Chapter – IV

MAHATMA GANDHI AND BHAGAT SINGH:

IMPACT AND RELEVANCE OF IDEOLOGIES IN THE CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT

In John P. Kotter’s words, “Leaders establish the vision for the future and set the strategy for getting there.” Truly both Mahatma Gandhi and Bhagat Singh not only led India to independence but also envisioned a bright future for it. Both were committed towards the goal of India's freedom from British rule. However, the means they adopted were distinctly different. Through their ideologies both contributed immensely towards the Indian freedom. Both were very popular with masses. Gandhi has inspired various leaders including Martin Luther King, James Lawson, and James Bevel. Gandhi's life and teachings inspired many who specifically referred to Gandhi as their mentor or who dedicated their lives to spreading Gandhi's ideas. Martin Luther King said “Christ gave us the goals and Mahatma Gandhi the tactics.” (Mishra, 2012)\(^1\)

Recently, US President Barack Obama in his address to the Parliament of India said that: “I am mindful that I might not be standing before you today, as President of the United States, had it not

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been for Gandhi and the message he shared with America and the world.” (“Remarks by the President, 2010).\(^2\) But on the other hand, modern and independent Indians are disenchanted with Gandhian ideology. It appears that they have rejected most of his ideas and remember him only symbolically.

Reporter Jim Yardley (2010)\(^3\) noted that, "modern India is hardly a Gandhian nation, if it ever was one. His vision of a village-dominated economy was shunted aside during his lifetime as rural romanticism, and his call for a national ethos of personal austerity and nonviolence has proved antithetical to the goals of an aspiring economic and military power." Tharoor (2016)\(^4\) described, “Mahatma Gandhi was the kind of person that is more convenient to forget. The principles he stood for and the way in which he asserted them are easier to admire than to follow. While he was alive he was impossible to ignore. Once he had gone he was impossible to imitate.”

In present scenario, it appears that as compared to Mahatma Gandhi and his


simplicity, the youth of the nation particularly, admires Bhagat Singh and his glamorous image. But the ideologies and vision of both the leaders have been shunted aside in the modern India. They are now being remembered only on their birthdays or martyrdom days. Their ideologies proved fruitful during freedom struggle but are now looked down upon in modern India. All these observations point towards the urgent need to investigate the facts like whether actually modern Indians have rejected Gandhi’s ideology or why such an ideology which is the source of inspiration for the leader of world’s most powerful country is losing charm even with the common man of India?

Few studies have investigated the relevance of the ideologies of both the leaders i.e. Gandhi and Bhagat Singh. In 2004, a case-study was carried out pertaining to Gandhian elements of the LokSamiti movement in Mehdiganj (Uttar Pradesh) to explore how Gandhian ideology is perceived and implemented among a group of social activists at the grassroots level. This movement does not identify itself with Gandhian ideology but utilized Gandhi’s strategies for action. This case study concluded that activists of the movement had not much knowledge about Gandhi’s vision and ideals but adopted certain elements of Gandhi’s ideology like Satyagraha, Non-
Violence, Swaraj, Swadeshi etc. (Breukelen, 2006).\(^5\) Through the methods of Gandhian resistance the activists aimed to end practices like corruption, caste discrimination, undemocratic governance and the policies of companies or the government that disadvantage the poor. But on the other hand, they had not very good perceptions of Gandhians (Breukelen, 2006).\(^6\)

Another study published in 2013 in the Journal of Global Citizenship & Equity Education reviewed the non-violent philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. in the 21st century in a global context. The study has concluded that dedication to the non-violent philosophy of Gandhi and King can be a starting point in the pursuit of global social justice (Adjei, 2013, pp. 80-101).\(^7\) A study published in 2012 in the Journal of humanities and social science reviewed the relevance of Gandhian philosophy in contemporary period. It concluded that Gandhi is now more relevant on global level than before and he is remembered now more with reverence. The study reported that Gandhi is being recognized as a great leader of action, a liberator and a Prophet Martyr all over the universe. And


\(^6\) Ibid.

relevance of his ideology to contemporary society is unquestionable and unchallengeable. But there is a need to implement his vision, strategies and thoughts into practice (Das, 2012, pp. 307). M. Maharajan (2011) in his book-Mahatma Gandhi and the New Millennium has examined the relevance of Gandhian thought. He concluded that the relevance of Gandhian ideas and their universal applicability is precisely because of the fact that his ideas and thoughts are not based on colonial dominations, exploitative attitudes, cutthroat competition or material and worldly values. Similarly, ideology of Bhagat Singh has been reviewed by historian ChamanLal (2012) as The revolutionary legacy of Bhagat Singh: the 'Che Guevara' of South Asia.

But so far very few studies have been carried out to compare the ideologies of Bhagat Singh and Mahatma Gandhi. Majority of these studies have historical and analytical approach. There is a lack of experimental and observational studies which could analyze the perceptions of common people regarding the two great leaders’ ideologies. Furthermore some of the major questions which need to be answered are like:

1) What are the similarities and dissimilarities between the ideologies and principles of Mahatma Gandhi and Bhagat Singh?

2) What are the public perceptions of Gandhism and Bhagat Singh’s ideology?

3) Which elements of both the leaders’ ideologies are relevant for modern Indian society?

4) Whether actually modern Indians prefer Bhagat Singh’s ideology over Gandhism or both the leaders’ ideologies are losing charm with the public.

5) If so, what are the reasons for people’s disenchantment?

6) What are the remedial steps which can be taken for fructification of both leaders’ rich legacy and vision?

These were some of the key research questions on the researcher’s mind. So the aim of the present study was to conduct survey (through questionnaires), amongst different strata of modern Indian society so as to investigate the existence of elements of Gandhian and Bhagat Singh’s ideologies. Investigations were done to assess the public perceptions of Gandhi and Bhagat Singh’s ideology. Assessment was done to find out whether actually modern Indians prefer Bhagat Singh’s ideology over Gandhi’s or both the leaders’ ideologies are losing charm with the public. Analysis was done to
explore the relevance of their ideologies in contemporary society by observing and analyzing current social or national events. The study also tried to explore the reasons for people’s disenchantment, if any, with Gandhi’s ideology. The present study tried to provide solutions for the further fructification of both leaders’ rich legacy. Keeping all these questions in mind, a research hypothesis was set for the current study.

**Research Hypothesis**

It appears that as compared to Mahatma Gandhi and his simplicity, modern Indians particularly the younger generation, admire Bhagat Singh and his glamorous image. Modern Indians consider Gandhian ideology is not relevant today. The ideologies and vision of Gandhi ji has been shunted aside in the modern India.

**Objectives of the Study**

1) To assess public’s perceptions and knowledge regarding philosophies of Gandhi and Bhagat Singh.

2) To investigate the existence of elements of both the leaders’ (Gandhi and Bhagat Singh) ideologies in contemporary Indian society.

3) To analyze the impact of ideologies of both the leaders (Gandhi and Bhagat Singh) in contemporary Indian society.
4) To investigate the relevance of their ideologies in contemporary society.

5) To explore the reasons for people’s disenchantment, if any, with Gandhi and Bhagat Singh.

6) To provide suggestions for the fructification of both leaders’ rich legacy and vision.

Research Methodology

The study is predominantly empirical and analytical in nature. It relied upon both qualitative as well as quantitative research methods. Random sampling technique was used for the collection of data.

(i) The Type of Data, i.e. Primary and Secondary data

The study made use of both the primary and the secondary sources for collection of data. Data from the original writings of Gandhi (The Story of My Experiments with Truth, Harijan, Hind Swaraj, Young India) and Bhagat Singh (The Statement of the Undefended Accused, Why I am an Atheist, jail diary, jail notes, court statements) were analysed thoroughly and systematically. The secondary sources of data were the newspaper-articles, journals, books, research papers etc.
(ii) **Universe and Sampling Designs/Framework**

With an aim to cover all the important players, different strata of modern Indian society e.g. students, youth political leaders/activists of educational institutes, government employees, women, social workers etc. were asked the following set of questions. Approximately 150 people were contacted either personally or through mail. Some people responded fully, some partially and a few did not respond. Partially filled questionnaires were rejected and only completely filled questionnaires were included in the study. In all, 127 completely filled questionnaires were analyzed.

(iii) **Methods of Data Collection**

- Questionnaire, observations, interview/conversation and documents

- A questionnaire based analysis was carried out to examine people’s knowledge and to investigate the existence of elements of both the leaders’ (Gandhi and Bhagat Singh) ideologies in contemporary Indian society. Questionnaire was designed by focusing on the key principles of their ideologies. It was based on
the Teenage Nonviolence Test (TNT) (Gerstein et al, 2014, pp. 9-19).¹¹

- To analyze the impact of ideologies of both the leaders in contemporary Indian society, current social or national events were observed and analyzed as case studies.

- To investigate the relevance of their ideologies in contemporary society, current social or national events were observed and analyzed.

The collected data was thoroughly investigated, critically analyzed and presented accordingly. The questionnaire had 2 sections. Questions of section A were designed to examine the knowledge of target population regarding Gandhian and Bhagat Singh’s ideologies.

