

Whispers of Revolution:

Echoes from the Freedom Movement

Editors:

Lakhya Protim Nirmolia
Tufail Zilani Imdad Ullah

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SABDA PRAKASH

Jorhat, Assam, Pin-785001

The e-book *Whispers of Revolution: Echoes from the Freedom Movement* presents a compelling anthology of selected scholarly papers, meticulously curated and edited by Lakhya Protim Nirmolia and Tufail Zilani Imdad Ullah. Published by Sabda Prakash, Jorhat, Assam, Pin-785001—this volume distils the subtle undercurrents of resistance and resilience that have long animated global liberation struggles, offering readers an intimate portal into the nascent murmurs that prelude transformative change.
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Editorial

Whispers of Revolution: Echoes from the Freedom Movement

Revolutions in human history are not confined to political transformations alone; they also unfold within the realms of science, thought, and culture—reshaping the very foundations of knowledge and existence. *Whispers of Revolution: Echoes from the Freedom Movement* explores this intricate continuity between social awakening and intellectual evolution, recognising that every wave of change begins with a quiet shift in human perception before manifesting as collective transformation.

The volume emphasizes that the story of revolution is, in essence, the story of human curiosity and inquiry. Just as scientific revolutions—from the heliocentric model to modern theories of evolution and quantum mechanics—have expanded the boundaries of understanding, intellectual and cultural revolutions have challenged inherited assumptions, redefined moral visions, and inspired new pathways of progress. Both processes share a common essence: the courage to question established paradigms and the willingness to imagine alternative possibilities.

Each contribution in this collection examines how revolutions—whether scientific or social—have emerged from the accumulation of ideas, reflections, and experiments that sought to realign humanity’s relationship with truth and justice. These essays

remind us that the spirit of discovery and the call for freedom are, in many ways, parallel pursuits: both demand critical observation, ethical reasoning, and visionary imagination. The whisper of a new idea, much like the seed of scientific inquiry, may seem imperceptible at first, yet it holds the potential to transform collective consciousness.

From an academic standpoint, the book encourages readers to understand revolution as an ever-evolving path within human development—where the quest for wisdom, liberty, and ethical consciousness meets. It aims to connect the realms of scientific thought and social experience, emphasizing that the transformation of ideas is as vital to human advancement as biological evolution is to the living world

Ultimately, *Whispers of Revolution: Echoes from the Freedom Movement* is a meditation on how humanity evolves—through thought, reflection, and transformation. It calls upon scholars, educators, and thinkers to listen to the subtle echoes of change that define every age, reminding us that revolution, whether scientific or social, begins not in chaos, but in contemplation; not in noise, but in whispers.

Lakhya Protim Nirmolia
Tufail Zilani Imdad Ullah
Editors

Concept Note

Whispers of Revolution: Echoes from the Freedom Movement

Lakhya Protim Nirmolia

Tufail Zilani

Editor

Introduction

In the shadowed crevices of history, where the clamour of outright rebellion has yet to erupt, dwell the faint murmurs of discontent—the whispers that herald the storm. These are not the thunderous manifestos or the clash of arms, but the subtle undercurrents of aspiration: shared glances of solidarity, clandestine verses inscribed in the margins of forbidden texts. Across its global incarnations, the freedom movement invariably begins thus—not with fanfare, but with echoes—resonances of a collective yearning for autonomy that ripple through societies, gathering momentum until they shatter the edifice of oppression. This concept note delves into the phenomenology of these whispers, framing them as the embryonic stage of revolutionary consciousness, and traces their echoes as the enduring vibrations that sustain and reshape liberation struggles across epochs.

Viewed through an interdisciplinary lens—spanning historiography, cultural studies, and social psychology—this inquiry illuminates how fleeting expressions of resistance coalesce into lasting legacies of emancipation. By transcending singular national narratives, we reveal the freedom movement’s universal archetype:

a tapestry woven from threads of human resilience against structures of domination. In an age where digital murmurs can spark global uprisings overnight, deciphering these whispers transcends academic curiosity; it becomes an urgent imperative for navigating the rhythms of change.

Historical Context: The Anatomy of Subterranean Dissent

Freedom movements, as historical phenomena, spring from the fertile ground of perceived injustice, where the seeds of revolt take root in secrecy long before piercing the surface. Consider their archetypal arc: in the shadowed salons of Enlightenment Europe, hushed debates on natural rights percolated among intellectuals, priming the soil for upheavals that felled monarchies. These whispers crystallized in pamphlets—anonymous broadsides that circulated like contraband, embedding notions of sovereignty into the collective psyche. As historian Eric Hobsbawm reflected in his meditations on peasant revolts, Revolutions do not burst forth unannounced; they are the culmination of grievances whispered in fields and factories, amplified by the winds of circumstance.

This pattern echoes across continents and centuries. In the late-eighteenth-century Americas, murmurs of colonial grievance—voiced through boycotts of stamped paper and nocturnal tavern gatherings—congealed into declarations of independence. Likewise, amid the mid-twentieth-century anti-imperial surges in Africa and Asia, oral traditions of griots and storytellers safeguarded narratives of ancestral dignity, defying the imposed silence of colonial archives. Far from ephemeral, these echoes served as mnemonic anchors, communalizing the sting of subjugation into a prelude for collective action.

What binds these episodes is the dialectic of silence and sound. Oppressive regimes, bent on hegemony, impose enforced quietude—censoring speech, surveilling assemblies, and sidelining vernacular voices. Yet, as cultural theorist Stuart Hall discerned in his analyses of encoded resistance, the oppressed reclaim this

silence, recasting it as a lexicon of defiance. Whispers thus emerge as the grammar of prelude: fragmented, allusive, yet insurgent. They unfold across linguistic, symbolic, and performative registers, each stratum deepening the revolutionary subtext.

Theoretical Framework: From Whisper to Echo

To map this progression, we erect a tripartite scaffold: Michel Foucault's subjugated knowledges, Antonio Gramsci's hegemony and counter-hegemony, and Judith Butler's performativity of resistance. Foucault's lens proves especially resonant, casting whispers as irruptions of disqualified discourses—local, discontinuous narratives that subvert the grand récit of power. In freedom movements, these manifest as folklore, songs, or graffiti: micro-acts of subversion that erode the official canon.

Gramsci amplifies this through the war of position—the protracted cultural fray that precedes the war of manoeuvre. Here, whispers are tactical feints: ideological skirmishes in civil society, incrementally dismantling consent to domination. An evocative, if imagined, Gramscian epistle distills it thus: The organic intellectual does not proclaim from pulpits but murmurs in marketplaces, where the subaltern's fractured voice finds choral unity. Such murmurs nurture good sense, a counter-hegemonic commonsense that refracts dominant ideology through the prisms of lived experience.

Butler's insight resides in performativity: whispers as iterated acts that solidify into a habitus of rebellion. A furtive slogan scrawled on a wall is not inert; it enacts dissent, beckoning replication and thus radiating outward. In this schema, the freedom movement unfolds not as a linear march but as a resonant chamber, where nascent vibrations amplify through repetition, transmuting solitary gestures into collective agency.

This triad underscores revolution's non-teleological essence. Whispers harbor no ironclad promise of eruption; they are probabilistic, hinging on conjunctural crises. Yet their echoes—enshrined in literature, art, and memory—bestow movements with perdurance, tuning successive generations to their cadence.

Objectives of the Inquiry

This concept note charts a prospective scholarly project anchored in three interlocking objectives:

1. Mapping the Morphology of Whispers: Via archival and ethnographic methods, delineate their forms—rhetorical (metaphors of bondage in poetry), material (smuggled artifacts), and sonic (protest ballads). The aim: a typology unveiling patterns across freedom contexts, from abolitionist networks in the antebellum South to suffragette correspondences in Edwardian Britain.

2. Tracing Echoic Trajectories: Leverage network analysis to chart propagation and mutation into bolder refrains. How, for instance, did a lone abolitionist hymn, hummed in secret prayer circles, swell into anthems belted by marching throngs? This probes amplification vectors, from media ecologies to social capital.

3. Assessing Contemporary Resonances: Probe the digital afterlives of historical echoes, querying whether social media micro-posts—tweets of solidarity or viral memes—embody modern whispers in quests for racial justice or climate equity. By yoking past to present, the project frames freedom movements as a continuum, wherein yesterday’s murmurs shape tomorrow’s mobilizations.

Methodological Approach

The inquiry embraces a mixed-methods paradigm, fusing qualitative nuance with quantitative scope to ensnare the elusive timbre of whispers. Primary sources will emerge from:

Archival Exhumation: Delving into digitized repositories and physical holdings for ephemera—letters, diaries, broadsides—that incarnate nascent dissent. Digital humanities tools, such as topic

modelling with MALLET, will unearth latent motifs in corpora traversing multiple freedom eras.

Oral History Elicitation: Semi-structured interviews with descendants of movement actors, staged in community milieus to summon embodied memory. Cued by artifacts (e.g., a weathered protest flyer), these dialogues will unearth sensory vestiges: What sounds endure from your grandmother's tales of the fray?

Network Ethnography: Employing graph theory to map relational lattices—kinships, salons, underground presses—via tools like Gephi, rendering them as sonic topographies where node scale mirrors echo potency.

Ethical vigilance is non-negotiable: securing informed consent, safeguarding anonymity for vulnerable voices, and reflexively interrogating the researcher's standpoint. Spanning 18 months, the venture culminates in a monograph and interactive digital exhibit, extending its reach beyond ivory towers.

Significance and Anticipated Impact

This endeavour wields profound significance. Theoretically, it augments subaltern studies by spotlighting resistance's affective economies—how whispers forge emotional bonds that eclipse material triumphs. Empirically, it furnishes textured prehistories of freedom movements, redressing chronicles that exalt charismatic vanguards over diffuse multitudes.

Pedagogically, its insights will infuse social movement curricula, equipping students to listen for whispers in today's tempests—from the murmurs of migrant caravans to the digital drone of #MeToo revelations. For policymakers, it unveils perils of pre-emptive co-optation: regimes that amplify innocuous echoes may unwittingly fan the flames of the upheavals they dread.

In an epoch shadowed by authoritarian resurgence, this work reaffirms the inaudible might. As a bespoke aphorism, minted

in this note's forge: Revolutions are not born in silence, but in its artful breach—where whispers, like seismic harbingers, presage the quake of the unbound.

Conclusion

The whispers of revolution—those tenuous preludes to liberation's symphonies—remind us that freedom is not granted but implored: from the margins, in possibility's half-light. Their echoes, rather than dissipate, reverberate eternally, a ceaseless summons to attune our ears to the voiceless. In limning this terrain, this concept note aspires not to exhaustive cartography but to catalytic spark: may it rouse scholars, activists, and visionaries to heed the murmurs that yet murmur.

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Fuzzy Logic and Technological Innovation in Freedom Narratives: A Framework for Understanding Digital Transformations in Revolutionary Strategies

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Abstract

This chapter explains how fuzzy logic and modern digital technologies are changing the way people build and share freedom narratives. In today's world, movements for justice and human rights often begin and grow through social media, mobile phones, and online platforms. These digital spaces are full of mixed emotions, uncertain information, and different opinions. Because of this, freedom movements cannot be understood using simple "yes or no" ideas. Fuzzy logic helps us study these movements by allowing "partial truth" and different levels of support, fear, hope, or anger. It provides a flexible way to understand public emotions, online behavior, and the risks faced by people during movements. At the same time, technologies like artificial intelligence, big data, blockchain, and virtual reality are changing how people organize protests, spread

messages, and protect themselves. This chapter presents a simple framework that combines fuzzy logic with digital transformation to understand modern revolutionary strategies. It shows how fuzzy models can explain public sentiment, predict movement growth, and identify digital challenges such as misinformation and surveillance. The chapter also discusses ethical issues and future opportunities. Overall, the chapter argues that fuzzy logic and new technologies can help us understand freedom struggles more clearly in a world where digital communication shapes how people fight for justice and express their dreams of a better society.

Keywords: Fuzzy logic, AIoT, uncertainty, intelligent decision-making, IoT security, adaptive computing, smart systems

1. Introduction

Human history has always been shaped by people's struggle for freedom. From ancient uprisings to modern revolutions, communities have consistently searched for ways to express dissent, organize movements, and challenge unjust power. Over time, the tools used to support these freedom narratives have changed. Today, digital technologies—such as smartphones, social media, artificial intelligence, and data-driven systems—play a central role in how people communicate and mobilize.

But freedom narratives are rarely clear or simple. They are full of uncertainty, multiple opinions, and mixed emotions. Some people strongly support a cause, others strongly oppose it, and many remain somewhere in between. In real life, revolutionary actions are rarely “yes or no,” “support or not support,” or “right or wrong.” Instead, they fall on a scale. They depend on beliefs, risks, emotions, cultural factors, and incomplete information.

This is where fuzzy logic becomes important. Fuzzy logic provides a mathematical way to understand uncertainty, vagueness, and partial truth. Traditional logic is binary—something is either 0 or 1. But fuzzy logic allows values between 0 and 1, representing partial levels of truth or belief. Fuzzy logic and technological innovation enable us to comprehend how contemporary revolutionary tactics and freedom narratives are reshaped by digital instruments. Future innovative technologies are

supported by fuzzy logic, as demonstrated by Chalamalasetty et al. (2024). Their work draws attention to fresh opportunities for activism on the internet. Mwaura et al. (2023) explored the impact of digital tools on African resistance groups. Leon (2025) talked about the difficulties of AI-driven digital change. He also emphasized fresh avenues for societal transformation. Bodrogi (2021) took a macro view of digital transformation. His work demonstrates how significant innovations affect society. Pang et al. (2024) investigated how digitalization promotes resource sustainability. Technology and responsible development are linked by their research.

For MCDC, Das and Granados (2022a) created a fuzzy parameterized intuitionistic fuzzy soft multiset theory. Their research on FP-intuitionistic multi-fuzzy N-soft sets enhanced MCDC models' adaptability (Das and Granados, 2022b). To further this study, they later presented IFP-intuitionistic multi-fuzzy N-soft sets (Das and Granados, 2023a). Weighted fuzzy soft multisets were suggested by Das (2018) as a novel MCDC tool. Previously, preference fuzzy rough relations and intuitionistic fuzzy rough relations were studied by Das (2016) and Das & Granados (2023b). Their collaborative study presented a fuzzy soft group MCDC technique in 2021. It employed weighted average ratings to enhance MCDC theory and practical analysis (Das and Granados, 2021). New operations on FSSs were proposed by Das et al. (2022). They demonstrated how these operations aid in the efficient resolution of úDú issues. Weighted hesitant bipolar-valued FSSs were later introduced by Das et al. (2023). These sets provide a more thorough method of contrasting and assessing several choices. A fuzzy MCDC model was also created by Das et al. (2025b) to investigate how human activity affects the water quality of urban rivers. An important addition to environmental MCDC research is this work. It assessed the Gomati and Haora Rivers' contamination levels. Water contamination was also graded using 50uP50, P50, P models and weighted hesitant FSSs (Das et al., 2024a; 2024b; 2025a). Mukherjee and Das's works are also used in the development of fuzzy soft multi-set theories in MCDC (2016a). In their 2015 work, interval-valued intuitionistic fuzzy soft multi-sets were applied to practical MCDC situations (Mukherjee and Das, 2015b). Additionally, they investigated the application of intuitionistic

FSSs with interval values in investment decision-making (Mukherjee and Das, 2015a).

In 2022, they also developed Einstein operations on fuzzy soft multisets and μ -D μ (Mukherjee & Das, 2022). In their 2023 book, they go into greater detail about the theoretical underpinnings and practical applications (Mukherjee & Das, 2023). Mukherjee & Das focus even further on the topological and relational paradigm of fuzzy and rough sets (2015c; 2016b). Granados et al. (2022) introduced the continuous neutrosophic distributions with neutrosophic parameters that give a possibility to represent the uncertainty probabilistically. Granados et al. (2023) proposed the weighted neutrosophic soft multiset approach, which Das et al. (2025c) have recently thoroughly examined. Das et al. (2025d) recently introduced the fuzzy logic decision-support system to streamline the concept of an adaptive inventory management system within the retailing context. Das et al. (2025e) have developed a new weighted hypersoft expert system MCDM paradigm. They provide helpful strategies on how to deal with uncertainty, make decisions more precisely, and address difficult real-life problems (Das et al., 2025f). Das et al. (2025g; 2025h; 2025i; 2025l) investigated how urban river water is impacted by human activity. Das et al. (2025j) investigated the groundwater quality in Agartala, Northeast India using an effective fuzzy MCDM model. Das et al. (2025k) studied the impact of management of interactive learning environments on mathematical proficiency. Fuzzy logic applications in multicultural marketing were investigated by Das et al. (2026a). Das et al. (2026b) examined smart luxury goods co-branding in a different study. They made decisions using a neutrosophic multi-criteria method. Neutrosophic sets were also used in environmental recovery by Das et al. (2026c). A generalized interval-valued neutrosophic rough soft set structure was presented by Mukherjee et al. (2026a; 2026b). Recently, Gupta et al. (2026) integrated traditional ecological knowledge with fuzzy logic and quantum computing for sustainable agriculture in tribal areas of Tripura. Their work offers useful approaches for managing uncertainty, enhancing the precision of decisions, and tackling challenging real-world issues.

The deployment of digital power by authoritarian regimes was examined by Schlumberger et al. (2023). The concept of “digital dictatorship” is introduced in their work. Fuzzy AHP was employed by

Güler and Şyüközkan (2019) to direct digital tactics. Their approach aids companies in more effective transformation planning. Indigenous movements are supported by social media, as demonstrated by Foyet and Child (Foyet et al., 2024). Their research clarifies how activism is shaped by algorithms. Digital service innovation routes were studied by Setzke et al. (2021). Their research emphasizes strategy as a crucial motivator. Hilbert (2020) examined the evolution of digital technology from a historical perspective. He described how social behavior is altered by technology. Fuzzy cognitive maps were employed for digital evaluation by Erkan et al. (2024). Their model aids in tracking the advancement of change. Dimensions of revolutionary change were established by Yeniçyrak (2021). Fuzzy logic was employed by Restrepo-Morales et al. (2024) to facilitate the digitalization of SMEs. Their approach aids small firms in overcoming obstacles. Research on digital innovation was evaluated by Kohli and Melville (2019). They described how organizational change is fueled by new tools. Fuzzy decision-making was used in hydrogen technology by Wan et al. (2024). Their research demonstrates the relationship between digitization and green technology. Narratives of social transition were examined by Wittmayer et al. (2019). Their work demonstrates how narratives influence group transformation. Fuzzy logic was applied to intelligent control systems by Dumitrescu et al. (2021). Adaptive digital technologies are supported by their model. Trends in digital transformation were examined by Plekhanov et al. (2022). Strong research directions are essential, they said. For digital optimization, Eti et al. (2024) used fuzzy logic and machine learning. Their research provides information about renewable energy systems. Sustainability and digital transformation were connected by Feroz et al. (2021). They demonstrated how technology can help achieve environmental objectives.

This chapter explores how fuzzy logic can help us understand modern freedom narratives in the age of digital transformation. It explains how fuzzy reasoning is used to study public sentiment, predict revolutionary strategies, analyze online behavior, and understand the role of technology in shaping social movements. It also shows how new technologies—such as artificial intelligence, big data analytics, blockchain,

virtual reality, and digital platforms—are transforming revolutionary thinking and strategy.

The overall goal of this chapter is to provide a simple, clear, and reader-friendly explanation of how fuzzy logic and technology interact to shape freedom narratives in the 21st century.

2. Freedom Narratives and Revolutionary Strategies: A Changing Landscape

2.1 What are Freedom Narratives?

Freedom narratives are the stories people tell about justice, dignity, rights, and liberation. These stories may be personal or collective. They shape how people understand oppression and imagine a better future. Freedom narratives can include:

- ◆ stories shared by activists
- ◆ online posts and videos
- ◆ cultural symbols and songs
- ◆ messages of hope
- ◆ calls for action
- ◆ historical memories
- ◆ emotional expressions of suffering

Freedom narratives help people make sense of what they are fighting for. They help movements build identity, unity, and purpose.

2.2 How Revolutionary Strategies Are Formed

Revolutionary strategies include the plans, tools, and actions used by groups to bring about political or social change. These strategies can be peaceful or disruptive. They may involve:

- ◆ protests and demonstrations
- ◆ digital campaigns
- ◆ underground networks

- ◆ social media movements
- ◆ community mobilization
- ◆ knowledge-sharing
- ◆ tactical secrecy
- ◆ symbolic resistance

Modern revolutionary strategies often include online coordination, encrypted communication, social media messaging, and digital storytelling. Technology has expanded the ways movements can grow, organize, and influence.

2.3 Why Modern Freedom Movements Are Complex

In the digital age, social movements are highly complex for many reasons:

1. Information spreads quickly
A single message can reach millions of people in minutes.
2. Multiple interpretations exist
People interpret events differently based on their values, emotions, and online sources.
3. There is uncertainty and misinformation
Fake news, manipulated videos, and rumor networks complicate decision-making.
4. Digital surveillance exists
Authorities may track movement leaders, online discussions, and communication patterns.
5. Emotions shift rapidly
Social media amplifies emotional reactions, making public sentiment unpredictable.

This complexity requires a flexible and adaptive framework. Traditional mathematical or logical systems are not sufficient. That is why fuzzy logic becomes useful.

3. Understanding Fuzzy Logic in Simple Words

3.1 What is Fuzzy Logic?

Fuzzy logic is a mathematical approach used to understand situations that are unclear, uncertain, or not fully defined. It was introduced by Zadeh (1965) to deal with the complexity of real life, where most things cannot be explained using only “yes” or “no,” or “true” and “false.”

Traditional logic works like a light switch: it is either ON (1) or OFF (0). But life is not that simple. Human decisions, emotions, and social situations usually fall somewhere in the middle. Fuzzy logic helps us describe these “in-between” states.

Why do we need fuzzy logic?

Because in real life:

- ◆ Something can be partly true.
- ◆ Something can be somewhat false.
- ◆ Something can be both true and false to different degrees at the same time.

Fuzzy logic allows us to assign values between 0 and 1 that represent degrees rather than absolute categories.

Examples

1. Age example

- ◆ Traditional logic: A person is either young (1) or not young (0).
- ◆ Fuzzy logic: A person can be:
 - ◆ 0.9 young (very young)
 - ◆ 0.6 young (somewhat young)
 - ◆ 0.3 young (slightly young)

This matches how humans actually think. Nobody suddenly becomes “not young” on their 30th birthday.

2. Protest example

- ◆ Traditional logic: A protest is either peaceful or violent.
- ◆ Fuzzy logic: A protest may be:
 - ◆ 0.8 peaceful (mostly peaceful)
 - ◆ 0.4 peaceful (partially peaceful)
 - ◆ 0.2 peaceful (mostly violent)

This helps analysts, authorities, and researchers understand complex crowd behaviors more realistically.

Examples in Social and Freedom Narratives

To make fuzzy logic clearer, here are some hypothetical situations linked to digital freedom movements and revolutionary strategies.

Example 1: Online Public Support for a Movement

Imagine a digital freedom campaign on social media calling for better human rights.

- ◆ Some people strongly support it.
- ◆ Some support it a little.
- ◆ Some are unsure.
- ◆ Some oppose it.

Using fuzzy logic, instead of dividing people into only “supporters” and “non-supporters,” we can assign degrees:

Person	Support Level (0–1)	Interpretation
A	0.95	Fully supportive
B	0.70	Mostly supportive
C	0.50	Neutral leaning to support
D	0.20	Mostly not supportive

This helps researchers understand public emotions more realistically and plan strategies accordingly.

Example 2: Government Restriction Level During a Protest

A government responds to a protest with different actions:

- ◆ 10% internet slowdown
- ◆ 30% police presence
- ◆ 50% news censorship
- ◆ 80% social media blocking

Instead of labeling the government as simply “repressive” or “not repressive,” fuzzy logic assigns a score:

- ◆ Repression Level = 0.65 (moderately high repression)

This gives activists and analysts a better picture of risk levels.

Example 3: Fear Level Among Citizens

During a digital movement, people feel different levels of fear about participating:

- ◆ Person X: 0.9 fear (very afraid)
- ◆ Person Y: 0.5 fear (moderately afraid)
- ◆ Person Z: 0.2 fear (slightly afraid)

This helps leaders design safer communication channels.

For example:

- ◆ People with high fear may prefer encrypted messaging apps.
- ◆ People with low fear may openly post on social media.

Example 4: Credibility of Online Information

Information during social movements is often uncertain:

A viral message says:

“The protest will start at 3 PM in Freedom Square.”

But it comes from a new account that might be unreliable.

Using fuzzy logic, credibility may be assigned as:

- ◆ 0.75 true (likely true)

- ◆ 0.25 false (possible misinformation)

This method helps fact-checkers and AI systems filter information without needing to determine complete truth or complete falsehood immediately.

Traditional Logic vs. Fuzzy Logic (Simple Comparison)

Aspect	Traditional Logic	Fuzzy Logic
Values	Only 0 or 1	Any value between 0 and 1
Thinking style	Black-and-white	Shades of gray
Real-world match	Poor	Very good
Decision-making	Rigid	Flexible
Social situations	Hard to explain	Easy to model

Why Fuzzy Logic Fits Social Movements and Freedom Narratives
Social and political situations involve:

- ◆ mixed emotions
- ◆ partial information
- ◆ uncertain risks
- ◆ changing opinions

Fuzzy logic captures these complexities.

It helps describe:

- ◆ how strongly people feel
- ◆ how likely an event is
- ◆ how dangerous a situation might be
- ◆ how effective a strategy could become

Instead of “true or false,” it uses how true or how false something is.

Freedom movements involve:

- ◆ mixed opinions
- ◆ incomplete information
- ◆ emotional uncertainty
- ◆ variable levels of fear or courage
- ◆ different intensities of support

- ◆ unclear political risks

Fuzzy logic can express these complexities.

Example:

Instead of saying “people support the movement,” fuzzy logic can represent:

- ◆ 0.7 support
- ◆ 0.4 fear
- ◆ 0.6 anger
- ◆ 0.8 hope

These fuzzy values help researchers understand the intensity of public emotions.

3.3 Fuzzy Logic in Everyday Life

Fuzzy logic is used in:

- ◆ washing machines
- ◆ medical diagnosis
- ◆ climate modeling
- ◆ decision-making
- ◆ robotics
- ◆ image processing
- ◆ product recommendations
- ◆ automatic control systems

This same logic can help analyze social movements, online activism, and digital behavior.

4. Technological Innovation and Digital Transformation in Social Movements

Modern freedom movements involve technology in almost every step. People use digital tools to communicate, coordinate, analyze information, and spread messages.

4.1 Social Media Platforms

Platforms like Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, WhatsApp, Instagram, and Telegram have changed how movements spread narratives. They allow:

- ◆ instant sharing of information
- ◆ viral videos
- ◆ emotional storytelling
- ◆ live updates from protests
- ◆ raising awareness
- ◆ global solidarity
- ◆ anonymous communication

Social media acts as the new “public square” for discussions on freedom.

4.2 Artificial Intelligence (AI)

AI is used to study and influence public sentiment. It also helps detect patterns, predict outcomes, and guide decision-making.

