

REBUILD INDIA IN NETAJI'S WAY

After 56 years of independence, hundreds of problems have heaped up to cripple our national life. The poor have become poorer, while a handful of capitalist rich people have enormously inflated their earnings. Unemployment is steadily going up, health & education are far away from the reach of the common people. There is no indication of 'power' being handed over to the 'people'. The representatives of the national bourgeoisie capitalist class,"with the patronage of the imperialist powers, are running the central administration, and as such, people's emancipation has not been achieved. Beginning from the 1930s, Subhas Chandra Bose had been advocating from various platforms alternative means of socialist reconstruction, but our post-independence national leaders have never cared to follow them. From 1947 onwards India had gone through series of political experiments, but with no tangible result. Gandhian policy had failed. Nehru's 'socialistic pattern of society' had also failed to bring solace to the toiling masses. Despite Indira Gandhi's series of 'nationalisation' programme and evoking 'Emergency' in the country, 'garibi' (poverty) and unemployment, ill-health and illiteracy could not be eradicated. Rajib Gandhi and Narshimha Rao, aided with 'economic reforms' programme also failed to achieve results. Short spell regime of the United Front also didn't have the desired impact on our national Life. And the present NDA regime, headed by BJP, with the 'second generation reforms' has plunged the country in more socio-economic disasters and political crises. The basic reason is that we are far from socialism. The ruling national bourgeoisie class, tied up with capitalist and imperialist forces, can not achieve socio-economic emancipation of the people. Against this background, people are showing their confidence in the ideals and programmes of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. The people are having growing faith and conviction that for overcoming the problems of poverty-unemployment-illiteracy and disease, we must follow the path of socialist reconstruction as shown by Subhas Chandra Bose. Netaji has adequately expressed his socio-economic and political ideas for socialist reconstruction of the country in his various writings, speeches and discourses. We must study these documents which are quite relevant in the context of our present day national crisis.

2. In his unique reconstruction programme, Netaji gave emphasis and priority on eradication of poverty and unemployment, illiteracy and disease, preceded, of course, by a strong national defence system. According to him, these three priority areas constituted the most vital fundamental problems of the country. [Vide his Tokyo speech (1944) and Haripura speech (1938)]. He, therefore, wanted us to take effective measures to solve these three fundamental problems first. But, unfortunately, necessary attention has not been given to these problems on priority basis and hence, the basic needs of the people have not been satisfied. In 56 year rule the Governments have miserably failed to build and implement pro-people economy and planning.

In recent times the Nobel prize winner and renowned economist **Amartya Sen** has also said that for national development, first of all, we must introduce universal primary education and health-scheme. Subhas Chandra's thoughts are echoed through Sen's theory.

3. After 'great escape' from India in January 1941, Netaji was in Germany for a considerable time where he organized the Indian Legion and was engaged in other preparatory work for his final war of independence from abroad. But even during these hectic days he was planning for India's reconstruction after independence. He asserted that for eradication of poverty and unemployment we urgently needed Industrialization and scientific agriculture and that must be aided by the state. He wrote in an article, 'Free India and her problems', published in a German periodical in August 1942 : 'India will therefore need industrialization and scientific agriculture through state aid, if she has to serve the problem of poverty and unemployment.'

Subhas Chandra further emphasized that, for successful implementation of his aforesaid three priority-based programmes we must increase our national production, particularly agricultural and industrial production, through modern scientific methods and arrange for their equitable social distribution. And more precisely, he wanted to develop this system of national production and distribution through socialist means.

Subhas Chandra declared very categorically that post-independence reconstruction of India could be achieved only through socialist means. His main objective was to establish socialism. Subhas told in his presidential address at the Haripura Congress session (1938) : '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 socialistic lines.'

Incidentally, we may recall his observations on 'Science and Politics' made at the third general meeting of the Indian Science News Association at Calcutta on August 21, 1938. In reply to questions posed by Professor **Meghnad Saha** at the meeting, the then Congress President Subhas Chandra told : "Firstly, industrialisation is necessary for solving the problem of unemployment. Though scientific agriculture will increase the production of 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 are now thinking in terms of Socialism as the basis of national reconstruction and **Socialism** presupposes industrialization.' In our present context, the term '**industry**' has a wider connotation, which includes urban-based large scale industries, along with rural-based small scale and cottage industries, food-processing and other agro-based industries, etc. Moreover, we must realize the significance of Netaji's concept of industrialization **vis-a-vis socialism**.

4. For furtherance of his socialist thoughts, Subhas Chandra wanted to form a National Planning Commission which would take care to formulate a comprehensive plan for post-independence national reconstruction. During the hectic days of freedom movement, Subhas Chandra had no doubt in his mind that India would achieve freedom shortly, and no imperialist power on earth could prevent it. He was, therefore, getting himself prepared with a draft plan as to how to reconstruct the country after attaining independence. Subhas was the first national leader to form a National Planning Committee in 1938 while he was the President of the Indian National Congress. Even while he was vigorously engaged in his liberation struggle and his **INA**, he formed a separate 'reconstruction' department of the Provisional Government of Free India. As an ardent believer in socialism and planned economy, Netaji Subhas Chandra thus initiated the concept of Planning Commission in Indian politics.

