Chapter - V

Results and Findings
RESULTS AND FINDINGS

Human beings use different modes of communication - non-verbal to verbal. The modes or medium of communication often destines the destiny of the messages also. The effect and impact of the message and also the meanings in the message are greatly dependable on the mode or the form used to convey the message. Slogans are an important form of communication used by the human beings in their collective association from the time immemorial. The concept of communication is indeed wide and large. As commonly thought, it is not simply language alone. Articulated language, both in written and spoken form is perhaps the most effective organ to communicate. The term language, in the course of time also had become synonymous with the very concept of communication itself, and from this spring’s forth the idea such as sign language, media language etc. To this extent slogans too are a kind of language. Mantra is uniquely an Indian concept. Mantra is compressed and capsulated thoughts and ideas. Mantras thus can carry volumes of ideas when interpreted and deciphered. Slogans have this character of mantra, of carrying compressed meanings which is capable of recreating with every men and different context.

History is made up of slogans and slogans are condensed history. Indian independence struggle is one of the greatest mass movements in the history of the world. Slogans were extensively used throughout the whole course of the Indian freedom movement. It depicted the multiplicity, plurality, ethnicity, tradition, culture, heritage of the Indian sub continent. Slogans of Indian independence struggle were unique for its variety aspects. They carried an ideology, promoted the mass movement, preached the principles and philosophy, highlighted the spirit of the periods, linked the transition of different phases in the movement, communicated and represented the vistas of meanings, negotiated with the time and space of the history, signified as the symbol of the struggle etc. Slogans played an inevitable and an indispensable role in the making up of a modern India from the time immemorial. So far no earnest study was made; solely focusing on the significance of slogans exclusively on the Indian realities.
Slogans epitomise movements, issues, problems, crisis, wars and all human resolutions in general. Slogans have been used to oppress and hegemonies and have simultaneously been potent weapons of liberation and struggles of the oppressed and exploited.

Slogans are armies on the strength of which movements catch the imagination of the masses and consummate their goals. They occupy and important space in the public domain. Slogans encapsulate the quintessential ethos and spirit of the times. They have been a medium to negotiate the public sphere and dominate it. In a revolutionary ambience they communicate the ideology of the times to the grassroots.

The sensitivity and clarity of the slogans determine its effectiveness in consonance with the objective reality. Slogans crystallise subjective aspirations and objective historical realities.

They are harnessed to strengthen forces of domination by the hegemonic and simultaneously used to weaken the hegemony over the trampled masses. The result would be in favour of the better negotiator of the public sphere. This is determined by the effectiveness of the message and the medium used.

The elite hegemoniser had taken the support of literature to create a cultural ambience of endorsement. Literature had always been elitist for the simple reason that literary elutes the masses from its addictive embrace. The masses to disseminate and carry forward their agenda have largely resorted to the use of slogans. In spite of the pro mass content of the written word, at times, the reception at the mass level has been insignificant. Kumaran Asan, Prem Chand or an Amartya Sen have remained suspended in thin air away from the masses on terra-firma caught in the web of illiteracy.

This study titled “THE SLOGANS OF INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE: A STUDY IN COMMUNICATION AND REPRESENTATION” is the first of this kind in the discipline of Communication and Journalism under the faculty of Social Sciences. Slogans during the nationalist’s period exhibited a clear growth and metamorphosis. Through this linear path of slogans the political currents during
the freedom struggle can be traced both in a historical and philosophical manner. Studying the concept of slogans as an instrument of communication and representation provides an acumen about the meanings, ideals and moral of the freedom struggle; which later became the foundation in the making of a modern India. The uses of Indian independence struggle slogans ranged from inciting patriotic feelings to the cultural awakening and even to protests against exploitation and imperialism.

Slogans in Indian independence struggle were identified as performing the strong function of political communication through political indoctrination. Ideological Indoctrination through the use of political slogans in discourses not only reflects but also shapes thought and culture. Both over the time and ideograph’s freedom struggle slogans of that particular historical moment were facilitating conceptual change and ideological transformation of the Indian public sphere to the rich traditions of culture, heritage, history, religion, ethics and morals.

Ideological and conceptual change is called forth by changing political needs and social conditions of India under the British Raj. In order to understand the process of ideological transformation power dynamics, political contexts, and the use of ideographs of the freedom movement have to be studied elaborately, both diachronically and synchronically. Social conditions through the vehicle of slogans as political communication paved the way for renaissance and ideological formation and transformation. The impact of language and ideology in molding and remolding of a culture and society too was done instrumentally by the widespread use of freedom struggle slogans.