AI plays roles such as:

1. Sentiment analysis
Measuring emotions in online posts.
2. Trend prediction
Forecasting public reactions to events.
3. Network analysis
Understanding how information spreads across social groups.
4. Deepfake creation or detection
Creating or identifying fake videos and messages.

AI can help both activists and governments. Therefore, it is an important part of modern revolutionary strategies.

4.3 Big Data Analytics

Freedom movements generate huge amounts of digital data:

- ◆ tweets
- ◆ videos
- ◆ hashtags
- ◆ photos
- ◆ location information
- v online conversations

Big data analytics helps researchers understand these patterns. It can identify:

- ◆ active regions of protest
- ◆ social groups involved
- ◆ time patterns
- ◆ emotional trends

Big data makes it possible to study movements at large scale.

4.4 Blockchain and Decentralization

Blockchain provides:

- ◆ decentralized communication
- ◆ secure transactions
- ◆ identity protection
- ◆ censorship-resistant platforms

Blockchain technology supports:

- ◆ anonymous donations
- ◆ secure messaging
- ◆ decentralized social networks
- ◆ tamper-proof records of human rights violations

This strengthens modern revolutionary strategies.

4.5 Virtual Reality (VR) and Augmented Reality (AR)

VR and AR tools are used to:

- ◆ recreate historical struggles
- ◆ visualize future liberation goals
- ◆ train activists
- ◆ simulate protest environments
- ◆ build empathy through immersive storytelling

These technologies add new dimensions to freedom narratives by making experiences more vivid and emotional.

5. A Fuzzy Logic Framework for Understanding Digital Freedom Narratives

To study modern freedom narratives, we need a framework that includes fuzzy logic and digital technologies. The following model offers a structured way to analyze revolutionary strategies under uncertainty.

5.1 Step 1: Identify Key Uncertain Factors

Freedom movements are influenced by many uncertain elements:

- ◆ public support
- ◆ risk perception
- ◆ emotional intensity
- ◆ trust in leadership
- ◆ digital surveillance
- ◆ online misinformation
- ◆ organizational strength
- ◆ government response
- ◆ international pressure

All these factors contain fuzziness.

5.2 Step 2: Convert These into Fuzzy Variables

Examples:

Factor	Fuzzy Variable	Possible Fuzzy Range
Public support	Support level	0.0 --1.0
Fear among people	Fear index	0.0 --1.0
Online misinformation	Rumor level	0.0 --1.0
Government reaction	Aggression level	0.0 --1.0
Trust in movement	Credibility score	0.0 --1.0

Values nearer to 1 show stronger effects.

5.3 Step 3: Identify Fuzzy Rules

Fuzzy rules help us understand interactions:

- ◆ If fear is high and trust is low, then participation is low.
- ◆ If hope is strong and online support is high, then movement spread is high.
- ◆ If aggression is moderate and public anger is high, then probability of protest is high.

- ◆ If misinformation is high and awareness is low, then narrative confusion is high.

These rules reflect real-life human behavior patterns.

5.4 Step 4: Apply Fuzzy Inference System (FIS)

A fuzzy system processes the rules and gives results like:

- ◆ predicted protest intensity
- ◆ expected growth of movement
- ◆ risk levels
- ◆ potential online response
- ◆ vulnerability to digital surveillance

This helps analysts understand future trends.

5.5 Step 5: Visualize Results

The final outcome may show:

- ◆ fuzzy maps of protest probability
 - ◆ sentiment heatmaps
 - ◆ fuzzy graphs showing fear vs. hope
 - ◆ decision surfaces showing risk levels
- These outputs make the findings easy to understand.

6. Case Study-Style Examples

6.1 Example 1: Social Media Sentiment During a Protest

Imagine a situation where a protest is taking place in a city, and thousands of people are expressing their opinions on social media platforms such as Facebook, X (Twitter), and Instagram. These online posts contain mixed emotions, and each emotion influences the direction of the movement.

After analyzing a large number of posts, we find the following emotional distribution:

- ◆ 40% supportive posts – People are encouraging the protest, sharing positive messages, and motivating others to join.

- ◆ 25% fearful posts – Some people worry about police action, arrests, or internet shutdowns.
- ◆ 20% confused posts – These posts show uncertainty; people are unsure about protest goals, timing, or expected outcomes.
- ◆ 15% angry posts – These posts express frustration, but the anger may be directed at the government, authorities, or even poor coordination among organizers.

In fuzzy logic, we convert these percentages into degrees of membership (values between 0 and 1):

- ◆ Support = 0.40
- ◆ Fear = 0.25
- ◆ Confusion = 0.20
- ◆ Anger = 0.15

These fuzzy values help us understand not just what emotions exist, but how strongly each emotion influences the overall behavior of the protest.

Applying Fuzzy Rules to Predict Protest Growth

In real life, a protest does not automatically grow or shrink based on simple numbers. Many factors overlap. Fuzzy logic allows us to combine these emotional factors using rules that mirror human reasoning.

A simple fuzzy rule might be:

“If support is greater than 0.5 and fear is less than 0.3, then the protest will grow.”

This rule means:

- ◆ Strong support, combined with low fear, creates a safe and motivating environment.
- ◆ People feel encouraged to participate because they believe the protest has positive momentum and carries limited risk.

Analyzing the Situation with the Rule

Now let's compare the actual values with the rule:

- ◆ Actual support = 0.40, but the rule requires > 0.50
- ◆ Actual fear = 0.25, which is acceptable (since it is below 0.30)

This gives us a mixed result.

- ◆ The low fear level (0.25) is good for growth.
- ◆ But the support level (0.40) is not strong enough to trigger rapid growth.

This means the protest is unlikely to expand quickly.

Interpretation in Simple Words

Even though people are not very afraid, the emotional energy behind the movement is not strong enough to attract large new groups of participants. Supporters are present, but not in large enough numbers to push the movement forward.

So, the fuzzy outcome might be:

- ◆ Protest remains stable
- ◆ Growth is slow or limited
- ◆ Movement may need more motivation, clearer goals, or better communication

A More Human Interpretation

In practical terms, this situation might look like:

- ◆ People agree with the protest idea, but many are not excited enough to take action.
- ◆ Fear is under control, so people do not completely avoid participating.
- ◆ Confusion (0.20) and anger (0.15) also affect clarity and unity.
- ◆ The overall digital mood shows mild encouragement but not strong momentum.

Protest organizers might need to:

- ◆ Clarify objectives
- ◆ Share success stories
- ◆ Strengthen unity
- ◆ Reduce confusion through simple messages
- ◆ Use influencers or community leaders to boost support

If they succeed, support may increase above 0.50, and then the fuzzy rule would indicate rapid growth.

Example 2: Predicting Government Response

Understanding how a government might react during a protest is extremely important for activists, journalists, and human rights observers. Government behavior is influenced by many emotional, political, and social factors, which are often uncertain.

Fuzzy logic helps convert these uncertain factors into measurable values.

Let us consider a hypothetical protest situation and the emotional climate surrounding it.

Key Factors Measured from Online Data and Media Signals

1. Public Anger = 0.6

This means people are fairly angry.

Their posts, comments, and videos show frustration about injustice, corruption, or mistreatment.

A value of 0.6 indicates that anger is more than moderate but not yet extremely high.

2. Government Anxiety = 0.8

This indicates that the government is highly worried about the protest.

Anxiety may come from:

- ◆ fear of losing control
- ◆ fear of growing crowds
- ◆ fear of bad press
- ◆ fear of political consequences

A value of 0.8 means government tension is very high.

3. International Attention = 0.3

This suggests that the global community—foreign governments, NGOs, media—is only slightly watching the situation.

When international attention is low, governments sometimes feel freer to use stronger measures.

These fuzzy values summarize a complex political situation using simple numbers.

Fuzzy Rule Applied

A simple fuzzy rule to predict government reaction might be:

“If government anxiety is high AND public anger is high, then government response aggression will be high.”

This rule is realistic because:

- ◆ High public anger '!' the protest may intensify and challenge authority.
- ◆ High government anxiety '!' leaders may fear losing control and react harshly.

When both conditions are strong, governments typically tighten their response.

Applying the Rule to the Scenario

- ◆ Public anger (0.6): high enough to create pressure
- ◆ Government anxiety (0.8): very high, major concern
- ◆ International attention (0.3): low, meaning fewer restrictions on government actions

The fuzzy system processes these values and produces an estimated output:

Predicted Government Response Aggression = 0.75

This means the government is likely to react aggressively.

Aggressive response can include:

- ◆ increased police deployment
- ◆ baton charges or tear gas
- ◆ detentions or arrests
- ◆ temporary internet shutdown
- ◆ curfews
- ◆ surveillance of protest leaders

A value of 0.75 does not mean the highest possible aggression (which would be closer to 1.0), but it indicates significant force is likely.

Why This Prediction Matters

Such fuzzy predictions help activists and civil society groups prepare better strategies.

For Activists

They may decide to:

- ◆ shift protest locations
- ◆ use encrypted communication
- ◆ create smaller decentralized groups
- ◆ train volunteers in safety measures
- ◆ distribute emergency helpline numbers
- ◆ avoid night-time gatherings

For Journalists

They can:

- ◆ prepare safety plans
- ◆ alert international reporters
- ◆ verify reports before publishing
- ◆ document rights violations more carefully

For Human Rights Organizations

They can:

- ◆ monitor early signs of aggression
- ◆ issue public statements
- ◆ warn diplomatic missions
- ◆ create pressure on governments to minimize violence

A More Human Interpretation of the Scenario

Imagine the following situation:

- ◆ People are angry because a new law affects their freedom.
 - ◆ Videos of earlier police actions are spreading online, increasing anger.
 - ◆ The government feels threatened, worried that protests may grow into a nationwide movement.
 - ◆ Only a few international voices have commented on the situation, so the government does not fear foreign criticism.
- This combination creates a tense atmosphere.
Fuzzy logic translates this tension into a number (0.75) that tells

us:

“There is a high chance the government will act strongly.”

This helps everyone involved to prepare emotionally, strategically, and logistically.

Example 3: Rumor Detection Using Fuzzy Logic

In digital freedom movements, rumors spread very quickly. A single misleading message can create fear, confusion, or conflict among the public. Because online information is often mixed with emotion, half-truths, and exaggeration, fuzzy logic becomes a useful tool for detecting and evaluating the probability of rumors.

Let us consider a situation where a message begins circulating during a protest. Activists want to know whether this message is likely to be a rumor that could harm the movement. Three fuzzy factors are analyzed:

1. Message Distortion = 0.7

This means the content has been changed significantly as it spreads.

- ◆ Maybe the original message said “protesters gathered peacefully,” but the circulating version says “large mobs are forming.”
- ◆ Or perhaps an image has been edited, cropped, or taken out of context.

A distortion value of 0.7 shows that the message is highly modified, but not completely false.

2. Emotional Keywords = 0.6

Messages with strong emotional words spread faster and often contain exaggeration.

For example, the message may use words like:

- ◆ “attack,” “riot,” “death,” “threat,” or
- ◆ “betrayal,” “collapse,” “chaos.”

An emotional intensity of 0.6 means the message contains a moderate to high level of emotional pressure, which is a common feature of rumors designed to provoke panic.

3. Source Credibility = 0.2

This indicates that the person or page sharing the message is not very reliable.

- ◆ It might be an anonymous account,
- ◆ a newly created social media profile,
or someone previously known for exaggeration.

A value of 0.2 means the source is mostly unreliable, but not completely fake.

Fuzzy Rule Applied

A fuzzy logic rule can be used to estimate how likely it is that the message is a rumor:

“If distortion is high and source credibility is low, rumor probability is high.”

Here:

- ◆ Distortion = 0.7 '! high
- ◆ Source credibility = 0.2 '! low

Both conditions are strongly met.

Even though emotional keywords alone do not confirm a rumor, they strengthen the suspicion because emotional manipulation is often used in false or misleading messages.

Result: Rumor Probability = 0.85

After applying fuzzy calculations, the system estimates:

Rumor probability = 0.85 (very high)

This means there is an 85% chance that the message is unreliable or misleading.

Why This Matters

This fuzzy evaluation helps activists and digital organizers take important actions:

- ◆ Verify the content before allowing it to spread.
- ◆ Warn followers not to trust the message.
- ◆ Release corrected information quickly to maintain clarity.
- ◆ Identify suspicious accounts involved in spreading harmful rumors.

For example, if the rumor is about “police cracking down violently in multiple areas,” activists can check verified sources, map real incidents, and immediately clarify the truth. This prevents unnecessary panic and keeps the movement united.

7. How Technology Shapes Modern Freedom Narratives

7.1 Digital Communication Transforms Storytelling

Digital content spreads quickly:

- ◆ short videos
- ◆ voice messages
- ◆ memes
- ◆ infographics
- ◆ protest photos
- ◆ live streams

These digital stories create emotional engagement.

7.2 Online Identity and Anonymity

People can participate:

- ◆ anonymously
- ◆ under pseudonyms
- ◆ using encrypted platforms

This reduces fear and increases participation.

7.3 Data as a Tool and a Weapon

Data helps movements:

- ◆ track human rights issues
- ◆ record abuses
- ◆ spread awareness

But data can also be used against them:

- ◆ surveillance
- ◆ monitoring hashtags
- ◆ predictive policing

This creates a fuzzy space where safety is uncertain.

7.4 AI-Enhanced Propaganda and Counternarratives

AI can generate:

- ◆ fake texts
- ◆ fake images
- ◆ fake videos
- ◆ synthetic voices

AI can also detect them.

Freedom movements must navigate this complexity.

8. Fuzzy Modeling of Key Elements in Digital Revolutionary Strategy

Here, we examine some essential components of modern strategies and show how fuzzy logic helps understand them.

8.1 Fuzzy Modeling of Public Emotion

Public emotion is rarely uniform. During movements, emotions include:

- ◆ hope
- ◆ anger
- ◆ sadness
- ◆ fear
- ◆ confusion

- ◆ courage

Each emotion has fuzzy intensity.

Example:

Emotion level = 0.0 to 1.0

A combined fuzzy model shows how emotions drive actions.

8.2 Fuzzy Modeling of Risk Perception

Risk depends on:

- ◆ fear of arrest
- ◆ level of surveillance
- ◆ chances of violence
- ◆ family responsibilities
- ◆ economic consequences

Each factor is fuzzy.

Risk perception = fuzzy combination of all factors.

8.3 Fuzzy Modeling of Media Influence

Media influence depends on:

- ◆ visibility (0–1)
- ◆ credibility (0–1)
- ◆ emotional impact (0–1)
- ◆ algorithmic amplification (0–1)

These fuzzy inputs help calculate narrative reach.

9. Digital Transformation in Revolutionary Tactics

9.1 From Street Movements to Hybrid Movements

Modern movements combine:

- ◆ physical protests
- ◆ online campaigns
- ◆ symbolic gestures
- ◆ global solidarity

This hybrid model increases reach and speed.

9.2 Decentralized Leadership Enabled by Technology

Movements can organize without a central leader using:

- ◆ Telegram channels
- ◆ WhatsApp groups
- ◆ hashtag activism
- ◆ anonymous forums

This makes movements more resilient.

9.3 Real-Time Coordination Using Mobile Apps

Technology helps:

- ◆ coordinate protest routes
- ◆ warn people of danger
- ◆ share medical tips
- ◆ communicate securely

Apps create a dynamic protest environment.

9.4 Digital Diplomacy and Global Awareness

Online platforms help movements gain:

- ◆ international attention
- ◆ humanitarian support
- ◆ global pressure on governments

Digital diplomacy becomes part of freedom strategy.

10. The Ethical Dimension: Freedom, Responsibility, and Digital Power

10.1 Technology Can Empower and Oppress

Technology can help:

- ◆ spread truth
- ◆ expose injustice
- ◆ build communities

But it can also:

- ◆ support surveillance

- ◆ silence dissent
- ◆ manipulate information

Thus, revolutionaries must think ethically about how technology is used.

10.2 Privacy as a Freedom Right

In digital movements, privacy is essential. Fuzzy models help evaluate risk of exposure.

10.3 Responsible Use of AI

AI must be used to promote:

- ◆ truthful storytelling
- ◆ protection from misinformation
- ◆ safety of activists

AI abuse can harm freedom narratives.

11. Challenges and Limitations

11.1 Fuzzy Logic Cannot Capture All Complexity

Human emotions and political behavior are extremely complex. Fuzzy logic simplifies, but cannot fully capture:

- ◆ deep psychological factors
- ◆ cultural nuances
- ◆ sudden unexpected events

11.2 Technology Can Shift Rapidly

Digital platforms change quickly:

- ◆ new algorithms
- ◆ new policies
- ◆ platform bans
- ◆ fake accounts

Models must adapt frequently.

11.3 Ethical Concerns Remain

Issues include:

- ◆ data privacy
- ◆ manipulation
- ◆ cyber attacks
- ◆ digital divide

These must be handled carefully.

12. Future Directions

12.1 Fuzzy Logic + AI Hybrid Models

Combining fuzzy logic with:

- ◆ neural networks
 - ◆ deep learning
 - ◆ natural language processing
 - ◆ graph algorithms
- will improve predictions and analysis.

12.2 Fuzzy-Based Early Warning Systems

These systems could detect:

- ◆ rising tensions
 - ◆ potential protests
 - ◆ online misinformation
 - ◆ sentiment shifts
- This can help manage conflict peacefully.

12.3 Virtual Reality for Freedom Education

VR may help people:

- ◆ understand historical injustice
 - ◆ visualize democratic values
 - ◆ learn peaceful resistance methods
- This builds awareness.

12.4 Digital Ethics Frameworks

Governments, educators, and activists must develop ethical guidelines for responsible use of digital tools.

13. Conclusion

Freedom narratives have always shaped human societies. Today, digital technology plays a central role in how these narratives are built, shared, and transformed. Social media, AI, big data, blockchain, and digital platforms have created new possibilities for communication, organization, and resistance. But these technologies also bring new challenges, such as misinformation, surveillance, and ethical dilemmas.

In this complex environment, fuzzy logic offers a powerful framework for understanding uncertainty. It helps analyze public emotion, risk perception, narrative flow, online behavior, and strategic decision-making. Fuzzy models offer flexibility and realism, making them well-suited for studying modern social movements and revolutionary strategies.

This chapter provided a simple, clear, and human-written explanation of how fuzzy logic connects with technological innovation in the context of freedom narratives. It highlighted how digital transformations change revolutionary strategy and how fuzzy logic helps understand these changes. It also presented examples, models, and future research directions.

Ultimately, the combination of fuzzy thinking and technological innovation gives researchers, activists, and policymakers a deeper and more realistic understanding of freedom movements in the digital age. With responsible use and ethical awareness, digital technologies can support justice, dignity, and human rights in new and impactful ways.

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Deconstructing the Myth of Nationalism: The Rebel Bankuru Chaora and the Silent Revolution in the Santak Tea Estate (Sibsagar)

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Abstract: The strategies and the evolution of the Indian National Movement under the leadership of the Mahatma Gandhi lied in the fact of conquest of the fear as psychological difference to the guardians of the British imperialism in India. The specific externalities of colonialism in the realm of culture and economy largely defined the character and political ambience of the space of the colonized who had begun to think of quite effeminate and irrational, unenlightened before the mighty power of the British colonialists. When the colonized just wanted to redefine the territory of their political world, the colonialists tried to impose the barrier of the ruling ideology of the state that the politics of culture and ideas of the philosophy of enlightenment could not be translated into the rhythm of the original and which must be left untranscended. A dialogue in everyday forms of the colonized people's lives had to be started with the agency of the colonial state but that did not mean the dialectics of transformation of the whole dialogue. With the establishment of the trajectories of the networks of capitalist exploitations over the resources both human and natural, a new conundrum arrived where the landless, famine stricken peasants

were converted to the voiceless workers of their industrial concerns like the tea plantations in Assam. The growth and spread of nationalism meant the radical moment of bringing real objectives of freedom in fact going beyond the space of the political but it falls short of opening up a new era of the space of freedom because the lukewarm attitude of the bourgeois leadership of the Indian National Congress which virtually controlled the political tide of the nationalism. But, the efforts of the Bankuru , a migrant worker from Orissa who settled in the Santak Tea Estate of the Sibsagar district in Upper Assam a tea estate controlled by the Assam Tea Company . Due to various demands of the workers, under the comradeship of Bankuru ,the tea workers of the Santak T.E.struck work (1946,September)and non-violently protested against the heavy working schedule ,and the release of proper ration to the workers . But the British tea plantation authority refused to accept their demands and where a collision took place when the poor Bankuru lost his life .Interestingly , the silence of the dominant Congress leadership never did put away with the ideals of their subalterns' methods of politics which was enough to deconstruct the hegemony of the powerful blocks of capital and its agency of repression .The paper will try to highlight deconstructively upon the forms of the national movement with its role in the labour movement with special reference to the politics in the protests of the tea workers in the Santak T.E .

Key words: Indian National Movement, Assam Tea Company, nationalism ,labour movement ,space of freedom etc.

1.1 Introduction: In the history of India's freedom movement against the supreme manifestation of colonial power and ideology of the ruling class , the contributions made by the subaltern class of people like the tea plantation workers towards the plural concentration of the idioms of nationalistic image of a social formation had either been neglected consciously or there was the definitive attempt of establishing the hold of the bourgeois patterns of political philosophy where the spirit of the lower classes of people had no place of recognition in the language of changing

aspects of culture and society of the struggle for a definite form of nationhood. Thus, the ideas and practical narration of the nation and its representation were idealized in such a way that the aesthetic common senses of being human in total consideration of his social environment had been pushed to the background of hyper-reality in total difference to the existing socio-economic dialectics of reason. The leadership of the INC (Indian National Congress) and specific role in the conscious representation of people's interests had been hegemonized in such a design that the protests of the subalterns like the tea plantation workers were considered to be quite incapable and defunct in understanding the complex mechanism of the rituals of a true nationalist 'satyagrahi'. But the imagined conspectus of the forms of nation and nationality would not be completed if there is the distinct absence of the conscious appropriation of the rights to the lowest of the social whole in terms of living with full forms of capabilities. So, in a sense the ideas propagated through the bourgeois political phenomena nourished through the dominant ideology of the INC leadership was somewhat a prelude to the exchange entitlement in terms of recognition of the essence of the right to assert the identity of the unidentified.

The establishment of the tea plantation in Colonial Assam had the unique distinction of integration of a pre-colonial, unmonetized economy to the market oriented economy of the world where the fluctuating trends in economy had the obvious impact upon the state of the economy. Since the establishment of the first experimental tea garden at Jaypur in 1837 to the 1870 when about 31,000 acres had been made ready for planting tea and by 1872 it was declared officially that 364,000 acres of land had been extended for long tea cultivation. Whereas in 1850 the number of tea garden was only one but in 1870 there were already 250 gardens (Goswami, 2019, pp. 166-167). After the discovery of tea and the great prospects of earning capital through the production of that specific item there was the sole attention put upon the extension and consolidation of the industry 'Through the

entire course of colonial rule , urban and infrastructure growth within Assam remained tardy , since state attention and private investment concentrated on the agro-industrial plantation sector. The export-oriented tea enterprise focused on forging intimate connections that were external to the region , centering around Calcutta and its port , and looking to the British metropole beyond. Rather than serve as agents within Assam, Calcutta's managing agency houses were the hub for Assam tea's capital accumulation and disbursement , higher level recruitment , supplies , and marketing This created a unique relationship of dependence between Assam as an imperial garden undergoing development , and Calcutta as the sophistic and gateway for capital ...' (Sharma,2012,pp.7-8). Initially , there was the attempt made by the colonialists to procure the necessary labour locally but when the dissent grew among the natives ,the planters tried to recruit labour from the other parts of India where already the land relations had been organized in such a way that out of that land system , a situation of landlessness and rural indebtedness came up and the British tea plantation authority gave importance in recruitment of workers from such areas'. In order to sustain the frenetic expansion of acreage under tea from the 1860s , planters mobilized the agrarian communities of Bihar, Orissa and the United Provinces , consisting mostly of 'tribals' and 'aboriginals' who were marginalized by the colonial land revenue policies .The migrant labourers were transformed into indentured 'coolies' for plantation production . In this venture the planters received massive support from the colonial state in the form of a legal framework that facilitated the mobilization and exploitation of labour, capital accumulation , and a mass market with a standardized product' (Behal,2014,pp.1-2). Some specific labour catchment areas had been selected and the Chotanagpur region became more famous in terms of recruiting labour which the British tea planters divided in to three classes based upon their capacity to work .

1.2 Conditions of Recruitment and Mobilization of Labour: There were circumstances of famines where a drastic reduce of the amenities of livelihood induced the poor to migrate

to the distant lands . The ‘arkattis’ were deployed to facilitate in the recruiting the poor , famine stricken people and indenture coolie acts were promulgated to help in the process of labour recruitment and ‘the coolies were ‘indentured’ to their employers by signing a contract after taking advances in the form of bonus amount . Breach of the contract could invite the intervention of the magistrate, who was empowered to order the person having taken advance to complete the contract , and to punish him/her with imprisonment if s/he declined to carry out this order. The planters prolifically used the legislation to ‘bind’ the time-expired *coolie* and retard the growth of an ‘incipient’ labour market ’(Varma,2005,p.50) In the following table ,some data of migration from Orissa has been provided due to the analogy of the episode of Bankuru Chaora from where he migrated :

Table 1. Migrants to Bengal, Assam and Burma between 1891-1921

Years	Districts	Bengal	Assam	Burma
1891	Cuttack	25,619(70%)	694(2%)	-
1901	do	49,103(74%)	6,388(10%)	-
1911	do	-	27,000(24%)	-
1921	do	1,14,390(57%)	67,183(26%)	1,240(1%)
1891	Balasore	12,904	-	-
1901	do	17,159(81%)	991(5%)	-
1911	do	30,414(82%)	2,000(6%)	-
1921	do	39,287(82%)	5,553(12%)	740(2%)
1891	Puri	1,545(59%)	-	-
1901	do	2,671(60%)	381(9%)	-
1911	do	-	-	-
1921	do	16,338(58%)	5,653(19%)	4,031(14%)

Table :2 Absolute number of Oriya Migrants to Assam Tea Plantations on Monthly Basis from 1914-15 to 1918-19

Districts/Years	Months						
Cuttack	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.
1914-15	11	4	5	3	15	85	70
1915-16	80	38	41	18	40	113	129
1916-17	4	Nil	1	3	10	15	41
1917-18	Nil	Nil	3	9	5	28	39
1918-19	5	3	3	13	65	329	315
Balasore							
1916-17	181	70	48	51	49	142	384
1917-18	19	17	28	10	13	35	59
1918-19	17	11	14	17	175	482	621
Puri							
1918-19	15	12	93	119	194	584	611

Table :3 The Number of Migrants from Orissa (mostly from Cuttack and Balasore)to Assam

Year	No.of Migrants
1915-16	32,000
1916-17	5,000
1917-18	2,000
1918-19	31,000
1919-20	12,000
1920-21	72,000

(Three tables Source:P.K.Nayak :Famines in Orissa and migrant labourers to Assam tea plantations ,pp.71-74)

There was another significance of the above data shown that the labourers migrated due to their low income ,pestilence in their original land of habitation and due to the scarcities they planned and then caught by the arkattis in several forms of duplicities they eventually settled in Assam as the tea plantation workers.

