

Role of Fazal Ul Haq's Politics in United Bengal

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In December 1936, The Statesman published an article covering the event under the headline “Brighter Days Ahead for Bengal. What may have lent credence to all these hopes for the people of Bengal was the fact that provincial autonomy had finally come to Bengal.¹ With the Bengal Council prorogued on 4 December, 1936, Bengal bid farewell to the 1919 Montague Chelmsford Reforms Act.² Bengal prepared to elect its first chief minister. Muslims took keen interest in the elections and in several constituencies, where the seats were reserved for them, there were three to four candidates for every seat.³ Of the Muslim electorate 85 per cent cast their votes.⁴ The Muslim excitement however was not reflective of some kind of political solidarity. The deep divisions that existed within the Bengal Muslim political world would soon reveal themselves post elections. In the general constituencies, Hindus had two candidates on an average contesting for one seat and 61.4 per cent cast their votes.⁵ There was infighting among the Hindus as well, and also within the Bengal Congress party. Though differences within the

¹ Ibid., 5 December

² Ibid

³ Ibid., 23 December

⁴ The Statesman, 21 January 1937.

⁵ Bidyut Chakrabarty, *The Partition of Bengal and Assam, 1932-1947* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004)., p 78.

Congress were not “healed,” they were at least “patched up” before the election.⁶ In any case, the Hindus seemed less excited about the elections than the Muslims. Possibly, the Communal Award of 1932 with its grant of separate electorates, and how that predetermined the election results, had something to do with it. What was not predetermined by legislation and awards was the landslide victory of Abul Kaseem Fazlul Haq from the Muslim constituency of Patuakhali in East Bengal. Haq was not a new figure in Bengal politics but the 1930s saw him emerge as a proja (peasant) man, a leader for the oppressed and unlettered masses of Bengal. His stupendous popularity was his own doing.⁷ The Act of 1935 aided Haq’s political story by enlarging the electorate in Bengal by 600% which allowed a politician like Haq to tap into his rural support base and emerge a winner in a Legislative Assembly seat.⁸ The mofussil had been Haq’s stronghold for a long time but by including those districts and their peasant population in the electoral playing field, the 1935 Act strengthened Haq politically.⁹ There was also another consequence. The inclusion of the mofussil in legislative politics disrupted the world of Muslim politics in Bengal. The heavyweights in the Muslim political world came from the landed gentry. Armed with mandate from the people, an outsider to these ranks, Haq marked a bold entry into this world. This required him to tread carefully, and with short term maneuvers and political strategies.¹⁰ This chapter will explore this very contingent nature of Haq’s politics and will probe its necessity and chart its execution. In 1937 when Haq was invited to become Bengal’s first chief minister, he represented the Krishak Proja Party (henceforth KPP). By the end of the year Haq defected from the KPP and joined the Muslim League formally. The move was deliberate, aimed towards retaining his popularity among the masses, but also gaining ascendancy in the more organized Muslim

⁶ Report on Formation of Bengal Ministry, December 1936-April 1937, IOR/R/3/2/2, Private Secretary’s Office, Bengal. 3 December 1936.

⁷ Kamala Sarkar, *Bengal Politics, 1937-1947* (Calcutta: A. Mukherjee & Co., 1990), 59-63. Primary sources as well as secondary literature agree with Sarkar’s conclusions about Haq’s popularity and his success in the elections.

⁸ Taj ul-Islam Hashmi, *Pakistan as a Peasant Utopia, the Communalization of Class Politics in East Bengal, 1920-1947*. (Boulder, Oxford: Westview Press, 1992), 174.

⁹ Joya Chatterji, *Bengal Divided. Hindu Communalism and Partition, 1932-1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 55-102. Chatterji’s chapter “The emergence of the mofussil in Bengal politics” provides a great context for a deeper engagement with Haq’s rise during the 1930s before he became chief minister.

¹⁰ Haq came from Bakargunj in East Bengal. He spoke¹⁰ Bengali and was educated in Bengal unlike the Persian speaking Muslim politicians of note in Calcutta. What he did not have in birth, he made up for in education and career. He was brilliant. Under the mentorship of prominent educator Ashutosh Mukherjee, Haq shone in his legal career and entered politics as a Congressman.

League party. Wartime political decisions drove a wedge between Haq and other Leaguers in Bengal and outside. In 1941, Haq found it impossible to juggle his multiple loyalties towards the Muslim League, the Muslim masses and towards Bengal. As head of a war ministry Haq could also not renege on his administrative duties. Towards the end of 1941, in yet one more of his unique maneuvers, Haq managed to ally with members of the opposition and form another ministry, entering office for the second time. These repeated defections and alliances defined the contingent nature of Haq's politics; each move helped him strengthen his immediate position but simultaneously threatened the possibility of longterm stability. All his new alliances raised red flags that Haq would eventually be forced to confront. In 1937 however, considering that the socially and economically advanced Hindus had to reckon with a Muslim dominated government, Haq was the only Muslim politician acceptable to the Hindus, as he was well known for being non-communal.¹¹ There are many views of Haq as a politician, by contemporaries and researchers, less on his politics. Haq has been seen in different lights, often extremes, but what is most interesting is how views on Haq are hardly contradictory. Anderson thought Haq was "completely devoid of principle and trusted by nobody."¹² L G Pinnell saw him as "opportunist in politics" and "amoral."¹³ It was common knowledge that Haq's loyalty was unreliable. Hamidul Haq Chowdhury, who participated in proja politics with Haq thought him to be a hypocrite.¹⁴ A Muslim League man, Abul Hashim notes in his diary that Haq was generous about making promises but not particular about implementing them.¹⁵ In the midst of these unflattering comments, note should be taken of Huseyn Suhrawardy's testimonial on Haq. Despite being Haq's opponent in politics, Suhrawardy had to admit to Haq's intelligence, memory, erudition and "deep

¹¹ Anderson to Linlithgow. Report on Formation of Bengal Ministry, December 1936-April 1937, IOR/R/3/2/2, Private Secretary's Office, Bengal. Anderson notes how the Congress was working very closely with Haq during the election campaign and may have even helped him with funds.

¹² Anderson to Linlithgow. Report on Formation of Bengal Ministry, December 1936-April 1937, IOR/R/3/2/2, Private Secretary's Office, Bengal

¹³ L G Pinnell, "With the Sanction of the Government," (London: Indian Office Records, 2002), 61. — —, "With the Sanction of the Government," (London: Indian Office Records, 2002), p61. Leonard George Pinnell came to Bengal as Reforms Officer in 1935. His task was to prepare rules of business for the new Constitution. He soon became private secretary to John Anderson and then in April 1937 his secretary. He had a long career as secretary to Governors and served three Governors in all. Pinnell worked with Haq.

¹⁴ Hamidul Haq Chowdhury, *Memoirs* (Dhaka, Bangladesh: Associated Printers, 1989), 71.

¹⁵ Abul Hashim, *In Retrospection* (Dacca: Subarna Publishers : Distributor, Mowla Bros., 1974), 19.

insight into human character and mass psychology.”¹⁶ Noted scientist P C Ray saw Haq as not just a man for the masses but a symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity. Ray described Haq as a pure Bengali, and a pure Muslim at the same time, “head to toe.” He pleaded with Bengalis not to dishonor Haq adding that if they did, then it would not bode well for Bengalis. This last line of caution explicates why Haq may have lost some of his support in Bengal in the course of the jugglery he performed, befriending an ideology at one time, alienating a party at another. While this inconsistency was not unique to Haq, practising this kind of politics as chief minister had grave implications for Bengal’s history. In later works, historians have tried to understand Haq’s relationship with KPP versus Muslim League. While Haq’s tenure may “amply be described as a period of consolidation of the Muslim League’s power and influence in Bengal,” Haq’s role in this development needs to be analyzed. The more confusing nature of Haq’s relationship was however with the KPP¹⁷. “Haq’s strategy of coalition building at the elite level in Calcutta, totally ignoring the necessity of establishing KPP as a well-organized political party, his theory of political dualism, professing the need for both the KPP and the League” have been seen as responsible for failure of KPP, but it begs questioning if this was not one of the many inadvertent outcomes of Haq’s contingent politics.¹⁸ As a provincial leader, Haq had two prominent concerns. He was keen on protecting provincial interests from being subsumed by national interests, and he subscribed to an identity politics for the Bengali Muslims that took into account their regional as well as religious identity. While these beliefs seem to have been genuinely espoused by Haq, this chapter will show how practical concerns often overshadowed them. The one aspect of Haq’s personality that contemporaries swore by and researchers later confirmed was with regards to his non-communal nature. In the 1930s Haq advocated a popular welfare program which both Hindu and Muslim cultivators could support. Haq also believed that inter-communal approaches were the best way to protect the interests of the Muslims in the province. His image as a politician who stood above religious

¹⁶ Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, *Memoirs of Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy with a Brief Account of His Life and Work*, ed. Mohammad H. R. Talukdar (Karachi; Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 104.

¹⁷ Abul Mansur Ahmad, *Amar Dekha Rajnitir Panchash Bachhar* (Dhaka: Srijan, 1988), 158-92. In these pages Ahmad explains why and how KPP members like him slowly joined Muslim League. His account on many of the secret meetings of Haq and his understanding of Haq’s relationship with KPP is fascinating but even he did not make sense of many of Haq’s moves

¹⁸ Harun-or-Rashid, *The Foreshadowing of Bangladesh, Bengal Muslim League and Muslim Politics, 1906-1947* (Dhaka: The University Press Limited, 2003), 83. Muhammad Sanaullah, *A.K. Fazlul Huq : Portrait of a Leader* (Chittagong, Bangladesh: Homeland Press and Publications, 1995), 105. Sanaullah is also of the opinion that in joining Muslim League, Haq was not betraying KPP but merely resolving to serve the interests of greater number of Muslims.

divisions played a big part in his popularity and in how he is remembered. A large portion of the gamut of opinions on Haq are populated by books and monographs that at first glance may not appear as a reliable sources on Haq but on a closer and more nuanced look, reveal their contribution towards understanding this “controversial” figure. A K Zainul Abedin, editor of Nabayug (New Age), a daily established by Haq writes: “at the calamitous time, when the helpless, oppressed¹⁹ and ignorant Muslims of Bengal were convulsed with the waves of an unbound sea of despair, came like a harbinger of salvation, Sher E Bangla, A K Fazlul Haq, with courage in heart, strength in mind and words of redemption in lips, like benediction of Allah.” Biographers applaud Haq for every political move and even “dispassionate” studies see Haq as a “genius in the very difficult art of winning hearts of people.” His ardent followers see Haq’s association with Muslim League as a planned strategy for improvement of the projas. In these narratives, the Muslim League is seen as a conniving party and Haq, as a rustic and naïve politician who had blind trust in the Muslim League and got betrayed by it.²⁰ Mahapurusha Phajalula Haka (Great Man, Fazlul Haq) includes essays on Haq titled, “Loved by everyone, Fazlul Haq”, “Lover of Humanity, Fazlul Haq” “A Supreme Human Being.”²¹ Other collections, Sere Banala Yuge Yuge (The Tiger of Bengal through the ages) and Sere Bamla Smarane Samkalana contain letters written by/to Haq, essays on Haq, numerous advertisements and praise for Haq, not just as a great human being and politician, but also a mathematician and linguist.²² These works are sometimes inaccurate as they contain no citations and are not dated. They also show that Haq surrounded himself with sycophants. Haq was notorious for being fickle minded and engaging in under the table dealings, and it would be hard to argue that his actions benefitted the projas a whole lot, but the only reason he was able to continue in politics as long as he did was because of the spell he had cast on Bengal. His popularity gave him the currency to stay relevant in the higher echelons of Bengal’s political circles. No other Muslim politician enjoyed the kind of popularity Haq enjoyed and these works underscore that attraction. These texts explain the extent of Haq’s charisma at a time when political personalities, more than political parties drew the crowds. Understandably then, these texts see Haq as a proja leader but make only marginal references to the KPP party.

¹⁹ Peter Hardy, *The Muslims of British India* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 223

²⁰ Khondkar Mofazzal Bari, *Amadera Phajalula Haka* (Bagura: [s.n.], 1962).

²¹ Muhammada Abadula Khaleka, *Mahapurusha Phajalula Haka* (Dhaka: Muhammada Abadula Khaleka, 1985). A collection of essays on Haq, most of them adulatory, very few on his political life and none offer an analysis of his politics. The titles of essays are translations



Contemporary colonial Politics: 1940 and onwards

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1940 was the year of strategic imbalance in the world and also in India. In 1939 Germany attacked on Poland and waged the second world war. In March 1939, German forces occupied the rest of Czechoslovakia. European statesmen kept their fingers crossed and spent restless nights, it appeared that Hitler wanted to conquer the whole world. Britain and France realised that Poland was in imminent danger and therefore gave guarantee to protect her from German aggression. But Hitler was not afraid of Britain and France and so German forces attacked Poland on September, 1939 in order to protect Poland. Thus the world war began in September 1939.²³ Owing to these situations the British government without any reference to the public opinion or even any formal declaration to the central legislature declared India as a belligerent state. This action of without concerning the Indians resented the Congress. The Congress working committee issued a statement on September 14, 1939 expressing its views on the situation created by war. It said that “Issue of war and peace must be decided by the people of India. The committee cannot associate themselves or offer any cooperation in a war which was conducted on imperialistic lines and which was meant to consolidate imperialism in India and elsewhere.” The committee invited the British government to declare in unequivocal terms what their war aims are; in regard to democracy and imperialism and the new order that is envisaged, in particular, how these are going

²³ World history from early times to AD 2011, B.V. Rao, Sterling publication, 2014, Germany and world war second, Page no. 337

to apply to India and to be given to effect in the present. Do they include the treatment of India as free nation whose policy will be guided in accordance with the wishes of her people?²⁴ After this the assurances given to Congress were not good enough drawing the Congress to resign in its seven ministries. Leaving the state of Assam, all the provinces went under control of the Governor under section 93 of the act of 1935. M. A. Jinnah made the occasion as the day of deliverance and thanksgiving. In late 1939 he had asked Muslims to celebrate the resignation of Congress ministries which held office in eight out of eleven provinces as a day of deliverance and thanksgiving, a few months later he demanded the partition of India and the creation of a separate country for Muslims.²⁵ To mitigate all this discontent, the then viceroy Lord Linlithgow, in January 1940, declared that 'Dominion status of the Westminster variety as soon as possible after the war' was the goal of British policy in India, so they denied what in 1935 was to be given after the war. Then there began a series of talks and other meetings all trying to find a conciliation between the British government and the Congress or between the league and the congress.

Quiescence until April 1940, when Hitler suddenly invaded and overran Norway and Denmark events thereafter took a quick and dramatic turn Holland and Belgium surrendered, France collapsed, and the British expeditionary forces had to retreat from Dunkirk. The sudden disaster brought about a change of Government in Britain. In May 1940 Winston Churchill replaced Neville Chamberlain as Prime Minister, and L S Amery succeeded the Marquess of Zetland as Secretary of State for India a month later, Parliament passed the India and Burma (Emergency Provisions) Act providing 'In the event of a complete breakdown of communications with the United Kingdom' for the transfer to the Governor-General of powers normally exercised by the Secretary of State. In India there was a certain amount of pain, but chiefly among the oppressed classes. The attitude of the political parties was generally one of sympathy for the cause of Britain and her allies. Congress leaders proclaimed that advantage should not be taken of Britain's position to press the demand for independence 'I am of the opinion,' said Gandhi, 'that we should wait till the heat of the battle in the heart of the allied countries subsides and the future is dearer than it is' we do not seek our independence out of Britain's rule, that is not the way of non-violence' Nehru expressed his antipathy towards Nazism and he, too, declared that England's difficulty was not India's opportunity.²⁶ The August offer offered to effect that (a) notwithstanding

²⁴ A new look at modern history, B.L. Grover and Alka Mehta, S Chand publication, 2016, The Transfer of power to India, page no. 413

²⁵ My memories of Jinnah, R. C. Mody, page no.- 1

²⁶ The transfer of power in India, V P Menon, Orient Longmans, 1957, page no. 86

differences among political parties the expansion of the Governor General's executive council and the establishment of an advisory war council should no longer be postponed. (b) the government reaffirm their desire to give full weight to minority opinion (c) subject to the fulfilment of their obligations like defence, minority rights, the treaties with the states and the position of the all India services; the British government concurred that the framing of the new constitution should be "primarily the responsibility of Indian themselves and should originate from Indian conception of the social, economical and political structure of Indian life" (d) as it was not possible to settle constitutional issues at a moment, "when the commonwealth is engaged in a struggle for existence," The British government "will most readily assent to the setting up after the conclusion of war with the least possible delay of body representatives of the principal elements in India's national life in order to devise the framework of the new constitution and they will lend every aid in their power to hasten decisions on all relevant matters to the utmost degree"; (e) in the interval, it was hoped that all parties and partnership in the British Commonwealth of nations.²⁷ This was an important event in regard to naturally accepting the inherent right of Indians. Dominion status was explicitly promised. However this offer was rejected by Congress Gandhi believed this offer has widened the gulf between the nationalist Indian and the British. 'It is dead as door nail' was said by Nehru. However the league was in favour to accept it. The league said that partition is the only solution left. Though L. S. Amery referred that strife is between elements of India's national life. The year 1942 opened with an appeal to the British Government by a group of prominent Indians for a bold stroke of far-sighted statesmanship, so as to transform the entire spirit and outlook of the administration in India. The tones, headed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and including R Jayakar, V S Sanvdsasastan, Sir S Radhakrishnan, Muhammad Yunus, Sir Jagdish Prasad, Sir P S Sivaswami Iyer and others, appealed to the British Prime Minister in all sincerity but with the greatest emphasis to act, while there still time for such action, so that India may tune up with the other Anglo-Axis powers on a footing of absolute equality with them in the common struggle for the freedom of humanity, meanwhile, the war was approaching the very threshold.²⁸

The Cripps Mission (1942) - The British government now desperately wanted the active cooperation of Indians in war effort. To secure this cooperation it sent to India in March 1942 a mission headed by a Cabinet Minister Sir Stafford Cripps, who had earlier been a radical member of the Labour Party and a strong supporter of the Indian national movement. Even though Cripps declared that the aim of

²⁷ A new look at modern history, B.L. Grover and Alka Mehta, S Chand publication, 2016, The Transfer of power to India, page no. 413

²⁸ The transfer of power in India, V P Menon, Orient Longmans, 1957, page no. 113

British policy in India was "the earliest possible realisation of self-government in India," Detailed negotiations between him and the Congress leaders broke down. The British government refused to accept the Congress demand for the immediate transfer of effective power to Indians. On the other hand, the Indian leaders could not be satisfied by mere promises for the future while the Viceroy retained his autocratic powers in the present. They were anxious to cooperate in the war effort, especially as the Japanese army endangered Indian territory. But they could do so, they felt, only when a national government was formed in the country. The failure of the Cripps Mission embittered the people of India. While they still fully sympathised with the anti-fascist forces, they felt that the existing political situation in the country had become intolerable. Their discontent was further fuelled by war-time shortages and rising prices. The period from April to August 1942 was one of daily heightening tension, with Gandhi becoming more and more militant as Japanese forces moving towards India and the spectre of Japanese conquest began to haunt the people and their leaders. The Congress now decided to take active steps to compel the British to accept the Indian demand for independence. The All India Congress Committee met at Bombay on 8 August 1942. It passed the famous 'Quit India' Resolution and proposed the starting of a non-violent mass struggle under Gandhi's leadership to achieve this aim.²⁹

Quit India Movement and the August revolt (1942)- After the failure of the Cripps Mission, there was a feeling of frustration among all sections of the people. The Congress which had done nothing so far to embarrass the British Government apart from demanding a Constituent Assembly to frame a new constitution for the country could no longer sit on the fence when the Japanese were virtually knocking at the doors of the country. Gandhi now started his campaign for 'orderly British withdrawal' from India. He began his campaign late in April 1942. In his views, "whatever the consequences...to India her real safety and Britain's too lie in an orderly and timely British withdrawal from India."³⁰ The phrase 'Quit India' to denote this move somehow came into vogue and it caught On May 10, 1942, he wrote in the Harijan: "The presence of the British in India is an invitation to Japan to invade India. Their withdrawal removes that bait."³¹ A fortnight later he wrote in the Harijan: "Leave India in God's hands, or in modern parlance, to anarchy. Then all parties will fight one another dogs, or will, when real responsibility faces them

²⁹ History of modern India, Bipin Chandra, Orient black swan,2015, The struggle for swaraj, page no. 323

³⁰ A new look at modern history, B.L. Grover and Alka Mehta, S Chand publication, 2016, The Transfer of power to India, page no. 417

³¹ Harijan, 10 may 1942

come, to a reasonable agreement.”³² The Congress Working Committee on July 14, 1942, in a resolution demanding withdrawal of the British power from India, said: "Should this appeal fail, the Congress cannot view without gravest apprehension the continuation of the present state of affairs involving a progressive deterioration of the situation and the weakening of India's will and power to resist aggression. The Congress will then be reluctantly compelled to utilise all the non-violent strength it might have gathered since 1920. .for the vindication of political rights and liberty. Such a widespread struggle could inevitably be under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi." The All India Congress Committee meeting at Bombay on August 8, 1942, while approving of and endorsing the resolution of the Working Committee, expressed the opinion that "events subsequent to it have given it further satisfaction and have made it clear that immediate ending of British rule in India is an urgent necessity both for the sake of India and for the success of the cause of the United Nations. The continuation of that rule is degrading and enfeebling India and making her progressively less capable of defending herself and of contributing to the cause of world freedom as a consequence, early next morning (August 9, 1942) Gandhi and all members of the Working Committee were arrested and the All India Congress Committee and the Provincial Congress Committees were banned. But the people did not take this action of the Government lying down. There were numerous acts of violence and destruction of or damage to public property and in quite a number of places, there was a breakdown of Government machinery and dislocation of normal life and communications. Though the Congress leaders disclaimed any responsibility for this outbreak of violence, it is hard to believe that all of them were ignorant of such large-scale planning by the extremists. On the Government side, severe repression went on and hundreds were put to death and thrown in prison. The general policy of the Government was to suppress the disturbances in the country and to detain the Congress leaders until they gave a definite assurance and guarantee of a different kind of conduct. While the deadlock between the Congress and the Government was allowed to continue, the Muslim League observed on March 23, 1943, the "Pakistan Day". Mr. Jinnah sent a message to the Muslim population of India stating that the scheme of Pakistan was the final "national" goal of Muslim India. The League in a resolution on April 26, endorsed this view.³³

The Rajagopalachari Formula and the Desai-Liaquat Formula- In March 1944, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari evolved a formula with the full approval of Gandhi for

³² Freedom at midnight, Collins and Napier, Radhakrishna Publication, Leave India in God's hand, 2014, page no. 60

³³ A new look at modern history, B.L. Grover and Alka Mehta, S Chand publication, 2016, The Transfer of power to India, page no. 417

Congress. League co-operation on the basis of Pakistan. The scheme embodying the formula was :

- (1) The League would endorse the demand for independence and co-operate with the Congress in forming a provisional government for the transitional period ;
- (2) At the end of the war a plebiscite of all the inhabitants in the Muslim-majority areas in the north-west and the north-east would decide whether or not they should form a separate state;
- (3) In the event of separation, agreements would be made for Defence Communications and other essential matters;
- (4) These terms were to be binding only in case of transfer by England of full power and responsibility for the Government of India. Mr. Jinnah wrote to Gandhi ji for elucidation of various points of detail in "the Rajagopalachari formula".

Gandhi in offering the clarifications sought, added that the Lahore Resolution of the League being indefinite; Rajaji had taken from it the substance and given it a shape", but Mr. Jinnah in reply claimed that Rajaji exploited that substance. And so the wordy exchange continued and ended in smoke as it was bound to the radical differences of approach and objective between the Congress and the league. Jinnah was contending that the Muslims of India, as a separate nation, had the right of self-determination, and the Muslims alone were to be entitled to vote for partition and not the whole disputed areas. In other words, the right of self-determination which he claimed for was to be denied to the non-Muslims in those areas. Gandhi refused to accept this Congress was concerned with the achievement of independence, and to that end, was prepared to pay the necessary price for Muslim co-operation and support. League cared nothing for the independence of the whole country, and wanted the two-nation theory and partition without any plebiscite of the whole population. Mr. Jinnah also opposed to a common Centre concerned with Defence, Commerce, Communications, etc. Effort nevertheless continued to end the deadlock and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, leader of the Congress Party in the Central Legislative Assembly, met Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party in that Assembly, and gave him the draft of a proposal for the formation of an Interim Government at the Centre, consisting of

- (a) equal number of persons nominated by Congress and the League in the Central Legislature
- (b) representatives of minorities
- (c) the commander-in-Chief.