The key questions asked and the response options mentioned in section A are as follows:

**Section A**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Have you heard about Mohan Das Karam Chand Gandhi?</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Do you like him?</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>If yes, please select the reasons for liking him:</td>
<td>If no, please select the reasons for disliking him:</td>
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<td>His ideology</td>
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<td>His charisma</td>
<td>His role in freedom struggle</td>
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<td>His role in freedom struggle</td>
<td>Any other, .................................</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Have you heard about SardarBhagat Singh?</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Can’t say</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Do you like him?</td>
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<td>Can’t say</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Can’t say</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>If yes, please select the reasons for liking him:</td>
<td>If no, please select the reasons for disliking him:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>His ideology</td>
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<td>His charisma</td>
<td>Atheism</td>
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<td>His role in freedom struggle</td>
<td>Any other, .................................</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>Are you familiar with the ideology of Mahatma Gandhi?</td>
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<td>Can’t say</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Partially</td>
<td>Can’t say</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>If yes, please select all the principles of Gandhi ji’s ideology.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Truth and Satyagraha Non-violence/Ahimsa</td>
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<td>Non-cooperation/Civil disobedience Fasting</td>
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<td>SarvodyaTrusteeship</td>
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<td>Swadeshi</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>Do you think Gandhi ji’s ideology is relevant today?</td>
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<td>Question</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Partially</td>
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<td>10. Are you familiar with the ideology of Bhagat Singh?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Partially</td>
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<td>11. If yes, please select all the principles of Bhagat Singh’s ideology.</td>
<td>Revolution</td>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>Socialism</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Anarchism</td>
<td>Anti-capitalism</td>
<td>Anti-imperialism</td>
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<td>12. Do you think Bhagat Singh’s ideology is relevant today?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Can’t say</td>
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**Section B**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Definitely true for me</th>
<th>Usually true for me</th>
<th>Usually not true for me</th>
<th>Definitely not true for me</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. I try to admit my mistakes.</td>
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<td><strong>Definitely not true for me</strong></td>
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<td>2. I try to learn from my mistakes.</td>
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<td><strong>Definitely true for me</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Usually true for me</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Definitely not true for me</strong></td>
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<td>3. I try to stick to my cause even if subjected to severe opposition.</td>
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<td><strong>Definitely true for me</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Usually true for me</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Definitely not true for me</strong></td>
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<td>4. If someone insults me, I hit them back.</td>
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<td><strong>Definitely true for me</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Definitely not true for me</strong></td>
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<td>5. If someone pushes me, I push them back.</td>
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<td><strong>Usually not true for me</strong></td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>I hit people to get things done.</td>
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<td><strong>Definitely true for me</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Definitely not true for me</strong></td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>I feel violence is the solution to end violence.</td>
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<td><strong>Definitely true for me</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Usually not true for me</strong></td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>I scare people to get things done.</td>
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<td><strong>Usually not true for me</strong></td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>If someone insults me, I insult them back.</td>
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<td><strong>Definitely true for me</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Usually not true for me</strong></td>
<td><strong>Definitely not true for me</strong></td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>I insult people, if I don’t like them.</td>
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<td><strong>Definitely true for me</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Usually not true for me</strong></td>
<td><strong>Definitely not true for me</strong></td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>I shun work, if my demands are not met.</td>
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<td><strong>Definitely true for me</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Usually not true for me</strong></td>
<td><strong>Definitely not true for me</strong></td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>I motivate protests or strikes to press for my demands.</td>
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<td><strong>Definitely true for me</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Usually not true for me</strong></td>
<td><strong>Definitely not true for me</strong></td>
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<td>13.</td>
<td>I would rebel against the unfair system by all means even if subjected to opposition.</td>
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<td><strong>Definitely true for me</strong></td>
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<td>14. I dare to speak against unfair customs/traditions.</td>
<td>Definitely true for me</td>
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<td>Usually not true for me</td>
<td>Definitely not true for me</td>
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<td>15. I prefer social equality for all irrespective of caste/religion/economic status.</td>
<td>Definitely true for me</td>
<td>Usually true for me</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Usually not true for me</td>
<td>Definitely not true for me</td>
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<td>16. I prefer a class-less society.</td>
<td>Definitely true for me</td>
<td>Usually true for me</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Usually not true for me</td>
<td>Definitely not true for me</td>
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<td>17. I do not believe in God.</td>
<td>Definitely true for me</td>
<td>Usually true for me</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Usually not true for me</td>
<td>Definitely not true for me</td>
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<td>18. I do not have objections to other people’s religious faiths.</td>
<td>Definitely true for me</td>
<td>Usually true for me</td>
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<td>Usually not true for me</td>
<td>Definitely not true for me</td>
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<td>19. I do not favour religious fanaticism.</td>
<td>Definitely true for me</td>
<td>Usually true for me</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Usually not true for me</td>
<td>Definitely not true for me</td>
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Questions in section B were designed by focusing on the key principles of Gandhian and Bhagat Singh’s ideologies. This section was designed to investigate the existence of elements pertaining to their ideologies. This questionnaire was inspired from the TNT developed by Mayton to test
American teenagers’ “nonviolent tendency” (Gerstein et al, 2014, pp. 9-19).

Mayton and several others researchers have used this scale to analyze the peacefulness amongst teenagers. TNT is based on Gandhi ji’s philosophy of Non-Violence (Ahimsa), Satyagraha and Tapasya. It also incorporates the concept of pacifism of Elliot (1980, pp. 27-54), the writings on non-violence of Kool (1990). The TNT has 55 Likert-type items which are divided into six subscales as follows:

i) Physical Nonviolence

ii) Psychological Nonviolence

iii) Active value orientation

iv) Helping/Empathy

v) Satyagraha

vi) Tapasya (Gerstein et al, 2014, pp. 9-19)

Three subscales i.e. physical nonviolence, psychological nonviolence, and active value orientation have been derived from the works of Elliott (1980) while the other two i.e. Satyagraha (holding on to the truth) and Tapasya (the essential expression of nonviolence and truth) have been derived from

12. Ibid.


Gandhian philosophy. For all the statements pertaining to these subscales, 4 options have been provided i.e. definitely true, probably true, probably not true or definitely not true. On the basis of scoring, developer indicated the differentiation between violent and non-violent tendencies.

Based on TNT test, a modified questionnaire was designed in section B for the current study. Permission was taken from Dr. Dan Mayton, developer of TNT. For section B, 19 questions were designed by focusing on the key principles of Gandhian and Bhagat Singh’s ideologies. All these questions were Likert-type items and they were divided into seven subscales as follows:

i) Truth and Satyagraha

ii) Physical Nonviolence (Ahimsa)

iii) Psychological Nonviolence (Ahimsa)

iv) Non-cooperation

v) Revolution

vi) Anarchism and Socialism

vii) Atheism/Secularism

First four subscales i.e. Truth and Satyagraha; physical nonviolence, psychological nonviolence & non-cooperation have been derived from Gandhian ideology while the other three subscales: revolution; anarchism
and socialism & atheism or secularism have been derived from Bhagat Singh’s philosophy. The Truth and Satyagraha subscale has 3 items (Q. No. 1-3). It measures one’s search for truth and willingness to hold on to truth despite the adversities. The physical and psychological nonviolence subscale (Q. No. 4-7 and 8-10) is based on ahimsa and consisted of 7 items. It measures both the aspects of ahimsa i.e. physical nonviolence and psychological nonviolence. Physical nonviolence subscale indicates peacefulness and measures a person’s tendency to resist the indulgence in violent or threatening behavior—aimed to produce bodily harm for influencing/coercing another person. Similarly psychological nonviolence also indicates peacefulness and measures a person’s tendency to reject any behavior which is intended to embarrass, humiliate or intimidate another person for the purpose of coercion, oppression or enforcement etc. The non-cooperation subscale has 2 items (Q. No. 11-12) and as per Gandhi ji’s ideology it aims to measure a person’s tendency to resist the tyrannical/oppressive force through nonviolent means. It is an indicator of a person’s participation in protest as a mode of refusal or resistance towards an unfair cause. The revolution subscale (Q. No. 13-14) measures a person’s willingness to change the unfair system. Item nos. 15-16 represent the anarchism and socialism sub scale. These statements indicate a person’s
preference for restructuring of a classless society which is free from all
social discrimination based on caste or religion etc. through abolition of class
system. The atheism/secularism subscale has 3 items (Q. No. 17-19) which
measure a person’s religiousness, tolerance for other religions and disregard
for communal/religious fanaticism. For all the subscales, few statements
were provided and for each statement, four options were provided. The
response options were: definitely true, probably true, probably not true or
definitely not true. Respondents were instructed to select one option. The
most definite response was coded as a four, next probable response was
coded as a three and the alternative responses were graded as two and one
according to their intensity. Scores of each item in the subscale were
added and average value was calculated for each subscale. According to the
subscale, scores above 2.5 were considered to be indicative of orientation
towards Gandhian or Bhagat Singh’s ideology respectively.

**Objective 1: Assessment of Participants’ Knowledge Regarding
Philosophies of Both the Leaders**

All the completely filled questionnaires were analyzed and observations
were drawn.
Observations and Remarks

For this investigation, responses to the following questions of section A were examined.

Q.1) Have you heard about Mohan Das Karam Chand Gandhi?

Table 1: Response to Q 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can't say</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Graphical representation illustrating response to Q 1
The very first and basic question asked was about the familiarity with Gandhi ji. It showed very good response. All the respondents i.e. 100% responded with ‘yes’. The results show that people are in fact well aware of Gandhi ji.

**Q. 2) Do you like him?**

In response to question no. 2, 77% people opted for ‘yes’, 21% said ‘no’ and only 2% opted for ‘can’t say’ option. The results indicate that majority of people like and admire Gandhi ji.
Table 2: Response to Q 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>77.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>20.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can't say</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Graphical representation illustrating response to Q 2
Q. 3) If yes, please select the reasons for liking him:

Table 3: Response to Q 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for liking Mahatma Gandhi</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ideology</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charisma</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role in freedom struggle</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In first part of 3rd question, people were asked about the reasons for liking Gandhi ji. The options provided to them were: his ideology, his charisma or his role in freedom struggle. Out of 127, 98 people (77%) stated that they
liked Gandhi ji. These people cited different reasons for liking him. Out of the 98 people, who liked Gandhi ji, 21 (21%) people exclusively liked him for his ideology, 3 (3%) admired him exclusively for his charisma and 46 (46.9%) exclusively liked him for his role in freedom struggle.

**Graphical representation illustrating response to Q 3**

While 14 people (14%) liked him both for his ideology as well as his role in freedom struggle, 3 (3%) liked him both for his charisma & role in freedom struggle and 9 (9%) liked him both for his ideology and charisma. Only 2
people i.e. 2% respondents liked him for all reasons i.e. his ideology, charisma and role in freedom struggle. The results showed that the majority of people (66%) liked Gandhi ji for his role in freedom struggle, so it may be considered as one of the major reason for Gandhi ji’s popularity.

Q. 3) If no, please select the reasons for disliking him:

In second part of 3rd question, people were asked about the reasons, if they disliked Gandhi ji. The options provided to them were: his ideology, his role in freedom struggle or any other.
Table 4: Response to Q 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for disliking Mahatma Gandhi</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ideology</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role in freedom struggle</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any other</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Graphical representation illustrating response to Q 3
Out of 127, 26 people (20%) stated that they disliked Gandhi ji. These people cited different reasons for not liking him. Of these 26 people, 3.8%, 15.4% and 50% exclusively disliked him for his ideology, his role in freedom struggle and for any other reason respectively. 11.5% disliked him both for his ideology as well as his role in freedom struggle; while 15.4% disliked him for his ideology and any other reason. Only 3.8 % respondents disliked him for all reasons i.e. his ideology, role in freedom struggle and any other reasons. The results showed that people who disliked Gandhi cited some other reasons instead of his ideology or his role in freedom struggle. It was observed that the major reason cited by people for disliking Gandhi was his role during Bhagat Singh’s trial. Most of the people believed that Gandhi
did not put his best efforts to save Bhagat Singh and held him responsible for Bhagat Singh’s execution.

