



Review of ReseaRch

ISSN: 2249-894X

Impact Factor : 5.7631 (UIF)

Volume - 12 | Issue - 9 | June - 2023



JAI HIND: A REALIST PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT –

*Jai Hind is not only a war cry denoting effervescence in blood but also emits the realist fervour of state paramountcy. The article focuses on the contribution made by the revolutionary Netaji in the India's freedom movement vis a vis international arena of power politics through the prism of **realism**. It deals in three sections of **statism, diplomacy and security maximization** in relation to power as mentioned by offensive realist for the survival of the state in the absence of legitimate government (colonial government) or **anarchy** for the audience who loves *sapre aude*.*



KEYWORDS: *Jai Hind, Security Maximization, Statism, Diplomacy, Realism, Anarchy, Sapre Aude*

INTRODUCTION

The Legion method of greeting through "*Jai Ramji ki*" and the transformation to "*Jai Hindustan ki*" as a source of passion, as expressed by Bose secretary Abid Hasan Safrani perfectly address the cultural toleration, policy and diversity of the religious sentiments of the people. Though later, this *nomenclatura* was shortened to "*Jai Hind*" as battle outcry by Netaji depicts his unquestionable aggressive loyalty and patriotism towards the nations that runs in flesh & blood (nag, 2016).

Tracing the roots from middle class family, Netaji was born in Odissa but his aspiration to learn landed him in famous Presidency College, Calcutta (now Kolkata) for graduation in philosophy. Born in a large family he was a rank holder in his secondary education, reached **University of Cambridge** to prepare for civil service which he cleared with rank in 1920 witnesses his dedication level towards education (zeidan, 2022). As a youth he was also influenced by the teachings of Ramakrishna missions and the teachings of Vivekananda which can be experienced during his social service in plague hit areas of Bengal. Subhash Chandra Bose introduction to early nationalism can be understood during his college days where he was expelled in 1916 for nationalist activities and for criticising **Prof. E.F. Oaten**, History, for his anti-India remarks for England civilising missions in India (Bose, 2013).

The integrity and saturation on religious understanding of Netaji can be understood when he comes in direct confrontation with Rabindra Nath Tagore & Andrews on organising Saraswati Puja in Ram Mohan Roy hostel of City College in Calcutta, 1928. Rabindranath expressed his opinion (The Modern Review) stating that the 'religion of the Hindus' would not have been hurt in any way had not

the students insisted for organising the puja in hostel of Brahmo, and it's the religion that gets hurt, by hurting the feelings of different religious community (timesofindia, 2022). C. F. Andrews supported the cause saying that public image worship to be performed in Raja Ram Mohan hostel by authorities on forceful demand of students is not the characteristics of tolerance & forbearance as confirmed by Madras Congress Resolution & established under Unity Conference, Dec. 1927 (Indian, 2022). Bose announced his support in favour of the Hindu students (Albert Hall, 1st March, 1928) codifies Hindus as a tolerant community, not imposing their culture on others. Simultaneously, it's beyond his understanding for how the representatives of Brahmo samaj (enlightened and enrich class) fall to the prey of low politics (India T. o., 2022). Further, the college authorities were requested to provide religious liberty across communities by Bose on 18th may. In his opinion the chemistry between the Hindu & Bramho Samaj were not alike in comparison to Hindu-Muslim or Christians. For Subhash, the Brahmo Samaj is a constituent unit of the Hindu community sharing the common traditions as Brahmo-Hindus, and the representatives share deterministic role in the Hindu Mahasabha. He vouched authorities for lesser degree of strictness when dealing with students (Ghose, 2022). He was also successful in removing Lord Curzon's "Black Hole" memoir. Leonard Gordan remarks that Bose "began to make his own synthesis of cultures of west and India" can be witnessed in his "samyavad" but later disown in 1938 of congress session.

The socio- political journey of Subhash Chandra Bose started during school/college days but it was during the 1921 when he resigned from Imperial Civil Service and returned to India to work under C.R. Das and comes in contact with Congress. In a letter written twice to Nehru, he humbly expressed his sincerity and gratitude to work under taking assignments of teaching, journalism, policy research and propagation, leaving upto congress to decide and use his potential (bhattacharya, 1997). He expressed his concerns for currency, economy, poverty, education and employment specifically apart from raising serious concerns towards future plans and goals by the congress for the movement. Taking note of Gandhi khadi and textile industry, he added his experience of Japan and Germany for industrialisation and mass production as a solution to the above problems (bhattacharya, 1997). His political stature can be seen when he was became president of congress session in 1938 and in later years defeating P. Sittramaya (Gandhi sect.) but resigned due to lack of support. He was also the CEO and the head of youth congress during initial days of Bengal (express i. , 2022).

