CHAPTER- 3

CONCEPT OF SWARAJ

Lokmanya Tilak's life full of dynamic activities. He was a man of indomitable courage and optimism. He was the first national leader from Maharashtra and was regarded as "Lion of Maharashtra." Bal Gangadhar Tilak represented the forces of extreme nationalism during the freedom struggle of India. Through his dynamism, dedication and versatile genius, he could be the pathfinder of India's freedom.

Mahatma Gandhi described Lokmanya Tilak as 'the maker of Modern India; Sir Valentine Chirol called him the “father of Indian unrest” and Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru paid his tributes as "father of Indian Revolution." These assessments highlight only one aspect of Tilak's personality and mission. Tilak was a philosopher of Indian nationalism and a prophet of resurrection of India as a nation. His was a multi-faceted personality and multi-dimensional career. Tilak's thought and leadership need to be re-valued with a historical perspective. In fact all the makers of Modern India represented certain forces of history and currents of thought. The contributions of all these builders of Modern India need to be studied in depth specifically restated.

Tilak, being a double graduate, could easily have got a well-paid job like others, under the British. But, as he had decided when he was young, he dedicated himself to the service of his country.

Tilak was one of those leaders who asserted ever since the beginning of the freedom struggle India's right to swaraj of national self-determination. He recognized the basic conflict between the interest of British imperialism and the aspirations of the people of India and that this conflict cannot be resolved unless the Indians have the right to shape their own destiny and conduct the affairs of the country. Such ideals as these can be achieved by fostering strong feelings of patriotism and self respect among the people by moulding public opinion and by bringing pressure to bear on the British authorities for granting of political rights. He concentrated his efforts throughout his life for the attainment of this single aim. He was the first leader of Indian National congress to be incarcerated for his political writings. The British journalist Valentine Chirol aptly
expressed the reactions reactions of the rulers when he called Tilak 'the father of Indian unrest,' 5

Tilak's concept of swaraj had different foundations like political, moral, spiritual, nationalistic and realistic. It was neither in the true extremist tradition reflected by Aurobindo and Bipin Chandrapal nor in the line of moderate approach pursued by Ranade and Gokhale. It sometimes locked consistancy. His concept of Swaraj advocated during the anti-partition agitation in Benal differed from his demand for home rule in the year 1916. This was because Tilak was not only a restless nationlist but also a political realist. But an indepth analysis of his perception and role-perfomance to achieve swaraj would drive any one to conclude that by Swaraj in his heart of hearts, he meant independence from foreign rule. His slogan 'Swaraj is my birth right' still echoes and inspires every lovers of freedom to make sacrifice inprotectiong the swaraj. He still remains the sumbol of"swaraj" in india.6

As it has been mentioned earlier tilak had exelled others as student of Sanskrit literature and mathematices. He read threadbare the pages of the Bhagaved Gita, the Vedas, the Mahabharata, kautily's Arthasastra ,shukraniti and Kamandaka Nitisar. He also read j.s. Mill, Spencer and Rousseau's social contract. The fight for freedom in Ireland, Russia and the revolutionary activism inffuenced him. But as a product of the ground realities of Indian life, he was not for away from realism.7

Tilas's political philosophy thus centers raund "swarajya." The Word swarajya is an old term- a vedic term. Tilak borrowed it from Hindu shastras and from the life time of shivaji. 8 The political goal of the bal gangadhar Tilak was to attain swaraj or self-government for the people of india. He was the great freedom fighter and dominant political personalty of the indain political history. Who gave to the consciousness of the right of swaraj or home role. He gave the slogan, “swaraj is my birth right, I shall have it”.At the Lucknow Session of the Indian National Congress (1916) Tilak declared; “Swaraj is the birth right of the indain.” He wrote "The time has come to demand "swaraj" or self-Government. No pice-meal reform will do. The system of the present administration is ruinous to the country. It must mend or end; The three fold programmers of Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education was presented of the people
of the India by the nationalist leaders which become the watchword of the Extremist school of thought in India. Primarily this programme began as an economic weapon but quickly it become a politically programme. 9

The incentive behind the programme was initially a reaction to the British partitioning of Bengal, but it soon developed as an all-India movement. The first reason for its use was to cause the Government to reunify Bengal, but it quickly became a programme for national re-awakening and national liberation. Thus an economic programme become a political movement a locally centred agitation become a national issue the cause of altering a specific British policy evolved into the cause of gaining India's self-determination. Swaraj become the reason and justification for the entire programme led by the nationalist leaders. 10

Tilak was not an ordinary man who could be cowed do by such threats and persecutions. He remained undaunted. He had fought against injustice, he had argued against placating policies of the Moderates, and he now began to put the word a positive political programme centred round the concept of Swaraj, self-rule for India. As early as 1895, he had begun to present the necessity for Swaraj. He came to realize that self-rule precede meaningful social reform, that the only enduring basis of national unity and national self-respect must be national self-rule. In 1895, he had reminded the people that Shivaji had recreated Swaraj as the necessary foundation of Social and political freedom progress and morality. His historical and philosophic frame reference is clearly set out in his writing: "One who is a week introduced to history knows what is Swaraj and Swadharma, knows the extraordinary qualities that are needed for the founder to establish Swaraj and Swadharma when both of them are in a state of ruin for hundred of years. Knows the valour, courage, guts and brains of Shivaji Maharaj by the dint of which he saved the whole nation from bitter ruin." 11

