

# Gandhi and Bhagat Singh: Their Ideology and Its Relevance in The Present Context



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## Abstract

In the modern India, numerous ideologies and philosophies have been able to influence the thinking of the Indian thinkers to a great extent. Two of them were Mahatma Gandhi and Shaheed Bhagat Singh on which the present study revolves. This paper throws light on their political, philosophical, social ideas and methods, and also throws light on the relevance of their ideas in modern India. The chief significance of the study is that it examines the similarities and dissimilarities of their ideologies and also tries to point out the new and third idea out of these two ideas. This paper argues that their ideas have relevance in present context up to what extent. For completion of this study, the focus was not only on one method but rather various methods of research have been used. Comparative method was chief among them. Whereas necessary, online data has been utilized.

**Keywords:** Violence, Non-Violence, Satyagrah, Revolution, Movement.

## Introduction

Ideas play an important role in every time of period. Ideas do not remain the same, these are changeable with the passage of time, but some great ideas keep long time relevance. The famous personalities are Mahatma Gandhi and Shaheed Bhagat Singh on which the whole study revolves. Their ideas also influence the national movement and they contribute in freedom of India with their different point of views. "By the late 1920s and early 1930s, there were two serious ideological contenders for leadership of India's national movement: Gandhi and Bhagat Singh. Gandhism was a perspective of minimal socio-economic transformation as a replacement of British imperial rule. It was focused on transfer of political power."<sup>1</sup> "For the British establishment, Gandhi and Bhagat Singh are representatives of two contrasting world views and ideologies"<sup>2</sup> "Their goal is similar, the means to achieve the goal can differ and this difference in approach can generate a lot of controversy."<sup>3</sup> They both born, lived, suffered and died for their country and people. " M.K. Gandhi (02 octuber 1869 – 30 january 1948) is popularly known as Mahatma Gandhi was a great Indian leader, thinker and social reformer."<sup>4</sup> Gandhi now belongs not only to India and South Africa, but to the world." Bhagat singh (28 September 1907 – 23 March 1931) is a symbol of courage, intellect, sacrifice and virility. "<sup>5</sup> Bhagat Singh was a convinced and confirmed Marxist, Socialist and Leninite"<sup>6</sup>

Gandhi and Bhagat singh gave flow to steadiness by means of their various new ideas, new policies, new psychology, concepts and by their new methods. One is tagged as Martyr and another as Mahatma not martyr, although both were died because of their ideas for the freedom of India.

## Review of Literature

Literature on Ideological thought is still an evolving field where new books are being published and translated almost every day. The Researcher has come across many books on Gandhi and Bhagat Singh. The important books on them include:

On Bhagat Singh

Datta, V. N. (2008). Gandhi and Bhagat Singh. Rupa Publications.<sup>7</sup> This work is to understand and explain why Mahatma Gandhi, the most influential political leader of his time in India, could not save Bhagat Singh. Gandhi's critics accuse him of failing, mainly owing to his stern commitment to non-violence, while his party men and followers

defend him, and attribute his failure to the events that took place beyond his reckoning.

Bhagat Singh's *Why I Am an Atheist*<sup>8</sup>, Coming as it does from Bhagat Singh himself, this essay will, it is hoped, help us understand India's greatest revolutionary, his life, his religious ideology, his world view and so forth. The essay was written a few days before the great revolutionary was hanged.

G.S. Deol's book, *Shaheed-E-Azam Sardar Bhagat Singh*<sup>9</sup>- According to author much of Bhagat Singh's philosophy was eventually incorporated in the constitution of republic of India. It not only tells us Bhagat Singh's life story but given us the history of turbulence in the Punjab from the colonization Bill agitation.

*The Martyr: Bhagat Singh-Experiments in Revolution* by Kuldip Nayar<sup>10</sup>, study Indicates about Bhagat Singh's view regarding violence, and his way of fight. Study explains his revolutionary view, his struggle, his ideas and legendry. As he himself said, he was "trying to stand like a man with an erect head to the last, even on the gallows." Kuldip Nayar takes a close look at the man behind the martyr.

