CONCLUSION

The First Chapter deals with the political, social, religious and the economic conditions prevailing at the time of 1857.

East India Company came to India for the purpose of doing trade but gradually it acquired political power here. The company introduced many economic changes in the country. It also made efforts to maintain law and order in the country so that its trade operations could be conducted smoothly.

First we will discuss the social conditions that were prevalent on the eve of 1857. The Indian society was divided badly on the basis of religion, language, and caste. The Hindu society was divided into many castes and sub-castes. Untouchability was prevalent. Muslims were also divided into different castes and tribes. Thus the Hindus and Muslim lived in two watertight compartments.

Besides this many evils were prevalent in the society like child marriage, Sati. The position of woman was very bad. She was not given education. Pundah system was prevalent. Image worship was prevalent. Christian missionaries also created lot of bitterness in the society by condemning the idolatry practice of the Hindus.

There was discontent due to administrative causes. People had lot of grievances against the British administration. The English officials were not accessible to the people, so people could not place their grievances before them. Their administration was impersonal in character. There was slowness of proceedings and delay in taking action. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan a historian has given reasons for the discontentment of the
Muslims against the British. Muslims until now had held, high positions of honours, dignity under the Mughals and they being unaccustomed to trade and commerce depended smoothly on services for their livelihood.

As regards the political conditions at the time, there was no conception of India as a nation. There were Bengalis, Hindustanis, Sikhs, Rajputs and Marathas but no Indian. This explains why when the British from their base in Bengal fought against the Marathas, Ghurkhas, other Indian powers particularly Bengalis, offered help to the British.

When the British ousted the Muslim Nawab from Bengal, the attitude of the Muslims and Hindus was different.

The Muslims were angry with the British while the Hindus welcomed the British as deliverers form the yolk of Muslim tyrants.

There were a lot of rebellions against the British during the second half of the 18th century. But this was mainly inspired by the considerations of self-interest.

Hyder Ali of Mysore all the Maratha chiefs and the Nizam organised a grand confederacy for making simultaneous raids against the British.

Chait Singh, the Raja of Benaras a large number of zamindars and common people of the region extending upto Avadh and Bihar rose against the British. The dethroned Nawab of Awadh revolted. This was the first spontaneous out break of a large section of the Indian people against the British rule. These outbreaks were due to political, economic
and religious reasons. These uprisings may be regarded as the real precursors of the great revolt of 1857.

There was discontent due to economic reasons. The Britishers destroyed the self contained ‘Swadeshi’ village economy. India was mercilessly impoverished. Her manufacturers were ruined and artisans and craftsmen were driven to make out a living from primitive agriculture.

The farmers had to pay heavy land revenue, which drained them completely, and this economic decline of the peasantry was responsible for the twelve major and numerous minor famines witnessed by this country.

Dadabhai Naorji, R.C.Dutt and others addressed themselves to the study of Indian poverty and put forward a drain theory. According to them, this drain consisted of home charges, salary and pension of civil and military British officers, expenses on war, payment of dividends to the shareholders, interest on public debt, which represented the money with which India was conquered. It represented the cost of suppressing the mutiny. This large public debt involved an equally large interest liability. Indian also had to bear the cost of recruitment and training of British Army personnel posted in India. All this resulted in the impoverishment of the country.

The British polices resulted in the destruction of Indian trade and industry. The handloom weaving was the greatest industry India, but gradually company monopoly was established over the manufacture and procurement of the cotton cloth. The company purchased cloth at the minimum possible rate, leaving the weaver with the smallest margin. In some cases the cost of the cloth was less than the cost of the raw materials.
The weavers having been forced to weave mostly for the company had no extra cloth to sell in the local market. Thus when his labour turned less remunerative he was compelled to give this up. This led to the decline of handloom industry.

The British government adopted protectionist policies towards its own industries and threw open Indian market to foreign goods. Indian market was flooded with foreign goods. The import duties were also responsible for the decline of the weaving industry. Whereas the products of the British looms were being imported into India at a nominal duty, heavy duties were imposed on the exports to England. This crippled the indigenous industries.

With the decline of industries people turned to agriculture, but heavy land revenue, led to the impoverishment of the peasantry.

The result of all the above-mentioned causes was the discontentment of the masses. This led to a number of rebellions. Most of the rebellions were the result of local causes and grievances and were localised in their effects. The basic objective of their resistance was restoration of their earlier forms of rule or social relations. There were tribal uprisings, but the government suppressed them brutally. The government succeeded in suppressing the uprisings one by one. The rebels were pacified by giving them concessions the more recalcitrant were physically wiped out.