Tilak held that the attainment of Swarajya would be a great victory for Indian nationalism. Hence, he gave to Indians the Mantra. "Swarajya is the birth-right of Indian." Although in his speeches and writing Lokmanya always said that Swarajya did not imply the negation and severance of ultimate British sovereignty, still people knew that in his heart of hearts he always wanted complete independence. He once wrote that
Swarajya is "the foundation and no the height of our future prosperity." He always pointed out that the path of the attainment of Swarajya was full suffering and misery. During the home rule days, Lokmanya always was careful to say that he was not opposed to the king-emperor but the only wanted to change the anglo-Indian bureaucracy. He confidently asserted that to preach against the despotism of the bureaucracy was not sedition. Since Lokmanya did not advocate the doing away with the king-emperor, hence Bipin Chandra Pal says that Lokmanya was a believer in 'imperial federation' which would be composed of Great Britain, Ireland, and Egypt, India, and the dominions, each absolutely autonomous internally but combined for the purposes of protection and progress.12

Swaraj was one of the main political goals of Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Though Tilak entered into the Indian National Congress as a moderate, he lost faith in British bureaucracy and British judiciary. So he wrote the time has come to demand "Swaraj or self-government'. No piece meal reform will do. The system of present administration is ruinous to the country. It must "mend or end."13

Tilak started the weekly Kesari in 1881 with a view to writing impartially and without fear about the way in which the Government officers performed their duties.14

His criticism was trenchant and his language so strong that he invited on himself the wrath of the Government. Which put him into prison in 1897 for a period of eighteen months. But in course of time as he studies the different issues agitating the minds of the people, he saw clearly the inherent contradiction between the economic interests of Britain and India. He come to realize that the administrative weaknesses, the political injustice and the economic exploitation from which India suffered could be remedied not by an appeal to the good sense of the British People but only by making the Indian administration responsive to Indian public opinion. He, therefore, placed before his countrymen the objective of Swaraj.15

Defining Swaraj "as the right of the people to conduct the administration of the country according to what they consider to be their good," he proceeded to analyse the concept of Swaraj in its three different aspects. Swaraj might mean Government by ruler
belonging to the same country, religion or caste as the ruled. Though desirable in itself, this was the least important aspect of Swaraj. If the Government is really responsible to the governed foreign king or a few foreign administrators would mean no harm except a small outflow of income from the country. What is more essential is that the Government should be a good government, a government based on peace, order and the rule of law. An oppressive government like that of the Czar in Russia can also establish order within the country but it does not work for the happiness of the people. The word 'Swaraj' essentially means a constitutional government “a government which rules according to the wishes of the people of their representatives.” 16

CONNOTATIONS OF TILAK’S SWARAJ:

Tilak talked to Swaraj as early as 1885 and traced the word Swarajyam in Shastras. 17 Bal Gangadhar Tilak borrowed the term Swaraj from the vedic term “Swarajyam.” The term Swaraj was used in the Vedanta to indicate the highest spiritual state, where in the individual having realized his identity with the universal, was not merely freed from bondage, but was established in perfect harmony with all else in the world.18

Swarajya, thus, meant both of a right and a dharma. Politically it meant home rule. Morally it meant the realization of spiritual inner freedom. Swarajya implied both political liberty as well as spiritual freedom and both were inseparably bound. Self rule was a moral necessity while dharma was a duty imposed on all self respecting individuals. Swarajya stood for (a) self rule of the individual and (b) self-rule of the political community. It was both a philosophy of the life and a philosophy of politics. For the individual it meant the choice of cosmos over chaos and the regulation of all actions morally in accordance with the individual’s Swadharma. For the community, it means also the choice of cosmos over chaos and the regulation of all community activities morally in accordance with dharmarajya. Without dharmarjya, there would be no right ordering of the community nor men living according to their Swadharma or true nature and as a result the purpose of life would remain unfulfilled. Swaraj for Tilak meant self rule under Dharmarajya. Our life would be lived in vain in the absence of dharma and swarajya, argued Tilak. Tilak’s concept of Swaraj, observes T.L. Shay in his book The
political philosophy of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, was democratic and meant, “the opportunity for spiritual Swaraj for all the people.”

Tilak defined the spiritual connotation of Swarajya in these terms. ‘It is life centered in self and dependent upon self. There is Swaraj in this world as well as in the world hereafter. The Rishis who laid down the law of duty betook themselves to forests, because the people were already enjoying Swarajya or people’s dominion which was administered and defended in the first instance by the Kashatriya Kings. Swaraj in the life to come can not be the reward of a people who have not enjoyed it in this world.

According to Tilak, spiritual freedom or Swaraj could be achieved by spiritual knowledge. Spiritual knowledge meant the realization of the identity of the Brahman and Atman. To quote him, “Attaining the knowledge of the true Paramesvara, that is, realizing the identity of the Brahman and Atman and that there is only one Atman in all created beings and behaving according, is the climax of spiritual knowledge.

It is evident that Tilak’s Swarajya stood both for political liberty and spiritual freedom. He proclaimed that ‘Swarajya is my birth-right and I shall have it.’

This Vedic concept of Swaraj is different from the Western concept of ‘freedom’ or independence. Swaraj is a positive concept implying self-subjection, self-realisation, self-rule, or self-regulation. So for Tilak, swaraj is both a political right and a moral necessity. Politically swaraj means, according to Tilak, the ruler and the ruled are of the same country, some religion or race. Secondly it refers to a well governed state or system of rule of law. Third it means a government promoting the well-being of the people. Fourthly, it means a government elected by and responsible to the people.

Tilak’s main highlight was people’s participation in the Government. He endorsed the slogan which Dadabhai Naroji had given at the Calcutta conference of 1906, namely that the thirst for self-government (Self-Rule) cannot be assuaged by good Government (Swarajya).

