CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation is an attempt to make a psycho-analytical study of one of the most colourful celebrities of our national movement in the first half of the Twentieth Century. As we have already pointed out in the preface, there is a plethora of books on almost every aspect of the life, philosophy and career of Subhas Chandra Bose. But no one has so far tried to present Subhas as an enigma so that attempts to solve the enigma could be made. Subhas is an enigma in life as well as in death.

All throughout, the present study is targeted at proving or disproving the set of hypotheses formulated in the preface. To every scholar the question that naturally crops up is why Subhas was so much uncompromising, dictatorial at times, taking decisions out of certain ideas that have no direct relation to the historical events. It is equally a dilemma as to why Subhas was so much anti-British when his compatriots such as Gandhi, Nehru or Patel were anti-imperial but not so much anti-British. All these glorious leaders of our national movement including Subhas were products of the British education, but Subhas differed from others, even Gandhiji, in disregarding every aspect of the British society, culture, and education. It is somewhat strange. Subhas was so much anti-British at the core of his heart that he had refused to accept anything positive or glorious in British history and culture.

To Subhas who was essentially a ‘Sannyasi’, ready to sacrifice everything material for the sake of the nation and its people politics could never be the very stuff of his being. At every critical hour of his career he miscalculated the environment and that ultimately led to despair and failure in his career. He was a scholar of high order, a voracious reader and a prolific writer, but still he could not foresee the nature of the coming events.
The present dissertation is a modest attempt to explain this contradiction in the life and career of Subhas. At the onset we studied the impact of heredity and environment on the making of Subhas in order to locate the roots of his divided personality. Here as an analytical tool heredity includes both family and early education and environment constitutes the socio-political conditions of both Bengal and India as a whole. This period spans twenty-two years from 1897 through 1919, when Subhas had his first initiation into the complex social groupings of family and schools.

Subhas was brought up in a big family of eight brothers and six sisters. He had no experience of want and poverty and had no occasion to develop the traits of selfishness, meanness, greed, parochialism and hatred. His family environment was also responsible for his faith in communal amity essentially Hindu-Muslim unity which contributed to his own idea of a composite culture of India. His idea of communal harmony was also influenced by C R Das, his political guru, who fostered so zealously the unity and friendship between the two communities. He also imbibed benevolence and self-less devotion from his family environment. These qualities were confirmed during his schooling in Orissa. Benimadhav Das, the Headmaster of the Ravenshaw Collegiate School cast a profound impression on his youthful mind and the two basic ingredients of the personality of Subhas were born here. These were sociability along with devotion to social cause and commitment to high moral values.

But contrary to this, Subhas developed some kind of deep-rooted distrust and hatred to the British culture when he was admitted into an Anglo-Indian school at the age of five. Here he had the first experience of the hatred that the British nurtured against the natives. In his own words, he had found two distinct worlds at that school one constituted of the masterly race, and
the other, of the ruled. This apathy was compounded and deeply transplanted into his personality by his commitment to the ideas of Swami Vivekananda and those of Sri Aurobindo. Echoing the spirit of Vivekananda, Subhas himself wrote a letter on that: 'in Europe – civilizations rose and declined because of their inherent weakness but Indian civilization survived through time and history.' Subhas believed all his life in the superiority of the Indians and the Asians over the Europeans.

The environment of Bengal was full of flames and Subhas was awakened to it through his readings of Aurobindo and his own personal experience with the British character at the Presidency College, Calcutta. Two dimensions of national movement were prominent in the first two decades of the Twentieth Century which had cast permanent mark on his dreams. One was the policy of memorandum and constitutional patronage pursued by the Old Guards or the Moderates in the Congress Party. Secondly, the politics of fire began with the 'Jugantar' and the 'Anushilan' parties. Subhas in politics was always against the first and in favour of the second.

Environment of a long spectrum starting from Rammohuan Roy and confirmed by a galaxy of other, especially, the novels of Bankim, had created three traits in the personality of Subhas. (a) Necessity of an organised youth movement and a group of young men and women to fight for independence (Bankim’s ‘Santan Dal’), (b) scientific nationalism to be applied to every walk of life, (c) and strong individualism.

