

Collaborative Workshop for Dissemination on Popular Movement in West Bengal and Bihar, 22 June 2018, West Bengal State University, Barasat

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The project began with Bengal as it was found that we do not have many political writings on the popular movements that have taken place in Bengal. For some reasons historians have refrained from writing about popular resistances in Bengal. There have been recent writings on popular uprisings of Calcutta in the 1940s and 1950s. By and large the transformation in the dynamics of problems in West Bengal was not looked at. The period starting from 1967 is considered as an exception in independent Indian history and this is known as the “Naxalite period” which was seen by some Leftists as an aberration and by the Congress as Leftist frenzy and extremism; possibly the Naxalites also think that they are an exception. That is why researchers of CRG set out to find out, what it was in the dynamics of the 1950s and 1960s that led to the “Naxalbari Uprising”. Which is when colleagues at CRG from Bihar questioned, why was only Bengal being looked at? It was then decided that if there were proper resources, popular movements in Bihar would also be looked at. Prof. Samaddar admits that when the programme was conceptualised, analytical problems were not thought of - the questions that arise and the various trajectories of the 1950s to the imposition of the Emergency in 1975. People got so engrossed in the details that the larger questions which arose during the course of the study got ignored. He still thinks that the research done and the enormous inputs, details and realities that have been discovered are still not sufficient. One of the things that struck him was that in trying to map the development of the movement, it became apparent that these movements were changing in form as well as changing in the organic structure and composition. There was also the realisation that popular uprisings may be triggered by rise in prices, environmental disorder, the demand for increasing wages and salaries, it can be a Marxist revolution in one particular way or against misrule, torture etc. But a question which has not been answered sufficiently is why these small movements took the form of general uprisings in some places and why they did not in some cases. Similarly to suggest that popular movement will categorically belong to revolts and on the other hand insurgencies will also belong to the category of revolts is something which is understandable and which appears to be common sense but on the other hand the unfolding of various consciousness is something that may not be ensured. This warns us that there may be continuities and the discontinuities in the movements. Therefore in this context while reading through the various contributions of researchers on this project, a question struck Prof. Samaddar, a question which is not theoretical. For example if one were to ask, “Who taught the Bengalis to set fire to a bus? Did anybody teach us? Why did we think that a protest against rising oil prices should start with putting a tram on fire?” On one level, people may think that it is the only way things should be and these details are a part of human behaviour but on the other hand, these are the matters which have been studied inadequately by historians. Another example is that, Calcutta has for the last 30-40 years been staging a number of street revolts and people thought the street is the best place to stage mutiny. Which classes or what sections of society have the street fighters come from? Various ages show

how the popular uprisings had been characterised by various modes of street fighting, but why is it that the streets have been considered as the most fruitful place to stage revolts is a question which has remain unanswered. Prof. Samaddar considers that there has been an organic link in the movements and uprisings taking place in Calcutta and other towns of Bengal with the refugee movement of the 1950s. One of the challenges present in the theme is understanding the starting point. While in certain cases movements have started in Calcutta and have journeyed their way to other cities, in certain other cases movements have originated in small towns due to the prevalence of some issues. When we read some of the literature of the revolutionary times we are reminded that clearly there are certain points in course of insurgency when the emphasis on the “physicality” of the movement emerged, which again has not been sufficiently explored. Generally, politics less in reality but more in theory has been conceptualised along abstract lines; questions which arise regarding politics are highly practical in nature and these practical questions have not been adequately answered in political and well as historical discussions. One of the writers that he discusses is Charles Tilly who while talking about how democracy came through violence and never through democratic means spoke of the different modes of revolution. Marx also wrote that once the appropriate mode of protest is found, it is the mode which will lead to the continuity of the movement. Therefore, a major theoretical question which arises while studying popular movements is the continuity and the discontinuity of the movements which the historians as well as other scholars need to address. What was also interesting when work on Bihar was being done, was that even in the widespread “JP” movement there were different strings of protest. It was later accepted by the Bihar government that the nature of mass peasant movements in Bihar is changing. A lengthy report which deals with popular movements of Bihar from block to block and from district to district shows how the protest differed from block to block and from district to district, why some things happened in some places and did not happen in certain other places. These are the kinds of sources which we can rely on while studying movements. In academics, party literature is not credible enough. While studying the Railway Strikes, Prof. Samaddar realised that even though police reports are enormously significant the reports made by Trade Unions give a much more detailed and different analysis. Another question which needs to be considered in order to analyse the theme is how does revolutionary consciousness emerge? How does a particular class of people realise that they need to make their presence felt and determine their own fate is another question which may not be such a knowledge related question but is essential to understand how the movement has developed. It is a question of thinking much more deeply about the phenomenon that we are studying. The end of a good research is the starting point of a new research, as there are always problems which come up when we are concluding one research. Therefore, if someone is very satisfied with their research there is bound to be some sort of failure in that particular research. This is what he was discussing with his colleagues, very informally, the question of “death” which formed a part of the revolutionary consciousness. What were the opinions of the revolutionaries about “dying”? The fact that you would have to die in the revolutionary process is not just an emotional question but also a question crucial in understanding the subject. Prof. Samaddar read an account of a Nepali candidate for Assembly elections who travelled to meet Charu Mazumdar when he learned of the Naxalbari Uprisings. When he asked Charu Mazumdar about what he should do, Charu *Babu* suggested that he go to China and meet General Mao. This man took his advice and in almost a dying condition after being caught by the Indian as well as Chinese police, he reached China. When he explained to the Chinese officials that he wanted to meet General Mao, they were left in disbelief; however after completely understanding that he wasn’t a spy they led him to Beijing, he never ended up meeting Mao but he stayed in China for three to four months. What he learned there in China is something we will never know but when he came back to India, he met Charu *babu* again. What Professor Samaddar is emphasizing here is the level of non-conformism which existed and ultimately led to the

tipping point, which was, death. Another problem still being grappled with is that the publisher of CRG's book wanted photographs. The illegality of the activities which were of a subterranean character was very attractive and that is why people ask for photographs. CRG does not have too many photographs and the photographs that it has are mostly of street processions; these street processions can be passed off as protests in the 1950s as well as protests of today. Also there are no pictures of village mobilisations which took place. There are some accounts of the movements in Bhojpur but no accounts of the uprisings which took place in Midnapore etc. That raises a question in mind: are there certain things in society and certain things in history which have escaped memory? There are no oral accounts as the people who were there in the 1950s and the 1960s have all died. Smaller important details have escaped from chronicles. There are accounts by the Congress party of the food movement of 1950s but there are hardly any photographs for the period of 1966-1973 even in party accounts. This makes Prof. Samaddar think that certain movements only leave an impact on our minds but not any material records.