In the way, his concept of Swaraj is nationalistic. He gave his famous slogan ‘Swaraj is the birth-right of Indians’ at Lucknow Congress of 1916. But Tilak’s concept
of Swaraj also has moral foundations. Self control and self realization also leads to Swaraj. It can be attained through spiritualism to be pursued by the individual. But individual cannot pursue his without Swaraj in political sphere. Both are correlated. Unless there was Swaraj, Tilak’s interpreter says, the conscious lawful living under Dharmaraja, the right ordering of the community could never be attained, individual life situation could not be morally profitable, man could not live in their true natures, and the purpose of life and creation could not be fulfilled. The political community existed only to preserve and promote dharma, and without Swaraj this was not possible, Swaraj, therefore was a moral imperative for both individual and the community.25

Swaraj, according to him is a life centred in self and dependent upon self. It can be realized within this world and after also. But one who has not enjoyed Swaraj in this world cannot do so in the other world. 26

Tilak’s put forward a positive political programme, which centred around the concept or Swaraj of self-rule for India. Talking about Swaraj in the political sense he said that the demand that the management of our affairs should be in our hands was the demand of Swarajya. To identify true Swaraj it was necessary to properly understand the meaning of ‘Swa’(Self). To Tilak the prefix ‘Swa’(Self) in Swaraj could only mean ‘Praja’ the people, the ruled. And hence, according to him, Swaraj meant (the people and the ruled), People’s rule. 27

Tilak argued that when Swarajya was spoken of it showed that there was some kind of rule apposed to Swa i. e. ours. He said, “we want equality.” We cannot remain slaves under foreign rule. We will not carry for an instant longer, the yoke of slavery that we have carded all these years. Swaraj is our birth- right. We must have it at any cost. When the Japanese, who are Asians like us, are free, why should we be slaves? Why should our Mothers hands be handcuffed.” 28

Tilak defined swaraj as people rule instead of that of bureaucracy. To quote him, “It is simple Sanskrit word, meaning nothing more of less than the power to rule our homes and hence it is called in short Home-rule.” 29
Before 1916 the meaning of sawaraj for him a condition in which there was no place for the British. But in 1916 Tilak adepted a new definition of Sawaraj. Under the ‘Home Rule Revaluation’ on 31st May, 1916 in Ahmed Nagar in his first address, Tilak said, “The true meaning of Sawraj is that to solve the problem of India, the rules should be in the hands of Indian people. Though we believe in the kingdom of British.” His view expresses his authenticity. His views on Swaraj was not clear. But keeping in mind, the current situations, Tilak expressed his view of ‘Swaraj under the British rule’. This was the first step towards ‘Total Swaraj’. For such view of his one reason was that the wanted to keep Swaraj fro traittorship to keep the people united for Swaraj. He knew that to keep on his movement it was necessary for him to remain out of the jail. Thus Tilak could unite, inspire and aware people. Actually his goal was to get total Swaraj for India.

Sh. Tilak spreaded his views of Swaraj in such a way that even liberal leaders like Dada Bhai Naroji and Gopal Krishan Gokhley also used these words. During the protest against the division of Bengal, everyday was talking about Swaraj. This all was due the struggle of Tilak. Because the basis of his political concept was Sawaraj.

Once commenting on Swaraj, Tilak had said, “The main point is that all the system should be in our hands. I am demanding the key of my house. But I do not want to evict a stranger from the house. Total Sawaraj is our aim. We want full control on our administrative machinery. Now we are just and clerks and tools in the hands of foreign masters.”

It is to mention that liberal leaders like Arbindo Ghosh, Vipin Chander Pal etc. had expressed their view about Swaraj, but Tilak had never expressed his views about total Swaraj in clear cut manner. Tilak wanted that India should not break her relation with the British. Even he wanted that British should handle India foreign affairs. In other words, Tilak wanted only internal Swaraj. In fact he was not against British rule. Actually Tilak wanted to remove bureaucracy of the British. Tilak wanted only internal matters in Indian hands. He was not against the kingdom of the British over India. In this regard Tilak had given religious metaphor. Tilak said, “There is no relation between the king or king’s views and Swaraj. The King is divine for us. He is above good or bad. He is permanent. The institution of the king which the gist of the government. He is divine for
us and this idea will remain intact. But we can change the government. The relation of my Swaraj idea is with the government. What I mean say is that such amendments should made so that we can improve the living of Indian people. The Swaraj means in whose hands our destination should be. I have said that I don’t want to change the rule of the king. The bureaucracy should be in our hands not in the British’s hands. In short, we can said that all the control of our work should be in our hands.”34

Tilak considered Swaraj as a spirituality and a moral necessity. According to Tilak Swaraj is virtue of soul. In Vedas it has been described as a spiritual thing. It has been mentioned that the person who has attained the highest position of the spirituality has gained a total Swaraj. Fromm the spiritual point of view, Tilak has not only Swaraj as a right but also a religion. For him religion is the one aspect of Swaraj. Tilak thought that we should do our duties with honesty and dedication. According to Tilak the person ,who has attained this quality in the sense, Tilak attained full Sawaraj. According to him some what part of spiritualism is present in everyday. Only he who has attained self-discipline,soul purification can feel Sawraj.35

According to Tilak, Swaraj meant Home Rulear self-government for the people of India. Usally Swaraj is translated to mean self-rule of independence for foreign political damnation. 37

