CHAPTER V

REGIONAL AND COMMUNAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

The meaning of the regional and communal perception is that when a scholar or historians actions and reactions reflect in the terms of social, religion, caste and region. The scholars of such trend see the contribution of an individual and patriot in the same parochial approach and the nationalist perception remains absent in such frame work. It is true that the growth of the views of an individual depends upon the religion, caste, family, region, society etc. Keeping all these aspects in view, an individual expresses his sentiments in the same way. Most of the revolutionaries have been discussed keeping these aspects in view. A large number of books written on Indian revolutionaries deal with all the trends of historiography but a new trend has recently emerged in history which laid great stress on regional and communal aspects in its writings.

The most significant example in this respect is of Sardar Bhagat Singh who has not only been glorified but has been compared with the national leaders. Most of such scholars while dealing with the revolutionaries have knowingly ignored the national perspective and even the primary sources. The revolutionaries such as Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, B.K. Dutt, Sukhdev, Chandra Sekhar Azad, B.C. Vohra, Ram Prasad, Bismil, Sachindra Nath Sanyal, J.C. Chatterjee, J.N. Sanyal, Ajay Ghose, Jaidev Gupta, Chhabil Das, Bhagwan Das Mahour etc. have been seen as communal and regional leaders by some scholars such as Ragni Mitra, Nahar Singh, Gurcharan Singh, Naresh Suri, G.S. Deol, Ranbir Singh, Dr. Nathan Singh etc. All these scholars have attempted to discuss the revolutionaries as the leaders of their own caste and region first then nationalists.

The second trend emerged of the regional scholars such as Fauja Singh, S.S. Bai, Hazara Singh, S.C. Mittal, Bhagwan Singh Rana etc. who have highlighted the role of the revolutionaries of Punjab region in India’s freedom
struggle. They have glorified that the Punjab’s role was massive and significant in the freedom struggle. Most of the scholars of this approach firmly believe that the stream of the revolutionaries was equally important stream like others that continued to contribute its part in the struggle.

Naresh Suri and Ragini Mitra have edited the most important sources and documents in their work. Both the scholars collected Bhagat Sigh’s lectures delivered in Hindi Sahitya Sammelan held in 1923 about the language of the Punjab i.e. Gurmukhi language which became the target of his criticism. To speak on the rise and growth of any language does not make an individual a communalist. When he was called as communalist, he had to write 'Why I am an Atheist.' He also responded to Baba Randhir Singh who was in jail with him. Besides, Suri and Mitra have tried to prove that he was an Arya Samajist as his family members were also an ardent follower of this reformist movement.

Bhagat Singh and other revolutionaries of the Punjab might have influenced with reformativ role of the Arya Samaj not with its reactionary role (Suddhi and Sangathan), but its progressive role also. But more stress is being laid on a variety of sources such as Manifesto of Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Bomb incident in Assembly, his statement in court, ‘culture of bomb’ (by Gandhiji) and response of Azad and B.C. Vohra through the Philosophy of Bomb.

Naujawan Bharat Sabha was the significant organisation which held its meeting at Lyallpur where the misdoings of the English rule in India was discussed. The revolutionaries paid tribute to their counterparts who sacrificed their lives for the nation. Gopi Nath Saha, a revolutionary, was greatly applauded who assassinated an English official. They were asked to imitate him. Due to imprisonment, Saha had to leave Punjab for Kanpur. Where he was associated with the publication of an Akali Patra15 in order to prolong his revolutionary activities. He was not an Akali nor had he any linkage with the Akalis. He was a
true nationalist who was eager to break the chains of mother India and free her from the British imperialism. The authors have discussed other related aspects also in their work.16

The authors have tried to explain how the revolutionaries revenged the death of Lala Lajpat Rai who was leading a protest against the Simon Commission and became a prey of brutal lathi charge of police. It is significant to note that all the three who had been held responsible for the murder of police officer, Saunders came to see the velour and protest of Lalaji in Lahore. Bhagat Singh in many of his articles criticized Lalaji and levelled many allegations against him.17 This is an important to note that the murder of Lalaji, Saunders was assassinated by them as they treated it as a dishonor to the whole of nation. Though they wanted to kill Lalaji but the Lahore procession changed their mind and revenged the death of Lalaji by the police.18

Suri and Mitra in the last chapter have discussed the political thoughts of the revolutionaries in general and Bhagat Singh in particular. It seems quite true that Bhagat Singh and his comrades became atheist due to socio-cultural movements going on in the country. The role of Arya Samaj was quite prominent in the Punjab where most of the leaders of all the streams were influenced with this movement.19 All the social evils such as idol worshipping, caste and religious structures and more particularly the untouchability were primarily responsible for moulding their thinking. The authors are surprised to note how a boy of twenty three years became an atheist who was earlier an Arya Samajist. But his family believed in some dictum of Arya Samaj – ‘think with intellect and don’t accept which is beyond your argument’. Both the authors have tried to prove that he was a staunch Arya Samajist but his atheism also rallied round the Samaj.20

The authors claim that the evaluation of the revolutionaries has not been made properly, “If they are deemed as an advocates of bloody revolution, it would
be great folly because they fought with a definite ideology; nor did they murder and believed in violence, they were revolutionaries, thinkers, ideologues, advocates of workers and peasants. Their images and significance has been lessened and it is our main aim to dispel such negative thinking." The authors did denounce the Congress activities. Their use of primary sources is quite praiseworthy. They have suggested the readers to evaluate them so that the coming generations could understand them properly.  

