

## **Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose: A comparative study of ideology and its application in the perspective of Freedom Movement**

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**Abstract:** *Subhas Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru come down to the national movement almost at the same time. Both of them espoused the ideology of the left and socialism. Jawaharlal did not stick to the political ideology of the left firmly. He was, in most cases, subdued by Gandhian pressure. Subhas Bose was respectful to Gandhi and his ideology. At times; he dared to challenge the course of Gandhi which was unprecedented. As a result of that Subhas adopted the most adventurous scheme of seeking the assistance of the Axis powers during the Second World War, whereas Jawaharlal remained faithful to Gandhian ideology as a means to the achievement of freedom.*

**Keywords:** Mahatma Gandhi, Non-Violence, Satyagraha, Ideology, Non-Cooperation Movement, Swaraj, the Harijan, Freedom Movement

At a time when Gandhi was at the helm of affair in the struggle for the independence of the country the two leaders apart from him, who could lay deep seated impact upon the youth, students, radicals, leftists and modernised people of the country were Subhas Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru. The mutual relationship between Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose is an interesting episode in the struggle for the independence of India. They, other than Gandhi, only could lay special impact upon the people during the days of the struggle for the independence of India. They started their political career at the initial stage of 1920s under the direction of Mahatma Gandhi in the Non-Cooperation Movement and during the closing years of 1920s they played an important part in laying the foundation stone of an alternative to Gandhian way. In spite of tremendous possibility they could not proceed long further to the direction of an alternative way leading to the movement for the independence of the country. At times they went to the opposite side of Gandhianism completely. Ultimately Subhas Chandra Bose took to the alternative way of Gandhism and Jawaharlal fell back upon the course of Gandhi. Why did it happen?

Though Subhas Chandra Bose started his political career by joining the Non-Cooperation movement organised by Mahatma Gandhi he was never illusory about the political leadership of Gandhi. He could not take the matter for granted that the

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movement of non-violence was an indispensable part of the freedom struggle as understood by Gandhi. The political strategy adopted by Gandhi was never doubtlessly accepted by Subhas Bose. He could easily sacrifice the alluring prospect of Indian Civil Service and on reaching Bombay on 16<sup>th</sup> July, 1921 Subhas met Gandhi. In his first meeting with Gandhi, he could easily understand that there was lack of clarity and pragmatism in his planning and he did not have the precise idea about the step by step proceedings of the movement<sup>1</sup>. In spite of that Subhas got into the Non-Cooperation movement as he thought that it to be expedient, to some extent, at that time. The constitutional process in the past was not fruitful and armed terrorism of the extremists proved also to be in fructuous. Naturally there was a political vacuum in the political firmament, but the people were ready for organised movement against the British. Gandhi undoubtedly acted according to the political demand of the people. So, Subhas took up the non-cooperation movement to be a progressive step<sup>2</sup>. He made up his mind to take part in the Non-Cooperation movement sometime before he met Gandhi. He wrote to his favourite elder brother Sarat Bose from Cambridge on 23<sup>rd</sup> April, 1921 that the best way to bring about the downfall of a govt. was to dissociate oneself from that. He told this as he had firm belief over the matter and overwhelming influence of Gandhi or Tolstoy over him was nothing to do with the formation of his mind<sup>3</sup>.

The idea dawned upon Subhas Chandra Bose after the withdrawal of the movement by Gandhi that it was a national catastrophe to retreat from the movement at a time when the expectation and enthusiasm of the people was rising high<sup>4</sup>. A rift in the lute was seen after that. Subhas Bose joined the movement of the pro-changers organised by Motilal Nehru and Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das to oppose the British Indian Government from within the legislature. He became one of the outstanding members of Swarajya Party. At that time he told that it would be illusory to expect freedom from foreign rule unless the British Indian Government was brought to bear upon the political trouble created by the organisers of the freedom struggle. He dreamt of an alternative to Satyagraha of Gandhi by means of creating disorder in the legislature and thereby gaining political fruit out of the troubles of government<sup>5</sup>.