Slogans have been the communicator par excellence for all subaltern categories. Gandhiji’s Slogan’s and messages – short, catchy and pithy transected the barriers of illiteracy and literacy: elite and subaltern; classes and masses, metamorphosing the nationalist movement into a mass movement. Slogans like National Education, Swadeshi, Boycott, Harijan Welfare, Peasants and Workers Raj, Non-corporation, Satyagraha, Truth and Non-violence, Quit India, et.al were quintessential elements of the nationalist movement.
Colonialism remained *semi hegemonic* as historians like Bipin Chandra opined mainly because cultural dominance, even though endorsed by the indigenous classes eluded the British. This was due to the elitist character of indigenous literature and culture. The Gandhian movement triumphed because of the negative aspect – the illiteracy of the masses.

The hypnotic influence of the west and its propaganda missionary could not affect the masses for reasons of illiteracy and vast spaces of India. Slogans became weapons of mass movement and struck an emotional cord in the people – *Gandhi Zindabad; Inquilab Zindabad*, were slogans that set off a train of emotions sparking protests and revolves all over the land. The slogans carried more meaning and packed more strength than the imperialist battalions and mission guns. These slogans assumed a power and volition which was far removed from the literal meanings. The combination of social reforms and political struggle at the initial faces of the Gandhian movement added strength and negotiated the problems of inequality and marginalisation of the depressed classes. Slogans like *One caste, One God, One Religion* of Sree Narayana Guru and *Ramarajya and Harijan Welfare* of Gandhiji directed social reform during the freedom struggle.

Even the use of the vernacular did not resolve the problem of communication. Slogans short and powerful were the only solutions. Slogans epitomise a historical phenomenon in all its ramifications. An effective slogan is the quintessence of social, economic, political and psychological identity and dynamises the space it negotiates. Slogans like *the sun will never set on the British Empire* were meant to sustain and perpetuate colonial rule. These slogans became relevant in the face of German and Japanese aggrandisement in Asia and Africa.

Terminological slogans used by the imperialist like *Bandits, Seditionists, Anarchists, Extremist, Terrorists* to brand the indigenous and native people were slogans not only to denigrate but psychologically dominate over the colored races. Rudyard. Kipling’s imperialist verse, raised to the level of a Slogan – ‘the east is east, the west is west and the twain shall never meet’ endorsed racial domination.
Tilak’s Slogan on *Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education*, was an attempt to capture public imagination and actively intervene in the public sphere monopolised by the colonialist and the indigenous elite.

Independence struggle slogans have also played a significant role in facilitating change at both interpersonal and cultural levels in the Indian soil.

**MAJOR FINDINGS OF THE STUDY**

Slogans used during the period of Indian independence struggle played a significant role in forming a public sphere in the India subcontinent against the British rule on the principles of communicative rationality and collective action.

Slogans used during the era of nationalism exhibited highest traits of morality, ethics and spiritual well being. This is because Indian independence struggle slogans were having deep roots and are strongly imbibed in the rich socio-cultural and religious tradition of India.

Slogans at the Indian independence struggle acted as a vehicle of communication and ideological teaching which paved the way for uniting the Indians above the plurality and multiplicity of its civil and social life.

Indian independence struggle slogans proved beyond the doubt that they reflected the socio-politico-economic-cultural realities during the British regime. Slogans paved the way for reviving the spirit of Indianness, awakening the country men about the rich tradition and religious values they own as a civilisation beyond comparison.

**EFFECTS AND IMPACTS OF SLOGANS THROUGH THE DECADES**

Indian independence struggle slogans were distinct in many ways with other political slogans used in different political struggles at different part of the world. They hallmarked the uniqueness even in its recitation to its content and rhythm. Some of the peculiarities of Indian Freedom Movement slogans identified are:
(a) The slogans often used during the Indian Freedom movement broadly tried to function within the confines of the rule of law and Dharma itself. This was often due to the deep political and ideological influence of Gandhian Philosophy in particular and Indian philosophy in general.

(b) Studying the linguistic connotation of the Indian freedom struggle slogans shows that it always aimed and existed for the establishment of a democratic and basically a civil libertarian society in the Indian subcontinent.