G.S. Deol has tried to discuss the contribution of the Punjabi revolutionaries in general and Bhagat Singh more particularly. The lives and contribution of the revolutionaries did find a high place in his work. It was not an easy job to challenge the powerful British power in India and sacrificed their lives for attaining the freedom. The Vice chancellor of Punjabi University, Patiala, in his foreward to Deol's book has showed anguishness over the lesser known facts about the Indian revolutionaries. He praised the University efforts to pen down the biographical sketches of young patriots. He laid great stress on the activities of Bhagat Singh who was a great patriot and stood like rock in the struggle.  

However, Bhagat Singh had to cut his hair in a very critical situation but had firm belief in *Sikhism* as is evident from the letters of Sant Randhir Singh written in Jail. But after that he kept his hair long according to the norms of Sikhism. This foreward clearly shows his firm belief in Sikhism and hence there was no necessity to leave religion, for becoming the true nationalist. Religion sanskaras, customs traditions firmly pave way for becoming a true nationalist as has been advocated in the foreward.  

Deol has tried to find out the roots of the revolutionary movement and held the role of Lal, Bal and Pal responsible for it in the Punjab. Besides, the events of 1907-08, agitations, demonstrations, riots, Ghadr movement and their efforts during the I World War etc have been discussed. The author firmly believes that
the activities of Ghadr leadership their trials, executions greatly influenced the revolutionaries. Most of their programmes and aims were identical in nature and remained intact while founding the Naujawan Bharat Sabha and Hindustan Socialist Republican Association. The author has dealt more with the activities of Bhagat and his comrades incident of Akali Jatha, his role in the Naujawan Bharat Sabha and also Hindustan Socialist Republican Association. Like the scholars, he has also described all the activities related to the revolutionary movement, leadership of the movement, appointment of Simon Commission and its arrival in India, opposition and boycott of Commission throughout India, bomb throwing incident in Assembly, distribution of leaflets, his statement in session court, his fast in the jail and efforts of the jail authorities to break his fast, appointment of enquiry committee, death of Jatin Das etc.

Deol has highlighted the death penalty on the revolutionaries, their boycott of the court, formation of special tribunal, study of the revolutionary literature, efforts of Chandra Sekhar to release Bhagat Singh and others, his father's efforts to get him released, his refutation of his father’s efforts, decisions of the courts in different cases etc. But the most significant aspect is the discussion of Bhagat Singh's meeting with Sant Randhir Singh and Chuhar Singh, Ghadrites. Like the other authors, Deol also laid great stress on his belief in Sikhism. When Bhagat Singh came to know Sant Randhir Singh's views, the former stopped meeting and talking to the later. Sant, however, tried to meet him through Chuhar Singh but Bhagat Singh refused to do so. Why did Bhagat Singh not like to meet Santji because of the belief in religion?

Deol time and again praised Santji for his astute belief in Sikhism and in the existence of God. The author quotes the dialogue between Santji and Bhagat Singh in which Santji told him about the greatness of Sikh religion and the gurus.
The former warned Bhagat Singh to refrain from cheap popularity and tried to understand the meaning of real patriotism. All such preaching helped him in becoming an atheist. The author claims that Santji continued to give him message of immortality. If you don't believe in God but remember you would be reborn. The soul does not die, it rebirths ....Realise your existence from your inner strength. Are you a soul or a body with life."\(^{27}\) The author again affirms that the preaching of Santji greatly influenced him and he himself realised that he would be reborn. The author justified this and further affirmed that he swore that he would bear his hair long and would die as a Sikh.\(^{28}\) Thus the author's linkage with religion is beyond understanding.

Giani Nahar Singh and Gurcharan Singh both as an astute Akalis have tried to prove that many revolutionaries of I and II phases firmly believed in Sikh religion. They write particularly about Bhagat Singh that he was Sikh first and nationalist afterward as has been confirmed by Sant Ranjit Singh.\(^{29}\) The authors write that after the execution of Bhagat Singh and other revolutionaries, the newspapers started writing that he was a true Sikh. The Granthi of Kasur, Bhai Natha Singh's statement was published in many newspapers that his hairs were six inch long during his last rites. Besides, government had declared that the last rites of Bhagat Singh and his associates were performed according to their religious traditions.\(^{30}\) These scholars also believe in the government’s version.

The Sikh scholars time and again give prominence to the personality cult and try to prove that Sikhs did play an important role and dispel this myth that their role was not praise worthy in the freedom struggle. All the religious oriented scholars now a days have been publishing such works without any authentic sources at their command. They are misinterpreting the sources and facts in order to suit their communal interests.
All India Jat Mahasabha, Delhi, has published Gaurav Gatha, Tirtiya Pushpa in which the Jat Heroes have been glorified who played an important role in the freedom struggle Dr. Nathan Singh of Baraut has contributed a paper on, 'Saheed Azam Sardar Bhagat Singh' in Gaurav Gatha. The principal aim of this book is to show how the Jat leaders were active during the national struggle. This book is greatly imbued with caste sentiments. There are very exaggerated views expressed by the authors in a communal way. The author has observed that there are eight wonders in the world but the ninth wonder is Sardar Bhagat Singh, a great revolutionary, patriot and stood against the exploitative forces as a greatest enemy of the English. The British declared him terrorist and executed but it is a matter of great regret that Mahatma Gandhi did not realise his patriotic fervour. He saw only a bullet which led to assassination of some Englishmen."