But no settlement could be reached between the Congress and the League even on these lines. But the fact that a sort of parity between the Congress and the

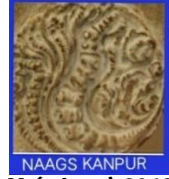
league was decided upon had, as we shall see, far reaching consequences. While in India, the constitutional deadlock continued, the war in Europe came to an end on May 1, 1945 and general election in Britain were all in offing.³⁴

The Wavell Plan, 1945- At India's summer capital, statesman ship and wisdom were on trial. For in Shimla's viceregal lodge the momentous conference of Viceroy Lord Wavell and India's nationalist leaders was about to begin. At stake was the future of India and the Wavell Plan leading to eventual Indian self-government.³⁵ Lord Wavell who had succeeded Lord Linlithgow as Governor General in October, 1943 now made an attempt to resolve the deadlock in India. In March 1945, he went to England for consultations. The result of his consultations was soon revealed. On June 14, he broadcast to the people of India the proposals of the British Government to resolve the deadlock in India. On the same day, Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, made a similar statement in the House of Commons : "The offer of March 1942 stands in its entirety without change or qualification." He proposed the reconstruction of the Governor-General's Executive Council pending the preparation of a new constitution. With the exception of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief (who would retain his position as War Member) all other members of the Executive Council would be nominated from amongst leaders of Indian Political life. This Council would have "a balanced representation of the main communities, including equal proportions of Muslims and caste Hindus. It would work, if formed, under the existing constitution. The portfolio of External Affairs (other than those of Tribal, and Frontier matters which had to be dealt with as part of the defence of India) was to be transferred from the Governor-General to an Indian member of the Council. A conference of representatives chosen by the Viceroy was to be convened with a view to obtaining from the leaders of the various parties a joint list, or failing it, separate lists of worthy people to constitute the new Executive Council. It was expected also "that provincial ministries in Section 93 Provinces would resume office and that there would be coalitions." After the members of the Congress Working Committee were let out of jail, and high hopes prevailed on all sides as invitations for the proposed Shimla Conference went out to the leaders including Gandhi. Meeting on June 25, 1945, the Conference was adjourned after three days of discussion. On July 11, Mr. Jinnah had a short interview with the Viceroy, during which he seems to viceroy have made it clear to the latter that the League, wishing to be regarded as the sole representative of Indian Muslims, was firmly opposed to

³⁴ A new look at modern history, B.L. Grover and Alka Mehta, S Chand publication, 2016, The Transfer of power to India, page no. 418

³⁵ Time, 09 August 1945

the inclusion of any non-League Muslims in the Viceroy's list. A state But the Viceroy could not agree to this point of view. Three days later Lord Wavell wound up the Conference by declaring a failure of the talks. The responsibility for the failure lies partly on Lord Wavell himself and partly on Mr. Jinnah. At a Press Conference, ' "On a final examination and analysis of the Wavel Plan we found that it was a snare...this arrangement by which...we would have signed our death warrant, Next in the proposed Executive we would be reduced to a minority of one-third. All the other minorities such of this came the last straw. that even about the five members of the Muslim bloc which were alien to communal wise...the Muslim League was not entitled to nominate all the Muslim representative such as the Scheduled Castes, Sikhs and Christians have the same goal as the Congress. On But we finally broke as Lord Wavell insisted upon his having one non-League, a nominee of Muslim League Khizr Hyat Khan, representing the Panjab Muslims." on the shoulders of Mr. Jinnah. Lord Wavell, however, cannot escape the responsibilities Wavell's procedure could have been easily improved upon. He should have taken the leaders into confidence as regards the composition of his own list of members of the Executive Council. Possibly the Congress leaders might have been persuaded to accept that list either as a whole, or with minor modifications mutually agreed upon. Then, he should not have allowed the League practically to veto the whole plan and thus alone to block the path of progress. (Gandhi, on whom the Cripps Proposal had fallen flat, felt that the Wavell Plan was sincere in spirit and contained the seeds of independence). It must be noted in this connection that the Viceroy had assured the Congress President that no party to the conference could be allowed to obstruct settlement out of wilfulness, but it seems that parallel case of Cripps, Wavell's hands were stayed at the last moment. One tangible result of the failure of the Shimla Conference was to strengthen the position of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim league which was clearly manifested in the Elections of 1945-46. Unkind critics suggest that the Shimla Conference was due to the threat to the Conservative party by the Labour Party in the Elections in England in July 1945.or alternately "to Russian pressure, the he Cripps Mission was due to American pressure."



The Lovable Wicked Ones in London Fictional World

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The fictional world is replete with the loved and the unloved, who are actually loved, such characters are called million vamp, the negative character, the evil over the wicked ones. They are loved for their wickedness. It would be wrong to say that the fictional world would lose its charm if the wicked ones don't survive. They add real spice to the story and its motion. The evil spaces add beauty to their wickedness.

The literature of London, especially fiction genre, has unforgettable wicked characters who will grace this world of fiction, till the end of living. The most wicked characters to grace the pages of London fiction are 'The Wicked Witch' (The Wonderful Wizard of Oz), Pap Finn (Huckleberry Finn), Samon (The Lord of Rings), Bill Sikes (Oliver Twist), Ureah Heap (David Copperfield) and Javert (Les Miserables). To take the Wicked Witch of the West, it is a fictional character and the most significant antagonist in L. Frank Baum's children's book The Wonderful Wizard of Oz (1900). In Baum's subsequent Oz books, it is the Nome King who is the chief villain. The wicked witch of the West is rarely even referred to again after her death in the first book. The character became so famous that the other writers also took it to make their novels and stories attractive for the children. The story chronicles the adventures of a young girl named Dorothy Gale in the Land of Oz, after being swept away from her Kansas farm home in a cyclone (Baum uses the word cyclone and then proceeds to describe a tornado). The novel is one of the best known stories in the popular culture of fiction and has been widely translated.

Dorothy Gale is a young girl who lives with her Aunt Em and Uncle Henry and her little dog Toto on a Kansas farm. One day Dorothy and Toto are caught up in a cyclone that deposits her farmhouse into Munchkin Country in the Magical Land of Oz. The falling house has killed the wicked witch of the East, the evil ruler of the Munchkins. The Good Witch of the North arrives with the grateful Munchkins and the girl Dorothy with the Silver Shoes that once belonged to the Witch. The Good Witch tells Dorothy that the only way she can return home is to go to the Emerald City and ask the great and powerful Witch of Oz to help her. On her way down the yellow brick road, Dorothy attends a banquet held by a Munchkin man named Bog. The next day, Dorothy frees the Scarecrow from the pole, applies oil from a can to the rusted connection of the Tin Woodman, then meets the Cowardly Lion, and encourages the three of them to journey with her and Toto to the Emerald City. The Scarecrow wants a brain, the Tin Woodman wants a heart, and a Cowardly Lion wants courage. All four believe that the Wizard can solve their troubles. When the travelers finally arrive at the gate of the Emerald City, they are asked by the Guardian of the Gates to wear green tinted glasses to keep their eyes from being blinded by the city's brilliance. Dorothy and others see the Wizard's grand head on a marble stone, the Scarecrow as a lovely lady in a silk gown, the Tin Woodman as a terrible beast, and the Cowardly lion as a ball of fire. The Wizard agrees them to help them all if they defeat the wicked witch of the West, who rules our Oz's Winkie country. The guardian warns them that no one has ever managed to defeat the witch.

The Wicked Witch of the West sees the travelers approaching with her on one telescopic eye. She sends a Pack of Wolves to tear them to pieces, but the Tin Woodman kills them with his axe. She sends Wild Crows to peck their eyes out, but the Scarecrow kills them by breaking their necks. She summons a Swarm of Black Bees to sting them, but they are killed trying to sting the Tin Woodman, while the Scarecrow's straws hide the other three. She sends her winkie soldiers to attack them, but the Cowardly Lion stands firm to repel them. Finally, she uses the power of the Golden Cap to send the winged Monkey to capture Dorothy, Toto, and the Cowardly lion, unstuff the Scarecrow and dent the tin Woodman. Dorothy is forced to become the witch's personal slave who schemes to steal Dorothy's Silver Shoes. The Wicked Witch successfully tricks Dorothy out of one of the Silver Shoes. Dorothy throws a bucket of water at her, and is shocked to see the witch melt away. The Winkies rejoice at being freed of the witch's tyranny and help restuff the scarecrow and mend the Tin Woodman. Dorothy with the assistance of winged monkey manages to reach home to Kansas.

The design of the character was beautiful for the time, with illustrations of the physical appearance of the witch. The Grand Rapids Herald wrote that Denslow's illustrations are "quite as such of the story as in the writing"

(Denslow). The editorial was of the view that had it not been for Denslow's pictures, the readers would be unable to picture precisely the figures of Dorothy, Toto and other characters (6). The distinctive look led to imitators at the time, most notably Eva Katherine Gibson's *Zauberlinda*, the wise witch, which mimicked both the typography and the illustration design of *Oz* (7). The typeface was the newly designed Monotype Old Style. Denslow's illustrations were so well known that merchants of many products obtained permission to use them to promote their wares.

We can see the popularity of an evil character. How much the people loved the wicked ones. A new edition of the book appeared in 1944, with illustration by Evelyn Cooperman (9). The evil character creates an interesting atmosphere and does not dwell upon killing and deeds of violence. Enough stirring and adventurous they are, however, to flavor with zest, and it will indeed be strange if there be a normal child who will not enjoy the story. It is the Wicked Witch which keeps hanging on the readers' mind (*The New York Times*). The *Wonderful Wizard of Oz* received positive critical reviews upon release. *The New York Times* praised the novel by saying that it would appeal to child readers and to younger children who could not read yet. The *Wizard of Oz*'s publication in 1900, received little critical analysis from scholars of children's literature. Some of the critics even suggested 'ban' for the *Wizard of Oz* saying it is of "No value for children today" for supporting "negatism", and for bringing children's mind to a Cowardly level." Encountering such reviews from the literary and social world as well, the Witch still has its magical effect on the minds of children.

Pap Finn, another wicked one who is the source of interest in reading the novel is creation of "Twains" Huckleberry Finn. Pap Finn is the antagonist in the novel *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. His appearance is around 50 years old, and he looked like a beggar, he has tangled hair, long, black whiskers and a pale white face. Pap has no love or compassion for his son, Huck Finn. The only person he loves is himself. Everyone scorns and hates him for his actions, attitude and his endlessly envious behavior towards the people around him. He is town drunk, and never does well. Pap is a wreck when he appears at the beginning of the novel, with disgusting, ghostlike white skin and tattered clothes. The illiterate Pap does not let Huck study; he disapproves of his being educated. He represents both the general debasement of white society and the failure of family structure in the novel. Pap is always seen hiding from the law. He sometimes leaves Huck Finn and doesn't return for about a year. When he does return, Pap often verbally abuses and beats up Huck "like a rented rule" (David Copperfield) and gets drunk in front of Huck, and on one occasion tried to kill Huck so he can get the inheritance. His boot contained a nail cross on his heel to ward off the Devil. It is the character of Pap that keeps the mind of reader

questioning what next! The activities done by Pap to his son develop in us the feeling of sympathy and pity towards Huck.

From Tolkiens "The Lord of Rings" is another evil character gracing the pages of London fiction. He wants the whole world to be his providence. He reminds us of a dramatic character of Marlowe, Doctor Faustus. Sauron wants whole of middle earth to be under his control. The evil played by Sauron even takes us to Satan's character who revolted against the Almighty God. Despite being the title character of the Lord of the Rings Sauron never appears directly. Nowhere is any detailed description given of what he looks like, other than in vague terms. In the Silmarillion, Sauron is described as being a shape changer and took many forms, including that of a serpent, a vampire, and a great wolf. The history of the middle earth includes a passage describing how the numenoreaus (Silmarillion) said him; "upon that ship which was cast highest and stood dry upon a hill, there was a man, or one in man's shape, but greater than any one of the race of Numenor in stature.... And it seemed to men that Sauron was great, though they feared the light of his eyes. To many he appeared fair, to others terrible, but to some evil" (15). A few clues are given as to Sauron's appearance as the Dark Lord after he lost his ability to take a fair form: Tolkien in one of his letters described Sauron as having the form of more than human stature, but not gigantic and as an image of malice and hatred made visible. In addition to his physical appearance Sauron also apparently had an aura of incredible malevolence. A passage in the Silmarillion describes him as having a "dreadful presence" and daunting eyes. Furthermore, his mere presence could bend all but the strongest wills (7).

Among Sauron's chief powers were deception and disguise. He bears a coat of arms that is black charged with a red eye. An interesting dichotomy is set up between his deceptive nature and his symbol. While rarely appearing personally and deceiving all but the most way, he represented himself as an all seeing eye that could pierce all disguises. Consistent with Tolkien's theme of evil being finite, wasteful and self-destructive, Sauron's powers gradually decreased as time went on. The extent, nature, and specifics of Sauron's power are largely left to the imagination. Like his master Morgoth, he was capable of altering the physical substance of the world around him by mere effort of will.

Charles Dickens who is quite famous in the field of English literature for depicting London life has unforgettable evil minds in his immortal works of fiction. Uriah Heep, Bill Sikes and Mr. Bumble have equal share in adding the evil beauty to the works. Uriah Heep from David Copperfield is not a person, he is an evil machine. The novel becomes more interesting when Uriah assures David, "I am well aware that I am the humblest person going. My mother is likewise a very humble person." (David Copperfield, 90). From his obsequious

greediness to his superiority complex, Charles Dickens dastardly antagonist of the novel gives us chills because he embodies our worst traits.

The name Uriah Heep has become a byword for a falsely humble hypocrite. Charles Dickens has made this character repulsive- bereft of eyelashes and brows, high shouldered, bony and writhing. But its Heep's sinister greed and patent insincerity, his grating claim to be nothing but an "umble servant" even as he attempts to rob his better blind, that have kept him so alive in popular imagination. The wriggling motions of Uriah Heep are considered to be an extended metaphor. When young David first shakes Heep's hand David describes it as "cold and fishy" (David Copperfield). Heep is compared to eel and a fish. His coldness of heart and scheming ways suggest that Heep's condition might have been used to enhance these metaphors. Some critics might think that Dickens was attempting to defame people who have illness by giving Heep a medial disorder. Dickens' novels which have physical disorders are excellent folk.

Uriah Heep pretends to be humble. Many people believe that truly humble person would not proclaim his or her humility, because that would be the opposite of being humble. Uriah Heep uses his claim of being 'umble' to refuse favours and thereby work behind the scene to corrupt the law practice of his employer Mr. Wckfield, and to deliberately steal money from David's great aunt and other clients of Wickfield's practice. Later in the novel Uriah Heep accepts that he hated David and did his best to put him down. As suits a Dickens novel Uriah Heep ultimately gets comeuppance, in a scene where he is criticized by David's friend Wilkins Micawber as a 'Heep of infamy!' (David Copperfield). Heep's schemes are uncovered, and he ultimately is failed, when David visits him in jail. Heep is much admired by the jailors as showing true repentance. Nevertheless, Heep is one of Dickens' most memorable character. In Charles Dickens' David copperfield, we get our first glimpse of one of the greatest villains ever to stalk the pages of a book.

The other character is Bill Sikes from Oliver Twist. The words 'violent' and 'cruel' barely skim the surface when it comes to describe the character of Bill Sikes. He is monstrous brute created by Dickens. Most would say that the antagonist in Oliver Twist is miserly Fagin, the old man responsible for taking young poor boys and turning them into career criminals for his own financial gain. Yes, Fagin probably is the nectar in the story. However, it can rightly be disputed that the crudest, most vicious and barbaric character is none other than Fagin's criminal business associate Bill Sikes. Much is not known about Sikes and we can most likely assume that he grew up poor somewhere in the ghettos of London. We do not know that he is very strong and stout that he often works with Fagin on various criminal endeavours. Bill Sikes represents the ultimate outcome of a brutalizing existence. Totally lacking in any kind of humour,

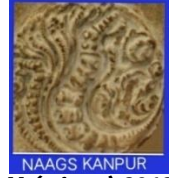
he is openly scornful of anything resembling ethical or moral principles. Except for his controlling relationship with Nancy, Sikes has little regard for any human life, including his own. Rarely has a villain come along who is more dark and frightening than Bill Sikes. Men much like him existed then and men much like him exist now. He is the one man on the streets of London who never showed a scrap of kindness apparent or otherwise- to young orphan Oliver and remains probably Charles Dickens' darkest character. Javert is a fictional character, the primary analogist of Victor Hugo's 1862 novel 'Les Miserables'. He is a police inspector who becomes, over the course of the novel, obsessively concerned with the pursuit and punishment of the escaped convict Jean Valjean. Javert is so obsessed with enforcing the laws and morals of society that he does not realize he is living by mistaken assumption- a tragic and ironic flaw in a man who believes so strongly in enforcing what he believes is right. Javert's flaw, however, is that he never stops to question whether the laws themselves are just. In his mind a man is guilty when the law declares him so. Although he is a man of logic, he is imprisoned about his work. To this end, Victor Hugo frequently uses animal imagery to describe Javert, particularly when he likens him to a tiger. In the end it is difficult to feel anything other than pity for Javert, who assumes his duty with such savagery that he seems "more animal than man" (Les Miserables).

To conclude I must say that the lovable unloved are the ones who make the importance of the good character in a novel. London fiction from ancient times has been beautifully creating evil characters so tactfully that the villains are more loved than the good ones. Heroes can't be defined without an evil character. Therefore, evil characters play an important role in the existence of any sort of fiction. And once in a rare while, an author creates a villain who may be evil through and through but also has a sympathetic side. That's when the reading gets truly interesting.

The paper has an objective to highlight the evil fictional characters. The study of the characters shows that the author puts his/her utmost ability to make it loved one.

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Idea of Nationalism in Colonial India

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‘Indian nationalism was the child of the British Raj, and British authorities Blessed its cradle.’ In India, Completely bloomed the root of nationalism sowed by ‘Kautilya’ i.e organizing sub- provinces in as ‘Akhand- Bharat’ to Reroute Alexender in the beginning of Bharatvarsha, Later uprooting the seed by ‘Chattrapati Shivaji’ by Establishing ‘Hindu- Rashtra’ Against the Mughal King Aurangzeb, and then the small plant was fully bloomed and boomed by our leaders who not only awakened the Indian Masses from their Deep- Sleep but also stood forward against the Briteshers who came as traders and became rulers of India.

Traditional Indian historiography explains rise and growth of Indian nationalism in terms of Indian Response to Stimulus generated by British Raj through creation of new institutions, new opportunities, resources etc. In reality, Indian nationalism grew partly as a result of colonial policies and partly as a reaction to colonial policy. The growth of Indian national consciousness in the latter half of the 19th century was not to the liking of British colonial rulers. At first British scholars and administrators decried the existence of any feeling of nationality in India. In 1883 J.R. Seeley described India as mere ‘Geographical expression’ with no sense where of national unity? In 1884 John Strachey, as ex Indian civil servant told the alumni of Cambridge university, “This is the first and most essential thing to learn about India- that these is not, and never was an India.” He further forecast that India will never become a united Nation. Later in the first half of 20th century several authors demonstrated that nationalism had grown and was gaining strength, British scholars struck a new posture. The authors of the Montague Chelmsford

report claimed credit that British rule was the harbinger of nationalist upsurge in Indian it wrote, “ The politically- minded Indians..... are intellectually our children. They have imbibed ideas which we ourselves set before them and we ought to reckon it to our credit. The present intellectual and moral stir in India is no reproach but rather a tribute to our work.” H.R. Coupland in a more forthright language wrote “ Indian nationalism was the child of the British raj.”⁵ Coupland forgot to mention that Indian nationalism was an unwanted child of the raj, Whom it refused to feed at Birth and sought to strangle it subsequently. In fact, Indian nationalism was partly the product of a world-wide upsurge of the concepts of nationalism and revolution, partly the result of Indian renaissance, partly the offshoot of modernization initiated by the British in India and partly developed as a strong reaction to British imperial policies in Indian. A dose of modernization was an essential concomitant of the colonial scheme of administration and this modernization and developments in India led the growth of Indian nationalism. Although the Indian provinces were under “Direct” British Rule, the British Sword on Posed political unity in India. Common Subjection, common institutions, common laws began to shape in Indian in a common mould. Despite imperial efforts to sow communal, regional and linguistic dissensions, Pan- Indianism grew. The establishment of political unity fostered the spirit of one- mindedness.

The British also established a highly centralised administrative system in India. A unified judicial set-up codified civil and criminal law rigorously enforced through but the length and breadth of the country imported a new dimension of political unity to the hitherto cultural unity that had existed in India for centuries. In the words of Edwyn Bevan, the British raj was like a steel- frame which held the injured body of India together till the gradual process of internal growth had joined the dislocated bones, knit up torn fibres, and enabled the patient to regain inner coherence and unity”. Moreover, development of railways have unified the country, in the 1850 and by 1880 some 8500 miles of rail track had been built, extending to 25000 miles by 1900, it played vital role in facilitating the growth of nationalism. As early as 1865 Edwyn Arnold wrote, “ Railways may do for India what dynasties have never done, what the genius of Akbar the Magnificent could not effect by government, nor the cruelty of Tipu Saheb by violence, they have made India a nation.”

The development of the modern postal system and the introduction of electric telegraphy in the 1850 helped to unify the country, and brought about transformation of newspapers, and parcels about a transformation in the social, educational, intellectual and political life of the people. National literature could be circulated through the post officers that operated in every nook and corner of the country. The electric telegraph brought revolution in the speedy transmission of

messages, this enabled the Indians to maintain regular contacts with one- another and thus promoted the cause of nationalism.

Further introduction of modern system of education afforded opportunities for assimilation of modern western ideas which on turn gave new direction to Indian political thinking and opened floodgates of liberal European thought, Liberal and radical thoughts of writers like Milton, Shelly, Bentham, Mill, Spencer, Rousseau, Voltaire who inspired the Indian intelligentsia with the Ideas of liberty, nationality and self- government. Among the newly educated class some of them visited England to Receive higher Education and there in England they saw the working of political institutions in a free country and while they returned India they were moved by seeing the atmosphere cringing and slavish with the total denial of basic rights to the Indians. This intelligent and well-informed, educated persons formed the nucleus for the newly- arising political unrest and this section of the society provided leadership to the Indian political associations. The spread and popularity of English language in all parts of India gave to the educated Indians a common language- a lingua franca- through the medium of which they could communicate, with the people belonging to various regions and culture. The introduction of modern press both English and vernacular played a notable role in mobilizing public opening, organizing political movements fighting our public controversy and promoting nationalism.

Moving forward British administrative and economic innovations gave rise to a new urban middle class in towns. The new class readily learnt English for it promoted employment and gave a sense of prestige. This class, prominent because of its education, new position and its close ties with the ruling class came to the forefront P. Spear writer, “ the new middle class was a well integrated all India class with varied background but a common foreground of knowledge, Ideas and values. It was a minority of Indian society, but a dynamic minority.it had a sense of unity of purpose and of hope.” The middle class proved to be the new soul of modern India and in due course infused the whole of India with the nationalist spirits. The Historical researches in ancient Indian History conducted mostly by European Scholars like max muller, Monier, William, Roth, Session etc. Opened new vistas of India’s Rich cultural heritage, theory after excavations by marshall and connengham created new picture of India’s past glory and greatness no less than that of Ancient civilisations of Greece and Rome. The European scholars praised the Vedas and Upanishads for their literary merit and excellent analysis of the human mind. The theory put forward by European scholars that the Indo Aryans Belonged to the Same ethnic group of mankind from which stemmed all the nations of Europe gave a psychological boost of nationalists Ideas which pervaded the whole of Europe and South America did stimulate Indian nationalism. In the 19th century educated Indians began to examine afresh their

religious beliefs and customs and their social practices in the light of new knowledge of western science and philosophy which they had acquired. The result was various religious and social reform movement combated superstitions, attacked idolatry, polytheism, hereditary priesthood, caste system, untouchability etc. These sought recognition of society on democratic lines and on the basis of ideas of individual equality, social equality, reason, enlightenment and liberalism, and they developed sense of self- respect and spirit of patriotism among the Indian people. Further more the impact of British rule on the Indian economy was disastrous. Jawaharlal Nehru has summed up the Indian view point when he writes, “ the economy of India had advanced to as high a stage as it could reach prior to the Industrial revolution” but “ foreign political domination, Led to a raped destruction of the economy she had built up, without anything positive or constructive taking its place,” the net result being “ poverty and degradation beyond measure.” The sharp reaction to discriminatory British economic and fiscal policies gave rise to economic nationalism in India. Indian nationalists developed the “ theory of increasing poverty in India” and attributed it to Britain’s ante-India economic policies. They tagged poverty and foreign rule. This psychology developed hatred for foreign rule and love for swadesi goods and swadeshi rule. The spirit of nationalism received a powerful stimulus in the process.

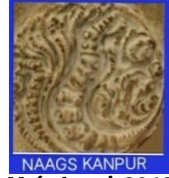
Thus, to sum up it is rightly quoted by Anil seal that, “ Associations, like cricket, were British innovation and like cricket, became an Indian craze.” Western domination of India generated certain forces. Some as a result of its impact and some as a reaction to it, which ultimately challenged western imperialism. Paved way to success of Indian nationalism rooted, Planted and sowed by the British. R.N. Tagore wrote later, dreaming on India’s future.

“where the mind is without fear and the head is held high, Where knowledge is free.” Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic wall..... Into that heaven of freedom, my father, let my country awake.”