Swaraj, for Tilak was not only something negative viz removal of foreign rule, but also something positive. 38 Tilak held that the attainment of Swarajya would be a great victory for Indian nationalism. Hence, he gave to Indians the Mantra; ‘Swarajya is the birth-right of indians’. Although in his speeches and writings Lokmanya always said that swarajya did not imply the negation and severance of ultimate British sovereignty, still people knew that in his heart of hearts he always wanted complete independence. He once wrote the swarajya is , “the foundation and no the height of our future prosperity. He always pointed out that the path of the attainment of Swarajya was full of suffering and misery. During the home rule days Lokmanya always was careful to say that he was not opposed to the king-Empeor but he only wanted to change the anglo-Indian bureaucracy. He confidently asserted that to preach against the despotism of the bureaucracy was not sedition. Since lokmanya did not advocate the doing away with the
king-Emperor hence Bipin Chandra pal says that lokamanya was a believer in “imperial federation” which would the dominions, each absolutely autonomous internal but combined for the purposes of protection and progress. 39

According to Tilak, Swaraj was not only a right but also a Dharma. It was a moral necessity. In the words of T. L Sahay; Swaraj mean lawful exercise of the community’s freedom. For the community is also meant the choice of order over chaos and the regulation of all community activities morally in accordance with Dharmarajya, the rule of Dharma. Unless there was Swaraj, the conscious lawful living under Dharmarajya, the right ordering of the community could never be attained, individual life situations could not be morally profitable, men could not live in their true natures, and the purpose of life and creation could not be fulfilled. The political community existed only to preserve and promote the dharma, and without swaraj this was not possible. Tilak said, the idea of swarajya is an old one of course when Swarjya is spoken of there is some kind of rule opposed to Swarajiya and this idea arises at that time. This is a plan when such a condition arises it begins to be thought that there should be swarajya and we even make efforts for that purpose. Swaraj was both a part of the philosophy of life and the philosophy of politics. The term is perhaps as old as the Aryan civilization, it is to be found in the Rigveda and the shashtas as Tilak often reminded the people. Tilak insisted that in the absence of Swaraj, our life and our Dharma were in vain, without Swaraj life was not worthwhile. 40

Tilak aimed at changing the whole system of Government by the swaraj. He used to say that it was not the aim of swaraj to get posts with big salaries for some persons. He said that the entire personal of Government in the Indian states was Indian, the ruling chief was an Indians and so were his ministers and civil servants. That however did not mean that the people of the states had Swaraj. Similarly, if the Governorship of a province and the higher civil posts in it were all to be held by Indians who were appointed by the secretary of state for India and were responsible to him, that would not mean Swaraj, it would be nearly the subsitution of a brown for a white bureaucracy. Swaraj signifies the responsibility of the executive to the elected representatives of the people, it means that the ultimate power is in the hands of the people and that the state
exists for their well-beings and happiness. This involved a radical change in the theory of government, a revolutionary recasting of those forms to accord with the Indian civilization’s value system; it meant the remaking of the state so that it would fulfill the purpose and become the embodiment of Swaraj as it was in the Indian civilization. 41

According to Tilak all national progress was rooted in Swaraj. He said that in the absence of Swaraj there could be no industrial progress, no national education, and no social reform. If the people once got political power, they could easily achieve their objective in other spheres also. It should be remembered that from the very commencement of his public career Tilak held the view that our first concern must be the acquisition of political power; social reform would follow in natural course. Sri Aurobindo also subscribed to this view. In his article on Tilak he wrote as follows; “Let us first have liberty and the organized control of the life of nation, after words we can see how we can use it in social matters: mean-while let us move on without noise or strife. He added; “A subject nation does not propose itself by the gradual process of liberty, it opens by liberty its way to rapid progress”. This was exactly the stand of Tilak as against the advocates of Social reform and the political philosophy of the Moderates. 42

To quote Tilak, The question of Swaraj has nothing to do with the king or the idea of a king, who is like our Brahma, invisible and unfathomable without attributes of good and evil. The institution of kingship, which is the essence of Government, as like the absolute Brahma, bound to remain immutable and unchanged; but the Government which assumes the visible form is liable to change. The Swaraj I propose to talk to you about this evening refers to this visible Government, what changes must be brought about in it, so as to promote the well being of the people. The question of Swaraj really means in whose hand should be vested the control of our affairs? I have said that we do not wish to change the immutable Government or the king, but what we demand is that the management of our affairs should not be as now, in the hands of invisible Government the bureaucracy – but should be transferred to our hands. 43

Tilak’s political strategy had mainly one target of attack and that was bureaucracy. He wanted an open war against bureaucracy after 1898. Tilak’s analysis was
that the Government of India was the agent of the British Government. The bureaucrats in India were arrogant and indifferent to the welfare of the Indian people. They created a new class of English educated Indians for getting support for them. Tilak exposed both the bureaucrats and their supporters. His articles in Kesari, served a double purpose. They exposed the myth of a strong, just and efficient British government, and secondly they destroyed the fear about the arrogant bureaucrats from the public mind by his bold attacks. 44

In one word, the agitation for Swaraj is for the transfer of control to the people of the land …..we are told that the present arrangements are good and the administrators are appointed and recruited in England in accordance with certain rules regulations. They might be very good, very well conceived, very systemic, for the sake of argument I admit all that. But, however, good the arrangement may be, it is made by others, not by the people themselves and hence they cannot be expected to be satisfied with it because they themselves wish to have this power in their own hands. This the fundamental principle of Swaraj. I do not say that our governor, the person so elected will make a better governor than the present one. Perhaps he may not be as worse. But what makes the whole difference is this, that the man whom we elect had to carry out what we desire and the one who is not elected by us acts according to his own will in which we must acquiesce whether we like it or not…… the essence of swaraj is that we should manage our domestic affairs according to our wishes. 45

Tilak started Shivaji celebration in Maharashtra in 1895 to give his political activities a national turn by arousing the sentiment of the people around a national hero. The inauguration of the Shivaji festival had its origin in the attitude of hero-worship borrowed by him from Carlyle and Ruskin. 46