Q. 4) Have you heard about Sardar Bhagat Singh?

Table 5: Response to Q 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can't say</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Graphical representation illustrating response to Q 4

![Graphical representation](image-url)
All the people were asked about Bhagat Singh. It showed very good response. All the respondents i.e. 100% responded with ‘yes’. The results showed that people are fully aware of Bhagat Singh.

Q. 5) Do you like him?

Table 6: Response to Q 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can't say</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Graphical representation illustrating response to Q 5

Number of people

Yes 100%
No 0%
Can't say 0%

Response to Q 5

Percentage of respondents

Yes 100%
No 0%
Can't say 0%
In response to a question whether they liked Bhagat Singh, 100% participants opted for ‘yes’. It showed a very good response. The results indicate mass popularity of Bhagat Singh.

Q. 6) If yes, please select the reasons for liking him:

Table 7: Response to Q 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for liking Bhagat Singh</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ideology</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charisma</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role in freedom struggle</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Graphical representation illustrating response to Q 6
In first part of 6th question, people were asked about the reasons for liking Bhagat Singh. The options provided to them were: his ideology, his charisma or his role in freedom struggle. All the 127 participants stated that they liked Bhagat Singh. These people cited different reasons for liking him. Out of the 127, only 2 participants i.e. 1.6% exclusively liked him for his ideology, 4 (3.1%) admired him exclusively for his charisma and 5 (3.9%) exclusively liked him for his role in freedom struggle. While 12 participants (9.4%) liked him both for his ideology as well as his role in freedom struggle, 28 (22%) liked him both for his charisma & role in freedom struggle and 8 (6.3%) liked him both for his ideology and charisma. Sixty eight participants i.e. 53.5% liked him for all reasons i.e. his ideology,
charisma and role in freedom struggle. Overall analysis showed that his role in freedom struggle is the major reason behind his popularity. Most of the people like him due to his supreme sacrifice for the country.

Q. 6) If no, please select the reasons for disliking him:

In second part of 6th question, people were asked about the reasons, if they disliked Bhagat Singh. But it was amazing to note that none of participants reported any disliking.

Q. 7) Are you familiar with the ideology of Mahatma Gandhi?

Table 8: Response to Q 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>60.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>22.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partially</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can't say</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sixty one percent participants remarked that they are familiar with ideology of Mahatma Gandhi. Twenty two percent participants responded negatively while 16% admitted that they have partial knowledge regarding Gandhi
ji’s ideology. One percent people were unsure and they responded by selecting the ‘can’t say’ option. The results indicated that majority of the participants claimed full awareness regarding Gandhi ji’s ideology.

Graphical representation illustrating response to Q 7

Familiarity with the ideology of Mahatma Gandhi
Q. 8) If yes, please select all the principles of Gandhi ji’s ideology.

Table 9: Response to Q 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Truth/Satyagraha</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>97.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-violence/Ahimsa</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>97.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-cooperation/civil disobedience</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>88.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fasting</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>82.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarvodya</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>34.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trusteeship</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swadeshi</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>82.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>40.21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participants were asked to choose all the elements and principles of Gandhi ji’s ideology so as to investigate the depth of their understanding. They were given the following options: truth and satyagraha, non-violence/ahimsa, non-cooperation/civil disobedience, fasting, sarvodya, trusteeship and swadeshi. Ninety seven percent respondents selected ‘Truth and Satyagraha’ as well as Non-violence/Ahimsa as principles of Gandhi ji’s ideology. Eighty eight
percent participants selected ‘Non-cooperation/civil disobedience’ as elements of Gandhian ideology while 82% selected ‘Fasting’ and ‘Swadeshi’ each. ‘Sarvodya’ was selected by 34 % people and ‘Trusteeship’ by only 32%. Merely 40% participants, correctly chose all the elements of Gandhian ideology.

**Graphical representation illustrating response to Q 8**

The results indicate that majority of people recognize ‘Truth/Satyagraha’ and ‘Non-violence/Ahimsa’ as principles of Gandhi ji’s ideology. Some of
them were able to associate ‘Fasting’ and ‘Swadeshi’ with Gandhi ji but very few of them were actually aware of Sarvodya or Trusteeship principle. So it can be concluded that people generally associate Gandhi ji with Satyagraha and Ahimsa only. But in fact, Gandhi ji’s ideology is not just restricted to Satyagraha or Ahimsa. Rather, it is very vast and multidimensional. It has multi-utility and applicability in all spheres of life. Furthermore, although 61% participants had claimed full awareness regarding Gandhi ji’s ideology yet only 40% participants were able to correctly choose all the elements. This indicates that people have only superficial knowledge regarding Gandhi ji’s principles. This reflects the lack of proper understanding of Gandhi ji’s ideology.

Q. 9) Do you think Gandhi ji’s ideology is relevant today?

Table 10: Response to Q 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>28.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can't say</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>57.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Twenty eight percent respondents were of the opinion that Gandhi ji’s ideology is relevant today while 14% stated that it is not relevant in today’s context. Fifty eight percent respondents were unsure and selected the option ‘can’t say’.

**Graphical representation illustrating response to Q 9**

![Pie chart showing the responses to the relevance of Gandhi ji’s ideology]

From the previous question, it had become quite evident that only few participants were able to correctly identify all the elements of Gandhi ji’s ideology. So, uncertainty among majority of population (58%) regarding the relevance of Gandhi ji’s ideology is quite justifiable. Since most of the people have only superficial knowledge regarding Gandhi ji’s principles, they were unable to perceive it in contemporary society.
Q. 10) Are you familiar with the ideology of Bhagat Singh?

Table 11: Response to Q 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>94.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partially</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can't say</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ninety five percent participants remarked that they are familiar with ideology of Bhagat Singh. Only 3% admitted that they have partial knowledge regarding Bhagat Singh’s ideology. Merely 2% people were unsure and they responded by selecting the ‘can’t say’ option.

Graphical representation illustrating response to Q 10
The results indicated that majority of the participants claimed full awareness regarding Bhagat Singh’s ideology.

**Q. 11) If yes, please select all the principles of Bhagat Singh’s ideology.**

Participants were asked to choose all the elements and principles of Bhagat Singh’s ideology so as to investigate the depth of their understanding. They were given the following options: revolution, violence, socialism, anarchism, anti-capitalism, anti-imperialism, atheism or secularism. All the respondents (100%) chose ‘Revolution’ and 84% chose ‘Socialism’ as principles of Bhagat Singh’s ideology. Fifty seven percent participants selected ‘Atheism’ and ‘Secularism’ as elements of Bhagat Singh’s ideology while 13% selected ‘Anti-capitalism’ and 12% selected ‘Anti-imperialism.’
‘Anarchism’ and ‘Violence’ were selected by only 8% and 40% participants respectively. None of the participants correctly chose all the elements of Bhagat Singh’s ideology.

**Table 12: Response to Q 11**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Revolution</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>40.32258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialism</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>84.67742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anarchism</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.064516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-capitalism</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13.70968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-imperialism</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12.09677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atheism/Secularism</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>57.25806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results indicate that mostly people recognize ‘Revolution’, ‘Violence’ and ‘Socialism’ as principles of Bhagat Singh’s ideology. Some of them were able to associate ‘Atheism/Secularism’, ‘Anti-capitalism’, and ‘Anti-
imperialism’ with Bhagat Singh but very few of them were actually aware of ‘Anarchism’.

**Graphical representation illustrating response to Q 11**

So it can be concluded that people generally associate Bhagat Singh with revolution, violence and socialism. But infact, Bhagat Singh’s ideology is not just limited to these principles. He was a unique socialist revolutionary nationalist leader who was attracted to anarchism and communism. Taking into account the issues pertaining to colonial subjection and internal/domestic exploitation, Singh propounded a bi pronged revolutionary
philosophy which not only dealt with the traits of colonial subjection but also with internal exploitation. Furthermore, although 95% participants had claimed full awareness regarding Singh’s ideology yet none of the participants correctly chose all the elements of Bhagat Singh’s ideology. This indicates that most of the people admire Bhagat Singh for his supreme sacrifice and have only superficial knowledge regarding his philosophy. This reflects the lack of proper understanding of his ideology.

Q. 12) Do you think Bhagat Singh’s ideology is relevant today?

Ninety four percent respondents were of the opinion that Bhagat Singh’s ideology is relevant today while 5% stated that it is not relevant in today’s context. Only 1% respondents were unsure and selected the option ‘can’t say’.

**Table 13: Response to Q 12**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>94.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can't say</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Objective 2: Investigation for Existence of Elements of Both the Leaders’ Ideologies in Contemporary Indian Society

For this each subscale in section B was examined and observations were drawn.