The concept of co-operative federalism based on principles of decentralization and the endeavour to strengthen the local bodies by empowering the **Panchayati Raj** Institutions are in a way the legacy of the perceptions conceived by Netaji **65** years ago.

5. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that for tackling the three fundamental problems, as mentioned earlier, Netaji introduced two more important concepts in relation to his programme of national reconstruction which he explained in detail in his speech delivered before the students of Tokyo Imperial University in **November, 1944**. He mentioned in his speech that for tackling the three most important fundamental problems of India, viz. the

problem of eradication of poverty and unemployment, illiteracy and disease, the responsibility must be taken by the State (in free India) and secondly, the methods for tackling these problems must be determined by the Indian conditions and in Indian way. He further explained the issue : 'Well, at present, public opinion in India is that we cannot leave it to private initiative to solve these national problems, especially the economic problem. If we leave it to private initiative to solve the problem of poverty and unemployment, for instance, it will probably take centuries. Therefore, public opinion in India is in favour of some sort of socialist system, in which the initiative will not be left to private individuals, but the State will take over the responsibility for solving economic questions. Whether it is a question of industrializing the country or modernizing agriculture, we want the State to step in and take over the responsibility and put through reforms within a short period, so that the Indian people could be put on their legs at a very early date.

'But in solving this problem, we want to work in our own way. We will, naturally, study experiments made in other countries - - but, after all, we have to solve our problems in an Indian way and under Indian conditions. Therefore, the system that we shall ultimately set up will be an Indian system to suit the needs of the Indian people.' [Tokyo speech, 1944].

But unfortunately, during the last five decades, this way of solving India's fundamental problems, as advocated by Netaji, has not been followed with proper planning and sincerity. Moreover, it's a matter of concern that in recent times, public sector enterprises are being discouraged and closed and the private sector is given wider scope to operate even in areas of fundamental problems. An alarming policy of indiscriminate disinvestments and privatization is being followed. Such a policy may benefit a limited section of the society, but the majority of the people will be plunged in more poverty. In accordance with the gravity of social needs and bigger public interest, it's now high time to demarcate the areas of **public sector** and **private sector**.

Private sector can be allowed to operate in the economic field, say in the field of industry or agriculture or in the field of housing or infrastructure development, but they must work under the overall guidelines and policy framework of the state and national planning body. Private sector may also work in collaboration with public sector under the same policy framework. But for overall national interest, multinational companies cannot be generally encouraged to operate in Indian soil. It is a common experience for the developing countries that **MNCs** generally cause exploitation of the poor, weakening of national economy and uphold the interest of the neo-imperialist forces. Netaji time and again warned his countrymen against the evils of imperialism and possible activities of **post-war neo-imperialist** agencies.

6. Subhas Chandra has suggested in different contexts various means of eradication of poverty. The main facets of these suggestions are abolition of **Zamindari** system, radical land reforms, granting of agricultural loans and development of co-operative movement, increasing agricultural production by scientific methods, widespread industrial development plan under state ownership and state control, and at the same time, revival of cottage industries in necessary spheres, etc.

The relevant portion from Subhas Chandra's **Haripura** speech (1938) may be quoted in this context: 'Regarding reconstruction, our principal problem will be how to eradicate poverty from our country. That will require radical reform of our land system, including the abolition of landlordism. Agricultural indebtedness will have to 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 increase the yield from the land.

To solve the economic problem, agricultural improvement will not be enough. A comprehensive scheme of industrial development under state ownership and control will be indispensable. A new industrial system will have to be built up in place of the old one, which has collapsed as a result of mass production abroad and alien rule at home. A Planning Commission will have to consider carefully and decide which of the home industries could be revived despite the competition of modern factories, and in which sphere large-scale production should be encouraged.

During the last five decades after independence all these means of reconstruction suggested by **Subhas Chandra** have not been followed by and large. Distribution of surplus land to landless, land-ownership rights to the tillers, recovery of vested fallow land and turning those to cultivable land, forest land to the landless poor and to develop social forestry and cultivation, etc. are some of the important facets of radical land reforms. This sort of radical land reforms have not been implemented throughout the whole country with due sincerity and urgency. Due to the central policy-makers' unholy compromise and alliance with the capitalists and landlords, the interests of the hungry poor millions have largely suffered.

