

GANDHIAN PHILOSOPHY: A SPIRITUAL, POLITICAL, & JURIDICAL ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

If you seek to look legacy around yourself, you must peep into history. History is a continuous dialogue between present and past. Present is a product of past. On the one hand, if it succeeds with some problems from the past, it receives some insight to solutions too. Nation develops, as organisms develops and there are different theories available to origin of nationalism. Theories like those of primordia lists and perennializes believe in historical evolution of the Nation. It suggests that the structure of a nation has its roots in historical base. Every Nation holds a unique identity and it deals with the challenges in its unique own way. National conscience is reflected through its great leaders. Gandhi, in Indian context, symbolises the primordial tradition; his approach of change, is predominantly a functionalist approach, and he is best perceived as expression of orthogenetic change. There is always an element of continuity of history and it perceives that Change are gradual, slow and cumulative process of adjustment to new situations. In India this predominant ideology did not believed in class- conflict, rather it is based on reformative ideology and paradigm of class-cooperation. The present research paper deals with this aspect, with Gandhian philosophy at the centre. The paper is significant for contemporary world, as the message of Gandhi was not limited to any particular Nation. It is a legacy to the practical world. The research paper compares Gandhian thought with other thinkers, leaders and philosophers, and tries to show the utility of Gandhi in context of present-day problems, related to socio-political issues, and role of spirituality in politics.

Keywords: Primordial, functionalism, orthogenesis, spirituality, politics, Historical continuity

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There will be no end to the troubles of states, or of humanity itself, until philosophers become kings in this world, or until those, we now call Kings and rulers truly become philosophers, and political power and philosophy thus come into the same hands. - Plato

INTRODUCTION

‘Present ‘is up to a certain extent is product of History and at the same time carries its unique identity. History is blend of continuity and change. We dwell in history not only to understand present but also to get some solutions to the problems, which we face in contemporary world. Polity or society of any Nation is reflection of its unique economic- cultural- geographical aspects. Every Nation is unique because it is specific case of above said factors, still they may carry some universal traits too.

Indian society and Nation also witnessed debates and issues of totalitarianism –vs- democracy, class struggle –vs- class co-operation, pluralism-vs- sectarianism and many more conflicting ideologies. From Buddha to B.R. Ambedkar, plenty of reformers and several timeless personalities or leaders from time to time have guided not only Indian masses, but also the whole humankind. Mohandas karam Chand Gandhi is one among such names. Whenever, there were attempts to establish totalitarianism or narrow definition of religion or chauvinistic nationalism, there were counter forces too, which acted as break-waters of storm, ‘Buddha challenged the institution of caste.’¹ During Nineteenth Century, when British Empire emerged as a totalitarian regime, which subdued India not only politically but also culturally and psychologically, Gandhi emerged as an alternative epitome. In the words of Arnold Toynbee,

“The generation which I belong was not only the generation of Hitler and Stalin in West; rather it was the generation of Gandhi in India too. It can already be forecast with some confidence that effect of Gandhi on human history is going to be greater and more lasting than Stalin’s or Hitler’s.”²

¹K.C. Srivastava, *History and Culture of Ancient India*, (United Book Depot 2002) p.851

²B.L. Grover & Yashpal & Alka Mehta, *History of Modern India, A New Evaluation* (S. Chand & Co. 2005) p.335

Human society has always opted to resist established order and opposed injustice. There were alternative ways available either you follow rules and regulations blindly, or you can wage a war or promote vandalism, but it includes violence. Gandhi has not opted any of these paths in freedom movement. The alternative suggested by Gandhi was the instrument of ‘Satyagraha’, which was indeed backed by Gandhi’s understanding of Spiritualism.