The religious conditions at that time were bad. The feeling had spread among the Indians that the company rule was a threat to their religion, because the missionaries were trying to convert the Hindus and Muslims to the Christianity and they were openly criticising these two
faiths. Besides the abolition of sati practice legalising widow remarriage, promoting female educations was considered by the Hindus as an interference in their faith.

The Sanyasi rebellion that the Britishers had to face was the most formidable that the British had to deal with. The movement was initiated by the anti-British feeling of the Hindu Sanyasis, and the Muslims Fakirs. It received support from the peasantry, dispossessed, zamindars and the disbanded soldiers. After the famine of 1770, the economic distress drove people in large numbers to join the Sanyasis and defy the British rule.

The sepoys were also a discontented lot. Their grievances were their low scale of salary, poor prospects of promotions. They had to pay for their uniform and food. All this affected the morale of soldiers.

The revolt of 1857. The reasons for the mutiny of 1857 have been cited above. All sections of the society were dissatisfied with the British rule. The immediate cause of the mutiny of 1857 was the rumour that the cartridges for these Enfield rifles were greased with the lard made from the fat either of the hog or cow and the end of these cartridges had to be bitten off with teeth and it was a sacrilegious act both for the Hindus and Muslims.

The sepoys revolted in a number of places. This mutiny was followed by the revolt of the civil population.

The mutinies followed the same pattern. The sepoys killed the officers and other Europeans. They released prisoners from jail, plundered the treasury, and burnt government offices.
The outbreak of 1857 will surely go down in the History of as the first great and direct challenge to the British Rule in India. It helped the national movement for the freedom of India. The motive behind the mutiny was definitely the personal gain. Zamindars were also influenced by motives of self-interest.

This uprising of the people cannot be regarded as a war of independence because the civil population thought more of plunder and other means of attaining wealth and power. Very few Individuals were inspired by the idea of gaining freedom of India.

Besides a war of independence presupposes a definite plan and organisation. Such an organisation implies a plot to drive out the British.

Even among the sepoys a certain number of them remained loyal to the British. The Sikhs and the Gurkhas not only remained loyal to the British but also actively helped the British in recapturing Delhi and Lucknow.

The Second Chapter deals with the meanings of Swadeshi and the developmental stages till the establishment of Indian national congress.

This chapter deals with the religious revivalisms that took place during the early nineteenth century. This revivalisms was due to the influence of saintly personalities like those of Vivekanand, Dayanand, Miss Annie Besant and Raja Ram Mohan Roy and the work done by religious Societies such as Brahmo Samaj, Rama Krishna Mission, Arya Samaj and Theosophical Society.
There were many evils in the society and there was no feeling of oneness. These leaders helped in removing the evil that had creeped in the society and also helped in the creation of a new spirit, the spirit of patriotism, national pride, and self-sacrifice. All this led to a feeling of revulsion against things westerns and love for things Indian. These leaders played a very important role in awakening the Slumbering nation and making it political minded.

Dayanand Saraswati wanted advancement in the life of the nation. He wanted reconstitution of the society hence he made frontal attack on the social evils.

He condemned the caste system. His Arya Samaj did a lot for the betterment of the untouchables. He condemned Purdah systems, Sati system and polygamy. He started Shuddhi movement to embrace those Hindus back to Hinduism who had converted to Christianity. His Samaj did a lot for the education. Many schools and colleges were opened. He believed that education was the birth eight of every human being.

He gave the cry of 'Swaraj' is our birth right. He held that India should belong to the Indians. He gave the slogan of Swadeshi and boycott and aroused the national spirit. He gave birth to those concept, which became the basis of the Indian Nationalism, after 1905. Dayanand laid a lot of stress on Swadeshi and he may be regarded as the first advocate of this movement. After realising that the British government was not likely to protect the industries of the country started Swadeshi movement.

Although a Gujarati he made Hindi the medium of his propagation. This enabled him to reach the Indian masses. The philosophy of Dayanand gave birth to a new spirit and an extremist group.
Throughout the nineteenth century there followed phase after phase of various reforms movements in India to renovate the society.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was a socio-religions reformer. He laid the foundations of Brahmo Samaj. He also attacked the evils prevalent in the society. He opposed the worship of images and attacked the authority of the priests. He attacked the Sati Systems and favoured remarriage of the Hindu widows. His was the religious reforms movement of the nineteenth century. Since religion was the dominating force in Indian society reform of religion meant reform of society. He condemned caste systems and polygamy. A pioneer of modernism Ram Mohan realised the value of western education. He established two English schools.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was a pioneer of political reform in modern India. He played a very important part in awakening the masses. Raja Ram Mohan Roy presented papers before the House of Commons in England in 1831 regarding the judicial and financial conditions prevailing in India. He suggested reforms in the position of agricultural labourers, before a special committee of the House of Commons and condemned increase in the revenue collection by Zamindiairs.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy favoured the freedom of press. He was also a prolific writer.