7. For the sake of pro-people agriculture and industrial developments, Subhas Chandra advocated state control and nationalization. But he didn't stop at that point. He went further to make radical recommendations that all that we

needed ultimately was the 'socialization' of our means of agricultural and industrial production and distribution. He clearly stated in his Haripura speech (1938) : The State, on the advice of 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 distribution.' By virtue of his social and political foresight and intelligence, Subhas Chandra could realize that most of the beneficial effects of nationalization might eventually be negatives due to crude intervention and control of bureaucrats. But bureaucrats are not people's representatives, they have no commitments to the people. Hence, if needed, they do not hesitate to forego people's interest for the sake of their own personal benefits. Besides this, there comes the question of mental aptitude - - ardent sincerity to fulfill the targets -and unfortunately, the bureaucrats, in general are lacking in them. Eventually, the progress is slowed down, corruption prevails, and anti-people activities are accelerated. Subhas was aware of this character of bureaucracy. Hence, he had apprehensions that nationalization alone might not be able to bring the desired results. In fact, the experience of 56 years after independence has proved Subhas Chandra's apprehensions correct, that is why, Subhas Chandra rightly gave a call to 'change the composition and character of the bureaucracy' [Haripura speech, 1938]. Moreover, he wanted to lead the country towards 'socialisation' through a bold socialistic reconstruction programme. But, in fact, our national leaders did not follow him, and the country obviously didn't move on his line. In spite of nationalization in the field of banking, insurance, a few heavy industries and others, mainly due to evils of bourgeois leadership and bureaucratic set-up, even after 56 years, the country is facing hundreds of acute problems - - and still now, millions of people are living below the poverty line. On the plea of this apparent failure of experiments with nationalization, but obviously, ignoring the basic reasons behind, countrywide processes of denationalization have now started. The country has thus started moving again in backward direction. Series of disinvestments and privatization have followed. The country is now being tied up with the reins of capitalist economy. In the midst of this difficult situation, the country again desires to seek solace and guidance in the planned socialistic reconstruction programme advocated by Netaji Subhas Chandra.

Incidentally, it may be mentioned that bureaucratic mentality or work may raise its head in different forms, but it, in each of its form, is harmful for the nation. As the administrative bureaucracy is harmful, so is equally harmful the party bureaucracy. That the party bureaucracy can occasionally be dangerously harmful for a nation, is quite very evident from the downfall of the Soviet Union. When the party in power becomes detached from the people and exploits the administration, there comes the possibility of such disastrous

effects. It's now time for us to be cautious about this party bureaucracy. Subhas Chandra's concept of socialism can make us free from the evils of all bureaucratic set-ups.

8. For implementation of Subhas Chandra's proposed programme of reconstruction and socialization, we need, no doubt, extra capital. If we can go ahead with a well-planned, disciplined approach towards a well-defined goal of public welfare, we can solve the problem of capital by social utilization of abundant resources that are available in a vast country like India. If we are sincere in our goal of raising the standard of living of millions of poor illiterate people, and if we never deviate from this basic social objective the problem of capital can never stand in our way. People's spontaneous support adds strength to people's welfare programmes. But during the last 56 years the bourgeois leadership lacked this will for sincere public welfare and as such, various capital-related problems arising out of the evils of capitalist system cropped up. Black money accumulated at the one end, and on the other hand, the poor became poorer.

Besides this general approach, Subhas Chandra gave some concrete suggestions for procuring extra capital. In his Haripura speech (1938), Subhas Chandra suggested that we can go for internal or external loans for the purpose or even we may take the course of inflation. To quote him : *'Extra capital willt have to be procured for this, whether through inernal or external loans or through inflation'* [Haripura speech, 1938].

But these methods should be deeply scrutinized from all possible angles. In our present day circumstances, the country is so over burdened with huge quantity of internal and external debts, that these methods will not be feasible proposition. Subhas Chandra agreed in principle to raise internal or external loans. But the main thing to be considered is, on what terms or from what sources or under what circumstances we should secure loans or take measures for inflation. Otherwise, there would be scope for confusion or wrong direction. Our present day rulers have made our national economy crippled, dependent and anti-people by accepting external loans from imperialist and capitalist bodies (like IMF, World Bank or WTO) in their terms and conditions. That the country is now in a debt-trap, is a matter of serious concern. If we are clear in our objective and honest in our purpose, no vested interest can divert us to any anti-people wrong path. That is what Subhas taught us.

9. That Subhas Chandra was very clear and transparent in his political vision and objectives, was evident from his political philosophy and a related statement which we may refer to here. The basic objective of his socialist

thoughts was to improve the lot of millions of toiling masses of India, whom he called 'have-nots' and they are the majority of our population. Subhas Chandra wanted to improve their position at the cost of the 'haves' or the rich, who are minority in our society. Subhas argued : 'Moreover, if after the capture of political power, national reconstruction takes place on socialist line - - as I have no doubt it will - - it is the have-nots who will benefit at the expense of the haves and the Indian masses have to be classified among the have-nots', [Haripura Speech, 1938]. Ultimately, of course, Netaji aimed that there should be no have-nots in free India.

