likely to fall through." 159 The 
fate of the five year plans is proof for this. "It will, 
therefore", he continued, "be desirable to restrict our 
population until we are able to feed, clothe and educate those 
who already exist." 160

His Haripura address, in short, was full of his socialistic 
plans and programmes of short and long-term. He hoped that 
the Congress Socialist Party would "prepare the country for 
socialism when political freedom is won." 161

Bose had the idea of both urban and rural development 
on humanitarian lines. Referring to the achievements of the 

157. Ibid.
158. Ibid.
159. Ibid.
160. Ibid., p. 135.
161. Ibid., p. 137.
Vienna and Birmingham Municipalities, Bose explained the role of 'Municipal Socialism' in his address at the Bombay Municipal Corporation, which presented him an address, in May 1938.

"Municipal Socialism is," he said, "nothing else but a collective effort for the service of the entire community. If that were done, the corporation would be serving not only the particular city concerned but humanity as a whole." 162 In the year 1938 Bose "launched the National Planning Committee (Oct. 1938) for drawing up a comprehensive plan of industrialization and of national development." 163 He convened, earlier a Congress Chief Minister's Conference in Delhi, May 1938 and five months later a Congress Industries Ministers' Conference in the cause of national Planning. He referred to the great industrial achievements of Russia within 16 years.

His Socio-economic programme emerged clearly when he laid down the principles of national planning as follows:

"(A) Though, from the industrial point of view, the world is one unit, we should nevertheless aim at national autonomy.

(B) We should adopt a policy aiming at the growth and development of basic industries, viz., power supply, metal

162. Ibid., p. 137.
production, machine and tools manufacture, transport and communication, industries etc.

(C) We should also tackle the problem of technical education and technical research, as Japan has done.

(D) There should be a permanent national research council.

(B) As a preliminary step, there should be an economic survey of the present industrial position with a view to securing the necessary data for the National Planning Commission."

The National Planning Committee was appointed in Oct., 1938, under the chairmanship of J. Nehru and was inaugurated by Bose at Bombay, on December 17, 1938.

Bose pleaded for industrialization of the country in his reply to a question by Dr. Meghnad Saha, the President of the Indian Science News Association, Calcutta, which invited Bose to preside over its 3rd Annual Meeting, on Aug. 21, 1938. He said: "... the rising generation are in favour of industrialization and for several reasons. First, industrialization is necessary for solving the problem of unemployment. Though scientific agriculture will increase the production

of the land, if food is to be given to every man and woman, a good portion of the population will have to be transferred from land to industry. Secondly, the rising generation is now thinking in terms of socialism as the basis of national reconstruction, and socialism presupposes industrialization. Thirdly, industrialization is necessary if we have to complete with foreign industries. Lastly, industrialization is necessary for improving the standard of living of the people at large."165

Establishment of a socialist state was one of the goals of his new party. The Forward Bloc was organized in 1939, immediately after his resignation of the Presidentship of the Congress (28.4.1939). The justification he gave for the formation of the new party on the Hegelian Dialectic shows of his command over the Socio-Economic theories: "Out of the conflict between 'thesis' and 'anti-thesis', 'synthesis' is born. This 'synthesis', in its turn, becomes the 'thesis' of the next phase of evolution. The 'thesis' throws up an 'antithesis' and the conflict is resolved by a further 'synthesis'. Thus the wheels of progress move on."166

In his Presidential address to the All India Anti-compromise Conference, Ramgarh (Bihar), 19 March, 1940, Bose said: "The

165. Ibid., p. 139.
age of imperialism is drawing to a close and the era of freedom, democracy and socialism looms ahead of us." 167 He referred to the situation of the October Revolution (1917) in Russia and the slogan of Lenin: "All power to the soviet." He opined that, even Italy was ripe for socialism in 1922. "But the man of the hour did not arrive and the opportunity slipped out of socialist hands... and Italy ultimately went Fascist instead of going socialist." 168

After the Conference, the Congress Socialist party (C.S.P.) left the Left Consolidation Committee, thinking that Bose's "devotion to nationalism of an extreme type... was stronger than his faith in socialism." 169 The National Front (The Communist Party) also refused to join him. Bose called the party "a dog in the manger." 170

At the 2nd Conference of the Forward Bloc, Nagpur, in June 1940, Bose said: "The objective of the Forward Bloc, will be the capture of political power by the Indian masses as early as possible and the reconstruction of India's national economy on socialist basis." 171 And he gave a new slogan: "All power to the Indian people, here and now," 172 which resembled Lenin's, "All power to the Soviet."

168. Ibid., p. 270.
170. Ibid., p. 179.
172. Ibid.
Jeyaprakash Narayan sent Bose a secret letter, late in 1940, seeking his co-operation in forming a new revolutionary party. "Let us form a new revolutionary party," the letter maintained, "out of the C.S.P., the Anushilan, the Forward Bloc, the Kirti, the Labour Party and such other groups or elements. A party based squarely on Marxism-Leninism, independent of all other political organisations and parties. I think this is eminently possible if you only wish it."173

"I have not mentioned," the letter continued, "the C.P. among the elements from which the new party has to be built, because the C.P. by its very constitution and the constitution of the C.I. cannot merge its identity in another Socialist Party."

Bose was, in short, a revolutionary nationalist first, then an evolutionary socialist. "By a revolutionary, I mean", said Bose in a broadcast on June 29, 1943, "a person who stands for the complete independence of his country, and who is not prepared to compromise over the question of independence."174

"Ideologically Subhas Chandra was more allied with Russia than any other power," writes Sen Gupta, ".. M.Stalin's invitation asking him to visit Moscow, prove this fact."175


During his exile in Europe (1933-36), he wanted to visit Russia, but was kept away from communism, by Vithalbhai Patel. During his sensational escape (1941) he tried, a second time, to smuggle into Russia. And lastly, at the end of the 2nd World War, after the surrender of Japan, (14.8.1945), he wanted to surrender to Russia, instead to Britain or America. He left Taihoku (Formosa) on Aug. 18, 1945, by plane, which crashed while taking off.

"It was Subhas Baba's plan", wrote Suresh Vaidya, who met Bose a few days earlier to escape, "to build up a socialist bloc with Russia, China and India... I learnt directly from Mr. Bose that exactly this was his aim."176 Subhas "was deeply influenced by the Marxian cult..."177 he fully accepted the Socioeconomic contents of the Marxian theory."178

176. Ibid., pp. 207-208.
177. Ibid., p. 214.
178. Ibid., p. 215.