Later on he developed critical stand towards congress for its method and process for nationalist movement. In the words of Satyendra Sen, Gandhi was anti-materialistic and envy industrialisation & technology to an extent, Bose was vocal for technology, mass production, strong central government and violent means (reactionary methods). The difference between both the nationalist leaders can be best understood by Gandhi vs Machiavelli quotes "means justifies ends" vs "ends justifies means" or just like Shaheed Bhagat Singh methods of revolution vs Gandhi (Machiavelli, 1532). The presence of female contingent led by Laxmi Swaminathan command of Rani Jhansi Regiment or Laxmi Panda from Odissa, later awarded Rashtriya Swatantra Sainik Samman by President Pratibha Patil, 2008, clears Bose Azad Hind Fauj equivocal attitude demanding contribution from both genders (Indian, 2022). He was also assertive for the rights and liberties of everyone without discrimination on any basis and demanded equality before law during haripura session (bose, 2021).

REALIST UNDERSTANDING OF BOSE INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

In the background of these nationalistic understanding of Netaji, Sugata Bose, (grandnephew of Subhash Chandra Bose) quoted that he contributed towards India's national movement making it a global perspective and getting international support for the same (Dasgupta, 2021). Subhash Chandra Bose International aura can be studied through the realm of Realist understanding of International politics where state is the central character working to safeguard security dilemma and "power defined in terms of interest" as propounded by Hans Morgenthau in "Politics among Nation" (smith, 1997). The nature of realism propounded by writers like E.H.Carr, Machiavelli, Kautilya, Tsun Zu and Raymond Aaron stresses for power maximization and security preservation at international level calls for the

same understanding on Bose security and power maximisation for survival and existence (Heywood, 2011).

Statism

The state being the central character under the guise of realism theory of international relation is pragmatically supported in the understanding of Bose India's policy towards South East Asia or at the international politics. A champion of liberty and independence working hard through the prismatic lens of power seeking and countering the imperial powers earned reward for India at the international level. The conundrum of India's independence was justly supported and taken up by Bose through his revolutionary/militant activities for inhumane empire at the time when the congress was divided between radicals and moderates.

The Surat split or the 1939 session of Congress was mired with complexities regarding the methods and process for nationalist movement as revealed in the letter written by Netaji to Nehru for the plans of future India regarding constituent assemble, industries, currency, education and poverty. His works surrounds the creation of State as per treaty of Westphalia (1648) calling for territorial integrity, sovereignty and non interference in the internal matters of the state (Croxtton, 2002). Looking into the sovereignty aspect it was foremost important demand of his time i.e. complete swaraj moving away from congress understanding of Dominion Status and then calling for structuring of the economy through industrialisation experience gained in Japan for the problem of poverty and education (Mitra, 2022). In the words of Dr. Mitra, Netaji was not for "poison industries" rather he was vocal for revival of khadi and cottage industries alongside industrialisation for economic restructuring and integration. Prof. Saha's critique for Gandhi's understanding of charkha and "bullock cart" economy in his editorial magazine (Science and Culture, 1935) to which Bose also complemented one with in Oct, 1935. Bose discussed with Prof Saha about utilising science for the development of the nation. Meghnad Saha questioned Subhas Chandra Bose at the meeting of Indian Science News Association (1938): "May I enquire whether the India of the future is going to revive the philosophy of village life, of the bullock-cart—thereby perpetuating servitude, or is she going to be a modern industrialised nation which, having developed all her natural resources, will solve the problems of poverty, ignorance and defence and will take an honoured place in the comity of nations and begin a new cycle in civilisation?" (Basu, 2000). Consolidation of state can be achieved through political, economic and cultural dimensions and for which Bose was an architect of it like creation of constituent assembly and made Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Rajender Prasad as its part or for that matter on the lines of religion with non hindus as a member of INA (league, 2022).

