



Swrajya Party and Motilal Nehru

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The Swarajya Party as established as the Congress Khilafat Swaraj Party. It was a political party formed in India in January 1923 after the Gaya Annual Conference in December 1922 of the National Congress. This dissertation deals with the birth and organisation of the Swaraj Party during the Gaya Congress, 1922. The suspension of the Non Cooperation movement in February 1922, rapidly changed the position of U.P. Politics. A Civil Disobedience Committee in June 1922 Congress appointed some members to recommend that the Non-Co-operators should now contest the elections under the constitution of 1919 on the issues of redressed of the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs and immediate Swaraj. Others pleaded for maintaining the status quo. The difference of opinion resulted in a division of the congress ranks into "pro-changers" and "No-changers". The "pro-changers" were in a minority and consequently formed the Swaraj Party within the congress. However, in 1923, a compromise was reached at the Delhi special session. The Swarajists accepted the programme of the Congress but also decided to contest the election. They successfully contested the general elections. Their performance was impressive in most of the Provincial Assemblies. In the Central Legislature they commanded a majority with the support of Independent members. The Swarajists demanded the release of all political prisoners, repeal of the repressive laws, provincial autonomy and the immediate Summoning of a Round Table Conference to draw up a scheme of full control of the councils over the government. When the Government refused to comply, they threatened to bring the administration to a dead Lock by refusal to vote supplies. The stalemate continued for some time. till the swarajists decided to leave the Assemblies "In search of other ways to achieve objects".

The announcement of the all-white Simon Commission in November, 1927 revived the forces of national unrest. The response to the challenge of

Lord Birkenhead asking swarajists to produce a constitution. A Sub-Committee under Motilal Nehru prepared a draft report. It aspect for Dominion status before 1930. So the Lahore session of 1929 reiterated "Purna Swaraj" as India's Goal.

The Swaraj Party as established as the Congress-Khilafat Swaraj Party. It was a political party formed in India in January 1923 after the Gaya annual conference in December 1922 of the National Congress that sought greater self-government and political freedom for the Indian people from the British Raj. It was inspired by the concept of Swaraj. In Hindi and many other languages of India, swaraj means "independence" or "self-rule." The two most important leaders were Chittaranjan Das, who was its president and Motilal Nehru, who was its secretary.

Das and Nehru thought of contesting elections to enter the legislative council with a view to obstructing a foreign government. Many candidates of the Swaraj Party got elected to the central legislative assembly and provincial legislative council in the 1923 elections. In these legislatures, they strongly opposed the unjust government policies.

The establishment of fully responsible government for India, the convening of a round table conference to resolve the problems of Indians, and the releasing of certain political prisoners, were the resolutions in the central legislative council.

As a result of the Bengal Pact, the Swaraj Party won the most seats during elections to the Bengal Legislative Council in 1923. The party disintegrated after the death of C. R. Das.

The Swaraj Party was formed on 9 January 1923 by Indian politicians and members of the Indian National Congress who had opposed Mahatma's suspension of all civil resistance on 5 February 1922 in response to the Chauri Chaura tragedy, where policemen were killed by a mob of protestors. Gandhi felt responsible for the killings, reproached himself for not emphasizing non-violence more firmly, and feared that the entire Non-Cooperation Movement could degenerate into an orgy of violence between the British-controlled army and police and mobs of freedom-fighters, alienating and hurting millions of common Indians. He went on a fast-unto-death to convince all Indians to stop civil resistance. The Congress and other nationalist groups disavowed all activities of disobedience.

But many Indians felt that the Non-Cooperation Movement should not have been suspended over an isolated incident of violence, and that its astonishing success was actually close to breaking the back of British rule in India. These people became disillusioned with Gandhi's political judgments and instincts. Gandhi and most of the Congress party rejected the provincial and central legislative councils created by the British to offer some participation for Indians. They argued that the councils were rigged with un-elected allies of the British, and too un-democratic and simply "rubber stamps" of the Viceroy.

In December 1922, Chittaranjan Das, Narasimha Chintaman Kelkar and Motilal Nehru formed the Congress-Khilafat Swarajaya Party with Das as the president and Nehru as one of the secretaries. Other prominent leaders included Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy and Subhas Chandra Bose of Bengal, Vithalbhai Patel and other Congress leaders who were becoming dissatisfied with the Congress. The other group was the 'No-Changers', who had accepted Gandhi's decision to withdraw the movement.

Now both the Swarajists and the No-Changers were engaged in a fierce political struggle, but both were determined to avoid the disastrous experience of the 1907 split at Surat. On the advice of Gandhi, the two groups decided to remain in the Congress but to work in their separate ways. There was no basic difference between the two.

Swarajist members were elected to the councils. Vithalbhai Patel became the president of the Central Legislative Assembly. However, the legislatures had very limited powers, and apart from some heated parliamentary debates, and procedural stand-offs with the British authorities, the core mission of obstructing British rule failed.

With the death of Chittaranjan Das in 1925, and with Motilal Nehru's return to the Congress the following year, the Swaraj party was greatly weakened. After his release from prison in 1924, Gandhi sought to bring back the Swarajists to the Congress and re-unite the party. Gandhi's supporters were in a vast majority in the Congress, and the Congress still remained India's largest political party, but Gandhi felt it necessary to heal the divide with the Swarajists, so as to heal the nation's wounds over the 1922 suspension.

The Swarajists sought more representation in the Congress offices, and an end to the mandatory requirement for Congressmen to spin khadi cloth and do social service as a prerequisite for office.

This was opposed by Gandhi's supporters, men like Vallabhbhai Patel, Jawaharlal Nehru and Rajendra Prasad, who became known as the No Changers as opposed to the Swarajist Changers. Gandhi relaxed the rules on spinning and named some Swarajists to important positions in the Congress Party. He also encouraged the Congress to support those Swarajists elected to the councils, so as not to embarrass them and leave them rudderless before the British authorities. When the Simon Commission arrived in India in 1928, millions of Indians were infuriated with the idea of an all-British committee writing proposals for Indian constitutional reforms without any Indian member or consultations with the Indian people. The Congress created a committee to write Indian proposals for constitutional reforms, headed by now Congress President Motilal Nehru. The death of Lala Lajpat Rai, beaten by police in Punjab further infuriated India. People rallied around the Nehru Report and old political divisions and wounds were forgotten, and Vithalbhai Patel and all Swarajist councillors resigned in protest.

Between 1929 and 1937, the Indian National Congress would declare the independence of India and launch the Salt Satyagraha. In this tumultuous

period, the Swaraj Party was defunct as its members quietly dissolved into the Congress fold.

The Madras Province Swarajya Party was established in 1923. S. Satyamurti and S. Srinivasa Iyengar led the party. The party contested in all provincial elections between 1923 and 1934 with the exception of the 1930 election which it did not participate officially due to the Civil Disobedience Movement, though some of the members of the party contested for office as independents. The party emerged as the single largest party in the 1926 and 1934 Assembly elections but refused to form the provincial government under the existing dyarchy system. In 1934, the Madras Province Swarajya Party merged with the All India Swarajya Party which subsequently merged with the Indian National Congress when it contested the 1935 elections to the Imperial Legislative Council under the Government of India Act 1935.

From 1935 onward, the Swarajya Party ceased to exist and was succeeded by the Indian National Congress in the elections to the Imperial Legislative Council as well as the Madras Legislative Council.

The Non-Cooperation Movement was a significant but short phase of the Indian independence movement from British rule. It was led by Mahatma Gandhi after the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre and lasted from 1920 to February 1922.[1] It aimed to resist British rule in India through non-violent means, or "Ahinsa". Protesters would refuse to buy British goods, adopt the use of local handicrafts and picketed liquor shops. The ideas of Ahinsa and non-violence, and Gandhi's ability to rally hundreds of thousands of common citizens towards the cause of Indian independence, were first seen on a large scale in this movement through the summer of 1920. Gandhi feared that the movement might lead to popular violence. The non-cooperation movement was launched on 1 August 1920 and withdrawn in February 1922 after the Chauri Chaura incident.

The non-cooperation movement was a reaction to the oppressive policies of the British Indian government such as the Rowlatt Act and the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. A meeting of civilians held at Jallianwala Bagh near the Golden Temple in Amritsar was fired upon by soldiers under the command of Brigadier-General Dyer, killing and injuring thousands of protestors. The outcry generated by the massacre led to thousands of unrests and more deaths at the hands of the police. The massacre became the most infamous event of British rule in India.

Gandhi was horrified. He lost all faith in the goodness of the British government and declared that it would be a "sin" to cooperate with the "satanic" government.

Indian Muslims who had participated in the Khilafat movement to restore the status of the Caliph gave their support to the non-cooperation movement. In response to the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre and other violence in Punjab, the movement sought to secure Swaraj, independence for India. Gandhi promised Swaraj in one year if his Non-Cooperation programme was

fully implemented. The other reason to start the non-cooperation movement was that Gandhi lost faith in constitutional methods and turned from cooperator of British rule to non-cooperator.

Other causes include economic hardships to the common man, which the nationalists attributed to the flow of Indian wealth to Britain, the ruin of Indian artisans due to British factory-made goods replacing handmade goods, and resentment with the British government over Indian soldiers dying in World War I while fighting as part of the British Army.

The calls of early political leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak (Congress Extremists) were called major public meetings. They resulted in disorder or obstruction of government services. The British took them very seriously and imprisoned him in Mandalay in Burma and V.O.Chidambaram Pillai received 40 years of imprisonment. The non-cooperation movement aimed to challenge the colonial economic and power structure, and British authorities would be forced to take notice of the demands of the independence movement.

Gandhi's call was for a nationwide protest against the Rowlatt Act. All offices and factories would be closed. Indians would be encouraged to withdraw from Raj-sponsored schools, police services, the military, and the civil service, and lawyers were asked to leave the Raj's courts. Public transportation and English-manufactured goods, especially clothing, was boycotted. Indians returned honours and titles given by the government and resigned from various posts like teachers, lawyers, civil and military services. Veterans like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Annie Besant, and Sammed Akiwate opposed the idea outright. The All India Muslim League also criticized the idea. But the younger generation of Indian nationalists was thrilled and backed Gandhi. The Congress Party adopted his plans, and he received extensive support from Muslim leaders like Maulana Azad, Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Abbas Tyabji, Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar and Maulana Shaukat Ali.

The eminent Hindi writer, poet, playwright, journalist, and nationalist Rambriksh Benipuri, who spent more than eight years in prison fighting for India's independence, wrote :-

When I recall Non-Cooperation era of 1921, the image of a storm confronts my eyes. From the time I became aware, I have witnessed numerous movements, however, I can assert that no other movement upturned the foundations of Indian society to the extent that the Non-Cooperation movement did. From the most humble huts to the high places, from villages to cities, everywhere there was a ferment, a loud echo.

The success of the revolt was a total shock to British authorities and a massive encouragement to millions of Indian nationalists. Unity in the country was strengthened and many Indian schools and colleges were made. Indian goods were encouraged.

On 5 February 1922 a clash took place at Chauri Chaura, a small town in the district of Gorakhpur, Uttar Pradesh. A police officer had attacked some

volunteers picketing a liquor shop. A whole crowd of peasants that had gathered there went to the police chowki. The mob set fire to the police chowki with some 22 police men inside it.

Mahatma Gandhi felt that the revolt was veering off-course, and was disappointed that the revolt had lost its non-violent nature. He did not want the movement to degenerate into a contest of violence, with police and angry mobs attacking each other back and forth, victimizing civilians in between. Gandhi appealed to the Indian public for all resistance to end, went on a fast lasting 3 weeks, and called off the non-cooperation movement.

The Non-cooperation movement was withdrawn because of the Chauri Chaura incident. Although he had stopped the national revolt single-handedly, on 10 March 1922, Gandhi was arrested. On 18 March 1922, he was imprisoned for six years for publishing seditious materials. This led to suppression of the movement and was followed by the arrest of other leaders.

Although most Congress leaders remained firmly behind Gandhi, the determined broke away. The Ali brothers would soon become fierce critics. Motilal Nehru and Chittaranjan Das formed the Swaraj Party, rejecting Gandhi's leadership. Many nationalists had felt that the non-cooperation movement should not have been stopped due to isolated incidents of violence, and most nationalists, while retaining confidence in Gandhi, were discouraged.

Contemporary historians and critics suggest that the movement was successful enough to break the back of British rule, and possibly even the catalyst for the movement that lead to independence in 1947.

But many historians and Indian leaders of the time also defended Gandhi's judgment. However, there have been claims that Gandhi called off the movement in an attempt to salvage his own personal image, which would have been tarnished had he been blamed for the Chauri Chaura incident, although a similar type of movement was introduced in 1930, the civil disobedience movement. The main difference was the introduction of a policy of violating the law.

Gandhi's commitment to non-violence was redeemed when, between 1930 and 1934, tens of millions again revolted in the Salt Satyagraha which made India's cause famous worldwide for its unerring adherence to non-violence. The Satyagraha ended in success: the demands of Indians were met, and the Congress Party was recognized as a representative of the Indian people. The Government of India Act 1935 also gave India its first taste in democratic self-governance.

Where previous Imperial Conferences were held in public session, the 1923 conference allowing for in camera discussion with a resolution "that at meetings of this nature, where questions of high policy and of the greatest consequence to all parts of the British Commonwealth are surveyed and dealt with, it was of the first importance that the representatives present should feel able to speak among themselves with the utmost freedom and in a spirit of complete confidence."

The conference occurred in the wake of several important developments in Empire diplomacy. The Chanak Crisis of 1922 was a threatened military conflict between the newly formed Republic of Turkey and the United Kingdom. During the crisis, the British cabinet issued a communiqué threatening to declare war against Turkey on behalf of the UK and the Dominions. British Prime Minister David Lloyd George had not consulted the Dominions and Canada disavowed the British ultimatum: when Canadian Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King referred the issue to the Canadian parliament, it declared that it alone had the authority to declare war on behalf of Canada. The other Dominion prime ministers failed to support Lloyd George's action. When a new peace treaty, the Treaty of Lausanne, was negotiated with Turkey in 1923, the Dominion governments did not participate in the negotiations or sign and they declared that the UK acted only for itself and not on behalf of the Dominions.

In addition, prior to the Imperial Conference, Canada negotiated the Halibut Treaty with the United States and did so without involving the United Kingdom or allowing the British government to sign on Canada's behalf. This was a departure from earlier practice in which the British government had sole responsibility for imperial foreign affairs and a constitutional right to conduct foreign policy on behalf of the dominions, including signing treaties on their behalf.

The British, Australian, and New Zealand governments wished the conference to adopt a broad common foreign policy statement however Canadian Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King and South African Prime Minister J. B. M. Hertzog argued that allowing the conference to make decisions that were binding on the dominions would encroach on their autonomy and that foreign policy of each Dominion should be determined by that Dominion's parliament (henceforth referred to as the King-Hertzog principle).

The Conference affirmed the Canadian position that dominions had the right to pursue their own foreign policy autonomously from Britain and the Empire and could negotiate and sign treaties on their own behalf. It was also recognised that each member of the Empire was obliged to avoid taking any action that would injure another member and that neither the Dominion governments nor the British government could commit another to an action without its consent.

The conference's final report affirmed the Canadian and South African position and thus was a step away from the concept of a centralised British Empire in favour of a more decentralised British Commonwealth without central authority, subsequently affirmed by the Balfour Declaration of 1926 and the Statute of Westminster 1931.

On the issue of trade, Australian prime minister Stanley Bruce lobbied hard and consistently for the Conservative government of Stanley Baldwin to make changes to Great Britain's trading arrangements to give preference to

Dominion products over imports from elsewhere. Bruce argued for Empire-wide economic trading arrangements that would see domestic demands filled by production from member states before seeking supplemental imports from other countries and empires. Baldwin and the Conservatives would attempt to introduce such a scheme in Britain; however, the British public feared higher prices for basic products (particularly food), and this fear was a factor in the Conservative government's defeat in the election of December 1923. Baldwin's successor Ramsay MacDonald repudiated the plan and it would not see fruition until the British Empire Economic Conference of 1932.

The conference attempted to coordinate industrial research for the purposes of promoting intra-empire trade and this was largely successful, with Departments of Scientific and Industrial Research being founded in the UK, New Zealand and India, and the Commonwealth Institute of Science and Industry being restructured in Australia.

The question of Council Entry was also explained by the chairman in the Gaya Session. Some of the leaders of the Congress were of opinion that the country was not prepared for Civil disobedience, and there was a general depression among the workers. In these circumstances they believed that an attempt to capture the councils, and the country also would in this way get an opportunity of working for civil disobedience which would finally end in the establishment of Swaraj.

The non-violent non-co-operation and the elements of force and violence were discussed by the president during the course of his speech. He approved the method of non-violent non-co-operation and opined that the people of India must follow it to secure a system of Government which might in reality be the foundation of Swaraj. He also explained that the question of all question in India today is the attainment of Swaraj.

The boycott of council was explained in a fairly comprehensive way by the president. This problem indeed had become part of the controversy of change and no-change C.R. Das was not against the boycott of councils. He was of the firm opinion that the system of the reformed councils with their steel frame of the Indian Civil service covered over by a diarchy of dead locks and departments, was absolutely unsuitable to the nature and genius of the Indian opinion. India has unhesitatingly refused to recognise the foreign system as the foundation of Swaraj.⁽¹⁾

Changers also explained that whatever obstructs there might be in the path of Swaraj either of the individual or of the nation or humanity at large these obstructs must be removed. C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru declared their complete faith in it, But they did not believe that it alone would be instrumental in achieving Swaraj within a reasonable time.⁽²⁾

C. Rajgopalchari who supported Gandhi opined that when the councils were boycotted during the non-co-operation movement, it had destroyed the moral strength of the institutions sponsored and supported by the Raj.⁽³⁾

C. Rajgopalchari's resolution against the council entry was seconded against the council entry was seconded by M.A. Ansari and was also supported by a member of no-changes. The amendment proposed by Srinivasa Iyengar and Motilal Nehru were also defeated, 850 members voting for and 1740 against the main resolution. ⁽⁴⁾

On the conclusion of the Congress session at Gaya on 13 December 1922, the member of the All India Congress Committee assembled in a meeting the next day and C.R. Das announced his resignation from the presidentship of the congress and at the same time made a statement in justification of his resignation. ⁽⁵⁾

C.R. Das really had two precious documents in his pocket when he presided over the Gaya Congress, one was the presidential Address, and other his resignation of presidentship together with a constitution of the Swaraj Party. ⁽⁶⁾

After returning from Gaya Congress, Motilal Nehru remarked that if two parties worked their respective programmes without interfering with one another as he hoped, each party full and free scope to develop on its own lines by the particular method of work which appealed to it. In fact path had a common goal and both had a common goal and both had to fight their way with the weapon of non-violence and non-co-operation. ⁽⁷⁾

The tribune commended "The Gaya Congress: New Party formed uneasiness over Turkish situation C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru raised the standard of revolt and laid the foundation of the congress Khilafat Swaraj Party on 1st January 1923, with the former as president and later as secretary. ⁽⁸⁾

The Congress Khilafat Swarajya Party formed at Gaya was duly organised under the name and style of Swarajya Party at General Meeting of the party held at Anand Bhawan, Allahabad on 20-22 February 1923. ⁽⁹⁾ Some U.P. leaders attended the meeting as like Pandit Kapildev Malaviya and Pandit Harkaran Nath Misra. ⁽¹⁰⁾

Soon after the Allahabad Conference, Das set out a tour of the southern regions of India. His tour proved successful as he impressed upon the people and he also wanted to remove the frustration dissatisfaction and depression produce by the suspension of non-co-operation movement after the tragic incident at Chauri Chaura.

In a meeting at Allahabad, Maulana Azad played a significant role. He did not give up the idea of reapproachment between the two parties. He wanted to compromise and remove the doubts in the mind of leaders of both the parties.

In the manifesto, it was declared that the Swaraj Party was a party within a congress and such an integral part of the congress. It is not and was never intended to be a rival organization. It is also declared that it is first and foremost duty of Swarajya Party to guard and honour and prestige of the congress in and out of the councils and it cannot approve the conduct of those non-co-operating congress men who did not favour council entry before the

resolution of the Delhi special congress and are now setting themselves up as independent candidates without agreeing to submit to any discipline.⁽¹¹⁾

The election manifesto issued by the Swarajya Party clearly. The principles and policy to be followed by the Swarajya Party on its entry into the Legislative Assembly and the provincial councils. To remove all doubt and speculation in the matter the Swarajya Party, therefore declares that it will contest the forthcoming elections on the broad basis of the incontestable right of the people to secure such effective control.⁽¹²⁾

The immediate objective of the party is stated to be the speedy attainment of full dominion status which is explained to mean the right to form a constitution adopting such a machinery and system as machinery and system as are most suited to the conditions of the country and the genius of the people. The word Dominion status used as a technical sense to convey a definite idea of the nature of the constitution.⁽¹³⁾ The constitution of Swaraj Party was adopted at its general meeting held in Calcutta on 16-17 August 1924. The main item in the constitution of the party was the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by applying all kinds of Legitimate and peaceful means.⁽¹⁴⁾

In the history of Non-co-operation Belgaum Congress of 1924 is a landmark. The revolt against Gandhism was almost complete. The Congress stood at the parting of ways. Gandhiji was president at Belgaum Congress. An agreement in difference was reached between the Swarajists and himself. They agreed to the spinning franchise. He agreed to their work in councils. The spinning wheel, Hindu-Muslim unity and removal of un-touchability were the means. The politics of 1925 largely centered round council work. The Swarajists were no longer harassed by the non-changers. Gandhi was there to keep the balance even between two sections. On the 17th February the Bengal Legislative Council passed the resolution recommending to Government to make provision in the Budget for the salaries of Ministers.⁽¹⁵⁾ The death of Deshbandhu Das on June 16, 1925, was for India a National Calamity of the first magnitude. Now the Swaraj Party was functioned by Motilala Nehru.

References

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11. *13. The Swaraj Party bramed its constitution at Allahabd in Feb-1923*
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Pakistan Proposal and Bengal Muslim League

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On the policy depended Jinnah's hopes of getting the League recognized by the British as the representative of all Muslims in India. In March 1940 the policy was stated by Fazlul Haq at the Lahore session. It came to be known as the Lahore Resolution. It was a historic moment.

Muslims attending would have seen as Haq's roar was the demand for Pakistan, comprising "independent states" in the northwest and east of British India.¹ What Linlithgow wanted from the Muslim League's policy on the war was a challenge thrown at the Congress. The Lahore Resolution was a challenge all right, but an overambitious demand as well, one that challenged too many existing British reforms.² Linlithgow's policy was to refrain from

¹ Abul Kasem Fazlul; Sajahana Huq, Esa Ema Ajjula Haka, Sere Banala Yuge Yuge (Dhaka: Sere Banala Risarca Sentara, 1981). In a letter to Azizul Huq Shahjahan, on 13 October 1945 Huq writes that the resolution was worded by him. Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman : Jinnah, the Muslim League, and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 54- 55. The Resolution was framed on the brief that the AIML Working Committee came up with in February 1940, the main aim being to find a middle ground between majority and minority Muslim provinces and confer on Jinnah all powers to negotiate at all the centre.

² Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman : Jinnah, the Muslim League, and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 55-60. The Lahore Resolution attacked the concept of a unitary centre. Though the British had a fall out with the Congress, they both

making any war time promises. The turn of events in the war had not been very favorable and therefore Linlithgow faced pressure from the Secretary of State, Lawrence Zetland to seek friends in India. Reluctantly, Linlithgow made his August offer (1940), where he promised Dominion Status within a year of conclusion of the war. Linlithgow also repeated his offer of an expanded Executive Council. The promise of 'equal partner-member' in the Commonwealth may have been targeted to attract the Congress and the promise that no transfer of power would take place to a "Government in India the authority of which was denied by 'large and powerful elements in India's national life,'" was aimed at satisfying the Muslim League. None of these twin hopes were realized. Congress could not backtrack from their independence demand and the Muslim League was not even directly acknowledged. The Muslims were the 'large and powerful elements' in the August offer but not all Muslims in India were Muslim Leaguers and Jinnah knew that too well.³ Both Congress and AIML rejected the August offer and decided to abstain from joining the War Advisory Board and the Executive Council. The Muslim League had more work ahead of it. So whereas Haq became the symbol of the Pakistan demand, internally within the high ranks of the Muslim League, there must have been no great jubilation with the Resolution because it did not achieve what it was intended to achieve. If anything, the Resolution made the possibility of future negotiations with the British and even the Congress an uphill task. The August offer, if doggedly pursued by the British, could open up a window of opportunity for Haq though. It was not Linlithgow's intention probably to drive a wedge between the centre and the provinces in centralized political parties but that is precisely what the British war policy did to the Muslim League. The Muslim League, more concerned now with seeing the demands of Lahore Resolution accepted, overlooked the implications of rejecting the August offer in 1940. In Bengal, the Lahore Resolution could be seen as a logical development of Haq's politics of inciting communal fervor in Bengal from 1937 to 1939. This was however not the case. Haq's genuine concern for the oppression of Muslims, and his consequent contribution to Muslim community solidarity earned him a position of importance in the Muslim League. For Jinnah, Haq was an invaluable provincial leader to have on board in his all-India Muslim League, especially at a time when it was striving hard for unanimous legitimacy. However to see Haq's presentation of the Lahore Resolution in March 1940 as confirmation of Haq's willingness to let his provincial politics be subsumed by all-India concerns would be a

were in favor of a strong centre. The resolution also declared that separate representation was not enough and federal provisions of the 1935 Act would have to go.

³ Gowher Rizvi, *Linlithgow and India : A Study of British Policy and the Political Impasse in India, 1936-43* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978), 158.

mistake. The conference was not a culmination of Haq's acquiescence to Jinnah's autocratic powers but rather it marked the beginning of a cautious process of breaking away from the Muslim League influence. Haq was not just a Muslim politician, he was a Bengali chief minister. In 1937 Haq's regional identity had not been challenged by the Muslim League as it had been in 1940 and a parting of ways was inevitable. The break was gradual, not even complete by the end of 1940. This digression, that not too many Muslim Leaguers would have attempted, was in more ways than one facilitated, and prompted, by two other initiatives: Haq's efforts at reconciliation with the Hindus and his support of the British war aims. Both were intricate and complicated political steps. Haq surprised many, and perhaps himself, by how he emerged victorious in holding on to his office despite the innumerable challenges that 1940 flung in his way. The first of many challenges was Nalini Sarkar, Haq's finance minister's resignation from the ministry, an act which was fundamentally responsible quite unintentionally on Sarkar's part, for nudging Haq in the direction of reconciliation with the Hindus. Sarkar was acutely aware that his resignation in December 1939 was not in the "common good" because he admitted before Herbert that "perhaps the greatest service that one could render at such a time" was to try and bring the "the various interests together."⁴ This admission of course had no meaning for Herbert, in charge of a province with a very unstable and divided ministry. The communal situation in Bengal became so intense after Sarkar's resignation that the question of who would replace Sarkar, a Hindu or a Muslim, was weighed in terms of a right political choice instead of capability.⁵ With Sarkar gone, the ministry did not just lose a Hindu minister, Hindus also lost a minister who was in charge of an important portfolio, finance. When Suhrawardy stepped in to fill Sarkar's position, the "communal question" started to "overshadow" everything else.⁶ On New Year's day, Bhai Parmanand's address to the Bengal youth was that the "Communal Award must go." Similar protests were articulated in a Hindu Mahasabha meeting at Deshbandhu Park, Calcutta the same day.⁷ The main aim of the conference was to accentuate communal feeling in the province and create an impression of the "alleged disabilities of Hindus in Bengal." In this meeting Mookherjee produced a long list, where he charged the government with "deliberate hostility" to Hindu interests and with unfair procurement for Muslims a greater share in the "loaves and fishes" of political, educational and economic life. Early in January, Herbert certainly

⁴ Sarkar to Herbert, 4 January 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL. Sarkar was not a Congressman but he found compelling Congress' demand for independence and their subsequent resignation from ministries as a sign of protests for being dragged into war unwillingly, and resigned.

