CONCLUSION
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India’s struggle for freedom was unique in the sense that it was fought at two levels, that is, one inside the country by following non-violent means as propagated and pursued by Mahatma Gandhi, and the other, Indian Nationalists’ anti-Imperial activities abroad, who wanted to wrest it from Britain by means of an armed revolution. The name of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose shines like a pole star among those revolutionaries. Both Subhas Chandra Bose and M.K.Gandhi represented two lines of thought. Despite their tempramental differences and conflicting world-view, they greatly influenced the people of India and served the cause of the nation. Despite their diametrically opposite views on the means and methods to be adopted to achieve the common goal of winning freedom for India, there are certain similarities in their nature and character also. Firstly, one can equally say that the common characteristics which united both Subhas Chandra Bose and M.K.Gandhi was their ability to “transform the idea into fact”, and that both of them were practical idealists. Secondly, Gandhi had more or less the same kind of upbringing especially in the context of education as Bose, though the family to which he belonged did not have same Western mooring as that of Subhas. Thirdly, both of them grew in their childhood in purely Indian surroundings which have left some impact on their thinking and shaping of ideas. Fourthly, both of them possessed chrismatic qualities in full measure and had large mass following with common
goal of winning independence for India. Lastly, both of them emerge as national leaders. If one was the Father of the Nation, the other was its unchallenged leader—Netaji.

Initially, both were collaborators as members of the Indian National Congress, against British Imperialism in India. And later the two leaders emerged as equal rivals but certainly not enemies to lead the freedom struggle. In the struggle for freedom both of them were competing and complimenting each other. To achieve independence, Gandhi adopted non-violence as means whereas Subhas revolutionary methods as ends. Means and ends relationship is a basic problem in political philosophy. Gandhi's keen sense of moral perception and pre-dilection towards spirituality made him consider the ends to be of secondary importance while Subhas was more interested in political freedom and material welfare. The differences in the approaches of these two leaders was on account of their different perceptions about our alien rulers.

In the year 1921, Gandhi launched the non-violent non-co-operation movement which transformed the Indian National Congress into mass organization. When the Non-co-operation movement was in its full swing, Subhas returned to India, after resigning the Indian Civil Service. He met Gandhi in Bombay on 16 July 1921. During the course of his meeting with Gandhi, he had long and important conversation with him about the policy and programmes of the movement but the answers which Subhas received
did not satisfy him completely. He found Gandhi vague and evasive. His inquisitive and stormy mind couldn’t find solace and satisfaction. It is also possible that Gandhi realised that Subhas was too aggressive to fit into his frame-work of non-violent campaign. So he advised Bose to meet C.R.Das in Calcutta. This fact clearly mark that from the very beginning of Bose’s political career he chose C.R.Das as his political guru and he did not became Gandhi’s political disciple. Bose, even after the death of C.R.Das in June 1925 never came in the fold of Gandhi though remained in the Indian National Congress until 1939 when he was ousted from it. Gandhi was instrumental in imposing the ban on Subhas.

In May 1927, Bose was elected President of Bengal Provincial Congress Committee after his release from jail. The hardships of Mandalay and the loss of the mentor did not demoralise him. Soon afterwards, he started his political activities once again with enthusiasm and fill up the vacuum which was created by the death of C.R.Das. By that time, the whole of India was agitating over the appointment of Simon Commission by the British Government, in order to report to Parliament about the next stage of constitutional reforms. Subhas actively participated in the movement.