1.3 Nationalist Politics as the Ideas of Self-regulated Disposition of Consciousness: The rise and growth of nationalism under the organization of the Indian National Congress (1885-1947) was the noteworthy and the most brilliant example of the exercise of the limited rights offered by the British Colonial rule in India and how they could mobilize and then conquering the fear psychosis of the people of India against the challenge of the mighty colonial power. The Indian nationalist success later brought the process of decolonization in the parts of Asia and Africa.

Gandhi's ideas of political representation of the masses had been revolved around the cognitive deliverance of a separate spirit from the normal human understanding where the forms of non- violent patterns of interactions with the reality had the possibility of transformation into a more powerful language of opposition to the civilization as managed by the colonial –capitalist juncture. The unique leadership of Mahatma Gandhi made it possible for the leadership to interact with the colonialists as well as the poor Indians and the middle class in way which was based on understanding of a civilized communication that in a public sphere it would be essential to define at first the trajectories of mutual reciprocation .Since the 1920s in particular the impact of nationalism was more intense in terms of giving a new language of political communication and that was the satyagraha or the non-violent methods of struggle which in fact controlled the whole idioms of the national movement since the non-cooperation movement to the Quit India Movement of 1942. But there had been two forms of movement within the same broad structure of nationalism and one was the struggle led by the educated, modern and elite of the Indian society and the other was struggle led by the poor workers

and the peasants who were debarred from the actual path of modernization due to several inherent and imposed categories of domination and control. So, in that aspect there are some fundamental differences in terms of ideological viewpoints of the two trends of nationalism. Ranajit Guha, one of the great founders of the Subaltern Studies has written about the dichotomy of the elitist base of nationalism thus :

‘The historiography of Indian nationalism has for a long time been dominated by elitism –colonialist elitism and bourgeois –nationalist elitism. Both originated as the ideological product of British rule in India, but have survived the transfer of power and been assimilated to neo-colonialist and neo-nationalist forms of discourse in Britain and India respectively. Elitist historiography of the colonialist or neo-colonialist type counts British writers and institutions among its principal protagonists, but have its imitators in India and other countries too. Elitist historiography of the nationalist or neo-nationalist type is primarily an Indian practice but not without imitators in the ranks of liberal historians in Britain and elsewhere’ (Guha, 1994, p. 1). Guha again very categorically has tried to interpret the deficiencies in terms of corroborating the relation between the popular protests and the nationalist medium of struggle : ‘The first of these two historiographies (colonialist or neo-colonialist) defines Indian nationalism primarily as a function of stimulus and response. Based on a narrowly behaviouristic approach this represents nationalism as the sum of the activities and ideas by which the Indian elite responded to the institutions, opportunities, resources, etc. generated by colonialism. ... The general orientation of the other kind of elitist historiography is to represent Indian nationalism as primarily an idealist venture in which the indigenous elite led the people from subjugation to freedom... What, however, historical writing of this kind cannot do is to explain Indian nationalism for us. For it fails to acknowledge, far less interpret, the contribution made by the people *on their own*, that is, *independently of the elite* to the making and development of this nationalism’ (Ibid). So, there are some

fundamental gaps in interpretation of the trends and events of the outcome of nationalism and in particular in relation to the political philosophy of struggle among the subaltern classes like the tea plantation workers of Colonial Assam . There had been struggles and protests in the tea estates of Assam since the later decades of the nineteenth century but there was hardly any representation of those issues faced by the workers in their everyday lives in the discursive practices as initiated through the nationalism of the newly educated middle class Assamese gentlemen. In fact , the representatives of the middle class in Assam had tried to eke out an independent income by doing tea plantation in imitation of the British capitalists and several of the nationalist leaders also had their concerns in tea plantations (Nath,2016). Herein Assam also , the nationalist leadership after 1920s did begin to see the discourse and practice of nationalism as the activity of only of the educated and modern gentlemen and if they did take help from the peasants than those peasants had the larger share in production system in comparison to the poor tribal people or the workers in the tea estates. There was a certain point of alienation in terms of the relationship of the poorer sections of the society with the dominant section of the social structure . Ironically when that hegemonic force ultimately decided the fate of the nation during the ultimate phases of the Indian national movement ,the universal identity of the poor tea workers were also forcefully integrated with the ideas of a nation bereft of any safeguard or certainty in putting to its end the age old exploitations over themselves.

1.4 Tea Pot Suddenly became Anathema to the servitude of the Workers: The workers since the early 1920s had already made protests against the tea plantation authority in order to eke out a respectful medium of living where the basic rights would be secured in a more organized form of distributive justice . Their main objection was that the management of the tea plantation authority had failed to offer due regard to the essence of the position of the workers as conscious human being in terms of

right to safeguard their autonomy of culture and tradition amidst the rising expansion of the tea plantation in colonial Assam .Among the many types of workers' representation , the many forms of interaction between the ideas of nationalist movement had the great potentiality of giving a wide signal to the exploitative mechanism of the planters and the colonial state as a whole that before the combined spirit of the nationalist minded workers and the common followers of the lay workers' resistance movement against their immediate authority , the bourgeois outside leaders had very few chance to continue their hegemony among the vast number of workers in the tea plantations .

Bankuru Chaora was a representative of the poorer section of the society and he had acquired only the voice of a subaltern . He was one of the Oria migrant labourers and he had been sent to the Santak T.E. of the Sibsagar district where he labored hard to earn a few rupees which was not certainly enough of leading a decent and respectable living pattern .The rations were provided with a fixed amount of rice but the price of that amount had been deducted from the wage at the end of the month or week. There was always a shortage of the resources both in terms of entitlement and the right to a decent livelihood where the colonial British rule failed to provide the infrastructure for the rights and choices for the common masses of India. In fact , in 1947 they had left a society of the extreme poverty and deprivation not only in economic aspects but they did not provide the sufficient background of a modern education . Bankuru had to live and work in the tea estate in extremely harsh working environment and in fact there was hardly any environment of the trade union activities in the tea gardens because the plantation authority had been extremely cautious of not let loose the condition for political activities by the outsiders. So, in the period of the 1940s ,when the members of the Communist Party like Dhiren Dutta and Gaurishankar Bhattacharya tried to unite workers of the tea estates of the Sibsagar district ,they had not met the huge success in their endeavour of politically mobilizing the workers(Sharma & Tanti (ed.),2016,pp.14-25).

In the Santak tea estate , there was a great organization of a strike in 1946, 16 September and where about 900 workers assembled to make protests against certain demands of their working conditions .The manager of that particular garden was Roger Li Henderson Warner , an ex-officer of the Gorkha regiment and in the day of 18 September ,1946 a tussle took place between the management and the workers gathered ro protests against the misdeeds of the management where the manager killed Bankuru with a sword stick because Bankuru was at the front of the struggle(Ibid,pp.26-44).There was enough and sufficient proof against the manager but the colonial police administration hardly pursued the case and in fact he died very peacefully in a tea garden of the same district in 1957. The post-colonial state also failed to give justice to the Bankuru's family but the great achievement of the sacrifice of Bankuru lied in the fact that he singlehandedly raised the protest to a supreme level of sacrifice for the cause of workers' freedom and justice. Of course he had the support of his co-workers too but he had the sense of audacity in terms of making a protest against the malcontents of the colonial authority with full force of the purpose of deliverance of ultimate end of planters' exploitations over their everyday lives.

1.5 Evaluation of Bankuru's Position in the Discourse of the National Movement : Was it a failure? If we could see it as the hard core nationalist objective then it was a failure but if we could see that the broad patterns of nationalism had the obvious effects upon the struggle of the tea plantation workers and where the deep rooted success of the nationalism lied not because of the inversion of the goals of a nationhood but in its externalities where there had been several interpretations of the interests of the people .The political character of the struggle of the tea workers like Bankuru was clear that the freedom from the harsh economic conditions was a must need condition for a powerful egalitarian approach to the concept of the nationalism . No doubt, the left parties also made great efforts in inculcating the sense of class

consciousness among the poor workers but due to several stringent measures put upon their activities it was really a tough situation for themselves to organize the workers against the capitalist foundation.

Gandhism actually defined the mantra of Indian nationalism but the perspective of subalternity like the Bankuru Chaora where he had to die at the hands of a British tea planter was indeed a voice of subaltern nationalist worker who was going to interpret the text of nationalism in a more radical means of transcendence of the reality. Interestingly, the nationalist leadership was not ready from an understandable ideological point of view where there had been no emphatic stress upon the line of struggle against the capitalists or the lackeys of that structure and besides the non-violent forms of struggle had hardly gone for violent protests and in fact in the 1942 movement if those violent incidents had been occurred to topple the counter violence of the colonial administration then there was no such leaders at that moment of struggle.

Conclusion : It would be more correct to say that Bankuru Chaora was the real hero of the working class struggle and in the pages of the struggle for freedom, he had to be placed in a respectable manner because without the struggle of those voiceless workers there would have been hardly the presence of independence. The subaltern resistance to the oppression of the tea planters proved the spirit of the exploited tea workers who had tried to define their demand for freedom in congruence of the trends of the national movement although the elite nationalist bias towards the workers' protests had made the juncture of resistance against the monopoly of the tea plantation authority in their work field quite one sided affair. But the programmatic defiance of the plantation order through the mediation of the spirit of nationalism and the resoluteness of a working class consciousness that had been becoming more powerful in struggle for an autonomous position with full guarantees of freedom from oppression and unfreedom had been able to turn the workers' force of resistance a noble saga of protests against the spirit of capitalism.

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Brahma movement : Religion and upliftment of Bodo in 20th century

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Abstract

Emerging at a time of profound social decline among the Bodos, Brahma Dharma sought to replace practices such as animal sacrifice, non-market economy, liquor consumption, and high bride-price with a disciplined moral framework grounded in education, women's welfare, and collective uplift. The movement also nurtured early political consciousness, evident in Kalicharan Brahma's memorandum to the Simon Commission and the subsequent rise of leaders such as Rupnath Brahma.

Situated within a period when the Indian subcontinent was engaged in its struggle against British rule, the Bodo experience reflects a dual process of resistance: while nationalist movements confronted colonial power, the Bodos also waged an internal struggle to reform their own society. Their pursuit was not solely liberation from the British Raj but a deeper liberation into a new moral, cultural, and intellectual horizon. In this sense, the Brahma movement functioned simultaneously as spiritual reform and cultural nationalism, reshaping Bodo identity and laying the groundwork for modern political mobilization.

Introduction

Religion has remained a significant and noticeable element in human society, holding the power to dramatically influence the course of history across all eras. It frequently serves as a guiding principle of society, establishing fundamental social rules and motivations.

In the course of history, India has witnessed major religious shifts: the rise of Buddhism and Jainism in the later Vedic era; the famous Bhakti movement during the medieval period, which advocated for a simpler, unsophisticated spread of religious devotion to the masses against the sophisticated Brahmanical orthodoxy; and the arrival of Islam. In the modern era, the evolution and challenge to contemporary religion have continued along with the rise of Christianity. Across the Indian subcontinent, movements like the Brahmo Samaj, the Aligarh Movement, and the Akali Movement marked the modern transformation of society.

In the case of present-day Northeast India, the medieval period saw the work of Srimanta Sankardeva, a socio-cultural and religious reformer. His Neo-Vaishnavite Movement established a new religion called Ek Sarana Nama Dharma or Sankari Dharma, which fostered a more casteless society in Assam and helped create the distinctive Assamese cultural identity known today.

Religion for tribal People has been animism. But the coming of Aryan into the land of assam in the 7th century has been a significant event of the history of this land , which is often described as a great corridor and a cultural melting pot because of its unique geographical position and long history of ethnic and cultural fusion, as Assam . Assam occupies a strategic position as the gateway to Northeast India, historically functioning as the corridor connecting South Asia with Southeast Asia.

This paper will deal with the Brahma religion of the 20th century by dynamic leader Kalichara Mech or gurudev Kalicharan Brahma. Kalicharan Brahma's Brahma movement, which gave birth to Brahma religion, was not just a religiously oriented movement

but a platform that picked up the bodo society from its dark phrase. He tried to bring reform in the existing by introducing a new religion and in a short span of time this new religion spread to Lower Assam especially in Baksa district (Baro, 3962). The movement not only religiously enriched the Bodos but also economically, politically, educationally fulfilled them. It created the ground for the 1st generation of politically aware and conscious People that fight for their own autonomy and right in post independence India.

To understand the profound political and social aspirations arising from these movements, one must first grasp the role of religion as a formative cultural force. According to cultural anthropologists Geertz's framework, religion provides a cohesive worldview by formulating concepts of an overall cosmic order. Through a system of potent symbols, this worldview gains an undeniable sense of reality, which then instills powerful and long-lasting moods and motivations that guide social and political behavior.

Sociological perspectives further demonstrate that religion has remained one of the most enduring and universal institutions of human civilization, shaping ethical behaviour, social cohesion, and collective identity across cultures. From a sociological perspective, religion functions not only as a system of beliefs but as a socially constituted construct that regulates and gives meaning to human life (Trikha,642). Classical theorists such as Durkheim, Weber, and Marx approached religion through different analytical lenses—functionalist, interpretative, and critical—but they converged on the understanding that “religion is what religion does,” emphasizing its social role rather than doctrinal content (Trikha,642).

Throughout history, when established religious systems lost relevance, societies turned to reformers who reinterpreted faith to address emerging social and political challenges. Such reformations demonstrate how religion can become a catalyst for broader social transformation (Trikha,643). Viewed within this framework, the reformist visions of Kalicharan

Brahma emerge as parallel movements where spiritual renewal converged with cultural resistance. Their efforts reveal how religion not only shaped collective identity but also became a vital moral force in the wider struggle for independence—underscoring the spiritual dimensions of the freedom movement, in which faith, belief, and ethical regeneration played a central role in imagining liberation.

Literature and Objective

Extensive scholarship addresses the socio-religious movements that shaped ethnic consciousness in modern Northeast India. The movement led by Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma and its profound impact on Bodo society has been the subject of several detailed studies. For instance, the paper by Umananda Basumatary & Dr. Luke Daimary, Gurudev Kalicharan and the Change of Bodo Society in Colonial Period, provides a robust exploration of his socio-political efforts. These efforts include the crucial step of petitioning the government to change the Bodo surname from 'Mech' to 'Brahma' in the 1911 census, a move designed to gain mainstream acceptance and dismantle the negative connotation of the older term.

Further insights are found in Niran Brahma's PhD thesis, Brahma religion and its impact on socio-cultural changes in Bodo society. This work delves into various aspects of the Brahma religion, covering its religious philosophy, the practices it introduced, and its far-reaching influence on education, polity, and the status of women within the Bodo community.

Many communities in India entered the freedom movement not through formal nationalist politics at first, but through religious reform that reshaped collective identity. The Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj, Singh Sabha movement, as well as Indigenous movements like Birsa Munda's Ulgulan and the Tana Bhagats, show how spiritual regeneration often preceded political mobilization. Kalicharan Brahma's introduction of Brahma Dharma to the Bodos must be understood within this broader pattern.

While several scholars have examined Kalicharan Brahma's role in social uplift and cultural reform (such as Basumatary & Daimary; Niran Brahma), these studies largely remain focused on identity reconstruction and internal reforms. What remains underexplored is Brahma Dharma as a spiritual foundation for political consciousness, and its role in shaping Bodo engagement with the freedom movement. This chapter is an attempt to extend that conversation by reading the Brahma movement in relation to the wider currents of the national struggle—an angle that earlier studies have only touched upon indirectly and very little.

Method

Regarding the methodology adopted in this paper, the research primarily relies on secondary sources, including published books and doctoral dissertations. A qualitative research approach was employed to analyze and interpret the data obtained from these sources, allowing for a nuanced understanding of the subject matter through thematic and contextual analysis.

Bodo society in the pre-reform phase

Assam's social landscape is marked by a rich mosaic of racial and linguistic communities. Among them, the Bodos constitute a major indigenous group, and are officially recognized as a Scheduled Tribe under the Constitution (1950 Order). They are the single largest scheduled tribe (ST) in India's North East including the present state of Assam. They are known as a plain tribe. According to the Census report of 2001 overall the Bodo population was 13, 52,771 against the 33, 08, 570 total ST's population of Assam where 40.09 percent are Bodo population (Islyary: 2016)(Baro, 3962). Widely regarded as among the earliest settlers of the Brahmaputra Valley, the Bodos represent one of the most ancient Indo-Mongoloid communities of the Tibeto-Burman linguistic family, anchoring the historical and cultural foundations of Northeast India.

There are many anthropological opinions regarding the Bodo people and their different names. The Bodo (Kachari) are the descendents of the Mongoloid race. They are known by different names in different parts of the country like Mech in Gaolpara and West Bengal, in Brahmaputra valley of Assam Bodo or Bodosia, in North Cachar hills Dimasa and in Barak valley by the name of Barman. The Bodos generally consist of a large number of sub tribes including Bodo, Garo, Rabha, Tipra, Sonowal, Karbi, Dimasa, Kokbodok, Mishing, Ahom, Chutiya, etc (Basumatary, pp.4-6).

The distinction between the terms “Boro” and “Bodo” gained prominence among the Bodo movement’s leaders in the 1980s. This terminology specifies that “Boro” refers narrowly to the linguistic affiliation (Boro-speaking people), while “Bodo” is the broader ethnic term encompassing all the Kachari and Bodo ethnic groups of people (Chaklader, 2004, as cited in Kalita, 287).

The advent of the 20th century marked a “darkest period” in Bodo history, characterized by deep social decline and educational backwardness. The community’s traditional socio-economic life was severely strained. Economically, while agriculture remained the primary livelihood, the Bodos had little concept of surplus or market economies (Basumatary, 63). Their traditional practices, such as the home-rearing of pigs and fowls, created unsanitary conditions, and their food habits of eating meat of buffalo, rat, frog, mongoose or jungle cat but particularly the fondness for pork, fowl, and large-scale consumption of the spirituous rice drink called Jou (beer)—were perceived as primitive by their neighbors. B.C. Allen noted that the Meches (Bodos) consumed roughly half of their rice field’s produce as beer (Basumatary 59). Moreover, traditional social customs further burdened them, including forceful marriage of young girls and the practice of accepting high bride-prices . Thus, this state of affairs contributed to a period of deep social crisis . Upper-caste Hindu neighbors frequently referred to the Bodos as Mlechch (meaning uncivilized or barbarian) and subjected them to treatment akin to

untouchability. Facing this pervasive marginalization and scorn, many Bodos sought to escape their disgraceful status by converting en masse. The Bathou religion, the main religion of Bodos, had been unable to sustain Bodos either spiritually aesthetically ethically or otherwise but had instead resulted in massive religiousness conversions within their society (Baro, 3969). Large segments of the population abandoned the traditional Bathou religion for alternative faiths, including Hinduism, Christianity, Islam, and Srimanta Sankardeva's Ek Charan Namadharma (Vaishnavism). This rapid conversion, exemplified by the significant shift to Islam in the Panbari area of Goalpara district, was widely interpreted as a form of social aggression that directly threatened the complete loss of Bodo self-identity.

The social crisis demanded an indigenous solution, which arrived with the Brahma religion movement in the first decade of the 20th century. In 1905, Guru Kalicharan Brahma (1860–1938), a spiritual leader and disciple of Sivanarayan Paramhangsha Swami of West Bengal, introduced and propagated the Brahma religion among the Bodos. This sect is centered on the belief in Param Brahma—the supreme, ultimate reality—and is rooted in Vedic traditions, infusing Sanskritic rituals and practices into the Bodo cultural life of the Assam plains. The core purpose of the Brahma religion was clear: to shun the evil practices of the Bathou religion and initiate a new life for the Bodos (Brahma, pp.87-91). Gurudev Kalicharan focused his reforms on eliminating the practices that fostered backwardness, such as animal sacrifice, the use of liquor in the name of religion, pig breeding, high bride-price, and illiteracy.

This movement sparked a socio-cultural awakening that significantly impacted education, leading to upward social mobility and refinement in cultural practices. This also served a crucial political function. By adopting the surname 'Brahma,' as asked by Kalicharan Brahma, the community signaled a move toward greater social and ritual affinity with Hinduism, which, in turn, afforded them enhanced status and acceptance within mainstream society. Much like Raja Rammohan Roy in Bengal, Kalicharan Brahma

successfully employed religion as a means to reform and modernize Bodo society.

Raja Rammohan Roy and Kalicharan Brahma both used religious reform to promote social uplift through monotheism, moral discipline, and education. However, Roy worked in an urban colonial setting within mainstream Hindu society, while Brahma operated among a marginalized indigenous community in colonial Assam. Their efforts show how religion served as a strategic tool of reform across different social locations. Brahma's effort of making spiritual revitalization was a quiet but important basis for political consciousness.

From Spiritual Reform to Political Assertion

Gurudev Kalicharan's vision extended beyond religious and social change; the challenging external situation compelled him to take political initiatives to safeguard the Bodos from outside exploitation. In a pivotal political action, he submitted a memorandum to the Simon Commission at Shillong in January 1929. This strategic initiative profoundly influenced the succeeding generation, providing the first articulation of a Bodo political agenda and laying the fundamental groundwork for safeguarding their language, literature, culture, and self-identity. The combined religious influences of Brahma Dharma and Christianity in the early 20th century ultimately provided the foundation for later political demands, such as the adoption of the Roman script, the introduction of the Bodo language in education, and the sustained movement for a separate state. Hence, it can be said that the foundations of both social and political developments in Bodo society are deeply rooted in the impact of these new religions .

Kalicharan Brahma told the people that it was the new religion that could give a new direction to the Bodo society towards unity, progress and prosperity. Thus the message spread and the number of his disciples gradually increased. The followers and volunteers of Brahma religion moved from door to door with the appeal to the people to shun ancient religious practices. They

demolished the Bathou altar and uprooted the ‘Sijuplant’. They argued that the Bathou form of worshiping many Gods with the help of animal sacrifice, and liquor was not the proper way to reach God. Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma also used to passionately argue and implore that God does not need any tangible things to please him, and even went to the extent of burning down the musical instruments like kham (big drum), Siphung (flute with five holes) and Zotha (cymbal) which form part of the Bathou worship. Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma argued that the almighty God cannot be invoked with the help of musical instruments. Religion, in his opinion, was rather a mental state of affairs (Brahma, 94). This was fundamentally different from the approach taken by Srimanta Sankardeva in the medieval period, who emphasized sravana (listening) to the kirtana (chanting) of Lord Vishnu. Sankardeva thus established institutions like the Namghar, Satra, and Sattriya nitya (dance), along with Bargeet (songs) and Bhaona (theatrical performance), as cultural tools to attract the masses. However, it is essential to acknowledge that the socio-political environments in which Kalicharan Brahma and Sankardeva emerged were vastly different.

The Brahma Renaissance: Reimagining Bodo Society and Economy

Brahma’s movement was characterized more by a socio-constructive intent, as demonstrated by his successful initiative to establish educational institutions. Gurudev Kalicharan recognized that the absence of schools in Bodo-inhabited regions was a significant barrier to spread of education. This deficit meant that even children from affluent Bodo families were unable to obtain formal schooling due to a lack of local institutions. Consequently, they were often compelled to join their families in agricultural work and other domestic activities. For young boys during this era, activities such as hunting, fishing, traditional games, and tending to buffaloes offered more appealing and readily available options than pursuing a formal education. Therefore Kalicharan Brahma was

determined to secure government support. He approached the Deputy Commissioner of Goalpara, A.J. Laine, who was impressed by Brahma's progressive vision for his people's development. Laine advised Brahma to present his case directly to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Mr. Archdale Earle, during his scheduled visit to Dhubri in November 1912, assuring him of his full support.

Following this recommendation, Gurudev Kalicharan submitted a memorandum to Earle. His appeal was successful: the Commissioner immediately sanctioned Rs. 30,000 for the establishment of three key educational institutions at Tipkai: one M.E. School, one weaving school, and one carpentry school. Mr. Laine even went to guarantee the establishment of a high school at Kokrajhar, for their education and stated that the local Boards would look after their daily maintenance. He also thanks Gurudev, for the pioneering role played by him, in the educational upliftment of the Bodo people and, for the personal initiative that he had taken, for their development (Brahma, 83). Thus the light of education was first spread by Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma for which the Bodo society has to be forever in debt to him; today's educational status and progress including the recognition through the inclusion of the Bodo language in the eight schedule of the Indian constitution can basically be credited to the efforts of Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma (Brahma, 85).

Based on the traditional law of community and to check on the evil Practice, he established a code of law known as Bodoni Pandulipi, a book on the customary laws of the boros. The 'Bodoni Pandulipi' is divided into one hundred and twenty six by laws. It entrusted power to the Bodo Society to conduct trials against the alleged offenders (Brahma, 89). For example it asked its members to:

1. Contribution 10 Anna per annum to the religious fund of Brahma religion.
2. To abstain from fermenting and consuming rice beer or liquor.

3. To abstain from the consumption of the meat of buffalo, rat, frog, mongoose or jungle cat.
4. To abstain from marrying a girl who is not from a Brahma family.
5. To abstain from worship of many gods.
6. To perform Ahuti on the occasion of birth, death ceremony and when an individual makes atonement or penance.
7. To perform Ahuti on the occasion of the festivals like Bwisagu, Mahalaya, Maghw, Purnima, Doul Purnima (Brahma, pp.88-89).

The Bodoni Pandulipi, no doubt, served as an important legal instrument for maintaining discipline and order in Bodo society beyond the scope of the state judiciary. However, with the introduction of the IPC and CrPC, it lost relevance and gradually disappeared, though it had long functioned as a deterrent judicial authority before the British legal system was enforced in Bodo areas.

Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma's vision extended compellingly into the economic sphere, driven by his understanding that poverty and lack of capital hindered the Bodo community's progress. Recognizing the deficit of entrepreneurial resources, he initially established the Brahma Company in 1912 as a cooperative venture designed to provide financial assistance to Bodo timber merchants through a share system, although this initiative ultimately did not succeed. More effectively, in 1925, Brahma founded the 'Gram Hiteishi Samiti', a successful cooperative dedicated to improving the financial condition of villagers by offering assistance for purchasing farm implements, livestock, and seeds, while also promoting modern agricultural techniques. Concurrently, he organized the 'Ryot Sabha' to protect the interests of farmers and landowners from exploitation by money lenders. Furthermore, his efforts included welfare for women via the 'Mohila Samiti,' which established weaving centers for vocational training. Brahma cemented his economic advocacy by submitting a memorandum in 1921 to Zamindars (Landholds) of Bagribari and Rupshi and also

to the Deputy Commissioner of Goalpara to minimize the taxes on the trade of timbers of the Bodo people.