CONTEXT OF THE PAPER

History is blend of continuity and change. It is considered as the tool to understand present. This research paper aims to bring some suggestions to counter problems of contemporary world in general and India in particular. The present-day India is tending towards a relatively more modern, technological, and globalised world. This development has accompanied by some by-products too. A kind of digression has witnessed by Indian society from its core value system. As social change can be orthogenetic or heterogenetic or both. The question arises whether these types of change follow some general pattern or not. This paper taking Historical figure of Gandhi as a case study aims at understanding Change in India and a pattern which is Ideal-typical rather Historical in nature. There is a need to locate Gandhi in appropriate perspective. Human personality is a product of complex matrix and it has been said that people are same yet different. The personality of Gandhi too was not any exception. Gandhi has imprinted and reflected plethora of diverse ideologies and can be compared with different political- social philosophers but at the same time, Gandhi was unique in itself and product of primordial tradition of Indian society. This paper aims to locate Gandhi in his true locus standi, and aims at establishing the fallacy of logic in History that nothing changes in history. It is rather historical continuity, which dominates culture in the National context. The paper aims to fill the gap, which persists of locating continuity and longevity of Idea-typical main tenets of Indian primordial tradition. Contemporary Indian socio-political system is in a transition phase where it is subject to change through orthogenetic and Hetero genetic sources. In this dynamic phase of history, the relevance of Gandhi has to be redefined and re-established.

Methodology: The research paper is based on doctrinal sources. Secondary sources are considered while doing the research. The paper has included, reading material available in different libraries, books, newspapers and autobiographies, speeches etc. The approach taken is Functionalist and comparative. The orthogenetic model is adopted to understand change and the element of historical continuity. Gandhian thought is compared with other philosophers to

interpret and locate Gandhian philosophy in appropriate context. Gandhian thought is analysed in the context of spiritual, political and juridical paradigms. The Modern Indian historical phase and the freedom movement of India is selected as specific period to decipher philosophy of Gandhi.

I. EVOLUTION OF GANDHI AS A LEADER

The Personality of Gandhi has evolved and it was blend of diversified ideologies. John Ruskin's essay and book 'unto this last' made a great impact on Gandhi's Philosophy. John Ruskin has inspired his idea of Sarvodaya. In Gandhi's own words,

"Unto This Last", I translated it later into Gujarati entitling it 'Sarvodaya' (the welfare of all). I believe that I discovered some of my deepest convictions reflected in this great book of Ruskin and that is why it so captured me and made me transform my life"³

The book revealed to him in March 1904 through Henry Polak whom he had met in a vegetarian restaurant in South Africa. Gandhi was inspired to change his own life according to Ruskin's teaching, and decided to publish his own newspaper, 'Indian opinion', from a farm where everybody can draw the same salary, without distinction of function, race or nationality. This for that time, from 'unto this Last', Gandhi found an important part of his social and economic ideas. Thus, Gandhi created Phoenix settlement. Mohandas Gandhi translated 'unto this last' into Gujarati in 1908 under the title of Sarvodaya, (Well Being of All).

In India British who were representative of a different civilisation backed by technological advancement and Capitalist-Industrial mode of production, driving their energy from compassion and egalitarianism of Christianity in their religious-social arena, guided with the mission to civilise the uncivilised, considering it as an white men burden conquered Indian subcontinent and a major part of the globe. British not only conquered a vast land but also influenced the entire world order by their language and culture, as Macaulay stated in his famous speech supporting English as language for medium of instruction in educational system, 'A Single shelf of one Amirah of any good library in Europe is more precious than the entire literature from Arab and India'.⁴ British Administrative system, Medico- Legal introjections, Ethos-Eidos, imposed in every occupation. A kind of depression encroached the

³O.P Gauba, *Indian Political Thought* (Mayur Books 2018) p 179,

⁴B.L. Grover & Yashpal & Alka Mehta, *History of Modern India, A New Evaluation*, (S. Chand & Co.2005) p 123

Indian Psyche. Gandhi also viewed that British government has destroyed whatever was good in Indian society and culture and filled the entire Indian Society with depression and pessimism. The response given by Indian society to this challenge of British totalitarianism, popularly known as 'Indian freedom movement'. In the entire world history, Indian freedom movement holds a unique place and this uniqueness and the significance is largely an offspring of principles brought forward by Gandhi as a response to British authoritarianism.

II. MAIN TENETS OF GANDHIAN THOUGHTS

Gandhism ensembles large number of concepts, however important tenets of Gandhian thoughts are *End and Means*, *Truth and Non-Violence*, *Swaraj*, *Satyagraha*, and the doctrine of *Trusteeship*.

