The year 1905 is the turning point in the history of the Indian National Movement. Militant Nationalism with its radical ideology and revolutionary methodology took up the challenge. The militant leadership centred around two schools. One the extremist, the other revolutionary. Both were inspired by the common ideal of emancipation of the country from the foreign yoke.

Both represented a romantic revival in religion, but in their methods, they stood poles apart. "The extremists believed in political agitation and national reconstruction through the boycott of British goods and British institutions, the Revolutionaries, however, had a firm faith in the efficacy of the western revolutionaries methods.

The extremists on one hand advocated the boycott of British goods and government institutions like school and courts, on the other hand supported the plan of setting up of local panchayats, arbitration boards and the popularisation of 'swadeshi'.

The revolutionaries believed in the 'cult of the bomb', in political associations and dacoities with the view to paralyse the governmental machinery. British press was not willing to Champion Indian aspirations. They would have to strike the blow for freedom themselves.

The liberal principles, methods and leadership, having failed, militant Nationalism with a youthful leadership, a new technique and vigorous philosophy sprang up.
The starting of a large number of educational centres and industrial concerns in big town led to a large-scale city ward movement of rural population. The cities being centres of awakening, having facilities of contact through platform and press became hot beds of political discontent and revolution.

During the nineteenth century, there was a steady increase in the number of schools and colleges run the government, or missionaries or enlightened Indians. This educated progressive intelligentsia played a revolutionary role.¹

Due to British Control the industrial progress in India was very tardy and whatever Industries had come up lacked national basis. So industry offered no avenues to the educated youth. The once–burdened agriculture too provided no scope. This led to frustration and disappointment among them. In the opinion of Desai – “Political discontent born of the economic suffering due to unemployment, among the educated middle class, was an important factor into the growth of the political current of militant Nationalism of which Tilak, Lajpat Rai, Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh were the principal leaders”.

To safeguard their own interest the Indian industrialist clamoured for protection, subsidies, and favourable exchange ratio and Swadeshi.

¹. The Indian Nationalist Movement by S.C. Bartarya, Pg 102, 105.  
Lala Lajpat Rai- Young India Pg 158, 169, 170.
The nationalist movement which was hitherto mainly restricted to the intelligentsia sections of the commercial bourgeoisie and educated middle class, secured broader base, from 1905, as a result of the entry of large sections of the middle class and politically conscious industrialists.\footnote{2}{Desai-Social Background of Indian Nationalism, Pg 182.}

They became politically conscious in the first decade of this century as is evidenced by the general strike of the Bombay Textile Workers in 1908 on the arrest of Tilak. This was welcomed by Lenin as “The first political action of the Indian proletariat and as the potent of the future.”\footnote{3}{Dutt India Today Pg 273}

Further stimulus to Militant Nationalism was given by the Religious Revivalism and Cultural Renaissance which was on its tidal wave in the beginning of the twentieth century.

This revivalism expressed itself in a marked degree in the political life of Bengal and Maharashtra, which became the centres of militant activities. In Bengal the Shakti cult was revived. The Hindu goddesses were symbolic of the different stages of national evolution. To Aurobindo nationalism was surrounded by a mist of glory, the halo that medieval saint beheld, gleaming round the head of martyrs.

In Maharashtra, Tilak through the inauguration of Ganpati and Shivaji festivals, caught the imagination of the Maharashtrian youth. Tilak’s emphasis on Nishkam Actions, as propounded in Gita infused a
Spirit of self – immolation and martyrdom. A revolutionary wave of insurrection and military was set in motion.

The effect of these revivalists and cultural trends was the creation of a new spirit – the spirit of patriotism, national pride and self-sacrifice. This led to the feeling of revulsion, against things western.

The organisation of festivals, prayer meetings and Kavi Sammelans were attempted in order to escape imperialist restrictions, which banned all direct political organisations. Certainly, the role the revivalists played in awakening the slumbering nation and making it political minded and militant cannot be minimised.

In Bengal, however after 1905 the extremist acquired a dominant influence over the Swadeshi Movement. Social new forms of mobilisations and techniques of struggle now began to emerge, at the popular level. The trend of mendicancy, petitioning and memorials was on the retreat. The militant nationalists put forward several fresh ideas at the theoretical, propagandist and programmatic level. Political independence was to be achieved by converting the movement, into a mass movement through the extension of boycott into a full-scale movement of non-co-operation and passive resistance.

The Indian National Congress took up the Swadeshi, call at the Banaras Session, 1905, presided over by G.K. Gokhale, and supported, the Swadeshi and Boycott movement for Bengal. The militant nationalist led by Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lajpat Rai and Aurobindo Ghosh were

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4. G.N. Singh- Landmarks in Indian Nationalism and Constitutional Development. Pg 152.
5. Garrat- An Indian Commentary, Pg 134.
in favour of extending the movement to the rest of India and carrying it beyond the programme of just Swadeshi and boycott to a political mass struggle.

The aim was now ‘Swaraj’. The moderates were as yet not willing to go that far.  

**SPLIT BETWEEN THE MODERATES AND EXTREMISTS**

The agitation following the partition of Bengal brought into prominence the rise of a new political party which differed in some essential points from, the Indian National congress. This new party was really the product of the new spirit of nationalism and widely differed from the old congress. These two parties were known as moderates and extremists.

The old Congress leaders had an unquestioning loyalty to the British, as their rule in India was a divine dispensation, robust faith in British liberalism and sense of justice. But all these illusions were dispelled by Lord Curzon’s action of partitioning Bengal. Hence B.C.Pal observed in 1907 that “It was Curzon and his partition plan involving as they did, total disregard of the popular will that had destroyed our old illusion about British India.”

The moderates could not reconcile themselves to the boycott of foreign goods and the existing educational institutions. Even the moderates of Bengal did not throw their whole weight in favour of the boycott resolution in the Banaras session of the Congress (1905).

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6. *India’s Struggle for Independence* by Bipin Chandra Pg 128-129.
As the Swadeshi Movement outstripped its original limitation and became an all India Movement. So the extremist party of Bengal became an all – India party under the leadership of Tilak, Lajpat Rai, B.C.Pal and Aurobinda Ghosh. This new alignment in Indian politics’ was the most stirring feature in the congress session held at Calcutta in December 1906. 7

The Indian National congress split in December 1907. Almost at the same time revolutionary terrorism made its appearance in Bengal. The two events were not unconnected.

By 1907, the moderate nationalists had exhausted their historical role, their achievements were immense, considering the low level of political consciousness,. Their failures were too numerous. They lacked faith in the common people, did not work among them and consequently failed to acquire any roots among them. They did not organise any all India Campaigns, and when during 1905-1907, such an all India Campaign did come up in the form of Swadeshi and Boycott movements. They were not its leaders (though the Bengal moderates did play an active role in their own province. Their politics were based on the belief that they would be able to persuade the rulers to introduce economic and political reforms but their practical achievements in this regard were meagre.

Their basic failure however was that of not keeping pace with the events. They had failed to meet the demands of the new stage of the national Movement. Visible proof of this was their failure to attract younger generation.

7. Struggle for freedom –Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, Pg 67-68
The British had been suspicious of the National congress from its inception. But they had not been very hostile, in the first few years of its existence because they believed its activities would remain academic and confined to a handful of intellectuals. However it soon became apparent that the congress would not remain so narrowly confined and that it became a focus of Indian nationalism.

They now began to brand the nationalists as 'disloyal babus', 'Seditious Brahmins',

The hostility of the British toward congress did not abate when the moderates, who controlled the congress, began to distance themselves from the rising militant nationalism tendencies of certain sections of the congress. Instead the British appeared even more eager to attack and finish the congress.