⁵ Herbert to Linlithgow, 6 January 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL

⁶ Herbert to Linlithgow, 6 January 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

⁷ Amrita Bazar Patrika, 1 January 1940.

realized that the spread of anti-Government and anti-Muslim rhetoric had to be reined in if Haq's ministry was to be saved. It was also in British interest to have stable, well represented, united provincial governments, given that Britain was at war. An easy solution to end the impasse in Bengal would have been to set up a new and more popular ministry, with more Hindus in it. But with the war on and elections not due constitutionally till end of 1941, an easier fix was to make Haq see the benefits of a more stable ministry. In the communally charged environment, Herbert's task looked like a challenge. In addressing a meeting at a Muslim League conference at Jubblepore, Haq accused the governors of various provinces of partiality and of leaning towards the Congress, sometimes becoming "puppets" in its hands.⁸ In the Legislative Council on 6 January when Lalit Das demanded an enquiry into the strained relations between Hindus and Muslims in Noakhali district, Haq inferred that the real object of the resolution was to get rid of the Muslim majority in Bengal. He critiqued the Congress press for their "vile calumnies" and "rabid writing" and called them "wretched rags of journalism," completely sidetracking the question.⁹ Despite all these accusations even Haq had realized the grim situation he was caught in. In response to Lalit Das' suggestion, after a chaotic exchange of mutual accusations of blame came to an end, Haq finally did admit that there was a need for better understanding between the two communities. He also referred to the Hindu Mahasabha President's (BC Chatterjee) comments about Hindus forming one nation and Muslim another one, asking if there was scope for an "Indian Nation?"¹⁰ Haq's sudden burst of anger, his rhetorical enquiry into the fate of the Indian nation, and his gradual admission that Das' concerns were valid, clearly reflected that Haq could actually be the right candidate to initiate peace talks with the Hindus. Herbert may have realized this. True, Herbert had his reservations about Haq because of his poor management of finances and ministers, but Linlithgow apparently took a different view of things.¹¹ He wrote of Haq to Herbert: "He has served us well enough, is stronger now (despite Sarkar's defection) than when he first took office, has handled the detenus and hunger-strike position well, and has remained in office despite the call of the CWC, something which the coalition in Assam failed to do."¹² This vote of confidence had great impact on Herbert who called on Haq on 27 January and asked him to get "real Hindu support for a coalition

⁸ Hindustan Standard, 6 January 1940, R/3/2/ 10, IOL

⁹ Amrita Bazar Patrika, 6 January 1940

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Herbert to Linlithgow, 17 January 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL. Herbert once pointed out to Linlithgow that whenever money was needed Haq's standard refrain was that it would have to be "found from somewhere."

¹² Linlithgow to Herbert, 6 January 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

government.”¹³ Therefore Sarkar’s resignation eventually had the effect of making Haq, an ambassador for communal peace. The advice from Herbert went a long way in helping Haq stabilize his ministry and enhance his power, but the hint of immediacy in Herbert’s words had a miraculous effect.¹⁴ Within a week, in a statement issued from New Delhi, Haq said that he had “never been so keen to have a communal settlement” as he was then.¹⁵ His statements, “In the best interest of the country the present deadlock must be solved,” and “I am prepared to take Congressmen into my cabinet,” were followed by consistent appeals to communal unity. Before leaving New Delhi, Haq issued a joint statement with B C Chatterjee about the settlement of communal differences and also expressed remorse over some comments that may have hurt Hindus.¹⁶ Herbert reported that Haq also promised to call a meeting of prominent Hindu and Muslim leaders in his house once he returned from Delhi. Haq came back to Calcutta in time for the budget session that lasted from mid-February to the last week of April.¹⁷ Despite his Delhi statements in January, or maybe to test Haq, in the Assembly the Hindu Mahasabha candidates raised a series of accusations directed at the ministry with regard to suppression of Hindus. In an unprecedented act of maturity and consistency Haq’s ministry issued a 34 page response including 20 pages of tables defending against the charges. The documents also included a key response. The Hindu deputation to the government of Bengal had expressed the opinion that the two communities should have equal representation and Haq’s government arranged for that.¹⁸ In a couple of days, 24 February was announced as the date for the meeting Haq had promised. The meeting would be attended by Hindu leaders including Mookherjee, Sarat Bose and Bidhan Roy. Naturally “a more friendly party could hardly be imagined,” and Herbert rightly concluded that Haq was “genuinely concerned at the present state of impasse.” This is what provided the background for Haq’s presentation of the Lahore Resolution. The Lahore Resolution was the cry of a Muslim politician who wanted to empower his own people. It had little to do with Muslim League and Jinnah. The Resolution therefore was not an interruption to his overtures for communal peace. Haq soon found out that his “genuine” concerns for communal peace would be reciprocated, if at all, only after turf battles between Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha were settled. The 1 January 1940 Hindu Mahasabha meeting evoked widespread sympathy from

¹³ Herbert to Linlithgow, 27 January 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL

¹⁴ Herbert specifically told Haq that alliance had to be struck with the Hindus even if they were based on “communal fundamentals.” Haq understood the urgency of the situation.

¹⁵ , The Statesman, 5 February 1940.

¹⁶ Herbert to Linlithgow, 7 February 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL

¹⁷ Baker Papers, 11 November 1939 - 13 April 1940 1939-1940

¹⁸ Amrita Bazar Patrika, 14 February 1940

Hindu professional and middle classes and clearly reflected to Herbert the “resentment which the average Hindu Bengali feels against the neutral policy of the Congress as regards the Communal Award.” Even then, Sarkar, who attended the meeting, but not as member, remained unconvinced that the Hindu Mahasabha could become as important as the Congress.¹⁹ Shahabuddin, the Government Whip predicted that “the only organization with which the Muslim element can do business is the Hindu Mahasabha.” Congress would seek to undermine the Muslim League if they were to come together. In any case this was doubtful as Congress would not strike a bargain with the League on behalf of Hindus because it would never admit, rightly so, that it was a Hindu organization. The Hindu Mahasabha was proud of being a Hindu organization. Also, it would not try to split the Muslim League, and it would “lay its cards on the table.”²⁰ One month after attending the meeting, Sarkar had still not joined the Mahasabha, but he realized that Congress was in dire need of new leadership. He issued a press statement in which he said that “the revolutionary potential of the movement” had outgrown its leadership, which was trying to retain its position at the “cost of the internal democracy of the Congress.”²¹ B C Chatterjee confided to Herbert that Congress was “between communities, rather than non-communal,” and it would be futile to be in a conference with them, one that Haq had announced. Chatterjee also said that an ideal conference would be one between the Hindu Mahasabha and Muslim League but it had its problem and would not be effective.²² Chatterjee discounted how the political equations had changed. Haq had started asserting his power to bring about communal peace and Hindu Mahasabha had become almost obsessed with prospects of a political position in Bengal.²³ Though formal assertion of power by the Hindu Mahasabha would not come until 1941, by March 1940, Herbert noted that Subhas Bose’s “opportunist pact” with the Hindu Mahasabha broke down when some of his “non-violent” supporters smashed the platform on which Mookerjee was speaking at a meeting. Haq made attempts to initiate talks with Congress but he pinned more hope on the Mahasabha. One of the main indications for Haq was the failure of the Bose-Muslim League Pact in the Calcutta Corporation elections. From March 1940, when the Pact was formed, to July when Subhas Bose was arrested, the Pact became more and more “unpopular.” Sarat Bose’s expulsion

¹⁹ Herbert to Linlithgow, 6 January 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL. Sarkar would join Mahasabha only when he would find regaining his old position in the Congress right wing impossible

²⁰ Herbert to Linlithgow, 6 January 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

²¹ Amrita Bazar Patrika, 10 February 1940.

²² Herbert to Linlithgow, 19 February 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL

²³ Edward Benthall, 20 February 1940. p14. Mookerjee admitted to Benthall that provincial politics and not all-India politics was “very much uppermost” in his mind.

from Congress in October finally convinced Haq that the Mahasabha was the new representative of Hindu interests in Bengal. The Hindu Mahasabha may have emerged as more likely and eager for reconciliation than Congress, but it did not automatically translate into good news for Haq. During the three weeks after announcement of peace talks, the Mahsabha extended no relief to the ministry in terms of their attacks. The Mahasabha called the Calcutta Corporation Act anti-Hindu and anti-national. Mookerjee said that Muslims were favored in fixing of communal ratios in the Corporation. In a meeting of Hindus at Deshapriya Park, Calcutta, Mookerjee accused the Bengal ministry of re-enacting the divide and rule policy of the British and then N C Chatterjee challenged Haq to restore joint electorates to prove that his plea for unity was genuine.²⁴In addition to bills, acts and joint electorates the deepest of all pains inflicted on the Hindus by the Communal Award, was evoked again and again. So serious was Mookerjee's dissatisfaction that he made it clear that the Award would have to be discussed before any attempts were made by Haq to bring an understanding between the Hindus and Muslims. He said that he would be "satisfied" if it went on record that the Award would have to be "upset" one day.²⁵ These deep seated grievances of the Hindus were considerable obstacles in the way of Haq's plans, especially given the radical conditions on which the peace offer would be accepted by the Hindu Mahasabha. Mookerjee did not hope for much from the meeting with Haq. Discussing Haq's attempts to win over Hindu leaders on 20 February, four days before the 24 February meeting, Mookerjee candidly told Benthall that he had "no great hopes of success" from the conference called at Haq's residence. In fact Benthall himself thought that the conference would do "more harm than good." Benthall and Mookerjee however agreed that with "real determination" settlement could be arrived at by even a small coterie instead of the 30-member team Haq put together.²⁶ Mookerjee also asked for the modification of the Municipal Act by Haq's government as a gesture of goodwill towards the Hindus.²⁷ With this kind of response, it was not surprising that the talks held on 24 February at Haq's residence did not yield any immediate result. In fact attacks against the ministry never really subsided. In the Legislative Assembly, still in session, the Bengal Secondary Education Bill aroused bitter communal feeling which was exploited by Sarat

²⁴ Ibid., 16 February.

²⁵ Edward Benthall, 20 February 1940. p14.

²⁶ Ibid. p14.

²⁷ Ibid. p14. Mookerjee disapproved that municipal job postings should seek Muslim applicants only. He wanted merit to be given priority in jobs that required qualification. He was prepared to let the communal percentage kick in for jobs which did not require specific qualifications.

Bose and Mookerjee.²⁸ The Communal Award, then eight years old, continued to wreck peace initiatives. Though Benthall had tried to impress upon Mookerjee that for the sake of progress he would have to accept the Communal Award for the time being, he continued to urge people to “fight” against it.²⁹ Meetings and fiery speeches at the Mahakosala provincial Hindu Sabha conference at Bilaspur and Shyam Park kept communal momentum going.³⁰ The year ended with Mookerjee addressing a crowd of ten thousand people in Dacca where he called the Award anti-Hindu and explained how it curbed their rights.³¹ Haq continued to be patient with the Hindu Mahasabha despite the fact that with no assurance of support from the Mahasabha, the position of Haq’s ministry showed no improvement. The real danger was that by making constant appeals to Hindus, he had already run the risk of appearing to his Muslim support base as weak and way too proHindu. Haq realized the urgent need to fix the odds and tilt them in his favor, so he continued to keep his Muslim constituency happy. By 1940 Haq had genuinely become interested in communal harmony but his concern for Muslim well being was never displaced. Haq played an important role in ensuring that Suhrawardy got the finance portfolio when Sarkar resigned. He was “very glad” that it was “a Muslim minister” who held the portfolio.³² He knew that a disgruntled Muslim base could create problems. Haq’s strategic support of the Muslim masses in their demand for communal representation in the Indian Football Association (IFA) also retained his popularity.³³ An “absurd matter” for the British, Haq, despite his reservations about Nazimuddin, was quick to enlist his support for the cause, because he knew how important the symbol of football was for Bengalis.³⁴ While these acts retained Haq’s popularity among Muslim Leaguers, careful couching of his peace talks with Hindus, in a

²⁸ Brayden to Porter, Note on political development in Bengal since the introduction of 1935 Act, R/3/2/55. See also , Amrita Bazar Patrika, 26 December 1937. As early as December 1937 news of the introduction of this Bill had led to outrage by the Hindus. The Bill took away higher education from the control of the Calcutta University and placed it under a Secondary Education Board, where Hindus believed Muslims would have greater say. Education was the mainstay of Hindu power in Bengal and this Bill was seen as a blatant communal attack.

²⁹ Amrita Bazar Patrika, 21 March 1940.

³⁰ Ibid., 12 March Also 21 March, 1940.

³¹ Ibid., 17 December.

³² Herbert to Linlithgow, 17 January 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

³³ A Muhammedan sporting club resigned from IFA after alleging that they had been unfairly treated. Nazimuddin, President of the club took up the demand for communal representation if IFA was to have their club back.

³⁴ Brayden to Porter, Note on political development in Bengal since the introduction of 1935 Act, R/3/2/55.

language of administrative necessity, which was also true, ensured that no red flags would be raised in the Muslim constituency. What Haq lost due to the Hindu Mahasabha's restraint in responding to his pleas for peace, he gained by supporting the British war aims. He renewed his support for the war and also tried to get the Muslim League ban on war committees lifted. In June 1940, Linlithgow invited all parties to form a War Committee. In July, Haq sent a letter to Jinnah, personally requesting him to raise the ban so that Muslim Leaguers could join the Committee.³⁵ Not getting a favorable response, Haq went ahead and disclosed to Herbert his suggestion for a National Government for Bengal.³⁶ Haq's moves were golden for four reasons. One, Herbert's "profound disappointment" with Jinnah left him with no other option but to rely on Haq. Herbert wrote: "The Chief Minister made a most moving and impressive speech and his power of quiet oratory astonished more than one impressionable European who had not heard him speak before."³⁷ Two, if pleading for communal peace without results made Haq look weak, his stand on war reflected his individual strength, with the Muslim League party at arm's length. Three, the war was the farthest possible issue from communalism and naturally it gave Haq a platform to discuss a topic that went beyond regional or religious interests. Four, most interestingly, with British support behind him, the chances of winning over the Hindu Mahasabha through a formal arrangement looked brighter. Joining the war cause sparked off in Haq a desire to take a "strong line individually," a tendency Herbert had noticed in him much earlier in 1940. On 20 March Herbert wrote, "I have a feeling that the CM is hatching something." He explained that the Muslim League was trying to increase its hold over Haq and Haq was trying to resist it. On 9 April he wrote again, "Haq is on the lookout for some way of securing greater personal independence at the expense of breaking the Muslim League if necessary..." Haq had his reasons. First, his colleagues in Bengal made him feel insecure, second, Jinnah's autocratic behavior restricted Haq's moves as Chief Minister and third, the Muslim League's ideology had no place for Haq's provincial concerns. Earlier in 1940 before leaving for London on business, Haq expressed to Herbert that he wanted to take Nazimuddin with him. Herbert deduced, quite rightly, that Haq was insecure about leaving Nazimuddin behind as he might become more powerful. The same was applicable for Suhrawardy.³⁸ On another occasion, within two days of Haq's presiding over a Proja Party Conference, Suhrawardy at a League Conference in Pabna district commented strongly on the attempts of "so-called 'krishaks and projas' to introduce factions amongst Muslims and break up the solidarity brought about by the Muslim League." It was surely this alienation that

³⁵ Herbert to Linlithgow, 10 July 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

³⁶ Herbert to Linlithgow, 13 July 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

³⁷ Herbert to Linlithgow, 22 June 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

³⁸ Herbert to Linlithgow, 19 February 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

provoked Haq to seek “greater personal independence.” The dysfunctional relation between the three Muslim leaders was no secret. Mookerjee told Benthall that “a wedge had been driven to some extent” between the three, and left to himself Haq would come to terms with the Hindus as he was “jealous of the position of others.”³⁹ Jinnah’s controlling behavior from miles away also caused resentment in Haq. To begin with Herbert had “indications” that Haq, Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy thought Jinnah to be “obdurate

³⁹ Edward Benthall, 20 February 1940. p15



Kanpur and Meerut conspiracy cases and there consequences

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The ground for the formation of an émigré Communist Party of India was prepared by The Second World Congress of the Communist Third International (1920). The Comintern Executive committee (ECCI) set up a sub-committee, the 'Small Bureau', to begin the process. The Bureau organised the First Congress of the Peoples of the East at Baku in September 1920, specifically aimed at fighting imperialism in Asia. This was followed by the formation of the Communist Party of India on 17 October 1920 at Tashkent. The seven members were M. N. Roy, Evelyn Roy-Trent, Abani Mukherjee, Rosa Fitingov, Mohammad Ali, Mohamad Shafiq and Acharya. Shafiq was elected as the secretary of the party, Roy as secretary of the party's Bureau based in socialist Turkestan and Acharya as the chairman who signed the minutes. At the first meeting on 17 October, the organization adopted its name as the 'The Indian Communist Party'. The inaugural meeting also adopted the principles of the Comintern and decided to work out a programme of the CPI that was 'suited to the conditions of India'. A preliminary discussion was held on membership procedure and affiliation to the Comintern. The meeting was concluded with the singing of 'The International'. The minutes of the CPI of 15 December 1920 reveal the induction of three others as candidate members who had to complete a probation period of three months for full membership of the party.

After Peshawar in 1922, two more conspiracy cases were instituted by the British government, one in Kanpur (1924) and Meerut (1929). The accused in the cases included, among others, important Communist organisers who worked in India, such as S.A. Dange, Muzaffar Ahmad, Nalini Gupta and S.V.

Ghate, and members of the émigré party, such as Rafiq Ahmad and Shaukat Usmani.

On March 17, 1924, M.N. Roy, S.A. Dange, Muzaffar Ahmed, Nalini Gupta, Shaukat Usmani, Singaravelu Chettiar, Ghulam Hussain and others were charged that they as communists were seeking "to deprive the King Emperor of his sovereignty of British India, by complete separation of India from imperialistic Britain by a violent revolution.", in what was called the Cawnpore (now spelt Kanpur) Bolsheviki Conspiracy case.

After Kanpur, Britain had triumphantly declared that the case had "finished off the communists". But the industrial town of Kanpur, in December 1925, witnessed a conference of different communist groups, under the chairmanship of Singaravelu Chettiar. Dange, Muzaffar Ahmed, Nalini Gupta, Shaukat Usmani were among the key organizers of the meeting. The meeting adopted a resolution for the formation of the Communist Party of India with its headquarters in Bombay (new spelling: Mumbai) . The British Government's extreme hostility towards the bolsheviks, made them to decide not to openly function as a communist party; instead, they chose a more open and non-federated platform, under the name the Workers and Peasants Parties.

Meerut is an ancient city in western Uttar Pradesh, in India. It is recognized both mythologically and historically. The first war of Indian Independence also known as the Great Indian Mutiny of 1857, started from Meerut. A lesser known reason for its prominence on the British colonial map is a controversial case in the years 1929-1933. In the Judicial annals it is commonly and popularly known as 'The Meerut Conspiracy Case'. It attracted the attention of people in Great Britain so much so that a Manchester street theater group, 'The Red Megaphones' in 1932 enacted a play titled 'Meerut' in England.

An organization, Communist International commonly known as 'Comintern' was operating in Russia and was slowly spreading its tentacles in other parts of the world. Its main aim object was to cause the downfall of all existing forms of governments of all nations of the world, by means of armed uprising and organizing general strikes. It created trade unions, youth leagues, workers and peasants parties etc. to achieve its objectives. The Communist Party of Great Britain was also formed to foster these aims. In 1921, its branch was established in British India by few communists. Two Britishers, Philip Sprat and B.F. Bradley were sent out to India by the Communist International to carry out its design and to strengthen its movement. They, together with persons of communist convictions formed a Workers and Peasant Party and held its conference at Meerut. This worried the Britishers. They raided and arrested persons connected with Workers and Peasants Party, some trade unions and All India Congress. In all 32 persons were charged and 31 of them were arrested including the two Britishers. The accused were put to trial under Section 121-A of the Indian Penal Code of 1860 for depriving the King Emperor of the sovereignty of British India and for using methods and

carrying out programmes and plans of campaign outlined and ordained by Communist International. The trial commenced with the filing of complaint by Dr. R.A. Horton (OSD under the Director, I.B. Home Deptt. Govt. of India) on 15th March, 1929 and on a supplementary complaint dated 11th June, 1929 against one of the accused. The preliminary proceedings before the Magistrate at Meerut took seven months. Thereafter, the case was committed to the Court of Sessions on 14th January, 1930. The prosecution took thirteen months to complete the evidence. The recording of statements of the accused consumed another ten months and their defence lasted for about two months. The parties advanced arguments for over four and half months. Mr. R.L. Yorke the then District and Sessions Judge, Meerut took five months to write and pronounce the judgment. On 17th January 1933, the sessions court acquitted five of the accused,

one having died, and convicted 27 others with stringent sentences; one was transported for life; five others for 12 years; three for 10 years; three others for 7 years; four for 5 years; six for 4 years; and the rest five for 3 years. The convicts filed appeals in the Allahabad High Court. The last of them was filed on 17th January, 1933. The paper books were printed and made ready within no time and 10th April, 1933 was fixed for hearing. However, on account of ensuing long summer vacation and on the request of the accused themselves, the hearing was adjourned to 24th July, 1933. The hearing commenced as scheduled before the bench presided over by Chief Justice Sulaiman and Justice Young and it lasted for 8 working days. Sir Tej and Sri K.N. Katju and others represented the convicts. The Crown was defended by Mr. I. Kemp and J.P. Mitter. The Judgment was delivered by the Chief Justice and all the conviction were upheld, but with considerably reduced sentences. The Bench classified the convicts into four different groups. The first group of 12 were all members of the Communist Party of India. The second group comprised of Sprat and Bradly who were members of Communist Party of Great Britain. The third group consisted by six who were communist by conviction but not members of the Communist Party. The fourth group comprised of seven persons who were neither communists nor members of any communist party but were simply political workers. The High Court held that the evidence exfacie proved that the members of the communist party who subscribed to the programme of 'Comintern' had undoubtedly formed a revolutionary body with the professed object of over throwing

the present order of society to bring about complete Independence of India by armed uprisings. This trial and the judgment acquired significance and importance

primarily for the following three reasons. The trial was an outspring of the British Governments fear for the growth of the communist idea in India. It was aimed to nip the movement in the bud. The accused were branded as Bolsheviks. Though the trial resulted in conviction of almost all the accused but it ended in publicising, launching and strengthening the communist

movement in the county in a gigantic way. During the trial, the courtroom was turned into a public platform for espousing the communist cause. Secondly, it indicated the pace with which the justice delivery system in those days used to dispense justice despite enormous and voluminous evidence which was dealt with minute precision. However, the time consumed in trial was frowned upon by the superior Court observing that it could have been reduced with some care on part of both the accused and the Court.

Lastly, it laid down that the magnitude of punishment or sentence was dependent upon three basic principles i.e. (i) protection of the people; (ii) prevention of the crime; and (iii) reformation of the offender. The punishment awarded by the Sessions Court when tested on the anvil of these principles, was held to be too harsh and severe particularly looking at the fact that all the accused had already remained in jail during the entire trial except for short period of time when some of them were admitted to bail. The bench, while reducing the sentence, observed that the trial was political and any severe punishment would result in confirming the belief of the people in the political movement which was sought by the government

to be checked by the government and in creating more offenders causing greater evil and danger to public. The Meerut conspiracy case is a milestone that goes a long way in defining the history of communist movement in India

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The Annexation Of Awadh by East India Company

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The Nawabs of Awadh played a very important part in North Indian History through out the 18th century The Nawabi regime of a hundred and thirty five years gave full reign to the indigenious tradition of communal amity and folk culture. This was unique kind of composite culture which emerged in Awadh, was free from the fetters of bigotry, insularity and dogmatism. Despite the pressure exerted by the East India Company, by way of plain and brazen extortions. Awadh rulers being plagued by the constant interference of the East India Company. It appears rather amusing that the ostensible reason given out by Dalhousie in annexing the kingdom was the rampant corruption and misrule for which the East India Company was as much responsible as the king of Awadh.

Dalhousie recorded a voluminous minute which was dated june 8, 1855. ⁽¹⁾ The major part of the minute was devoted in reviewing British relations with the kingdom of Awadh from the time of warren Hastings unto Hardings. It may be observed that although Dalhousie's observations were based on a lot of statistics but they where to a great extent distorted misquoted, perverted, misconstrued and full of misrepresentation. ⁽²⁾

The Governor General deliberately recollected only the adverse remarks and opinions about the king and the affairs of his domain and omitted, even to make a passing reference of the silver lining in the personality and conduct of the various rulers of Awadh including Wajid Ali Shah, for example Dalhousie gloated over the solemn warnings issued to the king. ⁽³⁾ By Bentinck in 1831 and by Hardinge in 1847 for remedying manifold abuses that

had sneaked in the administration of Awadh but the conveniently forget to take into account that both the warning were based on the treaty of 1837. ⁽⁴⁾ which had no legal force.

Moreover the Governor General in a deliberate manner avoided to make any mention of the improvement in the general administration of the country affected by Wajid Ali Shah. The case made out by Dalhousie that the successive rulers of Awadh including Wajid Ali Shah were neglecting their duties and were helpless spectators to the act of oppressions and violence perpetrated against that mass of people by lawless and unscrupulous depredators does not stand scrutiny. ⁽⁵⁾ Actually the so called unsettled conditions of the country were by and large due to the behavior of the Residents who time and again fostered and promoted resistance to the royal authority there by reducing the king as utterly powerless and bereft of all dignity and authority. The Resident even went to the length of shielding rebels, outlaws, murders, free-boasters and other offenders. ⁽⁶⁾ This was more true during the reign of Wajid Ali Shah. The King protested, he wrote several letters to the resident that his demonour was creating misgovernment and the resultant evils, ⁽⁷⁾ but no heed was paid and the resident continued to behave callously and irresponsibly.

