INTRODUCTION

The thesis is an attempt to evaluate critically the political ideas and contribution of Subhas Chandra Bose, one of the prominent architects of Indian nationalism and freedom. His gallant role in the national movement, within the motherland and abroad, is critically examined and estimated in a historical and comparative perspective. A study of his political ideas and ideals is made critically and exhaustively. His great and valuable contribution to Indian nationalism in its various manifestations like organizations, associations, institutions, ideas and ideals are evaluated.

The role of Subhas Chandra Bose in the Indian national movement was, undoubtedly, a heroic, gallant and unique one. He spared no pains throughout his life, in the cause of the motherland. Probably, no other freedom fighter equals him in one's sufferings and sacrifices. His whole life was dedicated to the cause of the nation. He was a patriot and nationalist par-excellence.

Though the area of study is vast and varied, still an attempt is made to do justice to all its aspects. The dynamic personality and indomitable stature of Subhas Bose occupies a place of pride not only in the history of modern
India but in the world history especially, during the Second World War. He was the first to make use of international forums and the help of foreign governments for achieving India's independence. The destiny of the nation was finally decided during the Second World War, in which the great deeds of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and his gallant I.N.A. under the command of the Provisional Government of India formed in South-East Asia, under his premiership became legendary. He was successful in his mission to wipe out the British imperialism, not only from the motherland, but also from other parts of the world. That was a crucial point in world history, which later proved the complete collapse of the British empire paving way for the emergence of new world powers like the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. and inspiring nationalism across the world, especially over the colonial world. His prophesy that India will be free before long, was realised soon. A martyr's words, and deeds will never go futile. They are the permanent seed-beds of human life and culture which will ever thrive with their own colour and flavour.

Survey of the existing literature:

The available literature on Subhas Bose, is mostly biographical, which is devoted to a discussion of the possibility of his being alive or dead. The main focus, in
the present thesis, is on his ideas and ideals for which he stood and struggled throughout his life. A sincere attempt is made here to study systematically his entire role in the national movement, and to discuss his political ideas with a view to determine his contribution to varied aspects of human and national life based on primary source material, published and unpublished, available at the Nehru Memorial Library, New Delhi and at the Netaji Research Bureau, Calcutta.

Luckily, many of our freedom fighters have left behind them their autobiographies and their other writings, which are the most important contributions to Indian History, literature and other walks of life. Jawaharlal Nehru's Autobiography, especially speaks of the history of the Congress and the freedom struggle, and in short, the modern Indian history. That has become now a classic. Subhas Chandra Bose also has left behind some valuable literature. The Indian Struggle, 1920-34, written by him during his exile, is an authoritative contribution as himself being one of the gallant freedom fighters. It was first published in London (Jan. 1935). It was well received and reviewed in the British press and warmly welcomed in European literary and political circles.\(^1\) Romain Rolland, a French Philosopher,

\(^1\) "Editor's Note", The Indian Struggle, 1920-42, compiled by the Netaji Research Bureau, Calcutta, Asia Publishing House, 1964, reprinted in 1967, p.V.
was so impressed by the book that he ordered for another copy of the same so that his wife and sister would have one each. But the British Government in India was harsh enough to prescribe it on the plea that the book might arouse terrorism in India. The second part of the book (from 1935-42) was also written by him, eight years later, during the World War II. The manuscript was obtained from Vienna after the war and published in 1952. A combined Italian edition was published in 1942 under the auspices of the Italian Institute of Middle and Far Eastern Affairs.

A reprint of the London publication i.e. part-I of The Indian Struggle, (1920-34), was issued in India in 1948. The Netaji Research Bureau, Calcutta, under the worthy direction of Dr. Sisir Kumar Bose, a nephew of Subhas Chandra Bose, (and who drove the car from Calcutta, during the sensational escape of Subhas), has compiled the entire work, bringing together both parts of The Indian Struggle, 1920-42.