This was so, because firstly however moderate and loyal in their political perception, the moderate were still nationalists and propagators of anti-colonialist politics and ideas.

Secondly, the British policy makers felt that the Moderate led congress could be easily finished because it was weak and without any popular base. Curzon, supported by George Hamilton pursed this policy.

This policy was changed once the powerful Swadeshi and boycott Movement began and militant nationalist trend became strong. An alternative policy of weakening the nationalist movement was now to be followed. Instead of sneering at the moderates, the policy was to be that of 'rallying' them as John Morley the new secretary of State for India
put it in 1907. They new policy, known as the policy of carrot and sticks was to be three pronged one. If maybe described as the policy of repression – conciliation suppression. The extremist as we shall refer to the militant nationalists from now on, where to be repressed, though mildly in the first stage, the purpose being to frighten the moderates. The moderate were then to be placated through some concessions and promises that further concessions would be forthcoming if they disassociated themselves from the extremists. The entire objective of the new policy was to isolate the extremist. Once the moderates fell into the trap, the extremist could be suppressed through the use the full might of the state. The moderates in turn could be ignored.

The government of India, headed by Lord Minto as Vice Roy and John Morley as the Secretary of State offered a bait of fresh reforms in the legislature councils and in the beginning of 1906, began discussing them with moderate leadership of the Congress. The moderates agreed to cooperate with the government and discuss reforms even while a vigorous popular movement, which the government was trying to suppress, was going on in the country. The result was a total split in the nationalist ranks. 8

The fundamental difference between the two parties concerned both the political goal and the method to be adopted to achieve it. As regards the goal, the ideal set by the congress was defined in 1905 as the colonial form of self-government. But the extremist party’s goal was absolute autonomy free from foreign control.

8. India’s Struggle for Independence by Bipin Chandra Pg 135-137.
The extremist party concentrated its whole attention upon the attainment of ‘Swaraj’ or self-government

‘Political freedom’ said Aurobinda’ is the life breadth of a nations, to attempt social reform, educational reform, industrial expansion and moral improvement of the race, without aiming first and foremost at political freedom, is the very height of ignorance and futility”.

For the attainment of this goal of Swaraj, the new party rejected petitioning as mad. They therefore advocated, ‘the old orthodox historical method of organised resistance, to the existing form of government. The new party prescribed organised ‘passive resistance’ as the only effective means of by which the nation could wrest the control of national life, from the grip of an alien bureaucracy.

The leaders and members of the Moderate party vigorously denounced the different items of Passive Resistance proposed by Arabinda and did not have much difficulty is showing how they were impractical (boycott of English goods, government service, Honorary service) or injurious (boycott of Universities and other educational institutions) and items (strikes) might invite heavy repression by government.

The arguments put forward by the Moderates were rational and logical. But the real standpoint of the extremist was that it was time that we should come to regard politics more seriously and as part of our religion.

The Congress had passed resolutions condemning the partition of Bengal in 1903 as well as in 1904. For the first item in 1905
Gokhale, as President of the India National congress declared 'self
government within the empire', as the goal of India.

The resolution condemning the partition of Bengal was
unanimously adopted.

But the boycott resolution proved a bone of contention. The
Bengal delegates particularly the extremist desired that the Congress
should give its seal of approval upon the Boycott movement. But the
moderate's leaders were averse to it as it was in conflict with the policy
of petition and persuasion, which they had hitherto pursued.

The Banaras session demonstrated clearly that the Swadeshi
movement had cast its shadow and in its wake, the new nationalism had
spread its net, all over India. The nationalist's did not succeed in
carrying a resolution-approving Boycott. Though the differences
between the two sections of the congress were somewhat composed.
It decided to remain within the congress but with a distinct programme
of its own 9.

**CONGRESS SESSION OF 1906**

There was a great deal of public debate and disagreement
among Moderates and extremist in the years 1905-1907 even when they
were working together against partitioning of Bengal. The extremist
wanted to extend Swadeshi and boycott movement from Bengal to the
rest of the country. They wanted to gradually extend the boycott from
foreign good to every form of association or cooperation with the

9. Struggle for Independence- Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan, Pg 44.
Colonial government. The moderates wanted to confine the boycott part of the movement to Bengal and were totally opposed to its extension to the government.  

The extremists were convinced that the battle for freedom had begun as the people had been roused. Most of them led by Aurobindo Ghosh felt that the time had come to Part Company with the moderates.

Ghokhale too saw the dangers of a split in the nationalist's ranks and he tried to avoid it. But he could not stand up to the wilful autocrat the Pherozeshah Mehta. He too knuckled under pressure of his own extremists.

The congress session was held on 26\textsuperscript{th} December 1907 at Surat, on the banks of river Tapti, in an atmosphere surcharged with excitement and anger. In no time, the 1600 delegates were shouting, coming to blows, and hurling chairs at each other. The only victorious party was the rulers. Minto immediately wrote to Morely that the 'congress Collapse' at Surat, was a great triumph for us.'

The government immediately launched a massive attach on the extremist. The extremist newspapers were suppressed. Tilak was sent to Jail for 6 years. Aurobindo Ghose was involved in a revolutionary conspiracy case and immediately after being judged innocent, gave up politics, escaped to Pondicherry to take up religion. B.C. Pal temporarily retired from politics and Lajpat Rai left for Britain. The extremists were not able to organise an effective alternative party or to sustain the movement.

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The moderates gave up all the radical measures adopted at the Bananas and Calcutta sessions of the Congress, spurned all overtures for unity from the extremist and excluded them from the party. They thought that they were going to rebuild, but the spirit had, gone out of the congress. They had lost the respect and support of the political Indians especially the youth and were reduced to a small, coterie.

After 1908, the movement as a whole declined. 11

CONCLUSIONS

The Swadeshi Movement highlighted the diversified composition of the Indian bourgeoisie. The realisation, that the middlemen (who were selling foreign goods) were helping to bleed, the country began to take a strong hold on the minds of a large section of the population.

The rise of capitalism resulted in the formation of a national bourgeoisie class a process in which Swadeshi played a big role socially and politically. Meanwhile another class, also the outcrop of capitalism – the proletariat – was emerging rapidly in the wake of liberation struggle of 1905-08.

Its growing awareness of its own interests and how those clashed, with the interests of the British capitalists contributed to the formation of the national bourgeoisie. Its consolidation as a distinct class was further stimulated by its realisation of its special class positions with regard, to the working class and other sections of Indian society.

11. India’s Struggle for Independence by Bipin Chandra Pg 139-141.
The Swadeshi movement was the outcome of the development of capitalism in India, under conditions of colonial enslavement. In turn it expedited the growth of simple commodity and capitalist production in the country. At the same time, Swadeshi was the first mass form of the all India, national liberation struggle against the colonial yoke. It marked the first stage of the India People's liberation movement against imperialism.

In 1905-08 Swadeshi represented a form of joint anti-colonial action by different strata and classes. It awakened feelings of unity and patriotism in the Indian people. It epitomised the extreme polarisation of the forces of British imperialism.

The movement marked the shaping of Indian nationalities. It was conducive for one to the consolidation of the separate Indian nationalities and secondly united all the nationalities against imperialism. Those were the twin related sides of the same process.

Swadeshi was most active in cities and large populated centres. Its effects were not so strong in the rural areas, especially among the peasantry, barring regions like Bengal and the Punjab.

Swadeshi found its champions mainly among the millions of the petty bourgeoisie (handicraftsmen, small traders and intellectuals) and partially among the middle and by bourgeoisie 12.

The bourgeoisie opponents of the British rule were divided from within as far as the methods and aims of the liberation movement.