Like other Indian youth of the time, Subhas was deeply influenced by Russian Revolution of 1917 and its socialist fervour. When Jawaharlal Nehru returned from Russia, Subhas in collaboration with Jawaharlal Nehru formed the Leftist Group within
the Congress and constituted Independence League in Bombay in 1928. In the same year in Calcutta, All-India Youth Conference was held under the chairmanship of Jawaharlal Nehru. Subhas, while delivering his speech in that Conference, for the first time openly denounced Gandhian Philosophy and strongly advocated activism as opposed to passivism preached by Gandhi. This speech of Subhas not only angered Gandhi’s followers but also alarmed Gandhi. The rift between Gandhi and his followers, on the one hand, and Bose-Nehru, on the other hand, was further aggravated when Gandhi advocated for the Dominion status and Bose-Nehru for Complete Independence, at the annual session of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in 1928. Moreover, this session was significant to Subhas because at this Congress session, he began to express more clearly the multiple strategies which he had thought for the attainment of freedom. This session clearly marked that Subhas was a strong man and is not scared of confronting even the mightiest. He organised a volunteer corps on military lines for the purpose of maintaining order and discipline inside and outside the Congress pandal. He himself became the General Officer Commanding of the entire volunteer organization. It was superb, splendid performance which looked like a rehearsal for the events which followed fifteen years later. This action of Subhas indicated how curious he was to liberate India through armed struggle.

In order to break Bose-Nehru combination and to detach Nehru from the fold of Bose, Gandhi had to change his strategy. First
thing which he did was that he made Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of the Indian National Congress in 1929. But Bose was adamant. Even after the surrender of Nehru to Gandhi, Subhas built left strain inside the Indian National Congress and worked for its consideration. To attain these ideals, he not only organised the working class and youth movement but also established contacts with such revolutionary organisations as the Anusilan Smiti, the Jugantar Group and also the Hindustan Republican Armed Group led by Bhagat Singh. In 1930, he became the President of the All-India Trade Union Movement and strive hard to bring unity between two factions of Trade Union after the split of 1929. Bose was elected treasurer of All-India Trade Union Movement in 1931. Side by side, with his activities amongst the peasants and the workers, he began his work of mobilizing the youth of India for the coming struggle. Soon after the year 1928, several youth organisations were formed all over India; the most important of which were the All-India Youth Congress, All Bengal Students Association and the Bengal Presidency Students’ Association. As Mayor in 1931, Bose initiated many policies and programmes which greatly benefitted the masses. Bose wanted that Gandhi should use his influence to compel the Britishers not to carry out the death sentence on Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukhdev for their involvement in the Lahore Conspiracy Case. Mahatma Gandhi did not agree to it but meanwhile they all already had been executed.
In the year 1932, when Subhas went to Vienna for treatment, even there he did not remain silent spectator for the country cause. He in collaboration with Vithalbhai Patel drew up a manifesto in which they emphasised that without taking resort to foreign help, India would never be able to become free. They strongly opposed Gandhi’s decision of calling off the Civil disobedience movement. This reflects how bitter was the reaction of those who were opposed to Gandhian ways of doing the things. The “manifesto” issued by Patel-Bose had special importance, for until then, except Nehru’s participation at Congress of League Against Imperialism at Brussels, the important leaders had not taken the trouble to cultivate international opinion in Subhas’ favour. But Gandhi was strictly opposed to foreign help. During Subhas’ absence from India, he was elected the President of the Indian National Congress to be held at Haripura.

This young man, who started his political career in 1921 because of his sincerity, commitment and relentless efforts for the nation’s independence, rose to the most prestigious office in Indian politics by 1938. It is surprising that the person who had opposed Mahatma Gandhi throughout his political career, was unanimously elected as President even in his absence. Perhaps Gandhi felt that as he could encage Jawaharlal Nehru, similarly he would be able to encage and entrap Subhas Bose also. But all his hopes dashed to the ground, when in the Presidential address Bose did not try to conceal his
differences with Gandhi’s means of winning Swaraj. He denounced adoption of village life and negation of scientific methods of production. He, on the other hand, stressed the need for comprehensive economic planning to India. Therefore, he was the first to conceive the idea of forming a National Planning Committee and made Nehru its first Chairman and he himself was the Convenor of this Committee. These socialist views of Subhas, further alarmed Gandhi and his followers.

The simmering personal differences and ideological disagreement between Bose and Gandhi came to surface at the time of Presidential election in 1939, when Subhas’s first term of Presidentship was about to expire. Bose expressed his desire to contest again. It was not with an idea to show down somebody in the election but it was due to his conviction that the policy of compromise being adopted by Mahatma Gandhi would not be able to win freedom for India. Besides this, he was convinced that Europe was going to face some major crisis and that would provide India the golden opportunity to work for her independence. Bose wanted to take advantage of the difficulties of enemy whereas Gandhi did not want to embarass the Britishers during the war.