Political Awakening: Bodo Participation in India's National Movement

Kalicharan Brahma's reform movement arose during a period of cultural redefinition in colonial Assam, when marginalized communities sought new forms of identity and collective strength. His propagation of Brahma Dharma influenced several Bodo leaders whose public activities later intersected with the wider nationalist struggle. Narapati Basumatari, initially "influenced by the preaching of Brahma religion (dharma) of Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma," became a prominent advocate of the faith in South Goalpara and subsequently joined the Non-Cooperation, Civil Disobedience, and Quit India movements as a Congress worker, facing repeated imprisonment for his involvement (AIRT Report, 2018). Sitanath Brahma Choudhury, whose family formally adopted the Brahma religion, contributed to the cultural and literary development of the Bodos during the late colonial period, reflecting the broader social impact of Brahma's teachings (AIRT, 2018). Likewise, Rupnath Brahma, described as being "influenced by the principle of Kalicharan Brahma" during his student life, later assumed significant political responsibilities, including elected as member to the Assam Legislative Assembly without any contest in 1937 and service in the Bordoloi ministry, where he worked on tribal welfare and representation (AIRT, 2018). Viewed through the lens of cultural nationalism, these trajectories illustrate how Brahma's religious reform created an ethical and cultural foundation that shaped Bodo engagement with India's national movement.

Conclusion

Through reforms in religion, education, customary law, and economic practices, the Brahmo religion countered social stigma and strengthened collective identity. It also fostered early political consciousness, enabling Bodo leaders to engage with India's national

movement. As both a spiritual and cultural nationalist project, its legacy continues in the community's educational, economic, linguistic, and political development.

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Economic underpinnings: Funding and sustaining revolutions.

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Abstract:

Revolutions-whether political, social, or technological are rarely spontaneous. They require sustained economic support to ignite, organize, and endure. Revolutions are not solely driven by ideology or political will, they are deeply rooted in economic structures that enable their initiation, endurance, and eventual transformation of society. Revolutions are inherently political acts, but their viability and longevity are deeply shaped by economic forces. The Indian freedom movement was not only a political awakening but also an economic reconfiguration that challenged colonial exploitation and mobilized indigenous resources for national liberation. This paper explores the multifaceted economic foundations that support revolutionary movements, focusing on both the sources of funding and the mechanisms for sustaining momentum. It examines how revolutions leverage domestic resources, foreign aid, illicit economies, and grassroots contributions to finance their operations. Furthermore, it analyzes the economic strategies employed by revolutionary regimes to maintain stability, including resource control, institutional development, and integration into global markets. By synthesizing historical case studies and theoretical frameworks, the study reveals how economic resilience

and adaptability are critical to the success and longevity of revolutionary change. By analyzing the interplay between economic strategy and political mobilization, the study reveals how the Indian freedom struggle exemplifies the critical role of economic infrastructure in sustaining revolutionary momentum. Here's a breakdown of the key economic underpinnings behind funding and sustaining revolutions.

Introduction

Revolutions are often remembered for their fiery speeches, dramatic battles, and sweeping social change-but behind every uprising lies a quieter force of economics. The ability to fund and sustain a revolution can determine its success or failure just as much as ideology or military strategy. From the coffers of wealthy patrons to the grassroots mobilization of resources, economic support is the lifeblood of revolutionary movements.

Historically, revolutions have relied on diverse financial mechanisms: taxation, foreign aid, looting, trade, and even illicit activities like smuggling or counterfeiting. These funds are used not only to arm fighters and spread propaganda but also to maintain civil order, feed populations, and build alternative institutions. The American Revolution, for instance, leaned heavily on loans from France, while the Bolsheviks capitalized on expropriated wealth and centralized control of industry. Understanding the economic foundations of revolutions reveals how material conditions shape political possibilities. It also highlights the strategic decisions revolutionaries must make-balancing short-term survival with long-term legitimacy.

Methodology

The research methodology employed in this study is predominantly analytical and exploratory, drawing upon both descriptive and historical approaches. It calls for the examination of previously published works as well as primary, secondary, and archival research. The study intends to thoroughly explore the

ideological diversity, historical contexts, motivations, organizational structures, impact and influence, and modes of collective resistance among revolutionary impulses in India by combining these research methodologies. sources, infrastructure, and economic vision.

Historical Background :

- ◆ French Revolution (1789–1799)

France's crippling national debt, unfair taxation, and lavish spending by the monarchy created deep economic resentment. The Third Estate (commoners) bore the brunt of taxes while the nobility and clergy enjoyed privileges. Economic hardship fuelled mass mobilization and radical change.

- ◆ American Revolution (1775–1783)

The colonies resisted British taxation without representation—especially the Stamp Act and Tea Act. Funding came from local taxes, donations, and crucially, foreign loans and military aid from France, which helped sustain the war effort.

- ◆ Russian Revolution (1917): Economic collapse during World War-I, food shortages, and worker strikes destabilized Tsarist Russia. The Bolsheviks seized control by promising “peace, land, and bread,” and later nationalized industries to fund their new regime.

- ◆ Latin American Independence Movements (early 1800s)

Economic exploitation by colonial powers and trade restrictions led to widespread discontent. Revolutionary leaders like Simón Bolívar relied on local elites, foreign sympathizers, and confiscated wealth to fund their campaigns.

Modern Movements: Economic Strategies in Action

- ◆ Indian Revolutionary Movements (20th Century)

Groups like the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA) used donations, robberies (e.g., Kakori train robbery), and underground networks to fund anti-colonial activities. Economic self-reliance and swadeshi (indigenous production) were key ideological pillars.

One of the defining features of British colonial rule was its exploitative economic policies, which prioritized the interests of British industries over the welfare of the Indian population. Land revenue systems such as the Permanent Settlement and the Ryotwari System imposed heavy burdens on Indian peasants, leading to widespread poverty and indebtedness (Bayly, 1988). Census data from the early 20th century revealed stark inequalities in landownership, with a small elite controlling most of the arable land (Government of India, 1911).

Role of Economy in Revolutions

The economy plays a central and catalytic role in revolutions-both as a cause and as a means of sustaining revolutionary movements. Here's a breakdown of how economic factors shape revolutions:

1. Economic Grievances as a Catalyst

- ◆ **Wealth Inequality:** When a small elite controls most of the wealth while the majority struggle, resentment builds. This disparity often fuels revolutionary sentiment.
- ◆ **Unfair Taxation:** Excessive or unequal taxation-especially when imposed without representation-has historically triggered uprisings (e.g., the American and French Revolutions).
- ◆ **Poverty and Unemployment:** Economic hardship, inflation, and joblessness can push people to the brink, making them more likely to support radical change.

2. Funding the Revolution

Internal Resources: Revolutionary groups often rely on local taxation, donations, or confiscated wealth to fund their operations.

- ◆ Foreign Aid: External support—whether ideological or strategic—can provide crucial financial and military backing (e.g., French aid to American revolutionaries).
- ◆ Illicit Means: Some movements resort to smuggling, robbery, or black-market trade to sustain themselves, especially when cut off from formal economies.

3. Sustaining Revolutionary Movements

- ◆ Economic Infrastructure: Maintaining supply chains, feeding populations, and paying fighters are essential for long-term survival.
- ◆ Alternative Economies: Revolutionary regimes often create parallel economic systems-like land redistribution or nationalization to gain legitimacy and support.
- ◆ Propaganda and Mobilization: Economic promises (e.g., “land to the peasants,” “bread to the workers”) are powerful tools for rallying support.

4. Post-Revolution Economic Rebuilding

- ◆ Legitimacy Through Reform: Successful revolutions often hinge on delivering economic justice-land reforms, employment, and equitable growth.
- ◆ Challenges of Transition: Shifting from a revolutionary economy to a stable one involves rebuilding institutions, managing inflation, and attracting investment.

“Revolutions are not just political upheavals-they are economic reconfigurations. The struggle is as much about who controls the purse strings as who holds the power.”

Cuban Revolution (1953–1959)

- ◆ Pre-Revolution Conditions: Cuba’s economy was heavily dependent on sugar exports and U.S. investment. Economic inequality and unemployment were rampant. A military coup on March 10, 1952 catapulted General Fulgencio Batista into power. A government born of violence could continue to rule only by violence, and begot resistance by violence. All through the 1950s, the deepening

political crisis plunged Cuba into open warfare, both in the cities and in the countryside. The deepening political crisis obscured far more complex problems, pre-revolutionary Cuba had reached the limits of economic growth within the context of dependent capitalist structures sustained by sugar exports. The years immediately preceding the triumph of the revolution in 1959 were a time of profound shifts in Cuban society. The economy had

stalled, and unemployment and underemployment had increased. The cost of living was rising

and living standards for vast numbers of households were in an irreversible decline. These conditions were themselves symptomatic of a larger malaise, circumstances that pointed to profound structural problems that had overtaken Cuban society.

Funding the Revolution: Fidel Castro's 26th of July Movement relied on guerrilla tactics, local support, and limited external aid. They also seized resources from Batista's regime during their campaign.

Post-Revolution Reforms:

- ◆ Nationalization of industries and banks.
- ◆ Land redistribution to peasants.
- ◆ Shift toward a planned socialist economy with Soviet support.

Iranian Revolution (1979)

- ◆ Pre-Revolution Conditions: Iran had undergone rapid modernization under the Shah, but economic disparity and corruption alienated many citizens.

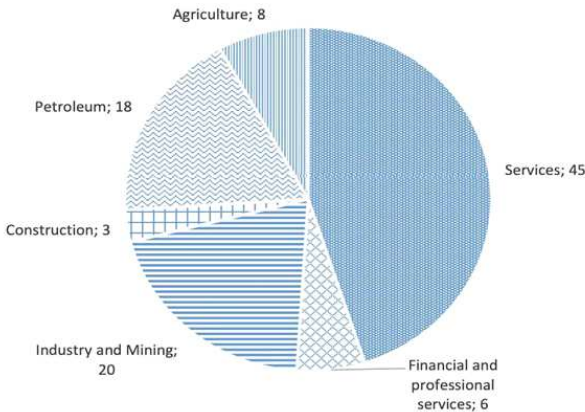
The Islamic Republic of Iran also established a comprehensive welfare system that was effective in assisting those who lived in rural or poor areas of Iran. The Shah had focused his efforts on growth in urban centers, which, when attempting to rapidly industrialize, makes sense. However, Khomeini's government saw this as a slight to the agricultural sector of Iran, and their program of social justice was aimed at improving the

lives of those who lived outside of cities. The welfare program was focused on education, healthcare, and basic infrastructure. Revolution and economics

In the 1960s, Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi launched a far-reaching program that included sweeping land reforms, infrastructure development and huge investments in the country's industrial base. Iran's fortunes surged even more dramatically after the explosive rise in oil prices in the 1970s, helping fuel the shah's grandiose ambitions to overtake the French and German economies. The Pahlavi economic program generated rapid growth, but the reforms also alienated influential constituencies, including the clergy, landlords and merchants. In addition, inflation and other problems spawned by the scope and pace of development created hardships for many Iranians. Economic grievances helped galvanize opposition to the monarchy, and revolutionary leaders such as Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini appealed to Iran's poor and its

increasingly squeezed middle class. After the death of Ayatollah Khomeini in 1989, successive leaders have attempted to move away from an economy focused on the basic needs of its citizens and towards growth. These structures, such as the partial privatization of several assets owned by the government, have worked in varying degrees throughout the last 30 years, with the economy transforming from primarily state-owned to more of a mix between nationalized industry and private business. Economic Role in the Revolution: The revolution was partly a backlash against Western-style capitalism and inequality. Economic grievances helped mobilize religious and working-class support.

Domestic Economic Effects of the Iranian Revolution



Sectoral contributions to Iran's GDP, via the Swedish Institute of International Affairs

When the theocracy took over from the monarchy, it is thought that the stronger economy of the Shah's regime helped in keeping Iran from all-out economic disaster. The economy in Khomeini's government was mostly state-owned, which never allowed it the growth it had during the reign of the Shah. The Islamic Republic saw privatization as an allowance of foreign

Influence into the economy, but as they moved toward maintaining Iran's economy from the inside, it became increasingly clear that they would never reach pre-revolutionary highs, particularly in the oil industry.

Chinese Communist Revolution (1949)

- Pre-Revolution Conditions: China was agrarian, fragmented, and economically devastated by war and colonial exploitation. The Chinese revolution of 1949, culminating in the

establishment of the peoples Republic of China (PRC) under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) AND Mao Zedong, marked a transformative period in a China's history. The revolution brought an end to the protracted civil war between the CCP and the Kuomintang (KMT) and initiated a series of profound economic and social reforms aimed at reshaping Chinese society. These reforms were driven by the CCP's ideology and were designed to transform China into a socialist state. Funding and Sustaining the Revolution: The Communist Party built support through land reform promises and grassroots mobilization. They taxed rural communities and used guerrilla warfare to gain control.

Economic Underpinning of the Freedom Movement

The Indian freedom movement was deeply rooted in economic grievances and sustained by strategic economic mobilization. Here's a breakdown of its economic underpinning and how it was sustained over time. As the historical traces proved, that Indian Economy had been amongst the World's top economy since ancient time. Especially, during the Gupat period and Mauriayan period Indian economy had attained new highs and pronounced as "GOLDEN SPARROW". This was exactly the time when Indian Economy was on full-swing, most of countries in the world were fascinated toward the Indian economy to do trade with. This was the time when different traders and scholar visitors across the world stepped-in, to gauge the glory, growth and size of the economy, namely Marco Polo from Italy (1288-1292 AD), Iba-e-Batuta from Morocco (1333-1342 AD), Tsang Hi from China (1421-1431 AD), Athnasuis Niketin from Russia (1470-1474 AD), Eduardo Babosa Portuguese (1516-1518 AD) and Ralph Fisch (first English traveller) 1585-1591 AD) Vasco-De-Gama Portuguese, Fie Hein a Chine's traveller and many-many others and latterly became the ambassador and guide to traders, intruders and aggressors. Here is the advent of East India Company, who arrived to Bharat as a British trade company and latter acquired

the economic as well as political power who ruled the country for about 200 years.

Colonial Economic Exploitation

Drain of Wealth: The Drain of Wealth Theory and broader British economic exploitation were foundational to India's freedom movement, shaping nationalist thought and fuelling resistance. British colonial rule systematically transferred India's wealth to Britain without adequate economic return. As articulated by Dadabhai Naoroji, British policies led to a systematic transfer of Indian wealth to Britain without adequate reinvestment.

Deindustrialization: The deindustrialization of India under British rule was a central pillar of the economic “drain” that nationalists like Dadabhai Naoroji condemned. It wasn't just a side effect of colonialism, it was a deliberate policy that transformed India from a global manufacturing hub into a raw material supplier and a market for British goods. Collapse of Traditional Industries, India's handloom sector, once world-renowned, was devastated by the influx of cheap, machine-made British textiles. British goods entered India duty-free or with minimal tariffs, while Indian goods faced heavy duties in Britain. Railways were built to extract

raw materials and distribute British goods-not to integrate Indian markets or support local industry. Colonial banks and credit systems favoured British enterprises, starving Indian industry of funds. India was turned into a supplier of cotton, jute, and indigo-feeding British mills. Manufactured goods were imported back into India, often at higher prices, creating a one-way flow of wealth to Britain.

Artisan Displacement: Skilled weavers, blacksmiths, and craftsmen lost livelihoods as British imports flooded Indian markets. British imports, especially textiles, crippled indigenous industries, turning India into a supplier of raw materials and a market for British goods.

Land Revenue Systems: Systems like Permanent Settlement and Ryotwari imposed high taxes, leading to peasant indebtedness and famines.

The Indian freedom movement was not only driven by political will and mass mobilization, it was also financially sustained by a diverse network of individuals, institutions, and strategies.

Key Sources of Funding for India's Freedom Movement

1. Wealthy Indian Industrialists and Philanthropists
 - ◆ Sir Dorabji Tata: Supported nationalist institutions and funded scholarships for Indian students abroad.
 - ◆ G.D. Birla: A close associate of Mahatma Gandhi, he provided substantial financial backing to the Indian National Congress and Gandhian initiatives.
 - ◆ Jamnalal Bajaj: Funded khadi promotion, rural upliftment, and Congress activities.
2. Public Donations and Mass Contributions
 - ◆ Congress Fund raising Drives: The Indian National Congress regularly collected donations from the public during sessions and campaigns.
 - ◆ Khadi Sales and Charkha Movement: Proceeds from khadi sales were reinvested into the movement, symbolizing both economic and political resistance.
3. Overseas Indian Communities
 - ◆ Ghadar Party (USA/Canada): Raised funds from Indian immigrants to support revolutionary activities.
 - ◆ Indian Merchants in Southeast Asia and Africa: Contributed to nationalist causes and supported exiled leaders.
4. Revolutionary Groups and Underground Networks
 - ◆ Anushilan Samiti and Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA): Funded through robberies (e.g., Kakori Train Robbery, 1925) and secret donations.

- ◆ Jugantar and other Bengal groups: Relied on covert fund raising and sympathetic patrons.

5. Nationalist Institutions and Banks

- ◆ Punjab National Bank (1894): Founded by Lala Lajpat Rai and others to support Indian enterprise and nationalist goals.
- ◆ Servants of India Society: Collected funds for social reform and political education

Sustaining the Freedom Movement: Key Pillars

India's freedom movement sustained itself over nearly a century through a dynamic blend of economic resilience, mass mobilization, ideological evolution, and strategic adaptation.

1. Mass Mobilization and Grassroots Participation

- ◆ Inclusive Movements: From peasants and workers to students and women, every social group was drawn into the struggle through movements like Non-Cooperation (1920), Civil Disobedience (1930), and Quit India (1942).
- ◆ Local Uprisings: Regional revolts (e.g., Bardoli Satyagraha, Punnapra-Vayalar) kept the momentum alive between national campaigns.

2. Economic Self-Reliance and Resistance

- ◆ Swadeshi and Khadi: Promoted indigenous goods and self-sufficiency, reducing dependence on British imports.
- ◆ Fund raising Networks: Industrialists like G.D. Birla and Jamnalal Bajaj, along with public donations and overseas Indian communities, financially supported the movement.

3. Ideological Evolution and Leadership

- ◆ Gandhian Philosophy: Non-violence and Satyagraha offered a moral compass and strategic discipline.
- ◆ Revolutionary Thought: Groups like Hindustan Socialist Republic Association (HSRA) and Indian National Army (INA) added militant dimensions, appealing to youth and exiled Indians.

Political Institutions: The Indian National Congress and later the Muslim League provided organizational structure and negotiation platforms.

4. Media and Education

- ◆ Nationalist Press: Newspapers like *Young India*, *Kesari*, and *Amrita Bazar Patrika* spread awareness and countered colonial narratives.
- ◆ Political Education: Public speeches, pamphlets, and study circles educated masses about rights and resistance.

5. International Support and Global Context

- ◆ World Wars: British economic and military strain during world war-I and world war-II weakened colonial control and opened diplomatic opportunities.
- ◆ Global Anti-Colonialism: India's struggle inspired and was inspired by global movements in Africa, Southeast Asia, and Latin America.

Assam's Role in Sustaining the Freedom Movement:

Strategic Geography

- ◆ Gateway to Southeast Asia: Assam's location made it vital for trade, military strategy, and revolutionary outreach—especially during world war-II and the INA's campaigns.
- ◆ Border with British Burma: Enabled underground networks and cross-border revolutionary activity.

Economic Contributions

- ◆ Tea Plantations: While largely controlled by British interests, Assam's tea economy became a site of labor resistance and nationalist agitation.
- ◆ Oil and Coal: Resources like Digboi oil fields and coal mines were exploited by the British, but also became focal points for labor mobilization and economic critique.
- ◆ Local Industry and Swadeshi: Khadi production and indigenous crafts were promoted in rural Assam as part of the broader Swadeshi movement.

Regional Movements and Leaders

- ◆ Assam Association (1903): Early political platform that later merged with the Indian National Congress.
- ◆ Gopinath Bordoloi: Played a key role in integrating Assam into the national movement and resisting partition plans.
- ◆ Peasant Movements: Uprisings like the Phulaguri Dhawa (1861) and the Assam Tea Labour Movement highlighted economic grievances and fed into nationalist sentiment.

Media and Mobilization

- ◆ Local Newspapers: Publications like *Assam Bandhu* and *Asomiya* spread nationalist ideas and exposed colonial exploitation.
- ◆ Student and Youth Activism: Institutions like Cotton College became hubs for political education and mobilization.

Findings

1. Economics as a critical determinant of revolutionary success.
2. Diverse financial mechanisms fuel revolutions.
3. Economic support enables multifaceted revolutionary functions.
4. Material conditions shape political possibilities.

Conclusion: Economics as the engine of revolution

While revolutions are often romanticized for their ideas and heroism, their viability hinges on the gritty realities of economic support. From foreign loans and grassroots fundraising to looting and illicit trade, the financial lifelines of revolutionary movements shape not only their capacity to fight but also their vision for governance. These economic choices reflect deeper strategic dilemmas-how to survive immediate threats while laying the groundwork for legitimacy and stability. Understanding the economic underpinnings of revolutions reveals that material conditions are not just background noise but central to political transformation. They influence who leads, who follows and what kind of society emerges from the ashes of upheaval. In the end,

revolutions are not just battles of ideas but they are contests over resources,

infrastructure and the power to sustain changes.

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ASSAMESE WOMEN IN INDIA'S FREEDOM STRUGGLE MOVEMENT: A FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

Lakimoni Nath

Abstract

The participation of Assamese women in India's freedom struggle represents a significant yet often underrepresented chapter in nationalist history. This study explores the diverse and dynamic roles played by women from Assam, highlighting their contributions to political mobilization, socio-cultural reform, and grassroots activism. The chapter examines how women leaders such as Kanaklata Barua, Chandraprabha Saikiani, Padmavati Devi Phukanani, and Sati Radhika participated in the Non-Cooperation, Civil Disobedience, and Quit India movements. It also discusses how women's organizations, including the Assam Mahila Samiti, expanded political consciousness and encouraged female participation across rural and urban areas. Despite social constraints, Assamese women contributed through picketing, spreading nationalist ideology, sheltering activists, producing khadi, and even sacrificing their lives for the Swaraj. The findings highlight that their involvement was not merely supportive but transformative, changing

gender roles in Assamese society and strengthening the freedom movement.

Keywords: Women, Assamese, Freedom Struggle, British, Independence

INTRODUCTION

Assam, a region marked by its diverse ethnicities, rich cultural heritage, and strategic geopolitical location, became an active site of resistance during British colonial rule. Within this landscape, women emerged not only as supporters of the nationalist cause but also as front-line leaders, organizers, intellectuals, and revolutionaries of the freedom movement.

Assamese women played a multifaceted role in the struggle for independence - mobilizing communities, leading protests, participating in satyagraha movements and confronting colonial administration. Figures such as Kanaklata Barua, Bhogeshwari Phukanani, Chandraprabha Saikiani, and others symbolized courage and defiance, inspiring widespread participation across both rural and urban Assam. The Assamese women also responded to each and every phase of the freedom movement launched by Gandhiji, namely, the Non-Cooperation Movement (1920-21), Civil Disobedience Movement (1930) and the Quit India Movement (1942). They participated in the movement by organizing processions, picketing, organizing political meetings, carrying revolutionary messages, boycotting foreign goods. During this period, they participated in the movement both on non-violent Gandhian way and the revolutionary way. In order to paralyze the British government, the revolutionary group of women assisted their male counterparts in destroying government buildings, breaking bridges, and cutting telephone and telegraph cables. These activities led the government to take repressive measures to suppress the women folk. They were persecuted both emotionally and physically,

which inspired the whole public to fight for the noble cause of independence.

This study examines the significant role of Assamese women in India's freedom struggle, analyzing their participation, leadership and sacrifices. The study also highlights how Assamese women not only supported but significantly shaped the trajectory of India's struggle for independence, making their contributions integral to understanding the nation's collective fight for freedom.

OBJECTIVES

1. To evaluate the role of the women of Assam in the freedom struggle of India.
2. To study the roles of British government for suppress the women of Assam.
3. To highlight the actual position and contribution of women in the freedom struggle movement.

METHODOLOGY

The study is mainly based on secondary sources. The used data are collected from books, journals, research papers and websites.

DISCUSSION

The history of India's freedom struggle is marked not only by mass political mobilization and nationalist leadership, but also by the powerful, often under-recognized contributions of women across regions. In Assam, women emerged as dynamic participants in the anti-colonial movement, shaping political consciousness and advancing nationalist ideals in unique and transformative ways. The Assamese women in the Indian independence movement were also played a significant role. In Assam, women, like men, came from all over the house and took an active part in the independence

movement, setting an example of patriotism. The brave women of Assam rebelled against the British in various ways, many of them sacrificing their lives. Many women's were sacrificed their lives for the sake of the country and many were lost forever. When most of the men freedom fighters were in prison the women came forward and took charge of the struggle.

Assamese Women and Non-Cooperation Movement (1920-21)

◆ During the Non-Cooperation Movement, Assamese women, inspired by leaders like Guneshwari Devi and Chandraprabha Saikiani, actively participated by boycotting foreign goods, picketing liquor shops, promoting khadi, and mobilizing other women to join the struggle. They defied social restrictions, organized meetings, and formed women's groups like the Barnagar Mahila Congress to support the nationalist cause through constructive programs. However the wives, mothers, daughters and sisters of the leaders and workers of Indian National Congress, though small in number, came out to participate in the 1921-22 movement ignoring the social restrictions. In January 1921, a group of women of Guwahati proposed to take out procession to violate Sec.144 and court arrest as part of the movements programme. The initiative was taken by Bidyutprova Devi, wife of Tarun Ram Phukan, however, at Gandhiji's advice called off that programme.

◆ Gandhiji's visit to Assam in August, 1921, provided great encouragement to the women of Assam. On 18th August, 1921, the day of Gandhiji's arrival at Guwahati a big meeting was held in Guwahatii where a large number of women participated. Bidyutprova Devi, Hemantakumari Devi, Snehalata Bhattacharyya, Guneswari Devi, enrolled as congress volunteers.

◆ The major thrust of women in Assam in this movement was in the field of promotion of spinning and weaving. Women of Assam irrespective of class, caste and status, used to weave for themselves and for their family members; weaving was a part of a

women's day to day activity. Thus, spinning and weaving of Khadi as a part of Non-Cooperation Movement drew a large number of Assamese women to it.

◆ The effort on the part of the women of different places of Assam and the participation by a section of women in 1921 phase of the movement paved the way for the development of the Assam Mahila Samiti at the provincial level in 1926. Chandraprava Saikiani, Sashibala Changkakati, Padmawati devi Phukanani, Snehalata Bhattacharyya, Guneswari Mazumdar, Kironmayee Agarwala, Sarala Das, Kironbala Barkakati, Rebati Bora, Nirmalprona Saika,, Hemoprova Das, Nirmala Devi, Gunada Khaund, Aideu Rajkhowa and host of women in different parts of the province of Assam participated in the Non-Cooperation Movement. They spread the message of Gandhiji among the women and took up spinning and weaving and also urged women to take up the same.

Assamese women and Civil Disobedience Movement (1930)

◆ For a variety of reasons, the Brahmaputra Valley Civil Disobedience movement was unable to make any progress at the start of the 1930s. One significant factor was that Assamese citizens were unable to directly participate in the Dandi March due to Dandi's great distance from the province. However, on March 12, 1930, the day Gandhi started the Dandi March, the residents of Kaliabor in the Nowgong area marched symbolically from Kaliabor to Nowgong, a distance of roughly thirty miles. Thousands of women from Assam participated in the initiative, regardless of their position or status. In the course of participation of meetings and processions, they face police lathi charge, courted arrest and suffered imprisonment.

◆ Guneswari Devi and Muktabala Baishnabi were the first Assamese women to undergo imprisonment for violation of

Government order and for participating in the Civil Disobedience movement.