Dr. Nathan Singh placing Bhagat Singh name very high criticised Gandhiji like Communist writers. Gandhiji and Congress criticised the revolutionaries like British rulers. It may be possible at any time that impartial writers and historians would start saying that Bhagat Sigh had clear vision about future democratic set-up in India than Gandhiji.... large section of people have accepted that the bourgeoisie were quite eager to hegemonise the Congress and the non-violence cult of Gandhiji protected their interests. Indian bourgeoisie did not want a Russian type of social revolution occur in India. They were afraid of loosing their properties if Russian type of situation emerged in India. Only Gandhiji could save them in such a situation."

Dr. Nathan Singh in the end of his write-up evaluates the personality of the revolutionaries and particularly of Bhagat Singh in socialist perspective. The philosophers and right thinking persons did not believe in any caste creed, religious and parochial thinking but always remains above all these and pin pointed only the exploited lot of the society; “he thinks in terms of about its prosperity..... Karl Marx presented a framework of struggle for the exploited
society but Lenin gave practical shape to his philosophy and Bhagat Singh (and his comrades) adopted it since their childhood.... They fully realised that the British divided Indian on religions and castes. Further, the same work was done by the Congress and Muslim League and created such circumstances that the country was divided on the same lives.”

The author sometimes talks about the exploitation, anti-imperialist struggle and classless society in a proper perspectives but side by side tries to prove that he was a Jat nationalist of the first order. He often mixed caste sentiments with nationalist fervour.

The author affirms that the armed struggle was the only alternate through which not only political liberty but economic and republican structures could be raised and it was their sole dream. He further writes that if Mahatma Gandhi could not initiate struggle non-violently, country had to attain its independence through the path of the revolution as happend in China, Burma and Russia..... When we say that Bhagat Singh and his comrades were revolutionaries, we meant that they had been advocating of new socio-economic structures... (They) had in their minds a new system in which no one could be starved, naked and exploited; they would get according to their worth, no one should be divided on religions, castes and means... If we see from the true vision then it can be said that they were the true well-wishers but they did not make any compromise with their principles. They could die in the defence of their principles but did not derail themselves from their principles. They ended themselves from this world.”

The remark made by Dr. Nathan Singh fully coincides with socialist thinking and its impact on personalities of the revolutionaries. The author without consulting the primary sources denounced Gandhiji and his cooperative attitude with the government. He firmly believes that the revolutionaries were exponent of socialism and were far better than the national leaders. His writings are full of exaggeration and imagination which have no place in history.
The above author has tried to prove that Bhagat being born in a particular caste deserves great appreciation. The author has made comparison between the minor shortcomings of the national leaders and utopian socialism of Bhagat Singh. Could the Congress leadership in post-independent period implement socialism while all the nation stood with it. How a small group of people without political power could dare to do such a big thing in India when feudal forces were quite strong in the country.37

Lt. Gulcharan Singh a retired military officer in his paper 'Role of Sikhs in the Struggle for Indian Independence'. He praised the Sikhs who had started opposing the British rule since the annexation of the Punjab and killed many English officials. Besides, he also discussed the Singh Sabha, Babbar Akali movement, Ghadr movement, Komagatamaru incident, Indian National Army in which the participation of the Sikhs was important and massive38. He further gives the example of many Sikhs such as Bhagat Singh, his uncle Ajit Singh, Udham Singh who sacrificed their lives for the nation. He clarifies that if the Sikhs’ contribution could be seen from numerical point of view, their role was far greater than the other communities. If the total cases of imprisonment are counted, 90% people were Sikhs in this regard.39

Being a Sikh, Gulcharan Singh he has seen this aspect in a communal perspective and has laid great stress on the contribution of his community. The first phase of the revolutionary movement consisted of many Sikhs such as Kartar Singh Sarabha, Sohan Singh Bhakna, Ajit Singh, Jagat Singh, Dr. Mathura Singh, Sewa (Mewa) Singh, etc. who were not only active in the Ghadr movement but also encouraged the Sikh youth to participate in the movement against the colonial regime. The other most potent example is being given by the writer is of the Indian National Army which was founded by General Mohan Singh. It is quite strange that roles of Rash Behari Bose and Subhash Chandra Bose has been squeezed
The author has made his study mainly on the Sikh point of view which can be deemed as communal approach.

V.S. Grover, a college teacher in Punjab, edited a book: *The Story of Punjab, Yesterday and Today*, a collection of papers presented in a seminar in his college at Jalandhar in 1988. The work starts from the Bengal partition, Canal Colony's opposition, efforts of Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh in the political consciousness, unsuccessful attempt of murder of Lord Hardinge in 1912 by Dina Nath, Amir Chand and other Punjabis, foundation of Ghadr party during the I World war and the role of the Punjabis therein, Rowlatt Act, Jalianwala Bagh incident, Non-Cooperation movement, Gurudwara Reform movement and contribution of Akalis therein, withdrawal of Non-cooperation movement, participation of Swarajists and Akalis in the elections to central and provincial legislative councils, the constitution of Simon Commission and its opposition in the Punjab and the death of Lala Lajpat Rai etc. Like other scholars, the editor has discussed all the events and incidents occurred in the Punjab in a usual way.