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Revolt of 1857 in Awadh: a case study

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The events of 1857 aroused passions both among participants and observers to a level surpassed before or since in the relations between Britain and India. For historians the revolt of 1857 has been a cornucopia.¹ Ever since the days of Kaye whose work still commands magisterial authority through the jingoism of V.D. Savarkar² and the spate of scholarly monographs in the centenary year, the rebellion has been a popular subject for general accounts. However, such accounts have been constricted in their scope in the sense that they have been concerned mainly with characterizing the event of 1857: Mutiny war of independence, feudal uprising. Perhaps the only exception is the work of S.B. Chaudhari who analyses the areas of 'civil' rebellion in 1857. The first major break with this historiography tradition came with three seminal essays by the late Eric Stokes.⁴ In these essays Stokes focused on the upper and central Doab and showed how the impact of British land revenue policy was connected with rural political affiliation in the hour of crisis.⁵

In exploring the popular character of the uprising, I have tried to draw attention to certain hitherto unnoticed aspects of the rising. Certain features of the immediately pre-annexation agrarian scene are shown to be causally linked to the specific characteristics of the revolt in this area the fact that the general populace especially talukdars and peasants, fought together against a common foe.⁶ It was a remarkable feature of the uprising in Awadh that the combined fighting of people talukdar peasant and sepoy elements demands greater attention.⁷ Awadh was formally annexed to the British Empire in India on 7th February 1856 when the

reigning monarch, Wajid Ali Shah, refused to sign a treaty handing over the administration to the East India company. With this act Lord Dalhousie brought to a logical and the progressive subordination of Awadh to British economic and political control that had begun with the battle of Baksar.⁸

Since 1765 the British presence had an economic dimension causing considerable drain and dislocation to the Awadh economy. Trade controlled by the company or by European traders had channelled economic resources away from Awadh. This had eroded the very viability of the Awadh Administration, leading to misgovernment which in turn had become the rationale for annexing parts of Awadh, first Benares and then the whole of the Doab.⁹

The revenue affairs thus began on the wrong foot. Many of the big talukdars refusing to cough up their dues and at the same time British revenue collectors appeared in an arbitrator grab.¹⁰ The instruction for the settlement proper commencing on 1st May 1856 were very precise and specific. The settlement was to be made for three years, village by village with the parties actually in possession.¹¹ The existing literature on the uprising of 1857 by viewing the mutinies of the native regiments from a geographical standpoint, fails to discover any kind of pattern in the way the mutinies spread.¹²

Governor General Lord Dalhousie described the kingdom of Awadh as “a cherry that will drop into our mouth one day”. Five years later, in 1856, the kingdom was formally annexed to the British Empire. The conquest happened in stages. The Subsidiary Alliance had been imposed on Awadh in 1801. By the terms of this alliance the Nawab had to disband his military force, allow the British to position their troops within the kingdom, and act in accordance with the advice of the British Resident who was now to be attached to the court. Deprived of his armed forces, the Nawab became increasingly dependent on the British to maintain law and order within the kingdom.

Nawab Wajid Ali Shah was dethroned and exiled to Calcutta on the plea that the region was being misgoverned. The British government also wrongly assumed that Wajid Ali Shah was an unpopular ruler. On the contrary, he was widely loved, and when he left his beloved Lucknow, there were many who followed him all the way to Kanpur. The annexation displaced not just the Nawab. It also dispossessed the taluqdars of the region. Immediately after the annexation, the taluqdars were disarmed and their forts destroyed.

The British land revenue policy further undermined the position and authority of the taluqdars. After annexation, the first British revenue settlement, known as the Summary Settlement of 1856, was based on the assumption that the taluqdars were interlopers with no permanent stakes in land: they had established their hold over land through force and fraud. The Summary Settlement proceeded to remove the taluqdars wherever possible. Figures show that in pre-British times, taluqdars had

held 67 per cent of the total number of villages in Awadh; by the Summary Settlement this number had come down to 38 per cent. The dispossession of taluqdars meant the breakdown of an entire social order. The ties of loyalty and patronage that had bound the peasant to the taluqdar were disrupted.

In areas like Awadh where resistance during 1857 was intense and long lasting, the fighting was carried out by taluqdars and their peasants. Many of these taluqdars were loyal to the Nawab of Awadh, and they joined Begum Hazrat Mahal (the wife of the Nawab) in Lucknow to fight the British; some even remained with her in defeat. The grievances of the peasants were carried over into the sepoy lines since a vast majority of the sepoys were recruited from the villages of Awadh. Awadh was, in fact, called the “nursery of the Bengal Army”. For decades the sepoys had complained of low levels of pay and the difficulty of getting leave.

On 11th and 12th May the dates of the mutinies after the massacre at Delhi seem to indicate a pattern.¹³ 20th May Aligarh, 23 May Etawah and Mainpuri and 27th May Etah. It was as if the mutinies were travelling down the Ganges valley from Meerut and Delhi, with the time gap between the various stations required for the news to travel from one place to another.¹⁴ The mutiny reached Lucknow on 30th May that night the garrison there rose. Rumours had been rampant that 30th May 1857 was the day fixed for a total destruction of white men all over north India.¹⁵

In Lucknow people had been tense and apprehensive since early May when the 7th Regiment of the Awadh Irregular infantry refused to accept the new cartridges that were furnished to them.¹⁶ The common pattern running through the mutinies was destruction. In each and every station there were scenes of extensive firing burning of Bungalows and property owned by the British looting of the treasury and breaking open of Jails.¹⁷

One aspect of the mutinies which is not very often noted or emphasized is the way rumors and panic often acted as the spring board for sepoy action.¹⁸ When the mutinies in each and every station had succeeded and British administration in Awadh had collapsed (as Gubbins noted like a house made of cards) did the talukdar and their men decide to act.¹⁹ When all trace of British administration and authority had disappeared from Awadh Man Singh of Shahganj was seen as the last loyal ally in Awadh and rewards were offered to him for continuing support.²⁰

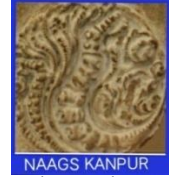
Apart from Man Singh among the talukdars who helped British officers were Dirg Bijay Singh of Balrampur Lal Maetho Singh of Amethi, Rustam Sah of Dera and Hanuwant Singh of Kalakankar. Their were not acts of loyalty perse most of the talukdars had no reason to remain loyal to an administration which had taken away their king. They preferred to lend a helping hand to the British out of gentle manly pity or out of a romantic and feudal sense of honour and chivalry. The

attitude of the talukdars at this point of time is best summed up by the words of Hanwant Singh to Barrow.

"Sahib, your country men came into country and drove out our King. You sent your officers round the districts to examine the titles to the estates. At one blow you took from me lands which from time immemorial had been in my family. I submitted. Suddenly misfortune fell upon you. The people of the land rose against you came to me whom you had despoiled. I have saved you. But now – Now I march at the head of my retainers to Lucknow to try and drive you from the country."²¹ Every sentence of this remarkable statement deserves close scrutiny. There is mention of injustice to the king and of dispossession as the major sources of disaffection. It was only then that conditions were fulfilled for the revolt of the army to be transformed into a revolt of the people.²²

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Formation of Muslim League in India

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At the time of the creation of the All India Muslim League in 1906 a united was already something Indians and some British viewed with skepticism³⁶, Ramsay MacDonald, a British Labour Party member who would become Prime Minister in the 1920's noted that the "hope of a united India, an India conscious of a unity of purpose and destiny seem to the vainest of vain dreams."

The Indian National Congress did not seem to do much in the way to challenge these sentiments. Nor did the Muslim as they were still promoting their loyalty to the British, assisting them in suppressing anti-partition (of Bengal)) propaganda.³⁷ It should be noted, that the partitioning of Bengal that happened at this time was an attempt by the British to thwart the INC's efforts for Indian independence³⁸, and considered a "divided and conquer" tactic³⁹. So with the INC becoming increasingly, in the eyes of Muslims, in demanding an independent state and self-government in a militant manner, Muslims continued to feel that the INC did not represent all Indians⁴⁰. However, their wants and aspirations in the political realm were not those that these Muslims wanted⁴¹. for Muslims, in the early years

³⁶ J.R. MacDonald, *The awakening of India* (1910) : 105, 180-4 in K.K. Aziz, *Britain and Muslim India : A study of british Public opinion vis-a-vis the development of Muslim Nationalism in India, 1857-1947* (London : Heinemann, 1963) : 62

³⁷ Aziz K.K. *Britain and Muslim India : A study of British Public opinion vis-a-vis the development of Muslim nationalism in India, 1857-1947*, London Heinemaan, 1963, 54

³⁸ Rahman, Maiur from consecration to confrontation : *A study of the Muslim League in British Indian Politics*. London, England : Luzac & company Ltd.

³⁹ Aziz, 55

⁴⁰ Rahman, 7

⁴¹ Aziz, 62

of the twentieth century leading up to 1906, it became very clear that the congress would not represent the Indian Muslims interests, or at the very least not deal with them in a manner suitable to Aligarh Muslims⁴². The foundation of Indian National Congress in 1885 was an attempt to narrow the Hindu-Muslim divide and place the genuine grievances of all the communities in the country before the British. But Sir Sayed and other Muslim leader like Ameer Ali projected the congress as a representative body of Hindus and thus, thwarted the first genuine attempt in the country for Hindu-Muslim unity poor participation of Muslims in congress proves it. “Of the seventy-two delegates attending the first session of the congress only two were Muslims.” Muslim leader opposed the congress tooth and nail on the plea that Muslims’ participation in it would create an unfavourable reaction among the rulers against their community. Muslim orthodoxy or its patrons in elite sections in the community with the sword of ‘religious identity’ and slogan – ‘Islam is in danger’ continuously challenged the political awakening in Indian society if it directly or indirectly affected their superior status and influence. They therefore viewed the democratic and secular movement launched by the congress as challenge to their supremacy over the Hindus Acceptance of Devnagri script and Hindi as an official language of United province now Uttar Pradesh in place of Persian in 1900 by Lieutenant Governor A MacDonnell was another significant development to stir the Muslims on communal live. No such aggressive resistance was made when the British replaced Persian with English in late thirties of nineteenth century. Sir Sayed Ahmed died in 1898 but his followers in defense of Urdu language launched agitation the decision of the representative of British power in United Province. On first October, 1906 a 35-member delegation of the of the Muslim nobles, aristocracies, legal professionals and other elite section of the community mostly associated with Aligarh movement gathered at Shimla under the leadership of Aga Khan to present an address to Lord Minto. They demanded proportionate representation of Muslims in government jobs, appointment of Muslim judges in High courts and members in viceroy’s council etc. Though Shimla deputation failed to obtain any positive commitment from the viceroy, it worked as a catalyst for foundation of AIML to safeguard the interests of the Muslims under the active leadership of Aligarhians, the movements for Muslim separatism created political awakening among the Muslims on communal live. This ideology of political exclusiveness in the name of religion gave birth to All India Muslim league in the session of All India Mohammedan Educational conference held in Dacca (December 27-30, 1906). Nawab Salimullah chairman of the reception committee and convener of the political meeting proposed the creation of AIML. A 56-member provisional committee was constituted with

⁴² <https://www.indohistory.com/formation-of-muslim-league-dated-2/1/19>

prominent Muslim leader from different parts of the country. Even some Muslim leader within congress like Ali Imam, Hasan Imam, Mazharul Haque (All Barristers from Bihar) and Hami Ali Khan 9Barrister from Lucknow) were included in the committee. Mohsin-ul-mulk and Viqar-ul-Mulk were jointly made the secretaries. After the death of Mohsin-ul-mulk in 1907. Viqar-ul-mulk was in full control of the league. First session of the league was held at Karachi on December 29 and 30, 1907 with Adamjee Peerbhoy as its President Mohammad Ali Jinnah, a prominent leader of the congress did not join the AIML till 1913 though, he supported the league movement for separate electorate for Muslim he even successfully contested against the league candidate for the election of Viceroy's Legislative Council within the congress he however always tried to bargain for one third reservation for his community. The formation of AIML was a major landmark in the history of modern India. The first formal entry of a centrally organized political party exclusively for Muslims had the following objectives -

- (1) To promote among the Muslim of India, feelings of loyalty to the British Government, and remove any misconception that may arise as to the instruction of Government with regard to any of its measures.
- (2) To protect and advance the political rights and interests of Muslims of India, and to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the Government.
- (3) To prevent the rise among the Muslims of India of any feeling of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the afore-mentioned objects of the league.

Initially AIML remained a pocket organisation of urbanized Muslims. However, the support of the British Government to the political Islamists in their non-secular intention as well as contemptuous attitude towards majority rule helped the league to become the sole representative body of Indian Muslims. To confront the challenge of modern political system, the AIML successfully achieved the status to separate electorates for the Muslims within three years of its formation. It was the first by achievement of the party, which granted separate constitutional identity to the Muslims Lucknow pact in 1916 put official seal on the separate identity of Muslims, which was another landmark in the separatise movement launched by AIML. At the same time, another issue was being discussed with Muslims in parallel with their decision to form their own organization.⁴³ This issue would come up again and again throughout the first half of the twentieth century, playing a central role in the growing gap between Hindus and Muslims. This issue was that of a separate electorate for Muslims. In 1892, representation and elections had been established in the council Act⁴⁴. Now there

⁴³ Rahman, 12

⁴⁴ Aziz, 65

had to be an extension of these provisions established in the councils act to incorporate the Muslim League. At what became known as the Shimla deputation, Muslims made two points of policy in accordance with this act. For one, they demanded that in all elections at all levels, that Muslims had to be separately represented and elected by Muslim voters⁴⁵. These demands were accepted by the viceroy at the time (Minto), arguably out of the belief in Muslims loyalty that would keep the British in power in India. Between the British partitioning Bengal into Muslims and Hindu majority regions, and then providing Muslim with reforms meeting their demands officially in 1909, they further divided Muslims and Hindus, deepening the communal problem and triggering a breakout of Muslim-Hindu riots.⁴⁶

Self and Sovereignty : Individual and community in South Asian Islam since 1850 written by Ayesha Jalal (page no. 160, Psychology Press, 2000 London) clearly points out the English translation of terms such as qaum and millat which have connotations other than purely racial] In 1909 the Morley-Minto reforms conceded the principle of separate electorates to Muslims at all levels of representation. The compartmentalization of Muslims into on all India political category was a watershed event with disastrous implications for the congress variety of inclusionary nationalism. A measure insisted upon by the All India Muslim League, and conceded by the British, separate electorates assigned Muslims the status of constitutional minority. Here was a minority differentiated along regional, economic as well as ecological lives with no history of organized political activity. It was expected to reap benefits from separate electorates in an imperial system of collaboration and control geared to localizing and provincializing political horizons. While local men of power and pelf were spared the trouble of competing with non-Muslims in elections to the reformed councils, separate electorates within an arena of formal politics based on a restricted franchise offered nothing to the majority of disenfranchised Muslims so separate electorates were effectively a class concession advanced in the name of a religious community. Since Muslims were in a majority in the north-western and the north-eastern extremities of the subcontinent, recognizing them as an all Indian minority had large implications for regional discourses on communitarian interests and by extension, on the politics of identity. In the Punjab where separate electorate in 1909 affected only one or two municipalities, discussions on the reform scheme saw Muslim and Hindu newspaper tailoring the debate on majority and minority rights to suit their own class and provincial purpose. By the time the dust had

⁴⁵ Rahman, 25-26

⁴⁶ Gail Minault, *The Khilafat Movement : Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India* (New York : Columbia University Press, 1982

settled, Punjabis had fine-tuned the competing narratives on race. Such as the Punjabi, the Akash the Jhang sial and the Haq Pasand . Nation and nationality that were communitarian in the regional rather than the superregional sense⁴⁷ . The reservation system pervasive in India emanated out of separate electorate system which was brought for the first time through Indian councils Act, 1909⁴⁸ . An analysis of the separate electorate system manifests that separate electorate system was a result of ‘Divide and Rule’ policy which British followed. The Prince Aga Khan demanded the obscure ‘separate electorates for the Muslims of India. This was the genesis of separate electorate system in India. The Muslims asked for their separate representations at all levels of Government working and called for elections for Muslims in these tiers should be held separately and exclusively by them thereby shrinking the chasm between Hindus and Muslims. The principle of communal election was accepted only in the case of Muslims and was implemented by the Regulations made under the 1909 Act. This was the outcome of unswerving and steadfast demands by Muslims who expressed serious concerns that a first past the post electoral system, like that of Britain, would leave them permanently subject to Hindu majority rule. The Act of 1909 stipulated, as demanded by the Muslim leadership that only Muslims should vote for candidates for the Muslim seats (separate electorates). The general elections of 1937 were held on the basis of the extended separate electorates, where only the Muslims voted for the 117 seats, in Bengal. The principal of communal representation which was accepted under the Morley-Minto reforms was retained and was pushed further in the Government of India Act, 1919. It thus so happened that in every council, there were Mohammedan members in galore who were elected by Mohammedans. There were certain seats for Europeans in most of the councils, while in the Punjab council, there were some seats reserved for Sikh community. So far as Madras council was concerned, there were seats reserved for non-Brahmans, Christians and Anglo Indians. Similarly in Bombay council, seats were reserved for Maharatta community and in Bengal, the seats were reserved for Anglo Indians. The government of India Act, 1935 which holds the distinction of introducing federalism in India continued communal representation with weightage in favour of the Muslims and Sikhs. The elective seats in the House were divided among general seats. Sikhs seats and Mohammedan seats. Some seats were reserved also for scheduled castes and women. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar too borrowed an idea from the Muslim league and voiced for ‘separate electorate system for Dalits considering the growing disparity between Dalits and rest of Hindu

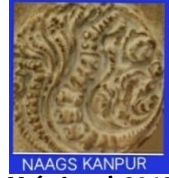
⁴⁷ The Indian History by Disha experts Disha Publications (2018) p-31.

⁴⁸ report by the criminal investigation department on the Native papers published in the Punjab for the year 1909, NCHCR, Islamabad, pp-22-3

community. The report of the Simon commission finally granted reserved seats to the depressed classes. The arbitration given by the British following the second round table conference regarding the status of various communities in the constitution, called the communal award, was announced on August, 1932 which recognized the right of untouchables to have a separate electorate.

The Lucknow session of the INC in 1916 was a memorable event on account of two important developments. The first was the readmission of the extremists, who had been expelled from the INC nine year earlier. Thus the Lucknow session was the first meeting of the united congress⁴⁹. The second development was the bond of alliance between the congress and the Muslim league. The league, which was disenchanted with the British Government on account of the reason listed earlier, at its annual session in Bombay in 1915- which a member of congress leaders also attended appointed a committee to draw up a scheme of political reforms in consultation with other communities. It was decided to hold the annual sessions of the league and congress at the same place and during the same week. During the simultaneous annual sessions of the league and the congress held at Lucknow in December 1916, both passed resolutions separately for a joint scheme of constitutional reforms and reached an agreement to cooperate in the political field on the basis of a common programme. This agreement is generally known as the Lucknow pact or the congress-League scheme. The Lucknow pact exhorted the British. The Lucknow pact opened the way to future resurgence of communalism in Indian politics. Government to confer self government on India at an early date, to expand the Provincial Legislative Councils and the Governor-General's Legislative Council and to provide for greater representation of the elected members on the expanded councils it further demanded that the powers of making appointments to the Indian Civil Service should vest in the Government of India and that the commissioned and non-commissioned ranks in the military and naval services should be thrown open to Indian. The Lucknow Pact also marked the formal acceptance of separate electorate for Muslims by the congress, which was a positive gain for the Muslims, because the congress had so far opposed it. It was but a temporary truce. The Muslim League still remained a separate entity, with a communal outlook, advocating for the Muslims political interests separate from those of the Hindus. The congress and the league both worked together under the spirit of the Pact till the suspension of the Non-cooperation movement after the Chauri Chaura incident in 1922. They parted ways and the League again became the sworn enemy of the congress as well as the national movement.

⁴⁹ Indian History by V.K. Agnihotri Allied Publishers, 2010, p-243



Theoretical Aspects of Gandhian Philosophy
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Mahatma Gandhi believed in absolute and unconditional principles of truth, non-violence, purity and non-possessiveness. He always condemned the use of force, domination and manipulation. He was a man of comprehensive personality. He believed in mystical cosmic eternal spirit. In his writings he revisited the value and effectiveness of morality and spirituality. Mahatma Gandhi was not bookworm and he did not spend much time in libraries and museums. He acquired knowledge and depth mainly by contacting the masses directly and by his practical experiences. He was a man of many-sided personality. He was at once social reformer and revolutionary, philosopher and statesman, economist and man of religion, educationist and Satyagrahi, nationalist and internationalist. Man of action and visionary"⁵⁰ Mahatma Gandhi himself was even an optimist and never a Cynic. His faith in human nature was unbounded. In a thought for the Day on June 16, 1946, he said, "When we know that everything has two sides, let us look at the bright side only." Of course he was too much of a practical realist not to take into account the darker side. What he meant was to make his bright hope the loadstar. Remember that he was a karmayogi and not a fatalist. He believed deeply in the power and efficiency of human endeavour to overcome weaknesses, adversities and injustice. He was neither a prisoner of the past nor a hostage to an imaginary or utopian future. His feet were firmly planted in the present. He put his viewpoint with compelling and characteristic clarity, when he wrote on Nov. 2, 1945. "The Past belongs to us but we do not belong to the past. We belong to the present. We are makers of the future, but we do not belong to the future."⁵¹ Gandhi was a great lover of humanity, he did not only believe in truth, but he tried to show the light of

⁵⁰ Hazary (S.C.): Gandhi Remembered. Utkal University Publication. 1991. Page no. 33.

⁵¹ Singh T Ramjee): Gandhi and the contemporary world. Page no. 404.

truth to Indian masses. In India and South Africa, he tried to implement non-violence at all stages. He practised it himself: he was an institution, from where the future generations can derive knowledge and inspiration. He stuck to the path of non-violence steadfastly "His life was one long and ceaseless saga of endeavour."⁵² He commanded respect not only in India but outside India also his life was a process of evolution, becoming better everyday. It was he, who roused the Indian masses from the slumber of ignorance and taught them bravery and value of truth) Doke writes about Gandhi, "He is one of those outstanding characters with whom to talk is a liberal education, whom to know is to love."⁵³ When Gandhi returned to India in 1915, he was given the title of 'Mahatma' by Rabindaranath Tagore. He disdained this little and asked the people to see him as an unusually honest, but self made individual. "Through his remarkable capacity for self-criticism, his freedom from the complex reactions of others, and his firm insistence on essentials, he nurtured an enormous strength and moral toughness. Revered as a saint and reviled as a demagogue, Gandhi made impact on Indian society."⁵⁴ Gandhi succeeded because he practised what he preached He used to say (My life is my message) he was able to train leadership of the country through observance of rules, which he prescribed for his followers. His entire life was based on the idea of one human family. He served his countrymen both in and outside the country. He had the notion that to serve the humanity at large was to serve God. N.K. Bose Writes, " The foundation of Gandhis life was formed by his living and growing faith in God, and in the oneness of the whole human family. Gandhi's whole philosophy centred around the Universalistic idea of human welfare. The movements carried out by Gandhi throughout his life were based on the principle of non-violence and Satyagraha. The idea of trusteeship, Sarvodaya, human welfare, equality cannot be realised unless people follow the principle of non-violence. The teachings of Gandhi are wide, comprehensive, complicated and also varied, because he was not an academician and he never thought of writing and formulating his ideas and thinking in a proper and systematic manner. But one thing which was clear in his mind was that he never preached anything without practising it himself. He always tried to re-state old principles. Thus it is not difficult to grasp and understand the problems explained by Gandhi since those were already prevalent in society even before Gandhi was born. Mahatma Gandhi was a man of varied experiences and he cannot be called as the producer of one or

⁵² Ramchandran (G) Mahadevan (T): Gandhi, His relevance for Our Times. Bomhay. 1964,Page no.376

⁵³ Doke (Joseph.J) M.K. Gandhi-An Indian Patriot in South Africa, New Delhi, 1967

⁵⁴ Jyer (R) : The Moral and Political Writings of Mahatma Gandhi Vol I, Oxford University Press. 1986. p.1.

two circumstances. He was influenced by many sources. In family, he was influenced by his parents, In school, he formed the habit of speaking truth and was influenced by a book on "Harischandra". From these books he learnt truth, seva and developed his theory of religion. He was influenced by teachings of Buddhism, Jainism and Bhagwad Gita. For a better understanding and clarity, it will proper to discuss the philosophy. of Mahatma Gandhi in three parts (1) Non-violence and Satyagraha (2) Economic philosophy (3) His ideas on Social reforms. All his concepts are inter-related and none can be practised without combination of each other.⁵⁵ Ever since the dawn of Indian-independence, Gandhi has been reverentially called the Father of the Nation and, during the last ninety years, his name has been repeated on a variety of occasions by political parties as well as public institutions in, more or less, a ceremonial fashion. It was, therefore, a pleasant surprise to us that, after the recent Lok Sabha elections, the constituents of the ruling Janata Party decided to take a solemn pledge at rajghat, to endeavour earnestly to fulfil the task that Gandhi began to serve our people and give our best to the weakest among them. These parties also promised to practice austerity and honesty in personal and public life. In its election manifesto as well, the Janata Party had assured the people that, if voted to power, it would try its best to plan the nation's economic development on the principles of Gandhian socialism based on antyodaya and the decentralization of economic and political power at the grassroots. It is hoped that the bored vow taken by the ruling party at Gandhi's Samadhi would be implemented not only in letter but also in spirit. Even though the Gandhi's name has been mentioned with respect and devotion in India and abroad all these years, the intellectual class, as also the younger generations have often asked whether Gandhi's ideas were still relevant to our times. They have a feeling that his ideals do not fit into the modern age of science and technology and cannot, therefore, form the basis of national planning. It is, however, curious that winds of change are now quite perceptible in the western countries and a number of articles and books have been published during recent years in Europe and America. These authors have begun to believe that Gandhi is not only relevant now but is even ahead of times. Sometime ago, Professor Morimoto of the Meijyo University, Japan informed that he was writing a thesis on Mahatma Gandhi and his firm conviction was that the Mahatma was 100 years ahead of his times. He remarked that this estimate was not based on a detailed study of Gandhi's ideas in the context of modern thought. Verindra Tarzie Vittachi, the well-known columnist of the American Newsweek, has been of late, writing a series of forceful articles to the effect that Gandhi's views on different topics are finding increasing acceptance amongst the intellectuals of the west. For example, it is being recognized by the