◆ Since Assamese women were unable to participate in the Dandi March, they chose to show their support for the Salt Satyagraha movement by holding meetings in various locations to raise awareness among women. A few days prior to the start of the Satyagraha, the women of Goalpara met with Mohini Devi, the president, to offer their unwavering support and encourage them to take part in the movement's many programs.

◆ Basantalata Hazarika, Kamala Devi, Ratnabala Bora, Mukyaprabha Agarwala, Sumitrabala Bhattacharyya, Anna Baruah, Durgaprova Bora, Ghanakanti Devi, Bhubaneswri Devi, Swarnalata Saikia, Puspallata Saikia (Das), Guneswari Devi, Darbai Mech, Mohini Gohain, Kiranbala Bora were important women figure in this phase of movement who played their leadership role.

Assamese women and Quit India Movement (1942)

◆ Assamese women played significant role in the Quit India Movement through their participation in organizations such as the Mrityu Bahini and by the leading protests against British rule. The slogan 'do or die' became more popular during this phase. The brave assamese woman Kanaklata Baruah became martyr on 20th September, along with Mukunda Kakoti in Gogpur in police open firing.

◆ Kumali Devi and Jaluki Kacharian, Tileswari Barua of Dhekiajuli died as a result of bullet injury on 20th Sept. 1942. Mungri alias Malati of Darrang; Kanaklata Barua, Gahpur, Darrang; Bhogeswari Phukanani, Nowgong; Khahili Devi, Dhekiajuli, Darrang; Golapi Chutiani, Dhekiajuri, Darrang; Padumi Gogoi, Dhekiajuri, Darrang; Abali Kuchini, Mahanta, Nowgong; Lila Neogoni, Lakhimpur; Rebati Lahan, Teok, Sibsagar; Kon Chutiani, Dhekiajuri, Darrang; were women freedom fighters of Assam who sacrificed their live in the 1942 Quit India Movement. These names

will always be remembered by the people of the nation. After decades of struggles, revolutions, bloodsheds, Sathyagrahas and sacrifices, India finally achieved independence on August 15, 1947.

The history of Indian Freedom Struggle would be incomplete without mentioning the contributions of women. Few of Assamese freedom fighters are as follows-

Bhogeshwari Phukanani, Nagaon

Bhogeshwari Phukanani played an important role in the Quit India Movement. She was one of the strongest organizers of the freedom struggle movement in Barhampur, Nagaon district. She was a brave lady among the residents of this place. In 1930, Phukanani took part in a non violent march as an act of civil disobedience against the British and was later arrested for picketing.

Dariki Dasi Baruah, Golaghat

Dariki Dasi Baruah was one of the leading leaders of the 'Disobedience movement', also led the anti-Adict movement. She was arrested by the British government on February 1, 1932, and sentenced to six months of rigorous imprisonment. She was pregnant at the time of her arrest. She died in prison on April 26, 1932.

Golapi Chutiani, Dhekiajuli

Golapi Chutiani of Dhekiajuli joined the Quit India Movement on September 20, 1942. It also caused a stick in the logistics because of the fireworks. The attack caused significant injuries to Golapi Chutiani.

Jaluki Kachariani, Dhekiajuli

Jaluki Kachariani was another active participant of 1942 revolt. On September 20, 1942 she got bullet injury in the Dhekiajuli police firing and later she died.

Kankalata Baruah, Gahapur

Kanaklata Barua was a freedom fighter and revolutionary from Assam who actively participated in the Quit India Movement. Kanaklata Barua is referred to as Birbala and Shaheed. She was born in the Assamese village of Borangabari in the Darrang district. Her mother's name is Karneshwari Barua, and her father is Krishna Kanta. She was an Indian independence activist who was shot dead by the Indian imperial police of the British while leading a procession bearing the National Flag during the Quit India Movement of 1942.

Kon Chutiani, Dhekiajuli

Kon Chutiani was Assamese freedom fighters who participated in the Quit India movement. She was also injured in the lathi attack near Dhekiajuli police station on September 20, 1942, and later succumbed to her injuries.

Kiran Bala Bora

Kiran Bala Bora was a freedom fighter, and social activist from village of North Haiborgaon in Nagaon district, Assam. She is known for her participation in the civil disobedience movements of the 1930s and 1940s, which contributed to the independence of India. In 1942, the Quit India Movement was announced; the British were asked to leave the country. "Do or Die" became the slogan of time. Inciting many people and walking along with them against the British was Kiran Bora. She had to bear a lot of lathi charges and other actions by the police but never gave up. She died on 8 January, 1993.

Khahuli Devi, Dhekiajuli

She was shot dead in Dhekiajuli police firing on September 20, 1942.

Kumli Devi, Dhekiajuli

Kumali Devi was a brave woman who died along with Tileshwari Baruah and Khahuli Devi. Kumali Devi was shot dead by police in Dhekiajuli on September 20, 1942, after taking an active part in the Quit India Movement.

Leela Neogni, Lakhimpur

Leela Neogni was one of the women who took an active part in the freedom struggle. The anti-British movement was carried out in Lakhimpur as part of various programs of the Quit India Movement.

Lila Neogoni, Lakhimpur

She was actively involved in the 1942 revolt. She was severely beaten by the police at Lakhimpur in 1942 while participating in a procession against them. She succumbed to her injuries after two months.

Malti Mem (Mangri Orang), Lalmati, Darang

One of the leaders of the tea garden movement was Malti Mem or Mangri Orang. In 1921, Malati Mem was assassinated by the government at Lalmati in Darang district.

Padumi Gogai, Dhekiajuli

Padumi Gogoi, who joined the Quit India Movement on September 20, 1942, was wounded in the lathi attack. She was later arrested and sentenced to six months in jail. She was released with worn out health and died soon.

Rebati Lahon, Teok

She was an active participant and organiser of the Quit India Movement. She was sent jail in 1942. During imprisonment,

she suffered from pneumonia due to the poor unhealthy living condition in jail. She died soon after coming out of imprisonment.

Tileshwari Baruwa, Dhekiajuli

Tileswari Barua, who was shot at the age of 12 by the British, during the Quit India Movement, when she and some freedom fighters tried to hoisting the Tricolour flag at Dhekiajuli police station. She was an active participant in the Quit India Movement from Dhekiajuli. On September 20, 1920, she was shot dead in police firing while trying to hoist the national flag at Dhekiajuli. Kanaklata Barua also died the same day.

Thunuki Das, Dhekiajuli

She was an active participant in the 1942 revolt at Dhekiajuli. She was injured in the lathi charge that took place near Dhekiajuli police station on September 20, 1942, and died a few days later.

CONCLUSION

The participation of Assamese women in India's freedom struggle stands as a powerful testament to their courage, political awareness, and deep commitment to national liberation. From leading processions and organizing grassroots mobilization to engaging in underground revolutionary activities and sacrificing their lives in confrontations with colonial authority, Assamese women demonstrated remarkable resolve and leadership.

Figures such as Kanaklata Barua, Bhogeswari Phukanani, Chandraprabha Saikiani along with countless unnamed volunteers, symbolize the collective spirit of resistance that animated the region. Their involvement in the Non-Cooperation, Civil Disobedience, and Quit India movements revealed not only their political consciousness but also their willingness to break traditional gender

norms in pursuit of freedom. Their activism was strengthened by the emergence of women's organizations, educational reforms, and cultural renaissance movements that empowered them to step into the public sphere.

The legacy of Assamese women in the freedom struggle is therefore twofold: they contributed significantly to India's independence, and they simultaneously advanced the cause of women's emancipation within Assamese society. Their stories enrich the historiography of India's nationalist movement by bringing regional and gendered perspectives to the forefront. It is a matter of regret that in spite of selfless contributions towards the different phases of the freedom movement in Assam, their sacrifice, sufferings and contribution did not receive due recognition and respect from the Government. By giving them a public forum, it allows women to develop their independent and own identity rather than the conventional identity of being a wife, mother, and daughter. By recovering and acknowledging their roles, we not only honor their sacrifices but also ensure that the narrative of India's independence reflects the diverse and multifaceted efforts of all its participants.

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REVOLUTION IN RYTHM – THE ROLE OF MUSIC IN THE IDEOLOGY OF HSRA

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Abstract

The Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA), founded in 1928 by revolutionaries such as Bhagat Singh, Chandrasekhar Azad, Sukhdev, and Ram Prasad Bismil, emerged as a radical organisation committed to ending British rule through socialist and republican ideals. Alongside armed resistance, the HSRA used songs and cultural expressions to spread its message, inspire the youth, and draw public attention to colonial oppression. This paper examines how these revolutionary songs reflected and created patriotism in the deeper cultural sense of society, and how they helped the organisation communicate its ideology effectively. The study primarily relies on secondary sources, including historical writings, and existing research on revolutionary movements and cultural nationalism. By analysing widely recognised songs such as “*Sarfaroshi ki Tamanna*” and “*Mera Rang De Basanti Chola*,” the paper explores how music served as an accessible and emotionally charged medium to instil courage, unity, and national pride. These songs allowed complex political ideas to reach ordinary people and helped create a shared sense of purpose among the

youth. The findings suggest that HSRA's use of music and words and cultural forms not only strengthened the spirit of resistance but also fostered a broader cultural awareness of India's struggle for freedom. Ultimately, this article highlights the profound role of music in shaping nationalist sentiment and offers readers a renewed sense of pride in the cultural foundations of the freedom movement.

Keywords: HSRA (Hindustan Socialist Republican Association), Revolutionary Patriotic Songs, Bhagat Shing and Revolutionaries, Cultural Nationalism

INTRODUCTION

The emergence of the Hindustan Republican Association (HRA) in the early 1920s marked a significant shift in the character of India's anti-colonial struggle. The organisation represented a new phase of militant nationalism shaped by young revolutionaries who rejected moderate constitutional politics and embraced a more assertive, patriotic vision of freedom. Their conception of patriotism was not only political but deeply emotional, rooted in sacrifice, courage, and the collective will to challenge colonial domination. These revolutionary formations can also be understood as expressions from ordinary youth, students, and workers found in the HRA's ideas a platform to articulate their own resistance against imperial power. The cultural and patriotic themes adopted by the HRA—seen in their songs, slogans, and symbolic acts thus served as crucial tools for mobilising those sections of society often overlooked in elite nationalist narratives. In this context, revolutionary songs became powerful instruments for shaping public sentiment, embedding the values of freedom and defiance in the popular imagination, and transforming everyday cultural spaces into arenas of political awakening. Building on the foundation laid by the HRA, the formation of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA) in 1928 signalled an ideological shift from general revolutionary nationalism to a more defined commitment to socialism and anti-imperialism. This transition reflected the

revolutionaries' understanding that political independence required not only the end of British rule but also the dismantling of social and economic inequalities. The HSRA thus combined militant action with a broader vision of social transformation, offering a version of nationalism that was both radical and deeply patriotic.

The HSRA's activities illustrate how cultural forms especially songs, poetry, and symbolic rituals—became central to subaltern modes of resistance. These revolutionaries, many of them young students and workers, used cultural expressions to articulate sentiments of anger, pride, and aspiration that were widely shared at the grassroots level. Songs in particular helped bridge the gap between political ideology and everyday public emotion, enabling the HSRA to reach audiences far beyond their organisational structure. Patriotic songs such as *Sarfaroshi ki Tamanna*, *Rang De Basanti Chola*, and popularised chants like *Inquilab Zindabad* played a critical role in this process. They carried messages of sacrifice, unity, and defiance in a form that was memorable, emotionally resonant, and easy to circulate even under colonial surveillance. These songs not only reflected the revolutionaries' ideals but also actively shaped public consciousness by instilling a sense of belonging to the national struggle.

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION FROM HRA TO HSRA

The national movement in India originated in the late 19th century, marked initially by the rise of moderate politics within the Indian National Congress (INC), founded in 1885. The Congress was composed mainly of western-educated elites who sought reforms through petitions and constitutional means, believing in British justice and gradual progress. Moderates like Dadabhai Naoroji and Gopal Krishna Gokhale emphasized dialogue and cooperation with the colonial government to achieve political rights and economic reform. However, the failure of moderate politics to deliver substantial change, along with events such as the partition of Bengal in 1905, led to disillusionment and the rise of more

assertive extremism. Leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai advocated for more direct action and mass mobilization. The extremist faction's motto, "Swaraj is my birthright," symbolized a shift towards assertive nationalism that challenged British authority openly. But the extremist group could not function effectively due to its lack of organisational structure, and as a result, it faced strong resistance from the British government. [Chandra 135-140]

As the limitations of both moderates and extremists became evident, revolutionary terrorism emerged as a radical response. Revolutionary terrorism was fuelled by the frustration with constitutional methods and moderate's politics. [Bandyopadhyay 248] Further the congress failed to achieve Purna Swaraj (As Gandhi proposed) after the Non-cooperation movement, revolutionary groups emerged, inspired largely by young, determined nationalists who no longer believed in Gandhi's method of non-violence. These revolutionaries, mostly young and educated, sought to overthrow British rule through violent means. Key figures included Bhagat Singh, Ram Prasad Bismil, and Sachindra Nath Sanyal. They formed secret societies that plotted assassinations and armed uprisings, symbolizing a proactive challenge to colonial rule, though their activities remained somewhat isolated from the broader mass movements led by the Congress. [Chandra 248-249]

The revolutionary spirit culminated in the formation of the Hindustan Republican Association (HRA) in 1924 by Ram Prasad Bismil. This organization aimed to unite various revolutionary groups under a common goal: to establish a Federated Republic of India through organized armed revolution. [Chandra 248] Founding members included Sachindra Nath Sanyal, who drafted the constitution of the HRA. The association sought to inspire a mass revolutionary movement against British rule, blending nationalist ideology with socialism and republicanism. The evolution of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA) from the Hindustan Republican Association (HRA) in 1928 represented a radical transformation in the Indian revolutionary movement.

Following the setbacks of the Kakori conspiracy in 1925 and the execution of key leaders, the organization underwent significant ideological and structural changes. In September 1928, at a meeting at Feroz Shah Kotla in Delhi, the HRA was reorganized and renamed as the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association, largely influenced by Bhagat Singh and Chandrashekhar Azad. [Chandra 248] This change was not merely cosmetic but reflected a profound shift towards socialism, inspired by global revolutionary movements such as the Russian Revolution and Marxist principles. The HSRA embraced the vision of establishing a socialist republic in India, emphasizing the overthrow not only of colonial rule but also of social and economic inequalities. The organization moved beyond nationalist armed rebellion to focus on mobilizing the masses, particularly youth, through acts of daring defiance like the Lahore Conspiracy Case and the bombing of the Central Legislative Assembly in 1929. Led by Bhagat Singh, Chandrashekhar Azad, Sukhdev, and Rajguru, the HSRA symbolized a more organized, militant, and ideologically driven form of resistance that sought both political independence and social justice. This transformation marked a new and intensified phase of the freedom struggle, where revolutionary socialism played a critical role in shaping India's fight against British colonialism and envisaged a future marked by equality and empowerment of the masses.

SONGS AS CULTURAL TOOLS OF RESISTENCE

Songs played a remarkably influential role during the freedom struggle because they were an accessible, emotional, and collective form of communication that could bypass colonial restrictions and reach large sections of society. At a time when public meetings were monitored and printed materials were censored; songs provided a safe yet powerful medium to express resistance. Their simple language, memorable rhythm, and strong imagery enabled even the illiterate masses to understand and internalise nationalist ideas. Revolutionary songs stirred emotions of pride, unity, and sacrifice, creating an atmosphere where people

felt personally connected to the national cause. Sung in gatherings, processions, student meetings, and even prison cells, these songs carried waves of social awareness across regions and classes. They helped ordinary people recognise colonial oppression not as distant politics but as a lived reality that demanded collective action. Through repetition and shared performance, songs transformed individual feelings into collective consciousness, turning cultural expression into a potent force for social mobilisation. As a result, revolutionary songs became one of the most effective tools for building patriotic sentiment and strengthening the foundation of India's freedom movement. Earliest and most influential examples was *Bande Mataram* written by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay and *Sare Jahan Se Accha* by Muhammad Iqbal, which became a national symbol of resistance. Its devotional tone, poetic imagery, and invocation of the motherland stirred deep emotions across the country, inspiring unity and courage among people from all walks of life. Similarly, revolutionary songs linked to HSRA—such as *Sarfaroshi ki Tamanna* and *Rang De Basanti Chola* carried the spirit of sacrifice and fearlessness into public consciousness, allowing masses to connect personally with the struggle for freedom.

Importantly, the impact of patriotic songs was not limited to national slogans alone, regional songs in local languages played an equally vital role in spreading political awareness. In Assam, cultural icons like Jyotiprasad Agarwala and Bishnu Rabha used music as a tool to awaken social consciousness. Jyotiprasad's songs, such as *Lutor Parore Ami Deka Lora* inspired the youth of Assam to take pride in their land and resist oppression. Similar movements emerged across India: Tamil patriotic songs in the South, Punjabi folk-revolutionary songs in the North, and Marathi *Powadas* in Western India all helped local communities link their cultural heritage with the national struggle. By reaching people in their own languages, emotions, and musical traditions, these songs spread waves of social awareness that no political speech or pamphlet could achieve. They created a shared emotional space in which ordinary citizens began to see the freedom struggle as

their own responsibility. Through melody, rhythm, and collective singing, songs transformed cultural expression into a powerful force of political mobilisation, strengthening the foundation of India's national movement.

SARFAROSHI KI TAMANNA- THE SONG OF BLOOD AND SACRIFICE

The original poem name *Sarfarooshi ki tamanna* was originally an Urdu ghazal written by poet Bismil Azimabadi in 1921. The poem was first published in journal Subah. It was Ram Prasad Bismil who first popularised the lines, giving them a revolutionary spirit that inspired countless young freedom fighters in upcoming years. Ram Prasad Bismil was himself a gifted poet who wrote extensively in both Urdu and Hindi, adopting the pen names *Ram*, *Agyat*, and *Bismil*. [Verma] His literary talent infused the revolutionary movement with powerful lyrical expressions that stirred patriotic emotions among the masses. As one of the founding members of the HSRA, Bismil played a crucial role in shaping the ideological foundation of the revolutionary struggle. His writings, along with his organisational leadership, helped inspire a generation of young nationalists to challenge colonial authority with courage and conviction.

It is said that when Ram Prasad Bismil was led to the gallows, the opening lines of this poem were on his lips. In the later years, as influential revolutionaries like Bhagat Singh and Chandrashekhra Azad rose to prominence within the organisation, they sought to carry their message to the masses, and this song gradually became their unspoken language of resistance. After the Lahore Conspiracy Case and the Central Assembly Bomb Case, when Bhagat Singh and his comrades were put on trial, they often sang this song in the courtroom. For them, it was not merely a poem but a symbol of their unbreakable spirit—an anthem they voiced loudly and proudly even in the face of imminent danger.

The lines of the song like –*Sarfaroshi ki tamanna ab hamaare dil mein hai, Dekhna hai zor kitna baazu-e-qaatil mein hain*- meaning the desire for martyrdom now fills our hearts.

Let us see how much strength the arms of the oppressor truly hold -expresses their fearless resolve to sacrifice everything for the nation, boldly challenging the strength of British rule without any fear. Another line, *Aye shaheed-e-mulk-o-millat main tere oopar nisaar, Ab teri himmat ka charcha ghair ki mehfil mein hai* meaning O martyr of the nation, I bow myself before you, your courage and sacrifice are now being praised even in distant lands. The lines honour the martyr, saying that their bravery has become so great that even outsiders—people beyond India—speak of it with respect. It reflects pride, reverence, and the widespread impact of their sacrifice. Thus, the entire song becomes an expression of their ideology—communicating their stance, their socialist outlook, and their call to awaken the people. It was meant to inspire unity, strengthen collective resolve, and encourage the masses to rise together against oppression. The powerful lines helped ordinary people understand the aims and ideals of the HSRA—its call for unity, its socialist vision, and its determination to challenge colonial oppression. By blending emotion with ideology, the song created a collective spirit that transcended class, caste, and region, reminding people of their common struggle and inspiring them to stand together for freedom.

MERE RANG DE BASANTI CHOLA- THE SONG THAT PAINTED A REVOLUTION YELLOW

Another significant song associated with the HSRA was *Mera Rang De Basanti Chola*, which served as a powerful form of cultural messaging during the freedom struggle. Written around 1927, the lyrics are attributed to Ram Prasad Bismil, composed with the emotional support and creative involvement of his fellow comrades while they were imprisoned. The song uses the imagery of *Basant*—the season of spring—to symbolise renewal, hope, and the promise of a new beginning for the nation. Through its

evocative lines, it expresses the revolutionaries' deep yearning for freedom and their willingness to sacrifice everything for the motherland. The vibrant *Basanti*- Yellow colour becomes a metaphor for both the joy of spring and the courageous spirit of martyrdom. By blending cultural symbolism with political sentiment, "*Mera Rang De Basanti Chola*" inspired the youth and connected emotionally with the masses, reinforcing the HSRA's message of resilience, bravery, and an unbroken hope for a free India.

The lines of *Mere Rang De Basanti Chola* celebrates the fiery spirit of India's freedom struggle by invoking the legacy of heroes like Rani Lakshmibai and Shivaji, whose courage shaped the nation's proud past. Lines such as *Azadi ka shola banke khoon ragon mein dola* means the flame of freedom flows through our veins like fire - capture how the flame of freedom flows passionately through their veins, turning every heartbeat into a call for resistance. The words *Kismat walo ko milta aisa marne ka mauka* meaning Only the fortunate ones get the chance to die such a noble death express the warriors' fearless acceptance of death, seeing sacrifice not as tragedy but as a rare honour granted only to the fortunate. Altogether, the song reflects their pride in India's glorious history and their unshakable, death-defying devotion to the motherland.

RELEVANCE OF THESE SONGS AFTER INDEPENDENCE

Even today, these songs continue to evoke deep patriotic feelings among Indians by reminding the nation of its revolutionaries, their courage, and their unshakable values. Both songs first appeared in the 1965 film *Shaheed*, based on the life of Bhagat Singh, and since then they have become inseparable from his legacy. Every subsequent Bhagat Singh film has reintroduced these songs, enriching them with new music, revised lyrics, and fresh compositions that keep their spirit alive across generations. Despite changing times, the emotional power of these songs remains unchanged. They continue to inspire young people, encouraging them to admire and respect the sacrifices of the revolutionaries.

Their lasting popularity is clear from millions of streams on online platforms such as YouTube and Spotify, proving that the flame of patriotism carried by these songs still burns strong in modern India.

CONCLUSION

Guided by ideals of courage, sacrifice, and complete independence, the HSRA understood that songs and cultural symbols could reach the masses more powerfully than speeches or political writings alone. Through songs like *Sarfaroshi ki Tamanna* and *Mere Rang De Basanti Chola*, the revolutionaries communicated their message of resistance, unity, and national pride in a language that ordinary people could feel and relate to. These songs awakened emotional strength, encouraged collective participation, and instilled a fearless spirit among the youth of the time.

Today, these songs hold a special and permanent position in India's freedom narrative. They not only reflect the revolutionary zeal of their creators but also continue to inspire patriotic feeling across generations. Their timeless appeal preserved through films, performances, and digital platforms ensures that the sacrifices and ideals of the HSRA revolutionaries remain alive in public memory. Thus, the cultural legacy of these songs stands as a powerful reminder of India's struggle for freedom and the unwavering spirit of those who fought for it.

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Book Review

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Amin, Shahid. *Event, Metaphor, Memory: Chauri Chaura 1922-1992*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995. ¹ 275.00. ISBN 0-520-08780-1.

Shahid Amin in his book *Event, Metaphor, Memory: Chauri Chaura 1922-1992* makes it clear from the very beginning what the main motive behind writing this book was for him, 'to interrogate the interrogators'. The author, born 15 miles from Chauri Chaura, brings an empathetic knowledge of the region, keen ear for nuance of the culture and the people. The central theme of the book revolves around the Chauri Chaura incident of 1922 as the title itself suffices. This dramatic event altered the course of Non-Cooperation movement launched by Gandhi from a peaceful Satyagraha towards a violent local manifestation of the message. The 'anti-police riot' occurred in a small village of Gorakhpur in Uttar Pradesh but the ramifications were much larger. The peasant politics which culminated in this unrest and the role of Gandhian nationalism takes the center stage in Amin's masterpiece. He tries to reinterpret the episode from the perspective of the 'interrogated'

(the peasants) and questions the legitimacy of the views of the ‘interrogators’ (dominant classes, holding powerful position). He further clarifies that he had not undertaken this vast project to write like the Judge but rather to critically examine how the Judge wrote.

The author from the very outset gives agency to the peasants—a very integral section of the society which do not write by themselves but they often become the subject of various writings. Their testimonies are not requested but instead forced out of them in court rooms or inquisitorial trials. He is aware that his selection of the violent incident for the book, out of the largely non-violent movement, might seem perverse at first glance. However, he believes that it was the peasants who, in the first place, greatly revered the idea of Gandhi as the *messiah* who came to rescue them and entitled him with the ‘Mahatma’ status. Therefore, Indians while historicizing this event are obliged to remember the peasant rioters of 1922 who burnt down the police precinct with a cry of ‘Victory to Mahatma Gandhi’.

Amin argues that before the peasants were labelled as ‘rioters,’ there existed a complex interplay of several socio-psychological factors that sparked peasant violence in colonial India. But instead of delving deep into those explanations, the author steers towards rich documentation of the ‘Gandhian politics’ of the peasants before they plunged into a violent uprising. The value of the incident which took place on 4th February 1922 is not just confined to records of peasant politics. Amin rather places its importance on a parallel with Gandhi’s career, giving us critical insights into the nature of nationalist historiography in India.

Most of the writings which exist on Third World nationalism have tended to bypass the question of nationalist narratives. The statement that ‘writing the history of a particular national struggle itself becomes a part of an ongoing nationalist enterprise’ by Shahid Amin forms a critical insight rooted in historical and post-colonial studies; it highlights how act of narrating the past is rarely a neutral, objective exercise but rather a political and cultural endeavour that serves to sustain and shape the identity of the nation in the present.

There is rarely an ‘interrogation’ of narrative strategies by which identities of people get homogenised and constructed into a nation. This leads to historians focusing more on celebratory narratives, the glorification of national leaders almost elevating to a cult status, emphasis on monumental events and shared sacrifices. This transforms complex historical personalities into a binaries of national icons and leadership roles around which a national movement narrative can be woven. The events get exasperated with a touch of chronicle like quality and made celebratory in nature. The significant characteristic of nationalist narrative according to Amin in an elaborate attempt at showing a triumph of good over evil. The story of Indian nationalism is thus reduced to into a ‘massive undoing of Colonial Wrongs by non-violent and disciplined people.’

Amin boldly states that the nationalist narrative succeeds by inducing a selective national amnesia with regard to certain events that might make the idea of a unified mass movement patchy. These series of marginalized events are recounted only to embellish the other unifying aspects. They alienate such events as ‘crime’ and attempt to underscore the supposed disciplined and organized nationalist protests. Amin then goes on to illustrate the title of the book, that ‘event’ refers to the fixed event of the riot (1922), ‘metaphor’ refers to gathering significance of this event beyond the time frame of its occurrence; how the occurrence was initially excluded from calendar of nationalist events and later assimilated into official record of the Nation as a specific instance of ‘politics by other means’.