The author has highlighted the visit of Simon Commission and its opposition in Lahore under the leadership of Lajpat Rai, a Congress leader of the Punjab. To oppose the Simon Commission proved fatal to his life. It surcharged the political atmosphere of the province and the Punjabi were not in a mood to forgive the Punjab police atrocities. The Naujawan Bharat Sabha became quite active and revenged the death of Lalaji by killing Saunders, a police officer in Lahore. The next important action of this Sabha was throwing the bomb in trial court and held Bhagat Singh, B.K. Dutt, Rajguru, Sukh Dev in several cases. The others were given life imprisonment.

Dr. Grover being a Punjabi scholar has focused all his aspects in a regional manner. There was tremendous political fervour in Punjab in 1929 due to historic speech of Jawaharlal Nehru on the Pooran Swaraj at Lahore session of the
Congress. The youth of the Punjab did involve itself in the revolutionary movement in Punjab but also activated the youth of other provinces. The youth of the Kirti Kisan Party did participate in the Meerut Conspiracy Case. Sohan Singh Josh was one of its prominent leaders. The author says that there were two important parallel organizations of the youth in the Punjab – the Naujawan Bharat Sabha and Kirti Kisan Party whose leaders were Bhagat Singh and Josh. The romance of the pledge of freedom did not end but Gandhiji soon started a new movement i.e. Civil Disobedience movement. Gandhiji opposed salt laws of the government which were affecting the general masses. His Dandi March was a forward step from Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi village nearby sea in Gujarat. The author has mentioned the national events and their impact on the Punjab politics.

Dr. Grover has frankly accepted that it was indication of heroic activities of Punjabi youth who were awarded death penalty by the civil court. Their heroic case became a matter of discussion at the Privy Council too. When the court ordered for their execution, there was a great opposition of the youth against the decision. In reality, average Punjabi was in a typical situation; Gandhi-Irvin Pact of 5 March, 1931 was deemed as a surrender by Indian leadership to the British sovereignty and the execution of Bhagat Singh (and others) was a potent proof of surrender to her. They were hanged one day before the date fixed for their execution. The author then turns to fiscal aspect i.e. economic depression going on in the world. Its impact on India other issues also have been given due consideration.

Dr. Hazara Singh, a teacher by profession at Punjab Agricultural University, Ludhiana, contributed a paper on the 'Role of Revolutionaries in Indian struggle for Freedom' in which he laid great stress on the activities of the revolutionaries. The author being a Punjabi has regional orientation and discussed the movement in a very narrow term. Bhagat Singh and other Punjabi revolutionaries have been given due consideration.
The same author has divided the freedom struggle into three phases. First phase starts from the rise of nationalism. Second phase began with the growth of the revolutionary culture, foundation and growth of the Hindustan Republican Associations, Simon Commission's appointment and its arrival and other consequent incidents have also been discussed. Third phase starts from Gandhian movements which have been given little significance. It shows the regional and narrow thinking of the author who did not give due weightage to the national organisation, its leadership and its impacts on regional politics. The politics of the main stream should not be ignored keeping regional biasedness in view.

The author frankly writes that it was the impact of the Hindustan Socialist Republic Association on the Indian National Congress which had to announce the demand of Pooran Swaraj due to pressure of the youth while the Congress leadership was still for the dominion status for India. The Congress also adopted the slogan given by the Association i.e. Inquilab Jindabad. The Association waged its anti-imperialist war against the British raj.

One of the important features of the author's writing is that being a regional scholar, he does not present the role of Bhagat Singh and other revolutionaries in an exaggeration manner. He also does not throw light on the shortcomings of the revolutionary movement. The another feature of the paper is that the scholar has consulted the primary sources and presented the other aspects in literary and in historical perspective as well.

S.C. Mittal wrote a book: Freedom Movement in Punjab(1905-1929) in 1977. It is basically a Ph.D. thesis submitted to the Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra. The scholar has discussed all the streams of the nationalist struggle active in the politics of the Punjab. He has shown that the role of the Punjab Province was not less than any other province of India. The writer, however, has presented his View point in nationalist perspective but regional features become
heavy at several places. The author has discussed the geographical social, economic, administrative, political aspects along with nationalist struggle and role of regional personalities therein.  

Prof. Mittal has shown massive role of the Arya Samaj movement, Chief Khalsa Diwan, Singh Sabha -its leadership, anti-colonialization bill agitation, political consciousness in the province. The anti-colonial agitation and politics began from the beginning of 20th century when land alienation bill was passed by the Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1900. The scholar like other authors has adopted same approach and framework with simple narration of events, incidents occurred in the province. Both the second and third chapters are quite significant in which scholar has narrated the World War I and the moral and material assistance rendered by the Punjabis. The author has tried to prove how the province became a bulwark for the imperial masters when the Unionist ministry remained power. But side by side, the revolutionary activities also began with the Ghadr movement basically initiated by HarDayal before the I World War. The revolutionary literature was sent by its leaders from San Francisco, the headquarters of the Ghadr Party to their counter parts in the Punjab.