On the other hand, Dalhousie's surprisingly built his case on the plea that the Treaty of 1837 was null and void as it had been disallowed by the court of Directors and abrogated by the secret committee. He thus argued that full reliance was to be placed on the Treaty of 1801, the provisions of which were faithfully observed the by the British government in India, whereas the rulers of Awadh had been doing nothing except deliberately and continuously violating them. It was only after the Burmese war that the Governor General could find time to divert his attention to words Awadh. ⁽⁸⁾ Under the treaty of 1801 the king of Awadh ceded territories which yielded yearly revenue of Rs. 2,12,00,000. In return, the British promise protection to the King from all internal and external enemies. Nonetheless, whenever the King demanded help, it was not given to him without subjecting him to humiliation and extra burden. ⁽⁹⁾

The main burden of Dalhousie's argument was that either the King be compelled to honour the letter and spirit of the Treaty of 1801 by force arms or it be annulled on the basis of its continuous violation by the rulers of Awadh. The Governor General personally favoured the second alternative. ⁽¹⁰⁾ Although there existed a legal difficulty in adopting that course Articles 6 of the Treaty laid down that the King would always "act in conformity with the counsel of the officers of the honourable company. ⁽¹¹⁾ Thus the King of Awadh was required to carry on his administration in collaboration with the British officials and as such, the responsibility of misrule should have also been shared by them. The member of the council were also of the opinion that in view of the rights and duties that devolved on the East India Company ultimate remedy was to be applied at once. ⁽¹²⁾

King to retain his Title but to vest the Administration to the East India Company in Perpetuity. In the light of above facts and discussions, it was to say the least morally as well as legally unjustified and immoral and perverse for Dalhousie to advocate the annexation of Awadh on the grounds of misrule and in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of 1801. ⁽¹³⁾ Doggedly sticking to his plans of annihilation of Awadh as an independent and sovereign state. Dalhousie put forth the following alternatives in regard to the execution of scheme. The King be required to abdicate his sovereign power which he had hitherto abused. The King be also made to agree to the incorporation of the Kingdom of Awadh with the British Indian territories. The Kingdom be permitted to retain his royal title and position but required to vest the entire civil and military administration of his Kingdom to the East India Company in perpetuity. The King be urged to make over the management of his dominions to the British officers for a specified time.

The King be asked to hand over the management of his Kingdom to the Resident under whose directions the administration of the Kingdom of Awadh be carried on with the aid and supervision of British officers that he appointed for the purpose. ⁽¹⁴⁾ Dalhousie first alternative was too severe and stringent as also uncalled for and patently unethical and illegal. The fourth alternative was impractical and full of mischievous possibilities of creating evils that were inherent in the system of a double government. The third alternative was a mere palliative and did not provide a permanent cure to the malady. Dalhousie, therefore was in favour of the adoption of the second alternative, ⁽¹⁵⁾ and to execute it, the course of action as delineated by the Governor General was to abrogate the Treaty of 1801. ⁽¹⁶⁾

The curtain was soon dropped on the affairs of Awadh when after pursuing all the connected papers sent by the Government Of India, the court of Directors in England gave their approval for the annexation of the Kingdom. It was sanctioning on November 21, 1855. ⁽¹⁷⁾ The efforts made by Wajid Ali Shah to maintain peace in his dominions even under such mental stress and circumstances were genuine and the Governor General of India was fully satisfied so much so that be recorded.

“such have been the King’s precautions and arrangement that no disturbance whatever had taken place.” ⁽¹⁸⁾

The events were moving fast and in quick succession. Not a day’s time was allowed to be lost. The next day which was February 6, the Resident summoned the chief minister for further parlays. During the course of conversation, Outram held out an assurance to Ali Naqi Khan that he would be liberally awarded in case he succeeded in persuading the King to accede to the wishes of the British Government. ⁽¹⁹⁾ Outram also made yet another successful attempt to persuade the Queen- mother to intervene on behalf of the British Government. Ultimately, on Feb. 7, 1856 Wajid Ali shah conveyed to the Resident his firm resolution not to sign the proposed treaty. ⁽²⁰⁾ This prompted Outram to act immediately. In the capacity of chief

commissioner be took the city of Lucknow and the Government secretariat under his direct charge. Thus the independent entity of the Kingdom of Awadh, came to form an integral part of the British India territory. On his refusing to sign, Wajid Ali Shah was deposed on Feb. 7, 1856, and Awadh was declared annexed. In June, Malika Kishwar and Haseeh-ud-din along with Brandon and Bird left for London to present their case to the Empress and parliament. After the submission of the replies by the King, Malika Kishwar was given audience by Queen Victoria (July 1857), in a special court. By that time the story of massacre of Englishmen in Kanpur had hit the headline in the newspapers of London. Wajid Ali Shah was put under arrest and confined in Fort William in Calcutta. The King's party in London suffered from dissensions. Malika Kishwar left London in January 1858. Wajid Ali Shah was a broken man and he accepted the offer of pension by the East India Company in late 1858. Wajid Ali Shah was released from Fort William and settled down in Matia Burj. He died in 1887.

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Socialist Party's Contribution to Indian Independence (1934–1947)

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As socialist thinkers, many names emerged in that time Acharya Narendra Dev, Jayaprakash Narayan, Sampurnanand Rai, Ram Manohar Lohia, Ashok Mehta, MR Mashani, Madhu Limaye and Achyut Patwardhan and Aruna Asaf Ali but Acharya Narendra Dev Ram Manohar Lohia and Jayaprakash Narayan were prominent among them. It was these personalities who gave a new dimension to socialist thought. His socialist philosophy was filled with patriotism and public welfare. He gave a strong foundation to the city and the exploited society for its expression. From where they can boldly raise voice against their exploitation. These socialist thinkers also succeeded to a great extent in their objective. But unfortunately the socialist movement fell victim to disintegration and disorientation.

"Socialism is indeed a whole world of philosophy. It is the atheism in the field of philosophy, the democratic system in the field of the state, the democratic whole in the industrial field, an infinite optimism in the field of morality, the nature of materialism in the field of spirituality. And in the family sector it is indicative of almost complete relaxation of household ties and matrimonial bonds. " Socialism was used in 1827 to propagate the ideas of Robert Owen. Socialism was used in the magazine 'O Night Co-operative', set up to propagate the ideas of 1857, to show the opposite of individualist and liberal views. Socialism is the most popular word of the present time. The word Socialism is derived from the word Socius which means 'Samaj'. Socialism is related to the reform and society in the country. But in the present time it has become very popular. It has been defined in many ways. 'Don Griffiths' has collected about 263 definitions of socialism in his work 'What is Socialism?'.

The objective of the independence movement of India was to remove the British rule in India, after the British left, their intention was to establish a socialist system in India, a new consciousness was stirring in the minds of all the people towards the freedom movement. People were not unanimous about the new social system, they were doing two things in their mind, firstly, why was India defeated and second, there were certain defects in the social system. After making India independent, the first aim was to remove those defects. Due to which India was subjugated and socialists feared that there should be a change in the system if India does not fall back again. Whatever was the propaganda of the freedom movement, it was in a select few classes before Gandhi ji but it became a mass movement due to Gandhi's efforts and before that all classes were agitating in different ways in different areas. Gandhi united all these. It consisted of 3 classes - the 'intellectual class' who were lovers of freedom, the workers of the second social reforms and the third was engaged in creative work. Gandhi started his political career in South Africa. Although Gandhi had taken complete education from England, he had the least sense of world events like you want to be confined to India.

This reference to Mahatma Gandhi helped to support the social hypothesis of socialists. It is a general matter that socialist thinking is Western. Marxist. There was an era where the absence of Marxism was equal to the absence of nothing. All the advanced programs of socialism or the exploited revolved around Marxism. Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali, the socialists of India considered Marxism and they considered Russia socialist but they saw many evils in it. First, there was lack of democracy in other political leaders, Jayaprakash Narayan came from America as a Marxist and then went to England. In England, he met Rajni Pamadatta's brother, which showed him that the Communists are opposed to the freedom movement. Came to know He felt this against Marx Lenin's education and soon after that he planned to establish a non-communist structure. This is the reason why the Congress Socialist Party was established in 1934 only after the establishment of the Communist Party in India in 1924. Even before this, socialist parties had been formed in many areas/ Bihar- Bihar Socialist Party, Mumbai-President Congress, Socialist Party etc. In 1933, some people in Nashik Road, Central Jail, thought of forming a Socialist Party inside the Congress. It was certified working in May 1934. The first Socialist Conference was held in Patna under the chairmanship of Acharya Narendra Dev.

The conference had two major features -

The conference will never oppose Congress. So this is how the independent movement run by the Congress will gain power. Participation of farmers and laborers will also be needed in the movement. Its aim will be the rule of the workers of the future farmers of India, the farmers and workers left the National Socialist Party because it was told that they are Marxists without it. After the spreading of Samajwadi Party activists became restless, Pickle

Narendra Dev and Professor Mukut Bihari Lal set the feet of Marxist. These people started saying that they do not worship any other deity except Marx.

Sri Krishna said in the Gita - "O Arjuna. Whatever you do, whatever you eat, whatever you do, whatever you do, whatever you give, whatever you are doing austerities, all you offer to me.

(Yatkaroshi yadashnasi yajuhoshi dadasati yat.

Yattapasi kontaye tatkurushava madpadanam)

Similarly, Kabir Nanak etc. translated this-

"Jab jab dol so parikrama Whatever I say, I serve

Jayaprakash Narayan tried to show the unity of ideas in Gandhi and socialism. In the early days, there was pressure of Marxism on the progress of socialism and farmers and Marxism was in control of the list of sufferings. It will later take over the reins of India. Communists say that Congress is a capitalist institution. But socialists believe that it is a selfish organization of all varnas and sects. But the socialists know that it is everybody's interest to expel the British from India, and for this the Socialists alone or the Congress alone cannot do this, they will need each other's cooperation. That is why the socialists mixed the word Congress with their party. We can call it nationalism and socialist.

Apart from these two, the third important element was democracy, due to which the socialists were opposed to the communists. There was a lack of democracy in Russia, and without it the Industrial Revolution is a city. Communist democracy is considered a capitalist democracy. In Soviet Russia, the dictatorship of the Communist Party was first established in the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Later it became the dictatorship of Stalin. Due to this, the leaders were killed and many socialists had to suffer. This scared the Indian socialists and made democracy their point. And described himself as a democratic socialist. For this reason, the Socialists separated themselves from the Communist Party.

All three leaders of the socialist movement Jayaprakash Narayan Acharya Narendra Dev Katha Ram Manohar Lohia belonged to the Hindi region. Narendra Dev and Lohia belonged to Faizabad. Jayaprakash Narayan Ballia was from Bihar. The main center of the other leaders was Mumbai, the full stop socialist movement got more strength because the main form of national movement was North India. These leaders were from the Hindi region but they got inspiration from leaders of the Hindi state like Tilak Gokhale Gandhi and Arvind. Hence there was a change in Hindi in Hindi. However, the leaders were well versed with foreign education. Acharya Narendra Dev's education took place in India but his teachers were from Europe and were graduates in English, French, Sanskrit and Pali and Urdu languages. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia was a Ph.D. of Berlin and learned many foreign languages like English, German etc. Jayaprakash Narayan was educated in America. It was the nature of the leaders of that era to endure

sufferings and journeys. What did a submissive person have to call happiness? He got his happiness only when he broke the chains of slavery.

Another feature of the socialist movement was that all its leaders were young. Acharya Narendra Dev was born in 1899, besides all of them were born in the twentieth century. Jayaprakash Narayan's 1902, Kamala Devi's 1903, Yusuf Meher Ali's 1903, Achyut Patwardhan 1905, Meenu Masani's 1905, Ram Manohar Lohia 1910, Ashok Mehta's 1911.

There were youth leaders at the peak level of the national movement. Due to which he had courage and education and imagination and due to Gandhi and Narendra Dev, there was lack of terrorist ideas in the movement. These people used to think carefully before doing any work. In all their deeds, there was the imagination of a prosperous India. Here, his youth was justified on Gandhi justification, due to which he was unable to do anything enthusiastically. He had also separated himself from the Communist Party, now if he had parted with Gandhi, he would face many difficulties. Because as the days of independence movement were getting closer, Gandhi's influence was increasing on the people.

The socialists adopted Gandhi as their guardian. Gandhi was also very much concerned about the three leaders (Acharya Narendra Dev, Jai Prakash Narayan, Ram Manohar Lohia). Gandhi tried hard to get Lohia out of jail and appealed that Gandhi ji does not like the nationalism of Subhash Chandra Bose. Overall, there was always a difference of opinion between Gandhi and Bose. The socialists were very close to Subhash Chandra's ideas. Nevertheless, the socialists supported Gandhi. He did not want to enter the Congress at any cost. Although all the leaders were lying abroad, Gandhi may have influenced them somewhere before that. One surprising fact was that socialists used to give Gandhi along but never used to do Gandhians, they took pride in calling themselves Marxists.

All this does not mean that the foreign information is there. In the absence of education, the socialists used to talk only about India's point of view, the Communists took Russia as the last and turned their eyes from elsewhere. They reached all their decisions through Russian information. Communists considered other institutions as capitalist imperialists and reactionaries.

The Communists also made many mistakes, the most important mistake among them was that they made a terrible mistake in identifying Gandhi. Gandhi did not mean so much to any party. Although he only took a vow to free India.

The Russian influence on the Communists was so much. That he could not understand that the removal of foreign rule from India should be his first task. He did not think much about how socialism can flourish in a subordinate state. The socialists wanted to drive the British out of India. On the other hand, the communists had to follow the orders of the Kremlin, on the other hand, the socialists did not get leave when and where they were

leading. When Hitler used to attack other countries with his army, the junior remained silent but when he moved towards Russia, he came to be called a public war. Hitler's atrocities on other countries were justified. But wrong on that. What would such communists have to do with India's independence? Western propagandists and communists of capitalism believe that the British paved the way for progress in India. Sometimes it seemed that diseases might have spread because all the capitalists who were there used to go to America and Communist Russia for treatment but where should the socialists go. Gandhi was more of a saint than a leader. Although he was a high level leader. But they did not have the ability to govern themselves. But he was never a pragmatist, he was never indifferent to his cause, India's independence. He did not like the lot of socialists. Still, they pat him on the back. Gandhi was highly practical. This incident shows that when elections were held once. Subhash Chandra Bose had won in it. But Patti Sitaramaiya lost. Gandhi considered Sita Maiya's defeat as his defeat.

Gandhi and the socialists already had some family ties. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia's father was a Gandhian. Jayaprakash ji says that due to Prabhavati, there was a sense of reverence for my Gandhi. Jayaprakash Narayan ji says that the unprecedented air of non-cooperation movement from 1920 to 1921 also left an indelible impression on the mind The sanskars which belonged to Gandhi were also those of Acharya Narendra Dev. Gandhi kept him in his ashram to keep him healthy and looked after him himself. If we consider the influence of Marx on the views of socialists, then we also have to believe that Acharya Narendra Dev considered Gandhi as his ideal. It becomes clear from this that socialists also wore Khadi. Along with the red flag, the tricolor respected the flag. Acharya Narendra Dev writes that Gandhi was the best of the year in India. Gandhi reconciled the ancient culture of India and its ancient education according to religion, and established the new harmony in it by voting new social and spiritual values of the present era. Acharya Narendra Dev ji himself and all along with him were in some form of Congress. He had full authority over the Congress organization of Uttar Pradesh. Even Congress was headed by Lohia. These people, together with the Congress, went ahead in 1941 to conduct the power fight, even the socialists took full responsibility on themselves.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was also considered socialist in those days. Although he never belonged to the Samajwadi Party. Acharya was a friend of Narendra Dev ji and Jayaprakash ji. He was also blessed with Gandhi ji. The socialists considered him very much.

After this, Jayaprakash gave a 14-point program to Jawaharlalji. Paying off this program meant that some socialists would have joined the Congress government and Pandit Jawaharlalji wanted to do the same; Prakash ji gave a 14-point program to Jawaharlalji. Paying off this program meant that some socialists would join the Congress government and Pandit Jawaharlalji also wanted the same. But this could not be possible because Dr. Lohia Acharya

Narendra Dev was extremely opposed to it. Due to this Jayaprakash ji got very sad. Acharya Narendra Dev ji was against leaving the Congress but due to the decision of the party he had to resign from the Congress. Due to which he decided never to join Congress and did not join in future. The battle of Acharya Narendra Dev and the Congress is an important illustration of the political battle. This fight was only a battle of ideas, this can be illustrated by an example. For example- Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant called Acharya an atheist. Acharyaji did not deny it - and said that the biggest leader of the Congress, Jawaharlal ji is a friend of God. When Acharyaji was contesting in Faizabad, neither Kamalapati Tripathi went to oppose him nor did Sampurnanand ji because Kamalapati Tripathi was his disciple and a teacher from Sampurnanand ji. Due to the party's decision, he did not go to the Constituent Assembly himself, but he stopped Kamalapati Sampurnanand and encouraged him to go to that assembly.

There was such a long discussion between Gandhi and the socialists but it was not clear what the socialists had learned from Gandhi. Socialism, despite being a Western ideology, felt the need to learn from Gandhi. The first thing in this matter is that socialists were different from terrorists. And he believed in mass revolution. Not in personal violence, but here comes the learning from Gandhi that he left the talk of armed revolution as soon as Gandhi came under the influence and the struggle for peace took place in place of armed revolution. Under this, strike satyagraha etc. were kept. There is even more clarity that the violence was completely rejected. It has now been decided that the path of non-violence will be adopted for social change. With the example of Russia and the influence of Gandhi, he opened his eyes. Now he thought that 'impure means also pollute. Therefore, the socialists accepted Gandhi's ideas completely with the purity of practicable means.

Western socialism propagated that the objective of socialism is to work according to ability and price according to the need. Charkha was the basis of Gandhi's uncontrolled production system. According to them, prepare the clothes of your own needs, in such a village, he said that be satisfied with whatever grows in your fields. Thus he rejected international trade and Gandhi was a supporter of the cottage industries of the rural system even in the era of large machines and large central production systems. He gave the slogan of cottage industry in India. In comparison, socialists talked about medium machines which used to run with oil and machines. Where, instead of being central to production, he meant that few people go to industry and the remaining people do not go to work.

Mr. Ki Roshni, the leader of the Socialist Party of Japan, wrote a letter to Lohia in which he wrote-

"I am thankful to you for two reasons that you also taught us the idea of centralization. Secondly you showed us a clear path on which we will have to walk. If we want to achieve true freedom. "

"Contrary to my view, I found that instead of being a Gandhian like oral and socialism of Europe, you are its developed successor."

From the point of view of decentralized production, Acharya ji accepted the autonomy of the villages. Mukut Bihari Lal writes-

For the economic development of the country, farming, small and medium industry businesses and big factories are necessary, none of these three can be expected. " The big factories explained here mean basic industry in support of cottage industries. Lohia thought that India's population is more and land is less, there is more labor class in a country like India, due to which this mechanization machines Increases unemployment.

The original vision of socialists was in India. Acharya Narendra ji clarified this point in this context- "Based on the experience gained over 9 years, we have to determine with our policy keeping in mind the vast changes that have taken place in India and outside as a result of the Great War."

This makes two things clear - one is on the basis of experiences and the other is our freedom of policy making. This clearly implies. That we can take the experience of Gandhi and the socialists for an example due to independent policy formulation policy based on experience. That India had problems like abolition of varna system, opposition to untouchability, Harijan revival, widow marriage, end of Purdah system. He also considered social reforms necessary for Gandhi and socialist independence, so when he got free time from the movement or other works, he used to engage in social reforms.

Gandhi wrote- "Not with the temple entrance of the fifth or express, but by prohibiting the entry of the temple, it is an insult to religion and spirit."

Gandhi ji says this more clearly- "We do not encourage idol worship. But we do not refuse it, as long as there is Hinduism, the temple will remain in some way. The temple which is accepted by the Hindu religion should have the right to go to the people. "

Initially, the main concern of the socialists was economic and political expansion in Gandhi's thoughts, but neither the ideas nor the programs of the socialists were in expansion. At that time Gandhi was the only person who wanted to do political economic and social reform simultaneously. Gandhi generally did not pay attention to the things in the books but used to take it personally in his life. He also filled this in the minds of socialists

The Socialists considered themselves separate from the Communists and to associate themselves with the Marxists was also the convenience and inconvenience of the Socialists. This is why the socialists were expected to focus on social reforms and constructive work, but this did not happen. And they were not adopting independent ideas of social reform, but they gave shelter to social reform in their conduct. Social reform in the environment of that time did not consider them as a big problem. A belief about him was also prevalent. That the main reform is economic reform because the change or reform of economic policy can change the structure of all social

reforms. Socialists believed that modern European thinking depended very much on the economy. They believed that the economy is the basic structure.

The biggest difficulty was that of Marxism, which was always ready for war and lacked tolerance towards the socialists, even though they could not support the Marxists. Once Jayaprakash Narayan ji opened the doors of socialism to communists, he was also given high positions in the party. The intention of the socialists was clear that they did not want any kind of duel in the name of socialism, but the communists did not be honest with them but broke their party. He took most of the party members with him. He used to abuse socialists a lot and sometimes even used to inflame. And it is known from this example that Jayaprakash Narayan became friends with Mr. PC Joshi, the General Secretary of the communist side in those days. Now the communists started praising Jayaprakash in such a way that he is Lenin of India and revolutionary number of India. Jayaprakash came in praise of him and continued his work in the same way.

Once Jayaprakash brought Mr. PC Joshi Adhikari and Bharadwaj to the survey of the communist side in our executive and explained to us about the united front. As if we were young children in the field of politics. Due to this, ridiculous but serious efforts were made by Jayaprakash to make us aware of politics through the activists of the communist side



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Hkkjr ea i kUr; Lok; Ük&'kkl u ds fodkl ds fy, 1935bE ea fcfV'k l d n us xouëbV vkWD bf.M;k , DV ikl fd; kA bl vf/kfu; e ds vuq kj i kUrka ea }Sk'kkl u dk vUr dj mÜkjnk; h 'kkl u dh LFkkiuk dh xBA i kUrka ea }Sk'kkl u dk iko/kku 1919 bE ds xouëbV vkWD bf.M;k , DV ds }kjk fd; k x; k Fkk tks Hkkjr ea mÜkjnkf; RoiwkZ 'kkl u dh LFkkiuk ea igyk dne Fkka bl vf/kfu; e ds }kjk dÙrh; rFkk i kUr; I jdkjka ds dk; Zks=ka ds foHkktu ds mÍs; I s nks I ph cukbZ xb&dÙrh; I ph rFkk i kUr; I phA dÙrh; I ph ea nsk dh I j {kk} oñs'kd I ædk] nskh jkT; ka ds I ædk] jsy] Mkd vls rkj foHkx] vk; kr&fu; kZ dj] enk i) fr] nhokuh vls QkStnkjh dkumu] ued dj] vk; dj bR; kfn fo"k; j [ks x, rFkk i kUr; I ph ds fo"k; Fk&f'k {kk} LFkkuh; Lo'kkl u] I koZtfud LokLFk rFkk fpdfRI k] [krh] ekyxqt[kjh] I gdkjh I febr; kj fl pkbZ taxy] tsy] ifyl] vkcdkj bR; kfnA 1919bE ds vf/kfu; e }kjk Hkkjr ds I Hk i karka ea }Sk&'kkl u dk i kJEHk fd; k x; kA ml I e; Hkkjr ea 10 i kUr Fk&cakj] enk] cEcbZ I a Qr i kar] cjek] vkl ke] iatkc] e/; &ins'k] fcgkj vls mMh k rFkk mÜkj&if'peh i kURA fcgkj ea }Sk&'kkl u dk i kJEHk 29 fnlEcj 1920bE dks gwa' bl h I e; I R; ßrh id kn fl Ugk fcgkj ds xouj cus tks bl mPp in dks I qkksHkr djus okys i Eke Hkkjrh; Fkka }Sk&'kkl u ds iko/kku ds vuq kj i kUr; 'kkl u ds fo"k; ka dks nks oxka ea ckV k x; k&jf{kr vls gLrkarfjrA jf{kr fo"k; Fk&'k fUr&0; oLFk dk; e j [kuk] ifyl] tsy] U; k;] jktLo dk I ks] dkj [kkuk] I ekpj i =] I koZtfud __.k] ctV bR; kfn rFkk gLrkarfjr fo"k; Fk&f'k {kk} ykd LokLF; rFkk fpdfRI k] m [ks] [krh] Lok; Ük&'kkl u] mRiknu bR; kfnA jf{kr fo"k; ka dk 'kkl u xouj viuh dk; Zkfy.kh ifj'kn-ds ijke'kz I s djrk Fk rFkk gLrkarfjr fo"k; ka dk 'kkl u xouj }kjk fu; Qr fd, x, efi=; ka ds }kjk fd; k tkrk Fkka²

I fPpnkum fl Ugk efi=; ka dks vf/kd vf/kdkj Hkh nsus ds i {ki krh FkA mudk dguk Fkk }Sk&'kkl u ds nkska dks nij djus ds fy, iwKz i kUr; Lok; Uk&'kkl u vfuok; Zg} tks l Hkh l eL; kvkadk , dek= l ek/kku gA³

nsk dh c<Fh gpZ jk"Vh; &pruk dks /; ku ea j [kdj fcfV'k ljdkj dks }Sk&'kkl u ds LFkku ij i kUr; Lok; Uk&'kkl u ykxw djuk i MhA 1935bE ds vf/kfu; e }kjk mMHl k dks fcgkj l svyx dj , d u; k i kUr cuk; k x; kA bl rjg 10 ds LFkku ij vc 11 i kUr cu x, &caaky] enkl] cEcbZ l a Dr i kar] fcgkj] mMHl k] e/; insk] iatkc] fl U/k] vkl ke vKj mUkj&i'feh l hek i kar bu l Hkh i kUrka ea mUjknk; h 'kkl u dh 0; oLFkk dh xbZ vKj caaky] enkl cEcbZ l a Dr i kar] fcgkj vKj vkl ke ea igyh ckj f}rh; l nu dh 0; oLFkk dh xbA 1935bE ds vf/kfu; e }kjk dbrh; ljdkjka ds chip ea 'kfDr; ka ds foHkktu dh rhu l fip; k; cukbZ xbA l akh; l ph] i kUr; l ph vKj leorhZ l phA l akh; l ph ds fo"K; Fk&nsk dh j {kk} ty&Fky rFkk ok; q suk] ohs'kd l Ecu/k] Mkd rkj foHkktx] fonskh 0; ki kj] vk; kr fu; kR dj] ued dkuu] emt&i) fr] tgtkjuh br; kfn rFkk i kUr; l ph ds fo"K; Fk&i fyi] fof/k&0; oLFkk] f'k {kk} tsy] LFkkuh; Lo'kkl u] ykd LokLF; rFkk pfdRI k] Nf"K] taxy] mRiknu] vKj kfxd fodkl br; kfnA leorhZ l ph ea nhokuh vKj OkStnkjh dkuu l Ei fUk dk mUkj kf/kdkjh] dy&dkj [kku] [kku] l ekpj&i = br; kfn fo"K; j [ks x, A bl vf/kfu; e }kjk ; g i ko/kku fd; k x; k fd leorhZ l ph ds fo"K; ka ij i kUr; rFkk dbrh; &nkska ljdkjka dkuu cuk l drh FkA ftu fo"K; ka dk l ekoš k fdl h Hkh l ph ea ugha Fkk] og fo"K; xouj&tuju ds vf/kdkj&{ks= ea nsfn; k x; k tks vi us food ds vuq kj i kUr; ; k l akh; fdl h Hkh ljdkj dks ml ij dkuu cukus dk vf/kdkj ns l drk FkA bl izdkj i kUrka ea mUjknk; h 'kkl u dh LFkku uk ds fy, l Hkh i kUr; fo"K; efu=; ka ds gkFk ea nsfn, x, tks fo/kku eMy dsifr mUjknk; h FkA