In most of the examples ranging from Epic of Mahabharata, *Arthashastra*, or Machiavelli's '*The Prince*', the use of dubious means has been recommended to achieve a noble end under abnormal conditions. However, Mahatma Gandhi does not approve of the use of unjust means under any circumstances whatsoever. Gandhi believed in purity of means as well as ends. As Gandhi, himself observed,

“They say ‘means are after all means. I would say ‘means are after all everything’. As the means so the end.... realization of the goal is in exact proportion to that of the means. This is a proportion to that of the means. This is a proposition that admits of no exception.”⁵

Gandhi adopted the path of *Satyagraha* (reliance on the force of truth) for achieving the goal of *Swaraj* (independence from the foreign rule) because this path was as sacred as its destination. *Satyagraha* involved the practice of *Ahimsa* (non- violence) which embodied the right course of action.

III. POLITICAL EXPERIMENTS OF GANDHI

Gandhi was an activist as well as a social and moral philosopher. His struggle was inspired by certain noble principles, which were enunciated in his several writings and speeches. Although his thoughts cannot, be assembled and coined as some intact Political philosophy. He did not

⁵O.P Gauba, *Indian Political Thought* (Mayur Books 2018), p.166,

write any disquisition on his philosophy. His thoughts reflect in discreet writings, in a large number of his notes, tracts and pamphlets, articles and booklets, letters, speeches and editorials as well as in his *Autobiography* (My Experiments with Truth; 1929).

“Gandhi has denied the existence of ‘Gandhism’. However, as the time rolled on, it revealed the immense possibilities of application of Gandhian principles to various social, economic and political situations, and their relevance is steadily increasing. It proved that Gandhian way of thinking has not only its distinct identity, but it embodies a full- fledged world-view. That is precisely the basis of Gandhism.”⁶

Gandhi’s political premises relied on the technique of ‘Satyagraha’. Gandhi introduced ‘Satyagraha’ firstly in South Africa, and then subsequently in Champaran. Champaran Satyagraha is a cut –off date in Indian freedom movement. The story of Champaran is the story of the plight of cultivators of Indigo. They were in agreement with European planters to cultivate Indigo on 3/20 of their holdings (tinkathia system). As innovations introduced in the end of nineteenth century, indigo was thrown out of market with the advent of German synthetic dyes. European planters were ready to release cultivators to end the contract if cultivators choose to give inflated rent and other illegal dues as a price for the end of contract. Raj Kumar Shukla approached Gandhi. He was a local leader who was taking up the issue with the authorities, to intervene in the issue. Commissioner of champaran ordered Gandhi to leave the district, but on the contrary, Gandhi refused to leave and accepted the punishment for his disobedience of the law. ‘This was an entirely different technique altogether never applied by any of the Indian leaders.’⁷

This was the use of ‘passive resistance’ against the unjust law, which was in its sense was unique and revolutionary when it comes to challenging an authoritarian regime. Before, the advent of Gandhi,

“Indian political arena was witnessing a kind of vacuum because the entire family of Indian politicians whether Moderates or Extremists, or young revolutionaries filled with romanticism were not having the vision to lead the freedom movement. Revolutionaries represented a narrow majority and the extremists were reduced to

⁶O.P Gauba, *Indian Political Thought* (Mayur Books 2018) p.165

⁷Bipin Chandra et al, *India’s struggle for independence* (Penguin, Books 2016) p.178

merely a conglomerate of diffracted political ideologies; they could create a viable organisation to lead the movement, nor could they really define the movement that they differed from that of Moderates.”⁸“Unsurprisingly, the radical is waffling failed to impress the youth who decided to take recourse to physical force.”⁹

Along with this, there was an unprecedented rise in Hindu, Muslim communalism. This collage was representing a very pathetic, and dismal picture of Indian Freedom movement. A phase, which could have led Indian freedom movement into a state of anarchy or have given birth to a new form of absolutism or authoritarianism, hence a mass leader, was a requisite of time. A torchbearer who could be a politician at one hand and a saint on other. Politics is not a narrow term but its ensembles socio-economic, cultural, spiritual aspects of given time and space. Before, Gandhi’s introduction into Indian politics, the modus operandi of Indian leaders was meandering into Political mendicancy of Moderates or anarchism of extremists.