It is true that the real anti-imperialist struggle began in the Punjab with the Rowlatt Bill agitation which became an all India movement. A new leadership emerged at the national level i.e. Mahatma Gandhi who captured the platform of the Indian National Congress. The Jalianwala Bagh incident was an offshoot of Rowlatt Bill agitation that attracted the attention of the whole nation; promulgation of martial laws in the Punjab further viciated the political atmosphere. The Congress session at Amritsar denounced not only the actions of the provincial government but decried the Montagu-Chelmsford reform bill as "unjustifiable, unnecessary and inopportune", "unsound, uncalled for and un British". The Congress leadership called these bills as a question of life and death.
Prof. Mittal has narrated the Sikh movement Gurudwara reform movement, its background and growth, Shiromani Akali Dal's foundation and its movement, incident of Nankana Sahib, Keys of the Gurudwaras, incident of Guru bag, Jaiton incident, Gurudwara bill and its provisions in chapter IV. It is quite true that Akali movement and its demands did weaken the nationalist struggle as many others fissiparous tendencies were also active in the Punjab. Even the nationalist leadership did accept the weaknesses of the freedom struggle in the province. The author has also discussed all such aspects in his work.

The role of Punjabis in different movements launched by the Indian National Congress has been described in V and VI Chapters. The Non-Cooperation and Khilafat movements were chiefly responsible for political consciousness in the province. But the feelings of communalism did weaken the struggle. The Mopalh, Malabar, Hindu – revivalism, communal electorate, economic disparity have also been highlighted in a more broader manner. The significant discussion on the Arya Samaj and its division did attract the attention of the author more abundantly.

Dr. Mittal has dwelt upon the party wise position in legislative councils, appointment of Simon Commission, Lahore-opposition, death of Lala Lajpat Rai, Nehru Report in a narrative form. There is nothing new in these aspects. The politics during 1923-26 attracts the attention of its readers when the author starts discussing the formation of different revolutionary organisations such as Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Kirti Kisan party, Hindustan Socialist Republican Association and their activities. The revolutionaries of the Punjab in general and Bhagat Singh in particular have been given due consideration with his birth, education, association with other revolutionaries, renunciation of his family, role in founding Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Hindustan Socialist Republican Association, revenge of Lajpat Rai's death, Assembly incident, presentation of his socialist views, hunger-strike in jail etc. in the last chapter.
The author writing about the activities of Sardar Bhagat Singh applauded his iron-will, dedication, patriotism and sacrifice of his life which created great sensation. The Indian revolutionaries gave their blood to the freedom of India and became an example for the youth. They responded the cruel, oppressive and exploitative policies of the British regime in terrorist way. Assembly incident and hunger strike in the jails played an important role in spreading patriotic and political sentiments among the youth of India. Like Jalianwala Bagh incident, Bhagat Singh became a symbol of sacrifice. The most significant feature of this research work is that it has been based on the primary sources, Both the nationalist and regional impact is visible in this work. Way of presentation, style and language are also praiseworthy.

Dr. Bhagwan Singh Rana an astute Sikh does not have any academic background and training but has tried to present some aspects like historian. Though he has consulted some primary sources but applied the same communal approach as being adopted by Dr. Nathan Singh and others. Such hero-worshipping tendencies have prominently denounced the national leadership which did not belong to their caste. When caste sentiments become heavy in any sort of writing, appropriate and balanced discussion on any aspect become impossible. The author has become prey of fixed-notions and partiality emerges abundantly. The factual discussion disappears and becomes anti-Rankian approach.

Dr. Rana in his book discusses the beginning of constitutional agitation, Reform Act of 1919, position of different political parties in the provincial legislatures, appointment of Simon Commission and its arrival at Lahore, death of Lajpat Rai, Nehru Report etc. In the end of the chapter, the author has covered revolutionary activities, Naujawan Bharat Sabha, its aims and objects, Hindustan Socialist Republican Association, Assembly incident, sacrifice of Jatin Das etc. He has raised the question on the role of Gandhiji in saving Bhagat Singh and other
revolutionaries from the executions. In the end, the author held Gandhiji responsible for their executions as the whole nation wanted to see these revolutionaries alive.63

The author has further questioned Gandhiji that he did not make any attempt to save the revolutionaries. He treated them as political prisoners while the Congresmen were Satyagrahis. In responding to the questions of the press, he felt that he was not in favour of any person to be imprisoned what he took to violence too. His statement was like that of a man sitting in shadow and asking other man sitting in sun shade that he had great sympathy with him but he could not make him sit in shadow. He comments on Gandhiji, “If, in reality we have sympathy with any body, we should try to do something to solve his problems. Gandhiji loved his principles. Such ideal principles are useless if failed to protect the patriots... The achievements (of the revolutionaries) can be visualised that they became full of patriotism and had high ideals; they did such a wonderful thing that an ordinary could not do. Their role in making an Indian nation was great and the country would be indebted to them till the existence of this Universe.”64

The author has discussed almost all the same aspects narrated by other scholars. Though he has tried to consult some of the primary sources yet has made an unhistoric such arguments which a scholar of history cannot. This is the mere difference between a casteist devotee and an historian. His language and way of presentation are to some extent good but failed to restrain himself from biasedness and partiality as far as both the streams (Congress and revolutionaries) of the freedom struggle are concerned. Many anti-Gandhian scholars have raised the issue of not protecting the Indian revolutionaries from execution at the hands of Englishman.65

Some Marathi historians and scholars have written enough on the role of Indian revolutionaries in India's freedom struggle. T.S. Shejvalkar “in one of his
articles has commented on the execution of Bhagat Singh and other revolutionaries. He asserts that their trial was unjust and Indians did not like their capital punishment when awarded to them. More than 1,00,000 people gathered in Bombay to protest against the punishment. They were such youngman who displayed great qualities of head and heart. They wanted swaraj in different capacities. The author compared India's situation with Ireland which was also struggling for her independence. Historical experience of the Irish republic showed that even though the British rulers executed a large number of patriots, ultimately they had to concede the demand of freedom to Ireland. In reference to the execution, the author writes: “The government's action proved that justice without mercy was fire in the hands of a devil”.