In 1823 press ordinance was issued Ram Mohan launched a protest against it. This constitutional agitation launched against it constitutes a notable landmark in the history of Indian struggle for freedom. He regarded press ordinance as a serious infringement of civil liberty. He launched a similar agitation against the July act of 1827 by which the
Christians including native converts could not be tried by a Hindu or musalman Juror but any Hindu or Musalman could be tried by Europeans or native Christians.

Ram Mohan was the first Indians to voice grievances of his country before the British authorities. He may justly be regarded as the pioneers of organised political movement in India, and the method followed by him marks the beginning of what came to know in later days as constitutional agitation. Public meetings for giving expressions to public opinion on political matters come into vogue during this time.

The third of great movement in the revival of religion in India was a society called Theosophical society of India. It was Annie Besant who championed the cause of Theosophy in India. She devoted herself to the revival of religion knowing that was necessary to a sense of nationality in India. The movement revived and strengthened faith in the ancient doctrines and philosophies of the Hindus. Theosopies preached Swadeshi and worked for the depressed classes. They condemned the child marriage. Theosophists did a lot for female education and opened girls schools all over the country. The work done by the Theosophical society in India helped in removing the eastern faiths and helped check the destructive effect of missionary zeal. They helped in the establishment of the feeling of pride and self-respect and national spirit among the people.

Swami Vivekanand was the founder of Rama Krishna Mission. He championed the cause of Hinduism in the parliament of religions held at Chicago (USA) in 1893 in connection with the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus. Swami Vivekanand made a place for Hinduism in the cultural map of the world. The Hindu intelligentsia had always taken for granted the inferiority of
their culture vis-à-vis that of the west, which was asserted by the western scholars. Now the representatives of the west joined in applauding the hidden virtues of Hinduism. This restored self-confidence of the Hindus and quickened their sense of national pride and patriotism. He was a great nationalist. He lifted nationalism and patriotism to a high spiritual level. He laid emphasis on the fact that one should not shun away from the world, in order to seek God but one should try to recognise him in his fellow beings, which are images of God himself. He asked all Indian to realise God in the nation and dedicate himself to its service in spirit of religion. He thus gave a spiritual basis to Indian nationalism. He preached that what India needs today is not much religion or philosophy of which she has enough, but food for hungry millions, social justice for the low classes, strength and energy for the emasculated people and a service of pride and prestige as a great nation of the world. This saint galvanised the current of the national life, infused new hopes and aspirations and placed services of the motherland on a religious level.

The most significant trait of the new nationalism was an intense love of the motherland based on the conception of its past glory and future greatness. These four religious movements mark successive developments of the national self-consciousness. Thus religion inspired nationality.

In Bengal the growth of literature made the greatest contribution to the development of national and patriot feelings during the last quarters of the nineteenth century. Bankim Chandra Chatterji’s novel “Anandmath” contains hymn Bande Mataram which had become the national anthem India upto 1947, Sarat Chandra’s ‘Pather Dabi’ was written half a century later. Both the novels made a strong emotional protest against the British rule. Many dramas were written during this period. Some of the evils of the British rule which deeply stirred the feelings of the people formed the
theme of dramas the best illustrations is Nila Darpan by Dinbandha Mitra which depicted the oppression of the indigo planters. Press played a very important part in arousing a spirit of patriotism among the people, by expressing the views of the extremists.

The founding of the Indian national congress in 1885 was the culmination of a process of political awakening that had its beginnings in 1860s and 1870s and took a major leap in the late 1870s and 1880s. In 1885 Dec. Indian National congress was founded. This was the first organised expression of Indian nationalism on an all India scale. The promotion of national unity was a major objective of the congress. The second major objective was to create a common political platform or programme around which political workers in different parts of the country could gather and conduct their political activities educating and mobilising people on an all India basis. The basic objective of the early nationalist leaders was to lay the foundation of a secular and democratic national movement, to politically educate the people and to develop and create an anti-colonial nationalist ideology. As a result of this there was a forward movement in the political ideas in the later half of the nineteenth century.