Actually all the dominant psychological trends in the personality of Subhas could be traced back to these twenty-two years of his formative life, and these trends, sometimes operative at the conscious level and sometimes at the subconscious and unconscious levels explain practically everything in the life and career of Subhas. Prominent among these trends are self-sacrifice, patriotism, nationalism, monism, self-abnegation, mystical militarism of the
German School, leftism, uncompromising anti-British attitude, Vedantic spiritualism and romantic adventurism.

Apart from these, his personality has a finer spiritual aspect which comprises Subhas’ sense of wit and humour, his love for philosophy, religion and nature. His letters to his Mejobowdi (Bibhabati Bose) sparkle with humour. His love for philosophy leads him to his love for religion which makes him a lover of humanity. His love for nature fosters some basic qualities in his personality like affinity, order, discipline and interdependence.

As a student of philosophy Subhas was initiated into both Bergson and Herder. From Bergson he got the idea of ‘elan vital’ that indicates the vital impulse to overcome all obstacles and move along the road to progress. Subhas, in reality, loved the thorns of life in order to overcome them and in the process to upgrade and enrich his own mental, spiritual and physical strength. From Herder, he drew inspiration to be a Divine – ordained and selected leader of a nation. The tradition of the German School confirms that history is made of the superior nations and mighty leaders who could hypnotise the masses and lead them to their destination. Subhas imbibed this romantic profile of the historic leaders and wanted to translate it through adventures in unchartered ways. All his life Subhas was haunted by a peculiar penchant for adventurism.

Critical decisions taken by Subhas at hours of crisis confirmed all these psychological trends in his life and career. In youth, he left home twice in search of spiritual salvation. He joined the National Cadet Corps for some sort of military training that lasted for a very short time. He was rusticated for his behaviour to Mr. Oaten, the Professor of History at Presidency College Calcutta. And all these happened before he entered into the arena of active politics.
Subhas’ fascination for national revolutionaries was formed from the very beginning and this was reconfirmed in the course of his political career. This is one of the reasons why he diverted from the essence of Gandhian philosophy—Satyagraha and non-violence. Later on, in his Haripura (1938), Tripuri (1939) and Ramgarh (1940) addresses Subhas emphasized once and again that the Gandhian politics would not bring freedom. So the only way was to wage a frontal attack against the British, especially when they were engaged in the European theatre of war with the Axis powers. Finally romantic adventurism, combined with a fascination for military combat led him leave the country and join the Japanese side. The Indian National Army had failed to consolidate its first spate of success and ultimately was compelled to retreat because of lack of reinforcements. In the annals of battles fought in history not much space would be given to the I N A, whatever its impact might have been on the British rulers in India and later, on the Indian contingents of the British Navy in Bombay and other ports.

Subhas was uncompromising. Despite repeated resistance from the important leaders and warning from Gandhi himself, Subhas did not change his stand and contested the Presidency of the Congress party at Tripuri. He had won but could not continue because he was afraid that the new Working Committee, if constituted on the lines of the ‘Pant Resolution’, would stand in the way of his functioning. He was not only uncompromising but also seems to be short of political wisdom and so he was taken aback when his earlier supporters, including, Nehru, turned back from him.

Three other instances could be cited here. First at the Calcutta Conference of the Indian National Congress in 1928, he formally moved the resolution for ‘Full Independence’ but lost it. He could not read the sentiment of most of the Congress leaders. Actually, his final clash with Gandhi, which had been dormant all the time sent alarming signals to others which led to his
total isolation not only from the Congress but also from the Socialists in 1940. Secondly his decision to form a political party and then to leave the country also proves his lack of political foresight. At home, he could not realise that the ground was prepared for the final popular uprising against the British (1942). He did not realise also that abroad the British were so devastated by the ravages of war that the process of decolonization would begin immediately after the War. In fact, Subhas left India when the Indians were badly in need of a leader like him.

Thirdly, a man of wisdom would never believe that Hitler and his German army could help the Indians against the British. On numerous occasions and in several places of his autobiography, Mein Kampf, Hitler had made it crystal clear that Indians definitely needed the British rule for being civilized, and that the Germans should have no military interest beyond the port of Eden. This point was categorically affirmed by Hitler to the total disillusionment of Subhas after more than one year of fruitless stay in Europe. When Subhas could finally meet Hitler he was persuaded to launch his historic journey through the perilous ocean to the Far East. Really it proves his undaunted dispensation to undertake any perilous task.