An Indian Pilgrim, An Unfinished Autobiography and Collected Letters, 1897-1921, (translation from Bengali and ed. by Sisir Kumar Bose, Netaji Research Bureau, Calcutta, 1962), is another important work of Subhas, which speaks of the mission of his life. In addition to these works, numerous

3. "Editor's Note", op.cit.
4. See the Note No.1.
collections of his writings and speeches especially his wartime broadcasts, compiled by many enthusiastic persons and institutions constitute a very important source. *Crossroads*, being the works of Subhas Chandra Bose, 1938-40, (compiled by the Netaji Research Bureau, Calcutta, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1962); *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose* (Publication Division, Government of India, New Delhi, 1962); *The mission of Life* (Ed., Gopalan Sanyal, Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta, 1953); *Important Speeches and Writing of Subhas Bose* (Ed., J.S.Bright, the Indian Printing Works, Lahore, 1947); *Testament of Subhas Chandra Bose*, being Netaji's broadcast speeches (Ed., Arun, Rajkamal Prakashan, Delhi, 1946); *On to Delhi, Blood Bath and On With the Fight* (All the three published by the Indian Independence League).

There are some important works on the life and work of Subhas Chandra Bose, such as: *A Beacon Across Asia, A Biography of Subhas Chandra Bose* (Ed., Sisir K. Bose, Alexander werth and S.A.Ayer, Orient Longmans, January, 1973); *In Freedom's Quest, A Biography of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose* by N.G.Jog (Orient Longmans Ltd., 1969); *The Subhas I Knew* by Dilip Kumar Roy (Nalanda Publications, Bombay, Oct. 1946); its new edition-*Netaji-The Man, Reminiscences* (Bharatiya
The following books, especially, have a bearing on Bose's activities in Europe: *Netaji in Germany, A Little Known Chapter* by N.G. Ganpuley (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1960); *This Europe* by Girija K. Mukharji (University Press, Calcutta, 1950), etc.

Indian Independence Movement in East Asia, Comp. by Keshar Singh Giani (Singh Brothers, Lahore, 1947); The Road To Delhi by M. Sivaram (Charles E. Tuttle Co., Japan, 1967); and Two Great Indians in Japan, Rash Behary Bose and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Vol. I, by J. G. Ohsawa (Kusha Publications, Calcutta, 1954), etc.

The New Horizon, Netaji’s Concept of Liftism by Jatobanta Kar (K. P. Bagchi & Co., Calcutta, 1978) is the latest arrival covering an important aspect of his political ideas.

Problems, Purpose and Focus:

Most of the freedom fighters of our country are worth special and in depth study. Many an enthusiastic scholars has studied many aspects and brought out their valuable research work. Still the subject is vast and unlimited and many other students of research can further explore new fields and problems such as nationalism, provincial politics, freedom struggle and freedom fighters at national and regional level. The area, in short, is unfathomable, incalculable and inexhaustible.

The present study is on a specific aspect relating to Subhas Chandra Bose as a freedom fighter who acclaimed
the regional (Bengal), national, and international fame
across the world, especially in west, Germany and Italy and
in South-East Asia. Though the topic is specific, it is a
difficult, complex and vast in its scope as one has to grapple
with the technique the method of approach, ideology, and
ideals of this unique personality the nation has ever produced.
His life had many facets and his activities covered many
phases. So ultimately, one must be more cautious and careful
while arriving at generalisations and conclusions on his
life, work, ideas and ideals.

He was, undoubtedly, a unique personality in the sense
that he was an introvert and at the same time an extrovert,
from his early childhood to the end. He was more soft than
a flower in heart, at the same time, it was also true that,
he was harder than a diamond in his exterior. A keen student
of his life will definitely describe him as "Kusumattapi
Komalem, Vajrattapi Kathorem". He was a simple, sincere,
humble Indian ascetic in a steel-frame body. He had more
iron in him than even Vallabhbhai Patel. Still one can find
in him an Aurobindo. Undoubtedly he was more philosophic
than say, Jawaharlal Nehru. But his philosophy was pragmatic,
utilitarian and humanistic.

Even in his childhood, many times he ran away from his
house in search of peace, truth and salvation, to become a
It was also true that he pioneered the students as an young leader in school and college.

So a study of his life, needs a special attention to all these aspects. A sincere attempt is made, in this thesis, to examine all these aspects of his life.