The **Third Chapter** deals with the opposition to the British period of 1885-1905 in which the moderate dominated the congress. They simply wanted more reforms within the administration and more participation by Indians in the government. Their speeches were characterised with moderation and extreme effusions of loyalty to the British power. But despite this loyalty the British government looked upon the emergence of congress as a political danger to the British power.

The result of the first session of the congress was that it quickened the political consciousness of the people. The early congressmen through
petitions and speeches and articles tried to convince the liberal minded public opinion of Britain. The policy of approaching the great English nation to do justice to India was adopted by the Indian congress as a sacred creed for the next quarter of a century.

The moderate congressmen in the nineteenth century were the first to develop an economic critique of colonialism. According to them India was poor and was growing poorer every day. The cause of this poverty was the drain of wealth from India to Britain. This drain occurred through destructions of handicrafts, hindrances to modern Indian Industry excessive land revenue, salaries of civil and military officers. These leaders were unanimous that the modern industry would help bind the nation into a single national entity. But they were clear on one thing that the industrialisation of the country would be based on Indian capital and not on foreign capital, because foreign capital led to the drain of capital from India and further strengthened the British hold over the Indian economy. In the case of foreign trade the bias was overwhelmingly towards the export of raw materials and import of manufactured goods.

Major obstacle to rapid industrialisation was the policy of free trade, which was ruining India's handicrafts industry and forcing the infant and underdeveloped modern industries into an unequal competition, with highly developed industries of the west.

Indian nationalists asserted that India was economically backward because the British were ruling it in the interest of British trade, industry and capital and poverty was the consequence of the colonial rule.

Though the early nationalists were moderate in policies and political method and many professed loyalty to the British rule. They
sowed in the land, seeds of disaffection and disloyalty and even sedition. The period 1870-1905 became a period of intellectual unrest and of spreading national consciousness.

The legislative councils in India had no real official power till 1920, yet the work done in them by the nationalist helped the growth of the national movement. They demanded, wider participation in legislative councils by a large number of elected Indians to 'discuss and deal with' the budget and to question and criticize the day-to-day administration. Two men who played a very important role in these legislatures and who introduced a new spirit in them were Pherozeshah Mehta and Gopal Krishna Gokhale. Both of them were moderate leaders.

Lord Curzon was instrumental in the partition of Bengal in 1905. The Bengal province comprised Orissa, Bihar and Chota Nagpur. It was the most populous province. The partition intended to curd the Bengali influence by placing them under two administrations and by reducing them to a minority in Bengal. By the new proposal Bengal was to have seventeen million Bengali and thirty seven million Oriya and Hindi speaking people. Partition created division on the basis of religion too, East Bengal had a Muslim majority while the West Bengal had a Hindu majority. There was a tremendous outburst of public indignation over the partition. Our moderate leaders adopted boycott of British goods as a means of throwing a direct challenge to the British authority without violating the laws. Boycott and Swadeshi was adopted by the nationalists for the achievement of political aims. The struggle took an economic turn but it was not a struggle for economic aims. It was the first mass anti-imperialist struggle. The Swadeshi movement stimulated interest in home products. An industrial and agricultural exhibition was held to make the people aware of the home made products available in the country. Many
domestic industries came up during this time. The basic goal of Swadeshi and boycott programme was the attainment of Swaraj or Independence. This Swadeshi and Boycott movement strengthened the feelings of unity and kinship among all the people in India and made them realise that they were one in their struggle against imperialism, Ganapati and Shivaji festivals became a medium of Swadeshi propaganda not only in western India but also in Bengal.

Swadeshi gave a great emphasis to self-reliance. Further self help and constructive work at the village level was envisaged for bringing about social and economic regeneration of the villages and for reaching the masses. Self-reliance also meant an effort to set up Swadeshi or Indigenous enterprises. This period saw the growth of Swadeshi Textile Mills, Soap and Metal factories, Tanneries, Banks, Insurance Companies, shops etc.

The Fourth Chapter deals with the viewpoint of Swadeshi mainly in the period of Garam Dal of congress. The year 1905 was a turning point in the history of Indian National Congress. The partition of Bengal brought a split among the nationalists. The more radical ones came to be known as extremists. These extremists wanted to carry the boycott movement to the rest of India, while the moderates were not prepared to go that far. The fundamental difference between the two parties was that of goal as well as the method to be adopted to achieve it. Moderate congressmen wanted colonial form of self-government, while the extremists wanted complete autonomy, free from foreign control. As regards the method of achieving freedom. The extremists rejected, petitioning and constitutional method of agitation as mad. They advocated 'Passive Resistance' as the only effective means by which the nation could wrest control of the national life.
The extremists were not only in favour of boycott of foreign goods but also advocated boycott of schools, colleges, legislatures, courts and government service. The moderates were not in favour of extending boycott to other items, because they considered it not only impractical but also injurious like the boycott of services and educational institutions. The extremists were convinced that the people had been roused for the big push and clamoured for self-rule or Swaraj, but they felt that the moderates were obstructing their moves.