In this way, by defeating the capitalist system, patronized by imperialists, Subhas Chandra wanted to build up socialism in India. This was indeed a revolutionary idea. It is needless to mention that if the country proceeded in this way as advocated by Subhas Chandra, there would not have been any problem in respect of procuring capital for reconstruction work. But during the last 56 years' rule, the reverse has happened. Only 10% of our population have grown rich, while the rest 90% of our population have become poorer. The accumulated black money has started controlling the society and the State. It has so happened only because the country has not been led in Subhas' way. Unearthing of black money may be one of the means of regenerating our presently shattered economy.

10. In the name of 'globalisation', the present Indian policy is pushing the indigenous industry in sharp competition with the foreign industry of capitalist and imperialist countries, as a result of which the Indian industry and economy are on the brink of serious crises. Subhas Chandra warned the country long before - - 60 years ago -- against the damaging effects of such unequal competition in industrial field. Subhas Chandra told : *'it is, of course, preposterous to permit foreigners in this country to compete with the nationals on equal terms, ... The right of the future Indian Parliament to differentiate or discriminate between nationals and non-nationals, whenever Indian interests require it, should remain intact and this we cannot sacrifice on any account.'* [Haripura Speech, 1938]. Unfortunately, in free India many such rights are sacrificed in the interest of the **neo-imperialist** powers.

When we are now swept away by the onslaught of globalisation and the country is on the verge of losing economic sovereignty, we remember how strongly Netaji advocated for national autonomy. In response to Prof. **Meghnad Saha's** query, he said : 'Though-from the industrial point of view the world is one unit, we should nevertheless aim at national autonomy, especially in the field of our principal needs and requirements'¹. (August 21, 1938)

11. Ever increasing population is undoubtedly a problem for successful implementation of reconstruction programme. Subhas Chandra had, therefore, rightly drawn our attention to the population problem long before. He was of the opinion that the trend of increasing population could create problem for any of our long-term programme. He explicitly told, 'I simply want to point out that where poverty, starvation and disease are stalling the land, we cannot afford to have our population mounting up by thirty millions during a single decade' [Haripura speech, 1938]. We have not been able to fully realize this truth even in 56 years; hence the problem goes on increasing. India's population was about 35 crores by the end of thirties, while currently the population of divided India has crossed 100 crores. We have failed so far to pay our due attention to the alarming aspects of this problem. The Government has failed to formulate a suitable national population policy. Population is the biggest asset of the country - - it is essential to utilize it properly. But if the situation so demands, it becomes imperative to restrict the population.

12. We must not forget another important aspect of Subhas Chandra's revolutionary reconstruction programme. Subhas Chandra wanted to build up a new modern India based on its earlier tradition and culture. He told before the students at Tokyo University : 'We want to build up a new and modern nation on the basis of our old culture and civilization' [Tokyo speech, 1944]. In an earlier article also he asserted: *'India could contribute something to the common culture and civilization of humanity, in religion and philosophy, in architecture, in painting, dancing and music and in other arts and handicrafts, India would offer something unique to the world.'* [Free India and her problems' - from a German periodical published in August 1942].

In the **October, 1935** issue of the journal 'Science and Culture', edited by Meghnad Saha, Subhas Chandra wrote in his article 'Some problems of nation-building' - that we must adopt modern science and culture in our work of nation-building. Neither the Gandhite opposition to modern industry, nor the orthodox leftists' opposition to computers or modern information technology is desirable. At the same time, we must not forget the past tradition and culture of India. Lessons from the aforesaid ideas of Subhas Chandra will no doubt help us in our task of nation-building.

13. Education was also an important aspect of Subhas Chandra's socialistic reconstruction programme. He looked at Education on a national perspective.

He said : *'through a common educational policy we shall have to foster a common spirit among the entire population'* [Haripura speech, 1938]. But what about our present education system? It is discriminating in nature, offering vast opportunities to the rich and minimum to the poor, and thus creating a disparity in society, resulting in social imbalance right from the beginning.

Subhas Chandra deeply felt that education must develop a national spirit and patriotism amongst us right from our childhood. Children must be taught to love the country and render service to the common people. This sort of training would help to foster solidarity and harmony among the entire population. [An Indian Pilgrim', S. C. Bose] Imparting such education is, therefore, very important with a view to nation-building. 'Man-making mission' propounded by Vivekananda and a vision of universality propagated by Rabindranath Tagore inspired Subhas Chandra to formulate such policy of education in free India.

We must also resist all sorts of attempts to commercialise and/or to communalise education. Education must not be allowed to be used as a commodity for making profits. A free and man-making education can strengthen the foundation of our nation.