At that period of the national movement the activity of Subhas Chandra Bose was not confined to the implementation of programmes of non-cooperation of the Indian National Congress and those of the Swarajya Party. From the initial period he was the pioneering force of the national papers like 'Banglar Katha' and 'the Forward' and after the imprisonment of Upendranath Bandyopadhyaya he took over the responsibility of giving proper direction to the contemporary radical paper like 'Atmasakti'. To 'Atmasakti' the meaning of independence was the complete relief from foreign rule and Subhas Chandra also meant that by the term 'independence'. To him 'independence' meant complete dismantling of foreign rule<sup>6</sup>. At that moment he kept contact with the revolutionary nationalists of Bengal. He kept up that relationship till to the end of his career. Bengal revolutionaries took part in the non-cooperation movement of Gandhi at the mediation of Chittaranjan Das and hereafter they acted in cooperation with congress

organisation without discarding their revolutionary organisation and programmes. The revolutionaries took Subhas Bose to be the closer to them than any other Congress leaders. He did not support the policy of assassination of the revolutionaries. To him, it was more important to raise national consciousness among the people for the first time than to perpetrate violence. In the future revolutionary terrorism might be an important part of the national struggle. In the meantime he came in contact with Abani Mukherjee and Nalini Gupta of the Communist International and he made arrangement for their security and all types of help<sup>7</sup>. It was because of his association with the revolutionaries that Subhas Chandra Bose was arrested along with other revolutionaries in 1924 and remained imprisoned for more than two and a half years. The contemporary documents say about the charges levelled against him; he was the bedrock of the organisation of the revolutionaries of Bengal and he kept contact with the campaigners of Bolshevism. He was involved in the conspiracy of bringing weapons from foreign countries. He was held to be the revolutionary communist<sup>8</sup>. But in the real sense of the term he, though was in favour bringing in a combination between the mass movement of Gandhian type and revolutionary terrorism for the successful conduct of the freedom movement, was never involved in the terrorist activity of the revolutionaries. His modus operandi was to extend, sharpen and smoothen the movement for the independence of the country<sup>9</sup>.

The confrontation between Subhas Bose and Gandhi arose at that time over the question of the starting of movement against the British. Gandhi did not want to initiate a movement at that time. He and his close associates were engaged at that time in consultation with the British Indian Govt. over the acceptance of the proposal for federation at least partially as proposed by the Govt. of India Act 1935. When it was published in a British newspaper Subhas was annoyed and objected to the proposal tooth and nail.

The vision of Jawaharlal Nehru was different from that of Subhas Chandra from the very beginning of his coming in contact with Gandhi. He was not at all doubtful about Gandhian leadership. In the very beginning he was subdued by the leadership of Gandhi in the political arena. To him, Gandhi was like bright light that could pierce through the darkness that covered us so strongly. He came like tempest that blew away the traditional process<sup>10</sup>. He came into contact with Gandhi at the Lucknow Congress in 1916. Jawaharlal Nehru was respectful of Gandhi at that time because of his movement in South Africa. He was attracted to Gandhi after his successful agitation for the cause of the peasants of Champaran in Bihar and Kaira in Gujrat and also after the initiation 'Satyagraha' as a mark of protest against the Rowlatt Act. Thereafter Jawaharlal made up his mind to take part in the Non-Cooperation movement likely to be launched soon. He left his legal profession and simplified his life to such an extent that he became purely vegetarian and started reading the Gita regularly because of the influence of Gandhi. Jawaharlal was purely unaware of the condition of the farmers and labours before he came in contact with the farmers of Pratapgarh in 1920. Gradually his mental outlook changed when he got himself involved in the peasant movement of Pratapgarh Faizabad and Raiberelli. The

movement gradually assumed extremity and Jawaharlal being influenced by the Satyagraha of Gandhi and pressurised by the Government and landlord was to retreat soon. He held that all those *movements failed to bring about any improvement of the position of the peasantry*<sup>11</sup>.

He took an active part in support of the Non-Cooperation programme of Gandhi in the Calcutta Congress of September, 1920. He practically sank into the movement completely. He wrote in his 'Autobiography' that he liked the moral injunctions of the Satyagraha and though he was not extremely loyal to the non-violence of Gandhi he gradually was attracted to the non-violent movement. He began to conceive of the fact that the policy of non-violence adopted by Gandhi was probably right way in the given circumstances of impregnability of the British power. He was specially satisfied by the moral injunctions of the movement and his satisfaction went to that extent that he even failed to think of the limitation of the movement. He was too astonished to think of questioning the aim of the movement. Everyone thought of 'Swaraj' in his own way. Gandhiji himself kept up ambiguity about the goal of the movement and he never gave indulgence to the emergence of the distinct conception about the movement. But the reason of their satisfaction was that Gandhi always looked for the betterment of the weaker section of the society without carefully disturbing the rich.