*Bhagat Singh-patriot and martyr* by S.R. Bakshi<sup>11</sup>, This is prominent work of the early life of Bhagat Singh and his action in the freedom movement. The author's focus is upon the participation of Bhagat Singh in the activities of Naojawan Bharat Sabha. This is also explains his political ideology.

*Bhagat Singh, Bhupendra Hooja's The Jail Notebook and Other Writings*<sup>12</sup> deals with Bhagat Singh's life in jail. What survived was a Notebook that the young martyr kept in jail, full of notes and jottings from what he was reading. Also included are the most important texts that Bhagat Singh wrote in jail.

Bhagat Singh of BS Rana<sup>13</sup>'s throw light on patriotism, self-sacrifice and courage which he presented at a very young age. This study also explains that his contribution to the noble activities in the formation of India as a nation is unique in itself. After all what was it that this brave man at such a young age, both during his life time and after his martyrdom, gave the British Government sleepless.

*Rethinking Radicalism in Indian Society: Bhagat Singh and Beyond* by Jose George, Manoj Kumar, Avinash Khandare<sup>14</sup>, This book explains the anti-imperialistic and anti-capitalist radical socio-political ideology and re-examines the life, works, and philosophy of Bhagat Singh. The book also deals with the revolutionary contribution and vision of Bhagat Singh that interfaces with other streams of Indian national movements with the objective of initiating appropriate measures for building a truly representative democratic society in India.

*Eminent freedom fighter of Punjab* by Fauja Singh<sup>15</sup>, this book presents Bhagat Singh, his life style, his methods, his love for his motherland, his activities and his trial also describes in it. Fauja Singh also trace the era and some important movements (1849-1947) in this work.

On Mahatma Gandhi

*The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi* by Raghavan Narasimhan Iyer<sup>16</sup>, the author bringing out the subtlety, potency, and universal importance of his concepts of truth and non-violence, freedom and obligation, and his view of the relation between means and ends in politics.

*Gandhi: Behind the Mask of Divinity* by G. B. Singh,<sup>17</sup> G. B. Singh charges that the popular image of Gandhi is highly misleading. Despite his famous philosophy of nonviolent resistance, Colonel Singh's analysis of the evidence leads him to conclude that Gandhi's ideology was in fact rooted in racial animosity.

*Gandhi: My Life is My Message* by Jason Quinn<sup>18</sup>, deals with Renouncing wealth, ambition and comfort, Gandhi led by example, becoming one with the people he sought to free, facing imprisonment, hardship and humiliation while never raising his voice in anger. His strategy of nonviolent protest would become the model for the US civil rights movement led by Martin Luther King.

*Social and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi* by Bidyut Chakrabarty,<sup>19</sup> this work explain the new form of political struggle based on the idea of satyagraha, or non-violent protest of Gandhi. He ushered in a new era of nationalism in India by articulating the nationalist protest in the language of non-violence, or ahimsa, that galvanized the masses into action.

*The Essential Gandhi: An Anthology of His Writings on His Life, Work, and Ideas* by Mahatma Gandhi<sup>20</sup> introduces us to his thoughts on politics, spirituality, poverty, suffering, love, non-violence, civil disobedience, and his own life.

Anthony J. Parel's *Pax Gandhiana: The Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi*<sup>21</sup>, in this book he seeks to identify the conceptual framework of Gandhi's political philosophy, The main contention of Pax Gandhiana is that peace cannot be achieved by politics alone. Peace requires the confluence of the canonical ends of life: politics and economics, ethics, forms of pleasure, and the pursuit of spiritual transcendence.

*Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action* by Dennis Dalton<sup>22</sup>, Study identifies the crucial link between his political philosophy and his activism and sets forth new ideas about Gandhi's inclusive style of politics. Dalton provides an in depth analysis of two of his signal triumphs: the 1930 civil disobedience. He pays particular attention to the role of religious faith in Gandhi's social reform also.