Vinayak Damodar Savarkar was a well known revolutionary during the I World War and had contact with the well known armed revolutionaries of both the phases. His elder brother Ganesh Damondar Savarkar was also in close contacts with Chandra Sekhar Azad, B.C. Vohra, Yashpal etc. V.D. Savarkar wrote an article on the martyrdom of Jitendra Nath Das and admired the sacrifice made by the revolutionaries. He pointed out that during the revolutionary struggle, the spirit of sacrifice was necessary and sometimes revolutionaries had to sacrifice their lives in order to secure the final victory. The sacrifice of Chhatrapati Sambhaji and Banda Bahadur were praiseworthy because they instilled the spirit of resistance in the minds of Marathas and the Sikhs and advanced the cause of freedom. So the Indians should not forget the services of these Indian revolutionaries who wanted to accomplish the unfinished task of national liberation. They were not terrorists but armed revolutionaries who wanted to secure freedom for India. To see the national heroes with the aspects of caste, religion, region is a disgrace to their contributions and sacrifices made in the freedom struggle.
After reading regional and communal writings, one can arrive at the conclusion that mental perspective of an individual forms with the influence of family, caste, region, religion, society etc. It is generally accepted norm that family is the first school of an infant who learns a lot of things from it. After that caste, religion, region, society also play an important role in moulding the views of an individual.


15. *Ibid*, p. 95


17. *Ibid*, 97


21. Ibid., pp. 109-10
22. Deol, G.S., op.cit., p-vii
23. Ibid
24. Ibid, p.3
25. Ibid., pp. 3-19
26. Ibid., pp. 80-89
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Giani Nahar Singh and Gurucharan Singh op.cit., pp 10-21
30. Ibid.
31. Singh, Nathan, op.cit p.65
32. Ibid, p. 68-69
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid., pp.92-93
35. Ibid, pp.93-94
36. Ibid, pp.112-135
37. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.

47. Ibid. 501-10.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.


52. Ibid.

53. Ibid., pp. 71-110

54. Ibid. pp. 73-86.

55. Ibid. pp. 111-47.

56. Ibid.

57. Mittal, op. cit. pp. 147-80

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

61. Rana, Bhagwan Singh, op.cit., p.117-18

62. Ibid., 63.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid. pp. 117-18.

65. Ibid.


67. Ibid., pp 371-73.

68. Ibid., p. 374.


70. Ibid, p. 179.
CHAPTER – VI

CONCLUSION

The Indian freedom has not only attracted the attention of Indian scholars but the western scholars also. Many of them have termed this movement as a struggle between the British Imperialism and Indian Nationalism. With the spread of Indian education, press, means of communication and transportation created a new class known as the educated middle class which gave leadership to the freedom struggle. The Indian leaders started challenging the oppressive and exploitative nature of the British rule in India. This set of leadership in India politics comprised of the dominant sections of the Indian society known as the liberal nationalists. But paralleled to the realm of this elite politics, there emerged a new set of leadership which prominently believed in the people's movement, This leadership is popularly known as the revolutionary-terrorists who waged a relentless struggle against the anti-people policies of the British imperialism in India. When the Indian National Congress emerged, there came a challenging force in Indian politics more especially on the economic policies of the British raj. Surender Nath Banerjea, M.G. Ranade, Dadabhai Naoroji, R.C. Dutt, William Digby etc. were pioneers who became severe critics of the British economic policies as is evident from their speeches, writings and correspondences. Thus the nationalist historiography emerged that started decrying the British policies and programme as anti-India. The nationalist in the formative years of their organisation believed in the British fair-play and justice but they gradually opposing the over-all functioning of the raj as far as the body politics of the nation was concerned.

No change came in the imperial policies for a long period. Such tendencies created desperation among the Indian youth who became critic of both the Indian nationalists and British imperial masters. The Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon gave an
appropriate opportunity to the Congress stalwarts as well as to the youth for opposing anti-Indian policies. The youth started organising themselves during the Bengal partition and founded many revolutionary organisations throughout India. This stream was quite a distinct and had different ideology and programme as far as the Congress movement was concerned. Their strenuous efforts in championing the cause of India's liberation movement definitely occupies an important place in the history of modern India. Many revolutionary went abroad in order to seek support from the anti-imperialist and anti-exploitative forces of the world for India's struggle for independence. Though many struggles were initiated by the Indian people against the British Imperialism yet the most viable was the struggle of the Indian revolutionary-terrorists. Their movement was genuine to further and develop the national consciousness among the Indian masses which started realising the ruination and cultural degradation was primarily due to the British raj and its anti-people's programme and policies. So keeping their contribution in liberation movement in view, it becomes quite relevant here to know the views of different schools of thought in modern Indian history. A moderate effort has been made in this research work to highlight the major trends of historiography of the revolutionary movement in India during the second phase (1924-31).