12. Tilak and the struggle for Indian freedom Pg 412-413.
and of Swadeshi were concerned into two main political groupings, the Moderates and the Extremists.

On the whole, the moderates came from the section of the bourgeoisie; largely well to do which had his with the British capital and the feudal landlords and at the same time favoured the development of indigenous. Indian capitalist enterprise. The moderates preferred to regard swadeshi as a means of affecting the immediate economic aims of that section of the Indian bourgeoisie and solving 'realistic' practical tasks. They didn't deny however, that swadehsi was also political in character although they did nothing to strengthen that side of the movement.

Objectively the extremist, whose leader was Tilak and who counted, Bipin Chandra Pal and G. Pillay, A. Ghosh among their best known spokesmen also stood for the interests of the bourgeoisie and not for any particular section, They spoke for the whole class of nascent, national bourgeoisie a class interested in the broad and rapid development of capitalism, the chief obstacle to which was economic and political oppression by British colonialists. The independent development of India coincided with the national interests of the whole people. While giving much of their attention to the economic aspect of Swadeshism, the extremists simultaneously, emphasised its political implications. They saw Swadehi as a way of drawing the masses, into the active struggle against colonialism, for the attainment of the goals they espoused.

Swadeshi arose in 1905 and developed in the years that followed as the first and one of the basic forms of mass movement that was both economic and political in nature.
An evaluation of Swadehi must not be limited to either of those, except although they may have been separately highlighted in the course of the national liberation struggle. As the movements progressed, Swadeshi went over to more active forms of anti-colonial liberation struggle. That process was reflected by the events in Punjab and the unrest that swept the extreme south and in the diverging positions of different strata culminating in the rift between the Moderates and the Extremists. The same process was reflected in the July action of the proletariat and other sections of the Bombay against the arrest of Tilak.

Swadeshi was specifically, the initial phase, of the nation wide anti-colonial movement, during the imperialism. It became an important means of awakening the wide masses of India to conscious social life and of involving them to the struggle for the emancipation of their country. The masses understood swadeshi as action against the colonialists and viewed the swadeshists as a patriot and an active supporter of the liberation movement.

As an anti-colonial movement of the wide masses, swadeshi did much to spread the ideas of Swaraj among the people. Of this J.D.Rees. member of the viceroy’s council and an expert on India, said –

‘Swadeshi was merged into swaraj or independence and denunciation of British goods eventuated in the condemnation of British rulers’.

Implicit in Swadeshi as if first manifested, itself between 1905 – 1906 was the idea of economic and political independence. As
the liberations struggle progressed, the movement for economic independence was separated out and later associated with the name Swadeshi while the struggle for political independence came to be known as Swaraj. From which it follows that the meaning of the term Swadeshi as it was used in subsequent years cannot be applied to the Swadeshi movement of 1905-08, which implied the struggle for both economic and political autonomy.¹³

By 1906 it was clear that Swadeshi had grown into a popular mass movement.

The views of the extremists were becoming increasingly popular, to the dismay of the moderates.

In the latter half of 1906, the struggle between the moderates and extremists assumed sharper forms.

The new Bengali ‘Bande Mataram’ a newspaper that expressed the views of the Bengali extremists strikingly exposed the conflicting interests of the Indian people and the British colonialists.¹⁴

The attempts of the British imperialists, to draw a line, between what they called ‘true’ and ‘false’ Swadeshi grew more insistent. The most blatant utterance by the British official came from viceroy Minto, speaking at the opening of the Calcutta, Industrial Exhibition late in 1906, the viceroy warned against mixing Swadeshi with politics.

¹³. Tilak and the struggle for Indian freedom Pg 414-415
¹⁴. Tilak and the struggle for Indian freedom Pg 385.
That speech was met with a firm rebuff from the extremist. Tilak exposed the hypocrisy of such speeches —

"Government has always mixed up politics with commerce and so long as they did so, Indians would be perfectly justified, in connecting politics with Swadeshi. It was imperative for us to get protection for our industries. And having waited long enough, to get it from the government, we were now doing, what ought to have been done by the government long ago. It was impolitic, if not dishonest to try to dissuade us from mixing up politics with Swadeshi. We must do, what we can to improve our lot and our industries.... Swadeshi was not important for money making and money making only. It aimed at making people, self reliant and able to secure, the machinery of government to put a stop to the steps that are draining India.— The Times of India Dec. 29 1906 Pg 14.

As the movement grew, the popularity, of the more radically minded public leaders was steadily enhanced. Naturally the participants, in the national -liberation movement, wanted an active and militant leader, to head the only all – India political organisation - the Indian national congress.

In his presidential address, Naoroji criticised the partition of Bengal and urged Hindus and Muslims to unite. He gave a call for Swaraj or self-government.

The Calcutta session of the congress adopted a resolution calling for support to 'Swadeshi', the encouragement of Indian industrial activity and preference for home goods. The item of the boycott for
Bengal, was admitted but the proposal that it be spread to other provinces was defeated by the Moderates' note, moderates were the victors at the Calcutta session.  

The 1906 congress led, by Naoroji was the last phase of joint action by moderates and extremists on an all India scale. The extremists were dissatisfied with the half heartedness and inconsistency of the platform.

The further development of the national, liberation movement, led inevitably to the increasing polarisation of these two basic political trends in India.

Extremists stood for the new demands, of the growing nation-wide movement, of the masses. They urged, the people, to take more vigorous action, reminding them, that the ultimate goal of the national – liberation movement was the attainment of independence or 'Swaraj'. As Tilak said after the Calcutta session of the Congress,

"Swadeshi boycott and National Education, are the three most potent weapons given into one hand by the National congress, and with these we must establish 'Swaraj'. T.L. Shay "The legacy of the Lokmanya the political philosophy of Bal Gangadhar Tilak " Pg. 17 Oxford university press.

15. Tilak and the struggle for Indian freedom Pg 388-390
16. Tilak and the struggle for Indian freedom Pg 390-391
RISE OF EXTREMISM

The impatient young men of Bengal took to the path of individual heroism and revolutionary terrorism. This was because they could find no other way of expressing their patriotism. This was so, because they might have been incensed at the official arrogance. They were led to the politics of the bomb by the extremists failure to give a positive lead to the people.

They rightly emphasised the need to go beyond propaganda and agitation. They put forward a militant programme of passive resistance and boycott of foreign cloth, foreigner's courts, education and so on. They talked about self sacrifice from the youth. This revolutionary youth decided to copy the method of the Irish nationalists. That is to say, they decided to organise the assassination of unpopular British officials. Such assassinations would strike terror into the hearts of the rulers, arouse the patriotic instincts of the people inspire them and remove the fear of the authority from their minds.

Each assassination and if the assassins were caught, the consequent trial of the revolutionaries involved act as a 'propaganda by deed'. Inevitably it appealed to the idealism of youth, it aroused their latent sense of heroism and a large number of young men turned to this form of political struggle.

The extremist leadership let the people down while it praised their sense of self sacrifice and courage, it failed to provide a positive outlet of their revolutionary energies to educate them on the positive difference between revolution based on the activity of the masses and a
revolutionary feeling based on individual action. Perhaps the extremist leadership were constrained by the feeling that it was not proper to politically criticize the heroic youth, who were being condemned and hunted by the authorities. But this failure to politically and ideologically oppose the young revolutionaries proved a grievous error for it enabled the individualistic and terrorist conception of revolution to take place in Bengal.

The era of revolutionary terrorism had begun. Revolutionary terrorism constituted in the end the most substantial legacy of Swadeshi Bengal.