B.R. Nanda's *Gandhi and His Critics*<sup>23</sup> explores the evolution of Gandhi's ideas, his attitudes toward religion, the racial problem, the caste system, his conflict with the British, his approach to Muslim separatism and the division of India, his attitude toward social and economic change, his doctrine of nonviolence, and other key issues.

*Non-Violent Resistance* by M. K. Gandhi<sup>24</sup>, It proceeds with detailed discussions of discipline and self-control, including living simply, recognizing the unity of all loving beings, and serving one's neighbors wholeheartedly; the courage and training necessary

for the Satyagrahi; successful on-cooperation and civil disobedience; political power and Satyagraha, the development of a non-violent army; the use and effectiveness of such techniques as non-payment of fines and taxes, social boycotts, fasting, sympathetic strikes, and other forms of non-cooperation; women and picketing; and many other topics.

Gandhi: in his time and ours by David Hardiman,<sup>25</sup> the author examines Gandhi as the creator of a radical style of politics which has proved effective in fighting insidious social divisions within India and, at various times, elsewhere in the world. He argues that whereas politicians usually garner support by demonizing those they oppose, Gandhi resisted such a politics with his whole being.

Mahatma Gandhi by Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan<sup>26</sup>, this volume deals with his message to the contemporary world and his thinking about truth a God. Gandhi was the greatest moral force for the accomplishment of liberty, justice, and peace, he rediscovered the old techniques of Ahimsa and Satyagraha.

India of My Dreams by Mahatma Gandhi<sup>27</sup>, he explains that his struggled and dreamt of a India free not only from the yoke of the British rule but also free from the evils of poverty, illiteracy, untouchability with all its citizens enjoying equally the fruits of freedom and prosperity.

Reading Gandhi in the Twenty-First Century by Niranjana Ramakrishnan,<sup>28</sup> This work explores how ideas Gandhi expressed over a century ago can be applied today to issues from terrorism to the environment, globalization to the 'Clash of Civilizations.' This concise volume reintroduces Gandhi to today's audiences in relevant terms.

Gandhi: Selected Political Writings by Mahatma Gandhi,<sup>29</sup> Dennis Dalton, Based on the complete edition of his works, this new volume presents Gandhi's most important political writings arranged around the two central themes of his political teachings: satyagraha and swaraj.

Douglas Allen's Mahatma Gandhi's Philosophy of Violence, Nonviolence, and Education'. The Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi for the Twenty-First Century<sup>30</sup>, present numerous ways in which Gandhi's thought and action-oriented approach are significant, relevant, and urgently needed for addressing the major problems and concerns of the twenty-first century.

#### **Aim of the Study**

The key research questions which guided the present research are:

1. Why Gandhi and Bhagat Singh are presented as an opposite, which type of differences are present in policies, methods, approaches and ideology of Gandhi and Bhagat Singh?
2. In previous researches, the focus was on differences, was there no similarity between these two?
3. Are their ideas still relevant in present India, if yes then how much?

#### **Hypotheses**

Based on the existing relevant literature, the study verified the following:

1. The aim of Gandhi and Bhagat Singh was same that was freedom of India. But the meaning of freedom was different for both of them.
2. Both's method and way, which they were used in the freedom of India, were not same. But on many places, they were same and they played an important role in Indian freedom struggle.
3. Neither only violence nor only non-violence can achieve their goals. Both's common effort can give better result.
4. Gandhi and Bhagat Singh's political ideas and method which they have used, are still some relevant and useful in present context.

#### **Research Methodology**

For completion of this study, focused not only on one method but rather various methods of research have been used. Comparative method was chief of them. Then historical and analytical methods also have been used. Present study is also based on various primary and secondary sources. Source of secondary data have been taken from books, journals, news-papers, websites, magazine etc. The source of primary data taken from the letters of Gandhi and Bhagat Singh, articles, original translated work of both the thinkers. Whereas necessary online data has been utilized.