⁵⁵ Bose (NK) Selections from Gandhi. Navjivan Publication 1957, Preface. p. IV.

western democracies that the lasting solution to various social and economic problems facing us today lies in Gandhi's diction aim at meeting the people needs, by reducing wants. It is observed that the earth has always had and will have enough material resources to feed the needs, but not greed. The third report to the club of Rome expresses the definite view that it is no longer practical for abundance for some and a global slum to co-exist. Apart from the serious shortage of energy in the developed countries, for the preservation of which President Carter has announced several drastic proposals, the United Nations Conference in Argentina highlighted the ominous warning that the day is not distant when a drop of water will cost more than a drop of oil. It is true that the contention of the Club of Rome regarding limits to growth is now being challenged by several economists and scientists in various parts of the world. In his publication entitled 'The next 200 years, Herman Kahn, Founder and Director of the Hudson Institute, sees the future as 'incredibly bright' and hopes that people almost everywhere will be rich, numerous and in control of the forces of nature. Even so, the author concedes that eventually coal and oil energy will have to be replaced by solar energy and geothermal technologies.⁵⁶

According to Gandhi, the ultimate aim or object of man's life is self-realization i.e., Seeing God face, to face realizing, Absolute Truth attaining Moksha or spiritual unity and knowing oneself. This ultimate aim of self-realization was to be achieved through self-purification which required an ethical discipline. Gandhi gives us the vows (moral principles) which should be observed in general truth, the polestar of his life and philosophy comes first among thee vows. He asked for absolute universal and infinite truth which exist beyond and unconditional by space and time. In the sense of Absolute Truth, Gandhi identifies truth with God. Truth which means real existence is the only correct and fully significant name of God. Truth in perfect includes all knowledge. Truth alone, according to Gandhi, can be victorious because truth is that which is and truth being so can never be destroyed. He was devoted to God only as Truth. But man even if he is a great soul can have but faint glimpses and Absolute Truth because of biological and other limitations of man. Man being imperfect surrounds it with cobwebs of ignorance and ignorance is the root of all evil. The law of Truth, according to Gandhi does not merely refer to truth of speech, it also refers to Truth and action and truth of thought. Truth has reference to all spheres of life including politics. If the individual fails to practice this principle, he departs from the path of Truth, denies the soul in himself. Truth rules out prejudice, evasion, secrecy and deception as well as exaggeration, suppression or modification of reality. Truth also implies mutual toleration and avoidance of dogmatism and bitterness, for truth is always

⁵⁶ Journal of Gandhian Studies, Vol.7, No.28, July 1980, pahe.no.153-162,

relative and fragmently . Another principle advocated by Gandhi was to speak the truth but it should not be bitter. Because bitterness of fends against the principle of fundamental unity; because Truth without non-violence is not Truth but untruth. But non-violent truth does not mean hypocrisy; even the most harsh truth can be uttered courteously and gently. Here Gandhi brought forward the favour and controversial doctrine of ‘means and end relationship’. Gandhi stressed the purity of both and refuted the Machianellian tactics that the end should be pure and the means may not be so. Truth, according to Gandhi, was the end and non-violence was the means-but both were essential. Gandhi dictated his life to searching quest of truth in its various aspects in his own life as well as in that of his nation.⁵⁷ The word Satya (Truth) is derived from Sat, which means ‘being’. Nothing is or exists in reality except Truth. That is why Sat or Truth is perhaps the most important name of God. In fact it is more correct to say that Truth is God, than to say that God is Truth. But as we cannot do without a ruler or a general, such names of God as ‘King of Kings’ or ‘The Almighty’ are and will remain generally current. On deeper thinking, however, it will be realized, that Sat or Satya is the only correct and fully significant name for God. And where there is Truth, there also is knowledge which is true. Where there is no Truth, there can be no true knowledge. That is why the word Chit or knowledge is associated with the name of God. And where there is true knowledge, there is always bliss (Ananda). There sorrow has no place. And even as Truth is eternal, so is the bliss derived from it. Hence we know God as Sat-chit-ananda, One who combines in Himself Truth, Knowledge and Bliss. Devotion to this Truth is the sole justification for our existence. All our activities should be centered in Truth. Truth should be the very breath of our life. When once this stage in the pilgrim’s progress is reached, all other rules of correct living will come without effort, and obedience to them will be instinctive. But without Truth it is impossible to observe any principles or rules in life. Generally speaking, observation of the law of Truth is understood merely to mean that we must speak the truth. But we in the Ashram should understand the word Satya or Truth in a much wider sense. There should be Truth in thought, Truth in speech, and Truth in action. To the man who has realized this Truth in its fulness, nothing else remains to be known, because all knowledge is necessarily included in it. What is not included in it is not Truth, and so not true knowledge; and there can be no inward peace without true knowledge. If we once learn how to apply this never-failing test of Truth, we will at once be able to find out what is worth doing, what is worth seeing, what is worth reading. But how is one to realize this Truth, which may be likened to the philosopher’s stone or the cow of plenty? By single-minded

⁵⁷ Journal of Gandhian Studies, Vol.7, No.28, July 1980, pahe.no.153-162,

devotion (abhyasa) and indifference to all other interests in life (vairagya) – replies the Bhagavadgita. In spite, however, of such devotion, what may appear as truth to one person will often appear as untruth to another person. But that need not worry the seeker. Where there is honest effort, it will be realized that what appear to be different truths are like the countless and apparently different leaves of the same tree. Does not God Himself appear to different individuals in different aspects? Yet we know that He is one. But Truth is the right designation of God. Hence there is nothing wrong in every man following Truth according to his lights. Indeed it is his duty to do so. Then if there is a mistake on the part of anyone so following Truth, it will be automatically set right. For the quest of Truth involves tapas – self-suffering, sometimes even unto death. There can be no place in it for even a trace of self-interest. In such selfless search for Truth nobody can lose his bearings for long. Directly he takes to the wrong path he stumbles, and is thus redirected to the right path. Therefore the pursuit of Truth is true bhakti (devotion). It is the path that leads to God. There is no place in it for cowardice, no place for defeat. It is the talisman by which death itself becomes the portal to life eternal. In this connection it would be well to ponder over the lives and examples of Harishchandra, Prahlad, Ramachandra, Imam Hasan and Imam Husain, the Christian saints, etc. How beautiful it would be, if all of us, young and old, men and women, devoted ourselves wholly to Truth in all that we might do in our waking hours, whether working, eating, drinking or playing, till dissolution of the body makes us one with Truth? God as Truth has been for me a treasure beyond price; may He be so to every one of us.⁵⁸

The concept of trusteeship is as old as the ages. In the ancient times, the rulers wielded power for the well being of their subjects. During Ramarajya, Bharat reigned over Ayodhya and became trustee of Ramachandra's Kingdom in his absence. In the battle of Mahabharat, Lord Krishna acted as the charioteer of Arjuna and acted as his trustee to give satisfaction to Arjuna. He had no other personal motive. The Head of joint families in those days used to live the life of true trustees. He managed the affairs of property and wealth for the welfare of the family. No one owned independent wealth or property. The concept of trusteeship stood for values of morality and virtues of truth. Mahatma Gandhi tried to apply the doctrine of trusteeship to the concrete realities of life to solve the economic problems and economic disparity. Gandhian concept of trusteeship justifies limitation of wants both material and non-material, which joins the nature and other living and non-living species with mutuality and interdependence. In this context, he emphasized that "it is an arrogant assumption to say that human beings are lords and masters of lower creatures. on the contrary being endowed with

⁵⁸ Truth, M.K Gandhi, Yervavda Mandir, 1932

greater things in life, they are the trustees of the lower animal Kingdom⁵⁹ If somebody has acquired wealth or property either by way of legacy or by profit making trade and industries, he shall always keep in mind that the entire property does not belong to him, he only has the right to live an honourable life and rest of money belongs to the community and shall always be used for the welfare of community. Gandhi divided property in two parts: gifts of nature and product of social living. The gifts of nature include land, mines, natural resources etc. The second part deals with man-made property " Serva Bhoomi Gopal ki" All land belongs to Gopal where then is the boundary line The natural resources are created by God for the entire humanity. It is the man who has acquired land and marked the boundary as his own. Today one can say that his entire wealth is of his forefathers, but there was a time when someone from his family might have acquired it from nature. Thus that person was not the creator of land, he in actuality was the creator of boundary line. Apart from natural resources, there is man-made property. but that is also accumulated with the help of many persons. Gandhi emphasized that the ownership of labourers and peasants is more than mere moral ownership. Gandhi's concept of trusteeship can be described in the following manner.

1. It does not recognize any right of private ownership of property except so far as it may be permitted by the society for its own welfare.
2. It does not exclude legislature regulation of the ownership and the use of wealth.
3. Under state regulated trusteeship, an individual will not be free to hold or use his wealth for selfish satisfaction or contrary to the interests of the society.
4. Just as it proposed to fix a minimum living wage, even so a limited should be fixed for the maximum income that could be allowed to any person in society.
5. The character of production will be determined by social necessity and not by personal whim or greed.

Gandhi regarded man as the Supreme consideration while making plans for his development⁶⁰ He wanted development and upliftment of human life rather than a higher standard of living. Gandhi read; 'Unto this last' the first book of Ruskin and this book influenced him to a great extent. He listed three main lessons that he learnt from that book.

1. That the good of individual is contained in the good of all.
2. Everyone has the same right to earn their livelihood.

⁵⁹ Iyer @Gandhi and Global Non-Violent Transformation Gandhian Bridge between heaven and Earth, Gandhi Smriti and Oarshan Samiti. 1994, p. 30-37. Harijan, 2.1.1937, p. 375.

⁶⁰ Pandey (B.P) (ed) Gandhi and Economic Development. Rudian Publication, 1991. Page,no. 151.

3. That the life of a poor, i.e. the life of labourer or a handicraftsman is a life worth living.

"The first of these I knew, the second I had dimly realized. The third had never occurred to me. Unto this last made it as clear as daylight for me that the second and third were contained in the first."⁶¹ It does not mean that Gandhi denounced all kind of ownership. He accepted trusteeship as a practical proposition which shall liberate the wealthy and the owner class of their sin of acquiring more than their requirements. He believed that an industrious person can acquire more property than common man and man of average intelligence, without resorting to violence and exploitation, but that person shall always regard that property as common and shall take only his share. There are many deep reasons behind Gandhi's proposal of trusteeship.

1. He believed that society will lose the ability of the owner. if in a single sweep, he was divested of his property. "It was to avoid confiscation", he admitted" that the doctrine of trusteeship came into play retaining for the society, the ability of the original power in his own right⁶²

2. He visualised the trustee as a buffer between private capital and the state. A trustee can put a check on the state as well as the individual.

3. Third follows as a corollary from the second, was his fear that if the property was vested in the state without a check, it tended to be all powerful. This was bound to lead to two salient consequences, (1) it led to centralisation of decision making power in the hands of a few individuals, and (2) it also resulted in the mushrooming of bureaucracy. In both the cases the owner as well as the producers were eliminated as decision maker.⁶³

Gandhi's philosophy bears the influence of a number of sources and ahimsa forms the basic foundation of Gandhian Thought. Apart from Bhagvad-Gita, Isha Upanisad and Bible he was highly influenced by Tolstoy's 'The Kingdom of God is Within Us', Ruskin's 'Unto This Last', Thoreau's 'On the Duty of Civil Disobedience' and Plato's dialogues of Socrates.¹ It is aptly said that, "Non-Violence or Ahimsa and Satyagraha to Gandhi personally constituted a deeply felt and worked out philosophy owing something to Emerson, Thoreau and Tolstoy but also revealing considerable originality."⁶⁴ According to Gandhi, ahimsa is the greatest force available to humankind, "It is mightier than the mightiest weapon of

⁶¹ Gandhi (M.K.) An Autobiography or The Story of my truth Navjivan Publication, 1983, page.no. 345-346

⁶² Harijan 2Feb, 1947. pp. 37.39.

⁶³ Prasad (N) Gandhi, Historical and Contemporary Perspectives. Segment Publication. 1990. Page no. 120.

⁶⁴ Ray, B.N., Gandhigiri: Satyagraha After Hundred Years, (Kaveri Books, New Delhi, 2008), page no 6

destruction devised by the ingenuity of a man.”³ Though the concept of non-violence was not originated by Gandhi, he was the first person to apply it for a political purpose. Gandhi’s greatest contribution, therefore, is the use of non-violence into a successful technique for direct mass action. The concept of nonviolence was not a new one. Before the teachings of Gandhi, the notion of ahimsa finds an important place in Holy Scriptures, teachings of Gautama Buddha to Prophet Mohammad and works of various philosophers. However, it was Gandhi who converted it into a social and political technique and super humanitarian method of resolution to all type of crisis and problems. Gandhi firmly believed that non-violence stands out as something inevitable for the reformation of politics. Gandhi was a real visionary who through the use of non-violence gave new direction to Indian freedom struggle. He objected to violence as he considered that it created more problems than it solved and the aftermath of it was sheer hatredness and bitterness amongst peoples. His nonviolent resistance was a dynamic and spiritually active force, which aimed to destroy the sin and not the sinner. Gandhi was committed to follow this principle and therefore, he made every possible effort to achieve this goal with the help of non-violent action.

Gandhi was not only a political and social reformer but also a political thinker and a faithful humanist as well. Glimpses of his political and social ideas can be easily found in his autobiography ‘My Experiments with Truth’, in his letters, his writings, his interviews and addresses. Gandhi in his teachings communicated to the people concept ranging from freedom, independence or Swaraj, self-reliance, self-sufficiency to protection of distinctive social values.⁶⁵ Moral values like truth, non-violence, renunciation of the pleasures of life etc., political ideas such as freedom, democracy, peace etc., social objectives such as abolition of castes distinctions, emancipation of women, unity of all religious groups and communities etc.- these were indivisible parts of his life and teachings.⁶⁶ Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi deeply influenced by Indian tradition, culture and other religions and its inner - essence advocated the principle of non-violence. Some western thinkers believe that he got the idea from western sources us especially from the 'Sermon on the mount' of the new testament. It was true that he was greatly influenced by the Sermon, Jesus Christ, Daniel, Tolstoy, Thoreau and Ruskin. The greatest influential factors which shaped Gandhi's personality on the lines of dynamic non-violence are two religions, Jainism and Buddhism, though other religions including, Bhagvad Gita, Ramayana Mahabharat are equally

⁶⁵ Mathur, J. S., (ed.), Gandhi: In the Mirror of Foreign Scholars, (National Gandhi Museum, Publishing House, New Delhi, 2007), page no 1

⁶⁶ Ghosh, S., Modern Indian Political Thought, (Allied Publishers Pvt., Ltd., New Delhi,), page no.172.

important.⁶⁷ It was non-violence which led the Jains to the philosophy of Anekantvad, non absolutism which in essence is a persistent search after truth and dispassionate evolution of conflicting metaphysical theories. Three things in the Jain System of thought influenced Gandhis outlook the most. These were Ahimsa on the religious side, anekantavada on the philosophical side and the institution of vows on the ethical side.⁶⁸ Gandhi was greatly influenced by Buddhism. He emphasized three prominent points of Buddha's life and teachings. The first the belief in all pervading providence of God. Buddha's soul rose in mighty indignation against the base things that passed in his generation under the name of god. In Mahatma Gandhi's opinion, the greatest contribution of Buddha to humanity was his existing regard for all life based on love and pity which is literally expressed at maitribhaba. Apart from this other religions also shaped Gandhi's personality on non-violent way to a great extent. To Gandhi, non-violence was a positive and dynamic force. It included the whole creation the humans, plants and animals. Non-violence means goodwill towards everybody. It is, he believed, also warranted in the case of dangerous snakes, rapid dogs and monkeys, where they have become a menace to the well- being of man.⁶⁹ till 1893, Gandhi had no idea of non-violence "it was only on his way to Pretoria from Durban by train that a 'small' incident forced him to adopt the~technique of non-violence as the last and the only alternative~ which he then felt was left for him. Gandhi had a first class ticket and a seat booked for him. The train arrived at martizburg, at about 9 p.m. As he was about to board, one white man came and asked him to go to the van compartment, Gandhi's luggage was taken out, he refused to go to other compartment and the train steamed away. He sat in the waiting room and began to think as whether he shall stay or go back to India as a coward or shall be try to root out the disease. In the last he decided to stay and decided to suffer, from that day his active non violence began." Gandhi thought that nothing is visible in violence, non-violence is three-fourths invisible and the effect is very high. Non-violence travels with extraordinary velocity and it can become a miracle. The doctrine of non-violence has been criticized on the ground that it is too idealistic and demands a stronger self control, a greater capacity for passive suffering and an ordinary man or woman cannot practise non-violence. But Gandhi was not a visionary. He was a practical idealist. The religion of non-violence was not meant for rishis and saints. Gandhi proved this point by following non-violence completely in his life. He held that non-violence does not require superman or superwoman to wield it, beings of

⁶⁷ Kearge (Kolturan) Ahimsa: Gautama to Gandhi, Sterling Publication.

⁶⁸ Louis (F) The life of Mahatma Gandhi. London. 1951, page no. 260-65

⁶⁹ Asha (Rani). Gandhian Non-Violence and India's freedom struggle. shree publication. Page no.8-10.

common clay can use and have used it before this with success. Ahimsa is the attribute of the soul and therefore to be practised by everybody in all affairs of life.⁷⁰ Self-renunciation is must for non-violence. An individual must reduce himself to zero before adopting non-violence. It was a fact. Gandhi reduced himself to zero, whosoever talked to him, either in a remote village or in a great city, his topic was always the same, the topic of realisation of non-violence, truth or ahimsa. Whenever he saw any poor man in a miserable condition, he immediately reduced his own dress next to zero and he continued this until he died. Gandhi prescribed certain axioms of non-violence.⁷¹

1. Non-violence implies complete self- purification as is humanly possible.
2. Man for man the strength of non-violence is in exact proportion to the ability, not the will, of the non-violent person to inflict violence.
3. Non-violence is without exception superior to violence i.e. the power at the disposal of a non-violent person is always greater than he would have if he was violent.
4. There is no such thing as defeat in non-violence. The end of violence is surest defeat.
5. The ultimate end of non-violence is surest victory if such a term may be used of non-violence. In reality where there is no sense of defeat, there is no sense of victory.

Non-violence is the law of the human race and is infinitely greater than and superior to brute force. In the last resort it does not serve those who do not possess a living faith in the God of love Non-violence affords the fullest protection to one's self-respect and sense of honour - Non-violence in the very nature of things is of no assistance in the defence of ill-gotten gains and immoral acts. Individuals or nations who would practice non-violence must be prepared to criticise there all except honour. Non-violence is a power which can be wielded equally by all children, young men and women or grown up people, provided they have living faith in the God of love and have therefore equal love for all mankind. When non-violence is accepted as the law of life it must pervade the whole being and not applied only to isolated acts. It is a profound error to suppose that whilst the law is good enough for individuals it is not for masses of mankind.⁷² The basis of non-violence is the belief that man must develop himself in perfection and everyone has infinite moral worth. Non-violence is the democratic technique of freedom which can establish self-rule. Gandhi mobilised the masses through non-violence. Gandhi was not against fighting. He said, that "Do not fight with Sword, fight with

⁷⁰ Harijan. 13 July 1940. vol. VIII.

⁷¹ Harijan, 12 Oct, 1935, p. 276.

⁷² Harijan, 5 Nov 1936 p. 236.

weapons of words and ahimsa ". There is nothing like the approach of love to lead the masses to one's point of view. The masses cannot be mobilised by use of force. One can create his terror among the masses for some time, but they will never respect him and will never cooperate with him willingly. It is impossible to build a mass movement by terrorist methods. Gandhi advised "Killing and being killed rather than shamefully fleeing from the danger in the name of non-violence. He would risk violence a thousand times rather than emasculation of the race.⁷³ Truth can be realized only through 'Ahimsa' violence arises out of ignorance. It is untruth i.e., non-existent. Ahimsa is, thus, the practical application of the great truth of spiritual unity. Truth and Non-violence are like the two sides of a smooth unstamped metallic disc and are so intertwined that it is difficult to disentangle and separate them. However, Ahimsa divorced from Truth will be demoralizing instead of liberating. Like Truth, Non-Violence is also omnipotent, infinite and synonymous with God. Non-Violence means avoiding injury to anything on earth in thought, word and deed. Ahimsa is often mistaken for a negative doctrine. To Gandhi, Ahimsa essentially is a positive and dynamic force. In its active and positive form non-violence means goodwill towards all life, love for every soul - even for the evil doer. It, however, does not mean submission to the will of the evil-doer. It seeks to conquer violence by good. In short, Ahimsa means allowing others the maximum of convenience even at the cost of maximum of inconvenience to us. Gandhi has distinguished between three levels of non-violence –

(1)enlightened non-violence of the brave (2) passive non-violence of the weak and (3) passive non-violence of the coward which he discarded the most. Gandhi said once, when there is a choice between violence and cowardice one should opt for violence. Non-violence for Gandhi, was a behavior pattern of the extremely courageous. Because it is the courage of dying without killing. Thus, non-violence is by far the most active in the world. It is the greatest force at the disposal of mankind, mightier ingenuity of war.⁷⁴

Gandhi conceived Satyagraha as one of the appropriate methods for seeking correction of wrongs perpetrated or ignored by the political authority. He regarded it as a way which the law-abiding citizens could adopt for seeking redress of their grievances.⁷⁵ Satyagraha is nothing but the implementation of truth and ahimsa in the different walks of life. Truth and ahimsa are virtues of the whole humanity. "In its origin, the term 'Satyagraha' is a compound Sanskrit word formed by Satya and

⁷³ Young India. 4 Aug 1920

⁷⁴ Journal of Gandhian Studies, Vol.7, No.28, July, 1980, page no.153-162.

⁷⁵ Pyare Lal: Gandhij's Correspondence with the Government. Navajivan Publication, 1945. Page no. 81.

agraha. 'Satya means truth' and 'agraha' means holding fast, firmness adherence or insistence. The compound word, 'Satyagraha' means clinging to truth, holding fast to truth. insistence on truth or firm adherence to truth.⁷⁶ In Indian opinion, he described Satyagraha as "firmness in a good cause". In Young India, he pointed out that Satyagraha was just a new name for "the law of self suffering". And in Hind Swaraj, he proclaimed that 'Sacrifice of self is infinitely Superior to Sacrifice of others' and that a self sufferer does not make others suffer for his mistakes. Self-suffering brings the desired relief quicker and with greater certainty than does the imposition of suffering on the opponent.⁷⁷ Gandhi propounded three most important principles of Satyagraha as Satya, (truth) ahimsa and 'tapsaya'. Truth or Satya is the most salient value of the Satyagraha action system. Gandhi identified truth with God. However, it is not the establishment of the absolute truth to which a Satyagraha is geared. Absolute truth can be attained only through self-realization, a self realization which cannot occur so long as we are imprisoned in this mortal frame. It the discovery of truth, is the goal of a Saytagraha, ahmisa, is the means for its discovery and indication. The word derived from the combination of negative prefix "a" meaning 'non' and 'himsa' means 'injury' means "non-injury", and is usually translated as 'non-violence'. Ahimsa is a negative state of harmlessness and at the same time, a positive state of love of doing good even to the evil door.⁷⁸ Last but not the least is the principle of 'tapsaya' meaning 'self-suffering'. It is an essential expression of truth because unless one is prepared to suffer, one can hardly be committed to anything, Gandhi advocated self-suffering as a meek submission to the will of evil door and it means pitting of one's whole soul against the will of tyrant. In the beginning, Gandhi initiated a mass movement against apartheid policy of the rulers of South African colonies in 1896. He named this movement as "passive resistance movement. but it was a temporary name. Gandhi was still in search of an appropriate term. He believed that "passive resistance" was a "misnomer" as it did not connote the meaning he had in mind". Time passed, but he did not find a proper term for the movement, then he invited suggestions of the readers of journal "Indian opinion", Gandhi received best suggestion from Maganlal Gandhi, who coined the term 'Sadagraha' (Sat=truth, Agra = firmness). In order to make the concept clear, Gandhi changed the word to "Satyagraha".⁷⁹ In this way the notion of Satyagraha was born. Before explaining the meaning of Satyagraha, Gandhi distinguished it from passive

⁷⁶ Sharp (Gene).~ Study of the Meanings of Non-Violence, Gandhi Marg. V-II. No. 2 page no. 139-41.