The boycott and Swadeshi movement had been transformed into a mighty urge for national regeneration and political freedom, which manifested itself in various ways. There was a general spirit of open defiance against the government. Prosecution of persons for writing seditious books and article in Newspapers and delivering seditious speeches became the order of the day. The whole thing moved in vicious circles. The repressive measures increased the spirit of resistance and further embittered the tone of writings and speeches.

Very soon, secret societies of revolutionaries came up all over the country, the most famous and long lasting being Anushilan Samiti and Jugantar, V.D. Sarkar organised Abhinary Bharat as a secret society of revolutionaries. Their activities took two forms - the assassination of oppressive officials and informers and traitors from their

17. Indian struggle for Independence by Bipin Chandra Pg 142-144
18. Sunil Tarbar Pg 123.
19. Struggle for freedom by Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan Pg 102-103
own ranks and dacoities to raise funds for purchase of arms etc. The latter came to be popularly known as Swadeshi dacoities.20

Similar extremists trends were emerging in other provinces. Curzon's action and the partition of Bengal aroused widespread resentment throughout educated India.

These trends kept away from the radicalism, associated with Bengal and reaching these provinces mainly via the educated Bengali immigrants, though sympathy was often expressed for 'non-political' Swadeshi enterprise

Extremism failed to make much of an impact on the untied Provinces. The British also seemed quite sympathetic towards non-political Swadeshi and demands for protection of U.P. Sugar.

Extremism in fact became a formidable force only in Benaras, with its big Marathi and Bengali communities and here a revolutionary group speedily emerged maintaining contacts with Calcutta.

Benaras because of its geographical position came to occupy an important place in revolutionary plans as the meeting place of Bengal and Punjab groups.

20. B.C. Pal -Pg 144.
SWADESHI IN PUNJAB

In Punjab with its well-established traditional business communities (mostly belonging to Khatri, Agarwal or Arora castes) constructive Swadeshi in the fields of banking, insurance and education had roots, going back to the 1890's and there had been some moves to organise a boycott of foreign cloth Arya Samajist had been prominent in such self-help efforts.

For a few months in 1907, there were a series of provocations from the British. The Punjab intelligentsia was infuriated by the prosecution of the 'Punjabee' for writing about racist outrages. The trial of the Punjabi editor led to demonstrations. What really frightened the British were signs of discontent and militancy among the peasantry in certain areas, Sikh, Muslim as well as Hindu were particularly ominous since, Punjab supplied one third of the man power for the British Indian army. Lajpat Rai was deported in May 1907, on charges of instigating the peasants.

Much more important were the activities of Ajit Singh (uncle of Bharat Singh) who organised the extremist Anjuman-I-Mohibban-I-Watna in Lahore with its journal Bharat – Mata a combination of Muhammad am and Hindu names. Like many Bengal Samitis, Ajit Singh’s group turned to terrorism. In 1907, it was very active in carrying non-payment of revenue and water rates among chenab colonists and Bari Doab peasants.

There were reports of sepoys attending seditions meetings at Ferozepur and a government more to debar five leading Rawalpindi
lawyers from the courts for having sponsored an Ajit Singh meeting, led to massive protests in the latter city.

Punjab Extremism died down quickly, after the government struck in May 1907 with a ban on political meetings and the deportation of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh

**SWADESHI IN MADRAS**

Meetings were held in sympathy with Bengal in Andhra Delta towns like Rajamundhry, Kabinda and Masulipatam from 1906 onwards. Repressive measures against Rajamundhry students for wearing Vandemataram badges and attending Pal’s meetings led to a student strike, followed by a movement to start national schools in Andhra. The Swadeshi atmosphere also contributed heavily to a new interests in Telugu language, literature and history.

Chidambaran Pillai developed into a major extremist leader and in October 1906, a Swadeshi Steam Navigation company was started in Tuticorin to run steamers up to Colombo. The bitter hostility towards this Swadeshi Venture shown by the British India steam Navigation company sharpened anti-foreign feelings in Tuticorin. A sharp march towards radicalism became apparent from January 1908 with the arrival of Subramania Siva from Madras who began addressing daily meetings on Tuticorin beach together with Chidambaran Pillai, preaching the message of Swaraj, extended boycott and occasionally urging more violent methods. The British efforts in mid march to stop meetings and prosecute Siva and Pillai led to closing of shops, protest strikes by private sweepers, carriages drivers, attacks on municipal offices law courts. The Calcutta Banda Mataram on 13th 1908 hailed
the Tuticorin events as forging a bond... between the educated class and the masses, which is the first great step towards Swaraj every victory for Indian labour is a victory for the nation. As is Bengal, this ‘first great step’ remained beyond the reach of extremism and after the removal of Siva and Pillai radicals became inactive.

MAHARASHTRA

The Swadeshi mood led to a rapid development of radical journalism with ‘Kesari’ reaching a circulation of 20,000 by 1907. The creed of Swaraj, extended boycott or passive resistance was energetically preached by Tilak and his close associates both in Maharashtra and in other provinces, speeches like the Tenets of the New party remain extremist classics together with Pal’s Madras lectures and Aurobindo’s bande Matarams articles.

There was a revival of religion-political festivals already pioneered by Tilak in 1890’s (Ganapati, Shivaji, Ramdas) bonfires of foreign cloth were organised and a Swadeshi Vastu Pracharini Sabha was set up in Bombay city to carry the new message.

Bombay industrialists (overwhelmingly Parasi or Gujarati) were Luke warm supporters of Swadeshi. Swadeshi enthusiasm for indigenous cloth, Contributed to the super profits made by Bombay and Ahmedabad mill owners during 1905-1906. 21

21. Sumit Sarkar- Pg 125-134
Modern India, 1885-1947.
Revolutionary terrorism gradually petered out. Lacking a mass base despite remarkable heroism, the individual revolutionaries organised in small secret groups, could not withstand suppression by the colonial state. But despite their small numbers and eventual failure, they made a valuable contribution to the growth of nationalism in India.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES IN INDIA AND ABROAD

The Indians living in Canada and U.S. felt ashamed of their political status and realised the value of liberty and democracy. This brought political consciousness and yearning for liberty. They also felt the impact of the nationalist movement in India.

During the Swadeshi movement, Indian groups in America were publishing materials against the British rule in India. Free Hindustan published in 1908, by Tarka Nath das and his group was probably the first regular propaganda sheet in U.S.A. It won American particularly Irish-American sympathy and support.

Many political organisations had sprung up, under different groups of leaders, ultimately all these parties joined into a single party which came to be known as ‘Ghadar’. Lal Hardayal was guiding spirit of this movement. The most important function of this body was to educate its supporters in India politics and to collect funds.

The ‘Ghadar’ sought to arouse the national self-respect of Indians

22. B.C. Pal, Pg 154, India’s Struggle for Independence.
by emphasising the point that they were not respected in the world because they were not free. The Ghadar also kept Indian’s struggle for freedom in the forefront of world opinion by publishing the biographies of the great Indian patriots who fought for the freedom the motherland.

Almost every issue of the Ghadar contained poems urging upon India to take up arms, rise in insurrection, and kill the British etc.

The specific measures suggested by the Ghadar may be mentioned as follows – (a) The deduction of Indian troops (b) the murder of loyal subjects and officials, (c) hoisting the revolutionary flag, (d) breaking of jails (e) The looting of treasuries, thanas etc. (f) the propagation of seditious literature, (g) union with the foreign enemies of the British, (h) the commission of dacoities, (i) the procuring of arms, (j) the manufacture of bombs (k) the formation of secret societies, (l) destruction of railways and telegraphs, (m) the recruitment of young men for revolutionary work.

