Gandhi’s Nationalist Movement (1920-1947): A Non-Violent Path towards Independence

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Presented by: Miss. Khadraoui Amina
Supervised by: Dr. SENOUCI MEBERBECHE, Faiza

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Dedication

I dedicate the fruits of my studies to my parents who encouraged me all the time with their sincere prayers and best wishes, and to whom I would like to say how much I am lucky to have them by my side.

To my dear brother Amine and my lovely sister Asma for their great help and support.

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To all those whom I love and love me.

Amina
Abstract

The Indian freedom struggle was one of the greatest liberation movements against colonialism and imperialism. The battle keeps on being an effective and strong source of inspiration for countries that reject to accept foreign dominance and exploitation; for countries that estimate liberty, equality, freedom, dignity and democracy. The Indian freedom struggle provides novel and ideal models of patriotism and nationalism which may be adopted and pursued in order to eradicate and devastate the undemocratic foundations of colonialism, neocolonialism, feudalism, radicalism and different forms of hidden oppression and abuse. It is broadly accepted that Gandhi played a major, vital and crucial role in keeping the Indian national movement first and foremost non-violent. He passionately and enthusiastically adopted and applied his theory and strategy of non-violence to make India independent from the British servitude.
# Table of Contents

**Acknowledgments** .................................................................................................................. I

**Dedication** ............................................................................................................................. II

**Abstract** .................................................................................................................................. III

**Table of Contents** ..................................................................................................................... IV

**General Introduction** ................................................................................................................ 1

**Chapter One:** Indian Nationalism

1.1. Introduction .......................................................................................................................... 2

1.2. An Overview on the British Colonialism in India................................................................. 2

1.3. Origins of Nationalism in India ............................................................................................. 3

1.4. Rise of Nationalism in India .................................................................................................. 3

1.5. Factors Responsible for the Growth of National Consciousness in India............................. 5

1.6. Indian Freedom Struggle ........................................................................................................ 10

1.7. Conclusion ............................................................................................................................. 12

**Chapter Two:** Gandhi’s Nationalist Movement (1920-1947)

2.1. Introduction .......................................................................................................................... 13

2.2. Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) ............................................................................................ 13

2.3. Gandhi’s Beliefs and Strategies in Freedom Struggle ............................................................ 16

2.4. Role of Gandhi in the Indian Freedom Struggle .................................................................... 20

2.5. Gandhi’s National Mass Movements ..................................................................................... 22

2.5.1. The Non-Cooperation Movement (1920) ......................................................................... 22

2.5.2. The Civil Disobedience Movement (1930-1931) .............................................................. 26

2.5.3. The Dandi March (1930) .................................................................................................. 29

2.5.4. The Quit India Movement (1942) ....................................................................................... 32

2.6. Conclusion ............................................................................................................................. 37

**General Conclusion** .................................................................................................................. 38

**Bibliography** ............................................................................................................................... V

**Glossary** .................................................................................................................................... VIII
General Introduction

The Indian national movement was certainly one of the greatest mass movements modern time has ever seen. It was also a famous and multi-class movement that galvanized thousands of People from different ideologies into freedom struggle and brought to its knees a great imperial power. It was essentially the consequence of a basic conflict between the Indians’ interest and that of the English colonialism. The Indian individuals could see that India was retreating economically and experiencing a procedure of underdevelopment. This anti-colonial ideology encouraged and increased the sentiment of nationalism among the Indian people.

The development of modern nationalism is closely associated with the anti-colonial era in India, the same as in any other nation. During the period of their struggle with the British, people started showing their unity. Although every group or class of people felt that they were being persecuted under imperialism, the impacts of colonialism were felt in a different way. Mahatma Gandhi attempted to combine these groups altogether inside one movement under the Congress. Gandhi formulated and implemented his non-violent method of Satyagraha in the freedom struggle rejecting all sorts of violence for the purpose of attaining freedom of India. But like everywhere else, unity did not come easily without facing conflicts. Therefore, what is the role of Gandhi in the Indian freedom struggle? To what extent did Gandhi’s theory of non-violence contribute in achieving freedom for India?

To answer these questions I choose to analyse Gandhi’s nationalist movement in India from 1920 to 1947. In my first chapter, I deal with the Indian nationalism in the second half of the 19th century: origins of nationalism, rise and growth of national consciousness among the Indians and I conclude with the most popular national movements at that period. Whereas in my second chapter I focus on the Gandhian nationalist era, including Gandhi’s biography and his theory of non-violence. After that I mention Gandhi’s role in the Indian freedom struggle and his famous mass movements (1920-1947).
Chapter One

Indian Nationalism
1.1. Introduction

The second half of the 19th century witnessed the full blooming of national political awareness and the development of spiritual nationalism among the Indians. The birth and growth of Indian nationalism has been generally clarified as far as Indian reaction to the stimulus produced by the English rule.

Hence, this chapter gives a bird’s eye view on the Indian nationalist movement which is considered as a great movement against colonial power in the world history.

The first part of this chapter analyses the origins of nationalism involving in particular the different components that assist in the rise of the Indian nationalism. Whereas the second one describes the factors that establish and strengthen the sentiment of nationalism among the Indian people. Finally, I conclude my chapter with the most famous Indian national movements during the 19th and early 20th centuries.

1.2. An Overview on the British Colonialism in India:

The British colonialism in India changed the course of history in India. The British came to India in the early 17th century. At that time when the British East India Company1 was built up in India to break the Dutch monopoly over spice trading. With time the East India Company expanded its forces and began to control the nation. However its policies were despised by Indians and together they rebelled against the company. This prompted the defeat of the company and the administration of India went immediately under the Queen in 1858.

The British formed numerous princely states, formed laws and approaches of their own. Gradually however quickly the whole Indian sub continent went under the English guideline. By mid 19th century, the British presented the railroads, broadcast and postal administration in India. This was a move to set up their rule constantly in India. The initial railway line was from Howrah in Calcutta to Raniganj in Bihar. The presentation of broadcast and postal services improved communication everywhere throughout the nation.

1. The British East India Company: also known as the Honourable East India Company and informally as John Company, was an English and later British joint-stock company, which was formed to pursue trade with the East Indies but ended up trading mainly with the Indian subcontinent and Qing China. Source (W.H., Carey, The Good Old Days of Honourable John Company, (Argus Press: Simla), 1882, p. 141).
The British passed numerous acts that were met with disappointment and hatred by the Indians. Therefore the Indians shaped large gatherings and rebelled against the British. Though each movement was severely squashed by the English strengths, but this situation arose a sense of nationalism among the Indian people to meet the challenge of the British domination.

At long last after 200 years of English rule, India gained freedom from them on 15th August, 1947. Numerous innocent lives were sacrificed for this accomplishment, but due to the effort of the leaders and the sacrificing masses, India could gain independence from the British.

1.3. Origins of Nationalism in India

The rise of nationalism in India is reflected in the soul of Renaissance¹ in Europe when freedom from religious confinements led to the upgrade of national character. This articulation of patriotism was assisted by the French Revolution (1789 – 1799). The political changes brought about the death of power from the hands of an absolute monarch to the French citizens, who had the ability to constitute the country and shape its fate. The watchwords of the French Revolution “Liberty, Equality and Fraternity”² inspired the entire world. Many other revolutions like the American Revolution (1765 – 1783), the Russian Revolution (1907) , etc. also strengthened the thought of nationalism.

Here we will put light on the rise of nationalism in India which emerged in the 19th century after the revolt of 1857 and how the feeling of nationalism took India toward the Indian Nationalist Movement.

1.4. Rise of Nationalism in India

For India, the making of national identity was a long process whose roots can be drawn from the ancient time. India as a whole had been controlled by rulers like Ashoka (304 - 232BCE)³

¹. Renaissance: The Renaissance is a period in Europe, from the 14th to the 17th century, considered the bridge between the middle Ages and modern history. It started as a cultural movement in Italy in the Late Medieval period and later spread to the rest of Europe, marking the beginning of the Early Modern Age. Source (Ferguson, Wallace Klippert. “The Renaissance in historical thought”, AMS Press, Vol. 8, p. 30).


³. Ashoka: he was an Indian emperor of the Maurya Dynasty who ruled almost the entire Indian subcontinent from c. 268 to 232 BCE. Source (Subhadra, Gupta, Ashoka, (Penguin Books: New Delhi), 2009, p. 20).
and Smudragupta (c. 335 - c. 380 CE)\(^1\) in ancient times and Akbar (1542 - 1605)\(^2\) to Aurangzeb (1618 - 1707)\(^3\) in Medieval times. But, it was just in the 19\(^{th}\) century that the idea of a national identity and national consciousness developed. This development was intimately associated to the anti-colonial movement. The social, economic and political factors had inspired the people to characterize and accomplish their national personality. People started finding their solidarity during the time spent their battle against colonialism. The feeling of being oppressed under colonial rule gave a mutual bond that tied distinctive groups together. Every class and group felt the impacts of colonialism differently. Their experiences were varied, and their thoughts of freedom were not always the same. Several other causes likewise contributed towards the rise and development of Nationalism. One set of laws of English Government over several regions drove to political and administrative unity. This strengthened the idea of citizenship and one nation among Indians.

Similarly this economic abuse by the British agitated other people to join together and react against English Government's control over their lives and resources. The social and religious reform movements of the 19th century also contributed to the feeling of Patriotism.