⁷⁷ Rattan (Ram) Op Cit.. page no. 160

⁷⁸ Nakhre (Amrut W) Social Psychology of Non-Violent Action, Chanakya Publication, 1982. Page no- 14-17

⁷⁹ Rattan (Ram) Op cit, page no. 159.

resistance. He pointed out that Satyagraha involves resistance but not passivity. "Like passive-resistance, Satyagraha is not the weapon of the weak, the coward, the unarmed and the helpless. It is a weapon of the morally vigilant and the active. As Simone Panter Brick significantly puts it, Gandhi's Satyagraha rejects violence but not fighting, it is a war without violence."⁸⁰ It is active resistance to evil but it is not the traditional resistance of evil by evil. Gandhi distinguished passive resistance from Satyagraha in the following words: Passive Resistance differs from the Satyagraha as the north pole differs from the south. Passive Resistance is limited and narrow and is capable of solving political problems only. As against it, Satyagraha has a broader and comprehensive basis and touches all walks of human life. Passive resistance may include violence or physical force at some time, while Satyagraha excludes violence altogether. Passive Resistance is a weapon of coercion not of conversion. Satyagraha is a weapon of conversion. Satyagraha is a weapon of conversion, not of coercion.⁸¹ He elaborated this point further by saying, "Passive Resistance is often looked upon as a preparation for the use of force while Satyagraha can never be utilized as such. Passive Resistance may be offered side by side with the use of arms. Satyagraha and brute force, being each a negation of the other, can never go together. Satyagraha may be offered to one's nearest and dearest; passive resistance can never be offered to them unless of course they have ceased to be clear and become an object of hatred to us."⁸² Gandhi enumerated a list of demerits of passive resistance, but at the same time, he suggested that these demerits are not prevalent in every movement of passive resistance, these have been noticed in many cases but not in all. Gandhi also distinguishes Satyagraha from duragraha. In his Satyagraha offered in South Africa he maintains that "Satyagraha" offered on every occasion reasonable or otherwise would be corrupted into duragraha. The opposite of Satyagraha is duragraha. Joan Bondurant points out that "in Contra-distinction to Satyagraha, duragraha means stubborn resistance of the opponents' policy of action 'pre-judged to be ipso facto wrong'. The duragrahi regards truth, justice, rightness as his monopoly and does not allow the possibility of the opponent also being in the right."⁸³ Gandhi defined duragraha as (1) Duragraha is one's being non-violent presumably in the negative sense of not causing injury to another person directly (2) in thought and in deed (3) in principle or as a matter of expediency (4) one's undergoing suffering oneself but these things not in the cause of opposition to, or for the purpose of remedying injustice. In these words he defined duragraha. He

⁸⁰ Sharp (G) Gandhi's Political Significance Today". Gandhi Marg, VIX. No. I. Page no. 52.

⁸¹ Thakur (G.K.) Op Cit page no.4.

⁸² Gupta (M) Gandhi and his Times, LIPI Publication, 1982 page no. 29.

⁸³ Ramachandran (G) Mahadevan (T.K.): Gandhi : His Relevance for our Times (ed) Bhartiya Yidya Bhavan 1964, page no. 67-81.

gave two examples of both Satyagraha and duragraha to make a clear distinction. There is an example of people in which its head would like to do something which he could himself recognize to be highly improper but which he is keen upon being done for some personal reason or reasons. The member concerned is not prepared to do what he is asked to do. There is another organization of people, say an administrative body, the authorities concerned have done some in just action to its members and the members organize themselves and adopt a series of non-violent measures to request the authorities to take their action back and get prepared to suffer the consequences of one's opposition. This is Satyagraha. Gandhi was very clear in his mind, that Satyagraha is not related with duragraha and passive resistance in any sense. Satyagraha, he said is independent of pecuniary or other material assistance. Violence is the negation of this great spiritual force. Its universal applicability is a demonstration of its permanence and its invincibility. It can be used alike by men, women and children. This force is to violence and therefore to all tyranny, all injustice, what light is to darkness.⁸⁴ Gandhi's aim was to achieve India's independence economic and religious equality through Satyagraha. In political matters, it cannot be offered, always, but only when the government is unjust, and does not represent the will of people and begins to be dishonest towards the people. It can be used to solve national as well as international problems. It meets violence by non-violence, war by peace, injustice by justice and untruth by truth. The basic precepts and rules of a pure Satyagraha campaign can be codified in the following principles.

1. violence is united from an opponent if he is humiliated or provoked.
2. A violent attitude is less likely on the part of a would be Satyagrahi if he has made clear to himself the essential elements of his case and the purpose of the struggle.⁸⁵
3. Opponents are less likely to use violent, means the better they understand the Satyagrahi's case and conduct.
4. The essential interests which opponents have in common, should be clearly formulated and co-operation established on this basis.
5. Opponents should be trusted, Satyagraha is based on the principle "that the only way to make a man trustworthy is to distrust him.
6. Both parties should be prepared to "make large concessions on all points except, where a principle is involved. A Satyagrahi shall be a man of compromise.
7. Opponents should not be judged harder than self.

⁸⁴ Verma (M.M) Gandhi's technique of mass mobilization R.K. Gupta Publication, 1990, page no. 89.

⁸⁵ Weber (T): Hugging the Trees, The study of Chipko Movement, Anand of Tset pvt. Ltd .. page no. 83.

8. By making sacrifices, the Satyagrahi can convince the opponent.
9. The weakness of the opponent shall not be the aim of satyagrahi, as Satyagraha is concerned with morality and not just winning.
10. The suffering of the Satyagrahi should be greater than that of his adversary. Gandhi always tried to inculcate the efficacy of prayer in the hearts of people. This was done through his speeches, communications with friends and followers and writings in his publications.⁸⁶

According to Gandhi, 'The essence of non-violence technique is that it seeks to liquidate antagonism but not the antagonists. A Satyagrahi will always try to overcome evil by good, anger by love. Satyagrahi must not lay emphasis on numbers and external aid but avoid aggression, demonstration and show. It must above all be a process of self discipline, self control and self purification.'⁸⁷ Gandhi himself had demonstrated the use of Satyagraha both as individual action and as group action. In either case, the fight is carried on at the moral plane where success or failure is tested on the criteria of moral values.⁸⁸ The technique of Satyagraha admits of no limitations in its application. Satyagraha was criticised on the basis that it is a superior method theoretically, and "in practice it is too idealistic as it demands a stronger self - control, a more enduring solidarity of purpose, a more enduring solidarity of purpose, a greater capacity for passive suffering a higher ethical development"⁸⁹ than most human beings have thus far attained. But Gandhi holds that 'the weapon of Satyagraha does not require supermen and superwomen to wield it, beings of common clay can and have used it before.'⁹⁰ Gandhi laid down certain qualifications for a Satyagrahi! In 1921, Gandhi drew up a pledge laying down the discipline required of every Satyagrahi volunteer.

1. He must have a living faith in God.
2. He must believe in truth and non-violence as his creed and therefore, have faith in the inherent goodness of human nature which he expects to evoke by his truth and love expressed through his suffering.
3. He must lead a chaste life and be ready and willing for the sake of his cause to give up his life and possessions.
4. He must be a habitual Khadi-wearer and spinner.
5. He must be free from the use of other intoxicants.
6. He should carry out the jail rules unless they are specially devised to hurt his self-respect. But, it doesn't mean that Satyagraha soldiers will always assimilate the

⁸⁶ Bharati (K.s.): Thoughts of Mahatma, Dattsons Publication 1995, page no. 89

⁸⁷ Young India, 8 Aug 1929, Vol XI p. 263. Navjivan Publication

⁸⁸ Young India, 1924-1926, 30 Sept 1926, p. 1183.

⁸⁹ Case (CM) Non-Violent coercion, Allen & Unwin Publication, 1923. Page no. 406-7.

⁹⁰ Gandhi (M.K.) Harijan, 13 July 1940, Vol VIII

whole science of Satyagraha. Gandhi hold "There never will be an army of perfectly non-violent people. It will be formed of those who will honestly endeavour to observe non-violence."⁹¹

Non-Cooperation

It means not to cooperate with the policies of opponents. Non-Cooperation can be employed at any level. Gandhi's life is full of his own domestic non-cooperation i.e., the son could non-cooperate with his unjust and cruel father. It can be political also. The citizens could non-cooperate with their unjust and brutal government as freely as the son could dissociate from his brutal or cruel father. Non-cooperation gives a person the feeling of freedom and independence of all government control or supervision. Gandhi advocated total non-cooperation with the British rule. Non-cooperation is a non-violent means of expressing anguished love and is a means to secure the cooperation of the opponent. Non-Cooperation is based on principle of truth and justice. By not resorting to violence the non-cooperation is in a way cooperating with the use of physical violence and physical resistance. It is a protest against an unwitting and unwilling participation in evil. Every individual who has a fearing of God and who is self-respecting must avoid himself from evil in total disregard. "Non-cooperation means withdrawal of cooperation from the state by the people because the state has become corrupt. It is in fact a prelude with cooperation. Once the evil or the abuse is removed, the people can cooperate." The best part of non-cooperation is that even the evil doer cannot succeed in his purpose of exploitation without the cooperation of the victims.⁹² Non-cooperation implies the withdrawal of cooperation from a state, authority or an institution that in the non-cooperators view have become corrupt. According to Gandhi, non-cooperation is "a protest against an unwilling and unwilling participation in evil". It is "the expression of anguished love." Gandhi believed that it is the duty of people to cooperate in the well-being of society. Therefore, state, government, or society frames laws for the people. Whether a law is just or unjust depends upon the very consequences of it. A just law propagates good results, maintains self-respect and reverence for one another and an unjust does the opposite. Gandhi held that as it is a duty of every individual to cooperate in the functioning of just laws similarly it is their moral obligation to non-cooperate with unjust and iniquitous ones. He considered the non-cooperation with the evil forces as the sacred duty for every individual. Gandhi said, "Non-cooperation with evil is as much a duty as

⁹¹ Sitaramayya (P): The History of Indian National Congress Pratibha Publication. Page no. 274.

⁹² Rai (A.S.) Gandhian Satyagraha ; an Analytical and Critical Approach, Concept Publication,2000,page no. 76

cooperation with good.⁹³ In this way, he did not approve of any such violent action which was done for injustice and did violate the human rights.

The underlying idea behind this non-cooperation is that the success of an unjust system depends upon the cooperation of sufferers. If the victims continue to suffer passively the evil keeps on succeeding but if they begin to non-cooperate no such system may persist. Gandhi quoted in Young India.

Even the most despotic Government can not stand except for the consent of the governed, which consent is often forcibly procured by the despot. Immediately the subject ceases to fear, his power is gone.⁹⁴ This means that the withdrawal of support and cooperation by the people means a complete paralysis of an evil regime. Moreover, the act of non-cooperation effective makes the wrong-doer to realize that people love, peace, justice and approve such government as it based on non-violence and justice.

Non-cooperation works in two ways. It believes that by noncooperating with the evil a sense of moral consciousness get aroused in the evildoer which brings transformation. It also helps to boost the morale of the non-cooperators who do not accept help of any kind from unjust sources, thus making them self-reliant. Hence, this technique of non-cooperation helps to bring moral revolution. Gandhi quoted:

The primary motive of non-cooperation is self-purification by withdrawing cooperation from unrighteous and unrepentant Government. The secondary object is to rid ourselves of the feeling of helplessness by being independent of all Government control or supervision, to govern ourselves in all possible affairs; and, in fulfilling both the objects to refrain from doing or promoting injury, or any violence, to individual or property.⁹⁵ The self-purification of a Satyagrahi means the enormous growth in his/her moral strength, which helps to weaken the government paving its way to success. Therefore, Gandhian non-cooperation is a means to solve conflicts in a non-violent way. He once quoted to Miss Agatha Harrison:

Although non- cooperation is the main weapon in the armory of Satyagraha, it should not be forgotten that it is after all only a means to secure the cooperation of the opponent consistently with truth and justice.⁹⁶ Non-cooperation is in fact a prelude to cooperation. Gandhi wrote in 1925:

Behind my non-cooperation there is always the keenest desire to cooperate on the slightest pretext even with the worst of opponents.⁹⁷ His non-cooperation was a means of purgation:

⁹³ Gummadi, Veerraju, op.cit., page no. 178

⁹⁴ Dhawan, Gopinath, op.cit., page no. 255

⁹⁵ Gandhi, M.K., Young India (weekly), Vol.1 page no. 42

⁹⁶ Gandhi, M.K., Harijan, April 29, 1939, 101.

⁹⁷ Dhawan, Gopinath, op.cit., page no.162

I am by instinct a cooperator, my very non-cooperation is intended to purge cooperation of all meanness and falsity, for I hold that such cooperation is not worth the name.⁹⁸ Gandhi's non-cooperation also involves suffering to the participators. He believed that non-cooperation is a, "measure of discipline and self-sacrifice, without which no nation can make real progress". Thus, non-cooperation is a form of Satyagraha working through transformation, involving self-suffering and persuasion, based on truth and non-violence and may achieve result without any antagonism with the opponent.

As stated earlier, the example of non-cooperation includes strike, Gandhi described hartal as an, "act of self-purification". This cessation of works as a mark of disapproval should remain purely non-violent and absolutely voluntary. Picketing as a method of non-cooperation bears the objective of transforming the opponent through persuasion and should remain nonviolent. It may be organized to protest against any socio-political or economic abuse. According the objective of picketing should be the hindering of the path of the opponent but rather should be used to warn and shame the scabs. Speech is the most important armory of picketing and this method discourages the use of intimidation, coercion although fasting has a place in it. The most notable example of this method is a picketing of 'liquor', 'opium', and foreign cloth shops during the non-violent movement of 1920-22 and 1930-34.⁹⁹ Boycott, as a method of non-cooperation, involves the boycott of social, political, economic, and educational or any other institution, which according to the protestors' point of view has become evil or corrupt. The first Non-cooperation Movement in India, as we mostly known, was started in 1920 under the leadership of Gandhi. The objective of this movement was to rectify the mistakes of Khilafat and the Punjab massacres and finally to achieve independence.¹⁰⁰ This non-cooperation movement was planned by Gandhi to take place in four significant steps. In *Young India*, Gandhi mentioned the steps as, (1) giving up of titles and resignation of honorary posts, (2) calling out of Government servants, (3) the withdrawal of the police and the military. Gandhi advocated the boycott of foreign goods and he himself inaugurated their bonfires in Bombay on July 1921.¹⁰¹ The non-cooperation movement latter developed into civil disobedience. Gandhi wrote in 1930, "A little reflection will show that civil disobedience is a necessary part of non-cooperation".¹⁰²

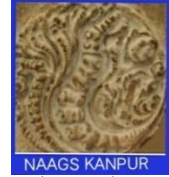
⁹⁸ Gandhi, M.K., *Young India*, December 26, 1924, page no. 429

⁹⁹ Dhawan, Gopinath, op.cit., page no.259

¹⁰⁰ Tendulkar, D.G., *Mahatma*, (Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi, 1952), page no.12

¹⁰¹ Dhawan, Gopinath, op.cit., page no. 262

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, page no.259



Contribution of Buddhism to Indian Cul ture

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The progress of Buddhism exercised considerable influence in shaping various aspect of Indian life-cultural, social, religious and political. Buddhism gave a popular religion, without any complicated, elaborate and unintelligible rituals such as could be performed only by a priestly class. The doctrine of ahimsa, so strongly stressed, devoutly preached and sincerely practised by the Buddhist, was incorporated bodily in their teachings by the Brahmins of later days. The practice of worshipping personal gods, making their images and erecting temples in their honour was adapted by the Hindus in imitation of the Mahayana Buddhists. The finest contribution of Buddhism Indian life was made in realm of architecture of sculpture. The stupas at Sanchi, Bharhut and Amravati, the stone pillars of Asoka of the core temples of Kanheri (Bombay), Karle (Pune) and Nasik are considered the best specimens of Buddhist art. The stupa at Sanchi is world renowned for its gate ways of railings which are profusely covered with sculpture The most important fact is that Buddhism proved to be one of the greatest civilising forces which India gave to the neighbouring countries. Buddhism broke the isolation of India and established an intimate contact between India and foreign countries. It was India's greatest gift to the outer world. Indian culture and civilization was carried by the Buddhist missionaries into China, Mongolia, Manchuria, Korea, Japan, Burma, Jawa, Sumatra and other countries from the time of Asoka.

The discovery of Emperor Asoka's edicts in the country and the traditional accounts found in Buddhist chronicles provide evidence of the fact that parts of India came under the influence of Mauryan rule and the Buddhist faith by the third century before Christ. After the lapse of Mauryan rules, the land came to be ruled

by kings who were devout adherents of the Vedic faiths, like the Satavahanas, the Kadambas and the Pallavas, or the Jaina persuasion like the Gangas. Even so, Buddhism continued to thrive; it had its monasteries and monks as testified to by Hiuen Tsiang in the 7th century. One comes across evidence of Buddhist temples and monasteries till about the 12th century, when owing to various causes, it faded out of India. There were, in addition to Buddhism, other faiths from North which thrived for considerable periods in many parts of India and left their impress on the religious life of the people.

It is important, at this juncture, to consider the advent of Buddhism in India and important part played by Buddhism and other faiths in India. The earliest reference to the introduction of Buddhism in India occurs in Ceylonese chronicles Mahavamsa and Deepavamsa. It is believed that, during the days of the Emperor Asoka in the third century B.C. concurrent with Mahindra's mission to Ceylon, the monk Mahadeva was sent to Mahishamandala and the monk Rakkhita to Banavasi. Mahishamandala and Banavasi are presently parts of India. Further, evidence of this early contact between this southern region and Buddhism from the north, is furnished by the five rock edicts of Emperor Asoka in Brahmi script discovered at Siddapur, Brahmagiri and Jatinga Rameshwara in Molakalmuru taluk of Chitradurga district and Koppal taluk in Koppal district. The Chandravalli inscriptions also make it clear that Buddhism as a sect had votaries in India during the early centuries of the Christian era. The Ankle caves at Chandravalli also testify to the early prevalence of Buddhism in that area. But Buddhism seems hardly to have made an impression on the populace here, for Jainism which was introduced into the country by Asoka's grandfather, Chandragupta, had already become well-established and it continued to be vigorous till the end of the twelfth century A.D. The first two centuries of the Christian era witnessed in South India the spread of Buddhism; it was during this period that the famous Amaravati stupas and the monasteries were built. The early kings of the Satavahana dynasty were favourable to the Buddhist religion, as also some Pallava and Bana rules. An inscription dated 338 A.D., likens a Bana king to the 'Bodhisattva' in his great compassion towards animals, thus revealing the popularity of the Bodhisattva ideal in this part of the country. Another inscription relating to Tadangala Madhava (450 – 475 A.D.) of the Ganga dynasty, mentions his land gift to a Buddhist monastery and employs expressions like 'Sasanabuddhasattva' and 'Sakyasila'. The exact significance of the latter expression is obscure, although there is current conjecture that it denotes a Buddhist boundary stone. Besides these suggestive inscriptions, the leaden coins of the Satavahana kings unearthed in Chandravalli in 1888 bear the figure of a humped bull round which is engraved the legend 'Sadakana Kalalaya Maharathisa' referring to some Satakarni ruler, a viceroy of the Andhras; on the other side of the coins are the unmistakably Buddhist emblems

of the Bodhi tree and cairn. Buddhism had thus secured royal patronage and acceptance in India during the early centuries of the Christian era. The fifth century is characterised by an intense struggle between Jainism and Buddhism in India. Kanchipuram was closely connected with India and was growing in importance as a Buddhist centre: the celebrated Buddhist dialectician Dignaga hailed from Simha-vaktra, a hamlet adjoining Kanchipuram. The Buddhists presented a formidable challenge to the Jainas, and the Jainas were equal to it. The inscriptional evidence suggests that the Jainas fared better in this polemic struggle. An inscription dated about 430 A.D. from Talakad on the banks of the Cauvery river in Mysore, records the victory of a certain Madhava over a Buddhist controversialist known as Vadimadagajendra (the lordly elephant of controversy in rut) and the subsequent award of the title Vadibhasimha (the lion to the elephant of controversy) to the victorious Madhava by the king. About 640 A.D. the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang was travelling in south India, and has left a flattering record of his impressions of Kanchipuram. The traveller had observed in this part of the country (which included India), Buddhism, especially the Sthavira-Vada Sect of the Mahayana creed, flourished; according to him, there were then hundred Sangharamas with a total of 10,000 monks in this region near Kanchipuram, the huge stupa, a hundred feet in height which had the reputation of having been built by Ashoka had been attracted and also seen in different angle, Hiuen Tsiang also refers to Banavasi (in India proper) and mentioned that there were numerous Sangharamas of both Mahayana and Heenayana persuasions; further, records the presence here of a remarkable sandalwood statue of Maitreya, the future Buddha, which was carved by the sage Sruta (alternatively known as Srona) Vimsatikoti. It is beyond doubt that during the sixth and seventh centuries, Kanchipuram and the surrounding areas in India were under the influence of a Buddhist movement. Kanchipuram continued to be a great centre of Buddhist learning and activity till almost the close of the fourteenth century. It is interesting and important to remember that the renowned Buddhist thinker Dharmakeerti (whom Stcherbatsky¹⁰³ described as the Immanuel Kant¹⁰⁴ of India) of the seventh century was a native of Tirumale in the Chola country. Dharmakeerti, by his very ability and influence, came in for bitter criticism at the hands of the Jaina enthusiasts as well as of the orthodox thinkers led by the Sankaracharya. Both groups of opposition had a tough task in breaking the growing influence of Buddhist logic in this region. Ultimately, however, they emerged upper hand in vanquishing

¹⁰³ Theodor Impletorich Stcherbatsky was a Russian Indologist who was responsible for laying the foundations in the Western world for the scholarship study of Buddhism and Buddhist philosophy.

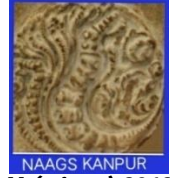
¹⁰⁴ Immanuel Kant was a German Philosopher

Buddhism and one more opportunity for the rise of Buddhism as a major creed was stifled. Buddhism was driven to seek shelter in the obscure corners of rural wildernesses. In the Tulu region, Buddhist faith lingered for some time. Kadarika near Mangalore continued to be a Buddhist strong-hold even as late as the tenth century. The famous Manjunatha of Dharmasthala is clearly a Hinduised version of the Manjusri; it is significant that this Manjunatha originally belonged to Kadarika. Several temples in that region housed shrines for the Buddha, 'Sastavukallu' or 'Sastavagudi'¹⁰⁵ The famous temple in Kolluru contained a shrine for the Buddhist deity Manjusri. Who was transformed in due course into the orthodox Mukambika. It is surmised that even the celebrated Kamakshi of Kanchipuram was originally the Buddhist Tara and that it was Hinduised mainly at the instance of Sankaracharya. Thus, at the commencement of the ninth century, Buddhism in India had all but disappeared; the advent of Advaita (monism), the prevalence of Jainism, and the emergence of several minor sects, mostly devotional in character, all combined to blow out the flickering light of Buddhism. But here and there protagonists of the Sakya's creed still survived. This fact is gleaned from the Kavirajamarga, (first work available in Kannada) a work ascribed to the Rashtrakuta king Amoghavarsha Nripatunga (815-878 A.D.) who was himself a Jaina of the Digambara persuasion. Inscriptions also reveal that religious rivalry between Buddhism and Jainism had not as yet entirely ended; the Kudlur Plates, for instance, mention one Jaina chieftain Butuga-II (925-960A.D.), also known as Butayya, Nanniya-Ganga, or GangaNarayana who "cleft open the frontal globes of the lordly elephants, the arrogant, false disputations of the ekantamata. (i.e., Buddhism as against anekantamata) with thunder bolts of arguments based on scriptures."¹⁰⁶ As it happened in Tibet and China, Buddhism in India found it expedient to get diluted and devotional in order to survive in any form. An attempt in this direction was indeed quite successful. Banavasi, near Soraba Taluk exemplifying this modified faith continued to be the Buddhist centre of not inconsiderable importance till the eleventh century. It has been made it on record that in 1065 at Balligame, one Rupabhattacharya, who was a minister of the Chalukya king Ahavamalla, erected a magnificent Buddhist monastery known as Jayanti-Prabuddha Vihara. Jayanti (or Vaijayanti) was another name for Banavasi on the banks of the Varada river. But, in this monastery worship was not confined to the Buddha. Indeed, more important than the Buddha were the deities Tara-Bhagavati, Lokesvara and Kesava. It is interesting to note that the cult of goddess Tara as

¹⁰⁵ Sasta (Ayyapan or Hariharaputra) may mean 'law giver' and is a later substitute for the Buddhist teacher. This deity, popular in Kerala and in Tulu Nadu, is represented by a crude and erect stone pillar, which is styled 'Sastavukallu'

¹⁰⁶ (Mysore Gazetteer, Volume-II p.675)

associated with Avalokitesvara developed in and around India, bearing affinity to a similar development in distant Bengal, Nepal and Tibet. They were expressions akin to each other of the crystallisation of the Vajrayana sect of Buddhism. There were in India several shrines to Tara, the most celebrated being the one in Dambal in Dharwad district, dedicated to Arya-Tara-Devi and built in 1095; there was another at Kolivad. About 1098, a splendid image of Tara (discovered by L. Rice in 1830) was caused to be made by a devout lady, Bappure-Nagiyakka, wife of one Hampa Chetti of Balligame; this lady described herself as Savasi of the Baudhalaya. It is surmised that even the Mangalore shrine for Mangaladevi or Maya devi or Adidevi was originally a Tara-Bhagavati temple; the suggestion become more plausible when we remember that the diety in Kadrika two and half miles away, is Lokesvara (Avalokitesvara-Bodhisattva), conceived as the consort of Tara. Tara is characterised in the Dambal inscription as wisdom (prajna), the giver of prosperity to Buddha (Budhasya Vibhutida), enlightenment itself (bodhi), and the in-dweller of the Tathagata's heart. She is Buddhist in ideology, but entirely Hinduised in representation. In one of the caves of Badami, there is an unfinished figure of Padmapani. In the Badami hill there are a number of Buddhist caves exhibiting in the Gupta script. One of the pillars of the famous Karla caves near Lonavla is endowed by a merchant from Vaijayanti ie., Banavasi. In the Bijapur district, there is a village named Lokapur and a temple dedicated to Lokesvara. Now, the deity is Siva but originally it was probably a Buddhist deity. There are in this part a number of people who bear the name of Lokappa or Lokayya, the name of their titular deity being Lokesvara. In the Konkana side beyond Belgaum and in Goa, there is sufficient evidences related to Buddhism was prevalent till today. During the early Chalukya period (of Badami), the kings Bore Buddhists names ie., Mangaleesa. The Satavahanas, Mauryans and Kalachuris had leanings towards Buddhism. At Kolhapur, which was then purely Kannada area, a large number of Satavahana lead coins bearing the names Sri. Pulumayi and Gautamiputra are found. In an almost deserted village, Horakal near Bagalkot, a number of antiquities going back to the 2nd century B.C., have been discovered. They clearly indicate that Buddhism was prevalent in this part of the country. Havell and Fergusson are of the opinion that the famous Aihole temple called Durga temple resembles a Buddhist shrine in its architecture. Along with Jainism, Buddhism flourished all over India. Jainism, survived and Buddhism was gradually assimilated in the religion prevalent in the country. It ultimately lost its ground and disappeared towards the beginning of the twelfth century.