The author touches upon a variety of sources for addressing the gap in existing knowledge about the strategies of writing nationalist history. He relies on judicial discourses, transcripts and testimonies from trials which took place subsequently. He closely analyses state witnesses, reports and correspondence from colonial police, administration, and prison records. Amin is aware that revealing a complex process of peasant politics cannot be entirely carried out through judicial or Gandhian discourses. Therefore, he expands to oral sources as well. He conducted extensive interviews

with survivors, descendants of local witnesses etc., He used local knowledge and family histories to trace the participants and their relationship to the community to develop an understanding of roots of local agrarian and social conflicts. He also studied how the legends of Swaraj and Gandhian nationalism lived on in social memory to know how it shaped actions of the peasants in 1922 and how the memory evolved over time.

He states that the purpose of using such a diverse range of sources is not to counter official authorized accounts with local resemblance. He problematizes the way in which historians often gain access to the past and reveals the entangled nature of relationship between record and memory. The only way to develop a fuller picture and a nuanced narrative is by putting the problems on display.

Shahid Amin based his book largely on fieldwork, taken towards the last decades of twentieth century and through the book he aims to provide a foundation or a pre-history to the event (1922). He attempts to examine local contexts, nationalist and otherwise, which he hopes would eliminate 'spontaneity' and stereotypical views generally attached to the peasant-police encounter.

Amin's book is organized broadly into five parts, within which there are topic wise listed chapters. Broadly the book chapters can be categorized in four groups-first is of stories told by young men from Dumri (the village beside the burnt police outpost), second is of accounts that emerged from Mundera bazar (the bigger marketplace nearby), third is of narratives from localities around Mundera, final one is of remembrances of those punished by the colonial government and their surviving relatives (Thakur, C., n.d.).

The titles chosen for each chapter itself is of fascinating nature for the reader because it employs names of specific remote locations in Uttar Pradesh, even names of villages, local leaders, giving agency to the people who were woven in a complex struggle of their own and actively expressing their grievances to high authorities. For instance, Part Two, Chapter 3 is titled *Chauri*

Chaura-Dumri-Mundera. The titles of the chapters profusely use terms of regional dialects (e.g., *Shikari's Testimony*, *Babu Saheb of Mundera etc.*) which also gives an independent identity to the people concerned and sense of familiarity to the subject of the prose—successfully sets the tone of the book which ultimately aims at a ‘history from below.’ On some occasions the author has also retained certain Bhojpuri quotes by his informants and others he has translated. He attempts to linguistically underscore the point made in the text which might be missed in translation, with a hope that such a graphic devise helps the reader visualize, but at the same time, demarcate the limitations.

The first chapter titled ‘The Riot and the History,’ discusses how there were systematic attempts to carve the 1922 event out of the Non-Cooperation Movement’s (henceforth, NCM) timeline; in a poem published under the title *Gandhi's War, or A History of Satyagraha* in the year 1931 demarcated a line between ‘proper’ nationalist history and that of an ‘incensed’ public that burnt police stations. The poem ends NCM in the 1921 itself, a month before the infamous incident that led to its suspension. This outlook prevailed for a time long enough to shape memories and understanding of this event from the perspective of nationalist intelligentsia. He argues that every school text book that had to include this event only tackles the statistical figures of number of police officials who were killed, Gandhi’s helplessness, and suspension of an otherwise succeeding national movement due to local unrest.

In the second chapter, ‘Narrative of the Event,’ the author begins his tale with Gandhi, as he is bound to. Although Gandhi had disavowed himself from Chauri Chaura, Gandhi was the very site on which the contest over Chauri Chaura unfolded. He talks about Gandhi’s perspective where the latter observed during his tours how most of the demonstrations around 1920 were mob-demonstrations. For Gandhi, such mobs needed disciplinary solution and that is why through his twenty-point program, Gandhi tried to control the ‘mobocracy’ of darshan seeking crowd. Amin

stresses how the term ‘mobocracy’ was a grim representation of mass action, to exert control and express loath, mandating Gandhian volunteers to purge the subaltern impurities. The volunteers had to stand apart from demonstrators to discipline the nationalist exuberance as ‘people’s policemen’ (Amin, 1995, p.17).

As Amin digs deeper into unravelling the cause of the peasant fury, he argues that the cause had its roots in one of the mundane and vociferous attempts made by local volunteers. In 1921, a village unit (or mandal) of Gandhian volunteers was set up in Chotki Dumri, a village one mile west of Chauri Chaura police station. These peasant officers of Dumri mandal signed Pledge forms to adhere to Gandhian message. Instead of the usual picketing of the foreign cloth shops the local volunteers tried to stop liquor trade and ensure a just price for meat and fish in the nearby Mundera bazaar. A few days before the event, police officers thrashed volunteers for being too demonstratively disloyal to the Raj.

When the volunteers clashed with the police on 4 February 1922, any attempt made by the police to dissuade them was ineffective. There was even firing in the air and that was disregarded. Amin argues that the firing which was supposed to mean ‘danger ahead, retreat’ was instead read as a ‘go ahead’ sign. The energized crowd responded with- ‘Bullets have turned into water by the grace of Gandhiji.’ The death of the policemen and burning down of the thana was followed by destruction of police property, smashing of rifles, police turbans torn to shreds; it was perhaps not just a fury against few thanadars, but rather an outburst against every symbol of colonial authority.

There was immediate repression after the event and Chotki Dumri was raided the next morning. The leaders were not at home but the fact that they had earlier signed pledge forms became a documentary proof of being a volunteer who participated in the riot. When Gandhiji suspended the satyagraha, and henceforth the incident branded the people of the region with the stigma of violence which they have to endure for long years. This demi official account of the event according to Amin shows how it was not some peasants

who single handedly carried out the riot and repented for it—the dead weight of collective guilt fell upon an entire population (Amin, 1995, p.18).

Amin depicts a vivid picture of the life at Chauri Chaura, the demography of the place and prevailing structure of *Raj* at a local level in Part Two. He narrates the vital socio-economic scenario of the peasants, the trade market, the class hierarchy, and the local agrarian politics which played a crucial role in brewing community tensions ultimately provoked by local police. The aim is to show the gradual nature of permeation of nationalist ideals that gave the peasants a backbone for resistance, and that the outburst was not a spontaneous act.

In Part three, Amin deals with the immediate aftermath of the event. The nationalist leadership was quick to label it as ‘Crime of Chauri Chaura;’ there were also several oral reports that gained popular importance and became graphic in description. A Hindi *Aaj* editorial tried to give a local context to the riot—that the people of Chauri Chaura were perturbed by the improper behavior of the police, and went out of control because of their oppression under the police. Similarly, Gandhi too proceeded to list the long-term provocations which drove the attack. Amin argues that it is obvious that there was no room for retaliation in satyagraha nor would the leaders ever condone it. The author however attacks the criminalization of the peasants as ‘undisciplined hooligans’ by Nationalist leaders like Gandhi. The peasants were tagged as a lot that would knowingly attempt to twist a doctrine to create mayhem. The author tried to reveal the non-dominant narrative, that the Congress volunteers of Gorakhpur were simply following Gandhi’s command for ‘boycott of foreign cloth, giving up English education, spinning yarn, weave and wear khaddar’ till the winter of 1921-22. Serious dharnas at Chaura bazaar were carried out for two months. The names activities and decisions of Dumri volunteers remained anonymous, but they rigorously picketed toddy and liquor outlets following the satyagrahi zeal. The author used District accounts to evidence how the satyagrahis were lathi charged

continuously by the police in cooperation with landlords. The severely injured satyagrahis however stood undeterred. In occasions cavalry was also let loose on them. Shahid Amin questions Gandhi's sweeping condemnation of the rioters by basing his argument on the 1972 District Accounts, which redeems the rioters as nationalists, taking the charges of 'evil deeds' away from them. Nationalist violence is therefore justified, forgiven, and made to seem normal by an inflated rhetoric of heroism.

Sita Ahir, who was one of the survivors of the punishment meted out after the incident at Chauri Chaura threw light on the *mukhbir*, the accused who became the approver in the case—Mir Shikari. Mir Shikari was forced to do so on the instructions of the Sikh landlord of Dumri estate. The landlord's father (mentioned in Chapter 'The Great Betrayal' of the book) was the 'greater betrayer' who was awarded the confiscated estate by the English for his services to them in Revolt of 1857. Shikari was pardoned after he recounted in court about the incident of Chauri Chaura in a way that sacrificed his fellow rioters at the alter of colonial law and saved his life. The judges were further selective in accepting his testimony, leaving behind the traces of the event that coloured it as a clear threat posed by natives to the colonial state.

The book does face the most common critique of whether or not it was successful in representing the subaltern voice. Amin acknowledges the difficulty of retrieving the pure voice of the subaltern peasant. He also focusses more on unearthing the peasant's unique understanding of swaraj that were overpowered by elite narratives and that justifies as one of the subaltern aims—exposing the mechanisms of silencing. Marxist historians like Sumit Sarkar have pointed out that such subaltern works have overemphasised discourses and ideologies of the event instead of stressing on material conditions of the peasants which made them impoverished and furious at the institutions of *raj*, the economic and land tenure systems.

'Chauri Chaura' has become the tale of how the celebrated condemnation of a riot by Gandhi paradoxically entitles it to national

importance. The significance of this book under review cannot be stressed enough in its bold attempt at shedding the stereotypes attached to this episode of Indian history. He unravels with minute scrutiny how a dominant ideology had exerted dominance over a complex colonial past; this ideology tried to homogenise the national movement as one peaceful and disciplined stance that tried to denounce the unorganised uprisings which were very much its own offshoots. A close study of the event as undertaken by Amin, shows the embroiling tensions and dissensions between the leader and the led that were embedded within the umbrella of national homogeneity. The Dumri volunteers were as Gandhian as any other peasant volunteer in India in the winter of 1921-2. Hours after the riot, they were branded as ‘criminals.’

Shahid Amin explored the metaphor of Chauri Chaura which became a resemblance to any violent police peasant confrontations in British Raj. It shaped the next nationalist strategy over the course of the years. During the Quit India movement, when students and peasant nationalists targeted police and railway stations to force British to ‘Quit India,’ the imagery of Chauri Chaura was revitalised as a precursor to this radical approach.

He inspected the prelude to the riot, by focussing on the deeds and lore of Nazar Ali, Bhagwan Ahir and Mir Shikari. He inspected the face of popular nationalism, what Gandhian ideals meant to them, what were the local interpretations of his teachings and how it led to making the self-empowering of volunteers. Amin argues that while a large portion of judicial records pertaining to the trials were available for scrutiny, the testimonies of peasants cannot be taken at word. The accused were evasive, the approver (Mir Shikari) had to be persuasive and expansive.

This book stands as a crucial repository that contributes to the Subaltern studies by demonstrating how local memory of an event is not a pristine reservoir of truth but it is rather an enmeshed web that shifts over time. It tends to align with the elite narratives it was initially resisting. It shows the methodological difficulties in trying to recover the consciousness of marginalised, the dilemmas

faced by historian as he navigates the space between raw historical event and the narratives built upon it, and the fluid memory of experiences. This book is a must read for scholars across disciplines, those interested in South Asian History, collective memory, the immaculate use of oral sources as a methodology. For the general reader, this book with its authentic regional touch and lucid writing would help one to understand more about the impact of Gandhian values on common masses, on rural life, urge one to resist the tendency of representing him in a unidimensional manner and prevent twentieth century icons from getting painted in majoritarian tendencies.

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Government Initiatives and MSME Development in India: An Analytical Study

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Abstract

Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) constitute a vital segment of the Indian economy, contributing significantly to employment generation, industrial output, exports, and inclusive growth. Recognizing the strategic importance of this sector, the Government of India has introduced a wide range of policy initiatives and schemes aimed at strengthening MSMEs through financial assistance, technology upgradation, skill development, marketing support, and institutional facilitation. This paper provides a comprehensive analytical review of major MSME schemes in India, examining their objectives, scope, and impact on enterprise development. Using secondary data from government reports, policy documents, and published studies, the paper highlights the role of MSME schemes in enhancing competitiveness, promoting entrepreneurship, and reducing regional disparities. The study also identifies key challenges in implementation, including awareness gaps, procedural bottlenecks, and access to institutional credit. The paper concludes with policy suggestions for improving the effectiveness of MSME schemes to ensure sustainable and inclusive economic growth.

Keywords: MSMEs, Government Schemes, Entrepreneurship, Inclusive Growth, India, MSME Policy etc.

1. Introduction

Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) are widely recognized as the backbone of the Indian economy. The sector plays a crucial role in fostering industrialization, promoting entrepreneurship, generating employment, and ensuring balanced regional development. MSMEs are particularly important in developing economies like India, where they provide livelihood opportunities to a large segment of the population, including women, youth, and socially disadvantaged groups.

According to the Ministry of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises, the MSME sector contributes approximately 30 per cent to India's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and accounts for nearly 45 per cent of total manufacturing output and about 40 per cent of exports (Ministry of MSME, 2023). In view of their economic significance, successive governments in India have emphasized the development of MSMEs through targeted policy interventions and institutional support.

Despite their importance, MSMEs face multiple challenges such as limited access to credit, outdated technology, inadequate infrastructure, low skill levels, and restricted market access. To address these constraints, the Government of India has launched several schemes covering finance, technology upgradation, skill development, marketing assistance, and ease of doing business. This paper attempts to provide an analytical overview of major MSME schemes in India and assess their role in promoting MSME development.

2. Objectives of the Study

The specific objectives of the study are:

1. To examine the policy framework and classification of MSMEs in India.

2. To analyze major government schemes supporting MSME development.
3. To assess the role of MSME schemes in promoting entrepreneurship and inclusive growth.
4. To identify challenges in the implementation of MSME schemes.
5. To suggest policy measures for improving the effectiveness of MSME support programs.

3. Research Methodology

The study is based on secondary data collected from official publications of the Ministry of MSME, Reserve Bank of India (RBI), Small Industries Development Bank of India (SIDBI), NITI Aayog, Economic Survey of India, and reports of international organizations such as the World Bank and OECD. Research articles, books, and policy papers published in journals were also reviewed. The study follows a descriptive and analytical approach.

4. MSME Classification and Policy Framework in India

The definition and classification of MSMEs in India have evolved over time. Under the Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises Development (MSMED) Act, 2006, enterprises were initially classified based on investment in plant and machinery or equipment. In 2020, the government revised the classification by introducing a composite criterion based on investment and annual turnover, as part of the Atmanirbhar Bharat Abhiyan.

The introduction of Udyam Registration has simplified the registration process for MSMEs by making it paperless, Aadhaar-based, and online. Udyam registration enables enterprises to access government schemes, priority sector lending, subsidies, and protection against delayed payments.

5. Financial Support Schemes for MSMEs

5.1 Credit Guarantee Fund Trust for Micro and Small Enterprises (CGTMSE)

The CGTMSE scheme was launched to address the problem of collateral constraints faced by MSMEs. It provides collateral-free credit by offering guarantee coverage to banks and financial institutions. The scheme has significantly improved credit flow to micro and small enterprises, particularly first-generation entrepreneurs.

5.2 Pradhan Mantri Mudra Yojana (PMMY)

Pradhan Mantri Mudra Yojana aims to provide institutional finance to non-corporate small

businesses. Loans are offered under three categories—Shishu, Kishor, and Tarun—based on the stage of business development. PMMY has played a crucial role in promoting self-employment, especially in rural and semi-urban areas.

5.3 Prime Minister's Employment Generation Programme (PMEGP)

PMEGP is a credit-linked subsidy scheme designed to generate self-employment opportunities. Implemented through Khadi and Village Industries Commission (KVIC), State KVICs, and District Industries Centres (DICs), the scheme provides margin money subsidy to new enterprises in manufacturing and service sectors.

6. Technology Upgradation and Quality Improvement Schemes

6.1 Credit Linked Capital Subsidy Scheme (CLCSS)

CLCSS facilitates technology upgradation of MSMEs by providing capital subsidy for the adoption of modern machinery and equipment. The scheme enhances productivity, improves product quality, and strengthens the competitiveness of MSMEs in domestic and international markets.

6.2 MSME Champions Scheme

The MSME Champions scheme integrates multiple initiatives such as Lean Manufacturing, Design Clinics, and Quality Management Standards. It focuses on enhancing innovation, improving efficiency, and encouraging intellectual property protection among MSMEs.

6.3 Technology Centres and Tool Rooms

Technology Centres provide advanced training, testing facilities, and technical support to MSMEs. These centres play an important role in skill development and in facilitating the adoption of advanced manufacturing technologies.

7. Marketing and Export Promotion Schemes

7.1 Procurement and Marketing Support (PMS) Scheme

The PMS scheme assists MSMEs in participating in trade fairs, exhibitions, and buyer-seller meets at national and international levels. It helps MSMEs improve visibility, establish market linkages, and expand their customer base.

7.2 Government e-Marketplace (GeM)

GeM is an online procurement platform that enables MSMEs to sell goods and services directly to government departments and public sector undertakings. The platform ensures transparency, efficiency, and equal opportunity for MSMEs in public procurement.

7.3 Trade Receivables Discounting System (TReDS)

TReDS is an electronic platform regulated by the RBI that allows MSMEs to discount their trade receivables from large buyers. The system helps improve liquidity and addresses the issue of delayed payments.

8. Skill Development and Cluster-Based Development

8.1 Entrepreneurship and Skill Development Programme (ESDP)

ESDP aims to enhance entrepreneurial capabilities and managerial skills among MSME owners and aspiring entrepreneurs.

The program contributes to the development of human capital essential for enterprise growth.

8.2 Micro and Small Enterprises–Cluster Development Programme (MSE-CDP)

MSE-CDP promotes cluster-based development by supporting the creation of common facility centres and infrastructure. Cluster development improves economies of scale, productivity, and collective efficiency of MSMEs.

9. Inclusive Growth and Special Category Schemes

Several MSME schemes focus on inclusive development by supporting women entrepreneurs, SC/ST entrepreneurs, traditional artisans, and enterprises in backward and North-Eastern regions. Schemes such as the National SC/ST Hub and SFURTI promote social inclusion and preservation of traditional industries.

10. Challenges in Implementation of MSME Schemes

Despite the wide range of schemes, MSMEs continue to face several challenges:

- Lack of awareness about government schemes
- Procedural complexity and documentation requirements
- Limited access to formal credit
- Regional disparities in scheme implementation
- Technological and skill gaps

Addressing these challenges is essential for improving the effectiveness of MSME support programs.

11. Conclusion and Policy Suggestions

The MSME sector remains a critical driver of India's economic growth and employment generation. Government schemes have played a significant role in addressing financial, technological, and marketing constraints faced by MSMEs. However, greater emphasis is needed on awareness generation,

simplification of procedures, digital integration, and region-specific interventions. Strengthening institutional coordination and monitoring mechanisms can further enhance the impact of MSME schemes. A holistic and inclusive approach is essential to unlock the full potential of MSMEs and ensure sustainable economic development.

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ভাৰতীয় নাৰীৰ সামাজিক উত্তৰণৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত সাংবিধানিক আৰু আইনগত বিধিঃ এক সংক্ষিপ্ত আলোচনা

মানৱজ্যোতি শইকীয়া

সংক্ষিপ্তসাৰ

মানৱ সভ্যতাৰ বিকাশৰ দিশত নাৰীৰ অৱদান উল্লেখনীয়। কিন্তু সমাজ ব্যৱস্থাত বৰ্তমান সময়তো নাৰীক দ্বিতীয় লিংগ হিচাপে গণ্য কৰাৰ পৰিৱেশ আছে যাৰ বাবে বহু সময়ত নাৰীয়ে পাবলগীয়া মৰ্যাদা পোৱা নাই। ভাৰতীয় সমাজ ব্যৱস্থাত প্ৰাচীন কালৰ পৰা বৰ্তমান সময়লৈকে নাৰীৰ স্থান আৰু মৰ্যাদাৰ উত্থান-পতন দেখা যায়। বহু সময়ত ভাৰতীয় নাৰীয়ে নিজৰ প্ৰাপ্যৰ বাবে আজিও সংগ্ৰাম কৰিবলগীয়া হৈছে। পুৰুষ আৰু নাৰীৰ মাজত কিছুমান বৈষম্যক এতিয়াও অগ্ৰাধিকাৰ দি থকা হৈছে। গতিকে এনে প্ৰেক্ষাপটত নাৰীৰ সামাজিক উত্তৰণত ভাৰতীয় আইনশাস্ত্ৰ আৰু সংবিধানে কেনে বিধান প্ৰদান কৰিছে সেই বিষয়ে সংক্ষিপ্ত আলোচনা কৰিব বিচৰা হৈছে। নিৰ্বাচিত বিষয়বস্তুটোৰ আলোচনাৰ দিশত ভাৰতীয় সংবিধানৰ কিছু গুৰুত্বপূৰ্ণ অনুচ্ছেদ আৰু ভাৰতীয় আইন ব্যৱস্থাই সময়ে সময়ে প্ৰণয়ন কৰা নাৰী সম্পৰ্কীয় বিধি বা আইন সমূহ সামৰি লোৱা হৈছে। প্ৰকৃততে নাৰীৰ সামাজিক উত্তৰণৰ দিশত সাংবিধানিক আৰু আইনগত বিধিঃ এক সংক্ষিপ্ত আলোচনা বিষয়টো বিস্তৃত এটা গৱেষণাৰ বিষয়। কিন্তু সময় আৰু সুবিধা অনুসৰি কিছুমান নিৰ্দিষ্ট বিষয় সম্পৰ্কতহে এই গৱেষণা পত্ৰত আলোচনা কৰা হৈছে। বিষয়টো আলোচনা কৰোঁতে তথ্যৰ উৎসৰ দিশত সম্পূৰ্ণৰূপে গোঁণ তথ্যৰ সহায় লোৱা হৈছে।

ইয়াৰ বাবে বিষয়বস্তুৰ লগত সংগতি থকা প্ৰাসংগিক গ্ৰন্থ, আলোচনী আদিৰ সহায় লোৱা হৈছে। অধ্যয়নৰ পদ্ধতি হিচাপে বিশ্লেষণাত্মক পদ্ধতিৰ সহায় লোৱা হৈছে আৰু প্ৰয়োজন সাপেক্ষে বৰ্ণনাত্মক পদ্ধতিৰ সহায় লোৱা হৈছে।

বীজ শব্দঃ নাৰী, সংবিধান, আইন, নিৰ্যাতন

প্ৰস্তাৱনাঃ

বিষ্ণু প্ৰসাদ ৰাভাই নাৰীৰ সমস্যা কি হ'ব দিশটো বিশ্লেষণ কৰিছিল এনেদৰে- “নাৰী আজি সকলোতকৈ তলত। ধৰ্ম, সমাজ, ৰাজনীতিক আৰু চৰকাৰেই নাৰী জাতিক একেবাৰে তলৰ শাৰীত পেলাই দিছে। আজিৰ নাৰী জাতিৰ নিজৰ বুলিবলৈ একোৱেই নোহোৱা হৈছে। নিজৰ স্বাধীনতাক হেৰুৱাইছে। আৰু নাৰীয়ে ইচ্ছামতে কাম কৰিব নোৱাৰে। খাবলৈ, পিন্ধিবলৈ, থাকিবলৈ, বন্ধুতা দিবলৈ, ৰাজনীতিৰ বিষয়ে মেল পাতিবলৈ আৰু গাবলৈ, নাচিবলৈ, ভাও ল'বলৈ নোৱাৰে। নাৰী আজি ঘৰত বন্দিণী হৈ আছে। ধৰ্মই কয় নাৰী জাতিৰ বিশ্বাস নাই। সমাজে কয় নাৰীক সদায় বশ কৰি থবা। ৰাজনীতিৰ মতে নাৰীয়ে কেৱল কাৰখানাত কুলিয়নী হ'বলৈ স্বাধীনতা পায়।” ৰাভাই যি সময়ত নাৰীৰ এই সামাজিক প্ৰস্থিতিৰ সম্পৰ্কত ধাৰণা ব্যক্ত কৰিছিল, সেই একেই পৰিৱেশ বৰ্তমান সময়টো দৃশ্যমান। ৰাভাই কোৱাৰ দৰে বৰ্তমান সমাজ তথা ৰাষ্ট্ৰ ব্যৱস্থাটো নাৰীয়ে প্ৰকৃত মৰ্যদা পোৱা নাই। বিশ্ব তথা ভাৰতীয় সমাজ ব্যৱস্থাত নাৰীৰ বিৰুদ্ধে এনে কিছুমান অমানৱীয় ঘটনা সংঘটিত হৈ আছে, যিসমূহে নাৰী সমাজৰ মানৱীয় মৰ্যদা নিম্নগামী হৈছে। পণ্ডিত জৱাহৰলাল নেহৰুৱে মন্তব্য কৰিছিল, “এখন দেশৰ নাৰীৰ সামাজিক মৰ্যদা আৰু স্থানৰ পৰাই দেশখনৰ চৰিত্ৰ জানিব পাৰি।” এই মন্তব্যৰ পৰাই স্পষ্ট যে, ভাৰতীয় সমাজ ব্যৱস্থাত নাৰীৰ মহত্ব অধিক। কিয়নো, এখন সমাজ বৰ্তি থাকিবলৈ হ'লে নাৰী বা পুৰুষ কোনো এটাকে বাদ দি মানৱ সমাজৰ অস্তিত্ব কল্পনা কৰিব নোৱাৰি। অৰ্থাৎ এটা জাতিৰ জন্মৰ আঁৰত সদায়ে এগৰাকী নাৰী থাকে। সেয়ে, নাৰীক মানৱ জাতিৰ মাতৃ আৰু প্ৰজন্মসমূহৰ নিৰন্তৰ ধ্বজাধাৰী বোলা হয়। সেই দিশৰ পৰা আমি ক'বই লাগিব যে, যি সমাজে নাৰীক সন্মান কৰিব নাজানে সেই সমাজ কেতিয়াও মহান হ'ব নোৱাৰে। এনে প্ৰেক্ষাপটত নাৰীৰ সামগ্ৰিক বিকাশ সাধনৰ বাবে পদ্ধতিগত ব্যৱস্থাপনা গ্ৰহণ কৰাটো

বাঞ্ছনীয়। গতিকে ভাৰতীয় নাৰী সমাজৰ মৌলিক প্ৰগতিৰ বাবে ভাৰতীয় সংবিধানৰ বিশেষ ভূমিকা থাকে। কাৰণ সংবিধান হ'ল দেশৰ মৌলিক আইন। এই আইনে ভাৰতত বসবাস কৰা প্ৰত্যেকজন লোকক কোনো ধৰণৰ বৈষম্য নোহোৱাকৈ ন্যায্যতা আৰু সমতা প্ৰতিষ্ঠাত প্ৰাধান্য প্ৰদান কৰিছে। এই আলোচনাত নাৰীৰ সামাজিক উত্তৰণৰ দিশটোৰ সম্পৰ্কত সাংবিধানিক আৰু আইনগত বিধানৰ সংক্ষিপ্ত এটি চমু পৰিচয় দিব বিচৰা হৈছে।