(c) The in-depth influence of nationalist slogans in the Indian soil can be stated as- slogans are very successful instruments in transforming or replacing a semi-democratic or democratic society to a communicative rational public sphere with the sole aim of independence and freedom of the motherland.

(d) The greatest success of Indian independence struggle slogans were that, it was able to fire the prolonged popular struggle for independence on a moral, political, and ideological level rather than a single historic movement of revolution which derailed the state power.

(e) Indian Freedom struggle slogans imbibed the uniqueness of accepting the opposing political ideals, parallel philosophies, alternate movements etc along within the same stream of political communication. It may be moderate or extremists, Gandhian or Marxian philosophies involved in the freedom struggle at the same point in time.

(f) Nationalist slogans in the Indian soil effectively proved how to keep away and to non-cooperate with the rules within the constitutional space offered by the existing ruling structure. Indian Freedom Slogans taught the world how to be a judicious and act as a rational opposition in a system through a justifiable manner and with nobility. It effectively proved how to combine and use constitutional and non-constitutional means and measures to over through the ruling structures.
Political slogans during the nationalist’s era were instrumental in building reserves of counter-political hegemony through a gradual long term process over years of passive progressive stages along with the mainstream movements, struggles, resistances, discussions, debates and conferences.

The Indian independence struggle slogan in the freedom movement is one of the best examples of the creation of an extremely wide movement with a common aim in which diverse political and ideological currents co-exist and work and simultaneously continue to contend for the overall ideological and political hegemonies over it.

Indian nationalists slogans highlighted the purest ideals of a democracy in making. It allowed and generated intense debate on all basic issues. The diversity and tension prevailed among the freedom fighters did not weaken the cohesion and striking power of the slogans and the movements.

Indian independence slogans were able to create a legacy. The political and ideological features, which have had a decisive impact on the post independence development, are largely because of the legacy created by the slogans in the freedom movement. It is a legacy that belonged to all the Indian people, regardless of which party or group they represent and belong.

Political slogans during the freedom movement laid the strong foundations for a future democratic India on the ideals of civil-liberty, self-reliance, secularism, socialistic and an egalitarian social order of a sovereign republic with an independent foreign policy. Slogans popularised democratic ideas and institutions in India on the strong basis of representation through adult franchise.

Proclamation and recitation of the political slogans during the Indian independence struggle upheld the basic cardinal individuality of freedom of expression and association.
As Indian freedom struggle slogans were deeply imbibed in the cultural and socio-religious traditions of India, it often exhibited a pro-poor orientation with basis of Gandhian philosophy of self reliance, non-violence and non-cooperation. The movements generated by the freedom fighters with the help of slogans and songs often considered poor farmers and emphasised for radical agrarian reforms.

Slogans of the Indian independence struggle inherited a deep sense of commitment on virtue of progressive, anti-colonial, anti-capitalistic, non-racist, and anti-imperialistic outlook during the freedom movement and even in the post independence era.

Indian Freedom movements slogans seem fully committed to the principles of secularism. It tried hard to inculcate secular values among the people and opposed to the growth of communalism. During the period of Freedom struggle India was believed to be in the process of becoming a nation and believed that what is called India in fact consisted of religions, castes, communities and interests. Independence struggle slogans played a pivotal role in grouping of Indian Politics around the concept of an Indian Nation.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It may be natural for a set of slogans to carry connotations from the context of society. The slogans used in independence struggle of India too are no exceptions. Taken together; one can find that they represent the entire Indianness in a highly compressed manner. Indian nation has many things uniquely sublime, which are the outcome from a longest and enduring civilisation, culture, spirituality and so on. Some of them at least, need to be mentioned. The foremost among them shall be the Indian epistemology itself. The perspective of looking at plurality and multiplicity has varieties or variation of an ultimate principle, is what really makes this a unique perspective. This enables to look for unity trans-diversity and oneness trans-plurality. Indeed this is evident from the very may Indian nation is, till now.
Another aspect is the affectivity and purification role of knowledge to individuals and thus to society. Knowledge is essentially to refine, and purify the knower, to better individuals. With such kind of education programme, we should be having a very civilised society, where sublime values, virtues etc shall be rated and respected as very high. The process of refinement and purification is also a process of sublimation in this manner. Indian culture is based on philosophy, knowledge and spirituality. Many thousands of years of civilisation gave rise to many philosophical systems, knowledge in many areas and a tremendous transcendental development towards spirituality. The Indian independence slogans carried all these and more, and functioned as an effective instrument in making such idea reach the masses. As a matter of fact, when entire India joined together and stood together as one single unit or entity, it was not at all a matter of surprise. That is the natural way India is and it is the character of Indianness. The Indian independence struggle slogan made people aware of these aspects; and they all set in to every Indian as powerful nationalism, pride in nation and willingness to sacrifice everything for the nation.