Sibaji Pratim Basu

What is the "popular" in "popular movements"? In earlier days, we used to call these movements "mass movements", so what is the difference between the popular movements and the mass movements? Do we consider these movements as autonomous movements having no connection with each other or are there some continuities? The food movements of 1959 and 1966 are often considered by the scholars as one of the best examples of Left popular movements and these became the foremost reasons of the overthrow of the 20 year long Congress rule in West Bengal and the starting point of United Front politics in West Bengal. Basu starts with a very basic question of what does a popular movement do? A very general definition is that the distinguished feature of social or protests movement is based on changing grievances which creates a relatively autonomous space for people's actions, which is sometimes peaceful but mostly violent and which cannot be controlled by any leader, vertical leadership or vertical party organisation no matter how powerful they may be. Following Tilly we may understand the organisational dynamics of these movements, while following Deluze and Guattari's concept of the rhizome we may understand the connectivity among them. Rhizomes find surface connections in all directions. A rhizome has specific uniqueness yet connectivity. A rhizome systematically establishes connections between organisations of movements and circumstances related to arts, science and social studies. So we can see them as horizontal connect of separate movements and there is also connectivity. Coming to the organisation of the movements, Tilly argues that popular movements generally comprise of three things, First is campaign, second is creation of a social rapport (for the purpose of the movement, a special organisation is created to organise such kinds of movements for example, processions, rallies, demonstrations) and third is WUNC. W stands for "Worthiness" of the movement, the feeling that this movement is "worthy" of being put into action. UN stands for "Unique", popular movements are popular when many classes and not just one class participate in the movement and unity is what is unique in these movements. Lastly C stands for the "Commitment" of people towards the movement for example; women with young children carry their babies while taking part in these movements. Therefore all these parts are essential for a popular movement. Coming to the scenario in post partition Bengal which is just one-third the size of British Bengal we have to include the sea of refugees who were coming into the state; at the same time there is a shortage of food due to various reasons such as failure of procurement of paddy and other food grains. In 1948 the government could reach only fifty per cent of the target food production and distribution. The scenario further deteriorated between 1950 and 1952, the situation deeply worsened in early 1959 and in

Kolkata and Southern Bengal, rice was sold between Rs 28 to Rs 30 per 3.5kgs. This was a very high price at that point of time and so hoarding and black marketeering became rampant, creating a near famine like situation in Bengal. In this background a new mass organisation was formed namely the Price Increase and Famine Resistance Committee (PIFRC). This came into being in early 1959 by the Leftists with special initiatives by the CPI, the main opposition at that time. They brought the issue of food shortage in the state under public eye and drew attention from not only the public but also the media. As a strategy to form an anti-government movement, they established various issue based committees to draw popular support beyond party lines. Various left parties formed a kind of united block against the government. In the beginning of 1959 the situation was almost like preparing for "battle". In August, the government arrested the protestors including the Left leaders. After prolonged arrests the PIFRC warned the government that if such arrests continued they would have to launch a very large protest on 21st August 1959. From 31st August onwards till mid-September thousands of men and women swept across the streets of Kolkata; they came from rural areas as well as suburbs and assembled near the Shahid Minar. It was the season of monsoon and on the 31st of August despite the heavy rains the people came to the forefront and gathered in huge numbers in front of the Writers' Building to force the removal of the Food Minister. Many police forces were deployed in the area and it was kept under 144 CRPC which states that not more than 4 people can assemble in the area. The trouble began when people started to break the code and the police started to lathi charge to disperse the masses, tear gases were fired in 10 rounds. The protest spread from the Esplanade area to many parts of the city and took a violent turn. On the next day there were massive student protests in the city. From the College Street Campus of the Calcutta University a procession was started which took a violent turn and the police had to retreat in the face of extremely violent resistance by the students. It is reported that the turbans and the batons of the police were snatched away from them and set on fire by the students. Howrah which is considered as the "Sheffield of Bengal" had a large working class population and these workers were badly hit by the food shortage of 1959. The "Rowdies" also participated in the movement and started throwing stones on the police in GT Road in Howrah. The police used lathi charge and tear gas in repercussion. Innocent passers-by were also affected by the police attacks and that is why they started getting involved into the struggle as well. The mob set a traffic control post on fire in the Howrah Maidan area. In the police violence at least 12 people were killed, 120 were wounded. The same scene was repeated in a number of places in Kolkata and North 24 Paraganas. According to the Left leadership about 80 people had been killed in police caused violence between 31st August and 4th September. But the official records were ofcourse lesser. 1959 had a loud echo in the 1966 movement. However, if we compare we see that, firstly, 1959 began with more preparations and organisation while the 1966 movement was more spontaneous and less organised. Secondly, in 1959 the movement started from Kolkata and reached the districts later while in 1966, the problem started in the districts and travelled to Kolkata. Thirdly, a large number of refugees organised by the left dominated UCRC participated in 1959. In 1966 there was hardly a differentiation among the indigenous Bengali participants and the refugees. 1966 movement also had a wide number of student participants. February-March 1966 saw a very fierce movement. Because not only did the price of rice rise but also kerosene oil was very scarce and to top it all, the new Chief minister, Prafulla Sen who was the food minister in 1959 made a unique suggestion that Bengalis should consume more wheat instead of rice and change their food habits. And that if you do not get potatoes you should take green bananas. This government also started a system whereby you could not take rice from the rural areas to the urban areas. Therefore the authorities not only had to face resistance from the common masses and the women but the black marketers and hoarders who were badly affected by the newly established system of the grain not passing on to the cities from the villages. The trouble started in Hooghly district when a home guard of the Police was severely

attacked by women when he entered the ladies compartment in a train. In 24 Paraganas, a 14 year old was killed and his friend was injured. And the whole of Southern Bengal was drowned in trouble in March 1966. In 1966 along with Left parties a number of other parties like the Gandhian parties also participated. Instead of mass violent attacks, the youth had organised themselves in small groups that were there in various localities and attacked the police in the evenings when the street lights were turned off and bombs were thrown on the police patrolling the areas. In most cases the identities of the attackers were never discovered. This guerrilla warfare and arbitrary police raids became common and were found in the Naxalbari Uprising as well. The 2nd food movement left over 40 dead in just 5 days. Even after the United Front came to power in 1967 popular movements continued in pockets. In 1970 when the Left Front came to power the continuity of popular movements was under the absolute control of the CPI(M). Then in 2007 almost 5 decades after 1959 and four decades after 1966, a vast movement broke out in protest against the failure of the ration system these came to be known as the ration riots. These movements in various districts of Bengal shook the very foundation of the Left in the 2008 Panchayat Elections. And this proved once again that the rhizome of 1959 could surface in any moment and take any shape even decades later.

Tista Das

Das spoke about how in the decade of the 1950s the conspicuous presence of the refugees on the streets with bags, baggage, clothes and children was changing the cityscape of Calcutta. It was this that became the biggest threat for the government and the biggest challenge ofcourse, therefore, was to categorise them and take them off the streets. As categorization became an important tool for identifying who was or was not eligible to receive government charity, the refugee leaders needed to unify all kinds of refugee problems and fight for the government's recognition of all categories of refugees. How the refugees became a basis for political party activities is an exciting narrative. However, in understanding this story it is important to realise that the refugees were not silent spectators to party infiltration. They chose a kind of politics that was relevant for their purpose; it is through the process of political mobilisation that the lazy,co-dependent refugee came to his or her own. Das brings together strands of this process through a brief history of the organisations that worked on the fabric of refugee resistance.The need for refugee organisations was felt in the early years of settlement, the very nature of the settlements politicised the life of the refugees. Therefore representing the refugee interest became an important task for political parties which started as colony committees. We start with UCRC which was born in 1950; however even before this the refugees were not without their representatives. The presence of the refugees had created an environment in which any political party would want to make their presence felt perhaps and to recruit an army of insiders so to speak. By this time the sense of betrayal by the Congress had spread its roots and the Congress was being dubbed as an elite group catering to the needs of the zamindars and therefore was considered to be incapable to solve the basic problem of land holding which the people and the refugees were facing. The Leftist stake in the refugee movement was therefore becoming discernible and the demand was raised that the wastelands and the pleasure grounds of the zamindars should be used for the rehabilitation of the refugees. The sanctity of private property itself was being challenged. A number of refugee colonies came into existence which was the fabric of the refugee movement in the later years and these were increasingly becoming pro-Communist. The colonies which came up were extremely significant. The preservation of these colonies which were the homes of these refugees was very important as the threat of attack was ever present and the preservation of the colony was a political process. The organisation which strengthened the communist stronghold on the refugees was the MARS which was a