Subhas Chandra Bose's contribution to Indian Nationalism definitely needs a special and objective study. A lot of mystery surrounds the life and work of Subhas during and after his death. His death itself is not established even now according to some. Some enquiry commissions were appointed to satisfy the emotions of the masses and nothing constructive was done by the Government of India to keep alive the spirit of this proudest son of the soil. The Congress Government was not even kind enough to unveil a portrait of the Netaji in the Central Hall of the Parliament, nor a single statue of his was installed as a memorial to him in the capital, Delhi, though the martyr had given a call to his followers and to the country men—"Delhi Chalo!" Even after the British left, the spirit of Netaji did not reach Delhi, under the Congress Raj. His men, the I.N.A. Officers, were tried in the Red Fort, Delhi, at the end of the world war II, by the British in India.
The Janata Government which came to power in March 1977, revived the spirit of the Netaji. A portrait of Netaji was at last unveiled in the Central Hall of the Parliament. It planned to install a statue in the capital and inaugurated the observation of his birth anniversary (23rd Jan.) as a national festival every year.

The study is made broadly in three phases covering the entire range of his activities; (i) The Indian Phase (1921-1941) comprising his role in the Congress, in the Swaraj Party and finally in the Forward Bloc. This is an important phase from the point of view of a study of his attitudes, ideas, ideals, methods, approach and achievements. The important aspects like the ideological differences between him and the Mahatma and between him and Jawaharlal Nehru and others, need to be studied specially. Bose, fought against the British and even against the Congress and the Congress leaders. An unbiased view, mind and attitude of a student are needed to estimate the roles of the freedom fighters.

(ii) The European Phase (1941-43) covers the heroic, silent and adventurous work of the Netaji. His radio broadcasts from German centres to India and organising the Indian legions, collecting the prisoners of war of India in Germany, Italy and other European centres with the German aid and
collaboration are the source of information. He came to be called by his admirers as Netaji first in Germany during this phase only. He met one of the dictators of the world history, Hitler and submitted his Memorandum to the Government of Germany. He terrorised the British authority in India and aroused the Indian masses, through his broadcasts from Germany.

(iii) The final phase relates to his activities in south-east Asia, (1943-45) which starts with his adventurous travel to south-east Asia by a sub-marine, under the hot sky with the hovering aeroplanes of the world war II. He took charge of the Indian Independence League, reorganised the I.N.A. with men, women and even the Bala Sena.

These three phases tell the legendary tale of his ideas, ideals and literature that he has left behind have become source of an ever inspiring spirit of Indian nationalism, which need the special study.

It is true that the area is vast and the ideas are many. A special knowledge or study of world history, geography, military techniques are needed to explore clearly the subject. Luckily, such a rich guidance was given continuously until the completion of the work. The
ideological, terminological, behavioural distinctions need special attention and even on these aspects also the necessary guidance was sought now and then.

The main theme of this study is Subhas Chandra Bose and his contribution to Indian nationalism. As his whole life was dedicated in the cause of the nation, his life and his contribution have become inseparable. Each and every political activity of his is a valuable contribution to Indian nationalism. There was nothing like a private thing in his life's mission (1921-45) (except for a very short time of his relationship with Fraulein Schenkle, his wife). So all his political activities are studied in their proper perspective systematically. A systematic and scientific study of his life and contribution is the main purpose of this thesis. His ideas and ideals like liberty, equality, freedom, democracy, socialism, fascism, etc., are studied conceptually, comparatively, historically with an unbiased mind.

A focus is provided to his contribution to Indian nationalism and to the study of his ideas. It is not the intention of the study to explore on the basis of his being alive or dead. Still facts and events are surveyed from
the air-crash to the present time, even on this episode. Whether he is alive or not, is not at all considered here as the main problem, though the thesis itself has come to its own conclusion in this matter on the basis of facts, analysis and interpretations. Subhas, undoubtedly, is dead physically, but he is ever alive, definitely, in the form of his ever inspiring spirit.

The Arrangement:

Chapter one of this thesis provides the historical background of the time and analyses the early life and education of Subhas Chandra Bose. In his early life itself he was in between the horns of a dilemma of worldly life and mystic life. Indications of his future developments and great deeds were evident in the formative years of his life.

In his childhood itself he had fled and roamed here and there in search of truth and a guru. He led a memorable anti-imperialist move in the Presidency College, as a student leader. It is held that the family background, the cosmopolitan environment, the spiritual impact of Swami Vivekananda and the British racialism in schools and colleges where he studied, shaped his later politico-economic ideas and the ideals of his life.
Chapter two discusses the political emergence of Subhas Bose. This covers the period 1919 to 1926, which was the most crucial one in Bose's life. The World War I was just ended. India was reeling under the horrors of the 1919 events, such as the Rowlatt Act, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and the Khilafat Movement etc. Subhas Bose was sent to England to prepare himself for the I.C.S., but it was mainly to keep him aloof from Indian politics. But as if his destiny was pre-determined, he resigned the I.C.S. and plunged into Indian politics, much against the will of his parents. That was an evidence of his ever-burning spirit of nationalism and devotion to the mother country to free her from British imperialism.