#### **Analysis and Interpretation of The Data**

V.N. Datta writes in his book that, "Gandhi regarded Bhagat Singh's mode of militant nationalism and the extreme left wing political activity as the most injurious to the cause of Indian Independence."<sup>31</sup> Whereas Gandhi's whole philosophy is based on non-violence and morality, there is Bhagat Singh's philosophy is based on bravery, courage and violence. O.P. Gauba says, "Gandhi was a champion of non-violence and Ahimsa which deprecated all type of coercion."<sup>32</sup> "Bhagat Singh is regarded as a violent revolutionary, whereas Gandhi is the embodiment of non-violence."<sup>33</sup> "In the end, Gandhi beseeched the youths to change their methods and accept the settlement."<sup>34</sup> Their ideas have no match, "This difference in approach can generate a lot of controversy."<sup>35</sup>

"Satyagraha and non-violence were Gandhi's tools of struggle, while the revolutionaries discarded his "philosophy of non-violence as a philosophy arising out of despair"<sup>36</sup> Gandhi himself wrote that "it was ... written ... in answer to the Indian school of violence and its prototype in South Africa... I came in contact with every known Indian anarchist in London. Their bravery impressed me, but I felt their zeal was misguided . . ."<sup>37</sup>

Gandhi aimed at the establishment of a new society (Ram Raj) based on twin foundations of truth and non-violence. He (Gandhi) thus succeeded in laying a firm foundation for his satyagraha ("holding on the truth.") as early as 1909 by completely excluding violence in any form from all his activities. Gandhi's efforts to convince the revolutionaries. Gandhi said "non-violence is a universal principle."<sup>38</sup> Gandhi insisted on the right means for all his actions. For Gandhi, non-violence was the cornerstone for truth. "Truth is its own proof and non-violence was its supreme fruit."<sup>39</sup> Bhagat Singh said "Gandhian is a

philosophy of impossibility for us. We cannot achieve freedom only by depending on non-violence."<sup>40</sup> V. N. Datta wrote, "Gandhi condemned violent acts, that is why Gandhi called Bhagat Singh a 'misguided youth'."<sup>41</sup> In the words of Sohan Singh Josh, "Bhagat Singh and his comrades were national revolutionaries, who wanted to drive out the British rulers and establish independence and socialism in India. The British imperialists, the enemies of Indian freedom, labeled them as 'terrorist or 'anarchist' in order to defame them."<sup>42</sup>

Bhagat Singh want change with Inqlab. According to Chaman Lal, Bhagat Singh was the first freedom fighter who brought 'Inquilab Zindabad' slogan into political arena while throwing the bomb in Delhi Assembly. "Inqlab means generate a new system, a new state authority. This is not a one or ten-year work. It is not necessary that bomber and pistol man would be Inqilabi."<sup>43</sup> "Moreover he had no faith in Gandhi, and his cult of non-violence and the Congress."<sup>44</sup> "The withdrawal of Non-Cooperation in 1922 made the youth more radical. In North India, revolutionaries organized themselves under Hindustan Republican Association (HRA), and later, under the leadership of Bhagat Singh and Chandrasekhar Azad. Justice Medilton, who transported Bhagat Singh and BK Dutt for life in the Assembly Bomb Case, wrote in his judgement: "These persons used to enter the court with the cries of 'Long Live Revolution' and 'Long Live Proletariat' which shows clearly what sort of political ideology they cherish. In order to put a check in propagating these ideas I transport them for life."<sup>45</sup>

Bhagat Singh criticized the political methods used by the Congress under the leadership of Gandhi, though he accepted that it was Gandhi who aroused political consciousness in the masses, started a mass movement and trained them to fight against injustice. As Bhagat Singh felt the withdrawal of the Non-cooperation movement without a sufficiently important reason clearly showed that Gandhi and the Congress were in not favor of 'revolution' and were inclined towards 'conciliation' with the British. To Bhagat Singh, the Congress was a party of the middle classes, white collared people and small traders; it did not represent the peasants and the workers. In his opinion, the Congress could never provide revolutionary leadership until it broadens its base to include the peasants and workers. According to Durga Das Khanna, Sukhdev and Bhagat Singh criticized Gandhi sharply (sometime in 1925) because they felt that he had roused the passions of the people through his movement but withdrew it for no adequate reason. He further mentioned that Sukhdev was a bit more trenchant in his criticism of Gandhi.<sup>46</sup>