Netaji also thought about other aspects of education. He suggested : *'experiments will have to be made for evolving a national system of education in accordance with the needs of the Indian people'* [*Free India and her problems'*, Germany, August 1942]. Technical education and research should also be a priority issue for free India. Netaji said : 'We should also tackle the problems of technical education and technical research. So far as technical education is concerned, as in the case of Japanese students, our students should be sent abroad for training in accordance with a clear and definite plan so that as soon as they return home, they may proceed straightway to build up new industries.

So far as technical research is concerned, we shall agree that it should be free of governmental control of every kind. It is only in this unfortunate country that government servants are entrusted with scientific research on receipt of princely salaries and we know very well what results have been obtained there from' [*Science and Politics'* answers to questions posed by Prof. Meghnad Saha : August 21, 1938].

14. Of late, three very critical problems are bothering us most. These three problems are -firstly, regionalism and divisiveness; secondly, communalism and minority problems, and thirdly, problems of self-reliance for the backward, weaker and underdeveloped classes. By exploiting,

distorting and instigating these three problems, many small or big parties have recently sprung up in Indian politics and are serving their self-interests, but basically they are retarding the progress of the country. Subhas Chandra had repeatedly warned us regarding these three problems and had expressed the necessity of solving them for proper reconstruction of the country.

Subhas Chandra's revolutionary thoughts regarding overall development of united India inspire us all the time. For a vast country like India having different castes, religions, languages and regional culture, Subhas Chandra wanted to strengthen the foundation of a strong central government, along with provincial or regional autonomy, in order to keep India united, and at the same time, ensuring regional development. He clarified his opinion in this respect : 'While unifying the country through a strong central government, we shall have to put all the minority communities, as well as the provinces at their ease, by allowing them a large measure of autonomy in cultural as well as governmental affairs' [Haripura speech, 1938]. During the last 50 years of national planning process, Subhas Chandra's ideal has not been followed - - hence, so many problems in this respect have cropped up throughout the country. There may be an apparent contradiction in the idea of a strong central government and, at the same time, regional autonomy, but a pragmatic political will and capability can make a harmony between the two. This has not been successfully achieved in India so far. Even during the last 56 years, a centre-state amicable relationship, a well-balanced good relationship built through a policy of equitable distribution of resources and other governmental rights and responsibilities — could not be achieved, and as such, regional and divisive forces are gradually raising their heads. We can make our country free from this vexed problem only by successful implementation of Subhas Chandra's ideas.

Fight against communalism and casteism is an integral part of Subhas Chandra's concept of socialism. He fought throughout his life against these two social monsters. When Subhas first gave this call for fight against discrimination on caste and creed, when he started to plead for socio-economic and educational development and self-reliance for the backward classes, at that time, many of today's so-called leaders of scheduled castes, tribes and backward classes could not be traced even. But during the last 50 years taking advantage of the Government's inaction and indifference in the matter, many divisive forces have come out in the open. We can get rid of such a situation only by following Subhas' way.

As Subhas Chandra fought against the capitalist and feudal forces, he also fought, particularly in view of Indian situation, against the divisive forces of casteism. He declared in his speech, at the London Conference in June, 1933 :

'Free India will not be a land of capitalists, landlords and castes. Free India will be a social and political democracy.' [Presidential address at the Third Indian Political Conference, London : 10 June, 1933].

Netaji's concept about communalism was also very clear and deeply analytic. He was of the opinion that the problem of communalism was created --- the Britishers used to nurse this

discriminating policy in the interest of sustaining their rule in India. He said in Tokyo University in November 1944 : *'You will find that outside, where there is no British influence, there are no differences among the Indian people. In the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia and in the Indian National Army there is no question of religion or caste or class. It is just in India where the British have influence and control that you will find these differences.'*

A few of the political parties also used to exploit this matter for satisfying their vested interests. Netaji believed that, once we could establish equality in true sense in socio-economic and political field, there would have no problem like minority-problem in our country. While presenting the picture of future free India as he dreamt of, he wrote : 'In the matter of political and economic rights there will be perfect equality among the whole population. When every individual has employment, food and education and has freedom in religious and cultural matters there will be no more any minority-problem in India.' [The Indian Struggle, S. C. Bose]

15. Netaji fought throughout his life against two sinister menace -- one, imperialism, and the other, communalism, which he asserted, caused tremendous damage to India. During the dark days of 200 years of dependence, India was ruled and exploited by the British imperialism, and communalism - - as created, fomented and nursed by (lie Britishers -- was one of their dirty weapons, which kept the people of India divided and weak as a consequence of their infighting. But the most alarming part of the whole story is this that, even after independence these two evil forces are still active in Indian peninsula and continue to damage the basic interest of the people and the country as a whole. Of course their apparent faces have changed, but their basic characters have remained unchanged. The principal leader of the world imperialism is now the USA and the communalism is now working through India's present ruling clique the BJP and its allies. Under the onslaught of this twin evil forces, India's prospect and sovereignty -- both economic and geographical - are at stake. Although the days of imperialist colonies are over, neo-imperialism is now active through its various channels and agencies in the developing countries mainly aimed at economic exploitation. Agencies like **IMF-WB-WTO** on the one hand and the

devastating policies of **Liberalisation, Privatisation & Globalisation** on the other hand are penetrating deep into the socio-economic fabrics of the developing countries putting them under the clout of growing poverty and unemployment. The establishment of **WTO** (World Trade Organization) after the **GATT** (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) is a tool of the United States and other developed countries to interfere in the markets of Third World Countries in respect of trade and commerce, trade in services, patents, agriculture and all other economic issues. Socialism will be far away if we cannot combat these evil forces by our united fight against them. This must be our priority task to rebuild India in Netaji's Way.