Subhas contested the election and defeated Pattabhi Sitaramayya who was Gandhi’s choice. As a result, there grew a sharp rift between the “Left” and “Right” wings of the Congress and 12 members of the Working Committee resigned as protest. At Tripura session in 1939,
Subhas made the Congress to adopt a proposal of sending an ultimatum to British government demanding independence within six months, at the termination of which India was to start full scale national struggle immediately. This proposal was opposed by the “Right” wing headed by Gandhi and later Subhas was ousted from the Congress. In a sense Gandhi was an autocrat it seems and remained averse to allowing too much independence of thought and action. He did not hesitate to strike with all the subtlety at his command and if required with complete ruthlessness anybody who dared to oppose him and his ideas. Subhas was made to leave the Congress for his independence of thought and his courage in questioning Gandhi’s ideas and methods. Some significant elements of the intelligentsia had been originally opposed to him but they either compromised with him like Nehru or their opposition lead to their ouster like Subhas Bose. Thus the controversy, which had cropped up between Gandhi and Subhas, at Calcutta session in 1928 and accentuated year after year, came into rest in April 1939.

Soon, Subhas formed the Forward Bloc within the Congress. In the meantime war broke out in September 1939. Forward Bloc under the leadership of Subhas, launched a bitter anti-British propaganda campaign in the country. When the British government realized that the Forward Bloc was becoming a powerful instrument of opposing them, they arrested him with his co-workers in July 1940. He was released on 5 December 1940 under house arrest. On 17 January 1941
Subhas escaped from his house to seek foreign help. The exit of Subhas from the Indian politics left Gandhi at the helm of affairs in India. Bose happened to be the only political leader who not only effectively challenged Gandhi's position but also succeeded in democratically defeating him. Consequently he had to suffer. From the study of correspondence between Gandhi and Bose it can be inferred that there was fundamental differences between the two about the perception of the existing political situation. Whatever Subhas did abroad added to his political stature. He joined hands with German and Japanese. He formed the Indian National Army and led it under unfavourable circumstances. Netaji had two pronged strategy, that is, invasion from outside and creating revolt within the ranks of the British Indian Army. He kept on issuing appeals to the Indians to come to the help of I.N.A. and desert the British Indian Army. Though Subhas's ambition of marching into India was achieved for a shortwhile only, but the fact that under such diverse conditions, he was able to built up a rebel force and a real army to fight the British and to hold them together in spite of setbacks both from within and without speaks highly of his knowledge of human beings and his power of inspiring people in the face of heaviest odds. To both, M.K.Gandhi and Subhas Chandra Bose, modern India is indebted, for whatever good exists today as the legacy of the past amidst degenerated human values.
To sum up, it can be said that Subhas represented the finest of the Bengal Renaissance and firebrand of revolutionary nationalism whereas Gandhi emerged as traditional, holistic, integrationist and believer in freedom of individual to freedom of India rather mankind and that too non-violently. Gandhi starts from man and goes to society whereas Subhas goes from society to man. But both of them were sincerely committed anarchists, visionaries and the mover of the masses. If individuals have the capacity to shape and strengthen any movement of social or political change, these two leaders stand out as distinct examples as the moulders of people’s will. Subhas strived for freedom at any cost with no qualms of methods. He had abundant confidence in himself, in his endeavour for creating spontaneous revolution. Whereas Gandhi was primarily concerned with the liberation of man from fear and sanctity of the human endeavour against the British rule. Gandhi created, spiritualized autonomous individual with the energy of an atom. Whereas Subhas stirred masses to movement. Subhas grappled with death while Gandhi with life with the common aim of obtaining freedom. Gandhi touched the soul of man whereas Subhas appealed to the mind of man. Ironically in the post 1947 era, these two great leaders are presented as enemies of each other. In reality they had deep regard for each other. Subhas never challenged or resented Gandhi’s influence on the Indian masses, on the other hand, Gandhi never denigrated Subhas as a nationalist and a national leader.