Swami Vivekananda (1863 - 1902)\(^4\), Annie Besant (1847 - 1933)\(^5\), Henry Derozio (1809 - 1831)\(^6\) and numerous others restored the eminence of antiquated India, made confidence among the general population in their religion and culture and in this way gave the message of affection for their homeland.


\(^{3}\) Aurangzeb: he was the sixth Mughal Emperor and ruled over most of the Indian subcontinent during some parts of his reign. His reign lasted for 49 years from 1658 until his death in 1707. Source (Schimmel, Annemarie, *The empire of the great Mughals*, (Reaktion Books: London), 2004, p. 54).

\(^{4}\) Swami Vivekananda: a chief disciple of Ramakrishna, one of the makers of modern India. Source (Badrinath, Chaturvedi,”Swami Vivekananda”, *Atlantic Press*, Vol. 4, p. 16).

\(^{5}\) Annie Besant: was a prominent British socialist, theosophist, women's rights activist, writer and orator and supporter of Irish and Indian self-rule. Source( Kumar, Raj, *Annie Besant's Rise to Power in Indian Politics*, (Concept Publishing: India), 1981, p. 9).

\(^{6}\) Henry Derozio: was an Indian poet and assistant headmaster of Hindu College, Kolkata, a radical thinker and one of the first Indian educators to disseminate Western learning and science among the young men of Bengal. Source (Edward, Pease, “Henry Derozio: An Autobiography”, *The Times*, Vol. 7, p. 2).
The intellectual and spiritual side of Patriotism was voiced by persons like Bankim Chandra Chatterji (1838 - 1894)\(^1\), Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824 - 1883)\(^2\) and Aurobindo Ghosh (1872 - 1950)\(^3\). Bankim Chandra's song to the Country, “Vande Matram”\(^4\) turned into the rallying cry of enthusiastic patriots. It inspired generations to supreme self-sacrifice. At the same time, it created a fear in the minds of the British. The effect was so strong to the point that the British had to ban the song. Similarly, Swami Vivekananda’s message to the general population, “Arise, awake and stop not till the goal is reached”\(^5\), appealed to the Indians. It went about as an intense force in the course of Indian Patriotism.

All these figures helped the spread of nationalism among the people of India. Around the 19\(^{th}\) century, many organizations were being formed which raised their voices against the British rule. Most of these organizations were local in nature. Some of these organizations were extremely active, for example, Bengal Indian Association (1851), Bengal Presidency Association (1863), etc. However it was felt that if these regional associations could work together it would help the Indian masses to raise their voices against the British Rule.

### 1.5. Factors Responsible for the Growth of National Consciousness in India

The development of national awareness in the 19\(^{th}\) century was basically the consequence of the English standard. The financial, political, and social changes realized by the English principle brought about the mistreatment of all classes of individuals offering ascend to a far reaching disappointment among the masses.

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\(^2\) Swami Dayanand Saraswati: was a Hindu religious leader who gave the call for Swarajya as ”India for Indians”. Source (Arjan, Singh, Dayananda Saraswati, Founder of Arya Samaj (Ess Publications: London), 1979).


\(^4\) “Vande Matram”: literally, ”I praise thee, Mother”, is a poem from Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay’s 1882 novel Anandamath. It was written in Bengali and Sanskrit. Source (‘Vande Mataram: a musical message to the sons of India”, Hindustan Times, vol. 4, p.p.5-6).

\(^5\) “Arise, awake and stop not till the goal is reached”: is one of the most popular quotations of Swami Vivekananda. It was his message to the Hindus to get out of their hypnotized state of mind. Source (Sanjiv, Tiwari, Stop Not Till the Goal is Reached, (Postak Mahal: New Delhi), 2010, p.15).
The uniform arrangement of organization, improvement of post and broadcast, railroads, printing press and instructive establishments made by the English Indian Government got to be instrumental in giving ideal condition to the ascent of the patriotism.

Several factors were in charge of the growth of nationalism in India. For a better exploitation of Indian assets the English brought vast parts of India under a uniform arrangement of organization. The rise of the Indian country was a main consideration in the emergence of patriotism. The English embraced a strategy of destruction of nearby independent economy and introduced advanced industry and exchange on an all India basis. This made India's economic life a solitary one and interlinked the financial existence of the Indians. The very presence of outside principle that mistreated all the Indian individuals independent of their rank, religion or locale went about as a binding together variable.

Nationalist sentiments grew up among the general individuals because of the accompanying central point, and it did not take even much time. The variables were as per the following:

❖ **British Imperialism**

The British colonialism was the most critical component, which added to the rise of nationalism in India. It made the topographical unification of the nation conceivable. Before the appearance of the British, the general population of the south were typically separate from the rest of India aside from some short inter-vals. The English imperialism made the general population to think as one country.

❖ **Political Solidarity under English Principle**

India was furnished with political and administrative unity under the English guideline. Basic subjection, regular establishments and normal laws began to shape India in a typical mould. This political solidarity encouraged the soul of nationalism.

❖ **Communication Network**

Post and broadcast administrations were extended and improved. All the major towns were connected with broadcast. The primary railway line was developed in 1853 in the middle of Mumbai and Thana. Individuals living at far off spots got new chance to connect with each
other. The modern means of communication empowered individuals living in various parts of the nation to keep up normal contacts with each other and advanced the reason for nationalism.

- **The Part of the Press and Writing**

The presentation of printing press made the change of thoughts less expensive. A number of newspapers and periodicals began showing up. The Indian press assumed a prominent part in activating popular assessment, arranging political movements and advancing nationalism. Newspapers like *The Indian Mirror* (1861), *The Bengalee* (1879), *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* (1868), *Bombay Chronicle* (1910), *The Hindu* (1878) and etc uncovered the excesses of the British organization. The press turned into the mirror of Indian patriotism.

National literature in the form of novels, papers and patriotic poetry additionally assumed an imperative part in exciting national awareness. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Tagore (1861-1941), in *Bengali*, Lakshminath Bezbarua (1868-1938) in *Assamese*, Vishnu Shastri (1929-2005) in *Marathi*, Subrahmanya Baruti (1882-1921) in *Tamil*, and Asaf Husain Hali (1837-1914) in *Urdu* were some of the prominent patriot specialists of the period.

- **Western Thought and Education**

As a result of the spread of modern western education and thought during the nineteenth century, a large number of Indians soaked up a modern rational balanced, mainstream, democratic and patriot political standpoint.

They additionally started to consider, appreciate and copy the contemporary patriot developments of European countries. Rousseau (1712-1778)¹, Paine (1737-1809)² and other western masterminds turned into their political guides, while Mazzini (1805-1872)³, Garibaldi (1807-1882)⁴, and Irish nationalist pioneers turned into their political legends.

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³. **Mazzini**: was an Italian politician, journalist and activist for the unification of Italy and spearheaded the Italian revolutionary movement. Source (Claeys, Gregory, “Mazzini, Kossuth, and British Radicalism”, *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 28, pp. 225-261).

The educated Indians were inspired by the fantasy of a modern, solid, and united India. Modern education also made a specific consistency of standpoint and interests among the informed Indians. The English dialect turned into the medium of correspondence and trade of thoughts between educated Indians from various etymological locales of the nation.

- **Financial Abuse**

The effect of English rule on the economy of India was terrible. The British depleted off the resources of India in a most methodical and out of line way. Indian agriculture and industry got a setback. The trade policy of the British in India destroyed Indian exchange. Starvations turned into a customary component of Indian economy.

- **Rediscovery of India's Past**

Many British writers and officials propelled the proposition that Indians had never possessed the capacity to govern themselves in the past, that Hindus and Muslims had always battled each other. They contended that the Indians were bound to be ruled by foreigners, that their religion and social life were degraded and uncivilized making them unfit for vote based system or even self-government. The nationalist leaders attempted to excite the self-confidence and sense of pride of the general population by countering this propaganda. They indicated the cultural heritage of India with pride and alluded the critics to the political accomplishments of rulers like Ashoka, Chandragupta and Akbar.

In this task they were helped and empowered by the work of European Max Muller(1823-1900)\(^1\), Monier Williams(1819-1899)\(^2\) etc. and Indian researchers in rediscovering India's national legacy in art, architecture, literature, philosophy, science and legislative issues. The re-discovery of India’s past history and culture deeply affected the brains of the educated class. This gave another feeling of certainty to the educated Indians and inspired them with a new spirit of nationalism and patriotism.

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\(^1\) Max Muller: he was a German-born philologist and Orientalist, who lived and studied in Britain for most of his life. He was one of the founders of the western academic field of Indian studies and the discipline of comparative religion. Muller wrote both scholarly and popular works on the subject of Indology. Source (R. C., Fynes, Muller, “Friedrich Max (1823–1900)”, *Oxford University Press*, Vol. 10, p. 19).

\(^2\) Monier Williams: was the second Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford University, England. He studied, documented and taught Asian languages, especially Sanskrit, Persian and Hindustani. Source (Nirad, Chaudhuri, *Scholar Extraordinary: The Life of Professor the Right Honourable Friedrich Max Muller*, (Chatto & Windus: London), 1974, p.p. 221–222).
Racial Arrogance of the Rulers

Another factor for the development of national feelings in India was the tone of racial predominance embraced by numerous Englishmen in their dealings with Indians. Racial presumption marked every one of the Indians regardless of their position, religion or class with the badge of inferiority. This made them aware of national humiliation, and led them to consider themselves one people when confronting Englishmen.