Bose's first encounter with Gandhiji was remarkable. He could never agree with Gandhiji. Bose had a twin mission of his life - to fight the British imperialism on the one hand, and the Gandhian dominance in the Congress on the other.

In contrast, Bose accepted willingly and readily 'Deshbandhu' Chitta Ranjan Das the renowned revolutionary and activist of Bengal, as his political guru and worked under him in many capacities such as Chief-Commissioner of
the Calcutta Corporation. His political activities roused the British. He was arrested and kept in the Mandalay jail.

Chapter three makes a critical assessment of role of Subhas Bose in the Indian national movement, as an ardent nationalist, and as a furious freedom fighter. His role is examined in three different phases, as he fought against the British in three theatres - India, Europe and South-East Asia.

In this chapter his role in India from the period 1926, i.e. with his release from the Mandalay jail to 1940, when he organised his own party, The Forward Bloc, is discussed. During this phase, Bose rose to his political heights as a gallant representative of young India. He became the youngest secretary of the Indian National Congress. His ardent revolutionary nationalistic fervour was evident in his plea for complete independence of India, as a Member of the Nehru Committee.

His sojourn as an exile in Europe (1933-36) was significant in many respects. He contacted many international diplomats in Europe, issued a joint statement with Vithalbhai Patel, condemning Gandhiji's passivism, wrote his first work The Indian Struggle (1920-34) and came in contact with Miss Fraulein Schenkl, whom he married later in 1942.
Bose gave shape to some of his politico-economic ideas, in his Presidential address to the Haripura Congress (1938). The climax of ideological differences between Gandhiji and Bose was reached when Bose declared his candidature for the second term of the Tripuri session (1939). The consequences, such as his resignation to the Presidentship of the I.N.C. and his suspension from the Congress followed.

Chapter four deals with the second phase (1941-43) of his role in Indian national movement in Europe. This was the most important phase in his life as it was during this phase that he rose to great political heights and was acknowledged as the Netaji. His sensational escape from India, his hazardous journey from Peshwar to Germany via Kabul and Rome and his broadcasts from Germany to India during the World War-II, made him a legendary figure in Indian politics. His secularism, his concern for Hindu Muslim unity, and his respect for the Congress party, though he was suspended from it, were evident in naming his broadcasting centres as 'Azad Hind Radio', 'Azad Congress Radio', and 'Azad Muslim Radio'. His militant nationalism and revolutionary activities took shape on the German soil while organizing the Indian legion there.

Chapter five examines the last i.e., the third phase (1943-45) of his role in Indian national movement in South-
East Asia. The World War II was in its full swing, as the allied and the axis powers were involved in it to the brim. Subhas Bose left Germany by a sub-marine for South-East Asia on an invitation from the Indian Independence League. He took charge of the League and re-organised it into I.N.A. under his command. As the Premier of the Provisional Government of India, he administered the liberated islands, Andaman and Nicobar through his Commissioner, and as Commander-in-Chief of the I.N.A., he liberated the Manipur area of India, which speak volumes for his achievements.

The axis powers surrendered one by one, but the I.N.A. of Subhas Bose was the only force which did not surrender to any one, throughout its history. But the fatal air-crash brought down the curtain of the drama, raising Bose to the heights of a Martyr. The historic I.N.A. trials in the Red Fort by the British further roused and strengthened Indian nationalism.

Chapter six analyses Bose's views on nationalism, freedom and socialism. Bose's specific concept of nationalism had complete independence of the motherland as the goal, and his whole mission of life was directed at and devoted to it. Being an activist, revolutionary and a militant one at that, he opened the flood-gate of nationalistic spirit to pervade
the entire country. His impact on Indian nationalism was evident in the awakening of the youth, the Indian military and the labour community of India, and in the independence of the country.

Bose's concept of freedom was freedom from the British. His clarion call was "Give me your blood! I give you freedom!!" As an idealist, he stood for total freedom of every individual and the humanity at large; from political freedom to spiritual freedom.