1935 bE ds vf/kfu; e ds vuq kj tc puo dj; s x; } rc dkad dks fcgkj] enkl] e/; insk] l a Dr insk rFkk mMHl k ea icy cger i kUr gpA fcgkj fo/kku&l Hkh dh dy 152 txgka ea dkad 107 txgka ij puo yMA] ftl ea 98 txga ml s i kUr gpA 'kgjh {ks=ka dh ikpa txga rFkk ngkrh {ks=ka dh 73 ea 68 txga dkad dks feyhA bl ds vfrjDr gfjtuka ds 15 l gf {kr LFkkuka ea l s 14 eq yekuka ds 7 LFkkuka ea l s 2 ij dkad h mehnokj pps x; A⁴

27 Qojh l s 1 ekpZ 1937bE rd c/kkZ ea dkad dk; Zkfj.kh dh cBd gpZ ftl ea fo/kku l Hkh ds dkad h l nL; ka ds fy, uhfr fu/kkZ.k gpA bl cBd ea ; g fu.kZ fy; k x; k fd dkad h l nL; ; g è; ku j [kacs fd dkad dk y{; iwKz LojKT; gA bu l nL; ka dk uke dkad ?kSk.k&i = ds fufgr i Lrkoka dks i jk djus dk Hkh ; Ru djuk Fkk] ftl ea yxku ea deh] vk; dj dh tkp] dk'rdkj] cn [kyh jkdok] fdl kuka ds dt&ekj dh deh] neudkj vf/kfu; eka dh l ekfir] jktuhfrd dsn; ka dh fjkBZ cjkstxkj dh l eL; k] etnjka dh n'kk ea l qkk br; kfn l feefyr FkA⁵

24 ekpZ 1937bE dks fcgkj ds jKT; i ky , eEThE gSyV (M.G. Hallet) us JhN".k fl Ugk dk; tks dkad fo/kk; d ny ds urk cuk; s x, FkA vi uk efu=e. My xBr djus ds fy, vkefu=r fd; ka JhN".k fl Ugk us jKT; i ky l s Li"V dgk fd

efl=e.My cukus ds i wZ ds vk'okl u ns fd muds o8kkfud dk; k& ea gLr{ksi ugha dj& } D; k&d i kUr; Lok; Uk&'kkl u ds vUrxZ mUkjnk; h Lo'kkl h 'kkl u gksuk pfg, tks turk dh bPNkuq kj pyA⁶

ftl ftu egEen ; qd dk efl=e.My cuk] ml h fnu iVuk ea muds fo#) in'kz gq A t; izdk'k ukjk; .k] cl kou fl g] jkeo{k csuhigh] l \$ n 'kkg] egEen gch] vCny ckjh] dkerk id kn fl g] eatj vgl u] plnkoh noh] jkeorkj xki] gfjxki] folnsojh id kn rFkk txnh'k dgehA bl vol j ij fxj'rkj fd; s x, A bl ds vfrfjDr jktxhj ea /kjuk nsus ds Øe ea fl yko ds y[kir fl g] rFkk de'oj 'kez dks pkj eghus dh dkjkokl dh l tk feyhA fcgkj ds dkad h us'kvka us Hkh ; qd ds vUrfje efl=e.My dk foj&k fd; k] tks fo/kku l Hkk ea cgeer ugha djus ds dkj.k u rksctV ikl dj l drh Fkh u dkbZ dkuu cuk l drh FkhA⁷

21 tu 1937bE dks ok; ljk; us vius , d oDr0; ea i kUr; efl=e.My rFkk i kUr; jkT; ikyka ds dk; Z {k= dks Li"V djrsgq cryk; k fd dkad dh ; g 'k&dk fuey gSfd jkT; iky efl=e.My dh uhr rFkk nsud iz'kkl u ea gLr{ksi dj&A i kUr; Lo'kkl u dk mIs ; rks ; g gSfd efl=; ka ds dk; Z {k= ea jkT; iky l k/kj.k rFkk efl=; ka ds ijke'kz l sgh dke dj&s vks mu ekeyka ea l n ds ifr ugh] cfYd fo/kku l Hkkvka ds ifr mUkjnk; h gk&A ok; ljk; ds bu Li"Vhdj.k ds ckn 7 tykbZ 1937bE dks c/kkZ ea dkad dk; Zkfj.kh dh cBd gp] ftl ea ; g iLrko ikfjr fd; k x; k fd tgk efl=e.My cukus ds fy, dkad dks vkef=r fd; k tk;] ogk; og viuk efl=e.My cuk y] ijUrq in xg.k ds i'pkr-bl ckr dk ijk /; ku fn; k tk; s fd dkad ds ?k&k.k&i = dk ijk&ijk dk; kBo; u gkA Qyr%vUrfje efl=e.My us R; kx&i= ns fn; k rFkk 20 tykbZ 1937bE dks dkad fo/kk; d ny ds urk JhN".k fl Ug us efl=e.My dk xBu fd; k] ftl ea JhN".k fl g] iz'kuea=h] vuqgukjk; .k fl g] foUk ea-h rFkk l \$ n egem rFkk txyky p&kh ea-h cuA⁸

bl ds ckn jktuhrd ; qd cfln; ka dh fjk&Z dk izu ljdkj ds l keus vk; kA gkjh ckx tsy ds 12 jktu&rd c&n; ka us Hkk[k&gM&ky dj nhA jkT; iky l s ckr& gp] ijUrq os l Hkh cfln; ka dks , d l kFk eDr djus ds ifrdw FkA mudk dguk Fk fd os ckjh&ckjh l s iR; d jktu&rd cfln; ka ds vijk/kka dh tkp dj; &s vks tkp ds ckn , d&, d djds mudh fjk&Z dj&A bl ij JhN".k fl g] ekSuk vcy dyke vktkn vks vP; r iVo)Z jktcfln; ka dks l e>kus gkjhckx tsy x; A mlga vk'okl u fn; k x; k fd mudh fjk&Z ugha gksch] rks efl=e.My R; kx&i= ns n&kA rc dgha mlgaus Hkk[k&gM&ky l ekr dhA⁹

egkRk xkpkh us Hkh cryk; k fd jktu&rd cfln; ka dh fjk&Z l s 'kkfUr rFkk l q; oLFk dks dkbZ [krjk ugha gS D; k&d os fcgkj ds iz'kkuell=h dks vk'okl u ns p&ds g&fd fjk&Z ds ckn os l keU; ukxfjd dh rjg 'kkfUriwZ thou 0; rhr dj&s vks viuh ekuf l d fopk/kjk dks ijofr dj n&A 1937bE ds gfji jk dkad ea Hkh dkad ds v/; {k l Hkk'kplnz ckd us jktu&rd cfln; ka dh fjk&Z dk i wZ; k l eFkZ fd; kA ckju us dgk fd jktu&rd cfln; ka dh fjk&Z dk izu dkad ds nsud iz'kkl u ds vUrxZ vkrk gA jkT; iky dk dke efl=; ka ds fu.kZ ea gLr{ksi djuk ugh] cfYd mlga fl QZ l yk&Hkj nsuk gA 22 Qjoh 1937bE dks ok; ljk; us viuk , d Li"Vhdj.k id kfjr fd; kA fcgkj ds iz'kkuell=h rFkk jkT; iky us

vki l ea fopkj & foe' k'z fd; k rFkk jkT; iky us mu jktuhfrd cfln; ka dks fjk djus
dk vkn'sk ns fn; k] ftl dh tkp iz'kkuea=h dj p'p's FkA Qyr%fcgkj efl=e. My us
viuk R; kx&i= oki l ys fy; kA 19 ekpZ 1938bE rd jktclnh fjk dj fn; s
x; A¹⁰

fcgkj efl=e. My us Hkfe&l Ecl/kh dkuwka ea Hkh l d'kkj fd; kA fo/kku l Hkk ea
, d dkuw ikl dj yxkus dks ?kVkdj 1911bE ds Lrj rd fd; k x; k v'k' yxku
dh cdk; k jde dks ekQ dj fn; k x; kA l kFk gh tehUnk'jka ij ; g ifrcU/k yxk; k
x; k fd yxku dh ol'nyh ea os neukRed ifØ; k dk iz; kx u djA bl ckr dk Hkh
iko/kku fd; k x; k fd d'Q' fo'k'sk volFkk ea dk'rdk'jka dks yxku ugha tek djus
ij Hkh cn[ky ugha fd; k tk l drkA tehu dh cn[kyh rHkh gks l drh Fkh tc
tehu [k'sh ds fy, v; k'k; l k'fcr gkA , d n'j's dkuw ds }k'j 9 ifr'kr l s
vf/kd C; kt ij ifrcU/k yxk; k x; kA bl ds v'frfjDr g'jtuka dh f'k{k'k rFkk
c'fu; knh f'k{k'k ij Hkh fo'k'sk cy fn; k x; kA l Hkh f'k{k.k&l l Fkkvka ea g'jtu
fo | k'f'k'z ka dks nkf [ky gks ds fy, ncko Mkyk x; kA 1937bE ea, d c'fu; knh f'k{k'k
ckM'Z dk xBu g'p'k v'k' iVuk V'kuak Ldny dks c'fu; knh V'kuak d'bnz ea cny fn; k
x; kA bl h o'k'z o; Ld l k{k'jrk v'Unksyu Hkh ik'jEHk fd; k x; kA bl izdkj vi'k'
1939bE rd fcgkj ea o; Ld f'k{k'k ds 14259 d'bnz dk; e gks x; } ftuea 319000
0; fDr f'k{k'k ikus yx'k l kFk gh bl vof/k rd 50 c'fu; knh f'k{k'k Ldny Hkh [k'k's
x; A¹¹ bl dky ea V'M ; fu; u v'Unksyu Hkh rhoz g'p'kA v'cny c'j'h] t; izdk'k
uk'j; .k] cl kou fl g] ; kx'bnz 'k'p'y] jkeo{k c'shi g'h] fo'oukFk ekF'k'j] fd'k'k'sh iz' kn]
cky'soj fl g] bl ds dk'Qh l fØ; l nL; FkA bl ds ckn l kE; oknh ny ds y'k'ka ea
fo | k'f'k'z ka dks l afBr djus dk dk; Z'k'q fd; k rFkk fofHkUu ftyka ea fo | k'f'k'z ka ds
vudl vf/ko'sku g'p'A¹² 1939bE ea tc f}rh; fo'o; q' g'p'k] rc dkac' h
efl=e. Myka l s'fcuk jk; fy; s gh ok; l jk; us ; g ?k'k'sk.kk dj nh fd Hkk'j'r Hkh ; q'
ea 'kkfey g' ftl ij dkac' dk; Z l febr us [kn izdV fd; kA dkac' ; g p'k'grh Fkh
fd ; q' ds m'is ; dks Li"V fd; k tk; A vxj ; q' dk m'is ; yk'dra= dh j'k'k
djuk g's rks Hkk'j'r ea Hkh yk'dr'ka=d 0; olFkk LFkk'fir gksuh p'k'fg, A i'jUr'q ok; l jk;
ds oDr'0; l s dkac' l r'q'V ugha g'p'k v'k' 10 vDV'ej dh viuh c'bd ea dkac'
dk; & l febr us dkac' h l nL; ka dks vkn'sk fn; k fd 31 vDV'ej rd os efi=e. My
l s R; kx&i= ns nA QyLo: i l Hkh dkac' h efi=e. Myka us viuk R; kx&i= ns
fn; kA fcgkj ds iz'kkuea=h Jh'N".k fl g] us Hkh vius in l s R; kx&i= n'oj
efl=e. My dks Hkax dj fn; kA¹³

fc'v'u v'k'j' te'uh ds chip gksu'kyh yM'kbZ ea fcfV'k l jdkj us Hkk'j'r dks
ml dh turk dh bPNk dks tkus fcuk gh 'kkfey dj fn; k g's v'k'j' ml us , d h
dk; & kgh dh g's rFkk , d s dkuw tkjh fd; s g' ftuds dkj.k i'k'Ur; l jdk'jka ds
vf/kdk'jka ea deh g'k'sh g'A ; g fo/kku&l Hkk l jdkj l s vug'k'k djrh g's fd og
Hkk'j'r l jdkj v'k'j' ml ds tfj; s fcfV'k l jdkj dks l f'p'r djs fd or'eku ; q'
ds d'f'f'kr m'is ; ka dks /; ku ea j [krs g'q Hkk'j'r; turk dk l g; kx i'k'r djus ds
iz'kk'ku l s eq' yekuka v'k'j' v'Yil a; d oxk' ds fy, i Hkko'i w'k'z l j'k'k. kka ds l kFk
yk'dr'U=okn ds fl) k'Ur'ka dks Hkk'j'r ea y'k'w'fd; k tk;] Hkk'j'r dh uhr ml dh turk
{k'j'k gh fu/k'z'j'r dh tk; s v'k'j' Hkk'j'r dks , d k Lok/khu jk"V'° ekuk tk; } ftl s viuk

I ño/kku Lo; a cucus dk vf/kdkj gkA tgk; rd rRdkfyu Hkfo"; ea l EHko gkA bl fl) kUr dks Hkkjr ds orþku 'kkl u ea Hkh iz; Ør fd; k tk, A¹⁴

20 ekpZ 1940bE dks jkex<+ea vf[ky Hkkjrh; dkaxl dk vf/ko'sku ekSykuk vcy dyke vktkn ds l HkkrRo ea gkA vius v/; {kh; Hkk"K.k ea vktkn us cryk; k fd Hkkjr dks fcuk ml dh bPNk ds gh yMkbZ ea /kdsy fn; k x; k gA ge fcfV'k l kekT; dks fot; h cukdj viuh xykeh dh vof/k dks c<kuk ugha pkgrA 1937bE ea geus l g; kx dsfy, tks vLFkk; h gkFk c<k; k FkA jkex<+dkaxl ea iwKZ Lojkt; dh ikflr dk y{; cryk; k x; k rFk 0; Ld erkf/kdkj ds vk/kkj ij ppuh gþZ l ño/kku l Hkk }kjk nsk dk l ño/kku cucus ij cy fn; k x; kA l kFk gh nsk dh turk lsvihy dh xbZ fd og xkþk ds usRo ea Hkkoh l ?k"KZ dsfy, r\$ kj djA¹⁵ egk; Ø dh Hk; djrk dks nskrs gq dkaxl dk; Zkfj.kh ds 7 tgykbZ 1940bE dks iwKZ dh viuh cBd ea fcfV'k dks l g; kx djus dk fu'p; fd; kA ij lUrq bl l g; kx dh nks iæ[k 'kræFkh] iFke fcfV'k ; g Lohdkj dj ys fd ; Ø ds i'pkr- Hkkjr dks iwKZ Lok/khurk inku djsxk] f}rh;] dñz ea vfoyc , d vLFkk; h ljdkj cu} ftl ea l Hkh nyka ds ifrfuf/k Hkkx yA dkaxl dh ekax dks /; ku ea j[krs gq 7 vxLr 1940bE dks Hkkjr ds ok; ljk; ykMZ fyufyFkxka , d oDr0; iZ kfjr fd; k] ftl ea mlgkaus Hkkjr dk y{; vks fuos'kd Lojkt; cryk; kA mlgkaus ?kSk.kk dh fd ; Ø dh l ekflr ds ckn fcfV'k ljdkj , d l febr cuk; xh] ftl ea Hkkjr ds jk"Vh; thou ds l Hkh iæ[k rRoka dk ifrfuf/kRo glsck vks og l febr Hkkjr ds Hkkoh l ño/kku dk fuekZk djsxA ok; ljk; us ; g Hkh dgk fd fcfV'k ljdkj , d h fdl h ljdkj dks l Ukk gLrkfjr ugha djsxh] tks Hkkjr ds jk"Vh; thou dk dkbZ egRo iwKZ vak Lohdkj djus dsfy, r\$ kj u gkA¹⁶ bl ckr l sbædkj ughafd; k tk l drk gS fd 1935bE ds vf/kfu; e ds }kjk ftl i kUr; Lorærk dh cgkyh gq h og vius vki ea , d egRo iwKZ dne Fkk] yfdu ; g [; ky xyr gS fd i kUr; Lok; Uk 'kkl u i kUrka ea iwKZ mlkjnk; h 'kkl u dks LFkkr ir djus ds vk'k; l s cuk; k FkA

I mKZ%

- 1- th[EvkB] vksu] fcgkj , .M mMh k bu 1921] iVuk] 1922] iE&01
- 2- og] iE&3
- 3- l Ppnkuln fl Ugl] gk; kchZ vks i kofu'k; y vKvKk %fgUtrku fj0; i vi& 1925] iE&237
- 4- , l E, eE ol h] fcgkj bu 1936&37] iVuk 1937] iE&6&7
- 5- dE dE nUk] YhMe epeV bu fcgkj] [k.M&2] iE&283&286
- 6- , l E, eE ol h] fcgkj bu 1937&38] iE&7&9
- 7- dE dE nUk] YhMe epeV bu fcgkj] [k.M&2] iE&279&290
- 8- bf.M; u usku] 9 tgykbZ 1937
- 9- vukg ukjk; .k fl g] ejs l ñej.k] iE&253
- 10- , l E, eE ol h] fcgkj bu 1937&38] iVuk 1941] iE&1
- 11- i ekfHk l hrkjes k] dkaxl dk bfrgk] rhl jk [k.M] fnyyh] 1948] iE&260&61
- 12- 'k'k'k[kj >k] i ksyfVdy bykbV bu fcgkj] cEcb] 1972] iE&40&42
- 13- dE dE nUk] YhMe epeV bu fcgkj] [k.M&2] iE&343
- 14- , uE, uE fe=] bf.M; u , uqy jftLVj] 1939] [k.M&2] iE&246
- 15- , uE, uE fe=] bf.M; u , tpy jftLVj] 1940] [k.M&1] iE&229
- 16- dE dE nUk] YhMe epeV bu fcgkj] [k.M&2] iE&378&79



Hkjgq Lrw eamRdh.kz dyk ds vuqe n' ;

Mko l qhi 'kekZ

vfl 0 ikQd j dluat]

ux] ih, p&Mh0

'kq dkyhu efirZdyk dh l tñj , oa egROI wkZ l kexh okysHkjgq ds Lrw dks izdk'k ea ykus dk J\$ dfua'ke egkn; dks gA Hkjgq ea dFkk ds n'; ka dk vadu dyk ds mRN"V uewka ds : i ea iklr gkrk gA Hkjgq dh ofndk , oa rky.k ij fofHkuu izdkj dh efirZ ka dk vadu vR; f/kd dykRed <a l sfd; k x; k gSftl l s 'kq dkyhu ykdthou dh >kdh ij l tñj izdk'k iMfk gA $\frac{1}{2}p = 1 \frac{1}{2}; k&01\frac{1}{2}$

Hkjgq eacq) thou lsl EcfU/kr vud n' ; ; Fkk & egkfhfu"Øe.k] l æk/k] /kepØ iorZ] egkifjuokZk , oa muds thou pfjr lsl EcfU/kr vl; dbZ n' ; ka , oa tkrd n' ; ka dk vadu cM+ l tñj <a l s iklr gkrk gA bl ds vfrfjDr ; gk; ; {k& ; {kh] L=h nork] ukx] nork] i 'kq if{k; ka dk Hkh vadu iklr gA ; {k %& ; {k intk , oa ; {kka ds dY; k.kdkjh , oa fok'kdkjh : i ka dk fo'kn o.kZ i kphu l kfgR; ea iklr gkrk gA ; {kka dks ty dk , d iæq'k nork ekuk x; k gS ty ea i.k.k rRo dh mRifuk dk fopkj i kphu l kfgR; ea cgqk iklr gkrk gA vkj dækj Lokeh⁴⁰ dk er gSfd ; {kka ds ek/; e l s bl fopkj/kkj dk i; kZr : i l s ifj; fn; k x; k gA Hkjgq ds }kjk rky.kka ij mUkj ea dæj ; {k %dqi jks {kksZ rFkk nf{k.k ea fo: <d dh efirZ gA tcf d bl h ; q; ds l tñh ds pkjka }kj rky.kka ij ; g efirZ ka T; ka fd R; ka cph gpZ gA

Hkjgq ea mUkj ds LrEHk ij vtdkyd ; {k , oa plnk; {kh] iwhZ rky.k ; k LrEHk ij l q'kZk; {kh] nf{k.kh rky.k ; k LrEHk ij fo: <d ; {k ds l kFk xæx; ; {k , oa pdokd ukxjt rFkk if'peh rky.k ds , d LrEHk ij l tñpyke ; {k , oa fl fjeknork dh x<ej d<h gpZ efirZ ka gA ; s l Hkh ; {k efirZ ka okgu ; Dr gS vkj LFkkud epk ea gA vtdkyd ds vfrfjDr l Hkh ; {kka ds gkFk ueLdkj epk ea feyrS gA dæj dk okgu , d okeu %ckuk½ uj gA vtdkyd dk okgu [kM r gSfdUrq bl ds vo'kSk l s fuEu eRL; k/kZ l fgr uj&vkNfr dk Kku gkrk gA xæx; rFkk l tñk dk okgu xt gS vkj fo: <d ds okgu LFkku ij ou[kM vidr gS vkj l tñpyke dks , d ofndk ij [kM+gq fn[kk; k x; k gA bu ; {kka ea dæj] fo: <d

⁴⁰ dækj Lokeh] ; {kt ftYn&2 i"B&13] 14] 55

vkj I fpyke ds uke ck) I kfgR; ea Hkh i ktr gksr gA c: vk ds vud kj Hkjgr dk vtdkyd ; {k vkj mnku⁴¹ ea of.kr ikok dk vtdykid ; {k , d gh gS vr% blga ; {k i ntk dh LFkkuh; ijEijk I s I EcfU/kr djuk vf/kd mi ; Qr irhr gksrk gA vkj ; {k f.k; ka ea plnk; {kh dks , d o{k ds I kFk nk; a gkfk I s ml dh , d 'kk[kk dks i dM+gq rFkk ck; a gkFk o i j I s bl ds rus dks ?kj's gq vadr fd; k x; k gS vkj uhps , d edj esk dh vkNfr bl ds okgu ds : i ea gA nll jh ; {kh I n'kZuk tks edjokgu ij [kMh viuk nkguk gkFk Aj mBk; s rTuh I s Aj dh vkj I dsr djrh gPZ vadr gA vkj ; s nksuka uke ; f{k; ka ds vl he I kOn; I s I EcfU/kr fo'okl dh vkj I dsr djrs gA

Hkjgr ea i dZ fn'kk es cukbz xbz /krjk"V^a dh efrz vc fo|eku ugha gA bl I k{k I s ; g I fpr gksrk gSfd Hkjgr Lrui ds rkj.kka ij dbz ykd norkvka ds I kFk pkj fn'kkvka ds pkj ykd i kyka dh I fuf'pr fLFkr Fkh ftl dk mYys[k ck) I kfgR; ⁴² ea prpj k j k f t d noka ds : i eafeyrk gA bl idkj Hkjgr dh bu ; {k efrz ka dk] dyk ijEijk dh n"V I s vf}rh; egRo gA nork %Hkjgr ds LrEHka ij mRdh.kz I Hkh nork efrz ka fL=; ka dh gS mnkgj.k Lo: i fl fiek nork] pydkdk nork , oa egkdkdk norkA fl fiek ¼ 0 Jh ekj y{eh} tks ykd dh ikphu nsh Fkh buds vadu dh fo'kSkrrk budh LrC/k [kMh gPZ epk FkhA ftl ea nksuka i j dN ckj dh vkj fotfM+ I s fn[kk, tksr gA ¼p= I ¼; k&02½ ykij; kullnux<+ I s feyh gPZ ekrrsh dh efrz ea Hkh ; gh y{k.k gS, oa vkj Hkh vud e.efrz ka ea ; g igpku feyrh gSfd ; gh ikphu ekrdk nsh FkhA vkj Hkjgr ea bl nsh dk tks Lo: i fodfl r gPZ og bl idkj gS & dey ds Qyka ij [kMh gPZ ; k deyou ea cBh gPZ , d I tñj L=h efrz ds Aj jh Hkx ea nks gkfk bl s vkoftr ?kVka I s Luku dj jgs gA ⁴³ ¼p= I ¼; k&03] 04¼pydkdk] egkdkdk ; snks Nks/h vkj cMh dkdk nork Fkh] ; |fi dkdk dk vFz gS & cxgk] xgxkdk ; k fNi dyh] HkSM+ k ; k es: dA fdUrq ; g mYys[kuh; gSfd bu nks norkvka dh e[kkNfr I tñj L=h efrz ka dh gS vkj efrz ea mudk xkdk I s dkbz I EcfU/k ugha gA i fke efrz ea pydkdk ¼kndkdk½ nork dks , d v'kksd o{k dh 'kk[kk i dM+⁴⁴] ckegr , oa in I s bl dh Mky dks voxjBr fd; s gq vadr fd; k x; k gS uhps bl dk okgu xt gA efrz vad oL=kHk.kka I s vyNfr gA ¼p= I ¼; k&05½ nll jh efrz egkdkdk dh gS & bl dk ck; k; gkfk ck; h t'kk ij vkfJr gS vkj mBk gPZ nkguk gkFk fl j ij gA⁴⁵

i d c'tekgu C; kl us egkdkdk dh efrz dks ukxkn egkjkt ds egy ea yxh gPZ <w fudkyk gS ftl idkj dk'kh ea yggkohj vkj oqykohj ; s nks ; {k nork vkh rd i nts tksr gS blgha dh rjg Nks/h cMh dkdk nfo; ka FkhA