He believed that the “heroes” were the creators of History. It was their great work which inspired the ordinary man and gave him ideals to aim at. Tilak found in Shivaji a hero. In Maharashtra, Shivaji and Swarajya were the two sides of coin.47

Tilak thought that through Shivaji festival the agitation for Swaraj would reach the masses more quickly than by other means. He was influenced by the valour and
courage of great Shivaji and the glorious history of Maratha, their was against the atrocities of Mugal empire to restore Swaraj and dharma. In this regard he said, one who is a we bit introduced to history and knows what is swaraj (people’s own government) and swadharma (people’s own religion) knows the extraordinary qualities that are needed for the founder to establish Swaraj and Swadharma when both of them are in a state of ruin for hundreds of years, knows the valour, courage, guts and brains of Shivaji Maharaja, by the dint of which he saved the whole nation from bitter ruin. 48

Tilak’s Swaraj differed from the concept of Swaraj given by the extremist leader like Aurobindo Ghosh, Bipin Chandra Pal, and Lala Lajpat Rai. The latter believed that Swaraj meant total political independence. 49

Tilak, the restoration of Swaraj was a moral imperative, the laws, the institutions of Government, the use of power and ordering of the political community could only be the moral under the Dharmarajya and Dharma could only rule if the people had Swaraj. He held that unless the people exercise self rule to legislate and enforce the reforms, the reforms were not only meaningless but also undemocratic. Swaraj must be democratic. Tilak believed that all progress, all hope for national advancement, rested in Swaraj, no issue had precedence over Swaraj. In his public address, he said if we do not get Swarajya there will be no possibility of having any kind of education useful to the nation, either primary or higher. If we get Swarjya, it is not merely to advance female education or to secure industrial reform or social reform. All these are part of Swarajya. Power is wanted first..... there is no question which is not dependent on Swarajya..... we demand Swarajya as it is the foundation .....of our future prosperity. 50

Bal Gangadhar Tilak was generally acclaimed as the leader of the extremist group in the Indian National Congress. An extremist was he who pursued ‘Swaraj’ as his immediate political goal. His love for his motherland and invincible faith in the religion, culture and civilization of India made him a firebrand patriot and a restless nationalist. His political technique was “militancy and not mendicancy.” But unlike other extremist, Talik did not follow any fixed model in approaching his political goals. In other words, his political techniques were based on his emotional bond and self-pride of being an Indian, same time his political insight to study the reality. His political techniques
were based on emotionalism and realism. Hence when Talik abhorred violence, he did not prescribe non-violence, Talik extended cooperation but he emphasized responsive cooperation. In this way he was different from Gandhi who pursued a clear policy of non-violent satyagraha after 1920. Tilak was more a political strategist. 51

From the foregoing it should be clear that there was a fundamental difference between the objective of the Nationalist or Extremists as they were generally designated at the time and the Moderates of liberals, even though the same word Swaraj, was used by both the wings to describe their aims. It could not be otherwise; the radical difference in the nature of the methods recommended by them for the attainment of Swaraj was bound to be reflected in its content. We may now proceed to describe the method of winning it as it was laid down by Lokamanya Tilak. 52

According to Mr. Tahmankar the Banaras Congress ‘marks an important stage in the political carrier of Tilak for with his declaration of the principle of passive resistance, he burnt his boats on the burning ghats of the sacred city of Banaras.’ Although it was in Bengal that the principle of passive resistance was first formally formulation and Boycott, Swadeshi and National Education were adopted as the means to Swaraj, the fact remain that it was ‘the vision and courage of Tilak which conceived the enormous possibilities of passive resistance as a political weapon- perhaps the only weapon a people completely disarmed and demoralized by a long period of slavery could use against an alien Government. 53

The moderates had based their political programme on the political thinking of the 19th century European liberalism. Long before the partition of Bengal the new nationalists recognized that his moderate programme was ineffective. The new nationalists started mass political education in terms understandable by the people. To Tilak and the nationslists, Swaraj was Dharma. In his own words, To spread our dharma in our people is one of the aspects of the national form of our religion, because, politics cannot be separated from religion. ‘God and our country are not different. In short, our country is one form of God.’ With this foundation, the nationalists and Tilak presented to the nation a three-fold programme for effective, practical and political action. These three principle
were Boycott, Swadeshi and national education. Primarily, this programme was designed for use in Bengal, but soon it became the programme of the whole nation. 54

Lokmanya had a passionate love for India’s independence, but as a programme for political achievement he always sponsored the concept of Swarajya under British Sovereignty. 55

During the Bengal partition he formulated four-point programmes like Swadeshi, Boycott, National education and passive resistance. However, his political technique are discussed below. 56

Tilak did not deny that the British government had given peace and certain liberty, but at the same time he warned that there was a limit to the rights and concessions which they might offer of the Indian people. Tilak wanted to go further in the Calcutta Congress Session in 1906, Dadabhai Naoroji declared that the goal of congress should be Swarajya. Tilak took up this line with great enthusiasm and started a campaign for popularizing the concept of Swaraj. He said, “As Swaraj as our goal, the organization must be strengthened to make it an instrument of the struggle. He told that the party should launch a practical programme for involving the people in the national movement and urged for a four-point programme of Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott, and National Education. He said, “The educated classes should work among the masses. The masses understand what the Swadeshi movement means. They do not understand such abstruse theories as ‘no taxation without representation’ a large share in administration and so on. They understand that the village industries are dying out and scheme for the protection and revival of these industries will have their support.