CPI dominated organisation. It was an organisation for social work among women; their objective was to safeguard the prestige, interests and rights of the women. The MARS organisation could seamlessly unify the issues of the women, their concern for their honour, the shortage of food and cloth, the weakness of their children due to malnutrition and other problems relating to them being refugees. The working committees of the Samity became the training grounds for the new recruits of the party. In some colonies, the MARS formed smaller working committees for specific issues. In 1954, an event was organised by the MARS in Murshidabad where women spoke about the problems that their families were facing. The MARS repeatedly spoke of the need to open primary schools in the colonies. The committees of these schools were used to recruit members again. These schools were however not regular. The MARS women members acted as teachers in various colony primary schools. It is evident therefore that the process of mobilisation happened across colonies and the Communists could create a definite stronghold. The plan with opening the primary schools was to make the MARS popular among the refugee women and make them politically conscious. These schools held certain “study” classes in which the policies of the Congress government towards refugees were criticised and appeals were made to join the alternative movements initiated by the Left. The first such class was held in Tollygunge on 13th July 1955. Appeals were made to join the Goa liberation movement as it was felt that if refugee women do join these movements they will prove that they stand for democratic causes in addition to their own interests. This was the purpose of the MARS; they wanted to create a political consciousness among refugee women who would stand up for other causes which the Communist Party was initiating rather than limit themselves to the refugee problems only. The formation of the UCRC was the culmination of a process of establishing coordination among various colonies and establishing a hierarchy of control. Apart from the CPI, the representatives of other communist parties were also present in the UCRC. The feature of the UCRC which struck me was that it was not solely based on certain issues which led to singular movements. Its objective of bringing the refugees together was much more structured and it was able to make its presence felt by the government. Despite its internal rambles, the UCRC functioned as a united organisation. The UCRC was also trying to create an alternative plan for rehabilitation. The basic outlook of this plan was different from the government plan of course; a memorandum of the UCRC sent to the Government in 1954 was a critique of the very essence of the rehabilitation policy of the government. It clearly stated that the success of rehabilitation programs was not solely dependent on the amount of money spent on them. It was suggested that the assessment of the success of the programmes should be made by asking how far the displaced peasants, workers, artisans have been rehabilitated and given gainful work in addition to basic facilities of education, shelter, healthcare etc., so that they can build up their lives in their own natural ways. What was being questioned therefore was the principle of the rehabilitation programmes and the emphasis on “gainful occupation”. The UCRC was talking in terms of the real or the actual rehabilitation of the refugees as well as the notion of nationalism. At one level, this meant that the UCRC was trying to fit the refugees into the national fabric while on the other hand leaders of the nation were treating them as outsiders. The UCRC further argued that the government was only reclaiming the good land or the cultivable land and there was also the need to reclaim the wastelands or the uncultivable lands in order to build up houses for the refugees. The “surplus land” had to be acquired from the big landowners and not from the peasants. The programme was geared towards creating a space for the refugees within the space of the locality and therefore it was opposed to the government idea of creating separate distinct spaces for the refugees. The refugee movement under the umbrella of the UCRC harked on the need for popular cooperation. The UCRC in presenting its alternative plan of rehabilitation put great emphasis on a census of the actual number of refugees. They pointed out that a correct assessment needed to be made of the actual number of refugees that had come in till date as opposed to numbers recorded in the past. This would help the people who had

failed to register themselves as refugees but now needed the help of the government as their conditions had deteriorated. The deserters were not blamed for their plight but it was the wrong policy of the government which was criticised for the desertion of people. The refugees under the leadership of UCRC were now conscious enough to choose their own brand of politics as well whom they wanted to support.

Anwasha Sengupta

Sengupta focuses on some of the movements that Calcutta had witnessed and how the cityscape and infrastructure helped in the growth of mass movements and demonstrations. This paper directly draws from Eric Hobsbawm's famous article "Cities and insurrections" where he spoke about "how structures of cities have affected popular movements." Before coming to the particular case of Calcutta in 1950s and 60s, she briefly discusses some parts of the article written by Hobsbawm. Eric Hobsbawm wrote that the effectiveness of riots and insurgencies are based on three aspects of urban structures- how easily the poor can be mobilised, how vulnerable the centres of operation are, and how easily can the movements be suppressed. These are determined partly by sociological, partly by urbanistic and partly by technological factors though the three cannot always be kept apart. Hobsbawm goes on to discuss these factors and how they have influenced mass actions taking place in cities across the world. He shows how cities with trams, cities with large combination of overpopulation and connectivity are suitable for insurrections. Cities where there is a direct link between the poor and the authorities can be a centre of powerful insurrections. Calcutta as we can see ticked many of these criterias. Hobsbawm himself considered Calcutta as a city where mass agitations could take place and this shows that he was aware of the political climate of the city. Calcutta constantly appeared to be on the brink of violence as denoted by many American political scientists. Indeed the city since 1947 had been very politically volatile. On one hand it witnessed massive communal riots in 1946,1947,1950,1964; in addition to this, there was the refugee movement of the 1950s, the tram movement of 1953, the teachers' movement of 1954, food movement of 1959 etc. However the participation, the scale of violence and the government's reaction differed from one movement to another. But the reports of these movements showed that all these movements drew great attraction from the people of Calcutta. Calcutta had always been an ideal city for riots and brigades with the appropriate urban structure, the high population of workers and students etc. During the Swadeshi movement of 1905 partition of Bengal, the city emerged as the epicentre of mass agitation. The Swadeshi movement also witnessed the growth of extremism and revolutionary terrorism with some political assassinations and fights with the police. The close lying houses and shops and the existence of a number of industries made Calcutta increasingly difficult to govern which led to the capital of British India being transferred to Delhi. The *paras* of Calcutta provided refuge to the insiders and protection from the outsiders and served as an effective escape route to people who knew the area in times of political turmoil. *Paras* emerged as a "safe zone" for the insiders and battlegrounds for the outsiders. These were the territories that had to be defended. When the tram movement broke out, the people of the *paras* were always vigilant of who was entering into the *para*. Numerous refugee settlements had also come up in various parts of the cities during the same time. The people in the colonies however were homogenous and were angrier than the people of the *paras* against the government. During the Tram Movement of 1953, as Prafulla Chakrabarty writes, colonies and the *bastis* occupied by the refugees emerged as centres of manufacturing of bombs and other weapons and explosives. These *paras*, colonies, narrow lanes and *bastis* had something opaque