Rise of Middle Class

The British rule led to the appearance of a new middle class comprising businessmen, industrialists and financiers. This class was aware of the way that the English tenet was a deterrent in the way of industrial advancement and prosperity of the nation. So they joined the national development and helped it with money.

Ilbert Bill Controversy

Racial discrimination was conveyed in legal matters moreover. The Ilbert Bill\(^1\) is a typical example. According to the English law a European subject could be tried just by a European judge. To put a conclusion to the legal disqualification in light of race distinction Viceroy Lord Ripon (1827-1909)\(^2\), asked the Law member Ilbert to set up a bill empowering an Indian judge to try a European. There was a great opposition to the Bill among the European group. At long last the Bill had to be modified in a manner that a European can be tried just by a jury, half of whom were to be Europeans. This for all intents and purposes defeated Ripon’s aim and he resigned. This kind of racial separation added to the development of nationalism.

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\(^1\) Ilbert Bill: was a bill introduced in 1883 for British India by Viceroy Ripon that proposed an amendment for existing laws in the country at the time to allow Indian judges and magistrates the jurisdiction to try British offenders in criminal cases at the District level, something that was disallowed at the time. Source (Barbara D. Metcalf; Thomas R. Metcalf, \textit{A Concise History of India}, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge), 2002, p. 120.

\(^2\) The Viceroy Lord Ripon: Frederick Samuel Robinson, 1st Marquess of Ripon, he was a British politician who served in every Liberal cabinet from 1861 until the year before his death, which took place forty-eight years later. Source (White, Geoffrey , “The Complete Peerage”, \textit{St Catherine’s Press}, Vol. 11, p. 4).
Social Change Movements

The social change movements like Brahmo Samaj(1828)\(^1\), Arya Samaj(1875)\(^2\), etc. created in the minds of the people an exceptional affection for the motherland taking into account profound confidence in its past brilliance and future greatness. Pioneers like Swami Vivekananda assumed played leading roles in destroying social indecencies as well as in restoring pride in people ancient culture and heritage. They had animated the general population from their slumber and anticipated their national consciousness.

To sum up, the national movement was as an after effect of the intrinsic way of foreign colonialism. Furthermore, of its hurtful effect on the lives of the Indian individuals that intense against radical development gradually by step emerged and created in India. This movement was a national revolution since it unit individuals from various class and areas of the society who sank their shared contrast to join against the common foe.

1.6. Indian Freedom Struggle

Indian freedom struggle includes the independence movements relating to those invented campaigns that were promoted against the oppressing English territory, both by utilizing peaceful and violent measures. This dichotomous issue was actually a significant issue, because of diverging ways of numerous nationalists embraced to achieve one common objective of “Purna Swaraj”(1930)\(^3\) or absolute freedom.

The enormous mass in India that is named today as 'middle class', is represented much by universal principles and laws, including globalization. Much narrower a segment of society contain the Indian defence forces, represented by Indian Army, Indian Air Forces and Indian Navy. Otherwise, the present Indian society is to a great extent ignorant and cloudy about the umpteen Independence movements that India experienced to wind up what it is currently.

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\(^1\) Brahmo Samaj: literally denotes community. It was established by Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Debendranath Tagore. Source (T.F., Jordens, “Dayanada Saraswati”, Delhi: Oxford University Press, Vol. 7, p.4).


\(^3\) Purna Swaraj: literally “complete self-rule”, was a declaration of the independence of India from the British empire. Source(J.N.Farquhar, “Modern Religious movements in India”, Cambridge Univ. Press, Vol. 8, p.14).
a) Sepoy Mutiny, 1857

Also called the 'Sepoy Rebellion' or the 'Uprising of 1857' and the 'Great Rebellion', Sepoy Mutiny started on 10th May, 1857, led by protests by sepoys or officers of the East India Company in Meerut which reached out to the upper Gangetic Plain and the focal divide of India and the most real threats were concentrated in Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. The East India Company was threatened extraordinarily and it was stifled by the destruction of Gwalior on 20th June, 1858.

b) Swadeshi Movement, 1905 to 1911

The Indian society, when contrasted with contemporary times, was much easier and less uncomplicated. The conscious class division was inconceivable, with no mechanical instrument saw in any household. Freedom fighters all things considered arrived onto such a hot-bed Indian state of affairs just to help individuals not to be impacted and enchanted by English fineries and everything "Vilayati" (alluding to British goods and Britain as a whole). This surging mass of dissent walks prompted the culmination of the Swadeshi Movement in mid 1900s. It was to a great extent an effective resulting of the Partition of Bengal in 1905 and the measure of loss of lives under the vicious Britishers.

c) Khilafat Movement, 1919-1924

The Khilafat Movement was stirred to a great extent after the stringency of Rowlatt Act of 1919¹, totally reflecting Muslims slants rather than British lifestyle. Undoubtedly, it came to be a negligible request of day and a subject of snigger that after every going of law, a freedom development was certain to come up and pick up achievement.

d) Akali Movement, 1920's

The Akali Movement around 1919 had hugely introduced the “Sikh” group into Indian flexibility battle, with stray shared episodes happening here and there. Sikhs turned out to be such a cerebral pain to British lead, that hanging and extradition was the last plausible way

1. The Rowlatt Act: it passed on the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee and named after its president, British judge Sir Sidney Rowlatt, this act effectively authorized the government to imprison any person suspected of terrorism living in the Raj for up to two years without a trial, and gave the imperial authorities power to deal with all revolutionary activities. Source (Vohra, Ranbir, The Making of India: A Historical Survey,(Armonk: New York), 2001, p. 126).
out for these savage abroad men. By such appalling blending of British acts and hostile to British Indian autonomy movements, the time was sneaking towards the 1930s, which was the most embodied time for challenges, mobilizes and show of both brutality and peacefulness.

The freedom struggle had various stages, in the form of many rebellions and armed revolts. There were many rebellions, throughout the nation during the first 100 years of British rule.

1.7. Conclusion

The Indian Freedom Struggle was one of the biggest democratic movements against colonialism and imperialism. The Indian Freedom Battle gives the best images of nationalism and patriotism which might be received and sought after keeping in mind the end goal to find the undemocratic establishments of imperialism.

Therefore, when one thinks about the Indian freedom development in the 1930s and mid 1940s, one figure most promptly come to mind: Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948), prevalently known as “Mahatma Gandhi” or “Bapu” was an ethical reformist. It is generally acknowledged that Gandhi was the spine of the non-violent struggle for freedom of India.
Chapter Two  Gandhi’s Nationalist Movement (1920-1947)

2.1. Introduction

In the history of nationalism a single individual is frequently related to the making of a country. Thus, for instance, we relate Garibaldi (1807-1882) with the making of Italy, George Washington (1732-1799)¹ with the American War of Independence, and Ho Chi Minh (1890-1969)² with the battle to free Vietnam from colonial rule. In the same way, Mahatma Gandhi has been viewed as the "Father" of the Indian nation.

This chapter investigates Gandhi’s activities in India amid the pivotal period 1920-1948. It introduces the idea of non-violence and truth as the core of Mahatma Gandhi’s political thought. Furthermore it analyses his interactions with various sections of the Indian society and the most popular battles that he inspired and led during his march towards freedom.

2.2. Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948)

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, commonly known as "Mahatma" (signifying ‘Great Soul’) was born in Porbandar, Gujarat, in North West India, on 2nd October 1869, into a Hindu Modh family. His father was the Chief Minister of Porbandar, and his mother’s religious commitment implied that his childhood was imbued with the Jain conservative teachings of mutual toleration, non-damage to human beings and vegetarianism.

In May 1883, at the age of 13, Gandhi was married to Kasturba Makhanji, a young girl of 13 years old, through his parents’ arrangement. After his entrance into Samaldas University, at the College of Bombay, Kasturba bore him the first of four children, in 1888. Gandhi was unhappy at university, taking after his parent’s desires to pass the state's lawyer certification, and when he was offered the chance of advancing his studies abroad, at University College London aged 18, he accepted with pleasure, beginning there in September 1888.

¹. George Washington: was the first President of the United States (1789–97), the Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army during the American Revolutionary War, and one of the Founding Fathers of the United States. Source (Alden, John R., George Washington, A Biography, (Easton Press: Norwalk), 1993, p. 63).

In London, Gandhi went to the Inns of Court and kept his principles. His fascination for the ethical side of Jesus Christ's teaching dates from the early encounters in Britain. He was one of the most genuine companions of the English people, and this more than once obvious in his lifetime. At last, Gandhi understood that he was not destined to be a lawyer. At this mental minute, he got an invitation to go to South Africa for the benefit of an Indian vendor. Gandhi was asked to help him with lawful advice and he agreed.

In 1893, Gandhi found himself in another world. He saw his brothers citizens there treated with scorn. He was personally insulted with horrible words. On one event, he was kicked out of a railway compartment for travelling in a compartment held for the Whites. He was beaten for walking on streets prohibited to Asiatics. With the above circumstances, Gandhi decided to stay in South Africa and to help people regain their self-esteem and battle for their rights. Because of the mistreatment of Indian immigrants, he sets up the Indian Congress in Natal to battle racism and to build up the thought of self-purification and “satyagraha” peaceful civil protest.