It may not be much of exaggeration to say that these slogans filled Indians with nationalism, pride, integrity and the feeling of being one; a single unit. Indeed, there was this one man, Mahatma Gandhi, who lived as a real Indian icon to all the values and for everyone to observe and learn. Functionally, Gandhiji personified Indianness. Intellectually, Gandhiji worked on every small detail as to how the new India should be, and he had written them all down for future generations to carry on. Gandhiji put all such thoughts into the concept of 'Ramarajya'. But then after 1947, the spirit of nationalism and Indian culture did not continue. Primarily, this was because of the fact that, Mahatma Gandhi was not leading India after 1947. Till 1947, Gandhi was leading India with already drafted and established norms but from 15th of august 1947, all things changed. Everything became different and new from that of Gandhiji. Subsequently all erstwhile spirit and principle died out. We lost continuity both in programme and policies of future as a single nation.

Revival of slogans could be one shortcut to reestablish the now latent integral nationalism. These slogans are still very powerful and they can
successfully create archetype Indians. We should start with reviving these slogans but the process must be otherwise supported by state apparatus like education etc. to create the nationalistic spirit. In Indian context the nationalistic spirit is automatically that of co-existence, unity transplurality and togetherness. These slogans shall indeed function not only as preliminary move but also as a prerequisite towards the making of real Indian nation.

In this modern era of financial imperialism and globalisation, majority of the Indian independence struggle slogans are significant and transcends the time and context of its usage. The researcher finds that Indian freedom struggle slogans have to be revived in the subcontinent in order to create a spirit of self esteem, sustainability and progressiveness in the present day march of India towards development. Earnest effort in this regard has to be taken on the part of government to inscribe and create slogans of patriotism and nationalism.

Indian independence struggle slogans uphold the high spirit of ethics, values, morality and nobility; they can be used effectively as a weapon or tool of mass communication to fight against the growing communalism, terrorism, civil unrest and anti nationalism. Slogans have the heavenly spirit and eternal capacity to revive and refine the mind and spirit of citizens. So freedom struggle slogans must be included in the curriculum of the educational system. As slogans are condensed history such curriculum of education merging them with class room sessions will create spirit of patriotism and ideal nation hood among the future generations.

Slogans have proved as an open, free and accessible with in a nation hood. It is a space for idea, for action, for discussion, debate and for protests, peace and harmony, for contestations and resistance. Slogans can be one of the most peaceful methods of communication and representation. This researcher finds the scope for the further investigation of slogans in the discipline Communicology and Semiotics in relation with the development and metamorphosis of language in the new media of communication or with the ICT instruments.

Slogans represent the collective initiative of individuals to educate and awaken. It is the collective collages that constitute the society. Autonomous, self
motivated, voluntary, deliberate association, initiatives and affairs of individuals in relation to the polity is seen in every slogan, which addresses the concerns of the society in an oratory manner. It is a movement, which enables organised efforts at raising the voices of those who are typically not heard or marginalised. So this researcher finds the immense potentiality and freedom within the source and the receiver of a slogan to attribute denotative meanings of its representation. Hence a wide range of intellectual, ideological and spiritual persuasion can be seen in a slogan.

The analysis and interpretations of this research study necessitates the need of a proper documentation of slogans in the Indian independence movement on regional wise in a chronological order. The government must take forefront initiative in creating and updating all the archive materials related with the origin evolution and metamorphosis of slogans in the Indian sub continent. Then only more and more theoretical and intellectual investigations, interventions, researches will be possible.

This research study belongs to the first generation of this kind among the few, a detailed analysis in the broad spectrum in necessary and inevitable. Results and findings of the study pin points to the need of a detailed theoretical analysis of collective deliberations that slogans created in the whole of Indian history. It must include slogans from different periods, different regions through different medium and from different Indian languages. This will widens the interdisciplinary status of History, Politics and Philosophy in relation to Language, Linguistics and Communicology.