about them; what went on in these areas was only visible to those people who actually lived there and not to the outsiders. An account of the *paras* located near Ballygunge has illustrated how women blew conch shells on seeing the police; this was a sign for the Naxalites of the *paras* to flee by jumping from one rooftop to another to safer areas. While the *paras* had protected the protesters, the tram lines served as easy targets of the protestors. Since trams were an easy and preferred mode of travel, it was expected that if set on fire, this large vehicle would topple over and block the roads, stopping the traffic from moving. In future instead of trams, buses would be set on fire in order to ensure a road block. In 1949, when 4 students were killed by the police, a tram was set in fire. In the 1950s during a workers movement, three or four trams were set on fire. On 22nd January 1950 two trams were set on fire by the CPI after an anti-Republic Day protest. During the tram movement of 1953, according to official record, atleast 60 trams were damaged and the company suffered a loss rupees 2.5 lakhs. The teachers' movement of 1954 also witnessed similar attacks on the trams; during the food protests also, trams were attacked by the protestors. Similar scenes were depicted in the 1960s too when along with trams, buses were also set on fire by the protestors. Tramlines were far more widespread than they are now and they passed through the mainstream operative areas of the city. What made the tramlines more vulnerable was their proximity to schools, colleges and universities at that time. For example, if we think of College Street, Presidency College, Medical College, Calcutta University, all are adjacent to tram lines. Similarly in other areas of Calcutta also, many colleges are situated near tramlines. Ashutosh College, Scottish Church, Maulana Azad College, Vidyasagar College, all are situated adjacent to tram lines or are very close to tramlines. Students could come out of these institutions, throw a few bombs and run back into the college as was seen during the Tram Movement of 1953. Sengupta attempts to explain why certain features of the city enhanced the protest that was taking place in Calcutta, but cautions that these features cannot alone explain how or why these movements took place. One of the reasons was the massive presence of refugees in the city who helped turn it into a battleground against the policy of driving them away from densely populated areas of the city.

KAUSTUBH MANI SENGUPTA

Mani Sengupta's paper was titled 'People and Spaces of Insurgency: Some reflections on Social History of the last fifty-years'. As is evident from the title, this is a general reading for some important works that has been published for the last 60 to 70 years regarding people's movements. He points out some of the features starting with the works of post-war social historians in Britain and elsewhere. He first recounts the tradition of 'history from below' that elaborated the idea of 'social banditry', 'primitive rebels' and 'crowd' in history. The paper then shifts to the critique of this tradition with a discussion of the works of the Subaltern studies collective who resolutely showed that the pre-industrial insurgents were not necessarily 'pre-political', mindless rioters. The third issue that the paper wants to discuss moves away from the subjects to the terrain of these movements, critically studying the spatial logics of such insurgency; it looks at the ways in which the terrain aids or abets these movements. The paper ends with a discussion of the deep link between urban planning and military reasoning from the nineteenth to the early twenty-first century. Mr. Gairik in his famous article on pre-historian rebels mentions that there are people who have not yet found or only began to find a specific language in which they express their aspirations of the world. Their movements are neither unimportant nor marginal. A book started to look for ordinary people in European history before the advent of industrial economic structure. This search for history from below brought forth writings on various aspects of social banditry or food riots during the period of transition from

colonialism to capitalism in Western European country. Men and women of this movement were not born in the world of capitalism; rather they came as first generation immigrants or what is more catastrophic, it came to them from outside insidiously by the operations of economic forces which they did not understand and over which they had no control. The movements were reformist not revolutionary, and their ambitions were modest. It is most often a mixture of two elements of which only one is of the popular classes and the other is super enforced by forces of transmission and adoption from outside. In this internal and external division, however, there is no such thing as an automatic progression from simple to more sophisticated ideas. One cannot simply describe the second as superior or at a higher level than the first. But derived notions get drafted on the inherent notions and beliefs, and the new popular ideology takes shape as an amalgam of the two. The two most important features are the insistence on the pre-political character of the movements and an ability to understand the insurgents' belief. The subalterns had a distinct and different world view which they articulated in their movements. There was a survey of 110 cases of insurgency in colonial India to show the ways through which the subalterns as well as the *Adivasis* acted. The insurgents present were clear about their opponents and the use of symbols of authority was almost inevitably a past act of rebellion. There was no question of an inherent ideology and a grafting of one from outside. The subalterns had their own political practices and this was often not necessarily in opposition to the previous order. John Wilson has recently argued that the violent peasant uprisings in North Bengal during the earlier years of Company rule can be studied against the breakdown of social order of mutual relationship between the Zamindar and the peasant. The harshness of the Company's revenue collection methods led the peasants to complain to the District Officer, that he was only the Head of one country while they had a thousand countries. They had a clear understanding of the social and political order. They accepted the collector's authority and also reminded the state of the fragility of that authority. The power comes from having a subject but if the subject migrates to other areas then the ruler would be left in a void. The forms of mutual dependency of the society of rural Bengal led to coercion and violence but as Wilson argues, more than physical violence, it was the restriction on peasant mobility that affected in a bitter way. Forceful selling of the cattle of the peasants was more harmful than any physical violence. It was this restriction on their choice of landlord and mobility that the peasants complained against. This realization led the peasants to believe in their power to shift the local political order. The insurgents were keen to negotiate and bring back normal times. Successive movements in the 19th and 20th century prove that they were revolting against the system to negate the social order from which they were excluded. But during the earlier years of colonial encounter, this antagonism was not fully structured. Peasants believed themselves to be a part of wider social world in which they were not always external to the local political world. Sengupta then alludes to the special aspect of insurgency movements. The present insurgencies were often local in character and foreigners became the targets. As we have discussed, the restriction on mobility was a crucial factor in the uprising. Previously it was the ability to move beyond the local setting. With change in militant technology and infrastructure developments, cities change over time. With concentration of capital technology, cities have now become regular targets. Now the urban warfare has entered a completely new zone as is evident from the recurrent destruction of Middle Eastern cities. Some case studies show that strategizing for an urban warfare has become difficult. Counter insurgency forces redefine the urban terrain and their tactics. Workshops are held to discuss various aspects of urban planning and military operations. Sengupta ends with a description of a conference as narrated by Eyal Weizman, 'Arms killers from different corners of the globe exchange views of urban related operations over dinner. I was amazed that my attendance as an architect did not raise any eyebrows. When asked, I explained my presence in terms of a research project and my conversation partners instead of being more

cautious, were very curious to hear about the relationship between my work on human rights, planning and architecture. This embrace makes me feel uncomfortable’.

Anuradha Bhasin Jamwal

‘Where there is power, there is resistance’, as Michael Foucault. Kashmir is a place which has had a history of resistance against power. It has existed before 1947. In Pre-partition days during the Maharaja’s time, the way the State adopted preventive measures and parts of State came together, the unnatural formation of the state, itself gave birth to resistance. Post-partition in Kashmir, there were control mechanisms of power structure and this power speaks through manipulation, brutality and it is this power that Kashmir has been resisting for the last many decades. Kashmir is a political dispute, a legacy of the Partition of 1947. In 1947, the Kashmir valley, known as a ‘beacon of light’ was caught amidst a communal holocaust. Ironically, today Kashmir is both a cause and consequence of the actions of India and Pakistan. Since the last 7 decades, Kashmir has had a lot of history of broken promises, deposed government, jailed leaders, rigged elections, erosion of autonomy and remote controlled politics. Since the Delhi agreement on 1952, India damned the Kashmir affairs through encouragement of puppet regimes kept in check through strong tactics like arrest of elected leaders, manipulation of their position in governments, and by injecting corruption, in turn managing to erode the special status of the state as enjoyed under Article 370. New Delhi was doing it because there was a pathological insecurity with respect to the only Muslim majority state in India. Then, few things were happening apart from the political control and manipulation. In 1984, JKLF resistance leader Maqbool, a militant, was hanged in Tihar jail. In 1987, 3 years later, rigged elections proved to be the last one; elections had been rigged earlier also but this was the worst rigged election where an elected candidate was declared defeated and the National Conference candidate was declared victorious. This further eroded the faith of Kashmiris in Indian democracy and pushed young men to pick up arms against Indian state in a big way. Use of simple military methods tackled this insurgency with a wide graph of human rights abuse which contributed to the deepening consciousness to fight against the Indian state. Ever since, resistance is a continuing process but has assumed different forms in keeping with the changing texture of the conflict. Often running parallel, these different forms are sometimes opposed to each other and sometimes intersecting. The armed insurgency received massive public support among the Muslims but also invoked fear among Pundits. One of the reasons that the Pundits were insecure was the use of symbols during resistance, the armed resistance, the mosques, the religious slogans etc. But other than that, what is it that the Muslim militants were fighting? They were fighting the Indian State, they were fighting the Indian army who Kashmiri Pundit viewed as their saints. So there lay the difference. And even if there wasn’t much violence perpetuated against the pundits, there was a genuine sense of fear. The gun also had the potential to bring Kashmir into the media glare. The plus point of the gun in the perception of the Kashmiris was that, for the first time it brought Kashmir into the media glare; it internationalized the issue like never before and diluted India’s denial about the dispute. Public participation also went hand in hand with the armed insurgency, as women tried to act as shields protecting their sons, brothers, fathers, husbands, during crackdowns and raids. They sang songs to valorize the militants and public protests and marches were common in 1989 and 1990. The excessive militarization by the state led to excessive human rights violation which further drew international attention and gradually engendered a response among civil societies and victims to begin structured campaigns for justice. By and large at that point in time, these campaigns through the 90s were low key, as the situation in a military conflict kept deteriorating. Kashmir was caught between two deep states, India and Pakistan,