16. Of course, Netaji could visualize it long before. While leading the INA in the final war of independence from abroad, Netaji wrote an open letter to Gandhiji sometime in 1944. Obviously, that was the time when the Second World War was heading for its final stage as the Anglo-American forces were fighting hard against the Axis Powers. During this critical juncture of time Netaji in his aforesaid letter made some historical comments, rather political forecast, about the emerging postwar World Power. Netaji said : 'Even if the Allies could somehow win the war, it will be United States of America, and not Britain, that will be top dog in future and it will mean that Britain will become a protege of the USA.'

Netaji further said in his letter about the war aims of the USA : 'T may say that the ruling clique at Washington is now dreaming of world domination. This ruling clique and its intellectual exponents, talk openly of the 'American Century', that is, in the present century the USA will dominate the world. In this ruling clique, there are extremists who go so far as to call Britain the 49th State of the USA.'

As we all know, Netaji's forecasts have been proved to be correct. The American imperialists are dominating the world since the post-war day. Their aggressive military powers, as well as economic ambitions are viciously spreading their tentacles over the hundreds of developing countries, and India is no exception.

After the end of Cold War the United States has embarked upon a course of global strategy. The foundation of the strategy is based on USA's imperialist interest all over the world. The USA, by using **NATO**, wages military actions against the poor countries to protect its global interest. By using IMF, World Bank and **WTO** the imperialists are interfering the internal affairs and sovereignty of poor nations.

The economic imperialism headed by USA in the name of Globalisation, Liberalisation and Privatisation is forcing the third world countries to evolve

capitalist model of economy. While aspiring to rebuild India in Netaji's way, we must be firm and cautious to safeguard our country from the onslaught of the world imperialist and capitalist powers headed by the USA.

We must remember Netaji's candid assertion : *'Ours is a struggle not only against British Imperialism, but against world imperialism as well'* [Haripura speech, 1938].

17. We find a comprehensive picture of Subhas Chandra's programme of freedom struggle and post-independence socialist reconstruction in his historical discourse 'Forward Bloc and its justification'. After secretly escaping from India, when he was absconding in Kabul and when danger and death were hunting him at every moment of his existence -- then, at that critical juncture of his life. Subhas drafted this discourse in cool head (in January-February, 1941). In political circle, it is known as 'Kabul Thesis'. In his thesis, Subhas described his future plan of action and his objectives in the form of eight-point programme of his party Forward Bloc. This eight-point programme was summarized as follows :

- (1) Complete national independence and uncompromising anti-imperialist struggle for attaining it.
- (2) A thoroughly modern and socialist state.
- (3) Scientific large-scale production for the economic regeneration of the country.
- (4) Social ownership and control of both production and distribution.
- (5) Freedom for the individual in the matter of religious worship.
- (6) Equal rights for every individual.
- (7) Linguistic and cultural autonomy for all sections of the Indian community.
- (8) Application of the principles of equality and social justice in building up the New Order in Free India. In our determination and struggle for 'Rebuilding India in Netaji's way, we must keep in mind every point, every word of the aforesaid 8-point programme, and work accordingly. This programme is very relevant even today in our work for rebuilding India as per dreams of Netaji.

18. India, as dreamt of by Netaji, is yet to be built. In a letter written to the revolutionary leader Barin Ghosh in 1930, Subhas told about the aims and objects of his life and struggle as such: '...we do not want to emancipate the people merely from political bondage - - rather we want to free them from all restraint. The main objective of freedom struggle is to remove all the three types of restraint

-political, economic and social restraint. Once we can remove all sorts of restraint, then only we can build a new society based on communism or **Samyabad**. The main objective of our freedom struggle is to build up 'a free and **classless society**'!

If we venture to rebuild India in Netaji's way, we must remember this main objective of his freedom struggle.