The congress passed resolutions condemning the partition of Bengal in the 1906 congress resolution but they did not succeed in carrying a resolution-approving boycott. Tilak was the leader of the extremists. The party finally split in 1907 session of the congress at Surat. After the split the government immediately launched a massive offensive on the extremists. The extremists were not able to launch an effective alternative party or to sustain the movement. The moderates gave up all the radical measures adopted at the Benaras and Calcutta sessions of the congress.

The radicals while giving much of their attention to the economic aspect of Swadeshism also emphasised its political implications. The extremist’s leader saw Swadeshi as a means of drawing the masses into the active struggle against the colonialists.

Thus it was a struggle for both economic and political autonomy. These leaders reminded people that the ultimate goal of the national liberation movement was the attainment of independence or ‘Swaraj’. Swadeshi boycott and National Education were the three weapons in the hands of the extremist’s leaders with which they tried to establish Swaraj.
After 1908 the nationalist movement declined. At this time the revolutionary terrorism made its appearance. They carried out assassinations of unpopular leaders and indulged in dacoities, which came to be called Swadeshi dacoities.

The Indians living in Canada and USA also felt the impact of the Nationalist movement in India. Many associations had sprung up in America who were publishing materials against the British rule in India. Finally Lala Hardayal joined them into a single party, which came to be known as ‘Ghadar’. Ghadar kept the India’s struggle for freedom in the forefront of the world opinion, by publishing biographies of the Indian patriots who fought for the motherland.

The Indian response to the ‘Ghadar’ was the home rule league started by Annie Besant. Tilak was incharge of the league in Maharashtra, Karnataka and central province and Berar. While Annie Besant was incharge of the rest of India. They demanded home rule for the Indians.

Finally, I have given about the four extremists leaders and the role they played in spreading the thoughts of Swadeshi and boycott among the people. Bal Gangadhar Tilak through his papers ‘Kesari’ and ‘Mahratta’ tried to propagate his thought of Swadeshi. He started ‘Ganpati’ and ‘Shivaji’ festivals for the same purpose. The idea being to utilise religious instincts and historical traditions for the purpose of evoking national spirit among the people. The name of Shivaji becomes synonymous with unity, courage and sacrifice and Swaraj.

Lala Lajpat Rai was an Arya Samajist and a follower of Dayanand Saraswati. He did a lot for the spread of Swadeshi and boycott in the
Punjab and other parts of northern India. His paper ‘Punjabee’ did a lot to spread the message of Swadeshi and Boycott among the people. This helped to rouse the people for national struggle. As a nation builder, he demanded sacrifice from the people.

Aurobindo Ghosh took nationalism to a religious level. He advocated ‘Passive Resistance’ as a means to wrest control of the national life from the foreigners. The method of passive resister is to abstain from doing something by which he would be helping the government. This method is especially suitable to countries where for the continuance of its administration depends on the voluntary help of the subject people. This attitude is summed up in one word- Boycott. If we are dissatisfied with the education system, we should stop sending our children to school. If we are dissatisfied with the administration of justice we should boycott the courts. We should refuse to cooperate with the government in the industrial exploitation of the country. Aurobindo took politics to a higher plane of spirituality. The prime duty of the people was to save motherland, without pausing to think of its success or failure. His paper ‘Bande Mataram’ continued his doctrine of ‘Passive Resistance’, which later in the hands of Gandhi played an important role in the India’s struggle for freedom.

Bipin Chandra Pal was another follower of Dayanand Saraswati. He was in favour of widow re-marriage. He opposed child marriage and polygamy. He realised that economic resources and wealth of India were being drained out to England and this had impaired the normal development of Indian industry. He advocated Swadeshi and Boycott movement to hurt the Britishers, and thereby to help develop Indian industries. To him Swaraj means political freedom for all people of India.
irrespective of differences in language, religions, communities and geographical areas.

The **Fifth Chapter** deals with Gandhiji's concept of Swadeshi. The broad definition of Swadeshi is the use of all homemade things. Gandhiji says that a true Swadeshista will learn to live without those items which are not produced in our country. It involves an element of self-sacrifice, where the Swadeshista will adopt Swadeshi like a religious discipline.