উদ্দেশ্যঃ এই গৱেষণা পত্ৰখনৰ উদ্দেশ্য হ'ল-

ক) নাৰীৰ উত্তৰণৰ দিশত সাংবিধানিক আৰু আইনগত ব্যৱস্থাপনাৰ সংক্ষিপ্ত আলোচনা কৰা।

অধ্যয়ন পদ্ধতিঃ

‘ভাৰতীয় নাৰীৰ সামাজিক উত্তৰণৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত সাংবিধানিক আৰু আইনগত বিধিঃ এক সংক্ষিপ্ত আলোচনা’ শীৰ্ষক বিষয়টো আলোচনা কৰোঁতে তথ্যৰ উৎসৰ দিশত সম্পূৰ্ণৰূপে গৌণ তথ্যৰ সহায় লোৱা হৈছে। ইয়াৰ বাবে বিষয়বস্তুৰ লগত সংগতি থকা প্ৰাসংগিক গ্ৰন্থ, আলোচনী আদিৰ সহায় লোৱা হৈছে। অধ্যয়নৰ পদ্ধতি হিচাপে বিশ্লেষণাত্মক পদ্ধতিৰ সহায় লোৱা হৈছে আৰু প্ৰয়োজন সাপেক্ষে বৰ্ণনাত্মক পদ্ধতিৰ সহায় লোৱা হৈছে।

০.০৩. অধ্যয়নৰ পৰিসৰ আৰু সীমাৰুদ্ধতাঃ

নিৰ্বাচিত বিষয়বস্তুটোৰ আলোচনাৰ দিশত ভাৰতীয় সংবিধানৰ কিছু গুৰুত্বপূৰ্ণ অনুচ্ছেদ আৰু ভাৰতীয় আইন ব্যৱস্থাই সময়ে সময়ে প্ৰণয়ন কৰা নাৰী সম্পৰ্কীয় বিধি বা আইন সমূহ সামৰি লোৱা হৈছে। প্ৰকৃততে নাৰীৰ সামাজিক উত্তৰণৰ দিশত সাংবিধানিক আৰু আইনগত বিধিঃ এক সংক্ষিপ্ত আলোচনা বিষয়টো বিস্তৃত এটা গৱেষণাৰ বিষয়। কিন্তু সময় আৰু সুবিধা অনুসৰি কিছুমান নিৰ্দিষ্ট বিষয় সম্পৰ্কত হে এই গৱেষণা পত্ৰত আলোচনা কৰা হৈছে। সাংবিধানিক অনুচ্ছেদসমূহ আলোচনা কৰাৰ লগতে ভাৰত চৰকাৰে সময়ে সময়ে প্ৰণয়ন কৰা আইনসমূহ মাত্ৰ উল্লেখ কৰা আছে। ভৱিষ্যতে এই বিষয়টোত আৰু অধ্যয়ন কৰাৰ থল থাকিব।

০.০৪ অধ্যয়নৰ গুৰুত্বঃ

ভাৰতীয় সমাজ ব্যৱস্থাত নাৰীৰ বিশেষ মৰ্যাদা আছে। মানৱ সভ্যতাৰ বিকাশৰ দিশত নাৰীৰ অৱদান উল্লেখনীয়। কিন্তু সমাজ ব্যৱস্থাত বৰ্তমান সময়টো নাৰীক দ্বিতীয় লিংগ হিচাপে গণ্য কৰাৰ পৰিৱেশ আছে। যাৰ বাবে বহু সময়ত নাৰীয়ে পাবলগীয়া মৰ্যাদা পোৱা নাই। ভাৰতীয় সমাজ ব্যৱস্থাটো প্ৰাচীন কালৰ পৰা বৰ্তমান সময়লৈকে নাৰীৰ স্থান আৰু মৰ্যাদাৰ উত্থান-পতন দেখা যায়। বহু সময়ত ভাৰতীয় নাৰীয়ে নিজৰ প্ৰাপ্যৰ বাবে আজিও সংগ্ৰাম কৰিবলগীয়া হৈছে। পুৰুষ আৰু নাৰীৰ মাজত কিছুমান বৈষম্যক এতিয়াও অগ্ৰাধিকাৰ দি থকা হৈছে। গতিকে এনে প্ৰেক্ষাপটত নাৰীৰ সামাজিক উত্তৰণত ভাৰতীয় আইনশাস্ত্ৰ আৰু সংবিধানে কেনে বিধান প্ৰদান কৰিছে সেই বিষয়ে সংক্ষিপ্ত আলোচনা কৰিব বিচৰা হৈছে।

০.০ ৫ বিষয়বস্তুৰ আলোচনাঃ

ভাৰতীয় সমাজ ব্যৱস্থাৰ সৃষ্টিৰ পৰা বৰ্তমান সময়লৈকে নাৰীৰ সামাজিক উত্তৰণ, প্ৰস্থিতি অথবা মৰ্যাদাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত বহুতো উত্থান-পতন পৰিলক্ষিত হয়। বিশেষকৈ, পুৰুষপ্ৰধান সমাজ ব্যৱস্থাৰ ৰক্ষণশীলতাৰ ফলশ্ৰুতিত বিভিন্ন সময়ত নাৰী নিৰ্যাতিত, ধৰ্ষিত, লাঞ্চিত হৈ আহিছে। বৰ্তমান সময়তো প্ৰত্যেক দিনাই একোটাকৈ নাৰী নিৰ্যাতনৰ ঘটনা আমি বা-বাতৰিত পঢ়িবলৈ বা দেখিবলৈ পাইছোঁ। সভ্যতাৰ বিকাশৰ পৰ্যায়ত নাৰী অৱস্থিতি যদি চোৱা যায় তেন্তে দেখিম যে, প্ৰাচীন বৈদিক যুগত নাৰীয়ে সমাজত মুখ্য স্থান পোৱা দেখা গৈছিল। নাৰীক দেৱী হিচাপে গণ্য কৰাৰ সমান্তৰালভাৱে পৰিয়ালটো সমঅধিকাৰ আৰু দায়িত্ব গ্ৰহণ কৰিছিল। ধৰ্মীয় কাৰ্যত নাৰীয়ে উচ্চ প্ৰস্থিতি লাভ কৰিছিল। গাৰ্গী, মৈত্ৰেয়ীৰ উদাহৰণৰ যোগেদিয়েই সেই সময়ৰ নাৰীসকলৰ জ্ঞান-গৰিমাৰ এক প্ৰতিচ্ছবি লাভ কৰিবলৈ সক্ষম হওঁ। ঠিক সেইদৰে, ৰামায়ণ, মহাভাৰতৰ নাৰী চৰিত্ৰ সমূহেও সেই সময়ত নাৰীৰ স্থান আৰু মৰ্যাদাৰ আভাস দিয়ে। মধ্যযুগত পৰ্দা-প্ৰথা, বহুপত্নী বিবাহ প্ৰচলনৰ ফলত নাৰীৰ মৰ্যাদা নিম্নগামী হৈছিল। ইয়াৰ লগতে বাল্য বিবাহ, শিশু কন্যা বধ আদিৰ দৰে নিকৃষ্ট কাণ্ড সেইসময় চোৱাত সংঘটিত হৈছিল। নাৰীসকলক জীৱনৰ অধিকাৰ আৰু ব্যক্তিৰূপৰ পৰা আঁতৰাই আনি পৱিত্ৰতা ৰক্ষাৰ বাবে

সতী সজাই অগ্নিত জাহ যাবলৈ বাধ্য কৰিছিল ইয়াৰ পৰৱৰ্তী সময়ত উনৈশ শতিকাত প্ৰথমবাৰৰ বাবে নাৰীৰ মৰ্যাদা হানিকৰ সামাজিক প্ৰথা যেনে, সতীদাহ প্ৰথা, বাল্য বিবাহ, পৰ্দা-প্ৰথা আদি ৰোধৰ বিষয়ত চৰকাৰৰ পৰা হস্তক্ষেপ দেখা পোৱা গৈছিল। সেই সময় চোৱাতে সমাজ ব্যৱস্থাত সংস্কাৰমূলক জ্ঞান-চেতনাৰ বিকাশ হ'বলৈ ধৰে আৰু সমাজত চলি থকা কু-প্ৰথাসমূহৰ বিৰুদ্ধে প্ৰতিবাদ আৰম্ভ হয়। অন্যায় বিলাক ৰোধৰ চেষ্টা চলে। এই প্ৰসংগত আমাৰ দেশৰ ৰাজা ৰামমোহন ৰায়, ঈশ্বৰচন্দ্ৰ বিদ্যাসাগৰ, স্বামী বিবেকানন্দ আদিকে প্ৰমুখ্য কৰি সমাজ সংস্কাৰক সকলৰ কথা উল্লেখ কৰিব পাৰোঁ। ১৮২৯ চনত লৰ্ড উইলিয়াম বেণ্টিংক, ৰাজা ৰামমোহন ৰায় আদিৰ প্ৰচেষ্টাত সতীদাহ প্ৰথা আইনগত ভাৱে নিবাৰণ হৈছিল। ঈশ্বৰ চন্দ্ৰ বিদ্যাসাগৰৰ প্ৰচেষ্টাত ১৮৫৬ চনত চৰকাৰে বিধৱা পুনৰ বিবাহ আইনৰ প্ৰচলন কৰিছিল। ১৮৭৪ চনত বিবাহিত মহিলাৰ সম্পত্তিৰ অধিকাৰ আইন প্ৰণয়ন হয়। এনেধৰণৰ সংস্কাৰমূলক আৰু আইনগত বিধিৰ দ্বাৰা সেই সময়ত নাৰীৰ অধিকাৰক আৰু মৰ্যাদাক সুনিশ্চিত আৰু উন্নত কৰাৰ বাবে ব্যৱস্থা গ্ৰহণ কৰিছিল। সাম্প্ৰতিক সময়তো নাৰীৰ সামাজিক স্থিতিৰ উত্থান-পতন বাৰুকৈয়ে আছে। বিশেষকৈ, ভাৰতীয় সমাজব্যৱস্থাত এতিয়াও নাৰীৰ প্ৰতি মনুবাদী দৃষ্টিভংগী থকাৰ ফলত নাৰী পুৰুষৰ কু-অভিপ্ৰায়ৰ বশৱৰ্তী হৈ আছে। বৰ্তমানো ভাৰতীয় সমাজব্যৱস্থাত স্ত্ৰীলিংগৰ প্ৰতি মানসিকতা বৈষম্যমূলক আৰু অৱজ্ঞাসূচক। ভাৰতীয় সমাজত, ৰাজনৈতিক ক্ষেত্ৰত, ধৰ্মীয় আদি সকলো ক্ষেত্ৰতে নাৰীৰ প্ৰতি বৈষম্যমূলক আচৰণ দেখা যায় আৰু সেই বৈষম্যমূলক আচৰণ সহজেই অনুমেয়। সামাজিক ৰাতি-নীতি, পৰম্পৰা, পিতৃতান্ত্ৰিক সমাজৰ ৰক্ষণশীলতা, ধৰ্মীয়-গোড়ামী তথা গতানুগতিক বদ্ধমূল মানসিক চিন্তাধাৰাৰ ফলত সমাজত নাৰীৰ মৰ্যাদা নিম্নগামী হোৱা পৰিলক্ষিত হয়। যাৰ পৰিপ্ৰেক্ষিতত আজিও সমাজত যৌতুকৰ বাবে বোৱাৰী হত্যা, নিৰ্যাতন, ধৰ্ষণ আদিৰ দৰে অসামাজিক ঘটনাসমূহ বৃদ্ধি পাইছে। সেয়েহে, এই ঘটনাসমূহ ৰোধৰ দ্বাৰা ভাৰতীয় মহিলাৰ সামাজিক উত্তৰণৰ বাবে ভাৰতীয় সংবিধান তথা ভাৰতীয় আইনী প্ৰক্ৰিয়াই কিছুমান ব্যৱস্থা গ্ৰহণ কৰিছে। ভাৰতীয় সংবিধানে নাৰী আৰু পুৰুষ উভয়কে সম-মৰ্যাদা প্ৰদানৰ ব্যৱস্থা কৰিছে। ভাৰতীয় সংবিধান ৰচনাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত গুৰুত্বপূৰ্ণ অৱদান আগবঢ়োৱা ড° বি আৰ আশ্বেদকাৰে মহিলাৰ অধিকাৰৰ ওপৰত বিশেষ ভাৱে প্ৰাধান্য দিছিল। ড° আশ্বেদকাৰে বিশ্বাস কৰিছিল যে, সমাজ এখনৰ বিকাশ

বা উন্নয়ন মহিলাৰ সামাজিক-ৰাজনৈতিক অৱস্থিতিকে নিৰ্ধাৰণ কৰে। আশ্বেদকাৰে কৈছিল, “I measure the progress of a community by the degree of progress which women have achieved.” ড° আশ্বেদকাৰে মহিলাৰ অধিকাৰ সুনিশ্চিত কৰিবৰ বাবে Hindu Code Bill ৰ খচৰা প্ৰস্তুত কৰিছিল আৰু পৰৱৰ্তী সময়ত সংবিধান সভাত এই বিধেয়ক উত্থাপন কৰিছিল। এই বিধেয়কৰ দ্বাৰা ড° আশ্বেদকাৰে মহিলাৰ পূৰ্বপুৰুষৰ সম্পত্তিৰ মালিকীস্বত্বৰ অধিকাৰ আৰু ন্যায়পূৰ্ণ বিবাহ বিচ্ছেদৰ অধিকাৰ দাবী কৰিছিল। কিন্তু, বহুজনৰ বিৰোধিতাৰ ফলত এইখন বিধেয়ক কাৰ্য্যকৰী নহ’ল, তথাপি এই বিধেয়ক দেশৰ বাবে এটা ঐতিহাসিক আৰু সামাজিক পৰিঘটনা হিচাপে পৰিগণিত হ’ল। তদুপৰি ড° আশ্বেদকাৰে সাৰ্বজনীন প্ৰাপ্তবয়স্ক ভোটাধিকাৰ সমৰ্থন কৰি পুৰুষৰ দৰে মহিলাকো ভোটাধিকাৰ প্ৰদানৰ দাবী কৰিছিল ইয়াৰোপৰি, সম-অৰ্থনৈতিক অধিকাৰ দাবী কৰিছিল। অৰ্থাৎ মহিলাৰো উচিত মজুৰি, পৰিয়াল আৰু সম্পত্তিৰ অধিকাৰ থাকিব লাগে বুলি দাবী কৰিছিল। মূলতঃ ভাৰতীয় মহিলাৰ অধিকাৰ, মৰ্যাদা সুনিশ্চিত কৰাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত ড° আশ্বেদকাৰৰ প্ৰভাৱ আছিল তাৎপৰ্য্যপূৰ্ণ। যিসমূহে নিশ্চয়কৈ ভাৰতীয় সংবিধানত নাগৰিকৰ অধিকাৰ সুৰক্ষাৰ দিশত লক্ষণীয় ভাৱে অৱদান আগবঢ়াইছিল।

ভাৰতীয় সংবিধানৰ প্ৰস্তাৱনাকে প্ৰমুখ্য কৰি মৌলিক অধিকাৰ, ৰাষ্ট্ৰ পৰিচালনাৰ নিৰ্দেশাত্মক নীতি, মৌলিক কৰ্তব্য আদিৰ দ্বাৰা সংবিধানে লিংগ সমতাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত গুৰুত্ব প্ৰদান কৰা দেখা যায়। ভাৰতীয় সংবিধানৰ প্ৰস্তাৱনাতেই সংবিধানৰ দাৰ্শনিক তত্ত্ব প্ৰকাশ পোৱা দেখা যায়। প্ৰস্তাৱনাৰ আৰম্ভণিতে কোৱা হৈছে যে, “আমি ভাৰতৰ জনগণে ভাৰতক এখন সাৰ্বভৌম, সমাজবাদী, ধৰ্মনিৰপেক্ষ, গণতান্ত্ৰিক গণৰাজ্য হিচাপে প্ৰতিষ্ঠা কৰি ইয়াৰ সকলো নাগৰিকৰ কাৰণে ন্যায়, স্বতন্ত্ৰতা আৰু সমতাৰ ব্যৱস্থা কৰিছে। ইয়াৰ পৰা স্পষ্ট যে, সমতা প্ৰতিষ্ঠাৰ দিশটোৱে সমাজৰ নাৰী-পুৰুষ উভয়কে সামৰি লৈছে। অৰ্থাৎ, সুযোগ-সুবিধাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত সমানতাৰ কথা প্ৰকাশ কৰিছে আৰু তাৰ দ্বাৰা লিংগবৈষম্যহীন এখন সমাজ প্ৰতিষ্ঠা কৰোৱা হৈছে। সমতাৰ দিশটোৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত ভাৰতীয় সংবিধানৰ ১৪ ৰ পৰা ১৮ নং অনুচ্ছেদটো উল্লেখ্যনীয়। সংবিধানৰ ১৪ নং অনুচ্ছেদ অনুসৰি প্ৰত্যেক ব্যক্তিকে এটা মৌলিক অধিকাৰ প্ৰদান কৰিছে যে, তেওঁক ভাৰতৰ ভূ-খণ্ডত ‘আইনৰ চকুত সমানতা’ আৰু

‘আইনসমূহৰ দ্বাৰা সমান সুৰক্ষাৰ পৰা কেতিয়াও বঞ্চিত কৰা নহ’ব। ইয়াৰ দ্বাৰা জাতি, বৰ্ণ,ভাষা, ধৰ্ম আৰু লিংগ নিৰ্বিশেষে আইনৰ দ্বাৰা সম-ব্যৱহাৰ পাব লাগিব। অৰ্থাৎ নাৰী আৰু পুৰুষ উভয়ে আইনৰ দ্বাৰা সমান সুযোগ-সুবিধা লাভ কৰিব। আইনৰ দৃষ্টিত কোনো লিংগ বৈষম্যক গুৰুত্ব নিদিয়ৈ। ভাৰতীয় সংবিধানৰ ১৫ নং অনুচ্ছেদ অনুসৰি, সামাজিক সমতা স্থাপনৰ ব্যৱস্থা কৰা হৈছে। জাতি, ধৰ্ম, লিংগ নিৰ্বিশেষে চৰকাৰে সকলোকে সমান ব্যৱহাৰ লগতে ১৬ নং অনুচ্ছেদ অনুসৰি চৰকাৰী চাকৰিৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত জাতি, ধৰ্ম, লিংগ বা জন্মস্থানকলৈ কোনো পাৰ্থক্য নাথাকিব। অৰ্থতা আৰু দক্ষতা থাকিলে নাৰী-পুৰুষ উভয়ে চৰকাৰী চাকৰিৰ বাবে আবেদন কৰিব পাৰে। এই অনুচ্ছেদৰ ভিত্তিতে ভাৰতীয় নাগৰিকে লিংগভিত্তিক বৈষম্য নোহোৱাকৈ চৰকাৰী চাকৰিৰ বাবে আবেদন কৰিব পাৰে আৰু দক্ষতা-যোগ্যতাৰ আধাৰত নিযুক্ত হ’ব পাৰে। সংবিধানৰ ৩৯ নং অনুচ্ছেদত কোৱা হৈছে যে, ৰাষ্ট্ৰই নিজৰ নীতি সদায় এনেদৰে সঞ্চালিত কৰিব লাগে যাতে সকলো পুৰুষ আৰু মহিলাৰ কাৰণে জীৱিকা অৱলম্বনৰ যথোপযুক্ত উপায় সুনিশ্চিত হোৱাৰ অধিকাৰ থাকে, যাতে জন সমুদায়ৰ ব্যৱহাৰিক সম্পদখিনিৰ মালিকীস্বত্ব তথা নিয়ন্ত্ৰণ ব্যৱস্থা সদায় সকলোৰে উমৈহতীয়া কল্যাণৰ হকেই কামত আহিব পৰাকৈ বিতৰণ হৈ থাকে যাতে দেশৰ অৰ্থনৈতিক প্ৰণালীটোত সকলোৰে উমৈহতীয়া কল্যাণ সাধনৰ প্ৰতিকূল হ’ব পৰাকৈ সম্পদ তথা উৎপাদনৰ সমলবোৰ এমুঠিমান লোকৰ হাতত একমুঠ হৈ পৰাৰ কোনো থল নাথাকে, যাতে সমান কামৰ বাবে পুৰুষ আৰু মহিলাই সমান সমান পাৰিশ্ৰমিক পোৱাটো সুনিশ্চিত হয়। ঠিক সেইদৰে সংবিধানৰ ৪২ নং অনুচ্ছেদ অনুসৰি নাৰী আৰু পুৰুষ উভয় শ্ৰমিকে যাতে কামৰ বাবে এক উপযুক্ত পৰিৱেশ পাব পাৰে তাৰ বাবে ব্যৱস্থা কৰে। সংবিধানৰ ৪৬ নং অনুচ্ছেদ অনুসৰি, অনুসূচীত জাতি-জনজাতি আৰু অন্যান্য পিছপৰা শ্ৰেণীৰ শৈক্ষিক আৰু অৰ্থনৈতিক স্বাৰ্থবোৰৰ বিকাশ সাধনৰ দিহা কৰিছে। সংবিধানৰ ৪৭ নং অনুচ্ছেদ অনুসৰি, দেশৰ সকলোৰে স্বাস্থ্য আৰু জীৱন ধাৰণাৰ মানদণ্ড উন্নত কৰিবৰ বাবে ৰাষ্ট্ৰই ব্যৱস্থা গ্ৰহণ কৰে। সংবিধানৰ 51A (e) অনুচ্ছেদ অনুসৰি ধৰ্ম, ভাষা, আঞ্চলিক বৈষম্য নৰখাকৈ ভাৰতৰ সকলো মানুহৰ মাজত পাৰস্পৰিক সম্প্ৰীতি আৰু ভাতৃত্ববোধ সম্প্ৰসাৰণ ঘটোৱা আৰু মহিলাৰ মৰ্যাদা হানিকৰ প্ৰথা উচ্ছেদ সাধন কৰাটো প্ৰধান কৰ্তব্য। ভাৰতীয় সংবিধানৰ 243D (3) অনুচ্ছেদ অনুসৰি প্ৰত্যেক পঞ্চায়ততে মুঠ আসনৰ

এক তৃতীয়াংশ (১/৩) আসন মহিলাৰ বাবে সংৰক্ষণৰ ব্যৱস্থা কৰিছে। ঠিক সেইদৰে, সংবিধানৰ 243D (4) অনুচ্ছেদ অনুসৰি গাঁও বা আন যিকোনো স্তৰতে গঠন কৰা পঞ্চায়তৰ সভাপতি পদটো ৰাজ্যিক বিধানসভাই আইনৰ জৰিয়তে যুগুত কৰা নীতি অনুসৰি অনুসূচীত জাতি-জনজাতি আৰু মহিলাৰ বাবে সংৰক্ষণ কৰা দেখা গৈছে। উল্লেখযোগ্য যে, প্ৰত্যেক স্তৰতে গঠন কৰা পঞ্চায়তৰ সভাপতি/সভানেত্ৰী পদৰ কমেও এক তৃতীয়াংশ মহিলাৰ বাবে সংৰক্ষণ কৰা হ'ব আৰু এই ব্যৱস্থা পৌৰ প্ৰশাসনটো মহিলাৰ বাবে আসন সংৰক্ষণৰ ব্যৱস্থা আছে। অৰ্থাৎ সংবিধানৰ এই অনুচ্ছেদসমূহৰ দ্বাৰা সাংবিধানিক পটভূমিত মহিলাৰ অধিকাৰ সুনিশ্চিতৰ ব্যৱস্থা কৰিছে। সেই অনুসৰিয়েই ভাৰতীয় মহিলাৰ সামাজিক আৰু ৰাজনৈতিক মৰ্যাদা উত্তৰণৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত সুযোগ-সুবিধা পাইছে।

সাম্প্ৰতিক সময়ত ভাৰতবৰ্ষত মহিলাৰ সুৰক্ষা আৰু সৰলীকৰণৰ দিশটোত গুৰুত্ব প্ৰদান কৰি বহুতো আইন প্ৰণয়ন কৰা হৈছে আৰু সেই আইনসমূহে আইনগতভাৱে মহিলাৰ স্বাৰ্থ সুৰক্ষিত কৰাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত অগ্ৰণী ভূমিকা গ্ৰহণ কৰা দেখা গৈছে। ভাৰতীয় আইনত মহিলাৰ সুৰক্ষাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত ভাৰতীয় চৰকাৰে বিভিন্ন সময়ত গ্ৰহণ কৰা আইনসমূহ উল্লেখ কৰা হ'লঃ ঘৰুৱা হিংসাৰ পৰা মহিলাৰ সুৰক্ষা আইন ২০০৫, যৌতুক নিবাৰণী আইন ১৯৬১, যৌতুক নিবাৰণী (সংশোধনী) আইন ১৯৮৬, ৰাষ্ট্ৰীয় মহিলা আয়োগ আইন-১৯৯০, অপৰাধী বিধি (সংশোধনী) অধ্যাদেশ ২০১৩, অপৰাধী বিধি (দ্বিতীয় সংশোধনী) আইন ১৯৮৩, প্ৰসৰকালীন বা মাতৃত্বৰ সুবিধা আইন ১৯৬১, হিন্দু বিধৱা পুনৰ বিবাহ আইন ১৮৫৬, মুছলমান মহিলা (বিবাহ-বিচ্ছেদৰ অধিকাৰৰ সুৰক্ষা) আইন ১৯৮৬, মহিলাৰ অশ্লীল প্ৰতিনিধিত্ব (নিবাৰণী) আইন ১৯৮৬, সতীদাহ (নিবাৰণী) আইন ১৯৮৭, বোম্বাই দেৱদাসী সুৰক্ষা আইন ১৫ অক্টোবৰ ১৯৩৪, অনৈতিক সৰবৰাহ (প্ৰতিৰোধ) আইন ১৯৫৬, চিকিৎসাজনিত গৰ্ভসমাপন আইন ১৯৭১, জন্মৰ পূৰ্বে ৰোগ নিৰ্ণয় কৌশল (লিংগ নিৰ্ধাৰণ নিবাৰণ) আইন ১৯৯৪, সম-পাৰিতোষিক আইন ১৯৭৬, অসম মহিলা (চাকৰি আৰু খালী পদৰ সংৰক্ষণ) আইন ২০০৫, বিবাহিতা মহিলাৰ সম্পত্তি আইন ১৮৭৪, হিন্দু উত্তৰাধিকাৰী আইন ১৯৫৬, বাল্য বিবাহ নিষিদ্ধকৰণ আইন ২০০৫, অসম ৰাজ্যিক মহিলা আয়োগ আইন ১৯৯৪, ভাৰতীয় দণ্ডবিধি আইন ১৮৬০, ফৌজদাৰী কাৰ্যবিধি আইন ১৯৭৩, ভাৰতীয়