⁴¹ nh?k fudk;] 3] 197 vkj vxsegkl e; I qar] nh?k fudk; &2-258

⁴² vkVkuV; I tk

⁴³ dfuake , 0] fn Lrui vKW Hkjgr Qyd 23-1

⁴⁴ dfuake] , 0 fn Lrui vKW Hkjgr Qyd 23

⁴⁵ dfuake] , 0 fn Lrui vKW Hkjgr Qyd 20

ukx %& Hkjgr ds vduka ea ukxka ds dbz n'; gS vksj fofHku /kekā ds ikphu xbfkka ea Hkh vud ukxjktkvarFkk ukx ykd ds l mHkZ iklr gkrs gA⁴⁶

- ukxka ds , d n'; ea ou[kM fLFkr , d dph ds l keus fd l h tVk; Dr riLoh vksj ipQ.k; Dr ukx dsokryki dk n'; gA⁴⁷
- nu js ea ukxjktk o: .k] budh iRuh foeyk rFkk dU; k bjm rh ds vdu gA ftl ea ukx nEi fUk dls vius jktiki kn ds l Hkk Hkou ea cBk gq/k fn[kk; k x; k gA⁴⁸
- id uftr LrEHk ij iZ; kr ukxjktk , jdi= dh dFkk dk n'; vdr gS tks lifjokj cks/ko{k dh imtk djrs gq fn[kk; s x; s gA⁴⁹
fp= 1 ½; k&06½
- epfylh ukxjkt dk vdu , d vU; n'; ea gS tksfd cD dh iknpk , oa cks/ke.M ; k ofndk dh j{k dk jgs gA⁵⁰ ; g dFkk Hkjgr ds vfrfjDr l kph , oa vejkorh ds Lrii ka ij Hkh mRdh.kz gA

Hkjgr ea ukxka dks muds LokHkkfod vFkok ekuoh; : i] nksuka gh izkj l s vdr fd; k x; k gA ekuoh; : i ea vdr ukxka dks ikpQ.k vksj ukxh dks , d Q.k l s; Dr fu: fir djus dh ij jk l oZkU; FkA Hkjgr ds , d vU; n'; ea , d f=dkskd pade* ds varx rhuQuk ukx dk vdu gS , oa l kFk ea nks fl g rFkk l kr gkFkh ou[k.M ea fn[kk, x; s gA⁵¹ vksj nf{k.k rksj.k }kj ds LrEHk ij Hkh ukx pdokd dh efrz mRdh.kz gA fp= 1 ½; k&07½

vll jk %& ; | fi vll jk vka dh eku; rk ofnd ; q; ea gh py i Mh Fkh D; kd ___Xon ea moZkh vksj ?krkph dk mYy[k gS vr% 'kaxdky ea Hkh Hkjgr ds dyk vfhko; at dka us vyEdq kj feJds kh] l n' kZk rFkk l Hknk uked pkj vll jk vka dh efrz ka ukeadu l fgr cukbz vksj bl n'; dks noka ds ur; , oa xhr dk l VVd mRl o dgk gA vU; nork %&vll jk] ; {k nork rFkk ukxka ds vfrfjDr Hkjgr ds n'; ka ea fo | k/kj] fdUuj , oa l q. kz Hkh fu: fir fd; s x; s gA l q. kka dk , d vdu Loxk ds fofHku norkvka ds l kFk fd; k x; k gS vksj nu js vdu ea bulga i Zk rFkk i PN l eflor : i l s inf'kr fd; k x; k gA⁵² Hkjgr ds fdUujka dk vdu rDdkfj; tkrd ds , d izj.k ea iklr gkrk gS ftl ea jktk ds l kFk , d fdUuj ; qy vdr gS ftuds dV insk l s Ajj dk v/kkz eud; ka ts k gS uhps dk Hkx [kMlr gS fdrq i.kz vkcr fn[kk; k x; k gA⁵³

⁴⁶ Qksxy] bf.M; u l oVvykj] ykbM u l s izkf'kr

⁴⁷ dfuake] , 0 fn Lrii vkW Hkjgr Qyd 47-1 n'; dh igpku ef.kn.Mtkrd ¼ ½; k&253½ l s dh xbz gA

⁴⁸ dfuake] , 0 fn Lrii vkW Hkjgr Qyd 18

⁴⁹ dfuake] , 0 fn Lrii vkW Hkjgr Qyd 14

⁵⁰ dkyk] , l 0l h0 Hkjgr ofndk] fp= 26

⁵¹ dfuake] , 0 fn Lrii vkW Hkjgr Qyd 28-1

⁵² dfuake] , 0 fn Lrii vkW Hkjgr Qyd 32] 6] 5

⁵³ dfuake] , 0 fn Lrii vkW Hkjgr Qyd 27-12

Hkjgr ds, d tkrd vdu ea fo |k/kj dk fu: i.k gSc: vk fl Ugk ua bl n'; dks l eixtkrd dk n'; dgk gA⁵⁴ vks bl h Jkkyk ea xB/koZ dk Hkh , d vdu Hkjgr ds blnz kkyxgk uked n'; eafeyrk gS bl dh vkNfr [kAMr gSfdUrq bl s , d oh.kk l fgr fn[kkyk; k x; k gS tks xU/kokā dh l kfgR; vupekSnr l xhr fiz rk dks bixr djrk gA ykd thou ea ipfyr vud rRdkyhu ykd fo'okl ka vks vud vl; norkvka; k fuEu dksV ds norkvka ds i Hkko dk ifjp; Hkjgr ds vduka eafeyrk gS vks; gkads l Hkh vdu cM+gh l tho , oa l kj xfhkzr gS ftuea ml ; q ds ykd thou ds n'kz vuk; kl gh gk tkrsgA

ekuoxZ %&bl ds vxzr jtkk , oa/kkfeZ iq "kka dk vdu fd; k x; k gS & jtkk & bl n'; }kjk ; g fn[kk; k x; k gSfd dksky ds jtkk iZ suftr cD ds n'kz kFkZ vk; s vks budh omuk dj jgs gS os jFk ea cBs l okjh ds vks vdr gA bl h n'; ea og iq; 'kkyk Hkh vdr gS tks iZ suftr ua JkOLrh ea cuokbz Fkh) tks nEftyh bekjr gA, d vl; n'; ea gkFkh ij l okj jtkk vKkr'k=qyEcs tyw ds vks vkrsgq fn[kk, x; sgS vks gLR; kjkgh l ekV gkFkh l smrdj vx tfy epk ea otkl u dh oluk djrs gq fn[kk, x; sgA $\frac{1}{2}p = 1 \frac{1}{2}; k&08\frac{1}{2}$

/kkfeZ iq "k %&bl n'; ea oYdy/kkjh tVY ifjoktd viuh i .kz kkyk vka ds vks cBs gq gS vks vfxugk= djrs gq fn[kk, x; sgS ftl l s Li "V gSfd ; syks vfxu iutk , oa ; K djrs FkA , d vl; n'; ea nh?kz ril h uked ifjoktd ftl ds eLrd ij tVk tW gS fLFkj vkl u ea cBk gvk vius f'k"; ka dks onk/; u djg jgk gS ftl dh gLr epk vka l s Kkr gkrk gSfd og onka dks d .BLFk djkus okyk JkS=; v/; kid gA mijkDr of.kz n'; ka l s , d ckr fuf'pr Kkr gkrh gSfd Hkjgr ds f'kfyi ; ka ea ekuoh; vkNfr vks Jeokl h ifjoktd ka dks vdr djus dh ijh {kerk Fkh vks ; fn ospkgrsrks l jyrk l scD dh ekuoh; vkNfr Hkh cuk l drs Fks ijUrq blugaus ifrcdk ; k e; khk ds dkj .k dHkh bl idkj dk fopkj gh ughafd; ka

i 'kq %&Hkjgr ea i 'kq/ka dh vkNfr; ka dk vdu nks idkj l sgS i Fke LokHkkfod i 'kq vks f}rh; dFYir i 'kq ; k bz kexA f}rh; idkj ds thoka ea l i {kfl g} 0; ky] o"kePN tybk ; k tyepN] exjePN] eNyh dh iN ds l kFk exj dh vkNfr vkfn Hkjgr Lni dh efrzdyk eafeyrs gA Hkjgr ds rks .kka dh fo'kSkrrk budh cM+j; ka ds nksuka xky fljka ij cuh exjePN dh vkNfr; k; gS ftuds e[k [kys vks i PN xkykbl ea gA blga f'k'k'epkf'k'j% dgk tkrk FkA⁵⁵ $\frac{1}{2}p = 1 \frac{1}{2}; k&09\frac{1}{2}$ bl ds vrfjDr LokHkkfod : i ea LFky tUrj ty tUrj jkus oky} vkdk'kpkjh tUrq , oa fxygjh rFk d dMk vkfn dk vdu gA i 'kq/ka ea fl g] xt] v'o] c"khk] cjk] ex] Jaky $\frac{1}{2}kSM+ k\frac{1}{2}$ esk] foMky] dkk] [kj xks k] clnj] fcYyh] HkM+rFk if{k; ka ea 'k'k' %taxyh cr [k] g] d d d] dk] rFk e; j vkfn dk vdu mYy[kuh; gA jkus oky tUrq/ka ea fNidyh vks l iz rFk ty LFky tUrq/ka ea e: d] dPNi rFk mnz $\frac{1}{2}$ Åfoyko% dk vdu gA Hkjgr ea bu tho tUrq/ka dh vkNfr; k; i Nfrf l) l h i rhr gkrh gA Hkjgr ds f'kfyi ; ka dks canj vks gkFkh dh Hkko i wkz vkNfr; k; cukus ea fo'kSk l Qyrk feyh gA Hkjgr ds f'kfyi ; ka ua i 'kq/ka dk muds LokHkkfod : i l s

⁵⁴ csuhek/ko c: vk , oa fl Ugk] Hkjgr bfULØI'kUl] i "B&89 l s vks

⁵⁵ vxdky okl nD 'kj .k 'f'k'k'epkf'k'j% y[k tDvkbDvkD, 0 1939] tuYI vkND bf.M; u l kd k; Vh vkND vksj; .Vy vkVZ tu fnl Ecj] 1934

vadu cMh prjrkid fd; k gš D; käd tc ge bu vkNfr; ka dks nš krs gS rks i krs gš fd& fl gka dh vkNfr; k; vkst iwKz gSftuea buds i qV 'kjhj] xtZu djrs gq e[k] rh[ks nkar] v; ky jDr f'kjk, a vKš iats LokHkkfod : i l s n'kkz s x; s gA Hkjgq ea gkFk; ka dk vadu cgr i Hkko'kkyh gS vKš blga i R; d l Hko epk ea fn[kk; k x; k gš tš s & o[ka dks m[kkM+s gq] viuh l m l s viuh ihB ij i kuh mNkyrs gq] pR; ; k cK/ko{k dh iutk djrs gq] ekY; ki Zk djrs gq bR; kfnA Hkjgq ea mRdh.kz nks n'; , d s gš ftuea dN canj txyh gkFkh dks idMej eks/s j l s l s ckd kd j gä h [kq h ys tk jgs gA $\frac{1}{2}$ p= l $\frac{1}{2}$; k&10% Hkjgq ea gh cggkflrd U; xkFk o{k dk mYy[k vk; k gS bl ea Ng gkFk; ka dks o{k ds uhps flFkr vkl u dh iutk djrs gq fn[kk; k x; k gA⁵⁶ Hkjgq ea cUnj] gkFkh vKš euq; rhuka , d nu js ds l kFk feydj dbz fofp= gkLi wKz n'; ka dh 'kkkk c<k jgs gA ; gk; ij gkFkh dh gh Hkkär exka dh Hkh fofHku epk vka dk vadu i ktr gkrk gA vf/kdkr% ex l eyka dks pR; ka ds fudV cBs; k [kM+s gq mRdh.kz fd; k x; k gA buea l s , d n'; ea i kap exka dks nks fl gka ds l kFk , d pR; dh fofHku fn'kvka ea cBs gq mRdh.kz fd; k x; k gS tks pR; ds ifo= vfgd kRed okrkoj.k dks Li"V djrk gA⁵⁷ bykgkcn ds l a gky; ea , d [kM+r Ä".k h" k Hkkx gS ft l ea o{k ds uhps nks exka dks fn[kyk; k x; k gA i 'kq/ka ds l UnHkz ea cukja l s l EcfU/kr vud jkd n'; Hkjgq ea vdr gS tks mYy[kuh; gA ; gk; ij rhu i |Edka %Qyka dk ?kj k½ ij i ktr dN n'; , d s gS ftuea l Hkor% , d gh dFk l w ds rhu l UnHkz dk vadu gA i Fke n'; ea cukja }kjk , d xt dks idM+s dk vadu gS vKš f}rh; n'; ea xkrs ctkrs gq cukj gkFkh dks vadk ds l gkys ys tkrsgq fn[kk; x; s gS $\frac{1}{2}$ p= l $\frac{1}{2}$; k&10% rFk rh l js n'; ea , d eks s ij cBs ; {k ds nkar l s cks jTtq dks gkFkh [kprk gqk fn[kk; k x; k gA $\frac{1}{2}$ p= l $\frac{1}{2}$; k&11½ vKš ; {k ds l Eed[k , d vkl u ij fojkftr okuj ; {k ds u [k dkV jgk gA cukja ds l kFk ; {k dk vadu] dkk.k&dkyhu , d ošndk l rEHk ij eFkj k l a gky; l s i ktr gqk gš bl ea , d cukj fd l h myd dk , d vKš p{kq fujh{k.k dk jgk gS nu jk cukj , d uxu ; {k dh vKš vkN"V gS vKš ; {k viuh vka[ka ij gkFk j [ks gA okl qd 'kj.k vxoky uabl sfpdRI k n'; ekuk gA⁵⁸

Hkjgq dh efrZdyk ea v'oka dk vadu Hkh fofHku n'; ka ea i ktr gA i l s ftr }kjk cD iutk ds n'; ea v'oka dh fofHku Nfo; ka i ktr gkrh gA buds vrfjDr dN vl; n'; ka ea Hkh v'okjKš; ka dk vadu gA⁵⁹ dfuake ua ftlga l kefd n'; ka l s l EcfU/kr fd; k gA bl h ds l kFk gh o"khk dk vadu Hkjgq ea Lorark ds l kFk i ktr gkrk gš , d n'; ea , d l fjr ea [kM+s o"khk ds cke Hkkx ea nks Jaxy vdr gA rFk o"khk l a kV dk vadu Hkh nks n'; ka ea i ktr gkrk gš bl ea c"khka ds ij l i j foed[k cBus dh LokHkkfod epk dk cMh gh vkst iwKz vadu gS ft l s dykdj dh i 'kq Lokko ds fujh{k.k dh {kerk dk Li"V Kku gkrk gA

⁵⁶ dfuake] , 0 fn Lrii vkW Hkjgq Qyd 15] 30

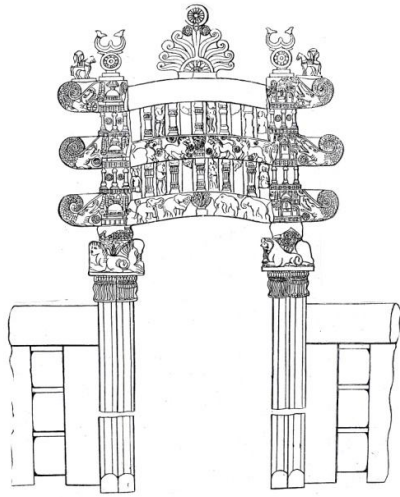
⁵⁷ c: vk usbl s'0; ??k tkrd* l s l EcfU/kr fd; k gA dki l] vfhky[k l $\frac{1}{2}$; k ch0&68]

c: vk] ftYn] 2 i" B 113 l s vkxA

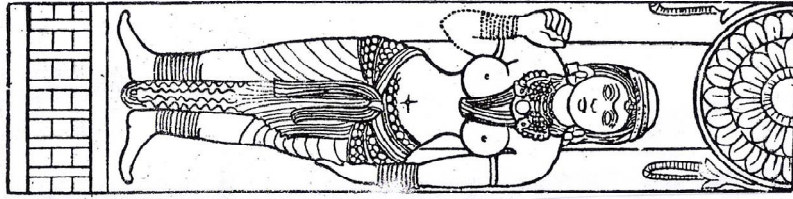
⁵⁸ vxoky] okl qd 'kj.k] Hkkjrh; dyk] i" B&149

⁵⁹ dfuake] , 0 fn Lrii vkW Hkjgq Qyd 32] 6] 5

; gk; ij , d vll; n'; ea , d egkl kefnzd tUrq ½egkeRL; ½ eut; ka l s Hkj h
uko dks vi us tCMLa l s pck jgk gSvr%; gk; ij dykdj ua l kFKzkgka ds l dV dh
mRdV foHkhf"kdk dk cMk gh iHkkoiwkz vdu fd; k gS tks 'kq; dkyhu ykd thou
dk l tñj mnkgj.k iLr; djrk gA
intkfpug ; k irhd %Hkjg; ea c; dh efirZ dgha Hkh iklr ugha gpz gS fdrq Lrii]
/kepØ] cks/ko{k} pj.ki knqk] pMk Å".kh'k] f=jRu vkfn cks} fpugka dh intk ds
vud n'; gA ; sirhd fpug rhu izkj ds gksr s Fks &
'kkjhjd % t s c; ds 'kjh dh /kkrq; vFkkz- mudh vLFk; k; HkLeh] dsk , oa
Nfrru[ka
mnas'kd % Lrii vkfn tks xks-e c; vFkok iwd dkyhu c; ka dh Lefr ea cuk; s
tkrs FkA
ikfjHkksxd % c; ds futh 0; ogkj ea ykbz xbz olr;ka dh intk ds fy, fufeZ
/kkfeZ LFkkuA t s & cks/keM t gk; c; us cBdj cks/k iklr dh] fHk{kki k=} mudh
pMk ftl ds fy, noka us l dkekZ l Hk ea pMkleg uked mRl o euk; kA o{k , oa Qy
bl h Jk;k yk ea Hkjg; ea vidr ½mRdhf.kz-½ o{kka dk mYy[k gS tks fuEuor-gS %
oVo{k % dk'; i c; dk cks/ko{k
Hkjg; ds dbz n'; ka ea bl o{k dk l tñj fp=.k g; k gA fo'kskr%, d n';
ea t gk; txyh gkFkh bl o{k dks intk djrs fn[kk, x; s gS ftl ij ; g y[k gS &
c; g; l s gkFk; ka dk U; xksk ; k cks/ko{kA
mnqj & dufu dk cks/ko{k
ikVfy & c; foiflu dk cks/ko{k
Hkjg; ea bl o{k dks Qyka l s ynk g; k fn[kk; k x; k gA
'kkyo{k & c; fo'kEHkw dk cks/ko{k
f'kjh" & c; ddqNUn dk cks/ko{k
mi jkDr o{kka dk vdu uke l fgr gS bul s ikphu : D[keg dk cks} /keZ ea
LohN; Lo: i izdV gkrk gS vk; blgha o{kka ds l kFk i kphu m | ku ØhMkva dk l eg
fn[kk; k x; k gS ftuea Qy d; fer o{kka ds uhps fl=; k; fofo/k ØhMk, a djrh gS
ftlga 'm | ku ØhMk" dgk tkrk gA buea l s dñ ØhMkva ds uke bl izkj gS &
'kkye'itdk , oa v'kksd iñi ipkf; dkA budk vdu Hkjg; dh ofndk ij Hkh gS vk; }
dñk.k ; q; ds ofndk LrEHkka ij rks c; gh vf/kd gA Hkjg; ea dñ , d s o{kka dk
Hkh vdu gS ftudh cy[kkrh gpz Vgfu; ka l s d.kdqMy] gkj] dB; ckg; y;]
dj/kuh] uig vkfn Hkkr ds vkHk.k yVdrs gq fn[kk, x; s gS vk; dgha ij
e; oku mUkj; , oa v/kkL= ml h izkj yrj dh ekM+ eMl l s tle yrs gq
fn[kk, x; s gS vk; dgha ij efnjk l s Hkjs gq iul Qy rks dgha yk{kj kx l s Hkjs gq
vkeQy dh vkNfr ds ik= gA ; gk; ij dVgy dk vdu bl fy, g; k D; ksd
bl ea efnjk dh xak gsrh gS vk; vke yk{kj kx t s k gkrk gA ½p= l ; k&12&27½
tcf d bl h izkj ds dYi o{kka dk o.ku mUkj d; dh izka k ea vkrk gS bl izkj
; g Kkr gkrk gS fd tul k/kj.k mUkj d; ds n'ku ds fy; sykyk; r jgrk FkA
vyd; .kkRed fpug %Hkjg; ea vyd; .k ds : i ea dey ds Qyka dk vdu
c; r; r gS mnkgj.k Lo: i dñHkksj ; {k ds e[k ; k ukfHk l s fudyrh gpz dey dh
yrk ½p= l ; k&28] 29] 30½ sh ds pjka vk; l efiZ deyeyk ; k dey ds
f[kys gq Qyka l s cuh gpz i | ekykA ; gk; ds f'kYi ; ka ua vyd; .k ea i | ekyk]



fp= I 4; k 01 %iwhzrkj.k& }kj] Hkjgq Lrw

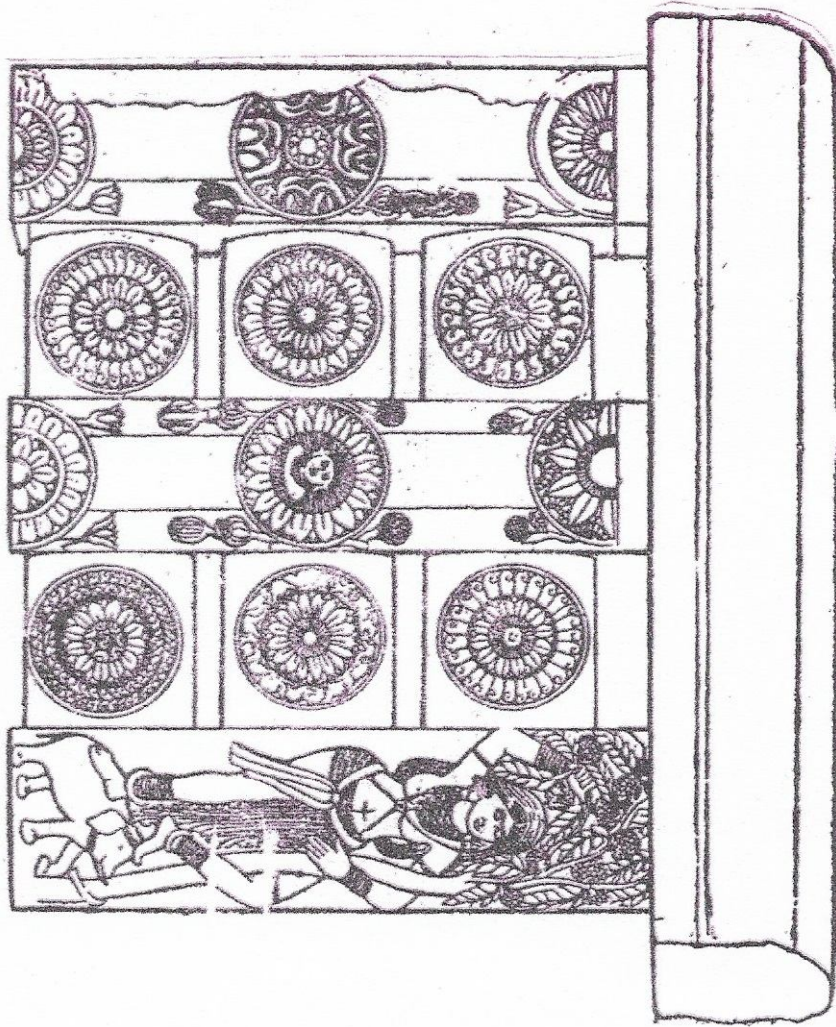


fp= fl 4; k 02 %fl fjek norkl 4; k 01 %iwhzrkj.k& }kj] Hkjgq Lrw

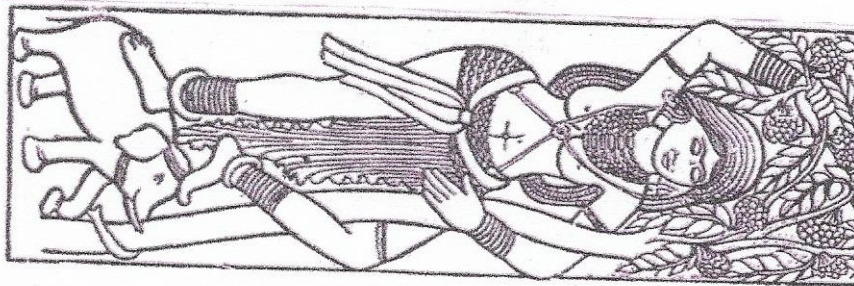


fp= I 4; k 03, 04 %deyou eacBh ghZxt y{eh

चित्र संख्या 05 : अलंकृत वेदिका का भाग, भरहुत स्तूप

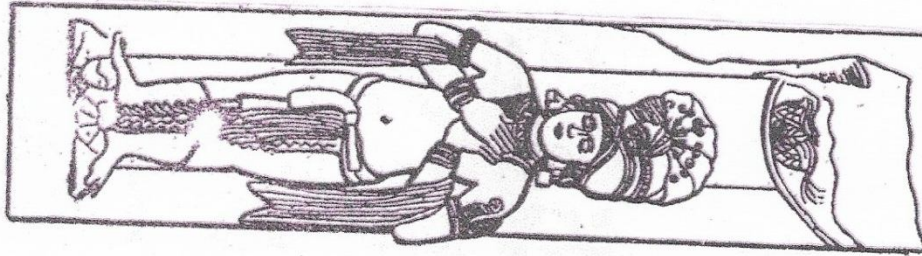


चित्र संख्या 05 : अलंकृत वेदिका का भाग, भरहुत स्तूप

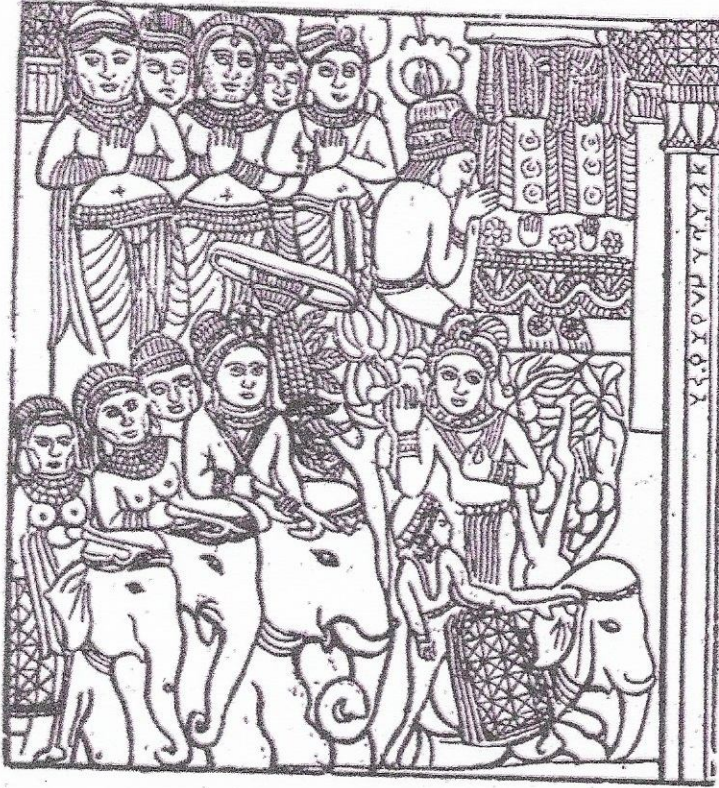




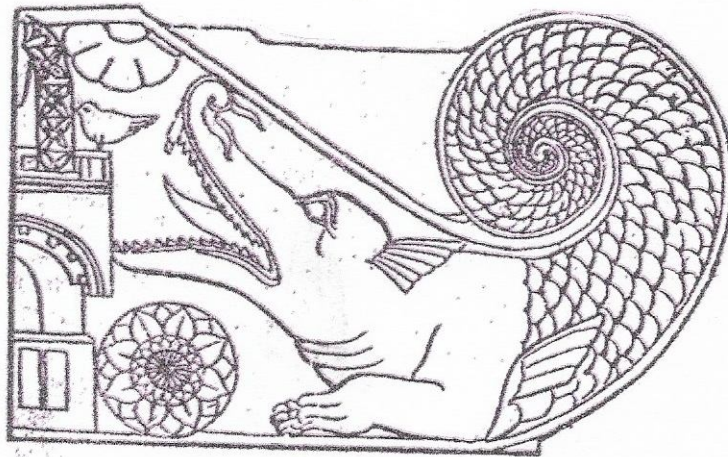
चित्र संख्या 06 : परिवार सहित एकपक्ष नागराज का दृश्य