The instant reaction of Nehru after the collapse of the non-cooperation movement was serious but later on he came down to reality thinking that violence of the Swadeshis would have invited stern reaction. The result would have been the collapse of the morale of the people. The most important thing was that violence and non-violence could not go on simultaneously. After the breakdown of the movement he became the supporter of the no-changer movement discarding the way of the pro-changers inaugurated by his father and Chitta Ranjan Das. Acting as the congress General Secretary from 1923-25 and till his departure for Europe for the treatment of his wife he was a loyal Gandhian.

Subhas Chandra and Jawaharlal came close to one another in the national politics towards the end of the 1920s. They met before in different congress sessions. They decided to work together during the close of 1920s. Subhas was released from long imprisonment in the month of May, 1927. A sort of vacuum was felt by Subhas in the national politics. After the death of C.R. Das a sort of disorder was seen in the activity of the Swarjya Party. The indistinct phenomenon was seen in the programme of Gandhi. Gandhi was at that time, busy in the constructive activity and the spreading of Khadi culture. Subhas felt the necessity of organising the labours and the peasants in order to bring them to the mainstream of national struggle. A sort of change was seen in the activity of Jawaharlal. He represented in the conference at Brussels in 1927 organised in connection with the colonial outrage and anti imperialist movement. He came in contact with the representatives of Europe, Asia, Africa Latin America and the radical ideas of different parts of Europe including European Marxism. A sort of revulsion was felt in the mind of Jawaharlal. It was felt that there was the necessity of sending foreign

forces to relieve the country like India from colonial exploitation. In that year Jawaharlal went also to Russia to attend the 10<sup>th</sup> annual conference of Soviet revolution. ALL these enriched his revolutionary ideal. He became a different person in respect of ideology after that. His biographer S.Gopal remarked about the change of his characteristics in the following words. A person who left India as a disciple of Gandhi came back as an ardent radical. He could never be incarcerated in the ambit of extreme Gandhism<sup>12</sup>. But the interpretation of S.Gopal does not explain the role of Nehru properly. Thinking of the wide distinction between the thought of him and that of Gandhi, Jawaharlal, at times decided to take on his own his course and did so. At times he could have made contact with Subhas setting aside the contact with Gandhi. But ultimately he failed to take to his own course independently and in reality came within the grip of Gandhi shortly.

The demand of the Indian National Congress, hitherto, was the achieving of the dominion status or colonial self government. The pressure of demand was mounting for the achievement of full independence among the young members of the Congress. Imbued by the impulses for complete independence Jawaharlal raised the proposal in Madras Congress held in December, 1927. Bengal revolutionaries, Communists and other left members firmly stood by him. The proposal was passed, but it could not be included in the congress constitution. The proposal of full independence was subdued by the movement against the Simon Commission and by the proposal for the formation of the constitution of colonial self government. Gandhi could have kept up his control over the congress, but he could not push to the background the pressure of the leftists. They were given places in the working committee. Gandhi was disturbed by the pressure of the left in the congress. The proposal for complete independence was severely criticised by Gandhi. Condemning the proposal for complete independence Gandhi told in 'Young India' that the proposal for complete independence was taken up hurriedly and without any proper consideration<sup>13</sup>. Gandhi was very much angry at the change of attitude of Jawaharlal. He was ready to get rid of his favourite disciple even, but he was not ready to forsake his ideology. Jawaharlal retreated at the firmness of Gandhi. Jawaharlal compromised his revolutionary and leftist ideology, but he could not rise to the occasion to challenge Gandhi. Submitting to Gandhi he told that he was not more inspired by anybody other than him. Gandhi's unfathomable love for Jawaharlal could never be forgotten. Jawaharlal also meekly submitted by saying that he was not at all obdurate regarding his sticking to ideology. He held that his criticism was not at all firm. It was purely instant reaction. As a result of the apologetic attitude of Jawaharlal the rift between the two far from being widened, was lessened.