Indian masses that were suspended in dilemma regarding the political philosophies of extremism or class conflict as tool. In Indian political arena, ‘Gandhi acted as an arbitrary channel between different classes,’¹⁰ conceptualising the theory of Class-Cooperation, instead of theory of Class – struggle.

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This Gandhian strategy can be traced in his early political career, the issue of Ahmedabad plague bonus, where he managed a middle path between Mill owners and labourers, Poona Pact or Gandhi- Irwin Pact, Gandhi was the pathfinder.

IV. GANDHI’S THOUGHTS A JURIDICAL INTERPRETATION

Before the emergence of Gandhi, the popular leaders of moderate or extremists (exclude revolutionary section) clan never disobeyed or refuted British Legal system. When British government accused Tilak with charges of sedition, he contended his prosecution. He even moved to England to prosecute valentine chirol in a defamation Case, the remarks made by the author in his book ‘Indian Unrest’, But Gandhi’s stand was unprecedented when he responded to British Legal System. When Gandhi joined Champaran Satyagraha, he refused to leave the

⁸Bipin Chandra et al, *India’s struggle for independence* (Penguin, Books 2016) p.143

⁹Bipin Chandra et al, *India’s struggle for independence* (Penguin, Books 2016) p.143

¹⁰Summit Sircar, *Modern India* (Rajkamal Prakashan 2002) p.199

place and accepted the punishment for his disobedience of the law. This was an entirely a different technique never applied by any of the Indian leaders. This was the use of ‘passive resistance’ against the unjust law, which was in its sense was unique and revolutionary when it comes to challenging an authoritarian regime.

The way Gandhi challenged what is unjust makes us remember American revolution where revolutionaries stood against the legislations made by British Parliament by putting forward Doctrine of Natural Rights.

“A few persons, most of them government officials or Episcopalian clergymen maintained that the people owed an unlimited obedience to constituted authority, as represented by the British Crown; God created government, and its jurisdiction was prior to the rights of individuals. However, this Tory or conservative, theory of politics, never appealed to Americans either before the revolution or afterwards. Most Americans always preferred to believe that individuals had certain inalienable rights and that government was a man – made institution designed to promote individual welfare. It is not surprising, therefore, that the political theory of John Locke was quickly accepted in the colonies.”¹¹

In this way, Gandhi stood very closer to the jurisprudential theory of John Locke, which he advocated in his writings, ‘Two ‘and with the spirit, which propelled Americans for revolution against the authoritarian regime. However, when we deeply dwell in the world of Gandhi’s ideology, Gandhi and John Locke carries vast differences at ideological strata. Where Locke a champion of ‘social contract theory’ validates the institute of State in light of protecting Rights of Individual, but on the other hand Gandhi visualise State as symbol of violence & he advocated duty-based society contrary to the theory of rights propogated by John Locke.

On the contrary, we find Gandhi much nearer to Neo- Natural School, which emerged during Post Second World War Phase, which has strongly advocated morality as an essential element of Law, which eclipsed with the dominance of positive School thought.

Gandhi recognized several limits of political-legal obligation, as his principle of ‘civil disobedience’ indicates, ‘Civil disobedience implies deliberately disobeying an unjust authority and breaking an unjust law. Mahatma Gandhi sought to combine ‘the principle of

¹¹Henry Bamford Parkes, *The United States of America* (Khosla Publishing House 2001), p.83

civil disobedience with his principle of non-violent struggle and *Satyagraha* during India's struggle for independence.¹²

V. GANDHI'S SPIRITUALITY IN SOCIO-POLITICAL ENDEAVOURS

Gandhian principle of close connection between ends and means is further reflected in his theory of *relation between politics and ethics*. Gandhi's ethics was based on moral teachings of all religions, although he paid special attention to the time-honoured Hindu religion (*Santana Dharma*). He expressed his firm faith in the *Spiritualization of politics*. In other words, 'politics should be guided by high moral standards, and not by expediency.'¹³

Gandhi's notion of religion was aptly expressed in his own words, 'By religion, I do not mean formal religion, or customary religion, but that religion that underlies all religions, which brings us face to face with our Maker.'¹⁴

Buddha's Philosophy was also quite instrumental in shaping his thought Process,

"As it can be deciphered in his Doctrine of Trusteeship and his famous book 'my experiments with Truth'. Gandhi's Doctrine of trusteeship includes non- possession (*aparigraha*), non- stealing (*asteya*), his confessions in the famous book 'My Experiments with Truth' bear clear inspiration from Buddhist philosophy"¹⁵.