चित्र संख्या 07 : बकवाक नागराज



चित्र संख्या 08 : जुलूस सहित राजा अजातशत्रु का दृश्य



चित्र संख्या 09 : शिंशुमार-शिरः भरहुत तोरण

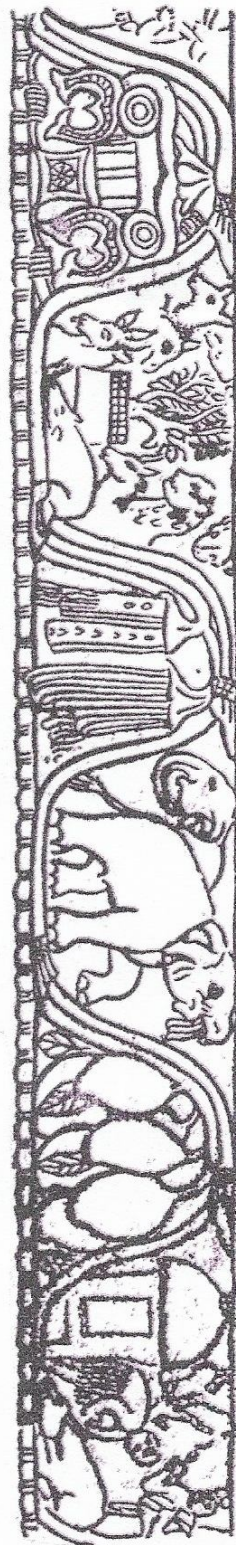


चित्र संख्या 10 : हांथी को ले जाते हुये बंदर

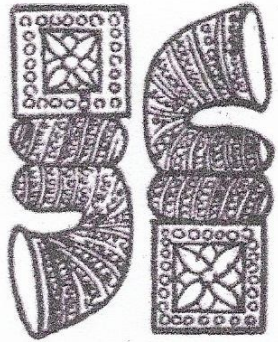


चित्र संख्या 11 : बंदरों द्वारा यक्ष की दन्त चिकित्सा का दृश्य

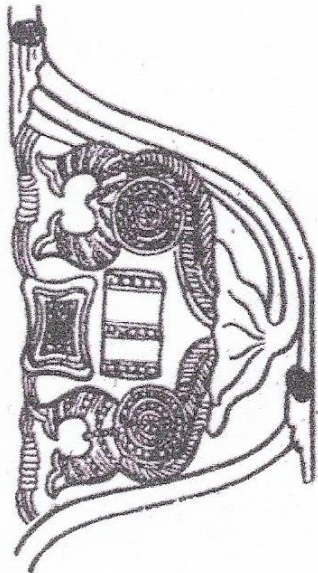
चित्र संख्या 12 से 27 : कल्पलता के अलंकरण



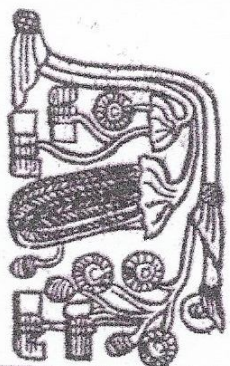
चित्र संख्या 12



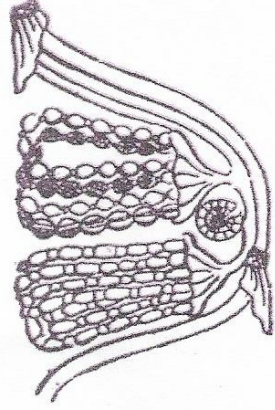
चित्र संख्या 13



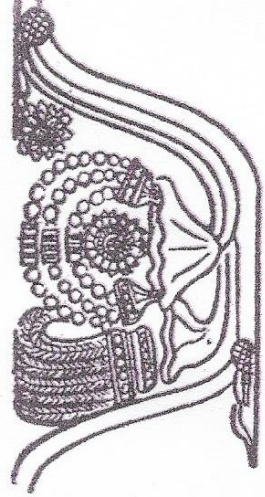
चित्र संख्या 14



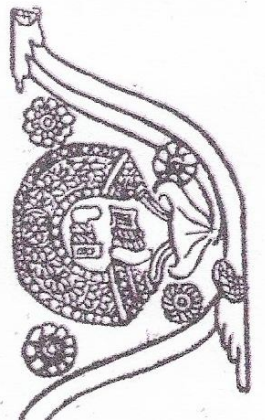
चित्र संख्या 15



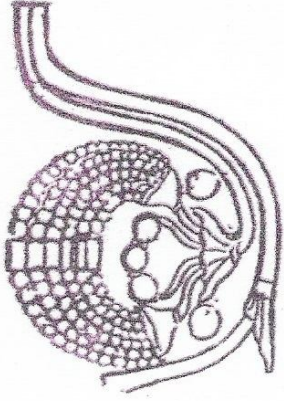
चित्र संख्या 16



चित्र संख्या 17



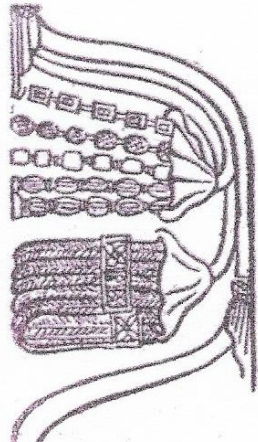
चित्र संख्या 18



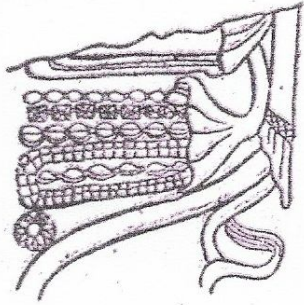
चित्र संख्या 19



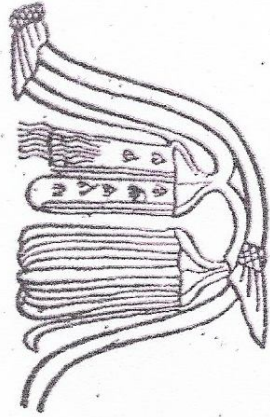
चित्र संख्या 20



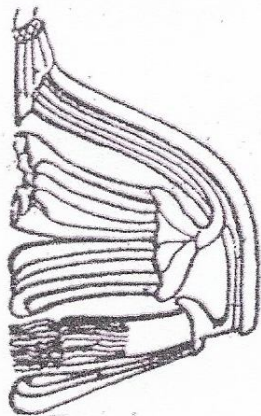
चित्र संख्या 21



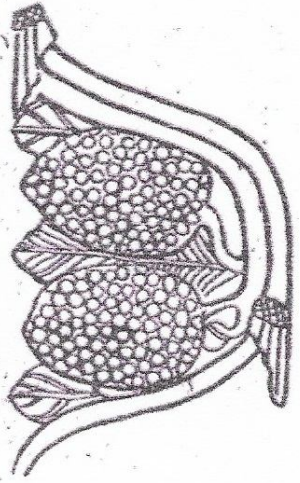
चित्र संख्या 22



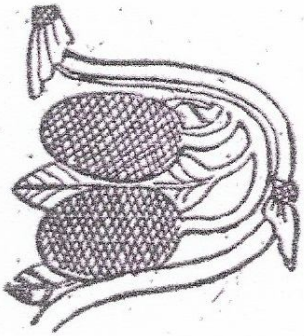
चित्र संख्या 23



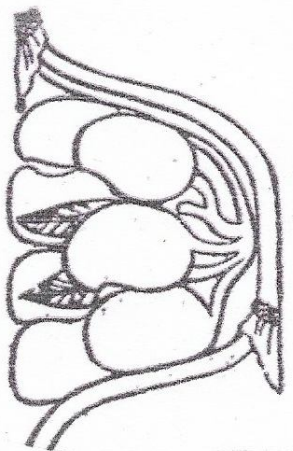
चित्र संख्या 24



चित्र संख्या 25

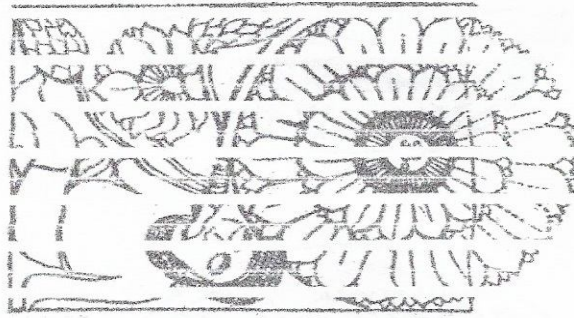


चित्र संख्या 26



चित्र संख्या 27

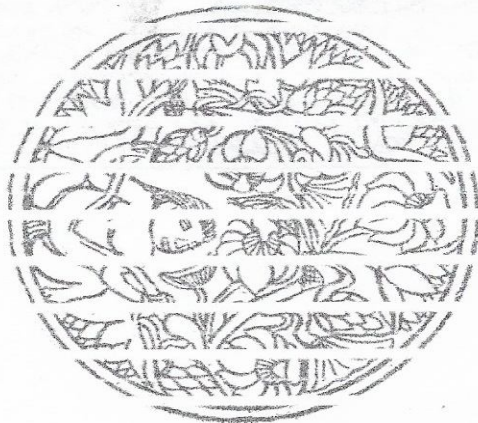
संख्या 13 : कुम्भ दर प्रकाश के अंगिका
 निकल गे है व मल की गता

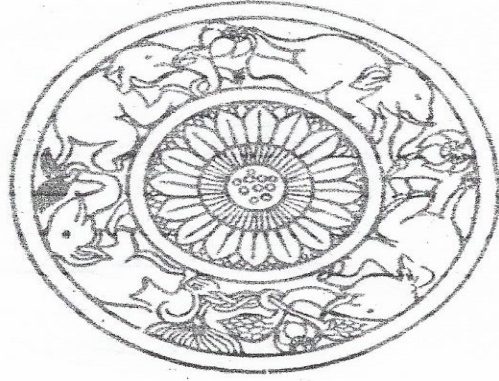


संख्या 29 : कुम्भ दर प्रकाश के अंगिका
 निकल गे है व मल की गता

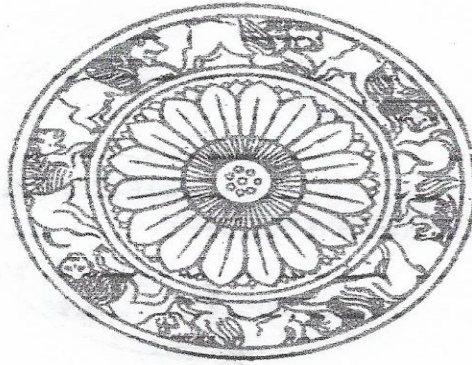


संख्या 31 : कुम्भ दर प्रकाश के अंगिका
 निकल गे है व मल की गता





चित्र संख्या 31 : गजपंक्ति का अलंकरण



चित्र संख्या 32 : सपक्ष सिंहों की श्रेणी



fp= I ĩ ; k 31 %xtiØr dk vydj.k



fp= I ĩ ; k 32 %l i {k fl glædh Jskh



ctñsy [k.M ½mO i ½D ea xk/khoknh vñUnsyuka dk bfrgkl n'kz
nqk k dæj 'kðyk
'kkk Nk= bfrgkl
oh0, l 0, l OMh0 dkyst dkuig

ctñsy [k.M Hkkjr ds ân; inSk ds : i ea tkuk tkrk gS tks fd fcfV^a kdky ea la ðr vkSj e/; ikr ds e/; foHkkftr gks x; kA orEku ea ctñsy [k.M eady 13 ftys gS ftuea 7 mRrj inSk tcf d 6 e/; inSk ea vkrs gâ i Lrkfor v/; ; u ea ctñsy [k.M ds mRrj inSk ds Hkkx dks fy; k x; k gâ bl hf; ; s tc ge mRrj inSk ds ctñsy [k.M dh ckr djrs gS rks bl l s gekjk rkr; ; Z mu l kr ftyka tkyk&] >kl h] yfyri] gehji] egk&] clnk] fp=dV l s gkrk gâ mO i ½D ea ctñsy [k.M {ks= dk , d fo'k"V LFkk gâ vius ikphu le; l s gh ctñsy [k.M ½mO i ½D ohjrk , oa 'kkS Z ds fy; s fo [; kr jgk gâ ctñsy [k.M ½mO i ½D dk bfrgkl 'kkS Z l gkl] R; kx rFkk LorU=rk dh Hkkouk l s l Ecfu/kr jgk gâ ; gk; dh i Bkjh tyok; q rFkk fo"ke ifjLFkr; ka ds dkj.k ykxka ea dfBu ifjJe rFkk LorU=rk dh Hkkouk icy jgh gâ bl hf; ; s ; gk; ds ykx geskk l Rrk ds vU; k; ds fo:) l æk"Z djrs jgs gâ ; gk; ds ykxka us geskk ds fy; s fd l h fonskh ds l keus vkRel eizk ugh fd; kA fcfV^a k l kekT; oknh ufr ds fo:) tc ijs Hkkjr ea l æk"Z gks jgs Fks rks ctñsy [k.M ½mO i ½D ea Hkh l æk"Z gks jgs FkA vacstH 'kkl udky ea vkfFkZd 'kkSk.k rFkk l kekftd vU; k; , oa tkrh; fo)Sk dh i "Bhkie ea bl nSk ea jk"Vh; vñUnsyu gks jgs FkA 1919 l s 1947 rd dk le; xkalkh ; q dgykrk gâ Hkkjr ds Lok/khurk vñUnsyu dk usRo bl le; l Ei wkZ nSk ea egkRek xkalkh dj jgs FkA mudk i Hkko l Ei wkZ nSk ea FkA ctñsy [k.M ½mO i ½D Hkh egkRek xkalkh ds i Hkko l s vNurk ugh FkA xkalkh vñUnsyuka ea ctñsy [k.M ½mO i ½D dh egRo i wkZ Hkfedk jghA egkRek xkalkh us vius jktuhfrd thou dh 'kq okr 1916 l s dh FkA mudk i Eke Hkk"K.k ftl ea 'Lojkt* 'kCn dk iz; kx fd; k FkA 1916 ea cukjl fglurw fo'ofok; ; ea fn; k x; k FkA 1920 ds ukxi] ds vf/koSku ea Hkkjr; jk"Vh; dksad us mlga viuk usk Lohdkj djds muds usRo ea vfgl k i wZd Lojkt; dh i kflr dk l dYi fd; k FkA ctñsy [k.M ½mO i ½D ea xkalkh vñUnsyuka dk bfrgkl vR; Ur xkso'kkyh gâ xkalkh th ds i Hkko ds dkj.k ctñsy [k.M ½mO i ½D dh efgykva etnjka fd l kuka , oa vke ykxka us vñUnsyuka ea c<+ p<+ dj Hkkxhinkjh dh vkSj

xk/khoknh vKUnksyuka ea egRoiwkZ ; ksnku fn; kA xk/khoknh vKUnksyuka ea vl g; ksc
 vKUnksyuk] l fou; voKk vKUnksyuka vKj Hkkjr NkMts vKUnksyuka iedk gA bu
 vKUnksyuka ea ctjnsy [k.M 1/2m0i 0 1/2 ds ykxka us dne l s dne feykdj ; ksnku fn; kA
 fnl Ecj 1919 ea xk/kh th ds vl g; ksc vKUnksyuka ds vkogu ij ctjnsy [k.M 1/2m0i 0 1/2
 ea bl dh ifrf0; k vkjEHk gks x; hA bl ea ctjnsy [k.M ds l Hkh ftys i Hkkfor gq A
 >kj h] gehjij] cknk ftyka dh bl vKUnksyuka ea egRoiwkZ Hkfedk jghA >kj h ftys
 ea vKRekjkke xksoln [kj] j?kukFk fouk; d /koydj] y{e.kjko] dafcgkj yk
 f'kokuh] dkydk id kn vxoky] d".kxki ky 'kek] plneqkh noh iedk FkA vud
 fo | kFFkz, ka us viuk v/; ; u l ekr dj fn; kA ctjnsy [k.M 1/2m0i 0 1/2 ea vl g; ksc
 vKUnksyuka ea ; ksnku nus okys vl; iedk 0; fDr nhoku 'k=qu fl g, oa budh i Ruh
 jktbnz dckj] dpp gjid kn] os| ukFk frokjh] jek'kdj jkor vkfn iedk FkA
 ctjnsy [k.M 1/2m0i 0 1/2 ea odhyka us xk/kh th ds vkogu ij vnkyrka dk cfg"dkj
 fd; kA 1919&20 ea xk/kh th ds urRo ea 'kDr'kkyh] ijr q vfga kRed vKUnksyuka
 l EiwkZ Hkkjr ds l kFk ctjnsy [k.M 1/2m0i 0 1/2 ea Hkh i kjEHk gks x; kA bl vKUnksyuka ea
 'kkfuriwkZ in'ku fd; s x; A l oA Eke U; k; ky; ka dk cfg"dkj fd; k x; kA gMfky
 , oa l R; kxg pyk; k x; k] l jdkjh f'k{k.k l A.Fkkvka dk cfg"dkj fd; k x; kA 'kjc
 , o fonskh oLrpk dh fc0h okyh nolkuka ij /kjuk in'ku fd; k x; kA fonskh
 oLrpk dh gsyh tyk; h x; hA fglrpk , oa ed yekuka us dakk l s dakk feykdj bl
 vKUnksyuka ea Hkkx fy; kA ; g vKUnksyuka ctjnsy [k.M 1/2m0i 0 1/2 ds i R; d xk ea QSy
 x; kA bl ds ifj.kke Lo: i fcfV^a k l jdkj us bl vKUnksyuka dks rkdr ds l kFk
 nckus dh dks'k'k dhA ctjnsy [k.M 1/2m0i 0 1/2 ea l s Mts ykx fxj]rkj fd; s x; A
 egkrek xk/kh us dydrk ea ns'k dk igyk [kkn dh dbnz [klyk FkA ns'k dk nl jk
 [kkn dh dbnz ctjnsy [k.M 1/2m0i 0 1/2 t'ig 1/2csykrky 1/2 ea 'kq fd; k x; k xk/kh th dk
 l iuk Fk ns'k dks l e) vKj 'kDr'kkyh cukuk gA mlgkxus nqkk vxst ; kstukc)
 rjhds l s ns'k ds xkp&xkp QSy dh/hj m | kxka dks l ekr dj jgs gA mlgkxus ns'k ea
 dh/hj m | kxka dks l kRl kgu nus dh , d ; kstuk cuk; hA bl h ; kstuk ds rgr mlgkxus
 1920 ea ctjnsy [k.M 1/2m0i 0 1/2 ds csykrky ea [kkn dh dbnz dh LFkki uk dh FkA dbnz
 [klyus ds fy; segkrek xk/kh vius l g; ksch t0ch0 diykuh] i0 tokj yk usg:
 ds l kFk ; gk vk; s FkA bruk gh ugh dbnz ds igysfnu dh [kkn dh fc0h ds dsk
 eeks [kq xk/kh th ds glrk{kjka l s fn; s x; s FkA tkudh 'kj.k oekZ dh i qrd
 dkyt; h egkekuo xk/kh ea mYyqk gSfd 1920 ea igyh ckj >kj h vk; s xk/kh th
 dks ykxka l s Hkji ij l eFkZ vKj Lug feyk FkA muds vkogu ij ; gk gtkjka ; pk
 LorU=rk ds jk"Vh; vKUnksyuka ea dh i Ms FkA mudh ckrka l s i jr gkcdj ns'k dh
 vktknh ds fy; s ; pk muds crk; s jkLrs ij py fn; s FkA bl ds ifj.kke Lo: i
 fonskh oL=ka dh gsyh dbz txg tyus yxh FkA mlgkxus feuokZ pkjkgk vKj
 gkMhkat ea l Hkk; a dh FkA uxj ds igkus 'kS{k d l A.Fkku l jLorh i k B'kkyk
 b.MfLV^a; y bA/j dkyst ea Bgjdj vKUnksyuka dh j.kulfr rS kj dh FkA ykxka ds
 0; ki d l eFkZ ds dkj.k xk/kh nl jh ckj 1921 vKj rhl jh ckj 1929 ea >kj h vk; A
 xk/khoknh vKUnksyuka ds 1920 l s 1930 rd nl l ky cgr egRoiwkZ FkA 1920 ea
 xk/kh th igyh ckj ctjnsy [k.M 1/2m0i 0 1/2 ds >kj h uxj vk; A xk/kh th ds vkus l s
 l eLr ctjnsy [k.M 1/2m0i 0 1/2 ea , d u; h jktusrd pruk dk iokg gkxus yxka bl h
 l e; >kj h] mjb] gehjij vkfn txgka ea dkad dh LFkki uk gq hA 1920&21 ds