Observations and Remarks

Alpha coefficients were determined for each subscale for the entire sample and are presented in Table 14.
Table 14: Internal consistency of section B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subscale</th>
<th>Alpha coefficient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Truth and Satyagraha</td>
<td>0.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Nonviolence (Ahimsa)</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological Nonviolence (Ahimsa)</td>
<td>0.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-cooperation</td>
<td>0.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revolution</td>
<td>0.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anarchism and Socialism</td>
<td>0.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atheism/Secularism</td>
<td>0.36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The section B had an excellent internal consistency for one of the seven subscales with alpha coefficients of 0.99 on the truth and satyagraha subscale. Three of the subscales were all in between 0.70 and 0.89 which are strong (α=0.70 on physical nonviolence subscale, α=0.74 on psychological nonviolence subscale, α=0.89 on revolution subscale). Alpha coefficients for non-cooperation and anarchism/socialism subscale were above 0.60 which is adequate. Alpha coefficient for the atheism/secularism subscale was 0.36 which was not adequate. Mean scores for each subscale were calculated and the result was presented in Table 15.
Table 15: Mean scores for different subscales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subscale</th>
<th>Mean score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Truth and Satyagraha</td>
<td>3.24±0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Nonviolence (Ahimsa)</td>
<td>3.17±0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological Nonviolence (Ahimsa)</td>
<td>3.29±0.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-cooperation</td>
<td>2.00±0.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revolution</td>
<td>2.22±0.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anarchism and Socialism</td>
<td>3.32±0.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atheism/Secularism</td>
<td>2.32±0.59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

First four subscales i.e. Truth and Satyagraha; Physical Nonviolence, Psychological Nonviolence &Non-cooperation have been derived from Gandhian ideology while the other three subscales: Revolution; Anarchism and Socialism & Atheism or Secularism have been derived from Bhagat Singh’s philosophy. Scores above 2.5 were considered to be indicative of orientation towards Gandhian or Bhagat Singh’s ideology respectively. For Truth and Satyagraha;Physical Nonviolence and Psychological Nonviolence subscales, mean scores were above 2.5 which indicates the respondents’ orientation towards these principles. For non-cooperation subscale, the mean score was less than 2.5. Overall analysis showed that out of four subscales based on principles of Gandhian ideology, participants demonstrated orientation towards three subscales. This reflects the existence of these basic
principles of Gandhian ideology in the contemporary society. So, it may be concluded that Gandhi ji’s philosophy is still relevant. On the other hand, for revolution and atheism/secularism subscales mean scores were less than 2.5 which suggests that the respondents are not oriented towards these principles. However, for anarchism and socialism subscale, the mean score was more than 2.5. Overall analysis showed that out of three subscales based on principles of Bhagat Singh’s ideology, participants demonstrated orientation towards only one subscale. So it may be concluded that although people admire Bhagat Singh yet most of them are unable to fully pursue his philosophy. The underlying reasons need to be explored. Social insecurity, fear, lack of courage or boldness etc. may be assumed as some of the reasons. Due to a variety of reasons, just like pre-independence period, today also ordinary Indians only prefer to admire Bhagat Singh rather than following his philosophy. It reflects that till today Gandhi ji’s ideology has mass appeal.

Objective 3: Impact of Ideologies of Both the Leaders on Contemporary Indian Society

To analyze the impact of ideologies of both the leaders in contemporary society, case studies pertaining to current social or national events were observed and analyzed.
Observations and Remarks

The observations for the selected case studies are as follows:

CASE STUDY-1

Indian Anti-Corruption Movement by Anna Hazare

Year: 2011

Location: JantarMantar in New Delhi (India)

Cause: Corruption in India

Objective: Enactment of a stringent anti-corruption legislature, Jan Lokpal Bill

Strategies: Non-violent protest and hunger strike

Outcomes: Introduction of The Lokpal Bill, 2011 in the parliament

KisanBaburaoHazare, affectionately known as Anna Hazare, is a very popular social activist of India. He has led various movements like rural development, Lokpal bill movement and Right to Information movement. He is a follower of Gandhi ji’s ideology. He has become a well-known name because of the long hunger strikes conducted by him for the fulfillment of public causes. In 2003, Anna Hazare raised charges of corruption against four ministers of the Congress-NCP government. To press his cause, he started indefinite hunger strike on 9th August, 2003. He ended his fast on 17th
August, 2003 only when a one-man commission was appointed by
government to investigate the corruption charges (“Anna Hazare ends
protest fast”, 2003).\(^\text{17}\)

He led Right to Information movement which resulted in enactment of
Maharashtra Right to Information Act and later on Right to Information Act
2005 (“Anna Hazare calls off”, 2006).\(^\text{18}\) He started fast unto death on
9\(^{th}\) August, 2006 in protest against the Union Cabinet’s amendment in the
Right to Information Act. As per this amendment, proposal was to exclude
the file noting by the government officials. Only after government’s
announcement to change its decision regarding proposed amendment, he
ended his fast on 19\(^{th}\) August, 2006. His protest during Lokpal Bill
movement caught the entire nation’s attention. In 2011, Hazare campaigned
for a stronger anti-corruption Lokpal bill which would have more powers
and stricter provisions. He began fast unto death on 5\(^{th}\) April, 2011 and
announced that I will fast until Jan Lokpal Bill is passed. He pressed the
government for constitution of a joint committee for drafting of this bill.

\(^{17}\) Anna Hazare ends protest fast. (2003, August 17). Retrieved from

But as soon as the then prime minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh rejected his demand, he declared indefinite fast. People from all walks of life e.g. students, politicians, social activists, spiritual leaders, sportspersons and social media joined his protest movement (“India activist Anna Hazare”,

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The movement caught the entire nation’s attention and due to participation of people from all over India, it became popular as “India against Corruption”. (Thousands join Anna Hazare's, 2011)

Fig. 4: People demonstrating their support to Anna Hazare [Courtesy: Mukesh Aggarwal/Tribune]


On 8\textsuperscript{th} April, 2011, the government accepted the movement’s demands and agreed for formation of a joint committee (“Govt agrees to a voice vote”, 2011).\textsuperscript{24} A notification issued in the Gazette of India stated that the Joint Drafting Committee would have five nominee ministers of the Government of India and five nominees of the civil society. Then on 9\textsuperscript{th} April, 2011 Hazare ended his hunger strike and while addressing his countrymen set a deadline of 15\textsuperscript{th} August, 2011 to get the bill passed (“Anna

\textsuperscript{23}India against corruption protesters in Pune. (2011, April 09). Retrieved from https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/938252132

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Fig.5: Protesters supporting India against corruption movement
[Courtesy: Wikimedia]\textsuperscript{23}
Hazare breaks”, 2011). He further announced to restart nation-wide agitation in case the bill did not pass (“We have won”, 2011).

Anna Hazare again protested when the government approved a draft of the Lokpal Bill, which kept the Prime Minister, judiciary and lower bureaucracy out of the ombudsman's purview. He rejected the government’s drafted and announced to start an indefinite fast from 16th August, 2011. He wrote the following letter to Dr. Manmohan Singh, the then Prime minister of India:-

“Why are you (government) sending the wrong draft? We have faith in Parliament. But first send the right draft, our agitation is against government, not Parliament. The government has overlooked many points. How will it fight corruption by excluding government employees, CBI and prime minister from the Lokpal's purview? We were told that both the drafts would be sent to the Cabinet. But only the government's draft was sent. This is a deceitful government. They are lying. How will they run the country? Now I have no trust in this government. If

26. We have won only half the battle: Anna Hazare. (2011, August 27). The Times of India. Retrieved from https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/We-have-won-only-half-the-battle-Anna-Hazare/articleshow/9760547.cms?referral=PM
it is really serious about fighting corruption, why is it not bringing government employees and CBI under Lokpal?”

With his announcement, over ten thousand people from across the country protested against the government and sent faxes directly to the government demanding a stronger bill. In Hazare’s support, Mumbai Taxi Men's Union, stopped their taxi services and lawyers of Allahabad High Court went on hunger strike. Following this, Hazare was arrested before the planned indefinite hunger strike which triggered a public protest march in his support. Approximately 570 demonstrations and protests were reported across the country by Anna-supporters. He continued his fast inside the jail.

After his release from jail on 20th August 2011, he promised his countrymen to keep fighting until the government gets his team's Jan Lokpal Bill passed. Thousands of people came in his support as he sat on hunger strike (“Thousands join Anna Hazare's”, 2011). Despite some weight loss, he stated, "I will not withdraw my hunger strike until the Jan Lokpal bill is passed in the Parliament. I can die but I will not bend.” Hazare ended his fast on 28th August, after the Lokpal Bill passed unanimously.

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In support of Anna Hazare's demand of a strong Lokpal, people popularized “I Am Anna” chant and showed their solidarity with him by wearing “I Am Anna” caps.

**Observations**

Government’s compliance with Anna Hazare’s demands indicates the impact of Truth and Satyagraha. As per Gandhi ji’s philosophy, the soul force compelled the change of heart. Similarly, Hazare’s persistence in pressing the demands despite his arrest is a reminiscent of satyagraha, which is the basic pillar of Gandhian ideology. Secondly, his non-violent protest indicates the impact of non-violence. His indefinite fasts and hunger strikes to press upon his causes/demands again remind us of Gandhian tactics. Refusal of taxi drivers to provide taxi-services in protest against the government’s decision is an example of non-cooperation. Mass participation in the movement reflects the mass appeal of Gandhi ji’s ideology.

**Remarks**

This case study has all the elements of Gandhi ji’ ideology like truth, satyagraha, non-violence, fasting and non-cooperation. It becomes evident that Gandhi ji’ ideology has mass appeal till today. It has the same potential to change the heart of the opponents. Success of Anna Hazare’s Indian anti-
corruption movement indicates that most of the elements of Gandhi ji’s ideology are relevant today.

Anna Hazare's Indian anti-corruption movement: Impact of truth, satyagraha and non-violence

CASE STUDY-2

Doklam Standoff

Year: 2017

Location: Doklam, a disputed area between China and Bhutan

Cause: Chinese construction of a road in Doklam

Strategies: Peace and non-violence and hunger strike

Outcomes: Disengagement of the stand-off as both sides pulled their troops back and halting of Chinese road construction.

Doklam is a disputed area between China and Bhutan which is situated near their tri-junction with India. India supports Bhutan's claim over Doklam. Despite various rounds of peace talks, till today Doklam is a point of conflict between China and Bhutan. China had already constructed a road leading up to the Doka La pass within the close vicinity of the Indian border post on the Sikkim border. Recently in 2017, Chinese troops began the southward extension of this road in Doklam. As India is a political ally of Bhutan, the
extension of road triggered a standoff between the Indian armed forces and the People's Liberation Army of China.

![Doklam Standoff Location](image)

**Fig.6: Doklam standoff location[Courtesy: Tehran times]**

Additionally, this extension would make India's highly-strategic Siliguri corridor very approachable to China. So, the Indian troops entered Doklam with an intention to stop the extension of road. Bhutan also protested to China against the construction of road in its territory (“Will the Doklam standoff”, 2017). But China Foreign Ministry through map illustration claimed Doklam as its own territory. Ministry of External Affairs of India also announced its official stand against China for security issues and on the

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charges of violation of a political understanding regarding the tri-junction boundary points between both the countries (“Ministry of Foreign Affairs”, 2017).³⁰

Fig. 7: Indian armed forces and the People's Liberation Army of China[Courtesy: PTI]³¹

Indian military personnel in coordination with Bhutan urged the Chinese troops to halt the construction. But China charged India with trespassing by claiming Doklam as his own territory and demanded

withdrawal of Indian troops. This caused a military standoff between India and China. Troops of both the countries deployed their weapons across the borders. With both the countries refusing to withdraw their troops, situation became tense. China even threatened India with a war like situation. But after diplomatic discussions, India and China agreed to disengage the military stand-off and on 28th August, 2017 announced the withdrawal of their troops from Doklam.