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Hkjrh"kg ; gka ds tkxhjn kj cuk; s x; s ftl gksa i gkMh ij , d Hkjrh x<+nqZ dk Hkh fuekZk

djk; k] ftl s dkykUrj ea ohjfl g ctnsyk us glRrxr dj fy; kA bl h Hkjr x<+ ds nqZ ea gjnsy dk tle gwKA¹ os vkyNk dsegkirkih egkjtk e/kdj "kkg ds iks- , oa ohjfl g ctnsyk ds l i e FkA jktk ohjfl g ds rhu fookg gq & i Fke] "kgjk&"kkgckn ds "; kefl g /ku/kjs dh i e h ver dekh ds l kfk gw/k] ftl s 5 i e gq & t e kj fl g] igkM+ fa g] ujjnkl] ryl hnk] vks cuhnl A f}rh;] ds ok ds iokj fl g dh i e h jkuh xekudj] ftl s 4 i e vks li e h FkA gjnsy Hkxokunkl] plnHkku] fd"ku fl g , oa i e h d e korh mQZ dlt dekhA rrrh;] jkuh ipe dekh Fkh] ftl s 3 i e mRilu gq & ck?kjt] ek/kk] g] , oa i jekulnA² gjnsy ds tle ds dN le; i"pkr mudh ekrk dk fu/ku gks tkus ds QyLo: i mudk okRl Y; e; ykyu&i ky u t e kj fl g dh i Ruh pEikorh usfd; k Fkk] gjnsy Hkh viuh HkHkh l s vR; f/kd Lusg , oa l Eeku dk Hkko j [krs FkA cM s gkus ij gjnsy dk fookg l or-1685 l u-1628 bz ea nqkZ g] nfr; k ds fneku yk[kufi g dh i e h fgeky d e fj ds l kfk gw/k FkA³ ftul smudks l or-1687 ea , d i e fot; fl g dh i kflr g b] tks cM l e xk d dh "kk [kk l s t M A

gjnsy cpiu l s gh ohj , oa l kgl h i d fRr ds FkA mudh ohjrk , oa i jkde ds fdLl s ctnsy [k. M ea l oD; klr gA os ik; % vius fir k ds l kfk l B; vfhk; kuka ea l fdz : i l s tk; k djrs FkA fir k ohj fl g us Hkh mudh : fp ds vuq i gh mudh l B; f" k {kk&nh {kk dk l e fpr izU/k fd; k Fkk] ftl ea mlgksua fui qkrk i klr dhA rRdkyhu exy vkrkrk; h l sukf/kdkfj; ka ds vR; kpkj l s viuh iztk dks cpkus ds fy; s mlgksua Lo; a ckEg. k] oS;] ; kno] yksh] de h] vfgjokj] egrj] nkach] ygkj] xMfj; k] c<bZ , oa xkM+ vkfn fglunw tkfr; ka dks , dtv/ dj ykjk ydj mlga ekj Hkxk; kA , d ckj crok unh ds rV ds txy ea f" kdkj [kyrs l e; mlgksua vius cM s HkkbZ t e kj fl g dks "kj ds iatka l s cpk; k FkA mudh ohjrk , oa l kgl dk bfrgk l i fl } l ok d" V mngj. k exy l e kV t gkachj dh i k. kka dh j {kk djuk FkA fo-l a 1683} 26ekpZ 1626 bD ea tc t gkachj dks d" ehj l s ykS/rs l e; >ye unh ds rV ij fonksh exy l sukifr egker [kka } kjk d n dj fy; k Fkk] rc t gkachj ds fe= vkyNk ujs'k ohjfl g us vius i e gjnsy dks 12 g tkj l okj] 500 vgnh] 2000 can d ph] 60 gkFkh , oa [kp e g r q 20 yk [k : i ; s n d j Hkstk FkA gjnsy us j. kuhrd prjkbZ dk in"ku djrs gq s cSyka ds l haka ea di M k vks e" kky a ck/ka dj muea vx yxok dj jkf= ea egker [kka ds f" kfoj ij geyk ckyk] ftl l s egker [kka vR; f/kd l suk ds Hke ea i M + x; k QyLo: i bl h chp gjnsy us uko } kjk egker [kka ds f" kfoj ij geyk ckydj rEcu dks dkVdj t gkachj dks l j f {kr d n l s e d r dj k fy; kA l e kV t gkachj , oa u j t gka } kjk gjnsy dh ohjrk , oa l kgl dh vR; f/kd i z'ka k djrs gq s vuska yky] tokgjkr 9 gkFkh] 9 ?kkM f [kyvr] pkinh dh >wy l fgr gkFkh , oa te/kj tMkA ryokj inku dj mudk /ku; okn Hkh vnk fd; kA ⁴QyLo: i gjnsy dh ohjrk , oa l kgl dh [; kfr l Ei w k z mO Hkjr ea QSy xb] , oa vkyNk ea mudh t; t; dkj QSy xbA+ ohjrk vks l kgl ds l kfk gh gjnsy R; kx vks U; k; dh i frefir Z Hkh FkA mudh ohjrk] i jkde , oa turk ea mudh ykdfiz rk dks /; ku ea j [krs gq s ohj fl g us mlga igys , j p dk tkxhjn k cuk; k] rFkk vius thou ds vflre fnuka ea mlgksua vius cM s i e t e kj fl g dh v; kx; rkvka , oa mn. Mrkvka l s rak vkdj gjnsy dks vius vkyNk jkT; dk u; k

mRrjKf/kdkjh cukus dk eu cuk; kA bl l ECU/k ea ohj fl g no us fo-l a1684 ea vi uh
eR; q l s i m z , d l un y [k tkjh dj t p kj fl g ds LFkku ij l q k k ; gjnkSy dks "kkl u
djus , oa t p kj fl g ds gLr {k s djus ij ml s 10 yk [k : l ; s dh tkxhj i Fkd l s inku
djus dks dgkA ; g vkKk i = l un rkez ij rkskk [kkuk fdyk] Vhdex <+ ea ekSt m gA⁵

fo-l a 1684 ea ohjfl g no dh eR; q gkus ij mudh bPNkuq kj gjnkSy dks vkj Nk
dk u; k "kkl d ?kks'kr fd; k x; k] fdUrqR; kx , oa vknj l okHkko ds /kuh gjnkSy us vi uh
oak ijEijk dks dk; e j [kus , oa cM s Hkbbz ds ifr vknj l Eeku inf "kr djrs gq s LoPNk l s
jkt; vius firr r; T; SB Hkkrk t p kj fl g dks l ka dj muds pj .kka ea jgdj jkt; dh
l ok djuk Lohdkj fd; kA

t p kj fl g ds jktk cuus ds i "pkr gjnkSy dks cMkxk d k tkxhjn kj cuk; k x; k
l kFk gh l Ei wZ jkt; ds fnoku dk i z'kkl fud nkf; Ro Hkh mlga l ka k x; kA bl idkj
gjnksy Fks rks cMkxk ds tkxhjn kj fdUrqfneku (Nks/sjktk) ds : i ea os ik ; % vkj Nk ea
gh fuokl dj turk dh l ok fd; k djrs FkA mlga jkt l h BkV & ckV l s dkbz fo "ksk yxko
ugha Fkk] os fdys ds ckj , d Nks/s l segy ea fuokl dj l rr-turk ds l Ei dZ ea jgdj
jkt; ds dY; k .k ea yxs jgrs FkA gjnkSy ds 0; fDrRo , oa xqkka l syks vkdf'kr gkdj mu
ij l oLo U; k Nkoj djus dks r s kj jgrs FkA dkbz Hkh Qfj; knh fd l h Hkh l e; c f >> d
mul s viuh 0; Fk 0; Dr dj l drk FkA gjnkSy Lo; a ml ds U; k; i wZ , oa Rofjr l ek/kku
dks l n b rRij jgk djra jkt; ds fnoku ds : i ea muds ikl i z'kkl fud tcknng ds
l kFk gh l B; 0; LFk ds l pkyu dk Hkh egRo i wZ nkf; Ro FkA , d l sukuk; d ds : i ea
mudk vius l sudka ds l kFk vVW l ECU/k FkA muds , d b "kks ek = ij l sud viuh
tku rd d p k u djus dks r s kj jgrs FkA⁶ t c t p kj fl g dks "kkg t gka dh exy l ok ea
dk; Z djus g r q nf {k .k tkuk i M k ml l e; mudh vuq fLFkfr ea jkt; dk l eLr
d kedt gjnkSy gh l Hkkyrs FkA bl idkj , d /ke j k ; .k] drD; fu' B] itkoRl y , oa
l gn; h gkus ds dkj .k gjnkSy l Ei wZ vkj Nk jkt; ea vR; Ur ykd f i z ; cu x; A

vius 0; fDrRo , oa dfrRo ds cy ij ykd uk; d dh Nfo vft r dj pds fnoku
gjnksy vc ekuoh; o e u L; rk ds vga dh ifj/fk dks Nws yxs FkA bl h dkj .k bl ykd ea
l R; fu' Bk] drD; i j k ; .krk , oa /keZ dh j {k ds fy; s mlga l p jkr dh Hkkr fo'ki ku dj
bgyk d dks R; kxdj noRo ds ekxZ dk vuq j .k djuk i M kA bl l ECU/k ea vkj Nk , oa
vkl ikl ds l Ei wZ d h syh ifj {k = ea vu d tu J f r ; ka l x f g r g &

i Fke] exy l ekV t g k a h j dh eR; q ds i "pkr t c "kkg t g k exy ckn "kkg cuk rks
ml ds l e; ea ex Ykka , oa vkj Nk jkt; ds l ECU/k e/kj u j g A c f Y d Lok f H k e k u h , oa Lor a
i d f R r ds gjnkSy dh ohjrk , oa l g l dh xkFk; a exy ckn "kkg "kkg t g k dks [kV dus yxha
FkA gjnkSy us l Hkh fgUnw l s ki fr; ka dks , df = r dj fuHkhd gkdj "kkg l s u k l s V D d j
y d j ml s i j k f t r fd; k FkA l kFk gh vkj Nk ea fu; p r exy i f r f u f / k i f l } ryokjct
fgnk; r [kka ds vkra d l s vkj Nk dks e p r dj k; k Fk] ml ds vkra d ds [kkRea ds fy; s
t p kj fl g dh i Ruh p E i k o r h us gjnkSy dks t p kj fl g dh vuq fLFkfr ea jktk t p kj fl g
dh fo "ksk i w t k o k y h i f l } ryckj Hkh inku dh Fkh] ft l ds i z k s l s gjnkSy us ml
vkra dh dks ekj Hkxk; kA fdUrq gjnkSy fot; mYykl ea mDr fo "ksk ryckj dks jkuh dks

okil djuk Hkny x; A⁷ rc ls "kkgtgka viuh dWuhfr ds ek/; e ls nksuka Hkbb; ka tþkjfl g , oa gjnkSy ea QW Mkydj vkjNk jkT; dh "kfr dr dks l ekr dj nsuk pkgrk Fkka vr% ml us tþkj fl g dks nf{k.k Hkkjr Hkstdj gjnkSy ds ifr ml ds dkuka ea tgj ?kksyus dh uhfr ikjEHk dj nh QyLo: i tþkjfl g us vius HkbbZ dks fo'k ndj ejok Mkyka

f}rh;] jkttk tþkj fl g dh vuqfLFkr eafnoku gjnkSy viuh dk; Bdkyrk] l gn; rk , oa drD; fu'Bk ds cy ij vkjNk ea vR; f/kd ykdfiz , oa i Hkko "kkyh gks x; s Fk\$ QyLo: i vc os tþkjfl g dh vka k ea dka/s dh Hkkr [kVdus yxs FkA mlga vc ; g Hk; l rkus yxk Fk fd dgha gjnkSy mudh xnnk u Nhu ya bl fy; s mlgkua Lo; a gjnkSy dks vius jkLrs l sgVkus ds fy; s fo'ki ku dk , d 'kM; U= jpkA⁸

r}rh;] tks ykdipyu ea lokz/kd ipfyr g\$ fd jkttk tþkjfl g dh i Ruh jkuh pEikorh vius nøj gjnkSy l s vR; f/kd i e d}rha Fkh] ogha gjnkSy Hkh viuh Hkktsh dks ekrk dh Hkkr ekudj mudk vR; f/kd vknj , oa Lug j [krs FkA tþkj fl g ds eky l ok ea vkjNk l sckgj jgus ds dkj.k gjnkSy vkjNk ea jgdj gh l Ei wkZ jktdkt l Hkkyrs FkA mudh U; k; fi z rk] ohjrk , oa ykdfiz rk l s muds bz; kyvka us jkttk tþkjfl g ds jkuh pEikorh , oa nøj gjnkSy ds fu" Ny okRI R; i e dks vufdrk dk uke ndj "kd dk tgj dkuka ea ?kksy fn; kA vkjNk ykS/us ij mYykl l s ifji wkZ jkuh }kjk l kus dh Fkkyh Hknyo" k gjnkSy ds l e{k ijkl s tkus , oa viuh fo" ksk i wtk okyh plngkl ryokj gjnkSy ds ikl feyus vkfn dh ?kVukvka us jkttk tþkjfl g dks ifr" kksk dh vfxu ea >kd fn; kA QyLo: i jkttk us jkuh dks viuh ifo=rk i e f.kr djus ds fy; s nøj gjnkSy dks fo'k; Dr Hkktu nsus dks dgka jkuh }kjk viuh ifo=rk ij l ng u djus ds vudka vxz ds udkjus ij cl br i peh ds fnu gjnkSy dks Hkktu ea fo'k nsuk i Mka jkuh ds dka rs gkFka , oa l kjh l Ppkbz Kkr gkus ij Hkh nøj fnoku gjnkSy us viuh Hkktsh dh ifo=rk l kfr djus , oa vius T; sB Hkkrk ds "kd dks nøj djus ds fy; s [kqkh& [kqkh fo'kDr Hkktu xg.k dj jkejtk l jdkj ds n"ku dj /keZ , oa l R; dh fot; dh j {kk grq vius i.k. kka dh vkgfr inku dj vej dhfrZ i l r dhA⁹ rRi "pkr jkuh , oa l nð dh Hkkr mudk tB u [kkus okys egrj] dbrk , oa ?kks/s us Hkh mDr fo'kDr Hkktu dks ikdj vius i.k. kka dk mRl xZ dj ekuodkV l s mij mBdj nðdkV ea Lo; a dks ifr' Br dj fy; kA gkaykad vkjNk ds Bk- y{e.k fl g xk\$ bl s dkyi fud ekurs gq s gjnkSy dks igkMfl g dh i Ruh jkuh ghjknðh ds }kjk i l kn ds cgkus fo'k; Dr yMMw fn; s tkus , oa fo- l a 1688 fot; kn"keh ds fnu cfynku dh ?kVuk dk mYyS [k djrs gA¹⁰

gjnksy dh eR; q ds i "pkr mudh cfgu dækorh muds "ko dks nfr; k ys vkb] tgka mudk väre l l dkj fd; k x; k , oa muds pcwjs ds ikl gh egrj] dbrk , oa ?kks/s dks Hkh LFkkr fd; k x; kA gjnkSy ds ngklr ds i "pkr dh , d peRdkfjd dFkk l Ei wkZ clnsy [k.M ds tuekul ea vl he J}k , oa l Eeku ds l kfk l qh tkrh g\$, oa ft l peRdkfjd ?kVuk us mlgs ykd nðro dh Jskh ea LFkkr dj fn; k& og g\$ gjnkSy }kjk viuh cfgu dækorh dh i e h jru dæfj¹¹ ds fookg ea vn"; jgdj fglunw oðkfgd jhfr ea Hkkr* dh l kelftd jLe dks vnk djuka dgk tkrk g\$fd gjnkSy dh cfgu dækorh

tkS nfr; k ea C; kgh Fkh] viuh iēh ds fookg ds vol j ij gjnkSy dh gR; k ds nkskh tēkj fl g ds ikl u tkdj gjnkSy dh l ekf/k ij xbZ , oamI us jkrs gq s viuh iēh ds fookg ea vius HkkbZ l s HkkR dh jLe vnk; xh fd; s tkus dk vlxg fd; k] rc gjnkSy us mlga HkkR dh jLe vnk; xh dk opu fn; kA

r; l e; ij fookg ds vol j ij ekek gjnkSy dh vj l s vlu] oL=] l k s & p k n h , oa vU; l kexh l s ynh cSy xkfM+ ka cfgu dqt korh }kj ij igp xbA vn"; jgdj mlgk s cfgu , oa vi us l Ecfl/k; ka dks HkkR iguk; k rFkk cjkr; ka dks Hkkst u ds l e; ?kh i jkl uš dk dk; Z Hkh fd; kA ?kh dk ik= , oa gkFk rks l Hkh dks fn [kkbZ nrk Fkk] fdUrq "kj hj ughA tc ?kh i jkl rs l e; nWgk ekuf l g¹² us gkFk idMelj mul s n"ku n s us dk vlxg fd; k rc gjnkSy l "kj hj izdV gkdj viuk vk"khokh , oa 5 xkō ekU; dks nku n d j vUrZ; ku gks x; A bl izdkj bl fn0; , oa peRdkfjd ?kVuk ds i"pkr gjnkSy ctnsy [k.M ea ykd nōRo dks iklr gks x; A

mDr peRdkfjd ?kVuk da i"pkr rks mlga ctnsy [k.M ds ?kj ?kj ea i ntk tkus yxkA nfr; k ea gjnkSy dh l ekf/k LFky ij , d Hk0; eānj cuk; k x; kA 1715 bD ea nfr; k ds jktk jkeptānz us gjnkSy ds pcārs ds l ehi , d fo"kk y rkyk dk fuekZk dj k dj ml s gjnkSy ds uke ij ^ yyk dk rky** dk uke fn; kA fn0; n"ku , oa ohjkspr xqkka ds cy ij fneku gjnkSy dks ctnsy [k.M ea ykd nōRo dk ntkz iklr gā kA vkt Hkh ctnsy [k.M ds xkō & xkō ea gjnkSy ds pcārs gā ftu ij l kekftd l erk ds irhd egrj , oa dārk ds pcārs Hkh n[ks tk l drs gā vkt Hkh ctnsy [k.M ea fookg ds vol j ij fookg dk iFke fueā. k i= vj Nk ea gjnkSy dh cBd ij j [kdj mul s fufoZu dākyrk dh dkeuk dh tkrh gā bl ds l kFk gh Hk.Mkjs dh l Qyrk grq Hkh ik; % gjnkSy dk vkOgku fd; k tkrk gā bl ds vfrfjDr egkekjh] izdki vkfn l s cpus ds fy; s Hkh gjnkSy ds pcārs dk i ntu djus dk fjokt gā , d k dgk tkrk gS vkt l s vk/kh l nh igys tc nfr; k ds fudV l < k ea gStk uked egkekjh dk izdki QSyk rc ml ea cMh l ā; k ea ykx ekjs x; } fdUrq tks ykx gjnkSy ds pcārs ds vkl ikl [kys vkl eku ds uhps jgs os ykx l jf{kr jgā

oLr% ykd ekul dōy mlgha dh i ntk djrk gS tks ml ds gn; ds fudV] ml ds vi uš ml ds j {kd] , oa ml ds fy; s U; kNkoj gks tkrs gā fuf"pr : i l s gjnkSy us dkbZ /keZ ugha pyk; k] fdUrq /keZ Lo; a muds i hNs pykA dkbZ xBFk ugha fy [kk] fdUrq mu ij vucl xBFk , oa dFkk; a fy [kha xbA 17oha l nh l svkt rd ds rhu l kSo'kkā dk bfrgk l gjnkSy dh vej xkFkkvka l s Hkj k i Mē gā gjnkSy ij l kfgR; dh foig y jkf" k Hkj h i Mh gā ykd xhrka ds rks os jktk dgykrs gh gā ; g ykd l kfgR; gekjh l dfr dk okgd gā ; g l R; gS fd gjnkSy nōRo ds i hNa dHkh ugha Hkkxā oju- l Ppfj =rk] drD; fu'Bk] U; k; rFkk ykd/keZ dh j {kkFkZ Lo; a dks U; kNkoj dj nōRo Lo; a muds i hNs pydj cMh i u dks xg.k dj x; kA euq; ds dR; gh ml s bfrgk l ds i Uuka ea Lo.kkZkfjr dj ekuo l s nōRo rd ys tkrs gā fneku gjnkSy vkt Hkh J}k , oa fo"okl ds vkl u ij fojkteku gkdj gekjs vjk/; : i ea ykd tuekul ds gn; ea l nō vej Lo: i ea fojkteku jgā

I UnHk

- 1- I xj] dækjUnz fl g] vkys[k& ykyk gjnky] ctñsy[k.M ds ykd nørk] fn- 15 fnl Ecj 2014
- 2- f=i kBh] dk"khil kn] ^ctñsy[k.M dk ogn bfrgkl *] Vhdex<&1991 i'B&45
- 3- xk] y{eu fl g] ^vkjNk dk bfrgkl *] vkjNk/ke 2005&06] i'B& 21]22
- 4- enuh] vCny d; ÷ e ^ctñsy[k.M dk jktuŕd ,oa l kldfrd bfrgkl * >k] h&1998 i'B&37
- 5- xk] y{eu fl g] ^vkjNk dk bfrgkl *] vkjNk/ke 2005&06] i'B& 19]20
- 6- enuh] vCny d; ÷ e ^ctñsy[k.M dk jktuŕd ,oa l kldfrd bfrgkl * >k] h&1998 i'B&38
- 7- I xj] dækjUnz fl g] vkys[k& ykyk gjnky] ctñsy[k.M ds ykd nørk] fn- 15 fnl Ecj 2014
- 8- xlr] uoĥk il kn ^ctñsy[k.M dh ykd l ldfir dk bfrgkl * 1995
- 9- enuh] vCny d; ÷ e ^ctñsy[k.M dk jktuŕd ,oa l kldfrd bfrgkl * >k] h&1998 i'B&39&42
- 10- xk] y{eu fl g] ^vkjNk dk bfrgkl *] vkjNk/ke 2005&06] i'B& 20
- 11- mi jkDr i'B&22
- 12- mi jkDr i'B&22



ikphu Hkjr eavLi' ; rk %, d , frgkl d vuqkhyu

i nhi d ekj fl g

"kksk Nk= bfrgkl foHkx
oh0, l 0, l OMh0 dkyst] dkuig

ikphu Hkjr; l ekt ea pkj o.kz ctgEk.k] {kf=;} oS; rFkk 'kmz FkA __Xon ds
iq "kl Dr ea pkjka o.kka dks fojkV iq "k ds pkjka vaka l s mRi l u crk; k x; k gA rnuq kj
ml ds eqk l s ctge.k] Hkqt kvka l s {kf=;} taks l s oS; rFkk iSka l s 'kmz dh mRi fRr gA
pkpZ.kz 0; oLFkk dk ; g ikphure mYys[k gA ; gk l Ei wk l kelftd l xBu , d 'kjhj ds
: i ea dFYir fd; k x; k gS ft l ds foHkUu vak l ekt ds foHkUu oxka dk ifrfuf/kRo
djrs gA eqk ok.kh dk LFkku gS vRk% ctge.kka dh mRi fRr ekuo tkr dks f'k{kk inku
djus ds fy, gA Hkqt; a 'kks Z , oa 'kDr dk irhd gA vr% {kf=; dk dk; Z gfFk; kj xg.k
djds ekuo tkr dh j{kk djuk gA taks 'kjhj ds fupys Hkx dk ifrfuf/k gA bl l s
rRi; Z l Hkor% ml Hkx l s gk l drk gS tks vlu xg.k djrk gS vr% oS; dh mRi fRr
ekuo tkr dks vlu inku djus ds fy, gA iS 'kjhj ds Hkjkogd gS vr% 'kmz dh
mRi fRr l ekt dk Hkjk ogu djus vFkkZ- vU; o.kka dh l ok djus ds fufeRr gA
__Xon dh o.kz fo" k; d vo/kk.kk Je&foHkktu ds fl) kUr ij vk/kkfjr gS ft l ea iR; d
o.kz ds dk; Z dk egRo gA __Xon ds mi ; Dr fl) kUr dk l eFkZ egkHkjr] xhrk] ijk.k
vkfn xBFkka ea Hk ikr gsk gA bl snsh; vk/kkj inku djus dk dkj.k ; g Fk fd bZoj
dh 'kDr l s Mj dj l Hk bl ds vuq kj vkpj.k djks rFkk dkbZ Hk bl ds mYyaku djus
dk l g l ugha djska