In the meantime the environment was fully clement for final showdown against the British. The years 1928 and 1929 were the convenient periods for the outbreak of the revolutionary moment. The students, the peasants, the labours, common people and the middle classes people were ready, for blast. Industrial strikes were rampant at that time. All demanded full independence. But Gandhi did not consider the moment convenient for showdown as it would have challenged his leadership. Though the iron was red for

making strike at it, Gandhi lost the chance in order to strengthen his position within the congress. Gandhi was apprehensive of the left influence in the congress. At that time his only hope for success was Jawaharlal. Gandhi pleaded to make Jawaharlal the president of the congress in 1929 conference. Gandhi knew very well that his interest would be best served and the movement of the left would lose ground if Jawahar was made the president. Subhas Chandra wrote that the decision was favourable for Gandhi, but was unfortunate for the left. A rift in the combination of the left and right wing of the congress was strengthened. Gandhi was successful in weakening the revolutionary trend of the left. Jawaharlal ultimately put his assent to the decision of Gandhi for the demand of colonial self govt.

The attitude of Nehru was astounding. Though he fought tooth and nail against the demand for colonial self-government he ultimately, at the pressure of Gandhi restrained and confined to colonial self-government Instead of complete independence. The action of Jawaharlal was, to Subhas Chandra, similar to the giving up of the party. Jawaharlal himself was repentant for that. It is irony that Jawaharlal always sailed in two boats at a time though he knew very well that it was always impossible and impractical. He expressed his intension to resign from the post of congress general secretary. He also expressed his unwillingness to keep himself off from the post of President of the party. Gandhi also knew that he would never do that. Jawaharlal wrote in his 'Autobiography' that the letter of Gandhi was able to help him to come down the mental disturbance. Later on he finally approved the Delhi manifesto.

Ultimately Gandhi was forced to raise the proposal of complete independence in the Lahore congress of December, 1929 because of the failure of all efforts to achieve colonial self government. The proposal was passed. It was proclaimed that the goal of the Congress was complete independence, but nothing was said about the precise programme. Everything was done in accordance with the wishes of Gandhi. The door of compromise was kept open. Subhas Chandra told of the setting up of a parallel govt. Along with the programme of strike, boycott of the British administration and the consolidation of the youth and under developed communities, those demands were not only short shifted, but he was also not given berth in the working Committee. Instead of making effective the proposal of independence, Gandhi proposed for appeasement of the British Indian Govt. He also tried to impress the Indian capitalists who apprehended at the proposal of independence. He also tried to convince the govt. of the fact that he wanted a sort of rapprochement with the British.

Subhas Bose laid emphasis on three ways to overthrow the British rule and achieve independence i) Payment of tax should be stopped. ii) Workers' and peasants' organisation should be strengthened to put pressure upon the govt. iii) The strongholds of the govt. such as the soldiers, police force and govt employers should be supported to ensure their sympathy to the cause of independence and put pressure upon the govt. The Congress failed because it could not effectively use the above ways. The civil

Disobedience movement did not reach the height where from it could create trouble to the British Indian govt. The govt would remain in power effectively unless it was pressurised by the force of weapon or that of economic blockade. He told precisely that a competent leader was needed for strengthening movement of national struggle and centrally well directed All India party was to be formed. The movement for independence should be divided in two parts. In the first stage, the movement should be launched against Great Britain and it would be 'national struggle'. The leadership should be assumed by 'the political party of the people' and the party would be represented by the working and different classes of the society. In the second stage, all kind of special privileges, differences and vested interest should be brought to an end. This would ultimately lead to social, economic and political equality. Subhas Bose held that Gandhi had done unprecedented work for country, but the freedom of the country would not come under his leadership<sup>14</sup>.

In the book 'Indian Struggle' he held that his socialism was a combination of communism and fascism. Jawaharlal wanted to select one from communism and fascism and he was supporter of communism though he did not agree upon all the points of communism. The ideologists would be applied in different ways in different countries and there might be some modifications. Subhas differed from Jawaharlal on the point that there must be a combination of the two ideologies in the following period of world history and there was no wonder if it took place in India. He wanted to convince the people that the combination should be of the ideology of justice, equality and love of socialism with that of efficiency and discipline of fascism.