Diplomacy

The realist understanding of Bose international politics for state survival and security was amply regarded through the policy of diplomacy with Japan, Germany, Italy, singapore and south east asian state where he was successful in notching up alliance with Axis powers and forging support against the common colonial power Britian. Many criticise Netaji for his alliance with dictatorial political system but his dreams was dashed after meeting Ribbentrop and Adolf Hitler, he set up Indian Legion (1941) while INA was setup by Rasbehari Bose later taken up by Netaji in 1942 (timesofindia.com, 2022). Rather it was the need of the crisis to achieve Independence for India as propounded in Mandala Theory - enemy of enemy is friend (kautilaya, 2009). He wanted to create a zone of influence/ circle of friend to carve out a niche against the common enemy (Sarkar, 1919). His success can be measured when Germany provided POW's of Indian origin to forge an army of its own Azad Hind Fauj plus permitted to run radio satellite for communication channel to India.

Similarly Japan too forged an indirect alliance/influence towards Bose to run its campaign (Samiti, 2015). The POW's of Singapore was also included in the unit and was set up with clear aim of denouncing the Britain sovereignty over India during the crisis of world war as that was the right time to question the authority for running war on the support system of colonial resources like India and also established (jagranjosh, 2021). It's due to his realist policy of diplomacy that was based on state

security maximisation and sovereignty, Bose was able to establish provisional government for independent India (Azad Hind) in Singapore with establishment of Azad Hind Radio to communicate with the masses (Indian express, 2022). Moreover with just one meeting with Hitler can't overshadow his character of nationalistic fervor. Later, he aptly sided away from Nazi and Mussolini system and criticised thereby moving with Singapore for alliances.

Security and Power Maximisation

"One man's terrorist, another man freedom fighter" statement depicts the flip side of the coin in the life of Netaji- The Warrior (Chimni, 2012). Though often regarded as "Quisling" by British out to fear, the freedom fighter subtly recognised the power of diaspora, ethnic Indians, POW's and assembled through indirect alliance with axis power and with South East Asian countries like in Malay, Singapore, Burma. Utilising the resources outside the country for the sake of nationalist movement demanded revolt from outside too to paralyse the sovereignty of England. The epithet of "Jai Hind" or "Give me blood, I will give you Freedom" given by Bose is an epitome of liberty calling for realist understanding where security/rights/liberty are snatched not begged if the authority is imperial and cruel colonisers. The large number of 45000 militias during the days of Germany or 10000 plus in Singapore reveals the strategic aspect of power accumulation for balance of power or to counter imbalance of power with power. The geo-strategic location of India as understood by Subhash Chandra Bose led him to surround the colonisers from west and south East Asian region for a counter attack. He was able to unite the Indian origin people living abroad. Infact, INA was able to unite peoples of Indian origin like ex-prisoners, civilian expatriate populations from Burma and Malaysia. On October 21, 1943, he announced the setting up of provisional government and made it clear that India's Army of Liberation was formulated on military lines in the battlefield of Singapore that characterised the bulwark of the imperial rule once upon a time (economic times, 2017).

In a famous reply of the then PM of England Clement Atlee, 1956 to Chief Justice of Calcutta P. B. Chakravarti question on the reason for grant of freedom to India, Atlee said that the loyalty of Indian army and Indian army declining due to increasing military activities of Bose Azad Hind Fauj definitely is a matter of recognition and applause in the service of nation independence movement by the warrior Subhas Chandra Bose (Majumdar, 1943). It was the heroic efforts from INA that freed Andaman and Nicobar Islands in 1943 and was called Swaraj and Shaheed Islands. In the words of Chandrachud Ghose INA helped in uniting Indians /POW's (Prisoners of War) in foreign soil (Ghose, 2022).

CONCLUSION

Despite the formulation of certain commissions on Netaji's death like The Figgess report 1946, Shah Nawaz Committee 1956, Khosla Commission 1970, Justice Mukherjee Commission 2006 on the death of revolutionary the nationalistic determination, fervor and grit of Subhas Chandra Bose was unmatched and beyond imagination. Anuj dhar, journalist did pioneer works on Netaji too shed lights on his death controversy, but all said and done, the courage and longevity was well appreciated by the government of India with the establishment of "Kartavya Path" and the statue at India Gate, 2022 for his contribution in generating the colours of sacrifice & loyalty among the youth and the generations to come. The zeal with which he disown the path of comfortable life after clearing civil service shows his sacrifice and service for the mother nation thereby suffice Kant theory of Enlightenment, where one has to come out of comfort zone, laziness and cowardice to walk the miles and that was his style of achieving enlightenment or "Sapre Aude" (kant, 1784).

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