After attaining the independence of the country, Bose wanted to reconstruct the Indian society and prepare it for democracy and socialism. He was for an indigenous type of socialism to suit the conditions and culture of the land. His concept of socialism was based on equality, justice, humanitarianism and spiritualism. His approach was democratic, constitutional and evolutionary.

In Chapter Seven an attempt is made to examine the misconception that he was a fascist. Being an ardent freedom fighter, a fervent socialist, and above all a spiritual humanist, it is argued in full length that he was not a fascist. His enemies inside and abroad, undoubtedly, misrepresented him as a fascist in democratic countries, and as
a Communist in capitalistic countries. In contrast, he stood for democracy, liberty, equality and freedom. Probably, he was dubbed a fascist, as he pleaded for a strong government and strong political party after the independence of the country to maintain stability, and also because of his alliance with the axis-powers during World War II.

In the last chapter of the thesis, a final estimate of Bose's contribution to Indian nationalism is attempted, in the light of his immense contribution to Indian nationalism, his sufferings, sacrifices in his fight against British imperialism and against one man dominance over the Congress, and the crucial role he played inside the country and abroad. It is argued that he succeeded in his mission of life and became a martyr to the cause of the country. He was, therefore, an ever-inspiring spirit behind Indian nationalism.

His dynamic personality and leadership par-excellence is assessed, as a freedom fighter, a militant nationalist, a statesman, a diplomat, an organiser, an administrator, an orator, a visionary, a writer, a journalist and above all a great patriot.
Sources:

The writings and speeches of Subhas Bose are the main source material for this thesis. His works, (a detailed account is already given) *The Indian Struggle* (1920-42), *An Indian Pilgrim* (an unfinnished autobiography), supplied ample first hand material and documents. His speeches and broadcasts, compiled by many enthusiastic persons and institutions are the important sources, e.g., *Crossroads, On to Delhi, On With the Fight* (details are given above). In addition to his own work and speeches, many have written, edited and compiled on his life and work, are also available. Especially the books, *A Beacon Across Asia*, Ed. by Sisir K. Bose and *In Freedom's Quest*, by N.G. Jog, supplied the required material. The first one contains detailed and ample appendix material which has supplied a valuable material for the work. D.K. Roy's *Netaji-The Man*, contains the original correspondences, in its appendix, which has been heavily relied upon.

Some of the libraries, institutions and even the persons supplied me the material, documents and oral hints. Especially, the Nehru Memorial Library, Teen Murthy Bhavan, Delhi, through its unpublished, original, private papers of the leaders like Netaji Bose, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal
Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and others, and the original proceedings of the A.I.C.C. and especially of the Haripura and Tripuri Sessions. The Journal Section of the same library provided all the volumes of the Azad Hind, a monthly, in both German and English side by side, from 1941 to 1944. The library also has many books on Subhas Bose and periodicals.

The Netaji Research Bureau, Calcutta, has compiled many valuable works and proceedings of the International Netaji Seminars. I had the privilege and honour of attending the second and the third International Netaji Seminars held at Calcutta from 23rd to 26th January 1976 and 1979, respectively, organised under the auspices of the Netaji Research Bureau. The seminars gave me an opportunity for to contact the family members of Subhas Bose - Dr. Sisir K. Bose and others, the I.N.A. heroes and heroines - Maj. P.K. Sahgal, Col. G.S. Dhillon, Abid Hassan, Captain Laxmi (Swaminathan) (now Mrs. Sahgal), late Dilip Kumar Roy, friend of Netaji, and Teruo Hachiya (Japan). I am benefited by a personal discussion with these individuals.

Dr. M.K. Vaidya, the Head of the Karnatak Health Institute, Ghataprabha (Karnatak), was kind enough to
provide me the book by N.G.Ganpuley, the unpublished autobiography of N.G.Ganpuley and some documents, including his (Ganpuley's) answers to a questionnaire of the Teen Murthy Bhavan (unpublished typed material under the title "A Talk with Shri N.G.Ganpuley"). The Ganpuley's Diary in German (unpublished) is also, with Dr. Vaidya.

Unending inspiration, guidance and material was sought directly from my guide, Dr.A.M.Rajesekhariah, Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, Karnataka University, Dharwad. Another old teacher of mine, Dr.K. Raghavendra Rao, has also inspired and encouraged me whenever I sought his help.

5. N.G.Ganpuley, Metaji in Germany, A Little Known Chapter, Bhavan's Book University, 1959.