Ministry of External Affairs of India released a press statement stating that India and China had mutually agreed to disengage. It said that India and China had maintained diplomatic communication in recent weeks (“Press Statement”, 2017). Thus peace talks and diplomatic discussion disengaged the military face-off and halted Chinese road construction in Doklam.

Observations

This incident has demonstrated the relevance of non-violence and peace. Tension had escalated between both the countries and military war was being anticipated. But the matter was resolved in a non-violent manner and both the countries withdrew all their troops from the stand-off area.

Remarks

Gandhi ji has famously said, “An eye for an eye will make the whole world blind.” Violence would have resulted in other major consequences and demonstration of military restraint by both sides averted a disaster. Instead of violence, both the countries adopted the mutual agreement through diplomatic channels. This reflects the triumph of peace and non-violence.

_Doklam standoff: Impact of peace and non-violence_

CASE STUDY-3

Indian General Strike of 2016

Year: 2016

Location: All over India

Causes: Privatization, economic policies, social insecurity and low wages

Strategies: Non-cooperation

Outcomes: Review of government’s policies

Strike means mass refusal of employees to work. Generally, the goal of strike is to seek a solution to their grievances and improve the working conditions. It is a strategy to pressurize governments for changing its policies. The strategy of strike has Gandhian elements of non-cooperation.
and civil disobedience. There are numerous examples of strikes in India as well as in other countries. The nationwide general strike of 2016 is considered as the world’s largest ever strike in human history.

**Fig. 8: Poster for general strike 2016[Courtesy: BSNL employees union]**

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It was estimated that 150-180 million public sector workers participated in this 24-hour general strike and it caused a loss up to 180 billion rupees ("Tens of millions", 2016).34

Fig. 9: Public sector workers demonstrating their protest[Courtesy: Al Jazeera]35

The major reasons behind this strike were privatization of public sector and economic policies of Modi-government. The protesters demanded better social security, increase in minimum wages and a ban on foreign investment in the country’s railway, insurance or defense sectors. The state run banks, power stations and transportation services were halted. Health services were halted.

also affected as nurses participated in the demonstration. Protesters disrupted railway services. Many schools and colleges were closed as a precautionary measure. This nationwide strike compelled Modi government to review its policies.

Government stepped back from full privatization in state-owned industries and facilitated the labour market reform by the states. As per Mihir Sharma, a senior fellow at the Observer Research Foundation in Delhi, this 4th all-India strike reminded the government of the cost of moving forward with its liberalisation programme.

**Observations**

As per Gandhian ideology, non-cooperation and civil disobedience are the strategic tools to protest against the tyrannical forces. Gandhi championed non-cooperation movement because European industrial goods had inflicted unemployment and poverty amongst Indian workers. Similarly, public sector workers shunned work and demonstrated their protest against government’s policies. Government’s stepping back from full privatization in state-owned industries and facilitation of labour reforms indicate the impact of non-cooperation. As per Gandhi ji’s philosophy, the soul force compelled the change of heart.
Remarks

This case study reflected the broad spectrum of non-cooperation. The nationwide non-cooperation by millions of public sector workers not only caused an economic loss upto 180 billion rupees to the government but also reminded the government of the cost of moving forward with its liberalisation programme. Hence non-cooperation and civil disobedience have successfully proved their strategic potential.

*Indian general strike of 2016: Impact of non-cooperation and civil disobedience*

**CASE STUDY-4**

**Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2013**

**Year:** 2013

**Territorial extent:** India (except Jammu and Kashmir)

**Causes:** Sexual offences

**Strategy:** Revolution

**Outcomes:** Provision of the death penalty in cases of rape

Bhagat Singh had stated that revolution does not necessarily involve sanguinary strife, nor is there any place in it for individual vendetta. It is not the cult of the bomb and the pistol. He had clarified that by ‘Revolution’ we
mean that the present order of things, which is based on manifest injustice must change. He had called for a socialist and political revolution. In current scenario, revolution may be interpreted as an extreme form of change in the existing order. Currently India is undergoing a variety of revolutions like national, democratic, industrial, urban and social (“India undergoing”, 2013). As it would be very cumbersome to delve into each aspect of revolution, for the current study social revolution in contemporary society was studied. The case study explains the role of social revolution in the enactment of The Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2013 (Nirbhaya Act). This legislation provides for amendment of Indian Penal Code, Indian Evidence Act, and Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 on laws related to sexual offences (“Anti-rape Bill”, 2013). The ordinance provides for the death penalty in cases of rape. The incidents of sexual offences against women and children have risen tremendously in India. The major reasons underlying this sharp incline in sexual offences in India are: police inaction, lack of severe punishment, slow process of investigation and prosecution. Already people were unhappy over social security issues of women and children but the 2012, Delhi gang rape case triggered widespread public

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protests against the government. This incident was condemned at national as well as international level.

Protesters demanded adequate security for women. Nationwide protests shook the nation. Initially the protests were peaceful but later on clashes of protesters with police personnel were reported. Protesters demanded faster investigation and stringent punishment for the sex offenders. These protests led to promulgation of the Criminal Law (Amendment) Ordinance, 2013 by President Pranab Mukherjee (“PrezPranab”, 2013). This ordinance provided provision of death penalty in rape-cases (“Cabinet clears”, 2013). Apart from this some other new laws were passed, new fast-track courts were created to hear rape cases and state governments created women helplines to ensure their safety.

Observations

Sexual offences are plaguing the Indian society from quite a long time but talking about these issues is considered a taboo especially for the victim. Generally the victims are pressurized, silenced, shamed or held responsible for the incident. The society’s support for Nirbhaya has breached the social

taboo and brought a social revolution. She was referred to with courageous names like Damini, Delhi braveheart and Nirbhaya. Her parents too instead of hiding her name revealed her identity fearlessly. These changes indicate a social revolution in an otherwise orthodox society which has been brought out by public protests and resentment. Secondly, amendment in the legal system also indicates change in social order.

Remarks

This case study reflects that in the wake of social insecurity and rising crime against women, the Indian society had revolted against the legal, political and social system. Instead of considering these issues as taboo and hushing up the matter, people are demanding justice for women and stringent punishment for criminals.

_Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2013: Impact of revolution_

**CASE STUDY-5**

**JatReservation Agitation**

**Year:** 2016

**Location:** Haryana and the neighbouring states-Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and National Capital Region

**Causes:** Inclusion of Jat-caste in the Other Backward Class (OBC) category
Strategy: Class based differentiation in society

Outcomes: Enlistment in Backward Classes category

Fig. 10: Jats during a protest in Fatehabad [Courtesy: The Tribune]\(^{40}\)

In February 2016, Jat people of Haryana and the neighbouring states of Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and National Capital Region held protests so as to

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get their caste enlisted as OBC category (“Jats stage”, 2016). OBC status would make them eligible for caste based reservation benefits in jobs and admissions. Initially their agitation was peaceful. However, they blocked highways and railway lines to press on their demands. Later on due to emergence of counter groups, the protests turned violent (“Jat agitation spreads”, 2016). Several violent inter-caste clashes were reported throughout Haryana (“Jat quota stir”, 2016).

Protesters set shops, vehicles and petrol pumps on fire, blocked roads and railway lines, vandalized residential areas, thrashed journalists and clashed with police personnel. The violence escalated and spread to Rajasthan as well as Punjab. As per an estimate (“Jat quota protests”, 2016), the agitation caused approximately an economic loss of


US$5.2 billion (“Railways suffered”, 2016)\textsuperscript{45} and killed at least 30 people (“Haryana Jat agitation”, 2016).\textsuperscript{46} In May 2016, Government of Haryana notified the Bill, enlisting Jats in the Backward Classes category (“Jat agitation: Govt”, 2016).\textsuperscript{47}

Many Jat leaders condemned the violence but Hawa Singh Sangwan, a leader of Jat reservation movement defended the agitation by stating that no revolution was possible without struggle (“Jats may resume”, 2016).\textsuperscript{48}

\begin{center}
\textbf{No revolution without struggle: Sangwan}
\end{center}

\textbf{Bhiwani:} Admitting the claim made by former minister Capt Ajay Yadav that Jats got the reservation at gunpoint, All India Jat Arakshan Sangrah Samiti chief Hawa Singh Sangwan justified it by saying that no revolution was possible without struggle. At a press conference here on Wednesday, Sangwan said: "People of several states like Telangana, Nagaland and Mizoram had to struggle a lot before coming into existence and if Jats did it to fight for their legitimate rights, they did no wrong in achieving it". On another agitation call by Jat leader Yashpal Malik, Sangwan said the second agitation was not in favour of the state as the government was executing its promise of granting reservation to the community. — Sat Singh


Observations

By terming this agitation as revolution and justifying the underlying violence/struggle, Hawa Singh Sangwan may have tried to associate it with Bhagat Singh’s philosophy. But it is interesting to note here that Bhagat Singh advocated anarchism and socialism. According to him, anarchism referred to a completely independent society which is free from all social discrimination based on caste or religion etc. Bhagat Singh believed in secular and socialist values and disregarded the caste based system. Furthermore, he suggested the society to overthrow the caste system so as to promote social justice. But in contemporary society, leaders of different castes are putting their efforts to get their castes enlisted as reserved category. This scenario is only deepening the class divide.

Remarks

This case study reflects that in contemporary society, class based division is deepening day by day. Bhagat Singh advocated a class less society so the current social scenario is not as per his ideology. Presently, people pretend to be fascinated with Bhagat Singh but in fact most of them do not have complete understanding of his ideology.

Jat reservation agitation ≠ Impact of anarchism/socialism
CASE STUDY-6

Gujarat Riots

Year: 2002

Location: Gujarat

Causes: Godhra train burning

Strategy: Communal riots

Outcomes: Communal disharmony

Fig.11: Smoke arising from buildings in Ahmedabad during communal riots[Courtesy: Wikimedia]49

Inter-communal violent clashes in Gujarat during 2002 are referred to as Gujarat riots. These riots were triggered by the deaths of Hindu pilgrims due

to burning of a train in Godhra. Death of Hindu pilgrims led to violence against Muslim community of Gujarat. Initial communal riots lasted for three days but the outbreak lasted for several months. Rape, murder, brutal killing, vandalism, loot and destruction of property were rampant throughout Gujarat. As per an estimate, these communal riots resulted in more than 1000 deaths ("Report on Godhra", 2002).  

