- being has equal rights over the products of the nature".
- Even before his arrest, Bhagat Singh had moved away from a belief in violent and individual heroic action to Marxism and the belief that a popular broadbased movement alone could lead to a successful revolution. In other words, revolution could only be "by the masses, for the masses". That is why Bhagat Singh helped establish the Punjab Naujawan Bharat Sabha (1926) as an open wing of the revolutionaries to carry out political work among the youth, peasants and workers, and it was to open branches in villages.
- Bhagat and Sukhdev also organized the Lahore Students' Union for open, legal work among the students. Bhagat and his comrades also realized that a revolution meant organization development of a mass movement of the exploited and the suppressed sections by the revolutionary intelligentsia. "...real **Bhagat** used to say, revolutionary armies are in villages and factories."
- The famous statement of the revolutionary position is contained in the book, 'The Philosophy of the Bomb', written by Bhagwati Charan Vohra.

## 68. Answer: (c)

## **Explanation:**

Both Subhas Chandra Bose and Gandhi considered socialism to be the way forward in India, though in slightly different wavs. Gandhi did subscribe to the Western form of socialism, which he associated with industrialization, but agreed with the kind of socialism advocated Jayaprakash Narayan. Both Gandhi and Bose were religious men and disliked communism. Both worked against untouchability and spoke for emancipation. women's But, they

- differed widely in their ways and methods, and in their political and economic ideologies.
- Bose believed that Gandhi's strategy, based on the ideology of non-violence, would be inadequate for securing India's independence. To his mind, violent resistance alone could oust the alien imperialist rule from India. He considered the Gandhian Civil Disobedience Campaign as an effective means of paralyzing the administration, but did not think it to be efficacious, unless accompanied by a movement aimed at total revolution that was prepared, if necessary, to use violence.
  - In his early writings, Bose expressed the opinion that democracy was the acceptable political system for India. But later, he seemed to have veered towards the idea that, at least in the beginning, a democratic system would not be adequate for the process of nation rebuilding and the eradication of poverty and social inequality. In an address to the students in Tokyo University in 1944, Bose is quoted as saying: "You cannot have a so-called democratic system, if that system has to put through economic reforms on a socialistic basis. Therefore, we must have a political system—a State—of an authoritarian character....". Gandhi's ideas on government can be found in the Hind Swaraj (1909); it was "the nearest he came to producing a sustained work of political theory." Gandhi's idealized state, his Ramrajya a utopia, in fact—did not need a representative government, constitution, an army or a police force. Capitalism, communism, exploitation and religious violence would be absent. Instead, the country was to be modelled on the India of the past. In many ways, Gandhi's writings call for a pre-modern, morally-enlightened and apolitical Indian state. Swaraj lays stress on self-

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