Along his years of challenge, Gandhi chose to lead a walk of 2,221 individuals from Natal into the Transvaal in his last demonstration of open defiance. Gandhi was captured and sentenced to nine months detainment. However, the strike spread and the British were obliged to drop the taxation and free Gandhi. News of his triumph was accounted for in Britain and Gandhi became a global figure.

In 1915, Gandhi made a triumphant come back to India. Right after his arrival, Gandhi was stunned by the congestion and misery he faced and decided to work for this oppressed people. He required a day of dissent against the Rowlatt Act (1919) which empowered the British to detain anybody. Thousands of demonstrators gathered in different towns yet the protests turned brutal. In Amritsar, Around 400 individuals were killed and 1,300 were injured. This massacre persuaded Gandhi to begin crusading for Indian independence. With his rising fame Gandhi became the head of the Indian National Congress (1885)\(^1\) and battled for political

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1. **The Indian National Congress**: is one of two major political parties in India, it is one of the largest and oldest democratically run political parties in the world. The party was founded in 1885 during the British rule. Source (Saiz, Lawrence, “Political cycles, political institutions and public expenditure in India, 1980–2000”, *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 40, p. 91-113).
independence from England. Gandhi changed the Indian National Congress from a small group to a mass party. He aimed to free India in light of religious resistance and acceptance of all beliefs. Gandhi’s calls for peaceful protests and empowers non-cooperation with the British, which incorporates a boycott of English merchandise. As a response to this, Gandhi was imprisoned for two years.

In 1930, Gandhi began crusading against England's Salt Laws which ban Indians from gathering or selling salt and oblige them to pay taxes on salt. He drove thousands on a ‘March to the Sea’ where the protesters bubbled up salt water to make salt, a typical demonstration of disobedience against the British. He was imprisoned but the campaign continued, with thousands refusing to pay their taxes and leases. The English gave up and Gandhi went to London to join the conference.

Gandhi went to London for the Round Table Conference, in 1931, as the sole delegate of the Indian National Congress. He showed an intense picture wearing his traditional Indian garments. Yet, the conference was a disappointment for Gandhi because The British were not prepared to give India freedom. Moreover Muslims and other representatives did not associate themselves to him as they didn't trust he represented all Indians.

After his disappointment at the conference, Gandhi decided to resign as leader of the Indian National Congress and to be aside from national politics. In 1942, Winston Churchill (1874-1965) called India to join the struggle against the Nazis, Gandhi insisted on people to do not help the British while Indians were enslaved at home. He arranged a non-violent dissent requesting the British "Quit India" for good. As a result he was detained alongside his wife, Kasturba. Violent campaigns requiring Gandhi's release from prison, yet Churchill was resolved not to give up. Gandhi's wife died in jail months before his release in 1944. Unable to stop constant calls for liberty, in 1947, the British at long last started negotiations for the freedom of India. However the result was a long way from what Gandhi had expected.

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1. **Winston Churchill**: was a British statesman who was the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1940 to 1945 and again from 1951 to 1955. Churchill was also an officer in the British Army, a historian, a writer, and an artist. Source (Jordan, Anthony, “Churchill: A Founder of Modern Ireland”, *Westport Press*, Vol. 5, p.p.11-12).
Chapter Two  

Gandhi’s Nationalist Movement (1920-1947)

The Mountbatten Plan (1947)\(^1\) reached to the partition of India into two independent states: India and Pakistan isolated along religious lines. In the capital Delhi there were freedom celebrations, however Gandhi’s vision of a unified India was broken. The Partition caused mass killings and violent protests; Gandhi left Delhi making a trip to Calcutta to stop the brutality by fasting to bring peace.

In 1948, Gandhi came back to Delhi to secure Muslims who had decided to stay in India and started a fast for Muslim rights. On his way to a prayer gathering at Birla House he was assaulted by a Hindu extremist. He was shot three times in his chest. For most Indians, it was a national disaster. A crowd of almost one million individuals lined the course of Gandhi’s burial procession to the banks of the Yamuna Stream. Over the world people joined to mourn the death of ‘the Father of peace’.

2.3. Gandhi’s Beliefs and Strategies in the Freedom Struggle

2.3.1. Philosophy of Non-Violence

With Gandhi, the thought of non-violence accomplished a unique status. He not just theorized on it, he received non-violence as a philosophy and a perfect lifestyle. He made us comprehend that the theory of non-violence is not a weapon of the feeble; it is a weapon, which can be attempted by all.

Non-violence was not Gandhi’s innovation. He is however called the father of non-violence because as Mark Shepard (an American journalist and author) mentioned “He raised nonviolent action to a level never before achieved”\(^2\). Krishna Kripalani (an Indian author) also confirmed “Gandhi was the first in Human history to extend the principle of nonviolence from the individual to social and political plane”\(^3\).

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\(^1\) The Mountbatten Plan: it Plan proposes the partition of India and the speedy transfer of responsibility, initially in the form of Dominion Status, to Indian Governments for the sections of a divided India. Source (Stein, Burton, A History of India, (Allied Publ.: New Delhi), 2010, p. 151).

\(^2\) Mark, Shepard, Mahatma Gandhi and His Myths, (Shepard Publications: Washington), 2002, p. 35.

While researchers were discussing a thought without a name or a movement, Gandhi is the person who developed the name and brought altogether different related concepts under one idea: Satyagraha. Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence included civil resistance, refusal to agree to unfair laws. He evolved this logic while living and practicing law in South Africa. Planning resistance to the oppressed and unfair apartheid system, which created significant administrative change, Gandhi left a permanent mark on the South African battle for racial justice.

Upon his arrival to India in 1915, Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence became connected with the battle for swaraj (self-rule). In India, Gandhi raised his theory of non-violence to new levels of modernity. Gandhi trusted that regular non-violent civil resistance, not war, would stir the awareness of the British to their unfair dominance over India. This was the faith that guided the Salt March. Gandhi's mobilizations were successful to the point that they distorted Britain's worldwide reputation and provoked irreversible change in Britain's strategy towards India, clarifying the power of regular non-violent civil resistance.

Gandhi was a tenacious resistant of violence. He realized that utilizing violence to battle violence ruins and corrupts even the most respectable of causes and leaves a legacy of bloodshed. On the off chance that we look to the progressive movements of the 20th century, we see reality in Gandhi's beliefs. The Bolshevik Revolution (1917), the Khmer Rouge(1975-1979), etc. left massive bloodshed in the ways towards "freedom". They left a legacy of death and violence, instead of peace.

1. Satyagraha: The word Satyagraha is from the Sanskrit words satya (meaning "truth") and Agraha ("insistence", or "holding firmly to"). For Gandhi, Satyagraha went far beyond just "passive resistance" (resisting without taking action). His non-violence also became his strength. He said that he chose the name because Truth means Love, and Insistence means Force, and the Sanskrit name showed it was a force born from Truth and Love (non-violence). Source (Richard L., Johnson, Gandhi's Experiments with Truth: Essential Writings by and about Mahatma Gandhi, (Lexington: USA), 2006, p.73)


3. The Khmer Rouge: or "Red Khmers" It was the ruling party in Cambodia (then known as Democratic Kampuchea) from 1975 to 1979 during the Vietnam War against the anti-communist forces. Source (Allan, Yang, “The Khmer Rouge”, Harvard International Review, Vol. 7, p. 17-18).
Gandhi realized that the only solution for hate, ignorance and malice was love, truth, and tolerance. He realized that defeating unfair issues doesn't mean inverting them; it implies removing them completely. Gandhi and his adherents were ready to die to make oppression apparent for the whole world to see. For Gandhi, truth was a strong weapon, requiring no others. For sure, truth has confirmed to be the most powerful weapon mankind has even known.

One of the tactics that made Gandhi a successful leader was his capacity to make bridges between communities, amongst upper and lower class; Hindus, Muslims and Christians. Gandhi saw the substantial humanity of all people, no matter their class, religion, sex, or social status in society. Profoundly agitated with communalism (Hindu-Muslim hatred), Gandhi could boost religious harmony via his personal and public activities. Whenever this harmony was threatened, he fasted. Gandhi’s enormous capacity to put a limit to regional and religious grudges was tested several times with his fasts to end violence in Calcutta, Bengal and Delhi.

One of the qualities that made Gandhi effective was his capacity to identify with the Indian poor masses. Gandhi’s theory of self-rule separated itself from the elitism that portrayed the Indian Independence movement, and all other Independence movements of this century. Gandhi realized that liberating India from the burden of colonialism likewise implied liberating the masses from monetary servitude. Gandhi was against Independence for just one elite; he was dreadful of an Independent India that would recreate past religious, class and economic persecutions.

Gandhi introduced leadership by illustration. He presented the ideal marriage between individual morality and public activity. The best case of this was his utilization of homespun that gave jobs to the poor masses and restored the village economy. In a world in which the disparities created by a worldwide economy are turning out to be more visible and awful, Gandhi’s critique of innovation and economies that advantage the powerful and minimize the weak is very pertinent today.