Gandhiji says that my Swadeshi is to serve my immediate neighbour than my distant neighbourhood eg. I will buy wheat from my grain dealer neighbour rather than buy wheat of America. Gandhiji says, I will serve the country of my birth. Gandhiji was not against the import of those items which was needed for the growth of the country and which cannot be produced in our country. Eg. Surgical Instruments.

Gandhiji's economic ideas were based on the principle of Sarvodaya, which means good of all. He wanted the basic amenities should be available to all strata of the society. His Swadeshi concept means self-sufficiency both at the national level and the local village level. He visualised village as an independent economic unit. He believed in the self-sufficiency of each household. In his economic system there would be simultaneous production and distribution. This meant that the production pattern should be confined to necessaries. Gandhiji was against capitalists and monopolists. He believed that mass production located in factories in particular areas leads to monopolists. This creates a wedge between the privileged few and underprivileged majority.
Concentration of economic power leads to the concentration of political power.

Gandhiji wanted to preserve and protect cottage and village industries through decentralisation of economic powers. Gandhiji advocated spinning wheel for each household. According to Gandhi, this is an alternate occupation for the peasants, who lie idle for every month in a year and Gandhiji wanted to revive cottage industries of the village. With the exit of Charkha, other industries also vanished.

In the social sphere, Gandhiji's concept of Swaraj meant Hindu, Muslim unity and the abolition of untouchability. According to Gandhiji, Swaraj is meaningless if we desire to keep a fifth of India under perpetual subjection, and deny them the fruits of National Development. The moment untouchability goes the caste system will be purified.

Gandhiji's concept of Swaraj in positive sphere means the establishment of Ram Rajya. By this he means rule of the people. In his Ram rajya there would be no race or religious distinctions. The Swaraj is to be for all, the maimed, the sick, the toiling millions. The common man should enjoy all the necessaries of life. Swaraj cannot be brought about without an army of patriots, for whom the good of the nation is paramount, over their personal profit.

Gandhiji's concept of village Swaraj means the self-sufficiency of the Villages. Each village should manage its own affairs. The village affairs will be conducted by the Panchayats of five members. This panchayat will be the legislature judiciary and executive combined. In his Ram Rajya there would be total equality of the masses.
Gandhiji has called his Swadeshi cent percent Swadeshi. Gandhiji says, that he will look into village industries and if he will see any merit in them then he will give encouragement to it. Eg. The Datoon Village Broom. Khadi industry serving them is cent percent Swadeshi. He says that big Indian Industries, who are on sound footing, is also Swadeshi but encouragement should be given to those industries, which are on the verge of decay and death, but because of their utility encouragement should be given to them. He took up, Jaggery, Khadi, hand grinded rice for this kind of encouragement, serving them, accordingly to him is cent percent Swadeshi.

Gram Udyog or village industry according to Gandhiji means, all the village or cottage industries of the village. We should buy articles of daily use form the villages, even if they are inferior to mill products. By buying them, we will give encouragement to the products and thereby serve our villages. Service of villages is service of the nation. Gram Udyog Sangh was established to help and encourages those industries in villages, which are in need of help.

Thus Gandhi’s concept of Swadeshi in the economic sphere means self-sufficiency of the country as well as its villages.

In the social and political sphere he believes in making use of indigenous institutions and curing them of their defects. In social sphere he believes in varnashram dharma, though not the caste system as it is in existence today.

As for Swadeshi, it automatically implies the boycott of those foreign commodities which are of universal use in a country and which
must be universally produced. Foreign cloth is one such commodity, the boycott of which is essential for the development of our economy.

Gandhiji pointed to a close connection between Swaraj and Swadeshi. Swaraj was individual self-rule and Swadeshi was individual self-reliance, while Swaraj was national self-government, Swadeshi national self-dependence. He said the pursuit of Swaraj would necessarily involve the acceptance of Swadeshi.

Gandhiji said that the first step to Swaraj lies in the individual freedom and the Swaraj of the people means the sum total of the Swaraj or self-rule of the individual.

This individual freedom alone can make a man surrender himself completely to the service of the society. Without this individual freedom, no Swaraj can be established.

The Sixth Chapter deals with the non-cooperation movement and the role of the Swadshi in it.