Yadav in his article write that Gandhi believed that only complete adherence to non-violence would free the country. Mahatma Gandhi said, "Bhagat Singh and others who are under sentence to death. How can there be peace, I am asked, when a sentence of death is hanging over the heads of these patriots? It is unfortunate that the young men distributing these pamphlets should not understand such a simple thing. This country must not

be liberated through bloodshed. This writer has reasons to believe that though Bhagat Singh had challenged the Gandhian political morality, Gandhi, despite his disapproval of Bhagat Singh's action, regarded his sacrifice a patriotic one, and Gandhi would not mind many Bhagat Singhs dying for the freedom of the country and sacrificing themselves.

Despite the co-operation extended by the revolutionaries the Mahatma remained hostile to their method. He even said that a "revolutionary's sacrifice, nobility and love are not only waste of effort, but being ignorant and misguided, do and have done more harm to the country than any other activity. To emphasize his indifference to the fate of Bhagat Singh, Noorani writes that Gandhi did not care to see Bhagat Singh when he was on hunger strike in jail.<sup>47</sup> Bhagat Singh was the man of action rather, truly following the French revolutionary, Vaillant, who had said, "It takes a loud voice to make the deaf hear." For, the revolutionaries have retarded the progress of the country".<sup>48</sup> According to Harkesh Singh and Sivani Goel "While one led a common insubordination development established on the standards of peacefulness and Satyagraha, the other pursued a progressive furnished battle bound with brutality towards the British administration."<sup>49</sup>

Bhagat Singh concerned politics and religion are separate and said "I am atheist. I do not believe in any supreme power of God."<sup>50</sup> But for Gandhi, there is no difference in religion and politics and he merge these two different fields. Gandhi said "I could only mention it apart from the settlement. I had hoped for magnanimity. My hope was not to materialize. But that can be no ground for breaking the settlement."<sup>51</sup> "Bhagat Singh did not associate himself with a plea of mercy, made on behalf of most of the accused, to the Privy Council."<sup>52</sup> "But he did not like the struggle path of Mahatma Gandhi. He wanted fight to English face to face."<sup>53</sup> Unlike the revolutionaries, Gandhi did not believe that mere physical expulsion of the British was necessary to gain Swaraj for India. Gandhi's concept of Swaraj had a much higher connotation than the Swaraj of the revolutionaries. He also attacked the view of the revolutionaries that there was 'no connection between the means and the end'. For him, ends and means were equally important.<sup>54</sup>

He (Gandhi) wanted to tell them that they were following a 'suicidal policy' as violence would beget violence, and that it was no solution for India's ills. Rajendra Prasad formed a group Shanti Seva Dal, an idea that Gandhi had often spoken about but had never been able to work on. Shanti Saniks were able to intervene successfully to quell or reduce violence in various situations - language riots in Gujarat in 1965 and communal flare ups in Rourkela in 1964, Agra in 1968 and Ahmedabad in 1969. Johan Galtung, the veritable 'father' of Peace Studies, has concluded that Gandhi's methods worked in situations where the conflict is vertical and violence is structural.