SWADESHI

Swadeshi originally means use of indigenous commodities and to give up the use of foreign goods. Swadeshi stand for economic freedom and aims at ending economic exploitation. It is generally believed that Gandhiji first talked of Swadeshi. But a historical study reveals that long before Gandhi, Tilak had given a call to start Swadeshi movement in India. 58
In the beginning the Swadeshi movement began as an economic movement but later it became the political weapon.

Swadeshi initially began as a primary economic counterpart to the programme of economic boycott. Swadeshi meant self-help, to really upon Indian made good rather than to patronize the retail outlets of manufactured produce of Birmingham and Manchester. This weapon of Swadeshi became very popular in the country after the partition of Bengal in 1905 when Tilak declared that “the political salvation of India lay not in supplication but in self-assertion, not in submission but in counter action or indirect action.

The dharma of Action had thought self-reliance and Swadeshi extended self-reliance to self-help in all things. Tilak explained, ‘The object is to bring about the spread of Swadeshi to bring about the gradual disappearance of visible foreign things, and to bring about the gradual disappearance of foreign ideas also…like the bodies our minds also should become Swadeshi….Swadeshi thoughts should always reign in our hearts, To Tilak, Swadeshi was not only an economic but also a political weapon. Thus, he said, if we do not wish to be men’s slaves, we should vigorously carry on the Swadeshi movement. It is the only effective method for deliverance. The object of the movement is to do away with the system under which we are treated like slaves by Europeans and to force the government to give us all the rights of British citizenship. ‘Swadeshi was a practical application of the love of one’s country. Tilak remarked, to recognize of the land of the Aryans as mother earth is the Swadeshi movement.’ It was an economic, political and spiritual movement.

This was the tenor of Tilak’s speeches during the swadeshi movement which were supplemented and reinforced by his two papers. The Mahratta, in its column of “Selections” published the following article without mentioning the source from which it had been reproduced; “The time has come when all lies must be conscientiously eschewed from our political platform, including the white lie of loyalty. We are not loyal in any sense, as New India has repeatedly declared, except in the original and radical sense of more obedience to law. In September, the Kesari published two articles which had the effect of putting more fuel into the fire of Swadeshi agitation.
Tilak became the real Swadeshi in his personal life. He used only Swadeshi paper for his journals and when that was not available, he used non-British Paper. He encouraged the young men to start cottage industries and gave full support to the “paisa fund” movement, which was started in 1903 with a view to encourage Indian industries. Tilak also took initiative in establishing the Bombay Swadeshi cooperative store in 1906. He inaugurated Swadeshi exhibitions in Calcutta during anti partition agitation in Bengal.

The Swadeshi Movement quickly became a movement of national regeneration. Swadeshi was a practical application of love of country. As Tilak said, “To recognize the land the Aryas as a mother-earth is the Swadeshi Movement.” It was an economic, political and spiritual weapon. Swadeshi was Bande Mataram in action.

Tilak used Swadeshi in dual sense economic and political. Realising that Britishers had destroyed our trade and industry, drained our resources, he called upon the people to start Swadeshi movement. Tilak appealed the people to prefer Indian goods but where Indian goods were not available, they should be ready for sacrifice. Tilak also wanted to use Swadeshi as a political weapon. Restoring faith in our own economic system, culture and civilization would finally provoke us to take control of our political system. Hence he said, “the objectives of the movement is to do away with the system under which we are treated like slave by Europeans and to force the government to give us all the right of British citizenship.”

BOYCOTT

Tilak advocated boycott as a political technique for three different reasons i.e., firstly, to carry out the mission of Swadeshi movement which would not be successful without boycotting the foreign goods, secondly, to protest against the repressive laws and burden some taxes on the people, thirdly, to serve as a substitute for war and violent method which he thought would not have been possible to apply successfully against the Britishers. Fourthly, by applying the technique of boycott Tilak wanted to create a mass movement against the British Government. Thus the boycott was used by Tilak as an economic, political, nationalistic and democratic weapon. When excise duty on Indian cloth was raised in order to balance the customs duty imposed on British cloth, Tilak...
made a seething attack on British Government policy to impose new tax and appealed the Indian to boycott foreign cloth and use Swadeshi cloth. Tilak cited example of Americans who threw tea boxes into the sea and refused to pay taxes to the British Government. In a nationalistic and revolutionary spirit Tilak said “people must fight for the vindication of their rights….if you are fit to be called human beings, if you really perturbed at the injustice in the hands, if you truly wish the country well, if you really take pride in your brave ancestors and heroes, then boycott foreign cloth.”

Tilak and his contemporaries emphasised that the whole superstructure the British Indian administration and British system of rule over India was based upon the writing thought unthinking cooperation of the Indian people. Hence Boycott should be used to shake the foundation of the administrative structure of the British masters. In an eloquent speech at Poona in 1902 Tilak said, “you must realize that you are great factor in the power with the administration in India is conducted. You are yourself the useful lubricants which enable the gigantic machinery to work so smoothly. Though downtrodden and neglected you must be conscious of your power of making the administration impossible if you but choose to make it so….” In another speech, in a meeting at Calcutta on January 2, 1907, Tilak said, “have you not the power of self-denial and self-abstinence in such a way was as not to assist this foreign government to rule over you? This is boycott a political weapon we shall not give them assistance to collect revenue and keep peace. We shall not assist them in fighting beyond the frontiers or outside India with Indian blood and money. We shall not assist them in carrying on the administration of justice. We shall have our own courts and when times comes we shall not pay taxes.”