All this proves one point – Subhas takes decisions and then begins to implement it against all odds, believing that he would ultimately come out victorious. An unusual and mystic attraction for adventure and sacrifice haunted Subhas all his life. Politics is a power-game and self-abnegation is the last word in politics. Politics is hard reality without romanticism. And here Subhas remains a tragic hero who was born to achieve success but could not, due to a host of constraints born of his inner self.

The seed of tragedy in Subhas' life and eventful career, it might be, was lying embedded in the deep recesses of his own mind. A backward
glance at his early life shows that Subhas, since his tender age, was nurtured in the climate of a distinctive Indian environ and was deeply influenced by his mentors from Benimadhav Das to Bankimchandra, Vivekananda, Aurobindo and the Deshbandhu. This grafted undoubtedly a positive character to the style of his life-long political struggle. Their philosophy gripped him from within even when he was in his teens. In fact, the inner man in Subhas reveals different facets of his personality which might be responsible for creating a crisis in his later life.

Subhas, at the conscious level, seems to be a rational man with two basic objectives - freedom for India at the cost of any sacrifice and the creation of a secular democratic socialist country after independence. But emotion, impulsive feelings, restlessness, and irritability were lying deep in the subconscious and unconscious layers of his mind. Of course there was always an inner urge to sublimate these emotive and irrational factors so that these could not stand in the way of conscious and rational activities. Subhas never consciously allowed his pragmatism to be over-shadowed by his emotions and impulses. But it took its toll. Sometimes it created confusion in mind and prompted him to take unjudicious decisions at critical periods which is rather unexpected from a pragmatist.

This confusion and blurred thinking led him to part with the Congress when he was at the summit of popularity and glory. This bizarre thinking, it may be surmised, most probably prompted him to leave his country at a critical period of India's history when the climax was not far off. Had he not been out of India, the united leadership of the Bose brothers might have played a crucial role in India's national movement. He left the country when the entire nation was geared up to launch a final struggle against the British. Secondly, it is doubtful if he had a clear conception of the total scenario of a World War where he would have to confront a mechanised and well-trained army.
Moreover, he himself had no special training in modern military operation. Subhas was an anti-imperialist British power. The triumphs of German 'Wehrmacht' during 1939-40 had a tremendous impact on him. He came to believe that Germany was a power which could give a crushing blow to the British empire and help India in the attainment of freedom. And he was so sanguine about this that the diplomat in him overlooked the fact that German Fascism had already become a strong protagonist of world imperialism and the main stumbling block to the path of human progress. Before the War Subhas harboured critical opinion about Hitler's adverse attitude towards India and also about his unsavoury remarks in *Mein Kampf*. A shrewd reading of the book would not have inspired him to depend on Hitler.

A close psycho-analytical study of the mind of Subhas indicates that his consciousness, his power of rational reasoning became shrouded by his determined will to win freedom at any cost from anywhere. As a result, he misinterpreted the philosophy and strategy of Hitler which should have been obnoxious to him. So he had to face the inevitable consequences of his action. And thus Subhas became a replica of the great Greek tragic heroes created by the three great tragic poets of ancient Greece - Aeschylus (525-456 B.C) Sophocles (495 - 406 BC) and Euripides (480-406 B.C) who had to pass through inevitable sufferings caused by their own futile misadventure which ultimately overwhelmed them. The catastrophe in fact, results from some flaw in the protagonist or a conflict in his mind which ultimately vanquishes him. But the tragic hero holds his head high defying all the storm and thunder that beset them and thus proves his own greatness.

To build up a new nation and to usher in freedom for India - total and complete, not a more political independence - was the ultimate goal of Subhas. He wanted what is called human emancipation. "India freed means humanity saved" - this cryptic one-line statement at the Haripura Congress
presided over by him is the poignant message he delivered. This singular message vents out his determination to evolve an all-round human regeneration in his own land and simultaneously in the whole world.

Like all irrational men, Subhas wanted to go beyond death. He meandered through the thick forests of despair and hope, freedom and nothingness. Like all tragic heroes he lost the battle but, may be, triumphed in defeat.