The best show of Gandhi’s leadership is his worldwide impact. American civil rights leader, Martin Luther King Jr. (1929-1968)¹,

¹. Martin Luther King Jr.: was an American Baptist minister, activist, humanitarian, and leader in the African-American Civil Rights Movement. He is best known for his role in the advancement of civil rights using nonviolent civil disobedience based on his Christian beliefs. Source (Alice, Mulcahey, Martin Luther King, Jr.: A Dream of Hope, (Sterling: London), 2008, p.17-18).
Desmond Tutu (1931-now) ¹, and uncounted other leaders have been profoundly impacted by Gandhi and his theory of non-violence. For instance, in 1994, in a Gandhian soul of pardoning and compromise, Nelson Mandela (1918-2013)² reached out with his antagonists the same ones who had tormented and detained him to make an end to the apartheid rule.

Gandhi’s most noteworthy legacy is the reputation he accomplished for upholding non-violence as a method for overcoming oppression. It is this belief that aides the activities of a great number of citizens who take part in civil society movements today over the globe.

2.3.2. Gandhi’s Concept of Satyagraha

Mahatma Gandhi received the Satyagraha Movement as a dynamic weapon of winning violence. He trusted that Satyagraha is a specific type of battle where there is no doubt of triumph or defeat. It is certain that his investigation of the Hindu tradition and his experience of passive resistance against racial separation in South Africa helped him in creating and concretizing his concept of Satyagraha.

The root significance of Satyagraha is reliable to truth. Gandhi called it ‘truth force’, or ‘soul- force’. Many people think of it as a technique for the political movement carried on against the English imperialism. As indicated by Krishnalal Shridharani (an Indian poet, playwright and journalist): "Satyagraha is a direct non-violent struggle"³.

The idea of Satyagraha is based upon two thoughts: (i) satya or truth and (ii) ahimsa or non-violence. Satyagraha is a resistance with no hate or damage to the adversary. The substance of Satyagraha is to stir in the mind of the adversary the feeling of justice and win his heart without injuring him.

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Among the techniques of *Satyagraha* proposed by Gandhi, we mention the following:

- **Non-Cooperation**: boycott, strike, demission from various offices, etc. are distinctive parts of non-cooperation.

- **Civil Disobedience**: The most effective and compelling type of *Satyagraha* is civil disobedience. Among the most perceived and prominent methods of civil disobedience movement are non-payment of taxes, disobedience to the state authority, infringement of laws without using force.

- **Fasting**: fasting creates a profound effect among the Indians. The strict form of fasting was fasting unto demise. But, it can be taken as a final solution. This sort of fasting is considered as the smartest weapon in the arsenal of the disarmed.

Despite all sorts of criticisms, the positive side of Gandhi's idea of *Satyagraha* can by no means be denied, because the new weapon of *Satyagraha* gave a new bearing to the freedom battle.

## 2.4. Role of Mahatma Gandhi in the Indian Freedom Struggle

Mahatma Gandhi was an unusual leader, politician, statesman, scholar and freedom fighter. He was an open figure. He drove the freedom movement. It was under his authority that India got independence from the British after years of fighting. He dispatched numerous flexibility developments to free the nation from the guideline of the outsiders. He was the missionary of peace and peacefulness.

### 2.4.1. A Leadership with Difference

Mahatma Gandhi’s leading ascended from grass-root level to the top. He never forced his authority upon the people. Here lies the distinction between Mr. Gandhi and the early leaders of Congress. His idea of *Swaraj* was that of kingdom of God that worked for the advantage of the masses.

The precedent nationalists talked at length about the destitution of the masses and the British exploitation in India but barely did anything for the people. Political independence was
not his only interest. He asserts on destruction of untouchability, and other similar features to ameliorate the situation of the poor masses.

2.4.2. As a Freedom Fighter

As a national leader and fighter, Gandhi was superior. As a man of politics, he used ethical means to achieve political ends. For him, soul-force is the most powerful power, which he employed against the cruel power.

The Non-cooperation, Civil Disobedience, and Quit India movements got to be brutal at some spots on account of the imprisonment of noticeable leaders including Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi utilized legitimate strategies but never adopted unfair or immoral means to achieve his objective.

2.4.3. Effect of Gandhi’s Battle on the Government

All the three big movements led by Mahatma Gandhi fizzled politically. However, he could make the British understand that their dominance over India was illegal and shameful. The government understood that Gandhi and the Congress could excite the masses against the government in any time.

2.4.4. Gandhi’s Message

Gandhi was an exceptional national leader. He joined in himself the part of a socio-religious reformer and of a nationalist leader. He made Satya and Ahimsa as the base of a new social system. He used the standards of non-violence and non-cooperation with the ruling class to accomplish independence. He kept up that courage is the vital piece of Satyagraha. He looked to expel all types of fright from the minds of the general population.

2.4.5. Estimate

Gandhi was an honest leader of the masses. No leader before him could draw an image of such mass mobilization. The Indians called him ‘Father of our Nation’. He was the man who made the subject of accomplishing freedom for India.
2.4.6. His Position in Indian History

Gandhi is dead yet he has gotten to be undying. His place is secured among the mighty individuals in Indian History. He was a genuine Mahatma. Peace, non-violence and resistance were the keys to the success that he accomplished.

Gandhi was an important leader in the freedom struggle. He spearheaded the pacifist role of the Indian Movement for Independence and managed to capture the imagination of the western world, especially in the realms of imperialism. Gandhi was a vital leader in the freedom battle. He dispatched numerous freedom movements to free the nation from the rule of the outsiders. He was the missionary of peace and peacefulness.

2.5. Gandhi’s National Mass Movements (1920-1947)

Mahatma Gandhi played a major role in the independence of India. His peaceful ways and smart techniques were the basis for gaining freedom from the British. Non-Cooperation Movement, Civil Disobedience Movement, Dandi March, Quit India Movement, are led by Gandhi for more than two decades in actively moulding and shaping the course of the national freedom struggle under the banner of Gandhian era.

2.5.1. The Non-Cooperation Movement (1920)

The Gandhian era of the freedom movement was begun with the Non-Cooperation movement. The decision to launch the movement as an enthusiastic mass movement was affirmed in the special session of the National Congress held at Calcutta in September 1920 and again was embraced in its Nagpur session of December 1920.

A new phase in the history of India's struggle for freedom was opened with the non-cooperation movement in 1920. In light of the principles of non-violence and boycott, this movement was dispatched formally on August 1, 1920.

2.5.1.1. The Non-Cooperation Movement Program

The Non-cooperation Movement implied dynamic refusal to comply with the laws and controls passed by the administration. A request was made to every one of the Indians to
surrender their titles, to refuse to go to government and semi-government functions, to boycott the English courts, schools and colleges, helped or controlled by the legislature as well as to boycott the elections to be held for the Committees as recommended by the Reforms Act of 1919\(^1\)... It was thought first and foremost that this would be sufficient to assert upon the government the requirement for more prominent changes in the administration of the nation. Nonetheless, it was arranged that in case this program didn’t succeed to overthrow the Government; people will refuse to payment of taxes.

2.5.1.2. The Non-Cooperation Movement Achievements

The non-cooperation movement was based perfectly on non-violence. Many recognized leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964)\(^2\), Motilal Nehru (1861-1931)\(^3\), Lala Lajpat Rai(1865-1928)\(^4\) etc. surrendered their legal practice and joined the movement. Many students gave up their studies in government educational establishments. National organizations like Gujarat Vidyapitha, Kashi Vidyapitha, Bihar Vidyapitha, and the Bengal National College were built up.

The most fabulous achievement of the boycott programme was seen amid the visit of the Prince of Wales to India on 17 November, 1921. He was welcomed by the Indians with black flags. A countrywide Harte was observed and more than 60,000 individuals were captured.

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2. **Jawaharlal Nehru**: was the first Prime Minister of India and a central figure in Indian politics before and after independence. He emerged as the paramount leader of the Indian independence movement under the tutelage of Mahatma Gandhi and ruled India from its establishment as an independent nation in 1947 until his death in 1964. Source (Zakaria, Rafiq, “A Study of Nehru”, Times of India Press, Vol. 10, p. 22).


4. **Lala Lajpat Rai**: was an Indian Punjabi author and politician who is chiefly remembered as a leader in the Indian Independence movement. He was popularly known as Punjab Kesari. He sustained serious injuries by the police when leading a non-violent protest against the Simon Commission and died less than three weeks later. Source (Nambarathil, Saritha, “Indian National Movement”, Social Scientists, Vol. 8, p. 41).
The people were made persuaded that without non-cooperation, the accomplishment of Swaraj would be postponed. The best part of the non-cooperation movement was the boycott of elections. The congress did not assign any candidate to challenge in the decisions to contest in the elections to the Councils, which had been reformed under the Government of India Act of 1919. A great many voters additionally did not cast their votes. The English Government took response to constraint. The Congress and the Khilafat association were declared unlawful. Top pioneers of the Congress and a large number of common people were captured and put behind the bar. Open gatherings and processions were announced unlawful.