which continued to fish in the muddy waters of conflict, encouraging a cycle of multiplicity of militant groups, rise of some Islamic radicals, communalization of politics and mushrooming of the dreaded economies the surrendered militants used in counter insurgency operations, as well as inducing high levels of corruption in the military apparatus and militant outfits. It led to lot of fear and sense of vulnerability amidst the un-ending cycle of violence and human rights abuse. Peaceful and creative resistance during this period went on especially in the name of justice, but it remained relatively low key. Gradually the glamour and popularity of the gun began waning away in the beginning of 2000, because it was getting corrupted extremely, as a form of resistance, and this period coincided with the peace process that began between India and Pakistan. But, there were no serious efforts to engage the Kashmiris and the Kashmiris who after abandoning the gun, started reposing their faith in the peace process, were never really included in the peace process. The process started between India and Pakistan, and with respect to Kashmir it remained by and large very cosmetic. Two successive Prime Ministers, Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Manmohan Singh, met some of the leaders but it didn't go beyond the consultation meeting State and nothing concrete came out of that. Political lethargy on part of the Central Government and hesitation to go ahead with the meaningful peace process was making the people impatient and restless between 2002 and 2007. Kashmiris had reposed their faith in the peace process but patience soon dissipated when confidence-building measures did not go beyond a few measures that had been taken on the LOC, not insignificant on their own but not enough. So in 2008 when people poured out on the streets, it carried forward the residue of that growing impatience. It was a new form of resistance, people coming out in peaceful marches. For a few days it went on but gradually the military started crushing it brutally with bullets and other brutal forms of warfare and this pushed the youth to find in stone pelting their new metaphor of resistance. In 2009, the campaign for justice and against murders was again largely peaceful, disciplined and extremely methodical. It unnerved the Government because the group campaigned for justice. They were documenting each and every thing. So the government responded not with compassion but by using its legal justice system to subvert the truth, through investigations, revealing to the masses the ugly arrogance of truth and power. In 2010, when cries for justice again erupted over the encounter killings, the street unrest that followed was met with brute force resulting in 120 deaths within a span of 5 months. The impatience then fully transformed into anger. So we see a pattern since 2008, attempts by civilians to peacefully organize themselves against their oppression. Even for day to day needs - it may not necessarily be a political protest, it may be for water, electricity, jobs, and better salaries etc, but even these are met with brute force, even killings sometimes. In 2013, Afzal Guru's secretive hanging convinced Kashmiris that peaceful means of resistance and dialogue are not going to happen. Failure of the peace process and decreasing space for peaceful resistance saw the gradual re-glamorization of the violent resistance. First, in the form of street protest with stones and these stones kept becoming more and more lethal, first by every year, then every month and then by the days. The 2016 unrest was different from the agitation of the previous years which were built around oppression and called for justice. This was an open rebellion that reflected not just pent up anger but also the desperation of the situation, the defiance against the entire security apparatus and the government. It is difficult to understand and describe the phenomena that unfolded in 2016 and continues thereafter with greater doses of venom and frustration. But it is not difficult to understand why it happened. Today, and this is a continuing phenomenon, today there is no dearth of passion that drives you but only dearth of hunting and there is dearth of availability of arms. And despite that, young boys (on an average 1 boy a day) are joining the lines of militant population because he is ready to die. He has lost his sense of fear and dying too easily, he knows he is going to die if he goes out and protests, so he is going to pelt a stone or he picks up the gun. The life of a militant is not more than a few months. Its 1 day, 2 days for some, its 6 months at the most for the others. But Jamwal tried to talk to

some of the boys who participated in stone pelting protests and it is very chilling to know why so many of them are prepared to die. They said “we know we are going to die but we are tired of this humiliation.” There are others who say there is complete hopelessness. There is of course lack of fear, there is this sense of humiliation which drives them. The third reason is that they are trapped. Once a boy(whether 9 years old, 10 years old, 12 years old, or 20 years old) goes out in the street to pelt a stone, he is picked up by the police; that is the end of his life, because he will be called again and again, and everytime something happens, he will be jailed again and again and there will be FIRs lodged against him. In any crackdown, in any raid, he will be made a target and he is made to go through those revolving arrests again and again, so he is trapped. So he either goes out to protest as a stone pelter or he picks up arms. Third is passion. They are very high on passion and that is extremely chilling. And Jamwal repeats in Urdu what she was told, ‘Hum toh mareenge, lekin unke do maarke mareenge’. So the entire idea, even at the cost of their own death, at the cost of leading their own self, is to make India bleed. Jamwal also talked about some other resistance struggles going on side by side and these are peaceful oriented struggles. These are much more organized. There are candle light marches organized by civil society organizations. In any peaceful setting, it’s a normal course of thing for people to do and they do not invite some kind of reprisal or brutal action. But in Kashmir, doing so can invite it and that is why these struggles are so important. There are struggles of organizations like Association of Parents for Disappeared Persons who have been trying to know about the truth. There are also lonely battles being fought by fathers of young boys who were killed in 2010. And there are Associations of Parents, how they organize themselves and stand in solidarity with each other. Apart from that, poetry, writings, narratives, are being used as an important means of creative resistance in various ways. In 2016, there were lot of artists who projected the injuries of Kashmir and there are lots of people using poetry to give vent to their expression about what is happening in the conflict or invoking people to resist in different ways. Creative resistance is opposed to violent resistance. Violent resistance is about what we don’t want and creative resistance has an advantage over violent resistance because it’s also about creating a vision of what we do want. If violent resistance is evolving, a very creative and intelligent resistance is also evolving side by side. It is artistic and creative resistance that unnerves the government more than the violent resistance. That is why the television channels will only project the violent resistance that is going on in Kashmir, the stone pelting, the militants, because they want to project Kashmiri Muslims as some kind of demons, villains. There was a film last year, ‘Under the Shade of the Chinar’, and in one film festival of Kerala this was banned because it was showcasing how younger people are using creative means to resist and that threatened the government. Before that in 2013, there was a show concert by Zubin Mehta called, ‘Jashn-e-Kashmir’. So Kashmiri civil society, different groups got together to organize a parallel show, ‘Haqeeqat-e-Kashmir’ because Zubin Mehta’s concert was being showcased as normalcy in Kashmir and Kashmiris wanted to show that everything isn’t normal. Life in Kashmir continues to be a battle.