Observations

The Gujarat riots depict a very sensitive communal situation in India. This demonstrates the growing religious intolerance and fanaticism. There is a very delicate equilibrium among different religious sections which has the risk of disturbance even with the mildest provocation. One incident had led to massacre of thousands of people of both the communities. In the contemporary society, not only people are losing their religious freedom but they are also raising objections to others’ religious opinions.

Remarks

Bhagat Singh was an atheist and the real purpose of his atheism was to eliminate religious fanaticism from society so as to promote common nationalism. He wanted the people to set themselves free from the narrow

divisions of caste or religion. He had dreamt for an independent and secular India. Although India is a secular nation yet incidents of communal clashes are reported every other day. Indian society is dangerously divided in terms of caste and religion. So this case study reflects that the many of the Indians have not accepted the principle of atheism/secularism from Bhagat Singh’s ideology.

_Gujarat riots ≠ Impact of atheism/secularism_

**Observations and Remarks for Objective 4 i.e. Relevance of Ideologies**

a) **Relevance of Mahatma Gandhi’s Ideology in Context of Freedom**

Mahatma Gandhi’s ideology is vast, interlinked and multidimensional. Most of the concepts of his ideology are relevant for the individuals as well as the societies. But it is difficult to restrict his views to any one particular sphere i.e. freedom, religion, politics and economics etc. (Bhardwaj & Basumatary, 2013, pp. 42-44). At the same time, it is difficult to analyze the relevance of all the aspects of Gandhi’s ideology. Thus through the present study, an attempt was made to analyze the relevance of Gandhi’s ideology in context of freedom. Gandhi led Indians to freedom and as seventy years have passed since India got freedom, it needs to be evaluated whether contemporary

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India is the India of Gandhi’s vision or not? Gandhi’s writings have expressed four aspects of freedom (Chakrabarty, 2006).\textsuperscript{52} i.e. India's national independence; political freedom of an individual; group freedom from poverty (economic freedom) and the capacity for personal self-rule (spiritual freedom) (Johnson, 2006).\textsuperscript{53} Hence, the relevance of Gandhi’s ideology was examined with respect to all these four aspects of freedom.

i) \textbf{Relevance of National Independence}

Mahatma Gandhi envisioned national independence as Swaraj. According to him, Swaraj means a continuous effort to be independent of government control, whether it is foreign government or whether it is national. He believed that true democracy cannot be worked by twenty men sitting at the center. It has to be worked from below, by the people of every village (Young India, 1920, pp. 886).\textsuperscript{54} Gandhi said: "Power resides in the people, they can use it at any time." He emphasized that Swaraj means implementation of a system whereby the state machinery is virtually nil, and the real power directly resides in the hands of people (Jesudasan, 1987).\textsuperscript{55} In other words, Mahatma Gandhi envisioned a decentralized form of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{54} Young India. (1920). 3(8).
\end{itemize}
government by advocating the implementation of Panchayati Raj. He suggested that with the implementation of Panchayati Raj, each village would be responsible for its own affairs (Behuria, 2010).\(^{56}\) Gandhi believed that in such a state, everyone is his own ruler and there would be no scope of exploitation or oppression.

On the contrary, independent India has a centralized democracy where power resides in the hands of Prime minister and his cabinet. But to alleviate this, local governance has also been empowered through the constitution of gram panchayats. Panchayati Raj system, which was introduced in India by the 73rd constitutional amendment in 1992, makes is evident that Gandhi’s philosophy of decentralized form of government is relevant at rural level (“The Constitution”, 1992).\(^{57}\) This amendment act provided a constitutional status to the Panchayati Raj institutions. Furthermore, it endowed various powers and responsibilities to the panchayats like preparation of economic development plans, social justice, ability to levy and collect appropriate taxes etc.

The Panchayati Raj now serves as a system of governance wherein gram panchayats are the basic units of local administration. The system has

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three levels: Gram Panchayat (village level), MandalParishad or Block Samiti or PanchayatSamiti (block level), and ZilaParishad (district level)(“The Constitution”, 1992). Currently, the Panchayati Raj system exists in all states except Nagaland, Meghalaya, and Mizoram, and in all Union Territories except Delhi. This system does not exactly follow Gandhi’s vision of Panchayati Raj. But still its implementation has taken into stride Gandhi’s philosophy of self-governance by endowing powers and authority to the local people of the village. Moreover, Gandhi himself indicated that full achievement of self-rule is a utopian task which requires patience and perseverance (Harijan, 1946, pp.116).

ii) Relevance of Political Freedom of An Individual

Gandhi expressed political freedom as the full liberty to all individuals. He pointed out that all individuals should have the right to express themselves and they should be granted the access to basic rights. This included the right to freedom of religion, speech, press; right to be treated equally; right to freedom of association; right of minorities to religion and education; right to private property and right to form unions etc. (Gandhi, 1999, pp. 166) All these rights have been endowed to the citizens through the Indian

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58. Ibid.
constitution. This reflects that the Gandhian philosophy of political freedom is still applicable to independent India.

But in the contemporary India, an increase in the incidents of religious intolerance, communal disharmony, caste discrimination and politicization of press or media have been witnessed. A report published by the US Commission for International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) has placed India in tier 2 along with a group of nations where religious freedom violations are severe. According to this report, various incidents of harassment, intimidation and violence against religious minority communities or Dalits have deteriorated the conditions of religious freedom (USCIRF Annual Report, 2018). 61 Similarly, another report published by Pew Research Center ranked India as fourth worst in the world for religious intolerance (“By 2050, India”, 2015). 62 Incidents of violence between extremist Hindu or Muslim religious groups and crime against women or dalits (lower caste Hindus) are rising day by day. Lynchings of beef-eating muslims, harassment of dalits in the name of casteism, crime against women, propagation of political agenda through media etc. are the frequent

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incidents in contemporary India. Despite the Indian constitutional provisions, citizens of independent India are not able to practice religious freedom. So in this context, Gandhi’s teachings become much more relevant both for the rulers and the people being ruled.

**iii) Relevance of Economic Freedom of An Individual**

The economic philosophy of Gandhi is known as Sarvodaya which means-the uplift/welfare of all (Gandhi, 1908).63 Gandhi asserted that in order to achieve economic freedom, self-sufficiency is mandatory. So he promoted swadeshi, home spun khadi and India made goods (Ghosh, 2007).64 Contemporary India has witnessed the dominance of multinational companies and their products. Modern Indians feel pride while using the foreign made goods. Foreign made products especially those imported from China have flooded the Indian market. Due to their low price, bulk availability and diverse variety, Chinese products have become quite popular with Indians. This has deteriorated the domestic business and decreased the demand of Indian products. The dominance of Chinese products in Indian market has led to shut of Indian industries/manufacturers and is emerging as one of the major cause of unemployment of Indian youth.

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Fig. 12: Patanjali Ayurved Limited’s Swadeshi Campaign

[Courtesy: Adopinions]"^^{(4565)

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In current scenario, Gandhi’s ideology of swadeshi has become much more relevant than before. There is a dire need to promote awareness regarding the use of swadeshi products. It is noteworthy here that Gandhi’s concept of swadeshi is not totally overlooked in modern India rather it has become a successful juggernaut for PatanjaliAyurved Limited launched by yoga guru baba Ramdev. Patanjali products have given a tough competition to multinational Fast-moving consumer goods (FMCG) companies in India. Its revenues were estimated to be approx. Rs. 5000 crores in financial year 2015-16 (“Patanjali ad campaign”, 2017). Apart from charisma of baba and the advantage of ayurveda, the appeal to focus on swadeshi is the most important factor behind the success of PatanjaliAyurved Limited (“India consumer”, 2016).

Secondly, Gandhi emphasized that mass production by modern industrial technology was responsible for increasing the gap between rich and the poor as it was assimilating wealth for the owners but inflicting unemployment in local workers (Ghosh, 2007). So he promoted small scale and locally oriented production, using local resources and meeting

66. Ibid.
local needs (Nadkarni, 2014). In modern India, the craze of branded products and the emergence of large scale, multinational enterprises hauled to slow down of small scale enterprises. But taking guidance from Gandhi’s philosophy, government is encouraging local small business enterprises. Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSME) sector envisioned by ministry of MSME is actively promoting the industrialization of rural & backward areas, thereby, assuring equitable distribution of national income and wealth. Ministry of MSME provides support and encouragement for the development of the MSME sector like Khadi, Village and Coir industries (“Ministry of micro, small”, 2017). Similarly, the Khadi and Village Industries Commission (KVIC) is endowed with the promotion and implementation of programs for the development of Khadi and other village industries in the rural areas. It aims to provide employment and develop creating self-reliance amongst the poor and rural population (“Khadi and village”, 2017).

Gandhi’s perception of economic freedom encompassed the dignity of labor and an equitable distribution of wealth. Mahatma Gandhi National

Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA), has been initiated by the government to provide wage employment in rural areas. It has provisions for providing employment within 5 km of an applicant's residence, and payment of minimum wages (“The Mahatma Gandhi”, 2005). As per this scheme, the involvement of contractors is banned. So this scheme follows Gandhi’s vision of providing economic security, generating local resources, dignity of labour and nurturing social equity.

Two major problems of the modern era i.e. global warming and environmental pollution are the outcomes of industrialization. In this scenario, Gandhi’s idea of promoting small scale enterprises is quite relevant as it will not only tackle the problem of environmental pollution and global warming but will also generate employment of local youth.

To bridge the gap between the rich and the poor Gandhi pioneered the trusteeship principle. According to this principle, Gandhi urged wealthy individuals to do introspection and utilize their surplus wealth as a trust for the welfare of the poorest and deprived (Lal, 1958). These ideals are being practiced in Gandhi’s ashrams. But there is need to create awareness at the national level as Gandhi dreamt of entire nation adopting these ideals.

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Accumulation of black money is a grave issue in India currently. It is leading to amassment of disproportionate wealth by the corrupt section of society. On the other hand, it is affecting the cash circulation and deprives the lower sections of society. Accumulation of black money is deepening the gap between the rich and the poor. Indian government has adopted various strategies like demonetization and modification of currency notes to curb this problem (“Withdrawal of legal”, 2016). But these anti-social elements keep on devising new methods to evade tax and conceal their unaccounted wealth. Thus despite government’s best efforts, monster of black money is looming large over the country because. So, in current scenario, there is an urgent need for wealthy and corrupt individuals to do introspection as per Gandhi’s teachings and co-operate with the government in its initiatives.

iv) Relevance of Spiritual Freedom of An Individual

Gandhi expressed self-rule or spiritual freedoms as identification with the spiritual being. He believed that self-rule involves the influence of spirit on inner consciousness. He emphasized that certain virtues like non-violence, chastity, greedlessness, truthfulness, non-stealing, swadeshi, bodily labour,

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removal of untouchability, control of palate, fearlessness and respect of all
religions etc. are necessary for achievement of spiritual freedom (Gandhi,
1999, pp. 294).\textsuperscript{75} He propounded that attainment of spiritual freedom is very
crucial for achieving national, political or economic freedom.