__Xon d ; q ea ; g 0; oLFkk deZ ij vk/kkfjr Fkh] ijUrq mRrj&oSnd dky ea
tkr dk : i yus yxh vkS l # dky rd ijh rjg tkr&vk/kkfjr gk x; hA NkUnk;
mifu"kn~rFkk 'kri Fk ctge.k ea rhuka o.kka ds chp l g; kx dh dkeuk 0; Dr dh xbZ gA
'kmz o.kz dks bl l e; , d i Fkd oxZ ds : i ea eku; rk feyhA ml s rhuka o.kka dk l od
crk; k x; k rFkk /kfebl f0; kvka ds v; kx; ?kks"kr fd; k x; kA fdUrq 'kmka dh flFkr
mruh n; uh; ugha gA Fkh] ftruh ckn ds dky ea bl l e; mlga f'k{kk ikr djus dk
vf/kdkj Fkka bl dky ds dN xBFkka ea vk; Z iq "k rFkk 'kmk dU; k ds chp foog dk Hk

mYys[k i klr gkrk gA mRrj&oſnd dky ds dŋN __f'k 'kmz dU; kvka l s gh mRi Uu gq FkA ; |fi bl dky ea vLi"; rk dh Hkkouk dk mn; ugha gq/k Fkk fQj Hkh HksnHkko dh 'kq vkr gks pph FkhA o.kkA ea dBkjr rk vkus yxh Fkh] /kkfeZd vks] l kekt d {ks= ea pkjka o.kkA %ctge.k] {kf=; } oS; vks] 'kmz ds drD; k] vf/kdkjka vks] fLFkr ea foHkn fd; k tkus yxkA 'kriFk ctge.k ea pkjka o.kkA dh vUr; f'V ds fy, pkj izdkj ds Vhyka dk mYys[k gA iR; d ds mi; ks ds fy, vyx&vyx izdkj ds; Kks ohr dk fo/kku feyrk gA ctge.k dks ^, fg* %vkb; % {kf=; dks ^vxfg* %vkvk% oS; dks *vknD* %tYnh vkvk% rFkk 'kmz dks ^v/kko* %nk%edj vkvk% dgdj l Ecks/kr fd; s tkus dk fo/kku feyrk gA bu l cl sLi"V gSfd Hkn mRrjKRrj c<rs tk jgs FkA

dŋN vkfnokl h tkfr; k] vkt Hkh 'e'kku ea dke djus okys; k 'koka dks ys tkus okys 0; fDr; ka vks] jtLoyk L=h dks vLi"; ekurh gA bl vk/kkj ij dŋN fo}kuka dk er gSfd vLi"; rk dh i Fkk vuk; kA ea igys l s gh fo |eku FkhA ; g vk; kA dks vuk; kA l s i klr gA D; kAd tc nks l dfr; ka dk l ello; gkrk gS rks nksuka gh l dfr; ka ea dŋN fo'kkrkvka dk vknku&inku gkrk gA bu nksuka l dfr; ka ds l ello; l s gh ml l dfr dk i kntk% gq ft l s ge fgnw l dfr dgrs gA vks] ft l ds fy, vLi"; rk dh Hkkouk , d dyd gA

vLi"; rk ds fodkl ea dŋN vU; rRoka us Hkh ; ksnku fd; kA iR; d l dfr vius dks vU; l dfr; ka l s JSB l e>rh gA , d l dfr ds euq; vU; l dfr; ka ds i Hkko l s viuh l dfr dks vNrk j [kus ds fy, dŋN fu; e cukrs gA mu fu; eka ds vuq kj vU; l dfr; ka ds 0; fDr; ka ds l kFk mBuk] cBuk] ckrphr djuk] Hkstu djuk vkfn LkHkh fD; k, afuf"k) ?kks"kr dj nh tkrh gA

mRrj oſnd dky ea vud vuk; Z 0; fDr vk; Z l epk; dk Hkx cu x, Fks fdUr mudh x.kuk prfj kZ o.kZ vFkkZ~'knka ea dh tkrh FkhA ctge.k xBFkka ea muds Li'kZ l s cpus ds fy, tks fu; e cuk; s x, mlgha l s Hkjr h; l ekt ea vLi"; rk dh 'kq vkr gA dkBd l agrk ea fy [kk gSfd 'kmz dks vxfugk= ea iz, Dr gksus okys ntk dks xk; l s ugha nguk pkfg, A 'kriFk ctge.k ds vuq kj ; K ds fy, vfhk"kdR 0; fDr dks 'kmz l s ckr ugha djuh pkfg, A bl h ctge.k&xBFk ds vuq kj ^iDx; Z /kkfeZd dR; djus okys 0; fDr dks 'kmz vks] L=h ds Li'kZ l s cpuk pkfg, A 'kriFk vks] rRrjh; ctge.kka ds vuq kj jkt l w] ; K ds l e; vfhk"kapu ea 'kmz dks Hkx ysus dk vf/kdkj ugha gA fdUr ctge.k&xBFkka ea gh dŋN , d s izdj.k gA ftuea 'kmz dks ; K djus vks] ; Kka ea Hkx ysus dk vf/kdkj fn; k x; k gA 'kriFk ctge.k l kA; K ea 'kmz dks LFku nrk gA ognkj.; d rFkk NKUnk; mi fu"knka ea dgk x; k gSfd cgeykd ea l Hkh l eku ekus tkrs gA vr%pk.Mky Hkh ; K dk vo'kSk ikus dk vf/kdkjh gA** bl l s ; g fu"d"kZ fudyrk gS mRrj&oſnd dky ds vkjEHk ea 'kmz vk; kA ds l kepkf; d thou ds iR; d {ks= ea vU; o.kkA ds 0; fDr; ka ds l kFk Hkx ysus Fks rFkk mlga vLi"; ugha l e>k tkrk FkhA mRrj oſnd dky ds vUr ea dŋN 'knka dks vLi"; l e>k tkus yxk vks] mlga dŋN /kkfeZd dR; ka l s ofpr dj fn; k x; kA bl izdkj ; g ?kf.kr i Fkk bl dky ea i kjEHk rks gks pph Fkh] fdUr fodfl r u gks ik; h FkhA

I # dky ¼yxHkx 600 bDi0&300 bDi0½ ea vLi'; rk dh Hkkouk vi us fodfl r : i ea feyrh gA xkfe rFkk vkiLrEc ds vuq kj ctge.k ds fy, 'kxz dks vi us gkFk l s Hkkstu djuk mfpr ugha gA ml s ; g dk; Z vi us nkl l s djuk pkfg, A vkiLrEc us Li"V fy [kk gSfd ; fn fdl h ctge.k dks Hkkstu djrs l e; dkbZ 'kxz Nwys rks ctge.k dks rjUr Hkkstu dk R; kx dj nsuk pkfg, A bl dky ea 'kxz dks l ekt dk vR; Ur fud"V vksj vf/kdkj foghu oxZ ekuk x; kA mlga v/; ; u] ; K] ea=kpkj.k vkfn dk vf/kdkj ugha Fkka of"K" B us mlga ^e'kku ds l eku vifo=* ekuk gA mlga l Ei fRr j [kus dk vf/kdkj ugha Fkka i k; % l Hkh /keZ #dkjka dk er gSfd ctge.k dks 'kxz l s nku ugha ysuk pkfg, vksj 'kxz }kjk fn; k Hkkstu ugha djuk pkfg, A bl dk dkj.k ; g Fk fd Hkkjr ea vfr ikphu dky l s ; g /kkj.kk Fkh fd euq; tS k Hkkstu djrk gSoS s gh ml ds fopkj curs gA 'kxz dk Hkkstu vifo= l e>k tkrk Fk vksj ml dks [kkus l s ctge.k ds fopkj Hkh nfr gks tkrk Fk fdUr q bl dky ea 'kxz dk vk; kZ ds fujh{k.k ea Hkkstu cukus dk vf/kdkj i klr Fkka bl dk vFkZ ; g Fk fd l Hkh 'kxz i w kZ ; k vLi"; ugha l e>s tkrk Fkka i k. kfu us nks izdkj ds 'kxz dk mYys [k fd; k g& fujofl r ¼uxj ds ckj jgus oky½ rFkk vfujofl r ¼uxj dh l hek ea jgus oky½A bl es l s fujofl r 'kxz gh vLi"; ekus tkrk Fkka vk'oyk; u JK l # es ; ou rFkk dEckstka dh x.kuk fujofl r 'kxz ea dh xbZ gA

ckSkk; u us fy [kk gSfd tks fo | kFkZ l Qyrk i klr djuk pkgs ml s 'kxz vksj fL=; ka l s ckrphr ugha djuh pkfg, A ml h ds vuq kj Lukrd dks 'kxz vksj fL=; ka ds l kFk ; k=k ugha djuh pkfg, A 'kk [kk; u JK l # ds vuq kj 'kxz dks okti s ; K ea Hkx ysus dk vf/kdkj ugha gSfdUr q os ^vknukl o* vksj ^egkor* uke dh /kkfeZl fO; kvka ea Hkx yrs Fkka bl l s Li"V gSfd bl dky ea 'kxz dks i w kZ ; k vLi"; ugha l e>k tkrk Fkka bl dky ea /kkfeZl dR; ka dks u djus oky 0; fDr ifrr ekuk tkrk Fkka mnkgj.k ds fy, ctge.kk {kf=; ka vksj oS; ka ds Hkh fdl h ifjokj ea ; fn rhu i h<h rd miu; u l h dkj u gks rks ml ifjokj dks ifrr vksj vqkHk l e>k tkrk Fkka l Hkor% ifrr ifjokj ds l nL; ka dks xkp ; k 'kgj ds ckj jguk i Mfk Fkka

xkfe ds vuq kj & i R; d 0; fDr dks pk.Mky ; k tkfr l s cfg"dr 0; fDr dk Li'kZ gkus ij Luku djuk pkfg, A vkiLræ dk er Fk fd ckj; k mxka vksj fu"knka dks ofnd l kfgR; ugha i <uk pkfg, A ckj;] mxz vksj fu"kn l Hkh vkfne tkfr; k Fkh tks ?kf.kr dk; Z djrh Fkka vkiLræ ds vuq kj & pk.Mky ds ns [kus vksj Nwus l s i R; d oLrq nfr gks tkrh gA bl dk vFkZ ; g gSfd pk.Mky fujofl r 'kxz ekus tkrk Fkka bl fy, dN l # xbfkka es fy [kk gks fd pk.Mky ds Li'kZ ds nksk l s eDr gkus ds fy, l oL= Luku djuk pkfg, A bl h izdkj ds fopkj of"K" B /keZ # ea Hkh 0; Dr fd; k x; k gA of"K" B dk er gSfd vUR; tka dk l k{; fl QZ mlgha ykxka ds fookn ea i ek.k ekuk tk l drk gA egkHk"; l s Hkh Kkr gkrk gSfd pk.Mky uxjka vksj xkpa ds ckj jgrs Fkka l Ekor% vuk; Z gkus ds dkj.k vk; Z l epk; mlga vLi"; l e>rk Fkka tkrdka l s Hkh irk pyr gSfd vLi"; rk Hkh Hkkouk us bl l e; ds l ekt ea tM+ tek fy; k Fkka l r drq tkrd l sirk pyr gSfd , d ctge.k] , d pk.Mky dks ns [kdj bl fy, Hkxus yxrk gSfd dgha ml ds 'kjhj & ok; q ds Li'kZ l s og vifo= u gks tk; A ekræ tkrd ea , d pk.Mky dk fuokl & LFkku unh

ds fdukjs l s bl dkj .k gVk fn; k x; k fd ml us unta ea nkrw Qnd fn; k Fkk vks og vksx Luku djrs gq , d ctge.k dh pks/h ea Qd x; h FkhA fprl Hkr tkrd ea , d ØØ HkhM+nks Hkkb; ka dks bl fy, i hVrh gSfd muds l keus i M+ tkus l s nks dgyhu efgykva us eflnj tkus dk fopkj R; kx fn; k ft l l s ykx Hkkstu rFkk i d kn l s oApr gks x, A

mRrj&ofnd dky ea r{kd rFkk jFkdj dh x.kuk jFRu; ka ea dh xbz gA jktk Lo; a jFkdj ds ?kj tkdj Bgjr k Fk bl fy, ml l e; bl ds vLi"; gkus dk izu gh ugha mBrk fdUr q l =ka ds dky ea mlga vLi"; ekuk x; kA

eks Zky&l s l krokgu dky 1/300bDi 0&200bD½ ea budh fLFkr ea l dkkj ds dQ fplg fn[krs gA vFkz kL= ea mudk /kezf} tkr; ka dh l ok ds l kFk gh l kFk ^okriz vFkz~ dF"i i 'kij kyu vks okf.kT; Hkh crk; k x; k gA dksVY; us mlga l suk ea Hkriz gkus dh Nw nh FkhA euqefr l s Hkh irk pyr k gSfd 'kmz l Ei fRr j [krs FkA euq us ctge. kka ds l kFk 'kmka ds fookg dk Hkh l eFkz fd; k gA Hkkstu ds fo" k; ea euqefr l s Kkr gkr k gSfd ctge.k mu 'kmka dk Hkkstu djrs Fks tks Jk) djrs FkA ml ds vuq kj ctge. kka dks 'kmka l s fdl h izdkj dk l Ei dz ugha j [kuk pkfg, A Lukrd dks rks u 'kmz ds l kFk Hkkstu djuk pkfg, vks u ml dk Hkkstu djuk pkfg, A bl l s rkr i; Z gSfd bl dky ea /khj&/khj s 'kmka dks vLi"; l e>k tkus yxkA ikj Hk ea vLi"; rk muds fy, Fkh tks xUns dke djrs Fks fdUr q ckn ea; g l eLr 'kmz tkr ds fy, gks x; hA

dkSVR; us dpy pk.Mkyka dks vLi"; dgk gA ml us fy [kk gSfd ; fn pk.Mky fdl h vk; Z L=h dks Nw ys rks jktk dks ml ij l k s i .k tpekuk djuk pkfg, A ml us osk] fu"kn] jFkdj vks i pdl dh vLi"; ka ea x.kuk ugha dh gA bl dk ; g vFkz gSfd bl dky ea jFkdj ka oskka i pdl ka vks fu"knka dh fLFkr ea dQ l dkkj gA pk.Mkyka vUR; tka vks vUR; kol kf; ; ka ds l kFk Bgjuk fu" k) ekuk x; kA Jk) ds l e; Pkk.Mky ctge. kka dks ugha ns [k l drs FkA ml ds vuq kj pk.Mky vks 'oikd] xk ds ctgj jga vks os vik= ekus tk; A os er iq "kka ds di Ms igu; Vw's gq crZka ea Hkkstu djA ykys ds vkHkk.k igua vks txg&txg ekjs fQjA /kfezd fØ; k djus okyk 0; fDr mul s fdl h izdkj dk l Ei dz u j [ka vk; Z mlga Lo; a vius gkFk l s Hkkstu u ns fdl h vU; iq "k ds }kjk Vw's crZka ea Hkkstu nA os jkr ds l e; uxj ; k xk ea u ?ka fnu ds l e; Hkh jktk }kjk fu/kkzjr iks kkd igu dj gh xk ; k uxj ea vk l drs FkA os ykokfj l 'koka dks ys tkr s Fks vks eR; q. M i kus okys dks Qkd h nrs FkA egkHkkj r ea Hkh pk.Mkyka ds fy, bl h izdkj ds fopkj 0; Dr fd, gA

fu"kn eNyh ekj dj vks en] vku/lq pp vks enq f'kdj djds viuk fuokg djrs FkA mxz vks i pdl fcyka ea jgus okys tkuojka dks ekj dj [krs FkA f/kXo.k peMs dk dk; Z djrs Fks osk <ky ctkdj vkt h fodk dekr s FkA ; s l c xk ds ctgj jgrs FkA ; s l c xUns dk; Z Fks bl fy, euq us bu l c tkr; ka dks xk ; k uxj ds ctgj jgus dk fo/kku fd; k gA eks Z dky ds vUr vks 'kx dky ds ikj Hk ea vLi"; rk c<h] bl h fy, euq Lefr ea 'kmka ds fo:) brus dBkj fu; eka dk fo/kku feyrk gA tkrdka es vLi"; rk vius Hk; kog : i ea fn [kykbz nrh gA fpr l Hkr tkrd l s irk pyr k gSfd pk.Mky dks ns [kus ds ckn , d l kshxj dh du; k vius ?kj tkdj l qfU/kr ty l s vius us= /ksh gA

tkrdka l s ; g Hkh Kkr gkrk gSfd ; fn pk.Mky xkp ea iDsk djrs Fks rks M/Mk ctkdj mlga vius vkus dh l pouk nsuh i M+rh FkhA ; fn ofcuk l pouk fn, uxjka ea ?kd rs rks uxj fuokl h mudks i HVrs Fks D; kAd muds Li 'kz l s mudks nfr'kr gksus dk Hk; jgrk Fkka

Lefrdky 1/200 bD l s 500 bD 1/2 ea Hkh budh n'kk ea dkbZ l dkkj ugha fn [kkbZ nrk gA bl dky dh Lefr; ka ea fy [kk gSfd ckgEk.k dks 'kmz dk Hkstu ugh djuk pkfg, A ; kKOYD; Lefr eafy [kk gSfd mPp oxZ ds 0; fDr viusfdl ku] ukbZ Xokys ; k ifjokj ds 'kmz fe= ds ?kj Hkstu dj l drs gA bl dk vFkZ gSfd ; s tkfr; ka vLi"; ugha l e>h tkrh FkhA vLi"; rk dOy tle ; k 0; ol k; ij gh vk/kkfjr u FkhA of'k"B ds vuq kj & vk; ka dks ftl idkj pk.Mkyka ds l Ei dZ l s cpuk pkfg, ml h idkj ukfLrd] pky [kkj] dr?u vksj vR; Ur Økskh 0; fDr; ka l s Hkh cpuk pkfg, vFkZ] vk; ka dks buds Hkh vLi"; l e>uk pkfg, A

xdr dky ea 'kmka dh fLFkr ea l dkkj vkus ds dkj.k vLi"; rk ea dN deh vk; hA vfujoFl r 'kmz os; ds cjkj l e>s tkus yxs fdUr fujoFl r 'kmka dks vLi"; gh ekuk x; kA vNurka dks ^vUR; t* dgk x; k gS vksj ; s xkka rFkk 'kgjka dh l hek ds ckgj fuokl djrs Fkka bl l e; vud is'koj tkfr; kj vNurka dh Js kh ea 'kkfey dj yh x; h rFkk vLi"; rk l Ecu/kh fu; eka dks foLrr cuk fn; k x; kA bl dky ds Lefrdkjka us ckS] t&] okeekxk] 'kkDr vkfn l E ink; ds vuq kf; ; ka dks Hkh vLi"; ?kS'kr dj fn; kA ; kKOYD; dk er Fkk ; fn pk.Mky fdl h ckgE.k dk Li 'kz dj ys rks ml l s 100 i.k t&Zuk fy; k tk; A ml us vifo= ykseka l s Nus ij Luku djuS dYyK djus vksj xk; =h i<us dk fo/kku fd; k gA cgLifr ds vuq kj pk.Mky dks mPp o.kZ ds fglnw ds l ksyg gkFk l s fudV vkuk oftr gA Qkg; ku ds o.kZ l s Hkh Kkr gkrk gSfd pk.Mky uxjka vksj cktkjka ds ckgj jgrs Fkka vej dks k ea pk.Mky ds nl i; kz okph fn, gA buea l s lyo] fnokdhrk] tuaxv vkfn dk mYys[k bl dky l s iDZ ds xHfFka ea ugha gA bl l s fu"d"lZ fudyrk gSfd bl dky ea vNur tkfr; ka dh l d; k ea dN of) gA bl dky ea Mke rFkk pekj Hkh vLi"; ugha l e>s tkrs Fkka ekdZ Ms ij k.k ea fy [kk gSfd ; fn fdl h 0; fDr dh n'V fdl h vUR; ; k vUR; kol k; h ij iM+ tk; s rks ifo= gksus ds fy, fu/kkfjr /kkfZl dR; djuk pkfg, A buds fo"K; ea rRdkyhu l ekt ea ; g /kkj.kk Fkh fd ; s vifo= thou 0; rhr djrs gA ; s vl R; oknh] pkj] ukfLrd] Økskh] ykKh vksj vdkj.k nW jka l s >xMk djus okys gA bl hfy, Lefrdkjka us buds l Ei dZ l s cpus ds fy, brus dBkj fu; e cuk; A ; sfu; e bl dky ea l c 'kmka ds fy, u gkdj dOy vUR; kol kf; ; ka dsfy, Fkka

xdrk&rj dky 1/500 bD l s 1200 bD 1/2 ea 'kmka dks vksj vf/kd vNur cuk; k x; kA mudks l kekftd rFkk /kkfZl vf/kdkjka l s oApr dj fn; k x; kA ikj'kj ds vuq kj rstLoh iq "k Hkh ; fn 'kmz dk Hkstu dj yS ml ds LkFk l Ei dZ j [kS ml h vk'ku ij cB tk; sftl ij 'kmz cBk gkS 'kmz l s f'k{kk ikr dj ys rks og ifrr gks tkrk gA , d vl; Lefrdkj ds vuq kj ; fn mPp oxZ ds fdl h 0; fDr dks /keZ fØ; k djrs l e; dkbZ 'kmz fn [kkbZ iM+ tk; s rks ml s og /keZ fØ; k rjUr cUn dj nsuh pkfg, A ; fn ml l e; ml dk 'kjhj 'kmz ds 'kjhj l s Nw tk; s rks ml s rjUr Luku djuk pkfg, A xkX; Z ds vuq kj 'kmz dk

Li'kz gkus ij mPp tkfr ds 0; fDr dks ifo= gkus ds fy, ty dk vkpeu gh i; kZr gA bl dky ds Lefrdkja dk er Fkk fd mPp o.kz ds 0; fDr vki fRr ds le; gh mu 'kmta ds; gk; Hkstu dj l drs gA ftudks xqr dky ea viokn ds: i ea NkM+fn; k x; k FkA bl ds dN le; i'pkr~ blga 'kmta dk Hkstu djuk dfyoT; Z ?kks"kr dj fn; k x; kA ckgEk.kka ds ?kja ea mudks Hkstu cukus ds fy, j[kuk Hkh dfyoT; Z Bgjk; k x; kA 'kmta dks Li'kz djus ij ik; f'pr ds: i ea or j[kus dk fo/kku fd; k x; kA bl idkj bl dky ea 'kmta dks i wkr; k vLi"; eku fy; k x; kA gekfnz 1/4yxHkx 1270 bD1/2 l s irk pyrk gSfd ckge.kka us oS; ka dk Hkstu Hkh NkM+fn; k] D; kAd mudk 'kmta l s fudV dk l Ecu/k FkA

vudl o.kz l adj tkfr; ka dh x.kuk Hkh bl dky ea 'kmta ea dj yh xbA og) eZ ijk.k ea vB vks dj.k tkfr; ka ds 0; fDr; ka dks 'kmz dgk x; kA on 0; kl Lefr ea dk; LFkka dh x.kuk Hkh 'kmta ea dh xbA dN Lefrdkja dk er gSfd vuyke fookg l s mRi uu l Urku rks}t gh jgrh gSfdUrq ifryke fookg l s mRi uu l Urku dh l Fkfr 'kmta ds l eku gsrh gA eSkfrFk us l w] ekx/k] oSk"kd dks vLi"; eku gS D; kAd mudh mRi fRr Lefrdkja ds vud kj ifryke fookg l s gPZ FkA og) eZ ijk.k ea l adj tkfr; ka dh l d; k 41 nh gA muea l s 36 dh l Fkfr 'kmta ds vuy: lk ekuh x; h gA bl dk vFkZ gSfd bu ijk.kka ds vud kj bu NRRhl l adj tkfr; ka ds 0; fDr vLi"; FkA bl idkj bl dky ds Lefrdkja us fgnw l ekt ds, d cgr cMg-Hkx dks vLi"; ?kks"kr dj fn; kA pk.Mky bl dky ea Hkh ogh dk; Z djrs Fks tks xqr dky ea bl dky ds Lefrdkja dk er Fkk fd pk.Mky ds Li'kz l s nfr"kr 0; fDr Luku djds Hkh ifo= ugha gsrk FkA ml s; fn pk.Mky fudV l s xqj tk; s rks Hkh ik; f'pr djuk pkfg, A, d k gh o.kz 'kmta ds fo"k; ea Hkh gA ftu 0; fDr; ka dh ekrk pk.Mky gsrh Fkh mlga eSkfrFk us l ki kd dgk gA vfxu ijk.k ea l ki kd dks Hkh vLi"; eku x; k gA pk.Mky dh vLi"; rk dks yd] fo) kuka ea erHkn gA vf=] vixj l] 'krkri vks vkskue~ Lefr; ka ds vud kj; fn ckge.k pk.Mky dh ijNkbā dks ikj dj ys rks ml s Luku djuk pkfg, A 0; k?ka n vks ogLifr dk er gS fd 'kmz dks ckge.k l s fuf'pr njh ij jguk pkfg, fdUrq f'ko /kelRj ijk.k vks eSkfrFk ds vud kj pk.Mky dh ijNkbā l s dkbZ 0; fDr nfr"kr ugha gsrkA oSt; Urh dksk 1/41oha 'krkCnh1/2 ea /kks; k] pekjk osk] cq y] eNjka eM/ka vks Hkhyka dh x.kuk vR; tkfr; ka ea dh gA buea osk] cq y] eM+ vks Hkhy rks vkfnokl h Fks 'kks rhu /kksch] pekj vks eNjs bl fy, vLi"; l e>s x, fd os uhp 0; ol k; l s vkt hfodk dekrs FkA ifym] 'kcj] fdjkr vkfn vkfne tkfr; ka txyka vks igM/ka ea jgrh FkA os norkvka dks i l uu djus ds fy, eut; ka dk cfy nrh FkA os eka vks l jk dk l ou djrs Fks i s kkp fookg djrs FkA vi us bu ?kf.kr dk; ka ds dkj.k os l Hkh vLi"; l e>s trs FkA

bl dky ds Lefrdkja us vl; /kelbyfEc; ka dks Hkh ifrr eku gA muds vud kj ck] t] ykdk; r] ukfLrd] 'kō vks okeekxhZ 'kDr l Hkh vLi"; FkA cgek.M ijk.k ds vud kj 'kōk ik'kq rka ykdk; rka vkfn dk Li'kz djus ij iR; sd mPp oxZ ds 0; fDr dks ol=ka l fgr Luku djuk pkfg, A o) gkjhr dk er Fkk fd 'kōka dk Li'kz gkus ij; k 'kō] ck] eflnj es ifo"V gkus ds ckn iR; sd 0; fDr dks Luku djds ifo= gkus pkfg, A

tkfrxr vLi";rk ds vfrfjDr deZ vk/kkfjr vLi";rk Hkh Fkh ftl dk o.kZ
i kA/ig ak dk.ks us ikphu /kkfeZ l kfgR; ka ds vk/kkj ij fd; k g&