Aniket Alam

As a general assumption for historians and social scientists, people’s movements can be constitutional, insurgent, creative, oppositional, and constructive. These peoples’ movements get us our rights and better things in future. What is very interesting about Himachal Pradesh is that it is a state where we find not even one people’s movement since independence. The peasant movements end in 1947, 48, 49. Himachal Pradesh as a state is a creation of the ingrown class politics within the praja mandal movement, but since then there hasn’t been any. If one looks back at historical evidence right well into the 19th century the

mountains actually were not part of India, China or Iran. A lot of historians have underestimated the role of geography in the mountain's social formation. The difficulty of doing agriculture in the steps and creating those steps, maintaining them, just ploughing them, etc is why in all these mountain societies, agriculture never became the single biggest source of income. The social conditions depend upon pastoralism and gathering and forging. Different family members from within the same unit take up different activities of foraging and gathering, so there is a non-monetised economy where there are different social formations within the family. It is very difficult to use categories - historical categories, sociological categories - relevant to the plains and river valleys. The institutions of family, clan and lineage are very different here. The polyandry is very interesting to study for anthropologists; there is a lot of group marriage here, so it's not that brothers are marrying only one wife. There are husbands and wife who are common. Till the 19th century, there is an absence of the institution of caste here. In Himachal as well as in Uttarakhand, the social structure is very interesting. There is 50 to 70 % Brahmins and Rajputs and the rest are scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The scheduled tribes in the mountains are very similar to the Brahmins and the Rajputs because the Brahmins and the Rajputs are also doing agriculture. There is enough documentary evidence and anthropological evidence that suggests that it was basically in late 19th century to early 20th century that what became the OBCs elsewhere, became Brahmins and Rajputs in Himachal. This is why when the Mandal commission was implemented by V.P. Singh, there was only one state which went to the Supreme Court against Mandal Commission - Himachal Pradesh. Uttarakhand erupted post Mandal Commission because there were no OBCs there. What happened in the Himalayas is that through these mountain areas in the 18th century, the retarded state started showing signs of developing into a full state, the two big examples being Tibet and the Gorkha State. With colonial intervention, new kinds of settlements (land and forests), markets and networks of circulation came up and there was increasing commodification of almost everything - land, labour, forests, agricultural produce, even bride price. The practice of bride price led to a form of trafficking leading to prostitution in Ambala, Saharanpur, Kanpur, Delhi, Lahore, etc. All this commodification led to a situation of recurrent peasant rebellions in the period from the 1830s to the 1940s. The following is a list of rebellions which happened in the Sutlej Beas valley - at Jubbal, Bushahr, Mandi, Suket, Dhami, Koti. Praja Mandal agitations were big because they were asking not only asking for the end of commodification but also for a separate Himalayan *pranith*. From independence onwards, there has been no rebellion. Himachal Pradesh is one area where there is complete integration with the market; commodification did not lead to dislocation. It witnessed sustainable integration various caste identities of the society. The kind of friction that is seen in other caste societies is missing. There has been successful integration of religion. In 1947, Himachal Pradesh was at the bottom of all the development indicator tables; in 2017, it is right at the top. A field survey shows that there are villages with a population of 700 people, a primary school with 55 students and 8 teachers, in a place which is snow bound for 6 months. There is no place without electricity, primary health centres or schools. There is geography of insurgency if you look at the mountains of South Asia, Baluchistan, Afghanistan, Gilgitbalkistan, Kashmir, Tibet, Nepal, Uttarakhand, Darjeeling, Bhutan, Arunachal. There is just no insurgency in Himachal Pradesh or any rebellion or anything of that sort. When asked for the reason behind this peace and prosperity, the people of the region advance popular notions of "devbhoomi".

Manoj Kr Jha

During the weeks during the last leg of UPA-2, when Anna was at the centre of an Anti-corruption Movement, it was rather difficult for anybody wanting to engage with the 'Anna phenomenon' on the basis

of a framework which appeared even remotely critical. Such was the hysteric waves colonizing our cognitive frames that any divergence of opinion with the 'revolutionary upsurge of the great Indian masses (classes)' was summarily dubbed as cynicism at best and plain act of treason, more generally. The men and the moment of the spectacle left a progression of queries which emanated out of the images and issues 'served' to the larger society. Needless to reaffirm that this larger society remained in fact much larger than those that team Anna claims to have paraded on the streets of Delhi and other metropolitan centres across the country. Manoj Kr. Jha shared some insights with respect to an episode, which was widely hailed as 'movement'.

[Disclaimer: His lecture has been retained here in its original form, since any translation would take away from the essence of the speech.]

When it occurred to me what should I speak on I chose Anna Hazare. Barde mushkil daurd se hum nikle I teach social movements and social action in my university to kuch professional hazards hote hai agar aap bachche pardha rahe ho to log apki pratidin pariksha lete hai kahe aap movement ke aadmi ho aap ye nahi dekh paye ho wahan aandolan ho raha hai aap baithe ho yahan ghar me. Anna Hazare was such a movement in my personal life mere colleagues mere students sab ne mera dimag kha liya. Mujhe is aandolan ke bare me thordi bohot samajh thi as a student of movement I knew what is this movement lekin like a package we knew what the package contained and I tell you that particular day when it started 5th of april 2011 and if I am not wrong April is generally a very dangerous month for this country so in the month of april after 3-4 days when there was lots of 'Bharat Mata ki jai' and 'Saare corrupt India choro', my colleagues literally forced me they took me in a car it was just short of an abduction aur mujhse kaha ki chalo chalke dekho tum aandolan pardhate ho kya parha rahe ho. My dear friends I went there I saw the visual imageries I saw the slogan which in the language of movement we call framing, I saw the frames of that movement and I tell you I still have goose bumps, it was scary for me I knew what was coming I knew it was a tactics of political hypnosis much before 2014 happened in the month of May it was an act of political hypnosis but pehle mai Hindustani me ek kahani sunaunga choti si I am feeling as an insider here apne logo ke beech me hun jahan koi mere samne mereko jindabaad murdabaad nahi kahega so ek kahani mai mere students ke saath colleagues ke saath hamesha share karta hun, ek raja tha kahaniyon me aksar raja hi hote hain, badshah, raja kahin thelewala, rikshawwala, paanwala, khainiwala, surtiwala, inki kahaniya nahi hoti hai aur raja hai to jahir hai uski beti nahi hogi beta hi hoga kahaniyon me to kam se kam beta hoga usko ek beta tha ab raja ki patni ka intekaal ho gya mar gayi bichari raja bache ko paalna shuru kiya har din sula kar bache ko kehta tha ki beta 3 cheeze sun lo pyar se ek is duniya me khoobsurat raajkumariyan nahi hoti dusri is duniya me taapu naam ki koi cheez nahi hoti aur teesri bhagwaan to hota hi nahi hai bacha barda hua 14, 15, 16 saal ki umar me aya aur ye umar jo adolescence ki akhri saale jo hoti hai 16- 17 ye barde hi khatarnaak hoti hai agar pita mata hame kehte hai wo sandook mat kholo to raat me hum wo sandook ko hi kholte hai agar kaha jaaye ki udhar mat dekhna udhar hi dekhoge ye film aap logo ke dekhne ki nahi hai beta please avoid you will make sure kahin raat me daba ke jio ke kripa se uss film ko dekh le to wo aapki humari tarah bacha tha 16 saal ki umar me apne ghar se nikal ke kaafi dur pohochne ke baad dekha chaaro taraf paani hai aasharya hua fir dekha sundar aakrutiyen ek wyakti to aata dekha aur 'mai kaha hun?' us wyakti se puchato wo wyakti bola aap tapu pe ho 'aur ye?', bola ye sundar raajkumariyan hai, to wo ekdum chatur balak bola 'tab to tum bhagwaan hoge', usne kaha mai bhagwaan hun ab bacha wapas ghar aaya pita ko bola mai khaunga nahi meri aapse bohot shikayat hai aapne itne saal tak mere saath anyay kiya bola thik hai ek baat batao wo aadmi mila kya uske kurte ya shirt ki baahen murdi hui thi to bache ne kaha haan murdi hui thi bola wo tucha jaadugar hai bhagwaan mat manna phir kayi mahino baad bacha waha se bhi gya fir aaya chut te hi bola hai ye raajkumariyan nahi hai ye tapu nahi