Gandhi's moorings to the primordial tradition can be explained in the context of the reform movements in India, which emerged as the result of British rule in India, could be grouped in two categories:

"First, one can which were based on primordial traditions of Vedas, and the other one, which reflects fusion of new cultural values with the traditional themes. In the first category we can classify the names of Dayananda Sarasvati, Vivekananda and off course Gandhi's name. In other group, names from Ram Mohan Roy to Nehru may be considered. Gandhi during his socio-political ventures never rejected ideal-typical cultural themes of Hinduism. Gandhi has consented the principle of hierarchy, the concept of Varna, and role –institutionalization, Gandhi followed this principle and

¹²O.P Gauba, Mahatma Gandhi, *Indian Political Thought* (Mayur Books 2018), p. 173

¹³O.P Gauba, Mahatma Gandhi, *Indian Political Thought*, p 167

¹⁴R.K. Prabhu & U.R. Rao, *The Mind of Mahatma Gandhi*, 1945

¹⁵R.K. Prabhu & U.R. Rao, *The Mind of Mahatma Gandhi 1945*

inspiration from the model from the holy book Gita. His idea of Rama Rajya, what Hindu believed to be a Golden age and its projection in his ideals of a moral state.”¹⁶

When Indian society witnessed challenge from Western civilization in the form of British Empire, ‘The model presented by Gandhi is not a product of aggressive reaction to alien religious or cultural patterns.’¹⁷

Gandhi’s response was relatively more flexible and aligned with unique Indian Response system to the changes emerging with the encounter of alien civilization.

“Gandhi’s contribution is much more comprehensive, dispassionate, and fundamental. It presents a total alternative world-view to the two of the most basic world – views of the contemporary times: first, that of hedonistic liberalism of the so- called modern free world, and the second, that of hedonistic collectivism (Marxism) of the socialist societies. Gandhi was well aware of the utility of the Hindu tradition with the west, whether it came in the form of the Marxist challenge or through the Western ideology of hedonistic – individualistic liberalism. His response has its origin from the essentials of traditional Hinduism, as the alternative system.”¹⁸

He emphasized on ‘The Hindu concept of social and cultural order based on Dharma, or moral obligations which implied a conscious rejection of the western theory of social order based on ‘power’.’¹⁹

Gandhian principle of non-violence, had its roots in primordial customs of India, ‘which is derived the hierarchy of five yamas (means of self –control) in the Hindu tradition, later extolled in the jaina philosophy, is an effort towards restoration of a moral society as traditionally conceived. Non – violence is also part of the pursuit of truth. Non –violence or non-injury (Ahimsa)’²⁰

In Gandhi’s own words:

“It is non-violence only when we love those hate us. I know how difficult it is to follow this grand law of love. However, are not all great and good things difficult to do? Love

¹⁶Yogendra Singh, *Modernization of Indian Tradition* (Rawat publications 2014) p, 43

¹⁷Yogendra Singh, *Modernization of Indian Tradition* (Rawat publications 2014) p, 44

¹⁸Yogendra Singh, *Modernization of Indian Tradition* (Rawat publications 2014) p, 44

¹⁹Yogendra Singh, *Modernization of Indian Tradition* (Rawat publications 2014) p, 44

²⁰Yogendra Singh, *Modernization of Indian Tradition*, (Rawat publications 2014) p, 44

of the hater is the most difficult of all. However, by the grace of God even this most difficult thing becomes easy to accomplish if we want to do it.²¹

In the words of Jawaharlal Lal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister, Gandhi was always dilemmatic, of his role as National leader his role as a saint, his preaching is addressed to the whole humankind crossing the boundaries of Nation, religion, classes etc.