After the withdrawal of the Civil Disobedience movement, it was due to the effectiveness of the leftists in the congress, the opposition to the strategy of Gandhi began assuming momentum. The foundation of the socialist party within the Congress in 1934 by Narendra Deb, Jayprakash Narayan Achyut Pattabardhan, Asoka Mehetawas an indication of the alarm of the Congress Subhas Chandra appreciated the move and they were told to get ready to take over the responsibility for the future strengthening of the movement<sup>15</sup>. A sort of awakening took place at that time among the peasants, labours, students, intellectuals at that time and it assumed consolidated character in 1936. So before the Lucknow Congress of 1936, it was evident that Gandhi wanted to direct the movement through constitutional way and the leftists wanted to take up revolutionary strategy. Gandhi could not think it of little importance. He understood that he would have to face more opposition in that situation than what he faced owing to the period of the Lahore Congress of 1929. So, he once again, after the Lahore Congress wanted Jawaharlal to take over presidential chair. Jawaharlal agreed to the proposal and with his consent of taking over chair Gandhi could have brought down his own tension.

In the presidential address in the Lucknow Congress Jawaharlal expressed in unequivocal terms the quality of Socialism. He analysed the international situation dexterously, opposed the government of India Act 1935, emphasised the importance of

harnessing the peasant and workers' Association with the Congress to tone up the anti-imperialist struggle. In a word his speech reflected the sentiment of the left. But in reality he retreated at the pressure of the rightist members like Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Rajagopalachari etc. All these were done at the wishes of Gandhi. The Congress working Committee was set up in the manner that about 10 members were fully against his sentiment only 4 members were socialists. The socialist sentiment was not at all reflected at the Lucknow Congress proposal. Being dejected by the fact that all his proposals having socialist tinge were made null and void. Jawaharlal expressed his desire to resign, but he finally refrained from taking that course because he did not like to endanger the position of the Congress which was certain to shatter to pieces. He had the opportunity to harness the forces of leftism and radicalism to strengthen the nationalist movement. But he did not do so in order to avoid friction with the rightists. The Lucknow Congress though could have been the platform to ensure the victory of the leftists, heralded the success of the rightists.

Expressing applause for socialism and his intension to establish socialism in the country after independence Jawaharlal expressed his sentiment in the month of May 1936 in Bombay. At that the industrialists were extremely annoyed. Some industrialists expressed in a manifesto that the speech was perilous and destructive. Jawaharlal held that these industrialists rallied with the British with a view to suppress the Satyagraha and Boycott Movements and they were directing the country towards Fascism. The supporters of the industrialists within the Congress appealed to Gandhi for the retrieval of the situation ruffled by the speech of Nehru. Gandhi resolved the matter by once again forcing Nehru to dissuade from the course he was following.

Jawaharlal had to face a difficult situation and he was in the horns of a dilemma after the taking over of the presidential chair by Subhas Bose. He wrote to Subhas Bose that he was worried at the turn of events at that time. The emotional speech of Gandhi and the essay of Gandhi in 'the Harijan' endangered his position. The new tendency of the congress leadership to suppress the left and popular movement could not be accepted by him. He kept silence because he did not like to criticise his colleagues of the working committee and his respect for Gandhi was next to none. He also wrote to Krishna Menon, "Subhas Bose has to face an extraordinary difficult situation than anybody had to face. I should like to help him of course in every way; but how to do this effectively is the problem"<sup>16</sup>. This letter indicated his ambivalent stand. On the one hand he was worried at the suppression of the left and mass movement and on the other hand he was not ready to displease Gandhi and his followers. He was ready to help Subhas Bose but he wanted to refrain from being a member of the working Committee

Subhas expected the assistance of Jawaharlal for building up the Congress in progressive way. A sort of understanding developed between them in Europe. So it was not unnatural to expect his help. But it proved to be hollow in practice. Jawaharlal went to Europe and after his coming back he failed to get Jawaharlal's assistance. Though

Subhas did not at all favour Nazism and Fascism he was not at all sentimental like Jawaharlal. He was an astute diplomat. To him, the diplomatic model was Soviet Russia and the interest of the nation should be confined to the achievement of freedom. In order to serve interest of national independence he wanted to the help of Germany and Italy. Though he sought the military assistance of Germany and Japan he was not at all the supporter of socio-political ideology of those countries. He was conscious of national interest and self respect of the country. He was always in favour of his independent stand. Bitter acrimony developed between Gandhi and Subhas over the question of acceptance of federal constitution of the country.