19. 'There is no guarantee that our countrymen will be freed merely with the end of the British rule. After the removal of the foreign rulers, if power is vested in the hands of the local reactionary bourgeoisie clan, then the emancipation of the exploited poor people will not be achieved.' Netaji, with his political foresight and intelligence, didn't rule out one such possibility. In fact, it has exactly so happened in India. Once it so happened, Netaji told, we would require a second revolution to free our people from the clutches of the reactionary national bourgeoisie. Netaji pronounced these words at a time in 1944 when the Indian National Army was engaged in their struggle for freedom. While teaching 'what is revolution', Netaji told his young trainees at the Cambay Swaraj Youth Training Camp on **25 April, 1944** : 'If with the end of the British rule in India, power is vested in the hands of the Indians, but, in spite of that, the problems of poverty and unemployment, epidemics and death-rate still persist like before, and no adequate provisions are made for food for the hungry and education for the illiterate people, then our task would remain unfulfilled ... Our revolution would be completed only when we could build our new society based on truth and justice - - where every Indian would get his birth-rights fulfilled ... If our revolution ends only after driving out the Britishers, then another revolution would be necessary for building up a new social order in India ... You can not retire from your work immediately after attaining India's independence only, as after fighting against the alien power, you have now the onerous task of saving the nation from the clutches of the reactionary forces in India.' History is the best witness, what Netaji pronounced, as stated above, have proved to be true in letter and spirit. We must, therefore, now make preparations for the second revolution which, in turn, would be our preparations for building up a new society - - or the New Order.

20. The aforesaid second revolution would obviously be a socialist revolution and as characterized by Netaji, it will be an 'Indian revolution in Indian way under Indian conditions.'

21. It is, thus, our firm conviction that to rebuild Indian in Netaji's way, we must strive to establish Socialism, and that, too, in an Indian way and under Indian conditions. Netaji unambiguously explained it in his speech at the Calcutta session of the All India Trade Union Congress on July 4, 1931 : 'I have no doubt in my mind that salvation of India, as of the world, depends on Socialism. India should learn from and profit by the experience of other nations - - but India should be able to evolve her own methods in keeping with her own needs and her own environment. In applying any theory to practice, you can never rule out geography or history. If you attempt it, you are bound to fail. India should therefore, evolve her own form of socialism.'

Netaji further clarified his idea of Socialism in his Presidential address at the conference of the All India Naujawan Bharat Sabha at Karachi on 5 April 1931 and also at the U.P. Naujawan Bharat Sabha Conference held at Mathura on 26 May 1931.

While explaining his concept of **Socialism**, Netaji told that, our collective life must always be based on certain principles. According to him, there are five such principles, viz. Justice, Equality, Freedom, Discipline and Love; these are essential to form the basis of our collective life. Netaji adequately explained the significance of such principles in his aforesaid speeches at Karachi or Mathura. As for example, he said at **Karachi (1931)** :

There is hardly any necessity of arguing that all our affairs and relations should be guided by a sense of justice. In order to be just and impartial, we shall have to treat all men as equal. In order to make men equal we shall have to make them free. Bondage within the socio-economic or political system - - robs men of their freedom and gives rise to inequalities of various kinds. Therefore, in order to ensure Equality, we must get rid of bondage of every kind -- social, economic and political -- and we must become fully and wholly free. But freedom does not mean indiscipline or license. Freedom does not imply the absence of law. It only means the substitution of our own law and our own discipline in a place of an externally imposed law and discipline. Discipline imposed on us by ourselves is necessary not only when we have attained freedom, but is more necessary when we are struggling to achieve freedom. Therefore, discipline, whether for the individual or for society, is necessary as a basis of life. Lastly, all these fundamental principles viz., Justice, Equality, Freedom and Discipline - - presuppose or imply another higher principle viz., Love. Unless we are inspired by a feeling of love for humanity we can neither

be just towards all, nor treat men as Equal, nor feel called upon to suffer and sacrifice in the cause of freedom, nor enforce discipline of the right sort. These five principles, therefore, should in my opinion be the basis of our collective life. I shall go further and say that these principles constitute the essence of Socialism as I understand it, and the Socialism that I like to see established in India.

We must visualize this philosophy of Socialism as conceived by Netaji and we must go for this Socialism while rebuilding India in Netaji's way.

A FOUR-POINT TASK AHEAD

1.

(a) For a life, the first and foremost necessity is food and proper meal. It is the absolute source of sustenance, and only a secondary commodity for trade. The right to food is a fundamental right. So, every person, every community, every country has a right to be able to produce food or have access of food. Society have the right to shape their food and agricultural economies, (b) The right to work is a fundamental right. For peasants and landless workers, this translates into livelihood security in agriculture, (c) Land rights are central to food sovereignty. Land reforms, interrupted or reversed by globalisation, need to be introduced and made central to peace and security of the people, (d) Farmers are the first and last breeders. Their rights are based on collective cumulative innovation. So, they have a right to seed and to be freed of seed monopolies, (e) Small farms produce more livelihoods and more foods than large industrial farms. Small farmers need to be treated as the backbone of agriculture, (f) The farmers, in many cases, are not getting just or even remunerative price for their produces, and it results in farmers' suicides and hunger deaths in many states, induced by policies of globalisation, (g) The people belonging to agriculture is the biggest portion of the country's population.