To maintain a harmony between his rigorous commitment towards Truth and political necessities was never an easy task. Gandhi opted for political compromises which were needed politically, but very quickly he retreated to his path of Truth whenever he felt that he had gone too far while making compromises with his definition of Truth.

Similarly, Gandhi has emphasized on agrarian and handicraft economy. His rejection of modern technology. His non-legitimation of private gain and profit, his theory of trusteeship in property (an alternative to communism), his emphasis on decentralized system of administration through a hierarchy of representative bodies in opposition to the atomistic form of modern democracy go together to reveal as to how deeply his whole system of ideas was rooted in the primordial tradition.

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'His conciliatory view on other religions too might be simply an extension of the basic philosophy of tolerance, ever present in the Hindu theology.'²²

VI. INDIAN POLITICS POST INDEPENDENCE & RELEVANCE OF GANDHI

Impact of Gandhi's ideology is visible in directive principles of State Policy, under Articles 40,²³ 43²⁴, 48²⁵ and various other features enshrined in Indian Constitution. Since Independence, Indian Society and Political system undergone through major social and political changes largely bloodlessly only because of the impact of Freedom movement, which sprouted on the principle of Non- Violence, strongly advocated by Gandhi. It was Gandhian impact that the Indian National Congress maintained a middle path, as it maintained a harmony

²¹ Nirmal Kumar Bose, *Selections from Gandhi*, 1948

²² Yogendra Singh, *Modernization of Indian Tradition* (Rawat publications) p. 45

²³ Dr. Durga Das Basu, *Introduction to the Constitution of India*, (Wadhwa Nagpur 2001), p.151

²⁴ Dr. Durga Das Basu, *Introduction to the Constitution of India*, (Wadhwa Nagpur 2001), p.151

²⁵ Dr. Durga Das Basu, *Introduction to the Constitution of India*, (Wadhwa Nagpur 2001), p.151

as a 'centre to left' and 'centre to right' political party, Probably, more inclined towards centre to left position until pre-globalisation period. Influence of Gandhi can also be traced on another major National Party BJP, which was previously, known as Jana Sangha.

In the words of Former Deputy Prime Minister and senior leader of BJP, Lal Krishna Advani, 'Another significant recommendation made by the working group was in the sphere of ideology. In 1980, the BJP had adopted 'Gandhian Socialism' as its guiding philosophy'²⁶

Affirming Gandhian Philosophy, he states, 'Also, unlike the Marxist preference for 'violence as midwife of revolution', Gandhian Socialism was rooted in an uncompromising acceptance of peaceful and democratic methods for socio- economic transformation.'²⁷

He further states, 'We wanted to reaffirm that all the great thinkers and social reformers in the Hindu tradition, including Swami Vivekananda and Mahatma Gandhi in the Modern era, had been votaries of what can be termed as 'Spiritual Socialism'. '²⁸

The post-globalisation phase in India can be marked as a period of huge development, large influx of FDI, rise of a new urban- middle class, but with the voices of chauvinistic Nationalism, and succeeded by increasing inequality. Deregulation and opening – up reforms in India since 1980s have led to substantial increase in inequality. Top 0.1% of earners has continued to capture more growth than all those in the bottom 50% combined.'²⁹

Surprisingly, post globalisation Indian political landscape, has witnessed unprecedented development of Right-wing forces in Indian politics and mass mobilization of public at large, but it seems the questions of deprived are not considered appropriately. Various political parties are either myopic or holds a very narrow political base or otherwise anarchist forces, which are against the Constitution and the very idea of Indian Republic.