I e; cġnsy [k.M ½m0i D½ l fgr ijs nsk ea xk/kh th ds iHkko l s , d k yxrk Fkk
 tS s 'krkfcn; ka l s l ks k gpk jk"V", dk, d tkx x; k gkA xk/kh th l Eiwkz nsk ea
 R; kx cġnku , oa vġl kRed vl g; kx dk id kj djrs ?kue jgs FkA xk/kh th us
 1929 ea eAjkuhi j] gehjij vkfn txgka dk Hkh nġk fd; kA xk/khoknh vkUnksyuka
 dh dMġ ea l fou; voKk vkUnksyuka dk egRoikz LFkku gA 1930 ea l fou; voKk
 i kjEHk fd; k x; kA vkUnksyuka ds i kjEHk gksr's gh xk/kh th] iġ usg: l fgr l Hkh iedk
 uskvka dks t sy ea Mky fn; k x; kA l jdkj us vudka l ekpkj i =ka dk idk'ku cġn
 djok fn; kA bl vkUnksyuka dk 0; ki d : i l s vl j cġnsy [k.M ½m0i D½ ds Āij
 gpkA 1930 x. ksk 'kadj fo | kFkz tks l a ġr i kUr ds vkUnksyuka ds l pkyd Fk
 blgkus gehjij ftys ds l R; kxg l pkyu dh cġMkġ Hkxoku nkl dks l kA nhA
 l R; kxkfg; ka us vudks txg fojksk in'kz dj fxjġrkfj; k; nks dk iz kl fd; kA
 fcV^a k l jdkj }kjk f'kfkyrk fn [k kus ij ykxka ea mRl kg nġk dj Hkxoku nkl th
 us l ekUrj l jdkj cukus dk fu'p; fd; kA tc 7 ekpZ 1930 dks xk/kh th ued
 dkuu dks rġM^s gq s cġnh cuk fy; s x; s rks cġnsy [k.M ½m0i D½ ea bl dh ifrfġ; k
 Lo: i tcjtlr gM^sky gq h ftl dk l cl s T; knk vl j dġyigkM+ ea nġkus dks
 feyA cġnsy [k.M ½m0i D½ {k= ea l fou; voKk vkUnksyuka ea l fġ; HkRedk ed;
 : i l s gehjij , oa >kl h ftys us fuHkba bl ds l kFk gh cġnk , oa tkykz ftys ds
 ykxka us Hkh l jkguh; ; kx nku fn; kA cġnsy [k.M ½m0i D½ ds vud dLka ea
 l R; kxg i kjEHk dj fn; k x; kA tc xk/kh th }kjk ued dkuu rġM^s dk l ekpkj
 cġnsy [k.M ½m0i D½ i gpk rks cġnsy [k.M ½m0i D½ ds ykxka us ued dkuu Hkx
 ds mnġs; l s vi s ds nġ j l l rkg ea l eLr cġnsy [k.M ½m0i D½ ea jk"Vh; l l rkg
 dk vk; kst u fd; kA ued vkUnksyuka dk cġnsy [k.M ½m0i D½ ea xgjk i Hkko i MġA
 egkRek xk/kh ds rst Loh vkġ LQirz; 0; fDrRo us nsk nsk dh turk ds eu ea
 Ātkz dk l pġ fd; kA cġnsy [k.M ½m0i D½ es Hkh bl vkUnksyuka dk i pġ gpk vkġ
 nġkrs gh nġkrs vud Lorærk i eġ egkRek xk/kh ds l eFkz ea vk [kM^s gq A ml
 l e; ; g cġnsy xhr tkj 'kġ l s xk; ktkrk Fkk & gea l kbz ued rġM^s ds ykus
 tkus gġ xk/kh dks l kFk fuHkks gġ vaxst u [kks ekj Hkxkus gġ----A
 cġnsy [k.M ½m0i D½ ea l R; kxkfg; ka dh cMġ l ġ; k ea fxjġrkfj; k; gq hA bu
 l R; kxkfg; ka ea cġnsy [k.M ½m0i D½ dh efgykva us Hkh c<+p<+dj Hkxhkhj dhA
 ijs nsk dh Hkġr bl vkUnksyuka dh fo'kSkrrk cġnsy [k.M ½m0i D½ ea Hkh efgykva dh
 cMġ i s kus ij vkUnksyuka ea l fefyr gkus dh jghA cġnsy [k.M ½m0i D½ dh dġ
 iedk l R; kxkgh efgyk; a jkuh jktġnz dġkjh] Jherh fd'kġjh nġh] Jherh : De.kh
 nġh] Jherh l jLorh nġh vkfn iedk FkA 1920 l sydj vktknh i kflr rd egkRek
 xk/kh }kjk tks vkUnksyuka Hkġr ea pyk; s x; s muea Hkġr NkM^s vkUnksyuka l cl s
 fo'kky , oa fodjky tu vkUnksyuka FkA vius mnġs; dks i kUr djus ea ; g
 vkUnksyuka l Qy ugh gks l dk fQj Hkh bl l s fcV^a k 'kkl u dh tMġ dks fgyk fn; kA
 ijs nsk dh Hkġr cġnsy [k.M ½m0i D½ ds ykxka us bl vkUnksyuka ea ijs tksk , oa
 mRl kg ds l kFk Hkx fy; kA cġnsy [k.M ½m0i D½ ea ykxka }kjk in'kz gq } l jdkjh
 bekjra ij jk"Vh; /ot Qgjk; k tkus yxkA j s xkfm^s; k jkclh x; hA l pġ ds l k/kuka
 dks u"V fd; k x; k rFk l jdkjh l Ei fRr dks gkfu i gpk; h x; hA 1920 l s 1947
 rd cġnsy [k.M ½m0i D½ ea xk/kh th dh vxġkbz ea tks vkUnksyuka gq s os l Hkh
 vkUnksyuka vġd kRed vkUnksyuka FkA xk/khoknh vkUnksyuka l s iHkfor gkġj

ctjnsy [k.M ½m0i D½ dh turk ds }kjk 0; fDrxr : i l s fcfV'k 'kkl u ds fo:)
 vlnksyu pyk; s x; A bu vlnksyuka ea iæf[k >kj h dk fdl ku vlnksyu] gehijj
 dk ok.kh cfg"dkj vlnksyu ctjnsy [k.M ½m0i D½ ea pyk; k x; kA 0; fDrxr vlnksyu
 , oa yxku vlnksyu iæf[k FkA xk/kh th us fdl h n'kz dk Øec) , oa 0; ofLFkr
 : i l s ifriknu ugh fd; k Fkk] bl hfy; s dgk tk l drk gSfd xk/kh n'kz vFkok
 xkalkhokn dk dkbz vkfLrRo gh ugh gS ftl s Lo; a xk/kh th us Hkh udkjk gA
 l EHkor%; g izu cf) thfo; ka rFkk l keku; ykxka dks vlnksyr djrk gSfd xk/kh
 ds fopkja ij bruk fopkj foe'kz D; kA vkt Hkkjr gh ugh vfirq l Ei wkz fo'o ds
 vuq kj xk/kh n'kz , oa fopkj orëku ea gh ugh vfirq Hkfo"; ea Jh i Hkkoh cuk
 jgxA xk/kh ds iæz bfrgkl , oa bfrgkl dkjka dh ; g ekU; rk Fkh dh Økfur l 'kL=
 , oa jDrkr l s gh l EHko gSfo'kSkdj jktuhfrd l Rrk ea ijUrq vk/kqud fo'o ea
 xk/kh th , d ek= , s fopkj d gSftUgkus bl vo/kkj .kk dks cny dj jktuhfrd
 l Rrk ds ifjorU dk , d l oFkk uohu ekxZ u døy crk; k vfirq 0; ogkj ea ml s
 iz, kx fd; kA xk/kh th dk usrdrk , oa usrd eW; ka ea vfmX fo'okl FkA xk/kh th
 dk Li"V ekuuk Fk fd bfrgkl vñgl k dh geskk i q"V djrk gA vñgl k iki ds
 l eLr l eizk ugh gSvksj u gh rks nq;yrk dks Nq kus dk cgkuk gA vñgl k ohj dh
 vkRek dh og 'kfDr gS tks fdl h Hkh thfor i k.kh dks d"V ugh nrh gA xk/kh th
 'k=q dks feVkus ea ugh vfirq ml ds ân; ifjorU ea fo'okl djrs FkA i Eke
 egk; Ø ds ckn Hkkjrh; jktuhfr ea , d u; s ; q; dk vkjEHk gq/kA bl s xk/kh ; q;
 dgrs gA 1917 l s 1947 rd Hkkjrh; jktuhfr dk usRo egkRek xk/kh us fd; kA
 jk"Vh; vlnksyu dks xk/kh th us u; h LOfirZ nh rFkk ml s nk'kzud vk/kkj inku
 fd; kA jk"Vh; vlnksyu døy e/; e oxZ rd gh l hfer FkA xkalkh th ds jk"Vh;
 vlnksyu ea iæsk djrs gh Hkkjrh; jk"Vh; vlnksyu vksj Lora=rk l æke dk Lo: i
 gh cny x; kA bl dk nk; jk c<k vksj jk"Vh; vlnksyu , d tu vlnksyu cu
 x; kA egkRek xk/kh ds usRo ea dkañ turk dk l æBu cu x; hA l R; vksj
 vñgl k us turk ea LOfirZ dk l pkj fd; kA xk/kh th us 'kksk.k vksj l kekfTd
 fo'kerk ds fo:) l æk'kz fd; kA Hkkjr ea vaxsth 'kkl u ds i'pkr ykxka dk thou
 tks ijkt; dh Hkkok dks egl w dj jgk FkA ykxka us vaxsth 'kkl u dks bz oj dk
 HkkX; l e>dj Lohdkj dj fy; k FkA xkalkh th ea l ekt l sgj izdkj dh fujk'kk
 , oa cjk bz; ka dks fudkyus dh vnhkr 'kfDRk FkA xk/kh th us l ækkj dks jktuærd]
 l kekfTd , oa vkfFkd i qzuekZ k dk l k/ku cukdj ml s jk"Vokfnrk dh vksj ystkus
 dk iz kl fd; kA Hkkjr ea T; k&T; ka jktuærd mRrjnkf; Ro dh ekax c<h R; k&R; ka
 vaxsth 'kkl u us l kekfTd cjk bz; ka dks fn [kkuk i kjEHk fd; kA bñ kbz fe'kufj; ka us
 gfjtuka dks bñ kbër viukus dh ij .kk nhA m/kj gfjtuka us Hkh jktuærd ekaxka dks
 iæf[krk l s mBk; kA T; k&T; ka jktuærd pruk tkj idMf h x; h] l ekt l ækkj
 vlnksyu Hkh tkj idMf k x; k vksj jktuærd rFkk l ekt l ækkj vlnksyu , d ea
 fey x; A vLi"; rk dks xk/kh th fglnw/keZ dk cgr cMk dyad ekurs FkA xk/kh
 th dgrs Fksfd ; fn vLi"; rk fglnw/keZ dk , d vax gS rks ea vius dks fglnw dgus
 l s vLohdkj djrk gA xk/kh th vius vlnksyuka ds chp ftu jpukRed dk; kA ij
 cy nrs Fks mul s ykxka dks vlnksyuka ds fy; s r\$ kj djus ea enn feyrh FkA
 Hkkjrh; ukjh dh nqZkk l s xk/kh th cgr nq kh FkA xk/kh th us fl=; ka ds Lrj dks
 Åpk mBkus ds fy; s jpukRed l kekfTd dk; Øe i Lr q fd; A mlgkus iq "kka ds

I eku fL=; ka dks fofHkUu I kelftd vkfFkd rFkk jktuSrd {ks=ka ea vks c<us ds
 fy; s ifjr fd; k ifj.kke Lo: i fL=; ka xk/khoknh vkUnsyuka ea 0; kid : i I s
 'kkfey gq hA fL=; ka us/kjuk fn; kj fonSkh oLrka , oa oL=ka dK cfg"dkj fd; k rFkk
 tsyka ea x; hA xk/kh th efgykva dks ?kj dh pgkj nhokjh ea cUn djus ds i {k ea
 ugh FkA xk/kh th I kelftd thou ds fofHkUu {ks=ka ea efgykva dks i q "kka ds I eku
 Hkkxhokj cukus ds i {k ea FkA xk/kh th efgykva ea vPNs I R; kxkgh ds xqk nS[krs
 FkA mlgksus Lorark ds fy; s gks jgs jk"Vh; vkUnsyu ea efgykva dks Hkkx ysus ds
 fy; s vkogu fd; kA xk/kh th ds vkogu ij nSk ds I kFk gh ctjnsy [k.M 1/2m0i 0 1/2 ea
 gtjkka efgykva us ?kj I s fudydj xk/khoknh vkUnsyuka ea I fO; Hkfedk fuHkk; hA
 egkRek xk/kh us u; s I ekt ds i qizuekz ds fy; s nks izdkj ds rjhds vi uk; s FkA
 igyk vfgd kRed ifrjksk nI jk jpukRed dk; I ; g nksuka dk; Dø , d nI js ds
 i j d FkA xk/kh th I R; kxg dh rgyuk ea jpukRed dk; kA dks vf/kd egRo nrs FkA
 vfgd kRed ifrjksk rks fo'kSk : i I s vkUnsyuka ds I e; vi uk; k tkrk Fk fdUrq
 jpukRed dk; I rks ifr{k.k fd; s tkrk FkA xk/kh th us jpukRed dk; kA ds }kjk gh
 Hkkjrh; tuekul ea vkRefo'okl iSnk fd; kA ftl ds ifj.kke Lo: i xk/khoknh
 vkUnsyuka dk pfj= tu vkUnsyuka dk gks x; kA xk/kh th dk vxzg Fk fd
 jktufr dk vk/kkj /keZ gksuk pkfg; A xk/kh th ds vuq kj euq; ds ckg; , oa
 vkrfjd thou ea , drk gksuh pkfg; A xk/kh th ds bl h vxzg ds dkj.k ctjnsy [k.M
 1/2m0i 0 1/2 ds ykx vf/kd I s vf/kd xk/khoknh vkUnsyuka dh vj vkd'kz gq s D; kAd
 ctjnsy [k.M 1/2m0i 0 1/2 dk LoHko ikphu dky I s gh /kkfeZ] egurh , o Lorark ieh
 jgk gA xk/kh th I k/; , oa I k/ku dh ifo=rk ij cy nrs FkA xk/kh dgrs Fks fd
 vxj gekjs I k/ku ftrus ifo= , oa vPNs gks } os k gh gekjk I k/; gkskA i qhr
 I k/; ks dh ikftr i qhr I k/kuka ds }kjk gh I EHko gA xk/kh th I k/kuka ds egRo ij
 tkj nrs gS bl dk eryc ; g ugh dh og I k/; dh egRrk dks Hkayk nrs gA xk/kh
 th dk fo'okl gSfd I k/; , oa I k/ku ea vfhkUurk dk I Ecl/k gS bl hf; s xk/kh th
 ckj ckj dgrs gS fd gekjk I k/ku mruk gh ufr I x r vkSj 'kq' gksuk pkfg; s
 ftruk dh gekjk I k/; vkSj gea Inb bl ckr ij vVy jguk pkfg; A I k/; vkSj
 I k/ku ds fl) kUr dks I R; kxg ds : i ea vfhkO; Dr djus dk xk/kh th dk iz kI
 vk/kfud I d kj dks I oZSB nI gA xk/kh th ds vuq kj , d vkn'kz I R; kxkgh I R;
 , oa 'kkfUr dk ieh gsrk gA I R; kxkgh vxj fdl h ckr dks xyr I e>rk gS rks
 n<eki d ml s Lohdkj djus I s bdkj dj nrk gA og xyr dke djus okya ds
 fo:) I a'k'kz djs gq s i d l urki d d"V I gu djrk gA ; g I a'k'kz ml ds I R; i e
 dk gh vak gsrk gA ySdu I R; kxkgh cjkbl dk fojksk djs gq s Hkh cjs I s i e
 djrk gA xk/kh th ds n"Vdksk dk , d egRo i wkz i {k ; g Hkh Fk fd os fopkj vkSj
 deZ ea dkbZ vUrj ugh j [krs FkA xk/kh th dk I R; , oa vgl k n'kz tks 'kkar
 Hkk" k. kka vkSj yS kka ds fy; s u gkdj jkstejkz ds thou ds fy; s FkA xk/kh th dks
 I k/kj.k ykSka dh I a'k'kz dh {kerk ij vVw Hkjkd k FkA bl h I a'k'kz {kerk ds ckjs ea
 1942 ea xk/kh th I s , d ckj i n k x; k fd oa I ket; dh 'kfdR dk I keuk ds s
 djxs rks xk/kh th dk mRrj Fk fd yk [kka yk [k end turk dh 'kfdR ds }kjkA
 xk/kh th ds vuq kj I R; kxkgh dks dfri; I k/kuka dk iz kx djuk i M=rk gA ; s
 eq; I k/ku gA gM=rky] vl g; ks] I fou; voKk] /kjuk cfg"dkj vkfna xk/kh th
 us fu"O; ifrjksk I s T; knk egRo I R; kxg dks fn; kA muds vuq kj fu"O;

ifrjksk dk vFkZ gSfojkskh dks gVkus dk iz Ru tcf d I R; kxkgh dk rRi ; Z gS 'an;
 ifjorZi* fuf"Ø; ifrjksk ea I R; kxg dh vkfRed 'kfDr ugh gA bl h rjg fuf"Ø;
 ifrjksk gekjh detkgh dk Qy Hkh gks I drk gS tcf d I R; kxg gekjh fuHkZ rk dk
 |kr d gA xk/kh th vius 21 o"kkā ds nf{k.k vYdk iokl ds nSku fu%kL=
 ifrjksk rFk I R; kxg i) fr dk vfo"dkj vS iz kx fd; A nf{k.k vYhdK ea
 I R; kxg dh I Qyrk ds ckn 1914 ea xk/kh th us Hkkjr ea ykS/dj viuh
 I koZtfud , oa jktuSrd xrfof/k; k; ikjEHk dhA 1917 ea xk/kh th us Hkkjr ea
 I oā Eke I R; kxg dk I Qy iz kx fcgkj ds pEikju ea d"kdka ds i{k ea fd; kA
 jksy , DV dk 'kkfuriwkZ ifrjksk djus ds fy; s 30 eplZ 1913 I s 6 eplZ 1919 rd
 gMfky dk vkogu fd; kA egRk xkdkh ds usRo ea nSk dh I cl s cMh jk"Vh;
 I a.Fk dkacl usLojkt ikflr ds fy; s 'kkfuriwkZ , oa vfgd kRed vl g; kx vkUnksyu
 'kq fd; kA bl vkUnksyu ds eVk ea ; g Hkkouk Fkh dh Hkkjr ea vxstka dk 'kk I u
 Hkkjrh; I g; kx I spy jgk gS vS ; fn Hkkjrh; ykx I Hkh izkj I s fcfV^a k jkt ds
 ifr vl g; kx vkjEHk dj ns rks fcfV^a k I Rrk iaxq gks tk; schA dkacl Hkkjr dks
 Lojkt nS ds fy; s ck/; gks tk; aA ; g vkUnksyu py gh jgk Fk fd 1922 ea
 pSgh pSjk ea fgd kRed ?kVuk gks I s xk/kh th us vl g; kx vkUnksyu dks LFkfr
 dj fn; kA rphZ ds [kyhQk dh j{k ds fy; s pyus okys f[kykQr vkUnksyu dks
 I eFkZ nS ds dkj.k xk/kh th dks eq yekuka dk Hkh Hkkjh I g; kx feyA ued dj
 rFk iwZ Lojkt dh ekax dks ydj 1930 ea xk/kh th us I fou; voKk vkUnksyu
 ikjEHk fd; k; ftl dh I ekflr 1931 ea xk/kh bfoZ I e>kS ds : i ea gq hA 1939 ea
 f}rh; fo'o; Ø fNMus ij 1942 ea xk/kh th us Hkkjr Nk&Ns vkUnksyu dk usRo
 fd; kA bl h vkUnksyu ea xkdkh th us djs ; k ejks dk ukj fn; kA bl vkUnksyu es
 ykxka us Lor% usRo inku fd; k D; kAd vkUnksyu ikjEHk gks gh dkacl ds i Eke
 i dDr ds I Hkh uskva dks fxj rjk dj fy; k x; k FkA dksy [k.M 1/20i D/2 ea Hkh bl
 vkUnksyu us fodjky : i /kkj.k dj fy; kA dLck&dLck rd ds ykxka us gMfky
 in'kZ dj vkUnksyu dks vxsc<k; kA xk/kh th LonSkh ds i Dds fgek; rh FkA xk/kh
 th ds LonSkh iæ ds ihNs cMh gh xw+ Økflr ds cht fufgr FkA xk/kh th ds
 vuq kj LonSkh ea vkfFkZ] jk"Vh;] I kcftd] jktuSrd vS usrd jgl; dk
 m) kj bl ea gA xk/kh th dh ekU; rk Fkh fd LonSkh dk ikyu djrs gq s I elekt ds
 fgr dk /; ku j [kk tkuk pfg; A LonSkh dh Hkkouk I s ihNs gV tkus ds dkj.k
 Hkkjr dks ftu ijs kfu; ka dk I keuk djuk iM] ml dk mYys [k xk/kh th us fd; k
 gA LonSkh or dks I Qy cukus ds fy; s xk/kh th us fL=; ka dh I ghkfxrk dks
 Lohdkj fd; k gA LonSkh ds mnas; ka dks iwZ djus ds fy; s xk/kh th us fonskh
 oLr/ka ds cfg"dkj dh ckr dghA xk/kh th xkex] kx dh nqZkk I s nq kh FkA
 bl hfy; s xk/kh th us rjUr bl s LonSkh or I s tkM+fn; kA [kknh vS pj [kk dks
 xk/kh th us xkex] kx dh vk/kkj f'kyk ekuk gA [kknh vS pj [kk y?kfrjh; m | kxka
 ds : i ea nSuka gh xk/kh th dks , d nS ds ij d yxus yxA xk/kh th us y?kq
 m | kxka tS s frygu dk ry m | kx] xlus dk xM+o 'kDdj cukuk pVkbZ m | kx]
 /kku I s poy fudkyuk] peMk m | kx vkfn dks i Sjr , oa ifjof/kZ fd; kA
 xk/kh th dh i qrd ejs I iuka dk Hkkjr ds v/; ; u I s ; g irk pyr k gSfd
 Lok/hurk dk vFkZ doy fcfV'k jkt I seDr ikuk ugh Fk cfYd xk/kh th xjhch]
 fuj{kjrk vS vLi"; rk tS h cjk; ka I s eDr dk I iuk nS krs FkA og pgrs Fks

fd nšk ds l kjs ukxfjd l eku : i l svktknh vlg l ef) dk l f k ik l dA xk/kh
 th us blh i lrd ea lojkt dk vfkz crk; k gS fd lojkt l s egk vfhkik;
 ykd&l Eifr ds vuq kj gkus okyk Hkkjr o"z dk 'kkl uA MkD jke th fl g dh
 'xk/kh n'kz eheka k* fcgkj fgluh xBFk vdkneh iVuk ds v/; ; u l s xk/kh th ds
 l Hkh fopkjka dk l kj ikr gsrk gA bl i lrd l s xk/kh th ds vgl k ds fl) kur
 , oa iz, ksx ds ckjs ea irk pyr k gA xk/kh th dgrs Fks fd vgl k ohjka dk vkHkk.k
 gS dk; jrk l s mRre rksfga k gSD; kAd dk; j 0; fDr viuh detkjh Nq kus ds fy; s
 vgl k dk l gkj k yrk gA bl i lrd ea xk/kh th ds turæ] vfga k] l R; kxg
 dkf; d Je] xk/kh th ds f'k{kk l Ecl/kh fopkjka ij folr i zdk'k i Mfk gA xk/kh th
 ds }kjk l ekt l fkkj , oa jpukRed dk; k dh vko'; drk dh tkudkj feyrh gA
 vk/kfud Hkkjr ds ifl) bfrgl dkj l fer ljdkj us viuh i lrd 'vk/kfud
 Hkkjr* jktdey izdk'ku ikboV fy0] ubz fnYyh 2007 ea xk/kh oknh vkUnsyuka dk
 ekDl bknh n"Vdksk l s folr o.kz fd; k gA ifl) Hkkjr; bfrgl dkj fofiu
 plnz us Hkkjr dk Lorærk l a"z fgluh ek/; e dk; kD; funskky;] fnYyh
 fo'ofokj;] 1990 ea Hkkjr; Lorærk l ake ea xk/kh th dh Hkedk rFkk muds
 }kjk fd; s x; s vkUnsyuka dk o.kz fd; k x; k gA bfrgl dkj ch0, y0 xkoj]
 ; 'kiky us 'vk/kfud Hkkjr dk bfrgl * , l plnz , .M dEiuh fy0 jkeuxj] ubz
 fnYyh ea xk/khoknh vkUnsyuka dk o.kz] xk/kh th ds }kjk ikjEHk fd; s x; s
 jpukRed dk; k dk fo'kn-: i l so.kz fd; k x; k gA Jh jkeukFk l e u us mRrj
 inšk ea xk/kh th* l puk foHkkx mOid y[kuÅ ea xk/kh th ds mOid ea vxexu ds
 ckjs e] muds }kjk pyk; s x; s vkUnsyuka ds ckjs e] xk/kh th ds }kjk fd; s x; s
 jpukRed dk; k fo'kskdj [kknh oL=ka ds ckjs ea mRrj inšk ea fd; s x; s folr
 iz kl ka ds ckjs ea 0; ki d : i l s tkudkj feyrh gA fpurkef.k 'kDy] 'xk/kh ; qchu
 Lorærk l ake* ea mOid dk ; kxnu efkj k jk"Vh; i d 1988 ea xk/kh ; q ea mRrj
 inšk es gq s vkUnsyuka dk folr o.kz feyrk gA bl ea xk/kh oknh vkUnsyuka ea
 Hkkx yus okyh efgykva ds l kFk Nk=k] cD) thfo; k fdl kuk vke ykxka ds iz kl ka
 dk folr o.kz fd; k x; k gA bl i lrd ea jksyV , DV l s yd] Hkkjr Nk/Ms
 vkUnsyu ds le; l elr mRrj inšk ds }kjk tks ; kxnu fn; k x; k ml dh Li"V
 tkudkj feyrh

Hkkjr; jk"Vh; vkUnsyu ea egkRek xk/kh ds }kjk pyk; s x; s vkUnsyuka dk
 egRoiwz LFkk gA egkRek xk/kh us gh l o] Eke jk"Vh; vkUnsyu ea vke turk dks
 tkMkA i l rfor 'kksk ea bl ckr dk v/; ; u djus dk iz kl fd; k tk; s k fd
 xk/khoknh vkUnsyu ea os rRo dks l s Fks ftuds ek/; e l s vke turk bl
 vkUnsyu l s tM+l dhA 'kksk ds ek/; e l s bl ckr dks Hkh l e>us dk iz kl fd; k
 tk; s k fd xk/khoknh vkUnsyuka ds le; ctjnsy [k.M 1/2 mOid] ea ml le; , d h dk
 l h ifjLFkr; k; Fkh\ i l rfor 'kksk ds ek/; e l s ; g tkuus dk iz kl fd; k tk; s k
 fd jk"Vh; vkUnsyu ds le; xk/khoknh vkUnsyuka ea cMh l d; k ea efgyk; k
 fdl ku] Nk=] tM/s bl l s bu vkUnsyuka dks tu vkUnsyu ea ifjofr fd; kA
 ctjnsy [k.M 1/2 mOid] ea xk/khoknh vkUnsyuka ds dk; Deka , o l keftd jpukRed
 dk; Deka dk i Hkko FkA xk/kh th ds }kjk ikjEHk fd; s x; s [kknh dk; Deka l s xkeh.k
 d/hj m] kxka ij l dkjRed i Hkko i Mka xk/kh th ds l ekt l fkkj dk; Deka ds
 }kjk efgykva , oanfyra dh l LFkr ea l dkjRed i Hkko i Mka xk/khoknh vkUnsyuka

us ykxka dks fcfV'k 'kkl u ds fo:) l æfBr dj l æk"KZ ds fy; s i fjr djus ea l Qyrk ikr dhA xkdkh th ds Lon's kh dk; Dæka dk Hkkjrh; xteh.k , oa dW/hj m | kska ij l dkjRed i Hkko i Mka bu dk; Dæka dks vi ukus l s ykxka dks vkfFkZl : i l s l {ke cuusea l gk; rk feyhA bl vkfFkZl ykHk l s ykxka ea vkRefo'okl i s k gyaKA ykxka dks vaxst ka dh uhr; ka ds nñi fj.kke dh tkudkjh feyhA ; g tkudkjh xkp& xkp rd QSyhA xk/kh th us l R; vfga k l R; kxg ds ek/; e l s ykxka dks fo'kSkdj efgykva dks vi uh rjQ vkdf"kr fd; k] bl h ds ifj.kke Lo: i ykx xkdkh ds vkUnksyuka l s tMf s pys x; A

-
- xkøj] ch0, y0 ; 'ki ky] ^vk/kfud Hkkjr dk bfrgkl * , l Opunz , .M dEi uh fy0 jkeuxj] ubZ fnYyh] 2001
- l jdkj] l ñer] ^vk/kfud Hkkjr* jktdey idk'ku ikbov/ fy0 ubZ fnYyh] 2007
- plnñ] fofi u] ^Hkkjr dk Lorærk l æk"KZ fgluh ek/; e dk; kRo; fun'skky;] fnYyh fo'ofok | ky;] 1990
- rkjkpln] ^Hkkjrh; jk"Vh; vkUnksyuka dk bfrgkl *] [k.M&3 vksj 4 : i kUrj.k elleFk ukFk xkrk l puk id kj.k el=ky; Hkkjr l jdkj] 1982
- fl g] v; ks; k] ^Hkkjr dk eDr&l ækte* idk'ku l l Fkku ubZ fnYyh 1979
- 'kDy] jkey[ku] ^vk/kfud Hkkjr dk bfrgkl * ek/; e dk; kRo; fun'skky; fnYyh fo'ofok | ky;
- dækj] i Hkkjr] ^Lorærk l ækte vksj xk/kh dk l R; kxg*] fnYyh fo'ofok | ky; fgluh ek/; e dk; kRo; fun'skky; 2000
- 'kDyk] fpUrkef.k] ^xk/kh ; qhu Lorærk l ækte eam0i0 dk ; ksxnku*] eFkj k jk"Vh; id 1988
- fl g] 'kDj n; ky] ^Hkkjr NkM/s vkUnksyuka* ubZ fnYyh idk'ku foHkx Hkkjr l jdkj 1987
- l p] jkeukFk ^mRrj insk ea xk/kh th* l puk foHkx y[kuÅ 1969
- HkVVkpk;] , l Oi h0] ^Lorærk l ækte* Hkx&1 >k] h e.My] l puk foHkx mRrj insk y[kuÅ
- ikBd] , l Oi h0] ^>k] h M; ñjæ n fcfV'k : y* l ekuln fo | kHkou ubZ fnYyh 1987
- dsyk] Hkxokunkl] ^Hkkjrh; Lok/khurk vkUnksyuka*] bykgkckn id
- fl g] jke th] ^xk/kh n'kZu eheda k* fcgkj fgluh xBFk vdkneh i Vuk 1973
- f=onh] d".k dækj] ^xk/kh th dk xkpkæ ij i Hkko*] ik.Mqfyfi idk'ku d".k uxj fnYyhA
- l hrkjEe\$ k] i VVkfHk] ^dka d] dk bfrgkl * igyk vksj nñ jk Hkx] l Lrk l kfgR; e.My ubZ fnYyh 1998
- Ogkj k] vk'kkjkuh] ^Lorærk l s kuh efgyk; ã jkt/kkuh xBFk l kxj fnYyh