In February 1922, Gandhi served a final proposal to Lord Reading, the Governor-General and Viceroy of India to pull back within one week all repressive laws failing which he would dispatch another satyagraha. The general population would be asked not to pay taxes. Before Gandhi propelled the proposed Civil Disobedience Movement, the occurrence at Chauri Chaura incident (1922)\textsuperscript{1} happened for which Mahatma Gandhi suspended the non-cooperation movement. There was horde violence at Chauri Chaura in the region of Gorakhpur in Uttar Pradesh. The police opened fire on a swarm and the goaded crowd assaulted and burnt down the police station bringing on the demise of twenty two policemen. The news of this occurrence bothered Gandhi. He felt that the people were not yet prepared for non-violent movement. He additionally understood that it would be very easy for the government to repress brutal movements as people would not have the capacity to battle against an all powerful government.

The Congress Working Committee at his case passed a determination suspending the movement. However the sudden withdrawal of the movement came as a shock to the people. Numerous leaders like Lala Lajpat Rai, Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, etc. challenged against the decision of Gandhi. The British Government likewise arrested Gandhi in March 1922 on the charge of spreading estrangement against the government and sentenced him with six years of detainment. Since Swaraj was not accomplished inside a year as Gandhi had guaranteed, the movement was evidently a failure. However, the significance and importance of non-cooperation movement cannot be denied.

\textsuperscript{1} Chauri Chaura incident: It occurred on 4 February 1922, when a large group of protesters participating in the Non-cooperation movement turned violent, leading to police opening fire. In retaliation the demonstrators attacked and set fire to a police station, killing all of its occupants. The incident led to the deaths of three civilians and 22 or 23 policemen. The Indian National Congress halted the Non-cooperation Movement on the national level as a direct result of this. Source (G. Adhikari, “The Chauri Chaura Case”, Vanguard Press, vol. 2, p. 8).
2.5.1.3. Significance and Success of the Movement

The non-cooperation movement drove by Gandhi was such a mass movement which had never been seen before and after the Great Rebellion of 1857. India surprisingly saw a leader who had the capacity to battle face to face. As indicated by the British educator and author Marjorie Sykes, Gandhi had “the gift of fight”¹.

The success of the movement was a total shock to the British government and a great encouragement to the Indian people who achieve significant results during this revolt. For instance, economically, Indian mill-owners earned a decent benefit because of the project of boycott. The import of sugar from Britain diminished impressively. The import of English cotton-merchandise decreased within a period of six months. Yet, the import of iron diminished to 50%.

In terms of politics, popularity of the Congress and the movement expanded among the masses. The non-cooperation movement surely demonstrated that the Indian National Congress instructed the support and sensitivity of vast sections of the Indian society. The spread of the movement was as well across the nation. The facts may confirm that a few areas were more dynamic than others, yet there were few that showed no action by any means.

From another hand, investment of the Muslims in the movement and the maintenance of shared harmony was additionally an incredible accomplishment. Muslims support gave the movement a mass character.

In other words, the non-cooperation movement was a serious test for the people at all levels especially in terms of their self-reliance and awareness over their political rights.

The non-cooperation movement evoked a remarkable eagerness throughout the nation. According to the Indian archaeologist and historian specialising in the Ancient History and Culture of India, Dr. Tara Chand, the non-cooperation movement was the first movement without weapon ever. It gave a new appearance to the general population's urge for freedom. It denoted the start of new phase in the historical backdrop of India's freedom movement.

2.5.2. The Civil Disobedience Movement (1930-1931)

According to the Indian historian, specialising in economic and political history of modern India Bipan Chandra, “The civil disobedience movement of 1930-31, marked a critically important stage in the progress of the anti-imperialist struggle.”¹

Indeed during the First World War Mahatma Gandhi had turned out to be very dynamic in the legislative issues of India. Shortly after the authority of the National Movement went under his control, Gandhi propelled a few movements based on truth, love and non-violence. After the occurrence of Chauri Chaura incident and the suspension of the Non-Cooperation movement, he began Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930. According to this movement he received the policy of disobedience of the requests of the English Government with gentle dissent and attitude so that the way to the freedom of India could be opened up.

2.5.2.1. The Civil Disobedience Movement Background

On 31st January 1930, Mahatma Gandhi sent an ultimatum to Lord Irwin (1881-1959)², the Viceroy of India. While maintaining a strategic distance from any notice of a constitutional change, Gandhi echoed a number of popular requests, especially a diminishment in military expenditure, a lessening in the land tax by 50 per cent and the abolition of the salt tax and the government’s monopoly of its sale as well. Gandhi made it clear that if his demands are ignored, the only way out was civil disobedience.

Lord Irwin rejected Gandhi’s eleven-point final proposal. Gandhi reacted to this by undertaking the Salt March from 12 March to 6 April across Gujarat from Ahmadabad to the salt works of Dandi. The Salt March evoked a colossal prevalent reaction. All over the place, swarms chose to make salt and to sell it directly, while the farmers quit paying their property charges. The prominent radicalism that it produced additionally roused militant revolutionaries in Punjab and Bengal in spite of the fact that Gandhi never supported their line.

². Lord Irwin: Edward Frederick Lindley Wood, 1st Earl of Halifax, he was one of the most senior British Conservative politicians of the 1930s. He held several senior ministerial posts during this time, most notably those of Viceroy of India from 1925 to 1931 and of Foreign Secretary between 1938 and 1940. Source (Andrew, Roberts, The Holy Fox: The Life of Lord Halifax, (Phoenix: London), 1997, p. 62-64).
2.5.2.2. Growth and Development of the Movement

The civil disobedience movement in its first stage (1930-31), had a more noticeable effect than the non-cooperation movement ten years before. In different areas, the colonial administration was nearly paralyzed by the resignations of some functionaries in the villages. There were persistent protests that were frequently large-scale. The aggregate number of arrests rose to more than ninety thousand. The government constraint, from the month of May, turned out to be detectably harsher. Instances of police brutality against unarmed Satyagrahis were generally reported in the worldwide press. In spite of this, the movement stayed in general non-violent, which testified to the expanded impact of Gandhi both on the Congress and on the masses.

The civil disobedience movement is distinctive in numerous regards from the non-cooperation movement. The participation of students, of the civilized intelligentsia and of the working class was much more restricted. The big towns, like Bombay or Ahmadabad, showed up as the strongholds of the civil disobedience movement. The accomplishment of the movement in the countryside was, in contrast, prominent. It additionally touched new districts. In the North western Frontier Province Khan Abdul Gaffer who came to be known as Frontier Gandhi drove his devotees in a monstrous uprising. His adherents were referred to as 'red shirts' as they wore red coloured kurtas (a loose shirt). The association that he had made with workers and small landowners was known as the Khudai Khidmatgar (the servants of God). Gaffer Khan turned into a committed adherent of Gandhi and leading member of the Congress.

The other particular component of the civil disobedience movement was the great participation of women for the first time in a mass battle. On this count the civil disobedience movement was a vital development. On the other side unfortunately the participation of the Muslims really decreases.

2.5.2.3. Gandhi–Irwin Pact

While smothering the main period of the civil disobedience movement, the government of Lord Irwin however proceeded with negotiations. Political parties were welcomed in November, 1930 to a Round Table Meeting. As the Congress refused to go to the meeting, the meeting filled no need. The Second Round Table Meeting was held in January,
1931. In the meanwhile the Congress leadership, Gandhi was released from jail. They accepted to attend the meeting on condition that the government would pull back the oppressive laws and let the political prisoners free. The meeting end up with an agreement between Gandhi and Lord Irwin.

By this meeting it was agreed upon:

(a) To pull back all laws and suspended regulations.
(b) To discharge every political prisoner except the individuals who were criminals.
(c) To restore the seized property of the Satyagrahas
(d) To allow the assembling or manufacture of salt, free of obligation, by persons living inside a particular distance of the ocean shore,
(e) The Congress concurred not to press for investigation into police excess.
(f) To annotate the civil disobedience movement.
(g) To stop boycott.

2.5.2.4. End of the Movement

In 1931 certain occasions coming to force of conservatives, substitution of the Viceroy, and execution of Bhagat Singh (1907-1931)¹ made an air of downfall in Gandhi and other more youthful Indian pioneers. The Congress chose to restart the movement in January 1932. Of course, the English government found a way to stifle the movement and in the meanwhile the British Prime Minister reported shared grant in 1932. The civil disobedience movement proceeded up to 1934 and it was suspended in that year.

The Civil Disobedience Movement was not fruitful. In any case, it was a useful training for the people of India to show their awareness over their political rights. Different from the non-cooperation movement, the civil disobedience movement raised the popularity of the Congress among the masses.

¹ Bhagat Singh: he was an Indian revolutionary socialist who was influential in the Indian independence movement. He was involved in revolutionary activities against the British, and was executed by the British government in 1931. Source (Jatinder, Nath Sanyal, Bhagat Singh: A Biography, (Hope India: India), 2006, p. 18).
A right assessment of civil disobedience movement can be produced using the following citation:

MAHATMA GANDHI embarked upon the Civil Disobedience Movement with a sense of spiritual exaltation, guided not by reason but by inner inspiration. He proclaimed the struggle as a holy war, a fight to the finish from which there could be no retreat, and possibly his own 'last chance'. It was this movement which was a crowning point in terms, both of the establishment of his absolute but exalted leadership and of the universal acceptance of the preaching of truth, non-violence, fearless defiance of evil and Swadeshism. Even the wider world also watched the satyagraha experiment with inquisitiveness....It was an effort towards the moral regeneration of society and the foundation of a new political order.¹

2.5.3. The Dandi March or the Salt March (1930)

The Dandi March or the Salt March, which took place from March to April 1930 in India, was a demonstration of civil disobedience led by Gandhi to dissent English rule in India. During the march, a huge number of Indians joined Gandhi from his religious retreat close Ahmadabad to the Arabian Sea coast, a distance around 240 miles. The walk resulted in the arrest of almost 60,000 people, including Gandhi himself.