The confrontation between Subhas Bose and Gandhi arose at that time over the question of the starting of movement against the British. Gandhi did not want to initiate a movement at that time. He and his close associates were engaged at that time in consultation with the British Indian Govt. over the acceptance of the proposal for federation selectively as proposed by the Govt. Of India Act 1935. When it was published in a British newspaper Subhas was annoyed and objected to the proposal tooth and nail<sup>17</sup>. Europe was advancing towards the Second World War. Munich Pact of Sept. 1938 made it clear to Subhas that war was imminent in Europe. He was in favour of starting the movement Independence afresh. He wanted to send a memorandum to the British taking advantage of the situation. He started campaigning for starting the struggle for independence throughout the country. Gandhi was annoyed at that. He expressed his anger in a letter to Subhas by saying that he did not like his constant opposition to federal programme and sending of ultimatum to the British Indian Govt. At that time role of Jawaharlal was ambiguous.

The divergence between Jawaharlal and Subhas Bose was very much evident at the re-election of Subhas Bose as the Congress president Jawaharlal was vehement in his support to the Govinda Ballavpant's proposal that the congress working committee should have confidence upon Gandhi and the president should nominate the members of the working committee according to the wishes of Gandhi. Jawaharlal expressed in Europe that Gandhi was more powerful than the congress Panth proclaimed that a leader always came forward in all countries to pull up the nation. In Germany Hitler took up the leadership. He pushed ahead the country Mussolini and Lenin advanced Italy and Russia respectively. Gandhi should be held unequivocally unparallel in leadership to pull up the Indian nation. It was astonishing that Jawaharlal though always articulate against Fascism and Nazism, was not at all found to be restless seeing that Gandhi and Hitler Mussolini were put on the same platform. But at times, Jawaharlal was seen rebuking the supporters of Subhas as hooligans and their attitude was termed as Fascist attitude<sup>18</sup>. Jawaharlal admitted that he was opposed to his becoming president of the congress for second time because he apprehended the separation of Gandhi from the national movement leading to the weakening of the movement. The leftists were not strong enough rise on their own feet. Keeping contact with the world wide crises he emphasised upon the need of self determination. At a time when Subhas was anxious of seeking help of the foreign

countries to strengthen national movement. Jawaharlal was thinking of constitution drafting. Herein was the difference between the programme of Nehru and Subhas.

The approval of the Panth proposal and the setting up of the working committee by the members having complete allegiance to Gandhi heightened the crisis in the congress. Gandhi did not have any other alternative but to push forward the Panth proposal in order to remain at the helm of affairs in the congress politics. Jawaharlal as did not like to see Subhas Bose omnipotent in Congress politics. He wanted to see him powerless at that time. The only difference was that Gandhi could not conceal his sentiment against Subhas and Jawaharlal had a disguise of impartiality. Jawaharlal could not be as firm as Subhas Bose in dealing with the rightist oppositional. Jawaharlal could not accept the rise of Subhas to an unquestionable height as leader of the leftists.

Subhas Bose and Jawaharlal could not act in conjunction because of their different visions in life and different idiosyncrasies. At times some similarities of motive drifted them closer, but the sub-soiled dissimilarities led them to follow different courses of action. There was certainly a strategic role of Gandhi. But it was secondary. The excitement of Jawaharlal about Gandhian way emaciated within a very short spell, but whenever he raised the voice of protest, Gandhi was found to be ready to get rid of him. The same thing was found in his behaviour with Subhas and the gulf between the two widened. The genesis of it should he sought in the fact that Gandhi had also a definite mission as that of Subhas. With a view to the successful prosecution of that mission .Gandhi certainly had a strategy, whatever might be its limitation. But Jawaharlal did not like to undergo separation from Gandhi because he did not have any definite strategy. Gandhi wanted colonial self government. His strategy was to reach the goal by dint of mutual discussion mainly and at times he wanted to put some pressure. But the bedrock of his strategy was mutual discussion. So there was little difference between his strategy and that of the British Indian Govt. Jawaharlal acceded to the strategy of Gandhi, whatever might he say about his fervour for revolutionary spirit. It was safe resort for Jawaharlal. But the destination of Subhas was complete independence. His strategy was to snatch freedom from the British Indian Govt. by any means and if necessary by virtue of violence.

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