Ahimsa or non-violence is a key tenet of Gandhi’s ideology. It means
doing no-harm or fully, loving one’s rival to the point of not wishing her or
him any harm. Gandhi was not the creator of the principle of non-violence,
but he was the pioneer in utilizing this principle as a political measure
(Gandhi, 1990).\textsuperscript{76} As India is culturally, religiously and ethnically a diverse
nation, it is very vulnerable to interstate, ethnic or communal conflicts. To
seek a solution for these conflicts, Gandhi’s philosophy of non-violence is
quite relevant. Various extremist conflicts have already been successfully
handled by government by following peace and non-violence. And it is
expected that in future also Gandhi’s ideology would facilitate the resolution
of internal and external conflicts afflicting India. Some of the conflicts
which have been settled through non-violence and peaceful strategies are
Khalistan movement in Punjab, Bodo Liberation Tiger in Assam,

\textsuperscript{75} Gandhi, M.K. (1999).\textit{The collected works of Mahatma Gandhi} (Publications Division:
Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India), 35.

\textsuperscript{76} Gandhi, M.K. (1990). \textit{An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth}.
Telengana movement in Andhra Pradesh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand’s movement for demand of a separate state etc. Similarly, through peace and non-violence only, government should try to resolve conflicts related to United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), maoists, naxalites, Kashmir and interstate river-water disputes.

Recently, in 2016 following a cross-border ceasefire-violation by Pakistan’s military, India conducted "surgical strikes" against militant launch pads in Pakistani-administered Azad Kashmir. This military strike sent a clear signal to Pakistan to stop its nefarious designs and the move was praised at domestic as well as international level. But as its aftermath, the peace dialogue between the two countries has been disrupted and the number of casualties of army personnel on both the sides has increased. This reminds us about these famous words of Gandhi, “An eye for an eye will make the whole world blind.” The only relevant solution to resolve this issue is peace talks between both the countries. Another recent incident, which has again demonstrated the relevance of non-violence and peace, is the 2017 China India border standoff or Doklam standoff between the Indian and Chinese armed forces (“Doklam standoff”, 2017). Tension had escalated between both the countries and military war was being anticipated (“Will the

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Doklam”, 2017). But the matter was resolved in a non-violent manner and both the countries withdrew all their troops from the stand-off area (“Press Statement”, 2017).

Gandhi had said, “I do not believe in shortcuts which involve violence. However, much I sympathize with admirable motives, I am an uncompromising opponent of violent methods even to serve the noblest causes. There is, therefore, really no meeting ground between the school of violence and myself.” (Singhvi et al, 2003).

Many people criticize Gandhi’s principle of non-violence by arguing that violence for self-defense or a genuine/noble cause is justified. As the different countries are building up their nuclear armamentariums and terrorism is rising, it is true that non-violence cannot be followed India in absolutism. It is important to note here that Gandhi supported war against the Boers and did not completely disapprove of violence. He said, “I would risk violence a thousand times rather than risk the emasculation of a whole

race.” (Prabhu & Rao, 1967)\textsuperscript{81} He wrote in 1920, “Nonviolencedoes not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but it means the pitting of one’s whole soul against the will of the tyrant.... And so I am not pleading for India to practise non-violence because she is weak. I want her to practise non-violence being conscious of her strength and power.” (Young India, 1920, pp. 886).\textsuperscript{82}

Gandhi devised satyagraha as a non-violent resistance to political authority so as to fight against injustice. Satyagraha means adhering to truth. It involves fasting, non-violence, non-cooperation and civil disobedience (Johnson, 2006).\textsuperscript{83} Currently various forms of satyagraha are the most relevant elements of Gandhi’s ideology. Different sections of society utilize strike, fasting, non-cooperation and civil disobedience as strategic tools to raise their voice against injustice or to get their demands fulfilled. In contemporary India, satyagraha has proved itself as a very relevant tool for students, farmers, government or non-government employees and retired army personnel (“Social activist Anna”, 2018).\textsuperscript{84} The most glaring example demonstrating the impact of satyagraha is the setting up of Lokpal to

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{82} Young India. (1920). 3(8).
\item \textsuperscript{84} Social activist Anna Hazare starts hunger strike for Lokpal at Ramlila maidan. (2018, March 26). Retrieved from https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/938252132
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
investigate corruption cases following the hunger strike by Anna Hazare (“Anna Hazare calls off”, 2006).^85

Similarly, other tenets of Gandhi’s ideology like chastity, greedlessness and truthfulness are becoming more relevant as the society is becoming materialistic, capitalistic and consumerist. Gandhi was against untouchability and referred to the untouchables as Harijans i.e. the children of god. He aimed for the upliftment of all and worked hard to maintain communal harmony. As even after 70 years of independence, issues like untouchability, caste or religion based discrimination and gender inequality are plaguing the Indian society, Gandhi’s ideology in this context is equally relevant.

Mahatma Gandhi is regarded as ‘Father of Nation’ and like a father he knew what ails his children. So his teachings in one form or the other would always continue to guide his countrymen. He is one of such iconic leaders who are born once in an era. His ideology is timeless, universal and eternal. His principles were relevant in past, are relevant in present and will be relevant in future. To make India a nation as per Gandhi ji’s dreams, there is

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an urgent need to practically follow his principles. Although government is taking initiatives, yet ultimately it is the responsibility of every Indian to inculcate in him/her the basic tenets of Gandhi’s ideology.

b) **Relevance of Bhagat Singh’s Ideology in Context of Freedom**

Bhagat Singh is a folk hero in modern India. He is remembered for his courage and supreme sacrifice but his another major contribution is formulation of a bi pronged revolutionary philosophy which not only dealt with the traits of colonial subjection but also with internal exploitation. Singh’s revolutionary philosophy was rooted in Socialism (Nayar,2000). He offered an alternative ideology to the country at that time. Because of his younger nature and short life span, his ideology could not bloom fully. But still unarguably, it has become evident that he had a remarkable vision which was ahead of its time (Singh, 2011).

As per socialist concept, Bhagat Singh wished to secure human freedom through modern developments in technology because it would reduce necessary labour time and would enable individuals pursue the development of their true individuality as well as creativity. On the basis of his writings, diaries or jail notes, Bhagat Singh’s concept of freedom may be


expressed into the following aspects: India's national independence, political freedom of an individual, group freedom from poverty (economic freedom) and the spiritual freedom (Singh & Hooja, 2007). So for the purpose of this current study, the relevance of Bhagat Singh’s ideology was examined with respect to all these four aspects of freedom (Singh, 1931).

i) Relevance of Anti-imperialism

Bhagat Singh believed that freedom is an imperishable birthright of all. He was against colonialism and imperialism. He wrote, “Imperialism is the last stage of development of insidious exploitation of man by man and of nation by nation.” He fought against British imperialism and popularized the slogan ‘Down with imperialism’ (Singh, 1930).

He struggled to liberate his country from the foreign rule. He propounded that just freedom from foreign slavery is not sufficient rather strategies have to be devised to fight against the underlying system which was responsible for producing slavery. Bhagat Singh’s vision was not only to make India an independent republic by overthrowing British but to bring

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out a socio-political revolution. He popularized the slogan "InquilabZindabad!" i.e. "Long Live the Revolution"(Sehanavis, 2007).

Efforts of various freedom fighters led India to freedom from British imperialism but it would not be wrong to say that contemporary India is still a victim of imperialism. Now imperialism has manifested itself in the form of neo-imperialism, neo-liberalism and globalization. Not only India but various Asian, African and Arabian countries are threatened by American neo-imperialism. Acting as custodian of ‘law and order’, America pressurizes India and other countries to manipulate their foreign and domestic policies as per her designs. Even at the domestic level, imperialism is alive in various forms. Materialism and capitalism have eroded the humanistic and ethical values of the society. This indirect threat to Indian freedom by neo-imperialistic forces reminds us of Bhagat Singh’s ‘Down with imperialism’ slogan and inspires to fight with all forms of imperialism.

ii) Relevance of Anarchism

Anarchism advocates stateless societies or self-governed voluntary institutions. Bhagat Singh clarified that anarchism refers to a completely independent society which is free from all social discrimination. Bhagat Singh clearly said that his goal was not just to replace white rule with brown

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rule. He said that there was no difference in the rule of capitalists, local or foreign (Singh, 1931). He was fully aware that even after independence, capitalist class would exploit the working class on caste based system and in these circumstances independence would hold no meaning (Singh, 1931).

Therefore he highlighted the need of social-restructuring through socialist revolution so as to attain complete independence.

Presently, the socio-political situation has not changed much. Only difference is that instead of British, now the control lies with rich and corrupt capitalists. Workers and peasants are still being exploited by industrialists and corrupt politicians. The gap between the rich and poor is increasing. Farmers, labourers, dalits and tribals are still deprived of their basic rights. Bhagat Singh had said, “By Revolution we mean that the present order of things, which is based on manifest injustice must change….For this capture of state power is necessary.” (Singh & Dutt, 1929). In current scenario, Bhagat Singh’s call of socio-political revolution is still very relevant.


93. Ibid.

iii) **Relevance of Anti-capitalism**

Bhagat Singh was a socialist. He advocated replacement of capitalism with a moneyless society through a collective public control over the means of production or by facilitating direct worker ownership. He made it clear that his vision is not only to transfer the power from the hands of the British to the Indians, but to those Indians who belong to working class (Horvat, 1982). He was fully aware that even after independence, capitalist class would exploit the working class on caste based system and in these circumstances independence would hold no meaning. Therefore he highlighted the need of generating class consciousness.