Boycott gradually moved from the economic into the political sphere; moved from the arena of Bengal to all India. Boycott as an all-India political weapon was the first principle of the programme of Tilak and the Nationalist leader. Boycott foreshadowed non-cooperation. Tilak gave a detailed idea of different shapers in which boycott is to be applied as a political weapon. He said we shall not give them our assistance to collect revenue and keep peace. We shall not assist them in fighting beyond the frontiers of or outside Indian blood and money. We shall not assist them in carrying
an administration of justice. We shall have our own courts and when the time comes we shall not pay taxes. Con you do that by your united effort? If you can, you are free from tomorrow. . . . . . . This is the line of thought and action in which you must train your self. This is the way a nation progress; this is the way national sentiment progress and this is the lesson you have to learn from the struggle now going on. Tilak’s techniques of boycott having economic, political, nationalist and democratic dimensions was applied by Gandhi in 1920 non-cooperation movement thought in more puritan way. In the post independent india Jayaparkash Narayan applied it to fight corruption and injustice.

In the beginning the boycott and Swadeshi movement began as an economic movements but later on it become the political weapon. Boycott involved the refusal of the people to purchase British manufactured goods. It was started as a measure designed to bring economic pressure on the British business interests in India and in England. In Culcutta, Tilak said ‘we are not armed and there is no necessity for it either. We have a stronger weapon in boycott. The whole of the admistration, which is conducted by a handful of Englishman, is carried on with your assistance. We are willing instruments, of our own oppression.’ Tilak attapressure on the British to compel them to grant India legitimate rights. 66

NATIONAL EDUCATION

The third elements in the threefold programme for effective political action was national education. Tilak had long before relized that the western education started by lord macaulay and pursued in the all the Government –supported schools was ruionous to the future health and well –being of the nation. The younger generations are being educated away from not only their families and the great majority of the Indian people, but also away from the value system of India’s civilization. Government – supported western education supported the youths from their ties to the past and made them Indians in name only. Hence such a system of western education was repulsive to Tilak and the nationalists. They pleaded for the establishment of national schools and colleges throughout the country to provide inexpensive and wholesome education emphasizing the new spirit of self help and self-reliance which young people could not expect to reactive
in the Government-supported institutions. And the national education become an integral part of the nationalist programme for the India of the twentieth century.67

Tilak was active in the field of national education, too. It was, of course, to be expected of a man whose first love was education and who was a founder of the Deccon education society. Even private educational institutions were subject to Government’s control through various overt and covert means like the notorious Risley circular. He urged those in charge of them to maintain their independence and self-respect even at the risk of forfeiting the grants in aid.

Tilak’s plan involved the establishment of schools throughout the country to import truly national education. He outlined the four factors which were indispensable for constituting a system of national education. Tilak put first and foremost importance on religious education for building character. He said, secular education only is not enough to build up character. Religious education is necessary because the study of high principles keeps us away from evil pursuits. Religion reveals to us the form of the Almighty. He also stressed the necessity of importing industrial and political education. Political education should be imparted in educational institutions to educate citizens to get enlightenment about their rights and duties. For the spread of national education, Tilak established the poona school. National become an integral part of the nationalist programme. Thus this programme of national education was presented to the country be Tilak and nationalist leaders to attain Swaraj. 68

Tilak emphasised the role of education in the liberation of the country. It will make the people aware and make them understand the message of national liberation. Hence he devoted the beginning years of his public life in spreading English education. He along with Agarkar and Vishnushastri chiplonkar agreed that the English language was like the milk of the tigress a strong diet. If the youth of the country was brought upon it, they would bring India’s independence immediately. English education, through its literature on freedom any democracy, would make every Indian conscious of their rights. It would saw the seeds of its own destruction in India. But at the same time he envisaged a system of education which would develop the nationalist character within the students. 69
In the educational sphere Tilak believed that education should be cheap and wide spread, teachers should not aspire for mundane prosperity but should try to recover some of that old idealism which had been the pride of Indian past religious instruction should be taken up in right earnest and efforts should be made to link up India’s present with her glorious past. Encouragement to industrial and political education and abandonment of English as the medium of instruction were some other planks in Tilak’s programme of national education. Similarly in his scheme for a national system of justice Tilak wanted the principles of simplicity, impartiality, economy and expeditious disposal to be incorporated. He was apposed to the planting of an extremely expensive and elaborate foreign system of justice in his country which it could ill afford to have. 70

In 1906 Tilak helped to establish the Maharashtra Vidya Prasark Mandal. When the Samarth Vidyalaya, which was conducted under its auspices first at Kolhapur and then at Talegaon, ran into financial difficulties, he undertook a lecture tour and collected Rs. 20,000/- for it. He also proposed the founding of a university for national education but the idea could not be given a concrete shape. Tilak defined national education as that which enabled one to know the nation. That was precisely what the schools and colleges failed to do. In America, he said the declaration of independence was thought to students in school. Such instruction would be considered seditious in India. For instance, our students did not know that ‘Six crores of rupees are drained out of this country every year for sugar. All this is due to the industrial policy of Government, but we do not know it we have come to learn these things, 25 years after leaving the colleges. Our young men should know them in the prime of their life. In other countries, technical and industrial education is an important part of education, but the education institutions in India are intended to produce only petty officials. Tilak was an advocate of the mother-tongue as a medium of instruction and also of religious education which would promote toleration and respect for each other’s faith. 71

As in so many other fields, Tilak took the lead in proposing that Hindi written in the Devanagiri script should be the national language of India. National education thus become an integral part of the nationalists programme for India of the 20th century.
PASSIVE RESISTANCE:

According to Tilak, Swadeshi and boycott were the techniques of passive resistance. He substitute the use of passive resistance for constitutional means hitherto adopted by the moderate leadership in India. He public declaration in 1902 make this factdeor, Though down-trodden and neglected, you must be conscious of your power of making the administration impossible if you but choose to make it so. However, his passive resistance did not mean resort to violence as generally, construed. Tilak being a sharewd politician was aeare of limitations of a slaves nation. He know that we are not armed and there is so necessity for arms either. He ruled out the use of violence though unlike Gandhi, he was not an advocate of non-violence as a creed of timidity and satyagrah of the weak. In the opinion of Tilak, it was a recommendation for the criticism of week constitutional means. His speech at Shivaji, festivals celebration, justifying murder of Afzal Khan by Shivaji, also enables us to have a peep in Tilak’s version of passive resistance. This programme was originally launched to reunify Bengal yet soon it become a programme for national regeneration and country’s liberation. In simple works, a locally centered agitation become a national issue. 72

Though Tilak was bailing within to launch a forceful active movement against the British rule, he was paralyzed by the inept, cowardice attitude of some of resistance against the British administration. The idea of passive resistance was conceived by Tilak at Delhi congress session. According to lala Lajpat Rai, Tilak thought of passive resistance programmes which different objectives such as (i) to destroy to hypnotic spell which had made the people and the country accept the omnipotence of their rulers (2) to creat a passionate love of liberty accompanied by a spirit to sacrifice and readiness to suffer for the cause of the country and (3) to win India’s independence. But this idea of passive resistance was popularized only the after Calcutta Congress in December, 1906. Tilak urged the people if you have not the power of active resistance, have you not the power of self denial and self-abstiness so as not to assist the foreign Government to rule over you? Tilak’s appeal to resist the oppressive rule of British bureaucracy through passive resistance made him so popular among the Indian masses that moderate could not face the challenge. Even though this technique served his nationalist purpose of
reawakening the people, political purpose of making the people aware of their rights and resistance appealed Gokhale theoretically, he was not prepared to turn it into a political action. Tilak through this technique served his nationalist purpose of reawaking the people, political purpose of making the people aware of their rights and resistance unlawful authority and strategic purpose of making the moderate’s approach unpopular and irrelevant. 73

This fourfold programme of boycott, Swadeshi and national education and passive resistance was presented to the country by Tilak and the Nationalists and was also presented to the Indian National Congress for its approval and adoption. The programme began primarily as an economic weapon, but quickly its political importance was realized and became predominant. The impetus behind the programme was initially a reaction to the British partitioning of Bengal, but it soon development an all India movements. The first reason for its use was to cause the Government to reunify Bengal, but it soon become a programme for national reawakening and national liberation Swaraj. Thus, an economic programme become a political programme, a locally-centred agitation become a national issue, the cause of altering a specific British policy evolved into the cause of gaining India self determination. 74

**HOME RULE MOVEMENT:**

Swaraj become the reason and justification for the entire programme and movement led by Tilak and the nationalists. Tilak realized that Swaraj, the goal of all efforts, was a moral national necessity. He held that the attainment of Swaraj would be a great victory for Indian nationalism. He gave to Indians the mantra Swaraj is the birth right of Indians. Cat the Lucknow Congress 1916. He defined swaraj as people’s rule instead of that of bureaucracy. This was the essence of Tilak’s argument with the social reformers when they sought to have the British Government legislative and enforce social reform measures. Tilak held that unless the people supported the reforms, in effect, unless the people exercise self rule to legislate and enforce the reforms, then the reforms were not only meaningless but also undemocratic and without more significance and for pushing his ideal of Swaraj for word, he started Home rule leagues in 1916 with the co-
The home rule for India movement, organized by Mrs. Annie Besant and Bal Gangadhar Tilak during 1914-1918 was an important Political movement, launched for the attainment of Indian freedom before the advent of Mahatma Gandhi in the politics of the country. It was organized as a constitutional struggle having for its objective the establishment of a system of self Government in India an the mode of home rule for Ireland. The movement made a strong appeal to the various sections of the Indian society and , in a short time, it made such a rapid progress that it become a dominant political force in Indian politics of the time. By enlisting an increasingly wide popular support for India’s cause of National freedom the home rule movement contributed in a marked way to the political awakening in India and paved the way for a really national mass movement, initiated later under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. 76

The guiding principle of the home rule movement in India was the modern political concept of Home Rule.

The Indian Home Rule league played the most memorable role in the political life of the country. In 1916, Tilak rejoined the Indian national Congress, after the death of Gokhale. In 1917 Montague visited India and met Tilak. He was very much impressed by the personality of the Lokamanya. In 1918, the Home Rule league decided to send a deputation consisting of Tilak, B.C. Pal, Kelkar, khoparede and Karandi kar to England, to demand rights for the Indian people. About Tilak’s visit, England, D.P. Karmorkar writes, During the time that he was in England, Tilak and his colleagues. While in England Tilak was in continuous touch with Lala Lajpat Rai and Hardayal who were strenuously working for the cause of Home Rule in the united states. Tilak stayed for eight months in England influencing opinion in favour of India. While addressing a meeting at the coxton hall, he said the time has come now for India to enjoy the benefits of freedom and liberty. The Allies are enunciating thought the world the principles of self determination and democracy. I am oppsed to tyranny and oppression but I am not hostile to British and the British people. I will go one step further some respects a much better Britisher as I am putting into practice the techings of the British democracy and
freedom. I am up against all forms of tyranny anywhere in the world and I hope that the
righ minded Britons and the British democracy will listen to my appeal and help me to
achieve the emancipation and liberation of my country. 77

Tilak attended at Amritsar the congress session, presided over by Pt. Moti Lal Nehru. The main issue before the congress was whether to associate or not with the
reforms of 1919 which were considered inadequate and unsatisfactory. Tilak was of the
opinion that the reforms should be given a trail. So he formed a Congress Democratic
party to contest election but unfortunately he breathed his last on August 1, 1920.
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