- cMk iki djus okyk 0; fDr] tks tkfr&cfg"dr gks tkrk Fkk] vLi"; I e>k tkrk FkkA fdUrq ik; f'pr djus ij nkSk eDr gks tkrk Fkk vk\$ fQj vLi"; ugha jg tkrk FkkA
- dN ukfLrd l Eink; ka ds vuq k; h vLi"; I e>s tkrk Fk\$ t\$ s fd dk\$VY; us fy[kk gSfd ck\$ ka dks Jk) ea vkefU=r u fd; k tk; A
- os 0; fDr tks /ku dh ikflr dsfy, norkvka dh intk djus dk <kx jprs FkkA
- dN ,d h ouLifr; ka dks cpus okys 0; fDRk] ftl ouLifr dk iz kx mPpoxZ ds ykx Hkkstu ea ugha djrs Fk\$ os Hkh vLi"; ekus tkrk FkkA
- jtLoyk L=h Hkh vLi"; I e>h tkrh FkhA
- 'ko ys tkus okys 0; fDr Hkh vLFkk; h : i l s vLi"; I e>s tkrk FkkA

'kmka ds l kFk vLi";rk dh Hkkouk ikphu dky ds i'pkr~ Hkh cuh jgh ; k ; g dguk I ehphu gksk fd orZku ea Hkh ; g Hkkouk dN gn rd cjdjkj g\$; |fi vkt dk ; x o\$Kkfud ; x g\$ vk\$ yxHkx gj dke e'khuka ds ek/; e l s LoPNrk l s fd; k tk jgk g\$ vr% fdl h tkfr dks vNur I e>uk Hkkjh Hkoy g\$ LorU=rk ds i'pkr~ Hkkjr l jdkj us vu\$Nn&17 ds rgr vLi";rk dk iwZ : i l s var djus dk fo/kku cuk; k g\$ fdUrq bl dk vUr fl QZ l fio/kku ds ek/; e l s gh l EHko ugha g\$ bl ea Hkkjrh; I ekt dks ; kxnku djuk gkskA dkOh gn rd vLi";rk dh Hkkouk dk yki gks jgk g\$ fdUrq tks dN vLi";rk dh Hkkouk cph g\$ ml s i R; d Hkkjrh; dk drD; gSfd vLi"; oxZ dks ; s vf/kdkj fnykdj fgl nwl ekt ds bl dyad dks nij djusea iwZ ; kxnku nA



jk"Voknh bfrgkl & ys[ku % , d p[ks'h

foT; fl g

"kksk Nk= bfrgkl foHkkx
 oh0, l 0, l OMh0 dkyst] dkuig

fofHkUu jhfr&fjoktkh rksj rjhdka rFkk ik'pkr; thou ds vU/kkud j.k ds vkjFEHkd
 pj.k ds ckn oLr% f'kf{kr Hkkjrh; ka ds chp Hkkjr dks vf/kd Hkkjrh; rFkk vi{kkdr de
 vaxt cuus dk ttck mRlUu gksus yxka ; g oxZ ugha pgrk Fkk fd ik'pkr; lH; rk
 mudh viuh lH; rk dks foLFkfir dj ns ts k eslkys vksj fe'kujh pgrs Fka os dny
 ; g pgrs Fks fd if'peh Hkkjr dh l dfr dks iqtitor dja ts k jtk jkeeku jk;
 dh vkadk{kk jgh Fka os vius ikphu /keZ rFkk l ekt ea l dkkj ykus RkFkk vius ikphu
 l dfr dks iqtitor djus dh fn'kk ea idRr gq A bl idRr us iqtikz j.k dk : i ys
 fy; k ftl ds Qy Lo: i Hkkjrh; ka ea vkRe fuHkzrk] vkRel Eeku vksj vkRefo'okl dh
 Hkkouk vka dk l pkj gqk tks if'peh nDku ea frrj forj gks x; h Fka /khj & /khj s Hkkjr
 jk"Vh; vkRe l txrk ikr dj jgk Fka tks 'kh?kz gh fons kh i Hkko l seDr dh vkadk{kk ea
 i wkr% ifj .kr gks x; hA fQj Hkh vfHkuo pruk dks , d , srgkl d pruk ; k tu l epk;
 ds vrhr ds Kku }kjk l a ks"kr rFkk i krl kfgR gksuk Fka cfdeplnz pVthz us n<fk ds
 l kfk ; g dgk; fd , drk dk Hkko jk"Vh; xksj RkFkk eDr dh vkadk{kk mRlUu djus ds
 , d l k/ku ds: i ea bfrgkl ds v/; ; u RkFkk ys[ku l svf/kd esyd vksj dN ugha Fka
 Hkkjr , d ijrU= jk"V^a Fkk bl fy, Hkkjrh; bfrgkl Hkkjrh; bfrgkl dkjka }kjk of. kZ rFkk
 0; k[; kf; r ugha gqk Fkk cfde plnz pVthz us ftl =qV dh igpku dh ml dk funku
 djus dh idRr Hkkjrh; bfrgkl dkjka us 'kh?kz gh n'kkz nhA ; s os bfrgkl dkj Fks ftUgksus
 chl oh 'krkGnh ds i wkr% ea fy[kk tc jk"Vokn dh foLrR Hkkouk us , srgkl d i Mfky
 rFkk 0; k[; k foopu ds fy; s , d fopkj/kkj kRed vk/kkj inku fd; kA

Hkkjrh; bfrgkl dkjka dh vk/kfud ih<h dh l cl s cMh l eL; k ; g Fkh fd og fcfV'k l kekT; oknh geys l s viuh l dfr rFkk l Eh; rk dh j{kk djuka Hkkjrh; bfrgkl y[ku ea l kekT; oknh iwkzq us igys fglnw idfr rFkk pfjr ij eW; fu.kz ka dh , d J[kyk ds : i ea Lo; a dks vfHk; Dr fd; ka tEl fey dh ifLk) iurd fgLVh dsf}rh; [k.M ea fglnw l H; rk ij ikp l ks i "Bka ds muds foj.k dk fof'k"V mnas ; ; g fl) djuk Fkk fd og cgr gh fud"V Fkh rFkk fglnw nLkRo ds xqkka ea l cl s vxS FkA ekma/LVq/VZ tks Hkkjrh; ka l s l gkuHkfr j [krs FkA , s mnxkj 0; Dr fd; sftu ij fey dh fgLVh dh Nki fn[kkbz nrh gA bfglnw/ka dk l cl s cMh nqzKB os fy[krs gS pl H; rk dk vHko gS ftl ea mlgksa i wZ ds vf/kdk k jk"Vh ds fuokfl ; ka dks Hkh i hNs NkM+fn; k gAB bl h rjg dh dbZ vl; /kkj.kk, Hkh 0; Dr gA Hkkjr ij fol v fLeFk dh dfr; ka us vyDtmj ds Hkkjrh; l kefjd vfHk; kuka tS h ?KVukva ds vius foj.k ea ; jki dh JSBrk dh l kekT; oknh /kkj.kkvka dks l rdzkiwZ v{kq.k cuk; s j[kka i q% vl; fcfV'k bfrgkl dkjka dk vuqj.k djrs gq s fLeFk us ; g fl) djus dk ; Fkk l Ehko iz kl fd; k fd l oZ 0; klr jktusrd vjkt drk o v'kkfur Hkkjr dh l keU; jkt usrd fLFkr FkA Hkkjrh; ka ea , d l w-rk vS Lok'kkl u dh {kerkva ds vHko ea fcfV'k 'kkl u ds LFkkf; Ro dks ij h rjg vfuok; Zcuk fn; ka mlgscjk&ckj crk; k x; k fd LorU=rk us mudh Lonsh Hkfe ij dHkh inkiZk ugha fd; ka vkjOl hO etenkj , s iz kl ka ds n"Vkr J[kayk) : i ea iLr djrs gS ftuds }kjk i wZ ea Hkkjrh; miyfc/k; ka dks de djds vkok x; ka ij hlyl ds Li"V l k; dks l keus j [krs gq s , fYQaVu us ; g ekuk fd Hkkjr dk fonsk 0; k kj ; wufu; ka vS vjka }kjk l pkfyr gA vDl j onka vS egkdk; ka ds fy; s ; Fkk l Ehko l hek rd ijorhZ frFk; k fu/kkzr dh x; h vS fofHku dfr; ka ea ; nkdnk ; g l dr fn; k x; k vS fcuk fd l h iek.k ds ik; % ; g dgk x; k fd Hkkjrh; ks us fu% l Unq viuh l dfr dk vf/kdk'ka vak ; wufu; ka l s vk; kfr fd; k gkskA tgl; bl dh dkbZ l EHkkouk n"Vxkpj ugha gsrh Fkh ogk; ; g ekuk x; k fd mlgksus fuf'pr : i l s cDhyksokfl ; k vl hfj; uk Qkj l okfl ; ka bR; kfn l s l dfr ds os vak xq.k fd; s gkskA y[du ; fn ge fofHku l krs l s Hkkjrh; l dfr dk voeW; u djs rks ; gh dg l drs gS fd dDy Hkkjrh; ds detkj i {ka dks pjd iLr djuk rFkk izk'k ea ykuk fcfV'k l kekT; okfn; ka dh , d l kph l Ek>h , d i {kh; j.kulfr FkA

Hkkjrh; jk"Voknh bfrgkl y[ku] tks vka'kd : i l s Hkkjr ij fcfV'k l kekT; oknh bfrgkl y[ku ds i i pka vS i wkzqks ds fo:) ifrf0; k ds : i ea vLrRo ea vk; kl eny : i l s i wZ vS fuos'kd dky ea jk"Vh; vLerk l s t/lt gA FkA jk"Vh; xS o l s vks&iks Hkkjrh; fo}kuka dh , d mnah; eku ih<h us viuh jk"Vh; l dfr dks ; jki h; y[kdka ds fujk/kkj vkjki ka ds igkj l scpkus dk iz kl fd; ka ; | fi , frgkl d i qfuzek.k ds l PPs fl) klrka ea ; nkdnk dN =fV; k n"Vxkpj gA vkjOl hO etenkj jk"Voknh bfrgkl dkj in dk iz ks dDy mlgka Hkkjrh; ds fy; s djrs gS ftlgksus vius ns k ds bfrgkl dh i q% iLr ds 0e ea ij h{k.k vFok i q% ij h{k.k dks viuk y{; cuk; ka viuh detkj; ka vS l kekT; oknh bfrgkl y[ku dh pksr; ka dk l keuk djds vius i Fke y{; ds : i ea fglnw /kez vS bl ds ikou l kfgR; dh j{kk djuk jk"Voknh

bfrgkl dkjka dk , d egroiwkz mnas; cu x; kA ; g iz kl bfrgkl dkjka ds ctk; I qkjdka }kjk vf/kd 0; ki drk l siZnr fd; k x; kA fQj Hkh bfrgkl dkjka dh Hkriedk dks ux.; ugh dgk; tk l drkA , d vfroknh pluru /kkjk ftl ea jktukjk; .k ckd] cade plnz pVthz l fgr vud yks 'kkfey Fk us /kkfed vU/kfo'okl vks l keftd dgjfr; ka ds l kFk&l kFk fglunw /kez ds fodkl ds l Hkh i {kka dk l eFkz djrs gg bl s , d vR; Ur l 'kDr v/; kRed 'kDr dgk; rFk vU; vLkFkvka l s JSB ekukA fdUrqn; kuln l jLorh] tks mnkjoknh vks : f<okn ds , d fofp= l xe Fks us rkdzd vk/kkj ij fglunw/kez dk l eFkz fd; kA mlugkus nok fd; k fd fglunw/ka dk l Ppk /kez vks l ekt day onka ea of.kz vf/kd 'kq : i ea fo|eku FkA tkfr vks l rh ts h dq Fkkvka rFk efrz iutk ijorh izkkyh dks n'kkzh Fk ftudh Lohdr eny vLkFk }kjk inku ugha dh x; h FkA tkfr dh [kkskyh 0; k[; k Je ds foHktu ds : i ea dh x; h vks n'kkz k x; k fd ofnd dky vks ijorh dkyka ea Hkh efgykvka dks vR; Ur mPp l keftd ntiz iklr FkA

fglunw l hdr ds Hkrd i {k ij tks ; jksh; geyk gvk Fk ml dk , d Loj l s [k.Mu fd; k x; k vks fglunw l hdr dh fud"Vrk l Ecu/kh /kkj.kk dks xyr fl) fd; k x; kA jksk plnz nRr us rhu [k.Mka ea fy[kh viuh iqr fd foykotsku bu , f'k, b/ bM; k 1/889 1/2 ea bu rF; ka , oa vkdMka dks , d l kFk iznr fd; kA vkj0l h0 etenkj bl s l okre vFk ea igyk jk"Voknh bfrgkl dgrs gA ; g iqr vius oKkfud rFk mnjrk ds dkj.k fof'k"V gS vks Hkjr; ka dh vfrjatr jk"Voknh Hkkouk l svyx fn[kkbz nrh gA eDl eny ds dFkuka dk vud j.k djrs gg nRr us __Xon dk dky 1200 bDi ekuk vks ofnd ; ks) kvka dh fuxz vRkFk; fDr vks ; q) ea LoPNUnrk dk fp= iznr fd; k tks vfroknh jk"Vokn ds izy l eFkzka rFk : f<oknh fglunw/ka ds xys ugha mrj l dka : f<oknh fglunw ds jk"Voknh l eFkz day ml h lFkfr ea l UrqV gks l drs Fks ; fn __Xon dk dky viSkdr cgr vf/kd ihNs fu/kkzr fd; k tkrA ch0th0 fryd tks l hdr ds , d l qkk; tkudkj Fk us [kxkyh; vkdMks ds vk/kkj ij ; g fl) djus dk ; g iz kl fd; k fd __Xon dh jpuk 4000 bD i ea gpa bl h rjg , 0l h0 nkl bl s vks ihNs ys tks gg __Xon dh dN __pkvka dh jpuk dks HkKk; ; qka l s l Ec) ekukA : f<oknh fglunw Hkkoukvka ds iHko ea ; g dYiuk dh x; h fd ofnd vk; l vk/; kRed vks iq; dk; k ds ifr iDr vks euv'khy tul enk; FkA fglunw/kez dh v/; kRed l okPrk dks bruh n<rk rFk eq[kjrk ds l kFk iznr fd; k x; k fd ikphu Hkjr; ka dks , d , d s tu l enk; ds : i ea fp=r djus dh vko'; drk egl dh tkusykh tks eSk ds fy, ykyf; r ugh Fk oKkfud vks ik|kfxdh; mi yfC/k; ka ds yEcs pks/9-nkos fd; s x; A buea , d s Hkh nkos l kfey Fks ftues ; g dgk x; k fd ikphu Hkjr ds ykska dks repka vks ok; q kuka dk Kku Hkh FkA ydu vkj0 d0 eqkthz dh iqr ^, fgLVh vkQ bM; u f'kfi x , .M ejhVkb , fdVfoVh , fYQLVu ds bl l Ung dk fuokj.k djus dk iz Ru Fk] fd Hkjr dk fonsk 0; ki kj Hkjr; tgktka l s gh gsrk FkA tgk; jksh; yskdka dk , d oxz ; g fl) djus ds fy, dVc) Fk fd Hkjr; l hdr cgr gn rd fonskh l srka l s xg.k fd; s x; s?kVdka l sjfpr fufeZ gA dN Hkjr; fo) kukka us l eku n<rk ds l kFk

, s fdl h ckgjh i Hkko dh I Hkkouk dks vLohdkj fd; kA dN Hkkjrh; ka us rks ; g Hkh dgk; fd Hkkjr gh vk; k d dk eny fuokl LFky Fkk vks ; gk l s gh os ; jksi ea Qsya

vxtka dh jktulfr vks izkkl u dh ckr dh tk; oks ; g dg l drs gsf d Hkkjr dks mlgkaus , d ns'k dHkh ekuk gh ugha Fkk cfYd Nks/Nks/s jkT; ka dk , d vl xfbR l eng ds : i ea inf'kr djus dk iz kl fd; k vks Hkkjrh; ka dks fofo/k l Elnk; ka vks i Fkks ds ykxks dk l eng Hkh dgkA bl dsfo:) vkjOds eq'kthz us , d fo}rkiwkz 'Fkhl l ^ fy [kh tks n Qd/ke/vy ; fuVh vkQ bf.M; k ds uke l s izdkf'kr gpa bl ea ys[kd us ; g /kkj.kk i Lr dh fd ijs Hkkjr ea fglu/vks ds e/; /kfezd , drk vks vk/; kRed l gp; l , oa vf[ky Hkkjrh; l ketT; dk mudk vkn'kz vrhr ea Hkkjrh; jk"Vbkn ds vk/kkj rRo FkA i q% ; gh og l e; Fkk tc f'kf'kr Hkkjrh; ifrfuf/k l l Fkkvka rFkk ns'k ds izkkl u ea l gHkkf'kr dh ehx dj jgs FkA bl ifji; ea d i h o tk; l oky us i l r fuj d q krk dh vfHk/kkj.kk dks xyr fl) djus dh [kks[kyh l r f V viuh i qrd fglu wikfyVh }kjk i l r dhA mlgkaus ; g inf'kr djus dk iz kl fd; k fd vrhr ea u d o y l jdkj dk l o s k k fud Lo: i cfYd l E i wkz l l knh; iz kkyh v l r Ro ea FkA buea jkt l Rrk }kjk l Ecks ku r Fkk 'osVax vks xkV l ^ t s h jhr; k; Hkh l k fey Fkh tks i kphu Hkkjr ea i pyu ea FkA

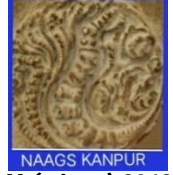
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Book Review

Approach for reviving the Lost glory of Vikramshila and its great Acharya Dipankar

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Among the important educational institutions in ancient India like Nalanda and Taxila, Vikramshila Buddha Mahavihara also hold an important place which over more than 400 year managed to stand tall in the world due to its arrogance for excellent center for the diffusion of Buddhism and Indian culture in general. But the irony with Vikramshila is that it remained out of public minds till the excavation works started after 1970, while excavation works for Nalanda and Taxila had been completed during British time. Hence, the two ancient world universities had the privileges to establish its ancient importance in terms of religious, historic and archaeological significances, while Vikramshila almost slipped in the dark annals.

During 1970-80 , the confusion related to the exact location of Vikramshila had been cleared after noted excavation at Antichak site in Kahalgaon sub-division of

Bhagalpur had been started by Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) under the able leadership of noted archaeologist, B S Verma, the then Superintending Archaeologist. The excavation not only had exposed the main central shrine of Vikramshila from below the earth but also many sculptures of Buddhist and Hindu deities, excellent example of Teracotta sculptures along with huge articles having historic and archaeological importance. The articles recovered during the excavation could be expose not only many important facts about Vikramshila and Buddhism but also could solve many mysteries related to the ancient time. With proper study from the materials could have also been the sources of knowing the life and works of Acharya Dipankar.

It's a matter of regret as well as great concern that even after more than 40 long years, nothing could be done in this direction. No research works could be conducted till the date. However, amid such chaotic situation the recently published book by Shiv Shanker Singh Parijat on Acharya Dipankar is indeed a noble approach for recalling the glorious history of Vikramshila and the great personalities like Acharya Dipankar. If we talk about the glorious past of Vikramshila in retrospect of its history of Buddhist philosophy of 'Mantrayan' and 'Vajrajan' along with the contributions of the great Acharyas, we must have to remember the name of great Acharya Dipankar for his vast contribution for reforming and refining Buddhism in the vast spectrum of the world. Dipankar is considered as the last 'great Acharya' from India who now has been worshiped as a deity for his immense credibility to project Buddhism in front of the world particularly at the time when Buddhism was fading away rapidly and only the last lamp of Buddhism was flickering at Vikramshila. The entire world still remember Dipankar for his contribution and his many immortal creations numbering over 200 like "Bodhi Path Pradepa" and "Charya Sanghaha Pradepa".

Noted historian like Shiv Shanker Singh Parijat in his recently published book "Vikramshila Buddha Mahavihar ke Mahan Acharya Dipankar Srigyan Atis,(Publisher : Anamika Publishers and Distributors, Delhi, Price : Rs 900/-) not only concentrated the vast personality of Dipankar, his educational and creativity, his preaching and philosophy but also depicted many relevant issues which once again started rising many silent aspects of the great Indian Pandit, Dipankar. Parijat in his book strongly predicted how Dipankar is still relevant today. He also challenged many previous noted historians and scholars who not only confused the world with their misconceptions about the birth place of Dipankar.

As we know that Vikramshila and its relevance like its exact location remained disputed till seventies, before ASI started the excavation works at Antichak village

in Bhagalpur. Dr B S Verma, who wrote preface of this book who earlier conducted the excavation works of Vikramshila himself admitted that earlier many reputed historians and scholars claimed (mainly on the basis of misconceptions) Somapura Mahavihara, located at Bangladesh as Vikramshila as the two Buddhist Maha Vihara have the matching similarities. Dr Verma alleged that a lobby of global writers on the basis of the ‘misconceptions’ of the historians, projected Vikramanipur near Dacca at Bangladesh as the birthplace of Dipankar and made the issue very controversial. Contrary to the claims made by such writers, Pandit Rahul Sankrityayan, a great Tibetan scholar from India who travelled most inaccessible snow lands of Tibet and managed to carry away huge Tibetan Buddhist manuscripts on the back of donkeys however claimed that Dipankar was born somewhere near Vikramshila at a ‘state’ called Sahor which at the time of Vikramshila was extended to modern Bhagalpur city. Ironically, even after the edifices of Vikramshila dug out at Bhagalpur after ASI’s excavation, no work or not any scholar had rectified the previous ‘mistakes’ made by the than historians and writers (as some of them called Somapuri as Vikramshila). Rather they preferred to believe such ‘misconceptions’ which subsequently generated the controversy about the birthplace of Dipankar.

Nearly after 70 year of the claim of Pandit Rahul Sankrityayan, Parijat in his book has strongly echoed the great Indian Pandit and in his deep sustainable research works with minute observations of that Sahor state mentioned in old Tibetan manuscripts and books, claimed that the birthplace of Dipankar is either Olpura or Sourdih at Bhagalpur which is located near the half-excavated site of Vikramshila, not at Bangladesh. Parijit has minutely observed the topography, the ancient sculptures and other archaeological evidences earlier recovered from the two places , the existing mounts and other evidences besides the logical conclusions from the old manuscripts before jumping to his claim. He also expressed his strong belief in this book that excavations at the two places could be very fruitful for having the evidences for the birthplace of Dipankar.

The prolong hostile attitude by Bihar government , union government also unmind fullness of the local historians and scholars towards Vikramshila and Dipankar has not only blocked the way for revealing of the truth but also helped some foreign countries like China to hatching up a major conspiracy against India. Our government has been ignorant about the conspiracy plotted by China against India on the issue of birthplace of Dipankar. Since China wants to cut short the relation of Tibet with India to gain political mileages and also for making Tibet isolated, it has devised a strategy to detach Dipanker’s connectivity with India. Dipankar still plays a very significant role in strengthening the relationship of India and Tibet.

But China simply wants to uproot Dipankar from India and hence it started helping Bangladesh for claiming Bikrampur (near Dacca at Bangladesh) as the original birthplace of Dipankar. China also contributed huge amounts to Bangladesh for preserving the so called evidences and also for constructing a memorial in the name of Dipankar at Vikrampur. Bangladesh already established a memorial there with international funding, namely from China. Now the question arises –why China is interested with Dipanker’s birthplace at Bangladesh ?

Parijat book soon after published, has started drawing a massive response among different sections of readers. Readers have started appreciating the writer for his ability for proper documentation of such an important aspect related to the pride of the nation. Former director of ASI, Md. K K has termed this book as most authentic book with references and footnotes that will help many to study further on Dipankar. Jaya S. Parhaak , daughter of the great Indian scholar, Pandit Rahul Sankrityayan has congratulated Parijat for dedicating his book to Rahul Ji on his 125th birth anniversary. Parijat strongly advocates for immediate taking up the issue in both in academic and political level otherwise, he apprehends if proper works would not be started for asserting the actuality, India would lose the credentials of it’s great son forever from this land.