Rajni Bakshi in his research paper argues that, in post-Independence India, a wide range of activists, struggling for social and economic justice, emphatically rejected non-violence because they saw it as the method of those who are themselves well-

paced and want to maintain the status quo. Even identity based organizations of varied hues - be it Christians, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Sri Lankans, Tamils and so on - have claimed violence to be a necessary and legitimate tool.<sup>55</sup> American political theorist Hannah Arendt's key argument is that what flows from the barrel of a gun is not power but obedience. Arendt wrote, "Violence and power are opposites... Violence appears where power is in jeopardy, but left to its own course its end is the disappearance of power...Violence can destroy power; it is utterly incapable of creating it." Bakshi say that, The heartbreak Gandhi suffered in his final days due to communal violence, and ultimately his assassination, has been used by critics of non-violence as decisive evidence that violence is more powerful.<sup>56</sup>

Gandhi performed violently through non-violence and show his callousness, and this callousness was broken in 1942 by his own slogan 'Do or Die'. It means that to do anything for the freedom whether it is violence or non-violence. "Quit India movement launched by mahatma Gandhi from 1940-44 on 8<sup>th</sup> august 1942, M.K. Gandhi demanding an end of British government of India."<sup>57</sup> The backbone of do or die movement were workers, peasants and students. Bhagat Singh's politics revolves around Inqilab and bravery and this will be obtained by combined effort of peasant, workers and students. "India not only to be free but also sovereign, socialist republic of workers and peasants."<sup>58</sup> Here the view of Gandhi and Bhagat Singh seems same. With his(Gandhi) this slogan he starts his new and last movement and that is 'Quit India Movement' and this is a warning alarm for britishers that their time is over in India. "For his commendable role in India's freedom struggle he will be remembered in the country as the main architect of an independent India."<sup>59</sup> Despite being a man of peace, Gandhi was a pragmatist and could see the need for taking up arms for defensive purposes. In young India Gandhi states that, "I would rather have India to resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she should in a cowardly manner become or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonour."<sup>60</sup>

Writers argue that Gandhi did make desperate efforts to save Bhagat Singh's life till the end; and he failed, not for want of efforts on his part, but because the power to commute Bhagat Singh's death sentence lay not in his hands, but in the Viceroy Irwin's.<sup>61</sup> In Datta, V. N. (2008) book some authors are explains why Mahatma Gandhi, the most influential political leader of his time in India, could not save Bhagat Singh. Gandhi put the maximum pressure on the Viceroy not to hang Bhagat Singh. Nauriya also highlights that Gandhi had sent Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, M.R. Jayakar and Srinivasa Sastri to the Viceroy to plead for the commutation of Bhagat Singh's death sentence.

Bhagat Singh was also on the way of Gandhi for some time, when he and his comrades were on fast in jail in 1929, like a Gandhi. Here Bhagat Singh looks like a satyagrahi. Neeti Nair in his research paper 'Bhagat Singh as 'Satyagrahi': The Limits to

Non-Violence in Late Colonial India' shows that in the mianwali jail when Bhagat Singh reject taking food and milk (hartal), he looks like a styagrahi, like Gandhi.

Jaidev Gupta, an accomplice of Bhagat Singh, mentioning about himself and Bhagat Singh had recorded that they were thrilled by the idea of being free in a year's time. They left school without asking Sardar Kishan Singh and Lala Lajpat Rai, and plunged deep into the Gandhi's movement.<sup>62</sup> Durga Das Khanna had also said in an interview that, "Bhagat Singh had made a very apt appraisal of everything that preceded and followed the Gandhi's Non-cooperation movement of 1921."<sup>63</sup> In spite of their conflicting ideologies the revolutionaries by participating in the Gandhian Non-cooperation movement proved that they could come together on the same platform for the attainment of Swarajva, if need be. Here, it seems that their views are same but the portion of similarity in their views are too small in front of differences in their viewpoints.

Both's ideas are not applying today. Manjeet Kaur writes in her research (Relevance of Gandhi's ideas on ahimsa in present context) that, there is violence in democracy today. There are strikes, destruction of property, loss of life, loot and arson. Most of the leaders are corrupt, selfish and criminals. There is exploitation, discrimination and gross violation of human rights. Liberty, equality, fraternity which are hallmarks of true democracy are actually missing.<sup>64</sup> People are living in fear of terror. Gandhian path of ahimsa assumes paramount importance.<sup>65</sup> Another side Dr Mehar Manak in his article, "Bhagat Singh v/s Ghandhism In this type of periods, the importance of Bhagat Singh's ideas are more increased even further, here is no place for any type of exploitation."<sup>66</sup> Madandeeep, in his article "21vi sadi ch Gandhi nu yaad krdean" writes that, We feel need of Gandhi in this bad time.<sup>67</sup> No doubt that non-violence weapon are more effectible than any other weapon.<sup>68</sup> But some authors say that the ideas of Gandhi have no meaning in this 21<sup>st</sup> and nuclear century.