Gandhiji launched non-cooperation programme due to Khilafat wrongs, the Punjab wrongs, the Rowlett Act and for the establishment of Swaraj. The Britishers had made false promise to Indian Muslims during the war that they would give generous treatment to the question of turkey. But the treaty of serves made the dismemberment of turkey complete. The Muslims were quite incensed because they regarded the Caliph of Turkey the Khalifa as their spiritual head. Khilafat agitation was launched and they asked Gandhiji to lead the movement. Its three demands were- Khalifa must retain control over the Muslims sacred places, and he must be left with sufficient territory to enable him to defend the Islamic faith
and that Jazirat-ul-Arab (Arabia, Syria, Iraq, Palestine) must remain under Muslim sovereignty.

After the Jallianwala massacre martial law was promulgated in Punjab and the repression was let loose on the people of Punjab. What incensed the people was the committee (Hunter Commission), which was set up to look into the Punjab events, gave a pro-government report. The entire nation was indignant when general O'Dyre was acquitted of all blame.

The publication of the Rowlett Act, which recommended an extension into peacetime of all the wartime rigors further, angered the people. If this was India's reward in time of peace what hope could there be for home rule?

Gandhiji realised that no government in the world can exist without the co-operation of its people. And if people withdraw co-operation, the government would come to a stand still.

A programme of four-stage non-co-operation was announced boycott of titles, civil service, police, and army and finally non-payment of taxes. The congress also adopted non-co-operation programme. It had two aspects, one positive or constructive and the other was negative or destructive. Constructive non-co-operation refers to the adoption of Swadeshi. For this he advised people to use Charkha to spin and weave. This would give economic independence to people. It also included promotion of Hindu Muslim unity, removal of untouchability, prohibition of alcoholic drinks and collection of a crore rupee in the shape of Swarajya fund.
The negative side refers to boycott of schools, colleges, courts and legislature and finally boycott of foreign cloth. By the reverse process boycott of foreign cloth required the promotion of Swadeshi. Gandhiji said that the way to Swaraj lies through the adoption of Swadeshi.

For Gandhiji, non-co-operation was a duty when co-operation means degradation and humiliation. Gandhiji further says that non-corporation involves an element of self-suffering. The meaning of non-co-operation in terms of the law of suffering means that we should be prepared to put up with all the losses and inconveniences that arise from having to withdraw our support from a government that is ruling against our will, we should be prepared to face all the hardships, we should be ready to live without many things. These things are preferable to national emasculation. Gandhiji said that non-co-operation is for the brave person, someone who is willing to suffer and sacrifice for the cherished cause.

Gandhiji said that his non-co-operation is not with the English or the west but the system that English had established in India one of greed and exploitation of the weak. For Gandhiji Swaraj was “abandonment of the fear of death.” With this moral force at his command he will transform the submissiveness of India to brave defiance, which will help him attain Swaraj.

Non-cooperation had some indirect effects. Many Kisan Sabhas sprang up. The tenants used to register their complaints with these sabhas. These sabhas protested against the injustice e.g. they refused to till bedakhali land and refused to offer hare and begar (forms of unpaid labour). The Mopallas of the Malabar district of Kerala also rebelled against the British.
In Assam, labourers on tea plantations went on strike. There were strikes on steamer service on Bengal. Assam Railways. Defiance of forest laws becomes popular in Andhra. Peasants and tribal in Rajasthan began movements for securing better condition of life. Peasants discontent against the established authority was a familiar feature of the nineteenth century.

The Chauri Chaura incident occurred at Chauri Chaura police station 15 miles from Gorakhpur in U.P., which put a stop to the whole programme of non-cooperation, which involved defiance to the government and the constructive programme. The mob had set the police station on fire and killed the policemen by throwing them in the fire. The government blamed the national volunteers for inciting the mob and blamed non-cooperation movement for all the troubles in the country. Thus ended the first phase of non-cooperation movement.

The Seventh Chapter deals with the last stage of freedom struggle and the role of Swadeshi. In this chapter I have shown the role of Swadeshi in relation to the civil disobedience launched by Gandhiji in 1930. Gandhiji explained that civil disobedience was of two type individual and mass. Individual civil disobedience was like everybody’s inherent right to self-defence. Just as a man in normal life, would resort to his revolver, dagger or fisticuffs to ward off a sudden attack.

Similarly, civil disobedience would be resorted to by the constructive worker as a non-violent equivalent to the use of fisticuffs or arms. Mass civil disobedience means masses would disobey the laws in a civil non-violent manner. For Gandhiji the fulfilment of constructive programme was necessary for the attainment of Swaraj. It takes training and inner strength to practice non-violent, civil disobedience. We must
learn to say 'no' when it becomes a duty. Civil disobedience in fact is the necessary part of non-cooperation. An evil administration does not deserve our allegiance. A good man therefore will resist an evil system or administration with his soul. Disobedience of laws of an evil state is therefore a duty. Civil disobedience is therefore civil breach of immoral statutory enactments. Thus civil disobedience is a synthesis of civility and disobedience i.e. non-violence and resistance. Therefore resistance to bad laws is necessary for man's growth, while civility is the demand of a stable social order without which man's life and growth are not possible.