Therefore, the Party should pay prime attention towards developing and streamlining the movements of farmers, small farmers, land laborers and agricultural workers, in a concrete and distinct way. It will be variant in tactics according to the situation of concerned states, e.g. coffee-planters of Kerala and jute producers of West Bengal — but as a strategy it will have one target for resisting foreign invasion in country's agriculture. It is the task of the Party to work out a broad review of the changing class-pattern of the agricultural people because of the different treatments made by different interest blocks.

2.

(a) For his livelihood, a man needs work. Right to work, or job. is a fundamental right. Besides agriculture, country needs industry. People can never allow the idea of transforming the country simply into a market place of foreign goods. India's own industry should be grown up, and that industry must be developed in Indian way. (b) A consolidated trade union movement throughout the country, therefore, is to be organized, which will take up this political task, rather always fighting for their economic demands. A vehement and sustained resistance against foreign capital investment is a virtual necessity in case of protecting Indian industry, (c) Each and every workers' movement must be converted into a political struggle which is to keep pace with mother political party and other front organisations, (d) Workers of the country must have the patience, the vision and the discipline to work at the grass root with like-minded people, and build new committed alliances, between different castes and different classes. They must get into pro-people actions, engage themselves in constructive work and test their thoughts and reflections in a concrete way, so that they may develop better and sharper insights in building their movements, (e) Workers are the largest in share of the country's human power.

In this case, the Party shall take up a multi-faced campaign against foreign capital investment in the prime sectors, against consumerism and fetishism, against anti-labour measures, against govt. 's decisions succumbing to WTO in cases of imports. In all steps, workers are to be tagged with. Besides, it must be remembered, all the workers of different industrial sectors do not fall in line about the furiosity of the situation, because of the developing class-disintegration among the working-classes themselves. Party therefore, shall put all effort to stand coal-miners beside auto-workers, and the tea besides steel. Here also a systematic study is necessary or the changing pattern of working-class composition.

3.

(a) Literacy is absolutely urgent one, just after food and clothing, one's health and shelter. But literacy does not mean education. Education is a process by which people of poor and backwards will be able to discover themselves, their position in the society, the exploitations rendered unto them, the structure of the society, the motive of a capitalist state etc.; and thereby they will feel and get an urge to combat. (2) Millions of people of a country, but without education, is no power at all, nor even for a party. All the imperialist powers and their stooge capitalist govts. now profess for literacy and promise for

funding, but they crumble the education process on the other. Americanisation of education is just a part of its expression, and saffronisation is a sub-clause of it in Indian context, (c) Education, in general, are going towards a course of trade and commerce, and common people's participation in the process will diminish rapidly in the future. Thus the ruling class and their govt. will get a relief from job generation and will be able to confine the administrative machinery among the educated rich, (d) While education is a precious stone,

culture is the light that it shines. And a man without culture is a man of no identity. Globalisation is thus striving for that destination. It demands one nation, one race, one culture, one language. Of course, one single civilisation. *Party must take up the task of 'educating people' as urgent and necessary one. Party must formulate a programme for the purpose, which will promote political education for the people. That will be a parallel non-official education process, mainly oral. It will be a medium for consistent contact with people, and will pay a feed back for recruitment of party workers and sympathisers. It will generate a strong resistance against colonial invasion and fundamentalist encroachment in the sphere of education and culture. Student, youth and cultural front of the Party will serve best for the task.*

4.

(a) Party will make a bridge with the mass through its organisations. In rural areas it will organise mass-meetings. In urban and semi-urban areas it can provide seminars, workshop etc. But in all cases it needs a presentation, whether a print document, an audio or a video.

(b) In urban and semi-urban areas a pertinent factor is the lower-middle class and middle-middle class people. At the same time, the intelligential, which have a very passionate strength, but succumb to inconsistency. They are very sensitive of their democratic rights, which are often threatened.

(c) There lies a constant undercurrent of mixing and blending of class-interest and inner-class opportunism, contributory to their stand which alter frequently. This is a very complex mathematics, which is fine, but dangerous. *Party therefore must try to sort out the interest points of different character, plying among the lower-middle and middle-middle class. Party must take care of their democratic rights and, if necessary, shall lead to democratic movements. On the other hand, Party can engage them in 'parallel non-official educational process' as mentioned earlier. In each and every corner Party shall go to spark with democratic agitation, democratic movement, and stand and share with people. Those are the seeds of 'revolution'.*

India is in the midst of a major transition in economic, social and political life. It is a transition, which should be guided by the principles of democracy,

secularism, federalism, socialism and social justice. India can attain its cherished goal of socialism only by following the way, which Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose has shown to India.

Netaji said that,

'We do not want alone political freedom. We want freedom from all bondage. Only then a new society based on socialism can be established — A free and classless society — an establishment of classless society is our main objective of liberation movement.'

Forward, therefore forward!!!

End