Most of the scholars have admitted that the British oppressive policies and anti-India attitude gave birth to different groups in Indian politics which in their own way and limitation started opposing the functioning of the imperial regime under masters the official leadership of the Indian National Congress which was dominant in the nationalist stream while the group of Indian revolutionaries was quite different and even significant that was ready to sacrifice their lives for the liberation of their country. This steam became popular among the youth within a very short period while the long standing politics of the Indian National Congress continued to rally the British bureaucracy for a long period in Indian politics.
Like other countries of the world, the growth of English education and impact of western ideas and concepts gave a new turn to the growth of nationalist views. With the expansion of new education system, the people of one region started interacting with the people of other regions casting off the existing regional barriers. The introduction of press and means of communication and transportation were further realised by the people for the common purposes and objectives. The period gave birth to several local and national organisations such as Kirti Kisan Party, Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Hindustan Republic Association, Hindustan Socialist Republic Association etc. whose primary aim was to liberate the country politically, materially and economically. The leaders of such nationalist organisations were Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Chandra Shekhar Azad, B.N. Sanyal, Manmath Nath Gupta, J.N. Sanyal, Batukeshwar Dutt, Jaigopal, Shiv Verma, Yashpal, Bhagwati Charan Vohra etc. Along with the fight for freedom, they wanted to establish the hegemony of the peasants and workers so that the real socialism could be established in India. This was their most cherished dream to be fulfilled at the earliest.

The most significant turn and opportunity came when the British Government sent Simon Commission to study and report about the India constitutional problems. No Indian was made member of this Commission and this issue greatly angered the Indian people. Thus they not only opposed the Commission but greeted with ‘black flags’ wherever it visited. Under the leadership of Lala Lajpat Rai, people shouted ‘Simon Go Back’ and ‘Down with Imperialism’ in Lahore. Lala Lajpat Rai received a serious injury from the police lathis. His death ultimately sent a wave of indignation throughout the country. A British officer, Saunders, was responsible for the lath-charge on Rai and the former shot dead by Bahgat Singh and Rajguru. Their heroic activities made them popular among the Indian masses. They wanted not only to liberate their country but also formed a socialist society in the country. In order to highlight their
activities, in different trends of historiography such as Imperial, Nationalist, Marxist, Regional and Communal in regard to India's revolutionary movement during the second phase have been highlighted.

Russian Revolution (1917), Montagu-Chelmsford Report (1918), Rowlatt Committee Report (1918), Hunter Committee, Marital Laws followed by the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy created great anguishness among the Indian youth. In such situation, Congress launched, Non-Cooperation movement for gaining Swaraj within a year. The Congress under the leadership of Gandhiji became convinced that the present representative of the Empire' had become dishonest and unscrupulous' To enrage the people, Gandhiji suggested the way of non-cooperation to secure redress for the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs. He suggested the total non-cooperation with the rulers with the intention ‘so far to paralyse the government as to compel justice from it'. A mob violence took place at Chauri Chaura village in Gorakhpur district of U.P. on 4 February, 1922 Twenty two policeman were killed. This was followed by more mob violence at Bareilly. Gandhiji viewed the tragedy as a red signal and suspended the Non-Cooperation movement on 12 February. Its sudden withdrawal questioned by many Congressman. The youth was also desperate and attracted towards the revolutionary terrorism as the only alternative to the then Indian political situation. Emergence of working class movements all over the world had been spreading the message of socialism and marxism all over the world. Many other global developments greatly influenced the Indian youth who started founding several organisations as mentioned above. They wanted to organize the workers and peasants to create spirit of patriotism among the youth to work for economic, industrial and social movements free from communal sentiments.

Now it would be proper to discuss different Trends of historiography of revolutionary movement in India. First trend was the Imperial Trend basically initiated by the British bureaucracy which was deadly against the Indian youth
who were involved in revolutionary terrorism. The government constituted a committee to enquire about the movement. After consulting different records and discussions with many officials of the Criminal Intelligence Bureau (like today's CBI) a Blue Book was prepared in which they were found in dialogue with the Russians. The book throw ample light on the adoption of marxist strategy by the Indian revolutionaries. In the Russian Revolution, they found only the Russian methods to be quite appropriate for the liberation of the world. Lenin in his Manifesto had made it clear from the platform of the Communist International that the time had come now to eradicate the exploitation and oppression wherever existed. So the British officials held Russian Revolution responsible for the outbreak of revolutionary terrorism in India'.

The second trend of historiography known as National Trend began after the formation of the Indian National Congress A.C. Mazumdar, Girija Kumar Mukherjee, Pattabhi B., Sitaramayya, P.C. Ghose, R.C. Majumdar, B.R. Nanda, Tara Chand etc have worked on the rise and growth of the Congress role in nationalist movement of India. Most of the scholars of this trend failed to give due care to the revolutionary activities. They did not like the revolutionary movement which had different technique and strategy from the Congress movement as far as the Indian politics was concerned. These scholars did not highlight any revolutionary activities but simply ignored their activities knowingly.

The third trend is the Marxist Trend which supported their movement. Many revolutionaries were greatly influenced with the Russian Revolution which had strong urge for the formation of the socialist state in which peasants and workers would be in the decision making process of state. This trend was started by D.D. Kasambi who was professionally a mathematician. It was further developed by R.P. Dutt, A.R. Desai, M.N. Roy, Hiren Mukherjee, Bipan Chandra, Sumit Sarkar, Devendra Kaushik, L.V. Mitrokhin, ashok Patnaik Bhagwan Josh, Shashi Joshi etc. All the scholars of this trend greatly appreciated their activities as
they had a new vision to be applied in Indian polity after independence. They say that no other politicians had any planning and programme for the future of India as they had in their minds. Even the writings of these revolutionaries clearly indicate their ideology and programme in a more clear cut way. Most of these revolutionaries had become ardent exponents of application of socialism in all walks of the society.