In contemporary India, class differentiation either to caste based discrimination or economic status is still prevalent. The gap between the rich and the poor is increasing. On one hand, approximately, more than 70% people of the country are poor while on the other hand, a few entrepreneurs have wealth amounting to the GDP of the top 3 richest states (“Income gap”, 2017). A report published by World Inequality Lab has highlighted the rise

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in economic imbalance in the Indian society since 1980 ("World inequality report", 2018).\textsuperscript{97} It has been reported that the major cause of this widening gap in India is adoption of globalization and departure from socialism. As per this report, in 2014 India's top 1% of earners accounted for 22% of national income which was only 6% in 1980s. Similarly during 2014, the bottom 50 per cent of earners captured 15% of national income while it was 24 per cent in 1980s ("World inequality report", 2018).\textsuperscript{98} This data indicated that globalization has benefitted the rich only.

Recently Oxfam, an international confederation with its report, 'Reward Work, Not Wealth', has pointed out that inequality crisis has worsened globally. Last year, top 1% earners i.e. billionaires captured 82% share of all of the growth in global wealth while the bottom 50% saw no increase at all. Wealthy are getting the benefit while the workers’ rights and wages are eroding. The report has pointed out that one of the major reasons for this growing global inequality is wage inequality and decline in labour compensation (Pimentel et al, 2018).\textsuperscript{99} Oxfam’s campaign has urged the


\textsuperscript{98} Ibid.

world leaders to take an action and design economic policies which are pro workers and not pro rich. Although Indian government has raised a slogan 'sabkasaath, sabkavikas' yet the situation in India is not different. In this scenario, Bhagat Singh’s anti-capitalism and socialist philosophy is much more relevant than ever before.

iv) Relevance of Atheism/Secularism

Bhagat Singh supported atheism (Singh, 1931). The real purpose of his atheism was to eliminate religious fanaticism from society and promote common nationalism. He believed that religions divide the people and divert them from the cause of independence (Singh, 1928). He wanted the people to set themselves free from the narrow divisions of caste or religion. He was of the view that caste or religion based discrimination was giving impetus to the ‘Divide and Rule’ policy of British rulers (Singh & Hooja, 2007).

Another major reason behind his shunning of religion was the fanatic caste system. After so many years of independence, Indian society is still

divided in terms of religion and caste. Every other day, caste or religion based disputes catch the nation’s attention. During the past few years, religious or cultural intolerance has increased. Babri mosque, construction of Ram temple in Ayodhya, Gujarat riots, beef eating, cow slaughter etc. are some of the communal issues which are still plaguing the nation. The rising incidents of communal intolerance indicate that Bhagat Singh’s ideology of atheism and secularism is much more relevant in present scenario.

**Observations and Remarks for Objective 5: Exploring Reasons for People’s Disenchantment**

From the response of participants, it became evident that majority of people like and admire Gandhi ji. They liked him for his ideology, charisma as well as his role in freedom struggle. However, it was also observed that approximately 20% participants disliked Gandhi ji. These people cited different reasons for not liking him. It was observed that the major reason cited by people for disliking Gandhi was his role during Bhagat Singh’s trial. Most of the people believed that Gandhi did not put his best efforts to save Bhagat Singh and held him responsible for Bhagat Singh’s execution. With an aim to clear this misconception, Gandhi ji’s role in Bhagat Singh’s trial was explored.
• **Mahatma Gandhi’s Role in Bhagat Singh’s Trial**

The issue of Mahatma Gandhi’s attitude to Bhagat Singh’s trial and execution has sparked much controversy among historians and writers. Some writers allege that Gandhi could have saved Bhagat Singh’s life if he had wished, but regrettably, he didn’t and wouldn’t, and his failure in saving Bhagat Singh’s life from the gallows leaves a black spot on his political career. On the other hand, Gandhi’s own party workers, followers and some writers clarify with pathetic earnestness that Gandhi failed not because of his lack of interest in the well-being of Bhagat Singh, but because of the conditioning circumstances which lay beyond his control.

In his biography of Bhagat Singh, KuldipNayar (2000)\(^{103}\) holds the view that Gandhi was very concerned about Bhagat Singh, but he did not approve of his violent methods because he thought that such means would do much harm to the country. That is why Gandhi even refused to associate himself with the move to raise a statue in honour of Bhagat Singh’s martyrdom. S. R. Bakshi (1988)\(^{104}\) maintains in his study that Gandhi made some effort to save Bhagat Singh’s life, but he did not put sufficient pressure

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on the Viceroy Lord Irwin to commute his life sentence. Bakshi (1988)\textsuperscript{105} thinks that ‘a higher political pressure’ would have resolved the issue in favour of the revolutionary youth.’ But he does not elaborate on the kind of political pressure that would have worked.

In his article ‘Bhagat Singh, Bose and the Mahatma’, Ashok Celly (2007)\textsuperscript{106} castigates Gandhi for not rescuing Bhagat Singh from his execution because of ‘his pathological dislike or fear of revolution’ and his commitment to non-violence. To emphasize Gandhi’s indifference to the fate of Bhagat Singh, Celly recalls how the Mahatma had thrown out the star politician Subhas Chandra Bose from the Congress because of his ideological differences with him even though he was a democratically elected Congress president.

In the biography of Bhagat Singh, G.S. Deol (1978)\textsuperscript{107} regrets that Gandhi did not make the issue of Bhagat Singh’s execution a precondition of his settlement with the Viceroy because he felt that it was not in the larger interests of his country. In support of his contention, Deol quotes from Gandhi’s article in Young India, ‘I might have made the commutation a term

\begin{flushleft}
\statelabel{105}\textit{Ibid.}
\end{flushleft}
of the settlement—it could not be made. The Working Committee agreed with me in not making commutation of Bhagat Singh’s death sentence a condition precedent to truce. I could therefore only mention it.’ Deol (1978) emphasizes that ‘a leader could hardly be expected to secure the commutation of the death sentence of Bhagat Singh.’ General Mohan Singh of INA fame, too, like Deol took a similar view when he wrote, “But Gandhi could not rise above the false prestige of his philosophy of non-violence because Bhagat Singh’s release would have given strength to a group of revolutionary heroes which Gandhi could not tolerate.”

In his book on Bhagat Singh, K. K. Khullar (1981) defended Gandhi and appreciated his role in trying to save Bhagat Singh. Khullar argued that the Viceroy proved cleverer, and duped Gandhi in believing that he was in sympathy and was also doing his best in the matter. I. S. Gopal in his study of the viceroyalty of Lord Irwin, skirts the question of Bhagat Singh’s reprieve and execution. He writes that ‘it speaks for the integrity of these men (Gandhi and Irwin) that in the circumstances they felt that it would be dishonest to postpone the execution of Bhagat Singh till the Congress session is over’. Gopal does not discuss the question of Bhagat

108. Ibid.
Singh’s commutation of death sentence. On the other hand, he considers Irwin’s policy as ‘overwhelmingly right’ to an extent that he did more than ‘any men of his own time to keep alive the faith of the two people (Gandhi and Irwin) in each other’ (Datta, 2008).110

Andrew Roberts (2012)111, a distinguished biographer of Irwin’s life, wrote that after Gandhi’s appeal to him to commute Bhagat Singh’s death sentence, ‘Irwin spent a sleepless night with his conscience. The next day he refused to commute the death sentence and he and his comrades were hanged.’ Gandhi had pleaded what a good effect his reprieve would have, but the Viceroy turned it down. On Gandhi’s attitude towards Bhagat Singh’s death sentence, Nayar reiterates his earlier view that Gandhi was concerned about saving his life, which is evident in the Gandhi-Irwin correspondence; but he did not wish to identify himself with the revolutionaries because that would negate his stand.

A recent study has argued that despite his firm commitment to non-violence, which remained a cardinal principle of his life, Gandhi put the maximum pressure on the Viceroy Lord Irwin for the commutation of the death sentence of Bhagat Singh and his comrades. Gandhi disapproved of

their action. In this study, Gandhi’s attitude to Bhagat Singh and his associates' death sentence has been examined against the background of his negotiations with the Viceroy for the settlement of outstanding political issues facing the country (Datta, 2008).\textsuperscript{112} Irwin had established a rapport with Gandhi, and held him in high esteem for his integrity of character. Gandhi, too, respected Irwin for his candour and goodwill. Despite a general view prevalent in historical studies on Bhagat Singh that Gandhi and Irwin could on their own commute Bhagat Singh’s death sentence, this study shows that the issue of saving his and his comrades’ lives lay beyond Irwin and Gandhi, because they were not free and independent enough to do whatever they wished as is commonly assumed.

**Observations and Remarks for Objective 6: Suggestions for the Fructification of Both Leaders’ Rich Legacy and Vision**

- Results of the present studies indicated that both the leaders are liked and admired by people. However few people had an opinion that Gandhi did not put his best efforts to save Bhagat Singh and thus disliked him. However, various historians have defended Gandhi and appreciated his role in trying to save Bhagat Singh. So there is an

urgent need to clear this public misconception and create awareness in public in this context.

- On the other hand, all the people stated that they liked Bhagat Singh. They liked him for his ideology, charisma and above all for his role in freedom struggle. Most of the people like him due to his supreme sacrifice for the country. But if required, many of them would not be ready for any sacrifice for the country. Rather everyone expects a sacrifice from some new Bhagat Singh. People admire his ideology but do not bother to follow it. So just fascination and admiration is not sufficient, rather there is a need to understand his ideology in right perspective and follow it in spirit.

- Secondly, quite a large number of respondents (61%) claimed full awareness regarding Gandhi ji’s ideology but only 40% participants were able to correctly choose all the elements of Gandhian philosophy. The results indicated that majority of people associate Gandhi ji with Satyagraha and Ahimsa only. Very few of them were actually aware of Sarvodaya or Trusteeship principle. This indicates that people have only superficial knowledge regarding Gandhi ji’s principles and reflects the lack of proper understanding of Gandhi ji’s ideology. So, for fructification of Gandhi ji’s ideology, there is an
urgent need to provide clear understanding of Gandhi ji’s ideology to the younger generation.

- Similarly in contrast to 95% participants who remarked that they are familiar with ideology of Bhagat Singh, none of them were capable of correctly choosing all the elements of Bhagat Singh’s ideology. The results indicated that mostly people associate Bhagat Singh with revolution, violence and socialism. Very few of them were aware of his other principles like anarchism or anti-capitalism. Again this reflects the lack of proper understanding of his ideology.

- Many people argue that Gandhi ji’s ideology is not relevant in today’s context. This negative approach is attributable to their lack of understanding. Since most of the people have only superficial knowledge regarding Gandhi ji’s principles, they are not able to perceive it in contemporary society. So to make Gandhi ji’s ideology applicable in contemporary society, people need to be fully educated with his principles.