- 0gkj] vk'kkjkuh] ^efgyk; avk\$ Lojkt* jkt/kkuh xlfk l xj fnYyh
- fey , .M foYl u] ^fgLVh vktD fcfV'k bf.M; k* Hkkx&1
- rñnydj] Mh0th0] egkRek* Hkkx&3 cEcbZ 1955
- frokj] xkjs yky] ^ctñsy [k.M dk l ñ{klr bfrgkl *} dk'khukxjh i pkfj .kh
l Hkk dk'kh 1933
- [kku] el m vgen] ^Loraerk vkUnksyu dk bfrgkl * ubZfnYyh 1988
- okpLifr] blnz fo | k] ^Hkkjrh; Loraerk dk bfrgkl * l Lrk l kfgR; e.My ubZ
fnYyh 1960
- pln] fofi u] ^vk/kfud Hkkjr*] jk; ' ; kecfcgkj] , u0l h0bDvkj0Vh0 vjfoln
ekxZ ubZ fnYyh



वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् I ekV 'kōpyk oh0, l 0, l OMh0 dkyst] dkuig

jk"Vbkn dh ifjHkk"kk , d , d stulew ds : i es dh tk l drh gS tks fd , d Hkk&ksfyd l hekvka ea , d fuf'pr nsk ea jgrk gkS l eku ijEij] l eku fgrka rFkk l eku Hkkoukva l sc/kk gks vksj ftl ea , drk ds l = ea c/kus dh mRI drrk gkA jk"Vh; rk gh og eq; dkjd gS tks jk"Vbkn ds fylr mRrjnk; h gA jk"Vbkn , d , d h fopkj /kkjk vksj tuknsy dk i kjHkdrkZ gS tks fd l h jk"V^a ds ykxka ea i sk gksrk gS ftl dk eq; /; s jk"V^a viuh ekrHkne l a Hkqrk 'Lo' kkl u/2 dk Hkko ykuk gA⁶⁰

dsyl ds vuq kj varjk"Vh; l cak ea ; g vkrk gSfd jk"Vbkn ds eq; dkjd gA⁶¹ fookn ds fd l h dkj.k ds : i ea ekstmk jkT; i zkkyh ds fojksk ds L=kr ds Lo: i ea varjkZVh; ; k varjkZVh; l l Fkkvka ds fojksk ds : i ea varjk"Vh; ekeya ea , d jkT; dh 'kfDr ds fu/kkZ d ds Lo: i ea /kez vksj jk"Vh; rk cgr igys l a , d nwljs ds fojksk Hkkl ds : i ea iz drr gksrs jgs gA tc ge /kez ; k jk"Vbkn ds ckj ea ckr djrs gA rks bl ckjs ea gea dksZ vk'p; Z ugh gksuk pkfg, fd bu nskka ds chp DI ka l keTKL; gS vksj D; k fojksk mnkgj.k ds fy, & okLro ea jk"Vbkn gh /kefujis k⁶² dk Hkko gS ; gh okLro ea /kez dk Hkh Hkko gA pnd 'jk"Vbkn* vksj 'kez nksuks gh fHkUk&fHkUu phtka ds l a kj dks fu/kkZjr dj l drs gS bl fy, jk"Vbkn ds

⁶⁰ Smith, Anthony, Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History Polity, 2010
PP. 9

⁶¹ James G. Kellas, the holitics of Nationalism and Ethnicity, 2nd ed,
1998, p-43

⁶² Hutchison Willian R and Hoarmut Lehmannledy] 1994] Many are
chosen: divine election 2 westren nationalism Main eaholis : Forestress
Press

ifr ; k /keZ ds ifr ; k bu nkska ds chip ds l ædk ds ckjs ea dñ c; kuka ea ; fDrI ær] ; k ; gk rd fd l kFkZ Hkh gks l drs gA

/keZ vkSj jk"Vbkn ds l ædk dks tkuus ds fy; ; s ; g tkuus l sT; knk t: jh gS fd ge bu nkska ds fj' rka dks dS s l Qy cuk; s tk; A bl fo" k; ea /keZ vkSj jk"Vbkn ds chip l ædkh ds v/; ; u ds fy; ; s pkj pj. kka dk fodkl vkSj l eh{kk djrs gA igyk rks ; g gS fd /keZ vkSj jk"Vh; rk ds l kFk tkrh; rk vkSj tkfr ds l kFk l ekurdk 0; ogkj djuk gA ml jk rjhdk og gS ftl ea /keZ dh enn l s jk"Vh; rk ml dk v) e] ml dh 'kFDr ; k fo' k"V ekeyka ea ml dk fo' k"V Lo: i Li"V gks tkrk gA rhl jk 0; fDr /keZ dks jk"Vbkn ds vx ds : i eaekuuk gA p kFk; g gS fd jk"Vbkn ds 0; ki d /kkfeZl : i ea vi ukuk pkfg, A⁶³

Hkkjr ea jk"Vbkn dk mn; vkSj fodkl mu dkj dka dk ifj. kke ekuk tkrk gS tks Hkkjr ea mifuoskh 'kkl u ds dkj. k mRi UUk gq tS & u; h&u; h l LFk vkka dh LFk ki ukj jkst xkjka ds u; s vol jka dk l tu] l d k/ kuka dk vf/ kdkf/ kd nksu br; kfnA fdrq foHkUu i fjfLFkr; ka ds v/; ; uks jkr ; g T; knk rdZ ær gkrk gS fd Hkkjr ea jk"Vbkn dk mnl fdh , d dkj. k ; g ifjLFkr l s mRi UUu u gkdj foHkUu dkj dka dk ifr Qy⁶⁴A

- 1- Qka hl h Økfr ds QyLo: i fo'o Lrj ij jk"Vbknh pruk vkRe&fo'okl dh Hkkouk dk id kjA
- 2- Hkkjr h; i q t k x j. ka
- 3- vxstka }kj k Hkkjr ea vk/kfudrk dks c<kok
- 4- fcfV'k uhr; ka ds ifr mRi UUu Hkkjr h; vkØksk br; kfnA

jk"Vbkn l keT; okn fojkskh Hkkouk vka ds vkoj. k ea dbZ erHkska dks fNik yrk gA⁶⁵ vr% jk"Vbkn ea iuih Hkkouk us Hkkjr dks , d djus ds dke fd; ka bl jk"Vh; tkx: drk dk id kj Hkkjr ds l keftd] jktuhrd rFkk vffkZl vk; keka ea ifjyf{kr gkrk jgkA⁶⁶ -19 oha 'krkCnh ds i kjHk ea Hkkjr h; jk"Vbkn dk iFke pj. k vkjEHk gkrk gS vkSj ml ea mudk opLo Fkk tks igyh kj dydRrk vkSj efcZl es fcfV'k f'k{k ds l Ei dZ es vk; s FkA⁶⁷

bl pj. k ea Hkkjr h; jk"Vbkn dk vk/kkj vFkok Hkq dks fd i Hkko cgr l hfer Fkka 19 oha 'krkCnh ds iFke n'kd ea vxstks }kj k LFkkr i r vk/kfud f'k{k l LFkku⁶⁸ ea f'kf{kr cñ} thfo; ka us f'k{k nh Fkh vkSj ftUgkaus if'peh l adfr dk v/; ; u fd; k Fkk vkSj vius ykdrk=d rFkk jk"Vbknh fopjka l s tudY; k. k ea jk"Vh;

⁶³ Hayes, Carton J.H. 1926. Essays on Nationalism, New York : the Macmellan Company

⁶⁴ jktho vghj] vk/kfud Hkkjr dk bfrgk l LiDVe cñ l i kofy0 2019] 230

⁶⁵ Nehru, J.L. Speeches, (Publication, Division Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Delhi:1958-68). Vol. 5, PP. 541

⁶⁶ A.R. dasai, social background of Indian Nationalism, Pohulan Prakashyan, Bombay, 1996, P-4008

⁶⁷ Dietmeark rothermund, the Phases of Indian Nationalism, Nachikata Publication Limited, Bombay 1970, P-14

⁶⁸ A.R. Desai. P.P-409

pruk dk id kj fd; kA jtkk jke ekgu jkW rFkk muds izd] I kFFk; ka tks fd Hkkjrh; Fks mlUgkaus Hkkjr ea Hkkjrh; jk"Vbkn dh uho j[khA⁶⁹ mlUgkaus Hkkjr ea I kekftd I qkkj ,oa I khdfrd I qkkj ds dk; Døe ykxw fd; s rFkk ykdra= ds u; s eW; ka dks Hkkjr ea LFkkfir djus es egRoiwZ HkWedk fuHkk; hA ; gk os I LFkki d Hkkjrh; jk"Vbkn ds iFke I sukH Fks ftUgkaus Hkkjrh; jk"Vbkn dh uho ykdrf=d eW; ka ij j[kh rFkk id dh vktknh dk I eFkZ fd; k rFkk izkkl u ea Hkkxhnhj I s rFkk viuh vfHk; fDr dh vktknh dks vius nsk ds ykxka es bl ds egRo dks crk; kA ; g pj. 1885 rd vLrRo es jgk Fkk bl ea dbZ jktuhfrd I LFkkvka dk xBu gvkA

mnkgj .k %& 1836&caHkk"kk izk'kd I Hkkj 1838&tehnhjh , I kSI , 'ku] 1843] cakY fc/h'k bAM; k I kd ; Vh] 1851&fc/h'k bAM; k , d kSI , 'ku] 1866 bLV bAM; k , I kSI , 'ku] 1867&iwuk I koZfud I Hkkj 1875&bf.M; u yhx 1876 bAM; u uskuy , I kSI , 'ku] 1884&enkl egku I Hkkj 1885&ckEcs id hMdh , I kSI , 'kuA⁷⁰

nh j pj.k %& jk"Vbkn dk iFke pj.k tks 1885 rd pyk vks ml h o"KZ ea Hkkjrh; jk"Vh; dkadl dh LFkkiuk ds I kFk og I ekr gks x; kA Hkkjrh; jk"Vbkn dh f}rh; pj.k 1885&1905 rd dk dky ekuk tkrk gA dkadl ds mnkjoknh [kes ds usk tks vknsyu ds usRodrkZ Hkh jgs bl pj.k ds vknsyu ds egRoiwZ usk jgA bu uskvka dh fopkj/kjk vks vknsyu ds rjhd us vknsyu ds ml dk; Døe dks fu'pr fd; k tks Hkkjr ea ukj cqtZk I ekt ds fodkl ds fgrka dks izdV djrk Fkka bl vknsyu dk I kekftd vk/kkj f'kf{kr e/; e oxZ rd c<k; k x; k tka 19 oha 'krkCnh ds var rd vk/kqud f'k{kk ds folrkj vks 0; ki kjh oxZ dk : 0 Hkkx cu x; k tks bl vof/k ds nsk ku Hkkjrh; vks vr% dkyhu 0; ki kj ds fodkl ds ifj.kkeLo: i fodflr gvk Fkka bl vof/k ea vk/kqud m|kacks dk Hkh /khj&/khj fodkl gvk ftl ds ifj.kke Lo: i m|ksifr oxZ mejk vks 'kDr ikr djus ykA mlUgkaus dkadl ds ifr viuk mn?kkVu 'kq fd; k ftl ea 1905 ea nsk ds vks] kfxdj.k dk fu; e funZk viukuk vks 1905 ea Lon'skh vknsyu dks I fØ; : i I s vk; kstr fd; k x; kA mnkjokfn; ka ds usRo ea Hkkjrh; : i I s vk; kstr fd; k x; kA mnkjokfn; ka ds usRo ea Hkkjrh; jk"Vh; dkadl us f'kf{kr oxkZ dh Hkxakq 0; ki kfjd cqtZk oxZ I okvka ds Hkkjrh; dj .k] Hkkjrh; ka dh I Zk jkT; ds izkkl fud ra= ds I kFk I ad] vkfFkd fuofrr ds om djuk ; g lc dkadl ds iLrko ea 'kkfey FkA bl us ykdrf=d ekacs dh Hkh ckr dgh x; h] tS s ifrfuf/k I Ldkj vks ukxfjd Lor=rkvka dka yfdu ; s mnkjoknh ykMZ dtuZ ds ok; I jk; ds nsk ku vykfiZ }kjk [kkl dj tc dtu ds dk; Zky ea Hkkjrh; fo'ofok|ky; vf/kfu; e rFkk cakY foHkttu ds i'pkrA bl vykdfiz rk us tul k/kj.k dks mnkokfn; ka I s vyx dj fn; k rFkk I kekT; oknh fojkskh ek/; e oxZ mxoknh dkadl ; ka ds gkFk ea pyk x; k ftudk usRo fryd] vjfoln ?kksk rFkk fofiu plnz icy ds gkFk ea Fkka⁷¹ 1905 rd mnkjokfn; ka dk Hkh fc/h'k I jdkj I s fo'okl gVus yk yfdu

⁶⁹ Graham G.F.I, the lite and work or sir sayed ahmed, 1909

⁷⁰ jktho vghj] vk/kqud Hkkjr dk bfrgl] Li'Ve cDl ikofyO] 2019] ist u0&239

⁷¹ Tilak aqued by buch (7) P-28, B.C. Pal Qurted by buch (2) Pg.-103,

A.R. Desai, P-308

mlgkaus viuh jktuhfrd n'kz vks I 2k'kz es i) fr dks ugh NkMKA jk"Vbknh ; 0kvka ds, d oxL us 0kardkjh jkLRk vf[rk; kj djus dh Bkuh rFkk Lo; adks l afBr djus yxs vks mlgkaus dHkh&dHkh l suk eafontsg dks HkMedkus tS smik; ka ij Hkjd k fd; kA vFkkz bl pj.k ea gkykad 'kq vkrh nks es jk"Vbknh jktuhfr vks jktuhfrd rjhds es fcfV'k 'kkl u ds ifr fu"Bk Hkh inf'kr djrs Fks fQj Hkh muds vkansyu dk ;g urhtk vk; k fd ml us fcl/h'k l kekT; dh jktuhfrd tMs-dkj nh vks Hkkjrh; tuekul ea ml ds ifr vfo'okl vks cskuxh] cfYd fontsg rd ds cht cks fn, A ; gh dkj.k Fkk fd 1875 l s 1905 rd dk le; Hkkjr ea dcf) d v'kkar dk le; jgk vks bl vof/k ea jk"Vh; rk dh pruk dk Qsyo gq/kA bl rjg bl le; Hkkjrh; jk"Vh; dks pruk dk Qsyo gq/kA bl rjg bl le; Hkkjrh; jk"Vh; vkansyu ds chp ckj x; A⁷²

rhl jk pj.k %& mxoknh jk"Vbknh; ka us Hkkjr ds vrhr l sij.kk yh] Hkkjrh; turk ea mlgkaus jk"Vh; xks'o vks LokHkku txkus dk iz;k; fd;k vks tukansyu dk vkgoku fd; kA mlgkaus ik'pkr; rFkk fo'kks : i l s fcl/h'k l adfr ds mnkjokfn; ka }kj fcfV'k 'kkl dka ds ifr l adfrd leizk ds : i ds : i ea vkykpk dhA⁷³

mxoknh jk"Vbkn us fgnvka ds ofnd vrhr ea; knka dks tul eng ea Qsyo dks dk; l fd; k mlgkaus v'kksd rFkk plnzqr ds egku jktvkva ds Lof.kz ; q rFkk jk.kk irki vks f'kokth ds ohj dkel rFkk 1857 ds jk"Vh; fontsg ds urkA

rhl jk pj.k tks fd 1905&1918 rd pyk ds nksku Hkkjrh; jk"Vh; vkansyu 0kardkjh xfrfof/k; ka ea 'kkfey gks x; k vks fupys e/; oxL oxk dks 'kkfey djds l kekftd vk/kkj gkfl y fd; k⁷⁴ ; q ds nksku Lojkt vkansyu] gke: y vkansyu us yxks ds jktuhfrd pruk dks etar fd; kA bl h le; Hkkjrh; tuekul es eflYe pruk dk Hkh mn; gq/k rFkk mudh jktuhfrd pruk dk fodkl gq/k vks mlgkaus 1906 es vf[ky Hkkjrh; eflYe yhx l xBu dh LFkkiuk dhA dbz dkj.kka l } Ajih eflYe oxL vks f'kf{kr e/; e ox es c<rh jktuhfrd pruk us nsk ds eq yekula l s l af/kr epnka dks l akf/kr fd; kA bl vkansyu dh dnl xfrfof/k; ka es doy eflYe urRo dh otg l s tks leL; k [kMh gqz Fkh fd bl us /keLufji {k jk"Vh; urRo es gr; k dj nh] ml urRo es tks; fn ckn ds o'kkz eafank jgrk] rks iatc dh jktuhfr ea u; k ekM+ nrkA l eps jkT; dks, d /keLufji {k pfj= nrk vks l kanf; drk dks dHkh iui us ugh nrk] tks ckn ds o'kkz eamHkjhA⁷⁵

pkfkk pj.k %& Hkkjrh; jk"Vbknh dk pkfkk pj.k 1918 l s 'kq gkrk gS tks egkRek xkdkh ds l fou; voKk vkansyu dks ycdj gkrk gS }kj rFkk 1930&34 rd tkrk gA bl jk"Vbknh vkansyu dks 0; ki d iekus ij , d k tuk/kkj ikr fd; k tks igys ugh gks l dk Fkka bl ea , d s dbz dkjd mRilu gq ftl us Hkkjrh; turk ea jk"Vbkn ea vy[k tykbA

⁷² fcfi u pln] Hkkjr dk Lorark l 2k'kz fgnh ek/; e dk; k; funskky; fnYyh fo'ofok|ky; 2015] ist u0 73&74

⁷³ B.D. Pal Quted by Buch (2) P. 103, A.R. Desai P. 2008

⁷⁴ A.R. Desai, PP-411,412

⁷⁵ fcfi u pln] Hkkjr dk Lorark l 2k'kz fgnh ek/; e dk; k; funskky;] fnYyh fo'ofok|ky;] 2015] ist 135

; Ø ds ckn tks vkfFKZl l dV nsk ea c<k bl l s ykxka ea fcfV'k l jdkj l s
 eksj Hkxgls x; k rFkk l jdkj ds vknksyu dk neu djus ds rjhds l s tul k/kkj .k
 vks fuos'kd 'kkl u ds ifr ykxka ea jksk c,+x; kA varjzVh; fo'o dh egku
 ?kVukvka tS s; yjks h; nsk Økfr; ka vksj : l ea cks'ksrd Økfr l s Hkkjrh; ykxka ea
 jk"Vbkn dh pruk dks xgjs rks ij iHkfor fd; kAbI pruk dk id kj djus ea
 gke: y vknksyu Hkh Hkkjrh; ykxka ds chp xgjk iHkko iMkA rplZ l kelxZ; vksj
 feJ jk"Vts ds chp gpZ l oI dh l a/k ¼0 vxLr 1920½ us eq yekuka dks Hkh vaxst h
 jkT; ds fojksk ea: i ear s kj fd; k ftl l s l epk jk"Va vknksyu ds fy, mB [kMk
 gupk rFkk vks fuos'kd l Rrk ds ijs'kkuh dk dkj.k cuka Hkkjrh; int hifr tks
 vksj ksd foLrkj ea ifj.kkeLo: i ; Ø ds nks ku vkfFKZl : i l setar gks x; k Fkk
 rFkk Hkkjrh; jk"Vh; dkaxl vksj , uOl hOvkØ ea vknksyu dks usRo fd; k rFkk vksj
 Hkh T; knk l fØ; gks x; A

1919 ea ek.Vx; wpxl ØkMZ l Økkj }kjk tc nsk 'kkl u ykxw fd; k ml h ds
 }kjk 1921 ea f'k{k foHkx ea Hkkjrh; eñ=; ka us fu; æ.k ea LFkkukUrfr dj fn; k
 x; kA vc ikturh; l jdkjka dks 'kksf.kd id kj ds dk; Øeka dks viukus vksj mlga
 ykxw djus dh vf/kd Lorærk Fkh bl ds ifj.kkeLo: i 1920&21 ds ckn f'k{k ea
 id kj ea dkQh of) gpA⁷⁶ yfdu tYn gh ml us bl fodkl dks l hfer dj fn; kA
 Hkkjr l jdkj }kjk 1920&21 ea Lohdr f'k{k ds vumku cm dj fn; s x; s rFkk
 fo'o vkfFKZl emh tufr l eL; kvka ds QyLo: i f'k{k ea cMh ; kst ukvka dks ijk
 djuk dfBu gks x; kA bl ds ckn vl g; kx vknksyu ds ckn dh vof/k us Hkkjrh;
 jk"Vh; vknksyu ea egkRek xkakh us Hkiedk c<h rFkk l ektokn vksj l kE; okn h xh/ka
 dk Hkh fodkl gupk rFkk nsk ea Økfr oxZ ds Loræ vkfFKZl vksj jktuhfrd
 vknksyuka dk mn; gksus yxka⁷⁷ l u-1930&32 dk l fou; voK vknksyu ftl dk
 l ikr xkakh th us ifl) ued ekpl us fd; k Fkk vud ykxka ea jk"Vh; iæ ds
 idkg ds osx dks c<k; kA bl h l e; vLi"; rk dh l eL; k dks Hkh l i"V fd; k
 1932 ea xkakh th us vf[ky Hkkjrh; vLi"; rk fojkskh yhx ½gfjtu l od l ¾½ dk
 fuekZk fd; k rFkk 1933 ea gfjtu dk l iknu Hkh 'kq fd; k tks fd l klrkfgd
 if=dk FkhA rFkk 8 ebZ rFkk 16 vxLr 1933 dks nks ckj vu'ku ij Hkh cBsuoEcj
 1933 l s vxLr 1939 rd og gfjtu ; k=k ij Hkh fudys ftl dh mnas; ; g
 l ans k igpkuk Fkk fd Hkkjrh; ka ea l Hkh tkfr; kj l eku gA⁷⁸ bl vknksyu dk eq;
 y{; Fkk fd jk"Vbnh vknksyu dh tMts dks etar djuk FkhA vknksyu ij ftu
 ckrka dk iHkko de gks x; k] os eq; r% xkakh th }kjk jktuhfr ds l kFk /kel dk
 l a kstu Fkk ftl ds ifj.kke Lo: i jk"Vh; pruk dh FkhA dkaxl ea c<fs gq s
 int hokfn; ka dh idM+ vksj jk"Vh; iæfr ds foLrkj ea Hkh of) gq h yfdu bl ds
 l kFk gh l kEi nkf; d Hkkoukvka dk Hkh fodkl gks jgk FkhA
 vxyk pj.k l u-1934&39 ds chp fo'o; Ø 'kq gksus ds ckn ds o"kkZ ea dkaxl ds
 , d oxZ us xkakh th dh fopkj /kkjk idFRK; ka vksj i) fr; ka ea viuk fo'okl [kks

⁷⁶ Report of the Hartog committee P. 31
⁷⁷ Quoted Soon Beauchamp, p. 185 and A.R. Desai P. 339
⁷⁸ Txt book of class 8 social science Prachi (India) Pvt. Ltd. 2019, Pg.
 109.

fn;k vks dkad l ektoknh ny dh LFkkiuk dhA⁷⁹ bl nksku xkalkhokn l s
 vyx&vyx rcdka dh jpuk gks jgh Fkh rFkk l Hkk" k ckd us xkalkhokn ds jkLrs l s
 gV dj QkjoMZ Cykd dh jpuk dhA nfyv vknsyu Hkh viuh xfr l s pyrs jgs
 ysdul cl s rst vknsyu jgk ekj Een vyh ftlUk ds usRo ea eflYe yhx dk
 l kEinkf; d vknsyuA yhx useb 1937 ea gh l a q i klr fo/kku l Hkk ds mi papko
 ea "bLyke [krjs ea gs" dk ukjk yxkuk 'kq dj fn; kA [kq ftlUk us vYykg vks
 djku ds uke ij ckv nus dh vihy dh FkhA⁸⁰ bl dky dh i Hkko' kkyh ?kVuk Fkh
 fdl kku vknsyuka dk rst fodkl A Hkfeghu fdl kuka ds cM&cM& oxkz ea jk"Vh;
 vks oxpruk fodfl r gblz bl ds vykok] mlGkus vi us Lo; a ds oxl l xBu] 'kgjh
 usRo] dk; De] ukjs vks >.Ms fodfl r djuk 'kq fd; kA Hkkjrh; fdl kuka ds
 l pruo oxl l xBu] vf[ky Hkkjrh; fdl ku l Hkk us vi us mnas; ds fy; s rS kj
 fd; k Hkkjr l ektoknh jkT; us fdl kuka ds Loræ l xkz l xBr fd; s vks , d
 Loræ bdkbz ds : i ea jk"V" ds fuekz k ea Hkkx fy; kA etnjkh fdl kuka vks e/; e
 oxl ds jktuhfrd l eg vf/kd l s vf/kd iz Ru dj jgs FkS D; khd muea vf/kd
 jktuhfrd pruk vks Loræ l xBu dh rkd r bdVBh gks x; h Fkh] tks vc rd
 i n hoknh oxl }kjk fu; a=r Fkh] tkr jk"V" Hkh vi us Loræ , oa l Ei wkZ fodkl dks
 ckf/kr djus okyh ck/kvka ds i qz fuekz k dh viuh ekacka dks vf/kdkf/kd tkj & 'kjs
 l snck jgs FkA

⁷⁹ A.R. Desai, p. 414

⁸⁰ fofiu plnk] Hkkjr dk Lorærk l xk"l fglh ek/; e dk; kko; funs kky;] fnYyh
 fo'ofok |ky;] 2015] ist uo 425