The Ghadar became very popular, particularly among the Indians living abroad. The paper appeared in Gurumukhi, Urdu, Hindi and English. Ghadar became a centre of worldwide revolutionary propagandas, on behalf of India, to raise the country in the estimation of Europeans and Indians 23

HOME RULE MOVEMENT

The adventure of the Ghadar revolutionaries was the dramatic response of Indians living abroad, to the First World War. We now turn to the more effective, Indian response the home Rule league movement led by Lokamnya Tilak and Annie Besant.²⁴

In 1914, the Theosophist leader, Annie Besant, decided to enlarge the sphere of activities to include a movement for Home Rule on the lines of the Irish Home Rule league.

It was decided that their initial phase of action would be to set up an agency to enlighten the villager regarding the objects and work of the congress. Annie Besant managed to persuade the congress to commit itself to a programme of educative propaganda and to a revival of the local level congress committees. Annie Besant announced the formation of the Home Rule League. The two leagues, one led by Tilak and the other by Annie Besant, demarcated their area of activity. Tilak’s league was to work in Maharashtra, Karnataka the central province and Berar and Annie Besant’s league was given charge of the rest of India.

Tilak through his lectures clarified and popularised, the demand for Home Rule ‘India was like a son who had grown up and attained maturity. It was right now, that the trustee or the father should give him, what was his due. The people of India must get this affected. They have a right to do so.

²⁴. Bipin Chandra Pg 159-169
He linked up the question of Swaraj with the demand for the formation of linguistic states and education in the vernacular.

The demand for Home rule was made on a wholly secular basis. The British were aliens, not because they belonged to another religion, but because they did not act in the Indian interest. ‘Alienness’ has to do with interests. Alienness is certainly not concerned with white or black skin... or religion.

The main thrust of the activity was directed towards building up of an agitation around the demand for Home Rule. This was to be achieved by promoting political education and discussion. Arundala through New India, advised members to promote political discussion, establish libraries, containing material on national politics, organising classes for students on politics, print and circulate pamphlets collect funds, organise social work take part in local governmental activities, arrange political meetings and lectures, present arguments to friends in favour of Home rule and urge them to join the movement. Further, they would always respond when a nation-wide call was given for protest on any specific issue.

Many moderate congressmen, who were dissatisfied with the inactivity into which congress had lapsed, joined the Home Rule agitation.

The increasing popularity of the Home Rule Movement soon attracted the government’s wrath.

The tremendous, achievement of the Home Rule Movement and its legacy was that it created a generation of ardent nationalists who formed the backbone of the political movement in the coming years. Under the
leadership of the Mahatma, it entered its truly mass phase. The Home Rule leagues also created organisational links between town and country, which were to prove invaluable in later years. By popularising the idea of Home rule or self-government and making it a commonplace thing, it generated a widespread pro-nationalists atmosphere in the country. 

25. Tilak and the struggle for Indian independence Pg 454-456.
Swami Dayanand’s militant view gave a radical content to Indian nationalism. The apostles of this new spirit were Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Binpin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai and Aurobindo Ghose.

The Tilak school which emerged from the Dayanand School, began to change the political outlook of the English educated Indians and played an important role in national movement. The new leadership of Tilak School, desired a radical change, a revolution in the system of government which was expressed by the term ‘Swaraj’ and ‘Swadeshi’, which it now demanded and which became the goal of Indian political programme. The new school demanded social equality and political emancipation as its birthright. The leaders of this school drew sustenance from India’s heritage and appealed to Indian’s by invoking religious patriotism.

Unlike Raja Ram Mohan Roy they rejected the idea of England’s providential mission in India as an illusion. The extremists did not use petitions and arguments as their weapons but employed, speech and pen as their weapons for concessions and opposed the use of the sword. They advocated militant struggle, not debate 1.

In original conception, Swadeshi was a movement of self-help and self-respect of it aimed at being only constructive. Speaking about the movement on 9th Feb. 1907, at Lucknow Gokhale, said (after the break up of Congress at Surat) that:-

1. Swami Dayanand Saraswati by Dhanpati Pandey, Pgs. 131
“Swadeshism, at its highest is a deep, passionate, fervent, all embracing love of the motherland and that this love seeks to show itself, not in one sphere of activity only, but in all; it invades the whole man and it will not rest until it has rise the whole man.

In the same speech, Gokhale observed, the object aimed at by East India Co. was to reduce India to the level of an agricultural country producing raw materials without factorises to manufacture the same. This was the first stage in the industrial decay.

The second stage began when England forced on India the policy of Fee Trade England’s own policy for centuries had been that of protection and by that policy, she had built up her vast industrial system England has always depended on foreign countries for most of her raw material and she has been supplying manufactured articles practically to the whole world. The policy of free trade tax was bound to produce results of a disastrous character

Our products were all hand made steam; machinery and electric power were unknown in the country. Our industries were therefore, bound into perish as a result of competition to which they were exposed.

In the absence of the state doing anything in India, for its industrial progress, it became the duty of the people themselves to afford such protection and the swadeshi movement therefore became a patriotic duty of Indians in the absence of political power, to regulate tariffs, give subsidies and take other similar measures.
Tilak took immense pains to spread these views among the vast masses by propaganda in the language of the people. He took active steps to translate these views in practice by promoting swadeshi industrial activity by associating himself with such ventures as the swadeshi cooperative stores and the paisa Fund class works.

Tilak associates and disciples started a match-manufacturing factory at Karad. He gave active guidance to a match-manufacturing factory at Ellichpur in Berar. He took interest the manufacture of paper also.

But his most notable contributions was his incessant writings in the 'Kesari' during 1905-08, not only for what was called only economic Swadeshi or 'honest swadeshi' by Lord Minto but also boycott was adopted as a political weapon by the Bengalis. He justified boycott as perfectly legitimate and said that it must be directed against Britain. He openly preached that such goods as we could not do without and which could be ordered from countries other than Britain must be ordered from those countries in order to make the British understand that this campaign was deliberately meant against them.

During this period Tilak advocated both economic and political swadeshi.

Essentially and in intent from the beginning, however the swadeshi cult was a cult of self-reliance, self-help and self-respect directed towards industrial regeneration of the country.
This message of Swadehsi with boycott as its aggressive side was popularised most in the whole of Maharashtra by Tilak and S.M. Paranjpe through Press and the platform.\(^2\)

Tilak used to describe his profession as that of journalist and authors. He was associated throughout with the conduct of the ‘Kesari’ and the ‘Mahratta’ from 1881-1920. These papers were primarily views papers, vehicles of opinion.

He looked upon ‘Kesari’ as his chief vehicle for propagating his view as he wanted them to be disseminated as widely as possible. He took great care to see that it was cheap, within the reach of the common man. This objective determined his style it had to be direct simple forthright. It must expose oppressive offices. It must criticize fearlessly and frankly and must make constructive suggestions for the reform of the administration and society and thus always give a proper lead. In one word it must champion the people's cause in every sense.

The Kesari has been citadel of national fight and has remained unstormed and impregnable and became a national asset. Many newspapers succumbed to pressure from bureaucratic repression sedition suits, demand of heavy fines and securities, but Kesari was saved miraculously. Even then it faced several prosecutions for sedition and defamation.\(^3\)

A Swadeshi bazaar was opened in Tilak's own compound on 12 June 1906. More than 50 stalls of swadeshi goods were there. A similar swadeshi

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2. Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Swadeshi by T.V. Parvate Pgs 284-288
fair was held in Bombay at Dadar, where 36 stalls exhibited swadeshi articles.