Gandhiji chose salt Satyagraha because for him salt tax was a sign of oppression of the Indians by the alien government.

This campaign included non-payment of taxes, withdrawal from government courts, schools and offices, boycotting of British goods.

Gandhiji reached the sea by Dandi and broke salt law. He asked people to manufacture salt and thus started the salt Satyagraha.

Gandhiji laid lot of emphasis on constructive work. He said just as the military training is necessary for an armed revolt, training in constructive effort is necessary for civil resistance. His constructive programme had thirteen items. Communal unity had to be maintained in the society. Untouchability had to be removed from the society. It was a blot on Hinduism. Gandhiji was in favour of enforcing prohibition. He advocated Khadi because it denotes economic freedom and equality of all. Khadi means a wholesale Swadeshi mentality. Besides Khadi, we should also develop other village industries like, hand grinding, papermaking, match making and tanning. Gandhiji insisted that people should buy articles made in the villages. Gandhiji also
laid stress on village sanitation. He laid emphasis on the basic education, which will transform village children into model villages. Gandhiji also advocated adult education. By this, he meant, true political education of the masses. People should be made aware of the greatness and vastness of their country. Gandhiji advocated upliftment of women. He advocated education in health and hygiene. He laid stress on the use of our Rashtrabhasha. Finally he wanted the establishment of economic equality.

In places where the land was locked, other kinds of agitations started. In Eastern India, refusal to pay Chowkidar tax started. In Gujarat in Kheda district the peasants refused to pay land revenue. The villagers with their cattle and family crossed into Gujarat to escape repression. Defiance of forest laws assumed mass character in Maharashtra, Karnataka and the Central Provinces, especially in areas in large tribal population. In Assam, a powerful agitation was launched, against the Cunningham circular by the students. This circular forced students and their guardians to furnish assurances of good behaviour.

Many peasant movements took place in the 1930's. It was all manifestations of Swadeshi feeling, which had roused the peasantry.

The no rent campaign started in Oudh in early 1930. The campaign succeeded in rousing the tenancy to withhold rents. In Punjab a no revenue campaign was accompanied by the emergence of the Kisan Sabhas that demanded reduction in land revenue and water rates. Anti-Zamindari struggle started in Andhra.

The Quit India resolution was passed by the Bombay Session of AICC on 8th August 1942. Gandhiji had said- “Leave India to God or
anarchy. This orderly disciplined anarchy should go and if as a result there is complete anarchy, I should risk it."

This was followed by a call for mass struggle on non-violent lines. It had become necessary to launch a movement at this time because though Nehru and Gandhiji did not want to do anything to hamper the antifascist war effect, they realised that any further silence would be tantamount to accepting the right of the British Government to decide India's fate, without any reference to the wishes of her people.

The discontentment of the people was enhanced by the growing feeling of an imminent British collapse.

Gandhiji delivered his famous "Do or Die" speech. "He said, - nothing less than freedom, we shall either free India or die in the attempt. We shall not live to see the perpetuation of our slavery".

Gandhiji had different instructions for different section of the people. Government servants should not be asked to resign but they should openly declare their allegiance to the congress. Soldiers were not to leave their posts but they were to refuse to fire on our people. Princely states were asked to accept the sovereignty of their own people. And the people of the sovereign states were asked to declare that they were part of the Indian nation. Peasants who have the courage and want to risk all should refuse to pay land revenue.

There were three broad phases in the Quit India Movement. The first was predominantly urban and included hartals, strikes and clashes with the police.
From the middle of August the focus shifted to countryside like Benaras, Patna and Cuttack, destroying communications on a massive scale and leading to peasant rebellion. North and Western Bihar, Eastern U.P., Midnapur in Bengal, Pockets in Maharashtra, Karnataka and Orissa were the major centres in the second phase.

Towards the end of September it entered its longest and least formidable phase. This was characterised by terroristic activity by educated youths against communications and police.

In 1942 agitation clearly surpassed all previous congress lead movements in its level of anti British Militancy. Quit India Movement marked a new high in terms of popular participation in the national movement and sympathy with national cause.

Significant feature of the peasant activity was its concentration on attacking symbols of British authority.

Finally the significance of this movement was that it placed the demand for independence on the immediate agenda of the national movement.