hai aur tum to bhagwan bilkul nahi ho tuchche jaadugar ho to wo bola haan mai jaadugar hun aur tumhare pita bhi jaadugar hai tumko jaadu me rehne ki aadat hai tumhe koi na koi jaadu chahiye jaadu aur policing dono my dear friends most of us have the habit of remaining in the magical spell as a nation as a community ambedkar 1949 me hame keh kar gaye the while giving the draft of the constitution that guard yourself against hero worship aur hum adbhut mulk hai jo acha karta hai uski tasweer bna ke apni dil me rakhte hai dil me nahi jagah hai to kamre me taang diya ek hero apne aap ko mesihah kehta hai Anna Hazare ne bhi yahi kiya as a student of movement there are certain parameters to examine a movement maine seekha ki aandolan me kuch cheeze bohut beintehah hoti hai uska parameter pehla jo hota hai a sense of elevation us paradigm ko hum kehte hai elevation attraction conversion post conversion management elevation is what joota mai bana raha hun pheeta koi aur bana raha hai talli koi aur bana raha hai to puri product ke saath mera sense of belonging nahi hai aur ye samaj ke raiyaton ke saath tradition ke saath process ke saath I have no sense of belonging that's the beginning of elevation, elevation starts with now this elevation has to have a larger connect we need to find similar situation of people similar location aur hum ek dusre ke saath ek taar jorte hain kahe hum itne saare log jahan bohut elevated log hai Anna Hazare ko is paradigm ka mujhse zyada gyaan tha usse pata tha ki is mulk me kuch aisa ho raha hai ki log asunishchit hai UPA 2 ek massive mandate ke saath aayi thi that the political economy was shit aur us shit me jiska a group of intelligent people had the sense and they built on this elevation now provoked by this elevation you have something called attraction agar aapke andar andhapan hai aur aapko apni urja deni hao uss andhapan ko dur karne ke liye to aapko attract karne wali kuch cheez honi chahiye to kayi log hote hai jo beinteha dukhi rehte hai to wo sham ko sharab ki pyali me apna attraction dhundte hai kayi log hote hai jo sochte hai ki kahi nadi kinare baithkar kavita likhun wo unka attraction hota hai kayi log hote hai jo ek dusre ka haath pakarkar inquelaab zindabaad to Anna Hazare ne is attraction ko paradigm kiya bilkul ek gandhian replica karne ki koshish ki mai aapko ek choti ghatna ka zikra karun us poore aandolan me media ka bohut barda role tha media ka abbhi bohut barda role hai par mai kehta hun ki Anna Hazare ka agar mujhko ek line me likhna parde to mai kahunga ki jis picture tube se unka janm hua tha ussi picture tube ne unko khatam kardiya he came out of a picture tube and as we see for the first time in my memory I saw the use of top angle shot of camera in Anna Hazare movement jantar mantar ki puri capacity dhai hazar logo se zyada nahi hai danyawaad ho jantar mantar bandh ho gya ab aandolan waha nahi kar sakte aandolan karne ke liye aapko purani jagah jaana pardega itni dur jaiyega to raste me chalte chalte thak jaiyega wo bhi ek tareeka hai movements kill karneka to induce drudgery in the movement top angle shot, many of you use it for selfie, choti cheez bardi dikhti hai to top angle shot ka bohut se semantics istemaal kiya aur jantar mantar jaisi jagaah me do haazar jaisi logo ke liye and the narrative of India was changed we were all helpless it was simple manner the multi-linearity which is the beauty of democratic discourse was systematically killed and who built on that systematic killing of manner we all know naam nahi lunga halat thik nahi hai ab le hi liya bacha kya hai now after attraction you have conversion Anna could manage things very well but when it came to conversion that failed so at the level of conversion Aniket bhai bohut sahi bata rahe the ki naya musalmaan pyaaz bohut khata hai humare yahan bihar me kehte hai ki naya miyan 7 waqt ki namaaz pardhta hai so ye conversion ka pura idea this idea of converting here Anna suddenly had to deal with his disciple ab waha Arvind Kejriwal aa gaye Anna chahe ki conversion aise wala ho Kejriwal chahe ki conversion waise wala ho converting the recruit there the government is split but in the process that entire Anna Hazare movement necessity is socially drugged dreams become necessary and they build on it and as a result of which what we see today that entire anna Hazare movement nobody ever questioned in any movement the first the primary question is we ask 'what is the ideology of the movement?', nobody asked this question in fact one of my friends he announced that this is the end of ideology in politics and we realise ideally it's a rival of a very deepening kind of ideological politics about

Karl Marx mai aksar aajkal kehta hun hum me se sab aajkal thorde Marxist hain party wala nahi non party Marxist jo koi bhi dil se sochega, dil baayen side me hota hai, is leftist lekin CPM, CPI(M), CPI(ML) wala nahi wo non party leftist hai this is what when we examine that nobody asked for ideology organisation or even leadership and as a result of which as I said earlier media the kind of positioning the crisis of Anna did carefully during the Anna movement commercials were stopped there were no ad breaks we all know who politically they run the channels who paid for the ad- breaks you can't run a TV channel you can't run a Hall like this without money so somebody must have paid the money the people who paid the money I think they are enjoying the relevance now. Finally, I think Anna movement was also an attempt to prepare us for a fascist state and I have no qualms in saying there is a political party a very old political party in this country and a very very important political party in your state till of 2 years ago the top leadership of that political party for last 4 years is discussing drastical fascism among its authorities and I told the top leadership in one of the meetings that this luxury can only be enjoyed by you we can't enjoy I am not entering into what the Anna movement did in terms of preparing a kind of normalisation of things in terms of setting a fascism like state but the reality is just think once I wrote in that piece agar aapke mulk ke kisi ilaake ke haalat ke bare me I give due credit to Anuradha she can speak her mind in spite of being in the land, agar aako apne mulk ke kisi ilaake ke haalat ke bare me ya apne pardos ke kisi kaum ke bare me sach bolne se pehle 3 dafa sochna parde ki bolun ya na bolun, this is Fascism and to draw on finally Amartya Sen ek choti si kahani hai ek fascist jata hai aur bolta hai sahib meri fascist party join karo to wo kehta hai mai kaise join karu bola mere Dada Socialist the mere pitaji socialist the mai kaise aapki party join karu acha ye kamal ka baat hai maano tumhare Dadaji murderer hote tumhare pitaji murderer hote to tab kya karte to bola tab mai fascist party join kar leta. On a lighter mood we can see this in the nation I wanted to use a different word for anna Hazare movement but dictionary Thesaurus did not offer me any that in movement typology there is a movement called regressive movement it was the most aggressive regressive movement contemporary India has witnessed because of that kind of regression what we see today is extension of that regression ek purani baat hai kya zulmaton ke daur me bhi geet gaayen jaayenge haan zulmaton ke daur me bhi usi daur ke geet gaayen jaayenge thank you so much.