The whole of Maharashtra was agog with the Swadeshi slogan. Theatrical companies staged play on Swadeshi. Quite many people gave up sugar because no Swadeshi sugar was available, they took only gur. Students of the Rajaram college of Kolhapur, refused to answer questions in the answer books because they were made of foreign paper. They tore off the books and left the examination hall. They were canned later for this indiscipline.

Such incidents could be given endlessly from the files of Kesari and other newspapers. This shows how greatly the people were taken up by the Swadeshi movement. The credit for this chiefly goes to Tilak and his ‘kesari’.

Tilak himself used only swadesh cloth. He gave up sugar at Benaras having taken a vow. He used swadeshi paper for the kesari and the Mahratta as far as possible. Candles, soap, Match boxes and sundry articles were swadeshi in household.

In Maharashtra as in Bengal national holidays were made occasions for the dissemination of swadeshi ideas.

The imagination of the Ganapati and Shivaji festivals by Tilak, which may be said to be an important landmark in the history of the new movement. Tilak’s object was to utilize the religious instincts and historical traditions

4. Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Swadeshi by T.V. Parvate Pgs 289-290
for the purpose of engendering patriotism and national spirit among the people. He also hoped, that these festivals organised on a popular basis would bring together the masses and classes.

The Ganpati festival was an old religious institution in Maharashtra but Tilak transformed it into a national festival and gave it a political characters by organising lectures, processions, melas and singing parties.

These were calculated to inculcate in the people organised discipline and the love of their country. Besides it offered a common platform to the masses and classes and helped considerably in fostering national sentiment and promoting political education among large sections of people.  

Tilak stated that ‘there is nothing wrong in providing a platform for all the Hindus of all high and low classes to stand together and discharge a joint national duty. Shivaji was projected as a liberator of Maharashtra and protector of Hinduism.

These celebrations led to another important development, namely revision of the historical estimate of Shivaji. The idea gradually gained ground that “shivaji ought to be judged by the standard of morality applicable to a great public benefactor. He had on his shoulders the

5. History of freedom movement by R.C. Majundar Pgs 376-378
responsibility of establishing Swaraj for the Marathas and whatever he did with the purpose of accomplishing his end, was done for national goods”.

Shivaji was fully justified in killing Afzal Khaan, because it was a great unselfish act for national preservation 6.

The name of Shivaji was a symbol of unity, courage and sacrifice. It stood for complete political emancipation. Shivaji and Swaraj were synonymous words.7

The appeals of Shivaji, whose memory was also honoured in Bengal, during 1906, played no small part in that process. The newspaper, Bangalee, published by S. Banerjee explained it as follows –

“Shivaji was an expression of the periodic efforts made by India, at unification of her different parts... we honour him because he was the last exponent of the great and glorious idea of a unified India”

The wide masses of Indians were rallying ever more heartily to Tilak’s view that the real aim of Swadeshi was India’s political awakening and it was a means of shaking the people out of their torpor – Times of India, 13th Nov. 1906, Pg. 11.

The mood of the wide masses, now aroused to struggle against the colonial yoke was expressed by political leaders like. Tilak. As the liberation movement grew, the popularity of the more radically minded public leaders steadily enhanced.8

6. History of freedom movement by R.C. Majumdar Pgs 379-380
7. History of freedom movement by R.C. Majumdar Pgs 382-384
8. Tilak and the struggle for Indian freedom by India Department Pg. 380, 385, 388
Tilak began his public work, as early as 1881, he complained in the Kesari — There is such a thing as public opinion which autocrats dread but we have done nothing to create such public opinion here. “He further asserted.

“Princes become tyrants because the people do not assert themselves. If they do so in unity the rulers will be powerless before them.

Tilak has been variously described as the “Father of Indian Unrest”, “Maker of Modern India”. “Pioneer of Democratic Swaraj was one of them, because he has constantly and unceasingly struck this note in his lifelong, propaganda for political autonomy. Tilak’s vision to see Indian Swaraj as democratic Swaraj, which he felt certain would arise only out of the awakening of the people, their power of self-assertion and self-reliance”

9. Bal Gangadhar Tilak by Parvate Pg. 266
LALA LAJPAT RAI AND SWADESHI

Lal Lajpat Rai, a staunch Arya Samajist, followed the path of Dayanand and popularised the Vedas and Hindi.

The philosophy gave birth to a new spirit and the extremist group and the militant nationalism was steeped in a religious spirit. The alliance between nationalism and religious revivalism gave people a new feeling of manly self-reliance and determination to resist foreign domination and to undergo suffering make sacrifices if necessary.

Lala Lajpat Rai was one of the three leaders of Indian extremism. The teachings of Dayanand had greatly influenced him and he jointed the Samaj in 1882. He was drawn to it by its nationalist outlook, its social reform programme and its educational mission.

The Samaj stimulated his patriotic impulse and the spirit of self-sacrifice, self-reliance and self-help. It was Samaj, which prepared him for the larger and more vital field of political work.

Lalaji joined the Indian National Congress in 1888 A.D. and soon became one of the foremost public men and speaks of his time. Like other extremists he too was an ardent patriot. He accepted Swaraj, Swadeshi and Boycott as the new religions of India. ¹

The message of Swadeshi and boycott of foreign goods soon spread to the rest of the country. Ajit Singh and Lal Lajpat Rai, spread the

¹ Swami Dayanand Saraswati-Dhanpati Pandey, Pg. 132-139
message of Swadeshi in Punjab and in other parts of northern India. The Indian National Congress took up the Swadeshi call in the Benaras session 1905, presided once by G.K. Gokhale, supported the Swadeshi and boycott movement for Bengal. The militant nationalists led by Tilak Bipin Chandra Pal, Lajpat Rai and Aurobindo Ghose, were in favour of extending the movement to the rest of India and carrying it beyond the programme of just Swadeshi and boycott to a full-fledged political mass struggle. 

The patriot Lal Lajpat Rai, known as the ‘Lion of the Punjab’. Writing in Young India, under heading ‘The congress lacked essential of a National Movement’. In his opinion the congress failed because its movement was neither inspired by the people nor devised or planned by them.

Lajpat Rai was an architect of extremist in the country and an eminent exponent of the views of that school. The congress with its ineffective voice of moderation against imperialist high handedness appeared to Lajpat Rai nothing but a failure. This view served as the background to his thesis developed in ‘Young India’ in which he suggests that the congress lacking the elements of a national movement had failed and it is only from 1906 that truly Nationalist Movement developed. Referring to the Calcutta session of 1906 when the congress decided upon the ideal of self-government. Lalaji Says: “that is the date of the birth of the real National Movement in India.”

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2. B.C. Pal-Pg 128.
India struggle for freedom
3. Lajpat Rai-'Young India' Pg 147
He regards the Congress as lacking the character of a National Movement because it had the limited aim of a share in administration and its methodology was that ‘Political mendicancy’, its ideal was changed first from administrative reforms to self-government and then finally to Purna Swarajya.  

The New Party as the very assertive school of thought represented by the advanced militants in Bengal by Pal and Aurobindo and the Bande Mataram in Maharashtra by Tilak and his Kesari by Lajpat Rai and the Punjabee in the Punjab came to be characterised with intensifying their campaigns of Swadeshi and boycott.

The Punjabee was launched in October 1905. From the very first issue, it confirmed the public expectation that it would take a bold stand.

The Punjabee, was intended to work week after week and in a variety of ways for the creation of a new political consciousness in the Punjab. The Punjabee, dealt with the local grievances, police high handedness and rare arrogance in their columns.

Lajat Rai’s ‘Punjabee’ in the Punjab came to be characterised with intensifying their campaign of Swadeshi and boycott.

When Surendranath Banerjee was arrested and his meeting broken up they had assembled to protest against the circular which forbade the shouting of Bande Mataram in East Bengal.