সাক্ষ্য আইন, হিন্দু নাবালকত্ব আৰু অভিভাৱকত্ব আইন ১৯৫৬, হিন্দু বিবাহ আইন ১৯৫৫, মুছলমান বিবাহ বিঘটন আইন ১৯৩৯, বিশেষ বিবাহ আইন ১৯৫৪, অসম পঞ্চায়ত আইন ১৯৯৪, কৰ্মক্ষেত্ৰত যৌন আতিশয্যৰ পৰা মহিলাৰ সুৰক্ষা বিধেয়ক ২০১০, মহিলা সংৰক্ষণ বিধেয়ক ২০০৮, উল্লেখিত সকলোবোৰ আইনৰ বিষয়বস্তু তথা আইনগত বিধিসমূহৰ ভিন্নতা থাকিলেও প্ৰত্যেকখন আইনৰ উমৈহতীয়া লক্ষ্য আৰু উদ্দেশ্য এটাই। সেইটো হ'ল, 'মহিলা সুৰক্ষা, উৎকৰ্ষতা আৰু সৱলীকৰণ।' এই আইনৰ অন্তৰ্ভুক্ত হৈছে মহিলাৰ বাবে আইনগত বিধি ৰচনা হৈছে।

সামৰণি:

নাৰীৰ ন্যায় আৰু সুৰক্ষাৰ দিশত ভাৰতত সাংবিধানিক আৰু আইনগতভাৱে বহুতো ব্যৱস্থাপনা আছে। ইমানখিনি বিধি-বিধান থকাৰ পিছতো নাৰীৰ মৰ্যাদা আৰু প্ৰস্থিতি বৰ্তমান সময়তো সুৰক্ষিত নহয়। সম্প্ৰতি আমাৰ দেশত ঘৰুৱা হিংসা, নিৰ্যাতন, ধৰ্ষণ, ভ্ৰূণহত্যা, বাল্য বিবাহ, যৌতুকজনিত অপৰাধ আদিৰ দৰে নাৰীজনিত অপৰাধ সংঘটিত হৈ আছে। সমীক্ষা অনুসৰি ভাৰতত প্ৰতি দিনে ৫১ টা নাৰীজনিক অপৰাধৰ গোচৰ পঞ্জীয়ন হয়। National Crime Record Bureau ৰ প্ৰতিবেদন অনুসৰি ভাৰতত ১.৯১ লাখ ভুক্তভোগীৰ ১.৮৯ লাখ ধৰ্ষণৰ গোচৰ পঞ্জীয়ন হৈছে (দৈনিক জনমভূমি, ১৪ ছেপ্তেম্বৰ, ২০২৪, পৃষ্ঠা ৪)। এই দিশটোৱে প্ৰমাণ কৰে যে, বৰ্তমান সময়তো ভাৰতত নাৰীৰ মৰ্যাদা সুৰক্ষিত নহয় আৰু এই ঘটনাসমূহে নাৰীৰ মানৱ অধিকাৰ ভংগ কৰিছে। তেনেস্থলত নাৰীৰ অধিকাৰ সুনিশ্চিত আৰু ফলপ্ৰসু কৰাৰ বাবে-

- ক) নাৰীৰ সুৰক্ষাৰ লগত জড়িত আইন আৰু সাংবিধানিক বিধি-বিধানসমূহৰ সম্পৰ্কে প্ৰসাৰ আৰু প্ৰচাৰ কৰা,
- খ) নাৰী জনিত অপৰাধ সংঘটিত কৰা অপৰাধীক আইনগত ভাৱে ক্ষিপ্ৰভাৱে শাস্তিৰ বিধান,
- গ) আইনগত দিশটোত নাৰীক আৰু পৰিয়ালৰ লোকক সচেতন কৰা,
- ঘ) নাৰীজনিত অপৰাধ সংঘটিত কৰা লোকৰ সপক্ষে সামাজিক বা ৰাজনৈতিক হস্তক্ষেপ নথকা,
- ঙ) আইনসমূহৰ প্ৰকৃত ৰূপায়ন আৰু দোষীক কঠোৰ শাস্তি প্ৰদান,

সহায়ক গ্রন্থপঞ্জীঃ

- ১) দাস, যোগেশ, বড়া, সৰ্বেশ্বৰ (সম্পা.) বিযুপ্ৰসাদ ৰাভাৰ ৰচনা সম্ভাৰ, প্ৰকাশকঃ ৰাভা ৰচনাৱলী প্ৰকাশন সংঘ, দ্বিতীয় মুদ্ৰণ মাৰ্চ, ২০০৮
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তুলনামূলক সাহিত্য : এক আলোচনা

শৰৎ কুমাৰ চুতীয়া

তুলনা শব্দটো সংস্কৃত ‘তুল’ ধাতুৰ পৰা নিষ্পন্ন হৈছে। ইয়াৰ অৰ্থ হ’ল — দুটা বস্তুৰ মাজত সাম্য বৈষম্য বা উৎকৃষ্ট নিকৃষ্ট বিচাৰ বিশ্লেষণ কৰা। ইংৰাজীৰ Comparative শব্দৰ সমাৰ্থক হিচাপে অসমীয়াত তুলনা শব্দটো গ্ৰহণ কৰা হৈছে। একে ধৰাতলত ৰাখি সিহঁতৰ মাজত থকা সমান অসমান গুণসমূহ পৰীক্ষা-নিৰীক্ষা কৰা কাৰ্যই তুলনা; কিন্তু এই পৰীক্ষণ নিৰপেক্ষ হোৱাটো বাঞ্ছনীয়।

তুলনা মানুহৰ জীৱনৰ এটা বৌদ্ধিক প্ৰক্ৰিয়া। মানুহে নিজৰ জ্ঞাতে-অজ্ঞাতে আদিম কালৰ পৰাই তুলনাৰ সহায় লৈ আহিছে। অৱশ্যে ঊনবিংশ শতিকাৰ প্ৰথমার্দ্ধৰ পৰাহে তুলনামূলক সাহিত্যিক উদ্দেশ্যপ্ৰণোদিতভাৱে ব্যৱহাৰ কৰা হৈছে। ইয়াৰ ফলস্বৰূপে সাহিত্যলৈ Comparative Literature বিভাগটোৰ আগমন ঘটিছে আৰু অসমীয়া ভাষাত এই অভিধাতি তুলনামূলক সাহিত্য হিচাপে গ্ৰহণ কৰা হৈছে। তুলনা শব্দৰ লগত সাহিত্য শব্দৰ সংযোগ কৰাৰ ফলস্বৰূপে সহজেই অনুমান কৰিব পাৰি যে এই অভিধাতিয়ে সাহিত্য অধ্যয়ন সম্বন্ধীয় দিশটোৰ লগত জড়িত হৈ আছে।

তুলনামূলক সাহিত্যৰ সংজ্ঞা

তুলনামূলক সাহিত্যৰ সংজ্ঞা সম্বন্ধে বিভিন্ন পণ্ডিতে বিভিন্ন ধৰণেৰে মতামত আগবঢ়োৱা দেখা যায়। তাৰ ভিতৰত কেইটিমান মতামত ইয়াত উল্লেখ কৰা হ'ল — তুলনামূলক সাহিত্য সম্পৰ্কে Henry H. H. Remak নামৰ পণ্ডিতজনৰ মত হ'ল, “সাহিত্যৰ ৰাষ্ট্ৰীয় পৰিধিৰ সীমা অতিক্ৰম কৰি অন্য ৰাষ্ট্ৰৰ সাহিত্যৰ লগত হোৱা তুলনামূলক অধ্যয়ন।” এই অধ্যয়নে কলা, ইতিহাস, সমাজ বিজ্ঞান, ধৰ্মশাস্ত্ৰ আদি বিভিন্ন ক্ষেত্ৰসমূহ আৰু সাহিত্যৰ পাৰস্পৰিক সম্বন্ধকো সামৰি লয়। Vom Tiegham নামৰ পণ্ডিতজনৰ মতে, “The object of comparative literature is essentially the study of diverse literature in their relations with one another.” (তুলনামূলক সাহিত্য বিভিন্ন সাহিত্যৰ পাৰস্পৰিক সম্বন্ধৰ অধ্যয়ন)। Anna Saiten Revigness ৰ মতে, “তুলনামূলক সাহিত্য বিভিন্ন সাহিত্যৰ পাৰস্পৰিক প্ৰভাৱ সূত্ৰ অধ্যয়ন সম্বন্ধীয় আধুনিক বিজ্ঞান।” Guyard নামৰ তুলনা বিশাৰদজনৰ মতে, “তুলনামূলক সাহিত্য আন্তঃৰাষ্ট্ৰীয় সাহিত্যিক সম্বন্ধৰ ইতিহাস” (The history of international relations)।

তুলনামূলক সাহিত্য সম্পৰ্কে বিভিন্ন পণ্ডিতে ভিন্ন মত আগবঢ়ালেও বৰ্তমান সময়ত তুলনামূলক সাহিত্যই এটি স্বতন্ত্ৰ বিষয় হিচাপে নিজকে প্ৰতিষ্ঠা কৰিবলৈ সক্ষম হৈছে। এই বিষয়টোৱে বিশ্বৰ সমগ্ৰ সাহিত্যিক এক গোট হিচাপে গ্ৰহণ কৰি সাহিত্যৰ বিভিন্ন দিশসমূহ গভীৰ অধ্যয়নৰ পোষকতা কৰে। এই লক্ষ্যত উপনীত হ'বলৈ কেৱল সাহিত্যৰ তুলনামূলক অধ্যয়ন কৰিয়েই ক্ষান্ত নাথাকি ইয়াৰ লগত মানৱীয় জ্ঞানৰ অন্য ক্ষেত্ৰসমূহ, বিশেষকৈ কলাত্মক আৰু চিন্তামূলক ক্ষেত্ৰসমূহৰ তুলনাৰ দ্বাৰাহে সম্ভৱ আৰু ফলদায়ক হয়।

তুলনামূলক সাহিত্যৰ পৰিসৰ

তুলনামূলক সাহিত্যৰ পৰিসৰ সম্পৰ্কে বিভিন্ন পণ্ডিতৰ মাজত মত পাৰ্থক্য থকা দেখা যায়। আচলতে তুলনামূলক সাহিত্য সৃষ্টিশীল ৰচনাৰ

বিশেষ ভাগ বা শাখা নহয়। তুলনামূলক সাহিত্য বুলি সাহিত্যৰ ভাগ এটিও নাই। তুলনামূলক সাহিত্য হ'ল সাহিত্যৰ এটি বিশেষ বিচাৰ পদ্ধতিহে, সাহিত্যৰ বিচাৰ পদ্ধতি হিচাপে প্ৰয়োগ উনবিংশ শতিকাৰ শেহৰপৰা সীমিত পৰিসৰত আৰম্ভ হয়। বিংশ শতিকাৰ মাজভাগৰপৰাহে ইয়াৰ ব্যাপ্তি সাধিত হয়।

ওপৰত উল্লেখ কৰা তুলনামূলক সংজ্ঞাসমূহৰ পৰা এটা কথা অনুমান কৰিব পাৰি যে তুলনামূলক সাহিত্যৰ ৰাষ্ট্ৰীয় পৰিধি অতিক্ৰম কৰি আন্তঃৰাষ্ট্ৰীয় প্ৰেক্ষাপটত সাহিত্যৰ বিচাৰ বিশ্লেষণৰ পোষকতা কৰে। য'ত সাহিত্যৰ ৰস আৰু সৌন্দৰ্য তত্ত্বৰ বিচাৰ লগতে জ্ঞানৰ অন্যান্য কলা, ইতিহাস, সমাজ বিজ্ঞান, বিজ্ঞান, ধৰ্মশাস্ত্ৰ আদি অধ্যয়ন কৰাৰ উপৰিও বিভিন্ন সাহিত্যৰ পাৰস্পৰিক সম্বন্ধটো অধ্যয়ন কৰিব বিচাৰে। সেয়েহে দেখা যায় যে তুলনামূলক সাহিত্যৰ অধ্যয়নৰ পৰিসৰ যথেষ্ট বিস্তৃত।

বিজ্ঞান আৰু প্ৰযুক্তিবিদ্যাৰ অভাৱনীয় উন্নতিৰ যুগত ভৌগোলিক অৰ্থত ক্ৰমান্বয়ে সংকুচিত হৈ অহা একবিংশ শতিকাৰ আজিৰ পৃথিৱীৰ জাতীয় বা ৰাষ্ট্ৰীয় মানদণ্ড কথাষাৰ প্ৰায় পুৰণি হৈ পৰিছে। যিকোনো ক্ষেত্ৰতেই সাহিত্যৰ মানদণ্ড আন্তঃজাতিক হোৱা বাঞ্ছনীয়। বৰ্তমান যুগত সাহিত্যত ইয়াৰ প্ৰতিফলন দেখিবলৈ পোৱা গৈছে। প্ৰাদেশিক মানদণ্ডৰে সাহিত্য আলোচনা কৰিবলৈ গ'লে সাহিত্য সমালোচনা ঠেক গণ্ডীৰ হোৱাটোৱেই স্বাভাৱিক। এই প্ৰসংগত মামতি গ্যটোইৰ এটি মন্তব্য উল্লেখ কৰিব পাৰি — “জাতীয় সাহিত্য বোলা কথাষাৰ আজি অৰ্থহীন হৈ আহিছে বিশ্ব সাহিত্যৰ যুগ সমাগত আৰু গতি ক্ষিপ্ৰ কৰাটোৱেই প্ৰত্যেকৰ কৰ্তব্য”।

তুলনামূলক সাহিত্যই ৰাষ্ট্ৰীয় আৰু ভাষিক পৰিধি ভাঙি এক বহুল পৃষ্ঠভূমিত সাহিত্য চৰ্চাৰ বাট মুকলি কৰি দিছে। যদি দেশে দেশে ভাষাই সাহিত্য সৃষ্টিয়ে সংশ্লিষ্ট দেশৰ আৰু ভাষাৰ নামেৰে পৰিচিত হৈছে তুলনামূলক সাহিত্যই সেই পৰিধি অতিক্ৰম কৰি সমগ্ৰ সাহিত্যক একক সাহিত্যৰূপে গ্ৰহণ কৰিছে। পৃথিৱীৰ সমগ্ৰ মানৱ জাতিৰ মানৱীয় সত্তাৰ সাদৃশ্যক

তুলনামূলক সাহিত্যই স্বীকৃতি প্রদান কৰি সাহিত্যৰ বিশ্ব সাহিত্যৰ ক্ষেত্ৰলৈ আগবঢ়াই নিয়াৰ পোষকতা কৰিছে। এই সত্তাক উপলব্ধি কৰিবলৈ হ'লে কোনোবা এটা ভাষাৰ বা কোনোবা এখন দেশৰ দুজন লেখকৰ কোনো সাহিত্য বিচাৰৰ মাজত সীমাবদ্ধ অধ্যয়নে বাঞ্ছিত সহায় কৰিব নোৱাৰে। গতিকে তুলনামূলক অধ্যয়ন হ'ব লাগিব বিভিন্ন দেশৰ আৰু বিভিন্ন ভাষাৰ মাজত। অৱশ্যে এই ক্ষেত্ৰত জাতীয় বা ৰাষ্ট্ৰীয় সাহিত্যৰ তুলনামূলক অধ্যয়নৰ দিশটোও ওলাই কৰি চলিলে নহ'ব। এনে ধৰণৰ অধ্যয়নৰ পৰাহে পৃথক সামাজিক, সাংস্কৃতিক, বৌদ্ধিক, মানসিক আৰু ঐতিহাসিক পটভূমিত ৰচিত সাহিত্য কীৰ্তিসমূহৰ মাজত কি অন্তৰ্নিহিত গুণ বিৰাজমান হৈ আছে তাক উপলব্ধি কৰিব পাৰি। তুলনামূলক সাহিত্যই পোষকতা কৰা বিশ্বসাহিত্যই সাহিত্যৰ এক সামগ্ৰিক ৰূপটোলৈহে আঙুলিয়ায়। বিভিন্ন ধৰণৰ ভৌগোলিক, সামাজিক, সাংস্কৃতিক বিবিধতা থকা সত্ত্বেও পৃথিৱীৰ সমগ্ৰ মানুহৰ অন্তৰৰ অনুকৰণৰ এক হোৱাৰ দৰে সমগ্ৰ পৃথিৱীৰ মানুহৰ সকলো সময়ৰ সাহিত্যৰ কৃতি সামগ্ৰিকভাৱে এক আৰু অভিন্ন। এনে দৃষ্টিভংগীৰে সাহিত্য মূল্যায়ন কৰা বা অধ্যয়ন কৰাত তুলনামূলক সাহিত্যই এক প্ৰশস্ত পথ উলিয়াই দিছে।

তুলনামূলক ভাৰতীয় সাহিত্য

তুলনামূলক ভাৰতীয় সাহিত্যই বহুল অৰ্থত সাহিত্যিক জ্ঞান আৰু একতাৰ সন্ধান দিয়ে। তুলনামূলক ভাৰতীয় সাহিত্যই বিভিন্ন ভাষাৰ সাহিত্যত অন্তৰ্নিহিত হৈ থকা ভাৰতীয় জ্ঞান আৰু একতাৰ সন্ধান দিয়ে। প্ৰকৃতপক্ষে তুলনামূলক সাহিত্যৰ ব্যাপক ধাৰণাৰ অন্তৰ্গত পৃথিৱীৰ সমস্ত সাহিত্যকে এক বুলি গ্ৰহণ কৰাৰ আগতে প্ৰত্যেকেই নিজৰ নিজৰ সাহিত্যক তলৰে পৰা জানিব লাগিব।

উল্লেখযোগ্য যে ভাৰতীয় সাহিত্য বুলি কোনো একক সাহিত্য নাই। আছে ভাৰতীয় সাহিত্যসমূহ। 'ভাৰতীয় সাহিত্য' ধাৰণাটো প্ৰথমে ভাৰতবৰ্ষৰ বাহিৰৰ মানুহে প্ৰয়োগ কৰিছিল। পশ্চিমীয়া বিদ্বানসকলে প্ৰয়োগ

কৰা ভাৰতীয় সাহিত্য ধাৰণাটো সমালোচক সকলে আধৰুৱা বুলি ক'ব বিচাৰে। কিয়নো তেওঁলোকে ব্যৱহাৰ কৰা এই ধাৰণাটোত কেৱল ভাৰতৰ প্ৰাচীন সাহিত্যসমূহতে সীমাবদ্ধ। দ্বিতীয়তে, সাহিত্য ভাণ্ডাৰে চহকী তামিল সাহিত্যক ইয়াত সন্নিবিষ্ট কৰা হোৱা নাই। পশ্চিমীয়া বিদ্বানসকলৰ ভাৰতীয় সংস্কৃত সাহিত্য অধ্যয়নৰ এটি উদ্দেশ্য আছিল, সেইটো হ'ল এই অধ্যয়নৰ যোগেদি ইন্দো-ইউৰোপীয় ভাষা পৰিয়ালৰ সম্পৰ্কত নতুন জ্ঞানৰ অন্বেষণ কৰি প্ৰাচীন গ্ৰীক-লেটিন সাহিত্যৰ অধ্যয়নক অধিক স্পষ্ট কৰি তোলা। পাশ্চাত্য পণ্ডিতসকলৰ ভাৰতৰ প্ৰাচীন সাহিত্যৰ প্ৰতি কৰা নতুন চিন্তা-চৰ্চাই সেই সময়ৰ পৰাধীন ভাৰতীয় পণ্ডিতসকলৰ ভাৰতৰ প্ৰাচীন সাহিত্যৰ প্ৰতি আগ্ৰহ বৃদ্ধি কৰি নিজৰ সাহিত্য ভাণ্ডাৰৰ প্ৰতি সজাগতা বৃদ্ধি কৰিছিল। তাৰ ফলস্বৰূপে ভাৰতৰ বিভিন্ন ভাষালৈ সেই বিলাকৰ অনুবাদ হৈছিল আৰু সকলো ভাৰতীয়ই ভাৰতীয় সাহিত্যৰ মূল স্ৰোত উপলব্ধি কৰিবলৈ সক্ষম হৈছিল। ইয়াৰ ফলস্বৰূপেই বিংশ শতিকাৰ প্ৰথমাদ্ধত ভাৰতবৰ্ষৰ বিভিন্ন আঞ্চলিক সাহিত্যসমূহত ইয়াৰ প্ৰতিফলন ঘটিছিল। উদাহৰণস্বৰূপে, তামিল সাহিত্যৰ সুৰক্ষণ ভাৰতী আৰু অসমীয়া সাহিত্যৰ জ্যোতিপ্ৰসাদ আগৰৱালাৰ নাম ল'ব পাৰি।

ভৌগোলিক পৰিৱেশ, ভাষা, সাহিত্য, সংস্কৃতি আদিৰ ক্ষেত্ৰলৈ লক্ষ্য কৰিলে ভাৰতবৰ্ষক বিশ্বৰ এটি ক্ষুদ্ৰ তাণ্ডৰণ বুলিব পাৰি। তুলনামূলক ভাৰতীয় সাহিত্য হ'ল বিভিন্ন ভাষা-সংস্কৃতিৰে পৰিপূৰ্ণ ভাৰতৰ বিভিন্ন ভাষাৰ সাহিত্যসমূহৰ সামগ্ৰিক, গভীৰ আৰু বিস্তৃত অধ্যয়ন পদ্ধতি বিশেষ। ই ভাৰতৰ বিভিন্ন ভাষা সাহিত্যৰ লগত জড়িত জ্ঞানৰ অন্য ক্ষেত্ৰসমূহকো অধ্যয়ন কৰি সামৰি লয়।

পাশ্চাত্যৰ সাহিত্যত যি ধৰণৰ প্ৰয়োজন আৰু পৰিস্থিতিত তুলনামূলক সাহিত্যৰ জন্ম হৈছিল ভাৰতবৰ্ষতো ঠিক তেনে প্ৰয়োজনৰ তাগিদাতেই তুলনামূলক সাহিত্যৰ জন্ম হৈছিল। কিন্তু আগতেই উল্লেখ কৰি অহা হৈছে যে ভাৰতীয় ভাষা সাহিত্যৰ মাজত বিচিত্ৰতা থাকিলেও ইয়াৰ মূল স্ৰোত এক, এই স্ৰোতৰ অন্তঃফল্লধাৰাই অসমীয়া, বাংলা বা অন্যান্য

জাতীয় সাহিত্যত ৰচিত সাহিত্যসমূহক নিজৰ নামেৰে পৰিচিত হোৱাৰ উপৰিও ই বৃহৎ ভাৰতীয় সাহিত্যত পৰিণত হৈছে।

তুলনামূলক সাহিত্যৰ প্ৰতি বৰ্তমান ভাৰতবৰ্ষৰ বিদ্বৎ সমাজৰ সজাগতা বাঢ়ি আহিছে। ইয়াৰ ফলস্বৰূপেই যাদৱপুৰ বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ে তুলনামূলক সাহিত্যৰ এটি সম্পূৰ্ণ বিভাগ স্থাপন কৰিছে। অসমৰ ডিব্ৰুগড় বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়তো ১৯৯৩ চনৰ পৰা অসমীয়া বিভাগত তুলনামূলক ভাৰতীয় সাহিত্যৰ এটি শাখা পাঠ্যক্ৰমত অন্তৰ্ভুক্ত কৰা হৈছে।

অসমত তুলনামূলক সাহিত্য

ভাৰতবৰ্ষক যিদৰে বিশ্বৰ এটি তাঙৰণ বুলিব পাৰি অসমৰ ক্ষেত্ৰতো ঠিক একেই মন্তব্য দিব পাৰি। ভাষিক, সামাজিক, সাংস্কৃতিক সংমিশ্ৰণৰ ফলত অসম এখন সংমিশ্ৰিত সংস্কৃতিৰ ৰাজ্যলৈ পৰিণত হৈছে। পাহাৰে-ভৈয়ামে বসবাস কৰা জনগোষ্ঠীসমূহে নিজৰ নিজৰ ভাষা-সংস্কৃতি আৰু নিজৰ জীৱন ধাৰণ পদ্ধতি জীয়াই ৰাখিছে। বিভিন্ন জাতি-জনগোষ্ঠীৰ মাজত থকা ভ্ৰাতৃত্ব আৰু একতাৰ এনাজৰীয়ে ভাৰতীয় সংস্কৃতিত অসমীয়া সংস্কৃতিক জিলিকাই ৰাখিছে আৰু অসমীয়া সাহিত্যতো তাৰ প্ৰতিফলন ঘটিছে।

প্ৰাক্ শংকৰী যুগৰ পৰা অসমীয়া সাহিত্যই সৰ্বভাৰতীয় সাহিত্যৰ লগত সংযোগ স্থাপন কৰি আহিছে। সম্ভৱতঃ মাধৱ কন্দলিৰ ৰামায়ণৰ অনুবাদৰ যোগেদিয়েই এই পোনপটীয়া প্ৰভাৱ লক্ষ্য কৰা যায়। অষ্টম-নৱম শতিকাত বৌদ্ধ আৰু শাক্ত সাহিত্যই এই দেশত প্ৰসাৰতা লাভ কৰিছিল। পঞ্চদশ শতিকাৰ শংকৰদেৱে বৈষ্ণৱ ধৰ্ম সাহিত্যৰ যোগেদি সৰ্বভাৰতীয় চিন্তাৰ লগত অসমক পোনপটীয়াকৈ জড়িত কৰিছিল। তেখেতৰ পৰৱৰ্তী কবিসকলেও বিভিন্ন সাহিত্যকৰ্মৰ অনুবাদৰ যোগেদি সৰ্বভাৰতীয় সাহিত্যৰ লগত অসমীয়া সাহিত্যৰ সম্পৰ্ক ক্ৰমে দৃঢ় কৰি তুলিছে।

পূৰ্বতেই উল্লেখ কৰি অহা হৈছে যে বিভিন্ন ভাষাগোষ্ঠীৰ সমাজ

সংস্কৃতিৰে ভৰপূৰ অসম এখন বহুভাষিক আৰু বহু সাংস্কৃতিক ৰাজ্য। তদুপৰি বড়ো, মিচিং, ৰাভা আদি ভাষাসমূহৰ বহু উপাদান অসমীয়া ভাষাত আছে। এই ভাষাসমূহ লোক-সাহিত্যত চহকী হোৱাৰ লগতে তেওঁলোকৰ সুন্দৰ সাহিত্যও আছে। তুলনামূলক সাহিত্যই যিদৰে বিশ্বৰ বিভিন্ন ভাষা সাহিত্যৰ অধ্যয়নৰ যোগেদি বিশ্বৰ মানৱ সত্তাৰ একতাৰ সন্ধান কৰিছে ঠিক তেনেদৰে অসমীয়া সাহিত্যও অসমৰ বিভিন্ন জনগোষ্ঠীসমূহৰ সাহিত্যসমূহ তুলনামূলক অধ্যয়নৰ যোগেদি একতা আৰু ভাতৃত্ববোধ গঢ়ি তুলিব পাৰে। এনে অধ্যয়নে জনগোষ্ঠীসমূহৰ মাজত ঐক্য আৰু সাদৃশ্যৰ ছবি পৰিষ্কাৰকৈ দাঙি ধৰিব। বৰ্তমান অস্থিৰতা, অশান্ত আৰু বিভেদকামী শক্তি উত্থানৰ সময়ত তুলনামূলক সাহিত্যৰ এনেধৰণৰ অধ্যয়নে শান্তি আৰু সম্প্ৰীতি ৰক্ষাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত যথেষ্ট অৰিহণা যোগাব।

সহায়ক গ্ৰন্থপঞ্জী

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