Robert Malley of Crisis Group calls the world's "growing militarization of foreign policy." It is in this dangerous world that the risks of military action are higher than when the ideas of "humanitarian intervention" and Responsibility to Protect were developed.<sup>69</sup> Gandhian non-violence, Gatling argued, does not work as well in situations of conflicts within society when 'equally autonomous actors' or ordinary people attack each other.

### **Findings and Conclusion**

Taking our first assumption about their aim. Their aim was same towards freedom of India. But the meaning of freedom was different for both of them. Pritam Singh in his article 'Bhagat Singh, Gandhi and the British' argue that "The Gandhian path was focused only on the transfer of political power. However, Bhagat Singh's vision was to transform independent India into a socialist and an egalitarian society"<sup>70</sup> Dr. Jain Narain Sharma in his study 'Mahatma Gandhi and Bhagat Singh: clash of ideology' also define this type of differences. Gandhi understood the meaning of freedom is compromise, On the other hand Bhagat Singh concerned freedom

as a total independence. Gandhi played a politics of sympathy. His whole philosophy revolves around creating sympathy in the heart of Britishers by hurt ourselves with satyagraha, fast, Ahimsa. Gandhi says "For they know I am trying to reach the same goal with them (revolutionaries). Only I am following a method wholly different from theirs."<sup>71</sup> Bhagat Singh's motive was not just push the Britishers outside from the country but also to construct a new society based on socialism whenever Gandhi demands some improvements and reforms from the Britishers and want to make his Ram Raj on this reforms.

The second hypothesis is also approved by some authors like Prof. Dr., Yogendra Yadav and Niti Nair in their research ("Sardar Bhagat Singh and Gandhi" and "Bhagat Singh as 'Satyagrahi'"). They wrote attraction of Bhagat Singh in Gandhian non-cooperation movement is sign that some time Bhagat Singh was on Gandhian path. Gandhi start his quit India movement in 1942 by his own slogan 'Do or Die', it means that to do anything for the freedom whether it is violence or non-violence. Like this Bhagat Singh was also on the way of Gandhi for short time, when he rejects taking food and milk (hartal), he looks like a styagrahi. So these two personalities were not rigidly opposite each other, although this period of similarity was too short.

Not only Bhagat Singh had achieved his proper goal of socialistic state, he hanged because his violent activities. Like this Adolf Hitler try to win the world by violence but the people face the bad result of Hiroshima and Nagasaki now. CTBT (Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty) NPT (Non-Proliferation Treaty) treaties formed to prevent the weapons of violation. Another side Gandhi had also not gained his all aims only by nonviolence, heshooted by Nathuram Godse because of his bad policies toward Hindus and lazy nonviolence policy. After it India become atom power in 1973 and 1998. Today there are not only AK 47s and hand grenades but also warships and fighter planes for aggression against an enemy or for protecting one's country against external aggression.

Study also discussed about third assumption. The third alternative (of violence and nonviolence) and third way is 'Demand of Time' (circumstances requirement). Means have to understand and read the situation and demand of time and take action according to time seeking. It is not good to be rigid on non-violence policy if there are a harmful and violence activities in the world. It is also not good to be violent every time if there is very peaceful and alternative solution of a problems are presents. Like the U.N. at present there are 193 countries are members. Chapter 6 and 7 (article 33-51) of the UN charter provides nonviolence to violence facility to every country.

The world today's scenario a standstill between protesting violently and protesting silently. As a reader, let people to decide. Lastly and most importantly, should it not be *your* job to question what type of protest is effective and why you believe it to be so?

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