5. Indian National Evolution by Majumdar, Pgs 146
In Lajpat Rai's Lahore, a public meeting voiced this resentment promptly and vigorously and Lahore's lead was followed in other parts of India. Bengal, Maharashtra and Punjab were regarded as the strong holds of "Extremism." 

Like his Swami, Lal Lajpat Rai was a nation builder. He asked Indians not to depend on outside help or to ask for political concessions from their British rulers.

Under the impact of Dayanand's views he enhanced the idea of superiority among masses. Once he declared — "We are inferior to none of the earth. In no department of associated life or private life are we inferior to any nation in the world what are we inferior in. We have been inferior in the capacity to write. We have been inferior to adaptation to the modern requirements. We have been inferior in learning the lesson of modern diplomacy."

As a nation builder, he demanded sacrifices. He declared that the basic problem of India could not be solved by speeches and resolutions only. What was needed was preparedness to undergo sacrifices for the country.

Dayanand had defined "Swaraj" Lalaji demanded it, he encouraged his countrymen to take steps against the British Raj and shed blood for Swaraj.

For the growth of Indian nationalism, it was necessary that all Indians irrespective of their difference would at least share a sense of

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6. Lajpat Rai (Life and works) Pgs. 102-118, Peroz Chand
unity in struggling together against a common enemy.

Lajpat Rai advocated Hindu-Muslim unity and appealed to both the communities to be united with a determination to win Swaraj. He lectured on Hindu-Muslim unity at several places and created a friendly feeling among the persons of both the communities.

Lajpat Rai occupies a great place in the history of Arya Samaj and in the national movement of India. In the words of Mahatma Gandhi – Lalaji means an institution. From his youth, he made it his religion to serve his country. He was an ardent social and religions reformer.

He was a militant in his view and joined the Tilak group. As an extremist leader in the congress he opposed Moderates and demanded ‘Swaraj’. Later on he joined non-cooperation movement at the call of Mahatma Gandhi.

He passed away on 17 Nov. 1928. He left behind a legacy for his friend’s admirers and countrymen whom he loved. It was legacy of rich patriotism, relentless campaign for freedom and of an ardent zeal for social reform 7

7. Swami Dayanand Saraswati (Dhanpati Pandey) Pgs 134-136
Aurobindo Ghose and Swadeshi

One particular aspect of the Swadeshi moment which M.K. Gandhi prized above anything else should be specially emphasised. It taught the people to challenge and defy the authority of the government openly in public and took away from the minds of even ordinary men and dread of police assault and prison. To go to prison to get lathi blows from the police becomes a badge of honour and not as hither to a band of infamy.

Aurobindo Ghose was a high priest of the swadeshi movement. The Swadeshi movement gave a great impetus to nationalism through the nationalistic cum patriotic literature which it brought into being. The literary talents of Aurobindo Ghose blazed forth day after day in his articles in the Bande Mataram. He not only expounded the religious and philosophical basis of nationalism, but also presented it as a sub line sentiment in human life.

"Love has a place in politics" he said "but it is the love of one's country . . . The feeling of delight in the touch of the mother soil – music poetry, habits dress, manners of one Indian Life – this is the physical root of that love".

The pride in one's past the pain in our present the passion for the future are its trunk and branches, self-sacrifice great service, high endurance for the country are its fruits. The hopes which keeps it alive is the realisation of the motherhood of God in the country the vision of the mother, the perpetual contemplation, adoration and service of the mother."
Rabindra Nath’s poems, were also no less remarkable they were distinct with patriotism and national consciousness.

The ideas which inspired Bankim Chandra to write Bande Mataram hymn was expressed through the charming poems and songs by Rabindra Nath.

Rabindranath sang glories of ancient India and its culture and held vividly before the people the portraits of Shivaji and Guru Gobind Singh as nation-builders. Both Aurobinda and Rabindra Natgh Tagore proved that ‘the pen is mightier than sword’. The work of both was ably supplemented by a number of other poets and writers. Every type of literature essays, drama, history, novel, was used to create and foster genuine national feelings.

It would be hardly an exaggeration to say that the whole atmosphere of Bengal was surcharged with the new literacy current which galvanised the whole country ¹.

It gave a new meaning to Swadeshi and a formidable impetus to the newly awakened national consciousness of the people.

A new political ideology inspired by Tilk, Aurobind Ghose and others, brought into being a new school in Indian politics distinct from the Indian National Congress. The Swadeshi movement widened the wedge between the two and gave rise to two distinct political parties known as the Moderates and the extremists. ²

¹. Struggle for Independence by Bhartiya Vidya Mandir, Pgs. 60-64
². Swami Dayanand Saraswati by Dhanpati Pandey Pgs. 173-174
As regards the method the extremist party concentrated its whole attention upon the attainment of 'Swaraj' or self-government. 'Political freedom' said Aurobinda is the life breadth of a nation. To attempt social reform, educational reform, industrial expansion, moral improvement of the race without first aiming at political freedom is the very height of ignorance and futility.

Of the three possible lines of policy for the attainment of the goal, the new party rejected 'petitioning' as mad. The party considered 'self-developments and self-help as vague and inadequate and therefore advocated the old orthodox historical methods of organised resistance to the existing form of government.

The new party prescribed organised 'passive resistance' as the only effective means, by which a nation could wrest the control of national life from the grip of an alien bureaucracy.

Aurobinda wrote a series of seven articles on 'Passive Resistance' in the Bande Mataram between 11\textsuperscript{th} and 23\textsuperscript{rd} April 1907. These contain a masterly exposition of the doctrine of passive Resistance', which later in the hands of Gandhi, played an important role in Indians' struggle for freedom.

The following extract world convey a fair idea of the theory and programme of Passive Resistance.

"The essential difference between Passive or defensive and active or aggressive resistance is this, that while the method of the aggressive resister is to be something by which he can bring about a positive harm
to the Government. The method of the passive resister is to abstain from doing something by which he would be helping the government. The object in both cases is the same — to force the hands of the government; the line of attack is different. The passive method is especially suitable to countries where the government depends mainly for the continuance of its administration on the voluntary help of the subject people. The first principle of passive Resistance is to make administration under present conditions impossible by an organised refusal to do anything which shall help either the British commerce in the exploitation of the country or British officialdom in the administration of it.

If we consider various departments, we can see how administration in each can be rendered impossible by successfully organised refusal of assistance. We are dissatisfied with the fiscal and economic conditions of British rule in India. By an organised and relentless boycott of British goods, we propose to render further exploitation of the people, impossible.

"If we are dissatisfied with the conditions under which education is imparted in this country. Accordingly we refuse to send our boys to government schools or to schools aided and controlled by the government".

"We are dissatisfied with the administration of justice, the ruinous costliness of the civil side, the brutal ignorance of its criminal penalties and procedures, its partiality. We refuse accordingly to have any resort to the alien courts of justice and by an organised judicial boycott propose to make the bureaucratic administration of justice impossible, while these conditions continue."
"Finally we disapprove of the executive administration, its arbitrariness, its medalling character, its thoroughness of repression, its misuse of the police for the repression, instead of the protection of the people. We refuse accordingly to go to the executive for help, or advice or protection and by an organised boycott of the executive purpose to reduce executive control and interference to a mere skeleton of its former self." Finally comes the refusal to pay taxes.

The theory of 'Passive Resistance' was further explained by Aurobinda in his famous. "An open letter to my country men" published in 'Karmayogin' on 31st July 1909. This is looked upon as his political will.