The fourth trend emerged after 1980s when some communal and regional organisations came into being. These organisations started branding them with regional and communal identity in order to popularise their communal and regional politics. The scholars of this stream have analysed the personalities and movements keeping society, religion, caste in view.

Naresh Suri, Ragni Mitra, Nahar Singh, Kripal Singh Narang, Gul Charan Singh, G.S. Deol, Nathan Singh and followed by many Arya Samajists and Akalis have given regional and communal colour to these stout personalities in their Writings. They say that the growth of thinking of an individual basically depends on many things such as religion, caste, society, family etc. which play a significant role in the formation his mental Vision. They say that Bhagat Singh had immense impact of these traits on his personality. Many scholars linked Bhagat Singh with Arya Samaj and others with Sikhism while he had no linkage with anyone. Which is mentioned in -Why I am an Atheist. Like Bhagat Singh, many people and leaders of the other castes have also started hero-worshiping keeping caste syndrome and sentiments in view. Bengalis are giving due consideration to their Bengali revolutionaries. Chandra Sekhar Azad, Ram Prasad Bismil, Yashpal, B.C. is a clear cut example of his personality and perspective Now Jat Mahsabha is making all feasible efforts to brand Bhagat Singh, Raja Mahendra Pratap as the Jat heroes. Vohra are more popular in the Brahmins as they belonged to Brahman community. Some Akali Granthis also doing the same that Bhagat Singh was a firm Akali and respected Guru Granth Sahib is a clear cut example of his
personality and perspective. Now Jat Mahasabha is also branding Bhagat Singh and Raja Mahender Partap as the Jat heroes.

Now the question arises: What were the results of the movement? Or upto what extent this movement succeeded? The Indian revolutionaries started their movement soon after the partition of Bengal but it came to an end during the I World War due to limited means for its support. Without proper financial aid, it was most difficult to sustain the movement for long. Their activities needed required financial support from the Indian people so that it could be spread and developed throughout India. Due to very limited means, they could not spread and developed throughout India. Due to very limited means, they could not spread their movement in the whole of India as they had no money at their command. The Indian National Congress became not only a viable force but also became an all India body due to its strong financial position which was strengthened by rich people like G.D. Birla, Yamuna Lal Bajaj, Purushotamdas Thakurass etc. The Indian revolutionaries, however, started looting banks, treasuries, trains and robbery but all such activities did not solve their problems. The general masses started hating them for such unwanted and unethical activities in the country.

The Indian revolutionaries studied the western ideas and concepts but Russian Revolution became their harbinger. Russia Revolution became an exponent of workers and soliders who constituted the bulk of the society. Pro-workers and pro-soldiers policies were made in Russia. Like Russia, they started giving more prominence to the workers and peasants who were in the dominant position in India. The Russian socialism was deemed proper to be adopted in order to establish socialist state in India. The landlords, zamindars, big peasant, money-lenders and other rich sections of the society opposed their policies and programmes and saw a big challenge to their properties and other comforts in future in the country.
The revolutionaries did challenge the British imperial policies and adopted violent methods. Many of them differed as far as the violent methods were concerned because such methods would soon be exposed and no one would render assistance to their ideology and programme. The Congress movement firmly believed in non-violence and Satyagrah means perhaps akin to the Indian masses. The Indian people due to British oppressive and suppressive measures could not dare to render support to them. Due to fear, long imprisonment, execution, informers a large section of the youth started restraining itself from the movement. In such situation, it could not attract the youth at a large-scale.

The Indian masses had no attraction towards marxism and socialism but believed in attaining freedom first and adoption of socialism afterwards. Even the revolutionaries had no identical views on its adoption and application in Indians political and social structures. No coordination became possible among them on such crucial issues.

The British Intelligence Department, its agents and Indian informers gave a great set-back to the movement. Whenever they chalked out many plans and framed policies, the government agencies came to know of their planning and strategies in time. Such activities gave great jolts to their programmes. Though they were valiant and patriots to their nation but failed to mobilise the people in such political atmosphere. People knew the functioning of the secret service of the government and in such situation, their movement was bound to fail.

The revolutionaries had no linkage with their counterparts in other provinces like the Indian National Congress. Subhas, Patel and Nehru had to some extent sympathy with their movement but could not dare to render support to them openly. Their execution is an evident example when Gandhiji did not save them from execution as generally believed. Though they had many organisations working secretly in several provinces yet there was no linkage or coordination
among them as far as the vital issues were concerned. Without proper coordination and dialogue among them on national issues, how their movement could be succeeds in such situation?

The revolutionary movement failed yet many Congressman supported their programmes as they had clarity of ideas and perception as far as the socialistic urge and understanding of the situation was concerned. The Indian revolutionaries after their executions became very popular and the leader like Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Batuskeshwar Dutt became legends. Their names became quite popular even in every house hold of the country due to self-sacrificing spirit, zeal, heroism, socialist thinking, international outlook etc. Due to their popularity and influence, Congress had to adopt the programme of complete independence and socialism due to their pressures and strategies in the given situation. By giving their supreme sacrifices for the liberation of the nation, they became heroes and even the source of inspiration for the young and coming generations of India. So their contribution in India's freedom struggle was quite significant and praiseworthy.