2.5.3.1. Dandi March: Background

England's Salt Acts restricted Indians from gathering or selling salt, which was considered as a staple in the Indian food. Citizens were forced to purchase the essential mineral from the British, who, in addition to practicing an imposing business model over the manufacture and sale of salt, likewise applied a substantial salt tax. Despite the fact that India's poor endured most under the tax, Indians required salt. Resisting the Salt Acts, Gandhi contemplated, would be a brilliantly easy way for some Indians to break an English law non-violently. Gandhi announced resistance to British salt laws to be the unifying theme for his new battle of satyagraha, or mass civil disobedience.

2.5.3.2. Choice of Salt as a Protest Focus

When Gandhi declared his plan, even his close helpers and partners were totally unconvinced. The Indian National Congress was mystified and skeptical. Above all things, why salt? Numerous leaders had felt that the decision of salt tax as an issue was inconsequential and that it would redirect the attention from the more noteworthy issue of complete freedom. Their worry was laid to rest by the gathering that the Dandi March got. The bravery and self control of the people across the nation were such that the skepticism of the critics was broken up.

Gandhi once more demonstrated that he was a radiant strategist. This would end up being his masterstroke, as it was a strategy that was at once straightforward and splendid. Salt for Gandhi, was broadly symbolic; by picking salt as an issue, Gandhi was showcasing an abjection of the colonizer that would tax something so fundamental and crucial to the human eating routine. It served as an intense image of an unfeeling and cruel imperial exploitation, forcing burdens on the already poor millions. What was much more ridiculous that salt could be made openly on the ocean shore! Yet no Indian was permitted to make it. If ever a law could be out of line, here was one. Most importantly, given the key way of its utilization this issue would cut over all lines of position, ideology, state and dialect.

2.5.3.3. Dandi March: 1930

On March 12, 1930, Gandhi set out from his ashram, or religious retreat, at Sabermanti close Ahmadabad with a few dozen adherents on a trek of somewhere in the range of 240 miles to the beach front town of Dandi on the Middle Eastern Ocean. There, Gandhi and his supporters were to defy English policy by making salt from seawater. Along the way, Gandhi tended addressed large crowds, and with every passing day an expanding number of individuals joined the salt satyagraha. When they achieved Dandi on April 5, Gandhi was at the leader of a horde of tens of thousands. He talked and led prayers and the following morning strolled down to the sea to make salt.

He had wanted to work the salt flats on the shoreline, encrusted with crystallized ocean salt at each high tide, yet the police had prevented him by crushing the salt stores into the mud. Despite that, Gandhi reached down and got a little piece of natural salt out of the mud and the English law had been challenged. At Dandi, thousands more followed his lead, and in the beach front urban communities of Mumbai and Karachi, Indian patriots led hordes of citizens in
making salt. Civil disobedience broke out the whole way across India, soon including a great many Indians, and British government arrested more than 60,000 individuals. Gandhi himself was arrested on May 5, yet the satyagraha proceeded without him.

On May 21, the poet Sarojini Naidu (1879-1949) drove 2,500 marchers on the Dharasana Salt Works, around 150 miles north of Bombay. A few hundred British-drove Indian policemen met them and violently beat the peaceful marchers. The incident prompted an international outcry against British policy in India.

**2.5.3.4. Dandi March: Aftermath**

In January 1931, Gandhi was released from jail. He later met with Lord Irwin, the viceroy of India, and agreed to cancel the satyagraha in return for an equivalent negotiating role at a London conference on India's future. In August of that year, Gandhi went to the conference as the sole illustrative of the nationalist Indian National Congress. The meeting was a failure; however British leaders had recognized Gandhi as a power they couldn't smother or disregard.

**2.5.3.5. What made this crusade unique in relation to prior ones?**

Prior campaigns had been pointedly focussed on issues that were as essential, however with all their voltage, were still of local import. Dandi, in spite of being topographically identifiable with a specific area, a particular stretch of coast, and a specific spot on that coast, yet straddled the country. This was by virtue of its being related to an object that all of India identified with. That an endowment of nature, salt, could be transformed into a legislature controlled business monopoly abruptly seemed unacceptable. What's more, non-violent yet strident resistance of that monopolisation also suddenly seemed reasonable and actually vital.

Gandhi used the march to break some things other than the salt laws too. One of these was the rank gap in the villages on the way. On his entry in some villages he set out straight toward the so-called "untouchable" quarters and drew water from the well there for his wash, making his village hosts, frequently from "higher" castes, to cross those old and hurtful partitions.

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1. **Sarojini Naidu**: also known as The Nightingale of India, was an Indian independence activist and poet. Naidu served as the first woman to become the governor of an Indian state. Source (J. Reena, “First Woman Governor of a State in India”, Colours of India, vol. 15, p. 45).
Something else on his mind was the fragility of Hindu-Muslim statement at the time. There were just two Muslim marchers in his group of 78, which later got to be 80. But the role he gave to Abbas Tyabji (1854-1936)\(^1\), as his alternative leader, and his decision to stay in the house of Sirajuddin Vasi in the village of Dandi sent a clear message to the Indian people. It was that swaraj being battled for was to be for all India, across religious sections.

A third reward of the campaign was the profiling it provided for women satyagrahis and along these lines to the Indian woman. Gandhi did exclude women among the marchers, but rather gave them parts along the battle, with Kasturba setting the demonstrators off at Sabarmanti, Sarojini Naidu being within reach the minute the primary fistful of salt was lifted at Dandi on April 6, 1930. Their participation obtained its very own significance during this march.

The Salt March showed adequately Gandhi's ability for typical activity and most likely came closer than the other significant campaigns to coordinating the high standards he set for his devotees. It was the start of the end of British colonialism in India and a pivotal step towards independence.

The Salt March was the most sensational, broadly broadcasted, and fruitful of Gandhi's civil disobedience movements. In spite of the fact that it indirectly led the British to give India a measure of self-government in 1935, yet another movement from 1940 to 1942 and the impacts of World War II were needed to persuade the British the time had come to give India freedom.

### 2.5.4. The Quit India Movement (1942)

The Quit India movement or the Revolt of 1942 or 'August Revolution' of 1942 was the most prevalent and effective mass movement in the series of revolutions led by Gandhi over the span of freedom struggle. When this mass movement was arranged, the Second World War was going on; the shadows of the Japanese attack on India were making the sky dim and overcast.

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\(^1\) Abbas Tyabji: was an Indian freedom fighter from Gujarat, and an associate of Mahatma Gandhi. He also served as the Chief Justice of Baroda State. His grandson is the Marxist historian and ideologue Irfan Habib. Source (Nauriya, Anil, “Memories of Another Gujarat”, *The Hindu*, Vol. 2, p. 27).
The endeavours of Cripps mission bore no fruit and the prices of important items were soaring high and the day does not give off an impression of being distant for the deliverance from the British colonialism.

Sumit Sarkar an Indian historian of modern India, comments “The summer of 1942 found Gandhi in a strange and uniquely militant mood, ‘Leave India to God or to anarchy’ he repeatedly urged the British; this orderly disciplined anarchy should go, and if as a result there is complete lawlessness I would risk it.”

2.5.4.1. Quit India Movement: Background

In 1939, with the beginning of war between Germany and Britain, India was reported to be a party of this war for being a constituent part of the British Empire. Following this report, the Congress Working Committee at its meeting on tenth October, 1939, passed a decision denouncing the offensive activities of the Germans. In the meantime the decision additionally expressed that India could not be associated with the war because there was not really any difference between English imperialism and Nazi totalitarianism. Responding to this proclamation, the Viceroy Linlithgow (1887-1952) issued an announcement on October 17th wherein he guaranteed that England is waging a war pushed by the notion to fortify peace on the world. He additionally expressed that after the war, the government would initiate negotiations in accordance to the desires of the Indians.

After rejecting the demands made by the Congress, Gandhi at the meeting of the Congress Working Committee in Wardha uncovered his arrangement to dispatch individual civil disobedience. One more time, the weapon of satyagraha found popular acceptance as the most effective way to fight against the British. It was generally utilized as a sign of protest against the steady stance assumed by the British. Vinoba Bhave (1895-1982), a supporter of Gandhi, was chosen by him to start the movement.

3. Vinoba Bhave: Vinayak Narahari was an Indian advocate of nonviolence and human rights. Often called Acharya (a teacher). He is considered as a National Teacher of India and the successor of Mohandas Gandhi. Source (Ruhe, Peter, Gandhi, (Phaidon Press Limited: London), 2001, p. 152).
Anti war speeches prevailed in all corners of the country, with the satyagrahis seriously appealing to the general population not to support the government in its war attempts. The result of this satyagrahi crusade was the arrest of almost fourteen thousand satyagrahis. On 3rd December, 1941, the Viceroy ordered the release of all the satyagrahis, and the Congress understood the necessity for evaluating their program. Thus, the movement was withdrawn.