"Our methods are those of self help and passive Resistance. The essence of this policy is the refusal of co-operative so long as we are not admitted to a substantial share and an effective control in legislation, finance and administration. No control, No cooperation should be the watchword of our lawful agitation. We sum up this refusal of cooperation in one word -Boycott.

Refusal of co-operation in industrial exploitation of our country, in education in government, in judicial administration. The use of the words no cooperation is significant in the light of the non-cooperation movement launched by Gandhiji ten years later.

The members of the moderate party vigorously denounced the different items of passive resistance proposed by Arabinda and had not much difficulty in showing how they were either impracticable (boycott English goods, Govt. services. Honorary offices or injurious (boycott of
Universities an other educational institutions) an some items (strikes might invite heavy repression by government.

The real stand point of the extremists was that it was time that we should come to regard politics more seriously and as part of our religion. This would be evident from the following passage from a speech of Arbinda—

“There is a creed, in India today which calls itself Nationalism a creed which has come to you from Bengal … what is Nationalism; Nationalism is not a new political programme. Nationalism is a religion, that has come from God. If you are going to be a Nationalist, if you are going to assent to this religion of nationalism, you must do it in the religions spirit. It is a religion by which we are trying to realise God in the nation, in one fellow country men we are trying to realise Him in the three hundred millions of our people.”

Arbinda thus took politics on a much higher plane of spirituality. He regarded patriotism as a form of devotion and said to the new generation, the redemption of their motherland should be regarded as their time religion the only means of salvation.

“If a demon sits on the breasts of my mother and is about to drink her blood, should I site idle and calculate whether I have the strength enough to fight it. “My only duty is to rush to the rescue of my mother. In the similar spirit, the Indians should approach the political questions – their prime duty was to save the Motherland. It was for them to rush headlong to achieve this goal without pausing to think of its probable success or failure”
Arabinda’s. Article in the Bande Mataram put the extremist party on a high pedestal all over India. He expounded the high philosophy and national spirit, which animated the party. Fired with religious fervour, he preached nationalism as a religion.

Bande Mataram contained a masterly exposition of the doctrine of “Passive Resistance”, which later in the hands of Gandhi played an important role in India’s struggle for freedom.

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BIPIN CHANRA PAL

Bipin Chandra Pal was another admirer of Dayanand Saraswati. He discovered, in the teachings of Dayanand a powerful defensive weapon, with which Indians could repudiate the claims of superiority of Christianity and Islam over their own national religions. He also revived the ancient culture by starting the Shakti Cult. Lal Lajpat Rai was a nationalist of Arya Samaji stock and three followers of the Swami Aurobindo Ghosh and these leaders demanded swaraj and advocated Swadeshi. The stress on Swadeshi at the time of agitation against the partition of Bengal speaks of the far sightedness of the founders of the Arya Samaj. His cult of Swadeshi carried forward in all domains of life, had a tremendous political impact. ¹

Progressive tradition of the nineteenth century social reforms of Bengal found adequate support in Bipin Chandra. His pre-swadeshi writings and speeches bear ample testimony to this trend. As early as in 1884, Pal opposed child marriage and supported widow re-marriage. He found nothing irreligious in the re-marriage of and unethical in the re-marriage of Hindu widows. He also opposed the system of polygamy and prayed upon the university authorities to forfeit degrees of pupils who would be found of polygamous practices.

But the social outlook of Pal underwent a transformation with the development of radical, political thinking popularised by B.G.Tilak, Aurobindo Ghose and others during the first decade of the twentieth century. In the line of radical nationalism of the period, Pal also

¹ Swami Dayanand Saraswati by Dhanpati Pandey Pgs. 173.
disapproved of the object and methods of the social reform movements of the previous century.

The reflection of Bipin Chandra Pal on economic questions cannot be brushed aside. He said that in the induction of foreign capital, along with foreign goods there are both economic and political dangers for India. He raised a loud voice of protest against the anti-national edge of foreign capital and foreign economic enterprise as well as the excessive impact of foreign goods under the dual political patronage of British Government.

In the tradition of the school of economic nationalism of Dadabhai Naroji, Ramesh Chandra Dutt and G.K. Gokhale, Bipin Chandra, firmly believed that economic resources and wealth of India were fast drained out to England during the British rule. Economic development in India was seriously impaired by the excessive investment of foreign capital. As a result, the normal development of Indian industry was brought to a disaster. Pal understood very well the British motive of economic exploitation under the mask of political rule.

Bipin Chandra Pal had developed time sympathy for the tea plantations. labourers of Assam, who were perhaps the worst victim of British Capital and management. It took a period of fifteen years for the Indian National Congress since its birth to recognise the Assam tea labours issue as a national issue. During this period he tried his best to focus the veritable slave conditions of living of the Assam tea labourers in the annual sessions of the Indian National Congress. He expressed deep concern and anxiety for the plantation, labourers through the columns of his English periodical New India during 1901-02.
Bipin Chandra Pal understood, the economic motives of the British imperialism in the empire. Distinctly he saw ulterior motives in the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms proposal of 1919, which appeared to him as a constitutional arrangement to implement the post-war imperial policy to procure enormous industrial raw materials and cheap, labour from colonies in order to infuse a new lease of life to British economy shattered by war. Pal visualised in the blueprint of post war reconstruction of Great Britain and her dominions a danger of further intensification of exploitation of India and the colonies.

The attitude of B.C. Pal in regard to the forms of struggle and political goal of India distinctly reveals tendencies approximately covering three phases; firstly moderate stand in the pre Swadeshi phase; secondly radical nationalist posture in Swadeshi phase of 1904-08 and thirdly a new outlook of nationalism based on constitutional opposition and internationalism in the post Swadeshi period.

The second phase started with the formation of a new nationalist group inside the congress on all India coalition of radical congressmen of Maharashtra, Punjab and Bengal under the overall leadership of Tilak. The radicals seized the opportunity fusing the platform of congress session of 1906, at Calcutta in order to come out openly with their political ideology and programmes. On the mounting pressure of the radical nationalist, through a minority the moderate stalwarts of India, could not agree, the passing of the resolutions in Swadeshi, Swaraj, Boycott and National Education.

The radical leaders selected Bipin Chandra Pal to present their programmes and ideology in the Calcutta congress of 1906. The sum and substance of Pal's speeches in the congress session was to launch a frontal attack on the political goal and method of moderates and to put forward the radical nationalist theory of direct opposition to and confrontation with the British rule by the weapon of boycott and national education.
The radicals demand for an altogether new political goal, of India started crystallising a few months before the congress of 1906. On the role of Pal, in the formulation of new political aims of the national movement. Aurobindo Ghosh wrote - “Bipin Pal had stated the aim of the new party as complete self government free from British control.

It should be noted that Aurobindo Ghosh and ‘Jugantar’ organ of the revolutionaries shared equal responsibility in loudly voicing the political demand for India’s autonomy, absolutely free from British control in the first decade of the twentieth century. They declared in unambiguous terms that the political aim of absolute autonomy could only be achieved by direct opposition to and confrontation with the imperialist power.

In the post 1911 period Bipin Chandra endeavoured to give a more comprehensive definition of the nationalist terminology swaraj. To him swaraj means political freedom for all people of India, irrespective of difference in language, religions, communities and geographical areas. He took a consistently rational and secure view, even in the exciting days of the swadeshi movement, when most of theoretical nationalist lists of India mixed up religion with politics.

Bipin Chandra Pal was totally averse to terrorism, and secret societies. He incurred serious wrath of Indian revolutionaries for his public condemnation of political murder. He disassociated himself from Bande Matarm, an English daily, on the dual policy of supporting secret action along with open political movement. It was his firm belief that an armed conformation of a handful of youths with highly trained armed forces would never bring freedom for India.