Manish Kr Jha

What is street fighting? When does it become resistance? When does it transform into mass movements? Why do mass movements happen? Is it because of some kind of conflict in the society? Do all kinds of conflicts lead to mass mobilisation and mass movements or only some kinds? In Bengal the project looks at specific cases of movements. In the case of Bihar, we look at resistance and movements through the strategies and tactics of leaders. Jha looks at Jay Prakash Narayan, popularly known as J.P. Narayan, what kind of strategy he formulated and ideology he subscribed to, what kind of issues he raised and how he dealt with them. Jha also looks at Karpoori Thakur and his ideas of caste, social justice and mass movement. Through the persona of Karpoori Thakur he attempts to understand how caste and caste reconfiguration became the governmental technology to respond to condensed politics. Condensed politics using caste to do social engineering was nothing new. We see that many regional leaders like Mulayam Singh Yadav are often displayed as doing caste politics. The history of Indian democracy tells us that caste politics in the post-colonial time was done by conquerors in a much sharper manner in the politics. The Socialists brought the idea that the caste engineering being done by Congress can be turned upside down and in that process

the backward caste politics was given prominence by these leaders. Karpoori Thakur as a person coming from a backward caste community became the rallying point of backward politics and demonstrated that a full range of people's sense of frustration, sense of injustice, and sense of inequality can be dealt through governmental response. His political career spanned from 1947 to 1988. He was Chief Minister for two years and division minister for 1 and a half. That is his entire ruling regime and majorly he was in opposition. It was Karpoori Thakur who brought in the idea of reservation for the first time. He had a very strategic way of looking at politics in Bihar. Socialist politics in Bihar used caste and he made it clear that caste configuration and caste integration needs to be cultivated, and if it needs to be cultivated, then there are certain things which need to be highlighted. In that context basically, he demonstrated different roles of responding to specifications. When he became division minister, he decided that the governmental contracts should be given on the basis of caste. In Bihar, opposition leaders who became part of the ruling regime responded with solutions. So it is the claim making which happened in a particular manner and the opposition always kept trying, whenever they got an opportunity to implement certain claims. Thakur's first tenure as chief minister was of 6 months but in those months, some of the initiatives that he had taken had a lasting impact. No tax on those farms from which there came no profit offered relief to the small marginal farmers and exhibited the socialist character of the state. When he became chief minister, he knew the government was not going to sustain so he was in a hurry that certain things be implemented which then would give the backward caste an aspiration that this was possible. If you look at Jay Prakash Narayan's movement, this is what helped in bringing together the different people. Mass large scale resistance was happening in certain parts of Bihar which was at that time central Bihar and now is southern Bihar, but this political discourse where we see the opposition made a ruling party, was not yet demonstrated in the large scale mass movement of that time. It was very successfully demonstrated by Karpoori Thakur between 77 and 79. Jay Prakash Narayan had huge issue by the pace at which Karpoori Thakur was moving, but Karpoori Thakur knew very well that if he went slow, then his politics or backward caste politics was over because, within the Janata Party, the upper caste dominance or realignment was happening. Bihar is also a solid laboratory to understand that how in certain pockets of Bihar the left movement continued for very long and still continues and which has its own mobilisation. That which was being thought and was being demonstrated by Karpoori Thakur was very forcefully followed and forwarded by leaders like Lalu Prasad Yadav. That art was demonstrated with much more confidence by Lalu Prasad Yadav, having the advantage of representing also a dominant backward caste which Karpoori Thakur was not. Thakur came from a community where the dominant backward class were very suspicious about Karpoori Thakur's politics; so he was not only dealing with trying to bring backward class politics to the forefront, he was also dealing with the suspicion of the dominant backward classes which was not the case with Lalu Prasad Yadav. So then his acumen, his strategy, and his confidence became much more about a sense of justice.

Badri Narayan Tiwari

Dr. Badri Narayan Tiwari speaks about cultural texts and political orality. He says that there are 2 aspects to this process. First is the linking of Bihar and Bengal and second is linking resistance in social movements. Music, the harmonium and literature have travelled from Bengal to Bihar. There is a clear link between Bengal and Bihar; hence he focuses on the second topic that is linking resistance in social movements. Anti-democratic activity is the root cause of resistance. One of the statements said by a famous novelist said

that it is the time to let go of resistance. He speaks about the importance of Cultural Orality. This time is not favourable for resistance. Most of the Congress leaders who are now 60 or 70 have emerged from cultural orality. Most of them were theatre artists, dancers and musicians. Secondly, most of the leaders are poets. They are composers of songs mainly folk songs like Kavi Kelash and Ram SharanVed from Allahabad. They would perform songs at various places. There was this one time when before Nehru would come onto stage, these folk artists would perform and then Nehru would come up and deliver his speech. So the political orality evolved through the socio-cultural ambience in a particular society. They used proverbs, metaphors and symbols in their song compositions. Resistance orality is difficult to understand because there is no documentation of these events. They take place mainly underground and they are not easily available in the form of documents. Emergency also produced many leaders like Lalu Yadav. He was also a theatre artist who took part in *nataks*. At that time everything was not easily available so thousands of people would gather around a radio to listen to the *natak* and that is how Lalu Yadav became very famous in Bihar. He used 2 languages, Hindi and Bhojpuri. His language and Bhojpuri satire and his aggressive attitude of narrative in his shows made him very famous in Bihar. Whenever he delivered his lecture, he would use both languages and use satire to make his speeches interesting and this made him a popular leader. Many Bihar youths became famous because of this as well. This makes leaders famous in society and then the state as well. Resistance has to also meet the needs of the state and market led aspirations as day by day people become part of resistance.

Archana Singh

Dr. Archana Singh spoke on the Naxal women in Bihar. She said, “Most Naxal women are undocumented and unheard of and not seen by anyone. Whatever data is available is disrupted or misinterpreted in some way. Most scholars who have taken up studies of Naxal women want to know their contribution to the Naxal movement in Bihar. Most Naxal women in Bihar belong to lower castes as caste is the main feature in Bihar. Women were a part of peasant movements and they picketed shops and liquor shops and death and deportation was awarded to them if they were caught. Most of these women formed rebellion groups that changed the grass root scenario in Bihar; they formed groups and protested against the feudal system. The main aim was to make the men folk and other people conscious of their problems. These groups developed consciousness among themselves and also within other groups. These women did that so that they could mobilize other people to retain their respect or “izzat” due to various cases like rape etc. Several factors such as cultural factors like patriarchy and social factors like division between genders also provoked Naxal women in Bihar to fight for their rights. One of the examples is Amrit Sonavati from Bhojpur. She fought for the rights of women who were widows and daughters. These women who became a part of these movements resisted their families and organized these movements. Another example of such a woman is Nirmala, who was not from Bhojpur but Bihar. These women became heroes and all other women in Bihar worshipped them as Naxal heroes.