The Cripps’ Mission and its disappointment assumed a vital part in Gandhi’s call for The Quit India movement. To end the dilemma, the English government on 22nd March, 1942, sent Sir Stafford (1889-1952)\(^1\). Cripps attempted to keep India loyal to the British war effort in return for a guarantee of full self-government after the war. Cripps promised the establishment of Dominion as well as elections to be held after the war. Cripps talked about the propositions with the Indian leaders and declared them. However the Congress rejected his suggestions and the mission proved a failure. Cripps had composed the recommendations himself, yet they were excessively radical for both Churchill and the Indians; no middle solution was found.

As indicated by the Congress these proposals just offered India a promise that was to be realized in the future. Gandhi said, commenting on this: “It is a post dated cheque on a crashing bank”\(^2\). The Congress moved toward the Quit India movement whereby it refused to collaborate in the war effort, while the British imprisoned almost the entire Congress leadership along the period of the war.

2.5.4.2. Gandhi’s Call for Quit India 1942

Immediately after the departure of Sir Stafford Cripps, Gandhi declared ‘Quit India’ as the battle cry for the Indians. Gandhi said, “The presence of the British in India is an invitation to Japan to invade India. Their withdrawal removes that bait…..”\(^3\) Gandhi understood that the time was ready to take some strong and rapid activities. He started to write a series of articles in Harijan where he insisted on people to move and resort to direct action.

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\(^1\) Stafford Cripps: Sir Richard Stafford Cripps was a British Labour politician of the first half of the 20th century. During World War II he served in a number of positions in the wartime coalition, including Ambassador to the Soviet Union and Minister of Aircraft Production. Source (Mitchell, Andrew, “Cripps, Richard Stafford”, The Oxford Companion to Twentieth-century British Politics, Vol. 8, p. 176).


\(^3\) Ibid., p. 88.
This announcement made in May 1942, indicate the restlessness of Gandhi, who guaranteed Swaraj inside one year and who is enthusiastic and anxious to see that his central goal of picking up freedom for India is achieved soon. Sumit Sarkar writes “though the need for non-violence was always reiterated, Gandhi’s mantra of Do or Die represents the militant mood of Gandhi”¹.

In the working committee meeting held at Wardha on 14 July, 1942 the Congress initially agree on the idea of a struggle. The All India Congress Committee that met in Bombay in August approved this resolution to go in for a struggle. In his discourse Gandhi made it clear “I am not going to be satisfied with anything short of complete freedom. May be, he (the Viceroy) will propose the abolition of salt tax, the drink evil. But I will say nothing less than freedom”². Gandhi then caught up with the famous appeal Do or Die. “Here is a Mantra, a short one that I give you. You may imprint it on your hearts and let every breath of yours give expression to it. The mantra is Do or Die. We shall either free India or die in the attempt; we shall not live to see the perpetuation of slavery”³.

Gandhi additionally gave a call to all sections of the general population, the rulers, the propertied and wealthy classes, who infer their riches and property from the laborers in the fields and factories and somewhere else, to whom ultimately authority and strength belong. In the perspective of Sumit Sarkar, the above explanation of Gandhi shows his social radicalism and move in the philosophy of the Congress, at this point individuals with the objectives of communism and socialism have turned into a part of the broad-based Congress association; On the other hand, the British too were similarly resolved to pulverize any movement of the Congress.

2.5.4.3. Quit India Movement Outcomes

The Viceroy Linlithgow in a letter dated 8 August, 1946 completely made his mind clear “I feel very strongly that the only possible answer to a declaration of war by any section of Congress in the present circumstances must be a declared determination to crush the organization as a whole”

3. Ibid., p. 459.
In this way, the two sides were prepared to act and even before the formal dispatching of the movement, the government in a single campaign captured all the top leaders of the Congress in the early hours of August 9, 1942. This led to a strong reaction of mass anger against the arrest of leaders. There was mass upsurge everywhere throughout the nation for six or seven weeks after the unexpected incident of August 9, 1942.

Bipan Chandra said, describing Indians' response on the arrest of their leaders:

People devised a variety of ways of expressing their anger in some places; huge crowds attacked police stations, post offices, courts, railway stations and other symbols of government. National flags were forcibly hoisted on public buildings in defiance of the police.¹

Towns, villages and cities testified the people's anger. Farmers, workers and students effectively partook in demonstrating their discontent against the government. By following strategies of brutality, the government repressed the movement. Gandhi, who was captured in the early hours of 9 August, began fast on 10 February by announcing that the fast would keep going for 21 days.

One more component to be seen in this connection was the refusal of Gandhi to censure the brutality of the masses and considered the government in charge of this violence. Everywhere throughout the nation people reacted positively and effectively towards the fast of Gandhi. Gandhi was released on 6 May, 1944 for medicinal grounds.

It is to be noticed that the Quit India movement was the spontaneous involvement of the masses contrasted with the previous non-cooperation and civil disobedience movements. Bipan Chandra was of the perspective:

The great significance of this historic movement was that it placed the demand for independence on the immediate agenda of the national movement. After 'Quit India' there could be no retreat. Independence was no longer a matter of bargain. And this became amply clear after the war.²

¹ Bipan, Chandra, op. cit., p. 61.
² Ibid., p. 95.
2.6. Conclusion

While the pre-Gandhia stage was one of creating national awareness with the evils of the colonialist among the masses, the Gandhian era of ‘struggle-truce-struggle’ was one of supporting the tempo of the movement through the phases of non-cooperation followed by civil disobedience, ending with the Quit India movement.

Besides Gandhi’s philosophy of non-violence and method of Satyagraha, it was the system of ‘struggle-truce-struggle’ that quickened and managed the urge for freedom and empowered India to gain freedom in 1947. We discover a progressive and moderate move from small minority of freedom seekers to mass organization of freedom seekers during the era of Gandhi, and his most remarkable commitment was the fruitful methodology of struggle-truce-struggle in stages to sustain the rhythm of the movement. Obviously, Gandhi was an extraordinary strategist of the 20th century mass political mobilization method motivated by self-confident rule of the masses through a great amount of non-violent means.
General Conclusion

The history of the world involves just a couple cases of men and women who have lived such devoted lives that they have had an effect, which has gone on long after their passing. One of these most great men is called Mahatma Gandhi. The way he gave shape and character to India's freedom battle deserves a big applause. He sacrificed his own particular life for the sake of his nation. The estimate that he obtained for himself in spite of leading a modest way of life is much considerable. Though he was not the only reason behind the independence of India, but it is unfair to say that his non-violent protest did not help in the Indian freedom struggle. His peaceful ways and non-violent strategies played a major role in the establishment for gaining freedom from the British.

Like other nationalist men in the world, Gandhi took as much time as necessary to develop and build up his strategies to guarantee that his activities had an effect. Gandhi's achievements were much more than driving the non-violent battle to accomplish India's freedom. He was an incredible visionary with a widespread idiom who realized syncretism of Indian society that exceeds contrasts of religion, class, dialect and ethnic diversities as its strength. He utilized it with large success to rally the masses in the freedom battle. Therefore he strengthened India's national identity and empowered the general population to recapture their freedom as well as their pride and dignity, eroded by the colonial rule for two centuries.

Gandhi's most prominent accomplishment was in motivating and preparing the masses all over India, regardless their variations in religion, language, class, belief and sex, to fight altogether against the oppressive colonizer with the weapon of non-violence. There cannot be a better example of participatory administration than this. Along his nationalist movement in India (1920-1947), he was known for his non-violent protests, stirring speeches and fasting believing that this strategy would urge the British to quit India rather than using violence and brutal protests.

India at last gained full independence in 1947 when Gandhi was 78. Though some historians argue that freedom was unavoidable with England's financial breakdown after World
War II, most agree that it would not have happened without the sacrifices of Gandhi, the advocator of non-violence.

Today, Indians, anti-war demonstrators and authors, for the many important quotes he gave, celebrate Gandhi as a memorable figure. Less than 20 years after his demise, Gandhi also affected the history of the Unified States. Martin Luther Ruler Jr. is said to be have been greatly affected by Gandhi's reasoning of non-violence, trusting it to be the ultimate legitimate way to deal with the issue of race relations in America.
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Glossary

- **Ahimsa**: Nonviolence; in its positive aspect-love for all living things.

- **Ashram**: Abode of spiritual teacher; place for disciplined community living; stage of life.

- **Bapu**: Father, term of affection used for Gandhi.

- **Brahma**: Hindu name of God the Creator, one of the Trinity.

- **Harijans**: Literally, children of god.

- **Jains**: Followers of *Jainism* which is an Ancient Indian religion, one of the cardinal principles of which is non-violence.

- **Khilafat**: The Caliph is the spiritual leader of Muslims. The *Khilafat* refers to his office.

- **Mahatma**: Great soul, title given to Gandhi.

- **Mantra, Mantram**: Sacred or magical incantation.

- **Purna Swaraj**: Full-self-government or complete independence.

- **Raj**: Kingdom, rule, regime.

- **Satya**: Truth.

- **Satyagraha**: Nonviolence Civil Disobedience or Recourse to truth-force or soul-force or passive resistance.

- **Satyagrahi**: One who practices *Satyagraha*.

- **Swadeshi**: Belonging to or made in one’s country.

- **Swaraj**: Self-rule.

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