In this age of Crisis of values, ideology of Gandhi is more important and relevant, than it could be in any other period. If we are not accused with the allegation of bland generalization of Present with past. Most of the Socio- political changes and transfer of power from dominating

²⁶L.K. Advani, *My Country My Life* (Rupa and Co. 2008) p. 323

²⁷L.K. Advani, *My Country My Life* (Rupa and Co. 2008) p. 313

²⁸L.K. Advani, *My Country My Life* (Rupa and Co. 2008) p. 313

²⁹World Inequality Lab, World Inequality Report 2018, <<https://economictimes.com>> accessed 19 May 2020

to suppressed classes happened largely, non-violently only because of the principles of Non-Violence and constitutional practices as major moral and political tools practiced during Indian freedom movement. Contemporary Indian politics is going through the age of crisis of ideology and endangering the very essence of social fabric. Whether, in the name of radical religious slogans or in the name of armed revolutions, or placing a kind of popular politics at centre stage, dwelling in Utilitarianism only, and missing any kind of Socio-political ideology in its very core. Former President Pranav Mukherjee also conveyed this apprehension on the eve of January 26, 2014, he said, popular anarchy could not be a substitute for governance. He added, 'Government is not a charity shop, populist anarchy cannot be a substitute for governance. False promises lead to disillusionment, which give birth to rage, and that rage has one legitimate target: those in power,'³⁰

Indian political Landscape desperately needs a Leader like Gandhi. A leader who can act as an arbitrator between different classes and between masses and State. Leader, capable of leading the masses, who can resolve political problems through non-violence. One who can evade political extremism, vandalism etc. Establishing morality as the very base of Political super structure position it on the forefront of Indian Social and Political arena, for Gandhi concept of *Swaraj* manifests his firm commitment to moral individualism. Gandhi argued that *Swaraj* did not simply mean political independence from the foreign rule; it also implied the idea of cultural and moral independence.³¹ For Gandhi, the idea of *swaraj* was not confined to the political goal of securing independence from foreign yoke. It also implied moral regeneration of the individual himself- the process of 'self-control', 'self-discipline' and 'self-purification' which must continue even after independence. He observed that his motive is not the freedom only for India merely from the English yoke but from any yoke whatsoever. He has no desire to exchange 'King log for King Stork'. Hence, for him movement of *Swaraja* is not merely the movement of freedom from outside but the movement of self-purification.

However, the contemporary political framework, the stranglehold of Political parties is so strong, that it virtually prohibits emergence of values/ideas independent of party doctrine. Gandhi remains a role model of expression of ideas, independent of strict party line or

³⁰Pranav Mukherjee, *Speech on the Eve of Independence Day (2014)*, <<https://www.ndtv.com>> accessed 5 May 2020

³¹Pranav Mukherjee, *Speech on the Eve of Independence Day (2014)* <<https://www.ndtv.com>> accessed 5 May 2020

ideologies, he detached himself with official party line or ideology several times refusing to compromise with own conscience. There are numerous instances where he disassociated himself from party programmes, *Gandhi* abstained himself from participating in legislative council elections, held in 1923, which were led by C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru, under the banner of Congress Khilafat Swarajya Party, or when he voluntarily started campaigning on his own to curb riots, which got spread in Indian subcontinent during Independence. *Gandhi* was complemented as, 'one-man boundary force' by Lord Mountbatten the last Viceroy of India

CONCLUSION

Gandhi denounced narrow definition of Nationalism or chauvinistic -Nationalism, which is not contributing to welfare of Human race at large *Gandhi's* ideology, was not limited to the boundaries of India only, it is very much evident when he participated in the second-round table congress in England and expressed solidarity with the mill labourers. *Gandhi* was having a definite opinion in this regard; he believed that if your message is primarily related to questions of East only. Or, you are raising questions concerned to India only, then it is most likely possible that some not so mainstream questions would take the shape of mainstream ingredients, which are otherwise related to some emergency circumstances of India only, would be considered universally important for the entire world order.

Hence, it is needless to say, that *Gandhi's* philosophy is eternal and universal, *Gandhi* can die but Gandhism cannot. Present world order is full of contradictions. Moral aspects and welfare model of governance is replaced by unchecked consumerism and by-product of scientific developments, although living in the age which is popularly termed as 'End of Ideology', essence of Gandhian thoughts is still relevant defying the contours of Time and Space. To conclude with words of Acharya Kriplani,

'The Mahatma is more right, when he is wrong than we are when we are right.'³²

³²B.L. grover &Yashpal &Alka Mehta, *History of Modern India* (S. Chand & Co.2005). p 334